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POLABIAN ACCENTOLOGY

The investigation of Polabian accentology offers not only the usual intellectual challenge of a more or less unsolved problem, but also a nice sounding board against which to corroborate previously advanced hypotheses about the development of stress in the Slavic languages in the medieval period. Lehr-Spławiński did this more than fifty years ago[1] and again almost twenty years ago[2], on both occasions observing that the stress shifts in Polabian most closely resemble those in Slovene. While Trubetzkoy[3] essayed a synchronic analysis of Polabian phonology and accentology, Lehr-Spławiński carried out a thorough-going diachronic investigation of the phonology, accentology and morphology. Since I am seeking an explanation for the accentological state of affairs in Late Polabian, I shall extensively draw upon Lehr-Spławiński's excellent material. I shall restructure his material, however, particulary in respect to the ordering of accentological events. And, most important of all, I shall propose the loss of jers as the single prime motivating factor behind all the changes in accentology during the medieval period.

What we know of Polabian was recorded at the eleventh hour of its existence in the first years of the 18th century chiefly in two important word lists: Johannes Friedrich Pfeffingers's Vocabulaire Vandale and Christian Hennig von Jessen's Vocabularium Venedicum.[4] Primarily three scholars, Lehr-Spławiński, Trubetzkoy, and Kuryłowicz have contributed to the accentology of Late Polabian, the terminus ad quem for our study. Lehr-Spławiński and Trubetzkoy found either a final or

penultimate stress depending on the length of these syllables, while Kuryłowicz suggested a fixed stress on the initial syllable. I am certain that Reinhold Olesch[5] has successfully refuted Kuryłowicz's[6] theory by demonstrating that Middle Low German borrowings, most of which had a typical initial Germanic stress, systematically underwent a shift of stress to their final or penultimate syllables and, therefore, were responding to a system of accentuation that did not have a fixed initial stress. Trubetzkoy very neatly determined the conditions for the occurrence of stress in Late Polabian words: if the final vowel was long, it was stressed; and, if it was not long, the stress was on the penultimate syllable. As Olesch[7] has shown, this state of affairs is nicely reflected in apparently later Low German loan words like *farbòt* ‹ *vorbôt* 'prohibition', *papìr* ‹ *pappîr* 'paper', and *platèr* ‹ *plattêr* 'dish', where the stress in the Polabian forms remained on the original long final syllable; and in words like *àmman* ‹ *ámptman* 'bailiff', *emerìkă* ‹ *hémelrîke* 'kingdom of heaven' and *spòde* ‹ *spáde* 'spade', where the original final syllable was short but the original penultimate syllable was long.

We know much about the location of stress in Polabian words because in Hennig's and Pfeffinger's lists practically every word was accented. Hennig's list is the better, and he utilizes essentially two accent marks: ^ and ´.[8] Hennig himself says that the acute accent marks a stressed syllable and that the circumflex accent marks a long syllable. If a long syllable and stress coincide, then the circumflex accent is used. When we seek to establish what Hennig meant by a "long" syllable, we discover that he was referring for the most part to both medial and final syllables closed by consonants. Note the following examples:

Dûmbak, NSM, dǫ̂bă̂k ← *dǫbъkъ 'small tree'
Pôlza, NPM, pólcă ← *palьcě 'fingers, toes'
tgôrka, NSF, d'ôrkă ← *gorьka 'hill'
sribârna, NSM (Adj), sribârnĕ ← *serbrьnьjь 'silver-'
bumbân, NSM, bǫ́bân ← *bǫbъnъ 'drum'
wibbejôd, NSM, vib'ôd ← *obědъ 'breakfast'
wirggenûnt, inf., virgnǫ̂t ← *vьrgnǫti 'to throw'
plokôl, part. masc., plokôl ← *plakalъ 'cried'

In the first example above the syllable containing the nasal vowel was undoubtedly closed by a homorganic nasal consonant, just as the original transcription indicates. Hennig uses the circumflex accent in one other instance: to mark a stressed syllable just before his use of two consonants to gain a certain phonetic value:

mêssat, inf., mèsăt ← *mešati 'to stir'
rêssa, NSF, rȍsa ← *rosa 'dew'
nîgga, NSF, nûga ← *noga 'foot'
notîtze, verb 3sg., notùcĕ ← *natočitь 'he taps (beer)'

