

The accentuation of *i*-verbs in Croatian dialects

MATE KAPOVIĆ

1. Introduction¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Slavic *i*-verbs

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

A.p. <i>a</i>	*prǎviti - *prǎvišĭ; *gotòviti - *gotòvišĭ
A.p. <i>b</i>	*vozĭti - *vòzišĭ; *ljubĭti - *ljūbišĭ
A.p. <i>c</i>	*lovĭti - *lovīšĭ; *gubĭti - *gubīšĭ

However, there were some problems with this reconstruction concerning the affiliation of certain verbs to accentual paradigms. For instance, in some Štokavian dialects we find the verbs *sèliš*, *trúbiš* (A.p. C) which correlate with the words *sèlo*, *trúba* (A.p. B) – a clear violation of the rules of Slavic word derivation accentuation. Cases like these occur in many Slavic dialects – verbs that are expected to belong to A.p. *b* through regular rules of derivational accentuation in fact belong to A.p. *c* in some dialects (and to A.p. *b* in others). Because of this curious phenomenon, post-1988 Moscow Accentological School operates with A.p. *b*₁ and A.p. *b*₂ in *i*-verbs (cf. Дыбо, Замятина & Николаев 1990: 112-121). The verbs that belong to A.p. *b*₁ are those like *nòsišĭ or *vòzišĭ (mostly iteratives) which belong to A.p. B in all Slavic languages/dialects, while the verbs that belong to A.p. *b*₂ belong to A.p. B in some Slavic languages/dialects and to A.p. C in other. These are the verbs like *lòžišĭ/ložišĭ or *sèlišĭ/selišĭ (mostly causatives and denominatives). The Russian scholars explain A.p. *b*₁ and A.p. *b*₂ by assuming different prosodic properties of the suffix *-i-* (i.e. two different suffixes, one dominant and one recessive) which then caused different progressive shifts and/or retractions in various Slavic dialects. The outcomes also depended on the length of the root and thus there are four different dialectal groups concerning the reflexes of A.p. *b*₂ verbs: *lòžišĭ/xvālišĭ, *lòžišĭ/xvališĭ, *lòžišĭ/xvālišĭ and *lòžišĭ/xvališĭ (Дыбо, Замятина & Николаев 1990: 112). One has to note that the expected reflex of A.p. *b*₂ in those dialects that do have the accent on the thematic *-i-* is not supposed to be identical to the reflex of the original A.p. *c*, cf. expected *ložite in A.p. *b*₂ but *lovitè in A.p. *c*. However, for all practical purposes we can say that A.p. *b*₂ yields either A.p. B or A.p. C since there is no dialect that would distinguish old A.p. *b*₂ verbs with the accent on the thematic vowel and old A.p. *c* verbs. Of course, it is not to be excluded that such dialect will eventually be

found⁴. If we leave the actual explanation of the A.p. *b*₁ and A.p. *b*₂ problem aside (we shall not deal with the origin of this phenomenon here), we can still conclude that the existence of A.p. *b*₂ verbs (a group of verbs in which one would expect A.p. *b* but which are A.p. B in some but A.p. C in other Slavic dialects) is a real phenomenon⁵. One of the main reasons for writing this article was to shed some light on the reflexes of Proto-Slavic A.p. *b*₂ verbs in Croatian.

NOTES:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹ First non-prefixed and then prefixed verbs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a.p. A

bàvit se - bāvī se, bāvija se; zabiļuzit - zabiļuzī [*bēlēžiti]; *blàtit - blātī* (cf. *blàto, ù blato*); *čīstī - čīstī; čūdit se - čūdī se* (cf. *čūdo, ù čudu*); *dīmit se - dīmī se* (cf. *dīm, G. dīma*); *gādit se - gādī se* (cf. *gād, G. gāda*); *gāzit - gāzī; glādit - glādī; grābit - grābī; zgrābit - zgrābī; grlīt - grlī; ùvatit - ùvatī* [*xvatiti]; *jārit se - jāri se* (cf. *jāre, jāreta*); *īskrit se - īskri se; kūdīt - kūdī; kùpit - kùpī; kvāčīt - kvāčī; kāsnit - kāsni¹⁷; kītīt - kītī; kīselit se - kīselī se; līčīt - līčī; lūpit - lūpī; mīrit - mīri* (cf.

¹⁶ Vála m^omu ispitaníku J^ozi Kápoviću.

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

mīra, G. *mīrē*) [*mēriti]; *mīlit se - mīlī se*; *mīslit - mīslī*; *smīstit - smīstī* [*mēstiti]; *nūdit - nūdī*; *pāzit - pāzī*; *plāšit - plāšī*; *plāzit - plāzī*; *prātit - prāti*; *prāvit - prāvī*, *prāvija*; *prūžit - prūži*; *pūšit - pūšī*, *pūšili*; *pūnit - pūnī*; *přtit - přti*; *rānit - rānī* ‘be early; wound’ (cf. *rāno* ‘early’; *rāna* ‘wound’); *rūšit - rūšī*, *rūšēne*; *sītī se - sītī se* [*sētiti se]; *sīlit - sīlī* (cf. *sīla*); *slāvit - slāvī* (cf. *slāva*); *slīnit - slīnī* (cf. *slīna*); *stāvit - stāvī*; *strāšit - strāši*; *štētī - štētī* (cf. *štēta*); *tīšit - tīši* [*tēšiti]; *tlāčit - tlāčī* (cf. *tlāka*); *trāpit - trāpi*, *trāpļēne* ‘dig out stones from the ground’; *vādīt - vādī*; *vīšit - vīši*; *vlāžit - vlāži* (cf. *vlāga*); *ūdit - ūdī* ‘harm’; *řlit - řlī* [*xřrliti]; *žālit - žālī*

bōgatīt se - bōgatī se (cf. *bōgat*, *bōgata*); *zgōtovīt - zgōtovī* (cf. *gōtov*, *gōtova*); *kōristīt - kōristī* (cf. also *i*-noun *kōrist*, G. *kōristi*); *prōtivīt se - prōtivī se* (cf. the preposition *prōtiv*); *tōvarīt - tōvarī* (cf. *tōvar*, G. *tōvara*); *ūdarīt - ūdarī*; *tōmačīt - tōmačī* (note the special development **l̥* > *o*)

a.p. B

short

kāznīt - kāznī; *gōnīt - gōnī*; *klōnīt se - klōnī se*; *lōžit - lōžī*; *mōlit - mōlī*; *nōsīt - nōsī*; *prōsīt - prōsī*; *skōčīt - skōčī*; *vōzit - vōzī*; *žēnīt (se) - žēnī (se)* (cf. *žēna*, *žēnu*); *gōvōrīt - gōvōrī*; *svidōčīt - svidōčī* (cf. *svidok*, *svidōka*); *vōdit - vōdī*

zgrōmīt - zgrōmī; *skōlit - skōlī*; *blagosōvit - blagosōvī* [*blagosloviti]; *okamēnīt - okamēnī* (cf. *kāmēn*, *nā kamēn*¹⁸); *uklōnīt - ūklonī*; *zaklōpit - zaklōpī*; *ponōsīt se - pōnōsī se*; *oslobōdit - oslobōdī*; *naslōnīt - nāslonī*; *potvōrīt - pōtvōrī* ‘blame someone for something’; *pokōrīt se - pōkorī se* (cf. *pōkora*)

long

bīlit - bīlī (ōbīlī) [*bēliti]; *brānīt - brānī*, *brānila*; *brūsīt - brūsī*; *būdīt - būdī*; *būšīt - būšī*; *cīdit - cīdī* [*cēditi]; *cīnīt - cīnī* [*cēniti]; *cīpit - cīpī*; *cvīlit - cvīlī*; *dāvīt - dāvī*; *dīlit - dīlī* (cf. *dīja/dija*, G. *dīla*) [*dēliti]; *dīčīt se - dīčī se*; *drāžit - drāžī*; *drīšīt - drīšī* ‘untie’; *drūžit se - drūžī se*; *dūšīt - dūšī* ‘let air out, deflate’; *gāsīt - gāsī*; *glūmīt - glūmī*; *gnīzdit se - gnīzdī se* (cf. *gnīzdo*, N.pl. *gnīzda*); *gospōdārīt - gospōdārī* (cf. *gospōdār*, G. *gospodāra*); *grādīt - grādī*; *grīšīt - grīšī* [*grēšiti]; *gūlit - gūlī*; *pogīdit - pōgīrī*; *jāvīt - jāvī*; *kādīt - kādī*; *kālīt - kālī*; *krāsīt - krāsī*; *krātīt - krātī*; *k^uōsīt - k^uōsī* ‘make something slant’; *krīpit se - krīpī se* [*krēpiti]; *krīvīt (se) - krīvī (se)*; *krūžīt - krūžī* (cf. *krūg*, G. *krūga*); *krvāvīt - krvāvī*; *dokūčīt - dōkūčī*; *kūpit - kūpī*; *ukvāsīt - ūkvāsī*; *krčīt - křčī*; *līčīt - līčī* [*lēčiti]; *lūpit - lūpī* [*lēpiti]; *lībīt se - lībī se*; *lūbīt - lūbī*; *lūtīt - lūtī*; *māmit - māmī*; *māstīt - māstī* (cf.

analogy with the present *kāsnīn* or to analogy with the semantically related verb *rānītī*, *rānīn* (‘be late’ and ‘be early’).

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

māst, mās̄ti); *mīs̄it - mīs̄i* [*mēs̄iti]; *mīrit se - mīri se*; *mlādit se - mlād̄i se*; *mlāt̄it - mlāt̄i*; *mrāčit se - mrāč̄i se*; *mūt̄it - mūt̄i*; *mlāčit se - mlāč̄i se*; *mřs̄it - mřs̄i*; *promīnit - pròmīnī* [*mēniti]; *nāglit se - nāgl̄i se*; *oblāčit se - oblāč̄i se* 'cloud' (cf. *öblāk*, G. *öblāka*); *oblāčit se - öblāč̄in se* 'dress'; *pālit - pāl̄i*; *zaplīnit - zāpl̄inī* [*pelniti]; *zapričit - zāprič̄i* [*prēc̄iti]; *plāt̄it - plāt̄i*; *prās̄it se - prās̄i se*; *prās̄it se - prās̄i se*; *prīt̄it - prīt̄i* [*pertiti]; *rād̄it - rād̄i*; *rīš̄it - rīš̄i* [*rēs̄iti]; *porúb̄it - pòrúb̄i*; *sād̄it - sād̄i*; *slíp̄it - slíp̄i* [*slēpiti]; *slúz̄it - slúz̄i*; *súz̄it - súz̄i* [*qziti]; *snúb̄it - snúb̄i*; *slād̄it se - slād̄i se*; *súdit - súdi*, *pròsúdi* (cf. *súd*, G. *súda*); *stúp̄it - stúp̄i*; *súš̄it se - sús̄i se*; *svét̄it se - svét̄i se* 'take revenge'; *svét̄it - svét̄i* 'bless'; *srd̄it (se) - sřd̄i (se)*; *širit - širi se* (cf. *širina*, A. *širinu*, *širinu*; *širok*, *širòka*); *tr̄ibit - tr̄ibi* [*terbiti]; *túz̄it se - tús̄i se*; *trāž̄it - trāž̄i*; *trús̄it - trús̄i*; *trúdit se - trúdi se*; *tvrd̄it - tvrd̄i*; *váb̄it - váb̄i*; *várit - vār̄i*; *vrát̄it - vrát̄i*; *lād̄it - lād̄i* (cf. *lād*, G. *lāda*; *lādan*, *lādna*, *lādno - lādni*, *lādna*, *lādno*) [*xolditi]; *rānit - rānī* (cf. *rāna*, A. *rānu*) [*xorniti]; *vālit - vāl̄i* (cf. *vāla*, A. *vālu*) [*xvaliti]; *zrāčit - zrāč̄i*; *ždr̄ibit se - ždr̄ibi se*, *òždr̄ibi se* (cf. *ždr̄ibe*, G. *ždr̄ibeta*) [*žerbiti]

a.p. C

short

bòrit se - bòri se (*izbor̄i se*), *bòrili*; *bròjit - bròji* (cf. *bròj*, G. *bròja*); *br̄st̄it - br̄st̄i*; *čast̄it - čast̄i*; *dòjit - dòji*; *dròbit - dròbi*; *dvòrit - dvòri*; *gòjit - gòji* (*òdgoji*); *glòbit - glòbi*; *gr̄òjit - gr̄òji* (cf. *gr̄òj*, G. *gr̄òja*, A. *ò gr̄òj*); *gòdit - gòdi*; *gòjit se - gòji se* 'get fat'; *gòst̄it - gòst̄i*; *kòrit - kòri*; *kòsit - kòsi* 'mow' (*pòkos̄i*, cf. *kòsa*, A. *kòsu* 'scythe'); *kòtit se - kòti se*; *kròjit - kròji*; *křst̄it - křst̄i*; *lèdit se - lèdi se* (cf. *lèd*, G. *lèda*); *lòmit - lòmi* (*slòmi*); *lòvit - lòvi* (*ùlov̄i*); *mèdit se - mèdi se* (cf. *mèd*, G. *mèda*); *mòčit - mòč̄in*, *mòč̄i* (*smòč̄i*); *mòkrit - mòkri se*; *mòrit - mòri* (*ùmor̄i*); *mòtrit - mòtri*; *māgl̄it se - māgl̄i se* (cf. *māgla*, A. *māglu*); *nòčit - nòči* (cf. *nòč*, G. *nòči*, *pr̄iko noči*); *òri se*; *òštr̄it - òštr̄i*; *plòdit - plòdi*; *plòvit - plòvi*; *pòjit - pòji*; *pòpit se - pòpi se* 'be ordained to priesthood' (cf. *pòp*, G. *pòpa*); *pòst̄it - pòst̄i*; *pròst̄it - pròst̄iš̄* (*òprost̄i*); *pāpr̄it - pāpr̄i* (cf. *pāpar*, G. *pāpra*); *ròjit se - ròji se*; *ròn̄it - ròn̄i*; *ròpit se - ròpi se*; *ròsit se - ròsi se*; *sèlit se - sèli se* (cf. *sèlo*, N.pl. *sèla*, G.pl. *sèlā*); *škòpit - škòpi*; *škřòpit - škřòpi*; *súz̄it - súz̄i* [*sl̄bziti]; *smòlit se - smòli se* (cf. *smòla*, A. *smòlu*); *slòvit - slòvi* (cf. *slòvo*, N.pl. *slòva*); *sòlit - sòli* (*pòsol̄i*, cf. *sò*, G. *sòli*, L. *u sòli*); *sramòt̄it se - sramòti se* (*osrāmòti se*); *càkl̄it se - càkl̄i se* (cf. *càklo*, N.pl. *càkla*) [*st̄ykl̄it̄ se]; *tèlit se - tèli se* (cf. *tèle*, G. *tèleta*); *tòplit se - tòpli se*; *tòpit (se) - tòpi (se)* (*òtop̄i*); *tòvit - tòvi*; *tròš̄it - tròš̄i*; *vèdrit se - vèdri se*; *vesèlit se - vesèli se*; *znòjit se - znòji se*; *zòrit - zòri* 'ripen'; *zvònit - zvòni* (cf. *zvòno*, N.pl. *zvòna*, G.pl. *zvònā*); *žalòst̄it (se) - žalòst̄i (se)*

shortened

činit - činī (ùčinī); gùbit - gùbī, gùbija (izgubī); pùstit - pùstī¹⁹ (nàpustī); ùčit - ùčī (nàučī)

long

brújit - brújī; júrit - júri (izjūrī); pílit - píli (cf. píla, A. pílu); rúdit - zòra se rúdī; sjájit - sjájī; sláčit - sláčī mu 'it is sweet to him' [*sladǎčiti] [intransitive]; snížit - sníži (cf. snġ, G. snġa) [*sněžiti]; slídit - slídī [*slěditi]; srámit se - srámī se (pòsrāmī se); svítlit (se) - svítli (se) [*světliti]; štítit - štítī; tájit - táji; trúbit - trúbi (cf. trúba, A. trúbu); vrídit - vrídī; vírit - víri; úlit - úli [*xuliti]; znáčit - znáčī (cf. znák, G. znáka); žárit se - žári se; žúrit se - žúri se

a.p. B-C transitivity pairs

ròdit - ròdī [transitive] (ako ròdī díte), ròdī [intransitive] (ako gròžđe ròdī); tòčit - tòčī [transitive] (òn tòčī víno), tòčī se [intransitive] (víno se tòčī); túpit - túpīn [transitive] (túpīn nòž), túpī se [intransitive] (túpī se nòž); zlátit - zlátīn [transitive] (já tò zlátīn), zlátī se [intransitive] (cf. zláto, G. zláta, òd zláta) (the former is probably an old ě-verb); zvònar zvònī [transitive] : zvòno zvònī [intransitive]

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

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

a.p. A

bàvit se - se bāvīmo; blātit - blātīmo; brātit se - brātīmo se; cèrit se - cèrīmo se; čīstit - čīstīmo; čūdīt se - čūdīmo se; dēsīt - dēsī; dīmīt se - se dīmī; gādīt - gādīmo; gāzīt - gāzīmo; grābit - grābīmo; gřlit - gřlīmo; jèdrit - jèdrīmo; jāñīt - jāñī; jārit se - jāri; kāmenīt se - kāmenīmo se; kāznīt - kāznī, kāznīmo se; kītīt - kītīmo se; kūpit - kūpīmo; kāsīt - kāsīmo; ličit - ličī, ličīmo; lūpit - lūpīmo; mīlit - mīli, mīlīmo; mīrit - mīrīmo [*mēriti]; mùčīt - mùčīmo; mīslīt - mīslīmo; mřvit -

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

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

*mřvimo; nřdit - nřdimo; pãzit - pãzimo; pjěnit - pjěnimimo; plãšit - plãšimimo; plãzit - plãzimimo; prãtit - prãtımimo; prãvit - prãvımimo; prřžit - prřžımimo; přšit - přšımimo; pãprıt - pãprımimo²¹; přtit - přtımimo; rãnit - rãnimimo; rřšit - rřšımimo; sřtit se - sřtımimo se [*sřtıtı]; sřlit - sřlımimo; slãvit - slãvımimo; stãvit - stãvımimo; strãšit - strãšımimo; sřzit - sřzımimo (cf. sřza) [*sřzıtı]; sřrit - sřrımimo; šãlit se - šãlımimo se; tjęšit - tjęšımimo; třžit - třžımimo; vãdit - vãdımimo; vjęrit se - vjęrımimo se; vlãžit - vlãžımimo; žãlt (sic!) - žãlımimo; břstrıt - břstrı [transitive]; slãbit - slãbı [transitive]*

*bõgatıt se - se bõgatımimo; bõravıt - bõravımimo; kõristıt - kõristımimo; õkusıt - õk^usımimo; okřvavıt - okřvavımimo; ùlazıt - ùlazımimo; õmedıt - mẽdımimo; nãudit - nãudımimo; põganıt - põganımimo ‘become bad’; põnosıt - põnosımimo se; zãratıt - zãratımimo; zãsitıt se - zãsitımimo; õzdravıt - õzdravımimo; ùdarıt - ùdarımimo; izvısıt - izvısımimo [*věsıtı]*

a.p. B

short

*brõjit - brõjı, brõjımimo, brõjıte; gõnit - gõnı, gõnimimo; klõnit se - klõnı, klõnimimo se, klõnıte; křstıt - křstı, křstımimo, křstıte; kisělt - kisělımimo; lõjit - lõjı, lõmit - lõmı, lõmımimo, lõmıte; lõvit - lõvı, lõvımimo, lõvıte; lõžit - lõžı, lõžımimo; mõçıt - mõçın, mõçı, mõçımimo; mõlt - mõlımimo; mõrit - mõrı, mõrımimo; mõtrit - mõtrımimo; nõsit - nõsımimo; prõstıt - da prõstıš, da prõstıte (also prõstımimo, but probably by mistake); přstıt - přstı, přstımimo; přstõšıt - přstõšımimo; rõdit - rõdı, rõdımimo; rõnit - rõnın, rõnıš, rõnı, rõnımimo, rõnıte, rõnē (also rõnı?); sělıt se - se sělı, sělımimo se; skõçıt - skõçımimo; sõlt - sõlı, sõlımimo; sramõtit - sramõtımimo; svidõçıt - svidõçımimo [*sřvědoçıtı]; tõvit - tõvı, tõvımimo, tõvıte; trõšıt - trõšı, trõšımimo; tvõrit - tvõrımimo (?); võzit - võzımimo; zõrı ‘it dawns’; žalõstıt - žalõstımimo; žẽnıt se - se žẽnı, žẽnımimo se*

blagoslõvit - blagoslovımimo; zaklõpit - zãklopımimo; prilagõdit - prilãgodımimo; primõstıt - primõstımimo; obnõvit - õbnovımimo; pokõrit - põkorımimo; prepõlõvit - prepõlovımimo; raspõrit - rãsporımimo; upozõrit - upõzorımimo; sprijatělıt se - sprijãtělımimo se; ustanõvit - ustãnovımimo; põstrojımimo; osvõjit - õsvojımimo; tõvarıt - tõvarımimo; otvõrit, zatvõrit - õtvõrımimo, zãtvõrımimo; ozãkõnit - ozãkonımimo

long

*ublãžit - ùblãžımimo; brãnit - brãnımimo; brúsıt - brúsımimo; búdit - bũdımimo; búšıt - bũšımimo; cídıt - cídımimo [*cědıtı]; cjépıt - cjěpımimo; učvrstıt - učvrstımimo; cřpıt - cřpımimo; udãlít - ùdãlımimo; dãvit - dãvımimo; dílit - dílımimo [*dělıtı]; díçıt - díçı,*

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

*dīčimo; dívít - dívīmo; drúžit se - drúzīmo se; odùšēví se; dúšít - dúšīmo; dúžit - dúžīmo; gásít - gāsīmo; se oglúšít; gnjézdít - gnjézdīmo se; gnávít - gnávīmo; glás^t - glásī; grádit - grádīmo; gospodárit - gospòdārīmo; govórit - govòrī, govòrīmo, govòrīte²²; gríšít - gríšīmo [*grěšiti]; gróžit se - grózīmo se; gúlit - gúlīmo; grđít - grđīmo; ládit - lādīmo (cf. ladan - lādñī) [*xolditi]; hrábrit - hrábrīmo; ránít - ránīmo [*xorniti]; fálit - fālīmo [*xvaliti]; objásnit - òbjásnīmo; jávit - jávīmo; ujedínít - ujedīñī; kádit - kádīmo; zaključít - zaključīmo; krátít - krátīmo; se kòsī 'it goes against'; krásít - krásīmo; raskrilit - ràskrilīmo; krívít - krívīmo; prikrižít - prikrižīmo; ukrútít se - ùkrútīmo se; krúžít - krúzīmo; kúdit - kúdīmo; kúpit - kúpīmo; kvásít - kvásīmo; krčít - krčīmo; líčit - líčīmo [*lěčiti]; ulínít se - ùlínīmo se [*lěnit]; lípit - lípīmo se [*lěpiti]; lišít - lišīmo; ljubít - ljubīmo; lútít - lútīmo; lúčit - lúčīmo; lúšít - lúšīmo; mámit - māmīmo; márit - mārīmo; mástít - mástīmo; mísít - mísīmo [*měsiti]; mesárit - mēsārīmo; mírit se - mírīmo se; mláčít - mláčīmo; mráčít - mráčīmo; mlátít - mlátīmo; mrsít - mřsīmo; mútít - mútīmo; umřtvít - ùmřtvīmo; náglít - nāglīmo; snízít - snízīmo; obláčít - òbláčīmo 'dress'; obláčít se - òbláčī se 'cloud'; pálit - pālīmo; opamétít se - opámētīmo se; pílit - pílīmo; plátít - plátīmo; prášít - prášīmo; prítít - prítīmo [*pertiti]; protívít - pròtívīmo; rádit - rādīmo; rídít - rídīmo [*rěditi]; ríšít - ríšīmo [*rěšiti]; prirédít - prirēdīmo; rúbit - rúbīmo; sádit - sádīmo; snážít - snážīmo; sládit - sládīmo [transitive]; srámit se - srāmīmo se; súdit - súdīmo; stúpít - stúpīmo; ustrilit - ùstrilīmo [*strělit]; súšít - sūšīmo; svétít se - svētīmo se 'take revenge'; svétít - svētī 'bless'; sřdít - sřdīmo; šírít - šírīmo; tájit - tājīmo; tríbit - tríbīmo [*terbiti]; tláčít - tláčīmo 'torture'; túpit - túpī (se), túpīmo; túžít - túžīmo; trátít - se trátī, trátīmo; trážit - trážīmo; trúbit - trúbī, trúbīmo; trúsít - trúsīmo; trúdit se - trúdīmo se; tríznit se - trízñīmo se [*terzniti]; zaústít - záuštīmo; vábit - vábīmo; razvált (sic!) - ràzvālīmo; várit - vārīmo; izvyjéstít - izvyjēstīmo; povláčít - pòvláčīmo; vrátít - vrátīmo; izvřšít - izvřšīmo; ozárit se - òzārīmo se; znáčít - znáčī; žárit se - se žārī (žāra se žārī); očrnít - òčrnīn [transitive]; gústít - gústī [transitive]; lúdit - lúdi [transitive]; òžíví [transitive]*

a.p. C

short

bòrit se - bòrīmo se; břstít - břstīmo; částít - částīmo; dòjit - dòjīmo; dròb^t - dròbī, dròbīmo, dròbīte; dvòj^t - dvòjīmo; gnòj^t - gnòjīmo; gòdit - gòdī; gòj^t - gòjīmo; gòstít - gòstīmo; kòrit - kòrīn, kòrīš, kòrī, kòrīmo, kòrite, kòrē (also kòrī?); kòsit - kòsīn, kòsīš, kòsī, kòsīmo, kòsīte, kòsē 'mow' (also kòsī?); kòtít - kòtī; kròjit - kròjīn, kròjīš, kròjī, kròjīmo, kròjīte, kròjē; kròtít - kròtī, kròtīmo, kròtīte; kršít - kršīmo; lèdit - lèdī se; mòkrit - mòkrīmo; mnòžít - mnòžīmo; màglít - màglī (cf.

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

màgla, A. *màglu*, N.pl. *màgle*); *nòcit* - *nòcīn*, *nòcīš*, *nòcī*, *nòcīmo*, *nòcīte*, *nòcē*; *òrit se* - *òrī se*; *òštrit* - *òštrīmo*, *òštrīm*, *òštrī se*; *pòstit* - *pòstī*, *pòstīmo*; *pròsit* - *pròsī*, *pròsīmo*; *ròjit* - *ròjē*; *ròsit* - *ròsī* (*kīša ròsī* ‘drizzle’); *càkl't* - *càklī*; *srèbrit* - *srèbrīmo se*; *tèl't* - *tèlī*; *tòpit* - *tòpīn*, *tòpī*, *tòpīmo*; *třsit* - *třsīmo*; *znòjit* - *znòjī*, *znòjīmo*

shortened

čīnit - *čīnīmo*; *gùbit* - *gùbī*, *gùbīmo*; *ùcit* - *ùcīmo*

long

búčit - *búčīmo*; *cúrit* - *cúrī*; *glúmit* - *glúmī*, *glúmīmo*; *júrit* - *júrīn*; *súzit* - *súzī*, *súzīmo* [*qziti]; *slídit* - *slídī*, *slídīmo*; *svítlit* - *svítlī* [*světłiti]; *štítit* - *štítīmo*; *téžit* - *téžīmo* (cf. *téžak* - *téškī*); *vážit* - *vážī*; *vrídit* - *vrídīn*, *vrídīš*, *vrídī*, *vrídīmo*, *vrídīte*, *vrídē*; *žúrit* - *se žúrī*, *žúrīmo se*

a.p. B/C transitivity pairs

bílīn zíd [transitive], *grād se bílī* [intransitive] (but this is probably an old *ě*-verb)

a.p. B-C vacillation/inconclusive²³

plòdit - *plòdīmo*, *se plòdīmo*; *plòvit* - *plòvīn*, *plòvīš*, *plòvī/plòvī*, *plòvīmo*, *plòvīte*, *plòvē*; *pòjit* - *pòjīn*, *pòjīš*, *pòjī*, *pòjīmo/pòjīmo*, *pòjīte*, *pòjē*; *škòpit* - *škòpīn*, *škòpīš*, *škòpī*, *škòpīmo/škòpīmo*, *škòpīte/škòpīte*, *škòpē/škòpē*; *tòč't* - *tòčīn*, *tòčīš*, *tòčī* (*se*)/*tòčī* (*se*), *tòčīmo*, *tòčīte*, *tòčē*; *zvònit* - *zvònīn*, *zvònīš*, *zvònī/zvònī*, *zvònīmo/zvònīmo*, *zvònīte*, *zvònē* (*òdzvonī*); *vesèlit se* - *vesèlī se/vesèlī se*, *vesèlīmo se* (both variants exist side by side)

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

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

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

a.p. A

*bàvīt se - se bāvī; blātīt - blātī; brātīt se - brātīmo, brātē; cērit - cērī, cērīmo; čistīt - čistē; čūdīt se - čūdīmo se, čūdē, zācūdē; dēsīt - se dēsī; dīmīt se - se dīmī; gādīt se - se gādī, se gādē; gāzīt - gāzī, gāzīmo, gāzīte; gōdīt - gōdīš, ōn sēbi gōdī, gōdē ‘enjoy life’ (an Italian loanword); grābīt - grābī, grābīmo, grābīte; gr̥bīt - se gr̥bī; gr̥līt - gr̥lē, gr̥līmo; jēdrīt - jēdrīmo, jēdrīte; kāznīt - kāznīš, kāzne; klātīt se - klātī (cf. *klātno*); k̥rītīt - k̥rīmī se ‘sleep’; k̥pītīt - k̥pī; kvāčīt - kvāčī, kvāčīmo; kvāsīt - kvāsī, kvāsīlo; kītīt - kītī, kītē bōr; kīsēlīt se - se kīsēlī; līčīt - līčī, lūpīt (present tense *lūpnē*); mīrītīt - mīrī, mīrīmo [*mērītī]; mīslītīt - mīslī; m̥vītīt - m̥vī, m̥vīmo; mūčītīt - mūčī, mūčīmo; nūdītīt - nūdī, nūdīmo; pāzītīt - pāzī, pāzīmo; plāšītīt - plāšī; plāzītīt - plāzī; prātītīt - prātī, prātīmo; prāvītīt - prāvīmo, prāvīte; prūžītīt - prūžīmo (cf. *prūžā se*); pūšītīt - pūšī, pūšīmo; p̥rītītīt - ūp̥rītī, ūp̥rītīmo; rānītīt - se rānī, se rānīmo ‘wound’; rūšītīt - rūšī, rūšīmo; sītītīt se - sītī se, sītīmo se [*sētītī]; sīlītīt - sīlī, sīlīmo; slāvītīt - slāvī, slāvīmo; strāšītīt - se strāšī; šālītīt se - se šālī, se šālīmo; t̥jēšītīt - t̥jēšī, t̥jēšīmo (with the standard *-je-*!); tlāčītīt - tlāčī, tlāčīmo; trāpītīt - trāpē ‘wander for a long time’; trātītīt - trātī, trātīmo; tr̥žītīt - ūtr̥žī; vādītīt - vādī; v̥jērītīt se - se v̥jērē (with *-je-*); vlāžītīt - se vlāžī; žālītīt - žālī, žālīmo, žālīte*

*bōgatītīt se - bōgatī se; bōravītīt; zgōtovītīt - zgōtovīš; ūitītīt - ūitē [*xytītītīt]; kōristītīt - kōristī, kōristīmo, kōristīte; ōkusītīt - ōkusī, ōkusīmo; ūlazītīt - ūlazītīt - ūlazīmo; tōvarītīt - tōvarī, tōvarīmo; tūmačītīt - tūmačī; ūdarītīt - ūdarī, ūdarīmo, ūdarīte; pūstošītīt - pūstošī (se); zārātītīt - zārātī se; zāsītītīt - zāsītī, zāsītīmo; izvīsītīt - izvīsī [*vēsītītīt]; ōzdrāvītīt - ōzdrāvī (trans.); ōzākonītīt - ōzākonīmo, ōzākonīte*

cāklitīt se - cākli se; kāsītīt - kāsī, kāsīmo; lōmītīt - lōmī, lōmīmo; lōvītīt - lōvī, lōvīmo; lōžītīt - lōžī, lōžīmo; pāp̥rītīt, zāp̥ap̥rītīt - zāp̥ap̥rī, zāp̥ap̥rīmo; tōpītīt - tōpī, tōpīmo

a.p. B**short**

*blagoslōvītīt - blagoslovī (cf. *blagosīvā*); bōrītīt se - bōrīmo, bōrē; c̥r̥pītīt - c̥r̥pē, c̥r̥pīlītīt; drōbītīt - drōbīn, drōbīmo, drōbē; gōjītīt - gōjī; gōnītīt - gōnīmo; klōnītīt se - klōnī, klōnē; kōsītīt - kōsī, kōsīmo, kōsīte, kōsē ‘mow’; kōtītīt - kōtī, ōkotītīt; mōčītīt - mōčī, mōčē; mōlītīt - mōlī, mōlīmo, mōlīte; mōrītīt - mōrē; nōsītīt - nōsī, nōsīmo; ōrītīt se - se ōrī; ōštrītīt - ōštrīn, se ōštrī; plōvītīt - plōvī, plōvīmo; prōsītīt - prōsī, prōsīmo; prōstītīt - da prōstīš, da prōstīte; pūstītīt - pūstī, pūstīmo; rōčītīt - rōčī, ōročītīt; rōdītīt - rōdī; rōjītīt - rōjē; rōnītīt - rōnī, rōnīmo; sēlītīt se - se sēlī, se sēlīmo; skōčītīt - skōčī, skōčīmo; sōlītīt - sōlī; svjēdōčītīt - svjēdōčīmo (with the standard *-je-*!); škōpītīt - škōpīmo, škōpē; tōčītīt - (se) tōčī; vōzītīt - vōzīmo; znōjītīt - znōjī, znōjīmo; žēnītīt se - se žēnī, se žēnīmo*

*ūčvrstītīt (with a shortened *-r-*); ōgōlītīt - ōgolī, ōgolīmo; zgrōmītīt - zgrōmī; skamēnītīt se - skāmēnī; zaklōpītīt - zāklopē (cf. *zāklopā*); prilagōdītīt - se prilagōdī; polakōmītīt -*

polàkomī se; premòstit - prèmostī, prèmostīmo (with the standard *pre-*!); *ob/ponòvit - òb/pònovī, òb/pònovīmo; pokòrit - pòkorī, ponòsit se - se pònosī* (cf. *pònos*); *pripitòmit - pripitomī, oplemènit - oplèmenī, pripolòvit - pripòlovī, pripòlovīmo; upozòrit - upòzorī, upòzorīmo; sprijatèjit se - sprijatèlīmo se; ustanòvit - ustànovī, postròjit - pòstrojī, utòlit - ùtolī, otvòrit - òtvorī, zàtvorè, izvršit - izvršite* (with a shortened *-r-*)

long

ublàžit - ùblàžī; brànit - brànīmo, brànē; brúsit - brúsīmo, brúsē; búdit - búđīmo, búđē; búšit - búšīmo, búšite; cídit - cíđīmo, cíđite, cíđē [*cěditi]; *cjènit - cjènīmo, cjènīte* (with the standard *-je-*); *cjèpit - cjèpīmo* (with the standard *-je-*); *udàlit - ùdàlī; dàvit - dàvīmo, dàvīte; dilit - dīlī, dīlīmo, dīlīte* [*děliti]; *díčit - dīčīte, dīčē; dívít - dívī; drážit - drážīmo, drážē; drúžit se - drúžī, drúžīmo, drúžīte; dúbít - dúbīmo, dúbīte; dúrit se - dúriš, dúrī, dúrīmo; odušèvit se - odušèvī se; dúšit - dúšī, ùdúšī; dúžit - dùžī; gásit - gāsī, gāsīmo; uglávit - ùglávīmo; oglúšit - òglúšī; gnízdit - gnízđē* [*gnězditi]; *gnávít - gnávī, gnávīmo; glásit - glāsī; grádit - gráđīmo; gríšit - gríšite dūšu* [*grěšiti]; *gúlit - gūlī, ògūlī; ládit - lādī, lādīmo, òlādī* [*xolditi]; *hrábrit - hrábrīmo, hrábrē; ránít - rānī, rānīmo* [*xorniti]; *fálit - fālī, fālīmo* [*xvaliti]; *objásnit - òbjāsni, òbjāsīmo; jávit - jāvē; ujedínit - ujedīnē; kádit - kādī, kādīmo; zaklúčit - zàklúčē; skrátit - skrātī; se kòsī* 'it goes against'; *krásit - krāsī; raskrilit - se ràskrilē; krívít - nè krívīn; krípít - krípī se* [*krěpiti]; *prikrížít - prikrižī; ukrútít se - se ùkrūtī; krúžit - krúžīmo, krúžē; okrvávít - (se) okrvávī, okrvávīmo; kúpit - kúpīmo, kúpīte; líbit se - se líbī; líčit - líčī, líčīmo* [*lěčiti]; *ulínit se - ulīnī, ulīnīmo* [*lěniti]; *lípít - se lípī* [*lěpiti]; *júbit - júbī* [*ljubiti]; *jútit - se jūtī* [*ljutiti]; *júštit - júštī* [*ljuščiti]; *mámit - māmī, māmīmo; mástit - mástī, zàmástī; mísit - mísī, mísīmo* [*měsiti]; *mírít se - mīrīmo, mīrē; mráčít - mráčī; mútit - mūtī; náglit - nāgli; snízit - snízī, snízīmo; obláčít - se òbláčīn* 'dress'; *obláčít se - se òbláčī* 'cloud'; *pálit - pālī, pālīmo; opamétít se - opàmētī se, opàmētīmo se; preplávit - prèplávī; plátít - plātī, plátīmo; prášít - prášī se; prítít - prītī* [*pertiti]; *protívít - se pròtīvī; rádit - rādī, rādīmo; rídit - rídī se* [*rěditi]; *rjéšít - rjěšī* (with *-je-*); *prirédít - prirēđī; sádit - sādī, sādīmo; súdit - súđī; zastránít - zàstrānī; stúpit - stúpī; ustrjélít - ùstrjēlī* (with *-je-*); *súšít - sūšī se; súžit - sūzī, sūzīmo* [*qziti]; *svétít se - se svētī* 'take revenge'; *šírit - šírī, šírīmo se; tríbít - trībī mōune* ('mahune') [*terbiti]; *túpit - se tūpī; túžit - tūžī, tūžīmo; trážit - trážī, trážīmo; trúbit - trúbīmo, trúbīte; trúsit - trūsī, trúsīmo, trúsīte* 'eat or drink a lot'; *trúdit se - trúđī, trúđīmo; tríznit se - trízni, trízni, òtrízni* [*terzniti]; *vábit - vābī, vābīmo; priválit - privālī; várit - vārī* (se); *povláčit - pòvláčī, pòvláčē; vrátít - se vrātī, vrātīmo; znáčít - znáčī, znáčīmo*

a.p. C**short**

bròjit (also *bròjat*) - *bròjī, bròjīmo, bròjē; čàstit - čàstīmo, čàstīte, pòčastē; dòjit - dòjī; dvòrit - dvòrī, dvòrīmo; glòbit - glòbī, glòbīmo, glòbīte; gnòjit - gnòjī, ògnòjī; gòstīt - se gòstī, se gòstīmo; kòrit - kòrī, kòrīmo; kròjit -kròjī, kròjīmo, kròjē; kròtit - kròtī, ùkrotī; křstīt - křstī, křstīmo; lèdit - lèdī, slèdī, zàledī; mnòžit - mnòžī; nòcīt - nòcī, nòcīmo, nòcīte; pòjit - pòjī; pòstīt - pòstī se; ròsit - kīša ròsī ‘drizzle’; sramòtīt - se sramòtī; tèlit - tèlī se; tòvit - tòvī, tòvīmo; tršīt - se tršī; tròšīt - tròšī, tròšīmo; vesèlit se - se vesèlīmo; zvònit - zvònī, zvònīmo (cf. *zvòno*, N.pl. *zvòna*); žalòstīt - žalòstīmo, žalòstīte*

shortened

čīnit - čīnī, čīnīmo, ùčinī; gùbit - gùbī, gùbīmo, izgubī; ùcīt - ùcī, ùcīmo

břstīt - břstīmo, břstē; křcīt - křcī, křcīmo, křcīte; křšīt - křšī, křšīmo; umřtvīt - umřtvī, umřtvīmo; tršīt - se tršī; izvřšīt - izvřšīte

long

*blúdit - blúdī; cúrit - cúrī; cvílit - cvílī, cvílīmo; gájit - gájī, gájīmo, gájīte; glúmit - glúmī, glúmīmo; júrit - júrī, júrīmo; zasládit - sládī, zàslādī; slédit - slédī, slédīmo (with -je- from the standard language); srámit se -se srámī; svítlit - svítlī [*světlīti]; štítit - štítī, štítīmo (cf. štít, štíta, štítovi); tájit - tájīš, tájī, tájīmo; téžit - téžī; vážit - ne vážī, ne vážīte; vrídīt -vrídī; žárit se - žárī se; žúrit - se žúrī, se žúrīmo*

mixed

govórit - govòrī, govòrīmo

inconclusive

*lápīt - lápilo, lápila (no present) [*xlapīti]; porúbit; pomládit; ozlídīt; osvòjīt; zlátīt*

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

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

a.p. A

*bàviti se - bavìmo se; blàtiti - blàti; cèriti se - cèri se; čìstiti - čìsti; čùditi se - čùdi se; dèšiti se - dèši se; dìmiti se - dìmi se; gàditi - gàdi; gàziti - gàzi; gràbiti - gràbi; gřliti - gřli; òjarila se; kàmeniti se - kàmeni se; kìtiti - kiti; kùpiti - kùpi, skùpìmo; kùriti - kùri 'it sells well'; kùžiti - kùži, kùžìmo; kìseliti - kìseli; slìčiti - slìči, slìčìmo; lùpiti - lùpi; mìli mi se; mìriti - mìrìmo [*mèriti]; mùčiti - mùči; mìsliti - mìsli; mřviti - mřvi; nùditi - nùdi; nàuditi - nàudi; pàziti - pàzi; pìniti se - pìni se 'be angry' [*pèniti]; plàšiti - plàši; plàziti - plàzi; pràtiti - pràti; pràviti - pràvi; prùžiti - prùži; pùšiti - pùši; pàpriti - pàpri; ràniti - rànì; rùšiti - rùši; sítiti se - sítì se [*sètiti]; siliti se - se sili 'act all important' (cf. adj. *silena*); slàviti - slàvi; stàviti - stàvi; stràšiti - stràši; sřriti - sřri, usirilo; šàliti se - šàli se; tješiti; tlàčiti - tlàči; vàditi - vàdi; vlàžiti - vlàži; žàliti - žàli*

*bògati - bògati; bòraviti - bòravi; zgòtoviti - zgòtovi; kòristiti - kòristi; prikačiti - prikači; ùlaziti - ùlazi; òmeđiti - òmeđi (cf. *mèđa*, A.sg. *mèđu*, N.pl. *mèđe*); pònositi - pònosi (sic!); pùstošiti - pùstoši; nàprtiti - nàprti; zàratiti - zàrati; zàsiti se - se zàsitiš; òzdraviti - òzdravi; tòvariti - tòvari; tùmàčiti - tùmàči; izvisiti - izvisi; pròvitriti - pròvitri [*vètriti]; ozàkoniti - ozàkoni*

a.p. B**short**

blagoslòviti - blagoslòvi; govòriti - govòri, govòri; kàzniti - kàzni; mòliti - mòli, mòlìmo; nòsiti - nòsi; pùstiti - pùsti, pùstìte; ròditi - ròdi; skòčiti - skòči, skòčìmo; svidòčiti - svidòči; vòziti - vòzi; žèniti - žèni, žènìmo

učvrstiti - učvrsti; ogòliti - ogòli; zaklòpiti - zaklòpi, aor. zàklòpi; prilagòditi - prilàgòdi; ponòviti - pònovi; oplemèniti - oplèmeni; pokòriti - pòkori; pripòloviti - pripòlovi; upozòriti - upòzorìši; sprijatèliti - sprijatèli; uròtiti - ùroti; ustanòviti - ustanòvi; osvòjiti - òsvoji; òtvòri

long

*ublàžiti - ùblàži; bràniti - bràni; brúsiti - brùsi; búditi - bùdi; búšiti - bùši; cjéditi - cjèdi; cjéniti - cjèni; cjépititi - cjèpi; udàliti se - ùdàli; dàviti se - se dàvi; díliti - díli [*dèliti]; díviti - divi; dràžiti - dràži; drúžiti se - drúžin se, drúži se; odušèviti - odušèvi; dúšiti - dùši, izdùši; gásiti - gàsi; gnúzditi - gnúzdì [*gnèzditi]; gnàviti - gnàvi; gràditi - gràdi; gospodàriti - gospòdàri; grjèšiti - grjèši; gróziti - grózi; gúlititi - gúli; láditi - ládi [*xolditi]; hràbriti - hràbri; ràniti - rànin, rànì [*xorniti]; fàliti - fàli [*xvaliti]; objásniti - òbjàsni; jáviti - jàvi; ujedíniti - ujèdini; zaklúčiti - zàklúči; krátiti - kràti; krípiti - krìpi, krípìmo [*krèpiti]; raskriliti - ràskrili; kríviti - krìvi; prikrížiti - prikríži; krúžiti - krúži; kùpiti - kùpi, kùpìmo; kvásiti - krùv se kvàs; líčiti - líči [*lèčiti]; ulíniti se - ùlínìmo se [*lèniti]; lípiti - lípi, lípìmo [*lèpiti]; lùbiti - lùbi, lùbìmo; lútiti - lùti; lúšiti - lúšti; màmiti - màmì; zamástio; mísiti - mísi*

