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Knjiga *Tones and Theories: Proceedings of the International Workshop on Balto-Slavic Accentology*

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Contents:

Preface (M. Kapović & R. Matasović) ... VII

T. Olander: The Balto-Slavic Mobile Accent Paradigms ... 1

M. Carrasquer Vidal: The Three Accent Paradigms of Proto-Balto-Slavic and the Evolution of the Three Slavic Accent Paradigms ... 15

J. E. Rasmussen: The Accent on Balto-Slavic Monosyllables ... 29

R. Derksen: Balto-Slavic Etymological Studies and Winter's Law: a Concise Review of Dybo 2002 ... 39

V. A. Dybo: Балтославянская акцентологическая реконструкция и индоевропейская акцентология (Глагольные акцентные системы западных индоевропейских языков) ... 47

M. L. Greenberg: Phonetic Evidence for the Development of the "Acute" tone in Slavic ... 75

M. Kapović: The *vòl'ā-type Accent in Slavic ... 89

R. Matasović: On the Accentuation of the Earliest Latin Loanwords in Common Slavic ... 105

K. Langston: Common Slavic Accentual Paradigm (d): A Reevaluation of Evidence from Čakavian ... 121

M. Shrager: The Accentuation of Masculine Nouns in Northwest Russian Dialects ... 151

T. Pronk: The Retraction of the Neocircumflex in the Carinthian Dialects of Slovene (on Ivšić's Retraction) ... 171

R. F. Feldstein: Russian Phonological Desinences as a Conditioning Factor in Accentual Paradigms ... 185

D. Vidović: Accentual Alternations in Neo-Štokavian Ijekavian Dialects of Neretvanska krajina ... 199

A. Peti-Stantić: Prosodic Proof of Syntactically Fixed Position ... 213

F. Kortlandt: Miscellaneous Remarks on Balto-Slavic Accentuation ... 229

Sažetak ... 237

PREFACE

This volume contains papers presented at the "International Workshop on Balto-Slavic Accentology", which was held at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, July 1–3, 2005. This was the first international gathering of this kind, and we, as the organizers, were pleased that it attracted a considerable number of distinguished scholars from six countries (Austria, Croatia, Denmark, The Netherlands, Russia, and USA). The conference presented us with an opportunity to exchange views about the history of accentual systems in the Balto-Slavic languages, to share ideas about this fascinating topic, as well as to develop new ones.

A number of things became clear during the conference. First of all, there is a growing consensus among researchers that the correct way to approach Slavic accentology was established by Christian Stang in 1957. Well, it was about time, one might say, almost half a century after Stang's original monograph on Slavic accentuation had been published, but until quite recently the works of Stang and his followers (chiefly the Leiden and the Moscow accentological schools) were often ignored in some accentological publications. Today, the existence of three accentual paradigms in Proto-Slavic, and their correspondences in Lithuanian are no longer doubted. The majority of the researchers would now also accept that two common Balto-Slavic accentual paradigms can be established: a barytone paradigm with the accent fixed on the stem, and a mobile paradigm in which the accent alternated between the stem and the desinences. This Balto-Slavic system was correlated with the two PIE accentual paradigms with fixed stress (on the stem and on the desinence, respectively) by V. M. Illič-Svityč in 1963, and this is also a matter on which there is nearly general agreement. Several accentual sound-laws (e. g. Hirt's, Leskien's, and Dybo's) also seem to be accepted by nearly everyone working in Balto-Slavic accentology. That the discipline has reached its maturity is shown by the fact that there are now several general overviews[1], and even an university textbook on the subject[2].

Some matters, however, still remain highly controversial. For example, it is at present unclear how exactly the Balto-Slavic accentual mo-

[1] E. g. Garde 1976, Dybo 1981.

[2] Lehfeldt 2001.

bility came into being: was it through a series of analogical changes, or is there another explanation involving sound laws, viz. regular accent shifts (such a possibility is envisaged in Olander's paper in this volume while a different approach is taken by Carrasquer Vidal). Dybo examines some aspects of Balto-Slavic accentological reconstruction and PIE accentology. Although it is beyond dispute that the Proto-Indo-European laryngeals were responsible for the creation of the Balto-Slavic acute in the large majority of examples, it is still hotly debated whether original long vowels received the acute or the circumflex in Balto-Slavic (see Rasmussen's paper on the accentuation of long vowels in monosyllables). Phonetic considerations, though often neglected, are also used to clarify the origin of the acute (see Greenberg's paper). The status of some Balto-Slavic sound laws involving accent is problematic (see Derksen's paper on Winter's law), and several questions of absolute and relative chronology of Slavic accentual changes are still open (see Pronk's paper on Ivšić's retraction and Matasović's paper in which the chronology of Dybo's law is discussed). The origin of some accentual types in Slavic is still not quite well understood (see Kapović's paper on the *vòľā-type accent). Also, the existence of the so-called accentual paradigm (d), proposed by the Moscow accentological school, has been disputed, and the Čakavian evidence for this accentual paradigm has been examined and evaluated by K. Langston in this volume while the same has been done for the Russian evidence by M. Shrager.

Other papers published in this volume deal with a variety of topics, shedding light on different aspects of Slavic (and, to a lesser extent, Baltic) accentology. For example, Feldstein's paper shows how the results of the Moscow accentological school can be applied in a synchronic study of accent in Russian, Peti-Stantić examines the position of clitics in South Slavic, while Vidović's paper offers the results of some recent (and not-quite-recent) dialectological research in Croatia. A critical survey of the papers presented at the conference was supplied by F. Kortlandt, who chose to publish his own contribution to the conference elsewhere. His contribution, together with Georg Holzer's was published in *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch*. B. László's paper is to be published elsewhere as well.

During the conference, a workshop called «An Introduction to Croatian Accentuation» was also held. There, all the Croatian dialect groups (Neo- and Old Štokavian, Čakavian, Kajkavian) were presented – the same text was read by a native speaker of each of these four dialect groups. A special treat was a small dialectological discovery. As was noted already by Ivšić, back in 1913 (cf. for instance Ivšić 1913: 146), the oxytonesis of the type *glāvà* was very rare in the Posavina dialect and he reports hearing just a couple of such examples. However, in the dialect of the 21 year old native speaker from Orubica (a village in Posavina), which was present at IWoBA, the forms like *ōvcà*, which were practically inexistant according to Ivšić, are normal and usual. This interesting fact had previously mostly been disregarded in Croatian dialectology.

We would like to thank Prof. Dr. Miljenko Jurković, the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, for his support in the organization of the conference, as well as our students, without whose help the conference would not have been possible.

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THE BALTO-SLAVIC MOBILE ACCENT PARADIGMS

Different explanations have been given of the Balto-Slavic mobile accent paradigms (Lithuanian nom. sg. *galvà*, acc. sg. *gálvą*; Russian nom. sg. *golová*, acc. sg. *gólovu*, etc.) and their relationship to the accentual system of the Indo-European proto-language. While according to some investigators the Balto-Slavic mobility in vowel stems is an archaism with respect to Vedic and Greek, where vowel stems are immobile, other investigators maintain that the Balto-Slavic vowel stems have imitated the mobility of the consonant stems, which are mobile also in Vedic and Greek. In this paper I shall present an alternative hypothesis according to which the paradigmatic mobility of Balto-Slavic has arisen as the result of a sound law: in a pre-stage of Balto-Slavic a high tone became low in short and hiatal final structures.

1. A remarkable characteristic of the accentual systems of Baltic and Slavic languages like Lithuanian, Russian, Serbian and Croatian is the existence of words with mobile accentuation, i.e. lexemes comprising forms with root-accent alternating with forms with desinential accent;[1] cf. for example the declension of the word for 'head' in Lithuanian, Russian and Čakavian:

	singular				plural		
	Lith.	Russ.	Čak.		Lith.	Russ.	Čak.
nom.	*galvà*	*golová*	*glāvà*	nom.	*gálvos*	*gólovy*	*glâve*
acc.	*gálvą*	*gólovu*	*glâvu*	acc.	*gálvas*	*gólovy*	*glâve*
gen.	*galvõs*	*golový*	*glāvé*	gen.	*galvų̃*	*golóv*	*gláv*
dat.	*gálvai*	*golové*	*glāvì*	dat.	*galvóms*	*golovám*	*glāván*
instr.	*gálva*	*golovój(u)*	*glāvún*	instr.	*galvomìs*	*golovámi*	*glāvàmi*
loc.	*galvojè*	*golové*	*glāvì*	loc.	*galvosè*	*golováx*	*glāvàh*

[1] This paper contains some of the preliminary results of my Ph.D. dissertation, *Accentual mobility: the prehistory of the Balto-Slavic mobile accent paradigms* (to be published). Please refer to the dissertation for a more complete and updated treatment of the problem. – "Desinence" refers to the complex of stem-suffix and ending proper.

In Vedic and Greek, the only other languages which have directly preserved the position of the Proto-Indo-European accent, there is no accentual mobility in vowel stems (i.e. *o*-, *ā*-, *i*- and *u*-stems). These stems have fixed accent either on the root or on the desinence, cf. Vedic *priyá* 'dear' (fem.) and Greek *τῑμή* 'honour', which are examples of the latter accentuation type:

	singular		plural	
	Vedic	Greek	Vedic	Greek
nom.	*priyá*	*τῑμή*	*priyáḥ*	*τῑμαί*
acc.	*priyám*	*τῑμήν*	*priyáḥ*	*τῑμάς*
gen.	*priyáyāḥ*	*τῑμῆς*	*priyáṇām*	*τῑμῶν*
dat.	*priyáyai*	*τῑμῇ*	*priyábhyaḥ*	–
instr.	*priyáyā*	*κρυφῇ*?	*priyábhiḥ*	*τῑμαῖς*
loc.	*priyáyām*	–	*priyásu*	–

It is generally acknowledged that the Baltic and Slavic mobile words correspond to Vedic and Greek desinentially accented words.

In the Vedic and Greek consonant stems we find an accentual mobility similar to that of Baltic and Slavic. Two accent paradigms that play an important role in the discussion of the origin of the Balto-Slavic accentual mobility are those represented by the Vedic words *pád-* 'foot' and *duhitár-* 'daughter':

	singular	plural		singular	plural
nom.	*pā́t*	*pā́daḥ*	nom.	*duhitā́*	*duhitáraḥ*
acc.	*pā́dam*	*padáḥ*	acc.	*duhitáram*	*duhitṝ́ḥ*
gen.	*padáḥ*	*padā́m*	gen.	*duhitúḥ*	*duhitṝ́ṇām*
dat.	*padé*	*padbhyáḥ*	dat.	*duhitré*	*duhitṛ́bhyaḥ*
instr.	*padā́*	*padbhíḥ*	instr.	*duhitrā́*	*duhitṛ́bhiḥ*
loc.	*padí*	*patsú*	loc.	*duhitári*	*duhitṛ́ṣu*

When trying to explain the Balto-Slavic mobility in vowel stems, one has to answer the question whether it represents an archaism or an innovation with respect to the Vedic-Greek immobility in these stems. And if the mobility of the vowel stems is a Balto-Slavic innovation, how was mobility introduced here?

In this paper I shall briefly mention some problems in regarding paradigmatic mobility in the Balto-Slavic vowel stems as an archaism. Then I shall criticise one of the hypotheses that regard mobility in vowel stems as an imitation of the mobility in consonant stems. Finally, I shall propose the outlines of a new hypothesis according to which the Balto-Slavic mobile accent paradigms arose as the result of a phonetic accent law which was triggered by desinences with a certain structure.

2. According to Meillet, Stang and others, the paradigmatic mobility found in the Baltic and Slavic vowel stems is more or less directly inherited from the Indo-European proto-language.[2] The lack of attested accentual mobility in the Vedic and Greek vowel stems, according to these authors, is the result of an easily understandable secondary immobilisation of the accent on one and the same syllable throughout the paradigm in these languages.

From a methodological point of view, this hypothesis has certain advantages. A trivial fact of historical linguistics is that odd-looking paradigms have a greater chance of representing archaisms than synchronically regular paradigms, which are more easily conceivable as the result of normalisation processes – in a way, the philological principle of *lectio difficilior* applied to linguistic reconstruction.

The hypothesis also has several weaknesses, however. First, since accentual mobility in vowel stems is found only in Baltic and Slavic, the possibility of a common innovation in the Balto-Slavic proto-language exists, while in the case of the Vedic and Greek immobility we would have to posit independent but identical innovations in prestages of these two language branches. Second, while in consonant stems there is an obvious relationship between ablaut grade and accent – a fact which provides an internal Proto-Indo-European argument in favour of accentual mobility in these stems – a similar relationship is not found in the *o*- and *ā*-stems. Thirdly and most importantly, by relocating the mobility of vowel stems to the Indo-European proto-language, the problem is not solved, it has only been pushed back to a remoter period. Thus, while I find no decisive counterevidence against the hypothesis that accentual mobility in vowel stems represents an archaism, in my opinion this hypothesis should only be accepted in lack of better explanations.

[2] Meillet 1914: 74–75 (assuming original mobility in all but the *o*-stems); Stang 1957 [1965]: 177–178; cf. Illič-Svityč 1963 [1979]: 146.

3. Some investigators who reject the idea that the mobility in vowel stems represents an archaism assume that the Proto-Indo-European desinentially accented vowel stems became mobile by imitating the mobility found in consonant stems.

An old representantive of this point of view is Tomislav Maretić who in a paper from 1890 saw the source of the Balto-Slavic mobility in Proto-Indo-European consonant stems like Vedic *pád-* (for the declension of which see § 1 above). A similar hypothesis was advanced by Jens Elmegård Rasmussen, who maintains that it was the accentuation of Proto-Indo-European consonant stems like the word for 'daughter' (see § 1 above) that was imitated by the vowel stems.[3]

Ferdinand de Saussure proposed an accent retraction from medial syllables of mobile consonant stems, i.e.:[4]

	pre-Lith.		Lith.	
nom. sg.	**duk|tē*	>	*duktẽ*	
acc. sg.	**duk|terin*	>	*dùkterį*	
gen. sg.	**duk|tres*	>	*dukterés* (Daukša), *dukterš̃*	
nom. pl.	**duk|teres*	>	*dùkterys*	
acc. pl.	**duk|terins*	>	*dùkteris*	
gen. pl.	**duk|trŏn*	>	*dukterų̃*	etc.

This accent retraction, which is sometimes referred to as "Pedersen's Law" because of Holger Pedersen's elaboration of it,[5] was imitated by the desinentially accented vowel stems in a pre-stage of Lithuanian.

The author of the most detailed, elaborate and coherent theory of Balto-Slavic accentuation to date, Frederik Kortlandt, maintains that Saussure's hypothetical accent retraction and the transfer of the mobility from the consonant stems to the vowel stems took place already in the Balto-Slavic proto-language.[6] While Kortlandt's theory does seem to account for the accentuation of most of the forms of the Baltic and Slavic mobile paradigms, I believe there are significant reasons, primarily of principal nature, not to accept it.

[3] Rasmussen 1992 [1999]: 469.
[4] Saussure 1896 [1922]: 533.
[5] Pedersen 1933: 24–26.
[6] E.g. Kortlandt 1994: 94.

The very existence of "laws" like "Pedersen's Law", the formulation of which involves reference to both phonetic and morphological criteria, is, in my opinion, questionable.[7] We must make a sharp distinction between these two linguistic levels. Either we have to do with a sound law, which takes place regardless of morphology in all positions where the same phonetic conditions are found; or we have to do with an analogical development, which would lead to the simplification of a complicated system.

Since, as is also acknowledged by Kortlandt,[8] "Pedersen's Law" cannot be regarded as a phonetic development, we would expect it, in its capacity of an analogical development, to lead to the regularisation of a synchronically irregular system; but this is not what we find. On the contrary, as a result of this postulated "law" the simple columnar accentuation of desinentially accented words like the one for 'daughter' is thought to have developed into the significantly more complicated mobile accentuation found in Baltic and Slavic. This is not the usual way for analogical developments to work.

Similar objections may be raised to all the hypotheses according to which the accentual mobility was transferred from the consonant stems to the vowel stems, whether one considers the ideas of Kortlandt, Maretić or Rasmussen. It is unlikely that the first thing to disturb the originally regular accent paradigms of the vowel stems – which in a pre-stage of Balto-Slavic were probably similar to those of Vedic *priyā́* and Greek *τῑμή* given above in § 1 – was an analogical import of the complicated accentual mobility of the consonant stems. The mobile accent paradigms of Balto-Slavic rather look like the result of a phonetic development which has taken place without regard to the consequences it might have on the paradigmatic level.

I conclude that neither of the outlined hypotheses on the origin of the Balto-Slavic accentual mobility gives a satisfactory explanation of the facts.

4. Before we proceed to an alternative approach to the question of the origin of the Balto-Slavic paradigmatic accent mobility, a few

[7] Cf. Meillet's parenthetical remark to Mikkola's formulation of Hirt's Law: "il est inutile de noter qu'on n'a pas le droit de faire intervenir dans la formule d'une loi PHONÉTIQUE la notion MORPHOLOGIQUE de syllabe RADICALE" (Meillet 1914: 68, emphasis as in original).
[8] Kortlandt 1975: 8–9; cf. Saussure 1896 [1922]: 533 fn. 1; Pedersen 1933: 25–26; Ebeling 1967: 579 fn. 17.

words need to be said about the Proto-Indo-European prosodic system. Judging mainly from the Vedic evidence, we can infer that most Proto-Indo-European words were characterised by one phonological accent, probably a high tone, whose position in the word was unpredictable on the basis of the phonological structure of the word. Some word-forms, such as finite verbs in certain syntactic positions, contained no high tone, all syllables having a low tone.

The structure of the Proto-Indo-European desinences is also relevant to the hypothesis presented here. The structure of a specific desinence is determined on the basis of the Indo-Iranian metre, of the Greek tones, of internal reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European and possibly of the effects of Saussure's Law in Lithuanian. While it is also possible that the development of final syllables in Germanic is conditioned by the different structure of Proto-Indo-European desinences, due to the complicatedness of this issue I shall not refer further to it in this paper.

After the pre-Balto-Slavic loss of the laryngeals with compensatory lengthening of a preceding tautosyllabic vowel, four types of desinences may be distinguished:

a	short: -$\breve{V}C_0$#	e.g. PIE **long-ós* (nom. sg.)
b	hiatal: -$\breve{V}\breve{V}C_0$#	e.g. PIE **g^{h}oləu̯-áh$_2$as* (nom. pl.)
c	long: -$\bar{V}C_0$#	e.g. PIE **g^{h}oləu̯-áh$_2$* (nom. sg.)
d	disyllabic (non-hiatal): -$\breve{V}C_1\breve{V}C_0$#	e.g. PIE **long-ób^{h}os* (dat. pl.)

I assume that the Balto-Slavic accentual mobility arose as the result of an accent law according to which a high tone became low if it was located on a final short or hiatal structure:

$\breve{V} > [-\text{high}] / \_ (\breve{V})C_0$#

In long or disyllabic desinences, the high tone remained where it was in Proto-Balto-Slavic. Later in the separate development of Baltic and Slavic the accent was in certain cases advanced to the final syllable of the desinence, either by Saussure's Law in Lithuanian or by Dybo's Law in Slavic.[9]

5. Since we are dealing here with a sound law, all parts of speech are affected: nouns, verbs, adverbs etc. At the end of this paper I give an overview of the accentual development of the *o*-, *ā*-, *i*- and *u*-stems and

[9] See Olander 2004.

of the present tense of the thematic verbs from Proto-Indo-European via Proto-Balto-Slavic to Lithuanian and Common Slavic. As the evidence provided by Lithuanian regarding Balto-Slavic verbal mobility is unclear, we rely mainly on Slavic evidence in the reconstruction of the accentuation of the Proto-Balto-Slavic verbal system.

Note that in Proto-Balto-Slavic I regard the difference between acute and circumflex syllables as relevant only in final position, where I write a glottalisation sign (ˀ) after acute vowels.

To give an impression of the effects of the accent law presented here, I shall briefly go through the development of the *ā*-stems. This will also illustrate how I deal with apparent contradictions between the Mobility Law and Saussure's Law in Lithuanian.

In the NOMINATIVE SINGULAR, the desinential accent of Lith. *galvà* and CSl. **golvà* points back to a long desinence PIE **-áh$_2$*. This is confirmed by Greek, where the desinence of *τῑμή* is acute, by Indo-Iranian, where the desinence of Vedic *priyā́* and Old Avestan *daēnā* is monosyllabic in the metre, and by the fact that the desinence attracts the accent by Saussure's Law in Lithuanian.

The ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR can be reconstructed as hiatal PIE **-áh$_2$-m̥* on internal Proto-Indo-European grounds, which is in harmony with the unaccentedness of Lith. *gálvą* and CSl. **gôlvǫ*. A hiatal desinence is also indicated by the fact that the desinence does not attract the accent by Saussure's Law in Lithuanian. In Indo-Iranian and Greek, however, the prevocalic sandhi variant **-áh$_2$-m* has been generalised, thus yielding a non-hiatal desinence in Vedic *priyā́m* and Old and Young Avestan *daēnąm* and an acute accent in Greek *τῑμήν*.

The GENITIVE SINGULAR is desinentially accented in Balto-Slavic, thus pointing back to a long desinence PIE **-áh$_2$-s*. This structure of the desinence is in fact expected on internal Indo-European grounds as the full-grade suffix **-ah$_2$-* would normally be followed by a zero-grade ending. The circumflex tone of Lithuanian *galvõs* has probably arisen due to analogy with the gen. sg. of the other stem-classes; that of Greek *τῑμῆς* has been introduced due to the influence of the dative singular and the genitive plural.[10]

In the DATIVE SINGULAR we find the expected unaccentedness in Proto-Balto-Slavic as a reflex of hiatal PIE **-áh$_2$a̯i*, corresponding to

[10] Rix 1976: 132.

the Greek circumflex tone of *τῑμῆ* and the absence of Saussure's Law in this form in Lithuanian.

The addition of a nasal to the desinence renders the prehistory of the INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR somewhat unclear. A hiatal desinence *-*áh$_2$ah$_1$* with generalised full grade of the ending would yield the unaccentedness reflected in Lithuanian.

The desinential accent of the LOCATIVE SINGULAR in Common Slavic points to a long desinence *-*áh$_2$i̯* with an antevocalic sandhi variant. The consonantal variant probably prevailed due to the support of the loc. sg. desinence of the *o*- and *i*-stems, which was in all cases consonantal *-*i̯*, not vocalic *-*i*.

In the NOMINATIVE/ACCUSATIVE DUAL we find unaccentedness in Proto-Balto-Slavic. This is the expected result of a Proto-Indo-European desinence *-*áh$_2$ih$_1$*, also seen in Vedic *priyé*, Young Avestan *uruua^{i}re* 'support' (which are, however, monosyllabic in the metre). The desinence is regularly acute and attracts the accent by Saussure's Law in Lithuanian.

The NOMINATIVE PLURAL is hiatal PIE *-*áh$_2$as*, yielding unaccentedness in Proto-Balto-Slavic. The desinences of Vedic *priyā́ḥ* and GAV *daēnå* only rarely preserve the hiatal structure. As expected, Saussure's Law does not affect the desinence.

In the ACCUSATIVE PLURAL, Proto-Indo-European hiatal *-*áh$_2$u̯s* yields Proto-Balto-Slavic unaccentedness. The disyllabic scansion of the desinence is only preserved a handful of times in Vedic. The reason for the acute tone of this desinence, shown by Saussure's Law in Lithuanian, is a sound law according to which a vowel becomes acute before final *-*ns*.

Perhaps the most difficult form to explain is the GENITIVE PLURAL, which has desinential accent in all stem-classes in the Baltic and Slavic mobile paradigms. Indo-Iranian clearly points to a hiatal desinence, which is also expected on internal Proto-Indo-European grounds in the *o*- and *ā*-stems. The most likely source for this accentuation is the gen. pl. of the *i*- and *u*-stems whose disyllabic desinences – PIE *-*éi̯om* and *-*éu̯om* – would have retained the desinential accent in Proto-Balto-Slavic. From these stem-types the desinential accent might have spread to the *o*- and *ā*-stems.

The disyllabic DATIVE PLURAL of the *ā*-stems has the expected accent on the first syllable of the desinence in both Lithuanian and Slavic.

In the INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL Slavic preserves the accent on the first syllable of the desinence, while in Lithuanian the accent has been transferred to the final syllable by analogy with the *i*- and *u*-stem instrumental plural.

In the LOCATIVE PLURAL Slavic preserves the Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Balto-Slavic place of accent.

6. The formulation of the accent law presented here shows certain similarities to two accent laws which have been previously proposed – Kortlandt's formulation of "Ebeling's Law"[11] and especially Sedláček's "reversed Saussure's Law".[12] There are, however, significant differences between these two proposed accent retractions and the accent law presented here.

As to "Ebeling's Law", it takes place AFTER the fundamental principles of paradigmatic mobility have been established through various analogical developments; thus "Ebeling's Law" only modifies the existing accent curves of the mobile paradigms, as opposed to the accent law advanced here, which in my opinion initiates paradigmatic mobility. Furthermore, "Ebeling's Law" is not triggered by syllables closed by *-*s*, a restriction which does not apply to the law presented here. According to my hypothesis, the barytonesis of e.g. *ā*-stem nom. pl. Lith. *gálvos*, CSl. **gôlvy* is due to the accent law, while according to Kortlandt it is a product of analogy with *C*-stem nom. pl. PBS **dukteres*, which again owes its initial accent to "Pedersen's Law".

While Sedláček's formulation of an accent retraction comes quite close to the law presented here, his theory about the origin of the Balto-Slavic accentuation system in other respects significantly differs from the one presented here. First of all, Sedláček relates his accent retraction to the origin of tonal oppositions in non-final position in Balto-Slavic: a syllable becomes acute if originally accented, circumflex if it receives the accent secondarily through the accent retraction. There is, however, significant evidence in favour of both Balto-Slavic non-acute nouns with immobile accent (becoming AP 2 in Lithuanian

[11] "in disyllabic word forms the stress is retracted from a final short or circumflexed vowel or diphthong unless the preceding syllable is closed by an obstruent" (Kortlandt 1975: 5–6).

[12] "měla-li koncovka přízvuk tažený, přešel v baltoslovanštině na počáteční slabiku slova, kteráž tím nabyla rovněž tažené intonace" ("If an ending had circumflex intonation, the accent was retracted to the first syllable of the word, which thereby also received circumflex intonation"; Sedláček 1914: 176, original emphasised).

and AP *b* in Slavic) and acute nouns with mobile accent (becoming AP 3 in Lithuanian and AP *c* in Slavic). This contradicts Sedláček's theory. Moreover, Sedláček maintains that his accent retraction substitutes Saussure's Law. Yet Saussure's Law, conceived as an advancement of the accent from a circumflex to an immediately following acute syllable in pre-Lithuanian, cannot be given up, thus making Sedláček's position untenable.

7. As I have tried to demonstrate in this presentation, the existing hypotheses regarding the origin of the Balto-Slavic accentual mobility have serious shortcomings. Instead of regarding the mobility in vowel stems as an archaism which has been lost in other Indo-European languages or as the result of an analogical imitation of the mobility found in consonant stems, I propose to regard the curves of the Balto-Slavic mobile accent paradigms as the result of a phonetic accent law according to which, in a pre-stage of Proto-Balto-Slavic, a high tone became low in final short and hiatal structures.

Development of the paradigms

→: unexpected accent; ⇒: unexpected tone

a *o*-stems: Lith. *lángas* m. AP 3 'window', CSl. **lǫ̂gъ* m. AP *c* 'meadow'

	PIE	PBS	Lith.	CSl.
nom. sg.	**longós*	**|lāngas*	*lángas*	**lǫ̂gъ*
acc. sg.	**longóm*	**|lāngan*	*lángą*	**lǫ̂gъ*
gen. sg.	**longó(h)at*	**|lāngā*	*lángo*	**lǫ̂ga*
dat. sg.	**longóei̯*	**|lāngōi̯*	*lángui*	**lǫ̂gu*
instr. sg.	**longóeh*$_1$	**|lāngō*$^{?}$	*lángu*	*(*lǫ̂gomъ)*
loc. sg.	**longói̯*	**|lāngai̯*	*vãkarie* (dial.)	**lǫ̂ʒě*
n./a. du.	**longóh*$_1$, **-ṓ*	→ **|lāngō*$^{?}$[1]	*lángu*	**lǫ̂ga*
nom. pl.	*"*longói̯"*	**|lāngai̯*	*(langaĩ)*	**lǫ̂ʒi*
acc. pl.	**longóns*	**|lāngans*	*lángus*	**lǫ̂gy*
gen. pl.	**longóom*	→ **lān|gōn*[2]	*langų̃*	**lǫ́gъ*
dat. pl.	**longómos*	**lān|gamas*	*langáms*	**lǫgòmъ*
instr. pl.	**longṓis*	**lān|gōis*	*langaĩs*	**lǫgỳ*
loc. pl.	**longóisu*	**lān|gaisu*	*(languosė)*	**lǫʒě́xъ*

[1] Unaccentedness by analogy with nom./acc. du. of *ā*-stems and nom./acc. pl. of all stems.
[2] Desinential accent by analogy with *i*- and *u*-stems.

b *ā*-stems: Lith. *galvà* f. AP 3 'head', CSl. **golvà* f. AP *c* 'head'

	PIE	PBS	Lith.	CSl.
nom. sg.	**gʰolə̥úáh*$_2$	**gāl|u̯ā*$^{?}$	*galvà*	**golvà*
acc. sg.	**gʰolə̥úáh*$_2$*m̥*	**|gālu̯ān*	*gálvą*	**gôlvǫ*
gen. sg.	**gʰolə̥úáh*$_2$*s*	**gāl|u̯ā*$^{?}$*s*	⇒ *galvõs*[1]	**golvỳ*
dat. sg.	**gʰolə̥úáh*$_2$*ai̯*	**|gālu̯āi̯*	*gálvai*	**gôlvě* → **golvě*
instr. sg.	**gʰolə̥úáh*$_2$*ah*$_1$	**|gālu̯ā*$^{?}$ + **-n*	*gálva*	*(*golvojǫ̀)*
loc. sg.	**gʰolə̥úáh*$_2$*i̯*	**gāl|u̯ā*$^{?}$*i̯*	*(galvojè)*	**golvě*
n./a. du.	**gʰolə̥úáh*$_2$*ih*$_1$	**|gālu̯ā*$^{?}$*i̯*	*gálvi*	**gôlvě*
nom. pl.	**gʰolə̥úáh*$_2$*as*	**|gālu̯ās*	*gálvos*	**gôlvy*
acc. pl.	**gʰolə̥úáh*$_2$*m̥s*	**|gālu̯āns/-ās*	*gálvas*	**gôlvy*
gen. pl.	**gʰolə̥úáh*$_2$*om*	→ **gāl|u̯ōn*[2]	*galvų̃*	**gólvъ*
dat. pl.	**gʰolə̥úáh*$_2$*mos*	**gāl|u̯āmas*	*galvóms*	**golvắmъ*
instr. pl.	**gʰolə̥úáh*$_2$*bʰīs*	**gāl|u̯āmī*$^{?}$*s*	→ *galvomìs*[3]	**golvắmi*
loc. pl.	**gʰolə̥úáh*$_2$*su*	**gāl|u̯āsu*	*(galvosė)*	**golvắxъ*

[1] Circumflex tone by analogy with *i*- and *u*-stems.
[2] Desinential accent by analogy with *i*- and *u*-stems.
[3] Final accent by analogy with *i*- and *u*-stems.

c *i*-stems: Lith. *žvėrìs* m. AP 3 'beast', CSl. **zvě̂rъ* m. AP *c* 'beast'

	PIE	PBS	Lith.	CSl.
nom. sg.	**mn̥tís*	**|mintis*	→ *žvėrìs*[1]	**zvě̂rъ*
acc. sg.	**mn̥tím*	**|mintin*	*žvėrį*	**zvě̂rъ*
gen. sg.	**mn̥téi̯s*	**|minteis*	→ *žvėriẽs*[1]	**zvě̂ri*
dat. sg.	**mn̥téi̯*	**|minteĭ*	*ãkie* (dial.)	**zvě̂ri*
instr. sg.	*"*mn̥tíbʰi̯"*	**min|timi*	⇒ *žvėrimì*[2]	**zvěrьmь*
loc. sg.	**mn̥tḗi̯*	**min|tē*$^{?}$*i̯*	*(žvėryjè)*	**zvěrì*
n./a. du.	**mn̥tíh*$_1$	→ **|mintī*$^{?}$[3]	*šìrdi*[4]	**zvě̂ri*
nom. pl.	**mn̥téies*	→ **|mintieis*[5]	*žvérys*	**zvě̂rьje*
acc. pl.	**mn̥tíns*	**|mintins*	*žvéris*	**zvě̂ri*
gen. pl.	**mn̥téi̯om*	**min|tiian*	*žvėrių̃*	**zvěrьjь*
dat. pl.	**mn̥tímos*	**min|timas*	*žvėrìms*	**zvěrьmь*
instr. pl.	**mn̥tíbʰīs*	**min|timī*$^{?}$*s*	*žvėrimìs*	**zvěrьmi*
loc. pl.	**mn̥tísu*	**min|tisu*	*(žvėrysė)*	**zvěrьxъ*

[1] Desinential accent by analogy with *ā*-, *ė*- and *C*-stems.
[2] Acute tone of *-i* by analogy with *i*- and *u*-stem instr. pl. and *o*-, *ā*- and *ė*-stem instr. sg.
[3] Unaccentedness by analogy with nom./acc. du of *ā*- and *ė*-stems and nom./acc. pl. of all stems.
[4] 'Heart' f. (*žvėriu* m. has *o*-stem desinence).
[5] Unaccentedness by analogy with *o*-, *ā*- and *ė*-stems.

d *u*-stems: Lith. *lietùs* m. AP 3 'rain', CSl. **sâdъ* m. AP *c* 'garden'

	PIE	PBS	Lith.	CSl.
nom. sg.	**sodús*	**¦sādus*	→ *lietùs*[1]	**sâdъ*
acc. sg.	**sodúm*	**¦sādun*	*lietų*	**sâdъ*
gen. sg.	**sodéu̯s*	**¦sādau̯s*	→ *lietaũs*[1]	**sâdu*
dat. sg.	**sodéu̯ei̯*	→ **¦sādau̯ei̯*[2]	*(lietui)*	**sâdovi*
instr. sg.	*"*sodúbʰi"*	**sā¦dumi*	⇒ *lietumì*[3]	**sadъmь*
loc. sg.	**sodēu̯*	**sā¦dāu̯*	*(lietujè)*	**sadù*
n./a. du.	**sodúh₁*	→ **¦sādū*[4]	*líetu*	**sâdy*
nom. pl.	**sodéu̯es*	→**¦sādau̯es*[5]	*líetūs*	**sâdove*
acc. pl.	**sodúns*	**¦sāduns*	*líetus*	**sâdy*
gen. pl.	**sodéu̯om*	**sād¦au̯an*	*lietų̃*	**sadovь*
dat. pl.	**sodúmos*	**sād¦umas*	*lietùms*	**sadъmь*
instr. pl.	**sodúbʰīs*	**sād¦umī̯s*	*lietumìs*	**sadъmì*
loc. pl.	**sodúsu*	**sād¦usu*	*(lietuosè)*	**sadъxъ*

[1] Desinential accent by analogy with *ā*-, *ė*- and *C*-stems.
[2] Unaccentedness by analogy with all other stems.
[3] Acute tone of *-ì* by analogy with *i*- and *u*-stem instr. pl. and *o*-, *ā*- and *ė*-stem instr. sg.
[4] Unaccentedness by analogy with nom./acc. du of *ā*- and *ė*-stems and nom./acc. pl. of all stems.
[5] Unaccentedness by analogy with *o*-, *ā*- and *ė*-stems.

e Thematic presents: CSl. **mь̂lzǫ* AP *c* 'milk'

	PIE	PBS	CSl.
1. sg.	**h₂mi̯l̥ĝṓ/-óh₂*	**mīl¦źō*[1]	→ **mь̂lzǫ*[1]
2. sg.	**h₂mi̯l̥ĝési*	**mīl¦źesi*	**mьlzèšь*
3. sg.	**h₂mi̯l̥ĝéti*	**mīl¦źeti*	**mьlzètь*
1. pl.	**h₂mi̯l̥ĝómos*	**mīl¦źemas*	**mьlzèmъ*
2. pl.	**h₂mi̯l̥ĝéte*	**mīl¦źete*	**mьlzetè*
3. pl.	**h₂mi̯l̥ĝónti*	**mīl¦źanti*	**mьlzǫ́tь*

[1] Unaccentedness introduced together with **-n* from secondary desinence.

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THE THREE ACCENT PARADIGMS OF PROTO-BALTO-SLAVIC AND THE EVOLUTION OF THE THREE SLAVIC ACCENT PARADIGMS

In the following, I will try to outline a theory of how the three Common Slavic accent paradigms (a, b and c) can be derived from accentual patterns in Proto-Indo-European, for both nouns/adjectives and verbs. A central assumption will be that Balto-Slavic had three accent paradigms, not two, as is usually assumed.

0. Indo-European

For Proto-Indo-European, I will assume the following:

Athematic nouns could be acrostatic, with constant stress on the root, or mobile. There were a number of mobile patterns (proterodynamic, hysterodynamic, amphidynamic), but in Proto-Balto-Slavic these had all merged into a single laterally mobile accent class:

PD	$h_2$ákmō	$h_2$ákmonm̥	$h_2$kménos
AD	póntoh$_2$s	pónth$_2$m̥	pn̥th$_2$ós
HD	d^{h}ugə$_2$tḗ	d^{h}úgə$_2$térm̥	d^{h}ugə$_2$trés

Becoming something like:

PD	$h_2$akmṓ	$h_2$ákmenim	$h_2$akmenés
AD	pantóh$_2$s	pánth$_2$im	pinth$_2$és
HD	d^{h}ugə$_2$tḗ	d^{h}úgə$_2$terim	d^{h}ugə$_2$terés

The resulting accent curve showed an opposition between end-stress in the nominative vs. begin-stress in the accusative singular, and begin-stress in the nominative/accusative dual and plural vs. end-stress in the dual and plural oblique.

The singular oblique was split into barytone forms (dative, locative) and oxytone forms (genitive, instrumental).

Vowel stems (*o*-, *ah*$_2$-, *i*- and *u*-stems) were either barytone or theme-stressed.

Nominal suffixes could be stressless or dominant (like for instance the diminutive suffix **-ikós*, which always attracted the stress).

The verbal system had more or less the same categories as the nominal system. There were root-stressed and mobile athematic verbs, and barytone and oxytone thematic verbs. The accent curve of the athematic mobile verbs showed root-stress in the singular, end-stress in the dual and plural:

sg.	h$_1$ésmi	h$_1$és(s)i	h$_1$ésti
pl.	ə$_1$smós	ə$_1$stés	ə$_1$sénti (> ə$_1$sentí)
du.	ə$_1$swáh$_2$	ə$_1$stáh$_2$	ə$_1$sté

Simple thematic verbs belonged to the barytone category (except for a few verbs of the *tudáti*-type), while the verbs with suffixes *jé-*, *-ské-*, *-jé-*, *-ské-*, *-dé-* (itself from end-stressed athematic imperative *-dhí*), *-né-* (alternating with *-n-*), denominatives in *-ijé-*, *-ejé-* and causatives-iteratives in *-éje-* were end-stressed (better: theme-stressed).

Statives in *-éih*$_1$ (alternating -with *-h$_1$i-* in the plural, and *-éh$_1$-* in the infinitive) probably had a mixed paradigm, being theme-stressed in the singular, end-stressed in the plural.

1. Balto-Slavic: Pedersen's Law

Pedersen's law is the analogical transfer of mobility from the athematic classes to the vowel stems. In the nominal system, the *raison d'être* of the analogy was to mimic in vowel-stem nouns and adjectives the prosodic distinction between nominative and accusative singular that existed in athematic nouns. It was therefore the oxytone thematics which shifted the stress back in the accusative singular, the dative-locative singular (except the *i*- and *u*-stems, which retained their locatives in end-stressed *-ếi* and *-ốu*), and in the nominative and accusative dual and plural (except the *o*-stems, which retained end-stress in the nominative plural *-ájˀ*). In the o-stems, the barytone ablative singular (*-áa* > *-ấ*)

had taken the place of the genitive. This resulted in (ignoring laryngeals and voiced aspirates[1]):

	athematic	**o-stems**	**ah$_2$-stems**	**i-stems**	**u-stems**
Nom	akmố	draũgás	staĩnấ	agníš	ledús
Acc	ákmenim̃	dráũgam̃	stáĩnām̃	ágnim̃	lédum̃
Voc	(ákmeñ)	dráũge	(stáĩna)	(ágneĩ)	(lédaũ)
Gen	akmenés	dráũgã	staĩnấs	agnéĩš	ledáũš
Dat	ákmeneĩ	dráũgõĩ	stáĩnãĩ	ágnejeĩ	lédaweĩ
Loc	ákmeni	dráũgaĩ	stáĩnãĩ	agnếĩ	ledốũ
Ins	(akmenḗ)	draũgṓ	staĩnajā́(m̃)	(agnḯ)	(ledṹ)
Nom	ákmenes	draũgáj	stáĩnās	ágnejes	lédawes
Acc	ákmenins	dráũgōns	stáĩnāns	ágnins	léduns
Gen	akmenõm̃	draũgõm̃	staĩnõm̃	agnejõm̃	ledawõm̃
Dat	akmenimás	draũgamás	staĩnāmás	agnimás	ledumás
Loc	akmenišú	draũgaĩšú	staĩnāšú	agnišú	ledušú
Ins	akmenimíš	draũgájš	staĩnāmíš	agnimíš	ledumíš
NA	ákmenī	dráũgō	stáĩnaĩ	ágnī	lédū
GL	akmenáũ	draũgáũ	staĩnáũ	agnejáũ	ledawáũ
DI	akmenimṓ	draũgamṓ	staĩnāmṓ	agnimṓ	ledumṓ

Thematic oxytone neuter nouns had no accusative, so they remained oxytone (or, rather, theme-stressed):

o-stems (neutra)
pterấm̃
pterấ
pterõĩ
pteráĩ
pterṓ
pterấ ~ ptérā
pterõm̃

[1] For Balto-Slavic, I will use the following conventions:

	unstressed	stressed
short vowels	a e i u	á é í ú
long acute	ā ē ī ō ū	ā́ ḗ ī́ ṓ ū́
long circumflex	ã ẽ õ	ấ ế ố
diphthongs	aĩ eĩ / āĩ ēĩ ōĩ / ãĩ ẽĩ õĩ etc.	áĩ éĩ / ấĩ ếĩ ốĩ / ấĩ éĩ ốĩ etc.
acute diphthongs	aĩ eĩ etc.	áĩ éĩ etc.

pterámas
pteráĩšu
pterájš
pterő
pteráũ
pterámō

Barytonesis in the NA plural may have a PIE background (cf. Illič-Svityč 1963 : 53).

Another category where theme-stress was maintained in Balto-Slavic is that of composite nouns with stressed suffix:

barytone root	**mobile root**
dvarikás	maĨdikás
dvarikám̃	maĨdikám̃
dvarikő̃ĩ	maĨdikő̃ĩ
dvarikã́	maĨdikã́
dvarikĩ	maĨdikĩ
dvarikáĩ	maĨdikáĩ
dvarikő	maĨdikő
dvarikáj	maĨdikáj
dvarikő̃ns	maĨdikő̃ns
dvarikõm̃	maĨdikõm̃
dvarikámas	maĨdikámas
dvarikáĩšu	maĨdikáĩšu
dvarikájš	maĨdikájš
dvarikő	maĨdikő
dvarikáũ	maĨdikáũ
dvarikámō	maĨdikámō

In the present system of the verb, accentual mobility in the athematic verbs varied between singular and non-singular. When the thematic verbs took over the mobility, it was the barytone verbs which moved the stress to the final syllable in the dual and plural:

	athematic	**e-verbs**
1	ésmi	bérō
2	és(e)i	béresi
3	ésti	béreti
1	esmás	beramás
2	estés	beretés
3	señtí	berañtí
1	eswā́	berawā́
2	estā́	beretā́
3	esté	bereté

Theme-stressed verbs remained theme-stressed:

	-jé-	**-né-**		
1	steĨjő	senékmi	> seknő	(Lith. *séñkō)
2	steĨjési	senéksi	> seknési	(Lith. *séñksi)
3	steĨjéti	senékti	> seknéti	(Lith. *séñkti)
1	steĨjámas	señkmás	> seknámas	(Lith. *señkmés)
2	steĨjétes	señktés	> seknétes	(Lith. *señktés)
3	steĨjáñti	señkéñti	> seknáñti	(Lith. *señkénti)

	-éje-	**-éih$_1$-**	
1	wadéjō > wadíjō > wadjő	baléih$_1$mi	> balĩ́jō / baĨjő
2	wadéjesi > wadĩ́ši	baléih$_1$ši	> balĩ́ši (Lith. *balíši)
3	wadéjeti > wadĩ́ti	baléih$_1$ti	> balĩ́ti (Lith. *balíti)
1	wadéjamas > wadĩ́mas	balh$_1$imás	> balīmás (Lith. *balimés)
2	wadéjates > wadĩ́tes	balh$_1$ités	>balītés (Lith. *balités)
3	wadéjañti > wadĩ́nti	balh$_1$iéñti	> baĨjeñtí

The infinitive/aorist system in Slavic consisted largely of end-stressed (theme-stressed) forms. The infinitive is derived from *-*táj*. The aorist forms continue the PIE thematic root aorist (C-verbs only):

wed^h-óm
wed^h-és
wed^h-ét
wed^h-ómos
wed^h-éte
wed^h-ónt

or a mix of thematic and athematic s-aorist forms (V-verbs, C-verbs [except in the 2/3 sg.]):

ĝnoh$_3$-šóm
ĝnóh$_3$-s(s)
ĝnóh$_3$-st
ĝnoh$_3$-šómos
ĝnoh$_3$-sté
ĝnoh$_3$-šént

The l-participle was theme-stressed in PIE, and therefore mobile in PBS (at least for verbs with a mobile present system):

	nom.	acc.
m.	wed^{h}lás	wéd^{h}lam̃
n.	wed^{h}lá(m̃)	--
f.	wed^{h}lā́	wéd^{h}lām̃

In summary, we can reconstruct three accent paradigms for Balto-Slavic:

I	root-stressed
II	theme-stressed
III	mobile

Lithuanian has merged I and II, Latvian II and III (acute roots), Slavic shows clear traces of all three accent paradigms, as explained below.

The three accent paradigms can be derived from PIE prototypes as follows:

	I	II	III
nouns	ath. static		ath. mobile
	them. barytone	them. oxytone (n)	them. oxytone (m/f)
verbs	ath. static		ath. mobile
		them. oxytone	them. barytone

2. Balto-Slavic: Hirt's Law

Hirt's law caused a retraction of the accent if the syllable before the ictus contained in its coda a non-vocalized laryngeal. Hirt's law had no effect if the accent was already on the syllable containing the laryngeal (accent class I), or if the ictus was two syllables or more removed from the syllable containing the laryngeal. This is the case in thematic mobile verbs of class III:

páh$_2$sō
páh$_2$sesi
páh$_2$seti
pah$_2$samás
pah$_2$setés
pah$_2$sañtí
pah$_2$sawáh$_2$
pah$_2$setáh$_2$
pah$_2$seté

The aorist/infinitive system of these verbs, however, was subject to Hirt's law:

inf.	pah$_2$stáj	> páh$_2$staj
aor. 1sg.	pah$_2$s(s)óm	> páh$_2$sam̃
aor. 3sg.	pah$_2$sét	> páh$_2$set
aor. 3pl.	pah$_2$sónt	> páh$_2$sañt
l-ptc m.	pah$_2$slós	> páh$_2$slas
l-ptc. f.	pah$_2$sláh$_2$	> páh$_2$slah$_2$
l-ptc. n.	pah$_2$slód	> páh$_2$sla

Athematic mobile verbs were of course subject to Hirt's law in both the present and the infinitive/aorist systems:

pres. 1sg.	léh$_1$ĝ^{h}mi	= léh$_1$žmi
pres. 1pl.	leh$_1$ĝ^{h}mós	> léh$_1$žmas
aor. 1sg.	leh$_1$ĝ^{h}sóm	> léh$_1$žsam̃
inf.	leh$_1$ĝ^{h}táj	> léh$_1$žtaj
l-ptc. m.	leh$_1$ĝ^{h}lós	> léh$_1$žlas
l-ptc. f.	leh$_1$ĝ^{h}láh$_2$	> léh$_1$žlah$_2$
l-ptc. n.	leh$_1$ĝ^{h}lóm	> léh$_1$žla(m̃)

Mobile vowel-stem nouns were by and large affected by Hirt's law, although exceptionally a mixed paradigm (with barytone singular and mobile plural/dual) may have emerged, perhaps especially in u-stems (because they have the most two-syllable desinences):

súh$_1$nus	súh$_1$nawes	súh$_1$nuh$_1$
súh$_1$num̃	súh$_1$nuns	suh$_1$nawáũ
súh$_1$naũ		suh$_1$numő
súh$_1$naũš	suh$_1$nawő̃m	
súh$_1$naweĩ	suh$_1$numás	
súh$_1$nōũ	suh$_1$nušú	
súh$_1$numi	suh$_1$numíš	

In the DLI plural of the ah$_2$-stems, Hirt's law caused a retraction of the accent to the theme vowel (*-ắmas, -ắšu, -ắmīš*).

The laryngeal was vocalized in the sequences *eRH*, *aRH*, where *R* is one of *m*, *n*, *r*, *l*, *i*, *u*, except in the case of *aiH* (e.g. Hirt's law works in *paiHláh$_2$ > péla*, but not in cases like *galəwáh$_2$*, *tenəwás*, *leiəláh$_2$*, etc.). As shown by Francis (1970) and Normier (1977), in both Greek and Tocharian the laryngeal was vocalized in the sequences *ih$_2$*, *ih$_3$*, *uh$_2$*, *uh$_3$*. The same must have happened in Balto-Slavic, as witnessed by Slavic *bylá*, *žilá*, *pilá*, Latvian *bût*, *dzît*, where Hirt's law did not operate, from PIE **b^{h}uh$_2$-*, **g^{w}ih$_3$(w)-*, **pih$_3$-*.

3. Balto-Slavic: Winter's Law

Also to the Balto-Slavic period belongs Winter's law. This did not cause any immediate changes in the accent, but it did cause vowel lengthening c.q. acute intonation in the position before a PIE (unaspirated) voiced stop (**b*, **d*, **ĝ*, **g*, **g^{w}*). The exact conditions on the operation of Winter's law remain in dispute, but given that in the vast majority of cases, Winter's lengthening shows up in Latvian as a broken tone, there must be something to Shintani's suggestion (1985) that Winter's lengthening of full vowels only took place in the pretonic position (no such restriction seems to apply to the acute intonation of diphthongs in sequences *eRD*, *aRD*). If so, Winter's lengthening would have failed to work in words of accent class I, and in thematic verbs of accent class III.

4. Slavic

After the breakup of Balto-Slavic, the three Balto-Slavic accent paradigms underwent a series of accentual laws, which resulted in the three Slavic accent paradigms. The principal developments were:

Meillet's law (III > c)

Stang' s law (II > b)

Dybo's law and its converse (which I call the "jabloko-law") (I > a, b; II > b, a)

5. Meillet's Law / mę̑so-law

Meillet's law affects the barytone forms of mobile paradigms. In Rasmussen's formulation (Rasmussen 1992 : 475), the law is a further polarization of the principle of lateral mobility: if a preposition or preverb preceeds, it takes the stress. Otherwise, if the stress is acute (ictus on the second mora), it becomes circumflex (ictus on the first mora). In the verbal system, Meillet's law behaved unexpectedly in one way: the monosyllabic 2/3sg. forms of the s-aorist of (V-) verbs with a mobile present were treated as if they were barytone forms of a mobile paradigm. This caused the elimination of acute intonation in the aorist 2/3 sg. of mobile verbs, as well as in the l-participle (and sometimes even in the infinitive [*žertí*, *pętí*]).

A later development, but clearly a consequence of Meillet's law (by association of initial circumflex with mobility), is what I call the "mę̑so-law": non-mobile paradigms with a pretonic circumflex vowel (i.e. a. p. II), when in an open syllable, become mobile. This happens with a. p. II neuters like *mę̑só > mę̑so* and *jãjé > jâje*; with né-verbs like *vînǫ*, *mânǫ*, *mînǫ* and *mę̑nǫ*; with jé-verbs like *dâjǫ*, *žûjǫ*, *kljûjǫ*, *kûjǫ*, *lẽ̂jǫ*, *smẽ̂jǫ sę*, *snûjǫ*, and dé-verbs like *klâdǫ*. I can find no similar transfer to the mobile paradigm in words that became a. p. b as a result of Dybo's law, so this appears to be a strong argument in favour of the existence of a Proto-Slavic accent paradigm II, besides traditional I and III.

6. Stang's Law

Although the usual definition of Stang's law is much broader, I would like to restrict it here to the following formulation: in a. p. II

forms with medial accent, stress is retracted to the root syllable, except, probably, when the stressed syllable is acute. In the verb, this immediately explains the accent curve of old a. p. II verbs:

	-jé-	**-né-**	**-éje-**
1	steljǫ́	seknǫ́	wadjǫ́
2	stélješi	sékneši	wádīši
3	stéljeti	sékneti	wádīti
1	stéljemu	séknemu	wádīmu
2	stéljete	séknete	wádīte
3	stéljanti	séknanti	wádīnti

In the noun, the a. p. II neuters also acquire new mobility:

NA	perá
G	perā́
D	perúi
L	perái
I	pérami (> peramí)
NA	pérā
G	perúN (> péruN)
D	péramas
L	péraišu
I	perū́iš (> pérūiš)
NA	perái
GL	peráu
DI	péramō (> peramṓ)

As can be seen, the paradigm was analogically remodeled to look like the mirror image of the a. p. c mobile paradigm.

The reverse happened in the verb, where the a. p. c verbal paradigms were reshaped to look like mirror images of the neo-mobile a. p. b paradigm:

bérōN
bereší
beretí
beremúš
bereté

berantí
berewā́
beretā́
bereté

7. Dybo's Law / jā́blъko-law

Dybo's law affects the Balto-Slavic a. p. I: if the stressed syllable is not acute, the stress moves one syllable to the right. The converse of Dybo's law (I call it the "jabloko-law"), affects the Balto-Slavic a. p. II: if a word contains an acute syllable before the stress, the stress shifts to that syllable (this can span multiple syllables).

The effects of Dybo's law are readily seen in nominal forms, where non-acute a. p. I words (from PIE athematic static and thematic barytone nouns and adjectives) are affected by it. As noted by Illich-Svitych, a. p. I neuters become a. p. b masculines in the process (e.g. *dʰwórom* => *dvorъ*). There was no merger of the *dvòrъ*-group with the *peró*-group, because the latter had become mobile (by what I have called Stang's law above), and Dybo's law does not work on mobile paradigms. Dybo's law also did not work in the singular of masculine o-stem barytona, where the retraction/loss of the end-stressed nom.sg. and ins.sg. in the mobile forms had brought about a merger of a. p. I and III in the whole singular. When the non-acute a. p. I oblique plural forms did undergo the effect of Dybo's law, the whole paradigm merged with a. p. c, both in ictus and (falling) intonation.

In the verb, Dybo's law should have reintroduced theme-stressed paradigms, but this is rarely the case: the old athematic barytona fell together either with a. p. c (e.g. *bȍdǫ*, *bostí*) or with a. p. b (*mogǫ́*, *mòžešь*, *mogtí*; *meljǫ́*, *mèlješь*, *mélti*, etc.). Only the recessive i-stem causatives and denominatives formed from non-acute barytone roots acquired, according to Dybo e.a. (1990 : 36), a theme-stressed paradigm, (*ložjǫ́*, *ložī́tь*, *ložī́ti*).

Accent paradigm II words with an acute root underwent the opposite development: the stress was pulled back to the acute, and they became a. p. a. In the nouns, examples of this are rare, as are a. p. II nominals themselves. The oxytone neuters (*peró*-group) had become mobile by Stang's law, which is perhaps why *vědró*, *vědra* (by Winter's

law from **wedróm* > *wēdrá*) is not affected, although the close- or openness of the syllable may also have played a role here: the law does affect words like *yugóm* > *jūgá* > *īgo*. A word like *jáblъko* was mobile in PIE (**$h_2$ábōls* > PBS **$h_2$abőls*, by Winter's law *āből-* (oblique *ābul-*?). In Slavic, it was rendered immobile and theme-stressed by addition of the dominant suffix **-kó-*, and subsequently **jābl̥kó* > *jáblъko*.

In the verbs, where a. p. II was much more common, the jabloko-law retracts the stress from a. p. b present tense 1st person singular (the only form that was left with non-initial stress in the present after Stang's law). The effect on infinitives of all accent paradigms is more interesting: with the exception of a handful of infinitives with **erH* (*pertí*, *žertí*, *stertí*, *dertí*) and **eNH* (*pętí*, *tętí*) from verbs which are mobile in the present, all infinitives with an acute root have retracted the accent. In part, this had already happened as a consequence of Hirt's law (e.g. all verbs in **-ah$_2$táj*, **-eh$_1$táj*), but a separate retraction law is required to explain infinitives like *sẽsti*, *ẽsti*, *pãsti*, *strĩgti*, *kũti*, *rjũti*, *snũti*, *trũti*, *žũti*, etc., all with Winter's lengthening or VRH-sequences, which were never subject to Hirt's law. Contrast also a. p. a *běgájetь* > *bẽgajetь*, *běgnétь* > *bẽgnetь*, from originally a. p. II verbs, with mobile *bēžī-tь́* > *bẽžī-tь́*, where the acute had already been eliminated by Meillet's law.

A difficult case is the contrast seen in stative verbs (ě/i) between a. p. a *víděti*, *víšěti*, *dvížěti*, *slýšěti* (stem-vowels /i/ and /y/) vs. a. p. c *běžẽti*, *sědẽti* (stem-vowel /ě/). The pattern in the stem-vowels brings to mind the contrast between the jé-verbs a. p. a *sýpjǫ*, *mýčjǫ*, *smýčjǫ*, *týčjǫ*, *sýsjǫ*, *prýsčjǫ*, *brýzžjǫ*, *stížjǫ* vs. a. p. b *skačjǫ́*, *xapjǫ́*, *xramjǫ́*, *mačjǫ́*, *kazjǫ́*, *drěmjǫ́* (Dybo 1981 : 209-210). This can be explained if at the relevant time there were no circumflex /ĩ/ or /ũ/, only acute /ī/, /ū/, this in contrast with inherited /ã/, (/õ/), /ẽ/ besides acute /ā/, /ō/, /ē/. Of course, the two cases are different in that the jé-verbs above resulted from expressive gemination of the stem-vowel and would naturally be circumflex, whereas in the case of *běžẽti*, *sědẽti* the stem-vowel was originally acute (by Winter's law), and can only have been circumflexed by Meillet's law. Now Meillet's law is generally held to also affect /ī/ and /ū/, but there is only a small basis for that claim (the only mobile forms with /y/ in Zaliznjak's a. p. c list are *symъ*, *pylъ*; *gryz-*, and the ě/i-verbs *dyšěti*, *styděti*, *kypěti*). So perhaps /ī/ and /ū/ remained acute, even in mobile paradigms, perhaps until the rise of new /ĩ/ out of /eĩ/, after which they indeed acquired falling intonation in mobile paradigms. In the case of the ě/i-verbs, with their mixed a. p. II/III paradigm, the split between

víděti, *slýšěti* and *běžẽti*, *sědẽti* could then be the result of circumflexion of /ě/ and /a/, but not /i/ and /y/ by Meillet's law (which applies to a. p. III forms), followed by partial retraction of the stress (*víděti*, *slýšěti*, but not *dyšẽti*, *stydẽti*, *kypẽti*) in those forms with an acute stem-vowel / ī/ and /ū/, by the jablъko-law (which applies to a. p. II forms), before the circumflexion of /ī/ and /ū/ took place.

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THE ACCENT ON BALTO-SLAVIC MONOSYLLABLES

The aim of this paper is a defense. I have been criticized[1] for believing that Balto-Slavic monosyllables have falling tone irrespective of their phonological makeup. This is of course interesting only for cases which would have a different tone if the word were longer, so in essence I am talking about the phenomenon that vowels which would be expected to be acute surface as circumflex if the word is a monosyllable – or was one at the time when the choice of tone was settled. The basic challenge of the theory of mandatory falling tone on monosyllables is the presence of variants, and the warning that it might be some of the other variants that represent the original state of affairs while the falling-tone form is itself just a secondary variant without diachronic relevance. Such questions will have to be settled on the basis of a balanced inspection of the particulars.

1. The Lithuanian Future

A particularly suggestive case is offered by the inflection of the Lith. future, in which an acute vowel is replaced by circumflex in the endingless 3. person which is monosyllabic with underived verbs: *dúosiu dúosi duõs dúosiva dúosita dúosime dúosite* 'shall give'. A dialect variant *dúos* is easily explained by levelling and should not detain us. Conversely, *dainúosiu dainuõs* would be left without an explanation if not ascribed to the simply analogy from *dúosiu duõs*. It is more problematic that verbs with *ū* and *y* are shortened in the third person: *búsiu búsi bùs*. There are dialect vacilla-

[1] By Kortlandt 1997.

tions: *gýti* 'live' forms *gìs*, *gýs* or *gỹs* depending on the dialect, and likewise, from *rašýti* 'write', the future may be *rašìs*, *rašỹs* or *rašýs*. Of these, *gỹs* and *rašìs* may be regular, while *gìs* is analogical on *rašìs*, *rašỹs* analogical on *gỹs*, and the long acutes of *gýs* and *rašýs* are analogical on the other forms of the future paradigm like 1sg *gýsiu*, *rašýsiu* or on the infinitives *gýti*, *rašýti*. Only *bùs* has no obvious model and seems quite consistent throughout the dialects as far as my information goes; it *is* the verb 'to be', so I take it that it represents an allegro form with shortening of the acute long vowel working here as if the word were longer. I have to mention Kortlandt's very personal explanation of the circumflex on *duõs*. Departing from an IE *s*-aorist with lengthened grade, Kortlandt explains the form by a rule stipulating loss of the laryngeal after a long vowel in a monosyllable. Thus, we agree that a monosyllable of the structure **CéH-s-t* would end up having a circumflex in BSl., the real disagreement being now over whether this has to do with laryngeals. To Kortlandt this is an interesting point because of his doctrine that IE lengthened grade yields circumflex tone in BSl.[2]; so if he can get rid of the laryngeal the circumflex will appear by itself according to his thinking. I find that disproved by Lith. *žvėrį*, dial. nom.pl. *žvėres*, Latv. *zvêrs*. Had this length been laryngeal-based, Hirt's law would have prevented the rise of mobility in Slavic **zvěrь*. The fact that it is not all IE monosyllabic nominatives that are continued by BSl. circumflex words, as Kortlandt seems to demand for my rule formulations to be of interest, is easily explained by chronology: By the time long vowels in monosyllables became circumflex, some words had been transferred to *i*-stems at least to the point of acquiring a nom.sg. in **-is*, while others had not. Thus, apparently, the acc. **mű́s-ɳ* > BSl. **mű́s-i-n* had given rise to a nom. **mű́s-i-s* which did not become circumflex because it was no longer a monosyllable. Thus, if put to work on **dő́s-t*, **ʒvé́r-is*, **mű́s-is*, the rule yields circumflex where we find it. A word like Slavic **rě̂čь*, on the other hand, is ambiguous; it may represent a paradigm **ré́k-s*, ** ré́k-ɳ* (**ré́k-in*), or it may owe its circumflex to the mobility of the resulting *i*-stem.

