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NOMINAL AND VERBAL INFLEXION IN
THE ČAKAVIAN DIALECT OF KALI
ON THE ISLAND OF UGLJAN

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## 1. Introduction

1.1 The present article is the sequel to an earlier work on the main phonological characteristics of the dialect of Kali, which appeared in volume 22 of *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics* (1993).[1] It can be read independently, however, because the relevant phonological information will be summarized wherever necessary. In order to make the notation understandable to the reader, we shall briefly present the vowel inventory in the following subsection. The notation of the consonants requires no explanation.

1.2 The dialect possesses the following vowels:

### STRESSED

| long falling | | long rising | | short | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $\hat{\imath}$ | $\hat{u}$ | $\tilde{\imath}$ | $\tilde{u}$ | $\ddot{\imath}$ | $\ddot{u}$ |
| $i\hat{e}$ | $u\hat{o}$ | $i\tilde{e}$ | $u\tilde{o}$ | $\hat{o}$ | $\hat{e}$ |
| $u\hat{a}$ $(\hat{a})$ | | | $u\tilde{a}$ | | $\hat{a}$ |

Old short stressed vowels have often become long and rising in closed syllables. Therefore the stressed long vowels given above not only reflect originally long vowels; in addition, long rising vowels in closed syllables frequently reflect old short vowels (see our 1993 article).

The notation *ô*, *â* and *ê* for short vowels may seem odd at first sight. These vowels are phonologically short, but their phonetic length varies greatly. The variation as to length is free but statistically correlated to the position of the vowel in the word. We have chosen to mark these vowels with the sign ^ (half-long) in order to make the notation correspond to the most frequent and average phonetic realization.

The phoneme *â* is marginal and has only been attested in *vrâg* 'devil' and other forms of the same paradigm.

### UNSTRESSED

| *first pretonic syllable* | | | | | *other syllables* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| long | | short | | | | |
| *ī* | *ū* | *i* | *u* | | *i* | *u* |
| *ie* | *uo* | *e* | *o* | | *e* | *o* |
| | *ua* | | *a* | | | *a* |

There is also a syllabic *r*, which is always short. If stressed, it will be written *r̃*.

As a rule, *\*a* and *\*o* changed into *u* and *\*e* into *i* before tautosyllabic *n/ń*. Word-final *\*l* was dropped and caused lengthening of the preceding vowel. The reader will find abundant illustration of these phenomena in the lists of inflexional endings.

**1.3** In the present article we shall use quite a number of different abbreviations, most of which pertain to morphology:

| N | nominative | sg | singular | PR | present tense |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| G | genitive | pl | plural | IMP | imperative |
| D | dative | m | masculine | LP | *l*-participle |
| A | accusative | f | feminine | PP | passive participle |
| I | instrumental | n | neuter | DIM | diminutive |
| L | locative | 1 | first person | TOP | toponym |
| V | vocative | 2 | second person | PROP | proper name |
| 1x | 1 attestation | 3 | third person | n.a. | not attested |
| d? | dialectal? | | | | |

Series of examples will be presented in alphabetical order. Compound verbs will be ordered starting from the first letter of the root from which the form in question is derived, e.g. *ūmreš* 'die' under *m-* (NB *obūkli* 'dress' under *v-*, *nuãjti* 'find' and *puõjti* 'go' under *i-*, *pošlä* LPf 'go' under *š-*, *griẽn* PR1sg 'go' under *g-*). Diphthongs are ordered according to their last part, e.g. *ie* under *e*. Glosses will be given only after the first occurrence of a word.

## 2. The noun

### 2.1 Declension classes

Four declension classes can be distinguished:
1. *o*-stems. Gsg in *-â/-a*. These nouns are either masculine or neuter, e.g. m *bruãt* 'brother', Gsg *brâta*, n *stablô* 'tree', Gsg *stablâ*.
2. Consonant stems. Gsg in *-a*, with stem alternation. These nouns are neuter, e.g. *tïme* 'crown', Gsg *tïmena*.
3. *a*-stems. Gsg in *-iẽ/-e*. These nouns are feminine except a very restricted number of masculine nouns, mostly proper names, e.g. f *gluavâ* 'head', Gsg *gluaviẽ*, m Gsg *Tôme* PROP.
4. *i*-stems. Gsg in *-i*. These nouns are feminine, e.g. *piêť* 'oven', Gsg *pêťi*.

### 2.2 Masculine *o*-stems

The endings are as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nsg | *-∅* | Npl | *-ï/-i* |
| Gsg | *-â/-a* | Gpl | *-uõv/-ov/-∅/-ĩ/-i* |
| Dsg | *-ü/-u* | Dpl | n.a. |
| Asg | = Nsg/Gsg | Apl | = Npl/Gpl (latter n.a.) |
| Isg | *-ũn/-un/-in* | Ipl | *-imin* |
| Lsg | *-ü/-u* | Lpl | *-imin* |
| Vsg | *-e* | | |

In all declination classes, the final *-n* of the Dpl, Ipl and Lpl in *-ïmin/-imin* and *-ãmin/-amin* is sometimes omitted.

Examples and discussion of alternative endings:

Nsg: *bluãgdan* 'holiday', *buõb* 'bean', *Buõg* 'God', *bruãt* 'brother', *bruâv* 'ram', *br̃k* 'moustache', *bruôd* 'ship', *cŭkar* 'sugar', *cvît* 'flower', *čõvik* 'human being', *dân* (1x *dũn*) 'day', *dĩd* 'grandfather', *fažuô* 'haricot beans', *gr̃h* 'sin', *hl̃b* 'loaf', *jazĩk* 'tongue', *kâmik* 'stone', *kľũč* 'key',

*koluãk* 'werewolf', *kũń* 'horse', *kruãľ* 'king', *krũg* 'big stone', *riẽp* 'tail', *rũb* 'seam'.

Gsg: *božïťa* 'Christmas', *čũfïta* 'loft', *gruãda* 'Zadar', *końâ*, *kùkoľa* 'certain kind of weed', *lùka* 'garlic', *novuakâ* 'new wine', *ogńâ* 'fire', *počietkâ* 'beginning', *rêpa*, *rũba*, *sĩna* 'son', *viẽtra* 'wind'.

Dsg: *Bôgu*, *ditïťu* DIM 'child', *ďâvlu* 'devil', *mladïťu* 'young unmarried man', *mũžu* 'husband', *ôcu* 'father', *prajcũ* 'pig'.

Asg inanimate: *buõb* 'broad bean(s)', *božïť*, *fažuô*, *kâmik* 'stone', *ôgań/ogũń*, *ruõg* 'horn', *rukuâv* 'sleeve'.

Asg animate: *Bôga*, *brâta*, *čovïka*, *dïda*, *jêža* 'sea-hedgehog', *końâ*, *kuõzliťa* 'goat kid', *kruaľâ*, *pũžâ* 'snail'.

Isg -*ũn*/-*un*: *brôdun*, *desetkũn* 'ten', *kajïťun* 'small boat', *lĩkũn* 'medicine', *nožũn* 'knife', *pŕčun* 'he-goat', *pũtun* 'path', *rùjun* 'certain plant', *sïťun* 'pail'.

Isg -*ĩn*/-*in* has been only attested for three words which originally had *jo*-stems: *kľũčĩn* 'key', *za krâjin* 'in the sea', *nožĩn* (along with *nožũn*, see above). As can be seen in the preceding paragraph, old *jo*-stems can very well have -*ũn*/-*un*.

Lsg: *čũfïtu*, *gruadũ*, *juarũmu* 'part of a boat', *krajù* 'edge; sea coast', *mĩrù* 'peace', *ogńù*, *pĩrù* 'wedding', *pŕstu* 'finger', *pùpu* 'bud', *pùtu*, *râju* 'paradise', *svĩtu* 'people', *tovâru* 'donkey', *vŕtlu* '(kitchen) garden', *zuatïľku* 'hind part of head', *Zemunĩkù* TOP, *zruakù* 'air', *životù* 'life'.

Vsg: *Bôže*, *Gospodïne* 'Lord', *Isùse* 'Jesus', *Jâkove* PROP.

Npl: *brâti*, *bruâvi*, *bubrïzi* 'kidney', *cŕvi* 'worm', *dnï* 'day', *jêži*, *kniêzi* 'certain fish', *krâji*, *kruaľĩ*, *krïžï* 'cross', *krũzi* 'big stone', *kukľïčani* 'man from Kuklica', *kumpĩrï* 'potatoe', *mïšï* 'mouse', *nožï*, *ogńï*, *orïsi* 'walnut', *pasï* 'dog', *pêtesi* 'cock', *popï* 'priest', *prajcï*, *pũti*, *pũžï/pùži*, *riepcï* 'sparrow', *rïbari* 'fisher', *rũbi*, *volï* 'ox', *zapiẽrci/ zuapiẽrci* 'bud on vine', *zĩdi* 'wall', *ziduarï* 'mason'.

