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Gothic

Phonology – Part 3: Morphophonology

Roadmap

- Segmental Morphophonology
 - s-DELETION
 - FRICATIVE SUBSTITUTION
 - *i*-EPENTHESIS
 - *a*-EPENTHESIS?
 - THURNEYSEN'S LAW (Voicing Dissimilation in Fricatives)
- Reduplication

s-DELETION

- Morphosyntactic feature bundle [GENDER: Masculine, CASE: Nominative, NUMBER: Singular] regularly spelled out as /-s/:
dag-s ‘day’, *hairdei-s* ‘shepherd’, *sunu-s* ‘son’, *menops* ‘month’, *hor-s* ‘adulterer’
- However: any stem ending in /-s-/ or /-Vr-/ (short vowel + /r/) lacks this inflectional suffix
wair ‘man’, *unsar* ‘our’, *drus* ‘fall’, *swes* ‘own’
^xwairs, *^xunsars*, *^xdruss*, *^xswess*
 - Note that [-s] appears if the syllable preceding an /-r/ is heavy:
hor-s ‘adulterer’, *skeir-s* ‘clear’, *swer-s* ‘dignified’, *akr-s* ‘field’
 - Note that geminate [-s:] is not systematically banned word-finally, e.g.:
usstass ‘resurrection’, *missaqiss* ‘dissentation’. But [-s:] here is part of the stem.
- Generalization: underlying /-s/ is deleted word-finally following an /-s/ or /-Vr-/.

FRICATIVE SUBSTITUTION

- Observation: stops and /θ/ at the right edge of a root or stem appear as voiceless fricatives and [s] before a following /t/.

For /b/: *gib-an* 'give' vs. ACC.SG *fra-gif-t* 'betrothal'; *þaurban* 'need' vs. 3SG.PST *þaurf-ta*

For /p/: *ga-skapjan* 'create' vs. ACC.SG *ga-skaf-t* 'creation'

For /g/: *mag-an* 'can' vs. 1SG.PST *mah-ta*; *bug-jan* 'buy' vs. 1SG.PST *bauh-ta*

For /k/: *waurk-jan* 'work' vs. 3SG.PST *-waurh-ta*

For /t/: *wait-an* 'know' vs. 2SG.NPST *wais-t*

For /d/: *biudan* 'command' vs. 2SG.NPST *ana-baus-t*

For /θ/: *wairþan* 'become' vs. 2SG.NPST *wars-t*

FRICATIVE SUBSTITUTION

- Historical consequence of regressive voicing assimilation followed by Grimm's Law.
PIE */g^heb^h-ti-/ > PGMc. */g^heb^h-ti-/ → *[g^hepti] > *[gefti-] > Goth. –*gift*
- For coronals: remnant of Indo-European */TT/ > [tst] > [ss], with restoration of inflectional [-t].
- Lexicalized instances of ss < historical */TT/ > [tst] > [ss].
wissa 'knew' < */wit-ta-/, -*qiss* 'speech' < */k^wiþ-ti-/ (cf. *waitan* 'know', *qipan* 'say').

i-EPENTHESIS

- Inflection of masculine *a*- and *ja*-stems (nominal and adjectival) is identical **except** in the *nominative singular* (cf. Nominal Morphology 1)
- In *ja*-stems, ending *-eis* or *-jis* (cf. NOM.SG *harjis*) is governed by SIEVER'S LAW; cf. Phonology 2.
- Descriptively captured by epenthesis of [i] between /j/ and /s/ at word edge:
/sipōn-j-s/ → /sipōnjis/ (*i*-EPENTHESIS) → *sipōneis* (SIEVER'S LAW).

	a-stem sg 'day'	a-stem UR	ja-stem sg 'disciple'	ja-stem UR
NOM	dag-s	/dag-s/	sipon-ei-s	/sipo:n-j-s/
VOC	dag*	/dag/	sipon-i*	/sipo:n-j/
ACC	dag	/dag/	sipon-i	/sipo:n-j/
GEN	dag-is	/dag-is/	sipon-ei-s	/sipo:n-j-is/
DAT	dag-a	/dag-a/	sipon-j-a*	/sipo:n-j-a/

a-EPENTHESIS?

