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Torlak Accentuation

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PREFACE

The present monograph reproduces my 1975 Harvard doctoral dissertation, which was entitled "A Structural Description of the Role of Accent in the Dialects of Southeastern Serbia." This work summarizes the results of field investigations which I carried out in southeastern Serbia in 1970-71, and upon which I hope to elaborate in future publications. During my year of field work, I was a formal guest of the Yugoslav Federal Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (Savezna komisija za kulturne veze s inostranstvom) and of the College of Arts and Letters of the University of Novi Sad (Filozofski fakultet u Novom Sadu), and was the recipient of a dissertation fellowship from the American Association of University Women. Grateful acknowledgement is made to all these institutions for their support of my work.

In addition, I would like to extend my appreciation to the following persons and institutions, without whom this work could not have reached its conclusion:

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the many villagers of southeastern Serbia, who were
my real teachers for a year. To them I dedicate this work.
Without their warm hospitality towards outsiders, their keen
sense of cultural values and levels, their respect for tra-
dition, and their good-humored patience with the exigencies
of questionnaire work, Serbo-Croatian dialectology could not
have become the solid scholarly discipline it is today.

NOTE: Numerous abbreviations are utilized in this work, both in the text and in the reference materials found in the Appendix. Explanations of these abbreviations are located on the following pages:

pp. 74--76: list of the 20 geographical target points upon which this study is based, to which all charts refer and to which data items are ascribed in the text;

p. 77: list of symbols used in charts and in the text to designate accentual relationships;

pp. 79-82: list of bibliographical sources from which forms quoted in the text are taken;

pp. 84--86: list of villages and areas used in citation of data in the text.

Secondly, the sketch maps which form part of the text and the large map in the Appendix are not meant to be identical. Dialect boundaries shown on the large map are as accurate as I can make them. Sketches II, IX and X, on the other hand, are meant to be schematic representations of the overall area, and the dialect boundaries are very approximate. In particular, the section marked NSV on the sketch maps is meant to refer only to the village of Novo Selo (Vidin) itself, and the section marked Sof on the sketch maps appears somewhat smaller than it is in reality.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1   The typological diversity of accentual systems rep-
resented within Serbo-Croatian dialects has been of interest
to scholars for a number of years.[1] Among these systems are
those which utilize all three acoustic dimensions--frequency,
duration and intensity, which correspond respectively to the
prosodic features of tone, length and stress--e.g. certain
Slavonian and čakavian dialects. Dialects in which the two
features of length and tone function distinctively are the
most numerous; the SC standard language is included among
these. The two features of length and stress function distinc-
tively in a number of dialects located mostly in Montenegro.
Of the dialects in which only one of the three dimensions serves
to implement prosodic distinctions, we may cite those kaj-
kavian dialects in which only length is distinctive, and two
groups of dialects (one comprising several small areas in
the northwest and the other consisting of one large region
in the southeast of the SC linguistic territory) in which
only stress placement fulfills a distinctive function, and
neither quantity nor tonal oppositions are operative.[2]

        The dialect area of concern in this work is that
large region in the southeast, called the Prizren-Timok, or
Torlak area, where only stress is distinctive. A small
group of SC dialects with fixed stress (i.e. no distinctive
prosodic features) is contained within this area; it is

located to the southwest of Prizren, along the Šar Planina
mountain range which forms the boundary between Serbia and
Macedonia.

Since it utilizes only stress (and not tone or
length), the accentual system of Torlak dialects is thus
more similar to that of Russian and Bulgarian than it is to
those of the bulk of SC dialects. The system of gramma-
tical oppositions and inflectional morphology of Torlak
dialects are also much more similar to Bulgarian than to
the bulk of SC dialects.[3] Since the Torlak dialectal sys-
tem differs so radically from that of standard SC on both
these points, I feel it will be of interest to examine the
utilization of accent to implement distinctions within the
system of inflectional morphology, i.e. the morphophonemic
accentual alternations of the Torlak dialects. My goal is
not restricted to a description of the accentual morpho-
phonemics of Torlak, however. I propose further to compare
the Torlak system with those of adjacent Bulgarian,
Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian dialects, with that of stand-
ard SC, and with reconstructed Proto-Slavic. By examining
both historical correspondences and synchronic variation, I
hope to elucidate some of the factors which have led to the
evolution of the present system as well as those which de-
termine change now in progress.

Considerable work has been done on the morpho-
phonemic accentual alternations of the SC std language,[4]

but little attention has been paid to morphophonemics in dialectal studies. The present work is an attempt to fill that void. It differs in both scope and intent from morphophonemic descriptions of the standard language, however. Ideally the standard language is conceived of as a single established code, a cohesive and more or less static structure which admits of little or no variation. Descriptions based on these assumptions can thus attain a high level of abstraction, resulting in clarity, economy and simplicity of description. Variation, however, is the very substance of linguistic geography--both variation within the system of a single village dialect, and variation between different local dialects of the same language. The focus of dialect description must be on the patterns of variation. The dialectologist can and must speak of systems, of course, as standards against which variation is to be measured.[5] But since he is operating with many systems simultaneously, each of which is partially similar to each other system in a unique way, he must be careful to define clearly all the systems with which he is dealing.

The linguistic systems to which the present work makes reference are the following: The terms std SC and std Bg refer to the contemporary standard norms of Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian, respectively, according to Daničić 1925 and Pravopis 1960 for SC, and Andrejčin et al. 1965 for Bg. On the other hand, the terms Tk (Torlak), NMac (northern

Macedonian), WBg (western Bulgarian) and KR (Kosovo-Resava Štokavian) make reference to the generalizations made by Yugoslav and Bulgarian dialectologists who have studied the dialect areas in question (see sections 1.5 and 1.7 for enumeration of the specific works from which the generalizations used herein are drawn). To speak of each of these as a system, however, requires that one abstract only the most basic structural elements, those which are common to all local dialects of the broad area in question. In some investigations, a single local dialect is chosen as representative of an area and normative statements for the larger area are based upon this one system. In other cases, dialectologists attempt to make general statements which are true for the whole area, and follow them with a number of qualifying statements intended to indicate the nature and degree of variation encountered. Neither method can give an adequate account of all the possible systems encountered within the particular area, however. The terms Tk, NMac, WBg and KR are used to refer to systems, but in view of our insufficient knowledge, the reader must remember that we are dealing with approximations.

Indeed, I propose that the goals of structural dialectology can be most adequately approached by studying a number of individual linguistic systems, each representing the speech of a single social stratum within a single village or locality, according to the same parameters. Once the

structure of each system has been outlined, the individual systems can be juxtaposed to each other and to previously known material to elucidate the patterns of structural variation.

During 1970-71 I investigated a number of local dialects within the Tk region in this manner. In the subsequent discussion, the name of each individual village is to be understood as referring to a single linguistic system: the dialect of the indigenous uneducated population of the village in question. I can make clear statements about the overall structure of these local dialects on the basis of my own personal observation. However, reliable comparative material was available, for authors of certain published works covering large geographical areas (Belić 1905a, Todorov 1936, Broch I903) identify specific dialectal forms as to the village in which they were recorded. This makes it possible to extract sufficient data from certain villages to visualize plausible systems for these villages. I cannot vouch for these data as certainly as I can for my own data, however.

The ultimate goal of my study is therefore three-fold. I will present the field data which I gathered in 1970-71, by way of charts and maps (whose organization is explained in section 1.18) supplemented by textual discussion. By comparing the accentual systems of my chosen villages with those of adjacent dialects, that of std SC

and that of reconstructed Proto-Slavic (insofar as these can be determined), I will attempt to identify which alternations in the Tk accentual system represent archaism (i.e., continue PS1 with minimal regular phonetic change) and which represent innovation. That is, I hope to determine which accentual patterns are productive (innovative) and which are unproductive (archaic). Finally, by examining the multifaceted variation found among accentual patterns in the Balkan Slavic area, I will try to define certain directions of variation, dynamic mechanisms within the several systems which underlie change in progress.

I will first define the Torlak dialectal area (sections 1.2--1.4) and describe the goals and methods of my field investigation (sections 1.5--1.11). Next, I will outline briefly the working assumptions upon which my analyses were based (sections 1.12--1.16) and explain the manner in which the data will be presented (sections 1.17--1.19). The remainder of the work is devoted to presentation and discussion of the data. Nominal alternationsare discussed first (chapter II), and then verbal alternations (chapter III). Finally, the patterns of variation are summarized and certain speculations made about the mechanism of change which they suggest (chapter IV).

1.2   The first SC dialectologist was Vuk Stefanović
Karadžić, codifier of the modern literary standard, who in
the grammatical section appended to his famous dictionary
(1st edition, 1818) described three major regional variants
of this SC language ("Ercegovačko, Sremačko i Resavsko";
the latter includes present-day Torlak and Kosovo-Resava).
Although the group of dialects now referred to as "Torlak"
was not considered by Vuk as separate, the very term
"Torlak" appears for the first time in Vuk's dictionary (2nd
edition, 1852). Vuk defines the noun Torlak as a person
who "speaks neither Serbian nor Bulgarian purely."[6] Vuk's
pithy statement accurately foreshadows the special and con-
troversial place these dialects have occupied in South
Slavic dialectology ever since his time.

        Torlak dialects were first recognized as a separate
group by Aleksandar Belić in 1905. In the text accompany-
ing his Dialektologičeskaja karta serbskogo jazyka (Belić
1905b), he distinguished six dialectal groups of the lan-
guage now known as SC (Prizren-Timok, Kosovo-Resava, Central
[Šumadija-Srem], Zeta-Bosnia, Island-Istria, Croatia).
Using the Stammbaum model to schematize his conception of
the historical relation between dialects, he visualized a
basic split between štokavian and čakavian (kajkavian dia-
lects were not included since Belić felt them to be a
mixture of SC and Slovenian). Štokavian was subsequently
divided into the Prizren (i.e., Torlak) and Raška (i.e., all
other štokavian groups).

Belić's extension of the area covered by this dialect group (and, correspondingly, the SC language) eastwards into western Bulgaria, southwards into the area now known as northern Macedonia, and westwards into that area of Turkey then known as Old Serbia (and now corresponding roughly to the autonomous province of Kosovo) excited considerable criticism among scholars. T.D. Florinskij (1907) correctly points out that Belić had not been in any of these area (as opposed to his extensive field trips through the portions of the area then belonging to the kingdom of Serbia). Since Belić's decision to call western Bulgarian dialects Serbian was based only on material published by Bulgarian scholars who had done field work in the area (and who, of course, considered the dialects in question Bulgarian), it was therefore suspicious.

Milan Rešetar (1907), on the other hand, criticized Belić's definition of the Torlak zone from the point of view of its relation to the other SC dialects, and proposed a different classification. Citing the Balkan linguistic traits which bind Torlak with Bulgarian and Macedonian, Rešetar claimed that Torlak was structurally so different from other štokavian dialects that it could not be classified in the same group with them. He considered Torlak dialects as a transitional dialect zone, being careful, however, to emphasize the clear Serbian rather than Bulgarian base of these dialects. Rešetar thus saw four

major dialectal groups which included two central areas
(Štokavian and Čakavian), and two peripheral, transitional
zones: kajkavian (transitional to Slovenian) and "Old
Serbian" (transitional to Bulgarian).

The dispute between Belić and Rešetar about the
classification of SC dialects continued for a number of
years, with very fruitful results for the development of
SC dialectology as a discipline (see Belić 1908, 1909;
Rešetar 1909, Belić 1910a, 1910b). Belić continued to re-
gard Torlak dialects as Štokavian dialects, while Rešetar
continued to insist that they must be viewed purely syn-
chronically, as separate from Štokavian. The situation was
complicated by the fact that Macedonian had not yet been
recognized as a separate language; all of its dialects were
regarded as Serbian by the Serbian scholars in question.
The northernmost dialects were clearly a part of the Torlak
group; further to the south, boundaries were more difficult
to establish. Bulgarian scholars insisted that all Macedonian
dialects were Bulgarian--as many do still today.

The question of the linguistic demarcation line be-
tween Serbian and Bulgarian, and the problem of transitional
dialects, is difficult to separate from political and nation-
alistic boundary disputes. One must remember that the pole-
mic being summarized here took place in the years immediately
preceding the Balkan Wars (one of the major causes of which
was these very boundary disputes), and ascribe the sharpness

of the dispute at least partially to these causes.

Belić's final view of SC dialect classification
(1929) represented a compromise of sorts: štokavian dia-
lects were divided into "old štokavian" (Macedonian proper),
"middle štokavian" (Torlak and the northern Macedonian dia-
lects) and "new štokavian" (the rest of štokavian dialects).
When Macedonian was recognized as a separate language in
1945, the problem of whether Torlak dialects were štokavian
or not again had to be broached. Pavle Ivić at first in-
cluded them in the štokavian group (although he was careful
to emphasize that they occupy "an entirely separate place
within the confines of the štokavian dialect" [Ivić 1956:
108]). Only two years later, however, he classified Torlak
dialects as a distinct, major dialectal group, on the same
level as čakavian, kajkavian and štokavian (Ivić 1958).
This latter view is now the prevalent one among scholars.

1.3   Present-day Tk dialects occupy a geographical area
which includes most of the southern and eastern regions of
the Federal Republic of Serbia within Yugoslavia, and in-
cludes completely those zones where Serbia borders with
the Federal Republic of Macedonia on the south and with
the state of Bulgaria on the east (see the map in the
Appendix). Two major lines of communication link the popu-
lation of this area with neighboring regions. One is the
Južna Morava River (which flows into the Velika Morava at
the very northwestern boundary of the Torlak dialect zone),
along which runs the main Yugoslav highway, that linking
Belgrade (the capital both of Serbia and of Yugoslavia)
with Skopje (the capital of Macedonia) and the major cities
of Greece, Thessaloniki and Athens. The other is along the
ancient route from western Europe to Constantinople, today
the major throughway linking Yugoslavia with Bulgaria (par-
ticularly its capital Sofija) and Turkey. Niš, the largest
city in the Torlak dialectal area, is located at the point
where these two highways cross. There are six major towns
in the Torlak area. Pirot is located on the Niš--Sofija
highway near the Bulgarian boarder, while Aleksinac,
Leskovac, and Vranje are all located along the major north-
south transit route. Aleksinac is situated north of Niš,
near the northern boundary of the dialect zone, while
Leskovac and Vranje are south of it, the latter quite close
to the Macedonian border.

The western portion of the Torlak dialect zone lies within the political unit called the Autonomous Province of Kosovo. This area, which along with Macedonia and a strip of southeastern Serbia just to the north of the Macedonian border was earlier referred to as "Old Serbia", remained within the Ottoman Turkish empire until the First Balkan War in 1912. Although the region of Kosovo was the center of the medieval Serbian empire in the 13th-14th centuries, the majority of its population is now ethnically non-Slavic, mostly Albanian. The Albanian immigration into Serbia took place chiefly in the 18th and 19th centuries, however,[7] and there are still enough inhabitants who are monolingual in SC to make dialectological investigation of SC in this area meaningful. The major towns in this region are the pro-vincial capital, Priština, located near the northwestern boundary of the Tk dialectal area, and Prizren, located in the southwest, at the foot of the Šar mountains, which form this portion of the Serbian-Macedonian frontier.

1.4   Torlak dialects are distinguished from neighboring
Štokavian dialects and the standard language by the follow-
ing major isoglosses:

1) Tk dialects have conserved the inherited place of stress
while the std lg and many štokavian dialects have undergone
a retraction of ictus one syllable towards the beginning of
the word. In addition, Tk dialects have lost distinctive
length and tone, retaining only stress as distinctive.

2) Tk dialects have a six-vowel system: in addition to
the classic five vowels of std SC and most štokavian and
čakavian dialects (/a̱, e̱, i̱, o̱, u̱/), a schwa-vowel (/ə̱/)
is also distinguished. This vowel continues both common
Slavic "jer-vowels" (*ь , *ъ); in std SC it has merged
with /a/. Examples: Tk ko̱tel, i̱šel, də̱n, ve̱ter, ze̱lva vs.
SC ko̱tao, i̱šao, dan, ve̱tar, za̱ova.

