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Old Church Slavonic

Morphology – Part 1: Introduction and stem formation



Outline

- Affixation
- Non-concatenative devices
- Nominal derivation
- Nominal compounding
- Verbal derivation: aspectual categories

Affixation

- Suffixation
 - Very common
- Prefixation
 - Not used in nominal or verbal inflection
 - Perhaps used in nominal derivation (depending on analysis)
 - Very common in verbal derivation
- Infixation: not used
- Circumfixation: not used
- Interfixation
 - Used in nominal inflection and compounding
- Reduplication: not used

Non-concatenative morphology: consonants

- Consonant mutations: *k, c* ~ *č*; *g, dz* ~ *ž*; *x* ~ *š*; *sk* ~ *št*; *zg* ~ *žd*; etc.
- Nominal and verbal derivation
bog-ъ 'god' : *bož-ьstv-o* 'divinity'
sux-ъ 'dry' : *suš-i-ti* 'to dry'
- Nominal and verbal inflection
nom. sg. *vlьk-ъ* 'wolf' : loc. sg. *vlьц-ě*
prs. 1sg *tek-o* 'run' : 3sg. *teč-e-tъ*

Non-concatenative morphology: vowels

- Vowel alternations (ablaut): $o \sim a$; $ь \sim i$; $ь \sim y$; etc.
- Nominal and verbal derivation
 - inf. *těšti* 'to run' (prs. 1sg *těk-ŏ*) : *tŏk-ь* 'flow'
 - inf. *věsti* 'to drive' (1sg *věz-ŏ*) : *vŏz-ь* 'chart'
 - inf. *sъ-bъr-a-ti* 'to assemble' (1sg *sъ-bēr-ŏ*) : *sъ-bŏr-ь* 'congregation'
 - inf. *vъr-ě-ti* 'to boil' (1sg *vъr'ŏ*) : *vār-ь* 'heat'
 - inf. *nēs-ti* 'to carry' : indeterminate *nŏs-i-ti* 'to carry'
 - inf. *bъr-a-ti* 'to collect' : derived imperfective *-bŏr-a-ti* 'to collect'
- Nominal inflection: no synchronic ablaut alternations
- Verbal inflection
 - inf. *bъr-a-ti* 'to collect' : prs. 1sg *bēr-ŏ*
 - prt. 2–3sg *nēs-e* : prt. 1sg *nēs-ь*, 1pl *nēs-omъ* etc.

Nominal derivation: prefixation

- Prefixation (or compounding?)
pra-dědъ ‘great-grandfather’ from *pro (pra-)* ‘before’ + *dědъ* ‘grandfather’
- Compounding
na-rodъ ‘people’: from *na* ‘on’ + *rodъ* ‘kin’
- Deverbal formations
iz-měna ‘change’: from *iz-měniti* ‘to change’

Nominal derivation: suffixation

- *l'ub-i-ti* 'to love'
l'ub-ьc-ь 'lover'
l'ubl'-en-ik-ь 'loved one'
l'ub-y 'love'
ne-l'ub-ьstv-o 'hate'
l'ub-ь 'dear, expensive'
l'ub-iv-ь 'loving'
l'ub-ьn-ь 'dear'
l'ub-ьzn-ь 'full of love'
l'ub-ьv-ьn-ь 'pertaining to love'
(*l'ubl'-en-ьj-e* 'loving': inflection)

Nominal derivation: suffix chains

- *smoky* ‘fig; fig tree’
 - adj. *smokъv-ьn-ъ* ‘of a fig; of a fig tree’
 - noun *smokъvьn-ic-a* ‘fig tree’
 - adj. *smokъvьnič-in-ъ* ‘of a fig tree’

Nominal compounds: types

- Often calques on Greek compounds
- Not always clearly distinct from juxtapositions
mъnogo-glagolanie ‘abundance of words’, but *vo mъnozě.LOC glagolani.LOC svojemъ.LOC* ‘in their prolixity’ (first part is inflected, but indefinite)
- Three types of compounds
 - (a) Determinative compounds
vin-o-grad-ъ ‘vineyard’: *vinо* ‘wine’ + *gradъ* ‘yard’
 - (b) Verbal government compounds
vod-o-nos-ъ ‘water container’: *voda* ‘water’ + *nositi* ‘carry’
bog-o-nos-ьc-ь ‘god-carrier’: *bogъ* ‘god’ + *nositi* ‘carry’ (Gk. θεοφόρος)
 - (c) Exocentric
bez-dъn-ъ ‘bottomless’: *bez* ‘without’ + *dъno* ‘bottom’
sux-o-rъk-ъ ‘dry-handed’: *suxъ* ‘dry’ + *rъka* ‘hand’

