

**Due:** October 31

**PROBLEM 1 – HUNGARIAN**

The verbal paradigm in Hungarian contains three moods (indicative, conditional and imperative), three tenses (past, present and future), two numbers and three persons. (Hungarian does not have gender.) Moreover, Hungarian verbs have two conjugations: the *indefinite* paradigm is used by intransitive verbs, as well as with transitive verbs taking an indefinite direct object, while the *definite* paradigm is used when a transitive verb takes a definite object. Finally, a special suffix denotes a Sg.1 subject being combined with a (singular or plural) 2<sup>nd</sup> person object. Refer to the paradigms on the next pages.

Your assignment is to create an analysis of the Hungarian verbal system, as complete as possible. Write up your analysis as a short essay: as a continuous prose of approx. 5 pages, including an argumentation referring to rules, illustrated by derivations, etc., and not simply as bullet points.

1. A full analysis of the Hungarian verbal system will

- provide the underlying form of each affix,
- provide the underlying forms of each verbal root that appears among the examples,
- provide the rules necessary to derive all the forms of the paradigms, referring to features, and
- provide representative examples of derivation, especially for the “complicated cases”, so that the reader must be able to reconstruct all other derivations by analogy.

You are invited to email to me to elicit further data. I am not going to help you solving the exam, but you may perform *wug*-tests (Hayes, p. 198) on me, asking “what would be form N of a verb like [xyz]”? Remember that nonce-probe studies only elicit (fully) productive processes.

2. However, a simple, full and correct analysis is not really feasible. You will encounter a number of problems, which you will have to tackle:

- in the first part of your essay, present your analysis of the unproblematic cases, and only
- subsequently identify the problems that you have encountered,
- explain why they pose a problem, and
- suggest (partial) solutions.

Hint 1: *allomorphs on the surface* may be the result of (a) a *single underlying form* + phonological rules, and (b) *several underlying allomorphs* encoded in the mental lexicon.

Hint 2: the mental lexicon is the host of all forms of arbitrariness. Beside the arbitrary form-meaning pairings, it can also host information on (seemingly) arbitrary grammatical behavior.

3. Reflect upon your (partial) analysis, for instance:

- Does it follow the spirit of historical linguistics, structuralist linguistics or generative linguistics?
- Is it adequate on an observational/descriptive/explanatory level?
- Is it an “elegant” solution, or have you had to make use of *ad hoc* tricks?
- Do you (personally) find it a convincing and / or plausible explanation?

'to want'						
Indefinite	Present Indicative	Past Indicative	Future Indicative	Present Conditional	Past conditional	Present Imperative
Sg. 1.	økprok	økortom	økorni fogok	økørne:k	økortom volno	økørjok
Sg. 2.	økors	økorta:l	økorni foks	økorna:l	økorta:l volno	økørja:l
Sg. 3.	økor	økort	økorni fog	økorno	økort volno	økørjon
Pl. 1.	økorunk	økortunk	økorni fogunk	økorna:nk	økortunk volno	økørjunk
Pl. 2.	økortok	økortotok	økorni foktok	økorna:tok	økortotok volno	økørjotok
Pl. 3.	økornok	økortok	økorni fognok	økorna:nok	økortok volno	økørjonok
Definite						
Sg. 1.	økorom	økortom	økorni fogom	økorna:m	økortom volno	økørjom
Sg. 2.	økorod	økortod	økorni fogod	økorna:d	økortod volno	økørjod
Sg. 3.	økorjo	økorto	økorni fogjo	økorna:	økorto volno	økørjo
Pl. 1.	økorjuk	økortuk	økorni fogjuk	økorna:nk	økortuk volno	økørjuk
Pl. 2.	økørja:tok	økorta:tok	økorni fogja:tok	økorna:tok	økorta:tok volno	økørja:tok
Pl. 3.	økørja:k	økorta:k	økorni fogja:k	økorna:k	økorta:k volno	økørja:k
S1+2 <sup>nd</sup> obj	økortlok	økortolok	økorni fogllok	økorna:lok	økortolok volno	økørjolok
'to ask'						
Indefinite	Present Ind	Past Ind.	Future Ind.	Present Cond.	Past Cond.	Imperative
Sg. 1.	ke:ræk	ke:rtem	ke:rni fogok	ke:rne:k	ke:rtem volno	ke:rjæk
Sg. 2.	ke:rs	ke:rte:l	ke:rni foks	ke:rne:l	ke:rte:l volno	ke:rje:l
Sg. 3.	ke:r	ke:rt	ke:rni fog	ke:rne	ke:rt volno	ke:rjen
Pl. 1.	ke:rynk	ke:rtynk	ke:rni fogunk	ke:rne:nk	ke:rtynk volno	ke:rjynk
Pl. 2.	ke:rtek	ke:rte:tek	ke:rni foktok	ke:rne:tek	ke:rte:tek volno	ke:rjetek
Pl. 3.	ke:rnek	ke:rtek	ke:rni fognok	ke:rne:nék	ke:rtek volno	ke:rjenek
Definite						
Sg. 1.	ke:rém	ke:rtem	ke:rni fogom	ke:rne:m	ke:rtem volno	ke:rjem
Sg. 2.	ke:réd	ke:rte:d	ke:rni fogod	ke:rne:d	ke:rte:d volno	ke:rjed
Sg. 3.	ke:ri	ke:rté	ke:rni fogjo	ke:rne:	ke:rté volno	ke:rje
Pl. 1.	ke:rjyk	ke:rtyk	ke:rni fogjuk	ke:rne:nk	ke:rtyk volno	ke:rjyk
Pl. 2.	ke:ritek	ke:rte:tek	ke:rni fogja:tok	ke:rne:tek	ke:rte:tek volno	ke:rjetek
Pl. 3.	ke:rik	ke:rte:k	ke:rni fogja:k	ke:rne:k	ke:rte:k volno	ke:rje:k
S1+2 <sup>nd</sup> obj	ke:rlek	ke:rte:lek	ke:rni fogllok	ke:rne:lek	ke:rte:lek volno	ke:rjelok