3) Further, in the northeasternmost part of the Tk area,
the proto-SC syllabic "l" (/l̩/) is retained as a separate
segment. In other areas of Tk, varied reflexes are found,
ranging from the sequences /lə̱/ and /lu̱/ (which usually
occurs only after dental consonants), to the vowel /u̱/ (the
reflex also in štokavian dialects and the std lg). The
sequences /lə̱/ and /lu̱/ are more common in the central and
southeastern areas, while the /u̱/ predominates in the west
and southwest. Examples: Tk vl̩k or vuk vs. SC vuk; Tk sl̩nce
or slə̱nce or slunce or sunce vs. SC sunce.

4) Torlak dialects have conserved inherited syllable- and word-final -l, while Štokavian dialects have transformed this -l to -o. Examples: Tk kotəl, znal, zəlva vs. SC kotao, znao, zaova. In western Tk, this final -l has been replaced by -ja in forms of the masculine singular L-participle, e.g. Tk znaja, išaja vs. SC znao, išao.

5) In the realm of morphology, the most significant feature differentiating Tk from other SC dialects is the loss of almost all case forms in nominal declension. (The vocative, not properly speaking a ease, has been retained.) Thus, in the singular only two cases are distinguished, the nominative and the so-called "general case" (SC opšti padež), which in form is identical with the accusative case of std SC. Since in most SC declensional classes the Nsg and Asg forms are identical (that is, all neuter nouns and all feminine and inanimate masculine nouns with Nsg in -∅), this in essence means that many nouns in Tk have only one form in the singular and one in the plural. Only masculine and feminine nouns with Nsg in -a and animate masculine nouns distinguish N and A cases in the sg. Plural forms of feminine and neuter nouns are used with numerals, but masculine nouns distinguish a special numerative case. In addition, dialects in the western area usually distinguish a dative form in the declension of nouns denoting animate beings. (See sec. 2.1 for a more detailed discussion of the differences between Tk and std SC nominal morphology.)

The effect of this simplification of the substantival and adjectival inflection on Torlak structure is great, transforming it in essence from a more synthetic to a more analytic type.[8] Case relationships which in std SC are conveyed by inflectional desinences are here expressed by phrases of preposition plus noun object (with the noun object always in the "general" case).

6) Formation of the comparative degree of adjectives and adverbs is also expressed analytically in Tk: the particle "po" placed before the adjectival form expresses the comparative degree, and the particle "naj", the superlative degree. Example: Tk star, postar, najstar. Std SC, on the other hand, has synthetic forms of the comparative, while the superlative degree is formed by prefixing the particle "naj" to the already inflected comparative form. Example: SC star, stariji, najstariji.

7) The infinitive has been altogether lost in Torlak dialects. Verbal relations expressed in the standard language by the infinitive are here expressed by present tense forms in subordinate clauses. Sometimes these clauses are introduced by the conjunction da, but more often the da is absent and there is a simple sequence of two present tense forms. Example: Tk ne može uvati or ne može da uvati vs. SC ne može uhvatiti or ne može da uhvati.

8) The formation of the future tense in Tk is affected by the loss of the infinitive: where the std lg has a conjugated form of the verb <u>hteti</u> plus either the infinitive or a subordinate clause introduced by <u>da</u>, Tk dialects have simply the future particle <u>će</u> followed by a present tense verbal form. Sometimes the conjunction <u>da</u> links the future particle <u>će</u> and the present tense form, but more often it is absent. Example: Tk <u>će idem</u> vs. SC <u>hoću ići</u> or <u>hoću da idem</u>. Note also that the future particle is not usually conjugated in Tk as it is in the std lg; the invariant form <u>će</u> is ordinarily used for all persons.

9) The usage of personal pronouns in Tk dialects differs from the std lg. Full and enclitic forms of personal pronouns serve distinct functions and hence occur in different environments in SC, while in Tk the full form must be accompanied by the enclitic. Example: Tk <u>mene me boli glavata</u> vs. SC <u>mene boli glava</u>.

10) In easternmost Tk dialects, a particle is suffixed to nominal forms to indicate definiteness, as in Macedonian and Bulgarian. The Tk postpositive article is more similar to Macedonian usage than to Bulgarian in that a three-way distinction of relative proximity (to the speech event) comparable to that of demonstrative pronouns in the std lg, is observed. Example: Tk <u>ženava</u>, <u>ženata</u>, <u>ženana</u> vs. SC <u>ova žena</u>, <u>ta žena</u>, <u>ona žena</u>.

While the first four isoglosses outlined above rep-
resent archaisms in Tk, the last six summarize the major
traits defining the Balkan Sprachbund. The place of SC
Torlak dialects within this group is thus clearly substanti-
ated.

Within the Tk zone, I distinguish three major sub-
dialects: Eastern Torlak (ETk), Central-western Torlak
(CWTk) and Southwestern Torlak (SWTk). My classification
is based primarily on differences in accent placement. It
diverges from Belić's division of the Tk zone into Timok-
Lužnica (TL), Svrljig-Zaplanje (SZ) and Prizren-Južna Morava
(JM) in the following way: TL and SZ are grouped together
as ETk. The JM zone, however, is split into SWTk, which
includes dialects in the area around Vranje and the province
of Kosovo, and CWTk, which comprises the remainder of JM
dialects (see map for the location of the isoglosses).

The major traits differentiating these dialect groups
are the following:

ETk dialects permit the occurrence of accent in all
positions; unstressed vowels are pronounced with a more
centralized articulation than are stressed vowels. In the
TL subgroup of ETk, the postpositive article is used con-
sistently, and /ć/ and /č/ are not distinguished; only /l/
occurs in positions where etymologically expected.

In the SZ subgroup, the article is absent, /ć/ and
/č/ are distinct, and the usual reflexes of /l/ are /lə/

and /lu/, with the latter occurring primarily after labial consonants.

In CWTk dialects stress occurs less often in final open syllables than in ETk. L-participle forms in -ja (e.g. išaja), and imperfect formations of the type pletešem are found (see secs 3.1--3.7 for a survey of the verbal morphology of Tk dialects). The reflexes of proto-SC *ḷ are /u/ and /lu/, with the latter occurring only after dental consonants.

SWTk dialects are distinguished by a general absence of stress in open final syllables, the usage of plural L-participle forms in -le for all three genders, the replacement of the verbal morpheme -nu- by -na-, and 3pl present forms in -eu or -iu, which are also heard as -ev or -iv (e.g. radeu, ženiu or radev, ženiv). In the Vranje region, 1sg present forms in -u (e.g. vidu, pravu) occur. In the Kosovo area, dative forms are distinguished in nouns denoting animate beings.

1.5   Before I started my field work in 1970, I reviewed
all material which had been published about Tk dialects in
order to extract as much information as possible about the
system of accentual morphophonemics. The following para-
graphs describe the works I consulted and the relative use-
fulness of accentual data offered by each.

The most complete scholarly study of the Tk area is
Aleksandar Belić's <u>Dijalekti istočne i južne Srbije</u> (Belić
1905a). Remarkable for its thoroughness of data and clarity
of treatment, this work is perhaps the most valuable descrip-
tion of a single areal dialect yet to appear in all of SC
dialectology.

Unfortunately, the traditional, nonstructural approach
of Belić's description considerably lessens its value for
the goals of the present investigation. Belić, like many
prestructuralists, did not have a strong enough conception
of language as a <u>system</u> to distinguish phonemic oppositions
from phonetic variation, or to consider sufficiently the
morphophonemic system. Thus, his data on accentuation are
organized not according to degree and kind of mobility within
accentual paradigms, but according to the number of syllables
in a stem and to which syllable of the word is accented.
His major interest often appears to be identifying and ex-
plicating those lexical items which deviate from their cor-
respondents in the std lg according to place of accent.
Further, data from the whole expanse of the Torlak area

are usually grouped together in the same listing. One there-
fore can grasp neither the overall morphophonemic picture
of Torlak accentuation, nor the situation of any one local
dialect. Belić does discuss variation within Torlak, of
course, but only in more general terms which do not allow
us to see the complete pattern of any one local linguistic
system. Finally, since this work was published prior to
the political events of 1912-13, it leaves out of considera-
tion the areas of the Torlak dialect zone which at the time
were still politically part of the Ottoman Empire: Kosovo
and the southernmost strip of eastern Serbia. The great
value of this 700-page work lies in the sheer volume of its
data, the thorough reliability of all these data, and the
extremely sophisticated discussion of much of it. Regard-
less of its theoretical orientation, it is a work worthy of
great respect and admiration.

Belić's description was preceded by Olaf Broch's
Die Dialekte des südlichsten Serbiens, published in Vienna
in 1903. Broch, a Norwegian, describes separately the dia-
lects of several major areas within the Torlak region and
provides texts gathered in each area. Broch's work became
available to Belić only as his 1905 manuscript was going to
press. Belić subsequently wrote a critical review of Broch's
work (Belić 1911) taking the opportunity to reformulate
and clarify a number of troublesome analyses in his own 1905
work. The degree to which Belić distrusts the reliability

of much of Broch's data makes one wary of utilizing Broch's book as a basic source. Many of Broch's data are very interesting, however, and will be cited below.

Marinko Stanojević's <u>Severnotimočki dijalekat</u>, a monograph about the dialect of a small area in the northeast of the Torlak region, appeared in the same journal with Belić's review of Broch. Here, too, one must be wary of certain of the data; Belić (1913b) quite correctly doubts that the whole area of 20-odd villages speaks a completely homogeneous dialect, as Stanojević seems to assume. Nevertheless, this monograph gives extremely valuable data on accentual morphophonemics. Instead of listing forms by tense, case, or accented syllable as in Belić 1905a (i.e., first, second, third syllable, etc.), Stanojević lists all the forms of a single paradigm together so that accentual alternations are readily apparent. Unfortunately, his data are not exhaustive. Some paradigms are given in entirety but certain crucially important elements are treated summarily and others are not mentioned at all.

Gliša Elezović's article about the dialect of Orahovac (near Prizren)(1949-50) is essentially of a sociolinguistic nature, but it provides a brief transcribed text in which most words are accented. Such texts are potentially valuable for accentual morphophonemics, since in the course of a single narrative there is a good chance that the same lexical item will appear in two or more different inflected

forms. Nevertheless, to obtain a clear enough picture of
a single system one needs either a very substantial number
of such texts or a criticial structural description accom-
panying the text. Since neither of these is provided in
the present case, his article is of minimal interest for
my work.

Next I perused three monographs devoted to local
dialects in the Kosovo area. Milivoj Pavlović's 1939 mono-
graph on the dialect of Sretečka Župa unfortunately falls
outside the scope of my interest here, since the dialect in
question (located on the extreme southwestern periphery of
the Torlak region) shows fixed antepenultimate stress, as
in the neighboring northwestern Macedonian dialects (and
the Macedonian literary standard as well). Secondly, the
same author's 1970 monograph on the dialect of Janjevo
(near Priština) is of limited use because the author seems
more concerned with describing phonetic variations of accent
and patterns of sentence intonation than with the accentual
alternations; he provides no systematic data. Finally,
M. Stevanović's 1950 description of the dialect of Djakovica
is the most valuable monograph treating a local dialect
within the Kosovo area of Torlak. It does not offer the
thoroughness of Belić 1905a or the clarity of Stanojević
1911, but it gives a sufficiently detailed picture of the
local dialect to allow at least a preliminary conception of
the accentual morphophonemic system.

Finally, one must mention a series of articles by
Danilo Barjaktarović (1962, 1965a, 1965b, 1966) on several
different dialects within the Kosovo area. Since one of
Barjaktarović's primary interests is the accentuation of
these dialects, his contributions would seem particularly
valuable to the present study. Unfortunately, however,
much of his material is misleading. In a dialect which has
been proven by numerous investigators to distinguish no other
prosodic features than place of stress, Barjaktarović per-
ceives a complicated system of tone and length oppositions
"in development". He apparently does not distinguish pho-
netic variation from phonemic opposition; it is possible
that his own native dialect, his educated speech, or both,
may have interfered in his analysis of the material. In
citing forms from Barjaktarović's articles, I assume that
the tonal and length characteristics represented by his
five diacritic marks do not affect the place of stress. I
mark the place of stress in all these forms (as in all Tk
forms cited herein) by the acute mark (´). I simplify
similarly the different diacritics used by Stevanović and
Pavlović to mark what I judge to be phonetic (and not pho-
nemic) features of tone and length.

In summary, certain of the above works were useful
inasmuch as they provided occasional interesting forms (a
number of which will be cited in subsequent discussions).
The solid systematic data which provided the basis for my

field investigations of 1970-71 were, however, those found
in Belić 1905a and Stanojević 1911.

1.6   After a thorough study of the above works, I formu-
lated a tentative description of the system of accentual
alternations in Tk dialects.

The following chart summarizes the morphophonemic
accentual alternations in Torlak dialects according to
sources published prior to 1971. All examples are taken
from Stanojević 1911.

Categories	Distribution	Examples
I. Substantival		
1. Singular/Plural		
	a) masculine	junéc (juncá)/ júnci
	feminine	ruká/rúke
	neuter	seló/séla
	b) certain masculine	i) dúvar/duvaré
		ii) vól/volóve
2. Nominative/General		
	feminine	ruká/rúku
		rodniná/ródninu
3. Nominative or General/Vocative		
	masculine	pop(popá)/pópe
	feminine	sestrá/séstro
II. Adjectival		
1. Indefinite/Definite		dobrá/dóbra

III. Verbal

    1. Present/Past (aorist, L-participle)

	a) obstruent stems	bodém/ubódɔ, ubóla
	b) others	brĭšem/brisá, brisála

     Aorist/Imperfect

	a) obstruent stems	bódo/bodéo
	b) others	brisá/brĭšeo

    2. Present/Imperative

	a) e-, ča-stems	bežím/béži
	b) most others	brĭšem/briší

    3. L-participle/Past Passive Participle

                         brisál/brĭsan

                         kosíl/kósen

    4. 1sg, 1-3pl Aorist/2-3sg Aorist   odəpé/ódəpe

    5. Prefixed Past Passive Participle/Nonprefixed

                         braná/óbrana

     Since the above outline summarizes the accentual alter
nations of the particular dialect described in Stanojević 191
it does not presume to describe the whole of the Torlak area.
Nevertheless, since the northeastern area he treated seemed t
be that with the greatest accentual mobility, this descriptic
was taken as a basis of comparison for the whole Torlak area.
Variations to the south and west seemed to reflect the absenc
of one or more of the above alternations, and not the presenc
of any different alternation.

1.7   The next step was to compare this description with available data about accentual alternations elsewhere, first in std SC and second in the dialects adjacent to Torlak, that is the Kosovo-Resava dialects of SC štokavian (located to the north and west of the Torlak region), the northern belt of Macedonian dialects (bordering Torlak on the south), and the westernmost Bulgarian dialects (directly to the east of the Torlak region).

The canonical source for SC accentology has been the articles Djuro Daničić published between 1851 and 1872, reprinted in a single volume, Srpski akcenti, in 1925. It is a thorough listing of the std SC lexical items of the time according to patterns of accentual mobility. In 1960, Matica Srpska and Matica Hrvatska published the Pravopis sa rečnikom/rječnikom with the partial intention of updating those portions of Daničić's handbook which no longer re-

ected the speech of contemporary educated Yugoslavs.
us many accentual paradigms which had seemed strictly
dified one way or another according to Daničić now were
mitted to permit considerable variation. On the other
nd, certain accentual forms described by Daničić as pos-
ble were adjudged to be no longer part of the literary
andard and thus did not appear in the Pravopis. Soon
ter the appearance of the Pravopis, the Serbian scholar
tar Pešikan published a valuable outline (Pešikan 1963-64)
SC verbal accent reflecting the major differences between

Daničić's description and that of the <u>Pravopis</u>. Berislav
Nikolić also treated certain aspects of the same problem
(including also nominal morphology) in several articles
(Nikolić 1961, 1961-62). Taken together, these sources
provide a fairly complete description of the accentual
morphophonemics of std SC.