Nominal compounds: first member

- Noun, adjective, numeral, pronoun (usually with interfix -o-/-e-)
zakon-o-učitel'ь 'teacher of the law': *zakonъ* 'law' + *učitel'ь* 'teacher' (Gk. νομο-διδάσκαλος)
blag-o-obrazьnъ 'respectable': *blagъ* 'good' + *obrazъ* 'form' (Gk. εὐσχήμων)
tri-imen-ьnъ 'with three names': *trije* 'three' + *imę* 'name'
- Adverb
rakъ-bytije 'regeneration': *rakъ* 'again' + *bytije* 'being' (Gk. παλιγ-γενεσία)
- Particle, negation, preposition, prefix
ne-pravьda 'injustice': *ne* 'not' + *pravьda* 'justice'
bez-vod-ьnъ 'waterless': *bez* 'without' + *voda* 'water'
pra-dědъ 'great-grandfather': *pro (pra-)* 'before' + *dědъ* 'grandfather'
- Verb (very rare)
ne-ję-věrbъ 'sceptical': *jęti věrbъ* 'to have faith'

Nominal compounds: second member

- Usually with suffix

bog-o-nos-ьc-ь ‘god-carrier’: *bogъ* ‘god’ + *nositi* ‘to carry’ (Gk. θεοφόρος)

krъv-o-jad-iv-ь ‘blood-eating’: *krъvъ* ‘blood’ + *jasti* ‘to eat’

- But also without suffix

vin-o-grad-ь ‘vineyard’: *vinо* ‘wine’ + *gradъ* ‘yard’

vod-o-nos-ь ‘water container’: *voda* ‘water’ + *nositi* ‘to carry’

Aspectual categories

- Five aspectual categories:
 - (1) perfective vs. imperfective
 - (2) determinate vs. indeterminate
 - (3) imperfect vs. aorist
 - (4) retrospective (perfect) vs. absolute (non-perfect)
 - (5) prospective (future) vs. actual (present)
- 1–2 are formed from different verbs: derivation
- 3–5 are formed from one lexical verb: inflection

Perfective vs. imperfective

- (Almost) all verbs have perfective (event) or imperfective (process) aspect
- Perfectivisation: a perfective verb may be formed from an imperfective verb (usually through prefixation; also through suffix *-nq-*)
- Imperfectivisation: an imperfective verb may be formed from a perfective verb (usually through suffixation with *-ati*, *-jati*, *-vati*, *-ovati*)
- Most unprefixated verbs are imperfective
- Most prefixed verbs are perfective (exception: derived imperfectives)

Folie 13

SD2

!!!!!! PLEASE KEEP ASPECT AND AKTIONSART/LEXICAL ASPECT/ACTIONALITY DISTINCT

Saverio Dalpedri; 14.07.2019

SD3

Labels like "event" and "process" have nothing to do with grammatical aspect

Saverio Dalpedri; 14.07.2019

Perfective vs. imperfective: examples

ipfv. *tvor-i-ti* 'to make'

→ pfv. *sъ-tvor-i-ti* 'id.' (ipfv. *tvoriti*)

→ pfv. *prě-tvor-i-ti* 'to change' → ipfv. *prě-tvař-a-ti* 'id.'

→ pfv. *za-tvor-i-ti* 'to close' → ipfv. *za-tvař-a-ti* 'id.'

→ pfv. *ras-tvor-i-ti* 'to mix' → ipfv. *ras-tvař-a-ti* 'id.'

ipfv. *mrě-ti* 'to die'

→ pfv. *u-mrě-ti* 'id.'

ipfv. *kap-a-ti* 'to drip'

→ pfv. *ka-nq-ti* 'id.'

pfv. *da-ti* 'to give'

→ ipfv. *da-ja-ti* 'id.' → pfv. *raz-da-ja-ti* 'to distribute' → ipfv. *raz-da-va-ti* 'id.'

Determinate vs. indeterminate

- Verbs of locomotion (motion verbs): closed class
- Indeterminate verbs are formed from determinate verbs
 - by ablaut and affixation
 - by suppletion

ipfv. det. *nesti* 'to carry' → ipfv. indet. *nositi* 'to carry around'

ipfv. det. *vesti* 'to lead' → ipfv. indet. *voditi* 'to lead'

ipfv. det. *iti* 'to go' → ipfv. indet. *xoditi* 'to walk'

