

The Balto-Slavic mobile accent paradigms – new perspectives

THOMAS OLANDER

14th International Congress of Slavists · Ohrid
11 September 2008

2 BS mobile accent paradigms

	singular		plural	
	Russian	Lithuanian	Russian	Lithuanian
nom.	голова́	<i>galvà</i>	го́ловы	<i>gálvos</i>
acc.	го́лову	<i>gálvą</i>	го́ловы	<i>gálvas</i>
gen.	голово́й	<i>galvõs</i>	голово́в	<i>galvũ</i>
dat.	голово́е	<i>gálvai</i>	голово́ам	<i>galvóms</i>
instr.	голово́й	<i>gálva</i>	голово́ами	<i>galvomìs</i>
loc.	голово́е	<i>galvojè</i>	голово́ах	<i>galvosè</i>

Intro → [BS mobile accent paradigms](#) → Prehistory of the mobility → The Mobility Law (2006) → Accent loss in Podravina → The Mobility Law: new formulation → Šaxmatov's Law and Vasil'ev-Dolobko's Law

3 Prehistory of the mobility

- Corresponding words in other IE languages have fixed accent on first syllable of desinence:

	Vedic	Greek	
nom. sg.	<i>jihvá</i>	<i>φυγή</i>	
acc. sg.	<i>jihvám</i>	<i>φυγήν</i>	
gen. sg.	<i>jihváyāḥ</i>	<i>φυγῆς</i>	
dat. sg.	<i>jihváyai</i>	<i>φυγῆ</i>	etc.

Intro → BS mobile accent paradigms → [Prehistory of the mobility](#) → The Mobility Law (2006) → Accent loss in Podravina → The Mobility Law: new formulation → Šaxmatov's Law and Vasil'ev-Dolobko's Law

4 The Mobility Law (2006)

- $\acute{V}[-\text{long}] > [-\text{accent}] / _(\text{V})\text{C}_0\#$

	PIE	pre-PBS	Lith.	Russ.
nom. sg.	*-áh ₂	*-lāʔ	<i>galvà</i>	<i>голова́</i>
acc. sg.	*-áh ₂ m̃	*-aʔan	<i>gálvq</i>	<i>го́лову</i>
gen. sg.	*-áh ₂ s	*-lāʔs	<i>galvōs</i>	<i>голови́</i>
dat. sg.	*-áh ₂ aj	*-aʔaj	<i>gálvai</i>	<i>голове́</i> etc.

- Cf. also Russ. *на́ голову*, Old Russ. *голову тѹ*

Intro → BS mobile accent paradigms → Prehistory of the mobility → [The Mobility Law \(2006\)](#) → Accent loss in Podravina → The Mobility Law: new formulation → Šaxmatov's Law and Vasil'ev-Dolobko's Law

5 Accent loss in Podravina

general Slavonian	Podravina
<i>ženà</i> (nom. sg.)	<i>žèna</i>
<i>govedār</i> (nom. sg.)	<i>gòvedār</i>
<i>u ministarstvò</i>	<i>ù ministarstvo</i>
cf. <i>danâs</i> (adv.), ptc. masc. <i>kāzô</i> ; <i>rūkà me (boli)</i>	

- $\acute{\mu} > [-\text{accent}] / _C_o\#$
(applying to the phonological word)

Intro → BS mobile accent paradigms → Prehistory of the mobility → The Mobility Law (2006) → [Accent loss in Podravina](#) → The Mobility Law: new formulation → Šaxmatov's Law and Vasil'ev-Dolobko's Law

6 The Mobility Law: new formulation

- PIE $*\acute{V}$ is realised as $\acute{\mu}$
- PIE $*\acute{V}$ and $*\acute{V}h$ are realised as $\acute{\mu}\mu$
- PIE $*\acute{V}(h)V(h)$ is realised as $\mu\acute{\mu}$
- Mobility Law:
 - $\acute{\mu} > [-\text{high}] / _C_o\#$
(applying to the phonological word)

Intro → BS mobile accent paradigms → Prehistory of the mobility → The Mobility Law (2006) → [Accent loss in Podravina](#) → [The Mobility Law: new formulation](#) → Šaxmatov's Law and Vasil'ev-Dolobko's Law

7 Šaxmatov and Vasil'ev–Dolobko

- Šaxmatov's Law:
 - **nā gāl̥a'an* > PBS **₁nā gāl̥ān* > *há* *голову*
 - cf. *u ministarstvō* > Podr. *ù ministarstvo*
- Vasil'ev–Dolobko's Law:
 - **gāl̥a'an taan* > PBS **gāl̥ān tān* >
голову т́ (vs. **₁gāl̥ān*)
 - cf. Podr. *rūkà me (boli)* (vs. *rûka*)

Intro → BS mobile accent paradigms → Prehistory of the mobility → The Mobility Law (2006) → Accent loss in Podravina → The Mobility Law: new formulation → [Šaxmatov's Law](#) and [Vasil'ev–Dolobko's Law](#)