Gpl -*uõv*/-*ov*: *brũsov* 'whetstone', *bubrïgov*, *cŕvov*, *cvituõv*, *dïdov*, *gŕmov* 'bush', *kľũčov*, *kľũnov*, *klasuõv* 'ear', *kniêzov*, *kôšov* 'basket', *kruaľov*, *kruguõv*, *kũmov* 'godfather', *kùsov* 'piece', *lïstov* 'leaf', *mâkov* 'poppy', *mužuõv*, *nôžov*, *ogńuõv*, *pâńov* 'vine', *pasuõv*, *pĩrov*, *pôpov*, *prâgov* 'threshold', *pùpov*, *pùtov*, *pũžov*, *râkov* 'lobster', *rêpov*, *rĩzov* 'time when vines must be cut', *rôditeľov* 'parent', *roguõv*, *rùbov* (also *rũbi* and

*rũbov?*), *sinuõv*, *šťuâvov* 'cockroach', *telïťov* 'calf', *tïťov* 'small bird', *tovârov*, *ziêcov* 'hare'.

Gpl -*ĩ*/-*i* has been attested mostly in words that denote units of measurement or objects that are often counted: *diêli* 'part', *litruãši* 'certain measure of capacity' (along with *litruãšov*), *mêtri* 'meter', *misiêci* 'month', *puãńi*, *pũti* 'time', *redĩ* 'row'.

Gpl -*∅*: *dân* 'day', *guâť* (tone not certain) 'trousers', *nôhat* 'nail' (also *nuõhtov*).

Apl non-human: *bĩži* 'peas', *brôdi*, *hľïbi*, *kâmici*, *kľũnï* 'beak', *kumpĩrï*, *mïši*, *mušũni* 'octopus', *pasï*, *pïliťi* 'chicken', *pŕsti*, *rêpi*, *rôzi*, *stũpï/stùpi* 'tree trunk', *špâheri* 'cooking-range'.

Ipl: *rôgimin/rôzimin*.

Lpl: *pĩrimin*, *tovârimin*.

### 2.3 Neuter *o*-stems

The endings are as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nsg | -*ô*/-*ê*/-*o*/-*e* | Npl | -*â*/-*a* |
| Gsg | -*â*/-*a* | Gpl | -*uõv*/-*ov*/-*∅*/-*ĩ*/-*i* |
| Dsg | -*ù*/-*u* | Dpl | n.a. |
| Asg | = Nsg/Gsg | Apl | = Npl |
| Isg | -*ũn*/-*un* | Ipl | -*ïmin*/-*imin* |
| Lsg | -*ù*/-*u* | Lpl | -*ïmin*/-*imin* |

Examples and discussion of alternative endings:

Nsg in -*ô*/-*o*: *bluâgo* 'cattle', *bretenô* 'spindle', *caklô* 'glass', *dĩvô* (*vêliki kakô* - 'very big'), *drĩvo* 'tree', *drškô* 'handle', *govnô* 'turd, shit', *juapnô* 'lime', *klũtko* 'ball of thread', *kolêno* 'knee', *kôlo* 'kind of dance', *kopïto* 'hoof', *korïto* 'trough', *krelô* 'wing', *lebrô* 'rib', *lieglô* 'lair', *lêto* 'summer', *miêso* 'meat', *mêsto* 'place', *mlĩkô* 'milk', *nêbo* 'sky', *pôkrivo* 'cover', *rešetô* 'sieve', *selô* 'village', *stablô* 'tree', *stâdo* 'herd', *sũknô* 'cloth', *šïlo* 'awl', *tiêlo* 'body', *veslô* 'paddle', *vĩnô* 'wine', *zluâto* 'gold', *zlô* 'evil', *zŕno* 'grain', *žïto* 'corn'.

Nsg in -*ê*/-*e*: *cvĩťe* 'flowers', *čeľuadê* 'human being', *guõzje* 'iron', *gruõzje* 'grapes', *juâje* 'egg', *kôpľe* 'harpoon', *mlâdunče* 'kid?', *mlĩcê* 'milky sap of certain plants', *muõre* 'sea', *pôľe* 'field', *rodïêńe* 'birth', *sŕce* 'heart', *sũnce* 'sun', *tŕsje* 'vines', *ũľe* 'oil', *ziêľe* 'kind of vegetable'.

Gsg: *bluâga, caklâ, cvîťa, dobrâ* 'good', *drîva, grôbľa* 'churchyard', *gruôzja, ĭs kola, kôpľa, miêsa, mītâ* 'bribe', *krâj mora, muôra, nêba, ĭs poľa, sĭta, stablâ, sūknâ, tiêsta, ūľa, veslâ, vīnâ, zdruãvľa* 'health', *ziêľa, ô zlata, dô zrna, zr̃na.*

Dsg: *drũštvu* 'society', *prâma srcu* 'towards the heart'.

Asg in *-ô/-o: miêso, nâ mesto, mītô, ŭ more, muôre, ŭ nebo* 'sky', *perô* 'feather', *pĭvo* 'beverage', *prêlo* 'gathering of youth involving both work and merrymaking', *sedlô* 'saddle', *selô, sĭto, tiêsto* 'dough', *vīnô, zluâto, zlô, žĭto.*

Asg in *-e: cvîťe, čĭstilišťe* 'purgatory', *gruõzje, juâje, lĭšťe* 'leaves', *ŭ poľe, sr̃ce, tr̃sje, ūľe, zdruãvľe.*

Isg: *bretenũn, kamîńun, lietũn* 'chisel', *līcũn* 'front side', *šĭlun, veslũn, zluâtun.* We have one attestation of an Isg ending *-in: rîlcin* 'sting' (along with 1x *rîlcun,* mistake not excluded).

Lsg: *bluâgu, črîvu* 'gut', *ŭ grlu, grôbľu, kamîńu* 'stones', *kôpľu, krîlu* 'lap', *mêstu, ŭ moru, nâ nebu, ŭ poľu, Priêku* TOP, *prêlu, selŭ, stablŭ, tr̃sju, viêslu, žĭtu.*

Npl: *bretenâ, drvâ* 'firewood', *gniezdâ* 'nest', *guõvna, juâja, kamîńa, kolêna, kôla, līcâ, mêsta, perâ, plêťa* 'shoulders, back', *sedlâ, sêla, slôva, stablâ/stâbla, vruãta* 'door', *žr̃ńa* 'grindstone'.

Gpl: *bretenuõv, dnuõv, gniezduõv, klũtkov, korĭtov, lebruõv, liêglov, peruõv, pĭsmov, rũnov, sedluõv, sêlov/seluõv, stabluõv, stâdov, sũknov* (informant is not sure), *šĭlov, vesluõv, zr̃nov.*

Gpl in *-Ø: dr̃v, gôdišť, gôvun, juâj, kolîn, kriêl, liêt, līc, pliêť, stabuãl* (along with *stabluõv,* see above), *stâkal, vruãt.*

Gpl in *-ĭ/-i: stô i petnâes kĭli* '115 kg.', *na piêt mestî* 'in five places'.

Apl: *črîva, drvâ, godîšťa* 'year', *juâja, kamîńa, krêla, lieglâ, stâbla, ŭsta* 'mouth', *viêsla, vĭšala* 'gallows', *vruãta.*

Ipl: *viêslimin.*

Lpl: *črîvimin, dr̃vimin, guõzjamin, jâtimin* 'flock', *mêstimin, plêťimin, stuãblimi, ŭstimin.*

There are a few instances of neuter nouns with long stressed endings. Unfortunately, the number of attested forms is very small and we are not certain about the tone. We marked it as rising. The forms

are: Nsg *košťiê* 'bones', Nsg *trńiê* 'certain kind of bushes', Gsg *smeťuã* 'rubbish'.

## 2.4 Consonant stems

The endings are essentially the same as those of the neuter *o*-stems except the end-stressed Npl. The attested forms are:

Nsg: *brĭme* 'bundle of firewood', *dītê* 'child', *ĭme* 'name', *jâre* 'donkey kid', *plême* 'clan', *râme* 'shoulder', *slĭme (puãsti ťe ti - na tĭme* 'you'll recall it when it is too late'), *tĭme* 'crown of head'.

Gsg: *tĭmena, vrĭmena.*

Dsg: *dītêtu.*

Asg: *brĭme, dītê, râme, sĭme* 'seed', *tĭme, vrĭme* 'weather'.

Lsg: *tĭmenu.*

Npl: *ĭmena, plêmena, râmena, vrimêna/vrimenuã.*

Gpl: *brimîn, ramîn, plêmenov, tĭmenov.*

Dpl: *plêmenimin.*

Apl: *brĭmena, ĭmena.*

Ipl and Lpl: no attestations.

## 2.5 *a*-stems

The endings are as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nsg | -â/-a/-ê/-e | Npl | -ê/-e |
| Gsg | -iê/-e | Gpl | -Ø/-i |
| Dsg | -ĭ/-i | Dpl | -âmin |
| Asg | -ŭ/-u | Apl | -ê/-e |
| Isg | -ũn/-un | Ipl | -amin |
| Lsg | -ĭ/-i | Lpl | -âmin/-amin/-uãh/-ah |
| Vsg | -o | | |

The attested masculine *a*-stems are: Nsg *Muatê* PROP, Dsg *Muatĭ,* Asg *Muatŭ,* Gsg *Tôme* PROP, Npl *ŭstaše* 'ustasha', Lpl *ŭstašah.*
Further examples and discussion of alternative endings:

Nsg: *bâba* 'grandmother', *buãčva* 'barrel', *duâska* 'board', *dicâ* 'children', *divuõjka* 'girl', *gluavâ* 'head', *hruanâ* 'food', *intruâda* 'plot of

land with olive-trees', *kafâ* 'coffee', *kuaľka* 'woman from Kali', *kobïla* 'mare', *kôkoša* 'hen', *kršťûnka* 'woman', *küťa* 'house', *ledïna* 'uncultivated land', *Lûka* PROP, *muãška* 'cat', *mïndula* 'almond', *mrïža* 'net', *mûnkâ* 'flour', *osâ* 'wasp', *puãstorka* 'stepdaughter', *Poľâna* TOP, *riesâ* 'certain kind of seaweed', *sikïra* 'axe', *špêtica* 'row?', *tavâja* 'table-cloth', *truavâ* 'grass', *üľenica* 'kind of oil-lamp', *vrïťa* 'sack', *ženâ* 'wife'.

