

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

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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*).