Theses of a PhD dissertation

THE PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE MODIFYING SOUND CHANGES IN THE OLD HUNGARIAN

Csilla Katona

Supervisor: Dr. Valéria Tóth

UNIVERSITY OF DEBRECEN

Doctoral School of Linguistics

Debrecen, 2019

1. Delineation of the topic and objectives of the dissertation

The sound changes modifying phonological structure of common words and toponyms has been in the focus of Hungarian linguistics. Many excellent works have been written in the fields of vowel dropping from the second or third open syllable, metathesis, disappearance of stem-final vowels, and non-etymological vowels and consonants. Over time these topics have became obsolate. Albeit, I would like to return to these research fields by putting the focus of my dissertation on them.

Every discipline has to revise their earlier results. Therefore, one of my aims is to review the existing knowledge. First of all I provide an overview of published scholarly opinions and findings on these processes of changes. Afterwards, I will examine the sound changes using a new aspect and yet unstudied data.

Opposite to the earlier lingiustics works, I used more and different type of source materials. The Old Hungarian toponyms and modern lexemes from regional dialects were chosen as the base of my dissertation. For the study of the Old Hungarian language, toponyms preserved in written documents are one of the most important primary sources. In the first centuries of written Hungarian records, apart from Hungarian language texts consisting of barely a few hundred words, almost all of the sources that still exist are Latin language charters. However, these charters do include a high number of toponyms and anthroponyms recorded in Hungarian. The modern lexemes from regional dialects are a control material in my work. These language elements often preserve the trace of the change. Moreover, they can indicate the current changes.

In my dissertation I integrated the earlier historical phonology research results with the aspects of modern phonotactics and phonology. This is the reason why I examined the role of phonotactical structure in the phonological changes. I focused on the general phonotactics features of the Hungarian language and in a separate chapter I studied the questions of the well-formedness and Optimality Theory. With the help of these investigations, I tried to explore the factors that can influence the changes and define the spreading of the phonotactic patterns.

2. Methods and aspects of the processing work

2.1. I based my research on the database which I constructed from Old Hungarian toponyms and modern dialectal lexemes. I have used several sources to collect toponyms. My database is based on the following works: Korai magyar helynévszótár I., Helynévtörténeti adatok a korai ómagyar korból I-IV., ÁGNES BÉNYEI–GERGELY PETHŐ: Az Árpád-kori Győr vármegye

településneveinek nyelvészeti elemzése, RITA PÓCZOS: Az Árpád-kori Borsod és Bodrog vármegye településneveinek nyelvi elemzése, ANITA RÁCZ: A régi Bihar vármegye településneveinek történeti-etimológiai szótára, VALÉRIA TÓTH: Az Árpád-kori Abaúj és Bars vármegye helyneveinek történeti-etimológiai szótára, GYÖRGY GYÖRFFY: Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza, DEZSŐ CSÁNKI: Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában, PÉTER NÉMETH: A középkori Szabolcs megye települései, PÉTER NÉMETH: A középkori Szatmár megye települései a XV. század elejéig.

The database is sorted according to various attributes. I specified the precedent forms and the consequences of the changes, then I analyzed the phonological structure of the data. I consider this analysis essential, because this way we can see the modification of the toponyms' structure. I took the etimology of the toponyms into consideration to define the antecedent–consequent relations. In the course of the analysis I examined such features of the data as chronological and regional characteristics of the toponyms. In order to have all the examination aspects described above covered, my toponym corpus for the analysis contains 1800 Old Hungarian toponyms.

2.2. Similar to the toponym database I created a database of dialectal words. The corpus of dialectal words has two sources, it is based on Új magyar tájszótár and A magyar nyelvjárások atlasza. This database contains phonological variations. The contemporary data are important sources for exploring the phonological changes. I examined the territorial aspects of the dialectal words, because sometimes all of the forms of a word are from the same place and the same dialect, and in the other cases the forms of the word in question are coming from different places of the Hungarian language area. I specified the word class and meaning of the lexemes. The dialectal word corpus contains 1286 contemporary lexemes.