From these facts we learn that there is really no significant difference between the two accent marks although, if the two marks may coincide in a word, the acute marks the stress and the circumflex a blocked syllable. The fact that the circumflex indicates merely a blocked syllable also tells us that it does not mark any long vowels. Indeed, one finds that most scholars speak only of "full" vowels versus just two "reduced" vowels, "ă" and "ĕ", where ă is the reduced counterpart exclusively of *a*, *ě*, *ъ*, *ъ*; ĕ is the exclusive reduced counterpart of *i*, *u*, *y*,; ă and ĕ both are reduced counterparts of *e*, *o* depending on the nature of following consonants; and ă alternates with *ą* as reduced forms of *ę*. It is to Trubetzkoy[9] that we owe the elaboration of the distribution of normal (nonreduced) and reduced syllables in the language. And from this study he was able to work out his succinct statement about stress in Late Polabian: that the stress was on the final vowel if it was long (i.e., nonreduced), but on the penultimate syllable if the final vowel was not long (i.e., reduced). In a rather recent paper[10] Olesch tabulated all the patterns of reduced versus nonreduced syllables. It will be instructive to review briefly these patterns at this point because they are a clear indication of the presence of complex shifts of stress that gave rise to the patterns themselves. Note particularly the location of the reduced vowels: in final position and in medial position just before the accented syllable. Various processes put the stress on either the final or penultimate syllable. If the stress was on the penultimate syllable, the final syllable (the usually weak immediately posttonic syllable) was either reduced or lost. In the case of the immediately pretonic reduced vowels we are

dealing with former immediately posttonic vowels, reduced because of this position, or with formerly stressed vowels, both types turning up later as pretonic vowels because of an advance of stress. Olesch[11] says that such medial reduced vowels do not depend on accentual relations. This is true, but they do depend on previous accentual relations. The examples below record only di- and trisyllabic words (except for stress pattern 6); any longer Polabian words have the same patterns.

1) *Stress pattern* ˈ˘

Original Transcription	Polabian Phonetic Form	Word Class	Underlying Form	Meaning
Tijînatz	t'ûnăc	Noun NSM	*konьcь	end
Ghiũsda	gi̯ôzda	Noun NSF	*gvězdà	star
Chrámat	gràmăt	Verb, inf.	*grьměti	to thunder
Biôla	b'ôlă	Adj NSF	*bělája	white

This pattern is formed in most cases by the retraction of stress from a final short syllable or a syllable that subsequently shortened. In a few cases the stress was originally on the initial syllable.

2) *Stress pattern* –ˈ

Tschelumb	d'ölǫ̀b	Noun NSM	*gǫ́lǫbь	dove
motáy	motàį	Noun NSF	*mą̀ti	mother
Lgotî	L'otû	Noun NSN	*lěto	year
eybîst	ai̯bûst	Verb, inf.	*ubostì	to stab

This pattern developed chiefly from the advancement of stress to the final syllable. This process produced a long or full-voweled final syllable and maintained the full quantity in the immediately pretonic syllable. In a few cases the stress was originally on the final syllable or was retracted from a final syllable that was subsequently lost.

3) *Stress pattern* –ˈ˘

Patînatz	pătînac	Noun NSM	*pьtenьcь	bird
wastrîgga	vâstrûga	Noun NSF	*ostrǫ́ga	spur
Sarîtge	sarût'ă	Adj NSM	*širokъjь	wide
tisćidat	düzàidăt	Verb, inf.	*dožidàti	to wait

This pattern was produced mostly by a retraction from final or medial syllables. In a number of cases the stress remained on the penultimate syllable.

4) *Stress pattern* – – ˈ

tgilgonáy	t'ül'onài	Noun NPM	*kolěny	knees
siljosí	zil'ozû	Noun NSN	*želězo	iron
wamakenûnt	vămăknǫ̂t	Verb, inf.	*vъmъknǫti	to lock up
eylautzâl	aɨlaʊcăl	Verb, part.	*ulučilъ	has hit upon

This pattern derives from three different sources: advancement of stress from a medial syllable, retraction from a final lost syllable, or from no shift in position whatsoever.

5) *Stress pattern* – ◡ ˈ

komanóy	komănòɨ	Noun NPM	*kåmeny	oven
Nupalóɨ	nopălòɨ	Adv.	*nåpoly	half
Süstarû	sistărû	Coll. Num.	*šěstero	six
No chardé	no gărdè	PP LSM	*nà gordě	in court

Instances of a medial reduced syllable are all produced by advancement of the stress from the syllable immediately preceding the reduced syllable (weakened, as indicated above, by its immediately posttonic position) to the syllable just following the reduced syllable. In this case the original stressed syllable was the initial syllable.

