

HENNING ANDERSEN

Old Church Slavonic

Phonology



Outline

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

Vowels

	Front	Back	
		Spread	Rounded
Tense	i	y	u
Lax	ь		ъ
Lax	e		o
Tense	ě	a	
Nasal	є		ѡ

Vowels. Trubetzkoy (1954)

	Spread	Rounded
Tense	i — y	ü — u
Lax		ĩ — ŭ
Lax	e	ö — o
Tense		ě — a
Nasal	eN	ön — oN

Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar
Plosives	p b	t d	(Ѡ ѡ)	k g
Affricates		c ʒ	č	
Fricatives		s z	š ž	x
Nasals	m	n	ń (nj)	
Liquids		l r	l' (lj) r' (rj)	
Glides	v		j	

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-ǫ* 'plait' – *ple-l-i* 'plaited-PF.PTCP-PL', *ved-ǫ* 'lead' – *ve-l-i* 'led-PF.PTCP-PL; but *tlěšti* 'push', *dlanь* 'palm'.
- (c) **b-v** → **b**: *vlačiti* 'drag' – *ob-lačiti* 'wrap around'.
- (d) **z-č** → **št** or **č**: *bez-čislъnъ* → *beštislъnъ* or *bečislъnъ* 'innumerable'.
- (e) **z-c** → **st** or **sc** or **c**: *iz-cěliti* → *istěliti*, *iscěliti*, *icěliti* 'cure'.
- (f) **s, z** → **š, ž** before **nj, lj**: *mysliti* 'think' – *myšljǫ*.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 → *plesti* 'plait', ved-ti → *vesti* 'lead'.
- (i) kt, gt → št: pek-ti → *pešti*, mog-ti → *mošti*.
- (j) **Coda loss. Plosives:** věd-s-ę → *věsę* 'led', čit-s-ę → *čisę* 'read',
ot-stǫpiti → *ostǫpiti* 'retreat', rěk-š-ę → *rěšę* 'said'; ot-xoditi → *oxoditi* 'go
away', pogreb-ti → *pogreti* 'bury'.
- Spirants:** z-z → z; z-s → s; s-s → s; z-š → š: vьz-zъvati → vьzъvati 'call',
raz-slabiti → *raslabiti* 'weaken', něs-s-ъ → *něsъ* 'carried', iz-šьdъ → *išьdъ*
'having gone out'; but z-ž → žd: iz-ženę → *iždenę* 'drive out'.

Consonant mutations

(a) Velar mutation 1

$k, c \rightarrow \check{c}; g, dz \rightarrow \check{z}; x \rightarrow \check{s}; sk \rightarrow \check{s}t, zg \rightarrow \check{z}d$

*vlb***k**ъ 'wolf' — *vlb***č**e.VOC; *otb***c**ъ 'father' — *otb***č**-e; *bog***b**ъ 'god' — *bož*-e

(b) Velar mutation 2

$k \rightarrow c; g \rightarrow z; x \rightarrow s$

*vlb***k**ъ 'wolf' — *vlb***ci**.NOM.PL; *brěg***b**ъ 'bank' — *brězi*; *dux***b**ъ 'spirit' — *dusi*

(c) Yod mutation (de-iotation)

	t	d	s	z	st	zd	p	b	v	m	l	r	n
→	št	žd	š	ž	št	žd	plj	blj	vlj	mlj	lj	rj	nj

Vowel alternations

- (a) Productive in the o-/jo- and a-/ja-declensions

Desinence-initial vowel

after non-palatal consonant: *у ъ о ѣ а*

after palatal consonant: *ѣ ь е і ѣ*

- (b) /*ь*/ vs. /*i*/ and /*ѣ*/ vs. /*y*/ are in free variation before /*j*/.

/*ь*/ vs. /*i*/ are neutralized as /*i*/ after /*j*/ (which never surfaces).

e.g., /*новъжь*/ written *novyi* or *novы* ‘new.NOM.SG’;

/*ljudъжь*/ written *ljudy* or *ljudii* ‘people.GEN.PL’;

/*ljudъje*/ written *ljudьe* or *ljudie*.NOM.PL

Vowel alternations

(c) Productive in derivation: o – a, ъ – i, ѣ – y

svobod-i-.PRFV –svobažd-aj- IMPFV ‘liberate’, съbъra-.PRFV –съbir-aj-.IMPFV ‘gather’; posъla-.PRFV –posyl-aj-.IMPFV ‘send’

(d) Unproductive, lexicalized

e.g., berq ‘gather’, brěmę ‘burden’, bъrati ‘to gather’, съbirati.IMPFV ‘gather’, съborъ ‘a gathering’

umrěti ‘die’, umъrq ‘I shall die’, съmrътъ ‘death’, umirajq ‘I am dying’, umoriti ‘to kill’, umarjati.IMPFV ‘to kill’.

