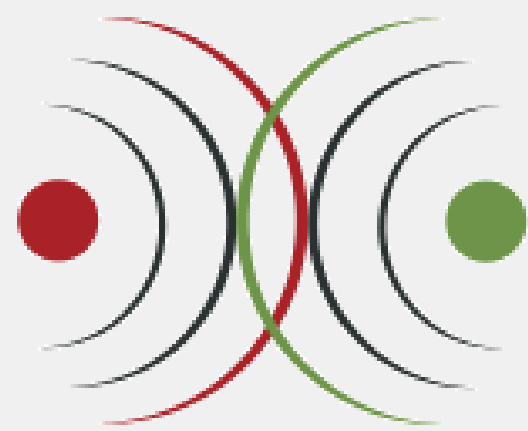


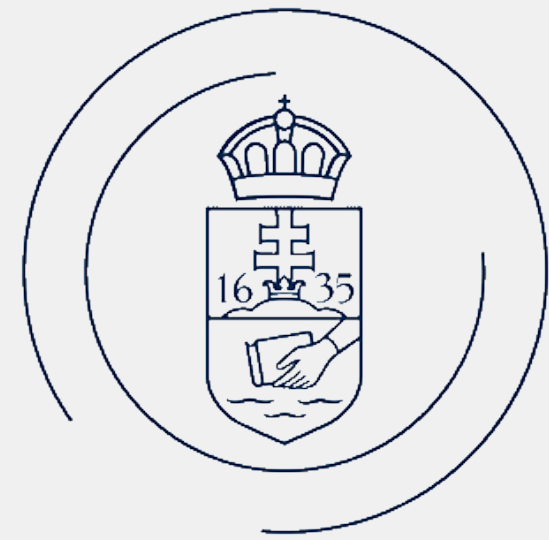


Truncation abolishes vowel harmony

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Truncation is special

- truncation is an uncommon morphological operation
- truncation has uncommon phonological consequences
 - it may cooccur with unique morphophonological alternations
 - it may cooccur with the suspension of otherwise pervasive processes

[Alber and Arndt-Lappe 2012]

Hungarian morphology

- ① **agglutinative:** full_stem+suffix₁+suffix₂...+suffix_n
- ② stem-controlled **vowel harmony:**
back_vowelled_stem+back_vowelled_suffix(es),
front_vowelled_stem+front_vowelled_suffix(es)
but nominal diminutive forms may violate both principles

Nominal diminutives

concatenation: harmonic suffixes		truncation (2-syllable template): harmonically invariant suffixes					
<i>-ka~ke</i>	<i>-(V)čka~(V)čke</i>	<i>-ka, -a, -ca, -ča</i>	<i>-kó, -ó, -có, -čo</i>	<i>-uš, -cuš, -kuš, -u</i>	<i>-i, -ci, -či, -iš</i>	<i>-es, -er</i>	
Ferenc-ke	Ferenc-ečke	Fer-(k)ó, Fe-có		Fer-(č)i			
Teréz-ke	Teréz-ečke	Ter-(k)a, Te-ca		Ter-(č)i			
Józef-ka/ke	Józef-ečke	Józ-(k)ó, Jo-có		Józ-i, Jo-ci			
Károj-ka	Károj-očka	Kár-ó		Kar-(č)i		Kar-es	
	Mária-čka	Mar-(č)a, Ma-ca		Mar-i(š), Mar-či		Mar-es	
				Kar-uš			
				Mar-uš, Ma-cuš			

Verbal frequentatives

stem type		harmony examples template repair	v a r i a n t s u f f i x e s					invariant suffixes	
			<i>-(V)gat~(V)get</i> ≥3σ	<i>-gál~gél</i> =3σ	<i>-doš~deš~döš</i> =2σ	<i>-(k)od~(k)ed~(k)öd</i> =2σ	<i>-dal~del</i> =2σ	<i>-(k)ál</i> =2σ	
			a u g m e n t		p h o n o l o g i c a l l y m o t i v a t e d d e f e c t i v i t y				
1-syllable	back	‘steal’	lop-o-gat		lop-doš	lop-kod			
		‘cut’	vág-o-gat		vag-doš		vag-dal		
		‘drill’	fúr-o-gat				fur-dal		
		‘pull’	húz-o-gat	huz-i-gál		húz-kod		fur-kál húz-kál	
1-syllable	front	‘toss’	lök-ö-get		lök-döš	lök-öd		↑	
		‘sit’	ül-ö-get	ül-dö-gél				*harmony	
		‘step’	lép-e-get		lép-deš	lép-ked	lép-del	↓	
		‘look’	néz-e-get	néz-de-gél					
2-syllable	back	‘scratch’	kapar-gat	kapar-gál	← * t e m p l a t e →				*harmony
	front	‘laugh’	nevet-get	nevet-gél					
≥3-syllable	back	‘have fun’	sórakoz-gat						*harmony
	front	‘talk back’	felešél-get						

Generalizations

- Ia** Truncative suffixes never harmonise
- Ib** Truncation always involves templaticity
- IIa** Verbal (templatic) forms are always harmonic
- IIb** Verbal truncation never occurs

