

Mate Kapović
Filozofski fakultet
Sveučilišta u Zagrebu
Ivana Lučića 3, HR-10000 Zagreb (Croatia)
mkapovic@ffzg.hr
<http://mudrac.ffzg.hr/~mkapovic>

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROTO-SLAVIC QUANTITY (FROM PROTO-SLAVIC TO MODERN SLAVIC LANGUAGES)¹

This paper discusses the development of the old length (quantity) in Slavic languages. The retainment or the shortening of the old length is thoroughly discussed in all conditions – under stress (acute, circumflex, neoacute) considering the number of the syllables in a word, and in pretonic or posttonic position considering the number of the syllables in a word and the accentual paradigm. The final open syllables are shortened in all Slavic languages. The acute length is preserved only in Czech in mono- and bisyllabic words (*vrána*). The circumflex is shortened in West Slavic (Czech **dârŕ* > *dar*, **zôlto* > *zlato*), and it is preserved in Croatian in monosyllables, bisyllables (*dâr*, *zlâto*) and one type of trisyllables (**ôlkъtъ* > *lâkat*) but shortened elsewhere (**môldostъ* > *mlâdôst*, **nâ golvø* > *nâ glâvu*). The neo-acute length is preserved in all languages in all positions (Čakavian *pūt*, Czech *poutʹ*). The pretonic length is preserved in front of less than two moras (Croatian *tráva*, *kobása*, *gúmno*, *kúkolj*, *grâdskŕ*) and shortened in front of two or more moras (Croatian *mâlina*, *jèzik*). In mobile paradigm, the short forms are generalized in West Slavic (Czech *hlava*). In number of forms, the length is secondarily reintroduced (Croatian, Czech *zábava*, *pítati*, *súsjed/soused*). In Croatian, the posttonic length is preserved in trisyllabic words (*pâmēt*, *pâmēti*) and shortened in longer ones (*pâmetan*). In West Slavic, it is shortened in a. p. *c* (Czech *holub*) and preserved inconsistently in a. p. *a* (Czech *měsíc*, *pamětʹ*). In Štokavian/Čakavian, dialects differ in preservation of the posttonic length in a. p. *a* which is shortened under the acute in a. p. *b* and a. p. *c* (*glèdati* : dial. *glèdâti*). A number of secondary developments and levellings are also discussed.

¹ I am grateful to my professor Bulcsú László for his help with this paper and for everything I have learned from him. All the shortcomings are of course just mine. I would also like to thank Kristina Marenić for reading the text carefully and to Siniša Habijanec for a couple of useful points. – Abbreviations: > – yields; ⇒ – yields by analogy; ~ – is connected with; ≠ – different from; # – beginning/end of a word; V- vowel; V – long vowel; C – consonant; R – sonant.

INTRODUCTION

In Common Slavic², the distinctive vowel quantity was replaced by the distinctive vowel quality. The old opposition of, for instance, *a : *ā was replaced by the opposition of *o : *a³ (*radu ≠ *rādu > *rodъ «genus» ≠ *radъ «work»). In some positions, new *a remains long [ā] (and *o short, cf. Croatian gen. sg. *rāda* ≠ *rōda*), while in the other it is shortened – Croatian *glāva* «head» : *glāvica* «head (diminutive)»⁴. The aim of this paper is to determine precisely in which cases the shortening of the old long vowels in various Slavic languages occurred as well as to show in what instances the old long vowels remained long.

The conditions in which the old length is preserved are not the same in all Slavic languages. It depends on the intonation of the long syllable (for instance, Czech preserves the length from the old acute and neo–acute while Croatian preserves the length from the old circumflex and neo–acute), on the number of syllables in a word (the length tends to be preserved in shorter words and shortened in longer ones) and on the position in the word (for instance, in the first pretonic syllable the length tends to be preserved but in the second pretonic syllable it is shortened).

Old Slavic (more precisely Old Russian and Old Polish) loanwords in Finnish, Karelian, Estonian, Lithuanian and Latvian show that the length of the originally long vowels in Slavic (*a, *ě, *i, *u, *o, *ę) is preserved regardless of the intonation, the position in the word or the number of syllables (Stang 1957: 52–55). The preserved

² The reconstruction of Common Slavic (or Late Proto–Slavic) is traditional, thus only a formula. The reason for this lies in the fact that Slavic languages have already been clearly differentiated in the period for which the accentual system can be reconstructed directly. The accentual system of Proto–Slavic, the real proto–language from which all present–day Slavic languages can be derived, cannot, however be reconstructed directly. The language here referred to as Proto–Slavic was the homogeneous language spoken around year 600. The language here referred to as Common Slavic is a heterogeneous language spoken in the period between the 7th and the 11th century (cf. for instance Holzer 1995 or 2003). During this period, some pan–Slavic changes still occurred (together with the changes typical for separate Slavic languages only). After the 11th century there were no more pan–Slavic changes (and thus there was no more Common Slavic).

³ Other changes: *e > *e, *ē > *ě; *i > *ь, *ī > *i; *u > *ь, *ū > *y. The old diphthongs: *ey > *i; *ay > *ě; *aw (> *ō) > *u; *em/en/im/in > *ę, *am/an/um/un > *o. Originally long: *a, *ě, *i, *u, *y, *ę, *o, originally short: *e, *o, *ь, *ь. The first ones were originally always long and the second ones were always short (so the quantity was redundant, not distinctive).

⁴ This and other types of shortening, together with the new lengthening of the old short vowels (like *bǝgъ > Croatian *bōg*, cf. Kapović 2005b), resulted in the development of the new distinctive length in Slavic. After that all the vowels could have been either short or long (in Croatian for instance *a, e, i, o, u* : *ā, ē, ī, ō, ū* + *r, ř* and *ijā*). In Proto–Slavic and pre–shortening/pre–new–lengthening Common Slavic this was not the case.

features are: the old acute length (Lithuanian *knygà* ~ Croatian *knjiga* «book», Finnish *määra* ~ Croatian *mjèra* «measure»), the circumflex length (Lithuanian *pỹvas* ~ Croatian *pĩvo* «beer»), the neo-acute length (Lithuanian *sũdas* ~ Croat. dial. *sũd* «court of law»), the length of the old acute in the first syllable of trisyllabic words (Lithuanian *mõčeka* ~ Croatian *mãčeha* «stepmother»), the length of the old acute in the second syllable of trisyllabic words (Lithuanian *bagótas* ~ Croatian *bògat* «rich»), the pretonic length of the first syllable of trisyllabic words (Lithuanian *pũstyti* ~ Croatian *pũstiti* «let go», Karelian *siivatta* ~ Croatian *život* «life»), the posttonic length of the second syllable in trisyllabic words (Lithuanian *zėrkolas* ~ Russian *зėркало* «mirror»). These loanwords show no trace of the old nasality of *ę and *ǫ (cf. Lithuanian *sũdas* ~ Old Church Slavic *şodь* and Lithuanian *rėdas* ~ OCS *ředь* «order» with Lithuanian *-ũ-* and *-ė-* where the nasals should be). This leads us to the conclusion that the original Proto-Slavic length (i. e. the redundant length of the Slavic *a, *ě, *i, *u, *ǫ, *ę) was preserved in all positions and conditions even after the denasalisation of *ǫ and *ę. Thus, the shortening of the old (redundant) length, which will be discussed in this article, must be viewed as a post-Common Slavic development, even though the process of shortening is very similar in various Slavic languages and shows clear common tendencies of development.

Some previous discussions on Proto-Slavic quantity

The problem of Slavic quantity has rarely been discussed in great detail and in an entirely satisfactory manner, to the best knowledge of the author of this article. Here, we will take a look at two somewhat longer presentations of the problem – Christian Stang's (1957) and Terence R. Carlton's (1991)⁵.

Stang deals with some of the problems discussed in this article in the chapter «Accent and quantity» (1957: 35–55) in his monograph *Slavonic accentuation*. His presentation is very good but not very detailed – he touches on some problems which are not discussed here but he fails to mention a lot of special cases discussed in this article. Here, we will point out some of the shortcomings of Stang's treatment of the problem. Stang for instance says that the Czech short *-i-* in *tišina* «silence» is not clear – this short vowel is of course due to generalization of a regularly short *-i-* in original a. p. *c* nouns in *-ina* like Czech *planina* «mountain». He leaves Croat. nouns with the unexpected short vowels like *crnina* «blackness» unexplained. However, these are due to a simple analogy with the other (short < originally acuted) suffix *-ina* we see in Croat. *slànina* «bacon» (see below). He also fails to explain the Croat. verb type *trúbiti, trúbim*. While discussing the posttonic length, Stang adduces a large number of useful examples but not systematically (he does not treat a. p. *a*, a. p. *b* and a. p. *c* stems, acuted and circumflexed posttonic length separately etc.) which prevents him from making more coherent conclusions.

⁵ Frederik Kortlandt's (1975) ideas about quantity are briefly discussed further on in the article. Cf. footnotes 51 and 121.

Carlton, while discussing the Slavic accentuation in his *Introduction to the phonological history of the Slavic languages* gives a short overview of the length problem («The preservation of Proto-Slavic length», 1991: 208–214). His presentation also has some shortcomings. He fails to see that the length in the examples like Czech *útěcha* or *útroba* has to be secondary (cf. Croat. *ūtjeha*, dial. *útroba*) because the pretonic length in the first syllable is regularly shortened in trisyllabic words (see below). He does however see the regularity of the shortening in *mařina > Croat. *màřina*. He adduces the examples like *přisъmò and *poltъnò as the evidence for the length preservation but does not note that these examples are not fully reliable because the length could be secondary. He adduces the words *měsěць and *prĕdīvo (Czech *měsíc* and *předivo*) as the example of the different treatment of the posttonic length in Czech but does not note the importance of the intonation of the first syllable. He considers the reflection of the posttonic length as generally sporadic, which is in fact true only for the a. p. *a* in West Slavic. He assumes that *žīvīnŏ yields Croat. *žīvinu* by the regular shortening of the posttonic length in trisyllables which is incorrect (cf. below) etc. Neither of the two treatments analyzes all the relevant cases and examples and both show misunderstanding of particular details. We will try to explain them in this article.

THE RETAINMENT AND SHORTENING POSITIONS

There are several major conditions for the development of the old length. Firstly, the final open syllables. Secondly, the accented length (under acute, circumflex and neo-acute). Thirdly – pretonic length, and fourthly – posttonic length. Thus, we look at length in all possible positions – accented and unaccented (before or after the accent) and in final open syllable (which is a special case).

1) The final open syllables

Common Slavic	Croatian	Czech	Slovak
acc. sg. *zīmŏ «winter»	<i>zīmu</i>	<i>zimu</i>	<i>zimu</i>
gen. sg. *vŭlkă «wolf»	<i>vŭka</i>	<i>vŭka</i>	<i>vŭka</i>
dat. sg. *vŭlkŭ	<i>vŭku</i>	<i>vŭku</i>	<i>vŭku</i>

The final open syllables, if originally long (*-a#, *-i#, *-u#, *-y#, *-ę#, *-ŏ#, *-ě#), are shortened. They are shortened in posttonic position (*zīmŏ), as well as under the stress (A. *ženŏ). The former length of the acc. sg. ending *-ŏ is evidenced in Croatian *zīmŭs* «last winter» < *zīmŭs* < *zīmŏsŭ (formal reconstruction, one would expect CSI acc. sg. *zīmŏ sŏ «this winter»). The former length of the dat. sg. ending *-u (*vŭlkŭ < PIE *wŏlkwōy) is seen in Vedic *vŕkāy-a*, Greek λŭκω, Latin *lupŏ*.

All long vowels in final open syllable in Slavic are secondary⁶.

II) Acute

1. **kǫrva* «cow» > Croat. *kràva*, Sln. *kráva*, Bulg. *кpàва*, Czech *kráva*, Slk. *krava*, Pol. *krowa*, Slovincian ¹*krova*, Russ. *кopóва*

CSI	Croat.	Sln.	Czech	Slk.	ULus.	Russ.
* <i>běrza</i> «birch»	<i>brěza</i>	<i>bręza</i>	<i>břıza</i>	<i>breza</i>	<i>brěza</i>	<i>берěза</i>
* <i>bólto</i> «mud»	<i>blàto</i>	<i>bláto</i>	<i>bláto</i>	<i>blato</i>	<i>blóto</i>	<i>болóто</i>
* <i>kǫrva</i>	<i>kràva</i>	<i>kráva</i>	<i>kráva</i>	<i>krava</i>	<i>krówa</i>	<i>кopóва</i>
* <i>sólma</i> «hay»	<i>slàma</i>	<i>sláma</i>	<i>sláma</i>	<i>slama</i>	<i>słoma</i> ⁷	<i>солóма</i>
* <i>vórna</i> «crow»	<i>vràna</i>	<i>vrána</i>	<i>vrána</i>	<i>vrana</i>	<i>wróna</i>	<i>ворóна</i>

In Croatian, the acute is reflected as $\grave{}$ on the old long vowels ($-\grave{a}-$, $-\grave{j}\grave{e}-$, $-\grave{u}-$, $-\grave{i}-$, $-\grave{e}-$ < * ϵ). In Slovene, the reflection of the old acute in the non-final syllable is rising (first short rising and then later secondary lengthened – length is not distinctive in non-final syllables in Slovene) – *bráta* < **brát(r)a*. In the final syllable, it remains short and becomes falling – *bràt* < **brăt(r)ъ*. In Czech, the acute is reflected as length. Upper Lusatian has the trace of the old acute length in the /ó/ and /ě/ vowels in CoRC-syllables (where the metathesis of the liquids operated)⁸. Other West Slavic languages (Slovak, Polish, Slovincian) have no trace of the old acute. In Russian, the stress is on the second syllable in *polnoglasie*: acc. sg. *ворóну* < **vǫrnŏ* (\neq if from the old circumflex, the stress is on the first syllable, acc. sg. *гóлову* < **gǫlvŏ* «head»).

⁶ We cannot go into details here but cf. for instance in Croatian, gen. sg. *žēnē* < *ženē* «woman» analogically after gen. sg. *tē* «this (f.)» < **tojē*; instr. sg. *žēnōm* < *ženōm* ← *ženōv* ← **ženojŭ* < **ženojŏ*; gen. pl. *žēnā* with $-\grave{a}$ < $-\grave{a}h$, analogous to *i*-stems gen. pl. $-\grave{i}$ < * $-\grave{i}jь$ (contraction), instead of short $-ah$ < * $-\grave{a}xъ$; 3. sg. present tense *rānī* ← **rānīť*; in the definite adj. $-\grave{i}$ < * $-\grave{i}jь$, $-\grave{a}$ < * $-\grave{a}ja$, $-\grave{o}$ < * $-\grave{o}je$ etc. Dybo (cf. Dybo 1981: 30–2, the same in Dybo, Zamjatina, Nikolaev 1990: 31–4) believes that only unaccented final syllables (in a. p. c) were regularly shortened but his hypothesis is not very convincing because most of the later length in final open syllables in Slavic can very easily be explained analogically and Dybo's solution encounters many problems which we cannot get into in this article. For a traditional explanation of all *Auslaut* long syllables as secondary, cf. Stang 1957.

⁷ In Upper Lusatian \acute{o} > o in front of velars and labials (Carlton, 1991: 262).

⁸ ULus. *blóto* \neq *zloto* «gold», *brěza* \neq *drijewo* «tree» ~ Croat. *blàto* \neq *zlàto*, *brěza* \neq *drijěvo* (Carlton, 1991: 195–6, 261–2).

The preservation of the length of the old acute in Czech is limited by the number of syllables in a word: mono- and disyllables preserve the length, whereas polysyllables do not: *vrána*, but instr. sg. *vranou* < *vōrnojo; *síla* «force», but *silou*, *víra* «faith», but *věřit* «to trust»; *znáti* «to know», but *doznati* «to find out»; *kámen* «rock», but gen. sg. *kamene* etc. The long or the short vowel can be generalized secondarily in all forms¹⁰: *bříza*, instr. sg. *břízou* (≠ *silou*) or *ryba*, instr. sg. *rybou* «fish» instead of Old Czech *rýba*, instr. sg. *rybou*, *místo* «place» and *město* «town». The old acute length in Czech is also preserved in trisyllables with a weak *jer* in the first syllable which was probably dropped very early: *lǫžica (Croat. *žlica*) «spoon» > Czech *lžíce*, *pъsǫti «to write» > Czech *psǫti*, *sъpǫti «to sleep» > Czech *spǫti*, *sъrǫti «to shit» > Czech *srǫti*, *pъrǫti «to wash» > Czech *prǫti*, *zъvǫti «to call» > Czech *zvǫti* etc.

Upper Lusatian, unlike Czech, preserves the length from the old acute (in CoRC-syllables) in trisyllabic infinitives as well: *plōšić* «to scare» ~ Czech *plašiti*¹¹ (Croat. *plāšiti*).

In Hungarian loanwords from Slavic, dating from the 9th or 10th century, the length of the old acute is attested in polysyllabic words. In these positions, no trace of the old acute length is preserved anywhere in Slavic.

Common Slavic	Hungarian	Czech
*besęda ¹² «talk»	<i>beszéd</i>	<i>beseda</i>
*obędъ «meal, lunch»	<i>ebéd</i>	<i>oběd</i>
*sōsędъ «neighbour»	<i>szomszéd</i>	<i>soused</i>

II) Circumflex

1. disyllables ¹·V:·ъ/ь· (full syllable¹³ with ^ˆ and a *jer*)

*gōlsъ «voice» > Croat., Sl. *glās*, Bulg. *глас* (pl. *гласовѐ*), Cz., Slk. *hlas*, Pol. *głos*, Slovenc. ¹*glos*, Russ. *гóлос*

CSI	Croatian	Slovene	Czech	Russian
*gōlsъ ¹⁴	<i>glās</i>	<i>glās</i>	<i>hlas</i>	<i>гóлос</i>
*gōrdъ «town»	<i>grād</i>	<i>grād</i>	<i>hrad</i>	<i>гóрод</i>
*kōlsъ «ear»	<i>klās</i>	<i>klās</i>	<i>klas</i>	<i>кóлос</i>
*vōrgъ «enemy,	<i>vrāg</i>	<i>vrāg</i>	<i>vrah</i>	<i>вóрог</i>

⁹ In Czech, we shall write the infinitives consistently with a full *-ti*, according to the older norm.