Nsg in *-ê/-e*: only attested in *Guospê, Guõspe* 'the Virgin Mary' and the masculine A-stem *Muatê* PROP (see above).

Gsg: *buãčve, bükovine* 'beech timber', *diciẽ, dũšiẽ* 'soul', *gluaviẽ, griediẽ* 'girder', *kokošiẽ, koziẽ* 'goat', *mrïže, nogiẽ* 'leg', *ovciẽ* 'sheep', *rosiẽ* 'dew', *sikïre, snuagiẽ* 'strength', *truaviẽ, vodiẽ* 'water', *vüne* 'wool'.

Dsg: *bâbi* 'grandmother', *dïci, kôkoši, uôvci, pâtki* 'duck', *tetï* 'aunt'.

Asg: *buãčvu, bûžu* 'hole', *dïcu* (tone not certain), *dûšu, nâ glavu, gluâvu, gruânu* 'branch', *intruâdu, kafû, kâmaru, kôkošu, kozü, lopâtu* 'spade', *mrïžu, müku* 'torment', *mûnkü, nôgu, uôvcu, piêtu* 'heel', *ü petu, riesü, rûku* 'hand', *ü ruku, snuagü, ü sredu* 'on Wednesday', *truavü, üľenicu, vôdu, nâ vodu, vünu, ženü*.

Isg: *dicün, divuõjkun, kŕpun* 'rag', *nevïston* 'daughter-in-law', *nogün, pïlün* 'saw', *prijateľïcun* 'girl-friend', *rûkün, vetïnun* 'mostly', *žeruãkvun* 'live coal'.

Lsg: *buãčvi, gluavï, granï, intruâdi, kâmari, küťi, ledïni, lozï* 'vine', *nozï, riesï, rosï/rôsi, rûcï, Vluacï* TOP, *vodï*.

Vsg: *muãjo* 'mother', *mâmo* 'mother', *Marïjo* PROP, *sêstro* 'sister', *zmïjo* 'snake', *ženo*.

Npl: *bûže, čêle* 'bee', *divuõjke, funiẽstre, gluâve, kôkoše, kozê, lôze, muãške, mïndule, mrïže, nôge, uôvce, poľünke* 'female inhabitant of Poľana', *rûke, sestrê, tïce* 'bird', *vôde, zvizdê, ženê*.

Gpl in *-ø*: *bïčav* 'sock', *dasuãk, glïst* 'worm', *guõr* 'forest', *ispo griẽd* 'in the loft', *kokuõš, kuõz, kruâv, kûť, mâčak, mladïc* 'young branch', *nuõg, rïk* 'river', *šïb* 'stick', *šïpk* 'stick', *vuõd*.

Gpl in *-ï/-i*: *Kalï* TOP, *ûri* 'hour'.

Dpl: *sestrâmin*.

Apl: *bürme* 'gutter-pipe', *nâ grede* 'to the loft', *krâve* 'cow', *lôze, mrïže, nôge, râne* 'wound', *nâ ruke, rûke, srdêle* 'sardine', *živôtińe* 'animal'.

Ipl: *mïnamin* 'mine', *škâramin* 'scissors'.

Lpl in *-âmin/-amin*: *Bibïńamin* TOP, *funiẽstramin/funiẽštramin* 'window', *glavâmin, na gredâmin* 'in the loft', *kâmaramin* 'room', *muãškamin, mühamin* 'fly', *planïnamin* 'mountain', *šïpkamin* 'small pieces of wood', *šümamin* 'forest'.

Lpl in *-uãh/-ah*: *Bibïńah* TOP, *po noguãh i po rukuãh* 'on all four', *na rïbah* 'fishing'.

## 2.6 *i*-stems

Our material does not contain many I-stem forms. The attested endings are the following:

| | | | |
|-----|------|-----|-------|
| Nsg | *-ø* | Npl | *-i* |
| Gsg | *-ï/-i* | Gpl | *-ï/-i* |
| Dsg | n.a. | Dpl | n.a. |
| Asg | *-ø* | Apl | *-i* |
| Isg | *-u* | Ipl | n.a. |
| Lsg | *-i* | Lpl | n.a. |

Attested forms:

Nsg: *bôlest* 'illness', *jêsen* 'autumn', *luâz* 'opening in an enclosure (?)', *muâst* 'grease', *nâpast* 'evil spirit (?)', *piêť* 'stove', *rïč* 'word', *strûn* 'side', *stvuâr* 'thing', *vêčer* 'evening', *vŕst* 'sort'.

Gsg: *jâkosti* 'strength', *luâzi, muâsti, nôťi, pêťi, skôti* 'small animals, insects'.

Asg: *blüdnos/blüdnost* 'lechery', *bôles/bôlest, kuôst* 'bone', *muâst, nuôť* 'night', *ü pamet* 'mind', *ü peť, ü pomoť* 'help', *prïčest* 'communion', *stvuâr, nâ večer*.

Isg: *pômoťu*.

Lsg: *bŕvi* 'small bridge', *pôsteľi*.

Npl: *pŕsi* 'breast', *suãńi* 'dream', *stvuâri, vêčeri, vŕsti*.

Gpl: *notï* (1x *noťï* ?), *večerï, vrstï*.

Apl: *bôlesti, ü prsi, stvuâri*.

## 2.7 Irregular nouns

A number of attested forms do not belong to any of the declination classes discussed above: Npl *gospodâ* 'gentlemen'; Nsg *mâti* 'mother', Gsg *mâtere*, Dsg *mâteri*; NAsg *ŭho* 'ear', Gsg *ŭha*, Lsg *ŭhu*, NApl *ŭši*, *krêz uši*, Lpl *ŭšimin*.

# 3. The verb

## 3.1 Conjugation classes

The verbs have been divided into 8 conjugation classes, labeled "AA", "AE₁", "AE₂", "AI", "II", "UE", "ØE₁" and "ØE₂". The capital letters in the labels refer to the first vowel of the ending in the infinitive and the present tense (2sg through 2pl), respectively, e.g. class AA has INF -*âti*/-*ati* and PR2sg -*uâš*/-*a*. The infinitive endings of the classes ØE₁ and ØE₂ do not begin in a vowel; ØE₁ verbs have stems ending in a vowel, ØE₂ verbs have stems ending in a consonant, e.g. ØE₁ *ubïti* 'kill' (<ubi-ti>, cf. PR3sg *ubïje* <ubi-e> with *j*-insertion, see § 3.2), ØE₂ *priêsti* 'spin' (<pried-ti>, cf. PR3sg *priediê*). The distinguishing feature of AE₂ as opposed to AE₁ is the stem alternation INF -*ova*- vs. PR -*uje*-. Class UE consists of the verbs in -*nŭti*/-*nuti*.

In the following we shall first discuss the endings, each time taking together as many classes as possible (§§ 3.2-3.4), then we shall give examples of entire paradigms of each conjugation class separately and conclude with the irregular verbs (§§ 3.5-3.13).

## 3.2 Present tense and imperative endings

|        | AA           | AE/UE/ØE        | AI/II        |
|--------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| PR1sg  | -ûn/-un      | -ĩn/-in         | -ĩn/-in      |
| 2sg    | -uâš/-aš     | -iêš/-eš        | -ĩš/-iš      |
| 3sg    | -uâ/-a       | -iê/-e          | -ĩ/-i        |
| 1pl    | -uâmo/-amo   | -emô/-emo       | -ĩmô/-imo    |
| 2pl    | -uâte/-ate   | -etê/-ete       | -ĩtê/-ite    |
| 3pl    | -âju/-aju    | -ũ/-u           | -ũ/-u        |
| IMP2sg | -uâj/-aj     | -ï/-i/-Ø/-j     | -ï/-i        |

We have attested four PR forms (two 1pl and two 2pl) in which the interrogative particle -*li* was inserted between the stem and the ending: *ïmalite* 'have you?', *vïdilite* 'do you see?', *ôťelimo duõjti u ruâj*, *niêťelimo*, *Buôg znuâ* 'God knows whether we shall go to heaven or not'.

The endingless IMP in the second column pertains to class AE₂, e.g. *pomïluj* 'have mercy' (d?; only example available).

The IMP ending -*j* in the second column is found in ØE₁ verbs (type *ubïti*, *ubïje*, IMP1pl *ubïjmo*). It seems that after stems ending in -*i*- the *j* can be dropped in the IMP2sg, e.g. *nadïje* PR3sg 'put on', *nadĩj* IMP2sg, but *prolïje* PR3sg 'pour out', *ulĩ* IMP2sg 'pour'. We are not certain about the vowel length in the IMP forms of these verbs, both in the 2sg and elsewhere.

