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Accent Matters

Papers on Balto-Slavic accentology

Edited by
Tijmen Pronk
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Preface

This volume contains contributions related to the accentology of the Baltic and Slavic languages. Some of these deal with the accentual properties of Baltic and Slavic languages or dialects, others discuss the historical development of these accentual systems. The volume also contains papers on similar accentual systems and developments in other languages, such as Abkhaz and the Mordvinian languages. The majority of the contributions were presented at the Third International Workshop on Balto-Slavic Accentology (IWoBA), which was held at Leiden University from 27 till 29 July 2007. This workshop is part of a series of workshops dealing with Balto-Slavic accentology, the first of which was organized by Mate Kapović and Ranko Matasović in Zagreb in 2005. Subsequent workshops took place in Copenhagen, organized by Thomas Olander, Jenny Helena Larsson and Adam Hyllested in 2006, in Leiden, organized by Tijmen Pronk in 2007, in Scheibbs, organized by Elena Stadnik-Holzer in 2008 and in Opava, organized by Roman Sukač in 2009, and in Vilnius, organized by Vytautas Rinkevičius in 2010. The papers of the first workshop were published in the volume *Tones and Theories* (Zagreb 2007, eds. Mate Kapović & Ranko Matasović). The papers from the second workshop were published in the volume *Stressing the Past* (Amsterdam - New York 2009, eds. Thomas Olander & Jenny Helena Larsson). Like the aforementioned volumes, the present volume contains a critical survey by Frederik Kortlandt of the papers presented at the workshop.

Every year, the IWoBA workshops attract a range of scholars from all over the world, who present papers on a large variety of subjects that are in some way connected to the accentual systems that we find in the Baltic and Slavic languages. This reflects the importance of Baltic and Slavic accentology for scholars working in synchronic and diachronic linguistics, for comparativists and typologists, and for theoreticians and dialectologists alike. We are grateful that this volume, which offers a picture of the progress that is being made in the field, was accepted for publication in *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics* by the editors of the series, Jos Schaecken, Janneke Kalsbeek and Peter Houtzagers. We also thank Benedikt Naglik for proofreading the German articles.

THE EDITORS

Der Akzent bei den Verben der Mundart der Ortschaft Kukljica

MISLAV BENIĆ

1. Einleitung

In dieser Arbeit werde ich den Akzent sowie die Akzent- und Längenwechsel bei den Verben der Mundart der Ortschaft Kukljica auf der Insel Ugljan beschreiben. Am Anfang sind manche Angaben über das Phonemsystem der genannten Mundart, über die verschiedenen Entwicklung dieser Mundart von der kroatischen Standardsprache im Bereich der Lautwandel und eine Beschreibung ihrer Prosodie. Am Ende steht eine Liste der akzentuierten Verben der Mundart von Kukljica verteilt in 3 Akzentparadigmen.

Fast alles, was ich hier über betreffende Mundart vortragen werde, habe ich erfahren, indem ich meine Mutter Nevena BeniĆ, meine Tante Ratka Vojvodić und andere Muttersprachler befragte und ihnen zuhörte. Die Mundart von Kukljica werde ich hauptsächlich mit der kroatischen Standardsprache vergleichen und seltener mit den Mundarten benachbarter Ortschaften, weil ich sie nicht genügend kenne. In dieser Arbeit wird selbstverständlich sowohl die synchronische als auch die diachronische Betrachtung berücksichtigt.

2. Laute

I Phoneme der Mundart von Kukljica und Lautwandel¹

Das Phonemsystem der Mundart von Kukljica unterscheidet sich einigermaßen von dem der kroatischen Standardsprache.

¹ Über die phonetischen Charakteristiken reicht es zu erwähnen, daß die langen Vokale *i*, *e*, *o* etwas geschlossener und die kurzen etwas offener sind, daß der Laut *l* ganz unwesentlich weicher ist als der standardsprachliche (in manchen anderen dalmatinischen Mundarten wird er viel weicher ausgesprochen), daß der Laut *v* überall als labiodentaler Frikativ ausgesprochen wird außer vor *ā* und offenem *o*, wo er auch als Approximant ausgesprochen werden kann, und daß es fakultative unbetonte Nasalvokale *q*, *e*, *i*, *o* gibt, die so entstehen, daß *n* in schneller Rede am Ende eines Wortes die Nasalkomponente gibt, wenn das folgende Wort mit Vokal oder mit *j* beginnt, und zwischen den betreffenden Wörtern keine Pause steht (*lipo naq/i je, čeko i mišlin, ne krādę jq*), während in diesem Fall vor anderen Konsonanten oft ein velares *n* vorkommt (*is kin se drūžiti*).

1. Die Mundart von Kukljica kennt die Phoneme *č* und *ć* sowie *dž* und *đ* nicht. Es gibt nur ein Phonem *č* und ein Phonem *đ*. Diese Laute haben auf dem Gaumen den gleichen Bildungsort wie die standardsprachlichen Präpalatale *č* und *dž*, auf der Zunge aber ist ihr Bildungsort ein wenig nach hinten gesetzt. Die Phoneme *č* und *ć* sowie *dž* und *đ* kennt die Mundart der Ortschaft Neviđane auf der Insel Pašman ebenfalls nicht, aber den Unterschied *č* und *ć*, (*dž* und *đ*) haben alle übrigen Ortschaften auf der Insel Ugljan. Es ist noch zu erwähnen, dass dem standardsprachlichen *dž* in Lehnwörtern aus dem Türkischen und jenem, das aus dem *č* assimiliert worden ist, in der Mundart von Kukljica ein *ž* entspricht (*žigerica*, *svjedožba*), aber *đumper* (Jumper) - "neues dž".

2. Die Mundart von Kukljica ist eine ikavisch-ekavische Mundart, und der Reflex von *Jat* folgt gewissermaßen der Regel von Jakubinskij und Meyer. Es gibt viele Ausnahmen zugunsten des Reflexes *i*, manche von diesen sind durch Analogie und Angleichungen erklärbar, die anderen dagegen nicht. Diese anderen könnten durch die Lage von Kukljica und den Kontakt mit anderen Mundarten erklärt werden. Viel seltener sind die Ausnahmen zugunsten des Reflexes *e*, die sich nicht durch Analogie oder Angleichung erklären lassen, z. B. *cěv*, *drēmāti*. Die Beispiele des Reflexes *e*: *běli* (*běla*, *bělo*, *běloga*, aber *bilica* (eine Feigenart)), *cěli* (*cěla*, *cělo*), *dě* (Teil, aber *diliti*), *sěsti* (*sě*, *sěla*), *sediti* (*sěti*), *strělā* (*strělě*), *doněti*, *blěd*, *srědā*, *těsto*, *věst*, *lěto*, *kolěno*, *stěnā*, *věrovati*. Die Beispiele des Reflexes *i*: *dīlo*, *cvīt* (*cvīče*), *zvīzdā* (*zvīzdě*), *vītar*, *pīsama*, *vīra*, *ciditi²*, *uspīti*, *sītiti se*, *mīsto*, *dvīsto* (*dvi + sto*), *pīna* (*pīniti se*), *pobīgniti*, *bižāti*, *mriža*, *snīg*, *smīh*, *mlikō*, *līp*, *rič*, *sikīra*, *siči*.

3. In der Mundart von Kukljica gibt es noch ein Phonem, das in der kroatischen Standardsprache nicht existiert, nämlich das lange geschlossene *a* (*a*). Die kontrastive und diachronische Erklärung s. im Abs. über die Prosodie. Dieses Phonem erscheint nur unter dem Akzent und als vortonige Länge (*glāvā*, *glāvu*, *nā glovu*).

Die Mundart von Kukljica unterscheidet sich von der Standardsprache durch folgende Lautwandel. In Bezug auf die Standardsprache gibt es viele Neuerungen, manche Parallelerscheinungen und manche Fälle, wo die Mundart von Kukljica den älteren Zustand als die Standardsprache bewahrt. Manche von diesen Wandeln sind gemein čakavisch, die anderen gehören zu den sog. adriatischen Charakteristiken, und manche sind noch spezifischer.

1. Palatalisierte und jotierte Gruppe *sk* und jotierte Gruppe *st* > *šč* (*vriščiti*), (*güšcerica*, *preměščen*), und palatalisierte Gruppe *zg* > *žđ* (*zvižđiti*). Eine Gruppe

² Über die Kürze hier wie bei anderen ähnlichen Verben vgl. Kapović 2003.

žj (vereinfacht *ž*) kommt, soweit mir bekannt ist, nur in den Wörtern *dāž* (G - *dažjā*) und *dažiti* - Regen, regnen.

2. *l*, welchem ein Velar vorangeht, und auf welches ein vorderer Vokal folgt > *lj* (*gljēdati*, *hljīb* (Brot), *kljin* (Keil), *kljiške* (Zange). Vgl. auch 3.

3. Das alte *ę* nach *j*, *lj*, *č*, *ž* > *a* bzw. *q*, aber nicht ausnahmslos (*jazik*, *kljāti*, *kljakniti*, *sažāti* (auswringen), aber *gljēdati*, *kljēčati*).

4. Es gibt keinen Umlaut im G und I der Substantive der *jo*-Deklination (*ōcun* (sk. - *ocem*), *kolāčov* (sk. - *koláčā*). An anderen Stellen gibt es Umlaut (*mojě*, *Miličev*).

5. Es besteht die Dissimilation der Dentale im engeren Sinne (*presāc* - G *preščā* und *prescā* (männliches Schwein)), der Dentale im weiteren Sinne nach der Epenthese von *d* (*ždrěli* = Sk. *zreo*), der Präpalatale (*Ždrělāc* (die Gegend neben dem schmalen Durchgang zwischen Ugljan und Pašman auf beiden Inseln und Ortschaft auf der Insel Pašman), *Zdrēcānin*, *Zdrěška* - Bewohner(in) der Ortschaft), der Vibranten (*lěbro*, *lebrō*), der Nasale (*sāmljon* (sk. *sumnjam* - ich mißtraue), *dimljok* (sk. *dimnjak* - Schornstein) und der Okklusive (die Gruppe *kt - lāhto* (sk. *lakat*), *nōhat* (nach den übrigen Kasusformen: *nōhta*, *nōhtu*)), und dazu würde ich auch den Wandel Affrikata - Frikativ rechnen (*māška* (ks. - *mačka*), *čičāk* (G - *čičākā* und *čiškā* - Zikade), *kukljiški* (ks. - *kukljički*)).

6. Der Schwund von *t* und *d*: *okīniti* - abreißen (aber *pētūn*), *osiči* (abschneiden), *ljūski* (ähnlich der Dissimilation der Affrikaten). An der Wortgrenze: *pē kūč* (vor Obstruent), aber *pēt rib* (vor Sonant; *t* wird im Zahlwort bleiben ebenfalls vor Vokal und vor Pause), aber immer *kō mene* (*kod mene*), *pri manun* (sk. - *preda mnom*), jedoch, *ō(d) mene*, *kā je dđšo*.

7. *H* wird zu *v* zwischen den Vokalen, von denen der erste ein kurzes *u* ist (*kūvati*, *krūh*, G *krūva*, aber *dūh*, G *dūha*, *sūho*, *ūho³* usw. *H* geht manchmal am Wortanfang oder zwischen Vokalen verloren ((*h*)*oditi*, *ōču*, (*h*)*titi*, *griotā* (Schade)).

8. Der Schwund unbetonter Vokale am Wortanfang: 1. slawische Wörter: die Konjunktion (*a*)*ko*, die Präposition (*o*)*kolo* (das Adverb lautet immer *ōkolo*), Demonstrativpronomina und Pronominaladverbien (*o*)*vāj*, (*o*)*nāj*, *vāko*, *nāko*, *vāmo*, *nāmo* usw., die Substantive *tāc* (G - *ōca*) *čēnāšī* (Rosenkranz); 2. Fremdwörter: *čālī* (Brille), *Mērika*, *Strālija*, *nēkcija* usw.

9. Dem standardsprachlichen Wandel *l* > *o* entspricht der Wandel *l* > *a* (*ūmra* (sk. *ūmro*), *īstra* (abgewischt, massiert). Solche Realisierung ist aber nur nach

³ In *uho* ist ein ursprünglich langes *u* gekürzt worden, vgl. Kapović, 2003.

dem einst silbischen *r* vorhanden, und in anderen Fällen am Wortende ist es zur Kontraktion mit dem vorhergehenden Vokal gekommen, wobei dieser gelängt wurde, ohne die Qualität zu verändern (*lěgo* < *lěgā* (jer-Epenthese), *pā*, (f. *pāla*), *rokē* (G - *rokēla* - hölzerne Spule, auf die Garn aufgewickelt wird), *rodī* (f. - *rodīla*), *ubō* (f. - *ubōla*), *nadū se* (f. - *nadūla se*). Im Wortinnern kommt es zum Wandel und zur Kontraktion nur nach *e* und *o* (*Ždrēlāc*: G - *Ždrēcā*, *kōlāc*: G - *kōcā*, Länge in N und A nach den übrigen Kasus); *pālac*, G - *pālca*, *filc*, G *filcā*, *mūlac*, G - *mūlcā* (Dummkopf).

10. -M der Endungen und ihnen ähnlicher Ausgänge > N: *znān*, *vōlin*, *ōsan*, aber *srām*, *grūm* (G - *grōma*) um der Wurzelintegrität willen.

11. *o* in einer durch Nasal geschlossenen Silbe (der Nasal *nj* ist problematisch) > *u* (unter dem Akzent *ū*): *ūn* (sk. - *on*), *grobūn* (sk. *grobom*), *zvūn* (*zvōn* - Geläute), *Zvūnko*, *grūm būmba*, *bumbadīrāti* (*kūnjka* (Muschelart - *conca*)), jedoch *ūnda*, *kōnj*, *vōnj*.

12. Die Präposition *s* und das Präfix *s-* haben ein prothetisches *i*. Die Präposition hat es immer, und das Präfix nicht. Die Abwesenheit des prothetischen Vokals hängt nicht von den phonologischen Faktoren ab, sondern von dem Gebrauch des einzelnen Wortes und vom Kontakt der Mundart von Kukljica mit anderen Dialekten. Beispiele: *is ānkun*, *iž ženūn*, *is Māricun*, *iš njūn* (die Assimilation vor *lj* und *nj* gilt nicht für die Präfixe); (*i*)*smotāti*, *isvūci*, *skratīti*, *smanjīti*, (*i*)*skūpiti*, *snājti se*, *ismrāčīti se*, (*i*)*stfīsiti*, (*i*)*slomiti*.

Die meisten angeführten Lautwandel und Regeln haben Ausnahmen, und manche habe ich als marginal oben nicht erwähnt wie z. B. die Bewahrung der alten Gruppe *čr* in *črišnja*, *črivo* und *jt* in *dōjti* u. ä., die Realisierung der schwachen jer-Laute wie *pāsa* (Sk. - *psa*), *mānun* (Sk. - *mnom*), aber *mīn*, *dī* (nicht *malin*, *kadi*), den Übergang der Gruppe *ra* zu *re* (*rēpāc* für Sk. *vrabac*, *presāc* für Sk. *prasac*, *rēsti* für Sk. *rasti*, aber *krāden*⁴) und der Gruppe *hv* zu *f* (*fālīti* - *hvalīti*, aber *vātati* - *hvatati*) usf.

II Prosodie und ą

Die Mundart von Kukljica hat ein čakavisches Akzentsystem ohne die nachtonige Länge und ohne den neuen Akut, was bedeutet, dass es einen kurzen und langen fallenden Akzent und eine vortonige Länge gibt. Eine Spur der nachtonigen Länge ist beispielsweise im Vergleich mit der kroatischen Standardsprache sichtbar, weil sich der lange a-Laut, der unter dem Akzent und in der vortonigen Position zu ą geworden ist (immer lang), in den nachtonigen

⁴ Nevidane: *krēden*.

Silben in *o* umgewandelt hat (Kuklj. *čēko* - Sk. *čēkā*, aber Kuklj. *srīča* - Sk. *srēča*). Natürlich decken sich die Mundart von Kukljica und die kroatische Standardsprache hinsichtlich der Akzent- und Längenverteilung teilweise (mit Berücksichtigung der neuštokavischen Akzentverschiebung); jedoch ist es notwendig, etliche wichtige Neuerungen bezüglich der Quantität der Silbenträger außer dem erwähnten Schwund der nachtonigen Längen anzuführen.

1. Das silbische *r* ist stets kurz (*cŕn*, *vrstā*).

2. Betonte geschlossene Silbe wird gelängt: *pāsti* (sk. - *pāsti*) - Präsens - *pāden* (s. 3.), *dověsti* - *dovedēn*, *pōp* (G - *popā*), *čigōv* (f. - *čigōva* - wessen) usw.⁵ Dennoch ist diese Längung nicht ausnahmslos. Manche Ausnahmen sind mehr oder weniger systematisch und die anderen scheinen willkürlich zu sein. Die Längung bleibt in den Wörtern mit der vortonigen Länge aus: *nārōd*, *vārōš*, *pētāk*, *pīvāc*, aber *jazik*, *kolačić*, *švenāc* (Laus), *presāc*, jedoch *tētāc* (Gatte der Schwester des Vaters oder der Mutter - vielleicht nach *tāc*) sowie die Mischung *jesān* und *jesān* und *nīsān* und *nīsān* und noch manches Gegenbeispiel. Auch im Komparativ kommt es nicht zur Längung: *mēklji*, *dēblji*, *dūmbli*, *lāšji* = *lāglji*, *ūžji*, *širji* usw. Der Vokal wird in manchen neueren Wörtern und manchen Fremdwörtern nicht gelängt: *brāšno* (älter *mūkā*), *manēstra* (Pasta; Suppe mit Pasta), *katāstar*, *pijāt* (Teller). Andererseits wird die betonte Silbe des Infinitivs und des aktiven Verbaladjektivs der konsonantischen Stämme immer gelängt (*grīsti*, *bōsti*, *grīzla*, *pēkla*, *pomōgla*), aber es gibt keine Längung bei den deminutivierten Verben (*grīskati*, *bōckati*, *sīckati*). Weitere Beispiele mit Längung: *zāspen*, *rāspen*, *zāpnen*, *ūžgen*, *tēkla*, *Blāgdonovi* (Nachname), *nōhti*, *u rukāh*, *takōv* (f. *takōva*), *grīblja* (Grenze zwischen Äckern), *jedān*, *korīst* (G - *korīsti*), *zēmlju*, *tlōh* (G - *tlohā* - Boden), *čīstīti*, *čīsto*, *mōkro*, *mīš*, *čēšljōn*, *čēšalj*, (G - *čēšlja*), *nāš*, *rāk*, *sīr*, *brāt*, *sīt*, *snōp*, *blītva*, *tīkva*, *smōkva*, *skrūška* (Birne), *ūsīca*, *črišnja*. Beispiele ohne Längung: *ōdne*, *nāzvo*, *mōdro*, *vītar* (G - *vītra*), *īdro*, *lēbro*, *īskorīstīti*, *ōštro*, *slātka*, *krātkaa*, *gūska*, *mrāz*, *dlān*, *dāž*, *pās* (Hund), *zēt*, *kōsti*, *ōsti*, *ōtrov*, *Isūs*, *bāčva* (Bottich), *sīdro*, *prāska* (Pfirsich), *njūška*, *mīslīti*.

3. Diachronisch gesehen nach der unter 2. erwähnten Längung erfolgt die Längung des betonten *a* (*bāba*, *blāto*, *ženā*, *rūkā*). Am Ende des prosodischen Wortes wird das *a* zuweilen nicht gelängt, oft wird es aber auch halblang ausgesprochen, besonders dann, wenn ihm eine Länge vorangeht. Außerdem gibt es bestimmte Fälle, bei denen das betonte *a* nicht gelängt wird, und das sind:

⁵ Der Vokal wird ebenso wie in der Standardsprache vor der Gruppe Sonant + Okklusiv gelängt: (*jānjac*, *jānjca*, *mārka*, G *mārok*).

1. Präsens und Imperativ mancher Verben Ap. *b* (in erster Linie die Komposita von den Verben des Ap. *c* oder die Verben des Ap. *c*): *ugāsī(n)*, *smānji(n)*, *oslābi(n)*;
2. Pronomina und Pronominaladverbien (*kāko*, *vāko*⁶, *tāko*, *svāki*, *svāšta* usw.)
3. Namen der *a*-Deklination und ihre Ableitungen: *Kāta*, *Zlāta*, *Mārica*; *Jāša*, *Māvra* (Nachnamen); *Jāšin* usw.;
4. manche Interjektionen (*āla*, *ājda* -frischauf);
5. Fremdwörter und neue Wörter (*kāsa* (Sarg), *brāšno*⁷);
6. Hiatt bei Zahlwörtern und manchen anderen Wörtern: *četrnāest*, *vāj* (< *vavik*, Sk. - *uvijek*), aber *kāuč*);
7. die Präposition *kraj* hat ein kurzes *a*, auch wenn sie betont ist (*krāj mora*).

3. Das Verbalsystem und seine Akzentmuster

Das Verbalsystem der Mundart von Kukljica besitzt von den einfachen finiten Formen das Präsens und den Imperativ. Von den nominalen Verbalformen besitzt es den Infinitiv und das aktive und passive Verbaladjektiv. Das Verbaladverb und die Reste des Partizips Präsens kommen etwas seltener vor (*gljēdajuči*, *krāduči*, *ležēči*, *sedēči*, *přivajuči*, *nosēča* (schwanger)). Die zusammengesetzten finiten Formen sind hier nicht wichtig. Manche werde ich trotzdem bei der Behandlung des Verbs *biti* erwähnen. In diesem Abschnitt werde ich etwas über die Betonung jeder der angeführten Formen sagen (das Verbaladverb und die Reste des Partizip Präsens ausgenommen) und die Paradigmen der regelmäßigen und unregelmäßigen Verben angeben.

1. Präsens. Bei den Verben des Ap. *a* gibt es keine Besonderheiten (*gljēdon ... gljēdomo ... gljēdaju*). Die Verben auf *-on*, *-oš* (*a*-Verben) des Ap. *b* (*čūvāti*, *čūvon*, *smētāti*, *smēton*) haben den gleichen Akzent in allen Personen, d. h. der Akzent ist auf dem Wurzelvokal verallgemeinert worden, und das Höhezeichen⁸

⁶ In Kali, der benachbarten Ortschaft auf der Insel Ugljan: *vāko*.

⁷ Das ist eine ziemlich problematische Kategorie, und viele Wörter haben das verlängerte *a*, obwohl sie sowohl neu als auch fremd sind, z.B. *katāstar*, *kāuč*.

⁸ Mit dem Höhezeichen (*visak*) will man die Höhe einer Silbe (*ovisak*) bezeichnen, die auch in neuštokavischen Systemen oft der einst akzentuierten Silbe entspricht. Die Höhezeichensetzung entspricht im Grunde der Stelle des Akzentes vor der neuštokavischen Akzentverschiebung. In den Wörtern mit dem Initialakzent steht das Höhezeichen am Anfang des prosodischen Wortes: *'bōg*, *'za boga*. Es steht auf der Stelle des Nullmorphems der Wörter Ap. *b*: *bok'* < **bokō*, *vojnik'*, *vojnik'a*. Will man durch die Höhezeichensetzung zeigen, daß es um keinen verschoben, sondern um den alten fallenden Akzent geht, setzt man das Höhezeichen in die Mitte des Silbenträgers (*vēzāti* = *vēzāti*, andererseits *vēz'ati* = *vēzati* und *vēzāti*). Den neuen Akut bezeichnet man durch die Setzung des Höhezeichens hinter dem Silbenträger (*sū'šiš* = *sūšiš*).

ist in der 3. P. pl. nicht auf dem thematischen Vokal, vgl. *čūvon*, *čūvoš*, *čūvo*, *čūvomo*, *čūvote*, *čūvaju* - Sk. *čūvām ... čūvāte*, *čūvajū* (die Realisierung des alten Akuts ist geblieben, wo es nicht zur Zusammenziehung gekommen ist. Bei den Verben des Ap. *c* ist die Akzentstelle im Präsens ausgeglichen (*zavidāmo* (wir schrauben zu), *rečēmo*⁹, *sedīmo*). Bei den Verben des Ap. *c* auf *-en*, *-eš*, (größtenteils konsonantische Stämme) ist der thematische Vokal im Präsens verlängert (*pijēn*, *pijēš*, *pijē*, *pijēmo*, *trēsēmo* - manche štok. Mundarten z.B. ursprünglich *dovēzem*, *prēdem*). Die präfigierten Verben von den einfachen Verben des Ap. *c* auf *-ān* und *-en* haben ebenfalls das Präsens nach Ap. *c* (*zavidāmo*, *ispečēmo*), und die präfigierten Verben von den einfachen Verben des Ap. *c* auf *-in* haben das Präsens nach Ap. *b* (*bēlīn* (ich kalke), aber *obēlīn*, *bolī*, aber *zabōli*, *zelenī se*, aber *pozēlēni*. Es ist schon erwähnt worden, dass das *a* bei solchen präfigierten Verben kurz ist (*gāsīn* - *ugāsīn*, *slabīn* - *oslābīn*). Es gibt eine Gruppe einfacher *i*-Verben des Ap. *c* mit gekürztem Vokal nach dem Zweimorengesetz, deren präfigierte Formen im Präsens einen langen Vokal haben. Diese Gruppe bilden folgende einfache Verben: *budīti*, *cidīti*, *činīti*(!), *dilīti*, *gubīti*, *sušīti* und dazu *preminīti*-(verändern) und *predugljīti* (verlängern) als Komposita (*b*) und *teplīti* (wärmen) als besonderer Fall mit ursprünglich kurzem Vokal, aber mit einer Konsonantengruppe (auch *tēpli* = *warm*). Im Imperativ und im passiven Verbaladjektiv, falls vorhanden, haben diese Verben (außer *činīti* und vielleicht *teplīti* den langen Wurzelvokal (s. 2. und 5.). Die aus ihnen gebildeten präfigierten Verben haben ebenso den langen Wurzelvokal außer im Präsens noch im Imperativ und im passiven Verbaladjektiv, in den anderen Formen haben sie aber eine Kürze. Nur die Komposita von *činīti* haben keine Länge im passiven Verbaladjektiv (s. 5.). Beispiele: *cidīti* - *cidīn*, aber *precidīti* - *precidīn*, *sušīti* - *sušīn*, aber *osušīti*, *osūšīn*, *budīti* - *budīn*, aber *prebudīti* - *prebūdīn*, *činīti* - *činīn*, aber *učinīti* - *učīnin*/*učīnen*(!); *teplī*, aber *zatēpli*. Bei den Verben *snižīti* (relativ selten im Gebrauch) und *učīti* sowie bei den *je*-Verben gibt es keine "Längenoszillationen" (*naūčīn*, *premūčīn*). Die übrigen *i*-Verben synchronisch Ap. *c*, mit alten langen Wurzeln (die Wurzeln mit *a* ausgenommen) haben jetzt überall die Länge. Das Verb *pušīti* (*b*) hat dasselbe Längenmuster wie z. B. *preminīti*. Weiterhin hat das Verb *plātīti* (in der Mundart von Kukljica *b*, ursprünglich *c*) lautet im Präsens *plātīn* und *plātīn*, der Inf. und das aktive Verbaladjektiv lauten selten *plātīti* und *plātī*, und das passive Verbaladjektiv nur *plāčēn* (von *ugāsīti* = *ugāšēn* und *ugāšēn*). So verhalten sich auch seine Komposita. Vielleicht hat zu diesem Zustand das Verb *plāčātīti* beigetragen. Es ist noch der Erwähnung wert, daß der Akzent beim verneinten Präsens des Verbs *znāti* auf die Negation übergeht (*nē znon ... nē znaju*, was sich nicht mit dem sk. *nē znām* deckt, aber die Betonung *nē zna(:)m*

⁹ Kali z.B. *rečēmō*.

ist auch im štokavischen ganz gewöhnlich. Bei anderen Verben gibt es keinen solchen Übergang (*ne valjā*).

2. Imperativ. Der Akzent des Imperativs ist bei den Verben auf *-on/-ān* gleich dem des Präsens. Bei den übrigen Verben steht der Akzent im Imperativ auf der Verbalwurzel¹⁰. Beispiele: *gljēdoj(te)* (a), *čūvoj(te)* (b), *zavidāj(te)* (c); *napīti se - nāpijen se*, *napī(te) se*, *umīti se - ūmijen se - umī(te) se*, *obūti se - ōbujen se*, *obūj(te) se*; *stāni(te)* (a), *pošālji(te)* (b), *dovēdi* (c), *pozdrāvi* (a), *nōsi* (b), *bēli* (c), *(pre)mūči(te)* (c). Doch haben die Verben auf *-en* des Ap. c mit kurzer Wurzel selten auch den nicht retrahierten Akzent neben dem gewöhnlicheren zurückgezogenen (*ne kunī(te)*, *dovedī(te)*). Beispiele der *i*-Verben mit gekürztem Wurzelvokal (für die Definition s. 1.): *(u)gāsi(te)*, *(pre)cīdi(te)*, *(o)sūši(te)*, *(pre)būdi*, *preminī(te)*, aber *ne čīni*, sogar zuweilen *ne čīni*, aber Komposita mit Länge: *učīni(te)*, *načīni(te)*.

3. Infinitiv. Die Infinitivendung ist nie betont, sondern der Akzent ist bei den nicht akutierten Infinitiven auf die vorletzte Silbe zurückgezogen (*dōjti*, *nājti*, *pēči*, *lēči*). Die Zurückziehung des Akzents von der Infinitivendung in manchen unseren Dialekten versucht man zuweilen sowie diejenige im Imperativ durch Apokope zu erklären. In der Mundart von Kukljica sind apokopierte Infinitive eine Seltenheit¹¹. Deshalb halte ich solche Erklärung im Betreff dieser Mundart für problematisch. Im Fall des Imperativs handelt es sich um die expressive Zurückziehung des Akzents, die auch für manche andere čakavische Mundarten typisch ist.

4. Aktives Verbaladjektiv. Bei den aktiven Verbaladjektiven des Ap. a gibt es keine Besonderheiten (*gljēdo*, *gljēdala*, *pā*, *pāla*, *kopā*, *kopāla*, *letī*, *letīla*). Von den aktiven Verbaladjektiven, die ursprünglich dem Ap. b gehörten (die Verbaladjektive der Verben des Ap. b und c der konsonantischen Stämme) bewahren den alten Akzent nur die Verbaladjektive der Komposita des Verbs *īci*, das es in der Mundart von Kukljica nicht gibt¹² (*nājti* - *nāšo*¹³, *nošlā*, *nošlō*,

¹⁰ Es ist interessant, daß es in den benachbarten Ortschaften Nevidane und Kali im Imperativ der Verben des Ap. b und c, soweit ich es aufgrund einer kurzen Befragung bemerken konnte, zu keiner Retraktion des Akzentes auf die Wurzel gekommen ist, besonders in Kali.

¹¹ In Nevidane sind die Infinitive apokopiert, in Kali dagegen nicht. In der Mundart von Kukljica bleibt der Infinitiv unabhängig von seiner Stellung unverstümmelt. Den apokopierten und synkopierten Imperativ können nur manche wenige Verben haben (*dřž/dřšte*, *bīž/bīšte*), immer *pōj(te)*, aber *dōjdi*.

¹² Dem Sk. *īci* entsprechen bedeutungsmäßig in der Mundart von Kukljica das suppletive Verb *hoditi* (Präsens *grēn*) und das Verb *pōjti*.

¹³ Man würde erwarten *našā* (< **našōdlō* < **našōdlō*), und *nāšo*, *dōšo* und andere Formen sind als Analogie zu den Verbaladjektiven zu deuten, wo es keine jer-Laute gab, z. B. *mōgo*, *moglā*)

nošlī, *izājti* - *izāšo*, *izošlā*¹⁴, *dōjti* - *dōšo*, *došlā* usw.) sowie der Verben *mōči* (*mōgo*, *moglā*, *moglī*), *rēči* (*rēko*, *reklā*, *reklī*) und *lēči* (*lēgo*, *leglā*, *leglī*), aber *pomōgo*, *pomōgla*, *izrēko*, *izrēkla*, *zalēgo*, *zalēgla*, *tēklo*, *pēkla*. Diese Verbaladjektive mit dem zurückgezogenen Akzent gehören synchronisch dem Ap. a. Dem Ap. b gehört auch das Verbaladjektiv des Verbs *vřči* (*vřgo*, *vřglā*, aber *uvřgla se*). Durch die Analogie zu dem infolge der Längung in der geschlossenen Silbe entstandenen Wechsel des kurzen Vokals im m. sg. und des langen Vokals in den anderen Formen des Verbaladjektivs kurzer Wurzeln (*tēko* - *tēkla*, *pēko* - *pēkla*) erscheint nun ein kurzer Vokal auch im m. sg. der langen Wurzeln (*trēsō* - *trēsla*, *tūko* - *tūkla*). Bei den Verbaladjektiven der einsilbigen athematischen vokalischen Infinitivstämme, die ursprünglich dem Ap. c gehörten, gibt es keinen Akzentwechsel, und so gehören sie, synchronisch gesehen, ebenso dem Ap. a¹⁵ (*pī*, *pīla*, *pīlo*, *prā*, *prāla*, *prālo* (ursprünglich *c* = *smī*, *smīla*, *smīlo*, *slā*, *slāla*, *slālo*, *krā*, *krāla*, *krālo* (a) - der Unterschied ist in der Länge, bzw. in der Qualität *a/a*). Der Akzent überspringt sogar nicht auf die Negation vom Verbaladjektiv des Verbs *biti* (*bīlo mēni gōsta il ne bīlo*), geschweige denn in anderen Fällen. Bei den aktiven Verbaladjektiven, deren Stamm mehrsilbig ist, ist der Akzentwechsel einigermaßen bewahrt. Man unterscheidet den Akzent im m. sg. von dem in den anderen Formen, so dass das m. sg. fast immer den Initialakzent¹⁶ hat, und die anderen Formen meistens den Akzent auf der vorletzten Silbe (seltener den Initialakzent¹⁷) haben, und solche Verbaladjektive haben die meisten Verben der 1. Reihe mit dem Infinitivstamm auf einen Vokal (auch auf eine Liquida), alle Verben auf *jat*, welches zu *a* geworden ist, und noch einige andere Verben (*smījo se smījāla se*,

¹⁴ Ich habe keine überzeugende Erklärung für das *o* in *nošlā*, *izošlā*.

¹⁵ In der Tat kam es in der Mundart von Kukljica wie in vielen anderen kroatischen Dialekten zur Retraktion des Akzents in den endbetonten Formen des aktiven und passiven Verbaladjektivs des Ap. c auf die vorhergehende Silbe, und in der Mundart von Kukljica ist nur ein Wechsel möglich zwischen dem Initialakzent und der retrahierten Endbetonung auf der vorletzten Silbe (s. auch die folgende Fußnote).

¹⁶ Im Falle der aktiven und passiven Verbaladjektive in der Mundart von Kukljica kann man von einem Initialakzent nur eingeschränkt reden, denn der Akzent geht bei den athematischen Infinitivstämmen nicht über das der Wurzel nächststehende Präfix zurück und bei den thematischen kann er überhaupt nicht "links" von der Wurzel stehen (*raspřdo(n)*, *zadržo(n)*). Etwas sinnvoller wäre, bei den Verbaladjektiven von unbeweglicher (Ap. a) und beweglicher Betonung (Ap. c) zu sprechen, außer im Falle der passiven Verbaladjektive auf *-t*, die immer unbewegliche Betonung haben, und der aktiven Verbaladjektive des Ap. b, deren Betonung beweglich ist. Hier jedoch werde ich denjenigen Akzent auf dem Präfix bei den Verbaladjektiven Initialakzent nennen, der den Rest des alten Initialakzentes bildet.

¹⁷ Den Zwecken dieser Arbeit gemäß werde ich jedoch die aktiven Verbaladjektive im m. sg. immer mit dem Initialakzent, und in anderen Formen mit dem Akzent auf der vorletzten Silbe anführen.

smijāli su se, nāsmijo se - nasmijāla se, nasmijāli su se (etwas seltener *smijola/i, nāsmijola/i*), *dōne donēla, donēli* (seltener *dōnela, dōneli*), *držo, držāla* und *držola*, jedoch *ūmra - umrāla, umrāli, ōdra, odrāla, odrāli* (beim silbischen *r* gibt es keine andere Möglichkeit). Wie schon gezeigt, gibt es bei den übrigen Verben (die meisten thematischen Infinitivstämme) keinen Akzentwechsel, sondern ist der Akzent entweder auf der Wurzel (n. p. *a - čito, čitala, mīslī, mīslila*), oder auf dem thematischen Vokal (Ap. *b - kopā, kopāla, rādī, rādīla* und Ap. *c - naštivā* (sk. *naslagao*), *naštivāla, učinī, učinīla*), und der thematische Vokal ist kurz (die Verbaladjektive gehören dem Ap. *a*).

5. Passives Verbaladjektiv. Die passiven Verbaladjektive auf *-en* der Verben des Ap. *c* mit dem Präsens auf *-en, -eš*, und aller athematischen Verben mit dem Stammaslaut *-i-, -y-, -u-* gehören dem Ap. *b* (*pečen, pečenā*¹⁸, *donesen, donesenā, istresen, istresenō, popijēn, ubijenā, sašivenī, pokrivēn, obuvēn*). Nach dem Ap. *b* geht noch das passive Verbaladjektiv der Komposita des Verbs *činīti* (*učinjenō, prečinjen* und das Verb *podilīti* hat *podiljen* neben *podiljen*). Die übrigen passiven Verbaladjektive auf *-en* haben den Akzent auf der Wurzel (*premēščen, māknjen, pobēren(a), zavēžen(a), zakōljen(a), utōpljen, zamūčen*). Wie schon gesagt, haben die Verben des Typus *budīti* (s. 1.) und ihre Komposita im passiven Verbaladjektiv den langen Vokal (*ocīden, (o)sūšen, premīnjen*). Die Verben des Typus *gasīti, sadīti, platīti* haben die Länge, seltener die Kürze (s. auch 1.): *ugāšen und ugāšen, posāden, plāčen*. Das passive Verbaladjektiv auf *-on/-ān* wird folgendermaßen betont. Wird es von den Verben des Ap. *a* gebildet, steht der Akzent auf der Wurzel (*prečīton, prečītona* (*čītati* ist in der Mundart von Kukljica Ap. *a*), *pregljēdon(a)*). Wird es von den Verben thematischer Infinitive des Ap. *b* mit langen Wurzeln gebildet, ist der Akzent stabil auf der Wurzel (*sačūvon, nanīzon*), und wenn es von denjenigen mit kurzen Wurzeln gebildet wird, schwankt der Akzent zwischen der Wurzel und dem thematischen Vokal (*zamōton(a), iskōpon(a)* und *zamotāna, iskopāna* (im m. sg. ist der Akzent fast immer auf der Wurzel). Wird es von den Verben thematischer Infinitivstämme des Ap. *c* gebildet, ist der Akzent stabil auf *-ān* (*naštivān(a), zavidān(a)*). Bei den athematischen Infinitivstämmen und den

¹⁸ In der Mundart von Kukljica macht die Bestimmtheit oder Unbestimmtheit des Adjektivs keine Bedeutungskategorie aus, denn die einen Adjektive haben nur die unbestimmte, und die anderen nur die bestimmte Form, und die meisten werden als Mischung zweier Formen gebraucht. So auch diese passiven Verbaladjektive, z.B. *pečenī kumpīr* (zum Unterschied von *muškī posā*), *kumpīr je pečen, ūzmi pečenōga mēsa* oder seltener *mālo pečenā mēsa* (aber nur *māslinova ūlja*). Die Akzentstelle folgt immer dem Paradigma der unbestimmten Form, und im N sind Kürzen, vgl. *pečenā rība* und *muškā košūlja*. Es gibt keine Entsprechung zu der in manchen Regionen üblichen Unterscheidung zwischen *pečeno* (*meso je pečeno*) und *pečenō* (Lambraten).

Verben auf *jat*, dass zu *a* geworden ist, ist der Akzent im m. sg. meistens initial, und in den anderen Formen ist er meistens auf *-ān* (*prōdon, prodāna, ōpron, oprāna ūžgon, užgāna, zadržon, zadržāna*). Das passive Verbaladjektiv auf *-t* hat den stabilen Initialakzent oder einen unbeweglichen Akzent auf der Wurzel (*pōspūt(o), ūžgūt(a), nādmūt(a), nāgnūt(a); (po)sprēmīt(a)*). Den Initialakzent haben die passiven Verbaladjektive auf *-t* der Verben mit athematischen Infinitiven, und den Wurzelakzent die der Verben mit thematischen Infinitiven (die Ausnahmen sind selten).

6. Paradigmen. 1 Synchronisch Ap. *a*. A: Präsens auf *-on*: Präsens - *gljēdon, gljēdoš, gljēdo, gljēdomo, gljēdote, gljēdaju*; Imperativ - *gljēdoj, gljēdojte*; Infinitiv - *gljēdati*; aktives Verbaladjektiv - *gljēdo, gljēdala/o/i/e/a*; - passives Verbaladjektiv - *gljēdon, gljēdona/o/i/e/a; gljēdajuči*. B: Präsens auf *-en*: *krāden, krādeš, krāde, krādemo, krādete, krādu; krādi, krādite; krāsti; krā, krāla; ukrāden(a); krāduči*. C: Präsens auf *-in*: *mīslīn, mīslīš, mīslī, mīslimo, mīslite, mīslu; mīslī, mīslite; mīsliti; mīslī, mīslila; izmīšljen(a)*.

2. Synchronisch Ap. *b*. A: Präsens auf *-on*: *kōpon, kōpoš, kōpo, kōpomo, kōpote, kōpaju; kōpoj, kōpojte; kopāti; kopā, kopāla; iskōpon(a)* und *iskopāna*, aber nur *sačūvon(a)*. B: Präsens auf *-en*: *tōnen, tōneš, tōne, tōnemo, tōnete, tōnu; tōni, tōnite; tonīti; tonī, tonīla*. C: Präsens auf *-in*: *nōsin, nōsiš, nōsi, nōsimo, nōsite, nōsu; nōsi, nōsite; nosīti; nosī, nosīla; nōšen(a), nosēča*.

3. Synchronisch Ap. *c*. A: Präsens auf *ān*: *molān* (ich lasse los), *molāš, molā, molāmo, molāte, molāju; molāj, molājte; molāti; molā, molāla, pomolān(a)*; - B: Präsens auf *-en*: *vūčēn, vūčēš, vūčē, vūčēmo, vūčēte, vūčū; vūci, vūcite; vūči; vūko, vūkla; izvūčēn, izvūčēnā, izvūčēnō*. C: Präsens auf *-in*: *cidīn, cidīš, cidī, cidīmo, cidīte, cidū; cīdi, cīdite; cidīti; cidī, cidīla; precīden(a)*.

4. Das Verb *bīti*: Präsens - *san, si, je, smo, ste, su; jesān* und *jesān. jesī, jē, jesmō, jestē, jesū; būden ... būdu*¹⁹; die Form zur Bildung des Konditionals, (wenn Betont) *bī, bī, bī, bīmo, bīte, bī(ju)*; Imperativ - *būdi(te)*; aktives Verbaladjektiv - *bī, bīla/o/i/e/a*; das Adjektiv *budūči*.

5. Das Verb (*h*)*tīti*: Präsens - *ōču, ōčeš ... ōče(ju)* und unbetont *ču, češ ... če(ju)*; aktives Verbaladjektiv - (*h*)*tī, (h)tīla*.

6. Das Verb *mōči*: Präsens - *mōgun*²⁰/*mōren, mōreš ... mōr(ej)u*; aktives Verbaladjektiv - *mōgo, mōglā; mōgūče*.

¹⁹ Diese Form dient unter anderem mit dem Infinitiv oder mit dem aktiven Verbaladjektiv zur Bildung des Futur II.

²⁰ Es gibt keinen Wechsel wie *hōču - hōčeš, mōgu - mōčeš*.

7. Das Verb *imāti*: Präsens - *imōn ... imaju + nēmōn ... nēmajū*; Imperativ - *imōj(te)*; aktives Verbaladjektiv - *imā, imāla*.

8. Das Verb (*h*)*odīti*: Präsens - *grēn, grēš, grē, grēmo, grēte, grēdu*; Imperativ - (*h*)*ōdi(te)*; aktives Verbaladjektiv - (*h*)*odī, (h)odīla*.

9. Das Verb *dāti*: Präsens - *dān = dādēn, ... dāmo = dādēmo ... dāju = dādū*; Imperativ - *dāj(te)*, aber *dodāj(te) dā(la) prōdo, prodāla, dān(a) (prōdon, prodāna)*.

10. Das Verb *znāti*: Präsens - *znān = znādēn ... znāju = znādū (nē znon ... nē znaju)*; Imperativ - *znāj(te)*; aktives Verbaladjektiv - *znā, znāla*; passives Verbaladjektiv - *znān(a)*.

Zum Verb *īsti* (*essen*) s. nächster Abschnitt.

4. Liste der akzentuierten Verben der Mundart von Kukljica

Wie man sieht, gibt es im Verbalakzent der Mundart von Kukljica viele Unterschiede im Bezug zur kroatischen Standardsprache als dem Vertreter eines verbreiteten štokavischen Akzentmusters, obwohl auch die kroatische Standardsprache selbst keineswegs einheitlich ist. Außer im System selbst gibt es auch Unterschiede bei einzelnen Verben, von denen ich manche nebenbei erwähnt habe. Archaisch sind die Verben vom Typus *budīti* und ihre Komposita (s. 3. 1.), die Verben *gasīti, sadīti, gradīti* usw. (c) und ihre Komposita mit Kürze (wenigstens derjenigen im Infinitiv und im aktiven Verbaladjektiv), das Verb *krāsti* als Ap. a und das Verb *pīti* mit dem Präsens nach dem Ap. c (*pījēn, aber pōpījen*). Manche Verben decken sich im Präsens nicht im Paradigma mit Sk., besonders diejenigen mit kurzem Wurzelvokal, z. B. *brāti (b), prāti (b), zvāti (b)*²¹. Es decken sich auch die Verben auf -on/-ān nicht im Paradigma (*kōpon (b), mōton (b), morān (c)*), und standardsprachlich *kōpām, mōtām*²², *mōrām*; ferner Kuklj. *bācāti (b)* - Sk. *bācati (c)*, Kuklj. *čītati (a)* - Sk. *čitati (c)*). Das Verb *īsti* hat besondere Betonung: Präsens - *idēn*²³; Imperativ - *ī(te)*; aktives Verbaladjektiv - *ī, īla (poi, poīla)*; passives Verbaladjektiv - *poīdēn, poīdēnō*. Wegen so vieler Unterschiede ist es nützlich eine akzentuierte Liste der gebräuchlicheren Verben aufzustellen.

²¹ Kali ebenfalls *b (zōvin)*, und Nevidane c.

²² Die Regel lautet, daß von den Verben auf -am in der kroatischen Standardsprache nur diejenigen mit dem langen Vokal dem Ap. b gehören. So ist das Verb *mōtām* oder *kōpām* unmöglich (s. Kapović 2003.).

²³ Ap. c wahrscheinlich nach dem alten athematischen beweglichen Präsens: auch z.B. Kordun: *jēdem*.

1. Synchronisch Ap. a²⁴: *bōckati*²⁵, *brījati se, cīcati* (saugen), *čīstīti, čītati, čōknīti* (sich hinhocken), *čūdīti se, čūpati, čūti, dīmīti, dīgīti, gādīti, gāzīti, gīnīti, glādīti, gljēdati, grābiti, grījati, grlīti, gūcati* (schlucken), *iznīmīti* (herausnehmen (iterativ)), *izvītrīti* (verduften), *jādātī se, kājātī se* (Imp, *kāji se*), *kāp(lj)ati (kāplje), kāznīti, kīselīti, kīšīti* (älter *dažīti (c)*), *kītīti, klātī (klāla; zāklon und zaklān), kljūcati, kljūcnīti, korīstīti, krāstī, krīti, křpati, kūkātī, kūpītī, lājātī* (Imp. *lāj*), *līzātī* (kriechen), *lūpnīti, māzātī, mīcati, mīrītī, mīslītī, mlītī* (passives Verbaladjektiv - *mēljen(a)*), *mřčītī, mřvītī, mřznītī se, mūčītī, nadūtī* (Präsens - *nādmen*; aktives Verbaladjektiv - *nadū, nadūla*; passives Verbaladjektiv *nādmūt*), *napřītīti, natovārītī, navītī, nūdītī, pāzītī, pāstī* (Präsens - *pāden*), *pīnītī, pītātī* (füttern (das Kind)), *plāzītī, pljūcati, pljūnītī, ponōsītī se, pobīgnītī, pomōčī (pomōžen; pomōgo, pomōgla)*; *prātītī, prilēčī (prilēžen; prilēgo, prilēgla), prūžītī, pūšītī, rānītī, raskūžītī, razbīstītī, razbītī (rāzbījen, rastīrātī (rastīren), razbī, razbīla; razbījēn), rīgātī, rīnītī, rōskātī, rūbītī* (plündern), *sažīmātī (sažīmīljen), sēstī (sēden; sē, sēla), sījātī, sīpātī (sīpljen), sītītī se, slātī (slāla; poslān und pošāljen(a)), slīčītī, slāvītī, slīnītī, smīškātī se, stārītī, stātī (stānen), stāvītī, strāšītī, sūmljātī, šālītī se, šītī, tīšītī, tīrātī, umīrātī, usīrītī se, umītī (ūmījen), vādītī, vēslātī, vījātī* (das Getreide reinigen; wehen), *vītī* (sehen - nur im Infinitiv kontrahiert), *uvřčī se, zīnītī* etc.

2. Synchronisch Ap. b²⁶: *bācātī, bācītī, *blāčītī*²⁷ (bewölken), *blagoslovītī, brānītī, brātī, brojītī, brūsītī, cīpītī, *cvīlītī, covātī* (schimpfen), *čūvātī, dāvātī (dājen)*,

²⁴ Hierher ordne ich die Verben mit unbeweglichem Akzent auf der Wurzel (die Ausnahme bilden die Verben mit dem passiven Verbaladjektiv nach dem Ap. b wie *šītī* und die präfigierten Verben mit der Zurückziehung des Akzents im Präsens wie *umītī se*, die einst größtenteils einen jer-Laut im Präsens hatten - die Verben der 1. Reihe mit -i-, -y-, -ę-, -ǫ-, -u- im Infinitiv, z. B. *prōlījen, sāšījen, ūmījen, ūzmen, nādmen, ōbujen*). Ich ordne hierher jedoch nicht die einfachen Verben der 1. Reihe mit vokalischem (und liquidem) Stammauslaut, deren Komposita das aktive Verbaladjektiv nach dem Ap. c haben, d.i., die in der Wurzel im aktiven Verbaladjektiv im f. sg. *ā, ē, ī, ř* oder *ū* haben (zum Unterschied von denjenigen, die *ā, ē, ī, ū* (Ap. a) haben).

²⁵ Neben dem Infinitiv werde ich noch manche Verbalformen meistens nur dann anführen, wenn der Akzent des ganzen Paradigmas aufgrund der gegebenen Beschreibungen und Muster nicht erschlossen werden konnte, und seltener, wenn manche Formen als morphologisch interessant erscheinen werden.

²⁶ Hierher ordne ich die thematischen Verben mit dem Akzentwechsel wie *māknītī: māknēn*, und von den athematischen diejenigen mit dem Akzent auf der Wurzel, deren aktives Verbaladjektiv nach dem Ap. b geht, und diejenigen, deren Komposita das aktive Verbaladjektiv nach dem Ap. c (s. Fn. 24) haben. Falls der Infinitiv mehr als 2 Silben hat, und die verbalen Adjektive dem Ap. c angehören, bringe ich sie unbedingt mit dem Verb an und zeige den Akzentwechsel.

²⁷ Der Stern bezeichnet, daß das betreffende Verb auch nach dem Ap. c betont wird und umgekehrt: daß ein mit Stern bezeichnetes Verb aus der Liste der Verben des Ap. c auch nach dem Ap. b betont wird.

dāviti, derāti (dēro, derāla), *dičiti se, dihāti, dosēgniti (passives Verbaladjektiv: dosēgnut), drēmāti, fāliti (loben), *globiti, glodāti, *glūmīti, gnjāviti, *gnjojiti, goniti, gospodārīti, govorīti, gravtāti (grāvčen - kratzen), grīšiti, gūliti, gūšiti, hlāditi, hrāniti, hripāti (hripljen), igrāti (igrom), iskāti (iščen), imāti, iznēti (herausnehmen (perfektiv)) - iznēmen; izne, iznēla, iznēmen(a)), ispēti se (ispēnjen se), jāviti, jēžiti se, jōkāti (laut klagen, heulen), kljakniti (kljaknen), kloniti se, kopāti, kositi, kovāti (kōvo, kovāla; zakōvon, zakovāna), kripiti, krojiti, krūžiti, krvārīti, kūpāti (kūpljen), kūpiti, kupovāti, lagāti, lēči, ličiti (heilen), lipiti, livāti, lomiti, loviti, ložiti, ljubiti, ljūljāti, ljūtiti, māhniti, mahniti, māmīti, mārīti, māsiti, mēžiti (drücken, kneten), mīriti, mīsiti, močiti, mlājiti, moliti, motāti, mrāčiti se, munjēsāti (nārrisch handeln, unsinnig sein), mūtiti, nadīmāti se (nadīmlijen se), nāgliti, naždrīti se (naždēren se; nāzdro se und seltener nāzdra se, naždīla se), nīkniti (nīko, nīkla), nīzāti, nositi, obuči vāti (kleiden), odrīti (ōdra, odīla; oderen(a)), oglāsiti, ohrābrīti, oprāti, (ōpro, oprāla, opēren(a) und op̄ron, oprāna), orāti, osušiti (osūšin; osūši; osuši; osūšen), pāliti, premučāti (premūčin; premūči; premūčo, premučāla), pītāti, pīzditi, plātiti (plātin und plātin; plāti und plāti; plati; plāčen), ploviti, počāti (pōčmen; pōčo, počāla; pōčot, počāta), pogospodīti se, pōjti (pōjden; pōj, pōšo, pošlā), pokorīti se, pokresāti, pozlātiti, prāšiti, prāti, prāviti, predugljiti (wie osušiti), preminiti oder prominīti (preminin - wie osušiti), prītiti, prolīti (prōlijen; prōliti (prōlijen; prōli(la(!)), prolivēn), prositi, prostīti, prskāti (prščen), pūhāti, pušiti (pūstin; pūsti; pušti; pūščen), rāditi, rastanjiti (rastānjīn, rastānji; rastanjī; rastānjen), rastrīti (rastēren; rāstra, rastīla; rastēren(a)), rasūti (rāšpen; rāsu, rasūla; rāspūt), razlūčiti, rēditi, rišiti, roditi (auch intransitiv²⁸), roniti, rovāti (rūjen), rūbīti, rūčāti, sahniti (sāhnen; sahnī, sahnīla und sāho, sāhla (!)), sažāti (sāžmen, sāžo, sažīsāla, sāžmut), selīti, skočiti, skratīti (skrātin; skrāčen), skršiti, slīditi, slūžiti, smlāčiti, solīti, spomēniti, stenjāti (stēnjo, stenjāla), sterāti, (stēren; stēro, sterāla), stūpiti, sūditi, svidočiti, svīriti, sētāti (šēčen und šēton), šīriti, škripāti (škrīplje), *štropiti, štītiti, šljāti se, telīti, točiti, *topiti, tovti, trāžiti, tribīti, trovāti (trōvo, trovāla; otrōvon, otrōvāna), tīti²⁹ (tāren; trā, tīla; Komposita: istrīti, istāren, īstra (f. istrīla), istāren(a); satīti, sātren, sātra/o (f. satīla), satrvēn (b) und satāren(a)), trūbīti, trūditi se, tūpiti, tūžiti, učīniti (učīnin; učīni; učīni; učīnjenō), učvrstīti, udrīti (ūdrin (seltener ūdrin); ūdri; udri; ūdren), ugasiti (ugāsin; ugāsi; ugasī; ugāšen und ugāšen), uglāviti, umrīti (ūmren; ūmra, umīla), ustaklīti (ustāklin, ...

²⁸ In der Mundart von Kukljica gibt es keinen Akzentunterschied zwischen den transitiven und den intransitiven Verben mit gleicher Wurzel.

²⁹ Das Verb *tīti* gehört diachronisch gesehen nicht hierher sondern dem Ap. a (vgl. die štokavischen Formen *tīla* und die 2. und 3. P. sg. *sātra*), und die synchronischen Gründe, daß es hierher eingetragen wird, bestehen nur dann, wenn die Komposita berücksichtigt werden, wo der Akzent sich im m. sg. zurückgezogen hat, als das *r* vor Vokal nicht mehr silbisch war.

ustāklijen), užgāti (ūžgen; ūžgo, užgāla; ūžgon, užgāna und ūžgut(a)), uzēsti (ūzmen, ūze, uzēla), vārīti, venčivāti, veslāti, vēzāti, vīkniti, vlādāti, voditi, voziti, vrātīti, vřči (stellen - vřzen; vřgo, vrglā), vriditi, zacēliti, zahropiti (einschnarchen), zaspāti (zāšpen und zāšpin; zāspo, zaspāla), zatopliti, zidāti (zīden), znāčiti, zgrniti, zivāti, zvāti, zvoniti etc.

3. Synchronisch Ap. c.³⁰ balegāti, bēliti, bižāti, blejāti (blejēn; blējo, blejāla), *blāčiti, bliščiti, bojāti se, boliti, boriti se, bōsti, brstīti, būčiti, buditi, cēniti, ciditi, crniti, crveniti, cvetāti, *cvilīti, častiti, činīti (činīn; čini; činī), dažiti (regnen), debelīti se, *dičiti se, diliti, donēti (donesēn; dōne, donēla; donešenō), dosēči (dosēžēn; dosēgo, dosēgla), dovēsti (dovedēn, dōve(!)³¹, dovēla), dovēsti (dovežēn; dovēzo, dovēzla; dovezenō), drčāti (rennen - drčo, drčāla), držāti (držo, držāla), drobīti, dūsti (aushöhlen; ernten (Kartoffeln)) - dūbēn; dūbo, dūbla), dvorīti, gasiti, *globiti, *glūmīti, glūšiti, gnjiliti, *gnjojiti, goditi, gojiti, gorčāti (bitter sein - gorčā), goriti, gostiti, graditi (izgrāden), grīsti (grīžēn; grīzo, grīzla; izgrīženo(!)), grmīti, gubiti, hititi (eilen), hropiti (schnarchen), jebāti (jēbo, jebāla), jēčiti, kaditi, kasniti, kīpiti, kljāti (kunēn; kūni; kljā(la) - prēklo, prekljāla; das Adjektiv: prēklijet(a)), kljēčati (kljēčin: kljēčā(la)), kočiti, kratiti, krčiti (abholzen; knarren (vom Radio)), krīčiti, kršiti, krstīti (passives Verbaladjektiv: krščen), lakomīti se, lediti se, letiti, ležāti (lēžo, ležāla), mēsti, morāti, moriti, mrštīti se, mrsīti (oder razmrsīn), mrziti, mučāti (mūčo, mučāla), mūsti (mūzeēn; mūzo, mūzla; pomūzena(!)), naoruzāti, nēsti (nesē), nočiti, oriti se, ostrīti, papriti, pāsti (pāsēn; pāso, pāsla³²), pēči, pilāti, pīti (pijēn; pī(la); Komposita: nāpijen se; nāpi se, napila se; pōpi, pōpila; popijēnō), plēsti (pletēn; plēla), postīti, potīti se (schwitzen), prđiti, prēsti (prēdēn; prēla; ispredenō), rēči (rēko, reklā), rēsti (rēso, rēsla), revāti (revēn; rēvo, revāla), rositi, saditi, sediti, sēditi, siči (sičēn; siko, sīkl), sipiti, sjājiti, slabiti, sladiti (transitiv), smijāti se (smijēn se; smījo se, smijāla se), smrdīti, snižiti, srāmīti se, sramotīti se, srbīti, srditi se, stāti (stojīn), stīditi se, strīči (strižēn; strīgo, strīgla; ostrīžen(a)(!)), sušiti, sūziti (trānen), svēliti, svitlīti, *štropiti, tajāti (verheimlichen - Präsens: tajān), tamniti, tēči, teplīti, tēžiti (wiegen), tisikāti (ärgern), *topiti, trejāti (dauern - Präsens: trejā), trēsti, trošiti,

³⁰ Hierher ordne ich alle Verben mit dem Akzent auf dem thematischen Vokal im Präsens. Die aktiven und passiven Verbaladjektive des Ap. c und die aktiven Verbaladjektive des Ap. b führe ich immer mit dem Infinitiv an. Wenn der Stamm des aktiven Verbaladjektivs einsilbig ist, führe ich immer auch die präfigierte Form an, damit der Akzentwechsel zum Vorschein kommt.

³¹ Wahrscheinlich nach *dōne*.

³² Aufgrund des aktiven Verbaladjektivs dieses Verbs kann man zu dem Schluß kommen, dass die Analogiekürzung der Schließung des langen *a* vorausging. Eine relative Chronologie der Längenwechsel in der Mundart von Kukljica würde demnach folgendermaßen aussehen: 1. die Längung in der betonten geschlossenen Silbe; 2. die Analogiekürzung; (3. die Schließung des langen *a*); 4. die Längung des betonten *a*.

trpiti, tvrditi, učiti, vėdriti, venčati, veseliti, vēsti (vėzēn), vidati (schrauben), vršiti (dreschen in Kukljica gewöhnlich: tūči žito), vrtiti, vūči, zeleniti se, zlātiti se, znojiti se, zoriti, zvižditi, žalostiti se, ždreliti (reifen), živiti (živin und živēn; živila), žūditi, žuljati, žūtiti se, etc.

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Abkürzungen und Zeichen

1. Kasus.

N	Nominativ Singular
G	Genitiv Singular
D	Dativ Singular
A	Akkusativ Singular
V	Vokativ Singular
L	Lokativ Singular
I	Instrumental Singular
n	Nominativ Plural
g	Genitiv Plural
d	Dativ Plural
a	Akkusativ Plural
v	Vokativ Plural
l	Lokativ Plural
i	Instrumental Plural

2. Restliche Abkürzungen.

Abs.	Abschnitt
Ap.	Akzentparadigma
bzw.	beziehungsweise
f.	Femininum
Fn.	Fußnote
Imp.	Imperativ
m.	Maskulinum
P.	Person
s.	siehe
Sk.	Standardkroatisch
sog.	so genannt
štok.	štokavisch
>	wird zu
<	entsteht aus
(:)	die Länge des folgenden Vokals kann ausgelassen werden

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Syllables, intonations and Auslautgesetze

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Syllables and intonations

In Greek, long vowels and diphthongs can have acute (rising) or circumflex (falling) intonation. The distinction directly reflects pre-Greek differences in intonation only in oxytone forms, due to the working of a set of accentological laws (the "law of limitation" and the "σωτήρα"-rule) that make the choice between acute and circumflex automatic in non-final syllables. In Lithuanian, long vowels and diphthongs can also be acute or circumflex, although the acute has become a falling intonation, and the circumflex a rising one. Latvian has a falling intonation (˘) corresponding to the Lithuanian circumflex, and two intonations (˜ and ^) corresponding to the Lithuanian acute: the "Dehnton" (˜) implies an originally stressed acute, the "Stoßton" or "broken (glottalized) tone" (^) an originally pretonic acute. In Old Prussian, the distinction is reflected orthographically on diphthongs only (falling/circumflex *āi* vs. rising/acute *aī*). In Slavic, the distinction has been neutralized in mobile paradigms (Meillet's law), but is preserved in original barytones: acute stems remain barytone (a.p. *a*), while in circumflex (or short) root syllables the stress shifts forward by Dybo's law (a.p. *b*). Finally, the Germanic Auslautgesetze also show a distinction in the reflexes of final acute vs. circumflex vowels and diphthongs.

Given the above facts, it stands to reason to assign the distinction between rising and falling intonation on long vowels and diphthongs to Proto-Indo-European, or at least to the PIE dialect ancestral to Greek, Balto-Slavic and Germanic. However, a number of problems still remain.

- (1) the Greek and Balto-Slavic intonations do not always agree;
- (2) there is controversy over the Balto-Slavic reflexes of certain sequences (e.g. the reflexes of long grade vowels vs. vowels lengthened by a laryngeal);
- (3) even if the Greek, Balto-Slavic and Germanic intonations are etymologically connected, it does not follow that a separate feature (e.g. "+/- rising intonation") needs to be set up for the IE proto-language.

On this last point specifically, I will try to show in the following that no such feature was present in the proto-language, and that the intonations as reflected in Greek, Balto-Slavic and Germanic follow automatically from the segmental make-up of the syllable coda.

Intrinsic intonation of the segments (V, C, R, H)

The relevant classes of segments are short vowels (V), long vowels (\bar{V}), glides (R), laryngeals (H) and "ordinary" consonants (C).

The basic rules are:

1. A short vowel (or a syllabic resonant or laryngeal¹) in isolation is neither acute nor circumflex (rising and falling tone only occur when there are at least two moras).
2. A glide (i.e. *m, n, l, r, ʷ, j*) in the syllable coda causes falling tone.
3. A laryngeal (h_1, h_2, h_3) in the syllable coda causes rising tone.
4. Consonants other than resonants and laryngeals have no effect on the intonation.
5. Two consecutive vowels (VV, possibly from original VHV) are disyllabic, but when they eventually get contracted to become a long vowel, the second vowel behaves as a glide (i.e. it causes falling intonation). This is traditionally notated as \bar{V} .
6. A long grade vowel (\bar{V}) has rising intonation.

Intonation of syllables

What this means in practice is that the intonation of the vowel is not always the same as the intonation of the syllable. We can distinguish the following cases:

Syllable v

vowel: short
syllable: short

The most trivial case.

¹ In Balto-Slavic, this applies to *i* and *u*, but the other syllabic resonants become diphthongs (*ir/ur*), and behave accordingly. Syllabic laryngeals ($\partial, \partial_2, \partial_3$) in isolation disappear in Balto-Slavic.

Syllable \bar{v}

vowel: acute
syllable: acute

For instance, Lith. *žvėres* Npl. 'animals', Latv. *nāss* 'nose', Slav. *nāsъ* 'us'.

Syllable vv > \bar{v}

vowel: short + short
syllable: short + short (> circumflex)

For instance, the o-stem Npl. **-o-es* > **-ōs*.

Syllable vHV > \bar{v}

vowel: short + short
syllable: short + short (> circumflex)

For instance, the ā-stem Npl. **-eh₂-es* > **-ās*.

Syllable vR

vowel: short
syllable: circumflex

For instance, the o-stem Lsg. ending **-oi*. A root in -VR has circumflex intonation if a morpheme beginning with a consonant follows (syllabification VRC.# or VR.CV), but the intonation changes to short if a vowel-initial morpheme follows (syllabification V.RV). For instance Slav. *pa·mę·tv* 'memory' ~ Lith. *me·nù* 'I think' < **men-*.

Syllable \bar{v} R

vowel: acute
syllable: circumflex

An example would be Latvian *sāls* 'salt'², with falling intonation due to the glide in the syllable coda (cf. the identically structured *nāss* 'nose' with acute, where the root ends in an obstruent). Other examples include **mēm̃sóm* > Slav. *mę̃so* 'meat', **ōūjóm* > Slav. *jāje* 'egg', etc.

² Via **sālis*, but maintaining the (circumflex) intonation of PIE **sāl(s)*. Cf. Latv. *zvērs* 'animal' < **žwērís*, where the circumflex intonation of the PIE Nsg. **ǵ^hwēr(s)* (as opposed to acute in Asg. **ǵ^hwē·r̥n̥*, etc.) was not maintained, presumably due to the forward accent shift in a mobile i-stem Nsg.

In word-final sequences of long vowel + resonant, the final glide could be eliminated already in PIE, but in that case the syllable remained circumflex. Examples include **máh₂tēr* > **máh₂tē* 'mother' and **h₂ák_mōn* > **h₂ák_mō* 'stone'.

A root in $\bar{V}R$ has circumflex intonation if a morpheme beginning with a consonant follows (syllabification $\bar{V}RC$ or $\bar{V}R\cdot CV$), but the intonation reverts to acute if a vowel-initial morpheme follows (syllabification $\bar{V}\cdot RV$). For instance: *sāl-s*, but Slav. *sláva* 'glory' (< **klōy-ā*, syllabification *klō·wā*). Cf. also the a.p. a lengthened grade verb **g^(w)ō·g^heje-* > Slav. *gāziti* 'to trample; to wade'.

Syllable $\bar{V}R$

vowel: circumflex
syllable: circumflex

For instance the Gpl. ending **-ōm*.

Syllable $VH > \bar{V}$

vowel: short
syllable: acute

For instance the ending **-ah₂ > -ā*. If a vowel-initial morpheme follows, the intonation reverts to short + short = circumflex (syllabification $V\cdot HV > circumflex$). For example Slav. *znānō* 'known' < **gⁿoh₃-eno-*.

Syllable $\bar{V}H > \bar{V}$

vowel: acute
syllable: acute

For instance, Nsg. **póntōh₂s* 'path, bridge' (with Szemerényi lengthening and no laryngeal colouring³). The result is indistinguishable from the result of a sequence \bar{V} or VH .

Syllable $\bar{V}H > \bar{V}$

vowel: circumflex
syllable: acute

An example would be the o-stem Isg. ending, which on theoretical grounds should be **-o-eh₁ > -ōh₁*. The result here (as was the case with the sequence $\bar{V}H$ above) is indistinguishable from the result of plain \bar{V} or VH .

³ In theory, at least: neither Skt. *panthāh* nor Av. *paniā* can say anything about the colouring.

Syllable VRH

vowel: short
syllable: acute

For instance, Slavic *bōlto* < **bholH-tod* 'swamp'. If a vowel-initial morpheme follows, the intonation becomes circumflex (syllabification $VR\cdot HV$), which after the loss of the laryngeal eventually gets resyllabified to $V\cdot RV$. For example: Lith. *báltas* 'white' ~ *bālas* 'white' < **bholH-to-* ~ **bhol-Ho-*.

Syllable $\bar{V}RH$

vowel: acute
syllable: acute

In a closed syllable, this is hard to distinguish from VRH . If a vowel-initial morpheme follows, the acute intonation becomes circumflex (syllabification $\bar{V}R\cdot HV$), which after the loss of the laryngeal eventually gets resyllabified to $\bar{V}\cdot RV$. For instance: Slavic *bělō* (a.p. b) 'white' < **bēl·?os*, *trāvá* 'grass' (< **trōy·?ā*), or the a.p. b lengthened grade *set* verbs **dhōy·?eje-* > *davīti* 'drängen, würgen', **trōy·?eje-* > *travīti* 'aufzehren', **kōn·?eje-* > *kanīti* 'beabsichtigen'. Compare the opposite phenomenon (circumflex > acute) in the lengthened grade *aniṭ*-forms mentioned above: Slavic *sláva* (< **klō·wā*) and *gāziti* < **g^(w)ō·g^heje-* 'to trample; wade'⁴.

Syllable $VHR > \bar{V}R$ or $V(H)R$

vowel: short (> acute)
syllable: circumflex (or short + short > circumflex)

For instance Lith. Asg. *-q* < **-eh₂m*, with circumflex intonation. The syllabification rules are complex. There are two possibilities: VHR or $V\cdot HR$. For instance, the Asg. of \bar{a} -stems and $dēvi$ -stems is monosyllabic *-eh₂m*, *-ih₂m* (> *-ām*, *-īm*), while the Asg. of \bar{u} -stems and $vṛkīh$ -stems is disyllabic *-u·h₂m*, *-i·h₂m* (> Slav. *-v₂v*, Skt. *-iyam*, *-iām*). Cf. also the merger of the \bar{a} -stem Dsg. *-eh₂ei* and Lsg. *-eh₂i* in Balto-Slavic. Similarly, the form *meh₁ns-* 'month, moon' is disyllabic in Av. *mā*, Skt. *mās-* (*me·?ns* > *ma-as*), but monosyllabic in Grk. *μείς*. Likewise, but with the opposite distribution: monosyllabic **nah₂us* 'ship' (Skt. *nāus*) vs. disyllabic **na·h₂us* (Grk. *ναύς*).

⁴ This would settle the issue (LIV 579-580) of *parīti* "to fly" (not to be confused with *pāriti* "to steam") in favour of a *set*, not an *aniṭ* root.

Reconciling Greek and Balto-Slavic

Keeping the above rules in mind, the Greek and Lithuanian intonations can be shown to be essentially equivalent. The main difference is that in Greek, the glides *m*, *n*, *r* and *l* have ceased to be glides and behave like plain consonants. Circumflex syllables like **-ōn* and **-ōm* have lost their falling off-glide and retain only the intonation (acute or circumflex) of the vowel (-ὦν, -ῶν). Another difference was caused by Osthoff's law: in Greek, long diphthongs (then still including those with *m*, *n*, *l*, *r*) were shortened by one mora before a consonant and received rising intonation (e.g. **gwatilēus* > βασιλεύς 'king', **meh₁ns* > **mēns* > μείς 'month').

When the glide was *i* or *u*, Greek retained the diphthong. The sequences VR and VR appear as e.g. Lsg. -οῖ and Dsg. -ῶ. The sequence VR underwent shortening with loss of the glide - but without circumflexion of the vowel in Greek: **-ōi* > -ὦ in the Σαπφώ-type and maybe *-ōu* > -ῶ in the non-oxytone ἥρωσ-type as well (**-ōus* would have given **-ους* by Osthoff's law, not -ως, so perhaps the -s is secondary).

The number of circumflex long vowels and diphthongs in Greek was of course greatly augmented by the rise of new contractions after the loss of intervocalic *s*, *j* and *w*.

Two apparent exceptions

The "law of limitation" in Greek restricts the position of the accent to the last two (for circumflex) or three (for acute) syllables. If the final syllable contains a long vowel or ends with a consonant cluster, no accent may fall further from the end of the word than the penultimate syllable. If the final syllable contains a long vowel, a circumflex may fall only on that final syllable. Conversely, by the so-called "σωτήρα"-rule (a late development in Attic and some other dialects), if the final syllable contains a short vowel and the penultimate syllable contains a long accented vowel, the accent on that vowel *must* be a circumflex. What this means is that the evidence of Greek, as far as acute vs. circumflex intonation goes, is only relevant in stressed final syllables.

An interesting and perhaps neglected aspect in the workings of the Greek "law of limitation" concerns the final diphthongs *-ai* and *-oi*. To quote Philomen Probert (2003):

In general, diphthongs count as long vowels for the purposes of the accent. The diphthongs *-ai* and *-oi*, however, count as short for accentuation when they occur at the absolute end of a word in indicatives, subjunctives, imperatives, infinitives, or nominatives plural: βούλομαι, βούλονται, βούλωμαι, βούλωνται, παιδεύσαι (imperative), παιδεύσαι (aor. inf.), ἄνθρωποι, τράπεζαι, οἴκοι (nom.pl.), βουλόμενοι, βουλόμεναι. But in the optative final *-ai* and *-oi* count as long:

παιδεύσαι (opt.), παιδεύοι. Final *-ai* and *-oi* likewise count as long in adverbs with the meaning 'at (a place)', e.g. οἴκοι 'at home', Μεγαροί 'at Megara', and in certain interjections, e.g. αἰαί 'alas'.

I would suggest that the Greek distribution of "short" *-oi* vs. "long" *-oi* is inherited, and, like the distribution of final *-i* and *-ě* in Slavic, goes back to a PIE distinction between **-oj* with consonantal *j* [i.e. a short syllable coda -VC] vs. **-oi* with a glide (*i*) [i.e. a circumflex syllable coda -VR].

Apart from the o-stem Lsg. (**-oi* > Slavic *-ě*) and Npl. (**-oj* > Slavic *-i*), the other relevant forms are:

- the thematic optative (Slavic *-i* < **-ojh₁-*)
- the NA n./f. dual (Slavic *-ě* < **-oih₁*)
- the personal pronoun datives, Slavic *mi*, *ti*, *si* (< **moj*, **toj*, **soj*)
- the 1sg. present (< perfect), Slavic *vědě* 'I know' (< **-h₂ai*)
- the 2sg. athematic (middle) ending *-si* (< **-saj*)
- the Balto-Slavic infinitive ending *-ti* (< **-taj*)

Lithuanian (as Greek) has preserved the original Lsg. only in fossilized adverbials such as *namiē* 'at home'.

The dual ending **-oih₁* has not survived in Greek (except indirectly in the Ldu. **-oih₁-u+m* > -οιυν > -οιυ > -οῖν). Lithuanian has *-i*, which would indicate that, unlike in Slavic, the laryngeally triggered acute does play a role in the Lithuanian reflexes of **-oj(H)* vs. **-oi(H)*.

The Greek middle endings *-μαι*, *-σαι* etc. count as short, which would seem to be in disagreement with Slavic *vědě* 'I know', but *vědě* is not a middle form in origin: it is a perfect (Grk. οἶδα) with *-i* added (as in the Latin pf. 1sg. *-ī* < **-h₂a-i*) and this *-i* need not be identical with middle *-j*. Neither Lithuanian nor Greek have forms corresponding directly to Slavic *-ě* or Latin *-ī*.

The most problematic form is the optative, where we have Greek *-oi-* which is long for the purposes of the limitation rule vs. Slavic 2/3sg. *-i*, as if from **-ojh₁s* ~ **-ojh₁t*. While Lithuanian *-iē* agrees with Greek, I would still regard the Slavic reflex as original. The Greek and Lithuanian forms can easily be derived by a sound law that causes **-oj-* ~ **-aj-* to merge with **-oi-* ~ **-ai-* if a tautosyllabic consonant followed (this also applies to the Slavic Inlaut: e.g. o-stem Lpl. **-oj-su* > *-ěxv^s*, 1/2pl. optative **-ojh₁-mos*, **-ojh₁-tes* > *-ěm^v*, *-ěte*).

The Lithuanian o-stem Npl., like the corresponding Slavic ending, is an old enigma. We have nominal *-ai*, adjectival *-i*. For a possible explanation of the nominal form, see below. Adjectival *-i* is the regular reflex of PIE **-oj*,

⁵ But apparently not in Lithuanian, cf. OLith. Lpl. *keturtesu* "in 4".

corresponding to Slavic *-i*. Pronominal *tiē* 'those' has metatony of **-ie* in a monosyllabic form.

The Greek forms *ἐμοί* 'to me' and *σοί* 'to you' have an acute (the reflexive, however, is *οἱ* 'to himself'). OLith. had *-m(i)*, *-t(i)*, *-s(i)*, pointing to a (shortened) acute.

The 2sg. middle ending **-saj* (analogical replacement of older **-th₂aj*) seems to be a good candidate for explaining the mysterious Slavic 2sg. athematic ending *-si* (and the Lithuanian 2sg. *-i*). Under the traditional assumption that Lithuanian *-i* can come from **-i*, **-iH* or **-eiH*, and that Slavic *-i* can come from **-iH*, **-eiH* or **-ei*, the problem is that there simply aren't any suitable endings **-iH* or **-eiH* capable of supplying a 2sg. present ending. What I am suggesting instead is that Slavic *-i* and Lithuanian *-i* may also reflect PIE **-aj*, **-oj*, **-ajH* and **-ojH*. If Lithuanian *-i* is the result of reanalysis of **es-saj* as **es-aj*, then the Balto-Slavic 2sg. verbal forms can easily be derived from the (late) PIE 2sg. middle ending **-saj*.

The infinitive presents a similar set of correspondences. We have Slavic *-ti*, Lithuanian *-ti* and shortness in the Greek infinitives (*-vai*, *-σαι*, *-σθαι*). Since there exist no suitable infinitive endings in **-tiH* or **-teiH* (the oft-cited Lsg. of a *ti*-stem would be **-tēi*, which, being circumflex, is not acceptable), the link with the Greek infinitive endings (perhaps *-σθαι* in particular) makes more sense than any alternative option I am aware of.

In summary:

	Greek	Lithuanian	Slavic	PIE
o-stem Lsg.	<i>-oi</i>	<i>-iē</i>	<i>-ě</i>	<i>*-oi</i>
NA n./f. du	(<i>-oi-</i>)	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ě</i>	<i>*-oih₁</i>
1sg pf.	--	--	<i>-ě</i>	<i>*-h₂ai</i>
optative	<i>-oi-</i>	<i>-iē</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>*-ojh₁-s/t</i>
o-stem Npl.	<i>-oj</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>*-oj</i>
o-stem Ipl.	<i>-oīs</i>	<i>-aiš</i>	<i>-y</i>	<i>*-ojs</i>
p.p. Dsg.	<i>-oj</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>*-oj</i>
2sg. ath.	(<i>-s</i>) <i>aj</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-si</i>	<i>*-saj</i>
inf.	<i>-sthaj</i>	<i>-ti</i>	<i>-ti</i>	<i>*-th₂aj</i> (?)

Another set of forms where the resonant fails to make a diphthong with the preceding vowel are the Apl. forms in **-vns*. Since simple diphthongs (not ending in a laryngeal) are always falling, the acute tone in the Lith. Apl. (as shown by the working of Saussure's law) would appear to be an exception to the rule. But if *-vns* was not diphthongal (VRS) but in fact a sequence VCC (eventually yielding an acute diphthong in Lithuanian, as in the case of **-oj* and **-aj*), the problem disappears. The special position of the ending **-ns* is also illustrated by the fact that a short vowel preceding it is lengthened in both Slavic

and Sanskrit (e.g. i-stem **-ins*, u-stem **-uns* > Slav. *-i*, *-y*; Skt. *-īn*, *-ūn*), and perhaps also in Lithuanian (see below). The same thing happens in the Ipl. ending **-ojs* (> Slav. *-y*; Skt. *-ais*), while it does not happen, for instance, in the i-stem and u-stem Gsg. endings **-eis*, **-eus* (> Skt. *-es*, *-os*), where the resonant is a diphthongal glide. Note also the lack of s-raising in the Slavic u-stem Gsg. **-aus*, as opposed to the raising in Ipl. **-ajs* > **-ujs*: in Slavic, final *-s* raises only the immediately preceding vowel or glide, which is *a* in the latter case (**-ajs*), but unraisable *u* in the former (**-aus*).

In the following, I will use the notation *-VRS* to represent a resonant (other than *i ~ j* or *u ~ w*) that does not constitute a diphthong with a preceding vowel.

Auslautgesetze

Slavic Auslautgesetze

Despite attempts to deny the existence of special "Auslautgesetze" (ALG's) in Slavic (e.g. Orr 2000), it is self-evident that such laws are a reality. One only has to look at the 1st person pl. personal pronoun, where we have, in word-final position, Apl. *nŷ* < **nōs*, beside GLpl. *nāšv*, from **nōs-* in non-final position. Another clear-cut case is a preposition like Slavic *sv* 'with' (from **som* and/or **kom*, Lith. *sq-*), which remains as *sq-* in the Inlaut (as in *špšėd̃v* 'neighbour').

With the aid of Mark Rosenfelder's "Sound Change Applier" computer program (<http://www.zompist.com/sounds.htm>), I was able to reduce the number of special developments required to explain the development of final syllables in Slavic to the following:

Early Proto-Slavic

1. Raising of circumflex vowels in final syllables⁶:

- ē* > *-ī*,
- ā* > *-ō*,
- ō* > *-ū*.

2. N-raising of back vowels in final syllables⁷:

- aN* > *-uN*,
- āN* > *-ōN*,
- ōN* > *-ūN*.

3. S-raising (h-raising) of back vowels in final syllables:

- as* > *-uh*,

⁶ As also suggested by Pedersen (1905) and Jasanoff (1982).

⁷ If PIE **-m* and **-n* went through a stage **-ŋ* (Velčeva, 1988), that would explain the raising (but why not of *e*, *ē*?).

-ās > -ōh,
-ōs > -ūh.

Note that the final sequence -Ns is raised *twice*:

-aNs > -unh, -āNs > -ūNh, -ōNs > -ūNh,

but that final *-ant, where -N- is not final, is not raised at all.

Note also the raising of o-stem Ipl. *-ajs > *-ujh (ending -VRS, i.e. -VCs) as compared to the lack of raising in u-stem Gsg. *-aus > *-auh (ending -VRS).

Middle Proto-Slavic

4. Long diphthong shortening:

-āR > -aR,
-ēR > -eR,
-īR > -iR,
-ōR > -aR,
-ūR > -uR

5. Lengthening before -R^h:

-aR^h > -āR^h,
-eR^h > -ēR^h,
-iR^h > -īR^h,
-uR^h > -ūR^h.

Late Proto-Slavic

6. J-umlaut (not specifically in the Auslaut):

ja > jǎ > je (except jau, ja)

ju > jū > ji (except ju)

jā/jē/jō > jǎ > jē > jā⁹ (except, perhaps, jāNh)

jū > jū > jī (except jūNh > jōnh > jēN (h) > -je/-jē)

This means that some of the changes under (9) below were already underway: assuming that the Umlaut affected only *a* and *u*-coloured vowels, but for some reason not *o*-coloured ones, **au* and **aN* must have already been [ou] ~ [ō] and [oN], **ui* may have been already [ō], and **jō* already [jā]. The lowering of **jūN* to **jōN* looks like it is connected to the lowering of **iN* to *ę* and **uN* to *ǫ* (see 9), but no significant lowering seems to have affected long *-ūN when not preceded by *j*, or it would have merged with *ǫ* rather than losing its nasalization (see 7).

⁸ The sound law is similar to Szemerényi's lengthening in the Nsg. and NApl. n., except that the PIE law works both in sequences -RS (**h₂ákmons* > **h₂ákmo:n*) and -CS (**póds* > **póds*).

⁹ The development *jē* > *jā* is late, as shown by the Anlaut *ai-* > *ě-* > *jě-* > *ja-*, where it clearly happened after **ai* > *ě*.

Whether nasalized *-*jāNh* was umlauted or not depends on the details of the participle present active Nsg. ending, for which see below.

7. Loss of nasalization after high or long vowels in final syllables:

-iN > -i,

-uN > -u,

-āN, -īN, -ūN (and -jēN in NW-Slavic) > -ā, -ī, -ū, -(j)ē

8. Loss of -h and other final consonants.

As to final consonants in general, *-*d* had been lost in Balto-Slavic already¹⁰, *-*m* and *-*n* had turned into nasalization of the preceding vowel (perhaps through a stage *-*ŋ*), and *-*s* ~ *-*š* had become an aspiration. Subsequently, the nasalization (partially) and aspiration (completely) were dropped. It is possible that *-*r* was also dropped at an early stage, but it's difficult to be more precise (if *voda* 'water' < **wodōr*, -*r* must have been dropped before ALG 4). Other final consonants remained until after the working of the ALGs, and were either dropped at a late date, or not at all (in the latter case with addition of a prop-vowel -*o*¹¹):

*-*t* *bere* ~ *beret^o*, *ber^o* ~ *berot^o* 'he takes, they take', *ot^o* 'from'

*-*z* *jā* ~ *jāz^o* 'I, iz^o' 'out of'

*-*b* *o* ~ *ob^o* 'about'

9. Changes in vowel quality (not specifically in the Auslaut):

a > *o*,

aN > *ǫ*,

aj > *ě*,

-*aj* > *i*,

(*j*)*au* > (*j*)*u*,

ā > *a*,

e = *e*,

ej/*-ej* > *i*,

eN = *ǫ*,

ē > *ě*,

i > *o*,

-*iN-* > *ę*

ī > *i*,

ō > *a*,

u > *o*,

-*uN-* > *ǫ*

¹⁰ Kortlandt (2002 and earlier), in view of Winter's law.

¹¹ As also suggested by Hock 1991.

-u_i > u,
ū(j) > y.

These changes were obviously not all simultaneous, nor did they necessarily take place in one step as the table above might suggest. For instance, it is likely that *ei went to *ê [ie] early on (before the progressive palatalization, perhaps even before the long diphthong shortening) and only later to *i*. Likewise, we can imagine a development *ui > *ô [uo] > *ū*, merging with *au > *ou > *ô > *ū*, the final step occurring after the delabialization of *ū* to *y*, etc.

10. Lengthening of vowels in desinences which carry end-stress in a.p. c mobile paradigms.

This change is independent of the former, historical, quantity of the vowel (which by sound law (9) above had become a redundant feature). It affects the Nsg.'s -ā, -ȳ, -ī, the feminine Gsg. -ȳ ~ -jē (but not the Gsg.'s -i, -u, -e of the *i*-, *u*- and *c*-stems, where by this time the stress had apparently already been retracted in a.p. c), the Lsg. -ī and -ū, the NApl. n. -ā, the Gpl. in -ō, the Dpl. in -mō, the Lpl. in -xō, the Ipl. in -ȳ and -mī, the GLdu. in -ū and the DIdu. in -mā, as well as most of the present endings of the verb (except 1sg. -o), e.g. thematic -ešb, -ē or -etb, -emō, -etē, -ō or -ōtb, and the 2/3du. and pl. aorist (-stē, -šē, -stā). In the present tense of verbal classes I, II and III, the lengths in 3sg. -ē(tb) and 3pl. -ō(tb) perhaps conspired to trigger lengthening of the thematic vowel over the whole paradigm (except the 1sg.), e.g.: *neso*, *nesēšb*, *nesē*, *nesēmō*, *nesēte*, *nesō*.

A note on the Lithuanian sound laws

I do not believe that unstressed *ō* merges with *ā* to *ō* in Lithuanian, at least not in desinences. All endings containing *ō* or *ō*, whether they were stressed in PIE or not, and whether they lost or acquired the stress by later developments, all show *uo* and *uō* (shortened to *u* by long diphthong shortening or by Leskien's law) in Lithuanian:

- C-stem Nsg. -ō > -uō
- o-stem Npl. -ōs > (L.pl.) -uōs-e
- verbal 1sg. -ō > -ū, -úo-s
- o-stem Isg. -ō > -ū, -úo-ju
- o-stem NAdu. -ō > -ū
- o-stem Apl. -ōns > -ūs, -úos-ius
- o-stem Dsg. -ōi > -ui ~ -uo
- Gpl. -ōm > -ū

There are no counterexamples: the o-stem Gsg. -o was still disyllabic -oot (> -ā) in Proto-Balto-Slavic, and the Ipl. was PIE *-ojs.

Where stress does matter is in the development of the diphthongs *ai and *ei (> *ie*, c.q. *i* when stressed, *ai/ei* when unstressed). However, for two specific morphemes, the o-stem nominal Npl. -āi and the o-stem Ipl. -āis, this would imply generalization of the barytone forms in these endings, which is highly unlikely. One would rather have expected Npl. -i (stressed and acute, as in the adjectives) and Ipl. *-iēs. The question of the Ipl. ending is also significant in connection with the *RS*-lengthening as seen in Slavic and Sanskrit, and whether the same sound law also applied in Lithuanian. The remaining relevant forms (the Apl.'s *-ins > -is and *-uns > -ūs) do not **require** lengthening (merely acutization of the *VRS*-sequence), but they do not exclude it either. If PBS *-ajs was lengthened in Baltic to *-ājs > *-āis, then the (stressed) ending -āis would follow regularly by long diphthong shortening [LDS] (unlike in Slavic, where LDS does not apply to *RS*-finals). Going on from here, we can conclude that stressed *āi* in Lithuanian is always the regular reflex of *āi or *āi (and never from *ai or *aiH, which give *iē and *iē, respectively). The Npl. ending of the o-stem nouns must therefore (taking Prof. Kortlandt's idea in reverse¹²) be the result of adding pronominal *-aj to the neuter NApl. ending -ā, which would have regularly resulted in *-āi¹³ > -āi. The denominal adjectives in -is (*aukšinis*, etc.), lacking such adjectival features as a comparative, a superlative, a neuter form or pronominal (definite) forms, eventually took over the new nominal ending as well.

Auslautgesetze: details

I consider the following changes to be already Balto-Slavic:

o > a¹⁴,
-d > -θ,
eu > (j)au.

PBS -a

Slav. -o, Lith. -a

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-a	-a										-o
-od											
-ot	-at										-a

¹² As a matter of fact, the thought came to me on a hot summer night.

¹³ Cf. Old Prussian -aey in *pallapsaey* "commandments", which suggests a pronunciation [a:i].

¹⁴ But only **after** the working of Winter's law.

-ja	-ja	-je
-jod		

PIE (j)ā-stem Vsg. *-a

Slav. -o, -je Lith. -a, -ia, -e

The normal Lithuanian development of *-ija would be -i ~ -ī (as in the jo-stems). The Vsg. of the ē-stems was obviously reshaped under the influence of the other case forms, with -ijā- > -ē-.

PIE (j)o-pron. NAsg. n. *-od

Slav. to, je Lith. (adj.) -a, -ia

The ending *-od of the pronominal NAsg.n. became *-a already in Balto-Slavic¹⁵. The pronominal ending spread to the adjectives at an early stage (as it did in Germanic, e.g. Goth. *naujata* 'neues'). The tendency in Baltic was for the neuter o-stem nouns, adjectives and pronouns to generalize one of the two original NAsg. n. endings *-a or *-an. In Old Prussian, *-an was generalized, eventually spreading into the demonstrative pronoun (where we have hesitation *sta* ~ *stan*). In East Baltic, *-a was generalized: the neuter adjective has the ending -a (e.g. *gēra* 'good, well'), and evidence from borrowings into neighbouring Finnic languages indicates that the neuter o-stem nouns also once had the ending *-a at a stage before the neuter was lost altogether in East Baltic, and neuter o-stems became masculines: e.g. Finn. *lunka* 'tree stump' < **lunka* (> Lith. *lūnkas* 'bast'), Finn. *kela* 'reel, coil' < **kela* (OPr. *kelan* 'wheel'), *heinä* < **šiēna* (> Lith. *šiēnas*) 'hay', *vaha* < **wāška* (> Lith. *vāškas*) 'wax', etc. (see Illič-Svityč, p. 43).

In Slavic, pronouns and adjectives always have *-a, nouns hesitate between *-a and *-an. In view of the fact that the position of the stress otherwise plays no role whatsoever in the Slavic Auslautgesetze, it is curious that the distribution of the neuter endings seems to be governed by accent¹⁶: originally oxytone neuters have *-á (e.g. **pteróm* > *peró* 'feather', also when the stress has been retracted by Hirt's law, e.g. **bholHtóm* > *bólto* 'swamp'), but originally barytone neuters show hesitation between *-a and *-an. This hesitation is maintained in a.p.'s a and c (e.g. *lýko* ~ *lýkō* 'bast', *týlo* ~ *týlō* 'rear, back', *ězero* ~ *ězerō* 'lake', *ðlovo* ~ *ðlovō* 'tin, lead'), but in a.p. b (by Dybo's law), the formerly barytone neuters have mostly become masculines, optionally with a Npl. in -a: **dhwórom*,

¹⁵ This is not the "bare stem". The thematic bare stem is -e, as in the Vsg.

¹⁶ As to the motivation, which cannot be phonetic, one can only guess that the innovative nominal ending *-o(d) was preferred in the rhyme **tó(d)* *pteró(d)*, but less so in non-rhyming **tò(d)* *dwóron*.

**dhwórā* > *dvòrō*, *dvorý* ~ *dvorá* 'court'. This suggests that the distribution is very ancient indeed (before Hirt's law), as partially confirmed by Old Prussian¹⁷.

PIE (j)o-pron. Absg. *-oot

Slav. *togo* < **toot*, *jego* < **joot* Lith. *tō*, *jō*

PIE i/e-pron. Absg. *-eot

Slav. *jego* < **eot*, *sego* < **keot* Lith. *šiō*

In Lithuanian, PBS *-aat contracts to *-āt > Lith. -ō (a contracted *-ōt of PIE age would have given *-uō). In Slavic, the hiatus was maintained in the pronominal forms, perhaps under the influence of the i/e-pronouns (*jego*, *sego*), where such a thing is completely regular. For the (always contracted) nominal/adjectival o-stem Absg., see below under *-ā.

The development *h* > *g* in the pronominal Gsg. is irregular (cf. Du. *jij* ~ *gij* 'you', also with irregular development *j* > *g* in a personal pronoun). That the hiatus in **še(h)a*, **ta(h)a*, **ja(h)a*, and generally before **a*, was originally resolved by insertion of *h* is shown by the preservation of *h* in Ukrainian, Belorussian and Lower Sorbian before initial *o*, *u* and *o*, side by side with later (post *a* > *o*, *au* > *u*, *an* > *o*) forms with hiatus-breaking *v* (*w*): *hokno* ~ *vokno* 'window', *hulica* ~ *vulica* 'street', etc. In Russian, the hiatus-breaking consonant in the pronominal Gsg. is *v* (-*ovo*, -*evo*) in the North and *h* (-*oho*, -*eho*) in the South.

PIE i/e-pron. Gsg. *-esjō

Maintained in the single form *česo* 'of what', with regular reduction of *sj* to *s* (as in e.g. Germanic).

PBS -an

Slav. -ъ, Lith. -ą

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-om	-an		-un					-u		-ъ	
-jom	-jan		-jun				-jin	-ji		-jъ	

PIE (j)o-stem/pron. Asg. *-om

Slav. -ō, -jō, pron. *tō*, *jō* Lith. -ā, -iā, -j, def.adj. - *ąjī*

PIE (j)o-stem NAsg. n. *-om

Slav. -ō (*dvorō*, *ezerō* ~ *ezero*)

¹⁷ Kortlandt 1983.

[but: *lěto* < *-od, *polje* < *-od]

Although often cited as a counterexample against the ALG *-an > *-un, the o-stem NAsg. n. is not: the regular development is seen in *dvorъ* 'court' and similar forms, which have become masculines, or hesitate between masculine and neuter.

The word *lěto* 'summer' is peculiar, as it's one of the few barytone neuters that does not show any hesitation between neuter and masculine, and also does not appear to have been a former oxytone: in fact it is usually connected to Germanic **lēþ-* (no Verner, so barytone). The anomaly can be eliminated if the word was originally a substantivized neuter adjective, along the lines of Machek's etymology (**lěto* (*verme*), cognate with Lat. *laetus* 'happy', cf. NGrk. *καλοκαίρι* 'summer').

PIE ppī Nsg. *h₁eǵ(om)

Slav. (j)azъ Lith. *àš* (**h₁eǵ* < **h₁eǵ*)

The forms with neo-acute (*jáz*) are undoubtedly from **h₁eǵóm*. The forms with circumflex (*jā*, *jāz*) could be from **h₁eǵ* (cf. Kapović 2007), as is the Lithuanian form, with devoicing of *ǵ* in final position (and hence absence of Winter's law¹⁸).

PIE prep. *som (*kóm) 'with'

Slav. *sъ* Lith. *sq-*, *san-*, *sam-*.

In Slavic *sq-* in the Anlaut, e.g. *spsědъ* 'neighbour'.

PIE them. aor. 1sg. *-om, *-som

Slav. -ъ, -xъ, -sъ

PBS -as

Slav. -ъ, Lith. -as

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-os	-as			-uh					-u	-ъ	
-mos	-mas			-muh					-mu	-mъ	-mъ
-jos	-jas			-juh			-jih		-ji	-jъ	

PIE (j)o-stem/pron. Nsg. *-os

Slav. -ъ, -jъ Lith. -as, -ias, -is, -jъs

¹⁸ Even though Winter's law would normally appear to be restricted to pretonic position (yielding Latvian broken tone), the rules for monosyllables such as **h₁eǵ* may be different.

pron. *tъ*, *jъ*

def. adj. -às-is

Accentologically, the Slavic Nsg. (where we would expect end-stress > neo-acute root-stress in the mobile a.p.) has been levelled to the accentuation of the accusative (as in the i- and u-stems).

PIE s-stem NAsg. n. *-os

Slav. [*slovo* < *-od] Lith. -a(s)

The expected form (*-os > *-ǵ) does not occur. The reason for this is given by Illič-Svityč (p. 43-44): «... во всяком случае, некоторые -os/-es- основы среднего рода первоначально были включены в восточно-балтийском в класс -o- основ среднего рода и уже вместе с остальными именами этого класса были позднее переведены в категорию -o- основ мужского рода, ср. лит. *pařšas*, муж. р. 'поросенок' < вост.-балт. **parša* (такую форму предполагает южн.-эст. *parh* < **parha*) < **porškos*, ср. р. (герм. **farhaz*, ср. р.)»

It seems that in East-Baltic and Slavic, the NAsg. s-stem neuter ending *-as had been replaced by *-a (from *-od) at an early date. This agrees well with the fact that within Slavic there is no noticeable tendency for s-stems to become masculine o-stems¹⁹ (by the time of OCS we do of course see a drift from s-stems to neuter o-stems), something which would be hard to explain if Proto-Slavic still had *-s in the NAsg. of the s-stems.

PIE Dpl. *-mos, *-bh(i)os

Slav. -mъ Lith. -m(u)s

pron. *těmъ*, *jimъ*, *namъ*, *vamъ*

The PIE form is *-bhos, **bhios* or **-mos* (Ved. -*bhyas*, Av. -*byo*, Lat. -*bus*, Celt. -*bos*). Lith. has -*ms* from older -*mus*, corresponding to OPr. pronominal -*mas* and nominal -*mans*. Lith. -*mus* and OPr. -*mans* must be derived from **-mōns* (a form which arose under the influence of Apl. **-ōns*), but OPr. -*mas* and the accentuation of the Lith. Dpl. (and from there, the dual), with retraction of the stress from a final stressed *á* by Nieminen's law, unequivocally point to PIE **-mos*, as does Slavic -*mъ*.

PIE 1pl. *-mo(s), *-me(s)

Slav. -emъ, -omъ, -mъ Lith. -me, -mē-

¹⁹ The only passable example being *udъ* ~ *udo* (in composition *udes-*) 'limb'.

The attested Slavic languages have *-m(ǝ)* (OCS, Russian, Belorussian, Bulgarian), *-me* (Czech, Slovak, Bulgarian, Macedonian), *-mo* (Ukrainian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene) and *-my* (Polish, Sorbian). The latter form is analogical after the 1pl. personal pronoun *my*. Insofar as the modern forms are not reshapings in order to avoid homonymy between the 1sg. and the 1pl., we can derive all forms from a PIE model with primary **-mes* and secondary **-me* (both > *-me* in Slavic), with umlauted variants primary **-mos* > *-mǝ*, secondary **-mo* = *-mo*. The Lithuanian forms (1pl. *-mē*, 2pl. *-tē*) are curious. We can think of primary **-mes*, **-tes* and secondary **-me*, **-te* reshaped under the influence of the dual endings: primary **-wh₂as*, **-th₂as* (> **-vas*, **-tas*), secondary **-wah₂*, **-tah₂* (> *-vā*, *-tā*), with subsequent loss of the primary endings.

PBS -ant

Slav. -ǫ(тѣ), Lith. -ą

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ont	-ant								-an	-ǫ	-ǭ
-jont	-jant								-jan	-jǫ	-jǭ

PIE them. inj. 3pl. *-ont

Slav. -ǫ(*tǝ*), -jǫ(*tǝ*)

Lith. -ą

In the Slavic i-verbs, the development was: **-eih₁-ont*, contracted to *-iñt* > *-iñt* > *-ǣ* (or **-ǣñt* > **-eñt* > *-ǣ*, with early monophthongization of PBS **ei* > **ǣ*).

The fact that in the Novgorodian birch-bark inscriptions 3rd person forms without *-tǝ* are mostly used in modal context, while forms with *-tǝ* are used indicatively constitutes strong evidence that the Slavic and Baltic forms derive from the PIE injunctive. See now Zalaznjak, 2004, p. 137 for the details.

Although Lith. has no 3pl. verbal forms as such, the injunctive endings themselves survive as the Npl.(!) of the present participle²⁰ (I. *dirbą*, *kelią* < **(j)ont*; II. *mylį* < **-int* < **-h₁ient*; III. *skaitą* < **-ant* < **-eih₁ont*), cf. also the past participle Npl. *dirbę* < aor. 3pl. **-ent*).

PIE them. aor. 3pl. *-ont

Slav. -ǫ

PIE nt-stem NAsg. n. *-ont

See the following entry (PBS *-ant*s).

²⁰ As also suggested by Warren Cowgill (1970).

PBS -ant

Slav. -y/-a, Lith. -ąs

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-onts	-ants						-āñh	-āh	-ā	-a	-ā
-jonts	-jants						-jāñh	-jāh	-ā	-ja	-jā

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-onts	-ants		-uñs				-ūñh	-ūh	-ū	-y	-ȳ
-jonts	-jants		-juñs				-jūñh	-jēñh	-jēh	-jē	-jē̄
								-jenh	-jeñ	-je	-jē̄

PIE nt-stem Nsg. *-ont

Slav. (n)e-verbs: -y ~ -a ~ -q²¹

Lith. -ąs

athem.: -y ~ -a ~ -q

--

je-verbs: -jē ~ -jē̄ ~ -ja

-ias

i-verbs: -ǣ ~ -ǣ̄ ~ -ja

-is (< **-ints*)

ě/i-verbs: -ǣ ~ -ǣ̄ ~ -ja

-qs (< **-ants*)Slavic shows two parallel developments²²:

(1) in one variant the ending *-ants* was simplified to *-ans* before the working of n- and s-raising, leading to *-unh* > *-ūñh* > *-y* (*-junh* > *-jūñh* > *-jē* ~ *-jē̄* in the je-verbs).

(2) in another variant the sequence was not simplified until after n- and s-raising had stopped working, leading to *-anh* > *-āñh* > *-ā* (*-janh* > *-jāñh* > *-jā* or *-jē̄* > *-ja* ~ *-jē̄*).

In the participle of i-stem verbs, the developments were:

(1) *-iūñh* (*-ǣūñh*) > *-jūñh* > *-jē*(2) *-iāñh* (*-ǣāñh*) > *-jāñh* > *-jā* ~ *-jē̄* > *-ja* ~ *-(j)ě̄***-jē̄* was subsequently reshaped to *-ǣ* after the 3pl. *xvalę* (< **xvaliñt*).

It is not clear whether *-jāñh* was affected by *j*-Umlaut or not in je- and i-verbs: (O)Ru. *-я* can reflect *-ja* (1. without Umlaut) or *-(j)ě̄* (2. with Umlaut), (O)Cz. *-(j)ě̄* can be from *-(j)ě̄* (1. with Umlaut) or *-(j)ě̄* (2. with Umlaut). Old Polish generalized *-(j)ě̄* (1. with Umlaut) in all verbal classes. OCS has hard *-y*

²¹ I am assuming that Glagolitic Ѧ (“A”, “small jus with tail”) represents nasalized /ā/. The fact that the need for a distinct symbol was felt, separate from /ō/ and /ē/, seems to point in that direction. And what other long vowel, besides the lowest (/ā/), could have retained the nasalization?

²² Cf. the developments in Italic (Sihler, p. 229-30), where Sabellic has **-nts* = **-ns* > *-ss* ~ *-f*, while Latin has *-nts* > *-ns*, *-ns* > *-s*.

(1. without Umlaut) and $-\acute{e}$ (2. with no Umlaut nor denasalization), and soft $-(j)\acute{e}$ (1. with Umlaut).

The neuter (where we would have expected $*-ant > *-o$), has adopted the ending of the masculine, as in Latin²³.

PBS -aj

Slav. -ě, Lith. -ie

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-oi	-ai									-ě	
-h ₂ ai											
-joi	-jai						-jei			-ji	

PIE (j)o-stem/pron. Lsg. *-oi

Slav. -ě, -ji

Lith. -iē, -yjė, -e

pron. *meně, tebě, sebě*def. adj. *-ājame*

Besides in fossilized locatives such as *namiē* 'at home', Lithuanian maintains the old ending $*-oi$ in the (i)jo-stems ($*-ijai + -e > -yj-e$) and in the definitive adjective ($*-ai + jam-e > -ājame$). The ending $-e$ of the hard o-stems might conceivably be from contracted $*-ai + e > *-ē >$ unstressed $-e$. On the other hand, it seems that the o- and ā-stem locatives (by analogy with the i- and u-stems) had in fact acquired stress on the ending, judging by the definite adjective forms *gerājame*, *gerōjoje* (and *namiē*). It seems then that the Lith. o-stem Lsg. ending adds $-e$ directly to the root.

PIE pf. 1sg. *-h₂a(i)Slav. *vědě*Isolated 1sg. perfect ending in Slavic, from $*woid-h_2a + -i$ (= Lat. *vidī*).

PBS -ajH

Slav. -ě, Lith. -i

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-oih ₁	-ai?	-ai								-ě	
-joih ₁	-jai?	-jai					-jei			-ji	

PIE (j)o-stem/pron. NA n.du. *-oih₁

Slav. -ě, -ji

pron. *tě, ji*Analogically also the n. C-stems (*imeně, tělesě, telětě*)

²³ But Sihler (*loc. cit.*) would ascribe this to $*-nt > -ns$ in Italic.

PIE (j)ā-stem/pron. NAdu. *-oih₁

Slav. -ě, -ji

Lith. -i

pron. *tě, ji*

PBS -aj

Slav. -i, Lith. -i, -ai, -ie

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-oj	-aj									-i	(-ī)
-aj											
-joj	-jaj						-jei			-ji	

PIE (j)o-stem/pron. Npl. *-oj

Slav. -i, -ji

Lith. -ai, -iai, -i, -ie

pron. *ti, ji*def. adj. *-ieji*

Lith. has regular $-i < *-ie$ in the adjectives ($-ie-ji$ in the definitive adjectives), $-iē$ in the monosyllabic pronominal forms (*tiē < *tīe*). Nominal $-ai, -iai$ (also $-iai$ in the "3rd declension" adjectives) must be from $*-(i)āi$, from NApL. neuter $*-ā +$ pronominal $-aj$. For the old nominal Npl. $*-o-es > *-ōs$ in Lithuanian, see below.

PIE pron. Dsg. *-oj

Slav. *mi, ti, si*OLith. *mi, ti, si*

PIE middle 2sg. *-saj

Slav. *-eši, -si*Lith. $-i$

Lith. $-i$ may have resulted from reanalysis in 2sg. $*es-saj \sim *es-aj$ 'you are'. This was then transferred to all 2nd person verbal forms.

PIE inf. *-t(h₂)ajSlav. $-ti$ Lith. $-ti$

PBS -ajH(s/t)

Slav. -i, Lith. -ie

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ojh ₁ s	-aj?s	-ajs		-ajh(!)		-ajh(!)			-aj	-i	-ī
-ojh ₁ t	-aj?t	-ajt		-ajt		-ajt			-aj	-i	-ī

PIE them. opt. 2sg. *-ojh₁sPIE them. opt. 3sg. *-ojh₁tSlav. $-i$ Lith. $-ie$

The 2/3sg. thematic optative offers several difficulties. Slavic has *-i*, pointing to PIE **-o-jh₁-*, but Lithuanian and Greek have *-iē* and 'long' *-oi-*. If the optative morpheme (**-jēh₁- ~ *-ih₁- ~ *-o-jh₁-*) derives from earlier **-lēt-* (as in the Hittite 1sg. imperative *es-lit* 'may I be'), Slavic shows the regular reflex and the Greek and Lithuanian forms are to be explained otherwise (**-ojC > *-oiC*, see above). Another problem, specifically in the 2sg. form, is the absence of either s-raising or *rs*-lengthening (cf. the Ipl. **-ojs > -ūjh > -y* below). This could be due to the intervening laryngeal (*H* or *ə*), or to the influence of the 3sg. form, where neither development is expected.

PBS -ajs**Slav. -y, Lith. -ais**

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>-ojs</i>	<i>-ajs</i>			<i>-ujh</i>		<i>-ūjh</i>			<i>-ū</i>	<i>-y</i>	<i>-ȳ</i>
<i>-jojs</i>	<i>-jajs</i>			<i>-jujh</i>		<i>-jūjh</i>	<i>-jih</i>		<i>-ji</i>	<i>-ji</i>	<i>-jī</i>

PIE (j)o-stem Ipl. *-ojsSlav. *-y, -ji*Lith. *-ais, -iais*
def.adj. *-aisiais*Analogically also in neuter C-stems: *imeny, tėlesy, telėty*.

This form is often reconstructed as PIE **-ōjs*, but that would have given Lith. **-uis* (cf. Dsg. *-ōi > -ui*) and Greek **-oís*, by Osthoff's law, instead of actual *-oīs*. The length seen in Slavic *-y* and Sanskrit *-ais* (i.e. *-āis*) is due to the independent working in both languages of an *rs*-lengthening law, as also reflected in the i- and u-stem Apl. (Slavic *-i, -y*; Skt. *-īn, -ūn*). In Lithuanian, lengthening is also likely to have taken place: *-ājs > -āīs > -aīs*, as it is hard to explain stressed *aī* otherwise.

PBS -au(s)**Slav. -u, [Lith. -au(s)]**

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>-(H)ou(s)</i>	<i>-au</i>									<i>-u</i>	<i>-ū</i>
<i>-i(H)ou(s)</i>	<i>-jau</i>									<i>-ju</i>	<i>-jū</i>

PIE GLdu. *-(H)ou(s)Slav. *-u*pron. *toju, jeju, seju, naju, vaju*

The lack of *rs*-lengthening is as expected, as is the lack of s-raising (although that may simply be due to the fact that there was no *-s* in the PIE prototype on which the Slavic forms are based).

PBS -e**Slav. -e, Lith. -e**

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>-e</i>	<i>-e</i>										
<i>-et</i>	<i>-et</i>									<i>-e</i>	
<i>-je</i>	<i>-je</i>										

PIE deictic particle(?) *-eSlav. *-e*Lith. *-e*

This locative ending cannot reflect the adposition PIE **en*, which would have given *-ę* in Lithuanian and Slavic. It also cannot be the Gsg. **-es*, which would have given (and gives) (O)Lith. *-es*.

PIE o-stem Vsg. *-eSlav. *-e*Lith. *-e*

Soft stem **konje* has been replaced by *konju*, with the u-stem ending.

The "Krivichian" o-stem Nsg. **-e* must, despite the lack of the first palatalization, reflect the Vsg. in **-e*. It cannot be derived from an analogical **-os > -e*, based on a hypothetical soft-stem Nsg. **-jos > *-je* (even if this were a valid development), because the jo-stems in the Novgorodian inscriptions have Nsg. *-jb*.

PIE pron. Asg. *-me/*-weSlav. *mene, tebe, sebe*Lith. *manė, tavė, savė*

The Slavic 2/3sg. forms have been influenced by the Dsg. **twebhjo, *swebhjo* (but 1sg. **meghjo*).

PIE them. inj. 3sg. *-etSlav. *-e(tə)*Lith. *-a*

Lithuanian with generalization of the o-grade of the thematic vowel.

PIE them. aor. 3sg. *-etSlav. *-e***PIE 2pl./3du. *-te(s)**Slav. *-ete, -te*Lith. *-te, -tė-*

PBS -en

Slav. -ę, [Lith. -ę]

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-en	-eN										-ę

PIE n-stem NAsg. n. *-n > *-en

Slav. -ę

In *imę* 'name', the expected form would have been **imb*, with regular development of word-final **-ŋ > *-iN > *-i > *-b*. The oblique stem *-en-* was evidently transferred to the NAsg, giving attested *imę* 'name'.

PIE pp123 Asg.

Slav. *mę, tę, sę*

The PIE equivalents (**me, *te ~ *twe, *se ~ *swe*) offer no motivation for the nasalization in Slavic. Perhaps at the origin lies an apocopated form of **mene > *men*.

PBS -es

Slav. -e, Lith. -es

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-es	-es				-eh						-e

PIE Gsg. *-es

Slav. -e

Lith. -(e)s

PIE Npl. *-es

Slav. -e

Lith. -ys, -ūs

PIE 2pl. *-tes

Slav. -ete, -te

Lith. -te, -tē-

PIE them. aor. 2sg. *-es

Slav. -e

PBS -ent, -int

Slav. -ę(tъ), Lith. -ę

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ent	-eNt								-eN	-ę	(-ę)
-nt	-int								-iN	-ę	

PIE nt-stem NAsg. n. *-nt

Slav. -ę

It is possible, but not necessary, that the oblique stem *-ent-* was transferred to the NAsg. (as in the neuter n-stems). Both forms give Slavic *-ę*.

PIE ath. inj. 3pl. *-ent

Slav. -ę(tъ)

PIE ath. aor. 3pl. *-ent

Slav. -ę, -šę, -sę

Lith. *bėgę* (ptc. praet. act. Npl.)

PBS -ej

Slav. -i, Lith. -ie

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ei	-ei										-i

PIE Dsg. *-ei

Slav. -i

In the i-stem Dsg., we would have expected **-bjb < *-ejej* instead of *-i*.

PIE i-stem Vsg. *-ei

Slav. -i

Lith. -ie

PBS -eih

Slav. -i [, Lith. -i]

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-eih ₁	-ei?	-ei									-i

PIE e/i-pron. NAdu. n./f. *-eih₁Slav. *si < *keih₁*

PBS -ej

Slav. -i [, Lith. -i]

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ej	-ej										-i

PIE e/i-pron. Npl. *-ej

Slav. *si(t) < *kej*Lith. *šië < *šie* (monosyllabic metatony)

PBS -ejs

Slav. -i, Lith. -ies

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-eis	-eis			-eih					-ei	-i	

PIE i-stem Gsg. *-eis

Slav. -i

Lith. -ies

No lengthening (which would have given *-ejs > *-ējh > *-ē), because *i* was a glide here.

PBS -eu (-au)

Slav. -u, Lith. -au

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-eu ²⁴	-au									-u	

PIE u-stem Vsg. *-eu

Slav. -u

Lith. -au

The jo-stem Vsg. *konju* has the u-stem ending instead of expected -je.

PBS -eus (-aus)

Slav. -u, Lith. -aus

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-eus ²⁵	-aus			-auh					-au	-u	

PIE u-stem Gsg. *-eus

Slav. -u

Lith. -aus

Note the lack of s-raising and lengthening in Slavic, which follow from the fact that *u* is a glide here.

PBS -i

Slav. -ь, Lith. -i

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-i	-i									-ь	
-id											

PIE Isg. *-mi, *-bhi

Slav. -mb

Lith. -mi

^{24/25} or *-ou(s)?

pron. *těmb, jimb, simb*

Forms built on the postposition **bhi* ~ **mi* replaced PIE **eh_i* in Balto-Slavic i-, u- and c-stems. The Slavic pronominal forms are added to the archaic "oblique" base **toi-*, **joi-* ~ **ei-*, **kei-* (cf. Ved. *ay-am*, Lat. *quī*). In the non-neuter nominal forms, **mi* ~ **bhi* in the instrumental sense seems to have governed the accusative, which also would explain the o-stem forms: South-Slavic *-omb* added early (before the n-raising ALG: **-on-bi*), West and East-Slavic *-omb* added to the accusative after the raising law had worked (**-un-bi*).

PIE pron. Lsg. *-(sm)i

Slav. *tomb, jemb, semb*? Lith. Dsg. *tám, jám, šiám* < *tami, jami, šiami*Lith. variant forms *tamui, tamuo, tamu, tami*, etc.

PIE i-stem NAsg. n. *-i

Slav. *morj-e*

Neuter -o has been added.

PIE pron. NAsg. n. *-id

Retained in *čv-to* and *lěto-sb*, (*j)utro-sb*. Otherwise replaced by analogical *se*, etc.

PIE ath. pres. 1sg. *-mi

Slav. -mb

OLith. -mi

PIE them. pres. 2sg. *-esi

Slav. -ešb

The š is unclear.

PIE ath/them. pres. 3sg. *(e)ti

Slav. -etb, -tb

OLith. -ti

PIE them. pres. 3pl. *-onti

Slav. -otb

PIE ath. pres. 3pl. *-enti

Slav. -etb

PIE ath. imp. 2sg. *-dhi

Slav. -d(j)b

PBS -iN Slav. -ь, Lith. -į

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-im	-iN							-i		-b	
-m											

PIE i-stem/pron. Asg. *-im

Slav. -b Lith. -į
pron. sb

PIE c-stem Asg. *-m

Slav. -b Lith. -į

PBS -is Slav. -ь, Lith. -is

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-is				-ih					-i	-b	

PIE i-stem/pron. Nsg. *-is

Slav. -b Lith. -is
pron. sb šis

PBS -iNs Slav. -i, Lith. -is

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ins	-iNs			-iNh		-iNh		-ih	-i	-i	
-ns											

PIE i-stem Apl. *-ins

Slav. -i Lith. -is

PIE c-stem Apl. *-ns

Slav. -i Lith. -is

PBS -u Slav. -у, Lith. -u

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-u	-u									-b	-b

PIE lpl. *-su

Slav. -xъ OLith. -su (> -se)
těxъ, jixъ

nasъ, vasъ

PIE u-stem NAsg. n. *-u

(Slav. medъ (m.)) (Lith. -us (m.)).

In Slavic and East-Baltic, the neuter u-stems, such as *med^hu 'mead, honey' have become masculines. Another device was addition of neuter -o (e.g. *tu > tvo).

PBS -uN Slav. -у, Lith. -ų

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-um	-uN								-u		-b

PIE u-stem Asg. *-um

Slav. -ъ Lith. -ų

PIE supine *-tum

Slav. -tъ Lith. -tų

PBS -us Slav. -у, Lith. -us

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-us	-us				-uh					-u	-b

PIE u-stem Nsg. *-us

Slav. -ъ Lith. -us

PBS -uNs Slav. -y, Lith. -us

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-uns	-uNs				-uNh		-ūNh		-ūh	-ū	-y

PIE u-stem Apl. *-uns

Slav. -y Lith. -us < *-ū(N)s.

PBS -ā Slav. -a, Lith. -a

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-eh ₂	-ā									-a	-ā
-jeh ₂	-jā									-ja	-jā

PIE NApl. n. *-eh₂

Slav. -a

PIE (j)ā-stem/pron. Nsg. *-eh₂

Slav. -a, -ja

Lith. -a, -ia, -ė

PIE 2du. *-teh₂

Slav. -ta

Lith. -ta < *-tā (Leskien), -tā- (reflexive)

PBS -ān

Slav. -ŏ, Lith. -ą

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-eh ₂ m	-āN		-ōN		-aN					-ŏ	
-jeh ₂ m	-jāN		-jōN		-jaN					-jŏ	-jŏ
-jh ₂ eh ₁ m											

PIE (j)ā-stem/pron. Asg. *-eh₂m

Slav. -ŏ, -jŏ

Lith. -ą, -iq, -ę

pron. tŏ, jŏ, svjŏ

def.adj. -ąjq

PIE (j)ā-stem/pron. Isg. *-o-ih₂-éh₁(m) > *-ojān

Slav. -ojŏ, -jejŏ

pron. tojŏ, jejŏ, sejŏ

Analogical: kostvjŏ, matervjŏ

Lith. -ą-ja, -iq-ja in the definite adjective. Otherwise Lith. has -ą (< *-ā, Leskien), from PIE *-é-h₂-eh₁ > *-āh₁ > *-ā.

PIE pron. Isg. *-oj + ō(m)?

Slav. mŏnojŏ, tobojŏ, sobojŏ

Built on the Dsg., ending unclear.

PBS -āns

Slav. -y, Lith. -as, -ąs-

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-eh ₂ ns	-āns		-ōns		-ūnh			-ūh	-ū	-y	
-jeh ₂ ns	-jāns		-jōns		-jūnh		-jēnh	-jēh	-jē	-jě	
							-jenh	-jeN	-ję		

PIE (j)ā-stem Apl. *-eh₂ns

Slav. -y, -ję

pron. ty, ję, seję

Lith. -as, -ąs-ias (definite adj.);

-ias, -ias- < *-(ij)āns (Leskien)

In the Lithuanian definite adjective, nasality is maintained in the Inlaut. This is not the case in the o-stem Apl. -us (def. adj. -uos-ius). This is the exact opposite of the situation in Sanskrit, where the o-stems have -ān(h), and the ā-stems have -āh (the distinction was then generalized as a gender marker in the i- and u-stems). I would suggest that in Lithuanian, the retention of nasality simply reflects the fact that low vowels maintain nasality better than higher vowels, while in Sanskrit the distinction may reflect a difference in etymological vowel length (short vowels maintain nasality better than long vowels): o-stem -ān from a PIE variant *-ons (analogically built on Asg. *-om with the addition of -s), besides regular *-ōns, and ā-stem -ās from PIE *-āns < *-eh₂ns.