¹⁰ Carlton 1991: 195.

¹¹ Carlton 1991: 261–262.

¹² For technical reasons, *ę is written instead of *ě when it is accented.

¹³ Here, any syllable except a syllable with a *yer* (ъ or ь) is considered a full syllable.

¹⁴ *–ol– is a diphthong and that is why it has a long accent (*o is immanently short otherwise). The same goes for *–el–, *–er–, *–or–, *–yl–, *–yr–, *–yl–, *–yr–.

devil»				
*vôrtъ «neck»	<i>vrât</i>	<i>vrât</i>	<i>vrat</i>	<i>вóрот</i>

In Croatian, the length is retained in disyllable *glâs* (cf. *mràz* < *mǫrзь «frost»), but it is shortened in plural (trisyllable ·V·V·V·) – *glàsovi*. In Slovene, there is *glâs* and gen. sg. *glasâ* with the progressive shift of the circumflex (cf. *mràz*, gen. sg. *mrâza* < *mǫrзь).

In Croatian and Slovene, the last syllable of a. p. *c* nouns is lengthened in nom. sg., cf. Croat. nom. sg. *bôg*, Sln. *bôg* < *bǫgъ «god», which is thus, in nom. sg., the same as Croat. *zûb*, Sln. *zôb* < *zǫbъ «tooth». The gen. sg., with the progressive shift of the circumflex, is also the same in Sln., *bogâ* = *zobâ*, whereas the difference is maintained in Croat., *bôga* < *bǫga ≠ *zûba* < *zǫba.

In Czech, as in all other West Slavic languages, the circumflex is shortened (cf. *hlas*, *hrad* etc.). Czech preserves the acute length though (*dar* < *dârъ «gift» ≠ *mák* < *mǫkъ «poppy»). This difference is also maintained in Russian nouns with *polnoglasië*, cf. *gólos* < *gǫlsъ ≠ *moróz* < *mǫrзь.

2. disyllables '·V:·V· (two full syllables, ^ on the first syllable)¹⁵

***mêso** «meat» > Croat. *mêso*, Sln. *mesô*, Bulg. *mecò*, Cz. *maso*, Slk. *mäso*, Pol. *mięso*, Slovenc. *ˈmjaso*, Russ. *мясо*

Common Slavic	Croatian	Slovene	Czech
*mêso	<i>mêso</i>	<i>mesô</i>	<i>maso</i>
*sêno «hay»	<i>sjêno</i>	<i>senô</i>	<i>seno</i>
*têlo «body»	<i>tijêlo</i>	<i>telô</i>	<i>tělo</i>
*têsto «dough»	<i>tijêsto</i>	<i>testô</i>	<i>těsto</i>
*zôlto «gold»	<i>zlâto</i>	<i>zlatô</i>	<i>zlato</i>

In Croatian, there is no shortening in disyllables – cf. *mêso*, but acc. sg. *sràmotu* < *sǫrmotǫ «shame» with the shortening in trisyllabic word. In Slovene, because of the progressive circumflex shift, *slovô* is the same as *mesô* (< *slǫvo «word», *mêso), cf. Croatian *slǫvo* ≠ *mêso*. Czech, and all the other West Slavic languages, have a short vowel. In Czech, the acute length is preserved, cf. *zlato* < *zôlto ≠ *blâto* < *bǫlto.

3. trisyllables '·V:·ъ/ь/ъ/ь· (full syllable with ^ and two jers)

***ôlkъtъ** «elbow» > Croat. *lâkat*, Sln. *lakât*, Bulg. *лакът*, Cz. *loket*, Slk. *laket*², Pol. *łokiec*, Slovenc. *ˈlɔk*, Russ. *локоть*

¹⁵ The following conditions of the shortening of the circumflex are of course valid for Štokavian, Čakavian and Kajkavian only. In Slovene, the circumflex is always shifted to the next syllable (if there is one) as ^ and in West Slavic languages the circumflex always yields a short vowel so there is no need for special conditions of shortening of the circumflex there.

Common Slavic	Croatian	Slovene	Czech
*bŏbьnъ «drum»	<i>bûbanj</i>	[<i>bôbən</i>] ¹⁶	<i>buben</i> ¹⁷
*dъlъžьnъ «indebted»	<i>dûžan</i>	<i>dolžan</i>	(<i>dlužný</i>) ¹⁸
*xŏldьnъ «cold»	<i>hlâdan</i>	<i>hladân</i>	(<i>chladný</i>)
*ôlkъtь	<i>lâkat</i>	<i>lakât</i>	<i>loket</i> ¹⁹
*tęžьkъ «heavy»	<i>těžak</i>	<i>težâk</i>	(<i>těžký</i>)

In Croatian, *bûbanj* (pl. *bûbnji*) and *lâkat* (pl. *lâkti*) show no shortening, but in long plurals shortening occurs – *bûbnjevi*, *lâktov*²⁰. The examples of *lâkat* < *ôlkъtь (·V·ъ·ъ) with no shortening vs. *mlâdost* < *môldostь (·V·V·ъ) «youth» with the shortening show that the *jer*-syllable is different than a regular full syllable²¹. The length in the adjectives like Croat. *hlâdan* is supported by forms like fem. *hlâdna*, *hlâd* «shade». This goes to show that the adjective forms are not really conclusive as the length there could be analogical. In examples like Croat. *bûbanj*²² and *lâkat*²³ however, this cannot be the case which proves that the length is indeed preserved phonetically here.

¹⁶ The examples in square brackets mark an unexpected (or irregular) outcome. Sln. *bôbən* is an analogical accent due to the prepositional phrases like *na bôbən*. The same analogy is seen in Sln. *pôlje* «field» instead of the older *poljê*, because of the generalization of the accent in the prepositional phrases like *na pôlje* (cf. Croat. *nâ polje*).

¹⁷ Slk. *bubon* and Slovenc. ¹*babel*.

¹⁸ The examples in brackets are here only for the sake of completeness – the root is the same, but the form (or the suffix) is different. Czech adjectives like *dlužný*, *chladný* and *těžký* are definite/long adjectives which correspond to Croat. dial. long forms like *hlâdnī* or *těškī* where the length is shortened in front of the new length due to the contraction (to be discussed later in the text). These short root vowel definite adjectives (Cz. *chladný*, Croat. *hlâdnī*) correspond to the a. p. *c* indefinite adjectives with a long root vowel (Croat. *hlâdan*). Cz. *chladný* (a. p. *c*) is different from *bílý* (a. p. *b*) «white» (Croat. *hlâdnī*: *bijělī*).

¹⁹ Cz. *loket* and Slovenc. ¹*lokč* with #*lo*–, and not #*la*– (cf. Cz. *lačný* «hungry», Čakavian *lăčan* < *ôlčьnъ) also confirm the circumflex (≠ Cz. *rádlo*, Croat. *rălo* < *ôrdlo «ploughshare»).

²⁰ *bŏbьni (V + ь + V) ≠ *môldostь (V + V + ь) because of the generalization of the accent of nom. sg. *bŏbьnъ or because of the generalization of the accent of gen. sg. *môldosti (where the shortening is certain, like in *ljěpotu* < *lĕpotŏ «beauty»). The order of the *yers* could also be important.

²¹ The *yer* is not lengthened in the last syllable in the nom. sg. of a. p. *c* (cf. Kapović forthcoming *d*).

²² Many nouns have the accentual pattern of *bûbanj* – *bûbnja* – *bûbnjevi*, some of them are younger and some of them are older: *tûtanj*, *pûcanj*, *sijêčanj*, *trâvanj*, *svîbanj*, *lîpanj*, *sîpanj*, *rûjan*, *skrêtanj*, *bâcanj*, *tûcanj*, *šûšanj*, *stûpanj*, *Mûčanj*, *Splâvanj* etc. (Jurišić 1992b: 87–89). In some, the accent is clearly secondary: *lîpanj* «June» (: *l`pa* «lime-tree») instead of *l`pañ* which is attested in the Posavina dialect (Ivšić 1971: [314]).

²³ Note the difference of: *lâkat*, *lâkta* «elbow» and *lâkat*, *lâkta* «ell» in Dubrovnik (ARj V: 883). Some of the other dialects also have the secondary *lâkat* (Posavina – Trnava: *dô lakta*; Strizivojna:

4. trisyllables ¹·V:·V·ъ/ь (two full syllables and a *jer*, ^ˆ on the first syllable)²⁴

***môldostъ** «youth» > Croat. *mlădôst*, Sln. *mladôst*, Russ. *мóлодость*

Common Slavic	Croatian	Slovene	Russian
*môldostъ	<i>mlădôst</i>	<i>mladôst</i>	<i>мóлодость</i>
*žîvostъ «liveliness»	<i>žîvôst</i>	<i>živôst</i>	<i>жîвость</i>
*zâ nokt'ъ «for the night»	<i>zâ nôć</i>	<i>za nôč</i>	<i>зâ ночь</i>

In a. p. c, the last syllable is lengthened after the dropping of the *jer* in Croatian and Slovene which is seen in Slovene in monosyllables only – like *bôg* «god», since there is no unaccented length in Sln. and since the progressive shift of the circumflex always yields long falling accent, cf. *sinôvi* «sons» like *mladôst*. Thus in Croatian we get (Štokavian) *mlădôst* < *môldostъ = *gôlûb* < *gôlôbъ «pigeon», but gen. sg. *mlădosti* ≠ *gôlûba*. In Croatian, the length of the suffix –*ost* is generalized in a. p. a and thus the old a. p. a words in –*ost* become a. p. c words, cf. *stărôst* (a. p. c) «old age» = *mlădôst* (a. p. c) with the basic *stăr* (a. p. a) «old» ≠ *mlăd* (a. p. c) «young». Thus *stărôst*,

ôd lakta, Ivšić 1971: [250]) instead of *lăkat*, but for both meanings – Vrgada, Novi: *lăkat*, *lăhta*. In some dialects, both variants are attested (Lika, Lastovo: *lăkat*/*lăkat*). [˘] instead of ^ˆ is analogical to the long plural *lăktovi* or to the oblique cases of plural: gen. pl. *lakăt*/*lakătā* (in the words meaning measures, gen. pl. is very frequent so its accent can influence the other cases: cf. nom. sg. *hiljada* «thousand» : gen. pl. *hîljādā* ⇒ nom. sg. *hîljada* : gen. pl. *hîljādā* or nom. sg. *gòdina* (Sinj) «year» : gen. pl. *gòdînā* ⇒ nom. sg. *gòdina* : gen. pl. *gòdînā*), *lăktima* (depending on the dialect but with a short root in oblique cases). Thus for instance, Vrgada (Čakavian) *lăkat* by analogy to gen. pl. *lakôāt* with the length regularly shortend before [˘].

²⁴ The trisyllables of the type ¹·V:·ъ·V· (full syllable with ^ˆ, a *jer* and a full syllable) are dealt with in a separate article (Kapović forthcoming a) because of the complexity of the problem. Adjectives like Croat. *hlădno* (*xôldьno) «cold» have a possible source of analogy for the length in *hlăd* «shade», *hlădna* «cold» (fem.), *hlădi!* (imperative of *hlăditi* «to make something cold»); *mûško* (*môžьsko) «man» has a possible source of analogy for the short vowel in the adjective *mûški* «man's» and the adverb *mûški* «manly»; acc. sg. *djěcu* (*dětьco) «children» is a derivative in which the vowel could have been shortened precisely because it is a derivative; in the example *sŕce* «heart» one might wonder if we are dealing with an original a. p. a or a. p. c word. Croat. variant *nà srce*, Sln. *sercê*, Russ. *сѣрдце* (*зâ сѣрдце*), pl. *сѣрдцá* and Croat. *sŕditi se* «to be angry», *sŕčan* «brave» etc. all point to a. p. c (and also Lith. *širdis*, *širdj* : verb *šĩrsti* and Latv. *sĩrds* by Meillet's Law). On the other hand, Croat. variant *nà srce*, nom. pl. *sŕca*, gen. pl. *sŕdācā* (*sŕcā*), the diminutive *sŕdāšce* and the usual desinential stress in Slavic derivatives with the suffix *–ъce (Croat. *pívce*, Russ. *пивцó* «little beer») all point to a. p. a. The mobile accent in Russ. and Sln. could be secondary, in Russ. like secondary *ná лето* (cf. Croat. *ljèto*, a. p. a) and in Sln. *sŕcê* instead of *sŕce (< *sŕdьce) by the misanalysis of the prepositional gen. sg. *iz sŕca* «from the heart». However, despite the difficulties, it seems that one should reconstruct Slavic *sŕdьce as mobile. See more in Kapović forthcoming a where this problem has been dealt with in detail.

originally an a. p. *a* word, also becomes mobile, like the old a. p. *c* word *mlādōst*, cf. gen. sg. *ōd mladosti*, loc. sg. *u mladōsti* = gen. sg. *ōd starosti*, loc. sg. *u starōsti*. In Croatian, besides the a. p. *c* type like *mlādōst* (+ *stārōst* a. p. *c* < *stārōstь, a. p. *a*), there is also the a. p. *b* type like *múdrost* «wisdom». The posttonic syllable (formerly under accent, Old Štokavian *mūdrōst*) remained short: *múdrost*, *crnost* «blackness», *jednákost* «equality» with short *-ost*. These words can also have younger long *-ōst*: *múdrōst*, *crnōst*, *jednákōst*²⁵.

5. trisyllables '·V·:V·V· (three full syllables, ^ on the first syllable)

**sŷnove* «sons» > Croat. *sŷnovi*, Sln. *sinōvi*

Common Slavic	Croatian	Slovene
* <i>sŷnove</i>	<i>sŷnovi</i>	<i>sinōvi</i>
acc. sg. * <i>nā nogō</i> «on the foot»	<i>nā_nogu</i>	<i>na_nōgo</i>
* <i>prēdīvo</i> «yarn»	<i>prēdīvo</i>	<i>predīvo</i>

The shortening of the circumflex in trisyllables in Croatian is seen clearly in examples like: *stān* – *stānovi* «apartment», *svijēt* – *svjētovi* «world», *rād* – *rādovi* «work», *grād* – *grādovi* «city» (a. p. *c* long plurals); *prāse* – *prāseta* «pig» < *pōrsete, *ždrijēbe* – *ždrēbeta* «foal» < *žērbete (a. p. *c* heterosyllabic neuters) etc. Cf. also the acc. sg. of the polysyllabic *ā*-stems like: *ljēpotu* «beauty», *plāninu* «mountain», *rāzinu* «level» (nom. sg. *ljepōta*, *planina* itd.) < *lĕpotō, *pōlnīnō etc. and the trisyllabic neuters like: *prēdīvo* (cf. Sln. *predīvo* < *prēdīvo) or *sjēčīvo* (*sĕčīvo) «blade» (a. p. *c*, nom. pl. *predīva*, *sjēčīva*). Cf. also a toponym (originally a trisyllabic neuter adjective with a long first syllable): *Đākovo*, *ŭ Đakovo*²⁶.

III) Neo–acute

The neo–acute is preserved only in Croatian dialects – Čakavian, Kajkavian and Old Štokavian, as a separate rising intonation. It is preserved in all positions (the neo–acute length in West Slavic is preserved in all positions as well) which makes the case of the neo–acute a special one if compared to the circumflex and the acute. The old acute and circumflex were either both shortened in Slavic languages or, depending on the language, only one of them yielded length. This length (acute in Czech, circumflex in Slovene and Croatian) is preserved in some positions only – depending on the number of syllables (the length is shortened in polysyllabic words as a general rule). The neo–acute length does not depend on the number of syllables in a word – the former neo–acute

²⁵ Modern dialects show different generalizations and neutralizations or coexistence of different variants like: *múdrost* (*múdrōst*) and *mūdrōst*, *svētōst* and *svétost* (*svētōst*) «sanctity» etc.

²⁶ Ivšić 1971: [252].

vowel remains long in all Slavic languages which have distinctive length or preserve traces of it. The neo–acute in the present tense forms like *mōltīte «you beat» (2. pl.) preserves the long root (in infinitive *moliťiti it is shortened, see below) because the stress had been retracted to the root before all pretonic long syllables got shortened in front of two moras in post–Common Slavic period (see below)²⁷. The traces of the neo–acute, due to its younger origin, are preserved in all Slavic languages – even in languages with no trace of the old acute or circumflex both (like Polish or Slovak). In Czech, Slovak and Polish (which has had the distinctive length up until the 15th century) neoacute yields length²⁸. In Polish, there is no distinctive length today but traces of it remain in certain vowels: *ą* (<*ē, *ō), *ó* (<*ō), dial. also *é* < *ē and *ǎ* < *ā. In Slovene, the reflection of the neo–acute is the same as the reflection of the old acute *súšā* < *sūšā = *kráva* < *kráva. In Russian, as in Slovene, both rising intonations yield the same reflection: *сторо́жа* «guard» < *stōrža = *коро́ва* < *kráva²⁹.

1. the retraction of the ictus from the weak *jer*³⁰

***kōtь** «angle» > Croat. dial. *kūt*, Sln. *kōt*, Czech *kout*, Slk. *kút*, Pol. *kąt* – *kąta*; Slovinc. *k'ōt*, Russ. dial. *кут* – *кута́*

Common Slavic	Croatian (dial.)	Slovene	Czech	Slovak	Polish	Slovincian	Russian
*kōtь	<i>kūt</i>	<i>kōt</i>	<i>kout</i>	<i>kút</i>	<i>kąt</i>	<i>k'ōt</i>	<i>кут, кута́</i> (dial.)
*kljūčь «key»	<i>kljūč</i>	<i>kljúč</i>	<i>klíč</i>	<i>kl'úč</i>	(<i>klucz</i>)	<i>kl'ūč</i>	<i>ключ, ключа́</i>
*sōdь «court; judgment»	<i>sūd</i>	<i>sōd</i>	<i>soud</i>	<i>súd</i>	<i>sąd, sądu</i>	<i>s'ōd</i>	<i>суд, судá</i>
*pōtьnikь «traveller»	<i>pūtnīk</i>	<i>pōtnik</i>	<i>poutník</i>	<i>pútnik</i>	<i>paṭnik</i>		<i>пу́тник</i>

²⁷ Every ~ is originally caused by a retraction to an earlier pretonic long syllable, in one way or the other. This long syllable remains long even in those cases where it would have been shortened had it stayed pretonic/unaccented. This is simply because the retractions causing the neo–acute are older than the general shortening of pretonic syllables in Slavic. The origin of the neo–acute is pan–Slavic and belongs to the Common Slavic period while the shortening belongs to the post–CSI period (see the Introduction).

