Title: An Innovative Ending in Genitive Plural of Feminine Nouns in Transcarpathian Ukrainian
Dialects

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In Transcarpathian dialects, Gpl of a-stem feminine nouns may have, along with the original zero ending, innovative overt endings. This paper, based on field recordings in Transcarpathian villages, investigates the ending *-ôw < *-ovъ* in Gpl forms as *babúw / babū́w / babi´w* 'women'. With feminine nouns this ending occurs: very rarely in the eastern and western areas of Transcarpathia; in 20-50% of the nouns in the central area; and in about 70% of the nouns in the southern central area.

The ending *-ôw* correlates with:

- oxytone stress in Npl;
- the presence of a stem-final consonantal cluster.

–ôw is less frequent under the following conditions:

- the frequency/familiarity of a noun,
- the possibility of vowel suppletion, i.e. the presence of the stem vowel appearing as ô ([u], [ü], [i]) in the endingless form of Gpl vs. as another vowel in all other cases (e.g. *horá, Gpl hür)*: *-ôw* occurs less frequently in nouns with vowel suppletion, even if they have oxytone stress in Npl. In the area where *-ôw* is widespread, vowel suppletion does not seem to be a factor.

Irregular forms usually resist regularization; some psycholinguists claim that irregular and regular forms are stored in the brain differently: irregular forms are part of the lexicon, stored in structures in the temporal or tempoparietal regions, while regular forms are produced by the grammar and stored in the basal ganglia and frontal cortex (Ullman). Suppletive (= irregular) endingless Gpl forms may also resist a regularizing innovation (overt ending), even if by some other criteria (stress placement in the paradigm) they would qualify for the innovation. In the zone where the innovation affects most lexemes, nouns with vowel suppletion are affected too; only the frequent nouns resist the innovation, regardless of their morphophonemic shape.