6) *Stress pattern* – ◡ ˈ ◡

eyriasóna	aɨřăzònă	PPP NSN	*urězanoje	cut off
Eycratína	aɨkrădìnĕ	VN NSN	*ukråděnьje	stealing
Slawacéna	clăvăcènă	Adj NSN	*čelvěčenoje	human
pagawéitza	paɨăvàɨćă	Noun NSF	*pijåvica	leech

In this pattern the original stress was located on the immediately pretonic syllable. This was an old acute accent, shortened in Common Slavic times. When the stress was advanced by one syllable, its quantity was reduced presumably because of its location between the primary stress and the secondary stress on the initial syllable.

We now know that stress in Late Polabian was always on a non-reduced penultimate or final syllable, and the preceding stress patterns have demonstrated that this accentological condition was reached by selective retractions and advancements of stress. We shall now essay both an explanation and relative chronology for these various shifts of stress. To the best of my knowledge, only Lehr-Spławiński has tackled such problems. Both in his book Gramatyka połabska and in his article "Z rozważań o powstaniu akcentuacji połabskiej" he tabulates these shifts, and in the article he attempts to account for them. He is concerned chiefly with a physico-phonetic explana-

tion for the retraction from a final syllable to a preceding long syllable and for the advancement of stress from a syllable with a circumflex accent to a succeeding final syllable. It is certainly not difficult to deal with the notion of retraction of stress from a final syllable to directly preceding long vowels, but Lehr-Spławiński's explanation[12] seems a bit labored. The amplitudinal curve in a word with final stress is supposed to rise throughout the word and culminate in the course of the final syllable and then fall quickly. If this decline occurs directly after the beginning of the final syllable, one can get a premature fall of this curve below its highest level in the pretonic syllable so that this syllable can become dominant and assume the word stress. I do not find his argument for the genesis of stress advancement from a circumflex syllable at all convincing. He claims that, if the penultimate syllable had an acute (rising) accent, it could maintain its dominance over the following syllable where the amplitudinal curve would be lower than that in the stressed syllable. But in the case of a circumflex accent (with the high portion of the amplitudinal curve at the beginning of the syllable) on the penultimate syllable, the curve would be lowered beyond that point and eventually a critical point would be reached where it would either be cut short or rise again in the next syllable. This rise would supposedly gradually gain ascendancy over the previously accented portion of the word and attract the stress. Lehr-Spławiński also gives us only a rather rudimentary chronology involving only the retraction from a final syllable to a preceding long syllable and the general advancement of stress from an initial syllable with a circumflex accent to an immediately following final syllable. He states very definitely that the retraction precedes the advancement, but his reason for this order of events is not clearly expounded. It seems that the retraction must occur first in order to establish a clear opposition in initial syllables between falling and rising intonations. Then this opposition plus the physico-phonetic facts is supposed to promote the subsequent shift of stress to the final syllable from circumflex syllables. I am not convinced.

I am certain that we must seek the basis for these shifts in that calamitous event in medieval Slavic - the fall of the jers - and that we must establish some kind of hierarchy for the loss of jers in different positions in order to account for the various shifts of stress. It is obvious that the stress was retracted from final jers throughout Slavic, and it is almost as clear that the advancement of stress also occurred after the loss of certain jers, at least. The evidence for this is not to be found in Polabian; but in Slovene, whose multiple shifts of stress not so surprisingly parallel those in Polabian. There is good evidence. One example will suffice. The forms *grâd, gradû* in Slovene show that an advancement of stress occurred in the gen. sg. but was blocked in the nom. sg., where the final jer had already disappeared. If the jer had been present at the time of the advance, the stress on that jer would presumably have been retracted later to the root syllable to yield a rising intonation.

I now present an ordered set of accentological events that seem most likely to have produced the type of accentuation postulated for Late Polabian. Each event will be motivated by a phonological change or by an analogical relationship.

1) The retraction of stress from a final full vowel in derived nouns to a long syllable created by the loss of a jer in the original penultimate syllable. This accentological development is not specific for Polabian. It is shared by all the Slavic languages and, therefore, is the first of the stress shifts caused by the loss of jers. We hypothesize that medial unstressed jers at least in derivational elements disappear first. Note the following examples:

*orlьjȁ › rȗl'ă 'plowed field'	*volьjȁ › vȉl'ă 'will'
*golvьkȁ › glȁfkă 'distaff'	*lisьkȁ › lȁi̯skă 'fox'
*pletenьjé › plitènĕ 'braiding'	*zapitьjé › zopȁi̯t'ĕ 'betrothal'

The same shift of stress seems to take place at least in Polabian in various case forms of masculine nouns ending in final full vowels. The picture here is not uniform throughout the Slavic languages.

