

A GAP IN HUNGARIAN POSSESSIVES

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CIFU13 = Congressus XIII Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum

ELTE = Eötvös Loránd University

HRCL = Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics

slides



<http://seas3.elte.hu/szigetva/papers/poss-gap.pdf>

the issue

how does a paradigmatic restriction actively constrain variation in vowel harmony?

variation in POSS suffixes (yod vs its absence)

	Y: 'pair'	Y~∅: 'wake'	∅: 'damage'
1sg	pa:r-om	tor-om	ka:r-om
2sg	pa:r-od	tor-od	ka:r-od
3sg	pa:r-ja	tor-ja, tor-a	ka:r-a
1pl	pa:r-unk	tor-unk	ka:r-unk
2pl	pa:r-otok	tor-otok	ka:r-otok
3pl	pa:r-juk	tor-juk, tor-uk	ka:r-uk

variation in POSS suffixes (vowel harmony/VH)

	B: 'ace'	B~F: 'notebook'	F: 'danger'
1sg	a:s-om	notɛs-om, notɛs-ɛm	ve:s-ɛm
2sg	a:s-od	notɛs-od, notɛs-ɛd	ve:s-ɛd
3sg	a:s- α	notɛs- α , notɛs-ɛ	ve:s-ɛ
1pl	a:s-unk	notɛs-unk, notɛs-ynk	ve:s-ynk
2pl	a:s-otok	notɛs-otok, notɛs-ɛtɛk	ve:s-ɛtɛk
3pl	a:s- uk	notɛs- uk , notɛs- yk	ve:s- yk

harmonic variation affects whole paradigms (Harmonic Uniformity, qv below)

free combination of intersecting variation (FCIV)

types of orthogonal intersecting variation combine freely,
ie two types of two-way variation result in $2^2 = 4$ allomorphs

the “productive” pattern for nouns

the yodless back POSS suffix is lexically limited

	F: ‘limit’	B: ‘robot’	B~F: ‘cholent’
3sg	limit-jɛ, limit-ɛ	robot-ja, * robot-a	ʃo:lɛt-jɛ, ʃo:lɛt-ɛ, ʃo:lɛt-ja, * ʃo:lɛt-a
3pl	limit-jyk, limit-yk	robot-juk, robot-uk	ʃo:lɛt-jyk, ʃo:lɛt-yk, ʃo:lɛt-juk, ʃo:lɛt-uk

henceforth we only focus on “productive” patterns

intersecting variation: both yod and VH ('hotel')

	Y+F	Y+B	∅+F	∅+B
1sg			hotel-εm	hotel-om
2sg			hotel-εd	hotel-od
3sg	hotel-jε	hotel-ja	hotel-ε	*hotel-a
1pl			hotel-ynk	hotel-unk
2pl			hotel-εtek	hotel-otok
3pl	hotel-jyk	hotel-juk	hotel-yk	hotel-uk

note: hotel-jεim, hotel-jaim, hotel-εim, *hotel-aim '-PL.POSSESSION', etc

why does **hotɛl-a** not occur?

- maybe four alternants are too many?
NO, all four forms occur in 3pl: hotɛl-jyk, hotɛl-juk, hotɛl-yk, hotɛl-uk
- maybe the yodless B allomorph is ungrammatical?
NO, it occurs after sibilant-final roots due to a phonological constraint, *sibilant+j:
a:s-**ɑ**
- maybe the yodless B allomorph is ungrammatical with harmonically variable roots?
NO, it occurs after sibilant-final harmonically variable roots: notɛs-**ɑ**

suffix-initial vowels in POSS forms

	1sg, 2sg, 2pl	3sg		1pl	3pl
	source	target		source	target
B	o	ɑ		u	u
F	ε	ε		y	y

initial vowels in POSS suffixes must be paradigmatically supported, but there is no form in the paradigm analogically supporting suffix-initial **-ɑ**

paradigmatically unsupported POSS -**a**

1. sibilant-final harmonically invariable roots: **axs-a** (motivated by COMPLETENESS: no paradigm gaps, paradigms must be complete)
2. sibilant-final harmonically variable roots: there would be no gap, because **notεs-ε** satisfies COMPLETENESS, so why does **notεs-a** exist?

Harmonic Uniformity/HU

the harmonic property of a root (B or F or B~F) is constant throughout the extended paradigm

notɛs-a

- **notɛs** is harmonically variable, B~F (**notɛs-om**, **notɛs-ɛm**)
- **notɛs** is sibilant-final, it has no Y forms in 3sg and 3pl for a phonological reason (*sibilant+j)
- the only way to maintain HU is to allow **notɛs-a** (beside **notɛs-ɛ**), hence HU overrides the absence of paradigmatic support
- **hotɛl-ja** and **hotɛl-(j)ɛ** together satisfy HU, and paradigmatically unsupported
***hotɛl-a** is not indispensable

the **-a** allomorph is available when

- no Y-allomorph is available AND
- the harmony of the root is B (**a:s-a**, **ka:r-a**) or B~F (**notεs-a**)

no variation

allomorphs		example or reason for ungrammaticality
ɟɛ, ɟɑ, -ɛ, -ɑ	✗	violates COMPLETENESS
-jɛ, ɟɑ, -ɛ, -ɑ	✓	text- 'stake'
ɟɛ, -jɑ, -ɛ, -ɑ	✓	pa:r-
ɟɛ, ɟɑ, -ɛ, -ɑ	✓	ve:s-
ɟɛ, ɟɑ, -ɛ, -ɑ	✓	a:s-

variation: either Y or VH

allomorphs		example or reason for ungrammaticality
-jɛ, -ja, -e , -a	✓	do:ze:- ‘doge’
-jɛ , -ja , -ɛ, -a	✓	notɛs-
-jɛ, -ja , -ɛ, -a	✓	litɛr- ‘litre’
-jɛ , -ja, -e , -a	✓	tor-

intersecting variation: both Y and VH

allomorphs		example or reason for ungrammaticality
j ε, -ja, -ε, α	✗	violates FCIV
-jε, j α, ε , -α	✗	violates FCIV
j ε, -ja, -ε, -α	✗	violates FCIV
-jε, j α, -ε, -α	✗	violates FCIV
-jε, -ja, ε , -α	✗	violates FCIV
-jε, -ja, -ε, α	✓	violates FCIV, but hotεl-(!)
-jyk, -juk, -yk, -uk	✓	hotεl-

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