Though the importance of Stang's classic monograph (1957) is generally recognized, the consequences of his findings have not yet been properly understood by the majority of scholars in the field. In the pre-Stang era, scholars tried to derive the accentuation of Slavic word forms from inherent tonal properties of their constituent morphemes. According to Hirt's law, an acute vowel attracted the accent from a following syllable. According to de Saussure's law, an acute vowel attracted the accent from a preceding non-acute syllable. Since it has now become clear that the acute was not a tonal but a glottalic feature, the assumption of inherent tonal features of morphemes must be abandoned and replaced by the reconstruction of glottalized versus non-glottalized syllables.

The most important result of Stang's analysis is that the Slavic accent patterns must not be derived from inherent tonal properties of their constituents but, conversely, that the tones must be derived from the accent patterns (1957: 179). Stang showed that the acute is characteristic of paradigms with fixed stress (a), that the neo-acute developed from a retraction of the stress in paradigm (b), and that the circumflex is characteristic of paradigms with mobile stress between initial and final syllables (c). Dybo has shown that paradigm (b) developed from a paradigm with fixed stress as a result of an accent shift from a non-acute vowel to a following syllable (1962, 1968). Since paradigms (a) and (b) are in complementary distribution, they can be identified with the Lithuanian accent patterns (1) and (2).

Since the acute was glottalization, not a tonal movement, it follows that the rise of distinctive tone was a more recent development. This offers a simple explanation for the fact that the normal reflex of the acute is falling while the circumflex is rising in standard Lithuanian whereas the converse distribution is found in Latvian. It appears that the rise of distinctive tone was a development of the separate languages (cf. already Kortlandt 1977). It probably never reached Prussian (cf. Kortlandt 2009: 267). In Slavic, distinctive tone originated in initial syllables when the accent was retraced to a preposition or prefix in barytone forms of mobile paradigms (c) at stage 6.10 of my chronology (2011: 166, 301), e.g. in Russian *ná vodu* 'onto the water', *né byl* 'was not', *pródal* 'sold', *póvod* 'rein'. If the accent was a High tone, as it was in Sanskrit, this development is perhaps best understood as a generalization of the Low tone of pretonic syllables in barytone forms of mobile paradigms, which received a falling tone movement on the initial syllable. The result may be compared with the system

of standard Serbo-Croatian, which has a falling tone on initial syllables and a rising tone on non-final syllables.

In non-initial syllables, distinctive tone on long vowels originated as a result of Dybo's law at stage 8.7 of my chronology (2011: 171, 305) because newly accented long vowels received a falling tone movement, as opposed to stressed long vowels of an earlier date. Long falling vowels in final syllables (not counting final jers) lost the stress to the preceding accentuable syllable according to Stang's law (stage 9.3 of my chronology) and were shortened, as were all other long falling vowels except in Slovene monosyllables and Serbo-Croatian mono- and disyllabic word forms, e.g. *bôg* 'god', acc.sg. *rûku* 'hand' (stage 9.4 of my chronology). The combination of Dybo's law and Stang's law gave rise to accentual mobility between adjacent syllables in paradigm (b), with a rising tone in the first and a short vowel in the second syllable. Short rising vowels were lengthened under certain conditions in Russian, Czech, Upper Sorbian and Slovene (cf. Kortlandt 2011: 173f., 307f.), e.g. Czech *vůle*, Slovene *vọ́lja* 'will'. Finally, Slovene developed new long falling vowels under certain conditions, e.g. *okọ̑* 'eye', *mladọ̑st* 'youth', *bîtka* 'battle', *lẹ̑ta* 'years', *osnọ̑va* 'base' (stages 10.7-10.9 of my chronology).