Consequences

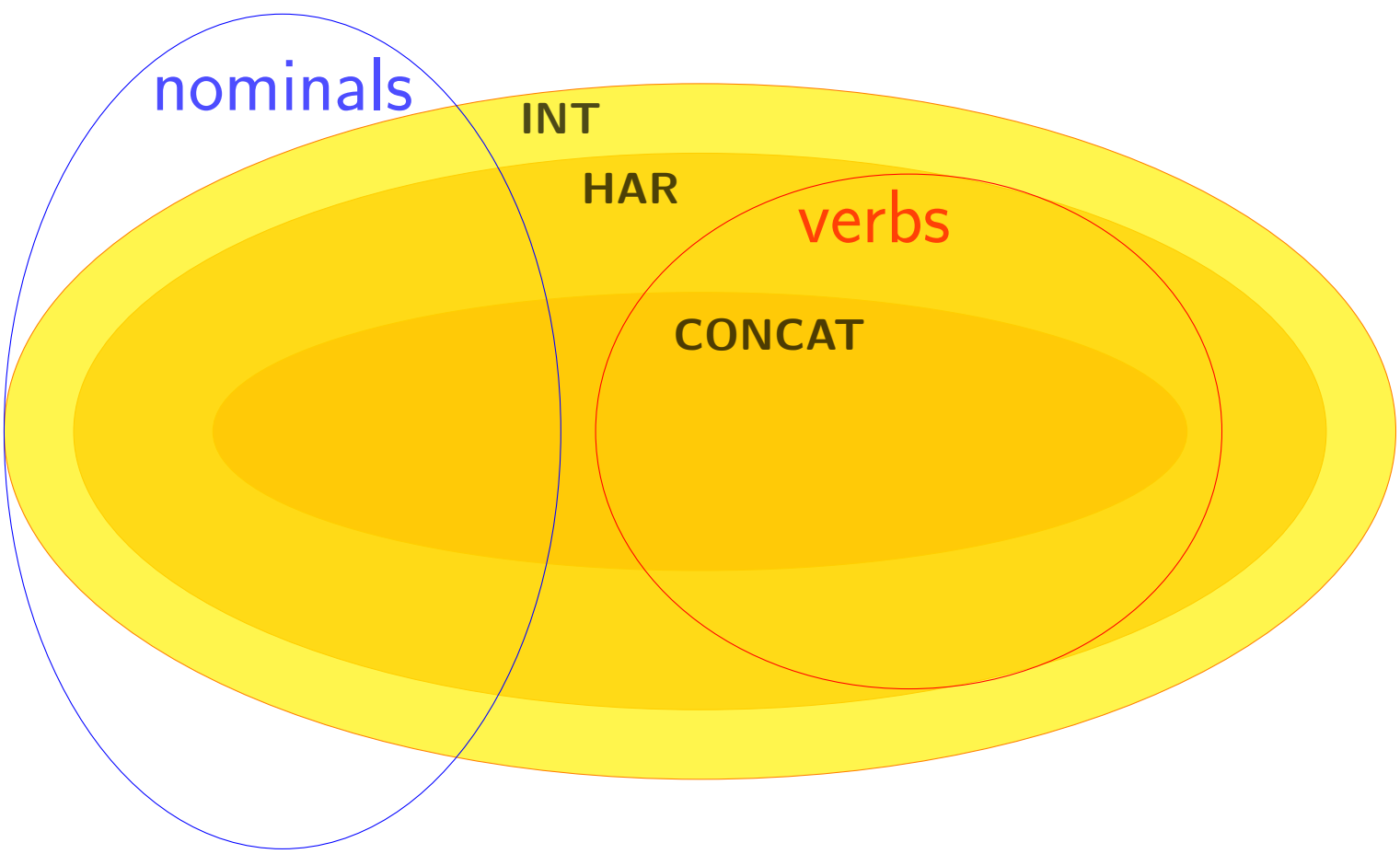
- Ia** (truncated forms do not harmonise) follows from $\text{INT} \supseteq \text{HAR}$
- Ib** (truncated forms are all templatic) follows from $\text{INT} \supset \text{CONCAT}$
- IIa** (verbs forms all harmonise) holds since verb forms are all within HAR
- IIb** (verbs are never truncated) follows from **IIa** since $\text{INT} \supset \text{HAR}$

Morphological layers

- INT(EGRITY): preserve the full stem, do not truncate it
- HAR(MONY): only back/neutral or only front vowels in words
- CONCAT(ENATIVE): no restrictions on word size

Subsumptive relationship of layers

$\text{INT} \supseteq \text{HAR} \supset \text{CONCAT}$



verbs are often subject to stricter phonotactic and morphological constraints than nouns (and adjectives)
[Smith 2011]

Repairs and summary

	nominals (DIM)		verbs (FREQ)	
	defined size	disharmony	defined size	disharmony
concatenative	no	rarely	no	no
templatic	yes	frequently	yes	no
	truncation (invar. sfxes)		augm. or gap harm. or gap	

References

- Alber, Birgit and Sabine Arndt-Lappe (2012). “Templatic and subtractive truncation”. In: *The morphology and phonology of exponence*. Ed. by Jochen Trommer. Oxford University Press, pp. 289–325.
- Smith, Jennifer L. (2011). “Category-specific effects”. In: *Blackwell Companion to Phonology*. Ed. by Marc van Oostendorp, Colin Ewen, Elizabeth Hume, and Keren Rice. Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 2439–2463.

