INTERPARADIGM CONSERVATISM motivates paradigm gaps in Hungarian

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The issue

- a frequent but lexically conditioned vowel–zero alternation fails to apply to some stems (*rom**ö**l-* ∼ *rom**ö**l-* vs. *h**á**ml-* ∼ **h**á**m**ö**l-*)
- this intraparadigmatic lexical conservatism effect blocking repair combined with phonotactics results in paradigm gaps (**h**á**m**ö**l-hat,* **h**á**ml-hat*)
- which cannot be filled by forms based on the relevant cells of other, nondefective paradigms because this violates the requirements of Paradigmatic Support and Interparadigmatic Identity — manifesting interparadigmatic conservatism

Sites of potential vowel–zero alternation

- within the stem (in "epenthetic" stems)
- suffix initially (in "C/V-initial" suffixes)

Epenthetic verb stems

	C-initial suffix	V-initial suffix
pör**ö**g 'twirl'	pör**ö**g-ve '-ADV.PCTP' pör**ö**g-het '-POT' pör**ö**g-j '-SBJV.NDF.2SG' pör**ö**g-d '-SBJV.DEF.2SG'	pör**rg**-ök '-NDF.1SG' pör**rg**-ünk '-NDF.1PL' pör**rg**-et '-CAUS' pör**rg**-éš '-NOMZ'

accent marks length, caron marks postalveolars/palatals

Two types of epenthetic verb stem

	C-initial suffix	C/V-initial suffix
fürd-ik 'bathe-NDF.3SG'	fürö**d**-het '-POT' fürö**d**-j '-SBJV.NDF.2SG'	≉ fürö**d**-nek ∼ fü**rd**-enek '-NDF.3PL' ≉ fürö**d**-s ∼ fü**rd**-es '-NDF.2SG'
pörög 'twirl.NDF.3SG'	pörö**g**-het '-POT' pörö**g**-j '-SBJV.NDF.2SG'	≈ pörö**g**-nek '-NDF.3PL' ≈ pörö**g**-s '-NDF.2SG'

Lexical suffix types (epenthetic stems)

- **C**(-initial) suffixes select VC-final allomorph of epenthetic stems (*fürö**d**-het, fürö**d**-ve* '-ADV.PTCP', *fürö**d**-jük* '-DEF.1PL', *fürö**d**-j, fürö**d**-d* '-SBJV.DEF.2SG', …)
- **V**(-initial) suffixes select CC-final allomorph of epenthetic stems (*fü**rd**-ő* '-ACT.PCTP', *fü**rd**-éš, fü**rd**-et, fü**rd**-öm* '-1SG', *fü**rd**-ünk* '-NDF.1PL', *fü**rd**-ik* '-NDF.3SG', *fü**rd**-i* '-DEF.3SG', …)
- **C/V**(-initial) suffixes (*-(e)ni* 'INF', *-(ö)tök* 'NDF.2PL')
  - C-initial after VC-final stem allomorph (*fürö**d**-nek, fürö**d**-s, fürö**d**-ni, fürö**d**-tök, …*)
  - V-initial after CC-final stem allomorph (*fü**rd**-enek, fü**rd**-es, fü**rd**-eni, fü**rd**-ötök, …*)

Lexical stem classes

- stable **VC** final: no vowel–zero alternation (*áp**ö**l-ó, áp**ö**l-áš, áp**ö**l-ok, áp**ö**l-unk, …*)
- stable **CC** final: no vowel–zero alternation (*ho**rd**-hat, ho**rd**-va, ho**rd**-juk, ho**rd**-j, …*)
- "epenthetic": **VC** final with C suffixes, **CC** final with V suffixes
  - non-IK verbs (no PS.INDV.NDF.3SG exponent): only VC stem alternant with C/V suffixes (*pör**ö**g-ni, *pö**rg**-eni; pör**ö**g-tök, *pö**rg**-ötök, …*)
  - IK verbs (PS.INDV.NDF.3SG exponent is *-ik*): both VC and CC stem alternants with C/V suffixes (*fürö**d**-ni ∼ fü**rd**-eni, fürö**d**-tök ∼ fü**rd**-ötök, …*)
- **defective:** CC final with V suffixes (*h**á**ml-ó, h**á**ml-áš, …*) and C/V suffixes (*h**á**ml-ani, h**á**ml-otok, …*), **no form with C suffixes** (**h**á**ml-hat,* **h**á**ml-va,* **h**á**ml-juk,* **h**á**ml-d*)

stem class	Base NDF.3SG	V suffix NDF.1SG	C/V suffix NDF.3PL	C suffix POT
stable VC	sor**ö**l 'list'	sor**ö**l-ok	sor**ö**l-nak	sor**ö**l-hat
epenth. non-IK	tor**ö**l 'avenge'	to**rl**-ok	tor**ö**l-nak	tor**ö**l-hat
epenth. IK	o**ml**-ik 'collapse'	o**ml**-ok	o**ml**-anak ∼ om**ö**l-nak	om**ö**l-hat
defective	h**á**m**l**-ik 'peel'	h**á**m**l**-ok	h**á**m**l**-anak	—
stable CC	aj**á**n**l** 'offer'	aj**á**n**l**-ok	aj**á**n**l**-anak	aj**á**n**l**-hat