'to hold' (conjugated similarly to the verb *akarni* 'to want')

Present: fogok, foks, fog, fogunk, foktok, fognok;      fogom, fogod, fogjo, fogjuk, fogja:tok, fogja:k

Past:    fogtom, fogta:l, fogott, fogtunk, fogtotok, fogtök;    fogtom, fogtod, fogto, fogtuk, fogta:tok, fogta:k

Condit: fogne:k, fogna:l, fogno...;      fogna:m, fogna:d, fogna:...      Imperative: fogjom, fogja:l...

'to read'

<b>Indefinite</b>	<b>Present Ind.</b>	<b>Past Ind.</b>	<b>Future Ind.</b>	<b>Pres. Cond.</b>	<b>Past conditional</b>	<b>Imperative</b>
Sg. 1.	olvoſok	olvoſtom	olvoſni fogok	olvoſne:k	olvoſtom volno	olvoſſok
Sg. 2.	olvoſol	olvoſta:l	olvoſni foks	olvoſna:l	olvoſta:l volno	olvoſſa:l
Sg. 3.	olvoſ	olvoſott	olvoſni fog	olvoſno	olvoſott volno	olvoſſon
Pl. 1.	olvoſunk	olvoſtunk	olvoſni fogunk	olvoſna:nk	olvoſtunk volno	olvoſſunk
Pl. 2.	olvoſtok	olvoſtötök	olvoſni foktok	olvoſna:tok	olvoſtötök volno	olvoſſotok
Pl. 3.	olvoſnök	olvoſtök	olvoſni fognök	olvoſna:nök	olvoſtök volno	olvoſſonök
<b>Definite</b>						
Sg. 1.	olvoſom	olvoſtom	olvoſni fogom	olvoſna:m	olvoſtom volno	olvoſſom
Sg. 2.	olvoſod	olvoſtöd	olvoſni fogod	olvoſna:d	olvoſtöd volno	olvoſſod
Sg. 3.	olvoſjo	olvoſtö	olvoſni fogjo	olvoſna:	olvoſtö volno	olvoſſo
Pl. 1.	olvoſſuk	olvoſtuk	olvoſni fogjuk	olvoſna:nk	olvoſtuk volno	olvoſſuk
Pl. 2.	olvoſſa:tok	olvoſta:tok	olvoſni fogja:tok	olvoſna:tok	olvoſta:tok volno	olvoſſa:tok
Pl. 3.	olvoſſa:k	olvoſta:k	olvoſni fogja:k	olvoſna:k	olvoſta:k volno	olvoſſa:k
S1+2 <sup>nd</sup> obj	olvoſlök	olvoſtblök	olvoſni foglök	olvoſna:lpk	olvoſtblök volno	olvoſſolök

'to effuse, throw'

