

The Morphology of Weight in South Slavic

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This talk focuses on alternate modes of plural formation in South Slavic languages: all nominal roots in (1)-(2) combine with inflectional affixes marking number/gender/(case), but LIGHT roots, in (1), also combine with the formant *OV*.

(1) LIGHT roots

	Root	Singular	Plural	Dual	Gloss
a. Bulgarian	σ	park	parkov e		'park'
b. Macedonian	σ	grad	gradov i		'city'
c. Slovenian	σ	glas	glasov i	glasov a	'voice'
d. Croatian/Serbian	σ	Rak	rakov i		'crab'

(2) HEAVY roots

	Root	Singular	Plural	Dual	Gloss
a. Bulgarian	σσ	mesec	meseci		'month'
b. Macedonian	σσ	junak	junaci		'hero'
c. Slovenian	σσ	korak	koraki	koraka	'step'
d. Croatian/Serbian	σσ	jelen	jeleni		'deer'

In all languages in (1)-(2), there are two crucial types of restrictions on the distribution of *OV*. First, *OV* augmentation is morphologically restricted: it occurs only in LIGHT roots that belong to the *masculine* declension class, and only in their plural/dual forms. Although the other two declension classes, *feminine* and *neuter*, include monosyllabic roots, such roots are not augmented in either the singular or the plural/dual form. Second, the role of *OV* is prosodic: it co-occurs exclusively with LIGHT roots, those that have at most one syllable (or two, in some cases). But, while in many respects parallel with other cases of prosodic size effects in morphological forms (cf. McCarthy and Prince 1986), the most striking aspect of *OV* augmentation is the bounding role of morphology. My focus therefore is on the morphological status of *OV* in the four languages. What I show is that, even though the prosodic conditions on the distribution of *OV* are highly comparable across the four languages, there is little uniformity in how *OV* is integrated into their morphological systems. Relying on the framework of Distributed Morphology (Embick 2010, Oltra-Massuet & Arregi 2005), I argue that the morphological status of *OV* varies considerably across the four languages. While in some *OV* is simply an integral part of the inflections and has no status of its own, in others *OV* serves as the realization of the masculine declension theme and, as such, participates in a range of morphological constituencies, entering even the realm of derivational morphology.

References:

- Embick, D. (2010) *Localism vs Globalism in Morphology and Phonology*. MIT Press.
 McCarthy, J. and Prince, A. (1986) *Prosodic Morphology*. Published in 1996 as Report no. RuCCS-TR-32. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Center for Cognitive Science.
 Oltra-Massuet, I. & Arregi, K. (2005) "Stress-by-structure in Spanish." *Linguistic Inquiry* 36: 43-84.