*božьcȁ (AS) › bȗzćă 'God'	*kolkolьkỳ (NP) › klȁt'ȏlt'ĕ 'little bells'
*pьtenьcĕ́ (NP) › pătȉncĕ 'birds'	
*slĕ́pьcĕ (NP) › slèpcĕ 'roosters'	

As is clear in most of the languages, retraction produced a neo-acute accent. This fact will acquire more importance as we proceed through subsequent shifts. Presumably, this shift of stress did not occur in adjectival forms like **krasъnàja* just at this moment because there were accentological class relationships to be meintained and the stress was not on a final vowel.

2) The advancement of stress to the final syllable in all so-called mobile paradigms (stress on either the first or final syllable of all the forms in a given paradigm). We already know that this shift of stress was shared by Slovene, where the newly stressed vowel was lengthened and received a circumflex accent, and that the whole event occurred after the loss of absolutely final unstressed jers. One gets the general impression here that this whole shift was motivated solely by a striving to line up the stresses throughout the paradigm by advancing the stress in all cases of initial stress. One can argue much more convincingly, however, that the primary motivating force was the loss of final unstressed jers, that occurred in the nom. and acc. sg. of most nouns with mobile stress. This loss left the stress on the only or final syllable of critical forms in the paradigm, and the stress advanced to the final syllable then in the remaining forms with initial stress. Slovene indicates quite clearly that these remaining forms were the gen. sg. and nom.-acc. pl. Fortunately, it is just these forms that are attested with any frequency in Polabian. You have just noticed too that the newly stressed syllables are long in Slovene, e.g., *kostî* (GS, N/AP). I shall assume that the very same syllable was long in Polabian also. This assumption is important for the next accentological shift, and length in these syllables may have contributed to diphthongizations like *i* > *aį*, *u* > *aų/aų*, *y* > *aį/oį* and narrowing and tensing like *a* > *o*, *e* > *i* in the phonological system. This shift is primarily found then among *i*-stems and masc. *o*-stems:

*gȍlobъ > d'ölǫ̂b 'dove'	*gvȍzdě (N/AP) > d'üzdê 'nails'
*sȍli (GS) > süli 'salt'	*ljȕdi (N/AP) > l'aụdâį 'people'
*bȍga (GS) > bügô 'God'	*žǫ̀by (N/AP) > zǫbôį 'teeth'

adverbial forms in *-o*:

*sȕxo > sauxȕ 'drily' *ljȕbo > l'ajbȕ 'kindly'

and secondarily among neuter *o*-stems and femine *a*-stems:

*čȅrvo > crevȕ 'intestine' *kȍlo > t'ölȕ 'wheel'
*nȍgǫ (AS) > nügǫ̀ 'foot/leg' *gȍry (N/AP) > d'örâj 'mountains'

3) The next step involves the retraction of stress from final open syllables to preceding long syllables. This is not to be confused with retraction 1), where medial jers were involved. This new retraction is to be directly observed apparently only in Slovene and Polabian. Furthermore, I would like to suggest that this shift of stress is also triggered by the third stage of development of the jers, the retraction of stress from final jers. In view of the fact that we get retraction of stress from final jers to either long or short syllables and that we frequently observe compensatory lengthening in the case of short syllables, it seems reasonable to find retraction from a short nonreduced vowel to a preceding long one. We would expect these newly stressed long vowels to bear the neo-acute accent even though there is no evidence for this in Polabian. Bear in mind too that no retraction will take place from the newly stressed final syllables that resulted from the advancement of the stress because these latter would be <u>long</u> stressed syllables. All linguistic forms involved in this shift display the final-clumnar stress fixed in Slavic on the first or only syllable of the desinence. Here we have masc., fem., and neuter nouns:

*pǫt'ȁ (GSM) > pǫ̀t'ă 'road' *kl'učȅ (N/APM) > kl'àucă 'keys'
*mǫkȁ (NSF) > mǫ̀kă 'flour' *rěkȁ (NSF) > rêkă 'river'
*gnězdȏ (N/ASN) > gnȍzdě 'nest' *kridlȏ (N/ASN) > kràjdlě 'wing'