2. Pronominal Forms.

2.1. Personal Pronouns.

Many of the salient cases are specific inflectional forms of pronouns. I find impressive the opposition in Lithuanian between circumflex nom. *jũs* and acute gen. *jű́sų*, and I am unimpressed by the acute dialect variant nom. *jű́s* which is easily explained by levelling, or by its being pronounced as part of a longer accent unit, typically including a following verb, variables that may also account for the acutes of Latvian *jũs* and Old Prussian *ioūs*. Again, the circumflex form is the only one that cannot easily be explained as secondary. The standard languages have made a different choice in the 1.pl., which has nom. Lith. *mẽs* with circumflex on short /e/, vs. Latvian *mẽs* with acute on long /ē/. Here too, however, there are variants with long circumflex, as Lith. *mẽs* or even *mű́s*, but no real support for circumflex in the longer inflected forms. This is of course supported by Slavic, SCr., Slov. *mî*, *vî*, Czech *my*, *vy*. Thus, at least the evidence for a falling tone on the Balto-Slavic reflex of IE **ią́s* is very strong. The 2sg pronoun has a short vowel in Lithuanian *tù* (and Latvian *tu*); again Old Prussian has acute *toū* entering into larger accent units, while the expected long vowel with circumflex is indeed found in Slavic: SCr., Slov. *tî*, Cz. *ty*. It will be hard to find a secondary cause for the circumflex here; the 2sg personal pronoun has accent on the second syllable (SCr. *tèbe*, *tèbi*, Russ. *tebjá*, *tebé*), obviously by Dybo's Law (cf. Ved. *táva*, *túbhyam*), so there should be no Meillet's Law at work here.

2.2. Demonstrative Pronouns.

Three forms, all masculine, show a change to circumflex in the standard language: instr.sg *tuõ*, nom.pl. *tiẽ*, acc.pl. *tuõs*. All have acute dialect variants, *túo*, *tíe*, *túos*/*tùs*, and Latvian *tiẽ*, *tuõs*; unlike Kortlandt who regards the acute forms as original I would ascribe them to a trivial analogy with longer forms, note especially the definite adjectives *baltúo-ju*, *baltíe-ji*, *baltúos-ius* and of course *vilkùs*. The same forms are circumflex in Slavic, as SCr. *tî*, *tê*, cf. also nom.sg.fem. and nom.-acc.pl.ntr. *tâ*, Slov. *tî*, *tę̂*, *tâ*. However, *all* forms of the pronoun *tъ* have falling accent in SCr. and Slovene; their quantity corresponds consistently to that of the definite adjective, so they have rather surely been influenced by them and are consequently not of relevance for the determination of the tone on old monosyllables; note also the SCr. nom.sg.masc. *tâj* which confirms this. The same is seen in Slovak: *tá*, *tí*, *té*; but Czech has *ta*, *ti*, *ty* with the same circumflex as fem acc. *tu*. If the Czech forms are not due to some secondary shortening (which has in that case not befallen the gen.-dat. sg.f. *té* and the instrumentals *tím*, *tou*), then there really is an unambiguous reflex of circumflex on these old monosyllables.

[2] Thus the main point in Kortlandt 1985.

3. Aorists.

Most of the Slavic monosyllabic aorist forms are circumflex despite their underlying acute foundation: *bŷti* 'be', *dãti* 'give', *lĩti* 'pour', *mŷti* 'wash', *pĩti* 'drink', *šĩti* 'sew', *vĩti* 'twist' form SCr. *bî*, *dâ*, *lî*, *mî*, *pî*, *šî*, *vî*; Stang adds *òbuti* 'put on shoes' with *ȍbū*, *ìzū*. Stang also gives four verbs that contrast with this, viz. *bíti* 'beat', *gníti* 'rot', *čűti* 'sense, hear', *krýti* 'hide' which form SCr. *bȉ*, *gnjȉ*, *čȕ*, *krȉ*. In his typically lapidarian style Kortlandt (1997) dismisses my explanation of these facts; I read his paper to say that the different accent placing, with mobile stress in *byti* 'be' versus fixed stress in *biti* 'beat', has somehow caused the tonal difference in *bî* 'was' versus *bȉ* 'beat'. But if both are root aorists from underlyingly acute roots, how could that difference come about? I can see only one solution, namely that one of the types is regular and the other one is analogical. If one is analogical, it is the acute one which has the support of other forms made from the same verb, while the circumflex of **bŷ* will represent the regular outcome of **bʰúH-s*, **bʰúH-t*. It will seem that the analogical influence from the infinitive was Common Slavic and comprised the present formation also, so that it is no real counterargument when Kortlandt points out that, in the acute set, "these verbs have fixed stress on the root in all Slavic languages", and in the circumflex set, "these verbs have mobile stress on the root in all Slavic languages". Nor is it detrimental to the explanation that the circumflex set have alternative forms of the 2.3.sg with added *-stъ*, a fact also invoked by Kortlandt to discredit the theory since, with the longer ending, these forms would not be monosyllabic. Need I point out that the theory of regular circumflex on long vowels in monosyllables applies to the short forms, not the long ones? If the long forms are archaisms, as I would believe, representing IE collocations with added subject pronouns, from older **bʰűs-tu* and **bʰűs-tas* (the latter with *-st-* from **-t-t-*), it is only natural that such forms were not made from verbs going by a modernized conjugation. The non-acute, and therefore mobile, present paradigm of the old type is also regular: **u̯éi̯h$_1$-e-ti* (Lith. *vẽja*) > Sl. **vьj-e-* "twist"; also **léi̯h$_1$-e-ti* (metathesized from **léh$_1$i̯-e-* on the analogy of the zero-grade **lih$_1$-*, Lith. *lẽja*) > Sl. **lьj-e-* "pour". The type **bĭ-je-*, **bĭ* "beat" then has analogical long acute vowel in both present and aorist. Kortlandt says there is no reason to assume any such analogy, but he does not say how else to arrive at the difference in accent pattern.[3] I think my account takes care of all this. It may be regarded as cheap and unsatisfactory to explain such a thing by analogy if there is no rule to predict which verbs were hit by the presumed analogical wave of normalization; still, it seems rather obvious that it was the most basic verbs that avoided it: The most basic and most frequent words are the ones most resistent to change, and that may apply here too.

4. Individual Word Stems.

A clear example of internal alternation is offered by the preposition Lith. *nuõ* 'from' (Latv. *nùo*) as opposed to its form in nominal compounds, as Lith. *núo-rašas* 'a copy', and its reduced form in verbs that used to be separated as *nu-rašýti* 'to copy'.

I have explained the circumflex of PSl. **krŷ*, gen. **krъve* 'blood', Slovene *krî*, by its old monosyllabic form, IE **krúh$_2$-s*, cf. OIr. *crú*, Av. acc. *xrū-m*. Kortlandt opposes this by reference to the mobile paradigm of the word, and that may indeed be the correct story. Still, Kolesov 1972: 74-95 advocates a columnal paradigm retained in remains; Snoj 2003: 323 posits the PSl. genitive as **krъvě*, Gluhak 1993: 355 as **krv̆e*. Since mobility is immensely productive, any substantial trace of columnal accentuation should be taken seriously. That may then be construed as an argument supporting the view that acutes become circumflex in monosyllables.

5. The Type Lith. *tvorà*.

In my original presentation of this matter I made a major point out of the historical development of a special noun type which may be ex-

[3] The foundation of the Balto-Slavic accentual "valences" may seem like a mystery. The easiest explanation I can see is that the theory has placed the matter on its head. The valences are designed to make the accent placing predictable, but the BSl. accent is still regarded as inherited. Therefore, a Balto-Slavic "plus" in the valency analysis may reflect nothing else than the position of the accent in the chronological layer relevant for this analysis. It is plain that Balto-Slavic has not retained the old τόμος/τομός opposition, due to generalization of the latter; cf. also the mobility in Lith. *vil̃kas* which differs from Ved. *vṛ́kas*, Gmc. **wulfaz* and Gk. λύκος. The retraction known as Hirt's Law has certainly engendered new plus'es, and, regarding the matter at hand, it will just seem that the introduction of falling tone on monosyllables has led to new minus'es, if only on such forms as remained monosyllabic, while lexemes that were expanded by productive suffixes have a tendency to show up as barytone. The whole matter of chronology deserves a fresh analysis.

emplified by Lith. *tvorà* 'fence', which has a circumflex tone, acc. *tvõrą*. Derived from *tvérti* 'embrace, encompass, fence in', IE **tu̯erə-*, the development of a circumflex long *a*-vowel demanded some thinking. I suggested, as the point of departure, an IE root-noun of the **nók^{w}t-s/ *nék^{w}t-s* type, i.e. an IE nom. **tu̯órə-s*, developing by well-known rules, if in an unexpected order. First, *o* > *a* gave **tu̯árə-s*, then loss of schwa yielded compensatory lengthening to **tu̯ā̃r-s*; this was now a monosyllable and so took on circumflex tone, giving a stem **tu̯ā̃r-*, which was retained when the word was later given an ending because it was integrated into a more productive wordtype. The results would be not only Lith. *tvorà*, but also Latv. *tvàre* and PSl. **tvârъ* seen in OCS *tvarъ*, SCr. *tvâr* 'creature'. There are many other examples, but this may suffice here to show the type.

My explanation has met with an alternative presented by Jenny Larsson. Writing about Baltic reflexes of IE root nouns she subjects the type to a critical inspection and comes up with an alternative which she has later elaborated upon.[4] She sees the forms as examples of a productive deverbative noun type formed with suffixal **-i̯o-* or**-i̯ā*. The main points have already been worked out by Stang, to whose account Larsson adds the details that the whole series of changes, involving lengthening and circumflexion, is phonetically regular. Thus, from *vèžti* we have *vėžẽ* 'wagon track', from *málti* 'grind' there is *mõlė* 'act of grinding in a mill', and from *pìnti* 'to plait' there is *pynẽ* 'braid'; based on adjectives the same suffixes form *mõžis* 'smallness' from *mãžas* 'small', *grõžis* or *grõžė* 'beauty' from *gražùs* 'beautiful', and many others. There can be little doubt that there is such a derivation and such a phonetic change to yield the forms. The question is only, does it apply here? Stang says it does: "Man fragt sich, ob nicht das Ableitungsprinzip *TáRT* : *TãR*, *áiT* : *aĩT*, das in gewissen *i̯o*-Stämmen lautgesetzlich entstand, sich analogisch auf die *ā*-Stämme verbreitet hat" (Stang 1966:149). Larsson follows suit: "It seems plausible that the derivational pattern with lengthening of the root and métatonie douce, originally a phonological process restricted to the **-i̯ā* and **-i̯o*-stems, was analogically extended to include some *ā*-stems as well" (Larsson 2003:81). While this was originally an alternative to my derivation from root nouns, Larsson has now softened her position so as to allow for both sources. The question is then which to choose in a particular case.

[4] Larsson 2001, Larsson 2003:75-86.

For the showpiece *tvorà* I do find it hard not to believe this is root-noun-based. For one thing, Daukša has *twora* already and the presumed older form in *-ė* is not attested in Lithuanian for this word (though it is in Latvian, *tvāre* beside *tvāra*). More importantly, the circumflex length also appears in Slavic where it cannot be explained by a Baltic phonetic rule. The PSl. *i*-stem **tvârъ* (which is accent type b) now points rather definitely to an old root-noun. The same is indicated with even greater clarity by the related lexeme *tvarkà* 'order' (accent class 2); this can hardly be based on anything other than the nominative of the old root-noun, i.e. **tu̯órH-s* with laryngeal hardening to **tu̯órk-s* before further transfer to *ā*-stems. The paradigm must have contained at one time nom. **tu̯órk-s* with acc. **tu̯órə-m*, and later each of these has given rise to a separate lexeme. This is thus one of the many instances of old etymological fellows that were apparently felt to be related and therefore stuck together and exhibit a marked tendency to show up in the same branches, much like German *Salz/Sülze*, *Nase/Nüster*.

Let me add two more: Lith. *võlas*, pl. *võlai* 'rolling agricultural tool', Latv. *vàle* id., Slav. **vâlъ* 'rolling wave', which can also be the meaning of Lith. *võlas*. Now, the verb is *vélti* 'walken', 'to felt, to full', used of treating hair and wool. I would find it close to inconceivable that a synchronic feeling of connection with the verb has adduced speakers to transfer the length of /vēl-/ onto the τομός-formation (which has here replaced a τόμος-formation) and change a putative **valás* into **vālás* and thereupon give it the new suffix **-i̯ā* of new gender which could make the word change to **vãlė* (> Latv. *vàle*) and then induce the same tone on the variant form **vãlas* (> *võlas*). Also Lith. *volẽ* 'a tap' (for turning on water and the like) looks out of the reach of the verb, so that is much rather a 'turning thing' which has been given a differentiating suffix. I find it inescapable to see these words as representatives of an old root noun **u̯ólə-s* 'a roller', whence, as described, **u̯álə-s*, then **u̯ā́l-s* becoming circumflex **u̯ãl-* and retaining that tone even when later extended by fuller suffixes.

Larsson herself agrees that Lith. *gėlà*, *gẽlą* 'pain, sorrow' is probably from a root noun since it agrees with Slavic **žālъ* and even OHG *quāla* all meaning the same. Since the Germanic vowel length cannot be triggered by Balto-Slavic compensatory lengthening, the point of departure is rather a neuter this time, i.e. **g^{w}élh$_2$* which became **g^{w}ḗlh$_2$* already in PIE and set the word on its course to the BSl. forms with circumflex length.

I would like to add Slavic **travá* 'grass, fodder' of accent class b, i.e. with underlyingly non-acute *-a-* in the root. It is commonly derived from the verb *tryti* or *truti* 'wear out, pulverize', *na-truti* 'to feed', Gk. τρύω 'pulverize', pointing to **treu̯H-*. Now, a root-noun "rei actae" from this could be **tróu̯ə-s*, whence, again, **tráu̯ə-s* > **trā́u̯-s* > **trā́u̯-* → **trā́u̯-ā*.

I see no point in repeating all the examples here, suffice it to say this: The development of a circumflex long vocalism, i.e. /ẽ/ in the case of *e*-vocalism, /ã/ in the case of *o*-vocalism, is so odd and unexpected that it may be regarded as a most unlikely coincidence if an explanation manages to account for it by rules already known without being correct. Of course, if one invests all one's efforts in searching for alternative avenues that could conceivably lead to the same result by use of all tricks of analogy, levelling and transfer from class to class, the vivaceously alternating Baltic vocalism will be sure to provide a basis for that. That may practically be the case with any alternative one may want to suggest, in which case such alternatives are not really as interesting as they may appear. It is quite another matter if it is found to be also possible to arrive at a regular account by a shorter and more direct way.

Recently, Larsson (2003:87-105) has added a special and very remarkable corroboration of the metatony account based on an observation of the Old Prussian vocalism. It so happens that all examples of her word-type with Baltic stem-forming **-ē* (i.e. **-i̯ā*) and **-ia-* (i.e. **-i̯o-*) have a special way of spelling the lengthened *-ē-* and *-ā-* in the root syllable in the Elbing Vocabulary. These vowels are consistently written with the digraphs *-ea-* and *-oa-*. I quote a few of the most immediately transparent examples: *loase* Decke (a blanket) : Lith. *lóžė̃* 'place where grain lies'; *soalis* Krewtecht (grass) : Lith. *žólė̃* 'grass'; *toaris* [thus for coaris] Banse (hayloft) : Latv. *tvāre*, Lith. *tvorà*; *geasnis* Sneppe (a bird) : Latv. *dzēsnis* 'kind of stork, heron'. Larsson enumerates 23 examples of this kind. I consider them all plausible, and I am sure she has found an unambiguous graphic representation of circumflex long /ẽ/ and /ã/ in this particular dialect of Old Prussian. I am less certain about her conclusion saying there is a "feature that unites all the examples with the spelling *oa* / *ea* in the root; they are all derivative stems with the suffix **-i̯o-*/**-i̯ā-*" (2003:100). There just seem to be no other examples of circumflex long /ẽ/ and /ã/ in the corpus, so we cannot see how the vowels would be spelt in case there was no metatony. And since the root-noun based core must apparently be accepted also, and typically exhibit a much less direct semantic profile than the productive metatony examples, and the Old

Prussian examples are also of highly specialized semantics, my suspicion is aroused. It is well known that in the Elbing Vocabulary the ending *-is* also regularly corresponds to Lith. *-as*: *deywis* 'god', *dumis* 'smoke', *sirgis* 'steed' (Lith. *žìrgas*). Then, might the ending *-e* perhaps also represent **-ā*? Generally, **-ā* is written *-o*. However, *warne* 'crow' is *várna*, Russ. *voróna*; *nage* is 'foot, leg', Russ. *nogá*; *pure* Trespe (kind of grain) is OCS *pyro*, Lith. *pūrai*, i.e. ntr. pl. **pūrā*; *lipe* 'lime tree, Lindenbaum' is *líepa*, Sl. *lipa*; *wobse* Wespe is Lith. *vaps(v)à*. Otherwise **-ā*, certainly when accented, is rendered by *-o*: *mergo* (*mergà*), *lubbo* (*lubà* 'ceiling plank'), *galwo* (*galvà*), *babo* Bohnen (ntr.pl., Sl. **bòbъ* from old neuter), *warto* Thüre = Slav. ntr. pl. *vrata*; *austo* Mund = Slav. ntr.pl. *usta*. And *-e* can certainly also be Lith. *-ė̀*, as *addle* (*ẽglė̀*), *gerwe* (*gérvė̀*), *lape* (*lãpė̀*), etc. Now, I do not know if the Elbing dialect has actually changed **-ā* to *-e*, or rather this dialect or, for that matter, the whole of the Old Prussian linguistic community has developed a particularly pronounced predilection for transfer of thematic stems to *io/ā*-stems, but just one of these scenarios will go a long way to quite seriously undermine the theory that the spellings with *-ea-*/*-oa-* are secure signs of a métatonie douce that comprises also Old Prussian. If they are instead just the graphic renditions of circumflex /ẽ/ and /ã/ of any source, then the Old Prussian material does not speak against the root-noun derivation of the verbal nouns that have these vocalisms.

6. Conclusion.

Given this possibility, I now venture to conclude:

In all examples that can credibly be made out to continue Indo-European monosyllables we find circumflex tone in Balto-Slavic, either as the only form or as a variant. In any event the circumflex form is the only type that cannot be completely eliminated by ascription to analogy. This can only mean that the circumflex tone was regular on inherited monosyllables in Balto-Slavic.

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BALTO-SLAVIC ETYMOLOGICAL STUDIES AND WINTER'S LAW: A CONCISE REVIEW OF DYBO 2002

Dybo's recent article "Balto-Slavic accentology and Winter's law" (2002) is an extensive study of the origin of the Balto-Slavic intonations, the latter half of which is devoted to Winter's law. During the last few decades the topics that Dybo's study deals with have been addressed by numerous other scholars, but this joyous circumstance is hardly reflected in Dybo's article. The scholarly literature on Winter's law, for instance, is entirely absent, with the exception of Winter's seminal study and Young's 1990 article on Baltic diphthongal bases. We do find, however, a brief and very general account of the reception of Winter's law (393-394), in which the author avoids mentioning names. The publications of Leiden based scholars are ignored throughout, despite the fact that they have much ground in common with Dybo's work. The lack of references becomes particularly disturbing in cases where similar explanations have already been advanced, as is the case with the absence of lengthening before **r* and **n* (496-498, cf. Rasmussen 1992: 72).

The aim of this paper is to compensate for the lack of discussion in Dybo 2002, which in spite of its shortcomings must be regarded as a major publication in the field of Balto-Slavic historical linguistics. The paper focuses on the relevance of Winter's law to the reconstruction of Indo-European etyma.

1. Introduction

In my article on the reception of Winter's law (2003), which is primarily a review of Matasović 1995, I referred to several publications which focused on either the formulation or the interpretation of the law. Studies aiming at a comprehensive overview of the evidence are

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rare. Rasmussen (1992) has presented an overview of the lengthening of monophthongs based on Fraenkel's Lithuanian etymological dictionary, while Young (1990) did something similar for diphthongs. For this reason, Dybo 2002, which is an attempt to discuss the complete evidence, must be considered a major publication. Since a detailed account of this 200 page article is obviously impossible, I shall now try to sketch an outline of its contents.

2. Acute Syllables Not Originating From Winter's Law

Contrarily to what the title suggests, Dybo's study is not exclusively devoted to Winter's law. The article starts with an introduction to Fortunatov's and de Saussure's conceptions of the origin of the Balto-Slavic prosodic systems and includes material presented by these two pioneers. Next, Dybo provides extensive lists of examples of acute syllables belonging to the following categories:

(a) Long syllabic resonants [(C)RHC, (C)HRC][1] (300-316), e.g.

– Lith. *žìrnis* 'pea', PSl. **zьrno* 'grain, corn' < **ǵr̥̄-no-*, cf. Lat. *grānum.*

– Lith. *ìrti*, Latv. *irt* 'disintegrate' < **r̥̄-ti.* Dybo separates this verb from *ardýti*, Latv. *ārdît* 'destroy, dismantle'. In my opinion, the acute may originate from the *sta*-present (cf. section 3).

– PSl. **píti* 'drink' < **pī-ti* [**ph₃i-*].

(b) Bezzenberger's combinations [(C)VRHC] (316-362), e.g.

– Lith. *málti*, Latv. *maĩt*, PSl. **mělti* 'mill, grind' < **me/olə-*.

– Lith. *gélti* 'sting, hurt', Latv. *dzeĩt* 'sting' < **gʷelə-*.

– Lith. *tę́vas*, Latv. *tiêvs* 'thin' < **tenə-u̯o-s.*

(c) Long diphthongs [(C)VHRC, (C)V:RC] (362-392), e.g.

– Lith. *dieveris*, Latv. *diẽveris*, PSl. **dě̄verъ* 'brother-in-law' < **dāiwē* < **dāiwḗr* [**deh₂iuér-*].

– Lith. *káulas* 1/3, Latv. *kaũls*, OPr. *caulan* 'bone' < Balt. **kā́ulam*, cf. Gk. καυλός 'stem' < **kāulós* [**keh₂uló-*].

– Lith. *líeti*, Latv. *liêt*, PSl. **lьĭti* 'pour' < **lēiti* [**leh₁i-*].

[1] Reconstructions between square brackets reflect my own interpretation. R = *r, l, m, n, i, u.* Square brackets are also used to present additional material.

Though I find myself in disagreement with one or more aspects of many proposed etymologies, I would not want to dwell here on minor differences of opinion. One of the issues I would like to raise is the shape of the IE reconstructions. Dybo uses consonantal or vocalic schwa to indicate laryngeals. No distinction is made between h_1, h_2 and h_3. Initial laryngeals are absent. As a result, the structure of the root and the morphology of the etyma become obscure. In the case of "long diphthongs", laryngeals are not indicated. Instead, the first element of the diphthong is marked as long, though it is clear that in many cases the author is well aware of the fact that the root contains a laryngeal. This can, for instance, be inferred from instances where the corresponding zero grade is mentioned. Since it is generally assumed that long diphthongs originating from a sequence VHR attracted the stress when Hirt's law operated, the exact reconstruction of the root seems anything but irrelevant. In this connection I must admit that I was puzzled by the discussion of Lith. *galvà*, PSl. **golvà* (o.c.: 365), where it is stated that a BSl. reconstruction **gōlvā* would be in conflict with Hirt(-Illič-Svityč)'s law and that the problem might be solved by reconstructing PIE **gʰōləu̯ā.* In my opinion, the practice adopted in Dybo's article obscures the relative chronology. Of course, one may also ask the question if in Balto-Slavic long diphthongs with apophonic length are acute at all (cf. Kortlandt 1985), which might provide another argument for representing laryngeals in the reconstructions of long diphthongs. This is a point I do not wish to take up here.

Another striking aspect of Dybo's reconstructions is the fact that in the zero grade of long diphthongs ((C)HRC) the laryngeal is sometimes assumed to have been vocalized, e.g. PSl. **kovā́ti* < **kəu̯-ā-ti*, or Lith. *gvalà* 'side by side' < **gu̯əl-*. Personally, I do not believe in Balto-Slavic laryngeal vocalization (cf. Lith. *bùvo* 'was' < **bʰHu-aH-*). I would expect CHRC to develop in the same way as CRHC. The roots of the above-mentioned etyma I would reconstruct as **kouH-* and **guol-*, respectively. The root of Lith. *gùlta* 'bed', which Dybo reconstructs as **g(u̯)ōl-* or **g(u̯)l̥̄-*, I would prefer to reconstruct as **gul-* (possibly vocalized as **gu̯l̥-* before C), cf. *guĩti* 'lie down'. The tone of *gùlta* (alongside *gultà* 2/4) may result from a retraction of the stress in an East Baltic neuter **gultà.* In Latvian, we find Central Latv. *gùlta* alongside West Latv. *guĩta* or *guîta*[2]. The verb is *gùltiês*, *guît*, or *guît*[2]. The variants with an acute may have originated in the *sta*-present. In West Latvian we find attestations of *guĩta* beside *guît*[2].

These comments on the metatony in *gùlta* stem from my dissertation (1996: 249-250), which is thematically closely related to Dybo 2002. Nevertheless, it is absent from the reference section, as are many other publications that touch upon the topics addressed by Dybo.[2] None of Kortlandt's accentological studies is mentioned, for instance. Another example of a relevant publication would be Schrijver 1991, which, among other things, has a chapter on Dybo's rule of pretonic shortening in Italic, Celtic and Germanic, to which we find numerous references in the article under review.

3. Winter's Law

Dybo's introduction to Winter's law (393-395) contains much to which I completely subscribe. It does, however, ignore the entire scholarly literature on the subject apart from Winter's seminal publication (1978) and Young's study on Baltic diphthongal bases and Winter's law (1990). Shintani's article (1985) is not included in the reference section, but on p. 403 it is mentioned that Shintani may have been the first to explain the difference between Lith. *dedù* 'I put' and *dúodu* 'I give' on the basis of Winter's law. Actually, this observation had already been made by Kortlandt (1977: 323).[3] The absence of references is particularly disturbing in the sections on the conditions of Winter's law. Dybo distinguishes three positions in which the operation of the law was blocked:

1. IE clusters "voiced + voiced unaspirated [stop]" (*-zg-, *-zd- < *-sg- and *-sd-) (480-485), e.g.

– Lith. *mègzti* 'knit', *mãzgas* 'knot' < **me/ozg-* (according to Dybo, not cognate with PSl. **mozgъ* 'brain' < **mosgʰ-*).

– PSl. **pьzděti* 'break wind', cf. Lat. *pēdō*.

2. IE clusters "voiced unaspirated [stop] + s" (voiced unaspirated [stop] + *-s-, *-zd-, *sk-, *-st-) (485-496), e.g. the following Lithuanian verbs with a *sta*-present:

– *šiřsti* 'be annoyed, get angry' : *širdìs* 3, Latv. *sir̂ds* 'heart'.

– *spį̃sti* 'start to glow' : Latv. *spîdêt* 'shine'.

[2] Of course I realize that the lack of references to Western publications is partly caused by the latter's limited availability in Russia.

[3] Winter had presented his hypothesis at the Ustronie conference on historical linguistics (1976), which explains how Kortlandt was able to write about Winter's law before the publication of Winter 1978.

– *mařgti* 'become motley' : *márgas* 'motley, variegated'.

– *saĨsti* 'become sweet' : *saldùs* 3 'sweet'.

3. IE clusters "voiced unaspirated [stop] + resonant" (496-506), e.g.

– Latv. *šķidrs* 'liquid': *šķiêst* 'splash'.

The observation that Winter's law does not operate in the sequence *-*sd-* was also made by Kortlandt (1988), whose example Lith. *lìzdas* 'nest', cf. Lat. *nīdus*, is not mentioned by Dybo. Kortlandt uses this conditioning factor to explain **xodъ* 'course', which in his opinion may be based on a reduplicated stem **sizd-*. Dybo's solution (o.c.: 479) is to consider **xodъ* a borrowing from Iranian.

Category 2 contains a number of cases that I have dealt with on several occasions. In my study on Baltic metatony I attributed the *métatonie douce* in verbs such as *šiřsti* 'be annoyed, angry' and *spį̃sti* 'shine' (both alongside acute variants) to the Balto-Slavic loss of the unaspirated voiced stop (Derksen 1996: 285-294). It is gratifying to see that Dybo appears to have reached a very similar conclusion. In my online Slavic etymological database I have, in accordance with the above-mentioned development, reconstructed a BSl. form **bloisk-* > PSl. **blêskъ* (c) 'brightness, shine', even though the original tone cannot be established (cf. Dybo 2002: 490). I did not, however, connect Lith. *braškėti* 'crack' and *brózti* 'wipe, scratch' using the same principle (o.c.: 491), which I consider an interesting idea.

In the subsection on "*-st-*stems and *-n-st-*stems", Dybo mentions verbs with a secondary circumflex that must have originated in the present. Here we find *šiřsti*, *spį̃sti* etc. (see above), but also *mařgti* 'become motley', where the *g* remained. In my opinion, the metatony in the latter verb is an extension of the circumflex of forms such as *saĨsti* 'become sweet'. The *sta*-suffix is much more often accompanied by *métatonie rude*, which in my view originates from the replacement of **-ske/o-* by **-Hske/o-* after reanalysis of presents of the frequent type *CRH-ske/o-*. The acute tone later spread to roots ending in an obstruent. Nasal presents, on the other hand, often follow patterns characteristic of circumflex roots, whether or not the present stem is followed by the suffix *-sta*. When preparing a paper on the zero grade of East Baltic roots containing *i* or *u* followed by a consonant, which was presented at the ICHL 2003 in Copenhagen, it struck me that verbs with a *sta*-present as well as verbs with a nasal present are quite unreliable if one wishes to determine the original tone of the root, es-

pecially in formations containing a root of the aforementioned structures.

Category 3 is closely connected with Rasmussen's 1992 paper on Winter's law. Rasmussen, who subscribes to Shintani's view that Winter's law only operated in pretonic syllables (more precisely, Rasmussen claims that it operated in the syllable directly preceding the ictus). Not surprisingly, Dybo and Rasmussen partly discuss the same examples. As I have already explained in print (2003) why I believe that this blocking rule is a too general version of Kortlandt's view that Winter's law did not operate in the clusters *-*ndn*- and *-*ngn*-, I shall not go into the matter here. I would just like to add that I regard the shortening in Latv. *šķidrs* 'liquid' as a late, exclusively Latvian phenomenenon, cf. *idra* 'das faule Mark eines Baumes' : Lith. *ýda* 'bodily blemish flaw, defect, vice' (Rasmussen 1992: 76); *dzidrs* 'clear, azure' : *dzīdrs*; *smidrs*, *šmidrs*, *snidrs*, *šņidrs* 'slender': *smĩdrs*, *šmĩdrs*, *snĩdrs*, *šņĩdrs* 'id.'. A similar development might be the shortening of *î* before *k* in certain Central and High Latvian dialects (Endzelin 1922: 34-35).

4. Conclusion

From the footnote on p. 394 we may gather that Dybo's conclusion that Winter's law also applies to diphthongs and syllabic resonants was reached not long after the publication of Winter 1978 (cf. Dybo 1981: 40 fn.). His communication of this result to Kortlandt can be dated to September 1982 (Kortlandt 1988: 388). It is a pleasure to see that the material which supported this preliminary conclusion has now finally been published. As one is unlikely to stumble on the journal in which the article appeared[4], I hope that this paper will contribute to its becoming more widely known, which may lead to a reappraisal of Winter's law and Balto-Slavic accentology in general.

[4] Meanwhile Dybo 2002 has been made available online on the Tower of Babel website (http://starling.rinet.ru/Texts/winter.pdf).

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БАЛТО-СЛАВЯНСКАЯ АКЦЕНТОЛОГИЧЕСКАЯ РЕКОНСТРУКЦИЯ И ИНДОЕВРОПЕЙСКАЯ АКЦЕНТОЛОГИЯ (ГЛАГОЛЬНЫЕ АКЦЕНТНЫЕ СИСТЕМЫ ЗАПАДНЫХ ИНДОЕВРОПЕЙСКИХ ЯЗЫКОВ)

The Balto-Slavic accent system is a system of paradigmatic accent. About 200 Balto-Slavic accentuated nouns have IE cognates retaining relics or reflexes of primary accent. That testifies the avalability of an Indo-European source for the Balto-Slavic noun accent system.

The relations of the verbal system are more complicated. The accent of the Balto-Slavic verb cannot be related directly with the Old Indian verbal accent system, so we shall search the sources for it mainly in the reflexes of Indo-European stress in the Western Indo-European languages. The same can be said about the stress in the nouns related with the verbal system.

The Indo-European nature of the Balto-Slavic distribution of the verbal accent types can be demonstrated by their correspondence with stress types in Proto-German determined from the shortening/remaining of Indo-European long vowels and from the effects of Holzman's law.

The paradigmatic nature of the reconstructed accent system proves to be true by the accent type choice in *to*- and *tu*-deverbatives in Celto-Italic.

Исследования в области славянской, балтийской и балто-славянской сравнительно-исторической акцентологии привели в настоящее время к реконструкции балто-славянской акцентуационной системы. Эта система оказалась реконструированной с такими подробностями, какие не часто удается установить у ныне существующих живых языков. Типологическое сравнение этой системы с другими акцентуационными системами языков с разноместным ударением

позволяет выделить тип акцентуационных систем, которым было дано название *систем парадигматического акцента*, и отнести балто-славянскую систему именно к *системам парадигматического акцента*. Типологическое сравнение систем парадигматического акцента с тоновыми системами, с которыми первые показывают определенное сходство, обнаруживают явную близость их к *системам лексического тона*. Последнее, а также тот факт, что во всех случаях, когда относительно генезиса систем парадигматического акцента удается построить достаточно убедительные сравнительно-исторические гипотезы, обнаруживается, что они восходят к системам лексического тона, заставило меня выдвинуть *тоновую гипотезу* генезиса балто-славянской акцентуационной системы.

Однако около 200 балто-славянских именных лексем были поставлены В. М. Иллич-Свитычем и последующими исследователями в достаточно убедительное соответствие с акцентовкой и.-е. языков, сохранивших реликты первичного акцента или рефлексы его: 104 балто-славянских имени неподвижного акцентного типа связываются с и.-е. баритонами, 70 имен подвижного типа — с и.-е. окситонами, и 21 балто-славянское имя неподвижного акцентного типа объясняется как результат преобразования и.-е. окситон по закону Хирта. Это явно свидетельствует об индоевропейском *акцентном* источнике балто-славянского ударения.

Но индоевропейское ударение, восстанавливаемое посредством сравнения систем древнеиндийского и греческого языков и прагерманской системы (отраженной рефлексами по закону Вернера), никогда не рассматривалось в этой типологической плоскости. Более того, ряд постулатов, из которых исходили индоевропеисты, занимавшиеся проблемами индоевропейского акцента явно препятствуют такому рассмотрению. Это: во-первых, убежденность в непосредственной связи индоевропейского аблаута с индоевропейским акцентом (при этом почти всегда упускается из виду, что проблема разноместности акцента при таком подходе не устранятся); во-вторых, вытекающая из первого постулата убежденность в первичности силового характера индоевропейского акцента (тоновые феномены считались неспособными радикально воздействовать на вокализм); в-третьих, убежденность в первичности колонного характера акцентных типов в индоевропейском слове (по-видимому, связано с отсутствием представления о системах акцентных парадигм); в-четвертых, разноместность акцента связывается исключительно

с характером служебных формантов: с характером флексий, если речь идет о разноместности акцента в слове, и с характером суффиксов, если речь идет о разноместности акцента при словообразовании (при этом форманты, по-разному воздействующие на акцент, как правило, своим фонемным составом не различаются и приходится ограничиваться их грамматической характеристикой).

Следует отметить, что реконструкция двух индоевропейских акцентных типов имен никак не согласуется с этими теоретическими установками исследователей. Реконструированные индоевропейские лексемы, выбирающие тот или иной акцентный тип, не имеют каких-либо фонологических, семантических или морфологических (соответственно, словообразовательных) особенностей, с которыми можно было бы связать этот выбор. Их распределение по акцентным типам чисто лексическое. Лишь один морфологический тип, корневые атематические имена, обычно связывается исключительно с подвижным акцентным типом, но это, по-видимому, ошибка, вызванная генерализацией у этих имен подвижного акцентного типа в древнегреческом языке (в древнеиндийском у корневых атематических имен еще сохранялись остатки баритонного неподвижного акцентного типа)[1]. Таким образом, индоевропейское распределение акцентных типов в непроизводных именах — лексическое и типологически соответствует распределению тоновых схем в таких языках, как банту или сахарские. Сложнее акцентологические отношения в глаголе. Акцентовка личных форм первичных глаголов древнегреческого языка вообще выпадает из сравнения ввиду её явной вторичности,[2] в древнеиндийском глагольная акцентовка распределена по глагольным классам и в значительной степени по аблаутной характеристике элемента, предшествующего окончанию, это её противоречие индоевропейскому именному ударению заставляет считать глагольное ударение, засвидетельствованное древнеиндийским, также вторичным. Правда, этот вывод ничего не говорит нам о том, было ли оно индоарийским, индоиранским[3] или индоевропей-

[1] См. Дыбо 2003, специально с. 136–146.

[2] См. *J. Wackernagel.* Der griechische Verbalaccent // KZ XXIII, 1877, S. 457–470; *A. Bezzenberger.* Die Entstehung der griechischen Verbalbetonung // BB XXX, 1906, S. 167 ff.

[3] Об индоарийском характере этой системы, по-видимому, свидетельствует акцентологические соответствия древнеиндийского с дардским языком шина, на индоиранский характер её указывают соответствия с пушту (о последнем см. Дыбо 1974с и Дыбо 1989а).

ским. Балто-славянское акцентологическое сравнение, по-видимому, свидетельствует об общеиндоевропейском характере тенденции к распределению акцентных типов в глаголе по морфологическим типам глагола, однако сами акцентные типы в балто-славянском глаголе распределяются едва ли не способом, прямо противоположным древнеиндийскому. При этом в балто-славянском глаголе восстанавливается и лексическое распределение акцентных типов.

Лексическое распределение акцентных парадигм в балто-славянском глаголе обнаруживается, строго говоря, лишь у тематических и *j*-praesentia глаголов с корнями, оканчивающимися на нешумные. Точное соответствие двух а.п. в славянском и балтийском на основании отражения их в двух типах первично акутовой интонации в латышском продемонстрировано мной в Дыбо 2000, с. 329–331.

Распределение акцентных типов презенсов славянских глаголов с корнями на нешумные максимально точно соответствует распределению балтийских акцентуационных типов, отразившемуся в глаголах с акутированными корнями в виде распределения латышских интонаций: латышская плавная интонация (˜) соответствует славянскому неподвижному баритонному акцентному типу, латышская прерывистая интонация (ˆ) — славянскому подвижному акцентному типу (см. *Табл. 1*).

Таблица 1

Балто-славянские истоки праславянского распределения акцентных типов
(Праславянские акцентные типы и латышские интонации)

	Подвижный акцентный тип	
	Праславянский	Латышский
1.	*žь̏rǫ, žьrètь* (парн. *žь̏rǫ, žerètь*)	*dzeŕt* (praes. *dzeŗu*; praet. *dzêru*)
2.	*pь̏rǫ, pьrètь* (парн. *pь̏rǫ, perètь* 'попирать')	*speŕt* (praes. *speŗu*; praet. *spêru*)
3.	*pь̏nǫ, pьnètь*	*pît* (praes. *pinu, piņu*; praet. *pinu*)
4.	*ȍrjǫ, orjètь*	*aŕt* (praes. *aŗu*; praet. *aru*)
5.	*lĭjǫ, lijètь* (парн. *lě̋jǫ, lějètь*)	*liêt* (praes. *leju*; praet. *lêju*)
6.	*vĭjǫ, vijètь*	*vît* (praes. *viju, vinu*; praet. *viju, vīnu*)
7.	*rь̏vǫ, rьvètь* (парн. *rŭjǫ, rujètь*)	*raût* (praes. *raûju, raûnu*; praet. *râvu*)
8.	*žīvǫ, živètь*	*dzît* (ст.-лтш. praes. *dzīvu*)
9.	*bljŭjǫ, bljujètь*	*bļaût* (praes. *bļaûju, bļaûnu*; praet. *bļâvu*)
10.	*kȍvǫ, kovètь* (парн. *kŭjǫ, kujètь*)	*kaût* (praes. *kaûju, kaûnu*; praet. *kavu, kâvu*)
11.	*smě̋jǫ sę, smě̋jètь sę*)	*smiêt(iês)* (praes. *smeju(ôs)*; praet. *smêju(ôs)*)
12.	*blě̋jǫ, blě̋jètь*	*blêt* (praes. *blêju*; praet. *blêju*)
13.	*dě̋jǫ, dě̋jètь* 'класть' (но: *dě̋nǫ, dě̋netь*)	*dêt* (praes. *dêju*; praet. *dêju*)
14.	*dâjǫ, dajètь*	*duôt* (praes. *duômu, duôdu*; praet. *devu*)
15.	*mâjǫ, majètь*	*mât* (praes. *mâju*; praet. *mâju*)
16.	*stâjǫ, stajètь* (но: *stą̑nǫ, stą̑netь*)	*stât* (praes. *stâju*; praet. *stâju*)

	Неподвижный акцентный тип	
	Праславянский	Латышский
1.	*žьrjǫ́, žьr(j)etь*	*dziřt(iês)* (praes. *dziŗu*; praet. *dzīru*)
2.	*tьr(j)ǫ́, tь̀r(j)etь*	? *trīt* (praes. *trinu, triņu*; praet. *trinu, trīnu*)
3.	*mьnǫ́, mь̀netь*	*mĩt* (praes. *minu, miņu*; praet. *minu, mīnu*)
4.	**meljǫ́, *mèljetь*	*maĺt* (praes. *maļu*; praet. *malu*)
5.	**koljǫ́, *kòljetь*	*kaĺt* (praes. *kaļu*; praet. *kalu*)
6.	**borjǫ́, *bòrjetь*	*bãrt* (praes. *baŗu*; praet. *bãru*)
7.	**šĭjǫ, *šĭjetь*	*šũt* (praes. *šuju, šuvu, šūnu*; praet. *šuvu*)
8.	**krў̑jǫ, *krў̑jetь*	*kŗaũt* (praes. *kŗaũju, kŗaũnu*; praet. *kŗãvu*)
9.	**spě̋jǫ, *spě̋jetь*	*spẽt* (praes. *spẽju*; praet. *spẽju*)
10.	**sě̋jǫ, *sě̋jetь*	*sẽt* (praes. *sẽju*; praet. *sẽju*)
11.	**pljŭ̑jǫ, *pljŭ̑jetь*	*spļaũt* (praes. *spļaũju*; praet. *spļãvu*)

12.	**sūjǫ, *sūjetь*	*šaũt* (praes. *šaũju, šaũnu*; praet. *šãvu*)
13.	**lājǫ, *lājetь*	*lãt* (praes. *lãju*)
14.	**dějǫ, *dějetь* 'делать'	*dẽt* (praes. *dẽju*; praet. *dẽju*)

Единственный славянский глагол, который отклоняется от приведенной системы соответствий, это **mŷjǫ, *mŷjetь*. Ему соответствует лтш. *maût* (praes. 1.sg. *maûju, maûnu*; praet. 1.sg. *mãvu*). Учитывая трудности, с которыми сталкивается восстановление акцентных типов в славянских глаголах с корнями на *-у-*, трудно настаивать на первичности славянской акцентной парадигмы этого глагола, однако совпадение в латышском ряда различных глагольных корней *mau-* легко могло привести к их тональному выравниванию и к вытеснению первичной плавной интонации данного корня. Более полные материалы латышских диалектов, может быть, в дальнейшем снимут и эту неопределенность.

В литовском языке это распределение было потеряно, что в значительной степени, по-видимому, было связано с деформациями, вызванными законом де Соссюра и дальнейшими выравниваниями; но следы старого распределения акцентных типов были обнаружены в акцентовке отглагольных производных, которые выбирали акцентный тип в зависимости от акцентного типа глагола:

Суффиксы *-tuvas* и *-tuvė*

I. От глаголов балтийского неподвижного акцентного типа

1. *dùmtuvė* 'мех' (лит. *dùmti* 'дуть') : слав. **dъmǫ, dъmetь*; *l*-part. *dǫ̃lъ*, f. *dǫ̃la*, n. *dǫ̃lo* (a.n. *b*/*a*) 'дуть' ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 263, 503, 510;

2. *káltuvė* 'ковальня' (Šakýna, Žagares raj.) (лит. *kálti* 'ковать', лтш. *kaĩt* 'schmieden, schlagen'; слав. **koljǫ, *kòljetь*; inf. **kőlti*, sup. **kőltъ*; aor. 1.sg. **kőlxъ* (то же ударение в pl.), 2-3.sg. **kől*; *l*-part. **kőllъ*, f. **kőlla*, n. **kőllo* 'колоть' ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 265, 488, 491, 503;

3. *kártuvės* 'виселица' (лит. *kárti* 'вешать') : лтш. *kãrt* 'hängen, behängen';

4. *kùltuvas* 'цеп' (лит. *kùlti* 'молотить') : лтш. *kuĩt* 'schlagen, prügeln, dreschen';

5. *kùrtuvės* 'новоселье' (лит. *kùrti* 'разжигать огонь') : лтш. *kuĩrt* 'Feuer anmachen, heizen';

6. *máltuvė* 'молольня' (Šakýna, Žagares raj.) (лит. *málti* 'молоть') : лтш. *maĩt* 'mahlen, drehen, schwatzen'; слав. **meljǫ, *mèljetь*; inf. **mẽlti*, sup. **mẽltъ*; aor. 1.sg. **mẽlxъ* (то же ударение в pl.), 2-3.sg. **mẽl*; *l*-part. **mẽllъ*, f. **mẽlla*, n. **mẽllo* 'молоть' ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 265, 488, 491, 503;

7. *mìntuvai* 'мяло, льномялка, трепало' (лит. *mìnti* 'мять') : лтш. *mĩt* 'treten'; слав. **mьnǫ́, *mь̀netь*; *l*-part. **mę̃lъ*, f. **mę̃la*, n. **mę̃lo* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 263, 503;

8. *pjáutuvas* 'серп' (уже в древнелитовском зафиксирован переход в подвижный акцентный тип: др.-лит. *piéutuwu* instr.sg. DP 605_{46}, *piautuwų̇* gen.pl. DP 38_{44}) (лит. *pjáuti* 'жать, косить') : лтш. *pļaũt* 'резать, жать', 'mähen, ernten';

9. *rietuvė* SkŽD 'штабель, поленица' (лит. *rieti* 'складывать в штабели') ~ лит. *rieklas* (1) 'zwei hängende Stangen bzw. Gerüst unter der Stubendecke (beim Ofen) zum Trocknen des Brennholzes oder der Kleider', также *rieklas* и pl. *rieklai* 'Dachboden' (отсутствие метатонии свидетельствует о первичности неподвижного акцентного типа производящего глагола);

10. *sėtuvė* 'лукошко (с зерном), посевной ящик' (лит. *sėti* 'сеять') : лтш. *sẽt* 'säen, besäen'; слав. **sẽjǫ, *sẽjetь*; part. praes. act. **sẽję, *sẽjǫtj-*; aor. 1.sg. **sẽjasъ* (то же ударение в pl.), 2-3.sg. **sẽja*; *l*-part. **sẽjalъ*, f. **sẽjala*, n. **sẽjalo* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 289–290, 486–487, 498; 512;

11. *skìltuvas* 'огниво; ударник' (лит. *skìlti* 'высекать') : лтш. *šķiĩlt* 'Feuer anschlagen';

12. *šiáutuvas* 'винтовка, ружье; ткацкий челнок' (лит. *šáuti* 'стрелять') : лтш. *šaũt* 'eine heftige Bewegung nach einer Richtung hin machen; schnell schieben oder stoßen'; слав. **sūjǫ, *sūjetь*; inf. **sovãti*, sup. **sovãtъ*; *l*-part. **sovãlъ*, f. **sovãla*, n. **sovãlo* part. praet. act. f. **sovãvъši* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 289, 489, 512, 517;

13. *trìntuvai* в выражении *mìntuvai-trìntuvai* 'móterų darbas' Būga RR III 67 (лит. *trìnti* 'тереть') : лтш. *trĩt* 'reiben, schleifen, schärfen'; ср. слав. **tьr(j)ǫ́, *tь̀r(j)etь*; inf. **tőrti*, sup. **tőrtъ*; aor. 1.sg. **tőrxъ* (то же ударение в pl.), 2-3.sg. **tőr*; *l*-part. **tőrlъ*, f. **tőrla*, n. **tőrlo* part. praet. act. nom.sg. m. **tь̀rъ*, f. **tь̀rъši* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 263, 488, 491, 503, 514.

II. От глаголов балтийского подвижного акцентного типа

1. *artùvas* 'darbininkas arklys' Skardžius ŽD 383 (лит. *árti* 'пахать'): лтш. *arĩt* 'pflügen'; слав. **ȍr(j)ǫ, *or(j)ètь*; inf. **orãti*, sup. **ȍratъ*; aor.

12.	**sűjǫ*, **sűjetь*	*šaũt* (praes. *šaũju*, *šaũnu*; praet. *šãvu*)
13.	**lájǫ*, **lájetь*	*lãt* (praes. *lãju*)
14.	**dějǫ*, **dějetь* 'делать'	*dẽt* (praes. *dẽju*; praet. *dẽju*)

Единственный славянский глагол, который отклоняется от приведенной системы соответствий, это **mýjǫ*, **mýjetь*. Ему соответствует лтш. *maût* (praes. 1.sg. *maûju, maûnu*; praet. 1.sg. *māvu*). Учитывая трудности, с которыми сталкивается восстановление акцентных типов в славянских глаголах с корнями на *-y-*, трудно настаивать на первичности славянской акцентной парадигмы этого глагола, однако совпадение в латышском ряда различных глагольных корней *mau-* легко могло привести к их тональному выравниванию и к вытеснению первичной плавной интонации данного корня. Более полные материалы латышских диалектов, может быть, в дальнейшем снимут и эту неопределенность.

В литовском языке это распределение было потеряно, что в значительной степени, по-видимому, было связано с деформациями, вызванными законом де Соссюра и дальнейшими выравниваниями; но следы старого распределения акцентных типов были обнаружены в акцентовке отглагольных производных, которые выбирали акцентный тип в зависимости от акцентного типа глагола:

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I. От глаголов балтийского неподвижного акцентного типа

1. *dùmtuvė* 'мех' (лит. *dùmti* 'дуть') : слав. **dъmǫ́, dъ̀metъ*; *l*-part. *dǫ́lъ*, f. *dǫ́la*, n. *dǫ́lo* (a.п. *b*/*a*) 'дуть' ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 263, 503, 510;

2. *káltuvė* 'ковальня' (Šakýna, Žagares raj.) (лит. *kálti* 'ковать', лтш. *kaĩt* 'schmieden, schlagen'; слав. **koljǫ́, *kòljetь*; inf. **kőlti*, sup. **kőltъ*; aor. 1.sg. **kőlxъ* (то же ударение в pl.), 2-3.sg. **kől*; *l*-part. **kőllъ*, f. **kőlla*, n. **kőllo* 'колоть' ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 265, 488, 491, 503;

3. *kártuvės* 'виселица' (лит. *kárti* 'вешать') : лтш. *kãrt* 'hängen, behängen';

4. *kùltuvas* 'цеп' (лит. *kùlti* 'молотить') : лтш. *kuĩt* 'schlagen, prügeln, dreschen';

5. *kùrtuvės* 'новоселье' (лит. *kùrti* 'разжигать огонь') : лтш. *kurĩt* 'Feuer anmachen, heizen';

6. *máltuvė* 'молольня' (Šakýna, Žagares raj.) (лит. *málti* 'молоть') : лтш. *maĩt* 'mahlen, drehen, schwatzen'; слав. **meljǫ́, *mèljetь*; inf. **mélti*, sup. **méltъ*; aor. 1.sg. **mélxъ* (то же ударение в pl.), 2-3.sg. **mél*; *l*-part. **méllъ*, f. **mélla*, n. **méllo* 'молоть' ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 265, 488, 491, 503;

7. *mìntuvai* 'мяло, льномялка, трепало' (лит. *mìnti* 'мять') : лтш. *mĩt* 'treten'; слав. **mьnǫ́, *mьnetь*; *l*-part. **mę́lъ*, f. **mę́la*, n. **mę́lo* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 263, 503;

8. *pjáutuvas* 'серп' (уже в древнелитовском зафиксирован переход в подвижный акцентный тип: др.-лит. *piéutuwu* instr.sg. DP 605_{46}, *piautuwų́* gen.pl. DP 38_{44}) (лит. *pjáuti* 'жать, косить') : лтш. *pļaũt* 'резать, жать', 'mähen, ernten';

9. *rietuvė* SkŽD 'штабель, поленица' (лит. *rieti* 'складывать в штабели') ~ лит. *rieklas* (1) 'zwei hängende Stangen bzw. Gerüst unter der Stubendecke (beim Ofen) zum Trocknen des Brennholzes oder der Kleider', также *rieklas* и pl. *rieklai* 'Dachboden' (отсутствие метатонии свидетельствует о первичности неподвижного акцентного типа производящего глагола);

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11. *skìltuvas* 'огниво; ударник' (лит. *skìlti* 'высекать') : лтш. *šķilt* 'Feuer anschlagen';

12. *šiáutuvas* 'винтовка, ружье; ткацкий челнок' (лит. *šáuti* 'стрелять') : лтш. *šaũt* 'eine heftige Bewegung nach einer Richtung hin machen; schnell schieben oder stoßen'; слав. **sűjǫ*, **sűjetь*; inf. **sováti*, sup. **sovátъ*; *l*-part. **soválъ*, f. **sovála*, n. **soválo* part. praet. act. f. **sovávъši* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 289, 489, 512, 517;

13. *trìntuvai* в выражении *mìntuvai-trìntuvai* 'móterų darbas' Būga RR III 67 (лит. *trìnti* 'тереть') : лтш. *trĩt* 'reiben, schleifen, schärfen'; ср. слав. **tьr(j)ǫ́*, **tьr(j)etь*; inf. **tőrti*, sup. **tőrtъ*; aor. 1.sg. **tőrxъ* (то же ударение в pl.), 2-3.sg. **tőr*; *l*-part. **tőrlъ*, f. **tőrla*, n. **tőrlo* part. praet. act. nom.sg. m. **tьrъ*, f. **tьrъši* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 263, 488, 491, 503, 514.

II. От глаголов балтийского подвижного акцентного типа

1. *artùvas* 'darbininkas arklys' Skardžius ŽD 383 (лит. *árti* 'пахать'): лтш. *arĩt* 'pflügen'; слав. **ȍr(j)ǫ*, **or(j)ètь*; inf. **oráti*, sup. **ȍratъ*; aor.

1.sg. *orắxъ* (то же ударение в pl.), 2-3.sg. *ȍra*; *l*-part. *ȍralъ*, f. *oralà*, n. *ȍralo* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 274–275, 488, 494, 507;

2. *bliautùvė* 'kas vis bliauja, rėkia', 'сквернослов, похабник' (лит. *bliáuti* 'блеять, реветь') : лтш. *bļaût* 'blöken, schreien'; слав. **bljûjǫ*, **bljujètь* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 293;

3. *dėtùvai* 'укладчик; кладовая; хранилище' (лит. *dė̃ti* 'класть, ставить; помещать') : лтш. *dêt* '(Eier) legen'; слав. **dě̂jǫ*, **dějètь*; *l*-part. **dě̂jalъ*, f. **dějalà*, n. **dě̂jalo* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 296–298, 512;

4. *nuduotùvės* 'обет, брак' (др.-лит. *nudůtúwiu* 'ślub' gen.pl. DP 281$_{31}$) (лит. *dúoti* 'давать') : лтш. *duôt* 'geben'; слав. **dâjǫ*, **dajètь*; *l*-part. **dâjalъ*, f. **dajalà*, n. **dâjalo* и **dâlъ*, f. **dalà*, n. **dâlo*; part. praet. act. nom.sg. m. **dâvъ*, nom.pl. **davъšė*, nom.sg. f. **davъšì* и **dajavъšì* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 299–300, 512, 513, 516, 517;

5. *pragertùvės* Būga RR III: 68, *užgertùvės* Šl. 'zapicie, wypicie (po załatwieniu jakiejś sprawy; za czyjeś zdrowie)' (лит. *gérti* 'пить') : лтш. *dzeŕt* 'trinken, saufen, zechen'; слав. **žь̑rǫ*, **žьrètь* и **žь̑rǫ*, **žerètь*; aor. 1.sg. **žeř̃xъ*, **prožeř̃xъ* (pl. 1. **žerxòmъ*, **prožerxòmъ*, 2. **žerstė*, **prožerstė*, 3. **žeršę́*, **prožeršę́*), 2-3.sg. **žêrtъ*, **prȍžertъ* и 1.sg. **žьrắxъ* (то же ударение в pl.), 2-3.sg. **žь̑ra*; *l*-part. **žь̑rlъ*, f. **žьrlà*, n. **žь̑rlo* и **žь̑ralъ*, f. **žьralà*, n. **žь̑ralo* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 266, 273, 490, 493, 501, 506;

6. *keltùvės* 'обряд поднимания молодых с постели в первое утро после свадьбы' (лит. *kélti* 'поднимать')[4] : лтш. *celt* 'heben';

7. *klotùvas* (2) tech. 'укладчик' (Lyb.), *paklotùvė* SkŽD 385 'простыня', 'paklodė' : лтш. *klât* 'hinbreiten, decken';

8. *lietùvai* 'форма, в которой отливают свечи, фигуры' (лит. *líeti* 'лить') : лтш. *liêt* 'gießen, vergießen'; слав. **lī̑jǫ*, **lijètь* и **lě̑jǫ*, **lějètь*; inf. **lī́ti*, sup. **lītъ* и inf. **lьjā́ti*, sup. **lь̑jatъ*; aor. 1.sg. **lī́xъ* (то же ударение в pl.), 2-3.sg. **lītъ* и aor. 1.sg. **lьjā́xъ* (то же ударение в pl.), 2-3.sg. **lь̑ja*; *l*-part. **līlъ*, f. **lilà*, n. **līlo* и **lь̑jalъ*, f. **lьjalà*, n. **lь̑jalo*; part. praet. act. nom.sg. f. **livъšì* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 282, 294, 489, 495, 498, 508, 512, 517;

9. *pintùvės* Šl. (2): *pintùvių vãkaras* — 'wieczór przed ślubem, na którym dla młodej wiją wianek' (лит. *pìnti* 'плести, вить; сплетать') : лтш. *pît* 'flechten'; слав. **pь̑nǫ*, **pьnètь*; aor. 1.sg. **pę̑xъ* (pl. 1. **pęxòmъ*, 2. **pęstė*, 3. **pęšę́*), 2-3.sg. **pę̂tъ*; *l*-part. **pę̂lъ*, f. **pęlà*, n. **pę̂lo*; part. praet. pass. **pę̂tъ*, f. **pętà* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 267, 491, 502, 525;

10. *vytùvai* 'мотовило, моталка' (лит. *výti* 'вить, свивать') : лтш. *vît* 'winden, flechten'; слав. **vī̑jǫ*, **vijètь*; inf. **vī́ti*, sup. **vītъ*; aor. 1.sg. **vī́xъ* (то же ударение в pl.), 2-3.sg. **vītъ*; *l*-part. **vīlъ*, f. **vilà*, n. **vīlo*; part. praet. act. nom. m. **vīvъ*, f. **vivъšì* ‖ см. Дыбо 2000: 283, 489, 495, 508, 515;

11. *virtùvas* Šl. (2) 'rondel; samowar' (лит. *vìrti* 'кипеть, вариться; кипятить, варить') : лтш. *vîrt* intr. 'kochen, sieden', tr. 'kochen'.

12. *tintùvas* (2) 'прибор для отбивки кос'[5] (лит. *tìnti* 'отбивать, направлять, точить (косу)') ~ слав. inf. **tę̑ti*, praes. 1.sg. **tь̑nǫ*, 3.sg. **tьnètь* (а.п. *c*; см. Дыбо 2000: 267 и Дыбо 1981b: 235).

Таким образом, очевидно, что реконструированное распределение акцентных типов праславянских глаголов с корнями на нешумные и сами эти акцентные типы непосредственно связаны с балтийскими просодическими типами и их распределением и восходят к акцентной (просодической) системе, которую можно охарактеризовать как прабалтославянскую. Естественно, что эта система не может быть непосредственно связана с системой акцентовки древнеиндийского глагола, ввиду тех особенностей последней, о которых говорилось выше, и все поиски индоевропейских непосредственных истоков балто-славянской глагольной акцентной системы следует вести, опираясь преимущественно на рефлексы индоевропейского ударения в западных индоевропейских языках. Конечно, и акцентологические свидетельства западных индоевропейских языков относительно ударения имен, особенно имен, связанных с глагольной системой: девербативов, причастий и под., — оказываются более важными для индоевропейской акцентологической реконструкции, чем соответствующие факты древнеиндийского и греческого языка.

[4] Но также *kéltuvių rýts* Šakýna, Žagarės raj., *kéltuvės* и *keltùvės* Tvėrai, Rietavo raj.; *kéltuvas* (1) DLKŽ, LRKŽ, *kéltuvas* (3) Šl., *kéltuvas* SkŽD, *kéltuva* (1) Juškˇ., DLKŽ, LRKŽ, *keltuvà* (3) SkŽD, *keltuvẽ* (3) KLD, Otr.Tver.148. Столь широкая фиксация накоренного неподвижного акц. типа и его рефлексов свидетельствует, по мнению, С. Л. Николаева о переходе этого корня в лит. языке в доминантный тип, об этом же свидетельствует и отсутствие метатонии в словах *kéltas*, *kélta*.