Thus, we have an accent paradigm (a) with fixed stress on an acute vowel, an accent paradigm (b) with a rising tone (neo-acute) in some forms and a short accent on the following syllable in others, and an accent paradigm (c) with a falling tone (circumflex) on the initial syllable (or proclitic element) in some forms and a short or long rising tone on the ending (or enclitic element) in others. When final jers lost their stressability (stage 8.2 of my chronology), the preceding accentuable syllable received a long rising tone, e.g. Slovene gen.pl. *gọ́r* < **gorъ̀* 'mountains', *dán* < **dьnъ̀* 'days', *ọ́vəc* < **owьcъ̀* 'sheep', Polish *rąk* < **rǫkъ̀* 'hands', Russian dat.pl. *détjam* < **dětьmъ̀* 'children', all (c). When the acute eventually lost its glottalic character (stage 9.2 of my chronology), it merged with the short rising tone, e.g. Slovene *dìm* 'smoke', *góra* < **gorà* 'mountain', Ukrainian *moróz* < **-orò-* 'frost' as opposed to gen.pl. *holív* < **-oló-* 'heads'. As a result of the loss of glottalization, the almost universal shortening of long falling vowels, and the widespread lengthening of short rising vowels, distinctive tone was limited to Slovene and Serbo-Croatian while vowel length remained distinctive everywhere up to a later stage (cf. Kortlandt 2011: 111-115 on Bulgarian).

The oldest type of long vowel in Balto-Slavic are Proto-Indo-European lengthened grade vowels, e.g. Lith. *duktẽ* 'daughter', *akmuõ* 'stone', Greek *θυγάτηρ*, *ἄκμων*, SCr. *žȅrāv* 'crane', sigmatic aorist 1st sg. *dònijeh* 'brought', *ùmrijeh* 'died', root nouns Lith. *gėlà* 'pain', *žolẽ* 'grass', *mėsà* 'meat', all (4), SCr. *rȉječ* 'word', *čâr* 'magic', *sâm* 'alone', Czech *čár*, *čára*, *sám* (b). In principle, these long vowels were never shortened (cf. Kortlandt 1985, Vermeer 1992). The second oldest type of long vowel in Balto-Slavic developed from the loss of a

laryngeal between two full vowels (**e*, **o*), e.g. Lith. gen.sg. *algõs* 'salary' < **-ās* < **-aHes*, Greek *ἀλφῆς*. This was a dialectal Indo-European development which Balto-Slavic shared with Indo-Iranian, but not with Greek, where the circumflex points to a disyllabic sequence at an earlier stage of the language. Other long vowels originated in the separate branches of Balto-Slavic. At that time, the remaining laryngeals had merged into a glottal stop, e.g. Lith. *algà* (4) < **-aʔ*, *galvà* (3) 'head' < **golʔwaʔ* <**golHuaH*, and the Proto-Indo-European glottalic consonants had dissolved into a laryngeal and a buccal part (Winter's law, stage 4.3 of my chronology), e.g. Latvian *pẽds* < **peʾdom* 'footstep', *nuôgs* < **noʾgʷos* 'naked'.

In Slavic, glottalization was lost in pretonic and post-posttonic syllables with compensatory lengthening of an adjacent vowel (stage 5.3 of my chronology), e.g. **golwàʔ* < **golʔwàʔ* 'head', **pīlàʔ* < **pʔilàʔ* '(she) drank', inst.sg. **sūnumì* < **suʔnumì* 'son', **òpsnowā* < **òpsnowaʔ* 'base', inst.pl. **gènaʔmīs̀* < **gènaʔmiʔs̀* 'women'. The long vowel in the final syllable of the latter words is reflected by the neo-circumflex tone of Slovene *osnôva* < **osnòwā*, *ženâmi* < **ženàmī*, where the middle syllable received the stress as a result of Dybo's law. Glottalization was eliminated by analogy in barytone forms of mobile accent paradigms (Meillet's law, stage 5.4 of my chronology), e.g. SCr. *sîn* 'son', acc.sg. *glâvu*, neuter *pîlo*, cf. Lith. *gálvą*, *sū́nų*. Glottalization was preserved in stressed and first posttonic syllables up to a later stage.