2.3. My dissertation uses the category systems and notions of two theoretical and two methodology frameworks. Although, my research is based on the methods of Hungarian historical phonology, I felt it important to point out some new connections yielded by the results of modern phonology. I utilized the Optimality Theory at the examinations, consequently I got closer to better understand the language changes. In this research the Optimality Theory complements the method of historical phonology, my dissertation is focused on historical linguistics.

My leading hypothesis was that the phonological structure can induce and influence changes. The phonological structure obstructs the change, if the change create not well-formed words. For proving my hypothesis, I examined the typical phonotactic patterns of Hungarian language. In my research I analyzed the changes of the Hungarian phonotactic patterns over time. The sound changes, that modify the phonological structure, create or transform consonant relations. Thus, I

studied the consonant relations of the toponyms and dialectal lexemes. Each sound change is analyzed in a separate section.

3. New scientific results of the dissertation

3.1. The phonotactic structure as one of the influencing factors of the sound changes

The language changes have impact on every level of the language, therefore the phonotactical structures can change also. At first, I explored and compared the syllable structures of different ages of the Hungarian language, then I studied the changes of these structures. I took into account the effect of language contacts, for example the Hungarian and Slavic languages contacts.

After the examination of sound changes, I provided many examples that a sound change is influenced by the phonotactic structure. I noted that the typically Hungarian syllable structures were formed in the middle of the 16th century, and the other changes of these structures were not singnificant. This also means that the current phonotactic patterns of the contemporary Hungarian language were formed by the end of the Old Hungarian era.

3.2. The well-formedness conditions as the motivation of sound changes

Every language has its own rules for the sequence of phonemes and the structure of words. The Optimality Theory typically use constraints rather than rules. In the analytical framework the constraints can contradict to each other, therefore a subset of the conditions will not to be satisfied. My investigations proved that the direction of the sound changes of phonological structures is the optimum arrangement.

Although, the well-formedness conditions naturally influence the sound changes, I do not consider this phenomenen as the only reason of the changes, obviously there are other motivations of the changes.

3.3. The phonological structure modifying sound changes

3.3.1. Vowel Dropping from the Second or Third Open Syllable

Firstly, I summarized the results presented in the literature about this change, then I compared the results of previous research's observations. In the course of the analysis I examined such characteristics of the sound change as the phonological structure of the lexemes involved and the chronological and regional characteristics of the change. Since Hungarian philology uses

different terms for this process (defining it as a phonological rule or tendency in phonological changes), I have also discussed issues of terminology.

The change has more types by the structure of data and position of the dropping vowel. 80% of the data I registered had CVCVCV > CVCCV change. The change modifies also the words having at least two open and at least one closed syllables. The preconditon of the change is having more than two syllables and the open syllables shall be consecutive.

Analysis has shown that behind the change we can presume the effect of phonotactic patterns inherited from Finno-Ugric. After the vowel dropping, the well-formedness conditions of the consonant relations also influence the change.

My databases show that the change affected the toponyms of early charters. However, we can not base any conclusion on it, because the data survived in unoriginal transcripts and falsified charters. The first reliable data are from the 13th century and the number of data increased in the 14th century. The contemporary dialect words prove that the vowel dropping from the second or third open syllable is productive even nowadays, although the linguistics literature hints that the change has stopped after the 15th century.

3.3.2. The disappearance of stem-final vowels

Before the study of the disappearance of stem-final vowels, my hypothesis was that the phonotactic structure of the precedent lexemes could influence the change. Because of this, I examined this change according to the number of syllables and the syllable structure of the data. The sound change modified mainly two syllable words, these name structures make three-quarters of the data, within this category the two open syllable words are most frequent. Furthermore, the stem final vowels of three syllable toponyms or word-compositions are also disappeared during the change.

The chronological issues of stem final vowels are in the focus of linguistic researchers, therefore I could not ignore this factor. My study proved that as early as the 11th century the charters contain data without stem final vowels, but most of the data come from the 12th and 13th century. The stem final vowels disappeared typically by the end of the 13th century. This analysis has shown that we can presume the syllable and tone structure besides the sonority hierarchy behind this change.