Comparison of the Tk data with that of std SC showed
that the general patterns of accentual alternations seemed
similar, allowing for the differences in nominal inflection.
Certain alternations which are common in std SC appeared to
be poorly documented in Tk, however, particularly the one
opposing prefixed forms of both the L-participle and the
past passive participle to nonprefixed forms. The number
of lexical items with mobile accentual paradigms seemed
much greater in Tk than in the std lg, a fact that suggests
a large-scale spread of mobility throughout the lexicon.
Belić noted this tendency in at least one group of verbs
(1905a: 571-2), suggesting that the trend was to extend
this single accent pattern to all lexemes of that stem type.

The three dialectal groups which border the Tk area
differ considerably in their overall systems of accentual
morphophonemics, according to published source material.

Accentual data on the Kosovo-Resava group is fur-
nished by three recent monographs (Jović 1968, Peco-Milanović
1968 and Simić 1972), each describing a local dialect situ-
ated approximately in the center of the KR zone. Another

useful source for the accentuation of KR dialects is Elezović's

Rečnik kosovsko-metohijskog dijalekta (Elezović 1932-35), in

which entries are accented. Usually only the dictionary

entry form is given, but in a number of cases, other forms

of the word appear in examples appended to the citation,

though without consistency. These sources show that KR

dialects have a system of alternations which is similar to

that of the std lg. Significant structural deviations from

the SC std pattern concern the oblique cases of nouns, and

thus are not relevant for the description of Tk morphopho-

nemics.

The major source for the study of WBg dialects is

Cvetan Todorov's Severozapadnite belgarski govori (1936).

This work is patterned after Belić 1905a: a great wealth of

information, comprising data from nearly 300 villages, is

presented in a format which unfortunately prevents the reader

from seeing clearly either general morphophonemic patterning,

or the specific overall system of any one local dialect. A

number of the dialects included in Todorov's work are dis-

cussed in individual monographs, however. Most of these

sources provide systematic data both on morphology and ac-

cent, and give an abundance of examples.

The dialect of Novo Selo (near Vidin), situated in

the extreme northwest of the Bg linguistic territory, is

described in Maksim Mladenov's recent (1969) monograph,

Govorot na Novo Selo Vidinsko. The same author has also

written a description of the Ihtiman dialect (1966), situated in the southeastern corner of the area covered by Todorov. Material on the southwestern corner of this area is furnished by a third monograph in this series, Ivan Umlenski's Kjustendilskijot govor (1965). Data on the Sofia dialects is found in two monographs: Luka Golobov's work, Govorot na s[elo] Dobroslavci, Sofijsko (1965), concentrates on the dialect of a single village in the Sofia region, while Georgi Popivanov's Sofijskijot govor (1940) covers a broader area with much less attention to detail. Relatively little work has been done on dialects in the northeastern corner of the area covered by Todorov; only K. Popov's article Govorot na s[elo] Gabare, Beloslatinsko (1956) provides useful data. Additional data about the transitional WBg dialects are found in the following sources: Gospodinkin 1921 and Petričev 1931 discuss the dialect of Tron, and although neither work is linguistically very sophisticated, both offer a number of useful examples. Berberska 1931 describes the dialect of Ošane (near Belogradčik) in a similar manner, with similar results. C. Mladenov discusses the past tense forms of the Breznik dialect in two short articles (C.Mladenov 1955, 1959). Next, Mančev 1967 has published in list form the accented responses to the SC linguistic atlas questionnaire for her native village, Petrlaš (near Dimitrovgrad), a Bulgarian-speaking village situated in easternmost Serbia. Finally, Zahariev's 1918 ethnographic

study of Kjustendilsko Kraište (the area around Bosilegrad) furnishes a large body of accented texts, and a description of the dialect which, although philological rather than structural-linguistic, is useful.

These sources together seem to suggest that the accentual morphophonemic system in western Bulgarian dialects is similar to that described for northeastern Torlak dialects in Stanojević 1911, with the important difference that western Bulgarian has several alternations not mentioned by Stanojević. The most notable of these involve the indefinite vs. definite (with postposed article) nominal forms, and an alternation opposing the 1st singular present tense form to other present tense forms. Certain general verbal alternations, particularly that distinguishing present from past and that distinguishing 2-3sg aorist from other aorist forms, seem to occur with a significantly different distribution throughout the lexicon.

The most complete published work on northern Macedonian dialects is Božo Vidoeski's 1962 monograph about the dialect of Kumanovo. Several articles by the same author (Vidoeski 1952, 1953, 1954) provide a more cursory view of other parts of the northern Macedonian dialect zone. The western half of this dialectal zone is of no interest for the present project since accent there is fixed with respect to the word boundary (as in the Macedonian std lg). The most interesting difference between the accentuation of

these dialects and that of Torlak dialects appears to be
not morphophonemic but phonological in nature (i.e., defined
not in terms of stem types or paradigms but in terms of dis-
tributional constraints with respect to word boundary): a
large number of lexical items which show final stress in
Torlak exhibit prefinal stress in Kumanovo and other central
eastern dialects.

Only in the easternmost northern Macedonian dialects
is accent truly mobile. There is only one published de-
scription of a dialect in this area (Kuševski 1958), and it
is unfortunately not very sound linguistically. When I de-
signed my questionnaire, this was all the material I had
. available. However, when I had nearly finished my field
work, I was able, through the kindness of the director of
the Institut za makedonski jazik, Professor Božo Vidoeski,
to consult the archives being completed for the Macedonian
dialect atlas. By studying the entire book of field notes
of the Institut's investigations of a particular villáge,
I was able to extract a fairly clear picture of the accent-
ual morphophonemics of its dialect. Thus I am fortunate to
have relatively complete data about the accentuation of six
eastern Macedonian villages. Though this information did
not influence the questions I asked in the field, it was
very valuable to me when I analyzed my field notes.

1.8   In this manner I identified the alternations I might
expect to encounter in the field and the word classes in
which these alternations would probably occur. In the field
I would attempt to see how closely the actual spoken dialects
conformed to these expectations based on published sources.
The specific questions I sought to answer about each alter-
nation can be summarized as follows:

Does the alternation occur as predicted? If so, does
it occur in the expected lexical items? If it seems to oc-
cur in either a greater or smaller number of lexical items
than expected, what factors seem to be involved? On one
level, are there any specific facts about the individual
lexical items which might have a bearing on this result;
on another level, what overall structural facts about the
particular dialect are pertinent--how does the expansion
or curtailment of this alternation fit in with the occur-
rence of other alternations?

Secondly, given that the alternation is clearly
attested in a particular type of lexical item, does it al-
ways occur the same way in every attestation of each of
these items? If not, what are the patterns of variation
according to such factors as age, sex, class, occupation,
and education? What factors--both lexeme-specific and
general, seem to contribute to this variation?

Finally, do any alternations not mentioned in the
literature seem to exist? If so, what is their pattern of
occurrence, and how do they fit into the overall system?

It is important to note that the above type of investigation is intended to elicit the accentual system of <u>one</u> local dialect, that of the particular village being investigated. Each of these local dialects must be conceived of as a self-contained unit; the functioning of its several elements must be considered only in relation to each other, before meaningful structural comparison could be drawn. The variation is strictly social variation within one local dialect, and is an essential part of a single coherent dialect: it gives valuable hints as to the nature and direction of structural change in progress.

Once each of the accentual systems for each place studied is formulated, they are compared to establish the pattern of geographical variation. Here the questions to be asked are the following:

Over how wide an area does the alternation exist (i.e., where can the isoglosses be drawn on the map)? Does there seem to be a geographical direction in extension or curtailment of the alternation? Does it seem to be obligatory in some areas and optional in others? If so, which of the variant patterns is productive and which not? Finally, to see the problem in its wider perspective, how do the accentual isoglosses correspond to accentual isoglosses in the Bulgarian, Macedonian and SC Štokavian dialects adjacent to Torlak; and, how does this patterning of isoglosses with respect to paradigmatic accentual alternations correspond to isoglosses for other aspects of the linguistic system?

1.9   The original field questionnaire was drawn up on the
basis of data in the printed sources cited above. It in-
cluded 120 substantival stems, 144 verbal stems and 16 ad-
jectival stems. All items were native SC words, most were
nonderived, and all were lexical items which could be
elicited easily in conversation about topics germane to the
life of peasants. Only words which were attested at least
once in the base sources were chosen, to insure that the
item in question was indeed indigenous to the local dialect
(even with this precaution, however, certain of these items
could not be elicited in some geographical zones of the
Torlak area). For the purposes of accentual investigation,
nouns were grouped by declension class and verbs were grouped
according to the stem class outline utilized in Daničić 1925.
No subgrouping was made among the adjectival stems. The dis-
tribution of questionnaire items among the various classes
is the following:

Nouns (examples are Nsg)

Feminine (a-decl), e.g. _ruka_		47
Masculine (in a cons), e.g. _pop_, _ovčar_		48
Neuter, e.g. _selo_		25

Verbs (examples are 1sg pres)

I-1	e.g. _pečem_	24
I-2	e.g. _čujem_, _znam_	7
I-3	e.g. _počnem_	6
II	e.g. _ginem_	11

Verbs (examples are 1sg pres) - continued

III-1	e.g.	<u>umem</u>	1
III-2	e.g.	<u>sedim, držim</u>	23
IV	e.g.	<u>nosim</u>	26
V-1	e.g.	<u>gledam</u>	16
V-2	e.g.	<u>pišem</u>	14
V-3	e.g.	<u>berem, lajem, kujem</u>	12
VI	e.g.	<u>kupujem</u>	7

Adjectives   16

(The complete questionnaire is given in the Appendix.)

Before I ventured into the field, I rearranged the
list into semantic groupings to facilitate elicitation of
the forms in a natural conversational context. During the
course of field work, I revised the questionnaire to elimi-
nate items which proved especially difficult to elicit, and
to add new items. Some additions were intended to clarify
questions already partly covered, and others were aimed at
exploring new and unexpected phenomena, several of which
were geographically very restricted; such items were of
course not included in areas where they were not relevant.

Since accentual alternations within inflectional
morphology represented the goal of the investigation, I
attempted to elicit all the inflected forms for each item
which could give information about accentual morphophonemics.

These forms were:

Nouns--masculine (in a consonant)

    1. Nominative singular

    2. Accusative singular if animate; if inanimate, numerative form

    3. Vocative singular (if lexical item adjudged appropriate)

    4. Plural

    5. All forms with postposed article, if in appropriate geographical area.

Nouns--neuter

    1. Nominative singular

    2. Plural

    3. All forms with postposed article, if in appropriate geographical area

Nouns--feminine

    1. Nominative singular

    2. Accusative singular

    3. Vocative singular (where appropriate)

    4. Plural

    5. All forms with postposed article, if in appropriate geographical area

Adjectives (all forms to be elicited for all three genders)

    1. Nominative singular indefinite

    2. Accusative singular indefinite

    3. Plural indefinite

    4. Above forms, definite

Verbs

1. Present tense:

    a) 1st singular, if in area with -u̱ desinence

    b) 2d or 3d singular

    c) 1st or 2d plural

    d) 3d plural of stems in -a̱ȷ-

2. Imperative

    a) singular

    b) plural

3. Aorist

    a) 1st singular

    b) 2d or 3d singular

    c) 1st, 2d or 3d plural

4. Imperfect

    any forms which could be elicited

5. Past passive participle

    a) feminine, neuter singular, or plural unprefixed forms

    b) any prefixed forms

6. L-participle

    a) feminine, neuter singular, or plural unprefixed forms

    b) any prefixed forms

Forms not on this list that nevertheless seemed relevant were noted as they occurred.

As field work progressed, I realized that the goals guiding my construction of the questionnaire had not been

sufficiently diachronically oriented. As most dialectological
investigators had contented themselves with defining the
traits of the dialect which deviated from the std lg, I had
automatically organized my questionnaire according to the
accentual classes of the std lg. However, since one of the
deeper goals of the investigation was to elucidate the types
of innovation which had taken place in Torlak dialects, it
would have been better if I had designed the questionnaire
in terms of reconstructed PS1 accentual classes. Even so,
the results obtained do provide sufficient clarification
of diachronic questions, largely because std SC has, on the
whole, retained the PS1 distribution of lexemes among ac-
centual classes. Furthermore, I was able to make follow-up
field trips to investigate more fully the diachronic ques-
tions which the questionnaire had not anticipated.

1.10   Once the questionnaire had been formulated, I had
to determine the specific areas to be tested. Several
principles guided my choice. First, the target points
should be evenly spaced throughout the Torlak area. Secondly,
the village in question should be composed as much as pos-
sible of indigenous Serbian population (i.e., with minimal
percentage of immigrant population, whether from other
countries, other Yugoslav republics, or other areas in
Serbia). Third, it should be as far as possible from major
communication lines but still accessible by car in bad
weather. Finally, if possible, it should not have been
investigated previously. Thus, I tried to avoid all the
villages visited by Belić in the first few years of this
century, while still satisfying the other three criteria.

The nine major investigation points chosen are the
following villages (their location within the Torlak area
is shown on the map by means of small capital letters).

1. Činiglavci. Situated 1.5 km. from the paved
road connecting Niš and Sofija, 16 km. east of Pirot. Four-
year school in Činiglavci, eight-year school 3 km. away in
Srečkovac, high school in Pirot. ETk: Timok-Lužnica dialect,
very near to Bulgarian border (the next village to the east,
although still within Serbia, is a Bulgarian speaking village).
Not investigated by Belić.

Short visits were subsequently made to Temska
(12 km. to the north of Pirot), Babušnica

(20 km. southwest of Pirot) and Suračevo

(1 km. west of Babušnica) to test parti-

cularly interesting phenomena.

2. <u>Krastavče</u>. Situated 30 km. southeast of Niš on

paved road. Four-year school in Krastavče, eight-year school

4 km. away in Dušnik, high school in Gadžin Han (14 km.

away). ETk: Svrljig-Zapljane dialect, not investigated

by Belić.

A subsequent visit was made to Plužina near

Svrljig, 17 km. northeast of Niš.

3. <u>Vlasina Rid</u>. Situated on man-made lake (Vlasinkso

jezero, formerly called Vlasinsko blato) 36 km. northeast of

Vranje on paved, narrow, mountain road. Eight-year school

in Vlasina Rid, high school in Crna Trava (15 km. away) or

Surdulica (13 km. away). ETk: Timok-Lužnica dialect,

close both to the TL/JM boundary and to the Serbian/Bulgarian

language boundary. General area investigated by Belić.

4. <u>Trgovište</u>. Situated 36 km. southeast of Vranje

on unpaved road. Eight-year school in Trgovište, high

school in Vranje or Bujanovac (10 km. south of Vranje on

main highway). SWTk dialect, close to boundary with north-

ern Macedonian dialects, and Bulgarian-speaking area of

Serbia. Not investigated by Belić. (This area in 1905 was

still part of Ottoman Turkey.)

Short visits were made to villages surrounding

Trgovište, Šajince (7 km. west of Trgovište,

on the main road) and Stajovce and Radovnica

(both east of Trgovište on the same road,

the latter in the foothills of the mountains

marking the border between Serbian and

Bulgarian-speaking areas), to investigate

certain particularly interesting phenomena.

At a later time, Davidovac, a village 2 km.

east of Bujanovac, was visited in connection

with some of the same points.

5. <u>Šarbanovac</u>. Situated 41 km. northeast of
Aleksinac. Road paved as far as Soko Banja (32 km.), un-
paved the remaining 9 km. Four-year school in Šarbanovac,
eight-year school 1 km. away in Mužinac, high school in
Soko Banja. CWTk dialect, close both to boundary with
Kosovo-Resava štokavian, and ETk (Timok-Lužnica) dialect.
Not investigated by Belić.

Short visits were made to villages surround-

ing Šarbanovac, Mužinac (1 km. to the west)

and Dugo Polje (11 km. to the southeast), to

test particularly interesting phenomena.

6. <u>Šilovo</u>. Situated 23 km. southwest of Leskovac.
Road paved as far as Lebane, remaining 3 km. unpaved. Four-
year school in Šilovo, eight-year school and high school in
Lebane. Central WTk dialect. Not investigated by Belić.