[*měsiti]; *mírit se - mîrē se; mlátit - mlâtî; mráçit - mrâçî; mútit - mûti; obláčit - òbláčîn 'dress'; obláčit se - se òbláčî 'cloud'; súzit - súzî [*qziti]; pálit - pâlî; opamétit - opâmētî; plátit - plâtî; prášit - prâšî lõzu; prítit - prîtî [*pertiti]; protívit - pròtîvî; rádit - rādî; razrídít - ràzrîdî [*rèditi]; rjéšit - rjêšî; prirédít - prîrêdî; rúžit - rûžî 'speak ill of someone'; sádit - sādî; sládit - slādî; súdit - sūdî; zastránit - zàstrānî; stúpit - stúpî; súšit - sūsî; šírit - šîrî; tríbit - trîbî [*terbiti]; túpit - tûpîn, tûpî; túžit - tûžîn; trážit - trāžî; trúdit se - trūdî se; tríznit - trízni [*terzniti]; proválit - pròvālî; várit - vārî; povláçit - pòvláčî; vrátî; znáčit - znáčî (also znáčî?); ždríbit - ždrîbî [*žerbiti]; ožívít - òžîvîn (trans.)*

a.p. C

short

*bòrit se - bòrî se, bòrimo se; bròdit - bròdî; bròjit - bròjîn, bròjî; çástit - çástîn, çástî; dòjit - dòjîn, dòjî; dròbit - dròbîn, dròbî; dvòjit - dvòjî; dvòrit - dvòrîn, dvòrî; gñòjit - gñòjîn, gñòjî, pògñojî; gòstít - gòstîn, gòstî; jèdrit - jèdrîn, jèdrî/jidrî; kòsit - kòsî, kòsîmo, pòkosîš, pòkosî; kròjit - kròjî, kròjîmo; škròpit - škròpî; kròtit - kròtî, kròtîmo; křstít - křstî; kásnit - kásnî; lèdit - lèdî; lòmít - lòmî, lòmîmo, lòmîte, pòlomîš, slòmîš, slòmî, slòmîte; lòvit - lòvî, lòvîmo, lòvîte, ùlovî; lòžit - lòžî, lòžîmo, nàložîte; màstít - màstî 'thresh grapes'; mòçit - mòçî; nòçit - nòçî; òrit se - òrî se; òštrít - òštrîn, òštrî se; sùzî [*slъziti]; plòvit - plòvî; pòjit - pòjî, nàpojîš; pòstít - pòstî, pòstîmo; pròsit - pròsî, pròsîmo; pròstít - da pròstîš, òprostîš; ròçî 'he serves time in the army'; ròjit - ròjē se; rònit - rònî, rònîmo, zàronî; sèlit se - sèlî se, sèlîmo se, priselî se; sòlit - sòlî; sramòtit - sramòtî; càklít se - càklî se; sùzit - súzî [*slъziti]; škòpit - škòpî; tòçit - tòçî; tòpit - tòpî, ùtopî; tòvit - tòvî; tròšít - tròšîn, tròšî; vesèlit se - vesèlî se; znòjit se - znòjî se; zvònit - zvònî; žalòstít - žalòstî*

shortened

çínít - çînî, ùçínî; gùbit - gùbîn, gùbî, izgubî; ùçít - ùçî

břstít - břstî; çřpit - çřpî; křšít - křšî; křçít - křçî; křmit - křmî 'sleep (derogative)'; tršít se - tršî se za pòsā

long

*brújít - brújî; cvílit - cvílî; cúrit - cúrî; dúbit - dúbîn, dúbî, dúbē, izdúbîmo; glúmit - glúmî; júrit - júrî; mílit - mílî 'stroke/fondle a cat'; mřsit - mřsîš 'cheat'; snízít - snízî (2x); sljédít - sljédî (also sljêdî); srámit se - srámî se; svítlít - svítlî, zàsvítlî [*světłiti]; štítít - štítî; trátit - trátî; trúbit - trúbîn, trúbî, zàtrúbî; vážit - vážî; vrídít - vrídî [*verditi]; žárit - žárî; žúrit se - žúrî se*

vacillation

gònit - gònî/gònî, gònîmo; líbit se- líbî se, líbîmo se; tèlit - tèlî/tèlî, òtelî

inconclusive

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

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

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

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

a.p. A

*bāvit se - bāvimo se; blātit - blātimo; cērit se - cērīmo se; cīstī - cīstīmo; ćūdit se - ćūdīmo se; dēsīt se - dēsī se; dīmīt se - se dīmi; gādīt - gādīmo, se gādi; gāzīt - gāzīmo; glādīt - glādīmo; gōdīt - gōdi; grābīt - grābīmo; gr̥bīt - gr̥biš; gr̥līt - gr̥līmo; jēdrīt - jēdrīmo; jānīt se - se ojańi; jārit se - se ojadi; kāznīt - kāznīmo; kītīt - kītīmo; kūpīt - skūpīmo; kvācīt - kvācīmo; kvāsīt - kvāsīmo; slīcīt - slīcīmo; mīlīt - mīli mi se; mīrīt - mīrīmo [*mērīti]; mūcīt - mūcīmo; mīslīt - mīslīmo; m̥vīt - m̥vīmo; nūdīt - nūdīmo; pāzīt - pāzīmo; p̥nīt - p̥nīmo [*p̥nēti]; plāšīt - plāšīmo; plāzīt - plāzīmo; prātīt - prātīmo; prāvīt - prāvīmo; prūžīt - prūžīmo; pūšīt - pūšīmo; p̥rītīt - p̥rītīmo; rānīt - rānīmo; rūšīt - rūšīmo; sītīt se - se sīti [*sētīti]; sīlīt - sīlīmo; slāvīt - slāvīmo; s̥rīt se - se s̥ri; šālīt se - šālīmo se; t̥jēšīt - t̥jēšīmo; tlācīt - tlācīmo; trātīt - trātīmo; vādīt - vādīmo; v̥rītīt se - v̥rītīmo [*v̥rītīti]; v̥trītīt - v̥trītī se, v̥trīmo [*v̥trītīti]; vlāžīt - vlāži, vlāžīmo; žālīt - žālīmo*

bogatit se - se bogatimo; bōravit - bōravimo; kōristit - kōristimo; ōkusit - ōkusimo; ūlazit - ūlazimo; nāudit - nāudimo; pūstošit - pūstošimo; zāratit - zāratimo; zāsītīt - zāsītīmo; ōzdravit - ōzdravimo; tōvarit - tōvarimo; izvisit - izvisimo; ozākonit - ozākonimo

a.p. B

short

blagoslōvit - blagoslovimo; gōnit - gōni; govōrit - govōrimo; mōlit - mōlimo; nōsit - nōsimo; plōdit - plōdimo; plōvit - plōvimo; pūstīt - pūstīmo; rōdit - rōdi, rōdimo; skōcīt - skōcīmo; vōzit - vōzimo; žēnit - žēni

učvrstīt - učvrstimo; ogōlit - ogoli; zgrōmit - zgrōmimo; klōnit se - se ūkloni; zaklōpit - zaklōpimo; raskōlit - raskolimo; prilagōdit - prilāgodimo; primōstīt - priimostī; umrtvit - ūmrtvimo; ponōvit - pōnovimo; oplemēnit - oplēmēni; upokōjit - upōkōjimo; pokōrit - pōkorimo; pripolōvit - pripōlovimo; ponōsit se - pōnosimo se; zapōpit se - se zāpopi; raspōrit - rāsporimo; upozōrit - upōzorimo; sprijatēlit - sprijātēlīmo; osvōjit - ōsvojimo; zatvōrit - zātvorimo; izvřit - izvřimo

long

*ublāžit - ūblāžimo; brānit - brānimo; brūsīt - brūsimo; būdit - būdimo; būšīt - būšimo; cīdit - cīdimo [*cēditi]; cjēnit - cjēnimo; cjēpit - cjēpimo; udāžit se - ūdāžimo; dāvīt se - se dāvimo; dīlit - dīlimo [*dēliti]; dāvīt - dāvimo; drūžit se - se drūžimo; dūrit - dūri; dūšīt - gūma dūši; gāsīt - gāsimo; glūšīt - glūši; gnēzdit - gnēzdimo; gnāvīt - gnāvimo; glāsīt - glāsi; uglāvīt - ūglāvi; grādīt - grādimo; gospodārit - gospōdārimo; grjēšīt - grjēšimo; gūlit - gūlimo; grđīt - grđimo; lādīt - lādimo [*xolditi]; lāpit - lāpi [*xlapiti]; hrābrit - hrābrimo; rānit - rānimo [*xorniti]; fālīt - fālīmo [*xvaliti]; objāsnit - ōbjāsimo; jāvit - jāvimo; ujedīnit - ujedīnimo; zakļūcīt - zākļūcīmo; krātīt - krātimo; krīpit - krīpimo [*krēpiti]; krīsīt - krīsimo [*krēsiti]; krīvit - krīvimo; prekrīžit - prēkrīžimo; ukrūtīt se - ūkrūtīmo se; krūžit - krūžimo; kūpit - kūpimo; līcīt - līcīmo [*lēčiti]; ulīnit se - ūlīnīmo se [*lēniti]; līpit - līpimo [*lēpiti]; lūbit - lūbimo; lūtīt - lūtīmo; lūšīt - lūšīmo; māsīt - māsīmo; mīsīt - mīsīmo [*mēsiti]; mīrit se - se mīru; mlātīt - mlātīmo; mrācīt - mrāci; mūtīt - mūtīmo; nāglīt - nāglīmo; snīzit - snīzimo; oblācīt - ōblācīmo 'dress'; oblācīt - se ōblāci 'cloud'; sūzit - sūzimo [*qziti]; pālīt - pālīmo; opamētīt se - opāmētīmo se; plēnit - plēnimo; plātīt - plāti; pogānit - pōgānimo; prāšīt - prāšimo; prītīt - prītīmo [*pertiti]; protīvīt - prōtīvīmo; rādīt - rādimo; rīdīt - rīdimo [*rēditi]; rīšīt - rīšimo [*rēsiti]; prirēdit - prirēdi; rūbit - rūbimo; sādīt - sādimo; slādīt - slādimo; sūdīt - sūdimo; ustrīlit - ūstrīlīmo [*strēliti]; sūšīt - sūšimo; osvētīt - ōsvētīmo 'revenge'; pōsvēti 'blesses'; īdit - īdi [*ēditi]; štītīt - štītīmo; šīrit - šīrimo; trībit - trībīmo [*terbiti]; tūpit - se tūpi, tūpīmo; tūžit - tūžimo; trāžit - trāžimo; trūsīt - trūsimo; trūdīt se - trūdīmo se; trīznīt - trīznīmo [*terzniti]; provālīt - prōvālīmo; vārit - vārimo; povlācīt -*

pòvlācimo; vrátit - vrātimo; znácit - znáci, znācimo; zlátit - zlāti (se); žárit - žārimo

a.p. C

short

*bòrit se - bòrimo se; ćástit - ćástimo; dòjit - dòjimo; dròbit - dròbimo; glòbit - glòbimo; gùdòjit - gùdòji; gòstit se - se gòstī; kamènit se - se kamèni; kòsit - kòsimo; kòtit - kòtī, òkoti (cf. òkāća); kròjit - kròji; škròpit - škròpimo; kròtit - kròtīmo; křstít - křstīmo; kāsñit - kāsñimo; lèdit - lèdīmo; lòmít - lòmī; lòvit - lòvīmo; lòžit - lòžīmo; mòćit - mòćīmo [*moćiti]; mòrit - mòri; mòtrit - mòtrī; mnòžit - mnòžīmo; nòćit - nòćīmo; òrit se - se òri; òštrit - òštri; pòjit - pòjimo; pòstit - pòstīmo; pòtit - pòtīmo; pròsit - pròsīmo; pàprit - pàpřimo; ròjit se - ròjū se; rònit - rònīmo; sèlit - sèli, sèlīmo; sòlit - sòlīmo; sramòtit - sramòtīmo; stròjit - stròjīmo; càklit se - càkli se, càklīmo se; svjedòćit - svjedòćī; tèlit - tèli; tòplit - tòplīmo; tòćit - tòćīmo; tòpit - tòpī; tòvit - tòvī; tròšit - tròšīmo; vesèlit se - vesèlīmo se; znòjit se - znòji se; zòrit - zòri; zvònit - zvònīmo; žalòstit - žalòstīmo*

shortened

ćinit - ćinīmo; gùbit - gùbīmo; ùćit - ùćī

břstít - břstīmo; cřpit - cřpīmo; křšít - křšīmo; mřsit - mřsī; třsit - třsīmo

long

*cvílít - cvílīmo; cúrit - cúri; dúbit - dúbīmo; glúmit - glúmīmo; júrit - júrīmo; křćit - křćī [*křćiti]; sljédít - sljédīmo; smjěšít - smjěšīmo; srámit se - srámīmo se; svítlit - svítlīmo [*světłiti]; téžit - téžīmo; trúbit - trúbīmo; vážit - váži; vrídít - vrídī [*verđiti]; žúrit se - žúrī se*

mixed

odušèvit - odušèvi; kisèlit - kiselimo

vacillation

*sùzi/sùzī [*sl̩ziti]*

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

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

a.p. A

bāviti se - bāvimo se; blātiti - blātimo; bīstriti - bīstrimo; čistiti - čistimo; čūditi se - čūdimo se; dūriti se - dūrimo se; dīmiti se - dīmi se; gāditi se - gādimo se, gādi se (secondary); gāziti - gāzimo; glāditi - glādimo; grābiti - grābimo; hřliti - hřlino; jāniti se - jāni se; jāriti se - jāri se; ĩskri se; kāzniti - kāznimo; kītiti - kītimo; kūpiti - kūpimo; kīseliti - kīselimo; ličiti - ličimo; lišiti - lišimo; lūpiti - lūpimo; mjēriti - mjērimo; mūčiti - mūčimo; mīsliti - mīslimo; mřviti - mřvimo; nūditi - nūdimo; pāziti - pāzimo; pjēniti - pjēnimo; plāšiti - plāšimo; prātiti - prātimo; prāviti - prāvimo; prūžiti - prūžimo; pūšiti - pūšimo; pāpriti, zāpapriti - pāprimo, zāpaprimo; přtiti - přtimo; rāniti - rānimo; rūšiti - rūšimo; sjētiti se - sjētimo se, sjēti se; siliti - silimo; slāviti - slāvimo; slābiti - slābimo; stāviti - stāvimo; strāšiti - strāšimo; sřriti se - sřri se; šāliti se - šālino se; tjēšiti - tjēšimo; tlāčiti - tlāčimo; trātiti - trātimo; tržiti - tržimo; vāditi - vādimo; vēdriti se - vēdri se²⁴; vlāžiti - vlāžimo; žāliti - žālino

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

a.p. B**short**

gōniti - gōnimo; govōriti - govōrimo; gřbiti²⁵ - gřbi, gřbimo; gřliti - gřlino; klōniti se - klōnimo se; krōjiti - krōjim, prēkrojimo; krōtiti - krōtimo; kvāčiti - kvāčimo; kvāsiti - kvāsimo; lēditi se - lēdi se; mōčiti - mōčimo; mōliti - mōlino; nōsiti - nōsimo; pitōmiti - pitōmimo; prōsiti - prōsimo; pūstiti - pūstimo; rōditi - rōdim, rōdi, rōdi se; rōnit - rōnimo; sōliti - sōlino; sramōtiti - sramōtimo; cākli se - cākli se; štrōjiti - štrōjimo 'castrate'; svjedōčiti - svjedōčimo; vesēliti se - vesēlino se; vōziti - vōzimo; žalōstiti - žalōstimo

blagoslōviti - blagoslōvimo; zgrōmiti - zgrōmimo; skamēniti se - skāmeni; zaklōpiti - zaklōpimo; raskōliti - raskōlino; prilāgōditi - prilāgōdimo; premōstiti - premōstimo; ponōviti - pōnovimo; oplemēniti se - oplēmeni se; pokōriti - pōkorimo; prepolōviti - prepōlovimo; pōnōsiti se - pōnosimo se; raspōriti - rāsporimo; upozōriti - upōzorimo; sprijatēliti se - sprijatēlino se; skōčiti - skōčimo; ustanōviti - ustanōvimo; osvōjiti - ōsvoji; zatōmiti - zātōmimo; zaūstiti - zāustimo; otvōriti, zatvōriti - ōtvorimo, zātvorimo

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

²⁵ Obviously secondary for gřbiti attested elsewhere.

long

*blúditi - blúdimo; bjéliti - bjélimo; ublážiti - ùblažimo; brániti - bránimo; brúsiti - brúsimo; brštiti - brštimo; búditi - búdimo; búšiti - búšimo; cjéditi - cjédimo; cjéliti - cjélimo; cjéniti - cjénimo; cjépiti - cjépimo; céríti se - cèrimo se; cvíliti - cvílimo; cřniti - cřnimo; učvrštiti - ùčvrštimo; udáľiti se - ùdaľimo se; dáviti - dávimo; djéliti - djélimo; díčiti se - díčimo se; díviti se - dívimo se; drážiti - drážimo; družiti se - družimo se; odušéviti se - oduševimo se; gásiti - gásimo; ògluši; gnjéždi; gnáviti - gnávimo; ogòliti - ògoli; glási; gráđiti - gráđimo; gospodáríti - gospòdarimo; grjésiti - grjésimo; gróžiti se - gróžimo se; gúliti - gúlimo; grđiti - grđimo; hláđiti - hláđimo; hlápiti - hlápi; hrábriti - hrábrimo; hrániti - hránimo; húliti - húlito; hváliti - hválito; objásniti - òbjasnimo; jáviti - jávimo; ujedńniti - ujedńnimo; káditi - kádimo; káliti se - káli se; zakľúčiti - zakľučimo; klátiti - kláti; krátiti - krátimo; krjépiti - krjépimo; krjésiti se - krjési se; krásiti - krásimo; raskríliti - raskrili; kríviti - krívi; prekríziti - prèkrižimo; ukrútiti se - ùkrutimo se; krúžiti - krúžimo; kúđiti - kúđimo; kúpiti - kúpimo; kúriti - kúrimo; křmíti - křmimo; ljéciti - ljécimo; uljéniti se - ùlenimo se; ljépiti - ljépimo; líbiti se - líbimo se; ľúbiti - ľúbimo; ľútiti - ľútimo; ľústiti - ľústimo; mámiti - mámimo; máriti - márimo; mástiti - mástimo; mjésiti - mjésimo; mesáriti - mèsarimo; míriti se - mիրimo se; mláčiti - mláčimo; mláđiti - mláđi; mlátiti - mlátimo; mráčiti se - mráči se; mútiti - mútimo; nágliti - náglimo; sníziti - snízimo; obláčiti se - òblačimo se, òblači se ‘dress’; obláčiti se - òblači se ‘cloud’; súziti - súzi [*qziti]; páłiti - páłimo; opamétiti - opàmetimo; pléniti - plénimo; plíiti - plíimo; plátiti - plátimo; pláziti - plázimo; prášiti se - prási se; prášiti se - práši se; prjétiti - prjétimo; protivít se - pròtivímo se; ráđiti - ráđimo; rjésiti - rjésimo; príréditi - prìredimo; rúbiti - rúbimo; sáđiti - sáđimo; sljéditi - sljédimo; smjésiti se - smjésimo se; snážiti - snážimo; snúbiti - snúbimo; sláđiti - sláđimo; súđiti - súđimo; zastrániti - zàstranimo; stúpiti - stúpimo; ustrjéliti - ùstrjelimo; súšiti - súšimo; svétiti se - svétim se, svéti se ‘take revenge’; svétiti - svétim, svéti ‘bless’; sřđiti - sřđimo; štítiti - štítimo; šřiti - šřimo; tájiti - tájimo; trjébiti - trjébimo; téžiti - téžimo; túpiti - túpi, túpi se; túžiti - túžimo; trážiti - trážimo; trúbiti - trúbimo; trúđiti se - trúđimo se; trjézniti se - trjéznimo se; vábiti - vábimo; prováľiti - pròvalimo; váriti - várimo; povláčiti - pòvlačimo; vrátiti - vrátimo; izvřšiti - izvřšimo; ozáriti se - òzarimo se; znáčiti - znáči, znáčimo; žáriti - žárimo; ždrjébiti - ždrjébimo; žúriti se - žúrimo se, žúrim se*

a.p. C**short**

bòriti se - bòrimo se; částiti - částimo; dòjiti - dòji, dòjimo; dròbiti - dròbimo; gnòjiti - gnòjimo; gòjiti - gòjimo; gòstiti - gòstimo; kòriti - kòrimo; kòsiti - kòsimo ‘mow’; kòsiti se - kòsi se ‘go against’; kòtiti - kòtimo; škròpiti - škròpimo; křšiti -

křšimo; křstiti (secondary) - křstimo; křčiti - křčimo; kāsni - kāsni; lōmīti - lōmim, lōmimo; lōvīti - lōvimo; lōžiti - lōžimo; mōkri - mōkrimo; mōri - mōrimo; mōtriti - mōtrimo; mnōžiti - mnōžimo; māgli se - māgli se; nōčiti - nōči se (?); ōri se - ōri se; ōštriti - ōštrim, ōštrimo (nāoštrim); plōditi - plōdimo; plōviti - plōvimo; pōjiti - pōjimo; pōstīti - pōstimo; prōstīti - da prōstīš, da prōstīte; rōjī - rōje; rōsīti - rōsī se; tēlīti se - tēlī se; tōplīti se - tōplī se; tōčīti - tōčīmo, tōči, tōči se; tōpīmo, tōpīmo; trōšīti - trōšīmo, trōšī se; trīsīti - trīsīmo; znōjīti se - znōjī se, znōjīmo se; zōri - zōri 'ripen'; zvōnīti - zvōni, zvōnimo; žēnīti se - žēnīmo se

shortened

čīnīti - čīnīmo; gūbīti - gūbīmo; ūčīti - ūčīmo

long

brūjīti - brūjīmo; cūrīti - cūrī; cřpīti - cřpīmo; glūmīti - glūmīmo; jūrīti - jūrīmo; kūžīti - kūžīmo; lūčīti - lūčī; mřsīti - mřsīmo; srāmīti se - srāmīmo se; svjētlīti - svjētlī; vāžīti - vāžī; vrjēdīti - vrjēdīmo

a.p. B-C vacillation

sēlīti se - sēlīmo se, sēlī se; tōvīti - tōvīmo, se tōve²⁶

inconclusive

*sūzi (A.p. A or B) [*sl̥ziti]*

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

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

a.p. A

bāvīti - bāvīmo se; blātīti - blātīmo; cērīti se - cērīmo se; čīstīti - čīstīmo; čūdīti se - čūdīmo se; cřpīti - cřpīmo; dēsīti - dēsī; dūrīti - dūrīmo se; dīmīti - dīmīmo se; gādīti - gādīmo se; gāzīti - gāzīmo; glādīti - glādīmo; grābīti - grābīmo; gřlīti - gřlīmo; kāznīti - kāznīmo; kītīti - kītīmo; klātīti - klātīmo; kūpīti - kūpīmo; kūžīti - kūžīmo; kvāčīti - kvāčīmo; kāsni - kāsni; kīsēlīti - kīsēlīmo; lātīti se - se lātī; līčīti - līčīmo; lūpīti - lūpīmo; mjērīti - mjērīmo; mūčīti - mūčīmo;

²⁶ The long vowel is unexpected as well of course.

mšlit - mšlim; mřvit - mřvim; nudit - nudi; sùzit - sùzi [*slɛziti]; *pàzit - pàzim; pjènit - pjèni se; plàšit - plàši; plàzit - plàzi; pràtit - pràti; pràvim; prùžit - prùži, prùži!, prùžite!*; *pùšit - pùši; rànit - rànim; rùšit - rùši; sjètit se - sjèti se; silit - sylim; slàvit - slàvim; stàvit - stàvimo; stràšit - stràši; sirit - siri se; šàlit se - šàlim se; štítit - štítim* (cf. štít, G. štíta); *tjèšit - tjèši; tlàčit - tlàči; tràtit - tràtimo; vàdit - vàdimo; vlàžit - vlàži; žàlit - žàlimo*

bògatit se - bògatim se; bòravit - bòravi; kòristit - kòristi; okřvavit - okřvavi; ùlazit - ùlazim; nàudit - nàudim; pústošit - pústoši; zàratit - zàrati; zàsítit - zàsítim se; òzdravit - òzdravim, òzdravi; tòvarit - tòvarimo; tumačít - tumačimo; ùdarit - ùdari; izvjesit - izvjesi

a.p. B

short

blagoslòvit - blagoslovim; dvòjit - dvòjim; gòdit - gòdi; gònit - gòni; klònit se - klòni; kròtit - kròti; lòvit - lòvim, lòvimo; mòlit - mòli; mòrit - mòre; nòčit - nòčim; nòsit - nòsim; òštrit - òštrim, òštri; plòvit - plòvi, plòvimo; pròsit - pròsim, pròsimo; pùstit - pùsti; pàprit - pàpri (cf. pàpar); *ròdit - ròdim, ròdi; sèlit se - sèlim se, se sèlimo; skòčit - skòči; sramòtit - sramòtim, sramòti; svjedòčit - svjedòči; tòčit - tòči; tòpit - tòpi se; ùčit - ùčim; vòzit - vòzimo; zvònit - zvòni; ženit - žène se*

odušèvit - odušèvim; zgotòvit - zgotòvim; zgròmit - zgròmim; skamènit se - skàmènim se; zaklòpit - zaklòpi; raskòlit - raskòli; prilagòdit - prilàgodi; premòstit - prèmostim; umřtvit - ùmrtvi; obnòvit - òbnovi; pokòrit - pòkori; prepòlvit - prepòlovi; ponòsit - pónosim se (sic!); *raspòrit - ràspori; upozòrit - upòzori; sprijatèlit se - se sprijatèlji; ustanòvit - ustànovim; osvòjit - òsvoji; zatvòrit - zàtvorim*

long

blùdit - blùdim; ublàžit - ùblàžim; bránit - brànim; brúsit - brúsim; búdit - bùdim; búšit - bùšim; cjèdit - cjèdim; cjènit - cjèni; cjèpit - cjèpi; učvrstít - ùčvrstim; udàlit - ùdařim; dàvit - dàvi; djèlit - djèlim; díčit - díčim; dívít - dívim; dràžit - dràžim, dràži; drùžit - drùžimo se; gásit - gàsım; zagútit - gùti (?) (the informant's grandmother used this verb); *gnèzdit se - gnèzdi se; gnávít - gnàvi; glásit - glàsi; uglávít - ùglavi; gràdit - gràdim; gospodàrit - gospòdarim; govórit - gòvorim; grjèšit - grjèšim; grózit se - gròzim se; gúlit - gúlim; grbit - grbim; ládit - se ládi, oládilo* [*xolditi]; *hrábrit - hràbrim; rànít - rànım, naránio* (cf. rána) [*xorniti]; *fálit - fàlim* (cf. fála) [*xvaliti]; *objásnit - òbjasne; jávit - jávi; ujedínit - ujedini; júrit - jùrim; kánit - kànım; zaključít - zàkluči; krátit - kràti; krjèpit - krjèpi; okúsit - òkusi; krásit - kràsi; raskrilit - ràskrili; krívít - krívi; prekrízít - prekríži; krúžit - kràži; kúdit - kúdi; kúpit - kùpım; kúrit - kùrim vàtru; ljèčit/lèčit*

- ljěči/lěči; ulěnit se - ulěnim se; lěpit - lěpim; líbit se - líbim se; ľubit - ľubi; ľútit - ľúti; ľúštit - ľúšti; mámit - mami; márit - mrim; mástít - másti; omědit - omeđi (cf. mēda, A.sg. mēdu, N.pl. mēde); milit - mili mi se; mjésit - mjěsim; mesárit - mėsarim; mírit se - mrimo se; mláčit - mlāči; pomládit - pòmładi; mlátit - mlāti; mráčit - mrāči; mrsit - mrsi; mútit - mŭtim; náglit - nāgli; snízit - snīzi; obláčit - òblačim se 'dress'; obláčit - òblači se 'cloud'; súzit - sŭzi [*qziti]; pálit - pāli; opamětít se - opameti se; plátit - plāti; preplávit - prēplavi; prásit - prāsi se; prášit - prāši se; prjětít - prjětím; protivít - pròtivim; rádit - rādim; prorjédít - pròrjedi; rjěšít - rjěšim; prirédít - priredim; rúbit - rúbim; sádit - sādi; slědit - sljědim/sljědim; smjěšít se - smjěši se; snážít - snāži; sládit - slādi; súdit - sŭdim; zastránit - zàstrani; stúpit - stŭpi; ustrjélít - ùstrjeli; súšít - sŭši; svétít se - svēti se; šírit - širim; trjěbit - trjěbi; túpit - tŭpi; túžít - tŭžim, tŭžimo; trážít - trāžim; trúsít - trŭsi; trúdit se - trŭdimo se; trjěznit se - trjěznimo se; zaústít - zàustim; vábít - vābimo; razválít - ràzvalim; várit - vāri; povláčit - pòvlači; vrátít - vrātim; izvřšít - izvřši; ozárit se - òzari se; znáčít - znāčim; zlátít - zlāti; žárit - žāri; ždrjěbit - ždrjěbi

a.p. C**short**

bòrit se - bòrim se; částít - časte; dòjit - dōji, dōji!; dròbit - dròbi; dvòrit - dvòrim; gnòjit - gnòji; gòstít - gòstim, se gòstimo; kòrit - kòri; kòsit - kòsim; kòtít - kòti; kròjit - kròji, kròjimo; škòpit - škòpi; křstít - křsti; lèdit - lèdi; lòmít - lòmim, lòmimo; mòčít - mòči; mòtrít - mòtrim, mòtrimo; mnòžít - mnòžim; òrit se - òri se; plòdit - plòdi; pòjit - blāgo pòjimo; pòpit se - se pòpi; pòstít - pòsti (cf. pòst, G.sg. pòsta); da pròstíš, da pròstíte; ròjit - ròje; rònit - rònim; ròsit - ròsi; sòlit - sòli; càklit se - càkli se; škòpit - škòpi; tèlit - tèli se; tòvit - tòvi, tòvimo; tròšít - tròšim; tržít - tržimo; vesèlit se - vesèlim se; znòjit - znòji; žalòstít - žalòsti

shortened

čínit - činimo, učinim; gùbit - gubim; křšít - křši; křčít - křči; křmit - křmi

long

cvílít - cvílím; cúrit - cúri; dúbít - dúbim; glúmit - glúmim; jári se (cf. järe); pílit - pílim; srámít se - srámim se; svjétlít - svjétlí; tájit - tájim, tájimo; téžít - téžim; trúbit - trúbi, trúbimo; vážít - váži; vrjédít - vrjédi; žúrit se - žúrim se

vacillation

jānit se/jānit se - jāni se/jāni se

mixed

ozakònit - ozákoni

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

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

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

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

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

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

a.p. A

bāvit se - *se bāvīm*; *objēsiti!*; *obogātiti* - *bogātīm se*; *blātiti* - *blātīm*; *borāvit* - *borāvīm*; *pobrātiti se* - *pobrāti*, *su se pobrātīli*; *čistiti* - *čistīm* (2x), *čistīš*; *čūdīm se*, *čūdīmo se* (cf. *iščūdāvam*); *ufātiti* - *ufātīm* (2x), *ufātīl* (2x), *ufātīlo* (cf. *fātati*, *fātāmo*) [*xvatiti]; *lūpiti*, *lūpicū te po klīcama* 'I'll slap you on the mouth' - *lūpīl sam se* (cf. *lūpamo*); *dēsiti* - *dēsī se*, *dēsilo se*; *dīmiti se* - *se dīmī* (2x) (cf. *dīm/dīm/dīm*²⁷, G.sg. *dīma*); *gāditi se* - *gādī mi se*, *se gādī*; *gāziti* - *gāzi*; *glādi* (2x); *zgotōviti* - *zgotōvīm*; *grābiti* - *grābīm*, *grābi*; *gřliti* - *se gřlīmo*; *ojāniti će se* - *ōvca se jānī* (3x), *se jānī*, *ojānila se* (2x); *skāmeniti* (2x) - *skāmenīl sam se* (2x); *kūdit* - *kūdīm*; *kūpiti*, *pokūpicū vē čāše* - *kūpīm*; *okūsiti* - *okūsīm*; *kvāčiti* - *se kvāči*, *de zakvāči!*; *kvāsiti* - *kvāsī*, *nakvāsīli*; *kītiti* - *kītīmo*; *kīseliti* - *tō se sād kīseli*; *lākomiti se* (cf. *lākomica* 'kād se na tavānu rūpa onako za kukūruz...'); *ūlāziti*, *dolāziti* - *ūlāzi*, *dolāzil*, *zalāzīli*; *liči na dēda*, *ličīmo* (3x) (cf. *sličān*, *sličān mu je*); *mīriti* - *mīrī* [*mēriti]; *mīli mi se*; *mīsliti* - *mīslīm*, *mīslīmo*; *omřšaviti*; *mřviti* - *mřvī*; *nūdit* - *nūdīmo*; *naūdit* - *naūdīm*; *pāziti* - *pāzīm*, *pāzil!*; *pjēniti se* - *se pjēnī/pjēni*; *plāšiti* - *po/zaplāšīm*; *prātiti*, *prātīcū te* - *prātī*, *prātīš*; *prāviti* - *prāvī* (2x), *naprāvīš*, *naprāvī/naprāvī!*, *naprāvī posāl!*; *prūžiti* - *ako mi prūžīš*; *pūstošiti* - *pūstoši*; *pūšiti* - *pūšīm*; *přtiti snīg* - *se přti*; *pūniti* - *se pūnī* (cf. *pūn*, *pūna*, *pūno*, *pūnī*); *pāpřiti* - *se pāpřī*; *rāniti* - *rānī*, *urānī* 'be early'; *rāniti* (3x) 'wounded'; *rūšiti* - *rūšī*, *rūše*; *sjētiti* - *se sjētīm*; *slāviti* - *slāvi*; *slīniti* - *slīnī* (3x); *stāviti* - *stāvīš*, *(o)stāvī!*; *sřriti se* - *mlīko se sřrī* (cf. *sřr*, G.sg. *sřra*); *šāliti se* - *šālī*; *štītiti* - *štītī*; *tjēšiti* - *tjēšī*; *tlāčiti* - *tlāči*; *trāpiti* - *trāpīš* 'speak nonsense'; *tovāriti* - *tovāri* (cf. *tōvar*, G.pl. *tovāra*); *trātiti* - *trātīm*, *trātīš vřīmě*; *třsiti se* - *se třsī*; *vāditi* - *vādīm krōmpīr*; *izvjēsiti* - *izvjēsī*; *vjētriti* - *se vjētrī*; *vlāžiti* - *se vlāžī*; *vjēsiti* - *vjēsīmo* (cf. *vjēsāmo*); *vřniti* 'pout, sulk' - *se vřnī*, *nařnīl koji si se kūrāc nařnīl* 'why the fuck are you sulking'; *žāliti* - *žālī*

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

a.p. B**short**

blagosòvit - *blagosòvīm* [**bolgosloviti*]; *iskrit* - *iskrī se* (cf. *iskra*, N.pl. *iskre*, *iskrica*); *jàvit* (2x) - *jāvīm*²⁸ (2x); *kalēmī se*; *klònit se* - *se klònīmo*, *kloñī se zlà!* (nx); *koristit* - *koristīmo*²⁹ (cf. *kòrist* (nx), *kòrisno*); *kòsit* - *kòsīm*, *kòsīmo* (nx) (cf. *kosīr*); *lòžit* (2x)/*lòžit* - *lòžīm/lòžim*, *lòži*, *složil*; *mòlit* - *mòlīm* (cf. A.sg. *mòlbu*); *nòcit* - *nòci* (cf. *noćīva*); *nòsit/nòsit* - *nòsīm* (2x), *nosīli*; *pòsit* - *pòstīm*, *pòsti* (nx); *pròsit* - *pròsīm*, *pròsi*, *ispròsi*, *prosīli* (cf. *īdeš u pròšūu*); *pùsit*, *pùsit kràve da īdu pàst* 'let the cows go grazing' - *ako mi pùstīš*, *pùstīmo*, *pùsti ga!* (3x) 'let him go!'; *sèlit* - *sèlīm*, *se sèli*, *presèlite* [**sedliti*]; *silit* - *se sīli*³⁰; *skòcit* - *skòcīm*, *skòči*; *tòcit*, *utòcit* - *tòčiš*, (*se*) *tòci* (nx); *vòzit* (2x)/*vòžit* - *vòzīm*, *vòzīmo*; *žènit/žènit* - *žène* (2x) (cf. *žèna*, N.pl. *žène*)

prebròdit - *prebròdi*; *odušèvit* - *odušèvi*, *odušèvil*; *dogòdit*, *odgòjit* - *odgojil sam tèle*; *zaklòpit* - *zaklòpiš*; *raskòlit* - *raskòlīm* [**koliti*]; *prekrstīt se* - *ako se prekřstīm*; *prelagòdit* - *prelagòdi*; *ponòvit* - *ponòvīm*; *razòrit* - *razòrīm*; *prepitòmit/prepitòmīt* - *prepitòmīm*, *prepitomīl sam ga* (cf. *prepitomlāvamo*); (*na*)*pòjit* - *napòji*, *jèsi napojil kòna?* 'did you give water to the horse?' (cf. *napāja*); (*u*)*pokòrit* (2x) - *upokòrīm*; *prepolòvit* - *prepolòvīm*; *upozòrit* - *upozòrīm*; *raspòrit* - *raspòrīm* (cf. *raspāramo*); *sprijatèlit/sprijatèlit se*, *sprijatèlicemo se* - *ako se sprijatèlīm*; *opròstit*, *oprostīce mi* - *da mi opròstīš* (3x), *oprostī mi!*; *oslobòdit* - *ako ga oslobòdīm*; *naslònit* - *naslònīm*; *otvòrit* - *otvòrīm*

long

izbàcit; *bīlit*, *izbīlit* - *bīlīm* (trans.), *bīliš/bīliš*, *bīli se* [**bēliti*]; *blūdīt* - *blūdim*; *brānit* - *brānim*, *brāni*; *brīdi* (2x); *brūjit* - *brūji* (3x); *brūsīt* - *brūsī*; *būšīt* - *būši*; *zacīli* (nx) [**cēliti*]; *rascīpi se* (cf. *cīpāmo*) [**cēpiti*]; *klēsīs*, *klēsīmo*, *isklēsīl* 'simper'; *cvīlit* - *cvīli/cvīli*, *cvīle*; *cřnit* - *cřnīm* (trans.) (2x), *se cřni*; *učvřstīt* - *učvřsti*; *cřpit vòdu* - *cřpi*, *iscřpit* 'tired'; *udālīt* - *udālī*; *dīcīt* - *dīci*, *dīcīmo*; *divīt* - *dīvi se*; *dūbīt na glàve* - *dūbi* 'stand on one's head'; *drūžit se* - *se drūže* (cf. *drūgā*); *dvoūmiš*; *fālīt* - *fālīš*, *fālī* [**xvaliti*]; *glūmīt* - *glūmi*; *gnūzdīš*, *gnūzdi* (2x) (cf. *gnūzdò/gnūzdo*, N.pl. *gnūzda*) [**gnēzditi*]; (*za*)*gnāvīt* - *gnāviš*; *gospodārīt* - *gospodārīm* (2x); *govòrit* (4x) - *govòrīmo/govòrimo*, *govòri*; (*o*)*gūlīt* - *gūlīmo*; *gřdīt*; *gřdīt na pāsja kòlā*; *vīdi ga kakī je*, *izgřdīcu ga* - *gřdīm*, *izgřdīš*; *hrābrīt* - *hrābri*; *hūlīt* - *hūli na bōga*; *pojārīt* 'chase someone away' - *vātra se razjāri* (used

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

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

³⁰ Obviously older **silit* (A.p. A).

only for ‘fire’, not for ‘people’), *vàtra se razjárila, a čòvjek se raspízdi; ujedìnìt - ujedìnìmo, ujedìnili; jèzdìt - jèzdi, jèzdè, gòrom jèzde kíčeni svàtovi* (from a song); *jùri, projùril* (perhaps not an old word, *lètìt - letì, polèti* was used more often for this “in the old days” according to the informants); *ne kànìm, (o)kànì me se; zaklùcìt (2x) - zaklùcìm; kłàtìt (2x) - kłàtì se, sùkna se kłàtì, okłàtìm* [*koltiti]; *kòcìt* [*kolyčiti]; *zakoráčìt - zakoráci; ukràsìt - ukràsìm, vidi što se zakràsìl; (p)okrìpìt, pokrìpìt se - pokrìpìmo* [*krèpiti]; *krùžìt - krùžìm; zakrvävìt - zakrvävìl, zakrvävìt; dokúci, de dokúci!; kùpìt - kùpìm, kùpìš, kùpi; ìdem nakurìt špòret; krčìt - krčìmo; ličìt - liči se (2x)* [*lèčiti]; *ulinìt - ulìni* [*lèniti]; *libìt - libìm se, se libìm (2x); lišìt slobodè - liše; ìubìt - ìubìm, ìubi; razlùtìt - ìuti; odlùcìt - odlùcìm; màmìt - màmì; mārìt - mārì, òn ne mārì; pomìrìt - mìre se, pomìrìli; mìšìt - mìšìm, mìsi* [*mèšiti]; *mesārìt - mesārì; młàtìt - młàtìmo (3x), se młàte* [*moltiti]; *se mrāci, smrācìlo se; mùtìt - mùtìm, nēšta se mùti, vòda se mùti, vrìme se mùti (2x), jājcā se mùte; mrgòdìt - mrgòdi, vrìme se mrgòdi, vrìme se namrgòdìlo; mřštìt - mřštì se; mřsìt - mřsìm; nāglìt - nāglìmo (5x)* (cf. *nāgāl*); *se oblācìm, oblāci se* ‘dress’ (cf. *obúc*); *(za/pot)pāłìt - pāłìm, pāłìmo, popāłì* (cf. *potpāłùjemo*) [*paliti]; *opamétìt - opamèti; plēnìt - plēnìmo, plēnì, plēnìli* [*pelniti] (probably a loanword from an ekavian dialect); *zapričìt/zapričìt (2x) - zapriči* [*perčiti]; *pìzdìt/pìzdit - pìzdiš, popìzdił je; plātìt - plātìm/plātìm, plātìš; poplāvìt - poplāvi; plāzìt - plāzì/plāzi; prìtìt - (se) prìti, prìtì mi se (2x)* [*pertiti]; *preprēmìt, preprēmicu - preprēmìm* (also with *pri-*, cf. *priprēmamo*); *protìvit se, usprotìvìt - se protìvi; opùstì/opùstì* ‘become deserted’; *rādìt - rādìš, rādi, rādìmo, zarādì; rānìt/rānìt - rānìm* [*xorniti]; *rjēšìt - rjēši, rjēšìli* (a loanword from the standard); *rēdìt - (se) rēdi, žène rēde, se zarēdìl; rùdìt - zòra rùdi, jābuka rùdi; (na)rùžìt - rùžìm (2x), rùže me ‘grđìt’; sļēdìt - sļēdiš, sļēdi, nasļēdìl (-je-* from the standard); *oslípìt - oslìpi* [*slèpiti]; *slùžìt - slùžìm, slùžì, slùžìmo; smjēši* (from the standard language); *smijùli* (cf. *smijè, podsmijāva*); *osnāžìt - osnāžìm; snìg snēžì (2x); srāmìt - se srāmì; stìdì (3x); sùdìt - sùdìm, sùdac sùdi; stùpìt - stùpi; svìtìt - svìtì, svjètlo svìtì* [*svètiti]; *šìrìt - se šìri; trìbìt, koščìce trìbìt - òna trìbi kròmpìr* [*terbiti]; *tēžìt - tēži; utāžìt/utāžìt* (cf. *utāžāvamo žēd*); *tūžìt - onā se tūžì; otrāvìt; trāžìt - trāžìš, trāžìmo, trāžìli su me; trùbìt - trùbi; trúsìt - trúsì (3x); utvrdìt - utvrdìm; vrìdìt - vrìdi* [*verditi]; *povlācìt - povlācìm, povlāci, izvłācìli; vrātìt/vrātìt, vrātìce ti - vrātìm, vrātìš, se vrāti, vrātìlo; vršìt - žìto se vršì; prezìmìt - prezìmi; znācìt - znāci; žārìt - se žārì (2x)*

a.p. C

short

borìt se, izbòrit - borì, borìmo, izbòri; bròjit - brojìm, izbròjìm, izbrojìl sam, izbrojìla; brstìt - brstì, krāve brstè; crvenìt - se crvenì; častìt - častìm, častìmo, počastìm, počastì; dójìt krāvu (nx) - dojì (3x), podòjim, podòjìš/podòjìš, podojìl (2x) ‘milk’; (z)dròbit - drobì, udròbi, zdrobìl; dvòjit - dvojìš, dvojìmo (2x); glòbit -

globi; *gñòjit* - *gñójì*, *pognòjìš* [*gnojiti]; *godì mi*, *sòk mi godì*, *ugodiš* (sic!, a mistake?), *ugodìl*; (*u*)*gòstit* - *gostimò*, *pogòstim* (3x), *pogòste*, *pogostìli se* (cf. N.pl. *gòsti*, G.pl. *gostì*, A.pl. *u gòste*); *kòrit* - *korì*, *ukòrim*, *ukòriš*; *okòtit* - *zečica se kotì* (2x); *kùja se šćenì* 'bitch pups', *ošćenìla se* [*šćeniti]; *kròjit* - *krojì*, *skròjì*; *poškròpit* - *škròpì se*, *poškròpìm*; *kàsnit* - *kasnì*, *zakàsni*; *se ledì*, *zalèdi*, *zaledìlo se*; *lòjìt*, *nalòjit* - *lojì se* (cf. *lòj*, *ko po lòju*, I.sg. *lòjem*); *lòmit*/*lòmìt* - *lomìm*, *lomìš*, *lomì* (nx), *lomìmo*, *slòmìm*, *slòmì*, *polòmìm*, *polòmì*; *lòvit* - *lovìm*, *lovì* (nx), *lovìl*; *mòčit*/*mòčìt* - *močìš*, *močì se*, *smòči* (3x), *namòči*, *smòčil* (nx), *smòčil sam se*, *močìlo* (cf. *namàkàt* - *namàče*, *umàče*); *mòrit* - *morè me brìge*; *mòtrit* - *motrìm*, *promòtrìm*; *mnòžit* - *množì se*, *pomnòžìm* (cf. *razmnožàva*); *màglìt* - *se maglì* (cf. *màglà*, A.sg. *màglu* (2x), N.pl. *màgle*); *pjèsma se orì*; *òštrit* - *òštrìm* (trans.), *se oštrì*, *òštrì*; *oplòdit* - *se plòdi*; (*o*)*plòvit* - *plovì*, *oplòvi*; *ròjit* - *čèle se rojè* 'bees are swarming'; *rumènit* - *lìpo se rumenì*, *narumenìla se*, *narumenì se*; *òko mi suzì* (cf. *sùzà/sùza*, N.pl. *sùze*); *sòlìt* - *sojì*; *sramòtit* - *sramotì*, *osramòtiš*, *osramòti*; *caklì*; *štròjit* - *štrojì* 'castrate' [*strojiti]; *tòplìt* - *toplì*; (*o*)*tèlìt* - *teļì se*, *kràva se teļì*, *otèļì*, *oteļìla se* [*teliti]; (*po*)*tòpit* - *màst se topì*, *istòpi*, *istopìl se snìg*, *istopìlo se*; *ròvit* - *kròmpìr se rovì*, *rovìmò*, *i rèpa se rovìla*; *tòvit* - *se tovìš*, *svìna se tovì*, *svìne se tovè*; *tròšit* - *trošì*, *trošìmò* (2x), *trošìtè* (2x); *trúdit* - *se trúdi*; *vàbìt* - *svìne ili kòkoši vabiš*; *vesèlit* - *vesèlìm*, *vesèlìmò* (2x), *razvesèlìm*, *provesèlìmo*; *navòštìt* - *voštì se*, *voštè se kònci*, *navòštì*, *kònci su se voštìli* (cf. I.sg. *vòskom*); *znòjìt* - *se znojì*, *uznòjì*; *zòra zorì*; (*po*)*zvònit* - *zvòno zvonì*, *zvonàr zvonì*, *pozvònim*; *žalostì* (se) (3x)

shortened

(*pro*)*bùdit* (2x) - *se budì*, *budiš*, *probùdiš*, *probùdi*, *budì ga!*, *probudì me!*; (*raz*)*bìstrit* - *se bistrì*; (*pro*)*cìdit* - *cidì*, *procìdi* [*cèditi]; *cinìš*, *cinì*, *zacinìl* [*cèniti]; *čìnit* - *činìš*, *činìmò*, *učìnì*; *dìlìt*/*(po)**dìlìt* - *dìlìm*, *dìlì*, *podìlìm*, *podìlì* [*dèliti]; *gràdit*, *o/zagràdit* - *gradìm* (2x), *gradìš* (2x), *plòt se gradì*, *ne gradì se*, *gradìmò*, *ogràdìm* (2x)/*ogràdim*, *zagràdìm*, *zagràdi tò!*, *zagràdi tù mèdu!*, *izgràdìto* (sic!); *grìšit* (2x) - *grìšìm* (2x), *zgrìšìm* (2x), *zgrìšìl sam* [*grèšiti]; *gùbit se* - *gubiš*, *gubì*, *pogùbì/pogùbi*, *izgùbì*, *izgubìl*; *kadì*, *u cřkve kadì*; (*o*)*kàlit sùkiru* - *želèzo se kalì*; *skràtit* - *kratì*; *krìvit* - *krivì*, *okrìvìm*; *krutì*, *ukrùtì* (cf. *ako se skrùtne* (2x)); *kršìt* - *kršì*; *làdit* - *ladì*, *se razlàdi* [*xolditi]; *lipìt* - *lipìm*, *lipì*, *polìpìm*, *zalìpìm* (2x), *slìpìm*, *zalìpi* [*lèpiti]; *màčka se macì* 'cat kittens'; *màstìt*/*(za)**màstìt* - *mastì*, *zamàstìm* (2x), *zamàsti*; (*po*)*mlàdit* - *tò se mladì* (during a local custom *mlādēncī*), *se pomladi*, *mladiło*, *pomladìl* (cf. *pomladùješ*); *naoblàčit* - *se oblači* 'cloud'; (*o*)*pràsìt*, *oprasìće se* (2x) - *svìna se prasì*; *zapràsìt* - *prašìm*, *prašì* (4x), *zapràsìl* (cf. A.sg. *prašìnu*); *ridìt* - *se ridì*, *se prorìdi* [*rèditi]; *sàdit* - *sadìm*, *sadiš*, *sadì*, *posadìm*, *usadi*, *sadi!*; *slàdit* - *sladi*; *sùšìt*/*sùšìt* - *sušì*, *osušì*, *posušì* (3x), *posušìlo se*; *svètìt* - *svetì* 'get revenge; bless'; *tàjit* - *tajìm*, *tajì*, *tajè nam*, *zatàjìm*, *zatàjì*; *istùpit* - *tupìm* (trans., 2x), *se tupì*, *istùpìm*, *istupìl sam ga*; *tùšìt*/*tùšìt*, *utušìt*/*utušìt*/*utušìt* - *tušìm*, *u vodè se tušì*,

*tušimo, utušim, utuši, utušiš, utušil se, utuši ga!, utušite ga!; učit - đecu učim, učī, učimō (2x), učitē (2x), učē, naučīš, uči! (3x), đeco, učite!; varit - varim, varī, zavārim; ždrēbit - kobila se ždrebi [*žerbiti]; žurit - se žurī, kūd žurīš?*

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

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

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

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

inconclusive

pomodriilo

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

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

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

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

a.p. A

*bäv*it - *bävi*; *obš*it - *obši* [*všiti]; *bogät*it - *bogäti* (cf. *bogat*); *ublät*it - *ubläti*; *boräv*it - *borävi*; *čš*it - *čšti*; *čš*it *se* - *se čš*it; *se dš*it, *dš*it *se*; *dš*it - *se dš*it; *gä*it - *mi se gä*it; *gä*it - *gä*it; *gläd*it, *gläd*it *ga* - *gläd*it, *glä*it; *zgotöv*it - *zgotövi*, *zgotöv*it (cf. *gotövo je*); *grä*it - *grä*it; *gř*it - *gř*it; *gř*it - *se zgř*it; *jä*it *se* - *övca se jä*it; *jä*it - *se jä*it; *se skä*it, *skä*it; *korš*it - *koršti* (cf. *kör*it); *okü*it - *ne okü*it; *kü*it - *kü*it; *küp*it - *küpi*; *kvä*it, *kvä*it; *küt*it - *se küt*it; *kis*it - *se kis*it; *läk*it - *se läk*it (cf. *läk*it/*läk*it, *läk*it *je*); *ulä*it (cf. *läz*, G. *läzi* 'little foot-bridge', *Läze* - a village name); *slič*it - *slič*it (cf. *slič*it); *lüp*it - *lüpi*; *mř*it - *mři* [*mřiti]; *smš*it - *smšti*, *smšt*it [*mštiti]; *mli* *mi se*; *mü*it - *se mü*it; *mš*it - *mš*it; *nü*it - *nü*it; *naü*it - *naüd*it; *pä*it - *pä*it; *se pñ*it [*pñiti]; (*u*)*plä*it - *se uplä*it; *prät*it - *prät*it; *prä*it - *prä*it; *prü*it - *prü*it; *püş*it - *püş*it; *př*it - *ne např*it; *pün*it - *pün*it; *rän*it - *rän*it 'be early'; *rüş*it - *rüş*it; *sit*it *se* - *se sít*it [*šiti]; *se zasit*it [*syti]; *silit* - *se usilit*; *släv*it - *slävi*; *slñ*it - *slñ*it [*sliniti]; *süz*it - *öko mi sü*it [*slžiti]; *stär*it - *stär*it, *ostär*it; *stäv*it - *ne stäv*it; *sř*it - *se sři sř*; *ozdräv*it - *ne ozdräv*it; *šäl*it - *se šäl*it; *štät*it - (*na*)*štät*it; *štät*it - *štät*it; *tš*it - *tš*it [*tšiti]; *tövar*it - *töv*it; *tř*it *se* - *se tř*it; *udär*it - *ako me udär*it; *väd*it - *väd*it; *prevär*it - *ako me prevär*it; *vř*it - *se vř*it [*vřiti]; *povlä*it - *povlä*it, *povlä*it; *vš*it; *uvät*it - *uvät*it [*xvati]; *žäl*it - *žäl*it

a.p. B**short**

*blagosöv*it - *blagosövi* (with the standard shifted accent) [*sloviti]; *kös*it - *trävu kö*it; *lö*it - *lö*it; *sěl*it - *sěl*it; *oduš*it/odušit, *oduš*it *je*; *jäv*it - *jäv*it (2x)³¹, *jäv*it/*jäv*it, *jäv*it, *jäv*it, *jäv*it, *jäv*it! (2x); *mö*it - *mö*it; *möl*it - *möl*it; *mř*it - *mř*it³²; *nö*it - *nö*it; *nös*it - *nös*it; *pöst*it - *pöst*it (cf. *pöst*); *prös*it - *prös*it; *oprös*it - *da prös*it, *oprös*it; *püst*it - *ne püst*it, *popüst*it, *püst*it, *püst*it, *püst*it; *skö*it - *skö*it; *tö*it - *tö*it; *vöz*it - *se vöz*it; *žē*it - *se žē*it [*ženiti]

*odgö*it - *ugö*it; *ogö*it - *ogö*it; *zklöp*it - *zklöp*it; *raskö*it - *ne raskö*it; *prenağö*it - *prenağö*it 'prilagoditi'; *ponöv*it - *ne ponöv*it; *razö*it - *razö*it; *prepitö*it - *prepitö*it; *pokö*it - *pokö*it; *prepolöv*it - *prepolöv*it; *ponös*it - *ponös*it *se*; *raspö*it - *raspö*it (cf. *raspö*it); *upözö*it - *upözö*it; *sprijatē*it; *skö*it - *skö*it *dřvo* 'procipi' [*koliti]; *oslobö*it - *oslobö*it; *naslö*it - *naslö*it [*sloniti]; *ustanöv*it - *ustanöv*it; *osvö*it - *osvö*it; *otvö*it - *otvö*it

³¹ With A.p. C > A.p. B, as in Siče.