[5] Зафиксировано также *tìntuvas* и *tintuvai* pl. 'прибор для отбивки кос', что указывает на первично неподвижный акцентный тип литовского глагола; но в латышском соответствие отсутствует, в славянском глаголе реконструируется а.п. *c* на основании словенской и ст.-хорватской акцентовки презенса, поддержанной ст.-словацкими и ст.-хорватскими данными по акцентовке инфинитивной основы, см. Дыбо 2000: 267 и Дыбо 1981b: 235; однако словен. *zatèt* (SSKJ V: 791: = *zatȅt*), супин от *zatę́ti* 'hineinhauen; überraschen, ereilen' может оказаться реликтом первичного неподвижного акцентного типа.

Индоевропейский характер приведенного выше балто-славянского распределения глагольных акцентных типов доказывается соответствием их германским акцентным типам, устанавливаемым по сокращению в прагерманском индоевропейских долгот и действию закона Хольцмана (Verschärfung) (соответственно, по отсутствию сокращения долгот и действия закона Хольцмана).

I. Германские основы с сокращением индоевропейских долгот и с Verschärfung'ом ~ балто-славянский подвижный акцентный тип

1. герм. ***dăjja-** 'кормить грудью' < ***dhŏi̯i̯o-** < ***dhōi̯ȯ-** [гот. **daddjan** (только dat.pl. f. part.praes. **daddjandeim** Mc. 13,17), др.-швед. **dæggia**] ~ слав. ***dojī́ti**, praes. 1.sg. ***dȍjǫ**, 3.sg. ***dojítь** [русск. **дои́ть**, praes. 3.sg. **дои́т**; ср.-болг. (ст.-тырн.) **дои́тъ** Зогр. A5[7]а, **и̂ дѡи́|т сѧ** Зогр. A17[17-18]а, (юг.-зап.) *l*-part. **доила̀ ѥсѝ** Сб. № 151: 215[24]б, болг. **доя́** 'доить, кормить грудью', схрв. **дòјити**, praes. 1.sg. **дòјӣм** 'кормить грудью; сосать грудь', словен. **dojíti**, praes. 1.sg. **dojím** 'säugen; milchen']; лтш. **dêt**, **dêju** 'сосать' (прерывистая интонация указывает на подвижную а.п.); ‖ Дыбо 2000: 450, 641; Фасмер I, 522; *J.J. Mikkola.* Streitberg-Festgabe, herausgegeben von der Direktion der vereinigten sprachwissenschaftlichen Institute an der Universität zu Leipzig. Leipzig, 1924, S. 267; *W. Wiget.* Altgerm. Lautuntersuch. Dorpat, 1922, 10 ff.

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***dhēi̯-/*dhī-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***dheh₁i̯-/*dhh̥₁i-**), полная ступень этого корня отражена в лтш. **dêt**, **dêju** 'сосать' но не в др.-в.-нем. **tāju**, inf. **tāan** 'кормить грудью', являющейся скорее продуктом этимологической ошибки; а также в др.-инд. **dhā́taven** 'zu trinken', **(payo)-dhā́-** '(Milch) saugend' (RV), **go-dhā́-** '*Kuhsaugerin'; греч. **θῆσθαι** 'saugen', **θη-λή** f. 'Mutterbrust'; лат. **fēlāre** 'saugen' (все с потерей второго элемента долгого дифтонга); нулевая ступень: др.-инд. **dhītá-** 'gesogen' (AV+); в гетеросиллабической позиции: др.-инд. **dháyati** 'saugt' (< ***dhəi̯e-**, **-a-** — регулярный рефлекс **-ə-** перед **-i̯-**) (по-видимому, = др.-швед. **dīa** 'saugen', датск. **die** 'saugen', *vi.* 'сосать (о ребенке), *vt.* 'кормить грудью'; ср.-в.-нем. **dien (tien)** 'saugen, die Brust geben' < ***dhəie-**); фонетически закономерное отражение *о*-ступени, по-видимому, лишь в герм. ***dajja-** 'кормить грудью' (гот. **daddjan** 'säugen', др.-швед. **dæggia** 'säugen') < ***dhŏi̯i̯-ėie-** < ***dhōi-ėie-**.

2. герм. ***ki̯ŭjja-** ~ ***k(i̯)ĕu̯u̯a-** 'жевать' (др.-исл. **tyggia** ~ др.-исл. **tyggva**, др.-в.-нем. **kiuvan**, др.-англ. **cēovan**) : слав. praes.sg. 1. ***žûjǫ**, 3. ***žujètь** (< ***zi̯ēu-i̯e-**); inf. ***ževā́ti** (< ***zi̯əu̯-ā-**) ~ praes.sg. 1. ***žь̏vǫ**, 3. ***žьvètь** (< ***zi̯ŭu̯-e-**); inf. ***žū́ti** (< ***zi̯ēu-tei-**) 'жевать' (а.п. *c*) [русск. нормат. XIX в. **жую́**, **жуе́шь** (Пушкин: **жуе́т**, **жую́т** СЯП I, 777), юго-западнорусск. XVI–XVII в. **жꙋю̂** (Гр.гр. N 4а), **зжꙋю̂** (Гр.гр. N 4а), укр. **жую́**, **жуе́ш**, блр. **жую́**, **жуе́ш** ~ русск. диал. (Ивонино) **žvú**, **žv́eš** (Брок ГЗМ, 40), (Огорь) **жву**, **сажв'е́ш** (Бромлей–Булатова, 381); болг. диал. (Wysoka) **ž́òwa**, **ž́uvèš́**, 3.sg. **krava ž́uvè** (Suche: **ž́uvèm**, **žuvèš́**)] ‖ Дыбо 2000: 286, 293.

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***ĝi̯ēu̯-/*ĝi̯ū-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***ĝi̯eH₁u̯-/*ĝi̯H₁u-**), полная ступень этого корня отражена в иранской презентной основе ***ǰyāu̯-**: перс. **žāw-**, белудж. **ǰāy-**, афг. **žōw-**; *о*-ступень: балто-слав. **źi̯ōunā** (лит. **žiáuna** 'Kieme, Kinnbackenknochen', pl. **žiáunos** 'Kiemen der Fische, Kiefer'; лтш. **žaũnas** 'Fischkiefer, Fischkieme; Kiefer, Kinnlade' ~ болг. **жу́на** f. 'губа, рот'); лтш. **žuôkls** 'Kinnlade, Gaumen, Kiefer(n) der Fische' (< ***ĝi̯ōtlo-** < ***ĝi̯ōutlo-**, с потерей глайда в долгом дифтонге); нулевая ступень: иран. ***ǰyū-** представлен в ср.-перс. манихейск. part. **ǰwwd**; слав. ***žīje-** < ***źi̯ūi̯e-** (> ст.-слав. **жиѫтъ**, сохранившееся в ср.-болг. списках Толковой псалтыри Исихия, цит. по Болонски псалтыр, с. 333 фототипического издания); для структуры корня ср. также лат. **gin-gīva** f. 'десна, дёсны' ‖ Dybo 2002: p. 379–380.

3. герм. ***hău̯u̯a-** 'ковать' (др.-исл. **hǫggva**, швед. **hugga**, датск. **hugge**, др.-в.-нем. **houvan**, др.-англ. **hēawan**) : лтш. kaût 'бить, колотить' (прерывистая интонация указывает на подвижную а.п.); слав. praes.sg. 1. ***kȍvǫ**, 3. ***kovètь** (< ***kəu̯-e-**); inf. ***kū́ti** (< ***kāu-tei-**) ~ praes. sg. 1. ***kûjǫ**, 3. ***kujètь** (< ***kāu-i̯e-**); inf. ***kovā́ti** (< ***kəu̯-ā-**) 'ковать' (а.п. *c*) [болг. **кова́**, **кове́ш**, диал. (банат.) **кувъ̀**, **закувъ̀**, 3.sg. **кувè**; 3.pl. **кувъ̀т**, (Wysoka) **kòwa**, 2.sg. **kuvèš́**, 3.pl. **să kuvàt**; схрв. диал. (косово-метох.) **ковêм**, 2.sg. **ковêш**, 3.sg. **ковê**; угор.-словен. **kovêm** (? = **kovę̂m**) (Plet.) ~ русск. нормат. XIX в. **кую́**, **куе́шь** (Булаховский РЛЯПП XIX в.: 219); сев.-чак. (Нови) **kūjén**, **kūjȅš**, **kūjemȍ**, **kujemȍ**, **kū̆jú**, (Раб) **kujên** Rad 118: 44; ст.-хорв. XVII в. (Ю. Крижанич) **Кꙋ̄јем** (Гр. 85[1], 191), **Кꙋ̄јемсе** (Гр. 72[2]) при неясном варианте **Окꙋ́јем** (Гр. 191); ст.-сев.-кайк. (XVI в., Пергошич) 3.pl. **kuiiû** (≤ ***kujũ** 22[6]), сев.-кайк. (Бедня) ***kēyjȁm**, (Пригорье) **kújem** Rad 118: 100, оттянутое ударение отличается в этом диалекте от сокращенного ударения группы глаголов этого типа а.п. *a*] ‖ Дыбо 2000: 287, 293–294.

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***kāu̯-/*kū-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***keh$_2$u̯-/*kh$_2$u-**), полная ступень в лит. диал. **kóva** (1) 'wałka' (Šl. 182); лтш. **kâva** 'der Kampf, die Schlacht' (4 а.п. этого слова в нормат. лит. языке является, по-видимому, заменой 3 а.п., противоположный результат [устранение подвижности] в приведенном диал. примере); лит. **káuti**, praes. 1.sg. **káuju** (< ***kāu̯i̯ō**), praet. 1.sg. **kóviau** 'schlagen, schmieden; kämpfen'; лтш. **kaût**, praes. 1.sg. **kaûju**, praet. 1.sg. **kâvu** 'schlagen, hauen; schlachten'; нулевая ступень лит. **kū́jis** (1) 'молоток'; слав. ***kŭjь** (русск. **кий**, gen.sg. **ки́я**; словен. **kȋj**, тональная рефлексация по **kȋjəc**; схрв. чак. **kȉjac**) ‖ Dybo 2002: p. 368–369; Fraenk. I, 232; Pok. 535.

4. герм. ***bŭjja-** ~ ***bu̯u̯a-** (или ***be̯u̯a-**), с последующей контаминацией основ, 'жить, проживать, населять' (др.-исл. **byggja** ~ **byggva** 'besiedeln, bevölkern, bebauen, bewohnen, sich (an e. Ort) aufhalten; sich ansiedeln, sich niederlassen', ново-исл., фарер., норв., швед. **byggja**; швед. **bygga**, датск. **bygge**) : лтш. **bût** (прерывистая интонация указывает на подвижную а.п.); ср. также слав., который сохраняет подвижную а.п. в формах инфинитивной основы: supin ***bȳtъ** ~ inf. ***bȳti**; aor. ***bȳxъ**, 2-3 p. **bȳstъ**, *l*-part. ***bȳlъ**, f. ***bylā́**, n. ***bȳlo** [др.-серб. aor. 3.sg. **нé быст'** Ев.-апр. 108б), **нé бы̑** (Ев.-апр. 30а), **й бы̑** (Апост. 39а, 39б, 52б), **сьбыстьсѐ** (Ев.-апр. 301б), pl. 1. **не бы́хѡмь** (Ев.-апр. 105б, 298а), **не бы́хо̑** (Ев.-апр. 298а); 3. **бы́ше** (Ев.-апр. 306а), **не бы́ше** (Ев.-апр. 106б); *l*-part. русск. **бы́л, не́ был**, f. **была́, не была́**, n. **бы́ло, не́ было**, pl. **бы́ли, не́ были**; ср.-болг. (ст.-тырн.) **был бы̀** (Зогр. Е361[22]а), **был бы̑** (Зогр. 361[16]б), f. **былà** (Зогр. Г246[14]б), n. **было бы̑** (Зогр. Б243[25]б), **былѡ́ би** (Зогр. Е165[9]а), (юг.-зап.) **бы́ль ѣсѝ** (Сб. № 151: 217[2]а), **бы́л бѝ** (О письм. 26б), f. **былà ѣсѝ** (Сб. № 151: 151а, 180[27]а), **й былà** (О письм. 25б), **прѣ́былà ѣсѝ** (Сб. № 151: 279[26]а), **былà би** (О письм. 25б, 55б), n. **бы́ло** (О письм. 27б), **былó би** (О письм. 48б), pl. **бы́ли** (Сб. № 151: 106[2]б, 175[24]б, 220[6]а), n.pl. **былà соу́ть** (О письм. 7а); схрв. шток. **bȉo**, f. **bíla**, n. **bílo** словен. **bȋl**, f. **bilà**, n. **bilò** и **bilǫ́**; pl. **bilì** и **bilȋ**, f. **bilè** и **bilę̑**, n. **bilà**; du. **bilà**, f. **bilì**, n. **bilì**; part. praet. act.: др.-русск. **прéбы̑** Хрон. 67, 127, **ѝ прéбы̑** Хрон. 77, dat.sg.m. **бъ́вшѩ̀** Чуд. 9[1], 70[2], 165[3], **бы̑шю̀** Чуд. 19[3], nom.pl. **й бъ́вшѥ̀** Чуд. 67[1]; ст.-серб. XV в. **й бывь** (Апост. 59а), **й прѣ́бивь** (Апост. 106а); словен. диал. **bívši** (< ***bȳvъ̀ši**) Valj. Rad 118: 166]; формы презенса в славянском образуются от других основ; (вариант без Verschärfung'a: др.-исл. **búa** 'haushalten, wirtschaften, leben, wohnen; sich befinden, sich aufhalten; bewohnen', др.-англ. **būan**, nordh. **bȳa**

'bauen' sw.V. III cl. флектируется по I cl.: R[2]: praes. 2.sg. **bȳes**, part. **bȳend** и **būend** 'colonus'; Rit.: praes. 3.sg. **bya;**, part. **bȳende** (др.-англ. **beo** 'bin'); др.-в.-нем. **būan** 'bauen, wohnen' sw.V. II cl. (red.), но большинство форм по I cl. и под.; отсутствие Verschärfung'a, возможно, свидетельствует о чередовании акцентных контуров в первичной парадигме) ‖ Orel 53, 52–53; Fraenk. I, 68; Дыбо 2000: 500, 513, 516–517.

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***bheu̯ə-/*bhū-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***bheu̯h$_2$-/*bhuh$_2$-**): полная ступень первой основы в др.-инд. praes. 3.sg. **bhávati** 'wird, entsteht, ist' < ***bheu̯h$_2$-eti**, inf. **bhávitum** < ***bheu̯h$_2$-tum**; авест. **bhava^{i}ti** 'wird, ist'; др.-англ. **bēo** 'ich bin' ? < ***bheu̯ō** < ***bheu̯h$_2$-oh$_2$**; полная ступень второй основы: др.-лат. praes.subiūnct. **fuam** 'sei'; нулевая ступень: др.-инд. part. praet. pass. **bhūtáḥ** 'geworden, verwandelt', aor. 3.sg. **á-bhū-t** 'er wurde, war'; авест. part. praet. pass. **būta-**; греч. aor. **ἔφῡ̄** 'wurde'; др.-лат. **fūī** 'bin gewesen'; др.-лит. aor. **bū**, др.-лтш. **buvu** 'ich war'; ст.-слав. **бъı** ‖ Pok. 146–150; Mayrhofer II, 485–487; Mayrhofer EWA II, 255–257; Frisk II, 1052–1054; WH I, 557–559.

5. герм. ***flĕu̯a-** ~ ***flău̯a-** 'мыть, стирать, полоскать' (др.-в.-нем. **fleuwen, flouwen** 'spülen, waschen') : лтш. **plaûst** 'замачивать для стирки' (вторично вместо ***plaût**, ср. лит. **pláuti**, диал. **pláusti** 'полоскать') (прерывистая интонация указывает на подвижную а.п.); в славянском наблюдается контаминация двух глагольных корней, при этом оба образовывали основы а.п. *c*: слав. praes.sg. 1. ***plòvǫ**, 3. ***plovètь** (< ***plə̄u̯-e-**); inf. ***pluti** (< ***plōu-tei-**) 'плыть' [русск. **плыву́, плывёшь**, диал. (Тотьма) **плову́**, укр. **пливу́**, **пливе́ш**; схрв. (старый региональный) **plòvēm** (Skok); ст.-хорв. XVII в. (Ю. Крижанич) **Пловѣ́м** Гр. 87[2], 212, **воꙁпловѣ́м** Гр. 212; словен. **plóvem** (с оттянутым ударением, что доказывает открытый **-o-**); aor.: 3.sg. ст.-серб. XV в. **ѿплоу̑** (Апост. 67б[20], 75[12]а); *-l*-part.: русск. **плы́л, о́тплыл, по́плыл**, f. **плыла́, отплыла́, поплыла́**, n. **плы́ло, о́тплыло, по́плыло**; др.-русск. **по́плы** (Авв. 93а), **прѝплы** (Косм. 175а, 175б, 178а), **плы́ли** (Косм. 27б), **до́плы̑** (Авв. 54а), **по́плы̑** (Авв. 40а), **про́плыли** (Косм. 181б), **прѝплыли** (Косм. 29б, 187б, Авв. 32а, 55б); ст.-хорв. XVII в. (Ю. Крижанич) **Плы́л, Плы́л** (Гр. 87[2]), **póplul** (Пол. 222), **záplul** (Пол. 223); юж.-кайк. (Требарево) pl. **plûle** (Zb.3: 73), **dȍplule** (Zb.3: 73), **ȍdplule** (Zb.3: 232[4]); словен. **plûł**, f. **plúla**; part. praet. act.: ср.-болг. (ст.-тырн.) **до́плꙋ́вь** (Зогр. Е402[20]а); ст.-серб. XV в. **по́плоу̑вь** (Апост. 101а[11]), но nom.pl. m. **прѣплоу̑вше** (Апост. 98а[17-18])]; лучше сохрани-

лись количественные отношения и отражается первоначальная семантика ('затопить, залить') в слав. ***plȳnǫ**, ***plynètь** (< ***plū-ne-**); inf. ***plynǫti** (< ***plū-neu-tei-**) 'затопить') [а.п. *c* устанавливается по соответствию схрв. и ст.-хорв. XVII в. (Ю. Крижанич) а.п. *b* чешскому сокращенному рефлексу праславянской долготы в корне этого глагола] ‖ Дыбо 2000: 286, 496, 509, 515, 319, 329.

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***plēu̯-/*plū-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***pleh$_1$u̯-/*plh$_1$u-**): полная ступень в лит. **pláuti**, praes. 1.sg. **pláuju**, praet. 1.sg. **plóviau** 'waschen, spülen'; др.-исл. **flóa** 'fließen, strömen' (< герм. ***flōwēn**), др.-англ. **flówan** 'überfliessen' (редуплицированный глагол: praet. **fleów**, pl. **fleówon**, part. praet. **flówen**); нулевая ступень в лит. **plūti** (praes. 1.sg. **plūnù**, praet. 1.sg. **pluvaũ**) 'übervoll sein, überfließen, auseinanderfließen', лит. **plū̃sti**, praes. 1.sg. **plū̃stu**, praet. 1.sg. **plū̃dau** 'strömen, fluten, in großer Menge fließen, sich in großer Menge verbreiten, sich ausbreiten'; лтш. **plûst** 'sich ergießen, überströmen, überschwemmen, sich ausbreiten, ruchbar werden'; слав. ***plȳti** (русск. **плы́ть**; схрв. **plìti**), слав. ***plynǫti**; корень является расширением и.-е. базы (= второй основы) от корня ***pelə** : ***plē-**: ср.-в.-нем. **vlœjen** 'spülen'; *o*-ступень: ср.-н.-нем. **vlōien**, ср.-нидерл. **vloyen**, **vloeyen** 'fliessen' ‖ Fraenk. I, 609–610; EWD I, 449–450; Franck–van Wijk 749, 750; de Vries 132; Bosworth–Toller 295; Pok. 835–837 (***pleu-d-** к ***pleu-**).

6. герм. ***þreu̯ŋa-** ~ ***þrau̯ŋa-** 'угрожать' (др.-в.-нем. **dreuuen**, **drouuen**) : слав. praes.sg. 1. ***trôvǫ**, 3. ***trovètь** (< ***trəu̯-e-**); inf. ***trūti** (< ***trōu-tei-**) ~ praes.sg. 1. ***trûjǫ**, 3. ***trujètь** (< ***trōu-i̯e-**); inf. ***trovâti** (< ***trəu̯-ā-**) (а.п. *c*).

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***trēu̯-/*trū-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***treh$_1$u̯-/*trh$_1$u-**): полная ступень в герм. ***þrēwa-** (др.-англ. **đrāwan** 'drehen, quälen', др.-в.-нем. **drāwan** 'drehen'); ст.-слав. **трѣва** 'трава'; *o*-ступень: греч. **τρώω** 'durchbohre, verwunde, verletze' (< ***τρόω**), дор., ион. **τρῶμα** 'Wunde' (с потерей глайда в долгом дифтонге); герм. ***þrōwia-** (др.-англ. **đrōwian** 'dulden, erleiden, ertragen; büßen'; др.-в.-нем. **druoen** 'leiden' schw. V.1); слав. ***travîti**, praes.sg. 1. ***travi̯ǫ̀**, 3. ***trãvītь** (русск. **трави́ть**, praes. sg. 1. **травлю́**, 3. **тра́вит**, укр. **трави́ти**, praes.sg. 1. **травлю́**, 2. **тра́виш** 'варить, переваривать (пищу); тратить, терять'; ст.-слав. (Супр.) **травити** 'поглощать, пожирать', схрв. **тра́вити**, praes.sg. 1. **трâвим** 'кормить травой'; чеш. **tráviti** 'переваривать, потреблять, отравлять', слвц. **tráviť**, польск. диал. (малопольск.) **trávić** Kucała 191), ***travà**,

acc.sg. ***trãvǫ** > ***travǫ̀** (русск. **трава́**, acc.sg. **траву́**, укр. **трава́**, acc. sg. **траву́**; схрв. **тра́ва**, acc.sg. **тра́ву**; чеш. **tráva**, слвц. **tráva**, польск. диал. (малопольск.) **tråva** Kucała 55); нулевая ступень: греч. **τρῦω** 'reibe auf, erschöpfe', **τρῦμα**, **τρῦμη** 'Loch'; слав. **tryti**, praes.sg. 1. **tryjǫ** (серб. ц.-слав. **трꙑти**, praes.sg. 1. **трꙑѭ**, болг. **тря́я** 'тру, вытираю'); корень является расширением и.-е. базы (= второй основы) от корня ***terə-** 'reiben; drehend reiben': **τέρε-τρον** (< ***terə-tro-**) ‖ Pok. 1071–1073; Orel 426, 425; Holthausen AEEW 368, 370; Dybo 2002: p. 303, 379.

7. герм. ***sneu̯u̯a-** 'спешить' (др.-англ. **snéowan** 'eilen'; гот. **sniwan** < ***sneu̯a-**, с сокращением ***-ē-** в тех же условиях с последующим упрощением геминированного **-u̯u̯-**) : слав. praes.sg. 1. ***snôvǫ**, 3. ***snovètь** (< ***snəu̯-e-**); inf. ***snūti** (< ***snēu-tei-**) ~ praes.sg. 1. ***snûjǫ**, 3.***snujètь** (< ***snēu-i̯e-**); inf.***snovâti** (< ***snəu̯-ā-**) (а.п. *c*).

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***snēu̯-/*snū-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***sneh$_1$u̯-/*snh$_1$u-**): полная ступень в др.-инд. **snā́van-** n. 'сухожилие, тетива', авест. **snāvarə** 'сухожилие, тетива'; арм. **neard** 'Sehne, Faser, Fiber' (< ***snēu̯rt**); греч. **νεῦρον** 'Sehne'; нулевая ступень: др.-исл. **snūđr** 'Schnelligkeit'; др.-англ. **snūd** 'Eile, eilig'; корень является расширением и.-е. базы ***snē-** 'Fäden zusammendrehen; weben, spinnen': греч. **νῆ** 'spinnt' (< ***σνήι̯ει**; на начальное ***sn-** указывают: **ἔννη** 'nebat', **ἔυννητος** 'gut gesponnen'), **νῆμα** 'Gespinst, Faden', **νῆσις** 'das Spinnen'; лат. **neō**, **nēre** 'spinnen' (***snē-i̯ō**), **nēmen** 'Gespinst, Gewebe' ‖ см. Дыбо CA с. 238, Dybo 2002: p. 377–378; Pok. 977.

8. герм. ***brujja-** и ***brewwa-** (др.-исл. ***bryggja** st. V., part. **brugginn** 'brewed', **brugga** schw. V., 'brew', 'brauen', др.-швед. **bryggja** и др.-англ. **brēowan** 'brew', 'brauen', др.-фриз. **briūwa**, др.-сакс. **breuwan**, др.-в.-нем. **briuwan**) ~ слав. ***brujáti**, ***brujîti**, praes. 1.sg. ***brûjǫ**, 3.sg. ***brujètь**, ***brujítь** (русск. диал. **бруи́ть**, praes. 3.sg. **бруи́т** 'стремительно, быстро течь', 'гудеть, жужжать', **бруя́ть**, praes. 3.sg. **бруёт**, 3.pl. **бруют** 'издавать гудящий звук, жужжать' СРНГ 3: 201, 212; блр. **бруі́ць**, praes. 3.sg. **бруі́ць** 'течь'; схрв. **бру́јати**, praes. 1.sg. **бру́јим** 'brummen, summen') ‖ Orel 56 (герм. ***brewwan**); Holthausen AEEW 34; de Vries 60; ЭССЯ 3: 45–46; Фасмер I, 221; Berneker I, 88–89; Pok. 144–145, 132–133.

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***bhrēu̯-/*bhrū-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***bhreh$_1$u̯-/*bhrh$_1$u-**): полная ступень в греч. **φρέαρ**, gen.sg. **φρέᾱτος** 'Brunnen' (< ***φρῆαρ**, ***φρῆατος**), гомер. pl.

φρείᾶτα (= **φρῆατα**); лит. **br(i)áutis**; нулевая ступень: др.-в.-нем. **wintes prūt** 'буря, ураган' (= др.-ирл. **bruith** 'кипение' < ***bhrŭti-** < ***bhrūti-**, см. ВСЯ № 5, 1961 г., с. 11) и ср.-ирл. **bruth** 'Glut', валл. **brwd** 'das Brauen; so viel Bier, wie auf einmal gebraut wird' (< ***bhrŭto-** < ***bhrūtó-**); ср. греч. (догреч.) **βρύω** 'изобиловать, бить струей'; корень является расширением и.-е. базы (= второй основы) от корня ***bherə-** 'aufwallen, sich heftig bewegen': др.-инд. **bhuráti** 'bewegt sich rasch, zuckt, zappelt' (< ***bh̥ŗ̄-e-ti**), **bhū́rṇi-ḥ** 'heftig, zornig, wild, eifrig' (< * **bh̥ŗ̄ni-**); полная ступень второй основы в герм. ***brēja-** (крым. гот. **breen** 'schmoren'; ср.-в.-нем. **brælen** 'riechen, duften', ср.-нидерл. **braeyen** 'braten') и в герм. ***brēđa-** (др.-исл. **bráðr** adj. 'горячий, вспыльчивый, опрометчивый'; др.-англ. **brǽð**) (= лат. **frĕtum** n. 'прибой, прилив; бушевание, волнение; жар, пыл' < ***bhrĕto-** < ***bhrētó-**, см. ВСЯ № 5, 1961 г., с. 14) ‖ Orel 56 (герм. ***brewwan**); ЭССЯ 3: 45–46; Pok. 144–145, 132–133.

9. герм. ***xnŭjja-** и ***xnewwa-** (др.-исл. praes. **hnyggja** и **hnøggva** 'schlagen, stossen'; др.-исл. part. **hnugginn** 'humbled'; др.-в.-нем. **hniuwan** 'stossen, zerreiben') ~ лтш. **knûdêt**[2] 'ein wenig jucken' (Sackenhausen) Endz.-Haus. I, 634 (от ст.-лтш. **knūt**, **knūst**, praes. 1.sg. **-du** или **-stu**, **-du** 'jucken'; прерывистая интонация указывает на подвижную а.п.); слав. ***knűti**, praes. 1.sg. ***knǫ̀vǫ** ~ ***knovâti**, praes. 1.sg. ***knûjǫ** (отмечен только в лехитских языках; подвижный акцентный тип реконструируется на основании соотношения основ); ср. греч. **κνῦω** 'schabe', **κνῦμα** n. 'Kratzen'.

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***kn(i̯)āu̯-**/***kn(i̯)ū-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***kn(i̯)eh₂u̯-**/***kn(i̯)h̥₂u-**): полная ступень, по-видимому, в польск. **knuć**, praes. 1.sg. **knuję** 'затевать, замышлять; строить козни', первичное значение 'ciąć, rozcinać, rąbać, rozłupywać, szczerać drzewo'; кашуб. praes. 1.sg. **knëją**, prt. **knął**, f. **knëła** (inf. **knovac**) 'schneiden, schnitzen' < ***knāu̯-**C-; нулевая ступень: греч. **κνῡ́ω** 'schabe', **κνῦμα** n. 'Kratzen'; лтш. **knūt**, **knūst**, praes. 1.sg. **-du** или **-stu**, **-du** 'jucken' (ср. **kṇudêt**, praes. 3. **kṇud** 'jucken'); нулевая ступень в гетеросиллабической позиции: словинц. **knùǫ̯vằc**, praes. 1.sg. **knùǫ̯vą**, 2.sg. **knùǫ̯vòš** 'schnitzen, schnitzeln; schlecht schneiden, nicht die nötige Schärfe haben' < ***knəu̯-**V-; расширение и.-е. базы ***kenā** (***kenə-** ~ ***knā-**) 'zusammendrücken, kneifen': полная ступень в греч. атт. **κνῆν**, praes. 3.sg. **κνῇ**, (Hdt.) **κνᾶν**, praes. 3.sg. **κνᾷ**, praes. 1.sg. **κνήθω** 'schabe, kratze; jucke'; др.-в.-нем. **nuoen** 'durch Schaben glätten, genau zusammenfügen'; лит. **knóti**, praes. 1.sg. **knóju** 'драть, обдирать, лупить', **knótis**, praes. 1.sg. **knójuos** 'отставать, отдираться, отлупляться', диал. жемайт. **knióties**, praes. 3. **kniójas** 'atšokti, kerti, knotis' Vitkauskas 145 ‖ Orel 180; Frisk I, 880–881, 887; Pok. 562 (558–563).

II. Германские основы без сокращения индоевропейских долгот и без Verschärfung'a ~ балто-славянский неподвижный акцентный тип.

1. герм. ***spīwa-** ~ ***sp(j)ūja-** 'плевать' < ***spi̯u̯o-** ~ ***sp(j)ŭ́jo-** (гот. **speiwan**; др.-англ. **spīwan**, др.-сакс. **spīwan**, др.-в.-нем. **spīwan**, **spīan** ~ др.-исл. **spýja**; вост.-фриз. **spüjen** 'spucken, sprühen', ср.-нидерл. **spuwen** 'spucken, speien') : лтш. **spļaũt**, praes. 1.sg. **spļaũju**, praet. 1.sg. **spļãvu** (плавная интонация указывает на неподвижную а.п.); слав. praes.sg. 1. ***pjŭ́jǫ**, 3. ***pjŭ́jetь** (< ***pi̯āu-i̯e-**); inf. ***pjevā́ti** (< ***pi̯əu̯-ā-**) 'плевать' (а.п. *a*).

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***spi̯āu̯-**/***spi̯ū-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***spi̯eh₂u̯-**/ ***spi̯h̥₂u-**): полная ступень в лит. **spióva** 'плевака', 'Spucker-(in)', **spiovìmas** 'плевание', 'Spucken, Speien'; лтш. **spļãviẽns** 'das einmalige Speien'; *o*-ступень, возможно, в авест. **spāma-** 'Speichel, Schleim' (< ***spi̯ōmo-** < ***spi̯ōumo-**, с потерей глайда в долгом дифтонге); нулевая ступень: др.-инд. **ṣṭhyūtá-** 'gespuckt, gespien'; лат. **spūtum** n. 'плевок'; также в презентных основах: греч. **πτῦω** 'spucke'; лат. **spuō**; герм. ***spūja-** (др.-исл. **spýja**; вост.-фриз. **spüjen** 'spucken, sprühen', ср.-нидерл. **spuwen** 'spucken, speien'); нулевая ступень в гетеросиллабической позиции: др.-инд. **ṣṭhīvati** 'spuckt, speit aus'; герм. ***spīwa-** (гот. **speiwan**; др.-англ. **spīwan**, др.-сакс. **spīwan**, др.-в.-нем. **spīwan**, **spīan**) ‖ Pok. 999–1000.

2. герм. ***sjūja-** 'шить' < ***si̯ŭ́-i̯o-** (гот. **siujan**, др.-исл. **sýja**, др.-англ. **sīewan**, др.-в.-нем. **siuwan**) : лтш. **šũt**, praes. 1.sg. **šũnu** (плавная интонация указывает на неподвижную а.п.); слав. praes.sg. 1. ***šĭjǫ**, 3. ***šĭjetь** (< ***si̯ŭ́-i̯e-**); inf. ***šĭti** (< ***si̯ŭ́-tei-**) (а.п. *a*).

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***si̯ēu-**/***si̯ū-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***si̯eh₁u̯-**/***si̯h₁u-**): полная ступень первой основы: др.-инд. **sevanam** 'das Nähen, die Naht', — полная ступень второй основы: др.-инд. **syota-**, **syona-** m. 'Sack' (Lex.); нов.-перс. **yūn** 'Satteldecke' (< ***hyauna-**), — и, возможно, в герм. ***si̯aumaz** (др.-исл. **saumr** m. 'Saum, Naht'; др.-англ. **sēam**, др.-фриз. **sām**, ср.-н.-нем. **sōm**, др.-в.-нем. **soum**); нулевая ступень: др.-инд. **syūtá-** 'genäht'; лат. **sūtus**; лит. **siū́tas**, лтш. **šũts**, русск. **шúт**, f. **шúта**, n. **шúто**; др.-инд.

sūtra-m 'Faden'; лат. **sūbula** 'Ahle' (< ***s(i̯)ū-dhlā**); др.-в.-нем. **siula** 'Ahle' (< ***si̯ū-dhlā**); слав. ***šĭdlo** (русск. **ши́ло**, укр. **ши́ло**; болг. **ши́ло**, схрв. **ши̏ло**, словен. **šílo**; чеш. **šídlo**, слвц. **šidlo**, польск. **szydło**, в.-луж. **šidło**, н.-луж. **šydło**, полаб. **saidlŭ́**); нулевая ступень в гетеросиллабической позиции: др.-инд. **sīvana-m** 'das Nähen, die Naht', **sívyati** 'näht', гот. **siujan** ‖ Pok. 915–916; WH 631–632; Orel 320; Holthausen AEEW 287; Фасмер IV, 438; Mayrhofer III, 477–478.

3. герм. ***sǣja-** 'сеять' < ***sḗi̯o-** (гот. **saian**, др.-исл. **sā**, др.-сакс. **sāian**, др.-в.-нем. **sāen**, **sājan**, **sāwen**, др.-англ. **sāwan**) : лит. **sė̃ti**, praes. 1.sg. **sė̃ju**, praet. 1.sg. **sė̃jau**, лтш. **sêt**, praes. 1.sg. **sêju** (плавная интонация указывает на неподвижную а.п.); слав. praes.sg. 1. ***sě̀jǫ**, 3. ***sě̀jetь** (< ***sēi̯-e-**); inf. ***sě̀jati** (< ***sēi̯-ā-**) (а.п. *a*).

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***sē(i)-/*sə(i)-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***seh$_1$(i)-/*sh$_1$(i)-**): полная ступень: лат. **sēmen** 'Same'; герм. ***sḗmōn** (др.-сакс. **sāmo**, др.-в.-нем. **sāmo**); лит. **sė́menys** pl., диал. вост.-лит. **sė́men(e)s** 'Leinsamen, Leinsaat' (1 → 3); слав. ***sě̀mę** (др.-русск. **w̃ сѣмени** gen.sg. Чуд. 67^3, 104^3, 139^1, **и̯ о̀ сѣмени** loc.sg. Чуд. 60^3, **сѣмена** acc.pl. В 64 [ИАСИМ 182]; ср.-болг. **w̃ сѣмене** gen.sg. Зогр. Д136а, **сѣмена** nom.-acc.pl. Зогр. Б51б, **и̯| сѣменемъ** dat. pl. Зогр. Б56а; схрв. **сје̏ме**, словен. **sḗme**; чеш. **sím**ě, слвц. **semä** [KSSJ 397], польск. диал. малопольск. **śȩ́mę** [Kucała 60]); др.-ирл. **sīl** 'Same', валл. **hīl** 'Same, Nachkommenschaft'; лит. **pasė́lis** 'Aussaat, Beisaat'; лтш. **sêja** 'das Säen, das besäte Feld, die Saat'; словен. **sḗja** 'das Säen'; нулевая ступень: лат. **sătus** 'Gesät', **sata** n.pl. 'Saaten'; валл. **had** 'Same' и лит. диал. **sajùs** 'leicht anzusäen, saatenreich, fruchtbar, ergiebig, reichlich' ‖ Pok. 889–891; Orel 328; Fraenk. II, 774, 778–779, 756; WH II, 522.

4. герм. ***wǣja-** 'веять' < ***wḗja-** (гот. **waian**, др.-в.-нем. **wāen**, **wājen**, др.-фриз. **wāja**, ср.-нидерл. **wāien**, др.-англ. **wāwan**) : слав. praes.sg. 1. ***wě̀jǫ**, 3. ***wě̀jetь** (< ***u̯ēi̯-e-**); inf. ***wě̀jati** (< ***u̯ēi̯-ā-**) (а.п. *a*).

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***u̯ē(i)-/*u̯ə(i)-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***h$_2$u̯eh$_1$(i)-/*h$_2$u̯h$_1$(i)-**): полная ступень в др.-инд. **vāti**, авест. **vā^{i}ti** 'weht'; греч. **ἄημι** 'weht'; др.-инд. **vāyati** 'weht'; авест. **fravāye^{i}ti** 'verlöscht'; герм. ***wḗja-**; слав. praes.sg. 1. ***wě̀jǫ**, 3. ***wě̀jetь** (< ***u̯ḗi̯-e-**); др.-инд. **vāyúḥ** 'ветер', авест. **vāyuš** 'Wind, Luft'; лит. **vė́jas** 'Wind', лтш. **vêjš** 'Wind'; вост.-лит. **víesulas** 'вихрь'; лтш. **veîsuôls**, **viẽsuls**, **viẽsulis** 'вихрь' (< ***vḗisulo-**) Mühl.–Endz. IV 525, 671; слав. ***vĭ̀xъrь** 'вихрь' (< ***vḗiṣŭro-**); нулевая ступень: слав. ***vьjati** 'веять' (русск. диал. **вьять** '(об огне) полыхать', **завья́ть** 'завеять, занести снегом, песком'; возможно, чеш. **váti** 'веять'), слав. ***vьjalica** 'буря' (русск. диал. **вьялица** 'метель, буран'; ст.-слав. **вихлица** 'буря'); лит. **výdra** 'Sturm(wind)', прусск. **wydra** 'Wind' (ср. др.-лтш. ***vę̄dra** [в тексте: **whedra**] Ev. 'Sturm']) ‖ Pok. 81–84; Feist 541–542; Фасмер I, 306, 310, 324; Fraenk. II, 1237–1238, 1243–1244.

5. герм. ***spōja-** 'удаваться' (др.-англ. **spōwan** 'Erfolg haben, gedeihen, glücken', др.-в.-нем. **spuoen**, **spuon** sw.V. 'vonstatten gehen, gelingen') : лтш. **spêt**, praes.sg. 1. **spêju** 'vermögen, können' (плавная интонация указывает на неподвижную а.п.); слав. praes.sg. 1. ***spě̀jǫ**, 3. ***spě̀jetь** (< ***spḗi̯e-**); inf. ***spě̀ti** (< ***spē-tei-**) 'поспевать' (а.п. *a*) ‖ Beitr. 11, 61 ff.

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***spē(i)-/*spə(i)-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***speh$_1$(i)-/*sph$_1$(i)-**): полная ступень: др.-инд. **sphā́yate** 'wird feist, nimmt zu'; герм. ***spēđjaz** adj. (гот. **spediza** comp. 'späterer'; ср.-нидерл. **spade**, др.-в.-нем. **spāti** 'spät'); нулевая ступень: др.-инд. **sphirá-** 'feist'; герм. ***sparaz** (др.-исл. **sparr** 'sparsam, karg'; др.-англ. **spær** 'sparsam'; др.-в.-нем. **spar** 'sparsam, knapp'); слав. ***sporъ** (русск. **спо́рый**; схрв. **spȍr** 'lang dauernd'; чеш. **sporý** 'ergiebig, ausgiebig; sparsam, spärlich') ‖ Pok. 983–984; Orel 364, 362; Holthausen AEEW 307–308, 312; Mayrhofer III, 541–542; Mayrhofer EWA II, 776–777.

6. герм. ***bōjanan** (др.-англ. **bóian** 'to boast'): слав. praes.sg. 1. ***bằjǫ**, 3. ***bằjetь** (русск. диал. praes.sg. 1. **ба́ю**, 2. **ба́ешь**, укр. praes.sg. 1. **ба́ю**, 2. **ба́єш**; болг. praes.sg. 1. **ба́я**, 2. **ба́еш**, схрв. praes.sg. 1. **ба̏јēм**, ст.-хорв. XVII в. [Ю. Крижанич] praes.sg. 1. **Ба́јем**, **Наба́јем**, **ꙁба́јем** Гр. 199; словен. [Валявец] **bâjem** Rad 67: 70, закономерный переход рефлекса акута в "новый циркумфлекс"; [SSKJ] **bâjati**, praes.sg. 1. **bâjam**; **bájiti**, praes.sg. 1. **bâjim** — морфологически перестроенные формы, но сохраняющие рефлексы старого акцентного типа; ошибочно указание Plet. относительно акцентовки форм презенса: **bájati**, **-jam**, **-jem**) ‖ Orel 51; Дыбо 2000: 292; Фасмер I, 140.

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***bhā-/*bhə-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***bheh$_2$-/*bhh$_2$-**): полная ступень: др.-инд. **sa-bhā́** f.'Versammlung' ('colloquium' Edgerton KZ. 46, 173 ff.); греч. **φημί**, дор. **φᾱμί** 'sage', **φήμη** f., дор. **φᾱ́μᾱ** 'Kunde, Ruf, Offenbarung'; лат. **for** < ***fā-i̯ō(r)**, **fātus sum**, **fārī** 'spreche', **fāma** f. 'Gerede, Gerücht, Überlieferung'; *o*-ступень: греч. **φωνή** 'Stimme';

нулевая ступень: греч. **φᾰ́τις** f. 'Gerücht', **φᾰ́σις** 'Sprache, Rede, Bechauptung, Anzeige'; армян. **bay**, gen.sg. **bayi** 'Wort, Ausdruck' < ***bhə-ti-s**; ***bhə-to-s** в лат. **făteor** 'öffentlich erklären, zugeben'; позиция рассечения корня *-n-*инфиксом (тест девятого класса): др.-инд. **bhánati** 'spricht, tönt', тематизация основы 9 класса ***bhanāti** < ***bhe-ne-ə-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: < ***bhe-ne-h$_2$-**); ожидание в этом случае в корне рефлекса и.-е. **-ə-** связано с непоследовательностью в принятии анализа де Соссюра ‖ Orel 51; Frisk II, 1009–1010, 1058–1059; WH I, 437–438, 450–451, 462–463, 525–526; Mayrhofer II, 469–470; Mayrhofer III, 433–434; Mayrhofer EWA II, 244, 701; Pok. 105–106.

7. герм. ***knǣja-** 'знать' (др.-исл. **kná** 'kann'; др.-англ. **cnāwan** 'wissen, erkennen', др.-в.-нем. **knājan** 'kennen') : слав. praes.sg. 1. ***znā̃jǫ**, 3. ***znā̃jetь** (< ***ĝnō-i̯e-**); inf. ***znā̃ti** (< ***ĝnō-tei-**) (а.п. *a*); при praes.sg. 1. ***-znâjǫ**, 3. ***-znajètь** (< ***-ĝnō-i̯e-**); inf. ***znajati** (< ***-ĝnō-i̯-ā-**) (а.п. *c*) (двойственность корня прослеживается и на другом материале) ‖ Holthausen AEEW 54.

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***ĝnē-**/***ĝn̥̄-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***ĝneh$_1$-**/ ***ĝn̥h$_1$-**): полная ступень в тох. А **kña-** 'знать', 'kennen'; *o*-ступень: др.-перс. **xšnāsa-** в **xšnāsāhiy** 'du sollst merken', греч. эпидавр. **γνώσκω** 'erkennen, kennenlernen', лат. **nōscō** 'erkenne'; др.-инд. **jñātáḥ** 'bekannt'; греч. **γνωτός** 'bekannt'; лат. ***gnŏtus** (в **nŏta**, **nŏtāre** и в **cognitus**, **agnitus**; < ***ĝnōtó-**); нулевая ступень: гальск. **Κατου-γνᾱτος**, **Epo-so-gnātus**, др.-ирл. **gnāth** 'gewohnt, bekannt' < ***ĝn̥̄to-**; герм. ***kúnþaz** (гот. **kunþs** 'bekannt'; др.-исл. **kunnr**, **kuðr** 'bekannt, kundig'; др.-англ. **cúð** 'kund, bekannt, offenbar, sicher; ausgezeichnet; freundlich, verwandt', др.-фриз. **kūth** 'kund, bekannt', др.-сакс. **kūth** 'bekannt', др.-в.-нем. **kund** 'bekannt, kund; verwandt'), ***un-kúnþaz** (гот. **un-kunþs** 'unbekannt'; др.-исл. **ú-kúðr** 'unbekannt'; др.-англ. **un-cúð** 'unknown, uncertain, strange, terrible', ср.-нидерл. **on-cont** 'onbekend aan, onbekend met', др.-в.-нем. **un-kund** 'unbekannt'); лит. **pažìntas** 'bekannt', лтш. **pazĩts** 'знакомый' < ***ĝn̥̄to-**; нулевая ступень с инфиксным рассечением (тест 9 класса): авест. **zanā-t̰**, **zanąn**, афг. **pe-žanı** 'unterscheidet, erkennt'; др.-ирл. **-gninim**; лит. **žinóti**, praes. 1.sg. **žinaũ** 'kennen, wissen' < ***ĝn̥̄-ne-ə-** ‖ Orel 224; Pok. 376–378.

8. герм. ***rūja-** (др.-исл. **rýja** schw. V. 'to pluck the wool off sheep', 'Wolle abpflücken') ~ слав. praes. 1.sg. ***rȳjǫ**, 3.sg. ***rȳjetь** [русск. диал. praes. 3.sg. **ро́йит** 'насыпает' (селигеро-торжокские говоры,

Селижаровский р-н, д. Дубровки, запись С.Л. Николаева, диалект, сохраняющий а.п. *c* глагола ***vyjetь**); ср.-болг. вост. praes. 3.sg. **ѝꙁръі̑ѥ̑тсѧ** Пс. Кипр. 85б, **ѝꙁръі̑ѥ̑тсѧ** Нор. пс. 155б9 (тексты, относящиеся к диалектам, в которых сохраняется различие акцентных типов в глаголах с корнями на *-i-*), болг. диал. банат. **рѝйа̣** (северо-восточный болгарский говор, не входящий в зону нейтрализации акцентных противопоставлений у глаголов с корнями на *-i-* и сохраняющий а.п. *c* глагола ***vyjetь**), болг. диал. (Wysoka) **rъ̀ja**, **rъ̀ⁱš**, (Suche) **rìjam**, (Орешник, фракийские переселенцы) **рѝйъ**, **рѝеш** (26) (юго-восточные болгарские говоры, не входящие в зону нейтрализации акцентных противопоставлений у глаголов с корнями на *-i-*); словен. **rîjem** (Plet., Valj. Rad 67: 78 и др. источники)] ‖ Orel 309; Дыбо 2000, 278; Dybo 2002: p. 321–322; Pok. 868.

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***rāu̯-**/***rəu-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***reh$_2$u̯-**/ ***rh̥$_2$u-**): полная ступень в гетеросиллабической позиции в лит. **rovà** 'nach einer Überschwemmung auf einer Wiese zurückgelassenes Geschiebe' = лтш. **rãva** Līn., Selg., Wandsen, Dond., Kandau, Kurs., Arrasch, Ruj. *'Rückstand nach Überschwemmung auf Wiesen' ⇒ 'stinkendes, eisenhaltiges Wasser, eine solches Wasser enthaltende sumpfige Stelle'; нулевая ступень в таутосиллабической позиции в лат. **rūta** f. 'вырытое', **rū̆trum** n. 'заступ, лопата', в современных романских языках отражается только краткостный вариант, см. Meyer-Lübke 618; нулевая ступень в гетеросиллабической позиции: слав. ***rȍvъ**, gen.sg. ***ròva** > ***rovȁ** < ***rəu̯o-** (русск. диал. **ров**, gen.sg. **ро́ва**, укр. галицк. сан. Черн. **rɨ̊w**, gen. **rǫvá**, **róva**, pl. **rǫvȳ**, покут. Печ. **r'iw**, gen. **rǫvá**, pl. **rǫvə̨́** — а.п. *d*; подольск. **рів**, gen.sg. **рова́**; схрв. литер. **рôв**, gen.sg. **рȍва** — а.п. *d* или *c*, диал. Ю. Бараня **rõv**, gen. ***ròva** 382, 451, instr. ***rovõm**, pl. ***rovȍvi** 382 — а.п. *b*; а.п. *b* и *d*, см. ОСА Словарь I, 267–269); лит. **rãvas** 'Straßengraben' ‖ Pok. 868–869.

9. герм. ***mōja-** (ср.-н.-нем. **mōien** 'быть в тягость, мучить, раздражать', ср.-нидерл. **moeyen**, **moyen** 'отягощать, быть в тягость, мучить, причинять боль', др.-в.-нем. **muoien**, **muoen** 'Mühe machen, bemühen, beunruhigen, bedrängen') : слав. ***mā̃jati**, praes.sg. 1. ***mā̃jǫ**, 3. ***mā̃jetь** 'утомлять, доставлять страдания, отягощать' [русск. просторечн. и диал. (Даль) **ма́ять** 'морить, мучить, изнурять, утомлять; истязать, томить, истомлять', **ма́яться** 'заниматься утомительной, изнурительной работой; мучиться, испытывать тоску, томление, боль'; болг. **ма́я** 'медлить, задерживать, отвлекать от за-

нятий', **ма́я се** 'терять время; кружиться; маяться'; схрв. **мàјати**, praes. 1.sg. **мàјēм** 'выматывать, мучить, задерживать', **мàјати се** 'маяться, мучиться, задерживаться'] ‖ Orel 274.

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***mā-/*mə-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***meh$_2$-/*mh$_2$-** или ***meh$_3$-/*mh$_3$-**): полная ступень в греч. **μῶλος** 'Anstrengung, Mühe', **μῶλυς** adj. 'ermattet, erschöpft'; лат. **mōlēs** f. 'Masse; Last, Schwere; Mühe'; нулевая ступень: греч. **ἄ-μοτος** adj. 'unermüdlich', гомер. **ἄμοτον** adv. 'unaufhörlich, unermüdlich' ‖ Подробный анализ корня и его ностратических соответствий дан мной в *В.М. Иллич-Свитыч.* Опыт сравнения ностратических языков. М., 1984, с. 48–52; см. также: Pok. 746; Orel 274; WH II, 101–102; Frisk I, 95, II, 250, 282, 283.

10. герм. ***fauje-** ~ ***fūje-** < ***pouəja-** ~ ***pū̆ja-** (др.-исл. **feyja** 'verfaulen lassen' ~ др.-исл. part. **fūinn** 'verfault, rott', ср. также др.-исл. **fúna** 'faulen') ~ лтш. **pũt**, praes. 1.sg. **pũstu**, praet. 1.sg. **puvu** intr. 'faulen, modern' (плавная интонация указывает на неподвижную а.п.); лит. **pū̃ti**, praes. 1.sg. **pūvù** (т.е. **pų̃vù**), **pūnù** и **pū̃stu**, praet. 1.sg. **puvaũ** 'гнить; тлеть, разлагаться'.

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***peuə-/*pū-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***peuh$_1$-/*puh$_1$-**): полная ступень в авест. **pavitī-** f. 'Fäulnis, Verwesung' (Bartholomae 849) и в лит. **piáulas** 'verfaultes, morsches Holz', pl. **piaulaĩ** 'Sägespäne'; лтш. **praûls** 'moderndes, vermodertes Stück Holz' (значение лит. pl. указывает на контаминацию с корнем ***pi̯āu̯-** 'толочь, резать, пилить' [Pok. 827: ***pēu-**], лтш. **praûls** из ***pl̥aûls** в результате диссимиляции); *o*-ступень: др.-исл. **feyja** 'verfaulen lassen' < ***pouəjo-**; нулевая ступень: др.-инд. **pū́yati** 'wird faul, stinkt', **pū́yaḥ** m., **-am** n. 'Eiterung, Ausfluß, Eiter', **pū́tiḥ** 'faul, stinkend'; авест. **pū^{i}ti** f. 'Fäulnis, Verwesung' (Bartholomae 909); греч. **πῡ́ϑω** 'mache faulen'; лат. **pūteō**, **pūtēscō** 'faule'; нулевая ступень в гетеросиллабической позиции: греч. **πῦον**, **πῦος** n. 'Eiter' < ***πῡ̆ϝο-**; лит. **pū̃vùs** 'faulbar, verwestlich', **pùvenos** pl. 'перегной, гумус' ‖ Pok. 848–849; Mayrhofer II, 322, 321; Orel 121.

11. ? герм. ***bējanan** (др.-в.-нем. **bāen** 'to warm (with a compress)' : слав. ***grě̃ti** 'to warm', praes.sg. 1. ***grě̃jǫ**, 3. ***grě̃jetь** ‖ Kluge-Seebold 73.

К структуре корня: и.-е. корень ***g^{u}hr-ē-/*g^{u}hr-ə-** (в ларингалистической интерпретации: ***g^{u}hr-eh$_1$-/*g^{u}hr-h$_1$-**): полная ступень в слав. ***grě̃ti** 'to warm', praes.sg. 1. ***grě̃jǫ** ‖ Pok. 493–495; Kluge-Seebold 73; Orel 44.

В 1961 г. я опубликовал работу "Сокращение долгот в кельто-италийских языках и его значение для балто-славянской и индоевропейской акцентологии" (ВСЯ, № 5, 1961 г.), в которой показал, что индоевропейские долготы в латинском и пракельтском языках сохранялись как долгие лишь под индоевропейским ударением, в тех случаях, когда они были предударными, они сокращались; в этой же работе я попытался установить позиции распределения двух типов рефлексов долгих слоговых сонантов *-r̥̄-*, *-l̥̄-*, *-n̥̄-*, *-m̥̄-* в латинском и кельтских языках и пришел к выводу, что они также распределялись в зависимости от места ударения: рефлексы *-rā-*, *-lā-*, *-nā-* появляются исключительно под индоевропейским ударением (при расхождении акцентологических показаний предпочтение отдается показаниям западных индоевропейских языков: балтославянских и германских), рефлексы *-ar-*, *-al-*, *-an-* обнаруживаются в безударном положении, в основах, относящихся к подвижно-окситонированной акцентной парадигме (рефлексы *-m̥̄-* в материале отсутствуют). В этой же статье я показал, что подобное же сокращение долгот происходило в прагерманском языке, но исключительно перед гетеросиллабическими сонантами (рефлексы слоговых сонантов *-r̥-*, *-l̥-*, *-n̥-*, *-m̥-* в германских языках ни от просодики, ни от количества не зависят). В том же году в докладе "Некоторые германо-славянские акцентологические параллели" (I Всесоюзная конференция по вопросам славяно-германского языкознания — Минск 23–30 ноября 1961 г.) мною было предложено рассматривать прагерманское удлинение сонантов *-u̯-* и *-j-* > *-u̯u̯-* и *-jj-* (Verschärfung) и подобные явления в ряду процессов, приведших в прагерманском к сокращению и.-е. долгот перед гетеросиллабическими сонантами в просодических позициях, соответствующих балто-славянскому подвижному акцентному типу (resp. и.-е. окситонезе), и высказано предположение о глубинной общности этих процессов с процессом озвончения германских спирантов по закону Вернера. В докладе было обращено внимание на то, что Verschärfung сопровождается сокращением предшествующей и.-е. долгой гласной, несводимым к и.-е. аблауту, что (наряду с непосредственным тождеством просодических позиций) связывает его с процессом сокращения долгот.

Материал по именным основам на сокращение долгот в германском (и соответствующие факты с сохранением долгот) перед гетеросиллабическими сонантами был полностью (в той

мере, в какой его тогда удалось выявить) опубликован в работе "Сокращение долгот в кельто-италийских языках и его значение для балто-славянской и индоевропейской акцентологии" (ВСЯ, № 5, 1961 г.). Однако в списки не вошли формы с Verschärfung'ом, т. к. надежных именных соответствий было немного и без анализа Verschärfung'a в глаголе они были бы непоказательны. Сама же идея о связи Verschärfung'a с процессом сокращения долгот в прагерманском казалась мне столь очевидной, что я не счел возможным в значительной степени дублировать германскую часть работы и не опубликовал доклад, но в дальнейшем по мере уточнения славянской и балто-славянской реконструкции акцентовки глагола я регулярно отмечал генетическое тожество просодических условий германского сокращения долгот и Verschärfung'a славянской и балто-славянской подвижной акцентной парадигме, см. Дыбо 1980, с. 120–121; Дыбо 1981b, с. 237–238, Дыбо 1983a, с. 16–18; Dybo 2002: 368, 369, 377–378, 379–380; Дыбо 2003, с. 158–159.

Эта статья вызвала ряд публикаций в России и на Западе. Первым откликнулся В. М. Иллич-Свитыч, который опубликовал статью "К истолкованию акцентуационных соответствий в кельто-италийском и балтославянском (О «втором правиле Дыбо»)" // КСИС, вып. 35, 63–72. В ней он объяснял случаи соответствия кельто-италийского и балто-славянского ударения, отличавшиеся от древнеиндийского и греческого ударения, как общую кельто-италийскую и балто-славянскую инновацию, то есть распространял закон Хирта на кельто-италийский и восстанавливал его для балто-славянского. Это решение оказалось правильным, что касается балто-славянского, за исключением попытки объяснения этим законом двойственности акцентных типов глагола в балто-славянском, и остается проблематичным для кельто-италийского. Второе решение, которое он предложил, это считать различие в рефлексации индоевропейских долгот в кельто-италийских языках результатом действия не акцента, а различных тонов индоевропейской тоновой системы. Это решение было явно избыточным. Сходство парадигматических акцентных систем с системами языков лексического тона с тоновыми схемами было ясно уже при первом серьезном ознакомлении с последними. Это уже тогда вызвало идею генезиса парадигматических акцентных систем из тоновых систем. Однако у парадигматических акцентных систем наблюдаются и значительные отличия. Дело в том, что как только акцентный контур получает фонологическую функцию, в языке начинаются *акцентологические* процессы генерализации акцентных типов в определенных грамматических и словообразовательных категориях. Имея это в виду, я осуществил соответствующую проверку материала кельто-италийских и германских языков и достаточно ясно изложил результаты её в той же статье 1961 года: о генерализации окситонного акцентного типа у производных с *-k*-суффиксами в кельто-италийских языках (см. ВСЯ № 5, с. 20–21), о генерализации ударения на глагольном основообразующем форманте *-ā-* (см. ВСЯ № 5, с. 21–22) и дальше о соответствующих процессах в других категориях (ВСЯ № 5, с. 22–24), ср. с разбором рефлексов парадигматического акцента (ВСЯ № 5, с. 29–34). Конечно, В. М. Иллич-Свитыч не мог не обратить внимания на эту часть моей работы, но он попытался выйти из положения, введя период с потерей тонового различия, когда произошла генерализация окситонезы *-k*-суффиксального словообразовательного типа (см. КСИС, вып. 35, с. 72), не заметив, по-видимому, что здесь он полностью переходит на мою позицию *акцентуационного* объяснения данного сокращения долгот.[6] Естественно, что оттиск своей статьи В. М. Иллич-Свитыч подарил мне уже с надписью "от раскаявшегося автора". Могут, правда, возразить, что ничто не мешает принять тональное объяснение балто-славянских акцентных парадигм, но рассматривать его как результат закономерного преобразования *первичной* акцентной системы, зафиксированной в греко-арийском, под воздействием тонального различия, которое сохранилось на долготных слогах в латышском, но первично было присуще как долготным, так и краткостным слогам. Это в принципе согласовалось бы с идеей Е. Куриловича, что балто-славянское распределение акцентных типов не имеет ничего общего с греко-арийским; но проведенное В. М. Иллич-Свитычем исследование показало, что распределение балто-славянских акцентных типов в имени (и, соответственно, латышских интонаций) в основном достаточно хорошо соответствует распределению греко-арийских акцентных типов, что естественно должно было отодвинуть предполагаемый тонологический генезис акцентных типов в праиндо-

[6] Проблема трансформации тоновых систем в акцентные, по-видимому, впервые была замечена Е. Д. Поливановым в его работах по сравнению японских тоновых и акцентных систем. Мной тоновая гипотеза генезиса индоевропейской акцентной системы была изложена в предварительном виде в 1962 году в выступлении по первому варианту доклада Р. О. Якобсона на V-й съезд славистов, который он обсуждал в Институте славяноведения АН СССР (см. Дыбо 1981, с. 262, сн. 94).

европейский период, а отклонения от предельно ясной акцентной системы, восстанавливаемой на основании балто-славянских данных, наблюдающиеся в греческом и древнеиндийском, побуждало рассматривать как результат акцентологических инноваций.

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PHONETIC EVIDENCE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE "ACUTE" TONE IN SLAVIC[1]

The paper attempts to give a phonetic reconstruction of the processes surrounding the loss of the glottal stop as the reflex of the inherited Proto-Slavic acute. With support from typological evidence and phonetic analysis, it is claimed that the variation in modern Slavic reflexes of the acute results from differing outcomes of the disappearance of the glottal stop: metathesis, straightforward loss, and laryngealization.

Among the Slavic languages, Slovene and the dialects corresponding to Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS)—Kajkavian, Čakavian, and Štokavian—evidence the only pitch-accent systems remaining in Slavic.[2] Elsewhere, older pitch distinctions have been transformed into quantity relations (e.g., Czech, Slovak), further transformed into new quality relations (e.g., Sorbian, Polish), or pitch and quantity relations have become transformed into systems with only distinctive place of stress (e.g., Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Bulgarian). Croatian and Slovene dialects in particular preserve a relatively greater share of direct evidence of pitch relations, particularly with regard to words displaying contrastive "rising" pitch accents (as opposed to "falling"). So, for example, Kajkavian, Čakavian, some varieties of Štokavian, and

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[2] For convenience BCS, which has emerged in American Slavistic usage as a cover term for the Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian standard languages, is used to refer to the Štokavian-based standard languages and the speech territories defined by them. Western South Slavic (WSS) refers collectively to Slovene and BCS.