7. <u>Gračanica</u>. Situated 9 km. southwest of Priština
on paved road. Site of famous medieval church often visited
by tourists. Eight-year school in Gračanica, high school

in Priština. SWTk dialect, close to boundary with Kosovo-
Resava štokavian. Not investigated by Belić, as part of
Ottoman Turkey in 1905.

8. <u>Dvorane</u>. Situated 21 km. northwest of Prizren.
Road paved 14 km. to turnoff, unpaved 8 km. to Mušutište,
half-hour walk from there. Four-year school another half-
hour walk further in Popovljane, eight-year school in
Mušutište, high school in Prizren. SWTk dialect, close to
Šar Planina range which marks boundary with northern
Macedonian dialects. Not investigated by Belić, part of
Ottoman Turkey at the time.

9. <u>Pasjane</u>. Situated 8 km. south of Gnjilane on
unpaved road. Eight-year school in Pasjane, high school
in Gnjilane. Central SWTk dialect. Not investigated by
Belić, as part of Ottoman Turkey in 1905.

1.11   Once the investigation points were chosen, the
next step was to visit the villages, find satisfactory in-
formants, and begin the actual field recording. Normally,
I approached informants through the local elementary school
with the help of a letter of introduction from the secre-
tary of the College of Arts and Sciences (<u>sekretar filozof-
skog fakulteta</u>) of the University of Novi Sad. School-
teachers usually understood the nature of the problem and
were usually able to direct me to suitable informants.
Most of the time a bright pupil (one who could afford to
miss class) was assigned to accompany me to the informant's
house, and more often than not, these children possessed a
good sense for linguistic structure and dialectal differ-
entiation, and proved of great assistance to me in my work.
Of course, not all informants recommended to me in this
manner were suitable, but by asking around the village I
usually found what I needed in a relatively short time.

          The criteria for the selection of informants were
the following: born in the village in question, with both
parents and all grandparents either of that village or of
closely adjacent villages; illiterate or at most only mini-
mal schooling; little or no travel experience outside the
village; clear mind and memory; clear speech and preferably
(though for investigation of accent not mandatory) a good
set of teeth; and finally a willingness to talk at length
about all sorts of topics. Elderly people usually satisfied

these requirements best, and women on the whole showed less
contamination from outside influence in their speech than
did men, as they had travelled less and had fewer contacts
with outsiders. Men serve in the army, take frequent trips
to town, and are usually the ones to converse with strangers.
Women also seemed to feel more at ease in the presence of
a woman investigator. Sometimes older men proved satisfac-
tory informants, however, and younger women with minimal
schooling often still spoke a local dialect which was rela-
tively free of outside influence; this of course was more
often the case in villages which had less contact with
modern civilization. In exceptional cases children over
the age of seven were used as supplementary informants when
they obviously had a clear sense of which was village speech
and which was school speech, i.e., if they were clearly
bi-dialectal.

Approximately five days were spent in each village,
with as much time as possible devoted to actual work with
informants. This proceeded in three phases: a) question-
naire work, which involved the elicitation from the inform-
ant(s) of all the relevant forms of each item on the
questionnaire in as natural a frame as possible; b) narration,
in which the informant told a story or a folk tale, or
recounted personal experiences. often to an audience of
several people. At least one such narration was recorded
on tape for each of the nine major villages. If it did

not detract from the informant's feeling of naturalness,
I noted down pertinent forms as they occurred in the narra-
tion; c) eavesdropping. This method should by no means be
considered unethical for three reasons: only single words
were recorded; no informant is identified in the presenta-
tion of the actual data; and most of the villagers were
aware of the means and motivation of my work and supported
it with interest. Eavesdropping provided the most interest-
ing and most reliable data, since the speech situations
were completely natural and the investigator was all but
ignored. Forms heard in this way for the first time were
checked later with informants whenever possible, to be sure
I had heard correctly. These three phases of investigation
proceeded more or less simultaneously. All data were entered
into the main field notebook while I was still in the village,
and lacunae were thus noted while there was still the oppor-
tunity to fill them. Interesting and unexpected phenomena
were also recorded, and, to the extent possible, followed
up while I was still on the spot.

In addition to the responses to questionnaire items,
I recorded the following information: a) names and personal
data (date and place of birth, place of birth of parents and
grandparents, amount of schooling and amount of time spent
outside the village) of all major informants; general im-
pressions about each major informant's speech characteris-
tics, personality traits as related to the representability

of his speech, and general estimate of reliability as an
informant; c) general impressions of the dialect as a whole,
particularly those traits which would be affected by or
have a bearing on the function of accentual alternations
within the system, as well as forms which were not on the
questionnaire but which illustrated salient traits of the
accentual characteristics of the dialect; and d) a brief
description of the village itself, including nearest ad-
ministrative center and schools, main occupation of the
inhabitants, and accessibility to urban civilization.

1.12   I have based my comparative analyses on the follow-
ing general assumptions.

Most linguists utilize the term "accent" to mean
the complex of prosodic features which render one syllable
in the word more prominent than the others, whether or not
this serves a distinctive function. I distinguish two
varieties, however: <u>ictus</u> and <u>accent</u>. Ictus is the pho-
netic (specifically <u>non</u>phonemic) prominence of one syllable
over others in the word, while accent refers to distinctive
prominence of one syllable over the others. Ictus would
appear to be manifested as intensity prominence alone, al-
though instrumental phoneticians have as yet been unable
to confirm this in measurable terms.[9] Accent is whatever
type of prominence adjudged to be phonemic by the analyst
(hence the terms "pitch accent" and "melodic accent" for
distinctive tonal prominence and "stress accent" and
"dynamic accent" for intensity prominence). Where "accent"
refers to stress, it is necessarily accompanied by ictus.

Since stress is the only distinctive prosodic
feature in most of the linguistic systems to be described
herein, ictus and accent always occur on the same syllable
in these systems. This is not true for std SC, however,
nor for KR Štokavian dialects. Each so-called "rising
accent" of the std lg is really a dissyllabic prominence.
The first syllable, the one which traditionally is written
with the diacritical mark, is presumed to carry ictus, but

the following syllable carries phonemic pitch accent.[10]
The same also holds for the long rising accents which can
appear in penultimate position in KR dialects: the penulti-
mate syllable carries ictus but the final syllable retains
accent. In historical terms, ictus has been retracted one
syllable towards the beginning of the word (this is the
neo-štokavian retraction), while accent has remained un-
changed.

Since Tk dialects did not undergo the neo-štokavian
retraction, ictus and accent continue to occur on the same
syllable, corresponding to the syllable of the std lg which
carries accent. Comparative statements made herein will
always refer to the place of accent unless explicit state-
ment to the contrary is made. The fact that the distinctive
prominence in Tk is manifested as intensity or stress and
in std SC as high tone[11] does not affect the validity of
this comparison.

1.13   Vowel length is distinctive in std SC and KR, but not in Tk. In std SC, accent and ictus co-occur only in initial position--these are the "falling accents". Accent may fall on any syllable of the word, but ictus never occurs on final syllables. In NE KR dialects, accent may fall on any syllable, but in SW KR it does not occur on final open short syllables. Accent may fall on such syllables in NE KR, but in such cases, ictus occurs on the preceding syllable (compare NE and SW KR sestrê, but NE KR rŭku vs. SW KR rŭku),

     Accent in Tk (always accompanied by ictus) is free in principle to occur on any syllable of the word. In actuality we find accent occurring where etymologically expected only in certain ETk dialects. Elsewhere, accent frequently appears on the penultimate syllable instead of on the ultima where it is expected. I shall call this penultimate accent placement, which presumably reflects a historical shift from the ultima, paroxytonesis. Its varying manifestationscan be classed according to a phonologically defined hierarchy: final open syllables appear without etymologically expected accent more often than do final closed syllables, which in turn lack the expected accent more often than do nonfinal syllables.[12]

     Secondly, one can determine fairly clear isoglosses separating areas of greater vs. lesser paroxytonesis. Within Etk, evidence of paroxytonesis is minimal in TL

dialects, and only slightly greater in SŽ. In CWTk, however,
there is a much greater degree of paroxytonesis; and in
SWTk, it is practically complete. Stress is free in SWTk,
however, except for a small group of dialects just to the
north of the Sretečka Župa, where stress seems to be fixed
on the penultimate syllable. Since this area includes one
of the nine major investigation points, Dvorane, I will
summarize its accentuation here.

In nouns and adjective, ictus falls regularly on
the penultimate syllable, regardless of grammatical form.
Thus, the declension of <u>visok govedar</u> is as follows:

Nsg	<u>vísok govédar</u>	Npl	<u>visóki govedári</u>
Asg	<u>visokóga govedára</u>		
Dsg	<u>visokómu govedáru</u>	Dpl	<u>visókim govedaríma</u>

Only in a few loan words do we find stress on syllables
other than the penultimate, e.g. <u>pulovér</u>, <u>komšilúk</u>, <u>Amérika</u>
(also <u>Ameríka</u>). Penultimate ictus is also the rule in con-
jugation, e.g.

1sg pres	<u>nósim</u>	1pl pres	<u>nosímo</u>
sg imv	<u>nósi</u>	pl imv	<u>nosíte</u>
2sg aor	<u>nósi</u>	2pl aor	<u>nosíste</u>

There is a significant exception to this rule,
however: 3d pl pres and 3d pl aor forms are regularly
opposed by means of accent placement, e.g. 3pl pres <u>nósiu</u>
vs. 3pl aor <u>nosíu</u>. (This alternation is discussed in detail

below, cf. sec. 3.29.) All other lexemes are attested with penultimate stress, except for certain adverbs of time which are stressed on closed ultima, e.g. dən$\acute{\text{o}}$s, i$\check{\text{c}}\acute{\text{e}}$r.

In terms of accentuation, the SWTk zone is a transitional zone in two different ways.

Immediately to the southwest one finds Macedonian dialects in which stress is fixed with respect to the word boundary, either on penultimate or antepenultimate syllable. Immediately to the northwest, in SW KR, accent (always coupled with ictus in SW KR) never occurs on short open ultima but is otherwise free; this development is historically part of the neoštokavian retraction, but since tone is no longer distinctive in SW KR, speakers of these dialects have reinterpreted ictus as phonemic stress accent. The dissyllabic prominence of ictus followed by phonemic pitch prominence, found in std SC and NE KR, has been completely lost here. Thus, the systems which border SWTk are accentually similar only in that stress never occurs on final open syllables. Otherwise, they are very different. The assignment of stress in NW Mac dialects is totally automatic: it is dependent only on word boundary and makes no reference to lexical or grammatical information. Stress accent retains a distinctive function in SW KR, however, and the mechanisms of stress assignment are thus much more complex, dependent on both lexical and grammatical categories as well as on the phonological restriction against stress in open final syllables.

Finally, there is a correlation between social
factors and the occurrence of paroxytonesis. In general,
paroxytonesis is more common in the speech of those who
are in direct contact with urban civilization. In rural
southeastern Serbia of 1970-71, this usually meant those
who were born after 1940 (and who thus came of school age
after compulsory schooling was initiated), those of a higher
social class (who had the means and motivation to move
freely between urban and rural environments), and those
with education beyond the elementary level (who, in fact,
if they were born before 1940, were almost exclusively
male). That is, social variables usually could be subsumed
under the definition "closer contact with urban civlization."
Despite the importance of social variation in a full descrip-
tion of the accentuation of Tk dialects, my field work was
originally designed to test only geographical variation.
I sought deliberately to minimize social variation in the
choice of informants by insisting on those who spoke a dia-
lect which was as free as possible from influence of the
std lg or of urban civilization (see sec. 1.11). However,
even the most sheltered informants necessarily are familiar
with more than one linguistic style. In working with in-
formants, I tried to be sensitive to socially conditioned
style-switching so that my field notes would reflect the
informants' most natural, neutral, rural speech. The data
presented can thus be taken to represent this single social

style, so that attention may be focussed on geographical
variation. The question of social variation will be taken
up again in the conclusion,cf. sec. 4.6.

Restrictions of the occurrence of accent in final
position will necessarily affect the functioning of accentual
alternations; I will thus make continued reference to the
effects of paroxytonesis in the discussion of data.

1.14   Slavic languages and dialects in which accent may
occur on any syllable of the word often utilize placement
of accent to implement the grammatical opposition between
two different forms of the same paradigm. Sometimes two
forms of a paradigm are identical except for the place of
accent. More often, however, the basic opposition is im-
plemented by desinences of different phonological shape,
and the placement of accent helps reinforce this opposition.
Indeed, there are dialects where in rapid speech desinences
may be slurred to such an extent that the accentual prominence
of the proper syllable may in some instances be the major
carrier of the distinctive grammatical meaning. When forms
of a grammatical paradigm differ as to place of accent, the
paradigm is said to be mobile, and the various "movements"
of accent are referred to as accent alternations.

    Accentual alternations are of two types, automatic
and morphophonemic. Automatic alternations carry no morpho-
logical meaning; they are defined strictly in phonological
terms. Morphophonemic alternations, on the other hand, are
phonological alternations which fulfill a morphological
function; they cannot be defined without reference to
grammatical categories.[13]

    In describing such alternations, most linguists
consider one of the two alternants as basic, and then specify
the conditions under which this element is replaced by (i.e.
alternates with) the other.[14] In the case of accent alter-
nations, the form chosen by the analyst as basic is said to

carry accent on a certain syllable, and a morphophonemic rule shifts this accent to another syllable when certain morphological conditions are satisfied. Another descriptive method assigns stress to the proper morphemes by means of a set of explicitly ordered phonological rules which apply to abstract underlying forms.[15]

I will follow neither of these specific frameworks in this analysis, nor will I propose a new one. Instead I will classify phonetic data from many different dialects within the traditional format of paradigmatic patterns. I choose this method of exposition for two reasons. First, I believe it accurately reflects the speaker's organization of the data available to him. Each lexeme is associated by the speaker with a single accent pattern, defined as a hierarchically-ordered set of specifications which determines the accentuation of all paradigmatic forms of nouns, adjectives and verbs. Second, I feel it is unwise to speculate about the nature of possible underlying accentual systems when discussing so many different linguistic systems simultaneously. Since some of these systems may differ significantly from others in ways we might not yet be aware of, I consider it better to present my raw data in a framework which makes it relatively easy to compare them with data given in descriptions of many other dialects and languages.

1.15   I distinguish three basic accentual relationships:
barytonic, oxytonic and mobile. Barytonesis means that ac-
cent is always on the same stem syllable. Oxytonesis is
present when accent is always on the last accentable syllable
of the word.[16] Finally, in mobility, the accent is on one
syllable in some grammatical forms of the word and on another
in others. These three basic accentual types correspond in
broad outline to paradigms a, c, and b, respectively, estab-
lished by Christian Stang for Proto-Slavic.[17] Indeed, al-
though both the realization of these PSl accentual paradigms
as well as the distribution of stems among them has changed
considerably since PSl times, a definite continuity of ac-
centual types can be perceived.

      Within these three major types several subtypes
can be seen. The following chart summarizes the accentual
relationships which are found in Tk dialects, with examples
of each.

		Nominal	Verbal
Oxytonic			
(O)	Marginal	NONE	držím, držimó
(o)	Desinence-initial	nóž, nožá, nožévi	sedím, sedímo
Barytonic			
(B)	Initial	plánina, pláninu, plánine	vérujem, véruval
(b)	Stem-final	ovčár, ovčára, ovčári	verújem, veruvál

		Nominal	Verbal
Mobile			
(m)	A-mobile	seló[sg]/séla[pl]	drží[pres]/dŕží[imv]
		mladá[indef]/ mláda[def]	donosímo[aor]/ donósimo[pres]
(n)	B-mobile	dŕvo[sg]/drvá[pl]	ispékomo[aor]/ ispečémo[pres]
		zeléna[indef]/ zelenáta[def]	káží[pres]/ kaží[imv]
(M)	Recessive	nogá/ná nogu	ispéko (1sg aor)/ íspeče (23sg aor)
		ovčár, ovčará/ óvčare (voc)	donosí (1sg aor)/ dónosi (23sg aor)
(N)	Marginal	kúm, kúma/kumové	NONE
		plánina/planináta	

In general, there are two kinds of accentual alternations found in Slavic. In the first type, the accent alternates between the last syllable of the stem and the first syllable of the desinence, while the second involves desinence-final and word-initial syllables.[18] My symbols reflect this division: lower case letters (o, b, m, n) designate stem-final/desinence initial ("central") alternations, while the corresponding capital letters (O, B, M, N) indicate that the alternation embraces word-initial and/or desinence-final syllables ("marginal" alternations).