<b>Indefinite</b>				<b>Definite</b>			
<b>Present</b>	<b>Past</b>	<b>Condit.</b>	<b>Impert.</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Past</b>	<b>Condit.</b>	<b>Impert.</b>
Sg. 1.	ontok	ontottom	ontone:k	ontjok	ontom	ontottom	ontona:m
Sg. 2.	ontos	ontotta:l	ontona:l	ontja:l	ontod	ontottod	ontona:d
Sg. 3.	ont	ontott	ontonö	ontjon	oncp	ontotto	ontona:
Pl. 1.	ontunk	ontottunk	ontona:nk	ontfunk	oncuk	ontottuk	ontona:nk
Pl. 2.	ontotok	ontottptok	ontona:tok	ontjptok	onca:tok	ontotta:tok	ontja:tok
Pl. 3.	ontonök	ontottok	ontona:nök	ontjönök	onca:k	ontotta:k	ontona:k

NB: Substandard language has [ontjo], [ontfuk], etc. instead of [oncp], [oncuk], etc. (Why?)

'to pour'

<b>Indefinite</b>				<b>Definite</b>			
<b>Present</b>	<b>Past</b>	<b>Condit.</b>	<b>Impert.</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Past</b>	<b>Condit.</b>	<b>Impert.</b>
Sg. 1.	øntøk	øntøttæm	øntene:k	øntjek	øntøm	øntøttæm	øntene:m
Sg. 2.	øntes	øntøtte:l	øntene:l	øntje:l	øntød	øntøtted	øntene:d
Sg. 3.	ønt	øntøtt	øntene	øntjøn	ønti	øntøttæ	øntene:
Pl. 1.	øntynk	øntøttynk	øntene:nk	øntjynk	øncyk	øntøtttyk	øntene:nk
Pl. 2.	øntøtøk	øntøttetek	øntene:tek	øntjetek	øntitek	øntøttetek	øntje:tek
Pl. 3.	øntenek	øntøttek	øntene:næk	øntjenek	øntik	øntøttæk	øntene:k

NB: Substandard language has [øntje], [øntfyk], etc. instead of [ønti], [øncyk], etc. (Why?)

'to save'		Indefinite				Definite			
		Present	Past	Condit.	Impert.	Present	Past	Condit.	Impert.
Sg. 1.	məntæk	məntættem	məntæne:k	məntʃek	məntəm	məntættem	məntæne:m	məntʃem	
Sg. 2.	məntəs	məntætte:l	məntæne:l	məntʃe:l	məntəd	məntætted	məntæne:d	məntʃed	
Sg. 3.	mənt	məntætt	məntæne	məntʃən	mənti	məntættes	məntæne:	məntʃe	
Pl. 1.	məntynk	məntættypn	məntæne:nk	məntʃynk	məncyk	məntættyk	məntæne:nk	məntʃyk	
Pl. 2.	məntætek	məntættetek	məntæne:tek	məntʃetek	məntitek	məntættes:tek	məntæne:tek	məntʃetek	
Pl. 3.	məntænek	məntættek	məntæne:nek	məntʃenek	məntik	məntættes:k	məntæne:k	məntʃek	

NB: Substandard language has [məntʃe], [məntʃyk], etc. instead [mənti], [məncyk], etc. (Why?)

'to receive'		Indefinite				Definite			
		Present	Past	Condit.	Impert.	Present	Past	Condit.	Impert.
Sg. 1.	kopok	koptom	kopne:k	kopjok	kopom	koptom	kopna:m	kopjom	
Sg. 2.	kops	kopta:l	kopna:l	kopja:l	kopod	koptod	kopna:d	kopjod	
Sg. 3.	kop	kopott	kopno	kopjon	kopjo	kopto	kopna:	kopjo	
Pl. 1.	kopunk	koptunk	kopna:nk	kopjunk	kopjuk	koptuk	kopna:nk	kopjuk	
Pl. 2.	koptok	koptotok	kopna:tok	kopjotok	kopja:tok	kopta:tok	kopna:tok	kopja:tok	
Pl. 3.	kopnok	koptok	kopna:nok	kopjognok	kopja:k	kopta:k	kopna:k	kopja:k	

'to spit'		Indefinite				Definite			
		Present	Past	Condit.	Impert.	Present	Past	Condit.	Impert.
Sg. 1.	køpøk	køptem	køpne:k	køpjek	køpøm	køptem	køpne:m	køpjem	
Sg. 2.	kops	køpte:l	køpne:l	køpje:l	køpød	køpted	køpne:d	køpjed	
Sg. 3.	køp	køpøtt	køpne	køpjøn	køpi	køpte	køpne:	køpjø	
Pl. 1.	køpynk	køptynk	køpne:nk	køpjynk	køpjyk	køptyk	køpne:nk	køpjyk	
Pl. 2.	køptøk	køptetek	køpne:tek	køpjøtek	køpitøk	køpte:tek	køpne:tek	køpjø:tek	
Pl. 3.	køpnøk	køptek	køpne:nek	køpjønek	køpik	køpte:k	køpne:k	køpjø:k	