²⁸ Czech and Slovak length in a. p. *b* is in fact also neo–acute: *xvāla «praise» > *xvāla > Czech *chvála* (= *kráva* < *kráva), Slk. *chvála* (= *krava*). Slovincian behaves like Slovak (*'xvāla* ≠ *'krova*).

²⁹ Russian Leka–dialects have a special reflex from the old neo–acuted *ō: *ō* (high round *o*).

³⁰ This retraction was discovered by the great Croatian linguist Stjepan Ivšić (cf. for instance Ivšić 1911: 182–194 or the same in Ivšić 1971: [132–144]), and it is here referred to as Ivšić's Rule. He also discovered the neo–acute as a separate rising intonation in conservative Croatian dialects and interpreted it correctly.

*dъlъžnъnikъ «debtor»	<i>dužnik</i>	<i>dolžnik</i>	<i>dlužnik</i>	<i>dlžnik</i> ³¹	(<i>dłużnik</i>)		ДОЛЖНИК, ДОЛЖНИКА ³²
--------------------------	---------------	----------------	----------------	-----------------------------	--------------------	--	------------------------------------

The retraction of the stress from a weak *jer* (which can no longer be accented) to the preceding length yields a new rising intonation – the neo–acute * ~. It is not important whether the weak *jer* is in the final position of the word or in the middle of the word or how many syllables a word has. The old *u*-stems, for instance, could have had the accent on the *yor* in the middle of the word: cf. Croat. dial. *čřkva* «church» (cf. also Sln. *čérkev*, Czech *církev* with a different vocalism) < *čьrkŭ, *čьrkŭve³³, *klětva* «curse» < *klětŭ, *klětŭve, *gŭžva* «mess» etc.

2. present tense of the a. p. *b*

***věžešь** «you tie up» (2. sg.) > Croat. dial. *věžěš*, Sln. *věžeš*, Czech *vážeš*, Slk. *viažeš*, Pol. *wiążesz*

Common Slavic	Croatian (dial.)	Slovene	Czech	Slovak	Polish	Russian
* <i>věžešь</i>	<i>věžěš</i>	<i>věžeš</i>	<i>vážeš</i>	<i>viažeš</i>	<i>wiążesz</i>	<i>вяжешь</i> , (1. <i>вяжѹ</i>)
* <i>pīšešь</i> «you write»	<i>pīšěš</i>	<i>pīšeš</i>	<i>píšeš</i>	<i>pīšeš</i>	(<i>piszesz</i>)	<i>пишешь</i> , (1. <i>пишѹ</i>)
* <i>slŭžīšь</i> «you serve»	<i>slŭžīš</i>	<i>slŭžīš</i>	<i>sloužīš</i>	<i>slŭžīš</i>	(<i>stŭżysz</i>)	<i>служишь</i> , (1. <i>служѹ</i>)
* <i>stŏpāješь</i> > * <i>stŏpāšь</i> «you	<i>stŭpāš</i>	<i>stŏpaš</i>	<i>stoupāš</i>	<i>stŭpaš</i>	<i>stąpasz</i>	<i>ступáешь</i>

³¹ Czech *poutník*, *dlužník* and Slovak *pútnik*, *dlžník* correspond in length to the words from which they are derived – Czech *pout*, *dluh* and Slovak *pút'*, *dlh* (cf. Croat. *pŭt* = *pŭtnik*, but *dŭg* ≠ *dŭžnik*). That is why these forms are not very indicative.

³² Russ. *должник* (a. p. *b*) ~ *долг*, *дѳлга* (a. p. *c*) «debt» ≠ *пѳтник* (a. p. *a**) ~ *пѳть*, *пѳтѳ* (a. p. *b*) «way». The term a. p. *a** is used here for a pattern with a fixed long neo–acute stress.

³³ This word is a loanword from Old High German. Germanic languages have a fixed accent on the first syllable which is shifted to the next syllable in Slavic by Dybo's Law (the accent is shifted to the next syllable if the first syllable is not accented – words with absolute initial accent in a. p. *c* are phonologically unstressed and hence does not participate in this law, e. g. pre–Dybo Slavic **p'odъ* «floor», **p'oda* > post–Dybo Slavic **podъ*, **podà* > Čakavian *pŏd*, *podà*). Germanic loanwords into Slavic often belong to a. p. *b* (cf. Matasović 2000).

march»						
*měšáješb > *měšāšb «you mix»	měšāš ³⁴	měšaš	mícháš	miešaš	(mieszasz)	мешáешь

The length of the thematic vowel explains the retraction of the accent (because it was a long falling accent and there could not have been a falling accent in the middle of the word) in examples like Croat. dial. *stūpāš* < *stōpāšb (contraction³⁵) < *stōpáješb, *nōsīš* «you carry» < *nosīšb, and even in *kōljēš* «you slay» < *koļēšb (following the presumed compensatory lengthening of *-e- because *lj > *ll > *l by the so called van Wijk's Law)³⁶, but it fails to do so in Croat. *tōnēš* «you sink» < *tōnešb where the length of the thematic -ē- is apparently secondary (cf. Croat. *mōžeš* «you can», a. p. *b* with no length, Czech *můžeš* etc.)³⁷. The retraction of the accent in a. p. *b* in verbs with thematic *-e- can be explained differently – by the analogical retraction to the verbs with the long thematic vowel (*-ī-, *-ā- < *-aje-)³⁸ or by the chain reaction due to the tendency to preserve the distinction of the stress in a. p. *b* and in a. p. *c* because of the weakening of the *jers* and the retraction of the stress in a. p. *c* as a direct result of it³⁹. Thus when a. p. *c* *nesešb «you carry» > *nesešb (Ivšić's Rule), in a. p. *b* *možēšb (*možēšb) ⇒ *mōžešb (not a regular sound law!) in order to maintain the difference⁴⁰.

3. the definite adjectives (and ordinal numbers) of the a. p. *b*

³⁴ -e- stands here for the different reflections of *yat* (*ě) in Croatian dialects.

³⁵ The contraction in this and similar cases, in those Slavic dialects in which it occurred of course, was obviously older than the law of the shortening of all pretonic length in front of two moras (see below).

³⁶ This retraction is usually referred 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, was given 46 years earlier by Stjepan Ivšić (1911: 169–77, the same in Ivšić 1971: [119–27]). Thus, Stang's Law should in fact be called Ivšić's Law and we shall refer to it as Ivšić's Law in this article.

³⁷ For a more detailed account of the problem of the length of the thematic vowel *e in Slavic cf. Kapović forthcoming *d*.

³⁸ And by the possible regular retraction in a. p. *b* 3. pl., see footnote number 41.

³⁹ Stankiewicz 1993: 14.

⁴⁰ Thus also in 3. sg. *možèť ⇒ *mōžetb. In 3. pl. the change could have been regular by Ivšić's Law (*mogōť > *mògōťb) which might have, among other things, influenced the overall retraction of the accent in the present tense of a. p. *b* (Croat. 3. pl. *mògū* is, of course, a problem). In 1. sg. there was no need for retraction (a. p. *b* *mogò ≠ a. p. *c* *nēsò), and in 1. pl. *mòžemo/-me and 2. pl. *mòžete the change would have had to be analogical (in the pre-form of Russian and OCS *mòžetb it need not be analogical). Stang (1957: 117–8) proposes a similar explanation. He also proposes as an alternative solution a possible analogical change *možēšb ⇒ *možēšb (it becomes falling as in *nosīšb) and then regular *možēšb > *mōžešb.

*bĕľǫjъ¹³ «white» > Croat. *bĕľǫ⁵*, Sln. *bĕľi*, Czech *bílý*, Slk. *biely*, Russ. *бѣлый*, Slovinc. *bjālī*

Common Slavic	Croatian (dial.)	Slovene	Czech	Slovak	Polish	Slovincian	Russian
*bĕľǫjъ	<i>bĕľī</i>	<i>bĕľi</i>	<i>bílý</i>	<i>biely</i>	<i>(biały)</i>	<i>bjālī</i>	<i>бѣлый</i>
*čĕrnǫjъ «black»	<i>črnī</i>	<i>črni</i>	<i>černý</i>	<i>čierny</i>	<i>(czarny)</i>	<i>čārnlī</i>	<i>чёрный</i>
*mōdrgъjъ «wise»	<i>mūdri</i>	<i>mōdri</i>	<i>moudrý</i>	<i>múdry</i>	<i>mądry</i>	<i>mōdrī</i>	<i>мудрый</i>
*pĕťǫjъ «fifth»	<i>pĕťī</i>	<i>pĕti</i>	<i>pátý</i>	<i>piaty</i>	<i>piąty</i>	<i>pjōtī</i>	<i>пятый</i>

The neoacute in the definite adjectives of the a. p. *b* (*bĕľǫjъ, *bĕľaja, *bĕľoje) was introduced to preserve the difference of a. p. *b* and a. p. *c* definite adjectives when a. p. *c* generalized the stress on the first syllable of the ending (cf. Russian *сухой*, *сухая*, *сухое*, *сухые*, a. p. *č*). When *suxǫjъ > *suxǫjъ (Ivšić's Law) and when *suhōjĕ analogically developed to *suhōje (cf. the original *suxāja in the fem.), *bĕľǫjъ, *bĕľaja, *bĕľoje had to shift the accent in order to preserve the difference of a. p. *b* and a. p. *c*⁴¹. Thus, the accent shifted to the beginning and it had to become the neo-acute – *bĕľǫjъ, *bĕľaja, *bĕľoje. The pivotal form for the generalization of the neo-acute on the root must have been the neo-acute in the indefinite masc. nom/acc. sg. *bĕľǫ. Thus a new distinction between the definite adjectives of a. p. *b* and a. p. *c* was formed: *bĕľǫjъ (a. p. *b*) ≠ *suxǫjъ «dry» (a. p. *c*) instead of the older *bĕľǫjъ = *suxǫjъ after *suxǫjъ yielded *suxǫjъ by Ivšić's Rule. Before the weakening of the *jers* and Ivšić's Rule: *bĕľǫjъ (a. p. *b*)⁴² ≠ *suxǫjъ (a. p. *c*), gen. sg. *bĕľǫjĕgo ≠ *suxǫjĕgo (for the accent of definite adjectives, cf. also Kapović forthcoming a).

The original different stress pattern of the definite adjectives of the a. p. *b* and *c* is faithfully preserved in West Slavic (Dybo 1981: 96–104): cf. for instance Czech a. p. *b* *bílý*, *blízky*, *krátký* and a. p. *c* *suchý*, *těžký*, *slatký*⁴³.

4. the *sūšā-type nouns

*žĕd'ā «thirst» > Croat. dial. *žĕđa*, Sln. *žĕja*, Old Czech *žieze*, Pol. *żądza* (dial. *żązā*), Slovinc. *žōza*, Russ. *жажда*

⁴¹ Cf. Stankiewicz 1993: 14.

⁴² In pre-Dybo Slavic: *b'ĕľǫjъ (in fact *b'ajlǫju).

⁴³ In Croatian, the distinction is more or less preserved in some dialects (*bĕľī*: *sūhī* < *suhī*), but it is often missing because of the secondary spread of the original a. p. *b* pattern in many dialects – younger *sūhī* instead of *sūhī* in order to generalize the length of the indefinite adjective *sūh*, *sūha* < *sūhā*, *sūho* in the definite adjectives as well (cf. Matešić 1970: 174 and Leskien 1914: 386–7). East Slavic often preserves the difference, cf. Russ. *бѣлый* (a. p. *b*) : *сухой* (a. p. *c*) but is in general more innovative than West Slavic (Czech/Slovak, Slovincian).

Common Slavic	Croatian dial.	Slovene	Czech ⁴⁴	Upper Lusatian	Polish	Russian	Slovincian
*žěd'ā	žěďa	žěja	žieze (Old Czech)		žadza	жажда	ž'ōza
*stōržā «guard»	strāža	strāža	stráž(e)	stróža	stróža	сторóжа	
*sũšā «drought»	sũša	súša	souš(e)		(susza)	сýша	(sũš'ā)

In Slavic, the *a*-stem nouns of a. p. *b* with the suffix *-ja always have the neo-acute on the root (*sũšā or *vòl'ā)⁴⁵. This pattern involves some 30 odd nouns in Slavic – mostly younger derivatives (one exception is *vòl'ā, cf. Lith. *valià*). The neo-acute accent on the root is explained by van Wijk's Law causing the lengthening of the final *-a (*sũsja > *sũšša > *sũšā by compensatory lengthening) and then by the retraction of the final falling accent by Ivšić's Law (*sũšā > *sũš'ā) which may not be pan-Slavic. The final long *-ā is preserved in Slovincian (v'olā, sũš'ā – apparently no retraction of the stress in the second example!), Old Polish and Polish dialects (*wolā, stróžā*). Elsewhere, the normal short -a of the a. p. *a* and *c* is generalized. In a. p. *a* and *c* there was no van Wijk's and Ivšić's Law, and accordingly, of course, no neo-acute (cf. Croat. *sāďa* «soot», Czech *sāze* for a. p. *a* and Croat. *dúša, dũšu*, Czech *duša* for a. p. *c*). For a detailed discussion of the problem of this type of nouns cf. Kapović forthcoming *b*.

IV) Pretonic length

When dealing with the reflections of the pretonic length in Slavic, one has to take into account the number of syllables in a word, the position of the pretonic long syllable, the nature of the accent after the pretonic length and the nature of the vowels involved. The accentual paradigm also directly affects the reflection of the pretonic (and posttonic) length in West Slavic and Slovene.

1. **disyllables with the final stress ·V:·'V·** (two full syllables, pretonic length on the first syllable, accent on the last syllable)

*trōbā⁴⁶ «trumpet» (a. p. *b*), *rōkā «hand» (a. p. *c*) > Croat. *trúba, rúka*, Sln. *tróba, róka*, Czech *trouba, ruka*, Slk. *trúba, ruka*, Pol. *trąba, ręka*, Slovinc. *tr'ōba, 'rąka*

a. p. *b* – length preserved everywhere

CSI.	Croat.	Sln.	Czech	Slk.	Pol.	Slovinc.	Russ.
------	--------	------	-------	------	------	----------	-------

⁴⁴ In Slk. cf. *hrāďza* ~ Croat. *grāďa*.

⁴⁵ This type of nouns is often called the *vòlā-type nouns.

⁴⁶ For the etymology of this word regarding the accent see Matasović 2000: 132.

*borzdá, *borzdô «furrow»	<i>brázda, brázdu</i>	<i>brázda, brázdo</i>	<i>brázda</i>	<i>brázda</i>	<i>brózda</i>	¹ <i>bāřda</i>	<i>бороздá, бороздú</i>
*xvālá, *xvālô «praise»	<i>hvála, hválu</i>	<i>hvála, hválo</i>	<i>chvála</i>	<i>chvála</i>	(<i>chwała</i>)	¹ <i>xvāla</i>	<i>хвалá, хвалú</i>
*mōká, *mōkô «flour»	<i>múka, múku</i>	<i>mōka, mōko</i>	<i>mouka</i>	<i>múka</i>	<i>mąka</i>	¹ <i>mōka</i>	<i>мукá, мукú</i>
*pīzda, *pīzdô «cunt»	<i>pízda, pízdu</i>	<i>pízda, pízdo</i>	<i>pízda</i>		(<i>pizda</i>)	<i>p]īzda</i>	<i>пиздá, пиздú</i>
*trōbá, *trōbô	<i>trúba, trúbu</i>	<i>trōba, trōbo</i>	<i>trouba</i>	<i>trúba</i>	<i>trąba</i>	<i>tr¹ōba</i>	<i>трубá, трубú</i>

a. p. *c* – length preserved only in Croatian

CSI.	Croat.	Sln.	Czech	Slk.	Pol.	Slovinc.	Russ.
*bordá, *bōrdô «beard»	<i>bráda, brādu</i>	<i>bráda, bradô</i>	<i>brada</i> ⁴⁷	<i>brada</i>	<i>broda</i>	¹ <i>broda</i>	<i>бородá, бóроду</i>
*golvá, *gōlvô «head»	<i>gláva, glāvu</i>	<i>gláva, glavô</i>	<i>hlava</i>	<i>hlava</i>	<i>głowa</i>	¹ <i>glova</i>	<i>головá, гóлову</i>
*grēdá, *grēdô «beam»	<i>gréda, grēdu</i>	<i>gréda, gredô</i>	<i>hřada</i>	<i>hrada</i>	<i>grzęda</i>	¹ <i>gřada</i>	<i>грядá, грядú (ORuss.)</i>
*pētá, *pētô «heel»	<i>péta, pētu</i>	<i>péta, petô</i>	<i>pata</i>	<i>pāta</i>	<i>pięta</i>	¹ <i>pjata</i>	<i>пятá, пятú (ORuss.)</i>
*rōká, *rōkô «arm»	<i>rúka, rúku</i>	<i>róka, rokô</i>	<i>ruka</i>	<i>ruka</i>	<i>ręka</i>	¹ <i>rąka</i>	<i>рукá, руку</i>

In a. p. *b*, pretonic length in disyllables is attested in all the languages. In a. p. *c*, the length is preserved only in Croatian (Štokavian *gláva*, Čakavian, Kajkavian *glāvā*). In West Slavic, the circumflex is regularly shortened in the *enclinomena* forms like acc. sg. *rōkô (Czech/Slovak *ruku*, Polish *rękę*, Slovinc. ¹*rąką*). The short vowel of the root, regular only in the forms with the absolute initial (circumflex) accent, is then generalized and thus leaving us with a short root in all the forms (e. g. Czech *ruka*, *ruku* instead of **rúka*, *ruku*). In Slovincian, the accent of the original acc. sg. is generalized in

⁴⁷ Upper Lusatian *broda* (a. p. *c*) ≠ *brózda* (n. p. *b*).

the nom. sg. as well (nom. sg. ¹*raka* analogous to the acc. sg. ¹*rakā*). In Slovene, the circumflex of the acc. sg. is shifted regularly to the next syllable and thus the root becomes short (there are no unaccented long vowels in Slovene): *rokō*. Analogically, nom. sg. also loses its length (*rōka* instead of **rōka*).