When the surface forms contain only a single stem syllable and/or a single desinence syllable, however, it is impossible to tell whether the alternation is central or

marginal. The pair nogá/nóge may exhibit A-mobility or

recessive mobility; only when the form ná noge is known

is the presence of recessive mobility unambiguous. Simi-

larly, the ambiguity in zemljá/zémlju is resolved by na

zémlju, this time in favor of A-mobility. In most cases,

however, trisyllabic forms are not available and the am-

biguity remains.

When the distinction between A-mobility and re-

cessive mobility (m vs. M) is neutralized in this way, I

will assume the alternation to be A-mobile (m); ambiguity

between B-mobility and marginal mobility (n vs. N) is like-

wise resolved in favor of B-mobility (n). This assumption

is justified on both synchronic and diachronic grounds:

central alternations are much more common in the modern

languages than are marginal ones; and throughout the history

of Slavic, the central alternations were productive. In like

manner and for the same reasons, wherever there is a neutrali-

zation of the distinction between initial barytonesis and

stem-final barytonesis (B vs. b) or marginal oxytonesis and

desinence-initial oxytonesis (O vs. o), I will assume the

columnar accent to be on the stem final and desinence-

initial syllables, respectively.

The majority of data will be presented on charts:

the symbols given in the above listing (M, m, N, n, O, o,

B, b) will designate the appropriate types of accentual

relationships. In addition, the symbols P and L appear on

charts. P signifies that a prefixed form of a paradigm
will have different accentuation than the corresponding
nonprefixed form, e.g. <u>nosí/dónosi</u> (3sg aor) or <u>pečém/ispéčem</u>
(1sg pres). In the text accompanying each chart, I will
indicate the specific nature of this accentual distinction
in each case where it occurs. The symbol L indicates that
vocalic length functions distinctively in the same way as
does stress placement in other dialects. L appears only in
columns representing KR dialects, since only there is length
distinctive.

To define the accent pattern associated with any
one stem is to make a set of statements about the alterna-
tions in which the stem participates. The relationship of
these statements, which comprises the overall accentual
pattern, is best seen if accentual information is organized ac-
cording to a hierarchy of grammatical relationships which
proceeds from the specific to the general. I will thus
discuss accentual data in the following order:

Nominal paradigms
1. Within singular of nouns
   a) Vocative (as opposed to other cases of
      the singular)
   b) Dative (as opposed to other cases of
      the singular)
   c) Accusative (as opposed to other cases
      of the singular)
2. Numerative (as opposed to cases of the sing-
   ular, particularly accusative, and the

plural)

3. Accentual relation between singular and plural of nouns

4. Accentual relation between definite and indefinite forms of nouns and adjectives

5. Summary: nominal accent patterns

Verbal paradigms

1. Accentual relations within individual tenses or moods

   a) 1sg pres as opposed to other forms of present tense

   b) 2-3sg aor as opposed to other forms of aorist tense

   c) relationship between prefixed and nonprefixed 2-3sg aorist forms .

   d) relationship between prefixed and nonprefixed forms of past passive participle

   e) relationship between singular and plural imperative forms

2. Accentual paradigms of individual tenses or moods

   a) Present

   b) Aorist

   c) Imperfect

   d) L-participle

   e) P-participle

   f) Imperative

3. "Cardinal alternation"

4. Summary: verbal accent patterns.

1.16   To identify the accentual relationship between a
pair (or group) of surface forms, one must establish which
segmental morphemes are contained in each form and where
the boundaries separating them are. The truncation of
certain segments in surface forms, or the realization of
certain segments as zero, or alternately as zero vs. a
specific vowel, renders a number of surface forms accentu-
ally ambiguous. Below I outline the principles of seg-
mental analysis that I have adopted.

Every form has at least two components--a stem and
a desinence. In some cases the desinence may not be realized
in the surface form, e.g. Nsg <u>póp</u>; but it is assumed to be
present in the underlying form as a zero desinence, e.g.
<u>pop--∅</u>. In such cases, I refer to the Asg or numerative
form of the same noun to determine accent placement, assum-
ing on comparative grounds that there is never an alternation
between Nsg and A-Gsg of masculine nouns. Thus, if the Asg
has end stress (<u>pop--á</u>), I assume end stress in Nsg as well:
(<u>pop--∅́</u>). But if the Asg is stem-stressed (<u>míš--a</u>), so is
the Nsg (<u>míš--∅</u>).

Masculine nouns with a vowel-zero segment in the
stem are analyzed in a similar manner, although here the
possibility of ambiguity is greater. The pair <u>kolec/kolca</u>
is analyzed <u>kol#c-∅, kol#c-a</u>: the segment # is realized as
schwa when zero follows, otherwise it is realized as zero.
If one assumes the absence of alternation between Nsg and

A-Gsg of masculine nouns, it seems reasonable to interpret
the surface pair kolóc/kolcá as having desinence stress in
both forms, thus an oxytonic relationship, viz. kol#c--$\acute{\emptyset}$,
kol#c--ó. By the same reasoning, surface forms which are
accented on the initial stem vowel (kólec, kólca), exhibit
initial barytonesis (kól#c--$\emptyset$, kól#c--a).

The surface pairs kolóc/kólca and ógenj /ognjá are
not so transparent, however. If one continues to assume
the absence of accentual alternations within the singular
of masculine nouns, it would seem reasonable to posit stem-
final barytonesis for the first, viz. kol#c--$\emptyset$. kol#c--a.
When the stressed segment # is realized as zero, its accent
must necessarily fall on another syllable. I follow tra-
ditional analysis in assuming that accent on a nonrealized
syllable must go to the preceding syllable; this in turn
stems from the assumption that historically an accented
gave up its accent to a preceding syllable when it ceased
to function syllabically.

The second pair can be described as nonmobile,
however, only if the underlying stem is seen as ognj-,
accompanied by a rule inserting schwa between the final two
consonants after the assignment of stress. This interpre-
tion is supported by historical facts: the PSl stem was
presumably monosyllabic (*ognj-) and belonged to the oxy-
tonic paradigm.[19] When the PSl Nsg suffix *-ъ was pho-
netically lost and the desinence was reintepreted as zero

and could no longer carry stress, the surface form of the
Nsg was accented on the single stem syllable. At some later
point in history, a vowel (the so-called "secondary jer")
was inserted between the two stem-final consonants, but
this vowel does not appear to have been acceentable b.

This analysis appears well motivated for pairs like
óganj/ognjá. In certain dialects, however, including the
std lg, we find accentuation of the type ogénj/ognjá (std SC
òganj/ògnja). If we continue to assume absence of an alter-
nation between Nsg and A-Gsg, we must posit for these dia-
lects a dissyllabic underlying stem og#nj--$\acute{a}$, og#nj--á.
Whenever a lexeme appears in different areas with a different
underlying stem shape, specific mention is made of this in
the discussion.

Both stem and desinence may be composed of more than
one morpheme. The root may be preceded by a prefix or a
proclitic preposition which may sometimes carry accent,
e.g. ná noge(ná-nog--e), íspeče (ís-peč--e). The group
"preposition plus noun" is considered a single word in the
same way as is the group "prefix plus verbal form." In
addition, most verb stems are composed of a root and a
verbal classifier, e.g. nos-i.

Complex desinences are common in conjugation but
infrequent in declension. In fact, the only two complex
nominal desinences encountered in Tk involve morphemes
which do not clearly belong to stem or desinence. The

first concerns the postposed definite article, which can be
viewed as an enclitic (see sec. 2.22). The second case in-
volves plural "expander" morphemes, which are inserted
between stem and desinence in the plural forms of certain
masculine and neuter nouns. For masculine nouns, the
expander is always -ov- (-ev- after soft consonants; in
certain eastern dialects after all consonants); it is
followed by the regular plural desinence -i (-e in certain
WBg and ETk dialects), e.g. vol/volovi, koš/koševi. Most
lexemes do or do not have the plural expander morpheme
throughout the dialect area. Vacillation is common only in
certain dissyllabic stems, e.g. kotel, kotla/kotli or kotlovi.

In neuter nouns, however, we find a great variety
of expander morphemes, a variety of desinence forms, and
little consistency as to the presence or absence of the
expander morpheme. The most common of these expander forms
in -en- as in vreme/vremena. Others are -inj- as in viminja,
-enj- (ramenje, ramenja), -et- (krileti), -et-ij- (koletija),
-et-in- (imetina), and -it'-, appearing in several forms,
e.g. vlakniti, količi, imik'i. Only the type vreme/vremena
is known in std SC. Originally, the -en- was part of the
stem, and the final -n was lost before Nsg and Asg zero
desinences. In modern Tk dialects, however, the -en- is
treated as a separate extender morpheme which functions as
a plural marker in the same manner as -inj-, -enj- and the
like (cf. vedro/vedrinja and ramo/ramenja). The four nouns

<u>vreme</u>, <u>ime</u>, <u>rame</u> and <u>vime</u> differ from the other neuter nouns in my listing only in that the Nsg desinence is -<u>e</u> and not -<u>o</u> (but cf. also <u>ramo</u>). On the other hand, the group of neuter nouns which form extended plurals in Tk is much larger than these four: 12 of 19 test items were attested at least once with extended plurals. This suggests that the usage of one of these several plural-marking morphemes is an innovation which is spreading, and that nouns of the <u>vreme/</u> <u>vremena</u> group have been reinterpreted according to this pattern: <u>ram-o/ram--en-a</u>, <u>im--e/im--en-a</u>.

All verb forms have complex desinences, consisting of at least two morphemes, a tense marker and a person-number (or gender-number) marker. The imperfect tense desinences include a third morpheme, identifying the preterite form as specifically imperfect (as opposed to aorist). Verb stems, on the other hand, have two different shapes, the occurrence of which is conditioned by the following tense marker. In most stems, these variants may be called the full form and the truncated form. The full form, terminating in a vowel, appears before aorist, L-participle, and (usually) past passive participle desinences. This full stem is composed of two morphemes: the root, and the verbal classifier. The truncated form of the stem, in which the final vowel (the verbal classifier morpheme) is absent, appears before present, imperfect, imperative and sometimes past passive participle desinences. Compare the full paradigm of the verb <u>nosi</u>:

PRESENT

	truncated stem	tense marker		person-number marker	
1sg	nos--	i	-	m	(nosim)
2sg	nos--	i	-	š	(nosiš)
3sg	nos--	i	-	∅	(nosi)
1pl	nos--	i	-	mo	(nosimo)
2pl	nos--	i	-	te	(nosite)
3pl	nos--	e	-	∅	(nose)

IMPERFECT

	truncated stem	imperfect marker		preterite marker		person-number marker	
1sg	nos--	e	-	o	-	∅	(noseo)
2sg	nos--	e	-	š	-	e	(noseše)
3sg	nos--	e	-	š	-	e	(noseše)
1pl	nos--	e	-	o	-	mo	(noseomo)
2pl	nos--	e	-	os	-	te	(noseoste)
3pl	nos--	e	-	u	-	∅	(noseu)

IMPERATIVE

	truncated stem	imperative marker		number marker	
sg	nos--	i	-	∅	(nosi)
pl	nos--	i	-	te	(nosite)

AORIST

	full stem	preterite marker		person-number marker	
1sg	nosi--	∅	-	∅	(nosi)
2sg	nosi--	∅	-	∅	(nosi)
3sg	nosi--	∅	-	∅	(nosi)
1pl	nosi--	∅	-	mo	(nosimo)
2pl	nosi--	s	-	te	(nosiste)
3pl	nosi--	š	-	e	(nosiše)

L-PARTICIPLE

	full stem	tense marker		person-gender marker	
m sg	nosi--	l	-	∅	(nosil)
f sg	nosi--	l	-	a	(nosila)
n sg	nosi--	l	-	o	(nosilo)
pl	nosi--	l	-	i	(nosili)

PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

	stem (truncated and altered)	tense marker		person-gender marker	
m sg	noš--	en	-	∅	(nošen)
f sg	noš--	en	-	a	(nošena)
n sg	noš--	en	-	o	(nošeno)
pl	noš--	en	-	i	(nošeni)

In other stems, however, there is no verbal classi-
fier morpheme, and the two stem shapes show different kinds
of relationships. For example:

1sg pres	ber--e-m	vs.	3pl aor	bra--š-e
1sg pres	šij--e-m	vs.	3pl aor	ši--š-e
1sg pres	kun--e-m	vs.	3pl aor	kle--š-e
1sg pres	peč--e-m	vs.	3pl aor	pek--oš-e
1sg pres	met--e-m	vs.	3pl aor	met--oš-e

Herein, I will call verb stems of classes II through
VI vocalic stems, and utilize the full stem shape when re-
ferring to these stems in the text. I will refer to them
as a group by their verbal classifier morphemes, e.g. i-stems,
a-stems, u-stems. Class I includes verb stems of two types,
those which end in an obstruent (I-1, e.g. peč--em, met--em)
and those whose present stem ends in a sonorant (e.g. šij--em
[I-2], kun--em [I-3]) but whose aorist stem ends in a vowel
(ši--še, kle--še). I refer to obstruent stems in the follow-
ing discussion by their aorist stems (pek, met) and to son-
orant stems by their present stems (šij, kun).

Insofar as possible, I have analyzed ambiguous sur-
face forms in the same manner for each system, ignoring
phonetic differences in surface realization. Thus, the forms
petél (EMac), petél (ETk) and pètao (std SC) all are viewed
as having the same basic stem and desinence (pet#l-∅). Cer-
tain differences, however, clearly result from the use of

different underlying forms. A clear example is the use of
present tense forms iskópam and iskópljem corresponding to
the past tense form iskopál. The first results from a basic
stem iskopaj-, the second from iskopa-. Since each present
tense form has the same number of syllables and comparable
underlying segments, we may call the accentual relationship
in each case the "same", i.e. A-mobile. Similar accentuation
is found in other verbs of both the a-type and the aj-type.

In other cases, basic stems appear to have been
restructured in a more radical way. Compare, for instance,
the L-participle forms kléla and ukunúja, both correspond-
ing to the present tense form kúneš. The pair kléla/kúneš
shows the surface forms which are expected on historical
grounds. But the surface forms ukunúja/kúneš clearly point
to an underlying stem of the type kunu- (the -l desinence
of the masc sg L-part is realized in this WTk dialect as
-ja). This is a clear example of A-mobile accentuation.
Kléla/kúnem must be barytonic, however. Direct comparison
of accentual types is no longer possible when the stem has
been remodeled to such a great extent.

All verbs of this class which were included in my
study (I-3) showed variation of some sort in their under-
lying stems, cf. uzél and uznál corresponding to present
úzneš, and the multifarious variation in L-part forms
ožnejél, požnjél and ožéli corresponding to variant present
forms žánje, žnjém and žnjéem. Although restructuring

appeared most often in this class of verbs, I recorded in-
stances in the obstruent stems (e.g. ráсne/poráslo as well
as ráste/rasnája; pomógnem/pomogála; ukráde/ukradná[aor];
vršém/vršíli), in stems like kla (kóljem/zakoljál and
zaklál), in verbs of class V-3 in -va- (e.g., kovál/kovém
and potkovúje), and i-stems (class IV verbs) (e.g.,
zapántim/zapantél). In a discussion of a single system,
the stem represented by such forms as úznem/uznál would be
classed with the u-stem group. However, for purposes of
comparison all attestations of a verb will be treated ac-
cording to the stem class to which the verb belongs in std
SC. Thus, the accentual relation úznem/uznál will be shown
in the chart devoted to class I-3 verbs. However, all such
variant stem-types will be summarized under a separate entry
on that chart, and will be mentioned specifically in the
text.