PBS -ē

Slav. -ě [, Lith. -e]

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-eh ₁	-ē									-ě	

PIE pron. 1du. *weh₁

Slav. vě

PIE 1du. *-wah₂ > *-weh₁

Slav. -vě

Lith. -va, -vā-

The ending was influenced by the 1du. personal pronoun vě (cf. Polish 1pl. -my).

PBS -ēi

Slav. -i [, Lith. -ie]

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ēi	-ēi				-ei					-i	-ī

PIE i-stem Lsg. *-ēi

Slav. -i

Lith. -yje

The Lith. form may regularly reflect contracted *-ēi + e = *-ēje > *-ī, with addition of -je after the (i)jo-stem ending.

PBS -ēu

Slav. -u [, Lith. -au]

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ēu	-ēu				-eu?					-u	-ū
	-āu?				-au						

PIE u-stem Lsg. *-ēu

Slav. -u

Lith. -ujė

The Lith. form may regularly reflect contracted $*\bar{e}u + e = *\bar{e}we > *\bar{u}$, with addition of $-je$ after the i -stem ending, and shortening of $\bar{u} > u$ (but shortening is unexpected here).

PBS -ī Slav. -i, Lith. -i

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ih ₁	-ī									-i	(-ī)
-ih ₂											

PIE NAdu *ih₁

Slav. -i Lith. -i < *ī (Leskien)

PIE ī-stem Nsg. *-ih₂

Slav. -i Lith. -i < *ī (Leskien)

PIE i-stem NA n.pl. *-ih₂

Slav. pron. *si*

PBS -īN Slav. -b [, Lith. -į]

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ih ₂ m	-īN				-iN			-i		-b	

PIE ī-stem A sg. *-ih₂m

Replaced by *svjŋ* (as it was in Lith. *šiŋ*). The original shape of the accusative, which shows a development ($-im > -b$) parallel to that of the Gpl. $-\bar{d}m > -um > -b$, is retained in fossilized *zimŋ-sv*, *jesenb-sv*, *noktjŋ-sv*, *vesnŋ-sv*.

PBS -īs Slav. -i, Lith. -is

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-īs	-īs			-ih					-ī	-i	-ī

PIE Ipl. *-mi(:)s, *-bhi(:)s

Slav. -mi Lith. -mis < *mīs (Leskien)

For the length, cf. perhaps Avestan Ipl. -*bīš*.

PBS -ū

Slav. -y, Lith. -u

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-uh ₁	-ū									-y	(-ȳ)
-uh ₂											
-ū											

PIE ū-stem Nsg. *-uh₂

Slav. -y

PIE u-stem NAdu. n. *-uh₁

Slav. -y Lith. -u < *ū (Leskien)

PIE pp2 Nsg. *tu(:)

Slav. *ty*

Lith. *tù* 'thou', while it may reflect short $*tu$, is more likely to be from $*tū$, with shortening by Leskien's law.

PBS -ūs

Slav. -y, Lith. -us

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ūs	-ūs			-ūh					-ū	-y	

PIE pp2 Npl. *(j)u(:)s?

Slav. *vy(?)* Lith. *jūs*

While Slavic *vy* 'you' may simply reflect the acc. $*wōs$ in nominative function, it might also directly reflect PIE $*ūs$ (without the initial glide of $*jūs$ ²⁶).

Lith. *jūs* 'you' reflects PIE $*jūs$, shortened to $*jūs$ by Leskien's law, and subsequently lengthened to *jūs* (cf. *mēs* below). In the absolute Auslaut, there is no re-lengthening of the vowel (*tù*).

PBS -ō

Slav. -a, Lith. -u

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-oh ₁	-ō									-a	(-ā)
-oh ₃											
-ō											

²⁶ That the *j*- is secondary is shown by the 2pl. oblique forms *wos* ~ *wōs*, *usmé*, etc.

PIE DIdu. *-moh₃, *-bh(i)oh₃(m)

Slav. -ma

Lith. -mu ~ -ma ~ -m

In Lith. we have secondary differentiation of Ddu. and Idu. on the model of Dpl. (retracted stress by Nieminen's law) vs. Ipl. (-óms ~ -omis ⇒ -óm ~ -om̃).

PIE t-stem Nsg. *-ōts

Slav. nogá

Lith. mėnuō

PIE *h₃nogh^w-(w)ōt-s, *h₃nogh^w-ut-ŋi 'foot, hoof, nail', split into two paradigms in Slavic: *noga* 'foot, leg', based on the Nsg., and *nogotv* 'nail', based on the Asg.

In Lith. *mėnuō*, the -uō replaces expected *-ū, on the model of the R-stems in -uō.

PIE (j)o-stem/pron. NAdU. *-oh₃

Slav. -a

Lith. -u < *-úo (Leskien)

PIE pp1 NAdU. *noh₃

Slav. na

PIE pp2 NAdU. *woh₃

Slav. va

PIE them. pres. 1sg. *-ō (+ -m)

Slav. -o

Lith. -u < *-úo (Leskien)

The addition of -N in Slavic, on the model of preterite 1sg. *-uN, must have happened after the n-raising ALG (otherwise we would have had *-o), but before the long diphthong shortening (otherwise we would have had *-a).

PIE (j)o-stem Isg. *-oh₁

Slav. včera

Lith. -u, -iu < *-(j)úo (Leskien)
def.adj. -úoju

Replaced by *-mi in Slavic. A relic is *včera* 'yesterday'.

PBS -ōs²⁷

Slav. -y, [Lith. -us]

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ōs	-ōs			-ūh					-ū	-y	

²⁷ The Slavic aorist *dā* is from *dōst (= Slav. *dastv*), so not an example of final *-ōs.

PIE pp1 Npl. *mo(:)s, *me(:)s ?

Slav. my

PIE pp1 Apl. *no(:)s

Slav. ny

PIE pp2 NApl. *wo(:)s

Slav. vy

The corresponding Lithuanian forms are *mēs*, *mūs* and *jūs*. The first may continue PIE *mes or *mēs (if shortened to *mēs by Leskien's law, and then lengthened again). In the accusative, we would have expected *nuōs < *nōs (with metatony of *úo in a monosyllable), but instead we have *mūs*, as if from *mūs (presumably for *nūs under the influence of *mēs*, in turn for *núos under the influence of 2pl. *jūs*, *jūs*). The base *mūs-* is indeed what we find in the Gpl. *mūsų*. In the 2pl. oblique, expected *vuōs has also become *jūs > *jūs*, *jūsų* under the influence of the nominative.

PBS -ōNs

Slav. -y, Lith. -us

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ōns	-ōNs		-ūNs	-ūNh				-ūh	-ū	-y	
-jōns	-jōNs		-jūNs	-jūNh			-jēNh	-jēh	-jē	-jē	
								-jenh	-jeN	-je	

PIE (j)o-stem/pron. Apl. *-o(:)ns

Slav. -y, -je

Lith. -us, -ius < *-úo(N)s (Leskien)

Balto-Slavic reflects PIE *-ōns²⁸, not *-ons, which would have given Lith. *-as.

PBS -ā

Slav. -a, Lith. -o

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-oot	-āt	-ōt							-ō	-a	
-joot	-jāt	-jōt							-jō	-ja	

PIE (j)o-stems Absg. *-oot, *-ōt

Slav. -a, -ja

Lith. -o, -io

Lith. -o points to *-oot > -āt (*-ōt would have given *-uo).

²⁸ Perhaps ultimately from *-oj-ns.

PBS -āi

Slav. -ě, Lith. -ai

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-eh ₂ ei	-āi	-ōi			-ai					-ě	
-jeh ₂ ei	-jāi	-jōi			-jai		-jei			-ji	

PIE (j)ā-stem/pron. DLsg. *-eh₂(e)i > *-āi

Slav. -ě, -ji

Lith. -ai, -iai < *-āi

pron. *toji, jeji, seji*

loc. -ojè, -iojè, -ějè

def.adj. -ajai (D), -ōjoje (L)

PBS -ās

[Slav. -y], Lith. -os

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-eh ₂ os	-ās	-ōs			-ūh				-ū	-y	
-eh ₂ es											
-jeh ₂ os	-jās	-jōs			-jūh		[-jih]		[-ji]	[-ji]	
-jeh ₂ es											

PIE (j)ā-stem Gsg. *-eh₂os > *-ās

(Slav. -y, -jē)

Lith. -os, -ios, -és < *-ijās

def.adj. -ōsios

PIE (j)ā-stem Npl. *-eh₂es > *-ās

(Slav. -y, -jē)

Lith. -os, -ios, -és < *-ijās

def.adj. -osios

The Slavic forms have been replaced by *-āNs in the Gsg. and Npl. of ā-stems, as can be seen from the shape of the ending in the soft stems (-jē ~ -ě): *-jās would have given *-ji.

PBS -ē

Slav. -i, Lith. -ė

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ēn	-ē	-ī								-i	-ī

PIE r-stem Nsg. *-ē ~ *-ēr

Slav. -i

Lith. -ė

PBS -ō

Slav. -y, Lith. -uo

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-ōn	-ō	-ū								-y	-ȳ

PIE n-stem Nsg. *-ō ~ *-ōn

Lith. -uō

Slav. -y

Beside general Slavic *kamy* 'stone', Orr mentions two variant forms:

- (1) Kashubian *kam* < **kamō*, if not simply a thematization of *kamy*, could directly reflect PIE *-ōn (regular development: -ōn > -ūN > -uN > -u > -v), cf. the alternation in West Germanic between *-ō (m. OE *hona*, OS *hano*, OHG *hano*) and *-ōn (f./n. OE. *tunge*, ēage, OS *tunga*, ōga, OHG *zunga*, ouga).
- (2) The other variant mentioned by Orr is Russian (Tver' dialect according to Dal') *kama*. While this too can easily be explained away as an isolated thematization, the development is reminiscent of that of *vodá* 'water' (cf. Lith. *vanduō*). If *kama* is from **kāmō*, and *vodá* from **vadō*, perhaps we're dealing with isolated forms that were not reached by circumflex-raising? But in that case, we would also expect at least traces of r-stem Nsg. **matě*, o-stem Dsg. **rabě*, or ā-stem Gsg./Npl. **žena*(!); and Pan-Slavic *vodá* is hardly an isolated form such as *kama*. It makes more sense to assume that *vodá* reflects **wodōr*, with loss of -r between ALGs 1-3 and 4-5, and that *kama* is perhaps an isolated instance of peripheral **kāmō* > **kāmō* instead of regular **kāmū*, or simply *kamy* reshaped as an ā-stem (cf. also *švrxá* ~ *švrxy*, obl. *švrxen* 'hornet').

PBS -ōN

Slav. -ъ, Lith. -ų

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-oom ²⁹	-ōN	-ūN			-uN			-u		-ъ	-ъ
-ioom	-jōN	-jūN			-juN		-jiN	-ji		-jъ	-jъ

PIE Gpl. *-ōm

Slav. -v, -jb

Lith. -ų < *-uON (long diphthong shortening, also in the Inlaut: def.adj. -ujų)

In Balto-Slavic, as in Greek and Indo-Iranian, the thematic Gpl. ending -ōm was generalized to all noun classes.

PBS -ōj

Slav. -u, Lith. -ui ~ -uo

PIE	PBS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
-oei	-ōi	-ūi			-ui		-ō			-u	
-joei	-jōi	-jūi			-jui		-jō			-ju	

²⁹ Perhaps *-ōm from *-oj-m.

PIE (j)o-stem/pron. Dsg. *-o-ei > *-ōi

Slav. *-u, -ju* Lith. *-ui*, (adj. *-ám*, def.adj. *-á(m)jam*)
 OLith. also *-uo < *-uoi* (with long diphthong shortening)

The adjectival forms *-ám* and *-á(m)-jam* are of pronominal origin.

PBS -ōs [Slav. *-y*], Lith. *-uos*

PIE (j)o-stem Npl. *-o-es > *-ōs

-- Lith. *-uosè* (Lpl.), def. adj. *-uōs-iuose*

The old Npl. ending **-ōs* is perhaps seen in the Lith. Lpl., where the circumflex accent of the definite adjective form *-uōs-iuose* suggests an origin in the Npl. rather than Apl. *-úos-*.

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The fate of the neuter *o*-stems in Balto-Slavic¹

RICK DERKSEN

1. Introduction: Illič-Svityč 1963

In his monograph on nominal accentuation in Baltic and Slavic (1963), Illič-Svityč tried to explain why so many PIE neuter *o*-stems appear to have become masculine in Slavic, an observation which was first made by Hirt (1893). A comparison with accentual data from Baltic, Greek, Sanskrit and Germanic led Illič-Svityč to conclude that PIE barytone neuter *o*-stems correspond with Slavic masculine *o*-stems belonging to the barytone class in the case of “long” roots and to the oxytone class in the case of “short” roots (in Stang’s terminology to accent paradigms a and b, respectively). In originally masculine *o*-stems with a non-acute root, accentual mobility has been generalized (Illič-Svityč’s law). Thus, Slavic masculine *o*-stems belonging to AP (b) in principle continue old neuters.

According to Illič-Svityč, PIE oxytone neuter *o*-stems remain neuter in Slavic. The majority of the Slavic neuter *o*-stems belong to the oxytone class (AP b). Mobile neuter *o*-stems (AP c) contain, as a rule, a historically long root or have a *jo*-suffix. Furthermore, the retraction generally known as Hirt’s law has generated a class of neuter *o*-stems with fixed root stress (AP a).

- PSl. **týlv* (a) ‘back of the head, back’ (e.g. Ru. *tyl*, -a, Cz. *týl*) < **túHlom*, cf. Skt. *tūla*- n. ‘tuft, reed, panicle’.
- PSl. **dvòr̥* (b) ‘courtyard, door’ (e.g. Čak. *dvör*, Cz. *dvůr*) < **d^huórom*, cf. Skt. *dvāra*- n. ‘door, gate, passage’.
- PSl. **zǫb̥* (c) ‘tooth’ (e.g. Čak. *zúb*, Sln. *zǫb*) < **ǵómb^hos*, cf. Skt. *jámbha*- m. ‘tooth’, Gk. γόμφος ‘pin, nail’, Lith. *žambas* ‘sharp edge’ 2/4.
- PSl. **jàto* (a) ‘flock, herd’ (e.g. SCr. *jàto*) < **ǰáHto* < **ǰeh₂tód* << **ǰeh₂tóm*, cf. Skt. *yātá*- n. ‘course, motion’.
- PSl. **però* (b) ‘feather’ (e.g. Ru. *peró*, SCr. *pèro*) < **pèro* < **peró* < **peród* << **perHóm* (**tperóm*?), cf. Gk. πτερόν ‘feather, wing’.

¹ This article is nearly identical with a paper presented at the 12. *Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft*, Cracow 2004. Apart from an occasional reference, I had no ambition to incorporate ideas that I developed in later publications.

- PSl. **męso* (c) 'meat, flesh' (e.g. SCr. *męso*, Pl. *mięso*) < **mēmso* < **mēmsođ* << **mēmsođm*, cf. Skt. *māṃsá-* n. 'id.'

2. Illič-Svityč and the Baltic evidence

Though Illič-Svityč's assessment of the evidence is occasionally questionable, there can hardly be any doubt that his conclusions about the fate of the neuter *o*-stems in Slavic are essentially correct. His treatment of the Baltic evidence is much harder to evaluate. Illič-Svityč agrees with Bonfante (1931) and Kuryłowicz in one of his earlier publications (1934) that in Lithuanian the original neuter *o*-stems have preserved the PIE distinction between barytone and oxytone accentuation comparatively well. Reliable examples with AP 1 or 2 are scarce, however, and a number of them must probably be interpreted differently, as I intend to show below.

- Lith. *mėdžias* 2 'wood, forest' : Skt. *mādhyā-* n. 'middle', Gk. μέσος 'id.', cf. OPr. *median* 'forest'.
- Lith. *pařsas* 2 'piglet, barrow' : OHG *far(a)h* n. 'pig', S. Est. *pahr* 'hog' < **parha* (but cf. OE *fearh* m./n., Fi. *porsas* 'piglet').
- Lith. *kraūjas* 4 'blood' : Skt. *kravyā-* n. 'raw meat'.

An interesting element of Illič-Svityč's discussion of the original neuter *o*-stems in Baltic is the fact that like, among others, Hirt and Ebeling he assumes that the NApl. was opposed to the NAsg. as to the position of the ictus. The PIE evidence for such an opposition is very limited. Often cited examples are Gk. μηρός 'thigh(-bone)', Npl. μηροί vs. the collective μήρα, and νεῦρον 'tendon' vs. νεῦρά f. 'bowstring'. The Slavic opposition between the singular and the plural in the mobile paradigm arose when the stress was retracted from **o* in Balto-Slavic, while in paradigm (b) stem-stressed NApl. forms, which occur alongside end-stressed forms throughout the Slavic territory, can be traced to variation between **a* and **-ā* (the latter ending lost the stress to the preceding syllable).

- Lith. *linai* 4 'flax' : PSl. **lōnō* (b), Gk. λίνον 'id.'
- Lith. *plaušai* 4 'bast' : PGmc. **flīusa* 'fleece', e.g. OHG *vlius* n., OE *fleos* n.

3. The Nsg. of the neuter *o*-stems

It is remarkable that Illič-Svityč, who reaches the conclusion that the Baltic and Slavic accentual paradigms were identical, does not make an attempt to connect the Slavic NAsg. *-o* with the Lithuanian ending *-a*, which now only occurs in adjectives, participles and pronouns but must have been the East Baltic NAsg. ending of neuter *o*-stem nouns, as is evident from Baltic borrowings in Finnic. While he follows Nieminen in deriving the East Baltic ending from pronominal **-od*, Illič-Svityč assumes that Slavic *-o* continues stressed **-om*, a development advocated by Hirt (1893). In my opinion, it would be natural to look for a

common origin. Since I do not believe that **-om* ever yields Balto-Slavic **-o*, the best option would be to assume that in Balto-Slavic the ending **-om* was replaced by **-od* in oxytone neuters. In that case one would expect Old Prussian neuter *o*-stems to correspond to Slavic neuter *o*-stems and end-stressed neuters in other Indo-European languages. The evidence seems indeed to point in that direction, e.g. (cf. Kortlandt 1983: 183):

- OPr. *dalptan* 'punch, instrument for making holes' : PSl. **doltō* (b), **deltō* (b) 'chisel', e.g. Ru. *dolotō*, SCr. *dlijeto*, Cz. *dláto*.
- OPr. *ereslan* 'easy chair' : PSl. **krēslo* (a), cf. Lith. *krėslas* 1/3, Latv. *krēsls*.
- OPr. *lunkan* 'bast' : PSl. **lyko* (a), e.g. SCr. *līko*, cf. Lith. *lūnkas* 1, Latv. *lūks*.
- OPr. *piwamaltan*² 'malt' : PSl. **moltō* (b), e.g. Cz. Slk. *mláto* 'draff'.
- OPr. *prassan* 'millet' : PSl. **pōrso* (c) 'id.', e.g. Ru. *prōso*, SCr. *prōso*.
- OPr. *schutuan* 'thread' : Ru. dial. *šitvō* 'needlework'.
- OPr. *assaran* 'lake' : PSl. **žzero* (c) 'id.', e.g. SCr. *jězero*, NApl. *ježera*.
- OPr. *kelan* 'wheel' : OIc. *hvel* n. 'id.', cf. PSl. **kolo* (s-st.) 'id.'
- OPr. *pedan* 'ploughshare' : Skt. *padā-* n. 'step, trace'.
- OPr. *maldian* 'foal', *eristian* 'lamb', *wolistian* [wosistian] 'kid' : Gk. παιδίον 'little child', ἀνδρίον 'manikin' < **-ióm*.

The following nouns require additional comments:

- OPr. *piuclan* 'sickle', *spertlan* 'ball of the toe' and *sasintinklo* 'rabbit-snares' contain a suffix corresponding with PSl. **-dlo*. There are indications that this suffix was always stressed in Late PBSL., except in those cases where Hirt's law applied (Derksen 1996: 105-113).
- OPr. *pirsten* 'finger' is in agreement with Skt. *pr̥ṣṭhá-* n. 'back, mountain ridge', but not with PSl. **pōrstō* (b) 'finger'. The accentuation of Lith. *pīřstas* 2 does not necessarily corroborate the Slavic barytone accent because the root stress may originate from the East Baltic retraction from **-ā*. I suspect that in Slavic **-o* was replaced analogically by **-ō* at a stage when barytone masculine *o*-stems continuing old neuters still had a NApl. in **-aH* and may have shown neuter agreement (Derksen 2008: 428-429, 2009: 18).
- OPr. *staytan* [scaytan] 'shield' and *largasaytan* 'stirrup-leather' do not agree with PSl. **ščitō* (b) 'shield' and **sitō* (b) 'twining', e.g. OCz. *sit* (cf. OHG *seid* 'cord' < PGmc. **saiþa*), but the suffix *-tan* seems to have become productive, cf. *anctan* 'butter', *baytan* [saytan?] 'sieve', *buttan* 'house', *meltan* 'flour', *mettan* 'year', *saltan* 'bacon', *spanstan* [spaustan?] 'mill-spindle'. Lith. *skiėtas* 2 'reed (of a loom)' may reflect **skōitom* (but cf. OHG *skīt* 'log' < **skīđā*), while *siėtas* 2/4 'tie, leash' vs. *saĩtas* 2 'id.' may reflect

² If not a borrowing from German, cf. Smoczyński 2000: 55.

accentual variants **sóitom* (or **sóita*) and **soità*, cf. Latv. *saīta*, *saīte* 'cord, leash' with metatony.

- The neuter gender of OPr. *caulan* 'bone' finds no support elsewhere (see also Petit 2001: 40), cf. Gk. *καυλός* 'stem, pole', Lat. *caulis* 'stem, plant', Latv. *kaūls* 'bone, stem' instead of **kaūls* (but cf. *tilts*).
- It is uncertain if OPr. *laygnan* 'cheek' is cognate with PSl. **lice* (b) 'face'.

Of course, the above-mentioned hypothesis implies that the Old Prussian ending **-an* is secondary (note that **-om* would yield *-on* in Old Prussian), cf. Schmalstieg 2003.

4. Balto-Slavic and East Baltic stress retractions

According to Kortlandt (1975: 4-7), the stress was retracted from final open syllables (in disyllabic forms) unless the preceding syllable was closed by an obstruent.³ This Late Balto-Slavic retraction, which plays a role in explaining the curve of the mobile paradigm, accounts for the accentual difference between *pilá* 'drank (f. sg.)' and *pílo* 'drank (n. sg.)' on the one hand and between *pílo* and *nesló* 'carried (n. sg.)' on the other. As I pointed out in my dissertation, the conditions of the law imply that in the Late Balto-Slavic neuter *o*-stems there must have existed an oxytone paradigm besides the regular immobile and the mobile paradigms. The reconstruction of an oxytone paradigm offers a solution for the apparent metatony in certain Slavic neuter *o*-stems belonging to AP (b): here the laryngeal was lost in pretonic position. In East Baltic, etyma which may be assumed to have belonged to the oxytone paradigm characteristically have root stress and metatony. For this reason, I posited an East Baltic retraction from **-à*. The retraction sheds new light on Nieminen's (and Kuryłowicz's) observation that there are comparatively many neuters among Baltic *o*-stems belonging to AP 2. My hypothesis also has consequences for the interpretation of the material in Illič-Svityč's study.

Balto-Slavic

1. **-óm* >> **-ód*
2. **-om* > **-um*
3. Hirt's law: the stress was retracted to an immediately preceding syllable containing a vocalic element followed by a laryngeal.
4. **-od* > **-o*
5. Retraction of the stress from final open syllables in disyllabic forms unless the preceding syllable was closed by an obstruent.

³ In early publications by Kortlandt and other Leiden accentologists this development is referred to as "Ebeling's law", cf. Ebeling 1967.

Slavic

1. Loss of the laryngeals in pretonic position. The laryngeals were analogically eliminated from barytone forms in mobile paradigms (Kortlandt's interpretation of Meillet's law).
2. Illič-Svityč's law: generalization of mobile accentuation in masculine *o*-stems with a non-acute root.
3. Dybo's law: rising vowels (at this stage non-acute, non-falling vowels) lost the stress to the following syllable.

East Baltic

1. The stress was retracted from stressed *a* in absolute auslaut. As a consequence, the mobile and oxytone paradigms merged.
2. In Lithuanian, the metatony and fixed stress on the root were generalized throughout the paradigm. Latvian neuter *o*-stems with fixed root stress became mobile.
3. In Latvian, one of the tones was generalized in roots displaying a tonal alternation within the paradigm. In paradigms showing an alternation between sustained tone and broken tone the broken tone was generalized. In paradigms in which a (metatonical) sustained tone alternated with a falling tone the sustained tone was generalized. In paradigms in which a (metatonical) falling tone alternated with a broken tone the falling tone was generalized.

5. Survey of the evidence

A. PIE barytona

PIE *CVC-om* : *CVC-eh₂* > PBSl. *CVC-um* : *CVC-aH*

Though the bifurcation which eventually led to the barytone neuter *o*-stems becoming masculine may be Balto-Slavic, suppletive neuter plurals may have existed both in Baltic and Slavic. For Slavic, I even see no other way to make Illič-Svityč's law work. The existence of suppletive neuter plurals may also explain why we find so much vacillation between neuter and masculine *o*-stems belonging to (b)

- PSl. **lǫnъ* (b) 'flax' : OPr. *lynno* 'id.'
- PSl. **bǫbъ* (b) 'bean' : OPr. *babo* 'beans'.
- PSl. **vǫrta* (b) 'gate' : OPr. *warto*, Lith. *var̃tai* 2 'id.'

B. PIE oxytona

PIE *CVC-óm* : *CVC-éh₂* >> PBSl. *CVC-ód* : *CVC-éh₂* > PBSl. *CVC-ó* : *CVC-áh*

Bi. *CVHC-ó* : *CVHC-áh* > *CVHC-o* : *CVHC-aH*

Hirt's law generated new barytone neuters:

- Lith. *tiltas* 1, Latv. *tilts* 'bridge' : Skt. *tīrthá-* n. 'passage, ford, stairs for landing or for descent into a river', cf. Fi. *silta* 'bridge'.
- Lith. *sietas* 1/3, Latv. *siēts*, OPr. *baytan* [*saytan*], PSl. *sito* (a) 'sieve'.
- Lith. *lūnkas* 1, Latv. *lūks*, OPr. *lunkan*, PSl. **lyko* 'bast', cf. Fi. *lunka* 'remnants of bark'.

B2. CVC₁C₂-ó : CVC₁C₂-áH > CVC₁C₂-ó : CVC₁C₂-áH (where C₁ is an obstruent)

PSl. (b): **bāgnò* (?), **bedrò*, **čislò*, **dēsnò*, **dūplò*, **dʷnò* (< **dʷbnò*), **jēdrò*, **jētrà*, **kriðlò*, **lektò*, *(*vʷn*)*ōtrò*, **pētrò*, **prōglò*, **ʷk(ʷ)lò*, **rebrò*, **rūxlò*, **sīdlò*, **stegnò*, **stʷblò*, **stʷklò*, **sūknò*, **ustà*, **veslò*, **vēdrò*, **volknò*, **žerdlò*, **žezlò*.

- Lith. *tiñklas* 2/4 'net', Latv. *tīkls* 'id.', cf. Fi. *siula* 'Seitennetz' < **sikla* (Liukkonen 1999: 63). Fixed stress as a result of the East Baltic retraction from *-à rather than old barytone accentuation. Illič-Svityč reconstructs a barytone neuter on the basis of Skt. *tántra-* n. 'loom'.
- Lith. *kešlas* 2/4 'chisel, cutter', PSl. **čerslò* (b) 'ploughshare'. Here, too, Illič-Svityč reconstructs a barytone neuter, which leaves the neuter gender of the Slavic form unexplained. I assume that the (older) Lithuanian variant with AP 2 results from a retraction of the ictus.
- PSl. **gnězdò* (b) 'nest' : Skt. *nīḍá-* m./n. 'nest, lair', OHG *nest* n. Lith. *lizdas* 4 does not have the expected AP 2.

Examples of *-to preceded by an obstruent:

- OPr. *dalptan*, PSl. **doltò* (b).
- Lith. *graūžtas* 2 'gnawed off piece', *sōstas* 2 (*sóstas* 1) 'throne', *plāūstas* 2 (*plāustas* 1) 'ferry' (*graūžti* 'gnaw', *sēsti* 'sit down', *plāusti* 'wash, bathe'), cf. Fi. *lautta* 'ferry, raft' (Liukkonen 1999: 34).

As one would expect, *-sto- is frequently accompanied by fixed stress and metatony:

- Lith. *kałstas* 2 'pile', Latv. *dēsts* 'plant', *grāusts* 'hut' (*kālti* 'forge, hammer in', *dēstīt* 'plant', *graūt* 'destroy', *grūt* 'collapse').

The suffix *-tó apparently spread to roots which did not end in an obstruent. According to Nikolaev (1989: 78-91), metatony in derivatives in -tas is particularly frequent after recessive roots, which suggests a redistribution of stressed and unstressed *-to.

- PSl. **plūtò* (b) 'flotsam' (e.g. SCr. dial. *plutò*, NApl. *plutà*), Lith. *plāūtai* 2 'bath shelf, ferry, raft', Latv. *plāuts* 'shelf', cf. Fi. *lautta* 'bath shelf'.⁴
- Lith. *stōtas* 'build' 2, *dōtas* 2 'gift' (*stōti* 'stand', *dūoti* 'give').

B3. CVC-ó : CVC-áH > CVC-o : CVC-áH

PSl. (b): **čelò*, **červò*, **gʷornò*, **licè*, **ložè*, **melkò*, **pletjè*, **plūtjè*, **rūnò*, **selò*, **tblò*, **vīnò*.

PSl. (c): **blūdo*, **bōlgo*, **brūxo*, **červo* (secondary s-st.?), **drəvo*, **gōre*, **jāro*, **jōgo*, **krōsno*, **lēdo*, **mēso*, **mōre*, **pīvo*, **pōle*, **prōso*, **sēno*, **iēsto*, **zōlto*.

- PSl. **però* (< **pěro*) 'feather', NApl. **perà* (b) : Gk. πτερόν 'feather, wing'.
- PSl. **jāje* 'egg', NApl. *jājā* (c) : Gk. ᾠόν 'id.'.
- PSl. **věno* (c) 'bride-price' (e.g. Ru. *věno*, Cz. *věno*) : Gk. ἔεδνον 'bride-price'. In view of the cluster *-dn-, one would expect this etymon to belong to AP (b). We do actually find SCr. (arch. dial.) *vijěno* 'wedding, bride price', but, as was pointed out by Eric Hamp (1968), this form may have been influenced by *vijěnac* 'wreath, wedding'.
- PSl. **sōto* (c) 'hundred', Lith. *šimtas* 2/4 'id.' : Skt. *śatá-* n. 'id.'

Leiden

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⁴ For the words meaning 'shelf' the relationship with *plāuti* 'wash, bathe, overflow' is uncertain (pace Illič-Svityč, who reconstructs a PIE barytone neuter **plóutom* 'floating object, board').

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**Значение западнокавказской акцентной системы
 для изучения балто-славянской и японских акцентных систем**

ВЛАДИМИР АНТОНОВИЧ ДЫБО

Парадигматическими акцентными системами (ПАС) называются системы, характеризующиеся двумя или несколькими типами поведения акцента в слове, именуемыми акцентными типами или акцентными парадигмами (а.п.), по которым распределены все слова соответствующего языка следующим образом:

1. В корпусе производных основ выбор а.п. для каждого слова не предсказывается какой-либо информацией, заключенной в форме или в значении этого слова, а является присущим ему традиционно.

2. В корпусе производных основ выбор акцентных типов определяется а.п. производящих (обычно с поправкой на словообразовательный тип).

Первое положение названо «первым принципом парадигматического акцента», второе — «вторым принципом парадигматического акцента».

Сейчас известно некоторое количество языков с подобными акцентными системами и языков, обычно родственных, просодические системы которых можно рассматривать как предшественников соответствующих ПАС или развитие их. Эти языки в настоящее время можно разделить на две группы: 1. а) и.-е. языки: славянские (праславянский еще полностью сохранял свою ПАС), балтийские (литовский претерпел значительную перестройку ПАС в XVI в., прусский еще сохранял значительные следы ПАС, латышский, может рассматриваться как отражающий состояние, предшествующее ПАС), германские и кельто-италийские (в какой степени они отражают ПАС, пока остается не вполне ясным); индо-иранский и греческий, и.-е. языки, по-видимому, кочевников степной зоны (провели ряд общих инноваций, отдаливших их от состояния ПАС); б) сахарские языки: группа канури (канембу — язык ПАС; канури — язык в состоянии, предшествующем ПАС); группа тубу (теда — язык ПАС; дазага — язык в состоянии, предшествующем ПАС); 2. а) японский (диалекты типа токийского и южнояпонские — языки ПАС, квансайские диалекты — языки в состоянии, предшествующем ПАС); б) филиппинские языки: тагальский, илокано — языки ПАС (по-видимому, сильно изменившие первичное состояние в том же направлении, что и южнояпонские д-ты, но сохранившие основные параметры ПАС); в) западнокавказские языки: абхазский,

абазинский и убухский — языки ПАС, адыгейский — язык, отражающий ПАС.

Введение метода маркировки в изучение этого типа акцентных систем позволило получить ряд нетривиальных выводов: 1) при точном отображении акцентуационных отношений маркеры должны находиться в отношении доминантности — рецессивности; 2) хотя отношения между маркерами устанавливаются по поведению акцента относительно морфов, маркер в действительности является морфонологическим признаком слога, составляющего морф; 3) точная постановка акцента определяется не столько характером морфов, составляющих слово, сколько специальным морфонологически обусловленным «контурным правилом», выбор которого является для языка традиционным (эти правила разные для указанных выше двух групп языков).

В сущности, языков, акцентная система которых покрывалась бы полностью двумя принципами организации парадигматического акцента, до сих пор не обнаружено. Как правило, в языках, даже в наибольшей степени соответствующих характеристике языков с парадигматическим акцентом, определенная часть лексики, обычно часть словообразовательных типов, выбирает определенный акцентный тип механически, независимо от акцентного типа производящего; таким образом, в этой группе лексики (соответственно, части словообразовательной системы) акцентный тип оказывается непосредственно связанным с категорией лексики (словообразовательным типом). Подобный характер связи акцентного типа получил наименование «категориальный принцип организации акцентной системы». Сравнительно-историческое исследование парадигматических акцентных систем позволяет предполагать в общем случае вторичное проникновение в них «категориального принципа» в результате генерализации определенных акцентных типов внутри соответствующих категорий лексики, словообразовательных типов или грамматических категорий.

Морфонологический анализ таких систем приводит к выводу, что они могут быть экономно описаны, если мы разделим все морфемы (точнее, морфы) соответствующего языка на акцентуационные классы, определяемые приписанными им «валентностями», — морфонологическими сущностями, посредством которых выражается некое отношение между морфами разных классов, названное отношением доминантности (доминируемости) — рецессивности (термины заимствованы из генетики).

Согласно этому отношению, все морфы «низших валентностей» при наличии в словоформе морфов «высших валентностей» (доминирующих) считаются как бы несуществующими (скрытыми — лат. *recessus* 'скрытый') при применении *контурного правила*, т. е. правила, описывающего тип акцентного контура — порядка размещения ударного слога (следовательно, ударения — иктуса) по отношению к другим слогам словоформы.

Практически во всех изученных нами акцентных системах наблюдается по два класса валентностей: доминирующие (высшие), маркируемые знаком «+», и рецессивные (низшие), маркируемые знаком «-». Но теоретически таких валентностей, вероятно, может быть и больше, важно лишь, чтобы между ними существовала градация и правило, согласно которому в словоформе морфы, самые высокие по шкале градации, рассматривались бы как доминирующие, а все морфы, низшие по этой шкале, относились бы в разряд рецессивных и не учитывались бы правилом постановки иктуса (контурным правилом).

Встречено два типа парадигматических акцентных систем, различаемых видом контурного правила: 1) акцентные системы балто-славянского типа: два класса валентностей («+» и «-»), контурное правило предписывает постановку иктуса на начало первой последовательности морфов высшей валентности; 2) акцентные системы абхазско-убухского типа: два класса валентностей («+» и «-»), контурное правило предписывает постановку иктуса на конец первой последовательности морфов высшей валентности.

Тоны являются суперсегментной просодической характеристикой слога, их часто пытаются отличать от слоговых акцентов (слоговых интонаций), но какие-либо принципиальные отличия отсутствуют. При наличии в языке сильного ударения тоновые различия безударных слогов теряются и в этих случаях тоновые различия сохраняются лишь под ударением как в канембу или в литовском.

Как же получены акцентуационные валентности и как получено контурное правило в балто-славянском? Установление акцентуационных валентностей полностью вытекает из наблюдения за поведением иктуса в реконструированной системе, это лишь отражение системных отношений между иктусом и морфами, реконструированного праязыка. Для введения валентностей мы опираемся на две особенности, характерные для всех парадигматических акцентных систем (два принципа парадигматического акцента) и на две группы фактов, относящихся непосредственно к реконструированной акцентной системе: 1) вид акцентных кривых и 2) фонологический статус форм-энклиноменов, и следуем такому рассуждению:

1. Тот факт, что традиционные акцентные типы производных определяют выбор акцентных типов производных, свидетельствует о том, что именно корневой морфеме (а не основе или слову в целом) следует приписать это морфонологическое качество, определяющее выбор акцентного типа, которое мы назвали валентностью. Таких валентностей оказывается две. При одном классе корней положение иктуса явно определено корнем, т. е., зная, что данный корень входит в этот класс (принадлежность к которому определяется исключительно списком), мы можем указать место иктуса в любой реконструированной словоформе с этим корнем. Этому классу корней мы можем приписать доминантную, или «+»-валентность.

Доминантный характер этих корней эксплицируется в дальнейшем исследовании, но имплицитно он заключён уже в том, что при определении места иктуса в словоформах с такими корнями вопрос о валентности других морфем в этих словоформах даже не возникает. При втором классе корней, напротив, положение иктуса в словоформе никак не связано с корнем, оно полностью определяется окружением. Конечно, при его определении мы должны справиться со списками корней, убедиться, что данный корень относится именно ко второму классу, но такая связь класса корня с правилами, определяющими положение иктуса, является чисто отрицательной. Этому классу корней мы можем приписать рецессивную, или «-»-валентность. Очевидно, выбор знаков маркировки («+» или «-») ясен из изложенного рассуждения. Продолжая процедуру установления правил, определяющих положение иктуса, мы должны обратиться к морфемному окружению корня, т. е. к аффиксам и окончаниям. Естественно, что при этом нам необходимо исключить из рассмотрения весь корпус словоформ с корнями первого класса, так как в них правило постановки иктуса уже определено валентностью корня. Таким образом в рассмотрении остаётся лишь корпус словоформ с корнями второго класса. Анализируя суффиксальные основы, мы обнаруживаем, что суффиксы (подобно корням) также разбиваются на два класса. При первом классе суффиксов положение иктуса уже определено наличием этого суффикса, и ему, следовательно, можно приписать доминантную, или «+»-валентность. При втором классе суффиксов какой-либо вывод о месте иктуса в словоформе сделать нельзя и суффиксам этого класса следует приписать рецессивную, или «-»-валентность. Переходя к окончаниям, мы, естественно, исключаем из рассматриваемого в предшествующей процедуре корпуса словоформ все словоформы с суффиксами первого класса. Таким образом в рассмотрении остаётся лишь корпус словоформ с корнями и суффиксами второго класса. Оказывается, что и морфы окончаний распадаются на два акцентуационных класса. При морфах первого класса мы можем точно указать на положение иктуса. Им мы можем приписать доминантную, или «+»-валентность. При морфах второго класса иктус расположен на начале словоформы, но это его положение не постоянно, оно встречается лишь, когда словоформа находится в абсолютной позиции, т. е. между потенциальными паузами (иначе говоря, когда словоформа совпадает с фонетическим словом), при окружении словоформы клитиками иктус менял своё положение в зависимости от характера клитик и их позиции. Так как место иктуса в таких словоформах определялось структурой фонетического слова, в которое они входили, такие словоформы фактически не имели фонологического ударения (эти словоформы получили наименование «формы-энклиномены»). Это даёт основание заключить, что морфы окончаний

второго класса не определяют постановку иктуса, и приписать им рецессивную, или «-»-валентность.

2. Разделив морфемы на классы по приписанным им акцентуационным валентностям, можно приступить к выведению общего правила постановки иктуса, т. е. контурного правила. Для получения его проведём маркировку достаточно представительного корпуса словоформ, введя специальные пометы при морфемах: морфема доминантной валентности получит помету («+»), морфема рецессивной валентности — помету (-).

Полученное общее «контурное правило», регулирующее постановку иктуса во всех типах последовательностей морфем в балто-славянском, можно сформулировать следующим образом: *иктус ставится в начале первой последовательности морфем высшей валентности* (последовательностью в данном случае считается и одиночная морфема).

Иное контурное правило было обнаружено в абхазском языке. Как устанавливается это правило акцентовки словоформ, я уже несколько раз писал, но так как попытка Е. А. Хелимского ввести его в качестве лингвистической задачи не удалась (Задачная комиссия посчитала эту задачу излишне трудной), привожу это решение и здесь.

В абхазском языке у непроектируемых имен усматриваются три акцентных типа, определяемые поведением акцента в трех словарных формах: тип I (а.п. *a*) — чл. ф. *a-lá*, еднч. *lá-k*, мн. *a-la-k'a* 'собака'; тип II (а.п. *b*) — чл.ф. *á-bla*, еднч. *bla-ká*, мн. *á-bla-k'a* 'глаз'; тип III (неподвижный) — чл.ф. *a-psáz*, еднч. *psáz-k*, мн. *a-psáz-k'a* 'рыба'. Последний тип аналогичен III типу словосложений, и, если исключить многочисленные заимствования, входящие в него, его составят в большинстве своем деетимологизированные словосложения III акцентного типа, второй элемент которых содержал выпавший в безударной позиции гласный -э (III акцентный тип наблюдается у тех словосложений, первый элемент которых относился к типу I (доминантному), второй — к типу II (рецессивному). В тех же случаях (относительно редких), в которых можно предполагать первичную одноморфемность соответствующего абхазского слова, оно восходит, по-видимому, к двуслоговой основе типа *CVCa* (соответственно *CVCa*) с просодическими характеристиками слогов, соответствующими просодическим характеристикам компонентов словосложений III акцентного типа.

За исключением основ неподвижного акцентного типа, все основы I и II акцентного типов имеют подвижное ударение и акцентуются строго в соответствии с указанными выше схемами. Лишь по абхазско-русскому словарю Н. Я. Марра устанавливаются две небольших группы основ, имеющие существенные отклонения в акцентовке: в 1-й группе доминантный корень становится рецессивным во множественном числе; во 2-й группе, напротив, рецессивный корень становится доминантным во множественном числе. Таких основ чуть больше десятка, но сравнение с убыхским дает ос-

нование предполагать празападнокавказскую древность этой метатонии. Подробнее см. мою статью «Западнокавказская акцентологическая реконструкция» (2007).

I группа

1. *a-phà* 'женщина, дочь', еднч. *phà-k* ~ pl. *à-phà-cà* [M. 86^a: *a-phà* 'женщина, дочь', еднч. *phà-k*, мн. *à-phà-ðà*].
- 1a. *a-tàphà* 'девица', еднч. *tàphà-k* ~ pl. *à-tàphà-cà* [M. 42^a: *a-ðàphà* 'дѣвица', еднч. *ðàphà-k* <Sic!>, мн. *a-ðàphà-ðà*].
2. *a-xàwà* 'верхний жернов', еднч. *xà-k* ~ pl. *à-xàwà-kà* [M. 137^b: *a-àwà* лыхнин. (бз.) 'верхний жернов', еднч. *àwà-k*, мн. *à-àwà-qa*].
3. *a-bsà*, *a-psà* 'копье', еднч. **bsà-kə*, *psà-k* ~ pl. *à-bsà-kà*, *à-psà-kà* [M. 28^a: джгерд. (абж.) *a-bsà*, адзюбин. (абж.) *a-φsà* (быть может, так и джгерд. (абж.)) 'копье', еднч. джгерд. (абж.) *bzakə* <Sic!>, мн. джгерд. (абж.) *à-bsà-qa*; но в калдахвар. (бз.), видимо, уже II акц. тип: *à-φsà*, еднч. *φsà-k*, мн. *à-φsà-qa*; ср.: СлАБЯ II, 35: *á-ησα* 'штык'; Касландзия 2005 II: 60^b: *Á-ησα* 'наконечник копья, пика; штык'; ср. также: *à-bs*, еднч. *bs-kə*, pl. *à-bs-kà* [M. 28^a: <по Услару?> *a-bs* 'копье', еднч. *bskə*, мн. *àbsqa*; Услар 125: *abc* 'копье', *bcκv* опр. <= еднч.>, *abcκya* множ.].
4. *a-gdà* 'комолый баран', еднч. *gdà-k* ~ pl. *à-gd-kà* [M. 34^b: *a-gdà* лыхнин. (бз.) 'баранъ безъ рогъ', еднч. *gdà-k*, мн. *à-gd-qa*].
5. *a-c-tacà* 'плуг', еднч. *c-tacà-k* ~ pl. *à-c-tacà-kà* [M. 112^b: *a-ð-taðà* лыхнин. (бз.) 'плугъ', еднч. *ð-taðà-k*, мн. *à-ð-taðà-qa*].
6. *a-xà* 'кривой', еднч. *xà-kə* ~ pl. *à-xà-kà* [M. 132^b: *a-à* калдахвар. (бз.) и адзюбин. (абж.) 'кривой', еднч. лыхнин. (бз.) *à-kə*, мн. *à-à-qa*].

II группа

1. *à-cayà* 'родители зятя и невестки', еднч. *cayà-k* ~ pl. *à-cayà-cà* [M. 108^b-109^a: *à-ðàğà* 'родители зятя и невестки', еднч. *ðàğà-k*, мн. *a-ðàğà-ðà*].
2. *à-cax* 'соха', еднч. *cax-kə* ~ pl. *à-cax-kà* [M. 112^a: *à-ðàq* 'соха', еднч. *ðàq-kə*, мн. *a-ðàq-qa*].
3. *à-mš* 'медведь', еднч. *mš-kə* ~ pl. *à-mš-kà* [M. 61^a: *a-tu* 'медвѣдь', еднч. *tu-kə*, мн. *a-tu-qa*].
4. *à-pš* 'талиа', еднч. *pš-kə* ~ pl. *à-pš-kà* [M. 83^b: *à-φu* джгерд. (абж.) и калдахвар. (бз.) 'талиа, перенос. покровительство', еднч. *φu-kə*, мн. *a-φu-qa*].
5. *à-ž* 'старый', еднч. *ž-kə* ~ pl. *à-ž-kà* [M. 68^a: *a-ɣ* 'старый', еднч. *ɣ-kə*, мн. *a-ɣ-qa*].
6. *à-pšə* 'кукуруза', еднч. *pšə-k* ~ pl. *à-pšə-kà* [M. 82^a: *a-φu* (РАОС 29: *à-φu*) <?д>жгерд. (абж.), китоул. (абж.) 'кукуруза', еднч. *φu-kə*, мн. *a-φu-qa*].

Поведение акцента I и II типов в парадигме тесно связано с его перемещениями при постановке словоформы в минимальное фразовое окружение

(т. е., главным образом, при соединении с «энклитикой»), поэтому оба явления могут рассматриваться совместно. Наблюдается следующее распределение (см. табл., способ введения подстрочной маркировки объясняется ниже в Комментариях).

Таблица 1

№	Формы и типы окружения	Акц. тип I (a)	Акц. тип II (b)
1	Изолированная форма	<i>lâ</i> 'собака' <i>wasâ</i> 'овца'	<i>blâ</i> 'глаз' <i>sasâ</i> 'гость'
2	Единичная форма	<i>lâ-k</i> '(одна) собака', <i>wasâ-k</i> '(одна) овца'	<i>blâ-kə</i> '(один) глаз', <i>sasâ-kə</i> '(один) гость' (> <i>blâ-k</i> , <i>sasâ-k</i>)
3	Instr. (sg.)	<i>šâ-lâ</i> 'кровью', <i>xâ-lâ</i> 'головой', <i>šapâ-lâ</i> 'ногой', пешком, <i>č³nâ-lâ</i> 'днём' [M.: 'днемъ'], <i>zâ-lâ</i> 'водой', <i>labâ-lâ</i> 'палкой'	<i>mâç-lâ</i> 'силой', <i>mğâ-lâ</i> 'животом' [M.: 'брюхомъ'], <i>mâš²-lâ</i> 'днём' [M.: 'по днямъ'], <i>stax-lâ</i> 'следом', <i>çax-lâ</i> 'ночью', <i>bž²a-lâ</i> 'пополам'
4	Casus Caritivus (sg.)	бзыб. <i>wasâ-dâ</i> 'без овцы'	бзыб. <i>mâr-dâ</i> 'без солнца'
5	Чистая основа с союзом <i>ğə</i> (sg.)	<i>ncâ-ğə</i> 'и бог', <i>phâ-ğə</i> 'и дочь', <i>pa-ğə</i> 'и сын'	<i>möâ-ğə</i> 'и путь', <i>pap-ğə</i> 'и поп', <i>harak-ğə</i> 'и высокий'
6	Нечленное мн. число	<i>pa-câ</i> 'сыновья'	<i>sas-câ</i> 'гости'
7	Неопред.-мн. форма	<i>žâ-kâ-k</i> 'несколько зайцев', <i>lâ-kâ-k</i> 'несколько собак'	<i>žma-kâ-k</i> 'несколько коз'
8	Членная форма (sg.)	<i>a-lâ</i> 'собака', <i>a-wasâ</i> 'овца'	<i>â-blâ</i> 'глаз', <i>â-sas</i> 'гость'
9	Притяж. форма (1 sg.)	<i>š-lâ</i> 'моя собака', <i>š-wasâ</i> 'моя овца'	<i>šâ-blâ</i> 'мой глаз', <i>šâ-sas</i> 'мой гость'
10	Притяж. еднч.	<i>jâ-lâ-k</i> '(одна) его	<i>jâ-mahâ-k</i> '(один) его'

	форма (3 sg.)	собака'	зять'
11	Членная форма Instr. (sg.)	<i>ɑ-xə-lɑ</i> 'головой', <i>ɑ-ʂapə-lɑ</i> 'ногой'	<i>ɑ-xɑ-lɑ</i> 'жердью', <i>ɑ-mgɑ-lɑ</i> 'животом', <i>ɑ-γba-lɑ</i> 'кораблем'
12	Мн. число (членная форма)	<i>ɑ-lɑ-kʰ</i> 'собаки', <i>ɑ-wɑsq-kʰ</i> 'овцы', <i>ɑ-pɑ-cʰ</i> 'сыновья'	<i>ɑ-blɑ-kʰ</i> 'глаза', <i>ɑ-ʂma-kʰ</i> 'козы', <i>ɑ-sɑs-cʰ</i> 'гости'
13	Мн. число (притяж. форма 1 sg.)	<i>ʂ-lɑ-kʰ</i> 'мои собаки', <i>ʂ-wɑsq-kʰ</i> 'мои овцы', <i>ʂ-pɑ-cʰ</i> 'мои сыновья'	<i>sə-blɑ-kʰ</i> 'мои глаза', <i>sə-ʂma-kʰ</i> 'мои козы', <i>sə-sɑs-cʰ</i> 'мои гости'
14	Членная форма с союзом <i>gə</i> (sg.)	<i>ɑ-lɑ-gə</i> 'и собака', <i>ɑ-wɑsq-gə</i> 'и овца'	<i>ɑ-blɑ-gə</i> 'и глаз', <i>ɑ-sɑs-gə</i> 'и гость'
15	Притяж. форма (1 sg.) с союзом <i>gə</i> (sg.)	<i>ʂ-lɑ-gə</i> 'и моя собака', <i>ʂ-wɑsq-gə</i> 'и моя овца'	<i>sə-blɑ-gə</i> 'и мой глаз', <i>sə-sɑs-gə</i> 'и мой гость'
16	Мн. число (членная форма) с союзом <i>gə</i>	<i>ɑ-lɑ-kʰ-gə</i> 'и собаки', <i>ɑ-wɑsq-kʰ-gə</i> 'и овцы', <i>ɑ-pɑ-cʰ-gə</i> 'и сыновья'	<i>ɑ-blɑ-kʰ-gə</i> 'и глаза', <i>ɑ-ʂma-kʰ-gə</i> 'и козы', <i>ɑ-sɑs-cʰ-gə</i> 'и гости'
17	Мн. число (притяж. форма 1 sg.) с союзом <i>gə</i>	<i>ʂ-lɑ-kʰ-gə</i> 'и мои собаки', <i>ʂ-lɑ-kʰ-gə</i> 'и мои овцы', <i>ʂ-pɑ-cʰ-gə</i> 'и мои сыновья'	<i>sə-blɑ-kʰ-gə</i> 'и мои глаза', <i>sə-ʂma-kʰ-gə</i> 'и мои козы', <i>sə-sɑs-cʰ-gə</i> 'и мои гости'

Примечание. Для редко встречаемых форм и позиций в таблице приводится материал, зафиксированный в научной литературе и в текстах (в большинстве своем диалектных). Специального подтверждения требуют следующие формы: instr. нечленных форм рецессивного акцентного типа: *məč-lɑ* 'силой' (М. 61^a), *mɡɑ-lɑ* 'брюхом' (М. 59^b), *məʂ-lɑ* 'днем' (М. 59^b, Услар 96), *stax-lɑ* 'следом' (D I, 5, 7), *çəx-lɑ* 'ночью' (М. 120^a, Услар 96), *bʒ'a-lɑ* 'пополам' (Дж. 73); но instr. нечленных форм доминантного акцентного типа: *ʂɑ-lɑ* 'кровью' (М. 96^b), *xə-lɑ* 'головой' (М. 136^b-137^a), *ʂapə-lɑ* 'ногой, пешком' (Бг. 136²⁶), *ʂnə-lɑ* 'днем' (Услар 96), *ʂə-lɑ* 'водой' (Услар 116, 117), *lɑbɑ-lɑ* 'палкой' (D I, 14, 54, 55). Архаические остатки такого же поведения форм каритива отмечены мной лишь в бзыбском наречии *mər-dɑ* 'без солнца' (Бг. 141⁴⁰) при *wɑsq-dɑ* 'без овцы' (Бг. 136²⁵). Однако в настоящее время в нормативном абхазском обнаруживается процесс ограничения передвижения акцента на рецессивные форманты, о чем свидетельствуют материалы, представленные Н. В. Аршба: instr. *baəy-lɑ* (*ɑ-baə*) ('костью'), *maχəy-lɑ* (*ɑ-maχə*) ('зятём'),

çkəyɨn-lɑ (*ɑ-çkəyɨn*) ('мальчиком'), *kaçə-lɑ* (*ɑ-kaçə*) ('сетью'), *blɑ-lɑ* (*ɑ-blɑ*) ('глазом'), при архаическом варианте *blɑ-lɑ*; ср. также арх. transform. *blɑ-sy* при новом *blɑ-s* [Аршба 2000: 32-35].

Комментарии (метод введения маркировок)

- (a) Можно утверждать, что акцент в изолированных словоформах (равных корневой морфеме) обоих акцентных типов расположен на конце словоформы: это очевидно на примере двусложных корневых морфем.
- (b) В формах 2, 3, 4 конечное ударение словоформы сохраняется в типе II, но оттягивается на основу в типе I. Эта способность основ, входящих в тип I, оттягивать ударение не имеет никакого синхронного фонологического объяснения и относится к уровню морфонологии.
- (c) Морфемы, обладающие способностью оттягивать акцент в данных формах, можно отметить знаком *плюс* («+»), морфемы, у которых такой способности нет, — знаком *минус* («-»).
- (d) В формах 8, 9 присоединение члена и притяжательных префиксов вызывает перемещение ударения в типе II на член и, соответственно, на префиксы. Повторяя операцию (c), мы можем этим формантам приписать знак «+».
- (e) Обнаруживается, что ударение данным формантам отдают лишь морфемы, отмеченные знаком «-», тогда как морфемы, отмеченные знаком «+», удерживают акцент.
- (f) В связи с последним можно расширить основу маркировки: морфемы *-kə*, *-la*, *-da*, отдающие в формах 2, 3, 4 ударение предшествующей «+»-морфеме, можно рассматривать как отмеченные знаком «-», морфемы *-cʰ*, *-kʰ*, *-gə*, сохраняющие ударение в формах 5, 6 (а также 12, 13, 14, 15) с предшествующей «+»-морфемой (тип I), — как отмеченные знаком «+».
- (g) Распространив теперь эту маркировку на все остальные словоформы (и на все слоги многосложных морфем), получаем картину, представленную в таблице.

Опираясь на введенные обозначения (см. табл. 1 и комментарии к ней), легко сформулировать единое правило акцентовки разобранных морфемных последовательностей. Введя понятие морфонологических ступеней акцентуационных «валентностей» [*высшая* — морфемы, маркированные знаком «+» (доминантные), *низшая* — морфемы, маркированные знаком «-» (рецессивные)], можно утверждать, что ударение всегда ставится в конце первой последовательности морфем высшей валентности. Естественно, что если словоформа состоит лишь из рецессивных морфем, то рецессивная валентность будет высшей (а ударение — конечным).

Легко показать, что этот способ маркировки и правило, регулирующее постановку акцента, распространяются на всю систему абхазского языка

лишь с незначительными усложнениями (преимущественно в глаголе), имеющими историческое объяснение. Полный морфонологический анализ абхазской акцентной системы опубликован мной в Дыбо 1997: 65-165 (повторен в Дыбо 1998: 129-205; Дыбо 2000: 660-734).

Убыхский обнаруживает акцентную систему, идентичную абхазской акцентной системе, с двумя первичными акцентными типами непроемного (мономорфемного) имени. Он показывает очень близкие к абхазским модификации ударения в парадигме и в минимальном фразовом окружении (т. е. в сочетании с «энклитиками»; см. табл. 2):

Таблица 2

№	Формы и типы окружения	Акц. тип I (a)	Акц. тип II (b)
1	Членная и притяж. формы	<i>a-psa</i> 'рыба'; <i>sa-psa</i> 'моя рыба'	<i>a-na</i> 'мать'; <i>sa-na</i> 'моя мать'
2	Членная, указ. и притяж. формы с союзом <i>ga</i>	<i>ya-psa-ga</i> 'и эта рыба'	<i>sa-na-ga</i> 'и моя мать'
3	Членная и притяж. формы Erg. sg. с союзом <i>ga</i>	<i>a-xa-n-ga</i> 'и князь'	<i>ya-ta-n-ga</i> 'и его отец'
4	Членная форма Erg. pl.	<i>a-ča-na</i> 'лошади' (Услар)	<i>a-ba-na</i> 'бараны'
5	Членная форма Transform. sg. на <i>-na</i>	<i>a-da-xa-na</i> 'летом' (арх.)	<i>a-txa-n</i> 'на поле'
6	Членная форма sg. с послелогом <i>ya</i>	<i>a-da-ya</i> 'на дворе, снаружи'	<i>a-txa-ya</i> 'на поле'

Исследование типологии парадигматических акцентных систем фактически, по-видимому, было начато Е. Д. Поливановым. В 1915 году Е. Д. Поливанов предложил для объяснения конечного тонального повышения в японских «дзенхайных» (全平) словоформах сопоставление с греческим грависом (´) в конце древнегреческих окситонированных словоформ: «Въ сферѣ музыкальнаго ударенія параллелью къ Т<окіоской> факультативности повышения на послѣднемъ слогѣ является чередование акута съ *gravis*’омъ въ греч. *oxytona* (оставляю въ сторонѣ условія того и другаго)» (Поливанов 1915: 1621). Этому сопоставлению Е. Д. Поливанова предшествовало довольно длительное обсуждение проблемы греческого грависа в рамках сравнительно-исторической акцентологии индоевропейских языков. Как известно, традиционно греч. *oxytona* имеют конечное острое ударение (акут) в конце фразы; внутри фразы, в соединениях (*juncture*), акут заменяется грависом. Знак грависа традиционно использовался для обо-

значения низкого тона; так как низкий тон имели все немаркированные слоги, такая замена, по-видимому, означала, что все слоги окситонированной словоформы в положении внутри фразы (в соединениях) становились низкотональными, то есть подобная словоформа становилась безударной. Такому толкованию как будто противоречит поведение окситон перед энклитиками: при присоединении к окситонированной форме энклитики первая «сохраняет» свое острое ударение (акут): *σοφος τις* 'какой-то мудрец', *σοφοι τινες* 'какие-то мудрецы'. Но, во-первых, в сочетании «проклитика + энклитика» проклитика тоже получает ударение (тон), а энклитика теряет его: *εἰ τις μοι φησι* 'если кто говорит мне когда-нибудь', — где последовательный дрейф тона, начиная с последней энклитики вплоть до первой проклитики; во-вторых, аналогичное передвижение тона с энклитики мы обнаруживаем в пропарокситонах и пропериспоменах, т. е. в случае низкотональности двух последних мор: *ἄνθρωπος τις* 'некоторый человек', *ἄνθρωποι τινες* 'некоторые люди', *δῶρόν τι* 'некоторый дар', *δῶρά τινα* 'некоторые дары' (Соболевский 1948: 18). Из этого следует, что и перед энклитиками окситоны теряли свое острое ударение, но получали острое ударение (высокий тон), передвинутое с энклитики. Исследование С. И. Соболевским стиха аттической комедии, показав недопустимость клаузул перед рядом частиц, не относимых к традиционным энклитикам, установило наличие в древнегреческом частиц, которые будучи энклитиками, с современной точки зрения, были, по-видимому, изначально низкотональны и поэтому не могли передавать высокий тон предшествующей им окситоне, и она оставалась низкотональной, т. е. безударной (перед этими частицами окситоны маркируются грависом): *ἀκτῆ μὲν* 'берег вот', *τοὺς δὲ* 'те[x] (acc. pl. f.) же', *οὐ γὰρ* 'ты ведь', *μηδενὶ δὲ* 'никому ведь'.

В этой статье Е. Д. Поливанов, по-видимому, еще допускал возможность возникновения атонных слов в результате фонетического изменения окситонированных слов в каких-то условиях. Р. О. Якобсон специально вернулся к проблеме греческого грависа уже с чисто фонологических позиций. Новым в его подходе было то, что уже не японское чередование атонных форм с факультативной окситонезой объяснялось ссылкой на греческое чередование акута и грависа, а само греческое явление интерпретировалось ссылкой на японские атонные («дзенхайные») формы. Аналогично Р. О. Якобсон рассмотрел с фонологической точки зрения сербские акценты и интерпретировал нисходящий акцент как фонологическую безударность. Характерно, что в обоих случаях оставалось не объясненным соотношение форм с устойчивым пограничным ударением и форм-энклитоменов с «факультативным», точнее, позиционным не фонологическим

повышением.¹ Несколько видоизмененный подход к сербскому ударению был предложен американскими исследователями E. W. Browne и J. D. McCawley (1965). Они предложили считать основным нисходящий элемент сербского акцента, а восходящий рассматривать как автоматическое его дополнение, и отмечать лишь устойчивый акцент. При этом все случаи типа *měda* (gen. sg.): *đd meda, vādi* (2-3. sg. aor.): *ně vadī, izvadī* рассматриваются как безударные, сопровождаемые автоматическим не фонологическим акцентом нисходящего характера на начале тактовой группы. Напротив, такие случаи как *brāta: đd brata, vādī: nē vadī, izvadī*, рассматриваются как *brāta: od brāta, vādī: ne vādī, izvādī*, где ' = ", а восходящий элемент на предшествующем слоге, отмечаемый традиционной маркировкой, рассматривается как автоматическое дополнение к нисходящему акценту, появляющееся при наличии слога, предшествующего ударному слогу. Таким образом двойственный характер сербского нисходящего акцента раскрывается как результат фонетического совпадения устойчивого акцента с демаркационным акцентом. Это означало, что цикл исследований, вызванных типологическим сопоставлением E. Д. Поливанова, в этом плане завершен и остается только перенести этот вывод на токийскую акцентную систему: конечное повышение тона в японских дзенхайных словоформах отражает демаркационный акцент. Таким образом, как в славянском (в лице его таких представителей как праславянский или сербский), так и в японском (в лице таких его представителей как диалекты токийского типа) мы встречаемся с акцентными системами, в которых на ряду с словоформами, имеющими разноместный (фонологически значимый) акцент, имеется корпус словоформ, у которых такого акцента нет и которые получают лишь демаркационный акцент: в славянском в начале фонетического слова, в японском в конце.

Уже простое сопоставление этих акцентных систем показывает их поразительное сходство с системами лексического тона ряда африканских языков. Последние системы в ряде случаев следовало бы называть системами морфемного тона, так как наряду с разными тоновыми классами корневых морфем в них часто наблюдается различие в тонировании аффиксальных морфем. Одной из языковых групп с системами лексического тона является сахарская. Фактически все языки западной подгруппы этой языковой семьи имеют кроме тонов довольно сильный экспираторный

¹ В дальнейшем в докладе на V международном съезде славистов (София, 1963) P. O. Якобсон указал на источник этой «безударности» сербского нисходящего акцента, которым были праславянские формы-энклиномены подвижной акцентной парадигмы, но и это указание не решало проблему, которая лишь преобразовывалась в проблему соотношения балто-славянской подвижности и греко-арийской окситонезы.

акцент. Отношение между акцентом и системой тонов, по-видимому, различно у разных языков этой группы. В канури и в диалектах каширда и дазага группы тубу ударение ставится на первый высокотоновый слог или на первый слог сплошь низкотоновой словоформы. В каширда и дазага акцент довольно сильный, в канури слабее, но хорошо слышный (хотя имеются свидетельства об отсутствии акцента в канури, это, вероятно, связано с его нефонологичностью). В канембу акцент ставится на тех же местах, что и в канури и каширда и дазага, то есть на первом высокотоновом слоге, но тоны послеударных слогов понижаются (т. е. система очень похожа на литовскую), это видно по описанию Й Лукаса, каких-либо противоречий которому я не смог отметить при работе с информантами. В диалекте теда (той же группы тубу) при наличии акцента в тех же позициях, что и в дазага, ни я, ни Хасан Чонаи (носитель дазага), не смогли установить тоновую схему слов; такое впечатление, что этот язык потерял тоны и перешел в языки с парадигматическим акцентом. Следует отметить, что тоны теда не отмечает и Шарль Ле Кёр (Ch. Le Coer), он, правда, не отмечает и разноместный акцент. Описание Й. Лукаса языка тубу² построено в основном на материале диалекта каширда, мы с Хасаном Чонаи подробно описывали его диалект дазага, а имея в виду нужды сравнительно-исторической грамматики и особенно акцентологии и тонологии значительно дополнили материалы остальных сахарских языков (кроме берти).

Но с тоновыми схемами канури и акцентными парадигмами тубу (каширда) я начал заниматься с конца 50-х годов. Сходство тоновых схем этих языков и порождавшихся ими акцентных парадигм с балтославянскими акцентными парадигмами и побудило меня выдвинуть тональную гипотезу происхождения парадигматических акцентных систем, первый вариант которой я осмелился кратко изложить в 1962 г. при обсуждении первичного варианта доклада P. O. Якобсона на V съезде славистов; к моему удовольствию, P. O. Якобсон очень положительно отнесся к моему выступлению, сказал, что он давно так думает, но вся проблема, как это доказать. Окончательный текст его доклада подтвердил это направление его мысли: он был несколько изменен в определенном, стимулирующем мой поиск, направлении (так, во всяком случае, я его воспринял).

Естественно, что для поиска доказательств подобного просодического преобразования следовало вернуться к языку, который стимулировал это направление мысли, т. е. японскому. Обратившись к работам E. Д. Поливанова, я обнаружил, что им предложена гипотеза происхождения

² Термин «тубу» 'люди гор, горцы' — термин этнологический, применять его для названия языка не корректно, так как называют себя тубу и носители языков загава и бидейат, которые относятся к восточносахарской группе, но такова традиция.

японских систем с кульминативными фонологическими единицами (акцентных систем) из тоновых систем квансайского типа. Системы квансайских диалектов имеют то общее с акцентными системами, что высокий тоновый период является единственным на протяжении звукового состава словоформы, но эта особенность может характеризовать и большое число африканских тоновых языков; с другой стороны, дистинктивная функция связывается всё же с тонированием слога, ср. Тоса: 'atūi (厚い) 'толстый' и 'a,tui (暑い) 'жаркий'. Кроме того, в древнекиотском диалекте, отраженном в словаре XI века Руйдзюмэйгисё (или же, точнее, Руйдзюмёгисё) (類聚名義抄)³ в словоформе могло быть два периода высокого тона: пом. *ishi-gá* (石が) 'камень'. О факультативном повышении тона на показателе номинатива -*га* при паузе внутри фразы в киотском диалекте его времени в таких словах как 'a,bura (油) 'масло' пишет и Поливанов: 'a,bura'га (油が) (Поливанов 1991, с. 148).

Сопоставление с сахарскими давало простое правило постановки акцента: начальный высокий тон ~ начальная доминантная валентность, начало словоформы, если все слоги низкотональны (рецессивны). Но японский давал иную картину: в нем демаркационный акцент падал на последнюю мору словоформы, а при наличии высоких мор на последнюю высокую мору (в современном токийском, в котором все моры, предшествующие последней высокой, кроме первой повышаются, последняя высокая мора *считается ударной*). Это вызвало необходимость поиска акцентных систем, которые можно было бы поставить в отношении типологической аналогичности к японской. Такой системой является западнокавказская (абхазская и убыхская). К чему это приводит? 1) Системы парадигматического акцента возникают в результате деформации демаркационного (разграничительного) акцента действием доминантных слогов и дальнейшей фонологизации этой деформации в результате падения фонологического различия между доминантными и рецессивными слогами. 2) Для того, чтобы такая деформация произошла, язык должен был иметь определенно ориентированный демаркационный акцент. В праиндоевропейском и в прасахарском демаркационный акцент был ориентирован на начало фонетической словоформы, в празападнокавказском и в прааппонском — на конец её.

Москва

³ Е. Д. Поливанов с материалом этого словаря, по-видимому, не был знаком.

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Система акцентных парадигм в прусском глаголе

ВЛАДИМИР АНТОНОВИЧ ДЫБО

В третьем прусском катехизисе (*Enchiridion*) имеются, по-видимому, две графические особенности, по которым можно установить место ударения в словоформе. Это, во-первых, значок \sim (в различных транслитерациях изображается просто как \sim), который ставится над долгим ударным слогом.¹ То, что этот значок обозначал ударение, достаточно убедительно показал Ф. Ф. Фортунатов в работе «Об ударении и долготе в балтийских языках. I. Ударение в прусском языке» (1895; имеется перевод на немецкий язык). Он же показал, что в слогах с балтийскими дифтонгами и с вторичными прусскими дифтонгами, возникшими в результате дифтонгизации балтийских долгих монофтонгов, посредством постановки этого значка над первой или второй частью дифтонга в прусском языке обозначались просодические явления, соответствующие литовскому акуту (1) и циркумфлексу (2): (1) прус. *pogaūt* = лит. *pagáuti*; прус. *pertraūki* = лит. *užtráukė*; прус. *kaūlins* = лит. *káulas*; прус. *boūt* = лит. *búti*; прус. acc.sg. *soūnon* = лит. acc.sg. *sūny*; прус. gen.pl. *ioūsan* = лит. *júsy*; прус. dat.pl.m. *steimans* = лит. dat.pl.m. *tiems*; прус. *ainan* = лит. *viéną*; прус. *geiwan* = лит. *gývą*; (2) прус. acc.pl. *āusins* = лит. acc. pl. *ausis* (ср. acc. sg. *ausis*); прус. *āustin* (ср. др.-инд. *oṣṭhah*); прус. *ēit* = лит. *eiti*; прус. *fwāigstan* = лит. *žvaigždė*; прус. *lāiku* = лит. *laiko*; прус. *lāifkas* = лит. *laiškas*. Аналогичное использование постановки этого значка Ф. Ф. Фортунатов усматривал и в случаях дифтонгических сочетаний с плавными и носовыми при том, что над плавными и носовыми этот значок не ставился. Действительно, в подавляющем большинстве случаев, когда над дифтонгическим сочетанием стоит значок \sim (естественно, что во всех этих случаях значок \sim стоит над первой частью этого сочетания), мы имеем дело с циркумфлектированными дифтонгическими сочетаниями. Однако есть случаи, когда такой постановке значка \sim соответствует литовское акутированное дифтонгическое сочетание. Это, в первую очередь, адъективный суффикс *-ing-*: *Wertings*, *niwertings*, *wertingiskan* (ср. лит. *vertingas* 'ценный'), *teifingi*, *niteifingiskan* (ср. лит. *teisingas* 'справедли-

¹ Иногда этим же значком в тексте *Enchiridion*'а изображается назальный согласный, но таких случаев немного, и проблема истолкования почти никогда не возникает. Исключительные случаи будут обсуждены при анализе примеров.

вый, правдивый; правильный, верный'). Обращает на себя внимание, что это балтийский рецессивный суффикс, при котором в производных сохранялся подвижный акцентный тип, а при йотации могла происходить метатония. Другие случаи менее ясные, они будут специально отмечаться ниже в материале.

Второй графический прием, который, по-видимому, имеет отношение к месту ударения, — это удвоение согласных. Обычно принимается, что краткие ударные гласные в тексте Enchiridion'a обозначались постановкой после них удвоенного согласного. Это убеждение восходит, вероятно, к Н. Ван-Вейку, который, опираясь на такое написание согласных, разделил (с его точки зрения) парокситонированные и пропарокситонированные формы *praes. 1. pl.* глаголов и такие же формы *dat. pl.* имен [Van Wijk 1918, с. 135-139]. В дальнейшем этим же приемом пользуется Хр. Станг для разделения прусских глаголов на *-in-*, которые, как оказывается в результате его анализа, проводят акцентуационное деление между деноминативами и каузативами [Stang 1957, с. 369-371]. Характерно, однако, что ни Н. Ван-Вейк, ни Хр. Станг не распространяли своего правила на все случаи написания удвоенных согласных в прусских памятниках.² Это и понятно, в тексте Enchiridion'a обнаруживается богатейший набор примеров с представленным значком \tilde и с удвоенным написанием согласных после слога, предшествующего слогу, помеченному этим значком: *gennāmans, femmē, gallū, labbings, Jffprettingi, skellāntai, feggiuns, pertenniuns, tennēmons, turrītwei, billiton, enwackēimai, tennēifon, feggēmai, fallūban, popeckūt, stallēmai, deffimts, billā, tickrōmien, preiwackē, wackitwei, perweddā, epwarrifnan* и многие другие.

Таким образом, обнаруживается явное противоречие между правилом, которое было выведено, в значительной степени опираясь на системные соотношения,³ и правилом, которое выявлялось из рассмотрения акцентуированных форм. Первое утверждает, что удвоением согласного отмечались

² Единственное место, которое я смог обнаружить у Ван-Вейка, где его позицию можно истолковать тенденцией к расширению его правила, — это [Van Wijk 1958, с. 60].

³ Н. Ван-Вейк, по-видимому, не имел достаточно четкого представления о реконструкции двух акцентных парадигм балтийского глагола, хотя наметки такой реконструкции были получены уже Ф. де Соссюром, но он обратил внимание на тождественное акцентуационное поведение славянского глагола *žiti*; при анализе форм *dat. pl.* он мог опираться на соответствующие формы двух акцентных типов литовского имени. Сравнительно-историческое обоснование его разбиения выглядит как крайне слабое, а теоретическому осмыслению мешает априорная уверенность в первичности "баритонированного" акцентного типа, тем не менее, как будет ясно из дальнейшего, его разбиение оказалось верным (это разбиение уже с новых акцентологических позиций было верифицировано Хр. Стангом и хорошо уложилось в его балто-славянскую акцентологическую реконструкцию [Stang 1957, с. 155-157]). Хр. Станг в анализе прусских *-in-* глаголов опирался на словообразовательные отношения, и его анализ также трудно оспорить.

предшествующие этому удвоению ударные краткие гласные, второе утверждает, что удвоением согласного отмечались краткие безударные гласные, в подавляющем большинстве случаев непосредственно предшествующие ударному слогу. Второе правило поддерживается также тем обстоятельством, что такая же практика обозначения краткостей установилась в литовской орфографии того же времени [Иллич-Свитыч 1963, с. 21]. Это противоречие было разрешено Ф. Кортландтом, который предположил, что в прусском произошло передвижение акцента с краткого слога на следующий за ним слог [Kortlandt 1974].⁴ Закон Кортландта позволяет объединить материалы с непосредственным обозначением ударения в словоформе с материалами, где место ударения опознается по отмеченной предударной краткости, и получить довольно полную реконструкцию прусской акцентной системы, в значительной степени согласующуюся с балтийской и балто-славянской реконструкциями, полученными в результате изучения других балтийских и славянских языков.⁵ По-видимому, законом Кортландта объясняется совпадение в прусском языке краткостных имен мужского рода бывших подвижной и баритонной акцентных парадигм в едином конечноударном типе.⁶

Кроме указанных особенностей графики Enchiridion'a, имеются чисто языковые особенности, позволяющие иногда установить место ударения в прусской словоформе: так как дифтонгизация *ij* и *ī* в прусском происходила в ударном слоге под акутовым ударением, мы можем привлекать при-

⁴ Аналогичное истолкование прусских фактов было предложено мною, независимо от Ф. Кортландта, в 1973 году в лекциях по балтийской акцентологии, читанных мной на Ностратическом семинаре, я однако воздержался от публикации соответствующей работы, так как мне тогда была недоступна работа Ван-Вейка [Van Wijk 1918].

⁵ Характерно однако, что все эти исследования не поколебали уверенности в общем характере правила, которое можно условно назвать правилом Ван-Вейка. Так, в новом издании I прусского катехизиса Б. Стунджа дает реконструкцию текста, которая в акцентологической части, по-видимому, в большой мере основана на этом правиле [Pirmoji prūsų knyga. Vilnius 1995, с. 76-87].

⁶ Предположение о наличии в прусском конечноударного акцентного типа было выдвинуто впервые Ф.Ф. Фортунатовым [Фортунатов 1897, с. 167 и след.], на той же позиции стоял и Н. Ван-Вейк [Van Wijk 1958, с. 74]). Хр. Станг использовал его для поддержки своего положения об индоевропейской древности славянской а.п. *b* [Stang 1957, с. 60-61]). Кроме общей убежденности во вторичном характере и относительно позднем происхождении балто-славянского подвижного акцентного типа, это мнение опиралось на наличие в Enchiridion'e некоторого количества довольно частотных словоформ, над которыми знак \tilde никогда не ставится; так как над конечными краткими слогами какого-либо знака, которому можно было бы приписать акцентный характер тоже никогда не бывает, эти формы были истолкованы как отражающие окситонезу. Отношение этих форм к краткостному окситонированному типу требует дополнительного анализа.

меры с дифтонгическим написанием этих гласных, даже если над ними не поставлен значок $\tilde{}$, т. е. рассматривать формы типа *wijrimans*, *geijwas* как \leq **wīrāmans*, \leq **gīwas*.⁷

Имеются, по-видимому, еще какие-то возможности для изучения прусской акцентовки, так, возможно, не исчерпаны данные, отражающие процессы редукции конца слова; изменение взгляда на акцентную систему прусского языка в результате реконструкции того ее фрагмента, который восстанавливается на основании указанных выше особенностей, может привести к определенным коррективам результатов, полученных в предшествующих исследованиях. Но это, конечно, задача следующего этапа.

В X главе «Die 1. Person Plural auf *-imai* und der Stammesauslaut des Indikativs» своих *Altpreussische Studien* Н. Ван Вейк рассматривает прусские формы 1.pl. *giwammāi*, *giwemmāi* 'leben'; *klantemmai* 'fluchen', *per-klantemmai* 'verraten'; *po-prestemmai* 'fühlen'; *per-weckammāi* 'verachten'; *wertemmai* 'schwören' как *paroxytona*, а формы *turrimai* 'haben, sollen'; *girrimai* 'loben'; *immimai* 'nehmen', *en-immimai-sin* 'annehmen'; *er-sinnimai* 'erkennen', *po-sinnimai* 'bekennen'; *gunnimai* 'treiben' как *proparoxytona*. Это соответствует бытовавшему тогда, да и до сих пор господствующему представлению об орфографическом указании на ударные краткости в прусском. Иначе говоря первую группу словоформ он рассматривает как *giwāmmāi*, *giwēmmāi*; *klantēmmāi*, *per-klantēmmāi*; *po-prestēmmāi*; *per-weckāmmāi*; *wertēmmāi*, а вторую как — *tūrrimai*; *girrimai*; *immimai*, *en-immimai-sin*; *er-sinnimai*, *po-sinnimai*; *gunnimai*. Это дает возможность Ван Вейку сопоставить акцентовку *giwāmmāi*, *giwēmmāi* и под. со слав. *nesēmŭ*, *nesēte*, (русск.) *živŭ*, *-ěš* и под. Ван Вейк, конечно, не мог надежно поставить в соответствие с праславянскими вторую группу словоформ, для этого необходимо было реконструировать акцентные типы презенса славянских тематических глаголов с редуцированными в корне (это было сделано мной лишь в 1972 г. [Дыбо 1972]), но в прусском были формы и с долготным корнем: *pīdimai*, *po-gaunimai*, *kīrdimai*, *po-stānimai*, которые явно соответствовали баритонированному славянским: серб. 1.sg. *stāni* и под. Ван Вейк, отметив эти акцентологические совпадения, не сделал решительных выводов, этому мешала господствующая «парадигма», согласно которой всё, что отличается от древнеиндийского, то вторично; сделал эти выводы уже Хр. Станг (см. Stang 1957: 157).

Сейчас, учитывая закон Кортландта и принимая нормальную орфографию, при которой удвоенные согласные указывают на сокращение гласных в предупредительном положении, мы получаем в прусском у тематических

⁷ Здесь и ниже знак \leq читается: 'равняется или из'.

глаголов две акцентные парадигмы: 1. неподвижная с двумя вариантами и 2. подвижная:

1. неподвижная а.п.

а) Вариант с накоренным ударением.

прусс. *po-stānimai* '[wir] werden' (= *po-stānimai*), inf. *postāt* ~ слав. **stāti*, praes.1.sg. **stānŭ*, 3.sg. **stānetŭ*, а.п. а, ср. русск. *стāну*, *стāнем*; схрв. *stānēm*; словен. *stānem*.

прусс. *po-gaunimai* '[wir] entpfangen' (= *po-gaunimai*) ~ лтш. *gūt* 'fangen, greifen, haschen, erlangen, bekommen'; *apgaūt* (Lems., Salisb., Trik., Wolmarshof.) 'bewältigen', *sagaūt* (N.-Bartau) 'Mit Mühe aufsuchen, finden, bekommen'.

прусс. *etwērpimai* III, 53₂₁, inf. *etwierpt* III, 55₁₁ 'отпускать грехи, прощать' ~ лит. *veřpti* 'прясть', praes.3. *veřpia*.

прусс. *pīdimai* III, 35₁₄, *pidimai* III, 33₁₁ '[wir] bringen' (= **pīdimai*), inf. *pijst* 'tragen' ~ ср. лит. *pūdyti* '(eine schwere Last) schnell tragen'

б) Вариант с передвинутым ударением.

прусс. *immimai* '[wir] nehmen' (= **imīmai*) ~ слав. praes.1.sg. **jŭmŭ*, 3.sg. **jŭmetŭ* (а.п. b, см. Дыбо 2000а: 264).

прусс. *girrimai* '[wir] loben' (= **gīrimai*) ~ лтш. *dziirt* 'rühmen', *dziirtiēs* 'sich brüsten, prahlen'; слав. praes.1. sg. *žbrjŭ*, 3.sg. *žbr(j)etŭ* (а.п. a/b, см. Дыбо 2000а: 263).

прусс. *erfin|nimai* III, 65₁₋₁₉ '[wir] erkennen' (= **erzinīmai*), *Pofinnimai* III, 29, ~ лтш. *pazīt* 'kennen', *zīt* 'kennen, wissen'; гот. *kunþs*, др.-исл. *kunnr*, др.-англ. *kūþ*, др.-в.-нем. *kund* < **kunþaz* < **gñtos*.

прусс. *gunnimai* '[wir führen, treiben]' (= **gūnīmai*) ~ слав. inf. **gŭnāti* ~ sup. **gŭnātŭ*, aor.2-3.sg. **gŭnā*, 1-part.sg.: m. **gŭnālŭ*, f. **gŭnāla*, n. **gŭnālo*, реконструкция и отношение к акцентному типу презенса подробно разобраны в Дыбо 1982: 241-246.

2. подвижная а.п.

прусс. *giwemmāi* '[wir] leben' (= **giwēmāi*) ~ слав. praes.1.sg. **živŭ*, 3.sg. **živetŭ* (а.п. c, см. Дыбо 2000а: 287-288).

прусс. *puietti* (\leq **puiāti*) '(ihr) trinket' [для балтийского акцентного типа ср. слав. praes.1.sg. **pŭjŭ*, 3.sg. **pŭjētŭ* < **pŭjetŭ* (замена **pŭjetŭ?*) а.п. c, см. Дыбо 2000а: 283-284].

прусс. *perweckammāi* '[wir] verachten' [*nī perweckam|mai* III, 29₁₃₋₁₄, *nī|perweckammāi* III, 31₃₋₄ 'nicht verachten'] (= **-wākēmāi*) ~ согд. *prw*"č- 'verleumden'.

прусс. *klantemmai* '[wir] fluchen' (= **klantēmāi*) ~ слав. praes.1.sg. **klŭnŭ*, 3.sg. **klŭnētŭ* (а.п. c, см. Дыбо 2000а: 268); этот глагол встречается в тексте

также в виде *i*-глагола, но данную форму приходится трактовать как тематическую, вероятно, мы имеем контаминацию глаголов разного производства.

-*é*-/*i*-глаголы

praesens

1. неподвижная а.п.

а) Вариант с накоренным ударением.

прусс. *galbimai* '[wir] helfen' (= **gálbimai*) ~ лит. *gėlbėti*.

прусс. *kirdimai* '[wir] hören' (= *kīrdimai*), inf. *kirdīt* (где *ī* < **ē*) ~ лит. *girdėti*, praes.3. *girdi* 'слышать'; др.-лит. praes.3. *ne girdi* DP 202⁴¹, 323¹⁹, 538¹³; part.praet.act. *ne girdj̄s*: (*iis kaip' ne girdis* DP 116²²).

прусс. *mēntimai* III, 29⁴, 'wir lügen', *epmēntimai* III, 33²⁰-35¹, 'belügen' (ср. лат. *mentiōr*, *-ītus sum*, *-īri* 'лгать, измышлять, ложно показывать, клеветать; симулировать').

б) Вариант с передвинутым ударением.

прусс. *turrimai* '[wir] sollen' (= **tūrīmai*) ~ лит. *turėti*, praes.3. *netūri*, др.-лит. praes.3. *ne tūri* DP 87³⁵, 1.pl. *ne tūrime* DP 161³⁰; 3.pl. *ne tūri* DP 98²⁷; ср. также др.-лит. part.praes. act. от этого глагола *tūrj̄s* (DP, большое количество примеров).

2. подвижная а.п.

прусс. *paikemmai* III, 29⁴, '[wir] trügen' (= **paikēmāi*) ~ лит. *paikėti* 'глупеть, дуреть'; *paikti*, *paiksta* 'глупеть, дуреть'; лтш. диал. *paikt*² (так Mūhl.-Endz.) 'sich verwöhnen' (Mažiulis 3: 211);

прусс. *ni wertem|mai* III, 29²⁻³, '[wir nicht] fluchen' (≤ **wertēmāi*, ср. лит. *veřsti* и слав. **цвртѣти*, praes. 1.sg. *цвртj̄o*, 3.sg. *цвртj̄tь*⁸).

Вероятно, эта небольшая группа форм входит в класс *é*-/*i*-глаголов, которые сохранили свое акцентуационное различие в какой-то степени и в современном литовском языке. Используя материалы Н. Даукши удается несколько уточнить распределение акцентных типов в этой глагольной группе, которое, по крайней мере, в части с акутированными корнями показывает балто-славянскую древность. Ниже схематично привожу это распределение (опуская исключительно латышско-славянские соответствия).

⁸ Обычно связывают *wertemmai* с Schweren немецкого текста, т. е. '[wir nicht] schwören', о распределении семем 'fluchen' / 'schwören' см. Mažiulis 1981: 108, iřn. 26. Однако это не препятствует возможности указанного сближения.

Два акцентных типа *é*/*i*-глаголов и *é*/*a*-глаголов.

I. Неподвижный акцентный тип.

Не переносят ударение на отрицание и приставку в формах презенса в текстах Н. Даукши следующие основы:

1. *galėti* 'мочь' (~ part. *gālj̄s*), 2. *gulėti* 'лежать' (~ part. *gūlj̄s*), 3. *turėti* 'иметь' (~ part. *tūrj̄s*), 4. *gailėtis* 'сожалеть' (~ part. *gāilj̄s*), 5. *girdėti* 'слышать' (~ part. *girdj̄s*); *é*/*a*-глаголы: 6. *derėti* 'годиться', 7. *sužadėti* 'помолвить'.

К этому же неподвижному акцентному типу относились глаголы, которые в соответствующих презентных формах не засвидетельствованы или имели акутовый корень поэтому акцентовка их презентных форм не показательна, их первичный акцентный тип устанавливается по акцентовке причастия настоящего времени: 8. *liūd̄j̄s*, акутированные корни: 9. *m̄lj̄s* (лтш. *mīlēt* 'lieben, gern haben'), 10. *nōrj̄s*, 11. *pav̄j̄d̄j̄s* (лтш. Эргеме *viēdēt* 'sehen'; слав. praes. 1.sg. **ц̄л̄д̄j̄o*, 3.sg. **ц̄л̄д̄j̄tь*), 12. *stōvj̄s* (лтш. *stāvēt*, praes.1.sg. *stāvu*, praet.1.sg. *stāvēju* 'stehen'). В текстах Н. Даукши к этому типу относился и глагол 13. *sēdėti*: *sēdj̄s*; но показания лтш. *sēdēt* 'sitzen', praes.1.sg. *sēdu* или *sēžu*, praet.1.sg. *sēdēju*, и слав. **с̄д̄д̄j̄tь*, praes.1.sg. **с̄д̄d̄j̄o*, 3.sg. **с̄д̄д̄j̄tь*, а самое важное показание других литовских источников: см. Kurschat 1868-1874 *sēdj̄s* sub v. *Arrestant*, — заставляет признать эту акцентовку не только не общебалтийской, но и не общелитовской; возможно, на эту основу в диалекте Н. Даукши оказал влияние глагол *stovėti*.

II. Подвижный акцентный тип.

Переносят ударение на отрицание и приставку в формах презенса в текстах Н. Даукши следующие основы: 1. *minėti* 'вспоминать', 2. *regėti* 'видеть' (~ part. *regj̄s*), 3. *tikėti* 'верить' (~ part. *tikj̄s*), 4. *baisėtis* 'ужасаться', 5. *biaurėtis* 'гнушаться'; 6. *bodėtis* 'брезгать', 7. *gardėti* 'становиться вкуснее', 8. *gērėtis* 'любоваться' 9. *lydėti* 'проводить', 10. *lytėti* 'касаться', 11. *žvilgėti* 'kurz hinblicken'; *é*/*a*-глаголы: 12. *kalbėti* 'говорить', 13. *tekėti* 'течь', 14. *viskėti* 'ruszać się'.

К этому же подвижному акцентному типу относились глаголы, которые в соответствующих презентных формах не засвидетельствованы или имели акутовый корень и потеряли приставочное ударение по закону де Соссюра, их первичный акцентный тип устанавливается по акцентовке причастия настоящего времени: 15. *stebj̄s*, 16. *dēvj̄s* (1x; но лтш. *dēvēt* 'nennen, für etwas ausgeben, wofür halten'); акутированные корни: 17. *smirdj̄s* (лтш. *smīdēt*, слав. **см̄рд̄д̄j̄tь*, praes.1.sg. **см̄рд̄d̄j̄o*, 3.sg. **см̄рд̄д̄j̄tь*), 18. *tingj̄s* (слав. **т̄ж̄ж̄tь*, praes. 1.sg. **т̄ж̄ж̄j̄o*, 3.sg. **т̄ж̄ж̄j̄tь*, по-видимому, лишь в текстах Ю. Крижанича), 19. *veizd̄j̄s*, 20. *mok̄j̄s*.

Participia praesentis activi

I. Immobile

1. *Sidans*⁹ nom.sg.m. III, 127¹³ 'sitzend' (≤ **sīdans*); ср. лит. *sėdąs*.
2. *dilants* nom.sg.m. III, 87¹⁸, 89³ 'Arbeiter', 'работник' (≤ **dīlants*).
3. *stānintei* III, 79⁷, *stāninti* III, 81⁷ 'stehend', dat. в качестве gerundium.
4. *ripintin* acc. III, 85¹¹ 'folgende' ['folgendes (Gebet)'], *ripintinton*¹⁰ III, 83¹³.

II. Mobile

1. *giwāntei* III, 97¹⁴ 'lebendig', 'gyvenančiai', dat. в качестве gerundium 'lebendig'; ср. формы презенса, лтш. *dzīt* и слав. акцентные парадигмы.
2. *schkel|lānts* nom.sg.m. III, 41¹⁶⁻¹⁷ 'schuldig'; *skellants* nom.sg.m. III, 67¹⁹ 'schuldig'; *skellāntei* nom.pl.m. III, 37⁷ 'schuldig'; *skellāntai* nom.pl.m. III, 87¹⁶ 'schuldig'; ср. part.praes.act. *skelās* у Н. Даушки: *skelās* nom.sg.m. DP 359³⁹, *skelās* nom.sg.m. DP 481³⁴.

Это состояние акцентной кривой подвижной акцентной парадигмы прусских действительных причастий настоящего времени свидетельствует о далеко зашедшем процессе выравнивания. В литовском языке XVI в. акцентная кривая презентных причастий сохранялась значительно лучше.

Participia perfecti activi

I. Immobile

1. *lifuns* III, 127¹² '[nieder]gefahren'; *Semmailifons* III, 43² 'niedergefahren' (≤ **līzuns*) (для балтийского акцентного типа ср. слав. praes.1.sg. **lězŕ*, 3.sg. **lězetŕ*).
2. *īduns* III, 105⁸ 'gegessen' (≤ **īduns*); но ср. part.praes.act. *ēdās* у Н. Даушки: *edās* nom.sg.m. DP 196⁵ (inf. *ēsti* 'есть, жрать', praes. 3. sg. *ēda*; лтш. *ēst* 'essen, fressen').
3. *vnfei gūbans* III, 127¹³ 'Auffgefahren', *pergū|bans* nom.sg.m. III, 113⁶⁻⁷ 'kommen', *pergūbons* nom.sg.m. III, 43⁶ 'kommen', *pergūbons* nom.sg.m. III, 127¹⁵ 'gekommen' (≤ **gūbuns*) ~ лит. *gaūpti* 'закутывать, накрывать', praes.3. *gaūpia*; ср. слав. **hybāti*, praes. 1.sg. *hybjŕ*, 3.sg. *hybjetŕ* (ср. чеш. *hýbati*, praes.1.sg. *hýbu* 'двигать').
4. *etwiēr|pons* nom.sg.m. III, 129¹⁸⁻¹⁹ 'verlassen' (≤ **wērpuns*).
5. *pokūntuns* III, 79¹⁴, *pokūn|tons* III, 81¹³⁻¹⁴ inf. *pokūnft* III, 79¹⁵ 'behüten', *pakūnft* III, 133⁴ 'bewaren', praes.3.sg. *kūnti* 'охранять, сберечь, давать

⁹ К этой форме В. Мажюлис дает сноску: "Partic. praes. act. (t. y. turbūt ne partic. praes. act.)", см. Mažiulis 1981, с. 235, прим. 792.

¹⁰ См. примечание В. Мажюлиса к этой форме: "Taisytiną galbūt į ripintinion (partic. praes., acc. sg., pronominal. forma)", см. Mažiulis 1981, с. 170, прим. 384.

покров', ср. слав. **kŕtati*, по-видимому, первичн. praes.1.sg. **kŕtjŕ*, 3. sg. **kŕtjetŕ*.

б) Вариант с передвинутым ударением.

1. *immusis* III, 73¹⁹ (≤ **īmūs-is*, ср. форму презенса выше).
2. *enmigguns* nom. sg. m. III, 81²² 'geschlafen' (≤ **enmīgūns*), ср. part.praes.act. *mīēgqs* у Н. Даушки: *mīēgqs* nom.sg.m. DP 79²⁹, *mīēgancziŕ* gen.pl.m. DP 545³³, *be mīēgancziŕ* gen.pl.m. DP 567³², что заставляет относить прусскую лексему к неподвижному типу.

II. Mobile

1. *prawedduns* nom.sg.m. III, 119⁸ 'durchgeführt' (≤ **-wēdūns*), inf. *west*.
 2. *?embaddufifi* nom.pl.m. III, 113¹⁵ 'stecken', *embaddufifi* nom.pl.m. III, 115²² 'stecket' (= **en-bad-ūsīs* + **-sī*).
 3. *Gemmons* nom.sg.m. III, 41²³ 'geboren', *gem|mons* III, 43¹¹⁻¹² 'geboren', *gemmons* III, 113²⁰, 127⁹ 'geboren', *gemmans* III, 129¹⁶ 'geboren' (ср. *pērgimmans* acc.pl. III, 41³ 'Creaturen') (≤ **gēmūns*); *engemmons* III, 121⁴ 'angeboren' (≤ **engēmūns*); ср. также *ainangimmufin* III, 113²⁴ 'den Eingebornen'.
- В данной категории, по-видимому, все краткосложные формы переведены в конечноударный тип.

Москва

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Nominal prosodic paradigms and their synchronic reflexes in West Slavic

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I. Introduction

In speaking of the evolution of the Common Slavic accentual system in West Slavic, it has often been stated, by Jakobson and others, that there has been a recoding of the older pitch accents into quantitative oppositions. Jakobson (1971: 692) wrote that Czech shortened "low-pitched length" (i.e. paradigm C), while the "old high pitch," pretonic, and neo-acute lengths (AP A and B) were maintained as long. In contrast, Polish and Lekhitic are said to have maintained length only in the pretonic/neo-acute paradigm B, with shortening in both old acute and recessive forms. One may argue about whether or not this depiction by Jakobson and others is true, as seen in recent articles by both Kortlandt and Kapović, but that is not the focus of my paper for today. I will start by accepting the traditional argument about the Czech retention of length in paradigm A, and its shortening in Slovak and Lekhitic. My comments will focus primarily on non-derived nouns of West Slavic. I will recall that in a 1975 paper, I suggested that the differential development of Czech vs. Slovak/Lekhitic might be explained by the progress of tonal loss, since the common denominator for the root vowels of Czech long A and B paradigms is rising pitch (whether under ictus or pretonic), as contrasted to the recessively stressed forms of paradigm C (see table 1 and Appendix).

Table 1. Presumed Phonological Reflexes of Common Slavic Pitch Accents

A. Czech: Phonemic pitch still exists at the time of the change and is the basis for retention of length on rising syllables.

AP A (cf. Czech <i>kráva</i>) Long stressed rising stays long. Gpl may have been stressed falling (<i>kráv</i>). Forms with two-syllable	AP B (cf. Czech <i>brázda</i>) Long pretonic rising stays long. Until final stress retraction in * <i>brazdǫ</i> , the root	AP C (cf. Czech <i>strana~stranu</i>) Long stressed falling (recessive) shortens, but this is only one subset of AP C.
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desinences (<i>kravou</i> , <i>kravách</i> , <i>kravách</i> , <i>kravami</i>) may have shortened in Common Slavic. Only the Gpl short remains as obligatory for most nouns of this type.	vowel was also a long pretonic.	Long pretonic rising subset (<i>strana</i>) phonetically retained length, later shortened non-phonetically.
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B. Slovak and Polish: Phonemic pitch has been lost and converted to stress at the time of the change. Non-tonal stress accent is the basis for retention of length on pretonic syllables.

AP A (cf. Slovak <i>krava</i> , Polish <i>krowa</i>) Stressed long shortens.	AP B (cf. Slovak <i>brázda</i> , Polish <i>bruzda</i>) Long pretonic rising stays long. Until final stress retraction in * <i>brazdǫ</i> , the root vowel was also a long pretonic.	AP C (cf. Slovak <i>strana</i> ~ <i>stranu</i> , Polish <i>strona</i> ~ <i>stronę</i>) Long initial-stressed syllables (recessive) shorten, but this is only one subset of AP C. Long pretonic rising subset (<i>strana</i>) must have first retained length phonetically, later shortened non-phonetically.
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Of course, the continuing presence of phonemic pitch is necessary for the assumption of this common property of Czech paradigms A and B. In the case of Slovak and Polish, the common property should be considered not as rising pitch, but as stress placement, which must have replaced pitch accent after the loss of tone; stem-stress would have occurred in paradigm A and the recessively stressed forms of paradigm C, in contrast to the end-stress of paradigm B. This would imply that the changes of Slovak and Polish occurred before the completion of the retraction of stress from final jers, since the position counted as one of end-stress.

However, Jakobson's treatment of the situation has one very important omission. He speaks of individual members of paradigms A, B, and C, even when there are important differences between the assumed prosodic evolutions of different members of a single accentual paradigm. This is most obvious in the case of paradigm C, in which the Modern Russian accentual alternations *golová/gólovu/golón* indicate that there was an alternation between recessive stress and end-stress. Yet, Jakobson's famous 1963 paper only refers to the **recessively** stressed members of paradigm C, **not the end-stressed type**. In fact, the end-stressed forms of paradigm C, with the exception of the genitive plural

in Slovak and Polish, are generally reflected not as are the phonetically identical end-stressed forms of paradigm B but, rather, just like the recessive forms. In other words, in Czech, Slovak, and Polish, we get a short root reflex not only in the accusative case of the word for 'side' (Czech/Slovak *stranu*/Polish *stronę*); remarkably, the pretonic nominative is also uniformly short *strana/strona* in West Slavic. This does not appear to fit in with Jakobson's strong comments about the role of pretonic stress in the evolution of West Slavic quantity. (Anecdotally, I might recall that after presenting a paper on this subject, at a 1973 conference in Chicago, the well-known scholar of Slovak, Elisabeth Nonnenmacher-Pribič, immediately approached me and asked me a single question about how I explained the short quantity of all the paradigm C forms (like *strana*), which were originally pretonic. I told her that I could only think of analogy to the recessive forms as the explanation, and she said that she agreed with this.)

In his 2001 paper on West Slavic prosodic features, Morris Halle attempted to explain the shortening of paradigm C pretonics by considering that these pretonics have a different underlying prosodic marking on their root morphemes than do the pretonics of paradigm B. The paradigm B pretonics (e.g. *brázda*) are said to have root morphemes that are "post-stressing," while the paradigm C pretonics (e.g. *strana*) are said to have prosodically "unaccented" root morphemes. However, if they were phonetically identical at the time of the quantity changes in West Slavic, I would argue that it is totally irrelevant that *brázda* was post-stressing and *strana* was unaccented. These are morphophonemic categories that do not determine regular sound-changes. One may use these concepts in a synchronic theory, but they should not be used as historical explanations. Halle (2001: 16) states, "Slovak shortening treats accented (class A) and unaccented (class C) stems alike," and the implication is that the rule is phonetic. Thus, although Jakobson just omitted mentioning the pretonic forms of paradigm C, which do not preserve length, I would surmise that he could never attribute such a development to a regular phonological change and he probably omitted this subject since he had nothing better to offer than the vague notion of analogy. Halle seeks to explain this as if it were a regular historical change, and I would argue that it is not.

II. The meaning of AP C pretonics and related phenomena.

I would like to look at this issue in a different way. We can safely assume that the pretonic forms of paradigm C did indeed follow the accepted notions of regular phonological change. Trávníček's historical grammar of Czech and Slovak, in fact, gives many Old Czech and dialect examples in which the pretonic root vowels of paradigm C are indeed represented with long vowels, e.g. (1935:262), *dúha*, *dúše*, *páta*, *řása*, *stiena*, *strána*, *strieda*, *úzda*, *zíma*. Of

course, these forms alternated with shorts in the Asg (e.g. *stranu*), much as Russian has the stress alternation *storoná/stóronu*. If we look at the prosodic reflexes of nominal paradigms in Czech, Slovak, and Polish, we find that quantitative alternation is represented, but only with some very significant restrictions: the most important tendency is to have a paradigm in which the zero-form differs in quantity from all others. Czech has another minor type, where in addition to the zero-form, the most peripheral cases (Isg and DLIpl) also can alternate, but in today's language this pattern tends to be just a free variant of the type where only the zero-form stands out from all the others (see Townsend 1990: 55); also, when the alternating pattern spreads to a new class of words, it is the more productive pattern of the zero-form quantity vs. all of the others in the paradigm. Why would West Slavic have rejected the ancient paradigm C prosodic alternation of various cases, such as the accusative *stranu*, in favor of a pattern which restricts prosodic morphophonemic opposition to the zero-forms? I will suggest two possible reasons and then survey the structures that are found in the major West Slavic languages.

1. The first reason I would suggest is based on the difference between stress as a culminative feature, which is limited to one unit per word, as opposed to quantity, which is not so limited. A stressed two-syllable word can have only two different places of stress; i.e. a binary opposition. A stressed monosyllable has a single accentual possibility. Yet, each vowel may have two quantitative representations. Therefore, by limiting the opposed paradigmatic form to the zero-form, the language insures that this key form will have only two possible representations, rather than four, which would obtain if it had two syllables, a root plus a vowel ending. Therefore, in a sense, a monosyllabic quantitative alternation equals a disyllabic alternation of ictus. It should also be noted that quantity eventually did acquire a type of culminative property in Slovak, due to the Rhythmic Law, at least in two-syllable sequences, which limits the number of long syllables to one (cf. Feldstein 1990).

2. Secondly, jer-fall and the morphophonemic development of vowel~zero alternations served as a model for the morphophonemic quantitative alternations of West Slavic, which turned out to be structurally very similar to vowel~zero alternations. Since jer-fall and its morphophonemic readjustments were occurring just about at the same time as the readjustments of quantity alternations, it is easy to see how the zero vs. non-zero positions came to play a leading role in both jer and quantitative alternations. One could explore to what extent they eventually overlapped in all the West Slavic languages.

In fact, the loss of jers and prosodic changes were intimately linked in many ways, not just the similarity of their morphophonemic pattern. One of the major historical reasons for the West Slavic changeover from a pitch system to a strictly quantitative system was the development of jer-weakening and then jer-

fall, which eventually led to the loss of phonemic pitch (due to the avoidance of phonological overload, which would have ensued if phonemic vowel tonality had been allowed to accompany the new potential tonality oppositions of hard vs. soft consonants, which became phonemic as a result of the loss of front and back jers; see Jakobson's "Remarques sur l'évolution phonologique du russe comparée à celle des autres langues slaves," 1971).

Thus, the new vowel~zero opposition, caused by fallen jers (e.g. *sɔnɔ/sɔnu* > *sen/snu*) became the most dynamic new morphophonemic pattern in the language and the use of zero~non-zero forms spread to the prosodic system.

Therefore, it can be said that paradigm C took on short quantity and abandoned its old mobility in conformity with a new structural principle of quantity alternation, which now required the participation of zero-forms. The recessive forms represented the only truly distinctive feature of this paradigm, in opposition to the others, and it was their short reflex that was generalized for the paradigm as a whole. Thus, the oppositional factor led to the generalization of short quantity in paradigm C, but the loss of the old mobility and the failure to simply recode the old mobility into quantity can be attributed to the new morphophonemic productivity of newly closed syllable zero-forms, which had just entered the language with the fall of the jers. Insofar as quantitative alternation exists in paradigm C, as in modern Slovak, it is based on a long vowel in the feminine/neuter zero-form as opposed to all other forms.

III. Czech modern QP's and their oppositions.

I have attempted to depict the modern Czech quantitative alternations in terms of the evolution of entire paradigms, rather than individual word-forms. See tables 2, 3, and 4.

Table 2. Czech Quantity Paradigms:

Alternating QP	Constant QP
Short in Zero-form <i>kráva</i> (<AP A with zero Gpl)	All long <i>brázda, soud</i> (<AP B-long)
Long in Zero-form <i>mráz</i> (<AP A with zero Nsg) <i>nůž, bůh, sůl</i> (AP <B/C short with certain stem-final cons.)	All short <i>hlava, prach</i> (<AP C) <i>bob/roh</i> (<AP B/C short with certain stem-final cons.)

Note: *kráva* and some other nouns of this type can have variant shorts in Isg and DLIpl, but when this spreads to AP B nouns (e.g. *trouba, chvála*), the only alternating form is the zero Gpl.

Table 3. Czech Quantitative Paradigm reflex system

<p>A Nsg zero: <i>mráz</i> zero=long non-zero=short</p> <p>Gpl zero: <i>krav</i> zero=short non-zero=long</p>	<p>B Nsg zero: <i>býk</i> zero=long non-zero=long</p> <p>Gpl zero: <i>brázd</i> zero=long non-zero=long</p>	<p>C Nsg zero: <i>prach</i> M: zero=short non-zero=short</p> <p>Gpl zero: <i>stran</i> zero=short non-zero=short</p>
<p>AP B/C Shorts Nsg zero: <i>nůž; bůh</i> zero=long non-zero=short</p> <p>-----</p> <p><i>bob, vosa, žena; rok, hora, voda</i> zero=short non-zero=short</p>		

Table 4. Czech zero/non-zero oppositions. (Plus refers to long root and minus to short root. A, B, and C refer to the Common Slavic original paradigms.)

	Paradigm					
	A: Nsg zero	A: Gpl zero	B: Nsg/Gpl zero	B/C: Nsg zero short	B/C: Gpl zero short	C: Nsg/Gpl zero short
zero	+	-	+	±	-	-
non-zero	-	+	+	-	-	-
	<i>mráz</i>	<i>kráva</i>	<i>býk/brázda</i>	<i>nůž/bůh</i> <i>bob/rok</i>	<i>žena/ voda</i>	<i>prach/ strana</i>

The modern distinctive paradigmatic reflexes of accentual paradigms are quantity alternations for original acute AP A, and constant length or shortness for paradigms B and C, respectively. Of course, there have been many changes of paradigm which apply to individual words, but table 2 represents the continuation of the A/B/C opposition, insofar as it survives in such examples as AP A *mráz/kráva*, AP B *soud/brázda*, AP C *prach/hlava*. Many other paradigm A words have merged with either paradigm B or C (e.g. *sláva/břítza/dým/sýr* merge with the AP B reflexes, while *ryba/cesta/děd/kraj* merge with paradigm

C). On the other hand, certain AP B *a*-stems have joined the paradigm A type, with an alternation to short in the zero-form Gpl (e.g. *trouba/chvála*).

In spite of the fact that the alternating quantity paradigm may be in decline, it represents a system in which zero and non-zero form quantity are clearly opposed.

IV. Slovak quantitative paradigms.

If we examine Slovak quantity paradigms, in contrast to Czech, we see that they have the same basic three-part structure of:

1. A quantity alternation, with the zero-form quantity opposed to that of the other paradigmatic forms.
2. Two constant quantitative paradigms, one long and one short.

There are two major differences that can be pointed out:

1. In Slovak paradigms with a quantitative alternation, the zero form is predictably long, whether it represents the Nsg (e.g. *kôň*) or Gpl (e.g. *kráv*). In Czech, the zero-form in a paradigm with quantity alternation has a redundant signal about whether the zero-form is Nsg (long, e.g. *mráz*) or Gpl (short, e.g. *krav*).
2. Czech nouns of different gender types (masc. with zero Nsg and fem./neuter with zero Gpl) can remain together in their paradigmatic evolution to the alternating type (both *mráz* and *kráva*) or the constant short type (*prach* and *strana*). In Slovak (table 5), the gender types prefer to group together, due to the separate paradigmatic status of the morphologized length of the zero Gpl: the alternating paradigm shows the merger of feminine AP A and C *krava/strana*, while the constant short type has the merger of masculine AP A and C *hrach/prach*.

Table 5. Slovak Quantity Paradigms:

Alternating QP	Constant QP
<p>Long in Zero-form</p> <p><i>krava, strana</i> (<AP A/C-long with zero Gpl)</p> <p><i>osa, voda</i> (<B-short/C-short with zero Gpl)</p> <p><i>kôň</i> (<B-short with zero Nsg)</p>	<p>All long</p> <p><i>brázda, súd</i> (<AP B-long) (implies long > short in long endings by Rhythmic Law)</p>
	<p>All short</p> <p><i>hrach, prach, roh</i> (<AP A/C with zero Nsg)</p>

Slovak reflexes of paradigms A/C	Slovak reflexes of paradigm B
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Merged A/C paradigms with zero genitive plural: Alternation = long Gpl vs. other	AP B long subtype: constant long.
Merged A/C paradigms with zero nominative singular: all short with no quantitative alternation.	Short subtype: long zero-form vs. other.

Note that long roots of paradigm B were immune from quantitative alternation, since they remained long, although Slovak does have an alternation of desinential quantity in the LDpl of paradigm B, due to the Rhythmic Law. Paradigm A developed a quantitative alternation in both Czech and Slovak, especially important in the zero Gpl form of the feminine/neuter type paradigm. When the non-zero forms retained length (as in Czech), the zero Gpl took on the opposite value of shortness (often attributed to the reflex of a neo-circumflex). When paradigm A shortened its root vowels and merged with paradigm C, as in Slovak, its non-zero forms stayed short, but the opposite quantitative value of length was generalized to the zero Gpl of the merged A/C paradigm. The Polish evolution recalls that of Slovak in its merger of paradigms A and C, but there are only sporadic reflexes of length in zero Gpl forms, either reflecting later change or meaning that Polish never generalized length in the zero Gpl to the extent seen in Slovak. For example, if we take the paradigm A cognates of Russian *soróka*, we see Slovak *straka* and long Gpl *strák*. However, Polish has short reflexes in the whole paradigm, *sroka/srok*. An analogous paradigm A noun with a voiced stem-final consonant, such as Polish *krowa*, does have the length reflex in the Gpl, which indicates that the Polish system has been reconstituted with the stem-final consonant as the main determinant of the length reflex in all zero forms, both Nsg and Gpl, in contrast to Slovak, which has the zero-form itself as the conditioning factor. This was clearly stated by Dunaj (1966: 80): "Analiza materialu...wykazała, że zanik wygłosowych jerów spowodował wydłużenie poprzedzającej samogłoski tylko w położeniu przed spółgłoskami dźwięcznymi." [The analysis of the data...demonstrated that that the loss of final jers caused the lengthening of the preceding vowel only in the environment before voiced consonants.--RF]

The Polish situation has been depicted in Table 6.

Table 6. Traces of Polish Reflexes of Quantity Paradigm

Reflexes of Alternating QP	Reflexes of Constant QP
Long reflex only in Zero-form	All long <i>bruzda, sąd</i> (< AP B-long)

A. < Long AP A/C with certain stem-final consonants: Zero Gpl: <i>krowa~krów, głowa~głów</i> <i>księga~ksiąg, ręka~rąk</i> Zero Nsg: <i>mród~mrozu, wróg~wroga</i>	All short A. < Long AP A/C with certain stem-final consonants: Zero Gpl: <i>sroka, strona</i> Zero Nsg: <i>groch, młot</i>
B. < Short AP B/C with certain stem-final consonants: Zero Gpl <i>siostra~sióstr, woda~wód</i> Zero Nsg: <i>nóż, bóg, sól</i>	B. < Short AP B/C with certain stem-final consonants: Zero Gpl <i>osa, kosa</i> Zero Nsg: <i>kot; rok, kość</i>

Since quantity itself is lost in Polish, we are dealing with a small number of unproductive and sporadic vowel alternations, which do not approach the productivity of such alternations as Slovak length in the zero genitive plural. Yet, a typical West Slavic structure can still be discerned, with the remnants of a single alternating quantitative paradigm, alongside both long and short constant quantitative types.

V. Conclusion

Thus, the clear direction of evolution was in the direction of a single basic alternating type, opposing one quantity in the zero-form to another in the non-zero forms, alongside a constantly long paradigm and a constantly short one. The major split between Czech and Slovak concerns whether paradigms A and C can remain opposed as integral wholes, or whether they split along the lines of A/C nouns with zero Nsg vs. zero Gpl, as seen in Slovak. In Russian, the zero form, especially of the Gpl, plays a major role in reforming the accentual characteristics of paradigm B, particularly its change from plural end-stress to plural stem-final (e.g. *kolbásy/kolbás*, etc.). However, it would seem that the role of the zero forms in quantitative alternations came to play an even more prominent role in the various West Slavic languages.

Bloomington, Indiana

Appendix

Modern Czech quantity reflexes are listed horizontally, across the top. The left vertical column refers to the presumed Common Slavic origin.

	Constant long:	Short~Nsg long:	Constant short:	Long~Gpl short:
AP A > M:	sýr, dým, mák, raj, šťír, jíl, klín	mráz, hrách chléb, vítr, práh (mák-Trávníček)	čas, bratr, děd, had hněv, jih, kraj, pluh, rak, rys	-----
F/N:	bouře, bříza, sláva, mříže bláto, místo, máslo, sádlo, stádo, rádlo, síto, mýdlo, jídlo, dílo, vřídlo, místo, síto, mýdlo, lýko, pouto, roucho	-----	pěna, ryba, muka, huba, cesta, něha, pěna, řepa, saze, kaše, hnida, straka bidlo, jitro, dělo, město, žito, nadra	kráva, lípa, míra, hrouda, houba, jáma, víra, vrána, žaba, žíla dílo, místo
(AP A- short >) F:	nůše, vůle, kůže, vůňe			
AP B- long > M:	štít, býk, klíč, troud, kout, šíp smích, hřích, kříž, háj, kloub, soud, král, plášt', louh, sloup		um	
F/N:	brázda, jízda, krása, svíce, třída, díra křídlo, dláto, víno, mléko, rouno	-----	vina, hvězda, duha sukno	trouba, tráva, chvála, bída, blána, bouda, brána, kroupa, chvíle jádro, (vrata-pl.)
AP B- short > M:	půst	kůň, nůž, déšť, kúl, vůl, stúl, (půst-variant), dvůr	bob, koš	
F/N:	péro		vosa, sestra, žena slovo, okno	

AP C- long > M:	řád, žár, žír	sníh	prach, břeh, hrad zvěř, řad, běh, běs, blud(~bloud), dar, dluh, dub, duch, druh, hlas, chlad, chlap, jez, kruh, kvas, květ, muž, sad, strach, sud, trup, vlas, vrah, (ha)vrán, znak, zub, klas, mlat, plaz	
F/N:			ruka, strana, brada, cena, duha, duše, hlava, hřada, pata, řasa, hvězda, řeka, snaha, stěna, střela, zima, řada maso, seno, těsto	jméno
AP C- short > M:		bůh, vůz důl, dům, hnůj, hůl, lůj	boj, bok, brod, krov, led, lev, lov, most, nos, pes, plot, rod, rok, vosk moc, noc, pec, kmet, bor, lom	
F/N:		súl	kost voda moře, pole	

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The accentuation of *i*-verbs in Croatian dialects

MATE KAPOVIĆ

1. Introduction¹

The aim of this article is to provide full (or more or less full) lists of *i*-verbs for various Croatian dialects. The existence of full lists of examples from various language systems is crucial in the reconstruction of the Proto-Slavic accentual paradigms. In order for some dialectal data to be really useful in reconstructing the Proto-Slavic system, there has to be a sufficient number of examples. For instance, if one has to operate with ten or so examples in various systems, it is of course impossible to reconstruct a proto-system in which one is able to prosodically classify all (or almost all) examples. If one cannot convincingly reconstruct the Proto-Slavic system, then reconstructions of a deeper level, Balto-Slavic and Indo-European, are even more difficult. Thus, it is absolutely necessary to have as much dialectal data as possible in order to make our reconstructions more precise. Unfortunately, the list gathering methodology is not very popular in Croatian dialectology. Usually only a couple of examples for each accentual paradigm are given, the rest being dismissed with *etc.* Because of this, it is practically impossible to find more than a few full lists of *i*-verbs for Croatian dialects (and for other verbs, nouns etc. as well). Even in big dialectal dictionaries or descriptions some examples tend to be missing. Such lists are usually not available even for those most archaic dialects which would really contribute to the reconstruction of the Proto-Slavic system (like some Posavina dialects, some Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects). With this article I have tried to remedy that and have collected more or less full lists of *i*-verbs for 24 Croatian dialects:

1. Štuparje – Kajkavian (*zagorsko-međimurski* dialect)
2. Zabok – Kajkavian (*zagorsko-međimurski* dialect)
3. Konjščina – Kajkavian (*zagorsko-međimurski* dialect)

¹ I would like to thank Kristina Marenčić who read the text carefully and especially to Sergei L. Nikolaev who readily discussed many issues concerning *i*-verbs with me and helped me in many ways during my research. However, I must note that all the views expressed and possible mistakes made in this article are my own.

4. Drinje – kajkavized Čakavian (*donjosutlanski* dialect)
5. Mahično – kajkavized Čakavian-Kajkavian (*prigorski* dialect)
6. Nova Drenčina – Neo-Štokavian (*istočnohercegovački* dialect)
7. Čačinci – Neo-Štokavian (*istočnohercegovački* dialect)
8. Siče – Old Štokavian (*posavski* dialect)
9. Magić Mala – Old Štokavian (*posavski* dialect)
10. Orubica – Old Štokavian (*posavski* dialect)
11. Velika Kopanica – Old Štokavian (*posavski* dialect)
12. Matulji – Čakavian (*sjevernočakavski* dialect)
13. Sunger/Mrkopalj – štokavized Čakavian/Štokavian (*srednjočakavski/zapadni ikavski* dialect)
14. Filipjakov – štokavized Čakavian (*južnočakavski* dialect)
15. Tisno – štokavized Čakavian (*južnočakavski* dialect)
16. Sinj/Brnaze – Neo-Štokavian (*zapadni ikavski* dialect)
17. Stobreč – Neo-Štokavian (*zapadni ikavski* dialect)
18. Prapatnice – Neo-Štokavian (*zapadni ikavski* dialect)
19. Klobuk – Neo-Štokavian (*zapadni ikavski* dialect)
20. Opuzen – Neo-Štokavian (*zapadni ikavski* dialect)
21. Pučišća – Čakavian (*južnočakavski* dialect)
22. Pitve – Čakavian (*južnočakavski* dialect)
23. Smokvica – štokavized Čakavian (*južnočakavski* dialect)
24. Trpanj – štokavized Čakavian (*južnočakavski* dialect)

In addition to these dialects, for which more or less full lists are available, I have also added rather scarce data from a couple of other Old Štokavian Slavonian (*posavski* and *podravski*) dialects which are meant to serve as basic information on what can be expected to be found in these dialects. These additional dialects are: Batina, Šljivoševci, Sikerevci, Davor and Slavonski Kobaš. From these dialects, the most important for the reconstruction of Proto-Slavic are the Kajkavian dialects and the Posavina dialects of Siče and Magić Mala. They have more or less preserved the old accentual paradigm *c* in verbs like **sušiti*, **xolditi* where most other Croatian dialects have innovated. However, all these dialects are important as models that show us in what direction the accentual development of *i*-verbs might have gone. The aim of this article is of course not only to provide data for the reconstruction of Proto-Slavic but also to try to show how Proto-Slavic accentual paradigms were reflected in different Croatian dialects. However, since the list of the dialects is mostly completely random (i.e. I tried to get as much material from as many dialects as I could), one should not

think of this article as the last word on *i*-verbs in Croatian dialects². This article should rather serve as an introduction to the problem of the *i*-verb accentuation in Croatian dialects³. I will try to publish more data on *i*-verbs in separate publications in future. The article is structured in the following way: first, the lists of *i*-verbs in separate dialects are given (together with an introductory description of prosody and phonology for every dialect) and then we look at how Croatian data corresponds to Proto-Slavic reconstructed forms and discuss some inner-Croatian problems concerning *i*-verbs. I have to note that the aim of this article is not to reconstruct Proto-Slavic accentual system of *i*-verbs. The aim of this article, besides providing the previously unknown dialectal material, is to determine the basic rules on how the Proto-Slavic system developed to various Croatian dialectal systems (e.g. what happened to the Proto-Slavic paradigms, how they were reflected, what the innovations that have occurred are and how to explain them etc.). The actual reconstruction of the full Proto-

² One should also bear in mind that even the best informants (and linguists!) sometimes make mistakes when asked how they say/pronounce something. Sometimes they mispronounce the word by accident, sometimes they claim that they have a word in the dialect even if they really do not (and vice versa), sometimes individuals have their own idiosyncrasies and idiolects, sometimes they do not mention (or do not know) other variants which are in use as well etc.