New long vowels originated from the monophthongization of diphthongs: **ē* < **ai*, **ę̄* < **ei*, **ō* < **au* (my stage 6.5). The rise of nasal vowels **iN*, **eN*, **aN*, **oN*, **uN* can be dated around the same time. The same holds for the rise of glottalized vowels *i̋*, *ę̋*, *e̋*, *å*, *ő*, *ů*, which had the timbre of the corresponding long vowels, as in the case of the Latvian broken tone in *î*, *iê*, *ê*, *â*, *uô*, *û*. At a later stage (7.8), the rounded vowels **u*, **ū*, **uN* and their glottalized counterparts were delabialized to **y*, **ȳ*, **yN*, after palatalized consonants **i*, **ī*, **iN*, and the long mid vowels **ę̄* and **ō* were subsequently raised to **ī* and **ū* (stage 7.9). This resulted in the following vowel system (cf. Kortlandt 2011: 106):

ī		*ȳ*		*ū*		*eN*		*oN*		*i*		*y*			
	ē		*ā*				*aN*				*e*		*a*		

Here the long vowels and the nasal vowels could be either glottalized (acute) or not. In initial syllables, the non-acute vowels could be either falling (circumflex) or not.

At this stage (7.13), the loss of glottalization in posttonic syllables gave rise to a series of new short vowels *i*, *ĕ*, *a*, *u*, *y* which were opposed to the older short vowels *ъ*, *e*, *o*, *ь* by timbre and vowel height. The result is the following vowel system (cf. Kortlandt 2011: 107):

i *y* *u*
e *ъ* *ɤ* *o* *eN* *oN*
ě *a* *aN*

In stressed syllables, the acute vowels were now half-long while the non-acute vowels could be either long or short. In pretonic syllables, long vowels were shortened and the opposition between long and short vowels was replaced by the new timbre distinctions. In posttonic syllables, vowel length remained distinctive but final nasal vowels were shortened, e.g. SCr. nom.acc.pl. *glâve* with a short ending versus gen.sg. *glávē* < **-ę́* 'head', Slovene gen.sg. *kráve* (a) 'cow' without neo-circumflex versus *gorę́* (c) 'mountain' with a long vowel, similarly Susak (Croatian) gen.sg. *sestrè* (b) 'sister' versus *vodiè* (c) 'water'. There is no trace of glottalization in final nasal vowels. The mid vowels *e*, *ъ*, *ɤ*, *o* were always short, but that was to change very soon.

According to Van Wijk's law (stage 7.15), clusters of consonant plus **j* were shortened with compensatory lengthening of the following vowel, e.g. **píšē* < **píšje* 'writes', **wòl̥ā* < **wòl̥ja* 'will'. New **ē* did not merge with earlier **ē*, which had become *ě* at this stage. Case endings could now have three different quantities. For example, the nom.sg. ending of the *a*-stems was short in **žèna*, long in **wòl̥ā* and **òsnowā*, and half-long in **gorå*. The same distribution holds for the neuter nom.acc.pl. ending. At the next stage several levelings took place. Endings which did not occur under the stress were shortened in the whole Slavic territory, e.g. gen.sg. **kòn̥a*, dat.sg. **kòn̥u*, nom.pl. **kòn̥i* 'horse', dat.sg. **žèně* 'woman', **póNti* 'way'. Length was generalized in the unstressed nom.acc.pl. ending of Slovene *lę̑ta* < **-ā* 'years', but not under the stress, cf. *drvà* < **-å* 'firewood'.