³² Obviously older A.p. a.

long

ublāžīt (2x) - *ublāži*, *ublāženo*; *zablūdi*; *brānit* - *brāne*, *obrānili*; *zabrāzdīt* - *zabrāzde*; *brīdi me*, *zabrīdi*; *brūsīt* - *brūsi*; *būšīt* - *būši*; *učvřstīt* - *učvřsti*; *iscřpīt* - *cřpi*; *udāļi*; *dīči* (2x); *dívīt se* - *se dīvi*; *dúbit* - *dūbi*; *drúžīt se* - *drūži*; *napundūri se* ‘sulks’; *fāļīt* - *se ūvik fāļi* [*xvaliti]; *glūmit* - *glūmi*; *gńúzdīt* - *gńúzde*; *gńávit* - *gńávi*; *glásīt* - (o) *glási*; *uglávīt* - *uglāvi* (3x); *govórit* - *govōrim*, *ne govōri*; *ne zgrōzim*, *zgrōzila sam se*; *gūļi* [*guliti]; *gřdīt* - *gřdi*; *hrābri*; *sjedīnit* - *se sjedīne*; *júrit* - *jūri*; *zakļūčīt* - *zakļūči*; *klātīt* - *klāti* [*koltiti]; *zakorāčīt* - *zakorāči* (2x); *uskrātīt* - *uskrāti*; *ukrásīt* - *ne ukrāsi*; *pokrīpīt* - *křipi*, *pokrīpi* [*krēpiti]; *prekrízīt* - *prekrīži*; *krúžīt* - *krūži*; *se zakrvāvi*; *dokūčīt* - *ne dokūči*; *kúpit* - *ne kūpi*; *potkūrim*; *lícīt* - *līči* [*lēčiti]; *lādit* - *se lādi* [*xolditi]; *ļúbit* - *se ļūbe*; *ļútīt* - *se ļūti*; *odlūčīt* - *ne odlūči*; *lúdit* - *lūdi*; *māmit* - *māmi*; *ļútīt* - *se ļūti*, *razļūtīt/razļūtīt*, *razļūtita sam* (cf. *ļūt*); *māni*, *māni ga se*; *mārit* - *māri*; *pomírīt* - *se mīre*; *mísīt/mīsīt* - *mīsi*, *kvās podmīsī!* [*mēsiti]; *mesárit* - *mesāri*; *smlāčīt* - *smlāči*; *mļátīt* - *mļāte*, *izmļātīt* [*moltiti]; *mráčīt* - *mrāči*, *smráčilo*; *mútīt* - *mūti*; *mřsīt* - *se mřsi*, *zamřsilo*; *nāglīt* - *nāgli*; *zanímit* - *zanīmi* [*nēmiti]; *snízīt* - *snīzi*; *súzit* - *sūzi* [*qziti]; *pāļīt* - *pāļi* [*paliti]; *opamétīt* - *opamēti*; *preprícīt* - *preprīči* [*perčiti]; *unaprēdi* (a loanword from an ekavian dialect); *plátīt* - *plāti*; *pāļīt* - *pāļi*; *poplávīt* - *poplāvi* ‘become blue’; *zaprítī* - *prítī* [*pertiti]; *protívīt se* - *se protīvi*; *rādīt* - *rādi*; *rānit* - *rāne* [*xorniti]; *rēšīt* - *rēši* (a loanword from an ekavian dialect); *rúbit* - *rūbim*; *rúdit* - *rūdi šļīva* ili *vōčka*; *rúžīt* - *rūži*, *rūžeņe* ‘gossip about somebody’; *oslípīt* - *oslīpi* (cf. *slíp*) [*slēpiti]; *slúžīt*, *poslúžīt* - *slūži*; *súdit* - *sūdi*; *stúpīt* - *stūpim*; *túpit* - *tūpim*; *strīļīt* - *ustrīļim*; *svítīt* - *svīti* (cf. *svīca*) [*svētiti]; *sřdīt* - *se sřdi*; *širit* - *se širi*; *tribīt* - *tribi* [*terbiti]; *tēžīt za nīkim* - *tēži*; *túžīt* - *tūži*; *trāžīt* - *trāži*; *trúsīt* - *trūsi* ‘eats a lot’; *trúdit* - *se trūdi pūno*; *utvřdit* - *utvřdi*; (s) *tāñīt* - *stāñi*; *třžīt* - *třži*; *vāžīt* - *vāži*; *povlāčīt* - *povlāči*; *vratīt* - *se vrāti*, *se opovrāti*; *vřšīt* - *kād se žīto vřši*; *znāči*; *zračīt* - *zrāči*; *žārit* - *se žāri*

a.p. C**short**

izbòrit - *borī*, *borīmò*, *izbòre*; *bròjit* - *brojī*, *brojīmò*, *brojītē*, *brojē*, *izbròji*; *častīt* - *časti*; *dòjit* - *dojī*, *podòji*; *dròbit* - *drobī*, *udròbi*; *dvòjit* - *dvojī*, *odvòji*; *gńòjit* - *gńojī*, *se pogńòji* [*gnojiti]; *gòdit* - *mi godī*, *ugòdi*; *gòstīt* - *gostīmò*, *ugòstīmo*; *kòrit* - *korī*, *ukòri* (2x); *okòtīt* - *māčka se sād kotī*, *ne okòti*; *kròjit* - *krojī*, *iskròji*; (po) *škròpīt* - *škropī*, *poškròpi*; *křstīt* - *se křstī*, *pokřstīmo*; *kāsñīt* - *kasñi*, *zakāsñi*; *zalēdit* - *se ledī*, *ne zalēdi*; *lòmit* - *lomī*, *ulòmi*; *lòvit* - *lovī*, *ulòvi*; *mnòžīt* - *množi*, *ponnòži*; *se maglī*, *raz/zamāgli*; *mòrit* - *brīge me morē*, *odmòrim*; *mòtrit* - *motrī*, *promòtri*; *pīsma se orī*; *òštrit* - *òštrīm*, *se òštrī*, *naòštrim*; *plòvit* - *plovī*, *oplòvi*; *pòjit* - *pojī*, *napòji*; *ščeñī se*, *òščeñi* ‘pup’ [*ščeniti]; *ròjit* - *čēla se rojī*; *ronīt* - *ronī*; *ròpit* - *ropī* ‘kād umīre vāta zrāk i izdīše’; *ròsit* - *rosīš se tī o trávu kād īdeš křož*

nû, *se orõsiš* (cf. *tráva je ròsna*); *rumènit* - *se rumenĩ*, *se zarumèni*; *sòlit* - *sořim*, *posòřim* [*soliti]; *sramòtit* - *sramotĩ*, *osramòti*; *càklit* - *caklĩ ko stàklo*, *ne zacàkli*; *svidòcit* - *svidočĩ*, *osvidòčĩ* [*sʷvèdočiti]; *štròvit* - *štrovĩ*, *uštròvi*, *poštròvi* ‘castrate’; *kràva se telĩ*, *otèřĩ* [*teliti]; *tòplit* - *se toplĩ*, *zatòpli* (cf. *tòplo*); *tòpit* - *se topĩ*, *utòpi*, *otòpi*; *tòvit sviñe* - *tově*, *natòve*; *tròšit* - *pũno trošĩ*, *potròšĩ*; *vèdrit* - *se vedrĩ*, *razvèdri*, *se razvedrĩlo*; *vesèlit* - *se veselĩ*; *zelènit* - *se zelenĩ*; *znòjit* - *znojĩ*, *uznòjĩ*; *zvònit* - *zvòno sàd zvonĩ*, *zvonàr zvonĩ*, *zazvòni*; *žalòstít* - *se žalostĩ*, *ožalòsti* (cf. *žàlostan*)

shortened

břstít - *brstĩ*, *pobřsti*; *bùdit* - *budĩ*, *probùdi*; *bisrit* - *bistrĩ* (trans.), *razbřstri*; *cìdit* - *cidĩm*, *cidĩ* (2x), *procìdim*, *procìdi*, *cidĩ!* [*cèditi]; *cinĩm te*, *cinĩmò* [*cèniti]; *čĩnit* - *čĩnĩ*, *čĩnĩmò*, *čĩnĩtè*, *učĩnĩ* [*čĩniti]; *dĩlit* - *dĩlĩ*, *dĩlĩmo* (2x), *dĩlitè*, *podĩli* [*dèliti]; *gràdit* - *gradĩ*³³, *ugràdi*, *gràdi!*; (za)*gùstít* - *gustĩ*, *zagùsti*; *grĩšit* - *grĩšĩ*, *ne zgrĩšĩ*, *ne grĩšĩ!* [*grèšiti]; *gùbit* - *gubĩ*, *gubĩmò*, *gubè*, *izgùbi*; *kàdit* - *kadĩ*; *kàlit* - *kolàč se kalĩ*, *zakàli*; *skrivit* - *krivĩ*, *krivĩmò*, *okrivĩm*; (s)*krùtit* - *krutĩ*, *skrùti*; *křšit* - *krřšĩ*, *prekřšĩ*; *ulĩni*, *ulinĩl* [*lèniti]; (za)*lipit* - *lipĩ*, *zalĩpi*, *odlĩpi*, *zalipĩl* (cf. *slĩpřa*) [*lèpiti]; *màčka se macĩ*, *omàci*; *zamàstít* - *mastĩ*, *zamàsti*; *mlàdit* - *se mladĩ*, *pomladi*; *oblàčit* - *nèbo se oblači*; *pràsít* - *krmàča se prasĩ*, *se opràsĩ*; (za)*pràšít* - *se prašĩ*, *ne zaprašĩ*; *ridit* - *ridĩ*, *prorĩdi* (cf. *řĩdak*, *řĩtka*) [*rèditi]; (za)*sàdit* - *sadĩš*, *sadĩ*, *posàdi*, *posàdiš*, *zasàdi*; *slàdit* - *se sladĩ*, *zaslãdim*; *slastĩm*, *poslãstim*; *sùšit* - *se sušĩ*, *ne osùšĩ*; *vàrit* - *se varĩ*, *ne zavãri* (za *mlĩko*); *svètít* - *svetĩ*, *ne posvètĩ* ‘revenge; bless’; *zatàjit* - *tajĩ*, *zatãji* (2x); *utùšit* - *tušĩ*, *utùšĩ*; *ùčit* - *uči*, *naùčĩ*; *zlàtit* - *se zlatĩ*, *se pozlatĩlo*; *žùrit* - *se žurĩ*, *se požùri*; *kobila se ždribĩ*, *se oždrĩbi* [*žerbiti]

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

zaglùšit - *zaglùšĩ*; *objàsnit* - *ne objàsne*; *promĩnit* - *promĩnĩ* [*mèniti]

long

cvĩlit - *cvĩlĩ* (most likely an old *ě*-verb); *plãvit* - *vòda plãvĩ* (3x); *snižĩ* (2x), *zasnižĩ* [*snèžiti]; *vřĩdit* - *vřĩdĩ* [*verditi]

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

bĩlit - *zĩd bĩli* (trans.), *se bĩlĩ* (intrans., an old *ě*-verb) [*bèliti]; *cřnĩt* - (o)*cřnim* (trans.), *se cřnĩ* (intrans.); *ròdit* - *dĩte ròdi*, *ako žĩto dòbro rodĩ*, *ròdĩta* ‘born (f.)’

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

mixed

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

vacillation

pàprit, but also *zapàprit* - *pàpri*

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

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

Č and ć are distinguished, *h* is usually missing (*glův*), *v* is a fricative, the dialect is ikavian (cf. *vĩst*, *jĩst* ‘eat’). Long *ē* and *ō* can be quite closed, even diphthongized: *kòń*, *sòk*, *nuòž*, *pluòt*, *mēd* etc., but some speakers do not pronounce them closed. It is possible that the closed vowels are a conservative

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

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

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

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

a.p. A

bāvit se - bāvīm se; blātit - blātim; kalēmit; čistit - čistim; čūdit - čūdim se; dēsīt (cf. *dešāvāt, dešāva*); *gādit se - se gādi, gādi mi se; gāzit - gāzim; grābit - grābim; uvātīt - uvātīm; jānit se - jānīm* (but also *se jāni, o jānīla se*); *jārit se - jāri se; klādīt - klādīm; kāznīt - kāznīm; kītīt - kītīm; kūpit - kūpim; kvāčīt - kvāčīm; kīselīt - kīselīm se, se kīseli; lākomīt se - lākomīm se, se lākomīš; ličīt - ličīm, ličīš; lūpit - lūpim; mīrit, izmīrit - mīrim, izmīrim* [**mēriti*]; *mūčīt - mūčīm; mīslīt - mīslīm, mīslīo; nūdit - nūdim; zapāprit - zapāpri; pāzit - pāzim; pīnit - pīni se* (cf. *pīna*) [**pēna*]; *preplāvit - kad je Sāva plāvila, preplāvilo je* (also *poplāvilo*) (cf. *pōplava*); *plāšīt - (u)plāšīm, uplāšīo; pogānit - pogānim, pogāniš/pogāniš* 'be bad' (cf. *pogān*); *prātīt - prātīm; prāvit - prāvīm se, prāvīm, naprāvīm; prūžīt - prūžīm; pūšīt - pūšīm, popūšīo; (na)přtīt - (na)přtīm; rānit - rānim, rānēn je* 'wound'; *zarātīt - zarātīm, zarātīlo se, zarātīli smo; rūšīt - (po)rūšīm; (pri)sīlīt - (pri)sīlīm; sītīt se - sītīm se, sītīli su se* (cf. *sīcat se, sīcām se, sīcaēnē*) [**sētīti*]; *slāvīt - slāvīm; stāvīt - stāvīm; šālīt se - šālīm se, se šālīš; štītīt - štītīm, zaštītīm; tlāčīt - tlāčīm; udārit - udārio temē; ūdit - ūdim* 'catch fish' [**qđiti*]; *vādīt - vādīm; vlāžīt - vlāžīm; žālīt - žālīm se, žālīm*

bogātīt - bogātīm; zgotōvit - zgotōvim; okūsīt - okūsīm; ulāzīt - ulāzim (cf. *ulīst, jēsī ulīzo?, ulizūje*); *uvātīt* [**xvatīti*]; *usřrit - usřrijo; pozdrāvīt, ozdrāvīt - pozdrāvīm, ozdrāvīm, ozdrāvīo, ozdrāvīla; tovārit - tovārim; izvīsīt - izvīsīm, izvīsīla, izvīsīlo* [**vēsīti*]; *provītrit - provītrī* [**vētrīti*]; *ozārit - ozārim se* (the informant knows the verb but does not know its meaning)

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

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

a.p. B**short**

*blagoslòvìt - blagoslòvim; gònìt - gònim; govòrit - govòrim; klòníit, poklòníit - se klòní, poklòním (cf. poklànám se); kòsit - kòsim, pokòsi, also kosī?³⁸ (cf. kòsa, A.sg. kòsu, N.pl. kòse); (na)lòžit, lòžit - (na)lòžim, lòži; (iz)mòžit - mòžim, izmòžim; nòsit - nòsim; pùstit/pùšcìt - pùstim/pùšcìm, pùsti, pùšcìš; sèžit - sèžim (also sežim?), seži [*sedliti]; skòčìt/skòčìt, preskòčìt - skòčim, skòču; třìt - třìšm se, třìš; vòžit - vòžim; žènit - žènim se*

ogòlìt - ogòlim; objàsnit - objàsnim; zaklòpit - zaklòpim; raskòžit - raskòžim; prilagòdìt - prilagòdim; umòkrit - umòkrim, umokrìo 'wet something'; upokòrit - upokòrim; ponòsit - ponòšim/ponòsim se; ponòvit - ponòvim, se ponovìlo (cf. obnāvla se); prepòlòvit - prepòlòvim; raspòrit - raspòrim, raspòrìlo mi se, raspòrìle su mi se; postròžit - postròžim; zatvòrit - zatvòrim

long

*bìlìt - bìlim (trans.) [*bèliti]; obláčìt - obláčim, obláci, se naobláci, obláčilo se 'get cloudy; dress'; bránìt - bránim se, se bránimo; brùsìt - brùsim; bũdìt - bũdim, bũdi; bũšìt - bũšim; cìdìt - cìdim, cìdi [*cèditi]; cùrìt - cùrim, cùrimo; dāvìt - dāvim, dāvi, udāvìo/udāvìo se; dīlìt - dīlim, dīli [*dèliti]; dīčìt (2x) - dīčim, dīču; dīvìt (2x) - dīvim, dīvu; drūžìt - drūžim se, se drūžu; gāsìt - gāsìm; glũmìt - glũmim; ugũšìt; gñìzdìt - gñìzdim se [*gnèzditi]; gñāvìt - gñāvim; glāsìt - glāsìm; uglāvìt - uglāvìm; grādìt, ogrādìt - grādìm; gospodārit - gospodārim; grīšìt - grīšim [*grèšiti]; gũlìt - gũlim [*guliti]; gřdìt - gřdim; lādìt - lādìm, lādi [*xolditi]; izlāpìt - lāpim, izlāpi [*xlapiti]; rānìt - rānim [*xorniti]; fālìt - fālìm; jāvìt - jāvìm; jūrìt - jūrim, jūri; kādìt - kādìm, kādi; kālìt - kālìm; kānìt - kānim; klātìt - klātìm; krātìt - krātìm; krípìt - krípim [*krèpiti]; krásìt/ukrāsìt - (u)krāsìm; krīvìt - krīvìm, krīvi; prekrížìt - prekrížim, prekrížìo ga je; krúžìt - krúžim; ako se ukrvāvìm; raskrvāvìm; kùpìt - kùpim (cf. kupòvat - kupùjem); kùrìt - kùrim; křcìt - křčim, iskřčim; křmìt - křmìm, zakřmìo 'sleep (derogative); fish with corn'; līčìt - līčim, līči [*lèčiti]; ulìnit se - ulìnim se [*lèniti]; līpìt (2x) - (za)līpim, līpi [*lèpiti]; lūbit - lūbim; lūtìt - lūtìm; (na)māmìt - māmì, namāmìla; mārìt - ne mārìm; māsìt, namāsìt - (na)māsìm; mīsìt - mīsìm [*mèsiti]; mīrìt se (2x) - se mīru; pomlādìt se - pomlādi, pomlādìo se; mlātìt/mlātìt - mlātìm, mlāti se, mlātìmo; mrācìt - mrāči se; mřsìt - mřsim; mūtìt - mūtìm, zamūtìlo se; nāglìt - nāglìm; (za)pālìt, pripālìt - (za)pālìm [*paliti]; opamétìt - se opamétìm; plātìt - plātìm; prāsìt - se prāsì; prāsìt - zaprāsìm; prītìt - prītìm [*pertiti]; protīvìt - protīvìm se; rādìt - rādìm, rādìmo (cf. rādovì); prorìdìt - prorìdim, prorìdìl [*rèditi]; prirèdìt - prirèdim; rīšìt - rīšim, rīšìo (also with -je-) [*rèšiti]; rùbìt,*

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

porúbit - *rúbim*; *sādīt* - (*po*)*sādim*, *sādi*; *snízit* - *snízim*; *slídīt* - *slídīm*, *slídīo* (rare) [**slēditi*]; *snázīt* - *snāžim*; *slādīt* - *slādi*, *zaslādīm*; *slūžīt* - *slūži*; *srāmit se* - *srāmim se* (cf. *srām i stīd te bilo* 'you should be ashamed of yourself'; *zastrānit* - *zastrānīo*; *súdit* - *sūdim*; *súzit* - *sūzim* [**qziti*]; *súšīt* - *sūšim*; (*o*)*svētīt* - *osvētīm se* 'revenge'; *svētīt* - *svēti*, *se svētu* 'bless'; *svítlit* - *svítlim*, *prísvítlīo* [**svētīliti*]; (*za*)*tájīt* - (*za*)*tājim*; *trībīt* - (*o*)*trībim* [**terbiti*]; *túpit* - *túpim*, *túpiš*, *se túpi*, *potúpio*; *túžīt* - *tūžim se*; *trážīt* - *trāžim*; *trúsīt* - *trūsīm*; *trúdit se* - *trūdīm se*; *tūšīt* - *tūšiš*, *tūšu*, *utūšīo*, *utūšīlo se* 'bug/annoy someone; choke (when speaking of hens/geese)'; *tríznit* - *tríznim se* [**terzniti*]; *učīt* - *učīm*, *učī*; (*do*)*vābīt* - (*do*)*vābim*; *razvālit* - *razvālim*; *vārit* - *vārim*; *vāžīt* - *vāži*; *povlāčīt* - *povlāčīm*; *vrāīt* - *vrātim*; *vřšīt* - *vřšīm žito*; *prezīmīt* - *prezīmim*, *znāčīt* - *znāčīm*, *znāči*; *zlātīt* - *se zlāti*; *žārit* - *žārim*; *ždrībīt* - *oždrībīlo se* [**žerbiti*]; *žūrīt se* (2x) - *žūrīm se*, *žūri*, *žūru*

a.p. C

short

borīt - *borīm se*, *borīmō*, *izbōrim*; *brōjīt* - *brojīm*, *izbrōjim*; *brstīt* - *brstīm*; *častīt* - *častīm*, *častī*, *častīmō*, *počastīmo*; *dōjīt*, *dōīt* - *dojīm*, *dojī*, *podōji*; *drōbīt* - *drobīm*; *gōjīt/gōjit* - *gojī*, *uzgōjim*; *gōstīt* - *gostīm*, *pogōstīmo*; (*u*)*kōrit* - *korīm*, *korī*, *ukōri*; *korīstīt* - *korīstīm* (2x) (cf. *kōrist*, G.sg. *kōristī*); *kōtīt* - *se kotī*, *se kotū*, *se okōti*, *se okōtu*; *krōjīt* - *krojīm*, *skrōji*; *krōtīt* - *krotī*; *škrōpit* - *škropīm*, *poškrōpim*, *poškrōpi*; (*po*)*křstīt* - *krstīm*, *pokřstim*; *kāsīt* - *kasīm*, *zakāsīm*; *lédīt* - *ledīm se*, *se ledī*, *se slēdi*, *se zaledīla*; (*s*)*lōmīt* - *lomīm*, *slōmīm*; (*na*)*mōčīt*, *smōčīt* - *močī*, *smōči*, *namōčīm*, *namōčīlo*; *mōrit* - *brīge me morū* (2x) (the informant says that his grandmother used to say that); (*po*)*mnōžīt* - *množīm*; *nōčīt* - *nočīm*; *ōrit* - *orī se*, *se zaōri*; *ōštrīt* - *oštrīm*, *oštrī*, *naōštrim*; *oplōdīt* - *plodī*, *oplōdi*; *plōvīt* - *plovīm*, *preplōvim*; (*na*)*pōjīt* - *pojīm*, *napōjim* (cf. *napāja*)³⁹; *pōstīt/pōstīt* - *postīm*, *postī*; *oprōstīt* - *da prostīš*, *da prostītē*, *oprōstīmo*; *rōjīt* - *rojīm se*, *čēle se rojū*, *orōjim se*, *oroīo se*; *rōnīt* - *ronīm*, *zarōnim*; *rōsīt* - *se rosī*, *porōsim*, *trāva je porosīla*; *sōlīt/sōlīt* - *solīm*, *solī* [**soliti*]; *sramōtīt* - *sramotīm se* (cf. *sramōtā*); *poštrōvīt* - *štrovī*, *poštrōvim*, *poštrōvīo* 'castrate'; *tōpit* - *topīm*, *topī*, *otōpīm*, *otōpi*; *tōvīt* - *tovī*, *otōvi*; *trōšīt* - *trošīm*, *potrōšīm*; *vesēlīt* - *veselīm se*; *znōjīt* - *znojī se*; *zvōnīt* - *zonār sād zvonī*, *zvōno sād zvonī*

shortened

čīnīt - *činīm*, *činīmo*, *učīm*, *učīmīmo* (perhaps not really a native word); *gūbīt* - *gubīm*, *gubī*, *izgūbim*, *izgūbi*; *kršīt* - *kršīm*, *skršīm*, *skršīo je*; *tājīt* - *tajī*, *zatājī* (sic!)

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

long

cvilit - cvilim, cviliš, cvili, cvilimo; tō težī (2x) 'it weighs'; vridit - vridi, vridiš
[*verditi]

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

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

vacillation

pripitōmit/pripitōmīt - pripitōmim/pripitōmim; prōsit - prōsīm, prōsiš and prōsiš;
tēlit - teļi se, tēlīm se; žalōstit - žalōstīm se/žalōstim (cf. žalōst)

inconclusive

māglit - zamaglīlo (maybe not a native word)

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

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

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

a.p. A

bāviti se - bāvi; bogātiti - bogāti se, obogātio, borāviti - bōrāvi; čistiti - čīsti; čūditi - čūdi se; dēsiti - dēsi; gāditi se - gādi; gāziti - gāzi; glāditi - glādi; zgotōvit - ne zgotōvi se; gr̥bit - zgr̥bi; gr̥liti - se gr̥li; se jāni; skāmeniti se - se skāmeni; kītiti - kīti; korīstiti - kōrīsti (cf. kōrist); kūditi - kūdi ūvik, kūdīo; kūpiti - kūpi; ulāziti - ūlazi; lūpiti - lūpi; smjēstiti - smjēsti; mīliti se - mīli mi se; mīsliti - mīslī; naūdit - ne naūdi; nūditi - nūdi; pāziti - pāzi; pjēnit se - se pjēni, opjēnilo; plāšiti se plāši; plāziti - se plāzi jèzik; prātit - prāti; prāvit - prāvi; prūziti - prūzi; pūšiti - pūši; p̥tit - p̥ti; pūnit - pūni; rāniti - rāni 'wound; get up early'; rūšiti - rūši; sīliti - sīli se; sjētiti se - ne sjēti; slāviti - slāvi; slīniti - zaslīni; stāviti - stāvi; šāliti - šāli; tjēšiti - tjēši; tōvārit - tōvāri; udāriti - udāri; vāditi - vādi

a.p. B**short**

blagosòvit - ne blagosòvi; gònit - gòni; objàsnit(i) - objàsni (3x); kàsni - kàsni/kàsni; kòsiti - kòsi; mòlit - mòli; nòcit - nòci; nòsit - nòsi; pròsiti - pròsi; da pròstiš, opròstiš; pùstit - ne pùsti, pùstio; ròdit - ròdi (trans.), ùrodi/uròdi; sèlit se - sèlim; skòcit - skòci; vòzit - vòzi; žènit - žèni

pokòrit - ne pokòri; obnòvit - ne obnòvi; razòrit - ne razòre; oslobòdit - oslobòdi; naslònit - naslòni; ustanòvit(i) - ustanòve; zaklòpiti - zaklòpi; raskòliti - raskòli

long

*blúdit - blúdi; brániti - bráni; brídit - brídi; brúsit - brúsi; búšit - búši; cídit - cídi [*cèditi]; cvílit - cvíli (4x); crínit - se críni; učvrstít - učvrsti; dílit - díli [*dèliti]; dícit - díci; dívit - dívi; drúžiti se - drúži; fálit - fáli [*xvaliti]; gásit - gási; glásit - glási; glúmit - glúmi; zaglíbit - zaglíbi; gnávit - gnávi; nagnízdit - gnízdi se [*gnèzditi]; gospodárit - gospodári; govórit - govóri; grádit - grádi; gríšit - gríši [*grèšiti]; gúlit - gúli; hrábrit - se hrábri; jávit - jávi; júrit(i) - júri; kádit - kádi; kálit - káli; klátit - klátiš; zaključít - zaključí; zakoráčít - zakoráči; krásit - krási; krátit - kráti, skrátita; krípit - krípi [*krèpiti]; krívit - krívi; dokúčiti - ne dokúči; kúpiti - kúpi; ládit - ládi [*xolditi]; lícit - líci [*lèčiti]; ulínit - ulíni [*lènit]; lípit - lípi [*lèpiti]; máčka máci; máriti - mári; mísit - mísi [*mèšiti]; mlátiti - mláti; mrsít - mrsi; mútiti - múti; zanímít - zaními [*nèmiti]; obláčít - nèbo se sàd obláči, naobláčilo; opamétit - ne opamèti; pálit - páli; plátit - ne pláti; poplávít - ne popláví; prítit - príti [*pertiti]; protívít - protívi; kòrmača prási, svína se prásila; prášit - práši; rádit - rádi; ránit - ráni [*xorniti]; rédit - rèdi (cf. uređuje); réšit - rèši [*rèšiti] (a loanword from an ekavian dialect); rídit - rídi (cf. rídak, rítka, rítka) [*rèditi]; rúžit - rúži 'gossip'; sádit - sádi; sládit - sládi; oslípít - oslípi [*slèpiti]; smjéšit - smjéši (a loanword from the standard language); srámit - srámi; stídit - stídi; súdit - súdimo; súšit - súši, osúšilo; stúpít - stúpi; ustréjit - ustréji (a loanword from an ekavian dialect); svétit - svèti; svítlit - svítli [*svètliti]; šírit - šíri; zaštítiti - štíti; trážit - tráži; tríbit - se tríbi, se otríbio [*terbiti]; trúbit - trúbi; trúdit - trúdi; túžit - túži; účit - úci, naučíš, učí; vábít - vábi; várit - vári; vrídit - vrídi [*verditi]; vršít - vrši; zráčiti - zráči; žárit - žári se; kobíla se ždríbi [*žerbiti]; žúriti - žúri*

a.p. C**short**

bòrit se - bòri se (3x), izbòri; bròji, bròjimo, ne izbròjimo; částit - části (2x), ne počásti; dòjit - dòji, podòji; dròbit - dròbi, izdròbi; dvòrit, podvorít - dvòri, poddvòri; glòbit - glòbi, òglobi; gnòjit - gnòji, nàgnòji; gòdit - gòdi, ùgòdi; gòjiti - gòji, ùgòji 'get fat'; gòstít - gòstè, ne ugòste; kòrit - kòri (2x); kùčka kòti (3x); se

kòzī (3x)/*kozī* ; *kròjit* - *kròjī*; *křstít* - *křstī*; *lòmīti* - *lòmī*, *izlòmī*, *prilòmī*; *lòvit* - *lòvī*, *ne ulòvī*; *lòžiti* - *lòžīm* (2x), *ne nalòžīm*; *màglit* - *màglī*; *mòčít* - *mòčī*, *ne namòčī*, *smòčilo*; *mòriti* - *mòrē*, *ùmòrim*; (*pro*)*mòtrit* - *mòtrī*, *promòtri*; *pjěsma se òrī*; *òštrit* - *òštrī* (2x), *ne naòštri*, *naòštriò*; *pòjiti* - *pòjī*, *napòji* (cf. *napāja*); *plòdit* - *plòdī*, *oplòdi*, *oplòdilo*; *plòvit* - *plòvī*, *isplòvī*; *pòstit* - *pòstī* (2x); *ròjiti* - *ròjē*; *rònit* - *rònī*; *ròsit* - *ròsī*, *se oròsī*; *sòlit* - *sòlī*, *ne posòlī*; *sramòtit* - *sramòtī*, *osramòti*; *sùzī* (2x), *zasùzī* (cf. *sùza*) [**slbziti*]; *svjedòčít* - *svjedòčī*, *posvjedòčī*; *škròpit* - *škròpī*; *štròjit* - *štròjī ga*, *uštròji*, *òštròjio*, *štrojīli* [**strojiti*]; *se tèlī*, *otèlī*; *tòčít* - *tòčī* (2x), *na natòčī*, *ne otòčī*; *tòpit* - *tòpī* (2x), *ne otòpī*; *tòplit* - *tòplī*, *se ne otòplī*; *tòvit* - *tòvī* (2x), *utòvī* (2x); *tròšít* - *tròšī*, *potròšī*; *vèdrit* - *vèdrī*, *izvèdri*; *vesèlit se* - *vesèlī*, *povesèlī*; *znòjit* - *znòjī*, *ne uznòjī*; *zòrit* - *zòrī* (2x) ‘svíce zòra’; *zvònit* - *zvònī* (2x), *pozvòni*; *žalòstiti* - *žalòstī*, *ražalòsti*

shortened

čínit - *čínī*; *gùbit* - *gùbī*, *izgùbī*; *křšít* - *křšī*; *tàjit* - *tàjī*, *zatàji*; *tùšít*, *utušít* - *tùšī*, *ne utùšī*

long

bīlīt - *se bīlī* (an old *ě*-verb); *brújít* - *brújī*; *mřízít* - *mřízī*, *zamřízī* (an old *ě*-verb); *snīžī* (2x) [**sněžiti*]; *štédít* - *štēdī* (2x) (an old *ě*-verb)

vacillation

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

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

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

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

In many cases, the sequence $\bar{\text{v}}\text{v}$ has yielded $\acute{\text{v}}\text{v}$, cf. *mláda, národ, mr̄zjela, nasadīvali*. However, the old $\bar{\text{v}}\text{v}$ is not rare in the middle of the word, cf. *zastīdēla* ‘ashamed’. $\bar{\text{v}}$ is usually retracted from the final syllable but forms like *sjevērāc*, G.sg. *mlīkā* also appear, although rarely. Transitional forms like *zadīvīo* appear occasionally as well.

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

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

Posttonic lengths are sporadically shortened, as is usually the case in present-day Posavina⁴⁰, cf. *ūmre*, I.sg. *s koprīvom*, G.sg. *rakīje, ĩdem, svāđaju*, adj. *drāga*, but G.pl. *nōvāc, čekajūci, zavēzāno, ĩmāmo, bōlēst* etc. However, the posttonic length is preserved better in Gundinci than in many other Posavian dialects. The second posttonic length is, again as usual in present-day Posavina, regularly shortened, cf. *narēzānog*, G.pl. *Gūndināca*, G.pl. *jābūka*, G.pl. *kalōtīna* etc.

The accent-shift to the proclitic (*preskakanje naglasakā*) is quite frequent (even in cases where it is not expected), cf. *nā utvāj, ĩ sestero, ũ leto, ũ Zāgreb, ĩz Zāgreba, nā Badhāk, dō zīda, ũ čošak* ‘in the corner’ (a Turkish loanword), but also *u Brōd* (together with *ũ Brōd*), *iz Đākova, bez snīga* etc.

The dialect distinguishes $\check{\text{c}}$ and $\acute{\text{c}}$, v is a fricative, r can be both short and long, as everywhere in Slavonia (cf. *umīla*), $\text{*}\check{\text{e}}$ yields $\bar{\text{i}}$ in long syllables but *je* in short ones (cf. *sjedīmo*, but *ponīla* ‘she brought’)⁴¹, $\text{*}\text{-l}\check{\text{v}}$ yields *-o* (cf. *vīdio*), *-li-* and *-ni-* yield *-li-* (often) and *-ni-* (not as often) but not always (cf. *soļiti* but *veselīti, zamīniti* but *čīniti*), *-je-* < $\text{*}\text{-}\check{\text{e}}$ - causes the third yotation (cf. *decā, pokīpļelo, ozdrāvlet, lecēla* with standard *djēca, pokīpjelo, lētjela*), *h* usually disappears (cf. *krū, grā, strā, snā* with standard *krūh, grāh, strāh, snāha*, but also L.sg. *u kūhīne*). The infinitive ends in both *-ti* (quite frequently) and *-t*. Long $\bar{\text{e}}$ and $\bar{\text{o}}$

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

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

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

NOTE: the verb list is not complete.

a.p. A

se očistī; kvàsiti, okvàsiti gřlo! (cf. *kvàs*); *nakùpi, skùpīmo; doláziš, izlâzi, dolâzila; lùpīš* (2x); *zamjêrit; zapâm̄tio; prâviti - se prâvi; sprêm̄iti - sprêm̄ila; osjêtīmo; ostâviš, ostâvio; (pro)tumâčiti - tumâče nam*

a.p. B

short

gònit - gònīm, gònī; kosīt - kòsim (2x), *pokòsi, kosīlo* (cf. N.pl. *kòse*); *moļit(i) - mòļīm, moļio, moļilo* (cf. N.pl. *molītve*); *nosīti drvâ - nòsim drvâ, nosīo; prosīti - pròsī; (na)pustīti - pùstī, pùstīte, otpùstī, napustīli; skočīti - skòčīm, skòčī; seļīti - se seļīm ù Brôd, seļi; vodīti - vòdim zâ rûku; vozīti - vòzīm, vòzi; ženīti - žēni, poženīli* (cf. *ženâ*, D.sg. *ženê*, A.sg. *ženû*)

pribròdi, pribrodīla je bòlêst; dogòdi, dogodīlo; umorīti - umòrim; oplodīti krmâču - oplòdi; napojīti - napòji; oprostīti se - se opròstiš; otvorīt(i) - zatvòrim, otvòrim

long

biliti (2x), *bílicu, obílit - bíli* (2x), *zabīli* (cf. adj. n. *bílo*) [**bēliti*]; *brániti - (za)brānim; probúdit - probūdi; cídit - cīdi, procīdi, ocīdiš* [**cēditi*]; *ucrñicu* (cf. adj. *cřn*); *díļiti - (u)dīļi* [**dēliti*]; *díviti se - dívim, dívīš, dívī, zadīvi, zadívño; drážit; dúbti - dūbi, dūbu se, izdūbi; fáļiti - fáļim* [**xvaliti*]; *govóriti - govōri, govório; grádit(i) - grādīm, sagrādīm; gríditi - grīdim, grīdi, izgřdi; gríšiti - grīši, sagrīši* [**grēšiti*]; *jáviti - (do)jāvi; jēdi se; klâtiš, klâtila; skrátiti - skrātīm; okripīti - okripīm* (2x)/*okripīm* [**krēpiti*]; *kríviti - krívim, krīvi; krúžiti - krūžim; krčīti - křčīm třne; lípiti - lípim* [**lēpiti*]; *lūžilo; kúpiti, kúpicu - kúpim, kúpi!* (cf. *kupovâla*); *líčiti - líči* [**lēciti*]; *ļubiti - ļubi; ukļūčim; ļútiti; (za)mísiti - (za)mīsīm, mísio* [**mēsiti*]; *(za)mástiti, zamásticemo krū - māsti, zamāsti; zamíñiti* [**mēñiti*]; *míriti se, pomíriti - mīrim, pomírīš, pomīri; smráčiti se - smrāči; mlátiti - mlāti, mlātīmo; mútiti - mūtīm; páļiti, pálicu - pālim, pālim po mèsu* ‘I am stuffing myself with meat’, *pāli, zapālim, pripālim, pālila; plátiti - plātīm; poplávīti - uplāvīmo vòdu; prāsi, prāsila; ráđiti - rādi/rādi* (2x), *rādiš, rāde, urādīla; prirēdim; rjēšiti - rjēšīm* (2x) (with the standard *-je-*); *rúbiti, porúbiti(i) - porūbīm; sáditi - sādīm; slúžiti - slūži; ko cě mu súđiti - súđi; ustúpiti - ustúpīm; súšiti - sūšīm, sūši, sūšīmo; sđiti se - sđim se, se sđi, se rasđi; svētīti; rašīri;*

tríbit - *tríbim* [*terbiti]; *zatrāvím*, *zatrāvila* 'sow grass'; *túžiti* - *tūžim*; *trúđiti se* - *trúđim se*; *účiti* - *učim*; *uváľit se ũ blato* 'fall into the mud' - *uváľi* [*valiti]; *(za)váriti* - *várim*, *vári se*, *várimo*, *väre*; *vrátiti* - *vráti*; *rániti kòkoše* 'feed the hens' - *rānim* [*xorniti]; *zímio* (cf. A.sg. *zímu*, *zà zímu*, N.pl. *zíme*); *znáčiti* - *znáčĭ* (4x); *pozlátice mi posò(q)v* ('work') - *(po)złati*; *ožári*, *ožárila*; *ždríbi*, *oždríbila* [*žerbiti]

a.p. C**short**

izbrojĭt; *dojĭti*, *doĭt* - *doĭm*, *dojĭ*, *podòjĭm*, *doĭla*; *godĭ mi* (2x), *ugòđĭm*, *ugòđĭmo*, *godĭlo mi je*; *ugostĭćemo* - *gostĭm*, *ugòstĭmo*; *se klonĭti* - *klonĭm*; *komĭt(i) grã*, *pokomĭti* - *komĭm*, *komĭmo*, *pokòmĭm* (2x); *ložĭt* - *ložĭm* (2x), *loži*, *nalòžĭm*, *složĭ!*; (s)*lomĭti* - *lomĭ*, *slòmi*; (u)*lovĭti* - *lovĭ*, *ulòvi*; (na)*močĭti* - *močĭ*, *nàmočĭ*; *postĭti* - *postĭ*, *postĭmo*; *ronĭti* - *ronĭm*, *ronĭ*, *decã ronĕ u vodĕ* 'the children are diving in the water', *ronĕq*, *uròni*; *rojĭti* - *čĕle se rojũ*; (po)*soľĭti* - *soľĭm* (3x), *soľĭ*, *podòľĭ* [*soliti]; *teľĭti*, *oteľĭću se* - *teľĭ se krãva*, *otĕľĭ* [*teliti]; (o)*topĭti*, *topĭćemo mãst* - *topĭm*, *sãd se snĭg topĭ* 'the snow is melting now', *otòpi (se)*, *utopĭo* 'he drowned'; (na)*točĭt*, *natočĭću*, *natočĭćemo vodĕq* - *točĭ*, *natòčĭ*; (po)*veselĭti se/povesĕľiti*, *veselĭti*, *veselĭćemo se* - *veselĭm*, *povesĕľimo* (2x); (po)*zvonĭti* - *zvonĭ*, *zvonã zvonĕ*, *zvonĕ mi*, *pozvòni*, *zvonilo*, *zvonĭli*, *zvonĕĕne* (cf. *zvòno*, N.pl. *zvonã*)

shortened

čĭnĭti, *učĭnĭću* - *òn čĭnĭ dobrò*, (ako) *učĭnĭ dobrò*; aor. *ĭzgubi*; (za)*tajĭti* - *tajĭm*, *zatãji* (2x); *utušĭt* 'suffocate', *utušĭće ga*, *utušĭće se*

long

plĭviti, *plĭvit kòròv u vřtlu* - *plĭvĭm*, *oplĭvĭm* [*plĕviti]

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

rodĭti - ako *ròđĭm díte*, ako *zemľã rodĭ*, *uròdi*, *rodĭla*

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

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

“ is always retracted, cf. *vĭno*, *vĕslo*, *gòvedo*, *nĕ vidi*, *zã kišu*, L.pl. *ũ svatovim*. Long accents often remain on the old place, cf. *donĭt*, *prodã*, G.sg. *vodĕ*, *Svilãj*, but can also be retracted, cf. *rònĭm*, *ròjĕ*, *zã zdrãvľe*, G.sg. *zèmlĕ*. Transitional forms like *lòvĭm* also appear. The posttonic length is sporadically shortened, as

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

NOTE: the verb list is (obviously) only partial

a.p. A

fūrit - *fūrī* (a loanword from German); *zamjèrila*; *nè pravī*, *prāvīmo*

a.p. B

short

nòsit - *nòsim*, *nòsi*; *lòžit* - *lòžim* (3x)/*lòžim*; *mòlit* - *mòlim*/*mòlim*, *mòlim te*, *mòlīmo* (3x); *pòstit* - *pòstim*/*pòstim*, *nè postim*; *pròsit* - *pròsiš*; *pùstit* - *pùstim*; *tòčit* - *tòčim* (2x), *tòči*; *vòdit* - *vòdim*; *vòzit* - *vòzim*; *žènit* - *žèni*;

dogòdilo; *ugòstit* - *ùgosti*; *oplòdit* - *òplodi*; *pròstit* - *òprostīm*, *òprostīš*

long

fālit - *fālim* [**xvaliti*]; *gásit* - *gāsim*/*gāsim*, *ugāsi*; *govóri!*; *grádit* - *grādim*, *grādimō*; *ļūte*; *pālī*, *zapālī*; *rādi*; *ne rānīmo* [**xorniti*]; *svēćenik posvēti* ‘priest blesses’; *zatājīt* - *zatājim*; *várit* - *vārīm*/*vārim*, *vāri*, *vārimō* ‘weld’; *(po)zlátīt* - *zlātīm*; *znāče*

a.p. C

short

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

shortened

čīnit - *čīnīm*, *ùčinīm*; *kad se sadī*

long

žárit - *žāri/žári*, *žâr žāri*, *žārê*

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

ròdit - *ako sùtra ròdīm*, *ako žìto dòbro ròdī*, *ùrodi*

vacillation

gòdit - *godī/gòdī* and *gòdi*; *klònit se* - *klònīm* and *klònīm*, *klòni se od řdava drúštva!* 'stay away from bad company!'; *kòsit* - *kòsīm* and *kòsim*

2.14 Sikerevci (in Posavina) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Posavina dialect)

The village of Sikèrēvci (officially Sikirevci) is situated in East Posavina. This is one of the most archaic Posavian dialects since it succumbed to a very limited amount of retractions. It has a five accent system with pre- and posttonic length but the accents ´ and ` can be interpreted as allotones of ˘ and ˙ since these sequences occur frequently in almost all positions. Cf. *tūgā*, *čāmāc*, G.sg. *štāglā*, *kovāčī*, G.sg. *glogā*, G.sg. *grobā*, *nizinā* etc. but also *usūla*, G.sg. *čēpa* (and *čepā*), *prīcat*, G.sg. *đūha* (and *duhā*) etc. This kind of vacillation appears in the middle of the word as well, cf. G.sg. *čoēka/čòeka*, *domōvi/dòmovi*, *līkōvi* (but G.pl. *līkōva*), and also with long syllables: *nārāv/nārāv*. However, in spite of the possible retractions (it is difficult to tell how much of the vacillation is due to code-switching), the old position of the stress is maintained in many cases.

˘ is very frequently pronounced as ˙ which tends to be very long, often longer than the “real” long tonemes ˆ and ˜. However, it differs from them intonationally and additionally by vowel colouring – the long *ē*, *ā*, *ō* are closed *ē̄*, *ā̄*, *ō̄* in Sikerevci (*rēd*, *znāk*, *nōs*) and are always pronounced closed when under ˆ, ˜ or unaccented length. Under ˘, no matter how phonetically long it can be, it is never closed. ˙ can facultatively change to ˆ and it occurs regularly after pretonic length, cf. *pļūštī*, G.pl. *laktōvā* etc. The posttonic length is sometimes shortened (very often in the case of thematic vowels in the present tense for instance), cf. G.pl. *Sikèrevāca*, *poslāgana*, *mjēsec* (more often *mjēsēc*) etc., sometimes preserving the closeness of the vowel: *vjētār* besides *vjētār*.

The dialect distinguishes *č* and *ć*, *v* is a resonant except in the end of the word where it is a fricative, *h* is often lost but not always (*grā* but *vřh*), the reflex of the *jat* is *ī/jě* (*dītě*, G.sg. *đetěta* with the third palatalization as well), in the infinitive both *-ti* and *-t* appear and final *-ō* < *-l̥ in the *l*-participles is always long (cf. *tušīō* < *tušil by analogy to *upō* < *upao < *upal).

a.p. A

bāvit se - se bāvim; čīstīt - čīstī; grābīm; kūpit - kūpimo šļīve, pokūpīmo; mīsla [*myslila]; *plāšīt se - plāši, uplāšiō; prāvit, naprāvit - prāvi (2x)/prāvi; rūšīti - rūši; ostāvit - ostāvi; žāliš*

a.p. B**short**

kosīti - kōsi; mōlīti - mōlīmo se; nōsīt - nōsi; pōstīt(i) - pōsti (cf. pōst); prōsi; pustītī - pūstīm; selīt se - sēlī se; skōčīt - skōči, skōčiō; vōdīt/vodīt - vōdīm; vōzit - vōzi; žēnī se

long

*brāni se, obrāniō se, obrānila; būdīt - būdi, probūdiō; cīdīt - cīdi [*cēditi]; dīlit - (po)dīli [*dēliti]; fālīt - fāli [*xvaliti]; govōrim, govōri!; sagrādīt - grādi se, zagrādiō; grīšīt - grīšīm [*grēšīti]; jāvīti - jāvi; kúpīt - kūpīm, kúpiō; ļūbīt - ļūbe; mlātīt - mlāte; mūtīt, zamūtīti - mūti; plātīt - plātīm, plātiō; prāšīt - prāši se; rādīt - rādi (3x); pāālīt - pāli; porūči; rānīt - rāni [*xorniti]; rīšīt(i) - rīši [*rēšīti]; slūžīt nēkoga - slūži; sādīt - sādi; sūdīti - sūdi; sūšīt - sūši; trībit - trībi [*terbiti]; tūžīt - tūži; naučīti, ūčīt - ūči; vrātīt - vrāti; znāčīt - znāči; žāri; ždrībit - ždrībi, oždrībila [*žerbiti]; žūrit - žūri, požūri!*

a.p. C**short**

dōjit - doji; lōmit - lomī; lōvit - lovī; loži vātru (2x); morē; da prostīš, oprōstīš; rojē; rōnīti - ronī; točīm vōdu; otōpīti - topī se māt; veselīm se, veselī se, veselīō se; zvonī, zvonā zvonē (cf. zvōno, N.pl. zvonā)

shortened

tušīti, utušīt - tuši se, tušiō se

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

izgūbi, izgubiō (2x), izgubīla sam; zatajīti, zatājīt - zatāji, zatajīō

long

*bīlī se [*bēlīti] (probably an old ě-verb)*

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

rōdi (trans.), rodī (intrans.), rodīla

inconclusive

umočīt, pomočīti - pomočīlo (cf. *namāče*); *napòjit* (cf. *napāja*)

2.15 Slavonski Kobaš (in Posavina) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Posavina dialect)

The dialect has the usual five accents and unaccented length. It is quite innovative retractions-wise but preserves posttonic length in cases where it is not so usual elsewhere in Posavina (cf. *tūpō*, N.pl. *cīrni*, *ràdosnō*, G.sg. *kùcē*, N.pl. *sělā* etc.). Only $\tilde{}$ does not retract (*letī*, *počēcu*), there are occasional examples like *lòvī* besides *lovī* but these could be due to code-switching (forms like *pèku*, *zòvu* are probably analogical to other persons). For the retraction of $\tilde{}$ and $\hat{}$, cf. *gláva*, *nòga*, *lòpata*, *tàštō*, *glàtkī*. However, now and then older accents can be heard: *snovāt*, *sovāt* 'curse' (cf. also *kòpat*), *gorkō*. After pretonic length, $\tilde{}$ changes to $\hat{}$, cf. G.sg. *glāvê*, G.pl. *iza lēđā*, *šūmī*.

The dialect distinguishes $\check{}$ and $\acute{}$, *v* is a fricative, *h* tends to disappear but sporadically (cf. *sūv* but *tīx*), long \bar{e} , \bar{a} , \bar{o} are closed \bar{e} , \bar{a} , \bar{o} (*zèlĕn*, *ĕtāv*, *stārōstī*), the dialect is ikavian (*mlīt*, *līp*), the infinitive ends in both *-ti* and *-t*.

a.p. A

grābīmo

a.p. B**short**

kòsit - kòsī; lòžit vātru - lòžī; mòlit - mòlī; pùstit - pùsti; sèlit - sèlī

long

cíditi - cīdīmo [*cēditi]; *grādi se kùca* (cf. *grāđa*); *pāliti - pālīmo; sāditi - sādīmo; tájit - tājī*

a.p. C**short**

bòrit se - bòrī (2x)/borī; lòvit - lòvī/lovī

shortened

ùčīt - ùčī (2x), nàuči

2.16 Davor (in Posavina) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Posavina dialect)

Davor (formerly Svinjar) is a village in West Posavina, near Orubica. It has a five accent system with many retractions. $\tilde{}$ is always retracted, cf. *kòza*, *óvca*. In

the middle of the word the retraction is usually only partial: *lòpàta*, *mòtika*, but also *kòlino*. Long accent can be preserved and half-retracted, cf. G.pl. *lopāt*, G.sg. *zemļē*, G.sg. *sestrē*, G.pl. *zvizdī*, G.pl. *vlasī*, *grmī*, *pečēm* but also G.pl. *kòlib*, G.sg. *čèlē*, G.sg. *kòzē*, I.sg. *kòsôm*, *plètēm*. For the retraction to the long syllables cf. *klēči*, G.sg. *glávē*, I.sg. *túgôm*. As usual in Posavian, posttonic lengths can be shortened, especially after \tilde , cf. def. adj. *glādno*, *těško*, but also *glādān*, *pijēm*, *krījē*, N.pl. *mistā*, G.sg. *kùcē* etc. Some of these forms usually lose their length in other Posavian dialects.

