

Title: Development of Prosodic Redundancy in East and West Slavic, as Conditioned by the new Zero-Ending

Author: Ronald Feldstein, Indiana University

I. This paper attempts to relate prosodic phenomena, which developed due to the potential ambiguity of the nominative singular and genitive plural endings, which both had zero-endings. Languages to be considered are West Slavic (Czech, Slovak, and Polish) and East Slavic (Russian). I argue that the differentiation of stems preceding the zero-ending was morphological, rather than phonological. It is represented by quantity (or its reflex) in West Slavic, but by accentual paradigms in East Slavic.

After jer-fall, zero-endings could occur in two forms: masc. Nsg and neut./fem. Gpl. To avoid ambiguity, redundant prosodic alternations developed, which kept Nsg and Gpl distinct. While these have often been attributed to Common Slavic (e.g. Czech Gpl shortness (in paradigm A) as “neo-circumflex”; Polish/Slovak Gpl length (in paradigms B and C) as Common Slavic), I argue for a later origin. The presence of Russian prosodic patterns with similar function, and the opposite nature of the Czech and Slovak/Polish solutions, argues for the view that these developments were later reshapings, aimed at eliminating Nsg/Gpl ambiguity. Note that the Common Slavic alternation $*r\bar{\square}k\grave{\alpha} \sim *r\square\square k\square$ does not have the expected quantity difference in Modern West Slavic; inherited alternations were abandoned in favor of using quantity alternations primarily to oppose zero forms.

II. Following is a summary of redundant features which differentiate Nsg and Gpl zero-forms, to be typologically linked in my paper.

A. Czech: two opposing quantitative alternations, with either shortness or length of the stem preceding the zero-ending; length if Nsg (e.g. *mráz* , but shortness in other forms), but shortness if Gpl (*krav* , but length in other forms).

B. Slovak: productive length in zero Gpl (*kráv*). Unproductive length in originally short stems with zero Nsg (*kôň*).

C. Polish: non-phonologically conditioned length reflexes in zero Gpl (*raķ*); phonologically conditioned (pre-voiced) length reflexes in Nsg (*dąb*).

D. Russian: Nsg with zero-ending is frequent in end-stressed subparadigms (*stol*), but Gpl with zero is rare and marginal with constant end-stress, since plural stress usually retracts (*žena*).