Other new long vowels originated from contractions in posttonic syllables (stage 8.1), e.g. Čakavian (Novi) *pítā* 'asks', Bulg. *píta*, cf. Čak. *kopâ* < **kopå(j)e* 'digs', Bulg. *kopáe*, Old Polish *kopaje*. Here again, new **ē* did not merge with earlier **ē*, e.g. Czech gen.sg. *nového* 'new'. New long vowels under the stress arose when the accent was retracted from final jers in mobile accent paradigms (stage 8.2), e.g. Slovene gen.pl. *gọ́r* < **gorь̀* 'mountains', *dán* < **dьnь̀* 'days', *ọ́vəc* < **owьcь̀* 'sheep', Polish *rąk* < **rǫkъ̀* 'hands', Russian dat.pl. *détjam* < **dětьmъ̀* 'children'. The vowel length in the gen.pl. forms subsequently spread analogically to other accent paradigms.

In pretonic syllables, vowel length became distinctive when Dybo's law shifted the accent from non-acute vowels to the following syllable (stage 8.7), e.g. **nāròdъ* 'people', **ōNtròbā* 'entrails', Slovene *národ*, *vọ́troba*. Short falling vowels in monosyllables were lengthened (stage 8.8), e.g. SCr. *bôg* 'god', *kôst* 'bone', *dân* 'day'. The final loss of glottalization in stressed syllables gave rise to new short rising vowels (stage 9.2), e.g. Slovene *dìm* 'smoke', *góra* < **gorà* 'mountain'. The retraction of the stress from long falling vowels in final

syllables (Stang's law, stage 9.3) yielded new long rising vowels and short rising diphthongs ^{i}*è*, ^{u}*ò*, e.g. **w^{u}òl̥a* < **wol̥â* < **wòl̥ā* (Dybo) < **wòl̥ja* (Van Wijk), Czech *vůle*, Slovak *vôľa*, Slovene *vǫ́lja*, SCr. *vȍlja*. These developments were followed by lengthening of short rising vowels and shortening of long falling vowels under certain conditions and by the rise of new long falling vowels in Slovene. The distinction between diphthongized jat *ie* < *ě* and the new diphthong ^{i}*e* < *e* has been preserved as *ię* versus *ię* in the Slovene dialect of Soča (cf. Greenberg 2000: 171).

Summarizing, we can say that in pretonic syllables long vowels originated from Dybo's law while in stressed and posttonic syllables long vowels continue Proto-Indo-European lengthened grade vowels and dialectal Indo-European contractions and arose from the Slavic monophthongization of diphthongs, and after the rise of the new timbre distinctions resulted from Van Wijk's law and contractions in posttonic syllables, in accent paradigm (c) from the retraction of the stress from final jers and from lengthening in monosyllables, in accent paradigm (b) from Stang's law, and only in post-posttonic syllables from the loss of laryngeals. It may now be useful to see how these developments are reflected in nominal case endings. Here I give the paradigms of *krava* (a) 'cow', *konjь* (b) 'horse', *pǫtь* (b) 'way', *volja* (a/b) 'will', *igo* (c) 'yoke' and *dětę* (b/c) 'child' in the pre-Slovene dialect of Slavic at stages 8.0 (after Van Wijk's law), 9.0 (after lengthening in monosyllables) and 10.0 (after merger of the jers; for a fuller account see Kortlandt 2011: 277-309).

SLOVENE (8.0, 9.0, 10.0)

nom.sg.	*kråwa*	*kråwa*	*kràwa*
gen.sg.	*kråwy*	*kråwy*	*kràwy*
dat.sg.	*kråwǟ*	*kråwę*	*kràwę*
acc.sg.	*kråwoɴ*	*kråwoɴ*	*kràwoɴ*
inst.sg.	*kråwoöɴ*	*kråwōɴ*	*kràwōɴ*
loc.sg.	*kråwä*	*kråwę*	*kràwę*
nom.pl.	*kråwy*	*kråwy*	*kràwy*
gen.pl.	*kråwъ*	*kråwъ*	*kràwъ*
dat.pl.	*kråwamъ*	*kråwamъ*	*kràwamъ*
acc.pl.	*kråwy*	*kråwy*	*kràwy*
inst.pl.	*kråwamī*	*kråwamī*	*kràwamī*
loc.pl.	*kråwaxъ*	*kråwaxъ*	*kràwaxъ*