Č and ć are distinguished, *v* is a fricative, there is no *h* (cf. *mùja* 'fly'), the reflex of the *jat* is ikavian (cf. *klišća*, *mìsto*).

a.p. B

short

kòsit - *kòsi*; *lòžit* - *lòži*; *sèlit* - *sèli/séli*

long

cídit - *cídi* [*cěditi]; *lípiti* - *līpi* [*lěpiti]; *sádit* - *sādi*; *tájiti* - *tāji*; *žūriš*

2.17 Šljivoševci (in Podravina) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Podravina dialect)

50 years ago (cf. Sekereš 1977), the older speakers of this dialect had a system of four accents - \grave , \hat , \tilde , \acute (the absence of \grave being characteristic for the north of the Slavonian Old Štokavian dialect). However, even then it was noted (in the year 1960) that the younger speakers did indeed have \grave in their system. Today, in the speech of our 1931 born informant we find a fully fledged system with five accents, cf. *vòda*, *sèlo*, *vretèno*, *imèna* but also *kopāt*, *oprāt* with the older accent and *rešěto*, *čòvjek* (with the standard *-je-*), *Bòžić*, *dònese* (present tense), *zòve* with the old retraction type which yielded \grave and not \acute (which did not exist in the system before). The accent \acute develops in all positions, cf. *gláva*, *trésemo*, *túčěmo*, *kázati* etc. There is a lot of vacillation, cf. I.sg. *jezikom*, *imāli*, *vratilo* 'spinning wheel', *kalotīne* but also *pšènica*, *mòtika*, *lòpàta* etc. Long accents can be retracted as well: G.sg. *vòdē*, *lòvi* < *lovī, *děvòjke* but also *donesēmo*, *pripovětka*, *udāla*, *načēt*. The accent \grave is often realized as \grave (*rāt*), \tilde can sporadically change to \hat (cf. N.pl. *rēbra* and *rēbra*, *vīno/vīno*) but not very often. The cases of posttonic length usually appear in the context of Neo-Štokavian retraction (*zvònār*), rarely otherwise (cf. *grēbenāli*, *mòtāli*, N.pl. *břdā* but also *brdā/brdā*). The vowels in front of resonants are lengthened with \tilde as the result (cf. *tkāna* < *trkǎnja) as usual in Podravina. There is usually no *h*, *č* and *ć* are distinguished, the dialect is ekavian (*lěp*, *těsto*, *crěvo*), the infinitive ends in both *-ti* and *-t* (cf. *zvātī*, *prātī*).

a.p. B**short**

jā kòsim trávu; lòžit - lóžim; móčimo konòpļu; nosìla; pòjim kòrie, kòria pòji; ròdit - ròdi; jā se sèlim; sòlim, posòlim [*soliti]; *otvorìli; vòzit; zvòni pòdnē*

long

brániti - brānim; kúpiti; ládit - ládi [*xolditi]; *plátit - plātim; ráditi - rāde; narāni* [*xorniti]; *sādi; tájiti - (za)tāji, zatájio; vrátit - vrātim*

a.p. C**short**

lòvit - lòvi jèlena

shortened

gùbi (2x), izgùbim (3x)/izgubim, izgùbila sam; naučila

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

dòjit - žèna dòji djéte (should be *dète) (2x), *kràva se dòji* (the informant herself admits the difference in the accent, although a different distribution of accent types would be expected))

2.18 Batina (in Baranja) – Old Štokavian (Slavonian/Podravina dialect)

Batina is a village in North Baranja, whose dialect is nowadays almost extinct (our informant is one of the last people who can speak the dialect but she does not speak it herself in everyday life anymore). The dialect has five accents – ˘, ˆ, ˜, ˑ and ˋ, but the short rising accent is, like in Šljivoševci, sporadic (and probably a later intrusion from Neo-Štokavian), cf. *gláva, sèlo, čòvek/čòvek, kòni/kòni*. The ˘ accent is retracted from all final syllables (there are a few remnants like L.sg. *na vodè, na daskè*), yielding ˑ in every position (except in cases like *tājiš*), cf. *cvítovi*, but *motika*. The neo-acute is not very stable and often changes to ˆ, cf. G.sg. *vodè, divòjka, zovèm* but also *kovāč*, I.sg. *vodòm, u cidilku*. The resonant-closed syllables obtain the neo-acute when lengthened, cf. *otàrak*, I.sg. *sa otàrkom*. As usual in Podravina, there is no posttonic length.

The dialect distinguishes č and ć, *v* is a fricative, short accented *o* is usually phonetically *â* and short accented *e* is *ε*. The dialect is consistently ikavian, cf. *tísto*, G.sg. *ditèta*.

a.p. A

bàviš; zaboràvila; uplašila

a.p. B**short**

dõjit - dõji; gãstimo, pogostili; kãsim, pokosili trãvu [*kositi]; *ne krãji, skrojio* [*krojiti]; *křstit - křsti; lãvit - lãvi, ulovio* [*loviti]; *lãžim, naložio* [*ložiti]; *mõlit - mãlim ti lipo* [*modliti]; *nãsiš, nãsi, nosio* [*nositi]; *pãstit - pãstim, pãstiš* [*postiti]; *põjim, napojio kõne; prãsit - prãsiš* [*prositi]; *skãçit - skãçiš* [*skoçiti]; *tõli, oteřila se krãva* [*teliti]; *tãçi, natãçi mi!* [*toçiti]; *vãzit - sãno vãti* [*voziti]; *žẽnit - žẽni, se oženio* [*ženiti]

long

pobõlila (cf. *bõlo*) [*bõliti]; *obrãnit - se brãnim; bãdim, probũdio; cãdim, cãdi, procidila* [*cẽditi]; *cõpim, nacõpio si jãbuku* [*cẽpiti]; *(po)dõlit - dõli!, lipo podõlite svẽ jẽdnako!* [*dõliti]; *divãnit - divãniš* ‘speak’ (a Turkish loanword, cf. *tvõj divãn je dõsadan*); *zafãlit - fãli* [*xvaliti]; *grãdim; gřdi; ugũšiceš mi* ‘you will strangle me’; *jãvi, jãvio; skrãtãla sũkũu* (cf. *skracõvam*); *jẽsi se okrõpãla* (cf. *õkripa, krõpost*) [*krõpiti]; *krõvit - ne krõvim; kũpit - kũpi; liçit - liçi* (cf. *lõk, G.sg. lõka, likovõto*) [*lẽçiti]; *omãcit; mĩsit - mĩsi* [*mẽsiti]; *mlãtit - mlãti, izmlãtio; vrĩme se mũti, uz mũtio; (u)pãlit - pãli, (u)pãlio* [*paliti]; *sãdim, posãdãla; sẽlĩmo se* (2x) (the source of the length is unclear) [*sedliti]; *poslũžit - slũži; pristũpit - stũpi; ustobõçio; rasřdit* ‘make someone angry’; *trĩbi se grã, trĩbila* [*terbiti]; *ũcit - uçi, nauçila; se žãri*

a.p. C**short**

štã se borĩš, borĩte; bãš mi tõ godĩ; tãpit - mãst se topĩ [*topiti]; *vesẽlit - veselĩ, veselũ se* [*veseliti]; *zvãnit - zvonĩ, zvonã sad zvonũ*

shortened

ne çinĩš, uçiĩnio

long

tãjiš, zatãjãla

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

dĩte rãdi, porãdi, kãd žĩto dõbro rodĩ, porodĩla [*roditi]

inconclusive

sklõnio mi se s pũta, sklõnilã sam se, sklõnilĩ su se, sklõnĩ mi se s pũta! [*klõniti]; *izlomõ, prilomõ; svãj si se smõçio* ‘you got yourself all wet’, *smõçio, smõçi!*

2.19 Sunger/Mrkopalj (in Gorski kotar) – štokavized Central Čakavian/Štokavian (Western Ikavian Dialect)⁴²

Mrkopalj and Sunger are two places in Gorski kotar, just 3.5 km away from each other and in close proximity to the Čakavian village of Brestova Draga. Genetic classification of the bigger Mrkopalj and the smaller Sunger appears somewhat difficult. Moguš (1977: 104) classifies Sunger as Čakavian, while Lisac (2003: 51, 162) classifies both Sunger and Mrkopalj as Western Ikavian Neo-Štokavian. In fact, Mrkopalj is genetically a Western Ikavian Neo-Štokavian dialect and Sunger is genetically a Central Čakavian dialect. Today, however, these two dialects are very similar and share many properties (and that is why we list them together here) with originally Čakavian Sunger being heavily štokavized. Here are some of the differences between Sunger and Mrkopalj, according to my informant (who is fluent in both dialects): phonological – Mrkopalj is ikavian (*bīlo mlīko*), while Sunger has Jakubinski-Meyer governed reflexes of the *jat* (*bēlo mlīko*), *-l* in Sunger (*podīlil*), *-a* in Mrkopalj (*podīlija*); prosodic – “*˘*” is more “cut off” (sharply falling) and “*ˆ*” is a bit longer in Mrkopalj than in Sunger (both typical for Štokavian : Čakavian); lexical differences – Sunger *sīmo*, Mrkopalj *āmo* etc. Both dialects have just *štò*, cf. also *mèda* but *mèjaš* for the reflex of **đ*, some words clearly point to Čakavian origin (*māša* ‘mass’, *crikva*, *dèlat*, *vlāsi* etc.).

The dialects have usual Neo-Štokavian four accent systems but no posttonic length (cf. G.sg. *nòge*, G.sg. *sèstre*, *gòlub*, *kòrak*). Occasionally one finds falling syllables in the middle of the word (*mrkopālski*, *sestrīčna/sèstrična*). The phoneme *x* is preserved, *č* and *ć* are differed (*ć* usually being quite “soft” [tś]), *v* is a fricative, *ř* can be both short and long, final *-m* > *-n*. There is no Čakavian-style lengthenings in *stār*, *dīm*, *sān* ‘I am’ etc.

NOTE: Lukežić 2008 records the posttonic length in the Mrkopalj accentual system.

a.p. A

bāvīt se - bāvin; blātīt - blātin; brātīt se - brātin, brātīmo; čīstīt - čīstin, čīstīmo; čūdīt se - čūdin se, čūdīmo se; dīmit se - se dīmi; gādīt; gāzīt - gāzi, zgāzin; glādīt - glādi; grābit - pògrabiš, nē grabil; zāgrlīn; jānīt se - se jāni; īskri, zāiskrilo; skāmenīt se - se skāmeni; kāznīt - kāzne; kītīt, òkītīt - òkiti; kūpit, pòkupit - kūpi; křčit, pòkrčit - křči; kīselīt - se kīseli (cf. *kīselina* ‘sour milk’, *kīselica* ‘common sorrel (a plant that grows in the spring and has berries)’); *lākomīt - lākomīš, lākomi* (cf. *lākomčina*); *slīčit - slīči; lūpit, lūpicete - lūpiš; izmirit - mīri* [**mēriti*]; *mūčit - mūčīmo; mřvit - mřvi; nūdīt - nūdin; pāzin, pāzija; pjēniš* (with the

⁴² I would like to thank my informant Daniel Jedriško and his sharp hearing.

standard *-je-*); *plāzit - plāzi; strāšit - strāšin; prātit, ispratit - prātin, prātimo; prūžit - prūžiš; pūšit - pūši; pṛtit - pṛti snig; rānit - rāni; zrūšit - rūši; šitit - šitin* [*šētiti]; *slāvit - slāvi; širit - se širi; tlāčit - tlāči; tṛsit - tṛsi; vādit - vādi, vādimo; vīrit se - se vīri; vlāži; žālit - žālin, žalimo, žālite, žāle*

bōgatit - bōgatin; ujēdinicemo se - se ujēdinimo; kōristit - kōristin; ōkusit - ōkusiš; zākvačit - zākvači; ūlazit - ūlazin, ūlazimo; mīslin, mīslil/mīsllel/mīslīja; nāpravit; zāratit - zārati; zāsītīt se - zāsītīmo; natōvarit - tōvari, natōvarin; izvisi, izvisīja [*vēsiti]; *prōvitri* [*vētriti]

a.p. B

short

*blagoslōvit - blagoslovin; gōnit - gōnimo; govōrit - govōrin, govōriš; hōdit - hōdi, hōdimo; klōni, klōnimo, klōni me se!; kōsit - kōsin, kōsiš, kōsi, kōsimo, kōsite, kōse; kōtit - kōti; mēdit - mēdin, mēdi 'put honey on something'; mōlit - mōliš, mōlimo, mōlite; nōsit - nōsimo; sprijātelim, sprijātelīja; pūstīt - pūsti; (se) rōdi; skōčit - skōči (cf. *skāče*); svidōčit - svidōči* [*svēdočiti]; *otēlit - tēli, tēle* (cf. the noun *tēle*); *tōplit - tōpli; vōzit - se vōzin; žēnit se - (se) žēni*

oglōbit - oglobi; objāsīt (2x) - objāsīš; zaklōpit - zāklopin; prilagōdit - prilāgodi; umrtvīja - umrtvi; obnōvit - ōbnovimo; oplemēnit - oplēmēni, oplemēni!; pripolōviću - pripōlovin; ponōsit - pōnosi; upōzoriš; zatvōrit - zātvorin

long

bīlit zīd - bīlin (trans.) [*bēliti]; *ublāžit - ūblažin; brānit - brānin, brānimo; brūsīt - brūsin, brūsimo; būdit - būdin, būdimo; būšīt - būšin, būšimo; cīnit - cīnin* (also *cjēnit - cjēnin*) [*cēniti]; *cvīlit - cvīlin, cvīli, cvīlimo; dāvit - dāvin, dāviš, dāvi, dāvimo; dīlit - dīlin, dīli, dīlimo, podīlil* (S.), *podīlīja* (M.) [*dēliti]; *dīčit - dīčin, dīči, dīčimo; drūžit - drūžin, drūži, drūžimo; gāsīt - gāsin, gāsi, gāsimo; gñāvit - gñāviš; grādīt - grādiš; sagrīšila, grīši/grēši* (both S. and M.), *grīšimo* [*grēšiti]; *gūlit - gūlimo, ōgulimo; ohlādīlo, hlādi; hrābri; hrāni; pořālīli, řālīš, řālī* (also with *hv-*) [*xvaliti]; *jāviću - jāviš; klātīt - ōn klāti ōkoli* 'he wanders around' (not reflexive!); *krāsīt - krāsi; krīvit - krīvi, krīvimo; prikrižīt - prikriži; ukrūtīt se - ūkrutin; krūžīt - krūži; okrvāvit - okrvavin; kṛstīt - se kṛstin, se kṛsti, pōkṛstin; kūpit - kūpi; kvāsīt - kvāsi; izlīčičēš - līči* [*lēciti]; *ulīnit - ūliniš* [*lēniti]; *līpit - līpin, zalīpil/zalīpija* [*lēpiti]; *lūbit - lūbi; jādit se - se jādi, jādimo, jāde* [*ēditi]; *namāmit - māmi; māstīt - māsti; zamāsīt - māsi* [*mēsiti]; *pomīriće se - mīre se; mlāčit - se mlāči; mlātīt - mlātin, mlātīmo; mrāči, zamrāčilo; smūtīt - mūtīš; snīzit - snīzi; se ōblači; se ōblačin; sūzit - sūzi, sūzi se!* [*qziti]; *zapālīt - pāli; opāmētīš, opāmētīja; naplātīt - plāti; prāsi; protīvit - prōtīvin, prōtīvi, prōtīvimo; prorēdit - prōredi* [*rēditi]; *prīrēdit - prīredi* [*rēditi]; *zasādīt - sādī; sīlit - sīli; sūdīt - sūdi; ustrēlit - ūstrelin* [*strēliti]; *sūšīt - se sūši, se sūšimo; širit -*

širi; tūžit - tūži; trúdit se - trūdi se; trīzni, trīznija [*terzniti]; *vābin, vābili; proválit - pròvalin; zavárit - vāri; vrátit - vrātin, nè vratiš, vrātite, vrátite!, vrátit* (S.)/*vrátija* (M.); *prizímit - prizimi; nè znači*

a.p. C**short**

bòrit se - bòri se, bòrimo se; bròjit - bròjin, bròjimo; dròbit - dròbi, dròbimo; dvòrit - dvòri; zagùdit - gùdi, zàgùdi; zagòjit - gòji, gòje '(wounds) heal'; *gòstit - gòstimo; kròjit - kròji, kròjimo, skròjin, skròji; poškròpit - škròpi; kròtit - kròtin; kàsrit, zakàsrit - kàsni, kàsrimo; odlèdit - lèdi; lòjit - se lòji; lòmrit - lòmi, lòmimo, slòmi; lòvit - lòvi, ùlovi; lòžin, lòži, lòžimo, nalòžili; mòčit - mòči, mòčimo; mnòžit - mnòžimo; se màgli* (cf. *màgla*, A.sg. *màglu*, N.pl. *màgle*); *nòci; se òri; naòštrit - òštrin, (se) òštri; plòdi, oplòdija, plòdi!; plòvi, plòvimo; napòjit - pòji; pòstir - pòstin; popàprit - pàpri; ròjit - ròje se òse; rònit - ròni; ròsit - ròsi se tráva, ròse se; odsèlit - sèli, sèlimo; sòlit - sòli; sramòtit - se sramòtimo; uškòpit - škòpi; (se) tòči, tòčimo; tòpit - tòpi; utòvit - pràsca tòvi; vesèli, vesèlimo; znòjin, znòjia; zòri se; zvòni, zvònija; žalòstit - žalòsti*

shortened

gùbit - gùbi; křšit - křši; ùčit - ùčin, nàučin

long

cídit - cídin, cídimo, pròcidiš [*cèditi]; *cúrit - cúri, pròcuri; crpit - crpiš* 'bother'; *částit - částin, částiš; glúmit - glúmiš, ne glúmi!*; *gnízdit - gnízdi, gnízde; odjúrili, júri; nágli, náglja* (cf. *prinàgluje*); *súzi mi* (3x), *zàsuzi* (cf. *sùza*, A.sg. *sùzu*) [*slǝziti]; *srámit se - se srámi; svétit - svéti* (?); *svítlit - svítli* [*světliti]; *štítit - štíti; tájit - táji; trúbit - trúbi, trúbimo; vážit - váži; vrídit/vrédit/vrjédit - vrédi* [*verđiti]; *se žári, zažáрила; žúrit se - se žúri, se žúrimo*

vacillation B-C

zapròsit - pròsi/pròsi

inconclusive

krjépit; raskrilit; nè mari; mřsit - vlāse; pripitòmit; prjétit (with *-je-*); *odríšit/odrěšit* [*rěšiti]; *uròtija; zasládit; trjébit; utrápícu ti; túpit; pozlátile*

mixed

désit (2x) - *děsi, dēsilo; gòdit - gòdi* (2x) (probably the result of the mixing of Slavic *goditi and the loan from the Italian *godere*)

2.20 Tisno (on the island of Murter) – Central Čakavian (štokavized)

This is a štokavized Čakavian dialect (cf. the pronoun *štã, zãšto*). It has a five accent system - ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ with no unaccented length - posttonic length has disappeared (cf. *gõlub, kõrak, õblak, mõlite*, G. *rìbe*)⁴³ and the accent has retracted to pretonic length. " is pronounced short, "canonically". The old - " almost always yields ' ˘ (cf. *gláva, tráva, rúka, zíma, cvíliti* but *prãsãc/prásac*) and the old internal " is also retracted in most cases (cf. *nõga, vòda, sèstra, mõliti, bõgatimo*), but not without exceptions (cf. *oküsiti, prasica, kositi, otãc, mãstiti*)⁴⁴. Vowels in front of resonants in the coda are lengthened, with ˘ as the result (cf. *dĩm, jesãn, pogãn, nožẽn*). ˘ is not very stable, it tends to change to ˘ facultatively under certain conditions – for instance in the end of a phrase or a sentence⁴⁵. There is no č : ć difference, both are pronounced the same (sometimes 'hard', sometimes "soft") – here written č (with its voiced counterpart ċ). The phoneme *l* is pronounced as palatalized [lʲ], *-m > -n* in the end of the word, *v* is a fricative, phoneme [x] is partially preserved (or reintroduced), syllabic *r* is always short, the dialect is ikavian (*ě > *i*, in loans from the standard *je* also occurs). The infinitive ends in *-ti*, 3. person plural of *i*-verbs in *-u* and **-ilʲ > -ija* in *l*-participle.

a.p. A

*bãviti se - se bãvimo, se bãvi; blãtiti - blãtimo, blãti; brãtiti se - brãtimo se, se brãti; cẽriti se - se cẽrimo, se cẽri; ċistiti - ċistimo, ċisti; ċũditi se - ċũdimo se, se ċũdi; dĩmiti - dĩmi, dĩmimo; gãditi - gãdimo, gãdi; gãziti - gãzimo, gãzi, ugãzija; glãditi - glãdimo, glãdi; grãbiti - grãbimo, grãbi; gr̃biti - gr̃bimo, gr̃bi se; gr̃liti - gr̃lino, gr̃li; ìdriti - ìdrimo, ìdri; ìskriti se - ìskri se; kãzniti - kãznimo, kãzni; kītiti - kītimo, kīti; kũpiti - kũpi; kũžiti - kũžimo, kũži; k̃seliti - k̃selimo, k̃seli; sl̃ċiti - sl̃ċi, sl̃ċimo; lũpiti - lũpimo, lũpi; m̃riti - m̃rimo, m̃ri [*m̃eriti]; mũċiti - mũċimo, mũċi; m̃sliti - m̃slimo, m̃sl̃i; m̃rviti - m̃rvimo, m̃rvi; nũditi - nũdimo, nũdi; pãziti - pãzimo, pãzi; p̃niti - p̃nimo se, p̃ni (štã si se zap̃nija?) 'be angry' [*p̃eniti]; plãziti - plãzimo, plãzi; prãtiti - prãtimo, prãti; prãviti - prãvimo, prãvi; prũžiti - prũžimo, prũži; pũšiti - pũšimo, pũši; p̃rtiti - p̃rtimo, p̃rti; rãniti - rãnimo, rãni; rũšiti - rũšimo, ruši; s̃titi se - s̃timo se, s̃ti se; s̃liti - s̃lino, s̃li;*

⁴³ However, there are some marginal examples like G.pl. *nõċi*, I. *võdõn* where the facultative retraction occurred. Long accents are usually not retracted (cf. I. *sestrõn, berẽš*).

⁴⁴ In Stojanov 1937, the situation with ' is the same as today. ", on the other hand, is mostly preserved in the old position in his examples, except in a few examples.

⁴⁵ This was obvious while eliciting forms for this *i*-verb list – if there were two forms with the neo-acute, it was fairly probable that the second one would be pronounced with the circumflex or that its neo-acute would be articulated in a fashion that makes it closer to ˘. Thus, I have maintained the original order of elicitation in the list.

slāviti - slāvimo, slāvi; stāviti - stāvimo, stāvi; strāšiti - strāšimo, strāši; sīriti - se sīri, ùsirili (sīri se mlíko); šāliti se - šālimo se, šāli se; tēliti - tēli se, otēlila⁴⁶; tješiti - tješimo, tješī; tlāčiti - tlāčimo, tlāči; vāditi - vādimo, vādi; vlāžiti - vlāžimo, vlāži; žāliti - žālimo, žāli

bogatiti - bogatimo, bogati; borāviti - borāvimo, bōravi; gotōviti - gotōvimo, gotōvi; kōza se òjarila; kōristiti - kōristimo, kōristi; okūsiti - okūsimo, okūsi; ùlaziti - ùlazimo, ùlazi; nàuditi - nàudimo, nàudi; pónositi - pónosimo, pónosi; pústošiti - pústošimo, pústošī; zàratiti - zàratimo, zàrati; zasītiti se - zasītimo se, zasīti se; tòvariti - tòvarimo, tòvari; izvīsiti - izvīsimo, izvīsi, izvīsīli, izvīsija; pròvitriti, izvitrivilo, izvitrivi

a.p. B

short

gōniti - gōni, gōnimo, gōnu; mōliti - mōlimo, mōli; nōsit - nōsimo, nōsi; pūstiti - pūstimo, pūsti; ròdit - ròdimo, ròdi (se); skōčiti - skōčimo, skōči; vòditi - vòdiš, vòdi me!, vòdite me!; vòziti - vòzimo, vòzi; žēniti - žēnimo se, žēni se

blagoslōviti - blagoslōvimo, blagoslōvi (cf. blagoslīvlāmo, blagoslīvlā); učvrstīti - učvrstīti, učvrstīmo (cf. učvrščīvāmo); odušēviti - odušēvi (cf. odušēvlāva, odušēvlāvāmo); ogōliti - ogōli (cf. ogoļāvāmo); zaklōpiti - zaklōpimo, zaklōpi; prilagōditi - prilagōdimo, prilagōdi; umōri se; primōstīti - primōstimo, primōsti; umrītīviti - umrītīvimo, umrītīvi; obnōvit - obnōvimo, obnōvi; pripitōmiti - pripitōmi; oplemēniti - oplemēnimo, oplemēni; oplōdi; pokōriti - pōkorimo, pōkori; pripolōviti - pripolōvimo, pripolōvi; upozōriti - upōzorimo, upōzori; sprijatēļiti se - sprijatēļimo se, sprijatēļi se; ustanōviti - ustanōvimo, ustanōvi; postrōjiti - se postrōju; osvōjiti - osvōjimo, osvōji; otvōriti - òtvori

long

*blūditi - blūdimo, blūdi; ublāžiti - ublāži (cf. ublažāvāmo, ublažāva); brāniti - brānimo, brāni; brūsiti - brūsimo, brūsi, brūsu; búčiti - búčimo, búči, búču; búditi - būdimo, būdi; búšiti - búšimo, búši; cīditi - cīdimo, cīdi [*cēditi]; cjēniti - cjēnimo, cjēni; cjēpiti - cjēpimo, cjēpi; cvīliti - cvīlimo, cvīli; cúriti - cūri; udāļiti se (cf. se udaļāvāmo); dāviti - dāvimo, dāvi; dēsiti - se dēsi; dīliti - dīlimo, dīli [*dēliti]; dīčiti - dīčimo, dīči; dīviti - dīvimo, dīvi; drāžiti - drāžimo, drāži; dúbiti - dūbimo, dūbi; drūžiti se - drūžimo se, se drūži; dúšiti - dūšimo, dūši 'choke'; dūžiti - dūžimo, dūži; gājiti - gājimo, gāji; gāsiti - gāsimo, gāsi; glūmīti - glūmīmo, glūmi; oglūšija je, oglūši; gnjēzditi se - gnjēzdimo se, se gnjēzdu; gnāviti - gnāvimo, gnāvi; něšto mi gōdi; glāsiti - glāsi; grāditi - grādimo, grādi;*

⁴⁶ A.p. A by analogy to the present tense forms.

gospodáríti - *gospodārimo*, *gospodāri*; govóriti - *govōrimo*, *govōri*; gríšiti - *grīšimo*,
 gríši; gróziti - *grōzimo se*, *grōzi se*; gúlití - *gūlimo*, *gūli*; ládití - *lādimo*, *lādi*
 [*xoldítí]; hlápiti - *hlāpi*, *ishlāpi*; hrábriti - *hrābrimo*, *hrābri*; hrániti - *hrānimo*,
 hrāni; húlít - *hūlimo*, *hūli*; fáliti - *fālimo*, *fāli* [*xvalítí]; jániti se - *óvca se jáni*;
 járiti (*pāsa najáriti*) - *jāri* (*dica jāru pāsa*) ‘tease, irritate’; objásniti - *objāsnu* (cf.
objašnāvamo); jáviti - *jāvimo*, *jāvi*; ujedíniti - *ujedini*, *ujedínite se!* (cf.
ujedínāvamo); júriti - *jūri*, *jūrimo*; káditi - *kādimo*, *kādi*; zaključiti - *zaključí*;
 klátiti - *klátimo*, *klāti* (*māška se klāti*); krátiti - *krātimo*, *krāti*; *tō se kōsi* ‘it goes
 against’; krípiti - *krípimo*, *krípi* [*krēpítí]; krásiti - *krāsimo*, *krāsi*; raskriliti -
raskrīlimo, *raskrīli*; kríviti - *krívimo*, *krívi*; prikrižiti - *prikrižimo*, *prikriži*;
ukrútiti se - *ukrūtimo*, *ukrúti*; krúžiti - *krūžimo*, *krūži*; okrváviti - *okrvāvimo*,
okrvāvi; kúdití - *kūdimo*, *kūdi*; kúpiti - *kúpimo*, *kūpi*; líčiti - *líčimo*, *líči* [*lěčítí];
ulíniti se - *se ulīni*; lípiti - *lípimo*, *lípi* [*lěpítí]; lúbiti - *lūbimo*, *lūbi*; lútiti - *lūtimo*,
 lūti; lúštiti - *lūštimo*, *lūšti*; māmítí - *māmimo*, *māmi*; mārítí - *mārimo*, *māri*;
namástiti - *māstimo*, *māsti* ‘grease’; mísiti - *mīsimo*, *mīsi* [*mēsítí]; mesáriti -
mesārimo, *mesāri*; mírítí - *mīrimo*, *mīri*; smláčiti - *se smlāči*; pomláditi; mlátiti -
mlātimo, *mlāti*; mráčiti - *mrāči se*; mútiti - *mútimo*, *mūti*; mnòžiti - *množimo*,
množi; nágłiti - *nāglimo*, *nāgli*; sníziti - *snízimo*, *snízi*; obláčiti - *oblāči se*, *se*
oblāčin ‘dress’; obláčiti se - *se oblāči* ‘cloud’; súziti - *sūzi*, *sūzimo*, *sūzi* [*qzítí];
sūzi [*slbzítí]; páliti - *pālimo*, *pāli*; opamétiti se - *opamētimo se*, *opamēti se*; píliti
- *piliš*, *pīlimo*, *pīli* ‘saw; be a bother’; plátiti - *plātimo*, *plāti*; prásiti/prájiti - *prāsi*;
prášiti - *prāšimo*, *prāši*; zaréditi se - *zarédimo se*, *zarēdi se*; prítiti - *prítimo*, *príti*
[*pertítí]; protiviti - *protívimo*, *protívi*; ráditi - *rādimo*, *rādi*; rjěšiti - *rjěšimo*,
rjěši; priréditi - *prirédimo*, *prirēdi*⁴⁷; porúbiti - *porúbimo* (cf. *porublívamo*); rúžiti
- *rūžimo*, *rūži*, *rūžiš* ‘grow ugly’; sáditi - *sādimo*, *sādi*; sláviti, *rasláviti sòk ili*
víno; sljéditi - *sljédimo*, *sljēdi*; snážiti - *snážimo*, *snāži*; sláđiti, *zasláđiti* - *sláđimo*,
sláđi; srámítí se - *srāmimo se*, *srāmi se*; súđiti - *sūđimo*, *sūdi*; *zastrániti* - *zastrāni*;
stúpiti - *stúpimo*, *stūpi*; súšiti - *sūšimo*, *sūši*; svétiti se - *svétimo se*, *svēti se* ‘take
revenge’; svítłiti - *svítłimo*, *svítłi* [*světłítí]; štítiti - *štítimo*, *štíti*; šíriti - *šīrimo*,
šīri; tríbítí - *tríbimo*, *tríbi* [*terbítí]; téžiti - *těžimo*, *těži*; trápiti - *trāpimo*, *trāpi*
(*něšto utrápiti*) ‘fob off’; túpiti - *túpimo*, *tūpi*; túžiti - *tūžimo*, *tūži*; trážiti -
trāžimo, *trāži*; trúbiti - *trúbimo*, *trúbi*; trúđiti se - *trúđimo se*, *trúđi*; trízni se -
trízimo se, *trízni se* [*terznítí]; vábítí - *vābimo*, *vābi*; razváliti - *razvālimo*,
razvāli; váriti - *vārimo*, *vāri*; vāžiti - *vāži*; vríditi - *vřídimo*, *vřidi*; vrátiti -
vřátimo, *vřāti*; ozáriti se - *ozārimo se*, *ozāri se*, *se ozárija*; znáčiti - *znāčimo*,
znāči; zláti, *se zláti* (cf. *pozlačíva*); žáriti - *žārimo*, *žāri*; žúriti - *žūrimo se*, *žūri se*;
biliti - *bīlimo*, *bīli*, *bīlin* [transitive]; žútiti - *žūtin* ‘peel’

⁴⁷ A loanword from the standard/Štokavian obviously.

a.p. C**short**

*bòriti se - borìmo se, se borì, se borū, borū se; brò(j)iti - brojìmo, brojì; brštiti - brštìmo, brštì, brštū; čèrpiti - čèrpìmo, čèrpì/cèrpiti - crpìmo, crpì [*čèrpiti]; dòjiti - dojìmo, dojì; dròbiti - drobìmo, drobì; dvòriti - dvorìmo, dvorì; gñòjiti - gñójìmo, gñójì; gòjiti - gojìmo, gojì; gòstiti - gostìmo, gostì; gr̀diti - gr̀dìmo, gr̀dì; klòniti se - klonìmo se, klonì, klonìn, klonū, klòni! klònite! klònimo!, kòriti - korìmo, korì; kòsiti - kosìmo, kosì; kotìti - kotì, ukotìla; krò(j)iti - kroìmo, kroì; škropiti - škropì, škropìmo; kròtiti - krotìmo, krotì (krotì ga vòdòn); křšiti - kršìmo, kršì; křstiti - krstìmo, krstì; mòčiti - močìmo, močì; křčiti - krčìmo, krčì; kàsiti - kasnìmo, kasnì; lèditi - vòda se ledì; se lo(j)ì (?); lòmiti - lomìmo, lomì, lomì se; lòviti - lovìmo, lovì, lovū; lòžiti (nalòžiti vàtru) - ložìmo, ložì (vàtra se lòžì); màstìti - mastìmo, mastì ‘crush grapes’; mřsiti - mrsìmo, mrsì ‘eat meat; ruffle’; màgliti - se maglì; òriti - se orì; òštriti - oštrìmo, oštrì, oštrìn; plòviti, zaplòviti - plovìmo, plovì (zaplòvi); pòiti, napòiti - poìmo, poì (napòì) [*pojiti]; pòstiti - postìmo, postì; pòtiti se - potìmo se, potì se, se potìn (spòtili smo se, se spòtìmo, spòtin); pròsiti - prosìmo, prosì; opròstìti - da prostìš, da prostìte; pàpriti - paprìmo, paprì; ròjiti - se rojū; ròniti - ronìmo, ronì; ròsiti - se rosì ‘be dewy’; sèliti se - selìmo se, selì se (se prisèlì); sòliti - solìmo, solì; sramòtiti - sramotìmo, sramotì; càkliti se - caklì; škòpiti - škopìmo, škopì; svidòčiti - svidòčìmo, svidòčì; sřditi - srdìmo, srdì; tèpliti - teplìmo, teplì; tòpiti - topìmo, topì (utòpi, rastòpi); tòviti - tovìmo, tovì, tòvi; tròšiti - trošìmo, trošì (pòtrošì); vesèliti se - veselìmo, veselì se; znòjiti - znojìmo, znojì, znojì; zvòniti - zvonìmo, zvonì; žalòstiti - žalostìmo, žalostì*

shortened

čìniti - činìmo, činì, ne čini tò!, ne činite tò!; gùbiti - gubìmo, gubì, gùbi se!, gùbite se!; ùčiti - učìmo, učì, ùči!, ùčite!

long**a.p. B-C vacillation**

skamèniti se - skamenì/skàmeni; tòčiti - točìmo/tòčìmo, točì/tòčì, tòči se/točì se, točìn/tòčìn, tòčite, točū (both variants exist), tòči!, tòčite!

mixed a.p.

hřliti - hrlìmo, hrlì

inconclusive

*òdit (present tense is suppletive: řžemo, řže) [*xoditi]*

2.21 Filipjakov (near Biograd in Dalmatia) – South Čakavian⁴⁸

This is a coastal štokavized Čakavian dialect. It has a four accent system (˘, ˆ, ˜, ˙) and pretonic length but with a lot of variation. The neo-acute is preserved only facultatively, it can always be changed to ˆ (unlike neighboring Turanj where ˜ is stable), cf. G.sg. *glavē* and *glavê*. Sometimes this ˆ < ˜ can be lexicalized. The neo-acutes are more frequent in fast speech. The dialect preserves the old accent place except for the fact that ˘ usually retracts from the final syllable together with *kanovačko duljenje* in the lower, sea-side part of Filipjakov named Selo, but there is a lot of variation here as well. Different solutions are lexicalized in different words, cf. *glāvā*, *gláva* and *glāva*, as well as *kōzā*, *kóza* and *kōza*. As is obvious, the retracted accent is either ˙ or ˜. This type of variation is not unusual in this area. In Ulica, the upper part of Filipjakov (away from the sea), the older accentuation like *glāvā*, *sēlō* is preserved (but with *kanovačko duljenje*). For the accent on the final syllable cf. *artič* ‘little cape’, N.pl. *vrtlā*, N.pl. *zrnā*. The accent can be optionally retracted in other positions as well, cf. rarer *plātiti* besides common *plātīti*, also *péčeš* besides *pečěš* (for the variation, cf. also *pečémo/pečěmo/pěčemo/pěčemo!*). The new retraction-made *kanovački* ˜ does not seem to change to ˆ ever. The result of the lengthening before sonorants is ˜, which later changes to ˆ, cf. Filipjakov *sūnce*, *divōjka* but Turanj *sūnce*, *divōjka*.

The dialect distinguishes *č* and (Štokavian style) *ć*, *h* disappears, **ě* > *i*, the infinitive ends in *-ti* and *l*-participle in *-a* (*-ilъ > *-ija*).

a.p. A

bāviti se - se bāvimo; blātiti - blātimo; bratīmiti se; būšiti - būši; cēriti se - cērimo se; čīstiti - čīstimo; čūditi se - čūdimo se; dīmiti se - se dīmi; gāditi se - gādi mi se; gāziti - gāzimo; grābiti - grābimo; gřliti - gřlimo; ĩdriti - ĩdrimo; jāniti se - jāni se; jāriti se - jāri se; skāmeniti se - skāmenimo se; kāzniti - kāzni; kītiti - kītimo; kūpiti - kūpimo; kūriti - kūrī ogāń, dītē mu kūrī od fēbre ‘his child is burning with fever’; *slīčiti - slīči; lūpiti - lūpimo; mīliti se - mīli mi se; mīriti - mīrimo* [*mēriti]; *mřviti - mřvi; mūčiti - mūčimo; mīsliti - mīslimo; mřviti - mřvimo; nūditi - nūdimo; pāziti - pāzimo; pīniti se - pīnimo se* [*pēniti]; *plāšiti - plāšimo; plāziti - plāzimo; prātiti - prātimo; prāviti - prāvimo; prūžiti - prūžimo; přtiti - přtimo; rāniti - rānimo; rūšiti - rūšimo; sītiti se - sītimo se* [*sētiti]; *sīliti - sīlimo; slāviti - slāvimo; stāviti - stāvimo; strāšiti - strāšimo; sřriti se - sřri se; sūziti - sūzi mi ōko; šāliti se - šālīmo se; tīšiti - tīšimo* [*tēšiti]; *třžiti - třžija* ‘bought’ (only these forms exist); *vāditi - vādimo; vīriti se - vīrimo se* [*vēriti]; *vlāžiti - vlāžimo; žāliti - žālīmo*

⁴⁸ Zafaļivan se Nikōli Vūletīcu na podācīman.

bogaṭiti se - se bogaṭimo; borāviti - borāvimo; okūsiti - okūsimo; ulāziti - ulāzimo; nauḍiti - nauḍimo; zarāṭiti - zarāṭimo; zasīṭiti se - zasīṭimo se; ozdrāviti - ozdrāvimo; izvīsiti - izvīsimo [*vēsiti]

a.p. B

short

govorīti - govōri; klonīti se - se klōni, klonī me se! (older people), *klōnī me se!* (younger people)⁴⁹; *močīti - mōči, mōči!*; *molīti - mōli, mōli!*, *zamolīte ga!* (older people); *nosīti - nōsi, nōsi!*, *nosīte!* (older people), *nōsīte!* (younger people); *prošīti - prōsi; rodīti - rōdi; pūšti, pūšti/pūšti!, pūšīte/pūšīte!* (with a secondary infinitive *puštāti*); *skočīti - skōči, priskōči, priskočīja, skočīte/skōčīte!* (younger people always have the length, older people have it occasionally); *sramoṭīti - sramōti; vodīti - vōdi, vodīte ga!* (older people), *vōdīte!* (younger people); *vozīti - vōzi, vōzi!*, *vozīte!* (older people), *vōzīte!* (younger people); *svidočīti - svidōči; ženīti se - žēni se, ženīte se!* (older people), *žēnīte se!* (younger people)

dogoḍīti se - dogōdi se; otvorīti - otvōri, stvōri, otvorīte!

long

brānīti/brāniti - brāni/brāni; būḍīti/būḍiti - būdi/būdi, būḍite se!; *cīḍīti/cīḍiti - cīdi/cīdi* [*cēḍiti]; *cīnīti/cīniti - cīni/cīni* [*cēniti]; *cīpīti/cīpiti - cīpi/cīpi* [*cēpiti]; *dāvīti/dāviti - dāvi/dāvi; dīlīti/dīliti - dīli/dīli, podīlite!* [*dēliti]; *dīvīti/dīviti - dīvi/dīvi; družīti se/drūžiti se - drūži se/drūži se; fālīti/fāliti - fāli/fāli* [*xvaliti]; *gnīzdīti/gnīzditi - gnīdi/gnīzdi* [*gnēzditi]; *gāsīti/gāsiti - gāsi, ugāsīte/ugāsīte!*; *gospodarīti/gospodariti - gospodāri/gospodāri; grādīti/grāditi - grādi/grādi, grādīte!*; *grīšīti/grīšiti - grīši/grīši, ne grīšīte/grīšīte!* [*grēšīti]; *gūlīti/gūliti - gūli/gūli; gūšīti/gūšiti - gūši/gūši; hūlīti/hūliti - hūli/hūli; jāvīti/jāviti - jāvi/jāvi; kāḍīti/kāḍiti - kādi/kādi; kānīti/kāniti - kānin/kānin; klātīti/klātiti - klāti/klāti; krāsīti/krāsiti - krāsi/krāsi; krīpīti/krīpiti - krīpi/krīpi* [*krēpiti]; *krīvīti/krīviti - krīvi/krīvi; krūžīti/krūžiti - krūži/krūži; kúpīti/kúpiti - kūpi/kūpi, kúpīte!*; *lādīti/lāditi - lādi/lādi, olādīte!* [*xolditi]; *līčīti/līčiti - līči/līči, izlīčite ga!* [*lēčīti]; *līpīti/līpiti - līpi/līpi* [*lēpiti]; *lūbīti/lūbīti - lūbi/lūbi; lūtīti/lūtiti - lūti/lūti; māmīti/māmīti - māmi* (rarely *māmi*); *māstīti/māstīti - māsti/māsti; mīrīti/mīriti - mīri/mīri; mīsīti/mīsiti - mīsi/mīsi* [*mēsīti]; *mlātīti/mlātiti - mlātite/mlātite, mlātīte!*; *mūtīti/mūtīti - mūti/mūti, izmūtīte!*; *oblāčīti se/oblāčiti se - oblāči se/oblāči se* ‘cloud’; *pālīti/pāliti - pāli/pāli, zapālīte!*; *plātīti/plātiti - plāti*

⁴⁹ Older people still preserve the length/shortness opposition of the imperative/rest of the forms (cf. Kapović 2008), while younger people generalize the length in all the imperative forms regardless of the etymology. The pivotal points were not only the verbs with the inherited length/shortness opposition, but singular forms with *kanovačko duljenje* as well.

(rarely *plāti*), *plátite!*; *prāsiti se/prásiti se - prāsi se/prāsi se; prāšiti/prāšiti - prāši/prāši; rāditi/rāditi - rādi/rādi, ne rādite/rādite!*; *rāniti/rāniti - rāni/rāni* ‘feed (animals)’ [**xorniti*]; *rīšiti/rīšiti - rīši/rīši, rīšite!* [**rēšiti*]; *rūbīti/rūbīti - rūbi/rūbi; sādīti/sādīti - sādi/sādi* (cf. *sād* ‘small vineyard’); *slādīti se/slādīti se - slādi se/slādi se; slūčīti se* ‘occur, happen’; *slūžīti/slūžīti - slūži/slūži; sūdīti/sūdīti - sūdi/sūdi, sūdīte mu!* (one informant says *sūdīte mu!*⁵⁰); *stūpīti/stūpīti - stūpi/stūpi; šušīti/šušīti - šūši/šūši* [**sušiti*]; *tribīti/trībīti - trībi/trībi* [**terbīti*]; *tūpīti se/tūpīti se - tūpi se/tūpi se; tūžīti/tūžīti - tūži/tūži; zatrāvīti/zatrāvīti - trāvi/trāvi, zatrāvīla ga je sasmā; trūdīti se/trūdīti se - trūdi se/trūdi se, ne trūdīte se!*; *vārīti/vārīti - vāri* (rarely *vāri*); *vrātīti/vrātīti - vrāti/vrāti, vrātīte se!*; *zlātīti se/zlātīti se - zlāti se/zlāti se; žārīti se/žārīti se - žāri se/žāri se; ždrībīti se/ždrībīti se - ždribi se/ždribi se* [**žerbiti*]

a.p. C

short

borīti - borī se (rarely *borī se*), *izbōri se; brojīti - broji/brojī, izbrōji, izbrojīte!* (older people); *brstīti - brstī/brstī, pobrīsti, brstīte!* (older people); *caklīti se - caklī se/caklī se; častīti - časti/častī, počāsti; daždīti - daždi/daždī, zadāždi* (*imenica - dāžd*, G. *daždā*); *dojīti - doji/dojī, podōji; dvorīti - dvori/dvori, podvōri; gnojīti - gnoji/gnoji, pognōji; gojīti - goji/gojī, uzgōji; gonīti - goni/gonī, progōni, gonīte!* (older people); *gostīti se - gostīmo se, ugōstimo; kasnīti - kasnīn/kasnīn, zakāsnīn, ne kasnīte!* (older people); *kiselīti - kiselī/kiselī, ukisēli; korīti - korī/korī, ukōri; kosīti - kosi/kosī, pokōsi, kosīte!* (older people); *koṭīti se - koṭī se/koṭī se; krotīti - krotī/krotī, ukrōti; krstīti - krstī/krstī, pokrīsti, krstīte!* (older people); *lomīti - lomī/lomī, polōmi, slomīte!* (older people); *lovīti - lovi/lovī, ulōvi; ložīti - loži/loži, nalōži, lōži/lōži!* (not so often), *ložīte!* (younger people have analogical *lōžite!*); *maglīti - maglī/maglī, zamāgli; mastīti - mastī/mastī* ‘squash grapes’; *orīti se - se orī* (*pīσμα*), *se zaōri; oštrīti - oštrī/oštrī, naōštrī, naoštrīte!* (older people); *plodīti - plodī se/plodī se, oplōdi; pojīti - poji/pojī, napōji, napojīte!* (older people); *popīti se - popī se/popī se, se zapōpi; potīti se - potī se/potī se, se upōti; paprīti - papri/papri, zapāpri, zapaprīte!* (older people); *prostīti - prostīš/prostīš, prostīte, oprōstīš; rojīti se - čēle se rojū/rojū* ‘bees are

⁵⁰ The form *sūdīte!* is either an archaism (the short vowel is expected in the imperative plural) or it is due to the analogy with the originally short root verbs. Due to *kanovačko duljenje*, the singular forms like *ūči/ūči!* are equal to those like *lōži/lōži!* That they were originally **ūči!* but **lōži!* is seen only by the plural forms (in the speech of older people) *ūčite!* but *ložite!*, where *ūčite!* is analogical to the old **ūči!* In *ložite!* there was no analogy because the old singular was **lōži!* Thus *sūdīte!* could be due either to analogy with *ložite!* or it could be an archaism. It is possible that Filipjakov had the even more archaic system of **ūči!* - **učite!* and **lōži!* - **ložite!* not so long ago.

swarming⁵¹; *ronīti* - *ronī/ronī*, *izrōni*; *rosīti* - *rosī/rosī*; *selīti se* - *selī se* (rarely *selī se*), *prisēli se*; *solīti* - *solī/solī*, *posōli*, *posolīte!* (older people); *postīti* - *postī/postī*; *škopīti* - *škopī/škopī*, *uškopī*, *uškopīte!* (older people); *škropīti* - *škropī/škropī*, *poškrōpi*, *poškrōpīte!* (older people); *telīti se* - *telī se/telī se*, *se otēli*; *teplīti se* - *teplī se/teplī se*; *točīti* - *točī/točī*, *natōči*, *natočīte!* (older people); *topīti* - *topīmo/topīmo*, *utōpīmo*; *tovīti* - *tovī/tovī*, *utōvi*; *trošīti* - *trošī/trošī*, *potrōši*, *trōši*, *trošīte!* (younger people say *trōšite!*); *veselīti* - *veselī/veselī*, *razvesēli*; *zvonīti* - *zvonī/zvonī*, *pozvōni*

shortened

čīnīti - *čīnī/čīnī*, *učīni* (no imperative); *gubīti* - *gubī/gubī*, *gubīte/gubīte*, *izgūbi*, *gūbi!*, *gūbi se/gūbi se!*, *gūbite se/gūbite se!* (the latter form only by older people); *krčīti* - *krčī*, *iskřčī*, *iskřčīte/iskřčīte otō!*; *učīti* - *učī/učī*, *učīte/učīte*, *naūči*, *ūči tovāre jedān!* 'learn, you ass', *ūči!*, *ūči se!*, *ūčīte/ūčīte!* (older people)⁵¹

long

bīlīti/bīliti - *bīlī* (trans.), *obīli/obīli* [*bēliti]; *cvīlīti/cvīliti* - *cvīlī*, *zacvīli/zacvīli*; *čīrīti/čīriti* - *čīrī*, *pročīri/pročīri* 'peer out'; *dūbīti/dūbiti* - *dūbī*, *nadūbi* 'stand on one's head'; *glūmīti/glūmiti* - *glūmī*, *odglūmi/odglūmi*; *ńīrīti/ńīriti* - *ńīrī*, *prońīri/prońīri* 'peer out'; *slīdīti/slīditi* - *slīdī*, *uslīdi*, *slīdīte!* (older people) [*slēditi]; *snīžīti/snīžiti* - *snīžī*, *zasnīžī*; *srāmīti se/srāmīti se* - *srāmī se*, *srāmīte se/srāmīte se!* (older people); *svītlīti/svītliti* - *svītlī*, *zasvītlī/zasvītlī* [*svētīliti]; *šcītīti/šcītiti* - *šcītī* (now rare, the forms with *št-* are more frequent; younger people usually say *štīti*); *tājīti/tājiti* - *tājī*, *zatājī/zatājī*; *trūbīti/trūbiti* - *trūbī/trūbī*, *potrūbi/potrūbi*, *trūbi!*, *trūbite/trūbite!*; *vrīdīti/vrīditi* - *vrīdī*, *zavrīdi/zavrīdi* [*vrēditi]; *znāčīti/znāčiti* - *znāčī* (also *znāči/znāči*), *oznāči/oznāči*

vacillation

tumāčīti, also *tumāčīti/tumāčīti* - *tumāčī*, also *tumāči/tumāči*

2.22 Pučišća (on the island of Brač) – South Čakavian⁵²

The dialect has a three accent system – ˘, ˆ and ˜ with pretonic length. ˘ is always pronounced short, “canonically” and ˜ is stable and does not change to ˆ in any position. Non-final ǎ yields ǎ̃ in this dialect (*krǎva* > *krǎva*). There is some Štokavian influence, internal ˘ is facultatively pronounced as ˘˘ (a double

⁵¹ As already mentioned, older people in Filipjakov still preserve the old quantitative pattern of *učīte* but *ūčīte!* (cf. Kapović 2008). The length in *ūčīte!* is by analogy to **ūčī!*, where the length today (*ūči/ūči!*) is not relevant because of *kanovačko duljenje*. Forms like *ložīte!* (in the speech of older people) prove that the forms like *ūčīte!* are not secondary (i.e. analogical to the singular with *kanovačko duljenje*).