In a. p. *b*, where one would expect the preservation of the pretonic long syllable in both nom. sg. and acc. sg. – one does indeed find a length there in West Slavic (Czech *trouba*) and in Slovene (*trōba*). In a. p. *b*, the pretonic length is expected regularly in 8 cases: nom. sg. (**trōbā*), gen. sg. (**trōbŷ*), dat. sg. (**trōbĕ*), acc. sg. (**trōbō*), loc. sg. (**trōbĕ*) and nom. pl. (**trōbŷ*), gen. pl. (**trōbŷ̆ > *trōbŷ̆*) and acc. pl. (**trōbŷ*). Thus it is generalized in 6 other cases in West Slavic as well: in voc., instr. sg., dat., loc., voc., instr. pl. In these cases, one would expect a short root because the accent was falling in the vocatives – voc. sg. **trōbō* and voc. pl. **trōby* – and because the other cases were polysyllabic and the pretonic length should have been shortened – instr. sg. **trōbōjō*, dat. pl. **trōbām̆*, loc. pl. **trōbāx̆*, instr. pl. **trōbāmi* (see below about the shortening in these conditions). In Czech, in the plural forms of *tráva* (a. p. *b*) there are double forms: dat. pl. *trávám/trávám*, loc. pl. *trávách/trávach*, instr. pl. *trávami/trávami* but that could be due to the influence of the a. p. *a* stems (cf. the secondary gen. pl. *trav* by analogy to *kráva* < **kōrva*, gen. pl. *krav* < **kōrvŷ*). In Croatian, the length is not generalized in a. p. *b* in archaic dialects or it is only generalized very recently (cf. nom. sg. *tráva*, acc. sg. *trávu* but dli. pl. *trávama*).

In a. p. *c*, we expect the short stem in West Slavic and Slovene regularly in 10 cases: dat. sg. (**grĕdě*), acc. sg. (**grĕdō*), voc. sg. (**grĕdo*), instr. sg. (**grĕdojō*), nom. pl. (**grĕdy*), dat. pl. (**grĕdām̆*), acc. pl. (**grĕdy*), voc. pl. (**grĕdy*), loc. pl. (**grĕdāx̆*), instr. pl. (**grĕdāmi*). The long vowel is to be expected in only 4 cases: nom. sg. (**grĕdā*), gen. sg. (**grĕdŷ*)⁴⁸, loc. sg. (**grĕdĕ*) and gen. pl. (**grĕdŷ̆ > *grĕdŷ̆*). That the short variant is generalized in a. p. *c* is not surprising because it is far more numerous (10 to 4 forms). This explains the generalization of the long variant in a. p. *b* in West Slavic where the proportion is only 8 long to 6 short forms. The long form in a. p. *b* is generalized because the short one is generalized in a. p. *c*. That the short forms are generalized in all cases in a. p. *c* is not surprising since the same thing occurs in all a. p. *c* paradigms in West Slavic. The circumflex itself is shortened (Czech *hlas*, *tĕlo*) and also the posttonic length in a. p. *c* (Czech *holub*, see below). Thus the shortness (i.e. the generalized circumflex) becomes the distinct mark of a. p. *c* in West Slavic and it should not be surprising that the short forms prevailed in a. p. *c* *ā*-stems as well (cf. also *rūka*, acc. sg. *rūku* in some Čakavian and Štokavian dialects instead of *rūkā/rúka*, acc. sg. *rūku*).

In Croatian, the length is not generalized in all cases (cf. Štokavian nom. sg. *rúka*, acc. sg. *rūku*, but gen. pl. *rūkū*, dli. pl. *rūkama*, in some Čakavian dialects nom.

⁴⁸ Not in Slovene though, because the generalized **-ĕ* in gen. sg. is secondarily lengthened and thus preserves the original final stress (Sln. gen. sg. *glavĕ*).

sg. *rūkà*, acc. sg. *rūku*, nom. pl. *rūke* but gen. sg. *rukě*⁴⁹, dat. pl. *rukàm*, loc. pl. *rukàh*, instr. pl. *rukàm*)⁵⁰.

The same thing that is seen in *ā*-stems is witnessed in neuter *o*-stems. Cf. in a. p. *b* stems *gnēzdó > Croat. *gnijézdo*, Sln. *gnézdó*, Czech *hnízdo* and in a. p. *c* nom. pl. *mēsá (nom. sg. *mēso) > Croat. *měso*, nom. pl. *měsa*, but Czech short *maso* with the generalized *enclinomena* forms accent. Cf. also the a. p. *b* *o*-stem nouns: gen. sg. *korl'á > Croat. *králja*, Sln. *králja*, Czech *krále*, Polish *króla* etc.

2. **trisyllables with the final stress ·V·V:·'V·** (three full syllables, pretonic length on the second syllable, accent on the last syllable)

*кѡlbāsá «sausage» > Croat. *kobása*, Sln. *klobása*, Czech, Slk. *klobása*, Slovinc. ¹*kolbāsa*, Russ. *колбасá*

Common Slavic	Croatian	Czech	Slovak	Slovincian
*кѡlbāsá	<i>kobása</i>	<i>klobása</i>	<i>klobása</i>	¹ <i>kolbāsa</i>
gen. sg. *дѡлѣbníká «debtor»	<i>dužníka</i>	<i>dlužníka</i>	<i>dlžníka</i>	[¹ <i>dlužníka</i>]
gen. sg. *røkāvá «sleeve»	<i>rukáva</i>	<i>rukáva</i>	<i>rukáva</i>	[¹ <i>rəkava</i>]
gen. sg. *klobūká «hat»	<i>klobúka</i>	<i>klobouka</i>	<i>klobúka</i>	¹ <i>klobūka</i>

In trisyllables with the final accent the length of the second syllable is also preserved (the length of the first syllable is shortened) – in all cases in Croatian, and in a. p. *b* elsewhere⁵¹. In Štokavian, one finds a secondary short syllable in this position in words like: *visina*, *vīsinu* «hight»; *planina*, *plāninu* «mountain»; *vrućina*, *vrūćinu* «heat»⁵². But in some Čakavian dialects the expected long *-ī-* is attested: cf. Vrgada *višīnā*, *vīšīnu*; *planīnā*, *plānīnu*; *vrućīnā*, *vrūćīnu*⁵³ etc. The short *-i-* of Štokavian and some Čakavian dialects is here analogous to the acute suffix *-ina* < **-īna* as in **maīna* «raspberry», **travīna* «big grass», **leđīna* «field». This suffix **-īna* is secondarily mixed with the circumflexed suffix **-īnā*, that we see for instance in **polnīnā* (thus, Štokavian *-i-* in *planina* is short by analogy to the short *-i-* in *lèdina*). Cf. in Croat. two derivatives from

⁴⁹ With secondary long *-ē* and the root thus short (see below). If the original *-ī* is preserved, the root is long – gen. sg. *rūkī* (North Čakavian).

⁵⁰ Kortlandt (1975: 30) assumes the length in Croatian nom. sg. *rúka* to be secondary, introduced from the acc. sg. *rūku* but there is no need for such a theory. This problem is connected with the reflection of the posttonic length (see below).

⁵¹ Croat. *tetiva* < **tetivá*, acc. sg. *tetivu* (a. p. *b*) is not in accord with Czech *tětiva* and Slk. *tetiva* with the short *-i-* which would point to a. p. *c*, not a. p. *b* (see below).

⁵² Czech and Slk. *planina* is expected in a. p. *c* (see below).

⁵³ Susak: *živīnā* «animal», but Cres: *živinā*, Novi: *plāninā*. For a long *-ī-* cf. also Sln. *īstina* «truth».

the same basic word *slân* «salty» – *slânina* «bacon» with the original *-īna and *slanina* «saltiness» with the original *-īnā.

3. trisyllables with the final stress ·V:·ǃ/ǃ·ǃ·V· (long full syllable, *jer* in the second syllable, accent on the third, full, syllable)⁵⁴

***polťnó** «linen» > Croat., Czech, Slk. *plátno*, Pol., Upper Lusatian *plótno*

CSI.	Croatian	Czech	Slovak	Polish	ULus.
* polťnó	<i>plátno</i>	<i>plátno</i>	<i>plátno</i>	<i>plótno</i>	<i>plótno</i>
* pīšǃmó «letter»	<i>písmo</i>	<i>písmo</i>	<i>písmo</i>	(<i>pismo</i>)	(<i>pismo</i>)
*(v) ǃrǃnó «lime»	<i>vápno</i>	<i>vápno</i>	<i>vápno</i>	(<i>wapno</i>)	(<i>wapno</i>)
* volťnó «fiber»	<i>vlákno</i>	<i>vlákno</i>	<i>vlákno</i>	<i>włókno</i>	<i>włokno</i> ⁵⁵

The length is attested in all the languages in the first syllable if the accent is on the last syllable and the *jer* is in the second syllable (if it were a full vowel in the second syllable, the length would not be preserved, cf. Čak. *suhočã* «dryness» < *suxot'ã, *tresetë* «you shake» (pl.) < *tręsetë etc. – the length has to be immediately in front of the accent in order to be preserved). It is not so easy, though, to find a form in which the length of the root cannot be secondary. For instance, the length of Croat. *súkno* < *sūkǃnó «cloth» could be analogous to the verb *súkati*, *súčëm* «twist, twine». The length in Croat. and Czech/Slovak *písmo* could be secondary to the present tense (Croat. *pīšěš* > *pīšěš*, Czech *píšeš*). In Croat. *vlákno*, the length could be analogical to the verb -*vláčiti* «to pull» (Czech -*vlékat*, *vléct*). In order to assume the length in Czech *vápno* or *plátno* is secondary, we would have to assume that the unattested words **polť* (~ Croat. *pòtplat* «sole») and **varǃ* (~ Russ. CSI. *varǃ*) were a. p. *b* (Czech **plát*, **váp* ⇒ *plátno*, *vápno*) in order to yield the analogical length in Czech. However, that is highly unlikely.

One of the more reliable examples is Croat. *gúmno* «threshing floor» < *gūmǃnó. It cannot have an analogical length because the root **gū-* < **gaw-* (~ **govědo* «cow») is not attested in that form in any other word in Slavic⁵⁶. The gen. pl. *gūmānā*

⁵⁴ In cases like ·V:·ǃ/ǃ·ǃ/ǃ· the length is preserved: cf. **pēsǃkǃ* > Croat. *píjésak*, Sln. *pések*, Czech *písek*, Slk. *piesok*, but these examples are not really relevant since there are no counterexamples. That is, all words with the suffix *-ǃkǃ show length in the last syllable of the stem because of the generalization of the **pēsǃkǃ*-type. Cf. secondary Czech *kožíšek* (diminutive) from *kožich* «leather coat» (~ Croat. *kòžuh* < **kožǃxǃ*), Croat. *jezičak* (secondary a. p. *b*) but *jèzik*, -*a* (a. p. *a*) etc.

⁵⁵ Regular short reflection in front of -*k-*, like in *mloko* «milk» < **melkó*.

⁵⁶ In Czech and Slovak, the word *humno* has the unexplained secondary short root, but in Slovak dial. one finds the expected reflection: *húmno/húvno* (SSN: 640). The root vowel in Czech is also secondarily short in the word *sukno* (cf. Croat. and Slovak *súkno* < **sūkǃnó*) and in Slk. (older)

(dial. *gūvānā* in Prapatnice in Vrgorska krajina), in contrast to the gen. pl. *gōvānā*, from *gōvno* «shit» with a secondary length because of the *-vn-*, proves that the length in *gúmno* is indeed old and not only secondarily here because the vowel is in front of a sonant in a closed syllable (*-mn-*). In the syllables of the type *-VRC-*, the vowel regularly lengthens in Štokavian (except in Eastern Bosnian dialect, cf. Kapović forthcoming *d*). If the vowel in *gúmno* was long only because of the *-mn-* (*gúmno* < **gùmno*), then the gen. pl. would then be ***gùmānā* (like *gōvānā*) and not the attested *gūmānā*. The possibility that the length in the **gūmъnō*-type words is due to the analogy to the NA. pl. **gūmъna* seems highly unlikely.

4. trisyllables with the central stress ·V·'V·V· (three full syllables, accent on the second /middle syllable)

***maľina** «raspberry» > Croat. *màlina*, Sln. *malína*, Czech, Slk. *malina*, Slovinc. ¹*malina*

CSl.	Croat.	Sln.	Czech	Slk.	Slovinc.
* <i>kaľina</i> «privet»	<i>kàlina</i>	<i>kalína</i>	<i>kalina</i>	<i>kalina</i>	¹ <i>kalina</i>
* <i>kopína</i> «blackberry»	<i>kùpina</i>	<i>kopína</i>	<i>kupina</i>	<i>kupina</i>	¹ <i>kaḗjina</i>
* <i>maľina</i>	<i>màlina</i>	<i>malína</i>	<i>malina</i>	<i>malina</i>	¹ <i>malina</i>
* <i>orkýta</i> «purple willow»	<i>ràkita</i>	<i>rakîta</i>	<i>rokyta</i>	<i>rokyta</i>	

In front of the accented middle syllable, the old length is always shortened in all the languages. Besides the adduced examples cf. also Croat. *blàzina* «pillow», *gùsjenica* «caterpillar» (Slovak *húsenica* is secondary), *jàsika* «aspens», *lèdina* «field», *ràbota* «work» (Czech *robota*), *sjèkira* «axe» (Czech *sekyra*), *slàvina* «tap» etc. In Croatian, the regular shortening is not attested only in the words which are always trisyllabic – it also happens in the trisyllabic forms of the words which have only two syllables in the basic form (the first syllable can thus be long in some forms and short in the other). Cf. in declension: *rúka* : dli. pl. *rùkama*; *zúb* «tooth», nom. pl. *zûbi* : dli. pl. *zùbima*; *ûho* «ear» : dli. pl. *ùšima*⁵⁷; *bráda* : *bràdama*; *strijéla* «arrow» : *str(j)èlama*⁵⁸; *dúša* «soul» : *dùšama*,

grzno «fur» compared with Croat. *kíznno* < **kъrznō* (the variant *kîznno* (ARj) is younger). Czech *krzno* is irrelevant (syllabic *r* cannot be long in Czech).

⁵⁷ In this example, some dialects have generalized the short root vowel: thus some dialects, analogically to gen. pl. *ùšijū* and dli. pl. *ùšima*, change *ûši* to *ùši* and *ûho* to *ùho*. The instability of the *-h-* also helps (*ûho* > *ûo* > *ùo* ⇒ *ùho*).

⁵⁸ Budmani 1867: 41. The shortening of the root vowel in dli. pl. like in *rùkama* is typical mostly of the a. p. *c* nouns, while the a. p. *b* nouns generalized the long vowel more easily (*brázdama* analogical to nom. pl. *brázde*). But in the archaic Štokavian dialect of Dubrovnik, the shortening is normal in the a. p. *b* nouns as well (nom. pl. *túge* : *tùgama* «sorrow»).

gréda : *grèdama*, *péta* : *pètama*, *svínja* «pig» : *svìnjama*, *svijéca* «candle» : *svjècama*, *grána* «branch» : *grànama*, *lúka* «harbor» : *lùkama* etc. Štokavian examples like *mísao* «thought» : *míslima*, *mrâv* «ant» : *mrávima*, *gránama*, *strána* «side» : *stránama* etc. are all younger and have an analogical length in these forms⁵⁹. The same shortening is seen in the derivatives: Štokavian *gláva* – *glàvica* «little head», *tráva* – *tràvica* «little grass», *bráda* – *bràdica* «little beard», *rúka* – *rùčica* «little arm», *grána* – *grànčica* «twig»; *zíd* «wall» – *zidine* «walls, ramparts», *glàs* «voice» – *glàsina* «rumour», *grâd* «city» – *gràdina* «old town», *ljûdi* «people» – *ljùdina* «big man», *rêp* «tail» – *rèpina* «big tail», *svijêt* «world» – *svjètina* «crowd» etc. Cf. also Czech *trouba* – *trubice* «little trumpet» (Croat. *trúba* – *trùbica*).

Infinitive

The examples of the secondary length in the infinitive of the a. p. *b* everywhere except in Slovinc. (and Sln.)

CSl.	Croat.	Sln.	Czech	Slk.	Pol.	Slovinc.
*kazáti «to show»	<i>kázati</i>	<i>kazáti</i>	<i>kázati</i>	<i>kázatʹ</i>	(<i>kazać</i>)	<i>kʹazac</i>
*kupíti «to buy»	<i>kúpiti</i>	<i>kupíti</i>	<i>koupiti</i>	<i>kúpitʹ</i>	(<i>kupić</i>)	<i>kʹupjic</i>
*kopaťi «to bathe»	<i>kúpati</i>	<i>kopáti</i>	<i>koupati</i>	<i>kúpatʹ</i>	<i>kapać</i>	<i>kʹapac</i>
*kosaťi «to eat»	<i>kúsati</i>	<i>kosáti</i>	<i>kousati</i>	<i>kúsatʹ</i>	<i>kasać</i>	<i>kʹasac</i>
*moltíti «to beat»	<i>mlátiti</i>	<i>mlatítʹ</i> ⁶⁰	<i>mlátiti</i>	<i>mlátitʹ</i>	<i>młócić</i>	<i>młocic</i>

In the trisyllabic infinitives (*-ǎ-, *-í-, *-ě- and *-no-verbs) of the a. p. *b*, Štokavian, Czech, Slovak, Polish and Upper Lusatian have the analogical length taken from the present tense which has the length preserved because of the neoacute (in the trisyllabic infinitive with the middle stress, the length would have to be regularly shortened in the root). Thus Štok.⁶¹, Czech *mlátiti*, Slovak *mlátitʹ*, Polish *młócić*, Upper

⁵⁹ In some dialects, both variants exist (for instance, Lika dli. pl. *glàvan* and younger *glávan*). In the forms *rùkama* and *zùbima*, the short vowel is preserved in all the dialects.