nom.sg.	*kòn̥ē*	*kòn̥ъ*	*kòn̥ъ*
gen.sg.	*kòn̥ǟ*	*koṇà*	*koṇà*
dat.sg.	*kòn̥ǖ*	*koṇù*	*koṇù*
acc.sg.	*kòn̥ъ*	*kòn̥ъ*	*kòn̥ъ*
inst.sg.	*kòn̥ēmъ*	*koṇêmъ*	*koṇèmъ*
loc.sg.	*kòn̥ī*	*koṇî*	*kʷòn̥i*
nom.pl.	*kòn̥ī*	*koṇì*	*koṇì*
gen.pl.	*kòn̥ъ*	*kòn̥ъ*	*kǫ́n̥ъ*
dat.pl.	*kòn̥ēmъ*	*koṇêmъ*	*koṇèmъ*
acc.pl.	*kòn̥eɴ*	*koṇèɴ*	*koṇèɴ*
inst.pl.	*kòn̥ī*	*koṇî*	*kʷòn̥i*
loc.pl.	*kòn̥īxъ*	*koṇîxъ*	*kʷòn̥ixъ*

nom.sg.	*póɴtъ*	*póɴtъ*	*póɴtъ*
gen.sg.	*póɴtī*	*pōɴtî*	*pōɴtì*
dat.sg.	*póɴtī*	*pōɴtì*	*pōɴtì*
acc.sg.	*póɴtъ*	*póɴtъ*	*póɴtъ*
inst.sg.	*póɴtьmъ*	*pōɴtʲmъ*	*pōɴtʲmъ*
loc.sg.	*póɴtī*	*pōɴtî*	*pōɴtì*
nom.pl.	*póɴtьe*	*pōɴtʲe*	*pōɴtʲje*
gen.pl.	*póɴtiъ*	*pōɴtíъ*	*pōɴtí*
dat.pl.	*póɴtьmъ*	*pōɴtʲmъ*	*pōɴtʲmъ*
acc.pl.	*póɴti*	*pōɴtì*	*pōɴtì*
inst.pl.	*póɴtьmī*	*pōɴtʲmī*	*pōɴtʲmī*
loc.pl.	*póɴtьxъ*	*pōɴtʲxъ*	*pōɴtʲxъ*

SLOVENE (8.0, 9.0, 10.0)

nom.sg.	*wòl̥ǟ*	*wol̥â*	*wᵘòl̥a*
gen.sg.	*wòl̥eɴ*	*wol̥êɴ*	*wᵘòl̥eɴ*
dat.sg.	*wòl̥ī*	*wol̥ì*	*wᵘòl̥i*
acc.sg.	*wòl̥öɴ*	*wol̥ȍɴ*	*wᵘòl̥oɴ*
inst.sg.	*wòl̥eöɴ*	*wol̥ô̄ɴ*	*wᵘòl̥ōɴ*
loc.sg.	*wòl̥ī*	*wol̥î*	*wᵘòl̥i*
nom.pl.	*wòl̥eɴ*	*wol̥èɴ*	*wᵘòl̥eɴ*
gen.pl.	*wòl̥ь*	*wòl̥ь*	*wòl̥ь*
dat.pl.	*wòl̥ämъ*	*wol̥âmъ*	*wᵘòl̥amь*
acc.pl.	*wòl̥eɴ*	*wol̥èɴ*	*wᵘòl̥eɴ*
inst.pl.	*wòl̥ämī*	*wol̥âmī*	*wᵘòl̥amī*
loc.pl.	*wòl̥äxъ*	*wol̥âxъ*	*wᵘòl̥axь*