It is important to mention here that there is another retraction dependent upon the retraction of stress from final jers. This occurs in all Slavic languages among pronominalized adjectives and seems to be an effort to distinguish accentological classes, i.e., to maintain a separation between oxytonic and final-columnar adjectives. That is, when in NSM oxytonic forms ending in *-ъjь́* the stress was retracted to the preceding jer (> *-ъ́jь*), then the final-columnar stress passes to the root syllable (*-ъ́jь* > *ˈ-ъjь*). Thus in Polabian one gets the following NSM forms with coalescence and reduction of the desinential

syllable:

*čr̥nьjь > cȍrnă 'black' *dobrьjь > dȕbrě 'good'
*glupьjь > glą̏pě 'young' *bělьjь > b'ȍlě 'white'

Analogy produced the same retraction in the other desinential forms:

*krasьnája > krȍsnă 'beautiful' *lьgьkója > l'ȃt'ă 'light'
*mokrája > mȕkră 'wet' *teplója > tȇplă 'warm'

Note that there is no retraction in the case of final-columnar short neuter adjectives, where there is no confrontation between oxytonic and final-columnar forms:

*zimьnȍ > za̧mnȕ 'cool' *tęžьkȏ > tą̀stȕ 'heavily/gravely'

4) The next stage in the accentological development would seem to involve another advancement of stress to final open syllables - this time on the part of barytonic words. This development must be the result of a complex response partly to the similar advance among mobile nouns and partly to the previous retraction, which placed the stress on the initial syllables of many nouns. Again I must point out that the results of the previous retraction are not going to be swept into this advance because they had a neo-acute accent on a long syllable, while barytonic words at that time all had a short falling accent. This advance is to be observed among barytonic nouns of all three genders and among the few barytonic short adjectives that are attested. Note the advance also in trisyllabic forms:

Masculine:

*sȳra (GS) > sȃrȏ 'cheese' *gȁdy (N/AP) > godą̏ 'snakes'
*pȍrʒi (NP) > porʒą̏ 'thresholds' *kȁmeny (N/AP) > komȁnǫ̏ 'oven'

Feminine:

*kȍrvy (N/AP) > korvǫ̏ 'cows' *sȍlmy (GS) > slȁmǫ̏ 'straw'
*tǫ̑ča (NS) > tǫcȏ 'cloud' *jȁgody (N/AP) > i̯od'ȁdǫ̏ 'berries'
*stȁra > storȏ 'old'

Neuter:

The fact that this advancement of stress occurs only among neuter singular forms suggests strongly that this is an analogical development. In this way the rather typical accentological opposition between sg. and pl. is maintained:

*lě̑to > l'otȕ 'year/summer' *jȁblьko > i̯opt'ȕ 'apple'
*šȉdlo > sa̧dlȕ 'awl' *ȍrdlo > rȁdlȕ 'hookplow'
*dl̥go > dau̯d'ȕ 'long' *čȉsto > ca̧stȕ 'clean'

It is possible that another kind of analogical stress advancement took place in certain aorist paradigms in Polabian as a

result of the previous retraction from a stressed jer. For support here we must appeal to Serbo-Croatian, the only Slavic language with extensive reliable data in this verbal category. It can be shown that the 2/3sg. aorist forms of oxytonic verbs have root stress, the result of retraction. Thus, the 1sg. aor. of *pèći* 'to bake' is *pèkoh* < **pekóx* < **pekoxъ*, but the 2/3 sg. aor. is *pèče* < **pečés/*pečét*. Aorist forms in Polabian are all too rare, but just one 1 sg. aorist form like *aʒpaɣstàʒx* < **upustixъ* agrees perfectly with the intermediate form above **pekóx*, which later underwent the neo-Štokavian retraction. Then the presence of three 3 sg. aor. forms with a final stress, all from oxytonic verb stems, points to earlier forms with an initial stress that was subsequently advanced to line up the locus of stress with that developing in the 1 sg. form. Thus we have *pȁcȍ* 'he fell', *rícȍ* 'he said', *ʒȕdȍ* 'he went':

pȁcȍ < pácȍ < *pьčét rícȍ < rícȍ < *rečét ʒȕdȍ < ʒúdȍ < *xodét

5) Next follows a retraction from final open short syllables to preceding short vowels. This change would seem to be related to the earlier retraction to preceding long vowels, but it is confined to situations where it can be supported by existing oppositions of stress between singular and plural forms. We therefore observe this shift of stress in the nom. pl. forms of neuter and the nom. sg. forms of feminine paradigms. There is unfortunately only one extant neuter noun here: *t'ȍlă* < **kolá* 'wheels'; and, as a result of this shift, a contrast in stress is obtained in regards to the singular, *t'ólŭ* < **kólo*. There is no dearth of examples among feminine nouns, and the shift is exceptionless.

