

Title: Ikan'e and Paradigm Effects in Russian
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Reduction of non-high vowels after palatalized consonants and /j/ in unstressed positions in Russian produces [ɪ] (*ikan'e*): /v'és'olo/ 'cheerfully' [v'és'Ilə], /v'es'ol'éj/ 'more cheerfully' [v'Is'Il'éj]. But sometimes the reduced vowel is schwa [ə], not the expected [ɪ]. These 'exceptions' to *ikan'e* are found primarily in grammatical endings (Avanesov 1972) and schwa has been attributed to analogy, either to the stressed suffix vowel (Korš 1902) or to the reduced vowel after non-palatalized stems (Isačenko 1947). But stressed suffixes constitute a minority in Russian nouns/adjectives (Zaliznjak 1967:172-3); sometimes no stressed suffix is available, e.g., *lisje* [l'is'jə] 'fox's'. Analogy tends to operate on less frequent items, but schwa is found both in frequent and non-frequent suffixes.

I argue that the exceptional behavior of *ikan'e* in inflectional suffixes is a paradigm effect: *ikan'e* is constrained by both, the need to maintain paradigm contrast (Panov 2004; Avanesov 1972) and the need for paradigm uniformity (Kenstowicz 2005). These competing forces account for different variants under identical phonetic conditions, e.g., *-em* is pronounced as [ɪm] in *pólem* 'we weed' but as [əm] or [ɪm] in *pólem* 'field', instr sg, in spite of the fact that a stressed *-óm* variant is available for both. Likewise, *-ee* is [éjə] or [éjɪ] in *sinée* 'bluer' but only [éjɪ] in *sinéet* 'turns blue', and *sínee* 'blue' is [s'ín'əjə] while *sínie* is [s'ín'ɪɪ]. The behavior of *ikan'e* reveals a change in progress subject to paradigmatic factors.

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