3.3.3. The Metathesis

The Hungarian philologies specified the change in two ways, a traditional linguistic considers it associational sound change. Contrarily, works based on modern phonology emphasize the regularity of the change. I concluded that the metathesis has regular markers, but sometimes it is similar to the associational changes.

The metathesis has many types. The sorting criteria for the data were on one hand what kind of sounds were modified during the metathesis, on the other hand which segment of the lexeme was involved. The change mostly modified adjacent consonants within the toponym. However, for the contemporary dialect words the change transformed rather the non adjacent consonants within the word.

Previously the Hungarian linguistics omitted the toponyms from the examinations, therefore the metathesis is thought by the linguistics to be happened in the Middle Hungarian. My analysis proved that we can register the metathesis starting from the 13th century, and in the 15th century the quantity of the data was increased. The contemporary dialect words indicate that the metathesis is still in progress nowadays.

3.3.4. Non-etymological vowels and consonants in the sound changes

I divided the investigation of non-etymological vowels and consonants into two sections in my dissertation. In some cases I also examined the dropping consonants, that means a change in the opposite direction.

a) The word initial consonant clusters were eliminated by non-etymological vowels mostly. Besides that, less frequently we can find non-etymological vowels at the end or inside of words. The non-etymological vowels were added between the consonants of the consonant cluster, or before the consonant cluster. Both change types can be observed basically in two etimology section: in the Slavic loan toponyms and in toponyms from antroponyms (mostly coming from Slavic antroponyms). This fact points out the Hungarian–Slavic language interactions.

b) Non-etymological sounds also can be consonants. They can be found in initial, internal and ending position of the lexemes. The presence of non-etymological consonants are often accounted for phonological reasons by the Hungarian liguistics, therefore I studied them according to their distinctive features rather than their position in the words.

The plosives are registered mostly inside of toponyms, but in rare situations we can find them in the end of toponyms. The occurrence of d and t are rare, the k and g show up several times, while the p and b plosives are considerably more frequent. The fricatives could get between two

vowels or close to consonants. The approximants and the trill are typical non-etymological consonants in the Hungarian language, that is the j, l and the r. The l is frequent, mostly inside of lexemes. The approximants and the trill can eliminate the hiatus, therefore I examined the elimination of hiatus in a separate section, since the phenomena of getting into and dropping out are closely related. Most often the n got into the structure of words and toponyms from the nasals, but the m can also be found as a non-etymological consonant.

4. Further examination possibilities

During studying the sound changes modifying phonological structure, some further examination possibilities came to my mind. I focused on the phonological structure as the cause of sound changes. Frequently, we can presume the effect of phonotactic structures of other languages behind the changes. After all, in most cases the root of these changes are in the stucture of Hungarian language. Therefore, an analysis discovering the syllable structures of the toponyms and words can be interesting.

In the course of examination of changes I often perceived that certain lexemes do not change, however their syllable structure would be perfect for the change. With the help of Optimality Theory we are capable to explain such a case. The unchanged data can be explained by phonological reasons, for example by the sonority hierarchy. Therefore, an analysis can be efficient also, which focuses on the elements that did not change.

In my dissertation I came to the conclusion, that the future historical phonology is supposed to rethink the typology structure of changes and to construct a standardized conceptual frame.

References

BÉNYEI, ÁGNES–PETHŐ, GERGELY 1998. *Az Árpád-kori Győr vármegye településneveinek nyelvészeti elemzése.* A Magyar Névarchívum Kiadványai 2. Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetem Magyar Nyelvtudományi Tanszék.

CSÁNKI, DEZSŐ 1890–1913. *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában 1–3., 5.* Budapest.

DEME, LÁSZLÓ–IMRE, SAMU eds. 1968–1977. *A magyar nyelvjárások atlasza I–VI.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

GYÖRFFY, GYÖRGY 1963–1998. *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza 1–4.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

HOFFMANN, ISTVÁN–RÁCZ, ANITA–TÓTH, VALÉRIA eds. 1997 *Helynévtörténeti adatok a korai ómagyar korból. 1. Abaúj–Csongrád vármegye.* Debrecen.

