

A-umlaut in German, Pomeranian and the Groningen dialect - phonological spreading or morpho-phonological incorporation?

Gertjan Postma & Marc van Oostendorp (Meertens Institute Amsterdam)

We will defend:

Phonology

OCP-violations such as -tt, are preferably resolved by schwa epenthesis (if possible) or else by degemination

Morphosyntax

1. Alternating verbs can emerge when T (tense) has incorporated into the root.
2. When T has incorporated into the root, the verb is ablauting (over the three tenses, inf-past-participle)
3. Epenthetic schwa is parasitic on T, i.e. ROOT-T-AGR may realize as **ROOT-(e)-T-(e)-AGR**
4. In the constellation **RO<T>OT-AGR**, there can be no epenthetic schwa, hence degemination.

We add and solve a related conundrum:

Imperative conundrum

Alternating verbs have the non-23 stem as imperative if the infinitive has a/ah/au in the stem, + optional schwa: *schlaf(e)*, *rat(e)*, *lad(e)*, etc.

Alternating verbs have the 23 stem as imperative if it has e/eh in the stem, + no schwa: *gib*, *nimm*, *sieh*, *ficht*, *tritt*, etc.