*vodá > vȁdă 'water' *bъčelá > cȅlă 'bee'
*tьmá > t'ȁmă 'darkness' *slъzá > slâzȁ 'tear'

I call attention to the fact that there is no such retraction among masculine nouns where there is no well-established singular-plural accentual opposition:

*volá (GS) > vȁlȍ 'ox' *pьsi (NP) > pasȁʒ 'dogs'
*bobi (NP) > bȕbȁʒ 'beans' *nožě (N/AP) > nȕzȅ 'knives'

This is a good point at which to stop and examine briefly the accentological status of disyllabic *a*-stem feminine nouns in Polabian. Only the nom. and acc. sg. and the nom.-acc. pl. are sufficiently attested in the language, but even here one can

readily detect the mixed accentological types. In Common Slavic there presumably existed only a barytonic and final-columnar type, the latter yielding various mobile patterns under analogical pressure. Polabian shows clear examples only of barytonic and mobile types, the latter manifested in acc. sg. forms. In Late Polabian the facts are the following: as we have seen, all nom.-acc. pl. forms bear a final stress, and in the nom. sg. all nouns with an original final stress bear an initial stress, while most original barytonic nouns have a final stress, but a fairly significant number have the stress on the first syllable or a variant with initial stress:

*bel̀za > bèrzə̀ 'birch' *dèva > dèvə̀ 'girl'
*gnìda > gnâidə̀ 'nit' *kolda > klâdə̀ 'barrel'
*nìva > nàivə̀ 'field' *vr̀ba > vàrbə̀ 'willow'
*bàba > bobò/bòbə̀ 'old woman' *rèpa > repò/rèpə̀ 'turnip'
*solma > slâmò/slâmə̀ 'straw'

The acc. sg. is not very well represented, but all original barytonic forms and most mobile forms have final stress:

Barytonic:

*glìnǫ > glaɨnǫ̀ 'clay' *jamǫ > ɨomǫ̀ 'hole'
*kolvǫ > korvǫ̀ 'cow' *volnǫ > vornǫ̀ 'crow'

Mobile:

*gólvǫ > glávǫ̀ 'head' *nógǫ > nügǫ̀ 'leg/foot'
*rǫ́kǫ > rǫkǫ̀ 'hand/arm' *stórno > stornǫ̀ 'side'
*vódǫ > vădǫ̀ 'water'
but: *dúšǫ > dâusǫ̀ soul *górǫ > d'ŏrǫ̀ 'mountain'

In these data one can easily discern the results of the accentual shifts already observed, but the uniformity of final stress in the plural vs. the fluctuations of stress in the singular indicates that the pattern may have been developing into a sg./pl. stress opposition.

6) The next logical stress shift is a retraction from blocked final short syllables. This is presumably a response to previous retractions from open final short syllables. The blocked syllables would develop either where final jers were lost or where some final full vowel was reduced and eventually lost. The stress on this final blocked syllable was either originally present there or was retracted to this syllable from a final stressed jer. We find this shift of stress among a disparate set of derived morphological items:

Nouns:

*žívotь › zài̯vȁt 'life' *konьcь › t'ȕnăc 'end'
*pьtenьcь › pȁtĭnăc 'bird' *jęzýkъ › i̯ǫ̑zĕk 'language'

Adverbs:

*dalekъ › dȏlĕk 'far' *glǫbokь › glǫ̑bĕk 'deeply'
*vysokь › vȍi̯sĕk 'up/above' *mьnějе › mână i̯ 'less'

Infinitives:

*bežáti › bèzăt 'to run/flow' *česàti › cèsăt 'to brush'
*lomíti › lûmĕt 'to break' *kǫsíti › kǫ̑sĕt 'to bite'

-l- participles:

*plęsálъ › pl'ǫ̑săl 'have danced' *prašálъ ›prȍsăl 'have asked'
*sъdělъ › sădʼă̋l 'have done' *zьrělъ › zàŕăl 'have seen'

Imperfect:

*upuščáše › ai̯pàu̯stăs 'he was dropping' *ričěxъ › rícăx 'I ordered'