Slovene preserve a rising pitch in long syllables of the accent type *sú:ša* 'drought'.[3] Kajkavian and Slovene have a rising accent in historically short syllables of the type *'kó:nji* 'horses' NOM/ACC-PL. Slovene alone preserves a rising accent in the type *g'rí:va* 'mane', though some northwestern Štokavian and Čakavian dialects also have a rising accent in cases of compensatory lengthening, e.g., the type *s'tá:rca* 'old man' GEN-SG. The types can be grouped historically by virtue of their origin: the *'sú:ša, 'kó:nji* types are referred to traditionally as reflexes of the "neo-acute" (NA), and the *g'rí:va, s'tá:rca* types as reflexes of the "old-acute." For the purpose of this paper, the rising pitch that developed with neo-Štokavian accent shift is left aside, since this development occurred after the dissolution of Slavic unity. (Details, further examples, and a discussion of the origins, as well as references to further literature, can be found in Ivić [1966] and Lisac [2003].) From the perspective of linguistic geography, Slovene presents the most archaic picture, lying as it does on the NW periphery of the WSS dialects and preserving rising pitch from the largest number of historical sources, including the old acute. Slovene rising pitch comes both from old acute and neo-acute. In Croatian dialects the richest—and in most cases the only source—of rising pitch is the neo-acute. Not only do the sources for the rising pitches differ in Slovene and Croatian, but the synchronic phonetics of the rising pitches differ as well. This discrepancy points us towards an explanation of the development of the acute tone, as will be developed in the continuation of this paper.

1.1. The Realization Of Pitch Contrasts In Slovene And Croatian

A sense of the difference in phonetic realization of pitch between the Slovene and Croatian accent types can be obtained by comparing the results of instrumental analyses carried out by Srebot-Rejec (1988) for Slovene and by Lehiste and Ivić for Kajkavian (1986). These studies are particularly apt for comparison as they each focus on corpuses of recorded and instrumentally measured examples of disyllabic frames for the occurrence of falling and rising pitches in the respective languages. In each of the studies, measurements of pitch height based on

[3] The term *accent(s)* is used here to reference the traditional designations in the Slavistic literature of "falling," "rising" (synchronic); "circumflex," "acute" (diachronic) word-prosodic suprasegmental prominences without regard to their phonetic properties.

fundamental frequency (F_0) were taken in the stressed and first-pretonic syllable and the samples averaged so that composite measurements can be compared for each language. The Slovene speakers were from Ljubljana, which reflects the prosodic system of the central (Upper and Lower Carniolan) dialects (1988: 13). The Kajkavian informants were from Donja Pušća in the Lower Sutla dialect (about 26 km west of Zagreb). Lehiste and Ivić report that essentially the same pattern of pitch movement observed in Donja Pušća Kajkavian was found also in Čakavian (1988: 75ff, 81) and Slavonian (83—92). For this reason I assume that the Kajkavian evidence is reasonably representative of the Croatian pitch contrasts.

In Slovene the difference between "falling" and "rising" accents is reflected in the contrast between the relative height of the pitch in the stressed vs. the first post-tonic syllable and, importantly, the relative height of falling vs. rising pitch stressed syllables (see Figure 1). With both falling and rising pitches the first post-tonic syllable is approximately the same, falling gradually from 130 to 110 Hz in the "falling" case and from 125 to 110 in the "rising" case. The larger contrast is in the stressed syllable, which is rising (!) in both instances. In the case of the "falling" pitch, the rise is from 125 to 155 Hz (an increase of 30 Hz of 24%), completed in about a tenth of a second before falling rapidly to 130 Hz in the post-tonic syllable. The "rising" pitch is almost level, going from 100 to 110 Hz (a rise of only 10 Hz or 10%) in a tenth of a second. But, crucially, the highest point of the pitch in the stressed syllable does not exceed the lowest pitch of the first post-tonic syllable. Moreover, the lowest pitch of the stressed syllable is lower than the lowest pitch of the post-tonic syllable (100 Hz vs. 110 Hz). The contrast between "falling" and "rising" accent in Slovene is therefore not really falling and rising at all, but rather a contrast between a high-pitched stressed syllable and a low-pitched stressed syllable. The post-tonic syllables, being more or less the same for either pitch-accent, form a sort of target or platform with which the higher- or lower-pitched stressed syllable contrast. To employ IPA contour symbols, the Slovene pitch contrast might be symbolized thus: "falling" accent: [˥.˩] vs. "rising" accent: [˩.˦] (where the dot indicates the syllable break), or, to use the numerical stylization, [5.3] vs. [1.3].

The Kajkavian data for the accent contrasts are similar to the Slovene in one respect, that is, that the post-tonic syllable is roughly the same regardless of the pitch properties of the stressed syllable (see Figure 1).

Unlike Slovene, however, the Kajkavian stressed syllables of each type (i.e., "falling" and "rising") are roughly in the same pitch range as one another and consequently the contrast between the two pitch types can hardly consist of a distinction between high and low pitch. The falling accent is defined by a quick rise from 120 to 128 Hz within the first tenth of a second of the duration of the first syllable, then falling to 113 Hz by the end of the vocalic portion of the syllable, some 9/100ths of a second later. The rising pitch starts at the same height (120 Hz) as with the falling accent syllable and reaches a peak of 127 Hz at 18/100ths of a second, just before the completion of the vocalic portion of the syllable, and the falling in the final 2/100ths to 120 Hz. The contrast in Kajkavian is produced by a fall vs. a rise in the stressed syllables. The Kajkavian pitch contrast might be stylized as follows: "falling" accent: [˥.˩] vs. "rising" accent: [˧.˩] or [53.3] vs. [35.3]. The data for the Slovene and Croatian accents are presented in tabular form in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Slovene and Croatian pitch measurements based on Srebot-Rejec (1988: 108ff) and Ivić and Lehiste (1986: 83ff)

	Falling accent		Rising accent	
	Stressed syllable	First post-tonic	Stressed syllable	First post-tonic
Slovene (Ljubljana)	125 ↗ 155/.10 s.	130 ↘ 110	100 ↗ 110/.10 s.	125 ↘ 110
Croatian (Donja Pušća Kajkavian)	120 ↗ 128/.10 s.↘ 113/.19	116 ↘ 112	120 ↗ 127/.18 s. ↘ 120	120 ↘ 112

To summarize, Slovene differs in its realization of accentual contrasts from Croatian in the configuration of pitch over two syllables, the stressed syllable and the first post-tonic. Slovene contrasts a lower vs. a higher stressed syllable with the following unstressed syllable. In the case of the "falling" accent, the pitch is raised in the stressed syllable; in the case of the "rising" accent, the pitch is lowered in the stressed syllable. In Kajkavian the pitch distinctions are signaled by the relative timing of the pitch peak in the stressed syllable and the second syllable is irrelevant to the interpretation of pitch: in both cases—falling and rising pitch—the pitch trajectory of the stressed syllable occurs in

a higher range than that of the following syllable. Therefore, the relevant feature in the Kajkavian contrast is the movement of the pitch in the stressed syllable, i.e., falling vs. rising.

1.2. Diachronic Issues

We may now turn to the origins of the accent contrasts. Both with respect to origins and the general outline of the pitch contours, the "falling" accent patterns similarly in Slovene and Croatian: by and large, the falling accent comes from inherited Proto-Slavic falling pitch (**ǒko* 'eye' > Sln. *o´kò:*, Cr. *´òko*) or the neo-circumflex (**govę̑dīna* 'beef' > Sln/Kaj *go´vè:dina*) (for further details on sources see Lončarić 1996: 49). We have also noted the similarity in shape of the pitch contour of the Slovene and Croatian falling accent: [5.3] (Sln.), [53.3] (Cr.). The same is not true of the "rising" accent. In Slovene, the two oldest sources for this pitch-accent are the old acute (**kȃrva* 'cow' > Sln. *k´rá:va*) and the neo-acute (**súša* 'drought' > Sln. *´sú:ša*); in Croatian dialects the old acute has merged with the short falling accent (Kaj. *k´ràva*) and the neo-acute is the principal source for rising pitch (Kaj. *´súša*). It is the contour of the "rising" accent that is strikingly different in Slovene vs. Croatian, to wit: [1.3] (Sln.) vs. [35.3]. This discrepancy needs to be explained.

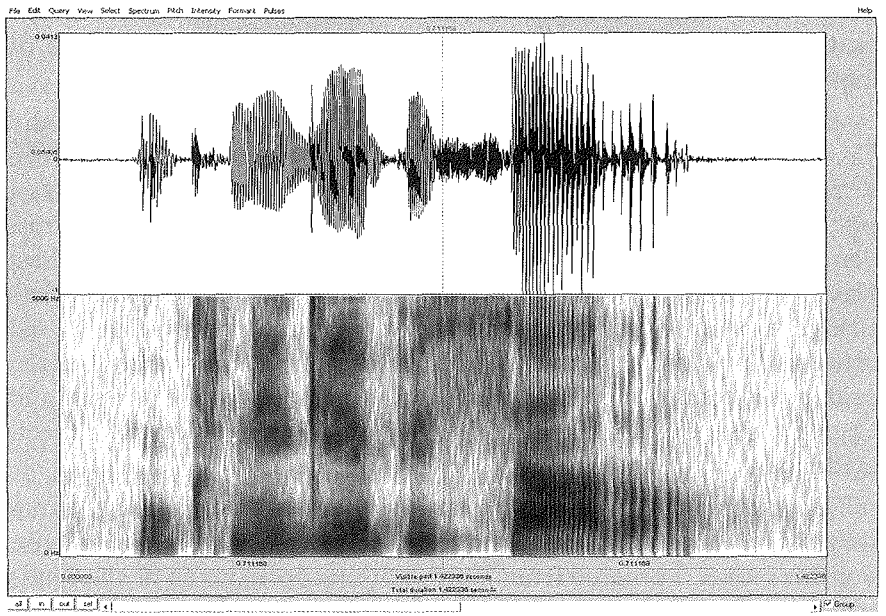
Since the neo-acute stress results in a rising pitch in Slovene and Croatian, it is a reasonable assumption that the pitch has always been a "rising" one and that the Slavic languages that no longer contrast pitch have rephonologized the rising tone as part of a quantity contrast (length in West Slavic) or simply a prominent, stressed syllable (East Slavic, Eastern South Slavic). The situation with the old acute is less straightforward. Slovene presents the only direct evidence that the old acute had anything to do with pitch in the narrow sense: most of the evidence is conflicting: Czech has length (*k´ra:va*); Slovak (*k´rava*) and Croatian shortness (*k´ràva*); and, again, the Slovene (Central dialect) evidence shows length and rising pitch (*k´rá:va*).

The heterogeneity of reflexes can be explained better if one assumes that pitch is not the source of the contrast, but, rather, phonation type. For this reason, I proceed from Kortlandt's reconstruction of the Slavic accentual developments, which posits retention of a laryngeal feature, inherited from Indo-European, for Slavic until 800 A.D. (Kortlandt 1975: 20, going back to an idea from Vaillant 1936). However, I depart

from Kortlandt's view that in Slavic the "old laryngealized vowels fell together with the short rising vowels" (1975: 33). Rather, I believe that in some areas of Slavic the laryngeal feature persisted as glottalization before becoming rephonologized as pitch or quantity. Moreover, I shall give an account with phonetic and typological evidence that explains the variation found in Slavic dialects.

1.3. Excursus on a Pilot Study on Laryngealization in Slovene

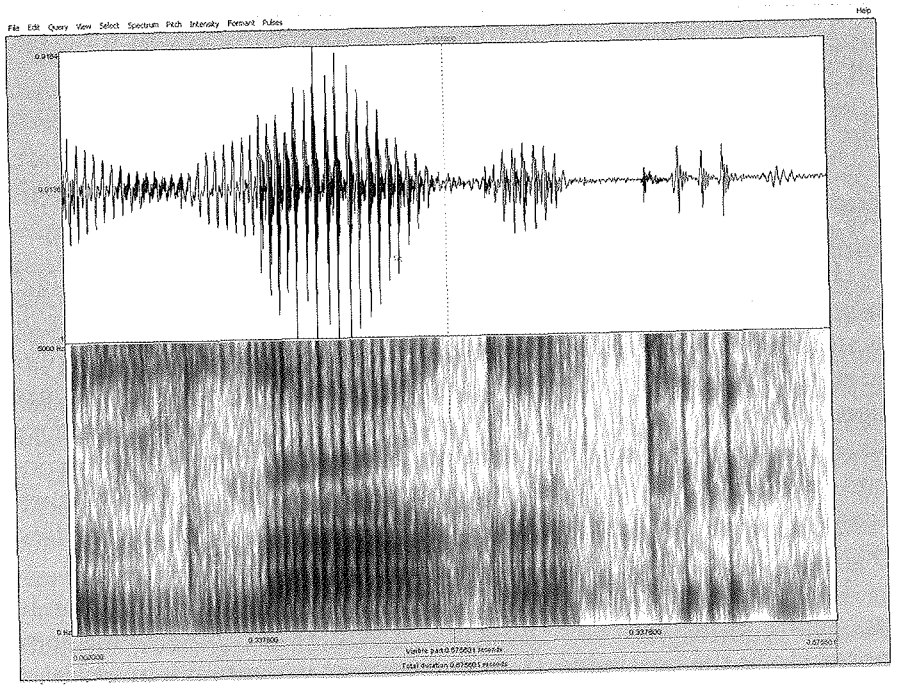
At this point in the discussion I would like to digress a bit on the genesis of the ideas presented in this paper. As many who have become interested in Slavic accentology, I have long been intrigued by Kortlandt's laryngealist theory of the history of the Baltic and Slavic accent systems. I thought I was on to something that would confirm a piece of the laryngealist approach when I came across, in the course of doing fieldwork in Upper Carniola (Srednje Jarše pri Domžalah), cases of laryngealized phonation in conjunction with rising pitch. Instrumentally rendered images[4] of such examples are presented in Figure 2 and Figure 3.



[4] The images were obtained using PRAAT 4.3.04 by Paul Boersma and David Weenink.

Figure 2. V knjigi je pisalo: ... 'in the book it said ...' spoken by adult female speaker of standard Slovene from Upper Carniola (Sr. Jarše pri Domžalah). Creaky voice is seen in the wider-spaced striations on the right, corresponding to the final vowels a-o.

It was not at all clear to me that these instances were regularly a feature of Slovene rising pitch and I had a hunch they might be idiolectal, but I thought that if it turned out to be the case that there was a regular correspondence between creaky voice and rising pitch, this would demonstrate that the laryngeal feature remained intact—at least in Srednje Jarše pri Domžalah—considerably later than 800 A.D. Possessing only rudimentary skills in experimental phonetics, I was fortunate to have been able to engage the assistance of a phonetician colleague, Dr. Peter Jurgec (Fran Ramovš Slovene Language Institute, Ljubljana), who conducted a preliminary investigation into the phenomenon.[5]



[5] The idea for the collaboration arose during the Slavistic Congress in Novo mesto, Slovenia, in October 2004. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Jurgec for his assistance with this project. I am pleased that the investigation has taken on a life of its own in Dr. Jurgec's work, unconnected with the historical problem I had in mind.

Figure 3. ... razlagati 'to explain'. Sentence-final word spoken by adult female speaker of standard Slovene from Upper Carniola (Sr. Jarše pri Domžalah). Creaky voice is evident virtually throughout the word.

Jurgec (2005) examined the role of creaky voice (one of several variants he collectively terms "laryngealization") in Slovene, analyzing a corpus of 204 minutes of studio-recorded samples of speech from Ljubljana (10 speakers) and 29 minutes of field-recorded speech in context from a single informant in Kanal Valley (Zilja dialect, Carinthia). In these corpora, laryngealization occurs in 11.6% of the words. Three types of laryngealization were considered: (1) Word-initial and morpheme-boundary laryngealization; (2) Word-internal laryngealization; and (3) paralinguistic laryngealization (connected with speaker hesitation, etc.). Of these, for the purposes of studying the diachronic situation with regard to inherited word-prosody, we are concerned only with (2).

Jurgec's major findings relevant to the present study are that:

1. Laryngealization was found more frequently in post-tonic syllables than tonic.
2. The more post-tonic syllables in the word, the more likely is the occurrence of laryngealization.
3. Laryngealization (in post-tonic syllables) is more likely in circumflex- than in acute-stressed words.
4. The distribution in 3 is relevant only for tonemic speakers.

From this it follows that laryngealization is a concomitant phenomenon in the realization of pitch in tonemic Slovene. However, it is not found as the realization of the stressed syllable. The synchronic state of affairs can be explained as follows: laryngealization occurs optimally in low-pitch and low intensity syllables, therefore it is more likely to occur post-tonically than under stress. It is more likely to occur in syllables in which pitch is relatively low, therefore it is more frequent after the high pitched-stress (circumflex, FP), than the low pitched (acute, RP).

It can be inferred that from the group sampled, laryngealization is not found as the reflex of the acute ("rising") stress *per se*. This does not exclude the possibility that other dialect variants might reveal a different patterning. Some caveats: Jurgec's sampling is from other localities than the one that originally drew my attention to the phenomenon; moreover, as Jurgec himself indicates, his investigation is as yet only preliminary. Nevertheless, there is no evidence as yet that there

is a direct continuation of laryngealization today as the reflex of the acute stress.

Though I am reasonably convinced that laryngealization as a reflex of the Proto-Slavic acute (and, by extension, Indo-European laryngeals) is not a feature of modern Slovene dialects, I do however think that laryngealization played a role in the variation of reflexes that we find in Slavic dialects today. I shall turn now to some phonetic preliminaries and finally to a reconstruction of the processes I think must have taken place to give rise to the reflexes.

1.4. Phonetic Considerations

To place laryngealization in a wider typological context, this phonation type makes up a part of a spectrum of states of the glottis that affect the realization of voicing. Towards the extremes of this continuum are breathy voice on the one hand and creaky voice on the other. According to Ladefoged, "Breathy-voiced sounds have a greater flow but less pressure than in regular voicing, and creaky-voiced sounds have the reverse. In breathy voice the vocal cords are further apart and let more air through, whereas in creaky voice they are pressed tightly together, largely blocking the airflow" (Ladefoged 2003: 169). The endpoint on spectrum, toward which creaky voice tends, is the complete closure of the glottis, the glottal stop. In languages the realization of a glottal stop can range into less than full closure, in other words, creaky-voice can be an allophonic variation of the glottal stop (Ladefoged 2003: 175; Thurgood 2002: 346—347). The general linguistic literature on the effects of laryngealization has grown richer with increasingly detailed phonetic and phonological analyses of world languages. Laryngealization has been demonstrated to play a role in both quantity and pitch effects with widely varying outcomes. For example, in the context of a general linguistic survey of compensatory lengthening, Kavitskaya points out that "[t]he fact that the deletion of glottal stops can be correlated with CL [compensatory lengthening] is rather puzzling [...]. Glottal stops do not share phonetic characteristics with segments that trigger vowel lengthening, such as glides, liquids or fricatives. [...] [V]oiced stops often cause the lengthening of preceding vowels. However, glottal stops are voiceless and should thus pattern with voiceless stops, which usually have a shortening effect on preceding vowels" (2002: 79). Kavitskaya goes on to show for a range of sample languages that the loss of glottal stops results in compensatory

lengthening in cases of laryngealization, whereas simple loss of a glottal segment does not result in vowel lengthening (79—80).

Writing on tonogenesis in Vietnamese, Thurgood says that "[t]he pitch raising effect of final glottal stop is widely attested; however, there are also cases of a pitch lowering effect. [...] [T]his apparent discrepancy is reconcilable if the abrupt, complete glottal closure accompanying a final glottal stop is distinguished from the less complete, less abrupt glottal stricture found, for example, in Burmese 'creaky' tone" (2003: 342). Referring to earlier work by Mauzadon, Thurgood indicates that "the more abrupt, more complete glottal stop leads to pitch raising, while the more imperfect, less abrupt variant leads to often-sharp pitch lowering accompanied by tenseness" (*loc. cit.*). As Ní Chasaide and Gobl indicate, creaky-voice (laryngealized) phonation correlates with low pitch for mechanical reasons: "Pitch has been observed to be extremely low, and would appear to be controlled by aerodynamic factors [...]" 1999: 450. The evidence for pitch raising with the glottal stop proper is provided by Hombert. Hombert's experiment with male Arabic speakers demonstrated that a glottal stop, representing one end of the spectrum, and [h], representing the other, result in a minimum pitch rise of 9hz and a lowering of at least 25hz, respectively (Hombert 1978: 93—94).

Kavitskaya, Thurgood, and Hombert demonstrate that loss of glottal stops can result in a range of variation and even seemingly contradictory results as the contrasts in which they participate become rephonologized in terms of quantity and pitch. When they are simply lost, glottal stops do not lengthen syllables and they raise pitch. When glottal stops weaken to laryngealized phonation or creaky voice, they can lengthen syllables, make vowels tense, and lower pitch.

1.5. Reconstruction Of The Developments

Assuming that the glottal stop persisted in Slavic up until 800 A.D., I believe it is not all that farfetched to think that the segment did not simply disappear uniformly in all dialects after leaving a pitch-perturbation effect. The diachronic progression from a glottal stop to a laryngealized vowel phonation, essentially, a spread of a segmental feature throughout a syllable (or even across syllables), can be seen as a particular instantiation of a general tendency in the last stages of Proto-Slavic. One may compare, for example, the spread of nasality from coda-final

nasal segments giving rise to nasal vowels or the metathesis of CV*r/l*C> C*r/l*VC, one of a number of innovations leading to the lightening of inherited heavy syllables. Following Bethin's observation, this tendency amounts to the shift of less sonorous elements from syllable-coda position (see Bethin 193ff).

In Figure 4 are sketched out the logical outcomes of glottal-stop loss according to the processes that we might expect to have developed in the context of Slavic in the 9th century. For each of the outcomes it is assumed that in subsequent developments the glottal stop or laryngealization was lost, having been evaluated by speakers as a secondary manifestation of the primary contrast(s) (that is, pitch and/or quantity). Were a syllable-final glottal stop to undergo metathesis in a parallel fashion to liquid metathesis, the effect would be to raise the pitch contour of the syllable onset and, possibly, lengthen the syllable. As far as I know, this is not one of the outcomes in Slavic, though it may be the relevant development needed to explain phenomena in Latvian and the Žemaitian dialect of Lithuanian, which show broken tone or falling pitch as a reflex of the inherited Balto-Slavic acute (see Young 1994 for details). Simple deletion of the glottal stop in final position would yield a short syllable with a high tone, conceivably a rising tone, but one in which the salience of the intrasyllabic rise, by virtue of its short duration, would be minimal in comparison with the contrast between the stressed syllable (H) and the decay (L) in the post-tonic syllable. The result is the short "falling" stress found as a reflex of the old acute characteristic of eastern Slovene dialects and BCS; in central Slovak dialects, which have lost pitch distinctions, the reflex is simply a short syllable. The third possibility—glottal stop loss yielding laryngealization—parallel to the loss of syllable-final nasals resulting in nasalization, would result in a long syllable with a lowered tone. In languages such as Upper Sorbian and Czech, where pitch has been lost, we see only the lengthening effect. In central and western Slovene dialects we find the lower tone described earlier in this paper. If this was indeed the process that obtained in Slovene, then positing relengthening of formerly short acute syllables becomes unnecessary (Greenberg 2000: 128—130). The final steps would then be the merger of the pitch contour of redundant rising tone in short-stressed words (of the type **ˊnósi:[tɒ]*) with the low-pitched-stressed (formerly laryngealized) words and the loss of quantity contrasts by lengthening the short-stressed syllables.

Figure 4: Possible outcomes of glottal-stop resolution ca. 800 A.D.

Process	syllable structure	pitch effect	quantity effect
metathesis	CV?C > C?VC	falling pitch	long syllable?
glottal-stop deletion	CV?C > CVC	high tone	short syllable
laryngealization	CV?C > CV̰C	low tone	long syllable

To sum up, there is evidence for a series of related developments ensuing in the late stages of the dissolution of Slavic continuity as regards the reflex of the Proto-Slavic acute. A syllable-final glottal stop can either be lost directly, resulting in a high-pitched short syllable (BCS), or give rise to a laryngealized syllable and, finally, a low-pitched long syllable (Slovene). In non-pitch-distinguishing dialects, the results are limited to quantity contrasts, i.e., short (Slovak) vs. long (Czech), respectively.

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THE *VÒĽĀ-TYPE ACCENT IN SLAVIC

In this paper, Slavic nouns with the suffix *-ja and fixed neo-acute on the root (like *vòľā "will" or *sũšā "drought") are closely examined. None of the previous explanations, which are here considered, have proven entirely satisfactory. In the paper, it is concluded that the *vòľā-type nouns are mostly young derivatives with the *-ja suffix, which thus belong to the default accentual paradigm *b*. There is no retraction in *-ja nouns in a. p. *a* (*tǫ̑ča "hail, storm etc.") or in a. p. *c* (*dūšå, *dûšǫ). Some problematic words (like *svěťå, *svěťǫ "candle") are also discussed.

1. Introduction[1]

In Slavic, besides regular a. p. *a* *ā*-stem nouns like *rýba "fish", a. p. *b* nouns like *trāvȁ "grass" and a̋. p. *c* nouns like *golvȁ "head", exists a class of feminine *ā*-stem nouns which have the fixed neo-acute on the root in all cases and a long final *-ā. I shall refer to this class of nouns as the *vòľā-type nouns (or *sũšā-type for the nouns with the long root syllable). If the root vowel of these nouns is short, it has the short neo-acute *ˋ (*vòľā "will", *kòžā "skin" etc.); if the root vowel is long, it has the long neo-acute *̏ (*sũšā "drought", *žę̑ďā "thirst" etc.). Evidently, we can detect some kind of stress retraction in such examples (cf. normal nouns with unacuted roots like *ženȁ "woman", *trāvȁ "grass", *rǭkȁ "arm" which have an end-stress) and assume that it has something to do with the suffix *-ja which was, as already said, long in *vòľā-type nouns. Many words ending in *-ja however do not show *vòľā or *sũšā-

[1] I am very grateful to Thomas Olander for his valuable comments on the first draft of this paper, to Miguel Carrasquer Vidal for discussing the problem with me, to Kristina Marenić who read the text carefully and made it more readable and to Siniša Habijanec for the help with Slovak examples.

type accentuation (nor the long final *-ā): *dūšȧ "soul", *zemľȧ "land", *meďȧ "border", *sě̋ča "cutting", *mě̋rža "net", *krā́ďa "theft" etc. This phenomenon, that is, the difference of *sũšā and *dūšȧ, was never really explained in a satisfactory manner. Although many linguists tried to explain how the *vòľā-type accentuation emerged, it seems that the focus was nearly always on the very process of the retraction and the lengthening of *-jā in this type of nouns. Very few authors have ever, at least to my knowledge, tried to develop a scheme why the supposed retraction is attested in some words but not in others. That is the problem we shall try to solve here.

2. Material (*vòľā-type nouns)

We shall list some of the examples of the *vòľā-type nouns in Slavic languages:

Croatian (Štokavian, Čakavian, Kajkavian)

Examples with long vowel: *grãđa* "building material", *sũša, strãža* "guard, watch", *žẽđa*[2], *plãća* "pay", *tẽža* "weight", *kũplja* "buying, trade", *jãža* "gap", *tvr̃đa* "fortress", *vrãža* "magic, sorcery" with the preserved long neo-acute in Old Štokavian, Čakavian and Kajkavian (dial.). In Neo-Štokavian dialects (as well as in Standard Croatian), where ˜ > ˆ, there is *grâđa, sûša* etc. Examples with short vowel: *kȍža, vȍlja, stȅlja* "bed", *tȁšta* "mother-in-law", *vȅčera* (Neo-Štokavian) < *večȅra* (< *večȅŕā) "supper", *nȍzdra* "nostril"[3], *mȍča* "moist, rainy weather", *vȍđa* "leader" (a younger word).

Differences can sometimes be found in the accentuation of these words in Croatian dialects. Furthermore, different Slavic languages differ in their accentuation of certain words. Thus, besides the accent *plãća* > *plâća* in Croatian, there is also the accent *pláća*. The latter is analogical to the accent of all other a. p. *b* and a. p. *c* nouns (like *tráva* "grass", *gláva* "head" etc.). Croatian also has a secondary accent in examples *vònja* "smell", *hòđa* "walk" (cf. Czech *vůně*, Sln. *hǫ́ja* which point to *vòľā-type accent) and *ráđa* "work" (a younger derivative).

[2] Here we cite the Štokavian form, for instance *žẽđa* and not *žẽja* which would be the Čakavian form.

[3] Cf. Polish *nozdrza*. Russian *ноздря́* is probably secondary (cf. Zaliznjak 1985: 135).

In Kajkavian, the short root vowel words have the neo-circumflex instead of short neo-acute. It is found in examples such as *kôža, vôlja* which disagree with both Štokavian/Čakavian *kȍža, vȍlja* and Slovene *kǫ́ža, vǫ́lja*. Kajkavian examples could be explained as neo-circumflexes: *vòľā > vôlja. Thus, Kajkavian would also point to the length of the suffix. However, this development in Kajkavian is very uncertain since *nòsīšь > nȍsiš (not **nôsiš).

Slovene

In Slovene, the nouns of the *vòľā-type show the expected long rising accent ´ as the reflex of both *˜ and *` (if in a root, the vowels /e/ and /o/ are closed: /ẹ/, /ọ/). In Slovene, the reflexes of *˜ and *` are identical to that of a. p. *b* nouns with pretonic length and to the a. p. *a* nouns (*rẹ́ka* "river" < *rě̄kȧ and *vẹ́ra* "faith" < *vě̋ra like *žẹ́ja* < *žę̄ďa, *trǫ́ba* "trumpet" < *trǭbȧ like *kǫ́ža* etc.). Thus, in Slovene for instance, we have: *žẹ́ja, stráža, súša, hǫ́ja* "walk", *pláča, kǫ́ža, vǫ́lja*[4], *vǫ́nja* "scent, stink", *stẹ́lja, tẹ́ža, grája, gǫ́šča, lǫ́vlja* "hunt", *tášča, vráža* etc. The length of th old *-ja is seen in a. p. a words: *gâča, grîža, krâja, prêja, vêja* (Pleteršnik), cf. also secondary *lǭvlja, tǭnja, strâža, hǭja*. The normal reflex in a. p. a is ´, cf. *búrja, čáša, dínja, gráblje, káplja, káša* (Pleteršnik) etc. (Croat. *gȁće, grȉža, krȁđa, prȅđa, vjȅđa, bȕra, čȁša, dȉnja, grȁblje, kȁplja, kȁša*). Cf. also Slovene variants *krája, prẹ́ja* (Snoj).

Slovene *hǫ́ja* < *xòďā agrees with Czech *chůze* and Slovak *chôdza* (Croatian *hòđa* is secondary). In Slovene, the example *večệrja* has the expected neo-circumflex in trisyllabic *ā*-stem (like Slovene *zabâva* "fun, party" and *dobrâva* "oak wood", cf. Croatian *zábava, dùbrava*).

Bulgarian

Bulgarian reveals only the accent position. Cf. examples like: *вòля, вечѐря, сỳша, стрàжа, жàжда, кòжа.*

Czech

In Czech, the length found in *sũšā-type words is a regular outcome of *˜. However, this proves to be ambiguous given the fact that the old

[4] In Prekmurje, one finds interesting accentuation in this example – N. sg. *vȍla*, A. sg. *volȍu* (a. p. *c*), but an unexpected length in L. sg. *po vȍuli* (Greenberg 2002: 141).

acute and pretonic length in a. p. *b* in Czech also yield length, cf. *kráva* < *kȍrva, *brázda* < *borzdȁ). The reflex of short neo-acute in Czech *vòľa-type nouns is mostly long (either regularly or analogically), cf. Czech *vůle* (also attested in Slovak but not consistantly, cf. Slovak *vôľa*)[5].

Thus, in Czech we have: *příze* "yarn", (Old Czech) *žieze, vůle, chůze, vůně* (Croatian secondary *vònja*), *kůže, nůše, hráze* (Slovak *hrádza*), *tíže, souš(e), stráž(e), houšt(e), koupě, práce* "work", *večeře, tůně.*

Czech *příze* corresponds to Slovak *priadza* < *prę̑ďā, but not to Croatian *prȅđa* and Polish *przędza* < *prę́ďa. Czech/Slovak accent is secondary as is confirmed by Croatian verb *prȅsti,* Slovene *prę́sti*, Czech *přísti* < *prę́sti (present tense: *prę̑dešь, Croatian *prédeš,* Slovene *prę́deš* etc.). Slovak does not have the length in *koža* and *noša* whereas Czech does - *kůže, nůše.*

Slovak

In Slovak, we also find find length in *sũšā-type words. This type has also analogically spread on to some original *vòľā-type words (words with short root vowel).

Thus, in Slovak, there is: *priadza* (secondarily in this type), *vôľa, chôdza, vôňa, koža, noša, práca, hrádza* "dam", *húšť* "bush", *kúpa* "shopping", *mládza* "young grass (after first mowing)", *pláca*[6], *stráž, súš* "dry land", *tiaž* (in the phrase *zemská tiaž* "gravity"), *tôňa* "shadow", *tvŕdza* "trouble" (*tvrdza* "fort"), *žiadza* "wish, crave". Here we may notice that Slovak examples *koža* and *noša* do not have the length unlike Czech *kůže, nůše.*

Polish (and Slovincian)

Polish has lost quantity so that the only trace of *sũšā-type in modern Polish can be seen in examples with nasals and TorT syllables, e. g. *żądza, ciąża* "pregnancy", *stróża* and dial. *gródza.* However, in Old Polish (which still had distinctive length) and in Polish dialects (which preserve the separate phoneme as the result of the old long *ā), the *vòľā-type nouns have the long final *–a* (written *–å* or *–á)* cf. Old and Middle Polish: *wolå, kupiå, żądzå, głębiå* "depth", *karmiå* "fodder", *pieczå, stróżå, woniå, dolå* "share", *groblå* "grave", *puszczå* "forest" (OCS *pušta*), *twierdzå, władzå* "reign" etc. (Łoś 1908), "małopolski" *żåzå, vecežå, ńevolå* etc. The length of the final *–a* is preserved in some dialects as *–å.* In standard Polish, as we said, the length is lost.

In Polish, long *–å* is attested in some a. p. a words as well, cf. *sukniå* (not *vòľā-type originally, cf. Croatian *sùknja,* Slovene *sûknja*), *burzå* "storm" (cf. Croatian *bùra,* Russian *бу́ря*), *tłuszczå* "fat" (cf. Russian *мóлща* "thickness").

The length of final *–a* is also found in Slovincian[7]: *ˈvolā* (but also younger *ˈvola*), *ceˈčā* "liquid", *mloʒˈā* "youth", *ceńˈā* "darkness", *roľˈā, tońˈā* "depth"; *ˈmjezā* "boundary", *prˈacā* "work". It is important to note that Slovincian also has desinential stress in some words ending in *-ā* (which could be an archaism). Slovincian *zʲǭza* with short *–a* is secondary.

In Polish, the length in final *–å* is also found in old *-ьja stems but this has nothing to do with length in old *-ja stems. The length in *lodziå* "boat", *sędziå* "judge", *braciå* "brothers", *gościå* "guest" is due to the compensatory lengthening (because of the dropped *-ь-) like in *weselé* < *veselьje "happiness" etc.

Russian

Standard Russian, as Bulgarian, only shows the accent position. We can also detect the old rising intonation in the cases of the TorT syllable, cf. *ко́жа, во́ля*[8], *су́ша, но́ша, горо́жа, гу́ща* "thick, sediment", *до́ля, ко́рмля* (< *kъrmľā, cf. Old Polish *karmiå*), *ку́пля, ло́вля, то́ня* "fishing-place", *ча́ща* "dense wood" etc. However, the old neo-acute is clearly attested in Russian Leka dialects which have /ô/ (written also as /ω/, diphthong [uo]) for the old *ò, for instance *кôжа, вôля, дôля, лôвля* etc.

[5] We find length from *ò also in Czech *můžeš* "you can", Slovak *môžeš* etc. In Polish, there is a similar phenomenon in the ordinal numbers *szósty* "6th", *siódmy* "7th", *ósmy* "8th" by analogy to *piąty* "5th", *dziewiąty* "9th", *dziesiąty* "10th". Cf. also secondary Croatian *šêstī, sêdmī, ôsmī* besides older *šȅstī, sȅdmī, ȍsmī* and the spread of ˆ in *je*-nouns – original *grȍžđe* "grapes", *grȍblje* "graveyard" and *brijêšće* "elms", *hrâšće* "oaks" in some dialects, but generalized length (*grôžđe, grôblje, brijêšće, hrâšće*) in other dialects. Since the length in *vòľā-type words is present in almost all short-vowel examples in Czech, one could also presume that it is original there and not analogical. In that case one should probably operate with more than one Ivšić's Law.

[6] Only in phrases *Aká práca, taká pláca* and *Veľa práce, málo pláce.*

[7] Slovincian is here quoted after Stankiewicz's transcription (1993).

[8] The a. p. *c* forms *виля́, во́лю* in Čudovskij NZ and Merilo Pravednoe are secondary.

3. Some previous explanations of the *vòľā-type

Here we shall take a look at some of the former explanations for the phenomenon of *vòľā-type accent in Slavic.

Ivšić (1911: 163, 1971: [111]) correctly assumes that the accent˜ in examples like Croatian *strãža, sũša* etc. is due to the accent retraction and he derives, for instance, *strãža* from *storžâ/strāžâ. He is aware that the final -*ā* was long, as evidenced in Old Polish, but does not try to explain it explicitly other than saying that the ending *-i̯ā could have been elongated like Lithuanian –*ė*. He just noted, without getting into the matter too deeply, that the difference of *sũša, strãža* and *međȁ, zemljȁ* could be the result of the different original stems (*-i̯ā and *-i̯ē) which is not satisfactory[9].

Stang (1957: 57-9) explains the *vòľā-type accentuation beginning with *volʲja[10] which then develops to *volьjā and finally *vòľā. However, this explanation is not likely for many reasons. There is no trace of *ь in *vòľā anywhere and it is clear that suffix here is really *-ja, not *-ьja. Stang tries to explain this by assuming "a late Proto-Slavonic contraction *–ьja > -jā*" (Stang 1957: 37) which is clearly an *ad hoc* assumption. Slavic had both the suffix *-ja and the suffix *-ьja which are clearly distinguished in Old Church Slavic, Russian, Bulgarian, Slovene, older Croatian etc. Cf. older Croat. *grȁđa/grãja,* Russ. *жорóжа,* Sln. *grája* < *gõrďā but older Croat. *lãdja,* Bulg. *лàдия*, Old Russ. *лóдья*, Sln. *ládja* < *õldьja < *oldʲja (a younger nom. sg. analogical to gen. sg. *oldʲję). Stang rejects Vaillant's explanation of *vòľā, *sũšā and *gõrďā as analogical to present tense forms like Croatian *vòlīm,* (dial.) *grãdīm* and adjective *sũhī* claiming it does not take the Lekhitic length of the final -*ā* into account. Nevertheless, they both failed to notice that the words like Croatian *grãdīm* and *sũhī* could not have been the cause for this kind of accentual pattern simply because the oldest forms of these examples are really *gradîm* and *suhî*. Both belong originally to the accentual paradigm *c*, not *b*, and are very well attested as such in Croatian dialects.

[9] Unlike Ivšić, one could note Slavic *vòľā ~ Lith. *valià* but Slavic *zemľà, *meďà ~ Lith. *žẽmė, mẽdė*. However, there are only three examples of this kind which is not enough to draw serious conclusions.

[10] Stang gets this pre-form *per exclusionem* (Stang 1957: 38), because examples like Russian *вóля* have the root-accent while the examples like Russian *семья́* have the final accent (so *vòlja* has to be from *volʲja, according to him). He does notice the difficulty with this supposed disappearance of *ь – it is preserved in OCS *bratrьja* etc.

Stankiewicz (1993: 6-7) says that "a derivational process similar to the metatonies can also explain the formation of the neo-acute in such forms as CSl. *sũša, *kòža, *pĩšešь or *kòi̯ešь whose accent can, contrary to earlier attempts, be ascribed neither to phonological factors (such as the effect of *j*) nor to analogical levelling. The interpretation of these forms requires, moreover, a chronological perspective, for they must have arisen later than similar formations with the suffix *–j-* which can be treated either as circumflex or acute, as was the case on the one hand of *dūšʲa, *zemi̯ʲa, and on the other hand of the comparatives *dórže, *súše". Stankiewicz is, as usual, vague and it is not clear what "a derivational process similar to the metatonies" really means. It most certainly is true that most of the *vòľā-type nouns are not very old formations (which is an important observation). However, this explanation does not suffice if one bears in mind that the word *vòľā itself is old, cf. Lithuanian *valià* (2).

Carlton (1991: 202-5), who gives a rather lengthy discussion on the *vòľā-type nouns while talking about the sources of the neo-acute, is content with saying that "*Jotation*, especially in the *jā*-stems, often produces neo-acute lengthening of the syllable immediately preceding the *jotated* consonant".

Kortlandt (1994) explains the lengthening of the final *–a* with what he calls van Wijk's Law: *wàlja? > wòl̥la* and then *wòl̥ā* when the long consonants were shortened with the compensatory lengthening of the following syllable[11]. The newly stressed long -*ā* recieves a falling accent which is than retracted to the root syllable yielding *vòľā[12]. Kortlandt (1997) explains the difference of the accentuation of *vòľā, *zemľà etc. by different original stems. We cannot get into that explanation here.

4. Origin Of The *vòľā-type nouns

So far we have seen the following Slavic examples of the *vòľā-type (we shall not mention all of them and not all examples are attested in

[11] We will not get into the problem of the van Wijk's Law in verbs, like in supposed *kòľešь "you slay", because the length in verbs like Croatian *kòljēš* is probably not original (cf. *mòžeš* "you can", *hòćeš* "you will").

[12] This retraction is usually refered to as Stang's Law because this is the explanation given in his book (Stang 1957). But Stang and most later scholars have disregarded the fact that the very same explanation of the phenomenon, allegedly explained first by Stang in 1957, was given 46 years before by Stjepan Ivšić (1911: 169-77, the same in Ivšić 1971: [119-27]). Thus, Stang's Law is in fact Ivšić's Law and we shall refer to it as Ivšić's Law in this article.

all languages[13], see section 1.): *vòľā "will", *kòžā "skin", *tę̋žā "weight", *žę̋dā "thirst", *sũšā "drought", *gõrďā "buliding material", *stõržā "guard", *gǫ̋stā "thick", *vòńā "smell", *dòľā "share", *steľā "bed", *kъrmľā "fodder", *kũpľā "buying, trade", *lòvľā "hunt", *põltā "pay", *vòďā "leader", *večèŕa "supper", *xòďā "walk", *nòšā "burden", *tьstā "mother-in-law", *tvъrďā "fortress", *gròbľā "grave", *pũstā "forest", *nòzdŕā "nostril", *õrstā "grove", *tòńā "fishing place", *čę̋štā "dense wood", *mòčā "moist, rainy weather", *võržā "magic, sorcery" etc. In some languages, several of these words have left the group secondarily (cf. Croatian *vònja* and *hòđa*) while others have joined it secondarily (cf. Czech *příze*, Slovak *priadza*).

As we have already mentioned, all of these examples are rather new derivatives in Slavic, with the exception of the word *vòľā which is probably Balto-Slavic (cf. Lithuanian *valià*, 2, Latvian *vaļa* "government").

Obviously, it is not enough just to point to the suffix *-ja in these examples since it does not guarantee this kind of accentuation, cf. Croatian *dúša - dûšu* "soul", *mèđa – mèđu* "border" with the mobile accent (a. p. *c)* or *vjèđa* "eyebrow", *kŭ́ća* "house" with the acute (a. p. *a)*. There seem to be only few *-ja nouns with a fixed end-stress, a. p. *b*, cf. Croatian *svijéća, svijéću* "candle" (others are clearly secondary like Croat. *hòđa* or younger derivatives like *ráđa)*.

Clearly, there has to be another criterion. The solution is simple – one has to look at the accentual paradigm of the word. In Slavic, *-ja nouns have either mobile stress (*dūšå, a. p. *c*) or fixed acute stress (*kǫ́ťa, a. p. *a*). Since a. p. *b* nouns with a fixed end-stress seem to be very rare, we shall assume that *vòľā-type nouns are the original a. p. *b* nouns which have retracted the stress to the root. Thus all the words of *vòľā-type belong originally to the accentual paradigm *b* in Slavic – being younger derivatives (without an acute in the root vowel) with the *-ja suffix they obviously become a. p. *b* by default[14] and therefore have the non-mobile circumflex accent on the first syllable (before Dybo's Law): *kʲozja, *vʲonja, *sʲūxja, *stʲelja etc. The only older word belonging to this stem, *vʲolja, expectedly belongs to a. p. *b* as well (cf. Lithuanian *valià* which belongs to a. p. 2).

[13] Some of the examples are probably not even reconstructible for Common Slavic and their reconstruction here is just formal.

[14] This is due to the fact that *-ja mobile stems were not productive anymore, cf. *sûxъ "dry" (a. p. *c*) ~ *sũšā (and not **sūšå, **sûšǫ). A. p. *a* *-ja stems remained productive.

Before Dybo's Law, these words have had fixed non-acute accent on the root as mentioned earlier. Then the final *-a got lengthened (as seen from Lekhitic where this length has been preserved). By Dybo's Law this *-ā becomes accented and the accent is falling - *voľâ which is then retracted by Ivšić's Law to *vòľā[15]. The length of the final syllable is preserved in Slovincian, Old Polish and some Polish dialects but is analogically changed to regular *–a* elsewhere.

One can posit different models for the lengthening of the final *–a*. Kortlandt assumes *-Cja > *-CCa > *-Cā (compensatory lengthening) which is possible but involves a two-phase change. Another way to explain the lengthening of the *-ja suffix is to presume it was treated as some kind of (quasi)diphthong *-i̯a which was, by a definition of a diphthong, (phonetically) long, thus *-i̯ā. This would demand only a one-phase-change. But we would then also have to assume that the neo-acute on the first syllable was spread analogically from the nominative singular to other cases. Otherwise, it would not be clear how for instance *-jẹ in gen. sg., *-ji in dat. sg. or *-jǫ in acc. sg. came to be interpreted as diphthongs. The change *-Cja > *-CCa > *-Cā (with compensatory lengthening) would prove to be more suitable because it would produce lengthened syllable in all cases (cf. Old Polish *wolá, wolą*). Accordingly, the retraction of the accent (see below) would be regular in all cases and no leveling would have to be involved. The gemination with subsequent progressive lengthening may seem phonetically somewhat unplausable, but no matter how the process was carried out exactly, it is a plain fact that unaccented *-ja is somehow lengthened in pre-Dybo a. p. *b* and in a. p. a stems (cf. Slovene *grîža* etc. and Old Polish *sukniå* etc. – the reflexes of the long *-jā in a. p. a are sporadic).

As we have seen, the long *-jā is attested in a. p. b and (sporadically) in a. p. a. A question arises – why was there no lengthening in a. p. c? A couple of solutions are possible, the easiest being that the lengthening operated only in posttonic syllables.

[15] In Slovincian, as we have seen, this final long syllable is still mostly stressed (-ˈā) which is probably the reflex of the non-retracted final long falling accent (it seems that Ivšić's Law did not operate in this case in Slovincian or that it was somehow analogically suppressed). The Čakavian and Slovene gen. pl. like *lopât* however, with non-retracted neo-circumflex (cf. Čakavian *lopâta*, Slovene *lopáta*) are probably secondary, due to analogical levelling with the examples like Čakavian *krâva*, gen. pl. *krâv* and Slovene *kráva*, gen. pl. *krâv*. This is confirmed by the Čakavian gen. pl. *lõpāt* (cf. Štokavian *lòpātā*) which is also very common.

Another question is why do we have this lengthening only in *ja*-stems and not for instance in masculine *jo*-stems of a. p. *b* like *koń̀ь, *koń̀a "horse"? The answer is simple: *-ь in the nom. and acc. sg. could not be lengthened in any way (being a reduced vowel) and consequently, there was no lengthening in *koń̀a either[16]. An early levelling with the usual type like *bob̀ь, *bob̀a "bean" should also be considered.

In feminine form of adjectives, there is also no evidence of *vòl'ā-type accentuation, cf. Croat. *tȁšt, tášta, tášto,* Sln. *tə̑šč, tə̑ščà,* ORuss. *тъщь,* a. p. *b* (Zaliznjak 1985: 136). This is not surprising, since we could hardly expect *vòl'ā-type accent in feminine form besides a desinential stress in nearly all masculine and neuter forms. The influence of masculine and neuter forms, as well as other a. p. *b* adjectives like *gol̀ь, *gol̀a, *gol̀o "naked", must have provided an early source of analogy (which was not present in *vòl'ā-type nouns).

Because of this, and because of the unconclusive state of the possible results of van Wijk's law in verbs, the only real attestation of the law is what we have in *vòl'ā-type nouns, i. e. in *ā*-stems.

5. Material (a. p. a and a. p. c *-ja nouns)

Here, we shall take a look at a. p. *a* and a. p. *c* *-ja nouns. In accentual paradigm *a* (for instance *pr̥̀ę̑da, *sȗkъ̑ńa), the final *-ja originally probably long - as attested in Old Polish examples like *sukniå, tłuszczå, burzå* (but not in *niedziela, przędza, tęcza*) and Slovene *grîža, vę̑ja, gâča* (but *búrja, čáša, káplja* etc.). In a. p. *c*, there was no lengthening (Old Polish *dusza, ziemia, miedza, zorza*).

Here we can adduce more evidence for a. p. *a* and a. p. *c* nouns with the suffix *-ja (the list is not exhaustive):

a. p. *a* *-ja nouns

*sẽ̑ča "cutting" > Croatian *sjȅča,* Russian *сéча*

*tǫ̑ča "storm, hail etc." > Croatian *tûča* "hail", Slovene *tǫ́ča*, Polish *tęcza* "rainbow", Russian *мýча* "storm, black cloud" etc.

[16] One might object that *-ь was also the ending in gen. pl. in the feminine *ja*-stems but that these forms did not present any obstacle in the lengthening of the other endings. However, gen. pl. is hardly of the same importance as nom./acc. sg. and besides, the "normal" a. p. *b* and a. p. *c a*-nouns also have a neo-acute in gen. pl. (cf. Čakavian *trâv, glâv, sûš)* due to Ivšić's Rule (the retraction of the stress from a weak *jer*).

*nedẽ̑l'a "Sunday" > Croatian *nèdjelja,* Slovene *nedę́lja,* Czech *neděle,* Old Polish *niedziela*

*krā̍d'a "theft" > Croatian *krȁđa,* Slovene *krája/krâja,* Russian *кра́жа*

*sъvā̍d'a "dispute" > Croatian *svȁđa,* Slovene *svája* (cf. also Czech *váda*) etc.

*vẽ̑d'a "eyebrow" > Croatian *vjȅđa,* Slovene *vę̑ja* (secondary ˆ), Bulgarian *вéжда*

*mẽ̑rža "net" > Croatian *mrȅža,* Slovene *mrę́ža,* Bulgarian *мрéжа,* Czech *mříže,* Russian *мерёжа*

*kǫ̑t'a "house" > Croatian *kȕća,* Slovene *kǫ́ča,* Bulgarian *къ́ща,* Ukrainian/Russian (dial.) *кýча*

*vẽ̑rt'a "bag" > Croatian *vrȅća,* Slovene *vrę́ča*

*kā̍ša "porridge" > Croatian *kàša,* Slovene *káša,* Czech *kaše,* Russian *кáша*

*bū́r'a "storm" > Croatian *bùra,* Bulgarian *бýря,* Old Czech *búře* (Czech *bouře),* Old Polish *burzå* (with secondary length), Russian/Ukrainian *бýря*

*čā̍ša "glass" > Croatian *čȁša,* Slovene *čáša,* Bulgarian *чáша,* Old Czech *čiešě* (Czech *číše*), Russian *чáша*

*čā̍d'a "soot" > Croatian *čȁđa,* Slk. (dial.) *čadza*

*sā̍d'a "soot" > Croatian *sȁđa* (Čakavian *sȁja*), Czech *sáze,* Russian *сáжа*

*lū́ža "mud" > Croatian *lȕža,* Slovene *lúža,* Czech *louže,* Russian *лýжа*

*kā̍p'a "drop" > Croatian *kȁplja,* Slovene *káplja,* Bulgarian *кáпя,* Russian *кáпля*

*nū́d'a "necessity" > Slovene *núja,* Czech *nouze,* Russian *нýжа*

*dū́p'a "hole" > Croatian *dȕplja,* Slovene *dûplja,* Ukrainian (dial.) *дýпля*

*pī́t'a "food" > Croatian *pȉća,* Slovene *píča,* Czech *píce*

*kȳ̍ša "rain, wet weather" > Croatian *kȉša,* Bulgarian *кúша,* Czech *kyše* (secondarily short), Russian (dial.) *кúша*

*tl̥̄̍št'a "fat, thick" > Russian *мóлща,* Old Polish *tłuszczå* "fat" (cf. the length)

*sū́kъ̑ńa "skirt" > Croatian *sûknja,* Slovene *sûknja,* Russian *сýкня,* Old Polish *sukniå* (cf. the length)

*pr̥̄̍d'a "yarn" > Croatian *prèđa,* Slovene *prę́ja,* Old Polish *przędza;* Czech *příze* and Slovak *priadza* are secondary

*konòpl'a "hemp" > Croat. *kònoplja*, Old Russian *конóпля* (Kolesov 1972: 26), Russ. dial. *конóпля*, Ukrainian N. pl. *конóпли*, Belorussian N. pl. *канóпли;* Russian *конопля́*, *конопли́* and Slovene *konóplja* are secondary

*skr'íńa "chest"[17] > Croatian *skrìnja*, Slovene *skrínja*, Russian *скри́ня*, Czech *skříň(e)*, Old Polish *skrzynia*

a. p. *c* *-ja nouns

*dūšā, *dûšǫ "soul" > Croatian *dúša* (older *dūšā*), *dûšu*, Slovene *dúša*, Czech *duše*, Slovak *duša*, Old Polish *dusza*, Russian *душа́*, *ду́шу*

*zemľā, *zèmľǫ "earth, soil" > Croatian *zèmlja* (older *zemljā*), *zèmlju*, Russian *земля́*, *зе́млю*, Slovincian ˈ*zemja*, Old Polish *ziemia*, not in accord with Lithuanian *žẽmė* (2) (cf. Illič-Svityč 1963: 108)

*meďā, *mèďǫ "border" > Croatian *mèđa*, *mèđu* (Čakavian Vrgada *mejȁ*, *mèju/mẽjũ*, Božava/Hvar/Senj/Pag *mèja*, *mèju* < **mejā*, *mèju*, Rivanj *mèđa*, *mèđu*, Rab secondary *mejȁ*, *mejũ*), Old Russian *межа́*, *ме́жу́* (Zaliznjak 1985: 135), Russian *межа́*, *межу́*, Ukrainian *межа́*, *ме́жу́* Illič-Svityč 1963: 106), Slovincian ˈ*mjezā* (like ˈ*volā*!), Old Polish *miedza;* Lithuanian (dial.) *mẽdė* (2) would point to Slavic a. p. *b* though[18]

*žeľā, *žẽľǫ "wish" > Croatian *žẽlja* (Čakavian *željȁ*), *žẽlju*, Slovene *žélja*

*gospoďā, *gòspoďǫ "lady" > Croatian (Dubrovnik) *gospòđa*, *gòspođu*, Slovene *gospá*, Russian *госпожа́*, *-ý* (secondary), Bulgarian *госпожà*

*zoŕā/zaŕā, *zȍŕǫ/zâŕǫ "dawn" > Croatian *zòra* (older *zorā*), *zòru*, Slovene *zórja/zárja*, Czech *zoře/záře*, Old Polish *zorza/zarza*, Russian *зоря́/заря́*, *зо́рю/зарю́*

*rъďā, *rъ̃ďǫ "rust" > Croatian *r̀đa*, *r̀đu* (Čakavian *rjȁ*, *r̃ju*), Old Russian *ржа́* (a. p. *b*) is secondary (Russian *ржа́)*

[17] This example is perhaps not very reliable since it is a loanword from Old High German *scrīni* (German *Schrein*), which is from Latin *scrīnium*, and in OCS, the word is attested as *skrinija*, which is not a *-ja word (it represents old *skrini, *skrinьje actually, like *oldi, *oldьje), and also as *skrina* (Snoj 2003: 664).

[18] The example *meďā is problematic because comparison with Lithuanian demands a. p. *b* (Illič-Svityč, *ibid.)* and no *vòľā-type retraction demands a. p. *c*. Slovincian ˈ*mjezā* could point to the original a. p. *b* stem with a lengthened *-ā* and a retracted accent (in accord with Lith. *mẽdė*, a. p. 2) although it could also be secondary. In other Slavic languages, a. p. *c* is widely attested and thus there is no *vòľā-type retraction. Modern Russian a. p. *b* is secondary, cf. Old Russian and Ukrainian vaccilation between a. p. *b* and a. p. *c*, and so is Čakavian a. p. *b*. One must also note here that inner-Slavic comparison must always have a primary place. Attestations of the a. p. of Slavic dialects and of its place in Slavic accentual system is more important than comparison with Lithuanian (not to mention comparison with other IE languages).

The smaller number of a. p. *c* *-ja nouns shows that this type was not productive in Common Slavic[19], while more numerous a. p. *a* and a. p. *b* (= *vòľā-type nouns) were. The *vòľā-type was productive at the expense of a. p. *c* *-ja nouns. All *-ja nouns without an acute in the root became a. p. *b*, i. e. *vòľā-type nouns, by default.

6. A. p. b *-ja nouns with end-stress?

According to what has been said on the subject, that *vòľā-type nouns are originally a. p. *b* nouns with end-stress which has been retracted because of the lengthened final *-ā, we would expect a. p. *b* *-ja nouns with desinential stress to be non-existant. They should all have *vòľā-type retracted accent.

Nevertheless, there are some exceptions. We have already seen some examples, like Croat. *ráđa* which is, as we said, a younger derivative (and the accent is in accord with secondary *pláća* which is widely attested with the old accent *plāća* as well). Cf. also *svẽťā, *svẽťǫ "candle" > Croatian *svijéća*, *svijéću* (Čakavian *svīćā*, *svīćũ*), Slovene *svéča*, Czech *svíce*, Slovak *svieca*, Russian *свеча́*, *свечу́* (also a. p. *b* in Old Russian, Zaliznjak 1985: 135). Since all languages unanimously point to a. p. *b*, it is hard to imagine at first that it would be secondary. However, it is not clear why this word does not belong to *sũšā-type as it would be expected. One could speculate that the *-ja suffix is here younger and that the original form was *svẽťā.

Zaliznjak (1985: 135) lists a couple of Old Russian words with the suffix *-ja which have a. p. *b* desinence stress (like *свеча́*): *бръня́* "whetstone, hone", *луча́* "ray", *лжа́* "lie", *ржа́* "rust" (also *стьзя́*, *стража́* which are, as OCS loans, irrelevant). These counterexamples do not have the same strength the example of *свеча́* has. As was already said, taking Croatian *r̀đa*, *r̀đu* into account, Old Russian *ржа́*, *ржу́* is clearly secondary. In the example *бръня́* Zaliznjak (1985, *ibid.*) notes "откл. к *с*" (other languages are not very helpful, cf. Czech *brně*, Old Polish *brnia*), but Kolesov 1972 (: 19-20) has also the stem stress attested. The example *луча́* is at least dubious if compared it with Croatian *lûča* which may be confirmed by Czech *louč* if the former is to be derived from *lǘčь[20].

[19] A. p. *c* type in *-oťa like *suxoťā "dryness" or *tęžьkoťā is not included here.

[20] Croatian *lûč*, *lûči* demonstrates the secondary spread of mobility in *i*-stems (cf. Kapović forthcoming).

The example *лъжá* is confirmed by Croatian *lâža* – which is attested as a. p. *b* in ARj (V: 936-7). Bulgarian shows end-stress in *лъжà*, and so does Belorussian *ілжá*. However, this word is not reliable because it has a *jer* in the root and the oxytonesis could easily be secondary[21].

7. Conclusion

In the end we can conclude the all *-ja stems are either a. p. *a* nouns (*kǫ̑ťa), a. p. *c* nouns (*zemľà) or *vòľā/sũšā-type nouns. Thus we can conclude that *vòľā-type nouns represent the a. p. *b* pattern in *-ja nouns in which the accent was retracted due to the lengthening of final *-ja. The *vòľā-type nouns class represents mostly younger Common Slavic derivatives which are quite numerous since only a. p. *b* (=*vòľā-type) and a. p. *a* *-ja nouns were productive. A. p. *c* *-ja nouns were not productive, and all the younger derivatives with the suffix *-ja which did not have an acute in the root became a. p. *b* nouns (i. e. *vòľā-type nouns) by default. The only reliable counterexample, i. e. *-ja noun with a. p. *b* fixed end-stress, is *svě̋ťà, *svě̋ťǫ̀ in which it is not clear why it escaped *vòľā-type retraction of the accent. However this example can hardly annul the whole thesis laid down here. Even if one does not accept our analysis, it must be admitted that it is highly indicative that all *-ja stems in Slavic are either a. p. *a* nouns, a. p. *c* nouns or *vòľā-type nouns with only one reliable example against this general picture - *svě̋ťà with a fixed end-stress.

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[21] Cf. Illič-Svityč 1963 for various examples of this kind.

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ON THE ACCENTUATION OF THE EARLIEST LATIN AND ROMANCE LOANWORDS IN SLAVIC

This paper discusses the accentuation of the earliest Latin and Romance loanwords in Slavic, including many Roman toponyms preserved in Croatian. It is shown that there are no such loanwords with mobile accentuation (accentual paradigm C), and that gender is the best predictor of nominal accentuation: all nouns that were borrowed as feminines in Slavic belong to the accentual paradigm A (nouns with fixed acute), while the large majority of masculines belong to the accentual paradigm B (originally end-stressed words). The consequences of this empirical finding for the relative chronology of certain Common Slavic accentual changes (Dybo's law and Ivšić's retraction) are also discussed.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine the earliest Latin and Romance loanwords in Slavic from the accentological point of view. We shall look at the evidence consisting of a number of common nouns and toponyms of Late Latin / Early Romance origin in Common Slavic, and try to determine (1) how are these words distributed among the Proto-Slavic accentual paradigms (APs) established by Stang and the Moscow accentological school[1], (2) if their distribution according to APs can be explained, and (3) whether this explanation tells us something about the relative and absolute chronology of accentual changes during Proto-Slavic and early Common Slavic periods[2].