⁵² Zafaljen se Dòmagoju Vīdoviću, pōla čovīku, pōla Bročāninu.

accent) but with a prominent second part (one could say that there is just a notion of ̀ on the preceding syllable) and sometimes it is completely retracted to ̀ ̣. The combination ̀ ̣ is facultatively pronounced as ́ ̣ with a Neo-Štokavian long rising accent. ̀ becomes ̂ in front of resonants in the coda (cf. *zalinī se* < **zalēnīl se*). Syllabic *r* is always short, **ě* yields *i*, **ā* yields *ō*, **ō* yields *uō* and **ē* yields *jē*. In the end of the word *-m* > *-n*, *l* changes to *j* everywhere and *x* is preserved. *Ć* is pronounced the Čakavian way [t]. The infinitive ends in *-t* which tends to be dropped, 3rd person plural ends in *-idu*⁵³ and **-il̥* in *l*-participle yields *-i* (*-i* when accented).

a.p. A

bāvit se - bāvin se; besīdit - besīdin [*besēditi]; *bogātit - bogātin; blātit - blātin; brōdit - brōdin; čistit - čistin; čūdi se* [infinitive] - *čūdimo se; c̣p̣it - c̣pin; odušēvit - odušēvin*⁵⁴; *dīmi(t) se - dīmimo; gādīt - gādimo, gādi mi se; gāzīt - gāzimo; glādīt - glādimo; grābit - grābin, grābimo; g̣ṛbit - g̣ṛbimo; g̣rlit - g̣rlimo; hūlit - hūlimo; uhītīt - uhītīmo* (cf. also an *a*-verb *hītomo*); *jūdrit - jūdrimo; kītīt - kītīmo; kōristīt - kōristīmo; okūsit - okūsiš; kūpit - kūpimo; kūrit - kūrimo, kūri; kūzīt - kūzimo; kvāčit - kvāčimo; ulāzīt - ulāzimo* (cf. *ūlist - ulīzemo*); *slīčit - slīčimo; lūpit - lūpimo; mīrit - mīrimo* [*mēriti]; *mūčit - mūčimo; mīslīt - mīslīmo; uṃrtvit - uṃrtvi se*; ⁵⁵ *ṃrvīt - ṃrvi; nūdit - nūdi; iznūrit - iznūri; nāudit - nāudin; sūzīt - sūzin* (*ako ōko zasūzi*) [*slziti]; *pāzīt - pāzin; p̣nit - p̣nin, se p̣ni* [*pēniti]; *pogānit - pogānin* ‘speak in a foul manner’; *strāšīt - strāšin, strāši; lāzīt - lāzin* [*polziti]; *prātīt - prāti; prūzīt - prūzi; pustōšīt - pustōši; pūšīt - pūšin; p̣rtīt - p̣rtīmo; lātīt - lātin* ‘work’; *rānit - rānimo; zarātīt - se zarāti; rūšīt - rūšin, rūšiš; sītīt se* [infinitive] - *sītīn se; sīlit - sīlin; slāvit - slāvimo; stāvit - stāvin; ṣrīt - ṣri; zasītīt se - zasītī se; ṭšīt - ṭši* [*tēšiti]; *tlāčit - tlāči; tovārit - tovāri; trātīt - trāti; tumāčītīt - tumāčin; udārit - udāri; vādīt - vādi; vlāzīt - vlāzi; žālīt - žāli; slābit - slābi* [transitive]

a.p. B

short

ḅrstīt - ḅrstin; dṛbīt - dṛbin; dṿrīt - dṿrimo; globīt - glōbimo; gnojīt - gnōjin; godīt - gōdi; gonīt - gōnin; gotōvīt - gotōvin; goṿrīt - goṿrin, goṿrimo; g̣ṛdīt - g̣ṛdīmo; kḷnīt se [infinitive] - *kḷnīmo, ukḷnīmo; ḳrīt - ḳrimo; kotīt - kōti se; ulovīt - lōvi, ulōvi; lozīt - lōzi, lōzīmo; ṃḍčīt - ṃḍčimo; ṃlīt - ṃlīmo; mokrīt - ṃdkrimo; ṃrsīt - ṃṛsi, zaṃṛsi; ṃṛridu* [no infinitive]; *motrīt - ṃḍtrin; nosīt -*

⁵³ This ending originally stems from *-du* in *dadu* < **dadoṭ*.

⁵⁴ Obviously secondary, probably analogy to the present form.

⁵⁵ Obviously secondary, probably analogy to the present form.

nōsi, nōsimo; pitōmīt - pitōmin; plōdīt - plōdin; plovīt - plōvin; ročīt - rōčin; rodīt - rōdin, rōdi; selī se [infinitive] - *sēlin se; skočīt - skōčin; sramotīt - sramōti; strōjīt - strōji; škopīt - škōpi; svidočīt - svidōči; telīt - tēli se; teplīt - tēpli se; tovīt - tōvi; vodīt - vōdin; vozīt - vōzimo; žalōstīt - žalōsti, žalōstin se; ženīt se - žēni se*

blagoslōvīt - blagoslōvin; zgrōmīt - zgrōmimo [*gromiti]; *zaklōpīt - zaklōpimo; raskōlīt - raskōlimo; omējimo* (?) [*međiti]; *primōstīt - primōstimo; obnōvīt - obnōvi; oplemēnīt - oplemēnin; pripolōvīt - pripolōvi; pokōrīt - pokōrin; ponosī se* [infinitive] - *ponōsin se; raspōrīt - raspōri; razorīt - razōrim* 'destroy'; *upozōrīt - upozōri; sprijatēji se* [infinitive] - *sprijatēji se; osvōjīt - osvōji; zatvorīt - zatvōri; izvīšīt - izvīšimo*

long

brūsīt - brūsin; būčīt - būčin; būdīt - būdin; būšīt - būšin; cīdīt - cīdin [*čediti]; *cvilīt - cvilin; cūrīt - cūrin; dīlīt - dīlin* [*děliti]; *dīčīt - dīčin se; dīvīt - dīvin se; dūbīt - dūbin; družīt se - družin se; dūšīt - dūšimo; dūžīt - dūžin; gōsīt - gōsimo, ugōsimo* [*gasiti]; *glūmīt - glūmin; glūšīt - glūšin; gnīzdīt - gnīzdin se* [*gnēzditi]; *grōdīt - grōdin* [*graditi]; *gospodōrīt - gospodōrin, gospodōridu* [*gospodariti]; *grīšīt - grīšimo* [*grēšiti]; *gruōžīt - gruōžimo* [*groziti]; *gūlīt - gūlimo; gūšīt - gūšin; hlōdīt - hlōdimo* [*xolditi]; *hrōnīt - hrōnimo* 'hide' [*xorniti]; *fōlīt - fōlimo* [*xvaliti]; *hīnīt - hīnimo; jīdīt - se jīdi, se jīdimo* [*ēditi]; *objōsnīt - objōsnimo* [*jasniti]; *jōvīt - jōvimo* [*javiti]; *ujedīnīt - ujedīnimo; jīzdīt - jīzdimo; pīzdin - pīzdimo; zakjūčīt - zakjūčimo* [*ključiti]; *krōtīt - krōtimo* [*kratiti]; *se kuōsi* 'it goes against' *krīpīt - krīpi se* [*krēpiti]; *raskrīlīt - raskrīlimo; krīvit - krīvimo; prikrīzīt - prikrīžimo; ukrūtīt - ukrūtimo; krūžīt - krūžimo; okrīvōvi - okrīvōvimo* [*krvaviti]; *kūpīt - kūpimo; ličīt - ličin, ličimo* [*lēčiti]; *zalīni* [present], *zalīnī se* [l-participle]; *līpīt - līpimo* [*lēpiti]; *jūbīt - jūbimo, se zajūbi* [*ljubiti]; *odlūčīt - odlūčimo; jūšīt - jūšimo* [*ljuščiti]; *mīsīt - mīsimo* [*mēsiti]; *mesōrīt - mesōrimo* [*mesariti]; *mīrīt - mīrimo; mlōčīt - mlōčimo, mlōči se* [*mlačiti]; *mlōtīt - mlōti* [*moltiti]; *mūtīt - mūtimo; nōglīt, prinōglīt - nōgli, prinōgli* [*naglititi]; *snīžīt - snīži; oblōčīt se - oblōči se* 'cloud' [*obvolčiti]; *oblōčīt se - oblōčin se* 'dress'; *povlōčīt - povlōčimo* [*volčiti]; *sūzīt - sūzin* [*qziti]; *pōlīt - pōlin* [*paliti]; *opamīēti se* [infinitive] - *opamīēti* [*pameťiti]; *plīnīt - plīnin* [*pelniti]; *plōtīt - plōtin* [*poltiti]; *priplōvīt - priplōvin* [*plaviti]; *prōšīt - prōši* [*poršiti]; *prītīt - prīti, prītimo* [*pertiti]; *protīvīt se - se protīvi; pūstīt - pūstin; rōdīt - rōdi, rōdimo* [*raditi]; *rīdīt - rīdi, rīdi se, rīdimo* [*rēditi]; *rīšīt - rīšin* [*rēšiti]; *prirīēdīt - prirīēdin* [*rēditi]; *rūbīt - rūbi se; sōdīt - sōdi se, posōdin* [*saditi]; *slīdīt - slīdimo* [*slēditi]; *slūžīt - slūžin; srōmīt se - se srōmi* [*sormiti]; *sūdīt - sūdi, sūdimo; zastrōnīt - zastrōni* [*storniti]; *stūpīt - stūpi; ustrīlīt - ustrīli* [*strēliti]; *sūšīt - sūši se; svīētīt se - se svīēti* 'take revenge' [*svēťiti]; *svīētīt se - se svīēti* 'be blessed'; *svītlīt - svītli* [*svēťliti]; *štītīt - štīti, štītimo; šīrīt - šīri se, šīrimo se; trībīt - trībi* [*terbiti]; *tūpīt - tūpi (se); tūžīt - tūži, tūžimo se; trōvīt - trōvi, trōvimo* [*traviti];

trūbīt - trūbi; trūsīt - trūsi; trīznī se [infinitive] - *se trīzni* [*terzniti]; *zaustīt - zausti; razvōlīt - razvōli, privōli* [*valiti]; *vrīdīt - vrīdi, vrīdimo* [*verđiti]; *ozōkōnīt - ozōkōnimo* [*zakoniti]; *ozōri se* [infinitive] - *ozōri se* [*zariti]; *zīmīt - zīmi se, zazīmi, zazīmīlo je* ‘winter has come’; *ōn kūcu zlōti (pozlōti) - kūca se zlōti* [*zoltiti]; *žrībīt - žrībin, žrībi (ōn se ožrībi, ožrībīla se)* [*žerbiti]; *bīlīt - bīli* [transitive] [*bēliti]; *gūstīt - gūsti* [transitive]; *ožīvīt - ožīvin* [transitive]

a.p. C

short

borīt se - borīn se (izbōrin); brōjīt - brojīn (izbrōjin); dažjīt - dažji [*dʒdʒiti]; *gosīt se - gostīn se (ako te ūgōstin); hōdīt - hōdīmō (pohōdin, dohōdi); kosīt - kosīmō (pokōsiš); krōjīt - krojīmō (prikrōji); škropīt - škropīmō (poškrōpi); křšīt - křšīmō (pikřšimo); krstīt - krstīmō (pokřsti); krčīt - krčīmō (iskřčimo); ledīt - ledīmō - ledī (zalēdimo, zalēdīla); maglīt - maglī se* (cf. *maglā, A. maglū*); *ōrit - orī se; oštīrīmō, se oštīdū, oštī se; popīt se, zapōpīt se - se popī (zapōpi se)* ‘be ordained to priesthood’; *pōtīt - potī se, se potīmō (spōti); prōstīt - prostīmō, da prostīš, da prostītē (oprōstimo); rōjīt - roji se, oše se rojīdū; solīt - solī se (posōli); caklīt se - caklī se; znojīt - znojīmō se, se znoji*

shortened

čīnīt - čīnin (učīnin); gubīt - gubīmō (izgūbimo); učīt - učīmō - se učī (pouči)

long

brūjīt - brūjīn

a.p. B-C transitivity pairs

točīt - tōči [transitive], *vīnō se toči* [intransitive] (*istōči, pritōči*)

a.p. B/C vacillation

gojīt - gōjimo se, gojīn se (ugōjiš); dojīt - dojīn/dōjin (podōjin); krōtit - krōtimo/krotīmō (ukrōtimo); lomīt - lōmimo/lomīmō, se lōmi, lōmi (se pōlomi, slōmi, slōmilo); mnōžīt - mnōžimo/množīmō; nočīt - nōči/noči; pokōjīt - pokōjin (?), pokōji se (upōkoji/upokōji) ‘calm down’; pōjīt - pōjin (?)/pojīn, pojī se (pōjila); postīt - pōsti/postī, postīmō/pōstimo; prōsīt - prōsi/prosī, prōsimo/prosīmō; rosīt - rōsi/rosī, rōsimo/rosīmō (rosīla) ‘be dewy (for grass); pour on easily’; topīt - tōpi/topī [transitive], topī se [intransitive]; trošīt - trōšimo/trošīmō - trōši/troši, se trōši/troši; veselī se [infinitive] - se veselī, veselīdū, veselīmō, veselīš, veselīte/veselītē; zvonīt - zvonī (pozvōni) (zvonō zvōni/zvonī, zvonā zvonīdū)

a.p. A/C vacillation

kāsnit, *kasnīt* - *kāsnimo/kasnīmō*; *pāprit* - *pāprimo*, *paprī* (*zapāprimo/zapaprimō*)

a.p. A/B mixed paradigm

kīselit - *kisēlimo*

2.23 Pitve (on the island of Hvar) – South Čakavian

The dialect has a three accent system with pretonic lengths (Neo-Štokavian accents appear in code-switching) and no phonetic retractions. Old *ā > ā in non-final syllables (cf. *krāva*, *rāna*) but with some exceptions (cf. Kapović 2008). The sequence of pretonic length and neo-acute is generally not tolerated (cf. N.sg. *glōvā*, *trōvā*, *zvīzdā* and G.sg. *glavē*, *travē* but *zvīzdē*) but ~ is generally extremely stable. " lengthens to ^ when closed by a voiced consonant (cf. *obrōz* 'face', *sīr*, *bubrīg*, G.sg. *obrāza*, *sȳra*, *bubrīga*). Otherwise, " is pronounce "canonically". Old *ā yielded *ō* (cf. *jōje*) but after the shortening of posttonic lengths (cf. *īgran se*). Old *ō yielded closed *ō* (cf. *nōs*)⁵⁶. Typically for South Čakavian, *ī* sporadically changes to *ȳ* in non-final syllables (cf. *mȳsto*, *dīd* but G.sg. *dȳda*). The *jat* yields *ī*, *v* is a fricative, *h* is preserved, *ć* is [t] phonetically, syllabic *ɾ* > *ar* (cf. *bārdo*), *d* changes to *l* in front of a consonant (cf. *rīlko* 'rarely'), *-m* > *-n* in auslaut, *l* > *j* (cf. *jūt* 'angry'), *-l* > *-o* in auslaut (cf. *osvoji* 'conquered'). The infinitive ends in *-t*, the 3rd person plural of present tense in *-du* and the imperative in *-ō/te*.

a.p. A

bāvit se - *bāvin se*; *blātit* - *blāti*; *cērit se* - *se cērin*; *čīstit* - *čīstin*; *čūdit se* - *se čūdin*; *čāstit* - *čāstin*, *čāstidu*; *dīmit* - *dīmin (se)*; *gādit* - *gādin se* (no lengthening!); *gāzit* - *gāzin*; *glādit* - *glādin*; *tō mi gōdi* (an Italian loanword), *ugōd mi!*; *grābit* - *grābin*; *gārlit* - *gārlin* [*gǝrliti]; *īdrit* - *īdrin* [*ēdriti]; *kāznit* - *kāznin*, *kāznila* (a loanword from the standard language, dialectal: *kaštigat* - *kaštigāla*); *kītit* - *kīti*; *klādit se* - *se klādin*; *kūpit* - *kūpin*; *slīčit* - *slīčin*; *mīrit* - *mīrin* [*mēriti]; *mūčit* - *mūčin*; *mīslit* - *mīslin*; *mārvit* - *mārvi*, *ne mārvi!* [*mǝrviti]; *nūdit* - *nūdin*, *nūdimo*; *pāzit* - *pāzin* (no lengthening!, a loanword from the standard language?); *pīnit* - *se pīnin* [*pēniti]; *prātit* - *prātin*; *isprāv tō!*; *prīšin* 'I am in a hurry' (an Italian loanword); *prūžit* - *prūži* (cf. *prūžan*); *rānit* - *rāni*, *rānen*, *rānena*; *zarātyli* (sic!); *rūšit* - *srūšilo se*; *sītīt se* - *sītīn se*, *sītīla*; *sīlit* - *sīlin se*; *slīnit*

⁵⁶ Interestingly, Hraste (1935: 5-6) claims that *ā yields the diphthong *ao* in Pitve ("ali jedva primetno") and that *ō yields *uo*. However, he notes "ali se prvi deo nešto mañe primećuje nego u Starom Gradu i po tom taj diftong liči negde više negde mañe na veoma zatvoreno o".

- *slīnin; slāvit - slāvin; stāvit - stāvin; strāšit - strāšīn; sīrit - sīrin, se sīri, usīrila; zasītit - zasītila* (cf. *sīta san*); *ozdrāvit; tājit - tājin*⁵⁷; *trātit - trātīn* 'waste'; *vādit - vādin; vītrit - vītrin, izvītrilo* [*vētriti]; *vlāžit - vlāžin* (cf. *vlāga* - no lengthening!); *žālit - žālin*

bogātit se - jō san se bogāti; okūsit - okūsin, okūsila (cf. *kūšat - kūšan*); *korīstīt - korīstin; tumāčit - tumāčīn, tumāči, tumāčīdu, ne tumāč!*; *tovārit - tovārin*

a.p. B

short

blagoslovīt - blagoslōvi, blagoslōvila (sic!); *drobīt - drōbin; gonīt - gōnin; govorīt - govōrin; (po)klonīt se - klōni, klōn me se!*; *kosīt - kōsin, kōsi, kōsidu; (po)škropīt - škropīn, škropīdu; (u)krotīt - ukrōti, ukrotī* (l-part.) (? , perhaps not an original dialectal word); *lomīt - lōmin; (u)lovīt - lōvin, ulōvin; ložit - lōžin; močit - mōčīn; molīt - mōlin; množit - mnōžīn; nosīt - nōsin; oštrīt - oštrin; plovīt - plōvin, plōvidu; prosīt - prōsin; ronīt - rōnin; skočit - skōči, je skoči; solīt - sōlin, sōli, sōlimo, sōlidu; svidočīt - svidōči, posvidōčīn, posvidōči; teplīt - tēplin; tišīt - tišīn* [*tēšiti]; *točit - tōčīn, (se) tōči; tovīt - tōvin; vodīt - vōdin, izvōdiš; vozīt - vōzin, vōz!*; *ženīt - se žēnin*

dogodīt, pogodīt - dogōdi; zaklopīt - zaklōpin (cf. *zaklōpa se, poklōpa se*); *raskolīt - raskōlin; prilagodīt - prilagōdi, prilagodīla; ponovīt - ponōvimo* (cf. *ponōvjan*); *pokorīt - pokōrin* (?); *pripolovīt - pripolōvin; upozorīt - upozōrin; ustanovīt - ustanōvin; osvojit - osvōjin, je osvojī; zatvorīt - zatvōrin* (cf. *zatvōran*)

long

bīlīt - bīlin, bīlimo, obīlīli (sic!) *kūcu* [*bēliti]; *brōnīt - brōnin, brōnidu* [*borniti]; *brūsīt - brūsīn, brūsīdu; būdīt - būdin; būšīt - būšīn; cīdīt - cīdin* [*cēditi]; *cīnīt - cīnin* [*cēniti]; *cvilīt - cvilin; dōvīt - dōvin* [*daviti]; *dilīt - dīlin* [*dēliti]; *dīčīt - dīčīn; dīvīt - dīvin; dūbīt - dūbin; družīt se - družīn se; dūšīt - dūšīn se; gōšīt - gōsin* [*gasiti]; *glūmīt - glūmin, ne glūm!*; *glūšīt - glūšīn, ne glūš!*; *gūšīt - gūšīn; gnīzdīt se - gnīzdīn, ne gnīs se!, ne gnīste se!* [*gnēzditi]; *grōdīt - grōdīn* [*gorditi]; *gospodōrīt - gospodōrin, gospodōrīla* [*gospodariti]; *zavōršīt* 'finish'; *grīšīt - grīšīn* (cf. *grīh, grīši*) [*grēšiti]; *gūlīt - gūlin; hlōdīt - hlōdin, ohlōl tō!* [*xolditi]; *hrōnīt - hrōnin* 'dōjen žerāt' [*xorniti]; *hūlīt - hūli, ōn se uhūli* (l-part.) 'he farted', *ne*

⁵⁷ The unexpected A.p. A here is not clear. It could be a loanword from the standard language loaned perhaps through written media, thus *tajiti* interpreted as *tājiti*. If Štokavian (standard) *tājiti* was loaned through spoken language it would probably be adapted as **tōjīt. However, the shortness could be due to the old shortening in A.p. c. In that case, A.p. A would be some kind of innovation in the dialect itself (e.g. *tajīt - *tajīm > *tajīt - *tājīm > *tājīt - *tājīm > *tājīt - tājim*).

hull!; *fōlīt* - *fōlin* [*xvaliti]; *īdīt* - *īdin*, *naīdȳli* (cf. *īdan*, *īdna*) [*ēditi]; *jōvīt* - *se jōvin*, *javīju/jōvidu* (3pl.), *jōvȳli* [*aviti]; *ujedīnīt* - *ujedīnin*; *jūrīt* - *jūrin*; *kōdīt* - *kōdin* [*kaditi]; *krōtīt* - *krōtin*, *krōtidu* [*kortiti]; *krīpīt* - *krīpin*, *ukrīpī* (l-part.) 'got fat', *pokrīpīli*; *krīvīt* - *krīvin*, *ne krīv me!*; *prikrīžīla*, *prikrīž!*; *je iskarvōri* 'bled out' (cf. *tečē mu kōr* 'he is bleeding'); *kūpīt* - *kūpin* (cf. *kupūjen*); *līčīt* - *līčin* [*lēčiti]; *ulīnīt se* - *se ulīnin* [*lēniti]; *līpīt se* - *līpin* [*lēpiti]; *jūbīt* - *jūbin* [*ljubiti]; *mōstīn*, *omōstīla san* [*mastiti]; *mīsīt* - *mīsin* [*mēsiti]; *mesōri* (?) [*mesariti]; *(po)mīrīt se* - *se mīrin*; *mlōtīt* - *mlōtin* [*moltiti]; *mūtīt* - *mūtin*; *oblōči se*, *naoblōčilo se* 'cloud'; *sūzīt* - *sūzin* [*qziti]; *pōlīt* - *pōlin* [*paliti]; *opamētīt* - *opamētīn*, *opamētīla*; *plōtīt* - *plōtin* (cf. *plōčan*) [*platiti]; *pobīdin* [*pobēditi]; *zarēdi se je za popā* 'he was ordained'; *prōšīn*, *prōši*, *ne prōš!* [*poršiti]; *plīvi*, *oplīvi* (l-part.) [*pelviti]; *zapričīt* - *zapriči* [*perčiti]; *prītīt* - *prītīn* [*pertiti]; *protīvīt* - *protīvīn*, *protīvi*; *pūstīt* - *pūsti*, *pūst!* (cf. *pūščan*); *prorīdīt* [*rēditi]; *sōdīt* - *sōdin* [*saditi]; *slūžīt* - *slūžīn*; *slōdīt* - *slōdin* [*solditi]; *srōmīt* - *srōmin* [*sormiti]; *sūdīt* - *sūdin*; *stūpīt* - *stūpin*; *sūšīt* - *sūšīn*; *osvētīt*; *svītīt* - *svītīn* [*svētīliti]; *šīrīt* - *šīrin*; *trībīt* - *trībīn* [*terbiti]; *tūpīt* - *tūpin*, *se tūpi* (cf. *tūp*); *tūžīt* - *tūžīn*; *trūbīt* - *trūbīn*; *trūsīt* - *trūsīn*; *trūdīn se*; *trīznīt se* - *se trīznīn* [*terzniti]; *navōlīt* [*valiti]; *vrīdīt* - *vrīdin* [*verditi]; *vrōtīt* - *vrōtin* (cf. *vrōčan*)⁵⁸ [*vortiti]; *zažūt kapūlu!* 'braise the onion'

a.p. C

short

borīt se - *se borīn*, *borīmō*, *borītē*, *borīdū*; *brojīt* - *brojīn*, *brojīdū*, *na/izbrojīn*, *nabrojīla*, *iz/nabrōj!*; *dojīt* - *dojīn*, *dojīdū*; *dvojīt* - *dvojīn*; *dvorīt* - *dvorī*, *dvorȳla* (cf. *dvōr*, *dvōrā*, *na dvōrū*); *(po/za)gnojīt* - *gnojīn*, *zagnojī* (cf. *gñōj*); *gojīt* - *gojīn*, *uzgojīn*; *ogolīt* - *ogolīn*, *ogolȳla*; *ugostīt* - *gostīn*, *ugōstīn* (sic!), *ugostīla*; *(s)krojīt* - *krojīn*, *skrojīn*, *krojīla*; *karstīt* - *karstī*, *prikarstīn*, *prikarstīli* [*kr̥stīti]; *kasnīt* - *kasnīn*, *kasnīdū*, *zakasnīn*, *zakasnīmō*; *se zaledī*, *vodā se zaledīla*; *morīt*, *umorīt* - *morīdū*, *umōrin* (sic!), *umorīli*; *maglīt se* - *maglī se*, *zamazglī*; *suzī* [*sl̥ziti]; *postīt* - *postīn*; *potīt se* - *se potīn*, *potī*, *ispotī*; *sprijatejīt se* - *se sprijatejī* 'make friends'; *da prostīš*, *oprostī*; *rodīt* - *rodīn*, *rodī* (cf. *rōjan*); *rosīt* - *rosī* 'drizzle'; *selīt se* - *selīn* (*dosēlin* or *doselīn*?); *sramotīt* - *sramotīn*, *osramotīn*; *caklīt se* - *caklīn*, *caklī se* [*st̥kliti]; *snīt* - *snīn*, *snīlo mi se*, *snīla san*; *veselīt se* - *se veselīn*; *zvonīn*, *pozvonīn*

shortened

činīt - *činīn*, *učiniš*; *gubīt* - *gubīn*, *izgubīn*; *učīt* - *učīn*, *učīš*, *nočīš* < **naučīš* (contraction -*au-* > -*o-*), *uč!*, *ušte!* < **učte!*

⁵⁸ Cf. Štokavian *vrāčām*.

inconclusive

hodīt - hodȳla (suppletive present: *grĕn*); *ĭskri se; napōj ga!* ‘dōj mu lokāt’;
uškōpyli (sic!) *su ga* (3x); *telīt - otĕlyla* (sic!); *topīt - se otopī u vodi*

2.24 Smokvica (on the island of Korčula) – South Čakavian (štokavized)

Accentuation-wise, Smokvica is a heavily štokavized Čakavian dialect of Korčula and is in this way similar to the dialect of the town of Korčula. The dialect has a four accent Neo-Štokavian system with posttonic length. There is no neo-acute, but the older place of the accent is occasionally (though rarely) preserved, cf. *borīmo, izmřvilo, naũdīt*. Posttonic length is sometimes shortened (especially after *Ń*), which is clearly seen in the *i*-verb material, cf. also *gōlũb, kōrāk, ōblāk*, G.sg. *rĭbĕ, dōbār* but G.pl. *krāva* etc. *Ń* is always very short, “canonical”.

The dialect preserves *h*, *v* is a fricative, **ĕ* always yields *i*, the *č* and *ć* distinction is partially preserved (*ć* being Čakavian [tʃ]) but mixing occurs, cf. *ćinī/ćinī, kōlāć, nōćit* beside *nōćī*, thus the tendency to unite *č* and *ć* exists (cf. the town of Korčula where there is only *ć* [tʃ]), *ǀ > j*, final *-m > -n*, 3rd person plural of the present tense ends in *-du*, *l*-participle ends in *-ī < *-ilŃ* (the length there is always preserved).

a.p. A

bāvīt - bāvī se; blātīt - blātī; brātīt se - brātī; čīstīt - čīstī; čūdit se - čūdī; dĕsīt - dĕsī se; đīmīt - đīmī se; gādīt - gādī se (ćinī gād); *gāzīt - gāzī, gāzīmo; glādīt - glādī, glādīmo; grābīt - grābīmo, grābī je; grĕbīt - grĕbī, zgĕbī se je; grĕlīt - grĕlī; jĕdrīt - jĕdrī je; kītīt - kītī je; kŭpīt - kŭpī, kŭpī se je; lĭćīt - lĭćī, lĭćī je; lŭpīt - lŭpī, lŭpī je; mĭrīt, mĭrĭće - mĭrī je, izmĭrī je* [**mĕrīti*]; *mŭćīt - mŭćī me, mŭćī ga je; mĭslīt - mĭslī san/je; mřvīt - mřvī se, izmřvilo se; nŭdīt - nŭdī, nŭdīmo, nŭdī je; naũdīt - naũdī; pāzīt - pāzī, pāzī san; pĭnīt - pĭnī se, pĭnī je* ‘bija je ljūt’, *pĭnilo se* [**pĕnīti*]; (*s*)*plāšīt - (s)plāšī se je, ũplāšī se je* (present tense does not exist); *plāzīt - plāzī, plāzī je; prātīt - prātī me, prātī ga je; prāvīt - prāvi, prāvī je; prŭžīt - prŭžī, prŭžīš, prŭžī!*; *pŭšīt - pŭšīn; pāpřīt - se zapāpři, zāpāpři je; přītīt - nāpřī je/se je/san se/se; rānīt* ‘wound’ - *rānī, rānī ga je, rānī se* (*l*-part.); *rŭšīt - rŭšī, rŭšīmo, (s)rŭšī je; sītīt se - sītīn, sītīš, sītī* [**sĕtīti*]; *sĭlīt - sĭlī ga je; slāvīt - slāvi, slāvī je; stāvīt, stāvīcĕmo - stāvī je/san; stŭpīt* (?) ‘step on’; *strāšīt - strāšī se, strāšī ga je/san se; cākłīt - cākłī se, cākłī se je* (but: *cākłilo se*); *tjĕšīt - tjĕšī* (with *-je- < *-ĕ-!*); *trāpīt - ũtrāpī je* ‘foist’; *třsīt - třsī se, třsī se je; vādīt - vādīmo, vādī je/san; vřšīt - vřšīn, vřšī se žĭto; žālīt - žālīmo, žālī san* (cf. *žālostān san, žālosni smo*);

bōgatīt - bōgātī se; ũlazīt - ũlazīmo; ōmejīt - se ōmejī; ōzdravit; tōvarīt - tōvarī je; ōbisīt [**vĕsītī*]; *prōvitřīt* [**vĕtrītī*]

a.p. B**short**

kàznit - kàzni, kàznī je (cf. *u kàzni je* 'he is punished'); *klònit se, uklònit se - ùklonī, uklònī se je*; *mòlit - mòlīmo, mòlī je*; *nòsit, nòsiće - nòsi, nòsīmo, nòsi je/san*; *ròdit - ròdi, ròdī se je*; *skòčit - skòči, skòči je*; *vòzit - vòzīn, vòzī, vòzīmo*; *žènit se - žènīn se, žènī se, žènīmo, ožènī se je*

blagoslòvit - blagoslòvīmo; *odušèvit - odušèvi, odušèvī se je*; *ogòlit - ogòlī je*; *zgotòvit - zgotòvīmo*; *zaklòpit - zàklopī, zaklòpī je*; *poškropīt - pòškropī*; *pripolòvit, pripolòvīcemo - pripòlovīmo, pripolòvī je*; *sprijatèjit se - sprijàtejīmo*; *za/otklòpit - zàklopīn, za/otklòpī je/san*

long

blúdit - blúdi; *bránit - brāni*; *brúsit - brúsīmo, brúsī (l-part.)*; *búdit - búdi se je*; *búšit - búši*; *udájit - údājīmo, udájī se je* [*dalīti]; *dāvi, dāvī, udāvī se je*; *djélit - díli* [*dèlīti]; *díčit - díči (l-part.)*; *dívī - dívī se*; *drážit - dráži (l-part.)*; *drúžit se - drúži* (cf. *drúzba* 'friends'); *dúšit - dúši se je, podúši se je*; *dúžit - dúži je*; *gásit - gāsīmo, gásī (l-part.)*; *gnávit - gnāvi*; *grádit - grádī (l-part.)*; *gríšit - gríšīmo, (z)gríšī je* [*grěšīti]; *gúlit - gúli*; *hládit - hlādi*; *hránit - hrānī se je*; *fálit, pofálit - fāli se, pofāli se je* [*xvalīti]; *jáviće se - jāvi, jāvī se je*; *zakjúčit - zàkjúči, zakjúči je* [*klučīti]; *krípī - krípīmo se, (p)okrípī se je, krípī se je* [*krěpīti]; *krívī - krívī se, krívī se je*; *krúžit - krúži*; *kúpit - kúpi, kúpī je, kúpī san*; *ukvásilo se*; *líčit - líči, líči je, izlíči je* [*lěčīti]; *ulínit se - ulīni, ulīnī se je* [*lěnīti]; *lípī - lípi (se), lípī se je* [*lěpīti]; *júbit - jūbi me, jūbidu se, jūbili su se* [*lūbīti]; *jútī - jútī* [*lutīti]; *jídīt - jīdi se, jīdī se (l-part.)* [*ědīti]; *mísīt - mīsi, mīsī je* [*měsīti]; *mírīt - mīrin se, se mīrimo, mīridu, mīrīli su se*; *smráčilo se*; *mútīt - mūtī, (za)mūtī je, zamútīla je*; *obláčīt - oblāčīn se*; *obláčīt - naobláčīlo se*; *súzīt - súzī je* [*qzīti]; *pálit - pālin, pāli je, (za)pālīlo se*; *plátīt - plāti, plátī je*; *prítīt - prīti, prítī je* [*pertīti]; *pústīt - pústi me!* (more often: *mòlāj me!*); *rádit - rādī* (more often: *fatīgat*); *ríšīt - ako me rīši tēga, rīši me je* [*rěšīti]; *sádit - sādi, sādīmo, sādī je*; *srámit - srāmi se, srāmī se, srāmi se!*; *súdit - sūdi, súdī je*; *súšīt - sūši se*; *štítīt - štīti ga*; *šírīt - šīri se, rašīrī se je*; *tríbit - trībi se, trībī je* [*terbīti]; *túžit - tūži, tūži me je, tūžila me*; *trážit - trāži, tráži ga je*; *trúbit - trūbi, trúbī je*; *trúdit se - trūdīn se, trūdī se, trūdī se je* (cf. *trūdān san/je* 'I am/he is tired'); *trízīt se - trízīn, òtrízīn* [*terznīti]; *proválit - pròvālu, provālī je, razvālī je*; *vrídīt - vrīdi, vrīdī je, vrídīlo* [*verdīti]; *vrátīt - vrātīn, vrátī se je*; *znáčīt - znāči*; *žúrit se - žūrin se*

a.p. C**short**

bòrit se - borī se, borīmo; *bròdit - brodi*; *bròjit - bròjī, bròjīmo/brojīmo*; *břstīt - brstī*; *čřpit - čřpī*; *čàstīt - čàstī, čàstī je, počàstī je*; *dòjit - dòjī*; *dròbit - dròbī*,

*dròbìmo; glòbit - globì; gnòjit - gnòjì; gòjit - gòjì, gòjìmo; gònit - gònì, gònìmo; kòsit - kòsì, kòsìmo, kòsì je; kròjit - kròjì, kròjìmo; křstít - křstì se, křstì se je; kàsnit, kàsniću - kàsniñ, kàsni je; lòmít - lòmì, lòmì je, slòmì je; lòžit, nalòžit - lòžì se, lòžìmo, nalòžì je ògāñ; mòčít - mòčì se, (u/s)mòčì je, smòčìlo se; mòrit - mòrì me tò, mòrìlo me; mřsit - mřsì mi se, zamřsìlo se; mnòžit - mnòžì, màglit - màglì se; nòčít - nòčì, nòčì je (sic!) [*nokřtìti]; plòvì (more often: navigat); (na)pòjit - pòjì, pòjìdu se; pòstít - pòstì; pòtít se - pòtì se, opòtì san se; pròsit - pròsì, pròsìmo, pròsì je (rarely used?); pròstít - da pròstìš, da pròstìte, bòže mi pròstì!; rònít - rònìñ, rònìmo, rònì je; ròsít - ròsì 'kad ùsitno grê dàš'; sèlit - sèlì, sèlìmo; sòlit - sòlì, sòlìmo, sòlì san; sramòtít se - sramòtì se, sramòtì se je; tèplit - tèplì se, stèplì je, stèplìlo; tòpit - tòpì se; tòvit - tòvì; tròšít - tròšì, tròšìmo, (po)tròšì je; vesèlit - vesèlì se, vesèlìmo se; znòjit - znòjì se, znòjì san se; zvònit - zvònì*

shortened

čínít - činìñ, činìš, činì/činì (sic!), činìmo/činìmo, činìte, učinì je; gùbit - gùbìmo, gùbì je, gùbì se je; ùčít - ùčì, ùčìmo, ùčì je/san

long

*cúrit - cúrì; glúmit - glúmì; gnízdit - gnízdi [*gnězditi]; svítlit - svítlì, svítlìmo [*světliti]*

a.p. B-C transitivity pairs

tòčít - tòčìñ, tòčì, víno se tòčì, natòčì san

mixed

*dvòrit - dvòrì se (2x), dodvòrì se je; gòdit - gòdi (an Italian loanword); govòrit - govòrì je; sùzít (3x) - sùzì mi òko [*slěziti]*

inconclusive

hòdit (suppletive present grēn, grē and future cú pòć, pòće); kòtit - kòtì se je, okòtì se je, okòtila (no present tense attested); raskrìlì se je; okrvávit - okrvávi se je; smòkrit - smòkrì je, smòkrìlo se; òštrít - òštrì je, naòštrì san; osmòlì san se 'špòrkā san se sa smòlōn'; zasládì san se 'nešto san slätko pòija'; uškòpit, uškòpiće ga - uškòpì se je, uškòpìli; snìt - snì san (rarely); šálit se - šálì san se; túpit - istúpì je nòž, túpì se je, istúpì se

2.25 Trpanj (on Pelješac peninsula) – South Čakavian (štokavized)

The dialect of Trpanj is a štokavized Čakavian dialect. It has a five accent system with no unaccented lengths (the stress has been retracted to pretonic long vowels and posttonic long vowels shortened), cf. *slàma, zlàto, nòga, rúka, sùša* and *gòlub, kòrak, òblak*. " is almost always retracted, save for the rare examples like *vesèli se*. Long accents preserved their old positions, cf. *navigàje* 'sails',

koláč, umrít.” is pronounced generally short but not as “sharp” as in Štokavian. \sim changes facultatively to $\grave{}$, especially in final syllable, cf. G.sg. *nogē*, but *vodē, sestrē*. There is only one *č*, *v* is a fricative, *h* is preserved, $l > j$ (not consistent), final *-m > -n*, $*\ddot{e} > i$, long \bar{a} is pronounced “normally” (not \bar{a} as in some other parts of Pelješac or in the nearby town of Korčula) and *e* is usually pronounced open *-e*, cf. *pěleški, sělo, nē znan*.

NOTE: Milas 1891 records the posttonic length for Trpanj and a Dubrovnik type of *kanovački naglasak* like *žéna*. However, he does not (by mistake) distinguish the neoacute and the Neo-Štokavian rising accent (cf. Milas's *rukē*).

a.p. A

bāvit se - bāvimo se; blātit - blātimo; brātimimo se; cērit - cērīmo; čīstī - čīstīmo; čūdīt se - čūdīmo se; dīmit se - dīmi se; gādīt - gādi se, gādīmo se; gāzīt - gāzīmo; glādīt - glādīmo; gōdīt - tō mi gōdi (an Italian loanword, rare); *grābit - grābīmo; gr̄bit - gr̄bīmo; gr̄lit - gr̄līmo; kāznīt - kāznīmo; kītīt - kītīmo; (s)kūpīt - kūpīmo; kvāsīt - kvāsī, kvāsīmo; křčīt - křčīmo šūmu* (also *krčīmo?*); *kāsīt - kāsīmo; slīčīt - slīčīmo; lūpīt - lūpīmo* (cf. *lūpāmo*); *mjērit - mjērīmo* (with *-je-!*); *mūčīt - mūčīmo; mīslīt - mīslīmo; mřvīt - mřvīmo; nūdīt - nūdīmo; pāzīt - pāzīmo; pjēnīt - pjēnīmo* (with *-je-!*); *plāšīt - plāšīmo; plāzīt - plāzīmo; prātīt - prātīmo; prāvīt - prāvīmo; prūžīt - prūži* (cf. *prūžāmo*); *pūšīt - pūšīmo; pāpřīt - pāpřīmo; přtīt - přtīmo; rānīt - rānīmo; rūšīt - rūši se, rūšīmo; sītīt - sītīmo* (cf. *sīčāmo*) [$*\ddot{s}\ddot{e}tīt$]; *sīlīt - sīlīmo se; slāvīt - slāvīmo; stāvīt - stāvīmo; strāšīt - strāšīmo; sīrīt - sīrīmo; šālīt se - šālīmo se; tješīt - tješīmo* (with *-je-!*); *tlāčīt - tlāčīmo; trāpīt - trāpīmo; tržīt - tržīmo; vādīt - vādīmo; vřrīt se - vřrīmo se* [$*\ddot{v}\ddot{e}rīt$]; *vlāžīt - vlāžīmo; žālīt - žālīmo*

bogatīt - bogatīmo; ūhitīt - ūhitīmo; kōristīt - kōristīmo; ūlazīt - ūlazīmo; pōnosīt se - pōnosīmo se; zāratīt - zāratīmo; ōzdravit - ōzdravīmo; tōvarīt - tōvarīmo; ozākonīt - ozākonīmo

a.p. B

short

mōliš, mōlite; blagoslōvit - blagoslovīmo; bōrīt se - bōrīmo se; čāstīt - čāstīmo; drōbit - drōbīmo; odušēvit - odušēvi; dvōrīt - dvōrīmo; glōbit - glōbi, glōbīmo; gōnīt - gōni; gōstīt - gōstīmo; govōrīt - govōrīmo; jēdrīt - jēdrīmo; klōnīt se - klōnīmo se; kōsīt - kōsīmo; kōtīt - kōti se, kōte; krōjīt - krōji, krōjīmo; škrōpīt - škrōpīmo; krōtīt - krōtīmo; lōmīt - lōmi, lōmīmo; lōvit - lōvi, lōvīmo, lōvīte; lōžīt - lōži, lōžīmo; mōčīt - mōči, mōčīmo; mōlit - mōli, mōlīmo; mōrīt - mōrīmo; mřsīt - mřsīmo; mnōžīt - mnōžīmo; nōčīt - nōči se [$*\ddot{n}\ddot{o}ktīt$]; *nōsīt - nōsīmo; ōrīt se - ōri se; pōstīt - pōsti, pōstīmo* (also *postīmo?*); *prōsīt - prōsi, prōsīmo; prōstīt - prōstīmo, prōstīte, ōprostīmo; rōdīt - rōdi, rōdīmo; rōjīt - rōji se; rōnīt - rōni,*

rònimo; ròsit - ròsi se; sèlit se - sèli se, sèlimo se; skòcit - skòčimo (cf. skāčemo); sòlit - sòli, sòlimo; sramòtit - sramotimo; cāklimo se; škòpit - škòpi, škòpimo; tèlit se - tèli se; tòcit - tòči, tòčimo; tòpit - tòpi, tòpimo; tòvit - tòvi, tòvimo; tròšit - tròši, tròšimo; tršit - tršimo; vesèlit se - vesèli se, vesèlimo se; vòzit - vòzi, vòzimo; žalòstit - žalostimo; žènit se - žènimmo se; studènit - stùdeni

zgròmit - zgròmimo; zaklòpit - zàklopimo; raskòlit - ràskolimo; òkusit - òkusimo; smòkrit - smòkri, smòkrimo; pokòrit - pòkoru (cf. pokorāvamo); pripolòvit - pripòlovimo; raspòrit - ràsporimo; upozòrit - upòzore (not -u!?) (cf. upozorāvamo); sprijatèjit se - sprijatejimo; ustanòvit - ustanovimo; osvòjit - òsvojimo; zatvòrit - zàtvorimo (cf. zatvāramo); izvřšit - izvřšimo

long

*bránit - brānimo; brúsit - brūsimo; búdit - būdimo; búšit - būšimo; cídit - cīdimo [*cēditi]; cjénit - cjēnimo (with -je-!); cjépit - cjēpimo (with -je-!); cvílit - cvílimo; cúrit - cūri; dávit - dávimo; dílit - dílimo [*dēliti]; dívít - dívimo; drážit - drážimo; dúbit - dūbimo; drúžit - drūžimo; dúrit - dūrimo; dúšit - dūšimo; gájit - gāji se, gājimo se; gásit - gāsimo; glúmit - glūmimo; glúšit - glūši se, glūšimo; gñízdit se - gñízde; gñávit - gñávi, gñávimo; glásit - glási/glási, glāsimo; grádit - grādimo; gospodárit - gospodārimo; gríšit - gríšimo [*grēšiti]; gúlit - gūlimo; hládit - hlādimo; hrábrit - hrābrimo; hránit - hrānimo; fálit - fālimo [*xvaliti]; jávit - jāvimo; júrit - jūrimo; kádit - kādimo; zaklúčit - zaklūčimo; klátit se - klāti se, klátimo se; krátit - krátimo; krípít - krīpi [*krēpiti]; krásit - krāsimo; krívít - krívimo; prekrížit - prekrížimo (should be with pri-); krúžit - krūžimo; okrvávit - okrvávimo; kúdit - kūdimo; kúpit - kúpimo (cf. kùpujemo); líčit - líčimo [*lēčiti]; ulínili smo se [*lēniti]; lípit - lípimo [*lēpiti]; júbit - jūbimo [*ljubiti]; jídít - jīdimo [*ēditi]; lúčit - lūčimo se; mámit - māmimo; márit - ne mārín, mārimo; mástit - māsimo; mísit - mīsimo [*mēsiti]; mírit - mīrimo; mlátit - mlātin, mlātimo; mútit - mūtimo; obláčit - oblāči se 'cloud'; obláčit - oblāčimo 'dress'; súzit - sūzi se, sūzimo [*qziti]; sūzi [*slbziti]; pálit - pālimo; opamétit - opamēti, opamētimo; plátit - plātimo (cf. plāčamo); priplávit - priplāvi se; prášit - prāši se, prāšimo; prítit - prīti, prītimo [*pertiti]; protivít - protivimo; pústit - pūstimo; rádit - rādimo; rídít - rīdimo [*rēditi]; ríšit - ríšimo [*rēšiti]; sádit - sādimo; slídít - slīdimo [*slēditi]; sládit - slādimo; srámit se - srāmimo se; súdit - sūdimo; stúpít - stūpimo; súšit - sūšimo; svítlit - svítli [*svētłiti]; štítit - štīti se; šírit - širi se; tríbit - trībi se, trībimo se [*terbiti]; téžit - težimo; túpit - tūpi, tūpimo; túžit - tūžimo; trážit - trážimo; trúbit - trūbimo; trúdit se - trūdimo se; tríznit - tríznilo [*terzniti]; vábit - vābimo; proválit - provālimo; várit - vārimo; vážit - vāži; vrídít - vrīdi, vrīdimo [*verđiti]; povláčit - povlāčimo; vrátit - vrātin, vrātimo, vrātite; ozárit se - ozārimo se; znáčit - znāči, znāčimo; žárit - žārimo; obílit zíd [*bēliti]; žútít kápulu - žūtín 'braise the onion'; ožívít - ožívimo*

a.p. C**short**

b̀r̀j̀it - *broj̀imo*; *dv̀j̀it* - *dvoj̀imo*; *g̀j̀it* - *goj̀imo*; *k̀r̀st̀it* - *krst̀i*, *krst̀imo*; *t̀opl̀it* - *topl̀i se*; *zǹj̀it* - *znoj̀i*, *znoj̀imo*; *zv̀ǹit* - *zvoǹi*, *zvoǹimo*, *zvoǹu*

shortened

č̀iǹit - *čiǹin*, *čiǹiš*, *čiǹi*, *čiǹimo*, *čiǹite* (sic!); *č̀r̀p̀it* - *crp̀imo*; *g̀ub̀it* - *gub̀i*, *gub̀imo*; *ùč̀it* - *uč̀i*, *uč̀imo*

a.p. B-C transitivity pairs

òš̀tr̀it - *òš̀trin* (trans.), *òš̀tr̀i se* (intrans.)

mixed

k̀is̀el̀it - *k̀isel̀imo*⁵⁹

inconclusive

h̀òd̀it (suppletive present *ìdemo*); *um̀r̀tv̀it*; *p̀òp̀it se* - *p̀òp̀io se* (no present)

vacillation B/C

b̀r̀st̀it - *b̀rst̀imo*/*brst̀imo*; *d̀j̀it* - *d̀ji* (*se*), *d̀j̀imo*/*doj̀imo*; *g̀ǹj̀it* - *gǹj̀imo*/*g̀noj̀imo*; *k̀r̀š̀it* - *k̀r̀š̀imo*/*krš̀imo*; *l̀èd̀it* - *l̀èd̀i*/*led̀i*, *l̀èd̀imo*; *pl̀òv̀it* - *pl̀òv̀i*/*plov̀i*, *pl̀òv̀imo*/*plov̀imo*, *pl̀òv̀ite*/*plov̀ite* (sic!), *plov̀u*

2.26 Matulji (near Rijeka) – North Čakavian⁶⁰

This dialect has a three accent system with pre- and posttonic length and no phonetic retractions. The neo-acute is stable but changes regularly to $\hat{\text{}}$ in the last syllable (cf. G.pl. *ž̀èn*, *tr̀âv*, *k̀ôz*, verbs *peč̀en*, *živ̀in*). Pretonic lengths are not limited to direct pretonic syllable but occur in second pretonic syllable as well (cf. *sk̀ubem̀ö* ‘pull out’, *sm̀ejem̀ö*, *s̀eč̀em̀ö*, *kr̀adet̀e*, *p̀ijem̀ö*) and two pretonic lengths are also possible (cf. *živ̀im̀ö*, *h̀it̀im̀ö*, *ž̀ut̀im̀ö*). Posttonic lengths are often shortened in fast speech (which is clearly seen in the verb list) but are always there in the “deep structure”, cf. *b̀uš̀āmo* ‘kiss’, *d̀èlamo*/*d̀èlāmo*, *s̀ānāmo*, I.sg. *z gr̀ād̀un*, D.pl. *vojǹik̀ōn*, L.pl. *gr̀ād̀eh*, I.pl. *gr̀ād̀i*, *sp̀èkāl*. The neo-circumflex occurs only in the *-uj*-presents (cf. *hič̀ujemo*). * $\check{\text{e}}$ yields $\check{\text{e}}$, ν is a fricative, h is preserved, $\check{\text{c}}$ and $\acute{\text{c}}$ [tʃ] are distinguished, $l > j$, * $d > j$.

⁵⁹ The accent in the infinitive is new while the present tense preserves the old A.p. *a* accent.

