I. Dictionary Survey

5,522 polysyllabic words in TDK 1988 dictionary

- Turkish (native) roots, and words borrowed from 5 languages.
- Both failure to spread and unexpected presence of elements are taken to be DH.

Problems:
- GP does not allow co-phonologies for borrowed words (how can a native speaker tell whether native or borrowed? What about acquisition?)
- 46% of the lexicon is disharmonic, then harmony rather seems to be coincidental, hence not a phonological process.
- But Harmony is non-arbitrary and External Vowel Harmony is exceptional.

Options:
- give up on harmony altogether
- give up on GP altogether
- revise your assumptions based on empirical evidence and re-check the data?

II. Frequency Research

A. Preliminary Analysis of all vowel sequences in the corpus:

- The most frequently used 888 monomorphic words
- 208 monosyllabic
- 600 polysyllabic

Revision of theoretical assumptions concerning Turkish Vowel Harmony:
- Strong version of strict adjacency: An element associated to NH is expected to spread onto N, if there is no governing domain between the two (CCVC sequences are exempt from harmony principles.)
- Quantity affects quality: Long vowels are neither spreaders nor receivers.
- Harmony domain is defined by stress; if stress does not move from NH onto NH, NH is not considered to be part of the harmonic domain.

*All root vowels can be lexically associated with elements → No Emergent DH.

Even if DH is restricted to cases where an element fails to spread, still 7% of the corpus is disharmonic.

Turkish Vowel Harmony is saved from the curse of the greedy GP-requirements.