nom.sg.	*îɣo*	*îɣo*	*ǐɣo*
gen.sg.	*îɣā*	*îɣa*	*ǐɣa*
dat.sg.	*îɣū*	*îɣu*	*ǐɣu*
acc.sg.	*îɣo*	*îɣo*	*ǐɣo*
inst.sg.	*îɣomь*	*îɣomь*	*ǐɣomь*
loc.sg.	*îzǟ*	*îzę*	*ǐzę*
nom.pl.	*iɣå*	*iɣå*	*iɣà*
gen.pl.	*iɣъ̀*	*íɣъ*	*íɣь*
dat.pl.	*iɣomъ̀*	*iɣómъ*	*iɣòmь*
acc.pl.	*iɣå*	*iɣå*	*iɣà*
inst.pl.	*iɣý*	*iɣý*	*iɣý*
loc.pl.	*izäxъ̀*	*izę́xъ*	*izę́xь*

nom.sg.	*dä́teɴ*	*dę̄tèɴ*	*dę̄tèɴ*
gen.sg.	*dä́teɴte*	*dę̄têɴte*	*dę̄tèɴte*
dat.sg.	*dä́teɴtī*	*dę̄têɴti*	*dę̄tèɴti*
acc.sg.	*dä́teɴ*	*dę̄tèɴ*	*dę̄tèɴ*
inst.sg.	*dä́teɴtьmь*	*dę̄têɴtьmь*	*dę̄tèɴtьmь*
loc.sg.	*dä́teɴte*	*dę̄têɴte*	*dę̄tèɴte*
nom.pl.	*dä̂ti*	*dę̂ti*	*dȩ̀ti*
gen.pl.	*dätiъ̀*	*dętíь*	*dętí*
dat.pl.	*dätьmъ̀*	*dę̂tьmъ*	*dȩ̀tьmь*
acc.pl.	*dä̂ti*	*dę̂ti*	*dȩ̀ti*
inst.pl.	*dätьmí*	*dętьmí*	*dętьmí*
loc.pl.	*dätьxъ̀*	*dę̂tьxъ*	*dȩ̀tьxь*

In accent paradigm (a), e.g. *krava*, we have fixed stress throughout and loss of glottalization toward the end of the prehistoric period. In accent paradigm (b), e.g. *konjь*, *pǫtь*, *volja*, *dětę*, the accent shifted from the first to the second syllable (but not to a final jer) as a result of Dybo's law and was retracted in accordance with Stang's law in the loc.sg., inst.pl. and loc.pl. forms of *konjь* and in the majority of case forms of *volja* (and analogically in the other forms of this paradigm). In accent paradigm (c), e.g. *igo* and *děti*, there is a falling tone (which was eventually shortened) on the initial syllable in some forms and final stress (which was retracted from final jers) elsewhere. The accent pattern of mobile nouns (c) is identical with that of Lithuanian (3) except in the inst.sg. form of the *aH*-stems, where **-òjǫ* was taken from the pronoun, and the nom.pl. form of the *o*-stems, where end-stressed Lith. *-aĩ* replaced the original neuter ending (cf. Kortlandt 1993).

We can now identify the origin of long vowels in Slavic nominal case endings as follows. Proto-Indo-European lengthened grade vowels can be reconstructed for the loc.sg. endings **-ēi* and **-ēu*, which appear as long *-ī* and *-ū* after the monophthongization. Long vowels from dialectal Indo-European contractions were shortened in gen.sg. *-a* < **-ōd* and dat.sg. *-u* < **-ōi* and *-ě* < **-āi*, Lith. *-o*, *-ui*, *-ai*, which were never stressed, but length was preserved in inst.pl. *-ȳ* < **-ōis*, Lith. *-aĩs*, where it is reflected as length (c) and by Stang's law (b) and Slovene neo-circumflex (a), e.g. *stəbrí* 'pillars', *kǫ́nji* 'horses', *ǫ́kni* 'windows', *râki* 'crabs', *lę̑ti* 'years'. The Early Slavic loss of glottalization in post-posttonic syllables yielded long vowels which are reflected by the Slovene neo-circumflex in trisyllabic word forms where Dybo's law shifted the accent to the middle syllable, e.g. *osnǫ̑va* < **òpsnowā* 'base', *zabâva* < **zábaʔwā* 'amusement', inst.pl. *ženâmi* < **gènaʔmīs̀* 'women', inst.du. *ženâma*, nom.pl. *telę̑ta* < **tèleNtā* 'calves', fem.sg. *nosîla* < **nòsiʔlā* 'carried'. Length spread analogically in the neuter pl. ending, e.g. *lę̑ta* (a) 'years', *pǫ̑lja* (c) 'fields', also Slovak *mestá* 'cities', *srdcia* 'hearts', Čakavian and Posavian *vrimená* 'times', *imená* 'names', *ramená* 'shoulders', *telesá* 'bodies', and to a limited extent in other categories, e.g. Slovene inst. *gorâmi*, *gorâma* (c) 'mountains', *kostmí*, *kostę̑ma* (c) 'bones', in a limited area also *želę̑la* 'wished', *mîslila* 'thought', *vîdela* 'saw' beside regular *želę́la*, *míslila*, *vídela* (cf. Rigler 1970).