'to see'		Indefinite				Definite			
		Present	Past	Condit.	Impert.	Present	Past	Condit.	Impert.
Sg. 1.	la:tok	la:tton	la:tne:k	la:ʃok	la:tom	la:tton	la:tne:m	la:ʃom	
Sg. 2.	la:ts	la:tta:l	la:tna:l	la:ʃa:l	la:tod	la:ttd	la:tna:d	la:ʃod	
Sg. 3.	la:t	la:tott	la:tno	la:ʃon	la:cp	la:tto	la:tna:	la:ʃo	
Pl. 1.	la:tunk	la:ttunk	la:tna:nk	la:ʃfunk	la:cuk	la:ttuk	la:tna:nk	la:ʃuk	
Pl. 2.	la:ttok	la:ttotok	la:tna:tok	la:ʃfotok	la:ca:tok	la:tta:tok	la:tna:tok	la:ʃfa:tok	
Pl. 3.	la:tnok	la:ttok	la:tna:nok	la:ʃfonok	la:ca:k	la:tta:k	la:tna:k	la:ʃfa:k	

NB: Observe that substandard language has [la:ʃø], [la:ʃuk], etc. instead [la:cp], [la:cuk], etc. (Why?)

'to look'		Indefinite				Definite			
		Present	Past	Condit.	Impert.	Present	Past	Condit.	Impert.
Sg. 1.		ne:zɛk	ne:ztɛm	ne:zne:k	ne:zzɛk	ne:zɛm	ne:ztɛm	ne:zne:m	ne:zzɛm
Sg. 2.		ne:zɛl	ne:zte:l	ne:zne:l	ne:zzɛ:l	ne:zɛd	ne:ztɛd	ne:zne:d	ne:zzɛd
Sg. 3.		ne:z	ne:zɛt̪	ne:zne:	ne:zzɛn	ne:zi	ne:ztɛ	ne:zne:	ne:zzɛ
Pl. 1.		ne:zynk	ne:ztynk	ne:zne:nk	ne:zzynk	ne:zzyk	ne:zt̪yk	ne:zne:nk	ne:zzyk
Pl. 2.		ne:ztɛk	ne:ztɛt̪k	ne:zne:t̪k	ne:zzɛt̪k	ne:zit̪k	ne:zte:t̪k	ne:zne:t̪k	ne:zze:t̪k
Pl. 3.		ne:zne:k	ne:zt̪k	ne:zne:nk	ne:zzɛnɛk	ne:zik	ne:zte:k	ne:zne:nk	ne:zze:k
'to write'		Indefinite				Definite			
		Present	Past	Condit.	Impert.	Present	Past	Condit.	Impert.
Sg. 1.		i:rok	i:rtom	i:rne:k	i:rjok	i:rom	i:rtom	i:rnə:m	i:rjom
Sg. 2.		i:rs	i:rtal	i:rnə:l	i:rja:l	i:rod	i:rtod	i:rnə:d	i:rjod
Sg. 3.		i:r	i:rt	i:rnə	i:rjon	i:rjɒ	i:rtɒ	i:rnə:	i:rjɒ
Pl. 1.		i:runk	i:rtunk	i:rnə:nk	i:rjunk	i:rjuk	i:rtuk	i:rnə:nk	i:rjuk
Pl. 2.		i:rtok	i:rtotok	i:rnə:tok	i:rjotok	i:rja:tok	i:rtatok	i:rnə:tok	i:rja:tok
Pl. 3.		i:rnɒk	i:rtɒk	i:rnə:nɒk	i:rjɒnɒk	i:rja:k	i:rtak	i:rnə:k	i:rja:k
'to believe'		Indefinite				Definite			
		Present	Past	Condit.	Impert.	Present	Past	Condit.	Impert.
Sg. 1.		hisɛk	hittɛm	hinne:k	hijjɛk	hisɛm	hittɛm	hinne:m	hijjɛm
Sg. 2.		hisɛl	hitte:l	hinne:l	hijjɛ:l	hisɛd	hittɛd	hinne:d	hijjɛd
Sg. 3.		his	hitt	hinne	hijjɛn	hisi	hittɛ	hinne:	hijjɛ
Pl. 1.		hisynk	hittynk	hinne:nk	hijjynk	hissyk	hittyk	hinne:nk	hijjyk
Pl. 2.		histɛk	hittɛt̪k	hinne:t̪k	hijjɛt̪k	hisit̪k	hittɛ:t̪k	hinne:t̪k	hijjɛ:t̪k
Pl. 3.		hisne:k	hittɛk	hinne:nk	hijjɛnɛk	hisik	hittɛ:k	hinne:nk	hijjɛ:k

A final remark: following “textbook convention”, you can safely suppose that the earlier data represent the general pattern, and are just a few examples out of many, whereas the latter data are exceptions.