The same class of verbs has insertion of -*j*- (probably not distinctive after -*i*-) before endings which begin in a vowel, e.g. *čŭti* 'hear', PR3sg *čŭje*, *oplïti* 'weed', PR1pl *plijemõ*.

AE₁ and ØE₂ verbs can show stem alternations.

We have attested only one gerund: *sidiêťi* 'sitting'.

## 3.3 Infinitive and l-participle

|      | AA/AE/AI     | II          | UE             | ØE₁  | ØE₂       |
|------|--------------|-------------|----------------|------|-----------|
| INF  | -âti/-ati    | -ïti/-iti   | -ŭti/-uti      | -ti  | -ti/ťi    |
| LPm  | -uâ/-a       | -ĩ/-i       | -ũ/-u/-a       | -Ø   | -a        |
| LPf  | -âla/-ala    | -ïla/-ila   | -ũla/-ula/-la  | -la  | -lâ/-la   |

If in class ØE₂ the stem-final consonant is a velar, the INF ending is -*ťi* and the velar is dropped, e.g. *posïka* LPm 'cut', INF *presïťi*. If the stem-final consonant is not a velar, the INF ending is -*ti* and the stem-final consonant is either changed into -*s*- or an -*s*- is added. Stem-final -*d*- and -*t*- are dropped in the LP. Examples: *pletiêš* PR2sg 'knit', INF *pliêsti*, LPf *plêla*; *potepiêš* PR2sg 'get cold', *potiêsti* INF, *protiêpsti* INF.

The LPn, plm, plf and pln are obtained by substituting LPf -*a* by -*o*, -*i*, -*e* and -*a*, respectively. There can be differences in accentuation between LP forms from the same verb.

In class ØE₁ the stem-vowel becomes long and rising in the LPm, e.g. *razbïti* 'break', LPm *razbĩ*.

In UE verbs, the LP endings -*a*/-*la* are attached to the stem after dropping the stem-final -*n*-, e.g. *dĩgnuti* 'lift', PR 3sg *dĩgne*, Lpm *dĩga*, LPf *dĩgla*.

## 3.4 The passive participle

The past participle has been relatively poorly attested, especially for the less frequent conjugation classes.

|     | AA          | II/UE/ØE     |
|-----|-------------|--------------|
| PPm | -ûn/-un     | -ĩn/-in      |
| PPf | -uâna/-ana  | -êna/-ena    |

Before the endings shown in the second column, the stem is often — but not always — softened.

For class AE₁ endings of both types have been attested.

There can be accentual differences within paradigms.

### 3.5 Class AA

PR1sg: *čêkun* 'wait', *čĩtun* 'read', *čŭvun* 'guard', *darĩvun* 'give as a present', *gl'êdun* 'look', *ïmun* 'have', *nĩmun* 'not have', *morûn* 'have to', *odvežĩvun* 'untie', *suañun* 'dream', *trĩbun* 'need of', *zazĩvun* 'implore', *znûn, nê znun* 'know'.

PR2sg: *čêkaš, ïmaš, se ponuãšaš* 'behave', *nĩmaš, pĩtaš* 'ask', *štĩpaš* 'pinch'.

PR3sg: *beštimuã* 'curse', *cïca* 'suck', *cvituã* 'blossom', *racvituã, fermuã* 'stop', *gl'êda, ïma, nĩma, kôpa* 'dig', *iskôpa* 'dig', *krêpa* 'die', *kŭha* 'cook', *iskŭha* 'cook', *izlĩva* 'pour out'.

PR1pl: *čŭvamo, ïmamo, nĩmamo, iskŭhamo, moruâmo, pačuâmo* 'touch', *pĩtamo, vrâťamo* 'return'.

PR2pl: *cïrtate* 'draw', *ïmate, znuâte, nê znate, poznĩvate* 'know'. Also *ïmalite* 'do you have?' (see §3.2).

PR3pl: *nacipl'ĩvaju* 'graft', *fermâju, hïtaju,* 'throw', *ĩgraju* 'dance', *ïmaju, kôpaju, skrĩvaju* 'conceal', *kŭpaju se* 'bathe', *obiêdvaju* 'dine', *pâdaju* 'fall', *pilâju* 'saw', *pŭcaju* 'shoot', *pŭštaju* 'let go', *suañaju, stâraju* 'strive', *poštĩvaju* 'estimate', *ťapâju* 'catch', *val'âju* 'have to; be worth', *zapovĩdaju* 'command'.

IMP: *čêkaj, čĩtaj, pročĩtaj, čŭvaj, čŭvajte, sačŭvaj* 'save', *pačuâj, pĩtaj, potïrajmo* 'chase'.

INF: *nacipl'ĩvati* (ĩ?), *cvitâti, čêkati, čĩtati, čŭvâti, durâti* 'last', *isfrĩgati* 'fry', *guatâti* 'tell fortunes', *gl'êdati, ishïtati, igrâti, imâti, zaïmati* 'borrow', *iskïdati, raskôcati (- se)* 'begin clucking (of hen)', *iskopâti, kopâti, zakopâti* 'bury', *zakrĩpati, kŭhati, iskŭhati, kŭpâti, lešâti* 'boil', *polĩvâti, ulĩvâti, pačâti, pâdati* 'fall', *pilâti, popišâti se* 'urinate', *pĩtâti, pŭcati, rakamĩvâti* 'embroider', *posluagâti, poškrâpati, potïrati, rasvĩťati, slŭšati, spriemâti, ošĩškati* 'shave', *oškarâti* 'cut young branches from an

olive-tree', *škarâti, trĩgati* 'harvest grapes', *ťapâti, poťuofâti* 'peck', *ťuofâti, vižitâti, znâti.*

LPm: *beštimuã* 'scold', *blagoslivl'uã* 'bless', *nacïrta* 'draw', *čïta, pročïta, imuã, iskopuã, juakuã* 'moan (?)', *zal'ûl'uã* 'swing', *moruã, spomĩña* (place of stress?) 'recall', *potïra* 'chase away', *pripovĩduã* 'tell', *užuã* 'have the habit of'.

LPf: *racvitâla, čêkala, čïtala, čŭvâla* 'guard', *imâla, objuagñâla se* 'become in lamb (?)', *kalâla* 'put down', *iskïdala* 'tear', *raskôcala se, iskopâla, kŭšala* 'try', *morâla, operušâla* 'strip, pluck', *pïvala* 'sing', *suañâla* 'dream', *slŭšala* 'listen', *zašil'âla* 'sharpen', *pošpijâla* 'spy', *potïrala, rasťarâla* 'regain consciousness', *ťuofâla* 'peck', *isťuofâla* 'peck', *naťuofâla, poťuofâla sťuofâla* 'peck', *užâla, val'âla, spovïdala* 'confess', *znâla.*

LPn: *igrâlo* 'dance', *pocïcalo, pokŭhalo, pŭcalo, ruzinâlo* 'rust', *suañâlo* 'dream', *užâlo, val'âlo.*

LPplm: *čïtali, dočêkali, duperĩvâli* 'use', *gl'êdali, razgovuarâli* 'talk', *imâli, prekĩdâli* 'stop', *iskopâli, kalâli, lumbâli* 'injure(?)', *minĩrâli* 'mine', *pĩtâli* 'ask', *ispĩtâli* 'ask', *zapŭcali, rĩvâli* 'push', *pošpijâli, potĩrgali, užâli.*

LPplf: *napovïdale, procvĩtâle, štivâle, užâle.*

PPm: *narakamûn* 'embroider'.

PPf: *raskôcana.*

PPn: *mïšano* 'mix', *zašil'uâno* 'sharpen, point'.

PPplm: *ucïrtani* 'draw'.

PPplf: *nacïrtane* 'draw'.

### 3.6 Class AE₁

PR 1sg: *dïrhťin* 'tremble', *ĩšťin* 'look for', *pĩšin* 'write', *vĩčin* 'shout'.

PR2sg: *ĩšťeš, naplâčeš* 'cry much', *ũžgeš* 'set fire to'.

PR3sg: *čêše* 'scratch', *dïže* 'lift', *dïrhťe, ĩšťe, klïče* 'germinate', *lâže* 'lie', *mêťe* 'throw', *ôre* PR3sg 'plough', *pĩše, plâče* 'cry', *pomâže* 'grease', *pŭše* 'blow', *rïže* 'cut', *posïje* 'sow', *trâje* 'endure', *vïje, vĩče, izvïre* '(of river) have its rise', *zĩďe* 'build', *nuãžge* 'set fire to'.

PR1pl: *čêšemo, mêťemo.*

PR3pl: *čêšu, mêťu, namêťu, smȋjũ* 'laugh', *sũču* 'twist', *uzdrêju* 'ripen'.

IMP: *išťȋ, lažȉ, plâči, zasūčȋ, šťȋplȋ* 'pinch' (also AA, cf. *šťȋpaš*), *užgȉ*.

