Transparency and lexical strata

Péter Rebrus,[ρ] Péter Szigetvári,[ε] & Miklós Törkenczy[ρε]

`rebrus@nytud.hu, szigetvari@elte.hu, tork@nytud.hu`

ρ = Research Institute for Linguistics, MTA & ε = Eötvös Loránd University

OCP16, Verona, 2019-01-16–18

Hungarian backness harmony (HBH)

the vowel inventory

	front (F)			back (B)	
	neutral (N)		round		
high	i	iː	y	yː	u	uː
mid	–	eː	ø	øː	o	oː
low	ɛ	–			ɑ	aː

N vowels may be variable

[BN]F   **kontsɛrt-ɛk** 'concert-PL'
[BN]F/B   **fotɛl-ɛk/ok** 'armchair-PL'
[BN]B   **havɛr-ok** 'friend-PL'

potential parameters of variation

phonologically natural

- ▶ the Height Effect (Beňuš 2005, Hayes & Londe 2006)
- ▶ the Count Effect (Hayes & Londe 2006)

phonologically unnatural

- ▶ the quality and quantity of stem final Cs (Hayes & al 2009)

nonphonological

- ▶ lexical strata

the Height Effect (HE)

transparency (of N vowels) decreases from high to low

high vowels are always transparent: [Bi(ː)]B
      forint-ok 'HUF-PL', **pɑpiːr-ok** 'paper-PL'

mid vowel may be transparent or vacillating: [Beː]B or [Beː]F/B
      somseːd-ok 'neighbour-PL', **sloveːn-ɛk/ok** 'Slovenian-PL'

low vowel typically vacillates: [Bɛ]F/B
      fotɛl-ɛk/ok 'armchair-PL'

the Count Effect (CE)

multiple N vowels decrease transparency

[BN] [Bi(ː)]B, [Beː]B or [Beː]F/B, [Bɛ]F/B (= HE)

[BNi(ː)] -F/B, **salitsil-ɛk/ok** 'salicyl-PL', **bakɛlit-ɛk/ok** 'bakelite-PL'

[BNeː] -F/B, **klarineːt-ɛk/ok** 'clarinet-PL'

[BNɛ] -F, **kabinɛt-ɛk** 'cabinet-PL', **kateːtɛr-ɛk** 'catheter-PL'

Harmonic Stability (HS)

harmony of suffixed form matches that of its root

[B]B	→	[[B]N]B	[BN]B
haːz-nɑk		**haːz-i-nɑk**	**paːriʒ-nɑk**

[BN]B	→	[[BN]N]B	≠ [BNN]F/B
forint-nak		**forint-eː-nak**	**klarineːt-nɛk/nak**
madrid-nak		**madrid-i-nak**	**salitsil-nɛk/nak**

[BN]F/B	→	[[BN]N]F/B	[BNN]F/B
baːzɛl-nɛk/nak		**baːzɛl-i-nɛk/nak**	**bakɛlit-nɛk/nak**

⇒ Harmonic Stability dominates the Count Effect (HS ≫ CE)

glosses: 'house', 'HUF', 'Madrid', 'Basel', Paris', 'clarinet', 'salicyl', 'bakelite', -**i** 'ADJZ', -**nɛk/nak** 'DAT'

transparency and vacillation

	[Biː]	[Beː]		[Bɛ]
transparency of N	yes	yes	variable	variable
vacillation	no		yes	
subgroups	no	yes		yes

choice between nonvacillation and vacillation in [Beː] stems is based on lexical class

- ▶ "familiar" words (high frequency words, nonrecent loans, words of Finno-Ugric origin) do not vacillate: eg **somseːd-ok** 'neighbour-PL'
- ▶ recent loans vacillate: eg **sloveːn-ɛk/ok** 'Slovenian-PL'

interim summary

[Beː] vs [Bɛ] words

- ▶ about half of the [Beː] roots are "familiar", the other half are recent loans
- ▶ 95% of [Bɛ] roots are recent loans

the Height Effect
follows from the difference of the size of the lexical classes of "familiar" words and recent loans among [Beː] and [Bɛ] roots

but why are Bi(ː) stems not variable by lexical strata?

Harmonic Uniformity (HU)

morphologically simplex and complex stems should be harmonically uniform
ie [BN] should behave like [B]N

recall Harmonic Stability
[B]N selects B suffix, since its root ([B]) also does so
haːz-i-nɑk 'house-ADJZ-DAT' (since **haːz-nɑk** 'house-DAT')

HU & HS
[BN] stems select B suffix

but how can Beː and Bɛ stems be variable then?

N/B alternations in suffixes & consequences

high: no alternation, all suffixes involving **i(ː)** are invariant
    $\Rightarrow$ [[B]i(ː)]B
    $\Rightarrow$ [Bi(ː)]B (by HU)

mid: some alternating suffixes (**eː**∼**aː**), some invariant
    $\Rightarrow$ [[B]eː$_{inv}$]B, *[[B]eː$_{alt}$]
    $\Rightarrow$ [Beː]B, [Beː]F/B

low: only alternating suffixes (**ɛ**∼**ɑ**)
    $\Rightarrow$ *[[B]ɛ]
    $\Rightarrow$ *[Bɛ]B, only [Bɛ]F/B

overview

	BN transparency paralleled by HS [BN]B ≈ [[B]N]B	invariant suffixes	lexical strata for [BN] roots
i(ː)	always	always	familiar or recent loans
eː	sometimes (stem-specific)	sometimes (suffix-specific)	familiar or recent loans
ɛ	n/a (*[B]ɛ)	never	mostly recent loans

thanks to

- ▶ you
- ▶ the organizers
- ▶ NKFI #119863 "Experimental and theoretical investigation of vowel harmony patterns"