Transparent vowels in ABC: open issues

The similarity basis for correspondence in ABC does not on its own provide for a complete account of the distribution of transparency in vowel harmony, and even Rhodes's (2012) extensions to the theory leave it without adequate coverage in this domain. In this paper, I survey a few cases of vowel transparency that are not straightforwardly compatible with ABC, including transparent vowel types which have potential harmonic counterparts in the inventory, morphologically idiosyncratic transparency, and transparency that is sensitive to syllable count or syllable position. I show that some modest extensions to the theory allow for accounts for all of these, but also contrast these new accounts with potentially simpler ones under Kimper's (2011) Trigger Competition, a competing theory focused exclusively on vowel harmony.