[1] Stang 1957, Illič-Svityč 1963, Dybo 1981, etc.

[2] Following Holzer (1995, 1998, 2003) I take Proto-Slavic to be the language spoken by the Slavs during the period of their maximal expansion (around AD 600). Common Slavic is the language spoken by the Slavs from the Proto-Slavic period until, approx-

The loanwords we shall consider in this paper entered Slavic before certain sound changes that can be more or less reliably dated within the history of Slavic. That is, we shall consider only loanwords for which there are reasons to believe that they entered Slavic in the sixth, seventh, and, perhaps, eighth centuries[3].

Latin and Romance loanwords will be taken into account only if it can be shown that they were borrowed into Common Slavic before one or more of the following sound changes occurred:

*a > *o* (after the sixth century)[4]

*ō (from *ow, *aw < *$h_2$ew) > *u*

*ū > *y*

*k, *g > *c, dz* / ___V^{front} (second palatalization)[5]

*sj > *š*, and, probably, *tj > *t' (> *č, ć*)

*ol, *or > *la, ra,* *el, *er > *rě, lě* (liquid metathesis), usually dated to the eighth century[6]

It goes without saying that Slavic still had the jers (presumably pronounced as short *i* and *u*), and the nasal vowels (or even nasal sonants in syllable-final positions), during the time of borrowing of the words discussed in this paper.

Some such words have a rather wide distribution within Slavic, while most of them remain limited to South Slavic, or, even more commonly, to Central South Slavic. This does not mean that they cannot be treated as Early Common Slavic (or ever Proto-Slavic) loanwords, provided it can be shown that they entered the language (or, more precisely, some of its dialects) during the critical period (6th-8th centuries).

imately, 1100., when the last changes affecting all the Slavic dialects occurred (the loss of the weak jers).

[3] For the absolute chronology of Slavic sound changes see especially Holzer 1995, 1998.

[4] Slav. *o* for L (and Romance) *a* cannot be explained by involving the Dalmatian merger of L *o* and *a*, because this merger occurred only under accent (Muljačić 2002: 1999), while L *a* is reflected as CSl. *o* even in unaccented position in early loanwords, e. g. *Salōna* > *Salūna* > CSl. *Salūnu > *Solynъ > Croat. *Solin*. For the problem of roundedness of PSl. *a see now Greenberg 2002: 72f.

[5] The second palatalization should be dated to 6-7th century (Bidwell 1961, Holzer 1995, Greenberg 2002). It still affected some early L loanwords in Slavic, e. g. L *Celeia* > Slov. *Celje*. L *Longaticum* > Slov. *Logatec* is an example of a L toponym showing traces of the third palatalization, which may have been even earlier than the second.

[6] Greenberg 2002: 85.

We shall exclude from our investigation those Latin words that were borrowed into Proto-Slavic probably through a Germanic intermediary, e. g. PSl. *dúska "plank" (Russ. *doská, dósku*) < Germanic *diska- (OHG *tisc* "table") < L *discus* (< G *dískos*).

We shall also not take into account those loanwords of ultimately Latin origin that are demonstrably late, especially those that were not borrowed directly from Vulgar Latin, but from an already differentiated Romance dialect, e. g. the early form of Friulian that was spoken in the area of Aquilea when the bulk of the Latin Christian terminology was borrowed into Early Slavic, e. g. *kryžь (< *cruce*), *kaležь (< *calice*), *korizьma "lent" (< *quaresima*), etc. Similarly, I did not take into account the toponyms that do have Latin origin, but betray by their form that they were borrowed either from Dalmatian or from Venetian, e. g. *Vrgada* < L *Rubricāta* (with Venetian *-d-* rather than the expected *t), or *Olib* < L *Alluvium* (with the Dalmatian betacism and metathesis *vj* > *jb*).

The Material

It is convenient to divide our material into two large sets of data. First, we shall consider the common nouns of Latin origin in Slavic, and then we shall turn to toponyms. Results obtained for both sets of data will then be compared to see if they support each other. Considering common nouns, one has to bear in mind the possibility that some of them were not borrowed directly from Latin, but rather from some Germanic source (e. g. Gothic or Old High German). This has been claimed, but never proved, for example, for Croatian *vino* "wine" (L *vīnum*, Goth. *wein*) and *vrč* "beaker" (L *urceus*, Goth. *aurkeis*). Such cases cannot be used as completely reliable sources of information about absolute and relative chronology of accentual changes, because the time of their borrowing can only be guessed at. On the other hand, many toponyms on the Adriatic Coast had to enter the language directly from Vulgar Latin during the migration period, i. e. in the 6th and 7th centuries. However, some toponyms are actually attested very late. For example, the Croatian name of the Roman city of *Salōna*, *Solin*, is attested only in the 14th century (according to ARj.), but there can be no doubt that it had been borrowed by the Slavs very early. Salona was the largest city on the Dalmatian coast, and one of the first

to be taken and destroyed by the Slavs (in 612). Its Croatian form can be derived directly from PSl. *Solynъ, and we can be quite sure that this name was borrowed as early as the early seventh, or even late sixth century. The problem with toponyms is that it is difficult to establish with certainty how they are accentuated, especially by the speakers of local dialects. Reliable sources are scarce, especially those which note enough case-forms needed to establish which AP a toponym belongs to[7].

This is the format of the following entries: first the Croatian form is adduced with the standard (Neo-Štokavian) accentuation, as found in ARj., IB, and HER. Whenever there were discrepancies in accentuation between these three sources, they were noted. The Neo-Štokavian forms are followed by those from other Croatian dialects, especially Čakavian, for which only reliable sources were used[8]. Then the forms from other Slavic languages are adduced, if they are attested at all. Entries are assigned to APs only if their Neo-Štokavian accentuation was consistent with the one found in Čakavian and/or other Slavic languages.

A) Common Nouns

kòleda, G *kòledē* "Christmas festivity"; *kolȅda* "Christmas cake" (Rab, Skok) < *calendae*; Slov. *kolę̑ da*, Bulg. *kòleda*, Russ. *koljadá*, Cz. *koleda*. AP A.

kolòbār "circle, ring, small window"; *kolobõr*, G *kolobōrà* (ČDL) < *columbar*; Slov. *kolobár*, G *kolobárja*; AP B.

kònoba, G *kònobē* "tavern"; *konȍba*, G *konȍbē* (Vrgada, Hvar) < *canabae*. AP A.

kràs, G *kràsa* "rocky field" < *karsu- (Tal. *carso*, German *Karst*). AP A.

lȉgnja "squid"; *lȉgna*, *lȉgnē* (Vrgada); also *lîgnja*, *lȉgnja* (ČDL); these forms point to AP A. However, *oligânj*, *oligánja* (IB) < *lolligine- imply AP B.

lòćika "lettuce", *ločȉka* (Rab, Skok) < *lactūca*; Slov. *ločíka*, G *ločíke*. AP A.

[7] Kalsbeek (1991) and Houtzagers (1985) are among the rare dialectal studies that take into account Stang's APs. Langston (1999) offers a modern synopsis of Čakavian accentuation using Stang's paradigms.

[8] Especially ČDL (which is based on the material from Hvar, Brač, and Vis), Jurišić's maestral description of the dialect of the island of Vrgada, near Zadar (1973), Houtzager's description of the dialect of Orlec on the island of Cres (1985), and Kalsbeek's monograph on the dialect of Orbanići in Istria (1991).

ljûlj, *ljûlja* "*Lolium temulentum*"; *ljũlj*, G *ljūljà* (Vrgada); Slov. dial. *ljûlj*; AP B.

mȉr, *mīrà* "wall" (ČDL) < *mūru-*; AP B.

òcat, G *òcta* "vinegar" < *acitu-* < *acētu-*; Slov. *ócet*, G *ócta*, Bulg. *òcet*, Russ. dial. *ócet*, *ócta* (Vasmer). Cz. *ocet*, Pol. *ocet*. These forms probably imply an original AP B, but the word could have been borrowed from some Germanic intermediary, cp. Goth. *akeit*.

òltār, G *oltára* "altar"; *olt°ãr*, G *olt°ārà* (Vrgada); *oltãr*, Apl. *oltārȉ* (Orbanići); *oltãr*, G *oltarà* (Orlec); *oltõr*, G *oltōrà* (ČDL) < *altāre*; Slov. *oltár*, G *oltárja*; AP B.

plȍča, *plȍčē* "plate"; *plòča*, *plȍčē* (Vrgada) < G *pláks*; Slov. (18th cent.) *plóča*, Bulg. *plòča*[9]; this is probably the same word as the common toponym *Ploče*, on which see below. It appears to belong to AP A.

pògača; *pogàča*, *pogàčē* (Vrgada); *pogãča* G *pogãči* (Orlec); *pogãča*, G *pogãče* (ČDL)[10] < *focācia*, *focācea*; Slov. *pogáča*, *pogáče*, Russ. dial. *pogáč*. AP A.

pògan (Skok) "pagan", *pogàni* (n. pl., Vrgada) < *pagānu-*; Slov. *pogân*, Cz. *pohan*, OCS *poganъ*; AP A.

pòlača "palace" (Dubrovnik, Skok); *polâča* (Hvar) < *palatiu-*; although the accentual data are scarce, it appears that this word belonged to AP A, as do the toponyms of that form (discussed below).

pùč, G *pùča* "well" (Skok, Orbanići) < L *puteu-*; AP A

ràčūn, G *račúna* "account, bill"; *račũn*, G *račūnà* (Vrgada) < *ratiōne-*; Slov. *račûn*, G *račúna*; AP B.

ràža " a kind of fish, *Raja Fullonica*"; *rãža* (ČDL) < *raia*; AP A.

ràka, G *ràkē*; *ràka*, G *ràkē* (Vrgada); *rãka* (ČDL) < *arca-*; Slov. *ráka*; AP A.

rùsalje (Skok, pl.); *rusàlje* (Korčula, Skok) "Pentecost" < *rosālia*; Slov. dial. *rusâle*, OCS *rusalija*. Although more data would be needed, it appears that this word belonged to AP A.

víno, G *vína* "wine"; *vīnò vīnà*, n. pl. *vīn°ā* (Vrgada); < *uīnu-*; Slov. *víno*, Bulg. *víno*, Russ. *vinó*, Cz. *víno*, Pol. *wino*, OCS *vino*; some linguists think that this word was borrowed, through Germanic, cp. Goth. *wein*, but I think this is improbable because the genders do not agree (Slavic

[9] Snoj, p.528 thinks that this is an inherited Slavic word rather than a loanword.

[10] The metatony of *pogàča > *pogãča* is regular in the dialect which ČDL is based, see Junković 1973, Moguš 1971.

words belong to the neuter gender, while the Germanic words are masculine as a rule); AP B.

vȓč, vrȓča "beaker"; *vȁrč,* G *vârči* (Šolta, Skok); *vȅrč* (Orlec); *vȓč, vãrč* (ČDL) < *urceu-* (perhaps through Germanic, cp. Goth. *aurkeis*); Slov. *vȓč,* G *vȓča,* OCS *vrъčь*, cp. also Bulg. *vrъ́čva*; AP B.

vȓt, G *vȓta,* n. pl. *vȓtovi* "garden" < *hortu-*; Slov. *vȓt,* G *vȓta,* OCS *vrъtъ*, Bulg. *vrъt*; Georgiev *et alii* claim that this word was inherited rather than borrowed, but this is improbable; short syllabic *r* in Croatian points to the AP A, but the long reflex in Slovenian might be original, in which case this word belonged to AP B, and the short falling accent in the Nominative singular in Croatian is secondary.

vȓtača "funnel-shaped hole in the limestone formation" < *hortācea* (Istroromanian *vartáću*); Slov. *vrtáča*, Mac. *vrtača*; AP A.

vȓtal, G *vȓtla* "garden"; *vȓtᵒā,* G *vȓtla* (Vrgada); *vãrtal,* G *vãrtla* (ČDL) < *hortulu-*; AP A.

žȁkan "deacon" < L *diāconu-*; AP A.

žȅžīn, žižîn (Cres, Split, Skok) "fast"; *žȅžin,* G *žȅžina* and *žežîn,* G *žežîna* (ČDL) < *iēiūn(i)u-*; AP A appears probable, but this noun is almost certainly a late derivative of the verb *žežìnati* "to fast", so its accentuation might be secondary.

B) Toponyms[11]

Brâč, Bráča; *Brᵒãč, Brᵒāčà* (Vrgada); *Brõč, Brōčà* (ČDL) < *Brattia*; AP B.

Càvtat, Càptat < *cīvitāte-*; data are inconclusive, but AP A appears probable.

Cètina < *Centōna*; AP A.

Crès, Crês[12]; *Crès, Crèsa* (Orlec) < *Crepsa*; AP A.

[11] The best source for Croatian toponyms of Roman origins are Šimunović (1985), and several works of Petar Skok (e. g. 1934, 1950). My material is drawn mostly from these publications, but I have also consulted other references on the subject, e. g. Majer 1931 and Bidwell 1961. In so far as I am aware, these words were never treated from an accentological point of view.

[12] Skok 1950: 35 notes this accent and claims that it is used by speakers of the local Čakavian dialect. It differs from the short falling accent adduced by ARj., which Skok seems to consider as incorrect.

Dráva, Acc. *Drávu*; AP B.

Dúvno, Dúmno < *Delminium*; AP B is probable.

Hvâr, G *Hvára*; *Fõr,* G *Fōrà* (ČDL) < *Pharia*; AP B.

Kȓk, Kȓka < *Curicum*; AP B appears probable.

Kùpa < L *Colapis*; AP A.

Làbīn, G *Labína*; < *Albōna*; AP B[13].

Mljȅt, Mlît (Korčula) < *Melta* (by syncope <) *Meleta*; probably AP A.

Nàdīn, G *Nadína*[14] < *Nedinum*; AP B.

Nîn, G *Nína*; *Nĩn, Nīnà* (Vrgada) < *Aenōna, Nōna*; AP B.

Nòrīn, G *Norína*[15] < *Narōna*; AP B.

Òmīš, Omíša; *Omĩš*[16] < *Almissa*; AP B.

Pȅča (in Montenegro) ? < Gallo-Latin *pettia* "piece of land"[17]; although data are not wholly reliable, it appears that this toponym belonged to AP A.

Plòče, Plòča (near Šibenik) < G *pláks*; AP A.

Plòmīn, G *Plomína* < *Flanōna*; AP B.

Polàča (Krk), *Pòlača* (Mljet) < *palatium* "palace"; AP A.

Pòstira, Postire (without accent in Skok); *Postȕra* (ČDL) < *pastūra*; AP A.

Povljȁna (Pag) < *(Praedium) Paulanum*[18] AP A.

Pròmina < *Promōna*; presumably AP A.

Rãb, Rába; *Rᵒãb* (Vrgada) *Ràb* G *Ràba* (ARj., also in Vrgada); *Ràp, Rãba* (Orlec) < *Arba*; AP A.

Rȁša, G *Rȁšē*; *Rȁša*; G *Ràši* (Orbanići) < *Arsia*; AP A.

Rîm, G *Ríma*; *Rĩm,* G *Rīmà* (Vrgada); *Rĩm,* G *Rīmà* (ČDL) < *Rōma*; Pol. *Rzym,* Cz. *Řím,* Russ. *Rim* were borrowed from South Slavic, rather than directly from Latin[19]; AP B.

Sáva, Acc. *Sávu*; AP B.

[13] Some locals accentuate this toponym according to AP A (M. Kapović, *p. c.*).

[14] Cp. HER, *s. v.*

[15] Accentuation recorded by M. Kapović (p. c.).

[16] Šimunović 1985: 180.

[17] Šimunović 1985: 175; the word *pȅča* "piece" is recorded in dialects (ARj.) and also belongs to AP A.

[18] Accentuation noted in Skok 1950: 68.

[19] Greenberg 2002: 75.

Sis (Cres) < *Sū(r)sum*; Vinja (2004: 163) notes this accentuation: *Sȉs*, G *Sìsā*, therefore probably AP B.

Skràdīn, G *Skradína*; *Skradȋn*, G *Skradīnà* (Vrgada) < *Scardōna*; AP B.

Sòlīn, *Solína*; *Solȋn*, G *Solīnà* (Vrgada); *Solȋn*, G *Solīnà* (ČDL) < *Salōna*, pl. *Salōnae*; AP B.

Sùsak, G *Sùska*[20] < *Sansacus* (< G *sámpsykhon* "marjoran"); AP A.

Trȋlj, G *Trílja*[21] < (*Pons*) *Telūri*; AP B.

Trògīr, *Trogíra*; *Trogȋr*, *Trogīrà* (Vrgada); *Trogȋr*, *Trogīrà* (ČDL) < *Tragūrium* < (G *Tragýrion*); AP B.

Vȋr, G *Víra* < *Ūra*; AP B (but data are not completely reliable).

Vȋs, G *Vísa*; *Vȋs*, G *Vīsà* (ČDL) < *Issa*; AP B.

Žnjân, *Žnjána*[22] < (*praedium*) *Junianum*; AP B.

Discussion

The analysis of both data sets points to the same conclusion: all of the early Latin loanwords in Slavic belong either to the AP A, with fixed acute intonation, or to the AP B, with accent on the final syllable[23]. Although some cases are not completely clear, and accentual data are incomplete for some nouns, there do not appear to be any early loanwords belonging to the AP C, which was characterized by mobile accent. The distribution of nouns and toponyms between the paradigms A and B also seems to be rather clear-cut, and the best predictor of the AP appears to be gender. Namely, nearly all the feminine nouns belong to the AP A, while masculines (and *vino*, the only neuter) mostly belong to the paradigm B. This paradigm includes the rather numerous toponyms that were feminine in Latin, but became masculine in Slavic, e. g. *Rōma*, *Salōna*, etc.[24] There are three important

[20] ARj. states that this accentuation was noted by Skok on the location.

[21] ARj. states explicitly that this name is pronounced with long falling accent. G sg. *Trílja* was recorded by M. Kapović (p. c.).

[22] This accentuation was noted by M. Kapović (p. c.).

[23] That is, before the accent retraction from the weak final jers, which brought about the neo-acute on the preceding syllable (marked as ˜ in the Čakavian examples).

[24] These nouns switched to the masculine gender probably because the Proto-Slavic word for "town, fort" was masculine (*gordъ). The switch of genders was facilitated by the fact that locatives of both ā-stems and o-stems had the same endings in Common Slavic. Thus, a form such as *Solyně* could in principle be either a Lsg. of a feminine noun *Solyna, or of a masculine noun *Solynъ*.

exceptions to this claim, namely the names of the islands *Mljet*, *Cres*, and *Rab*, which all belong to the AP A, and are masculine. They are easy to explain if one assumes that only the feminine names of cities changed their gender initially, and that *Mljet*, *Cres*, and *Rab* remained feminine in an early form of Slavic spoken on the Adriatic coast. They first denoted islands, rather than the eponymous cities (in the case of Rab and Cres), and the names of these islands may have been neuter (as Serbian *ostrvo*), or even feminine (as Polish *wyspa*). Only later, after the names of *Mljet*, *Cres*, and *Rab* had been associated with AP A and the masculine word for "island", *otok*, prevailed in Croatian, was the gender changed to masculine.

A converse of this explanation might hold for the names of the rivers *Sava* and *Drava*, which are both AP B. The Latin names of these rivers were masculine (*Savus* and *Dravus*), so it is possible that they were masculine in the early forms of Slavic, and changed their gender to feminine later under the analogical influence of *rěka "river". However, such masculine forms must be postulated, since the earliest attestations of these river-names are already feminine (the name of *Sava* is attested as *Zoa* already in the 12th century).

Although the majority of masculine nouns belong to AP B in our corpus, there are some that are accentuated according to AP A: *kras*, *pogan*, *puč*, *žakan*, and the toponyms *Cavtat* and *Susak*. However, there are apparently no feminines belonging to AP B, which is a completely unexpected finding; the contrast between feminines and masculines is well illustrated with the opposition between the hydronym *Cètina*, which is from L *Centōna*, and belongs to AP A, and numerous toponyms such as *Sòlīn*, which is from L *Salōna*, and belongs to AP B. The only conditioning factor that could explaind the difference in accentuation between these two words seems to be the gender they have in Slavic.

Having established the distribution of the Latin loanwords in Slavic according to APs, we may now turn to the explanations. The first thing to explain is how the Latin accentual patterns were adapted in Slavic. In Latin, most of the words discussed here were accented on the penultimate syllable, and the accent remained on that syllable throughout the paradigm, e. g. *Róma*, *Rómae*, *Rómam*, etc., or *Salóna*, *Salónae*, *Salónam*, etc. Only in words with more than three syllables was the accent on the

antepenultimate syllable, but only if the penultimate was short, e. g. *hórteus, hórteum, hórteo*, etc. Since the accent was fixed to a particular syllable in Latin, one would expect the Slavic words of Latin origin also to belong to one of the two APs with fixed accent (APs A and B). This is indeed the case, since none of the Latin loanwords belong to the AP C with mobile accent. However, while the fixed accent on the penultimate syllable of PSl. *Cętýna < *Centóna, *Promýna < *Promóna is precisely what one would expect, the word-final accentuation of *Solyn̓ < *Salóna*, or, indeed, *Rym̓ < *Róma* is difficult to understand, if nouns of AP B were end-stressed during the period when loanwords from our corpus entered Slavic. Now, before we proceed with possible explanations of these unexpected facts, a word of caution is in order. We must be careful in drawing conclusions from loanwords about accentological changes and their relative chronology, because the position of the accent in loanwords can be adapted to pre-existent accentological patterns. For example, from the fact that the standard Neo-Štokavian name of the British capital is accentuated *Lòndōn*, G *Londóna*, exactly like *kòlāč* "round cake", G *koláča* (from PSl. *kolačь, *kolačă, AP B), it would be absurd to conclude that the name of *London* was borrowed into Slavic before the Štokavian accent retraction. Rather, the the accent of the original name was identified with the Štokavian short rising on the initial syllable, and this Štokavian accent happened to occur on the first syllable only in the accentual pattern in which the accent changes its position between the initial and the next syllable. However, this is not exactly parallel to the case with the earliest Latin loanwords in Slavic: whereas the name of London is accented on the first syllable in English and in all European languages from which that name could have been borrowed, in Latin (or Early Romance) *Rōma*, the accent was *never* on the last syllable (not in a single case form), and this is exactly, where we find it in all cases of the earliest reconstructible Slavic form (*Rym̓, Rymá*, etc.). Why would speakers of Common Slavic adapt this word to their AP B, with end-stress, if they already had at their disposal another AP (A) in which all cases were stressed on the initial syllable, and yet another AP (C) in which at least some case forms (e. g. the Nom. sg.) could be stressed on the initial syllable?

The fact that so many Latin loanwords in Slavic belong to the AP B can be explained, in principle, in three ways:

1) For some reason, the Slavs could not pronounce the masculine (and neuter?) nouns with fixed (acute) accent on the non-final syllable.

Therefore, they adapted the Latin barytona as their own oxytona, if such words were masculine or neuter (or if they switched to masculine gender in Slavic). Now, this solution might, in principle, be correct, but it appears rather unlikely. In Proto-Slavic, disyllabic AP A masculines are probably as common as the feminines (e. g. *dým̓ъ "smoke", or *rák̓ъ "cancer"), and polysyllabic AP A masculines, though somewhat rare, nevertheless existed (e. g. *jęzýk̓ъ "tongue", or *oręxъ "nut"). There is, therefore, no principled reason why Latin masculine barytona could not remain barytona in Slavic.

2) The nouns belonging to the AP B were originally borrowed with the accent position preserved, i. e. as barytones, and the accent was subsequently shifted to the last syllable. This accent shift would be exactly the same as the one usually called Dybo's law (alternatively Illič-Svityč's law)[25], by which stress was shifted from non-acute syllables to the last syllable of disyllabic and polysyllabic words[26]. This would mean that words belonging to AP B had been borrowed into Proto-Slavic (or Early Common Slavic) *before* Dybo's law operated. If we accept that there is evidence for the operation of Dybo's accent shift in the Latin loanwords treated here, this would mean that this sound law operated *after* the first contacts between the Slavs and the Romans, presumably after the late 6th and early 7th century. This would be in perfect accordance with my conclusion, reached elsewhere,[27] that this sound law operated after some Germanic loanwords were borrowed by Proto-Slavic, and with Georg Holzer's assertion[28] that it also postdates the period of the first contacts between the Balts and the Slavs, i. e. that it is Common rather than Proto-Slavic.

One could, in principle, assume that at least some words belonging to AP A were borrowed after the operation of Dybo's law, and that therefore their accent remained fixed on the initial (or medial) position. However, this cannot be correct for all of them. There is no reason to assume that the Slavs borrowed the name of the town *Labin* < *Albōna* (AP B) before they heard of the river *Raša* < *Arsia* (AP A), and it is not clear how they should have borrowed the name of the city *Solin* < *Salōna* (AP B) before the name of the river *Cetina* < *Centōna* (AP A). We

[25] See, e. g., Kortlandt 1978, Lehfeldt 2001.
[26] This version of the law, originally formulated by Dybo, was abandoned in the recent years by the Moscow accentological school (see Lehfeldt 2001, Vermeer 2001).
[27] Matasović 2000.
[28] Holzer 1998.

would still have to explain the fact that we do not find evidence for the operation of Dybo's law on feminine early borrowings from Latin.

Thus, the solution (2) cannot explain the curious distribution of APs according to genders.

3) It is perfectly possible that Latin loanwords entered Slavic both after Dybo's law and after the retraction of the accent from word-final jers, which produced the neo-acute on the penultimate syllable. If we assume that polysyllabic masculines belonging to AP A, such as *orěxъ "nut" and *językъ "tongue", were too few in the language at that time, toponyms such as *Salūnu (> *Solȳnъ) and common nouns such as *altārju (> *olьtārь*) could have been adapted to the only productive[29] AP in which the penultimate had been stressed in Common-Slavic of the period, at least in the Nominative and the Accusative singular. This was the AP B, and the oxytone accent in the cases other than the Nominative and Accusative singular must then be the result of analogical adaptation to a pre-existing pattern. That is, the penultimate accent of Nominative sg. *Solȳnъ (> *Sòlīn*) is regular, while the oxytone form of the Genitive sg. *Solyná (> *Solína*) is analogical. This hypothesis would elegantly explain why only masculine loanwords belong to AP B, and also why there are no feminines belonging to that AP: if our loanwords had entered Slavic *before* the operation of Dybo's law, we would have expected to find at least some feminines on which that law had also operated, which we do not. The existence of a handful of AP A masculine loanwords (e. g. *Cavtat, kras,* and *pogan*) does not represent a problem to this theory, because they are accented on the same syllable as in Latin. In this scheme of things, if the accent of a Latin / Romance loanword was identified with the (old) acute, the word was interpreted as belonging to AP A; if it was identified with the neo-acute, the word received the accentuation pattern of the AP B. Masculines were treated as having the neo-acute because masculines with the old acute on the penultimate syllable were quite rare in Proto-Slavic. Thus, explanation (3) is the best one for several independent reasons. On the other hand, the explanation (2) cannot be wholly excluded, because it is in better accordance with the independent evidence for the relative lateness of Dybo's law. However, if the Latin words discussed above entered Proto-Slavic after the operation of Dybo's law, then another explanation of their distribution among the accentual paradigms should be offered.

[29] "Productive" here means just that masculine nouns belonging to this paradigm were rather numerous during that period, while, on the other hand, barytone AP A masculines (like *językъ) were felt as exceptions.

Conclusion

The existence of so many Latin loanwords that belong to AP B in Slavic is a rather unexpected empirical finding, as is the fact that they are almost all masculine. We tried to account for these facts by looking at possible relative chronologies of accentual changes that could have led to the observed state of affairs. The only chronology that can explain the attested distribution of loanwords according to APs is the one that places both Dybo's law and the retraction of the accent from the word-final jers onto the preceding syllable *before* the borrowing of the words from our corpus took place. If that is correct, and if Dybo's law operated on the large majority of the early loanwords from Germanic, which were borrowed in the 4th and 5th centuries[30], this would mean that the accent shift described by Dybo's law probably occurred some time during the 6th century[31].

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[30] See Matasović 2000.

[31] The only way to preserve a later date of Dybo's law would be to assume, as Kortlandt (1975: chapter 2) does, that the law never caused the shift of the accent onto the weak jers. Although this is a possibility to be reckoned with, I prefer considering Dybo's accent shift as general and positing a subsequent retraction of the accent from weak word-final jers, because the origin of the neo-acute is most easily understood that way.

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COMMON SLAVIC ACCENTUAL PARADIGM (D): A REEVALUATION OF EVIDENCE FROM ČAKAVIAN

Data from certain Čakavian dialects have repeatedly been cited as evidence for the reconstruction of a Common Slavic accentual paradigm (d). This article provides a critical examination of the available data within the context of the Čakavian prosodic systems and their historical development and argues that such data should be treated with caution. The accentuation of these forms may well represent innovations within individual dialects rather than traces of an archaic accentual pattern. Due to the questionable value of much of the data and the lack of agreement among the individual Čakavian dialects, the evidence from this dialect group provides little support for the reconstruction of a distinct Common Slavic accentual paradigm (d).[1]

1. Introduction

A number of Slavic accentologists reconstruct a special "mixed" accentual paradigm [a. p.] (d) for some masculine nouns in Common Slavic (CS). Although nouns belonging to the posited type (d) are indistinguishable from reflexes of the mobile a. p. (c) in most Slavic dialects, evidence for a. p. (d) has been adduced from a number of areas. The Čakavian dialects have been prominent among these; some of the first evidence for what later came to be labeled a. p. (d) was from the Čakavian dialect group (Illič-Svityč 1963: 118-119), and scholars have repeatedly referred to these data since that time. Unfortunately, little consideration has been given to the reliability of the sources or to the specific characteristics of the Čakavian prosodic systems in which

[1] I am grateful to Mate Kapović and Pepijn Hendriks for their helpful comments.

these forms are found. While the Čakavian dialect group as a whole is known for the conservative nature of its prosodic systems, the accentual patterns of different types of nouns and other parts of speech have been restructured in various ways. This article aims to provide a critical examination of the available Čakavian data for the accentuation of masculine nouns that reflect CS a. p. (c) and (d), which will be considered together here because of the significant amount of overlap between these types in Čakavian. Following a brief outline of the posited development of a. p. (c) and (d) in Common Slavic, I will discuss the reflexes of type (c) in Čakavian, where the inherited accentual pattern has been altered as the result of phonological developments, and the alternations in masculine nouns also tend to be restricted or eliminated in many dialects. Possible reflexes of type (d) will be examined next within the contexts of the individual dialects in which these forms are attested.

2. Origins of Accentual Types (C) and (D)

According to the reconstructions proposed by Illič-Svityč (1963), Dybo (e.g., 1981), and others, the Slavic mobile a. p. (c) corresponds to Indo-European (IE) oxytone forms, while the Slavic oxytone a. p. (b) corresponds to IE barytone forms with an original short vowel or short diphthong.[2] The final stress of the latter type developed as the result of a shift of the accent from a non-acute vowel to the following syllable in Slavic, generally known as Dybo's law (see Dybo 1962).[3] However, a significant subset of masculine nouns in Slavic does not conform to this general scheme; while IE neuter barytona with a short vowel that switched to masculine gender in Slavic are reflected as type (b), original masculine *o*- and *u*-stems fell together

[2] The terms oxytone and barytone here represent a simplification; according to Dybo, Zamjatina, and Nikolaev (1993: 92-93), the former represent IE forms containing only recessive (low-tone) syllables, while the latter were forms containing at least one dominant (high-tone) syllable.

[3] This law is also known as the law of Illič-Svityč (see Collinge 1985: 32), but here the latter name will be used to refer to the generalization of the mobile accentual pattern to original barytone forms (see below). It should be noted that Dybo and his colleagues have revised their view of the rightward shift of the accent from non-acute vowels, seeing it now as a "multi-stage process" that did not affect all Slavic dialects in the same way (e.g., Dybo, Zamjatina, and Nikolaev 1993: 18-21). See Hendriks (2003) for a particularly clear review of the evolution of this hypothesis in the work of the linguists of the "Moscow accentological school."

with type (c). This generalization of the mobile accentual pattern to original barytone forms is often referred to as Illič-Svityč's law. Illič-Svityč suggested that the merger of the original masculine barytona with the mobile accentual paradigm in Slavic was only partial (1963: 119), citing data from certain Čakavian and western Ukrainian dialects that he considered to represent relics of the earlier, pre-merger state of affairs. After later research uncovered forms with a similar accentuation in other areas, Dybo and others proposed that the original masculine barytona constituted a separate a. p. (d) in CS, with a circumflex accent on the initial syllable in the NA sg., as in type (c), and a final stress in the other forms (Bulatova, Dybo, and Nikolaev 1988; Dybo, Zamjatina, and Nikolaev 1990, 1993). This reconstruction is summarized in the following chart:

(1) Balto-Slavic accentual paradigms (Dybo, Zamjatina, and Nikolaev 1990: 50)[4]

IE	Barytona		Oxytona	
	Long	Short	Long	Short
Baltic a. p.	*1*		*2*	
Lithuanian a. p.	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*
Slavic a. p.	*a*	*b (d)*	*c*	

The existence of a separate CS a. p. (d) is not uncontroversial. Although Kortlandt incorporates many of the same basic assumptions in his reconstruction of the development of the Slavic accentual system from IE, his relative chronology would seem to preclude the existence of a separate a. p. (d) as described by Dybo et al. On their interpretation, masculine barytona developed a final stress everywhere except the NA sg., but later assimilated to type (c) in most Slavic dialects. According to Kortlandt (1975, 1994), the generalization of accentual mobility to masculine *o*-stems with a non-acute root vowel (the law of Illič-Svityč) took place before the shift of the accent from non-acute vowels to the following syllable by Dybo's law. These original barytona would therefore have been directly assimilated into a. p. (c), and would not have had the opportunity to develop into a

[4] This table gives only the basic correspondences between the Balto-Slavic and IE accentual types, omitting certain other developments such as Hirt's law.

distinct CS "mixed paradigm" combining characteristics of types (c) and (b) in different grammatical forms. For Kortlandt, the sources of evidence cited for the posited CS a. p. (d) simply represent areas where the law of Illič-Svityč did not operate. Vermeer (2001) is highly critical of the overall methodology and the (mis)use of dialectal material by the linguists of the "Moscow accentological school," with particular reference to their reconstruction of a. p. (d).[5] He points out that it violates a basic principle of the theory of dominant and recessive morphemes advanced by these scholars and that they fail to provide an adequate explanation for the development of the posited circumflex accent in the NA sg. of these nouns (Vermeer 2001: 154-155). Stankiewicz also does not accept the existence of a CS a. p. (d), which is not surprising since he rejects many of the basic assumptions of the work of Stang and of the "Moscow school" (see, for example, Stankiewicz 1993).

3. Accentual Type (C)

According to most scholars, masculine *o*-stem nouns belonging to a. p. (c) carried an accent on the grammatical ending in the oblique cases of the plural and an accent on the initial syllable of the word (or clitic + word group) in the other forms in CS (see Stang 1957: 74-5, Garde 1976: 27). The L sg. ending *-u* that occurs in many Čakavian dialects, taken from the *u*-stem declension, also originally carried the accent. Most Čakavian dialects exhibit a number of other innovations in the endings of the plural; some of these, such as the G pl. endings borrowed from the *i*- and *u*- declensions, also carried the accent in CS, while other endings are later formations.

The basic outline of the inherited accentual pattern can still be seen in Čakavian, but due to various innovations it is not fully reflected in any individual dialect. Examples of short-vowel stems are given in (2). Note that many of the examples of type (c) nouns cited here and in the rest of this section have been attributed to a. p. (d) by Dybo et al. in various publications (see the Appendix). In fact, it is difficult to find suitable examples of the type (c) pattern in the attested Čakavian data without including forms that may have originally belonged to type (d).

[5] I would like to thank Rick Derksen for drawing my attention to this publication by Vermeer. Due to its relative obscurity (an appendix in English to the second, revised edition of Werner Lehfeldt's 1993 monograph, *Einführung in die morphologische Konzeption der slavischen Akzentologie*), I was unaware of its existence during the preparation of the original version of this paper.

(2) Short-vowel stems[6]

Vrgada (Jurišić 1973, Steinhauer 1973: 367-368, 370)

	singular		plural
NA	*bôg, brôd, môst*	NA	*brȍdi, mȍsti*
G	*bȍga, brȍda*	G	*brodĩ, mostõv* (beside *brȍdī, mȍstōv*)
D	*bȍgu*	DIL	*brodĩn, mostĩn* (beside *brȍdīn, mȍstīn*)
I	*bȍgon, brȍdon*		
L	*brodȕ, mostȕ*		

Jardasi

	singular		plural
N	*vôz*	N	*vȍzi*
L	*vȍze*	G	*vozî (vȍzī)*
		L	*vozêh (vȍzēh)*

Stems with a long vowel in the final/single stem syllable most often exhibit a different alternation in the plural, with a Čakavian acute accent on the final syllable of the stem instead of an accent on the grammatical ending in the oblique cases.

[6] Where no reference is given, the cited data are from my own field research, conducted in 1998. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Iva Lukežić and Sanja Zubčić of the University of Rijeka for their generous assistance in locating and interviewing informants. For published sources page numbers are normally not given when the forms can be found in a comprehensive dictionary included in the cited work. The various transcriptions used in these studies have been regularized and simplified here to some extent. In particular, *å* has been replaced by *a*, the Čakavian acute accent is indicated everywhere by a tilde, and the combined macron and breve used by Belić (1909) to indicate reduced or variable length has been replaced by a macron since this level of phonetic detail is irrelevant for our purposes. In keeping with the normal practice in Croatian dialect studies, the symbols for the long and short falling accents are used to indicate long and short stressed vowels in dialects that lack distinctive pitch.

(3) Long-vowel stems

Vrgada (Jurišić 1973, Steinhauer 1973: 367-368)

	singular		plural
NA	*gl^{o}âs, zûb*	NA	*zûbi*
G	*zûba*	G	*zũbī*
D	*zûbu*	DIL	*zũbīn*
I	*zûbon*		
L	*gl^{o}āsù, zūbù*		

Orbanići (Kalsbeek 1998: 98)

	singular		plural
N	*klâs, m^{u}ôš, vlâs*	NA	*klâsi, m^{u}ôži, vlâsi*
G	*klâsa, m^{u}ôža*	G	*klãsi, m^{u}õži, vlãsi*
D	*m^{u}ôžu*	D	*m^{u}ôžen*
I	*klâson, m^{u}ôžen*	I	*m^{u}õži, vlãsi*
L	*vlâse*	L	*klãseh, vlãseh*

In some instances we find oblique plural forms with an accent on the ending, often with shortening of the stem vowel; e.g., Tkon N pl. *sîni*, G pl. *sinõv*, DI pl. *sinĩn* (DAQ #137); Vrgada *gr^{o}âd*, G pl. *gradõv*, DIL pl. *gradĩn*; *mȁsēc*, G pl. *misecõv/misẽcī*, DIL pl. *misecĩn* (Steinhauer 367-368, 370). It seems clear that the Čakavian acute in the forms in (3) is the result of the retraction of the accent to a preceding long vowel, which we can posit as a general phonological rule for Čakavian (Langston 1999: 14).[7]

(4) Retraction of the Čakavian acute accent to a preceding long syllable $\bar{V}C\tilde{V} \rightarrow \tilde{V}C\bar{V}$ (e.g., Vrgada G pl. **zūbĩ > zûbī*)

In other words, the oblique plural forms of long-vowel stems illustrated in (3) must have originally had the same alternation as the short

[7] This is open to different interpretations. On the assumption that pretonic long vowels were always shortened before two moras (Kapović 2003), with the length in forms such as these later restored by analogy to other members of the paradigm, this shift of the accent could be seen as a strategy to avoid prohibited $\bar{V}C\tilde{V}/\bar{V}C\hat{V}$ sequences while maintaining the length of the stem vowel.

vowel stems, with an accent on the ending. Forms with this type of retraction are attested throughout the Čakavian dialect zone, and this shift parallels the retractions of a long falling accent resulting from contraction to a preceding long vowel (e.g., pres. t. 2 sg. **pītâš > pĩtāš* vs. *kopâš*; Novi masc. N sg. def. **mlādî > mlãdī* vs. *novî*), although it is not implemented as consistently.

There is a general tendency in Čakavian to restrict or eliminate accentual alternations in circumflex masculine nouns. For example, some dialects limit the accentual alternation in the plural to the G (or the syncretic GL form, as in Novi) in some or all nouns.

(5) Alternation in the plural limited to the G(L)

Novi (Belić 1909: 209)

	plural
NA	*vlâsi*
GL	*vlãsīh/vlãsīh*
D	*vlâsõn*
I	*vlâsi*

Silba (DAQ #128)

	plural
N	*nôhti, zîdi*
G	*nohtôv, zidôv*
I	*nôhtima*
L	*nôhtih, zîdih*

In Dračevica on Brač (and possibly in other dialects on Hvar and Brač), short-vowel stems have the alternation only in the DIL pl., where it is optional.

(6) Alternation in the plural limited to the DIL

Dračevica (Hraste and Šimunović 1979: xxvi)

	plural
N	*brȍdi*
G	*brȍdih/brȍdǫv*
DIL	*brȍdima(n)/brodȉma(n)*

In many dialects the alternation in the plural has been largely or entirely eliminated in short-vowel stems. For example, in Novi, according to Belić, the alternation is optional in the plural of short-vowel stems: GL pl. *brodĩh/brȍdīh, vozĩh/vȍzīh* (Belić 1909: 208-209). My informants for this dialect (in 1998) had only stem stress in these forms; e.g., *brȍdīh, mȍstīh, vȍzīh*. Additional examples:

(7) Alternation in the plural of short-vowel stems eliminated

Viškovo

brôd, G pl. *brȍdī*, L pl. *brȍdēh*; *môst*, G pl. *mȍstī*, L pl. *mȍstēh*, *vôz*, G pl. *vȍzī*, L pl. *vȍzēh* (vs. *grâd*, G pl. *grãdī*, L pl. *grãdēh*; *cvêt*, G pl. *cvẽtī*, *ȍblāk*, G pl. *oblãkī*)

Orbanići (Kalsbeek 1998: 98)

b^{u}ôk, L pl. *bȍkah*, *r^{u}ôh*, I pl. *rȍgi* (cf. the long-vowel stems cited in (3) above).

Variant oblique plural forms of long-vowel stems with an initial falling accent are widely attested throughout the Čakavian area, so there is a tendency to eliminate the alternation in these forms as well; e.g., Dračevica N pl. *grôdi*, G pl. *grôdih/gradȍv*, DIL *grôdima(n)/grōdȉma(n)* (Hraste and Šimunović 1979: xxvi).

In the singular, the final accent on the L sg. ending *-u* is generally well-preserved throughout the Čakavian area, although most dialects limit this to inanimate nouns. Some dialects also appear to restrict the alternation to monosyllabic stems, while others have eliminated the alternation in all masculine nouns.

(8) Alternation in the L sg.

a. limited to inanimate nouns

Senj (Moguš 1966: 65-67)

L sg. *sînu* vs. *brodù*, *dānù*, etc.

b. limited to monosyllabic stems (inanimate)

Tkon (DAQ #137)

L sg. *mȉsecu* (G pl. *misẽci*), L sg. *ȍbičaju* (G pl. *običajẽv*) vs. L sg. *brīgù*, *grą̄dù*, *snīgù*, *zīdù*, etc.

c. eliminated in all masculine nouns

Crikvenica

L sg. *brȍdu*, *grâdu*, *làhtu*, *lȅdu*, *mȍstu*, *nȍsu*, *zîdu*, *zûbu*

Jadranovo

L sg. *brȍdu*, *grâdu*, *làktu*, *lȅdu*, *mȉsēcu*, *mȍstu*, *nȍsu*, *vȍzu*, *zîdu*, *zûbu*

Kraljevica (DAQ #95)

L sg. *grâdu*, *làhtu*, *mȉsecu*, *snîgu*, *zîdu*, *zûbu*

4. Accentual Type (D)

As can be seen in many of the examples above, nouns originally belonging to a. p. (d) according to the reconstruction posited by Dybo et al. typically follow the type (c) accentual pattern in Čakavian, which has itself been subject to a number of modifications. However, in some dialects the accentuation of these nouns could reflect traces of the reconstructed type (d) pattern; i.e., an initial circumflex accent in the NA sg. and an accent on the grammatical ending in the remaining forms. These dialects will be considered individually.

The first of these is the dialect of the island of Susak, which was described by Hamm, Hraste, and Guberina (1956, henceforth HHG). Here we find some nouns that have the reflex of an original circumflex accent in the NA sg. but an accent on the grammatical ending in the oblique singular forms. The short-vowel stems have the same lengthening in the NA sg. that we regularly find throughout Croatian and other western South Slavic dialects in historical circumflex stems. In the plural these nouns in Susak have an accent on the initial syllable in all forms.

(9) Susak type (d) pattern (HHG 106)

	singular		plural		singular		plural
NA	*lîst*	NA	*lîsti*	NA	*pl^{u}ôt*	NA	*plȍti*
G	*līstà*	G	*lîsti/lîstof*	G	*plotà*		
D	*līstù*	D	*lîston*				
I	*līst^{u}ôn*	I	*lîsti*				
L	*līstȉ/līstù*	L	*lîsti*				

It must be noted here that Hamm, Hraste, and Guberina's description has been criticized as inaccurate on a number of counts. Although they mark distinctions in pitch, inconsistencies in their own data lead one to suspect that it is not phonemic; this conclusion was reached by Ivić in his review of this study (1959), as well as by Vermeer (1975) and Steinhauer (1975). Both Vermeer and Steinhauer had access to tape recordings given them by Guberina, and Steinhauer reported that Guberina agreed in a personal communication that there was no pitch opposition in this dialect (1975: 24). Consequently, I have replaced the

symbol for the Čakavian acute with a circumflex accent in all the Susak data cited here.

This accentual pattern illustrated in (9) is contrasted with that of other nouns, which presumably reflect the accentuation of the original circumflex type in this dialect, shown in (10); however, note that both of these nouns have been cited as originally belonging to a. p. (d), based on evidence from other Slavic dialects (see Dybo, Zamjatina, and Nikolaev 1990, 1993).

(10) Susak type (c) pattern (HHG 104)

	singular		plural		singular
NA	*brîx*	NA	*brîɣi*	NA	*br^{u}ôt*
G	*brîɣa*	G	*brîɣi/brîɣof*	G	*brȍda*
D	*brîɣu*	D	*brîɣon*		
I	*brîɣon*	I	*brîɣi*		
L	*brīɣȉ/brīɣù*	L	*brîɣi*	L	*brodù*

Like the long-vowel stems, the plural of the nouns with a short stem vowel also has a columnar accent on the initial syllable according to HHG, although they do not cite examples of these forms, so all of these nouns have presumably eliminated the original alternation in the plural. The accent on the ending *-i* of the L sg. is probably due to analogy to the form in *-u*, which is apparently more widespread, judging by comments in HHG (cf. HHG 100, where the authors state that the ending *-i* is used by the older generation).

Finally, the type (b) accentual pattern is represented by nouns such as *grob*:

(11) Susak type (b) pattern, short-vowel stems (HHG 106)

	singular		plural
NA	*ɣrȍp*	NA	*ɣrôbi*
G	*ɣrobȁ*	G	*ɣrôbi/ɣrôbof*
D	*ɣrobù*	D	*ɣrôbon*
I	*ɣrobôn*	I	*ɣrôbi*
L	*ɣrobȉ/ɣrobù*	L	*ɣrôbi*

The lengthening of the stem vowel in the plural of *ɣrȍp* can most likely be attributed to a general tendency to lengthen low and mid vowels in accented internal (open) syllables, which is also observed in other Čakavian dialects. Various researchers have described the quantity of these lengthened vowels as ranging from half-long to equal to that of original long vowels under accent. This lengthening appears to be a purely phonetic phenomenon that allows a significant degree of variation, which may account for the inconsistency of its notation in the data from Susak in HHG. However, there are enough examples to suggest that this lengthening is indeed characteristic of the Susak dialect; e.g., *brȁt*, G sg. *brâta*, *mȁk*, G sg. *mâka* (HHG 103), *mêne, glêdaju*, (HHG 67), *vôdu, govôri* (HHG 69); cf. Cres (Orlec) *mãteri, mẽsto, nõgu* (Houtzagers 1985); Ugljan (Kali) *bâba, bôlest, kolêno* (Houtzagers and Budovskaja 1996), etc.

Given this pattern of lengthening, the plural forms of the short-vowel stems of the different types shown in (9), (10), and (11) are probably identical, despite the different notations in HHG. They would all be expected to have a long falling accent on the stem, which may be in free variation with a short falling accent in nouns with an inherently short stem vowel.

The accentuation of type (b) nouns with a long stem vowel is unclear. According to HHG, nouns like *klûč* (shown in 12) carry the accent on the ending throughout the singular and plural; they also state that some nouns of this type have an accent on the initial syllable in the plural, like *ɣrȍp*, but the only example they cite to illustrate this actually has a short stem vowel (HHG 106). One would expect that the generalization of the accent on the final stem syllable should have affected the long-vowel stems as well as those with a short vowel, but one cannot be certain from the available data.

(12) Susak type (b) pattern, long-vowel stems (HHG 106)

	singular		plural
NA	*klûč*	NA	*klūčȉ*
G	*klūčȁ*	G	*klūčȉ/klūčôf*
D	*klūčù*	D	*klūčôn*
I	*kluč^{i}ên*	I	*klūčȉ*
L	*klūčȉ/klūčù*	L	*klūčȉ*

The loss of the distinction between the rising and falling pitch, the secondary lengthening of original short vowels, and the partial overlap between the accentuation of the plural forms of type (b) and (c) masculine nouns caused by the generalization of a columnar accent on the stem have all served to blur the distinctions between the original accentual types in the dialect of Susak. It is very possible that the accentuation of the putative a. p. (d) forms like those in (9) above could represent a later confusion of types (b) and (c) in this dialect, as has also been suggested earlier by Stankiewicz (1993: 34). Some of the forms in question are attested with accentual doublets in HHG, so the final stress in the oblique singular forms is at best a variant, occurring side by side with an initial accent.

(13) Accentual doublets for type (d) nouns
bᵘôk, G sg. *bokà* (HHG 106)
Bᵘôk, Bòka (toponym, HHG 153, 69)
rᵘôx, roɣà (HHG 106)
rᵘôx, ròɣa (HHG 104)
ɣrât, ɣrạdà [sic] (HHG 106)
ɣrât, ɣrâda [sic] (HHG 90)
lîst, līstà (HHG 106)
lîst, līsta (HHG 104)
zûp, zūbà (HHG 106)
zûp, zûba (HHG 70, 90)

The reliability of the Susak data that have been cited as archaisms, reflecting exceptions to the law of Illič-Svityč, has also been questioned by Vermeer (1984: 358-360, 2001: 138). Given all the uncertainties about these data, more research would be necessary to confirm the accentuation of these forms as well as those of nouns belonging to other accentual types before they can confidently be used as evidence for the reconstructed a. p. (d).

End-stressed forms corresponding to many of those on Susak were recorded for the dialect of Sali on Dugi Otok by Elena Budovskaja, as reported by Dybo, Zamjatina, and Nikolaev (1993: 107-8).

(14) Sali
bộk, G g. *bokà*, N pl. *bocì*; *plột*, G sg. *plotà*, N pl. *plòti*
brûs, G sg. *brūsà*, N pl. *brūsì*; *vrật*, G sg. *vrậtà*, N pl. *vrậti/vrậtì*

In Sali, the accent on the grammatical ending in the plural is different from the pattern we see in Susak for this type of noun, but some forms are also attested with a stem stress, and variant forms may be possible for the other nouns as well. Like Susak, this dialect has no pitch distinctions, so the long-vowel stems like *brûs* would be identical to type (b). The short-vowel stems differ from type (b) potentially in the length of the NA sg. form, where the long vowel in *bộk* or *plột* could represent an original short circumflex accent that was later lengthened. However, dialects on Dugi Otok typically lengthen vowels in accented closed syllables in all types of stems, so the short-vowel stems in question also cannot be reliably distinguished from type (b) in this dialect; compare the forms in (14) with type (b) *bộb/bȍb*, G sg. *bobà* (Dybo, Zamjatina, and Nikolaev 1993: 107); *pộp/pȍp*, G sg. *popà* (Finka 1977). Unfortunately, there is only a limited amount of information about the accentual patterns of different types of nouns on Dugi Otok in the literature; the main study of this dialect, Finka (1977), does not give complete paradigms for the different accentual types of stems. As a result, the possibility that the examples cited by Dybo, Zamjatina, and Nikolaev (1993) may represent a later confusion of accentual types (b) and (c) within this dialect cannot be ruled out. In fact, they themselves point out examples of a. p. (b) nouns that have switched to type (c) in this dialect; e.g., G sg. *grîxa/grīxà, sûda* (1993: 108).

In the dialect of Senj there are a few short-vowel stems whose accentuation could reflect the reconstructed a. p. (d); e.g.,

(15) Senj (Moguš 1966: 67)

	singular		plural
NA	*drôb*	N	*drȍbi*
G	*drobà*	A	*drȍbe*
D	*drȍbu*	G	*drobĩ*
I	*drobõn*	DIL	*drobĩn*
L	*drobù*		

Note that the pattern here is different from that of Susak and Sali: the D sg. has an initial stress, which is opposed to the final stress of the L sg. with the same ending *-u*, and the plural exhibits an alternation between an initial accent in the NA and a final accent in the oblique cases, like the historical a. p. (c) nouns. There are no long-vowel stems with this type of accentuation in Senj, according to Moguš's description, but it is unclear why the presumed traces of the type (d) pattern would have only been preserved in short-vowel stems.

The dialect of Rab presents a picture similar to that of Senj. In Kušar's (1894) description we find a few short-vowel a. p. (d) nouns that have a final stress in the oblique singular forms here, but this accentuation is not attested for any long-vowel stems.

(16) Rab (Kušar 1894)

bôk, G sg. *bokà*, *môst*, *mostà*, *plôd*, *plodà*, *pôst*, *postà* (31-32); *drôb*, *drobà* (50); *pôt*, *potà* (52)

Because of the general lengthening of accented short vowels in closed syllables, these nouns have fallen together with type (b) in this dialect, as in Sali; cf. N sg. *bôb*, *pôp* (Kušar 1894: 12).

Evidence of a final stress in the oblique singular in a few a. p. (d) masculine nouns has also been adduced from the dialect of Devínska Nová Ves in Slovakia (see Dybo, Zamjatina, and Nikolaev 1993: 108-110). Although this dialect has retracted the accent from final syllables, the lengthening and diphthongization of original short stressed *e* and *o* provide information about the earlier position of the accent, if one assumes that the differences in length are not the result of later analogical changes. According to Vážný's (1927) description this dialect has distinctive pitch, but the long neoacute is reflected as falling; e.g., *krâlj*, *plâća*, *pîšem*. Stressed short vowels were lengthened in final syllables (e.g., *mîš*, G sg. *mìša*) and in non-final syllables stressed mid and low vowels were lengthened and developed a rising accent; e.g., *bãba*, *obi̯ẽda*, *nu̯õsim*. The stress was later retracted from final syllables, yielding a falling accent on the preceding syllable; e.g., *trâva*, inf. *kûpit*. Original short vowels that received the accent as the result of this retraction remain short; e.g., *ȍbi̯ed*.

(17) Devínska Nová Ves (Vážný 1927)

bu̯ôk, G sg. *bu̯õka* (< **bȍka*)/*bȍka* (< **bokà*), L sg. *bȍki* (< **bokì*)

vu̯ôz, G sg. *vȍza*, L sg. *vȍzi*

The reconstructed type (d) is indistinguishable from type (b) in this dialect, as can be seen in examples such as *bu̯ôb*, G sg. *bȍba*, N pl. *bȍbi*, but differs from type (c); e.g., *ru̯ôd*, G sg. *ru̯õda*. However, other nouns that are thought to have belonged to a. p. (d) are only attested with reflexes of a stem stress; e.g., *nu̯ôs*, G sg. *nu̯õsa*, *ru̯ôg*, G sg. *ru̯õga*. The variations in length are also not always reliable indicators of the original place of the accent, since they have clearly been subject to analogical levelings; cf. N sg. *nu̯õga*, *u̯õblak*/*ȍblak*, etc. Due to the loss of earlier pitch distinctions, there are no differences between types (b), (c), and (d) for long-vowel stems except in the length of some of the endings; e.g., type (b) *krâlj*, G sg. *krâlja*, G pl. *krâlju̯ov*, D pl. *krâlju̯om*, L pl. *krâljī*; type (c) *sîn*, G sg. *sîna*, N pl. *sîni* (no other forms cited); type (d) *grâd*, G sg. *grâda*, G pl. *grâdov*, D pl. *grâdom*, L pl. *grâdi* (66).

Some similar forms are found in Baumgarten, which is part of the same larger group of relatively homogeneous Burgenland dialects (the Haci and Poljanci dialects; see Neweklowsky 1978), although the reflexes here do not always correspond to those in Devínska Nová Ves. In Koschat's (1978) description of Baumgarten the forms *pu̯ôt*, G sg. *pȍta*, *nu̯ôs*, N pl. *nȍsi* are attested and she indicates that *pu̯ôs(t)*, *plu̯ôt* also have the same alternation in length, with the short vowel indicating a retracted accent. Neweklowsky (1978: 73, 95) gives the example *mùos*, G sg. *m'osta* in his descriptions of the Haci/Poljanci and Dolinci groups with no attribution to any individual dialect. Additional examples can be found in the southern Burgenland ikavian Čakavian dialects, which have better preserved the original position of the accent; e.g., Stegersbach *mùos*, G sg. *most'a* (Neweklowsky 1978: 139, 144, cited by Vermeer 1984: 361); Stinatz *b'uoj*, G sg. *boj'a*, *n'uos*, *nos'a*, *pl'uot*, *plot'a*, *zv'uon*, *zvon'a*; *ml'ạ:t*, *mlạ:t'a*, *vl'ạ:k*, *vlạ:k'a* (Neweklowsky 1989).

Another source of data cited originally by Illič-Svityč (1963) that has been repeatedly mentioned by scholars in connection with this topic is Nemanić's description of some "Istrian" dialects.

(18) Unidentified "Istrian" dialects (Nemanić 1883: 370ff.)
nôs, G sg. *nȏsa/nosà*
brêg, G sg. *brêga/brēgà*, L sg. *brēgè*

Nemanić cites variant end-stressed singular forms for about 25 nouns, although for some of these he gives only the L sg. in *-ȅ*, which could be due to the influence of parallel forms in *-ù*; while Nemanić himself does not actually cite any L sg. forms in *-u*, this ending does occur in some of the dialects in the area he describes. On the whole, it is difficult to know how to interpret these data. According to what Nemanić states in his introduction (1883: 363-366), this study covers the dialects of northeastern Istria, nearby coastal areas, and the island of Krk. Nemanić was living in Pazin at the time, and he specifically thanks individuals from Bakar, Kraljevica, Vrbnik, Buzet, Cerovlje, Zarečje, and Pazin for their help, so one may assume that he drew on data from these specific locales. Although many of the dialects in this area have distinctive pitch, he indicates only quantity and place of stress in his transcription (consequently, his acute accent, representing a long stressed vowel, is replaced in the data cited here with a circumflex). Moreover, he cites only ekavian forms, in spite of the fact that the area includes both ekavian dialects and dialects with a dual reflex of jat' (i/e-kavian dialects). Although he writes in the introduction that he cites words in the form that he considers to be most common in the area that he studied (1883: 365-366), this statement is meaningless because these dialects belong to a variety of subgroups that differ significantly from one another. In fact, his data include many accentual and quantitative doublets that presumably reflect some of this interdialectal variation, if they do not represent mistakes; cf. the variants *vȗk, vùka* (369), *vûk, vùka* (371), *vûk, vûka* (373), to cite just one example. All of these factors suggest that the value of Nemanić's data is highly questionable (see also Vermeer 2001: 136-7). However, Vermeer (1984: 361) cites an example of a (b)-stressed paradigm for the noun *grad* from a description of the dialect of Sveti Ivan i Pavao (Zgrabljić 1907), in the same general area covered by Nemanić's study. Although this is the only noun attested with this accentuation, Vermeer sees this as a possible confirmation of the existence of the end-stressed forms cited by Nemanić in some Istrian dialects (cf. also the forms from Žminj given in 19 below).

In a thorough study of the data available in other Čakavian dialect descriptions I was able to uncover only a few isolated examples that could reflect the reconstructed a. p. (d):

(19) Other dialects
Silba: *nôs*, N pl. *nosȉ* (DAQ #128)
Žminj: *vôs*, G sg. *vozà*, I sg. *vȍzon*, L sg. *vȍze*; *cv*^{i}*êt*, N pl. *cv*^{i}*ētȉ* (DAQ #103)

In addition, Dybo, Zamjatina, and Nikolaev (1993: 111) cite Hvar (Brusje) *bȁrk* 'moustache', G sg. *barkà*, N pl. *barcȉ*, *tõrg*, Gsg. *tōrgà*; Brač (Dračevica) *sȓp*, G sg. *srpà* as examples of the switch of nouns from a. p. (d) to (b), which they see as a regular development in some dialects for stems with an earlier *-ьr-/-ъr-. The nouns *krov* and *vrh*, which have also been cited as belonging to a. p. (d), belong to type (b) in a number of Čakavian dialects as well as in Štokavian; e.g., Novi *krȍv*, G sg. *krovà, vȓh, vrhà* (Belić 1909: 213-214), Senj *krõv, krovà* (Moguš 1966: 66), Vrgada *krõv, krovà/krȍva, vȓh, vrhà* (Jurišić 1973); cf. standard Croatian *krȍv, krȍva, vȓh/vȓh, vȓha.*

Although prefixed postverbal nouns do not exhibit the reconstructed type (d) pattern in Čakavian, with reflexes of an initial accent in the NA sg. vs. final stress in the other forms, Kortlandt (1975: 28) cites the forms *razdél (=razd'ēl), razdēlà* (from Nemanić 1883: 407) as an additional example of exceptions to the law of Illič-Svityč in Čakavian. Kortlandt (1979) suggests that the IE distinction between barytone abstract nouns and oxytone concrete/agent nouns (e.g., Greek τόμος 'cut, cutting': τομός 'one who cuts') can be discerned in the accentuation of masculine prefixed postverbal nouns in Slavic. For Slavic he reconstructs an initial accent for the IE barytone prefixed postverbals and a stress on the root for IE oxytone prefixed postverbals; e.g., *nắroduN, *povóduN. The former would be reflected in Slavic with an accent on the root syllable by Dybo's law, while the latter would have developed an alternation between initial and final stress by the laws of Illič-Svityč and Pedersen (Kortlandt 1975: 28; cf. also Verweij 1991). Although this theory has a certain appeal since it is supported by a number of examples where the abstract: concrete semantic distinction correlates with the position of the accent in modern Slavic languages, the continued productivity of this type within Slavic and the possibility of analogy

and semantic change often make the original accentuation of a given postverbal noun uncertain. Consequently, it is difficult to determine whether these nouns in Čakavian might represent exceptions to Illič-Svityč's law or later developments.

