Transparency and lexical strata

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Hungarian backness harmony (HBH)

The vowel inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front (F)</th>
<th>back (B)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>neutral (N)</td>
<td>round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>eː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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(:)]B
forint-ok ‘HUF-PL’, papi:r-ok ‘paper-PL’

mid vowel may be transparent or vacillating: [Be:]B or [Be:]F/B
somse:d-ok ‘neighbour-PL’, slove:n-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


[BNi(ː)] -F/B, salitsil-ɛk/ok ‘salicyl-PL’, bakelit-ɛk/ok ‘bakelite-PL’

[BNɛː] -F/B, klarineːt-ɛk/ok ‘clarinet-PL’

Harmonic Stability (HS)

harmony of suffixed form matches that of its root

\[ [B]B \quad \rightarrow \quad [[B]N]B \quad [BN]B \]
haːz-nak \quad haːz-i-nak \quad paːriʒ-nak

\[ [BN]B \quad \rightarrow \quad [[BN]N]B \quad \neq [BNN]F/B \]
forint-nak \quad forint-eː-nak \quad klarineːt-nɛk/nak
madrid-nak \quad madrid-i-nak \quad salitsil-nɛk/nak

\[ [BN]F/B \quad \rightarrow \quad [[BN]N]F/B \quad [BNN]F/B \]
baːzel-nɛk/nak \quad baːzel-i-nɛk/nak \quad bakɛlit-nɛk/nak

⇒ Harmonic Stability dominates the Count Effect (HS \gg CE)

transparency and vacillation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[Bi(:)]</th>
<th>[Be:]</th>
<th>[Bε]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>transparency of N</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>variable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vacillation</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subgroups</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- “familiar” words (high frequency words, nonrecent loans, words of Finno-Ugric origin) do not vacillate: eg somse:d-ok ‘neighbour-PL’
- recent loans vacillate: eg slove:n-εk/ok ‘Slovenian-PL’
interim summary

[Be:] vs [Bɛ] words

- about half of the [Be:] 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 [Be:] and [Bɛ] roots

but why are Bi(↓) 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

ha:z-i-nak ‘house-ADJZ-DAT’ (since ha:z-nak ‘house-DAT’)

HU & HS

[BN] stems select B suffix

but how can Be: and Bɛ stems be variable then?
N/B alternations in suffixes & consequences

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

**mid:** some alternating suffixes ($e:\sim a:\,$), some invariant
⇒ $[[B]e:_{inv}]B, *[[B]e:_{alt}]$
⇒ $[Be:\!]B, [Be:\!]F/B$

**low:** only alternating suffixes ($e\sim a\,$)
⇒ $*[[B]e]$ 
⇒ $*[B\varepsilon]B, only [B\varepsilon]F/B$
<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BN transparency paralleled by HS $[\text{BN}]\text{B} \approx [\text{[B]}\text{N}]\text{B}$</th>
<th>invariant suffixes</th>
<th>lexical strata for $[\text{BN}]$ roots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$i(:)$</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>familiar or recent loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$e'$</td>
<td>sometimes (stem-specific)</td>
<td>sometimes (suffix-specific)</td>
<td>familiar or recent loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\varepsilon$</td>
<td>n/a (*$[\text{B}]\varepsilon$)</td>
<td>never</td>
<td>mostly recent loans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
thanks to

- you
- the organizers
- NKFI #119863 “Experimental and theoretical investigation of vowel harmony patterns”