In some dialects, a single conjugation sometimes
seemed to include forms from two different stems. Compare
on the one hand present pljúne/aorist pljuvá and on the
other present sedím/aorist sédo. In the first case, I am
certain that each of the stems pljuva- and pljunu- occurred
in the dialect with a full complement of inflected forms;
but I was able to elicit only the given forms in repeated
questions using the same contextual format for both present
and past. The second, however, seems to represent a new
conjugational type in which present tense, imperfect and

L-participle forms follow the e̲-stem pattern (sede̲-) but aorist forms are typical of the obstruent stems. Semantically, however, all forms clearly belong to the same stem, meaning 'to be sitting'; the etymologically hybrid type is a fairly stable pattern for the stem sede̲ in these dialects (as in standard Macedonian, cf. Lunt 1952:77)[20]. I treat it under the stem sede̲.

In drawing up the questionnaire list, I attempted to include examples of all different stem-types. Some types, e.g. i̲-stem and u̲-stem verbs, are well represented throughout the lexicon and in general all behave in the same manner. Other questionnaire items represent small and usually irregular groups of verbs such as those in I-3; as mentioned above, there is considerable variation from one dialect to another as to the stem shapes of these verbs. To facilitate comparison, all examples of the same etymon will be classed according to its stem shape in the std lg. All variant forms which appear to be based on a different underlying stem will be specifically identified both on the chart and in the text. Diachronic comparison is based on PSl reconstructions, of course. The complete questionnaire, together with English glosses of each item, is given in the appendix.

1.17   When questionnaire items are listed as entries on
the charts or discussed in general terms, they will be cited
as they appear in std SC. Dialectal forms will be given in
phonemic transcriptions (reduction of unstressed vowels and
nonphonemic softening of consonants are not transcribed).
The orthography is that of the std lg with the addition of
a schwa-vowel. Since the Roman alphabet is used, the digraphs
"lj" and "nj" represent the single segments /ļ/ and /ń/
(Cyrillic ʌ and ʜ). In dialects where /ć/ and /č/ are not
distinguished, "č" is written. Finally, for the sake of
consistency, I have altered the orthography of forms quoted
from certain sources in the following ways: the various
phonetic gradations between schwa and another vowel (both
stressed and unstressed) recorded by Belić have all been
simplified to schwa. Where the segment /j/ is represented
by "ĭ" in Bg sources, I have transcribed it as "j". Like-
wise, I regularly used "nj" for the "ń" and "n'" which ap-
pear in Bg and Mac sources.

        The Cyrillic letter x is transcribed as "h" when it
appears in Serbo-Croatian sources but as "x" when the source
is in Bulgarian (except for the place-name Ihtiman).

1.18   The bulk of the data is presented in charts which
are organized as follows: Each chart summarizes the accen-
tual behavior of all questionnaire items with respect to a
single alternation over a wide geographical area. Twenty
target points have been chosen as representative of this
Balkan Slavic dialectal area. These include the nine Tk
villages I investigated in 1970-71, and eleven additional
points, one on the northeastern periphery of the Tk zone,
one each in NMac and EMac, two in the KR dialect area, and
six in the WBg dialect area. Each chart covers three pages:
the first gives data for KR, SWTk and NMac points (seven in
all), the second, CWTk, ETk, and TWBg (seven points), and the
third, other WBg and EMac (six points). The following ab-
breviations ordered horizontally across the pages represent
these twenty points according to the following list:

NEKR   The area around Trstenik, Resava and Levač (central
        Kosovo-Resava štokavian) according to Jović 1968,
        Peco-Milanović 1968 and Simić 1972.

SWKR   The dialect of Vučitrn, situated between Peć and
        Mitrovica (southwestern Kosovo-Resava štokavian),
        according to Elezović 1932-35.

Pas   The village of Pasjane (central SWTk), according to
        my field data.

Dvor   The village of Dvorane (extreme SWTk), according to
        my field data.

Grač   The village of Gračanica (SWTk), according to my

field data.

NMac   The area around Kumanovo in central northern

Macedonia, according to Vidoeski 1962.

Trg   The village of Trgovište (with supplementary infor-

mation from neighboring villages of Šajince, Stajovce

and Radovnica) (extreme eastern SWTk), according to

my field data.

Šil   The village of Šilovo (CWTk), according to my field

data.

Šarb   The village of Šarbanovac (with supplementary in-

formation from the neighboring villages of Mužinac

and Dugo Polje)(extreme northeastern CWTk), accord-

ing to my field data.

Kr   The village of Krastavče (with supplementary infor-

mation from Plužina)(ETk, central SZ dialect), accord-

ing to my field data.

VR   The village of Vlasina Rid (ETk, southern TL dialect),

according to my field data.

Čin   The village of Činiglavci (with supplementary infor-

mation from Temska, Babušnica and Suračevo)(ETk,

eastern TL dialect), according to my field data.

CTim   Dialects of the middle Timok valley in the north-eastern corner of the Torlak area (northeastern ETk), according to Stanojević 1911.

TWBg   Transitional west Bulgarian dialects, according to Todorov 1936, Gospodinkin 1921, Petričev 1931, Berberska 1911 and Zahariev 1918.

NSV   Novo Selo, Vidinsko, extreme northwestern corner of nontransitional WBg dialect area, according to Mladenov 1969.

Sof   The dialect of the Sofia area (central zone of non-transitional West Bulgarian dialects), according to Popivanov 1940, Gələbov 1965 and Todorov 1936.

Kjus   The dialect of Kjustendil and surrounding area (south central part of nontransitional West Bulgarian dialect zone), according to Umlenski 1965 and Todorov 1936.

EMac   The villages of Kiselica and Kalimanci near Delčevo in northeastern Macedonia, according to the files of the Macedonian Dialect Atlas (unpublished).

NWBg   Northwestern Bulgarian dialects located to the east of Novo Selo (Vidin) and Sofia, and north of the Balkan mountains, according to Popov 1956 and Todorov 1936.

CWBg   Central west Bulgarian dialects located to the east of Sofia and Kjustendil and to the south of the Balkan mountains, according to Mladenov 1966 and Todorov 1936.

The left-to-right order along the top of the two pages of
each chart corresponds very roughly to the geographical
progression west-to-east.

Lexical items from the questionnaire are ordered
vertically down the left-hand side of the page. A symbol
in the appropriate place on the chart identifies the ac-
centuation of the paradigm(s) in question of each lexeme
in each of the twenty areas. Once more, the symbols and
their meaning are as follows:

B   Initial barytonesis

b   Stem-final barytonesis

M   Recessive mobility

m   A-mobility

N   Marginal mobility

n   B-mobility

O   Marginal oxytonesis

o   Desinence-initial oxytonesis

P   Prefixed form has different accentuation than
    unprefixed

L   Vowel length alternates with absence of length

Examples of each type of alternation as it is realized in
the stem class in question are given in the text accompany-
ing each chart. The accentuation of each stem in std SC is
indicated by the appropriate symbol to the left of the entry.
The format of the charts is illustrated in the following
hypothetical example:

<pre>
        1   2   3   4
  m   selo   o   m   b   n   .
</pre>

Given that the chart in question concerns the alternation opposing singular to plural in neuter nouns, the information conveyed can be summarized as follows:

In the std lg, the noun is A-mobile, viz. seló/séla.

In area 1, the noun selo has end stress in both singular and plural forms, viz. seló/selá: This is desinence-initial oxytonesis.

In area 2, selo shows A-mobility, as in the std lg. This is unambiguous, since accent does not fall on the preposition in a prepositional phrase: u seló/u séla.

In area 3, the noun selo has stem stress in both singular and plural forms, viz. sélo/séla: This is stem-final barytonesis.

In area 4, the noun selo is B-mobile: sélo/selá.

In all but area 2 the forms consist of a single stem syllable and a single desinence syllable. The ambiguity as to accentual type (central [o, m, b or n] vs. marginal [O, M, B, N]) is always resolved in favor of the central type (cf. sec. 1.15).

The appearance of one of these symbols in a chart testifies that the corresponding forms of the particular lexical item are firmly attested in the given locality (either in my own field notes or in the published sources

quoted above). The appearance of a symbol in parentheses
indicates that the necessary forms were not actually elicited
or attested but that enough else is known about the parti-
cular dialect to reasonably suppose that the given lexeme
exhibits the accentual traits ascribed to it in the chart.
A space left blank indicates that there is not sufficient
information to make a supposition one way or the other.
If two symbols appear together in the same space, this in-
dicates vacillation between the two accentual types. If
one accentual type can be determined to be more prevalent
than the other. the symbols stand side by side, with the
more common variant listed first. If prevalence cannot be
ascertained, the symbols are placed one above the other.
An asterisk (*) next to a particular symbol refers the
reader to the accompanying text for a discussion of com-
plexities that cannot be adequately summarized in the chart.

In the text, forms will be quoted from several sources
by means of maximally concise references. Here are
the abbreviations, the sources to which they correspond,
and indications about the geographical area covered by
each source.

       B   Belić 1905a (southeastern Serbia, 285 points)

       B11   Belić 1911a (southeastern Serbia)

       Bkg   Barjaktarović 1965b (town of Gnjilane and sur-
                rounding area, southwestern Serbia)

Bkp   Barjaktarović 1966 (towns of Preševo and

Bujanovac, central southwestern Serbia)

Bkv   Barjaktarović 1965a (city of Vranje and sur-

rounding area, central southwestern Serbia)

Br   Broch 1903 (southeastern Serbia, approximately

10 points)

CT   Stanojević 1911 (central Timok valley, eastern

Serbia, 21 points)

D   Kuševski 1958 (town of Delčevo, northeastern

Macedonia, 11 km. from Bulgarian border)

Dj   Stevanović 1950 (town of Djakovica and sur-

rounding area, southwestern Serbia)

E   Elezović 1932-35 (area around Vučitrn, south-

western Serbia)

G   Popov 1956 (village of Gabare near Bela Slatina,

northwestern Bulgaria)

J   Pavlović 1970 (town of Janjevo near Priština,

southwestern Serbia)

Kj   Umlenski 1965 (area around town of Kjustendil,

located in extreme western Bulgaria, 25 km.

from Serbian border and 22 km. from Macedonian

border)

KK   Zahariev 1918 (area surrounding Bosilegrad
[6 km. from the Bulgarian border], Bulgarian
speaking area on both sides of the political
frontier; between NMac and ETk dialect areas)

KRs   Simić 1972 (Levač area, central Serbia)

KRr   Peco and Milanović 1968 (Resava area, central
Serbia)

KRt   Jović 1968 (Trstenik area, central Serbia)

Ma   Mančev 1967 (village of Petrlaš, Bulgarian
speaking area of extreme eastern Serbia, 6 km.
north of Dimitrovgrad and 11 km. from Bulgarian
border)

Mbr   Mladenov 1959 (town of Breznik)

MDA   Material from the archives of the Macedonian
Dialect Atlas, covering the villages of
Rankovce, Psača, Želigovo, Gabar (near Kriva
Palanka) and Kiselica and Kalimanci (near
Delčevo) in northeastern Macedonia

Mih   Mladenov 1966 (area around Ihtiman, central
western Bulgaria)

Mns   Mladenov 1969 (town of Novo Selo near Vidin,
extreme northwestern Bulgaria 39 km. from
Serbian border, not contiguous to ETk)

Mr   Mladenov 1955 (village of Režanci near Breznik)

O   Berberska 1911 (village of Ošane, 15 km. north-east of Belogradčik and 11 km. from Serbian border)

Sg   Golobov 1965 (village of Dobroslavci near Sofia, central west Bulgarian)

Sp   Popivanov 1940 (city of Sofia and surrounding area)

SCd   Daničić 1925 (SC standard as of about 1870)

SCp   Pravopis 1960 (modern SC standard)

T   Todorov 1936 (western Bulgaria, 285 points)

Tg   Gospodinkin 1921 (town of Tren, extreme western Bulgaria, 20 km. from Serbian border)

Tp   Petričev 1931 (town of Tren)

V   Vidoeski 1962 (town of Kumanovo and surrounding area, northeastern Macedonia, 16 km. from Serbian border)

The citation (Mns 146) thus means that the form is quoted from page 146 of Mladenov 1969.

    Secondly, the forms quoted from Belić 1905a and Todorov 1936 must be additionally identified as to geographical location, since each of these sources treats a large area with data from nearly 300 distinct points. There is

considerable dialectal variation within each of these areas,
and forms must be precisely identified in geographical terms
in order to bring out the details of this variation. Thus,
I give abbreviated longitude and latitude co-ordinates to
identify the village's position in each case. The first
index always refers to longitude (position along the east-
west axis), and the second to latitude (position along the
north-south axis).

Since the entire region discussed in this work
covers an area extending between 20° and $24^{\circ}30'$ longitude
and $41^{\circ}30'$ and $44^{\circ}30'$ latitude, I have eliminated the first
numeral of each co-ordinate. The citation 234/235 thus re-
fers to a point which is at $22^{\circ}34'$ longitude and $42^{\circ}35'$
latitude. The reader will find the following aids in the
appendix: 1) a map showing the location of all points dis-
cussed with respect to longitude and latitude co-ordinates;
2) a reference list of all co-ordinates mentioned in the
text in numerical order, with the names of villages cited
by Belić and Todorov to which they correspond; and 3) a list
of the villages cited by Belić and Todorov, respectively, in
alphabetical order, each with its corresponding geographical
co-ordinates.

1.19   The following abbreviations, used both in the text and in the citation of data from my field notes and from the MDA files, correspond to the names of individual villages and geographical areas listed below (co-ordinate numbers identify geographical position). The alphabetical order of the villages (as well as that of lexical items on the charts) throughout this work is that of the Cyrillic alphabet.

Bab	Babušnica	225/304
VR	Vlasina Rid	219/244
Gab	Gaber (MDA)	215/214
Grač	Gračanica	112/237
Dvor	Dvorane	055/219
DP	Dugo Polje	157/338
Žel	Želigovo (MDA)	224/214
Kal	Kalimanci (MDA)	238/203
Kis	Kiselica (MDA)	246/200
Kr	Krastavče	203/310
Pas	Pasjane	130/224
Pluž	Plužina	204/327
Psač	Psača (MDA)	214/209
Rad	Radovnica	214/225
Rank	Rankovce (MDA)	206/211
Staj	Stajovce	210/224
Tem	Temska	223/316
Trg	Trgovište	207/223

Čin	Činiglavci	243/303
Šaj	Šajince	202/223
Šarb	Šarbanovac	153/342
Šil	Šilovo	143/254

Tk Torlak

ETk Eastern Torlak (Timok-Lužnica and

    Svrljig-Zaplanje)

WTk Western Torlak (Južna-Morava)

CWTk Central-western Torlak (Južna-Morava area

    excepting the portion around Vranje and

    in the province of Kosovo)

SWTk Southwestern Torlak (the area around Vranje

    and the province of Kosovo)

KR Kosovo-Resava

NE KR Northeastern Kosovo-Resava (specifically,

    the dialects of Trstenik, Resava and Levač)

SW KR Southwestern Kosovo-Resava (specifically,

    the dialect of Vučitrn)

WBg West Bulgarian, excluding southwest Bg dialects

TWBg Specifically, the transitional zone of WBg

    dialects (č-dž) dialects)

NWBg Nontransitional West Bulgarian dialects

    located north of the Balkan mountains

CWBg Nontransitional West Bulgarian dialects

    located south of Balkan mountains

NMac North Macedonian (specifically, the dialect

    of Kumanovo)

00046960

EMac   East Macedonian (the northeastern dialects

of the Kriva Palanka and Delčevo areas)

II: NOMINAL ALTERNATIONS

2.1   Tk nominal morphology is considerably simpler than that of the std lg. Compare the declensions of masculine nouns ending in a consonant:

	SC				Tk		
Nsg	pȍp	Npl	pòpovi	Nsg	póp	pl	popóvi
Asg	pòpa	Apl	pòpove	Asg	popá		
Gsg	pòpa	Gpl	pòpōvā				
Dsg	pòpu	Dpl	pòpovima	(Dsg	pópu	Dpl	popóvima)
Lsg	pòpu	Lpl	pòpovima				
Isg	pòpom	Ipl	pòpovima				
Vsg	pȍpe			Vsg	pópe		

Nsg	nȏs	Npl	nòsovi	Nsg	nós	pl	nosóvi
Asg	nȏs	Apl	nòsove	Nmv	nósa		
Gsg	nȍsa	Gpl	nòsȫvā				
Dsg	nòsu	Dpl	nòsovima				
Lsg	nòsu	Lpl	nȍsovima				
Isg	nȍsom	Ipl	nòsovima				
Vsg	nȍse			Vsg	nóse		

Nsg	kònac	Npl	kȏnci	Nsg	konác	pl	kónci
Asg	kònac	Apl	kȏnce	Nmv	koncá		
Gsg	kónca	Gpl	kȍnācā				
Dsg	kóncu	Dpl	kȏncima				
Lsg	kóncu	Lpl	kȏncima				
Isg	kóncom	Ipl	kȏncima				
Vsg	kȏnče			Vsg	kónče		

	SC				Tk		
Nsg	kȍpāč	Npl	kopáči	Nsg	kopáč	pl	kopačí
Asg	kopáča	Apl	kopáče	Asg	kopačá		
Gsg	kopáča	Gpl	kopáčā				
Dsg	kopáču	Dpl	kopáčima	(Dsg	kopáču	Dpl	kopáčima)
Lsg	kopáču	Lpl	kopáčima				
Isg	kopáčom	Ipl	kopáčima				
Vsg	kȍpȁču			Vsg	kópače		

Std SC distinguishes six cases and the vocative in the sin-
gular and four cases in the plural (note in the sg, however,
that the accusative has no separate form: it takes the form
of the genitive if the noun is animate and of the nominative
if the noun is inanimate; further, in the declension of all
nouns, excepting only a few inanimate masculines, locative
and dative forms are identical). In Tk, however, we generally
find only two cases and a vocative in the singular and a
single form in the plural. The fact that separate dative
forms do not exist for nouns denoting animate beings except
in westernmost Tk dialects is denoted by parentheses around
the Dsg and Dpl forms listed above.