With this caveat in mind, we can consider the available data. Besides *razdel*, the only other postverbal nouns cited by Nemanić (1883) with a final stress are *načîn*, G sg. *načînà* (407) and *pokrôv, pokrovà* (405); cf. also the stem-stressed variants *rāzdêl, rāzdèla, nāčîn, nāčìna* (402). Otherwise, prefixed postverbal nouns tend to have a fixed stress on the root, e.g., *povòd, povòda* (396); cf. also standard Croatian *pòvod*, vs. Russian *póvod, na povodú*. In the case of *razdêl, nač în*, and *pokrôv*, the length of the final vowel is conditioned by the following sonorant[8] and this vowel would be expected to carry a long rising accent (recall that some of the dialects described by Nemanić have pitch distinctions, although he does not indicate this). This would facilitate the absorption of these nouns into type (b), since the long rising accent could be confused with the reflex of the neoacute. The noun *pokrov* like *krov* also tends to fall together with type (b) elsewhere in Čakavian; e.g., Novi *pokrȍv*, G sg. *pokrovȁ* (Belić 1909: 216), Cres (Orlec) *pokrȍf*, I sg. *pokrovõn* (Houtzagers 1985). In the other dialects discussed above with end-stressed reflexes for a. p. (d) monosyllabic nouns, there appear to be no attested examples of prefixed postverbal nouns with a final stress.

5. Conclusion

As this survey has shown, forms that may represent traces of the reconstructed CS a. p. (d) are found in Čakavian only in a few dialects, and for some of these the reliability of the data is questionable. A comparison of attested forms for individual words shows that there is only a limited amount of agreement among these dialects (see the Appendix), and there are none where all of the attested nouns that supposedly belonged to a. p. (d) have a final stress. Furthermore, for the dialects where we have information about the full set of inflected forms, the accentual patterns of these nouns are not identical. Although this type of variation would not be unexpected in forms

[8] The consonant *v* triggers pre-sonorant lengthening in many but not all Čakavian dialects.

that are thought to represent exceptions to an early analogical change (the law of Illič-Svityč) in CS, it does seem to weaken the argument that they constituted a coherent accentual type in CS with a distinct accentual pattern.

Almost all of the Čakavian dialects in question have lost original pitch distinctions and exhibit secondary lengthenings of original short vowels in accented syllables. As a result, even if these data are compatible with the reconstructed a. p. (d), in most cases these forms cannot be cited as proof of an original circumflex accent in the NA sg. It is only in the short-vowel stems *bʷôk, brʷôt, plʷôt, rʷôx* in Susak; *drôb, lôv, môst, nôs, pôst* in Senj; and *drôb, grôb, nôs, vôz* cited by Nemanić where the length of the NA sg. form has no obvious explanation other than the general lengthening of original short circumflex vowels in final closed syllables.

Contrary to the practice of the "Moscow accentological school," the anomalous accentual patterns exhibited by these nouns cannot simply be assumed to represent an archaism. The loss of pitch distinctions and secondary lengthening of vowels seen in many of these dialects blur the distinctions between the original accentual types, which could facilitate analogical change as suggested above. A. p. (c) is unproductive, encompassing only a small number of masculine nouns, so it is not unreasonable to suppose that these nouns could be attracted to one of the other accentual types. As shown in §3, a. p. (c) nouns in Čakavian dialects tend to eliminate the original alternations, adopting a stem stress in many or all forms. The "mixed" accentual pattern seen in some dialects above could represent an opposing tendency to assimilate these nouns into type (b). One should also take into consideration the fact that none of these anomalous forms are attested in more prosodically conservative dialects for which we have reliable descriptions, such as Novi or Vrgada.

In favor of the supposition that the accentuation of the a. p. (d) nouns in certain Čakavian dialects represents an archaism is the fact that a final stress is practically never attested for nouns that originally belonged to a. p. (c) according to this reconstruction, although it is possible to find a few exceptions; e.g., "Istria" *sîn, sînà* (Nemanić 1883: 376), Baumgarten and Devínska Nová Ves *dòmȕom* < **domôm* (adv. 'to home'). However, it should be noted that the list of a. p. (d) nouns has both expanded and changed in various publications by Dybo et

al., as pointed out by Vermeer (2001: 139, 141), and they far outnumber the nouns designated as a. p. (c). Besides the nouns that they present in numbered lists to exemplify a. p. (d) [41 items in Bulatova, Dybo, and Nikolaev (1988: 53-59) and 42 in Dybo, Zamjatina, and Nikolaev (1990: 139-149), with only partial overlap between these two lists], additional a. p. (d) nouns are cited in these works in subsequent discussions of individual dialects without any further justification. One gets the impression that nouns are sometimes attributed to a. p. (d) whenever a final stress is attested anywhere in Slavic, without considering the possibility that some of these examples may represent local innovations. The first installment of the *Osnovy slavjanskoj akcentologii. Slovar'* (Dybo, Zamjatina, and Nikolaev 1993) introduces a number of additional qualifications and discrepancies: lists of IE correspondences to the Slavic accentual types in the Introduction (93-94) include 25 nouns labeled D plus 9 more that are marked B/D, D/B, or D~B[9]; the designations here do not always match those in the Dictionary section (e.g., *voz* is marked D on p. 93 and C/D on p. 294); similarly, some other nouns that are cited simply as belonging to a. p. (d) later in the Introduction in the discussion of the Čakavian data are given in the Dictionary with dual labels. These compound labels are used when Dybo et al. posit the existence of accentual variants in CS, but the precise criteria used for assigning nouns to different categories such as B/D, B(/D), or D/B are not clear. Furthermore, dialectal forms with the same accentuation are sometimes cited as evidence for different CS accentual paradigms; e.g. the Sali forms *čȅp/čȇp*, G sg. *čepà*, N pl. *čepì*, G pl. *čepộv* are identified as reflexes of a. p. (b) (171), while the forms *pộd*, *podà*, *podì*, *podộv* are said to reflect a. p. (d) (245).

It is possible that the anomalous Čakavian forms considered here could represent exceptions to the law of Illič-Svityč that went on to develop final stress like the neuter barytona, although further study is clearly needed to verify the data. However, given the ambiguities inherent in much of this material and the lack of agreement among the individual dialects, the Čakavian evidence provides little support for the reconstruction of a separate a. p. (d).

[9] Dybo et al. normally distinguish between lower-case letters representing CS accentual paradigms (a, b, c, d) and upper-case letters representing the reflexes of these as distinct accentual types attested in various Slavic dialects. Here, however, they use upper-case letters in reference to the reconstructed CS forms.

Appendix

The following table compares reflexes of a. p. (d) nouns attested in at least one of the Čakavian dialects discussed above. The numbers following the noun indicate the work in which it is cited as a. p. (d): 1 = Bulatova et al. (1988), 2 = Dybo et al. (1990), 3 = Dybo et al. (1993) [including nouns marked here as B/D, C/D]. In the table nouns are marked as type (d) if the accentuation of the NA sg. could reflect an original circumflex accent and end-stress is attested in the oblique singular (other than the L) and/or the NA pl. The designation b(d) is used where the posited a. p. (d) cannot be distinguished from the reflexes of a. p. (b) because of later phonological developments, and c* indicates that a final stress is attested only in the L sg. in *-e/ě*, where it may be secondary. Cells are left blank if the word is not attested or the original accentuation cannot be determined from the available data.

Nouns cited as belonging to a. p. (d)	Susak	Sali	"Istria" (Nemanić 1883)	Senj	Rab	Stinatz	Devínska Nová Ves	Baum-garten
short-vowel stems								
bok (1, 2, 3)	c/d	b(d)	c		b(d)		b(d)/c	
bor (3)		b(d)				c		
brod (3)	c	b(d)/c	c	c				
čemer (3)			c					
dol (3)			c					
drob (1, 3)		b(d)/c	c?/d[1]	d	b(d)	(c)[2]		
glog (3)							b(d)	
grob (3)	b	c	b/d	b		c	b(d)	b(d)
grom (3)		c	c				b(d)	
krov (3)	b		b(d)	b	b(d)	b(d)	b(d)/c	b(d)
lov (3)			c	d				
most (3)		b	c	d	b(d)	c	b(d)/c	
mozak (1, 3)		b(d)	c					
nos (3)		b(d)	c/d	d		b(d)	c	b(d)
pepel (1)			c			c	c	
plod (3)			c		b(d)			
plot (1, 3)	d	b(d)	c			b(d)	c	b(d)
pod (3)	b	b(d)	b	b	b(d)	c	b(d)	
post (3)			c	d	b(d)		b(d)	b(d)
pot (1, 3)	c	b(d)	c	c	b(d)			b(d)
rog (1, 2, 3)	c/d	b(d)	c	c	c	c	c	c*
roj (2)				b/c				
rov (3)			b					
stog (2, 3)			c					
svekar (3)			b(d)/c			c		
večer (1, 2, 3)	c		c			c	c	
vosk (1, 3)		c	c			c	c	c
voz (1, 2, 3)			c/d			c	b(d)	c
zvon (2, 3)	c		c			b(d)	b(d)	c
long-vowel stems								
běs (1, 3)				c				
blud (1)			c					
brav (2)			c					

Nouns cited as belonging to a. p. (d)	Susak	Sali	"Istria" (Nemanić 1883)	Senj	Rab	Stinatz	Devínska Nová Ves	Baum-garten
brěg (2, 3)	c	b(d)	b(d)/c	c		c		
brk (3)			c					
brus (1, 2, 3)	b(d)	b(d)	c	c		c		
cěp (1, 2, 3)			b(d)/c					
cvět (2)			c	c		c		
čas (2)		a	a			a		
čun (1, 2)				b				
dub (1)			b(d)/c					
dug (1, 3)	c		c	c		c		
glad (3)	c	b(d)/c		c		c		
grad (1, 2, 3)	b(d)/c	b(d)	b(d)/c	c		c		
hlad (3)	b(d)	b(d)	c*	c				
kljun (3)			b(d)/c	c		c		
kos (3)			c					
krug (1, 2)			c					
kus (1)			c					
list (1, 2, 3)	b(d)/c	b(d)	c	c		c		
lug (1)			b(d)/c			c		
luk (1)			b(d)/c			c		
měh (3)	c		c	c				
mlat (1, 2)			c			b(d)		
mrak (1, 2)			c			c		
prah (1, 2)	c[3]	b(d)	c	c				
prut (1, 2)			c					
red (1, 2)			c	c		c		
sad (1, 3)	b(d)	c	c			c		
slěd (1, 2)			c*					
směh (1)	b(d)		b(d)	b				
sněg (1, 3)	c	b(d)	b(d)/c	c		c		
sram (1)	c	c	c	c				
srp (1, 2, 3)			c			c		
stid (1, 2)			a					
strah (1)	c		c*	c				
trg (1, 3)				b				
val (1)			c	c				
věk (1, 2)			c					
vid (3)			a					

Nouns cited as belonging to a. p. (d)	Susak	Sali	"Istria" (Nemanić 1883)	Senj	Rab	Stinatz	Devínska Nová Ves	Baum-garten
vlas (1, 2, 3)			b(d)/c		c	c		
vrag (1)	c		b(d)/c	c	c	c		
vrat (2, 3)	b(d)	b(d)	c	c		c		
vrěs (2)			c					
vrh (1, 2, 3)	b(d)		b(d)/c					
zid (3)	b(d)		c*	c		(c)[2]		
znak (1)			c					
zrak (1)			b(d)/c			c		
zub (1, 2, 3)	b(d)/c		c	c	c	c		

Notes:

[1] The stem-stressed and end-stressed variants of these nouns are defined differently by Nemanić: *drȍb, drȍba; drȍp, drȍpa;* and *drôp, drȍpa* are glossed 'brisa' (refuse grapes left after pressing, grape skins), while *drôb, drobȁ* is glossed 'exta' (entrails).

[2] These nouns are feminine in the dialect of Stinatz: *dr'uob*, G sg. *dr'uobi*; *z'i:d*, *z'i:di*.

[3] In HHG (104) the forms of this word are given as *prậx, prậγa*, but it seems safe to assume that the γ is a typographical error.

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THE ACCENTUATION OF MASCULINE NOUNS IN NORTHWEST RUSSIAN DIALECTS

Common Slavic is reconstructed by traditional analysis as having three accentual paradigms (APs): AP-A, AP-B, and AP-C. A recent theory, however, suggests that an additional type can be reconstructed for masculine nouns, an accentual paradigm D (AP-D). This paradigm has characteristics of AP-B and of AP-C, hence is referred to as "the mixed paradigm". This paper closely examines reflexes of AP-D found in northwest Russian "Kriviči" dialects. The first part contains a study of TORT roots from dialects of six different regions. Other types of short roots are analyzed in the subsequent two studies. One study includes dialects from three different regions. The second study includes dialects from one region, the C-Pskov which has proven before to be archaic in regards to phonology. The results of the two studies are compared with the aim to establish that an AP-D is indeed a case of retention, which points to an archaic isogloss.

1. Preliminaries

Illič-Svityč (1963: 98-114, 144-145) demonstrated that the Indo-European (IE) short stem nouns with barytonic accentuation have in Slavic constant oxytonic accentuation, the AP-B. IE nouns with mobile-oxytonic accentuation correlate to the Slavic mobile paradigm, the AP-C. Regarding masculine *o*-stem nouns, Illič-Svityč showed (1963: 110-119) that Slavic masculine nouns of the mobile paradigm (AP-C) correlate to IE masculine nouns with two type of accentuation, IE barytonic and the mobile-oxytonic. On the other hand, Slavic masculine nouns of AP-B correlate to IE neuter nouns. Thus, masculine *o*-stem short nouns of the two IE accentual paradigms coincided in Slavic in the mobile paradigm, AP-C. However, not all the masculine nouns completely coincided in the mobile paradigm in Slavic. In Croatian Čakavian dialects, traces are found of the original differentiation of the nouns with the original mobile accentuation and nouns with originally oxytonic accentuation (< IE

barytone). In these dialects, the nouns demonstrate a mixed type of accentuation, as in the nominative (Nom) they have characteristics of AP-C, but in the genitive (Gen) and in the nominative-accusative (Nom-Acc) plural they have characteristics of AP-B (Hamm, Hraste, and Guberina 1956: 106). Consider the following examples (Illič-Svityč 1963: 119):

(1) a. "Mixed" paradigm

Susak: *γrât, Gen. γrådà; zûp, zūbà; rụ̑ôγ, roγà*

Istra: *grâd,* Gen. *grādà; lûk, lūkà; snêg, snēgà; cêp,* Nom-Acc. Pl. *cēpì; vlâs* Nom-Acc. Pl. *vlāsì*

b. "Regular" mobile paradigm

Susak: *γlâs, Gen. γlâsa; mîx, mîxa; xụ̑ôt, xȍda;*

Istra: *glâs,* Gen. *glâsa; mêh, mêha; hôd, hȍda; plên, plêna*

Additional traces of the original differentiation were found in the East Slavic zone in the west Ukrainian dialects and in the "Kriviči" dialects, which include the northwest Russian and north Byelorussian dialects (Nikolaev 1988, 1989, 1991). That led to the formulation of a theory of AP-D (Bulatova, Dybo, Nikolaev 1988; Dybo, Zamjatina, Nikolaev 1990, 1993). This theory claims that the mixed paradigm (AP-D) is indeed an archaic remnant of the original IE masculine orthotonic nouns, which in Slavic should have had an exclusively oxytonic accentuation (AP-B). Yet for some unexplained reason, the intonation of the nominative-accusative forms only became recessive, while the oblique cases still had the intonation of dominant roots, which yielded oxytone forms. These processes created a "mixed" paradigm. In most of the Slavic dialects those nouns took on paradigmatic characteristics of the mobile paradigm (AP-C). However, some of the peripheral dialects (usually, western) retained the original oxytonic forms.

2. Evidence Of AP-D In Northwest Russian Dialects

2.1. Tort Roots

In northwest Russian (NWR) dialects, AP-D is characterized by oxytone in oblique cases in the singular and oxytone in the Nom-Acc plural. Since East Slavic dialects have not preserved pitch intonations, it is almost impossible to verify that the paradigm is indeed "mixed", i.e., that the Nom-Acc singular has characteristics of AP-C, as in the Čakavian dialects in (1a). An exception to that is found in TORT words, where the nominative singular forms have the accent on the first syllable as in AP-C. The oblique cases, however, (and the Nom-Acc pl.) have the accent on the final syllable as in AP-B. Thus, these TORT words contain direct evidence of the "mixed" type of accentuation.

The material in (2) is based on data recorded during the last ten years in several dialectal expeditions[1], organized by the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of the Sciences. The list in (2) contains 13 Proto Slavic (PS) words of the TORT type and their reflexes in the following NWR dialects[2]:

Central Pskov:	Slëzy, Mýza, Kostry, Rógovo, Koršílovo, Reménnikovo
East Pskov:	Ležakino
South Torópec:	Dúdkino, Gavrilovo, Kuznecovo
North Toropec:	Smëxnovo, Malašóvo, Zalés'je, Sópki
West Smolensk:	Emel'jániki, Lúčno
Polock:	Ruč'ji

(2) Roots of TORT type: The dialectal data is given in its phonetic transcription, and the contemporary standard Russian (CSR) reflexes are given in the standard orthographic transcription.

a. *borvъ	CSR: *bórov* [bórəf] 'horizontal flue', gen. *–a*, pl. *–á*, gen. *-óv*
	S-Toropec: Dud. *bórəf* gen. *bəravá*, pl. *bəravý*
b. *čerpъ	CSR: *čérep* [čérıp] 'skull', gen. *čérepa* [č'érıpa], pl. *čerepá* [čəripá], gen. *–óv.*

[1] The data, with the exception of villages Nikolskoe and Smerdovo, were provided by Sergei L Nikolaev to whom I am indebted for his generousity. Any errors in interpretation, of course, are my responcibility alone. The data for Nikol'skoe and Smerdovo are from my own field recording.

[2] Geographically, these dialects cover the "Kriviči" area (see Nikolaev 1988, 1989, 1991).

	N-Toropec: Mal. intsr. *čɪr'äpóm*
	E-Pskov: Slëzy gen. *čarpá*, pl. *čarpý*
c. *kolsъ	CSR: *kólos* [kółəs] 'ear of wheat / rye', gen. *-a*, pl. *kolósja*, gen. *-jev*
	W-Smolensk: Em., Luč. nom. *kółəs*, gen. *kəłəsá*, instr. *kəłasóm*, pl. *–ý*
d. *korbъ	CSR: *kórob* [kórəp] 'box / basket', gen. *–a*, pl. *–á*, gen. *-óv*
	S-Toropec: Dud. nom. *kuórəp*, gen *kərabá*; Kuzn. *kóryp*, gen. *kyrabá*, pl. *–ý*
	C-Pskov: Rem. *kórəp*, gen. *karbá*, instr. *karbóm*, *-ý*
	W-Smolensk: Em. *kórəp*, gen. *kərəbá*, instr. *kərabóm*, pl. *–ý*
e. *melnъ	CSR *mélen* 'handle of a millstone'
	C-Pskov: Slëzy *m'él'ɪm*, gen. *m'al'ná*, instr. *–óm*, pl. *–ý*
	'handle of a millstone'
f. *ne/orstъ	CSR: *nérest* [n'ér'ɪst] 'spawning', gen. *–a*
	Polock: Ruč. *nórəst*, gen. *nərəstá*, instr. *narastóm*
g. *nortъ	CSR: *vérša* 'fish-trap'
	Polock: Ruč. *nórət* 'fish-trap', gen. *nərətá*, instr. *naratóm*, pl. *naratý*
h. *sernъ	CSR: *nast* 'thin crust of ice over snow'
	Polock: *s'érən* 'thin crust of ice over snow', gen. *s'érəna*, intsr. *s'ɪranóm*
i. *storžь	CSR: *stórož* [stórəš] 'guard', gen. *stóroža*, pl. *storožá*
	Polock: Ruč. *stóroš* gen. *stəražá*, instr. *staražóm*, pl. *-ý*
j. *termъ	CSR: *térem* [t'ér'ɪm] 'tower, fancy house', gen. *-a*, pl. *teremá* [t'ər'ɪmá]
	C-Pskov: Slëzy *c'ar'óm*, gen. *c'ar'má*, instr. *c'ér'məm*, pl. *c'ar'mý*; Kost. *c'ér'ɪm* 'mansion, (arch)', gen. *c'ér'ɪma*, *c'ɪr'amá*, instr. *–óm*, *c'er'ɪməm*, pl. *c'ɪr'ämá*; Korš. *c'ér'ɪm*, gen. *c'ér'ma*, *c'ɪr'má*, in str. *–óm*, pl. *c'ar'mý*

	W-Smolensk: Luč. *c'ér'əm*, gen. *c'ɪr'əmá*, instr. *c'ɪr'amóm*, pl. *-ý*
k. *volkъ	CSR: *vólok* 'portage (carrying place between two navigable waters)', gen. *vóloka*
	S-Toropec: Kuzn. *vółyk*, gen. *vyłaká*, pl. *vyłak'í*
l. *volsъ	CSR: *vólos* 'hair', gen. *vólosa*, pl. *vólosy*
	Polock: Ruč. gen. *vəłəsá*, instr. *vółəsəm*, pl. *vəłasý*
m. *žerbъ	CSR: *žrébij* 'fate'
	S-Toropec: Kuzn. *žérip*, gen. *žyr'ebá*, *žér'iba*, pl. *žyr'ebá*

2.2. Other Types Of Roots

With regards to other types of masculine short roots, only oblique cases in the singular are considered. AP-D emerges in the NWR dialects with oxytonic forms throughout the paradigm, similar to AP-B. On the other hand, in CSR the same nouns belong to the mobile type (AP-C), hence have barytonic accentuation throughout the singular subparadigm[3]. In NWR dialects stress sometimes fluctuates within the paradigm, where oxytone alternates with barytone in the Gen and the Instr forms. Consequently, these words exhibit an irregular type of accentuation which is altogether distinct from AP-B and AP-C.

It is noticeable that in some of the dialects AP-D has expanded, as nouns of the mobile type acquired characteristics of AP-D due to analogical processes. The original oxytone in the Gen, Instr, and Nom pl of the mobile *u*-stem nouns probably contributed to the leveling processes. The merger of *o*- and *u*-stems in phonology and morphology occurred in the accentual paradigms as well. While *u*-stem nouns acquired the *o*-stem endings, in many instances *o*-stem nouns acquired the *u*-stem type of accentuation. Thus, *o*-stem nouns often exhibit oxytone variants in Gen or Instr only, according to the pattern of *u*-stems.

Two studies of the NWR dialects are described below. The first includes several dialects from various regions of the northwest

[3] In the Nom-Acc pl, however, many AP-D words have oxytone in CSR, e.g., *dubý*, *krugí*, *polý*, etc.

Russian and east Byelorussian territories. This type of study helps determine the extent of the AP-D isogloss in the northwestern area and also to compare the attested data to a hypothetical single unified northwestern dialect. The second study includes several dialects from only one region, the central Pskov (C-Pskov) dialects. Dialects in this area have been previously noted for their archaism in phonology; similarly, the accentual system was able to preserve certain archaisms, i.e., numerous reflexes of AP-D.

A. Dialects From Different Regions

The subject of this study (Shrager 2004) was to analyze the accentual systems of masculine nouns in five villages in three different areas located to the west and northwest of Moscow. These include:

Tver region - Nikol'skoe (N), Smerdovo (S), Dudkino (D)

East Pskov region – Ležakino (L)

Vitebsk region - Ruč'ji (R)

The analysis contains only words which exhibited stress deviation compared to CSR. Initially, a group of words was singled out based on the "irregular" oxytone reflexes and then compared against the word list of AP-D.

About 43 words exhibit deviation from CSR in the genitive and/or instrumental singular and in the nominative plural forms. Consider the examples in (3).[4]

(3)	PS	NWR dialects	CSR
i)	*bokъ	*baká, bakóm, bakí*	*bóka, bókom, boká*
ii)	*borъ	*bóra, baróm, barý*	*bóra, bórom, borý*
iii)	*brusъ	*brusá, brusóm, brusý*	*brúsa, brúsom, brúsja*
iv)	*dǫbъ	*dubá, dubóm, dubý*	*dúba, dúbom, dubý*

The full list of words with additional oxytone stress is presented in (4). The words are listed in their PS form according to the root vowels.

[4] The dialectal data is given in phonetic transcription, and the standard Russian reflexes are given in standard orthographic transcription. The dialectal and the CSR examples are in the Gen, Instr sg, and Nom pl.

If a word was found in one dialect only, the name of the dialect appears next to it. Since only accentual deviations from the standard language were studied here, words which have oxytone both in these dialects as well as in CSR were omitted from this list.

(4) *-o-: bokъ, borъ (R), grobъ, komъ, lomъ, mostъ, mozgъ, nosъ, podъ, polъ (D), rogъ, somъ (N), sorъ (L), stogъ, tokъ (R), vozъ (R)

*-ǫ-: blǫdъ (R), dǫbъ, krǫgъ, lǫgъ, trǫsъ (N), zǫbъ

*-ě-: běsъ (L), květъ (2), měxъ (2), slědъ, *trěskъ (L)

*-a-: platъ (L), stavъ (R), valъ

*-u-: brusъ, strupъ 'scab'(L)

*-y-: bytъ (D), synъ (R)

*-i-: činъ (L), lisъ (N), pirъ (L), piskъ (L)

*-ъ-: dъlgъ (D), sъtъ (D)

*-ь-: klьnъ (N), vьlkъ

In several words, paradigmatic fluctuation of stress occurs between the Gen and Instr. Sometimes alternations of accentual variants occur within these oblique cases (e.g., Lež. Gen *zúba / zubá*).

A quantitative analysis was conducted in an attempt to find any correlation between the additional oxytone and the original root vowel. It examines the distribution of the PS root vowel among the oxytone words in these dialects (Table 1).

Table 1: Distribution (in %) of Root Vowels in the List of Words with Additional Oxytone Stress

Root V / Village	*o	*ě	*ǫ	* ъ	*a	*u	*i	*y	* ь
D	64	---	22	14	---	7	---	7	---
L	55	20	15	---	10	10	15	---	---
N	38	25	19	---	6	---	6	---	6
R	48	10	24	---	9.5	5	---	5	---
S	50	33	---	17	---	---	---	---	---
Average	51	18	16	6	5	4	4	2	1

Based on the results in Table 1, certain observations can be made.

(5) i) Roots with Proto-Slavic *-*o*- have the highest percentage among the additional oxytone words.

ii) Roots with *-*ǫ*- have notably different distribution than roots with *-*u*-; roots with *-*ǫ*- are much more numerous. (This happens in spite of the fact that in CSR and in the Russian dialects both have the same reflex [u]).

B. Study Of Central Pskov Dialects

I. Accentual Analysis

Dialectal data from six villages in the same geographical area were analyzed: Koršílovo, Kostry, Myza, Reménnikovo, and Slëzy. All these villages in are located in the Puškinogorsk district of the Pskov region. A hypothetical list of nouns belonging to AP-D was compiled by the author on the basis of several sources. The main source is the Dybo and Nikolaev's list (Dybo, Zamjatina, Nikolaev, 1990, 1993; ASSJA), which was based on evidence in Čakavian dialects of Susak, Istra, and Sali, west Ukrainian Galician dialects, and other Slavic dialects as well. Additionally, the author consulted the word list derived from the field research questionnaires, which also includes words which exhibit AP-D reflexes in various Slavic dialects, but which theoretically are not necessarily AP-D words. The reflexes in these words, therefore, could be ascribed to secondary formations. Theoretically, AP-D should contain every masculine noun which in IE has a dominant short root. Nonetheless, only certain roots have consistent oxytonic accentuation in all the relevant dialects. For example, in the dialects of Susak and Istra only thirteen such nouns are described by Hamm et al (1956: 106). The same nouns with AP-D reflexes are found in Kriviči dialects (Nikolaev, 1988, 1989, 1991). In addition, these dialects include many other nouns with AP-D reflexes; thus a much more extensive AP-D word list emerges. This study should be followed by further comparison with Baltic and other IE languages in order to verify that these reflexes are indeed AP-D words, i.e. IE masculine words with short roots and "dominant" type intonation. Obviously, not all the words on my list fit this specification and therefore secondary formations should also be identified and analyzed separately. However, these questions exceed the scope of the present paper, which aims at synchronic analysis of the dialects where AP-D reflexes were found.

In C-Pskov dialects most of the words with oxytone reflexes are the same ones which occur in the other NWR dialects. These words are listed in (6) in their PS form according to the root-vowels.

(6) *-o-: bobъ, bokъ, brodъ, grobъ, glodъ, drozdъ, komъ, konъ, lomъ, mostъ, mozgъ, nosъ, orstъ, podъ, polъ, postъ, rogъ, somъ, sorъ, stogъ, stropъ, tokъ, vozъ, zobъ
*-ǫ -: dǫbъ, krǫgъ, lǫgъ, ǫsъ, prǫtъ, sǫkъ, strǫkъ, trǫsъ, zǫbъ
*-i-: listъ, lisъ, nizъ, piskъ, svistъ, virъ, vixrъ, vizgъ
*-u-: brusъ, čupъ, gruzdъ, lubъ, xrustъ
*-ъ-: dъlgъ, klъkъ, kъrmъ, sъtъ, xъlmъ
*-ě-: květъ, měxъ, slědъ
*-ь-: čьlnъ, vьrxъ
*-a-: pazъ, platъ
*-ę-: rędъ, vęzъ
*-y-: bytъ

Some of the words in (6) are also found in CSR with either constant oxytonic accentuation or with alternations (e.g., Gen *bobá, drozdá, mósta/-á, postá, somá, prúta/-á, suká, listá, gruzdjá, kloká, xolmá, sledá/-u, čelná, rjáda/-á, vixrá*). It was noted already by Stang (1957: 79-80) that in CSR several masculine nouns which are supposed to have reflexes of the mobile paradigm (AP-C) have ending stress either as the only existing form or as a variant. He connected this phenomenon with the *u*-stems, since among the words that exhibit oxytone accentuation in CSR several are supposedly *u*-stem words (e.g., *rjad, rjadá*). Stang could not explain, however, why some other *u*-stem nouns had regular reflexes of the mobile paradigm (e.g., *dom, dóma*). Among the 62 nouns in (6) and the 43 nouns in (4) only the 11 nouns in (7) are assumed to be old *u*-stems.

(7) *bokъ, *dǫbъ, *drozdъ, *listъ, *nosъ, *rędъ, *sǫkъ, *vьrxъ, *dъlgъ, *nizъ, *slědъ

That is hardly enough to support the claim that *u*-stems "created" the AP-D. A more plausible explanation would be that both *o*- and *u*-stems had reflexes of AP-D. In CSR only a few *u*-stem nouns retained traces of the original oxytonic accentuation, while in NWR dialects *o*-stems preserved the original oxytone as well.

It was mentioned above that one of the characteristics of reflexes of AP-D in NWR dialects is stress alternations. In C-Pskov dialects the stress fluctuations in the singular subparadigm between the Gen and Instr of oxytone nouns occur more frequently than in the other dialects. There are two types of alternations:

(8) Type 1 – oxytona in the genitive, barytona in the instrumental
i) *babá, bóbəm; baká, bókəm; grabá, gróbəm*
ii) Korš – 2, Re – 5, Kost – 9, Rog – 10, Slë – 19, M – 20,

Type 2 - barytona in the genitive, oxytona in the instrumental
iii) *bóka, bakóm; gróba, grabóm; róga, ragóm*
iv) M – 0, Re – 0, Slë – 2, Rog – 4, Korš – 11, Kost – 13

As seen in (8), Type 1 predominates in C-Pskov dialects; the Gen forms have oxytone, and the Instr have barytone.[5] Table (2) shows the distribution of both types of alternation in each dialect. The bold horizontal lines separate Type 1 from Type 2. In two dialects, Myza and Remennikovo (Rem), only Type 1 alternations occur.

Table 2: Stress Alternations Between the Genitive and the Instrumental

		Korš	**Kost**	**Rog**	**Slezy**	**Myza**	**Rem**
1	G I	*grabá* *gróbəm*	*kamá* *kómənm*	*babá* *bóbəm*	*baká* *bókəm*	*brusá* *brúsəm*	*krugá* *krúgəm*
2	G I	*ragá* *rógəm*	*c'v'atá* *c'v'étəm*	*krugá* *krúgəm*	*gładá* *głódəm*	*krugá* *krúgəm*	*karmá* *kórməm*
3	G I	*kórmu* *karmóm*	*usá* *úsəm*	*mastá* *móstəm*	*krugá* *krúgəm*	*kv'atá* *kv'étəm*	*maská* *mósgəm*
4	G I	*m'éxa* *m'axóm*	*pałká* *półkəm*	*prutá* *prútəm*	*kv'atá* *kv'étəm*	*łamá* *łóməm*	*padá* *pódəm*
5	G I	*nósa* *nasóm*	*prutá* *prútəm*	*ragá* *rógəm*	*łamá* *łóməm*	*ługá* *łúgəm*	*zubá* *zúbəm*
6	G I	*płóda* *pładóm*	*suká* *súkəm*	*s'l'adá* *s'l'édəm*	*ługá* *łúgəm*	*n'izá* *n'izəm*	

[5] This occurs also in a few words of AP-B, probably by analogy.

7	G I	*póła* *pałóm*	*struká* *strúkəm*	*słuxá* *słúxəm*	*łubá* *łúbəm*	*płatá* *płátəm*	
8	G I	*pósta* *pastóm*	*tagá* *(tok)* *tógəm*	*suká* *súkəm*	*nasá* *nósəm*	*pładá* *płódəm*	
9	G I	*prúta* *prutóm*	*v'irá* *vírəm*	*zabá* *zóbəm*	*usá* *úsəm*	*pupa* *púpəm*	
10	G I	*súka* *sukóm*	*v'izgá* *vízgəm*	*zubá* *zúbəm*	*padá* *pódəm*	*prutá* *prútəm*	
11	G I	*v'íxra* *v'ixróm*	*bóka* *bakóm*	*bóka* *bakóm*	*prutá* *prútəm*	*suká* *súkəm*	
12	G I	*xrústa* *xrusóm*	*bróda* *bradóm*	*gróba* *grabóm*	*sl'adá* *sl'édəm*	*struká* *strúkəm*	
13	G I	*xółsta* *xałstóm*	*krúga* *krugóm*	*nósa* *nasóm*	*suká* *súkəm*	*s'v'istá* *s'v'ístəm*	
14	G I		*kóna* *kanóm*	*póła* *pałóm*	*stagá* *stógəm*	*taka* *tókəm*	
15	G I		*kórma* *karmóm*		*strupá* *strúpəm*	*trusá* *trúsəm*	
16	G I		*mózga* *mazgóm*		*xv'istá* *xv'ístəm*	*v'irá* *v'írəm*	
17	G I		*n'ízu* *n'izóm*		*trusá* *trúsəm*	*vazá* *vózəm*	
18	G I		*póła* *pałóm*		*v'azá* *v'ázəm*	*v'arxá* *v'érxəm*	
19	G I		*r'áda* *r'adóm*		*v'arxá* *v'érxəm*	*xadá* *xódəm*	
20	G I		*róga* *ragóm*		*zubá* *zúbəm*	*zabá* *zóbəm*	
21	G I		*sóra* *saróm*		*mózga* *mazgóm*		
22	G I		*stóga* *stagóm*		*p'íska* *p'iskóm*		

There is another type of accentual alternation in these dialects: co-existing accentual variants of the Gen (Table 3a) and the Instr (Table 3b).

Table 3a: Stress Variations in the Genitive of AP-D Words

	Korš	**Kostry**	**Myza**	**Rem**	**Rog**	**Slezy**
1	gróba grabá	*dúbu* *dubá*	*łóma* *łamá*	*krúga* *krugá*	*dólga* *dałgá*	*nósu* *nasá*
2	*kórmu* *karmá*	*kóma* *kamá*	*zúba* *zubá*	*kórma* *karmá*	*krúga* *krugá*	
3	*prúta* *prutá*	*c'v'étu* *c'v'atá*		*mózga* *maská*	*c'v'éta* *c'v'atá*	
4	*róga* *raga*	*łóma* *łamá*		*n'íza* *n'izá*	*łúga* *ługá*	
5	*súka* *suḱá*	*m'éxa* *m'axá*		*s'v'ísta* *s'vistá*	*róga* *raga*	
6	*v'íxra* *v'ixrá*	*płáta* *płatá*		*zúba* *zubá*	*s'l'éda* *s'l'adá*	
7		*stóga* *stagá*			*stóga* *stagá*	
8		*trúsa* *trusá*			*strópa* *strapá,*	
9					*vóza* *vazá*	
10					*zúba* *zubá*	

Table 3b: Stress Variations in the Instrumental

	Korš	**Kostr**	**Myza**	**Rem**	**Rog**	**Slezy**
1	*półəm* *pałóm*	*bródəm* *bradóm*	*zúbəm* *zubóm*	*s'v'istóm* *s'v'ístəm*	*bókəm* *bakóm*	*głódəm* *gładóm*
2		*dúbəm* *dubóm*			*dólgəm* *dałgóm*	*krúgəm* *krugóm* (adv)
3		*krúgəm* *krugóm*			*gróbəm* *grabóm*	*nósəm* *nasóm*
4		*kórməm* *karmóm*			*c'v'étəm* *c'v'atóm*	*stógəm* *stagóm*
5		*łóməm* *łamóm*			*łúgəm* *lugóm*	
6		*m'éxəm* *m'axóm*			*móstəm* *mastóm*	
7		*mózgəm* *mazgóm*			*nósəm* *nasóm*	
8		*płátəm* *płatóm*			*półəm* *pałóm*	
9		*prútəm* *prutóm*			*prútəm* *prutóm*	
10		*rógəm* *ragóm*			*stógəm* *stagóm*	
11		*sórəm* *saróm*			*strópəm* *strapóm*	
12		*súkəm* *sukóm*			*vózəm* *vazóm*	
13		*trúsəm* *trusóm*				

These alternations are seen only in words with AP-D. Moreover, the stress position is sometimes phonemic. Consider, for example, the pairs in (9a-b) from the Slëzy dialect.

(9) a. *trus, trusá, -əm, -ý* 'rabbit'
trúsa, -əm, -y 'coward'
b. *v'ar'óx, v'arxá, v'érxəm* 'loft'
v'érx, v'érxa, -əm, v'arxá 'up, upstairs'
c. *xv'íst, xv'istá, xv'ístəm, xv'istý* 'whistle'
s'v'íst, s'v'ísta, s'v'ístəm, s'v'istý 'whistle'

Variants similar to those in (9a-b) are found in Kostry as well. In all the C-Pskov dialects the Gen oxytone form *trusá* is 'rabbit' while the barytone form has the CSR meaning 'coward'. Apparently, when semantics is involved in accent alternations, the dialectal oxytone form is marked for a specific, narrower meaning compared to the CSR form. In (9c) the accentual variants correlate not to semantic differentiation, but to phonological differences: the standard form, *s'v'íst* and a dialectal form *xv'íst*. Thus, the barytone member of all the pairs in (9a-c) correlates to the CSR forms, whereas the oxytone member is the dialectal form. An additional example in (10) must be mentioned for its archaic phonological form, although it does not involve stress alternations. The root **květъ* has the following semantic and phonological variants:

(10) a. Slëzy: *kv'ét*, pl. *kv'atý* 'flower of a fruit plant'
pl. *c'v'atý* '(meadow) flowers'

b. Rog: *kv'ét* 'flower of a fruit plant'
c'v'ét 'flower'

The first phonological variant in 10 (a) and 10 (b) is dialectal, while the second variant is similar to the CSR form. This example demonstrates once more that when the dialectal and standard norms coexist side by side, the dialectal form is marked semantically as the more specific one, while the standard has a more general meaning.

II. Quantitative Analysis

A quantitative analysis was conducted in order to identify correlation between oxytone nouns and their original root vowels. Tables 4–7 show root vowel distribution among the oxytone and barytone words of AP-D and among the various accentual paradigms in C-Pskov dialects. The main points which emerge from those tables are summarized in (11).

In Table 4a, the PS root vowel distribution was calculated as a percentage for AP-D words where oxytonic accentuation occurs in one or more of the singular forms.

Table 4a: Percentage of PS Root Vowel Distribution among Oxytone Words of AP-D

Root V Village	*o	*ǫ	*i	*ъ *ь	*u	*ě	*a	*ę	*y
Average	38	26	13	9	6	5	1.5	1	0.5
Korš	28	28	16	12	12	4	---	---	---
Kost	43	23	14	9	---	5	3	3	---
Myza	31	28	17	6	6	6	6	---	---
Rem	44	26	13	13	4	---	---	---	---
Rog	44	28	6	6	6	10	---	---	---
Slezy	39	24	10	8	8	5	---	3	3

Table 4b gives the percentage of PS root vowels among the AP-D words which have barytone accentuation in the singular forms.[6]

[6] As noted above, a list of words that theoretically belong to AP-D has been compiled by Dybo and Nikolaev based on reflexes of AP-D in various Slavic dialects.

Table 4b: Percentage of Root Vowel Distribution among Barytone Words of AP-D

Root V Village	*o	*a	*ě	*i	*ǫ	*ъ, *ь	*u	*ę	*y	*e
Average	30	26	12	9	6	6	5	4	2	1
Korš	32	25	9	11	7	5	5	4	---	2
Kost	32	29	10	10	5	7	5	2	---	---
Myza	34	23	13	6	2	4	6	6	4	2
Rem	30	25	14	5	9	5	7	3	2	---
Rog	26	28	15	11	4	6	3	4	3	---
Slezy	23	24	11	9	9	9	6	5	1	3

Table 4c shows the root vowel distribution of oxytone forms for the full list of AP-D words, i.e., how many AP-D words have oxytone forms with each root vowel.

Table 4c: Vowel Distribution (%) of Oxytone Forms among Words of AP-D

Root V Village	*ǫ	*i	*ъ, *ь	*o	*u	*ě	*ę	*y	*a
Average	72	47	46	45	37	21	13	8	4
Korš	64	40	50	28	50	17	---	---	---
Kost	80	56	50	60	---	33	50	---	8
Myza	91	67	50	38	40	22	---	---	14
Rem	55	50	50	37	20	---	---	---	---
Rog	82	29	40	54	67	30	---	---	---
Slezy	60	40	33	50	43	22	25	50	---

Tables 5-7 calculate the vowel distribution for the other APs (AP-A, AP-B, and AP-C) to facilitate comparison with AP-D. Unfortunately, a comprehensive list of words exhibiting AP-A, AP-B, and AP-C was collected from only three of the six villages. Therefore the other three dialects are omitted from Tables 5-7.

Table 5: Percentage of Root Vowel Distribution among Words of AP-A

Root V Village	*a	*ě	*y	*u	*i	*o	*ǫ	*ъ, *ь	*ę	*e
Average	51	25	13	9	3					
Korš	48	26	16	5	5					
Rem	59	25	8	8	---					
Slezy	45	23	14	14	4					

Table 6: Percentage of Root Vowel Distribution among Words of AP-B

Root V Village	*o	*ъ, *ь	*u	*i	*ě	*ǫ	*y	*a	*ę
Average	49	13	12	10	9	4	3		
Korš	42	14	14	10	10	5	5		
Rem	52	13	13	13	9				
Slezy	54	11	8	8	8	8	3		

Table 7: Percentage of Root Vowel Distribution among Words of AP-C

Root V Village	*o	*ě	*i	*u	*a	*ъ, *ь	*e	*ǫ	*y	*ę
Average	23	20	14	14	10	6	4	4	3	2
Korš	24	17	13	17	10	7	3	3	3	3
Rem	22	22	13	13	13	6	3	6	3	
Slezy	23	20	17	11	8	6	6	3	3	3

(11) Remarks on the quantitative analysis of the C-Pskov dialects

a. AP-C in (Table 7) and the barytone group of AP-D in (Table 4b) are similar in that all vowels are attested in roots. On the other hand, in AP-A (Table 5), AP-B (Table 6), and in the oxytone forms of AP-D (Table 4a) the vowels are restricted.

b. In AP-A (Table 5) and B (Table 6) the distribution of the vowels indicates that they are in complimentary distribution, which agrees with Illič-Svityč' theory (1963). AP-A contains mostly roots with the originally long vowels *a (<*$\bar{a}$), and AP-B contains mostly roots with the short vowel *o (<*$\check{o}$). The oxytone forms of AP-D (Table 4a) point to a distribution similar to that of AP-B: *a is absent, and *o predominates. This agrees with the theoretical premise that oxytone words of AP-D are a subtype of AP-B.

c. The difference, however, between oxytone words of AP-D (Table 4a) and AP-B (Table 6) consists of the different distribution of the nasal vowel *ϱ, which occurs at a rate of 26% in AP-D, but only 4% in AP-B.

d. *ϱ is absent among words of AP-A (Table 5),[7] and it scarcely occurs among words of AP-B (4%) (Table 6) and AP-C (4%) (Table 7). Thus the phenomenon of large quantities of roots with *ϱ is specific to oxytone forms of AP-D only.

e. The vowels *ϱ and *u have merged in the east Slavic dialects since about the 10th century. In CSR both vowels are pronounced identically as [u]. In spite of that, in C-Pskov dialects the vowel distribution among AP-D words is different for the two vowels. Within the group of oxytone words (Table 4a) *ϱ occurs in 26%, while *u occurs in only 6%. In the overall distribution of vowels of AP-D (Table 4c), 72% of the words with *ϱ have oxytone reflexes, while only 37% of the words with *u have oxytone reflexes.

Summary And Conclusion

This paper has examined the accentual systems of masculine nouns in NWR dialects with the aim of identifying words with AP-D. In these dialects, words of the TORT type exhibit a mixed accentuation pattern, which marks them as AP-D words. Other short roots required a more complex investigation. Two studies were conducted: one analyzed reflexes of AP-D in five dialects located in different regions (part A); the second study included six neighboring dialects of the same region (part B). The analysis of the dialects in parts A and B demonstrates that AP-D can be identified synchronically by certain shared features given in (12):

[7] The few words with *ϱ in AP-A have atypical oxytone forms, and therefore are omitted from the analysis.

(12)

a. Oxytonic accentuation in the oblique cases in the singular , which mostly corresponds to barytonic accentuation in CSR.

b. Stress fluctuations between the Gen and the Instr.

c. Coexisting accentual variants in the Gen and the Instr.

d. In the C-Pskov dialects, the oxytone variants are correlated with dialectal features in semantics and phonology. On the other hand, the barytone variants are correlated with CSR in semantics and phonology. Traces of this remain to some extent in other NWR dialects as well.

e. Quantitative analysis of PS vowel distribution shows a high percentage of roots with *-*o*-, and *-*ǫ*-; on the other hand, it shows a strikingly different distribution of roots with *-*ǫ*- and *-*u*- among the oxytone words of AP-D.

f. The vowel distribution in (e) is shared by all the NWR dialects analyzed in this paper.

These features unify the archaic C-Pskov dialects with the other NWR dialects in various regions which geographically coincide with the area inhabited by the historical Kriviči tribe (DARJA I). Therefore, AP-D can be considered an archaic isogloss of the NWR dialects. An absolute chronology of this isogloss is hard to determine, but a relative chronology can be proposed. The results of the quantitative analysis suggest that the group of oxytone words of AP-D was established before *ǫ > u in the NWR dialects.

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THE RETRACTION OF THE NEOCIRCUMFLEX IN THE CARINTHIAN DIALECTS OF SLOVENE (ON IVŠIĆ'S RETRACTION)*

Padajoči naglas, ki mu rečemo "neocirkumfleks", se je premikal za en zlog proti začetku v kajkavščini in v panonskih in koroških slovenskih narečjih. V večjem delu kajkavške narečne skupine je ta premik omejen na besede z dolgim vokalom v predtoničnem zlogu. Dejstvo, da najdemo tudi premaknjen neocirkumfleks v besedah s kratkim predtoničnim vokalom, ni posledica tega premika, temveč je akcent posplošen iz besed s podobnim prefiksom ali suffiksom. Temeljit pogled na gradivo panonskih in koroških narečij dokazuje, da je tudi v teh slovenskih narečjih premik izvršen samo v besedah z dolgim vokalom v predtoničnem zlogu. V koroščini se to kaže iz gradiv o ziljskem, rožanskem, podjunskem in obirskem narečju. Premik moramo datirati med 12 in 15 stoletjem, mogoče še malo prej.

The long falling accent which we call neocircumflex arose through compensatory lengthening of an acute short vowel accompanying elision of a non-final weak jer or when a long vowel in the following syllable was shortened (Kortlandt 1976: 2). This development took place in Slovene and in Kajkavian, as well as in a few northern Čakavian and Štokavian dialects. In the Carinthian and Pannonian Slovene dialect areas and in Kajkavian dialects, the neocircumflex was subsequently retracted onto a preceding syllable under certain conditions. The Kajkavian dialect of Bednja shows retraction of the neocircumflex onto pretonic long vowels (cf. *zõbovo*, *gũsenjico*, *prĩprovo*, *kõzo-*

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lo sa)[2]. The neocircumflex was not retracted onto a pretonic short vowel (*želôudec*, *pyndîelek*, *begâostve*, *pehêištve*, *večârjo*). As we will see throughout this paper, this development causes alternation of stress in certain productive derivational types. Hence, the neocircumflex in for instance **zābâva* would be retracted, but it would remain in **dobâva*. Similarly, the neocircumflex in **človȇčtvo* would not be retracted, but it would in **krāl̨êvstvo*. The alternating stress that arises obviously invites leveling of stress, either by restoring the previously shifted neocircumflex in words with a long pretonic vowel, or by analogical retraction of the neocircumflex onto short pretonic vowels. In Bednja, examples of the latter type of analogy can be found in e.g. *pýetrebo* and *pýedlego*. In these words the prefix **po-* received its stress in analogy to prefixes with a long vowel, which had received their stress regularly (Vermeer 1979: 375-377, calling the accent shift 'Ivšić's retraction').

The fact that the retraction of a neocircumflex was in some dialects conditioned by the length of a preceding vowel was first discovered by Ivšić (1936). Examples from Ivšić's material are for instance Samobor *pîlila*, as opposed to *šenîčne* gen.sg.f. (< **pšenîčne*).[3] He shows

[2] The dialect forms have been collected from the various dialect descriptions that are listed in the references. Forms that are adduced as (Plet.) come from Pleteršnik's 1894/5 Slovene-German dictionary. The notations I use for the different dialects match the notations that are used in the descriptions as much as possible. As a result of the lack of standardisation in dialect descriptions, the accentual systems used in the various descriptions vary significantly. A short overview is therefore in order. In the Bednja Kajkavian material, *ã* stands for a long rising vowel, *ýe* for a long rising diphthong, *â* for a long falling vowel, and *à* for a short stressed vowel. In the Pannonian dialects there is no tonal opposition. The opposition between short and long stressed vowels is presented as *à* vs. *â* (Središče and Greenberg's notation of Beltinski), *à* vs. *á* (Novak's notation of Beltinski), and otherwise *'a* vs. *'a:*. For Carinthian dialects there is a tradition to write rising and falling tone as *á* and *à*, and to indicate vowel length with a colon. In those dialects that do not distinguish short falling and rising stress, *'a* indicates short stress. However, in Zdovc's description of Podjunski *á* is a long rising vowel, *ã* is long falling, and *à* indicates a short stressed vowel. Scheinigg does not distinguish tone in his Rožanski material: *á* indicates long stress, *à* short stress. He uses *ô* for [ɔ:] resulting from contraction. The traditional South Slavic notation of *á* for long rising, *â* for long falling, *à* for short rising, and *ȁ* for short falling stress is used by Grafenauer, Paulsen and in my own material, all for the Ziljski dialect, and by Isačenko for Sele na Rožu. This same system is used by Rigler for the Ribnica dialect and in Pleteršnik's dictionary, but without *à*, because there is no distinction between short falling and rising stress.

[3] Greenberg (2000: 111) adduces Samobor *nágrada* and *ògrada* (*nãgrada* and *ȍgrada* in standard Kajkavian notation). The accent of the latter is in my view based on that of the former, rather than being the regular reflex of retraction onto a short pretonic vowel.

that in a 1574 manuscript in standardised Kajkavian from Varaždin the retraction of a neocircumflex onto a long vowel is already found, cf. *zâruchnik* /zãručnik/, *yßkala* /ĩskala/ as opposed to *chlouiechtuo* /človȇčtvo/ (Ivšić 1937: 188). In southern Kajkavian dialects of Ivšić's innovative accentual type III (idem 1936: 80-85), the neocircumflex was retracted onto both long and short preceding vowels (cf. *klẽčala*, *nȍsila*, *ȍtava* (Junković 1972: 199); Trebarjevo *šẽnične*). In this paper it will be shown that the retraction of the neocircumflex in northern and eastern Slovene dialects occurred under the same conditions as in the northern Kajkavian dialects, i.e. only onto a preceding long vowel. All cases in which a neocircumflex was retracted onto an originally short vowel will be shown to have arisen analogically.[4]

The Pannonian Slovene dialects border with Kajkavian in the North. In this dialect group, Ivšić's retraction is found as well. The dialect of Cankova (Prekmurje) shows retraction of the neocircumflex onto long pretonic vowels (*z'a:båvå*, *p'i:sålå*, *pr'i:segå*), but not onto short pretonic vowels (*žɛl'oudɛc*, *poh'ištvo*), except in a few analogical cases (*'outåvå*, *m'otikå*) (Greenberg 1993: 481-2).[5] The Prekmurje dialects of Polana and Martinje follow this pattern as well, with the same exceptions (cf. Martinje *'aotɑvɑ*). Examples from the Beltinci dialect (Prekmurje) also show Ivšić's retraction onto long pretonic vowels: *kóudila*, *králestvo*, *nápota*, *góusanca* etc. Greenberg (2000: 111) states that the Beltinci dialect conforms to the innovative Kajkavian dialects by retraction of the neocircumflex onto short vowels as well. There are, however, a large number of couterexamples to this claim: e.g. *sestránec*, *žalóudec*, *posóuda*, *lažnívec*, *želéjzje*, *deždžóuvje*, *pokróuvec*. Most of these can be explained by analogy, but their large number suggests a different explanation. In my view, Ivšić's retraction was originally limited to words with a pretonic long vowel in the Beltinci dialect, just as in the other Prekmurje

[4] In the course of this paper many of the apparent counterexamples to Ivšić's retraction in Slovene will be omitted. These examples are part of a paradigm or they are very productive derivations, in which the neocircumflex was easily restored and no trace of Ivšić's retraction remains. The following types of words will generally be ignored: virtually all verbal forms, the locative singular and plural of masculine nouns, the plural of neuter nouns, the instrumental plural of feminine nouns in *–a*, the definite forms of adjectives, and comparatives.

[5] The analogy in the case of *'outåvå* is possibly based on words like *z'a:båvå*. The origin of the initial accent of *m'otikå* is less clear. Perhaps coincidentally, in Bednja this word also has an initial accent: *mẽjtiko*, which can hardly be analogical and seems to reflect earlier **motýka*. Cf. also the discussion of *motîka* and *otâva* from Kajkavian dialects of Ivšić's accentual type IV in Ivšić 1936: 84.

dialects. There are only a few words which show retraction onto a short pretonic vowel. Next to the common-Pannonian exception *óutava*, we find *óudstava*, *pósoda* and *óuzdaleč*.[6] The accent (and associated vowel length) of *óudstava* could be analogous to that of words like *príjprava* and *rástava*. Next to *pósoda* 'loan', the word *posóuda* 'dishes' is attested, also reflecting earlier **posǫ̑da*. The accent of the former may have arisen under the influence of prefixed forms of the verb **sǫ́diti* 'judge', or it may have served to distinguish it from *posóuda*, which is the regular reflex of **posǫ̑da*. Finally, *óuzdaleč* is presumably a contamination of **ízdaleč* and **oddâleč*, possibly motivated by the fact that **iz-* had disappeared as a verbal prefix when it was replaced by *vöz-*.[7] In the Pannonian dialects of Prlekija, Ivšić's retraction also took place onto long pretonic vowels. Examples are found in southern Prlekija in Središče ob Dravi (*prîstava*, *rą̂stava*, *postą̂va*, *žälǫ̑däc*, *bäsę̑da*, but *mòtika*),[8] and in northern Prlekija in Videm ob Ščavnici (*'kǫ:dęlǫ*, but *kǫ'pi:šǫnca*[9]). It can be concluded that Ivšić's retraction in the Pannonian dialects occurred under the same conditions as in the northern part of Kajkavian: onto a long pretonic vowel only.

Rigler (1972: 123) shows that the dialect of Ribnica na Dolenskem also underwent Ivšić's retraction in some cases (*púdlaga*, *puǫ́dlaka*, *priǫ́graja*, *súpraznik* etc.), but there seem to be many exceptions (e.g. *matîka*, *mataviǫc*, *nədlûga*). He argues that the retraction in Ribnica cannot be very old (1976: 450), because of the difference in vocalism of the pairs *súpraznik : suósed* (*sǫósət* in 1986: 352) and *priégraja* (*priǫ́graja* in 1972: 123) : *préilaz*. No conclusions can be drawn as to the scope of the retraction of the neocircumflex in this dialect, but it seems to be an

[6] The examples Greenberg adduces, i.e. *pȍdlaga* and *pȍznamo*, seem to reflect the wide analogical spread of stress on prefixes in Beltinci, which is attested in other words than those with an original neocircumflex as well. They can be separated from forms with earlier analogical retraction of the neocircumflex by the fact that the stressed vowel in newly stressed prefixes is short, rather than long (cf. *pósoda*, and esp. the opposition between e.g. *záčimba* and *zàpovid*, and between *príjprava* and *prìgovor*).

[7] The prefix *vöz-* itself is a contamination of *vö-* < **vъnъ-* and **iz-* (Greenberg, p.c.). As in other dialects with Ivšić's retraction, some retracted neocircumflexes have been restored as a result of morphological analogy: *zidóuvje* (cf. *srdóuvje*), *detínstvo* (cf. *bogástvo*), *sküšnjáva*.

[8] A significant number of forms from Središče have to be explained as resulting from analogy: e.g. *skušją̂va* after *postą̂va* and *pǫ̑dloga* probably after an unattested **nąd̂loga*. Retraction of the neo-circumflex is attested in *gȍsänca* < **gǫsę̑nъca*, but the accented vowel is short, rather than long as would be expected.

[9] It is unclear whether the pretonic vowel in this word reflects earlier **o* or **ǫ*.

independent innovation, shared by some words with an old circumflex (e.g. *do iẹ́senə*).

Another dialect group in which Ivšić's retraction is widely attested in Slovene is Carinthian. It is generally assumed to apply in all cases, i.e. onto long as well as onto short pretonic vowels.[10] The available material, however, does not confirm this assumption. Because the circumstances are not identical in all of the Carinthian dialects and the available material is not always decisive, we will look at the sub-dialects of Carinthian that are spoken in Austria one by one. These sub-dialects are, from West to East, Ziljski, Rožanski, Obirski, and Podjunski. The first dialect we will look at will be the Ziljski dialect, and more specifically the dialect of Potoče, its westernmost village. The adduced forms have been collected by the present author. There are numerous examples of a retracted neocircumflex: *zásaka*, *gósance*, *bǫ́lazn*, *ǫ́taa*, *dóbraa*, *blìžnabe* loc.sg, *dèlnjaa*, *pǫ́raka*, *pǫ́dlaka*, *pìščala* and *ǫ̀kwada*. Grafenauer (1905: 224) adduces a few more examples with the suffix *–aa* < **-âva*: *nìžnjaa*, *vìšnjaa*, and *šîrnjaa*.[11] On the other hand, there are also many examples in which the neocircumflex has not been retracted: e.g. *drgâči*, *wəblûba*, *pəkûəra*, *žuwôdəc*, *bəsîəda*, *jəgnête*, *təlête*, *mətîka*, *ləbîəzn*, *bəlîəzn*, *nəwâja*, *pəčîtək*, *pəčâsu*, *pəndîələk*, *pšnîčn*, and *žəlîəzje*.

The original distribution of these forms is by no means straightforward. Many of these words have prefixes or suffixes, the accentuation of which may have spread from words with a similar root or suffix (cf. *ǫ́taa* and *dóbraa*, *jəgnête* and *təlête*). The only examples which seem to lack any basis for the introduction of an analogical accent are *gósance*, *pìščala*, *žuwôdəc*, *bəsîəda*, and possibly *mətîka*. These words conform to the distribution we find in Pannonian, i.e. *gósance* and *pìščala* show retraction onto a pretonic long vowel, but *žuwôdəc*, *bəsîəda*, and *mətîka* have not retracted their neocircumflexes onto the pretonic short vowel

[10] Cf. Logar 1968[b]: 137, 1996: 227 (originally 1973), Rigler 1972: 122 and Greenberg 2000: 111. Logar (1968: 137 and 1996: 227) implies that the retraction of the neocircumflex in the Ziljski dialect is the same as the retraction of the original circumflex in that dialect (cf. *mǫ̀žgani* < **možgâni*). This is, however, a separate innovation. Notice that Ziljski shares retraction of the old circumflex with its (in older times) Southern neighbour Rezija, but it shares retraction of the neocircumflex with its Carinthian neighbours.

[11] The opposition in length between e.g. *pǫ́dlaka* and *ǫ̀kwada* is the result of an inner-Ziljski shortening of stressed vowels before certain clusters. All the other examples Grafenauer adduces (1905: 224, 225) are examples of the retraction of the original circumflex.

(but cf. fn. 4). If this was the original distribution, *wəblûba*, *pəkûəra*, *təlête*, *bəlîəzn*, *pəčîtək*, *pəčâsu*, *pəndîələk*, *pšnîčn*, and *žəlîəzje* have regularly maintained their neocircumflexes, whereas *zásaka*, *blìžnabe*, *dóbraa*, *nìžnjaa*, *vìšnjaa*, *šìrnjaa*, and *dèlnjaa* regularly underwent retraction. The counterexamples *o̯taa*, *ləbîəzn*, and *jəgnête* must have been rebuilt on the basis of words like *dóbraa*, *bəlîəzn*, and *təlête*. Similarly, *po̯raka*, *po̯dlaka*, and *o̯kwada* gained initial accent in analogy to other derivations of the same roots with a long vowel in the prefix.[12] The initial accent of *bo̯lazn* 'illness' (next to *bəlîəzn* 'pain') must have arisen under influence of the adjective *báwn* 'ill' < earlier **bo̯len* < **bòlьnъ*. The original definite form *drgâči* must have been restored under influence of the indefinite form, which is, however, not attested in the dialect (cf. Plet. *drugákǫ*).