⁶⁰ Present tense: *kážem*, *kúpim* etc. In Sln., the infinitive can get the analogical accent from the present tense: thus e. g. *čúvati* «to guard», *stópati* «to march», *zídati* «to build» or *hvalíti* «to praise», *služíti* «to serve», *pisáti* «to write», *vezáti* «to tie up» together with younger *hváliti*, *slúžiti*, *pisati*, *vézati* (analogous to the present tense *hválim*, *slúžim* etc.). Since this occurs only in verbs with former * ~ in the root (never in verbs with former * `), this analogy must have happened before the lengthening of all non-final vowels in Slovene.

⁶¹ Cf. also Čakavian *mlāiti*, *mlātīm* and Kajkavian (Bednja) *mlāōiti*, *mlōtim* with the secondary length in the a. p. *b* infinitive.

Lusatian *młóćić*⁶² (*molǫiti) with the analogical length taken from the present: Štok. *mlātīš* > *mlâtīš*, Czech *mlátīš*, Slovak *mlátīš*, Polish *młóćisz*, Upper Lusatian *młóćis̥* (*mōltīš̥). That this length is secondary in the infinitive is clearly shown by various Slavic dialects and languages which have preserved the original short root vowel in trisyllabic infinitives. Old Polish has a short root vowel in the infinitive of the a. p. *b* (*sędzić* : *sądzisz* «to judge», *przystępic* : *przystąpisz* «to come to») which proves that the Modern Polish length there is secondary. Many Kajkavian dialects preserve the original distinction of the long vowel in the present and the short vowel in the infinitive completely, cf. Kajkavian *pisāti* – *pīšem* «to write» (a. p. *b*). In these Kajkavian dialects, both the a. p. *b* and the a. p. *c* infinitives have a shortened root vowel. The root vowel in the infinitives of the a. p. *b* verbs is also short in Slovincian and Molise Croatian (see below). Many languages (Czech/Slovak, ULus., various Kajkavian dialects, Modern Polish) distinguish the a. p. *b* infinitive, which has acquired the secondary length from the present, from the a. p. *c* infinitive which has the expected short root vowel (because it is shortened in the present tense as well as in front of more than two moras, see below). For the short root vowel in a. p. *c* cf. Czech *zlatiti*, Slovak *zlatitʹ*, Polish *złócić* and ULus. *złóćić* «to make something golden» (cf. also Bednja Kajk. *hloditi* «to cool something down» ~ Czech *chladiti*, Slovak *chladitʹ*, Polish *chłodzić*⁶³. In Štokavian, both a. p. *b* and (original) a. p. *c* have the secondary length: *mlátiti*; *zlátiti*, *hláditi* in most of the verbs.

The examples of the secondary length in Croat. (Štok.) and the expected short root vowel in West Slavic

Common Slavic	Croatian ⁶⁴	Czech	Slovak	Polish
*gašiti «extinguish»	<i>gásiti</i>	<i>hasiti</i>	<i>hasitʹ</i>	(<i>gasić</i>)
*xolditi «to cool	<i>hláditi</i>	<i>chladiti</i>	<i>chladitʹ</i>	<i>chłodzić</i>

⁶² Cf. also ULus. *brónić* «defend», *prěčić* «obstruct», *klóćić* «swing» (a. p. *b*).

⁶³ Bednja (Jedvaj 1956: 315–6): a. p. *b* *brōūniti*, *hrōūniti* «to feed», *kvāōriti* «to spoil» ≠ a. p. *c* *plotiti* «to pay», *gositi* «to extinguish», *tojiti* «to keep a secret» etc.

⁶⁴ In many Štokavian dialects, in *i*-verbs, the long-vowel verbs (and some short-vowel verbs as well) change the paradigm from a. p. *c* to a. p. *b* (cf. also Ivšić 1971: [121–127] and Brozović & Ivšić 1988: 18) in order to reestablish the original long root vowel which has been regularly shortened in both the infinitive and the present tense but not for instance in the imperative (*xolditi, *xoldiš̥ with the expected shortening in front of two or more moras, see below, and the imperative *xoldi' with the expected preservation of the pretonic length, like in *trāvā). The length regularly preserved in the present tense of the a. p. *b* (*mōltīš̥) and in the derivatives like *xōld̥ (Croat. *hlād*) also helped in the reintroduction of the long root vowel in the a. p. *c* verbs in many Štokavian dialects. This process did not affect some archaic Old Štokavian dialects in Posavina, Kajkavian dialects and some Čakavian dialects, cf. for instance Posavina: *gradīš* «you build», a. p. *c* and Standard Croatian *grādīš*, secondary a. p. *b*. The process was not general, it did not affect all the words (cf. for instance Croat. *slijédīš* «you follow») and often the change depended even on the (in)transitivity of the verb (see more in Kapović 2003). Most *ě*-verbs just reintroduce the secondary length in Štok. but remain a. p. *c*: *třpjeti* – *třpīš* «to suffer», *šútjeti* – *šútīš* «to be silent», *lúdjeti* – *lúdīš* «to become crazy» etc.

smth down»				
*kypěti «to boil»	<i>kípjeti</i>	<i>kypěti</i>	<i>kypietʹ</i>	<i>(kipieć)</i>
*mladíti «to make sb younger»	<i>mláditi</i>	<i>mladiti</i>	<i>mladitʹ</i>	<i>młodzić</i>
*zolfíti «to make smth golden»	<i>zlátiti</i>	<i>zlatiti</i>	<i>zlatitʹ</i>	<i>złocić</i>

All the verbs in Slovincian, both the a. p. *b* and the a. p. *c*, preserve the original short vowel: *čerpjec*, *šumjec* (: *čerpīš*, *šumīš*); *blazic*, *brʹońic*, *bużic*, *čeńic*, *kupjic*, *lepjic*, *šazic*, *xʹalic* (: *blazīš*, *brʹońīš* etc.); *dixac*, *kazac*, *kʹapac*, *lizac*; *bivac*, *mješac*, *pitac* (: *bivāš*, *pitāš* etc.)⁶⁵ etc. The length is introduced only in the *-ŋ-*verbs: *čīgnŋoc* «to pull», *kʹixŋoc* «to sneeze», *māxŋoc* «to wave», *ščīpnŋoc* «to pinch» from the present tense *čīgněš*, *kʹixńěš*⁶⁶ etc. Slovincian no longer uses the stress position to maintain the difference of a. p. *b* and a. p. *c* in present tense – it uses the quantity instead (the long root vowel in a. p. *b* as a reflection of the neo-acute and the short root vowel in a. p. *c* as the result of the regular shortening of the long vowels before two or more moras in Slavic): *mlocic* – *młōciš*, *xʹalic* – *xʹālīš* (a. p. *b*) ≠ *čīńic* – *čīniš*, *šazic* – *šazīš* (a. p. *c*)⁶⁷.

As was already said, Czech/Slovak, Modern Polish, ULus. and some Kajkavian dialects (for instance Bednja) have the short root vowel preserved in the trisyllabic a. p. *c* infinitives in contrast to the analogical long root vowel in a. p. *b*. The length in a. p. *c* cannot be introduced from the present tense, as was the case in a. p. *b*, because the length was regularly shortened there as well (see below): Czech *chladiti* – *chladīš*, Slk. *chladitʹ* – *chladīš*, Pol. *chłodzić* – *chłodzisz* and Kajk. (Bednja) *hłoditi* – *hłodīm*.

In Czech, the a. p. *c* verbs totally merge with a. p. *a* verbs which also show the short root vowel in both the infinitive and the present tense (because the old acute is shortened in tri- or polysyllabic words): Czech a. p. *c* *chladiti* – *chladīš*, *hasiti* – *hasīš*, *mladiti* – *mladīš* = a. p. *a* *raniti*–*ranīš* «to wound», *nuditi*–*nudīš* «to offer», *mysliti*–*myslīš* «to think» (cf. Croat. *hláditi*, *gásiti*, *mláditi* ≠ *ràniti*, *nùditi*, *mìsliti*). The same is of course true for Slovak and Polish as well, since the acute always yields a short syllable there.

In Upper Lusatian, the situation is different than in Czech. Trisyllabic words in ULus. preserve (or perhaps reintroduce it secondarily from the disyllabic forms) the old

⁶⁵ Cf. the analogical length here in all Croatian examples: *trpjeti* «to suffer», *šumjeti* «to rustle»; *blúditi* «to wonder around», *brániti* «to defend», *búđiti* «to wake sb up», *cijéniti* «to appreciate», *kúpiti* «to buy», *lijépati* «to paste», *súđiti* «to judge», *hváliti* «to praise»; *dísati* «to breathe», *kázati* «to show», *kúpati* «to bathe», *lízati* «to lick»; *bívati* «to be, to exist», *mijéšati* «to mix», *pítati* «to ask».

⁶⁶ See more examples in Stankiewicz 1993: 315–6.

⁶⁷ Stankiewicz 1993: 318.

acute length (in Czech they do not), so there the a. p. *a* merges with a. p. *b*: cf. ULus. *plóšíc* (a. p. *a*) = *klóćíc* (a. p. *b*) ≠ *złóćíc* (a. p. *c*) ≠ Czech *plašiti* (a. p. *a*) = *zlatiti* (a. p. *c*) ≠ *klátiti* (a. p. *b*), cf. Kajkavian *plàšiti* (a. p. *a*) – *klatìti* | *klā̀ti* (*klā̀tim*) (a. p. *b*) – *zlatìti* (*zlatīm*) (a. p. *c*).

The examples with the original short vowel preserved in Croatian and Slovincian

Common Slavic	Croatian (Štokavian)	Slovincian
*běžāti «to run»	<i>bjèžati</i>	<i>bježec</i>
*čīnīti «to do»	<i>čīniti</i>	<i>čīńic</i>
*gubīti «to loose»	<i>gūbiti</i>	<i>gubjic</i>
*učīti «to teach»	<i>ūčiti</i>	<i>vućic</i>
*sēdēti «to sit»	<i>sjèdjeti</i>	<i>s'ezec</i>

In Croatian, a few verbs, originally belonging to a. p. *c*, have managed to keep the original short root vowel in the infinitive and the present tense as well as the original a. p. *c* (which is often changed to a. p. *b* when the length is reintroduced). Some of the examples are: *ūčiti*, *gūbiti*, *čīniti*, *pūstīt*⁶⁸ «to let»; *bjèžati*, *sjèdjet*⁶⁹, *třčati* «to run», *dřžati* «to hold, to keep», *bjèšnjeti* «to rave» etc. In these verbs, the short vowel is generalized and is thus also found secondarily in the imperative: *ūči!*, *bjèži!* etc. In dialects, there are more examples – Prapatnice in Vrgorska krajina (and other dialects): *vřtit* «to spin», *mūčat* «to be silent», *přdit* «to fart», *smřdit* «to smell», *svřbit* «to itch» (in this dialect, the syllabic *r* can be long); Posavina: *grišit* «to sin», *sādīt* «to plant» etc. In the standard language (ARj), cf. the secondary long vowel: *vřtjeti*, *mūčati*, *přdjeti*, *smřdjeti*, *svřbjeti*, *grijèšiti*, *sāditi* etc.

Of all Štokavian dialects, only the diaspora Štokavian dialect of Molise (Italy) preserves the original short vowel in all the verbs, as a synchronic rule. In all the other Štokavian and Čakavian dialects, the short-vowel a. p. *c* verbs are found only in traces⁷⁰. Molise Croatian confirms that this reintroduction of the long vowel in the infinitives is, at least in some dialects, younger than 15th or 16th century (when the ancestors of the Croats from Molise left Croatia)⁷¹.

⁶⁸ The original a. p. *c* is preserved in the Neo-Štokavian dialect of Prapatnice in Vrgorska krajina (personal data): *pūstīt*, *pūstīš*. In most dialects though, the word either just changed the a. p. (*pūstiti*, but *pūstīm*, thus a. p. *b* like in Standard Croatian) or it has reintroduced the length: dialectal *pústiti*, *pūstīm* > *pūstīm* (also a. p. *b*).

⁶⁹ Different from *sijédjeti*, *sijédīm* «to become gray-haired» (a. p. *c*), which has reintroduced the length (an obvious source being the adjective *sijéd* «gray-haired»). Perhaps this opposition had something to do with the preservation of the original short *ě in *sjèdjeti* «to sit».

⁷⁰ And there are no a. p. *b* verbs of the type like **mlatīti*, *mlātīm* like in Kajkavian. All the a. p. *b* verbs in Štokavian (and Čakavian) have a long vowel reintroduced in the infinitive, except of course for Molise Croatian.

⁷¹ For Molise and Croatian in general, see more in Kapović 2003.

The examples of the verbs with secondary length in Stand. Croat. and with the original short vowel in Molise

Common Slavic	(Standard) Croatian	Molise Croatian
*běliti «to make white»	<i>bijéliti, bijélīm</i>	<i>bìlit, bìlim</i>
*buditi «to wake up»	<i>búđiti, búđīm</i>	<i>bùđit, bùđim</i>
*dađiti «to strangle»	<i>dáđiti, dáđīm</i>	<i>dàđit, dàđim</i>
*děliti «to share, to divide»	<i>dijéliti, dijélīm</i>	<i>dìlit, dīlim</i>
*obvolčiti se «to grow cloudy»	<i>obláčiti se, obláčī se</i>	<i>bláčit se, bláčī se</i>

Trisyllables with the long prefix of the type *zabáva

The examples of the secondary length in the trisyllabic words of the *zabáva-type

Common Slavic	Croatian	Czech	Slovak	Slovincian
*napráva «device»	<i>náprava</i>	<i>náprava</i>	<i>náprava</i>	<i>nāp^lava</i>
*prisěga «oath»	<i>prísega</i>	<i>přísaha</i>	<i>prísaha</i>	<i>přs^liga</i>
*zabáva «fun, party»	<i>zábava</i>	<i>zábava</i>	<i>zábava</i>	<i>zāb^lava</i>

The *zabáva-type derivatives exhibit a regular acute accent on the first syllable of the stem (cf. Čakavian *zābáva*, Russ. *перегорoда* «partition»)⁷². The first syllable in this type of words should be short but most languages (Croatian – not always and not in all dialects, Czech, Slovak, Slovincian etc.) reintroduce the length in the prefixes like *nā-, *nād-, *orz-, *per-, *prī-, *sō-, *ū-, *vŷ-, *zā- etc. in the *zabáva-type words from the forms where the preservation of the length is expected (most importantly from the *nāròdъ-type words⁷³, see below). Cf. also Croatian: *návala* «assault», *násлага* «layer», *prílika* «chance», *prijévara* «fraud» etc.⁷⁴; Slovinc. ^l*nārada*

⁷² Old acute on the long syllables and short neo-acute on the short ones. The original intonation of the root is not important, cf. Croatian *báviti se* «to engage in» (a. p. a) – *zábava* as well as *prisěci* «to take an oath» (a. p. b) – *prísega*. Slovene has a neo-circumflex in most of this type of nouns (but not always): *zabáva*. In Kajkavian *otáva* «aftergrass», but **zabáva* > *zābava* with the retraction because of the secondarily reintroduced length in the prefix.

⁷³ For instance, Croat. *zálog* «pledge», Czech *záloh* : Croat. *zàloga*, Czech **zaloha* ⇒ Croat. *záloga*, Czech *záloha* (analogically after *zálog/záloh*).

⁷⁴ The *zabáva-type is very complicated when it comes to the dialects. The original short prefix is preserved in some dialects: *zābava*, in others it is transformed to *zábava* with the secondary length, in others there is a stress retraction: *zabáva/zābava* ⇒ *zābava* or *zābáva/zábava* ⇒ *zābava/zābava*. Some dialects in Montenegro have all four possibilities in the system at the same time (*zābava/zābava/zábava/zābava*). Standard Croatian and Serbian are not consistent, all variants are possible depending on the word and some words can have more variants (*zábava/zābava, otava/òtava* – cf. the dialectal attestations of the latter in ARj). The same goes for the dialects, cf. for instance Brusje on Hvar (Čak.): *zōstáva, posūda*, but *pōnuda, pōkripa, òsnova* (Dulčić & Dulčić 1985) etc. See more in Kapović 2003. A completely different approach to this

«council», ¹*nāmovā* «suggestion», ¹*přiroda* «nature», ¹*přišluga* «service» (with the retracted accent); *nā¹vuka* «teaching», *přēšada* «exaggeration», *zāplata* «pay», ¹*nā¹ada* (with no retraction of the accent in the older variant)⁷⁵; Czech/Slovak *nāstraha* «bait», *nāhrada* «replacement; refund», *nāhoda* «coincidence», *nādoba* «vessel», *zāplava* «high tide», *zāhuba* «spoiling», Czech *přihoda* «occurrence, incident», *přiloha* «supplement», *útecha*⁷⁶ «comfort», *výplata* «payment», Slk. *přihoda*, *príloha*, *útecha* etc. In Polish, cf. the secondary length in trisyllabic word *wątroba*⁷⁷ «liver» (which does not belong to the *zabāva-type though) analogically to the form **q̄trō* (cf. Croat. *unútra*, *unútri* «inside»).