⁶⁰ I would like to thank my informant Zlätko Zmajila.

a.p. A

*bāvit se - bāvīn se, bāvīš se, bāvī se, bāvīmo/bāvīmo se, bāvīte, bāvē se; blätit se - blätimo; čüdit se - čüdīmo se, čüdīl, čüdila, čüdilo; čīstī - čīstīmo, čīstīl, čīstila, čīstilo, čīstīli, čīstīle, čīstīla (N.pl.); glädit - glädīmo, glädīl, glädila; gödit - gödi, gödīmo se (an Italian loanword); grābit - grābīmo, grābīl, grābila; göbit - göbi 'hump' (an Italian loanword); grđit - grđi, grđīl, grđela (sic!); grļit se - grļīmo se; hītit - hīti, hītil, hītila, hīti! (cf. hičūjemo); kitit - kitīmo, kitīl, kitila; křčit - křčīmo; mērit - mērimo, mēril, odmēril [*mēriti]; mücit - müčīmo; mīšlet (a secondary ě-verb?)⁶¹ - mīšlimo, mīšlēl, mīšlela; mřvit - mřvīmo, mřvīl, mřvila; pāzit - pāzīmo, pāzīl; pēnit se - pēnīmo [*pēniti]; strāšit - strāši, strāšīmo, (pre)strāšīl; plāzit - plāzīmo, plāzīl, plāzila; prätit - prätīmo, prätīl, prätīla; posprāvit (cf. posprāvjät) 'tidy up'; pūšit - pūšīmo, pūšīl, pūšila; přtit - přtīmo, opřtīl, opřtīla 'climb'; zarätit se - se zarätī (cf. zaračūjemo se); rüšit - rüšīmo; zasītī - zasītīmo se; stāvī - stāvī (cf. stāvjamō); tläčit - tläčīmo; tālit - tālīn, lēd se tāli; vädit - vädīmo 'learn'; vädit - vädīl, vädila 'bail'; vētrit - vētrīmo, provētrī, izvētrī (cf. provetrūjemo); vlāžit - vlāzīmo; žälit se - žälīmo se*

bogätit se - bogätīmo se; bratīmit - bratīmīmo; gotđvit - gotđvīmo, zgotđvīl; tumäčit - tumäčī (2x)

debēlit - debēlimo (cf. debēl, debēla, debēlo)⁶²; glöbit - glöbīmo, glöbe; zaklöpī - zaklöpī, zaklöpīlo; lēdit (2x) - se lēdi; mäglit se - mäglī se (cf. mäglā); (pre)nöcīt - nöcīmo, nöcīl, prenöcīl, nöcīla; obnövīt, ponövīt - obnövī (cf. obnovjūjemo) (perhaps not a native word); plövit - plövīmo, plövīl, öplovīl, plövīla; pöpīt - se (za)pöpī, pöpīmo se, se je zapöpīl (2x), zapöpīli 'be ordained (as priest)'; rönit - rönīmo; žalöstīt - žalöstīmo se

a.p. B**short**

blagoslovīt - blagoslovī; (po)gostīt se - göstīmo se, göstīl, pögostīl, göstīla, pogöstīli (2x); govörīt - govörī; hodēt (a secondary ě-verb?) - hōdīmo, hōdīl, hōdīla; lakömit se - lakömīmo se (cf. lākōm, lākoma, lākomi); lomīt - lōmī, lōmīmo, lōmīl, räzломīl, lomīla, lomīli; udřit - üdrī (cf. udrīvamo); mastīt - mästī 'tread on'; močīt - möčī, möčīmo, möčīli; mölet (a secondary ě-verb?) - mölīmo, mölīl (2x), pomolēl; množīt - mnöžīmo, mnöžīl, pömnöžīl, množīla; nosīt - nösīmo, nösīl, nosīla, nösēn, nösēna (cf. nösēca 'pregnant'); sprijatejīt se - sprijatēlī,

⁶¹ It seems that ě-verbs are rather frequent in Matulji and they seem to have spread to some of the original *i*-verbs.

⁶² The verb is A.p. A by analogy with the adjective where the place of the accent is generalized according to the masculine form.

sprijateljil, *sprijateljili* (cf. *sprijateljemo se*); *prosīt* - *prōsī*, *prōsīmo*, *prōsīl*, *prōsīli*; (za)*paprit* (also *pāprit?*)- *pāpri*, *zāpapril*, *zapāprila*, *zapāprili* (cf. *zapaprujemo*); *sēlit se* - *sēli*, *sēlimo se*, *sēlil*, *prēsēlil*, *presēlila*, *sēlili*; *skočit* - *skōči*, *skōčīmo*, *skōčite*, *skōčil*, *prēsēkočil*, *skočila*, *presēkočila* (cf. *skākāt* - *skāčemo*); *sramotīt se* - *sramōti*, *sramōtīmo se*, *osrāmōtil*, *osrāmōtila*; *škopīt* - *škōpīmo*, *uškopīl*; *prisvojīt* - *osvōji* (cf. *osvājamo*); *telīt* - *tēlimo* (?) (cf. *telāc*, G.sg. *tēlcā*); *teplīt* - *tēplī*, *tēplīmo* (cf. *tēpāl*, *tēpla*, *tēplo*); *točit* - *tōči*, *tōčīmo*, *nātočil*, *natočila*; *trošīt* - *trōši*, *trōšīmo*, *pōtrošīl*, *potrošila*; *veselīt se* - *vesēli*, *vesēlimo se*, *vēsēlil*, *vesēlili*; *vozīt* - *vōzīmo* (perhaps not a dialectal word, usually: *pejāt* - *pejāmo*); *ženīt se* - *žēnīmo se*, *ōženil*, *ōženili*

long

bēlīt - *bēlimo* [*bēliti]; *brānīt se* - *brānīmo se*; *brūsīmo*, *brūsīl*, *brūsīla*; *būdīt* - *būdīmo se*; *cēdīt* - *cēdin*, *cēdiš*, *cēdi*, *cēdimō*, *cēdite*, *cēdē*, *cēdil*, *cēdila*, *cēdi!* [*cēditi]; *cēnīt* - *cēnīmo* [*cēniti]; *cēpīt* - *cēpīmo* [*cēpiti]; *čāstīt* - *čāstīmo*, *čāstīl*, *čāstila* (?); *dāvīt* - *dāvīmo*; *dēlīt* - *dēlimo* [*dēliti]; *gāsīt* - *gāsīmo se*, (po)*gāsīl*, *gāsīl*, *gāsila*, *pogāšen*, *pogāšena*, *pogāšeno*; *gūāvīt* - *gūāvīmo se*, *gūāvil*; *grādīt* - *grādi* (se), *grādīl*, *grādīli*, *grādīl!*; *gospodārīt* - *gospodārīmo*; *grēšīt* - *grēšīmo*, *grēšīl*, *ne zgrēšī!* [*grēšiti]; *gūbīt* - *gūbīmo*; *gūlīt* - *gūlīmo*; *hlādēt* (a secondary *ē*-verb?) - *hlādi*, *hlādīlo*; *hrānīt se* - *hrānīmo se*, *hrānīl*, *hrānīla*, *nahrānen*, *nahrānena*; *hvalīt* - *hvalīmo*; *jāvīt* - *jāvi*, *jāvil*, *jāvjen*, *jāvjeno* (cf. *jāvjamo*); *jādīt* - *jādīmo* [*ēditi]; *kālīt* - *kālīmo*, *kāleno želēzo*; *klātīt* - *klātī*, *klātīmo*; *krātīt* - *krātīmo*; *krēpīt* - *krēpi*, *krēpīmo* [*krēpiti]; *krāsīt* - *krāsī*; *prekrižīt* - *prekrižīmo* (cf. *krīžamo*); *krūžīt* - *krūžīmo*; *kūpīt* - *kūpīmo*, *kūpjen*, *kūpjena*; *kūrīt* - *kūrīmo*; *lēčīt* - *lēčīmo* [*lēčiti]; *ulēnīt se* - (u)*lēnīmo se* [*lēniti]; *lēpīt* - *lēpīmo* [*lēpiti]; *ne lībin se*, *lībīmo se*; *jādīt se* - *se jādīmo*, *se jādi* [*ēditi]; *māstīt* - *māstī*, *māstīmo*; *mēsīt* - *mēsīmo* [*mēsiti]; *mīrīt* - *mīrīmo*; *mlātīt* - *mlātīmo*, (z)*mlātīl*; *mrāčīmo*; *mūtīt* - *mūtīmo*; *nētīt* - *nētī* 'stoke'; *nūtīt* - *nūtī*, *nūtīmo/nūtīmo* 'offer'; *oblāčīt* - *oblāci se* 'cloud'; *sūzīt* - *se sūzi* (cf. *sužūjemo*) [*qziti]; *pīlīt* - *pīlīmo*; *plātīt* - *plātī*, *plātīl*, *plātīl!*, *plāčen* (cf. *plāčamo*); *prāšīt* - *prāšīmo*; *prētīt* - *prētīmo* [*pertiti]; *rābīt* - *rābi*, *rābil* 'use'; (raz)*rēdīt* - *rēdīmo* [*rēditi]; *rēšīt* - *rēši* (cf. *rešāvamo*) [*rēšiti]; *rūbīt* - *rūbī*, *rūbīmo*; *rūžīt* - *rūžīmo*; *sādīt* - *sādīmo*; *sīlīt se* - *sīlīmo se*; *srāmīt se* - *srāmīmo se*; *sūdīt* - *sūdīmo*; *sūšīt* - *sūšīn*, *sūšīš*, *sūši*, *sūšīmo*, *sūšīte*, *sūšē* (cf. *sūh*, *sūha*, *sūho*); *svētīt* - *svētīmo se*, *posvētī* (cf. *osvečūjemo se*, *posvečūjemo*); *svētīt* - *svētīmo*, *posvētī mi!* 'light' [*svētiti]; (pro)*šūpīt* 'drill, bore'; *tājīt* - *tājīmo*; *trēbīt* - *trēbi* [*terbiti]; *strūdīt se* - *strūdi* 'get tired'; *tūpīt* - *tūpīn*, *tūpī*, *tūpīmo*; *tūžīt* - *tūžīmo*; *trūbīt* - *trūbīmo*; *trūsīt* - *trūsīmo*; *trūdīt se* - *trūdīmo se*; *trēznīt se* - *trēznīmo se* [*terzniti]; *třsīt se* - *třsīmo se*; *vābīt* - *vābīmo*; *provālīt* - *provāli*; *vārīt* - *vārīmo*; *vrēdīt* - *vrēdīmo* [*verditi]; *znāčīt* - *znāčīmo*; *zlātīt* - *zlātī*, *zlātīmo*; *žārīt* - *žārīmo*

a.p. C**short**

(z)brojīt - brojīn, brojīš, brojī, brojīmō, brojītē, brojē, zbrojīmō, brojīl, brojīla, brojīli; dažīt - dažī, dažīlo (cf. dāž, G.sg. dažjā) ‘rain’ [*dъsdjiti]; dojīt - dojīmō, dojīl, dojīla, dojīli, dojī!; drobīt - drobīmō, drōbīl⁶³, pōdrobīl (2x), drobīla, drobīlo, drobīli, drobīle, drobīla (n.sg.), zdrōbjēn, zdrōbjēna; dvojīt - dvojīmō, odvojīmō, dvōjīl, ōdvojīl, dvojīla, odvojīla, dvojīlo, dvojīli, odvōjen; gnojīt - gnojīmō, pognojī, gnōjīl, pōgnōjīl, gnojīla, gnojīlo; dogodīt se - dogodī, dogodīlo; gojīt se - se gojī, gojīmō se, ugōjīl (3x), ugojīla; kosīt - kosī, kosīmō (2x), pokosī!, kosīte!, kōsīl, pokōsīl (2x), (po)kosīla, kosīlo, kosīli, kosīle, kosīla (N.pl.); kotīt - kotī, okōtīl (2x), okotīla; krojīt - krojī, krojīmō, skrojīmō, krōjīl, krojīla, skrōjēn, skrōjēna; položīt - položī, pōložīl, položīla; škropīt - škropīmō, poškrōpīmō, škropīl, poškrōpīl (2x), poškrōpīla; krstīt (also pokrštēt) - krstīmō, křstīl, křstīla, křščēn, křščēna; močīt - močī, mōčīl, ūmočīl, močīla, umočīla; pojīt - pojī, napojī, pōjīl, napōjīl, napōjīla; prepolovīt - prepolovī, prepōlovīl, prepolovīli (cf. prepolāvjamo); postīt - postī, postīmō, pōstīl, postīli; potīt - potī, potīmō, pōtīl, potīla; oprostīt - oprostī (2x), ōprostīl, oprostīla (cf. oprāščāmo); rodīt - rodīš, (se) rodī, rōdīl, pōrodīl, porodīla (cf. rājamo); solīt - solī, solīmō (2x); strojīmō (?); škropīt - škropī, škropīmō; topīt - topīn, topī, topīmō, lēd se topī; storīt - storī [*tvoriti]; (s)potīt se - potīmō, se spotī; strojīt - rōba postrojī (2x) ‘accidentally get colored during washing (of clothes)’; zvonīt - (po)zvonī, zvonīmō, zvōnīl, pōzvonīl, pozvonīli

shortened

(po)brstīt - brstīmō, brštīl (2x), pobrštīl, brstīla, brstīlo, brstīli, brstīle, brstīla (N.pl.); pustīt - pustī, pūstīl, prēpustīl, prepustīla

vacillation

kasnīt/kāsnit - kāsnimo/kāsnīmo, zakasnī, zakasnīmō, kāsnīl, zākasnīl, kasnīla, zakasnīli

2.27 Drinje (near Zagreb) – kajkavized Čakavian (donjosutlanski dialect)⁶⁴

The dialect has a three accent system with pretonic length and no phonetic retractions. " is often short (though never really as “sharp” as Štokavian ") but

⁶³ In this dialect, like in many other North Čakavian dialects, a remnant of the old A.p. c m.sg. l-participle accent is preserved in forms like *drōbīl*, *pōdrobīl*. However, this accentuation has spread to many A.p. A (cf. *grābīl*) and A.p. B verbs (not always in the same manner, cf. *zapōpīl* but *rāzломīl*), while some of the A.p. C stems do not have it (*brojīl*, cf. also *poškrōpīl* not ***pōškrōpīl*).

⁶⁴ I would like to thank my informant Petra Šošarić for her unprecedented patience and help.

can also be realized as " (but " is not so long here). The sequence of pretonic length and ~ is not tolerated (cf. G.sg. *glāvě*). ~ changes facultatively to ^ occasionally (cf. *spīm* but *spīš*). The reflex of the **ě* is always *ī*, the dialect has only one middle *č*, *v* is a fricative, *x* is preserved, final *-l* changes to *-y*.

a.p. A

bāvit se - bāvīm se, bāvīy, bāvīla; būšit - būšīm, būšīy, būšīla (a loan from the standard language?); *čīstī - čīstīm, čīstīy, čīstīla; čūdit se - čūdiy se je, čūdīla; dīmit se - dīmīm se, dīmīy se je, dīmīla se je; gādīt se - gādīm se, gādiy se je, gādīla se je; gāzīt - gāzīm, gāziy, gāzīla; glādīt - glādīm, glādiy, glādīla; grābit - grābīm, grābiy, grābīla; kītīt - kītīm, kītīy, kītīla; klādīt se - klādīm se, klādiy, klādīla; kvāčit, zakvāčit - zakvāčīm, zakvāčīy, zakvāčīla; slīčit - slīčīm, slīčīy, slīčīla; lūpit - lūpīm, lūpiy, lūpīla 'kick'; mīrit, zmīrit - mīrīm, mīriy, mīrīla; mūčit - mūčīm, mūčīy, mūčīla; mīslīt - mīslīm, mīslīy, mīslīla; mŗvit - mŗvīm, mŗviy, mŗvīla; nūdit - nūdīm, nūdiy, nūdīla; pāzīt - pāzīm, pāziy, pāzīla; prātīt - prātīm, prātīy, prātīla; prāvīt se - prāvīm, prāvīy, prāvīla; pūšīt - pūšīm, pūšīy, pūšīla; rūšīt, zrūšīt - rūšīm, rūšīy, rūšīla; sīlīt - sīlīm, sīliš, sīlīla; slīnīt - slīnīm, slīniy, slīnīla; tlāčit - tlāčīm, tlāčīy, tlāčīla; trātīt - trātīm, trātīy, trātīla; vādīt - vādīm, vādiy, vādīla; žālit - žālīm, žāliy, žālīla*

obogātīt - obogātīm se, obogātiy se je, obogātīla; zablātīt - zablātīm, zablātiy, zablātīla; zgotōvit - zgotōvīm, zgotōviy, zgotōvīla (cf. *gotōv, gotōva*); *objāsīt - objāsīm, objāsīy, objāsīla* (probably a loanword from the standard language); *korīstīt - korīstīm, korīstīy, korīstīla* (cf. *kōrist, G. kōristi*); *okūsīt - okūsīm, okūsīy, okūsīla; zarātīt - zarātīm, zarātiy, zarātīla; prestrāšīt - prestrāšīm, prestrāšīy, prestrāšīla; tovārit - tovārim, tovāriy, tovārīla;*

blagoslōvit - blagoslōvīm, blagoslōviy, blagoslōvīla; bōrit se - bōrim se, bōriy se, bōrīla; brōjīt, zbrōjīt - brōjim, zbrōjim, zbrōjiy, zbrōjīla; dōjīt - dōjim, dōjiy, dōjīla; dvōrit - dvōrim, dvōriy, dvōrīla; gnōjīt - gnōjim, gnōjiy, gnōjīla; gōnīt - gōnīm, gōniy, gōnīla; zaklōpīt - zaklōpīm, zaklōpiy, zaklōpīla; krōjīt - krōjim, krōjiy, krōjīla; zakāsīt - zakāsīm, zakāsīy, zakāsīla; prepolōvit - prepolōvīm, prepolōviy/prēpolōviy (both occur), prepolōvīla; popāpīt - popāpīm, popāpriy, popāpīla (cf. *papār, G. paprā*); *stvōrit - stvōrim, stvōriy, stvōrīla; vōdīt, vōdiy; znōjīt se - znōjim se, znōjiy se je, znōjīla se je; skisēlīt - skisēlīm, skisēliy/skīsēliy, skīsēlīlo*

a.p. B

short

zgrozīt se - zgrōzim, zgrōziy, zgrōzīla; hodīt - hōdīm, hōdiy, hodīla, hodīlo, hodīli; namočīt - namōčīm, namōčīy, namōčīla; nosīt - nōsīm, nōsiy, nosīla, nōsīl; prosīt - prōsīm, prōsiy, prosīla, prosīli; skočit - skōčīm, skōčīy, skočīla, skōči!; točit,

natočīt - tōči, se tōči, tōčīu/natočīu, natočīla, tōči!, natočī!; vōzim, vōziu, vozīla, vozīli, vōzil; oženīt se - oženīm, žēni, žēniū se je, oženīu⁶⁵, oženīla; selīt se - sēlim, sēliu, preselīu, selīla, preselīla, preselīli (cf. selò, N.pl. sēla); posolīt - sōlim, sōliu, solīla, posolīla

long

*blūdīt - blūdim, blūdīu, blūdīla ‘get lost’; brānīt - brānim, brāniš, brāni, brāniū, brānīla; brūsīt - brūsim, brūsīu, brūsīla; cīpīt - cīpi, cīpiu, cīpīla [*čēpiti]; cvīlīt - cvīli, cvīliu, cvīlīla; čāstīt, počāstīt - čāstim, čāstiš, čāstīu, čāstīla; dāvīt, zadāvīt - dāvim, dāvīu, dāvīla; drāžīt - drāžim, drāžīu, drāžīla; drūžīt se - drūžim se, drūžīu, drūžīla; dūrīt se - dūrim se, dūrīu se je, dūrīla se je; glūmīt - glūmim, glūmiu, glūmīla; gūtīt - gūtim, gūtīu, gūtīla; gnīzdīt - gnīzdim, gnīzdīu, gnīzdīla (cf. gnīzdò, N.pl. gnīzdà) [*gnēzditi]; gnāvīt - gnāvim, gnāvīu, gnāvīla; gospodārīt - gospodārim, gospodāri, gospodārīu, gospodārīla; govōrīt - govōrim, govōrīu, govōrīla; zgrīšīt - zgrīšim, zgrīšīu, zgrīšīla, grīšī!, grīšīte!; gūlīt - gūlim, gūliu, gūlīla; hlāpīt, shlāpīt - hlāpi, hlāpiu, hlāpīla, shlāpīlo; hrānīt, nahrānīt - hrānim, hrāniū, nahrāniū (secondary), hrānīla, nahrānīla, hrānīlo, nahrānīlo (cf. hrānā, A. hrānū); fālīt - fālim, fālīu, fālīla [*xvaliti]; jūrīt - jūrim, jūrīu, jūrīla; klātīt se - klāti se, klātīu, klātīla; skrātīt - skrātim, skrātīu, skrātīla; okripīt se - okripīš se, okripīu, okripīla; prekrīžīt - prekrīžim, prekrīžīu, prekrīžīla; kūpīt - kūpim, kūpīu, kūpīla; kūrīt - kūrim, kūrīu, kūrīla; lūpīt - lūpim, lūpiu, lūpīla ‘peel off’; mīsīt, omīsīt - omīsim, omīsīu, omīsīla [*mēsiti]; mīrīt, pomīrīt - pomīrim, pomīrīu, pomīrīla; mlātīt, zmlātīt - mlātīm, mlātīu, mlātīla; mūtīt - mūtīm, mūtīu, mūtīla; oblācīt - oblāčim, oblāčīu, oblāčīla ‘dress’; oblācīt - oblāci, nāoblācīlo se je⁶⁶ ‘cloud’; pālīt - pālim, pālīu, pālīla; opamētīt se - se opamēti, opamētīu se je, opamētīla; pilīt - pīlim, pīliu, pīlīla; prāšīt - prāšim, prāšiš, prāši, prāšiū, zaprāšiū, prāšīla, prāšīlo; sprīcīt - sprīčim, sprīčīu, sprīčīla [*perčiti]; rezrīdīt - rezrīdim, rezrīdīu, rezrīdīla [*rēditi]; rīšīt - rīšim, rīšiū, rīšīla [*rēšiti]; prīrēdīt - prīrēdim, prīrēdīu, prīrēdīla; rūbīt, porūbīt - porūbim, porūbīu, porūbīla; slāvīt - slāvim, slāvīu, slāvīla, slāvīlo (cf. Konjščina); slūžīt - slūžim, slūžīu, slūžīla ‘serve; earn’ (cf. slūga, A. slūgu); srāmīt se - se srāmim, srāmīu se, se srāmīla (cf. srām, G. srāma); sūdīt - sūdim, sūdīu, sūdīla (cf. sūd, G. sūda - a loanword?); svītīt - svīti, svītīu, svītīla [*svētiti]; sřdīt, resřdīt - resřdim, resřdīu, resřdīla; šīrīt - šīrim, šīrīu, šīrīla; tūpīt - tūpim, tūpiu, tūpīla; tūžīt - tūžim, tūžīu, tūžīla; trūbīt - trūbim, trūbīu, trūbīla; trīznīt se - trīznim, trīznīu, trīznīla*

⁶⁵ The forms like *žēniū, hōdiū* are probably due to partial analogy to the A.p. C forms. However, the old accent is preserved with the prefix - *oženīu*. The verbs that have transferred to A.p. A completely have probably just taken changes like this one step further by generalizing the “ to all the forms.

⁶⁶ The *l*-participle points to the older A.p. C (cf. *oblāci se* in Kajkavian dialects, for instance Štuparje).

[*terzniti]; *třžít* - *třžim*, *třžiju*, *třžila*; *tumáčít* - *tumáčim*, *tumáčiju*, *tumáčila*; *vrídít* - *vrídi*, *vrídiju*, *vrídila*; *znáčít* - *znáči*, *znáčiju*, *znáčila*; *žárít* - *žári se*; *žúrít se* - *žúrim*, *žúriju*, *žúрила se je*; *bílít*, *obilít* - *bílím*, *bíliju*, *bílila*, *obilí!* [*běliti]; *zvúzít* - *zvúzím*, *zvúziš*, *zvúzi mi!* (cf. *vůski*, *vůska*, *vůsko*) [*qziti]

a.p. C

short

drobít, *zdrobí* - *drobím*, *zdrobí*, *dròbijù*, *drobila*, *zdròbì!*, *zdròbìte!*; *dogodít* - *se dogodí*, *dògodiju se je*, *dògodila/dogodila se je*, *dògodilo se je*; *kosít*, *pokosít* - *kosím*, *pokosím*, *kòsiju*, *pòkosiju*, *kosila*, *pokosila*, *pokòsì!*, *pokòsìte!*; *hlovít* - *hlovím*, *hlòviju*, *hlovila* (cf. *lòv*); *oprostím*, *oprostí*, *òprostiù*, *oprostila*, *opròstì!*; *restopít* - *restopí*, *rèstopiju*, *restopila*, *restòpì!*, *restòpìte!*; *trošít* - *troším*, *tròšiju*, *trošila*, *potrošila*, *tròšì!*, *tròšìte!*; *veselít se* - *veselím se*, *vèseliju se*, *rèzveseliju*, *rezveselila*; *zvoní*, *zvòniù*, *zvonila*; *žalostít* - *žalostím*, *žàlostiju*, *rèžalostiju*, *režalostila*

shortened

ščiníla (*kaj si ščiníla?*); *zgubít* - *zgubím*, *zgùbil*, *zgubíla*; *platít* - *platím*, *plàtiju*, *platíla*, *plàtì!*, *plàtìte!*; *pustít* - *pustím*, *pùstiju*, *pustíla*, *pùstì!*, *pùstìte!*; *posadít*, *presadít* (but *sādít*) - *sadím*, *sàdiju*, *sadíla*, *sādì!*, *sādìte!*; *strilím*, *strìliù*, *strilíla* (no infinitive?); *tajít* - *tajím*, *tàjiù*, *tajíla*, *tājì!*, *tājìte!*; *posušít* - *posuší*, *pòsušiju*, *posušila*, *posušì!*, *posušìte!*; *vučít se* - *vučím se*, *vùčil*, *nàfčil*, *vučila*, *nafčila*, *vùčì se!*, *vùčìte se!* [*učiti]

shortened/long inf.

zbūdít - *budím se*, *zbudím*, *zbùdiù*, *zbudíla*, *se zbùdili*, *zbūdì se!*, *zbūdìte se!*; *cidít* - *cidím*, *scidí*, *cìdiù*, *cidíla*, *scìdiù*, *scidíla*, *cidì!*, *cidìte!* [*čèditi]; *dilít*, *podilít* - *dilím*, *diliš*, *dilí*, *podilím*, *podilímò*, *dìliù*, *dilíla*, *dilì!*, *dilìte!* (cf. *dìy*, G. *dilà*) [*dèliti]; *gāsít* - *gasím*, *zgasí*, *gasímò*, *zgasímò*, *gàsìl*, *gasíla*, *gàsì!*, *gàsìte!*; *zgradít* (?) - *zgradím*, *zgràdiù*, *zgradíla*, *zgrādì!*, *zgrādìte!*; *hlādít*, *prehlādít se* - *hladím*, *prehladímò*, *hlādìl*, *prehladiù*, *hladíla*, *prehladíla*, *hlādì!*, *hlādìte!*; *hjavít* - *hjavím*, *hjavímò*, *hjavíù*, *hjavíla*, *hjavílo*, *hjavì!*, *hjavìte!*; *kādít* - *kadím*, *kadì se*, *kàdiù*, *kadíla*, *kādì!*, *kādìte!* ‘smoke’; *krívít*, *okrivít* - *okrivím*, *òkriviù*, *okrivíla*, *okrivì!*, *okrivìte!* (cf. *krív*, *krívà*, *krívo*, *krívi*); *?křstít* - *krstím*, *křstiju/křstíy*, *křstíla* (cf. *krštěn*, *krštěna*, *krštěno*); *māstít* - *mastím*, *zamastí*, *māstiju*, *māstíla*, *zamastíla*, *māstì!*, *māstìte!* (cf. *māst*, G. *māsti*); *glōbít* - *globím*, *globí* (the length in *glōbít* is from the imperative)

a.p. B-C transitivity pairs

rodít - *ròdim* [transitive], *ròdi* [transitive], *ròdi/rodí* [intransitive], *ròdiù*, *rodíla*

mixed

napòjit (?) - *napòjim*, *nàpojiu/napojìu*, *napojìla* (A.p. B/C); *cūrīt*, *scūrīt* - *curī*, *scurī*, *cūrīu*, *cūrīla*, *scūrīlo*

NOTE: I have set apart the old A.p. B short stems, which are now synchronically A.p. A, strictly on historical basis in order to facilitate historical analysis.

2.28 Mahično (near Karlovac) – Kajkavian-Čakavian (prigorski dialect)

The dialect has three accents and pretonic length. According to my informant, it is in transitional phase considering various retractions, cf. the examples *glāva*, *trāva*, *zīma*, G.sg. *stōla*, *kōza*, *sēlo* but also *vīnō*, N.pl. *vīnā*, *gñizdō*, *dītē*, *grīšān* 'sinful'. The patterns like *čōvik*, G.sg. *čōvika* exist. Cf. in the infinitives *fāliti* but *grāditi*. *˘* is very often realized as *˘˘* and can be quite long or even facultatively changed to *˘˘˘*. *˘* yields *˘˘* in the final syllable, cf. *nōž*, G.sg. *nōža*, *pūž*, G.sg. *pūža*, L.pl. *na stolī*, G.sg. *nogē*, G.sg. *glavē*, G.pl. *glāv*, *trāv*, *žēn*, *zīm* etc. *˘* often facultatively changes to *˘˘* elsewhere as well (*plāca* and *plāca*). Basic accentuation is mostly Čakavian, cf. *gīnem*, *vīdim*, *vīdila*, N.pl. *kolēna*, *sīta*, *korīta*, *mīnar*, *rībñak*, *pāuk*, *gāvran*, *jāstreb*, *govēdina*, *otāva*, *slōga*, *svōra*, *rūška*, *vīšña*, *svād̥ba*, *krāla*, *dēlam*, *būdem*, L.sg. *u smr̥ti*, *sīti* (def.), *stāri* (def.) etc. with no Kajkavian neo-circumflex. However, cf. L.sg. *u pečī*, *po noči* and *-ūjemu* in the material.

The dialect has the Jakubinski-Meyer reflexes of the *ě (cf. *līp* - *līpo*, *čōvik*, *sīči* 'cut' - sup. *sīč*, *bēli snīg*, N.pl. *mēsta*). The distinction of *č* and *ć* (Štokavian-style [tś]) is facultatively preserved (facultatively at least in the speech of my informant), cf. *plāca*, *līšcemu*, *třšće* 'vineyard' but *sīči* 'cut', *līšče* 'leaves', *povlīči* 'pull'. There are some unaccented vowel reduction (however, rarely seen in the verb material presented here either due to analogy or the influence of the standard), cf. *-mu* in the 1st person (also *-mo* probably from the standard language), *pandīlak* 'Monday', G.sg. *pandīlka* etc. *H* sporadically disappears, *v* is a fricative, the reflex of the *jers* is *a* (*nōkat*, G.sg. *daskē*) but cf. also *ōgeñ* (probably a loanword from Kajkavian), there is only one *e* sound (*žēna*, *pēti*, *žēja*, *lēd*, G.sg. *lēda*). 3rd person plural of the present tense ends in *-ju*.

a.p. A

blātiti - *blātimu*; *borāvīmu*; *brātiti se* - *brāti se*, *brātimu se*; *čīstīti* - *čīstimu*; *čūditi se* - *čūdimu se*; *čāstīti* - *čāstimu se*; *dīmīti se* - *dīmi se*, *zākaj dīmīju?*; *gāditi* - *gādi*; *gāziti* - *gāzīmu*; *glāditi* - *glādimu*; *grābiti* - *grābīmu*; *gřliti* - *gřlīmu*; *gřditi* - *gřdīmu*; *hītiti* - *hītimu*, *hītīju* 'throw'; *jārīti* - *jāri se*, *jārīla*; *kāznīti* - *kāznīju*; *kītīti* - *kītīju*; *křšīti* - *křšīju*; *kvāčīti* - *kvāčīju*; *kvāsīti* - *kvāsīju* (also *kvāsī?*); *kīsēliti* - *kīsēli*, *kīsēliju*; *slīčīti* - *slīčīmu*; *lūpiti* - *lūpim*, *lūpīmu*, *lūpīju* 'hit somebody'; *mīli*; *mīrīti* - *mīrīmu* [**mēriti*]; *kmīčīti se* - *kmīči* 'get dark (of night)'; *mūčīti* - *mūčīju*;

mšliti - *mšlimu*; *mřviti* - *mřvimu*; *nđditi* - *nđdimu*, *nđdil*, *nđdila*, *nđdili*; *pžziti* - *pžzimu*; *plžzimu*; *prätiti* - *prätimu*; *präviti* - *prävimu*; *püşiti* - *püşimu*; *přtiti* - *přtimu*; *räniti* - *ränimu* (cf. *räna*); *rüşiti* - *rüşimu*; *sětiti* - *sětim se* [*sětiti]; *siliti* - *silimu se*; *släviti* - *slävimu*; *sträšiti* - *sträšiju*; *sřriti* - *presřrilo se*; *tläčiti* - *tläčimu*, *tläčiju*; *väditi* - *vädimu*, *vädiju*; *vlžžiti* - *vlžžimu*, *vlžžiju*; *žäliti* - *žäli se*, *žälimu se*, *žäliju se*

zgotöviti - *zgotövimu*; *ulžziti* - *ulžzimu*; *zasititi* - *zasitimu*, *zasitili su se*; *ozdräviti* - *ozdrävimu*; *toväriti* - *tovärimu*, *tovärijü*

böriti se - *börimu*, *böri*; *klönniti* - *klönni*, *klönniju*; *öštriti* - *öštrimu*; *plöviti* - *plövimu* (2x); *pöstiti* - *pöstimu*; *päpriti* - *päprimu*

a.p. B

short

goniti - *göni*, *gönimu*; *grbìti* - *grbìmu*; *hoditi* - *hòdimu*; *kotiti* - *kòti*, *kòtiju*; *lomiti* - *lòmi*, *lòmiju*; *močiti* - *mòči*, *mòčimu*; *nöci se*; *nositi* - *nösi*, *nösimu*, *nösil*, *nosila/nosila*, *nosilo*, *nosili*, *nosile*; *ponösimu*, *ponösimu*; *prositi* - *prösi*, *prösimu*; *röni*, *rönimu*; *seliti se* - *sèlimu se*; *skočiti* - *sköčimu*; *točiti* - *ün töči vīnò*, *töčimu*, *töčiju*; *tržiti* - *třži*, *třžimu*; *tršiti* - *třsimu*, *třsiju* (cf. *třšće* 'vineyard'); *voziti* - *vözi*, *vözimu*, *vozilo*; *žaldstimu*; *ženiti se* - *se žèni*, *žènimu se*

long (short inf.)

braniti (also *bräniti?*) - *bränim*, *bräni*, *bränimu*; *brusiti* - *brüsimu*; *cipiti* - *cipimu*, *cipleñe* [*cèpiti]; *cèrimu se*; *давiti* - *dävimu*; *dražiti* - *dräžimu*; *družiti* - *drüžimu se*; *duriti* - *dürimu se*; *glumiti* - *glümimu*; *gužiti* - *gütimu se*; *juriti* - *jüri*, *jürimu*, *jüril*, *jurila*; *prikrižiti* - *prikrižiju*; *kružiti* - *krüžimu*, *krüžiju*; *kupiti* - *küpimu*; *kuriti* - *kürimu*, *küriju*; *libiti* - *libimu se*; *lišiti* - *lišimu*; *lubiti* - *lübimu*; *lutiti* - *lütimu se*; *misiti* - *misimu* [*mēsiti]; *mesariti* (*meseriti?*) - *mesärimu*; *miriti* - *mirimu*; *mlatiti* - *mlätiš*, *mlätimu*, *mlätiju*; *mutiti* - *mütimu*; *oblačiti* - *obläči se* 'cloud' (cf. *obläčiti* 'dress' below); *suziti* - *süzimu* [*öziti]; *paliti* - *pälimu*; *rubiti* - *rübimu*; *snažiti* - *snäžimu*; *suditi* - *südi*, *südiyu*; *svetiti* - *svétimu se*, *svétiju se* 'revenge'; *srditi* - *sřdiyu se*; *šaliti se* - *šälim se*, *šäliju se*; *tupiti* - (*se*) *tüpi*, *tüpiyu*; *tužiti* - *tüžimu*, *tüžiju*; *trusiti* - *trüsi*, *trüsimu*, *trüsiju*; *truditi* - *trüdi*, *trüdimu se*; *povlačiti* - *povläči*, *povläčimu*, *povläčiju*; *značiti* - *znäči*, *znäčimu*; *žariti* - *žärimu se*; *žuriti se* - *žürimu se*, *žüriju se*

long (long inf.)

biliti - *bilimu zid* [*bèliti]; *fäliti* - *fälimu* [*xvaliti]

cènniti - *cènimu* [*cènniti]; *udäliti se* - *udälimu* (cf. *udaļujemu se*); *gräditi* (2x) - *grädimu*; *gospodäriti* - *gospodärimu*; *güłiti* (?) - *güłimu*, *güłila*; *räniti* (2x) - *ränimu*, *ränil*, *ränila*, *ranilo/ranilo* [*xorniti]; *hìniti* (2x) - *hinimu*; *zakļučiti* -

zaključiju; klātiti - klāti, klātiju; lēčiti - lēčimu, lēčiju [*lēciti]; *lēpiti - lēpimu, lēpiju* [*lēpiti]; *lūpiti - lūpimu* 'peel'; *māmiti - māmi, māmimu; māriti - mārimu; māstiti - māsti, māstimu, māstiju; oblāčiti*⁶⁷ - *oblāči, oblāčiju* 'dress' (cf. *oblāčiti* 'cloud' above); *opamētiti - opamētimu; prētumu* (?) [*pertiti]; *rēšiti - rēšimu* [*rēšiti]; *rēditi - rēdimu se* 'decorate, adorn', *zarēdil se je* 'he was ordained' [*rēditi]; *slēditi - slēdimu* [*slēditi]; *slāditi - slādimu; srāmiti se - srāmi, srāmimu; trātiti - trātumu; trēzniti - trēzni, trēzniju se* [*terzniti]; *vāriti - vāri se* 'it boils', *vārimu, vāriju; vrēditi - vrēdiju* [*verditi]

long (no inf.)

snūbimu; širimu, širiju

a.p. C

short

brujiti - brojimu [*brojiti]; *brstiti - brstimu; dojiti - dojī, dojimu; drobiti - drobimu; dvoriti - dvorimu; gnojiti - gnojimu; goditi - godimu; gojiti - gojimu; grozimu se; kositi - kosī, kosiju* (cf. I.sg. *s kōsum*); *krojiti - krojī, krojiju; škropiti - škropī, škropiju; krstiti - krstimu, krstiju; kasniti - kasnīmu, kasniju; loviti - lovī, loviju, lōvil, lōvila, lōvilo, lōvili, lōvile; ložiti - ložī ògeń, ložimu, ložiju, nāložili smo* (cf. *nalāžemu*); *moliti - molī, ūn se molī* 'he prays', *moliju, molīlo; magliti - maglī se, se maglī; suziti - suzī* [*slēziti]; *pojiti - pojimu; preploviti - preplovī, preplovīmu; roditi - rodī, rodīmu, rōdil sam se, rōdila (se)* (in the neighboring village of Tuškani: *rodīla*), *rōdilo se, rōdili su; rojiju* (?); *rositi se - se rosī; soliti - solīmu; sramotiti - sramotī, sramotīmu se, sramotiju se; sušiti - sušīmu, sušiju; kopiti - kopī, kopiju, kōpila, ĩskopila, kōpili su* 'castrate'; *škropiti - škropiju; topiti - topī, topīmu; trošiti - trošī, trošīmu; veseliti se - se veselī, veselīmu, veseliju; zoriti - zorī, zorī mu, sazorīlo* 'ripen'; *zvoniti - zvonī, zvonīmu, zvōna zvoniju; tamniti - tamnī se*

shortened

buditi - budīmu; cjediti - cjedīmu (with the standard *-je-*); *cviliti - cvilīmu; curiti - curī; djeliti* (with the standard *-je-*) - *diļimu* [*dēliti]; *dičiti - dičīmu; diviti - divīmu; dubiti - dubīmu; dušiti - dušīmu* 'choke'; *gasiti - gasīmu; gubiti - gubīmu, zgūbila; laditi - ladī (se), ladīmu, ladīlo, ladīla* [*xolditi]; *lapiti - lapī, lapīmu* [*xlapiti]; *javiti - javīmu; kresiti - kresī se* [*krēsiti]; *kriviti - krivī, kriviju se; kuditi - kudīmu; nagliti - naglīmu se; platiti - ne platī* (cf. *plāčamu*); *preplavī (2x)* (cf. *preplavļūjemu*); *prasīca se prasī; prašiti - prašī se, prašīmu; pustiti - pustī, pustīmu; saditi - sadīmu; tajiti - tajī, tajīmu; trubiti - trubī, trubīmu,*

⁶⁷ An innovative accent, cf. *povlačiti - povlāči* 'pull'.

trubiju; vučiti - vući, vučimu; vršiti - vršimu 'thresh'; *zlatiti - hizza se zlati; oživiti - oživim, oživiš, oživî*

shortened (long inf.)

brujiti - brujîmu; bušiti - bušîmu

inconclusive

raskoliti - raskolîli su; křčiju

mixed

gòstiti (2x) - gostî (trans.), gòstimu se (intrans.), gostîla; hrliti - hrlîmu, hrlîju; vèdriti - vedrî se

vacillation

svititi - svitî, but svîtimu, svîtiju [*svètiti]; *telî se, se tëlîju* (cf. *tèle*); *toviti - tovî, tòvimu*

2.29 Zabok (in Hrvatsko zagorje) – Kajkavian (zagorsko-međimurski dialect)

The dialect has a three accent system with pretonic length. " is usually realized as long " which facultatively becomes equal (or almost equal) to ~ (experimental data would be needed here). The neo-acute facultatively changes to ^. The problem of retractions is quite complex – in the infinitives one frequently finds the type *brāniti* together with *brūsiti*. However in this case, the accentuation might be due to analogy with the present tense and *l*-participle feminine singular where ~ is expected. For the retractions, cf. also *-imě* in the verbs, G.sg. *vīnā, dījetě, mlijēkě, dāmě* 'we give', L.pl. *v rukāh* but G.sg. *krāļa, trāva, kolāči, děska, žěna* etc. The dialect, at least according to my informant, seems to be in a transitional phase.

Common Kajkavian *ę (< *ě, *ъ/ь) yields *e* when unaccented (*dòber, cenīmě*) and short accented (*sěči*), *īē* when under a long accent (sup. *sīēč, līēpi*) and *ē* or *īē* when long and unaccented (*trēzněti se* but *vrijēdětī*). Common Kajkavian *ŏ (< *o, *ǫ) yields *u* (*zūb, pūtnik, gūtiti*), for the reflex of open *o* cf. *kôža, dôjti*. The reflex of *ę and *e is open *ε*, cf. *pěti, sědmi*. Final *-o* > *-e*, cf. *òke* 'eye'. The phoneme *x* is preserved.

a.p. A

bāviti se - se bāvime; blātiti - blātíme; borāviti - borāvime; čistiti - čistíme; čūditi se - čūdíme se; dūriti - dūríme; dīmiti se - dīmi se, dīmíme; gāditi - gādi se; gāziti - gāzíme; glāditi - glādíme; gōditi - gōdi; grābiti - grābíme; gr̄biti - gr̄bi, gr̄bíme; gřliti - gřlim, gřli, gřlime; hītiti - hītíme, sme hītili; kāzni, kāzníme (cf. *kažnīvame*); *kītiti - kītīm, kītíme; kvāčiti - kvāčīm, kvāčíme; křčiti - křčīm, křčíme; ulāziti - ulāzim, ulāzíme; mīliti - se mīli; mēriti - mērim, mērime; mūčiti*

- (se) mûčim, mûčime; mšliti, zmšliti se - mšlim, se zmšlim, mšlime, se zmšlime; mřviti - mřvim, mřvime; nûditi - nûdim, nûdime; páziti - pázim, pázime; plášiti - plášim, plášime; pláziti - plázim, plázime; prätiti - prätim, prätime; pûšiti - pûšim, pûšime; räniti - ränim, ränil, ränili; rûšiti - rûšim; rûžiti - rûžim, (se) rûži, rûžime 'make noise'; siliti - silim, silime; släviti - slävim, slävime; se žâlîm, se žâlîme

bogätiti - bogätime; zgotöviti - zgotövime (cf. zgotävļame); korîstiti - korîstim, korîstime; opamētiti se - opamētim, opamētil, opamētili; tovāriti - tovārim, tovārim; izvēsiti - izvēsîl;

a.p. B

short

blagoslöviti - blagoslövime (cf. blagoslîvļame); borîti se - bõrime, bõril, bõrili; brõjiti - se brõjime, se brõji, zbrõjil; dojîti - dõjime, dõjim; gnojîti - gnõjime; govorîti - govõril, govõrila; hodîti - hõdim, hõdiš, hõdime; klõniti se - klõnim, klõnime; zaklõpiti - zaklõpi; raskõli; kõsiti - kõsim, kõsime; krojîti - krõjim, krõjime, krõjila; hkrõtî, hkrõtîl; lojîti - lõjis, ložiti - lõžim, lõžime, lõzil, lõžila; mõčiti - mõčim, mõči, mõčime (cf. namāče); moļîti - se mõļim, se mõļime [*modliti]; morîti - hmõri, hmõril ga je; množîti - mnõžim, mnõžime; meglîti/mëgliti - mëgli se [*mьgliti]; nosîti - nõsim, nõsime; ponovîti - ponõvim, ponõvi (cf. ponävļätî, ponävļam, obnävļam); pojîti - põjim, põjime; prepolõvi (cf. prepolävļätî); prosîti - prõsim, prõsime; põstiti (?) - põstim, põstime; znõjiti se - se znõjim; upozõri (cf. upozārjam); pāpriti - pāprim, pāprime (probably a loanword from the standard language, cf. -a- instead of -e-); rojîti - rõjiju; rõnim, rõnil, rõnili; rõsi se (?); skočîti - skõčim, skõči, skõčime (cf. skākätî, skāčem, skāčeme); škõpi, hškõpi, škõpil, škõpili; osvõjil (cf. osvājätî, osvājam); tælîti - tæli [*teliti]; točîti - tõčim, tõči, tõčime (natõči mi vînā 'pour me some wine'); vozîti - võzim, võzil; znojîti se - znõjim, oznõjil; ženîti se - se žēni, se žēnil (also se ženîm, se ženî, se ženîmē?)

long

brāniti - brānime; brūsiti - brūsime; bûšiti - bûšime; cļēpime [*cēpiti]; cvîliti - cvîlime; dāviti - dāvime; bjēliti - bjēlime [*bēliti]; udāļi; dīčime (?); dīvime; drāžiti - drāžime; dūbiti - dūbime; drūžiti - drūžime; glūmîti - glūmime; gūtiti - gūttime; sřditi - sřdime; grjēždime; glāsi; gospodārîti - gospodārime; grjēšiti - grjēšime, zgrjēšîl [*grēšiti]; gūliti - gūli, gūlime; hrāniti - hrānim, hrānime; fālîti - fālîme; objāsni - objāsime; skrātî, krāttime; krēpîti - se krjēpîm, se krjēpime [*krēpiti]; krēsîti se - se krjēsîm, se krjēsime [*krēsiti]; ukrāsi; prekrīži; kūpîti - kūpîm, kūpime, kūpili; kūrîti - kūrîm, kūrime, kūrili; lļēčîti - lļēčîm, lļēčîme; ulļēnîti se - se ulļēnîl; māmîti - māmîm; mastîti (short!) - māsîm, māsîme; mļēsîti - mļēsîm, mļēsîme [*mēsîti]; mesārime; se mīrim, se mīrime; mlātîti -

mlätim, mlätime; se mräči; mütiti - mütim, müttime; obläčim, obläčime ‘dress’; *obläči* ‘cloud’; *brüsiti - brüsım, brüsime; stēñiti* ‘make thinner’; *päliti - pälim, pälime; piliti - pälim, pälime; präšım, präšime; prētiti - prijetim, prijetime* [*pertiti]; *rjēditi - rjēdim, rjēdime* [*rēditi]; *rjēšiti - rjēšıl, rjēšılı* [*rēšiti]; *prirēditi - prirēdime, prirēdil* [*rēditi]; *rübiti - rübım, rübime; slädım, slädime; srämıti se - se srämım, se srämıme; süditi - südım, südime; svētiti - svētım, svēttime* ‘avenge’; *svjētliti se - se svjētlım, svjētlime; šıriti - se šırım, se šırime; täjiti - täjım, täjime; trjēbıti - trjēbım, trjēbi, trjēbime; tūpiti - tūpım, tūpi, tūpime* (nõš se tūpi ‘a knife is getting blunt’); *tüziti - tüzım, tüzime; trübıti - trübım, trübime; trüsıti - trüsım, trüsime; trüditi se - se trüdım, se trüdime; znäčiti - znäči; se žärım, se žäri, žärime*

a.p. C**short**

dogoditi - dogodı, sme se dögodili; drobıti - drobımẽ; dvorıti - dvorımẽ; gostıti - (se) gostımẽ; škropıti - škropım (?) ; krstıti - se krstım, se krstımẽ; kesnıti - kesnım, kesnımẽ, kēsnilı; lovıti - lovım, lovımẽ; oprostıti - oprostı, oprostımẽ; pustıti - pustı, püstıl (cf. püşčam); rodıti - rodı, rodıla; selıti se - selım, selımẽ; solıti - solım, solımẽ; se caklı [*staklıti]; *topıti - topım, topı, topımẽ; se tovı; trošıti - trošım, se troši, trošımẽ; veselıti se - se veselım, se veselı, se veselımẽ; zvonıti - zvonım, zvonımẽ*

shortened

brujımẽ (cf. brüjame); *budıti, zbudıti - budımẽ; cenımẽ* [*cēniti]; *dušıti - dušım se, dušımẽ* ‘choke’; *gubıti - gubı, gubımẽ; hladıti, hladıti - hladı, hladımẽ* (děl sam hlädıt ‘I have left it to cool’); *javıti - javım, se jävılı; ļepıti - ļepım, ļepımẽ* [*lēpiti]; *sličım, sličıš, sličımẽ; penıti - se penım, se penı* ‘be angry’ [*pēniti]; *platıti - platım, plätıl* (cf. pläčam); *sadıti - sadım, sadımẽ; sledım, sledımẽ* [*slēditi]; *sušıti - sušım, sušımẽ; vučıti - se vučım, se vučımẽ, vüčil, vučila; se žurım, se žurımẽ*

shortened (long infinitive)

čjēditi - cedımẽ [*cēditi]; *cūrıti - curımẽ; djēliti - delımẽ; gāsıti - gası, gasımẽ; krıvıti - se krıvım, se krıvımẽ* (also krıvime?)

2.30 Štuparje (in Hrvatsko zagorje) – Kajkavian (zagorski dialect)

The village of Štuparje is situated in Hrvatsko zagorje near the town of Krapina. The dialect has a three accent system with pretonic length. The very long allotone " occurs in most cases and it is often so long that it is longer than the “real” (phonologically) long accents (especially longer than the not-so-long ^). However, " always remains distinct (intonationally) from ^ and ~. In spite of

their phonetic length, the vowels with ˘ are phonologically short, unlike the vowels with ˆ , ˜ and pretonic length. That is clear from the fact that vowels with ˘ are never phonetically closed/diphthongized, unlike those which are truly long (cf. L.sg. *o pōpu* but L.sg. *na kuōsti*). The short, rarer, allotone ˘ regularly appears after pretonic length (cf. *koríte* but *jūríte*), in monosyllabic words with a closed syllable (cf. *jās* but *jā* 'Y', *brāt* - G.sg. *brāta*, *pōp* - G.sg. *pōpa*, *bōp* - G.sg. *bōba*, *krōf* - G.sg. *krōva*) and sometimes in other positions (*bāba* but N.pl. *bābe*, *zǝnuti*). The fact that ˘ can sometimes be pronounced as ˆ also distinguishes it from the "real" long tonemes.

The state of retractions seems to point to a transitional, but still quite archaic, phase (at least according to my informant). Cf. *glāvā*, L.pl. *na glāvā* (2x) but I.pl. *glāvami*, *sāstrā*, *sālē* 'village' (with *kanovačko duljenje*), L.sg. *grādū*, G.sg. *krālā*, *vīnē*, but also G.sg. *stōla*, *vōla*, *grōma*, *pūža*, *zīma*, *bāka* (also *bākā*), *zōvāme* 'we call' (but *trāsēmē*) etc. ˘ from the last syllable is obviously retracted to the previous short syllable (cf. *čōvek*) if it is not lengthened by *kanovačko duljenje*. The sequence ˘˘ is phonetically quite close to ˘˘ (occasionally, it is very difficult to distinguish them), which explains the tendency of ˘˘ > ˘˘ we have seen. The cases of the infinitives like *dūbite* together with *trūbite* could be (at least partly) due to analogy rather than phonetic retraction of the stress.