INF: *češâti, dȋzati se* 'rise', *iskâti, pokuazâti* 'show', *lagâti* 'lie', *izlagâti* 'lie', *orâti, napȋsâti* 'write', *plâkati* 'cry', *pliesâti* 'dance', *napliesâti se* 'have one's fill of dancing', *pūhâti* 'blow', *rȉzati* 'cut', *sȉjati* 'sow', *posȉjati, zasūkâti* 'roll up (e.g. sleeves)', *viezâti* 'tie', *odviezâti* 'untie', *vȋkâti* 'shout', *zȋdâti* 'build', *užgâti*.

LPm: *dȑhta, iskuã, laguã, islaguã, sȉja, zasūkuã, nâžga, ȗžga*.

LPf: *dȑhtala, iskâla, lagâla, naplâkala, rȉzala, posȉjala, posūkâla* 'twine', *dozdrêjala, nâžgala*.

LPn: *dodȉjalo* 'annoy', *pȋsâlo* 'write'.

LPplm: *dȑhtali, metâli, pȋsâli, napȋsâli*.

LPplf: *okrȉtale* 'turn', *dozdrêjale*.

PPm: *ȗžgin*.

PPf: *srȉžena, posȉjana, nuãžgena*.

PPn: *zapȋšeno, posũčeno* 'twine'.

## 3.7 Class AE₂

PR3sg: *darüje* 'present', *fcüje* 'scold', *odvȉtuje* 'be responsible'.

PR3pl: *drâguju* '?'.

IMP: *pomȉluj* 'have mercy'.

INF: *odvȉtovati*.

LPm: *vêrova* 'believe'.

LPplm: *darovâli*.

## 3.8 Class AI

PR1sg: *držȋn* 'hold', *stojȋn* 'stay'.

PR3sg: *krčȋ* 'cry out(?)', *ležȋ* 'lie', *stojȋ* 'stand'.

PR1pl: *držīmô*.

PR3sg: *držũ, ležũ, stojũ*.

IMP: *bȉži* 'run', *dȑš* (1x)/*držȉ/dȓži* (1x), *zadržȉ, mučȋ* [2].

INF: *držâti, mučâti*.

LPf: *dȑžala* (or *držâla?*), *mučâla*.

## 3.9 Class II

PR1sg: *govôrin* 'say', *mȉslin* 'think', *môlin* 'pray', *nôsin* 'carry', *popuãprin* 'pepper', *prâvin* 'say', *ruãdin* 'work, do', *sidȋn* 'sit', *sȉtin se* 'recall', *stâvin* 'put', *zastrȋlin* 'shoot to death', *učȋn* 'learn', *naučȋn*.

PR2sg: *razbôliš se* 'fall ill', *zaborâviš* 'forget', *činȋš* 'do', *naľũtiš* 'get angry', *smêstiš* 'place', *mȉsliš* 'think', *opâriš* 'scald', *paprȋš* 'pepper', *pȋľiš* 'stare', *raspluãtiš* 'cut in two along the spine', *prȋtiš* 'threaten', *ruãdiš* 'do', *skôčiš* 'jump', *smrdȋš* 'stink', *sruãmiš se* 'be ashamed', *sȑdiš se* 'be angry', *ostâriš* 'grow old', *ostâviš* 'leave', *stâviš* 'put', *šťiẽdiš* 'be thrifty', *trpȋš* 'endure', *naũčiš* 'teach', *vȉsiš* 'hang', *vôliš* 'love', *vruãtiš* 'return', *ozdrâviš* 'convalesce', *žũriš se* 'hurry'.

PR3sg: *bolȋ* 'hurt', *zbũdi se* 'wake', *nacȋpi, načȉni* 'make', *činȋ, očȋsti* 'clean, peel', *dȉmi* 'smoke', *gôni* 'transport (on pack-animal)', *gorȋ* 'burn', *govôri* 'speak', *grâbi* 'take (water)', *grdȋ se* 'scold', *grmȋ* 'thunder', *gūndȋ* 'buzz', *kôti* 'drop young', *krũli* 'grunt (or shriek? of pig)', *kũpi* 'buy', *iskũpi* 'gather', *kũri* 'smoke', *pokvuãri* 'spoil', *letȋ* 'fly', *lôvi* 'catch', *nalôži* 'put firewood in stove', *ľũti* 'make angry', *mastȋ* 'grease', *izmȉri* 'weigh', *mȉsli, mluãti* 'beat', *omôdri* 'become blue', *mȑsi* 'eat food containing fats during a fast', *nôsi* 'carry', *naobluãči se* 'become cloudy', *oštrȋ* 'sharpen', *puãli* 'burn', *popuãpri* 'pepper', *pȉni se* 'foam', *pluãti* 'pay', *plôvi* 'float', *napôji* 'water', *prepolôvi* 'cut in halves', *pôri* 'rip', *pruãši* 'dust', *prâvi* 'prepare', *prdȋ* 'fart', *prôsi* 'ask', *popȑti* 'load', *oprũdi* 'nettle', *pũši* 'smoke', *ruãdi, rôdi* 'give birth', *zarũči se* 'get engaged', *rumenȋ se* 'be(come) red', *suãdi/sadȋ* 'plant', *posuãdi* 'plant', *sêli se* 'settle', *sidȋ* 'sit', *sjajȋ se* 'shine', *iskôči* 'jump', *oslâbi* 'become weak', *sluãdi* 'sweeten', *sliẽdi* 'follow, watch', *smrdȋ, zasmȑdi* 'begin stinking', *sôli* 'salt', *sruãmi se* 'be ashamed', *srbȋ* 'itch', *zasȑbi* 'begin itching', *ostâri se* 'grow old', *ostâvi, rasvȋtli* 'dawn', *prošȋri* 'widen', *zatuãji* 'conceal', *izvȑši* 'end', *zũjȋ* 'buzz', *žūdȋ* 'yearn'.

PR1pl: *čȉnimo, učȉnimo* 'do', *zagâzimo* 'step into', *gorīmô, grȋšimo* 'sin', *kũpimo* 'buy', *mastīmô, premȉsimo* 'mix', *smȋsimo* 'mix', *mȉslimo, môlimo, ruãdimo, stâvimo, svȋrimo* 'play (a wind instrument)', *istôčimo* 'pour out', *trpīmô, vôdimo* 'lead' *vôzimo* 'transport'.

PR2pl: *učȉnite, gorītê, môlite, učītê*.

PR3pl: *bolũ, cřvu* 'tint (nets)', *činũ, učĭnu, dilũ se* - 'divide property', *gorũ, govôru, gũndu, uhĭtu* 'catch', *nakũpu* 'gather', *lôvu, mastũ, môlu, nôsu, plôvu, spôju se* 'stick together', *isprijatêľu* 'become friends', *oprũdu* 'nettle', *prâvu se* 'pretend to be', *prdũ, upũtu* 'show the way', *ruãdu, rôdu* 'give fruit', *zarôdu* 'give fruit', *sadũ, posuãdu, sidũ, oskřbu se* 'make store', *slũžu* 'serve', *sprijatêľu se* 'become friends', *rasřdu se* 'become angry', *ostâru, stâvu, suzũ* 'tear', *uvâtu* 'seize', *vôlu* 'love', *zavôlu, zũjũ, žêlu, ožênu, žĭvũ* 'live'.

IMP: *govorĭ* 'say, speak', *zagrâbi, hitĭ* 'hurry', *hodĭ* 'go' (also *hôdi?*), *hômo* 'go' (irregular), *hôte* 'go' (irregular), *naminĭ* 'dedicate', *mĭslite* 'think', *izmolĭte* 'pray', *paprĭ* 'pepper', *pâzi* 'pay attention', *prâvi* 'tell', *prītĭ* 'threaten', *pustĭ* (2x)/*pũšti* (1x) 'let go', *opũtĭ* 'show the way', *zarũbĭ* 'hem', *stâvi* 'put', *stũpĭ* 'set foot', *šťiedĭ* 'save', *zatvôri* 'close'. *vôdite* 'lead'.

INF: *zaborâviti, nabrũsĭti* 'sharpen', *nacīpĭti* 'graft', *činĭti* 'do', *načinĭti, čĭstiti* 'clean', *očĭstiti/očřstiti, začũditi, zaduavĭti, dažĭti* 'rain', *udrĭti, gonĭti, gorĭti, govorĭti, zahĭtiti, pohlĭbiti, hodĭti, ukotĭti, kũpĭti* 'buy', *izletĭti* 'fly away', *lovĭti, ložĭti, naložĭti, naminĭti, premīsĭti, zamluatĭti, molĭti, ponīzĭti, nosĭti, obnovĭti, oštrĭti* 'sharpen', *pualĭti, paprĭti, pīľti* 'stare', *pluatĭti* 'pay', *platĭti* 'cut in two (?)', *napojĭti, spojĭti, prepolovĭti, prâviti, prâžiti* 'bake, roast', *spriečĭti, spriemĭti, prosĭti, oprostĭti, upřtiti, prũžiti* 'stretch out', *napũniti, puštĭti, opũtĭti, izruadĭti, razredĭti, rĭšĭti, rodĭti, sadĭti/suadĭti, posadĭti, selĭti, skočĭti, oslâbiti, zasluadĭti, slâviti, slũžĭti* 'say (mass)', *smrdĭti, posolĭti* 'strew', *spuasĭti, osramotĭti, stâviti, ostâviti, prestrâšiti, zastrīľti, ostrojĭti* 'sift', *sũdĭti, posvietĭti se* 'start a chaste life', *svidočĭti, rasvītľti, osvojĭti, prošĭriti, oškopĭti* 'castrate', *stâliti* 'melt (pork fat)', *teplĭti, otĭšiti, točĭti, pretočĭti, topĭti* 'melt; let down into water', *otrĭbĭti, trpĭti, potrpĭti, otvorĭti, zatvorĭti, volĭti, vozĭti, vrtĭti, oženĭti.*