³ There is one more thing that must be mentioned. It is quite clear that getting the data for 24 dialects by normal fieldwork would require a lot more time and big financial expenses. This is why only Posavian data (except for the majority of the Orubica data), i.e. the data for Siče, Magić Mala, Velika Kopanica and additional lists, was gathered during a regular field expedition in Slavonia from middle-aged and older dialectal speakers (the data was collected in the 2006 and 2007 expeditions – the participants of the expedition were, besides the author of this article, Sergei L. Nikolaev, Marfa N. Tolstoj, Martina Perać and, in 2007, Vladimir A. Dybo). For practical purposes, all other data was collected in Zagreb from younger dialectal speakers (in their twenties). The exception is in the case of Prapatnice, where the informant was middle-aged. In the case of Pučišća and Drinje, I obtained the data interviewing native speakers that are professional linguists and in the case of Filipjakov I got the data from a native speaker and a professional linguist via e-mail. The reason I could obtain the data from younger speakers is the fact that in Croatia, fortunately, there are still a lot of fully dialectally competent young speakers. I have made special care to select only those speakers that were completely fluent in their dialect. The upsides and downsides of working with younger speakers are obvious. The upside is that one can find a lot of them outside of their place of origin and thus save time and money while getting the dialectal data, that they know how to discriminate the dialect from the standard better than older speakers and that there is much less code-switching, that they are familiar with grammatical terms and that one can ask them questions like – how do you make an imperative form from this verb? etc. The downside is that in most cases younger speakers will be less archaic than older speakers. How much younger people may differ from older depends, of course, from case to case but in general the differences are usually not great. In our case, the difference could perhaps be in a couple of verbs. Of course, it is always possible to check the data with older speakers if necessary. The system provided by younger speakers is in any case a good start for later inquiries.

Slavic system of *i*-verbs is beyond the scope of this work since it would, of course, have to include the addition of the vast material from other Slavic languages.

2. Slavic *i*-verbs

In the "classic" approach to the reconstruction of Proto-Slavic accentuation, the *i*-verbs belong to three accentual paradigms:

A.p. a	*prāviti - *prāvišb; *gotòviti - *gotòvišb
A.p. b	*vozíti - *vòzišb; *ljubíti - *ljūbišb
A.p. c	*lovíti - *lovīšb; *gubíti - *gubīšb

However, there were some problems with this reconstruction concerning the affiliation of certain verbs to accentual paradigms. For instance, in some Štokavian dialects we find the verbs *sěliš*, *trúbiš* (A.p. C) which correlate with the words *sělo*, *trúba* (A.p. B) – a clear violation of the rules of Slavic word derivation accentuation. Cases like these occur in many Slavic dialects – verbs that are expected to belong to A.p. b through regular rules of derivational accentuation in fact belong to A.p. c in some dialects (and to A.p. b in others). Because of this curious phenomenon, post-1988 Moscow Accentological School operates with A.p. b₁ and A.p. b₂ in *i*-verbs (cf. Дыбо, Замятина & Николаев 1990: 112-121). The verbs that belong to A.p. b₁ are those like *nòsišb or *vòzišb (mostly iteratives) which belong to A.p. B in all Slavic languages/dialects, while the verbs that belong to A.p. b₂ belong to A.p. B in some Slavic languages/dialects and to A.p. C in other. These are the verbs like *lòžišb/ložišb or *sělišb/selišb (mostly causatives and denominatives). The Russian scholars explain A.p. b₁ and A.p. b₂ by assuming different prosodic properties of the suffix *-i-* (i.e. two different suffixes, one dominant and one recessive) which then caused different progressive shifts and/or retractions in various Slavic dialects. The outcomes also depended on the length of the root and thus there are four different dialectal groups concerning the reflexes of A.p. b₂ verbs: *lòžišb/xvālišb, *lòžīšb/xvālišb, *lòžīšb/xvālišb and *lòžīšb/xvālišb (Дыбо, Замятина & Николаев 1990: 112). One has to note that the expected reflex of A.p. b₂ in those dialects that do have the accent on the thematic *-i-* is not supposed to be identical to the reflex of the original A.p. c, cf. expected *lòžite in A.p. b₂ but *lovīte in A.p. c. However, for all practical purposes we can say that A.p. b₂ yields either A.p. B or A.p. C since there is no dialect that would distinguish old A.p. b₂ verbs with the accent on the thematic vowel and old A.p. c verbs. Of course, it is not to be excluded that such dialect will eventually be

found⁴. If we leave the actual explanation of the A.p. b₁ and A.p. b₂ problem aside (we shall not deal with the origin of this phenomenon here), we can still conclude that the existence of A.p. b₂ verbs (a group of verbs in which one would expect A.p. b but which are A.p. B in some but A.p. C in other Slavic dialects) is a real phenomenon⁵. One of the main reasons for writing this article was to shed some light on the reflexes of Proto-Slavic A.p. b₂ verbs in Croatian.

NOTES:

The meaning of the verb is given only when differing in one way or the other from the meaning in Standard Croatian⁶, when there is no given verb in the standard language and in the case of homographs/homophones. In order to make the lists more user-friendly reconstructions are given in [] parentheses when the dialects exhibit forms phonologically different from the standard language. The verbs are usually adduced in the infinitive and some form of the present tense (occasionally other forms are provided as well – the data presented here is not always ideal, due to objective and not so objective reasons). In most cases, when the full *i*-verb list is given, if a verb is missing in the list it means that it does not exist in the dialect (or that the informant does not know it or cannot pronounce it). Usually, only historical *i*-verbs were included in the lists. In many Croatian dialects, old *ě*-verbs become *i*-verbs (in ikavian dialects, this occurs because both *i and *ě yield *i* but verbs can shift from *i*-to *ě*-verbs even if their reflexes are different) but are not included here since these tend to act differently concerning the accent⁷ and should be treated separately. In some cases, it is not clear whether one is dealing with an old *i*- or *ě*-verb (in this case, we adduce these verbs⁸). The amount of data available for some dialects is larger than that for the others (for instance the amount of side information) due to objective circumstances. In some cases, the data is

⁴ There are some Croatian dialects that have accents like *lòžimo* besides accents like *lovimo*. However, this could easily be an innovation, not an archaism.

⁵ Of course, even if one does not believe it to be a special class of verbs, it is still useful to observe the reflexes of the verbs with the apparent vacillation in the reflexes of the accentual paradigms.

⁶ One should note that the verb *kazniti* is not really relevant since it is a Russian loanword in Croatian (and then probably loaned from the standard language to the dialects) and that the verb *oriti se* 'reverberate' (not to be confused with *raz-oriti* 'destroy').

⁷ For instance, many dialects have a system like *sljéditi* - *sljédī* - *úsljédī* with a stem-fixation of the accent in prefixed *i*-verbs, but *šútjeti* - *šútī* - *ušútī* with no stem-fixation (*poluotmetnost*) in *ě*-verbs (but *ušútī* as well in other dialects). Also, the long A.p. C type (*šúmī*, *típi* etc.) is very common in *ě*-verbs but mostly exceptional in *i*-verbs (many dialects, especially Čakavian and Kajkavian, lack the long A.p. C type in *i*-verbs altogether).

⁸ *i*- and *ě*-verbs can occasionally be formed from the same root (sometimes with a different meaning – cf. Standard Croatian causative *bijéliti* 'make something white' and *bijéljeti se* 'be white').

inconclusive because some verbs are not used in all forms or because informants provided contradictory data and the author was not able to check it later. The verbs are categorized to the synchronic A.p. A, B and C (as opposed to historical A.p. *a*, *b* and *c*) with practically divided short⁹ and long A.p. B (for instance, *nõsi* and *mlãti*) and short, long and shortened¹⁰ C stems (for instance, *zvõni*, *cõri* and *õinĩ*¹¹; there are no long A.p. A stems¹²). Vacillating verbs are usually listed separately¹³ (except in the case where one variant is obviously secondary historically) and biparadigmatic transitivity pair A.p. B/C stems, which exist in some dialects, as well (for instance, the verb *roditi* is in some dialects A.p. B when transitive and A.p. C when intransitive). If a prefixed verb belongs to another paradigm (for instance, the verb *lomiti* is A.p. C and *polomiti* is A.p. B), the prefixed verb is adduced in parentheses after the non-prefixed verb (even though it really belongs to another paradigm), except when only the prefixed form exists – then it is listed in its own paradigm list.¹⁴ The forms are in most cases given as actually uttered – for instance, if a dialect has a neo-acute $\tilde{}$, which is sometimes, due to intonation, position or other circumstances realized as $\hat{}$, this is the form given here; the same goes for posttonic length – in some dialects it is not realized in all the cases where it is expected due to various reasons (sometimes with idiolectal differences). Thus, what is phonologically *nõsi* can sometimes be realized phonetically as *nõsi*, sometimes as *nõsi* (and sometimes as *nõsi* with a half-length).¹⁵ In these cases, I have always given the actually pronounced form in spite of the fact that the

⁹ First non-prefixed and then prefixed verbs.

¹⁰ Here we presume old shortening of all long vowels in front of two or more morae (Kapović 2005a: 101, Holzer 2007: 74-75). Later shortened vowels (like $\tilde{r} > r$ in various dialects) do not enter this group in the lists.

¹¹ The verbs with the original *e, *o, *b, *b have, of course, originally short stems, all other vowels are originally long, then shortened (like *gũbi*), but in some cases the length was reintroduced (like *sljẽdi*), cf. Kapović 2005a, Kapović 2008.

¹² In the A.p. A lists, sometimes I set apart secondary A.p. A (< A.p. B) verbs or A.p. A verbs with non-initial accent.

¹³ In some cases, the classification is difficult, sometimes even arbitrary. Thus, one should look at the forms, not just the practical classification.

¹⁴ In the dialects that have the phenomenon of *poluotmetnost'*, i.e. in which we have *lõvim* but *ũlovim*, the verbs that are attested only in prefixed form are not really relevant since it is impossible to know which accentual paradigm (A.p. *b* or A.p. *c*) is original (because one expects *nãlozim* from both *lõzim* and *lõzim*). Of the dialects presented here, the dialects without *poluotmetnost'* are the Kajkavian ones (Štuparje, Zabok, Konjščina, Drinje, Mahično) and two Čakavian dialects (Matulji and, in most cases, Pitve). All other dialects have *poluotmetnost'* in *i*-verbs. The historical origin of this phenomenon is far from being clear.

¹⁵ Of course, there are also dialects in which the acute is always pronounced as acute and posttonic long vowels are always pronounced long.

length could be written there phonologically in all cases without any problems. The non-accentual part of dialectal data is sometimes, for various reasons, given in phonetic rather than phonological shape. The signs $\acute{}$ and $\grave{}$ are used for Standard Croatian *nj* and *lj* and $\mathring{}$ for *dž*. The signs $\check{}$ and $\mathring{}$ are also used for the “middle” $\check{}$ and $\mathring{}$ for practical purposes.

Abbreviations: A. – accusative, adj. – adjective, A.p. – accentual paradigm, D. – dative, def. – definite, f. – feminine, G. – genitive, I. – instrumental, imp. – imperative, inf. – infinitive, L. – locative, m. – masculine, n. – neutral, N. – nominative, nx – used more than once by the informant, part. – participle, pl. – plural, pres. – present tense, sg. – singular, sup. – supine

If there is no special mark for sg. or pl. the form is in the singular. The imperative is always followed by exclamation mark. The first form listed is always the infinitive, followed by a present tense form after the hyphen. In the case of participles, the order is always m.sg., f.sg., n.sg., m.pl., f.pl., N.pl. Of course, not all the forms need to be listed in all the examples.

2.1 Prapatnice (near Vrgorac, Dalmatia) – Neo-Štokavian (Western Ikavian Dialect)¹⁶

The dialect has the usual four-accent system with stable posttonic length. “ is always short and “sharply”, “canonically” pronounced. Accent shifts to the proclitic occur very often, in some cases with no exceptions, cf. *õd kokoši*, *ũ loze*, *ũ zoru*, also *ũ Prapatnican*, *ũ Vrgorac*, *zã vidila* ‘during day-light’ etc. Old * \check{e} yields *i*, there is no phoneme *h*, syllabic r can be both short and long (with a few sporadic cases of shortening), \check{e} and \acute{e} are different, *v* is a labiodental approximant (with the allophone [w]), *-m* > *-n* in the end of the word, long \check{e} and \check{o} are usually phonetically closed or diphthongized (\check{e} , \check{o} or ‘ \check{e} , ‘ \check{o}) infinitive ends in *-t*, *l*-participle in *-i(j)a* (< * -ilb).

a.p. A

*bãvit se - bãvi se, bãvija se; zabiľuzit - zabiľuzĩ [*bẽľeziti]; blãtit - blãti* (cf. *blãto*, *ũ blato*); *õstit - õsti; õdit se - õdi se* (cf. *õdo*, *ũ õdu*); *dĩmit se - dĩmi se* (cf. *dĩm*, G. *dĩma*); *gãdit se - gãdi se* (cf. *gãd*, G. *gãda*); *gãzit - gãzi; glãdit - glãdi; grãbit - grãbi; zgrãbit - zgrãbi; grĩlit - grĩli; ũvatit - ũvati [*xvatiti]; jãrit se - jãri se* (cf. *jãre*, *jãreta*); *ĩskrit se - ĩskri se; kũdit - kũdi; kũpit - kũpi; kvãcit - kvãci; kãsnit - kãsnĩ¹⁷; kĩtit - kĩti; kĩselit se - kĩseli se; liãit - liãi; lũpit - lũpi; mĩrit - mĩri* (cf.

¹⁶ Vãla m^õmu ispitanĩku J^õzi Kãpoviću.

¹⁷ A.p. A is obviously secondary for A.p. *b*, since the verb is etymologically **kãsniti* and thus cannot belong to A.p. A. *Kãsniti* instead of *kãsniti* (as attested in other dialects) is due to

mīra, G. *mīrē*) [*mēriti]; *mīlit se - mīli se*; *mīslit - mīslī*; *smīstit - smīstī* [*mēstīti]; *nūdit - nūdi*; *pāzit - pāzi*; *plāšit - plāši*; *plāzit - plāzi*; *prātit - prāti*; *prāvit - prāvī*, *prāvija*; *prūžit - prūži*; *pūšit - pūši*, *pūšili*; *pūnit - pūni*; *přtit - přti*; *rānit - rāni* 'be early; wound' (cf. *rāno* 'early'; *rāna* 'wound'); *rūšit - rūši*, *rūšēne*; *sītit se - sīti se* [*sētīti se]; *sīlit - sīli* (cf. *sīla*); *slāvit - slāvī* (cf. *slāva*); *slīnit - slīni* (cf. *slīna*); *stāvit - stāvī*; *strāšit - strāši*; *štētī - štēti* (cf. *štēta*); *tīšit - tīši* [*tēšīti]; *tlāčit - tlāči* (cf. *tlāka*); *trāpit - trāpi*, *trāpļēne* 'dig out stones from the ground'; *vādit - vādi*; *vīsit - vīsi*; *vlāžit - vlāži* (cf. *vlāga*); *ūdit - ūdi* 'harm'; *řlit - řli* [*xřliti]; *žālit - žāli*

bogatit se - bogati se (cf. *bogat*, *bogata*); *zgōtovit - zgōtovī* (cf. *gōtov*, *gōtova*); *kōristit - kōristī* (cf. also *i*-noun *kōrist*, G. *kōristi*); *prōtivit se - prōtivī se* (cf. the preposition *prōtiv*); *tōvarit - tōvari* (cf. *tōvar*, G. *tōvara*); *ūdarit - ūdarī*; *tōmačit 'explain' - tōmači* (note the special development *] > o)

a.p. B

short

kāznit - kāzni; *gōnit - gōni*; *klōnit se - klōni se*; *lōžit - lōži*; *mōlit - mōli*; *nōsit - nōsi*; *prōsit - prōsi*; *skōčit - skōči*; *vōzit - vōzi*; *žēnit (se) - žēni (se)* (cf. *žēna*, *žēnu*); *gōvōrit - gōvōri*; *svidōčit - svidōči* (cf. *svidok*, *svidōka*); *vōdit - vōdi*

zgrōmit - zgrōmi; *skōlit - skōli*; *blagosōvit - blagosōvi* [*blagosloviti]; *okamēnit - okamēni* (cf. *kāmēn*, *nā kamēn*¹⁸); *ūklōnit - ūkloni*; *zaklōpit - zāklopī*; *ponōsit se - pōnosi se*; *oslobōdit - oslobodi*; *naslōnit - naslōni*; *potvōrit - pōtvōri* 'blame someone for something'; *pokōrit se - pōkōri se* (cf. *pōkora*)

long

bīlit - bīli (*ōbīli*) [*bēliti]; *brānit - brāni*, *brānila*; *brūsit - brūsi*; *būdit - būdi*; *būšit - būši*; *cīdit - cīdi* [*cēditi]; *cīnit - cīni* [*cēniti]; *cīpit - cīpi*; *cvīlit - cvīli*; *dāvit - dāvī*; *dīlit - dīli* (cf. *dīja/dīja*, G. *dīla*) [*dēliti]; *dīčit se - dīči se*; *drāžit - drāži*; *drīšit - drīši* 'untie'; *drūžit se - drūži se*; *dūšit - dūši* 'let air out, deflate'; *gāsīt - gāsi*; *glūmit - glūmi*; *gnīzdit se - gnīzdi se* (cf. *gnīzdo*, N.pl. *gnīzda*); *gospodārit - gospodāri* (cf. *gospodār*, G. *gospodāra*); *grādit - grādi*; *grīšit - grīši* [*grēšīti]; *gūlit - gūli*; *pogřdit - pogři*; *jāvit - jāvi*; *kādit - kādi*; *kālit - kālī*; *krāsīt - krāsi*; *krātīt - krāti*; *k"ōsīt - k"ōsi* 'make something slant'; *křipīt se - křipi se* [*krēpīti]; *křivīt (se) - křivī (se)*; *krūžit - krūži* (cf. *krūg*, G. *krūga*); *krvāvit - krvāvī*; *dokūčit - dokūči*; *kūpit - kūpi*; *ukvāsīt - ūkvāsi*; *křčit - křči*; *līčit - līči* [*lēcīti]; *līpit - līpi* [*lēpīti]; *lībit se - lībi se*; *lūbit - lūbi*; *lūtīt - lūti*; *māmīt - māmī*; *māstīt - māstī* (cf.

analogy with the present *kāsni* or to analogy with the semantically related verb *rāniti*, *rānin* ('be late' and 'be early').

¹⁸ The last syllable was lengthened in front of a sonant and the word was subsequently transferred to A.p. C (cf. Kapović 2005b, Kapović 2008).

māst, *māsti*); *mīsīt - mīsi* [*mēsīti]; *mīrit se - mīri se*; *mlādit se - mlādi se*; *mlātīt - mlāti*; *mrāčit se - mrāči se*; *mūtīt - mūti*; *mlāčit se - mlāči se*; *mřsīt - mřsi*; *promīnit - promīni* [*mēnīti]; *nāglīt se - nāgli se*; *oblāčit se - oblāči se* 'cloud' (cf. *ōblāk*, G. *ōblāka*); *oblāčit se - oblāčin se* 'dress'; *pālit - pāli*; *zaplīnit - zaplīni* [*pelnīti]; *zapřčit - zapřči* [*prēcīti]; *plātīt - plāti*; *prāsīt se - prāsi se*; *prāšīt se - prāši se*; *prītīt - přti* [*pertīti]; *rādīt - rādi*; *rīšīt - rīši* [*rēsīti]; *porūbit - pōrūbi*; *sādīt - sādī*; *slīpit - slīpi* [*slēpīti]; *slūžit - slūži*; *sūzit - sūzi* [*qzīti]; *snūbit - snūbi*; *slādīt se - slādi se*; *sūdīt - sūdi*, *prōsūdī* (cf. *sūd*, G. *sūda*); *stūpit - stūpi*; *sūšīt se - sūši se*; *svētīt se - svēti se* 'take revenge'; *svētīt - svēti* 'bless'; *sřdit (se) - sřdi (se)*; *šřit - šři se* (cf. *šřina*, A. *šřinu*, ū *šřinu*; *šřok*, *šřōka*); *trībit - trībi* [*terbīti]; *tūžit se - tūži se*; *trāžit - trāži*; *trūsīt - trūsi*; *trūdīt se - trūdi se*; *tvřdit - tvřdi*; *vābit - vābi*; *vārit - vāri*; *vřātīt - vřāti*; *lādīt - lādi* (cf. *lād*, G. *lāda*; *lādan*, *lādno*, *lādno - lādni*, *lādno*, *lādno*) [*xoldīti]; *rānit - rāni* (cf. *rāna*, A. *rānu*) [*xornīti]; *vālīt - vāli* (cf. *vāla*, A. *vālu*) [*xvalīti]; *zrāčit - zrāči*; *ždrībit se - ždrībi se*, *ōždrībi se* (cf. *ždrībe*, G. *ždrībeta*) [*žerbīti]

a.p. C

short

bōrit se - bōri se (*izbori se*), *bōrili*; *brōjit - brōji* (cf. *brōj*, G. *brōja*); *břstīt - břsti*; *čāstīt - čāsti*; *dōjit - dōji*; *drōbit - drōbi*; *dvōrit - dvōri*; *gōjit - gōji* (*ōdgoji*); *glōbit - glōbi*; *gnōjit - gnōji* (cf. *gnōj*, G. *gnōja*, A. ū *gnōj*); *gōdit - gōdi*; *gōjit se - gōji se* 'get fat'; *gōstīt - gōsti*; *kōrit - kōri*; *kōsit - kōsi* 'mow' (*pōkosī*, cf. *kōsa*, A. *kōsu* 'scythe'); *kōtit se - kōti se*; *krōjit - krōji*; *křstīt - křsti*; *lēdit se - lēdi se* (cf. *lēd*, G. *lēda*); *lōmit - lōmi* (*slōmi*); *lōvit - lōvi* (*ūlovī*); *mēdit se - mēdi se* (cf. *mēd*, G. *mēda*); *mōčit - mōči*, *mōči* (*smōči*); *mōkrit - mōkri se*; *mōrit - mōri* (*ūmorī*); *mōtrit - mōtri*; *māglīt se - māgli se* (cf. *māgla*, A. *māglu*); *nōčit - nōči* (cf. *nōč*, G. *nōči*, *přiko noči*); *ōri se*; *ōštrit - ōštri*; *plōdit - plōdi*; *plōvit - plōvi*; *pōjit - pōji*; *pōpit se - pōpi se* 'be ordained to priesthood' (cf. *pōp*, G. *pōpa*); *pōstīt - pōsti*; *prōstīt - prōstīš* (*ōprostī*); *pāpřit - pāpři* (cf. *pāpar*, G. *pāpra*); *rōjit se - rōji se*; *rōnit - rōni*; *rōpit se - rōpi se*; *rōsit se - rōsi se*; *sēlit se - sēli se* (cf. *sēlo*, N.pl. *sēla*, G.pl. *sēlā*); *škōpit - škōpi*; *škřōpit - škřōpi*; *sūzit - sūzi* [*slbzīti]; *smōlit se - smōli se* (cf. *smōla*, A. *smōlu*); *slōvit - slōvi* (cf. *slōvo*, N.pl. *slōva*); *sōlit - sōli* (*pōsolī*, cf. *sō*, G. *sōli*, L. *u sōli*); *sramōtit se - sramōti se* (*osramōti se*); *cāklit se - cākli se* (cf. *cāklo*, N.pl. *cākla*) [*stākli se]; *tēlit se - tēli se* (cf. *tēle*, G. *tēleta*); *tōplit se - tōpli se*; *tōpit (se) - tōpi (se)* (*ōtopī*); *tōvit - tōvi*; *trōšit - trōši*; *vēdit se - vēdi se*; *vesēlit se - vesēli se*; *znōjit se - znōji se*; *zōrit - zōri* 'ripen'; *zvōnit - zvōni* (cf. *zvōno*, N.pl. *zvōna*, G.pl. *zvōnā*); *žālōstīt (se) - žālōstī (se)*

shortened

činit - čini (učini); gubit - gubi, gubija (izgubi); pustit - pusti¹⁹ (napusti); učit - učiti (naučiti)

long

brújit - brúji; júrit - júri (izjúri); pílit - píli (cf. píla, A. pílu); rúdit - zora se rúdi; sjájit - sjáji; sláčit - sláči mu 'it is sweet to him' [*sladčiti] [intransitive]; snízit - sníži (cf. sníg, G. sníga) [*sněžiti]; slídit - slídi [*slěditi]; srámit se - srámí se (pòsrámí se); svítlit (se) - svítli (se) [*světłiti]; štítit - štíti; tájit - táji; trúbit - trúbi (cf. trúba, A. trúbu); vrídit - vrídi; vírit - víri; úlit - úli [*xuliti]; znáčit - znáči (cf. znák, G. znâka); žárit se - žári se; žúrit se - žúri se

a.p. B-C transitivity pairs

ròdit - ròdi [transitive] (ako ròdi dite), ròdi [intransitive] (ako gròžde ròdi); tòčit - tòči [transitive] (òn tòči víno), tòči se [intransitive] (víno se tòči); túpit - túpín [transitive] (túpín nòž), túpi se [intransitive] (túpi se nòž); zlátit - zlátín [transitive] (já tò zlátín), zlátí se [intransitive] (cf. zláto, G. zláta, òd zláta) (the former is probably an old ě-verb); zvònár zvòni [transitive] : zvòno zvòni [intransitive]

2.2 Klobuk (west Herzegovina) - Neo-Štokavian (Western Ikavian dialect)²⁰

The dialect has the usual four-accent system with stable posttonic length. " is pronounced "canonically". Old *ě yields *i*, there is no phoneme *h*, *č* and *ć* are differed, syllabic *r* can be both short and long, *v* is mostly fricative, *-m* > *-n* in the end of the word, infinitive ends in *-t*, *l*-participle in *-i(j)a* (< **-ilъ*), unaccented *i* and *u* tend to be reduced. The words with *je* for **ě* and with *h* are due to the influence of the standard language.

a.p. A

bàvit se - se bāvimo; blàtit - blàtimo; bràtit se - bràtimo se; cèrit se - cèrimo se; čístit - čístimo; čùdit se - čùdimo se; dèsit - dèsi; ðimit se - se ðimí; gàdit - gàdimo; gàzit - gàzimo; gràbit - gràbimo; gřlit - gřlino; jèdrit - jèdrimo; jàrit - jàri; jàrit se - jàri; kàmenit se - kàmenimo se; kàzrit - kàzni, kàznimo se; kítit - kítimo se; kùpit - kùpimo; kàsrit - kàsrimo; ličit - liči, ličimo; lùpit - lùpimo; mìlit - mìli, mìlino; mìrit - mìrimo [*mèriti]; mùčit - mùčimo; mšlit - mšlino; mřvit -

¹⁹ The preservation of A.p. *c* here is remarkable. In most other dialects, this verb became A.p. B, sometimes without reintroducing the length (cf. Standard Croatian *pustiti* - *pusti*), sometimes with the length (dial. *pústiti* - *pústi*).

²⁰ The village is situated some 10 km from the village of Prapatnice.

mřvimo; nùdit - nùdimo; pàzit - pàzimo; pjènit - pjènimò; plàšit - plàšimo; plàzit - plàzimo; pràtit - pràtimo; pràvit - pràvimò; prùžit - prùžimo; pùšit - pùšimo; pàpřit - pàpřimo²¹; přtit - přtimo; rànit - rànimo; rùšit - rùšimo; sítit se - sítimo se [*sétiti]; sílit - sílino; slàvit - slàvimò; stàvit - stàvimò; stràšit - stràšimo; sùzit - sùzimo (cf. sùza) [*slbziti]; sřrit - sřrimò; šàlit se - šàlino se; tjèšit - tjèšimo; třžit - třžimo; vàdit - vàdimo; vjèrit se - vjèrimò se; vlàžit - vlàžimo; žàlt (sic!) - žàlino; bštrit - bštrí [transitive]; slàbit - slàbi [transitive]

bògatit se - se bògatimo; bòravít - bòravimo; kòristit - kòristimo; òkusit - òkšimo; okřvavit - okřvavimo; ùlazit - ùlazimo; òmedít - mēdimo; nàudit - nàudimo; pòganit - pòganimo 'become bad'; pònosit - pònosimo se; zàratit - zàratimo; zàsítit se - zàsítimo; òzdravit - òzdravimo; ùdarit - ùdarimo; izvisit - izvisimo [*všèiti]

a.p. B**short**

bròjit - bròji, bròjimo, bròjite; gònit - gòni, gònimò; klònit se - klòni, klònimò se, klònite; křtit - křti, křtimo, křtite; kisèlt - kiselimo; lòjit - lòji, lòmit - lòmi, lòmimo, lòmite; lòvit - lòvi, lòvimò, lòvite; lòžit - lòži, lòžimo; mòčit - mòčin, mòči, mòčimo; mòlt - mòlino; mòrit - mòri, mòrimò; mòtrit - mòtrimo; nòsit - nòsimo; pròstit - da pròstíš, da pròstite (also pròstimo, but probably by mistake); pùstit - pùsti, pùstimo; pùstòšit - pùstòšimo; ròdit - ròdi, ròdimo; rònit - rònin, ròniš, ròni, rònimò, rònite, rònè (also ròni?); sèlt se - se sèli, sèlino se; skòčit - skòčimo; sòlt - sòli, sòlino; sramòtit - sramòtimo; svidòčit - svidòčimo [*svědočiti]; tòvit - tòvi, tòvimò, tòvite; tròšit - tròši, tròšimo; tvòrit - tvòrimò (?); vòzit - vòzimo; zòri 'it dawns'; žalòstit - žalòstimo; žènit se - se žèni, žènimò se

blagoslòvit - blagoslovimo; zaklòpit - zaklopimo; prilagòdit - prilagodimo; primòstit - primostimo; obnòvit - obnovimo; pokòrit - pokorimo; prepòlòvit - prepòlovimo; raspòrit - raspòrimò; upozòrit - upozòrimò; sprijatèljit se - sprijatèlžimo se; ustanòvit - ustanovimo; pòstrojimo; osvòjit - osvòjimo; tòvarit - tòvarimo; otvòrit, zatvòrit - òtvòrimò, zàtvòrimò; ozakònit - ozakònimò

long

ublàžit - ùblàžimo; brànit - brànimo; brúsit - brúsimo; búdit - búdimo; búšit - búšimo; cídit - cídimo [*cèditi]; cjépit - cjèpimo; učvřstít - učvřstimo; crpit - crpimo; udàlit - udàlžimo; dàvit - dàvimò; dílit - dílino [*dèliti]; díčit - díči,

²¹ Probably A.p. A by analogy to the present tense form since the stem vowel is etymologically **b*.

*dīčimo; dívít - dívīmo; drúžit se - drúzīmo se; odušēvī se; dúšít - dúšīmo; dúžít - dúžīmo; gásít - gásīmo; se oglúšít; gnjéždit - gnjéždīmo se; gnávít - gnávīmo; glásít - glásī; gráđít - gráđīmo; gospodárit - gospòdārīmo; govórit - govòrī, govòrīmo, govòrite²²; gríšít - gríšīmo [*grěšiti]; grózít se - gròžīmo se; gúlit - gúlīmo; gđít - gđīmo; ládit - láđīmo (cf. *lādan - lādnī*) [*xolditi]; hrábrít - hrábrīmo; ránit - ránīmo [*xorniti]; fálit - fálīmo [*xvaliti]; objásnit - objásnīmo; jávit - jávīmo; ujedínít - ujedīnī; káđít - káđīmo; zaklúčit - zaklúčīmo; krátít - krátīmo; se kòsī 'it goes against'; krásít - krásīmo; raskrílít - raskrílīmo; krívít - krívīmo; prikrízít - prikrízīmo; ukrútit se - ukrútīmo se; krúzít - krúzīmo; kúđít - kúđīmo; kúpít - kúpīmo; kvásít - kvásīmo; krčít - krčīmo; líčit - líčīmo [*lěčiti]; ulínít se - ulínīmo se [*lěniti]; lípít - lípīmo se [*lěpiti]; líšít - líšīmo; lúbit - lúbīmo; lútít - lútīmo; lúčit - lúčīmo; lúšít - lúšīmo; mámit - māmīmo; márit - mārīmo; mástít - mástīmo; mísít - mísīmo [*měsiti]; mesárit - mesárīmo; mírit se - mírīmo se; mláčít - mláčīmo; mráčít - mráčīmo; mlátít - mlátīmo; mrsít - mrsīmo; mútít - mútīmo; umrtvít - umrtvīmo; náglít - náglīmo; snízít - snízīmo; obláčít - obláčīmo 'dress'; obláčít se - òbláčī se 'cloud'; pált - pālīmo; opamétít se - opamétīmo se; pílit - pílīmo; plátít - plátīmo; prášít - prášīmo; prítít - prítīmo [*pertiti]; protivít - protivīmo; rádit - rádīmo; rídít - rídīmo [*rěditi]; ríšít - ríšīmo [*rěšiti]; prirédít - prirédīmo; rúbit - rúbīmo; sádit - sáđīmo; snážít - snážīmo; sláđít - sláđīmo [transitive]; srámit se - srámīmo se; súđít - súđīmo; stúpit - stúpīmo; ustrílít - ustrílīmo [*strěliti]; súšít - súšīmo; svétít se - svétīmo se 'take revenge'; svétít - svētī 'bless'; sđít - sđīmo; šrít - šrīmo; tájit - tájīmo; tríbit - tríbīmo [*terbiti]; tláčít - tláčīmo 'torture'; túpit - túpī (se), túpīmo; túžít - túžīmo; trátit - se trátī, trátīmo; trážít - trážīmo; trúbit - trúbi, trúbīmo; trúšít - trúšīmo; trúđít se - trúđīmo se; tríznit se - tríznīmo se [*terznti]; zaústít - zaústīmo; vábit - vábīmo; razvált (sic!) - razvālīmo; várit - vārīmo; izvjestít - izvjestīmo; povláčít - povláčīmo; vrátít - vrátīmo; izvřít - izvřīmo; ozárit se - ozárīmo se; znáčít - znáčī; žárít se - se žārī (žāra se žārī); ocrnit - ocrnīn [transitive]; gústít - gústī [transitive]; lúđít - lúđī [transitive]; óžívī [transitive]*

a.p. C

short

bòrit se - bòrīmo se; břstít - břstīmo; částít - částīmo; dòjit - dòjīmo; dròb't - dròbī, dròbīmo, dròbīte; dvòj't - dvòjīmo; gnòj't - gnòjīmo; gòđít - gòđī; gòj't - gòjīmo; gòstít - gòstīmo; kòrit - kòrīn, kòrīs, kòrī, kòrīmo, kòrīte, kòrē (also kòrī?); kòsit - kòsīn, kòsīs, kòsī, kòsīmo, kòsīte, kòsē 'mow' (also kòsī?); kòtit - kòtī; kròjit - kròjīn, kròjīs, kròjī, kròjīmo, kròjīte, kròjē; kròtit - kròtī, kròtīmo, kròtīte; křšít - křšīmo; lèđít - lèđī se; mòkrit - mòkrīmo; mnòžít - mnòžīmo; màglít - màglī (cf.

²² The form without the first length is of course older.

màgla, A. màglu, N.pl. màgle); nòcít - nòcīn, nòcīs, nòcī, nòcīmo, nòcīte, nòcē; òrit se - òrī se; òštrít - òštrīmo, òštrīm, òštrī se; pòstít - pòstī, pòstīmo; pròsit - pròsī, pròsīmo; ròjit - ròjē; ròsit - ròsī (křša ròsī 'drizzle'); càkl't - càklī; srèbrít - srèbrīmo se; tèlt - tèlī; tòpit - tòpīn, tòpī, tòpīmo; tršít - tršīmo; znòjit - znòjī, znòjīmo

shortened

čínít - čínīmo; gùbit - gùbī, gùbīmo; učít - učīmo

long

*búčít - búčīmo; cúrit - cúrī; glúmit - glúmī, glúmīmo; júrit - júrīn; súzít - súzī, súzīmo [*qziti]; slíđít - slíđī, slíđīmo; svítlít - svítlī [*světěliti]; štítít - štítīmo; téžít - téžīmo (cf. *těžak - težkī*); vážít - vážī; vríđít - vríđīn, vríđīs, vríđī, vríđīmo, vríđīte, vríđē; žúrit - se žúrī, žúrīmo se*

a.p. B/C transitivity pairs

bílín zíd [transitive], grád se bílī [intransitive] (but this is probably an old ě-verb)

a.p. B-C vacillation/inconclusive²³

plòđít - plòđīmo, se plòđīmo; plòvit - plòvīn, plòvīs, plòvī/plòvī, plòvīmo, plòvīte, plòvē; pòjit - pòjīn, pòjīs, pòjī, pòjīmo/pòjīmo, pòjīte, pòjē; škòpit - škòpīn, škòpīs, škòpī, škòpīmo/škòpīmo, škòpīte/škòpīte, škòpē/škòpē; tòč't - tòčīn, tòčīs, tòčī (se)/tòčī (se), tòčīmo, tòčīte, tòčē; zvònit - zvònīn, zvònīs, zvònī/zvònī, zvònīmo/zvònīmo, zvònīte, zvònē (òdzvonī); vesèlit se - vesèlī se/vesèlī se, vesèlīmo se (both variants exist side by side)

2.3 Opuzen (near Neretva river, in Dalmatia) – Neo-Štokavian (Western Ikavian dialect)

The dialect has the usual four-accent system with stable posttonic length. " is always short and "sharply", "canonically" pronounced. The accent is often shifted to the proclitic, cf. *júva òd mēsa, íc nā mòre, ò zlātu*, also *òd vrānā, ù mlīncu*. Old *ě yields *i*, there is no phoneme *h* (the word *hrábrít* is an exception, as in many other dialects, probably due to the influence of the standard), syllabic *r* is always short, *č* and *ć* are distinct, *v* is realized as a fricative, *-m > -n* in the end of the word, infinitive ends in *-t*, *l*-participle in *-(j)a* (< **-ilr*), *l* often yields *j* (cf. *kòšuja* but *vòlja*).

²³ Some of the examples can probably be attributed to mistake.

a.p. A

bāvit se - se bāvī; blātit - blātī; brātit se - brātīmo, brātē; cērit - cērī, cērīmo; čistit - čistē; čūdit se - čūdimō se, čūdē, začūdē; dēsit - se dēsī; dīmit se - se dīmī; gādīt se - se gādī, se gādē; gāzīt - gāzī, gāzīmo, gāzīte; gōdīt - gōdīš, ōn sēbi gōdī, gōdē 'enjoy life' (an Italian loanword); grābit - grābī, grābīmo, grābīte; gr̄bit - se gr̄bī; gr̄lit - gr̄lē, gr̄līmo; jēdrīt - jēdrīmo, jēdrīte; kāznīt - kāznīš, kāznē; klātit se - klātī (cf. klātno); křmit - křmī se 'sleep'; kŭpit - kŭpī; kvāčit - kvāčī, kvāčīmo; kvāsīt - kvāsī, kvāsīlo; kītīt - kītī, kītē bōr; kīselit se - se kīsēlī; līčit - līčī; lŭpit (present tense lŭpnē); mīrīt - mīrī, mīrīmo [*mērīti]; mīslīt - mīslī; mřvīt - mřvī, mřvīmo; mŭčit - mŭčī, mŭčīmo; nŭdīt - nŭdī, nŭdīmo; pāzīt - pāzī, pāzīmo; plāšīt - plāšī; plāzīt - plāzī; prātīt - prātī, prātīmo; prāvīt - prāvīmo, prāvīte; prŭžīt - prŭžīmo (cf. prŭžā se); pŭšīt - pŭšī, pŭšīmo; přtīt - ŭpřtī, ŭpřtīmo; rānīt - se rānī, se rānīmo 'wound'; rŭšīt - rŭšī, rŭšīmo; sītīt se - sītī se, sītīmo se [*sētīti]; sīlīt - sīlī, sīlīmo; slāvīt - slāvī, slāvīmo; strāšīt - se strāšī; šālīt se - se šālī, se šālīmo; tjšīt - tjšī, tjšīmo (with the standard -je-!); tlāčit - tlāčī, tlāčīmo; trāpīt - trāpē 'wander for a long time'; trātīt - trātī, trātīmo; tržīt - ŭtržī; vādīt - vādī; vjērīt se - se vjērē (with -je-); vlāžīt - se vlāžī; žālīt - žālī, žālīmo, žālīte

bōgatīt se - bōgatī se; bōravīt; zgōtovīt - zgōtovīš; ŭtīt - ŭtē [*xytīti]; kōristīt - kōristī, kōristīmo, kōristīte; ōkusīt - ōkusī, ōkusīmo; ŭlazīt - ŭlazīmo; tōvarīt - tōvarī, tōvarīmo; tŭmačit - tŭmačī; ŭdarīt - ŭdarī, ŭdarīmo, ŭdarīte; pŭstošīt - pŭstošī (se); zaratīt - zaratī se; zāsītīt - zāsītī, zāsītīmo; izvīsīt - izvīsī [*vēsītī]; ōzdravīt - ōzdravī (trans.); ōzākonīt - ōzākonīmo, ōzākonīte

cāklit se - cākli se; kāsīt - kāsī, kāsīmo; lōmīt - lōmī, lōmīmo; lōvīt - lōvī, lōvīmo; lōžīt - lōžī, lōžīmo; pāpřīt, zāpāpřīt - zāpāpřī, zāpāpřīmo; tōpīt - tōpī, tōpīmo

a.p. B

short

blagoslōvīt - blagoslōvī (cf. blagosīvā); bōrīt se - bōrīmo, bōrē; cřpīt - cřpē, cřpīlī; drōbit - drōbīn, drōbīmo, drōbē; gōjīt - gōjī; gōnīt - gōnīmo; klōnīt se - klōnī, klōnē; kōsīt - kōsī, kōsīmo, kōsīte, kōsē 'mow'; kōtīt - kōtī, ōkotī; mōčit - mōčī, mōčē; mōlīt - mōlī, mōlīmo, mōlīte; mōrīt - mōrē; nōsīt - nōsī, nōsīmo; ōrīt se - se ōrī; ōšřīt - ōšřīn, se ōšřī; plōvīt - plōvī, plōvīmo; prōsīt - prōsī, prōsīmo; prōstīt - da prōstīš, da prōstīte; pŭstīt - pŭstī, pŭstīmo; rōčit - rōčī, ōročī; rōdīt - rōdī; rōjīt - rōjē; rōnīt - rōnī, rōnīmo; sēlīt se - se sēlī, se sēlīmo; skōčit - skōčī, skōčīmo; sōlīt - sōlī; svjedōčit - svjedōčīmo (with the standard -je-!); škōpīt - škōpīmo, škōpē; tōčit - (se) tōčī; vōzīt - vōzīmo; znōjīt - znōjī, znōjīmo; žēnīt se - se žēnī, se žēnīmo

ŭčvrstī (with a shortened -ř-); ōgōlīt - ōgōlī, ōgōlīmo; zgrōmīt - zgrōmī, skāmēnīt se - skāmēnī; zaklōpīt - zaklōpē (cf. zāklopā); prilāgōdīt - se prilāgōdī; polākōmīt -

polākōmī se; přemōstīt - přemōstī, přemōstīmo (with the standard přē-!); ōb/pōnōvīt - ōb/pōnōvī, ōb/pōnōvīmo; pōkōrīt - pōkōrī, pōnōsīt se - se pōnōsī (cf. pōnos); pripītōmīt - pripītōmī; ōplemēnīt - ōplemēnī; pripōlōvīt - pripōlovī, pripōlovīmo; upōzōrīt - upōzōrī, upōzōrīmo; spřijatējīt se - spřijatējīmo se; ūstanōvīt - ūstanōvī; postrōjīt - pōstrojī; ūtōlīt - ūtolī; ōtvōrīt - ōtvorī, zātvorē; izvřšīt - izvřšīte (with a shortened -ř-)

long

ublāžīt - ŭblāžī; brānīt - brānīmo, brānē; brŭsīt - brŭsīmo, brŭsē; būdīt - būdīmo, būdē; būšīt - būšīmo, būšīte; cīdīt - cīdīmo, cīdīte, cīdē [*cēdītī]; cjenīt - cjenīmo, cjenīte (with the standard -je-); cjēpīt - cjēpīmo (with the standard -je-); ūdālīt - ūdālī; dāvīt - dāvīmo, dāvīte; dīlīt - dīlī, dīlīmo, dīlīte [*dēlītī]; dīčit - dīčīte, dīčē; dīvīt - dīvī; drāžīt - drāžīmo, drāžē; drŭžīt se - drŭžī, drŭžīmo, drŭžīte; dŭbīt - dŭbīmo, dŭbīte; dŭrīt se - dŭrīš, dŭrī, dŭrīmo; ōdušēvīt se - ōdušēvī se; dŭšīt - dŭšī, ūdŭšī; dŭžīt - dŭžī; gāsīt - gāsī, gāsīmo; ŭglāvīt - ŭglāvīmo; ōglŭšīt - ōglŭšī; gnŭzđīt - gnŭzđē [*gnēzđītī]; gnāvīt - gnāvī, gnāvīmo; glāsīt - glāsī; grādīt - grādīmo; grīšīt - grīšīte dŭšu [*grēšītī]; gŭlīt - gŭlī, ōgŭlī; lādīt - lādī, lādīmo, ōlādī [*xoldītī]; hrābrīt - hrābrīmo, hrābrē; rānīt - rānī, rānīmo [*xornītī]; fālīt - fālī, fālīmo [*xvalītī]; ōbjāsīt - ōbjāsī, ōbjāsīmo; jāvīt - jāvē; ŭjednīt - ŭjednē; kādīt - kādī, kādīmo; zaklŭčit - zaklŭčē; skrātīt - skrātī; se kōsī 'it goes against'; krāsīt - krāsī; raskrīlīt - se raskrīlē; krīvīt - nē krīvīn; krīpīt - krīpī se [*krēpītī]; prikřžīt - prikřžī; ŭkrŭtīt se - se ŭkrŭtī; krŭžīt - krŭžīmo, krŭžē; ōkrvāvīt - (se) ōkrvāvī, ōkrvāvīmo; kŭpīt - kŭpīmo, kŭpīte; lībīt se - se lībī; līčit - līčī, līčīmo [*lēcītī]; ŭlīnīt se - ŭlīnī, ŭlīnīmo [*lēnītī]; līpīt - se līpī [*lēpītī]; jŭbīt - jŭbī [*ljubītī]; jŭtīt - se jātī [*ljutītī]; jŭštīt - jŭštī [*ljuščītī]; māmīt - māmī, māmīmo; māsīt - māsī, zāmāsī; mīsīt - mīsī, mīsīmo [*mēsītī]; mīrīt se - mīrīmo, mīrē; mrāčit - mrāčī; mŭtīt - mŭtī; nāglīt - nāglī; snīzīt - snīzī, snīzīmo; ōblāčit - se ōblāčīn 'dress'; ōblāčit se - se ōblāčī 'cloud'; pālīt - pālī, pālīmo; ōpāmētīt se - ōpāmētī se, ōpāmētīmo se; přēplāvīt - přēplāvī; plātīt - plātī, plātīmo; přāšīt - přāšī se; přītīt - přītī [*přītītī]; přōtīvīt - se přōtīvī; rādīt - rādī, rādīmo; rīdīt - rīdī se [*rēdītī]; rjēšīt - rjēšī (with -je-); přřēdīt - přřēdī; sādīt - sādī, sādīmo; sŭdīt - sŭdī; zastrānīt - zastrānī; stŭpīt - stŭpī; ūstrjēlīt - ūstrjēlī (with -je-); sŭšīt - sŭšī se; sŭzīt - sŭzī, sŭzīmo [*qzītī]; svētīt se - se svētī 'take revenge'; šřīt - šřī, šřīmo se; trībīt - trībī mōune ('mahune') [*terbītī]; tŭpīt - se tŭpī; tŭžīt - tŭžī, tŭžīmo; trāžīt - trāžī, trāžīmo; trŭbīt - trŭbīmo, trŭbīte; trŭsīt - trŭsī, trŭsīmo, trŭsīte 'eat or drink a lot'; trŭdīt se - trŭdī, trŭdīmo; trīznīt se - trīznīmo, trīznīte, ōtrīznīmo [*terznītī]; vābīt - vābī, vābīmo; přřvālīt - přřvālī; vārīt - vārī (se); pōvlāčit - pōvlāčī, pōvlāčē; vrātīt - se vrātī, vrātīmo; znāčit - znāčī, znāčīmo

a.p. C**short**

bròjiti (also *bròjat*) - *bròji*, *bròjimo*, *bròjē*; *častiti* - *častimo*, *častite*, *pòcastē*; *dòjiti* - *dòji*; *dvòrit* - *dvòri*, *dvòrimo*; *glòbit* - *glòbi*, *glòbimo*, *glòbite*; *gnòjiti* - *gnòji*, *ògnòji*; *gòstiti* - *se gòsti*, *se gòstimo*; *kòrit* - *kòri*, *kòrimo*; *kròjiti* - *kròji*, *kròjimo*, *kròjē*; *kròtiti* - *kròti*, *ùkroti*; *křstiti* - *křsti*, *křstimo*; *lèditi* - *lèdi*, *slèdi*, *zàlèdi*; *mnòžiti* - *mnòžē*; *nòciti* - *nòci*, *nòcimo*, *nòcite*; *pòjiti* - *pòji*; *pòstiti* - *pòsti* *se*; *ròsiti* - *křša ròsi* 'drizzle'; *sramòtiti* - *se sramòti*; *tèliti* - *tèli* *se*; *tòviti* - *tòvi*, *tòvimo*; *třsiti* - *se třsi*; *tròšiti* - *tròši*, *tròšimo*; *vesèliti* *se* - *se vesèlimo*; *zvòniti* - *zvòni*, *zvònimo* (cf. *zvòno*, N.pl. *zvòna*); *žalòstiti* - *žalòstimo*, *žalòstite*

shortened

činiti - *čini*, *činimo*, *učiniti*; *gùbit* - *gùbi*, *gùbimo*, *izgubi*; *ùciti* - *ùci*, *ùcimo*

břstiti - *břstimo*, *břstē*; *křčiti* - *křči*, *křčimo*, *křčite*; *křšiti* - *křši*, *křšimo*; *umřtviti* - *umřtvī*, *umřtvimo*; *třsiti* - *se třsi*; *izvršiti* - *izvršite*

long

blúdit - *blúdi*; *cúrit* - *cúri*; *cvilit* - *cvíli*, *cvílino*; *gájiti* - *gáji*, *gájimo*, *gájite*; *glúmit* - *glúmī*, *glúmimo*; *júrit* - *júri*, *júrimo*; *zasládit* - *sládi*, *zàsládi*; *slèditi* - *slèdi*, *slèdimo* (with *-je-* from the standard language); *srámiti* *se* - *se srámi*; *svítliti* - *svítli* [**světliti*]; *štítiti* - *štíti*, *štítimo* (cf. *štít*, *štíta*, *štítovī*); *tájiti* - *tájīš*, *táji*, *tájimo*; *téžiti* - *téži*; *vážiti* - *ne váži*, *ne vážite*; *vríditi* - *vrídi*; *žáriti* *se* - *žári* *se*; *žúriti* - *se žúri*, *se žúrimo*

mixed

govórit - *gòvorī*, *gòvorīmo*

inconclusive

lápiti - *lápilo*, *lápila* (no present) [**xlapiti*]; *porúbiti*; *pomládit*; *ozlíditi*; *osvòjiti*; *zlátiti*

2.4 Brnaze/Sinj – Neo-Štokavian (Western Ikavian Dialect)

Dialect has the usual four-accent system with stable posttonic length. " is 'canonical. Old *ě yields *i*, in general there is no phoneme *h*, syllabic *r* is mostly shortened (cf. *křv*) with some exceptions (*mřsiti*), *č* and *ć* are distinct, *v* is a fricative, *-m* > *-n* in the end of the word, infinitive ends in *-t* (*-i* in *-it* is often reduced in fast speech), *l*-participle ends in *-io* (< **-ilъ*).

a.p. A

bávit se - *bavīmo se*; *blàtiti* - *blàti*; *cèriti* *se* - *cèri se*; *čistiti* - *čísti*; *čúdit se* - *čúdi se*; *děsiti se* - *děsi se*; *đimit se* - *đimī se*; *gàditi* - *gàdi*; *gàziti* - *gàzi*; *gràbiti* - *gràbi*; *grělit* - *grěli*; *đjarila se*; *kàmeniti se* - *kàmeni se*; *kítiti* - *kíti*; *kùpiti* - *kùpi*, *skùpimo*; *kùriti* - *kùri* 'it sells well'; *kùžiti* - *kùži*, *kùžimo*; *kìseliti* - *kìseli*; *slìčiti* - *slìči*, *slìčimo*; *lùpiti* - *lùpi*; *mìli mi se*; *mìriti* - *mìrimo* [**mèriti*]; *mùčiti* - *mùči*; *mìsliti* - *mìslī*; *mřviti* - *mřvi*; *nùditi* - *nùdi*; *nàuditi* - *nàudi*; *pàziti* - *pàzi*; *pìniti se* - *pìni se* 'be angry' [**pèniti*]; *plàšiti* - *plàši*; *plàziti* - *plàzi*; *pràtiti* - *pràti*; *pràviti* - *pràvi*; *prùžiti* - *prùži*; *pùšiti* - *pùši*; *pàpřiti* - *pàpři*; *rànit* - *ràni*; *rùšiti* - *rùši*; *sìtiti se* - *sìti se* [**sètiti*]; *sìliti se* - *se sìli* 'act all important' (cf. adj. *sìlena*); *slàviti* - *slàvi*; *stàviti* - *stàvi*; *stràšiti* - *stràši*; *sřiti* - *sři*, *ùsřilo*; *šàliti se* - *šàli se*; *tjěšiti*; *tlàčiti* - *tlàči*; *vàditi* - *vàdi*; *vlàžiti* - *vlàži*; *žàliti* - *žàli*

bògàtiti - *bògàti*; *bòraviti* - *bòravī*; *zgòtoviti* - *zgòtovī*; *kòristiti* - *kòristī*; *přikačiti* - *přikači*; *ùlaziti* - *ùlazi*; *òmediti* - *òmedī* (cf. *mèda*, A.sg. *mèdu*, N.pl. *mède*); *pònositi* - *pònosī* (sic!); *pùstošiti* - *pùstoši*; *nàpřiti* - *nàpři*; *zàratiti* - *zàratī*; *zàsìtiti se* - *se zàsìtiš*; *òzdraviti* - *òzdravi*; *tòvariti* - *tòvari*; *tùmačiti* - *tùmači*; *izvisiti* - *izvisī*; *pròvřiti* - *pròvřiti* [**vèvřiti*]; *ozàkoniti* - *ozàkonī*

a.p. B**short**

blagòslòviti - *blagòslòvi*; *govòriti* - *gòvorin*, *gòvorī*; *kàzniti* - *kàznī*; *mòliti* - *mòli*, *mòlīmo*; *nòsiti* - *nòsi*; *pùstiti* - *pùsti*, *pùstite*; *ròditi* - *ròdi*; *skòčiti* - *skòči*, *skòčimo*; *svìdòčiti* - *svìdòči*; *vòziti* - *vòzi*; *žèniti* - *žèni*, *žènimo*

učvřstiti - *učvřsti*; *ogòliti* - *ogoli*; *zaklòpiti* - *zaklopī*, aor. *zàklopī*; *prìlagòditi* - *prìlagodi*; *ponòviti* - *pònovī*; *oplemèniti* - *oplemeni*; *pokòriti* - *pòkori*; *připolòviti* - *připòlovi*; *upozòriti* - *upòzoriš*; *spřijatèliti* - *spřijatèli*; *uròtiti* - *uròti*; *ustanòviti* - *ustànovī*; *osvòjiti* - *òsvoji*; *òtvorī*

long

ublàžiti - *ublàži*; *brànit* - *bràni*; *brùsiti* - *brùsi*; *búdit* - *búdi*; *búšiti* - *búši*; *cjèditi* - *cjèdi*; *cjèniti* - *cjèni*; *cjèpiti* - *cjèpi*; *udàžiti se* - *udàži*; *dàviti se* - *se dàvi*; *dìliti* - *dìli* [**dèliti*]; *díviti* - *dívi*; *dràžiti* - *dràži*; *drùžiti se* - *drùžin se*, *drùži se*; *odušèviti* - *odušèvi*; *dùšiti* - *dùši*, *izdùši*; *gásiti* - *gàsī*; *gnízđiti* - *gnízđi* [**gnèzditi*]; *gnávit* - *gnávī*; *gráđiti* - *gráđi*; *gospodàriti* - *gospòdàri*; *grjèšiti* - *grjèši*; *gròziti* - *gròzi*; *gúlit* - *gúli*; *láđiti* - *ládi* [**xolditi*]; *hràbřiti* - *hràbři*; *rànit* - *rànin*, *ràni* [**xorniti*]; *fàliti* - *fàli* [**xvaliti*]; *objásniti* - *òbjàsni*; *jávit* - *jávī*; *ujedíniti* - *ujedínī*; *zaklúčiti* - *zàklúči*; *krátiti* - *kràti*; *krípiti* - *krípī*, *krípimo* [**krèpiti*]; *raskrìliti* - *ràskrìli*; *kríviti* - *krívī*; *přikrìžiti* - *přikrìži*; *krúžiti* - *krúži*; *kùpiti* - *kùpi*, *kàpimo*; *kvásiti* - *krúv se kvàsī*; *lìčiti* - *lìči* [**lèčiti*]; *ulíniti se* - *ùlínimo se* [**lèniti*]; *lípiti* - *lípī*, *lípimo* [**lèpiti*]; *lùbiti* - *lùbi*, *lùbimo*; *lútiti* - *lúti*; *lúšiti* - *lúšti*; *mámiti* - *màmi*; *zamásti*; *mísiti* - *mìsi*

[*mēsiti]; *mirit se - mīrē se; mlātit - mlātī; mrāčit - mrāčī; mūtīt - mūtī; oblāčit - òblāčīn* 'dress'; *oblāčit se - se òblāčī* 'cloud'; *sūzīt - sūzī* [*qziti]; *pālit - pālī; opamētīt - opāmētī; plātīt - plātī; prāšīt - prāšī lōzu; prītīt - prītī* [*pertiti]; *protīvīt - pròtīvī; rādīt - rādī; razrādīt - rāzrādī* [*rēditi]; *rjēšīt - rjēšī; prirēdīt - prīrēdī; rūzīt - rūžī* 'speak ill of someone'; *sādīt - sādī; slādīt - slādī; sūdīt - sūdī; zastrānīt - zāstrānī; stūpīt - stūpī; sūšīt - sūšī; šīrīt - šīrī; trībīt - trībī* [*terbiti]; *tūpīt - tūpīn, tūpī; tūzīt - tūzīn; trāžīt - trāžī; trūdīt se - trūdī se; trīznīt - trīznī* [*terzniti]; *provālit - pròvālī; vārīt - vārī; povlāčit - pòvlāčī; vrātī; znāčit - znāčī* (also *znāčī?*); *ždrībīt - ždrībī* [*žerbiti]; *ožīvīt - ožīvīn* (trans.)

a.p. C

short

bòrit se - bōrī se, bōrīmo se; bròdīt - bròdī; bròjīt - bròjīn, bròjī; čāstīt - čāstīn, čāstī; dōjīt - dōjīn, dōjī; dròbīt - dròbīn, dròbī; dvòjīt - dvòjī; dvòrit - dvòrīn, dvòrī; gñòjīt - gñòjīn, gñòjī, pògñòjī; gòstīt - gòstīn, gòstī; jèdrit - jèdrīn, jèdrī/jīdrī; kòsit - kòsī, kòsīmo, pòkosīš, pòkosī; kròjīt - kròjī, kròjīmo; škropīt - škropī; kròtīt - kròtī, kròtīmo; křstīt - křstī; kāsīt - kāsī; lèdīt - lèdī; lòmīt - lòmī, lòmīmo, lòmīte, pòlomīš, slòmīš, slòmī, slòmīte; lòvit - lòvī, lòvīmo, lòvīte, ùlovī; lòžīt - lòžī, lòžīmo, nāložīte; māsīt - māsī 'thresh grapes'; *mòčīt - mòčī; nòčīt - nòčī; òrit se - òrī se; òštrīt - òštrīn, òštrī se; sūzī* [*slbziti]; *plòvīt - plòvī; pòjīt - pòjī, nāpojīš; pòstīt - pòstī, pòstīmo; pròsīt - pròsī, pròsīmo; pròstīt - da pròstīš, òprostīš; ròčī* 'he serves time in the army'; *ròjīt - ròjē se; rònīt - rònī, rònīmo, zàronī; sèlit se - sèlī se, sèlīmo se, prīsèlī se; sòlit - sòlī; sramòtīt - sramòtī; cāklit se - cākli se; sūzīt - sūzī* [*slbziti]; *škòpīt - škòpī; tòčīt - tòčī; tòpīt - tòpī, ùtopī; tòvīt - tòvī; tròšīt - tròšīn, tròšī; vesèlit se - vesèlī se; znòjīt se - znòjī se; zvònit - zvònī; žalòstīt - žalòstī*

shortened

čīnīt - čīnī, učīnī; gùbīt - gùbīn, gùbī, izgubī; ùčīt - ùčī

břstīt - břstī; cřpīt - cřpī; křšīt - křšī; křčīt - křčī; křmīt - křmī 'sleep (derogative)'; *třsīt se - třsī se za pòsā*

long

brújīt - brújī; cvīlīt - cvīlī; cúrit - cúrī; dúbīt - dúbīn, dúbī, dúbē, izdúbīmo; glúmit - glúmī; júrit - júrī; mlīt - mlī 'stroke/fondle a cat'; *mřsīt - mřsīš* 'cheat'; *snízīt - snízī* (2x); *sljédīt - sljédī* (also *sljēdī*); *srāmīt se - srāmī se; svītīt - svītī, zāsvītī* [*světłiti]; *štītīt - štītī; trātīt - trātī; trúbīt - trúbīn, trúbī, zàtrúbī; vāžīt - vāžī; vrídīt - vrídī* [*verditi]; *žārit - žārī; žúrīt se - žúrī se*

vacillation

gònit - gònī/gònī, gònīmo; líbīt se - líbī se, líbīmo se; tèlit - tèlī/tèlī, òtèlī

inconclusive

klònit se - klòni me se! (no present tense); *zatòplit - zatòplilo*

2.5 Stobreč (near Split) – Neo-Štokavian (Western Ikavian Dialect)

The dialect has the usual Neo-Štokavian four accents but posttonic length is preserved only in the syllable immediately after the rising accents (with sporadic shortenings in that position as well). " is short, "canonical". Old *ě yields *i*, in general there is no phoneme *h*, syllabic *r* is usually shortened (cf. *uévřstīt*), but is occasionally preserved (*křčīt*), there is only one *ć* (pronounced as *č*, as in nearby Split, and here written like that), *v* is a fricative, infinitive ends in *-t*.

NOTE: The dialect of Stobreč is usually classified as Čakavian (cf. Moguš 1977: 103), however I could not find basis for such a claim in the limited material I obtained from my young Stobreč informant (who is in his twenties). The loss of posttonic length is frequent in Čakavian dialects (the length after Neo-Štokavian rising accents being old stressed length, of course), although north of Split štokavized Čakavian dialects of Kaštila preserve it well. There is no typical Čakavian lengthening in the examples like *dīm, stār*. I noted the form *jēsān* which does exhibit lengthening in front of a final sonorant (cf. Kapović 2008) but this form does not exclusively point to Čakavian at all since it is found in the neighboring Štokavian dialects of Gornja Poljica (cf. *jēsān* in Dolac Donji), as well as in Neo-Štokavian dialects of Imotska krajina (Šimundić 1971) and Makarsko primorje. I shall leave the problem of the classification of the dialect of Stobreč outside the scope of this work since it is not really relevant in our discussion.

a.p. A

bāvīt se - bāvīmo se; blātīt - blātīmo; cèrit se - cèrīmo se; čīstīt - čīstīmo; ćūdīt se - ćūdīmo se; dēsīt se - dēsī se; dīmīt se - se dīmī; gādīt - gādīmo, se gādī; gāzīt - gāzīmo; glādīt - glādīmo; gòdīt - gòdī; grābīt - grābīmo; gřbīt - gřbīš; gřlīt - gřlīmo; jèdrit - jèdrīmo; jānīt se - se òjānī; jārit se - se òjārī; kāsīt - kāsīmo; kītīt - kītīmo; kūpīt - skūpīmo; kvāčīt - kvāčīmo; kvāsīt - kvāsīmo; slīčīt - slīčīmo; mlīt - mlī mi se; mřrīt - mřrīmo [*mēriti]; *mūčīt - mūčīmo; mřslīt - mřslīmo; mřvīt - mřvīmo; nūdīt - nūdīmo; pāzīt - pāzīmo; pīnīt - pīnīmo* [*pēniti]; *plāšīt - plāšīmo; plāzīt - plāzīmo; prātīt - prātīmo; prāvīt - prāvīmo; prūžīt - prūžīmo; pūšīt - pūšīmo; přtīt - přtīmo; rānīt - rānīmo; rūšīt - rūšīmo; sītīt se - se sīti* [*sētiti]; *sīlīt - sīlīmo; slāvīt - slāvīmo; sřrīt se - se sřrī; šālīt se - šālīmo se; tjēšīt - tjēšīmo; tlāčīt - tlāčīmo; trātīt - trātīmo; vādīt - vādīmo; vřrīt se - vřrīmo se* [*vēriti]; *vřtrīt - vřtrī se, vřtrīmo* [*vētriti]; *vlāžīt - vlāžī, vlāžīmo; žālīt - žālīmo*

bogatit se - se bogatimo; bõravit - bõravimo; kòristit - kòristimo; òkusit - òkusimo; ùlazit - ùlazimo; nàudit - nàudimo; pústošit - pústošimo; zàratit - zàratimo; zàsítit - zàsítimo; òzdravit - òzdravimo; tòvarit - tòvarimo; izvisit - izvisimo; ozákonit - ozákonimo

a.p. B**short**

blagoslòvit - blagoslovimo; gònit - gòni; govòrit - govòrimo; mòlit - mòlimo; nòsit - nòsimo; plòdit - plòdimo; plòvit - plòvimo; pùstit - pùstimo; ròdit - ròdi, ròdimo; skòcít - skòcimo; vòzit - vòzimo; žènit - žèni

uèvrštit - uèvrštimo; ogòlit - ogòli; zgròmit - zgròmimo; klònit se - se ùkloni; zaklòpit - zaklopimo; raskòlit - raskolimo; prilagòdit - prilagòdimo; primòstít - priimostí; umrtvit - umrtvimo; ponòvit - ponovimo; oplemènit - oplèmeni; upokòjit - upokojimo; pokòrit - pokorimo; pripolòvit - pripolovimo; ponòsit se - ponosimo se; zapòpit se - se zápopi; raspòrit - raspòrimo; upozòrit - upozorimo; sprijatèlit - sprijatèlimo; osvòjit - osvovimo; zatvòrit - zátvorimo; izvřšit - izvřšimo

long

ublážit - ùblážimo; bránit - bránimo; brúsit - brúsimo; búdit - búdimo; búšit - búšimo; cídit - cídimo [*čèditi]; cjénit - cjènimò; cjépit - cjèpimo; událit se - ùdáljimo; dávit se - se dávimo; dílit - dílimo [*dèliti]; dívit - dívimo; drúžit se - se drúžimo; dúrit - dúri; dúšit - gùma dúši; gásit - gásimo; glúšit - glúši; gnézdít - gnézdimo; gnávit - gnávimo; glásit - glási; uglávit - uglávi; grádit - grádimò; gospodárit - gospodárimo; grjéšit - grjéšimo; gúlit - gúlimo; grádit - grádimò; ládit - ládimò [*xolditi]; lápit - lápi [*xlapiti]; hrábrit - hrábrimo; ránit - ránimo [*xorniti]; fálit - fálimo [*xvaliti]; objásnit - òbjásnimò; jávit - jávimo; ujedínit - ujedínimo; zaklúçit - zaklúçimo; krátit - krátimo; krípít - krípimo [*krèpiti]; krísit - krísimo [*krèsiti]; krívít - krívimo; prekrízit - prekrízimo; ukrútit se - ùkrútimo se; krúžit - krúžimo; kúpit - kúpimo; líçit - líçimo [*lèçiti]; ulínit se - ùlínimo se [*lèniti]; lípit - lípimo [*lèpiti]; lúbit - lúbimo; lútít - lútimo; lúštit - lúštimo; mástít - mástimo; mísit - mísimo [*mèsiti]; mírit se - se míru; mlátít - mlátimo; mráçit - mráçi; mútit - mútimo; náglit - náglimo; snízit - snízimo; obláçit - òbláçimo 'dress'; obláçit - se òbláçi 'cloud'; súzit - súzimo [*qziti]; pálit - pálimo; opamétít se - opamétimo se; plénit - plénimo; plátít - pláti; pogánit - pògánimo; prášít - prášimo; prítít - prítimo [*pertiti]; protívít - pròtívimo; rádit - rádimò; rídít - rídimo [*rèditi]; ríšít - ríšimo [*rèšiti]; prirédít - prirèdi; rúbit - rúbimo; sádit - sádimò; sládit - sládimò; súdit - súdimò; ustrílít - ùstrílímò [*strèliti]; súšít - súšimo; osvétít - òsvétímò 'revenge'; pòsvèti 'blesses'; ídit - ídi [*èditi]; štitít - štitímò; širit - širimo; tríbit - tríbimo [*terbiti]; túpit - se tûpi, tûpimo; túžit - túžimo; trážit - trážimo; trúsit - trúsimo; trúdit se - trúdimò se; tríznit - tríznimò [*terzniti]; proválit - pròválímò; várit - várimò; povláçit -

pòvláçimo; vrátít - vrátímò; znáçit - znáçi, znáçimò; zlátít - zláti (se); žárit - žárimò

a.p. C**short**

bòrit se - bõrimò se; çástít - çástímò; dòjit - dòjimò; dròbit - dròbimò; glòbit - glòbimò; gròjít - gròjì; gòstít se - se gòstì; kamènit se - se kamèni; kòsit - kòsimo; kòtít - kòtì, òkoti (cf. òkāca); kròjít - kròjì; škròpit - škròpimò; kròtit - kròtimò; křstít - křstímò; kásnit - kásnimò; lèdit - lèdimò; lòmit - lòmì; lòvit - lòvimo; lòžit - lòžimò; mòçit - mòçimò [*moçiti]; mòrit - mòrì; mòtrit - mòtrì; mnòžit - mnòžimò; nòçit - nòçimò; òrit se - se òri; òštrit - òštri; pòjit - pòjimò; pòstít - pòstímò; pòtit - pòtimò; pròsit - pròsimò; pàprit - pàprimò; ròjit se - ròjù se; rònit - rònimò; sèlit - sèli, sèlimò; sòlit - sòlimò; sramòtit - sramòtimò; stròjit - stròjimò; càklit se - càkli se, càklímò se; svjedòçit - svjedòçi; tèlit - tèli; tòplit - tòplímò; tòçit - tòçimò; tòpit - tòpì; tòvit - tòvì; tròšit - tròšimò; vesèlit se - vesèlimò se; znòjit se - znòjì se; zòrit - zòri; zvònit - zvònimò; žalòstít - žalòstímò

shortened

çínit - çinimò; gùbit - gùbimò; ùçit - ùçi

břstít - břstímò; çřpit - çřpimò; křšít - křšimò; mřsit - mřsi; trřsit - trřsimò

long

cvílít - cvílímò; cúrit - cúri; dúbit - dúbimò; glúmit - glúmimò; júrit - júrimò; křçit - křçi [*křçiti]; sljédít - sljédimò; smjéšit - smjéšimò; srámít se - srámimò se; svítlit - svítlimò [*svètłiti]; téžit - téžimò; trúbit - trúbimò; vážit - váži; vrídít - vrídì [*verditi]; žúrit se - žúri se

mixed

odušèvit - odušèvi; kisèlit - kisèlimò

vacillation

sùzi/sùzi [*slbziti]

2.6 Čačinci (North Central Slavonia) – Neo-Štokavian (East Herzegovinian Dialect)

The dialect has four Neo-Štokavian accents but no posttonic length. " is pronounced canonically. Syllabic *r* can be both short and long, there is only one "middle" *č* and *ž* (written here as *č* and *ž*), *v* is a fricative, **ě* yield *je* and *x* is preserved. The infinitive ends in *-ti* or *-t*.

a.p. A

bāviti se - bāvimo se; blātiti - blātimo; bīstriti - bīstrimo; čistiti - čistimo; čūditi se - čūdimo se; dūriti se - dūrimo se; dīmīti se - dīmi se; gāditi se - gādimo se, gādi se (secondary); gāziti - gāzimo; glāditi - glādimo; grābiti - grābimo; hrliti - hrlimo; jāniti se - jāni se; jāriti se - jāri se; įskri se; kāzniti - kāznimo; kītiti - kītimo; kūpiti - kūpimo; kūseliti - kūselimo; ličiti - ličimo; lišiti - lišimo; lūpiti - lūpimo; mjēriti - mjērimo; mūčiti - mūčimo; mīsliti - mīslimo; mrviti - mrvimo; nūditi - nūdimo; pāziti - pāzimo; pjēniti - pjēnimo; plāšiti - plāšimo; prātiti - prātimo; prāviti - prāvimo; prūžiti - prūžimo; pūšiti - pūšimo; pāpriti, zāpapriti - pāprimo, zāpaprimo; pṛtiti - pṛtimo; rāniti - rānimo; rūšiti - rūšimo; sjētiti se - sjētimo se, sjēti se; siliti - silito; slāviti - slāvimo; slābiti - slābimo; stāviti - stāvimo; strāšiti - strāšimo; siriti se - siri se; šālitī se - šālimo se; tješiti - tješimo; tlāčiti - tlāčimo; trātiti - trātimo; tṛžiti - tṛžimo; vāditi - vādimo; vēdriti se - vēdri se²⁴; vlāžiti - vlāžimo; žālitī - žālimo

bogatiti se - bogatimo se; bōraviti - bōravimo; kōristiti - kōristimo; ōkusiti - ōkusimo; ūlaziti - ūlazimo; ōmežiti - ōmežimo; nāuditi - nāudimo; pūstošiti - pūstošimo; zāratiti - zāratī; pōspješiti - pōspješimo; zāsītiti se - zāsītimo se; ōzdraviti - ōzdravimo [transitive]; tōvariti - tōvarimo; ūdariti - ūdarimo; izvjesiti - izvjesimo; ozakōniti (secondary) - ozakōnimo

a.p. B

short

gōniti - gōnimo; govōriti - govōrimo; grbiti²⁵ - grbi, grbimo; grliti - grlīmo; klōniti se - klōnimo se; krōjiti - krōjim, prēkrojimo; krōtiti - krōtimo; kvāčiti - kvāčimo; kvāsiti - kvāsimo; lēditi se - lēdi se; mōčiti - mōčimo; mōliti - mōlīmo; nōsiti - nōsimo; pitōmiti - pitōmimo; prōsiti - prōsimo; pūstīti - pūstimo; rōditi - rōdim, rōdi, rōdi se; rōnit - rōnimo; sōliti - sōlīmo; sramōtiti - sramōtimo; cāklitī se - cākli se; štrōjiti - štrōjimo 'castrate'; svjedōčiti - svjedōčimo; vesēlitī se - vesēlimo se; vōziti - vōzimo; žalōstīti - žalōstimo

blagoslōviti - blagoslovimo; zgrōmiti - zgrōmimo; skamēniti se - skāmeni; zaklōpiti - zaklopimo; raskōliti - raskolimo; prilagōditi - prilāgodimo; premōstīti - prēmōstimo; ponōviti - pōnovimo; oplemēniti se - oplēmeni se; pokōriti - pōkorimo; prepōlōviti - prepōlovimo; ponōsiti se - pōnosimo se; raspōriti - rāsporimo; upozōriti - upōzorimo; sprijatēliti se - sprijāteļimo se; skōčiti - skōčimo; ustanōviti - ustānovimo; osvōjiti - ōsvoji; zatōmiti - zātōmimo; zaūstīti - zāustimo; otvōriti, zatvōriti - ōtvorimo, zātvorimo

²⁴ Vēdriti probably by analogy to the present tense since the root has the etymological *-e-.

²⁵ Obviously secondary for grbiti attested elsewhere.

long

blūditi - blūdimo; bjēliti - bjēlimo; ublāžiti - ūblāžimo; brāniti - brānimo; brūsiti - brūsimo; brstīti - brstimo; būditi - būdimo; būšiti - būšimo; cjēditi - cjēdimo; cjēliti - cjēlimo; cjēniti - cjēnimo; cjēpiti - cjēpimo; cērīti se - cērīmo se; cvlīti - cvlīmo; crniti - crnimo; učvrstīti - učvrstimo; udāļiti se - ūdāļimo se; dāviti - dāvimo; djēliti - djēlimo; dīčiti se - dīčimo se; dīviti se - dīvimo se; drāžiti - drāžimo; družiti se - družimo se; odušēviti se - odušēvimo se; gāsiti - gāsimo; ōgluši; gnjēzdi; gnāviti - gnāvimo; ogōliti - ogōli; glāsi; grāditi - grādimo; gospodārīti - gospōdarimo; grjēšiti - grjēšimo; grōziti se - grōzimo se; gūliti - gūlīmo; grđiti - grđimo; hlāditi - hlādimo; hlāpiti - hlāpi; hrābriti - hrābrimo; hrāniti - hrānimo; hūliti - hūlīmo; hvāliti - hvālīmo; objāsniti - objāsnimo; jāviti - jāvimo; ujedīniti - ujedīnimo; kāditi - kādimo; kālitī se - kāli se; zaklūčiti - zaklūčimo; klātiti - klāti; krātiti - krātimo; krjēpiti - krjēpimo; krjēsiti se - krjēsī se; krāsiti - krāsimo; raskrīliti - rāskrīli; kriviti - krīvi; prekrīžiti - prekrīžimo; ukrūtiti se - ūkrutimo se; krūžiti - krūžimo; kūditi - kūdimo; kūpiti - kūpimo; kūrīti - kūrīmo; krmīti - krmīmo; ljēčiti - ljēčimo; uljēniti se - ūljenimo se; ljēpiti - ljēpimo; lībiti se - lībimo se; lūbiti - lūbimo; lūtiti - lūtīmo; lūštiti - lūštīmo; māmīti - māmīmo; mārīti - mārīmo; māsītiti - māsītimo; mjēsiti - mjēsimo; mesārīti - mesārīmo; mīriti se - mīrimo se; mlāčiti - mlāčimo; mlāditi - mlādi; mlātiti - mlātīmo; mrāčiti se - mrāči se; mūtiti - mūtīmo; nāgliti - nāglīmo; snīziti - snīzimo; oblāčiti se - ōblačimo se, ōblači se 'dress'; oblāčiti se - ōblači se 'cloud'; sūziti - sūzi [*qziti]; pāliti - pālīmo; opamētīti - opāmetimo; plēniti - plēnimo; piliti - pīlīmo; plātiti - plātīmo; plāziti - plāzimo; prāsiti se - prāsi se; prāšiti se - prāši se; prjētīti - prjētīmo; protīvīt se - prōtivīmo se; rāditi - rādīmo; rjēšiti - rjēšimo; prirēditi - prīredīmo; rūbiti - rūbimo; sāditi - sādīmo; sljēditi - sljēdimo; smjēšiti se - smjēšimo se; snāžiti - snāžimo; snūbiti - snūbimo; slāditi - slādimo; sūditi - sūdīmo; zastrāniti - zāstrānimo; stūpiti - stūpīmo; ustrjēliti - ūstrjelimo; sūšiti - sūšimo; svētīti se - svētim se, svēti se 'take revenge'; svētīti - svētim, svēti 'bless'; srditi - srdīmo; štītiti - štītīmo; šrīti - šrīmo; tājiti - tājīmo; trjēbiti - trjēbimo; tēžiti - tēžimo; tūpiti - tūpi, tūpi se; tūžiti - tūžimo; trāžiti - trāžimo; trūbiti - trūbimo; trūditi se - trūdīmo se; trjēzniti se - trjēznīmo se; vābiti - vābimo; provāliti - prōvalīmo; vāriti - vārīmo; povlāčiti - pōvlačimo; vrātiti - vrātīmo; izvřšiti - izvřšimo; ozārīti se - ōzarīmo se; znāčiti - znāči, znāčimo; žārīti - žārīmo; ždrjēbiti - ždrjēbimo; žūrīti se - žūrīmo se, žūrīmo se

a.p. C

short

bōriti se - bōrimo se; čāstīti - čāstimo; dōjiti - dōji, dōjimo; drōbiti - drōbimo; gnōjiti - gnōjimo; gōjiti - gōjimo; gōstīti - gōstimo; kōriti - kōrimo; kōsiti - kōsimo 'mow'; kōsiti se - kōsi se 'go against'; kōtiti - kōtimo; škrōpiti - škrōpimo; křšiti -

křšimo; křštiti (secondary) - křštimo; křčiti - křčimo; kāsniiti - kāsniimo; lōmīti - lōmīm, lōmīmo; lōvīti - lōvīmo; lōžīti - lōžīmo; mōkriiti - mōkriimo; mōriiti - mōriimo; mōtriiti - mōtriimo; mnōžīti - mnōžīmo; māgliiti se - māgli se; nōčīti - nōči se (?); ōriiti se - ōri se; ōštriiti - ōštriim, ōštriimo (nāoštriim); plōdiiti - plōdiimo; plōvīti - plōvīmo; pōjīti - pōjīmo; pōstiiti - pōstiimo; prōstiiti - da prōstiš, da prostīte; rōjīti - rōje; rōsiiti - rōsi se; tēliiti se - tēli se; tōpliiti se - tōpli se; tōčīti - tōčīmo, tōči, tōči se; tōpīmo, tōpīmo; trōšīti - trōšīmo, trōši se; trīsīti - trīsīmo; znōjīti se - znōji se, znōjīmo se; zōriiti - zōri 'ripen'; zvōniiti - zvōni, zvōniimo; žēniiti se - žēniimo se

shortened

čīniiti - čīniimo; gūbiiti - gūbiimo; ūčiiti - ūčiimo

long

brūjīti - brūjīmo; cūriiti - cūri; cūpīti - cūpīmo; glūmiiti - glūmiimo; jūriiti - jūriimo; kūžīti - kūžīmo; lūčiiti - lūči; mūsīti - mūsīmo; srāmīti se - srāmīmo se; svjētlīti - svjētlī; vāžīti - vāži; vrjēdiiti - vrjēdiimo

a.p. B-C vacillation

sēliiti se - sēliimo se, sēli se; tōvīti - tōvīmo, se tōve²⁶

inconclusive

*sūzi (A.p. A or B) [*sl̥ziti]*

2.7 Nova Drenčina (South-West Slavonia) – Neo-Štokavian (East Herzegovinian Dialect)

The dialect has the usual Neo-Štokavian four accents but no posttonic length. " is usually pronounced in the "classical" manner, short, but perhaps not as "sharp" as elsewhere. Old *ě yields *je*, in general there is no phoneme *h*, syllabic *r* can be both short and long, *č* and *ć* are distinct, *v* is a fricative, infinitive ends in *-t*.

a.p. A

bāvit - bāvim se; blātit - blātim; cērit se - cērim se; čīstīti - čīstīim; čūdiiti se - čūdiim se; cūpīti - cūpīim; dēsīti - dēsī; dūriiti - dūri se; dīmīti - dīmī se; gādiiti - gādi se; gāzīti - gāzim; glādiiti - glādiim; grābiiti - grābiim; gūliiti - gūliim; kāsniiti - kāsniim; kītiiti - kīti; klātiiti - klāti; kūpīti - kūpīim; kūžīti - kūžīim; kvāčiiti - kvāči; kāsniiti - kāsniim; kīsēliiti - kīsēli; lātiiti se - se lāti; līčiiti - līči; lūpīti - lūpi; mjēriiti - mjēriim; mūčiiti - mūčiim;

²⁶ The long vowel is unexpected as well of course.

*mīslīti - mīslīim; mūvīti - mūvim; nūdiiti - nūdi; sūzīti - sūzi [*sl̥ziti]; pāzīti - pāzim; pjēniiti - pjēni se; plāšiiti - plāši; plāzīti - plāzi; prātiiti - prāti; prāvīim; prūžīti - prūži, prūžiiti, prūžiite!; pūšiiti - pūši; rāniiti - rāniim; rūšiiti - rūši; sjētiiti se - sjēti se; sīliiti - sīliim; slāvīiti - slāvīim; stāvīiti - stāvīimo; strāšiiti - strāši; sīriiti - sīri se; šālīiti se - šālīim se; štītiiti - štītiim (cf. štīt, G. štīta); tjēšiiti - tjēši; tlāčiiti - tlāči; trātiiti - trātiimo; vādīiti - vādīimo; vlāžiiti - vlāži; žālīiti - žālīimo*

bōgatīiti se - bōgatīim se; bōravīiti - bōravi; kōristīiti - kōristi; okrvāvīiti - okrvāvi; ūlazīiti - ūlazīim; nāudiiti - nāudiim; pūstošiiti - pūstoši; zāratiiti - zārati; zāsitiiti - zāsitiim se; ōzdrāvīiti - ōzdrāvīim, ōzdrāvi; tōvarīiti - tōvarīimo; tūmačiiti - tūmačiimo; ūdarīiti - ūdari; izvjesīiti - izvjesi

a.p. B

short

blagoslōvīiti - blagoslovīim; dvōjīti - dvōjīim; gōdiiti - gōdi; gōniiti - gōni; klōniiti se - klōni; krōtiiti - krōti; lōvīiti - lōvim, lōvīmo; mōliiti - mōli; mōriiti - mōre; nōčiiti - nōčiim; nōsiiti - nōsiim; ōštriiti - ōštriim, ōštri; plōvīiti - plōvi, plōvīmo; prōsiiti - prōsiim, prōsiimo; pūstiiti - pūsti; pāpriiti - pāpri (cf. pāpar); rōdiiti - rōdiim, rōdi; sēliiti se - sēliim se, se sēliimo; skōčiiti - skōči; sramōtiiti - sramōtiim, sramōti; svjedōčiiti - svjedōči; tōčiiti - tōči; tōpiiti - tōpi se; ūčiiti - ūčiim; vōzīiti - vōzīimo; zvōniiti - zvōni; žēniiti - žēne se

odušēvīiti - odušēvim; zgotōvīiti - zgotōvīim; zgrōmiiti - zgrōmīim; skāmēniiti se - skāmēniim se; zaklōpiiti - zaklōpi; raskōliiti - raskōli; prilāgōdiiti - prilāgōdi; premōstiiti - premōstiim; umrtvīiti - umrtvi; obnōvīiti - obnōvi; pokōriiti - pokōri; prepōlōvīiti - prepōlōvi; ponōsiiti - pōnosīim se (sic!); raspōriiti - raspōri; upozōriiti - upozōri; sprijatēliiti se - se sprijatēli; ustanōvīiti - ustanōvīim; osvōjīiti - osvōji; zatvōriiti - zatvōrim

long

*blūdiiti - blūdiim; ublāžiiti - ūblažīim; brāniiti - brāniim; brūsīiti - brūsīim; būdiiti - būdiim; būšiiti - būšiim; cjēdiiti - cjēdiim; cjēniiti - cjēni; cjēpiiti - cjēpi; učvrstīiti - učvrstīim; udāliiti - udāliim; dāvīiti - dāvi; djēliiti - djēliim; dīčiiti - dīčiim; dīviiti - dīviim; drāžiiti - drāžīim, drāži; drūžiiti - drūžīimo se; gāsīiti - gāsīim; zagūtiiti - gūti (?) (the informant's grandmother used this verb); gnēzdiiti se - gnēzdi se; gnāviiti - gnāvi; glāsīiti - glāsī; uglāvīiti - ūglāvi; grādiiti - grādiim; gospōdarīiti - gospōdarīim; govōriiti - govōriim; grjēšiiti - grjēšīim; grōzīiti se - grōzīim se; gūliiti - gūliim; grībiiti - grībiim; lādīiti - se lādi, olādīilo [*xolditi]; hrābrīiti - hrābrīim; rāniiti - rāniim, narānio (cf. rāna) [*xorniti]; fālīiti - fālīim (cf. fāla) [*xvaliti]; objāsniiti - objāsne; jāviiti - jāvi; ujedīniiti - ujedīni; jūriiti - jūriim; kāniiti - kāniim; zaključīiti - zākluči; krātiiti - krāti; krjēpiiti - krjēpi; okūsīiti - okūsi; krāsīiti - krāsi; raskrīliiti - raskrīli; krīviiti - krīvi; prekrižiiti - prekriži; krūžiiti - krūži; kūdiiti - kūdi; kūpiiti - kūpiim; kūrīiti - kūrīim vātru; ljēčiiti/lēčiiti*

- ljěči/lěči; ulěnit se - ulenim se; lěpit - lěpim; libit se - libim se; lúbit - lúbi; lútit - lúti; lúštit - lúšti; mámit - mámi; márit - mārīm; mástit - másti; omědit - òmedi (cf. mèda, A.sg. mèdu, N.pl. mède); mílit - míli mi se; mjěsit - mjěsim; mesárit - mēsarim; mírit se - mírimo se; mláčit - mlāči; pomlādit - pòmładi; mlátit - mlāti; mráčit - mrāči; mřsit - mřsi; mútit - mútim; náglit - nāgli; snízit - snīzi; obláčit - òblačim se 'dress'; obláčit - òblači se 'cloud'; súzit - sūzi [*qziti]; pálit - páli; opamětít se - opàmeti se; plátit - plāti; preplávit - prēplavi; prásit - prāsi se; prášit - prāši se; prjětít - prjētim; protivit - pròtivim; rádit - rādim; prorjédít - pròrjedi; rjěšit - rjěšim; prirédít - priredim; rúbit - rúbim; sádit - sādi; slědit - slēdim/sljēdim; smjěšit se - smjěši se; snážit - snāži; sládit - slādi; súdit - sūdīm; zastránit - zàstrani; stúpit - stūpi; ustrjélít - ústrjeli; súšit - sūši; světít se - svēti se; šřit - šřim; trjěbit - trjěbi; túpit - tūpi; túžit - tūžim, tūžimo; trážit - trāžim; trúsit - trūsi; trúdit se - trūdimo se; trjěznit se - trjěznimo se; zaústít - zàustim; vābit - vābimo; razvālit - rāzvalim; vārit - vāri; povláčit - pòvlači; vrátít - vrātim; izvřšit - izvřši; ozárit se - òzari se; znáčit - znāčim; zlátit - zlāti; žárit - žāri; ždrjěbit - ždrjěbi

a.p. C

short

bòrit se - bòrim se; částit - časte; dòjit - dōji, dōjil; dròbit - dròbi; dvòrit - dvòrim; gnòjit - gnòji; gòstit - gòstim, se gòstimo; kòrit - kòri; kòsit - kòsim; kòtit - kòti; kròjit - kròji, kròjimo; škròpit - škròpi; křstit - křsti; lèdit - lèdi; lòmít - lòmim, lòmimo; mòčít - mòči; mòtrít - mòtrim, mòtrimo; mnòžít - mnòžim; òrit se - òri se; plòdit - plòdi; pòjit - blāgo pòjimo; pòpit se - se pòpi; pòstit - pòsti (cf. pòst, G.sg. pòsta); da pròstiš, da prostíte; ròjit - ròje; rònit - rònim; ròsit - ròsi; sòlit - sòli; càklit se - càkli se; škòpit - škòpi; tèlit - tèli se; tòvit - tòvi, tòvimo; tròšit - tròšim; tržítit - tržimo; vesèlit se - vesèlim se; znòjit - znòji; žalòstit - žalòsti

shortened

činit - činimo, učinim; gùbit - gùbim; křšit - křši; křčit - křči; křmit - křmi

long

cvilit - cvilim; cúrit - cúri; dúbit - dúbim; glúmit - glúmim; jári se (cf. jàre); pílit - pílim; srámit se - srámim se; svjélit - svjétli; tájit - tájim, tájimo; téžit - téžim; trúbit - trúbi, trúbimo; vážit - váži; vrjédít - vrjédi; žúrit se - žúrim se

vacillation

jānit se/jānit se - jāni se/jāni se

mixed

ozakònit - ozákoni

2.8 Siče (in Posavina) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Posavina dialect)

Siče is one of the most western Posavina dialects with many interesting traits. " is very well preserved when preceded by length, especially in the end of the word, cf. *krīlò*, but *krīlima*. In the middle of the word, " is also found (cf. *mīšāla* 'mixed') but it is not as stable as in the end of the word where " is much less frequent than " . In general, ' can be analyzed as an allotone of " . " is also always preserved in the middle of the word when preceded by a short syllable, but is retracted in the final position – cf. *pěro*. However, cases of double-accent like *šòkàc* appear occasionally and even old end-stress can be found, though very rarely, cf. *šarèn*, *utušit*. One should also note the existence of a special half-long (falling?) allotone of ` , which appears sporadically (written as ` here), cf. *tūšit*. It can be part of the double-accent as well: *sramòtā*. This allotonic type exists also in Orubica but is more frequent there than in Siče.

" is in Siče in polysyllabic words pronounced almost always "canonically", i.e. very short and falling. In the monosyllables, however, the allotone " appears regularly, cf. *děd*, but *děda*, *sīt* but *sīta*. This allotone is sometimes very long, almost like real long syllables, and sometimes it is shorter and phonetically similar to the ` accent. Additional phonetic research will give us more information here. The neoacute is stable in Siče, except for the fact that it regularly changes to ^ after pretonic length, as elsewhere in Posavina, cf. *se sīvī*, *nāgāl* 'hasty', G.pl. *ričī*. In the middle of the word the sequence " is possible, cf. *sūstāl sam*. Unlike in the rest of Posavina, the lengthening caused by resonants in the coda yields (like in Magić Mala) a neoacute, cf. *posāl*, *devòjka*, *sir*, *čul* but the expected length is often missing due to the leveling of the shortness in the paradigm, cf. *kòń* (not ***kōń*), *pògan* (not ***pogān*), *jèlen* (not ***jelēn*), *jèsam* (not ***jesām* – the exact analogy here is somewhat strange though) etc.

The dialect has both pretonic and posttonic length. Pretonic length is always preserved and there can even be two of them, cf. *Mlādēncī* (a local custom). As usual in Posavina, posttonic length is sometimes shortened phonetically, cf. *bòlestan* instead of *bòlestān*. The length of the thematic *-ī-* in verbs is very well preserved (even after "), while thematic *-a-* and *-e-* are usually short (especially *-e-*, cf. *īdem*, *lāže*, also *potkiva*, *otpija*). The posttonic length sometimes has a very level tone and is very similar to the neoacute.

In this dialect, *č* and *ć* are distinguished, *v* is usually a fricative, final *-l* is, like in Magić Mala and unlike in the rest of Štokavian, preserved (cf. *rodīl*, *posāl*) and *e*, when short and accented, is often pronounced open, like *ε*, cf. *pěcem*. There is no phoneme *h*, except in the usual cases under the influence of the standard language. The phonemes *l* and *n* are palatalized in some positions, both in front of *i* (cf. *vòlīmo*, *naslòńit*), and *l* also after consonants (*mlātīt*) but not in all the words (cf. *vesèlit*, *brāńit*, *povlāčīt*). The prefix *pri-* is always *pre-* in Siče.

The reflex of the *jat* is quite complex in Siče. When long, it is always *i* (*mlikō*), except in a few loans from the standard language (cf. *rjēšit*). When short, it is always *je* in nouns (cf. *jělo*, *svjětlo*) and A.p. A verbs (cf. *rězat* – with *e* for *je* after *r*, *pjěvali*, *sjětiti* etc.) but always *i* in A.p. C shortened stem verbs (*lipit*, *grīšit*) and as the reflex of the thematic *-ě- (cf. *vidit*, *lētiti*). There are only a couple of exceptions to these rules (cf. *Siče*, *sikira*; *tirat* and *ždrēbit* – *ždrebī*). In nouns, one also finds alternations like *tīlo*, N.pl. *tjelesā*. The reason for this kind of reflexes are not clear. One possible explanation is that the dialect was originally completely ikavian (as nearby Magić Mala, which is in other ways also close to Siče) and that all the *je*-forms are the result of the dialect contact or borrowing.

a.p. A

bāvit se - *se bāvīm*; *objēsī!*; *obogātiti* - *bogātīm se*; *blātiti* - *blātīm*; *borāvit* - *borāvīm*; *pobrātiti se* - *pobrāti*, *su se pobrātīli*; *čistiti* - *čistīm* (2x), *čistiš*; *čūdīm se*, *čūdīmo se* (cf. *iščūdāvam*); *ufātiti* - *ufātīm* (2x), *ufātīl* (2x), *ufātīlo* (cf. *fātati*, *fātāmo*) [**xvatiti*]; *lūpiti*, *lūpicū te po klīcama* 'I'll slap you on the mouth' - *lūpīl sam se* (cf. *lūpamo*); *dēsiti* - *dēsī se*, *dēsilo se*; *dīmit se* - *se dīmī* (2x) (cf. *dīm/dīm/dīm*²⁷, G.sg. *dīma*); *gāditi se* - *gādī mi se*, *se gādi*; *gāziti* - *gāzi*; *glāditi* (2x); *zgotōviti* - *zgotōvīm*; *grābiti* - *grābīm*, *grābī*; *gřliti* - *se gřlīmo*; *ojāniti će se* - *óvca se jānī* (3x), *se jānī*, *ojānīla se* (2x); *skāmeniti* (2x) - *skāmenil sam se* (2x); *kūditi* - *kūdīm*; *kūpiti*, *pokūpicū vē čāše* - *kūpīm*; *okūsiti* - *okūsīm*; *kvāčiti* - *se kvāči*, *de zakvāči!*; *kvāsiti* - *kvāsi*, *nakvāsīli*; *kītiti* - *kītīmo*; *kīseliti* - *tō se sād kīseli*; *lākomiti se* (cf. *lākomica* 'kād se na tavānu rūpa onako za kukūruz...'); *ūlāziti*, *dolāziti* - *ūlāzi*, *dolāzīl*, *zalāzīli*; *liči na đēda*, *ličīmo* (3x) (cf. *sličān*, *sličān mu je*); *mīriti* - *mīrī* [**mēriti*]; *mīli mi se*; *mīsliti* - *mīslīm*, *mīslīmo*; *omřšāviti*; *mřviti* - *mřvī*; *nūditi* - *nūdīmo*; *naūditi* - *naūdīm*; *pāziti* - *pāzīm*, *pāzīl*; *pjēniti se* - *se pjēni/pjēni*; *plāšiti* - *po/zaplāšīm*; *prātiti*, *prātīcū te* - *prāti*, *prātiš*; *prāviti* - *prāvī* (2x), *naprāvīš*, *naprāvī/naprāvīl*, *naprāvī posāl!*; *prūžiti* - *ako mi prūžīš*; *pūstošiti* - *pūstoši*; *pūšiti* - *pūšīm*; *přtiti snīg* - *se přti*; *pūniti* - *se pūnī* (cf. *pūn*, *pūna*, *pūno*, *pūni*); *pāpřiti* - *se pāpři*; *rāniti* - *rāni*, *urāni* 'be early'; *rāniti* (3x) 'wounded'; *rūšiti* - *rūšī*, *rūše*; *sjētiti* - *se sjētī* (cf. *sir*, G.sg. *sīra*); *slāniti* - *slāni* (3x); *stāviti* - *stāvīš*, (o)stāvīl; *sřiti se* - *mīlko se sřī* (cf. *sř*, G.sg. *sřa*); *šāliti se* - *šālī*; *štītiti* - *štītī*; *tjēšiti* - *tjēšī*; *tlāčiti* - *tlāči*; *trāpiti* - *trāpīš* 'speak nonsense'; *tovāriti* - *tovāri* (cf. *tōvar*, G.pl. *tovāra*); *trātiti* - *trātīm*, *trātīš vřīmē*; *třšiti se* - *se třšī*; *vāditi* - *vādīm krōmpř*; *izvjēšiti* - *izvjēšī*; *vjētriti* - *se vjētrī*; *vlāžiti* - *se vlāžī*; *vjēsiti* - *vjēsīmo* (cf. *vjēsāmo*); *vřīiti* 'pout, sulk' - *se vřīī*, *nařřīl koji si se kūrāc nařřīl* 'why the fuck are you sulking'; *žāliti* - *žālī*

²⁷ A younger, middle-aged informant insisted on pronouncing it short (and he even stated explicitly that it is short), but the older informant pronounced it as *dīm*.

a.p. B

short

blagosōviti - *blagosōvīm* [**bolgosloviti*]; *iskřiti* - *iskřī se* (cf. *iskřa*, N.pl. *iskře*, *iskřica*); *jāviti* (2x) - *jāvīm*²⁸ (2x); *kalēmī se*; *klōniti se* - *se klōnīmo*, *klōñi se zlā!* (nx); *koristiti* - *koristīmo*²⁹ (cf. *kōřiti* (nx), *kōřisno*); *kōsiti* - *kōsīm*, *kōsīmo* (nx) (cf. *kōsř*); *lōžiti* (2x)/*lōžiti* - *lōžīm/lōžīm*, *lōži*, *složīl*; *mōřiti* - *mōřīm* (cf. A.sg. *mōřbu*); *nōčiti* - *nōči* (cf. *nočīva*); *nōsiti/nōsiti* - *nōsīm* (2x), *nosīli*; *pōstiti* - *pōstīm*, *pōsti* (nx); *prōsiti* - *prōsīm*, *prōsī*, *isprōsī*, *prosīli* (cf. *īdeš u prošnu*); *pūstiti*, *pūstiti krāve da řdu pāst* 'let the cows go grazing' - *ako mi pūstīš*, *pūstīmo*, *pūsti ga!* (3x) 'let him go!'; *sēřiti* - *sēřīm*, *se sēřī*, *presēřite* [**sedliti*]; *siliti* - *se silī*³⁰; *skōčiti* - *skōčīm*, *skōči*; *tōčiti*, *utōčiti* - *tōčiš*, (se) *tōči* (nx); *vōziti* (2x)/*vōžiti* - *vōzīm*, *vōžīmo*; *žēniti/žēniti* - *žēne* (2x) (cf. *žēna*, N.pl. *žēne*)

prebrōditi - *prebrōdi*; *odušēviti* - *odušēvi*, *odušēvil*; *dogōditi*; *odgōjiti* - *odgōjīl sam tēle*; *zaklōpiti* - *zaklōpiš*; *raskōřiti* - *raskōřīm* [**koliti*]; *prekršiti se* - *ako se prekršīm*; *prelagōditi* - *prelagōdi*; *ponōviti* - *ponōvīm*; *razōřiti* - *razōřīm*; *prepitōmiti/prepitōmiti* - *prepitōmīm*, *prepitōmil sam ga* (cf. *prepitōmlāvamo*); (na)pōjiti - *napōji*, *jēsī napōjīl kōna?* 'did you give water to the horse?' (cf. *napāja*); (u)pokōřiti (2x) - *upokōřīm*; *prepolōviti* - *prepolōvīm*; *upozōřiti* - *upozōřīm*; *raspōřiti* - *raspōřīm* (cf. *raspāramo*); *spřijatēřiti/spřijatēřiti se*, *spřijatēřīcemo se* - *ako se spřijatēřīm*; *oprōstiti*, *oprōstīcemo mi* - *da mi oprōstīš* (3x), *oprōstī mi!*; *oslobōditi* - *ako ga oslobōdīm*; *naslōniti* - *naslōnīm*; *otvōřiti* - *otvōřīm*

long

īzbāčiti; *bīřiti*, *īzbīřiti* - *bīřīm* (trans.), *bīřīš/bīřīš*, *bīřī se* [**bēřiti*]; *blūditi* - *blūdīm*; *brāniti* - *brānīm*, *brāni*; *brīđiti* (2x); *brūjiti* - *brūjī* (3x); *brūsiti* - *brūsī*; *būřiti* - *būřī*; *zacīli* (nx) [**cēřiti*]; *rascīpiti se* (cf. *cīpāmo*) [**cēřiti*]; *klēsīš*, *klēsīmo*, *īsklēřil* 'simper'; *cvīřiti* - *cvīřī/cvīřī*, *cvīře*; *cřniti* - *cřnīm* (trans.) (2x), *se cřnī*; *učvřřiti* - *učvřřiti*; *cřpiti vōdu* - *cřpī*, *īscřpiti* 'tired'; *udāřiti* - *udāřī*; *dīčiti* - *dīči*, *dīčīmo*; *dīviti* - *dīvi se*; *dūbiti na glāve* - *dūbi* 'stand on one's head'; *drūžiti se* - *se drūže* (cf. *drūgā*); *dvoūmīš*; *fāřiti* - *fāřīš*, *fāřī* [**xvaliti*]; *glūmiti* - *glūmī*; *gñzđiš*, *gñzđi* (2x) (cf. *gñzđō/gñzđo*, N.pl. *gñzđa*) [**gnēzditi*]; (za)gñāviti - *gñāvīš*; *gospodāřiti* - *gospodāřīm* (2x); *govōřiti* (4x) - *govōřīmo/govōřīmo*, *govōři*; (o)gūřiti - *gūřīmo*; *gřđiti*; *gřđiti na pāsja kōlā*; *vidi ga kakī je*, *īzgřđīcū ga* - *gřđīm*, *īzgřđīš*; *hrābřiti* - *hrābřī*; *hūřiti* - *hūřī na bōga*; *pojāřiti* 'chase someone away' - *vātra se razjāři* (used

²⁸ Obviously older **javīm* - **objāvīm* (A.p. C) and then *jāvīm* (A.p. B) by analogy to the prefixed form.

²⁹ A.p. B is obviously secondary for older A.p. A (**koristiti* instead of *koristiti*). For the mobility of the *i*-stem *kōřiti* cf. Kapović 2007, Kapović 2009.

³⁰ Obviously older **siliti* (A.p. A).

only for 'fire', not for 'people'), *vàtra se razjárila, a čòvjek se raspízdi; ujedìnìt - ujedìnìmo, ujedìnìli; jèzdi - jèzdi, jèzdè, gòrom jèzde kličeni svàtovi* (from a song); *jùri, projùril* (perhaps not an old word, *lètìt - letì, polèti* was used more often for this "in the old days" according to the informants); *ne kànim, (o)kàni me se; zaključìt (2x) - zaključìim; klàtìt (2x) - klàti se, sùkna se klàti, oklàtìim [*koltiti]; kòčìt [*kolčìti]; zakoràčìt - zakoràči; ukràsìt - ukràsìim, vidi što se zakràsìl; (p)okrìpìt, pokrìpìt se - pokrìpìmo [*krèpiti]; krùžìt - krùžìim; zakrvàvìt - zakrvàvìl, zakrvàvìt; dokùči, de dokùči!; kùpìt - kùpìim, kùpìš, kùpi; ìdem nakùrìt špòret; krčìt - krčìmo; ličìt - ličì se (2x) [*lèčìti]; ulinìt - ulinì [*lènitì]; libìt - libìim se, se libìim (2x); lišìt slobodè - liše; ljubìt - ljubìim, ljubì; razlùtìt - lùti; odlùčìt - odlùčìim; màmìt - màmì, màmìt - màmì, òn ne màmì; pomìrìt - mìre se, pomìrìli; mìsìt - mìsìim, mìsì [*mèsiti]; mesàrìt - mesàri; młàtìt - młàtìmo (3x), se młàte [*moltiti]; se mràči, smràčìlo se; mùtìt - mùtìim, nèšta se mùti, vòda se mùti, vrìme se mùti (2x), jàjcà se mùte; mrgòdìt - mrgòdi, vrìme se mrgòdi, vrìme se namrgòdìlo; mřšìtìt - mřšìti se; mřsìt - mřsìim; nàglìt - nàglìmo (5x) (cf. nàgàl); se oblàčìim, oblàči se 'dress' (cf. obùč); (za/pot)pàlìt - pàlìim, pàlìmo, popàlì (cf. potpaľujemo) [*paliti]; opamètit - opamèti; plènìt - plènìmo, plènì, plènìli [*pelniti] (probably a loanword from an ekavian dialect); zaprìčìt/zaprìčìt (2x) - zaprìči [*perčiti]; pìzdìt/pìzdit - pìzdiš, popìzdił je; plàtìt - plàtìim/plàtìim, plàtiš; poplávìt - poplávì; plàzìt - plàzì/plàzi; prìtìt - (se) prìti, prìti mi se (2x) [*pertiti]; preprèmìt, preprèmiču - preprèmìim (also with pri-, cf. priprèmamo); protivìt se, usprotìvìt - se protivì; opùstì/opùstì 'become deserted'; ràdìt - ràdiš, ràdi, ràdìmo, zaràdi; rànìt/rànìt - rànìim [*xorniti]; rjèšìt - rjèši, rjèšìli (a loanword from the standard); rèdìt - (se) rèdi, žene rède, se zarèdìl; rùdìt - zòra rùdi, jàbuka rùdi; (na)rùžìt - rùžìim (2x), rùže me 'grđit'; sļèdìt - sļèdiš, sļèdi, nasļèdìl (-je- from the standard); oslìpìt - oslìpi [*slèpiti]; slùžìt - slùžìim, slùži, slùžìmo; smjèši (from the standard language); smijùli (cf. smijè, podsmijàva); osnàžìt - osnàžìim; snìg snèži (2x); sràmìt - se sràmì; stìdì (3x); sùdìt - sùdìim, sùdac sùdi; stùpìt - stùpi; svìtìt - svìti, svjètlo svìti [*svètiti]; šìrìt - se šìri; tribìt, koščìce tribìt - òna trìbi kròmpìr [*terbiti]; tèžìt - tèži; utàžìt/utàžìt (cf. utàžàvamo žèđ); tùžìt - onà se tùžì; otràvìt; tràžìt - tràžiš, tràžìmo, tràžìli su me; trùbìt - trùbì; trùsìt - trùsì (3x); utvrdìt - utvrdìim; vrìdìt - vrìdi [*verditi]; povlàčìt - povlàčìim, povlàči, izvlàčìli; vràtìt/vràtìt, vràtìće ti - vràtìim, vràtiš, se vràti, vràtìlo; vřšìt - žìto se vřši; prezìmìt - prezìmi; znàčìt - znàči; žàrìt - se žàri (2x)*

a.p. C

short

borìt se, izbòrit - borì, borìmo, izbòri; bròjit - brojìim, izbrojìim, izbrojìl sam, izbrojìla; brštit - bršti, kràve bršè; crvènit - se crvenì; čàstìt - čàstìim, čàstìmo, počàstìim, počàsti; dòjit kràvu (nx) - dojì (3x), podòjim, podòjiš/podòjiš, podòjìl (2x) 'milk'; (z)dròbit - drobì, udrobì, zdrobìl; dvòjit - dvojiš, dvojišmo (2x); glòbit -

*glòbi; gñòjit - gñòji, pogñòjiš [*gnojiti]; godì mi, sòk mi godì, ugodiš (sic!, a mistake?), ugodił; (u)gòstìt - gostìmo, pogòstìim (3x), pogòste, pogostìli se (cf. N.pl. gòsti, G.pl. gostì, A.pl. u gòste); kòrit - korì, ukòrìim, ukòrìš; okòtìt - zečìca se kotì (2x); kùja se šcèni 'bitch pups', oščènila se [*ščèniti]; kròjit - kroji, skròji; poškròpit - škropì se, poškròpìim; kàsniit - kasni, zakàsni; se ledì, zalèdi, zaledìlo se; lòjit, nalòjit - loji se (cf. løj, ko po lòju, I.sg. løjem); lòmìt/lòmìt - lomìim, lomìš, lomì (nx), lomìmo, slòmìim, slòmì, polòmìim, polòmì; lòvit - lovìim, lovì (nx), lovìl; mòčìt/mòčìt - močìš, moči se, smòči (3x), namòči, smòčil (nx), smòčil sam se, močìlo (cf. namàkàt - namàče, umàče); mòrit - morè me brìge; mòtrit - motrìim, promòtrìim; mnòžìt - množi se, pomnòžìim (cf. razmnožàva); màglìt - se maglì (cf. màglà, A.sg. màglu (2x), N.pl. màgle); pjèsmà se orì; oštrìt - oštrìim (trans.), se oštrì, oštrì; oplòdit - se plòdi; (o)plòvit - plovì, oplòvi; ròjit - čèle se rojè 'bees are swarming'; rumènit - lipo se rumeni, narumenìla se, narumenì se!; òko mi suzì (cf. sùzà/sùza, N.pl. sùze); sòlìt - soļì; sramòtìt - sramotì, osramòtiš, osramòti; caklì; štròjit - štroji 'castrate' [*strojiti]; tòplìt - toplì; (o)tèlìt - telì se, kràva se telì, otèlì, otèlìla se [*teliti]; (po)tòpit - màst se topì, istòpi, istopìl se snìg, istopìlo se; ròvit - kròmpìr se rovì, rovìmo, i rèpa se rovìla; tòvit - se toviš, svìna se tovi, svìne se tove; tròšìt - troši, trošìmo (2x), trošìtè (2x); trùdit - se trùdi; vàbit - svìne ili kòkoši vabiš; vesèlit - veselìim, veselìmo (2x), razvesèlìim, provesèlìmo; navòštit - vošti se, voštè se kònci, navòštì, kònci su se voštìli (cf. I.sg. vòskom); znòjit - se znojì, uznòji; zòra zori; (po)zvònit - zvòno zvonì, zvonàr zvonì, pozvònim; žalostì (se) (3x)*

shortened

(pro)bùdit (2x) - se budì, budìš, probùdiš, probùdi, budì ga!, probudì me!; (raz)bìstrìt - se bìstrì; (pro)cìdit - cidì, procìdi [*cèditi]; cinìš, cinì, zacinìl [*cèniti]; čnìt - čniš, čnìmo, učnì; dìlìt/(po)dìlìt - dìlìim, dìlì, podìlìim, podìlì [*dèliti]; gràdit, o/zagràdit - gradìim (2x), gradìš (2x), plòt se gradì, ne gradì se, gradìmo, ogràdìim (2x)/ogràdìim, zagràdìim, zagràdi tò!, zagràdi tù mèđu!, izgràdito (sic!); grìšìt (2x) - grìšìim (2x), zgrìšìim (2x), zgrìšìl sam [*grèšiti]; gùbit se - gubiš, gubi, pogùbi/pogùbi, izgùbi, izgubil; kadì, u crkve kadì; (o)kàlit sikiru - želèzo se kalì; skràtit - kratì; krìvit - krivì, okrivìim; krutì, ukrutì (cf. ako se skrùtne (2x)); kršìt - krši; làdit - ladì, se razladi [*xolditi]; lipìt - lipìim, lipì, polipìim, zalipìim (2x), slìpìim, zalipìi [*lèpiti]; màčka se macì 'cat kittens'; màstìt/(za)màstìt - mastì, zamàstìim (2x), zamàsti; (po)mlàdit - tò se mladì (during a local custom mlàdèncì), se pomladi, mladìlo, pomladìl (cf. pomladùješ); naoblàčìt - se oblači 'cloud'; (o)pràsìt, opràsìće se (2x) - svìna se prasì; zapràšìt - prašìim, prašì (4x), zapràšìl (cf. A.sg. prašìnu); rìdit - se ridì, se prorìdi [*rèditi]; sàdit - sadìim, sadìš, sadì, posàdìim, usàdi, sàdi!; slàdit - sladì; sùšìt/sùšìt - sušì, osùši, posùšì (3x), posušìlo se; svètit - svetì 'get revenge; bless'; tajìt - tajìim, tajì, tajè nam, zatàjìim, zatàji; istùpit - tupìim (trans., 2x), se tupì, istùpìim, istupìl sam ga; tùšìt/tùšìt, utušìt/utùšìt/utùšìt - tušìim, u vodè se tušì,

*tušimo, utušim, utuši, utušiš, utušil se, utuši ga!, utužite ga!; učit - đecu učim, učī, učimđ (2x), učītē (2x), učē, naučīš, učī! (3x), đēco, učīte!; varit - varim, varī, zavārim; ždrēbit - kobila se ždrebiti [*žerbiti]; žurit - se žurī, kūd žurīš?*

prefixed shortened a.p. B < *a.p. c

*zaglušit, zaglušiceš me - zaglušim, zaglušī (2x) (cf. oglūnut, oglūnuću 'become deaf'); objāsnit - ako mu objāsnim; promīnit - promīni [*mēniti]; prevālit - prevālim [*valiti]; zarūčit se - se zarūčimo 'engage to get married'*

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

rōdit - rōdiš (trans.), ako žena rōdi, ako žito rodī, urōdi (intrans.), rodīl, rodīla; zlatit - on kūću zlati, se zlatī (intrans.)

inconclusive

pomodrīlo

2.9 Magić Mala (in Posavina) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Posavina dialect)

The dialect is spoken in West Posavina and has many common traits with its neighboring dialect of Siče – both villages have preserved the *-l* in the end of the word, both develop *˘* as the result of the lengthening before consonants (cf. Magić Mala *tkāne*), they share some lexical items (like *jājce/ljājce* for 'egg') etc. Some of these characteristics connect them to Kajkavian.

Today, the dialect of Magić Mala, at least the one spoken by our informants, is not so phonetically archaic as the one of Siče. The accent *˘* (pronounced mostly "canonically", short, only sometimes as *˘˘*) is always retracted from the final syllable when preceded by a short syllable (cf. *debēlo*) and frequently when preceded by length as well (cf. *trūba*), where Siče mostly preserves the old accentuation. The old *˘˘* appears in Magić Mala as well (cf. *glāvā*), but is not so frequent as in Siče (at least in the speech of our informants). The exact nature of the retractions is complex – for instance, in the infinitives like *brānit*, the accent is retracted in most cases; however, in cases like *brojīmđ, brojītē*, the accent is almost never retracted. The neo-acute is very stable and rarely changes to *˘*. In Magić Mala, unlike Siče and most other dialects in Posavina, the old sequence *˘˘* in the end of the word does occasionally appear, cf. G.sg. *prūgē (2x), šūmī* (but *klēčī*), *izmlātīl, sidī* 'grows grey' etc. The posttonic lengths are shortened in most cases, unlike in Siče, the thematic *-i-* in the present tense is mostly short for instance. Of course, there are still some cases of it, cf. *pāmetān, mōkār*.

In the dialect, *č* and *ć* are distinguished, *v* is a fricative, *ā* is pronounced somewhat closed, there is no *h* except in the usual cases, and *li, ni* and *Cl* palatalize sporadically (cf. *mōlit, naslōnit, klātīt*). Unlike Siče, the dialect is consistently ikavian, cf. Magić Mala *liša* 'gate', *rīpa* but Siče *ļesa, rēpa*.

a.p. A

*bāvit - bāvi; obīsit - obīsi [*vēsiti]; bogātit - bogāti (cf. bōgat); ublātit - ublāti; borāvit - borāvi; čīstit - čīsti; čūdit se - se čūdi; se đēsi, đēsilo se; đīmit - se đīmi; gādit - mi se gādi; gāzit - gāzi; glādit, glādiću ga - glādim, glādi; zgotōvit - zgotōvi, zgotōvila (cf. gotōvo je); grābit - grābi; gřlit - gřli; gřbit - se zgřbi; jānit se - óvca se jāni; jārit - se jāri; se skāmeni, skāmenit; korīstit - korīsti (cf. kōrist); okūsit - ne okūsi; kūdit - kūdi; kūpit - kūpi; kvāčim, kvāči; kītīt - se kītī; kīselit - se kīseli; lākomit - se lākomi (cf. lākōm/lākōm, lākoma je); ulāzi (cf. lāz, G. lāzi 'little foot-bridge', Lāze - a village name); slīčit - slīči (cf. slīčān); lūpit - lūpi; mīrit - mīri [*mēriti]; smīstit - smīsti, smīstīl [*mēstīti]; mīli mi se; mūčit - se mūči; mīslit - mīslī; nūdit - nūdi; naūdit - naūdim; pāzit - pāzi; se pīni [*pēniti]; (u)plāšit - se uplāšil; prātit - prāti; prāvit - prāvi; prūžit - prūži; pūšit - pūši; přtit - ne napřti; pūnit - pūni; rānit - rāni 'be early'; rūšit - rūši; sītīt se - se sīti [*sētīti]; se zasīti [*sytīti]; sīlit - se usīli; slāvit - slāvi; slīnit - slīni [*slīniti]; sūzit - đko mi sūzi [*slbzīti]; stārit - stārim, ostāriila; stāvit - ne stāvim; sīrit - se sīri sīr; ozdrāvit - ne ozdrāvi; šālīt - se šāli; štētīt - (na)štētī; štītīt - štītī; tīšīt - tīši [*tēšītī]; tōvarit - tovāri; třsit se - se třsi; udārit - ako me udāri; vādīt - vādi; prevārit - ako me prevāri; vītrit - se vītri [*vētritī]; povlāžit - povlāži, povlāžilo; vīsi; uvātīt - uvāti [*xvatīti]; žālīt - žālī*

a.p. B

short

*blagosōvit - blagosōvi (with the standard shifted accent) [*slovīti]; kōsit - trāvu kōsi; lōžit - lōži; sēlit - sēli; odušēvi/odušēvi, odušēvlēn je; jāvit - jāvim (2x)³¹; jāvimo/jāvimo, jāvito, jāvila, jāvilo, jāvi! (2x); mōčit - mōči; mōlit - mōli; mřvit - mřvi³²; nōčit - nōči; nōsit - nōsi; pōstit - pōsti (cf. pōst); přsīt - přsi; oprōstit - da přstīš, oprōsti; pūstit - ne pūsti, popūsti, pūstīl, pūstīla, pūstīlo; skōčit - skōči; tōčit - tōči; vōzit - se vōzi; žēnit - se žēni [*ženīti]*

*odgōjit - ugōji; ogōlit - ogōli; zaklōpit - zaklōpi; raskōlit - ne raskōli; prenağōdit - prenağōdi 'prilagodi'; ponōvit - ne ponōvi; razōrit - razōri; prepītōmit - prepītōmi; pokōrit - pokōri; prepōlōvit - prepōlōvi; ponōsit - ponōsi se; raspōrit - raspōri (cf. raspāra); upozōrit - upozōrim; sprijatēle; skōlit - skōli đřvo 'procipi' [*kolīti]; oslobōdit - oslobōdi; naslōnit - naslōni [*slonīti]; ustanōvit - ustanōvimo; osvōjit - osvōjim; otvōrit - otvōri*

³¹ With A.p. C > A.p. B, as in Siče.