New long vowels from the monophthongization of diphthongs were shortened in dat.sg. *-i* < **-ei*, loc.sg. *-ě* < **-oi* and nom.pl. *-i* < **-oi-s* (cf. Kortlandt 2011: 128), which were never stressed, but preserved to a limited extent in gen.sg. **-ī* < **-e/ois*, **-ū* < **-e/ous*, loc.sg. **-ī* < **-ēi*, **-ū* <**-ēu*, and loc.pl. Slovene *-ę́h* < **-oiṣù*. Long **-ī* is reflected by the neo-circumflex in the oblique form *nîti* of *nìt* (a) 'thread' and long **-ū* as Slovincian *-ū* and in the Slovene locative by the neo-circumflex in *orę̑hu* (a) 'nut' and the retraction according to Stang's law in *kǫ̑nju* (b) 'horse' (which has an analogical neo-circumflex). The long vowel of the loc.pl. ending is also reflected by the neo-circumflex in *râkih*

(a) 'crabs' and the retraction according to Stang's law in *kǫ́njih* (b). In Kajkavian, the long vowel of the loc.sg. ending is found in *noćî* 'night', *pećî* 'stove', *kostî* 'bone' (cf. Vermeer 1984: 380). The acute loc.sg. ending **-ě* < **-aHi* is always short. While the nasal vowels of acc.sg. *-ǫ* and nom.acc.pl. *-ę* are always short because they were never stressed, the original distribution of long and short reflexes is preserved in gen.sg. Slovene *kráve* (a) 'cow' (without neo-circumflex) versus *gorę́* (c) 'mountain' and Susak (Croatian) *sestrè* (b) 'sister' versus *vodiè* (c) 'water', and in inst.sg. Slovene *kostjǫ́* (c) 'bone', where the neo-circumflex of *nîtjo* (a) 'thread' is due to the lost jer, not to the following nasal vowel.

Van Wijk's law gave rise to new long vowels in endings in the paradigms of *konjь* and *volja*. These were subsequently shortened in the gen.sg. *-a*, dat.sg. *-u*, nom.pl. *-i* and acc.pl. *-ę* forms of *konjь* because these endings were never stressed, and analogically in inst.sg. *-emь* and dat.pl. *-emъ*. Length was preserved in loc.sg. **-ī*, inst.pl. **-ī* and loc.pl. **-īxъ*, which were later shortened in accordance with Stang's law. In the paradigm of *volja* there is no evidence for analogical shortening, which may or may not have taken place before the general phonetic shortening according to Stang's law. A new long nasal vowel developed from contraction in the posttonic inst.sg. ending *-ojǫ*, cf. Polish acc.sg. *rybę* (a) 'fish', inst.sg. *rybą*, Slovene *ríbo*, *rîbo* (with neo-circumflex reflecting a long ending). The long vowel of gen.pl. *kostí* (c) 'bones' < **-iь̀* < **-ьjь̀* developed from the retraction of the accent from the final jer.

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