

Morphologische Theorien

Fehlende ABA-Muster: Ablaut im Deutschen

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Introduction: Systematic Stem Alternations

- Bobaljik (2006, 2012)
- Wiese (2005)

- (1) **Comparative-Superlative Generalization** (CSG; Bobaljik):
If the comparative degree of an adjective is built on a suppletive root, then the superlative will also be suppletive.
- (2) Patterns:
- A-A-A (regular):
 - schlecht – schlechter – am schlechtesten
 - fine – finer – finest
 - A-B-B (suppletive):
 - bad – worse – worst
 - gut – besser – am besten
 - A-B-C (doubly suppletive):
 - bonus – melior – optimus
 - *A-B-A (unattested):
 - *gut – besser – am gutsten
 - *bad – worse – baddest
 - *A-A-C (unattested for comparative suppletion):
 - *bad – badder – worst

Bobaljik's Explanation for the Absence of A-B-A Patterns

Idea:

Pattern *A-B-A is unstatable. Any rule (i.e., vocabulary item insertion context) referring to the comparative also picks out the superlative, unless the superlative is bled by a more specific rule.

Three assumptions:

- 1 Word structure: [[Adj-Compr]-Superl]
- 2 Suppletion as contextual allomorphy:
 $\alpha \leftrightarrow B / [_ \text{COMPR}]$
 $\leftrightarrow A / (\text{elsewhere})$
- 3 Subset Principle (incl. Specificity Condition)

Ablaut in German

Wiese: German Ablaut is fully systematic from a synchronic perspective. This is evident when one changes the usual order of verb forms: “geben – gegeben – gab” vs. traditional “geben – gab – gegeben”.

(3) Patterns:

- a. A-A-A (regular):
 - (i) arbeiten – gearbeitet – arbeitete
- b. A-B-B (suppletive):
 - (i) schreiben – geschrieben – schrieb
 - (ii) giessen – gegossen – goss
- c. A-B-C (doubly suppletive):
 - (i) werfen – geworfen – warf
 - (ii) sprechen – gesprochen – sprach
- d. *A-B-A (unattested):
 - (i) *werfen – geworfen – werf(te)
 - (ii) *schreiben – geschrieben – schreib(te)
- e. A-A-C (attested):
 - (i) geben – gegeben – gab

Wiese's Explanation for the Absence of A-B-A Patterns

The feature specification for finite past forms is a proper superset of the feature specifications for past participles.

(4) Feature specifications

infinitive forms		
past participle forms	[past]	
finite past tense forms	[past]	[fin]

Note:

Assuming that one want to assimilate this approach to Bobaljik's analysis, this may suggest syntactic structures of the type in (5).

- (5)
- a. Infinitive:
[VP ... V]
 - b. Past Participle:
[PartP ... [VP ... t_V] V-Part_[past]]
 - c. Finite Past Tense:
[TP ... [VP ... t_V] V-T_[past, fin]]

Wiese's Explanation for the Absence of A-B-A Patterns 2

Conclusion:

Any rule referring to the past participle automatically also refers to the finite past tense. Therefore, the finite past tense cannot differ from the past participle **and still be identical to the infinitive**.

In what follows, some **vocabulary items** are listed for stem positions, with the insertion contexts referring to contextual features.

(6) SPRECH

- a. /sprech/ ↔ /__ {[]}
- b. /sproch/ ↔ /__ {[past]}
- c. /sprach/ ↔ /__ {[past,fin]}

(7) GIESS

- a. /gieß/ ↔ /__ {[]}
- b. /goss/ ↔ /__ {[past]}

(8) GEB

- a. /geb/ ↔ /__ {[]}
- b. /gab/ ↔ /__ {[past,fin]}

Experimentelle Überprüfung

Lit: Regel, Opitz, Müller & Friederici (2013)

Beobachtung:

Es sollte nach Wieses Theorie zwei Typen von ungrammatischen Ablautformen geben:

(a) solche, die möglich wären, aber nicht existieren; (b) solche, die grundsätzlich unmöglich sind.

Hypothese:

Für die beiden Typen von Ungrammatikalität werden unterschiedliche ereigniskorrelierte Potentiale (EKP) im EEG vorhergesagt.

(9) *Echte Verben:*

- a. singen – gesungen – sang
- b. singen – gesungen – *sung
- c. singen – gesungen – *sing

(10) *Pseudo-Verben:*

- a. tingen – getungen – tang
- b. tingen – getungen – tung
- c. tingen – getungen – ting

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