³² Obviously older A.p. a.

long

ublāžīt (2x) - ublāži, ublāženo; zablūdi; brānit - brāne, obrānili; zabrāzđit - zabrāzde; brīdi me, zabrīdi; brūsit - brūsi; būšit - būši; učvřstīt - učvřsti; iscřpit - cřpi; udāli; dīči (2x); dīvit se - se dīvi; dūbit - dūbi; drūžit se - drūži; napundūri se 'sulks'; fālit - se ūvik fāli [*xvaliti]; glūmit - glūmi; gńūzđit - gńūzde; gńāvit - gńāvi; glāsīt - (o)glāsi; uglāvīt - uglāvi (3x); govōrit - govōrim, ne govōri; ne zgrōzim, zgrōzila sam se; gūli [*guliti]; gřdit - gřdi; hrābri; sjedīnit - se sjedīne; jūrit - jūri; zakļūčīt - zakļūči; kļātīt - kļāti [*koltiti]; zakorāčīt - zakorāči (2x); uskrātīt - uskrāti; ukrāsīt - ne ukrāsi; pokrīpit - krīpi, pokrīpi [*krēpiti]; prekrīžīt - prekrīži; krūžīt - krūži; se zakrvāvi; dokūčīt - ne dokūči; kūpit - ne kūpi; potkūrim; ličīt - liči [*lēcīti]; lādīt - se lādi [*xolditi]; lūbit - se lūbe; lūtīt - se lūti; odlūčīt - ne odlūči; lūdīt - lūdi; māmīt - māmi; lūtīt - se lūti, razlūtīt/razlūtīt, razlūtita sam (cf. lūt) [lūt]; māni, māni ga se; mārīt - māri; pomīrit - se mīre; mīsīt/mīsīt - mīsi, kvās podmīsīt! [*mēsiti]; mesārīt - mesāri; smlāčīt - smlāči; mļātīt - mļāte, izmļātīt [*moltiti]; mrāčīt - mrāči, smrāčilo; mūtīt - mūti; mřsīt - se mřsi, zamřsilo; nāglīt - nāgli; zanīmīt - zanīmi [*nēmīti]; snīzīt - snīzi; sūzīt - sūzi [*qziti]; pālit - pāli [*paliti]; opamētīt - opamēti; prepričīt - prepriči [*perčīti]; unapředi (a loanword from an ekavian dialect); plātīt - plāti; pālit - pāli; poplāvit - poplāvi 'become blue'; zapřiti - přiti [*pertiti]; protīvit se - se protīvi; rādīt - rādi; rānit - rāne [*xorniti]; rēšīt - rēši (a loanword from an ekavian dialect); rūbit - rūbim; rūdīt - rūdi šļiva ili vōčka; rūžīt - rūži, rūžeņe 'gossip about somebody'; oslīpit - oslīpi (cf. slīp) [*slēpiti]; slūžīt, poslūžīt - slūži; sūdīt - sūdi; stūpit - stūpim; tūpit - tūpim; strīlīt - ustrīlīm; svītīt - svīti (cf. svīca) [*svētīti]; sřdīt - se sřdi; širit - se širi; trībit - trībi [*terbiti]; tēžīt za nīkim - tēži; tūžīt - tūži; trāžīt - trāži; trūsīt - trūsi 'eats a lot'; trūdīt - se trūdi pūno; utvřdīt - utvřdi; (s)tānit - stāni; tržīt - trži; vāžīt - vāži; povlāčīt - povlāči; vrātīt - se vrāti, se opovrāti; vřšīt - kād se žito vřši; znāči; zrāčīt - zrāči; žārit - se žāri

a.p. C

short

izbōrit - borī, borīmō, izbōre; brōjīt - brojī, brojimō, brojītē, brojē, izbōrjī; čāstīt - čāsti; dōjīt - doji, podōjī; drōbit - drobī, udrōbi; dvōjīt - dvoji, odvōjī; gńōjīt - gńōji, se pogńōji [*gnoji]; gōdīt - mi godī, ugōdi; gōstīt - gostīmō, ugōstīmo; kōrit - kori, ukōri (2x); okōtīt - māčka se sād kotī, ne okōti; krōjīt - kroji, iskrōjī; (po)škrōpit - škrōpi, poškrōpi; křstīt - se křsti, pokřstīmo; kāsīt - kasni, zakāsni; zalēdīt - se ledī, ne zalēdi; lōmīt - lomī, ulōmi; lōvit - lovī, ulōvi; mnōžīt - množi, pomnōži; se maglī, raz/zamāgli; mōrit - brīge me morē, odmōrim; mōtrīt - motři, promōtri; pīsama se ori; oštrīt - oštrī, se oštri, nađštrim; plōvit - plovī, oplōvi; pōjīt - pojī, napōji; šceņī se, ošceņī 'pup' [*šceniti]; rōjīt - čēla se roji; rōnit - ronī; rōpit - ropī 'kād umīre vāta zrāk i izdīše'; rōsīt - rosīš se tī o trāvu kād īdeš krož

řū, se orōsiš (cf. trāva je rōsna); rumēnit - se rumēni, se zarumēni; sōlit - soļim, posōļim [*soliti]; sramōtīt - sramotī, osramōti; cāklit - cakli ko stāklo, ne zacākli; svīdōčīt - svīdoči, osvīdōči [*svēdočiti]; štrōvit - štrovi, uštrōvi, poštrōvi 'castrate'; krāva se telī, otēli [*teliti]; tōplit - se toplī, zatōpli (cf. tōplo); tōpit - se topī, utōpi, otōpi; tōvit svīne - tovē, natōve; trōšīt - pūno troši, potrōši; vēdrit - se vedři, razvēdri, se razvedřilo; vesēlit - se veselī; zelēnit - se zelenī; znōjīt - znojī, uznōji; zvōnit - zvōno sād zvonī, zvonār zvonī, zazvōni; žalōstīt - se žalōsti, ožalōsti (cf. žalostan)

shortened

břstīt - brsti, pobřsti; būdit - budī, probūdi; bīstīt - bīstri (trans.), razbīstri; cidīt - cidīm, cidī (2x), procīdim, procīdi, cidi! [*cēditi]; cinīm te, cinīmō [*cēniti]; čīnit - čīni, čīnimō, čīnitē, učīni [*čīniti]; dīlit - dīli, dīlīmo (2x), dīlitē, podīli [*dēliti]; grādīt - gradī³³, ugradī, gradī!; (za)gūstīt - gustī, zagūsti; grīšīt - grīši, ne zgrīši, ne grīši! [*grēšiti]; gūbit - gubi, gubīmō, gubē, izgūbi; kādīt - kadī; kālīt - kolāč se kalī, zakālī; skrīvit - krivī, krivīmō, okrīvim; (s)krūtīt - kruti, skrūti; křšīt - křši, prekřši; ulīni, ulīnīl [*lēniti]; (za)līpit - lipī, zalīpi, odlīpi, zalīpil (cf. slīpla) [*lēpiti]; māčka se macī, omāci; zamāstīt - mastī, zamāsti; mlādīt - se mladī, pomladī; oblāčīt - nēbo se oblačī; prāsīt - krmāča se prasī, se oprāsī; (za)prāšīt - se praši, ne zaprašī; ridīt - ridī, prorīdi (cf. ridak, rītka) [*rēditi]; (za)sādīt - sadīš, sadī, posādī, posādīš, zasādī; slādīt - se sladī, zaslādīm; slastīm, poslāstīm; sūšīt - se suši, ne osūši; vārit - se varī, ne zavāri (za mlīko); svētīt - svetī, ne posvēti 'revenge; bless'; zatājīt - tajī, zatāji (2x); utūšīt - tuši, utūši; ūčīt - učī, nauči; zlātīt - se zlatī, se pozlatīlo; žūrit - se žurī, se požūri; kobīla se ždribī, se oždribī [*žerbiti]

prefixed shortened a.p. B < *a.p. c

zaglišīt - zaglušī; objāsīt - ne objāsne; promīnīt - promīni [*mēniti]

long

cvīlīt - cvīlī (most likely an old *ě*-verb); plāvīt - vōda plāvī (3x); snīžī (2x), zasnīži [*snēžiti]; vřdīt - vřdī [*verđiti]

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

bīlīt - zīd bīli (trans.), se bīli (intrans., an old *ě*-verb) [*bēliti]; cřnit - (o)cřnim (trans.), se cřni (intrans.); rōdīt - dīte rōdi, ako žito dōbro rodī, rōdīta 'born (f.)'

³³ Ivšić (1913/II: 82) mistakenly notes *grādē* for Magić Mala.

mixed

preprèmit (3x) - *preprēmim*, *preprēmi*³⁴

vacillation

pàprit, but also *zapàprit* - *pàpri*

2.10 Orubica (in Posavina) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Posavina dialect)³⁵

The dialect of Orubica is spoken near the Sava river in West Posavina. It is one of the most archaic dialects concerning prosody and morphology. In the system of middle-aged and older speaker, there is practically no ' accent so it is a four accent system (˘, ˘, ˘, ˘). In the speech of younger people, ' is more frequent – since the list of *i*-verbs was obtained from a younger speaker (and later partially checked with older speakers), there are quite a few examples with ' in it. However, in the speech of middle-aged and older speakers all of the examples would have ˘ in it. This sequence is very strong and stable in Orubica, as in Siče, one can note that some of the younger speakers use it even when speaking the standard language. Cf. *sāmā*, *sūdāc*, G.sg. *sūcā*, *nēcū* (but *ócu*). In Orubica, the pretonic length has a falling tone (additional experimental research is needed here), which might be the reason why the old accentuation is preserved. ' usually retracts from a final syllable to a preceding short vowel, cf. *topòla*, N.pl. *čèpi*, G.sg. *māča*, *dāska* etc. In a few cases, the old accent is preserved (this is quite rare): A.sg. *nošñù*, *krstā*, *sadā*, *čudesā*, *danās*, *gotðv*. Double-accent is quite frequent in words with the final closed syllables, cf. *ùbòst*, *ùtèc*, *imāt*, DLI.pl. *ričmā* etc. ˘ has a special half-long (and probably falling!) allotone ˘, cf. L.sg. *stòlu*, *jèzik* etc. This allotone is especially frequent in double-accented words, cf. *sèlò*, L.sg. *u sèlù*, *ùpāst*, *mögü*, *dòbrò*, G.sg. *čègā* etc. The posttonic lengths are often shortened (especially after long accents), as can be seen in the case of the verbal thematic *-i-*, but appear quite frequently in general. Cf. *spomìnāmo*, *slikāmo*, G.pl. *gòdin*, *jāsìn* (and *jāsin*), *mōrā* but G.pl. *gròmov*, G.pl. *kònev*, *rèko*, I.sg. *pod kòrom*. The neo-acute usually changes to ˘ after pretonic length, cf. I.sg. *Sāvòm*, G.sg. *dūšè*, G.pl. *lūdī*. However, I have noted also *lèžè* 'it lays eggs'.

Č and ć are distinguished, *h* is usually missing (*glūv*), *v* is a fricative, the dialect is ikavian (cf. *vīst*, *jīst* 'eat'). Long *ē* and *ō* can be quite closed, even diphthongized: *kòñ*, *sòk*, *nūòž*, *plūòt*, *mèd* etc., but some speakers do not pronounce them closed. It is possible that the closed vowels are a conservative

³⁴ In Štokavian, there are variants *sprèmiti* and *sprēmīti*, sometimes even in the same dialect.

³⁵ I would like to thank the Galić family for their hospitality.

feature in receding³⁶. The usual palatalization of *li* and *ni* occurs in Orubica as well (*mòlit*), the infinitive ends in *-t*, and 3. person pl. of the present tense in *-u*.

NOTE: Ivšić (1913/II: 82) notes the forms *platī*, *služimo* for Orubica while I have *plātim* and *slūži* (see below). It is not certain whether this feature has changed in the last hundred years, or Ivšić's information is wrong (since we know that his data on Orubica is incorrect in other cases).³⁷

a.p. A

bāvit se - *bāvīm se*; *blātit* - *blātim*; *kalèmit*; *čīstī* - *čīstim*; *čūdit* - *čūdim se*; *dēsīt* (cf. *dešāvāt*, *dešāva*); *gādit se* - *se gādi*, *gādi mi se*; *gāzīt* - *gāzim*; *grābit* - *grābīm*; *uvātīt* - *uvātīm*; *jānīt se* - *jānīm* (but also *se jāni*, *ojānīla se*); *jārit se* - *jāri se*; *klādīt* - *klādīm*; *kāznīt* - *kāznīm*; *kītīt* - *kītīm*; *kūpīt* - *kūpīm*; *kvācīt* - *kvācīm*; *kīselīt* - *kīselīm se*, *se kīseli*; *lākōmīt se* - *lākōmīm se*, *se lākōmīš*; *līcīt* - *līcīm*, *līcīš*; *lūpīt* - *lūpīm*; *mīrīt*, *izmīrīt* - *mīrīm*, *izmīrīm* [**mērītī*]; *mūcīt* - *mūcīm*; *mīslīt* - *mīslīm*, *mīslīo*; *nūdit* - *nūdim*; *zapāpīt* - *zapāpri*; *pāzīt* - *pāzim*; *pīnīt* - *pīnī se* (cf. *pīna*) [**pēna*]; *preplāvīt* - *kad je Sāva plāvīla*, *preplāvīlo je* (also *poplāvīlo*) (cf. *pōplava*); *plāšīt* - (*u*)*plāšīm*, *uplāšīo*; *pōgānīt* - *pōgānim*, *pōgānīš/pōgānīš* 'be bad' (cf. *pōgān*); *prātīt* - *prātīm*; *prāvīt* - *prāvīm se*, *prāvīm*, *naprāvīm*; *prūzīt* - *prūzīm*; *pūšīt* - *pūšīm*, *popūšīo*; (*na*)*přītīt* - (*na*)*přītīm*; *rānīt* - *rānim*, *rānēn je* 'wound'; *zarātīt* - *zarātīm*, *zarātīlo se*, *zarātīli smo*; *rūšīt* - (*po*)*rūšīm*; (*pri*)*sīlīt* - (*pri*)*sīlīm*; *sītīt se* - *sītīm se*, *sītīli su se* (cf. *sīcāt se*, *sīcām se*, *sīcāne*) [**sētītī*]; *slāvīt* - *slāvīm*; *stāvīt* - *stāvīm*; *šālīt se* - *šālīm se*, *se šālīš*; *štītīt* - *štītīm*, *zaštītīm*; *tlācīt* - *tlācīm*; *udārit* - *udārio temēl*; *ūdit* - *ūdim* 'catch fish' [**ōdītī*]; *vādīt* - *vādim*; *vlāzīt* - *vlāzīm*; *žālīt* - *žālīm se*, *žālīm*

bogātīt - *bogātīm*; *zgotðvīt* - *zgotðvīm*; *okūsīt* - *okūsīm*; *ulāzīt* - *ulāzīm* (cf. *ulīst*, *jēsī ulīzo?*, *ulizūje*); *uvātīt* [**xvatītī*]; *usřīt* - *usřījo*; *pozdrāvīt*, *ozdrāvīt* - *pozdrāvīm*, *ozdrāvīm*, *ozdrāvīo*, *ozdrāvīla*; *tovārit* - *tovārim*; *izvřīt* - *izvřīm*, *izvřīla*, *izvřīlo* [**vēsītī*]; *provřītīt* - *provřītrī* [**vētrītī*]; *ozārit* - *ozārim se* (the informant knows the verb but does not know its meaning)

³⁶ The diphthong *je* in Orubica was noted by Ivšić as well (Ivšić 1913/I: 171).

³⁷ For instance, Ivšić (1913/I: 171) classifies Orubica as an ekavian dialect (although adding that he has also noted "podosta ikavizama" there), even though it is very clear that Orubica is an ikavian dialect.

a.p. B

short

blagoslòvit - blagoslòvim; gònit - gònim; govòrit - govòrim; klònit, poklònit - se klòni, poklònim (cf. *poklānam se*); kòsit - kòsim, pokòsi, also *kosī*?³⁸ (cf. *kòsa*, A.sg. *kòsu*, N.pl. *kòse*); (na)lòžit, lòžit - (na)lòžim, lòži; (iz)mòžit - mòžim, izmòžim; nòsit - nòsim; pùstit/pùšćit - pùstim/pùšćim, pùsti, pùšćiš; sèlit - sèlim (also *seļim*?), sèli [*sedliti]; skòčīt/skòčīt, preskòčīt - skòčim, skòču; tr̃sit - tr̃sim se, tr̃šiš; vòzit - vòžim; žènit - žènim se

ogòlit - ogòlim; objàsnit - objàsnim; zaklòpit - zaklòpim; raskòlit - raskòlim; prilagòdit - prilagòdim; umòkrit - umòkrim, umokr̃o 'wet something'; upokòrit - upokòrim; ponòsit - ponòsim/ponòsim se; ponòvit - ponòvim, se ponoṽilo (cf. *obnāṽla se*); prepòlòvit - prepòlòvim; raspòrit - raspòrim, raspòrilo mi se, raspòrile su mi se; postròjit - postròjim; zatvòrit - zatvòrim

long

bīlit - bīlim (trans.) [*bēliti]; oblāčīt - oblāčim, oblāči, se naoblāči, oblāčilo se 'get cloudy; dress'; brānit - brānim se, se brānimo; brūšīt - brūšim; būdit - būdim, būdi; būšīt - būšim; cīdit - cīdim, cīdi [*cēditi]; cūrīt - cūrīm, cūrīmo; dāvīt - dāvīm, dāvi, udāṽio/udāṽio se; dīlīt - dīlim, dīli [*dēliti]; dīčīt (2x) - dīčim, dīču; dīvīt (2x) - dīvīm, dīvu; drūžīt - drūžim se, se drūžu; gāsīt - gāsīm; glūmīt - glūmīm; ugūšīt; gñzđīt - gñzđim se [*gnēzditi]; gñāvīt - gñāvīm; glāsīt - glāsīm; uglāvīt - uglāvīm; grādīt, ogrādīt - grādīm; gospodārit - gospodārim; grīšīt - grīšīm [*grēšiti]; gūlīt - gūlim [*guliti]; grđit - grđīm; lādīt - lādīm, lādi [*xolditi]; izlāpīt - lāpīm, izlāpi [*xlapiti]; rānit - rānim [*xorniti]; fālit - fālim; jāvit - jāvim; jūrīt - jūrīm, jūri; kādīt - kādim, kādi; kālīt - kālīm; kānit - kānim; klātīt - klātīm; krātīt - krātīm; krīpit - krīpīm [*krēpiti]; krāsīt/ukrāsīt - (u)krāsīm; krīvīt - krīvīm, krīvi; prekrižīt - prekrižīm, prekrižio ga je; krūžīt - krūžim; ako se ukrvāvīm; raskrvāvīm; kūpit - kūpīm (cf. *kupòvat - kupūjem*); kūrīt - kūrīm; krčīt - krčīm, iskřčīm; křmit - křmīm, zakřmio 'sleep (derogative); fish with corn'; ličīt - ličīm, liči [*lēčiti]; ulīnit se - ulīnim se [*lēniti]; lipīt (2x) - (za)lipīm, lipi [*lēpiti]; lūbit - lūbīm; lūtīt - lūtīm; (na)māmīt - māmī, namāmila; mārīt - ne mārīm; māsīt, namāsīt - (na)māsīm; mīsīt - mīsīm [*mēsiti]; mīrīt se (2x) - se mīru; pomlādīt se - pomlādi, pomlād̃io se; mlātīt/mlātīt - mlātīm, mlāti se, mlātīmo; mrāčīt - mrāči se; mřsīt - mřsīm; mūtīt - mūtīm, zamūt̃ilo se; nāglīt - nāglīm; (za)pālit, pripālit - (za)pālim [*paliti]; opamētīt - se opamētīm; plātīt - plātīm; prāsīt - se prāsi; prāsīt - zaprāsīm; prītīt - prītīm [*pertiti]; protīvīt - protīvīm se; rādīt - rādīm, rādīmo (cf. *rādovi*); prorđīt - prorđīm, prorđi! [*rēditi]; prirēdit - prirēdim; rišīt - rišīm, riš̃io (also with *-je-*) [*rēšiti]; rūbīt,

³⁸ One of the informants said *kosī* but it might have been a mistake.

porúbīt - rūbīm; sādīt - (po)sādīm, sādi; snízit - snízīm; slđit - slđīm, slđ̃io (rare) [*slēditi]; snāžīt - snāžīm; slādīt - slādi, zaslādīm; slūžīt - slūži; srāmīt se - srāmīm se (cf. *srām i stđd te bilo* 'you should be ashamed of yourself; zastrānit - zastrāño; súdit - sūdīm; súzit - sūzīm [*qziti]; súšīt - sūšīm; (o)svētīt - osvētīm se 'revenge'; svētīt - svēti, se svētu 'bless'; svítlit - svítlim, prisvítl̃io [*svēt̃liti]; (za)tājīt - (za)tājīm; tribīt - (o)tribīm [*terbiti]; tūpit - tūpīm, tūpiš, se tūpi, potūpio; tūžīt - tūžim se; trāžīt - trāžīm; trūsīt - trūsīm; trúdit se - trúdim se; tūšīt - tūšiš, tūšu, utūš̃io, utūš̃ilo se 'bug/annoy someone; choke (when speaking of hens/geese)'; tríznit - tríznim se [*terzniti]; ūčīt - ūčīm, ūči; (do)vābīt - (do)vābīm; razvālit - razvālim; vārit - vārim; vāžīt - vāži; povlāčīt - povlāčīm; vrātīt - vrātīm; vřšīt - vřšīm žito; prezīmīt - prezīmīm, znāčīt - znāčīm, znāči; zlātīt - se zlāti; žārit - žārim; ždrībīt - oždrībilo se [*žerbiti]; žūrīt se (2x) - žūrīm se, žūri, žūru

a.p. C

short

bòrit - borīm se, borīm̃o, izbòrim; bròjīt - brojīm, izbròjim; br̃stit - br̃stīm; čāstīt - čāstīm, čāsti, čāstīm̃o, počāstīmo; dòjīt, dòit - dojīm, dojī, podòji; dròbit - drobīm; gòjīt/gòjīt - gojī, uzgòjim; gòstīt - gostīm, pogòstīmo; (u)kòrit - korīm, korī, ukòri; koristīt - koristīm (2x) (cf. *kòrist*, G.sg. *kòristi*); kòtīt - se kotī, se kotū, se okòti, se okòtu; kròjīt - krajīm, skròji; kròtīt - krotī; škropīt - škropīm, poškròpīm, poškròpi; (po)křstīt - krstīm, pokřstīm; kāsīt - kasīm, zakāsīm; lēdit - ledīm se, se ledī, se slēdi, se zaled̃ila; (s)lòmit - lomīm, slòmīm; (na)mòčīt, smòčīt - moči, smòči, namòčīm, namòč̃ilo; mòrit - br̃ge me morū (2x) (the informant says that his grandmother used to say that); (po)mnòžīt - množīm; nòčīt - nočīm; òrit - orī se, se zaòri; oštrīt - oštrīm, oštrī, naòštrīm; oplòdit - plodī, oplòdi; plòvit - plovīm, preplòvim; (na)pòjīt - pojīm, napòjim (cf. *napāja*)³⁹; pòstīt/pòstīt - postīm, postī; opròstīt - da prostīš, da prostīt̃e, opròstīmo; ròjīt - rojīm se, čēle se rojū, oròjim se, orõo se; rònit - ronīm, zarònim; ròsit - se rosī, poròsim, tráva je poros̃ila; sòlīt/sòlīt - soļīm, soļī [*soliti]; sramòtīt - sramotīm se (cf. *sramòtā*); postròvit - štrovī, poštrovīm, poštroṽio 'castrate'; tòpit - topīm, topī, otòpīm, otòpi; tòvit - tovī, otòvi; tròšīt - trošīm, potròšīm; vesēlit - veselīm se; znòjīt - znojī se; zvònit - zonār sād zvonī, zvòno sād zvonī

shortened

čīnit - činīm, činīmo, učīnim, učīnimo (perhaps not really a native word); gūbīt - gubīm, gubī, izgūbīm, izgūbi; křšīt - křšīm, skřšīm, skřš̃io je; tajīt - tajī, zatājī (sic!)

³⁹ One informant claimed that there is no present *pojīm*, only *napāja*.

long

cvilit - cvilim, cviliš, cvili, cvilimo; tō težī (2x) 'it weighs'; vrīdit - vrīdi, vrīdiš [**verđiti*]

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

rōdit - rōdi (trans.), rodī (intrans.), rodīlo; tōčit - tōčim, se toči (but also se tōči)

vacillation

pripitōmit/pripitōmīt - pripitōmim/pripitōmim; prōsit - prōsīm, prōsiš and prosīš; tēlit - tēli se, tēlim se; žalōstīt - žalostīm se/žalōstīm (cf. žālōst)

inconclusive

māglīt - zamāglīlo (maybe not a native word)

2.11 Velika Kapanica (in Posavina) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Posavina dialect)

The village of Velika Kapanica is in the East of Posavina. The accent " is usually short, "canonical", but longer " appears as well. " is usually retracted from the final syllable, cf. *pěro, vīno*, also almost always in the middle of the word if the syllable is long – *žūrīti*. With the short syllable as well (though not as often): *kōleno*. Double accent is not infrequent, cf. *nāslōni*, sometimes also in the end – N.pl. *vretēnā, dovedēnā*. Occasionally, old accent is preserved: *drvā, utušīt, podvorīt, glāvā, zrijež, krādē* etc. Unusual double accent ` ~ appears regularly, cf. *mētēm, mētēmo, drōbī* etc. The posttonic length is shortened almost always (thematic verbal -i- is for instance always short), I have noted just a few cases of posttonic length: G.pl. *kōrita*, G.pl. *lōpāta, počēla, ūdāla*, it is obviously at the verge of extinction (at least in the speech of my informant).

Č and ć are distinguished, v is a fricative, h usually disappears, the infinitive ends in -t and -ti, *ě yields *ī/jě*.

a.p. A

bāviti se - bāvi; bogātīti - bogāti se, obogātio, borāviti - bōrāvi; čistīti - čīsti; čūditi - čūdi se; dēsīt - dēsi; gāditi se - gādi; gāzīt - gāzi; glāditi - glādi; zgotōvit - ne zgotōvi se; gr̥bit - zgr̥bi; gr̥liti - se gr̥li; se jāni; skāmeniti se - se skāmeni; kītīti - kīti; korīstīti - kōrīsti (cf. kōrist); kūditi - kūdi ūvik, kūdio; kūpiti - kūpi; ulāziti - ūlazi; lūpiti - lūpi; smjēstīti - smjēsti; mīliti se - mīli mi se; mīsliti - mīslī; naūdit - ne naūdi; nūditi - nūdi; pāziti - pāzi; pjēnit se - se pjēni, opjēnilo; plāšīt se plāši; plāzīt - se plāzi jēzik; prātit - prāti; prāvīt - prāvi; prūžīti - prūži; pūšīt - pūši; p̥tit - p̥ti; pūnit - pūni; rāniti - rāni 'wound; get up early'; rūšīt - rūši; sīlit - sīli se; sjētīt se - ne sjēti; slāviti - slāvi; slīnit - zaslīni; stāviti - stāvi; šāliti - šāli; tjēšīt - tjēši; tōvārit - tōvāri; udārīti - udāri; vāditi - vādi

a.p. B**short**

blagosōvit - ne blagosōvi; gōnit - gōni; objāsnīt(i) - objāśni (3x); kāsнити - kāsni/kāsni; kōsiti - kōsi; mōlit - mōli; nōčit - nōči; nōsit - nōsi; prōsiti - prōsi; da prōstiš, oprōstiš; pūstīt - ne pūsti, pūstīo; rōdit - rōdi (trans.), ūrodi/urōdi; sēlit se - sēlim; skōčit - skōči; vōzīt - vōzi; žēnit - žēni

pokōrit - ne pokōri; obnōvit - ne obnōvi; razōrit - ne razōre; oslobōdit - oslobōdi; nāslōnit - nāslōni; ustanōvit(i) - ustanōve; zaklōpiti - zaklōpi; raskolīti - raskōli

long

blūdīt - blūdi; brāniti - brāni; brīdit - brīdi; brūsīt - brūsi; būšīt - būši; cīdit - cīdi [**cēditi*]; *cvīlit - cvīli (4x); cr̥nit - se cr̥ni; učvr̥stīt - učvr̥sti; dīlit - dīli* [**dēliti*]; *dīčit - dīči; dīvit - dīvi; drūžīti se - drūži; fālīt - fāli* [**xvaliti*]; *gāsīt - gāsi; glāsīt - glāsi; glūmīt - glūmi; zaglībīt - zaglībi; ghāvīt - ghāvi; naghāzīt - ghāzdi se* [**gnēzditi*]; *gospodārīt - gospodāri; govōrit - govōri; grādīt - grādi; grīšīt - grīši* [**grēšiti*]; *gūlīt - gūli; hrābrīt - se hrābri; jāvit - jāvi; jūrīt(i) - jūri; kādīt - kādi; kālīt - kāli; klātīt - klātiš; zaklūčīt - zaklūči; zakorāčīt - zakorāči; krāsīt - krāsi; krātīt - krāti; skrātīla; krīpīt - krīpi* [**krēpiti*]; *krīvīt - krīvi; dokūčītī - ne dokūči; kūpiti - kūpi; lādīt - lādi* [**xolditi*]; *līčīt - līči* [**lēčiti*]; *ulīnit - ulīni* [**lēniti*]; *līpīt - lipi* [**lēpiti*]; *māčka māci; mārītī - māri; mīsīt - mīsi* [**mēsiti*]; *mlātīti - mlāti; m̥sīt - m̥si; mūtītī - mūti; zanīmīt - zanīmi* [**nēmiti*]; *oblāčīt - nēbo se sād oblāči, naoblāčilo; opamētīt - ne opamēti; pālīt - pāli; plātīt - ne plāti; poplāvīt - ne poplāvi; prītīt - prīti* [**pertiti*]; *protīvīt - protīvi; kr̥mača prāsi, svīna se prāsila; prāšīt - prāši; rādīt - rādi; rānīt - rāni* [**xorniti*]; *rēdit - rēdi (cf. uređūje); rēšīt - rēši* [**rēšiti*] (a loanword from an ekavian dialect); *ridīt - rīdi (cf. rīdak, rītka, rītko)* [**rēditi*]; *rūžīt - rūži 'gossip'; sādīt - sādi; slādīt - slādi; oslīpīt - oslīpi* [**slēpiti*]; *smjēšīt - smjēši* (a loanword from the standard language); *srāmīt - srāmi; stīdit - stīdi; sūdīt - sūdimo; sūšīt - sūši, osūšilo; stūpīt - stūpi; ustrēlīt - ustrēli* (a loanword from an ekavian dialect); *svētīt - svēti; svītīt - svītli* [**svētīliti*]; *šīrit - šīri; zaštītītī - štītī; trāžīt - trāži; trībīt - se trībi, se otrībīo* [**terbiti*]; *trūbīt - trūbi; trūdīt - trūdi; tūžīt - tūži; ūčīt - ūči, naučīš, ūči!; vābīt - vābi; vārit - vāri; vrīdit - vrīdi* [**verđiti*]; *vīšīt - vīši; zrāčītī - zrāči; žārīt - žāri se; kobīla se ždribi* [**žerbiti*]; *žūrītī - žūri*

a.p. C**short**

bōrit se - bōri se (3x), izbōri; brōji, brōjīmo, ne izbōrijīmo; čāstīt - čāstī (2x), ne počāsti; dōjit - dōji, podōji; drōbit - drōbi, izdrōbi; dvōrit, podvorīt - dvōri, podvōri; glōbit - glōbi, oglōbi; gnōjit - gnōji, nāgnōji; gōdit - gōdi, ūgōdi; gōjītī - gōji, ūgōji 'get fat'; gōstīt - gōstē, ne ugōste; kōrit - kōri (2x); kūčka kōti (3x); se

kòzī (3x)/kozī ; kròjit - kròjī; křstī - křstī; lòmīti - lòmī, izlòmī, prilòmī; lòvit - lòvī, ne ulòvī; lòžiti - lòžīm (2x), ne nalòžīm; màglit - màglī; mòčit - mòčī, ne namòčī, smòčilo; mòriti - mòrē, ùmòrim; (pro)mòtrit - mòtrī, promòtri; pjěsma se òrī; òštrit - òštrī (2x), ne naòštri, naoštriò; pòjiti - pòjī, napòji (cf. napāja); plòdit - plòdī, oplòdi, oplòdilo; plòvit - plòvī, isplòvi; pòstit - pòstī (2x); ròjiti - ròjē; rònit - rònī; ròsit - ròsī, se oròsi; sòlit - sòlī, ne posòli; sramòtit - sramòtī, osramòti; sùzī (2x), zasùzī (cf. sùza) [*slúziti]; svjedòčīt - svjedòčī, posvjedòčī; škròpit - škròpī; štròjit - štròjī ga, uštròji, oštròjio, štrojīli [*strojiti]; se tēlī, otēlī; tòčīt - tòčī (2x), na natòčī, ne otòčī; tòpit - tòpī (2x), ne otòpi; tòplit - tòplī, se ne otòpli; tòvit - tòvī (2x), utòvi (2x); tròšit - tròšī, potròši; vèdrit - vèdrī, izvèdri; vesèlit se - vesèlī, povesešlī; znòjit - znòjī, ne uznòji; zòrit - zòrī (2x) 'svīče zòra'; zvònit - zvònī (2x), pozvòni; žalòstiti - žalòstī, ražalòsti

shortened

čīnit - čīnī; gùbit - gùbī, izgùbi; křšīt - křšī; tàjit - tàjī, zatàji; tùšīt, utušīt - tùšī, ne utušī

long

bīlīt - se bīlī (an old ě-verb); brújit - brújī; mřzit - mřzī, zamřzi (an old ě-verb); snīžīt (2x) [*sněžiti]; štédīt - štēdī (2x) (an old ě-verb)

vacillation

klòniti se - se klònī/klòni (cf. klàna)

2.12 Gundinci (in Posavina) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Posavina dialect)

The dialect has five accents (˘, ˙, ˚, ˛, ˜), as well as pre- and posttonic length, with the questionable status of ˘. Neo-Štokavian rising accents could be analyzed as allotones of the accent on the next syllable. That would especially apply to ˘, which is not very frequent. However, ˙ is, due to its frequency, best perceived as a separate toneme. There is a lot of vacillation in the dialect, as is usual in Posavina, with older and newer forms appearing side by side.

˘ has usually preserved its original place when preceded by a short syllable, cf. *decà* 'children', N.pl. *koñī*. ˘ is sometimes retracted to the preceding short syllable (more often from the final syllable), but rarely, cf. *sèlo* instead of the usual *selò*. One could perceive this as forms influenced by the standard language and Neo-Štokavian dialects and exclude it from the "real", "pure" dialect but that does not seem to be so. In Gundinci, one notes a tendency for the development of ˘ that does not look "artificial" (although more research is needed) – pretonic syllables sometimes develop a trace of ˘ even when it is still not really there, for instance in words like *topīti*. The form is not yet *tòpīti* (or *tòpiti*) but the emergence of ˘ on the first syllable can be noted.

In many cases, the sequence ˘˘ has yielded ˙˘, cf. *mlàda*, *nàrod*, *mřzjela*, *nasadīvali*. However, the old ˘˘ is not rare in the middle of the word, cf. *zastīdēla* 'ashamed'. ˘ is usually retracted from the final syllable but forms like *sjevērāc*, G.sg. *mlīkā* also appear, although rarely. Transitional forms like *zadīvīo* appear occasionally as well.

The acute is regularly changed to ˘ after the pretonic length in the end of the word, as almost everywhere in present-day Posavina, cf. *snīmāne*, G.pl. *kolāčā*. ˘ can also facultatively change to ˘ in all positions (vice-versa is not possible), cf. *dīvi* but *zadīvi*. ˘ can be pronounced like *tromi naglasak* ˘, as usual in Posavina (cf. Kapović 2008). As in all Posavina, all vowels are lengthened (to ˘ if accented) in front of a sonorant in the coda, cf. *sīr*, *jesām*, *dòbār*.

The long accents usually preserve their place (cf. I.sg. *vodòm*, *muški posò* 'man's job'). However, occasional retraction is attested here as well, cf. *zòvē* instead of the usual *zovē*, *kòpā se* instead of the usual *kopā* etc. The status of these allotones is also questionable – they could simply be due to code-switching.

Posttonic lengths are sporadically shortened, as is usually the case in present-day Posavina⁴⁰, cf. *ùmre*, I.sg. *s koprīvom*, G.sg. *rakīje*, *īdem*, *svādaju*, adj. *drāga*, but G.pl. *nòvāc*, *čekajūci*, *zavēzāno*, *īmāmo*, *bòlēst* etc. However, the posttonic length is preserved better in Gundinci than in many other Posavian dialects. The second posttonic length is, again as usual in present-day Posavina, regularly shortened, cf. *narēzānog*, G.pl. *Gūndināca*, G.pl. *jābūka*, G.pl. *kalòtīna* etc.

The accent-shift to the proclitic (*preskakanje naglasaka*) is quite frequent (even in cases where it is not expected), cf. *nā utvāj*, *ī šestero*, *ū leto*, *ū Zāgreb*, *īz Zāgreba*, *nā Badñāk*, *dò zida*, *ū čošak* 'in the corner' (a Turkish loanword), but also *u Bròd* (together with *ū Bròd*), *īz Đākova*, *bez snīga* etc.

The dialect distinguishes *č* and *ć*, *v* is a fricative, *r* can be both short and long, as everywhere in Slavonia (cf. *umřla*), **ě* yields *ī* in long syllables but *je* in short ones (cf. *sjedīmo*, but *ponīla* 'she brought')⁴¹, *-*l̥* yields -*o* (cf. *vidio*), -*li*- and -*ni*- yield -*li*- (often) and -*ni*- (not as often) but not always (cf. *sořīti* but *veselīti*, *zamīnīt* but *činīti*), -*je*- < **ě*- causes the third yotation (cf. *decā*, *pokīpļēlo*, *ozdrāvļet*, *lečēla* with standard *djēca*, *pokīpjelo*, *lētjela*), *h* usually disappears (cf. *krū*, *grā*, *strā*, *snā* with standard *krūh*, *grāh*, *strāh*, *snāha*, but also L.sg. *u kūhīne*). The infinitive ends in both -*ti* (quite frequently) and -*t*. Long *ē* and *ō*

⁴⁰ Perhaps unlike Posavina in Ivšić's times – Ivšić does not mention any shortenings of posttonic length in Posavina. Nowadays however, they are present in all the dialects in Posavian in one way or the other. Of course, in most cases the length is still there in the "deep structure" but is sometimes phonetically realized and sometimes not (unlike, for instance, the Western Ikavian Neo-Štokavian dialects like Prapatnice, Opuzen, Klobuk, Sinj etc. where the posttonic length is always clearly pronounced).

⁴¹ There are also cases of secondary *jats* like *sjeromašnji* 'poorer'.

are sometimes phonetically diphthongized, although in a very strange fashion – for instance, I have attested *gruôžde*, *gyôd* (name of a local festival), *nâ gruôd* (2x) and *mjêso* (also *po mÛsu*), but also *pôdnêq* ‘noon’, G.sg. *vodêq*, *posôqv* ‘work’ (together with *posô*) etc. More data is needed here.

NOTE: the verb list is not complete.

a.p. A

se očistî; kvàsiti, okvàsiti grlo! (cf. *kvàs*); *nakûpi, skûpîmo; dolâziš, izlâzi, dolâzila; lûpiš* (2x); *zamjÛrit; zapâmtio; prâviti - se prâvi; sprÛmit - sprÛmila; osjÛtimo; ostâviš, ostâvio; (pro)tumâçiti - tumâçe nam*

a.p. B

short

gônit - gônîm, gônî; kosit - kôsîm (2x), *pokôsî, kosîlo* (cf. N.pl. *kôsê*); *mořit(i) - môřîm, mořio, mořilo* (cf. N.pl. *mořitve*); *nositi drvâ - nôsîm drvâ, nosîo; prosîti - prôsî; (na)pustîti - pûstî, pûstite, otpûstî, napustîli; skoçiti - skôçîm, skôçî; selîti - se sêřîm ù Brôd, sêřî; vodîti - vôdîm zâ rûku; vozîti - vôzîm, vôzi; ženîti - žÛni, poženîli* (cf. *ženâ*, D.sg. *ženÛ*, A.sg. *ženÛ*)

pribrôdi, pribrodila je bôlÛst; dogôdi, dogodîlo; umorîti - umôřîm; oplodîti krmâçu - oplôdi; napojîti - napôji; oprostiti se - se oprôsitiš; otvorîti(i) - zatvôřîm, otvôřîm

long

bîliti (2x), *bîliçu, obîliti - bîli* (2x), *zabîli* (cf. *adj. n. bîlo*) [*bêliti]; *brâniti - (za)brânîm; probûdit - probûdi; cidit - cîdi, procîdi, ocîdiš* [*cêditi]; *ucrñicu* (cf. *adj. crñ*); *dîřiti - (u)dîřli* [*dêřiti]; *dîvit se - dîvim, dîviš, dîvi, zadîvi, zadîvîo; drâžit; dûbit - dûbi, dûbu se, izdûbi; fâřiti - fâřîm* [*xvaliti]; *govôřiti - govôri, govôrio; grâdit(i) - grâdîm, sâgrâdîm; grđit - grđîm, grđi, izgđdi; grîřiti - grîřî, sâgrîřî* [*grêřiti]; *jâviti - (do)jâvi; jêdi se; klâtiš, klâtîla; skrâtiti - skrâtîm; okrîpiti - okrîpîm* (2x)/*okrîpîm* [*krêpiti]; *krîviti - krîvim, krîvi; krûžiti - krûžîm; krčiti - krčîm trîe; lîpit - lîpîm* [*lêpiti]; *lûžilo; kûpiti, kûpiçu - kûpîm, kûpi!* (cf. *kupovâla*); *lîçiti - lîçi* [*lêçiti]; *lûbiti - lûbi; ukļûçîm; lûtit; (za)mîsiti - (za)mîsîm, mîsio* [*mêšiti]; *(za)mâstîti, zamâstîcemo krû - mâstî, zamâstî; zamîřîti* [*mêřiti]; *mîřiti se, pomîřiti - mîřîm, pomîřîš, pomîři; smrâçiti se - smrâçi; mlâtîti - mlâtî, mlâtîmo; mûtîti - mûtîm; pâliti, pâliçu - pâlim, pâlim po mÛsu* ‘I am stuffing myself with meat’, *pâli, zapâlîm, pripâlîm, pâliła; plâtiti - plâtîm; poplâvîti - uplâvîmo vôdu; prâsi, prâsîla; râdit - râdi/râdi* (2x), *râdiš, râde, urâdîla; prîrêdîm; rjÛsiti - rjÛšîm* (2x) (with the standard *-je-*); *rûbiti, porûbit(i) - porûbîm; sâditi - sâdîm; slûžiti - slûži; ko çÛ mu sûditi - sûdi; ustûpiti - ustûpîm; sûšiti - sûšîm, sûši, sûšîmo; srđiti se - srđîm se, se srđi, se rasrđi; svÛtîti; rařîti;*

trîbit - trîbîm [*terbiti]; *zatrâvîm, zâtrâvîla* ‘sow grass’; *tûžiti - tûžîm; trûditi se - trûdîm se; ûçiti - ûçîm; uvâliti se ù blato* ‘fall into the mud’ - *uvâřli* [*valiti]; *(za)vârîti - vâřîm, vâřî se, vâřîmo, vâre; vrâtiti - vrâtî; râniti kôkoše* ‘feed the hens’ - *rânîm* [*xorniti]; *zîmio* (cf. A.sg. *zîmu, zâ zîmu*, N.pl. *zîme*); *znâçiti - znâçi* (4x); *pozlâtîcÛ mi posô(a)v* ‘work’ - *(po)zlâtî; ožâri, ožâřila; ždrîbi, oždrîbîla* [*žerbiti]

a.p. C

short

izbrojîti; dojîti, dořti - dořîm, dojî, podôjîm, dořla; godî mi (2x), *ugôdîm, ugôdîmo, godîlo mi je; ugořtîcemo - gořtîm, ugôřtîmo; se klonîti - klonîm; komîti(i) grâ, pokomîti - komîm, komîmo, pokôdîm* (2x); *ložit - ložîm* (2x), *loži, nalôžîm, složil; (s)lomîti - lomî, slôdmi; (u)lovîti - lovî, ulôvi; (na)moçiti - moçi, namoçî; postîti - postî, postîmo; ronîti - ronîm, ronî, ðeçâ ronÛ u vodÛ* ‘the children are diving in the water’, *ronÛq, urôdî; rojîti - çÛle se rojû; (po)sořîti - sořîm* (3x), *sořî, posôřli* [*soliti]; *teřîti, oteřîçu se - teřî se krâva, oteřli* [*teliti]; *(o)topîti, topîcemo mâst - topîm, sâd se snîg topî* ‘the snow is melting now’, *otôpi (se), utopîo* ‘he drowned’; *(na)toçîti, natoçîçu, natoçîcemo vodÛq - toçi, natôçi; (po)veselîti se/poveselîti, veselîti, veselîcemo se - veselîm, poveseřîmo* (2x); *(po)zvonîti - zvonî, zvonâ zvonÛ, zvonÛ mi, pozvôni, zvonîlo, zvonîli, zvonÛne* (cf. *zvôno*, N.pl. *zvonâ*)

shortened

çinîti, uçinîçu - ôn çinî dobrô, (ako) uçinî dobrô; aor. řzgubi; (za)tajîti - tajîm, zatâji (2x); *utuřîti* ‘suffocate’, *utuřîcÛ ga, utuřîcÛ se*

long

plîviti, plîvit kôrôv u vrÛtu - plîvîm, oplîvim [*plêviti]

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

rodîti - ako rôdîm dîte, ako zemļâ rodî, urôdi, rodîla

2.13 Duboçac (in Posavina) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Posavina dialect)

The dialect of Duboçac is innovative, compared to other Posavina dialects. As some of the other villages on the river Sava west of Slavonski Brod (like the village of Slavonski Kobař for example), it has some peculiarities (for instance vocabulary, to name just one) that differ them from most other Posavian dialects.

“ is always retracted, cf. *vîno, vÛslo, gôvedo, nÛ vidi, zâ kiřu*, L.pl. *ù svatovîm*. Long accents often remain on the old place, cf. *donîti, prodâ*, G.sg. *vodÛ, Svîlâj*, but can also be retracted, cf. *rônîm, rôjÛ, zâ zdrâvļÛ*, G.sg. *zemļÛ*. Transitional forms like *lôvîm* also appear. The posttonic length is sporadically shortened, as

usual in Posavian, cf. N.pl. *čělā* and *čěla* (different informants), *něudāna*, *čěprkālī*, *sěrē*, *pālī*, *pěrad* but G.pl. *krāva*, G.sg. *sūše*, *čtvrti* etc. Pretonic length also exists in front of *č*, cf. G.pl. *crīvā*. The second posttonic length is regularly shortened, cf. G.pl. *bědāra*, G.pl. *kōļēna*, G.pl. *pātāka* etc. The neo-acute is facultatively changed to *č*, cf. *strāža* and *strāža*. The accent shift to the proclitic (*preskakanje naglaska*) occurs quite often, cf. *ù blato*, *nā mōre* (but also *na mōru*), *pō poļu*, *pō sviñe*, *prī svītom* 'pred svijetom', *jūtro* i *večēr*, *ī dān dānas*, but cf. also *na stān*. Long **ě* yields *ī*, short *je*, cf. *tīlo* but *tjelēsa* (secondary *jats* like *vjēme* 'udder' also appear), *v* is a fricative, *h* usually disappears (cf. *kūvām* 'I bake', G.sg. *krūva*), long *ā* is often closed (cf. *māst*, *tělād*). The infinitive ends in *-t*.

NOTE: the verb list is (obviously) only partial

a.p. A

fūrit - *fūri* (a loanword from German); *zamjērila*; *nē pravi*, *prāvīmo*

a.p. B

short

nōsit - *nōsim*, *nōsī*; *lōžit* - *lōžim* (3x)/*lōžim*; *mōlit* - *mōlim*/*mōlim*, *mōlim te*, *mōlīmo* (3x); *pōstit* - *pōstim*/*pōstim*, *nē postim*; *prōsit* - *prōsiš*; *pūstit* - *pūstim*; *tōčit* - *tōčim* (2x), *tōči*; *vōdit* - *vōdim*; *vōzit* - *vōzim*; *žēnit* - *žēni*;

dogòdilo; *ugòstit* - *ugosti*; *oplòdit* - *òplodi*; *pròstit* - *òprostim*, *òprostīš*

long

fālit - *fālim* [*xvaliti]; *gāsīt* - *gāsim*/*gāsim*, *ugāsi*; *govóril*; *grádit* - *grādim*, *grādīmo*; *lūte*; *pālī*, *zapālī*; *rādi*; *ne rānīmo* [*xorniti]; *svěćenik posvēti* 'priest blesses'; *zatājīt* - *zatājīm*; *várit* - *vārim*/*vārim*, *vāri*, *vārimo* 'weld'; *(po)zlātīt* - *zlātīm*; *znāče*

a.p. C

short

dojī; *lòmit* - *lòmīm* (2x), *lòmī*; *lòvit* - *lòvīm*, *lòvīm*; *pòjit* - *pòjīmo*, *nàpojīm*; *ròjit* - *ròjē*; *rònit* - *rònīm*, *rònīmo*; *tòpit* - *tòpīm*, *topī*, *tòpīmo*; *vesèlit* - *vesèlīm se*; *zvònīt* - *zvònī (se)* (3x)/*zvònī*, (cf. N.pl. *zvòna*)

shortened

čīnit - *čīnīm*, *učīnim*; *kad se sadī*

long

žárit - *žāri*/*žāri*, *žār žāri*, *žārē*

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

ròdit - *ako sūtra ròdīm*, *ako žīto dòbro ròdī*, *ùrodi*

vacillation

gòdit - *godī*/*gòdī* and *gòdi*; *klònit se* - *klònīm* and *klònīm*, *klòni se od rdava društva!* 'stay away from bad company!'; *kòsit* - *kòsīm* and *kòsīm*

2.14 Sikerevci (in Posavina) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Posavina dialect)

The village of Sikerevci (officially Sikirevci) is situated in East Posavina. This is one of the most archaic Posavian dialects since it succumbed to a very limited amount of retractions. It has a five accent system with pre- and posttonic length but the accents ' and ` can be interpreted as allotones of *˘* and *˘* since these sequences occur frequently in almost all positions. Cf. *tūgā*, *čāmāc*, G.sg. *štāglā*, *kovāčī*, G.sg. *glogā*, G.sg. *grobā*, *nizinā* etc. but also *usúla*, G.sg. *čēpa* (and *čepā*), *prīcat*, G.sg. *dūha* (and *duhā*) etc. This kind of vacillation appears in the middle of the word as well, cf. G.sg. *čoēka*/*čòeka*, *domòvi*/*dòmovi*, *likòvi* (but G.pl. *líkòva*), and also with long syllables: *nārāv*/*nārāv*. However, in spite of the possible retractions (it is difficult to tell how much of the vacillation is due to code-switching), the old position of the stress is maintained in many cases.

" is very frequently pronounced as " which tends to be very long, often longer than the "real" long tonemes *˘* and *˘*. However, it differs from them intonationally and additionally by vowel colouring – the long *ē*, *ā*, *ō* are closed *ē*, *ā*, *ō* in Sikerevci (*rēd*, *znāk*, *nōs*) and are always pronounced closed when under *˘*, *˘* or unaccented length. Under *˘*, no matter how phonetically long it can be, it is never closed. *˘* can facultatively change to *˘* and it occurs regularly after pretonic length, cf. *pļūštī*, G.pl. *laktōvā* etc. The posttonic length is sometimes shortened (very often in the case of thematic vowels in the present tense for instance), cf. G.pl. *Sikērevāca*, *poslāgana*, *mjēsec* (more often *mjēsēc*) etc., sometimes preserving the closeness of the vowel: *vjētar* besides *vjētār*.

The dialect distinguishes *č* and *ć*, *v* is a resonant except in the end of the word where it is a fricative, *h* is often lost but not always (*grā* but *vřh*), the reflex of the *jat* is *ijě* (*ditě*, G.sg. *detěta* with the third palatalization as well), in the infinitive both *-ti* and *-t* appear and final *-ō* < **-l̥* in the *l*-participles is always long (cf. *tušīō* < **tušil* by analogy to *upō* < **upao* < **upal*).

a.p. A

bāvit se - se bāvīm; čistit - čistī; grābīm; kùpit - kùpimo šlīve, pokùpīmo; mīsla [*myslila]; *plāšit se - plāši, uplāšiō; prāvit, naprāvit - prāvi (2x)/prāvi; rùšiti - rùši; ostāvit - ostāvi; žāliš*

a.p. B**short**

kositi - kōsi; mōliti - mōlimo se; nōsiti - nōsi; pōstit(i) - pōsti (cf. pōst); prōsi; pustiti - pūstim; seliti se - sēli se; skōčiti - skōči, skōčiō; vōdit/voditi - vōdim; vōziti - vōzi; žēni se

long

brāni se, obrāniō se, obrānila; būditi - būdi, probūdiō; cīditi - cīdi [*cēditi]; *dilit - (po)dīli* [*dēliti]; *fāliti - fāli* [*xvaliti]; *govōrim, govōri!*; *sagrāditi - grādi se, zagrādiō; grīšiti - grīšim* [*grēšiti]; *jāviti - jāvi; kùpit - kùpim, kùpiō; ljubiti - lūbe; mlātiti - mlāte; mūtiti, zamūtiti - mūti; plātiti - plātim, plātiō; prāšiti - prāši se; rāditi - rādi (3x); pāāliti - pāli; porūči; rāniti - rāni* [*xorniti]; *rišiti(i) - riši* [*rēšiti]; *slūžiti nēkoga - slūži; sāditi - sādi; sūditi - sūdi; sūšiti - sūši; trībiti - trībi* [*terbiti]; *tūžiti - tūži; naučiti, učiti - učī; vrāti - vrāti; znāčiti - znāči; žāri; ždrībiti - ždrībi, oždrībila* [*žerbiti]; *žūriti - žūri, požūri!*

a.p. C**short**

dōjiti - dojī; lōmit - lomī; lōviti - lovī; loži vātru (2x); morē; da prostiš, oprōditiš; rojē; rōniti - ronī; točim vōdu; otōpiti - topī se māst; veselīm se, veselī se, veseliō se; zvonī, zvonā zvonē (cf. zvōno, N.pl. zvonā)

shortened

tušiti, utušiti - tuši se, tušiō se

prefixed shortened a.p. B < *a.p. c

izgūbi, izgubiō (2x), izgubīla sam; zatajiti, zatājiti - zataji, zatajiō

long

bīli se [*bēliti] (probably an old *ě*-verb)

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

rōdi (trans.), rodī (intrans.), rodīla

inconclusive

umočiti, pomočiti - pomočilo (cf. namāče); napōjiti (cf. napāja)

2.15 Slavonski Kobaš (in Posavina) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Posavina dialect)

The dialect has the usual five accents and unaccented length. It is quite innovative retractions-wise but preserves posttonic length in cases where it is not so usual elsewhere in Posavina (cf. *tūpō*, N.pl. *cīnī*, *rādosnō*, G.sg. *kūcē*, N.pl. *sēlā* etc.). Only *~* does not retract (*letī, počēcu*), there are occasional examples like *lōvī* besides *lovī* but these could be due to code-switching (forms like *pēku*, *zōvu* are probably analogical to other persons). For the retraction of *~* and *˘*, cf. *glāva, nōga, lōpata, tāštō, glātkī*. However, now and then older accents can be heard: *snovāt, sovāt* 'curse' (cf. also *kōpat*), *gorkō*. After pretonic length, *~* changes to *˘*, cf. G.sg. *glāvē*, G.pl. *iza lēdā, šūmī*.

The dialect distinguishes *č* and *ć*, *v* is a fricative, *h* tends to disappear but sporadically (cf. *suv* but *tix*), long *ē, ā, ō* are closed *ē, ā, ō* (*zēlēn, čītāv, stārōst*), the dialect is ikavian (*mliti, lip*), the infinitive ends in both *-ti* and *-t*.

a.p. A

grābimo

a.p. B**short**

kōsiti - kōsi; lōžiti vātru - lōži; mōliti - mōli; pustiti - pūsti; sēliti - sēli

long

cīditi - cīdimo [*cēditi]; *grādi se kūca* (cf. *grāda*); *pāliti - pālīmo; sāditi - sādīmo; tājiti - tāji*

a.p. C**short**

bōriti se - bōri (2x)/borī; lōviti - lōvi/lovī

shortened

učiti - učī (2x), nauči

2.16 Davor (in Posavina) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Posavina dialect)

Davor (formerly Svinjar) is a village in West Posavina, near Orubica. It has a five accent system with many retractions. *~* is always retracted, cf. *kōza, óvca*. In

the middle of the word the retraction is usually only partial: *lòpàta*, *mòtika*, but also *kòlino*. Long accent can be preserved and half-retracted, cf. G.pl. *lopāt*, G.sg. *zemļē*, G.sg. *sestrē*, G.pl. *zvizdī*, G.pl. *vlasī*, *grmī*, *pečēm* but also G.pl. *kòlib*, G.sg. *čèlē*, G.sg. *kòzē*, I.sg. *kòsòm*, *plètēm*. For the retraction to the long syllables cf. *kléčī*, G.sg. *glávē*, I.sg. *túgòm*. As usual in Posavian, posttonic lengths can be shortened, especially after $\tilde{}$, cf. def. adj. *glādno*, *těško*, but also *glādān*, *pějēm*, *krijē*, N.pl. *místā*, G.sg. *kūcē* etc. Some of these forms usually lose their length in other Posavian dialects.

Č and ć are distinguished, *v* is a fricative, there is no *h* (cf. *mùja* 'fly'), the reflex of the *jat* is ikavian (cf. *klišća*, *mīsto*).

a.p. B

short

kòsit - *kòsī*; *lòžit* - *lòžī*; *sèlit* - *sèli/sèli*

long

cīdit - *cīdi* [*cēditi]; *līpit* - *līpi* [*lēpiti]; *sádit* - *sādi*; *tájit* - *tāji*; *žūriš*

2.17 Šljivoševci (in Podravina) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Podravina dialect)

50 years ago (cf. Sekereš 1977), the older speakers of this dialect had a system of four accents - $\grave{}$, $\acute{}$, $\tilde{}$, ' (the absence of ' being characteristic for the north of the Slavonian Old Štokavian dialect). However, even then it was noted (in the year 1960) that the younger speakers did indeed have ' in their system. Today, in the speech of our 1931 born informant we find a fully fledged system with five accents, cf. *vòda*, *sèlo*, *vretèno*, *imèna* but also *kopāt*, *oprāt* with the older accent and *rešèto*, *čòvjek* (with the standard *-je-*), *Bòžić*, *dònese* (present tense), *zòve* with the old retraction type which yielded $\tilde{}$ and not ' (which did not exist in the system before). The accent ' develops in all positions, cf. *gláva*, *trésemo*, *túčemo*, *kázati* etc. There is a lot of vacillation, cf. I.sg. *jezikom*, *imāli*, *vratīlo* 'spinning wheel', *kalotīne* but also *pšènica*, *mòtika*, *lòpàta* etc. Long accents can be retracted as well: G.sg. *vòdē*, *lòvi* < **lovī*, *dèvojke* but also *donesèmo*, *pripovètkā*, *udāla*, *načēt*. The accent $\tilde{}$ is often realized as ' (*rāt*), $\tilde{}$ can sporadically change to $\acute{}$ (cf. N.pl. *rēbra* and *rēbra*, *vīno/vīno*) but not very often. The cases of posttonic length usually appear in the context of Neo-Štokavian retraction (*zvònār*), rarely otherwise (cf. *grēbenāli*, *mòtāli*, N.pl. *břdā* but also *brdā/břdā*). The vowels in front of resonants are lengthened with $\tilde{}$ as the result (cf. *tkāna* < **trkánja*) as usual in Podravina. There is usually no *h*, $\check{}$ and $\acute{}$ are distinguished, the dialect is ekavian (*lēp*, *těsto*, *crēvo*), the infinitive ends in both *-ti* and *-t* (cf. *zvāti*, *prāti*).

a.p. B

short

jā kòsim trávu; *lòžit* - *lòžim*; *mòčimo konòp[lu]*; *nosīla*; *pòjim kòne*, *kòna pòji*; *ròdit* - *ròdi*; *jā se sèlim*; *sòjim*, *posòjim* [*soliti]; *otvorīli*; *vòzit*; *zvòni pòdnē*

long

brániti - *brānim*; *kúpiti*; *ládit* - *lādi* [*xolditi]; *plátit* - *plātim*; *rádit* - *rāde*; *narāni* [*xorniti]; *sādi*; *tájiti* - (*za*)*tāji*, *zatájio*; *vratit* - *vrātim*

a.p. C

short

lòvit - *lòvi jèlena*

shortened

gūbi (2x), *izgūbim* (3x)/*izgubim*, *izgūbila sam*; *naučila*

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

dòjit - *žèna dòji djéte* (should be **déte*) (2x), *krāva se dòji* (the informant herself admits the difference in the accent, although a different distribution of accent types would be expected))

2.18 Batina (in Baranja) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Podravina dialect)

Batina is a village in North Baranja, whose dialect is nowadays almost extinct (our informant is one of the last people who can speak the dialect but she does not speak it herself in everyday life anymore). The dialect has five accents - $\tilde{}$, $\acute{}$, $\tilde{}$, ' and ' , but the short rising accent is, like in Šljivoševci, sporadic (and probably a later intrusion from Neo-Štokavian), cf. *gláva*, *sèlo*, *čòvek/čòvek*, *kòni/kòni*. The $\tilde{}$ accent is retracted from all final syllables (there are a few remnants like I.sg. *na vodē*, *na daskē*), yielding ' in every position (except in cases like *tājiš*), cf. *cvitovi*, but *motīka*. The neo-acute is not very stable and often changes to $\tilde{}$, cf. G.sg. *vodē*, *divòjka*, *zovēm* but also *kovāč*, I.sg. *vodòm*, *u cidīlku*. The resonant-closed syllables obtain the neo-acute when lengthened, cf. *otārak*, I.sg. *sa otārkom*. As usual in Podravina, there is no posttonic length.

The dialect distinguishes $\check{}$ and $\acute{}$, *v* is a fricative, short accented *o* is usually phonetically \tilde{a} and short accented *e* is \tilde{e} . The dialect is consistently ikavian, cf. *tīsto*, G.sg. *ditēta*.

a.p. A

bāvīš; *zaborāvila*; *uplāšila*

a.p. B

short

döjiti - döji; gästimo, pogostili; kāsīm, pokosili trāvu [*kositi]; ne krāji, skrojfo [*krojiti]; křstīt - křsti; lāvīt - lāvi, ulovio [*loviti]; lāžīm, naložio [*ložiti]; mđlit - mđlim ti lipo [*modliti]; nāsīs, nāsi, nosio [*nositi]; pāstīt - pāstīm, pāstiš [*postiti]; pđjim, napojio kōne; prāsīt - prāsīs [*prositī]; skāčīt - skāčīs [*skočiti]; tēli, oteļila se krāva [*teliti]; tāči, natači mi! [*točiti]; vāzīt - sīno vāti [*voziti]; žēnit - žēni, se oženio [*ženiti]

long

pobīlila (cf. *bilo*) [*bēliti]; obrānit - se brānim; būdim, probūdīo; cīdim, cīdi, procīdila [*cēditi]; cīpīm, nacīpio si jābuku [*cēpiti]; (po)dīlit - dīli!, lipo podīlite svē jēdnako! [*dēliti]; divānit - divāniš 'speak' (a Turkish loanword, cf. *tvōj divān je dōsadan*); zafālit - fāli [*xvaliti]; grādīm; gřdi; ugūšičēs mi 'you will strangle me'; jāvi, jāvio; skrātīla sūknu (cf. *skračīvam*); jēsī se okrīpīla (cf. *ōkripa, krīpost*) [*krēpiti]; krīvit - ne krīvim; kūpit - kūpi; līčit - līči (cf. *lik*, G.sg. *líka, líkovīto*) [*lēčiti]; omācit; mīsīt - mīsī [*mēsiti]; mlātīt - mlāti, izmlātīo; vrīme se mūti, uzmutīo; (u)pālit - pāli, (u)pālio [*paliti]; sādīm, posādila; sēlīmo se (2x) (the source of the length is unclear) [*sedliti]; poslūzīt - slūži; pristūpit - stūpi; ustobōčio; rasđdit 'make someone angry'; trībi se grā, trībīla [*terbiti]; ūčit - ūči, naučīla; se žāri

a.p. C

short

štā se borīš, borīte; bāš mi tō godī; tāpit - māst se topī [*topiti]; vesēlit - vesēli, vesēlū se [*veseliti]; zvānit - zvonī, zvonā sad zvonū

shortened

ne čīniš, učīniō

long

tājīš, zatājīla

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

dīte rādi, porādi, kād žīto dōbro rodī, porodīla [*roditi]

inconclusive

skloñio mi se s pūta, skloñila sam se, skloñili su se, sklōñi mi se s pūta! [*kloniti]; izlomio, prilomio; svāj si se smočio 'you got yourself all wet', smočilo, smōči!

2.19 Sunger/Mrkopalj (in Gorski kotar) – štokavized Central Čakavian/Štokavian (Western Ikavian Dialect)⁴²

Mrkopalj and Sunger are two places in Gorski kotar, just 3.5 km away from each other and in close proximity to the Čakavian village of Brestova Draga. Genetic classification of the bigger Mrkopalj and the smaller Sunger appears somewhat difficult. Moguš (1977: 104) classifies Sunger as Čakavian, while Lisac (2003: 51, 162) classifies both Sunger and Mrkopalj as Western Ikavian Neo-Štokavian. In fact, Mrkopalj is genetically a Western Ikavian Neo-Štokavian dialect and Sunger is genetically a Central Čakavian dialect. Today, however, these two dialects are very similar and share many properties (and that is why we list them together here) with originally Čakavian Sunger being heavily štokavized. Here are some of the differences between Sunger and Mrkopalj, according to my informant (who is fluent in both dialects): phonological – Mrkopalj is ikavian (*bīlo mlīko*), while Sunger has Jakubinski-Meyer governed reflexes of the *jat* (*bēlo mlīko*), -l in Sunger (*podīli*), -a in Mrkopalj (*podīlija*); prosodic - " is more "cut off" (sharply falling) and ˘ is a bit longer in Mrkopalj than in Sunger (both typical for Štokavian : Čakavian); lexical differences - Sunger *sīmo*, Mrkopalj *āmo* etc. Both dialects have just *štō*, cf. also *mēda* but *mējaš* for the reflex of *d, some words clearly point to Čakavian origin (*māša* 'mass', *crikva*, *dēlat*, *vlāsi* etc.).

The dialects have usual Neo-Štokavian four accent systems but no posttonic length (cf. G.sg. *nōge*, G.sg. *sēstre*, *gōlub*, *kōrak*). Occasionally one finds falling syllables in the middle of the word (*mrkopālski*, *sestrična/sēstrična*). The phoneme *x* is preserved, *č* and *ć* are differed (*ć* usually being quite "soft" [tš]), *v* is a fricative, *ř* can be both short and long, final -*m* > -*n*. There is no Čakavian-style lengthenings in *stār*, *dīm*, *sān* 'I am' etc.

NOTE: Lukežić 2008 records the posttonic length in the Mrkopalj accentual system.

a.p. A

bāvit se - bāvin; blātīt - blātin; brātīt se - brātin, brātīmo; čīstīt - čīstin, čīstīmo; čūdit se - čūdin se, čūdimō se; dīmit se - se dīmi; gādit; gāzīt - gāzi, zgāzin; glādit - glādi; grābit - pōgrabiš, nē grabī!; zāgrlin; jāñīt se - se jāñi; iskri, zāiskrilo; skāmenīt se - se skāmeni; kāznīt - kāzne; kītīt, ōkitīt - ōkiti; kūpit, pōkupīt - kūpi; křčīt, pōkřčīt - křči; kīselit - se kīseli (cf. *kīselina* 'sour milk', *kīselica* 'common sorrel (a plant that grows in the spring and has berries)'; lākomit - lākomiš, lākomi (cf. *lākomčina*); slīčit - slīči; lūpit, lūpicete - lūpiš; izmīrit - mīri [*mēriti]; mūčīt - mūčimo; mřvit - mřvi; nūdit - nūdin; pāzin, pāzija; pjēniš (with the

⁴² I would like to thank my informant Daniel Jedriško and his sharp hearing.

standard -je-); *plāziti - plāzi; strāšiti - strāšin; prātit, ispratiti - prātin, prātimo; prūžiti - prūžiš; pūšiti - pūši; pṛtiti - pṛti snig; rāniti - rāni; zrūšiti - rūši; sītiti - sītiti [*sētiti]; slāviti - slāvi; sirit - se siri; tlāčiti - tlāči; tṛšiti - tṛši; vāditi - vādi, vādimo; virit se - se viri; vlāži; žālit - žālin, žalimo, žālite, žāle*

*bogatiti - bogatin; ujèdinićemo se - se ujèdinimo; kòristiti - kòristin; òkusiti - òkusiš; zākvačiti - zākvači; ùlaziti - ùlazin, ùlazimo; mīsliti, mīsliti/mīsliti/mīsliti; nāpraviti; zārati - zārati; zāsiti se - zāsitimo; natòvariti - tòvari, natòvarin; izvisi, izvisija [*vēsiti]; pròvitri [*vētriti]*

a.p. B

short

*blagoslòviti - blagoslovin; gòniti - gònimo; govòriti - govòrin, govòriš; hòditi - hòdi, hòdimo; klòni, klònimo, klòni me se!; kòsiti - kòsin, kòsiš, kòsi, kòsimo, kòsite, kòse; kòtiti - kòti; mèditi - mèdin, mèdi 'put honey on something'; mòliti - mòliš, mòlimo, mòlite; nòsiti - nòsimo; sprijàteļim, sprijàteļija; pūstiti - pūsti; (se) ròdi; skòčiti - skòči (cf. skāče); svidočiti - svidoči [*svēdočiti]; otèliti - tèli, tèle (cf. the noun tèle); tòplit - tòpli; vòziti - se vòzin; žèniti se - (se) žèni*

oglobiti - oglobi; objāsiti (2x) - objāsniš; zaklòpiti - zāklopin; prilagòditi - prilagodi; umrtvija - umrtvi; obnòviti - obnovimo; oplemèniti - oplemeni, oplemèni; pripolòviti - pripolovin; ponòsiti - pònosi; upòzoriš; zatvòriti - zātvorin

long

*biliti zid - bilin (trans.) [*bēliti]; ublāžiti - ūblažin; brāniti - brānin, brānimo; brūsiti - brūsin, brūsimo; būditi - būdin, būdimo; būšiti - būšin, būšimo; cīniti - cīnin (also cjēniti - cjēnin) [*cēniti]; cvīliti - cvīlin, cvīli, cvīlimo; dāviti - dāvin, dāviš, dāvi, dāvimo; dīliti - dīlin, dīli, dīlimo, podīliti (S.), podīlija (M.) [*dēliti]; dīčiti - dīčin, dīči, dīčimo; drūžiti - drūžin, drūži, drūžimo; gāsiti - gāsin, gāsi, gāsimo; gnāviti - gnāviš; grāditi - grādiš; sagrišila, griši/greši (both S. and M.), grišimo [*grēšiti]; gūliti - gūlimo, ògulimo; ohlādilo, hlādi; hrābri; hrāni; pofāliti, fāliš, fāli (also with hv-) [*xvaliti]; jāviću - jāviš; klātiti - òn klāti òkoli 'he wanders around' (not reflexive!); krāsiti - krāsi; krīviti - krīvi, krīvimo; prikrīžiti - prikrīži; ukrūtiti se - ūkrutin; krūžiti - krūži; okrvāviti - okrvavin; kṛstiti - se kṛstin, se kṛsti, pòkrstin; kúpiti - kūpi; kvāsiti - kvāsi; izlīčičeš - liči [*lēčiti]; ulīniti - ūliniš [*lēniti]; līpiti - līpin, zalīpil/zalīpija [*lēpiti]; lūbiti - lūbi; jāditi se - se jādi, jādimo, jāde [*ēditi]; namāmiti - māmī; māsiti - māsti; zamāsiti - māsi [*mēsiti]; pomīriće se - mīre se; mlāčiti - se mlāči; mlātiti - mlātin, mlātimo; mrāči, zamrāčilo; smūtiti - mūtīš; sníziti - snīzi; se òblači; se òblačin; súziti - súzi, súzi se! [*qziti]; zapāliti - pāli; opāmėtiš, opāmėtija; naplātiti - plāti; prāsi; protfviti - pròtvin, pròtvi, pròtivimo; pròrèditi - pròredi [*rèditi]; prirèditi - priredi [*rēditi]; zasāditi - sādi; sīliti - sīli; sūditi - sūdi; ustrèliti - ūstrelin [*strēliti]; sūšiti - se sūši, se sūšimo; širiti -*

*širi; tūžiti - tūži; trūditi se - trūdi se; trīziti, trīznija [*terzniti]; vābin, vābili; provālit - pròvalin; zavārit - vāri; vrātiti - vrātin, nè vratiš, vrātite, vrātite!, vrātiti (S.)/vrātija (M.); prizīmiti - prizimi; nè znači*

a.p. C

short

bòriti se - bòri se, bòrimo se; bròjiti - bròjin, bròjimo; dròbiti - dròbi, dròbimo; dvòriti - dvòri; zagñòjiti - gñòji, zagñòji; zagòjiti - gòji, gòje '(wounds) heal'; gòstiti - gòstimo; kròjiti - kròji, kròjimo, skròjiti, skròji; poškròpiti - škròpi; kròtiti - kròtin; kāsiti, zākāsiti - kāsni, kāsimo; odlèditi - lèdi; lòjiti - se lòji; lòmiti - lòmi, lòmimo, slòmi; lòviti - lòvi, ùlovi; lòžiti, lòži, lòžimo, nalòžiti; mòčiti - mòči, mòčimo; mnòžiti - mnòžimo; se mągli (cf. mągla, A.sg. mągla, N.pl. mągla); nòči; se òri; naòštriti - òštrin, (se) òštri; plòdi, oplòdija, plòdi!; plòviti, plòvimo; napòjiti - pòji; pòstiti - pòstin; popāpiti - pāpri; ròjiti - ròje se òse; ròniti - ròni; ròsiti - ròsi se tráva, ròse se; odsèliti - sèli, sèlimo; sòliti - sòli; sramòtiti - se sramòti, se sramòtimo; uškòpiti - škòpi; (se) tòči, tòčimo; tòpiti - tòpi; utòviti - prāsca tòvi; vesèli, vesèlimo; znòjiti, znòjia; zòri se; zvòni, zvònija; žalòstiti - žalòsti

shortened

gùbiti - gùbi; kṛšiti - kṛši; ūčiti - ūčin, nāučin

long

*cíditi - cídin, cídimo, pròcidiš [*cēditi]; cūriti - cūri, pròcuri; crpiti - crpiš 'bother'; částiti - částin, částiš; glūmiti - glūmiš, ne glūmi!; gñíziti - gñízdi, gñízde; odjūrili, jūri; nāgli, nāglija (cf. prināgluje); súzi mi (3x), zāsuzi (cf. sūza, A.sg. sūzu) [*slbziti]; srāmiti se - se srāmi; svètiti - svèti (?); svitliti - svitli [*svētḷiti]; štítiti - štíti; tájiti - táji; trúbiti - trúbi, trúbimo; vāžiti - vāži; vrādit/vrēdit/vrjēdit - vrēdi [*verđiti]; se žāri, zažārila; žūriti se - se žūri, se žūrimo*

vacillation B-C

zapròsiti - pròsi/pròsi

inconclusive

*krjēpiti; raskrīliti; nè mari; mṛsiti - vlāse; pripitòmiti; prjētiti (with -je-); odrīšiti/odrēšiti [*rēšiti]; uròtija; zaslāditi; trjēbiti; utrāpiću ti; tūpiti; pozlātite*

mixed

*dēsiti (2x) - dēsi, dēsilo; gòditi - gòdi (2x) (probably the result of the mixing of Slavic *goditi and the loan from the Italian godere)*

2.20 Tisno (on the island of Murter) – Central Čakavian (štokavized)

This is a štokavized Čakavian dialect (cf. the pronoun *štà, zàšto*). It has a five accent system - ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ with no unaccented length - posttonic length has disappeared (cf. *gòlub, kòrak, òblak, mòlite, G. rìbe*)⁴³ and the accent has retracted to pretonic length. " is pronounced short, "canonically". The old " almost always yields ' (cf. *gláva, tráva, rúka, zíma, cvíliti* but *pràsac/prásac*) and the old internal " is also retracted in most cases (cf. *nòga, vòda, sèstra, mòliti, bògatimo*), but not without exceptions (cf. *okùsiti, prasica, kositi, otàc, màstìti*)⁴⁴. Vowels in front of resonants in the coda are lengthened, with ˘ as the result (cf. *dìm, jesàn, pogàn, nožèn*). ˘ is not very stable, it tends to change to ˘ facultatively under certain conditions – for instance in the end of a phrase or a sentence⁴⁵. There is no č : č difference, both are pronounced the same (sometimes 'hard', sometimes "soft") – here written č (with its voiced counterpart ž). The phoneme *l* is pronounced as palatalized [lʲ], -*m* > -*n* in the end of the word, *v* is a fricative, phoneme [x] is partially preserved (or reintroduced), syllabic *r* is always short, the dialect is ikavian (*è > i, in loans from the standard *je* also occurs). The infinitive ends in -*ti*, 3. person plural of *i*-verbs in -*u* and *-*ilb* > -*ija* in *l*-participle.

a.p. A

*bàviti se - se bāvimo, se bāvi; blātiti - blātimo, blāti; brātiti se - brātimo se, se brāti; cèriti se - se cèrimo, se cèri; čístiti - čístimo, čísti; čūditi se - čūdimo se, se čūdi; dīmiti - dīmi, dīmimo; gāditi - gādimo, gādi; gāziti - gāzimo, gāzi, ugāzija; glāditi - glādimo, glādi; grābiti - grābimo, grābi; gr̃biti - gr̃bimo, gr̃bi se; gr̃liti - gr̃lino, gr̃li; ĭdriti - ĭdrimo, ĭdri; ĭskriti se - ĭskri se; kāzniti - kāznimo, kāzni; kītiti - kītimo, kīti; kùpiti - kùpi; kùžiti - kùžimo, kùži; kĭseliti - kĭselimo, kĭseli; slĭčiti - slĭči, slĭčimo; lùpiti - lùpimo, lùpi; mĭriti - mĭrimo, mĭri [*mĕriti]; mùčiti - mùčimo, mùči; mĭsliti - mĭslimo, mĭsli; mĕviti - mĕvimo, mĕvi; nūditi - nūdimo, nūdi; pāziti - pāzimo, pāzi; pĭniti - pĭnimo se, pĭni (štà si se zapĭnija?) 'be angry' [*pĕniti]; plāziti - plāzimo, plāzi; prātiti - prātimo, prāti; prāviti - prāvimo, prāvi; prūžiti - prūžimo, prūži; pūšiti - pūšimo, pūši; pĕtiti - pĕtimo, pĕti; rāniti - rānimo, rāni; rùšiti - rùšimo, ruši; sītiti se - sītimo se, sīti se; sĭliti - sĭlimo, sili;*

⁴³ However, there are some marginal examples like G.pl. *nòči, I. vòdòn* where the facultative retraction occurred. Long accents are usually not retracted (cf. I. *sestròn, berēs*).

⁴⁴ In Stojanov 1937, the situation with ˘ is the same as today. " , on the other hand, is mostly preserved in the old position in his examples, except in a few examples.

⁴⁵ This was obvious while eliciting forms for this *i*-verb list – if there were two forms with the neo-acute, it was fairly probable that the second one would be pronounced with the circumflex or that its neo-acute would be articulated in a fashion that makes it closer to ˘. Thus, I have maintained the original order of elicitation in the list.

slāviti - slāvimo, slāvi; stāviti - stāvimo, stāvi; strāšiti - strāšimo, strāši; sĭriti - se sĭri, ùsĭrili (sĭri se mlĭko); šāliti se - šālino se, šāli se; tĕliti - tĕli se, otĕlila⁴⁶; tĕšiti - tĕšimo, tĕši; tlāčiti - tlāčimo, tlāči; vāditi - vādimo, vādi; vlāžiti - vlāžimo, vlāži; žāliti - žālino, žāli

bògatiti - bògatimo, bògati; borāviti - borāvimo, bòravi; gotòviti - gotòvimo, gotòvi; kòza se òjarila; kòristiti - kòristimo, kòristi; okùsiti - okùsimo, okùsi; ùlaziti - ùlazimo, ùlazi; nàuditi - nàudimo, nàudi; pónositi - pónosimo, pónosi; pústošiti - pústošimo, pústoši; zàratiti - zàratimo, zàrati; zasĭtiti se - zasĭtimo se, zasĭti se; tòvariti - tòvarimo, tòvari; izvĭsiti - izvĭsimo, izvĭsi, izvĭsili, izvĭsija; pòvĭtriti, izvĭtrivilo, izvĭtrivi

a.p. B

short

gòniti - gòni, gònimo, gònu; mòliti - mòlino, mòli; nòsit - nòsimo, nòsi; pùstiti - pùstimo, pùsti; ròdit - ròdimo, ròdi (se); skòčiti - skòčimo, skòči; vòditi - vòdiš, vòdi me!, vòdite me!; vòziti - vòzimo, vòzi; ženiti - ženimo se, ženi se

blagoslòviti - blagoslòvimo, blagoslòvi (cf. blagoslĭvlamo, blagoslĭv[a]); učvĕrstiti - učvĕrsti, učvĕrstimo (cf. učvĕrščĭvamo); odušĕviti - odušĕvi (cf. odušĕvlāva, odušĕvlāvamo); ogòliti - ogòli (cf. ogoļāvamo); zaklòpiti - zaklòpimo, zaklòpi; prilagòditi - prilagòdimo, prilagòdi; umòri se; primòstiti - primòstimo, primòsti; umĕrtviti - umĕrtvimo, umĕrtvi; obnòvit - obnòvimo, obnòvi; pripitòmiti - pripitòmi; oplemĕniti - oplemĕnimo, oplemĕni; oplòdi; pokòriti - pòkorimo, pòkori; pripolòviti - pripòlovimo, pripòlòvi; upozòriti - upòzorimo, upòzori; sprijatĕļiti se - sprijatĕļimo se, sprijatĕļi se; ustanòviti - ustanòvimo, ustanòvi; postròjiti - se postròju, osvòjiti - òsvojimo, òsvoji; otvòriti - òtvori

long

*blūditi - blūdimo, blūdi; ublāžiti - ublāži (cf. ublažāvamo, ublažāva); brāniti - brānimo, brāni; brúsiti - brúsimo, brūsi, brūsu; búčiti - búčimo, búči, búču; búditi - búdimo, búdi; búšiti - búšimo, búši; ciditi - cidimo, cidi [*cĕditi]; cjĕniti - cjĕnimo, cjĕni; cjĕpiti - cjĕpimo, cjĕpi; cvíliti - cvilimo, cvili; cúriti - cúri; udāļiti se (cf. se udaļāvamo); dāviti - dāvimo, dāvi; dĕsiti - se dĕsi; dĭliti - dĭlimo, dĭli [*dĕliti]; dĭčiti - dĭčimo, dĭči; dĭviti - dĭvimo, dĭvi; drāžiti - drāžimo, drāži; dúbiti - dúbimo, dúbii; drūžiti se - drūžimo se, se drūži; dúšiti - dúšimo, dúši 'choke'; dúžiti - dúžimo, dúži; gājiti - gājimo, gāji; gāsiti - gāsimo, gāsi; glūmiti - glūmimo, glūmi; oglúšija je, oglúši; gnĕžditi se - gnĕždimo se, se gnĕždu; gnāviti - gnāvimo, gnāvi; nĕšto mi gòdi; glásiti - glāsi; grāditi - grādimo, grādi;*

⁴⁶ A.p. A by analogy to the present tense forms.

gospodáríti - gospodārīmo, gospodāri; govóriti - govōrimo, govōri; gríšiti - grīšimo, grīši; gróziti - grōzimo se, grōzi se; gúliti - gūlimo, gūli; lāditi - lādimo, lādi [*xolditi]; hlápiti - hlāpi, ishlāpi; hrábriti - hrābrīmo, hrābri; hrániti - hrānīmo, hrāni; hūliti - hūlimo, hūli; fáliti - fālimo, fāli [*xvaliti]; jániti se - óvca se jáni; járiti (pàsa najáriti) - jári (dica járu pàsa) 'tease, irritate'; objásniti - objāsnu (cf. objašnāvamo); jáviti - jávimo, jávi; ujedíniti - ujedīni, ujedínite se! (cf. ujedínāvamo); júriti - júri, júrimo; káditi - kādimo, kádi; zaključiti - zaključī; klátiti - klátimo, klāti (māška se klāti); krátiti - krátimo, krāti; tō se kōsi 'it goes against'; krípiti - krípimo, krīpi [*krēpiti]; krásiti - krāsimo, krāsi; raskríliti - raskrīlimo, raskrīli; kríviti - krívimo, krīvi; prikrižiti - prikrižimo, prikriži; ukrútiti se - ukrútimo, ukrúti; krúžiti - krúžimo, krúži; okrváviti - okrvāvimo, okrvāvi; kúditi - kúdimo, kúdi; kúpiti - kúpimo, kúpi; líčiti - líčimo, líči [*lěčiti]; ulíniti se - se ulīni; lípiti - lípimo, lípi [*lěpiti]; ľubiti - ľubimo, ľubi; ľútiti - ľútimo, ľúti; ľúštiti - ľúštimo, ľúšti; māmiti - māmimo, māmi; mārīti - mārīmo, mārī; namástiti - mástimo, másti 'grease'; mísiti - mísimo, mísi [*měsiti]; mesáriti - mesārīmo, mesārī; mírīti - mírīmo, mírī; smláčiti - se smláči; pomláđiti - mlátiti - mlátimo, mlāti; mráčiti - mrāči se; mútiti - mútīmo, múti; mnòžiti - množimo, množi; nāglīti - nāglīmo, nāgli; sníziti - snízimo, snízi; obláčiti - oblāči se, se oblāčin 'dress'; obláčiti se - se oblāči 'cloud'; súziti - súzi, súzimo, súzi [*qziti]; sūzi [*slbziti]; páłiti - páłimo, páli; opamétiti se - opamētīmo se, opamēti se; píłiti - píliš, píłimo, píli 'saw; be a bother'; plátiti - plátimo, plāti; prási/prájiti - prási; prášiti - prášimo, práši; zaréđiti se - zaréđimo se, zaréđi se; prítiti - prítimo, príti [*pertiti]; protíviti - protívimo, protívi; ráđiti - ráđimo, ráđi; rjěšiti - rjěšimo, rjěši; priréđiti - priréđimo, priréđi⁴⁷; porúbiti - porúbimo (cf. porubļivamo); rúžiti - rúžimo, rúži, rúžiš 'grow ugly'; sáditi - sádimo, sádi; sláviti, rasláviti sók ili víno; sljěđiti - sljěđimo, sljěđi; snážiti - snážimo, snáži; sláđiti, zasláđiti - sláđimo, sláđi; srámīti se - srāmīmo se, srāmī se; súđiti - súđimo, súđi; zastrániti - zastrāni; stúpiti - stúpimo, stúpi; súšiti - súšimo, súši; svétiti se - svétimo se, svēti se 'take revenge'; svítłiti - svítłimo, svítłi [*světliti]; štítiti - štítimo, štíti; šírīti - šírīmo, šírī; trībīti - trībīmo, trībī [*terbiti]; téžiti - téžimo, téži; trápiti - trápimo, trāpi (něšto utrápiti) 'fob off'; túpiti - túpimo, túpi; túžiti - túžimo, túži; trážiti - trážimo, tráži; trúbīti - trúbīmo, trúbī; trúđiti se - trúđimo se, trúđi; trízni se - trízni se, trízni se [*terzniti]; vábīti - vábīmo, vábī; razváliti - razvālīmo, razváli; várīti - vārīmo, vārī; váziti - vāži; vríditi - vrídimo, vríđi; vrátiti - vrátīmo, vrátī; ozárīti se - ozārīmo se, ozārī se, se ozárīja; znáčiti - znáčimo, znāči; zlāti, se zlāti (cf. pozlačīva); žáriti - žárīmo, žárī; žúrīti - žúrīmo se, žúrī se; bíłiti - bíłimo, bíli, bílin [transitive]; žútiti - žútīn 'peel'

⁴⁷ A loanword from the standard/Štokavian obviously.

a.p. C

short

bòriti se - borīmo se, se borī, se borū, borū se; brò(j)iti - brojīmo, brojī; brštiti - brštīmo, brštī, brštū; čèrpiti - čèrpīmo, čèrpī/čèrpiti - crpīmo, crpī [*čьrpiti]; dòjiti - dojīmo, dojī; dròbiti - drobīmo, drobī; dvòriti - dvorīmo, dvorī; gñòjiti - gñojīmo, gñójī; gòjiti - gojīmo, gojī; gòstīti - gostīmo, gostī; grđiti - grđīmo, grđī; klònitī se - klonīmo se, klonī, klonīn, klonū, klòni! klònite! klònīmo!; kòriti - korīmo, korī; kòsiti - kosīmo, kosī; kotīti - kotī, ukotīla; krò(j)iti - kroīmo, kroī; škropīti - škropī, škropīmo; kròtīti - krotīmo, krotī (krotī ga vòdōn); kršiti - kršīmo, kršī; krštīti - krštīmo, krštī; mòčiti - močīmo, moči; krčīti - krčīmo, krčī; kàsniiti - kasnīmo, kasnī; lèđiti - vòda se ledī; se lo(j)ī (?); lòmiti - lomīmo, lomī, lomī se; lòviti - lovīmo, lovī, lovū; lòžiti (nalòžiti vātru) - ložīmo, loži (vātra se lòži); māsītīti - mastīmo, mastī 'crush grapes'; mrsīti - mrsīmo, mrsī 'eat meat; ruffle'; maglīti - se maglī; òriti - se orī; òštrīti - oštrīmo, oštrī, oštrīn; plòviti, zaplòviti - plovīmo, plovī (zaplòvi); pòiti, napòiti - poīmo, poī (napò) [*pojiti]; pòstīti - postīmo, postī; pòtīti se - potīmo se, potī se, se potīn (spòtīli smo se, se spòtīmo, spòtīn); pròsīti - prosīmo, prosī; opròstīti - da prostīš, da prostīte; pàpřiti - papřīmo, papřī; ròjiti - se rojū; rònitī - ronīmo, ronī; ròsiti - se rosī 'be dewy'; sèłiti se - selīmo se, selī se (se prisèli); sòłiti - solīmo, solī; sramòtīti - sramotīmo, sramotī; cākłiti se - cakłī; škòpiti - škòpīmo, škòpī; svidòčīti - svidòčīmo, svidòči; srdīti - srdīmo, srdī; tèplīti - teplīmo, teplī; tòpiti - topīmo, topī (utòpi, rastòpi); tòviti - tovīmo, tovī, tòvi; tròšiti - trošīmo, trošī (pòtroši); vesèłiti se - veselīmo, veselī se; znòjiti - znojīmo, znojī, znojī; zvònitī - zvonīmo, zvonī; žalòstīti - žalostīmo, žalostī

shortened

čīniti - činīmo, činī, ne čīni tō!, ne čīnite tō!; gùbiti - gubīmo, gubī, gùbi se!, gùbite se!; učīti - učīmo, učī, učī!, učīte!

long

a.p. B-C vacillation

skamènitī se - skamenī/skamèni; tòčiti - točīmo/tòčimo, toči/tòči, tòči se/toči se, točīn/tòčīn, tòčite, točū (both variants exist), tòči!, tòčite!

mixed a.p.

hřlīti - hrlīmo, hrlī

inconclusive

òđit (present tense is suppletive: řžemo, řže) [*xoditi]

2.21 Filipjakov (near Biograd in Dalmatia) – South Čakavian⁴⁸

This is a coastal štokavized Čakavian dialect. It has a four accent system (˘, ˘̂, ˘̄, ˘̆) and pretonic length but with a lot of variation. The neo-acute is preserved only facultatively, it can always be changed to ˘ (unlike neighboring Turanj where ˘ is stable), cf. G.sg. *glavē* and *glavê*. Sometimes this ˘ < ˘̂ can be lexicalized. The neo-acutes are more frequent in fast speech. The dialect preserves the old accent place except for the fact that ˘ usually retracts from the final syllable together with *kanovačko duljenje* in the lower, sea-side part of Filipjakov named Selo, but there is a lot of variation here as well. Different solutions are lexicalized in different words, cf. *glāvā*, *glāva* and *glāva*, as well as *kōzā*, *kōza* and *kōza*. As is obvious, the retracted accent is either ˘ or ˘̂. This type of variation is not unusual in this area. In Ulica, the upper part of Filipjakov (away from the sea), the older accentuation like *glāvā*, *sēlō* is preserved (but with *kanovačko duljenje*). For the accent on the final syllable cf. *artič* 'little cape', N.pl. *vrtlā*, N.pl. *zrnā*. The accent can be optionally retracted in other positions as well, cf. rarer *plātiti* besides common *plā̄titi*, also *pēčēš* besides *pečēš* (for the variation, cf. also *pečēmo/pečēmo/pēčemo/pēčemo!*). The new retraction-made *kanovački* ˘ does not seem to change to ˘̂ ever. The result of the lengthening before sonorants is ˘̂, which later changes to ˘̂̄, cf. Filipjakov *sūnce*, *divōjka* but Turanj *sūnce*, *divōjka*.

The dialect distinguishes č and (Štokavian style) č̂, *h* disappears, *ě > *i*, the infinitive ends in *-ti* and *l*-participle in *-a* (*-ilъ > *-ija*).

a.p. A

*bāviti se - se bāvimo; blātiti - blātimo; bratīmiti se; būšiti - būši; cēriti se - cērīmo se; čīstīti - čīstīmo; čūditi se - čūdīmo se; dīmīti se - se dīmī; gāditi se - gādī mi se; gāziti - gāzīmo; grābiti - grābīmo; gřliti - gřlīmo; ĩdriti - ĩdrīmo; jānīti se - jānī se; jāriti se - jāri se; skāmeniti se - skāmenīmo se; kāzniti - kāznī; kītiti - kītīmo; kūpiti - kūpīmo; kūriti - kūri ogāñ, dītē mu kūri od fēbre 'his child is burning with fever'; slīčiti - slīči; lūpiti - lūpīmo; mlīti se - mlī mi se; mīriti - mīrīmo [*mērīti]; mřviti - mřvi; mūčiti - mūčīmo; mīsliti - mīslīmo; mřviti - mřvīmo; nūditi - nūdīmo; pāziti - pāzīmo; pīniti se - pīnīmo se [*pēnīti]; plāšiti - plāšīmo; plāziti - plāzīmo; prātiti - prātīmo; prāviti - prāvīmo; prūžiti - prūžīmo; přtiti - přtīmo; rāniti - rānīmo; rūšiti - rūšīmo; sītiti se - sītīmo se [*sētīti]; sīliti - sīlīmo; slāviti - slāvīmo; stāviti - stāvīmo; strāšiti - strāšīmo; sřriti se - sřri se; sūziti - sūzi mi ōko; šāliti se - šālīmo se; tīšiti - tīšīmo [*tēšiti]; třžiti - třžīja 'bought' (only these forms exist); vāditi - vādīmo; vīriti se - vīrīmo se [*vēriti]; vlāžiti - vlāžīmo; žāliti - žālīmo*

⁴⁸ Zafalivan se Nikōli Vūletīcu na podāčīman.

*bogātiti se - se bogātīmo; borāviti - borāvīmo; okūsiti - okūsīmo; ulāziti - ulāzīmo; naūditi - naūdīmo; zarātiti - zarātīmo; zasītiti se - zasītīmo se; ozdrāviti - ozdrāvīmo; izvīsiti - izvīsīmo [*vēsiti]*

a.p. B

short

govorīti - govōri; klonīti se - se klōni, klōnī me se! (older people), klōnī me se! (younger people)⁴⁹; močīti - mōči, mōči!; molīti - mōli, mōli!, zamolīte ga! (older people); nosīti - nōsi, nōsi!, nosīte! (older people), nōsīte! (younger people); prošīti - prōsi; rodīti - rōdi; pušiti, pušiti/pušti!, pušīte/pušīte! (with a secondary infinitive puštāti); skočīti - skōči, priskōči, priskočīja, skočīte/skōčīte! (younger people always have the length, older people have it occasionally); sramotīti - sramōti; vodīti - vōdi, vodīte ga! (older people), vōdīte! (younger people); vozīti - vōzi, vōzil, vozīte! (older people), vōzīte! (younger people); svidočīti - svidōči; ženīti se - žēni se, ženīte se! (older people), žēnīte se! (younger people)

dogodīti se - dogōdi se; otvorīti - otvōri, stvōri, otvorīte!

long

*brānīti/brāniti - brāni/brāni; būdīti/būditi - būdi/būdi, būdīte se!; cīdīti/cīditi - cīdi/cīdi [*cēditi]; cīnīti/cīniti - cīni/cīni [*cēniti]; cīpīti/cīpiti - cīpi/cīpi [*cēpiti]; dāvīti/dāviti - dāvi/dāvi; dīlīti/dīliti - dīli/dīli, podīlite! [*dēliti]; dīvīti/dīviti - dīvi/dīvi; družīti se/družīti se - družī se/družī se; fālīti/fāliti - fāli/fāli [*xvaliti]; gñīzdīti/gñīzditi - gñīdi/gñīzdi [*gnēzditi]; gāsīti/gāsiti - gāsi, ugāsīte/ugāsīte!; gospodārīti/gospodārīti - gospodāri/gospodāri; grādīti/grāditi - grādi/grādi, grādīte!; grīšīti/grīšiti - grīši/grīši, ne grīšīte/grīšīte! [*grēšiti]; gūlīti/gūliti - gūli/gūli; gūšīti/gūšiti - gūši/gūši; hūlīti/hūliti - hūli/hūli; jāvīti/jāviti - jāvi/jāvi; kādīti/kāditi - kādi/kādi; kānīti/kāniti - kānin/kānin; klātīti/klātiti - klāti/klāti; krāsīti/krāsiti - krāsi/krāsi; krīpīti/krīpiti - krīpi/krīpi [*krēpiti]; krīvīti/krīviti - krīvi/krīvi; krūžīti/krūžiti - krūži/krūži; kūpīti/kūpiti - kūpi/kūpi, kūpīte!; lādīti/lāditi - lādi/lādi, olādīte! [*xolditi]; līčīti/līčiti - līči/līči, izlīčīte ga! [*lēčiti]; līpīti/līpiti - līpi/līpi [*lēpiti]; lūbīti/lūbīti - lūbi/lūbi; lūtīti/lūtīti - lūti/lūti; māmīti/māmīti - māmi (rarely māmī); māsīti/māsīti - māsī/māsī; mīrīti/mīriti - mīri/mīri; mīsīti/mīsiti - mīsī/mīsī [*mēsīti]; mlātīti/mlātiti - mlātīte/mlātīte, mlātīte!; mūtīti/mūtīti - mūti/mūti, izmūtīte!; oblāčīti se/oblāčīti se - oblāči se/oblāči se 'cloud'; pālīti/pāliti - pāli/pāli, zapālīte!; plātīti/plātiti - plāti*

⁴⁹ Older people still preserve the length/shortness opposition of the imperative/rest of the forms (cf. Kapović 2008), while younger people generalize the length in all the imperative forms regardless of the etymology. The pivotal points were not only the verbs with the inherited length/shortness opposition, but singular forms with *kanovačko duljenje* as well.

(rarely *plāti*), *plátite!*; *prāsiti se/prásiti se - prāsi se/prāsi se; prāšiti/prāšiti - prāši/prāši; rāditi/rāditi - rādi/rādi, ne rādite/rādite!*; *rāniti/rāniti - rāni/rāni* 'feed (animals)' [**xorniti*]; *rišiti/rišiti - riši/riši, rišite!* [**rěšiti*]; *rūbīti/rūbīti - rūbi/rūbi; sādīti/sādīti - sādi/sādi* (cf. *sād* 'small vineyard'); *slādīti se/slādīti se - slādi se/slādi se; slūčīti se* 'occur, happen'; *slūžīti/slūžīti - slūži/slūži; sūdīti/sūdīti - sūdi/sūdi, sūdīte mu!* (one informant says *sūdīte mu!*⁵⁰); *stūpīti/stūpīti - stūpi/stūpi; šušīti/šušīti - šuši/šušī* [**sušiti*]; *trībīti/trībīti - trībi/trībi* [**terbiti*]; *tūpīti se/tūpīti se - tūpi se/tūpi se; tūžīti/tūžīti - tūži/tūži; zadržīti/zadržīti - trāvi/trāvi, zadržīti ga je sasmā; trūdīti se/trūdīti se - trūdi se/trūdi se, ne trūdīte se!*; *vārīti/vārīti - vāri* (rarely *vāri*); *vrātīti/vrātīti - vrāti/vrāti, vrātīte se!*; *zlātīti se/zlātīti se - zlāti se/zlāti se; žārīti se/žārīti se - žāri se/žāri se; ždrībīti se/ždrībīti se - ždrībi se/ždrībi se* [**žerbiti*]

a.p. C

short

borīti - borī se (rarely *borī se*), *izbōri se; brojīti - brojī/brojī, izbrōji, izbrojīte!* (older people); *brstīti - brstī/brstī, pobrīsti, brstīte!* (older people); *caklīti se - caklī se/caklī se; častīti - častī/častī, počāsti; dažđīti - dažđī/daždī, zadāžđi* (*imenica - dāžd*, G. *daždā*); *dojīti - doji/doji, podđoji; dvorīti - dvorī/dvorī, podvōri; gnojīti - gnojī/gnojī, pogndōji; gojīti - goji/goji, uzgōji; gonīti - gonī/gonī, progōni, gonīte!* (older people); *gostīti se - gostīmo se, ugdōstimo; kasnīti - kasnīn/kasnīn, zakāsnīn, ne kasnīte!* (older people); *kiselīti - kiselī/kiselī, ukisēli; korīti - korī/korī, ukōri; kosīti - kosi/kosī, pokōsi, kosīte!* (older people); *kořīti se - kořī se/kořī se; krotīti - krotī/krotī, ukrōti; krstīti - krstī/krstī, pokrīsti, krstīte!* (older people); *lomīti - lomī/lomī, polōmi, slomīte!* (older people); *lovīti - lovī/lovī, ulōvi; ložīti - loži/loži, nalōži, lōži/lōži!* (not so often), *ložīte!* (younger people have analogical *lōžīte!*); *maglīti - maglī/maglī, zamāgli; mastīti - mastī/mastī* 'squash grapes'; *orīti se - se orī* (*pīšma*), *se zađri; oštrīti - oštrī/oštrī, nađštri, naoštrīte!* (older people); *plodīti - plodī se/plodī se, oplōdi; pojīti - poji/pojī, napōji, napojīte!* (older people); *popīti se - popī se/popī se, se zapōpi; potīti se - potī se/potī se, se upōti; paprīti - paprī/paprī, zapāpri, zapaprīte!* (older people); *prostīti - prostīš/prostīš, prostīte, oprōstīš; rojīti se - čēle se rojū/rojū* 'bees are

⁵⁰ The form *sūdīte!* is either an archaism (the short vowel is expected in the imperative plural) or it is due to the analogy with the originally short root verbs. Due to *kanovačko duljenje*, the singular forms like *učī/učī!* are equal to those like *lōži/lōži!* That they were originally **učī!* but **lōži!* is seen only by the plural forms (in the speech of older people) *učīte!* but *ložīte!*, where *učīte!* is analogical to the old **učī!* In *ložīte!* there was no analogy because the old singular was **loži!* Thus *sūdīte!* could be due either to analogy with *ložīte!* or it could be an archaism. It is possible that Filipjakov had the even more archaic system of **učī!* - **učīte!* and **loži!* - **ložīte!* not so long ago.

swarming'; *ronīti - ronī/ronī, izrōni; rosīti - rosī/rosī; selīti se - selī se* (rarely *selī se*), *prisēli se; solīti - solī/solī, posōli, posolīte!* (older people); *postīti - postī/postī; škopīti - škopī/škopī, uškōpi, uškopīte!* (older people); *škopīti - škopī/škopī, poškrōpi, poškrōpīte!* (older people); *telīti se - telī se/telī se, se otēli; teplīti se - teplī se/teplī se; točīti - toči/toči, natōči, natočīte!* (older people); *topīti - topīmo/topīmo, utōpimo; tovīti - tovī/tovī, utōvi; trošīti - trošī/trošī, potrōši, trošīl, trošīte!* (younger people say *trōšīte!*); *veselīti - veselī/veselī, razvesēli; zvonīti - zvonī/zvonī, pozvōni*

shortened

činīti - činī/činī, učīni (no imperative); *gubīti - gubī/gubī, gubīte/gubīte, izgūbi, gūbi!*, *gūbi se/gūbi se!, gūbite se/gūbite se!* (the latter form only by older people); *krčīti - krčī, iskrčī, iskrčīte/iskrčīte otō!*; *učīti - učī/učī, učīte/učīte, naūči, učī tovāre jedān!* 'learn, you ass', *učī!, učī se!, učīte/učīte!* (older people)⁵¹

long

bīlīti/bīlīti - bīlī (trans.), *obīli/obīli* [**bēlīti*]; *cvīlīti/cvīlīti - cvīlī, zacvīli/zacvīli; čīrīti/čīrīti - čīrī, pročīri/pročīri* 'peer out'; *dūbīti/dūbīti - dūbī, nadūbi* 'stand on one's head'; *glūmīti/glūmīti - glūmī, odglūmi/odglūmi; nīrīti/nīrīti - nīrī, prońīri/prońīri* 'peer out'; *slīdīti/slīdīti - slīdī, uslīdi, slīdīte!* (older people) [**slēdīti*]; *snīžīti/snīžīti - snīžī, zasnīži; srāmīti se/srāmīti se - srāmī se, srāmīte se/srāmīte se!* (older people); *svītlīti/svītlīti - svītlī, zasnītlī/zasnītlī* [**svētīlīti*]; *šcītīti/šcītīti - šcītī* (now rare, the forms with *št-* are more frequent; younger people usually say *štīti*); *tājīti/tājīti - tājī, zatājī/zatājī; trūbīti/trūbīti - trūbi/trūbī, potrūbi/potrūbi, trūbi!, trūbite/trūbite!*; *vrīdīti/vrīdīti - vrīdī, zavrīdi/zavrīdi* [**vrēdīti*]; *znāčīti/znāčīti - znāčī* (also *znāči/znāči*), *oznāčī/oznāčī*

vacillation

tumāčīti, also *tumāčīti/tumāčīti - tumāči*, also *tumāči/tumāči*

2.22 Pučišća (on the island of Brač) – South Čakavian⁵²

The dialect has a three accent system – *˘*, *ˆ* and *˜* with pretonic length. *˘* is always pronounced short, "canonically" and *˜* is stable and does not change to *˘* in any position. Non-final *ā* yields *ā* in this dialect (*krāva > krāva*). There is some Štokavian influence, internal *˘* is facultatively pronounced as *˘˘* (a double

⁵¹ As already mentioned, older people in Filipjakov still preserve the old quantitative pattern of *učīte* but *učīte!* (cf. Kapović 2008). The length in *učīte!* is by analogy to **učī!*, where the length today (*učī/učī!*) is not relevant because of *kanovačko duljenje*. Forms like *ložīte!* (in the speech of older people) prove that the forms like *učīte!* are not secondary (i.e. analogical to the singular with *kanovačko duljenje*).

⁵² Zafalijen se Dömagoju Vidoviću, pōla čovīku, pōla Bročāninu.

accent) but with a prominent second part (one could say that there is just a notion of ` on the preceding syllable) and sometimes it is completely retracted to ` . The combination ` is facultatively pronounced as ` with a Neo-Štokavian long rising accent. ` becomes ` in front of resonants in the coda (cf. *zalīni se* < *zalēnīl se). Syllabic *r* is always short, **ē* yields *i*, **ā* yields *ō*, **ō* yields *uō* and **ē* yields *īē*. In the end of the word *-m* > *-n*, *l* changes to *j* everywhere and *x* is preserved. *Ć* is pronounced the Čakavian way [t̚]. The infinitive ends in *-t* which tends to be dropped, 3rd person plural ends in *-idu*⁵³ and **-ilŕ* in *l*-participle yields *-i* (*-ī* when accented).

a.p. A

bāvit se - bāvin se; besīdit - besīdin [*besēditi]; *bogātit - bogātin; blātit - blātin; brōdit - brōdin; čīstī - čīstin; čūdi se* [infinitive] - *čūdimō se; c̄pīt - c̄pin; odušēvit - odušēvin*⁵⁴; *dīmi(t) se - dīmimo; gādīt - gādimo, gādi mi se; gāzīt - gāzimo; glādīt - glādimo; grābit - grābin, grābimo; gr̄bit - gr̄bimo; gr̄lit - gr̄limo; hūlit - hūlimo; uhītīt - uhītīmo* (cf. also an *a*-verb *hītomo*); *jīdrit - jīdrimo; kītīt - kītīmo; kōristīt - kōristīmo; okūsit - okūsiš; kūpit - kūpimo; kūrit - kūrimo, kūri; kūzīt - kūzimo; kvācīt - kvāčimo; ulāzīt - ulāzimo* (cf. *ūlist - ulīzemo*); *slīcīt - slīčimo; lūpit - lūpimo; mīrit - mīrimo* [*mēriti]; *mūcīt - mūčimo; mīslīt - mīslīmo; umr̄tvīt - umr̄tvi se*; ⁵⁵ *mrvīt - mrvī; nūdit - nūdi; iznūrit - iznūri; nāudit - nāudin; sūzīt - sūzin* (*ako ōko zasūzi*) [*sl̄bziti]; *pāzīt - pāzin; pīnit - pīnin, se pīni* [*pēniti]; *pogānit - pogānin* 'speak in a foul manner'; *strāšīt - strāšin, strāši; lāzīt - lāzin* [*polziti]; *prātīt - prāti; prūzīt - prūzi; pustōšīt - pustōši; pūšīt - pūšin; p̄rītīt - p̄rītīmo; lātīt - lātin* 'work'; *rānit - rānimo; zarātīt - se zarāti; rūšīt - rūšin, rūšiš; sītīt se* [infinitive] - *sītīn se; sīlit - sīlin; slāvit - slāvimo; stāvit - stāvin; s̄rītīt - s̄rī; zasītīt se - zasītī se; tīšīt - tīši* [*tēšiti]; *tlācīt - tlāči; tovārit - tovāri; trātīt - trāti; tumācītīt - tumāčin; udārit - udāri; vādīt - vādi; vlāzīt - vlāzi; žālit - žāli; slābit - slābi* [transitive]

a.p. B

short

b̄rstīt - b̄rstīn; drōbīt - drōbin; dvōrīt - dvōrimo; globīt - glōbimo; gnojīt - gnōjin; godīt - gōdi; gonīt - gōnin; gotōvīt - gotōvin; govōrīt - govōrin, govōrimo; gr̄dīt - gr̄dīmo; klōnīt se [infinitive] - *klōnīmo, uklōnīmo; kōrīt - kōrimo; kotīt - kōti se; ulovīt - lōvi, ulōvi; ložīt - lōži, lōžimo; mōcīt - mōčimo; mōlīt - mōlimo; mokrīt - mōkrimo; mrsīt - m̄rsi, zam̄rsi; mōridu* [no infinitive]; *motrīt - mōtrin; nosīt -*

⁵³ This ending originally stems from *-du* in *dadu* < *dadōt̚b.

⁵⁴ Obviously secondary, probably analogy to the present form.

⁵⁵ Obviously secondary, probably analogy to the present form.

nōsi, nōsimo; pitōmīt - pitōmin; plodīt - plōdin; plovīt - plōvin; ročīt - rōčin; rodīt - rōdin, rōdi; selī se [infinitive] - *sēlin se; skočīt - skōčin; sramotīt - sramōti; strōjīt - strōji; škopīt - škōpi; svidočīt - svidōči; telīt - tēli se; teplīt - tēpli se; tovīt - tōvi; vodīt - vōdin; vozīt - vōzimo; žalōstīt - žalōsti, žalōstin se; ženīt se - žēni se*

blagoslōvīt - blagoslōvin; zgrōmīt - zgrōmīmo [*gromiti]; *zaklōpīt - zaklōpīmo; raskōlīt - raskōlimo; omējīmo* (?) [*medīti]; *primōstīt - primōstīmo; obnōvīt - obnōvi; oplemēnīt - oplemēnin; pripolōvīt - pripolōvi; pokōrīt - pokōrin; ponosīt se* [infinitive] - *ponōsin se; raspōrīt - raspōri; razorīt - razōrim* 'destroy'; *upozōrīt - upozōri; sprijatēji se* [infinitive] - *sprijatēji se; osvōjīt - osvōji; zatvorīt - zatvōri; izv̄r̄šīt - izv̄r̄šīmo*

long

brūsīt - brūsin; būcīt - būcin; būdīt - būdin; būšīt - būšin; cīdīt - cīdin [*cēditi]; *cvīlīt - cvīlin; cūrīt - cūrin; dīlīt - dīlin* [*dēliti]; *dīcīt - dīčin se; dīvīt - dīvin se; dūbīt - dūbin; drūzīt se - drūzin se; dūšīt - dūšimo; dūzīt - dūzin; gōsīt - gōsīmo, ugōsīmo* [*gasiti]; *glūmīt - glūmin; glūšīt - glūšin; gnīzdīt - gnīzdīn se* [*gnēzditi]; *grōdīt - grōdin* [*graditi]; *gospodōrīt - gospodōrin, gospodōridu* [*gospodariti]; *grīšīt - grīšīmo* [*grēšiti]; *grūōzīt - grūōzīmo* [*groziti]; *gūlīt - gūlimo; gūšīt - gūšin; hlōdīt - hlōdīmo* [*xolditi]; *hrōnīt - hrōnīmo* 'hide' [*xorniti]; *fōlīt - fōlīmo* [*xvaliti]; *hīnīt - hīnīmo; īdīt - se jīdi, se jīdīmo* [*ēditi]; *objōsnīt - objōsnīmo* [*jasniti]; *jōvīt - jōvīmo* [*javiti]; *ujedīnīt - ujedīnīmo; jīzdīt - jīzdīmo; pīzdīt - pīzdīmo; zakjūcīt - zakjūčīmo* [*ključiti]; *krōtīt - krōtīmo* [*kratiti]; *se kuōsi* 'it goes against' *kripīt - krīpi se* [*krēpiti]; *raskrīlit - raskrīlimo; kr̄vīt - kr̄vīmo; prikrižīt - prikrižīmo; ukrūtīt - ukrūtīmo; krūzīt - krūzīmo; okrvōvi - okrvōvīmo* [*kr̄rvaviti]; *kūpīt - kūpīmo; ličīt - ličin, ličīmo* [*lēčiti]; *zalīni* [present], *zalīni se* [l-participle]; *lipīt - lipīmo* [*lēpiti]; *jūbīt - jūbīmo, se zajūbi* [*ljubiti]; *odlūcīt - odlūčīmo; jūštīt - jūštīmo* [*ljuščiti]; *mīsīt - mīsīmo* [*mēsiti]; *mesōrīt - mesōrimo* [*mesariti]; *mīrīt - mīrimo; mlōcīt - mlōčīmo, mlōči se* [*mlačiti]; *mlōtīt - mlōti* [*moltiti]; *mūīt - mūtīmo; nōglīt, prinōglīt - nōgli, prinōgli* [*naglititi]; *snīzīt - snīzi; oblōcīt se - oblōči se* 'cloud' [*obvolčiti]; *oblōcīt se - oblōčin se* 'dress'; *povlōcīt - povlōčīmo* [*volčiti]; *sūzīt - sūzin* [*oziti]; *pōlīt - pōlin* [*paliti]; *opamīēti se* [infinitive] - *opamīēti* [*pamētiti]; *plīnīt - plīnin* [*pelniti]; *plōtīt - plōtin* [*poltiti]; *priplōvīt - priplōvin* [*plaviti]; *prōšīt - prōši* [*poršiti]; *p̄rītīt - p̄rītī, p̄rītīmo* [*pertiti]; *protīvīt se - se protīvi; pūstīt - pūstin; rōdīt - rōdi, rōdīmo* [*raditi]; *rīdīt - rīdi, rīdi se, rīdīmo* [*rēditi]; *rīšīt - rīšin* [*rēšiti]; *priřjēdīt - priřjēdin* [*rēditi]; *rūbīt - rūbi se; sōdīt - sōdi se, posōdin* [*saditi]; *slīdīt - slīdīmo* [*slēditi]; *slūzīt - slūzin; srōmīt se - se srōmi* [*sormiti]; *sūdīt - sūdi, sūdīmo; zastrōnīt - zastrōni* [*storniti]; *stūpīt - stūpi; ustrīlīt - ustrīli* [*strēliti]; *sūšīt - sūši se; svjēītīt se - se svjēti* 'take revenge' [*svētiti]; *svjēītīt se - se svjēti* 'be blessed'; *svītītīt - svītīli* [*svētīliti]; *štītīt - štīti, štītīmo; šīrīt - šīri se, šīrimo se; trībīt - trībi* [*terbiti]; *tūpīt - tūpi (se); tūzīt - tūži, tūzīmo se; trōvīt - trōvi, trōvīmo* [*traviti];

trūbit - trūbi; trūsīt - trūsi; trīznī se [infinitive] - *se trīzni* [*terzniti]; *zaustīt - zausti; razvōlīt - razvōli, privōli* [*valiti]; *vřidīt - vřidi, vřidīmo* [*verđiti]; *ozōkōnit - ozōkōnīmo* [*zakoniti]; *ozōri se* [infinitive] - *ozōri se* [*zariti]; *zīmīt - zīmi se, zazīmi, zazīmīlo je* 'winter has come'; *ōn kūću zlōti (pozlōti) - kūća se zlōti* [*zoltiti]; *žřibīt - žřibin, žřibi (ōn se ožřibi, ožřibīla se)* [*žerbiti]; *bīlīt - bīli* [transitive] [*bēliti]; *gūstīt - gūsti* [transitive]; *ožīvīt - ožīvin* [transitive]

a.p. C

short

borīt se - borīn se (izbōrin); brōjīt - brojīn (izbrōjin); dažjīt - dažji [*d̥z̥d̥jiti]; *gostīt se - gostīn se (ako te ūgōstin); hōdīt - hodīmō (pohōdin, dohōdi); kosīt - kosīmō (pokōsiš); krōjīt - krojīmō (prikrōji); škropīt - škropīmō (poškrōpi); kršīt - kršīmō (pikršimo); krstīt - krstīmō (pokrsti); krčīt - krčīmō (iskrčimo); ledīt - ledīmō - ledī (zalēdimo, zalēdila); maglīt - maglī se* (cf. *maglā, A. maglū*); *ōrīt - orī se; oštrīmō, se oštrīdū, oštrī se; popīt se, zapōpīt se - se popī (zapōpi se)* 'be ordained to priesthood'; *pōtīt - potī se, se potīmō (spōti); prōstīt - prostīmō, da prostīš, da prostītē (oprōstimo); rōjīt - rojī se, ōse se rojīdū; solīt - solī se (posōli); caklīt se - caklī se; znojīt - znojīmō se, se znojī*

shortened

činīt - činīn (učīnin); gubīt - gubīmō (izgūbimo); učīt - učīmō - se učī (poūči)

long

brūjīt - brūjīn

a.p. B-C transitivity pairs

točīt - tōči [transitive], *vīnō se toči* [intransitive] (*istōči, pritōči*)

a.p. B/C vacillation

gojīt - gōjimo se, gojīn se (ugōjiš); dōjīt - dojīn/dōjin (podōjin); krōtīt - krōtīmo/krotīmō (ukrōtīmo); lomīt - lōmīmo/lomīmō, se lōmi, lōmi (se pōlomi, slōmi, slōmīlo); mnōžīt - mnōžīmo/mnōžīmō; nočīt - nōči/noči; pokōjīt - pokōjin (?), *pokōji se (upōkōji/upokōji)* 'calm down'; *pōjīt - pōjin (?)/pojīn, pojī se (pōjila); postīt - pōsti/postī, postīmō/pōstīmo; prōsīt - prōsi/prosī, prōsīmo/prosīmō; rosīt - rōsi/rosī, rōsīmo/rosīmō (rosīla)* 'be dewy (for grass); pour on easily'; *topīt - tōpi/topī* [transitive], *topī se* [intransitive]; *trōšīt - trōšīmo/trōšīmō - trōši/trōši, se trōši/trōši; veselīt se* [infinitive] - *se veselī, veselīdū, veselīmō, veselīš, veselīte/veselītē; zvonīt - zvonī (pozvōni) (zvonō zvōni/zvonī, zvonā zvonīdū)*

a.p. A/C vacillation

kāsnīt, kasnīt - kāsīmo/kasnīmō; pāpřīt - pāpřīmo, pāpři (zapāpřīmo/zapapřīmō)

a.p. A/B mixed paradigm

kīselīt - kīselīmo

2.23 Pitve (on the island of Hvar) – South Čakavian

The dialect has a three accent system with pretonic lengths (Neo-Štokavian accents appear in code-switching) and no phonetic retractions. Old *ā > ā in non-final syllables (cf. *krāva, rāna*) but with some exceptions (cf. Kapović 2008). The sequence of pretonic length and neo-acute is generally not tolerated (cf. N.sg. *glōvā, trōvā, zvīzdā* and G.sg. *glavē, travē* but *zvīzdē*) but ˘ is generally extremely stable. ˘ lengthens to ˘ when closed by a voiced consonant (cf. *obrōz* 'face', *sīr, bubrīg, G.sg. obrāza, sýra, bubrīga*). Otherwise, ˘ is pronounce "canonically". Old *ā yielded ō (cf. *jōje*) but after the shortening of posttonic lengths (cf. *īgran se*). Old *ō yielded closed ō (cf. *nōs*)⁵⁶. Typically for South Čakavian, ı sporadically changes to ỹ in non-final syllables (cf. *mýsto, dīd* but G.sg. *dýda*). The *jat* yields ĭ, *v* is a fricative, *h* is preserved, *č* is [t] phonetically, syllabic *r* > *ar* (cf. *bārdo*), *d* changes to *l* in front of a consonant (cf. *rīlko* 'rarely'), *-m* > *-n* in auslaut, *l* > *j* (cf. *jūt* 'angry'), *-l* > *-o* in auslaut (cf. *osvoji* 'conquered'). The infinitive ends in *-t*, the 3rd person plural of present tense in *-du* and the imperative in *-ō/te*.

a.p. A

bāvīt se - bāvin se; blātīt - blāti; cēřīt se - se cēřin; čřītīt - čřīstin; čūdīt se - se čūdīn; čāstīt - čāstin, čāstīdu; đřītīt - đřīmin (se); gādīt - gādin se (no lengthening!); *gāzīt - gāzin; glādīt - glādin; tō mi gōdi* (an Italian loanword), *ugōd mi!*; *grābīt - grābin; gārlīt - gārlin* [*g̥rliti]; *řđřīt - řđřin* [*řđřiti]; *kāznīt - kāsīn, kāsīnīla* (a loanword from the standard language, dialectal: *kaštīgat - kaštīgāla*); *křītīt - křīti; klādīt se - se klādin; kūpīt - kūpin; slīčīt - slīčin; mřītīt - mřīn* [*mřīti]; *mūčīt - mūčīn; mřlītīt - mřlīn; mārvtīt - mārvi, ne mārvi!* [*mārvti]; *nūdīt - nūdīn, nūdīmo; pāzīt - pāzin* (no lengthening!, a loanword from the standard language?); *přnītīt - se přnīn* [*přniti]; *prātīt - prātin; isprāv tō!*; *přšīn* 'I am in a hurry' (an Italian loanword); *prūžīt - prūži* (cf. *prūžan*); *rānīt - rāni, rānen, rānēna; zarātyli* (sic!); *rūšīt - srūšīlo se; sītīt se - sītīn se, sītīla; sīlīt - sīlīn se; slīnīt*

⁵⁶ Interestingly, Hraste (1935: 5-6) claims that *ā yields the diphthong *ao* in Pitve ("ali jedva primetno") and that *ō yields *uo*. However, he notes "ali se prvi deo nešto mañe primećuje nego u Starom Gradu i po tom taj diftong liči negde više negde mañe na veoma zatvoreno o".

