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A vowel shift (or lack thereof) in two Indo-Iranian languages

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The oral monophthongal vowel system of Nepali is commonly described as a 6member vowel system that has lost the \bar{i} -i and \bar{u} -u contrastsof Sanskrit while qualitatively retaining its \bar{a} -a contrast (e.g. Turner 1961: xvii, Masica 1991: 109, Verma 1992: 77, Ishii 1986: 14, Khatiwada 2009: 377-378).Similarly, the vowel system of Tajik, a variety of New Persian, has lost the \bar{i} -i and \bar{u} -u contrasts of Early New Persian while qualitatively retaining its \bar{a} -a contrast. However, unlike Nepali, in which \bar{a} is more open (and perhaps also more back) than a, Tajik has preserved the \bar{a} -a contrast by raising \bar{a} above a. Despite this, data exist that suggest that, in the late 19th to early 20th century, Tajik had a 6-vowel triangular system very similar to that of present-day Nepali. This presentation contrasts the vowel systems of Nepali and Tajik as well as those of the languages with which the two languages have been in intensive contact, and discusses the implications their parallel and differential developments may have for the typology of vowel systems and Labov's (1994: 116) supposedly universal principles of vowel shifting.

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Preliminaries: the Indo-Iranian branch of IE

—2000 BCE ↓ ↓ branches Indo-Aryan Igs. Iranian Igs. historical Old Indo-Aryan, Middle Indo-Aryan, New Indo-Aryan, New Indo-Aryan, New Persian, etc. Old Persian, Middle Persian, New Persian, etc. present Nepali, Hindi, etc. Tajik, Persian, etc.		Indo-Iranian Igs.						
historical Old Indo-Aryan, Middle Indo- Aryan, New Indo- Aryan New Persian, New Persian, etc.	-2000 BCE	\Downarrow	\Downarrow					
historical Middle Indo- Aryan, New Indo- Aryan New Persian, New Persian, etc.	branches	Indo-Aryan Igs.	Iranian Igs.					
present Nepali, Hindi, etc. Tajik, Persian, etc.	historical	Middle Indo- Aryan, New Indo-	Middle Persian,					
	present	Nepali, Hindi, etc.	Tajik, Persian, etc.					

















Parallel and differential developments in the vowel systems of Tajik and Nepali

I'll look at:

- 1. "Principles of vowel change"
- 2. Language contact

(convergence of vowel systems, sharing of vowel changes)

1. Self-organization of vowel systems

2

Principles of vowel change 1

- 1. In chain shifts, long vowels rise.
- 2. In chain shifts, **short vowels fall**.
- 3. In chain shifts, the nuclei of upgliding diphthongs fall.
- 4. In chain shifts, **back vowels move to the front**.

Labov (1994: 116)

• "Though these principles are stated in terms of chain shifts, I will not hesitate to <u>use them to describe and classify</u> individual movements where they apply." (ibid: 117)

Principles of vowel change 2

• Compatible with the Tajik $/\bar{a}/ = > /s/$ shift.

Principle I

• Incompatible with the Nepali /a/ = > /s/ shift.

Vowel shifts that are incompatible with the principles of vowel change

- "[T]his [the NZE short front vowel shift] clearly violates Principle III and Principle II." (Labov 1994:138)
- AusE: "The principles of vowel change … are … challenged by … the raising of short /i/ and /p/ and the fronting of nonperipheral /3/." (Cox 1999: 20) Ryukyuan

(15C-)

1

- The Ryukyuan vowel shifts
- ···
- The Nepali a > c shift



Convergence of vowel systems in Central Asia

• Language contact appears to have affected vowel systems/changes in Central Asia

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Vowel changes

"Thakali has completely lost the opposition of quantity, transphonologizing the opposition between long and short into a distinction of quality; other long vowels have simply merged with their short counterparts."

"This development has also occurred for some E. Tamang speakers (Mazaudon 1973a:121) and apparently in Gurung (Glover 1974:xx)."

"Essentially the same development has taken place in Nepali, where IA \bar{i} and \bar{u} have merged with their short counterparts, but \bar{a} [a[.]] has remained distinct from a [ə]."

(Michailovsky 1988: 41)





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380	20	29	5S2a	14	38	7S1	6	9
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4L1	7	20	6L2	9	23	9S0	12	15
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Parallel and differential developments in the vowel systems of Tajik and Nepali

I have looked at:

- 1. "Principles of vowel change" Not really useful
- 2. Language contact (convergence of vowel systems, sharing of vowel changes) Possibly useful
- 3. Self-organization of vowel systems Possibly useful

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