In Štuparje, like in nearby Bednja (Jedvaj 1956), progressive shift of the old circumflex occurs, cf. G.sg. *grāda*, *vūka*, *dēna*, *zūba*, *svēta*, A.pl. *grāde*, *zvōno*, A.sg. *zīmu*, *brāle* (n.sg.), *dāli* etc. with no shift, but A.sg. *nōgu* (by analogy to *kǝ nogō > *x nōgu*⁶⁸), N.pl. *nōgæ* (also analogically *nōga*), A.sg. *dēsku* (from *nā dǝskō, cf. also analogical *dēska*), N.pl. *puōla*, *rōdil* (from *pōrodilǝ) etc. with the accent from the original prepositional phrases or prefixed verbal forms (also *māet* - G.sg. *māda*, *lāet* - G. *lāda* either from *dō leda etc. or by analogy to the N.) and *radīle* (*rōdilo), *radīli* (*rōdili), *lavil* (*lōvilǝ), *arāl* (*ōrālǝ), *arāle* (*ōrālo) etc. with the clear progressive shift. Based on this small corpus, we can provisionally conclude that the old ˘˘ shifts to the next middle of final closed syllable. There is no shift to the final open syllable but the original ˘ is often changed to ˆ in these forms due to analogy to prepositional phrases.

In the consonantism, one has to note that the phoneme *č* is pronounced as *ć* in front of *i* (but not consistently), cf. L.sg. *x pāći*, *pa nōći*, *oblaći*, inf. *pēcī*, *pāćem*, and that the phoneme *l* is palatalized in some positions, cf. *pļěl* 'knitted', *pāļec* 'thumb'. The distinction of *l* (phonetically palatalized) and *l̥* seems to be very unstable.

⁶⁸ If resulting from *kǝ nogō and not from *nā nogō, this is not a good example for the progressive shift of the circumflex. In these cases, cf. also *xpōla* < *vǝ poľe, the lengthening is due to the dropping of the *jer* in the previous syllable and the subsequent shift of stress. This occurs in Štokavian also – cf. *stō* < *sǝto.

The vocalism of Štuparje is quite complicated and the interpretation here is just provisory – more data from more speakers is needed. Common Kajkavian *ɛ (< *ě, *ѣ/ѥ) yields *e* when short (*sěn*, G.pl. *lōnec*, *měriti*), which is sometimes closed – *sěći*, *sěsti*, rarely diphthongized – *tě/tjě* (< *тѣ), and *ē* or *īē* when long – *bēli*, *lēpi*, *cvēt*, *dēlam*, *se kriěsi*, G.sg. *pondjēlka* etc. Common Kajkavian open *e* (from *e and *ɛ) remains open – *pāeta* ‘heel’, *zāļæ* (*zelyje), *pāeti* ‘fifth’, *sāedmi* ‘seventh’, *žāč* ‘thirst’, *rāđ* ‘order, row’, *trāesti* ‘shake’, G.sg. *nogāē*, *īmāē* ‘name’ (final -*o* yields -*ē!*). Common Kajkavian open *o* (< *o) is reflected as middle *o*, pronounced sometimes closed or diphthongized when long, cf. N.pl. *muōra*, *guōrni* ‘upper’, *vuōla*, *kuōža* etc. These facultative diphthongs are the representatives of the phonological /ō/. Common Kajkavian closed *ɔ (< *q and *j) always yields *u*, cf. *pūž*, *vūk*, *pūni*, *zūp*, *rūka*, *žūti*, A.sg. *sāstrū*, *trāvū* etc.

Unstressed non-final *o changes to *a* but not consistently, either due to inner dialectal development, analogy or the influence of the standard language and/or code-switching (more data is needed) – cf. I.sg. *nagūj*, I.pl. *nagāmi* (cf. N. *nōga*), I.sg. *z gaspadārem*, *lavīl*, *radīli*, *arāla* (*orala), *garēla* (*gorēla), *atāva* (*otava), *bagāti* ‘rich’, *gavādina* ‘beef’, G.pl. *kalāčef* ‘cakes’ etc. Final -*o* usually changes to -*ε* (usually different from -*æ* < *e/ɛ, cf. N.pl. *nōgæ*⁶⁹), cf. -*mε* in the 1st person of the present tense, *vīnē*, *brāle* (l-part., n.sg.), G.pl. *grādēflgrādeļ*, *vūkeļ*, *kavāčef*, *krāļef* but cf. also G.pl. *vrāgaf*, *vōļaf*, *stōļaf*, I.sg. *z vūkam*, *s pōpām*, *nasīla* (l-part., n.sg.) etc. Thus, in final open syllables we usually find -*ε* < *-o, but also -*a* / -*ə* in closed syllables (-*a* etc. perhaps sometimes in open syllables as well). The system does not look very stable, a lot of vacillation and variation occur. Final -*i* in open syllables often yields -*ε*, regularly in trisyllabic and sporadically in disyllabic words, cf. the numerous infinitives in -*īte*, but also I.pl. *z bābami*, *bagāti*. The example *gnēzdi se* but *se gnēzde* is illustrative. The exact processes that occur in Štuparje vocalism are yet to be researched in order to distinguish and resolve the phonetic and the phonological side of it, the inner dialectal tendencies and possible influence of the standard language etc.

a.p. A

bāviti se - *se bāvimo*; *blātiti*; *brātite se* (also *bratīte?*) - *brātimo*; *cērite se* - *cērime se*; *čistiti* - *čistime*; *čūditi se* - *čūdime*; *dūrite se* - *dūrim*, *dūri*, *dūrime*; *dīmite se* - *dīmi se*; *gāditi se*; *gāziti* - *gāzim*, *zgāzil*; *glādite* - *glādi*; *grābiti* - *grābimo*; *kāznite* (a loanword from the standard); *kītiti* - *kītim*, *kītimo*; *kūpiti* ‘buy’ (4x) (cf. *kupūjemo*, perhaps *kūpiti* is a loanword from the standard language?); *se mīli* (3x); (*z*)*mēriti* - *mērim*, *mērīmo*, *mērijo*, *zmēril*, *zmēriļa* [*mēriti]; *mūčiti* - *mūci*, *mūčime*, *zmūčil*, *zmūčile* (m.pl.) [*mōčiti]; *mīslite/mīslite* - *mīslim*, *mīslime*,

⁶⁹ However, it is quite possible that *ε* and *æ* can be equalized at least facultatively.

*mīslite; nūdi, nūdime, (po)nūdili; pāzite - pāzi, pāzime; plāšiti se - plāši, plāšime, splāšil; plāzite - plāzi, plāzime; prātite - prātim, prāti, prātimo; prūzite - prūžim, prūži!; pūšite - pūši, pūšime, pūšite; rāniti - rāni, rānijo, rānil; rūšite - rūšime, rūšite; sīlite - sīli; sērdite [*sɛrditi]; vādite - vādime, vādite; (z)vētriti - vjētrime [*vētriti]; žālite/žālite - žālīš*

bogātiti se - se bogātimo; blagoslōvite - blagoslōvime se; korīstiti - korīstim, korīstime; zasītiti se - zasīti, zasītila; azdrāvite - azdrāvime, azdrāvite (intrans.); tavārite - tovāri, tovārimē, tovārite

a.p. B

short

*bogīte se - bōrimo se; brojte - brōji, brōjimo; dvorite - dvōriš, dvōrimo, dvōrite; gnojte - gnōjimo (2x); gonite - gōni (se); hodite - hōdim, hōdimo, hōdila (2x); korite - kōriš, kōrimo, kōrite; katite se - kōti, skōtila [*kotiti]; (s)krojite - krōji, krōjime; krstite - kārsti, kārtime, kārstile [*-lo], kārstili; ložite/nalažite - lōžim, lōži, lōžimo, lōžite; mačite se - mōči, mōčime, zmōčili sme se [*močiti]; malite se - mōli, mōlime, mōlite, malili sme se; (z)nosite - nōsim, nōšime, nōsite, (z)nōsil/nōsil, nōsila/nāsila (2x), nāsila/nōsile (3x) (n.sg.), nāsile (m.pl.), nosile (f.pl.); (na)pojite - (na)pōji; raspōrite - raspōri/raspōre, raspōrile (n.sg.); pastite - pōsti, pōstime, pōstite, postile (m.pl.) [*postiti]; apazarite - apazōri, apazōril 'warn' [*pozoriti]; prasite - prōsi, prōsite [*prositi]; rajite - se rōjijo [*rojiti]; selite se - sēli, sēlime se, odsēlil; skacite - skōči, skōčime (cf. skāčem, skāče, skāčeme) [*skočiti]; (na)salite - sōlim, sōli, sōlime; sramatite - sramōtiš; (na)tačite - tōčim, tōčime, tōčite, natōčila [*točiti]; tavite se - tōvi, stōvile se je [*toviti]; vazite - vōzi, vōzime [*voziti]; znajite se - znōjime, znōjite [*znojiti]; zarite se - zōri se 'ripe'; ženite se - žēni, žēnime, žēnijo*

long

glasite - glāsi; govorite - govōrim, govōri, govōrimo

*cviliti - cvilimo; jurite (3x) - jūri, jūrimo; krivite - krīvi, krīvimo; zljēnite se - zljēnil; (s)pilite - pīlimo, pīli; rjēdite - rjēdim, rjēdime, rjēdite [*rēditi]; sūdite - sūdi, sūdite; svjētlite - svjētli, svjētlimo, svjētlite [*světłiti]; širite - širi, širime, širite; (s)trjēbite - trjēbim, tīēbil [*terbiti]; tūpite/tūpite - nōš se tūpi, stūpil; trūbiti - trūbi, trūbite; trjēznite se - trjēzni, trjēznime [*terzniti]; vrjēditi - vrjēdim, vrjēdi, vrjēdite [*verditi]; žūrite se - žūrimē, žūrite; pobjēlīte/abjēlīte - bjēlim, bjēli, bjēlime*

*brānite (3x) - brānimo se; brūsite - brūsimo; bušite/būšite (both occurs) - būšimo; drāzite - drāži, drāžimo; dūbite - dūbim, dūbiš, dūbime/dūbimo; družite se (2x) - družime, družite; (z)gāsīte (nx) - gāsi, gāsimo, gāsīte; glūmite - glūmi, glūmimo; gūtite se - gūtim, gūti, gūtimo; gnēzdi se/se gnēzde [*gnēzditi]; gospodārite (3x) -*

*gospodārim, gospodārimo; (z)gūlite (3x) - gūlimo, zgūlili; hlāpite (2x) - se hlāpi, shlāpīla/shlāpīla (n.); hrāniti (2x) - hrānimo, hrānite, hrānila (2x); huālite (3x) - huāli, huālimo [*xvaliti]; (s)krāтите - skrātima; krjēsiti se - se krjēsi [*krjēsiti]; raskrīliti - se raskrīli, raskrīlila; prekrjžiti - prekrjžimo, prekrjžili, prekrjžila; skrūtite se - skrūtīla (n.); krūžite - krūžimo, krūžili; kūriti - kūri, kūrili/kūrile; slīčite - slīči, slīčime; ļūтите (3x) - ļūti, ļūtime se; (z)lūpiti - lūpi, lūpili 'peel'; māmite - māmīš, māmī, māmimo; (z)mēsite - mēsi, mēsime, mēsīte [*mēsiti]; mesārite - mesāri, mesārimo; mlāтите - mlātiš, mlāti, zmlātil, zmlātilo (m.pl.); mūтите (3x) - mūtiš, mūtime; oblāčite - ōn se oblāče, oblāčimo, oblāčite 'dress'; sūžite - sūzi, sūzil; (x/za)pālite - pāli, pālimo; prāšite - prāši; priēтите se - priēti, priētite, priētili [*pertiti]; rjēžite - rjēšime (cf. rjēšava) [*rjēšiti]; (z)rūbite - rūbi; (z)rūžite - rūžime; srāmite se - srāmi, srāmimo, srāmīte; šāliti se - šāli, šālime; tūžite se - tūži, tūžime; trūsiti - trūsimo, trūsīte; vābite (2x) - vābiš; se prevāri, prevāri se [*variti]; oznāčite - oznāči*

a.p. C**short**

*dajite - dōji, dōjimo, dōjite [*dojiti]; drobite - drobim, drobīš, drobimo, drobīte; kasite - kasim, kasīmā, kasītē [*kositi]; kasnite - kasni, kasīmō, kasnītē, zakasnīla; skiselite - skiselī;*

*lepite - lepī, lepīmō, lepītē [*lēpiti]; (h)lavite - lavī, lavīmē, lavītē, lavīl, lavīla, lavīle, lavīli, lavīlā (f.pl.) [*loviti]; radite - radī, rōdil sam se, radīla sam se/me je, radīle (n.sg.), radīli [*roditi]; trāvā se rosī; tapite - tapī, tapīmē [*topiti]; trašite - traši, trašīmē, trašītē [*trošiti]; veselite se - veselīm, veselīme, veselījo; zvanite - zvanīm, zvanī, zvanījo [*zvoniti]*

shortened

*budite se, zbudite se (2x) - budīmo/budīmō; cedite - cedī, cedīmō [*cēditi]; delite - delī, delīmō [*dēliti]; dušite - se dušim, se duši, se dušīmā; (z)gubite - gubī, gubīmō, gubītē, zgubīla, smo zgūbili; hladite - se hladī, hladīmō, hladītē; javite - javī, javīmō, javītē, jāvīli bumō se; kadite - se kadī; namastite - se namastī; mirite - mirīm, mirīmē, mirījō; nēbe se oblāci 'sky is getting cloudy'; platite - platī, platīmō, platītē, plātīle (m.pl.); pustite - pustī, pustīmē, pustītē; sadite - sadī, sadīme, sadīte; streliti - strelī, strelīmō, strelītē, strēlīli (2x) [*strēliti]; sušite, dēti sušit (supinum) (2x) - suši, sušīmē; vučite - vučim, vuči, vučīmē, vučītē, vučila, vučili, nāvčilo [*učiti]*

cūrite - curī, curīmo

vacillation

asviētītē se - asvetī, asvetīmō, asvetītē, asviētīl [*svētiti]; *tēliti se/atelītē se - atēlile se je*

inconclusive

xkapīte/xkopīte - xkōpi (?) (cf. *xkāp|ame*) [*kopiti]

2.31 Konjščina – Kajkavian (zagorski dialect)⁷⁰

The dialect has a system of three accents but no pretonic length. ˘ is almost always pronounced very shortly, almost Štokavian-like, ˆ is a little bit shorter than Štokavian ˆ but the contrast with ˘ is stable (the difference of ˘ and ˆ on the diphthong *ou* is, however, quite subtle). ˜ yields ˆ in the last syllable, cf. G.pl. *glāf*, G.pl. *krīl, okrvavī, curī, kovāč*. ˘ normally retracts from final syllables together with *kanovačko duljenje*, cf. *kōza, vōda, nōga, gōra, mētla, pēre* < *perō, sup. *kōpat* (cf. *kopāti*), sup. *bōrit* < *borīt (but sup. *lōvit* < *lōvit) etc. ˘ is always retracted to the old pretonic length, cf. *djēte, krīcati, trāva, glāva, svičca, vīne, glēdeti*, G.sg. *kovāča, pripovijēdati, zgrāžati* etc.

*ě and *ə (< *ь, *ъ), i.e. Common Kajkavian *ę, yields unaccented *e* (*kesnīti, cenīti*) and accented *ě/iě* (*děšč* ‘rain’, *měriti, prijetiti*), sometimes *ie*⁷¹. (Common Kajkavian *ǫ < *ǭ, *q) yields *ǭ* (cf. *dōubiti, zōub, mōuka*), *u* when unaccented (cf. A.sg. *nōgu, zaručiti*). Old long open *ō yields *uō*, cf. *nuōs, nuōč, lakuōma*. Old short open *o is pronounced like middle *o*, cf. G.sg. *nōsa*, G.sg. *nōči*. Old open *ε yields long *ē* (N.pl. *imēna*, N.pl. *sēla, žēja*) and short *e* (G.sg. *mēda*, sometimes pronounced as *ε* as well, cf. G.sg. *lēda*). The vowels *e* and *o* lengthened by *kanovačko duljenje* do not change in any manner (the new *ō* and *ē*, i.e. *ē*, are phonetically open⁷²), cf. *ōsa* < *qsā but G.pl. *uōs* < *q̄s. Old *-o in the auslaut yields *-e* (cf. *ōke, pōtek* ‘brook, stream’) and thus merges with old *-e (cf. *īme*) – however, old *-o can be facultatively preserved as well (cf. both *čēle* and *čēlo*). Phoneme *h* is preserved only facultatively, it often disappears. Before syllabic *r*, a trace of *e* (i.e. *er*) can sometimes be noticed, long *ā* is phonetically

⁷⁰ I would like to thank my informant Vedrana Gudek.

⁷¹ Cf. *līen* < *lěnъ, *nīem* < *němъ like in some Štokavian dialects *līen, nīem* instead of *l(i)jēn, n(i)jēm*.

⁷² Thus one gets also *mēgla* < *meḡlā < *mьgla, *dēska* < *deskā < *dьska with *ε* on the place of the old *ь (cf. *mētla* < *metъla with the old *e). But this is just a consequence of a late deoxytonesis during which all previously unaccented *e*-sounds became phonetically open (no matter what their origin is) and thus have merged with original long *ē*, cf. *sēle* < *selō = N.pl. *sēla* < *sēla. The new *ō* is also phonetically open (which I here do not specially note) but does not coincide with the old long open *ō since this yielded *uō*. Cf. the imperatives *lōmi!* < *lomī! (A.p. B) and *druōbi!* < *drōbi! (A.p. C).

slightly closed. Old prefixes *orz- and *vъ- are *rez-/res-* and *v-/f-*. 2nd person pl. in the imperative ends in *-ete* or *-ite*.

a.p. A

*bāviti se - bāvim, bāvil, bāvila, bāvile; bogātiti - bogātim, bogātil, bogātila; bṛstiti - bṛstim (2x), bṛstila, bṛstili; būšiti - būšim, būšil, būšila, zbūšen, zbūšena, zbūšene (n.), zbūšeni, zbūšene (f.pl.), zbūšena (N.pl.), būšeće, zbūši!, (z)būšite!; čistiti, ĩdem čistit - čistim, čistil, čistila, čistile (n.), čistili, čistile (f.pl.), očišćen, očišćena, očišćene (n.), očišćeni, očišćene (f.pl.), očišćena (N.pl.), čišćeće, očišti/očišti!⁷³, čistete!, očištete!; ĉūditi se - se ĉūdim, se je ĉūdil, se ĉūdila, se ĉūdile (n.), zaĉūžen, zaĉūžena, zaĉūžene (n.), zaĉūženi, ĉūžeće, ĉūdi se!, ne ĉūdite se!; đimiti se - đimi, đimil, đimila, đimile (n.); gāditi se - se gādi, zgādil, zgādila, gādile; gāziti - gāzim, zgāzil, gāzila (2x), zgāzile (n.), zgāžen, zgāžena, zgāžene (n.), zgāženi, gāžeće, gāzi!, gāzite/gāzete!; glāditi - glādime, glādil, glādila, glādile (n.), glādili; zgotōviti - zgotōvi, zgotōvil, zgotōvila, zgotōvile (n.), zgotōvili, zgotōvili!, zgotōvite/zgotōvete!, zgotōvlen, zgotōvlena; grābiti - grābim, grābil, grābila; gṛliti - gṛlime, gṛlil, gṛlila; (h)ītiti - (h)ītim, (h)ītil, (h)ītila (2x), (h)ītile (n.), (h)ītili, (h)ītili! (2x), (h)ītite/(h)ītete!; objāsni - objāsnim, objāsnime, objāsnil, objāsnila, objāsnen; kītiti - kītim, kītil, kītilla, kītile (n.), kītili, kītile (f.pl.) kīti!, kītite/kītete!, okičen, okičena, okičene (n.), okičeni, kīčeće; klāditi se - klādim, klādil, klādila; korīstiti - korīstim, korīstila, korīstile (cf. kōrist), skorīsti!, (s)korīstete!, skorīšćen, skorīšćena; pokuōriti/pokorīti - pokuōrim, pokuōri, pokuōril (also pokuōrili?), pokuōrila, pokuōrile (n.), pokuōrili (3x)⁷⁴; kūditi - kūdim, kūdil, kūdila, kūdi! (2x), kūdite!; kvāčiti - kvāči, kvāčila, kvāčili; kvāsiti - kvāsi, kvāsila, kvāsile (n.); zakṛĉiti - zakṛĉi; dokūĉiti - dokūĉi (2x), dokūĉila, dokūĉile (n.); lātiti se - lāti, lātil, lātilla; liĉiti - liĉi, liĉil, liĉila (2x) 'look alike'; mārīti - ne māri, māril, mārila, mārili; mēriti - mērim, mērila, mērili [*mērili]; mōuĉiti - mōuĉim, mōuĉila, mōuĉili, mōuĉeće (cf. mōuka) [*mōĉiti]; mīsliti - (z)mīslim, mīslila, mīslili, mīslili, mīslili, mīslite! (cf. mīsel, G.sg. mīslil, G.pl. mīslili); zmṛviti - zmṛvi, zmṛvila, zmṛvile (n.); pāziti - pāzi, pāzil, pāzila, pāzili; plāšiti - plāši, plāšila, plāšili; plāziti - plāzi, plāzila, plāzili; sprāšiti - sprāši 'plough'; prātiti - prāti, prātīl, prātilla, prātīl, prātite/prāte!, prāčeće; pōuṇiti - pōuṇi, pōuṇil, pōuṇila, pōuṇi!, pōuṇite/pōuṇete!, napōuṇen [*pōuṇiti]; pūšiti - pūšim, pūšila, pūšili; rāniti - rāni, rānila, rānili 'wound'; zarātiti - se zarāti; rūšiti - rūši, rūšila, rūšile (n.); rūžiti - rūži, rūžile (n.) 'yell'; sīliti - sīli; slīniti - slīni; zasītiti se - se zasīti;*

⁷³ In the imperative of A.p. A, mostly " is found, but sometimes also ˆ. The situation is not completely clear.

⁷⁴ The unexpected forms with -uō-, if not mistakes, could be due to analogy to the noun *pokuōra.

*škuôditi - škuôdi*⁷⁵ ‘harm’; *tovãriti - tovãri*; *obësit* - *se objësi* [*vësit]; *vlãžiti - vlãži* (cf. *vlãga*); *žãliti - žãli*

a.p. B

short

blagosloviti - blagoslõvi, blagoslõvil (2x), *blagoslõvila, blagoslõvi!, blagoslõvite!*, *blagoslõvlen* (2x), *blagoslõvlena*; *boriti se, ìdem se bõrit - bõrim, bõrime, bõrite, bõriju, bõril, bõrila, bõrile* (n.)⁷⁶, *borili, borile* (f.pl.), *bõri se!* (2x), *bõrite se/bõrete se!* (2x); *prebrođiti - prebrõdim, prebrõdila; brojiti, ìdem brõjit - brõjim, brõjime, zbrõji, brõjil, brõjila, brojili, brojile* (f.pl.), *brõji!, brõjite/brõjete!*, *zbrõjen, zbrõjena* (2x), *zbrõjene* (n.), *zbrõjени, zbrõjene* (f.pl.), *zbrõjena* (N.pl.), *brõjeñe; dežžiti - dežžì, je dežžile* (n.) ‘rain’ (cf. the noun *dëšč*); *dojiti - dõji, dõjila; odvojiti - odvõji, odvojile, odvõji!, odvõjite/odvõjete!*, *odvõjen, odvõjena, odvõjene* (n.), *odvõjени, odvõjene* (f.pl.), *odvõjena* (N.pl.); *dvoriti - dvõrim, dvõril, dvõrila* (2x), *dvõrile* (n.), *dvõrili; gnojiti - gnõji, gnõjile* (n.); *vgojiti - vgõji; goniti - gõnim, gõnil, gõnila, gõnile* (n.), *gõnili/gonili, gonile* (f.pl.); *(h)oditi - (h)õdi, (h)õdila, (h)õdile* (n.), *(h)õdili/(h)odili, (h)õdile/(h)odile, õdi!, õdite!*; *kloniti se - klõni, klõnil, klõnila, klõnile* (n.), *klõnili/klõnili, klõni se!, klõnite se/klõnete se!, sklõñen* (2x), *sklõñena, sklõñeni; zaklopiti - zaklõpi, zaklõpil, zaklõpila, zaklõpili/zaklõpili, zaklõpì!, zaklõpìte!* (sic!), *zaklõpìlen* (sic!)/*zaklõplên* (2x), *zaklõplëna, zaklõplëne* (n.), *zaklõplëni/zaklõplëni* (rarer)⁷⁷ (the imperative and *n*-part. have side A.p. C forms); *reskoliti - reskõli, reskõlila, reskõlile* (n.), *reskõlili, reskõli!, reskõlite/reskõlete!*, *reskõlen, reskõlena, reskõlene* (n.), *reskõleni, reskõlene* (f.pl.), *reskõlena* (N.pl.); *kotiti - kõti, kõtile* (n.), *kõtili; krojiti - krõji, skrõji, krõjila, krõjili/krojili; krotiti - krõti, krõtila, krõtili/krotili; křstiti - křsti, křstile* (n.), *křstili; lepiti - lëpi, lëpil, lëpila/lepila, zlëpìlen, zlëpìlena, zlëpìleni, lëpi!, lëpìte!* [*lëpiti]⁷⁸; *lojiti - lõji* (trans.), *lõjil, lõjila, lõjili; lomiti, ìdem lõmit - lõmi, zlõmila, zlõmili* (2x), but also *rezlomila, rëzломili, lõmi!* (2x), *lõmite/lõmete!* (2x), *zlõmìlen, zlõmìlena, zlõmìlene* (n.), *zlõmìleni, zlõmìlene* (f.pl.), *lõmìñe; ložiti - lõžim, lõžila, lõžili, lõži!, lõžete/lõžite!*, *nalõžena, nalõžene* (n.), *nalõženi; močiti - (na)mõči, mõčil, mõčila, mõčile* (n.), *mõčili; moliti - mõli, mõlila, mõlili/molili; motřiti - mõtri, mõtrila, mõtrili; množiti - mnõži, mnõžili, mnõži!*

⁷⁵ Derived from the noun *škuôda, whence the accent.

⁷⁶ In the A.p. B, the stem stress forms often appear. They are especially common in the f. and n.sg. Their origin is probably to be sought in the analogy to the present tense and perhaps to the long A.p. B stems where the retraction was phonetic (*brãnim = brãnila*, thus also *brõjim = brõjila*), cf. Дыбо 2000: 28. In the plural, the old accent is preserved more often.

⁷⁷ The forms *zaklõplên, zaklõplëna* etc. were obviously made by analogy to the A.p. C type.

⁷⁸ Shortness of the root perhaps points to secondary C > B. A loanword from the standard language is a possibility as well.

mnōžite/mnōžete!, *pomnōžen*, *pomnōžena*, *mnōžeće*; *prenočiti* - *prenōči*, *prenōčila* (cf. *nuōč*, G. *nōči*, G.pl. *nuōč*) [**noktiti*]; *nesiti* - *nēsi*, *nēsil*, *nēsila*, *nēsile* (n.), *nēsili/nesili*, *nēsile/nesile* (f.pl.) [**nositi*] (vocalism after **nesti*, cf. *nēsēl*, *nēsila*); *napojiti* - *napōji*, *napōjila*, *napōjili*, *napōji!*, *napōjite!*, *napōjen*; *prepoloviti* - *prepolōvi*, *prepolovili*, *prepolōvi!* (2x), *prepolōvete/prepolōvite!* (2x), *prepolōvlen*; *ponositi* - *ponōsi*, *ponōsila/ponosila*, *pōnosili*; *resporiti* - *respōri*, *respōrile* (n.), *resporili*; *postiti* - *pōsti*, *pōstila*, *pōstili/postili*; *fpozoriti* - *fpozōri*, *fpozōrila*, *fpozōrili/fpozōrili*; *presiti* - *prēsī*, *prēsila*, *presili* (2x) [**prositi*]; *roniti* - *rōni*, *rōnila*, *rōnili* (maybe not a native word); *seliti se* - *sēli*, *sēlime*, *sēlite*, *sēlila/selila* (rarer), *sēlile* (n.), *sēlili/selili*, *sēlile/selile* (f.pl.); *skočiti* - *skōči*, *skōčila* (2x), *skōčile/skočile* (n.), *skōčili/skočili*, *skōčile/skočile* (f.pl.), *skočila* (N.pl.), *skōči!*, *skōčete/skōčite!*; *nasloniti* - *naslōni*, *naslōnila*, *naslōnili*; *soliti* - *sōli*, *sōlila*; *sramotiti* - *sramōti* (2x), *sramōtil*, *sramōtili/sramotili*; *osvojiti* - *osvōji*; *svedočiti* - *svedōči* [**свѣдочити*]; *točiti* - (se) *tōči* (3x), *natōčila/natočila*, *tōčili*, *nātočili*, *natōčen*; *stvoriti* - *stvōri*, *stvōrili/stvorili*; *voditi* - *vōdi*; *voščiti* - *vōšči* ‘vax’; *vojziti* - *vōjzi*, *vojzili* [**voziti*]; *znojiti* - *znōji*, *znōjila*; *ženiti se* - *se žēniju*, *ženili* (2x)

long

bjēliti - *bjēlime* (trans.) [**bēliti*]; *vblažiti/vblāžiti* - *vblāži*, *vblāžil*, *vblāžila*; *brāniti*, *idem se brānit* - *brānim*, *brānime*, *brānil*, *brānila*, *brānile*, *brāni se!*, *brānite se!*, *obrānen*, *obrānena*, *obrāne* (n.), *obrāneni*, *obrāne* (f.pl.), *obrānena* (N.pl.), *brāneće*; *brūsiti*, *idem brūsiti* - *brūsīm*, *brūsīl*, *brūsila*, *brūsile* (n.), *brūsili*, *brūsīl*, *brūsete/brūsile!*, *brūšen*, *brūšena*, *brūšene* (n.), *brūšeni*, *brūšene* (f.pl.), *brūšena* (N.pl.); *čjēpiti*, *idem čjēpiti* - *čjēpīm*, *čjēpīl*, *čjēpila*, *čjēpile* (n.) [**čjēpiti*]; *cvīliti* - *cvīlīl*, *cvīlīl*, *cvīlila*, *cvīlile* (n.); *vdāļiti se* - *če se vdāļi*, *se vdāļil* (3x), *vdāļila/vdaļila*, *vdāļile*; *dāviti* (2x) - *dāvīm*, *dāvila*, *dāvile* (n.), *vdāvlen*, *vdāvlena*, *vdāvlene* (n.), *vdāvleni*; *drāžiti* - *drāži*, *drāžila*; *dōūbiti* - *dōūbi*, *zdōūbļen*, *zdōūbļena*, *zdōūbļene* (n.) [**dōūbiti*]; *drūžiti se* - *drūžīm*, *drūžila*; *predōūžiti* - *predōūži*, *predōūžile* [**dōūžiti*]; *glūmīti* - *glūmīm*, *glūmīla*; *gōūtiti* - *gōūtīm*, *gōūtīla* [**gōūtiti*]; *gñāviti* - *gñāvi*, *gñāvila*; (o) *gūliti* - *gūli*, *ogūlim*, *ogūlīl*, (o) *gūlila*; *gospodāriti* - *gospodāri*, *gospodārila*; *grjēšiti* (2x) - *grjēši*, *grjēšīl*, *grjēšila* [**grjēšiti*]; (z) *lāpiti* - *lāpi*, *lāpile* (n.) [**xlapiti*]; (h) *rāniti* - *rānim*, *rānila*, *rānili*, *rāni!*, *rānete/rānite!*, *rāneće*, *narānen*, *narānena*, *narāne* (n.) [**xorniti*]; *nahōūditi/nahūditi* - *nahōūdi* ‘harm somebody’; *fālitī* - *fālim*, *fālila*, *fāli!*, *fālete/fālite!*, *pofāļen*, *pofāļena*, *fāleće* [**xvaliti*]; *zjedīniti* - *zjedīniju*; *kāniti* - *kāni*, *nakānila* ‘intend’; *kāzniti* - *kāznīm* (a loanword from the standard); *krātiti* - *krātīm*, *krātīla*, *krāti!*, *krātete!*, *krāčeće*, *skrāčen*, *skrāčena*; *māčka se māci*; *kriēpiti* - *kriēpīme*, *kriēpīli*, *kriēpīl*, *kriēpīte/kriēpete!*, *okriēpļen*, *okriēpļena*,

*okrepļēne*⁷⁹ [*krēpiti]; *kriēsiti* - *ōgeñ se kriēsi, kriēsil, kriēsili* [*krēsiti]; *krāsiti* - *krāsi*; *reskrīliti* - *reskrīli, reskrīlile* (cf. *krīle*, N.pl. *krīla*, G.pl. *krīl*); *prekrižiti* - *prekriži, prekrižila, prekriži!, prekrižete/prekrižite!, prekrižen*; *krōūžiti* - *krōūžim, krōūžila* [*krōūžiti]; *kūpiti* - *kūpi, kūpil, kūpi!, kūpite/kūpete!, kūplēn, kūplēna*; *kūrīti* - *kūri, kūrīl, kūrīla, kūrīl!, kūrēte/kūrīte!, skūren*; *zakorāčiti* - *zakorāči, zakorāčila, zakorāči!, zakorāčete/zakorāčite!*; *lakuōmiti se* - *lakuōmi* (cf. *lakuōm, lakuōma, lakuōme* (n.)) [*olkomiti] (the source of the length is unclear); *ļiēcīti, sup. liēcīt* - *liēcī, liēcīla, liēcīl!, liēcīte/liēcīte!, zliēcēn, zliēcēna, liēcēne* [*lēčiti]; *odlōūčiti* - *odlōūčim, odlōūčila* [*lōčiti]; *ļūščiti* - *ļūščim, ļūščila*; *māmīti* - *māmi, māmīla* (2x); *mānīti se* - *māni*; *mļēsiti* - *mļēsime, mļēsila, mļēsili, mļēsi!, mļēsīte/mļēsīte!* (cf. *zmiēšan*) [*mēsiti]; *mesārīti* - *mesāri, mesārīli*; *mlātīti* - *mlātīju, mlātīli, mlātī!, mlātēte/mlātīte!, zmlāčēn, mlāčēne*; *mrāčiti* - *mrāči*; *mōūti* - *mōūtim, mōūtila, mōūtil!, mōūtete/mōūtīte!, zmōūčēn, zmōūčēna, mōūčēne* [*mōūtiti]; *sōūziti* - *sōūzi, sōūzila* [*ōziti]; *opamētīti* - *opamētī, opamētīla*; *pīlīti, īdem pīlit* - *pīli, pīlil*; *pljēviti* - *pljēvi, pljēvili* [*pelviti]; *prāšiti se* *zaprāši*; *preprijēčiti* - *preprijēči* [*perčiti]; *prijētīti* - *prijēti, prijētīla, prijētī!, prijētīte/prijētīte!* [*pertiti]; *rjēditi* - *rjēdi, rjēdile* [*rēditi]; *rjēšiti* - *rjēši* [*rēšiti]; *prirēditi* - *se prirēdi* [*rēditi]; *rōūbiti* - *rōūbi, rōūbili* [*rōbiti]; *zōra se rōūdi* [*rōditi]; *slāvīti* - *slāvime, slāvīli* ‘celebrate’; *slōūžiti* - *slōūži, slōūžila* (secondary -ou-?) [*služiti]; *snōūbiti* - *snōūbi, snōūbila* [*snu/ōbiti]⁸⁰; *srāmīti se* - *srāmi, srāmīla*; *sōūditi* - *sōūdi, sōūdila* [*sōditi]; *stōūpiti* - *stōūpim, stōūpila* [*stōpiti]; *svjētīti* - *svjētīli* [*svētīliti]; *srditi se, resrditi* - *srdim, srdi, srdila*; *šāliti se* - *se šāli* ‘joke’; *trjēbiti* - *trjēbi* ‘peel’ [*terbiti]; *tōūpiti* - *(se) tōūpi* [*tōpiti]; *tōūžiti* - *se tōūžīju* [*tōžiti]; *trōūbiti* - *trōūbi* (cf. *trōūba*, A.sg. *trōūbu*) [*trōbiti]; *trōūsiti* - *trōūsi* [*trōsiti]; *trjēzniti se* - *se trjēzni* [*terzniti]; *vābiti* - *vābi*; *prezrāčiti* - *se prezrāči, povlāčiti* - *povlāči*; *znāčiti* - *znāči*; *režāriti* - *režāri* [*žariti]

a.p. C

short

dogodīti - *dogodī, se dogodīla, dōgodile* (n.), *dōgodili*; *drobīti* - *drobī, drobīme, zdrobī, zdrōbil, zdrobīla, zdrōbile* (n.), *zdrōbili, zdrōbile* (f.pl.), *druōbi!* (2x), *druōbete/druōbite!* (2x), *zdrōblēn, zdrobļēna, zdrōblēne* (n.), *zdrobljēni/zdrōbljēni*⁸¹, *zdrobljēne/zdrōbljēne* (f.pl.), *zdrobljēna/zdrōbljēna* (N.pl.); *godīti* - *godī, gōdīle* (n.); *gostīti se* - *se gostīme, se pogostīme, pōgostil, pogostīla, pōgostili, poguōsti ga!, poguōstite ga!*; *skamenīti se* - *skamenī, skāmenil,*

⁷⁹ The aberrant accent is due to the nominalization of the form, cf. the Neo-Štokavian noun *okrepļēne* besides the normal verbal noun *krijēplēne*.

⁸⁰ For secondary *snōbiti instead of *snubiti cf. Slovene dialectal *snobiti*, Polish *snebić*.

⁸¹ *Zdrōbljēni* instead of *zdrobljēni* by analogy to *zdrōbljēn* of course. The same goes for other A.p. C participles with ~ on the root.

skamenila; kesniti, zakēsнити - kesni, kesnīme, zakesnīme, zakesnīla/zakēsnila [*кѣsniti]; *fkopiti - fkopī, fkopīla* ‘castrate’ [*kopiti]; *kositi, idem kōsit - kosī, kosīme, kosīte, pokosīm, kōsil, pōkosil, kosīla, pokosīla, kōsile (n.), pōkosile (n.), kōsili, pōkosili, kōsile (f.pl.), pōkosile (f.pl.), kuōsi! (2x), pokuōsi!, kuōsete/kuōsite!, pokošen (3x) (more frequent)/pokōšen⁸², pokošēna (2x), pokošēne (n.), pokošēni, pokošēne (f.pl.), pokošēna (N.pl.)* (cf. *kōsa*, A.sg. *kōsu*, N.pl. *kōse*, G.pl. *kuōs*); *škropiti - škropī, poškropī, poškropīla, pōškropile (n.), pōškropili, škruōpi!, škruōpete/škruōpīte!, poškropļen (2x), poškropļēna, poškropļene (n.), poškropļeni/poškropļēni, poškropļene (f.pl.), poškropļēna (N.pl.)*; *kršiti - krši, křšil, křšīla; prilagoditi - prilagodī, prilagodīla, but prilagōdile (n.)*; *lediti se - ledī, ledīla, lēdile (n.)* (cf. *lēd*, G.sg. *lēda*); *vloviti, idem lōvit - vlovīm, vlovīme, vlovīla, vlōvili, luōvi!, luōvite/luōvete!, vluōvļen (2x)* (with secondary *-uo-*), *vluōvļena/vlovļēna, vluōvļene (n.), vluōvļeni/vlovļēni, vluōvļene/vlovļēne (f.pl.)*; *vmoriti - vmorī, vmorīme, umorīla* ‘tired’, *se vmorīla* ‘killed herself’, *vmōrena, vmōrene (n.), vmōreni, vmōrene (f.pl.), vmōrena (N.pl.)*, but *brīge me mōriju*; *mrgoditi - mrgodī, mrgodīla, mrgōdile (n.), mrguōdi!, mrguōdete/mrguōdīte!, namrgōžen, namrgōžēna; premostiti - premostī, premostīla, prēmōstili; megliti - meglī se (2x), se meglīla (2x), se mēglile (n.)* (cf. *mēgla*, A. *mēglu/mēglu*, N.pl. *mēgle*) [*męgliti]; *omejiti - omejī, ðmejil, omejīla, omejēno* [*mediti]; *ponoviti - ponovī, ponovīla, pōnovile (n.), pōnovili, ponuōvi!, ponuōvete/ponuōvīte!, ponōvļen⁸³, ponōvļena/ponovļēna, ponōvļene (n.), ponōvļeni/ponovļēni, ponōvļene/ponovļēne (f.pl.), ponōvļena/ponovļēna (N.pl.)*; *oplemeniti - oplemenī, oplemenīla, ðplemenīli, oplemēnen, oplemēnēna, oplemēnēne (n.), oplemēnēni/oplemēnēni, oplemēnēne/oplemēnēne (f.pl.), oplemēnēna/oplemēnēna (N.pl.)*; *pripitomiti - pripitomī, pripitomīla, pripitomīli, pripituōmi! (2x), pripituōmete/pripituōmīte! (2x), pripituōmļen* (with secondary *-uo-*), *pripitomļēna/pripitōmļēna, pripituōmļene (n.), pripituōmļene/ pripitōmļēne (f.pl.)*; *pripituōmļeni/pripitōmļēni ploditi - plodī, oplodī, oplodīla, ðplodīli; spokojiti - spokojī, spokojīla, spōkojili* ‘calm down’; *oprostiti - oprosti, oprostīme, oprostīla, ðprostīli, oproščen, oproščēne (n.)* (4x), *sī su mu dōugi oproščēni* ‘all his debts are forgiven’, *oproščēne (f.pl.)*; *pustošiti - pustoši, roditi - rodī (2x), rodīju, rodīla, rōdile (f.pl.), rōžen/rožēn, rōžēna/rožēna, rōžēne/rožēne (n.), rōžēni/rožēni, rožēne; rojiti se - pčēle se rojīju, su se rōjile; rositi - rosi, je rōsile, je rosīla* ‘(rain) falls’; *stekliti - steklī, stēklile* [*stękliti]; *topliti - toplī/tuplī; topiti - topī, topīla; ftuōviti⁸⁴ - ftovī* [*toviti]; *trošiti - troši, trošīla; veseliti se - se veselī,*

⁸² The accent *pokōšen* is, of course, what is expected (from *pokošen), cf. also *zdrōbļen*. The accent *pokošēn* is analogous to *pokošēna* (from *pokošenā), *pokošēne* (< *pokošenō) etc.

⁸³ Probably by analogy to A.p. B type.

⁸⁴ Length from the imperative?

veselila; zvoniti - zvōne zvonī (intrans.), zvonī (trans.), zvonīju, pōzvonil, zvonila, zvōnile (n.), zvōnili, pōzvonili (cf. zvōne, N.pl. zvōna); žalostiti - žalostī, žalostila

shortened

*buditi, ĩdem būdit - budīm, budī (3x), budīme, budīte, budiju, būdil, budila, būdile (n.), būdili, būdile (f.pl.), būdi!, būdete/būdite!, zbudete se!, zbužēn, zbužēna, zbužēne (n.), zbužēni, zbužēne (f.pl.), zbužēna (N.pl.); cediti, ĩdem cēdit - cedīm, cedīme, precedī, cēdil, cedila, cēdile, cēdili, cēdila, cīēdi!, cīēdite/cīēdete!, ocīēžen⁸⁵, ocīēžena, ocīēžene (n.), ocīēženi/ocēžēni, ocežēne [*cēditi]; ceniti, ĩdem cēnit - cenīm, cenīme, cenīte, precenī, cēnil, cenila, cēnile (n.), cēnili, cēnile (f.pl.), cīēnil, cīēnete/cīēnite!, cīēnen, ceñēna, cīēnene (n.), cīēneni/ceñēni, cīēnene/ceñēne (f.pl.) [*cēniti]; deliti - delīm, delīme, delīte, podelīme, dělil, delila, dělile (n.), dělili, dijēli!, dijēlete/dijēlite!, dijēleñe, podijēlen, podelēna, podelēne (n.), podelēni/podijēleni, podelēne/podijēlene (f.pl.) [*dēliti]; duriti se - se durī, durila, dūrile (n.), dūrili, dūri se!, dūrete se/dūrite se!, zdūren, zdurēna, zdūrene/zdūreñe (n.), zdūreni/zdūreñi, zdūrene/zdūreñe (f.pl.); gasiti, sup. gāsīt - gasī, gasīme, gasīte, gasiju, zgasī, gāsīl, gasila, gāsile (n.), gāsili, gāsile, gāsī!, gāsete/gāsīte!, gāšēñe, zgāšen, zgašēna, zgašēne (n.), zgašēni/zgašēni, zgašēne/zgašēne (f.pl.), zgašēna (N.pl.); oglušiti - ogluši, òglušil, oglušila, òglušile (n.), òglušili; graditi/grāditi, sup. grādit/grādit - gradīm, grādil, gradila, grādile (n.), grādili, zgrāžēn/zgrāžēn, pregrāžēn, zgrāžēna/zgrāžēna, zgrāžēne/zgrāžēne (n.), grāžēñe, grādi!, grādete/grāдите!, gušiti - guši, gūšil, gušila, gūšile (n.), gūši!, gūšete/gūšite!, vglāviti - vglāvī, vglāvīl, vglāvila, vglāvile (n.) (3x); zgubiti - zgubī (3x), zgūbil, zgubila, zgūbili; (h)laditi - (h)ladī, (h)ladīme, zladī, zladila, zladile (n.), olādi tō!, lādil!, lādete/lādite!, zlāžen, zlāžena/zlāžēna, zlāžena/zlāžēna (n.) [*xolditi]; jariti se - jarī, ojarila 'kid'; javiti - javī, dojavī, dōjavil, dojavila, dōjavili, jāvil!, jāvete/jāvite!, javlēn, jāvlena/javlēna, jāvlene/javlēne (n.); juriti/jūrīti - jurīm, zjurī, zjurīme, zjurila/zjūrila, zjūrile (n.), zjūrili, zjūrile (f.pl.); kaditi - kadī, zakadī, kādile (n.), kādi!, kādete/kādite!; kriviti - krivī, krivīme, okrivī, okrivila, òkrivili, krīvi!, krīvete/krīvite!, okrivljen, okrivljena/okrivlēna, okrivlene/okrivlēne (n.), okrivljeni/okrivlēni; fkrutiti/fkrūtiti se - fkrutī, fkrutila, fkrūtīle (n.), fkrūtīli/fkrūtīli (?), fkrūčen/fkručēn, fkručēna/fkručēna, fkrōūti!, fkrōūtete se! [*krōtiti]; vleniti se - vlenī, vlenīme, vlenīte, vlēnil, vlenila/vlīēnīla, vlēnile/vlīēnīle (n.) (cf. liēn, liēna, liēne, liēni, liēne, liēna; liēnost) [*lēniti]; zamastiti - zamastī, zamastila, zāmastile (n.),*

⁸⁵ The forms with the neo-acute on the root are either by analogy to the A.p. B type in general (which is not really convincing) or by analogy to the masculine form in which the length may be original: *ocīēžen* < *cēdjenb like Croatian standard *tréseš* < *trēsešb (cf. Kapović 2005a: 97-98). The former supposition is confirmed by the fact that in Konjščina one finds the reflex of a long vowel in m.sg. forms (compared to penultimate accent in other forms) quite often.

zamāsti!, *zamāstete/zamāstite!*, *zamaščen*, *zamaščena/zamāščena*, *zamaščena/zamāščene* (n.), *zamaščeni/māščeni*; *premenīti* - *premenī*, *premenīla*, *prēmenīle* (n.), *prēmenīli*, *premiēni!*, *premiēnete/premiēnite!*, *premiēnen*, *premeñēna*, *premeñēne* (n.) [**mēniti*]; *zmirīti se* - *zmirī*, *zmirīl*, *zmirīla*, *zmirīli*, *zmiri se!*, *zmirēte/zmirīte se!*, *zmirēn*, *zmirēna*, *zmirēne/zmirēne* (n.), *zmirēni/zmirēni* 'calm down'; *pomladīti* - *se pomladī*, *pōmladil*, *pomladīla*; *mršćīti/mršćīti* - *mršćī*, *mršćīla*, *mršćīli*, *namršćīli*; *platīti* - *platī*, *naplatī*, *naplatīla*, *nāplatīli*, *plātī!*, *plātete/plātite!*, *naplačēn*, *naplačēna*, *naplačēne/naplačēne* (n.); *preplavīti* - *preplavī*, *preplavīla*, *prēplavīli*, *preplavļēn*, *preplavļēna*, *preplavļēne/preplavļēne* (n.); *prasīti* - *se prasī*, *oprasī*, *oprasīla*, *ōprasīle* (f.pl.); *pustīti* - *pustī*, *pustīla*, *pūstīli*, *pūstī!*, *pūstete/pūstite!*, *pūščen/puščen*, *puščēna*, *pūščēne/puščēne* (n.), *pūščēni/puščēni*, *puščēne/puščēne* (f.pl.); *ranīti* - *vranī*, *vranīla/vrānīla* 'be early' (cf. *v rānu zōru*); *zaručīti*, *poručīti* - *zaručīju*, *zaručīla*, *zāručīli*, *zāručīle* (f.pl.) [**rōčīti*]; *sadīti* - *sadī*, *posadī*, *zasadī*, *pōsadil*, *zāsadil*, *posadīla*, *zasadīla*, *pōsadile* (n.), *pōsadīli*, *pōsadile* (f.pl.), *posadīla* (N.pl.), *posādī!*, *posādete/posādite!*; *slastīti se* - *slastī*, *slāstil*, *slāstīla/slastīla*; *snežīti* - *snežī*, *sněžīle* (n.) [**sněžīti*]; *sladīti* - *sladī*, *slādīl*, *sladīla*, *pōsladīl*, *zāsladīl*; *strelīti* - *strelī*, *strēlīl* (cf. 3 sg. *strijēla*) [**strēlīti*]; *sušīti* - *sušī*, *sušīla*, *sūšīli*, *sūšī!*, *sūšete/sūšite!*, *osušēn*, *osušēna*, *osušēne/osušēne* (n.), *sušēne*; *svetīti* 'bless', *osvetīti se* 'revenge' - *svetī*, *svetīla*; *tajīti* - *tajī*, *tajīla*; *tjēšīti* (2x) - *tešī*, *tešīla* [**tēšīti*]; *se talī*, *tālīle*; *vučīti* - *vučīme*, *vūčil*, *vučīla*, *nāčīli* [**učīti*]; *prevalīti*, *rezvalīti* (also *rezvālīti?*) - *rezvalī*, *rezvalīla*, *rēzvalīli*; *varīti* - *varī*, *zvārīli*; *završīti* - *se završī*, *završīla*, *zāvrsīli*, *završī!*, *završīte!*; *pozlatīti* - *se zlatī*, *pozlatī*, *pozlatīla*; *ždrebīti* - *se ždrebī*, *kobīla se ščēra oždrebīla* (cf. *ždrjēbe*, G.sg. *ždrēbeta*) [**žerbiti*]; *žurīti se* - *se žurī*, *žurīla*, *se žūrīli*

a.p. B:C transitivity pairs

oštrīti - *se oštrī*, *oštrī se* (intrans.), *ōštrim* (2x), *ōštrime* (2x) (trans.), *se oštrīl* (intrans.), *ōštrīla* (trans.), *ōštrīli* (trans.), *su se nāoštrīli/naoštrīli* (intrans.), *naoštrīli* (trans.)

vacillation

gnjēzditi se - *se gnjēzdi*, *gnjēzdiju*, *gnjēzdil*, *gnjēzdila/gnjēzdila*, *gnjēzdile* (f.pl.); *korīti/kōriti* - *kuōri*, *kuōrīla*, also *kōri* (2x), *kōrīla*, *kōrīli* (2x)?; *mrsīti* - *mrsī*, *mrsīla/mrsīla*; *zaniēmīti* - *zanemī* (also *zaniēmi*), *zānemīl*, *zanemīla* (cf. *njēm*, *njēma*, *njēme* (n.), *njēmi*, *njēme*) [**nēmīti*]; *oslobodīti* - *oslobōdi/oslobodī*, *oslobōdile/ōslobodile*; *pljēnīti* - *pljēni/plenī*, *plenīla*, *pljēnīli* [**pelnīti*]; *sōuzīti* - *ōke mi sōuzi*, *ōke mi suzī*, *sōuzīle* (2x) (n.) (cf. *sōuza*, A.sg. *sōuzu*) [**slbzīti*]

mixed

kīselīti se (2x) - *kīselī*, *kīselīla*, *kīselīle* (n.); *smēstīti* - *smestī* (?) [**mēstīti*]; *pēnīti se* - *penī* (2x), *penīla*, *pēnīli* [**pēnīti*]

3. The Reflexes of Proto-Slavic accentual paradigms in Croatian

Here, using the form of tables we shall try to present how Proto-Slavic *i*-verb accentual paradigms developed in Croatian dialects. A.p. *a* is left out due to its pretty much straightforward reflexes. Thus we shall look at short and long A.p. *b*₁, A.p. *b*₂ and A.p. *c* verbs. The listed verbs are those for which the Proto-Slavic reconstruction of the A.p. is certain (based on all relevant Slavic sources). The verbs adduced are from Nikolaev ms.⁸⁶.