- *slīnin*; *slāvit* - *slāvin*; *stāvit* - *stāvin*; *strāšit* - *strāšin*; *sīrit* - *sīrin*, *se sīri*, *usīrila*; *zasītit* - *zasītila* (cf. *sýta san*); *ozdrāvit*; *tājit* - *tājin*⁵⁷; *trātit* - *trātin* 'waste'; *vādit* - *vādin*; *vītrit* - *vītrin*, *izvītrilo* [**vētriti*]; *vlāžit* - *vlāžin* (cf. *vlāga* - no lengthening!); *žālit* - *žālin*

bogātit se - *jō san se bogāti*; *okūsit* - *okūsin*, *okūsila* (cf. *kūšat* - *kūšan*); *korīstit* - *korīstin*; *tumāčit* - *tumāčin*, *tumāči*, *tumāčidu*, *ne tumāč!*; *tovārit* - *tovārin*

a.p. B

short

blagoslovīt - *blagoslōvi*, *blagoslōvila* (sic!); *drobīt* - *drōbin*; *gonīt* - *gōnin*; *govorīt* - *govōrin*; *(po)klonīt se* - *klōni*, *klōn me se!*; *kosīt* - *kōsin*, *kōsi*, *kōsidu*; *(po)škropīt* - *škropin*, *škropidu*; *(u)krotīt* - *ukrōti*, *ukroti* (l-part.) (?), perhaps not an original dialectal word); *lomīt* - *lōmin*; *(u)lovīt* - *lōvin*, *ulōvin*; *ložīt* - *lōžin*; *močit* - *mōčin*; *molīt* - *mōlin*; *množit* - *mnōžin*; *nosīt* - *nōsin*; *ostrīt* - *ōštrin*; *plovīt* - *plōvin*, *plōvidu*; *prosīt* - *prōsin*; *ronīt* - *rōnin*; *skočit* - *skōči*, *je skoči*; *solīt* - *sōlin*, *sōli*, *sōlimo*, *sōlidu*; *svidočīt* - *svidōči*, *posvidōčin*, *posvidōči*; *teplīt* - *tēplin*; *tīšit* - *tīšin* [**tēšiti*]; *točit* - *tōčin*, *(se) tōči*; *tovīt* - *tōvin*; *vodīt* - *vōdin*, *izvōdiš*; *vozīt* - *vōzin*, *vōzl*; *ženīt* - *se ženin*

dogodīt, *pogodīt* - *dogōdi*; *zaklopīt* - *zaklōpin* (cf. *zaklōpa se*, *poklōpa se*); *raskolīt* - *raskōlin*; *prilagodīt* - *prilagōdi*, *prilagōdila*; *ponovīt* - *ponōvimo* (cf. *ponōvjan*); *pokorīt* - *pokōrin* (?); *pripolovīt* - *pripolōvin*; *upozorīt* - *upozōrin*; *ustanovīt* - *ustandōvin*; *osvojīt* - *osvōjin*, *je osvoji*; *zatvorīt* - *zatvōrin* (cf. *zatvōran*)

long

bīlīt - *bīlin*, *bīlimo*, *obīlili* (sic!) *kūcu* [**bēliti*]; *brōnīt* - *brōnin*, *brōnidu* [**borniti*]; *brūsīt* - *brūsin*, *brūsidu*; *būdīt* - *būdin*; *būšīt* - *būšin*; *cīdīt* - *cīdin* [**cēditi*]; *cīnīt* - *cīnin* [**cēniti*]; *cvīlīt* - *cvīlin*; *dōvīt* - *dōvin* [**daviti*]; *dīlīt* - *dīlin* [**dēliti*]; *dīčīt* - *dīčin*; *dīvīt* - *dīvin*; *dūbīt* - *dūbin*; *drūžīt se* - *drūžin se*; *dūšīt* - *dūšin se*; *gōsīt* - *gōsin* [**gasiti*]; *glūmīt* - *glūmin*, *ne glūm!*; *glūšīt* - *glūšin*, *ne glūš!*; *gūšīt* - *gūšin*; *gnūždīt se* - *gnūždin*, *ne gnūš se!*, *ne gnūste se!* [**gnēžditi*]; *grōdīt* - *grōdin* [**gorditi*]; *gospodōrīt* - *gospodōrin*, *gospodōrila* [**gospodariti*]; *zavōršīt* 'finish'; *grīšīt* - *grīšin* (cf. *grīh*, *grīsī*) [**grēšiti*]; *gūlīt* - *gūlin*; *hlōdīt* - *hlōdin*, *ohlōl tō!* [**xolditi*]; *hrōnīt* - *hrōnin* 'dōjen žerāt' [**xorniti*]; *hūlīt* - *hūli*, *ōn se uhūli* (l-part.) 'he farted', *ne*

⁵⁷ The unexpected A.p. A here is not clear. It could be a loanword from the standard language loaned perhaps through written media, thus *tajiti* interpreted as *tājiti*. If Štokavian (standard) *tājiti* was loaned through spoken language it would probably be adapted as ***tōjīt*. However, the shortness could be due to the old shortening in A.p. c. In that case, A.p. A would be some kind of innovation in the dialect itself (e.g. **tajīt* - **tajim* > **tajīt* - **tajim* > **tājīt* - **tājim* > *tājīt* - *tājim*).

hūll; *fōlīt* - *fōlin* [**xvaliti*]; *īdīt* - *īdin*, *naīdīli* (cf. *īdan*, *īdna*) [**ēditi*]; *jōvīt* - *se jōvin*, *jāvīju/jōvidu* (3pl.), *jōvīli* [**aviti*]; *ujedīnīt* - *ujedīnin*; *jūrīt* - *jūrin*; *kōdīt* - *kōdin* [**kaditi*]; *krōtīt* - *krōtin*, *krōtidu* [**kortiti*]; *krīpīt* - *krīpin*, *ukrīpī* (l-part.) 'got fat', *pokrīpīli*; *krīvīt* - *krīvin*, *ne krīv me!*; *prikrīžīla*, *prikrīž!*; *je iskarvōri* 'bled out' (cf. *tečē mu kōr* 'he is bleeding'); *kūpīt* - *kūpin* (cf. *kupūjen*); *līčīt* - *līčin* [**lēčiti*]; *ulīnīt se* - *se ulīnin* [**lēniti*]; *līpīt se* - *līpin* [**lēpiti*]; *jūbīt* - *jūbin* [**ljubiti*]; *mōstin*, *omōstīla san* [**mastiti*]; *mīsīt* - *mīsin* [**mēsiti*]; *mesōri* (?) [**mesariti*]; *(po)mīrīt se* - *se mīrin*; *mlōtīt* - *mlōtin* [**moltiti*]; *mūtīt* - *mūtin*; *oblōči se*, *naoblōčilo se* 'cloud'; *sūzīt* - *sūzin* [**qziti*]; *pōlīt* - *pōlin* [**paliti*]; *opamētīt* - *opamētīn*, *opamētīla*; *plōtīt* - *plōtin* (cf. *plōčan*) [**platiti*]; *pobīdin* [**pobēditi*]; *zarēdī se je za popā* 'he was ordained'; *prōšin*, *prōši*, *ne prōš!* [**poršiti*]; *plīvi*, *oplīvī* (l-part.) [**pelviti*]; *zapričīt* - *zapriči* [**perčiti*]; *prītīt* - *prītin* [**pertiti*]; *protīvīt* - *protīvin*, *protīvi*; *pūstīt* - *pūsti*, *pūst!* (cf. *pūščan*); *prorīdīt* [**rēditi*]; *sōdīt* - *sōdin* [**saditi*]; *slūžīt* - *slūžin*; *slōdīt* - *slōdin* [**solditi*]; *srōmīt* - *srōmin* [**sormiti*]; *sūdīt* - *sūdin*; *stūpīt* - *stūpin*; *sūšīt* - *sūšin*; *svētīt*; *svītīt* - *svītīn* [**svētēliti*]; *šīrīt* - *šīrin*; *trībīt* - *trībin* [**terbiti*]; *tūpīt* - *tūpin*, *se tūpi* (cf. *tūp*); *tūžīt* - *tūžin*; *trūbīt* - *trūbin*; *trūsīt* - *trūsin*; *trūdīn se*; *trīznīt se* - *se trīznin* [**terzniti*]; *navōlīt* [**valiti*]; *vridīt* - *vridin* [**verditi*]; *vrōtīt* - *vrōtin* (cf. *vrōčan*)⁵⁸ [**vortiti*]; *zazūt kapūlu!* 'braise the onion'

a.p. C

short

borīt se - *se borīn*, *borīmō*, *boritē*, *boridū*; *brojīt* - *brojin*, *brojidū*, *na/izbrojin*, *nabrojīla*, *iz/nabrōji!*; *dojīt* - *dojin*, *dojidū*; *dvojīt* - *dvojīn*; *dvorīt* - *dvorī*, *dvorīla* (cf. *dvōr*, *dvōrā*, *na dvōrū*); *(po/za)gnojīt* - *gnojīn*, *zagnojī* (cf. *gnōj*); *gojīt* - *gojin*, *uzgojin*; *ogolīt* - *ogolīn*, *ogolīla*; *ugostīt* - *gostīn*, *ugōstin* (sic!), *ugostīla*; *(s)krojīt* - *krojīn*, *skrojīn*, *krojīla*; *karštīt* - *karstī*, *prikarstīn*, *prikarstīli* [**krēstiti*]; *kasnīt* - *kasnīn*, *kasnidū*, *zakasnīn*, *zakasnīmō*; *se zaledī*, *voda se zaledīla*; *morīt*, *umorīt* - *moridū*, *umōrin* (sic!), *umorīli*; *maglīt se* - *maglī se*, *zomaglī*; *suzī* [**slēziti*]; *postīt* - *postīn*; *potīt se* - *se potīn*, *potī*, *ispotī*; *sprijatejīt se* - *se sprijatejī* 'make friends'; *da prostīš*, *oprostī*; *rodīt* - *rodīn*, *rodī* (cf. *rōjan*); *rosīt* - *rosī* 'drizzle'; *selīt se* - *selīn* (*dosēlin* or *doselīn?*); *sramotīt* - *sramotīn*, *osramotīn*; *caklīt se* - *caklīn*, *caklī se* [**stēkliti*]; *snīt* - *snīn*, *snīlo mi se*, *snīla san*; *veselīt se* - *se veselīn*; *zvonīn*, *pozvonīn*

shortened

činīt - *činīn*, *učinīš*; *gubīt* - *gubīn*, *izgubīn*; *učīt* - *učīn*, *učīš*, *nočiš* < **naučiš* (contraction -*au-* > -*o-*), *učī!*, *ūšte!* < **učte!*

⁵⁸ Cf. Štokavian *vrāčām*.

inconclusive

hodīt - hodȳla (suppletive present: *grĕn*); *ĭskri se; napōj ga!* 'dōj mu lokāt'; *uškōpyli* (sic!) *su ga* (3x); *telīt - otĕlyla* (sic!); *topīt - se otopī u vodi*

2.24 Smokvica (on the island of Korčula) – South Čakavian (štokavized)

Accentuation-wise, Smokvica is a heavily štokavized Čakavian dialect of Korčula and is in this way similar to the dialect of the town of Korčula. The dialect has a four accent Neo-Štokavian system with posttonic length. There is no neo-acute, but the older place of the accent is occasionally (though rarely) preserved, cf. *borĭmo, izmĕrĭvilo, naũdit*. Posttonic length is sometimes shortened (especially after $\acute{}$), which is clearly seen in the *i*-verb material, cf. also *gōlŭb, kōrāk, ōblāk*, G.sg. *rĭbĕ, dōbār* but G.pl. *krāva* etc. " is always very short, "canonical".

The dialect preserves *h*, *v* is a fricative, **ě* always yields *i*, the *č* and *ć* distinction is partially preserved (*ć* being Čakavian [tʃ]) but mixing occurs, cf. *ćinī/ćinī, kōlāć, nōćit* beside *nōćī*, thus the tendency to unite *č* and *ć* exists (cf. the town of Korčula where there is only *ć* [tʃ]), $l > j$, final *-m > -n*, 3rd person plural of the present tense ends in *-du*, *l*-participle ends in *-ī < *-ilb* (the length there is always preserved).

a.p. A

bāvīt - bāvī se; blātīt - blātī; brātīt se - brātī; čĭstīt - čĭstī; čŭdit se - čŭdi; dĕsīt - dĕšī se; đĭmīt - đĭmī se; gādīt - gādī se (ćinī *gād*); *gāzīt - gāzī, gāzĭmo; glādīt - glādī, glādĭmo; grābīt - grābĭmo, grābī je; grĕbīt - grĕbī, zgrĕbī se je; grĕlīt - grĕlī; jĕdrīt - jĕdrī je; kĭtīt - kĭtī je; kŭpīt - kŭpī, kŭpī se je; lĭčīt - lĭčī, lĭčī je; lŭpīt - lŭpī, lŭpī je; mĭrīt, mĭrĭće - mĭrī je, izmĭrī je* [**mĕriti*]; *mŭčīt - mŭčī me, mŭčī ga je; mĭslīt - mĭslī san/je; mĕrvīt - mĕrvī se, izmĕrvĭlo se; nŭdīt - nŭdī, nŭdĭmo, nŭdī je; naũdīt - naũdī; pāzīt - pāzī, pāzī san; pĭnīt - pĭnī se, pĭnī je* 'bĭja je ljūt', *pĭnilo se* [**pĕniti*]; (*s*)*plāšīt - (s)plāšī se je, ũplāšī se je* (present tense does not exist); *plāzīt - plāzī, plāzī je; prātīt - prātī me, prātī ga je; prāvīt - prāvī, prāvī je; prŭžīt - prŭžī, prŭžīš, prŭžī!*; *pŭšīt - pŭšĭn; pāprīt - se zapāpri, zāpaprī je; pĕrīt - nāprī je/se je/san se/se; rānīt* 'wound' - *rānī, rānī ga je, rānī se* (l-part.); *rŭšīt - rŭšī, rŭšĭmo, (s)rŭšī je; sĭtīt se - sĭtĭn, sĭtĭš, sĭtī* [**sĕtiti*]; *sĭlīt - sĭlī ga je; slāvīt - slāvī, slāvī je; stāvīt, stāvĭćemo - stāvī je/san; stŭpīt* (?) 'step on'; *strāšīt - strāšī se, strāšī ga je/san se; cākĭlīt - cākĭlī se, cākĭlī se je* (but: *cākĭlilo se*); *tjĕšīt - tjĕšī* (with *-je- < *-ĕ-!*); *trāpīt - ũtrāpī je* 'foist'; *tĕšīt - tĕšī se, tĕšī se je; vādīt - vādĭmo, vādī je/san; vĕšīt - vĕšĭn, vĕšī se žĭto; žālīt - žālĭmo, žālī san* (cf. *žālostān san, žālosnī smo*);

bōgatīt - bōgatī se; ũlazīt - ũlazĭmo; ōmejīt - se ōmejī; ōzdravit; tōvarīt - tōvarī je; ōbisīt [**vĕsiti*]; *prōvitrit* [**vĕtriti*]

a.p. B**short**

kāznīt - kāznī, kāznī je (cf. *u kāznī je* 'he is punished'); *klōnīt se, ũklōnīt se - ũklōnī, ũklōnī se je; mōlīt - mōlĭmo, mōlī je; nōsīt, nōsĭće - nōsī, nōsĭmo, nōsī je/san; rōdīt - rōdī, rōdī se je; skōčīt - skōčī, skōčī je; vōzīt - vōzĭn, vōzī, vōzĭmo; žĕnīt se - žĕnĭn se, žĕnī se, žĕnĭmo, ōžĕnī se je*

blagoslōvīt - blagoslōvĭmo; odušĕvīt - odušĕvī, odušĕvī se je; ogōlīt - ogōlī je; zgotōvīt - zgotōvĭmo; zaklōpīt - zaklōpī, zaklōpī je; poškrōpīt - poškrōpī; pripolōvīt, pripolōvĭćemo - pripolōvĭmo, pripolōvī je; sprijatĕjīt se - sprijatĕjĭmo; za/otklōpīt - zaklōpĭn, za/otklōpī je/san

long

blŭdīt - blŭdī; brānīt - brānī; brŭsīt - brŭsĭmo, brŭsī (l-part.); *bŭdīt - bŭdī se je; bŭšīt - bŭšī; udājīt - ũdājĭmo, udājī se je* [**daliti*]; *dāvī, dāvī, udāvī se je; djĕlīt - đlī* [**dĕliti*]; *dĭčīt - dĭčī* (l-part.); *dĭvīt - dĭvī se; drāžīt - drāžī* (l-part.); *drŭžīt se - drŭžī* (cf. *drŭžba* 'friends'); *dŭšīt - dŭšī se je, podŭšī se je; dŭžīt - dŭžī je; gāsīt - gāsĭmo, gāsī* (l-part.); *gnāvīt - gnāvī; grādīt - grādī* (l-part.); *grĭšīt - grĭšĭmo, (z)grĭšī je* [**grĕšiti*]; *gŭlīt - gŭlī; hlādīt - hlādī; hrānīt - hrānī se je; fālīt, pofālīt - fālī se, pofālī se je* [**xvaliti*]; *jāvīće se - jāvī, jāvī se je; zakjŭčīt - zakjŭčī, zakjŭčī je* [**kĭučiti*]; *krĭpīt - krĭpĭmo se, (p)okrĭpī se je, krĭpī se je* [**krĕpiti*]; *krĭvīt se* 'cry' - *krĭvī se, krĭvī se je; krŭžīt - krŭžī; kŭpīt - kŭpī, kŭpī se, kŭpī san; ukvāsilo se; lĭčīt - lĭčī, lĭčī je, izlĭčī je* [**lĕčiti*]; *ulĭnīt se - ũlĭnī, ulĭnī se je* [**lĕniti*]; *lĭpīt - lĭpī* (se), *lĭpī se je* [**lĕpiti*]; *jŭbīt - jŭbī me, jŭbidu se, jŭbili su se* [**lŭbiti*]; *jŭtīt - jŭtī* [**lŭtiti*]; *jĭdīt - jĭdī se, jĭdī se* (l-part.) [**ĕditi*]; *mĭsīt - mĭsī, mĭsī je* [**mĕsiti*]; *mĭrīt - mĭrĭn se, se mĭrĭmo, mĭridu, mĭrĭli su se; smrāčĭlo se; mŭtīt - mŭtī, (za)mŭtī je, zamŭtĭla je; oblāčīt - oblāčĭn se; oblāčīt - naoblāčĭlo se; sŭzīt - sŭzī je* [**qziti*]; *pālīt - pālĭn, pālī je, (za)pālĭlo se; plātīt - plātī, plātī je; prĭtīt - prĭtī, prĭtī je* [**pertiti*]; *pŭstīt - pŭstī me!* (more often: *mōlāj me!*); *rādīt - rādī* (more often: *fatĭgat*); *rĭšīt - ako me rĭšī tĕga, rĭšī me je* [**rĕšiti*]; *sādīt - sādī, sādĭmo, sādī je; srāmīt - srāmī se, srāmī se, srāmī se!*; *sŭdīt - sŭdī, sŭdī je; sŭšīt - sŭšī se; šĭtīt - šĭtĭ ga; šĭrīt - šĭrī se, rašĭrī se je; trĭbit - trĭbī se, trĭbī je* [**terbiti*]; *tŭžīt - tŭžī, tŭžī me je, tŭžĭla me; trāžīt - trāžī, trāžī ga je; trŭbīt - trŭbī, trŭbī je; trŭdīt se - trŭdĭn se, trŭdī se, trŭdī se je* (cf. *trŭdan san/je* 'I am/he is tired'); *trĭznīt se - trĭznĭn, ōtrĭznĭn* [**terzniti*]; *provālīt - provālŭ, provālī je, razvālī je; vrĭdīt - vrĭdī, vrĭdī je, vrĭdĭlo* [**verditi*]; *vrātīt - vrātĭn, vrātī se je; znāčīt - znāčī; žŭrīt se - žŭrĭn se*

a.p. C**short**

bōrīt se - borĭ se, borĭmo; brōdīt - brođī; brōjīt - brōjī, brōjĭmo/brojĭmo; brstīt - brstĭ; cĕpīt - cĕpī; čāstīt - čāstī, čāstī je, počāstī je; dōjīt - dōjī; drōbīt - drōbī,

*dròbìmo; glòbit - globì; gnòjit - gnòji; gòjit - gòji, gòjìmo; gònit - gònì, gònìmo; kòsit - kòsì, kòsìmo, kòsì je; kròjit - kròji, kròjìmo; křstít - křstì se, křstì se je; kàsnit, kàsniću - kàsniñ, kàsni je; lòmít - lòmì, lòmì je, slòmì je; lòžit, nalòžit - lòži se, lòžìmo, nalòži je ògāñ; mòčít - mòčì se, (u/s)mòčì je, smòčìlo se; mòrit - mòri me tò, mòriło me; mřsit - mřsì mi se, zamřsilo se; mnòžit - mnòži; màglít - màgli se; nòčít - nòčì, nòčì je (sic!) [*noktiti]; plòvì (more often: navigat); (na)pòjit - pòji, pòjìdu se; pòstít - pòstì; pòtít se - pòtìn se, opòtì san se; pròsit - pròsì, pròsìmo, pròsì je (rarely used?); pròstít - da pròstìš, da pròstìte, bòže mi pròstít; rònít - rònìñ, rònìmo, rònì je; ròsit - ròsì 'kad ùsitno grē dàš'; sèlit - sèlì, sèlìmo; sòlit - sòlì, sòlìmo, sòlì san; sramòtít se - sramòtì se, sramòtì se je; tèplit - tèplì se, stèplì je, stèplilo; tòpit - tòpì se; tòvit - tòvì; tròšít - tròši, tròšìmo, (po)tròši je; vesèlit - vesèlì se, vesèlìmo se; znòjit - znòji se, znòji san se; zvònít - zvònì*

shortened

čínít - činìñ, činìš, činì/činì (sic!), činìmo/činìmo, činìte, učinì je; gùbit - gùbìmo, gùbì je, gùbì se je; ùčít - ùčì, ùčìmo, ùčì je/san

long

*cúrit - cúri; glúmit - glúmi; gnízdit - gnízdi [*gnězditi]; svítlit - svítli, svítlìmo [*světliti]*

a.p. B-C transitivity pairs

tòčít - tòčin, tòči, víno se tòči, natòči san

mixed

*dvòrit - dvòri se (2x), dodvòri se je; gòdit - gòdi (an Italian loanword); govòrit - govòri je; sùzít (3x) - sùzì mi òko [*sləziti]*

inconclusive

hòdit (suppletive present grēn, grē and future ću pòć, pòće); kòtit - kòti se je, okòti se je, okòtila (no present tense attested); raskrìli se je; okrvávit - okrvávi se je; smòkrit - smòkri je, smòkriło se; òštrít - òštri je, naòštri san; osmòli san se 'špòrkā san se sa smòlōñ'; zasládi san se 'nešto san slátko pòija'; uškòpit, uškòpìce ga - uškòpi se je, uškòpili; snít - snì san (rarely); šálit se - šáli san se; túpit - istúpì je nòž, túpi se je, istúpì se

2.25 Trpanj (on Pelješac peninsula) – South Čakavian (štokavized)

The dialect of Trpanj is a štokavized Čakavian dialect. It has a five accent system with no unaccented lengths (the stress has been retracted to pretonic long vowels and posttonic long vowels shortened), cf. *slàma, zlàto, nòga, rúka, sùša* and *gòlub, kòrak, òblak*. " is almost always retracted, save for the rare examples like *vesèli se*. Long accents preserved their old positions, cf. *navigàje* 'sails',

koláč, umrit. " is pronounced generally short but not as "sharp" as in Štokavian. " changes facultatively to ^, especially in final syllable, cf. G.sg. *nogè*, but *vodè, sestře*. There is only one č, v is a fricative, h is preserved, l > j (not consistent), final -m > -n, *ě > i, long ā is pronounced "normally" (not ā as in some other parts of Pelješac or in the nearby town of Korčula) and e is usually pronounced open -e, cf. *pěleški, sèlo, nē znan*.

NOTE: Milas 1891 records the posttonic length for Trpanj and a Dubrovnik type of *kanovački naglasak* like *žéna*. However, he does not (by mistake) distinguish the neoacute and the Neo-Štokavian rising accent (cf. Milas's *ruké*).

a.p. A

*bàvit se - bávìmo se; blàtit - blàtìmo; bràtimìmo se; cèrit - cèrimo; čistít - čistìmo; čùdit se - čùdìmo se; dìmit se - dìmi se; gàdit - gàdi se, gàdìmo se; gàzit - gàzìmo; glàdit - glàdìmo; gòdit - tò mi gòdi (an Italian loanword, rare); gràbit - gràbìmo; gr̃bit - gr̃bìmo; gr̃lit - gr̃lìmo; kàznit - kàznìmo; kítit - kítìmo; (s)kùpit - kùpìmo; kvàsít - kvàsì, kvàsìmo; křčít - křčìmo šumu (also křčìmo?); kàsnit - kàsniño; slìčít - slìčìmo; lùpit - lùpìmo (cf. lùpamo); mjèrit - mjèrimo (with -je-!); mùčít - mùčìmo; mřslít - mřslìmo; mřvit - mřvìmo; nùdit - nùdìmo; pàzit - pàzìmo; pjènit - pjènimò (with -je-!); plàšít - plàšìmo; plàzit - plàzìmo; pràtít - pràtìmo; pràvit - pràvìmo; prùžít - prùži (cf. prùžamo); pùšít - pùšìmo; pàprit - pàprimò; přtít - přtìmo; rànít - rànìmo; rùšít - rùši se, rùšìmo; sítit - sítìmo (cf. síčamo) [*sètiti]; silit - silitmo se; slàvit - slàvìmo; stàvit - stàvìmo; stràšít - stràšìmo; sřrit - sřrimo; šàlit se - šàlìmo se; tjèšít - tjèšìmo (with -je-!); tlàčít - tlàčìmo; tràpit - tràpìmo; tržít - tržìmo; vàdit - vàdìmo; vřrit se - vřrimo se [*vèriti]; vlàžít - vlàžìmo; žàlit - žàlìmo*

bògatit - bògatìmo; ùhitit - ùhitìmo; kòristit - kòristìmo; ùlazit - ùlazìmo; pònosit se - pònosìmo se; zàratit - zàratìmo; òzdravit - òzdravìmo; tòvarit - tòvarìmo; ozàkonit - ozàkonìmo

a.p. B

short

*mòliš, mòlite; blagoslòvit - blagoslòvìmo; bòrit se - bòrimo se; čàstít - čàstìmo; dròbit - dròbìmo; odušèvit - odušèvi; dvòrit - dvòrimo; glòbit - glòbi, glòbìmo; gònít - gònì; gòstít - gòstìmo; govòrit - govòrimo; jèdrit - jèdrìmo; klònit se - klònimò se; kòsit - kòsìmo; kòtit - kòti se, kòte; kròjit - kròji, kròjìmo; škřòpit - škřòpìmo; kròtit - kròtìmo; lòmít - lòmì, lòmìmo; lòvit - lòvi, lòvìmo, lòvite; lòžit - lòži, lòžìmo; mòčít - mòčì, mòčìmo; mòlit - mòli, mòlìmo; mòrit - mòrìmo; mřsit - mřsìmo; mnòžit - mnòžìmo; nòčít - nòčì se [*noktiti]; nòsit - nòsìmo; òrit se - òri se; pòstít - pòstì, pòstìmo (also pòstìmo?); pròsit - pròsì, pròsìmo; pròstít - pròstìmo, pròstìte, òprostìmo; ròdit - ròdi, ròdìmo; ròjit - ròji se; rònít - rònì,*

rõnimo; røsit - røsi se; sèlit se - sèli se, sèlimo se; skõçit - skõçimo (cf. skãçemo); sòlit - sòli, sòlimo; sramõtít - sramotimo; cãklimo se; škõpit - škõpi, škõpimo; tèlit se - tèli se; tõçit - tõçi, tõçimo; tõpit - tõpi, tõpimo; tõvit - tõvi, tõvimo; trõšit - trõši, trõšimo; tršit - tršimo; vesèlit se - vesèli se, vesèlimo se; vòzit - vòzi, vòzimo; žalòstít - žalostimo; žènit se - žènimo se; studènit - studeni

zgròmit - zgròmimo; zaklòpit - záklopimo; raskòlit - raskolimo; òkusit - òkusimo; smòkrit - smòkri, smòkrimo; pokòrit - pòkoru (cf. pokorãvamo); pripolòvit - pripòlovimo; raspòrit - rãsporimo; upozòrit - upòzore (not -u!?) (cf. upozorãvamo); sprijatèjit se - sprijãtejimo; ustanòvit - ustanovimo; osvòjit - ósvojimo; zatvòrit - zãtvorimo (cf. zatvãramo); izvřšit - izvřšimo

long

brãnit - brãnimo; brúsit - brúsimo; búdit - búdimo; búšit - búšimo; cídít - cídimo [*cèditi]; cjenít - cjènimó (with -je-!); cjépit - cjèpimo (with -je-!); cvílít - cvílímó; cúrit - cúri; dávit - dávímó; dílit - dílimó [*dèliti]; dívít - dívímó; drážít - drãžímó; dúbit - dúbímó; družít - družímó; dúrit - dúrimó; dúšít - dúšímó; gájít - gãji se, gãjímó se; gásít - gãsimó; glúmit - glúmímó; glúšít - glúši se, glúšímó; gñzđít se - gñzde; gñávit - gñãvi, gñãvimó; glásít - glãsi/glãsi, glãsimó; grádit - grãdímó; gospodárit - gospodãrimó; gršít - gršímó [*gršèiti]; gúlít - gúlímó; hládit - hlãdímó; hrãbrit - hrãbrímó; hrãnit - hrãnimó; fálit - fálimó [*xvaliti]; jávit - jávimó; júrit - júrimó; kádit - kãdímó; zaklúçít - zaklúçímó; klátít se - klãti se, klãtímó se; krátít - krãtímó; krípít - krípi [*krèpiti]; krásít - krãsimó; krívít - krívímó; prekrízít - prekrízímó (should be with pri-); krúzít - krúzímó; okrvávit - okrvãvimó; kúdit - kúdímó; kúpit - kúpímó (cf. kúpujemo); líçít - líçímó [*lèçiti]; ulíníli smo se [*lèníti]; lípit - lípímó [*lèpiti]; júbit - júbímó [*ljubiti]; jídit - ídímó [*èditi]; lúçít - lúçímó se; mámit - mãmímó; márit - ne mãrin, mãrimó; mástít - mãstímó; mísít - mísímó [*mèšiti]; mírit - mírímó; mlátít - mlãtin, mlãtímó; mútit - mútímó; obláčít - oblãçi se 'cloud'; oblãçít - oblãçímó 'dress'; súzit - súzi se, súzímó [*qziti]; súzi [*slziti]; pálit - pãlimó; opamétít - opamèti, opamètímó; plátít - plãtímó (cf. plãçamo); priplávit - priplãvi se; prášít - práši se, prášímó; prítít - príti, prítímó [*pertiti]; protívít - protivímó; pústít - pústímó; rádit - rãdímó; rídít - rídímó [*rèditi]; ríšít - ríšímó [*rèšiti]; sádit - sãdímó; slídít - slídímó [*slèditi]; sládit - slãdímó; srámit se - srãmímó se; súdit - súdímó; stúpit - stúpímó; súšít - súšímó; svítít - svítli [*svètłiti]; štitít - štíti se; šrit - šri se; tríbit - tríbi se, tríbímó se [*terbiti]; téžít - téžímó; túpit - túpi, túpímó; túžít - túžímó; trážít - trážímó; trúbit - trúbímó; trúdit se - trúdímó se; triznit - tríznimó [*terzniti]; vábit - vãbímó; proválit - provãlimó; várit - vãrimó; vážit - vãži; vrídít - vrídi, vrídímó [*verditi]; povláçít - povlãçímó; vrátít - vrãtin, vrãtímó, vrãtíte; ozárit se - ozãrimó se; znáčít - znãçi, znãçímó; žárit - žãrimó; obílit zíd [*bèliti]; žútít kãpulu - žútín 'braise the onion'; ožívít - ožívímó

a.p. C

short

bròjit - brojímó; dvòjit - dvojímó; gòjit - gojímó; krštit - krští, krštímó; tòplit - toplí se; znòjit - znojí, znojímó; zvònit - zvoní, zvonímó, zvonû

shortened

çnit - çinín, çiníš, çiní, çinímó, çinite (sic!); crpit - crpímó; gùbit - gubí, gubímó; ùçit - učí, učímó

a.p. B-C transitivity pairs

òštrit - òštrin (trans.), oštrí se (intrans.)

mixed

kisèlit - kíselímó⁵⁹

inconclusive

hòdit (suppletive present ídemo); umřtvit; pòpit se - pòpio se (no present)

vacillation B/C

břštit - břštimó/břštímó; dòjit - dõji (se), dõjímó/dojímó; gñòjit - gñõjímó/gñójímó; kršít - kršímó/kršímó; lèdit - lèdi/ledí, lèdímó; plòvit - plòvi/ploví, plòvímó/plovímó, plòvite/plovite (sic!), plovû

2.26 Matulji (near Rijeka) – North Čakavian⁶⁰

This dialect has a three accent system with pre- and posttonic length and no phonetic retractions. The neo-acute is stable but changes regularly to $\hat{}$ in the last syllable (cf. G.pl. *žén, trãv, kòz*, verbs *peçèn, živín*). Pretonic lengths are not limited to direct pretonic syllable but occur in second pretonic syllable as well (cf. *skúbemõ* 'pull out', *smèjemõ, sècemõ, krãdetè, pijemõ*) and two pretonic lengths are also possible (cf. *živímõ, hítímõ, žútímõ*). Posttonic lengths are often shortened in fast speech (which is clearly seen in the verb list) but are always there in the "deep structure", cf. *búšãmo* 'kiss', *dèlamó/dèlãmo, sãñãmo*, I.sg. *z grãdûn*, D.pl. *vojnìkõn*, L.pl. *grãdèh*, I.pl. *grãdi, spèkãl*. The neo-circumflex occurs only in the -uj-presents (cf. *hiçújemo*). * \check{e} yields \check{e} , v is a fricative, h is preserved, \check{c} and \check{c} [t] are distinguished, $l > j$, * $d > j$.

⁵⁹ The accent in the infinitive is new while the present tense preserves the old A.p. *a* accent.

⁶⁰ I would like to thank my informant Zlãtko Zmajila.

a.p. A

bāvit se - bāvīn se, bāvīš se, bāvī se, bāvīmo/bāvīmo se, bāvīte, bāvē se; blātīt se - blātīmo; čūdit se - čūdīmo se, čūdīl, čūdīla, čūdīlo; čistīt - čistīmo, čistīl, čistīla, čistīlo, čistīli, čistīle, čistīla (N.pl.); glādit - glādīmo, glādīl, glādīla; gōdit - gōdi, gōdīmo se (an Italian loanword); grābit - grābīmo, grābīl, grābīla; gōbit - gōbi 'hump' (an Italian loanword); gřdit - gřdī, gřdīl, gřdīla (sic!); gřlit se - gřlīmo se; hītīt - hītī, hītīl, hītīla, hītī! (cf. hićūjemo); kītīt - kītīmo, kītīl, kītīla; křčit - křčīmo; mērit - mērimo, mēril, odmēril [*mēriti]; mūčit - mūčīmo; mīslēt (a secondary ē-verb?)⁶¹ - mīslīmo, mīslēl, mīslēla; mřvit - mřvīmo, mřvīl, mřvīla; pāzīt - pāzīmo, pāzīl; pēnit se - pēnīmo [*pēniti]; strāšīt - strāšī, strāšīmo, (pre)strāšīl; plāzīt - plāzīmo, plāzīl, plāzīla; prātīt - prātīmo, prātīl, prātīla; posprāvit (cf. posprāvjāt) 'tidy up'; pūšīt - pūšīmo, pūšīl, pūšīla; přtīt - přtīmo, opřtīt, opřtīla 'climb'; zarātīt se - se zarātī (cf. zaraćūjemo se); rūšīt - rūšīmo; zasītīt - zasītīmo se; stāvīt - stāvī (cf. stāvīmo); tlāčīt - tlāčīmo; tālīt - tālīn, lēd se tālī; vādīt - vādīmo 'learn'; vādīt - vādīl, vādīla 'bail'; vētrit - vētrīmo, provētrī, izvētrī (cf. provetrūjemo); vlāzīt - vlāzīmo; žālīt se - žālīmo se

bogātīt se - bogātīmo se; bratīmīt - bratīmīmo; gotōvit - gotōvīmo, zgotōvīl; tumāčīt - tumāčī (2x)

debēlīt - debēlīmo (cf. debēl, debēla, debēlo)⁶²; glōbit - glōbīmo, glōbe; zaklōpit - zaklōpi, zaklōpīlo; lēdit (2x) - se lēdī; māglīt se - māglī se (cf. māgla); (pre)nōčīt - nōčīmo, nōčīl, prenōčīl, nōčīla; obnōvit, ponōvit - obnōvi (cf. obnōvūjemo) (perhaps not a native word); plōvit - plōvīmo, plōvīl, ōplovīl, plōvīla; pōpit - se (za)pōpī, pōpīmo se, se je zapōpil (2x), zapōpīli 'be ordained (as priest)'; rōnit - rōnīmo; žalōstīt - žalōstīmo se

a.p. B

short

blagoslovīt - blagoslōvi; (po)gostīt se - gōstīmo se, gōstīl, pōgostīl, gōstīla, pōgōstīli (2x); govorīt - govōrī; hodēt (a secondary ē-verb?) - hōdīmo, hōdīl, hōdīla; lakōmīt se - lakōmīmo se (cf. lākōm, lākōma, lākōmī); lomīt - lōmī, lōmīmo, lōmīl, rāzlomīl, lomīla, lomīli; udrit - ūdrī (cf. udřivamo); mastīt - māsťī 'tread on'; močīt - mōčī, mōčīmo, močīli; mōlet (a secondary ē-verb?) - mōlīmo, molīt (2x), pomolēl; množīt - mnōžīmo, mnōžīl, pōmnōžīl, množīla; nosīt - nōsīmo, nōsīl, nosīla, nōšēn, nōšēna (cf. nōsēca 'pregnant'); sprijatejīt se - sprijatēli,

⁶¹ It seems that ē-verbs are rather frequent in Matulji and they seem to have spread to some of the original *i*-verbs.

⁶² The verb is A.p. A by analogy with the adjective where the place of the accent is generalized according to the masculine form.

sprijatējīl, sprijatējīli (cf. sprijatelūjemo se); prosīt - prōsī, prōsīmo, prōsīl, prosīli; (za)papřīt (also pāpřit?) - pāpřī, zāpāpřīl, zapāpřīla, zapāpřīli (cf. zapāpřūjemo); sēlīt se - sēlī, sēlīmo se, sēlīl, prēsēlīl, prēsēlīla, sēlīli; skočīt - skōčī, skōčīmo, skōčīte, skōčīl, prēsēlīl, skočīla, prēsēlīla (cf. skākāt - skākēmo); sramōtīt se - sramōtī, sramōtīmo se, osrāmōtīt, osrāmōtīla; škopīt - škōpīmo, uškōpīt; prisvojīt - osvōjī (cf. osvājamo); telīt - tēlīmo (?) (cf. telāc, G.sg. tēlcā); teplīt - tēplī, tēplīmo (cf. tēpāl, tēpla, tēplo); točīt - tōčī, tōčīmo, nātočīt, nātočīla; trošīt - trōšī, trōšīmo, pōtrošīl, pōtrošīla; veselīt se - vesēlī, vesēlīmo se, vesēlīl, vesēlīli; vozīt - vōzīmo (perhaps not a dialectal word, usually: pejāt - pejāmo); ženīt se - ženīmo se, ōženīl, ōženīli

long

bēlīt - bēlīmo [*bēliti]; brānīt se - brānīmo se; brūsīmo, brūsīl, brūsīla; būdīt - būdīmo se; cēdīt - cēdin, cēdiš, cēdi, cēdīmo, cēdīte, cēdē, cēdīl, cēdīla, cēdī! [*cēditi]; cēnīt - cēnīmo [*cēniti]; cēpīt - cēpīmo [*cēpiti]; čāsīt - čāsīmo, čāsītīl, čāsītīla (?); dāvīt - dāvīmo; dēlīt - dēlīmo [*dēliti]; gāsīt - gāsīmo se, (po)gāsīl, gāsīl, gāsīla, pogāšen, pogāšēna, pogāšēno; gnāvīt - gnāvīmo se, gnāvīl; grādīt - grādī (se), grādīl, grādīli, grādī!; gospodārīt - gospodārīmo; grēšīt - grēšīmo, grēšīl, ne zgrēšī! [*grēšiti]; gūbīt - gūbīmo; gūlīt - gūlīmo; hlādēt (a secondary ē-verb?) - hlādī, hlādīlo; hrānīt se - hrānīmo se, hrānīl, hrānīla, nahrānen, nahrānēna; hvālīt - hvālīmo; jāvīt - jāvi, jāvīl, jāvjēn, jāvjēno (cf. jāvjamo); jādīt - jādīmo [*ēditi]; kālīt - kālīmo, kālēno želēzo; klātīt - klātī, klātīmo; krātīt - krātīmo; krēpīt - krēpi, krēpīmo [*krēpiti]; krāsīt - krāsī; prekřžīt - prekřžīmo (cf. křžamo); krūžīt - krūžīmo; kūpīt - kūpīmo, kūpjēn, kūpjēna; kūrīt - kūrīmo; lēčīt - lēčīmo [*lēčiti]; ulēnīt se - (u)lēnīmo se [*lēniti]; lēpīt - lēpīmo [*lēpiti]; ne libīn se, libīmo se; jādīt se - se jādīmo, se jādi [*ēditi]; māsťīt - māsťī, māsťīmo; mēsīt - mēsīmo [*mēsiti]; mīrīt - mīrīmo; mlātīt - mlātīmo, (z)mlātīt; mřāčīmo; mūtīt - mūtīmo; nētīt - nētī 'stoke'; nūtīt - nūtī, nūtīmo/nūtīmo 'offer'; oblāčīt - oblāči se 'cloud'; sūzīt - se sūzi (cf. sužūjemo) [*qziti]; pilīt - pilīmo; plātīt - plātī, plātīt, plātīt!, plācēn (cf. plācāmo); prāšīt - prāšīmo; prētīt - prētīmo [*pēriti]; rābīt - rābi, rābīl 'use'; (raz)rēdīt - rēdīmo [*rēditi]; rēšīt - rēši (cf. rešāvamo) [*rēšiti]; rūbīt - rūbi, rūbīmo; rūžīt - rūžīmo; sādīt - sādīmo; silīt se - silīmo se; srāmīt se - srāmīmo se; sūdīt - sūdīmo; sūšīt - sūšīn, sūšīš, sūšī, sūšīmo, sūšīte, sūšē (cf. sūh, sūha, sūho); svētīt - svētīmo se, posvētī (cf. osvēćūjemo se, posvēćūjemo); svētīt - svētīmo, posvētī mi! 'light' [*svētiti]; (pro)šūpīt 'drill, bore'; tājīt - tājīmo; trēbīt - trēbi [*terbiti]; strūdīt se - strūdi 'get tired'; tūpīt - tūpīn, tūpī, tūpīmo; tūžīt - tūžīmo; trūbīt - trūbīmo; trūsīt - trūsīmo; trūdīt se - trūdīmo se; trēznīt se - trēznīmo se [*terzniti]; tršīt se - tršīmo se; vābīt - vābīmo; provālīt - provālī; vārīt - vārīmo; vrēdīt - vrēdīmo [*verditi]; znāčīt - znāčīmo; zlātīt - zlātī, zlātīmo; žārīt - žārīmo

a.p. C

short

(z)brojīt - brojīn, brojīš, brojī, brojīmō, brojītē, brojē, zbrojīmō, brojīl, brojīla, brojīli; dažjīt - dažjī, dažjīlo (cf. dāž, G.sg. dažjā) 'rain' [*dʁsdjiti]; dojīt - dojīmō, dojīl, dojīla, dojīli, dojīl; drobīt - drobīmō, drōbīl⁶³, pōdrobīl (2x), drobīla, drobīlo, drobīli, drobīle, drobīla (n.sg.), zdrōbjēn, zdrōbjena; dvojīt - dvojīmō, odvojīmō, dvōjīl, đdvojīl, dvojīla, odvojīla, dvojīlo, dvojīli, odvōjen; gnojīt - gnojīmō, pognojī, gnōjīl, pōgnojīl, gnojīla, gnojīlo; dogodīt se - dogodī, dogodīlo; gojīt se - se gojī, gojīmō se, ugōjīl (3x), ugojīla; kosīt - kosī, kosīmō (2x), pokosī!, kosīte!, kōsīl, pokōsīl (2x), (po)kosīla, kosīlo, kosīli, kosīle, kosīla (N.pl.); kotīt - kotī, okōtīl (2x), okotīla; krojīt - krojī, krojīmō, skrojīmo, krōjīl, krojīla, skrōjēn, skrōjena; položīt - položī, pōložīl, položīla; škropīt - škropīmō, poškrōpīmō, škropīl, poškrōpīl (2x), poškrōpīla; krstīt (also pokrštēt) - krstīmō, krštīl, krštīla, křščēn, křščēna; močīt - močī, mōčīl, ūmočīl, močīla, umočīla; pojīt - pojī, napojī, pōjīl, napōjīl, napōjīla; prepōlovīt - prepōlovī, prepōlovīl, prepōlovīli (cf. prepōlāvjamō); postīt - postī, postīmō, pōstīl, postīli; potīt - potī, potīmō, pōtīl, potīla; oprostīt - oprostī (2x), đprostīl, oprostīla (cf. oprāščāmo); rodīt - rodīš, (se) rodī, rōdīl, pōrodīl, porōdīla (cf. rājamō); solīt - solī, solīmō (2x); strojīmō (?); škropīt - škropī, škropīmō; topīt - topīn, topī, topīmō, lēd se topī; storīt - storī [*tvoriti]; (s)potīt se - potīmō, se spotī; strojīt - rōba postrojī (2x) 'accidentally get colored during washing (of clothes)'; zvonīt - (po)zvonī, zvonīmō, zvōnīl, pōzvonīl, pozvonīli

shortened

(po)brstīt - brstīmō, břstīl (2x), pobřstīl, brstīla, brstīlo, brstīli, brstīle, brstīla (N.pl.); pustīt - pustī, pūstīl, prēpustīl, prepustīla

vacillation

kasnīt/kāsni - kāsni - kāsni, zakasnī, zakasnīmō, kāsni, zākasni, kasni, zakasni

2.27 Drinje (near Zagreb) – kajkavized Čakavian (*donjosutlanski* dialect)⁶⁴

The dialect has a three accent system with pretonic length and no phonetic retractions. " is often short (though never really as "sharp" as Štokavian ") but

⁶³ In this dialect, like in many other North Čakavian dialects, a remnant of the old A.p. c m.sg. l-participle accent is preserved in forms like *drōbīl*, *pōdrobīl*. However, this accentuation has spread to many A.p. A (cf. *grābīl*) and A.p. B verbs (not always in the same manner, cf. *zapōpīl* but *rāzломīl*), while some of the A.p. C stems do not have it (*brojīl*, cf. also *poškrōpīl* not ***pōškrōpīl*).

⁶⁴ I would like to thank my informant Petra Šošarić for her unprecedented patience and help.

can also be realized as " (but " is not so long here). The sequence of pretonic length and ~ is not tolerated (cf. G.sg. *glāvē*). ~ changes facultatively to ^ occasionally (cf. *spīm* but *spīš*). The reflex of the *ě is always ĭ, the dialect has only one middle č, v is a fricative, x is preserved, final -l changes to -y.

a.p. A

bāvīt se - bāvim se, bāviy, bāvila; būšīt - būšim, būšiy, būšila (a loan from the standard language?); čistīt - čistim, čistiy, čistila; čūdit se - čūdiy se je, čūdila; dīmit se - dīmim se, dīmiy se je, dīmila se je; gādīt se - gādim se, gādiy se je, gādila se je; gāzīt - gāzim, gāziy, gāzila; glādīt - glādim, glādiy, glādila; grābit - grābim, grābiy, grābila; kitīt - kitim, kitiy, kitila; klādīt se - klādim se, klādiy, klādila; kvāčīt, zakvāčīt - zakvāčim, zakvāčiy, zakvāčila; slīčīt - slīčim, slīčiy, slīčila; lūpīt - lūpim, lūpiy, lūpila 'kick'; mīrit, zmīrit - mīrim, mīriy, mīrila; mūčīt - mūčim, mūčiy, mūčila; mīslīt - mīslim, mīsliy, mīslila; mřvit - mřvim, mřviy, mřvila; nūdit - nūdim, nūdiy, nūdila; pāzīt - pāzim, pāziy, pāzila; prātīt - prātim, prātiy, prātīla; prāvīt se - prāvim, prāviy, prāvila; pūšīt - pūšim, pūšiy, pūšila; rūšīt, zrūšīt - rūšim, rūšiy, rūšila; silit - silim, siliš, silila; slīnit - slīnim, slīniy, slīnila; tlāčīt - tlāčim, tlāčiy, tlāčila; trātīt - trātim, trātiy, trātīla; vādīt - vādim, vādiy, vādila; žālīt - žālim, žāliy, žālila

obogātīt - obogātim se, obogātiy se je, obogātīla; zablātīt - zablātim, zablātiy, zablātīla; zgotōvīt - zgotōvim, zgotōviy, zgotōvila (cf. gotōv, gotōva); objāsnīt - objāsnim, objāsniy, objāsnila (probably a loanword from the standard language); korīstīt - korīstim, korīstiy, korīstīla (cf. kōrist, G. kōristi); okūsīt - okūsīm, okūsiy, okūsila; zarātīt - zarātim, zarātiy, zarātīla; prestrāšīt - prestrāšim, prestrāšiy, prestrāšila; tovārit - tovārim, tovāriy, tovārila;

blagoslōvīt - blagoslōvi, blagoslōviy, blagoslōvila; bōrit se - bōrim se, bōriy se, bōrila; brōjīt, zbrōjīt - brōjim, zbrōjim, zbrōjiy, zbrōjila; dōjīt - dōjim, dōjiy, dōjila; dvōrit - dvōrim, dvōriy, dvōrila; gnōjīt - gnōjim, gnōjiy, gnōjila; gōnit - gōnim, gōniy, gōnila; zaklōpīt - zaklōpim, zaklōpiy, zaklōpila; krōjīt - krōjim, krōjiy, krōjila; zakāsni - zakāsnim, zakāsniy, zakāsnila; prepōlovīt - prepōlovim, prepōlovīy/prepōlovīy (both occur), prepōlovīla; popāpīt - popāprim, popāpriy, popāprila (cf. papār, G. paprā); stvōrit - stvōrim, stvōriy, stvōrila; vōdim, vōdiy; znōjīt se - znōjim se, znōjiy se je, znōjila se je; skisēlīt - skisēlim, skisēliy/skisēliy, skiselilo

a.p. B

short

zgrozīt se - zgrōzim, zgrōziy, zgrōzila; hodīt - hōdim, hōdiy, hōdila, hōdilo, hōdili; namočīt - namōčim, namoči, namočila; nosīt - nōsim, nōsiy, nosīla, nosīl; prosīt - prōsim, prōsiy, prosīla, prosīli; skočīt - skōčim, skōčiy, skočila, skōči; točīt,

natočiti - toči, se toči, točiju/natočiju, natočila, toči!, natočili!; vözim, vöziü, vozila, vozili, vözi!; oženit se - oženim, ženi, ženiü se je, oženü⁶⁵, oženila; selit se - selim, seliju, preseliju, selila, preselila, preselili (cf. selö, N.pl. sēla); posolit - sölim, söliü, solila, posolila

long

blüdit - blüdim, blüdiü, blüdila 'get lost'; bränit - bränim, bräniš, bräni, bräniü, bränila; brüsit - brüsim, brüsü, brüsila; cipit - cipi, cipiü, cipila [*cēpiti]; cvilit - cvili, cviliü, cvilila; čästit, počästit - čästim, čästiš, čästiü, čästila; dävit, zadävit - dävim, dävü, dävila; drážit - drážim, drážü, drážila; družit se - družim se, družü, družila; dürit se - dürim se, dürü se je, dürila se je; glümüt - glümim, glümüü, glümila; gütit - gütim, gütü, gütila; gnüzdit - gnüzdim, gnüzdü, gnüzdila (cf. gnüzdö, N.pl. gnüzdä) [*gnüzditi]; gnävüt - gnävim, gnävü, gnävila; gospodärit - gospodärim, gospodäri, gospodäriü, gospodäriü; govörüt - govörim, govörü, govörila; zgrüšit - zgrüšim, zgrüšiü, zgrüšila, grüši!, grüšite!; gülit - gülim, güliü, güliü; hläpüt, shläpüt - hläpi, hläpiü, hläpila, shläpilo; hränüt, nahränüt - hränim, hräniü, nahräniü (secondary), hränila, nahränila, hränilo, nahränilo (cf. hränä, A. hränü); fälit - fälim, fäliü, fälila [*xvaliti]; jürüt - jürim, jürü, jürila; klätit se - kläti se, klätü, klätila; skrätit - skrätim, skrätü, skrätila; okripit se - okripit se, okripü, okripila; prekrüzit - prekrüzim, prekrüzü, prekrüzila; küpüt - küpim, küpiü, küpila; kürüt - kürim, kürü, kürila; lüpüt - lüpim, lüpiü, lüpila 'peel off'; müsüt, omüsüt - omüsüm, omüsü, omüsila [*mēsiti]; mürit, pomirüt - pomirim, pomirü, pomirila; mlätit, zmlätit - mlätim, mlätü, mlätila; müüt - mütim, mütiü, mütiü; oblächüt - oblächim, oblächü, oblächila 'dress'; oblächüt - oblächü, nāoblächilo se je⁶⁶ 'cloud'; pälit - pälim, päliü, päliü; opamētüt se - se opamēti, opamētü se je, opamētü; pilüt - pilim, piü, pilila; präšüt - präšim, präšiš, präši, präšiü, zapräšiü, präšila, präšilo; spričüt - spričim, spričü, spričila [*perčiti]; rezridüt - rezridim, rezridü, rezridila [*rēditi]; rišüt - rišim, rišiü, rišila [*rēšiti]; prirēdüt - prirēdim, prirēdiü, prirēdila; rübüt, porübüt - porübim, porübü, porübila; slävüt - slävim, slävü, slävila, slävilo (cf. Konjščina); slüzüt - slüzim, slüzü, slüzila 'serve; earn' (cf. slüga, A. slügu); srämüt se - se srämim, srämü se, se srämila (cf. sräm, G. sräma); südüt - südim, südiü, südila (cf. süd, G. süda - a loanword?); svitüt - sviti, svitiü, svitila [*svētiti]; sřdüt, resřdüt - resřdim, resřdiü, resřdila; širüt - širim, širiü, širila; tüpüt - tüpim, tüpiü, tüpila; tüžüt - tüžim, tüžü, tüžila; trübüt - trübim, trübü, trübila; triznüt se - triznim, trizniü, trizniü

⁶⁵ The forms like ženiü, hōdiü are probably due to partial analogy to the A.p. C forms. However, the old accent is preserved with the prefix - oženü. The verbs that have transferred to A.p. A completely have probably just taken changes like this one step further by generalizing the " to all the forms.

⁶⁶ The l-participle points to the older A.p. C (cf. oblačü se in Kajkavian dialects, for instance Štuparje).

[*terzniti]; tržüt - tržim, tržü, tržila; tumächüt - tumächim, tumächü, tumächila; vrüdit - vrüdi, vrüdiü, vrüdila; znächüt - znächü, znächü, znächila; žärüt - žäri se; žürüt se - žürim, žürü, žürila se je; bilüt, obilüt - bilim, biliü, bilila, obilü! [*bēliti]; zvüzüt - zvüzim, zvüziš, zvüzi mi! (cf. vüski, vüska, vüska) [*qziti]

a.p. C

short

drobit, zdrobi - drobim, drobi, dröbiü, drobila, zdröbi!, zdröbite!; dogodüt - se dogodi, dögodü se je, dögodila/dogodila se je, dögodilo se je; kosüt, pokosüt - kosim, pokosim, kösiü, pökosiü, kosila, pokosila, pokösi!, pokösite!; hlovüt - hlovim, hlöviü, hlovila (cf. löv); oprostüt, oprostü, öprostü, oprostila, öprostü!; restopüt - restopi, röstopiü, restopila, restöpi!, restöpü!; trošüt - trošim, trošiü, trošila, potrošila, troši!, trošite!; veselüt se - veselim se, vēseliü se, rēzveseliü, rezveselila; zvonü, zvönü, zvonila; žalostüt - žalostim, žalostiü, rēžalostiü, režalostila

shortened

ščinila (kaj si ščinila?); zgubüt - zgubim, zgübil, zgubila; platüt - platim, plätü, platila, plätü!, plätite!; pustüt - pustim, püstiü, pustila, püstü!, püstite!; posadüt (but sädit) - sadim, sädiü, sadila, sädi!, sädite!; strilim, striliü, strilila (no infinitive?); tajüt - tajim, täjiü, tajila, täji!, täjite!; posušüt - posušü, pösusiü, posušila, posüši!, posüšite!; vučüt se - vučim se, vücil, näfcil, vučila, näfcila, vüči se!, vüčite se! [*učiti]

shortened/long inf.

zbüdüt - budim se, zbudim, zbüdiü, zbudila, se zbüdili, zbüdi se!, zbüdite se!; cidüt - cidim, scidi, cidiü, cidila, scidiü, scidila, cidü!, cidite! [*cēditi]; dilüt, podilüt - dilim, diliš, dili, podilim, podilimö, diliü, dilila, dilü!, dilite! (cf. diü, G. dilä) [*dēliti]; gäsüt - gasim, zgasü, gasimö, zgasimö, gäsü, gasila, gäsü!, gäsü!; zgradüt (?) - zgradim, zgradü, zgradila, zgradü!, zgradite!; hlädüt, prehlädüt se - hladim, prehlädimö, hlädil, prehlädiü, hladila, prehlädila, hlädü!, hlädite!; hjävüt - hvävim, hvävimö, hväviü, hvävila, hvävilo, hvävü!, hvävite!; kädüt - kadim, kadü se, kadiü, kadila, kadü!, kädite! 'smoke'; krivüt, okrivüt - okrivim, ökriviü, okrivila, okrivü!, okrivite! (cf. kriv, krivä, krivo, krivi); ?krštüt - krštüm, krštiü/krštiü, krštila (cf. krštën, krštëna, krštëno); mästit - mastim, zamasti, mästiü, mästila, zamastila, mästi!, mästite! (cf. mäst, G. mästi); glöbüt - globim, globü (the length in glöbüt is from the imperative)

a.p. B-C transitivity pairs

rodüt - rödim [transitive], rödi [transitive], rödi/rodü [intransitive], rödiü, rodila

mixed

napòjiti (?) - *napòjim*, *napòjiju/napòjiju*, *napòjila* (A.p. B/C); *cūrīt*, *scūrīt* - *cūrī*, *scūrī*, *cūrīu*, *cūrīla*, *scūrīlo*

NOTE: I have set apart the old A.p. B short stems, which are now synchronically A.p. A, strictly on historical basis in order to facilitate historical analysis.

2.28 Mahično (near Karlovac) – Kajkavian-Čakavian (prigrorski dialect)

The dialect has three accents and pretonic length. According to my informant, it is in transitional phase considering various retractions, cf. the examples *glāva*, *trāva*, *zīma*, G.sg. *stōla*, *kōza*, *sēlo* but also *vīnō*, N.pl. *vīnā*, *gñūzdō*, *dītē*, *grīšān* 'sinful'. The patterns like *čōvik*, G.sg. *čōvika* exist. Cf. in the infinitives *fāliti* but *grāditi*. " is very often realized as " and can be quite long or even facultatively changed to ~. ~ yields ˆ in the final syllable, cf. *nōž*, G.sg. *nōža*, *pūž*, G.sg. *pūža*, L.pl. *na stolī*, G.sg. *nogē*, G.sg. *glavē*, G.pl. *glāv*, *trāv*, *žēn*, *zīm* etc. ~ often facultatively changes to ˆ elsewhere as well (*plāća* and *plāca*). Basic accentuation is mostly Čakavian, cf. *gñem*, *vīdim*, *vīdila*, N.pl. *kolēna*, *sīta*, *korīta*, *mīnar*, *rībñak*, *pāuk*, *gāvran*, *jāstreb*, *govēdina*, *otāva*, *slōga*, *svōra*, *rūška*, *vīšna*, *svādba*, *krāla*, *dēlam*, *būdem*, L.sg. *u smřti*, *sīti* (def.), *stāri* (def.) etc. with no Kajkavian neo-circumflex. However, cf. L.sg. *u pečī*, *po noči* and *-ūjemu* in the material.

The dialect has the Jakubinski-Meyer reflexes of the *ě (cf. *līp* - *lipo*, *čōvik*, *sīči* 'cut' - sup. *sīč*, *bēli snīg*, N.pl. *mēsta*). The distinction of č and ć (Štokavian-style [tš]) is facultatively preserved (facultatively at least in the speech of my informant), cf. *plāća*, *iščemu*, *třšće* 'vineyard' but *sīči* 'cut', *lišće* 'leaves', *povlīči* 'pull'. There are some unaccented vowel reduction (however, rarely seen in the verb material presented here either due to analogy or the influence of the standard), cf. *-mu* in the 1st person (also *-mo* probably from the standard language), *pandīlak* 'Monday', G.sg. *pandīka* etc. *H* sporadically disappears, *v* is a fricative, the reflex of the *jers* is *a* (*nōkat*, G.sg. *daskē*) but cf. also *ōgeñ* (probably a loanword from Kajkavian), there is only one *e* sound (*žēna*, *pēti*, *žēja*, *lēd*, G.sg. *lēda*). 3rd person plural of the present tense ends in *-ju*.

a.p. A

blātiti - *blātīmu*; *borāvīmu*; *brātiti se* - *brāti se*, *brātīmu se*; *čīstīti* - *čīstīmu*; *čūditi se* - *čūdīmu se*; *čāstīti* - *čāstīmu se*; *dīmīti se* - *dīmi se*, *zākaj dīmīju?*; *gāditi* - *gādi*; *gāzīti* - *gāzīmu*; *glāditi* - *glādīmu*; *grābīti* - *grābīmu*; *gřlīti* - *gřlīmu*; *gřdīti* - *gřdīmu*; *hītīti* - *hītīmu*, *hītīju* 'throw'; *jāriti* - *jāri se*, *jāriila*; *kāznīti* - *kāznīju*; *kītīti* - *kītīju*; *křšīti* - *křšīju*; *kvāčīti* - *kvāčīju*; *kvāsīti* - *kvāsīju* (also *kvasī?*); *kīselīti* - *kīselī*, *kīselīju*; *sličīti* - *sličīmu*; *lūpīti* - *lūpim*, *lūpīmu*, *lūpīju* 'hit somebody'; *mīlīti*; *mīrītīti* - *mīrītīmu* [*mērītī]; *kmīčīti se* - *kmīči* 'get dark (of night)'; *mūčīti* - *mūčīju*;

mīslīti - *mīslīmu*; *mřvīti* - *mřvīmu*; *nūditi* - *nūdīmu*, *nūdīl*, *nūdīla*, *nūdīli*; *pāzīti* - *pāzīmu*; *plāzīmu*; *prātīti* - *prātīmu*; *prāvīti* - *prāvīmu*; *pūšīti* - *pūšīmu*; *přtīti* - *přtīmu*; *rānīti* - *rānīmu* (cf. *rāna*); *rūšīti* - *rūšīmu*; *sētīti* - *sētīmu se* [*sētītī]; *sīlīti* - *sīlīmu se*; *slāvīti* - *slāvīmu*; *strāšīti* - *strāšīju*; *sřīti* - *presřīlo se*; *tlāčīti* - *tlāčīmu*, *tlāčīju*; *vādīti* - *vādīmu*, *vādīju*; *vlāžīti* - *vlāžīmu*, *vlāžīju*; *žālīti* - *žālī se*, *žālīmu se*, *žālīju se*

zgotōvīti - *zgotōvīmu*; *ulāzīti* - *ulāzīmu*; *zasītīti* - *zasītīmu*, *zasītīli su se*; *ozdrāvīti* - *ozdrāvīmu*; *tovarīti* - *tovarīmu*, *tovarīju*

bōrītī se - *bōrīmu*, *bōri*; *klōnīti* - *klōni*, *klōnīju*; *ōštrītī* - *ōštrīmu*; *plōvīti* - *plōvīmu* (2x); *pōstītī* - *pōstīmu*; *pāpřītī* - *pāpřīmu*

a.p. B**short**

gonīti - *gōni*, *gōnīmu*; *gřbīti* - *gřbīmu*; *hodīti* - *hōdīmu*; *kořīti* - *kōti*, *kōtīju*; *lomīti* - *lōmi*, *lōmīju*; *močīti* - *mōči*, *mōčīmu*; *nōči se*; *nosīti* - *nōsi*, *nōsīmu*, *nōsil*, *nosīla/nosīla*, *nosīlo*, *nosīli*, *nosīle*; *ponōsīmu*, *ponōsīju*; *prošītī* - *prōsi*, *prōsīmu*; *rōni*, *rōnīmu*; *selītī se* - *sēlīmu se*; *skočītī* - *skōčīmu*; *točītī* - *ūn tōči vīnō*, *tōčīmu*, *tōčīju*; *tržītī* - *třži*, *třžīmu*; *trsītī* - *třsīmu*, *třsīju* (cf. *třšće* 'vineyard'); *vozītī* - *vōzi*, *vōzīmu*, *vozīlo*; *žalōstīmu*; *ženītī se* - *se žēni*, *žēnīmu se*

long (short inf.)

branītī (also *brānītī?*) - *brānim*, *brāni*, *brānīmu*; *brusītī* - *brūsīmu*; *cipītī* - *cīpīmu*, *cīpleñe* [*cēpītī]; *cērīmu se*; *dāvītī* - *dāvīmu*; *dražītī* - *drāžīmu*; *družītī* - *drūžīmu se*; *durītī* - *dūrīmu se*; *glumītī* - *glūmīmu*; *gutītī* - *gūtīmu se*; *jurītī* - *jūri*, *jūrīmu*, *jūril*, *jurīla*; *přikřīžītī* - *přikřīžīju*; *kružītī* - *krūžīmu*, *krūžīju*; *kupītī* - *kūpīmu*; *kurītī* - *kūrīmu*, *kūrīju*; *libītī* - *libīmu se*; *lišītī* - *lišīmu*; *lubītī* - *lūbīmu*; *lūtītī* - *lūtīmu se*; *misītī* - *mīsīmu* [*mēsītī]; *mesarītī* (*meserītī?*) - *mesārīmu*; *mīrītī* - *mīrīmu*; *mlatītī* - *mlātīš*, *mlātīmu*, *mlātīju*; *mutītī* - *mūtīmu*; *oblačītī* - *oblāči se* 'cloud' (cf. *oblāčiti* 'dress' below); *suzītī* - *sūzīmu* [*qzītī]; *palītī* - *pālīmu*; *rubītī* - *rūbīmu*; *snažītī* - *snāžīmu*; *sudītī* - *sūdi*, *sūdīju*; *svetītī* - *svētīmu se*, *svētīju se* 'revenge'; *srdītī* - *sřdīju se*; *šalītī se* - *šālīmu se*, *šālīju se*; *tupītī* - (*se*) *tūpi*, *tūpīju*; *tužītī* - *tūžīmu*, *tūžīju*; *trusītī* - *trūsi*, *trūsīmu*, *trūsīju*; *trudītī* - *trūdi*, *trūdīmu se*; *povlačītī* - *povlāči*, *povlāčīmu*, *povlāčīju*; *značītī* - *znāči*, *znāčīmu*; *žarītī* - *žārīmu se*; *žurītī se* - *žūrīmu se*, *žūrīju se*

long (long inf.)

bīlītī - *bīlīmu zīd* [*bēlītī]; *fālītī* - *fālīmu* [*xvalītī]

cēnītī - *cēnīmu* [*cēnītī]; *udālītī se* - *udālīmu* (cf. *udaļūjemu se*); *grādītī* (2x) - *grādīmu*; *gospodārītī* - *gospodārīmu*; *gūlītī* (?) - *gūlīmu*, *gūlīla*; *rānītī* (2x) - *rānīmu*, *rānil*, *rānila*, *ranīlo/ranīlo* [*xornītī]; *hīnītī* (2x) - *hīnīmu*; *zakļūčītī* -

zaključiju; klātiti - klāti, klātiju; lēčiti - lēčimu, lēčiju [*lēčiti]; lēpiti - lēpimu, lēpiju [*lēpiti]; lūpiti - lūpimu 'peel'; māmīti - māmī, māmīmu; mārīti - mārīmu; māsīti - māsī, māsīmu, māsīju; oblāčiti⁶⁷ - oblāči, oblāčiju 'dress' (cf. oblāčiti 'cloud' above); opamētīti - opamētīmu; prētīmu (?) [*pertīti]; rēšīti - rēšīmu [*rēšīti]; rēdīti - rēdīmu se 'decorate, adorn', zarēdil se je 'he was ordained' [*rēdīti]; slēdīti - slēdīmu [*slēdīti]; slādīti - slādīmu; srāmīti se - srāmī, srāmīmu; trātīti - trātīmu; trēznīti - trēzni, trēzniju se [*terznīti]; vārīti - vāri se 'it boils', vārīmu, vārīju; vrēdīti - vrēdiju [*verdīti]

long (no inf.)

snūbīmu; šīrimu, šīriju

a.p. C

short

brujīti - brojīmu [*brojīti]; brstīti - brstīmu; dojīti - dojī, dojīmu; drobīti - drobīmu; dvorīti - dvorīmu; gnojīti - gnojīmu; godīti - godīmu; gojīti - gojīmu; grozīmu se; kosīti - kosī, kosīju (cf. I.sg. s kōsum); krojīti - krojī, krojīju; škropīti - škropī, škropīju; krstīti - krstīmu, krstīju; kasnīti - kasnīmu, kasnīju; lovīti - lovī, lovīju, lōvil, lōvila, lōvilo, lōvili, lōvile; ložīti - loži đegū, ložīmu, ložīju, nāložīli smo (cf. nalāžemu); molīti - molī, ūn se molī 'he prays', molīju, molīlo; maglīti - maglī se, se maglī; suzīti - suzī [*slbzīti]; pojīti - pojīmu; preplovīti - preplovī, preplovīmu; rodīti - rodī, rodīmu, rōdil sam se, rōdila (se) (in the neighboring village of Tuškani: rodīla), rōdilo se, rōdili su; rojīju (?); rosīti se - se rosī; solīti - solīmu; sramotīti - sramotī, sramotīmu se, sramotīju se; sušīti - sušīmu, sušīju; kopīti - kopī, kopīju, kōpila, ĩskopila, kōpili su 'castrate'; škropīti - škropīju; topīti - topī, topīmu; trošīti - trošī, trošīmu; veselīti se - se veselī, veselīmu, veselīju; zorīti - zorī, zorī mu, sazorīlo 'ripen'; zvonīti - zvonī, zvonīmu, zvōna zvonīju; tamnīti - tamnī se

shortened

budīti - budīmu; cjedīti - cjedīmu (with the standard -je-); cvilīti - cvilīmu; curīti - curī; djelīti (with the standard -je-) - diļīmu [*dēlīti]; dičīti - dičīmu; divīti - divīmu; dubīti - dubīmu; dušīti - dušīmu 'choke'; gasīti - gasīmu; gubīti - gubīmu, zgūbila; ladīti - ladī (se), ladīmu, ladīlo, ladīla [*xoldīti]; lapīti - lapī, lapīmu [*xlapīti]; javīti - javīmu; kresīti - kresī se [*krēsīti]; krivīti - krivī, krivīju se; kudīti - kudīmu; naglīti - naglīmu se; platīti - ne platī (cf. plāčamu); preplavī (2x) (cf. preplavļūjemu); prasīca se prasī; prašīti - prašī se, prašīmu; pustīti - pustī, pustīmu; sadīti - sadīmu; tajīti - tajī, tajīmu; trubīti - trubī, trubīmu,

⁶⁷ An innovative accent, cf. povlačīti - povlāči 'pull'.

trubīju; vučīti - vuči, vučīmu; vršīti - vršīmu 'thresh'; zlatīti - hīža se zlatī; oživīti - oživīm, oživīš, oživī

shortened (long inf.)

brūjīti - brujīmu; būšīti - bušīmu

inconclusive

raskolīti - raskolīli su; křčīju

mixed

gōstīti (2x) - gostī (trans.), gōstīmu se (intrans.), gostīla; hrlīti - hrlīmu, hrlīju; vēdriti - vedrī se

vacillation

svitīti - svitī, but svitīmu, svitīju [*svētīti]; telī se, se tēliju (cf. tēle); tovīti - tovī, tōvīmu

2.29 Zabok (in Hrvatsko zagorje) – Kajkavian (zagorsko-međimurski dialect)

The dialect has a three accent system with pretonic length. " is usually realized as long " which facultatively becomes equal (or almost equal) to ~ (experimental data would be needed here). The neo-acute facultatively changes to ^. The problem of retractions is quite complex – in the infinitives one frequently finds the type brānīti together with brūsīti. However in this case, the accentuation might be due to analogy with the present tense and *l*-participle feminine singular where ~ is expected. For the retractions, cf. also -imě in the verbs, G.sg. vinā, dijetě, mliĳekě, dāmě 'we give', L.pl. v rukāh but G.sg. krāļa, trāva, kolāči, dēska, žēna etc. The dialect, at least according to my informant, seems to be in a transitional phase.

Common Kajkavian *ę (< *ě, *ь/ь) yields *e* when unaccented (*dōber*, *cenīmě*) and short accented (*sěči*), *ĳē* when under a long accent (sup. *sĳēč*, *ĳēpi*) and *ē* or *ĳē* when long and unaccented (*trēznēti se* but *vrĳēdēti*). Common Kajkavian *ŏ (< *o, *!) yields *u* (*zūb*, *pūtnik*, *gūtiti*), for the reflex of open *o* cf. *kōža*, *dōjti*. The reflex of *ę and *e is open *ε*, cf. *pēti*, *sēdmi*. Final -*o* > -*e*, cf. *ōke* 'eye'. The phoneme *x* is preserved.

a.p. A

bāviti se - se bāvīme; blātiti - blātīme; borāviti - borāvīme; čīstīti - čīstīme; čūdīti se - čūdīme se; dūrīti - dūrīme; dīmīti se - dīmī se, dīmīme; gādīti - gādī se; gāzīti - gāzīme; glādīti - glādīme; gōdīti - gōdī; grābīti - grābīme; gřbīti - gřbī, gřbīme; gřlīti - gřlīm, gřlī, gřlīme; hītīti - hītīme, sme hītīli; kāzni, kāznīme (cf. *kāznīvame*); kītīti - kītīm, kītīme; kvāčīti - kvāčīm, kvāčīme; křčīti - křčīm, křčīme; ulāzīti - ulāzīm, ulāzīme; mīlīti - se mīlī; mēriti - mērim, mērīme; mūčīti

- (se) mûćim, mûćime; mîsliti, zmîsliti se - mîslim, se zmîslim, mîslime, se zmîslime; mŕviti - mŕvim, mŕvime; nûditi - nûdim, nûdime; pâziti - pâzim, pâzime; plâšiti - plâšim, plâšime; plâziti - plâzim, plâzime; prâtiti - prâtim, prâtime; pûšiti - pûšim, pûšime; râniti - rânim, rânim, rânili; rûšiti - rûšim; rûžiti - rûžim, (se) rûži, rûžime 'make noise'; sîliti - sîlim, sîlime; slâviti - slâvim, slâvime; se žâlîm, se žâlîme

bogâtiti - bogâtime; zgotôviti - zgotôvime (cf. zgotâvŕame); korîstiti - korîstim, korîstime; opamêtiti se - opamêtim, opamêtîl, opamêtîli; tovârîti - tovârîm, tovârîme; izvêšiti - izvêšil;

a.p. B

short

blagoslôviti - blagoslôvime (cf. blagoslîvŕame); borîti se - bôrime, bôril, bôrili; brôjiti - se brôjime, se brôji, zbrôjil; dojîti - dôjime, dôjim; gnojîti - gnôjime; govorîti - govôril, govôrila; hodîti - hôdim, hôdiš, hôdime; klôniti se - klônim, klônime; zaklôpiti - zaklôpi; raskôli; kôsiti - kôsîm, kôsime; krojîti - krôjim, krôjime, krôjila; hkrôti, hkrôtil; lojîti - lôjiš, ložiti - lôžim, lôžime, lôžil, lôžila; môčiti - môćim, môći, môćime (cf. namâće); mojîti - se môjim, se môjime [*modliti]; morîti - hmôri, hmôril ga je; množîti - mnôžim, mnôžime; meglîti/mêgliti - mēgli se [*mēgliti]; nosîti - nôsîm, nôsime; ponovîti - ponôvim, ponôvi (cf. ponâvŕati, ponâvŕam, obnâvŕam); pojîti - pôjim, pôjime; prepolôvi (cf. prepolâvŕati); prosîti - prôsîm, prôsime; pöstiti (?) - pöstim, pöstime; znôjiti se - se znôjim; upozôri (cf. upozârjam); pâpriti - pâprim, pâprime (probably a loanword from the standard language, cf. -a- instead of -e-); rojîti - rôjiju; rônim, rônîl, rônîli; rôsi se (?); skočiti - skôčim, skôči, skôćime (cf. skâkâti, skâćem, skâćeme); škôpi, hškôpi, škôpil, škôpili; osvôjil (cf. osvâjâti, osvâjam); tâliti - tâli [*teliti]; točiti - tôčim, tôči, tôćime (natôči mi vinâ 'pour me some wine'); vozîti - vôzim, vôzil; znojiti se - znôjim, oznôjil; ženiti se - se ženî, se ženîl (also se ženîm, se ženî, se ženîmē?)

long

brâniti - brânime; brûsiti - brûsime; bûšiti - bûšime; cijêpime [*cêpiti]; cvîliti - cvîlime; dâviti - dâvime; bjêliti - bjêlime [*bêliti]; udâli; dićime (?); dîvime; drâžiti - drâžime; dûbiti - dûbime; drûžiti - drûžime; glûmîti - glûmîme; gûtiti - gûtîme; sŕditi - sŕdime; gnjêzdime; glâsi; gospodârîti - gospodârime; grjêšiti - grjêšime, zgrjêšil [*grêšiti]; gûliti - gûli, gûlime; hrâniti - hrânim, hrânime; fâliti - fâlîme; objâsniti - objâsnime; skrâti, krâtîme; krêpîti - se krjêpîm, se krjêpîme [*krêpiti]; krêšiti se - se krjêšîm, se krjêšîme [*krêšiti]; ukrâsi; prekrîži; kûpîti - kûpîm, kûpîme, kûpîli; kûrîti - kûrim, kûrime, kûrili; ljêčiti - ljêćim, ljêćime; uljênîti se - se uljênîl; mâmîti - mâmîm; mastîti (short!) - mâstim, mâstime; mîšîti - mîšîm, mîšîme [*mêšiti]; mesârîme; se mîrîm, se mîrîme; mlâtîti -

mlâtîm, mlâtîme; se mrâči; mûtiti - mûtim, mûtime; oblâčim, oblâćime 'dress'; oblâči 'cloud'; brûsiti - brûsim, brûsime; stêñiti 'make thinner'; pâliiti - pâlim, pâlime; pîliti - pîlim, pîlime; prâšim, prâšime; prêtiiti - prijêtim, prijêtime [*pertiti]; rjêdîti - rjêdîm, rjêdime [*rêditi]; rjêšiti - rjêšil, rjêšli [*rêšiti]; prirêdîti - prirêdime, prirêdil [*rêditi]; rûbîti - rûbim, rûbime; slâdîm, slâdime; srâmîti se - se srâmîm, se srâmime; sûdîti - sûdim, sûdime; svêtiiti - svêtim, svêtime 'avenge'; svjêtlîti se - se svjêtlîm, svjêtlime; šîrîti - se šîrim, se šîrime; tâjîti - tâjim, tâjime; trjêbîti - trjêbim, trjêbi, trjêbime; tûpiti - tûpim, tûpi, tûpime (nôš se tûpi 'a knife is getting blunt'); tûžiti - tûžim, tûžime; trûbîti - trûbim, trûbime; trûšîti - trûšim, trûšime; trûdîti se - se trûdîm, se trûdime; znâćiti - znâći; se žârîm, se žârî, žârime

a.p. C

short

dogodîti - dogodî, sme se dôgodîli; drobîti - drobîmê, dvorîti - dvorîmê; gostîti - (se) gostîmê; škropîti - škropîm (?); krstîti - se krstîm, se krstîmê; kesnîti - kesnîm, kesnîmê, kesnîli; lovîti - lovîm, lovîmê; oprostîti - oprostî, oprostîmê; pustîti - pustî, pûstil (cf. pûščam); rodîti - rodî, rodîla; selîti se - selîm, selîmê; solîti - solîm, solîmê; se caklî [*stâkliti]; topîti - topîm, topî, topîmê; se tovî; trošîti - trošîm, se trošî, trošîmê; veselîti se - se veselîm, se veselî, se veselîmê; zvonîti - zvonîm, zvonîmê

shortened

brujîmê (cf. brûjame); budîti, zbudîti - budîmê; cenîmê [*cêniti]; dušîti - dušîm se, dušîmê 'choke'; gubîti - gubî, gubîmê; hladîti, hladîti - hladî, hladîmê (dêl sam hlâdit 'I have left it to cool'); javîti - javîm, se javîli; lepîti - lepîm, lepîmê [*lêpiti]; sličîm, sličîš, sličîmê; penîti - se penîm, se penî 'be angry' [*pêniti]; platîti - platîm, plâtîl (cf. plâćam); sadîti - sadîm, sadîmê; sledîm, sledîmê [*slêditi]; sušîti - sušîm, sušîmê; vućiti - se vućim, se vućîmê, vućil, vućila; se žurîm, se žurîmê

shortened (long infinitive)

ciđediti - cedîmê [*cêditi]; cûrîti - curîmê; dijêliti - delîmê; gâsiti - gasî, gasîmê; krîvîti - se krîvîm, se krîvîmê (also krîvîme?)

2.30 Štuparje (in Hrvatsko zagorje) – Kajkavian (zagorski dialect)

The village of Štuparje is situated in Hrvatsko zagorje near the town of Krapina. The dialect has a three accent system with pretonic length. The very long allotone " occurs in most cases and it is often so long that it is longer than the "real" (phonologically) long accents (especially longer than the not-so-long ^). However, " always remains distinct (intonationally) from ^ and ~. In spite of

their phonetic length, the vowels with " are phonologically short, unlike the vowels with ^, ~ and pretonic length. That is clear from the fact that vowels with " are never phonetically closed/diphthongized, unlike those which are truly long (cf. L.sg. *o pōpu* but L.sg. *na kuōsti*). The short, rarer, allotone " regularly appears after pretonic length (cf. *koríte* but *jūríte*), in monosyllabic words with a closed syllable (cf. *jās* but *jā* 'I', *brāt* - G.sg. *brāta*, *pōp* - G.sg. *pōpa*, *bōp* - G.sg. *bōba*, *krōf* - G.sg. *krōva*) and sometimes in other positions (*bāba* but N.pl. *bābe*, *zginuti*). The fact that " can sometimes be pronounced as⁶⁸ also distinguishes it from the "real" long tonemes.

The state of retractions seems to point to a transitional, but still quite archaic, phase (at least according to my informant). Cf. *glāvā*, L.pl. *na glāvā* (2x) but I.pl. *glāvami*, *sāstrā*, *sālē* 'village' (with *kanovačko duljenje*), L.sg. *grādū*, G.sg. *krālā*, *vinē*, but also G.sg. *stōla*, *vōla*, *grōma*, *pūža*, *zīma*, *bāka* (also *bākā*), *zōvāme* 'we call' (but *trāsēme*) etc. " from the last syllable is obviously retracted to the previous short syllable (cf. *čōvek*) if it is not lengthened by *kanovačko duljenje*. The sequence "" is phonetically quite close to ~ (occasionally, it is very difficult to distinguish them), which explains the tendency of "" > ~ we have seen. The cases of the infinitives like *dūbitē* together with *trūbitē* could be (at least partly) due to analogy rather than phonetic retraction of the stress.

In Štuparje, like in nearby Bednja (Jedvaj 1956), progressive shift of the old circumflex occurs, cf. G.sg. *grāda*, *vūka*, *dēna*, *zūba*, *svēta*, A.pl. *grāde*, *zvdno*, A.sg. *zīmu*, *brāle* (n.sg.), *dāli* etc. with no shift, but A.sg. *nōgu* (by analogy to *kē nogō > x nōgu⁶⁸), N.pl. *nōgæ* (also analogically *nōga*), A.sg. *dēsku* (from *nā dskō, cf. also analogical *dēska*), N.pl. *puōļa*, *rōdil* (from *pōrodilъ) etc. with the accent from the original prepositional phrases or prefixed verbal forms (also *mēt* - G.sg. *mēda*, *ļēt* - G. *ļēda* either from *dō leda etc. or by analogy to the N.) and *radīle* (*rōdilo), *radīli* (*rōdili), *lavil* (*lōvilъ), *arāl* (*ōrālъ), *arāle* (*ōrālo) etc. with the clear progressive shift. Based on this small corpus, we can provisionally conclude that the old *^ shifts to the next middle of final closed syllable. There is no shift to the final open syllable but the original " is often changed to ^ in these forms due to analogy to prepositional phrases.

In the consonantism, one has to note that the phoneme č is pronounced as č in front of *i* (but not consistently), cf. L.sg. *x pāci*, *pa nōci*, *oblačī*, inf. *pēcī*, *pēcēm*, and that the phoneme *l* is palatalized in some positions, cf. *plēl* 'knitted', *pālec* 'thumb'. The distinction of *l* (phonetically palatalized) and *l̥* seems to be very unstable.

⁶⁸ If resulting from *kē nogō and not from *nā nogō, this is not a good example for the progressive shift of the circumflex. In these cases, cf. also *xpōļa* < *vē pole, the lengthening is due to the dropping of the *jer* in the previous syllable and the subsequent shift of stress. This occurs in Štokavian also - cf. *stō* < *sōto.

The vocalism of Štuparje is quite complicated and the interpretation here is just provisory - more data from more speakers is needed. Common Kajkavian *ē (< *ē, *ъ/ь) yields *e* when short (*sēn*, G.pl. *lōnec*, *mēriti*), which is sometimes closed - *sēci*, *sēsti*, rarely diphthongized - *iē/tiē* (< *tъ), and *ē* or *iē* when long - *bēli*, *lēpi*, *cvēt*, *dēlam*, *se kriēsi*, G.sg. *pondjēlka* etc. Common Kajkavian open *e* (from *e and *ē) remains open - *pēta* 'heel', *zāļæ* (*zēļje), *pāti* 'fifth', *sādmī* 'seventh', *žāč* 'thirst', *rāč* 'order, row', *trāsti* 'shake', G.sg. *nogā*, *īmā* 'name' (final -o yields -e!). Common Kajkavian open *o* (< *o) is reflected as middle *o*, pronounced sometimes closed or diphthongized when long, cf. N.pl. *muōra*, *guōrii* 'upper', *vūōļa*, *kuōža* etc. These facultative diphthongs are the representatives of the phonological /ō/. Common Kajkavian closed *ō (< *ō and *l) always yields *u*, cf. *pūž*, *vūk*, *pūni*, *zūp*, *rūka*, *žūti*, A.sg. *sāstrū*, *trāvū* etc.

Unstressed non-final *o changes to *a* but not consistently, either due to inner dialectal development, analogy or the influence of the standard language and/or code-switching (more data is needed) - cf. I.sg. *nagūj*, I.pl. *nagāmi* (cf. N. *nōga*), I.sg. *z gaspadārem*, *lavil*, *radīli*, *arāla* (*orala), *garēla* (*gorēla), *atāva* (*otava), *bagāti* 'rich', *gavēdina* 'beef', G.pl. *kalāčef* 'cakes' etc. Final -o usually changes to -e (usually different from -æ < *e/ē, cf. N.pl. *nōgæ*⁶⁹), cf. -me in the 1st person of the present tense, *vinē*, *brāle* (l-part., n.sg.), G.pl. *grādēflgrādēf*, *vūkef*, *kavāčef*, *krāļef* but cf. also G.pl. *vrāgaf*, *vōļaf*, *stōļaf*, I.sg. *z vūkam*, *s pōpam*, *nasīla* (l-part., n.sg.) etc. Thus, in final open syllables we usually find -e < *o, but also -a/-ə- in closed syllables (-a etc. perhaps sometimes in open syllables as well). The system does not look very stable, a lot of vacillation and variation occur. Final -i in open syllables often yields -ē, regularly in trisyllabic and sporadically in disyllabic words, cf. the numerous infinitives in -īte, but also I.pl. *z bābami*, *bagāti*. The example *gūzdi se* but *se gūzde* is illustrative. The exact processes that occur in Štuparje vocalism are yet to be researched in order to distinguish and resolve the phonetic and the phonological side of it, the inner dialectal tendencies and possible influence of the standard language etc.

a.p. A

bāviti se - *se bāvimo*; *blātiti*; *brātite se* (also *bratīte?*) - *brātimo*; *cērite se* - *cērimo se*; *čīstīti* - *čīstimo*; *čūditi se* - *čūdimo*; *dūrite se* - *dūrim*, *dūri*, *dūrimo*; *dīmitē se* - *dīmi se*; *gāditi se*; *gāziti* - *gāzim*, *zgāzil*; *glādite* - *glādi*; *grābiti* - *grābimo*; *kāznite* (a loanword from the standard); *kītiti* - *kītim*, *kītimo*; *kūpiti* 'buy' (4x) (cf. *kupūjemo*, perhaps *kūpiti* is a loanword from the standard language?); *se mīli* (3x); (z)*mēriti* - *mērim*, *mērimo*, *mērijo*, *zmēril*, *zmēriļa* [*mēriti]; *mūcīti* - *mūci*, *mūcimo*, *zmūcīl*, *zmūcīle* (m.pl.) [*mōciti]; *mīslite/mīslite* - *mīslim*, *mīslimo*,

⁶⁹ However, it is quite possible that *e* and *æ* can be equalized at least facultatively.

mīslite; *nūdi*, *nūdime*, (po)*nūdili*; *pāzite* - *pāzi*, *pāzime*; *plāšiti se* - *plāši*, *plāšime*, *splāšil*; *plāzite* - *plāzi*, *plāzime*; *prātite* - *prātim*, *prāti*, *prātimo*; *prūzite* - *prūžim*, *prūžil*; *pūšite* - *pūši*, *pūšime*, *pūšite*; *rāniti* - *rāni*, *rānijo*, *rānil*; *rūšite* - *rūšime*, *rūšite*; *sīlite* - *sīli*; *sērdite* [*sɛrditi]; *vādite* - *vādime*, *vādite*; (z)*vētriti* - *viētrime* [*vētriti]; *žālite/žālite* - *žāliš*

bogātiti se - *se bogātimo*; *blagoslōvite* - *blagoslōvime se*; *korīstiti* - *korīstim*, *korīstime*; *zasītiti se* - *zasīti*, *zasītila*; *azdrāvite* - *azdrāvime*, *azdrāvite* (intrans.); *tavārite* - *tovāri*, *tovārim*, *tovārite*

a.p. B

short

borīte se - *bōrimo se*; *brojīte* - *brōji*, *brōjimo*; *dvorīte* - *dvōriš*, *dvōrimo*, *dvōrite*; *gnojīte* - *gnōjimo* (2x); *gonīte* - *gōni* (se); *hodīte* - *hōdim*, *hōdimo*, *hōdila* (2x); *korīte* - *kōriš*, *kōrimo*, *kōrite*; *katīte se* - *kōti*, *skōtila* [*kotiti]; (s)*krojīte* - *krōji*, *krōjime*; *krstīte* - *kārsti*, *kārstime*, *kārstile* [*-lo], *kārstili*; *ložite/nalažite* - *lōžim*, *lōži*, *lōžimo*, *lōžite*; *mačite se* - *mōči*, *mōčime*, *zmočili sme se* [*močiti]; *malīte se* - *mōli*, *mōlime*, *mōlite*, *malīli sme se*; (z)*nosīte* - *nōsim*, *nōsime*, *nōsite*, (z)*nōsil/nōsil*, *nōsila/nasīla* (2x), *nasīla/nōsile* (3x) (n.sg.), *nasīle* (m.pl.), *nosīle* (f.pl.); (na)*pojīte* - (na)*pōji*; *rasporīte* - *raspōri/raspōre*, *raspōrile* (n.sg.); *pasīte* - *pōsti*, *pōstime*, *pōstite*, *postīle* (m.pl.) [*postiti]; *apazarīte* - *apazōri*, *apazōril* 'warn' [*pozoriti]; *prasīte* - *prōsi*, *prōsite* [*prositi]; *rajīte* - *se rōjijo* [*rojiti]; *selīte se* - *sāli*, *sālime se*, *odsājil*; *skačite* - *skōči*, *skōčime* (cf. *skāčem*, *skāče*, *skāčeme*) [*skočiti]; (na)*salīte* - *sōlim*, *sōli*, *sōlime*; *sramatīte* - *sramōtiš*; (na)*tačite* - *tōčim*, *tōčime*, *tōčite*, *natōčila* [*točiti]; *tavīte se* - *tōvi*, *sđovile se je* [*toviti]; *vazīte* - *vōzi*, *vōzime* [*voziti]; *znajīte se* - *znōjime*, *znōjite* [*znojiti]; *zarīte se* - *zōri se* 'ripe'; *ženīte se* - *žēni*, *žēnime*, *žēnijo*

long

glasīte - *glāsi*; *govorīte* - *govōrim*, *govōri*, *govōrimo*

cvilīti - *cvīlimo*; *jūrīte* (3x) - *jūri*, *jūrimo*; *krivīte* - *krīvi*, *krīvimo*; *zljēnīte se* - *zljēnil*; (s)*pīlīte* - *pīlimo*, *pīli*; *riēdīte* - *riēdim*, *riēdime*, *riēdite* [*rēditi]; *sūdīte* - *sūdi*, *sūdite*; *svjētlīte* - *svjētli*, *svjētlimo*, *svjētlite* [*svētliti]; *širīte* - *širi*, *širime*, *širite*; (s)*triēbīte* - *triēbim*, *tiēbil* [*terbiti]; *tūpīte/tūpīte* - *nōš se tūpi*, *stūpil*; *trūbīti* - *trūbi*, *trūbite*; *triēznīte se* - *triēzni*, *triēznime* [*terzniti]; *vriēdīti* - *vriēdim*, *vriēdi*, *vriēdite* [*verditi]; *žūrīte se* - *žūrime*, *žūrite*; *pobjēlīte/abjēlīte* - *bjēlim*, *bjēli*, *bjēlime*

brānīte (3x) - *brānimo se*; *brūsīte* - *brūsimo*; *bušīte/bušīte* (both occurs) - *būšimo*; *drāzīte* - *drāži*, *drāžimo*; *dūbīte* - *dūbim*, *dūbiš*, *dūbime/dūbimo*; *drūzīte se* (2x) - *drūžime*, *drūžite*; (z)*gāsīte* (nx) - *gāsi*, *gāsimo*, *gāsime*; *glūmīte* - *glūmi*, *glūmimo*; *gūtīte se* - *gūtim*, *gūti*, *gūtimo*; *gnēzdi se/se gnēzde* [*gnēzditi]; *gospodārite* (3x) -

gospodārim, *gospodārimo*; (z)*gūlīte* (3x) - *gūlimo*, *zgūlili*; *hlāpīte* (2x) - *se hlāpi*, *shlāpīla/shlāpila* (n.); *hrānīti* (2x) - *hrānimo*, *hrānite*, *hrānila* (2x); *huālīte* (3x) - *huāli*, *huālimo* [*xvaliti]; (s)*krātīte* - *skrātima*; *krjēsiti se* - *se krjēsi* [*krēsiti]; *raskrīliti* - *se raskrīli*, *raskrīlila*; *prekrīzīti* - *prekrīžimo*, *prekrīžili*, *prekrīžila*; *skrūtīte se* - *skrūtīla* (n.); *krūzīte* - *krūžimo*, *krūžili*; *kūrīti* - *kūri*, *kūrili/kūrile*; *slīčīte* - *slīči*, *slīčime*; *lūtīte* (3x) - *lūti*, *lūtīte se*; (z)*lūpīti* - *lūpi*, *lūpili* 'peel'; *māmīte* - *māmiš*, *māmi*, *māmimo*; (z)*mēsīte* - *mēsi*, *mēsime*, *mēsime* [*mēsiti]; *mesārīte* - *mesāri*, *mesārime*; *mlātīte* - *mlātiš*, *mlāti*, *zmlātīl*, *zmlātīle* (m.pl.); *mūtīte* (3x) - *mūtiš*, *mūtīte*; *oblāčīte* - *ōn se oblāče*, *oblāčimo*, *oblāčite* 'dress'; *sūzīte* - *sūzi*, *sūzil*; (x/za)*pālīte* - *pāli*, *pālīmo*; *prāšīte* - *prāši*; *priētīte se* - *priēti*, *priētite*, *priētili* [*pertiti]; *riēšīte* - *riēšime* (cf. *riēšava*) [*rēšiti]; (z)*rūbīte* - *rūbi*; (z)*rūzīte* - *rūžime*; *srāmīte se* - *srāmi*, *srāmīme*, *srāmīte*; *šāliti se* - *šāli*, *šālime*; *tūzīte se* - *tūzi*, *tūžime*; *trūsiti* - *trūsime*, *trūsime*, *trūsime*; *vābīte* (2x) - *vābiš*; *se prevāri*, *prevāri se* [*variti]; *oznāčīte* - *oznāči*

a.p. C

short

dajīte - *dōji*, *dōjime*, *dōjite* [*dojiti]; *drobīte* - *drobīm*, *drobiš*, *drobīmo*, *drobīte*; *kasīte* - *kasīm*, *kasīma*, *kasīte* [*kositi]; *kasnīte* - *kasni*, *kasimō*, *kasnīte*, *zakasnīla*; *skiselīte* - *skiselī*;

lepīte - *lepī*, *lepīmō*, *lepītē* [*lēpiti]; (h)*lavīte* - *lavī*, *lavīmē*, *lavītē*, *lavīl*, *lavīla*, *lavīle*, *lavīli*, *lavīlā* (f.pl.) [*loviti]; *radīte* - *radī*, *rōdil sam se*, *radīla sam se/me je*, *radīle* (n.sg.), *radīli* [*roditi]; *trāvā se rosī*; *tapīte* - *tapī*, *tapīmē* [*topiti]; *trašīte* - *trašī*, *trašīmē*, *trašītē* [*trošiti]; *veselīte se* - *veselīm*, *veselīme*, *veselījo*; *zvanīte* - *zvanīm*, *zvanī*, *zvanījo* [*zvoniti]

shortened

budīte se, *zbudīte se* (2x) - *budīmo/budīmō*; *cedīte* - *cedī*, *cedīmō* [*cēditi]; *delīte* - *delī*, *delīmō* [*dēliti]; *dušīte* - *se dušīm*, *se duši*, *se dušīmā*; (z)*gubīte* - *gubī*, *gubīmō*, *gubītē*, *zgupīla*, *smo zgupīli*; *hladīte* - *se hladī*, *hladīmō*, *hladītē*; *javīte* - *javī*, *javīmō*, *javītē*, *jāvīli bumo se*; *kadīte* - *se kadī*; *namastīte* - *se namastī*; *mirīte* - *mirīm*, *mirīmē*, *mirījō*; *nēbe se oblači* 'sky is getting cloudy'; *platīte* - *platī*, *platīmō*, *platītē*, *plātīle* (m.pl.); *pustīte* - *pustī*, *pustīmē*, *pustītē*; *sadīte* - *sadī*, *sadīme*, *sadīte*; *strelīti* - *strelī*, *strelīmō*, *strelītē*, *strelīli* (2x) [*strēliti]; *sušīte*, *dēti sušīt* (supinum) (2x) - *suši*, *sušīmē*; *vučīte* - *vučīm*, *vuči*, *vučīmē*, *vučītē*, *vučila*, *vučili*, *nāvčīlo* [*učiti]

cūrīte - *curī*, *curīmo*

vacillation

asviĕtite se - asveti, asvetimĕ, asvetitĕ, asviĕtil [*svĕtiti]; tĕliti se/atelĕte se - atĕlile se je

inconclusive

xkapĕte/xkopĕte - xkĕpi (?) (cf. xkĕp[ame]) [*kopiti]

2.31 Konjščina – Kajkavian (zagorski dialect)⁷⁰

The dialect has a system of three accents but no pretonic length. $\grave{}$ is almost always pronounced very shortly, almost Štokavian-like, $\acute{}$ is a little bit shorter than Štokavian $\acute{}$ but the contrast with $\grave{}$ is stable (the difference of $\grave{}$ and $\acute{}$ on the diphthong *ou* is, however, quite subtle). $\tilde{}$ yields $\acute{}$ in the last syllable, cf. G.pl. *glāf*, G.pl. *kril, okrvavi, curi, kovāč*. $\grave{}$ normally retracts from final syllables together with *kanovačko duljenje*, cf. *kōza, vōda, nōga, gōra, mĕtla, pĕre* < *perĕ, sup. *kōpat* (cf. *kopāti*), sup. *bōrit* < *borĭt (but sup. *lōvit* < *lōvit) etc. $\grave{}$ is always retracted to the old pretonic length, cf. *djĕte, kriĕcati, trāva, glāva, sviĕĕa, vĕne, glĕdeti*, G.sg. *kovāĕa, pripovjĕdati, zgrāžati* etc.

*ĕ and *ĕ (< * $\grave{}$, * $\acute{}$), i.e. Common Kajkavian *ĕ, yields unaccented *e* (*kesniti, ceniti*) and accented *ĕ/ĕ* (*dĕšĕ* 'rain', *mĕriti, priĕtiti*), sometimes *ie*⁷¹. (Common Kajkavian * $\tilde{}$ < * $\tilde{}$, * $\tilde{}$) yields *ō* (cf. *dōybiti, zōyub, mĕyuka*), *u* when unaccented (cf. A.sg. *nōgu, zaruĕiti*). Old long open * $\tilde{}$ yields *uō*, cf. *nyōs, nyōĕ, lakuōma*. Old short open * $\tilde{}$ is pronounced like middle *o*, cf. G.sg. *nōsa*, G.sg. *nōĕi*. Old open * ϵ yields long $\bar{\epsilon}$ (N.pl. *imĕna*, N.pl. *sĕla, žĕja*) and short *e* (G.sg. *mĕda*, sometimes pronounced as ϵ as well, cf. G.sg. *lĕda*). The vowels *e* and *o* lengthened by *kanovačko duljenje* do not change in any manner (the new \bar{o} and $\bar{\epsilon}$, i.e. $\bar{\epsilon}$, are phonetically open⁷²), cf. *ōsa* < * $\tilde{}$ but G.pl. *yōs* < * $\tilde{}$. Old *-o in the auslaut yields *-e* (cf. *ĕke, pĕtek* 'brook, stream') and thus merges with old *-e (cf. *ime*) – however, old *-o can be facultatively preserved as well (cf. both *ĕĕle* and *ĕĕlo*). Phoneme *h* is preserved only facultatively, it often disappears. Before syllabic *r*, a trace of *e* (i.e. * $\tilde{}$) can sometimes be noticed, long \bar{a} is phonetically

⁷⁰ I would like to thank my informant Vedrana Gudek.

⁷¹ Cf. *lijen* < * $\tilde{}$ like in some Štokavian dialects *lijen, nijem* instead of *l(i)jĕn, n(i)jĕm*.

⁷² Thus one gets also *mĕgla* < * $\tilde{}$ < * $\tilde{}$, *dĕska* < * $\tilde{}$ < * $\tilde{}$ with ϵ on the place of the old * $\tilde{}$ (cf. *mĕtla* < * $\tilde{}$ with the old * $\tilde{}$). But this is just a consequence of a late deoxytonesis during which all previously unaccented *e*-sounds became phonetically open (no matter what their origin is) and thus have merged with original long $\bar{\epsilon}$, cf. *sĕla* < * $\tilde{}$ = N.pl. *sĕla* < * $\tilde{}$. The new \bar{o} is also phonetically open (which I here do not specially note) but does not coincide with the old long open * $\tilde{}$ since this yielded *uō*. Cf. the imperatives *lōmi!* < * $\tilde{}$ (A.p. B) and *druōbi!* < * $\tilde{}$ (A.p. C).

slightly closed. Old prefixes *orz- and *vĕ- are *rez-/res-* and *v-/f-*. 2nd person pl. in the imperative ends in *-ete* or *-ite*.

a.p. A

*bāviti se - bāvim, bāvil, bāvila, bāvile; bogātiti - bogātim, bogātil, bogātila; bṛstiti - bṛstim (2x), bṛstila, bṛstili; būšiti - būšim, būšil, būšila, zbūšen, zbūšena, zbūšene (n.), zbūšeni, zbūšene (f.pl.), zbūšena (N.pl.), būšene, zbūši!, (z)būšite!; ĕistiti, ĕidem ĕistit - ĕistim, ĕistil, ĕistila, ĕistile (n.), ĕistili, ĕistile (f.pl.), oĕišĕen, oĕišĕena, oĕišĕene (n.), oĕišĕeni, oĕišĕene (f.pl.), oĕišĕena (N.pl.), ĕišĕene, oĕisti/oĕisti!⁷³, ĕistete!, oĕistite!; ĕūđiti se - se ĕūđim, se je ĕūđil, se ĕūđila, se ĕūđile (n.), zaĕūžen, zaĕūžena, zaĕūžene (n.), zaĕūženi, ĕūžeĕe, ĕūđi se!, ne ĕūđite se!; đimiti se - đimi, đimil, đimila, đimile (n.); gāditi se - se gādi, zgādil, zgādila, gādile; gāziti - gāzim, zgāzil, gāzila (2x), zgāzile (n.), zgāžen, zgāžena, zgāžene (n.), zgāženi, gāžeĕe, gāzil, gāzite/gāzete!; glāditi - glādime, glādil, glādila, glādile (n.), glādili; zgotĕviti - zgotĕviti, zgotĕvil, zgotĕvila, zgotĕvile (n.), zgotĕvili, zgotĕvili!, zgotĕvite/zgotĕvete!, zgotĕvlen, zgotĕvljena; grābiti - grābim, grābil, grābila; grliti - grlime, grlil, grlila; (h)ititi - (h)itim, (h)itil, (h)itila (2x), (h)itile (n.), (h)itili, (h)iti! (2x), (h)itite/(h)itete!; objāsniti - objāsnim, objāsnime, objāsnil, objāsnila, objāsnĕn; kĕtiti - kĕtim, kĕtil, kĕtila, kĕtile (n.), kĕtili, kĕtile (f.pl.) kĕti!, kĕtite/kĕtete!, okĕĕen, okĕĕena, okĕĕene (n.), okĕĕeni, kĕĕeĕe; klāditi se - klādim, klādil, klādila; korĕstiti - korĕstim, korĕstila, korĕstile (cf. *kōrist*), skorĕsti!, (s)korĕstete!, skorĕšĕen, skorĕšĕena; pokĕriti/pokĕriti - pokĕrim, pokĕri, pokĕril (also *pokĕiril?*), pokĕrila, pokĕrile (n.), pokĕrili (3x)⁷⁴; kūđiti - kūđim, kūđil, kūđila, kūđi! (2x), kūđite!; kvāĕiti - kvāĕi, kvāĕila, kvāĕili; kvāsiti - kvāsi, kvāsila, kvāsile (n.); zakṛĕiti - zakṛĕi; dokūĕiti - dokūĕi (2x), dokūĕila, dokūĕile (n.); lātiti se - lāti, lāttil, lāttila; liĕiti - liĕi, liĕil, liĕila (2x) 'look alike'; māriti - ne māri, māril, mārila, mārili; mĕriti - mĕrim, mĕrila, mĕrili [*mĕrili]; mĕyĕiti - mĕyim, mĕyĕila, mĕyĕili, mĕyĕene (cf. *mĕyuka*) [*mĕyĕiti]; mĕsliti - (z)mĕslim, mĕslila, mĕslili, mĕsli/mĕsli!, mĕslite! (cf. *mĕsel*, G.sg. *mĕsli*, G.pl. *mĕsli*); zmṛviti - zmṛvi, zmṛvila, zmṛvile (n.); pāziti - pāzi, pāzil, pāzila, pāzili; plāšiti - plāši, plāšila, plāšili; plāziti - plāzi, plāzila, plāzili; sprāšiti - sprāši 'plough'; prātiti - prāti, prāttil, prāttila, prāttil, prātite/prātete!, prāĕeĕe; pĕyniti - pĕyni, pĕynil, pĕynila, pĕyni!, pĕynite/pĕynete!, napĕynĕn [*pĕyniti]; pūšiti - pūšim, pūšila, pūšili; rāniti - rāni, rānila, rānili 'wound'; zarātiti - se zarāti; rūšiti - rūši, rūšila, rūšile (n.); rūžiti - rūži, rūžile (n.) 'yell'; sĕliti - sĕli; slĕniti - slĕni; zasĕtiti se - se zasĕti!*

⁷³ In the imperative of A.p. A, mostly $\tilde{}$ is found, but sometimes also $\acute{}$. The situation is not completely clear.

⁷⁴ The unexpected forms with *-uo-*, if not mistakes, could be due to analogy to the noun **pokĕra*.

škujōditi - škujōdi⁷⁵ 'harm'; tovāriti - tovāri; obēsiti - se obiēsiti [*vēsiti]; vlāziti - vlāži (cf. vlāga); žāliti - žāli

a.p. B

short

blagosloviti - blagoslōvi, blagoslōvil (2x), blagoslōvila, blagoslōvi!, blagoslōvite!, blagoslōvlen (2x), blagoslōvlena; boriti se, idem se bōrit - bōrim, bōrime, bōrite, bōriju, bōril, bōrila, bōrile (n.)⁷⁶, borili, borile (f.pl.), bōri se! (2x), bōrite se/bōrete se! (2x); prebrođiti - prebrōđim, prebrōđila; brojiti, idem brōjit - brōjim, brōjime, zbrōji, brōjil, brōjila, brojili, brojile (f.pl.), brōjil!, brōjite/brōjete!, zbrōjen, zbrōjena (2x), zbrōjene (n.), zbrōjeni, zbrōjene (f.pl.), zbrōjena (N.pl.), brōjeće; dežžiti - dežžiti, je dežžile (n.) 'rain' (cf. the noun dež); dojiti - dōji, dōjila; odvojiti - odvōji, odvōjile, odvōjil!, odvōjite/odvōjete!, odvōjen, odvōjena, odvōjene (n.), odvōjeni, odvōjene (f.pl.), odvōjena (N.pl.); dvoriti - dvōrim, dvōril, dvōrila (2x), dvōrile (n.), dvōrili; gnojiti - gnōji, gnōjile (n.); vgojiti - vgōji, goniti - gōnim, gōnil, gōnila, gōnile (n.), gōnili/gonili, gonile (f.pl.); (h)oditi - (h)ōdi, (h)ōdila, (h)ōdile (n.), (h)ōdili/(h)odili, (h)ōdile/(h)odile, ōdil, ōdite!; kloniti se - klōni, klōnil, klōnila, klōnile (n.), klōnili/klōnili, klōni se!, klōnite se/klōnete se!, sklōnen (2x), sklōnena, sklōneni; zaklopiti - zaklōpi, zaklōpil, zaklōpila, zaklōpili/zaklōpili, zaklōpi!, zaklōpete! (sic!), zaklōpjen (sic!)/zaklōpjen (2x), zaklōplēna, zaklōplēne (n.), zaklōplēni/zaklōplēni (rarer)⁷⁷ (the imperative and n-part. have side A.p. C forms); reskoliti - reskōli, reskōlila, reskolile (n.), reskolili, reskolil!, reskolite/reskōlete!, reskōljen, reskōljena, reskōljene (n.), reskōljeni, reskōljene (f.pl.), reskōljena (N.pl.); kofiti - kōti, kōtile (n.), kōtili; krojiti - krōji, skrōji, krōjila, krōjili/krojili; krotiti - krōti, krōtila, krōtili/krotili; křstiti - křsti, křstile (n.), křstili; lepiti - lēpi, lēpil, lēpila/lepila, zlēpjen, zlēplēna, zlēplēni, lēpi!, lēpite! [*lēpiti]⁷⁸; lojiti - lōji (trans.), lōjil, lōjila, lōjili; lomiti, idem lōmit - lōmi, zlōmila, zlōmili (2x), but also rezlomila, rēzломili, lōmi! (2x), lōmite/lōmete! (2x), zlōmjen, zlōmjena, zlōmjene (n.), zlōmjeni, zlōmjene (f.pl.), lōmjeće; ložiti - lōžim, lōžila, lōžili, lōži!, lōžete/lōžite!, nalđžena, nalđžene (n.), nalđženi; močiti - (na)mōči, mōčil, mōčila, mōčile (n.), mōčili; moliti - mōli, mōlila, mōlili/molili; motriti - mōtri, mōtrila, mōtrili; množiti - mnōži, mnōžili, mnōžil!,

⁷⁵ Derived from the noun *škujōda, whence the accent.

⁷⁶ In the A.p. B, the stem stress forms often appear. They are especially common in the f. and n.sg. Their origin is probably to be sought in the analogy to the present tense and perhaps to the long A.p. B stems where the retraction was phonetic (brānim = brānila, thus also brōjim = brōjila), cf. Дубо 2000: 28. In the plural, the old accent is preserved more often.

⁷⁷ The forms zaklōplēn, zaklōplēna etc. were obviously made by analogy to the A.p. C type.

⁷⁸ Shortness of the root perhaps points to secondary C > B. A loanword from the standard language is a possibility as well.

mnōžite/mnōžete!, pomnōžen, pomnōžena, mnōžeće; prenočiti - prendči, prendčila (cf. nuđč, G. nđči, G.pl. nuđč) [*noktiti]; nesiti - nēsī, nēsīl, nēsīla, nēsīle (n.), nēsīli/nēsīli, nēsīle/nēsīle (f.pl.) [*nositi] (vocalism after *nesti, cf. nēsēl, nēsīla); napojiti - napōji, napōjila, napōjili, napōji!, napōjite!, napōjen; prepoloviti - prepoldvi, prepolovili, prepoldvi! (2x), prepoldvete/prepoldvite! (2x), prepoldvlen; ponositi - ponōsi, ponōsila/ponosila, pōnosili; resporiti - respōri, respōrile (n.), resporili; postiti - pōsti, pōstila, pōstili/postili; fpozoriti - fpozōri, fpozōrila, fpozōrili/fpozōrili; presiti - prēsī, prēsīla, prēsīli (2x) [*prositi]; roniti - rōni, rōnila, rōnili (maybe not a native word); seliti se - sēli, sēlime, sēlite, sēlila/selila (rarer), sēlile (n.), sēlili/selili, sēlile/selile (f.pl.); skočiti - skōči, skōčila (2x), skōčile/skōčile (n.), skōčili/skōčili, skōčile/skōčile (f.pl.), skočila (N.pl.), skōčil, skōčete/skōčite!, nasloniti - naslōni, naslōnila, naslōnili; soliti - sōli, skōlila; sramotiti - sramōti (2x), sramōtil, sramōtili/sramōtili; osvojiti - osvōji, svedočiti - svēdōči [*svēdočiti]; točiti - (se) tōči (3x), natđčila/natočila, tōčili, natočili, natđčen; stvoriti - stvōri, stvōrili/stvorili; voditi - vōdi, voščiti - vōšči 'vax'; vožiti - vōži, vožili [*voziti]; znojiti - znōji, znōjila; ženiti se - se žēniju, ženili (2x)

long

bijeliti - bijēlime (trans.) [*bēliti]; vblāžiti/vblāžiti - vblāži, vblāžil, vblāžila; brāniti, idem se brānit - brānim, brānime, brānil, brānila, brānile, brāni se!, brānite se!, obrānen, obrānena, obrānene (n.), obrāneni, obrānene (f.pl.), obrānena (N.pl.), brāneće; brūsiti, idem brūsīt - brūsīm, brūsīl, brūsīla, brūsīle (n.), brūsīli, brūsī!, brūsete/brūsīte!, brūšen, brūšena, brūšene (n.), brūšeni, brūšene (f.pl.), brūšena (N.pl.); cijepiti, idem cijēpit - cijēpim, cijēpil, cijēpila, cijēpile (n.) [*cēpiti]; cviliti - cvīli, cvīlil, cvīlila, cvīlile (n.); vdāžiti se - če se vdāži, se vdāžil (3x), vdāžila/vdažila, vdāžile; dāviti (2x) - dāvim, dāvila, dāvile (n.), vdāvjen, vdāvljena, vdāvljene (n.), vdāvljeni; drāžiti - drāži, drāžila; dōubiti - dōubi, zdōubjen, zdōubljena, zdōublēne (n.) [*dubliti]; drūžiti se - drūžim, drūžila; predōžiti - predōžī, predōžile [*dylžiti]; glūmiti - glūmim, glūmila; gōutiti - gōutim, gōutila [*glūtiti]; gnāviti - gnāvi, gnāvila; (o)gūliti - gūli, ogūlim, ogūlil, (o)gūlila; gospodāriti - gospodāri, gospodārila; grīšiti (2x) - grīši, grīšil, grīšila [*grēšiti]; (z)lāpiti - lāpi, lāpile (n.) [*xlapiti]; (h)rāniti - rānim, rānila, rānili, rāni!, rānete/rānite!, rāneće, narānen, narānena, narānene (n.) [*xorniti]; nahōuditi/nahūditi - nahōudi 'harm somebody'; fāliti - fālim, fālila, fālil!, fālete/fālite!, pofājen, pofāljena, fāleće [*xvaliti]; zjedīniti - zjedīniju; kāniti - kāni, nakānila 'intend'; kāzniti - kāznim (a loanword from the standard); krātiti - krātim, krātīla, krātīl, krātete!, krāćeće, skrāčen, skrāčena; māčka se māci; kriēpiti - kriēpime, kriēpili, kriēpil!, kriēpīte/kriēpīte!, okriēpjen, okriēplēna,

okreplēne⁷⁹ [*krēpiti]; krijsiti - ògeñ se krijsi, krijsil, krijsili [*krēsiti]; krāsiti - krāsi; reskriliti - reskrili, reskrilile (cf. krile, N.pl. krila, G.pl. kril); prekriziti - prekrizi, prekrizila, prekrizil!, prekrizete/prekrizite!, prekrizen; krōžiti - krōžim, krōžila [*krōžiti]; kŭpiti - kŭpi, kŭpil, kŭpi!, kŭpite/kŭpete!, kŭplen, kŭplena; kŭriti - kŭri, kŭril, kŭrila, kŭri!, kŭrete/kŭrite!, skŭren; zakorāčiti - zakorāči, zakorāčila, zakorāči!, zakorāčete/zakorāčite!; lakuōmiti se - lakuōmi (cf. lakuōm, lakuōma, lakuōme (n.)) [*olkomiti] (the source of the length is unclear); ličiti, sup. ličit - liči, ličila, liči!, ličite/ličete!, zličen, zličena, ličeñe [*lěčiti]; odlōčiti - odlōčim, odlōčila [*lōčiti]; lŭšiti - lŭšim, lŭšila; māmīti - māmī, māmila (2x); māniti se - māni; mijsiti - mijsime, mijsila, mijsili, mijsil, mijsite/mijsete! (cf. zmijšān) [*mēsiti]; mesāriti - mesāri, mesārili; mlātiti - mlātiju, mlātīli, mlātī!, mlātete/mlātite!, zmlāčen, mlāčeñe; mrāčiti - mrāči; mōŭtiti - mōŭtim, mōŭtila, mōŭti!, mōŭtete/mōŭtite!, zmōŭčen, zmōŭčena, mōŭčeñe [*mōtiti]; sōziti - sōzi, sōzila [*zōiti]; opamētiti - opamēti, opamētila; piliti, idem pilit - pili, pilil; pljēviti - pljēvi, pljēvili [*pelviti]; prāšiti - se zaprāši; prepričiti - prepriči [*perčiti]; prijetiti - prijeti, prijetila, prijetil, prijetite/prijetete! [*pertiti]; riđiti - riđi, riđile [*rēditi]; rišiti - riši [*rēšiti]; privēditi - se privēdi [*rēditi]; rōŭbiti - rōŭbi, rōŭbili [*rōbiti]; zōra se rōŭdi [*rōditi]; slāviti - slāvime, slāvili 'celebrate'; slōŭžiti - slōŭži, slōŭžila (secondary -oŭ-?) [*služiti]; snōŭbiti - snōŭbi, snōŭbila [*snuŭbiti]⁸⁰; srāmīti se - srāmī, srāmila; sōŭditi - sōŭdi, sōŭdila [*sōditi]; stōŭpiti - stōŭpim, stōŭpila [*stōpiti]; svjētīti - svjētīli [*světīliti]; sŕditi se, resŕditi - sŕdim, sŕdi, sŕdila; šāliti se - se šāli 'joke'; trijēbiti - trijēbi 'peel' [*terbiti]; tōŭpiti - (se) tōŭpi [*tōpiti]; tōŭžiti - se tōŭžiju [*tōžiti]; trōŭbiti - trōŭbi (cf. trōŭba, A.sg. trōŭbu) [*trōbiti]; trōŭsiti - trōŭsi [*trōsiti]; trijēzniti se - se trijēzni [*terzniti]; vābiti - vābi; prezrāčiti - se prezrāči; povlāčiti - povlāči; znāčiti - znāči; režāriti - režāri [*žariti]

a.p. C

short

dogoditi - dogodī, se dogodila, dōgodile (n.), dōgodili; drobīti - drobī, drobīme, zdrōbī, zdrōbil, zdrōbila, zdrōbile (n.), zdrōbili, zdrōbile (f.pl.), druŭbi! (2x), druŭbete/druŭbite! (2x), zdrōbļen, zdrōbļena, zdrōbļene (n.), zdrōbļeni/zdrōbļeni⁸¹, zdrōbļene/zdrōbļene (f.pl.), zdrōbļena/zdrōbļena (N.pl.); goditi - godī, gōdile (n.); gostīti se - se gostīme, se pogostīme, pōgostil, pogostila, pōgostili, poguōsti ga!, poguōstite ga!; skamenīti se - skamenī, skāmenil,

⁷⁹ The aberrant accent is due to the nominalization of the form, cf. the Neo-Štokavian noun *okreplēne* besides the normal verbal noun *krijēplēne*.

⁸⁰ For secondary *snōŭbiti instead of *snubiti cf. Slovene dialectal *snobiti*, Polish *snębic*.

