HENNING ANDERSEN

Old Church Slavonic

Phonology
Outline

- Phonemes
  - Segments
  - Phoneme classes
- Phonotactic constraints
- Syllables
- Feet
- Phonological words
  - Clisis
# Vowels

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Vowels. Trubetzkoy (1954)

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Consonants

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Synchronic sequential constraints: Consonants

(a) **Voicing.** *iz* ‘out’: *is-*pasti ‘fall out’, *is-*kopati ‘dig out’, *is-*xoditi ‘go out’.

(b) ...*tl*, ...*dl* → *l*. *plet-*qi ‘plait’ – *ple-*li ‘plaited-PF.PTCP-PL’, *ved-*qi ‘lead’ – *ve-*li ‘led-PF.PTCP-PL’; but *tlěšti* ‘push’, *dlanь* ‘palm’.

(c) *b*-v → *b*: *vlačiti* ‘drag’ — *ob-lačiti* ‘wrap around’.

(d) *z*-č → *št* or ĉ: *bez-čislъnъ* → *beštislъnъ* or *bečislъnъ* ‘innumerable’.

(e) *z*-c → *st* or *sc* or ĉ: *iz-cěliti* → *istěliti*, *iscěliti*, *icěliti* ‘cure’.

(f) *s*, *z* → ň, Ľ: *mysliti* ‘think’ – *myšlji*.*PRS.1SG*, *bez=njego* ‘without it’ — *bež=njego*.
Synchronic sequential constraints: Consonants

(g) ...z-r... → ...zdr...: raz-rěšiti → razdrěšiti ‘save’.
(h) tt, dt → st: plet-ti → plesi ‘plait’, ved-ti → vesti ‘lead’.
(i) kt, gt → št: pek-ti → pešti, mog-ti → mošti.
(j) **Coda loss. Plosives:** věd-s-ǫ → věs ę ‘led’, čit-s-ǫ → čis ę ‘read’,

**Spirants:** z-z → z; z-s → s; s-s → s; z-š → š: vъz-zъvati → vъzъvati ‘call’,
Consonant mutations

(a) Velar mutation 1
k, c → č; g, dz → ž; x → š; sk → št, zg → žd
vlбkъ ‘wolf’ — vlбčе.VOC; otьcь ‘father’ — otьč-e; bogъ ‘god’ — bož-e

(b) Velar mutation 2
k → c; g → ʒ; x → s
vlбkъ ‘wolf’ — vlбci.NOM.PL; brěgъ ‘bank’ — brěʒi; duxъ ‘spirit’ — dusi

(c) Yod mutation (de-iotation)

Old Church Slavonic – Phonology
Vowel alternations

(a) Productive in the o-/jo- and a-/ja-declensions
Desinence-initial vowel
after non-palatal consonant: у ъ о ё а
after palatal consonant: ę ѣ е и ē

(b) /ь/ vs. /i/ and /ъ/ vs. /y/ are in free variation before /j/.
/ь/ vs. /i/ are neutralized as /i/ after /j/ (which never surfaces).
e.g., /новъйъ/ written novyi or novъи ‘new.NOM.SG’;
/ljudьйъ/ written ljudи or ljudii ‘people.GEN.PL’;
/ljudьje/ written ljudье or ljudie.NOM.PL
Vowel alternations

(c) Productive in derivation: ० – ा, ь – і, ъ – ў

svobod-ि-PRFV –svobažd-aj- IMPFV ‘liberate’, sъbъra-.PRFV –sъbir-aj-.IMPFV ‘gather’; posъla-.PRFV –posyl-aj-.IMPFV ‘send’

(d) Unproductive, lexicalized

e.g., berǫ ‘gather’, brěmę ‘burden’, bбрati ‘to gather’, sъbibrati.IMPFV ‘gather’, sъborь ‘a gathering’

Syllables

- Possible onsets: (s š z ž) + (p t k c č x b d g) + (v m n) + (l r) + (j)
- Possible nuclei: any vowel or syllabic l’, l, r’, r (written lь, lъ, rь, rъ)
- No codas. (The only exceptions: jegda ‘when; conjunction’, kogda ‘when; interrogative’, togda ‘then’, presumably early allegro forms)
Feet

- Trochaic foot structure anchored at the right edge of phonological words develops before 800s.
- Subsequently: Weak (light) jers (ь ъ) shorten and become elided leaving compensatory lengthening in preceding, strong (heavy) vowels.
- In consecutive jer syllables, even-numbered (strong) jers й ъ/ – counting from the right – are reinterpreted as /е, е/ in pre-Macedonian, as /е, ъ/ in pre-Bulgarian dialect: дънь ‘day’ > /den/, written день; събъра ‘gathered’ > sobра
- Weak jers in initial syllables are lost: бъра ‘gathered’ > бра
- Final jers, though weak and then lost, continue to be written consistently. Other weak jers may be written according to tradition or current pronunciation, or ‘by analogy’: e.g. зимъпъ.М ‘cold’ > /zimen/, written зимъпъ/зименъ; зимъна.Ф > /zimna/, written зимъна/zim’na/zimna/zimena.
Phonological words. Clisis

- Stress domain

- Clisis
  - Proclitics: Clausal: nъ ‘but, a ‘but’, da ‘so-that’
    Clausal and phrasal: i ‘and’ ne ‘not’, ni ‘not even’
  - Enclitics: Clausal: bo, ubo ‘for’, li interrogative; dative and accusative pronouns.
    Clausal and phrasal: že emphasis, ‘and’.
    Phrasal: Postpositions, circumpositions
Proclitics

(1)  *i tu ne=mnogy d̦n̦i pr̦b̦y-s-tъ* (J 2,12)
and there *not=many days stay-AOR-3SG*
and he stayed there a few days

(2)  *ni=edinъ otъ=nixъ ne=izby-s-tъ* (Ps 105,11)
*not:even=one of=them not=survive-AOR-3SG*
not one of them survived

(3)  *⁰bogъ m̦stii ne=obin̦lъ=sję es-tъ* [For: m̦st-ъjъ, sę, jes-tъ] (Ps 93,1)
god revenge *not=hold:back-PRF.PTCP=REFL be:PRS-3SG*
The God of vengeance has not held back
Proclitics

(4) xod-i-te donьdežе světъ ima-te, da=tyма v-asъ ne=im-etъ (J 12,35)
go-IMPV-2PL while light have:PRS-2PL, OPT dark you-ACC not=take-PRS.3SG
go while you have the light, so that darkness does not overtake you
Enclitics

(5) *slyš-i-ši=*li čto sii glagoljǫtъ (Mt 21,16)
hear-PRS.2SG=Q what these-NOM.PL say-PRS.3PL
do you hear what these are saying?

(6) *rabъ=*bo ne věstъ čьto tvoritъ 0gospodь ego (J 15,15)
slave for not know.PRS.3SG what do.PRS.3SG master his
for a servant does not know what his master is about
Enclitics

(7) ty učenikъ esi togo. my=že moseovi esmъ učenici (J 9,28)
    you disciple are that.M.GEN.SG we but Moses.POSS.NOM.PL are disciples
    you are that one’s disciple, but we are disciples of Moses

(8) ěko=bo bě iona vь črěvě kit-ov-ě tri dni-že tri nošti (Mt 12,40)
    as for was:IPF:3SG Jonah in belly whale.POSS.ADJ three days and three nights
    just as Jonah was in the sea-monster’s belly for three days and three nights
ich habe es nach links geschoben, weil die Folie auf dem Schirm dann schräg ist und was rechts ist erscheint viel kleiner
Saverio Dalpedri; 16.07.2019