LPm: *činĩ, učinĩ, začũdi* 'be astonished', *ugasĩ* 'extinguish', *zagâzi* 'step into', *gorĩ, govorĩ, izgubĩ* 'lose', *zgubĩ* 'lose', *zahĩti* 'throw', *hodĩ, zakasnĩ* 'be late', *kũpĩ, uletĩ, islomĩ, mĭsli, nosĩ, napīrĩ* 'load or recock a rifle?', *pluatĩ, napojĩ, ispojĩ* 'attach', *raspřši* 'disperse', *napřti, napũni* 'fill', *napuštĩ* 'abandon', *râni* 'hurt', *zronĩ* 'dive up(?)', *posadĩ* 'plant', *iskočĩ, oslâbi* 'become weak', *rasrdĩ, postâri,* 'grow old', *ostâvi* 'leave', *osũdĩ* 'condemn', *svidočĩ, rastopĩ* 'melt', *trpĩ, oťêlavi* 'become bald', *volĩ* 'love', *vrtĩ* 'turn', *ozdrâvi, žeľĩ* 'wish'.

LPf: *učinĭla, udrĭla, fâlila* 'be missing', *govorĭla, nagrâbila, grdĭla* 'scold', *izgubĭla, ogũľla* 'peel', *gũndĭla* 'buzz', *uhĭtila* 'get, seize', *hitĭla* 'hurry', *hodĭla, hruanĭla* 'feed', *naježĭla* 'bristle up', *nakostrũšĭla* 'bristle up', *ukotĭla, kũpĭla, uletĭla, islomĭla, naložĭla* 'lay (fire)', *naminĭla, namũčila se* 'suffer', *potpodĭla* 'furnish with a floor', *spriemĭla* 'prepare', *pričiestĭla* 'have communion', *pustĭla/puštĭla* 'abandon', *naruadĭla* 'be tired', *narojĭla* 'be abundant', *sitĭla* 'recall', *stâvila* 'put', *strâšila* 'frighten', *osvojĭla* 'adopt (child)', *potrošĭla* 'spend', *trpĭla, istvorĭla se* 'appear', *stvorĭla se* 'appear', *naučĭla* 'learn', *ozřnila* 'thresh'.

LPn: *zabolĭlo, učinĭlo, zgorĭlo* 'burn' *grmĭlo* 'thunder', *hodĭlo, pokipĭlo* 'boil over', *ukotĭlo, mĭslilo, smočĭlo* 'make wet', *naobluačĭlo, naoštrĭlo* 'sharpen', *sprahnôvilo* 'rot', *spriemĭlo, zapluavĭlo* 'become blue', *napũčĭlo* 'populate', *rodĭlo, narojĭlo, isselĭlo se* 'move', *smrâdilo, smrdĭlo* 'stink', *srbĭlo, razvedrĭlo* 'clear up', *zavrtĭlo, zazvonĭlo* 'begin tolling'.

LPplm: *učinĭli, zagnojĭli* 'manure', *zahĭtili, juavĭli* 'announce', *smêstili, ispojĭli, sprosĭli* 'ask', *puštĭli, zruadĭli, sadĭli, selĭli* 'settle', *oslobodĭli* 'release', *rašīrili, vozĭli.*

LPplf: *učinĭle, gũndĭle, narojĭle.*

LPpln: *vrtĭla.*

PPm: *načĭnin, smêšťin* 'settle', *obnôvjin* 'renovate', *oslobôdĭn* 'liberate', *ispuãšin* 'save'.

PPf: *očĭšťena* 'clean', *nagruãdjena* 'build', *slômńena* 'break'.

PPn: *razdĭľeno* 'divide', *křšťeno* 'baptize', *slômjeno* 'break', *potpôdjeno, napôjeno, uriêdĭeno* 'arrange(?)', *posuãdĭeno* 'plant'.

PPplm: *ismêšťeni.*

### 3.10 Class UE

In many verbs of the classes UE and $\emptyset E_2$ and in a number of irregular verbs, originally short stressed root-vowels appear in closed syllables, i.e. in the position where one expects them to become long and rising (see § 1.2 and our 1993 article). This situation occurs in 1) the LP and INF of all the verbs mentioned; 2) the PR and IMP of UE verbs.

Ad 1) In the LP and INF a morphonemic alternation arose which is independent of the original length of the root-vowel: a stressed

root-vowel is long in the INF and LP forms except the LPm if followed by more than one consonant (V̄CCV) and short in the LPm if followed by consonant + vowel (V̆CV). Examples with an originally short root-vowel: *dȋga* LPm 'lift', *dȋgnuti* INF, *dȋgla* LPf; *iznȉka* LPm 'come up', *nȉkla* LPf; *potepiẽ* PR3sg 'hit', *potêpa* LPm, *potiẽpsti* INF, *potiẽpla* LPf. Examples with an originally long root-vowel: *ostrīžiẽ* PR3sg 'shear', *ostrȋgla* LPf, *postrȉga* LPm; *istriẽsti* INF 'shake out', *istriesȉ* IMP, *istriẽsla* LPf, *istrêsa* LPm; *poziẽsti* INF 'freeze', *poziebiẽ* PR3sg, *poziẽbla* LPf, *pozȇba* LPm.

Probably the length alternation caused by the lengthening in closed syllables in verbs with an originally short root-vowel (*pobȉga, pobȋgla*) was copied in verbs with an originally long root-vowel (*izdȗba, izdȗbla*).

Ad 2) In the PR and IMP of UE verbs, the situation is less clear. Sometimes the result of the expected lengthening is present, sometimes it is not. It is not excluded, that many or even all forms in question are accentual doublets, but we would need more material to be confident about that.

PR2sg: *potiẽgneš* 'pull', *srêtneš* 'meet', *stȉgneš* 'arrive'.

PR3sg: *pobȋgne* 'run', *počȉne* 'rest', *dȋgne* 'lift', *otkȉne* 'tear off', *klêkne* 'kneel', *zakriẽne* 'turn' *podliẽgne* '?', *smȓkne se* 'get dark', *umȓzne* 'freeze', *iznȋkne* 'germinate', *pȓdne* 'fart', *pûkne* 'burst', *rasvâne* 'dawn', *posuãhne* 'get dry', *stȋsne* 'press', *uštȋpne* 'pinch', *navȋkne* 'get used'.

PR1pl: *dȋgnemo, pogȉnemo* 'perish', *otkȉnemo, vȑnemo se* 'return'.

PR3pl: *pûknu.*

IMP: *dȋgni se* 'get up', *dȉgnimo, okrienȉ se* 'turn', *potiegnȉ* 'pull', *vrnȉ se.*

INF: *dȋgnuti se, pogȉnuti, pohȓznuti* 'slip', *kľaknȕti* 'kneel', *poklêknuti* 'kneel', *okrienȕti, otkȉnuti, pȓdnuti* 'fart', *prênuti* 'frighten', *rastiegnȕti* 'stretch', *navȋknȕti.*

LPm in -ȗ/-u: *pogȉnu, otkȉnu, kľaknȗ* 'kneel', *okrienȗ* 'turn', *zakrienȗ, umȓznu, pȓdnu, prênu, pûhnȗ* 'blow', *rastiegnȗ, uštȋpnȗ.*

LPm in -a: *pobȉga, dȉga, umȕka* 'become silent', *iznȉka, navȉka.*

LPf in -ȗla/-ula: *čuanȕla* 'squat (?)', *prênula, osieknȕla se* 'blow one's nose', *uštȋpnȕla, pritiegnȕla* 'pull nearer', *zatrnȕla* '?', *vrnȕla* 'give back'.

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LPf in -la: *pobȋgla, dȋgla, iznȋkla, pȓdla, šťêgla* 'disappear', *navȋkla.*

LPn in -ȕlo/-ulo: *poprȋgnȕlo* 'incline', *zastȉnulo* '?', *rasvanȕlo* 'dawn'.

LPn in -lo: *uzduãhlo* 'sigh', *smȓklo se* 'get dark', *umȓzlo, iznȋklo.*

LPplm in -ȕli/-uli: *pogȉnuli, rastiegnȕli.*

LPplm in -li: *pobȋgli, dȋgli, poklêkli* 'kneel', *iznȋkli.*

PPm: *zapriẽgńin* 'harness'.

PPn: *dosiẽgńeno.*

### 3.11  Class ∅E₁

PR1sg: *čȕjin* 1sg 'hear'.

PR3sg: *dobȉje* 'get', *ubȉje* 'kill', *čȕje, nadȉje* 'put on', *udȉje* 'put in ?', *nalȉje/nâlije* 'pour', *prolȉje* 'pour out', *popȉje* 'drink', *šȉje* 3sg 'sew'.

PR1pl: *pijemô* 'drink'.

PR2pl: *pijetê.*

PR3pl: *zabȉju, čȕju.*

IMP: *ubȉjmo, nadȋj, pokrȋ* (or *pokrȉj* ?), *ulȋ* 'pour'.