First, we list short, then long verbs, in the following order: Neo-Štokavian, Old Štokavian, Čakavian, Kajkavian.

Legend:

a, *b*₁, *b*₂, *c* – reconstructed, Proto-Slavic accentual paradigms

A, B, C – synchronic, “local” accentual paradigms

B/C etc. – vacillation of paradigms

B-C – transitivity pairs (B – transitive, C – intransitive)

B, C – short stems

B:, C: – long stems

B. – “half-long” stems, short inf./long present tense

C. – “half-long” stems, long inf./short present tense

A<*B etc. – the paradigm with the asterisk is internally reconstructable

B ? – the paradigm of a verb is not certain or the existence of the verb itself in the dialect is not certain

*C – the paradigm is not directly attested in the data but can be restored as such

A' – a special modification of a synchronic paradigm

3.1 short a.p. *b*₁ verbs

ŠTOK.	Op.	Prap.	Klob.	Brn./S.	Stob.	N. Dr.	Čač.
*goniti	B	B	B	B/C	B	B	B
*modliti	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*nositi	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*prostiti	B	B	C	C	C	B	B
*skočiti	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*voditi		B	B				
*voziti	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*ženiti	B	B	B	B	B	B	C

⁸⁶ One may note that there are no deadjectival verbs in the tables. That is because these are very unreliable in Slavic and their accentual paradigms are reconstructable only formally, via the A.p. of the basic adjective from which they derive (Sergei L. Nikolaev, p. c.).

OLD ŠTOK.	Orubica	Velika Kapanica	Siče	Magić Mala
*goniti	B	B	B	B
*modliti	B	B	B	B
*nositi	B	B	B	B
*prošiti	B/C	B	B	B
*skočiti	B	B	B	B
*voziti	B	B	B	B
*ženiti	B	B		

ČAK.	Trp.	Smkv.	Pitve	Puč.	Tisno	Fil.	Mat.	S./Mrk.
*goniti	B	C	B	B	B	C		B
*xoditi				C			B	B
*modliti	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*nositi	A<*B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*prošiti	B	C?	B	B/C	C	B	B	B/C
*skočiti	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*voditi			B	B	B	B		
*voziti	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
*ženiti	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B

KAJK. ⁸⁷	Mahično	Drinje	Zabok	Štuparje	Konjščina
*goniti	B	A<*B		B	B
*xoditi	B	B	B	B	B
*modliti	C		B	B	B
*nositi	B	B	B	B	B
*prošiti	B	B	B	B	B
*skočiti	B	B	B	B	B
*voditi		A<*B			B
*voziti	B	B	B	B	B
*ženiti	B	B	B/C	B	B

Short A.p. *b*₁ verbs yield A.p. B everywhere (with sporadic exceptions). The verb *prošiti* seems to be the most prone to shift to A.p. C.

⁸⁷ As we have already said, the dialects of Mahično and Drinje are not really genetically Kajkavian (Mahično at least partly). However, concerning the development of *i*-verbs they act like the “real” Kajkavian dialects. This is not strange since the dialect of Mahično, even if not “real” Kajkavian, is close to Kajkavian and that of Drinje is originally a Čakavian dialect spoken probably somewhere in North-Western Bosnia (around Bihać), which is also an adjacent area to the Kajkavian territory.

3.2 long a.p. *b*₁ verbs

ŠTOK.	Op.	Prap.	Klob.	Brn./S.	Stob.	N. Dr.	Čač.
*daviti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*koltiti	A					A	B:
*ljubiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*mēsiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*moltiti	B: ?	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*rǫbiti			B:		B:	B:	B:
*služiti		B:					
*sǫditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*stǫpiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:

OLD ŠTOK.	Orubica	Velika Kopanica	Siče	Magić Mala
*daviti	B:			
*koltiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*ljubiti	B:		B:	B:
*mēsiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*moltiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*rǫbiti	B:			B:
*služiti			B:	B:
*sǫditi	B:	B:	B:	B:
*stǫpiti		B:	B:	B:

ČAK.	Trp.	Smkv.	Pitve	Puč.	Tisno	Fil.	Mat.	S./Mrk.
*daviti	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:
*koltiti	B:				B:	B:	B:	B:
*ljubiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:		B:
*mēsiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*moltiti	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*rǫbiti				B:	B:	B:	B:	
*služiti			B:	B:		B:		
*sǫditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*stǫpiti	B:	A ?	B:	B:	B:	B:		
*traviti				B:		B:		

KAJK.	Mahično	Drinje	Zabok	Štuparje	Konjščina
*daviti	B.	B:	B:		B:
*koltiti	B:	B:			
*ljubiti	B:				
*mēsiti	B.	B:	B:	B:	B:

*moltiti	B.	B:	B:	B:	B:
*rǫbiti	B.	B:	B:	B:	B:
*služiti		B:			B:
*sǫditi	B.	B:	B:	B:	B:

Long A.p. *b*₁ verbs yield A.p. B: everywhere with virtually no exceptions.

3.3 short a.p. *b*₂ verbs

ŠTOK.	Op.	Prap.	Klob.	Brn./S.	Stob.	N.Dr.	Čač.
*boriti	B	C	C	C	C	C	C
*brojiti	C	C	B	C			
*dvoriti	C	C		C		C	
*kositi	B	C	B/C	C	C	C	C
*kotiti	B	C	C		C	C	C
*kr̥stiti	C	C	B	C	C	C	C
*ložiti	A<*B	B	B	C	C	B	C
*ploditi		C	B/C		B	C	C
*popiti		C				C	
*postiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*r̥p̥riti	A<*B	C	A < *B	A < *B	C		
*roniti	B	C	B/C	C	C	C	B
*seliti	B	C	B	C	C	B	B/C
*st̥kliti	A<*B	C	C	C	C	C	B
*s̥v̥ědočiti	B	B	B	B	C	B	B
*teliti	C	C	C	B/C	C		C

In Neo-Štokavian, certain dialects (Prapatnice, Brnaze, Stobreč, probably Čačinci as well)⁸⁸ seem to point to A.p. C as the regular reflex of the Proto-Slavic A.p. *b*₂ in short root verbs. In other dialects, the reflexes are mixed and unreliable⁸⁹. Of course, it is not impossible that even in dialects like Prapatnice (where all the reflexes but two are A.p. C) one is dealing with a secondary spread of A.p. C and that these two examples are archaic. However, that does not seem very likely and is, in any case, unprovable. If one would be dealing with a massive change of A.p. B > A.p. C, it would be very difficult to explain why the A.p. B verbs (< Slavic A.p. *b*₁) like *nositi*, *goniti* never (or very seldom) shifted to A.p. C (see above). One possible explanation could be that the old

⁸⁸ Cf. also the system of Dubrovnik in Ligorio forthc.

⁸⁹ Cf. also the Neo-Štokavian ijekavian dialect of Vidonje (near Metković in Dalmatia) with *kòsim*, *pòpi*, *sèlim*, *šèdočim* but *bòrim*, *dvòrim*, *pòstī*, *nòri* 'dives', *kìstīm*, *lòžīm* (data by Domagoj Vidović).

A.p. b_1 verbs are mostly old iteratives and are thus somehow different from the old A.p. b_2 verbs⁹⁰. For instance, all the old A.p. b_2 verbs become perfective when prefixed, cf. *ložiti* (imperfective) > *naložiti* (perfective). However, in the case of some of the old A.p. b_1 verbs like *goniti*, *nositi*, *voditi*, *voziti* the prefixed forms remain imperfective. This is an interesting possibility but does not seem very convincing. First of all, old iteratives *goniti*, *nositi*, *voditi*, *voziti* are not really perceived as iteratives nowadays in Croatian⁹¹ and, secondly, the A.p. B is stable in *moliti*, *prositi*, *skočiti*, *ženiti* as well (which are perfectivized by prefixation). Synchronically, I do not really see a big difference in these two classes of verbs. Another possibility is that *kōsīš* > *kōsīš* in some dialects is due to the analogy of *pōkosīš* with *ùlovīš* : *lōvīš* (A.p. C), i.e. *kōsīš* : *pōkosīš* ~ *lōvīš* : *ùlovīš* > *kōsīš* : *pōkosīš* by analogy. However, it is strange that this never occurs in the old A.p. b_1 verbs. In cases like these, there should be no difference between these verbs. It is difficult to imagine why such analogy would have occurred only in the old A.p. b_2 verbs. However, one needs to note that A.p. b_2 verbs are far more numerous than A.p. b_1 verbs, thus there is more chance for analogy to occur.

It is possible that in some dialects the cause of the mixed reflexes of A.p. b_2 is some historical dialect mixing. In the case of old A.p. b_1 verbs, the A.p. B would be stable because A.p. b_1 yielded A.p. B everywhere (and thus no dialect mixing could disrupt that). In the case of A.p. b_2 , some dialects could have had A.p. B as a reflex and some A.p. C. In the case of population mixing, it is possible that these reflexes were also mixed⁹².

OLD ŠTOK.	Orubica	Velika Kapanica	Siče	Magić Mala
*boriti	C	C	C	C
*brojiti	C	C	C	C
*dvoriti		C		
*kositi	B	B	B	B
*kotiti	C	C	C	C
*kr̃stiti	C	C		C
*ložiti	B/C	C	B	B
*ploditi		C	C	

⁹⁰ This was suggested to me by Sergei L. Nikolaev (p. c.).

⁹¹ Cf. the newly created iteratives like *progánjati*, *donášati*, *izvádati*, *razvážati* (the last three being non-standard).

⁹² Of course, it is also possible to be sceptical concerning the whole A.p. b_1/b_2 concept altogether and claim that A.p. b_2 is just a group of verbs (although quite numerous, which would be rather strange) with accentual vacillation already in Proto-Slavic and that the “mixed” reflexes are thus to be expected. In either case, it is useful to see what happens with this group of verbs, leaving the question of its actual origin aside.

*postiti	C	C	B	B
*pъpřiti	A<*B		A<*B	A/B
*roniti	C	C		C
*seliti	B	B	B	B
*stъkliti			C	C
*sъvѣdočiti		C		C
*teliti	B/C	C	C	C

In Posavina, the reflex of the short A.p. b_2 verbs is difficult to establish. The prototypical examples of *kositi*, *ložiti*, *seliti* belong to A.p. B in most cases (cf. also the partial material of the other presented Posavian dialects), but the majority of other verbs seems to belong to A.p. C. It is possible that there was a major A.p. B > A.p. C change there (perhaps due to the *poluotmetnost* phenomenon), but some problems we have encountered in Neo-Štokavian concerning this suggestion exist here as well (the old A.p. b_1 verbs have stable A.p. B reflexes in Posavina). Of course, one could try to find a solution for every supposed A.p. B > A.p. C change⁹³ but these are, strictly speaking, impossible to prove. On the other hand, if one suggests that A.p. C is the regular outcome, the examples *kositi*, *ložiti*, *seliti* are difficult to explain since old A.p. *c* regularly yields A.p. C with almost no instances of secondary A.p. B there (see below). Finding a Posavian dialect with more instances of A.p. B for A.p. b_2 might solve this problem. For now the supposition that short A.p. b_2 yielded Posavina A.p. B seems possible, perhaps even likely, but is still not completely certain.

ČAK.	Trp.	Smkv.	Pitve	Puč.	Tisno	Fil.	Mat.	S./M.
*boriti	B	C	C	C	C	C		C
*brojiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*dvoriti	B	C	C	B	C	C		C
*dъzdjiti				C		C	C	
*kositi	B	C	B	C	C	C	C	B
*kotiti	B	C		B	C	C	C	B
*krъstiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	B:
*ložiti	B	C	B	B	C	C	C	C
*ploditi				B	C?	C		C
*popiti				C		C	A<*B	
*postiti	B	C	C	B/C	C	C	C	C
*potiti		C	C	C	C	C	C	
*pъpřiti	A<*B	A<*B		A<*B/C	C	C	B/A	C

⁹³ For instance, *cakliti* could have shifted to A.p. C due to the unstability of its first syllable (a weak *jer*), *brojiti* could be analogical to *krojiti*, *dojiti* (A.p. C) etc. (Sergei L. Nikolaev, p. c.).

*roniti	B	C	B		C	C	A<*B	C
*seliti	B	C	C	B	C	C	B/A	C
*stǫkliti	B	A<*B	C	C	C	C		
*sǫvĕdočiti			B	B	C	B		B
*teliti	B		(B/C?)	B	A<*B	C	B?	B

In Čakavian, the old short A.p. b_2 verbs undoubtedly yield A.p. C in the dialects of Smokvica, Tisno and Filipjakov⁹⁴ (this seems to be in agreement with Neo-Štokavian). Elsewhere, the reflexes are mixed, thus mostly unrevealing.⁹⁵ The tendency of the old A.p. c to shift to A.p. B in Trpanj, Pitve and Pučišća makes it impossible to tell which reflexes of A.p. b_2 are original. The dialects which preserve A.p. C from the old A.p. c are exactly those which show a clear reflex of A.p. C for A.p. b_2 – Smokvica, Tisno, Filipjakov, plus Sunger. The perfect reflexes of A.p. c in Sunger as A.p. C but both A.p. B and A.p. C for A.p. b_2 might perhaps point to the conclusion that the original reflex of A.p. b_2 was A.p. B in Sunger and that some verbs later shifted to A.p. C via the *poluotmetnost'* phenomenon (cf. above the similar case in Posavina). The same could be true for Matulji as well, except for the fact that there is no *poluotmetnost'* in that dialect and that it cannot be responsible for the supposed secondary shift to A.p. C.

KAJK.	Mahično	Drinje	Zabok	Štuparje	Konjščina
*boriti	B	A<*B	B	B	B
*brojiti	C	A<*B	B	B	B
*dvoriti	C	A<*B	C	B	B
*kositi	C	C	B	C	C
*kotiti	B			B	B
*krǫstiti	C	C	C	B	B
*ložiti	C		B	B	B
*postiti	B		B	B	B
*pǫpřiti	A<*B	A<*B			
*roniti	B		B		B
*seliti	B	B	C	B	
*stǫkliti			C		B
*sǫvĕdočiti			B?		B
*teliti	B/C		B	B	

⁹⁴ Cf. also for instance the perfectly clear A.p. C reflexes in the dialect of Metajna on the island of Pag (Vranić 2004: 239).

⁹⁵ The mixed reflexes one sees for A.p. b_2 and A.p. c in Pučišća seems to be confirmed by the somewhat sparse data from Selca on the island of Brač (Vuković 2001).

Short A.p. *b*₂ verbs yield A.p. B in Kajkavian, the clearest situation being in Štuparje and Konjščina where all the examples are A.p. B except *kositi*. The verb *kositi*, however, seems to shift to A.p. C in most dialects, most likely by analogy to the A.p. C noun (cf. Konjščina *kōsa*, A.sg. *kōsu*)⁹⁶. In Kajkavian, the lack of the *poluotmetnost* phenomenon probably works for the preservation of the old A.p. B < A.p. *b*₂.

3.4 long a.p. *b*₂ verbs

ŠTOK.	Op.	Prap.	Klob.	Brn./S.	Stob.	N. Dr.	Čač.
*borniti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*čepiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*gajiti	C:						
*gnězditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*gospodariti		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*xorniti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*xuliti	B:	C:					B:
*xvaliti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*krqžiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*kupiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*kuriti				A		B:	B:
*kьrčiti ⁹⁷	C	B:	B:	C	C:	C	C
*lěčiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*ljutiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*mesariti			B:	C: ?		B:	B:
*mqtiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*paliti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*piliti		C:	B:			C:	B:
*poršiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*raditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*rešiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*slěditi	C:	C:	C:	B:/C:	C:	B:	B:
*směšiti					C:	B:	B:
*sormiti	C:	C:	B:	C:	C:	C:	C:
*sьrditi		B:	B:				
*ščititi	C:	C:	C:	C:	B:	A	B:
*terbiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:

⁹⁶ This supposition seems to be confirmed by the sparse material of Velika Rakovica (March 1981) where *postiti* and *roniti* are A.p. B but *kositi* is A.p. C.

⁹⁷ The verb *krčiti* seems to show reflexes of A.p. *c* in many Croatian dialects and should be considered a special case.

*tøžiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*trøqiti	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:	
*truditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*tržiti	A					C	A
*vortiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*značiti	B:	C:	B:	B:	B:/C:	B:	B:

Long A.p. b_2 verbs yield A.p. B: in most cases in Neo-Štokavian. However, these reflexes are not really reliable since in Neo-Štokavian old A.p. c verbs also yield A.p. B: in most cases (see below) by the known process of *suši* \Rightarrow *sūši*. However, in Neo-Štokavian, there is a group of i -verbs (up to 20 of them) which has the A.p. C:. Cf. in the table above such reflexes in the verbs *gajiti* (common), *huliti*, *sljediti* (very common), *sramiti* (very common), *štititi* (very common), *značiti*. In my opinion, these verbs are archaisms which preserve the old A.p. C but with the reintroduced length. These verbs remained in the middle phase of the change *suši* \Rightarrow *sūši* \Rightarrow *sūši*. This would mean that in most Neo-Štokavian dialects (if not in all) old long A.p. b_2 verbs yielded originally A.p. C which was later mostly eliminated by the *suši* \Rightarrow *sūši* process that occurred in the old A.p. c verbs as well. The verbs that belong to A.p. C: are thus an archaism pointing to the old A.p. C reflex of A.p. b_2 in Neo-Štokavian.

As already said, the A.p. C: type in Neo-Štokavian⁹⁸ does not include a great number of verbs, only twenty or so (depending on the dialect), leaving the exact origin of particular verbs aside. These verbs are often intransitive. Besides the ones already mentioned, cf. also *vīri*, *žmīri*, *jūri*, *žūri se*, *pīri*, *žārī*, *trūbī*, *sjājī se*, *cvīli*, *cūrī*, *glūmī*, *znāči*, *sīpī*, *téži*, *srāmī se*, *vrijēdi*, *hlādī se*, *snijēži*, *tūli* etc. Some of them are probably originally \check{e} -verbs or influenced by the parallel \check{e} -verbs (in \check{e} -verbs, the A.p. C: type is much more usual than in i -verbs), for instance *žuriti*, *trubiti*, *cviliti* (cf. Matulji *cvilēt* - *cvilimo*), *curiti* (cf. Konjščina *cūreti* - *curī*), *vrijediti* (cf. Konjščina *vrijēdeti* - *vrijēdi*) etc. In some cases, the A.p. B:C transitivity pairs like Prapatnice *tūpīn nōž* - *tūpī se nōž*, *jā tō zlātīn* - *zlātī se* or Klobuk *bīlī* - *bīlī se* are probably due to the old i -/ \check{e} -verb pairs, the old i -verb being transitive and having A.p. B: reflex and the old \check{e} -verb being intransitive (since $-\check{e}$ - is originally the stative and $-i$ - the causative suffix) and having the A.p. C: reflex (usual in \check{e} -verbs, cf. *trpjeti* - *trpī*, *šūtjeti* - *šūtī* etc.).

OLD ŠTOK.	Orubica	Velika Kopanica	Siće	Magić Mala
*borniti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*cěpiti			B:	
*gajiti				

⁹⁸ And some Štokavian-like Čakavian dialects, like Filipjakov.

*gnězditi	B:	B:	B:	B:
*gospodariti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*xorniti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*xuliti			B:	
*xvaliti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*krōžiti	B:		B:	B:
*kupiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*kuriti	B:		B:	B:
*kǔrčiti	B:		B:	
*lēčiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*ljutiti	B:		B:	B:
*mesariti			B:	B:
*mōtiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*paliti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*piliti				
*poršiti	B:	B:	C	C
*raditi	B:	B:	B:	B:
*rešiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*slěditi			B:	
*směšiti	B:	B:		
*sormiti	B:	B:	B:	
*sǔrditi				B:
*ščititi	A	B:		
*terbiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*tōžiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*trōsiti	B:		B:	B:
*truditi	B:	B:		B:
*tušiti	B:	C	C	C
*tǔržiti				B:
*vortiti	B:		B:	B:
*značiti	B:		B:	B:

In the case of Posavina dialects, one can safely assume that the old long A.p. *b*₂ verbs yield A.p. B:. The examples *prašiti* and *tušiti* are probably not exceptions but a dialectal feature of Posavina where these verbs belong to A.p. *c*. It is remarkable that in Posavina there is practically no A.p. C: *i*-verbs (with some exceptions) unlike in Neo-Štokavian. This is probably a consequence of the fact that the old long A.p. *b*₂ verbs yielded originally A.p. B: in Posavian dialects but A.p. C in (most) Neo-Štokavian dialects. This proposition should be verified on additional Posavina and Neo-Štokavian dialects.

Posavina examples of A.p. C: like Orubica *cvīlī*, *vřīdī*, Velika Kopanica *se bīlī*, *mřzī*, *štēdī*, are old *ě*-verbs (cf. standard Croatian *bijéljeti se*, *mřzjeti*, *štédjeti*).

Velika Kopanica form *brūji* was probably influenced by the parallel *ě*-verb *brujati* and the only real A.p. C: *i*-verb example I have attested is Velika Kopanica *snīži* (this verb is also frequently A.p. C: in Neo-Štokavian as well).

ČAK.	Trp.	Smkv.	Pitve	Puč.	Tisno	Fil.	Mat.	S./Mrk.
*borniti	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:
*cěpiti	B:				B:	B:	B:	
*gajiti	B:				B:			
*gnězditi	B:	B: ?	B:	B:	B:	B:		C:
*gospodariti	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	
*xorniti	B:	B: ?	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*xuliti			B:		B:	B:		
*xvaliti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*krqžiti	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*kupiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*kuriti				A		A	B:	
*kǔrčiti	A/C			C	C	C	A	A
*lěčiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*ljutiti					B:	B:		
*mesariti			B: ?	B:	B:			
*mqtiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*paliti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:		B:
*piliti					B:		B:	
*poršiti	B:	B: ?	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	
*raditi	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:		
*rěšiti	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	
*slěditi	B:			B:	B:	C:		
*sormiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	C:	B:	C:
*ščititi	B:	B:		B:	B:	C:		C:
*terbiti	B:	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:	
*tqžiti	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*trqsiti		B: ?	B:	B:			B:	
*truditi	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:
*tǔržiti	A					A		
*vortiti	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:		B:
*značiti	B:	B:	B:		B:	C:/B:	B:	B:

The long A.p. *b*₂ verbs yielded A.p. B: in most Čakavian dialects. However, this is not really relevant since old long A.p. *c* yielded A.p. B: in most Čakavian dialects as well by the process of *sušī* ⇒ *sūšī* (see below). However, the dialects of Filipjakov and Sunger/Mrkopalj (which is not strange considering that Mrkopalj is genetically Štokavian) go hand in hand with Neo-Štokavian and

sometimes have A.p. C: as the reflex⁹⁹ which would point to the conclusion that in those dialects the original reflex of the old long A.p. *b*₂ verbs was indeed A.p. C, later changed to A.p. C: and, in most verbs, even further to A.p. B:. In the other Čakavian dialects, one cannot say if the original reflex of the long A.p. *b*₂ verbs was A.p. B: from the start, or A.p. C which was later completely eliminated by the process of *sušī* ⇒ *sūšī*. One has to note that Čakavian tolerates sequences of pretonic length and long accents in a much lesser degree than Štokavian¹⁰⁰.

KAJK.	Mahično	Drinje	Zabok	Štuparje	Konjščina
*borniti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*cěpiti		B:	B:	B:	B:
*gnězditi		B:	B:	B:	B:/C
*gospodariti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*xorniti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*xvaliti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*krqžiti	B.			B:	B:
*kupiti	B.	B:	B:	A'	B:
*kuriti	B.	B:	B:	B:	B:
*kьrčiti	A		A		
*lěčiti	B:		B:		B:
*ljutiti	B.			B:	
*mesariti	B.			B:	B:
*mqtiti	B.	B:	B:	B:	B:
*paliti	B.	B:		B:	
*piliti		B:	B:	B:	B:
*poršiti	C	B:	B:	B:	B:
*rěšiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*ręditi		B:	B:		B:
*slěditi	B:		C		
*sormiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*sьrditi	B.	B:		B	B:
*terbiti			B:	B:	B:
*tqžiti	B.	B:	B:	B:	B:
*trqsiti	B.		B:	B:	B:

⁹⁹ The same is also true for the dialect of Kukljica on the island of Ugljan (cf. Benić 2011).

¹⁰⁰ Note that many Čakavian dialects with *glāvā*, G.sg. *glavē*, while in Štokavian only the diaspora dialect of Molise has *gláva*, G.sg. *glàvê* (everywhere else it is secondary *glávê*). Also, the old A.p. *c* adjectival type like *suhī*, *dragī* (or *sūhī*, *dràgī*) is found here and there in Štokavian, while it is practically gone from Čakavian (where only innovative *sūhī*, *drāgī* exist).

*truditi	B.		B:			
*tърžiti	B	B:				
*značiti	B.	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*žariti	B.	B:	B:			B:

In Kajkavian, the old long A.p. b_2 verbs obviously yield A.p. B:. The exceptions are very rare. The Mahično A.p. C form of *prašiti* could be related to the same A.p. in Siče and Magić Mala in Posavina.

3.5 short a.p. c verbs

ŠTOK.	Op.	Prap.	Klob.	Brn./S.	Stob.	N. Dr.	Čač.
*čьstiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*dojiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*drobiti	B	C	C	C	C	C	C
*dvojiti			C		C	B	
*gnojiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*goditi		C	C		B	B	
*gojiti	B	C	C				C
*gostiti	C	C		C	C	C	C
*krojiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	B
*kropiti		C		C	C	C	C
*krotiti	C	C	C	C	C	B	B
*кьsniti	A<*B	A<*B	A<*B	C	C	A<*B	C
*loviti	A<*B	C	B	C	C	B	C
*moriti	B	C	B		C	B	C
*pojiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*prostiti	B	C	B	C		C	C
*roditi	B	B-C	B	B	B	B	B
*rositi	C	C	C			C	C
*topiti	A<*B	C	C	C	C	B	C
*toviti	C	C	B	C	C	C	B:/C:

The old short A.p. c verbs are well preserved in most Neo-Štokavian dialects. The only dialects in which the shift to A.p. B is more frequent are Opuzen, Klobuk and Nova Drenčina. The apparent shift of the verb *roditi* to A.p. B in most dialects is not a real shift to A.p. B. This verb is a B:C verb (A.p. B when transitive and A.p. C when intransitive) in many dialects – cf. Prapatnice for Neo-Štokavian, Vrgada (Jurišić 1973) for Čakavian. In Posavina, this verb is B:C in practically all the dialects. The reason for this transitivity variation is not

clear¹⁰¹ but we can assume that all, or most, of the Štokavian and Čakavian dialects once had a B:C transitivity variation here and that some dialects (for instance, most Neo-Štokavian ones) only later generalized the A.p. B variant.

OLD ŠTOK.	Orubica	Velika Kopanica	Siće	Magić Mala
*čystiti	C	C	C	C
*dojiti	C	C	C	C
*drobiti	C	C	C	C
*dvojiti			C	C
*gnojiti	C?	C	C	C
*goditi		C	C	C
*gojiti		C		
*gostiti	C	C	C	C
*krojiti	C	C	C	C
*kropiti	C	C	C	C
*krotiti				
*kьsniti	C	B	C	C
*loviti		C	C	C
*moriti	C	C	C	C
*pojiti	C	C		C
*prostiti	C	B		B
*roditi	B-C	B	B-C	B-C
*rositi	C	C		C
*topiti	C	C	C	C
*toviti		C	C	C

In Posavina, the old A.p. *c* is very stable and remains A.p. C in almost all the examples. As already mentioned, the verb *roditi* is B:C in Posavina (in Velika Kopanica there is no intransitive *roditi* without a prefix so the transitivity variation cannot be observed there).

ČAK.	Trp.	Smkv.	Pitve	Puč.	Tisno	Fil.	Mat.	S./Mrk.
*čystiti	B	C	A<*B			C	B:	C:
*dojiti	B	C	C	B/C	C	C	C	C?
*drobiti	B	C	B	B	C	C	C	C
*dvojiti	C		C				C	
*gnojiti	B/C	C	C	B	C	C	C	C
*goditi				B		B	C	C

¹⁰¹ There is a parallel in Ukrainian, where *roditi* is A.p. C when transitive but A.p. B when intransitive, thus the opposite from Croatian (Sergei L. Nikolaev, p. c.).

*gojiti	C	C	C	B/C		C	C	C
*gostiti	B		C	C	C	C	B	C
*krojiti	B	C	C	C	C	C?	C	C
*kropiti	B		B		C	C	C	C
*krotiti	B		B		C	C		C
*kъsniti	A<*B	C	C	A/C	C	C	A/C	C
*loviti	B		B	B	C	C		C
*moriti	B	C	B/C?	B		C		
*pojiti		C			C	C	C	C
*prostiti	B	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*roditi	B	B	C	B	B	B	C	B
*rositi	B	C	C	B/C	C	C		C
*topiti	B		B/C?	B/C	C	C	C	C
*toviti	B	C	B	B	C	C		C

The old A.p. *c* is well preserved in Smokvica, Tisno, Filipjakov, Matulji and Sunger (the verb *roditi* is often a special case because it is a B:C verb in other dialects and the present A.p. B in most dialects is to be regarded as the generalization of the old transitive form). In other dialects, one finds a fair amount of secondary A.p. C > A.p. B, especially in Trpanj where A.p. B seems to be almost generalized¹⁰².

KAJK.	Mahično	Drinje	Zabok	Štuparje	Konjščina
*čъstiti	A<*B	B:			
*dojiti	C	A<*B	B	B	B
*drobiti	C	C	C	C	C
*gnojiti	C	A<*B	B	B	B
*goditi	C	C	A		C
*gojiti	C				B
*gostiti	A<*B		C		C
*krojiti	C	A<*B	B	B	B
*kropiti	C		C?		C
*krotiti			C?		B
*kъsniti	C	A<*B	C	C	C/(B)
*loviti	C	C	C	C	C
*pojiti	C	B-C	B	B	B
*prostiti		C			C

¹⁰² The same tendency for the generalization of A.p. B is seen in the dialects of the island of Cres, cf. Velčić 2003 for Bejska Tramuntana (with a practically complete list of *i*-verbs attested) and Houtzagers 1985 for Orlec.

*roditi	C	B-C/B	C	C	C
*rositi	C		B ?	C	C
*topiti	C	C	C	C	C
*toviti	B/C			B	C

In Kajkavian, the old short A.p. *c* verbs are well preserved only in Mahično¹⁰³. In all the other dialects there is a tendency for A.p. C to shift to A.p. B. The rhyming verbs *dojiti*, *gnojiti*, *krojiti*, *pojiti* especially tend to become A.p. B.

3.6 long a.p. *c* verbs

ŠTOK.	Op.	Prap.	Klob.	Brn./S.	Stob.	N. Dr.	Čač.
*aviti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*buditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*čediti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*čěniti	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:
*činiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*děliti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*diviti	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*družiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*duriti	B:				B:	A	A
*dušiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:		
*gasiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*golsiti	B:		B:		B:	B:	B:
*gorditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*grěšiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*gubiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
*kaditi	B:	B:	B:				B:
*krasiti	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:
*krěpiti	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:
*lěpiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*mastiti	B:	B:	B:		B:	B:	B:
*miriti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*obvolčiti		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*platiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*porsiti		B:			B: ?	B:	B:
*pustiti	B	C	B	B	B	B	B
*saditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:

¹⁰³ However, cf. the preserved A.p. C of *drobiti*, *roditi*, *topiti*, *gostiti*, *loviti*, *dojiti*, *oprostiti*, *gnojiti*, *pojiti* in Velika Rakovica (March 1981: 272-273).

*světľliti	C:	C:	C:	C:	C:	C:	C:
*sněžiti		C:					
*tajiti	C:	C:	B:			C:	B:
*učiti	C	C	C	C	C	B	C
*variti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*žerbiti		B:				B:	B:

In Neo-Štokavian, most of the old long A.p. *c* verbs have A.p. B: reflexes via the *suši* ⇒ *sūši* change (see below). The words that preserved the old expected reflex in practically all the dialects, A.p. C, are *činiti*, *gubiti* and *učiti*. The verb *pustiti* also preserves the old accentuation in Prapatnice but is secondarily shifted to A.p. B in other dialects (the shortness of the root points to the old A.p. *c* though). This verb is rarely A.p. B: in Štokavian (for instance in Dubrovnik). In some verbs, a middle stage has been preserved – A.p. C:, with the introduced length but without the shift to A.p. B:, cf. the words *svijetliti*, *sniježiti*, *tajiti*.

OLD ŠTOK.	Orubica	Velika Kopenica	Siče	Magić Mala
*aviti	B:	B:	B<*C	B<*C
*buditi	B:		C	C
*čediti	B:	B:	C	C
*čěniti			C	C
*činiti	C	C	C	C
*děliti	B:	B:	C	C
*diviti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*družiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*duriti				B: ?
*đušiti				
*gasiti	B:	B:		
*golsiti				B:
*gorditi	B:	B:	C	C
*grěšiti	B:	B:	C	C
*gubiti	C	C	C	C
*kaditi	B:	B:	C	C
*krasiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*krěpiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*lěpiti	B:	B:	C	C
*mastiti	B:		C	C
*měniti			B<*C	B<*C
*miriti	B:		B:	B:
*obvolčiti	B:	B:	C	C

*platiti	B:	B:	B:	B:
*porsiti	B:	B:	C	C
*pustiti	B<*C	B<*C	B<*C	B<*C
*saditi	B:	B:	C	C
*světłiti	B:	B:		
*sněžiti			B:	
*tajiti	C	C	C	C
*učiti	B:	B:	C	C
*variti	B:	B:	C	C
*žerbiti		B:	C	C

In Posavina, two dialects, that of Magić Mala and Siče stand aside from all others. These dialects are perhaps the only Štokavian dialects that preserve the old A.p. C from the long Proto-Slavic A.p. *c* words. A couple of words shifted to A.p. B: there as well – these are either dialectal differences or sporadic occurrences of the *suši* ⇒ *sūši* change (which is to be expected since that is basically an analogical change, not a sound law). The verbs *pustiti* and *javiti* shift secondarily to A.p. B in Siče and Magić Mala (the original A.p. *c* is clear because of the shortened root).

In the rest of Posavina, the results are the same as in Neo-Štokavian, mostly A.p. B:. However, Posavina is again different from Neo-Štokavian dialects. The word *učiti* is not as often an exception to the *suši* ⇒ *sūši* change as in Neo-Štokavian (the words *činiti* and *gubiti* are) but other words are – often *tušiti* (Gundinci, Velika Kapanica, Sikerevci)¹⁰⁴, *tajiti* (Gundinci, Velika Kapanica, Orubica), *saditi* (Dubočac). Generally, more A.p. C reflexes are preserved than in Neo-Štokavian, even in those Posavian dialects that do have a regular *suši* ⇒ *sūši* change in most verbs.

ČAK.	Trp.	Smkv.	Pitve	Puč.	Tisno	Fil.	Mat.	S./Mrk.
*aviti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*buditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*čěditi	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	C:
*čěniti	B:		B:		B:	B:	B:	B:
*činiti	C	C	C	C	C	C		
*děłiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*diviti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:		
*družiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:		B:
*duriti	B:							
*dušiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:			

¹⁰⁴ The verb *tušiti* is A.p. *c* in Posavina, which is perhaps a dialectal peculiarity.

*gasiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*golsiti	B:				B:			
*gorditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*grěšiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*gubiti	C	C	C	C	C	C	B:	C
*kaditi	B:		B:		B:	B:		
*krasiti	B:				B:	B:	B:	B:
*krěpiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	
*kriviti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:		B:
*lěpiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*mastiti	B:		B:			B:	B:	B:
*miriti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*obvolčiti	B:		B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*platiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*porsiti					B:	B:		B:
*pustiti	B:	B:	B:	B:	B	B	C	B
*saditi	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:	B:
*světłiti	B:	B:/C:	B:	B:	B:	C:		C:
*sněžiti						C:		
*tajiti			A<*B			C:	B:	C:
*učiti	C	C	C	C	C	C		C
*variti	B:				B:	B:	B:	B:
*žerbiti				B:		B:		

In Čakavian, the old long A.p. *c* verbs yield A.p. B: in most cases via the *suši* ⇒ *sūši* change. The verbs exempt of this are *činiti*, *gubiti* and *učiti* in most dialects, as in Neo-Štokavian. However, the verb *pustiti* is often A.p. B: (but cf. A.p. B in Tisno and Filipjakov and A.p. C in Matulji), which is not so frequent in Neo-Štokavian. Some dialects have A.p. B here, like Neo-Štokavian. The dialects of Filipjakov and Sunger act like Štokavian (like they usually do) and preserve the middle stage of A.p. C: in a few verbs. Some Čakavian dialects are much more archaic and preserve A.p. C (or A.p. C:) in many forms, for instance the dialect of Kukljica on Ugljan (cf. Benić 2011).

KAJK.	Mahično	Drinje	Zabok	Štuparje	Konjščina
*aviti	C	C.	C	C	C
*buditi	C	C.	C	C	C
*čediti	C	C.	C	C	C
*čěniti	B:		C		C
*činiti		C			
*děliti	C	C.	C.	C	C

*diviti	C		B:		
*družiti	B.	B:	B:	B:	B:
*duriti	B.	B:	A	A	C
*đušiti	C		C	C	
*gasiti	C	C.	C.	B:	C
*golsiti				B.	
*gorditi	B:	C.			C/C.
*grěšiti		B:	B:		B:
*gubiti	C	C	C	C	C
*kaditi		C.	B:/C?	C	C
*krěpiti		B:	B:		B:
*lěpiti	B:		C	C	B<*C
*mastiti	B:	C.	B.	C	C
*měniti					C
*miriti	B.	B:	B:	C	C
*obvolčiti	B.	B:/C	B:	C	
*platiti	C	C	C	C	C
*pustiti	C	C	C	C	C
*saditi	C	C/C.	C	C	C
*světliti			B:	B:	B:
*strěliti		C			C
*tajiti	C		B:		C
*učiti	C	C	C	C	C
*variti	B:			B:	C
*žerbiti					C

The original A.p. C reflex of the old long A.p. *c* is preserved in many verbs in Kajkavian, especially well in Konjščina and Štuparje. However, there seems to be quite a bit of the secondary change to A.p. B: as well by the *suši* ⇒ *sūši* change (which is perhaps younger than and unrelated to the same process in Štokavian and Čakavian). Some words, like *družiti*, *grěšiti*, *krěpiti*, *světliti* appear to be always A.p. B: in Kajkavian,¹⁰⁵ which could perhaps be an old dialectal trait.

4. Conclusion

The A.p. *b*₁ yield A.p. B everywhere (both short and long). In Neo-Štokavian, the reflexes of the short A.p. *b*₂ are either A.p. C or unreliable (mixed). In Posavian, the short A.p. *b*₂ most likely yields A.p. B but with a lot of secondary

¹⁰⁵ Cf. the A.p. C of *grěšiti* but A.p. B: of *krěpiti* in Velika Rakovica (March 1981: 273).

shifts to A.p. C. In Čakavian, several dialects point to A.p. C as the reflex of the short A.p. *b*₂, Sunger perhaps points to A.p. B (with later massive shift to A.p. C). In Kajkavian, both short and long A.p. *b*₂ yield A.p. B. The long A.p. *b*₂ reflected as A.p. C in Neo-Štokavian originally but most of the verbs shifted to A.p. B: later by the *sušī* ⇒ *sūšī* process. In Posavina, the regular reflex of the old A.p. *b*₂ is A.p. B: In Čakavian, some dialects point to the old A.p. C as the reflex of the A.p. *b*₂, later changed by the *sušī* ⇒ *sūšī* change (in others, the data is ambiguous). In Neo-Štokavian, most dialects preserve the short A.p. *c* well. The same goes for Posavina. In Čakavian, half of the dialects preserve it well, while in others there are a lot of secondary shifts to A.p. B. In Kajkavian, only the dialect of Mahično preserves A.p. *c* well. The long A.p. *c* yields regular A.p. C in part of Posavina (Siče, Magić Mala) and Kajkavian in most cases. In Neo-Štokavian and Čakavian, it yields mostly A.p. B: by the *sušī* ⇒ *sūšī* process (not including some exceptions which preserve the old A.p. C or A.p. C:).

5. The *sušī* ⇒ *sūšī* change

It has been long known that in most Štokavian and Čakavian dialects the old Proto-Slavic A.p. *c* with the etymologically long root vowel does not yield the expected short A.p. C (e.g. *sušīti* - *sušī* as it is in Kajkavian and the most archaic Štokavian and Čakavian dialect¹⁰⁶) but long A.p. B: (i.e. *sūšīti/sūšīti* - *sūšī/sūšī*). The new *sūšī* must derive from the older **sūšī* with the length reintroduced to the root. The sequence of length and neo-acute was unstable and there was a tendency to change the accentual paradigm to A.p. B: in order to stabilize the length in the root (cf. the same applies to definite adjectives, where the old *suhī* ⇒ **sūhī* by analogy to *sūh* and finally ⇒ *sūhī*). As already said, not all Štokavian and Čakavian dialects underwent this change, it did not operate (in most cases) in Posavian villages of Siče and Magić Mala and in some Čakavian dialects like Kukljica on the island of Ugljan. In the rest of Štokavian and Čakavian, there are usually four verbs which did not reintroduce the length to the root – *učiti*, *činiti*, *gubiti* and *pustiti* (the latter later shifted to A.p. B in most dialects). There are also a couple of words, like *tajiti*, which reintroduced the length but did not shift to A.p. B: from A.p. C:.

The question is: where did the reintroduced length, the cause of the A.p. C ⇒ A.p. B: shift, come from? If one looks at the expected reflexes, one would expect the following shortenings and preservation of length in A.p. *c* *i*-verbs. The length would be shortened in the majority of forms – in the infinitive *sušīti*, the supine *sūšit*, the present tense from 2nd sg. to 3rd dual (*sušīš... sušē* etc.), the

¹⁰⁶ For the regular and expected shortening of the old long vowels in *sušīti* and *sušī*, cf. for instance Kapović 2005a: 93-95, 100-101. Pretonic length is always shortened in front of two or more moras.

aorist 1st sg. (*suših*) and plural/dual (*sušismo... sušise*), the *l*-participle (*sušil... sušilā* or transformed *sušil... sušila*), most of the *n*-participle forms (f. and n. *sušenā, sušenō* and all the oblique forms), the imperative plural (*sušimo!, sušite!*), the imperfect, in the f. N.sg. and the oblique stems of the active present participle and in some polysyllabic oblique forms of the active preterite participle. However, in other forms, which were not so numerous, one would expect the length of the root to be preserved – in the 1st sg. of the present tense (**sūšu*), in the imperative sg. (2nd *sūšī!*, 3rd *sūšī!*)¹⁰⁷, in the 2nd and 3rd sg. of the aorist (*sūši*), in the m. N.sg. of the *n*-participle (**sūšen*), in the m. N.sg. of the active present participle (**sūše*) and in the most forms of the active preterite participle (**sūš, *sūši* etc.)¹⁰⁸. The question is how the majority of shortened forms could reintroduce the length from just a few forms in which we expect the retention of the old length. First of all, these forms were not the only ones which had length. A role in the reintroduction of the length to verbs like *sušiti, graditi* must have been played by the length in the root of the non-verbal forms like the adjective *sūh, sūhā, sūho*, the noun *sūša*, the nouns *grād, grāda, grādā* etc. This is also part of the answer why the length was not reintroduced to *činiti, gubiti, učiti, pustiti* (note that all four of them have either *-i-* or *-u-* in the root!), except for the fact that we are dealing with common, high frequency words. There were simply no non-verbal forms of the same root that could have influenced the verbs (the noun *čin* is literary or rare in Croatian and the adjective *pūst* has no real semantic relation to *pustiti*). There is still the question of how the forms with the length, which were in minority, influenced all the other forms. The reintroduction of the length must have been slow. First, the length was probably generalized in the whole of the imperative, spreading from the singular (thus *sūšimo!, sūšite!*). In this way, the length has become the mark of the imperative in A.p. *c* (as it still is in some Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects, see below). The same could have occurred in the aorist as well, the 2nd and the 3rd sg. persons being very frequent (the same kind of analogy probably occurred in the A.p. *b* as well). When the length was once secured in the imperative and the aorist (as well as in other forms, like 1st sg. of the present tense etc.), it could have been introduced first to the infinitive (formally built from the same stem as the imperative and aorist forms), then later to the present tense which caused the whole verb to shift to A.p. *B*: (this is contradicted by Molise forms like *dilīt - dilim*, Piccoli & Sammartino 2000 – here the infinitive root remained short in

¹⁰⁷ Some other Slavic languages point to *enclinenomenon* in these forms but there is no evidence for that in Croatian.

¹⁰⁸ At the very beginning, this kind of short/long alternation could have survived for some time since it was synchronically impossible for length to occur before $\bar{\text{~}}$ (as is still the rule in many Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects) and in polysyllabic forms.

all accent types). A role was perhaps played by the reshuffled *l*-participles as well. In Štokavian and South Čakavian, the expected A.p. *c* forms (*šūšīl*, *sušīlā*, *sūšīlo*) were probably very early changed to the forms *sūšīl*, *sūšīla*, *sūšīlo* analogically to A.p. *b* verbs. It is possible that together with the new accent the length was also introduced (the analogy of the imperative *sūšī!* = *mlātī!* could have caused the appearance of the length in the new *sūšīl* by analogy to *mlātīl*)¹⁰⁹, which later helped in the overall generalization of the length in A.p. *c*. In Kajkavian, where the A.p. B and A.p. C are distinguished in the *l*-participle as well, this only strengthens the short/long difference in the infinitive/present tense. When the *l*-participles of A.p. B and A.p. C collapsed together in Štokavian and South Čakavian, it was much easier for the short/long difference in the infinitives to collapse as well (the infinitive in the A.p. B introduced its length from the present tense).

This kind of scenario is not only imaginary. One can find concrete examples of the same kind of development in some Kajkavian modern dialects as we shall see. The long vowel in the imperative but a short vowel in the infinitive/present tense is preserved in some Čakavian and Kajkavian dialects. We shall list just a few examples, for more, see the verbs lists in this article and Kapović 2008. Cf. Filipjakov *učiti* - *učite* - *učite!* (in a couple of verbs)¹¹⁰, also in Kukljica¹¹¹, in Drinje this pattern is regular in A.p. C and has spread to the originally short verbs as well: *platīt* - *platīm* - *plātī!*, *drobīt* - *drobīm* - *zdrōbī!*, and the same is true in Konjščina: *brōji!* < *brojī! (A.p. B) but *lūōvi!* < *lōvī! (A.p. C) (by analogy to *būdī! etc.¹¹²). In the two Kajkavian dialects, the length has become a mark of the A.p. C imperative¹¹³, spreading from sg. to pl. and from originally long stems (like *sušīti*, *budīti*) to originally short stems (like *loviti*, *drobiti*). Sometimes, this long vowel from the imperative (backed up by other long

¹⁰⁹ The length is not expected in the *l*-participles of the A.p. *b* as well, but there it could have been reintroduced from the present tense (*mlātīš* etc.) without any problem. Another common point of departure could have been the aorist if the original 2nd/3rd sg. *mlāti in A.p. *b* had been changed analogically to *mlāti by then (and thus the same as *sūšī* in A.p. *c*).

¹¹⁰ It is a pity that this dialect has developed *kanovačko duljenje*, which has made its singular forms irrelevant.

¹¹¹ Benić 2011.

¹¹² In Konjščina, the old length in the imperative is seen only in *o since in other vowels (except in *e for which there is no examples in A.p. C) the length difference disappeared due to *kanovačko duljenje*. Thus *būdī!* could be from both *budī! and *būdī! But since the old *ō yields *ūō*, while *o lengthened by *kanovačko duljenje* yields *ō*, we see the difference in the vocalism in the examples like *poguōsti!* (A.p. C) and *lōži!* (A.p. B) and thus we can reconstruct the generalized long vowel in A.p. C imperative forms.

¹¹³ In that way, the rather complicated short/long alternation survived. In other dialects, it was completely eliminated, either by generalizing the length everywhere (like in Neo-Štokavian) or by generalizing the shortness (like in Siče and Magić Mala).

forms, like *sūh*, *grād*, *būdan* and other verbal forms etc.) could spread to other forms, like it did in the history of Štokavian and Čakavian. These changes are probably younger in the mentioned Kajkavian dialects and are just typological parallels to the Štokavian/Čakavian change (although we cannot be certain, these changes might have begun a long time ago in Kajkavian as well). For instance, cf. Konjščina *graditi* and the secondary *grāditi* < *grāditi with the introduction of the length. This is especially clearly seen in Drinje, where we see different phases in the spread of the length in A.p. C:

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. inf. <i>vučīt se</i> - pres. <i>vučīm se</i> - imp. <i>vūčī se!</i> , <i>vūčīte se!</i> | C |
| 2. inf. <i>gāsīt</i> - pres. <i>gasīm</i> - imp. <i>gāsī!</i> , <i>gāsīte!</i> | C. |
| 3. inf. <i>zgrīšīt</i> - pres. <i>zgrīšīm</i> - imp. <i>zgrīšī!</i> , <i>zgrīšīte!</i> | B: |

In the first phase, we see the inherited pattern (spread to the whole imperative and to the imperative plural of course). In the second phase, the length is reintroduced to the infinitive, the rule – length in front of *ı*, shortness in front of *ı̇*. In the third phase, the length is analogically transferred to the present tense and the verb shifts to A.p. B in order to preserve it (because the sequence of *ı̇ı̇* is not stable). Therefore today in Drinje one can see how the spread of the length in Štokavian/Čakavian could have operated (at least in some dialects). We can show the supposed developments through phases like this:

1. *budīti - *budīš - *būdī! - *būdīte! (also aor. *budīx, *būdi, pres. *būdu etc.)
2. *budīti - *budīš - *būdī! - *būdīte! (*būdīx, *būdi)
3. *būdīti - *budīš - *būdī! - *būdīte! (*būdīx, *būdi) (cf. also adj. *būdan)
4. *būdīti - *būdīš - *būdī! - *būdīte!
5. *būdīti - *būdīš - *būdī! - *būdīte! (also *budīlā ⇒ *būdīlā, if not earlier)¹¹⁴

The *sušī* ⇒ *sūšī* change occurred in almost all the examples in Neo-Štokavian and many Čakavian dialects. However, it is important to note that it has in some cases occurred even in those dialects (Siće and Magić Mala, Kajkavian, Kukljica) which preserve the original short A.p. C in many instances.

University of Zagreb

¹¹⁴ Of course, the introduction of length could have operated in a different way as well. It is possible that it was different in different dialects and it is very likely that it did not occur at the same time in all the dialects. According to Sergei L. Nikolaev (p.c.), in the Old Serbian manuscript (NBKM 680) the infinitive of both A.p. B and A.p. C was short in many cases (as well as the aorist except for the 2nd and 3rd person singular), while the *sušī* ⇒ *sūšī* change had been mostly carried through in the old A.p. c by then (or the length was there on the root but the accent was still on the thematic vowel). This case is very difficult to explain.

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