⁸¹ *Zdrōbļeni* instead of *zdrōbļeni* by analogy to *zdrōbļen* of course. The same goes for other A.p. C participles with *~* on the root.

skamenila; kesnīti, zakēsni - kesnī, kesnīme, zakesnīme, zakesnīla/zakēsnila [*kēsni]; fkopīti - fkopī, fkopila 'castrate' [*kopiti]; kosīti, idem kōsit - kosī, kosīme, kosīte, pokosim, kōsil, pōkosil, kosila, pokosila, kōsile (n.), pōkosile (n.), kōsili, pōkosili, kōsile (f.pl.), pōkosile (f.pl.), kuōsi! (2x), pokuōsi!, kuōsete/kuōsile!, pokošen (3x) (more frequent)/pokōšen⁸², pokošena (2x), pokošene (n.), pokošeni, pokošene (f.pl.), pokošena (N.pl.) (cf. kōsa, A.sg. kōsu, N.pl. kōse, G.pl. kuōs); škropīti - škropī, poškopī, poškopila, pōškopile (n.), pōškopili, škruŭpi!, škruŭpete/škruŭpite!, poškrōpljen (2x), poškrōpljena, poškrōplene (n.), poškrōpleni/poškrōplēni, poškrōplene (f.pl.), poškrōplēna (N.pl.); kršīti - kršī, kŕšil, kršila; prilagodīti - prilagodī, prilagodila, but prilagōdile (n.); ledīti se - ledī, ledila, lēdile (n.) (cf. lēd, G.sg. lēda); vlovīti, idem lōvit - vlovim, vlovīme, vlovila, vlōvili, luŭvi!, luŭvite/luŭvete!, vluŭvļen (2x) (with secondary -uo-), vluŭvļena/vlovļēna, vluŭvļene (n.), vluŭvļeni/vlovļēni, vluŭvļene/vlovļēne (f.pl.); vmorīti - vmorī, vmorīme, umorila 'tired', se vmorila 'killed herself', vmōrena, vmōrene (n.), vmōreni, vmōrene (f.pl.), vmōrena (N.pl.), but brīge me mōriju; mrgodīti - mrgodī, mrgodila, mŕgodile (n.), mrguŭdi!, mrguŭdete/mrguŭdite!, namrgōžen, namrgōžena; premostīti - premostī, premostila, prēmostili; meglīti - meglī se (2x), se meglila (2x), se meglile (n.) (cf. mēgla, A. mēglu/mēglu, N.pl. mēgle) [*męgliti]; omejīti - omejī, ōmejil, omejila, omejēno [*mediti]; ponovīti - ponovī, ponovila, pōnovile (n.), pōnovili, ponuŭvi!, ponuŭvete/ponuŭvite!, ponŭvļen⁸³, ponŭvļena/ponovļēna, ponŭvļene (n.), ponŭvļeni/ponovļēni, ponŭvļene/ponovļēne (f.pl.), ponŭvļena/ponovļēna (N.pl.); oplemenīti - oplemenī, oplemenila, ōplemenili, oplemēnen, oplemēñena, oplemēñene (n.), oplemēñeni/oplemēñēni, oplemēñene/oplemēñēne (f.pl.), oplemēñena/oplemēñēna (N.pl.); pripitomīti - pripitomī, pripitomila, pripitomili, pripitūŭmi! (2x), pripitūŭmete/pripitūŭmite! (2x), pripitūŭmļen (with secondary -uo-), pripitomļena/pripitōmļena, pripitūŭmļene (n.), pripitūŭmļene/ pripitōmļēne (f.pl.); pripitūŭmļeni/pripitōmļēni plodīti - plodī, oplodī, oplodila, ōplodili; spokoŭjīti - spokoŭjī, spokojila, spōkoŭjili 'calm down'; oprostīti - oprostī, oprostīme, oprostila, ōprostili, oprōščen, oprōščene (n.) (4x), sī su mu dōugi oprōščēni 'all his debts are forgiven', oprōščene (f.pl.); pustošīti - pustošī, rodīti - rodī (2x), rodiju, rodila, rōdile (f.pl.), rōžen/rožēn, rōžena/rožēna, rōžene/rožēne (n.), rōženi/rožēni, rožēñe; roŭjiti se - pčēle se roŭjiju, su se rōjile; rosīti - rosī, je rōsile, je rosila 'rain falls'; steklīti - steklī, stēklile [*stękliti]; toplīti - toplī/tuplī; topīti - topī, topila; ftuŭvīti⁸⁴ - ftovī [*toviti]; trošīti - trošī, trošila; veselīti se - se veselī,

⁸² The accent *pokošen* is, of course, what is expected (from *pokošen), cf. also *zdrōbļen*. The accent *pokošēn* is analogous to *pokošēna* (from *pokošenā), *pokošēne* (< *pokošenō) etc.

⁸³ Probably by analogy to A.p. B type.

⁸⁴ Length from the imperative?

veselila; zvoniti - zvòne zvonî (intrans.), zvonî (trans.), zvoniju, pòzvonil, zvonila, zvònile (n.), zvònili, pòzvonili (cf. zvòne, N.pl. zvòna); žalostiti - žalostî, žalostila

shortened

buditi, idem budit - budim, budî (3x), budime, budite, budiju, budil, budila, budile (n.), budili, budile (f.pl.), budil, budete/budite!, zbudete se!, zbužen, zbužena, zbužene (n.), zbuženi, zbužene (f.pl.), zbužena (N.pl.); cediti, idem cedit - cedim, cedime, precedi, cedit, cedila, cedita, cedile, cedili, cedila, cjeđi!, cjeđite/cjeđete!, ocježen⁸⁵, ocježena, ocježene (n.), ocježeni/ocježeni, ocežene [*cediti]; ceniti, idem cēnit - cenim, cenime, cenite, preceni, cēnil, cenila, cēnile (n.), cēnili, cēnile (f.pl.), cjeñil, cjeñete/cjeñite!, cjeñen, ceñena, cjeñene (n.), cjeñeni/ceñeni, cjeñene/ceñene (f.pl.) [*cēniti]; deliti - delim, delime, delite, podelime, dělil, delila, dělile (n.), dělili, dijełil, dijelete/dijełite!, dijełeñe, podijełen, podelena, podelene (n.), podeleni/podijełeni, podelene/podijełene (f.pl.) [*děliti]; duriti se - se durî, durila, dūrile (n.), dūrili, dūri se!, dūrete se/dūrite se!, zdūren, zdūrena, zdūrene/zdūrene (n.), zdūreni/zdūreñi, zdūrene/zdūrene (f.pl.); gasiti, sup. gāsit - gasî, gasime, gasite, gasiju, zgasî, gāsil, gasila, gāsile (n.), gāsili, gāsile, gāsil, gāsete/gāsitel, gāšeñe, zgāšen, zgāšena, zgāšene (n.), zgāšeni/zgāšeni, zgāšene/zgāšene (f.pl.), zgāšena (N.pl.); oglušiti - oglušî, oglušil, oglušila, oglušile (n.), oglušili; graditi/grāditi, sup. grādît/grādît - gradim, grādil, gradila, grādile (n.), grādili, zgrāžen/zgrāžēn, pregrāžen, zgrāžena/zgrāžēna, zgrāžene/zgrāžēne (n.), grāžeñe, grādil, grādete/grāдите!; gušiti - gušî, gušil, gušila, gušile (n.), gušil, gušete/gušitel, gušeñe; vglaviti - vglavî, vglāvila, vglāvile (n.) (3x); zgubiti - zgubi (3x), zgūbil, zgubila, zgūbili; (h)laditi - (h)ladî, (h)ladime, zladî, zladila, zladile (n.), olādi tō!, lādi!, lādetel/āдите!, zlāžen, zlāžena/zlāžēna, zlāžena/zlāžēna (n.) [*xolditi]; jariti se - jarî, ojarila 'kid'; javiti - javî, dojavî, dđjavil, dojavila, dđjavili, jāvil, jāvete/jāvite!, javlēn, jāvlēna/jāvlēna, jāvlēne/jāvlēne (n.); juriti/jūriti - jurîm, zjurî, zjurime, zjurila/zjūrila, zjūrile (n.), zjūrili, zjūrile (f.pl.); kaditi - kadî, zakadî, kādile (n.), kādil, kādete/kādite!; kriviti - krivî, krivime, okrivî, okrivila, ðkrivili, krivil, krivete/krivite!, okrivlēn, okrivlēna/okrivlēna, okrivlēne/okrivlēne (n.), okrivlēni/okrivlēni; fkruti/fkrutiti se - fkrutî, fkrutila, fkrutile (n.), fkrutili/fkrutili (?), fkrūčen/fkrūčēn, fkrūčena/fkrūčena, fkrūčil, fkrūčete se! [*krutiti]; vleniti se - vlenî, vlenime, vlenite, vlenil, vlenila/vlīēnila, vlenile/vlīēnile (n.) (cf. līēn, līēna, līēne, līēni, līēne, līēna; līēnost) [*lēniti]; zamastiti - zamastî, zamastila, zāmastile (n.),

⁸⁵ The forms with the neo-acute on the root are either by analogy to the A.p. B type in general (which is not really convincing) or by analogy to the masculine form in which the length may be original: ocježen < *cēđjenĭ like Croatian standard tréšeš < *trēšešĭ (cf. Kapović 2005a: 97-98). The former supposition is confirmed by the fact that in Konjščina one finds the reflex of a long vowel in m.sg. forms (compared to penultimate accent in other forms) quite often.

zamāsti!, zamāstete/zamāstite!, zamaščēn, zamaščēna/zamāščēna, zamaščēna/zamāščēne (n.), zamaščēni/māščēni; premeniti - premenî, premenila, prēmēnile (n.), prēmēnili, prēmīēnil, prēmīēnete/prēmīēnite!, prēmīēñen, prēmēñena, prēmēñene (n.) [*mēniti]; zmiriti se - zmirî, zmīril, zmirila, zmīrili, zmīri se!, zmīrete/zmīrite se!, zmīren, zmīrena, zmīrene/zmīrene (n.), zmīreni/zmīreñi 'calm down'; pomladiti - se pomladî, pōmladil, pomladila; mršćiti/mrščiti - mrščî, mrščila, mrščili, namrščili; platiti - platî, naplatî, naplatila, nāplatali, plāti!, plātete/plātite!, naplačēn, naplačēna, naplačēne/naplačēne (n.); preplaviti - preplavî, preplavila, prēplavili, preplavlēn, preplavlēna, preplāvlēne/preplāvlēne (n.); prasiti - se prasî, oprasî, oprasila, ðprasile (f.pl.); pustiti - pustî, pustila, pūstili, pūstil, pūstete/pūstite!, pūščen/puščēn, puščēna, puščēne/puščēne (n.), pūščeni/puščēni, puščēne/puščēne (f.pl.); raniti - vranî, vranila/vrānila 'be early' (cf. v rānu zōru); zaručiti, poručiti - zaručiju, zaručila, zāručili, zāručile (f.pl.) [*rōčiti]; saditi - sadî, posadî, zasadî, pōsadil, zāsadil, posadila, zasadila, pōsadile (n.), pōsadili, pōsadile (f.pl.), posadila (N.pl.), posādil, posādete/posādite!; slastiti se - slastî, slāstil, slāstila/slastila; snežiti - snežî, snēžile (n.) [*snēžiti]; sladiti - sladî, slādil, sladila, pōsladil, zāsladil; streliti - strelî, strēlil (cf. 3 sg. strijēla) [*strēliti]; sušiti - sušî, sušila, sūšili, sūšil, sūšete/sūšite!, osušēn, osušēna, osušēne/osušēne (n.), sušeñe; svetiti 'bless', osvetiti se 'revenge' - svetî, svetila; tajiti - tajî, tajila; tješiti (2x) - tešî, tešila [*tēšiti]; se talî, tālile; vučiti - vučime, vūčil, vučila, nāfčili [*učiti]; prevaliti, rezvaliti (also rezvaliti?) - rezvalî, rezvalila, rēzvalili; variti - varî, zvārili; završiti - se završî, završila, zāvršili, završil, završite!; pozlatiti - se zlatî, pozlatil, pozlatila; ždrebti - se ždrebî, kobila se ščēra oždrebila (cf. ždriēbe, G.sg. ždriēbeta) [*žerbiti]; žuriti se - se žurî, žurila, se žūrili

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

oštriti - se oštrî, oštrî se (intrans.), ðštrim (2x), ðštrime (2x) (trans.), se ðštril (intrans.), ðštrila (trans.), ðštrili (trans.), su se nāoštrili/naoštrīli (intrans.), nāoštrīli (trans.)

vacillation

gnjēzditi se - se gnjēzdi, gñēzdiju, gñēzdi, gnjēzdila/gñēzdila, gñēzdile (f.pl.); koriti/kōriti - kuōri, kuōrila, also kōri (2x), kōrila, kōrili (2x)?; mrsiti - mrsî, mrsila/mrsila; zanjēmiti - zanemî (also zanjēmi), zānemil, zanemila (cf. nīēm, nīēma, nīēme (n.), nīēmi, nīēme) [*nēmiti]; osloboditi - oslobōdi/oslobōdi, oslobōdile/ðslobodile; plīēniti - plīēni/plenî, plenila, plīēnili [*pelniti]; sōuziti - ðke mi sōuzi, ðke mi suzî, sōuzile (2x) (n.) (cf. sōuzā, A.sg. sōuzu) [*slēziti]

mixed

kiseliti se (2x) - kiselî, kiselila, kiselile (n.); smēstiti - smestî (?) [*mēstiti]; pēniti se - penî (2x), penila, pēnili [*pēniti]

3. The Reflexes of Proto-Slavic accentual paradigms in Croatian

Here, using the form of tables we shall try to present how Proto-Slavic *i*-verb accentual paradigms developed in Croatian dialects. A.p. *a* is left out due to its pretty much straightforward reflexes. Thus we shall look at short and long A.p. *b*₁, A.p. *b*₂ and A.p. *c* verbs. The listed verbs are those for which the Proto-Slavic reconstruction of the A.p. is certain (based on all relevant Slavic sources). The verbs adduced are from Nikolaev ms.⁸⁶

First, we list short, then long verbs, in the following order: Neo-Štokavian, Old Štokavian, Čakavian, Kajkavian.

Legend:

a, *b*₁, *b*₂, *c* – reconstructed, Proto-Slavic accentual paradigms

A, B, C – synchronic, “local” accentual paradigms

B/C etc. – vacillation of paradigms

B-C – transitivity pairs (B – transitive, C – intransitive)

B, C – short stems

B₁, C₁ – long stems

B₂ – “half-long” stems, short inf./long present tense

C₂ – “half-long” stems, long inf./short present tense

A<*B etc. – the paradigm with the asterisk is internally reconstructable

B? – the paradigm of a verb is not certain or the existence of the verb itself in the dialect is not certain

*C – the paradigm is not directly attested in the data but can be restored as such

A' – a special modification of a synchronic paradigm

3.1 short a.p. *b*₁ verbs

ŠTOK.	Op.	Prap.	Klob.	Brn./S.	Stob.	N. Dr.	Čač.
*goniti	B	B	B	B/C	B	B	B
*modliti	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*nositi	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*prostiti	B	B	C	C	C	B	B
*skočiti	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*voditi		B	B				
*voziti	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*ženiti	B	B	B	B	B	B	C

⁸⁶ One may note that there are no deadjectival verbs in the tables. That is because these are very unreliable in Slavic and their accentual paradigms are reconstructable only formally, via the A.p. of the basic adjective from which they derive (Sergei L. Nikolaev, p. c.).

OLD ŠTOK.	Orubica	Velika Kapanica	Siče	Magić Mala
*goniti	B	B	B	B
*modliti	B	B	B	B
*nositi	B	B	B	B
*prostiti	B/C	B	B	B
*skočiti	B	B	B	B
*voziti	B	B	B	B
*ženiti	B	B		

ČAK.	Trp.	Smkv.	Pitve	Puč.	Tisno	Fil.	Mat.	S./Mrk.
*goniti	B	C	B	B	B	C		B
*xoditi				C			B	B
*modliti	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*nositi	A<*B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*prostiti	B	C?	B	B/C	C	B	B	B/C
*skočiti	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*voditi			B	B	B	B		
*voziti	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*ženiti	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B

KAJK. ⁸⁷	Mahično	Drinje	Zabok	Štuparje	Konjščina
*goniti	B	A<*B		B	B
*xoditi	B	B	B	B	B
*modliti	C		B	B	B
*nositi	B	B	B	B	B
*prostiti	B	B	B	B	B
*skočiti	B	B	B	B	B
*voditi		A<*B			B
*voziti	B	B	B	B	B
*ženiti	B	B	B/C	B	B

Short A.p. *b*₁ verbs yield A.p. B everywhere (with sporadic exceptions). The verb *prostiti* seems to be the most prone to shift to A.p. C.

⁸⁷ As we have already said, the dialects of Mahično and Drinje are not really genetically Kajkavian (Mahično at least partly). However, concerning the development of *i*-verbs they act like the “real” Kajkavian dialects. This is not strange since the dialect of Mahično, even if not “real” Kajkavian, is close to Kajkavian and that of Drinje is originally a Čakavian dialect spoken probably somewhere in North-Western Bosnia (around Bihac), which is also an adjacent area to the Kajkavian territory.

3.2 long a.p. *b*₁ verbs

ŠTOK.	Op.	Prap.	Klob.	Brn./S.	Stob.	N. Dr.	Čač.
*daviti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*koltiti	A					A	B:
*ljubiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*mēsiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*moltiti	B: ?	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*rǫbiti			B:		B:	B:	B:
*služiti		B:					
*sǫditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*stǫpiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:

OLD ŠTOK.	Orubica	Velika Kapanica	Siče	Magić Mala
*daviti	B:			
*koltiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*ljubiti	B:		B:	B:
*mēsiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*moltiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*rǫbiti	B:			B:
*služiti			B:	B:
*sǫditi	B:	B:	B:	B:
*stǫpiti		B:	B:	B:

ČAK.	Trp.	Smkv.	Pitve	Puč.	Tisno	Fil.	Mat.	S./Mrk.
*daviti	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:
*koltiti	B:				B:	B:	B:	B:
*ljubiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:		B:
*mēsiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*moltiti	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*rǫbiti				B:	B:	B:	B:	
*služiti			B:	B:		B:		
*sǫditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*stǫpiti	B:	A ?	B:	B:	B:	B:		
*traviti				B:		B:		

KAJK.	Mahično	Drinje	Zabok	Štuparje	Konjščina
*daviti	B:	B:	B:		B:
*koltiti	B:	B:			
*ljubiti	B:				
*mēsiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:

*moltiti	B.	B:	B:	B:	B:
*rǫbiti	B.	B:	B:	B:	B:
*služiti		B:			B:
*sǫditi	B.	B:	B:	B:	B:

Long A.p. *b*₁ verbs yield A.p. B: everywhere with virtually no exceptions.

3.3 short a.p. *b*₂ verbs

ŠTOK.	Op.	Prap.	Klob.	Brn./S.	Stob.	N.Dr.	Čač.
*boriti	B	C	C	C	C	C	C
*brojiti	C	C	B	C			
*dvoriti	C	C		C		C	
*kositi	B	C	B/C	C	C	C	C
*kotiti	B	C	C		C	C	C
*krštiti	C	C	B	C	C	C	C
*ložiti	A < *B	B	B	C	C	B	C
*ploditi		C	B/C		B	C	C
*popiti		C				C	
*postiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*pǫpiti	A < *B	C	A < *B	A < *B	C		
*roniti	B	C	B/C	C	C	C	B
*seliti	B	C	B	C	C	B	B/C
*stǫkliti	A < *B	C	C	C	C	C	B
*svědočiti	B	B	B	B	C	B	B
*teliti	C	C	C	B/C	C		C

In Neo-Štokavian, certain dialects (Prapatnice, Brnaze, Stobreč, probably Čačinci as well)⁸⁸ seem to point to A.p. C as the regular reflex of the Proto-Slavic A.p. *b*₂ in short root verbs. In other dialects, the reflexes are mixed and unreliable⁸⁹. Of course, it is not impossible that even in dialects like Prapatnice (where all the reflexes but two are A.p. C) one is dealing with a secondary spread of A.p. C and that these two examples are archaic. However, that does not seem very likely and is, in any case, unprovable. If one would be dealing with a massive change of A.p. B > A.p. C, it would be very difficult to explain why the A.p. B verbs (< Slavic A.p. *b*₁) like *nositi*, *goniti* never (or very seldom) shifted to A.p. C (see above). One possible explanation could be that the old

⁸⁸ Cf. also the system of Dubrovnik in Ligorio forthc.

⁸⁹ Cf. also the Neo-Štokavian ijekavian dialect of Vidonje (near Metković in Dalmatia) with *kōsim*, *pōpi*, *sēlim*, *sēdočim* but *bōrim*, *dvōrim*, *pōsti*, *nōri* 'dives', *kštīm*, *lōžim* (data by Domagoj Vidović).

A.p. *b*₁ verbs are mostly old iteratives and are thus somehow different from the old A.p. *b*₂ verbs⁹⁰. For instance, all the old A.p. *b*₂ verbs become perfective when prefixed, cf. *ložiti* (imperfective) > *naložiti* (perfective). However, in the case of some of the old A.p. *b*₁ verbs like *goniti*, *nositi*, *voditi*, *voziti* the prefixed forms remain imperfective. This is an interesting possibility but does not seem very convincing. First of all, old iteratives *goniti*, *nositi*, *voditi*, *voziti* are not really perceived as iteratives nowadays in Croatian⁹¹ and, secondly, the A.p. B is stable in *moliti*, *prošiti*, *skočiti*, *ženiti* as well (which are perfectivized by prefixation). Synchronically, I do not really see a big difference in these two classes of verbs. Another possibility is that *kòsīš* > *kòsiš* in some dialects is due to the analogy of *pòkosīš* with *ùlovīš* : *lòviš* (A.p. C), i.e. *kòsīš* : *pòkosīš* ~ *lòviš* : *ùlovīš* > *kòsiš* : *pòkosīš* by analogy. However, it is strange that this never occurs in the old A.p. *b*₁ verbs. In cases like these, there should be no difference between these verbs. It is difficult to imagine why such analogy would have occurred only in the old A.p. *b*₂ verbs. However, one needs to note that A.p. *b*₂ verbs are far more numerous than A.p. *b*₁ verbs, thus there is more chance for analogy to occur.

It is possible that in some dialects the cause of the mixed reflexes of A.p. *b*₂ is some historical dialect mixing. In the case of old A.p. *b*₁ verbs, the A.p. B would be stable because A.p. *b*₁ yielded A.p. B everywhere (and thus no dialect mixing could disrupt that). In the case of A.p. *b*₂, some dialects could have had A.p. B as a reflex and some A.p. C. In the case of population mixing, it is possible that these reflexes were also mixed⁹².

OLD ŠTOK.	Orubica	Velika Kopanica	Siče	Magić Mala
*boriti	C	C	C	C
*brojiti	C	C	C	C
*dvoriti		C		
*kositi	B	B	B	B
*kotiti	C	C	C	C
*kr̃stiti	C	C		C
*ložiti	B/C	C	B	B
*ploditi		C	C	

⁹⁰ This was suggested to me by Sergei L. Nikolaev (p. c.).

⁹¹ Cf. the newly created iteratives like *progánjati*, *donášati*, *izvádati*, *razvázati* (the last three being non-standard).

⁹² Of course, it is also possible to be sceptical concerning the whole A.p. *b*₁/*b*₂ concept altogether and claim that A.p. *b*₂ is just a group of verbs (although quite numerous, which would be rather strange) with accentual vacillation already in Proto-Slavic and that the "mixed" reflexes are thus to be expected. In either case, it is useful to see what happens with this group of verbs, leaving the question of its actual origin aside.

*postiti	C	C	B	B
*p̃p̃riti	A<*B		A<*B	A/B
*roniti	C	C		C
*seliti	B	B	B	B
*st̃kliti			C	C
*s̃ṽědočiti		C		C
*teliti	B/C	C	C	C

In Posavina, the reflex of the short A.p. *b*₂ verbs is difficult to establish. The prototypical examples of *kositi*, *ložiti*, *seliti* belong to A.p. B in most cases (cf. also the partial material of the other presented Posavian dialects), but the majority of other verbs seems to belong to A.p. C. It is possible that there was a major A.p. B > A.p. C change there (perhaps due to the *poluotmetnost* phenomenon), but some problems we have encountered in Neo-Štokavian concerning this suggestion exist here as well (the old A.p. *b*₁ verbs have stable A.p. B reflexes in Posavina). Of course, one could try to find a solution for every supposed A.p. B > A.p. C change⁹³ but these are, strictly speaking, impossible to prove. On the other hand, if one suggests that A.p. C is the regular outcome, the examples *kositi*, *ložiti*, *seliti* are difficult to explain since old A.p. *c* regularly yields A.p. C with almost no instances of secondary A.p. B there (see below). Finding a Posavian dialect with more instances of A.p. B for A.p. *b*₂ might solve this problem. For now the supposition that short A.p. *b*₂ yielded Posavina A.p. B seems possible, perhaps even likely, but is still not completely certain.

ČAK.	Trp.	Smkv.	Pitve	Puč.	Tisno	Fil.	Mat.	S./M.
*boriti	B	C	C	C	C	C		C
*brojiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*dvoriti	B	C	C	B	C	C		C
*d̃zd̃jiti				C		C	C	
*kositi	B	C	B	C	C	C	C	B
*kotiti	B	C		B	C	C	C	B
*kr̃stiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	B:
*ložiti	B	C	B	B	C	C	C	C
*ploditi				B	C?	C		C
*popiti				C		C	A<*B	
*postiti	B	C	C	B/C	C	C	C	C
*potiti		C	C	C	C	C	C	
*p̃p̃riti	A<*B	A<*B		A<*B/C	C	C	B/A	C

⁹³ For instance, *cakliti* could have shifted to A.p. C due to the unstability of its first syllable (a weak *jer*), *brojiti* could be analogical to *krojiti*, *dojiti* (A.p. C) etc. (Sergei L. Nikolaev, p. c.).

*roniti	B	C	B		C	C	A<*B	C
*seliti	B	C	C	B	C	C	B/A	C
*stakliti	B	A<*B	C	C	C	C		
*s̄vĕdočiti			B	B	C	B		B
*teliti	B	(B/C?)	B	A<*B	C	B?		B

In Čakavian, the old short A.p. *b*₂ verbs undoubtedly yield A.p. C in the dialects of Smokvica, Tisno and Filipjakov⁹⁴ (this seems to be in agreement with Neo-Štokavian). Elsewhere, the reflexes are mixed, thus mostly unrevealing.⁹⁵ The tendency of the old A.p. *c* to shift to A.p. B in Trpanj, Pitve and Pučišća makes it impossible to tell which reflexes of A.p. *b*₂ are original. The dialects which preserve A.p. C from the old A.p. *c* are exactly those which show a clear reflex of A.p. C for A.p. *b*₂ – Smokvica, Tisno, Filipjakov, plus Sunger. The perfect reflexes of A.p. *c* in Sunger as A.p. C but both A.p. B and A.p. C for A.p. *b*₂ might perhaps point to the conclusion that the original reflex of A.p. *b*₂ was A.p. B in Sunger and that some verbs later shifted to A.p. C via the *poluotmetnost* phenomenon (cf. above the similar case in Posavina). The same could be true for Matulji as well, except for the fact that there is no *poluotmetnost* in that dialect and that it cannot be responsible for the supposed secondary shift to A.p. C.

KAJK.	Mahično	Drinje	Zabok	Štuparje	Konjščina
*boriti	B	A<*B	B	B	B
*brojiti	C	A<*B	B	B	B
*dvoriti	C	A<*B	C	B	B
*kositi	C	C	B	C	C
*kotiti	B			B	B
*kr̄stiti	C	C	C	B	B
*ložiti	C		B	B	B
*postiti	B		B	B	B
*p̄p̄riti	A<*B	A<*B			
*roniti	B		B		B
*seliti	B	B	C	B	
*stakliti			C		B
*s̄vĕdočiti			B?		B
*teliti	B/C		B	B	

⁹⁴ Cf. also for instance the perfectly clear A.p. C reflexes in the dialect of Metajna on the island of Pag (Vranić 2004: 239).

⁹⁵ The mixed reflexes one sees for A.p. *b*₂ and A.p. *c* in Pučišća seems to be confirmed by the somewhat sparse data from Selca on the island of Brač (Vuković 2001).

Short A.p. *b*₂ verbs yield A.p. B in Kajkavian, the clearest situation being in Štuparje and Konjščina where all the examples are A.p. B except *kositi*. The verb *kositi*, however, seems to shift to A.p. C in most dialects, most likely by analogy to the A.p. C noun (cf. Konjščina *kōsa*, A.sg. *kōsu*)⁹⁶. In Kajkavian, the lack of the *poluotmetnost* phenomenon probably works for the preservation of the old A.p. B < A.p. *b*₂.

3.4 long a.p. *b*₂ verbs

ŠTOK.	Op.	Prap.	Klob.	Brn./S.	Stob.	N. Dr.	Čač.
*borniti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*cĕpiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*gajiti	C:						
*gnĕzditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*gospodariti		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*xorniti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*xuliti	B:	C:					B:
*xvaliti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*kr̄žiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*kupiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*kuriti				A		B:	B:
*kr̄čiti ⁹⁷	C	B:	B:	C	C:	C	C
*lĕčiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*ljutiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*mesariti			B:	C: ?		B:	B:
*m̄titi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*paliti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*piliti		C:	B:			C:	B:
*poršiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*raditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*rĕšiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*slĕditi	C:	C:	C:	B:/C:	C:	B:	B:
*smĕšiti					C:	B:	B:
*sormiti	C:	C:	B:	C:	C:	C:	C:
*s̄rditi		B:	B:				
*ščititi	C:	C:	C:	C:	B:	A	B:
*terbiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:

⁹⁶ This supposition seems to be confirmed by the sparse material of Velika Rakovica (March 1981) where *postiti* and *roniti* are A.p. B but *kositi* is A.p. C.

⁹⁷ The verb *kr̄čiti* seems to show reflexes of A.p. *c* in many Croatian dialects and should be considered a special case.

*tōžiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*trōsiti	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:	
*truditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*tǔržiti	A					C	A
*vortiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*značiti	B:	C:	B:	B:	B:/C:	B:	B:

Long A.p. *b*₂ verbs yield A.p. B: in most cases in Neo-Štokavian. However, these reflexes are not really reliable since in Neo-Štokavian old A.p. *c* verbs also yield A.p. B: in most cases (see below) by the known process of *suši* ⇒ *sūši*. However, in Neo-Štokavian, there is a group of *i*-verbs (up to 20 of them) which has the A.p. C:. Cf. in the table above such reflexes in the verbs *gajiti* (common), *huliti*, *sljediti* (very common), *sramiti* (very common), *štititi* (very common), *značiti*. In my opinion, these verbs are archaisms which preserve the old A.p. C but with the reintroduced length. These verbs remained in the middle phase of the change *suši* ⇒ *sūši* ⇒ *sūši*. This would mean that in most Neo-Štokavian dialects (if not in all) old long A.p. *b*₂ verbs yielded originally A.p. C which was later mostly eliminated by the *suši* ⇒ *sūši* process that occurred in the old A.p. *c* verbs as well. The verbs that belong to A.p. C: are thus an archaism pointing to the old A.p. C reflex of A.p. *b*₂ in Neo-Štokavian.

As already said, the A.p. C: type in Neo-Štokavian⁹⁸ does not include a great number of verbs, only twenty or so (depending on the dialect), leaving the exact origin of particular verbs aside. These verbs are often intransitive. Besides the ones already mentioned, cf. also *virī*, *žmirī*, *jūrī*, *žūrī se*, *pīrī*, *žārī*, *trūbī*, *sjājī se*, *cvīlī*, *cūrī*, *glūmī*, *znāčī*, *sīpī*, *tēži*, *sramī se*, *vrijēdī*, *hlādī se*, *snijēži*, *tūlī* etc. Some of them are probably originally *ě*-verbs or influenced by the parallel *ě*-verbs (in *ě*-verbs, the A.p. C: type is much more usual than in *i*-verbs), for instance *žuriti*, *trubiti*, *cviliti* (cf. Matulji *cvīlēt* - *cvīlimo*), *curiti* (cf. Konjščina *cūreti* - *curī*), *vrijediti* (cf. Konjščina *vrijēdeti* - *vrijēdi*) etc. In some cases, the A.p. B:C transitivity pairs like Prapatnice *tūpīn nōž* - *tūpī se nōž*, *jā tō zlatīn* - *zlatī se* or Klobuk *bīlī* - *bīlī se* are probably due to the old *i*-/*ě*-verb pairs, the old *i*-verb being transitive and having A.p. B: reflex and the old *ě*-verb being intransitive (since *-ě-* is originally the stative and *-i-* the causative suffix) and having the A.p. C: reflex (usual in *ě*-verbs, cf. *trpjeti* - *trpī*, *šūtjeti* - *šūtī* etc.).

OLD ŠTOK.	Orubica	Velika Kopanica	Siče	Magić Mala
*borniti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*čēpiti			B:	
*gajiti				

⁹⁸ And some Štokavian-like Čakavian dialects, like Filipjakov.

*gnēzditi	B:	B:	B:	B:
*gospodariti	B:	B:	B:	
*xorniti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*xuliti			B:	
*xvaliti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*krōžiti	B:		B:	B:
*kupiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*kuriti	B:		B:	B:
*kǔrčiti	B:		B:	
*lēčiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*ljutiti	B:		B:	B:
*mesariti			B:	B:
*mōtiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*paliti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*piliti				
*poršiti	B:	B:	C	C
*raditi	B:	B:	B:	B:
*rēšiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*slēditi			B:	
*smēšiti	B:	B:		
*sormiti	B:	B:	B:	
*sǔrditi				B:
*ščititi	A	B:		
*terbiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*tōžiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*trōsiti	B:		B:	B:
*truditi	B:	B:	B:	B:
*tušiti	B:	C	C	C
*tǔržiti				B:
*vortiti	B:		B:	B:
*značiti	B:		B:	B:

In the case of Posavina dialects, one can safely assume that the old long A.p. *b*₂ verbs yield A.p. B:. The examples *prašiti* and *tušiti* are probably not exceptions but a dialectal feature of Posavina where these verbs belong to A.p. *c*. It is remarkable that in Posavina there is practically no A.p. C: *i*-verbs (with some exceptions) unlike in Neo-Štokavian. This is probably a consequence of the fact that the old long A.p. *b*₂ verbs yielded originally A.p. B: in Posavian dialects but A.p. C in (most) Neo-Štokavian dialects. This proposition should be verified on additional Posavina and Neo-Štokavian dialects.

Posavina examples of A.p. C: like Orubica *cvīlī*, *vridī*, Velika Kopanica *se bīlī*, *mǔrzi*, *štēdī*, are old *ě*-verbs (cf. standard Croatian *bijēljeti se*, *mǔzjeti*, *štēdjeti*).

Velika Kopanica form *brūji* was probably influenced by the parallel *ě*-verb *brujati* and the only real A.p. C: *i*-verb example I have attested is Velika Kopanica *snīži* (this verb is also frequently A.p. C: in Neo-Štokavian as well).

ČAK.	Trp.	Smkv.	Pitve	Puč.	Tisno	Fil.	Mat.	S./Mrk.
*borniti	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:
*cěpiti	B:				B:	B:	B:	
*gajiti	B:				B:			
*gnězditi	B:	B: ?	B:	B:	B:	B:		C:
*gospodariti	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	
*xoriniti	B:	B: ?	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*xuliti			B:		B:	B:		
*xvaliti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*krqžiti	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*kupiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*kuriti				A		A	B:	
*k̄rčiti	A/C			C	C	C	A	A
*lěčiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*ljutiti					B:	B:		
*mesariti			B: ?	B:	B:			
*mqtiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*paliti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:		B:
*piliti					B:		B:	
*poršiti	B:	B: ?	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	
*raditi	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:		
*rešiti	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	
*slěditi	B:			B:	B:	C:		
*sormiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	C:	B:	C:
*ščititi	B:	B:		B:	B:	C:		C:
*terbiti	B:	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:	
*tqžiti	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*trqšiti		B: ?	B:	B:			B:	
*truditi	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:
*t̄ržiti	A					A		
*vortiti	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:		B:
*značiti	B:	B:	B:		B:	C:/B:	B:	B:

The long A.p. *b*₂ verbs yielded A.p. B: in most Čakavian dialects. However, this is not really relevant since old long A.p. *c* yielded A.p. B: in most Čakavian dialects as well by the process of *suši* ⇒ *sūši* (see below). However, the dialects of Filipjakov and Sunger/Mrkopalj (which is not strange considering that Mrkopalj is genetically Štokavian) go hand in hand with Neo-Štokavian and

sometimes have A.p. C: as the reflex⁹⁹ which would point to the conclusion that in those dialects the original reflex of the old long A.p. *b*₂ verbs was indeed A.p. C, later changed to A.p. C: and, in most verbs, even further to A.p. B:. In the other Čakavian dialects, one cannot say if the original reflex of the long A.p. *b*₂ verbs was A.p. B: from the start, or A.p. C which was later completely eliminated by the process of *suši* ⇒ *sūši*. One has to note that Čakavian tolerates sequences of pretonic length and long accents in a much lesser degree than Štokavian¹⁰⁰.

KAJK.	Mahično	Drinje	Zabok	Štuparje	Konjščina
*borniti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*cěpiti		B:	B:	B:	B:
*gnězditi		B:	B:	B:	B:/C
*gospodariti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*xoriniti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*xvaliti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*krqžiti	B:			B:	B:
*kupiti	B:	B:	B:	A'	B:
*kuriti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*k̄rčiti	A		A		
*lěčiti	B:		B:		B:
*ljutiti	B:			B:	
*mesariti	B:			B:	B:
*mqtiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*paliti	B:	B:		B:	
*piliti		B:	B:	B:	B:
*poršiti	C	B:	B:	B:	B:
*rešiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*ręditi		B:	B:		B:
*slěditi	B:		C		
*sormiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*s̄rditi	B:	B:		B	B:
*terbiti			B:	B:	B:
*tqžiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*trqšiti	B:		B:	B:	B:

⁹⁹ The same is also true for the dialect of Kukljica on the island of Ugljan (cf. Benić 2011).

¹⁰⁰ Note that many Čakavian dialects with *glāvā*, G.sg. *glavē*, while in Štokavian only the diaspora dialect of Molise has *glāva*, G.sg. *glāvē* (everywhere else it is secondary *glāvē*). Also, the old A.p. *c* adjectival type like *suhī*, *dragī* (or *sūhi*, *drāgī*) is found here and there in Štokavian, while it is practically gone from Čakavian (where only innovative *sūhī*, *drāgī* exist).

*truditi	B.		B:			
*třržiiti	B		B:			
*značiti	B.		B:	B:	B:	B:
*žariti	B.		B:	B:	B:	B:

In Kajkavian, the old long A.p. *b*₂ verbs obviously yield A.p. B. The exceptions are very rare. The Mahično A.p. C form of *prašiti* could be related to the same A.p. in Siče and Magić Mala in Posavina.

3.5 short a.p. *c* verbs

ŠTOK.	Op.	Prap.	Klob.	Brn./S.	Stob.	N. Dr.	Čač.
*čbstiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*dojiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*drobiti	B	C	C	C	C	C	C
*dvojiti			C		C	B	
*gnojiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*goditi		C	C		B	B	
*gojiti	B	C	C				C
*gostiti	C	C		C	C	C	C
*krojiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	B
*kropiti		C		C	C	C	C
*krotiti	C	C	C	C	C	B	B
*křsniti	A<*B	A<*B	A<*B	C	C	A<*B	C
*loviti	A<*B	C	B	C	C	B	C
*moriti	B	C	B		C	B	C
*pojiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*prostiti	B	C	B	C		C	C
*roditi	B	B-C	B	B	B	B	B
*rositi	C	C	C			C	C
*topiti	A<*B	C	C	C	C	B	C
*toviti	C	C	B	C	C	C	B/C:

The old short A.p. *c* verbs are well preserved in most Neo-Štokavian dialects. The only dialects in which the shift to A.p. B is more frequent are Opuzen, Klobuk and Nova Drenčina. The apparent shift of the verb *roditi* to A.p. B in most dialects is not a real shift to A.p. B. This verb is a B:C verb (A.p. B when transitive and A.p. C when intransitive) in many dialects – cf. Prapatnice for Neo-Štokavian, Vrgada (Jurišić 1973) for Čakavian. In Posavina, this verb is B:C in practically all the dialects. The reason for this transitivity variation is not

clear¹⁰¹ but we can assume that all, or most, of the Štokavian and Čakavian dialects once had a B:C transitivity variation here and that some dialects (for instance, most Neo-Štokavian ones) only later generalized the A.p. B variant.

OLD ŠTOK.	Orubica	Velika Kopenica	Siče	Magić Mala
*čbstiti	C	C	C	C
*dojiti	C	C	C	C
*drobiti	C	C	C	C
*dvojiti			C	C
*gnojiti	C?	C	C	C
*goditi		C	C	C
*gojiti		C		
*gostiti	C	C	C	C
*krojiti	C	C	C	C
*kropiti	C	C	C	C
*krotiti				
*křsniti	C	B	C	C
*loviti		C	C	C
*moriti	C	C	C	C
*pojiti	C	C		C
*prostiti	C	B		B
*roditi	B-C	B	B-C	B-C
*rositi	C	C		C
*topiti	C	C	C	C
*toviti		C	C	C

In Posavina, the old A.p. *c* is very stable and remains A.p. C in almost all the examples. As already mentioned, the verb *roditi* is B:C in Posavina (in Velika Kopenica there is no intransitive *roditi* without a prefix so the transitivity variation cannot be observed there).

ČAK.	Trp.	Smkv.	Pitve	Puč.	Tisno	Fil.	Mat.	S./Mrk.
*čbstiti	B	C	A<*B			C	B:	C:
*dojiti	B	C	C	B/C	C	C	C	C?
*drobiti	B	C	B	B	C	C	C	C
*dvojiti	C		C				C	
*gnojiti	B/C	C	C	B	C	C	C	C
*goditi				B		B	C	C

¹⁰¹ There is a parallel in Ukrainian, where *roditi* is A.p. C when transitive but A.p. B when intransitive, thus the opposite from Croatian (Sergei L. Nikolaev, p. c.).

*gojiti	C	C	C	B/C	C	C	C
*gostiti	B		C	C	C	C	B
*krojiti	B	C	C	C	C	C?	C
*kropiti	B		B		C	C	C
*krotiti	B		B		C	C	C
*k̄sniti	A<*B	C	C	A/C	C	C	A/C
*loviti	B		B	B	C	C	C
*moriti	B	C	B/C?	B		C	
*pojiti		C			C	C	C
*prostiti	B	C	C	C	C	C	C
*roditi	B	B	C	B	B	B	C
*rositi	B	C	C	B/C	C	C	C
*topiti	B		B/C?	B/C	C	C	C
*toviti	B	C	B	B	C	C	C

The old A.p. *c* is well preserved in Smokvica, Tisno, Filipjakov, Matulji and Sunger (the verb *roditi* is often a special case because it is a B:C verb in other dialects and the present A.p. B in most dialects is to be regarded as the generalization of the old transitive form). In other dialects, one finds a fair amount of secondary A.p. C > A.p. B, especially in Trpanj where A.p. B seems to be almost generalized¹⁰².

KAJK.	Mahično	Drinje	Zabok	Štuparje	Konjščina
*č̄stiti	A<*B	B:			
*dojiti	C	A<*B	B	B	B
*drobiti	C	C	C	C	C
*gnojiti	C	A<*B	B	B	B
*goditi	C	C	A		C
*gojiti	C				B
*gostiti	A<*B		C		C
*krojiti	C	A<*B	B	B	B
*kropiti	C		C?		C
*krotiti			C?		B
*k̄sniti	C	A<*B	C	C	C/(B)
*loviti	C	C	C	C	C
*pojiti	C	B-C	B	B	B
*prostiti		C			C

¹⁰² The same tendency for the generalization of A.p. B is seen in the dialects of the island of Cres, cf. Velčić 2003 for Bejska Tramuntana (with a practically complete list of *i*-verbs attested) and Houtzagers 1985 for Orlec.

*roditi	C	B-C/B	C	C	C
*rositi	C		B?	C	C
*topiti	C	C	C	C	C
*toviti	B/C			B	C

In Kajkavian, the old short A.p. *c* verbs are well preserved only in Mahično¹⁰³. In all the other dialects there is a tendency for A.p. C to shift to A.p. B. The rhyming verbs *dojiti*, *gnojiti*, *krojiti*, *pojiti* especially tend to become A.p. B.

3.6 long a.p. *c* verbs

ŠTOK.	Op.	Prap.	Klob.	Brn./S.	Stob.	N. Dr.	Čač.
*aviti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*buditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*c̄editi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*c̄eniti	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:
*č̄initi	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*d̄eliti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*diviti	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*družiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*duriti	B:				B:	A	A
*dušiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:		
*gasiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*golsiti	B:		B:		B:	B:	B:
*gorditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*gr̄ešiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*gubiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*kaditi	B:	B:	B:				B:
*krasiti	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:
*kr̄epiti	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:
*l̄epiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*mastiti	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:
*miriti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*obvolčiti		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*platiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*porsiti		B:			B: ?	B:	B:
*pustiti	B	C	B	B	B	B	B
*saditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:

¹⁰³ However, cf. the preserved A.p. C of *drobiti*, *roditi*, *topiti*, *gostiti*, *loviti*, *dojiti*, *oprostiti*, *gnojiti*, *pojiti* in Velika Rakovica (March 1981: 272-273).

*světľliti	C:	C:	C:	C:	C:	C:	C:
*sněžiti		C:					
*tajiti	C:	C:	B:			C:	B:
*učiti	C	C	C	C	C	B	C
*variti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*žerbiti		B:				B:	B:

In Neo-Štokavian, most of the old long A.p. *c* verbs have A.p. B: reflexes via the *suši* ⇒ *sūši* change (see below). The words that preserved the old expected reflex in practically all the dialects, A.p. C, are *činiti*, *gubiti* and *učiti*. The verb *pustiti* also preserves the old accentuation in Prapatnice but is secondarily shifted to A.p. B in other dialects (the shortness of the root points to the old A.p. *c* though). This verb is rarely A.p. B: in Štokavian (for instance in Dubrovnik). In some verbs, a middle stage has been preserved – A.p. C:, with the introduced length but without the shift to A.p. B:, cf. the words *svijetľliti*, *sniježiti*, *tajiti*.

OLD ŠTOK.	Orubica	Velika Kopanica	Siče	Magić Mala
*aviti	B:	B:	B<*C	B<*C
*buditi	B:		C	C
*čediti	B:	B:	C	C
*činiti			C	C
*činiti	C	C	C	C
*děliti	B:	B:	C	C
*diviti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*družiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*duriti				B: ?
*dušiti				
*gasiti	B:	B:		
*golsiti		B:		B:
*gorditi	B:	B:	C	C
*grěšiti	B:	B:	C	C
*gubiti	C	C	C	C
*kaditi	B:	B:	C	C
*krasiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*krěpiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*lěpiti	B:	B:	C	C
*mastiti	B:		C	C
*měniti			B<*C	B<*C
*miriti	B:		B:	B:
*obvolčiti	B:	B:	C	C

*platiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*porsiti	B:	B:	C	C
*pustiti	B<*C	B<*C	B<*C	B<*C
*saditi	B:	B:	C	C
*světľliti	B:	B:		
*sněžiti			B:	
*tajiti	C	C	C	C
*učiti	B:	B:	C	C
*variti	B:	B:	C	C
*žerbiti		B:	C	C

In Posavina, two dialects, that of Magić Mala and Siče stand aside from all others. These dialects are perhaps the only Štokavian dialects that preserve the old A.p. C from the long Proto-Slavic A.p. *c* words. A couple of words shifted to A.p. B: there as well – these are either dialectal differences or sporadic occurrences of the *suši* ⇒ *sūši* change (which is to be expected since that is basically an analogical change, not a sound law). The verbs *pustiti* and *javiti* shift secondarily to A.p. B in Siče and Magić Mala (the original A.p. *c* is clear because of the shortened root).

In the rest of Posavina, the results are the same as in Neo-Štokavian, mostly A.p. B:. However, Posavina is again different from Neo-Štokavian dialects. The word *učiti* is not as often an exception to the *suši* ⇒ *sūši* change as in Neo-Štokavian (the words *činiti* and *gubiti* are) but other words are – often *tušiti* (Gundinci, Velika Kopanica, Sikerevci)¹⁰⁴, *tajiti* (Gundinci, Velika Kopanica, Orubica), *saditi* (Dubočac). Generally, more A.p. C reflexes are preserved than in Neo-Štokavian, even in those Posavian dialects that do have a regular *suši* ⇒ *sūši* change in most verbs.

ČAK.	Trp.	Smkv.	Pitve	Puč.	Tisno	Fil.	Mat.	S./Mrk.
*aviti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*buditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*čediti	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	C:
*činiti	B:		B:		B:	B:	B:	B:
*činiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	
*děliti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*diviti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	
*družiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:		B:
*duriti	B:							
*dušiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:			

¹⁰⁴ The verb *tušiti* is A.p. *c* in Posavina, which is perhaps a dialectal peculiarity.

*gasiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*golsiti	B:				B:			
*gorditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*grěšiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*gubiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	B:	C
*kaditi	B:		B:		B:	B:		
*krasiti	B:				B:	B:	B:	B:
*krěpiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	
*kriviti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:		B:
*lěpiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*mastiti	B:		B:		B:	B:	B:	B:
*miriti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*obvolčiti	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*platiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*porsiti					B:	B:		B:
*pustiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B	B	C	B
*saditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*světłiti	B:	B:/C:	B:	B:	B:	C:		C:
*sněžiti						C:		
*tajiti			A<*B			C:	B:	C:
*učiti	C	C	C	C	C	C		C
*variti	B:				B:	B:	B:	B:
*žerbiti			B:			B:		

In Čakavian, the old long A.p. *c* verbs yield A.p. B: in most cases via the *suši* ⇒ *sūši* change. The verbs exempt of this are *činiti*, *gubiti* and *učiti* in most dialects, as in Neo-Štokavian. However, the verb *pustiti* is often A.p. B: (but cf. A.p. B in Tisno and Filipjakov and A.p. C in Matulji), which is not so frequent in Neo-Štokavian. Some dialects have A.p. B here, like Neo-Štokavian. The dialects of Filipjakov and Sunger act like Štokavian (like they usually do) and preserve the middle stage of A.p. C: in a few verbs. Some Čakavian dialects are much more archaic and preserve A.p. C (or A.p. C:) in many forms, for instance the dialect of Kukljica on Ugljan (cf. Benić 2011).

KAJK.	Mahično	Drinje	Zabok	Štuparje	Konjščina
*aviti	C	C.	C	C	C
*buditi	C	C.	C	C	C
*čediti	C	C.	C	C	C
*čěniti	B:		C		C
*činiti		C			
*děliti	C	C.	C.	C	C

*diviti	C		B:		
*družiti	B.	B:	B:	B:	B:
*duriti	B.	B:	A	A	C
*dušiti	C		C	C	
*gasiti	C	C.	C.	B:	C
*golsiti				B.	
*gorditi	B:	C.			C/C.
*grěšiti		B:	B:		B:
*gubiti	C	C	C	C	C
*kaditi		C.	B:/C?	C	C
*krěpiti		B:	B:		B:
*lěpiti	B:		C	C	B<*C
*mastiti	B:	C.	B.	C	C
*měniti					C
*miriti	B.	B:	B:	C	C
*obvolčiti	B.	B:/C	B:	C	
*platiti	C	C	C	C	C
*pustiti	C	C	C	C	C
*saditi	C	C/C.	C	C	C
*světłiti			B:	B:	B:
*strěliti		C			C
*tajiti	C		B:		C
*učiti	C	C	C	C	C
*variti	B:			B:	C
*žerbiti					C

The original A.p. C reflex of the old long A.p. *c* is preserved in many verbs in Kajkavian, especially well in Konjščina and Štuparje. However, there seems to be quite a bit of the secondary change to A.p. B: as well by the *suši* ⇒ *sūši* change (which is perhaps younger than and unrelated to the same process in Štokavian and Čakavian). Some words, like *družiti*, *grěšiti*, *krěpiti*, *světłiti* appear to be always A.p. B: in Kajkavian,¹⁰⁵ which could perhaps be an old dialectal trait.

4. Conclusion

The A.p. *b*₁ yield A.p. B everywhere (both short and long). In Neo-Štokavian, the reflexes of the short A.p. *b*₂ are either A.p. C or unreliable (mixed). In Posavian, the short A.p. *b*₂ most likely yields A.p. B but with a lot of secondary

¹⁰⁵ Cf. the A.p. C of *grěšiti* but A.p. B: of *krěpiti* in Velika Rakovica (March 1981: 273).

shifts to A.p. C. In Čakavian, several dialects point to A.p. C as the reflex of the short A.p. *b*₂, Sunger perhaps points to A.p. B (with later massive shift to A.p. C). In Kajkavian, both short and long A.p. *b*₂ yield A.p. B. The long A.p. *b*₂ reflected as A.p. C in Neo-Štokavian originally but most of the verbs shifted to A.p. B: later by the *sušī* ⇒ *sūšī* process. In Posavina, the regular reflex of the old A.p. *b*₂ is A.p. B: In Čakavian, some dialects point to the old A.p. C as the reflex of the A.p. *b*₂, later changed by the *sušī* ⇒ *sūšī* change (in others, the data is ambiguous). In Neo-Štokavian, most dialects preserve the short A.p. *c* well. The same goes for Posavina. In Čakavian, half of the dialects preserve it well, while in others there are a lot of secondary shifts to A.p. B. In Kajkavian, only the dialect of Mahično preserves A.p. *c* well. The long A.p. *c* yields regular A.p. C in part of Posavina (Siče, Magić Mala) and Kajkavian in most cases. In Neo-Štokavian and Čakavian, it yields mostly A.p. B: by the *sušī* ⇒ *sūšī* process (not including some exceptions which preserve the old A.p. C or A.p. C:).

5. The *sušī* ⇒ *sūšī* change

It has been long known that in most Štokavian and Čakavian dialects the old Proto-Slavic A.p. *c* with the etymologically long root vowel does not yield the expected short A.p. C (e.g. *sušiti* - *sušī* as it is in Kajkavian and the most archaic Štokavian and Čakavian dialect¹⁰⁶) but long A.p. B: (i.e. *sūšiti/sūšī* - *sūšī/sūšī*). The new *sūšī* must derive from the older **sūšī* with the length reintroduced to the root. The sequence of length and neo-acute was unstable and there was a tendency to change the accentual paradigm to A.p. B: in order to stabilize the length in the root (cf. the same applies to definite adjectives, where the old *suhī* ⇒ **sūhī* by analogy to *sūh* and finally ⇒ *sūhī*). As already said, not all Štokavian and Čakavian dialects underwent this change, it did not operate (in most cases) in Posavian villages of Siče and Magić Mala and in some Čakavian dialects like Kukljica on the island of Ugljan. In the rest of Štokavian and Čakavian, there are usually four verbs which did not reintroduce the length to the root – *učiti*, *činiti*, *gubiti* and *pustiti* (the latter later shifted to A.p. B in most dialects). There are also a couple of words, like *tajiti*, which reintroduced the length but did not shift to A.p. B: from A.p. C:

The question is: where did the reintroduced length, the cause of the A.p. C ⇒ A.p. B: shift, come from? If one looks at the expected reflexes, one would expect the following shortenings and preservation of length in A.p. *c* *i*-verbs. The length would be shortened in the majority of forms – in the infinitive *sušiti*, the supine *sūšit*, the present tense from 2nd sg. to 3rd dual (*sušīš...* *sušē* etc.), the

¹⁰⁶ For the regular and expected shortening of the old long vowels in *sušiti* and *sušī*, cf. for instance Kapović 2005a: 93-95, 100-101. Pretonic length is always shortened in front of two or more moras.

aorist 1st sg. (*suših*) and plural/dual (*sušismo...* *sušīše*), the *l*-participle (*sūšīl...* *sušīlā* or transformed *sušīl...* *sušīla*), most of the *n*-participle forms (f. and n. *sušenā*, *sušenō* and all the oblique forms), the imperative plural (*sušimo!*, *sušīte!*), the imperfect, in the f. N.sg. and the oblique stems of the active present participle and in some polysyllabic oblique forms of the active preterite participle. However, in other forms, which were not so numerous, one would expect the length of the root to be preserved – in the 1st sg. of the present tense (**sūšu*), in the imperative sg. (2nd *sūšī!*, 3rd *sūšī!*)¹⁰⁷, in the 2nd and 3rd sg. of the aorist (*sūšī*), in the m. N.sg. of the *n*-participle (**sūšēn*), in the m. N.sg. of the active present participle (**sūše*) and in the most forms of the active preterite participle (**sūš*, **sūšī* etc.)¹⁰⁸. The question is how the majority of shortened forms could reintroduce the length from just a few forms in which we expect the retention of the old length. First of all, these forms were not the only ones which had length. A role in the reintroduction of the length to verbs like *sušiti*, *graditi* must have been played by the length in the root of the non-verbal forms like the adjective *sūh*, *sūhā*, *sūho*, the noun *sūša*, the nouns *grād*, *grāda*, *grādñā* etc. This is also part of the answer why the length was not reintroduced to *činiti*, *gubiti*, *učiti*, *pustiti* (note that all four of them have either *-i-* or *-u-* in the root!), except for the fact that we are dealing with common, high frequency words. There were simply no non-verbal forms of the same root that could have influenced the verbs (the noun *čin* is literary or rare in Croatian and the adjective *pūst* has no real semantic relation to *pustiti*). There is still the question of how the forms with the length, which were in minority, influenced all the other forms. The reintroduction of the length must have been slow. First, the length was probably generalized in the whole of the imperative, spreading from the singular (thus *sūšimo!*, *sūšīte!*). In this way, the length has become the mark of the imperative in A.p. *c* (as it still is in some Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects, see below). The same could have occurred in the aorist as well, the 2nd and the 3rd sg. persons being very frequent (the same kind of analogy probably occurred in the A.p. *b* as well). When the length was once secured in the imperative and the aorist (as well as in other forms, like 1st sg. of the present tense etc.), it could have been introduced first to the infinitive (formally built from the same stem as the imperative and aorist forms), then later to the present tense which caused the whole verb to shift to A.p. B: (this is contradicted by Molise forms like *dīlīt* - *dīlim*, Piccoli & Sammartino 2000 – here the infinitive root remained short in

¹⁰⁷ Some other Slavic languages point to *enclitomenon* in these forms but there is no evidence for that in Croatian.

¹⁰⁸ At the very beginning, this kind of short/long alternation could have survived for some time since it was synchronically impossible for length to occur before *~* (as is still the rule in many Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects) and in polysyllabic forms.

all accent types). A role was perhaps played by the reshuffled *l*-participles as well. In Štokavian and South Čakavian, the expected A.p. *c* forms (*sūšīl*, *sušīlā*, *sūšīlo*) were probably very early changed to the forms *sūšīl*, *sūšīla*, *sūšīlo* analogically to A.p. *b* verbs. It is possible that together with the new accent the length was also introduced (the analogy of the imperative *sūšī!* = *mlāti!* could have caused the appearance of the length in the new *sūšīl* by analogy to *mlātil*)¹⁰⁹, which later helped in the overall generalization of the length in A.p. *c*. In Kajkavian, where the A.p. B and A.p. C are distinguished in the *l*-participle as well, this only strengthens the short/long difference in the infinitive/present tense. When the *l*-participles of A.p. B and A.p. C collapsed together in Štokavian and South Čakavian, it was much easier for the short/long difference in the infinitives to collapse as well (the infinitive in the A.p. B introduced its length from the present tense).

This kind of scenario is not only imaginary. One can find concrete examples of the same kind of development in some Kajkavian modern dialects as we shall see. The long vowel in the imperative but a short vowel in the infinitive/present tense is preserved in some Čakavian and Kajkavian dialects. We shall list just a few examples, for more, see the verbs lists in this article and Kapović 2008. Cf. Filipjakov *učīti* - *učīte* - *ūčīte!* (in a couple of verbs)¹¹⁰, also in Kukljica¹¹¹, in Drinje this pattern is regular in A.p. C and has spread to the originally short verbs as well: *platīt* - *platīm* - *plātī!*, *drobīt* - *drobīm* - *zdrōbī!*, and the same is true in Konjščina: *brōji!* < *brojī! (A.p. B) but *luđovi!* < *lōvī! (A.p. C) (by analogy to *būdī! etc.¹¹²). In the two Kajkavian dialects, the length has become a mark of the A.p. C imperative¹¹³, spreading from sg. to pl. and from originally long stems (like *sušīti*, *budīti*) to originally short stems (like *lovīti*, *drobīti*). Sometimes, this long vowel from the imperative (backed up by other long

¹⁰⁹ The length is not expected in the *l*-participles of the A.p. *b* as well, but there it could have been reintroduced from the present tense (*mlātiš* etc.) without any problem. Another common point of departure could have been the aorist if the original 2nd/3rd sg. *mlāti in A.p. *b* had been changed analogically to *mlāti by then (and thus the same as *sūšī* in A.p. *c*).

¹¹⁰ It is a pity that this dialect has developed *kanovačko duljenje*, which has made its singular forms irrelevant.

¹¹¹ Benić 2011.

¹¹² In Konjščina, the old length in the imperative is seen only in *o since in other vowels (except in *e for which there is no examples in A.p. C) the length difference disappeared due to *kanovačko duljenje*. Thus *būdi!* could be from both *budī! and *būdi! But since the old *ō yields *yō*, while *o lengthened by *kanovačko duljenje* yields *ō*, we see the difference in the vocalism in the examples like *pogūōsti!* (A.p. C) and *lōži!* (A.p. B) and thus we can reconstruct the generalized long vowel in A.p. C imperative forms.

¹¹³ In that way, the rather complicated short/long alternation survived. In other dialects, it was completely eliminated, either by generalizing the length everywhere (like in Neo-Štokavian) or by generalizing the shortness (like in Siče and Magić Mala).

forms, like *sūh*, *grād*, *būdan* and other verbal forms etc.) could spread to other forms, like it did in the history of Štokavian and Čakavian. These changes are probably younger in the mentioned Kajkavian dialects and are just typological parallels to the Štokavian/Čakavian change (although we cannot be certain, these changes might have begun a long time ago in Kajkavian as well). For instance, cf. Konjščina *gradīti* and the secondary *grādīti* < *grādīti with the introduction of the length. This is especially clearly seen in Drinje, where we see different phases in the spread of the length in A.p. C:

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. inf. <i>vučīt se</i> - pres. <i>vučīm se</i> - imp. <i>vūčī se!</i> , <i>vūčīte se!</i> | C |
| 2. inf. <i>gāsīt</i> - pres. <i>gasīm</i> - imp. <i>gāsī!</i> , <i>gāsīte!</i> | C. |
| 3. inf. <i>zgrīšīt</i> - pres. <i>zgrīšīm</i> - imp. <i>zgrīšī!</i> , <i>zgrīšīte!</i> | B: |

In the first phase, we see the inherited pattern (spread to the whole imperative and to the imperative plural of course). In the second phase, the length is reintroduced to the infinitive, the rule – length in front of *~*, shortness in front of *~*. In the third phase, the length is analogically transferred to the present tense and the verb shifts to A.p. B in order to preserve it (because the sequence of *~~* is not stable). Therefore today in Drinje one can see how the spread of the length in Štokavian/Čakavian could have operated (at least in some dialects). We can show the supposed developments through phases like this:

1. *budīti - *budīš - *būdi! - *būdīte! (also aor. *budīx, *būdi, pres. *būdu etc.)
2. *budīti - *budīš - *būdi! - *būdīte! (*būdīx, *būdi)
3. *būdīti - *budīš - *būdi! - *būdīte! (*būdīx, *būdi) (cf. also adj. *būdan)
4. *būdīti - *būdīš - *būdi! - *būdīte!
5. *būdīti - *būdīš - *būdi! - *būdīte! (also *budīlā ⇒ *būdīlā, if not earlier)¹¹⁴

The *sušī* ⇒ *sūšī* change occurred in almost all the examples in Neo-Štokavian and many Čakavian dialects. However, it is important to note that it has in some cases occurred even in those dialects (Siče and Magić Mala, Kajkavian, Kukljica) which preserve the original short A.p. C in many instances.

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¹¹⁴ Of course, the introduction of length could have operated in a different way as well. It is possible that it was different in different dialects and it is very likely that it did not occur at the same time in all the dialects. According to Sergei L. Nikolaev (p.c.), in the Old Serbian manuscript (NBKM 680) the infinitive of both A.p. B and A.p. C was short in many cases (as well as the aorist except for the 2nd and 3rd person singular), while the *sušī* ⇒ *sūšī* change had been mostly carried through in the old A.p. *c* by then (or the length was there on the root but the accent was still on the thematic vowel). This case is very difficult to explain.

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The accentuation of the PIE word for 'daughter'

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It is well known that within the Indo-European language family the following four branches have retained the clearest information regarding the Proto-Indo-European accentuation: Greek, Indic, Balto-Slavic and Germanic (through Verner's Law). Since the languages of each of these branches have undergone specific accentological innovations, it is always important to take these four branches into account when reconstructing the accentuation of a given PIE word. In this article I will focus on the accentuation of the word for 'daughter' and show that sometimes information from other branches is needed as well to determine the original situation.

Let us first look at the evidence from the four branches mentioned above.

	Greek	Sanskrit	OLith.	Germ.
Nsg	θυγάτηρ	<i>duhitā</i>	<i>duktĕ</i>	* <i>doxter</i> ¹
Asg	θυγατέρα	<i>duhitāram</i>	<i>dūkterĭ</i>	
Gsg	θυγατρός	<i>duhitūh</i>	<i>dukterēs</i>	
Vsg	θύγατερ	<i>dūhitar</i>	<i>dūkter</i>	

Since in Germanic Verner's Law does not apply to consonant clusters, the PGerm. preform **doxter-* is inconclusive regarding its original accentuation. The information from the other branches is quite interesting. If we take Pedersen's Law into account for the Lithuanian accusative (cf. Kortlandt 1975: 8-10; 2009: 1-4), which predicts that attested *dūkterĭ* reflects older **duktĕrĭ*, we see that in the accusative the accentuation in all three branches falls on the suffix syllable: θυγατέρα, *duhitāram*, **duktĕrĭ*. We can therefore reconstruct PIE **d^hugh₂tĕrm* with a great amount of certainty. The same goes for the genitive form: all three branches show accentuation of the ending, θυγατρός, *duhitūh*, *dukterēs*, which points to PIE **d^hugh₂trós*. Determining the original accentuation of the nominative form is more difficult, however. Both Skt. *duhitā* and Lith. *duktĕ* show accentuation of the suffix syllable, whereas Gr. θυγάτηρ shows accentuation of the stem. It is usually thought that since the Sanskrit and Lithuanian forms correspond to each other, these must represent

¹ Goth. *dauhtar*, OHG *tohter*, ON *dóttir*, e.a.

the Proto-Indo-European state of affairs, and that the Greek form therefore must be secondary.

The accentuation of Greek words is subject to a number of rules, one of which is the Limitation Law. This law describes the fact that in any given Greek word the accentuation always falls on one of the last three syllables if the final syllable is short, but on one of the last two syllables if the final syllable is long. Moreover, if in pre-Greek a word had the accent on a syllable further to the front than was allowed by this Law, it was retracted as far as necessary to fit the Law. In the case of *θυγάτηρ*, we see that the final syllable is long, so the accent is only allowed on the last two syllables, in this case on the penultimate. It is therefore possible that originally the accent was placed further to the front of the word, namely on the initial syllable, and that due to the Limitation Law it was retracted to the penultimate. This is supported by the fact that in Homer the accusative form is *θύγατρα* (an epic form created in order to avoid the three short syllables of *θυγατέρα* that do not fit the hexametre), with the accent on the initial syllable. It therefore is generally assumed that Nsg *θυγάτηρ* must reflect a pre-Limitation Law form **θύγατηρ*, with the accent on the initial syllable. Nevertheless, the accentuation of this pre-form **θύγατηρ* still does not fit the accentuation of Sanskrit *duhitā* and Lith. *duktė*.

In order to solve this problem, Frisk stated in his *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Frisk 1960-72: 690) that the accentuation of Nsg. *θυγάτηρ* < **θύγατηρ* must be analogical after the accentuation of the vocative form *θύγατερ*: the latter form also has the accent on the initial syllable, which matches the accentuation of the Sanskrit Vsg *dúhitar* and Lithuanian *dūkter*. Although often repeated, this solution is rather *ad hoc*. It is well known that vocatives stand rather outside the paradigm, and it is quite unlikely that a vocative form, which is not so common, would have had an influence on the nominative form, which is a very strong case. Moreover, in the paradigm of 'father', for instance, where we find Nsg *πατήρ* besides Vsg *πάτερ*, the vocative form did not have an influence on the nominative form.

In Sanskrit, mobile stress was largely given up: original mobile paradigms often received columnal stress (Lubotsky 1988: 1f.), which means that the accent always falls on the same syllable within a paradigm. This is also the case in the paradigm of 'daughter': the accent always falls on the third syllable. It is therefore not *a priori* impossible that this columnal stress is the result of an innovation within Sanskrit. In the case of Lithuanian *duktė*, Kortlandt states in his review of the second International Workshop on Balto-Slavic Accentology held in Copenhagen that "[t]he rise of final stress in Lith. *duktė* [...] is independently motivated by the elimination of radical stress in the hysterodynamic paradigm and generalization of final stress in the non-neuter nom.sg. form" (Kortlandt 2009: 3), which implies that he regards the

accentuation of Lith. *duktė* and Skt. *duhitā* as secondary when compared to Greek *θυγάτηρ* < **θύγατηρ*.

As we see, in the case of the divergent accentuation of on the one hand Gr. *θυγάτηρ* < **θύγατηρ* and of Lith. *duktė* and Skt. *duhitā* on the other, there is no consensus on the question which accentuation is the original and which must have arisen secondarily. It may therefore be instructive to look at the other kinship terms, in order to see how the different types of accentuation of the different languages correspond to each other and, if they are divergent, which one is more original.

'father'

Nsg	πατήρ	<i>pitā</i>	--	<i>*fadér²</i>
Asg	πατέρα	<i>pitāram</i>		
Gsg	πατρός	<i>pitúh</i>		

The case of 'father' is quite clear-cut. All evidence univocally points to a hysterodynamic accentuation **ph₂-tēr*, **ph₂-tér-m*, **ph₂-tr-ós*.

'brother'

Nsg	φράτηρ	<i>bhrātā</i>	--	<i>*brōper³</i>
Asg	--	<i>bhrātaram</i>		
Gsg	φράτερος	<i>bhrātuḥ</i>		

The case of 'brother' is clear as well. All evidence points to a root stressed paradigm: **b^hréh₂-tr*, **b^hréh₂-tr-m*, **b^hréh₂-tr-s*.

'mother'

Nsg	μήτηρ	<i>mātā</i>	<i>mótè</i>	<i>*mōdér⁴</i>
Asg	μητέρα	<i>mātāram</i>	<i>móteri</i>	
Gsg	μητρός	<i>mātúh</i>	<i>móteres</i>	

The case of 'mother' is more complicated. We see that the Greek and Sanskrit accusative and genitive correspond to each other: *μητέρα* besides *mātāram* and *μητρός* besides *mātúh*. In the nominative, however, Gr. *μήτηρ* shows accentuation of the root syllable whereas Skt. *mātā* shows accentuation of the suffix syllable. The Germanic evidence, **mōdér-*, seems to support the Sanskrit situation. In Lithuanian, *mótè* shows AP 1, having an acute stress on the initial syllable throughout the paradigm. It is often thought that this accentuation must be due to Hirt's Law, viz. **maǵtē(r)* > **máǵtē(r)* > *mótè*, which would

² Goth. *fadar*, OHG *fater*, ON *fadir*.

³ Goth. *brōþar*, OHG *bruoder*, ON *bróðir*.

⁴ OS *mōdar*, OHG *muoter*, ON *móðir*.

mean that the Lithuanian paradigm matches the accentuation of Sanskrit. Although this is in principle possible for the nominative form, Hirt's Law cannot have operated in the genitive form: a preform **ma₂terés* would not have given attested *móteres* as Hirt's Law does not skip a syllable. We therefore have to assume that the static root accentuation as visible in Lithuanian is original. This would mean that for Proto-Indo-European we now have to reconstruct **méh₂tr*, **méh₂trm*, **méh₂trs*. This reconstruction is supported by the consistent full grade **meh₂-* found in all languages and by the fact that in Sanskrit the genitive ending is *-uh*, which reflects **-r-s*.⁵ This would mean that in Sanskrit and Germanic the accentuation on the second syllable is taken over from the paradigm of the word for 'father', which is of course a trivial analogy.

It is important to note that in this case, where the accentuation of the Greek Nsg. form deviates from that of the Sanskrit Nsg. form, the Greek accentuation, μήτηρ, is original vis-à-vis the Sanskrit accentuation, *mātā*, in the sense that it has retained the PIE accentuation, **méh₂tr*.

If we apply this knowledge to the state of affairs in the paradigm of 'daughter', where the accentuation of the Greek Nsg. form θυγάτηρ < *θύγατηρ deviates as well from that of the Sanskrit Nsg. *duhitā*, we may also have to assume that the Greek accentuation is original. If this is the case, we would be forced to reconstruct the following PIE paradigm:

Nsg. **d^hugh₂tēr*
 Asg. **d^hugh₂térm*
 Gsg. **d^hugh₂trós*

This is not fully satisfactory either: it is unpleasant to have to assume that the accentuation lay on the semivowel **u*, whereas we find a full vowel, **ē*, in the unaccented syllable.

Evidence from Anatolian

Although this may seem unexpected to an accentologist, I think that the question which accentuation is original in the word for 'daughter' can be answered by using evidence from the Anatolian languages. Let us first present the facts.

In Hittite, the word for 'daughter' is always written logographically with the sumerograms DUMU.MUNUS, which means that we do not know the phonetics of the underlying Hittite word. On the basis of the Asg form DUMU.MUNUS-*la-an* (KBo 20.101 rev.⁶ 3), we must assume that it ended

⁵ It is likely that the ending *-uh* spread from the paradigms of *mātā* and *bhrātā* to the other kinship terms, *pitā* and *duhitā*.

in *-la-*, however, which makes it rather unlikely that the Hittite word for 'daughter' goes back to PIE **d^hugh₂tr-*.

In Hieroglyphic Luwian, the word for 'daughter' is found twice spelled phonetically, namely as Asg ^{FILIA}*tú-wa/i-tara/i-na* (TELL AHMAR §24) and ^{FILIA}*tú-wa/i-ta[ra/i-na]* (TELL AHMAR §29) (cf. Hawkins 1978), which phonologically stand for /tuatra/i-/. This word must be a close cognate to Lycian *kbatra-* (attested several times), which already in 1893 was identified as 'daughter'.⁶ As Bugge showed not long thereafter,⁷ *kbatra-*, which phonologically must stand for /c ϕ atra-/,⁸ must go back to pre-Lycian **tuatra-*, just as Lyc. *kbi-* 'two' goes back to **tui-* < PIE **dui-*. It is commonly accepted that HLuw. *tuatra/i-* and Lyc. *kbatra-* are cognate with the other IE words for 'daughter'.

Some scholars regard the Hittite word ^{MUNUS}*duttarijata/i-*, which denotes a female functionary, as belonging to the words for 'daughter' as well. It is indeed true that, in Hittite, names of female functionaries are sometimes derived from kinship nouns (e.g. *šiyanzanna-*, a female functionary, lit. 'divine mother'), which would make a derivation of this word from 'daughter' possible, but it must be said that in this case a literal meaning 'daughter' is far from proven.¹⁰ Since this word shows an alternation in the stem final vowel, *-a-* and *-i-*, which is a typical feature of Luwian nouns, it is commonly assumed that this word is a borrowing from Luwian. I will come back to this word later on in the discussion.

Starke (1987: 251) also regards the Hittite noun ^{TUL}*Duuattarina-*, which is the name of a well, as derived from 'daughter' (he translates "Töchterchen"), but this cannot be ascertained at all. I will therefore leave this form out of the discussion.

Let us first focus on the words for which a meaning 'daughter' is directly established, HLuw. *tuatra/i-* and Lyc. *kbatra-*. It is commonly accepted within Anatolian linguistics that in the Luwic sub-branch to which Hieroglyphic Luwian and Lycian belong, Proto-Anatolian lenis velars, which go back to PIE **g^(h)* and **g^(h)*, have been lost (through **-j-* before **e*). Consider for instance PIE **g^{hesr}* > PAnat. **gesr* > Luw. *išra/i-*, Lyc. *izre/i-* 'hand' (cf. Hitt. *keššar* 'hand'), PIE **d^hg^h-em-* > PAnat. *dġ-em-* > Luw. *tijamm(i)-* 'earth' (cf. Hitt. *tēkan* 'earth' < **d^heġ-(ō)m*), or PAnat. **negno-* > Luw. *nāna/i-* 'brother', Lyc. *nēne/i-* 'brother' (cf. Hitt. *negna-* 'brother'). With this in mind, the words for 'daughter' are

⁶ Imbert 1893: 89.

⁷ Bugge 1901: 25.

⁸ Kloekhorst 2008a.

⁹ Cf. Kloekhorst 2008b: 765 for this meaning.

¹⁰ Pace Melchert 1993: 238, who confidently translates this word as "daughter (or simil.)."

usually thought to have developed thus: PIE **d^hugh₂tr-* > PANat. **dugatr-* > PLuw. **duatr-* > HLuw. *tuatra/i-*, Lyc. *kbatra-*.¹¹ So, the *-a-* found in HLuw. *tuatra/i-* and Lyc. *kbatra-* should go back to a vocalized **h₂*.

This line of development is problematic, however, in view of Melchert 1994: 70, who states that “[t]here is no solid evidence for “vocalization” of **h₂/* anywhere in Anatolian”. This means that the first step as mentioned above, namely that PIE **d^hugh₂tr-* yields PANat. **dugatr-* with vocalization of **h₂*, cannot be correct. This was also seen by Melchert himself, who therefore proposes an alternative solution. In his view, PIE **d^hugh₂tr-* first yielded PANat. **dugtr-* (loss of interconsonantal **h₂*),¹² in which then an anaptyctic vowel emerged: **dug₃tr-*. This anaptyctic vowel developed into a real *-a-*, **dugatr-*, after which the loss of **g* in Luwic caused it to yield PLuw. **duatr-*, the necessary preform for HLuw. *tuatra/i-* and Lyc. *kbatra-*. Although ingenious, Melchert’s scenario seems hardly plausible to me. Why would a cluster **Vgtr-* receive an anaptyctic vowel? And if this cluster would have needed anaptyxis, why do we not find a much more understandable outcome **Vgt₃r-*? If we compare for instance the Hittite verb *galaktarae-* ‘to make drowsy’, which much reflect PANat. **g^lōgtroje/o-*, we see that the cluster **Vgtr-* did not receive an anaptyctic vowel between the **-g-* and the **-t-*. I therefore do not think that Melchert’s solution for the *-a-* in HLuw. *tuatra/i-* and Lyc. *kbatra-* can be upheld. It may be better to look at these words from a bottom-up point of view.

Bottom-up reconstruction

Let us first look at the vocalism of the stem. In Luwian, the vowel *a* can go back to PLuw. **e*, **o* as well as **a*. Thereby, HLuw. *tuatra/i-* can go back to PLuw. **duetr-*, **duotr-* or **duatr-*. In Lycian, the vowel *a* can in principle only go back to PLuw. **a*, whereas Lycian *e* reflects either PLuw. **e* or **o*. Yet, Lycian has undergone a large-scale umlaut process,¹³ including a development due to which an original **e* becomes *a* when the following syllable contains an *a*: **e₁a > a₁a*. This means that, on the one hand, Lyc. *kbatra-* < **tuatra-* can go back to PLuw. **duatr-*, and that, on the other, Lyc. *kbatra-* < **tuatra-* can be the umlauted outcome of **tuetra-*, which can go back to PLuw. **duetr-* or **duotr-*.

Thus, HLuw. *tuatra/i-* and Lyc. *kbatra-* point to a PLuw. form **duVtr-*, where the quality of **V* cannot be determined. We do know, however, that **V* cannot be the result of anaptyxis.

¹¹ Cf. most recently Kimball 1999: 388.

¹² See Kloekhorst 2008: 81 for loss of interconsonantal laryngeals.

¹³ Cf. Melchert 1992; 1994: 296f. and Rasmussen 1992.

Now it is time to return to the Hittite word ^{MUNUS} *duttarijata/i-*, a female functionary, of which we have seen that it must be a Luwian loanword and of which some scholars state that it literally means ‘daughter’ vel sim. Phonologically, the form must be analysed as /tutriada/i-/. If this word indeed goes back to ‘daughter’, it would show a stem *tutr-* < PLuw. **dutr-*, which then would be a second Luwian stem besides the stem **duVtr-* that underlies HLuw. *tuatra/i-* and Lyc. *kbatra-*. Two things are important here. If the stem *tutr-* < PLuw. **dutr-* indeed means ‘daughter’ and goes back to PANat. **dugtr-* < PIE **d^hugh₂tr-*, then this stem is definite proof for the fact that in the cluster **Vgtr-* no anaptyxis took place. Secondly, the stems **dutr-* and **duVtr-* cannot both go back to PANat. **dugtr-* < **d^hugh₂tr-*.

In my view, the solution to this state of affairs can only be the following. The fact that in PLuw. we find a stem **duVtr-* besides **dutr-* can only be explained if we assume that they are ablaut variants of each other. I therefore claim that although the stem **dutr-* reflects the zero grade stem PANat. **dugtr-* < PIE **d^hugh₂tr-* as attested in the other Indo-European languages, the stem **duVtr-*, which probably was **duetr-*, must reflect a hitherto unknown full grade stem PANat. **duegr-* < PIE **d^huegh₂tr-*.¹⁴ Since we now have disposition of this full grade stem **d^huegh₂tr-*, in my view it becomes immediately clear that the original paradigm of ‘daughter’ must have been hysterodynamic according to the *bandi*-type as described by Beekes (1995: 175): **CéC-R*, **CC-éR-m*, **CC-R-ós*.

Nsg. **d^huegh₂-tr*

Asg. **d^huegh₂-tér-m*

Gsg. **d^huegh₂-tr-ós*

In Anatolian, the nominative form **d^huegh₂tr* was enlarged with the **-eh₂-* suffix, yielding HLuw. *tuatra/i-* and Lyc. *kbatra*. On the basis of the stem **d^huegh₂tr-* a derivation in **-i₃o-* was formed, which served as the basis for Hitt. *duttarijata/i-*. After the Anatolian branch had split off from Proto-Indo-European, the other Indo-European languages underwent a common innovation, namely the replacement of the nominative stem **d^huegh₂t-r-* by the

¹⁴ My colleague Michaël Peyrot informs me that the Tocharian languages may also bear witness to a full-grade stem **d^huegh₂t-r-*. In Tocharian we find *ckācar* ‘daughter’, and in Tocharian B Nsg. *tkācer*, Asg. *tkātār* ‘daughter’. It is usually assumed that initial *c-* of Tocharian *ckācar* arose from **t-* by some sort of distant assimilation (cf. Tocharian B Nsg. *tkācer*). Theoretically, however, it is also possible that *ck-* reflects PIE **d^hueg-*, showing palatalisation of **d^h* to *c* due to **e*. If **d^hueg-* yielded **cuk-* by sound law, *u* may have been levelled out against *ä* in the allomorph **tāk-* < **d^hug-*. The Proto-Tocharian paradigm would then have been Nsg. **cākacer* << **cukacer* < **d^huegh₂tēr*, Asg. **tākātār* < **d^huegh₂trm*.

accusative stem **d^hugh₂-ter-*. Originally, the accentuation of the nominative **d^huégh₂tr* was retained in this new form, however:

- Nsg. **d^húgh₂-tēr*
 Asg. **d^hugh₂-tér-m*
 Gsg. **d^hugh₂-tr-ós*

This is the situation underlying the Greek paradigm θυγάτηρ < **θύγατηρ*, θυγατέρα, θυγατρός. In the other Indo-European languages also the accentuation of the accusative was later on transferred to the nominative form, yielding:

- Nsg. **d^hugh₂-tēr*
 Asg. **d^hugh₂-tér-m*
 Gsg. **d^hugh₂-tr-ós*

This is, of course, the situation underlying Skt. *duhitā*, *duhitāram*, *duhitúh* and Lithuanian *duktė*, *dùkterį*, *dukterės*.

Conclusion

Summing up, we can conclude the following. Since the accentuation of Gr. NSg θυγάτηρ < **θύγατηρ* can be explained as an archaism reflecting the accentuation of the original PIE Nsg form **d^huégh₂tr*,¹⁵ which must be reconstructed on the basis of HLuw. *tuatra/i-* and Lyc. *kbatra-*, the accentuation of Lith. *duktė* and Skt. *duhitā*, which commonly are regarded as more original forms, must in fact have arisen secondarily.

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¹⁵ The fact that 'daughter' originally showed a paradigm **CéC-r*, **CC-ér-m*, **CC-r-ós*, makes it likely that this was the case for 'father' as well. This means that we then should reconstruct an original Nsg form **péh₂-tr*, which later on, on the basis of Asg **ph₂-tér-m* was replaced by **ph₂-tēr*. The reason that in this case Greek does not show an accentuation ***πάτηρ* may lie in the fact that at the time that the stem **peh₂-tr-* was replaced by the accusative stem *ph₂-ter-*, the consonant **h₂* was not able to bear the accent (whereas in the case of 'daughter' the vowel **u* was).

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Winter's Law again

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Since I discussed the scholarly literature on Winter's law twenty years ago (1988), several important articles on the subject have appeared (Young 1990, Campanile 1994, Matasović 1995, Derksen 2002, Dybo 2002, Patri 2005, Derksen 2007). As the law evidently continues to be controversial, it is important to look into the nature of the evidence and counter-evidence which is adduced. It appears that doubts about Winter's law are largely the result of four types of misunderstanding.

First of all, Winter's law yielded glottalization of a preceding syllabic nucleus, not lengthening of a preceding vowel, contrary to what is still maintained by Campanile ("allungamento", 1994: 349), Matasović ("lengthening", 1995: 61) and Patri ("allongement", 2005: 269). The glottalization merged with the glottalic reflex of the Indo-European laryngeals and remained distinct from vocalic length in Balto-Slavic. At a later stage, glottalization could yield short or long vowels in the separate languages, e.g. short *o* in Polish *krowa* 'cow' but long **ō* in the Upper Sorbian cognate *kruwa* < *krōwa* (cf. Kortlandt 1985: 123, 2006a: 361), similarly Polish *słodki* 'sweet' but Upper Sorbian *stōdki* with an acute from Winter's law (cf. Stang 1966: 161, Young 1990: 146). Glottalization was preserved in Russian at the time of the earliest Latvian borrowings, as Steven Young has shown at last year's conference in Copenhagen (cf. Kortlandt 2006b in fine). It has been preserved up to the present day in conservative varieties of Latvian, e.g. *pēds* 'footstep', *nuōgs* 'naked', as in British English *foot* and *naked*.

Secondly, Winter's law did not operate if there was an intervening *-s-, e.g. in Lith. *lizdas* 'nest', Latin *nīdus* < **nīsdos*, with the zero grade of the root **sed-* 'sit'. As I pointed out earlier (1988: 394), I think that the Slavic word *xoditi* 'to walk' was formed on the basis of a Balto-Slavic reduplicated present **sīzd-*, cf. Vedic *śīdati* 'sits', Latin *sīdō* 'sit down', which is reflected in the Slavic stem form *šbd-* 'went'. The derivation is comparable to that of Lith. *statyti* 'to put', *stāto* 'puts' from an original present 3rd sg. **stastāti*, 3rd pl. **stastinti* (cf. Kortlandt 1989b: 108). The absence of an acute from Winter's law in Slavic *xoditi* is thus comparable to the absence of length from Lachmann's law in Latin *-sessus* 'sitten' for original *-ssus* < **sdtos* (cf. Kortlandt 2007: 88, 122). The hypothesis that the Slavic deverbal noun *xodъ* is a borrowing from Iranian

(most recently Dybo 2002: 479) is semantically implausible and leaves the stem form *šbd-* unexplained.

Another clear example where Winter's law was blocked by an intervening *-s- is Lith. *mazgóti* 'to wash', Vedic *májjati* 'sinks', Latin *mergō* 'plunge' < *-sg- (see Dybo 2002: 480-485 for more examples). According to Dybo (2002: 485-495), Winter's law was also blocked by a following *-s-, e.g. in Slavic *loza* 'vine', Lith. *lazdà* 'stick', Prussian *laxde* 'hazel' < *-gzd- and in Lith. *blizgėti* 'to shine' < *-gsk-. Note that an early (Indo-European) loss of glottalization in stops before *-s- explains the absence of an acute from Winter's law in Slavic *osv* and Lith. *ašis* 'axle, axis', which Dybo does not mention, and the absence of length from Lachmann's law in the Latin cognate *axis* as well as in *tussis* 'cough', which seems to be at variance with the regular operation of the law in the inflected forms *adāxim* 'may have driven' < *-ǵs- and *tūsus* 'beaten' < *-dt- (cf. Strunk 1976: 27f., Kortlandt 2007: 88f.). These etymologies remain doubtful, however. Another cluster which evidently blocked Winter's law is found in Lith. *duktė* 'daughter', Old Church Slavic *dvšti* < *-gH₂t-, where glottalization was also lost in Vedic *duhitā* and Avestan *dugadā*.

Thirdly, the distinctive opposition between voiceless, voiced (glottalized) and voiced "aspirated" stops was neutralized before *-n-, which became infix, as Thurneysen realized 125 years ago (1883), e.g. Latin *pandō* 'spread' < *-t-, *pingō* 'paint' < *-k-, *mungō* 'wipe' < *-k-, but Greek πίννῃμι, Vedic *pimśāti*, *muñ-cāti* with restoration of the voiceless stop, similarly Latin *unda* 'wave' < **undnā* < **udnā* (Thurneysen 1883: 303). The latter word is identical with Slavic *voda* 'water', where **un* was lowered to **on* at stage 5.10 of my chronology (1989a: 47) and the infix nasal was dissimilated before the nasal suffix, which is preserved in the derivative *ponovb* beside *povodb* and in the East Baltic cognates (cf. Kortlandt 1979: 61). The same lowering and loss of the infix nasal is found in Slavic *ognjv* 'fire', Lith. *ugnis*, OLith. *ungnis* (ibidem and Dybo 2002: 498). The infixion of the nasal suffix explains the rise of nasal presents such as Latin *vincō* 'conquer', Vedic *yunākti* 'joins', Hittite *harnikzi*, *harninkanzi* 'make disappear', where the intermediate stage is still represented in Greek χανθάνω 'contain', λανθάνω 'escape notice'. As a rule, Baltic generalized the infix and Slavic the suffix in the nasal presents. There is a nice parallel of the phonetic development in the Old Spanish imperative *dandos* < *dandnos* < *dadnos* 'give us' (Poema del Cid, cf. Cornu 1880: 95), cf. also Latin *agnus* [ɲ] 'lamb', *somnus* 'sleep' < *-pn-, inscriptional spellings such as *ingnes* 'fire', *congnatus* 'related' (Allen 1970: 23), and Greek ἀμνός 'lamb' < *-g^wn-, πῶγμα [ɲm] 'deed' (Allen 1974: 35f.).

In the case of Lith. *sėgti* 'to attach' and Vedic *sájati* 'hangs', it is important that the absence of a radical nasal is limited to Baltic while the other languages point unambiguously to an original root **seng-*, as is clear from the perfect *sasāñja*, the passive aorist *ásañji*, German *Senkel* 'lace', Polish *sięgać* 'to reach',

Czech *sahati*, Serbo-Croatian *sězati* with an acute from Winter's law, but loss of the acute before the nasal suffix in Czech *sáhnouti*, Serbo-Croatian *ségnuti*. We must therefore accept that the absence of the radical nasal from Lith. *sėgti* is secondary, as it is in *ugnis* for earlier *ungnis* and in Slavic *ognjv* and *voda* beside Lith. *vanduō* and Latin *unda* (see Dybo 2002: 498-502 for more examples). Dybo's view that Winter's law was also blocked by a following *-r- (2002: 496f.) cannot be correct in view of Lith. *údra* 'otter', Slavic *vydra* (a) and *vědro* (b) 'bucket'. In the latter word, pretonic glottalization was lost phonetically at stage 5.3 of my chronology (1989a: 46) and length was preserved because the accent was retracted before the rise of the new timbre distinctions at stage 7.13 (cf. Derksen 2011), though the expected short reflex of the original pretonic long vowel seems to have been preserved in Czech *vědro* and Serbo-Croatian *vjědro* beside *vijědro*, Slovene *vědro*. Slavic *dobro* 'good' must be separated from Latin *faber* 'artificer' (cf. Schrijver 1991: 102) and Lith. *gaidrūs* (4), *giėdras* 'clear' probably took its circumflex from *gaisas* 'glow', *gaisras* 'fire', Latvian *gāiss* 'air', *gāisma* 'light', *gāišs* 'light (adj.)' (cf. Derksen 1996: 223) while *škidrs* 'liquid (adj.)' resulted from a recent Latvian shortening (cf. Derksen 2007). For the short vowel in the zero grade **CRi/uC-*, where glottalization was evidently lost at an early stage, e.g. in Lith. *ligà* 'disease', Slavic *ržzati* 'to neigh', cf. Greek ὀλίγος 'little', ἐρεύγομαι 'bellow', I refer to Dybo (2002: 503-505).

Fourthly, pretonic clusters of stop plus *-n- yielded voiceless geminates in Germanic (cf. Lühr 1988, Kortlandt 1991), which merged with the original glottalized stops under various conditions. As a result, the original stop cannot usually be reconstructed on the basis of a Germanic voiceless stop. A case in point is Lith. *angis* (4) 'snake', where Balto-Slavic, Indo-Iranian, Greek, Armenian and Germanic all point to a voiced aspirate but Old High German *unc* and *unco* have a voiceless stop (cf. Dybo 2002: 470-473). Similarly, the original stops of Slavic *kobv* 'augury', *stogv* 'heap', *kogv* 'claw' cannot be determined on the basis of Old Norse *happ* 'good luck', *stakkr* 'haystack', *staki* 'pole', *haki* 'hook' (cf. Dybo 2002: 477f.). This eliminates not only these but also other counter-examples to Winter's law cited by Matasović (1995: 66): Slavic *debelv* 'fat', Lith. *gegužė* 'cuckoo', *dubùs* 'deep'. No conclusions can be based on Lith. *klegėti* 'to cackle', *lėbeda* 'rag' (Campanile 1994: 348), Slavic *sloboda* 'freedom' (Matasović l.c., cf. Kortlandt 2003: 255), Lith. *kadà* 'when', *tadà* 'then', Slavic **edinv*, **edv* 'one' (cf. Derksen 2002: 11f.).

While Campanile lists 13 examples of Winter's law and 10 counter-examples beside 9 instances of an unexpected acute and Matasović lists 25 examples and 20 exceptions, Patri claims 5 examples and 19 counter-examples without mentioning that Dybo lists 142 examples and 71 exceptions. Against this background, Patri's remark (2005: 284) that Dybo "ne paraît pas avoir remarqué" four of his far-fetched counter-examples sounds highly peculiar. His extensive bibliography (138 entries pour épater le bourgeois) does not make up

for his misrepresentation of earlier views and his quite inadequate discussion of the data. His only original counter-example Slavic *strōgati* 'to scrape' is not necessarily cognate with Greek στρεφύομαι 'am exhausted' and would belong to Dybo's category of zero grade *CRi/uC- from which the author lists "some stems (not all!)" (2002: 503). The Slavic pronoun *to* 'that' < **tod* (Matasović 1995: 65) lost its final stop before the operation of Winter's law (stages 3.7 and 4.3 of Kortlandt 1989a: 44f.). I agree with Dybo (2002: 478-480) that *bogъ* 'god' and *koza* 'goat' are loan words and think that the same holds true for *sedblo* 'saddle' < 'seat', Gothic *sittls* (cf. Winter 1978: 440). Lith. *pādas* 'sole' and Slavic *podъ* 'floor' cannot be separated from Lith. *iñdas* 'dish', *priēdas* 'addition', etc. and must therefore be derived from **pod^hH₁o-* (cf. Winter 1978: 439, Kortlandt 1988: 393). For Slavic *igo* (c) 'yoke', where the acute was lost as a result of Meillet's law (stage 5.4 of Kortlandt 1989a: 46), I refer to Derksen (2003: 98). For Lith. *vėdỹs* beside *vedỹs* 'bridegroom' we have to start from **H₁ued-* beside **ued^h-*, as is clear from Greek *ἔδῶν* 'dowry', Old English *weotuma* (cf. Beekes 1969: 58f., Winter 1978: 444). Lith. *smagūs* 'pleasant, cheerful, merry, lively' and has nothing to do with Greek *μόγος* 'toil, trouble, distress'. Thus, we are left with no real counter-examples to Winter's law if only the early (Indo-European) loss of glottalization is taken into account and mistaken etymologies are removed from the data.

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False exceptions to Winter's Law

On the effects of Kluge's law on the Proto-Germanic consonantism

GUUS KROONEN

1. Introduction

In order to account for a number of exceptions to Winter's law in Balto-Slavic as formulated by W. Winter in 1978, Matasović (1995) has suggested to redefine this law. In view of the opposition between e.g. Lith. *údra* 'otter' < **udreh*₂- and *pādas* 'sole' < **podo*-, being with and without Winter's law correspondingly, he proposed to limit the operation of this law to closed syllables only. The new conditioning enabled Matasović to present a new configuration according to which, amongst others, the following counter-examples are fully regular:

- Lith. *dubūs* 'deep' < **d^hubu*-
- Lith. *gegužė* 'cuckoo' < **g^heg^hužen*-
- OCS *debelŭ* 'fat' < **d^hebelo*-
- OCS *kobŭ* 'victory' < **kobi*-
- OCS *sedbŭlo* 'saddle' < **sedilo*-
- OCS *voda* 'water' < **uodeh*₂-
- Ru. *kógot* 'claw' < **kogoti*-
- PSl. **bogo*- 'god' < **b^hogo*-
- PSl. **jvgo* 'yoke' < **iugo*-
- PSl. **stogŭ* 'stick' < **stogo*-

Matasović's analysis clearly provides Winter's law with increased flexibility, leaving more room for analogy to reshuffle the distribution in nominal and verbal paradigms. It nonetheless raises serious doubts that were voiced by Derksen (2003). An important objection is that the proposal yielded a number of new exceptions such as Lith. *úoga* 'berry' < **h₃egeh*₂- and *púodas* 'pot' < **podo*-, which seem to defy Matasović's blocking rule. Derksen further argued that the far majority of the open syllable forms where Winter's law unexpectedly did not take place can be explained in a different way.

As to PSl. **voda*, it seems difficult to overstate the importance of Kortlandt's rule, which explains the inoperability of Winter's law as the result of nasalization (Kortlandt 1988: 388-389). Furthermore, OCS *sedbŭlo* does not necessarily continue PIE **sedilo*-, but may be a loan word from Germanic

(Derksen 2003: 12, 2008: 444), albeit from **sé(d)-tlo-* > OHG *sedal* rather than **so(d)-tló-* > OHG *satal*. Because Balto-Slavic accentology is *terra incognita* to me, I will not repeat all the counter-arguments here, but instead refer to Derksen's elaborate discussion of the material. There is nonetheless one objection to Matasović's reformulation that I would like to expand upon.

There are a number of etyma, Derksen noted, "where the reconstruction of **D* seems to depend exclusively on the Germanic evidence". This seems indeed to be the case for Ru. *kógot'*, PSI. **stogъ*, **kobъ* and Lith. *dubùs*, cf. OE *hacod* 'pike', *staca* 'stake', ON *happ* 'luck' and Go. *diups* 'deep' respectively. The problem is, however, that in these cases the final voiceless stops do not have to be primary in Germanic. Derksen quite rightly argued that Kluge's law can explain the disagreements between Balto-Slavic and Germanic in these and many other instances. And although this notion has become increasingly familiar in the recent years (cf. Dybo 2002, Kortlandt 2008), I will here present my personal approach to the issue.

2. Kluge's law

When Kluge formulated his law in 1884, it was already generally assumed that the assimilation of a pretonic *n* caused the doubling of resonants, such as in PGM. **fulla-* 'full' < PIE **p_h1-nó-* and **wullō* 'wool' < **HulH-néh₂-*. In order to account for the abundance of plosive geminates in the Germanic dialects, a category that is simply absent from PIE phonology, Kluge suggested that the same type of doubling applied to the PIE stops. As a result, the PIE unvoiced, voiced and voiced-aspirated stops all collapsed into Proto-Germanic voiceless geminates, and hence we explain Old English *friccea* m. 'herald' < **prek-n-ión-*, *þaccian* 'to pat' < **th₂g-néh₂-* and *liccian* 'to lick' < **liġh-néh₂-* (cf. Lühr 1988: 350ff). This merger, for obvious reasons, has serious consequences for the debate on Winter's law. There are no objections, for instance, to assuming an etymological link between **kobъ* 'augury', OIr. *cob* 'victory' and ON *happ* 'luck', but the original consonantism cannot be established on the basis of the Old Norse form, which may continue **kop-nó-*, **kob-nó-* or – preferably – **kob^h-nó-* (cf. Lühr 1988: 248-249).

In Proto-Germanic, the situation was further complicated by the shortening of geminates in heavy roots, i.e. all roots other than those with a structure **CVC-*. Clearly, OE *tæcan* 'to teach' < PGM. **taikjan-* is related to Gr. *δείκνυμι* 'to show'. The **k*, however, does not presuppose a PIE root variant **doiġ-* (pace Pokorny IEW: 188-189), but rather follows from a Pre-PGM. root **daikk-*, the geminate of which being simplified after a diphthong. I do not think that the assimilation of the *n* was checked by a preceding long vowel or diphthong (Rasmussen 1989). This rule is in clear conflict with e.g. OE *dīc* 'dam', which through **dikka-* must be from **d^heiġh-nó-* (cf. Gr. *τείχος* 'wall').

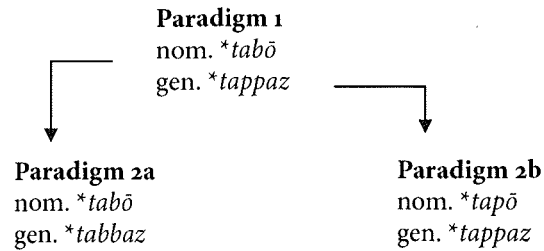
Kluge's law obscured the original consonantism in several different ways. It must be stressed, however, that the Germanic evidence is by no means immaterial *per se*. The exact reconstruction of a particular root can often be established on the basis of inner-Germanic *consonant variation*. When, for instance, we find Go. *diups* 'deep' besides ON *deyfa* 'to dip', the Germanic material alone requires us to interpret the *p* of *diups* as secondary; while *deyfa* from PIE **d^houb^h-éie-* preserves the original root final **b^h*, the *p* of *diups* can only represent a Pre-Proto-Germanic geminate that was regularly shortened after the diphthong **eu*. The required formation, i.e. **d^heub^h-no-*, is paralleled by Go. *hveits* 'white', which in view of Skt. *śvéta-* must have its **t* from a shortened geminate **tt*. For the sake of clarity, I will henceforth mark shortened geminates by using superscript, e.g. **deup^p-*, **hwīt^t-*.

3. Paradigmatic analogies

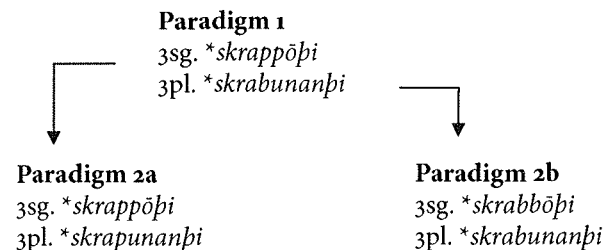
In my dissertation (2009), I have gathered more evidence in favor of Kluge's law, and especially its effects on the *n*-stems. For obvious reasons, it wrought great havoc in this noun class. By this law, the Indo-European paradigmatic opposition between the full grade and the zero grade of the suffix was radically transformed into a new Germanic opposition between geminated and non-geminated case stems. The original distribution, however, was often destroyed by analogy, which gave rise to secondary singulates and secondary geminates (cf. Kluge 1884: 176, Wright 1925: §256).

When we look at the West Germanic word for 'rat', for instance, the difference between MHG *rade* and *ratze* m. is that the first form is based on the nominative, the second on the genitive of an old *n*-stem **rapō*, **rattaz* < **rót-ōn*, **rot-n-ós*. In order to clarify MHG *ratte* m. 'rat' < **raþþan-*, we must assume that the original paradigm **rapō*, **rattaz* was remodeled into **rapō*, **raþþaz* at some point.

In the same fashion, many other secondary geminates receive an explanation. A good example is the etymological cluster of Nw. *tave* m. 'piece of cloth' < **taban-*, OE *tæppa* m. 'strip of cloth' < **tappan-*, ME *tabbe* 'strap' < **tabban-* and OE *tæpan* m.pl. 'tapes' < **tapan-*. Although Kluge's analogical processes were never generally accepted (cf. Kauffmann 1887, Lühr 1988), I see no alternative than to reconstruct a paradigm nom. **tabō* < **dób^h-ōn*, gen. **tappaz* < **dob^h-n-ós* that was analogically split up into either 1. **tabō*, **tabbaz* or 2. **tapō*, **tappaz*.



Importantly, Kluge's law not only affected the *n*-stems, but indeed the PIE nasal presents as well (cf. already Osthoff 1882: 298). Again Kluge's law, in combination with the ablaut of the suffix, spawned a paradigmatic alternation of forms with and without geminates. It seems evident to me that the expected distribution was obliterated by the same analogies as proposed for the *n*-stems, the consonantism being leveled in a two-way fashion. Thus, the interchange of Middle Low German *wriggen* 'to twist' and Dutch *wrikken* 'to pry' points to a PIE paradigm 3sg. **urik-néh₂-ti*, 3pl. **urik-nh₂-énti*, yielding PGM. **wrikkōþi*, **wrigunanþi*. Similarly, the pattern formed by Middle Dutch *schraven*, *schrabben*, *schrappen* and *schrapien* 'to scratch, scrape' should follow from a paradigm 3sg. **skrappōþi*, 3pl. **skrabunanþi*, continuing older **skrob^h-néh₂-ti*, **skrob^h-nh₂-énti*.



Once again, the combined forces of sound law and analogy provide us with a powerful mechanism that is capable of accounting for all the actual linguistic data, in this particular case the consonant variations found throughout the Germanic dialects. Needless to say, the operation of "Kluge analogies" constitutes yet another serious complication in the debate on Winter's law, as it can be difficult to determine the original form of the root. I can only emphasize that the Germanic root-final consonantism should always be analyzed with great caution. It is unadvisable, at any rate, to cherry-pick a single root variant from its etymological context, because it may be impossible to retrieve the original consonantism from just that variant.

4. The material

Having presented my views on Kluge's law and the paradigmatic analogies it provoked, I will now turn to the relevant material, which consists of potentially or actually false counter-examples to Winter's law in its original formulation. I have collected the material from five different sources, i.e. Matasović's article (M), Derksen's response to it (D), Rasmussen's 1992 redefinition of Winter's law (R), Dybo's English article from 2002 (II), and - finally - Stang's *Lexikalische Sonderübereinstimmungen zwischen dem Slavischen, Baltischen und Germanischen* (S).

Lith. *angis*, OCS *qžb*, OHG *unko* 'snake' (D471-2). Dybo analyzes G *unk(o)* as from PIE **ng^w-*, which is a problem in view of Lith. *angis* pointing to **h₂eng^wh-*. The discrepancy can best be explained as the result of Kluge's law (cf. Kortlandt 2011: 249). OHG *unko* represents a stem **unk^kan-* from an older paradigm **ungō*, **unk^kaz*, which is in keeping with the more general tendency for *n*-stems with a structure CVRC to generalize the oblique geminate. The labialization must have been lost prior to the operation of Kluge's law.

Lith. *balžienas*, OHG *balko* 'beam', Ru. dial. *bólozno* (S14, D11). In his reaction to Matasović, Derksen added the above correspondence as a potentially false exception to Winter's law. Stang seeks to establish a Balto-Slavic root **b^holǵ-*, but in view of the Balto-Slavic circumflex, it is more likely that the **k* of OHG *balko* and cognates is secondary. In all certainty, the original *n*-stem should be reconstructed as **b^hólǵ^h-ōn*, **b^holǵ^h-n-ós*, resulting into **balgō*, **balk^kaz*. The root variant **balg-* seems to have been supplanted by the oblique form **balk^k-* at an early stage, a development that is fairly common to the *n*-stems with heavy roots. Note that with ON *bjalki* m. < **belk^kan-* and OE *bolca* m. 'plank' < **bulk^kan-* there is evidence for an ablauting paradigm **b^hélǵ^h-ōn*, **b^hlǵ^h-n-ós*.

The seniority of **b^holǵ^h-* is supported by Go. *balgs* and OIr. *bolg* 'sack', which through Slov. *blazína* 'beam, bar, pillow, mattress' seem to be linked to the etymon concerned. The semantics, however, are not entirely clear to me. Gr. *φάλαγξ* 'wedge, bar' and Lat. *fulciō* 'support' (Pokorny IEW: 122-3) should at any rate be left out of consideration.

Lith. *dubūs*, PGM. **deupa-* 'deep' (R535, M66, D11, D424). On the basis of Germanic, Rasmussen, Dybo and Matasović reconstruct the root as **d^hub-*. I have argued above that the *p* of Go. *diups* results from a shortened geminate, and reconstruct PGM. **deup^aa-* as PIE **d^heub^h-nó-*. The seniority of the **b^h* is ascertained by ON *deyfa* 'to dip' < **d^houb^h-éie-* and MHG *tobel* 'depression' < **d^hub^h-lo-*. As a consequence, Lith. *dubūs* and *dùbti* (*duǰba*) 'to sink' can now be labeled as fully regular.

Lith. *gaūbti* 'curve', ON *gaupn* 'hollow of the hand' (R535, D499). Dybo reconstructs **g^hub-*, but Rasmussen acknowledges the possibility that the *p* of *gaupn* results from Kluge's law. Rasmussen (1989), however, holds a different version of Kluge's law, as per which *b* and **b^h* did indeed merge before an *n*, whereas the assimilation of the nasal was blocked after long vowels and diphthongs. From this perspective ON *gaupn* can be the regular outcome of **g^houb^h-neh₂-*. As I have argued in the above, it is difficult to maintain this conditioning. The final *n* of *gaupn* is more likely to represent the suffix **-nō-*, which was added to the adjective OE *gēap* 'hollow, curved' (< **gaup^aa-* < **g^houb^h-nó-*) well after the operation of Kluge's law.

Lith. *glaūbti* 'to hug', ON *klýpa* 'to pinch' (S22, R536). The Balto-Slavic accent and the Germanic consonantism do not match. Rasmussen therefore considers the possibility that the word was borrowed from one branch into another. In view of OE *clyppan* 'to embrace', however, the *p* of *klýpa* is most likely a shortened geminate from **-b^hn-*. This enables us to reconstruct the PIE root as **glub^h-*.

Lith. *griēbti* 'to grab', Go. *greipan* 'id.' (S24). The incongruity between the Balto-Slavic forms can again be resolved by assuming that the *p* of *greipan* is secondary. The geminate may perhaps be found in unshortened form in MHG *gripfen*, OE *gripan* 'to snatch' < **grip(p)jan-*.

Ru. *kógot* 'claw', OE *hacod*, *hæced*, *heced* m. 'pike' (S30, M66, D11, D478). In spite of the formal similarities, the Slavic and the Germanic forms cannot be traced back to one single formation, i.e. something like **kogoti-*. For the Slavic suffix cf. SerbCS *okotv*. The Old English word is derived from OE *haca* m. 'hook' with the suffix **-Vd-* as in OE *ened*, ON *ǫnd* 'duck'. The **k* of *haca* is not primary either. Considering OE *hōc* m. 'hook' (< **hōk^a-*) and especially OHG *hāggo* m. 'hook' – with a double PGm. **g* – the original paradigm must be reconstructed as nom. **hēgō*, gen. **hakkaz*, i.e. an ablauting *n*-stem (cf. Kroonen). OE *haca* can be traced back to an analogical paradigm **hakō*, **hakkaz*.

Parenthetically, the geminated **g* of OHG *hāggo* cannot possibly be of Proto-Germanic date (pace Lühr 1988: 214, D478), because geminates were shortened after long vowels in Proto-Germanic times already. This is the only way to explain OHG (*h*)*wiz*, G *weiß* 'white' < **hwita-*, with a single **t* from Pre-Germanic **tt*. In High German, however, phonological geminates were reintroduced in heavy roots by West Germanic *yod*-gemination, giving rise to e.g. G *Weizen*, OHG (*h*)*weizzi* 'wheat' < **hwaitja-*. As a result, the long *g* of *hāggo* can be explained by assuming the following chronology: 1) the reshaping of the original paradigm from **hēgō*, **hakkaz* into Proto-Alemannic **hāgō*, **haggaz*; 2) the reintroduction of geminates in heavy syllables; and 3) the

generalization of the geminate throughout the paradigm, yielding **hāggō*, **haggaz*.

Sometimes I wonder whether the Germanic and Slavic forms are related at all. With its combination of a plain stop and a voiced aspirate, **kog^h-* is in clear violation of the PIE root structure, and the Germanic **g* may just as well be from PIE **k* with Verner's law. If so, the word can, in fact, ultimately be related with Go. *hoha* (a masculine *n*-stem) and Ru. *soxá* 'plow'. In view of Lith. *šaká* 'branch' and Skt. *śākhā-* 'id.' it is generally assumed to have originally designated some kind of a hooked twig used for plowing. The **ō* of Go. *hoha* can be analogical after apophonic *n*-stems of the type **mōhō*, **magini* 'poppy' < **méh₂k-ōn*, **mh₂k-én-i*, as evidenced by OSw. *val-mōghe* and OHG *maho*, *mago*.

OCS *prōgōv*, OHG *howe-spranka*, MLG *spranke* 'locust' (S43). In spite of the lacking *s* in Slavic, which may have been dissociated from the root in OCS *isprōgnōti* 'to jump out', the two words are probable cognates. Yet, in view of the clear connection with the common Germanic verb **springan-* 'to leap' (cf. Vasmer II: 450), the **k* of *spranka* is unlikely to be primary. We could very well be dealing with an *n*-stem **sprangō*, **sprank^aaz* < **sprong^h-ōn*, **sprong^h-n-os*, a reconstruction that obliterates the etymon as a possible counter-example to Winter's law.

Lith. *reñgtis* 'to bend, curve', OE *wrencan* 'to twist' (D475). Dybo doubts the value of the given comparison as counter-evidence against Winter's law, because of the co-existence of a root variant **ureng^h-* as in OE *wringan* 'to wrench'. I agree to Dybo's conclusion, but it is risky to establish a PIE root variant **ureng-* purely on the basis of Germanic forms. OE *wrencan* not necessarily continues PIE **ureng-* (cf. Pokorny IEW 1154), but perhaps PGm. **wrank^ajan-* with a shortened geminate. The nasal required for Kluge's law to operate may have been of verbal origin. As a consequence, Skt. *várjati* (Pokorny IEW 1154) does not have to be related.

Lat. *rubenis* 'black grouse', Lith. *jerbė*, *irbė* 'hazel grouse', RuCS *rejb* 'partridge', ON *rjúpa* 'ptarmigan' (S46). Derksen (2000) has argued that the root variation within Baltic and Slavic, and between Balto-Slavic and Germanic are indicative of non-Indo-European origin for the word. Regardless, the *p* of ON *rjúpa* does not have to be old, and – as usual – may continue a shortened geminate as in **reup^aōn-*. In view of OHG *reba-huon* 'partridge' < PGm. **reb-* and ON *jarpi* < **erp^(p)an-*, it is conceivable that Proto-Germanic once had a paradigm **rebō*, **urp^aaz*, which was leveled as **erp^aō*, **urp^aaz* on the one hand, and **rebō*, **ruppaz* on the other. ON *rjúpa* would then represent an analogical nominative **reup^aō* formed to the last mentioned genitive **ruppaz*.

As to Balto-Slavic, it may be worthwhile to investigate whether the same *n*-stem **Hrēb^(h)-ēn*, **Hrb^(h)-n-ós* could not just as well account for the difference

between Ru. dial. *rjab* < **Hremb-* and Lith. *irbė* < **Hrb-*, assuming that Lith. *jerbė* and *jeru(m)bė* / RuCS *jarėb̃* are late contamination forms of two analogical paradigms **rembēn*, **rumbnas* and 2. **erbēn*, *irbnas*. The nasalization in *jerumbė* and *jarėb̃* would then have to be intrusive, like in Lith. *vanduō*, the *u* of *jeru(m)bė* comparable to the *u* of *ugnis* < **ng^w-ni-*. Note that both the Germanic and the Balto-Slavic material contain considerable evidence for an old *n*-stem.

Lith. *skeṛsti* (*skeṛdžia*) 'to butcher, stab', MHG *scherze* 'chunk' (S49, R536). The semantics are not compelling, but if the etymology is correct, the proto-form of *scherze*, a masculine *n*-stem, can be **skertan-* just so much as **skert'an-*. With the addition of MHG *scherten* 'to cut, pierce' < **skardjan-* the latter option becomes all the more probable. As a result, there is no longer a compelling reason to assume that *skeṛsti* is a loanword, as Rasmussen suggests. Note that Stang explicitly rejects the connection with Skt. *kydhú-* 'short' because of its voiced aspirate, which, however, is beside the point.

Lith. *skrebėti* (*skrėba*) 'to rustle', Ru. *skrestí* (*skrebú*) 'to scratch', OE *screpan* 'to scratch' (S49, R536). Rasmussen explains the absence of Winter's law in *skrebėti* by reconstructing a root **skrebH-*, the laryngeal causing aspiration in Balto-Slavic. Instead, I would derive the Germanic strong verb **skrep-* from **skrapōn-* 'to scrape', which, as I have argued in the aforementioned, is an analogical variant emanating from the original paradigm **skrapōþi*, **skrabunanþi* < **skrob^h-neh₂-ti*, **skrob^h-nh₂-énti*. With this paradigm, the Middle Dutch variants *schraven*, *schrabben*, *schrappen*, *schrapen* all receive an explanation. Notably, Lühr (1988: 358-9) already supposed a root **skrob^h-* on the basis of *schrapen* and *schrappen* only. And thus to explain the absence of Winter's law in Balto-Slavic is not necessarily a matter of circularity.

Lith. *slābnas*, *slōbnas*, G *schlaff* (S50, R535, M64, D9). Rasmussen reconstructs **slab-nó-*, because he assumes that Winter's law did not operate before resonants. Matasović has to see OCS *slab̃* as problematic, because he does not expect lengthening in open syllables. In view of the incongruity of Lith. *slōbnas* on the one hand, and Latv. *slābnas*, SCr. *slāb* on the other, Derksen regards all the Baltic forms as borrowings from Slavic **slāb̃* (a), which he identifies as the regular outcome of **slobo-*.

Unfortunately, the reconstruction **slobo-* does not work for Germanic. It is indeed able to account for G *schlaff* < **slapa-* and Go. *slēpan*, G *schlafen* 'to sleep', but the material is more extensive. Old Norse/Icelandic has *slafa-st* 'to slacken, subside' < **slabōn*, *slabba* 'to hang' < **slabbōn-* and *slapa* 'to slack, droop' < **slapōn-*, which together may point to a paradigm **slappōþi*, **slabunanþi* < **slob^h-neh₂-ti*, **slob^h-nh₂-énti*. The vacillation of Icel. *slapur* and *slappur*, both meaning 'slack, lazy', too, is indicative of Kluge variation. It is

possible, therefore, that PGm. **slēpan-* 'to sleep' and Icel. *slæpa* 'to laze' < **slēp^ojan-* are in fact derived from a verbal stem **slapp-* < **slob^h-n-* (cf. Lühr 1988: 359).

Lith. *smāginti*, OFri. *smakia* 'to try' (S51, D479). Dybo assumes root variation, i.e. **smeg-* besides **smeg^h-* (= Pokorny IEW: 967), and pairs the Lithuanian circumflex root with OHG *gismagmo* m. 'taste'. The root **smeg-*, however, is strictly limited to Germanic, and should probably not be projected into the Indo-European proto-language. It is possible, that OFri. *smakia* < **smakōn-* and MHG *smacken* < **smakkōn-* 'to smell' both sprouted from a primary paradigm **smakkōþi*, **smagunanþi* < **smog^h-neh₂-ti*, **smog^h-nh₂-énti*. In principle, though, the attestation of *gismagmo* alone is reason enough to start from **smog^h-* rather than **smog-*. A similar explanation may account for the variation between Lith. *smōgti* 'to lash' and OE *smacian* 'to smack' (S51).

Lith. *stāgaras* 'stalk', OCS *stog̃* 'haystack', OE *staca* 'stake' (R536, M65, D10, D477-8). One is easily tempted to isolate OE *staca* m. from its etymological context, and straightforwardly reconstruct a PIE root **stog-* (cf. Pokorny IEW: 1014, Falk & Torp 1960: 1146). But, as Dybo already noted, "the germanic gemination does not allow to establish the character of the PIE voiced obstruent", and this certainly holds true for OE *staca*. Inner-Germanic cognates such as MLG *stacke* 'stick' and especially Du. (obs.) *stag* 'stick' indicate that we rather need to start from an old *n*-stem **stagō*, **stakkaz* < **stōg^h-ōn*, **stog^h-n-ōs*. This reconstruction agrees with both Gr. στόχος 'post' and the non-acute root of the Balto-Slavic forms.

OCS *stegnōti* 'to knit', OHG *stehhan* 'to sting' (S55). Stang assumes a root **steg-* on the basis of the given forms, but this only works for Germanic. In view of the strong verb **stingan-* 'to sting' (with a nasal infix), it is probably more profitable to start from a root **steg^h-* besides **stiğ-* as in Lat. *instīgō*. Theoretically, it is possible to connect OHG *stehhan* with **steg^h-*. The **k* must then be due to contamination with an unknown geminated formation. It seems more likely, however, that OHG *stehhan* represents a *tudāti*-verb **stikan* of the root **stiğ-*. It can be compared to e.g. OHG *upar-wehan* 'to prevail' < **wihan* < **wik-* (cf. Lat. *vincō*). The transfer of the verb to the fifth class follows from the lowering of **i* to **e* by *a*-mutation.

Lith. *stul̃bas*, Ru. *stolb*, ON *stolpi* 'post' (S55-6, R535, D445). Rasmussen seeks to explain the Baltic circumflex as the result of borrowing from Slavic. Dybo, too, starts from **stlb-*, surmizing that the circumflex was adopted from the parallel word Lith. *stul̃pas*, PSI. **stl̃p̃* 'post'. Alternatively, the *p* of *stolpi* can be explained from a paradigm **stulbō*, **stulp^aaz* < **stlb^h-ōn*, **stlb^h-n-ōs*, which eliminates the necessity to reconstruct the root as **stlb-* with a PIE *b*. The BSL forms with *p* may well be due to borrowing from West Germanic, cf. MDu.

stolpe 'bar'. From this perspective, the root **stlb^h*- can be interpreted as a derivation from the verbal root **stel-* 'to put' with the suffix **-b^ho-* (Pokorny IEW 1019-1020).

Though it is not entirely within the scope of this article, I would also like to add two instances that seem to constitute positive evidence for Winter's law, while they really are not, or do not have to be.

Lith. *gnybti*, *žnybti*, MLG *knipen* 'to pinch' (S23, D420). This etymon is adduced by Dybo as a positive example of Winter's law, assuming a PIE root **g^hneib-*. In view of Du. *knippen* 'cut (hair), press' and especially ON *knifr* 'knife', I find it preferable to reconstruct **g^hneiHb^h*-.

Lith. *k(i)augė* 'shock, pile', G *Hocken* 'heap' (S27, D426). G *Hocken* being an *n*-stem, its geminate is highly conspicuous. With Lith. *kiaugė* it is therefore possible to reconstruct both **keug-on-* and **keuHgh-on-*, although the latter form violates the PIE root structure.

