

Frederik Kortlandt

## ON ŠAXMATOV'S LAW

Šaxmatov's law embodies two chronologically distinct developments, first the retraction of the accent to a preposition or prefix in mobile accent paradigms, and after Dybo's law the shortening of long vowels in medial syllables. Neither development was dependent on the quantity of the preceding vowel.

*Key words:* Slavic accentology, Šaxmatov's law.

Шахматовљев закон отеловљује два хронолошки различита развоја, најпре повлачење акцента на предлог или префикс у мобилним акцентским парадигмама, и после Дибовог закона, скраћивање дугих вокала у медијалним слоговима. Ниједан од ова два развоја није зависио од квантитета претходног вокала.

*Кључне речи:* словенска акцентологија, Шахматовљев закон.

“On the basis of prepositional phrases and prefixed forms like RU *zá ruku, pò vodu, zá gorod, pródal*, ШТК *nà rúke, nà vodu, ù grād, pròdāli*, ЧАК *và rúku, nà vodu, zāspāl*, a number of scholars assume an accent retraction from a word-initial syllable with falling tone to a proclitic or prefix; cf. the falling tone of ЧАК *spāl, rúku, vòdu*. This retraction is usually referred to as Šaxmatov's Law” (OLANDER 2009: 130). This is only the first half of its original formulation (ŠAXMATOV 1915: 84–92), according to which the retraction was conditioned by the preceding short vowel. If the preceding vowel was long, the accent was not retracted but the stressed vowel was shortened if it was long, e.g. Štokavian *návala, náhlada, náuka, prilika, zádruga, nábor, národ, násip, prijèpis, prinos, prilog, zálog, závrat, závjet, úlom*, also *hválili, pírali*, etc. All of these examples are instances of Dybo's law, according to which a non-acute vowel lost the accent to the following syllable. Dybo's law affected both long and short vowels, e.g. Štokavian *pòtok, dòhod, òsnova, pòdoban, gòtov, pòlom, pòlómka, pròrov, pòrod, pòtres, pòrok, pròsjek, pòvratak* (cf. KORTLANDT 1989: 53 = 2011: 171, also 2011: 69). The vowel that received the accent in the case of retraction was not always short originally, but such long vowels were shortened at a more recent stage, e.g. Štokavian *nà vodu* < \**nā vodō* < \**nā vòdō*, like gen.sg. *prāseta* < \**prāseta* (cf. KORTLANDT 1989: 54 = 2011: 173).

There are two reasons why the name “Šaxmatov's law” seems inappropriate to me. First, the retraction was not conditioned by a preceding short vowel, which is typologically improbable anyway (cf. Ivić 1958: 105).<sup>1</sup> The absence of retraction

<sup>1</sup> “Die Quantität der Silbe unmittelbar vor dem alten Akzent – wenn sie lang ist, zieht diese Silbe leichter den Akzent auf sich zurück. Es ist sehr bedeutsam, dass die umgekehrten Phänomene niemals vorkommen”.

to a preceding long vowel refers to a later stage, when new pretonic long vowels had arisen as a result of Dybo's law. Second, Šaxmatov does not offer a structural motivation for his retraction, which affected paradigms with mobile accentuation only. This is strongly reminiscent of Pedersen's law in Balto-Slavic, according to which the accent was retracted from medial syllables in mobile accent paradigms, e.g. Lithuanian acc.sg. *dūktėrj* 'daughter', *piemenj* 'shepherd', Greek *θυγατέρα, ποιμένα* (cf. PEDERSEN 1933: 25; KORTLANDT 1989: 43 = 2011: 159; OLANDER 2009: 23). In view of the identical conditioning, I have called Šaxmatov's retraction also "Pedersen's law" in my account of the Slavic developments. The two have in common the rise of lateral mobility in mobile accent paradigms. While the Balto-Slavic development retracted the accent from a suffix to the root syllable, the later Slavic development retracted the accent from the root to a preposition or prefix, extending lateral accentuation beyond its original domain.

While the first half of Šaxmatov's law has received widespread recognition, it appears that the second half has fallen into oblivion. This is probably because its effects were largely obliterated by later developments. An appreciation of its significance presupposes the discovery of Dybo's law, which in its turn presupposes the discovery of Stang's law, both of which can be dated almost half a century after Šaxmatov's study.

Dybo's law shifted a non-acute non-falling accent to the following syllable both from long and from short vowels, as in the instances listed above. A long vowel that received the accent was shortened, losing the accent again to the preceding syllable if the long vowel was in the last accentuable syllable of the word form, e.g. Štokavian *vòlja* < \**voĵâ* < \**vòlja* versus *žèna* < \**ženà* < \**žèna*.<sup>2</sup> This is Stang's law (cf. KORTLANDT 1989: 54 = 2011: 172). Thus, the second half of Šaxmatov's law is the shortening of long vowels in medial syllables that received the accent in accordance with Dybo's law but did not lose the accent in accordance with Stang's law, e.g. in *návala, náhlada, náuka, prílíka, zádruga, záslužan, hválili, píтали*, also *slíka, zgràda*, where the prefix \**s̆-* had similarly lost the accent to the root, as was also the case in *spòrī*. The accentuation of the polysyllabic oblique cases was generalized in such instances as *závrat, závjet, pòtres, pròšjek*.

I conclude that Šaxmatov's law embodies two chronologically distinct developments, first the retraction of the accent to a preposition or prefix in mobile accent paradigms, and after Dybo's law the shortening of long vowels in medial syllables. Neither development was dependent on the quantity of the preceding vowel.

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<sup>2</sup> Here the final vowel has been shortened at an earlier stage and subsequently lengthened by a preceding \**j* in accordance with Van Wijk's law (cf. KORTLANDT 1989: 51 = 2011: 168f.).

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Фредерик Кортланд

## О ШАХМАТОВЉЕВОМ ЗАКОНУ

### Резиме

Шахматовљев закон отеловљује два хронолошки различита развоја, најпре повлачење акцента на предлог или префикс у мобилним акценатским парадигмама, и после Дибоовог закона, скраћивање дугих вокала у медијалним слоговима. Ниједан од ова два развоја није зависио од квантитета претходног вокала.

Leiden University  
Department of Comparative Linguistics  
P.O. Box 9515  
NL-2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands  
[f.kortlandt@hum.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:f.kortlandt@hum.leidenuniv.nl)

(Примљено: 20. јануара 2020;  
прихваћено: 5. јуна 2020)