The length can then be secondarily reintroduced into other derivatives, cf. Croat. *nāručje* «embrace», *Rāstušje* (toponym); *priredba* «show», *rāzudba* «obduction» etc. Cf. also Croat. *zāpis* «note», analogical *zāpisnik* «logbook», also Czech *zāpis*, *zāpisek* «note», *zāpisník*; *zāpletka* «complication» etc. The length can be generalized in derivation, cf. Croat. *rāzboj*, *rāzbojnik* «robber», *rāzbojništvo* «robbery» but this secondarily reintroduced length is specific for every language and is often of recent date. Therefore, it is outside the scope of this paper. Longer, polysyllabic words often keep the original short vowel, cf. Croat. *nābreklina* «swelling», *nādlaktica* «upper arm», *zādužbina* «endowment» etc. The original short vowel is mostly found in prefixed verbs as well (which are always polysyllabic): Croat. *nāpadati* «to attack», Czech *napadati*, but Croat. *nāpad* «attack», Czech *nāpad* «idea», Croat. *zāpadati* «to fall back», Czech *zapadati* etc.

5. trisyllables with the central stress ·V(:)·¹V·¹ь/ь (full long syllable, accented full syllable and a final *jer*) and trisyllables with the final stress ·V:·V·¹ь/ь (full long syllable, full syllable, final stress on a *jer*)

***ježýkь** «tongue» > Croat. *jèzik*, *jèzika*, Sln. *jézik*, *jezíka*, Czech/Slk. *jazyk*, Pol. *język*, Slovenc. ¹*jāzik*

***kōkolь** > ***kōkòlь** «cockle» > Croat. *kúkolj*, Sln. *kōkolj*, Czech *koukol*, Slk. *kúkol'*, Pol. *kąkol*, Slovenc. ¹*kōkōl*

***svědokь** «witness» > Croat. *svjèdok*, *svjedòka*, [Sln. *svédok*, *svedóka*]⁷⁸, Czech *svědek*

Shortened vowel in front of the second long syllable with the acute and a final *jer*

CSI.	Croat.	Sln.	Czech	Slk.	Pol.	Slovinc.
*ježýkь	<i>jèzik</i>	<i>jézik</i>	<i>jazyk</i>	<i>jazyk</i>	<i>język</i>	¹ <i>jāzik</i>

process is, for instance, taken by Bulatova 1982, but it is not, in the opinion of the author of this article, satisfactory.

⁷⁵ Stankiewicz 1993: 298.

⁷⁶ Cf. Croat. *ūtjeha* < **ūtjeha* without the secondary length but with a stress-retraction.

⁷⁷ Cf. also secondary length in Czech/Slk. *útroba* «guts» to original Croat. dial. *útroba* (Štok., Lika), *utrōba* (Čak., Vrgada). In Stand. Croat. the accent is secondarily retracted: *ūtroba*. That is typical of many words in this category.

⁷⁸ Sln. *svédok* points to the type of Sln. *jézik*, *jezíka* with a secondary fixed central accent (*svedóka* < **svědòka*) not to a a. p. *b* noun (Croat. *svjedòka* would correspond to Sln. **svedóka*).

The pretonic syllable is regularly shortened if it is followed by a long (acute) syllable and a final *jer* (thus it acts just like a regular trisyllabic word with three full syllables and a central accent – the pretonic length is shortened in front of two or more moras). This is not only seen in the example of *jězýkъ but also in the regular shortening of the derivatives in *-an, -at, -ič, -íc* (CSl. *-ǎnъ, *-ǎtъ, *-ǐčъ, *-ǐtъ with the acute) in Croatian, cf. Croat. *drâg* «dear» – *drâgan* «darling», *tûp* «blunt; dull» – *tûpan* «dull person»; *bráda* «beard» – *bràdat* «bearded», *gláva* «head» – *glàvat* «large-headed», *zûb* «tooth» – *zùbat* «toothy»; *brânĭm* «I defend» – *brànič* «defender»; *grâd* «town» – *gràdić* «small town», *zûb* – *zùbić* «little tooth», *prût* «switch» – *prùtić* «little switch» etc.

The examples with a long prefix in front of the accented syllable and a *jer*

Common Slavic	Croatian	Slovene	Czech	Slovak
*nāròdъ «people»	<i>národ</i>	<i>národ, naròda</i>	<i>národ</i>	<i>národ</i>
*sôsědъ «neighbour»	<i>súsjed</i>	<i>sósed, soséda</i>	<i>soused</i>	<i>sused</i>
*zākònъ «law»	<i>zákon</i>	<i>zákon, zakóna</i>	<i>zákon</i>	<i>zákon</i>

The examples with a long syllable in front of a full syllable and an originally accented final *jer* where the accent is secondarily fixed on the second syllable

CSl.	Croat.	Sln.	Czech	Slk.	Pol.	Slovinc.
*kōkolъ	<i>kúkolj</i>	<i>kókolj</i>	<i>koukol</i>	<i>kúkol'</i>	<i>kąkol</i>	<i>'kōkōl</i>
*moldežъ «youth»	<i>mládež</i>	[<i>mlâdež</i>]	<i>mládež</i>		(<i>młodzież</i>)	

The preserved pretonic length of this kind (when the second syllable is short and the final *jer* is accented) can be seen in the a. p. *c*-verbs in present tense: cf. Croatian *tréseš* «you shake», *rásteš* «you grow», *krádeš* «you steal», dial. *žíveš* «you live» < *trěsešb, *orstešb, *krádešb, *žívešb etc. The length in the verbs like *trésti* < *trěsti could be considered secondarily reintroduced from the infinitive or the *l*-participle (*trěslb, *trěslá, *trěsló > Croat. *trêsao, trésla, tréslo*). It would seem that this explanation is not possible in the case of the «mixed» a. p. *c/a. p. a* verbs like Croat. *krăsti* < *krăsti which has the length in the present tense (*krádeš*) and the imperative (*krádi!*), but not in the infinitive or the *l*-participle (*králb, *krála, *králo > Croat. *krào, kràla, kràlo*). In the *l*-participle, there is a fixed acute on the root, because it would be difficult to imagine that the length of the present could be introduced from the imperative only. However that is exactly what happened in cases like Croat. *šútjeti, slijéditi* (see above) so even this is not conclusive and therefore we are left with *kúkolj* as our best example.

In Czech, the present tense forms like *třeseš, kradeš* (cf. the length in the infinitive *třásti* < *trěsti, *krásti* < *krăsti) are secondary due to the analogy to the

polysyllabic forms like 1. pl. *třese*, *krade*, 2. pl. *třesete*, *kradete*, 3. pl. *třesou*, *kradou* where the shortening is expected⁷⁹.

The examples of the shortening in the first syllable in front of the full short syllable and the preserved a. p. *b* desinential stress

Common Slavic	Croatian	Slovene
*sъvĕdokъ	<i>svjèdok, -òka</i>	[<i>svédok, -óka</i>]
*životъ «life»	<i>život, -òta</i>	<i>živòt, -óta</i>
*širokъ «broad»	<i>širok, -òko</i>	<i>širòk, -óko</i>
*vysokъ «tall»	<i>visok, -òko</i>	<i>visòk, -óko</i>

In the words like *jĕzýkъ (Croat. *jèzik*, Sln. *jézik*, Czech *jazyk* etc.), and in the examples like Croat. *bràdat* «bearded» (: *bráda* «beard») the length is regularly shortened before a long accented syllable (long syllable = two moras). Thus *jĕzýkъ is the same as the trisyllabic *orkýta-type where there are three full syllables. That *jer* syllables need not be of the same value as the full syllables (which we have already seen in the *gŭmъnò-type) is seen in the *nāròdъ-type words which do not behave as the *priròda-type words.

The length was regularly preserved in the nom./acc. sg. of *nāròdъ-type words (because the pretonic length was followed by 1.5 mora so there was no reason for shortening, see below). Thus Croat., Czech/Slk. *národ, zákon* show the regular retention of the old long prefix⁸⁰. The length is not expected in the *sôsĕdъ-type words which should behave like *jĕzýkъ. The length in the *sôsĕdъ-type words (Croat. *súsjed*, Sln. *sósed*, Czech *soused*) is easily explained as analogous to the *nāròdъ-type words which have preserved the original long vowel. Thus the prefix is originally long only in the words like *nāròdъ, and in the words like *sôsĕdъ it is secondary. That the long vowel was shortened before the long accented syllable is proven by the example *jĕzýkъ, in which there was no possibility of the secondarily reintroduced length because the first syllable was not a prefix which could have been preserved long elsewhere. Slovak form *sused*, with a short first syllable, is probably an archaism which displays the regular outcome of that type of words. In the *nāròdъ-type words, the length of the nom./acc. sg. is generalized in all cases (in forms like gen. sg. *naròda we would expect the shortening of the first syllable like in the *priròda-type words). Longer words do not preserve the length of the prefix, of course, cf. the *nāròdъ-type with Croat. *nàbujak* «pudding», *nàdimak* «nickname», *nàglasak* «accent» etc.

⁷⁹ In Štokavian and Čakavian, the more conservative dialects have the difference preserved: *trĕseš* < *trĕsěš*, *trĕse* < *trĕsĕ* but *trĕsĕmo* < *trĕsemò*, *trĕsete* < *trĕsetĕ* while the innovative ones reintroduce the length in the polysyllabic forms as well (*trĕsĕmo/trĕsemò*, *trĕsete/trĕsetĕ*). Cf. also in some Štok. dialects *kràdem* : *kràdŭ*.

⁸⁰ Stang 1957: 42.

Polish short *roz-* in the **nāròdъ*-type words, like in *rozkaz* «order», *rozgłos* «publicity», *rozlew* «bloodshed» etc., if not analogous to verbs like *rozkazywać* «to order», *rozgłaszać* «to make known», *rozlewać* «to spill» etc., could be due to the analogy working the other way round – the short prefix of the oblique cases being generalized and not the long one of the nom. and acc. sg.⁸¹

The words **kōkolъ* > **kōkòlъ* and **moldežъ* > **moldèžъ* behave almost the same as the **nāròdъ*-type words. The only difference is in the fact that the fixed stress on the second short syllable (which is attested in the reflections of these words in Slavic languages) must be secondary. Thus **kōkòlъ*, gen. sg. **kōkòla*; **moldèžъ*, gen. sg. **moldèži*, attested in Croat. *kúkolj*, *kúkolja*; *mládež*, *mládeži* and Czech *koukol*, *koukola*; *mládež*, *mládeži*, must be secondary (probably already in Common Slavic) for the original **kōkolъ*, gen. sg. **kōkolà* and **moldežъ*, gen. sg. **moldeži*. The length in **kōkòlъ* cannot be secondary because it has no role-model (like **ježýkъ*) – it is not a prefix in which the length could be secondarily reintroduced. The same goes for **moldèžъ*. While Croat. *mládež* could easily be secondary considering the forms like the adjective *mlád*, *mláda*, *mládo* «young», this is not possible in Czech where there is no length in the adjective: *mladý*, *mladá*, *mladé* (a. p. c, see below). This also proves that the length there is original. Slovene *mládež* and Polish *młodzież* are secondary, due to the later spread of mobility in *i*-stems which is well attested⁸². For the original end-stress, cf. also Russian *молодёжь*.

In the **svědokъ* or **životъ*-type the a. p. *b* was preserved and thus the root had to be shortened analogically due to the influence of the oblique cases (the root was shortened regularly in forms like gen. sg. **svědoká* or **životá* and then analogically in nom. sg. as well)⁸³. The long root could have been preserved only if the accent was secondarily fixed on the second syllable like in **moldèžъ* and **kōkòlъ*. The suffix **-okъ* is immanently desinence-stressed so it is no surprise that a. p. *b* was preserved there⁸⁴.

Thus we concluded that the shortening was regular in **ježýkъ*-type words and that the retention of length was regular in **nāròdъ* and **kōkòlъ*-type words in nom./acc. sg. and analogically generalized in all the cases (the preservation of pretonic length is connected with the fixation of the stress on the following syllable, cf. **kōkòlъ*, **kōkòla*). The length in **sosědъ*-type words is the result of the analogy with the **nāròdъ*-type and the short root in **životъ* < **životъ*-type words is due to the analogy with the polysyllabic oblique cases (gen. sg. **životá* – since the end-stress was preserved, the shortness of the root was generalized). The theory on the shortening of the first syllable in the

⁸¹ Because of the complex rules of post-Common Slavic shortenings different kinds of levellings are to be expected.

⁸² Cf. Kapović forthcoming c. Cf. also Croat. dial. *mlàdēž*, gen. sg. *mlàdeži*.

⁸³ In Croatian, there cannot be a noun with an accentual pattern like **svijédok*, *svjedòka*. However, in some dialects, this kind of pattern can be observed in verbs: Čak. (Vrgada) *tūčèn*, but *tučètè* «to beat», *žīvèn*, but *živemò* (Jurišić 1966: 89) and Štok. (Dubrovnik) *trése*m, *tresè*mo.

⁸⁴ Cf. Croat. *snùbok*, *snubòka* «match-maker», Sln. *otròk*, *otróka* «child», Kajk. *oblök* «window», Russ. *ходóк* «walker», *едóк* «mouth» etc. All the adjectives ending in **-okъ* belong to a. p. *b*.

·V:·^lV:·ъ/ь· but not in ·V:·^lV:·ъ/ь· words is useful because it predicts the shortening in *jězýkъ and the retaining of length in *kǫkòlь and *molděžь. A theory that the pretonic length was regularly preserved in *jězýkъ as well as in *nāròdъ, and that it was shortened in oblique cases like gen. sg. *jězýka, *naròda might also be suggested. Croat. *jězik* and *nārod* would then be the result of a different levelling – in *jězik*, the oblique stem is generalized, and in *nārod*, the nominative stem is generalized. The problem with this hypothesis would be that we would have to assume random levelling and if we assume shortening only before the second long syllable everything is predictable (short vowel in *jězik*, long in *kúkolj* etc.). The examples like Croat. *súsjed* are dealt with by a simple analogy and the examples like *svjèdok* are no problem because they preserve desinential stress. The preservation of desinential stress is also not random because it is preserved with certain suffixes like *–okъ and *–otъ. The shortening before a long vowel in the second syllable (like in *jězýkъ), but not before a short vowel (like in *nāròdъ) is in accord with the general rule that the pretonic length is shortened if there are two or more moras after the pretonic length (see below).

6. **polysyllables with the final stress ·V·V:·^lъ/ь·** (full syllable, full long syllable, stress on the final *jer*) **and definite adjectives ·V·^lъ/ьjъ·** (full syllable, stressed *jer* in the second syllable and a final *jer*)

***дѣлѣнѣкъ** «debtor» > Croat. *dùžnik*, Sln. *dolžnik*, Czech *dlužník*, Slk. *dlžník*, Russ. *должник, должникá*

***мѡжѣскѣъ** «male» > Croat. *mùškī*, Sln. *móški*, Czech *mužský*, Russ. *мужской*

The examples of the shortening in front of [~] & [^] (the result of contraction)

Common Slavic	Croatian	Slovene	Czech	Slovak
*дѣлѣнѣкъ	<i>dùžnik</i>	<i>dolžnik</i>	<i>dlužník</i>	<i>dlžník</i>
*junākъ «hero»	<i>jùnāk</i>	<i>junák</i>	<i>junák</i>	<i>junák</i>
*мѡжѣскѣъ	<i>mùškī</i>	<i>móški</i>	<i>mužský</i> ⁸⁵	<i>mužský</i>
*gordъskъъ «city-» (adj.)	<i>gràdskī</i>	<i>grájski</i>	<i>hradský</i>	<i>hradský</i>
*вѣлѣжѣъ «wolf's»	<i>vùčjī</i>	<i>vólčji</i>		<i>vlčí</i>

The pretonic length is shortened in front of the neo–acute or the neo–circumflex (resulted from contraction), cf. Čak. *junāk*, *gradskī*. As we have also seen, it is shortened in front of the acute as well, cf. Čak. *jažik*, and in front of two full syllables, cf. Čak. *utròba*. Thus, a general rule can be set: the pretonic length is shortened in front of two or more moras. Full syllables (*e, *o) represent a mora,

⁸⁵ Czech/Slovak *mužský* with a short root is not very significant because the base word, *muž*, is also short (the circumflex shortens in West Slavic). The same goes for Slovencian examples like *mlodī* «young», *slēpī* «blind» etc. Croat. *mùž*, but *mùškī* and Slovene *môž*, but *móški* is, on the other hand, a clear case of shortening before a long vowel.

long syllables (*a, *ě, *i, *u, *y, *ę, *ǫ) represent two moras (*a, *ě, *i, *u, *y, *ę, *ǫ are not considered long when in absolute final position) and *jers* (*ъ, *ь) have the value of half a mora (thus for instance, a full vowel, *e or *o + *jer* is not enough to cause the shortening of the pretonic length, cf. *gūmnǫ > Čak. *gūmnǫ*, but *tręsetě > Čak. *tręsetě*). Thus ·V·V· = ·V:·, *jūnākъ = *jūnāk'a = *život'a = *māl'ina = *pǫl'niņ. The pretonic length is shortened in front of two or more moras no matter where the accent is or what kind of accent it is⁸⁶.

As for what appears to be shortening in front of the neo-acute and the neo-circumflex, we see it clearly in many forms (although the length can also be secondarily introduced in some cases). Cf. in Croat. *mjèkār* < *mljekār* «milkman» (: *mljéko* «milk»), *zùbār* < *zubār* «dentist» (: *zûb* «tooth») etc. In verbs, cf. *bjèžiš* (: *bijêg* «escape») etc. In declension, cf. in many Čak. gen. sg. *glavě*, instr. sg. *glavōm* (but nom. sg. *glāvā*)⁸⁷. In Neo-Štok. dialects and the standard Croat., the length is reintroduced here from other cases: *glávě*, *glávōm*. Cf. in standard Croat. gen. pl. *rùkū* but secondary *ljúdi* «people» etc. In the definite adjectives of the a. p. c, the shortening is regular: cf. *gláva* but *glavnī* «main», *svijêt* «world» but *svjètskī* «world-» (adj.), *svêt* (indefinite adj.) but dial. *svètī* (definite adj.) etc. Some archaic Čakavian and Kajkavian dialects have a synchronic rule that pretonic length is possible only before ˘ and not before ˜ and ˆ⁸⁸.

V) Posttonic length

When dealing with posttonic length, the accentual paradigms have an important role. So we have divided the evidence into the words with the posttonic length in a. p. a (that is after the old acute) and in a. p. c (that is after the circumflex).