- Inflection of feminine *o*- and *jo*-stems (nominal and adjectival) is identical **except** in the *nominative singular* (cf. Nominal Morphology 1)
- In *jo*-stems, ending *-i* through vocalization of /j/, but *-a* in the *o*-stems
- Descriptively captured by epenthesis of [a] after a consonant at word edge:
/θiwd-/ → /θiwd-a/ (*a*-EPENTHESIS) → *þiuda*
- *a*-EPENTHESIS must somehow be morphologically restricted. Syncretism of NOM and ACC?

	o-stem sg 'people'	a-stem UR	jo-stem sg 'bond'	ja-stem UR
NOM	þiud-a	/θiwd-/	band-i	/band-j/
ACC	þiud-a	/θiwd-a/	band-j-a*	/band-j-a/
GEN	þiud-ōs	/θiwd-o:s/	band-j-os	/band-j-os/
DAT	þiud-ai	/θiwd-ε:/	band-j-ai*	/band-j-ε:/

THURNEYSEN'S LAW (Fricative Voice Dissimilation)

- A few suffixes are attested with both a voiced and voiceless fricative:
 - *-ipa-* vs. *-ida-* (fem. *o*-stem): *daub-ipa** 'unfeelingness' *aup-ida* 'desert'
 - *-opu-* vs. *-odu-* (masc. *u*-stem): *gaunopus** 'lamentation' vs. *auhjodus** 'uproar, noise'
 - *-ufni-* vs. *-ubni-* (neut. *ja-* or fem. *jo*-stem): *wald-ufni* 'power' vs. *fast-ubni** 'fasting'
 - *-Vh-* vs. *-Vg-* (*a*-stem adj.): *stain-ah-* 'stony' vs. *wulþ-ag-* 'splendid'
- Basis for alternation: dispreference for [+continuant] segments separated by only a vowel or CV sequence with identical values for the feature [voice]. See Suzuki 2018.

*[+cont., -syll., αvoice]CV[+cont. , -syll., αvoice]

- /ɔ:θ-ɪp-a/ → [ɔ:θiða]
- /fast-uφnj/ → [fastuβni]
- Some exceptions, e.g., *audaga* [ɔ:ðaya] 'blessed' (X[ɔ:ðaha])

Reduplication: Basics

- Reduplication found exclusively in the preterite of Class VII Strong Verbs (see further Verbal Morphology).
- Reduplicant always contains the vowel [ɛ] ⟨ai⟩.
- Normally copy of leftmost root consonant, but [sT] and vowel-initial roots behave differently.

INFINITIVE	3.SG.PST
<i>-aukan</i> ‘increase’	<i>-ai auk</i>
<i>flokan</i> ‘weep’	<i>flaiflok</i>
<i>huopan</i> ‘boast’	<i>huhaihop</i>
<i>skaidan</i> ‘divide’	<i>skaiskaid</i>
<i>tekan</i> ‘touch’	<i>taitok</i>

Reduplication: Analysis I

- Analysis after Zukoff 2017.
 - Core element: a sequence of two identical consonants separated by a single vowel, in which the second is followed by a [-sonorant] segment, is phonetically *poorly cued*: $*C_{\alpha}VC_{\alpha} / __C_{[-sonorant]}$ (= PCR “poorly-cued repetition”).
- Other analytical elements:
 - Segment at the left edge of the root and the reduplicant must be identical. (ANCHOR-L)
 - Consonant clusters are dispreferred (*CC).
 - No deletion or epenthesis of segments not found in the root.

Reduplication: Analysis II

- /flo:k, PST/ → [fɛflo:k]: satisfies all the constraints.
 - ^X[flɛflo:k] has a gratuitous consonant cluster;
 - ^X[lɛflo:k] has different segments at the beginning of reduplicant and root.
- /skɛ:d, PST/ → [skɛskɛ:d]
 - ^X[sɛskɛ:d] violates poorly-cued repetition.
 - ^X[kɛskɛ:d] has different segments at the beginning of reduplicant and root.
 - ^X[sɛsɛkɛ:d] inserts an additional vowel into the root.
- Avoiding violations of PCR and root-reduplicant edge alignment is more important than the avoidance of consonant clusters.
- Form of the reduplicant in Class VII verbs need not be morphologically specified, but can be phonologically derived by constraint interaction.

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Thank you for your attention!