Factors determining C/V-suffixed forms

stem type	Base		C/V		C
stable VC	1	⇒	1	⇐	1
epenthetic non-IK	1	⇒	1	⇐	1
epenthetic IK	0	⇒	0/1	⇐	1
defective	0	⇒	0	⇍	*
stable CC	0	⇒	0	⇐	0

1 = VC stem alternant, 0 = CC stem alternant

C/V form must have **Paradigmatic Support** (PARSUP)

- stem alternant of C/V form is supported iff it occurs in the Base or the C form
- if the stem alternants of the Base and C form differ (only in epenthetic IK stems), the C/V form systematically vacillates
- defective stems: no support from C form → no vacillation

Stem classes represented as (generalized) vectors

	<Base | V C/V C>				
stable VC	<1 | 1 1 1>	sor**ö**l	sor**ö**l-ok	sor**ö**l-nak	sor**ö**l-hat
stable CC	<0 | 0 0 0>	aj**á**nl	aj**á**n**l**-ok	aj**á**n**l**-anak	aj**á**n**l**-hat
epenthetic non-IK	<1 | 0 1 1>	tor**ö**l	to**rl**-ok	tor**ö**l-nak	tor**ö**l-hat
epenthetic IK	<0 | 0 01 1>	o**ml**-ik	o**ml**-ok	o**ml**-anak∼om**ö**l-nak	om**ö**l-hat
defective	<0 | 0 0 *>	h**á**m**l**-ik	h**á**m**l**-ok	h**á**m**l**-anak	—

Overt defectiveness in Hungarian

- involves approximately 70 verb stems ending in Cl or Cz clusters
- no general phonological repair (e.g., *rejl-* 'hide' + *-het* 'POT': **rej⟨**e**⟩l-het,* **rej**l**-⟨e⟩het*)
- however speaker-specific stem-internal repairs marginally occur (Lukács et al. 2010, Csényi 2022)

Lexical Conservatism and phonotactics

- Lexical Conservatism effect: defectiveness is (intra)paradigmatically motivated; repair allomorph is unavailable, "unlisted", both for stem: **h**á**m**ö**l-va* (no *h**á**m**ö**l-*) and for suffix: **h**á**ml-ova* (no *-ova*) (Steriade 1999)
- defectiveness is phonotactically motivated: simple concatenation blocked by ban on ClC and CzC clusters (**šikl-hat* 'glide-POT', **čukl-j* 'hiccup-SBJV.NDF.2SG', **habz-va* 'foam-ADV.PCTP', **fehérl-get* 'turn_white-FREQ', **patakz-tat* 'flow-CAUS')
- Lexical Conservatism driven defectiveness (Pertsova 2005, 2016) can be given both MPARSE (Prince & Smolensky 2004) or CONTROL (Orgun & Sprouse 1999) analysis in OT

Covert defectiveness: pdigm gaps are filled in a conventionalized way

- (syntactically, e.g., *more/most beautiful,* or) morphologically by forms based on/borrowed from another paradigm, e.g., Swedish /dd/-final verbs (Iverson 1981); suppletivism in Hungarian copulas (Rebrus & Törkenczy 1999)
- conventionalized morphological repair is not possible in the Hung. verbal paradigm
- analysis: a potential repair must satisfy
  - Paradigmatic Support (PARSUP), which is violated if the C/V form is unsupported
  - **Interparadigm Identity** (PARIDENT), which is violated if the content of a cell of the repair paradigm is different from the content of the corresponding cell in the defective paradigm (filling empty cell does not violate PARIDENT); this enforces **minimality** of repair

Potential repairs for <0 | 0 0 *> that occur marginally

- <0 | 0 0 **0**>: violates only phonotactics (%*rej**l**-het,* **ču**kl**-hat* — depends on sonority)
- <0 | 0 0 **1**>: violates only PARSUP (%*čuk⟨**o**⟩l-hat,* but **čuk⟨**o**⟩l-nak*)
- <0 | 0 01 **1**>: violates only PARIDENT (*ču**kl**-anak*∼%*čuk<**o**>l-nak,* %*čuk<**o**>l-hat*)

Some potential repairs for <0 | 0 0 *> that do not occur

- <0 | 0 1 **1**>: violates PARSUP & PARIDENT, the latter destructively
- <0 | 01 01 **1**>: violates PARIDENT twice
- <0 | 01 0 **1**>: violates PARSUP & PARIDENT
- <0 | 1 1 **1**>: violates PARSUP & PARIDENT twice destructively

Conclusions

- the effect of PARSUP is interparadigm conservatism: unprecedented paradigm types are not supported (unavailable for repair)
- the effect of PARIDENT is interparadigm conservatism: difference between potential repair paradigm and existing (defective) paradigm is penalized
- for some patterns these effects are not accounted for by Lexical Conservatism
- overabundance and paradigm gaps are related: both follow from PARSUP

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http://seas.elte.hu/szigetva/papers/m100-interparadigm-poster.pdf

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