

Phonotactically unconstrained paradigmatic defectiveness: the case of *s~d* alternation in Hungarian

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There seem to be two kinds of phonology-related paradigmatic gaps: phonologically-motivated and arbitrary. Phonologically-motivated gaps arise when a morphological operation (affixation, reduplication, truncation, etc.) blocks if it should produce a string which is in violation of a phonological (usually phonotactic) constraint. Arbitrary phonology-related gaps can be associated with some phonological property, but they are different in that the non-existing form (the gap) is perfectly well-formed phonologically: there is no constraint that it violates.

Hungarian ‘defective stems’ (e.g. *csukl-* ‘hiccup’) lack forms with analytic suffixes (**csukl-va* ‘hiccuping’), but have forms with synthetic (*csukl-ok* ‘I hiccup’) and quasi-analytic ones (*csukl-ani* ‘to hiccup’) (which are the three morphophonological classes of suffixes in Hungarian). We have argued elsewhere (Rebrus & Törkenczy, to appear) that the paradigm of defective stems has phonologically-motivated gaps. The defectiveness that members of this stem class display is a phonotactically constrained conservatism effect. It is a manifestation of the fact that it is not possible to supply forms that would fill the gaps that occur in the paradigm of defective stems, i.e. it is not possible to reclassify the defective verbs into another paradigm in a systematic way which (i) does not violate phonotactics, (ii) is *local* in that it only targets gaps and (iii) is *conservative* in that it does not produce novel paradigms of stem types. We interpreted conservatism as ‘faithfulness’ to designated allomorphs of the paradigm. We also claimed that conflicting faithfulness requirements result in variation, which is attested in another class of verb stem (‘epenthetic *ik*-verbs’).

In this paper we examine Hungarian verb stems that end in /Vd/ and/or /Cs/. There are three classes of stems that have allomorphs ending in these strings: (a) stable *Vd* stems, which only have /Vd/ allomorphs, e.g. *vonakod-ik* ‘be unwilling’; (b) *s/d* stems, which have both (at some points in the paradigm in free variation, at others in complementary distribution), e.g. *tolakod-ik/tolak[s]-ik* ‘push’; and (c) stable *Cs* stems, which only have /Cs/ allomorphs, e.g. *ismer[s]-ik* ‘be known as’. The verbs in class (c) have an overtly defective paradigm, but they are different from ordinary defective stems in that *some* of their quasi-analytically suffixed forms are missing too in addition to *all* their analytically suffixed forms:

	Cs stem	defective stem
analytic	<i>*ismer[s]-ve</i> ‘being known as’	<i>*csukl-va</i> ‘hiccuping’
quasi-analytic	<i>*ismer[s]-eni</i> ‘to be known as’	<i>csukl-ani</i> ‘to hiccup’

What is especially interesting is that as opposed to the analytic gap, where the non-existing form is phonotactically ill-formed, the gap that occurs in some quasi-analytic cells of the paradigm of *Cs* stems is phonotactically unmotivated. We will show that this phonotactically unconstrained gap and the variation attested in class (b) *s/d* stems can also be analysed as conservatism effects of the kind described above, i.e. in terms of faithfulness to designated allomorphs in a paradigm similar (albeit different in scope) to the ones that are in effect in the paradigm of the other verb classes (defective stems and epenthetic *-ik* stems).

References

Rebrus, Péter & Törkenczy, Miklós. (to appear). Covert and overt defectiveness in paradigms. In: Curt Rice (ed.) *Modeling ungrammaticality in optimality theory*. Equinox Publishing.