INF: *dobȉti, razbȉti* 'break', *ubȉti, čȕti, pȉti, napȉti se, obȕti* 'put on (footwear)'.

LPm: *dôbi. razbȋ.*

LPf *razbȉla, ubȉla, čȕla, nadȉla, prolȉla.*

LPn: *razbȉlo, prôlilo.*

LPplm: *čȕli, nâpili.*

PPf: *prolivêna* (with irregular insertion of -v- between stem and ending).

### 3.12  Class ∅E₂

Many verbs of this class have individual peculiarities. Therefore we shall discuss each verb (with its compounds) separately.

*ubodiẽš* 'prick' PR2sg, *nabodiẽ* PR3sg, *ubodiẽ* PR3sg, *zabodiẽ* PR3sg 'stick into', *nabodemô* PR1pl, *ubodȗ* PR3pl, *ubodȉ* IMP, *ubôsti/ubuõsti*

INF, *ubuõ* LPm, *ubôla* LPf, *ubodĩn* PPm, *ubodêna* PPf, *probôdeno* PPn.

*racvitũ* PR3pl 'blossom'.

*izdũbiẽ* PR3sg 'dig', *izdũbĭ* IMP, *izdũsti* INF, *izdũba* LPm, *izdũbla* LPf, *razdũblo* LPn, *izdũbli* LPplm, *izdũbl'ena* PPf, *izdũbl'eni* PPplm, *podũbl'eni* PPplm.

*ugrĩziẽ* PR3sg 'bite', *ogrĩsti* INF 'bite', *zagrĩsti* INF 'bite', *zagrĩza* LPm, *zagrĩžin* PPm, *zagrĩžena* PPf.

*klâde* PR3sg 'put', *klâdi* IMP, *kluãsti* INF, *kluã* LPm, *klâla* LPf.

*krâde* PR3sg 'steal', *ukrâde* PR3sg, *ukruãsti* INF, *ukruã* LPm, *ukrâla* LPf, *ukrâli* LPpl, *ukrâd'ena* PPf, *ukrâdeno* PPn.

*lêže* PR3sg 'lie down', *lêzi* IMP, *lêt'i* INF, *lêga* LPm, *leglâ* LPf, *leglĭ* LPpl.

*liežiẽ* PR3sg 'brood', *sliežũ* PR3pl 'hatch', *naliẽt'i* INF, *sliẽgla* LPf, *naliẽgli* Lplm.

*pometĩn* PR1sg, *metiẽ* PR3sg 'sweep', *pometiẽ* PR3sg, *pometĭ* IMP, *pomiẽsti* INF, *pomiẽ* LPm, *pomêla* LPf, *pometĩn* PPm, *pometêna* PPf, *pometêno* PPn.

*pomũziẽ* PR3sg 'milk', *pomũzĭ* IMP, *pomũsti* INF, *pomũza* LPm, *pomũzla* LPf, *pomũžena* PPf, *pomũženo* PPn.

*donesiẽš* PR2sg, *nesiẽ* PR3sg 'carry, take', *donesiẽ* PR3sg, *ponesiẽ* PR3sg, *donesĭ* IMP, *doniẽsti* INF, *izniẽsti* INF 'take out', *poniẽsti* INF, *ponĩti* INF, *dôni* LPm, *pôni* LPm *dônila* LPf, *donĩla* LPf, *sniẽsla* LPf *donesĩn* PPm, *donešĩn* PPm, *donešêna* PPf, *donešêno* PPn.

*pâdeš* PR2sg 'fall', *pâde* PR3sg, *pâdu* PR3pl, *pâdi* IMP, *puãsti* INF, *puã* LPm, *pâla* LPf, *pâlo* LPn, *upâlo* LPn.

*puasiẽ* PR3sg 'graze', *puasũ* PR3pl, *puasĭ* IMP, *puãsti* INF, *pâsa* LPm, *napâsa* LPm, *napuãsla* LPf, *napuãsle* LPplf.

*pečũ* PR3pl 'bake', *ispecĭ* IMP, *pêt'i* INF, *ispêt'i* INF, *spêt'i* INF, *ispêka* LPm, *spiẽkla* LPf, *ispiẽkli* LPplm, *pečĩn* PPm, *ispecĩn* PPm, *pečêna* PPf.

*pletĩn* PR1sg 'knit', *pletiẽš* PR2sg, *pletiẽ* PR3sg, *opletĭ* IMP *pliẽsti* INF, *pliẽ* Lplm, *plêla* LPf, *oplêla* LPf, *splêli* LPplm, *opletĩn* PPm, *opletêna* PPf, *spletêna* PPf.

*priedĩn* PR1sg 'spin', *priediẽš* PR2sg, *priediẽ* PR3sg, *opriedĭ* IMP, *popriẽsti* INF, *popriẽ* LPm, *poprêla* LPf, *popriedĩn* PPm, *predêna* PPf, *popredêna* PPf.

*riestiẽ* PR3sg 'grow', *poriestiẽ* PR3sg, *riestũ* PR3pl, *riẽsti* INF, *narâsa* LPm, *narêsa* LPm, *nariẽsla* LPf, *nariẽslo* LPn, *nariẽsli* LPplm, *nariẽsle* LPplf.

*rečĩn* PR1sg 'say', *rečiẽš* PR2sg, *rečiẽ* PR3sg, *rečemô* PR1pl, *rečetê* PR2pl, *rečũ* PR3pl, *recĭ* IMP, *recĭte* IMP, *rêt'i* INF, *rêka* LPm, *reklâ* LPf, *reklĭ* LPplppl, *rečenâ* PPf, *rečenô* PPn.

*sêde* PR3sg 'sit down', *sêdu* PR3pl, *sêdi* IMP, *siẽsti* INF, *siẽ* LPm.

*dosiežĩn* PR1sg 'reach', *dosiežiẽ* PR3sg, *dosiežĭ* IMP, *dosiẽt'i* INF, *dosiẽga* LPm, *dosiẽgla* LPf, *dosiẽgli* LPplm, *dosežêno* PPn.

*sīčiẽš* PR2sg 'cut', *sīčiẽ* PR3sg, *isīčiẽ* PR3sg 'cut out', *posīčiẽ* PR3sg 'cut', *sīčũ* PR3pl, *posīčĭ* IMP, *presĭt'i* INF, *isĭt'i* INF, *sĭka* LPm, *issĭka* LPm, *sĩkla* LPf, *issĩkla* LPf, *sĩkli* LPplm, *issĭčin* PPm, *posĭka* LPm, *posĭčena* PPf, *posĭčeno* PPn.

*sriẽla* LPf 'meet' (with unexpected diphthong), *srêla* LPf, *srêle* LPplf.

*ostrižiẽ* PR3sg 'shear', *postrižiẽ* PR3sg 'shear', *ostrĩžĭ* IMP, *ostrĭt'i* INF, *postrĭt'i* INF, *strĭt'i* INF, *ôstriga* LPm, *postrĩga* LPm, *postrĩgla* LPf, *ostrĩgla* LPf, *strĩgli* LPplm, *ostrĩžin* PPm, *ostrĩžena* PPf, *ostrĩžene* PPplf.

*tečiẽ* PR3sg 'flow, run', *natečiẽ* PR3sg 'swell', *otečiẽ* PR3sg 'swell', *têci* IMP, *otẽka* LPm, *utẽka* LPm 'escape', *otiẽkla* LPf, *tiẽkla* LPf, *natiẽkla* LPf, *natečĩn* PPm, *otečêna* PPf, *otečêno* PPn.

*potepiẽš* PR2sg 'hit', *protepiẽ* PR3sg 'get cold', *potepĭ* IMP, *potiẽsti* INF, *protiẽpsti* INF, *potêpa* LPm, *potiẽpla* LPf, *protiẽple* LPplf, *potepêno* PPn.

*istriesĭ* IMP 'shake out', *istriẽsti* INF, *istrêsa* LPm, *istriẽsla* LPf, *istriešĩn* PPm, *istrešêna* PPf, *istrêšene* PPplf.

*istũčĩn* PR1sg 'beat', *tũčiẽ* PR3sg, *stũčũ* PR3pl, *istũčĭ* IMP, *tũt'i* INF, *istũt'i* INF, *tũka* LPm, *istũka* LPm, *istũkla* LPf, *tũkla* LPf, *tũkli* LPplm, *istũčin* PPm, *istũčena / istučêna* PPf, *stũčeno* PPn.

*povedemô* PR1pl 'lead', *dovedĭ* IMP, *povedĭte* IMP, *viẽsti* INF 'lead', *doviẽsti* INF 'lead', *poviẽsti* INF, *doviẽ* LPm, *poviẽ* LPm, *izvêla* LPf,

*dovêla* LPf, *dovêli* LPplm, *povêli* LPplm, *dovedĩn* PPm, *dovedêna/dovedenâ* PPf, *dovedêno* PPn, *dovedêni* PPplm.

*doveziẽ* PR3sg 'bring', *dovezĩ* IMP, *dovêza* LPm, *doviẽzla* LPf, *doviẽzli* LPplm, *dovezĩn* PPm, *dovezêna* PPf.