Belić calls the two Tk cases _casus_ _rectus_ and _casus_
obliquus [_generalis_], on the basis of syntactic functions:
the first serves as a normal nominative case, and the second
fills the role of all other cases in the singular. In com-
parison with std SC, the Tk form for the oblique case is
identical with the Asg form of the std lg; for clarity of

reference I conventionally refer to it as Asg here also.
While animate masculine nouns utilize the Asg form for all
oblique case functions, inanimate masculine nouns use the
Nsg form in all instances except for constructions with a
numeral, where a form called the numerative is used. In form,
the Nmv is indistinguishable from the Asg, except in certain
animate nouns where an accentual difference is seen (cf. sec.
2.9). All other Tk declensions utilize the plural in nume-
rative constructions.

In general, desinences have the same form in Tk as
in std SC. The Vsg desinence is usually -e̲ for all masculine
nouns (including those in a [historically] "soft" consonant
[č̲, š̲, ž̲, ć̲, j̲, nj̲, lj̲] which have -u̲ in std SC). The desi-
nence -u̲ appears mainly in ETk dialects near the Bg border,
in nouns in both hard and soft consonants, and the Nsg form
(with desinence -∅) is heard in place of the Vsg mainly in
SWTk dialects near the NMac border.

In the plural, -e̲ is heard in place of expected -i̲
in ETk dialects near the Bg border, e.g. konje̲, petle̲. The
plural expander -o̲v̲- usually appears as -e̲v̲- after soft con-
sonants, as in std SC, although -o̲v̲- is also encountered, e.g.
mužovi̲. In ETk, however, -e̲v̲- is usually found after all
consonants. Finally, the noun muž̲ is often heard in ETk with
a plural expander -j̲-, thus mužje̲ alongside muževi, mužovi,
muži and muže.

Neuter nouns distinguish only singular and plural
forms in Tk; there is no separate form for the vocative.
In the std lg, on the other hand, neuter nouns have the same
declension as masculine nouns except that Nsg and Asg are
always identical in both sg and pl. Thus:

	SC				Tk			
Nsg	sèlo	Npl	sèla		sg	seló	pl	séla
Asg	sèlo	Apl	sèla					
Gsg	sèla	Gpl	sêlā					
·Dsg	sèlu	Dpl	sèlima					
Lsg	sèlu	Lpl	sèlima					
Isg	sèlom	Ipl	sèlima					
Vsg	sèlo							

Nsg	br̀do	Npl	br̀da		sg	br̀do	pl	brdá
Asg	br̀do	Apl	br̀da					
Gsg	br̀da	Gpl	br̀dā					
Dsg	br̀du	Dpl	br̀dima					
Lsg	br̀du	Lpl	br̀dima					
Isg	br̀dom	Ipl	br̀dima					
Vsg	br̀do							

Nsg	ȉme	Npl	imèna		sg	íme	pl	iména,
Asg	ȉme	Apl	imèna					imetíja, etc.
Gsg	ȉmena	Gpl	iménā					
Dsg	ȉmenu	Dpl	imènima					
Lsg	ȉmenu	Lpl	imènima					
Isg	ȉmenom	Ipl	imènima					
Vsg	ȉme							

In terms of neuter desinences, the major difference between
Tk and std SC is the wide use in Tk of expanded plural
formations such as <u>iminja</u>, <u>imetina</u>, <u>koletija</u>, <u>vlakniti</u>.

Feminine nouns in -<u>a</u> distinguish two cases and the
vocative in Tk, but have only one form in the plural. In
addition, in westernmost Tk dialects, dative forms are found
for animate nouns in both singular and plural. The std lg,
on the other hand, has six cases plus the vocative in the
singular, and three in the plural. (I follow traditional
format in listing all six case forms separately. It is
clear, however, that in the feminine <u>a</u>-declension Npl and
Apl cases are identical, and that Dpl-Lpl-Ipl are represented
in this declension, as in all declensions of std SC, by a
single form.) Compare:

	SC				Tk		
Nsg	žèna	Npl	žène	Nsg	žená	pl	žéne
Asg	žènu	Apl	žène	Asg	ženú		
Gsg	ženē	Gpl	žénā				
Dsg	žèni	Dpl	žènama	(Dsg	žené	Dpl	ženáma)
Lsg	žèni	Lpl	žènama				
Isg	žènōm	Ipl	žènama				
Vsg	žèno			Vsg	žéno		

SC				Tk		
Nsg	planìna	Npl	plànine	Nsg	planiná	pl	plánine
Asg	plàninu	Apl	plànine	Asg	pláninu		
Gsg	planìnē	Gpl	planínā				
Dsg	plànini	Dpl	planìnama				
Lsg	planìni	Lpl	planìnama				
Isg	planìnōm	Ipl	planìnama				
Vsg	plànino			Vsg	plánino		

Feminine nouns in a consonant have only singular and plural forms in Tk; there is no separate vocative form. That the Nsg/Asg distinction is maintained, however, is seen when a modifier is used or when a definite article is post- poned, e.g.

Nsg <u>pŕva</u> <u>nóć</u>/Asg <u>pŕvu</u> <u>nóć</u>
Nsg def <u>nočtá</u>/Asg def <u>nočtú</u>

("č" is written for "ć" in the second example since all Tk dialects which utilize the postposed article have lost the distinction between /<u>ć</u>/ and /<u>č</u>/). In the std lg, however, these nouns distinguish the same number of cases as do fem- inine nouns in -<u>a</u>, viz.

SC	SC			Tk		
Nsg	nȍć	Npl	nòći	sg	nóć	pl	nóći
Asg	nȍć	Apl	nòći				
Gsg	nòći	Gpl	nòćī				
Dsg	nòći	Dpl	nòćima				
Lsg	nòći	Lpl	nòćima				
Isg	nòću,						
	nòći	Ipl	nòćima				
Vsg	nòći						

.

Thus, no noun in Tk has more than two distinct case
forms plus the vocative in the singular, and all have only
a single form in the plural. The SWTk dialects in which
animate nouns have three singular forms and two plural forms
(due to the preservation of the dative case) are a very
small minority in the larger Tk group.

I have used the phrase "two cases plus the vocative"
above, since it is normally agreed that the vocative stands
outside the basic set of grammatical oppositions within
Slavic nominal inflection. It does not signalize syntactic
relationships within the message, but is purely an appeal to
the person to whom the speech act is directed. However,
since the vocative is formally distinguished by inflectional
and accentual means in Tk dialects, I include it in my dis-
cussion of paradigmatic accentual alternations.

In ETk dialects, the grammatical opposition definite/
indefinite in nouns and, optionally, in adjectives, is sig-
nalled by means of a postposed definite article. This post-
posed article also occurs in Bg and Mac but is unknown in
WTk or std SC. The inflected forms of the noun which may be
marked for definiteness in this way are the following:

feminine in -a̱: Nsg, Asg, pl, e.g.

Žená/Ženáta, Ženú/Ženútu, Žéne/Ženéte

Neuter: sg, pl, e.g.

seló/selóto, séla/seláta

masculine in a consonant: Nsg, Asg, pl, e.g.

sín/sinét, sína/sinátoga, sínove/sinovéte

feminine in a consonant: Nsg, Asg, pl, e.g.

nóč/nočté, nóč/noctú, nóči/nočíte

Postpositive articles of the form ž/enava, ženana, etc.,

marking a lesser (ženava) or greater (ženana) distance from

the speaker than the neutral form ženata, are also heard in

all the above instances. The term "definite forms" in the

subsequent discussion includes such examples.

2.2   Adjectival inflection in Tk distinguishes both gender
and number. Case is also distinguished in the sg of the fem-
inine, and of the masculine when it refers to an animate
being. The following adjectival forms are thus possible:

>   masc Nsg: crn, crni
>   masc Asg animate: crnoga
>   masc pl: crni
>   fem Nsg, Asg, pl: crna, crnu, crne
>   neut sg, pl: crno, crna

A distinction between indefinite and definite forms is also
made. In masculine Nsg, this distinction is marked by in-
flectional means, viz. the desinence -∅ signifies the indef-
inite forms, and the desinence -i the definite one (crn vs.
crni). All other forms of the sg, and all forms of the pl,
mark the distinction by accent placement, viz. (all forms
are def/indef):

>   masc Asg   crnóga/cŕnoga
>   fem Nsg   crná/cŕna
>   fem Asg   crnú/cŕnu
>   neut sg   crnó/cŕno
>   masc pl   crní/cŕni
>   fem pl   crné/cŕne
>   neut pl   crná/cŕna

In those areas of ETk where a postpositive article
regularly marks definiteness in nouns, however, it is often
used also to mark definiteness in adjectives. Thus:

masc Nsg	crn/crnijet
masc Asg	crnoga/crnotoga
fem Nsg	crna/crnata
fem Asg	crnu/crnutu
neut sg	crno/crnoto
masc pl	crni/crnite
fem pl	crne/crnete
neut pl	crna/crnata

2.3   Most of the accentual alternations of std SC declension can be seen in the sample paradigms given above. Masculine nouns with Nsg -∅ such as <u>pop</u> and <u>kopač</u> are oxytonic, with recessive mobility in Vsg. In other nouns, e.g. <u>nos</u>, we see B-mobility in Lsg and in all plural cases. Finally, there is an A-mobile type (e.g. <u>konac</u>) with end stress in the singular and stem stress in the plural; these nouns also have the same recessive mobility in the Vsg as <u>kopač</u> and <u>pop</u>.

Neuter nouns have two mobile patterns, A-mobility (as exemplified by <u>selo</u>) and marginal mobility (as seen in <u>brdo</u> and <u>ime</u>). That <u>brdo</u> is marginally mobile and not B-mobile is seen by the Asg <u>ùz brdo</u>.

In std SC, feminine nouns in -<u>a</u> have two different general patterns in which recessive mobility is manifested. Nouns like <u>žena</u> are end stressed in all forms except for initial stress in Vsg, while nouns like <u>planina</u> have initial stress in Asg, Dsg, Vsg and NApl opposed to end stress in other forms. Since the stems of most feminine <u>a</u>-nouns are monosyllabic, the identification of recessive mobility (as opposed to A-mobility) can be assured only by prepositional phrases such as <u>nà noge</u>. Since the preposition <u>na</u> functions as part of the word, the stem syllable <u>nog-</u> is seen to be a stem-final syllable, which loses its accent to the initial syllable.

Feminine nouns in a consonant may have marginal mobility: final stress in Lsg and oblique plural cases is opposed to stem stress in other forms (cf. bȍlesti vs. bolèsti).

Since Tk dialects have lost all oblique cases, we can expect nominal accentual patterns to be simpler than those found in the std lg. We can expect that the most common alternation will be between sg and pl forms. In masculine nouns in a consonant, we should find both A- and B-mobile types, in neuter nouns A-mobile and marginal types, and in feminine a-nouns, recessive mobility. We can also expect a recessive mobile relationship between Nsg and Vsg in feminine a-nouns and masculine nouns. Since the marginal mobility attested in feminine nouns in a consonant in std SC concerns only oblique cases, we do not expect that these nouns will be mobile in Tk. Nor do we expect that the recessive mobility affecting the Dsg of a-nouns will be reflected, since the SWTk dialects which have dative forms use the Gsg desinence in dative function. Finally, on the basis of comparison with the std lg, we expect an A-mobile alternation opposing indefinite to definite adjectives.

In the field I found evidence of all these alternations. The distribution of stems among the accentual patterns differs sharply from that of the std lg in certain cases, however. Further, I found two alternations which are not known in the std lg. One is an opposition of Asg

to Nmv forms, and was apparently not known to previous inves-
tigators. The other, conditioned by the presence of the
postposed article, was mentioned briefly by Belić, but not
considered an organic part of the dialect (1905a: 456). On
the contrary, I found that it occurred quite regularly in
Tk dialects.

I will discuss first the accentuation of vocative
forms (sec. 2.4) and then dative forms (sec. 2.5). I will
then consider Asg forms of a-declension feminine nouns and
the accentual relationship between Nsg and Asg of these
nouns (secs. 2.6--2.8). The accentuation of the numerative
form will be treated next (2.9). Finally, I will turn to
the accentual relationships between sg and pl of nouns,
treating first feminine a-declension nouns (secs. 2.10--
2.13), then neuter nouns (secs. 2.14--2.17) and finally
masculine nouns in a consonant (secs. 2.18--2.21). Accen-
tual shifts occasioned by the presence of a postposed ar-
ticle in nouns are discussed in secs. 2.22--2.24. The
def/indef opposition in adjectives is treated in secs.
2.25--2.27 and a summary of nominal alternations in Tk to-
gether with a brief survey of innovative trends in the
system of nominal alternations are given in secs. 2.28--
2.30.

2.4   By comparison with std SC data, we expect word-initial stress in the Vsg of questionnaire items which show end stress in the Nsg, i.e. a recessive mobile alternation in Tk and WBg. In these areas, however, the great majority of nouns had stem stress in the Vsg. In the case of dissyllabic nouns, where stem stress always coincides with initial stress, all vocative forms show the expected word initial accent, viz. séstro, žéno, pópe, kúme (all investigation points). But to determine whether this is A-mobile or recessive mobile, we must examine trisyllabic vocative forms. Here we find more interesting variety: stem-final barytones (none of which were included in the questionnaire) normally have stress on the same stem syllable in the Vsg as in other forms, e.g. svinjárko (B314:220/334), devójko (ibid: 216/344).

