Sonority, order, and overlap in Georgian syllable onsets

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What is a syllable?

How does the syllable emerge in space and time?

Space: sonority & order

- Abstract property of speech sounds
- No well-established articulatory correlates
- Vowel > glide > liquid > nasal > fricative > stop (adapted from Parker 2011)
- A sonority-based account of the syllable: syllables have local sonority minima at the edges and a maximum at the nucleus

Time: overlap

- Language-specific
- Also affected by:
 - Voicing status of cluster members (Bombien and Hoole 2013)
 - Order of place of articulation (Chitoran et al. 2002,
 - Kühnert et al. 2006, Son et al. 2007) • Manner (Bombien et al. 2013)

in Georgian

- Minimal restrictions on onset size and shape
- No nucleic consonants
- No phonemic schwa and no vowel reduction
- Back-to-front clusters are less overlapped than front-to-back clusters (Chitoran et al. 2002)
- C-center effect found in CC and CCC clusters (Goldstein et al. 2007)

Hypotheses

- 1. Back-to-front clusters will be less overlapped than frontto-back clusters.
- 2. Sonority rises will be more overlapped than plateaus, which will be more overlapped than falls

Sonority rises will be less affected by changes in order than plateaus and falls

3. "The sonority hierarchy can best be understood in its relationship to articulatory timing," Chitoran (2016)

Experimental design

Front to back Sonority rise **br**egi 'mound' bneli 'darkness' **bn**eda 'epilepsy' **bl**epi 'bluff' mlode 'waiting'

Sonority fall

Sonority plateau [xama 'poison' **bg**era 'sound'

ptila 'hair lock'

mtaze 'mountain.in'

tbeba'warm up/warming' rbena 'running (n)' **lb**eba 'softening (n)'

rgeba 'benefitting' **Im**oba 'feeling sadness' Consonants were labelled on the following trajectories:

Labials: lip aperture Coronals: tongue tip vertical displacement Velars: tongue dorsum vertical displacement

Consonant gestures were semiautomatically labeled on the basis of velocity criteria, using custom software (Mark Tiede, Haskins Laboratories)

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grevi 'gift' **gl**exi 'peasant'

Back to front

tmaze 'hair.in' dmanisi 'Dmanisi (town)'

x avs 'shut off' gdeba 'lie about'

Tongue tip vertical displacement

(C1)

(C2)

Lip aperture

Target words were produced eight times (seven times by

____ *momts'era* ('The woman wrote ____ to me')

k'idev ____ vtkvi ('I said ____ again') [Speaker 1]

Speaker 2) each in a frame sentence:

[Speakers 2&3]

Total of 472 tokens

Relative overlap

$(C_2 Onset) - (C_1 Target)$ C_1 Constriction

Temporal distance between the target achievement of the first consonant and the onset of the second consonant

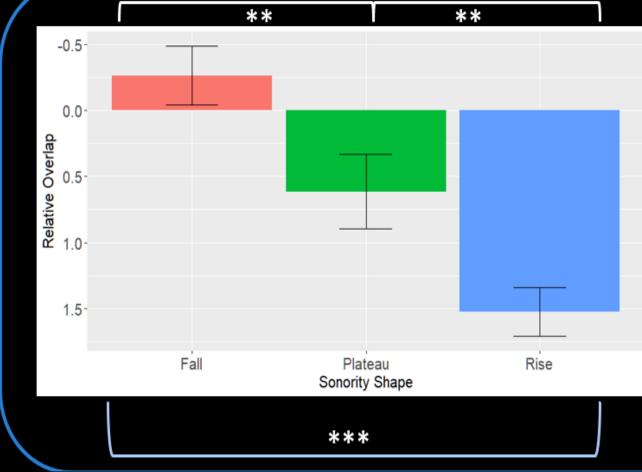
Here, C2 begins after C1 reaches its target (large

Key Takeaways

- 1. Sonority falls are the **most** overlapped
- 2. Sonority rises are the least overlapped

clusters

3. Order effect previously found for Georgian stop-stop clusters (Chitoran et al. 2002) is replicated and extended to other kinds of