5. Conclusion

Although I might not have treated all the relevant material in the above, I hope to have demonstrated that a large part of the (potential) evidence against Winter's law in Germanic is in fact no counter-evidence at all. Conversely, the Germanic consonantism is often likely to be secondary, because it was prone to the operation of Kluge's law. In the *n*-stems and the nasal presents, the situation was severely complicated by paradigmatic analogy. Consequently, a single root variant should never be isolated from its morphological context, because usually the original consonantism can only be established by comparing all the different allomorphs.

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Tone Reversal in Kajkavian Dialects of Croatian¹

KEITH LANGSTON

I. Introduction

The basic kajkavian accentual system has distinctive pitch accents on long vowels, with a long rising accent reflecting the Common Slavic neoacute and a long falling accent reflecting the original long circumflex and the neocircumflex (Ivić 1936: 70). However, dialects in the Križevačko-Podravski group (Ivšić's Group IV) with distinctive pitch exhibit the opposite distribution of rising and falling accents; e.g. Group IV **měso* > *měso* 'meat', **vī dišb* > *vidiš* 'see.2SG.PRES', **sūša* > *sūša* 'drought' vs. *měso*, *vī diš*, *sūša* in other kajkavian dialects.² This phenomenon has been labeled "cross-metatony" (*unakrsna metatonija*) in the Croatian dialectological literature (see Lončarić 1996: 27-28), but the more common linguistic term "tone reversal" will be used here. In addition to this reversal of the pitch accents, Group IV dialects exhibit a number of other innovations in their accentual systems. All of the dialects in this group do not allow a rising accent on final/single syllables (e.g. **grād̄b* > *grāt* 'town', like **kljūčb* > *kljūč* 'key') and have retracted the accent from short final syllables, yielding a rising accent on a preceding long vowel; e.g. **glāvā* > *glāva* 'head'. Most of these dialects have also retracted the accent from short internal syllables, and many of them simultaneously exhibit a forward shift of the accent from initial short syllables to the following syllable, resulting in a reversal of the place of the accent in certain groups of forms; e.g. **lopāta* > *lōpata* 'shovel' and **jāgoda* > *jağōda* 'strawberry'. In this paper I will examine various possible explanations for this puzzling state of affairs, taking into consideration the

¹ Thanks to Mate Kapović, Frederik Kortlandt, Tijmen Pronk and other participants of IWoba III, as well as David Mandić for their helpful comments.

² The kajkavian accents are indicated with the symbols commonly employed in Croatian dialectology: a tilde is used for the kajkavian long rising accent, a rounded circumflex for the long falling, and a double grave for short accented vowels. In the examples cited in this text the transcription used in the various dialect studies has been regularized, and some phonetic details indicated in the original sources of dialect data that are not relevant to the present discussion have been omitted. In reconstructed forms the tilde represents the Common Slavic (CS) long neoacute, the rounded circumflex represents the CS long circumflex and the neocircumflex, and a double acute is used for the CS acute.

phonological plausibility of the proposed developments as well as their broader linguistic implications.

II. The available data and their reliability

Although the existence of these kajkavian dialects with apparently reversed pitch accents has been known at least since the publication of Ivšić's "Jezik Hrvata kajkavaca" (1936), they have attracted little scholarly attention, even within Croatian linguistic circles. Kajkavian dialects in general are underrepresented in research on the central South Slavic dialect zone, and the available data from Group IV kajkavian dialects are quite limited. Ivšić cites only a few characteristic examples in his work, usually without attribution to a specific dialect, and apart from Lončarić's (1986) study of the Bilogorski dialect group, which deals with prosodic questions in some detail, practically the only other available data are to be found in brief descriptions of a few individual dialects.

Given the limited amount of data, one could question whether the reported tone reversal represents a regular phonological development or is instead restricted to certain lexical items or morphological categories. However, the available sources all agree in describing the reversed tonal contours as regular for the Group IV dialects; although a number of exceptions are also recorded, they can sometimes be explained as regular developments from earlier accentual variants or on other grounds (see, for example, Lončarić 1986: 96-98). As can be seen from the data cited in (1), the tone reversal is attested in various types of stems and in different grammatical forms.

(1) Distribution of pitch accent in Group IV³

Vrbovec (Kalinski and Lončarić 1994)

- a. from circumflex: *měso* 'meat', *sěno* 'hay', *těsto* 'dough', *vrěmę* 'time'
- b. from neocircumflex: *bāpski* 'old-womanish', *čūla* 'heard.FEM.SG', *mīslim* 'think.1SG.PRES.' *otāva* 'second crop of hay', *zājec* 'hare'
- c. from neoacute: *līstję* 'leaves' *pīšem* 'write.1SG.PRES.', *sęla* 'village.NOM.-ACC.PL.', *sūša* 'drought', *zęlję* 'greens, cabbage', *žęnski* 'female, woman's'

³ Examples with a rising pitch reflecting an original circumflex are necessarily limited; in addition to the fact that the amount of data as a whole is small, the sources often give examples of nouns only in their citation forms, and these dialects have no pitch distinction on monosyllables. The examples cited here also include forms reflecting internal kajkavian developments; e.g., the long neoacute on original short vowels.

Brčevac (Šojat 1968)³

- a. from circumflex: *glāvų* 'head.ACC.SG.' *ljūdi* 'people.NOM.PL.', *rųky* 'hand, arm.ACC.SG.', *vūya* 'ear.GEN.SG.' *zųbom* 'tooth.INSTR.SG.'
- b. from neocircumflex: *bogātstvo* 'wealth', *jāčmen* 'barley', *lopātu* 'shovel.INSTR.SG.', *sędņę* 'sit.3SG.PRES.', *vidim* 'see.1SG.PRES.'
- c. from neoacute: *pīšem* 'write.1SG.PRES.', *ožęnjen* 'married', *sūša* 'drought'

Cubinec (Šojat 1981)

- a. from circumflex: *māso* 'meat', *vūvo* 'ear', *zlāto* 'gold'
- b. from neocircumflex: *mīslim* 'think.1SG.PRES.', *mlīnar* 'miller', *pāvuk* 'spider'
- c. from neoacute: *mlātim* 'thresh.1SG.PRES.', *sūša* 'drought', *zelęno* 'green.NEUT.NOM.SG.DEF.'

Bilogorski dialects (Lončarić 1986)⁴

- a. from circumflex: *kūma* 'godfather.GEN.SG.', *měso* 'meat', *těsto* 'dough'
- b. from neocircumflex: *čūje* 'hear.3SG.PRES.', *krāvų* 'cow.INSTR.SG.', *otāva* 'second crop of hay'
- c. from neoacute: *līstje* 'leaves', *mlāda* 'bride', *mlāti* 'thresh.3SG.PRES.', *pīta* 'ask.3SG.PRES.'

Dolanec and Jalševac (Lončarić 1982)

- a. from circumflex: *kūma* 'godfather.GEN.SG.', *měso* 'meat'
- b. from neocircumflex: *gāvran* 'crow', *jāstrep* 'hawk'
- c. from neoacute: *mlāti* 'thresh.3SG.PRES.', *sūša* 'drought'

The reversal in the place of accent also appears to be a regular development in many of these dialects (classified by Ivšić as subgroups IV₁-IV₂ and IV₅-IV₆):

(2) Conflicting shifts in the place of accent in Group IV⁵

Vrbovec

with retraction: *kōbila* 'mare', *lōpata* 'shovel'; with progressive shift: *jabōka* 'apple', *jağōda* 'strawberry', *mljezivo* 'colostrum'

³ Brčevac is a village about 1 km from Vrbovec, with essentially the same dialect as in the town.

⁴ Lončarić's study of the Bilogorski dialects covers about one quarter of the area in Ivšić's Group IV, including Vrbovec, Brčevac, and Cubinec.

⁵ Shifts in the place of accent also occur in Cubinec, together with optional lengthening (e.g., *lōpata/lōpata* 'shovel', *jağōda/jağōda* 'strawberry'). For Dolanec and Jalševac, Lončarić (1982) only cites examples with the progressive shift, which is not consistently attested (e.g., *kravāmi* 'cow.INSTR.PL.', *męšęca* 'month, moon.GEN.SG.', but *jağōda/jağōda* 'strawberry', *plākala* 'cried.FEM.SG.').

Brčevac

with retraction: *kõlĵeno* 'knee', *sĕkira* 'ax', *õpasti* 'decline'; with progressive shift: *mačãħa* 'stepmother', *brinũti se* 'worry', *vidĕti* 'see'

Bilogorski dials.

with retraction: *kõpala* 'dug.FEM.SG.', *pĕcite* 'bake.2SG.IMP.'; with progressive shift: *jabũka* 'apple', *ĵagõda* 'strawberry', *morĕte* 'be able.2PL.PRES.', *plakãli* 'cried.MASC.PL.'

Prior to exploring possible explanations for these developments, it is necessary to consider the phonetic characteristics of the pitch accents in these dialects. Differences in the realization of the rising and falling accents between Group IV and other kajkavian dialects could conceivably cause researchers to misidentify the accents in their transcriptions, and they could also provide clues to the historical developments leading to the current distribution of rising and falling tone. However, the available dialect descriptions do not mention any such differences, and the results of the acoustic analysis of representative examples in Lončarić (1986) are very similar to those reported by Lehiste and Ivić (1986: 80–83) for the conservative kajkavian dialect of Donja Pušća (Ivšić's Group I). The pitch movement of the accented syllable is distinctive; the kajkavian acute accent is rising or (less commonly) level, while the circumflex is falling.⁶ Based on the acoustic data and the consistency with which this phenomenon has been reported by different researchers, it appears as if the rising and falling accents have indeed been reversed in Group IV.

III. Previous explanations for the accentual developments in Group IV dialects

Junković (1972: 201) explains both the tone reversal and the shifts in the place of the accent in Group IV dialects as results of the same phonological process. Starting from the assumption that the rising pitch can be interpreted as an accent on the second mora of a long syllable, and the falling pitch as an accent on the first mora of a long syllable, he posits a chain shift triggered by the initial retraction of the accent from the final mora of words, with successive changes occurring to preserve the accentual distinctions between different forms, as shown schematically in (3) below. According to Junković's account, when the accent retracted from the final mora of a word to the penultimate mora (e.g.,

⁶ Although this does not correspond to Ivšić's description of the rising accent in kajkavian, čakavian, and Posavian štokavian dialects, which he characterized as jumping from a lower to higher pitch (Ivšić 1911), Lehiste and Ivić (1986: 79) state that they found no evidence for this "broken tone" in the čakavian, kajkavian, and Slavonian dialects they studied, and the same has been reported for other čakavian dialects (see Langston 2006).

**sramotã* > *sramõta* 'shame', **dũšã* /duuš'a/ > *dũša* /du'uša/ 'soul'), words with an original accent on the penultimate mora also shifted the accent back by one mora (e.g., **lopãta* > *lopata* 'shovel', **sũša* /su'uša/ > *sũša* /s'uuša/ 'drought'), and so forth. In forms where the accent was on the initial mora and no retraction was possible, the accent instead shifted forward to the following mora (e.g., **ĵãgoda* > *ĵagõda* 'strawberry', **mẽso* /m'eeso/ > *mẽso* /me'eso/ 'meat').

(3) Tone reversal and accent retraction/advancement interpreted as a chain shift

$$\begin{array}{l} \mu \mu \mu \rightarrow \mu \mu \mu \\ \mu \mu \mu \rightarrow \mu \mu \mu \\ \# \mu \mu \mu \rightarrow \mu \mu \mu \end{array}$$

This analysis raises a number of questions. Junković's theory incorrectly predicts that words with a neocircumflex accent on an internal syllable would retract the stress to the preceding syllable (e.g. **otãva* 'second crop of hay' > **õtava*), instead of changing the neocircumflex to a rising accent, as is actually the case (*otãva*). In more general terms, this explanation is based on a functional view of sound change, whereby a change in one element in the system causes a coordinated change in another element that would otherwise merge phonologically with the first, to avoid the loss of distinctions that are used to encode different meanings. But this type of argument cannot explain why mergers are actually more common than chain shifts, or why parallel movements that do not involve chain shifts are also commonly attested (Labov 1994: 551). Although sound change may in some instances be motivated by a need to preserve semantic distinctions, it is not a particularly compelling explanation in this particular case, since the semantic load carried by prosodic features is relatively low; there is only a limited number of minimal pairs in these dialects that are distinguished solely by rising vs. falling pitch or place of the accent, and a merger of the rising and falling accents did take place in final/single syllables.⁷ More importantly, the process described by Junković is phonetically implausible. While chain shifts involving vowels, for example, can be understood to reflect some general principle for optimizing the acoustic or articulatory space, it is less obvious how a chain shift involving stress could take place. Distinctions between vowels are gradient in nature, and a certain amount of variation is tolerated in the realizations of a given vowel; when the realizations of one vowel shift so that they encroach on the phonetic space of another vowel in the system, they can trigger a corresponding shift in the second vowel. Stress, on the other hand, is a suprasegmental feature involving

⁷ One can draw an obvious comparison to other Slavic languages, such as Polish and Czech, which survived massive phonological leveling of the place of accent without suffering any breakdown in communication.

multiple phonetic cues that is either associated with some prosodic constituent or not. It is difficult to see how a retraction of the stress from the third mora to the second mora in one form would be able to trigger a similar retraction from the second to the first mora in another form, as Junković proposes.⁸

The last stage in the cascade of shifting stresses envisaged by Junković, where the retraction from the second to the first mora triggers a forward shift of the accent from the first mora to the second in other forms, is essentially a phonological exchange rule: $A > B$ and $B > A$. In essence, one might just as well say that the rising accent becomes falling and the falling accent becomes rising in Group IV, rather than treating this as part of a chain shift, as Junković does. However, in an often-cited survey of supposed phonological exchange processes, Anderson and Browne (1973) conclude that exchange rules are only possible if they are morphologically conditioned; other linguists have argued against the possibility of exchange rules even with this stipulation (e.g., Bye 2006). In the kajkavian dialects in question, there are no obvious morphological or phonological conditioning factors that could trigger a reversal of the fundamental frequency contours. The opposite distribution of rising and falling tones appears to occur consistently in different grammatical forms and different phonological environments. An analysis that entails a simple reversal of the rising and falling pitch contours, or a shift of the accent from the second to the first syllable and the first to the second, does nothing to explain how such a system could have developed.

In contrast to Junković, who proposes a unified explanation for both the tone reversal and the shifts in the place of the accent in the Group IV dialects, Lončarić (1996: 51) points out that there are dialects with tone reversal that do not also have the progressive shift in the place of accent, so that one does not necessarily have to treat them as part of the same process. The tone reversal could represent an earlier change, with shifts in the place of accent occurring only later and not covering the same geographical area. On the basis of this observation, Lončarić (1996: 52) proposes another possible explanation for the tone reversal, suggesting that it may reflect the direct development of opposite tones at the time of the rise of the neoacute. According to his account the retraction of the accent from weak jers resulted in a falling rather than a rising pitch contour on the preceding syllable in these dialects.⁹ This new circumflex

⁸ Note also that some linguists argue that stress can only be associated with syllables, not individual moras as in Junković's analysis (e.g., Hayes 1995: 49). It would be possible to reinterpret the stress here as H tone, but a chain-shift explanation operating with H tone instead of stress would encounter the same problems.

⁹ A similar development is seen in some other central South Slavic dialects, where later retractions of the accent result in a phonetically falling pitch contour on the preceding syllable.

accent then triggered the change of the old circumflex to rising to avoid a phonological merger, as shown in (4). Lončarić therefore relies on the same functional motivation to explain the change of falling to rising pitch, but he offers no explanation for the shifts in the place of the accent. This hypothesis assumes a very early isogloss between these kajkavian dialects and the rest of Slavic, which developed a rising accent (the neoacute) from the retraction of the accent from weak jers; furthermore, it is unclear why the neocircumflex, which must have developed later than the neoacute, should have the same rising reflex as the original circumflex in these dialects if one accepts this view.

(4) Tone reversal triggered by the development of a new falling accent (Lončarić 1996)

kljūč' b > kljūč
drūg > drŭg

IV. Tone reversal in other languages

While the development of opposite tones in closely related languages or dialects is not particularly frequent, it is attested in a number of different language families (e.g., Athabaskan, Bantu, Germanic). However, as pointed out by Kingston (2003), many of these cases do not represent a true tone reversal, in which a particular tone or tonal contour has been replaced by its opposite (e.g., $H \rightleftharpoons L$, $LH \rightleftharpoons HL$), but rather a phonetically conditioned development of different tones from the same earlier source. For example, a glottalic consonant can condition either a creaky quality, associated with lower fundamental frequency (F_0), or a tense quality, associated with higher F_0 , in the preceding vowel. If the glottalic articulation is subsequently lost, these differences in F_0 can be phonologized respectively as L or H tone on the originally glottalized vowels, with the originally plain vowels being assigned the opposite tonal value. This development has been posited for some Athabaskan languages:

(5) Direct development of opposite tones from the same consonantal source (Kingston 2003)

	Proto- Athabaskan	Chipewyan (H-marked)	Gwich'in (L-marked)
'belly'	*wət'	bór	vàd
'smoke'	*łəd	łər	łád

This outcome is possible even when pitch distinctions are present in the system, as seen in dialects such as Prozor (see Langston 2006: 94).

Although Lončarić explicitly compares the kajkavian situation to the opposite tones seen in Lithuanian vs. Latvian and Slavic (e.g., Lith. *draūgas* [rising] vs. Latv. *drāugs*, CS **drūgō* [falling]; Lith. *môtė* [falling] vs. Latv. *māte* [sustained tone], CS **māti* [acute]; see Lončarić 1996: 27, 49), the latter can similarly be attributed to the development of different tones on vowels that were originally followed by a laryngeal consonant,¹⁰ which is not the case in kajkavian.

According to Kingston (2003), true examples of tone reversal are the result of perceptual mistakes. There is a general tendency for the target F_0 for a tone to be realized late in the syllable, and if this target is delayed sufficiently it can result in a shift of the tone to the following syllable. If the latter syllable originally carried the opposite tone, the result would be a tone reversal. Another possible scenario for tone reversal, which can also be interpreted as involving a delay of the F_0 target, is seen in sequences of successive syllables with the same tone. The F_0 for the first syllable can shift to the mid or neutral range (in other words, the original target for the first syllable is delayed until the second; e.g., HH > MH), and this first syllable can then be reinterpreted phonologically as carrying the opposite tone (MH > LH). Both of these developments are attested in Bantu languages (see Kingston 2003 for a detailed discussion). However, this type of explanation would also not seem to be applicable to the kajkavian dialects. The kajkavian pitch accent systems are fundamentally different from the tonal systems that Kingston considers; kajkavian dialects can be analyzed as having only one phonological H tone per word, with other moras assigned a L tone by default. Furthermore, the change of the rising accent to falling and the retraction of the accent would imply an anticipation of the F_0 peak rather than a delay.

The Franconian dialects of German might provide a more apt comparison to the kajkavian situation. These dialects have developed a lexical contrast between Tone Accent 1 (falling or rising-falling) and Tone Accent 2 (a complex contour with a rising or flat pitch in its final portion); as in kajkavian, these are pitch accent systems with only one contrastive tone per word. Two smaller, geographically peripheral zones in this dialect group have a reversed distribution of tone (known as Rule B) in comparison with the rest of the dialects (Rule A); e.g.

(6) Franconian tone reversal (Ternes 2006: 96-97)

Trier (Rule A)	Beuren (Rule B)	
/pɛ:rt/	/²pɛ:rt/	'horse.PL'
/naj/	/²naʊ/	'new'

¹⁰ The Balto-Slavic developments are more complicated than those posited for Athabaskan, and there are differing opinions as to the phonetic realization of the acute accent in Slavic.

/²hont/	/¹hont/	'dog'
/²va:sər/	/¹va:sər/	'water'

There is no single generally accepted explanation for the development of the Franconian tone contrasts themselves or for the different distribution seen in the two groups of dialects. New quantitative distinctions resulting from the lengthening of vowels in open syllables followed by apocope of word-final *a* were apparently accompanied by the development of distinctive pitch contours on vowels. According to Schmidt and Künzel (2006), the difference distribution of tone in Rule A and Rule B dialects is the result of contact between dialects with distinctive tone and non-distinctive quantity (Rule A) and dialects that originally had distinctive quantity and non-distinctive tone (Rule B). In their reconstruction, there was a mismatch between the phonetic duration of vowels and the associated tonal contours in the two groups of dialects, and the Rule B dialects adapted their tonal contours towards those of the Rule A dialects on the basis of quantity, resulting in a reversal of the original distribution of tone.

A more detailed examination of this hypothesis and a comparison with competing explanations for Franconian tone reversal proposed by other scholars would lead us too far afield, but it does suggest a different possible avenue of research into the kajkavian tone reversal. Because of their location on the northeastern edge of the kajkavian dialect zone, many of the Group IV dialects developed in close contact with štokavian dialects over a significant period of time (see Lončarić 1986: 24-25). Although the change of the falling accent to rising and the forward shift of the accent in Group IV have no parallels in štokavian, complex interactions arising from the contact between these two dialect groups with their different prosodic systems could have played a role in the divergence of Group IV from the rest of the kajkavian area.

V. An alternative explanation for the accentuation of Group IV kajkavian dialects

It is difficult to provide a phonologically plausible account for the distribution of tone and stress in the Group IV kajkavian dialects since they reflect seemingly contradictory developments. The change of the rising accent to falling is seen in many other central South Slavic dialects, and can be understood as the elimination of a more marked tonal contour. The retraction of the accent to the preceding syllable is also widespread in closely related dialects and has been explained as reflecting a preference for trochaic foot structure by some scholars (Bethin 1998: 164-168, Zec 1999). However, the change of the falling accent to rising and the advancement of the stress are not typical for Slavic and obviously are not amenable to the same explanations. The relative chronology of the changes is also problematic. One might reasonably

assume that the change of the neoacute to falling and the retraction of the accent from short final syllables occurred earlier, because of their broader geographic distribution. These developments are shared with other groups of kajkavian dialects, while the change of the circumflex to rising is limited to Ivšić's Group IV; furthermore, it is not present in all of these dialects and is less consistently implemented in some of them than the change of the rising accent to falling (Lončarić 1986: 97, 100-101, 110-111). But if the change of the falling accent to rising is later than the change of the neoacute to falling, then it is not immediately obvious why the former process affected only the original circumflex and neocircumflex, and not the falling accent that had developed from the neoacute. Unless one accepts the possibility of an exchange rule that would apply simultaneously to all forms, it is necessary to reconstruct a sequence of phonological developments that would avoid any such potential mergers.

A possible solution emerges if one compares the Group IV kajkavian dialects with Slovene, which also exhibits both regressive and progressive shifts of the accent. Although the motivation for the Slovene advancement of the circumflex accent is subject to debate, it is possible that a similar development could have occurred in the Group IV kajkavian dialects as well.¹¹ This could have been followed by the change of the rising neoacute accent to falling, then by a retraction of the stress from final short syllables, as illustrated in (7). The subsequent retraction of the shifted circumflex is also attested in some northern Slovenian dialects, e.g. Brdo/Egg (Grafenauer 1905): *kókaš* 'chicken' (stand. Slov. *kokôš*), *mástě* 'fat.GEN.SG.' (stand. Slov. *mastī*), *òblak* 'cloud' (stand. Slov. *oblák*), *òko* 'eye' (stand. Slov. *okô*).

(7) A possible sequence of developments in dialects with tone reversal

a. Circumflex stems advance the accent

měso > *měs'lo*

b. Rising (neoacute) accent becomes falling

sūša > *sūša*

c. Stress is retracted from final short syllables, yielding a new rising accent

měs'lo, dūš'a > *měso, dūša*

The conflicting shifts of the accent leftward and rightward on short stem syllables (in dialects where the latter occurs) could be the result of similar

¹¹ Advancement of the circumflex accent under specific conditions is attested in some kajkavian dialects adjacent to Slovenia, such as Bednja (Jedvaj 1956), but it must be noted that the kajkavian dialects located between the latter area and the Group IV dialects do not share this development.

developments, if one assumes that all short-vowel stems with an initial accent were reinterpreted as belonging to the circumflex type.

(8) Short-vowel stems

a. All short-vowel stems with an initial accent are interpreted as circumflex and advance the accent (most group IV dialects)

pòlje > *polj'e, jàgoda* > *jagod'a*

b. Stress is retracted from final short syllables, yielding a short rising accent

polj'e, jagod'a > *pòlje, jagòda*

c. The short falling accent is retracted from internal syllables

lopàta > *lòpata*

d. Short rising > short falling

pòlje, jagòda, lòpata > *pòlje, jagòda, lòpata*

There is some evidence that could support the posited shift to the final syllable and subsequent retraction yielding a short rising accent. Although in most Group IV dialects pitch distinctions are limited to long syllables, there are a few dialects that reportedly exhibit rising and falling pitch on short syllables, and these dialects regularly have a rising pitch in forms such as *lòpata*, as expected. Although many of these dialects with distinctive pitch on short vowels lack the progressive shift of the accent or exhibit variants without this shift, there are attested examples with a short rising accent in these forms as well:

(9) Possible evidence for the posited shift of an initial accent to the final syllable, followed by retraction (Lončarić 1986: 108)

Srem

mačàva 'stepmother', *imèna* 'name.GEN.SG.', *idèmu* go.1PL.PRES.', *petèro* 'five.COLL.' (but also *svekřva* 'mother-in-law', *jagòda* 'strawberry'; with no progressive shift: *màtere* 'mother.GEN.SG./NOM.PL.', *měseca* 'month, moon.GEN.SG.', *mòremu* 'be able.1PL.PRES.')

Ladislav

svekřva 'mother-in-law', *jagòda* 'strawberry'

The sequence of developments suggested above obviously differs from the Slovene situation in significant ways. In Slovene the circumflex accent shifts forward by only one syllable, and the vowel under the shifted accent is long. Since some of the Group IV dialects maintain the accent on long final syllables, we must assume that here the shifted accent was short. The proposed shift to the final syllable in the Group IV kajkavian dialects could perhaps be understood as the realization of underlyingly stressless circumflex stems with a default final accent rather than a default initial accent, as is the case elsewhere in Slavic. Another possibility would be to interpret the change of the falling accent to rising and the shift of the accent forward from an initial short syllable as an

incomplete progressive shift, in which the accent moved forward only by one mora.¹² On this interpretation one would also have to make adjustments to the scenario proposed above or posit some difference in the phonetic nature of the shifted accent in order to avoid the potential mergers with other accentual types of stems.

In the preceding discussion we have not considered forms with a neocircumflex accent. The neocircumflex could have been subject to the same progressive shift as the original circumflex, followed by retraction to yield a rising accent. But then we are faced with the question of whether the neocircumflex accent also shifted from internal syllables (in forms like *otâva, I sg. *lopâtu), where it is also reflected as a rising accent. Another possibility to consider is whether the lengthening of accented short vowels in the neocircumflex environments may have directly yielded a rising rather than a falling accent in these dialects.

A number of the Group IV dialects (Ivšić's subgroups IV₅-IV₈) have also shifted the accented forward from long syllables. Although this shift of a long falling accent reflecting an original neoacute to the following syllable (e.g., *mlâtimo > *mlâtimo > mlâtimo 'thresh.1PL.PRES.')

(10) Relative chronology of the progressive shift from long vowels

mlâtim, mlâtimo > *mlâtim, mlâtimo*
mlâtiti > *mlâtiti*
mlâtimo > *mlâtimo*

If one interprets the distinction between falling and rising accents as a difference in the presence of a H tone (or stress) on the first vs. second mora of a long vowel, it seems that the group IV₅ and IV₆ dialects have developed a general rule that prohibits the H tone/stress from falling more than three moras from the end of the word. These dialects could then be seen as transitional, developing in the direction of the systems in Ivšić's groups IV₇-IV₈, which restrict the accent to the final two syllables, with or without distinctive pitch. In the latter dialects the accent falls on the final syllable if the vowel is long, otherwise on the penultimate syllable. Given their geographical distribution, it

¹² This idea was suggested by Tijmen Pronk (p.c.), and Greenberg (2000: 107) hints at the same possibility for the Slovene dialect of Brdo/Egg.

seems likely that these dialects also originally underwent the same processes leading to tone reversal and shifts in the place of accent, although some of them have subsequently lost pitch distinctions.

(11) Dialects where the accent occurs on the final syllable if long, otherwise on the penultimate syllable:

Ivšić's type IV₇ (with distinctive pitch)

letī, mlâtim, mēso, mlâtimo, mlâtiti, lopâta, jagôda, G sg. jagodē

Ivšić's type IV₈ (without distinctive pitch)

let'i, ml'a:tim, m'e:so, mla:t'imo, mla:t'iti, lop'ata, jag'oda, jagod'e:

The possible sequence of historical developments suggested here to account for the tone reversal and shifts in the place of stress in Group IV kajkavian dialects obviously represents only a tentative and imperfect solution; the limited amount of data available makes it very difficult to test competing hypotheses, and in particular there is a lack of information about the accentuation of the different grammatical forms of various types of stems, which would be important given the potential for analogical levellings. The tone reversal and accentual shifts in these kajkavian dialects do not appear to be amenable to explanations that have been advanced for tone reversals in other languages. These prosodic developments clearly raise interesting theoretical questions and merit further research.

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Die Entwicklung des Vokalismus vom Protouralischen zum Mordwinischen und die Rekonstruktion der urmordwinischen Betonung¹

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Eines der schwierigsten Probleme der Uralistik ist die Rekonstruktion des Vokalismus. Die Verwandtschaft der uralischen Sprachen ist allgemein anerkannt. Das *Uralische Etymologische Wörterbuch (UEW)* besteht nach der Meinung von Fachleuten aus den Etymologien mit den sichersten konsonantischen und semantischen Reflexen in den modernen uralischen Sprachen. Aber auf Grund des etymologischen Materials des *UEW* ist noch keine systematische Beschreibung der Vokalentwicklung vom Protouralischen bis hin zu den modernen uralischen Sprachen gemacht worden.

Das Schema der Entwicklung des Vokalismus vom Protofinno-ugrischen zum Mokschanischen, zum Beispiel, sieht in dem Buch von Ivanova 2006: 27, das der geschichtlichen Beschreibung des Vokalismus im Mokschanischen gewidmet ist, folgendermaßen aus:

FU ²	PMord ³	Mord. (I ⁴)	Mord. (II, III ⁵)
*ü	e, i, u, o, ə	e, i, u, o, o	i, i//ə, u, ə, o, o
*i, *ī	i, e, ə	i, e, o	i, o
*ä	ä, a, e, i	ä, a, e, i	e, a, i, i//ə
*e	e, i	e, i	i, i//ə
*a	a, u	a, u	a, u//ə
*o	o, u	o, u, ə	o, u//ə
*u, *ū	u, o, ə	u, o, ə	u, u//ə, o, o

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² FU – hier und weiter bedeutet Protofinno-ugrisch.

³ PMord. – hier und weiter bedeutet Protomordwinisch.

⁴ I Art von Mundarten – ä-Mundarten (im phonologischen System gibt es das Phonem ä).

⁵ II Art von Mundarten – i-Mundarten. III Art von Mundarten – e-Mundarten.

*ē	ä, i	ä, i	e, i
*ō	a, u	a, u	a, u

Eine systematische Beschreibung der Entwicklung des Finno-ugrischen Vokalsystems in den Tochtersprachen gibt es bis heute nicht.⁶ "Es ist nicht möglich irgendwelche Schlussfolgerungen über die Ursachen von den Entwicklungen, die nicht den traditionellen Regeln entsprechen, zu machen", bemerkt Mosin (vgl. Mosin 1987: 7).

Ist es wirklich so, dass eine systematische Beschreibung der Entwicklung des protouralischen Vokalismus nicht möglich ist? Haben solche Forscher Recht, die behaupten, dass im allgemeinen die phonetischen Entwicklungen im System des uralischen Vokalismus spontan und analogisch waren? Oder ist es möglich die Entwicklungen des Vokalismus vom Protouralischen zu den modernen uralischen Sprachen mit Rücksicht auf die linguistischen Faktoren, die früher nicht in Betracht gezogen worden sind, systematisch zu beschreiben?

In diesem Artikel versuchen wir auf Grund des Materials aus dem Mordwinischen die letztere Behauptung zu beweisen. Die Faktoren, worauf man, unserer Meinung nach, Rücksicht nehmen muss um eine systematische Beschreibung (mit einer minimalen Anzahl von Ausnahmen⁷) der Entwicklung des Vokalismus vom Protouralischen zum Mordwinischen zu ermöglichen, sind die Beeinflussung der Entwicklung des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe durch die Vokale der zweiten Silbe und die Betonungsstelle.

Der Betonungsfaktor wurde früher, soweit uns bekannt ist, bei der Analyse der Entwicklung des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe in uralischen Sprachen überhaupt nicht in Betracht gezogen.

Über den Charakter der uralischen Betonung existieren verschiedene Hypothesen. Nach der Meinung von Szinneyi 1922 war sie syntagmatisch beweglich. Lytkin 1964, 1965, 1970a hat vorgeschlagen, dass für das FU eine

⁶ Ein Beispiel einer solchen Untersuchung ist die Dissertation von M.V. Mosin. Der Autor hat gezählt, in wie vielen Fällen der Reflex in den Tochtersprachen den traditionellen Regeln entspricht im prozentualen Verhältnis zur Gesamtzahl von den mordwinischen Etymologien. Er hat das folgende Ergebnis bekommen: die Entwicklungen FU Vokalen im Mordwinischen sind in der folgenden Anzahl der Fälle zu erklären: FU *a - 72 % der Fälle, FU *ä - in 48 %, FU *e - in 53,3 %, FU *i - in 34,7%, FU *o - in 51 % und FU *u - in 30%.

⁷ In unserer Theorie der Entwicklung des mordwinischen Vokalismus gibt es 16 Ausnahmen. Sie sind fast ausschließlich in Fußnoten in unserem Artikel dargestellt. Unsere Hypothese wurde nach dem ganzen Material von den Etymologien aus dem UEW und der persönlichen Sammlung von Etymologien von E. Helimski (insgesamt mehr als 200 mordwinischen Etymologien) nachgeprüft. So ist die Anzahl von Ausnahmen von unserer Theorie weniger als 8%. Die Mehrheit dieser Ausnahmen sind als indoiranische Lehnwörter und unsichere Etymologien zu interpretieren.

unfixierte Betonung zu rekonstruieren ist. Aber nach der Meinung von der Mehrheit der Uralisten war die Betonung im FU auf der ersten Silbe fixiert (vgl. zum Beispiel Itkonen 1955, Hajdú 1966, Rédei 1968, usw.).

Traditionell wurde angenommen, dass im Protomordwinischen im Betonungssystem eine neue Gesetzmäßigkeit entstanden ist: von den engen Vokalen der ersten Silbe wurde die Betonung auf die zweite Silbe verschoben, wenn es in der zweiten Silbe ein *a* oder *ä* gab (vgl. Nad'kin 1988, Ivanova 2006). So wurde angenommen, dass **die Betonung, die im Protomordwinischen sowohl auf der ersten Silbe, als auch auf der zweiten Silbe liegen kann, im modernen Mokschanischen sekundär war und automatisch aus dem phonologischen System folgt.** Wir versuchen zu zeigen, dass **die Hypothese über den primären Status der Betonung im Mokschanischen und seinen Einfluss auf die Entwicklung von den Reflexen des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe** die Geschichte des Vokalismus mit wenigen Ausnahmen beschreiben lässt.⁸

In den Arbeiten von E. Helimski ist die Wichtigkeit der Beeinflussung der Vokale der zweiten Silbe durch die zweite Silbe mehrmals hervorgehoben worden (vgl. Helimski 2000). Aber es gibt nur wenige Beschreibungen einzelner uralischen Sprachen, in denen die Beeinflussung der Vokalen der ersten Silbe auf die zweite Silbe eingehend analysiert wurde. E. Helimski (vgl. Helimski 2001) hat, zum Beispiel, in seiner Beschreibung des uralischen Vokalismus ein System mit drei Umlauttypen vorgeschlagen, in dem die Vokale der zweiten Silbe *A-*, *I-*, *U* sein können. In der Dissertation von M.A. Živlov (Živlov 2006) wurde versucht, das obugrische Vokalsystem zu rekonstruieren, in dem es in der zweiten Silbe zehn Vokale gibt, die die Entwicklung der Vokale in der ersten Silbe beeinflussen.

In einigen weiteren Arbeiten wurde allerdings keine systematische Rekonstruktion mit Rücksicht auf die Beeinflussung der ersten Silbe durch die Vokale der zweiten Silbe vorgeschlagen, aber es sind einige Beweise dafür herangetragen, dass auf Grund des Materials aus einigen Sprachen (Mordwinisch⁹, Permischen) es mehr Vokale der zweiten Silbe zu rekonstruieren sind als traditionell gemacht wird¹⁰ (für eine eingehende Analyse dieser Untersuchungen s. Itkonen 1971).

⁸ Die Anzahl der Ausnahmen bei unserer Beschreibung ist 8%, traditionell gibt es 48% Ausnahmen bei der Analyse der Entwicklung des Vokalismus vom Protouralischen zum Mordwinischen (vgl. die Statistik bei Mosin M.W.)

⁹ Für eine Analyse der Arbeiten, die Vokalen in der zweiten Silbe gewidmet sind s. unten.

¹⁰ Nach UEW sind in der zweiten Silbe des protouralischen Wortes die folgende Vokale zu treffen: *ä, *a, *e. Für die zweite Silbe im Protouralischen rekonstruieren Janhunen, 1981, Sammallahti, 1979 die folgende Vokale: *i, *i, *ä, *ä.

Einige Aspekte des synchronischen und diachronischen Vokalismus des Mordwinischen wurden in den folgenden Arbeiten untersucht: Szinneyei 1922, Ravila 1973, Trubeckoj 1987, Bubrix 1937, 1953, Mironov 1936, Itkonen 1946, Koljadencov 1948, Rot 1964, Serebrennikov 1967, Lytkin 1970b, Devaev 1970, Feoktistov 1974, Nad'kin 1988, Ermuškin 1997, M.B. Mosin 1989, Ivanova 2006.

Wie Berezcki (1988) bemerkt hat, bleibt die Arbeit von Itkonen 1946 bis heute eine der vollständigsten Beschreibungen der Geschichte des mordwinischen Vokalismus. In einer kurzen Fassung sehen seine Ergebnisse über die regulären Entwicklungen im System des mordwinischen Vokalismus folgendermaßen aus:¹¹

PU¹²*a > Mord. a; PU *o-a > Mord. u; PU *o-e > Mord. o; PU *u > Mord. o;
PU*ä > Mord. ä (M¹³), e (E¹⁴); PU *e-ä > Mord.i; PU *e-e > Mord. e; PU *i-a >
Mord. o; PU *i-e, ä > Mord. e; PU *ü > Mord. e; PU *i > Mord. o.

Wörter die durch diese Entwicklungen nicht erklärt werden können, erklärt E. Itkonen durch Sonderentwicklungen der Vokale unter dem Einfluss von angrenzenden Konsonanten, zum Beispiel: PU *lakte- 'weggehen, hinausgehen' (Samm.¹⁵ FP¹⁶ *läkti-)¹⁷ 239¹⁸ > Mord. *livte-*, *lifte-* (E) 'herausbringen', *lište-*, *lijte-* (M) 'hervornehmen; hervorquellen', PU *sikše (*sükše) 'Herbst' (Samm. *sükši (*š-!)) 443 > Mord *šoks*, *soks*, *šoks* (E), *šoks*, *šoks* (M)¹⁹.

Die Entwicklung des Vokalismus in 30% der mordwinischen Etymologien ist mit der Theorie von E. Itkonen nicht systematisch zu erklären.

Die Entwicklung des Vokalismus in der zweiten Silbe in FU *a-Stämmen ist in Ravila 1929 beschrieben worden. P. Ravila hat gezeigt, dass die FU *a-Stämme im Protomordwinischen zwei Reflexe haben (*a-Stämme und *ə-Stämme).

Protomordwinische *ə-Stämme haben verschiedene Reflexe in modernen mordwinischen Mundarten. Im Auslaut sind die Reflexe *ə > E -o, M -a, die Entstehung des konsonantischen Auslauts ist in einem oder in beiden

¹¹ Hier und weiter sind nur kurze protouralische Vokale gemeint. Die Reflexe von langen Vokalen hat Itkonen 1946 eingehend beschrieben.

¹² PU bedeutet hier und weiter Protouralisch.

¹³ M bedeutet hier und weiter Mokschanisch.

¹⁴ E bedeutet hier und weiter Erzänisch.

¹⁵ Samm. bedeutet hier und weiter Sammallahti 1988.

¹⁶ FP bedeutet hier und weiter Protofinnischpermisch.

¹⁷ E. Helimski schlägt vor diese Etymologie zu ergänzen durch eine Vergleichung mit Protosamojedischen *jatə.

¹⁸ Die Zahl (und passim) verweist auf die Seitennummer in UEW.

¹⁹ Die Autoren des UEW behaupten, dass im Mordwinischen der palatale Vokal unter dem Einfluss von -k- zum o wird.

Mundarten möglich. Zum Beispiel, PU *kola 'sterben' (Samm. *kaxli-) 173 > Mord. *kulo-* (E M), *kulo* (E), *kula* (*kulə-*) (M) (Paasonen 1992: 942).

Wörter mit *ə haben im Mokschanischen meistens den Reflex -ə-. In Ersänischen Dialekten sind die Reflexe von *ə in nichterster Silbe verschieden und abhängig von der Gruppe von Mundarten. P. Ravila hat auf Grund von Reflexen von *ə zwei Hauptgruppen von Ersänischen Mundarten ausgegliedert: 1) o-Mundarten (Dorf. Kalejkino, Vetschkanovo, neu. Surkina usw.), 2) a-Mundarten (die südlichsten Mundarten; Dorf. Bajevka, Schiramasovo, Kaljaevo, usw.), s. die eingehende Klassifikation von Mundarten in Ravila 1929, 86-87. In o-Mundarten ist der Reflex von protomordwinischen *ə in der nichtersten Silbe -o-, in a-Mundarten -o-, -u-, -i-, -i-. Einige Beispiele der Entwicklung von protomordwinischen *ə im Inlaut: FU *kaswa 'erwachsen, zunehmen' 129 > Mord. *kašoms* (E), *kašəms* (M) 'erwachsen, zunehmen', Paasonen 1996: 637.

P. Ravila hat gezeigt, dass die Reflexe von *ə nach weichen Konsonanten manchmal palatalisiert sind, zum Beispiel: FU *arwa (*arya) 'Preis, Wert' (Samm. *arwa) 16 > Mord. *aščems* (E), *aščəms* (M) 'denken, gesinnt sein (?)', Paasonen 1996: 68.

Die Reflexe von protomordwinischen *a-Stämme sind immer einheitlich. Das ist -a- im Mokschanischen und Erzänischen im Auslaut und Inlaut. Zum Beispiel, FU *waja 'sinken, einsinken, untersinken' 551 > Mord. *vajams* (E), *vajəms* (M), Paasonen 1996: 2511.

In einigen Fällen sind die Reflexe von *-a- neben weichen Konsonanten palatalisiert, zum Beispiel, FU *orpa 'irgendein Verwandter: Bruder, Schwester, vetter, Base usw.' 722 > Mord. *urva* (E), *ərvā* (M) 'Schwiegertochter (E); Frau, Gattin (M)', *urvaksto-* (E), Paasonen 1996: 2476.

P. Ravila hat, nach E.N. Setälä, bemerkt, dass die Reflexe von *o, *u in der ersten Silbe von der FU (FW²⁰) *a in nichterster Silbe abhängig sind, egal ob der Reflex von *a in nichterster Silbe im Protomordwinischen *a oder *ə ist.

P. Ravila schlägt die folgende Erklärung zur Entstehung FW "o-artigen Vokalen" vor:

Protomord. o-Laut I (FU *u): mord. u-a; mord. o (u // o)-a (<*ə, weil sich PU *u in PU *e-Stämmen zum mord. o entwickelt)

Protomord. o-Laut II (FU *o oder *ū): mord. u-ə (<*a); mord. o-a (<*ə)

Die Schwäche der Hypothese von Ravila, wegen deren seine Interpretation von späteren Forschern nicht übernommen wurde, sind folgende. Offensichtlich hat P. Ravila keine sichere Abhängigkeit der Reflexen von FU *u, *o von

²⁰ FW bedeutet hier und weiter das Protofinnischwolgaische.

Stammarten gezeigt. In Wurzeln von *a*-Stämmen hätte der *o*-Laut I (FU **u*) im Mordwinischen zwei Reflexe (*u* oder *o*).

Ähnlich ist die Situation mit dem protomordwinischen *o*-Laut II (FU **o* oder **ū*). Ravila hat nach seiner Meinung eine Abhängigkeit der Entwicklung des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe von dem Vokal in der zweiten Silbe gezeigt. Er verwechselt aber oft FU **o* und **ū*, und behauptet, dass *a* und *ə* sekundär aus protomordwinischen **ə* und **a* entstanden sind.

So wurde eine wirklich interessante Hypothese von Ravila über die Abhängigkeit der Entwicklung von Vokalen der ersten Silbe von den Vokalen der zweiten Silbe von späteren Forschern gar nicht im Betracht gezogen. Hier spielten zwei Sachen eine wichtige Rolle. Erstens hat Ravila oft die FW und FU Etymologien verwechselt. Zweitens hat er zu viel analogische und sporadische Entwicklungen vorgeschlagen.

Nach unserem Wissen, hat niemand nach der Veröffentlichung der Arbeit von Ravila versucht die Entwicklung des Vokalismus in der ersten Silbe im Verhältnis zur Stammart zu analysieren. In Bereczki 1988 wurde sehr kurz bemerkt, dass in den Fällen, wenn der Vokal in der ersten Silbe verschwindet, der Einfluss der Stammart zu sehen ist. Zum Beispiel:

FW **šišna* 'Riemen' 786 (< Protobaltisch **šikšna*-) > Mord. *šna* (E M), *kšna* (E).
FW **kürsä* 'Riemen' 679 > Mord. *kši* ~ *kše* (E), *kši* (Gen.²¹). *kšiñ* (M), Paasonen 1992: 907.

In den Beispielen rekonstruiert G. Bereczki die protomordwinische Form mit der Betonung auf dem Vokal **a* und **ä* in der zweiten Silbe. In diesen Fällen wird nach der Meinung von G. Bereczki der erste Vokal reduziert.

In unserem Artikel analysieren wir die Entwicklung des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe in mordwinischen Sprachen als abhängig von der Reflexen des Vokalismus der nichtersten Silbe.

Wir haben die Reflexe von PU (FU, FP, FW) Vokalen in mordwinischen Sprachen in allen Wörtern, die Reflexe im Mokschanischen und im Finnischen haben²² (vgl. Paasonen 1990-1999, UEW) in FU **a*, **o*²³, **u*, **ä*-Stammarten untersucht. Im vorliegenden Artikel haben wir nur die sichersten Etymologien

²¹ Gen. bedeutet hier und weiter den Genetiv.

²² S. am Anfang des Artikels die Bemerkung, dass die traditionelle Rekonstruktion sich meistens auf dem finnischen Material gründet.

²³ In dieser Arbeit schlagen wir vor, die PU **o* und **u*-Stämme auszugliedern auf Grund der Reflexe des Vokals in der zweiten Silbe im Finnischen. Die Reflexe der Vokalismus von PU **o*, **u*-Stämmen und PU **a*-Stämmen sind in der zweiten Silbe im Mordwinischen zusammengefallen.

ausgewählt, wovon die meisten in den Arbeiten von Janhunen 1981 und Sammallahti 1988 gesammelt worden sind.

Nach Analyse des ganzen Materials wird es klar, dass die protomordwinische Betonung, die in Mokschnischen Mundarten ohne Veränderungen bis heute bewahrt worden ist, eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt hat bei der Entwicklung des Vokalismus in der ersten Silbe. Für die Interpretation der Reflexen von PU (FU) Vokalen in **a*-Stämmen sind vier protomordwinischen Stammarten auszugliedern: 1) **-á-*, 2) **-a-*, 3) **-ə₁-* 4) **-ə₂-*. Die Betonung in protomordwinischen **a*-Stämmen ist ohne Veränderungen in einigen mokschanischen Mundarten erhalten geblieben. In **ə*-Stämmen wurde die bewegliche protomordwinische Betonung im Mokschanischen durch einen festen Akzent auf der ersten Silbe ersetzt. Aber nach der Analyse der Reflexen des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe ist zu sehen, dass es **ə₁*-Stämmen gibt, in denen die Entwicklung des Vokalismus in der ersten Silbe wie in **a*-Stämmen verlaufen ist, und auch **ə₂*-Stämmen, in denen die Entwicklung des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe wie in **ä*-Stämmen verlaufen ist.

Im Mordwinischen sind folgende Reflexe von PU Vokalen in der ersten Silbe in PU **a*-, **o*- und **u*-Stämmen zu sehen²⁴:

ПМ *V (2 слог)	* <i>a</i>	<i>ə₁</i>	<i>-á</i>	<i>ə₂</i>
PU *V (1 слог)				
* <i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>u</i> / <i>-</i> (<i>u</i> / <i>i</i> / <i>ə</i>)(M), <i>u</i> / <i>-</i> (<i>u</i> / <i>i</i> / <i>o</i>)(E) ²⁵	<i>u</i>

²⁴ Aus der weiteren Analyse werden sechs Etymologien ausgeschlossen, weil 1) mord. *kilej* (ChrE), *kelu*, Gen. *keluvəñ* (M) 'Birke', Paasonen 1996: 758 nicht der Reflex von PU **kojwa* 'Birke' (Janh., Samm. (84) **kojji*) 169 ist.

2) FP **orja* 'Sklave' 721 (< PIIr. **ōryo*-?) > Mord. *urē* (ChrE), *urä* (M), Paasonen 1996: 2473.

3) FW **wašara* 'Axt, Hammer' 815 (< PIIr. **važra*-) > Mord. *užer* ~ *vižit* (ChrE), **uzar* / **uzer* (M), Paasonen 1996: 2498.

4) FP **jewä* (> FW **jüwä*) 'Getreide' 633 (< PIIr. **jeua*-) > Mord. *juv* (M) 'Spreu', *juvəñ* (M) 'werfen, schwingen', Paasonen 1996: 555.

In diesen drei Fällen hat das mordwinische Wort eine besondere Entwicklung des Vokalismus, die typisch ist für iranische Lehnwörter.

5) FW **wala* 'gießen' 812 > Fin. *vala*-, Mord. *valo*- (E M) 'gießen, vergießen', *valks*, *valf* (E), *valfkä* (M) 'Rubel',

6) FU **šala* 'Ulme' (Samm. **s'iliw*) 458 > Fin. *salava*, *salaja*, (? *halava*, *hala*) 'Palmweide; salix fragilis l. caprea', Mord. *selej*, *seley* (E), *šäli* < *šeli* (Gen. *šalen*) (M) 'Ulme', Paasonen 1996: 2126, In diesen Etymologien kann man die FW, FU Stammart nicht eindeutig rekonstruieren.

²⁵ Nach der Rekonstruktion von Ivanova 2006, Ermushkin 1977 sehen die Reflexe von protomord. **ə* in der ersten Silbe in FU **a*-Stämmen so aus, zum Beispiel Protomord. **sər* > *sur* 'Finger' vs. *sərne* 'Fingerchen', *šizə*- 'müde werden' vs. *šazan* 'ich werde müde', *šəžəñdun* 'ich bin müde'.

*o	o	o	u/-/(/i/l/ə)(M), u/-/(/i/l/o)(E)	u
*u	o ²⁶	o	u/-/(/i/l/ə)(M), u/-/(/i/l/o)(E)	u
*i	o/e(Ā)	o/e(Ā)	u/-/(/i/l/ə)(M), u/-/(/i/l/o)(E)	u

PU *a-Stämme:

I. Stämme mit protomord. unbetonten *a im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 27 Beispiele):²⁷

PU *a: FU **ana* 'lösen, öffnen, aufmachen' (Samm. **iŋa*) 11 > Fin. *avaa*- 'öffnen, ausbreiten, erweitern'; Mord. *aŋksima* ~ *avšima* (E), *ańcima*, Gen. *ańcimań* (M) 'Wuhne', Paasonen 1996: 45. PU **sala* 'verstecken, verhehlen, stehlen; Dieb' (Janh., Samm. (10) **sala*) 430 > Fin. *sala*- 'Geheimnis, Heimlichkeit, heimlich, verstohten'; Mord. *salams* (E M) 'stehlen, wegstehlen', Paasonen 1996: 1937. PU *o: FW **kočka* (**kočke*) 'Ecke, Winkel' 668 > Fin. *kotkas* (Gen. *kotkaksen*) 'gebogenes od. genietetes Ende eines Nagels'; Mord. *kočkaŋa* (E), *kočkärä* (M) 'Ferse; Eckeisen des Pfluges', Paasonen 1996: 788. PU *u: PU **kuma* 'gebeugte, umgestürzte Lage; sich beugen' (Janh., Samm. (33) **kuma*) 201 > Fin. *kumo-ssa*; Mord. *komams* (E, M) 'sich neigen', *komafto*- (E) 'sich herabbücken, sich niederbeugen', Paasonen 1992: 839. PU **muna* 'Ei; Hode' (Janh., Samm. (19) **muna*) 285 > Fin. *muna*; Mord. *mona* (E) 'Hode', Paasonen 1992: 1282. PU *i: FW **ńila* 'etwas schlüpfriges; Baumsaft, Schleim. Splint; schlüpfrig sein, sich ablösen, ablösen, schinden' (Samm. **ńila*) 318 > Fin. *nila*; Mord. *nola* (E) 'Splint', *nola* (M), Paasonen 1992: 1343. FW **iša* 'Ärmel' 629 > Fin. *hiha*; Mord. *oža* (E), *oža* (M), Paasonen 1994: 1489.²⁸

²⁶ Nach der Analyse sind wir zur Schlussfolgerung gekommen, dass die Reflexe von PU *o und *u in *a-Stämmen identisch sind.

²⁷ Wir analysieren hier die zwei folgenden Etymologien nicht, weil der protouralische Vokal nicht eindeutig zu rekonstruieren ist, wie schon von UEW (für die erste Etymologie) und Sammallahti (für die zweite) gezeigt worden ist: FU **pučka* (**pačka*) 'dünner Kot; laxieren' 396 > Fin. *paska* 'Scheiße, Dreck', *paskanta*- 'scheißen', Saam. **peške* (Lehtiranta 871) *bä'ká* -ik- (N), *pai'hka* (L), *paške* (T) 'Scheiße, Dreck', Mord. *pskino* (E), *pskin* Gen. *pskinəń* (M) 'Durchfall haben, scheißen', Paasonen 1996: 1824.

PU **kojwa* 'graben, schöpfen' (Samm. FP **ka/ojwa-*) 170 > Fin. *kaiva*- 'graben, kratzen, schaben', Saam. *goai'vo*- -iv- (N) 'graben, schöpfen; (im Schnee) scharren und weiden', *käivo*- (L), *koajva*- (T), *koajve*- (Kld. Not.), *kojvo*- (A); *goai'vo* -iv- (N) 'Schaufel, Schippe', *käi'vō* (L), *koajva* (T), *koajv* (Kld. Not.), Mord. *kojme* ~ *kojmü* (E), *kajmü* Gen. *kajməń* (M), *kajmü* (M) Paasonen 1996: 820.

²⁸ Es ist unklar, wie der Reflex des Vokalismus der ersten Silbe in FU **pičla* 'Vogelbeere, Vogelbeerbaum; Sorbus aucuparia' (Samm. FP **pišla*) 376 > Fin. *pihlaja*, *pihlava* 'Eberesche; Sorbus aucuparia', Mord. *pižol* (ChrE), *pižel* Gen. *piželən* (M) 'Eberesche; Sorbus aucuparia', Paasonen 1996: 1697 zu erklären ist.

II. Stämme mit protomord. unbetonten *a im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 45 Beispiele):

PU *a: FU **akta* 'aufhängen, -stecken, -stellen (Falle, Netz)' (Samm. **ikta*) 5 > Fin. *ahta*- 'drängen, (zusammen)packen, (voll)stopfen, (zusammen)pferchen'; Mord. *avtoms* ~ *avtems* ~ *aftems* (E), *aftems* (M), Paasonen 1996: 94. PU **kala* 'Fisch' (Janh., Samm. (8) **kala*) 119 > Fin. *kala*; Mord. *kal* (E), *kal* (M), Paasonen 1992: 574. PU *o: PU **woča* 'Zaun, Fischzaun; mit einem Wehr Fische fangen' (Janh., Samm. (14) *woča*) 577 > Fin. *Otava* 'Lachsnetz; der Große Bär'; Mord. *oš* (E, M) 'Stadt', Paasonen 1994: 1472.²⁹ PU *u: PU **kumpa* 'Welle' (Janh., Samm. (12) **kumpa*) 203 > Fin. *kumpu* 'Hügel, Höhe; (dial.) hohe, runde Welle'; Mord. *komba* Gen. *kombəń* (M) 'kleiner Hügel', *kumboldo-*, *kopildi-* (E) 'in wellenartiger Bewegung sein, wallen', Paasonen 1992: 950. FU **kuppa* 'Geschwür, Beule' 213 > Fin. *kuppa* 'Blase, Beule, Geschwulst'; Mord. *kopo* (E), *kopa* Gen. *kopəń* (M) 'Beule, Stelle unterhalb des Bauches, Schamgegend', Paasonen 1996: 853. PU *i: FP **pinta* 'Fläche, Oberfläche' (Samm. **pinta*) 730 > Fin. *pinta* 'Fläche, Oberfläche; Haut; Schale'; Mord. *pondakš* (E), *ponda* Gen. 'zottig', *pondəń* (M) 'Körper, Leib', Paasonen 1994: 1747. FP **viša* 'Gift --> grün, gelb' (Samm. **viša*) 823 > Fin. *viha* 'Hass, Zorn, Wut, Grimm'; Mord. *ožo* (E), *ožá* (M) 'gelb', Paasonen 1994: 1492.³⁰

III. Stämme mit protomord. *á im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 17 Beispiele):

PU *a: PU **šajma* 'aus Holz ausgehöhltes Gefäß; Boot' 456 > Fin. *saima*; Mord. *šuma* ~ *šima* (E), **šəmə* (: *šəmə*, Gen. -ń) (M) 'aus einem Baum ausgehauener Trog', Paasonen 1996: 2195. PU *e: FW **kerta* 'Reihe, Schicht, Ordnung, Mal, Zeit' 659 > Fin. *kerta* 'Mal; Schicht'; Mord. *kirda* (E), *kərdá* (M), Paasonen 1996: 763. FW **werča* 'Körperbedeckung, Bekleidung; kleiden, sich ankleiden' 820 > Fin. *verho* 'Schirm, Decke; Körperbedeckung, Kleid'; Mord. *orštams* (E), *štšams* (M), *urštams* (M), Paasonen 1996: 1463. PU *o: FU **čonča* ~ *čoča*³¹ 'Floh' 39 >

²⁹ Es ist nicht klar, ob das protomordwinische *a in der zweiten Silbe der folgenden Wörtern betont oder unbetont war:

PU **jotka*- 'Zwischenraum, Mitte' 102 > Mord. *jutko* (ChrE), *jutka* (E:Kad), *jotka* Gen. *jotkəń* (M) 'Zwischenraum, Zwischenzeit', Paasonen 1990, 552. PU **šorwa* 'Horn' (Samm. **s'orwa*) 486 > Mord. *šuro* (ChrE), *šora* (M), Paasonen 1996: 2199.

³⁰ Wir analysieren hier nicht die Etymologie FW **pisa* (**piša*) 'tropfen, tröpfeln' 732 > Fin. *pisara* 'Tropfen, Tröpfchen', *pisaa*- 'heraussickern, tropfen', Mord. *pižems* (ChrE), *pižams* (M) 'regnen', Paasonen 1994: 1694, weil sie unsicher ist. Obwohl diese Wörter semantisch und phonetisch sehr ähnlich sind, können die Reflexe in den verschiedenen Sprachen nicht auf eine protouralische Rekonstruktion zurückgeführt werden.

³¹ Helimski schlägt vor eine Protoform **čə(n)ča* zu rekonstruieren.

Fin. *sonsar, sonsari* (Gen. *sonsaren*); Mord. *čičav* (E), *čučav* (E), *šičáv* (~ *šec̣áv* < *šičáv*), Gen. -*ən* (M), Paasonen 1990: 258. PU **korta* 'sengen, brennen' 186 > Fin. *korttaa-*; Mord. *gurnoms* (E), *gurnáms* (M) 'sengen, versengen', Paasonen 1996: 431.

PU **u*:³² PU **kunta* 'fangen; (eine Beute) finden' 207 > Fin. *kunne* (Gen. *kunteen*) 'Spur eines Druckes; Beule, Vertiefung'; Mord. *kundams* (E), *kundams* (*kundáms*) (M) 'anfassen, ergreifen; fangen', Paasonen 1992: 956. FP **turpa* 'Lippe; Schnauze, Maul' (Samm. FU **turpa*) 801 > Fin. *turpa* 'Schnauze, Maul'; Mord. *turva* ~ *torva* (EM), *tərvá* (M) 'Lippe', Paasonen 1996: 2354. PU **i*: FW **šišna* 'Riemen' 786 > Fin. *hihna* 'Riemen; Band'; Mord. *šna* (E M), *kšna* (E).

IV. Stämme mit protomord. betonten **a*₂ im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 25 Beispiele):

PU **a*: FW **ajta* 'auf Pfählen stehendes Vorratshaus' 605 > Fin. *aita*; Mord. *uòmo* (E), *uòm* (M), Paasonen 1996: 2492. FW **lajwa* 'Boot, Kahn' 682 > Fin. *laiva* 'Schiff'; Mord. *luv* (E:Kad) 'Krippe?', Paasonen 1996: 1087. PU **o*: FU **ora* 'Ahle, Pfliege' (Samm. **ora*) 342 > Fin. *ora* 'Brennbohrer, Dorn'; Mord. *uro* (E), *ura* Gen. *urəń* (M), Paasonen 1996: 2467. PU **u*: FU **muja* 'anrühren, tasten' 284 > Fin. *muista-* 'sich erinnern, verstehen, kennen'; Mord. *mujems* (E), *mujəms* (M) 'finden', Paasonen 1996: 1292. FW **luppa* 'Baumflechte, Moos' 694 > Fin. *luppa, luppo, luppu*; Mord. *nupəń* ~ *luəń* (E), *nupeń* Gen. *nupeńen* (M), Paasonen 1996: 1367.¹⁰⁸ PU **i*: FW **tika* 'Schwein' 796 > Fin. *sika*; Mord. *tuvo* (E), *tuv*, Gen. *tuvəń* (M), Paasonen 1996: 2358.

PU **o*-Stämme:

I. Stämme mit protomord. unbetonten **a* im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 10 Beispiele):

PU **a*: FW **šamV* 'Form, Gestalt, Gesicht' 782 > Fin. *hahmo* 'Gespenst, Schemen; Geist, Schatten'; Mord. *čama* (E), *šama*, Gen. *šamań* (M) 'Gesicht, Antlitz', Paasonen 1990: 204. FW **mala* 'Rand, Kante (einer Öffnung, einer Kluft, eines Risses)' 698 > Fin. *malo* 'Riss, Spalt, Kluft'; Mord. *malaso* (E), *malasa* (M) 'in der Nähe', Paasonen 1992: 1166. PU **u*: PU **kuma* 'gebeugte, umgestürzte Lage; sich beugen' (Janh., Samm. (33) **kuma*) 201 > Fin. *kumo-ssa*

³² Wahrscheinlich gehören die Wörter PU **kunta* 'Geschlecht, Sippe, Gemeinschaft' 206 > Mord. *końddā* (M), *kuńddā* (M) 'Freund, Kamerad?', Paasonen 1992: 849. PU **čupa* 'dünn, mager' (Samm. **cupa-*) 64 > Mord. *čova* (ChrE), *šəvá* (M) 'dünn, fein', Paasonen 1990: 284 auch zu dieser Gruppe, aber es ist nicht klar, wie im Ersänischen (bei dem Normalreflex im Mokschanischen) die phonetische Entwicklung des Vokalismus in der ersten Silbe zu erklären ist.

(*olla*) 'umgestürzt sein'; Mord. *komams* (E, M) 'sich herabbücken, sich niederbeugen', *komafto-* (E) 'umwerfen', Paasonen 1992: 839. PU **puna* 'spinnen, flechten' (Janh., Samm. (116) **puna/i*) 402 > Fin. *puno-*; Mord. *ponams* (E, M), Paasonen 1994: 1746. PU **i*: FW **šija* 'schleifen, wetzen' 784 > Fin. *hio-* 'schleifen, schärfen'; Mord. *čovams* (E), *šovams* (M), Paasonen 1996: 286. PU **niwa* (**nija*) 'enthaaren' (Samm. FU **niwa-*) 306 > Fin. *nivo-* 'enthaaren, das Fell von Haaren reinigen, Haare verlieren'; Mord. *nevəldəms* (E) 'sich schuppen, sich abschälen (Haut), brühen', *nevəldəms* (M) 'sich abnutzen', Paasonen 1996: 1396.

II. Stämme mit protomord. unbetonten **a*, im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 4 Beispiele):

PU **a*: FU **arwa* (**arya*) 'Preis, Wert' (Samm. **arwa*) 16 > Fin. *arvo* 'Wert, Ansehen; Mutmaßung'; Mord. *arćems* (E), *aršəms* (M) 'denken, gesinnt sein (?)', Paasonen 1996: 68. PU **i*: FW **sitV* 'binden, befestigen' 762 > Fin. *sito-* 'binden, befestigen'; Mord. *sodo-* (E M), *sotəms* (M) 'binden', Paasonen 1996: 2003. PU **u*: FP **kuda* 'weben, flechten' (Samm. **kuda-*) 675 > Fin. *kuto-*; Mord. *kodams* (E, M), Paasonen 1992: 814.

III. Stämme mit protomord. **a* im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 5 Beispiele):

PU **o*: PU **oča* 'sehen → aufsehen, bewachen, hüten, beschützen' 334 > Fin. *odotta-* 'erwarten, warten'; Mord. *utšoms* (E), **utšəms*, *učən* (M) 'warten, erwarten', Paasonen 1996: 2426. FU **towkV* 'Frühling; ? fluten, steigen (vom Wasser)' 532 > Fin. *touko-* 'das Säen, Saat; wachsende Saat; Saatzeit'; Mord. *tundo* (E), *tundá* (M:P) 'Frühling', Paasonen 1996: 2350. PU **i*: FU **kiškv* 'reißen' (Samm. FP **kiška-*) 162 > Fin. *kisko-* 'abziehen, losreißen, zerreißen'; Mord. *škiřa-* (E), *kšćera-* (M), *kəškərdəms* ~ *kiskərdəms* (M:P) 'zwicken, kneifen', Paasonen 1996: 2167. FW **sira-hta* 'streuen' 760 > Fin. *sirotella* 'ausstreuen'; Mord. *stradoms* ~ *sradoms* (E), *səradəms* (M), Paasonen 1996: 2034.

IV. Stämme mit protomord. betonten **a*₂ im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 3 Beispiele):

PU **a*: FU **ajje* 'Schläfe' (Samm. **ajji*) 5 > Fin. *aivo(t)* 'Gehirn, Hirn; Schläfe, Schläfenbein'; Mord. *uj* (M) 'Mark, Gehirn', Paasonen 1996: 2440. PU **o*: FU **orpa(sV)* ~ **orwa(sV)* 'Waise, verwaist; Witwe, verwitwet' (Samm. **orpa*) 343 > Fin. *orpo* 'Waise, verwaist'; Mord. *uros* ~ *urus* (E), *urəs* (M) 'Waise', Paasonen 1996: 2468.

PU **u*-Stämme:I. Stämme mit protomord. unbetonten **a* im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 4 Beispiele):

PU **a*: FW **kačkv* 'Rauch, Brandgeruch, Geruch, Gestank' 641 > Fin. *katku*; Mord. *kačamo* (E), *kačam*, Gen. *kačamən* (M) 'Rauch', Paasonen 1992: 560. PU **u*: PU **luwe* (Janh (125) **līxi*/**luxi*, Samm. **līxi*) 'Knochen' 254 > Fin. *luu*; Mord. *lovaža* (E) 'Knochen', *lovaža*, Gen. *lovažan* (M) 'Leichnam', Paasonen 1992: 1066. FU **šune* 'Seele (von Verstorbenen), Geist' (Samm. **šoni*) 503 > Fin. *huu*; Mord. *čov* (E) 'menschliche Seele', *čo-pača* (E), *šo-pača* (M) 'Gespenst', Paasonen 1990, 283.

II. Stämme mit protomord. unbetonten **a*, im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 4 Beispiele):

PU **a*: FW **kajkv* 'schallen' 643 > Fin. *kaiku*- 'Echo, Wiederhall; Klang'; Mord. *kajgəms*, *gajgəms* (E), *kajgəms* (M) 'hell lauten, klingen', Paasonen 1990, 405. PU **u*: FU **ulke* 'Stange' (Janh (53), Samm. **uli*, FU **ulki*) 543 > Fin. *ulku*; Mord. *olga*, Gen. *olgan* (M:P), Paasonen 1994: 1443. PU **kune* 'Mond; Monat' (Janh (128) **kijil*/**kunji*, Samm. **kixi*) 211 > Fin. *kuu*; Mord. *kov*, *koj* (E), *kov* (M), Paasonen 1992: 883.

III. Stämme mit protomord. betonten **á* im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 4 Beispiele):

PU **a*: FW **sawe* 'Rauch' 754 > Fin. *savu* 'Rauch, Qualm'; Mord. *sufta-* (E M), **saftáms*, *saftán* (M:P) 'räuchern, beräuchern', Paasonen 1996: 2072. PU **u*: PU **purkv* 'Schneegestöber; stöbern' (Samm. FU **purki*) 406 > Fin. *purku* (Gen. *purun*); Mord. *porgams*, *purgams* (E), *purgams* (ChrM), **prgáms* (: *prgán*, *prgáj*) (M:P) 'spritzen, sprühen', Paasonen 1994: 1850. FW **kurk(k)V* 'Gurgel' 676 > Fin. *kurkku*; Mord. *kirga*, *kirga*, *korga* (ChrE), *kārgá* (M) 'Hals'? PU **i*: FW **sira* 'Splitter; in kleine Teile zersplittern' 759 > Fin. *siru*; Mord. *sra-* (Wied.) 'sich strecken', *soradu-*, *srado-*, *strado-* (E), *səradəms* (M) 'sich zerstreuen, auseinandergehen; sich verbreiten; zerfallen', Paasonen 1996: 2034.

IV. Stämme mit protomord. betonten **a*, im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 2 Beispiele):

PU **a*: FW **sose* (**sase*) 'Schneebrei; schwammig' 766 > Fin. *sasu* 'Wange; sprödes Hornmark?'; Mord. *suz* (M) 'kleiner vertrockneter Riß in der Rinde eines Laubbaumes', *suzəjams* (M:P), Paasonen 1996: 2077. PU **u*: FW **sume* 'Nebel' 767 > Fin. *sumu* 'neblig; trübe, dunkel'; Mord. *suv* (E M), *suvəñá* (M:P) 'Nebel', Paasonen 1996: 2071.

Wie es in der Arbeit von Bereczki 1988 betont ist, haben PU **ä*-Stämme auch zwei Reflexe in protomordwinischen **ä*- und **a*-Stämmen.

Die Analyse des ganzen Materials von PU (FU, FW) Etymologien mit der PU **ä*-Stammart, die Reflexe im Mokschanischen und Finnischen haben (vgl. UEW, Paasonen 1990-1999), hat zu dem Ergebnis geführt, das die Hypothese der Entwicklung des Vokalismus in PU **a*-, **o*-, **u*-Stämmen sehr ähnlich ist.

Im Mordwinischen sind folgende Reflexe von PU Vokalen der ersten Silbe in PU **ä*-Stämmen zu sehen³³:

ПМ *V (2 слог)	* <i>ä</i>	ə ³⁴	- <i>ä</i>	ə ₄
PU *V (1 слог)				
* <i>ä</i>	ä (M), e (E)	e (ä)	il-(E) iləl-(M) ³⁵	il-(E) iləl-(M)
* <i>e</i>	i	e (ä)	il-(E) iləl-(M)	il-(E) iləl-(M)
* <i>i</i>	o ? ³⁶	e (ä)	il-(E) iləl-(M)	il-(E) iləl-(M)
* <i>ü</i>	el(ä)	e (ä)	il-(E) iləl-(M)	il-(E) iləl-(M)

³³ Fünf Etymologien, in denen die Autoren von UEW **ä*-Stämme rekonstruieren, sind nicht zur Analyse einbezogen. In den Etymologien FW **lūpsä* 'Milch; melken' 695 > Fin. *lypsä*- 'melken; Milch geben', Mord. *lovšo*, *lovco* (ChrE), *loftsä* (M) 'Milch', Paasonen 1992: 1067. PU **elä*- 'leben' (Janh., Samm. (27) **elä-*) 73 > Fin. *elä*- 'leben; wohnen', Saam. *ælle*- *æll-* (N), *iellē*-, *ällē*- (L), *jielle*- (*jea-*) (T), *ieñle*- (Kld.), Mord. *erəms*, *ärəms* (E), *erəms* (M) 'leben, wohnen'??, Paasonen 1990, 368 ist auf Grund der mordwinischen Reflexe einen **a*-Stamm zu rekonstruieren.

In den folgenden Etymologien ist es eindeutig, dass der Vokal in der zweiten Silbe nicht zu rekonstruieren ist: FU **tälwä* 'Winter' (Samm. **tälwä*) 516 > Fin. *talvi* (Gen. *talven*), Saam. *dal've* -*lv-* (N), *DälLewie* (Wfs.), *tälve* (T), *talv* (Kld. Not.), Mord. *tele* (E), *tala* Gen. *talən* (M), Paasonen 1996: 2386. FU **šenä* 'gut, gesund; ? gerade' 499 > Fin. *hyvä* 'gut', *hyvin* 'gut, wohl; sehr, ganz, recht', Saam. **sevē* (Lehtiranta 1096) *sävve-* -*v-* (N), *sävvo-*, *sävvu-* (L) 'heilen, vernarben?', Mord. *čiv* (E:Kažl) 'gut, tüchtig, brav', *čiva*, Gen. *čivān* (M), Paasonen 1990, 272. PU **šidä* (-*mV*) (**šüdä* (-*mV*)) 'Herz' (Janh., Samm. (117) **s'äl'üd'ä-*) 477 > Fin. *sydän*, Gen. *sydämen*, dial. *syväm*, *sy(v)än*, *syön*, Saam. **čedēm* (Lehtiranta, 100) *čädä* (N) (postp.) 'through, by way of' *tjatā* (L), Mord. *šedēj*, *šedēj* (ChrE), *šedī* Gen. *šedīn* (M), Paasonen 1996: 2116.

³⁴ ə₃ и ə₄ haben folgende Reflexe im Mokschanischen: ə₃ > ä, ə₄ hat andere Reflexe.

³⁵ Nach der Rekonstruktion von Ivanova 2006, Ermushkin 1977 sehen die Reflexe von Protomord. **a* in der ersten Silbe in FU **ä*-Stämmen so aus.

³⁶ Die Rekonstruktion von PU **i* im Protomord. **a*-Stämmen ist nicht ganz klar. Für diese Position gibt es nur einen Beispiel: PU **ičä* 'Vater' (Samm. FU **is'ä*) 78 > Fin. **isä* 'Vater', **iso* 'Großvater, Vater'; Mord. *očä* Gen. *očän* (M) 'Vaterbruder, der älter ist als der Vater', Paasonen 1994: 1416. In diesem Beispiel ist die Rekonstruktion der protouralischen Stammart nicht eindeutig.

I. Stämme mit protomord. unbetonten *a im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 18 Beispiele)³⁷:

PU *ä: FU **säppä* 'Galle' (Samm. **säppä*) 435 > Fin. *sappi* (Gen. *sapen*); Mord. *sepe* (E), *säpä* Gen. -en (M), Paasonen 1996: 1968. FU **särkä* 'eine Fischart, ? Leuciscus rutilus; ? Acerina cernua' 436 > Fin. *särki* (Gen. *särjen*); Mord. *seŕge* (E), *särġä* Gen. *särġen* (M), Paasonen 1996: 1974. **PU *e:** PU **enä* 'groß, viel' (Samm. (FU?) **e/inä*) 74 > Fin. *enää* 'mehr, weiter, ferner'; Mord. *ine* (E), *inä* Gen. *inäen* (M) 'groß', Paasonen 1990, 463. FU **neljä* (**neljä*) 'vier' (Samm. **n'eljä*) 316 > Fin. *neljä*; Mord. *nilä* (E), *nilä* (M), *nilänäst* ~ *nilenäst* (M), Paasonen 1994: 1402. **PU *i:** PU **iää* 'Vater' (Samm. FU **iää*) 78 > Fin. *isä*, *iso*; Mord. *oää* Gen. *oään* (M) 'Vaterbruder, der älter ist als der Vater', Paasonen 1994: 1416. **PU *ü:** FP **kilmä* (**külmä*) (Samm. **külmä*) 'kalt; Kälte, Frost; kalt werden, gefrieren, erfrieren' 663 > Fin. *kylmä*; Mord. *kelme* (E), *kelhä* (M), Paasonen 1992: 693.

II. Stämme mit protomord. unbetonten *a, im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 11 Beispiele):

PU *ä: PU **kämä* 'hart, fest' (Samm. (FU?) **kämä*) 137 > Fin. *kämä*; Mord. *kerne* (E), *kerhä* (M) 'hart, fest', *kemäms* (M) 'glauben', Paasonen 1992: 697. **PU *e:** FU **wetä* 'führen, leiten, ziehen' (Samm. **wetä*-) 569 > Fin. *vetä*- 'ziehen'; Mord. *vetäms* ~ *vedäms* ~ *vitäms* (E), *vätäms* (M), Paasonen 1996: 2633. **PU *i:** FU **pitä* 'halten' (Samm. **pitä*- + FP **pitä*-) 386 > Fin. *pitä*-; Mord. *pedäms* (E, M) 'sich anschließen, ankleben; eigensinnig anfangen', Paasonen 1994: 1582. PU **silmä* 'Auge' (Janh., Samm. (30) **silmä*) 479 > Fin. *silmä*; Mord. *selme* (E), *selmä* Pl. *selmät* (M), Paasonen 1996: 2128. **PU *ü³⁸:** PU **wilä* (**wülä*) 'Oberfläche, Ober-, das Obere' (Janh., Samm. (105) **üli*) 573 > Fin. *yllä* 'höher, ober, Hoch-'; Mord. *velks* (E), *velks* (M) 'das oben Gelegene, Oberes', *velde* (E) 'durch', *veldä* (*veldä*-) (M) 'dank, durch', Paasonen 1996: 2605. FW **nyhtä* '(aus)rupfen' 715 > Fin. *nyhtä*- 'ausrupfen, auszupfen'; Mord. *nevtäms* (E), *neftäms* (M), Paasonen 1994: 1397.

³⁷ Wir analysieren die Etymologie PU **pälä* 'halb, Hälfte; Seite' (Samm. (24) **pexli*, **pälä*) 362 > Fin. *pieli* (Gen. *pielen*) in *suu-pieli* 'Mundwinkel', Saam. **pēlē* (Lehtiranta 907) *bälle* -*äl*- ~ *bällē* -*æ*_o l- 'side; half (of a thing divided lengthways)' (N), Mord. *pēl* (ChrE), *päl* (M) 'Seite', *pēle* (ChrE), *pälä* (M) 'halb, Hälfte', Paasonen 1994: 1597 nicht, weil in diesem Wort nach Sammallahti PU **ē* zu rekonstruieren ist.

³⁸ Es ist nicht ganz klar, wie die Reflexe des Vokalismus in der ersten Silbe im Mordwinischen PU **čiki/lä* (*čükl/lä*) 'Warze' (Samm. (FU?) **s'üklä*) 36 > Mord. *silge*, *silgä* (E), *silgä* (*silgä*-) (M), *čilgä* (Gen. *čilgän*) (M), Paasonen 1996: 2153, etymologisch zu erklären sind.

III. Stämme mit protomord. betonten *á (oder ihrer palatalisierte Variante) im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 3 Beispiele):

PU *e: PU **čecä* 'Onkel' (Janh., Samm. (26) **cecä*) 34 > Fin. *setä*; Mord. *čiče* (E) 'der Mann der Schwester, der älter ist als ich', *ščänä*, *ščänä*- (M) 'Großmutter mütterlicherseits', Paasonen 1990, 259. FU **kerä* 'Bündel, Knäuel' (Samm. **ke/ärä*) 147 > Fin. *kerä* 'Knäuel'; Mord. *kife* (E), *karä* (M), Paasonen 1992: 779.

IV. Stämme mit protomord. betonten *a, im Ersänischen und Mokschanischen (insgesamt 12 Beispiele):

PU *ä: FU **säkä* 'eine Fischart (Wels?; Silurus glanis?)' 469 > Fin. *säkä*, *säke* (Gen. *säkeen*), *säe* (Gen. *säkeen*); Mord. *šije* (E), *ši* (M) 'Wels; Quappe, Gadus lota', Paasonen 1996: 2151. **PU *e:** FU **kečä* 'Kreis, Ring, Reifen' (Samm. FP **kečä*) 141 > Fin. *kehä*; Mord. *či* (E), *ši* (M) 'Sonne, Tag', Paasonen 1990, 249. **PU *i:** FU **jikä* (**ikä*) 'Alter, Jahr' (Samm. **ikä*) 98 > Fin. *ikä*; Mord. *ije* (E), *ij* (M) Paasonen 1990, 441. **PU *ü:** FW **kürsä* 'Brot' 679 > Fin. *kyrsä*; Mord. *kši* ~ *kše* (E), *kši*, Gen. *kšin* (M), Paasonen 1992: 907. FW **šürjä* 'Seite, Kante, Rand' 779 > Fin. *syryä*; Mord. *čife*, *šife* (E), *širä* (Gen. *širen*) ~ *šir* (M)³⁹, Paasonen 1990, 269.

Die Schlussfolgerungen:

- In PM *a, *o, *u, *ä-Stämmen ist die Betonung ohne Veränderungen im Mokschanischen erhalten geblieben. In PM *a-Stämmen wurde die Betonung im Mokschanischen auf der ersten Silbe generalisiert, aber ihre ursprüngliche Stelle ist mithilfe der Reflexe des Vokalismus in der ersten Silbe zu rekonstruieren.

- PU (FU, FW) vokalische Unterschiede in der ersten Silbe sind, in einer kurzen Fassung,⁴⁰ im Protomordwinischen nur in den Wörtern, in denen die Betonung auf der ersten Silbe lag, erhalten geblieben. In Wörtern mit der Betonung auf der zweiten Silbe sind alle Vokale in einen protomordwinischen Vokal (dessen Qualität von der Stammart abhängig ist) zusammengefallen.

Es folgt, dass die Reflexe von PU (FU) Vokalen in der ersten Silbe fast ausschließlich von der Qualität des protomordwinischen Vokals der zweiten Silbe und von der Betonungsstelle abhängig waren.

Moskau

³⁹ Nach den Mokschanischen Reflexen gibt es hier einen Wechsel von *ä vs. *a-Stämmen, aber die Reflexe der ersten Silbe sind wie in Protomord. *a-Stämmen.

⁴⁰ Wie gezeigt wurde, sind in PU *a, *o und *u-Stämmen mit der Betonung auf der ersten Silbe alle Vokale in der ersten Silbe, mit Ausnahme von PU *a, in Protomord. *o zusammengefallen.

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в староштокавских памятниках XV в.**

ИРИНА СЕМЁНОВНА ПЕКУНОВА

Ниже обсуждаются акцентные системы трех церковнославянских памятников XV–XVI вв.

Все три памятника по особенностям акцентовки могут быть отнесены к сербским, а именно — староштокавским. Орфографические и графико-фонологические особенности подтверждают такую атрибуцию (см. Булатова 1975: 14-52, Булатова 1981: 62). Следует отметить, что так называемая новоштокавская ретракция ударения (то есть сплошное передвижение ударения на предшествующий слог) в изучаемых памятниках отсутствует или представлена немногими примерами, допускающими и иную интерпретацию. А потому штокавская атрибуция устанавливается прежде всего по характеру акцентуации *i*-глаголов (см. Дыбо 2000: 412-418, 423 и § 3 ниже).

Первые две рукописи — Евангелие-апракос и Апостол датируются не позднее, чем первой половиной XV в., по идентификации имеющих на бумаге водяных знаков (см. Булатова 1981: 62, Стоянов, Ходов 1964: 60). Третья рукопись — Сборник слов — датирована в тексте 1509 годом. Анализ бумаги и водяных знаков подтверждает датировку первым десятилетием XVI в. (см. Булатова 1975: 22-27). К настоящему времени другие акцентуированные рукописи периода XV — начала XVI в., относящиеся к штокавской диалектной области, нам неизвестны.

Материал рукописи № 1 — Евангелия — привлекался к исследованию в ряде работ В. А. Дыбо, в частности, для обсуждаемой темы наиболее значима статья Дыбо 1983. Материал этой рукописи был дополнительно обследован по электронной фотокопии. Рукопись № 3 — Сборник — исследовалась Р. В. Булатовой; ее материал дается по монографии Булатова 1975. Рукопись № 2 — Апостол — была исследована мною впервые по фотокопии, предоставленной НБКМ. Сводная характеристика памятников представлена в табл. 1.

Название	№ 1 Евангелие (Ев.)	№ 2 Апостол (Ап.)	№ 3 Сборник (Сб.)
Рукопись	Евангелие-апракос РГБ 7364, Москва	Апостол НБКМ 889, София	Сборник слов 1509 г. ГПБ Гильф. 56, Санкт-Петербург
Датировка	Первая треть XV в.	Первая половина XV в.	1509 г.
Исследования	Дыбо 1983, Дыбо 2000	И. С. Пекунова (не опубликовано)	Булатова 1975

Табл. 1. Использованные памятники

1. Эволюция акцентуации формы 1SgPrae глаголов *j*-*praesentia* исторической а. п. **b*¹

Впервые на необычный характер акцентуации формы 1SgPrae у глаголов *j*-*praesentia* исторической а. п. **b* в старосербских памятниках обратил внимание В. А. Дыбо. По исследованию Евангелия (№ 1) и Сборника (№ 3) им было обнаружено, что акцентуация данной формы зависит от морфонологической структуры глагола. Здесь оказывается важной, во-первых, количественная характеристика корневого гласного — различие между долгосложными (с этимологически долгой гласной корня) и краткосложными (с этимологически краткой гласной корня) глаголами, и, во-вторых, словообразовательная структура основы — различие между приставочными глаголами (ниже обозначенными pV) и простыми, или бесприставочными (ниже обозначенными V). А именно:

	Краткосложные	Долгосложные
V	$\boxed{V}FI$ ѓмлю, пишоу	
pV	$p\boxed{V}FI$ приѓмлю	$p\boxed{V}FI // p\boxed{V}FI$ напншоу // напншоу

Табл. 2. 1Sg Prae *j*-*praesentia* а. п. **b* в памятниках № 1 и 3

¹ В настоящей работе в состав класса *j*-*praesentia* не включаются следующие две группы глаголов. Во-первых, немногочисленные глаголы с йотовым презентом, не имеющие расширения *-a-* в инфинитивной основе (типа *žrti, žrtj, *kolti, kolj), для которых во всех славянских языках часты колебания между йотовым и безйотовым вариантом презентса. Во-вторых, глаголы с вокалическим исходом корня (типа *dajati, dajj), где *-j-* представлен как в презентной, так и в инфинитивной основе. Мы следуем в данном случае акцентологической традиции, в которой обе эти группы принято рассматривать отдельно от остальных глаголов класса *j*-*praesentia* (см., например, Дыбо 2000: 227–349). Не учитываются также в основном изложении стоящие особняком глаголы хотѣти (разноспрягаемый) и сълати (с неслоговым корнем); отмеченные в памятниках формы 1SgPrae этих глаголов приводятся в § 6 "Обзор материала".

Запись через две косых черты означает наличие дублетных форм (с приставочным или накоренным ударением) у ряда долгосложных приставочных глаголов. Отметим, что такая дублетность наблюдается только в материале Сб., в Ев. все соответствующие формы имеют ударение на приставке.

Как видно из табл. 2, ударение в рассматриваемых формах падает либо на корень (V), либо на приставку (p) и никогда не падает на флексию (FI). Такая картина, в особенности наличие форм с ударением на приставке, оказывается достаточно неожиданной при сопоставлении с общепринятой для данных форм реконструкцией: как известно, для праславянского предполагается конечное ударение 1SgPrae *j*-*praesentia* а. п. **b* вне зависимости от морфонологических характеристик глагола.

Итак, перед нами два состояния: праславянская (CSl.) реконструкция — далее состояние S begin, и наблюдаемые данные старосербского — далее состояние S end.

S begin	Краткосл.	Долгосл.	S end	Краткосл.	Долгосл.
V	$(p)V\boxed{FI}$ eml'ǫ, pišǫ, prieml'ǫ, napišǫ		V	$\boxed{V}FI$ ѓмлю, пишоу	
pV			pV	$p\boxed{V}FI$ приѓмлю	$p\boxed{V}FI // p\boxed{V}FI$ напншоу // напншоу

Табл. 3. Эволюция S begin (CSl.) ⇒ S end²

Задача состоит в том, чтобы установить эволюцию S begin ⇒ S end, то есть установить те механизмы, или правила, которые обеспечивают переход из состояния S begin в состояние S end. Некоторые из возможных решений этой задачи рассматриваются в следующих параграфах.

2. Решение 1: двухэтапный сдвиг ударения

Для системы, уже достаточно сложной по сравнению с праславянской реконструкцией, естественно предположить, что переход от праславянского состояния к наблюдаемому состоянию S end проходил в несколько этапов.

В качестве первого этапа можно постулировать сдвиг ударения с конечного слога на один слог влево (к началу словоформы), так что все

² Здесь и далее через (p)V обозначены все глагольные основы, как приставочные, так и простые.

исследуемые формы получают новое корневое ударение взамен старого флексийного.³

На втором этапе полученное таким образом корневое ударение в приставочных формах передвигается дальше к началу словоформы с этимологически долгого гласного корня и не передвигается с этимологически краткого гласного; не передвигается ударение и в бесприставочных формах, где оно уже стоит на первом слоге словоформы. Причем наблюдаемая в S end дублетность свидетельствует о том, что правила второго этапа действуют факультативно.

S begin (CSl.)	*S middle 1	S end (Ев., Сб.)	
Все глаголы	Все глаголы	Краткосложные	Долгосложные
(p)VFI eml'ǫ, piš'ǫ, prieml'ǫ, napiš'ǫ	⇒ (p)VFI *émлю, *piš'ю, *priémлю, *napíš'ю	V VFI émлю, piš'ю	pV pVFI // pVFI priémлю // napíš'ю

Табл. 4. Решение 1: двухэтапный сдвиг ударения

При первом решении предполагается, таким образом, что в состоянии S end дублетность у долгосложных приставочных глаголов свидетельствует о незавершенности второго этапа передвижения ударения: формы типа náпиш'ю — более новые, относящиеся к конечному состоянию, а формы типа napiš'ю — более старые, относящиеся к состоянию S middle 1.

3. Решение 2: аналогическая перестройка

Другое решение состоит в том, чтобы считать эволюцию S begin ⇒ S end аналогической перестройкой акцентуации глаголов а. п. b под влиянием акцентных кривых глаголов а. п. a и а. п. c. В самом деле, для слов а. п. a характерно колонное накоренное ударение во всей парадигме. Для CSl в презенсе класса j-praesentia акцентная кривая а. п. b отличается от

³ Такого рода перенос ударения, получивший название дефинализации (см. Зализняк 1985: 182–198) и, возможно, представляющий собой начало новоштокавской ретракции ударения, отмечается в ряде случаев и в других частях акцентной системы рассматриваемых памятников. Ср. Сб. жєна (52 раза) и жєна (11 раз) (подробнее см. Булатова 1981), Ап. сєстрѡѣ (2 раза) и сєстрѡѣ (1 раз) и др.

акцентной кривой а. п. a только в форме 1Sg. Следовательно, для краткосложных глаголов j-praesentia передвижение ударения в этой форме с флексии на корень означает их переход в а. п. a: émлю, émлетъ и т. д., приémлю, приémлетъ и т. д. как máжю, máжетъ и т. д., помáжю, помáжетъ и т. д. Основанием для аналогической перестройки краткосложных глаголов а. п. b под влиянием глаголов а. п. a могло быть известное из истории сербского языка сокращение этимологически долгих гласных под интонацией старого акута (постулируемой как интонация ударного слога в а. п. a) — в частности, сокращение гласных в корнях глаголов класса j-praesentia, относящихся к а. п. a. Разумеется, при этом сокращение староакутовых долгот предшествует указанной аналогической перестройке.

Что касается долгосложных глаголов, то появление форм с ударением на приставке (типа náпиш'ю) и начального ударения в бесприставочных формах можно считать аналогической перестройкой под воздействием глаголов а. п. c, где форма 1SgPrae с тематическим окончанием была энклиноменом. То есть: piš'ю, náпиш'ю как зѡвю, приѡвю; нєсою, при́несю; гоублю, поублю и т. п.⁴

Заметим, что в результате указанных аналогических перестроек мы получаем лишь одну из двух дублетных форм, наблюдаемых в S end (типа náпиш'ю).

Следует, однако, учитывать, что в состав морфологического класса j-praesentia уже в CSl входят только глаголы, относящиеся к а. п. a или к а. п. b; глаголов, относящихся к а. п. c, в этом классе просто нет (см. выше сноску 1, а также Дыбо 2000: 349). Таким образом, утверждение о перестройке аналогического характера предполагает аналогию с глаголами а. п. c других парадигматических классов, то есть как бы аналогическую перестройку “поверх границ” парадигматического класса. Если такую перестройку все же признать допустимой, следует говорить в первую очередь об уподоблении акцентной кривой презенса долгосложных глаголов а. п. b класса j-praesentia акцентной кривой презенса долгосложных i-глаголов, где в рассматриваемых памятниках наблюдается уже почти полное совпадение акцентных кривых у глаголов исторических а. п. b и а. п. c, характерное и для современных штокавских диалектов.⁵

⁴ Заметим, что именно как аналогическое воздействие форм а. п. c А. А. Зализняк интерпретирует сходные случаи начального ударения в форме 1SgPrae исторической а. п. b в древнерусском (см. Зализняк 1985: 324 и примеры ниже).

⁵ Ср. также данные Ев. по краткосложным i-глаголам исторической а. п. b, которые, по-видимому (так же, как и для краткосложных глаголов j-praesentia а. п. b), можно интерпретировать как переход этих глаголов в а. п. a, причем не только в презенсе, но и в аористе — см. Дыбо 1983: 17–19.

Так, в Ев. *пишоу*, *пишетъ* и т. д., *напишоу*, *напишетъ* и т. д. как *ѡвѡю*, *ѡвѡитъ* и т. д., *вѣзлюбѡю*, *вѣзлюбѡитъ* и т. д. (подробнее см. Дыбо 1982: 212, Дыбо 1983, Дыбо 2000: 412-423, Булатова 1975: 68-152). Соответственно, основанием для аналогической перестройки и здесь оказывается количественная характеристика корня, а именно его долгота.

Предполагаемая при втором решении перестройка акцентуации представлена таблицей 5 (автоматическое начальное ударение в формах-энклиномена а. п. с для CSI в условном порядке обозначено так же, как автономное ударение в других формах).

S begin (CSI 1Sg Prae с окончанием -ѡ)				S end (Старосербск. 1Sg Prae <i>j</i> -praesentia и <i>i</i> -глаголов)			
CSI а. п.	a	b	c	a	b		c
					Краткосл.	Долгосл.	
V	(p)VFI	(p)VFI	VFI	VFI			
	<i>mážѡ</i> , <i>romážѡ</i>	<i>pišѡ</i> , <i>napišѡ</i>	<i>gúbl'ѡ</i>	<i>mážѡу</i> , <i>ѡмѡю</i> , <i>пишоу</i> , <i>гоубѡю</i>			
pV			pVFI	pVFI	pVFI // pVFI		
			<i>po mážѡу</i> , <i>príemѡю</i>	<i>nápišѡу</i> // <i>napíšѡу</i> , <i>po gúbl'ѡю</i>			

Табл. 5. Решение 2: аналогическая перестройка

Заметим, что у краткосложных и долгосложных глаголов а. п. *b* результат аналогических перестроек в бесприставочных формах 1SgPrae один и тот же, различаются они только в формах приставочных глаголов.

При втором решении для форм типа *напишоу* (дублетных к формам типа *напишоу* у долгосложных приставочных глаголов *j*-praesentia) можно предполагать вторичное выравнивание ударения по аналогии с ударением бесприставочных форм тех же глаголов. Таким образом, из двух дублетных форм типа *напишоу* и *напишоу* форма с наприставочным ударением (*напишоу*) старше, чем форма с накоренным ударением (*напишоу*). Последнее утверждение хорошо согласуется с тем фактом, что формы типа *напишоу* представлены в более позднем Сб. и отсутствуют в более раннем Ев.

4. Решение 3: особое развитие приставочных основ

Первооткрыватель системы S end В. А. Дыбо в работе Дыбо 1983 предлагает в качестве промежуточного этапа на пути развития от состояния S begin (CSI) к состоянию S end следующую достаточно сложную систему:

		*S middle 2	
		Краткосложные	Долгосложные
V		VFI	
		*пишоу, *клепѡю	
pV		pVFI	pVFI
		поклѡю	напишоу

Табл. 6. Решение 3: особое развитие приставочных основ

Обоснование предложенной конструкции (S middle 2) в работе Дыбо 1983 строится прежде всего на сопоставлении с развитием акцентуации в презенсе *i*-глаголов.

По существу, В. А. Дыбо предполагает то же развитие, которое было описано выше при рассмотрении первого решения (двухэтапный сдвиг ударения, см. § 2), однако ограничивает сферу действия сдвига только приставочными формами (см. Дыбо 1983: 20-21).

S begin (CSI)	*S middle 2a	*S middle 2
Все глаголы		
(p)VFI	VFI	VFI
<i>klepl'ѡ</i> , <i>pišѡ</i> , <i>poklepl'ѡ</i> , <i>napišѡ</i>	*клепѡю, *пишоу	*клепѡю, *пишоу
	pVFI	pVFI
	*поклѡю, *напишоу	прíемѡю напишоу

Табл. 7. Решение 3: двухэтапный сдвиг ударения в приставочных формах

При этом вопрос о переходе от состояния S middle 2 к состоянию S end в названной работе В. А. Дыбо, вообще говоря, остается открытым (см. Дыбо 1983: 21-22).⁶

⁶ Для *i*-глаголов, следующих, согласно В. А. Дыбо, тому же пути эволюции: CSI ⇒ S middle 2a ⇒ S middle 2, перенос ударения с флексии на корень в бесприставочных формах 1SgPrae факультативен (ср., например, в Ев. *пѡцоу се* и *прошоу*). Развитие 1SgPrae *i*-глаголов от состояния S middle 2 к состоянию, наблюдаемому в памятниках, В. А. Дыбо объясняет аналогической перестройкой, затрагивающей также и формы аориста (см. Дыбо 1983: 21). Подобное развитие для 1SgPrae бесприставочных глаголов *j*-praesentia означало бы принятие, по крайней мере для бесприставочных форм, решения 2 —

Из дублетных форм типа *нѣпишоу*//*нѣпишоу* при решении 3 первые, по видимому, должны трактоваться как более новые.⁷

5. Новые данные

Обратимся теперь к рассмотрению данных памятника № 2 — Апостола. Здесь представлена следующая система акцентовок изучаемой формы:

	Краткосложные	Долгосложные
V	$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \boxed{\text{FI}} // \text{V} \boxed{\text{FI}} \\ \text{лъжоу}, \text{страждоу}, \text{пишоу} \end{array}$	
pV	$\begin{array}{c} \text{p} \boxed{\text{V}} \text{FI} \\ \text{отмѣцоу} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \boxed{\text{p}} \text{VFI} \\ \text{нѣпишоу} \end{array}$

Табл. 8. 1Sg Prae *j*-praesentia а. п. **b* в памятнике № 2

Легко видеть, что данная система представляет собой в точности предполагавшуюся В. А. Дыбо систему S middle 2 с наложением факультативного передвижения ударения с окончания на корень в бесприставочных формах. Более того, если принять (как это обычно и делается), что ударение в истории сербского языка могло передвигаться только в направлении к началу, а не к концу словоформы⁸, то оказывается, что состояние, наблюдаемое в Ап., может быть выведено только из системы типа S middle 2, то есть только в рамках решения, предложенного В. А. Дыбо.

6. Обзор материала

Ниже приводится материал всех трех обследованных памятников, а также материал ряда древнерусских рукописей, показывающих формы 1SgPrae с приставочным ударением от глаголов *j*-praesentia исторической а. п. *b*:

№1 Евангелие

Со слоговой приставкой

аналогической перестройки с нарушением границ парадигматического класса (см. § 3). Такое решение В. А. Дыбо характеризует как "весьма условное" (см. Дыбо 1983: 21, а также Дыбо 2000: 343–348).

⁷ Ср., впрочем, замечание в Дыбо 1983: 16, где на основании встречаемости форм типа *нѣпишоу* (представленных, как уже отмечалось, в более позднем по датировке Сб. и отсутствующих в более раннем Ев.) предполагается их вторичный характер.

⁸ Речь идет о собственно передвижении, то есть без учета аналогических перестроек.

долгосложные: *прѣтежоу* 223а7, *сѣ|зыждоу* 231б9-10, *сѣ|зниждоу* 189а4;
краткосложные: *прѣмлю* 12а16, *не приѣмлю* 12б14; с неслоговым корнем:⁹
пѣслю 19а8¹⁰, 40б18, 46а6, 85а16, 144б10-11¹¹, 176б2, 195б16, 198а5, 247б5,
275б5, 275а7, 310б17;

Без слоговой приставки

долгосложные: *жеждоу* 288б5, 300б7, *да ни жеждоу* 27а18, *и скажѣ* 278б11,
скажоу 158а10¹², *не ѣцоу*¹³ 12а4, 12а9, 29б7;
краткосложные: *лѣвжоу* 230б20, 239б19, 267б8, ср. также *гла|глю* 57б17-
18; *хоцоу* 73б12, 96б11, 109б17, 169б19, 248б11, 278б5, *хоцоу* 48а13, 49а17,
хоцѣ 69а7, *хѣцоу* 149б6, *не хоцоу* 98а13 // *хѣцоу* 49а12, 78б16, 109б13,
169б15, 222б5, 230а18, *хѣцѣ* 222б9¹⁴.

№ 2 Апостол¹⁵

Со слоговой приставкой

долгосложные: *сѣ|зыж'оу* 66а13, *и сѣ|зыж'оу* 66а11, *пѣкажоу* 43а1, *да*
пѣкажоу 160б12, *нѣпишоу* 303а11, 306б13, *ѣстежоу се* 179б7;
краткосложные: *приѣмлю* 88а24, 92а22, 190б16-17, *не ѿмѣ|цоу се* 93б17-18;
с неслоговым корнем: *пѣслю* 94б11, 96б10, 201б3, 289а23, *пѣслю те* 87а11,
и пѣслю те 44б24;

Без слоговой приставки

долгосложные: *страж'оу* 280б1, ср. также *здѣ|страж'оу* 281а21, *пишоу*
128б8, 129а5, 129а9, 136б7, 197б1, 222а16, 269а4-5¹⁶, *зиж'оу* 171а15, *ѣцоу*
249а5bis, *не ѣцоу бо* 219б4;
краткосложные: *не лѣжоу* 218а20, 222а17, 272а19, 159б17-18 (ср. 1P1Prae
лѣжемь 128а16 и Дыбо 1983: 24 Примечание); *хѣцоу* [10 раз], *не хѣцоу*

⁹ О развитии акцентовки глаголов с неслоговым корнем см. Дыбо 1983: 23–26 и Дыбо 1982: 248 и далее.

¹⁰ Чтение не вполне надежно.

¹¹ Чтение не вполне надежно.

¹² Чтение не вполне надежно.

¹³ Глагол *iskati — этимологически долгосложный с корневым *i, а не *ъ (ср. чешск. *jískat'* в отличие, например, от *judi* 'иду'), однако в совр. серб. корневое /i/ — краткое: *iskati*, *ištetem*.

¹⁴ Чтение не вполне надежно.

¹⁵ Приведенный материал частично цитируется в Дыбо 2000: 344–346.

¹⁶ Кроме того, 6 раз встретилась запись *пишоу* (129а22, 129б1, 129б2, 129б4, 180а22, 273б17) с вариет на первом слоге. Эти записи должны быть признаны не несущими акцентной информации. Вариет здесь, по всей видимости, обозначена долгота. Ср. записи типа *роукоу* 49б13, *пишетъ* (2 раза) наряду с *роукоу* 38а24, *пишетъ* (27 раз) и записи типа *вѣна же* (NSg) 203а3-4, *слоугы* (AP1) 179б2 наряду с *вѣна* 53а2, *вѣна* 138б18, *вѣна же* 221а19, *слоугы же* 40а21. (Обычно вариет ставится в Ап. на последней гласной слова и интерпретируется как обозначение конечного ударения; во всех случаях, когда вариет стоит на неконечной корневой гласной, эта корневая гласная — этимологически долгая).

75а4, 15667-8, 156617, 156618-19, 192а8 // не хоцѣ 164б23, 262б17, и с энклитиками хоцоу же 173а13, 185а17, 195а9, 252б10, хоцѣ те 289а9, не хоцоу же 145а2, 190а11, не хоцоу | во 201б13, 204а20, не хѣцоу же 188б22.

№ 3 Сборник — по Булатова 1975, Дыбо 1983

Со слоговой приставкой

долгосложные: зѣвѣжѣ 105а, пѣкажѣ 82 // покѣжѣ 1, 72, 156, 333а, нарѣчю се 219 // нарѣчю се 442, напишѣ 12, 93а, 93 // напишѣ се 12, попишѣ 327а, пѣстражѣ 277а, сѣзѣжѣ 35, 42а, 397а;

краткосложные: приѣмлю 129, 160а, 273, 510; с неслоговым корнем: пѣсло 431, послѣ 146а;

Без слоговой приставки

долгосложные: стрѣжѣ 268а;

краткосложные: слѣжѣ 22, а также тре|пѣцѣ 380.

Древнерусские формы 1SgPrae от глаголов *j*-praesentia с наприставочным ударением — по Зализняк 1985: 324, Дыбо 1983: 21, Васильев 1929: 47-48:

долгосложные: сѣзѣждоу Сенн 132а, пѣкажоу Дос 207, пѣкажоу Дос 212, да пѣкажоу Нв 192, напишоу Цв 193, напишоу Трав 155б (ср.: сѣзѣждоу Сенн 74а, напишоу Трав 141); ср. также: вѣздежоу М. пс. 64б, вѣздѣжѣ Час. 1565 г. 74.

Таким образом, в развитии старосербской акцентовки формы 1SgPrae глаголов *j*-praesentia а. п. *b* можно выделить три основных этапа:

- 1) от праславянского состояния к состоянию S middle 2 с характерным распределением ударения приставочных форм в зависимости от количественной характеристики корня;
- 2) от состояния S middle 2 к состоянию, непосредственно отраженному в Апостоле НБКМ 889 — за счет начала процесса передвижения ударения с окончания на корень в бесприставочных формах (этот процесс можно трактовать и как дефинализацию ударения — см. § 2, и как перестройку по аналогии — см. § 3). Завершение этого процесса дает картину, представленную в Евангелии-апракос РГБ 7364;
- 3) от системы Апостола НБКМ 889 к состоянию S end — в результате окончательного закрепления корневого ударения в бесприставочных формах и начала аналогического выравнивания ударения приставочных форм по ударению бесприставочных (а именно, напишоу по аналогии с

пишоу — с таким же отношением в паре бесприставочная/приставочная форма, как сложившееся ранее отношение между ѣмлю и приѣмлю)¹⁷.

Примечательно, что приставочные формы от долгосложных глаголов с ударением на корне типа напишоу представлены, как уже отмечалось, только в Сборнике 1509 г. и не представлены ни в одном из более ранних памятников (материал см. выше). Таким образом подтверждается вторичное происхождение этих форм (как и предполагал В. А. Дыбо).

7. Дополнительные замечания

Зависимость характера акцентной эволюции от морфонологической структуры словоформы, и в частности, от количественной характеристики корня, наблюдается и в некоторых других звеньях староштокавской акцентной системы.

Рассмотрим здесь ранее не отмечавшуюся особенность акцентуации форм усеченного аориста 2-3Sg от **пѣ*-глаголов исторической а. п. *b* (то есть форм типа *истоѣ* от *истоуѣти*), близкую по характеру акцентной эволюции к разобранный выше системе. Хотя материал в исследованных трех староштокавских памятниках весьма ограничен, в частности, отсутствуют примеры акцентованных бесприставочных форм, легко видеть, что он вкладывается в систему типа рассмотренной выше S middle 2.

CSL		№ 1 (Ев.), № 2 (Ап.)	
	Краткосл.	Долгосл.	
V			нет примеров
pV	(p)V [Fl]	pV [Fl] // p [V] Fl	[p] V Fl прѣзѣе

Табл. 9. 2-3Sg Aor *пѣ*-глаголов а. п. **b* — усеченные формы

№ 1 Евангелие

долгосложные: прѣзѣе 119б20, прѣзѣ|ѣе 82а8-9, приѣвѣе 120а2¹⁸;

краткосложные: ѣ истоѣ 174б2, вѣскрѣ 55б8, 163а3, 166а11, ѣ вѣскрѣ 179б3¹⁹, ѣздѣше 234а11, 243а17, ѣ ѣздѣ|ше 234а7-8, ѣсьше 100а18, ѣзѣсьше 98а5, 98а7, оѣсьше 120а3, 165а20, 214б1, оѣспѣ 162б7, 254а2, оѣспѣ 254а3-4.

¹⁷ Можно предполагать также выравнивание по ударению остальных форм презенса или по эмовым формам 1Sg (типа /*napisam*/), возможно, уже вытеснившим формы с окончанием /-и/ в живой речи (ср. Дыбо 1983: 16).

¹⁸ Чтение не вполне надежно.

№ 2 Апостол

долгосложные: прѣзѣе 11а9;

краткосложные: оуспѣ 46б9, 61б19, оуспѣ 168а1, исѣше 113б23.

Заметим, что в приставочных формах от краткосложных глаголов новое накоренное ударение представлено единственным примером из Апостола (исѣше) при господстве старого флексийного ударения²⁰, тогда как все приставочные формы от долгосложных глаголов, как и в 1SgPrae *j*-praesentia, имеют ударение на приставке.

В примерах из Сборника 1509 г., как и в случае форм 1SgPrae *j*-praesentia, имеются варианты с накоренным ударением как от краткосложных, так и от долгосложных глаголов:

№ 3 Сборник — по Булатова 1975

долгосложные: прѣзѣе 21а, 293, 520, прѣзѣе 20 // прозѣе 410а; прѣтеже се 128а // прѣтеже 15, 98, 192а, прѣтеже 143, прѣтеже 423;

краткосложные: затѣче 237 // затѣче 410а.

Таким образом, возможно, передвижение ударения с флексии в этой группе форм первоначально происходило только при долгом предударном гласном корня, и не происходило, если гласный корня был кратким. Следует ли предполагать, что это передвижение шло в два этапа: сперва с флексии на долготный корень, а затем с долготного корня на приставку (ср. выше табл. 7), неясно. Полное отсутствие свидетельств соответствующего промежуточного состояния в двух более ранних памятниках заставляет относить это гипотетическое состояние на уровень, достаточно близкий к праславянскому. В то же время правило непосредственного переноса ударения с флексии на приставку — через слог, если этот промежуточный слог долгий, — можно рассматривать как модификацию известного правила расстановки ритмического ударения в многосложных словоформах (см. Зализняк 1985: 179-180), действующего "в обратную сторону" — от конца словоформы к ее началу.²¹

Москва

¹⁹ Подчеркивание используется на месте знака титла в тексте рукописи.

²⁰ Рассмотрение материала (см. § 6) показывает, что бесприставочные формы 1SgPrae *j*-praesentia, сохраняющие старое флексийное ударение в Ап., также представлены в основном у краткосложных глаголов. (Ср. еще Дыбо 1983: 19 относительно сохранения конечноударных форм 1SgPrae *i*-глаголов).

²¹ Заметим, что отнюдь не все более чем двухсложные формы глаголов исторической а. п. б, конечноударные в праславянском, показывают развитие, описанное в данной

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работе. Так, формы 2-3SgAor глаголов *j*-praesentia по изученному староштокавскому материалу имеют устойчивое старое ударение на тематическом гласном -а-, завершающем словоформу, ср. показѣ, написѣ, ископѣ, поколебѣ и т. п. (см. Дыбо 1983: 21-22). В современном штокавском нормативном распределении акцентных типов в формах 2-3SgAor как глаголов *j*-praesentia, так и пѣ-глаголов, связь с количеством гласного корня устанавливается совершенно иным образом, чем в описанных староштокавских системах, а именно, все краткосложные (на современном уровне) глаголы, включая глаголы исторической а. п. а, получают в этих формах краткое нисходящее ударение на первом слоге, будь то корневом или приставочном (см. об этом также Дыбо 1983: 22, сноска 25; Булатова 1975: 198, 219).

Стойанов, М. & Ходов, Хр.

1964

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On the development of initial *Hu, *Hi and the rise of initial acute diphthongs in Baltic and Slavic¹

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In 1977, Kortlandt discussed the outcome of Indo-European initial *u- in Balto-Slavic. He reached the conclusion that, in late Balto-Slavic, stressed initial *u received a prothetic laryngeal. This prothetic laryngeal eventually caused the following vowel to become acute. The examples Kortlandt adduces are the following (1977: 37):

- (1) Ru. *vy-* 'out', Cz. *vy-*, *vý-*, Po. *wy-*, Skt. *ud-*, OP. *ud-*, Gr. *ὑσ-τριξ*, Goth. *ūt*, ON *út*.
- (2) Ru. *výdra* 'otter', SCr. *vǐdra*, Sln. *vǐdra*, *vídra*, Cz. *vydra*, Lith. *ũdra*, Latv. *ũdr(i)s*, Skt. *udráh*, Av. *udra-*, Gr. *ὔδρος*, *ὔδρᾶ*, ON. *otr*, OHG. *ottar*.
- (3) Ru. *výknut* 'to get used', SCr. *vǐknuti*, Lith. *jũnkti*, Latv. *jũkt*, Skt. *úcyati*, Arm. *usanim*, OIr. *do-uccim*.
- (4) Ru. *vysókij*, 'high', *výše* (comp.), SCr. *visok*, *više*, Sln. *visòk*, *više*, Cz. *vysoký*, *výše*, Gr. *ὑψηλός*, OHG. *ūf*.
- (5) Ru. *vyp*, *vyp* 'bittern', Lith. *ũpas*, Latv. *ũpis*, ON. *úfr*, OHG. *ūfo*.

For examples of 'short' reflexes of pretonic *u- I refer to the original article. Shortly after the article was written (but before it appeared), Werner Winter presented his paper on what was later called 'Winter's law': an Indo-European sequence of a vowel and a voiced stop is reflected as an acute vowel and a voiced stop in Balto-Slavic. This law immediately removes examples (1) and (2) from the list. It also accounts for the initial *vy- of Cz. *výheň*, SCr. *vǐganj* 'forge', for the broken tone of Latv. *ũdens*, and possibly for the long vowels of Lith. *ũgis* 'growth' (from *áugti*) and *ũdis* 'woven fabric' (from *ásti*). In theory, the latter

¹ This paper was first presented at the third International Workshop on Balto-Slavic Accentology, which was held in Leiden in 2007. It was only later that Steven Young's paper on the same subject, which appeared in the 2006 Festschrift for Bill Darden, came to my attention. The structure of the present paper has remained the same, but Young's findings, with which I agree to a large degree, have been taken into account.

two may be later formations with a long vowel in analogy to *piūvis* 'section' (from *piáuti*), *trūkis* 'pull' (from *tráukti*) etc.²

1. Initial *Hu-

Now that the acute of **ūdra* and the broken tone of Latv. *ūdēns* can be explained differently, the question arises whether we still need to assume that stressed initial **u* received a prothetic laryngeal in Balto-Slavic.³ In example (3), the initial laryngeal continued the Indo-European initial laryngeal: Skt. *oc-* 'to be accustomed', OCS *učiti* 'to learn', Lith. *jaukinti* 'to tame' < PIE **h₁euk-*. Lith. *ūkis* 'farmstead' and Skt. *ókas-* 'house' are probably also related (see further Young 2006: 236). The original anlaut of example (5) is impossible to establish because the root is only attested in Balto-Slavic and Germanic and a full grade is not attested. The connection to Av. *ufiieimi* 1sg.pres.ind. 'to sing' cannot be maintained, since it goes back to Proto-Iranian **uab-* (cf. Sogd. *wβ* 'to say, to speak', Chwar. *mwb/nwb* 'to roar' < **ni-uab-*) (Cheung 2007: 401). The appurtenance of Latin *vāpularē* 'to be flogged' is semantically and formally unlikely.

It is much harder to establish whether example (4) started with a laryngeal in Indo-European. The IE proto-form of **vys-* can have been **h₁up-*, with a full grade **h₁eup-* or **h₁uep-*, or it was **up-* with a full grade **uep-*. The zero grade *(*h₁)upo* is reflected in OIr. *fo* 'under', W *go-*, Bret. *guo-*, Co. *go-*. A full grade appears to be reflected in PCl. **ouxs-* in OIr. *úasal*, W *uchel*, Bret. *uc'hel*, Co. *uhel* 'high', OIr. *ós*, W *uch* 'above (prep.)', OIr. *úais* 'high', W *uch* 'above (adv.)', and Celt.Iber. *usama* 'highest'. OIr. *úasal*, W *uchel* etc. correspond exactly to Greek *ύψηλός* 'high' (the short *-e-* reflected in the British forms is the result of Dybo's shortening in pretonic position, see Kortlandt 2007: 25 with ref., 29), but for the anlaut. The question is whether the Celtic anlaut actually reflects a full grade **h₁oup-* (or **h₁eup-*).

The normal reflex of initial **u-* is PCl. **u-*, e.g. MW *ych* 'ox' < **uks-*. Accordingly, a zero-grade PCl. **uxseló-* should have yielded W ***ychel*. One might consider the possibility that PCl. **ou-* is the direct reflex of **up-* before a consonant. There are a few examples in which **-p-* yields PCl. **-u-* in front of **-n-* (Schrijver 1996: 348), viz. OIr. *cúann* 'dear', MW *cun* 'noble' < **kuynos* < **kup-no-* (cf. Lat. *cupere* 'to desire'; if not < **keup-no-*, cf. OIc. *hjúfa* 'to lament' < **keup-*), OIr. *súan*, MW *hun* 'sleep' < **soynos* < **suop-no-* (or perhaps < **suynos* < **sup-no-*?), and OIr. *cúan* 'harbour' < **kaunos* < **kap-no-* (or perhaps

² On the metatony in these forms see Stang 1966: 145, Derksen 1996: 52.

³ There is, of course, a priori no objection against the assumption that an initial **u-* receives a prothetic glottal stop.

< **kop-no-* if one dismisses the connection to Lat. *capiō* 'to take'). It is, however, difficult to envisage how **-p-* could have caused the diphthong in Proto-Celtic **ouxs-* and have become fricativized to **φ*, later **x*, at the same time. The situation is further complicated by the fact that we find irregular reflexes of vowels in front of the PCl. cluster **-xs-* in W *gwchi*, *gwychi*, OBret. *guohi* 'wasps' < **wuxs-* which reflects earlier **woxs-* < PIE **uops-*, and in MW *ucher* 'evening' < PIE **ue(k)spero* (idem: 159f.). The conclusion should be that the origin of the anlaut of the Celtic cognates is uncertain. If PCl. **ouxseló-* reflects PIE **Houps-éló-*, its Greek cognate *ύψηλός* is likely to have acquired the initial *ú-* of, e.g., *ύπερ*. It is also possible that Celtic and Greek preserve different grades of an original ablauting paradigm.

A more definite argument for an initial laryngeal in the proto-form of PSl. **vys-* seems to be presented by Goth. *iup* 'up' < **h₁eup-*. We find ablaut: zero grade OS *upp*, OIc. *upp* 'up' < **uppa*, full grade in Goth. *iup* 'up', *iupa* 'above' < **iupp-*, and a secondary full grade in OHG *ūf* < **ūpa* (for a full account, see Kroonen fc.).⁴ The geminate **pp* we find next to the simple **f* < **p* must have arisen in front of an **n*, although the exact formation is difficult to establish. Although one might wonder whether Goth. *iup* can be a secondary full grade to **up*, like OHG *ūf*, Gothic seems to have retained an archaic full grade **h₁eup-*.

A third branch in which the full grade of this root appears to be attested is Anatolian. In Hittite we find the verb *ūppzi* 'to rise (of the sun)', which reflects IE **h₁eup-* and has been connected to the root under investigation (Sturtevant 1951: 39). This connection seems very attractive to me. Yet again, one cannot completely rule out a secondary full grade if the verb was formed from an adverb **uppa* 'upwards' vel sim.

Finally, there are the Greek forms, *ύψηλός*, *ύψι*, *ύπό* etc., all with initial *ú-*. It has been heavily debated what the outcome of Indo-European **HuC-* or **HiC-* would be in Greek. Peters expects the laryngeal in **HuC-* to vocalize, e.g., *αύδή* < **h₂ud-eh₂* (1980: 11ff.). Beekes, on the other hand, does not expect the laryngeal to vocalize, e.g., *αύδή* < **h₂eud-eh₂* (1969: 127ff.). I am inclined to follow Beekes here on the basis of Myc. *ewepsesomena* ~ Gr. *ύφαίνω* 'to weave' < **h₁u(e)b^h-*.⁵

If we look at the combined evidence for an initial laryngeal from Celtic, Germanic, Anatolian, and Greek, the conclusion should be that the least

⁴ OHG *ūf* 'up' may have acquired its long vowel from OHG *ūz* 'out'.

⁵ Notice that the initial laryngeal in the sequence **HiC-* does not vocalize either: *αἶθω* 'to kindle' ~ *ιθαρός* 'cheerful, clear' < **h₂(e)id^h-*.

complicated solution is to reconstruct a root **h₁eup-*.⁶ There are, thus, two remaining examples of Kortlandt's rule of which we know that they started with a laryngeal in PIE, viz. **h₁euk-* and **h₁eup-*, and one possibly remaining example of which the original Anlaut is unclear, viz. **(H)uep-* (Russ. *vyp(b)*, Lith. *ūpas*, Latv. *ūpis*).

We can now hypothetically reformulate Kortlandt's original rule:

Initial **Hu-* changed to glottalized **u'* when stressed.

This development will be referred to as "glottalization" in the remainder of this article.⁷

2. Initial **Hi-*.

The question arises whether the "glottalization" could also have applied to stressed initial **Hi-*. Kortlandt (in his original formulation of the rule) states that "[t]he only reliable example for **i* is Russ. *inój* 'other', SCr. *in*, Cz. *jiný*, Lith. *inas*, *ýnas*, *vienas*, Latv. *viēns*, Gr. *oivóc*. On the other hand, the rule cannot be disproved for **i*" (1977: 39). Some 25 years later, Derksen showed that, in Slavic, "[w]ord-initially under the stress [...] the reflex of PIE **i-* merged with **ji-* originating from **iH-*, **eh₁i-* and **eiH-* rather than **jb-* [...] in paradigms with fixed stress" (2003: 103). Unstressed initial **i-* became **jv-*. Derksen attributes the different outcome under the stress "to the influence of the prothetic **j-*" (ibidem). Notice that this formulation is very similar to the rule proposed by Kortlandt for initial **u-*, be it that the period in which it applied is different. The "Proto-Slavic" Derksen talks about is apparently the last stage of Proto-Slavic, i.e. after the application of the forward shift of an originally rising accent known as Dybo's law. Summarizing his conclusions, we can posit the following paradigms for the PSlav. *a*-stems involved:

	(a)	(b)	(c)
nom.sg.	<i>jiskra</i>	<i>jbgrà</i>	<i>jbkrà</i>
acc.sg.	<i>jiskrǫ</i>	<i>jbgrǫ</i>	<i>jbkrǫ</i>

As a result of the accent retraction known as Stang's law, other paradigms with a.p. (b) may show stressed initial **ji-*. In polysyllabic words we find traces of

⁶ Hamp's proposal to derive Alb. *hip* 'to go up' from **h₁up-* (1965: 128) is too uncertain to base any conclusions on (see Orel 1998, s.v. *hip*).