## PROBLEM 2 – SOMALI

(This assignment was compiled by *Gaja Jarosz*.) Your answer to this problem set needs not be an essay, but do include some explanatory prose next to your answers (a list of allomorphs, a list of rules, etc.).

## PROBLEM 2 – SOMALI

The following data from Somali (Afro-Asiatic, Somalia) illustrates the activity of four processes.

	<i>singular</i>	<i>singular definite</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>gloss</i>
1)	[da:r]	[da:rta]	[da:ro]	‘house’
2)	[ge:s]	[ge:sta]	[ge:so]	‘side’
3)	[lug]	[lugta]	[luyo]	‘leg’
4)	[na:g]	[na:gta]	[nayo]	‘woman’
5)	[tib]	[tibta]	[tiβo]	‘pestle’
6)	[sab]	[sabta]	[saβo]	‘outcast’
7)	[bad]	[bada]	[baðo]	‘sea’
8)	[ʃid]	[ʃida]	[ʃido]	‘person’
9)	[fe:d]	[fe:da]	[fe:zo]	‘rib’
10)	[ul]	[ulta]	[ulo]	‘stick’
11)	[bil]	[bulta]	[bilo]	‘month’
12)	[la:n]	[la:nta]	[la:mo]	‘branch’
13)	[da:n]	[da:nta]	[da:no]	‘riverbank’
14)	[sun]	[sunta]	[sumo]	‘poison’
15)	[dan]	[danta]	[dano]	‘affair’
16)	[sa:n]	[sa:nta]	[sa:no]	‘hide’
17)	[sin]	[sinta]	[simo]	‘hip’
18)	[nirig]	[nirigta]	[nirgo]	‘baby female camel’
19)	[gaβad]	[gaβadə]	[gabðo]	‘girl’
20)	[gafan]	[gafan̩ta]	[gafmo]	‘arm’
21)	[hoyol]	[hoyolta]	[hoglo]	‘downpour’
22)	[bayal]	[bayalta]	[baglo]	‘mule’
23)	[wafar]	[wafarta]	[wafaro]	‘female kid’
24)	[kefed]	[kefedə]	[kefeðo]	‘pan’
25)	[ʃilin]	[ʃilinta]	[ʃilino]	‘female dwarf’
26)	[bohol]	[boholta]	[boholo]	‘hole’

The four processes are illustrated by the following examples:

- Process A is illustrated by stem alternations in the forms in (3)
- Process B is illustrated by stem alternations in the forms in (17)
- Process C is illustrated by stem alternations in the forms in (18)
- Process D is illustrated by the affix alternations in the singular definite

Present your analysis of these alternations. Your analysis should include the following:

- The underlying representations and set of allomorphs of all 29 morphemes in the data
- For each of A-D, a statement describing the alternation and its contexts
- A formal definition of each rule A-D written using distinctive features
  - Remember to write your rules as simply and generally as possible.
- Present the required rule orderings. Which rules must precede other rules? Support your rule ordering claims with reference to specific examples, explaining what would happen if the rule order were the reverse. Which rule orderings don’t matter? That is, what are the other possible rule orders that will also work, if any.
- For each of the crucial rule orderings, identify the rule interaction (feeding, bleeding, counterfeeding, counterbleeding) between the two rules.

- Present derivations of all forms in (6), (7), (12), (13), (19), (20), (23), (24)
  - If your rules depend on syllabification, clearly indicate where the syllable boundaries are *before* the rules apply. Use ‘.’ to mark syllable boundaries, e.g. [ga.ɻan.ta]. You may do this by assuming a ‘Syllabification’ rule that applies one or more times in the course of the derivation.

Hints:

- It is possible to write rules with or without referring to syllables.
- Some of the forms may look like exceptions to your rules/generalizations but are actually perfectly in line with the rules if the rules apply in the right order.
- Process C looks like either vowel insertion or deletion, but one of these choices is much better. Notice that the vowel that alternates with zero is always identical to the vowel that precedes it in the word. This fact is critical for making the choice between insertion and deletion and writing a rule as simply as possible.