1. **trisyllables** ·V·V:·ъ/ь (full accented syllable, full long syllable, a *jer*)

***měšěcъ** «moon, month» > Croat. *mjèsēc*, Sln. *mêsec*, Czech *měsíc*, Slk. *miesiac*, Pol. *mięsiąc*, -a

a. p. a

All the languages preserve the length

CSl.	Croat.	Sln.	Czech	Slk.	Pol.
*měšěcъ	<i>mjèsēc</i> ⁸⁹ , <i>mjèsēca</i>	<i>mêsec</i>	<i>měsíc</i>	<i>miesiac</i>	<i>miesiąc</i> ⁹⁰ , <i>miesiąca</i>

⁸⁶ In cases like *mǫžьskъjъ *-ъjъ really becomes *-yъjъ (not in Russian though but there the *yer* vocalises to *o*) so the shortening is expected there as well.

⁸⁷ For the neo-acute here cf. Ivšić 1971: [147–8].

⁸⁸ For more details on the shortening in front of a long syllable in Croatian dialects, cf. Kapović 2003.

⁸⁹ Croat. *mjèsēc* is today mobile (acc. sg. *nà mjėsēc*, loc. sg. *u mjėsěcu*, gen. pl. *mjėsēcī*, dli. pl. *mjėsēcima*) but the derivatives like *mjěsečina* «moonlight», *mjěsečār* «sleep-walker», *mjěsečnica* «menstruation», *mjěsečnik* «monthly magazine» prove that it was originally a. p. a. In Croatian,

*pǎŏkь ⁹¹ «spider»	pǎūk, pǎūka	pǎjek/pǎvok (dial.)	pavouk	pavúk	pajak, pajaka
*pěņēzь ⁹² «money»	pjēnēz, pjēnēza	pēnez	peníz, dat. pl. peněžúm	peniaz	pieniądz, pieniądza
*zǎjěcь «hare»	[zêc, zêca] ⁹³	zâjec	zajíc	zajac ⁹⁴	zajac, zajaca ⁹³
*týsŏt'ь «thousand» (gen. pl.)	[tìsuća, tìsŭcǎ] ⁹⁵	tìsoč	tisíc	tisíc	tysiąc ⁹⁶
*rězānь (passive ptcp.) «cut»	rězān, -a	rêzan, -a	řezán, -a ⁹⁷		

In West Slavic, only Czech and Polish have the length

CSI.	Croat.	Sln.	Czech	Slk.	Pol.
*ǎstrěbь (- ь) «hawk»	jǎstrěb, jǎstrěba	jǎstreb	jestřáb	jastrab	jastrzab, jastrzaba/jastrzębia

Slovak has the length and Czech and Polish do not

the nouns with posttonic length (original or secondary) all tend to become mobile in declension so there the distinction of the old a. p. *a* and a. p. *c* is not clear. This is because both the old circumflex and the old acute yield short falling accent in Croatian in polysyllables (*gòlŭb* < *gòlŏbь «pidgeon» = *mjēsēc* < *mēsěcь) and so the patterns get mixed up. But the difference of a. p. *a* and a. p. *b* is always preserved in the derivatives.

⁹⁰ In Polish, *-ac* is always long (there is no **-ęc). However, this suffix practically appears only in *mēsěcь and *zǎjěcь.

⁹¹ The prefix *pǎ- always has an acute on it. In East Slavic, this word has a secondary a. p. *b* (*pǎŏkь) – Russ. *пáуk, паукá*, Ukr. *павýк, павукá*, Blr. *павýк*. It is not very likely that West Slavic reflexes like Slovak *pavúk* are indeed reflexes of the secondary a. p. *b* like in East Slavic, although this possibility has to be taken into consideration.

⁹² Cf. a loanword in Hungarian *pénz*.

⁹³ Cf. a toponym *Zǎječār* in Serbia which points to *zǎjēc (a. p. *a*). The *-ę- is regularly shortened in the second syllable in *Zǎječār*.

⁹⁴ In Slovak, there cannot be a long vowel after *-j-* (because *-j-* is considered the first part of the diphthong *-ia-* which is considered a long vowel), cf. Slk. *vojak* : Czech *voják*, Croat. *vòjāk* «soldier».

⁹⁵ Croatian gen. pl. is not relevant since all final syllables in the stem are long in gen. pl. In nom. sg. *tìsuća -u-* is short by analogy (because the length was wrongly attributed to gen. pl. only and not to the stem). In any case, there are no *ā*-stems with posttonic length in nom. sg. in Croatian.

⁹⁶ But cf. the new gen. pl. *tysięcy*, like secondary gen. pl. *pienędzy, miesięcy*.

⁹⁷ Czech has a long suffix in a. p. *b* (*tesán* «trimmed») as well, but not in a. p. *c* (because the posttonic length is shortened in a. p. *c* in West Slavic, see below).

Common Slavic	Czech	Slovak	Polish
*pǎǫzъ ⁹⁸ «a stick for threshing the hay»	<i>pauz</i>	<i>pavúz</i>	<i>pawąz, pawęza (-u)</i>

Only Croatian has the length (as well as Slovene in one example)

CSI.	Croat.	Sln.	Czech	Slk.	Pol.
*gǎvornъ «raven»	<i>gǎvrān</i> ⁹⁹ , <i>gǎvrāna</i>	<i>gǎvran</i>	<i>havran</i>	<i>havran</i>	<i>gawron</i>
*ǫlbǫd/тъ «swan»	<i>lǎbūd</i> ¹⁰⁰ , <i>lǎbūda</i>	[<i>labǫd</i>] ¹⁰¹	<i>labut</i> ¹⁰²	<i>labut</i> ²	<i>łabędź</i>
*pǎmětъ «mind»	<i>pǎmēt</i> , <i>pǎmēti</i> ¹⁰³	<i>pámet</i> ¹⁰⁴	<i>pamět</i> ²	<i>pamät</i> ²	<i>pamięć</i>
*pǎportъ «fern»	<i>pǎprāt</i> ¹⁰⁵ , <i>pǎprāti</i>	<i>práprat</i>	<i>kaprad</i> ²	<i>paprad</i> ^{2 106}	<i>paproć</i>

Length in Croat., no neo-circumflex in Sln., a different suffix in West Slavic

CSI.	Croat.	Sln.	Czech	Slk.	Pol.
*ǎbolнь «poplar»	<i>jǎblān</i> ¹⁰⁷ , <i>jǎblāna</i>	<i>jáblan</i> ¹⁰⁸	(<i>jabloň</i> ⁰⁹)	(<i>jabloň</i>)	(<i>jabłoń</i>)

⁹⁸ Croat. *pǎuzina* (ARj, Orahovica) points to the acute on the first syllable as well.

⁹⁹ Original acute on the first syllable is proved by the derivatives: *gǎvrānica* «female raven» (and *Gǎvrānica* «a goat-name»), *gǎvrānić* «little raven» (and also a surname *Gǎvrānić*) (ARj), toponym *Gǎvrānovac* (Prapatnice). Cf. also a variant *kǎvrān* (Sln. *kǎvran*) and Lith. *kóvarnis* for the acute.

¹⁰⁰ The accent *labūdica* (as marked in ARj) is secondary, instead of the older variant *lǎbudica* «female swan». The original acute is shown by Czech *labut*² with #*la-* and not #*lo-* (cf. *ǫlkътъ > Czech *lokeť*).

¹⁰¹ There also exists a variant *labǫd* in Sln., which, if older, could be interpreted as secondary from the original **lǎbod*, like the secondary variant *gǎvrān* instead of the older variant *gǎvran*.

¹⁰² Cf. also Croat. *lǎbūt* and Czech (arch.) *labud*².

¹⁰³ Like *mǎjēsēc*, the word *pǎmēt* is also secondarily mobile in Croatian (as are all the other similar examples, if the mobile pattern is preserved at all in that word in modern language), cf. acc. sg. *nǎ pamēt*, loc. sg. *pri pamēti* etc. The original acute is shown by the derivatives: *pǎmetovati* «to act smart», *pǎmtiti* «to remember» etc.

¹⁰⁴ Sln. has no neo-circumflex in the examples like *pámet* or *jáblan* due to derivatives like *pámeten*, *pámetovati*, *pámetiti*, *pámetnost* etc. where it is not expected (because the posttonic length is shortened in polysyllables, see below). Not all the examples that should have the neo-circumflex can easily be explained like this though.

¹⁰⁵ The original acute is confirmed by the toponym *Prǎpatnice* (personal data, no accent marked in ARj).

¹⁰⁶ Croat. also *pǎprād*, *prǎprāt*, *prǎpāt* etc. Thus also in other Slavic languages and dialects.

¹⁰⁷ The original acute is apparent in the toponyms *Jǎblanac*, *Jǎblanica*, *Jǎblanik*, *Jǎblanovac*, surname *Jǎblanić* and the derivatives *jǎblanak*, *jǎblanovina*, *jǎblanskī* (all ARj). Cf. also an etymologically related Croat. *jǎbuka*, Sln. *jǎbolko* «apple» etc.

a. p. c

Only Croatian has the length, West Slavic always has a short suffix

CSl.	Croat.	Sln.	Czech	Slk.	Pol.
*čĕljādъ «people»	čĕljād, čĕljādi		čeledʹ	čelʹadʹ	
*čĕljūstъ «jaw»	čĕljūst, čĕljūsti	čeljūst	čelist	čelʹustʹ	czeluść
*dēsētъ «ten»	dēsēt	desēt	deset	desatʹ	dziesięć
*dĕvētъ «nine»	dĕvēt ¹⁰	devēt	devět	devätʹ	dziewięć
*gōlōbъ «pidgeon»	gōlōb, gōlōba	golōb	holub	holub	gołąb, gołębia
*ōbvolkъ «cloud»	ōblāk, ōblāka	oblāk	oblak	oblak	obłok
*ōbvolstъ «jurisdiction»	ōblāst, ōblāsti	oblāst	oblast	oblastʹ	
*tĕtervъ «grouse»	tĕtrijēb, tĕtrijēba	tetrĕv	tetrev	(tetrov)	cietrzew
*žĕlōdъ «acorn»	žĕlūd, žĕlūda ¹¹	[žĕlod, žĕlōda/žĕlōd]	žalud	žaludʹ	żołędź, żołędzi

Shortened length in West Slavic, but seemingly not in Czech

CSl.	Croat.	Sln.	Czech	Slk.	Pol.
*jārĕbъ «partridge»	jārĕb, jārĕba ¹²	jerĕb	jeřáb		jarząb, jarzęb(i)a
*ōvādъ «horsefly»	ōbād, ōbāda ¹³	obād	ovád	ovad	

In Croatian, the case of the posttonic length in the second syllable (in trisyllable words with a final *jer*) is very simple – the posttonic length is always preserved, in both

¹⁰⁸ Cf. also Sln. *jāblana/jāblana, jāblanica/jāblanica* for the inconsistency of the reflex of the neo-circumflex.

¹⁰⁹ In West Slavic, the suffix is short (*āblonъ).

¹¹⁰ The posttonic length is often shortened in numbers in some dialects, thus secondary also *dĕvet, dĕset*.

¹¹¹ Cf. also Russian *жĕлудъ* for the place of the accent.

¹¹² A. p. c is confirmed by the derivatives *jarĕbica* «female partridge» and the verb *jarĕbiti se* (ARJ). Cf. also Bulgarian adjective *яребāt*.

¹¹³ Also *ōvād, òvāda*. Cf. also Russ. *óвод* for the place of the accent.

a. p. *a* and a. p. *c*¹¹⁴. In other Slavic languages, it is not so simple. Slovene should have the neo-circumflex in a. p. *a* (cf. Croat. *gàvrān* ~ Sln. *gâvran*) in all the cases, but sometimes it does not. The neo-circumflex is there in 7 or 8 examples (*mêsec*, *pâjek*, *pênez*, *zâjec*, *jâstreb*, *gâvran*, *tîsoč*¹¹⁵ and perhaps indirectly in the variant *labôd* if from older **lâbod*) and in the passive participle in **-ānъ* in a. p. *a* like *rêzan*, *mâzan* «smeared», *brîsan* «erased» from the verbs *rêzati*, *mâzati*, *brîsati* (cf. Croat. *rèzati* : *rèzān*, *mâzati* : *mâzān*, *brîsati* : *brîsān*). All this proves that Slovene indeed did preserve the posttonic length in a. p. *a* and that it later disappeared leaving its trace in the neo-circumflex. Only in three examples (*pâmet*, *prâprat* and *jâblan*) is there no neo-circumflex. This can be accounted by the derivatives¹¹⁶, at least for *pâmet* and *jâblan* while the task is not so easy for *prâprat*. But these three examples are definitely secondary. In a. p. *c*, Slovene is useless since the progressive shift of the circumflex always yields a long falling accent.

In West Slavic, the case is relatively clear in a. p. *c* – the posttonic length is regularly shortened. If we connect this with the rule of the shortening of the circumflex in West Slavic the general rule is simple: t h e l a s t s y l l a b l e o f t h e w o r d i s s h o r t e n e d, if long, in West Slavic in a. p. *c*. In monosyllabic root-words, the last syllable, which is shortened, is the only syllable and thus it is accented (**vôlstъ* «government» > Czech *vlast*). In bisyllabic root-words, the last syllable, which is shortened, is the posttonic syllable (**ôbvolstъ* > Czech *oblast*). This formulation is very economic because it gives us the possibility of reducing two rules (the rule of shortening of the circumflex and the rule of the shortening of the posttonic length in a. p. *c* in West Slavic) to one simple rule.

There are two exceptions in a. p. *c* – Czech *jeřáb* and *ovád* with a long suffix (cf. Sln. *jerêb* and *obâd* for a. p. *c*). These can be explained by the inconsistent secondary lengthening before a final voiced plosive (cf. also Czech *bûh* «god» < **bôgъ*, but *roh* «horn» < **rôgъ*). There is no such lengthening in Czech *čeled’*, *holub* and *žalud*. Czech *jeřáb* could also be interpreted as having borrowed the secondary length from the originally a. p. *a* word *jestřáb* «hawk» (which is similar to it phonologically and is also a name of a bird) or from the diminutive *jeřábek*¹¹⁷. In the light of the 9 examples with the shortening (and in the light of the short suffix in Slovak *ovad* and Polish *jarzab*, *jarzëb(i)a*), the regular shortening of the posttonic length in a. p. *c* in West Slavic is indisputable and Czech *jeřáb* and *ovád* are most certainly secondary developments.

The shortening of the posttonic length in a. p. *c* in West Slavic is generalized and the forms which originally had pretonic length in a. p. *c* have also shortened it

¹¹⁴ This only refers to non-acuted posttonic length, that is to the posttonic length in those syllables that are never stressed under the acute (and thus shortened in Croatian). For the acuted posttonic syllables see below.

¹¹⁵ This is indeclinable in Slovene but by origin gen. pl. so the neo-circumflex is expected.

¹¹⁶ See footnotes 105 and 109.

¹¹⁷ The long syllable before the suffix is generalized here in Czech, cf. *kožich* «leather coat» < **kožúxъ* but *kožíšek* (~ Croat. *kòžuh*).

analogically. Thus dat. sg. *ǫbvolsti > Czech *oblasti* regularly and loc. sg. *ǫbvolsti > *oblasti* by analogy¹¹⁸.

In West Slavic, the posttonic length in a. p. *a* is attested but very inconsistently. All West Slavic languages point to the preservations of the length in 5 examples (two of which, *měsěcъ and *zājěcъ have the same suffix) and in the participles in *-ānъ in a. p. *a* in Czech. Once the length is attested only in Czech and Polish (*jestřáb*, *jastrząb*/*jastrząba*) and once only in Slovak (*pavúz*) but in both cases before a final voiced consonant¹¹⁹. In 4 examples, all West Slavic languages show a shortened posttonic length. Czech *havran*, for instance, might have been influenced by Czech *vran* «crow» (Croat./Sln. *vrân*). All this indicates that the case of the posttonic length in a. p. *a* in West Slavic is a very problematic one¹²⁰.

2. trisyllables ·V·V:·V· (full accented syllable, long syllable, full syllable)

***prĕdĭvo** «yarn» > Croat. *prĕdĭvo*, Sln. *predĭvo*, Czech *předivo*, Slk. *pradivo*

Common Slavic	Croatian	Slovene	Czech	Slovak
*prĕdĭvo	<i>prĕdĭvo</i>	<i>predĭvo</i>	<i>předivo</i> ¹²¹	<i>pradivo</i>

¹¹⁸ Perhaps an example without the generalization of the short variant in a. p. *c* can be found. Cf. Czech nom. sg. *devět*, Slovak *devät'* < *dĕvĕtъ but gen. sg. Czech *devíti*, Slk. *deviati* < *devĕti. However, Czech *deset* has both *desiti* and *desíti* in gen. sg. (Carlton 1991: 209).

¹¹⁹ Cf. also Polish *mosiądz*, *mosiądzu* «brass», but Czech *mosaz* and Slovak *mosadz*. However, the accentual paradigm of Slavic *mosĕzъ/ъ is not known.

¹²⁰ Kortlandt (for instance 1975: 30) has a different opinion on the problem of posttonic length (his ideas about the length are in general quite different from those presented in this article). He believes that all languages preserve the posttonic length and that the pretonic length is regularly shortened. Thus, in a. p. *a*, where the length can only be posttonic, the length is preserved and in a. p. *c*, where the accent is mobile, the length can be posttonic (and thus preserved) or pretonic (and thus shortened). According to Kortlandt, West Slavic has generalized the pretonic short vowels in a. p. *c* and Croatian has generalized the posttonic long vowels. Thus, in Croatian loc. sg. *na koráku*, the length is analogical after the nom. sg. *kōrāk* «step» etc. But Kortlandt's theory has many shortcomings. He adduces a limited number of examples (all from Stang 1957), some of which are wrongly interpreted and some of which are not very relevant. He adduces Czech *měsíc*, *peníz*, *jestřáb*, *pavouk* as evidence for the preserved length in a. p. *a* in West Slavic, but he does not quote for instance Slovak *jastrab*, Polish *jastrząb*, *jastrzębia* or Czech *havran*, *kaprad'* or *pamět'* with no length. He interpretes Czech *labut'*, Croat. *lābūd* as the case of a. p. *c* even though it is clearly a. p. *a* (#*la-* in Czech, Slovak and Polish). He also adduces as evidence Croat. *pĕkār*, Czech *pekař*, *rybář*, *rybník* which do not contradict our theory. Kortlandt's theory itself is an unnecessary complication because it requires different levelling in South and West Slavic and nothing is gained by it. It requires the length in Croat. *rúka* or loc. sg. *u slučáju* «in the case of» to be reintroduced analogically, which is unnecessary and not economic. According to the hypothesis of the author of this article, no levelling is necessary and the shortening of the posttonic length in a. p. *c* in West Slavic is explained by the same rule as the shortening of the circumflex. Such a hypothesis is much simpler and much more economic.