⁷ Young (2006) speaks of "laryngeal metathesis". A metathesis of **Hu-* and subsequent glottalization of the preceding vowel cannot be ruled out, but I see no reason why the following vowel could not have been glottalized directly.

pretonic length in words with a.p. (b). The opposition in quality of the initial cluster is of a recent date.

If we want to identify the 'long' reflex of initial **i-* with the 'long' reflex of initial **u-* in terms of the "glottalization", we do not expect to find words belonging to type (b) from initial **Hi-*. After stressed **Hi-* became acute in the Balto-Slavic period, they should have emerged with fixed acute initial stress. Possible examples with initial **(H)i-* belonging to paradigm (b) are: **jvdǫ* 'I go', **jbgrà* 'play', and **jbkrà* 'roe, caviar; calf (of a leg)'.

In **jvdǫ* we expect no "glottalization", since the present tense of the verb 'to go' was built on the PIE 2sg.ipv. **h₁i-d^hi* with final stress. The long vowel of the infinitive **jiti* is from **h₁ei-*, cf. Lith. *ėiti*. On the broken tone of Latvian *iēt* see below.

PSlav. **jbgra* belongs to a.p. (b) (attested forms in Derksen 2003: 98f., also reflexes of (b) in MBulg. acc.sg. *igrǫ* and ORu.). Štok. acc.sg. *igr̆u* and Čak. (Orbaníci) acc.sg. *igro* need not reflect original mobility. However, the associated verb, **jbgrati*, probably belonged to a.p. (c) in view of SCr. *igrati*, with a short *i-*, and Ukr. *hráty*, Cz. *hráti*, Pol. *grac*. The mobility of the verb is older than the reflexes of barytony in the noun. In the case of original mobility, we would expect to find no traces of an original acute **i-*. The etymology of **jbgra* and **jbgrati* is unclear.

PSlav. **jbkrà*, also **jbkr̆o*, **jbkr̆o*, Lith. *ikras* (2) 'roe, caviar; calf (of a leg)', OPr. EV *ycroy*, is a derivative of PIE **Hiēk^w-r* (Skt. *yákr̥t*, Lat. *iecur*, Gr. *ἥπαρ* 'liver'). The initial laryngeal is reconstructed on the basis of the initial /h-/ of the Greek word. In the case of initial **i-* one would expect Greek ζ- (Peters 1976: 161). In view of Cz. and USorb. *jikra* (but OCz. *kra*), the Slavic word was probably mobile, rather than belonging to a.p. (b).⁸ The initial **ji-* is from those cases where the word had initial stress, e.g., acc.sg. **jibr̆ǫ*, as opposed to **jbgrà* (b) 'play', cf. Cz., USorb. *hra* (see Derksen 2003). The Baltic word appears to be an old neuter, corresponding to dialectal Czech and Old Polish *ikro*. The other Slavic forms rather reflect the old collective. The original situation would have been that the singular, the neuter *o*-stem, had initial stress in Balto-Slavic, whereas the collective had the final stress of the mobile paradigm (Kortlandt, p.c.). For Lith. *ikras* we have to assume that the reflex of unstressed **Hi-* has been generalized. Notice that Lithuanian also preserves the full grade of the original paradigm in dial. *jėknos* (f.pl.) 'liver', a.p. 2. This full grade may have played a role in generalizing the non-acute Balto-Slavic **i-* in *ikras*.

⁸ Initially, Derksen reconstructed a.p. (b) (2003: 103). In his Slavic etymological dictionary he now reconstructs a.p. (c), which seems indeed more likely in view of the adduced West-Slavic forms.

The Baltic evidence is hardly more transparent than the Slavic material. Most forms that could provide evidence can also have been subject to Winter's law. Lith. *ýdas* (1) 'flaw', e.g., can reflect quasi-Indo-European **Hid-*, and Lith. *inkstas* (1) 'kidney', might be a derivative of the root of Gr. *oidéw* 'to swell', which ends in a **d*. The cluster of words consisting of Lith. *yžė* (4) 'pod', Latv. *īze²*, *ieza* 'crack in the ice', Lith. *ižti*, *ýžti* 'to crack (of ice)', *ižas* (2), *ižà* 'ice floe', *iěžti* 'to pod', *áiža* (1?), Latv. *aīza*, *aīza*, *àiza* 'crack', and Lith. *aižyti*, *aižėti*, *éižėti*, *aižioti* 'to pod' shows both reflexes with an acute and with a non-acute root (see the discussion in Derksen 1996: 233f.). These words must probably be connected with OPr. *eyswo* 'wound', PSlav. **ézva* (a) 'hole; wound'. Nothing can be said with any certainty about the origin of the metatony and the vowel length. One could think of a quasi-Indo-European full grade **h₁eiǵ^h-* > **reiž-*, versus a zero grade **h₁iǵ^h-* > **i'ž-* and subsequent merger of these variants. This remains speculative as long as the etymology is unclear, especially since the Slavic forms have a full grade and are acute. There are, however, a number of Balto-Slavic roots that show an unexpected acute root or root variant that could be explained in a similar manner. The unexpected acute we find in a full grade root may originate in zero grade forms of the same paradigm. The examples will be treated one by one.

3. "glottalization" and initial acute diphthongs.

First of all, there is the acute root of Lith. *ieškóti/ieškoti* 'to look for', OLith. 1sg.pres. *jiešku*, Latv. *iēškāt* 'to look for lice' < **h₂ois(s)k-*. Slavic reflects the zero grade of the root: PSlav. **iskāti* 'to look for' < **h₂is(s)k-*. Derksen points out that the ablaut of the root is not limited to BSL. (1996: 337): in Latin we find denominative *aeruscāre* < **h₂eisos-(s)k-* (but notice Umb. *eiscurent* < **ē* 'out' + **h₂is(s)k-*), in OHG we find denominative *eiscōn* 'ask, demand' (from *eisca* 'question') < **h₂ois(s)k-*. In Armenian we also find ablaut: *hayc'em* 'to ask, look for' < **h₂eis(s)k-*, *ayc'* 'inspection' < **h₂ois(s)k-*. Derksen suggested that the acute root may have been caused by the replacement of **sk-* by **-Hsk-* (idem: 294), as in *miřti*, *mirřta*. This is possible, but perhaps not very likely, since the replacement of **sk-* occurs mainly with roots of the structure *Ci/uR-*, where the metatony originated, and to a lesser extent with roots of the structure *Ci/uRC-*, as he himself clearly shows in his book (idem: 285ff.). It seems preferable to assume that the acute arose in the zero grade forms of the root (thus also Young 2006: 235). In view of PSlav. **iskāti* < **h₂is-sk-*, which continues the expected zero grade of the root in this formation, the full grade of the Baltic forms must be secondary, i.e. **h₂is-sk-* > PBalt. **iřšk-* >> **oiřšk-* from other, probably nominal forms with a full grade.

Another unexpected acute is found in Lith. *aiřkus*, dial. *ýřkus*, *éiřkus* 'clear', PSlav. **jbskra* (a) or (c) 'spark',⁹ **ěsnb* 'clear' (a), possibly also **jistb* (a) 'the same'. Probably, these words are related to Gr. *aiřw*, Skt. *edh-* 'to kindle', OIr. *áed* 'fire', OHG *eit* 'fireplace' < **h₂eid^h-*.¹⁰ The Balto-Slavic forms must have been derived from verbal forms with the suffix **-sk-*. According to Derksen, here too the acute accent and Lith. length can be attributed to the replacement of the suffix **-sk-* by **-Hsk-* (2008: 153). For the same reason as with *ieškóti* etc. above I find this unlikely. In this case there is the additional problem that the substitution of **-sk-* by **-Hsk-* has only been shown by Derksen to have occurred in East-Baltic. In Slavic, it is very uncertain whether the same development has occurred, as Derksen observes (ibidem). I would propose that the acute in both Baltic and Slavic was introduced from zero-grade forms of the paradigm, where the acute **-i'* arose regularly through "glottalization".

Moreover, the same Indo-European root is probably found in Lith. *iesmė* (3) 'amount of wood which fits in a stove in one go', which is also attested with a.p. (1): *iesmė*.¹¹ This word also has an acute root. There seems to be an exact parallel for the Lithuanian formation in Skt. *idhmá-* 'firewood', Avestan *aēsma-* 'idem'. Sanskrit *idhmá-* reflects **h₂id^h-(s)mo-* with zero grade in the root and loss of inter-consonantal **-s-*. Avestan *aēsma-* reflects full grade **h₂eid^h-s-mo-*. Lithuanian *iesmė* reflects the full grade **h₂ei-* as the diphthong *ie-*, but the acute root may originally come from the zero grade **h₂i-*. In all likelihood, the full grade of the root was introduced in PIE **h₂id^h-s-mo-* (PBSL. **i'sma-*) from the now no longer existing verb in Lithuanian. Avestan would have undergone the same development.¹²

A similar scenario can be employed to explain the acute of PSlav. **jinnb* 'other', Lith. *vienas*, also *inas* and *ýnas*, Latv. *viēns* < **Hin-o-*, as observed by Kortlandt in his original formulation of the development (1977: 39). Cognates of these

⁹ Ukr. dial. *skra*, USorb. *škra*, LSorb. *škrja*, Pol. dial. *skra*, and Slovenc. *skrā* point to a.p. (c), SCr. *iskra*, ORus. *jiskra*, and Bulg. *iskra* point to a.p. (a).

¹⁰ The connection to OIr. *éscae* 'moon' and OIc. *eiskra* 'to rage' is uncertain.

¹¹ The connection to OCz. *niestěje* 'stove' < **vbn-ěstěje* and Slovene *stěja* 'inner wall of a stove' and its many derivatives (*istěje* 'stove mouth' (also *ist(e)je*, *istje*), *mestěje* 'idem', *ostěja* 'side-wall of a stove or fireplace'), which is maintained by, e.g., Pokorny, should be given up. The original meaning of the Slavic words is probably '(inner) stove wall' and they may rather be related to Slavic **stěna* 'rock, wall', which derives from a root **steHi-* 'lump', cf. Greek *στéap* 'fat; dough', Gothic *stains* 'stone'.

¹² Notice that in Avestan too the verb no longer exists. The formation of **h₂eid^h-s-mo-* itself is not completely clear. The number of sound examples of a suffix *-sm(o)-* is very low (perhaps in Myc. *aikasama* /aiksmā/ 'point of a spear', Gr. *αίχμη*, Lith. *iěšmas* 'spit' < **h₂eik-sm-?*). In any case, it is unclear whether the root of such a formation would have shown ablaut in Indo-European.

words are OPr. *ainan*, OLat. acc.sg.m. *oino*, Goth. *ains*, OIr. *óen* 'one', Gr. *οἶνη* 'one (on dice)', with a different suffix Skt. *éka-*, Av. *aēuua-* 'one', Gr. (Cypr.) *οἴφος* 'only'. To explain the BSl. acute, Derksen reconstructs a root **HiH-* in his Slavic etymological dictionary (2008: 212) and in his Baltic etymological database (2007, s.v.). This explanation would require the second laryngeal to drop in Greek and Latin after the *o*-grade according to the "Saussure effect".¹³ A corresponding reconstruction **H(o)iH-no-* would account for the Balto-Slavic forms, but as with *ieškóti*, *éiškus*, and *iesmē*, the acute could also have spread from the zero grade forms of the paradigm. The latter option is in my view more likely.

A similar case is PSlav. *jiva* (a) 'willow' < **h₁i(H)u-* or **h₁ei(H)u-*, Lith. *ieva* (2, 4), dial. *ieva*, *jėva* (1), Latv. *iēva* 'bird-cherry' < **h₁ei(H)u-* or **h₁oi(H)u-* (the latter only if a.p. (1) is original). Illič-Svityč has shown that the forms with a.p. 2 we find in North-Žemaitian and neighbouring Aukštaitian dialects arose secondarily, i.e. gen.sg. **jievos* > **jėvos* > **jėvos* >> a.p. (2) (1963: 67f.). Because the mobile variants are probably young, the variants reflecting a.p. (1), including those which synchronically belong to a.p. (2), confirm to the accentuation found in Slavic.

On the basis of their cognates Gr. *δῆ, δᾶ, οἶη, οῦα* 'service tree', Lat. *ūva* 'bunch of grapes', and OIr. *éu*, W *yw* 'yew' < **iwo-*, the Balto-Slavic forms are often reconstructed as **h₁eiH-ueh₂*.¹⁴ There are two problems with this reconstruction. First of all, the laryngeal reconstructed for BSl. must have been lost in Greek and Latin, again as a result of the "Saussure effect", in the variant **h₁oiH-ueh₂*, with an *o*-grade. In Celtic, the laryngeal must have been lost in pretonic position (cf. Dybo 1961, Kortlandt 2007: 25ff.). The laryngeal is thus solely based on the Balto-Slavic forms and must have been lost elsewhere. Secondly, we have to reconstruct three ablaut grades: an *o*-grade for Greek and Latin, a zero grade for Celtic, and an *e*-grade for Balto-Slavic. This type of ablaut is very rare and is perhaps only found in some archaic root nouns. There is no other indication that the etymon in question has an archaic structure, especially since it is not attested outside Europe.

If we assume that Slavic, with Celtic, derives from a zero-grade **Hi-u-*, and the rest of the cognates from **Hoi-u-eh₂*, we have *o*-grade – zero grade ablaut. The acute accent of Slavic is regular after the "glottalization" of initial **Hi-*, the

¹³ On the problematic nature of the "Saussure effect" see Schrijver 1991: 328.

¹⁴ The appurtenance of OHG *iwa*, *iga*, *igo* etc. remains uncertain, since the forms with an intervocalic velar do not correspond to the etymon under discussion. Some or all of the Germanic words could very well be borrowings from an unknown source. The appurtenance of OPr. *iuwis* 'yew' is also uncertain. It might stand for /iwis/ < **Hi(H)u-*, but in view of its meaning it could also be a borrowing from Germanic.

acute accent in Baltic must then have originated in the zero-grade forms. Perhaps we should reconstruct **Hi-ueh₂* for Balto-Slavic, assuming that in Baltic the *o*-grade was introduced on the basis of the fact that the word is an *eh₂*-stem, where the *o*-grade is the productive ablaut grade.¹⁵

Latvian *iēt* 'to go' (dial. *iēt*) shows an acute root, where Lithuanian *eīti*, Old Prussian *ēit* and Slavic **jiti* have a non-acute root. Latvian dialects show root variants *iē-*, *iē-* and *eī-*. It is conceivable that these variants existed within the (present) paradigm (Endzelin 1922: 26). Stang (1966: 458) cites Kūduma pagasts *iēmu-eīmu*, *iēt*, *eīma(m)*, *eīta* and similar dialectal paradigms (idem: 58, cf. also the forms in Endzelin 1922: 557). The vocalism appears to point to old root stress in the 3rd person (cf. Skt. *éti*) and end stress in the plural (idem: 58f., cf. Skt. *imáh*, *ithā*).¹⁶ Both the broken tone of the 3rd person and the sustained tone of the plural must then be secondary.

The acute root of the Latvian verb could be explained by assuming "glottalization" of **Hi-*, but this is complicated if one assumes that this change occurred only when the sequence was stressed (cf. Slavic **jbd-* < **h₁i-d^ht*). One has to depart from a paradigm **?eimí*, **?eisi*, **?éiti*, *?imé*, **?ité*, **?iénti*. The only form where the acute could have arisen appears to be a secondary 3pl. **?inti*, since we know that the 1pl. and 2pl. forms remained oxytone (OLith. *eimè*, *eitè*). The acute would have to have spread to the rest of the paradigm in Latvian, but was lost in Old Prussian and Lithuanian.¹⁷ This scenario is possible, but remains speculative since the key form, 3pl. **?inti*, cannot be proven to have existed.¹⁸

The acute root of Latv. *iēt* can be compared to the acute root of Latv. *jemt/jem̃t/ņem̃t/ņem̃t* 'to take', which also corresponds to a non-acute root elsewhere: Lith. *im̃ti* and OPr. *imt* 'to take' (Young 2006: 239). In Latvian dialects zero grade forms have been attested as well (Endzelin 1922: 563f.). The present tense forms are non-acute and the preterit had a lengthened grade (Lith. *ėmė*, Latv. *ņēma*). The infinitive is expected to have been barytone after the retraction of the stress from final diphthongs and vowels onto a preceding syllable that was not closed by an obstruent (see Kortlandt 2009: 4). The

¹⁵ In theory the same development could have occurred in Greek and Latin, but this remains speculation. If Indo-European **H(o)i-u-eh₂* referred to the 'yew', it may be derived from the root **h₂ei-u-* '(allotted) lifetime' as the 'evergreen tree'.

¹⁶ Cf. OLith. *eimì*, *eisi*, *eīti*, *eimè*, *ei(s)tè*.

¹⁷ Except, perhaps, in a few dialectal nominal forms, see Stang 1966: 59.

¹⁸ An alternative explanation would be to assume that the acute intonation arose in forms with a prefix ending in a vowel. In these forms a glottal stop could have functioned as a hiatus filler between the prefix and the verbal root. The same glottal stop could at some point have caused the acute intonation. The major drawback of this scenario is that it does not explain why other verbal roots beginning with a vowel did not become acute, cf. esp. Latv. *aut*.

barytone forms found in Old Russian *jati* (but also *játi*, see Zaliznjak 1985: 353) and Serbo-Croatian *jéti* are due to Dybo's law. One possible explanation of the acute in the Latvian form is that the stressed first syllable of the infinitive **?ímti* < **?ímti* became "glottalized" and that Lithuanian, Old Prussian and Slavic restored the non-acute root from all other forms of the same verb. This analysis implies that the "glottalization" was preceded by the disintegration of vocalic resonants into **iR* and **uR*. There is some evidence that this was the case. Young gives the following examples (2006: 237ff.):

- (1) Lithuanian *irštva* 'bear's den' (a.p. 3), if the word is related to Gr. *ἄρκτος*, Skt. *ṛkṣa-* 'bear' < **h₂rk-to-* (cf. Young 1991).
- (2) Lithuanian *įščios* 'womb, entrails, interior' < **h₁n-stieh₂s*, cf. Latvian non-acute *iekšas* 'idem' < **h₁en-*, similarly Lithuanian *įrankis* 'instrument', but Latvian *ieruocis*.
- (3) Russian *ērzat'* 'fidget; slide along on one's backside; fornicate', if related to Greek *ἄρχις* 'testicle', Armenian *orjik'* 'testicles'.

An additional example would be Lith. dialectal *ánka* 'loop, noose, ring', Latv. dialectal *añka* 'line used to fasten a sail to the mast'. These words are usually regarded to be related to Skt. *añká-* 'hook', Gr. *ἄγκος* 'barb', Lat. *uncus* 'hook' < **h₂enĕ-* but the Baltic acute is unexplained. It may have arisen in the zero grade of the root that is attested in Av. *aka-* 'hook'.

"Glottalization" of initial **Hu-* can be employed to explain the acute of Lith. *áuksas* 'gold', dial. *áusas*. Obvious cognates are Lat. *aurum*, OPr. *ausis* 'gold'. These words reflect PIE **h₂eus-o-*. More problematic is the connection with Toch.A *wäs*, Toch.B *yasa* < **(h₂)ues-*.¹⁹ The same Schwebeablaut is apparently found with the pair Lith. *aūsti*, Latv. *āust* 'to dawn' < **h₂eus-* versus Skt. *vas-* 'to shine, light up' < **h₂ues-*. The two etymons 'gold' and 'dawn' have been connected to each other, but only the latter shows zero grade variants (Skt. *uśás-* 'dawn', *ucháti* 'dawns' etc.). Since no zero-grade forms of the 'gold' word itself are attested (where we would expect the "glottalization", notice that the Baltic word can reflect an old barytone neuter (Driessen 2003: 358f.)) it remains speculative whether the acute arose through "glottalization". Notice the absence of an acute in Lith. *ausis* (4), OPr. *āusins* acc.pl. 'ear' < **h₂eus-*.

A derivative of **h₂eus-* 'dawn' itself also turns up with an acute accent in Balto-Slavic, viz. PSlav. **utro* (a) 'morning' < **ustro*, with irregular loss of the **s*, Latv. dial. *aūstra* 'dawn' < **h₂eus-r-eh₂*. The expected circumflex is found in

¹⁹ The Tocharian cognates might in fact be a proto-Tocharian loan from Uralic, see Driessen 2003 with ref. In his elaborate article on the etymology of the word 'gold', Driessen reconstructs an original reduplicated barytone neuter **h₂é-h₂us-o-*, which would also explain the Lithuanian accent.

Lith. *aušrà* (4), dial. *auštrà*, Latv. *āustra* 'dawn'. Although the zero grade forms of the IE paradigm have been lost in BSL (cf. Skt. *uśás-*), the acute can be explained from an ablauting paradigm **?auš-* ~ **u'š-*, with generalization of **-u'š-* to the full grade form in Slavic and possibly in dialectal Latvian. The original mobility was lost in Slavic, which might indicate that initial stress was generalized from one or two frequent forms before the application of Meillet's law. Alternatively, we are dealing with the reflexes of a barytone neuter singular paradigm, reflected in Slavic, as opposed to an oxytone collective which is continued by the Lithuanian form.

4. Conclusions

We can conclude that the hypothesis that initial stressed **Hu-* and **Hi-* became glottalized in Balto-Slavic does not meet with any serious counterexamples.²⁰ Unfortunately, there are no words that unambiguously reflect initial (stressed) **i-* or **u-* without an initial laryngeal.

The glottalization explains the acute accent of Lith. *áiškus*, *yškus*, *éiškus*, *úkis*, *inas*, *ýnas*, *vienas*, *áuksas*, *ieškóti*, *ieškoti*, *iesmė*, dial. *ieva* and *ánka*, Latv. *viēns*, *iēva*, *iēskāt*, dial. *aūstra* and *añka*, PSlav. **jiskra*, **ěsnv*, **jstv*, **vyk-*, **vysokv*, **jinv*, **jiva*, **iskāti*, and **utro*. It could also explain the metatony of Latv. *āustra*, Lith. *aušrà* (4) vs. Latv. dial. *aūstra*, PSlav. **utro* (a), and possibly Latv. *aīza*, *aīza* vs. *āiza*. The metathesis most probably occurred in late Balto-Slavic, in view of the examples of metatony we find.

The "glottalization" of initial **Hu-* and **Hi-* is strongly reminiscent of the so-called "laryngeal metathesis" of **Hu* and **Hi* between consonants of the type Lith. *būti*, OCS *byti* < **b^hHu-tei*, cf. Kortlandt 1975: 3. It has to be stressed, however, that there is a formal difference between the two developments. Between two consonants, the sequences **Hu* and **Hi* always became glottalic, even when in pretonic position (e.g. Latv. *būt*, see Kortlandt ibidem).²¹ Kortlandt has shown that, in initial position, **u-* is glottalized (my formulation) under the stress only (1977: 37). This restriction would account for Lith. *usnis* 'thistle', if related to Skt. *oṣ-* 'to burn', Gr. *εῦω* 'to singe' < **h₁eus-*, which is not at all inconceivable. It also accounts for the fact that the present tense of 'to go' in Slavic, **jvdō*, belongs to accent paradigm *b*, since it was built on the imperative **h₁i-d^hi* with final stress. A third example in which the initial laryngeal was lost without a trace may be Lith. *uĩkti* 'to growl', *urgėti*, 3pres.

²⁰ E.g., Lith. *úpė* (2), Žem. *upis* (4), and Latv. *upe* 'river' acquired their initial **u-* recently, as evidenced by OPr. *ape*.

²¹ The metathesis of **Hu* and **Hi* in non-pretonic position in Italo-Celtic (see Kortlandt 2007: 43), which is similar to the Balto-Slavic development, must have occurred or been phonemicized independently.

úrga (Kortlandt 1977: 36). Although a comparison with Rus. *vorčát* is very attractive, it is difficult to separate the verb from similar Baltic verbs like Lith. *uřsti*, *urzdėti*, *uřbti*, *urbėti* all 'to buzz, growl etc.', which may have influenced the accentuation of *uřkti* and *urgėti*.

The fact that glottalization of **u* and **i* by a preceding laryngeal did not take place in initial unstressed syllables, implies that the (by then) glottal stop was lost in that position before the glottalization took place. The examples adduced by Young (2006: 237ff.) and our tentative analysis of the acute root of Latvian *iēt* and *ņemīt* date the glottalization after the disintegration of vocalic resonants.

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**Akzentuierung der altpreußischen Substantiva mit den Suffixen -enik- /
-inik- und -ik- / -ik-**

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Wegen der durchaus inkonsequenten Orthographie der altpreußischen Sprachdenkmäler kann wahrscheinlich die Frage, in welchem Ausmaß sie die altpreußische Akzentuierung widerspiegeln nie definitiv beantwortet werden, und die Existenz verschiedener Theorien zum altpreußischen Akzent ist deshalb unabwendbar. In diesem Aufsatz wird man dem traditionellen Denken folgen, nach dem man das von Abel Will im 3. altpreußischen Katechismus (Enchiridion, 1561) verwendete diakritische Zeichen (Längenstrich) für die Hauptquelle unserer Kenntnis über die betonten Silben in altpreußischen Wörtern hält. Der Längenstrich wird für kein echtes Akzentzeichen gehalten, sondern für ein Zeichen, durch das man die Länge der Vokale darstellt¹, die in der altpreußischen Sprache des 16. Jh. (zumindest im Dialekt der Katechismen) wahrscheinlich nur in betonten Silben möglich war. Genauso können auch andere Arten der Bezeichnung der langen Vokale als indirektes Zeichen des Akzents interpretiert werden, z.B. der vokalische Digraph *ae* in der Endung des Substantivs *pallapsaey* (Nom. Pl.) 'Gebote'. Doppelkonsonanten bedeuten in solcher Interpretation nicht den Akzent (weder auf vorhergehender noch auf folgender Silbe), sondern die Kürze des vorhergehenden Vokals. Anders wird die altpreußische Orthographie (im Bezug auf die Akzentuierung) von Kortlandt 1974, Dybo 1998, 2009, 2011, Smoczyński 1989: 128-132, 1990 interpretiert.

Im Altpreußischen gab es wahrscheinlich zwei nominale Akzentklassen: Barytona und Mobilia, die man aus urbaltoslavischen Barytona und Mobilia herleiten kann. Barytone Nomina sind durch festen Stammakzent charakterisiert, z.B. apr. Nom. Sg. *wijr-s*, Akk. Sg. *wijr-an*, Nom. (= Vok.) Pl. *wijr-ai*, Dat. Pl. *wijr-imans*, Akk. Pl. *wir-ans*. Die mobile Akzentklasse ist durch den Akzentwechsel vom Stamm in einigen Formen des Paradigmas auf die

¹ Vgl. die Bemerkung von Abel Will: „Damit (...) ist dieses fleißig zu mercken / das die Fünff Vocale gemeinlich durch eine lange Pronunciati=on außgesprochen werden /“ (Mažiulis PKP I: 137, II: 105).

Endung in anderen Formen charakterisiert, z.B. apr. Akk. Sg. *mērg-an*, aber Dat. Pl. *merg-ūmans*.

Leider sind komplette Paradigmen fast von keinem altpreußischen Wort belegt. Der einzige Weg um herauszufinden, zu welcher Akzentklasse die Wörter gehören, ist deshalb die Vergleichung ihrer schwachen Kasus, d.h. der Formen, die in barytonen Nomina stammakzentuiert und in mobilen Nomina endungsakzentuiert sind. Solche Formen sind, z.B. Nom. Pl. des *a*-Stamms (vgl. *wijr-ai* [Stammakzent] vs. *pallaps-ae*y [Endungsakzent]) oder Dat. Pl. aller Stämme (vgl. *wijr-imans* [Stammakzent] vs. *merg-ūmans* [Endungsakzent]) (s. Rinkevičius 2006). Die Endungen dieser Formen werden nach P. Garde „stark“ (*désinences fortes*, Garde 1976: 19; später: *morphèmes accentués*, Garde 1980: 120)² und nach V. Dybo „dominant“ (Dybo 1981b: 260) genannt.

Die Akzentuierung der altpreußischen abgeleiteten Nomina ist noch nicht gut erforscht. In diesem Aufsatz wird der Akzent der altpreußischen Substantiva mit den Suffixen *-enik-* / *-inik-* und *-ik-* / *-ik-* und sein Verhältnis zur rekonstruierten Akzentuierung der urlitauischen und urslavischen Ableitungen mit den entsprechenden Suffixen untersucht werden.

Die Akzentuierung der abgeleiteten Nomina ist im Urbaltoslavischen von der Akzentklasse ihrer Grundwörter und dem Akzenttyp des Derivationsaffixes abhängig. Man rekonstruiert sowohl für das Urbaltische (genauer, Urlitauische) als auch für das Urslavische zwei Arten von Suffixen, die nach P. Garde „schwach“ (*suffixes ordinaires faibles*) bzw. „stark“ (*suffixes ordinaires forts*) genannt werden (Garde 1976: 56; später: *suffixes non dominants inaccentués* vs. *suffixes non dominants accentués*, Garde 1980: 128f.)³ und die V. Dybos Suffixen der ersten Klasse (rezessive Morpheme) bzw. Suffixen der zweiten Klasse (dominante Morpheme) respektiv entsprechen (Dybo 1981a: 66f., 1981b: 258, 260; vgl. auch „Regel I“ bzw. „Regel II“ in Dybo 1968: 21, 1981b: 190). Die urlitauischen und urslavischen lautgesetzlichen Entsprechungen der altpreußischen Suffixe *-enik-* / *-inik-* und *-ik-* / *-ik-* gehören zur Klasse der „starken“ Suffixe, d.h. die Ableitungen mit diesen Suffixen von barytonen Grundwörtern (die heutigen litauischen Akzentparadigmen 1, 2; im Slavischen – *a*, *b*) haben den festen Wurzelakzent, während die Ableitungen von mobilen Grundwörtern (lit. Ap. 3, 4; sl. Ap. *c*) den festen Suffixakzent haben. Dieses System ist in Ableitungen mit *-inyk-* (Standartform *-inink-*) im heutigen Litauischen noch gut bewahrt, vgl. lit. *priešas* 1 ‘Feind’ → *priešinykas* 1 ‘Gegner, Feind, Widersacher’; aber *dárbas* 3 ‘Arbeit’ → *darbinỹkas* 2 ‘Arbeiter’ (Dybo 1981a: 85, Stundžia 1995: 76). Die Suffixe *-ik-* und *-yk-* sind im

² In diesem Aufsatz wird die frühere Terminologie Gardes bevorzugt und die deutschen Wörter *Akzent*, *akzentuieren*, *akzentuiert* werden in ihrer traditionellen Bedeutung verwendet.

³ S. Fußnote 2.

Gegenwartslitauischen nicht mehr produktiv und in den meisten Wörtern ist der Suffixakzent unabhängig von der Akzentklasse der Grundwörter verallgemeinert, aber es ist noch möglich, Relikte des früheren Zustands zu finden, vgl. lit. *sáulyka* 1 ‘Sonne (Deminutiv)’ (LKŽ XII: 200) (← *sáulė* 1 ‘Sonne’) (neben *saułyka*; vgl. auch *brolykas*, *liežuvỹkas*, *sesỹka*, *ausỹka*, *kalỹka* – alle mit unabhängig von der Akzentklasse des Grundworts verallgemeinertem Suffixakzent). Die slavischen Beispiele s. in Garde 1976: 63-64, Dybo 1968: 174-181, 193f., 196f., 209-211, 1981b: 146-152, 172-176, 187).

Die Ableitungen mit „schwachen“ Suffixen, die von barytonen Grundwörtern abgeleitet werden, haben den festen Wurzelakzent, während die Ableitungen von mobilen Grundwörtern durch den Akzentwechsel von der Wurzel auf die Endung charakterisiert sind. Ein Beispiel für ein solches Suffix könnte das urlitauische Suffix *-ing-* sein, vgl. als altlitauische Beispiele: *gėda* 1 ‘Scham’ → *gėdingas* 1 ‘schamhaft’, aber *naudà* 3 ‘Nutzen’ → *náudingas* 3^a (Mask.), *naudingà* (Fem.) ‘nützlich’ (Dybo 1981a: 72-73). Das wichtige Merkmal der schwachen Suffixe ist, dass sie immer unakzentuiert sind.

Im 3. Katechismus findet man diese Ableitungen mit dem Suffix *-enik-* / *-inik-*:

- Dat. Pl. *auschautenĩkamans* ‘Schuldigern’;
- Nom. Sg. *cixtnix* ‘Täufer’;
- Dat. Pl. (*deinā-*)*algenikamans* ‘Tagelöhnern’;
- Akk. Pl. *dĩlnikans* ‘Arbeitern (Dat. Pl.)’;
- Nom. Sg. *grĩkenix* ‘Sünder’, Akk. Sg. *grĩkenikan*;
- Nom. Sg. *lũbeniks*, *lũbnigs* ‘Priester’;
- Nom. Sg. *malnijks* ‘Kind’ (< **maldenikas*, vgl. *maldenikis* E 189), *malneyks*, gen. Sg. *malnijkas*, *malnikas* Dat. Sg. *malniku*, Akk. Sg. *malnijkan*, Nom. Pl. *malnijkai*, Akk. Sg. *malnijkans*, *malnejkans*, *malnikans*;
- Nom. Sg. *pogalbenix* ‘Heiland’, Akk. Sg. *pogalbenikan*;
- Dat. Sg. *klausĩweniki* ‘Beichtiger’;
- Akk. Sg. *retenikan*, *rettėnikan* ‘Heiland’;
- Nom. Pl. *sendraugiwėldnikai* ‘Miterben’;
- Nom. Sg. *schlũsnikai* ‘Dienerin’, Akk. Sg. *schlũsnikin*;
- Akk. Sg. *schlũsnikan* ‘Diener’, Nom. Pl. *schlũsinikai*;
- Dat. Sg. *waldniku* ‘dem König’, Akk. Pl. *waldnikans*,

und diese mit dem Suffix *-ik-* / *-ik-*:

- Nom. Pl. *bratrikai* ‘Brüder’;
- Nom. Sg. *dellijks*, ‘Artikel’, *dellijcks*, *delliks*, Akk. Pl. *dellikans*;
- Akk. Sg. *debĩkan* ‘große (Akk. Sg. Fem.)’, *debijkan*, *debeĩkan*, *debbikan*, *debijkun*;
- Akk. Sg. *gannikan* ‘Fräulein’;

- Akk. Sg. *grīmikan* 'Lied';
- Akk. Sg. *madlikan* 'Gebetlein';
- Nom. Sg. *malnijkix* 'Kindlein', *malnijkiks*, *malnijkixs*, Akk. Sg. *malnijkikan*, *malnijkikun*, Nom. Pl. *malnijkikai*, *malnijkiku*, Dat. Pl. *malnijkikamans*, Akk. Pl. *malnijkikans*;
- Nom. Pl. *prēisiks* 'Feind', *prēisicks*, Dat. Sg. *prēisiki*;
- Nom. Sg. *stūndicks* 'Stündlein';
- Akk. Pl. *swintickens* 'Heiligen';
- Akk. Sg. *wijrikan* 'Männlein'.

Die genaue Form des Suffixes *-enik-* / *-inik-* ist nicht klar. Der Unterschied zwischen den Varianten *-inik-* und *-enik-* kann bloß orthographisch sein, denn die Schreibung <e> stellt oft in altpreußischen Texten die offene Qualität des Vokals /i/ dar, vgl. *dessempts* neben *dessimpts* (Endzelin 1944: 35, Girdenis, Mažiulis 2000, Mažiulis 2004: 14). Andererseits könnte das Graphem <i> auch eine reduzierte Aussprache des unbetonten Vokals /e/ darstellen. Man bemerke, dass die erste Silbe dieses Suffixes immer unbetont ist (Schreibung *rettēnikan* ist wahrscheinlich ein Druckfehler und muss zu *rettenīkan* oder *rettennikan* korrigiert werden [Endzelins 1943: 238, Mažiulis PKEŽ III: 20f.], vgl. die belegte Form *retenikan*). Beide Varianten (mit *e* und mit *i*) sind in anderen baltischen und slavischen Sprachen belegt. Die litauische Variante mit *-e-* (*-enyk-*, statt des üblicheren *-inyk-*) ist nur aus alllitauischen Texten des ostpreußischen Gebiets bekannt (Ambrazas 2000: 125). In diesem Kontext scheint die Variante mit *-e-* im Altpreußischen wahrscheinlicher, obwohl die Existenz der Formen mit *-i-* auch nicht verneint werden kann. Auf jeden Fall spielt die Qualität des ersten (immer unbetonten) Vokals des Suffixes keine Rolle für die Akzentuierung (zumindest in anderen baltischen und slavischen Sprachen).

Das Verhältnis zwischen den Varianten *-ik-* und *-īk-* ist noch komplizierter. Es ist theoretisch möglich, dass im Altpreußischen (wie auch im Litauischen und in slavischen Sprachen) zwei verschiedene Suffixe (*-ik-* mit dem kurzen, und *-īk-* mit dem langen Vokal) existiert haben, aber wegen der inkonsequenten Orthographie kann man sie nicht unterscheiden, denn die Länge des Vokals /i/ kann im 3. Katechismus durch den Längenstrich oder den Digraph <ij> nur in betonten Silben dargestellt werden. In nicht akzentuierter Stellung würde die Opposition zwischen möglichen *-ik-* und *-īk-* sowieso neutralisiert werden, und in akzentuierter Stellung ist die Unterscheidung von *-ik-* und *-īk-* auch problematisch, weil der Längenstrich im 3. Katechismus, wie es allgemein bekannt ist, nicht konsequent verwendet wird. Im Fall des Fehlens des Längenstrichs kann also das Graphem <i> sowohl ein kurzes (betontes oder unbetontes) /i/ als auch ein langes /ī/ darstellen. Deswegen besteht keine andere Möglichkeit als alle Wörter mit orthographischen <-ik-> und <-īk-> zusammen zu besprechen.

Ein kurzer Überblick über alle belegten Ableitungen mit den fraglichen Suffixen zeigt, dass einige von ihnen einen Stammakzent, während die Anderen einen Suffixakzent haben. Die Distribution zwischen Formen mit Stamm- und Suffixakzentuierung ist in Tabelle 1 präsentiert.

Suffix	Stammakzent	Suffixakzent	unklar
<i>-enik-</i>	<i>dīlnikans</i>	<i>auschautenikamans</i>	<i>cixtnix</i>
/ <i>-inik-</i>	<i>grikenix</i>	<i>malnijks</i>	(<i>deinā-</i>) <i>algenikamans</i>
	<i>lūbeniks</i>	<i>retenikan</i>	
	<i>pogālbenikan</i>		
	<i>klausīweniki</i>		
	(<i>sendraugi-</i>) <i>wēldnika</i>		
	<i>i</i>		
	<i>schlūsnikai</i>		
	<i>schlūsnikan</i>		
	<i>wāldnikans</i>		
	<i>-ik-</i>	<i>grīmikan</i>	<i>bratrikai</i>
/ <i>-īk-</i>	<i>malnijkix</i>	<i>dellijks</i>	<i>madlikan</i>
	<i>prēisiks</i>	<i>debikan</i>	<i>swintickens</i>
	<i>stūndicks</i>		
	<i>wijrikan</i>		

Tabelle 1

Die Existenz des Suffixakzents bei diesen Substantiva, welcher im Fall der urlitauischen oder urslavischen Ableitungen mit den schwachen Suffixen unmöglich ist, lässt uns denken, dass die altpreußische Suffixe *-enik-* / *-inik-* und *-ik-* / *-īk-* in die Gruppe der urbaltoslavischen starken Suffixen besser passen könnten. Es wird aber klarer, wenn man versucht die Akzentklassen dieser abgeleiteten Substantiva festzustellen. In dieser Hinsicht sind 5 von den oben genannten altpreußischen Ableitungen relevant, deren schwache Kasus (d.h. Formen mit „starken“ [in der Terminologie von P. Garde] Endungen) belegt sind. In allen Fällen sind diese starken Endungen nicht akzentuiert, was bedeutet, dass alle diese Wörter einen festen Akzent haben (s.o., auch Rinkevičius 2006). Der feste Akzent kann entweder auf der Wurzel (genauer, auf dem Grundstamm) oder auf dem Suffix (als Derivationsaffix) sitzen.

Suffix	Belegte Form mit der starken Endung	Akzentklasse
-enik- / -inik-	Nom. Pl. (<i>sendraugi-</i>)wēld-nik-ai	fester Wurzelakzent
	Dat. Pl. <i>auschaut-enik-amans</i>	fester Suffixakzent
	Nom. Pl. <i>mal-nijk-ai</i>	
-ik- / -īk-	Dat. Pl. <i>malnijk-ik-amans</i>	fester Wurzelakzent
	Nom. Pl. <i>bratr-ik-ai</i>	fester Suffixakzent

Tabelle 2

Also sind beide Akzentklassen der Ableitungen mit urblt.-sl. starken Suffixen (fester Wurzelakzent und fester Suffixakzent) bei beiden fraglichen altpreußischen Suffixen belegt.

Wie gesagt war im Urлитауischen und Urslavischen die Distribution zwischen dem Wurzelakzent und dem Suffixakzent in Ableitungen mit den starken Suffixen von der Akzentklasse ihrer Grundwörter abhängig. Der feste Wurzelakzent war ein Kennzeichen der Ableitungen von barytonen Grundwörtern, während der feste Suffixakzent ein Merkmal der Ableitungen von mobilen Grundwörtern war. Der altpreußische Zustand ist in dieser Hinsicht wegen der Dürftigkeit des belegten Materials schwer festzustellen, weil nicht alle Grundwörter der Ableitungen mit den fraglichen Suffixen belegt sind, und sogar bei den belegten Formen ihr Akzent und / oder ihre Akzentklasse bei weitem nicht immer klar ist.

Man kann zumindest für die drei wurzelakzentuierten Ableitungen *grīkenix*, *malnijkix* und *wijrikan* klare barytone Grundwörter *grīkai*, *malnijkai* und *wijrimans* finden, deren unakzentuierte starke Endungen des Nom. Pl. und Dat. Pl. einen festen Stammakzent zeigen. Das letzte von ihnen hat auch barytone lautgesetzliche Entsprechungen in den ostbaltischen Sprachen, vgl. lit. *výras* 1, lett. *vīrs*.

Genauso könnte auch stammakzentuiertes lit. *priešas* 1 den Wurzelakzent im apr. *prēisiks* erklären, obwohl das altpreußische Grundwort dieses Substantivs nicht belegt ist; vgl. auch den festen Wurzelakzent in der litauischen Ableitung mit *-inyk-*: *priešinykas* 1. Zum apr. *pogalban* 'Gehülfen' mit unklarer Akzentstelle, von welchem das wurzelakzentuierte *pogālbenikan* abgeleitet ist, vgl. das Verhältnis lit. *pagálba* 1 → *pagālbíninkas* 1.

Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass der unbelegte Germanismus, von dem das wurzelakzentuierte *stündicks* abgeleitet ist, wegen des festen Stamm-silbenakzents im Deutschen auch baryton war, vgl. dt. *Stunde*. Die Akzentklasse des Polonismus *salūban* (Akk. Sg.) 'Ehe' (vgl. Poln. *ślub*), der möglicherweise die Basis für *lūbeniks* ist, ist nicht bekannt, aber die Eigenschaft der Wurzel

salūb-, um den Akzent in Ableitungen zu bewahren, kann vom wurzelakzentuierten Deverbativ *salūbsna* 'Trauung' (neben mobilen *spigsnā*, *cristisnā*) bezeugt werden. Was *lūbeniks* selbst betrifft, kann es auch deverbativ sein, obwohl das Grundverb nicht belegt ist (vgl. Poln. Verbum *ślubić*).

Verlässliche Grundwörter der suffixakzentuierten Ableitungen sind noch schwerer zu finden. Die Mobilität des unbelegten Substantivs, von dem *dellijks* abgeleitet ist, könnte vom lit. mobilen *dalis* 4 'Teil' bezeugt werden. Die Akzentklasse der Basis für die suffixakzentuierte Ableitung *auschautenikamans*, welche in Form des Akk. Pl. *āuschautins* 'Schulden' belegt ist, ist nicht klar, aber Mobilität ist möglich, wenn man im Altpreußischen einen Akzenttyp postuliert, der durch Akzentbewegung vom Praefix auf die Endung charakterisiert ist (z.B. *pallapsaey*, vgl. lit. Nom. Sg. *pāmatas* 3^b 'Grund(lage), Fundament': Nom. Pl. *pamatai*, vgl. auch Mažiulis PKEŽ III: 215) und der in Opposition zum wurzelakzentuierten Typ, bei welchem Präfix immer unakzentuiert ist, steht (z.B. *pagalban* s.o., vgl. lit. Nom. Sg. *pagálba* 1 'Hilfe', Gen. Sg. *pagālbos*, Akk. Sg. *pagālbą*). Leider bezeugt der Dehnton im etymologisch verwandten lett. *šaut* 'schießen u.ä.' die Akzentschwäche dieser Verbalwurzel (d.h. das ehemalige mobile Paradigma des Verbums) nicht.

Zweifelloso mobil ist das Substantiv *gennāmans* (Dat. Pl.) '(Ehe-)frauen', aber die Akzentuierung der Ableitung *gannikan* ist nicht klar. Hier darf man nicht vergessen, dass möglicher Suffixakzent, wenn das Suffix in diesem Fall den kurzen Vokal /i/ enthalten würde, in der Orthographie einfach nicht dargestellt werden könnte.

Problematisch ist die Ableitung *bratrikai*, deren Grundwort *brāti* 'Bruder' wegen seines reduziertes Auslauts (*brāti* < **brātē*) und barytonen Entsprechungen in ostbaltischen und slavischen Sprachen (lit. *brólis* 1, lett. *brālis*, ursl. **brātrō* Ap. a) als stammakzentuiertes Nomen interpretiert werden muss. Die in litauischen Dialekten belegte mobile Form *brolys* 3 stammt wahrscheinlich aus dem alten endungsakzentuierten Kollektivum *broliai* 'Bruder und seine Frau / Familie u.ä.' (vgl. Stundžia 1992). Die Substantiva *brolykas* 1 (Ambrazas 2000: 90) und *brolikas* 2 (LKŽ II: 1070) könnten auch Spuren der Ableitungen vom mobilen (Kollektivum oder ehemaliges) *brolys* 3 oder spätere Verallgemeinerung des Suffixakzents in allen Wörtern unabhängig von der Akzentklasse des Grundworts darstellen. Eine von diesen Erklärungen könnte möglicherweise auch für apr. *bratrikai* gelten, aber wegen der Dürftigkeit des belegten Materials kann weder die Existenz der mobilen Kollektiva im Altpreußischen, noch die Verallgemeinerung des „dominanten“ (nach Garde, oder „kategorialen“ nach Dybo) Suffixakzents in Ableitungen mit (langem) *-ik-* genügend begründet werden.

Die von suffigierten Verba abgeleitete Substantiva mit *-enik-* / *-inik-* neigen dazu, die Akzentstelle des Grundworts zu bewahren, z.B. *schlūsnikai*, *schlūsnikan* ← *schlūsitwei* 'dienen', 1. Pl. *schlūsimai*; *klausiwēniki* ← 1. Pl.

klausēmai 'hören' (vgl. auch die anderen abgeleiteten Substantiva *klausīwings* 'Beichtvater', Akk. Sg. *poklausijsnan* 'Erhören'). Nicht-Wurzel-Akzentuierung des unbelegten Verbuns, von dem *retenikan* abgeleitet ist (vgl. dt. *retten*), kann durch Beispiele wie Akk. Sg. *rettīweniskan* 'heilsame', Akk. Sg. *rettīwingiskan* 'heilsame' illustriert werden. Das Verhältnis zwischen dem wurzelakzentuierten (*sendraugi-*)wēldnikai und dem suffixakzentuierten Nom. Pl. *weldūnai* 'Erben', Akk. Sg. *weldīsnan* 'Erbe' kann nur nach einer genaueren Untersuchung des altpreußischen Verbalakzents erklärt werden. Zum Verhältnis zwischen *lūbeniks* und *salūbsna* siehe oben.

Zusammenfassend darf man sagen, dass trotz des dürftigen belegten Materials die Schlussfolgerung erreicht werden kann, dass es nicht genügend Gründe gibt zu denken, dass sich die Akzentuierung der altpreußischen Substantiva mit den Suffixen *-enik-* / *-inik-* und *-ik-* / *-īk-* viel von der Akzentuierung der entsprechenden urbaltoslavischen Ableitungen unterschied. Die fraglichen Suffixe können als „starke“ (in der Terminologie von P. Garde) oder „dominante“ (in der Terminologie von V. Dybo) Morpheme interpretiert werden.*

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The connection between circumflex and palatalization in Lithuanian word formation

BONIFACAS STUNDŽIA

The connection between circumflex and palatalization is to be observed in the following classes of Lithuanian nominal derivatives and compounds, i.e. (1) in penult-stressed suffixed, paradigmatic and prefixed derivatives, and compounds, as well as (2) in end-stressed suffixed and paradigmatic derivatives. With the exception of suffixed derivatives having stressed vocalic (syllabic) suffixes, the remaining classes in question are directly connected with the problem of circumflex metatony. In the following article I will examine the afore-mentioned word formation classes in detail.

1. Penult-stressed suffixed (vocalic, or syllabic, suffixes), paradigmatic and prefixed derivatives, and compounds.

1.1 Suffixed nominal derivatives

The majority of the productive stressed suffixes of standard Lithuanian are characterized by both long circumflex and acute penultimate syllables. Sixteen years ago I put forward the following statement: "The two syllable accents [= tones – B.S.] have a tendency towards complementary distribution according to the softness vs. hardness of the final consonant(s) of the suffix" (see Stundžia 1993: 62f.; cf. Stundžia 1995: 62, 174).

1.1.1 The final consonants of the productive or rather productive stressed vocalic circumflex nominal suffixes are, as a rule, soft, e.g.

- (1) *-ėlis* (*vadovėlis* 'textbook' : *vadōvas*, *-ė*), *-ėlė* (*vėliavėlė* 'a small flag' : *vėliava* 'flag'), *-ėlis*, *-ė* (*dailutėlis*, *-ė* 'elegant' : *dailūtis*, *-ė* 'elegant');
- (2) *-ystė* (*jaunystė* 'youth' : *jáunas*, *-à* 'young', *draugystė* 'friendship' : *draūgas*, *-ė* 'friend');
- (3) *-ynė* (*tėvynė* 'native country' : *tėvas* 'father'), *-ynės* (*žaidynės* 'games' : *žaisti*, *žaidžia*, *žaidė* 'play');
- (4) *-iėtis*, *-ė* (*miestiėtis*, *-ė* 'town-dweller' : *miėstas* 'town, city', *kauniėtis*, *-ė* 'inhabitant of Kaunas' : *Kaūnas*);

- (5) *-uōlis* (*meduōlis* 'honey cake': *medūs* 'honey'), *-uōlė* (*snieguōlė* 'snowflake': *sniėgas* 'snow'), *-uōlis, -ė* (*vienuōlis, -ė* 'monk; nun': *vienas, -à* 'one');
- (6) *-aīnis* (*saldaiinis* 'sweet': *saldūs, -i* 'sweet'), *-aīnė* (*cukraiinė* 'confectionery': *cūkrus* 'sugar'), *-aīnis, -ė* (*tėvynaiinis, -ė* 'countryman, countrywoman': *tėvynė* 'native country');
- (7) *-iėnė* (*kiaušiniėnė* 'omelette': *kiaušinis* 'egg', *vakariėnė* 'supper': *vākaras* 'evening'; mostly names of food);
- (8) *-yklė* (*rodỹklė* 'pointer, indicator': *rodyti, rōdo, -ė* 'to indicate; point'), *-yklės* (*svarstỹklės* 'balance': *svarstỹti, svařsto, -ė* 'to weigh');
- (9) *-tỹnės* (*rungtỹnės* 'competition': *rūngtis, rūngiasi, -ėsi* 'to contend, contest', *kautỹnės* 'fight': *kāutis, kāunasi, kōvėsi* 'to fight');
- (10) *-uōtis* (*řarvuōtis* 'armoured car': *řarvas* 'armour'), *-uōtė* (*vaizduōtė* 'imagination': *vaizduōti, vaizduōja, vaizdāvo* 'to imagine'), *-uōtis, -ė* (*lapuōtis, -ė* 'leaf-bearing tree': *lāpas* 'leaf');
- (11) *-ōklis* (*stūmōklis* 'piston; sucker': *stūmti, stūmia, stūmė* 'to push; move'), *-ōklė* (*medžiōklė* 'hunt, hunting': *medžiōti, medžiōja, -o* 'to hunt'), *-ōklis, -ė* (*klajōklis, -ė* 'nomad': *klajōti, klajōja, -o* 'be a nomad');
- (12) *-uōklis* (*matuōklis* 'measuring instrument': *matuōti, -uōja, -āvo* 'to measure'), *-uōklė* (*spyruōklė* 'spring': *spirti, spiria, spyrė* 'to kick'), *-uōklis, -ė* (*girtuōklis, -ė* 'drunkard': *gėrti, gėria, gėrė* 'to drink');
- (13) *-ōnė* (*keliōnė* 'trip': *kėlias* 'road', *vakarōnė* 'evening-party': *vākaras* 'evening');
- (14) *-ėsis* (*degėsis* 'charred log': *dėgti, dėga, -ė* 'to burn'), *-ėšiai* (*putėšiai* 'mousse': *pušti, puřta, puřto* 'to swell'). For more examples see Stundžia 2009: 103-105, Pakerys 1994: 108ff., Mikulėnienė et al. 2007: 79ff.

One could also mention a number of non-productive suffixes of the same type (see Stundžia 1995: 64, 2009: 105). The list of circumflex suffixes ending in soft consonants could be extended by including suffixes having a short vowel *e* or *a*, which is lengthened and receives circumflex in stressed position, e.g.

- (15) *-ėlis* (*būrėlis* 'circle, society, club': *būrỹs* 'crowd; company'), *-ėlė* (*aikřtėlė* 'grounds': *aikřtė* 'square'), *-ėlis, -ė* (*senėlis, -ė* 'grandfather; grandmother': *sėnis, -ė* 'old man; old woman');
- (16) *-ėklis* (*varvėklis* 'icicle': *varvėti, vařva, -ėjo* 'to drip, dribble'), *-ėklė* (*dedėklė* 'laying hen': *dėti, dėda, dėjo* 'to lay (eggs)'), *-ėklis, -ė* (*bambėklis, -ė* 'grumbler': *bambėti, bam̃ba, -ėjo* 'to grumble');

- (17) *-ālius, -ė* (*miegālius, -ė* 'sleepy-head': *miegōti, miėga, -ōjo* 'to sleep'; *snauđālius, -ė* 'drowsy-head': *snāusti, snāudžia, snāudė* 'to be drowsy');

1.1.2 The final consonants of the productive stressed vocalic acute suffixes are, as a rule, hard or *-j-*, e.g.

(substantives)

- (1) *-yñas* (*knygỹnas* 'bookshop': *knygà* 'book'; *uždavinỹnas* 'book of problems': *uždavinỹs* 'problem');
- (2) *-ėjas, -a* (*veikėjas, -a* 'public figure': *veikti, veikia, -ė* 'to do; act'; *kirpėjas, -a* 'hairdresser': *kiřpti, keřpa, kiřpo* 'to cut, clip');
- (3) *-yba* (*kūrỹba* 'creative work': *kūrti, kùria, kūrė* 'to create'), *-ybos* (*vedỹbos* 'marriage': *vėsti, vėda, vėdė* 'to marry');
- (4) *-umỹnas* (*gardumỹnas* 'dainty, delicacy': *gardūs, -i* 'delicious'), *-umỹnai* (*řalumỹnai* 'greens; vegetables': *řālias, -à* 'green');
- (5) *-ėiva* (*puošėiva* 'dandy, fop': *puoštis, puošiasi, -ėsi* 'to dress/ smarten up'; *řventėiva* 'sanctimonious person': *řvėntas, -à* 'sacred');
- (6) *-iėna* (*medėina* 'wood; timber': *mėdis* 'tree'; *naujiėna* 'news': *naūjas, -à* 'new');

(adjectives)

- (7) *-ingas, -a* (*būdingas, -a* 'characteristic': *būdas* 'character'; *paslaptingas, -a* 'mysterious': *paslaptis* 'mystery');
- (8) *-uotas, -a* (*ginkluotas, -a* 'armed': *giņklas* 'arm, weapon'; *kailiniuotas, -a* 'fur-coated': *kailiniai* 'fur coat');
- (9) *-ėtas, -a* (*dėmėtas, -a* 'spotted': *dėmė* 'spot'; *řvaigždėtas, -a* 'starry; star-lit': *řvaigždė* 'star');
- (10) *-otas, -a* (*barzdōtas, -a* 'bearded': *barzdà* 'beard'; *spalvōtas, -a* 'coloured': *spalvà* 'colour');
- (11) *-ōkas, -a* (*lėtōkas, -a* 'rather slow': *lėtas, -à* 'slow'; *mažōkas, -a* 'rather little': *māžas, -à* 'little');
- (12) *-ōpas, -a* (*dvejōpas, -a* 'of two kinds': *dvejì, dvėjos* 'two'; *keleriōpas, -a* 'of several types/ sorts/ kinds': *keleri, kėlerios* 'several, some');

For more examples see Stundžia 2009: 101-103, Pakerys 1994: 41ff., 313ff.; Mikulėnienė et al. 2007: 45ff., 171ff.

One could also mention a number of non-productive suffixes of the same type (see Stundžia 1995: 63, 2009: 103).¹

1.1.3 Exceptions.

1.1.3.1 Several productive acute vocalic suffixes with soft final consonants are mentioned below, i.e.:

- (1) *-ybė* (*asmenybės* 'personality' : *asmuo*, *asmenį* 'person', *gyvybė* 'life' : *gyvas*, *-à* 'live, living; alive');
- (2) *-aitis* (*pyragaitis* 'pastry' : *pyragas* 'pie, cake'), *-aitė* (*mergaitė* '(little) girl' : *mergà* 'girl; made'), *-aitis*, *-ė* (*našlaitis*, *-ė* 'orphan' : *našlys*, *-ė* 'widow(er)'; but – *aukštaitis*, *-ė* 'highlander' : *aukštas*, *-à* 'high', *pašalaitis*, *-ė* 'stranger' : *pašalys* 'by-place', *žemaitis*, *-ė* 'lowlander' : *žėmas*, *-à* 'low');
- (3) *-óvė* (*daržóvė* 'vegetable' : *daržas* 'garden', *senóvė* 'old times' : *sėnas*, *-à* 'old').

The suffix *-ybė* is circumflex in Western Aukštaitian and neighbouring dialects including the dialect on the basis of which standard Lithuanian has been formed (see Morkūnas 1991: 137, map no. 123, Pakerys 1994: 53), while the suffix *-aitis*, (*-ė*), *-aitė* is circumflex in various dialects, especially in Western Aukštaitian (see Pakerys 1994: 70f.).

1.1.3.2 On the other hand, there are several productive circumflex vocalic suffixes with hard final consonants, e.g.

- (1) *-yklà*, acc.sg. *-yklą* (*leidyklà*, *leidyklą* 'publishing house': *léisti*, *léidžia*, *léido* 'to publish', *mokyklà*, *mokyklą* 'school' : *mókyti(s)*, *móko(si)*, *-ė(si)* 'to teach; learn');
- (2) *-ūnas* (*lakūnas* 'aviator, pilot' : *lėkti*, *lėkia*, *lėkė* 'to fly', *gyvūnas* 'animal' : *gyvas*, *-à* 'live, living'; but – *Morkūnas* etc., surnames);
- (3) *-óvas* (*vadóvas* 'leader' : *vėsti*, *vėda*, *-ė* 'to lead'; *žiūróvas* 'spectator' : *žiūrėti* *žiūri*, *-ėjo* 'to look').

¹ However, one can find (especially in dialects and old writings) examples with root or end (mobile) stress in the analysed class of derivatives, which in many cases are to be treated as relics of an older system, e.g., standard and dialectal Lith. *pātalyne* 'bedding' : *pātalas* 'bed', *šiėnuolė* 'bits of hay, hay-dust' : *šiėnas* 'hay', *varžytynė* 'auction' : *varžytis* 'compete', *jautiena* 'beef' : *jautis* 'ox'; dialectal Lith. *beržynas*, nom.pl. *beržynai* 3 'birch grove' : *bėržas* 'birch', *miltingas*, *-a* 'mealy, farinaceous', *miltuotas*, *-a* 'covered/ sprinkled with meal/ flour' : *milta* 'flour' (for more examples see Girdeinis 1972).

The first suffix has a soft equivalent *-yklė* in dialects, while the latter ones are regularly opposed to feminine forms with soft consonants both in the standard language and in dialects (*lakūnė* 'female pilot', *vadovė*, *žiūrėvė*, etc.).

1.2 Penult-stressed paradigmatic and prefixed derivatives, and compounds.

Circumflex tone, either adopted from the basic stem or metatonical, is the most characteristic feature of derivatives and compounds of this type. In standard Lithuanian, and especially in dialects, the metatony is not regular in all classes of derivatives and compounds in question. The most regular circumflex metatony is, as a rule, characteristic of nominal derivatives and compounds with soft consonants preceding endings,² e.g.

1.2.1 Paradigmatic derivatives with the following endings:

- (1) *-ius*, (*-ė*), e.g. *puodžius* 'potter' (: *púodas* 'pot'), *skýrius* 'department; section' (: *skirti*, *skiria*, *skýrė* 'separate, part; divide');³
- (2) *-is*, gen.sg. *-io*, e.g. *stóris* 2 'thickness' (: *stóras*, *-à* 'thick'), *šókis* 2 'dance' (: *šókti*, *šóka*, *-o* 'to dance');
- (3) *-ė*, e.g. *piėnė* 2 'sow-thistle' (: *piėnas* 'milk'), *klóstė* 2 'pleat' (: *klóstyti*, *klósto*, *-ė* 'to pleat').

Cf. cases with the circumflex adopted from the basic stem: *knýgius*, *-ė* 'bibliophile' (: *knygà*, acc.sg. *knýgą* 'book'), *šūkis* 'slogan, catchword' (: *šaukti*, *šaukia*, *-ė* 'to cry; call'), *slauėgė* 'nurse' (: *slaugýti*, *slauėgo*, *slauėgė*, 'to nurse'), etc.

For more examples see Pakerys 1994: 220ff.; Mikulėnienė et al. 2007: 145f.

1.2.2 Prefixed derivatives and compounds, such as the following: *begálvis*, *-ė* 'headless', *žilagalvis*, *-ė* 'grey-headed' (: cf. *galvà*, *gálvą* 3 'head'); *bekójis*, *-ė* 'legless', *ilgakójis*, *-ė* 'long-legged' (: cf. *kója* 1 'leg'), etc. The connection between circumflex (metatony) and the softness of the end of the stem of penult-stressed compounds can be illustrated by the following morphological oppositions:

- (1) soft stem nouns like *dvinýtis*, *-ė* 'cloth woven with two heddles', *aštuonnýtis*, *-ė* 'cloth woven with eight heddles', etc., and hard stem

² With the exception of penult-stressed suffixed derivatives with productive consonantic (non-syllabic) suffixes, e.g. *-snis* (gen.sg. *-io*), *-(s)tis* (gen.sg. *-čio*): cf. *kąsnis* 1 'piece; bit' : *kąsti*, *kánda*, *-o* 'to bite' and *žiėngsnis* 2 'step' : *žėngti*, *žėngia*, *-ė* 'to step, walk'; *sámtis* 1 'ladle, scoop' : *sėmti*, *sėmia*, *sėmė* 'to scoop (up)' and *daėgtis* 2 'lid; cover' : *deėgti*, *deėgia*, *-ė* 'to cover' (see Stundžia 1995: 79, 2009: 122f.).

³ The absolute regularity of circumflex metatony in the said class of derivatives was noticed by Ferdinand de Saussure (1894: 430 = 1922: 495).

adjectives like *dvinýtas*, *-a* 'woven with two heddles', *aštuonnýtas*, *-a* 'woven with eight heddles', etc. (: cf. *nýtys* 'heddle');

- (2) soft and hard stem nouns like *maitėdis*, *-ė* and *maitėda* 'carcass-flesh eater' (: cf. *ėsti*, *ėda*, *ėdė* 'to eat'), etc. (cf. Mikulėnienė 2005: 136).

1.2.3 Cases without circumflex metatony such as: *sótis* 'satiety' (: *sótus*, *-i* 'satiated'), *sūris* 'cheese' (but – *sūris* 'saltiness' : *sūrūs*, acc.sg. *sūry* 'salty'),⁴ *rugsėjis* 'September' (: cf. *sėti*, *sėja*, *-o* 'to sow'), *rugpjūtis* 'August' (: cf. *pjauti* 'to reap'), etc.; which are especially frequent in dialects. On the other hand, paradigmatic derivatives with the endings *-a* and *-as* preceding hard consonant(s) are also characterized by original or metatonical circumflex, e.g. (a) *-a* (*drąsà*, acc.sg. *drąsą* 'courage' : *drąsūs*, *-i*, acc.sg. *drąsų*, *-ià* 'courageous'; *skaldà*, acc.sg. *skaldą* 'broken stone' : *skaldyti*, *skaldo*, *-ė* 'to split'); (b) *-as* (*juōkas* 'laugh' : *juōktis*, *juōkiasi*, *-ėsi* 'to laugh'; *spaūdas* 'stamp' : *spāusti*, *spāudžia*, *spāudė* 'to press'). In this case examples with adopted acute and, as a rule, concrete meaning are encountered as well, especially in paradigmatic derivatives with the ending *-as*, e.g. *dáigas* 'sprout, shoot' (: *dýgti*, *dýgsta*, *dýgo* 'to spring, shoot, sprout'), *ráugas* 'ferment; leaven' (: *rūgti*, *rūgsta*, *rūgo* 'to ferment'), *sárgas* 'watch(man)' (: *sérgėti*, *sérgi*, *-ėjo* 'to watch'); *niūrzga* 'grumbler' (: *niurzgėti*, *niurzga*, *-ėjo* 'to grumble').⁵

2. End-stressed suffixed and paradigmatic derivatives.

As a result of its general higher frequency⁶ and the phenomenon of circumflex metatony, circumflex dominates in nominal end-stressed derivatives.

2.1 suffixed derivatives having the following productive consonantic (non-syllabic) "soft" suffixes:

⁴ There are more paradigmatic derivatives ending in *-is* which manifest tonal oppositions based on semantic difference, i.e. derivatives with adopted acute tone have a concrete meaning while those with metatonic circumflex tone have an abstract meaning, cf. *gývis* 'living being' and *gývis* 'liveliness, vivacity' (: *gývas*, *-à* 'live, living'), *márgis* 'spotted animal' and *maĩgis* 'diversity of colours' (: *márgas*, *-à* 'motley'), etc. Acute tone and therefore the absence of circumflex metatony is characteristic of the same type of derivatives denoting females of animals, e.g. *bríedė* 'female elk' (: *briedis* 'elk'), *ėlnė* 'doe' (: *ėlnias* 'deer').

⁵ In *a*-derivatives, which are characterized, as a rule, by a pejorative meaning, acute tone performs an iconic function, and may be not only adopted but also metatonical, e.g. *mūrza* 'dirty creature' : *muĩzinas*, *-à* 'grimy; dirty', *švilpa* 'whistler' : *švilpti*, *švilpia*, *-ė* 'to whistle' (cf. paradigmatic derivatives with prefix *pa-* as well, e.g. *padáuža* 'scapegrace' : *pa-si-daužyti*, *pa-si-daužo*, *-ė* 'to roam', *pabáisa* 'monster' : *pa-si-baisyti*, *pa-si-baiso*, *-ėjo* 'to terrify; horrify').

⁶ Being an unmarked tone, circumflex is more frequent than acute: the ratio is 1.35:1 in stressed syllables (see Girdenis 1983: 117).

- (1) *-lys* (*auglys*, acc.sg. *auglį* 'sprout, shoot; tumour' : *augti*, *auga*, *-o* 'grow (up)'), *-lys*, *-ė* (*bėglys*, *-ė*, acc.sg. *bėglį*, *-ę* 'fugitive' : *bėgti*, *bėga*, *-o* 'to run (away)'), *-lė* (*griežlė*, acc.sg. *griežlę* 'corn-crake' : *griežti*, *griežia*, *-ė* 'to play (an instrument)');
- (2) *-tis*, gen.sg. *-tiės* (*griūtis*, acc.sg. *griūtį* 'fall(ing)' : *griūti* 'to fall'; *stotis*, acc.sg. *stotį* 'station' : *stóti* 'to stop');
- (3) *-mė* (*drėgmė*, acc.sg. *drėgmę* 'dampness; moisture' : *drėgti*, *drėgsta*, *drėgo* 'become damp/ moist', *smulkmė*, acc.sg. *smulkmę* 'small things/ articles' : *smulkus*, *-i* 'small; petty');

2.2 paradigmatic derivatives having the following endings with adjacent soft consonant(s):

- (1) *-ys* (e.g. *būrýs*, acc.sg. *būrij* 'crowd; company' : *būrti*, *būria*, *būrė* 'to unite'; *rytýs*, acc.sg. *rýtį* 'east wind' : *rytai*, acc.sg. *rýtus* 'the east'), *-ys*, *-ė* (e.g. *luošýs*, *-ė* 'cripple' : *luošas*, *-à* 'lame');
- (2) *-ė* (e.g. *pynė*, acc.sg. *pynę* 'plait; garland' : *pinti*, *pina*, *pynė* 'to weave').

2.3 An exception is the productive suffix *-smas* with "hard" consonants before the ending (e.g. *keiksmas* 'abuse; swearing' : *kėikti*, *kėikia*, *-ė* 'to scold; abuse; curse'). Derivatives of the productive adjectival suffix *-lūs*, *-i* have both "soft" and "hard" forms in a paradigm, cf. *taiklūs*, acc.sg. masc. *taiklų* and fem. *taikli*, acc.sg. *taiklių* 'well-aimed; accurate' (: *taikyti*, *táiko*, *-ė* 'to aim (at)').

3. Conclusions.

3.1 The connection between circumflex and palatalization in Lithuanian word formation could be treated as a phenomenon of prosodic accommodation. The slightly rising pitch, characteristic of the circumflex tone (see Pakerys 1982: 166ff.), fits in well with the high timbre of the stressed syllable nucleus preceding the soft consonant (on the regressive influence of palatalized consonants on the spectrum of vowels see Girdenis & Kubiliūtė-Kliukienė 1982 and bibliography).

3.2 Because of numerous exceptions, i.e. examples with acute tone (especially in dialects), which in many cases represent archaisms, the phenomenon in question seems to be rather recent and it is hard to link it with the origin of

⁷ Sometimes there are end-stressed examples without metatony (e.g., standard and dialectal Lith. *grėblýs*, acc.sg. *grėblį* 3 'horse-rake' : *grėbti*, *grėbia*, *-ė* 'to rake') or even root-stressed derivatives (e.g. *žnyplės* 1 'nippers' : *žnybti* 'to nip' – also without metatony) in the analysed class of derivatives, which in many cases are to be treated as relics of an older system.

circumflex metatony in Baltic⁸. Nevertheless, the prosodic accommodation under discussion was **and still is** important for the development of tonal oppositions as well as for the spread of circumflex metatony in the Lithuanian word formation system. As far as circumflex metatony is concerned, it seems that Mikulėnienė was the first who established a connection between the said type of metatony and the softness of stem-final consonant(s) of paradigmatic derivatives of modern Lithuanian (see Mikulėnienė 1987: 158f., cf. Mikulėnienė 2005: 56). It should be stressed that both the circumflex tone and circumflex metatony of Lithuanian are in close connection with the stressed penultimate syllable, which statistically dominates in syntagmas of Lithuanian prose and especially poetry (51.6% and 71.9% of all syntagmas respectively; see Girdzijauskas 1979: 160f., 164). So, 'circumflex', 'circumflex metatony', 'palatalization' and the 'penultimate syllable' could be the most important keywords for further investigation into the development of tonal oppositions and prosodic alternations of the Lithuanian language⁹.

⁸ The origin of Baltic circumflex metatony and metatony in general still remains problematic (for an overview of the history of the problem see Derksen 1996: 3-8; Mikulėnienė 2005: 11-42). Ch. S. Stang (1966a: 144ff.; 1966b) established a connection between circumflex metatony and the shift of stress to the adjacent syllable in Lithuanian derivatives, cf. *puōdžius* 'potter' (: *púodas* 'pot') and *kubilius* 'cooper' (: *kúbilas* 'vat, tub'), and attributed circumflex metatony to retraction of the ictus from the stressed penultimate (suffixal) syllable. The said retraction seems to be a weak point in Stang's theory. The author of the present article provided data showing a connection between circumflex metatony in Eastern Lithuanian bahuvrīhi compounds (including prefixed derivatives) and mobility of the basic stem, and attributed circumflex metatony to retraction of the ictus from the final syllable of a word (see Stundžia 1981; this point of view is now supported by Mikulėnienė 2005: 198ff.). Later, the reason for the appearance of circumflex metatony in Lithuanian compounds and prefixed derivatives was attributed to the operation of de Saussure's law, e.g. Lith. **be'kājīs* (cf. *kója* 1), **be'rañkīs* (cf. *rankà*, acc.sg. *rañkq* 2), **begāl'vīs* - acc.sg. **begāl'viñ* (cf. *galvà*, acc.sg. *gálvq* 3), and **bevaikīs* - acc.sg. **bevaikiñ* (cf. *vaikas* 4) after the law in question developed into **be'kājīs*, **be'rañkīs*, **begāl'vīs* - *be'gāl'viñ* and **bevaikīs* - *'bevaikiñ* (see Stundžia 1991; cf. Girdenis 1971 and Dybo 1981: both linguists, though somewhat differently, recognize the importance of de Saussure's law in the development of the accentuation of suffixed derivatives in Lithuanian). Mobility of the **begāl'vīs* - *be'gāl'viñ* type was not characteristic of Lithuanian, so it was replaced by root stress on the analogy both of **be'kājīs* (→ **be'gāl'vīs*, cf., e.g., East Aukštaitian Panevėžys [Lith. panevėžiškiai] dialect *begālvis*) and **be'rañkīs* (→ **be'galvīs*, cf., e.g., East Aukštaitian Utena [Lith. uteniškiai] dialect *begālvis*, and standard Lith. *begālvis*). Finally, mobility of the **bevaikīs* - *'bevaikiñ* type was replaced by root stress (→ **be'vaikīs*, cf. standard and dialectal Lith. *bevaikīs*). One more analogical process, characteristic of, e.g., the West Aukštaitian Kaunas (Lith. kauniškiai) dialect, seems to be the development of **be'kājīs* to **be'kājīs* (→ *bekājīs*). This explanation of circumflex metatony in Lithuanian compounds and prefixed derivatives is based on analogical processes and does not require any movements of the stress.

⁹ My imperfect English was kindly corrected by Jayde Will.

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О глагольной акцентуации одной среднеболгарской рукописи (Апостол НБКМ №93)

МАРГАРИТА ВИКТОРОВНА ЖИВОВА

Данное сообщение посвящено описанию фрагмента глагольной акцентуации памятника XIV в. Апостол №93 Народной библиотеки Кирилл и Мефодий (София). Памятник содержит полностью Деяния Апостолов и большую часть Посланий. Рукопись имеет "сплошную" акцентовку. В рукописи 60 листов по 28 строк, написанных уставом, по-видимому, одним писцом. Фрагмент этой же рукописи хранится в НБКМ под другим архивным номером (№503). При анализе акцентуации учитываются данные рукописи целиком (93 + 503). В памятнике отражена акцентная система восточно-болгарского типа. Для анализа глагольной акцентуации была создана база данных, в которую введены все глагольные словоформы рукописи (свыше 10 000).

Глагольная акцентуация в Апостоле интересна тем, что наряду с рядом инноваций, свойственных всем восточно-болгарским системам (таких, например, как генерализация конечного ударения в формах императива), обнаруживает и архаичные черты (как, например, сохранение энклиномичности у глаголов а.п. с). Наиболее интересны глаголы i-класса и C-класса и глаголы на нешумные, так как в них, в частности, можно видеть следы подвижного ударения а.п. с. В остальных классах наблюдается образование двух неподвижных акцентных типов – с корневым и с суффиксальным ударением, поэтому их акцентуация предсказуема и не отражает черты древнейшего распределения по акцентным парадигмам. Мы остановимся на рассмотрении i-глаголов (они составляют около трети всех глаголов)¹.

¹ На материале Апостола 93 основана работа В.А. Дыбо «Новые данные по диалектологии среднеболгарских акцентных систем» [Дыбо 1996, посвященная, в частности, акцентному поведению инфинитива i-глаголов]. Целесообразно, однако, рассмотреть систему глагольной акцентуации как целое. Об интерпретации акцентуации инфинитивов см. ниже.

Акцентуация i-глаголов

Акцентное поведение i-глаголов в данном памятнике в большей части субпарадигм соответствует тому, которое ожидается от восточно-болгарского памятника этого времени.

В восточно-болгарских системах i-глаголы дают два акцентных типа. Старые а.п. а и а.п. в сливаются в один неподвижный тип, а.п. с обычно сохраняет подвижность (см. таблица 1).






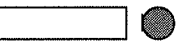


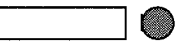



Праслав. а.п.	а.п. а	а.п. в	а.п. с
Презенс 1 Sg			
Презенс (не 1Sg)			
Аорист			
Аорист 3 sg			

Таблица 1²

Ниже дается краткий обзор акцентуации i-глаголов в Апостоле 93 по субпарадигмам. Презенс и аорист рассматриваются вместе, поскольку их акцентное поведение в целом сходно.

Поведение форм презенса и аориста в Апостоле 93 действительно укладываются в ожидаемую схему. Имеется два акцентных типа: неподвижный с ударением на корне и подвижный с конечным ударением во всех формах, кроме форм-энклитомена (1 Sg Pr и 2-3 Sg Aor).

В первый акцентный тип входят глаголы праславянских а.п. а и в, второй тип (подвижный) составляют глаголы праславянской а.п. с.

Энклитомичность форм 1 Sg Pr и 2-3 Sg Aor в подвижном акцентном типе может выражаться в нашем памятнике следующим образом (см. об этом также Дыбо [1996]):

² Здесь и далее приняты следующие обозначения: черная закрашка указывает на ударность, белая – на безударность; прямоугольником обозначается основа, кружком – окончание. При необходимости указать на префиксальное ударение черным закрашена начальная часть прямоугольника. При выделении суффикса суффикс обозначается треугольником.

• Конечное ударение при наличии энклитики (т.е. ударение переходит не на энклитику, а на предшествующий ей слог. примеры: **воѣ сѧ**; **пави сѧ**

• Ударение на корне при отсутствии приставки или энклитик. **стѣж**; **рѣди**

• Ударение на приставке (проклитике) **прилежж**; **погоуби**³

Приведем примеры (таблицы 2-9)⁴:

Корень	Лист	Строка	Словоформа	А.п.	Начальная форма
воѣти	92a	17	воѣ сѧ	с	воѣти сѧ
	88б	4	воѣ же сѧ	с	воѣти сѧ
	86б	24	воѣ же сѧ	с	воѣти сѧ
дрѣжати	72a	27	оудрѣжжѣ си	с	оудрѣжати
лѣнити	40б	16	не вѣлѣнѧ сѧ	с	овѣлѣнити сѧ
мнѣти	71a	9	мнѧ вѣ сѧ	с	мнѣти
	70б	5	мнѧ	с	мнѣти
	68a	14	мнѧ вѣ	с	мнѣти

Таблица 2: 1 sg Pr, ударение на окончании.

Корень	Лист	Строка	Словоформа	А.п.	Начальная форма
павити	30a	13	пѧвѧ тѣвѣ	с	павити
стоѣти	30a	24	стѣж	с	стоѣти
стыдити	88a	2	стѣждѣ же сѧ	с	стыдити сѧ
	51б	6	не стѣж(д)ж (во) сѧ	с	стыдити сѧ
трѣпѣти	112a	13	трѣплѧ	с	трѣпѣти

Таблица 3: 1 sg Pr, ударение на корне, бесприставочные глаголы.

Корень	Лист	Строк	Словоформа	А. п.	Начальная форма
гоубити	66a	18	погоубѧ	с	погоубити

³ У ятевых глаголов в 2-3 Sg Aor ударение обычно конечное, т.е. на ять, так как -ѣ-, в отличие от -и- – доминантный, но от глагола (при)зрѣти находим как призрѣ, так и призрѣ.

⁴ Данные таблицы представляют собой извлечения из составленной нами базы данных, включающей все глагольные словоформы рукописи. В силу повторяемости многих форм презенса и аориста приводим лишь выборочные примеры, а не весь материал рукописи. В столбце с условным названием «Корень» приведены бесприставочные инфинитивы, а в столбце «Начальная форма» – конкретные лексемы.

кѣснити	109a	2	ꙗкѣсна	с	оꙗкѣснити
покоити	64a	17	и оꙗпокоѣ ꙗ	с	оꙗпокоити ꙗ
стѣдити	86б	2	не постѣжда ꙗ	с	постѣдити ꙗ
	111б	19	нѣ не постѣжда ꙗ	с	постѣдити ꙗ
	88б	15	не постѣжда ꙗ	с	постѣдити ꙗ
	503-2б	10	постѣжда ꙗ	с	постѣдити ꙗ
тѣщити	40б	21	потѣщѣ ꙗ	с	потѣщити ꙗ

Таблица 4: Ударение на корне при наличии приставки (т.е. отсутствие отяжки на приставку) в формах 1 Sg Pr глаголов а.п. с.

Корень	Лист	Строк	Словоформа	А.п.	Начальная форма
дрѣжати	503-2б	15	ꙗдрѣжѣ ꙗ	с	одрѣжати ꙗ
лежати	72a	26	прилежѣ	с	прилежати
чинити	74a	26	разчина	с	разчинити

Таблица 5: 1 sg Pr, ударение на приставке.

Корень	Лист	Строк	Словоформа	А.п.	Начальная форма
гавити	44б	13	гави ꙗ (18x)	с	гавити ꙗ
	114б	25	гави во ꙗ	с	гавити ꙗ
	43a	24	и гави ꙗ намѣ	с	гавити ꙗ
щадѣти	41a	17	не пощадѣ	с	пощадѣти
вѣжати	7б	28	вѣжа ꙗ	с	вѣжати
вѣжати	115б	6	вѣжа	с	вѣжати
вѣстити	117a	17	извѣсти ꙗ	с	извѣстити ꙗ
велѣти	76б	26	не повелѣ во ꙗ	с	повелѣти ꙗ
	20б	18	повелѣ	с	повелѣти
	12б	11	и повелѣ намѣ	с	повелѣти
	10a	3	и повелѣ	с	повелѣти
	27б	13	повелѣ ꙗ егѡ	с	повелѣти
	32a	10	повелѣ ꙗ	с	повелѣти
грѣдѣти	110a	19	разгрѣдѣ		разгрѣдѣти ꙗ
дѣлити	70б	19	раздѣли ꙗ	с	раздѣлити ꙗ
	26б	13	и раздѣли ꙗ	с	раздѣлити ꙗ
зѣрѣти	135б	22	призрѣ (2x)	с	призрѣти

крѣпити	10б	11	ꙗкрѣпи ꙗ	с	оꙗкрѣпити ꙗ
	113б	6	и ꙗкрѣпи ма	с	оꙗкрѣпити
мѣчати	17a	28	оꙗмѣча ꙗ	с	оꙗмѣчати
мѣнѣти	54б	11	не оꙗсѣмнѣ ꙗ	с	оꙗсѣмнѣти ꙗ
подобити	33б	23	оꙗп(о)(а)ꙗꙗ ꙗ	с	оꙗподобити ꙗ
родити	92б	8	рѡди ꙗ	с	родити ꙗ
	7б	14	рѡди ꙗ	с	родити ꙗ
садити	30б	25	вѣсадѣ ꙗ	с	вѣсадити
скрѣвѣти	84a	27	ꙗскрѣви ꙗ	с	оскрѣвити
слѣшати	10a	16	слѣша	с	слѣшати
	9б	17	оꙗслѣша (егѡ)	с	оꙗслѣшати
	28б	3	и слѣша егѡ	с	слѣшати
трѣпѣти	124б	1	прѣтрѣпѣ	с	прѣтрѣпѣти
частити	117б	8	причастѣ ꙗ	с	причастити ꙗ

Таблица 6: 3 sg Aor, конечное ударение.

Корень	Лист	Строк	Словоформа	А.п.	Начальная форма
гавити	68a	14	гави	с	гавити
	51б	13	гави	с	гавити
родити	8a	1	рѡди	с	родити
	7a	22	рѡди	с	родити
свободити	92б	23	свѡбѡди	с	свободити
слѣшати	87б	27	и слѣша	с	слѣшати
	66б	26	не слѣша	с	слѣшати

Таблица 7: 3 sg Aor, ударение на корне, бесприставочные глаголы.

Корень	Лист	Строк	Словоформа	А.п.	Начальная форма
гоꙗвити	48б	3	погоꙗви	с	погоꙗвити
дѣлити	119a	18	(ꙗ)дѣли	с	отдѣлити
довольити	81б	18	и оꙗдѡбли		оꙗдовольити
крѣсити	95a	5	вѣскрѣси	с	вѣскрѣсити
	3б	22	вѣскрѣси	с	вѣскрѣсити
мѣнити	91a	13	и вѣмѣни ꙗ	с	вѣмѣнити ꙗ
	54a	5	и вѣмѣни ꙗ	с	вѣмѣнити ꙗ
	54a	15	вѣмѣни ꙗ	с	вѣмѣнити ꙗ

	54б	15	вѣмѣни сѧ	с	вѣмѣнити сѧ
	54б	13	и вѣмѣни сѧ	с	вѣмѣнити сѧ
	54а	14	вѣмѣни сѧ	с	вѣмѣнити сѧ
покоити	111б	26	ꙗпокоѣи	с	оꙋпокоити
	118б	4	ꙗпокоѣи сѧ	с	оꙋпокоити сѧ
садити	13б	17	вѣсади	с	вѣсадити
скврѣтити	25а	9	и wskврѣни	с	оскврѣтити
слѣшати	131а	26	ꙗслѣша	с	оꙋслѣшати
чрѣдити	12а	4	оꙋчрѣди	с	оꙋчрѣдити

Таблица 8: 3 sg Aor, ударение на корне при наличии приставки.

Корень	Лист	Строк	Словоформа	А. п.	Начальная форма
вѣстити	3б	27	ѧко же прѣвѣзвѣсти	с	прѣвѣзвѣстити
гоꙋбити	48а	12	пѣгоꙋви	с	погоꙋбити
гласити	19а	13	вѣзгласи же	с	вѣзгласити
годити	63а	18	оꙋгоди	с	оꙋгодити
дѣлити	86б	11	рѣздѣли	с	рѣздѣлити
зѣрѣти	132а	16	призрѣ	с	призрѣти
	133б	19	призрѣ	с	призрѣти
клонити	131а	27	приклони	с	приклонити
корити	77б	20	пѣкори	с	покорити
	127б	21	пѣкори	с	покорити
кропити	121б	15	пѣкропи	с	покропити
разити	14а	27	пѣрази егѣ	с	поразити
растити	67а	24	вѣзрасти	с	вѣзрастити
скрѣбити	81а	14	ꙋскрѣви	с	оскрѣбити
слѣпити	44а	1	ꙋслѣпи	с	ослѣпити
	82а	22	ꙋслѣпи	с	ослѣпити

Таблица 9: 3 sg Aor, ударение на приставке.

Итак, в презенсе и аористе глаголы а.п. с в основном сохраняют энклитомичность и образуют подвижный тип с конечным ударением⁵.

Этому не противоречат и данные по причастиям. В энклитомичных формах N Sg masc., neut. ШТ-причастий у глаголов а.п. с находим ударение в основном на корне при отсутствии энклитик и на суффиксе – при наличии энклитик. В членных формах N Sg masc/ находим ударение на последнем слоге, т.е. на артикле -и. В остальных формах ударение на суффиксе. Суффиксальное ударение у глаголов а.п. с и в формах ш-причастий (за исключением, естественно, «старых» форм типа рѣждѣ) см. в таблице 10:

Корень	Лист	Строка	Словоформа	А. п.	Начальная форма
воати	12а	27	воаѣсѧ егѣ	с	воати сѧ
воати	45б	27	воа(и) же сѧ	с	воати сѧ
воати	102а	17	воаѣсѧ	с	воати сѧ
воати	11а	27	и воаѣи сѧ	с	воати сѧ
воати	12а	1	воаѣи сѧ	с	воати сѧ
воати	9об	11	воаѣ сѧ	с	воати сѧ
воати	133а	25	воаѣи сѧ	с	воати сѧ
шадѣти	85б	23	шадѣ	с	шадѣти
шадѣти	81а	3	шадѣ ва(с)	с	шадѣти
оꙋчити	33а	27	оꙋча	с	оꙋчити
оꙋчити	40а	10	оꙋча	с	оꙋчити
оꙋчити	25а	8	ꙋча	с	оꙋчити

⁵ Обратим внимание на вариативность ударения в следующих случаях: пѣгоꙋви; погоꙋви; (ꙋ)дѣли; рѣздѣли (в данном случае, однако, объяснение может быть чисто графическим, т.к. над лигатурой ꙋ никогда не ставится знак ударения); призрѣ; призрѣи; Глаголы тѣшити, покоити и стѣдити, показывающие накоренное ударение при наличии приставки в презенсе и в аористе, отклоняются от ожидаемого для а.п. с поведения не только в этих формах.

Обратим внимание также на поведение глаголов мѣнити (в основном с приставкой – вѣмѣнити) и слѣшати. Глагол вѣмѣнити регулярно дает ударение на корне в форме 3 Sg Aor. Поскольку этот глагол и в других формах в большинстве случаев имеет ударение на корне, то в данном памятнике его, видимо, следует относить к а.п. а – см. об этом глаголе Дыбо [1996. Что касается глагола слѣшати, то этот глагол примерно в половине случаев также имеет ударение по неподвижному типу, так что возможно и его следует относить к а.п. а. Такой же «разнобой» этот глагол дает в памятниках старо-тырновской системы, если судить по материалу, приведенному в ОСА-1.)

оучити	23б	25	оуча	с	оучити
оучити	61а	27	оучаи	с	оучити
оучити	65а	19	оуча	с	оучити
оучити	68б	3	оуча	с	оучити
оучити	100б	16	оуча	с	оучити
оучити	102б	1	и оуча	с	оучити
оучити	93б	15	оучаи	с	оучити сѧ
стојати	28б	27	стѡж	с	стојати
стојати	25б	2	стѡж	с	стојати
стојати	28а	24	стѡж	с	стојати

Таблица 10: шт-причастия от глаголов а.п. с N sg masc, neutr.

Корень	Лист	Строка	Словоформа	А. п.	Начальная форма
оучити	16б	15	и оучѡцѣма	с	оучити
оучити	503-1	23	и оучѡцѡжѧ	с	оучити
оучити	93б	16	оучѡцѡмоу и	с	оучити
бојати	127а	11	боѡци(м) сѧ	с	бојати сѧ
стојати	4б	7	стожшта	с	стојати
стојати	26а	17	къ стожцѡмоу	с	стојати
стојати	14а	13	стожцѡ	с	стојати

Таблица 11: шт-причастия от глаголов а.п. с, другие формы

В Имперфекте также четко противопоставлены два типа. Первый тип составляют глаголы а. п. а и б с накоренным ударением. Второй – а.п. с с ударением на суффиксе.

Корень	Лист	Строка	Словоформа	А. п.	Начальная форма
молити	58а	28	мѡлѣх вѡ сѧ	б	молити
видѣти	10а	21	видѣше	а	видѣти
гонити	92б	19	гонѣше	б	гонити
коуцити	10б	22	покоушааше сѧ	а	покоуцити сѧ
лжчити	90б	11	и ѡлжчааше сѧ	б	отлжчити сѧ
мжтити	10б	17	и сѣмжцааше	б	сѣмжтити
мжчити	41а	24	мжча(а)ше	а	мжчити
мѣнити**	55а	13	не вѣмѣнѣаше сѧ	с	вѣмѣнити сѧ
множити	6б	21	и мнѡжааше сѧ	а	множити

просити	3б	1	прѡшааше	б	просити
противити	14б	17	прѡтивѣаше (же) сѧ (имѣ)	а	противити сѧ
слъшати*	16а	24	сѣ слъшааше	а	слъшати
тжжити	20б	23	тжжааше	б	тжжити
творити	6б	23	твѡрѣаше	б	творити
творити	21б	24	твѡрѣаше	б	творити
творити	18б	23	сѣ же твѡрѣаше	б	творити
творити	11а	12	твѡрѣше	б	творити
творити	11а	18	твѡрѣаше	б	творити
творити	9а	10	твѡрѣаше	б	творити
тъцити*	23а	26	тъцааше вѡ сѧ	с	тъцити?
хвалити	105б	1	хвалѣше сѧ	б	хвалити сѧ
ходити	18а	20	прохѡж(а)аше	б	проходити
ходити	16а	26	и хѡж(а)аше	б	ходити
ходити	5б	16	прихѡждааше же	б	приходити
ходити	3б	7	и хѡждааше	б	ходити
влачити	19б	16	влѡчаахж	б	влачити
влачити	25а	12	влѡчаахж (его)	б	влачити
кръстити	9а	18	кръцаахж сѧ	б	кръстити сѧ
кръстити	21а	2	и кръцаахж сѧ	б	кръстити сѧ
лъстити	105а	22	прѣлъцаахж же	б	прѣлъстити (прѣлъстити) мѡвити?
мѡвити	19б	14	мѡвѣахж		
мъслити	2а	20	и недѡмъшилѣахж	а	недомъслити
носити	5б	14	изнѡшаахж	б	износити
носити	5а	16	принѡшаахж	б	приносити
плънити	16а	10	исплънѣахж (сѧ)	а	исплънити
просити	14а	24	прѡшаахж	б	просити
слоужити	36б	16	слоужаахж	б	слоужити
славити	24б	16	слѡвлѣахж	а	славити
славити	16а	4	и слѡвлѣахж	а	славити
славити	90а	14	и слѡвѣхж	а	славити

славити	13a	19	и славлѣахъ	a	славити
славити	4б	20	яко всѣ прославлѣахъ	a	прославити
ставити	22б	5	не встѣвлѣахъ егò	a	оставити
творити	31a	21	твòрѣахъ	b	творити
творити	32a	15	твòрѣхъ	b	творити
творити	17a	13	и твòрѣхъ	b	творити
ходити	22a	9	прихòж(а)аахъ	b	приходити
ходити	17a	12	прохòж(а)аахъ	b	проходити
ходити	32б	3	прихòждаахъ	b	приходити
ходити	33a	7	ѡхòж(а)аахъ	b	отходити
ходити	18a	26	яко прохòждаахъ	b	проходити
ходити	121a	14	въхòждаахъ	b	въходити
ходити	9a	11	исхòж(а)аахъ	b	исходити
хьтити	105a	21	въсхьщѣаахъ	a	въсхьтити (въсхьщѣати)
ходити	3a	24	въсхòждааста	b	въсходити

Таблица 12: Имперфект, ударение на корне.

Корень	Лист	Строка	Словоформа	А. п.	Начальная форма
гавити	36б	14	гавлѣаше сѧ	с	гавити сѧ
оучити	21б	1	и оучѣаше	с	оучити
велѣти	7б	22	велѣаше		велѣти
дивити	11б	20	дивлѣаше сѧ	с	дивити сѧ
дивити	9a	20	дивлѣаше сѧ	с	дивити сѧ
дивити	8a	3	дивлѣаше сѧ		дивити сѧ
крѣпити	10б	17	крѣплѣаше сѧ	с	крѣпити сѧ
крѣпити	14a	14	крѣплѣаше сѧ	с	крѣпити сѧ?
мирити	7б	24	и смирѣаше ѿ	с	смирити?
мьнѣти	18б	13	мнѣше сѧ	с	мнѣти сѧ
слъшати*	18б	15	слъшѣаше	а	слъшати
тъщити*	39б	28	тъщѣаше сѧ	с	тъщити сѧ?

оучити	17a	7	оучѣаахъ	с	оучити
оучити	5б	23	и оучѣаахъ ⁶	с	оучити
богати	6a	6	богѣаахъ бò сѧ	с	богати сѧ
богати	10б	23	богѣаахъ сѧ егò	с	богати сѧ
велѣти	19a	3	велѣхъ	с	велѣти
дивити	2a	20	дивлѣаахъ же сѧ	с	дивити сѧ
дивити	10б	14	дивлѣаахъ же сѧ	с	дивити сѧ
дивити	2a	12	дивлѣаахъ же сѧ	с	дивити сѧ
жесточити	21б	20	ѡжесточѣаахъ сѧ		ожесточити сѧ
мьнѣти	99a	10	и мнѣхъ сѧ	с	мнѣти сѧ
мьнѣти	25a	11	и мнѣаахъ	с	мнѣти
слъшати*	2a	11	слъшѣаахъ	а	слъшати
слъшати*	12б	18	и слъшѣаахъ бò йхъ	а	слъшати
стоати	10a	19	стоѣаахъ	с	стоати
трьпѣти	125a	6	не трьпѣхъ бо	с	трьпѣти

Таблица 13: Имперфект, ударение на суффиксе.

Императив, как это и ожидается, показывает генерализацию ударения на окончании; поскольку исключения отсутствуют, нет смысла приводить примеры.

Ударение в инфинитиве: возможные интерпретации

Перейдем теперь к вопросу об ударении инфинитива. Этой проблеме посвящена работа В.А. Дыбо [1996. В Апостоле 93 ударение форм инфинитива а.п. а и б не укладывается в ожидаемую восточно-болгарскую схему. При полном слиянии глаголов старых а.п. а и а.п. б, которое мы наблюдаем в рассмотренных выше субпарадигмах, в инфинитиве глаголов а.п. б ожидалось бы ударение на корне. Однако, как в глаголах а.п. б, так и в глаголах а.п. а находим большое количество случаев инфинитива с суффиксальным ударением, при том что другие формы системы инфинитива, а именно аорист, имеют ударение на корне.

Как пишет В.А. Дыбо, «формы инфинитивов с ударением на форманте -i- встречаются в большом количестве как у глаголов бывшей а.п. б, так и у глаголов бывшей а.п. а, отсутствие варианта инфинитива с

⁶ Это ритмическое ударение, поэтому приравниваем его к суффиксальному.

ударением на -i- у некоторых i-глаголов а.п. а так же мало показательно, как отсутствие такого варианта у некоторых глаголов а.п. в. Однако несомненно, что формы инфинитивов с ударением на -i- у глаголов бывшей а.п. а – результат влияния а.п. в.» [1996, с.371. В этой же работе В.А. Дыбо рассуждает и о возможных источниках такого поведения инфинитива. Мы остановимся лишь на возможных интерпретациях наблюдаемой картины.

Для а.п. в такое поведение можно было бы объяснять незавершенностью процесса полного слияния глаголов а.п. в с а.п. а (не вполне ясно, однако, почему незавершенность характерна именно для инфинитива).

А.п. в – на пути ухода в неподвижный накоренной тип. В то же время глаголы бывшей а.п. а – под влиянием а.п. в – дают инфинитив с ударением на суффиксе. Однако синхронный анализ данных памятника в сопоставлении со «старым» состоянием позволяет интерпретировать наблюдаемую ситуацию иначе, а именно как процесс перераспределения и образования новых акцентных типов. Схематически переход от архаической системы к системе, которую мы условно назовем промежуточной, можно представить в следующем виде (см. таблицу 14):

1. «Старое состояние» (Праславянское)

	Inf	Aor	Prae
а.п. *а	■△○	■△○	■○
а.п. *в	□▲○	□▲○	□●
а.п. *с	□▲○	подвижность	



2. «Промежуточное состояние между 1 и Апостол 93

	Inf	Aor	Prae
а.п. *а	■△○	■△○	■○
а.п. *в	□▲○	■△○	■○
а.п. *с	□▲○	подвижность	

Таблица 14.

«Старое», т.е. «праславянское» состояние (см. 14.1) (в а.п. а ударение на корне как в инфинитиве, так и в других формах системы инфинитива; а.п. в – ударение на суффиксе в инфинитиве и других формах инфинитивной системы, в презенсе – конечное; а.п. с – подвижный тип) эволюционирует в «промежуточную» систему, предшествующую состоянию Апостола 93.

В этой системе (см. 14.2) видим три типа комбинаций акцентовок, соответствующие трем праславянским акцентным парадигмам.

В Апостоле 93 находим те же комбинации акцентовок, однако соотношение между старыми акцентными парадигмами и этими комбинациями разрушены. Это разрушение проявляется в следующих моментах.

Во-первых, большая часть глаголов старой а.п. а показывает комбинацию акцентовок типа 2 (т.е. насуффиксальный инфинитив и накоренные презенс и аорист), характерную для старой а.п. в. (подчеркнем, что так ведет себя более 50% глаголов бывшей а.п. а); так обстоит дело со следующими глаголами: **приблизити сѧ, богатити сѧ, обогатити сѧ, въкоүсити, искоүсити, искоүсити сѧ, мжчити, смѣрити сѧ, посѣтити, оставити, оүтѣшити, оүтѣшити сѧ**⁷.

Во-вторых, имеется довольно много глаголов а.п. в с комбинацией акцентовок типа 1, т.е. характерные для старой а.п. а (с накоренным инфинитивом и прочими формами); таковы глаголы **водити, допроводити, озловити, възложити, прѣльстити, оүцѣломждити, высокомждити, мждити, прѣмждити, носити, рассждити, наслѣдити, страшити, стронити, прѣтворити, хоүлити, исходити, приходити, ходити, хранити сѧ**.

Глаголы а.п. с, как было показано выше, сохраняют старую подвижность и четко противопоставлены глаголам а.п. а и в, в инфинитиве ударение бывает только на суффиксе.

Наблюдаемую ситуацию можно трактовать двояко.

I трактовка. Старая оппозиция «а.п. а ~ а.п. в» размывается, соответственно размывается и оппозиция комбинаций акцентовок типа 1 и типа 2. В результате накоренные и насуффиксальные акцентовки инфинитивов оказываются в отношении свободной вариативности. Эта трактовка может быть представлена в виде следующей схемы (см. таблицу 15):

⁷ Глаголы старой а.п. а, сохраняющие акцентовку типа 1 (на корне), составляют меньшинство, ср.: **видѣти, вѣмѣстити, оүмножити, помыслити, оправдити сѧ, прославити, поставити, въсхүтити.**

Исключаем из рассмотрения такие глаголы, как **слышати** и **мѣнити** (о них см. выше), которые достаточно часто показывают колебания между а.п. а и а.п. с не только в Апостоле 93, но и в других вост.-болг. памятниках (см. ОСА-1). Они не нарушают общей картины.

	Inf	прочие		Inf	прочие
а.п. *a	■△○	■○	⇒	а.п. *a	■△○//□▲○
а.п. *b	□▲○	■○		а.п. *b	
а.п. *c	□▲○	подвиж- ность		а.п. *c	□▲○

Таблица 15: Первая трактовка акцентуации инфинитива

II трактовка. Старая оппозиция «а.п.а ~ а.п.б» размывается, набор комбинаций акцентов сохраняется, но происходит перераспределение (а не свободное варьирование). При этом тип 1 пополняется за счет глаголов а.п. б, принявших накоренное ударение инфинитива, а тип 2 – за счет глаголов а.п. а, принявших, соответственно, насуффиксальное ударение инфинитива. В этом случае перед нами не неустойчивая вариативность, а новое распределение по типам, для которого оказывается несущественным этимологическое происхождение. Эта трактовка схематически выглядит так (см.: таблицу 15):

	Inf	прочие		CSL	Ап. 93	Inf	прочие
а.п. *a	■△○	■○	⇒	*a – 10 *b – 20	тип 1	■△○	■○
а.п. *b	□▲○	■○		*a – 11 *b – 32	тип 2	□▲○	
а.п. *c	□▲○	подвиж- ность		*c	тип 3	□▲○	подвиж- ность

Таблица 16: Вторая трактовка акцентуации инфинитива

Такую трактовку позволяют предложить статистические данные, приведенные в таблице 15. По крайней мере, проведенные подсчеты никак не противоречат такой трактовке и, возможно, даже делают ее более убедительной, нежели трактовку I. Глаголов, показывающих вариативность в ударении инфинитива, оказывается значительно меньше, чем глаголов с устойчивой акцентовкой. Против 30+43 (=73) инфинитивов с устойчивым ударением, неустойчивых – только 17, из них 4 глагола старой а.п. а (**испълнити, противити сѧ, свѣнити сѧ, прѣдставити**) и 13 глаголов старой а.п. б (**възвранити, възвратити сѧ, съвршити, прѣломити,**

любити, разорити, сѧдити, въселити сѧ, слоужити, сътворити, творити, съхранити, хранити)⁸.

Подсчет произведен по лексемам, а не по «корням». Однако даже подсчет по корням дает достаточно убедительные цифры. При любом подсчете количество глаголов а.п. а, показывающих насуффиксальное ударение в инфинитиве оказывается больше, чем глаголов а.п. а с накоренным инфинитивом. Это подтверждает, что мы видим не одностороннее движение глаголов а.п. б в тип 1, задевающее своим влиянием глаголы а.п.а, а взаимное движение, приводящее к перераспределению.

Заключение. Результаты проведенного исследования могут быть суммированы в следующей общей таблице (см. таблицу 17):

Праслав. а.п.	а.п. а	а.п. б	а.п. с
Презенс 1 Sg	■○	○	■○
Презенс (не 1Sg)	■○	○	□●
шт-причастие N Sg m, n; ASg, m	■○	○	■○
Другие форма шт-причастия	■○	○	□●
Аорист	■○	○	□●
Аорист 3 sg	■○	○	■○
I-причастие	* ■○	○	□●
Инфинитив	■○	○	□●
Имперфект	■○	○	□●

⁸ У глаголов **прѣломити, любити** и **сътворити** наблюдаются также формы с двойным ударением: **прѣломити** (23а, 8); **любити** (65а, 21); **сътворити** (28а, 18); **сътворити** (28б, 10).


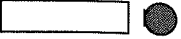


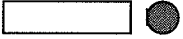
ш-причастие NSg m, n		
Другие формы ш-причастия		
Императив (Pluralis)		

Таблица 17.

Москва

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Issues in Balto-Slavic Accentology

FREDERIK KORTLANDT

After the very well-organized Leiden conference for which we must be grateful to Tijmen Pronk, it seems appropriate for me to review some of the papers, most of which have been published in this volume, as I did after the previous conferences in Zagreb and Copenhagen. The aim of this review is merely to point out some of the differences of opinion which require further debate.

Mislav Benić presents a detailed description of verbal accentuation in the dialect of Kukljica on the island of Ugljan. The dialect has no tonal distinctions but does have vowel quantity in stressed and pretonic syllables, with large-scale lengthening of short vowels under the stress. It has preserved the Common Slavic distinction between original pretonic long vowels, which were shortened as a result of the rise of the new timbre differences, and new pretonic long vowels which arose as a result of Dybo's law (cf. Kortlandt 2005: 126-128), e.g. *jazīk* 'tongue' (with secondary lengthening of the stressed vowel) versus *nārōd* 'people'. It has also preserved the distinction between simplex verbs with mobile stress, e.g. *budīn* 'wake up', *gasīn* 'turn off', and compound verbs where the prefix lost the stress to the root in accordance with Dybo's law, e.g. *prebūdīn*, *ugāsīn* (ibidem, 127). Moreover, it has preserved the accentual mobility of the original nasal present in *ně znon* 'don't know' (cf. Kortlandt 1985) and the retracted stress of the original imperative in *vūci*, *cīdi* of *vūcēn* 'pull', *cidīn* 'filter' (cf. Kortlandt 1979: 53).

Miguel Carrasquer Vidal proposes a derivation of acute and circumflex tones from the syllable structure of the proto-language. His account involves tones on unstressed syllables, resyllabifications, analogical replacements, ad hoc rules for different stem formations and for different languages, secondary developments, unexplained exceptions for which he posits a PIE distinction between *i and *j, and structural ambiguity of the postvocalic ending *-ns. He lists a number of Slavic *Auslautgesetze* in order to arrive at the correct output. Since I have discussed all of the issues elsewhere, I shall not return to the many points of disagreement here.

Vladimir Dybo compares the West Caucasian, Balto-Slavic and Japanese accent systems in terms of "dominant" and "recessive" morphemes expressed in syllables and contours. In my review of last year's conference in Copenhagen, I have shown how the class of dominant suffixes originated from several

retractions of the stress in Balto-Slavic. Unlike Japanese, where the extant accent systems go back to reductions of a system with a distinction between high and low tone in every syllable (cf. Kortlandt 1993), the systems attested in Balto-Slavic developed from a prosodic system which strongly resembles what we find in Vedic Sanskrit. In another contribution, Dybo subscribes to my analysis of the Old Prussian accentual system (1974), concentrating on the verb, the stem formation of which I have discussed elsewhere (1987).

Ronald Feldstein is primarily concerned with the more recent development of nominal accent patterns in West Slavic. He claims that the long vowels of Czech *kráva* 'cow' and *brázda* 'furrow' have retained length in stressed and pretonic position, respectively, while the short vowel of *strana* 'side' was taken from the acc.sg. form *stranu*. In fact, the long vowel of *kráva* resulted from recent lengthening of a short rising vowel (cf. Kortlandt 2005: 125, 2006a: 32), the long vowel of *brázda* became pretonic as a result of Dybo's law, and the original pretonic long vowel of *strana* was regularly shortened when the new timbre distinctions arose (cf. Kortlandt 2005: 126, 2006a: 36f.). The short vowel of **kráva* was never lengthened in the oblique forms *krav*, *kravám*, *kravách*, *kravami*, Slovak *krava*, SCr. *kráva*, Polish *krowa* < **kròwa*, but Upper Sorbian *kruwa* < *kròwa* with the same lengthening as in Czech *kráva*, *vùle*, *kùže*, which was clearly more recent than the rise of the new timbre distinctions. As a result, we find length in accent paradigm (b), absence of length in (c), and alternation between long and short vowels in (a). The original distribution was blurred by secondary lengthening before word-final voiced fricatives and resonants and by paradigmatic generalizations.

Georg Holzer defines "Urslavisch" as the last stage of prehistoric Slavic before the earliest dialectal differentiation. This corresponds to the end of my Early Middle Slavic and the beginning of my Late Middle Slavic period (e.g., 2005: 120, 2006a: 27). Holzer reconstructs the following prosodic characteristics for this stage (cf. now Holzer 2009):

(1) He posits the existence of "betonungslos" word forms, e.g. Ru. *storonu* 'side' in *ná storonu* and SCr. *pripovijest* 'story' in *nà pripovijest*. Unfortunately, he remains silent about the accentuation of these nouns when there is no preposition to take the accent (cf. Kortlandt 1978: 72-76 and 2006b: 360f. for discussion). He compares them with "betonungslos" word forms in Vedic Sanskrit, which are actually characterized by distinctive low tones (cf. Kortlandt 1986: 156). In order to simplify the discussion, I shall therefore assume that "betonungslos" stands for "having low tones only".

(2) Holzer dates Meillet's law "im Nachurslavischen" because of the pretonic lengthening in Ukr. *ratáj* 'ploughman'. However, this accentuation is clearly secondary, cf. Ru. *rátaj*, Bulg. *rátaj*, Slovene *rátaj*, SCr. *rätâr*, all pointing to fixed stress on the initial syllable. Similarly, the accent of Ru. *ramjáno* 'very'

must be secondary in view of Slovene *rámeno* while the accent of the secondary derivative *laníta* 'cheek' does not prove anything. Czech *laň* 'hind' evidently represents accent pattern (a), as is clear from Slovene *lânjȃc*.

(3) Holzer maintains that all original long vowels were still long, which is correct in the sense that the rise of the new timbre distinctions belongs to the Late Middle Slavic period. However, the monophthongization of diphthongs belongs to the Early Middle Slavic period and is not "nachurslavisch", contrary to his statement (cf. Kortlandt 2006a: 33f.).

(4) Holzer correctly dates Dybo's law "im Nachurslavischen". His unification of "AP a und b" into "ein einziges AP a" cannot be recommended because it can easily lead to confusion.

(5) "Das Urslavische hatte noch keinen Neoakut". This statement is correct in the sense that the retractions of the stress from which new rising vowels originated can be dated after the rise of the new timbre distinctions. However, the origin of non-acute rising vowels must be dated to the end of the Early Middle Slavic period.

(6) Hirt's law must be dated to the Balto-Slavic period (cf. Kortlandt 2005: 116f.). Following Illič-Svityč's original formulation (1963: 81f.), Holzer assumes that the accent was not retracted from an acute syllable. This limitation, which is not supported by independent evidence, is at variance with the regular character of the retraction in the *aH*-stems, e.g. SCr. *gríva* 'mane', and must therefore be rejected. Accentual mobility was preserved in the Slavic *i*- and *u*-stems, e.g. SCr. *klijet* 'shed', *sín* 'son', where polysyllabic case forms predominated in the paradigm.

(7) Holzer assumes that a word-initial high tone was lost in two-syllable words ending in **-as* < **-os*, yielding a separate accent pattern (d), e.g. in SCr. *zúb* 'tooth', *něbo* 'heaven', Greek γόμφορ, νέφορ. This is a highly peculiar rule which cannot be correct (cf. Kortlandt 2006a: 33).

(8) Antevocalic laryngeals were lost in Early Slavic, as is clear from Ru. *soxá* 'plough', Lith. *šakà* 'branch'. Syllabic **Hi* and **Hu* yielded acute vowels after Hirt's law in Balto-Slavic already, e.g. SCr. *píti* 'to drink', *píla* '(she) drank' (with loss of the pretonic acute as a result of Meillet's law) of the root **poHi-* < PIE **peḥwi-*.

(9) On the basis of these assumptions, Holzer reconstructs three accent paradigms, viz. **a**, which comprises (a) and (b), **c**, which is identical with (c), and **d**, which is identical with (b) except in the nom.sg. form of the *o*- and *s*-stems and is generally reflected as (c) in the historical languages. In this conception, the entire paradigm of **zambas* became mobile under the influence of the sole nom.sg. form in **-as* before this ending was replaced by **-u* in all Slavic languages.

I shall not discuss the separate nominal paradigms, which can now be compared with my reconstructions (2008). Verbal paradigms are not homogeneous. While Holzer adduces SCr. *vřiti* 'to twist', which has an acute infinitive (a) but a mobile present and *l*-participle (c), he does not discuss *grřiti* 'to bite' or *sjřći* 'to cut', which have an acute infinitive and *l*-participle (a) but a mobile present (c), or such verbs as *pěci* 'to bake', which have an end-stressed infinitive and *l*-participle (b) but a mobile present (c), and *lěci* 'to lie down', which has an acute present (a) but an end-stressed infinitive and *l*-participle (b).

Adam Hyllested reconstructs an Indo-Uralic numeral 'one' with a medial **k*, e.g. in Finnish *yksi*, which is reflected as a laryngeal **H* in the acute of Lith. *vienas*. In his contribution to the present conference, Tijmen Pronk has shown that the acute must rather be explained from laryngeal metathesis in Balto-Slavic **Hino-* (cf. also Derksen 2003).

Mate Kapović presents a most useful overview of the accentuation of *i*-verbs in Croatian dialects. While the accent paradigms (b) and (c) are often faithfully reflected in many dialects, there are a number of secondary developments which blur the picture. On the one hand, Stang's law did not operate before a clitic because it was limited to final syllables not counting final jers (cf. Kortlandt 2006a: 36). This resulted in such alternations as Ru. (*Petr*) *kúrit* vs. (*vulkan*) *kurítsja* 'smokes' and *sádit* vs. (*solnce*) *sadítsja* 'sets', which led to a redistribution opposing transitive (b) to intransitive (c) verbs. On the other hand, the accent was retracted onto restored long root vowels in paradigm (c), which could then join paradigm (b). Both developments were already established by Carl Ebeling (1967: 593). Moreover, the distinction between simplex verbs with mobile stress (c) and compounds where Dybo's law shifted the stress from the prefix to the root so as to yield e.g. Kukuljica *ugàsín* (a) and *prebúdin* (b) was mostly lost.

Apart from these secondary developments, the heterogeneous origin of the *i*-flexion must be taken into account. In my view, this class represents not only denominatives, which as a rule preserve the accent pattern of the underlying noun, as well as causatives and iteratives, which belong to accent pattern (b), but also athematic factitives and perfects, which belong to accent pattern (c) and may be compared with Latin *capiō* 'take' and *sedeō* 'sit' (cf. Kortlandt 1979: 59-62, 1987: 106-109, 1992, 2007a: 134-137, 2007b: 230). Kapović's data suggest that the original accentuation of the athematic *i*-flexion is best preserved in the čakavian and neo-štókavian dialects of southern Dalmatia and was lost in the northern dialects of Croatia.

Keith Langston reconsiders tone reversal in kajkavian dialects where original circumflex and neo-circumflex are rising while the neo-acute is falling, e.g. Vrbovec *měšo*, *těsto*, *mřslim*, *sūša*, *přšem*, *sęla*. He establishes the following relative chronology:

- (1) Circumflex stems advance the accent, e.g. *měšo* > **měšö*.
- (2) Rising (neo-acute) accent becomes falling, e.g. *kljūč* > *kljūč*, *sūša* > *sūša*, *přšem* > *přšem*.
- (3) Stress is retracted from final short syllables, e.g. **měšö* > *měšo*, **dūšä* > *dūša*.

It appears that short vowels behave in a similar way as long vowels in most of these dialects (but cf. Vermeer 1979: 366-377, Greenberg 2000: 105-112, Pronk 2007):

- (1) *pölje* > **poljě*, *jägoda* > **jagodä*.
- (2) *mlätim* > *mlätim*, *mlätimo* > *mlätimo*.
- (3) **poljě* > *pölje*, **jagodä* > *jägoda*.
- (4) *lopäta* > *løpata*, *pītāti* > *pītati*, *mlätīti* > *mlätiti*.
- (5) *pölje* > *pölje*, *jägoda* > *jägöda*, *løpata* > *løpata*.
- (6) *mlätimo* > *mlätimo* in some dialects.

This account could be simplified by the assumption that the accent was retracted from an analogical neo-circumflex in **lopäta* > *løpata* at stage (4) of the chronology, which would eliminate the need to assume distinctive tone on short vowels at that stage. While Langston has clearly shown that the kajkavian development is different from other instances of tone reversal, the mechanism of accent shifts is strongly reminiscent of the way tonogenesis came about earlier and elsewhere in Baltic and Slavic (cf. Kortlandt 2006a: 36f., 2006b: 362f.).

Orsat Ligorio discusses the accent system of present-day Dubrovnik. In contrast to the literary language, this dialect has preserved original short vowels posttonically in *sjěver* 'north', *djěver* 'brother-in-law', *jävör* 'maple', *nä bor* beside *bör* 'pine', pretonically in *sühī* beside *süh* 'dry', and under the stress in *sědmī* '7th', *ösmī* '8th'.

Roman Sukač criticizes Kapović's recent articles about Proto-Slavic quantity. He observes a lack of chronological insight, failure to give proper credit to earlier investigators (Vondrák, Trávníček, Lamprecht), failure to see changes in a broader perspective, heavy reliance on his mother tongue and disregard of local developments elsewhere, and use of inappropriate examples (cf. also Kortlandt 2005). Perhaps most striking is the way Kapović suppresses the names of the greatest South Slavic dialectologists of the 20th century, Aleksandar Belić (e.g., 1909) and Pavle Ivić (e.g., 1958).

The acute is not simply reflected as length in Czech because we find both long and short reflexes in the standard language and in the dialects, length being more frequent in the south-west and short reflexes predominating in the Moravian dialects. The original shortening of the acute can be identified with the rise of the new timbre distinctions. Short rising vowels were lengthened at a

more recent stage in Czech, e.g. *kráva*, *bláto*, dial. *krava*, *blato*, also *vůle*, *kůže*, and Upper Sorbian, e.g. *kruwa* < *krówa*, *blóto*. This lengthening was regular in open first syllables of disyllabic word forms and blocked by a long vowel in the following syllable, e.g. *kámen* 'stone', gen.sg. *kamene*, *lžíce* 'spoon', gen.pl. *lžíc*, dat.pl. *lžícím*, *psáti* 'to write', *spáti* 'to sleep', preterit *psal*, *spal* (cf. Kortlandt 2005: 125).

The neo-acute is a heterogeneous category. The oldest long rising vowels arose at the end of my Early Middle Slavic period (6.10, cf. Kortlandt 2005: 119f., 2006a: 27), e.g. Slovak *tráva* 'grass', *národ* 'people', *útroba* 'intestines', also *pýtať sa* 'to inquire', *miešať* 'to blend', *stúpať* 'to mount'. These vowels remained long when they lost the stress to the following syllable in accordance with Dybo's law (8.7). More recent long rising vowels arose from the retraction of the stress from final jers (8.2), e.g. gen.pl. *nôh* 'feet', *rúk* 'hands', also *niesol* 'carried' < **neseš*, 2nd sg. *nesieš* < **nesešb*, from the retraction of the stress from long falling vowels in final syllables (Stang's law, 9.3), e.g. *vôľa* 'will', 2nd sg. *môžeš* 'can', *pôjdeš* 'will go', also *pýtaš*, *miešaš*, *stúpaš* (cf. Kortlandt 2006a: 35), from the retraction of the stress from non-final jers (10.3), e.g. *rúčka* 'penholder', *dcérka* 'little daughter', and from the lengthening of short rising vowels in Czech *kráva* and Upper Sorbian *kruwa* (10.6). Other long vowels developed from compensatory lengthening after the loss of final jers, e.g. Czech *bůh* 'god', *dům* 'house', *kůň* 'horse', *nůž* 'knife'.

Original (pre-Dybo) pretonic long vowels were shortened when the new timbre distinctions arose (7.13), e.g. SCr. *jezik*, *málina*, *rákita*, *dalěko*, *svjédok*, *důžnik*, *gládní*, *grádkí*, *rúkama*, *růčnī*, *růčnik*, *hládnī*, *těškī*, *můškī*, *gůstī*, *světī*, *krīvī*, *mládī*, *dráǵī*, *glūhī*, *měkī*, *sūhī*, čak. (Hvar, Vrgada, Susak) *muškī*, Slovene *mehkī*, Czech *chladný*, *těžký*, *suchý*, *ruka*, *ruční*, *ručník*, *humno*, *sukno*, Polish *sędzia* (cf. Kortlandt 2005: 126f., 2006a: 36f.). Long vowels which became pretonic as a result of Dybo's law (8.7) remained long, e.g. SCr. *národ*, *rázlika*, *zábava*, *tráva*, *trávnī*, *trávník*, *bělī*, *půtnik*, Czech *bílý*, *poutník*, *tráva*, *trávní*, *trávník*, *zábava*, *útroba*, Polish *wątroba*. The long vowels of Czech *plátno* 'linen', *vlákno* 'fibre', Slovak *súkno* 'cloth' were taken from the plural (cf. Kortlandt 2005: 127). Posttonic long vowels were usually preserved in Proto-Slavic (cf. Kortlandt 2005: 128f.).

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