*vieziẽ* PR3sg 'embroider', *viezũ* PR3pl, *izviezĩ* 'embroider' *viẽzla* LPf, *izviẽzle* LPplf, *izvezêno/izviẽzeno* PPn.

*vřžeš* PR2sg 'throw, put', *vřže* PR3sg, *vřžemo* PR1pl, *vřzi* IMP, *vřťi* INF, *vřga* LPm, *vrglâ* LPf, *vrglĩ* LPplm, *vřžin* PPm, *vřženo* PPn.

*vũčiẽ* PR3sg 'draw, pull', *navũčiẽ* PR3sg, *prebũčiẽ* PR3sg 'change clothes', *vũcĩ* IMP, *navũcĩ* IMP, *obũťi* INF 'dress', *vũka* LPm, *navũka* Lplm, *obũkla* LPf, *navũkla* LPf, *obũkli* LPplm, *povũkli* LPplm, *navũčena* PPf, *obũčin* PPm.

*poziebiẽ* PR3sg 'freeze', *ziebũ* PR3pl 'freeze', *poziẽsti* INF, *pozêba* LPm, *poziẽbla* LPf, *poziẽblo* LPn, *zaziẽble* LPplf, *poziebĩn* PPm.

## 3.13 Irregular verbs

*sa(n)* 'be' PR1sg, *si* PR2sg, *je* PR3sg, *smo* PR1pl, *ste* PR2pl, *su* PR3pl; negated present tense: *nis/nĩs/nĩsâ(n)* 1sg, *nĩsĩ* 2sg, *nĩ* 3sg, *nĩsmô* 1pl, *nĩstê* 2pl, *nĩsũ* 3pl; special present tense: *bũdin* 1sg, *bũdeš* 2sg, *bũde* 3sg, *bũdemo* 1pl, *bũdu* 3pl; conditional auxiliary: *bi* 1sg/2sg/3sg, *bimo/bĩmo* 1pl; *bũdi* IMP, *bũdite* IMP, *bĩti* INF, *bĩ* LPm, *bĩla* LPf, *bĩlo* LPn, *bĩli* LPplm.

*nabêre* PR3sg 'gather', *nabrâti* INF, *pobrâti* INF 'pick up', *nâbrala* LPf, *pobruâla* LPf, *pôbrali* LPplm.

*puõčmu* PR3pl 'begin', *počiẽti* INF, *pôča* LPm, *počuâla* LPf, *pôčalo* LPn, *pôčele* LPplf.

*dũn* 'give' PR1sg, *duãš* PR2sg, *duã* PR3sg, *produã* 'sell' PR3sg, *duamô* PR1pl, *duatê* PR2pl *duadũ* PR3pl, *dâti* INF, *duã* LPm, *prôda* LPm, *duãla* LPf, *ũdala* LPf, *duâli* LPplm, *duanâ* PPf, *uduanâ* 'marry' PPf, *duatô* PPn *duanê* PPplf.

*uduãje se* 'get married' PR3sg, *duãjemo* 'give' PR1pl, *duãjete* PR2pl, *produãju* 'sell' PR3pl, *uduavâti* IMP, *produavâla* LPf, *uduavâla.*

*odêre* PR3sg 'skin'.

*ôťu* PR1sg 'want; future auxiliary', *ôťeš* PR2sg, *ôťe* PR3sg, *ôťelimo* PR1pl (see § 3.2); clitic present tense forms: *ťu* 1sg, *ťeš* 2sg, *ťe* 3sg/3pl,

*ťemo* 1pl, *ťete* 2pl; negated present tense: *niẽťu* 1sg, *niẽťeš* 2sg, *niẽťe* 3sg/3pl, *niẽťemo* 1pl, *niẽťete* 2pl; *htĩ* LPm, *htĩla* LPf, *htĩli* LPplm.

*grĩn* PR1sg 'go', *griẽš* PR2sg, *griẽ* PR3sg, *griẽde* PR3sg, *gremô* PR1pl, *gretê* PR2pl, *griẽdu* PR3pl; PR also (d?): *ïdeš* PR2sg, *ïde* PR3sg, *ïdemo* PR1pl, *idũ* PR3pl; prefixed PR: *duõjdeš* PR2sg 'come', *duõjde* PR3sg, *duõjdemo* PR1pl, *duõjdu* PR3pl; IMP borrowed from *hodĩti*: *hodĩ*, *hõmo*, *hõte*, also attested: *idĩ* IMP, *duojdĩ* IMP, *duõjdi* IMP; *duõjti* INF, *dôša* LPm, *došlâ* LPf, *došlô* LPn, *došlĩ* LPplm, *došlê* LPplf, *izâša* LPm 'go out', *izašlâ* LPf.

*pojĩn* 'eat' PR1sg, *jĩš* PR2sg, *jĩdiẽ/jĩ* PR3sg, *poïdiẽ/pojĩdiẽ/pojĩ* PR3sg, *pojĩmô* PR1pl, *jĩtê* PR2pl, *jĩdũ* PR3pl *poïdũ/pojĩdũ* PR3sg, *jĩjte* IMP, *ĩsti/jĩsti* INF, *poĩsti/pojĩsti* INF, *nâji* LPm, *pôji/pojĩ* LPm, *naïla/nâila, poïla/pojïla, poïli/pojïli* LPplm.

*ũzmeš* PR2sg 'take', *ũzme* PR3sg, *iznemĩ* IMP 'take off', *zuãjmi* IMP 'borrow', *uziẽti* INF, *zajuãti* INF, *ôte* LPm 'take away', *vazêla* LPf 'take', *zajuãla* LPf.

*samêľe* PR3sg 'grind', *samlĩla* LPf, *samlĩle* LPplf.

*muõgu(n)* PR1sg 'be able', *môreš* PR2sg, *môre* PR3sg, *môremo* PR1pl, *môrete* PR2pl, *môru* PR3pl, *nemuõj* IMP 'don't', *môťi* INF, *môga* LPm, *moglâ* LPf, *moglô* LPn, *moglĩ* LPplm.

*ũmrin* PR1sg 'die', *ũmreš* PR2sg, *ũmre* PR3sg, *umrĩti* INF, *ũmra* LPm, *umřla* LPf.

*pêńu se* PR3pl 'mount', *razâpne* PR3sg, *ispiẽti* INF.

*plijemô* PR1pl 'weed', *oplĩti* INF.

*smĩš* PR2sg 'be allowed', *smĩ* PR3sg, *smĩ* LPm.

*pruõspe* PR3sg 'pour out, strew out', *ũspe* PR3sg 'pour', *uspĩ* IMP, *usũti* INF, *ũsu* LPm, *prôsu* LPm, *prosũla* LPf, *usũla* LPf, *prôsuta* PPf, *prôsuto* PPn, *puõspeno* PPn 'strew over'.

*zôvin* PR1sg 'call', *zôve* PR3sg, *zôvemo* PR1pl, *zôvete* PR2pl, *zôvu / zovũ* PR3pl, *zovĩ* IMP (or *zôvĩ*?), *zvâti* INF, *zvuâ* LPm *zvuâla* LPf, *zvuâlo* LPn, *zvuâli* LPplm, *zvuâle* LPplf, *zvâna* PPf.

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## NOTES

[1] The authors avail themselves of this opportunity to correct an error they discovered in their 1993 article. On page 105 *vědr-* was mistakenly included in the list of roots which contain a *jat*.

[2] Also attested *mūči* (or *mūč*?). We are not certain about the length of the stem-vowel in this and other forms of this verb. It is not excluded that it occurs both long and short.

## REFERENCE

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    1993    'Phonological characteristics of the čakavian dialect of Kali on the island of Ugljan', *Dutch Contributions to the Eleventh International Congress of Slavists* (= Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics 22), 93-109.

# ON THE ACCENT MARKS IN THE FIRST FREISING FRAGMENT*

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Nasal vowels are rarely indicated in the Freising Fragments (henceforth FF): the only instances are I 23 vu'enſih, II 19 ſunt (which I take to be the Latin orthography), 48 **mogoncka**, and 105 **vuerun**. As nasality was undoubtedly preserved when the FF were written down, this deficiency in the writing system requires an explanation.

Nasal vowels were not phonemically distinct from sequences of vowel plus tautosyllabic nasal before the loss of weak jers. It is therefore interesting to see how the latter were written in the FF. There are two instances of a tautosyllabic nasal which is *not* written as a nasal consonant, viz. I 6 uzē *vsěm* and II 69 nikīſe *nikymže*. This leads us to the hypothesis that the macron may have been the regular device for indicating nasal vowels in the original of the FF. When the FF were copied, the language had changed, perhaps by the loss of weak jers, as a result of which the device was no longer appropriate. This may explain the deficient orthography.

How did the copyist handle the nasality marks? In the case of the First FF, he apparently mixed them up with other supralinear signs. As the Second FF was probably read to the copyist, the marks were simply disregarded here, as they were in the Third FF.

The function of the accent marks in the First FF has largely been clarified by J. Schaeken, who has drawn attention to the Old High German usage of separating *uu* /w/ from a following vowel by an accent mark ´ (1987: 348, fn. 5). His conclusions are the following:

(1) The acute between the proclitic conjunction *i* and a following word and the acute between the sequences *vu, uv* and a following vowel are delimitation marks preventing misreadings.

(2) The acute over *o, e,* and over *u, v* in a final syllable denotes a nasal vowel.