The limited material from Paulsen 1935 suggests that the situation in the other Ziljski dialects is no different from that in Potoče, cf. *đo̯brau̯a* (Saak, Feistritz, Radendorf), but *pəhîštu̯a*, *bəgâstu̯a* (Feistritz, Radendorf). In the neighbouring Italian Val Canale, a closely related dialect is spoken, which also shows Ivšić's retraction in some words. There are only examples with short pretonic vowels, of which some have retracted the neocircumflex (*po̯:raka* and *o̯:tawa*), and some have not (*smərlì:ńe*, *pandì:ələk*). Notably, *po̯:raka* and *o̯:tawa* are identical to their Potoče equivalents discussed above, which seem to have received their initial accent analogically. Although no forms have been attested in Val Canale with actual retraction onto a long pretonic vowel, it is very well possible that the distribution here is the same as in the Ziljsko dialect. In any case, the neocircumflex has been retracted in some but not all cases in the Val Canale dialect.

The easternmost Carinthian dialects of Austria are the Podjunski and Obirski dialects. Ivšić's retraction is well attested in these dialects and the distribution of forms with retraction and forms without is the same as in Ziljski. In the southeastern Podjunski dialects we find the following words with a retracted neocircumflex: *zo̯óseka*, *u̯o̯sénca*[13], *o̯tóu̯a*, *đo̯éllo̯u̯a* (Plet. *daljâva*), *žro̯ébačia* f.sg., *to̯éu̯ačia* f.sg., *mo̯tə́ka*, *o̯grada*, and *Do̯óbrou̯a* (a toponym).[14] In my opinion, the accent in *o̯tóu̯a*, *to̯éu̯ačia*, and *o̯grada* is analogous to that of words like *đo̯éllo̯u̯a*, *žro̯ébačia*, and **no̯ógrada* (cf. fn. 2 above). The accent in *mo̯tə́ka* is difficult to account for (cf. the discussion in fn. 4 above). In addition, there are many words which maintained the non-initial neocircumflex. Examples with an originally short pretonic vowel are *žu̯o̯õc*, *besĩ°da*, *gərmõu̯ie*, *cedĩ°u̯nək*, *čuau̯ĩ°ški*, *dubĩčək*, *tarplĩ°ine*, *pus̯õde*, *ublũba*, *puč̯õsi*, *pugrĩ°bəc*, *želĩ°zie*, and *pədĩ°lək*. In a few words the neocircumflex has been restored after the retraction: *mrau̯lĩi̯ak*, *bratr̯õnc*, and *brišãu̯ka*. The accent of these words is based on words with the same suffix and with a short vowel in the root, like *pušãu̯a*, which is restored on the basis of e.g. *pustãu̯ə*.[15] Like Ziljski *drgâči*, Podjunski *dərg̯õči* is based on the positive degree (Plet. *drugáko*) (see also below, fn. 16).

The analogical spread of the neocircumflex to words that underwent Ivšić's retraction can be witnessed within the south-eastern Podjunski dialect area. In Čirkovče we find a maintained neocircumflex in e.g. *krupĩu̯e* < **kropîlo* (with analogical metatony, cf. Plet. *kropílo*), as opposed to *prą́du̯e* < **prědîvo*, in which the neocircumflex has been regularly retracted. In nearby Rinkole, however, this word is reflected as *pradĩu̯ə*, with an analogical neocircumflex, which is also found in e.g. *ku̯adĩu̯ə* (cf. Plet. *kládivo*).

In the northern Podjunski dialect of Kneža pri Djekšah, Ivšić's retraction is found in a few words: *wǫ́:senca*, *zá:waŕnca* (Plet. *zavǫ̂rnica*), and *ró:zbaŕa* (Plet. *razbǫ̂ra*).[16] These words show retraction onto a long pretonic vowel. The neocircumflex has not been retracted in *žəwǫ̀:đəc*, *pədì:ələq*, and *želì:əzi*.

In the Obirski dialect, Ivšić's retraction is attested in *zá:sɛqa*, *hóə:sɛtənca*, *wóə:tawa*, *tú:lawa*, *rá:zbura*, *qóə:dɛla*, *déə:lawa*, *hwá:jawa* 'glazed frost', *póə:raqa*, *pwá:jawa*, and *ná:stara* 'old junk' < **nastâva*, with folk-etymological *-r-*. Of these only *wóə:tawa* and *póə:raqa* originally had a pretonic short vowel. The accentuation of the latter must

[12] Cf. Plet. *zarǫ̂ka*, *zaklâda*, *rasklâda*, *naklâda* etc. No parallel formations of the type **zadlâka* etc. have been attested in Slovene that would account for the accent of *po̯dlaka* 'lining' < **pod-dlắkā*. Possibly, the analogy worked on the basis that this is a prefixal derivation in *-a*, like *zásaka*. Vermeer employs this type of analogy to account for Bednja *pyédlego* and *pyétrebo* (1979: 376). I am inclined to believe that *pyédlego* was rather based on forms like **nõdlego*, after which stressed *pyé-* spread to words like *pyétrebo*. Ziljski *po̯dlaka* should be explained along similar lines.

[13] This form is attested in an area which has lost nasality (Zdovc 1972: 82).

[14] The difference in vowel timbre between *o̯tóu̯a* on the one hand and *mo̯tə́ka* and *o̯grada* on the other, is a result of the raising of **e* and **o* if the following syllable contained a high vowel (Zdovc 1972: 92). Consequently, **o̯ógrada* must have been replaced by *o̯grada* after forms with the prefix *o̯-* before a high vowel.

[15] With final *-ə*, which is regular in the (sub-)dialect of Šmarjeta (Zdovc 1972: 69).

[16] With /o:/ being the regular reflex of accented **a*, except in front of /w/, hence the difference in vocalism between *zá:waŕnca* and *ró:zbaŕa* (Logar 1981: 205).

have been influenced by related words with a long pretonic vowel, cf. Plet. *zarǫ̑ka*. There are many examples of a neocircumflex that was not retracted. In most cases the pretonic vowel was short: *bulè:zən*, *žəwòə:c*, *mutì:qa*, *pustà:wa*, *dəžè:wjɛ*, *puqòə:ra*, *qəmò:wc*, *bəsè:da*, *hərmà:da*, *pənò:wc*, *osrè:dq*, *hərmò:wje*, *pundè:lq*, *upčù:tq*, *qubù:čq*, *(pu)tɛžà:wa*, *špinì:čni*, *puhrè:pc*, *puzà:ba*, and *wəlà:wɛ* (gen.sg.). In a fairly large number of productive nominal derivations with a long pretonic vowel, the neocircumflex was restored: *buhatì:ja*, *qusmatì:ja*, *brətrà:nc*, *jɛdè:wjɛq* (cf. *cədè:wjɛq*), *swičà:wa*, *nawà:da*, *prɛsè:wq*, *mrawlì:šjɛq* (cf. *mì:šjɛq*), *qralè:stu* (cf. *pusè:stwa* gen.sg.), *ləsì:či* (cf. *ləsí:ca*), and *trəwì:šja*. The neocircumflex was restored on morphological grounds in *dərhà:č*[17], *jəhnèə:ta*, and *žrəbèə:ta*, (cf. *quzlèə:ta*, *təlèə:ta*). The case of *puščà:w* (acc.sg.) < **pūščâva*, which, like in Podjunski, has a neocircumflex in spite of the pretonic long vowel, is especially instructive. In this case, it is clear that we are dealing with an analogical restoration of the neocircumflex on the basis of words like *pustà:wa* < **postâva*. This is evident, because normally a pretonic **-u-* is reduced to *-ə-*, cf. *pəšý:ba* < **puščóba*, *bəqò:wje* < **bukôvje*, from earlier **búkowje*. If the neocircumflex had always remained on the second syllable, the expected outcome would have been **pəščà:w*. Only when pretonic **u* had become **ə*, **púščava* was replaced by *puščâva*.[18]

The central and largest Carinthian dialect, the Rožanski dialect, is situated between the Ziljski dialect on the one hand and the Podjunski and Obirski dialects on the other. In contrast to the abundance of examples of Ivšić's retraction in these other Carinthian dialects, the examples from the Rožanski dialects are limited. It seems that here too the retraction only occured if the preceding vowel was long.

Material on the south-eastern Rožanski dialect of Sele is available through Isačenko's description from 1935. In his description of the Obir dialect, Karničar provides us with a significant amount of material from Sele as well. In Isačenko's description, there is one example of a retracted neocircumflex (*hǫ́asənca*), but this word is also attested without the retraction (*usę̑nca*). Either variant is difficult to explain

[17] Here the adverb *dərhà:q* is attested, but with a falling, rather than the expected rising accent. The neocircumflex in *dərhà:č* is in my opinion a result of the productive morphological metatony in the definte form of the type adj. nom.sg.f.indef. *stá:ra* 'old', def. *ta stà:ra* 'wife'. Later, the accent of *dərhà:č* possibly influenced that of *dərhà:q*.

[18] The alternative explanation, i.e. that pretonic **pə-* was reinterpreted as the prefix *pu-*, seems very unlikely to me.

as a result of analogy.[19] The neocircumflex has not been retracted in *buhâstu*, *žalę̑zǫ*, *hǫu̯ę̑adəna*, and *qŕalę̑stu* (perhaps with a neocircumflex after *buhâstu* etc.). Karničar's material provides us with two examples of a retracted neocircumflex: *tú:lawa* and *w pwà:jəwaχ* loc.pl., which presupposes a nom.sg. **pwá:jawa* (Plet. *planjâva*). The neocircumflex is not retracted onto a long pretonic vowel in *bisìə:da*, *lubìə:zən*[20], and *lidì:jiq* (from Šajda, a village close to Sele) < **lędīńak*. In this last word, the neocircumflex could easily have been restored on the basis of the accent of the simplex **lędína* (cf. nearby Obir *wədí:na*).

Further material is provided by Scheinigg (1882), who does not distinguish tonal opposition, but he does indicate the place of the ictus and length. He adduces examples with a retracted neo-circumflex like *ósanca* and *záparnca* and examples without retraction such as *žovód'c* and *žaliezje*. Scheinigg distinguishes *tézava* 'weight' with retraction from *tažáva* 'worry' without retraction.[21]

According to Rigler (1981[a]: 199), the place of the accent in Breznica pri Št. Jakobu v Rožu is "kot v izhodiščnem sistemu", i.e. not retracted. The material he provides is insufficient to corroborate or refute that.

The material that is available for the Rožanski dialect of Kostanje nad Vrbskim jezerom provides no evidence in favour of the retraction. The neocircumflex is attested in words like *pšenì:čnek* and *otà:u̯a*. The neocircumflex in *mŕou̯lì:ńak* shows no retraction onto a long vowel, but in this case words like *bečelì:ńak* may have caused the accent to be restored. There are no other examples of a neocircumflex which is preceded by a long vowel. It cannot be ruled out that this dialect underwent Ivšić's retraction.

Although the material on Ivšić's retraction is limited in the Rožanski dialects, there seems to be sufficient evidence to accept its occurrence.

In the Carinthian dialects that are spoken in Austria and Italy, Ivšić's retraction is widespread. It has clearly taken place in the Ziljski,

[19] It is not completely clear in the context (Isačenko 1939: 129) whether *usę̑nca* is attested in Sele or in another village in that area. The development of pretonic **gǫ-* > *u-* could be regular, but cf. *hǫsi̯ǫ́a* ins.sg., *hǫsmí* ins.pl. < **gǫs-'* (with analogical anlaut after gen.dat.sg. and nom.acc.pl. *hǫ̑s*?), and the initial consonant of e.g. *huspûəd* and *hudíč*. It is possible that we are dealing with the southern border of the area in which Ivšić's retraction occurred.

[20] Attested in a song from Sele Kot, rhyming with *bulìə:zən*, whence probably also originally the restored neocircumflex.

[21] The same distinction is found in the Ziljski dialect: *tézaa* as opposed to pl. *tažâbe*.

Podjunski, and Obirski dialects. It is also attested in Sele na Rožu and probably in Val Canale, Italy. Except in Sele in the South, it is unclear whether the rest of the Rožanski dialects also underwent Ivšić's retraction. However, the fact that the dialects on both sides of the Rožanski dialects did carry out the retraction under exactly the same conditions implies that we are dealing with a shared innovation. This impression is confirmed by the fact that most of the exceptions to the retraction are the same. The words which have restored the neocircumflex after the retraction in these dialects are generally identical, cf. fig. 1 below. Similarly, the neocircumflexes of **otâwa* and **porô̯ka* have been retracted analogically in the dialects on both sides of Rožanski. An exception to this is Podjunski *mó̯tə̀ka*, which has a neocircumflex in Obir *mutì:qa*, and Potoče *mətîka*.

Fig. 1: Exceptions to Ivšić's retraction in Carinthian.

Dialect area	Retracted onto short vowel	Restored after long vowel
Ziljski	*ó̯taa, pó̯raka*	*drgâči, jəgnête, ləbîəzn, nəwâja*
Podjunski	*ɔ́tou̯a*	*mrau̯lĩi̯ak, bratrɔ̃nc, pušãu̯a, dərgɔ̃či*
Obirski	*wóə:tawa, póə:raqa*	*brətrà:nc, nawà:da, dərhà:č, jəhnèə:ta, puščà:w*
Rožanski	Not in Kostanje *otà:u̯a*	*ləbìə:zən, mr̥ou̯lì:nák*

It follows that the distribution of words with and without neocircumflex was virtually the same in Carinthian before it split up, as it is today. Ivšić's retraction must have affected the whole of Carinthian, and, before Carinthian split up, the neocircumflex was restored again in a number of words. There are a number of other reasons to date Ivšić's retraction early. Firstly, Ivšić's retraction took place before the loss of pretonic nasality, which is retained in Podjunski *Dɔ́brou̯a* and *wó̯:senca* (Kneža), and obviously before loss of pretonic length and before the modern vowel reduction. The only example with a newly accented **ě* is Podjunski *žr̥ébači̯a*. The vowel timbre indicates that the retraction of the neocircumflex should be dated after the so-called 'primary retraction' of the type **zvězdà* > Podjunski *zbi̯ºzda*. Although analogy may have played a role in the vowel timbre, it is difficult to envisage how this would have happened (hardly under the influence of *žriábe* < **žrěbę̂*).

The timbre of the originally short vowels that received the accent from a neocircumflex analogically does not differ from that of vowels that were later lengthened by so-called *brata*-lengthening. It does not, therefore, put any restrictions on the time-depth of Ivšić's retraction.

The second reason to date Ivšić's retraction early would be the fact that the Pannonian and part of the Kajkavian dialects underwent Ivšić's retraction under exactly the same conditions, which seems to imply a shared development in a much larger area. However, until more material from the approximately 80 kilometres of dialects between the Pannonian and Austrian Carinthian dialects is available[22], an independent innovation, like in Ribnica, cannot be completely ruled out. In view of these facts, Ivšić's retraction in Carinthian Slovene should be dated some time between the 12th and 15th centuries, following the chronology provided for Standard Slovene by Greenberg (2000: 121, 148). If the vowel timbre of Podjunski *žr̥ébači̯a* is of secondary origin, it could even be dated a bit earlier.

In this paper it has been argued that Ivšić's retraction in Carinthian and Pannonian Slovene depended on the length of the pretonic vowel. Sofar, the *communis opinio* has been that it took place regardless of the length of the pretonic vowel in Carinthian and in some of the Pannonian dialects. Admittedly, many of the attested forms are as easily explained if one assumes a general retraction and explains the exceptions as the result of restoration of the neocircumflex through analogy. It even provides an easier explanation for cases like Cankova *m'otikå* and Ziljski *pó̯dlaka*. However, reintroduction of the neocircumflex in words like **želô̯dec* and **besêda* is unmotivated, and yet these words are nowhere attested with a retracted neocircumflex. Furthermore, in those dialects where enough material is available, the number of exceptions to Ivšić's retraction which have an original short pretonic vowel is substantially larger than the number of exception with a long pretonic vowel. This distribution directly reflects the conditions under which Ivšić's retraction was carried out.[23]

[22] Unfortunately, I did not have any access to the dialect material collected by Zorko for some of these dialects.

[23] Notice that this formulation accounts for the fact that there are no examples of Ivšić's retraction of an old circumflex. In three-syllabic forms, the old circumflex was always short, cf. SCr. *prãseta, rùkama* (Kortlandt 1975: 33). After the forward shift of the circumflex there were no instances of an old circumflex preceded by a long vowel, so they provided no input for Ivšić's retraction. The Ziljski dialect is ambiguous in this respect, since the tertiary retraction of the old circumflex spoils the evidence.

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RUSSIAN PHONOLOGICAL DESINENCES AS A CONDITIONING FACTOR IN ACCENTUAL PARADIGMS

This paper presents a morphophonemic method for marking stress in Modern Russian stress paradigms, with a comparison to Common Slavic. It proceeds from Zaliznjak's notion of Russian "trivial" and "non-trivial" stress, where trivial refers to constant paradigmatic stem-stress. Trivial stress (historically, AP A) can be marked on a constant syllable and is not of special interest to this paper, where the emphasis is on representing non-trivial stress.

Non-trivial stress has its basic mark on one of the extreme stem syllables, either stem-initial or stem-final; it is subject to only one rule: stress movement to the first desinential syllable. Basic stem-final stress can be identified with historical AP B; basic initial stress with AP C. There is a single mark for either B or C in any subparadigm (subparadigms refer to number for nouns and tense for verbs). For nouns, the realization of B or C stress can be predicted on the basis of the desinence in nominative and genitive cases, respectively. Type B is correlated with the genitive: a zero genitive implies no movement from basic stem-final. Type C is correlated with the nominative: desinences unmarked for height (zero or mid) imply no movement from basic stem-initial; a type C high-vowel nominative predicts oblique case desinential stress; a low-vowel nominative predicts full subparadigmatic desinential stress. Thus, AP B and C stress movement to the desinence is correlated with direct case sonority. In the verb, non-trivial stress has the B vs. C opposition only in the present tense; B moves stress to single-vowel desinences; C generalizes desinential stress. The

B vs. C opposition is neutralized in the past tense; i.e. it is predictable, based on the two criteria of stem size and stem-final consonant. AP B has had the major change, compared to Common Slavic: it was first closer to A, but now joins C as non-trivial, in joint opposition of B/C to trivial A.

I. Introduction

This paper presents a morphophonemic method for marking basic stress in Modern Russian paradigms, with a brief comparison to Common Slavic. I proceed from Zaliznjak's notion of Russian "trivial" and "non-trivial" stress (Zaliznjak 1985: 17), where trivial refers to constant paradigmatic stem-stress. Trivial stress (historically, AP A) can be marked on the given syllable and is not of special interest to this paper, where the emphasis is on representing non-trivial stress.

I propose that the basic non-trivial stress of a given subparadigm always has its mark on one of the extreme stem syllables, either stem-initial or stem-final. It is subject to only one rule: stress movement to the first desinential syllable. Stem-final stress can be identified with historical AP B; initial stress with AP C. There is a single mark for either B or C in any subparadigm (subparadigms refer to number for nouns and tense for verbs). For nouns, the variant of B or C stress is predicted on the basis of the desinence in nominative and genitive cases, respectively. Type B is correlated with the genitive: a zero genitive implies no movement from basic accent on the stem-final syllable. Type C is correlated with the phonology of the nominative case ending. On the one hand, desinences which contain neither high nor low vowels (i.e. the zero and mid vowel desinences) condition no stress movement from the basic stem-initial accentual position. Conversely, a type C high-vowel nominative predicts oblique case desinential stress, and a low-vowel nominative desinence predicts desinential stress in both nominative and oblique cases. In other words, the rule of stress movement to the desinence is correlated with the sonority of nominative and genitive case endings in the given subparadigm.

In verbs, non-trivial stress maintains the B vs. C accentual opposition only in the present tense. In the present, type B stress has stress movement to desinences which contain a single vowel, as opposed to type C, which generalizes desinential stress. The B vs. C opposition is

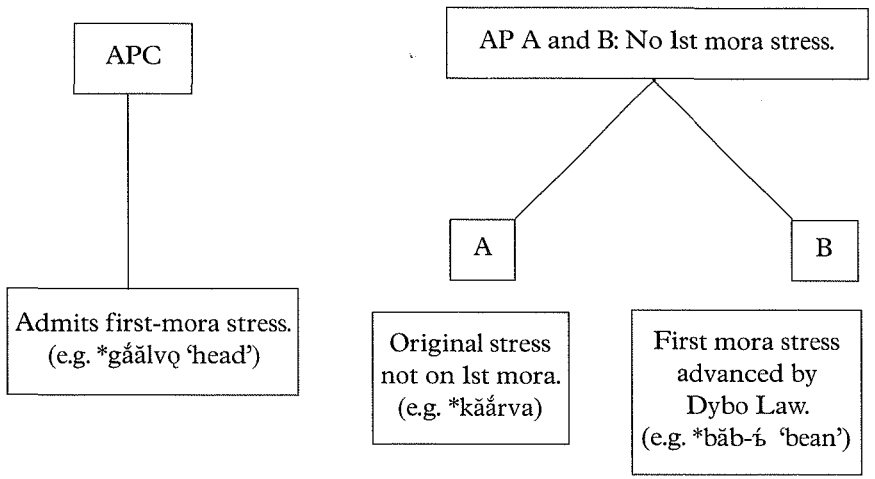
neutralized in the past, and is predictable, based on stem size and the stem-final consonant.

AP B has had the major change, compared to Common Slavic: it was first closer to A, but now joins C as non-trivial, in joint opposition of B/C to trivial A.

II. Binary Split In The Period Of Dybo's Law

I assume that the original situation which gave rise to the Dybo Law (Dybo 1981: 18-20) was the fact that the recessive stress paradigm could have stress on the first mora of the word. In the case of a short non-recessive paradigm, there was a threat of merger, which meant that accentual paradigms A and B became marked for the absence of mora-initial stress, as opposed to type C, which could receive mora initial stress. In other words, AP A and AP B were in complementary distribution (Dybo and Illič-Svityč 1963: 74-75), in opposition to AP C, as is well known (see table 1).

Table 1. Original distribution of AP A, B, and C.



III. Modern Russian Trivial And Non-Trivial Stress

The Modern Russian reflexes of B and C paradigms are structurally related, possessing the common property of non-trivial, in opposition to the trivial stress of AP A, to use Zaliznjak's terms. Since trivial stress refers to immobile stress across the entire paradigm, it can be morphophonemically represented as a simple stress mark on the vowel and is the Modern Russian reflex of AP A. However, Modern Russian AP B and C have non-trivial accentual paradigms as their reflexes. If we divide accentual paradigms into their two component subparadigms (e.g. of number for nouns, tense for verbs, and attributive/predicative for adjectives), it turns out that AP B and C often experience paradigmatic interference, i.e. AP B can occur in one subparadigm of the word and AP C in the other (see Feldstein 1980: 132 and 1984: 504).

The main goal of this paper is to show that the Modern Russian reflex of AP B can be morphophonemically represented as underlying stress on the stem-final syllable; AP C stress is best represented as underlying stress on the stem-initial syllable. Both AP B and AP C are then subject to a single type of phonological rule, which moves the stress from the stem (either stem-initial or stem-final) to the first syllable of the desinence. The conditions for this forward movement will be demonstrated both for noun and verb paradigms.

Note that the AP B and C basic stress marks occur on the stem-final and stem-initial syllables, respectively. They could also be interpreted as belonging to the stem-initial and stem-final morpheme boundaries. For a previous placement of stress on boundaries, rather on syllables in Serbian and Croatian, see Pavle Ivić 1965: 135-136.

IV. Rules For The Russian Forward Stress Shift

A. Noun.

In both singular and plural subparadigms of the noun, the major determining factor for AP B is the desinence of the **genitive case**; for AP C it is the **nominative case** desinence. More precisely, for AP C there is a somewhat complex interplay between the form of the nominative and the rest of the paradigm.

The rule for AP B is rather simple and depends on the genitive case of the subparadigm. As seen in table 2, a zero genitive conditions no movement of stress in the subparadigm, while a non-zero genitive causes a forward shift in the entire subparadigm. Thus, it can be seen that a sonority difference in the genitive case desinence is correlated with the stress of AP B.

Table 2. Examples of AP B, in which a non-zero genitive conditions stress advancement to the desinence.

Base accent: AP B	**Genitive Singular**	**Predicted Stress in Singular Subparadigm**	**Genitive Plural**	**Predicted Stress in Plural Subparadigm**
kaban'-(Ø)	Non-zero: **kaban-á**	Advance to end-stress.	Non-zero: **kaban-óv**	Advance to end-stress.
dolot'-(o)	Non-zero: **dolot-á**	Advance to end-stress.	Zero: **dolót-Ø**	No advance to end-stress.
kolbas'-(a)	Non-zero: **kolbas-ý**	Advance to end-stress.	Zero: **kolbás-Ø**	No advance to end-stress.

There is an important exception for a series of foreign loan words which have a zero genitive in the plural, but which, nevertheless, shift stress to the end in all subparadigmatic forms, e.g. **tamadá**, **murzá**, etc. This class has been previously noted in the literature, see Zaliznjak 1967: 166 and Feldstein 1980: 128-129 for details.

The rule for stress advancement in AP C is more complex. In this case, the form of the **nominative desinence** is the major factor in conditioning the stress advancement. However, there is additional complication, in comparison with AP B, where there is only one conditioning factor for stress shift within the entire subparadigm (i.e.a non-zero genitive). In the case of AP C, there are two subparadigmatic possibilities for stress advancement, based on the high or low vowel sonority of the nominative case, as follows:

1. A **low** vowel nominative desinence (**-a**) conditions stress advancement to the ending in **both the nominative and oblique** cases (i.e. all forms, except a non-syncretic (independent) accusative, if one occurs).

E.g. the singular subparadigm of **golová** or the plural subparadigm of **zérkalo** (**zerkalá**).

2. A **high** vowel nominative (**-i**) is correlated with stress shift to all **oblique** cases, conditioning no stress advancement in the nominative (e.g. the plural subparadigms of **volk** (**vólki**), **úxo** (**úši**), **rožók** (**róžki**).

When the nominative desinence is neither high nor low (e.g. a zero desinence or mid vowel **-o**), there is no stress advance, as expected, and the stress remains on its underlying word-initial position. Table 3 illustrates the three possibilities of high vowel, low vowel, and other nominative desinences within the given singular or plural subparadigm.

Table 3. Examples of AP C: high-vowel nominative conditions stress advance to oblique cases and low-vowel nominative conditions advance to both nominative and oblique.

Base accent: AP C	**Nominative Singular**	**Predicted Singular Stress**	**Nominative Plural**	**Predicted Plural Stress**
'volos-(Ø)	Non-high/ Non-low	No advance.	High: **vólos-y**	Advance to oblique.
'zerkal-(o)	Non-high/ Non-low	No advance.	Low: **zerkal-á**	Advance to nominative/ oblique.
'golov-(a)	Low: **golov-á**	Advance to nominative/oblique. (No advance to non-syncretic accusative: **'golov-u**.)	High: **gólov-y**	Advance to oblique.

The similar behavior of both AP B and AP C non-trivial types can be seen in the fact that mixed AP B/C or C/B paradigms can occur, with an AP B singular and AP C plural, or with an AP C singular and AP B plural, as illustrated in table 4. Since singular and plural subparadigms operate independently, each subparadigm can have its own underlying B or C representation.

Table 4. Examples of mixed AP B/C and AP C/B, combining the principles of pure AP B and AP C in the different numbers.

A. AP B singular/AP C plural.

Base accent: AP B/C	**Genitive Singular**	**Predicted Singular Stress**	**Nominative Plural**	**Predicted Plural Stress**
gvozd'-(Ø); 'gvozd'-(i)	Non-zero: **gvozd'-á**	Advance to end-stress.	High-vowel: **gvózd'-i**	Advance to oblique endings.
suščestv'-(o); 'sušče-stv-(a)	Non-zero: **suščestv-á**	Advance to end-stress.	Low-vowel: **suščestv-á**	Advance to nominative/ oblique.
gub'-(a); 'gub-(i)	Non-zero: **gub-ý**	Advance to end-stress.	High-vowel: **gúb-y**	Advance to oblique endings.

B. AP C/B.

Base accent: AP C/B	**Nominative Singular**	**Predicted Singular Stress**	**Genitive Plural**	**Predicted Plural Stress**
'dar-(Ø); dar'-(y)	Non-high/ Non-Low	No advance to end-stress.	Non-zero: **dar-óv**	Advance to end-stress.
'ozer-(o); ozer'-(a)	Non-high/ Non-low	No advance to end-stress.	Zero: **ozër-Ø**	No advance to end-stress.
'vod-(a); vod'-(y)	Low: vod-á	Advance to nominative/ oblique.	Zero: **vód-Ø**	No advance to end-stress.

B. Verb

In the case of the verb, AP B vs. AP C are opposed only in the present tense subparadigm. The past tense (l-participle) experiences a complete neutralization of AP B and AP C stress, in which stress is predictable, based on the phonological form of the stem. In the present

tense, the phonological composition of verbal desinences determines the nature of the stress shift. In the case of the AP B present, the shift occurs whenever the desinence consists of a single vowel: e.g. in the present subparadigm of **prosi-**, the shift occurs in the 1sg (**prošú**), the imperative (**prosí**), and the gerund (**prosjá**); otherwise, stress remains on the stem-final (**prósiš'**, **prósit**). AP C has the shift in all present forms (**govorjú**, **govorít**).

In the past tense, in which the non-trivial (AP B vs. C) stress opposition is neutralized, two factors are of most importance for the prediction of stress, as follows:

1. The first criterion, related to the stem's syllabic weight, predicts an immobile stress in the past-tense subparadigm for longer stems, i.e. those that have a syllabic root plus a suffix and those which are non-suffixed, with root ending in an obstruent (e.g. **govori-** and **n'os-**. On the other hand, a mobile past-tense stress is predicted for shorter stems: those with a non-syllabic root plus suffix and those which are non-suffixed, with a root ending in a sonorant (e.g. **rva-** and **živ-**).

2. The second criterion, related to the suffixed or non-suffixed property of the stem, predicts generalization of AP B for suffixed stems (e.g. **govori-** and **rva-**) and AP C for non-suffixed (e.g. **n'os-** and **živ-**). The neutralized AP B, which encompasses both **govori-** and **rva-**, admits stem-final and desinential stress, but not initial (**govoríli; porvá-li, porvalá**), following the general definition of AP B. Neutralized AP C, including both **n'os-** and **živ-**, admits initial and desinential stress, but not stem-final, in cases where stem-final can be distinguished from initial (e.g. **nesló, neslá**; **próžilo, prožilá**).

In other words, in the past tense, the stem's weight is correlated to mobility, while its suffixed/non-suffixed property is correlated to AP B/C. See Feldstein 1987: 589-90 for further details.

Since the only accentual opposition in the verb occurs in the present, a single morphophonemic mark can be placed on AP B verbs at the stem-final position (**mog´-**) and on AP C verbs in stem-initial position (**´n'os-**). One might argue against the use of an initial underlying mark where no initial stress actually occurs, but it is really a morphophonemic index, rather than a phonetic symbol. The past tense needs no mark to differentiate AP B and C, since the non-trivial past stress is largely predictable.

In comparison with the noun, the rules for the the verb's stress shift are rather different. The most striking difference is that the noun's two subparadigms are comparable and both observe the same rules of stress. Since only the present tense of the verb is conjugated into persons, its stress pattern is not comparable to that of the past subparadigm. This lack of correlation may have contributed to the absence of any AP B vs AP C opposition in the past tense. In addition, the past **-l** desinence, in addition to the adjectival desinence of gender and number, creates a derived situation, in which AP B and C typically are not opposed (see Feldstein 1984: 509).

Another major difference between noun and verb is the greater complexity of noun stress. In the noun, AP B is split into two types, depending on zero or non-zero genitive and AP C is split into three types, based on high, low and mid/zero nominative endings; in the verbal present, there is only one AP B type and one AP C type, while the verbal past has only a single neutralized non-trivial stress type, in joint opposition to trivial stress. As noted above, the specific nature of non-trivial past stress can be predicted on the basis of the morphophonology of the stem. These realizations of AP B and C stress in the present tense are shown in table 5.

Table 5. Verbal Present Tense Stress Opposition of AP B vs. C.

AP B		AP C	
Stem-Final Stress Desinence: -VC... (i.e. desinence consists of a vowel followed by a consonant) E.g. **prósiš', prósjat**	**End-Stress** Stress is advanced when desinence is -V# (i.e. desinence is a single vowel) E.g. **prošú, prosí, prosjá**	**Stem-Initial Stress** Does not occur in present.	**End-Stress** Stress is advanced to all desinences. E.g. **govorjú, govoríš', govorját**

Table 6 summarizes the behavior of the major stem classes in the past tense. The table is split into two halves, representing past immobil-

ity and mobility, with each half split on the basis of a type B or type C past tense stress realization.

Table 6. Verbal Past Tense Subparadigm (non-trivial AP B and C merge and stress is predictable).

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Longer, heavier stems.
Non-suffixed obstruent stems and syllabic root+suffix.

Stress: No stress mobility in past subparadigm.</td><td colspan="2">Shorter, lighter stems.
Sonorant stems and non-syllabic root+suffix.

Stress: Mobility occurs in past subparadigm, with advancement to the -a desinence.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Non-suffixed with mid vowel root.</td><td>Syllabic Suffixed and non-suffixed with high/low vowel root.</td><td>Non-suffixed</td><td>Non-syllabic suffixed</td></tr>
<tr><td>Obstruent stems (with mid-vowel root):
e.g. moglá, mogló; velá, veló.</td><td>1. Syllabic suffixed stems:
e.g. govoríla, govorílo; prosíla, prosílo.

2. Non-suffixed with high or low root vowel:
e.g. grýzla, strígla, krála, klála.</td><td>Sonorant Stems:
e.g.
próžilo, prožilá; náčalo, načalá.</td><td>Non-syllabic root plus suffix:
e.g. sobrálo, sobralá; porválo, porvalá;
prospálo, prospalá.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Generalization of same AP C pattern as in present tense: stress shift to all desinences.</td><td>Generalization of AP B stress on stem-final syllable: no stress shift from stem-final.</td><td>Generalization of AP C, with rule that shifts stress to -a desinence (prožilá). Before other endings, stress generalizes AP C stem-initial: próžilo, próžili.</td><td>Generalization of AP B, with rule that shifts stress to a-desinence (rvalá). Before other endings, stress generalizes AP B stem-final: porválo, porváli.</td></tr>
</table>

Table 7 presents a summary of the intersecting categories of verbal accent in the Russian past tense. Note that non-suffixed verbs are similar in their use of an AP C type stress pattern (except for the high/low root obstruent type), and that the two shorter stem types (with no root vowel or with constantly deleted stem-final sonorant) share the use of past mobility.

Table 7. Stem-size vs suffixation as accentual criteria in the Russian past tense.

Stem	Longer Stem: Syllabic Suffixed or Obstruent Type	Suffixed Stem	Resulting Past Stress
mog-	+	—	End-stress in all forms. (Follows AP C pattern.)
govori-	+	+	Stem-final in all forms. (Follows AP B pattern.)
živ-	—	—	Initial with shift to **-a**. (Follows AP C pattern.)
rva-	—	+	Stem-final with shift to **-a.** (Follows AP B pattern.)

This chart does not include the tiny class of obstruent stems with non-mid vowels (**strig-**, **krad-**, etc.), which are exceptional in that they follow the AP B pattern in the past tense, in spite of their lack of a suffix. Their past-tense stem-final stress can be observed when a prefix is used, e.g. **ukrála/ukráli**.

I conclude with a summary table which presents the AP B and C behavior of the three main groups covered above: nouns, verbal present tense, and verbal past tense, each of which follows differing structural principles.

Table 8. Summary of rules for movement of stress to desinence in AP B and AP C. If no movement to desinence, AP B stress remains on stem-final and AP C stress remains on stem-initial.

	AP B	AP C
Noun	If genitive=non-zero: Subparadigm → end-stress (e.g. **stol'-a → stolá**).	1. If nominative=high-vowel: Subparadigmatic oblique cases → end-stress (e.g. (e.g. **'golov-am → golovám**, but **'golov-i → gólovy**). 2. If nominative=low-vowel: Subparadigmatic nominative/oblique → end-stress (e.g. **'zerkal-a → zerkalá**).
Verb Present	If desinence=-V#, present → end-stress (e.g. **prosi'-u → prošú**)	All desinences → end-stress (e.g. **'govori-at → govorjáť**)
	AP B/C are neutralized	
Verb Past (l-part.)	Suffixed stems (plus **strig-** obstruent class) are realized as AP B. Non-syllabic suffixed: If desinence=-a, stress → end-stress (e.g. **porvalá**)	Non-suffixed stems are realized as AP C. Mid vowel root obstruent stems: Past subparadigm → end-stress. (e.g. **mog-ló**) Sonorant stems: If desinence=-a stress → end-stress. (e.g. **próžilo**)

Note that the extra length of a -sja particle can change the stem from a "short" stem class, which admits past mobility, to a "long" stem class, with no past tense mobility; cf. end-stress **rvalás'/rvalós'**, but mobility in **rválo/rvalá**.

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ACCENTUAL ALTERNATIONS IN NEO-ŠTOKAVIAN IJEKAVIAN DIALECTS OF NERETVANSKA KRAJINA

In this paper the features of Neo-Štokavian Ijekavian dialects of Metković and the villages of Dobranje and Vidonje in the northeastern part of Neretvanska krajina are analyzed. On the material of local dialects the author will describe some specific accentual alternations and conditions of accent shift to the proclitic. On the basis of research as well as dialectological and onomastic theory and research on phraseology and oral literature, the deviation from the accentual system of Standard Croatian and its similarities with the nearby Neo-Štokavian Ikavian and Čakavian dialects will be analyzed.[1]

Introduction

In this paper I will try to present some features of local Neo-Štokavian Ijekavian dialects of the villages Vidonje and Dobranje, situated east of Metković, some 80 km to the west of Dubrovnik and I will try to compare them with the neighboring Štokavian and Čakavian dialects. In the first part of this paper I will concentrate on specific general phonological, morphological and syntactic features of these dialects, while in the second part I will focus on the prosodic system in general and accent shift to proclitics.

1. Some General Grammatical Features Of Local Neo-Štokavian Ijekavian Dailects

A unique classification of Štokavian dialects does not exist because there is no agreement on the criteria to distinguish them. Two among

[1] I am thankful to my younger but wiser colleague Mate Kapović for many useful observations and friendly advice and to Milica Mihaljević for improving my pidgin.

the several main criteria for the classification of Štokavian dialects are the reflex of *ě (there are Ekavian, Ijekavian and Ikavian dialects) and accentuation (Old-Štokavian, preserving older accentuation, and Neo-Štokavian, developing new rising accents)[2]. Dialects on the left bank of the river Neretva[3] are, according to their accentuation, Neo-Štokavian. In these dialects long *ě reflects as a diphthong (*cȉjēv, bȉjēl*), while in short syllables it is a monophthong (*bjȅčve, pjȅsma*). Ikavian reflexes of *ě* are more frequent than in the neighboring dialects of Eastern Herzegovina, but at the same time the appearance of the so-called hyperijekavism (like *kùmpijēr :* Germ. dial. *Gruntbir, krijêšva* < Dalm. *kriša* < Lat. *cerasa, sijérak* < Lat. *Syricus, sjȅkavica : siktati, sjeròmāh :* Proto-Slavic *sirъ, *Spljȅt*: Stand. Croat. *Split* in Vidonje and even *mjȅrīs :* OCS *myrъ, sijérnica :* Proto-Slavic *syrъ in Neum, BiH) occurs.

The vowel system of these dialects is identical to the vowel system of Standard Croatian with only minor exceptions. In Dobranje a very strong syncope occurs, which is specially visible in toponymy (*Sápavca* < *Sápavica, Pšènikōvšte* < *Pšènikovište*)[4], while in Vidonje the reduction of poststressed vowel *i* (*Màr^{i}ca, Robòv^{i}na*) is present.

The consonant system of these Neo-Štokavian dialects is very similar to the consonant system of Standard Croatian, but there are still some differences between these two local dialects. In Vidonje *h* is well preserved at the beginning of the word (*hòtio, Hrvāt, Hûm*), there are some alternations in the middle of the word (*njȉhov/njíov, Míjo/Mího*, but only *dùvājnskā stànica*) and it almost disappears at the end of the word. We can find it in the declension of pronouns (*ònijēh, nàšijēh* is used besides *ònijā, nàšijā*). If *h* is not dropped (like in *òdmā*), it can be substituted by *v* (*òrav, krȕv*) or *j* (*snája*). In Dobranje *h* is not a part of the consonant system, it is lost even in toponymy (*Àdžibegov vȑv*). On the other hand, in the Neum and Stolac area *h* is a normal consonant and these dialects even developed a secondary *h* (*Hìlija* : Lat. *Elias, hudòvica* < PSl. *vьdova, Hánto :* Lat. *Antonius*).[5] Examples of rotacism in the eastern part of Neretvanska krajina (*mòre* < *mȍže, kârē* < *kâžē, bjèri* < imp. *bjèži*) must also be mentioned.

In Dobranje the consonant *f* is found only in recent loan-words (for example *finānc*) while in other cases it is substituted by *p* (*Pìlip*) or v (*Vràanuša, vážol*). On the other hand, in Vidonje *f* is a stabile part of the consonant system.

Furthermore, for consonant clusters **tě, *dě, *sě, *zě, *cě*[6] Neo-Štokavian jotation occurs (*lèćet, ćèrat; đè, pràn đed, đèvēr; śèkira, śème; ìźes; ćèdilo, ćepànica*) although the common Štokavian jotation is not completely conducted, especially in the preterit passive participle (*nàpravjen, stàvjen*), but also in some other cases (as *dûbje, snòpje*). The result of Neo-Štokavian jotation is the addition of two new consonants to the consonant system of these dialects - *ś* i *ź*.[7] *ś* can also originate from **sьj* (*pàśī, pròśakinja*), **svě-* (*śétlo, Śéto*), *ź* from **zьj* (*kòźī, ùźašit*) and *ć* from **cvě-* (*Ćéto, Ćètnā nèđelja*). In Vidonje and Dobranje we can find some Šćakavian traces (*zvížđat, gòžđen, šćâp*), in consonant clusters **-st, *-št, *-zd, *žd* the final consonant is dropped (*pȓs, gȕš, grȍz, dàž*) and in Dobranje at the end of the word voiced consonants are devoiced (*Dòdik* < *Dòdig, Zágrep* < *Zágreb, lût* < *lûd*).

On the morphological level, accusative and locative forms have merged.[8] When someone says *ȉmām šćêr udátu ù Bajōvci* or *ȉšli smo ù*

[2] For the purpose of this article it is unnecessary to discuss all these classifications.

[3] An excellent study on the dialects between river Neretva and Dubrovnik was written by Senahid Halilović. He distinguishes several types of these dialects. Dialects on the left bank of the river Neretva belong to Slivanjsko-Zažapski type (Halilović 1996: 38).

[4] I give examples collected during my onomastic and dialectological research on behalf of the Institute for Croatian language and linguistics in January 2005 and those collected for the purpose of a seminar on oral literature and phraseology and the graduation thesis I wrote while studying at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb. For much useful data about Croatian dialects of the Stolac area (BiH) I am grateful to dr. Ivica Puljić. Čakavian examples are mostly from the island of Brač. I used materials published in Kurtović & Vidović 2005: 389-400.

[5] Distribution of *h* is very often connected with ethnic origin. In literature it is often asserted that *h* is best preserved by Bosniacs. Common and especially secondary *h* are rare in Croatian dialects. Croats in eastern Herzegovina preserve both *h*. It is of great importance to notice that secondary *h* developed in the very south of Herzegovina (Neum, Ilino Polje), at the seaside, some 30 km from the nearest Bosniak enclaves, because there is a common opinion that secondary *h* developed in those Croatian and Serbian dialects which were or are under the influence of a considerable Bosniak community. This phenomenon has been noted in documents since 14th century.

[6] In the clusters **pě, *bě, *mě, *vě* there is no Neo-Štokavian jotation in Vidonje, but it is noticeable in Gabela (*plȉjesma, blȉjčve*), village on the border of Bosnia and Croatia, near Metković.

[7] These phonemes are typical for Montenegrin dialects and their literary language, but one can find them also in Croatian dialects in Konavle, eastern Hercegovina and some parts of Bosnia.

[8] In local dialects and in neighboring Štokavian Ijekavian, Štokavian Ikavian and Čakavian dialects adverb *kamo* do not exist. Native speakers of local Štokavian Ijekavian dialects ask *Đe si bȉo? De ȉdēš?* , native speakers of Štokavian Ikavian dialects ask *Di si bȉja? Di ȉdēš?* and, finally, inhabitants of the South-Dalmatian island of Brač *Di si bî? Di griêš?*

Metkovići we cannot be certain whether the ending *–i* originates from the Proto-Slavic accusative or locative plural. Old genitive plural is preserved in a few expressions (*pé godīn, desèt metār*) and the use of masculine short plural forms is quite normal (*ònijā lâvā, ònijā brkā*). Nouns of feminine gender have the endings of pronominal declension in the locative (*u vòjārnōj, ù Dūbōj*). In Gradac there are remains of the sigmatic aorist (*rijêh*).

Syntactic structures *budem + infinitive* (*kad ti bȕdēn govórit, akò budēš ȉć*) and *bijaše + infinitive* (*bȉjāše tô nàpravit*), which are related to conditional clauses, can be also found in South-Čakavian dialects[9]. Few miles northern from Neretvanska krajina in the region Dubrave and Hrasno I noticed some unusual synthetic verbal forms in conditional, temporal and relative clauses: *uzìbuđēm li* (< *ako budem uzmogao*), *ako mòbuđēš* (< *ako budeš moć), *šćèbuđē* (< *ako budeš šćet).[10]

2. Prosodic System

The prosodic inventory of Neo-Štokavian Ijekavian dialects of Neretvanska krajina is identical to the inventory of Standard Croatian, consisting of four accents and the posttonic length. The old accent in the locative of masculine inanimate nouns in a. p. *c* is preserved (*u prosijéku* : nom. *prȍsijēk, na sprovòdu* : nom. *sprȍvōd, na kamènu* : nom. *kȁmēn, o pojásu* : nom. *pȍjās*) and it is secondarily developed in neuter nouns (*po tijélu* : nom. *tijêlo*). Old a. p. *c* accent is preserved also in the genitive (*sinóvā, badóvā, vragóvā, toróvā, gradóvā*) and dative, locative and instrumental plural (*sinòvima, badòvima, vragòvima, toròvima, gradòvima*). The original pattern of a. p. *c.* is preserved in the indefinite adjectives (*blâg – blága - blâgo, drâg – drága - drâgo, sûv - súva - sûvo, jâk - jáka - jâko, glûv - glúva – glûvo, krîv - kríva - krîvo, lijêp – lijépa – lijêpo, mlâd - mláda - mlâdo, têžak - téška - têško, glâdan - gládna - glâdno, krûpan - krúpna - krûpno, tvrd – tvŕda - tvrdo*; secondarily developed in *srètan - srètna - srètno, zgòdan - zgòdna - zgòdno*)[11], definite adjectives (*rjètkī, gùstī, sèdmī, tèškī, tìhī, plìtkī, rùžnī, tjèsnī, krùpnī, pùtnī*), and in the *l*-participle: *donijéla, prokléla, zamrla, počéla.* Old a. p. *b* pattern is also preserved in the indefinite adjectives (*žût - žúta - žúto, zèlen - zelèna - zelèno, bijēl - bijéla - bijélo, vìsok – visòka - visòko, vrûć - vrúća - vrúće, krátak - krátka - krátko*, secondarily in *vèlik - velìka - velìko*; *pjān - pjàna - pjàno*) and in the *l*-participle (*nàrāsō - narásla - naráslo, dòveo - dovèla - dovèlo, pòmogō - pomògla - pomòglo*). The old a. p. *c* pattern, leveled in many dialects, has been preserved in the present tense as well: *vȅlju, zovèmo, letímo, stojímo, metèmo, prostíte, živíte, živète* (cf. Čak. on the island of Brač: *triesemȍ, pečemȍ, zovemȍ, letīmȍ, stojīmȍ, metemȍ*). Old accentual pattern is preserved in the number *jèdan :* gen. *jednòga.*

Distinctive features of the accent become prominent in the formation of diminutives: *nòga : nóga, bȍca : bóca, kȕća : kúća, krȁva : króva.* Long rising accent is the mark of diminutives and hypocoristics, especially in the formation of personal names. During my research I found several hypocoristic first names composed of neutral first names by accent change: *Káta < Kàta, Mára < Màra, Stána < Stàna.* Due to accent distinction speakers of these dialects can differentiate iterative and imperfective verbs: *nȉzat : nízat, skȁkat : skákat.* It is also possible to determine the ethnic descent of the people in eastern Herzegovina and Neretvanska krajina by accent.[12] Surnames of Croats and Bosniacs show more consistently unchanged original accent, thus Croatian surnames are *Jȍvanović, Làzārević, Mȉlošević, Ȍbradović* (Bosniac also) and Serbian are *Jovánović, Lazárević, Milóšević, Obrádović* with a innovative accent etc.

One of the main rules of Neo-Štokavian accentuation is that falling accent cannot be realized in the medial syllable. However, there are some exceptions to this rule, mainly in toponymy because «toponimija se odupire jezičnim promjenama čuvajući starije stanje (Šimunović 2004 : 157)».[13] A hamlet of the village Gradac near Neum is called *Dobrôvo*, there are some meadows in Dobranje called *Medȁruša, Verȁjuša* and people in Vidonje call one hamlet of the village Hutovo *Prevȉš.*

[9] South-Čakavian preserved the old conditional (*bim – biš – bi...*), while in Štokavian we find just petrified imperfect.

[10] Maretić mentions examples *htjedbudem, mogbudem, imadbudem, znadbudem, dadbudem, smjedbudem* as dialectal and rare forms used in conditional, temporal and relative clauses (Maretić 1963: 647-648).

[11] This is one of the main isoglosses which differentiates western (mainly spoken by Croatian and Bosniacs) and eastern Štokavian dialects (mainly spoken by Serbs). Eastern Štokavian dialects have an analogical form for neuter (*blágo, drágo*). They have lost the separate a. p. *c* pattern in the indefinite adjectives.

[12] In eastern Herzegovina Croats are the majority in the so-called Donja Hercegovina (Čapljina, Neum, Ravno) and Dubrave (plateau between river Neretva and Stolac), Serbs are the majority in Trebinje, Gacko, Bileća and Nevesinje and Bosniacs are the most numerous in the towns of this area (except Neum). In Neretvanska krajina 97 % of the population are Croats, 2 % are Serbs.

[13] Translation: *because toponymy resists linguistic changes preserving the earlier state.*

2.1. Accent shift to the proclitic

As in other Neo-Štokavian dialects, one of the main characteristics of Neo-Štokavian Ijekavian dialects in Neretvanska krajina is accent shift of falling accents to the proclitic. In the Eastern-Herzegovinian dialects «novoštokavsko akcenatsko prenošenje izvršeno je (...) srazmerno vrlo radikalno» (Ivić 2001: 176).[14] Accent shift was common in Proto-Slavic. Short and long circumflex could shift to the proclitic: *gôrdЪ → * nâ gordъ; *vodá, A. *vodǫ → *pò vodǫ (Kapović 2003: 55). In Croatian, the situation is more complex. Croatian short falling accent has different origins. Syllables with Proto-Slavic acute are shortened, thus Proto-Slavic *bőlto, *mẽsto, *mőrzъ yields *blàto, mjèsto, mràz*. These words are pronounced the same as *nèbo, pòlje, zvòno*, where the Croatian short falling accent is derived from Proto-Slavic short circumflex. Pristine accent distinction between the words which previously had Proto-Slavic acute and the words which originally had short circumflex is visible only when the accent shifts to the proclitic:

a) the short falling accent shifts to the proclitic as the short falling accent if it is derived from the short circumflex: *nèbo → nà nebo, pòlje → nà polje, prèko polja*[15], *zvòno →zà zvono* – this accent shift to the proclitic was common in Proto-Slavic and it is called the **old accent shift**

b) the short falling accent shifts to the proclitic as the short rising if it is derived from the Proto-Slavic acute: *blàto → ù blato, prekò blata, mjèsto → nà mjesto, mràz → ù mraz* – this accent shifting is an innovation of Neo-Štokavian dialects and it is called the **new accent shift** (Ivšić 1971 : 171).

Old shift also includes accent shift to the proclitic of the words which were under Proto-Slavic long circumflex: *nà grād, nà glās* (< *nâ golsъ). The old shift is conducted in Čakavian dialects along with some accent and phonological adaptations adherent to them. I give some examples from the island of Brač: *ù visinu, ù suho, ù sridu, ù zemju, ù svist, ù grod,*

[14] Translation: *Neo-Štokavian accent shift to the proclitic is conducted very consistently. Eastern Herzegovianian dialect* (term introduced by Pavle Ivić) is not spoken only in eastern Herzegovina so this name does not resemble the real state. By Ivić's classification local dialects of the villages Dobranje and Vidonje and all Croatian local dialects mentioned east of the river Neretva, which are mentioned in this paper, belong to the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect.

[15] When the preposition is disyllable the difference is not just in the intonation of the accent, but also in the place of the accent as we can see in examples *prèko polja* and *prekò blata.*

ù goru, ù šest, nã nebo (< *nà nebo*) , *nã pamet* (< *nà pamēt*[16]), *nã ruke* (< *nà rūke*).[17] However, even the old shift to the proclitic is not systematically conducted in Čakavian and in many Štokavian dialects.

The new shift also includes the shift to the proclitic of the words with Neo-Štokavian long falling accent: *ì jā, dò mājkē*. The accent can be shifted in phrases with adverb *po* (*pó godinē, pó dāna*) and cardinal numbers (*pét godīn, stó kīlā*). In Croatian Neo-Štokavian Ijekavian and Ikavian dialects in Herzegovina there are several examples of accent shift from long rising accents: *prekò vrātā* (< *preko vrátā*), *prekò lēđā* (< *preko léđā*).

Now I will try to show the cases in which the accent shift to the proclitic occurs:

a) accent shifts to the negation: *nè donese* (aorist), *nè udarī* (aorist), *nè doletī* (aorist), *nè navidī* (aorist); *ako nè uspijē, nè berē, nè počmē, nè bijāšē lûd tô učìnit, šljègō nè šljegō*

b) accent shifts to the preposition:

bez: *bèz tijēla, bèz vrāga; bèz vezē, bèz kišē, čòek bèz kućē*

do: *ìgrā se dò šēs, dò neba, dò rijēči, dò kosti, dò mosta; dò kućē, dò mājkē, dò Šekōsā, dò kruva, narásla je dò kvakē*

ispod: *ìspod brijēga, ìspod brda, ìspod glāsa; ispòd kućē*

iz: *ìz kola, ìz brda, ìz Grāda, ìz polja; ìz mjesta, ìz Metkovīćā, ìz jamē, ìz Svitavē, ìz Dubrāvā, ìz Čapljinē, ìz lākta, ìz vrećē, ìz Veljē Mèđē*

iza: *ìza brda; izà štalē*

iznad: *ìznad pāsa, ìznad tijēla; iznàd kućē*

kod: *kòd čatrnjē, kòd lokvē, kòd smokvē*

kroz/ kroza: *kròza zīd, kròz vodu; kròz rupu, kròz kuću, kròz šumu*

[16] On the island of Brač poststressed length disappears.

[17] It is very important to mention that the neo-acute in this position is a relatively new phenomenon. It is connected with the problem of a lenghtened vowel *a* in Čakavian dialects on the islands Brač, Hvar and Vis. On these islands *ā* out of ultima and in front of the former *ę̄ is lenghtened and this phenomenon is not older than one century (Šimunović 1977 : 11). This acute is diachronicly different from the Čakavian neo-acute and some Croatian dialectologists (Hraste, Ivšić, Rešetar) even annotate it with a specific sign (ˆ). In places where Čakavian and Štokavian dialects are in contact this «newer» neo-acute marks accent shifting under the influence of Štokavian accentuation (Hraste 1957 : 61). The problem of annotation of this new accent has not been completely solved yet. My opinion is that we should to differentiate these two acutes because of their different origins. This problem is analyzed in Kurtović & Vidović 2005.

među: *mȅđū se*; *međù braćṑn*

mimo: *mimò kuću*

na: *nà more*[18], *nà oku*, *nà stān*, *nà sūho*, *nà pānj*, *dȏć nà rēd*, *nà mlādo*, *nà pomȍć*, *dȍšli su nà vlās*; *stât nà buri*, *nà čuki*, *nà milōs*, *nà Vidonjīn*, *nà Morinam*, *nà prvū*, *nijési mi nà cvijēće*, *nà pričēs*, *nà rame*, *nà Vèlikī pétak*, *nà Mālōj Velèži*, *nà slami*, *nà Ćetnū nèđelju*, *nà Mālū Nèrētvu*[19]

nad/nada: *nàd Bogom*, *nàd morem*; *nàd Mlinīšton*, *nadà kuću*

niz/ niza: *nìz grlo*, *nìza strānu*; *nìz Vārdu*, *nìz dlaku*, *nìz vjetar*

o: *ò kruvu i vòdi*, *ò knjizi*, *ò materi*

ob: *ȍb dān*, *ȍb nōć*

od: *nè more se žívjet ȍd zrāka*, *ȍd stō*, *ȍd uva dȏ uva*, *ȍd brda*, *ȍd drveta*, *ȍd glāda*; *òd cukra*, *òd kamenicē*, *òd Hutova*, *Góspa òd Kārmela*, *òd voljē*

oko: *ȍko pāsa*, *ȍko polja*; *okò osmē ùrē*, *okò zgradē*, *okò bāvčē*, *okò šljīva*, *okò šīpākā*

okolo: *okolò kućē*

po: *pȍ zlāto*, *pȍ polju*, *pȍ pō*, *pȍ zrno*, *pȍ mēso*, *dân pȍ dān*; *pò škōlan*, *pò ribu*, *pò malo*, *pò crkvi*, *pò jezeru*, *svȁkome pò prs vína*, *pò kazni*, *pò velikōj pjȁci*, *pò gušťu*, *pò vas dân*, *pò šumama*

pod: *ȉdē pȍd bore*, *pȍd rūku*, *pȍd grlo*; *pòd Žabōn*, *pòd kapōn*, *pòd ručnōn*, *pòd vatrōn*, *pòd veštōn*, *pòd krijēšvōm*

pokraj: *pokràj brata*

pored: *porèd mene*

prama: *pramà sūncu*

pred: *prèd jesēn*; *prèd kišu*, *prèd goste*

preko: *prèko pāsa*, *prèko brda*; *prekò nekē stvâri*

pri: *râdī prì općini*, *nȉje prì param*

sa/so/su: *sȁ neba*; *sȁ srca*, *mâlī je ù škōli pròlazio sȕ pēt*; *ȍn sȍ tīn nêmā nȉšta*; *sà mjesēca*, *sà skālā*, *sà kamena*

u: *ù dubinu*, *ù širinu*, *ù srijēdu*, *ù mēso*, *ùfatit se ù kolo*, *ù kosu*, *ù mās*, *bȉt ù dobrē*, *ù petero*; *ù Bijēlome Víru*, *ù Metkovićima*, *ù špag*, *ù stomāk*, *ù smokve*, *ù grabu*, *ù godinam*, *ù gaće*

[18] Accentuation *mȍre* (Croat. Stand. *môre*) is widespread in the Dubrovnik area.

[19] In Šćepan Krst and Brštanik, villages with the Croatian majority near Stolac, even *nà proljeće*.

uz: *ùz tijēlo*, *ùz cestu*, *ùz pūt*, *ùz vlās*; *ùz kuću*, *ùz vatru*

za: *zȁ kosu*, *zȁ rēp*, *zȁ uši*, *zȁ srce*, *zȁ zemju*, *zȁ lozu*, *zȁ zīmu*, *zȁ rijēč*, *zȁ ništa*, *zȁ dūšu*; *zà babino brȁšno*, *zà reć*, *zà vjerovat*, *zà kijēm je udáta*, *zà śes*, *zà uru*, *zà sisu*, *zà brata*, *zà ućehu*, *zà žđelu*, *pòšla je zà dūmnu*

c) accent shifts to the cardinal number: *jedàn metar*, *dvá dnē*, *dvá dāna*, *dvjé kuće dàljē*, *trí mjesēca*, *pé-šēs*, *šés godīn*, *desèt metār*, *stó kīlā*

d) accent shifts to the adverb: *pó* (< *polъ) *dānā*, *pó godinē*, *pó mētra*, *pó kila*, *pó urē*

e) accent shifts to the conjunction: *dân ì nōć*; *ì jes i nȉje*, *kôs ì koža*, *ì matēr ì ćaća ì svekolikā čȅjād*, *jȁdna ì kukāvna*, *nì kūrca nè vidīm*, *nì mjesēc dánā*, *à tī*, *kȍ stō vragóvā*, *akò Bōg dā*

f) accent shifts to the adjective: *dobàr večē*, *dobrò jutro*, *dobàr dān*

The authors of Croatian grammars allow some exceptions to the Neo-Štokavian accent shift rules. Maretić declares that the falling accent does not shift to the proclitic in four- or more syllable words as in the example *po ȍpomenama* (Maretić 1963 : 135). The authors of the *Hrvatska gramatika* (Barić & al. 1997 : 92) claim that the falling accent shifts to the proclitic obligatorily just to the unstressed form of the personal pronoun (*ná me*, *pó me*; *sȁ mnōm*[20]), to negation in front of the verb (*nè znām*) and to the conjunction in front of some words (*nì jā*).

Conclusion

Neo-Štokavian Ijekavian dialects are of great importance for the compilation of a linguistic map of Štokavian dialects. Throughout the history the river Neretva was the border line between Čakavian or Šćakavian (hybrid dialect with some Čakavian and some Štokavian features) and Štokavian border and today Neretva divides speakers of Neo-Štokavian Ikavian and Neo-Štokavian Ijekavian. Because of this geographic position and isolation these dialects preserved some remains of earlier language states (falling accents in the middle of the word in toponymy, šćakavism, the abscence of the common Štokavian jotation) in spite of the development of Neo-Štokavian features (hyperijekavism, the presence of the Neo-Štokavian jotation). Accent shift

[20] I do not give examples for this because they can be found in every Crotian grammar or language manual.

to the proclitic resembles this duality. Tomo Maretić (Maretić 1963 : 334-337) and Stjepan Ivšić (1970 : 171-173) discussed this problem from the dialectological and historical point of view. In this paper I tried to give some new examples based on field research.

Appendix

I shall give here a short list of words belonging to accent paradigms *a, b* and *c* in Neo-Štokavian Ijekavian dialects of Neretvanska krajina. Perhaps some of the data could be of some use in future research. Some of these examples reflect Proto-Slavic state of affairs, while some are naturally the result of innovations.