HOFFMANN, ISTVÁN–RÁCZ, ANITA–TÓTH, VALÉRIA eds. 1999. *Helynévtörténeti adatok a korai ómagyar korból. 2. Doboka–Győr vármegye.* Debrecen.

HOFFMANN, ISTVÁN–RÁCZ, ANITA–TÓTH, VALÉRIA eds. 2012. *Helynévtörténeti adatok a korai ómagyar korból. 3. Heves–Küküllő vármegye.* Debrecen.

HOFFMANN, ISTVÁN eds. 2005. *Korai magyar helynévszótár 1. Abaúj–Csongrád vármegye.* A Magyar Névarchívum Kiadványai 10. Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetem Magyar Nyelvtudományi Tanszék.

B. LŐRINCZY, ÉVA eds. 1979–2010. *Új magyar tájszótár 1–5.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

NÉMETH, PÉTER 1997. *A középkori Szabolcs megye települései.* Nyíregyháza, Ethnica Kiadás.

NÉMETH, PÉTER 2008. *A középkori Szatmár megye települései a XV. század elejéig.* Jósa András Múzeum Kiadványai 60. Nyíregyháza.

PÓCZOS, RITA 2001. *Az Árpád-kori Borsod és Bodrog vármegye településneveinek nyelvi elemzése.* A Magyar Névarchívum Kiadványai 5. Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetem Magyar Nyelvtudományi Tanszék.

RÁCZ, ANITA 2007. *A régi Bihar vármegye településneveinek történeti-etimológiai szótára.* A Magyar Névarchívum Kiadványai 12. Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetem Magyar Nyelvtudományi Tanszék.

TÓTH, VALÉRIA 2001. *Az Árpád-kori Abaúj és Bars vármegye helyneveinek történeti-etimológiai szótára.* A Magyar Névarchívum Kiadványai 4. Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetem Magyar Nyelvtudományi Tanszék.

Candidate: Csilla Katona
Neptun ID: EUXTQG
Doctoral School: Doctoral School of Linguistics
MTMT ID: 10052128

List of publications related to the dissertation

Hungarian book chapters (2)

1. **Katona, C.**: A szótagszerkezetet érintő hangváltozási folyamatok mozgatórugói.
   In: A nyelvtörténeti kutatások újabb eredményei IX, Szegedi Tudományegyetem, Szeged, 154-167, 2017. ISBN: 9789633065457

2. **Katona, C.**, Nagy, K. E.: Hajdúböszörmény helynevei.
   In: A Hajdúböszörményi és a Hajdúhadházi járás helynevei, Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, Debrecen, 98-253, 2015, (A Magyar Névarchívum Kiadványai, ISSN 1417-958X ; 35.) ISBN: 9789633185025

Hungarian scientific articles in Hungarian journals (4)

3. **Katona, C.**: A tővégi magánhangzók eltűnése a magyarban.
   Argumentum (Debr.). 14, 264-284, 2018. EISSN: 1787-3606.

4. **Katona, C.**: A hangátvetés a magyarban.
   Magy. Nyelvjár. 54, 51-81, 2016. ISSN: 0541-9298.

5. **Katona, C.**: A kétnyíltszótagos tendencia a magyarban.
   Helynévtört. tanulm. 12, 115-151, 2016. ISSN: 1789-0128.

6. **Katona, C.**: Hangtörténeti folyamatok a helynevekben: a két nyílt szótagos tendencia.
   Juvenilia. 4, 99-108, 2011. ISSN: 1788-6848.

Foreign language scientific articles in Hungarian journals (1)

7. **Katona, C.**: Toponyms as Sources of Historical Phonology.
   Onomast. Ural. 11, 99-104, 2018. ISSN: 1586-3719.

Hungarian conference proceedings (1)

8. **Katona, C.**: Hangtörténeti változások lehetséges összefüggései.

In: A nyelvtörténeti kutatások újabb eredményei X, [Szegedi Tudományegyetem], [Szeged], 1-6, 2019 Közlésre elfogadva.

The Candidate's publication data submitted to the iDEa Tudóstér have been validated by DEENK on the basis of the Journal Citation Report (Impact Factor) database.

03 April, 2019