Numeral:

*četýre › cítĕr 'four'

Characterizing this retraction as proceeding from a short vowel seems correct because we observe no retraction from a long syllable:

*upustīlъ › ai̯pau̯stă̋l 'have dropped'
*položīlъ › pŏlüză̋l 'have placed'
*vьtъknǫ̑ti › vătâknǫt 'to pierce'
*vьtęgnǫ̑ti › vȁstą̄gnǫt 'to pull up'
*ubostí › ai̯bȕst 'to stab'
*upustīxъ › ai̯pau̯stà i̯ix 'I dropped'

As I have assumed in the preceding examples, verbs in *-íti* are chiefly oxytonic and will place the stress just after the *-l-* suffix. There is some evidence for this in Slovene. We must also note here that the stress is not retracted from the final syllable in *prefixed* deverbal masculine nouns:

*obědъ › vib'ȏd 'breakfast' *vьzdrážъ › vȁzdròz 'voice/
*perpękъ › pripȅk 'overdone places on breadcrust' melody'

7) It is not at all difficult to conceive of the next stress shift, an advancement, as a response to the foregoing retraction. This advancement moves the stress to a final blocked syllable from an immediately preceding syllable. Again, the results of the preceding retraction would not get involved in this advancement because the newly stressed syllables would bear a rising accent. It is significant also that the same grammatical categories are subject to both the retraction and the advancement:

Nouns:

*vèčerъ › vicȅr 'evening' *vĺxьrъ › vai̯xă̋r 'whirlwind'
*ǫ̑gorь › vǫd'ȍr 'eel' *ǫ̑glь › vǫd'ȇl 'coal'

Infinitives:

*kúšati > t'ausôt 'to taste' *sẹ́jati > sijôt 'to sow'
*slyšati > slą́sôt 'to hear'

-l- Participles:

*plákalъ > plokôl 'have cried' *poslúšalъ > pöslausôl 'has listened'
*krádlъ > krodą̂l 'have stolen' *jędlъ > jedą̂l 'have eaten'

8) I assume that the last stage in the complex development of the stress patterns in Polabian includes adjustments of stress (usually advancements) within morphological categories to the statistically most frequently occurring site of stress. The first of the two retractions here is found among originally oxytonic pronominalized adjectives. For instance, an oxytonic form like **l'ubъjь* would yield **l'ubъ́jъ* and then **l'ubъ́* upon coalescence of the *-ъjъ* ending. It is very likely that the form **l'ubъ́*, with its long final vowel would not have undergone the earlier retraction from a short final vowel to give the end product in Late Polabian *l'ą́bě*. I therefore assume that *l'ą́bě* was produced by an analogical retraction to effect the same penultimate stress characteristic of the numerous derived adjectives with an original final-columnar stress, as in **tuděnъ́jъ* > **tuděnъjъ* > *tą̂ně* 'fat'. Here are some other examples of oxytonic adjectives:

*xromъjь > xrûmě 'lame' *prostъjь > prôstě 'crazy'
*xudojь > xą̂udă 'bad/ugly/poor' *moldъjь > mlą̂dě 'small/young'

We must also take note of the fact that all oxytonic verbs are stressed on the penultimate syllable in the present tense forms, i.e., in the 3 sg. forms. Note the following examples:

*deretь > dêrě 'tears/skins' *bělitь > bêlě 'washes'
*pijetь > pą́ě 'drinks' *orstetь > rûstě 'grows'

This shift seems to be the result of a complex process triggered by the retraction of stress from the final jer. Only then could the final *-t* have disappeared in the second stage of the process. The third stage would have been the maintenance of a final stressed *-ě* or *-ť* until the analogical retraction occurred. In other words, this was not a very early shift, and it cannot be connected with any of our previous retractions that were characteristic of nouns and were primarily instituted to maintain acctentological oppositions. The *-t* must have remained in position throughout stage 3) (when there occurred the retraction from a final short vowel to a preceding long syllable). It

probably disappeared before stage 5) (retraction from a short final vowel to a preceding short syllable), but it would have remained unaffected because 5) was concerned solely with a few analogical adjustments of stress among nouns. Without a doubt the loss of *-t* was much earlier than stage 6) (retraction from a short vowel in a closed final syllable). Remember also that when the stress was retracted from the final jer, former penultimate stresses were in turn moved back by one syllable so that the accentological opposition was preserved. And it was to these latter types that the stress in the oxytonic verbs was assimilated. Here are some examples of verbs with a more or less original penultimate stress:

*češętь > cîsě 'brushes' *drěmjěšь > drèměš 'you dream'
*nositь > nûsě 'carries' *prositь > prûsě 'begs'

In addition, related barytonic verbs presented the same kind of accentological models to oxytonic verbs:

*rěžetь > rèzě 'cuts' *jězditь > jȅzdě 'rides'

This same kind of analogically based retraction occurs among a limited number of once productive thematic verbs in *-ȃje-* that underwent a contraction of this disyllabic sequence to *-ā-*, later shortened to *-ă* (this disyllabic combination ordinarily does not coalesce in the language, e.g., **kǫsȃjetь > kǫsòjě* 'bites'). The contraction and retraction do occur in the following verbs:

*blьvȃjetь > bl'àvă 'vomits' *blędȃjetь > blȍdă 'dreams'
*dyxȃjetь > dȃixă 'blows' *valjȃjetь > vòl'ă 'rolls'

A verb like **dě̀lajetь > d'olă* could easily have served as a model in these instances. All of these above examples should be an ample demonstration of why there is a universal penultimate stress on all these present-tense forms.

Analogical advancements of stress to the penultimate syllable of pronominalized adjectives occur mostly in past passive and present active participles and in a few adjectives:

*obrě̀zanъjь > vìbrȃzòně 'circumcised' *udě̀lanoje > ajd'ălònă 'done'
*lětājǫtjaja > l'otojȃcă 'flying' *kȁmenenaja > kominènă 'stony'

We also observe an analogical advancement of stress in the case of verbal nouns. Here the regularized site of stress is also the penultimate syllable. The stress appears here as a result of an earlier retraction triggered by the loss of a medial jer

as in: **trąsenьjé* › **trąsénje* › *trąsìnĕ* 'shaking'.

*strìženьje › straịzînĕ 'shearing' *ukrádenьje › aịkrădînĕ 'stealing'
*upádenьje › aịpădênĕ 'falling away' *vábenьje › vobênĕ 'baiting'

Advancement of stress also occurs rather frequently in the case of certain feminine nouns with suffixes that originally attracted the stress to the penultimate syllable. Here we have the suffixes -*ĭca* (**krivĭca* › *kraịvàịcă* 'bay/gulf') and -*ĭna* (**trostĭna* › *trâstàịnă* 'reed').

*jálovica › jolüvàịcă 'heifer' *lástovica › lostĕvàịcă 'swallow'
*júžina › jauzàịnă 'dinner' *lysina › lâịsàịnă 'forehead'

And, finally, there are a few instances of the advancement of stress among verb forms with accompanying enclitic pronouns. As an integral part of such phrasal words, the enclitic pulls the stress forward so that a typical penultimate stress is obtained:

*stávi-me › stovàị-mĕ 'put me' *znáješь-me › znojîs-mĕ 'you know me'
*obésilъ sę › vibâsăl-să 'has hanged himself'
*vъzbili jego › vazbĕlàị-iĕg 'they have broken him'

The penultimate stress before enclitics became established as a pattern because, once weak vowels had disappeared, the presence of enclitics blocked any further retractions and thus preserved the more or less original site of stress. Examine the following juxtapositions of verbal forms with and without enclitics:

*kǫpáti sę › kǫpòt-să 'to bathe oneself' *kǫpáti › kǫ̀pät 'to bathe'
*bolitь me › bŭlî-mĕ 'it hurts me' *bolitь › bŭlĕ 'hurts'
*trąsetь jego › trąsî-jĕg 'it shakes him' *trąsetь › trąsĕ 'shakes'
*jьmetą sę › jimătǫ̂-să 'they (du) seize each other'
*jьmetь › jîmĕ 'seizes'

I have attempted to show in this paper how the Common Slavic accentological state of affairs was shaped in Polabian by the traumatic phonological and morphological events transpiring in medieval Slavic. The whole chain of events was set in motion by the fall of the jers in this period and was orchestrated by the accentological classes of words inherited from Common Slavic. It seems to me particularly significant that this study possibly reveals a stepwise loss of weak jers: first medial jers, next final unstressed jers, and last final stressed jers. I have not made an issue of the fact here, but I have confirmed Lehr-Spławiński's assertion that the accentological development in Polabian is remarkably similar to that in Slov-

ene. The only significance to be ascribed to this similarity is that the same linguistic process, the loss of jers, just happened to evoke responses that were very much alike in both linguistic communities.

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