Nouns

a. p *a* : *ràna, krȁva, rȁk, krȕv, lòpata, kòris*

a. p. *b* : *ìstok* (G sg. *istòka*), *žȉvot* (G sg. *živòta*), *màslac* (G sg. *maslàca*), *mùdrac* (G sg. *mudràca*), *bȍb* (G sg. *bòba*), *špȁg* (as *bob*), *bȍr* (G sg. *bòra*, N pl. *bòrovi*; G pl. *bȍrōvā*), *krȍv* (as *bor*), *čvȍr* (as *bor*), *zbȍr* (as *bor*), *rȁt* (as *bor*), *pȍp* (as *bor*), *plȕg* (as *bor*), *kȍnj* (G sg. *kònja*, N pl. *kònji;* G pl. *kónjā*), *grȍp* (as *konj*, but G sg. also *grȍpōvā*), *grȅb* (as *konj*), *gnjât* (N pl. *gnjáti*; G pl. *gnjátā*), *jêž* (G sg. *jéža*; N pl. *jéži/jéževi*), *kljûč* (as *jež*), *strîc* (as *jež*), *pût* (G sg. *púta*, N pl. *púti/pútevi/pȕtevi*; G pl. *pȕtēvā*), *spûž* (as *put*), *pânj* (as *put*), *prîš* (as *put*), *štît* (G sg. *štíta*, N pl. *štȉtovi*; G pl. *štȉtōvā*), *snȍp* (G sg. *snòpa*, N pl. *snòpi/snòpovi*; G pl. *snópā*) *zmàj* (G sg. *zmàja*, N pl. *zmȁjevi* under a. p. *c*, G pl. *zmȁjēvā*), *zglȍb* (G sg. *zglòba*, N pl. *zglȍbovi*; G pl. *zglȍbōvā*), *dȍl* (as *zglob*), *vȍl* (as *zglob*), *stȍl* (as *zglob*), *smijȇh* (G sg. *smijéha*), *grȍz* (G sg. *gròzda*), *šèdok* (G sg. *šedòka*), *làžov* (G sg. *lažòva*), *tráva, òrāč* (G sg. *oráča*), *mòrnār* (G sg. *mornára*), *žèna* (G sg. *žènē*; G pl. *žénā*), *Lúka* (A sg. *Lúku*, N pl. *Lúke*, DLI pl. *Lùkama*) - toponyms

a. p. *c* : *gláva* (A sg. *glâvu*, NAV pl. *glâve* DLI pl. *u glàvama*), *đèca* (D sg. *đèci*, A sg. *đècu*), *gòra* (A sg. *gòru*, NAV pl. *gȍre*), *vòda* (as *gora*), *ròsa* (as *gora*), *nòga* (as *gora*), *žèlja* (as *gora*), *sùza* (as *gora*), *zèmja* (as *gora*), *stàza* (as *gora*), *pláća* (A sg. *pláću*), *óvca* (A sg. *ôvcu*), *sôk* (G sg. *sòka*, N pl. *sòkovi*), *rôd* (G sg. *ròda*, L sg. *ròdu*, N pl. *ròdovi*), *brôd* (as *rod*), *rôg* (as *rod*), *môs* (G sg. *mȍsta;* as *rod*), *nôs* (G sg. *nȍsa*, L sg. *nòsu*, N pl. *nȍsovi*), *òprēz* (L sg. *oprézu*), *Ják̀drān* (as *oprez*), *kòrāk* (L sg. *koráku* ; G pl. *korákā*), *òblāk* (as *korak*), *zíma* (D sg. *zîmi*, A sg. *zîmu*, NAV *zîme*, DLI *zímama*),

stijéna (as *zima*), *strána* (as *zima*), *vójska* (A sg. *vôjsku*, NAV pl. *vôjske*), *šćêr* (G sg. *šćèri*, G pl. *šćèrī*), *mlȁdōs* (G sg. *mlȁdosti*, L sg. *mladòsti*), *ràdōs* (G sg. *ràdosti*, L sg. *radòsti*, G pl. *radòstī*, DLI *radòstima*), *žȁlōs* (as *rados*), *kòkōš* (G sg. *kòkoši*, G pl. *kokòšī*, DLI pl. *kokòšima*), *bȍlēs* (G sg. *bȍlesti*, G pl. *bolèstī*, DLI pl. *bolèstima*), *pȁmēt* (L sg. *paméti*), *pòmōć* (G sg. *pȍmoći*, L sg. *pomòći*, G pl. *pomòćī*), *nôć* (G sg. *nȍći*, L sg. *nòći*, G pl. *nòćī*, DLI *nòćima*), *kôs* (G sg. *kòsti*, L pl. *kòsti*, G pl. *kòstī*, DLI pl. *kòstima*), *planìna* (A sg. *plàninu*), *brzìna* (as *planina*), *širìna* (as *planina*), *ȉme* (NAV sg. *imèna, iménā*), *pròpovijēd* (L sg. *propovijédi*, G pl. *propovijédī*, DLI pl. *propovijédima*), *zàpovijēd* (as *propovijed*), *nàpovijēd* (as *zapovijed*), *pràtēž* (L sg. *pratèži*), *Vèlēž* (as *pratež*)

Indefinite Adjectives

a. p. *a* : *jȁdan, vȅseo*

a. p. *b* : *vážan* (*vážna – vážno*), *bijésan, svijétō, túžan; tûđ* (*túđa – túđe*), *svêt; pȕn* (*pùna - pùno*), *dȍbar; dùbok* (*dubòka - dubòko*), *šìrok, dèbel, dàlek; bôs* (*bòsa - bòso*), *gôl*

a. p. *c* : *mlâk* (*mláka - mlâko*), *glûp, tûp, žîv, gnjîl, stvâran, strâšan, tijêsan, čvȓs, slân, šûpalj* ; *zrȅo* (*zrèla - zrèlo*), *lȍš, strȍg, nȉzak, ùzak, dȕg, bȉstar*

Verbs

a. p. *a* : *vȉđet* (*vȉđu/vȉđū, vȉdīmō, vȉdē/vȉdū; vȉđeo - vȉđela – vȉđelo*), *šljȅć* (*šljȅgō - šljȅgla - šljȅglo*), *nàljeć* (*nàljegō – nàljegla – nàljeglo*)

a. p. *b* : *pomòći* (*pòmožēm; pòmogō – pomògla – pomòglo*), *lȅć* (*lȅžēm; lȅgō – lègla – lèglo*), *mȁć* (*mȁknēmo; mȁkō – màkla – màklo*), *rȅć* (*rȅčū; rȅkō – rèkla – rèklo*), *vézat* (*vêžēm*)

a. p. *c* : *zvàt* (*zòvem, zovèmo, zòvū; zvȃo – zvála - zvâli*), *lèćet* (*lètīm, letímo, lètē/lètū*), *três* (*trésem, trésemo* – secondary, *trésū* ; *trésla*), *pèć* (*pèčem, pèčemo* – secondary; *pèkla*), *žívjet* (*živèmo*), *dònijet* (*donèsem, donèsete* – secondary form, *donèsū; donijéla*), *pòčēt* (*pȍčmēn, pȍčmū; pòčeo – počéla – pȍčēlo*), *pèć* (*pèčem, pèčemo* – secondary, *pèkū/pèčū; pèkō – pèkla – pèklo*), *ìspeć* (*ispèkla*), *tèć* (*tèčem, tèčemo* – secondary, *tèkū; tèkō – tèkla – tèklo*), *râs* (*rásten, rástemo, rástū; râstō – rásla – ráslo*), *nàrās* (*nàrāsō – narásla – naráslo*), *vûć* (*vúčem, vúčemo, vúkū; vûkō – vúkla – vúklo*)

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PROSODIC PROOF OF SYNTACTICALLY FIXED POSITION

The starting point for this paper are limitations of comparative historical research on South Slavic clitics and the hypothetical nature of its conclusions, especially with respect to their prosodic status, which can be judged only on the basis of their position in the linear organization of the sentence. This paper deals with proclitic-enclitic syntagms of the type *zà mene* in Slovenian and Croatian and syntagms of the type *záme* (Slovenian) and *zá me* (Croatian). These syntagms are possible only because the short accusative pronominal forms were accented in the protolanguage. The author argues that these forms represent newly emerged clitics which preserved the feature of accentability in syntactically fixed positions in the western South Slavic languages, while this feature was lost in the eastern South Slavic languages.

1. Introduction

The linguistic study of clitics, as very complex linguistic units, falls between accentology and syntax. In that respect I am approaching one striking problem that, in my view, demonstrates the limitations of comparative historical research on clitics, especially on their prosodic status. The main reason for such a position is the general hypothetical nature of conclusions concerning clitics in periods for which we do not have explicit accentual data. Besides, what also led me to take such a position is the reaction to ongoing discussions on the question of whether clitics belong to the language system, or rather, to the speech act.

Usually perceived as exceptions, clitics are very often treated as a peripheral part of a prosodic system, which makes them especially interesting and provocative.

Already from the interpretation of clitics as units without an inherent accent which "lean on" other (accented) units, it is obvious that we are dealing with two different phenomena: their unaccentedness and their attachment to the orthotonic word with which they form a prosodic unit. Of course, this linkage is based on properties that could be marked as + or – accent, and this is the reason why I am going to speak about a very specific example of a clitic group, or rather a syntagm, which encompasses two elements treated as clitics.

I will not discuss the obvious point that cliticity should not be equated with the absence of accent since the clitics are not unaccented, but rather are non-orthotonic units. Due to the understanding of *orthotonicity* as a potential and *accentedness* as a realizational feature, it seems more plausible to interpret clitics as elements that do not introduce an inherent accent into a sentence, than as elements that should be integrated into an accentual unit ruled by a neighboring element. From that point of view the cliticity should be seen as a phonologically conditioned feature that belongs to a specific part of syntactic organization, that is, linear organization.

Prior to any analysis, one has to distinguish two substantially different groups: uninflected clitics or particles and inflected or proper clitics (which encompass the so-called short forms of auxiliary verbs and personal and reflexive pronouns)[1]. In this respect South Slavic inflected clitics form an extremely intriguing group because:

1. the repertory of inflected clitics has changed over time

2. they are part of the same paradigms with the so-called long or full forms.

2. Clitics as a Part of Syntactic System

Being aware that it is highly unusual to discuss the accent of supposedly unaccented units, I first analyse the placement of clitics in linear sentence organization in order to be able to discuss their accentual status later in this article. This is a necessary position because when

[1] Despite the common opinion among those who investigate clitics that there is an essential distinction between two types of clitics—simple and special clitics (see Zwicky 1977), the fundamental model used here is Jakobson's (*Les enclitiques slaves*, paper given October 25, 1933, published 1935). He was the first to speak about *les particules enclitiques* and *les mots enclitiques fléchis*.

discussing cliticity as a concept, one has to take for granted relationship within syntactic units, syntagms[2] or sentences. As stated above, the main problem of comparative research on clitics in Slavic languages involves the hypothetical nature of conclusions about the prosodic status of linguistic elements in periods for which we do not have reliable accentual data. To quote Radoslav Večerka, one of the leading experts on OCS syntax (Večerka 1989: 33): "Der rhytmische Faktor hat sich auf die Stellung der unbetonten Wörter in der Proklise und Enklise ausgewirkt. *Die Unbetontheit der entsprechenden Wörter im Aksl. ist allerdings nur hypotetisch*; sie wird auf Grund komparatistischer Feststellungen vorausgesetzt." Consequently, cliticity in written records (of course, not only in OCS texts), cannot be treated otherwise than in the context of linear sentence organization, or more precisely, based on the position of one unit to the another one.

Clitic placement is one of the most intriguing points of word order.[3] There are two basic rules of clitic placement that can be applied to South Slavic languages (SSl). First is the well known *Wackernageliche Gesetz* or Wackernagel's rule (Wackernagel 1892), relevant mostly for the western branch of SSl and the second one, according to which the clitics either precede or follow the word on which they are prosodically dependent, which is relevant mostly for the eastern branch of SSl. In spite of this, it has been commonly believed that clitics in Slavic almost axiomatically tend to be placed in 2P.[4] From the 19. century it has been claimed that this is motivated by rhythmical-intonational reasons: IP is considered to be the most emphasized position, after which follows the least emphasized one.[5]

[2] As defined by Baudoin de Courtenay.

[3] As seen already in Jakobson (1935 (1960): 22): "La position des enclitiques dans la phrase constitue une des questions fondamentales concernant l'ordre des mots. Les lois du groupement des mots, de même que les principes du groupement des phonèmes, ne représentent pas une agglomération mécanique de règles éparses mais un système cohérent. C'est à la fois un tout et une partie du système linguistique global. Le lien étroit subsistant entre les différentes tranches de cet ensemble apparaît de plus en plus nettement et on voit les faits phonologiques, morphologiques et syntactiques former une chaîne ininterrompue dans l'évolution d'un système linguistique."

[4] I do not address the problem of whether 2P should be understood as a position following the first word, the integral syntagm, or even the whole sentence.

[5] For example Delbrück (1990: 56): "Wenn man bedenkt, dass nach dem Grundgesetz der okkasionellen Wortstellung ein Wort, welches einen stärkeren Sinnaccent trägt, im Satze weiter nach vorn rückt, ferner, dass im Altindischen und wohl auch im Indogermanischen ein unbetontes Wort nie den Satz eröffnen konnte, so muss man zu der Ansicht kommen, dass im Idg. das erste Wort durch die Betonung besonders ausgezeichnet war."

As a result, a significant number of linguists believe that in western SSl there are "positions reserved for orthotonic words" and "positions reserved for clitics". On the other hand, I have tried to prove that only two positions appear to be relevant for the explanation of the prosodic and syntactic status of inflected clitics:[6]

1. IP – initial position

2. PS - prepositional syntagm or the position after a preposition.

2.1. Initial Position

Only the accusative short forms could be placed initially in OCS, as shown in following examples:

1.1. **tę** poetъ slъn(ь)ce . **tę** slavitъ luna (Euch. sin. 7)

1.2. iže ašte edino takovyx otročętъ priimetъ vъ imę moe, **mę** priemletъ (Mk 9.37 Zogr. Mar.)

1.3. **tę** molimъ sъxrani i **mę** otъ vьsěxъ rečenuxъ (Euch. sin. 68.)

1.4. i **tę** li možetъ ponesti (Supr. 250)

The ruling principle in contemporary SSl is "all or none" Initial placement of all inflected clitics forms is, with no restrictions, possible in Macedonian. Such a placement is also possible in Slovenian and Bulgarian, but with some syntactic restrictions, as well as in the Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects of Croatian. On the other hand, it is not possible to place any inflected clitic initially in the Štokavian branch of western SSl.

Macedonian

1.5. **Ми** е чудно што се плашат од зимата! (Николески 17)

1.6. **Ти го** дадов дрвото на мудроста. (Андоновски 62)

1.7. **Ме** воведе во својата соба, во која немаше место кај да се стани. (Topolińskaja 1974: 65-94.)

1.8. "**Те** паметам од бродот", продолжи Доне. (Георгиевски 231)

1.9. **Го** гледа со насмевка Димета, мило, тој ја гледа загрижено. (Мак. драма 346)

[6] Peti-Stantić (2000).

1. 10. "Да напражиме", **му** одговори мајката жолна. (Николески 5)

1.11. И потем ги отпрати и **ги** прати на работа. (Андоновски 72)

Slovenian

1.12. **Ti bom** povedal kako! Se še spominjaš, kaj je stari rekel, ko naju je poslal sem? (http://www.ijs.si/lit/leposl.html-12.)

1.13. "**Me boš** zbudil s poljubom?" vpraša. (ČKZ 110)

1.14. **Te je** našel? (Hieng 109)

1.15. "Ne moreva ga pustiti tukaj," **mu je** mirno in podjetno govorila Katarina. (Jančar 419)

1.16. Ko pa sva se peljala proti njenemu kletnemu stanovanju, je zajokala in **mi** potem med hlipanjem rekla, da ona lahko sovraži stvari tudi, če ne ve, kaj pomenijo. (ČKZ 194)

1. 17. Če zdajle umrje in **mi** pride povedat! (Cankar 28)

Bulgarian

1.18. И **ми** каза: «Извикай оногова.» (Дончев 76)

1. 19. "Защо плачешъ, зашо плачешъ?" **му** каза един мошки гласъ. (Родни слова 131)

1.20. Детето стана на крака и **го** изгледа съ своитѣ живи черни очички. (Родни слова 113)

1.21. Правото, за да говоря тука, **ми** е дадено от отечеството ми, а не от вас. (Ботев 85)

1. 22. Цар Лъв го оженил за Ирина, сестра на царицата, и **му** дал висока служба в царския дворец. (Хилендарски 74)

Čakavian

1.23. **Mi je** pȕkla jena cȍkula. (Kalsbeek 364)

1.24. **Mi je** poviẽdala kakȍse je storȉlo žȃjfo. (Kalsbeek 342)

1.25. **Mi je** velika preša. (Grgorinić 21)

1.26. **Ga** nȉ mȍga ćapȁt, uõn je ũša. (Kalsbeek 375)

1.27. **Mu je** tȍ nosȉla, i na jedanpũt je pȍče se kako gr̃čit i bielȅt... (Kalsbeek 381)

1.28. "Grien, t'u pot ja s tobon", **mu** govori ta mačak. (ČDL 295)

Kajkavian

1.29. **Mi je** stopram dvadesetpet let! (Ogerliči 229)

1.30. **Te** morti što sili? (Ogerliči 192)

1.31. Ov človek ni za naša vremena rođen – ali včiniti i reči je drugo, da bi to njegov brat bil, **mi se** vidi, da bi kihati pričel. (Ogerliči 79)

1.32. "To ti je človek", veli vuk, "idi pred njega i **ga** zakoli." (Ruožnik 52)

2.2. Prepositional Syntagms

Prepositions are, as prosodically proclitic elements, positioned immediately to the left of the accented unit on which they are prosodically dependent. For that reason all long pronominal forms can be placed after a preposition with no obstacle. The placement of short pronominal forms, which are considered to be unaccented, prosodically and syntactically dependent units, should not be allowed in this position. In spite of this, already in OCS, as well as in some SSl, certain short accusative pronominal forms systematically and regularly follow proclitic prepositions in the same manner as all other orthotonic units, as shown in the following examples:

Old Church Slavic

2.1. pokrietъ nečъstьe **na tę** (Kloc. 2b 17)

2.2. straxъ sъmrtъtьnyi napade **na mę** (Sin. ps. 54.5)

2.3. I(su)sъ že vъzьva i reče: věrujęi **vъ mę** ne věruetъ vъ mene nъ vъ posъlavъšaago mę (Iv 12.44 Assem. Zogr.)

2.4. **prędъ tę** (Supr. 99)

Slovenian

2.5. **Zame** je storil več, kot bi bil dolžan storiti. (Kavčić 11)

2.6. V cesto in **vame** so dan za dnem zijale prazne izložbe. (ČKZ 91)

2.7. ... pozna upanje, ki jih bo vodilo do Zlate skrinje in dalje in **skoznjo** in z njeno pomočjo do nebes. (Jančar 77)

2.8. Vi oblačite **nase** druge ljudi, jaz pa jih slačim. (Javoršek 35)

2.9. Ko delaš za druge, delaš tudi **zase**! (Taufer 49)

0.1 Croatian

2.10. Mislila sam da ću imati **za te** strašno iznenađenje. (Balog 14)

2.11. I ne samo što mu je jasno, nego je shvatio i da taj svoj identitet mora braniti, i da mu on i jest najvredniji borbe, da je **za nj** potrebno sve žrtvovati. (Pavličić 184)

2.12. Položio je svoju ruku na njezino lice, privio je **uza se** i prošaptao: "Oprosti." (Gavran 43)

2.13. Mislio je **na nj** svaku stotinku sekunde od časa kad je umro do sada. (Pavičić 32)

Such a "proclitic-enclitic connection" does not fit in the system and therefore, represents an exception from a strictly structural point of view. Exactly for that reason I see its importance as an implicit signalization of a historical change. First I will try to explain why a syntagm of this kind exists at all. Then I will try to explain the features of short pronominal forms that make possible their placement after an unaccented preposition. In the end I will attempt to answer the question of where the accent of this syntagm comes from, if both components are, as claimed, unaccented. To answer these questions I have to go back to the Proto-Slavic state of affairs.

3. Open Questions of Reconstruction

Despite the many open questions of reconstruction, such as the deceptive homogeneity of lexical forms for the first and second person pronouns in almost all IE languages[7], I will concentrate only on parallel, so-called long (disyllabic) and short (monosyllabic) forms. Parallel forms have been reconstructed only for dative[8] in Proto-Slavic, while there was just one form reconstructed for other cases: disyllabic in the genitive and monosyllabic in accusative.[9] Two forms have been recon-

[7] An overview of these problems is given in Peti-Stantić (2002).

[8] Long forms are treated as accented and short forms as unaccented. The OCS evidence confirms such a distribution since the time of the oldest written monuments.

[9] I believe that despite the obvious inconsistency which is almost not worth mentioning, it is not excessive to point out the lack of logic in treating only the accusative forms in this paradigm as short forms. Namely, there is no difference in length between 2. pers. sg. acc. *tę* and 2. pers. sg. nom. *ty*.

structed for the first and second person pronoun, **mъně* i **mьně*[10]; **tebě* i **tobě*.[11] Hujer thinks that there were both clitic and nonclitic forms corresponding to IE **moi, *t(w)oi.* Vondrák says that the clitic forms *mi, ti, si* developed from *mě, tě, sě,* and that these forms themselves originated from **moi, *toi, *soi.*

Two accusative forms have been reconstructed for the first and second person pronouns in the IE protolanguage: **me,*mē* i **twe,*twē. The* OCS forms *mę, tę, sę* correspond to Sanskrit **mām, *twām,* but do not correspond to Greek *ἐμέ* and *με.* In both languages the shorter forms were enclitic. In his historical grammar of Greek, Rix (1976: 177) claims that the accented form is a younger formation which adopted the enclitic accusative form and the accent from the always-accented nominative case.

For PIE linguists reconstruct the genitive forms **mene* and **tewe* (more certain for the first person, and less certain for the second person, as said in Matasović (1997: 175)), to which the OCS forms **mene* and **tebe* fully correspond. In Sanskrit and Greek there are two forms for first and two for second person corresponding to PIE – *mama* and *me* (Sanskrit) and *ἐμοῦ* and *μου* (Greek), for the first person and *tava, te* (Sanskrit) and *σοῦ, σου* (Greek) for the second.

In order to understand the status of parallel forms in the paradigms of SSl one should, based on an examination of the oldest texts for every single tradition, answer the following specific questions:

1. Which forms are original in which cases?

2. When did the so-called long and short forms come to be used in complementary distribution in both cases?

I will only indicate possible answers to these questions here. According to contemporary Slavic linguists, the long genitive forms were in use in accusative function beginning in the late OCS period

[10] Vondrák (1912; 456-460) believes that the first form is older and that *ь* emerged as a result of a *e*-vowel reduction, for which there has been more reasons after *m,* than in the case of *te, se.*

[11] Based on Czech *tobě*, Polish *tobie* and Old Russian *тъбѣ* which originated from *тобѣ,* Ivšić (1970: 219) thinks that Hujer's explanation is the most logical one. He says that only the gen. sg. **tobe* alongside with **tebe* and dat. sg.**tobě* alongside with **tebě* existed in Proto-Slavic. In the genitive only the form *tebe* survived because of its resemblance to *mene,* and in the dative *tobě* remained because *mьně* did not have any impact to it.

(see Nahtigal 1952: 237). After this change the cliticity of the old short accusative forms was not questioned.

The initial OCS paradigm, before the long genitive forms were introduced in the accusative, had the following characteristics:

	GENITIVE	DATIVE	ACCUSATIVE
LONG FORM	+ACCENT	+ACCENT	—
SHORT FORM	—	-ACCENT	+ACCENT

The parallel forms in the personal pronoun paradigms developed long accented forms in the accusative because they lacked the symmetry in the system (in the dative there were long accented forms alongside with short unaccented forms, in the accusative short accented forms, and in the genitive long accented forms). Due to analogy between the short accusative forms and the short dative forms (which were originally unaccented and clitic), the short accusative forms (originally accented) began to be used as clitics alongside with the process during which the long accented genitive forms became a syntactic replacement for the original accusative forms. Therefore, the long forms appear already in later OCS texts in the syntactic function of both cases, which has been proven in the course of the history of individual South Slavic languages.[12] This is how the genitive-accusative syncretism changed the repertory of OCS clitics.

Some authors (see Comrie 1978: 30) claim that the third person personal pronoun in OCS had special forms for nominative sg. *onъ,* accusative sg. *i (jь)* and genitive sg. *jego*, mentioning this in reference to nouns which designated living beings that already had a nominative form different from the genitive-accusative syncretic form. Others (see Vaillant 1977: 433) claim that the use of pronominal short forms for the third person stabilized only in the history of the individual languages after OCS period. Both in the third person personal pronoun paradigm, as well as in the paradigms described above, the genitive started

[12] I will mention only some examples for such a claim: OCS genitive case: jako gospodъ moi otъemletь stroenьe domu **otъ mene** (Zogr, L. XVI, 3); accusative case: Ni gnjevomъ tvoimъ pokaži **mene** (Sin. 6,2); middle Bulgarian – genitive case: **ot mene** ni ednu krivdu ne ste imali (TP 148); accusative case: da **mene** svoimъ nevjerьstvomъ prjevari (TP 186); Serbian – accusative case: i potrudi starostь svoju i **mene** (Spisi sv. Save); Croatian – genitive case: Ako li do sada ni mu se skazalo **od mene** nikada ljubavi nimalo (Lucić, Robinja); accusative case: taj zakon vaš proklet i tko ga postavi, ter **mene** ustavi, da mi se duh muči (Vetranović, Orfeo); Slovenian – accusative case: Jesus Maria bodi **par mene**, inu par nas (Rupel. Prisp., N7, 1688.).

being used for the accusative in OCS (see Nahtigal 1952: 239): OCS *jego* and clitic *go*, Serbian and Croatian *njèga* and clitic *ga* (femin. *je, ju*), Bulgarian *нéго* and clitic *го*. The old accusative masculine singular *jь* has been preserved in Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian and Czech with prepositions: Slovenian *vánj* (from **vьnjь*), *zánj, prédënj* and the same for the neuter, while in the plural *vânje, zânje*; in Croatian and Serbian *zânj* alongside with *zânjga, krȍzânj;* in Czech *zaň*.

These forms led to a disagreement on the originality of Proto-Slavic accusative forms. There has not been any dispute about the genitive and dative forms, but the problem of accusative forms led to the formation of two schools of thought. Representatives of one faction believed that the original accusative forms were long, i.e., **mene, *tebe, *sebe* (for example Meillet and Mühlenbach), while the representatives of the other, more numerous faction, believe that the short nasal forms were the original forms **mę, *tę, *sę* (for example van Wijk, Vondrák, Trubetzkoy, Bulahovskij and Vaillant, who were later joined also by Meillet). The latter differentiate two original short forms in the accusative: accented forms with a nasal and unaccented forms with no nasal.

4. On Accentedness

4.1. Misunderstandings

Given these facts, it is clear how the treatment of western South Slavic syntagms of type S1[13] as exceptions is mistaken, especially their interpretation in Croatian as proclitic-enclitic syntagms that "receive" an accent. Reading such claims[14], one has to ask where the accent comes from in a syntagm of two inherently unaccented units.

Such an interpretation misses the point because the prepositional syntagm of type S1 is the only syntactic position in which the original accented accusative forms differ from the unaccented genitive short forms, which started being used in accusative functions according to analogy with the dative short forms.

[13] I call the S1 syntagm a relation that consists from a prepositon and a short pronominal form while the S2 syntagm is a relation between a preposition and a long pronominal form or any other accented unit.

[14] For example in HG (1995: 209): prijedlozi koji završavaju na suglasnik *dobivaju* naglasak uzlazne intonacije ako za njima slijedi slog, npr. *zá me, ná te, ú se, pó nju i pò njū*, a ako za njima sloga nema, intonacija mora biti silazna, npr. *zâ nj, û nj.*

Therefore, we have to posit the following two units in contemporary S1 syntagms: an unaccented proclitic preposition and a short accusative pronominal form, which is an accent-bearing unit that generates the accent of the whole syntagm. This claim is further strenghtened by the notion that only the long forms can be introduced in prepositional syntagms in the genitive, despite the existence of parallel short forms. Therefore the syntagms *bèz mene, dò tebe, okò njega, kràj mene, porèd sebe, zbòg mene, òd mene* cannot be replaced by the syntagms **bez me, *do te, *oko me, *kraj te, *pored se, *zbog me, *od me.* This difference can be explained only by taking into account the initial differentiation of short genitive and short accusative forms.

The interpretations in grammars are unanimous. For example, for Croatian we find:[15]

1. monosyllabic prepositions terminating in a consonant add a final long *a* and become disyllabic, for example: *krȍzā te, ùzā te, pȍdā nj, prèdā me, nàdā nju,*

2. for other prepositions the final or single syllable is lengthened

a. monosyllabic prepositions receive an accent with a rising pitch if there is a syllable following, for example *zá me, ná te, ú se, pó nju* i *pò nju.* If there is no syllable, the intonation should be falling, for example *zâ nj, û nj.*

b. disyllabic or polysyllabic prepositions receive a short falling accent on the first syllable, for example *ìzmeđū se, mèđū se.*

The Slovenian situation is to a certain degree specific, because Toporišič (2004) explicitly recognizes two accusative short forms, one unaccented and the other accented, as shown in the following paradigms:

G. mêne, me	têbe, te	sêbe, se
D. mêni, mi	têbi, ti	sêbi, si
A. mêne, me, -me/mé	têbe, te, -te/té	sêbe, se, -se/sé
G. njêga, ga	njé, je	
D. njêmu, mu	njéj/ njèj, njì, ji	
A. njêga, ga, -nj	njó, - jo, njo/njó	

[15] Cited from HG (1995: 209).

The short accented forms are labeled *bound forms (navezne oblike)*. They exist only in the accusative and differ from all other short forms by the feature of accent. As a result, contemporary Slovenian allows the following types of Sl syntagms in the accusative with monosyllabic prepositions with a vocalic ending or with prepositions that receive a bound vowel: (*záme, záte, záse, zánj, zánjo; prédme, prédte, prédse, prédenj, prédnjo; nádme, nádte, nádse...; pódme, pódte, pódse...; váme / v mé, váte / v té, váse / v sé.* As seen here, the accent can be realized either on the preposition or on the pronoun, despite the very low frequency of realizations such as *za mé, za té, za sé* ... [16] When the accent is realized on the preposition the syntagm is spelled as a single word and when the accent is realized on the pronoun each part is spelled separately, but this difference in spelling does not reflect any phonological difference on the syntagmatic level.

4.2. Type of Accent

The type of accent in Sl syntagms presents still unsolvable problem. The accent realized in Sl syntagms does not correspond to the type resulting from a shift within S2 syntagms (for example *grâd – ù grād, pòlje – nà polje* or *kùća – òd kućē, znâm – nè znām*). The latter results from the Neo-Štokavian accentual shift (*mène – bèz mene, tèbe – zbòg tebe,* like *pòlje – nà polje, znâm – nè znām*). Therefore it seems plausible to treat the accent realized on Sl syntagms as the result of a diachronic shift because it corresponds to the accent in *gláva, rúka* (cf. Čakavian *glāvà, rūkà*).

For a better understanding of this process one has to keep in mind the particularity of Čakavian accentual types, because the "classic" Čakavian system is very similar, but not identical, to the accentual system that can be reconstructed for western South Slavic and there is no single North Čakavian accentual type. In this context one may cite a very intriguing example found in a well-known study of the Čakavian dialect of Orbanići in Istria, in which Kalsbeek (1998: 322) differentiates real, optional, and occasional clitics based on their ability to form a (one-word) sentence by themselves, the ability to carry the sentence accent in a larger unit, and their subordination to more or less strict ordering rules. She devotes a special chapter to the interpretation of

[16] See Toporišič (2004: 307): Oblike *náme, náte, náse* ipd. so danes bolj v rabi kot *na mêne, na têbe, na sêbe*, te pa bolj kot *na mé, na té, na sé.* itd.

preposition-pronominal clitic combinations and says: "Several combinations of two (real or optional) clitic word forms may together form a minimal accent frame, in which case they cease to behave as clitics with respect to word order. [...] Some prepositions govern more than one case, but only accusative clitic forms of pronouns are found combined with items in a minimal accented frame." The final syllable of a monosyllabic preposition becomes lengthened and a circumflex accent realized on this preposition corresponds to an accent in all northern Čakavian dialects, as in her examples:

Ću stȁvit **nâ se** to vrȅćo.
Pȁde **nâ te.**
Kako da gleda **vâ me.**

Since we deal with an extremely conservative Čakavian dialect which, according to Kalsbeek (1998: 59), carried through no phonetic stress shifts with respect to the final stage of Proto-Slavic, the accentual status of Sl prepositional syntagms with short pronominal forms and the existence of short genitive forms only for the first person singular are very important data. This is especially true when we know that the accent was not, as expected, kept on the pronoun, but was shifted to a preposition. The only explanation for such an unexpected accentual shift is that it results from a diachronic process which must have occurred at such a point in the history of Slavic languages in order to affect both Čakavian and Štokavian dialects. [17]

5. Conclusion

Contextualizing the research on clitics in Slavic languages, primarily concentrated in the framework of formal approaches to Slavic linguistics, this report is an attempt to present an alternative view of clitic treatment in SSl, because it takes into account historical developments and comparative methodology when explaining the linguistic systems of contemporary languages.

[17] Additional research will be needed to answer the question whether in the given examples we are dealing with a *neocircumflex accent*, as in present tense forms with a fixed accent (of the type *plâčeš, diêneš*), as well as in the definite forms of feminine adjectives (for example *stâra*), or whether we are dealing with a *Proto-Slavic accute* on a vowel reflecting original *ę*, but this is beyond the scope of the present study.

Based on our current knowledge, the only claim that can be made is that in western South Slavic languages there are some instances, which I call syntactically fixed positions, in which the accusative short forms picture accusative short accented forms from Proto-Slavic. In this respect it should be emphasized that the syntagms *za me* (S1) and *za mene* (S2) do not differ in meaning. These two types of syntagms differ only according to the grammatical level to which they belong. Whereas the S2 belongs to a purely syntactic level of description, S1 can be interpreted as a lexicalized syntagm. The connection between the parts of this syntagm is so firm and immutable, both on the prosodic and the syntactic level, that it is equivalent to a morphological formation. An open question remains, of course, why such a development took place only in the pronominal subsystem.

In the end I have to say that the fact of the indisputable diachronic accentedness of short accusative forms and their realization in the contemporary western group of South Slavic languages show only that these forms should not be treated as an unaccented clitics but rather as *enclinomena,* which are elements with a combinatory exchange of accentedness and unaccentedness depending on their syntactic function[18]. This, however, does not explain the type of realized accent. I was able just to give a hint, and not a coherent explanation for this type.

Abbreviations:

SSl – South Slavic
2P – Second Position
IP – Initial Position
PS – Prepositional Syntagm
OCS – Old Church Slavic
IE – Indoeuropean
PIE – Protoindoeuropean

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[18] As defined by Jakobson (1963).

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MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS ON BALTO-SLAVIC ACCENTUATION

The highly successful conference on Balto-Slavic accentology organized by Mate Kapović and Ranko Matasović has given much food for thought. It has clarified the extent of fundamental disagreements as well as established areas of common interest where the evidence seems to be ambiguous. In the following I shall comment upon some of the papers presented at the conference which are directly relevant to my own research.

Miguel Carrasquer Vidal claims that PIE barytone thematic verbs adopted mobile stress in Balto-Slavic whereas PIE derived thematic verbs preserved stress on the thematic vowel. This hypothesis does not explain the actual distribution of the accent types (cf. Stang 1957: 155-167 and 1966: 474-482). My conjecture is that as a rule, originally athematic verbal paradigms have mobile stress while original thematic verbal paradigms (including the thematic aorist, which appears to continue an earlier imperfect) have fixed stress on the stem, not on the thematic vowel, unless they adopted mobile stress at a recent stage. This is a topic which requires further investigation. I shall not go into other aspects of Carrasquer's interesting paper.

Rick Derksen reconsiders Winter's law against the background of Dybo's recent treatment (2002). As I have discussed Winter's law in detail elsewhere (1988), I can be brief here (cf. also Derksen 2002). The only point I have to highlight again is that Winter's law was blocked in the clusters **-ndn-* < **-dn-* and **-ngn-* < **-gn-*, e.g. in the Slavic words for 'water' and 'fire', cf. especially SCr. *ségnuti* beside *sèzati* 'reach', Czech *sáhnouti* beside *sahati* 'touch', because the glottalization had in this po-

sition been lost as a result of neutralization in Proto-Indo-European already, as had voicelessness, e.g. in Latin *pandō* 'spread', *pingō* 'paint', *mungō* 'slime' beside Gr. *pítnēmi*, Skt. *piṃśáti*, *muñcáti* with restoration of the original stop (cf. Thurneysen 1883). Incidentally, it is quite clear from Slovene *jàz* 'I' that Winter's law operated in stressed syllables as it did in unstressed syllables.

Vladimir Dybo identifies two accent types, with fixed and mobile stress, for Balto-Slavic thematic presents of verbs with a root-final resonant or vowel. In accordance with the conjecture put forward above, I think that presents with mobile stress represent original athematic paradigms whereas presents with fixed stress continue earlier thematic formations. This view is supported by the apophonic alternations between *žьre-*, *pьre-*, *lije-*, *rъve-* and *žere-*, *pere-*, *lěje-*, *ruje-*, also *kove-* and *kuje-*, where **kъv-* was evidently eliminated in order to remove the homonymy with *kъvati*, *kyje-* 'shake one's head' (cf. Vaillant 1966: 284), and *směje- sę* (cf. Vaillant 1966: 291), all of which belong to the mobile accent pattern. A similar prehistoric alternation may be assumed for *pьne-* and *vije-*. The present *orje-* 'plough' evidently adopted mobile stress at an early stage (cf. Vaillant 1966: 513). The present *žive-* 'live' apparently took its mobile stress from the root aorist in Balto-Slavic times already because this accent pattern is confirmed by the Prussian evidence (cf. Kortlandt 1987: 106). In the case of *bljuje-* 'vomit', original accentual mobility is supported by the apophonic alternation in Greek *phléō*, *phlúō* 'overflow'. The presents *blěje-*, *děje-* 'put', *daje-*, *maje-*, *staje-* retain the mobile stress of the root aorist from which they were derived. On the other hand, no traces of apophonic alternation are found in the type with fixed stress, except for *kryje-* 'cover', where the full grade found in East Baltic was eliminated, as it was in Prussian. All of these instances are original *je*-presents, where root stress is regular, including not only *žьr(j)e-* and *tьr(j)e-* (cf. Vaillant 1966: 190) but also *mьne-* 'crumple', which was apparently disambiguated from *mьni-* 'think'. The presents *spěje-* and *děje-* 'do' are evidently denominatives of verbal root nouns, cf. Latin *spēs*, *-dēs*.

Dybo claims that the same distribution of verbal paradigms is found in Germanic, where shortening of (pretonic) long vowels and Verschärfung correspond to Balto-Slavic accentual mobility while preservation of long vowels and no Verschärfung correspond to Balto-Slavic fixed stress on the root. Here again, the latter category are *je*-presents except **spīwa-* beside **sp(j)ūja-* 'spit'. The verbs with Verschärfung

show an alternation between **-ewv-* and **-awv-* or **-ujj-* in the root. The problem clearly needs further investigation.

Georg Holzer has presented a partial chronological ordering of 35 Slavic developments from the earliest dialectal differentiation up to the neo-Štokavian retraction of the stress. Since his treatment requires a detailed examination of the evidence, I shall discuss it on another occasion.

Mate Kapović discusses the accent type of Slavic **vòl'ā*. He presents lists of *ja*-stem nouns with fixed stress and acute (a) or neo-acute (b) tone on the root but finds few instances of *ja*-stem nouns with mobile (c) or desinential (b) stress. In my view, the latter are relics of original Balto-Slavic *ē-* and *īⁱjā*-stems. For *duša* (c) 'soul' I assume an *īⁱjā*-stem (cf. Kortlandt 1997b: 158 and 2001: 61), for *zemlja* (b, c) 'earth', Lith. *žẽmė* (2) an *ē*-stem continuing the Indo-European root noun, for **medja* (b, c) 'border', Lith. *mẽdė* (2) 'forest' an *īⁱjā*-stem beside the *jo*-stem of Lith. *mẽdis* (2) 'tree', Latin *medius* 'middle', for *želja* (c) 'wish' and *lъža* (b) 'lie', Old High German *lugī* original *īⁱjē*-stems because these are deverbal abstracts (cf. Kortlandt 1997b: 161f.), for **gospodja* (c) 'lady' an *īⁱjā*-stem, as in Lith. *patì* (4) 'wife', gen. *pačiõs*, for *zorja*, *zarja* (c) 'dawn', OPr. *sari* 'Glut' an *īⁱjē-* or *īⁱjā*-stem replacing an earlier verbal root noun, and for **rъdja* (c) 'rust' and **světja* (b) 'candle' original *īⁱjā*-stems, though the latter may actually have adopted the flexion of Lith. *žvãkė* (2) 'candle' at an earlier stage. Other *īⁱjē*-stems apparently joined the *jā*-stems at an early stage already, e.g. *volja* 'will', Lith. *valià* (2).

My own contribution to the conference deals with the Serbo-Croatian evidence for Indo-European long and short vowels and discusses an unpublished paper by Kapović which the author had kindly put at my disposal. These two articles have been published together with Holzer's contribution in the *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* vol. 51.

Keith Langston has shown that the Čakavian evidence for a fourth Slavic accent pattern (d) distinct from (b) and (c) but resembling both of these in the combination of a long falling tone on the root with desinential stress in the oblique case forms is inconclusive. This type can easily have arisen by the loss of a rising tone and analogical lengthening in monosyllables of accent pattern (b) and by the extension of desinential stress and the reduction of accentual mobility in accent pattern (c). The spread of final stress in the mobile accent paradigm probably started from the gen.sg. form of the *u*-stems,

which had final stress, as in Lith. *sūnaũs* (cf. Stang 1957: 88 on the *i*-stems and Steinhauer 1973: 90 on an accent pattern in Senj which is not mentioned by Moguš). Nevertheless, it is still possible that some nouns such as *zûb* 'tooth' escaped the early generalization of mobile stress in the masculine *o*-stems and thereby ended up in accent pattern (b) instead of (c) in a part of the Slavic territory. The crucial evidence, to my mind, comes from the accentuation of deverbal nouns such as *razdél*, gen. *razdēlà* (or *razdēl*, *razdēlà*) 'section', which does not seem to be found outside the Čakavian area. This type can hardly be explained otherwise than by the hypothesis that it had escaped the early generalization of mobile stress before Dybo's law (cf. Kortlandt 1975: 28 and 1979).

Ranko Matasović discusses early Latin and Romance loanwords which belong to accent paradigms (a), mostly *a*-stems, and (b), always *o*-stems, in South Slavic. He argues that the latter entered the language either before Dybo's law or after the retraction of the stress from final jers. In my view, the former hypothesis is correct and the latter development is irrelevant because Dybo's law did not shift the stress to final jers (cf. Kortlandt 1975: 13-19 for details), so that the nom.acc.sg. form of the *o*-stems was always stem-stressed.

Thomas Olander rejects the traditional view going back to Saussure and Pedersen that accentual mobility in nominal paradigms originated in the consonant stems and spread to vocalic stems in Balto-Slavic. Instead, he thinks that the stress was retracted from a short vowel before a final consonant or an intervocalic hiatus, e.g. nom.sg. **-ós*, abl.sg. **-óat*, but not before a final laryngeal or an intervocalic consonant, e.g. nom.sg. **-áH*, dat.pl. **-óbhos*. This not very logical hypothesis is at variance with the following case forms (Lithuanian unmarked):

(1) nom.sg. *gaidỹs* 'rooster' < **-iòs*, also *geràs-is* '(the) good', *šir̃dis* 'heart', *sūnùs* 'son',

(2) gen.sg. *galvõs* 'head' < **-àHos* (Olander **-áHs*, which does not explain the circumflex), *šir̃diẽs*, *sūnaũs*, Russ. *desjatí* 'ten' (cf. Stang 1957: 88),

(3) inst.sg. *lángu* 'window' < **-òH*, *gálva*, *šir̃dimi*, *sūnumì*, Russ. *désjat'ju* (cf. Stang 1957: 88),

(4) loc.sg. *namiẽ* 'at home' < **-òi*, *galvojè* < **-àHi-*, Russ. *golové*,

(5) nom.acc.du. *lángu* < **-òH* (Olander **-óe*, which does not explain the acute), *šir̃di*, *sū̃nu*, Slovene *možâ*, *duhǫ̑va* (cf. Stang 1957: 73),

(6) nom.pl. *langaĩ*, *šir̃dys* < **-éies*, *sū̃nūs*, Slovene *duhǫ̑vi*,

(7) gen.pl. *langų̃* < **-òm*, *galvų̃* < **-Hòm*, *šir̃džių̃* < **-iòm*, *sūnų̃*, Slavic **-òm*, **-eiòm*, **-euòm* (cf. Kortlandt 1978; Olander's **-óom*, **-áHom*, **-éiom*, **-éuom* do not explain the final stress),

(8) dat.pl. Czech *-ům* < **-óm* < **-omùs*, Russ. *détjam* < **-imùs*, Slovene *možę̑m* < **mǫ̑žem* < **-umùs*, with the same retraction of the stress across the pretonic jer as in Sln. *dánes* 'today' < **dini-sì* (Olander has **-bhos* for **-mus*),

(9) inst.pl. *langaĩs* < **-òois* (Olander **-óeis*), *galvomìs*, *šir̃dimìs*, *sūnumìs*, Czech *-ý* (cf. Stang 1957: 38), Russ. *det'mí*, Sln. *možmí*,

(10) loc.pl. *languosè*, *galvosè*, *avisù* 'sheep', Sln. *možę̑h* < **-oisù*, Russ. *détjax* < **-isù*. I conclude that Olander's theory is quite inadequate.

Jens Elmegård Rasmussen thinks that monosyllables are always "circumflex" in Balto-Slavic. Unfortunately, he does not distinguish between a Baltic circumflex, which is the absence of an acute tone (i.e. of glottalization), and a Slavic circumflex, which is a falling tone that developed at a more recent stage in paradigms with mobile stress independently of the original presence or absence of an "acute" (i.e. of a glottal stop). Rasmussen claims that the shortening of an acute *ý* and *ű* in Lith. monosyllabic future forms, e.g. *gìs* 'will heal', is analogical after polysyllabic forms such as *rašìs* beside *rašỹs* 'will write' in spite of the facts that it is a receding phenomenon, that forms like *rašìs* are limited to southern and eastern Aukštaitian dialects, and that there is no model for the verbs in *-ū̃ti* (cf. Kortlandt 2002). He arbitrarily posits a Balto-Slavic *i*-stem for Lith. *žvėrìs* 'beast' and Slavic **mūs-* (a) 'mouse' but a consonant stem for **rēk-* (c) 'speech' though the Lith. word is still attested as a consonant stem and the tones of the Slavic words reflect fixed stress and accentual mobility, not original tone or stem formation. Personal and demonstrative pronouns were originally root-stressed in Balto-Slavic, so that the falling tone of Slovene *tî*, *mî*, *vî*, *tâ*, *tǫ̑*, *tî*, *tę̑* cannot be original. It reflects the recent lengthening of an earlier short vowel, which is still preserved in *jàz* 'I' (similarly in the neighboring Čakavian dialects). This is clear from the fact that the personal pronouns have neo-acute tone in Posavian and in most Čakavian dialects of Croatia (cf. Jurišić 1966: 84 and Kortlandt 1997a: 29; note that the standard language has lost the distinction between neo-acute and circumflex). Czech and Slovak have preserved the original short reflex of the acute in *ty*, *my*, *vy* while the latter language has faithfully

preserved the neo-acute in the demonstrative pronoun. In Baltic, the original acute is well preserved in Prussian *toū*, *ioūs*, Latvian *jũs*, but not in Lith. *jũs*, which replaced **jùs* for disambiguation from the accusative *jùs* on the analogy of *mẽs*, *mùs*. The acute tone of Latvian nom. pl. *tiẽ* (which was lost in standard Lithuanian but has been preserved in the dialects) reflects the original neuter ending (cf. Kortlandt 1993). The falling tone in the Slavic root aorist is a consequence of its mobile accent pattern. It is spreading in Serbo-Croatian at the expense of the type with fixed stress on an acute root vowel, which evidently continues a sigmatic aorist of vocalic roots with a *je*-present (see above). The latter morphological type has an *en*-participle while the former has a *t*-participle.

Thus, we must be grateful to Kapović and Matasović for bringing together a number of scholars with different backgrounds in the complex field of Balto-Slavic accentology. There are important problems which remain to be solved, especially regarding the Indo-European origins of Balto-Slavic verbal paradigms as discussed by Carrasquer and Dybo. Another point of special interest is the chronology of accentual developments, which has a major impact on the topics discussed by Holzer, Kapović, Langston, Matasović, Olander and Rasmussen. The conference has given a powerful boost to the scholarly attention required for further progress in our field of study.

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Sažetak

Baltoslavenska je akcentuacija svakako jedno od najtežih, ali stoga i najzanimljivijih, područja poredbenopovijesnoga proučavanja indoeuropskih jezika. Osim toga, baltoslavenska je akcentuacija važna za rekonstrukciju indoeuropskoga prajezika općenito, a ne treba ni spominjati da povijesna akcentologija zauzima i bitno mjesto u svakom proučavanju povijesti slavenskih jezika. Kako su hrvatski jezik i njegovi dijalekti od ključna značenja u rekonstrukciji praslavenskoga i baltoslavenskoga naglaska, bilo je i primjereno da prvi međunarodni skup posvećen isključivo baltoslavenskoj akcentologiji, nazvan IWoBA (*International Workshop on Balto-Slavic Accentology*), održi upravo u Hrvatskoj. Taj je skup održan od 1. do 3. srpnja 2005. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu, a u međuvremenu je postao i tradicionalan godišnji skup te je IWoBA 2 održana 2006. u Kopenhagenu (Danska), a IWoBA 3 održana je 2007. u Leidenu (Nizozemska). U ovoj je knjizi skupljeno 15 radova izloženih na prvoj IWoBA-i u Zagrebu.

Na početku se nalaze dva rada koja se bave razvojem baltoslavenskih naglasnih paradigama. I u radu se Thomasa Olandera, kao i u radu Miguela Carrasquera Vidala, polazi od praindoeuropskoga sustava sa slobodnim naglaskom, slična onomu posvjedočenu u vedskom i grčkom. Olander tumači baltoslavensku pomičnu naglasnu paradigmu (npr. hrvatski dijalektalno *glāvȃ*, A. jd. *glâvu*) kao inovaciju u odnosu na indoeuropsko stanje koju pripisuje posebnu glasovnomu zakonu – visoki je ton postao niskim na završnim kratkim slogovima i slogovima koji su u sebi sadržavali zijev (tj. drugačije interpretirano, naglasak se pomakao s takvih slogova), npr. u N. jd. *o*-osnova *-ós ili u N. mn. *a*-osnova *-éh$_2$es (usp. hrvatski *glâve*). Carrasquer Vidal se u svojem originalnu radu bavi razvojem baltoslavenskih naglasnih paradigama kod imenica/pridjeva i glagola. Za razliku od "klasičnoga" pristupa, po kojem se u baltoslavenskom pretpostavlja postojanje paradigme s naglaskom na prvom slogu i pomične naglasne paradigme, on za baltoslavenski prajezik pretpostavlja tri naglasne paradigme – baritonsku, oksitonsku i pomičnu. Također predlaže i nove interpretacije nekih glasovnih zakona, npr. Hirtova zakona. Jens Elmegård Rasmussen je u svom radu razradio svoju staru hipotezu o naglasku jednosložnih riječi u baltoslavenskom, tj. tezu da su jednosložice mogle imati samo cirkumfleks, čime onda objašanjava naglasne pojave poput onih u litavskom futuru,

u baltoslavenskim osobnim i pokaznim zamjenicama, slavenskom aoristu itd. Rick Derksen u svojem članku govori o problemu Winterova zakona te također donosi kritiku Diboova članka o dotičnom zakonu iz 2002. godine kojemu zamjera što ne citira neke radove zapadnih jezikoslovaca o Winterovu zakonu premda priznaje da je svakako riječ o veoma bitnu radu. Vladimir Antonovič Dibo u svom prilogu govori o baltoslavenskoj naglasnoj rekonstrukciji i njezinim indoeuropskim izvorima, pogotovu o glagolskom naglasku zapadnih indoeuropskih jezika. Dibo, za razliku od većine zapadnih lingvista, polazi od pretpostavke da je praindoeuropski bio tonski jezik čiji je naglasni sustav najbolje očuvan u baltoslavenskom, dočim je vedski i grčki naglasni sustav znatno izmijenjen. Dibo smatra da se baltoslavenski glagolski naglasni sustav ne može izravno povezati s vedskim sustavom te stoga traži veze baltoslavenskim glagolskim naglasnim paradigmama u germanskom gdje se trag staroga naglaska može vidjeti kod kraćenja ili nekraćenja starih dugih samoglasa i kod djelovanja Holzmanova zakona. Prema Dibou, baltoslavenskim glagolskim osnovama s pomičnim naglaskom odgovaraju germanske osnove s kraćenjem indoeuropskih duljina i s djelovanjem Holzmanova zakona (tzv. *Verschärfung*), dok baltoslavenskim glagolskim osnovama nepomične naglasne paradigme odgovaraju germanske osnove bez kraćenja indoeuropskih duljina i bez djelovanja Holzmanova zakona. Članak Marka Greenberga ponešto odudara od ostalih s obzirom da autor pokušava doći do fonetske rekonstrukcije procesa razvoja staroga akuta u slavenskim jezicima. Greenberg "akut" interpretira kao glotalni zatvor, a različite odraze staroga akuta u slavenskim jezicima interpretira kao različite načine na koji se je glotalni zatvor razvijao u pojedinim jezicima – negdje je jednostavno nestao, negdje je nastupila metateza, a negdje je proizveo laringalizaciju. Mate Kapović u svojem članku o imenicama tipa *vòl'ā u slavenskom govori o starom problemu slavenske akcentologije – neoakutu u *ja*-osnovama tipa *vòl'ā ili *sŭšā. Kapovićevo je rješenje jednostavno, on smatra dotični tip imenicama pravilnim odrazom naglasne paradigme *b* koja ima naglasak na korijenu riječi zbog duljine nastavka vidljive u zapadnoslavenskom, a nastale, po svoj prilici, djelovanjem van Wijkova zakona ili neke slične pojave. Pokazuje da uz tip *vòl'ā u slavenskom postoje nedvojbene *ja*-osnove naglasne paradigme *a* i *c* (s tim da naglasna paradigma *c* u praslavenskom kod *ja*-osnovâ više nije bila plodna), dok je jedini pravi primjer za oksitonske *ja*-osnove, kojih po ovoj pretpostavci ne bi uopće trebalo biti, riječ *svijéća*. Ranko Matasović u svojem članku govori o naglasku najranijih latinskih i romanskih posuđenica u slavenskom (ponajprije u hrvatskom). Zaključuje da u posuđenicama ženskoga roda nailazimo na naglasnu paradigmu *a*, dok u posuđenicama muškoga roda u najvećem broju slučajeva nailazimo na naglasnu paradigmu *b*. Posuđenicâ koje bi pripadale naglasnoj paradigmi *c* nema. Ovi su podatci jako bitni pri određivanju relativne kronologije nekih slavenskih naglasnih zakona, poglavito Diboova zakona. Matasović na kraju zaključuje da je korpus riječî o kojima se u članku raspravlja posuđen nakon djelovanja i Diboova zakona i Ivšićeva pravila (povlačenja naglaska s oslabjeloga jera na prethodni slog kao neoakut). Keith Langston u svom članku govori o mogućim dokazima iz čakavskoga koji se navode u prilog rekonstrukcije naglasne paradigme *d* (koja bi u N. i A. jd. imala cirkumfleks kao naglasna paradigma *c*, a ostale padeže kao naglasna paradigma *b*). Langston zaključuje da se građa iz čakavskoga treba razmatrati s oprezom i da bi u mnogim slučajevima čakavske sinkronijske naglasne paradigme D mogla prije biti riječ o inovaciji nego o arhaizmu. Kao jedan od problema Langston ističe i to da je većina dotičnih čakavskih govora izgubila opreku po intonaciji (tj. nema više neoakuta) i da se kratki slogovi mogu ondje sekundarno produljiti u određenim situacijama što može dovesti do sekundarnoga miješanja naglasnih paradigama. Miram Shrager u svom prilogu zborniku govori o naglasku imenica muškoga rodu u sjeverozapadnim ruskim govorima na osnovi terenskoga istraživanja. Posebnu pozornost posvećuje problemu naglasne paradigme *d* koja se kao sinkronijski fenomen javlja u dotičnim govorima te za koju se tvrdi da je arhaični prežitak iz praslavenskoga. Tijmen Pronk u svojem članku govori o Ivšićevu povlačenju naglaska, tj. o retrakciji neocirkumfleksa u slovenskom koruškom dijalektu. Pronk zaključuje da se u koruškom i panonskom slovenskom neocirkumfleks pomiče samo na dugi prednaglasni slog, kao i u većini kajkavskih govora, te dotično povlačenje naglaska datira negdje između 12. i 15. stoljeća. Ronald Feldstein u svom radu pruža morfonološku analizu naglasnoga sustava suvremenoga ruskoga jezika u poredbi s općeslavenskim naglasnim sustavom. Ponajprije, dakako, govori o "netrivijalnom" naglasku (povijesno gledajući – o naglasnoj paradigmi *b* i *c*). Feldstein za rusku naglasnu paradigmu B kao "dubinski" pretpostavlja naglasak na zadnjem slogu osnove, a za naglasnu paradigmu C naglasak na početnom slogu osnove, čiji se naglasak zatim, djelovanjem različitih pravila, može pomaći i na druge slogove. Domagoj Vidović u svojem članku govori, na temelju vlastitih terenskih istraživanja, o vrlo zani-

u baltoslavenskim osobnim i pokaznim zamjenicama, slavenskom aoristu itd. Rick Derksen u svojem članku govori o problemu Winterova zakona te također donosi kritiku Diboova članka o dotičnom zakonu iz 2002. godine kojemu zamjera što ne citira neke radove zapadnih jezikoslovaca o Winterovu zakonu premda priznaje da je svakako riječ o veoma bitnu radu. Vladimir Antonovič Dibo u svom prilogu govori o baltoslavenskoj naglasnoj rekonstrukciji i njezinim indoeuropskim izvorima, pogotovu o glagolskom naglasku zapadnih indoeuropskih jezika. Dibo, za razliku od većine zapadnih lingvista, polazi od pretpostavke da je praindoeuropski bio tonski jezik čiji je naglasni sustav najbolje očuvan u baltoslavenskom, dočim je vedski i grčki naglasni sustav znatno izmijenjen. Dibo smatra da se baltoslavenski glagolski naglasni sustav ne može izravno povezati s vedskim sustavom te stoga traži veze baltoslavenskim glagolskim naglasnim paradigmama u germanskom gdje se trag staroga naglaska može vidjeti kod kraćenja ili nekraćenja starih dugih samoglasa i kod djelovanja Holzmanova zakona. Prema Dibou, baltoslavenskim glagolskim osnovama s pomičnim naglaskom odgovaraju germanske osnove s kraćenjem indoeuropskih duljina i s djelovanjem Holzmanova zakona (tzv. *Verschärfung*), dok baltoslavenskim glagolskim osnovama nepomične naglasne paradigme odgovaraju germanske osnove bez kraćenja indoeuropskih duljina i bez djelovanja Holzmanova zakona. Članak Marka Greenberga ponešto odudara od ostalih s obzirom da autor pokušava doći do fonetske rekonstrukcije procesa razvoja staroga akuta u slavenskim jezicima. Greenberg "akut" interpretira kao glotalni zatvor, a različite odraze staroga akuta u slavenskim jezicima interpretira kao različite načine na koji se je glotalni zatvor razvijao u pojedinim jezicima – negdje je jednostavno nestao, negdje je nastupila metateza, a negdje je proizveo laringalizaciju. Mate Kapović u svojem članku o imenicama tipa *vòľā u slavenskom govori o starom problemu slavenske akcentologije – neoakutu u *ja*-osnovama tipa *vòľā ili *sŭšā. Kapovićevo je rješenje jednostavno, on smatra dotični tip imenicama pravilnim odrazom naglasne paradigme *b* koja ima naglasak na korijenu riječi zbog duljine nastavka vidljive u zapadnoslavenskom, a nastale, po svoj prilici, djelovanjem van Wijkova zakona ili neke slične pojave. Pokazuje da uz tip *vòľā u slavenskom postoje nedvojbene *ja*-osnove naglasne paradigme *a* i *c* (s tim da naglasna paradigma *c* u praslavenskom kod *ja*-osnovâ više nije bila plodna), dok je jedini pravi primjer za oksitonske *ja*-osnove, kojih po ovoj pretpostavci ne bi uopće trebalo biti, riječ *svijéća*. Ranko Matasović u svojem članku govori o naglasku najranijih latinskih i romanskih posuđenica u slavenskom (ponajprije u hrvatskom). Zaključuje da u posuđenicama ženskoga roda nailazimo na naglasnu paradigmu *a*, dok u posuđenicama muškoga roda u najvećem broju slučajeva nailazimo na naglasnu paradigmu *b*. Posuđenicâ koje bi pripadale naglasnoj paradigmi *c* nema. Ovi su podatci jako bitni pri određivanju relativne kronologije nekih slavenskih naglasnih zakona, poglavito Diboova zakona. 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mljivim i arhaičnim novoštokavskim ijekavskim govorima selâ Vidonje i Dobranje kraj Metkovića. Vidović govori ponajprije o prozodiji, ali u kraćim crtama i o fonologiji i morfologiji dotičnih govora. U opisu se naglasnoga sustava ponajviše bavi nekim, uglavnom arhaičnim, alternacijama poput promjenjivoga naglaska u naglasnoj paradigmi C i preskakanjem naglaska na prednaglasnicu. Članku je također pridodan i kratak popis riječi pripadajućih pojedinim sinkronijskim naglasnim paradigmama. Anita Peti Stantić u svojem radu, koji je također tematski ponešto drugačiji od većine ostalih, govori o prijedložno-zamjeničkim sintagmama tipa hrvatskoga *zá me*. Autorica tvrdi da dotični zamjenički oblici predstavljaju novonastale nenaglasnice (koje su praslavenskom bile naglašene), a koje u zapadnim južnoslavenskim jezicima (hrvatskom i slovenskom) u sintaktički okamenjenim pozicijama čuvaju svoju staru naglašljivost. Na kraju se nalazi komentar Frederika Kortlandta o drugim člancima u zborniku u kojem on iznosi svoje viđenje problemâ o kojima se u dotičnim radovima raspravlja.