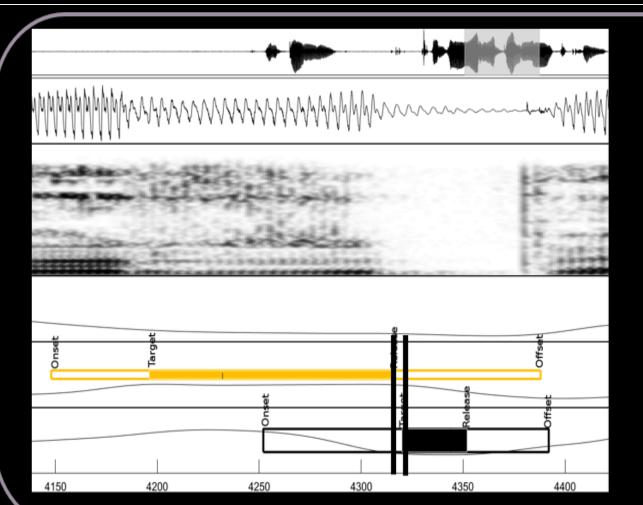




analyzed using a linear mixed effects model with fixed effects of Sonority and Order and random effects of Word and Speaker

Data were

Constriction overlap



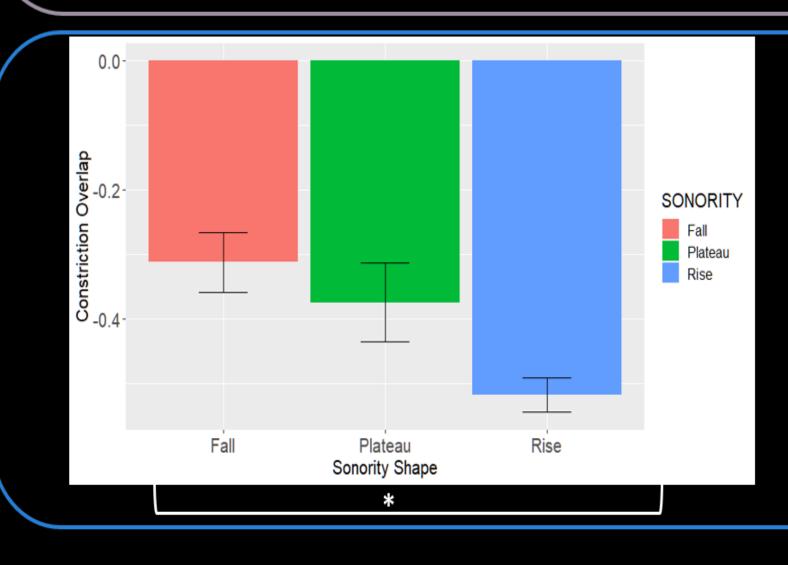
 $(C_1Release - C_2Target)$ $(C_2Release - C_1Target)$

Overlap between the constrictions of the two consonant gestures

Here, there is no overlap between the plateaus (negative value)

Key Takeaways

- 1. Rises have significantly more constriction lag than falls
- 2. All clusters have constriction lag
- 3. This is a language-specific (and language-wide) setting!



Data were analyzed using a linear mixed effects model with fixed effects of Sonority, Order, and random effects of Word and Speaker

Discussion and conclusions

H1. Back-to-front clusters are less overlapped than front-toback clusters.

Replicates findings from Chitoran (2002) on Georgian stop-stop clusers, and extends them to a wider range of clusters

H2. Sonority rises are the least overlapped, while sonority falls are the most

- Space and time are related!
- Spatially unsual clusters (falls) are more closely timed
- Rises allow intrusive vocoids; falls do not

H3. We find support for the hypothesis put forward in Chitoran 2016 that the sonority hierarchy can best be understood through articulatory overlap

These two measures of overlap together explain how Georgian maintains its phonotactic system

Constriction lag ensures perceptibility of both cluster members

High relative overlap in sonority falls ensures a tautosyllabic parse of potentially dispreferred onsets

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