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 ѡ, ѡь, рь, рьь)
- 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 /ь ъ/ – counting from the right – are reinterpreted as /e, o/ in pre-Macedonian, as /e, ъ/ in pre-Bulgarian dialect’: дьнь ‘day’ > /den/, written *denъ*; събра ‘gathered’ > *sobra*
- Weak jers in initial syllables are lost: бра ‘gathered’ > *bra*
- 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. зимънь.М ‘cold’ > /zimen/, written *zimънь/zimenъ*; зимъна.Ф > /zimna/, written *zimъna/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’

Phrasal: Prepositions

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 dьni prěby-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 mьstii ne=obinъlъ=sję es-tъ* [For: mьst-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 donьdeže světъ ima-te, da=тъma 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

SD1

changed!!!

Saverio Dalpedri; 17.07.2019

Enclitics

(5) *slyš-i-ši=li čto sii glagoljqtъ* (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 čbto tvoritъ ^ogospodъ 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 učeníkъ esi togo. my=že moseovi esmъ učenici* (J 9,28)

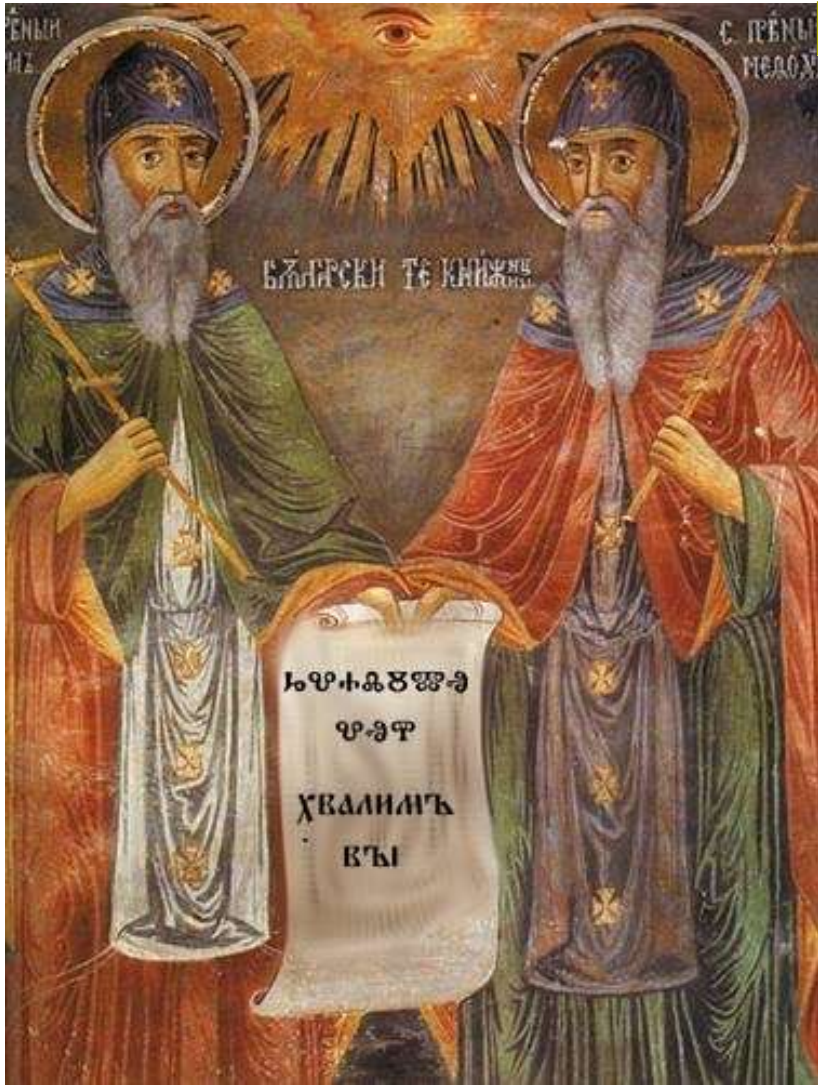
you disciple are that.M.GEN.SG we **but** Moses.POSS.NOM.PL are disciples

you are that one's disciple, but we are disciples of Moses

(8) *ěko=bo bě iona vь čřěvě kíit-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



SD8

SD8

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