



former contains a suffix to begin with. This is another area in which a lexical stress system constitutes an optimal case study because the underlying prosody of the root can survive across categorical embeddings, which constitutes additional evidence for a unified analysis. It is such evidence that we find for the two derivational suffixes identified by Simonović (2018):  $\sqrt{AV}$  tends to be stressed,  $\sqrt{ov}$  tends to be unstressed.

	nouns	adjectives
$\sqrt{AV}$	pis-áv-a 'writing' write-av-N  pušč-áv-a 'dessert' desolate-av-N'	zved-áv-a 'curious' learn-av-A  bah-áv-a 'boastful' boast-av-A
$\sqrt{ov}$	hríb-ov 'mountain.GenPl' mountain-ov  paradížnik-ov 'tomato.GenPl' tomato-ov	limón-ov-a 'lemon.A' lemon-ov  paradížnik-ov-a 'tomato.A' tomato-ov

The nominalised -ov- does present some challenges. The analysis of the genitive plural affix as the same root may appear problematic and the arguments for an accidental-homonymy analysis should be considered seriously. An additional issue is the existence in the stressed -ov- in two contexts.

DU and PL augment (lexically restricted to dozens of nouns)	Augment in derivations $\sqrt{+ov}+\sqrt{+CAT}$
sin-óv-a 'son.NomDu' son-ov-NomDu	podatk-óv-n-a 'data.A' data-ov-n-A
sin-óv-om 'son.DatPl' son-ov-DatPl	grm-óv-j-e 'bushes' bush-ov-j-N

An analysis of the distribution of -ov- will be presented in which the stressed -ov- is actually a consequence of its ending up in a structural position in which any root would be stressed. Finally, the pros and cons of the root analysis of the two affixes will be pitted against each other and the theoretical importance of investigations into other Slavic lexical systems will be elaborated.

### References

- Creemers, Ava, Jan Don, and Paula Fenger (2017) "Some affixes are roots, others are heads," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*.
- Lowenstamm, Jean (2015) "Derivational affixes as roots: Phasal spell-out meets English stress shift," in Artemis Alexiadou, Hagit Borer, and Florian Schafer, eds., "The syntax of roots and the roots of syntax, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 230–259.
- Simonović, Marko (2018) "There is Faith and Faith: Prosodic contrast in Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian verb derivation" Poster presented at the 26th Manchester Phonology Meeting.