¹²¹ The suffix *-ĭvo is shortened because the noun is a. p. *c*.

*pěčivo «bun»	<i>pěčivo</i>	<i>pečivo</i> ¹²²	<i>pečivo</i>	<i>pečivo</i>
*ástrěba «hawk» (gen. sg.)	<i>jăstrěba</i>	<i>jăstreba</i>	<i>jastřába</i>	<i>jastraba</i>

The posttonic length is preserved in trisyllable words with three full syllables (of course, not in a. p. *c* in West Slavic). In polysyllables (four or more syllables of any type), the posttonic length is shortened (see below). This is proven by the Croatian pairs of short and long plurals in which the opposition of trisyllables and polysyllables is still clearly seen: *jăblāni – jăblanovi, jăstrěbi – jăstrebovi, vřtēzi – vřtezovi* «knights», *pŏjāsi – pŏjasovi* «belts», *kŏrijēni – kŏrjenovi* «roots», *găvrāni – găvranovi* etc. That the posttonic length in trisyllables is not secondary is proven by *plurale tantum* nouns like *mŏždāni* «brains», where there is no possibility of analogical length and by such cases as *mjęšťanin – mjěšťān*¹²³ «townsman», *břđanin – břđāni* «highlander» etc., where there is no length in the singular and which has four syllables because of the singulative suffix – *in*.

3. quadrisyllables and polysyllables ·V·V·V·V· (full accented syllable, full syllable, two or more syllables of any kind)

***páměťnъ** «smart» > Croat. *pămetan*, Sln. *pămeten*

In quadrisyllables (in which the type of syllables is not relevant – a full syllable or a *jer*, it makes no difference), the posttonic length in the second syllable is shortened¹²⁴. Besides the examples we have already seen like *pămetan* : *pămēt*¹²⁵ and *jăblāni* : *jăblanovi* etc., cf. also: Štok. *păūk – păučina* «spider-web», Kajk. *păvuk – păvučina*, Czech *pavouk – pavučina*¹²⁶, *mjęsēc – mjěsečina* «moonlight», *mjęsečnica* «menstruation»¹²⁷ and Croat. *păuzina – Slk. pavúz* etc.

4. posttonic length in a. p. *a* (which is in a. p. *b* and a. p. *c* accented and thus not posttonic) in Štokavian and Čakavian

¹²² This example is irrelevant. Counterexamples are Sln. *klădivo* «hammer» and *mlějivo* «first milk» without the neo-circumflex.

¹²³ Cf. also Slovenc. nom. pl. ¹*mjęščāñe* which also shows length.

¹²⁴ Posttonic length is possible in the last syllable of polysyllabic words (in front of a final *jer*) if it is supported by length in other forms. Cf. Croat. *pŏdupřt* «supported» or *řzuzět* «excluded» which are supported by *řpřt* «burdened», *řzět* «taken», and by feminine (dial. and older) *podupřta, řzuzéta* which have preserved the length regularly.

¹²⁵ Croat. adjective *ŏblăčan* «cloudy» has the length analogically after the base noun *ŏblāk* «cloud».

¹²⁶ Pol. *pajăczynna* is levelled after *pajăk*.

¹²⁷ Suffix –*nica* is always short, cf. *kŏšnica* «beehive» (acuted –*nica*).

In Standard Croatian (as well as in Štokavian standard languages), morphemes, which are short when accented (because the old acute was there), are also short when not accented. Thus *žènama* < *ženàma* < *ženáma «women» (dat/loc/instr. pl.) (a. p. *b*) is regularly short, but so is *vrànama* < *vörnàma «crows» (dat/loc/instr. pl.) in a. p. *a*. The same goes for: *žènica* «little woman» – *stàrica* «old woman», *čìniti* «to do» – *mìsliti* «to think», *mòlila* «she prayed» (fem. *l*-ptcp.) – *kìtila* «she decorated» (fem. *l*-ptcp.) etc. The posttonic length here (*stárīca, *míslīla etc.) is analogically shortened after the cases where it was acuted. But in many Štokavian, especially Montenegrin and Serbian, and in some Čakavian dialects short vowels have not been generalized. In those dialects, in a. p. *a*, after short falling accent, the former long vowels (which are short when accented like *nogàma*, dli. pl. «feet») –*a*–, –*e*– (< **ę*), –*i*–, –*u*– and –*ě*– are always predictably long (in Čakavian the rule is often productive only in some categories). Cf. Prčanj/Ozrinići (Rešetar): *pùškāma* «guns» (dat/loc/instr. pl., a. p. *a*) ≠ *ženàma* (a. p. *b*) and *dvìgnūt* «to lift» (a. p. *a*) ≠ *potēgnūt* «to pull» (a. p. *b*) etc. In Čakavian cf. Novi: *učīl*, *učīlā*, *učīlo* «studied» (*l*-ptcp., a. p. *c*) and *ròdīl*, *rodīlā*, *ròdīlo* «gave birth» (*l*-ptcp., a. p. *c*), Hvar *dèlot* «to do» (a. p. *a*), Vis (personal data) *pìtot* «to feed», *pādot* «to fall», *māzot* «to smear; to spread», *plākot* «to cry», *plivot* «to swim», *dizot* «to get sb/smth up», *glèdot* «to look», *slūšot* «to listen», *grījot* «to warm smth up» (all a. p. *a*)¹²⁸ etc. In Standard Croatian, there is no posttonic length in these examples: *pùškama*, *dìgnuti*, *djèlati* (arch.), *pìtati*, *pādati*, *māzati*, *plākati*, *plivati*, *dizati*, *glèdati*, *slūšati*, *grījati*¹²⁹.

The same kind of generalization of the short (originally acuted) variant attested in some Štokavian and Čakavian dialects is found in Slovene as well¹³⁰: cf. Slovene *délati*, *délal*, *délala*, *délalo* «work» (a. p. *a*) without a neo-circumflex because –*a*– was acuted (and thus shortened originally) in a. p. *b*, *česáti* (< *česàti), *čésal* (< *česàl), *česála*, *česálo* (< *česàlo) «to scratch» or *mísliti*, *míslil*, *míslila*, *míslilo* «to think» (a. p. *a*) because of *nosíti* (< *nosìti), *nósil*, *nosíla*, *nosílo* (a. p. *b*)¹³¹ «to carry» etc.

THE RETAINMENT AND THE SHORTENING POSITIONS

[summary]¹³²

Final open syllables

¹²⁸ Čakavian (Hvar, Vis): –*ā*– > –*o*– and –*ǣ*– > –*ā*– in open syllable (secondary developments).

¹²⁹ The generalization of the short variants is not exceptionless – some dialects have generalized the long suffix –*tš*te due to forms like *blätītš*te «mud-pit» and some the short variant –*iš*te due to the forms like *dvòriš*te «yard» where the suffix was shortened under the acute.

¹³⁰ Stang 1957: 50.

¹³¹ The length in m./n. *l*-ptcp. of a. p. *c* obviously did not help: *gostīl*, *gostíla* < *gostīlā, *gostílo* «treated».

¹³² Croatian is here taken as an example, with Czech as an example for West Slavic when necessary. In Croatian, neo-acute is marked as a separate intonation.

1. *zîmq > Croat. *zîmŭ*

Acute

1. *bólto > Croat. *blàto*, Czech *bláto*

Circumflex

1. *dâr > Croat. *dâr*, Czech *dar* «gift»
2. *mêso > Croat. *mêso*, Czech *maso*
3. *ólky > Croat. *lâkat*, Czech *loket*
4. *môldost > Croat. *mlâdost*
5. *sŭnove > Croat. *sînovi*

Neo-acute

1. *kõt, *põtńĩk, *dylźńĩk > Croat. dial. *kŭt*, *pŭtnĩk*, *duźńĩk*
2. *vêžeš > Croat. dial. *věžěš*
3. *bêlj > Croat. dial. *bělĩ*
4. *žędja > Croat. dial. *žěđa*

Pretonic length

1. *trōbā, *rōkā > Croat. *trúba*, *úka*
2. *kylbāsa > Croat. *kobása*
3. *polťno > Croat. *plátno*
4. *malĩna > Croat. *màlina*
5. *jězŭk > Croat. *jèzik*
*kōkòl > Croat. *kúkolj*, *kúkolja*
*svědòk > Croat. *svjèdok*, *svjedòka*
6. *dylźńĩk > Croat. *dùžńĩk*
*mōžьskĩj > Croat. *mùškĩ*

Posttonic length

1. *mēsęcь > Croat. *mjèsēc*, Czech *měsíc*
*gòlōbь > Croat. *gòlŭb*, Czech *holub*
2. *prēdīvo > Croat. *prèdīvo*
3. *pāmęťnь > Croat. *pàmetan*

Common Slavic accented length

Rising

The old acute (´) is shortened in Croat. to short falling accent (˘). In Czech, it remains long in the mono- and bisyllabic words. Croat. *vràna*, Czech *vrána*.

Falling

The old circumflex (˘) remains long falling in mono- and bisyllabic words in Croat. (*měso*), and is shortened in longer ones (*grāda* : *grādovi*). It is shortened in West Slavic (Czech *maso*).

New rising

The neo-acute (ˇ) remains long everywhere, the number of syllables is irrelevant (Croat. *pūtnīk*, Czech *poutník*).

Common Slavic pretonic length

In front of less than two moras

The length is preserved in front of less than two moras, Croat. *trúba*, Czech *trouba*.

In front of two moras

The length is shortened in front of two moras (two full syllables or a long accented syllable), Croat. *trùbica*, Czech *trubice*.

Common Slavic posttonic length

After the circumflex (a. p. ɔ)

Preserved in Croat., shortened in West Slavic. Croat *gòlūb*, Czech *holub*.

After the old acute (a. p. a)

Preserved in Croat., preserved inconsistently in West Slavic. Croat. *mjěsēc*, Czech *měsíc*.

Postscript. After the completion of this paper I have found out that Frederik Kortlandt's criticism of it will be published in the very same issue of *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch*. For my reply to his criticism see Kapović forthcoming *e*.

LITERATURE

- AG 1991 = Babić-Brozović-Moguš-Pavešić-Škarić-Težak, *Povijesni pregled, glasovi i oblici hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, Zagreb
- Богатырев, К. К. 1995, *Акцентуация северолехитских говоров с исторической точки зрения*, Slavistische Beiträge, band 330, München
- Brozović, Dalibor & Ivić, Pavle 1988, *Jezik, srpskohrvatski/hrvatskosrpski, hrvatski ili srpski*, Zagreb
- Budmani, Pietro [=Petar] 1867, *Grammatica della lingua serbo-croata (illirica)*, Vienna
- Булатова, Римма В. 1982, «Акцентологические связи кайкавского диалекта с другими диалектами сербохорватского языка», *Hrvatski dijalektološki zbornik* 6: 85–100

- Carlton, Terence R. 1991, *Introduction to the phonological history of the Slavic languages*, Columbus
- Dulčić, Jure & Dulčić, Pere 1985, «Rječnik bruškoga govora», *Hrvatski dijalektološki zbornik*, knj. 7/sv. 2
- Дыбо, Владимир А. 1981, *Славянская акцентология. Опыт реконструкции системы акцентных парадигм в праславянском*, Москва
- Дыбо, В. А., Замятина, Г. И. & Николаев, С. Л. 1990, *Основы славянской акцентологии*, Москва
- FO 1981 = *Fonološki opisi srpskohrvatskih/hrvatskosrpskih, slovenačkih i makedonskih govora obuhvaćenih opšteslovenskim lingvističkim atlasom*, Sarajevo
- HG 1997 = Barić-Lončarić-Malić-Pavešić-Peti-Zečević-Znika, *Hrvatska gramatika²*, Zagreb
- Holzer, Georg 1995, «Die Einlichkeit des Slavischen um 600 n. Chr. und ihr Zerfall», *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 41: 55–89
- Holzer, Georg 2003, «Urslavische Phonologie», *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 49: 23–40
- Ivšić, Stjepan 1911, «Prilog za slavenski akcenat», *Rad JA* 187 (1911): 133–208 [reprinted also in Ivšić 1971: [83–159]]
- Ivšić, Stjepan 1970, *Slavenska poredbena gramatika*, priredili Josip Vrana i Radoslav Katičić, Zagreb
- Ivšić, Stjepan 1971, *Izabrana djela iz slavenske akcentuacije (Gesammelte Schriften zum slavischen Akzent)*, mit einer Einleitung sowie Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen des Verfassers herausgegeben von Christian Alphonsus van der Berk, Slavische Propyläen, Texte in Neu- und Nachdrucken, Band 96, München
- Jedvaj, Josip 1956, «Bednjanski govor», *Hrvatski dijalektološki zbornik* I: 279–330
- Jurišić, Blaž 1966, *Rječnik govora otoka Vrgade, I dio*, Zagreb
- Jurišić, Blaž 1973, *Rječnik govora otoka Vrgade, uspoređen s nekim čakavskim i zapadnoštokavskim govorima, II dio, Rječnik*, Zagreb
- Jurišić, Blaž 1992, *Nacrt hrvatske slovnice II. Tvorba imenica u povijesnom razvoju*, Zagreb
- Kapović, Mate 2003, «Razvoj starih dugih samoglasa u hrvatskom i ostalim slavenskim jezicima», *Filologija* 41: 51–82
- Kapović, Mate forthcoming a, «Naglasak praslavenske riječi *сърдѣсе», *Croatica et Slavica ladertina*
- Kapović, Mate forthcoming b, «The *vòl'ā-type Accent in Slavic», *Tones and Theories. Proceedings of IWoBA 2005*
- Kapović, Mate forthcoming c, «Reexamining Meillet's Law», a presentation on the XII. Congress of Indogermanische Gesellschaft in Kraków in October 2004.
- Kapović, Mate forthcoming d, «Nove duljine u hrvatskom jeziku (nakon općeslavenskoga razdoblja)», *Filologija*
- Kapović, Mate forthcoming e, «Slavic Length Again», *Filologija*
- Kortlandt, Frederik H. H. 1975, *Slavic Accentuation, a Study in Relative Chronology*, Lisse/Netherlands

- Kovačec, August 1989, «Četverotonski prozodijski sustav nekih kajkavskih govora», *Govor*, 2: 13–27
- László, Bulcsú 1996, «Općitbena bilježnost pri odredbi srbštine i hrvatštine», in: *Jezik i komunikacija. Zbornik*, Marin Andrijašević, Lovorka Zergollern–Miletić (ed.), Zagreb 1996: 430–451
- Lehfeldt, Werner 1993, *Einführung in die morphologische Konzeption der Slavischen Akzentologie*, München
- Leskien, August 1914, *Grammatik der Serbokroatischen Sprache*, Heidelberg
- Lončarić, Mijo 1996, *Kajkavsko narječje*, Zagreb
- Matasović, Ranko 2000, «Germanske posuđenice u praslavenskome: pitanja relativne kronologije», *Filologija* 34: 129–137
- Matešić, Josip 1970, *Der Wortakzent in der serbokroatischen Schriftsprache*, Heidelberg
- Moguš, Milan 1977, *Čakavsko narječje: Fonologija*, Zagreb
- Popović, Ivan 1960, *Geschichte der serbokroatischen Sprache*, Wiesbaden
- SIHJ 1996 = *Stjepan Ivšić i hrvatski jezik. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa održanoga u Orahovici od 29. travnja do 1. svibnja 1994. godine o 110. obljetnici rođenja profesora Stjepana Ivšića (1884.–1994.)*, Božidar Finka (ed.), Zagreb
- Stang, Christian S. 1957, *Slavonic accentuation*, Oslo
- Stankiewicz, Edward 1993, *The Accentual Patterns of the Slavic Languages*, Stanford
- Zaliznjak, A. A. 1985, *От праславянской акцентуации к русской*, Москва

DICTIONARIES

- ARj = *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, sv. 1–97 [dijelovi I–XXIII], Zagreb 1881–1976
- Gluhak, Alemko 1993, *Hrvatski etimološki rječnik*, Zagreb
- Josef Jungmann 1835–9., *Slownjk česko–německý*, djl I–V, Praha
- Krátky slovník slovénskeho jazyka*, Bratislava 1997
- Piccoli, Agostina & Sammartino, Antonio 2000, *Dizionario dell' idioma croato–molisano di Montemitro/Rječnik moliškohrvatskoga govora Mundimitra*, [Redazione della parte fonematica e croata/Sastavljanje i priređivanje fonološkoga i hrvatskoga dijela: Snježana Marčec – Mira Menac–Mihalić], Montemitro – Zagreb
- Plet. = Maks Pleteršnik 1894–5, *Slovensko–nemški slowar*, I–II, Ljubljana
- Skok = Petar Skok 1971–4, *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, Knjiga prva: A–J. Knjiga druga: K–poni¹. Knjiga treća: poni²–Ž. Knjiga četvrta: Kazala. Uredili akademici Mirko Deanović i Ljudevit Jonke. Suradivao u predradnjama i priredio za tisak Valentin Putanec, Zagreb
- Snoj, Marko 2003, *Slovenski etimološki slovar*, Ljubljana 2003²
- Słownik języka polskiego*, tom I–VIII, Warszawa 1900–19
- SSN = *Slovník slovenských nářečí, I. A–K*, 1994