     Stems which are oxytonic in std SC (e.g. òvčar, ovčéra, ovčári) or mobile (e.g. planìna, plăninu, plănine) have initial stress in the vocative: òvčare, plănino, thus a recessive mobile alternation [M]. Given similar accentuation in ETk (ovčár, ovčará, ovčaré in Čin and planiná, planínu, plánine in CTim [CT 395]), one would expect a similar recessive alternation in Tk. However, Vsg forms of these nouns were almost always attested with stem-final stress. Compare:

(with desinence -e̲)

CWTk   g̲o̲v̲e̲d̲á̲r̲e̲   (Šarb)

SWTk   k̲o̲s̲á̲č̲e̲   (Šarb, Šil)

          o̲v̲č̲á̲r̲e̲   (Šarb, Šil)

          s̲v̲i̲n̲j̲á̲r̲e̲   (Šarb, Trg)

ETk   d̲r̲v̲á̲r̲e̲   (Kr, CT 395)

          o̲v̲č̲á̲r̲e̲   (Čin, Kr, CT 395)

          "s̲v̲i̲n̲j̲á̲r̲e̲,̲ ̲g̲o̲s̲p̲o̲d̲é̲r̲e̲, i.t.d"   (CT 395)

CWBg   o̲f̲č̲á̲r̲e̲   (T 274:308/207)

NWBg   o̲f̲č̲á̲r̲e̲   (G 130)

ETk   g̲o̲v̲e̲d̲á̲r̲u̲   (Kr)

          j̲u̲n̲á̲k̲u̲   (Čin)

          k̲o̲p̲á̲č̲u̲   (Čin)

          k̲o̲s̲á̲č̲u̲   (Čin)

          d̲r̲v̲á̲r̲u̲   (Kr)

          o̲v̲č̲á̲r̲u̲   (Kr)

(with desinence -∅)

ETk   k̲o̲v̲á̲č̲   (VR)

          k̲o̲p̲á̲č̲   (VR)

          k̲o̲s̲á̲č̲   (VR)

          g̲o̲v̲e̲d̲á̲r̲   (VR)

SWTk   g̲o̲v̲e̲d̲á̲r̲   (Trg)

In fact, the only deviation from this pattern in my

data are the forms

ETk   d̲r̲v̲a̲r̲é̲   (Čin)

SWTk   o̲v̲č̲a̲r̲ê̲   (Pas)

               compare also

          o̲v̲č̲a̲r̲é̲ in Preševo   (Bkp 195)

Desinential stress in the SWTk forms is perhaps due to fac-

tors of sentence intonation, particularly in the first in-

stance, since a stressed Vsg desinence occurred often in

Pas (cf. <u>Daničȏ</u> attested in the same village). Since this lengthening occurred only in the context of a call, it is very likely a fact of sentence intonation rather than a manifestation of a morphophonemic accentual pattern. It is interesting, though, that this intonational pattern appears to draw the accent to the final syllable in these examples, cf. in this regard std Macedonian (Lunt 1952:31), where such a lengthening does cause a change in the place of accent. On the other hand, initial stress is found in Gnjilane and Bujanovac:

SWTk   <u>óvčare</u>   (Bkg 87, Bkp 195)

          <u>kóvače</u>   (Bkg 87)

Note that the areas with end-stressed Vsg, Pasjane (130/224) and Preševo (139/218) are located quite near those with initially-stressed Vsg, Gnjilane (128/228) and Bujanovac (146/228).

    I was not able to elicit Vsg forms for nouns of the <u>planina</u> type, nor does Belić give any such forms. Only in Sof and NWBg do we find examples of recessive mobility:

Sof   <u>plánino</u>   (Sg 29)

NWBg   <u>plánino</u>   (T 275:250/337)

    In KR, the vocative of mobile and oxytonic stems normally has initial stress, as in the std lg. Feminine nouns of the type <u>planina</u>, however, have stem-final barytonesis in all forms, viz.

NE KR   <u>ledìna</u> <u>ledìnu</u> <u>ledìno</u>   (KRt 104)

Finally, NMac, where nominal accent appears generally bound to the same stem syllable in all forms, has no accentual alternation in the Vsg (cf. V 94).

We thus have a contrast between recessive mobility in std SC and A-mobility in Tk. Since most nouns exhibiting mobility consist of only two syllables, including the desinence, the distinction is obscured, however. Only in polysyllabic nouns, whether original circumflexes such as planìna or original oxytones such as ovčár, can the difference be seen. There are no examples of Vsg of the former type in Tk. Examples attested of the latter type suggest that a Nsg/Vsg accentual alternation is retained, but that the older marginal (i.e. desinence vs. word-initial) type has been replaced by a central (desinence vs. stem-final) type of alternation. Apparently the recessive mobile Nsg/ Vsg alternation in monosyllabic stems such as sestrá/séstro has been reinterpreted as A-mobility (a desinence/stem-final alternation), and this pattern of mobility has been extended to polysyllabic nouns as well, cf. Stanojević's reference to the "newer" accentual pattern [Asg/pl] drvará/drváre (1911: 395). The tendency to use Nsg forms as vocatives (noted by Belić [1905a:315], Vidoeski [1962:138], Todorov [1939:276] and Jović [1968:80]) might also support the accent of the Nsg surface form ovčár even where the Vsg desinence was used (thus ovčáre.) [21]

2.5   The dative case has been eliminated as a separate

category in most areas of Torlak; it is maintained only

in the declension of animate nouns and only in the western-

most areas of Tk.

In Gračanica and Dvorane, the two westernmost inves-

tigation points, dative forms were heard regularly in nouns

signifying animate beings. Since Dvorane shows fixed pen-

ultimate accent in all nominal forms, the accentuation of

the Dsg is of no interest here, and will not be discussed

further. In Grač, accent seemed to distinguish Dsg and

Dpl from other forms only in certain of the questionnaire

nouns denoting animate beings. The pertinent examples are:

SWTk   Dsg snaé (Nsg snáa, Asg snáu, pl snáe)
             (Grač)

           Dsg žené (Nsg žéná, Asg žénu, pl žéne)
             (Grač)

           Dsg sestré (Nsg séstra, Asg séstru, pl
             séstre) (Grač)

In the SWTk dialect of Djakovica, however, the alternation

is apparently absent, cf.

SWTk   kaži gu tvóje séstre (Dj 111)
           vikam žéne (Dj 106)

Other a-declension nouns which might be expected to have

end stress in Dsg had stem stress instead, viz.

SWTk   Dsg kózi (Nsg kóza, Asg kózu, pl kóze)
                     (Grač--note the desinence -i as in
                      std SC and not -e as is more usual
                      in Tk and KR)

Dsg <u>ópce</u> (Nsg <u>ópca</u>, Asg <u>ópcu</u>, pl <u>ópce</u>)

(Grač) (std SC Dsg <u>óvci</u>)

In Dpl, however, these nouns had desinential stress, viz.

<u>opcáma</u>, <u>kozáma</u> (Grač), alongside the end stress in <u>ženáma</u>

(Grač) which was expected on the basis of end stress in

Dsg. Other nouns attested with desinence stress in Dpl in-

clude:

SWTk <u>nogáma</u> (unexpected, cf. <u>rúkama</u>) (Grač)
<u>decáma</u>
<u>svinjáma</u>

There was no mobility in masculine nouns in SWTk with

respect to Dsg or Dpl, e.g.

SWTk Dsg <u>pópu</u> (Nsg <u>pop</u>, Asg <u>pópa</u>)(Grač)
Dpl <u>popóvima</u> (Npl <u>popóvi</u>) (Grač)

Dsg <u>kónju</u> (Nsg <u>kónj</u>, Asg <u>kónja</u>) (Grač)
Dpl <u>kónjima</u> (pl. <u>kónji</u>) (Grač)

Thus only in the feminine <u>a</u>-declension nouns denoting

animate beings is there an accentual alternation opposing

Dsg to other cases of the singular. KR dialects show a sim-

ilar alternation; in KR it is not restricted to animate

nouns, cf. <u>vodê</u> (KRt 105). The alternation is attested both

in the SW (cf. <u>žèna/ženê</u>, <u>snàa/snaê</u>, and <u>sèstra/sestrê</u> in

variation with <u>sestrè</u> [E]), and the NE (<u>rèko ženê</u>, <u>okrēnì se</u>

<u>sestrê</u> (KRt 97), <u>da ponèse ženê</u> (KRs 297). The desinence

appears to correspond to the Gsg desinence of the std lg,

which in KR has taken over the function of Gsg, Dsg and Lsg

(Jović 1968:97). The long vowel in this desinence, which also corresponds to that in the std lg, accounts for the nonretraction of accent in SW KR. In NE KR, all nouns with long root vocalism which are marked by Daničić as oxytonic or mobile have oxytonesis in GDLsg. Normally this is manifested by ictus on the desinence (viz. rukê) but Jović (ibid) notes that forms with retracted ictus such as rúke are becoming more common. As to stems with short root vocalism, they appear sometimes with end-stressed GDLsg forms (e.g. vodê, KRt 105) and sometimes with stem-stressed GDLsg forms, e.g. vȍde or vodê, žȅne or ženê, zȅmlje or zemljê, nȍge or nogê, sȅstre or sestrê, kȍze or kozê (KRt 105); and zemljê, zorê, vodê (KRs 297) vs. zȅmlje, zȍre, vȍde (KRs 298). Only the latter type appears to be attested in the Resava area for such nouns, viz. žȅne, sȅstre (KRr 322). Dpl forms were usually end-stressed in SWKR and NE KR, cf. ženȁma, rukȁma (KRs 298), ovcȁma (E).

In ETk, dative forms are rare. I recorded none in my ETk villages; Belić gives very few examples, all with stem stress except po džadé (B 339:216/334) and bašté (B 339:233/326). Stanojević (1911:398) notes the following: "Istina retko, ali je vrlo interesantno, da se i u običnom govoru nalazi dativ jednine na -e, dál sɵm žené." Belić, however, discounts this form: "U dat. žené treba nesumnjivo videti uticaj resavskog govora" (1913b:140). NMac has no

separate dative form. Among the few dative forms recorded
by Todorov for WBg are:

      TWBg   <u>sproti glavé</u> (T 271:293/250)
      Sof   <u>séstri</u> (ibid:327/348)

In NSV, dative forms are regular in the declension of nouns
denoting animate beings, but there is never any mobility of
accent in the singular, cf. Mladenov 1969:147.

2.6   Chart 1 summarizes the Nsg/Asg alternation in a-
declension feminine nouns. Oxytonesis, symbolized [o], is
end stress in both Nsg and Asg, e.g.

        ETk   glavá/glavú (Staj-Rad)   [o]

while barytonesis [b] is stem stress in both forms, e.g.

        SWTk   gláva/glávu (Grač)   [b]

Mobility is symbolized [M] when stress falls on a preceding
preposition;   -

        ETk   glavá/ná glavu (Čin)   [M]

but as [m] when it falls on the stem syllable instead of on
the preposition, e.g.

        ETk   glavá/na glávu (Kr)   [m]

Where no preposition plus noun sequence was recorded, the
alternation glavá/glávu is symbolized [m] (cf. sec. 1.15).

        As can be seen in the chart, nearly half the question-
naire nouns have end stress in the std lg in both Nsg and Asg
(e.g. brázda/brázdu), and the other half have mobility (e.g.
gláva/glâvu). Only one is barytonic, viz. vaška/vašku. Since
both Nsg and Asg desinences consist of open final syllables,
the effects of paroxytonesis on the distribution of accentual
patterns are clear. NMac, SWTk and SW KR have only stem stress
in NAsg, and NE KR has stem stress if the root vowel is short.
Trg, and to a lesser extent Šarb, have border-zone character-
istics--where a slash separates two symbols in these columns,
the first symbol refers to the investigation point itself and
the second to the villages adjacent to it on the eastern side.

(Staj and Rad in the first case and DP in the second.) Normally, stem stress in Trg or Šarb corresponds to end stress in the same lexeme in Staj-Rad and DP, respectively.

In ETk and in those CWTk villages relatively unaffected by paroxytonesis, we find that almost all nouns which are oxytonic in the std lg (with respect to Nsg/Asg only, of course) are oxytonic here also. Only reka, torba and trava seem to be more frequently attested with barytonesis (note particularly the data on the chart for Šil, Šarb, Trg and VR). But a surprisingly large number of the nouns which are mobile in std SC, more than half of them in fact, are oxytonic in ETk (cf. on the chart greda, zima, igla, kosa[2], magla, medja, metla, peta and rosa).

We have seen above that end stress in Nsg may be accompanied by either end stress in Asg, e.g.

ovcá/ovcú   [o]

or by stem stress in Asg, e.g.

nogá/nógu   [m]

End stress in Asg almost always implies end stress in Nsg, however: we do not find B-mobile accentuation, e.g.

* gláva/glavú   *[n]

in feminine a-declension nouns. The only possible instances of such accentuation in my data are

    CWTk   métla and metlá vs. metlú (Šarb)

                 gréda and gredá vs. gredú (Šarb)

SWTk   žená and žéna vs. ženú (Trg)

        zémlja (and zemljá?) vs. zemljú (Staj)

In each case, end stress was firmly attested in Asg but there
was vacillation between end stress and stem stress in Nsg. I
assume that end stress in Asg represents an oxytonic Nsg/Asg
relationship and that vacillation in Nsg is due to influence
from the std lg. Compare Broch's data:

ETk   žená and žéna vs. ženú (Br 248:228/308;

        Br 297:236/309)

Even the single example of barytonesis in the std lg, vaška,
is oxytonic in ETk.

    NE KR also tends to have consistent end stress in
nouns with long root vocalism, where std SC has mobility in
the same lexemes; compare Jović: "Akuzativ jednine i nomi-
nativ/akuzativ množine su običniji sa ′ " (1968:102). He
indicates that oxytonesis in Nsg/Asg pairs is even more usual
than that in singular/plural pairs, cf. "Akuzativ jednine je
uvek sa ′ , sem u imenicama glava duša, ruka, koje mogu
imati i ^ ." (ibid, my italics)

    In WBg and EMac the Nsg and the Asg forms have the
same desinences in some places, but traces of an accentual
distinction can still be seen; cf. for instance

EMac   ovcá (Nsg) (MDA: Gab)

              vs.

        dóteraj gu óvcata (MDA: Žel)

        glává (Nsg) (MDA: Žel)

vs.

<u>na gláva</u>   (ibid)

Unfortunately the MDA files do not give sufficient informa-
tion on possible accentual differences between these other-
wise homonymous forms; we may tentatively surmise that there
is little trace of a Nsg/Asg alternation in those EMac areas
which permit stress on open final syllables. In NSV, where
the Asg desinence is distinct from the Nsg (<u>rúka/rúku</u>), the
two forms are never distinguished by place of accent (Mla-
denov 1969:147). Thus, Nsg/Asg forms in NSV are either both
end-stressed or both stem-stressed; the majority of items
on my questionnaire are end-stressed in Nsg-Asg.

The rest of WBg dialects show a variegated picture.
Since only TWBg and a portion of NWBg dialects distinguish
Asg from Nsg, no information is given in the chart for Sof,
Kjus or CWBg. An occasional symbol in one of these columns
refers to an adverbial form which represents a remnant of
preposition plus Asg. Of the WBg dialects in which Asg
forms are known, the desinence -<u>u</u> is common only in the
westernmost (transitional) dialects (cf.T 271), while NWBg
dialects which distinguish Asg forms usually have the desi-
nence -<u>a</u> or -<u>o</u>. Since there is variation as to stress place-
ment in Asg forms in TWBg and NWBg, I will list the pertinent
examples here, giving for each lexeme the examples from TWBg
first and those from NWBg second.

TWBg   <u>žená</u>   (T 273:229/230--listed as Asg)

            <u>za žená</u>   (T 273:220/223)

            <u>na ženú si</u>   (T 253:239/250)

            <u>ženú</u>   (T 218:231/234)

            <u>ženú si</u>   (Tg 204:293/250)

            <u>za ženú</u>   (T 273:220/223, KK 600:220/223)

                 vs.

            <u>na edné žéna</u>   (T 273:235/236)

            <u>žénu</u>   (T 273:252/328)

NWBg   <u>na žená si</u>   (T 271:314/349)

            <u>bíe žená si</u>   (T 272:331/311)

            <u>dzvezdá</u>   (T 273:310/344--listed as Asg)

                 vs.

            <u>ot dzvézdu</u>   (T 273:335/320)

               (no examples for TWBg)

TWBg   <u>krus reká</u>   (T 273:252/328)

                 vs.

            <u>réku</u>   (T 273:231/234, KK 603:220/223)

            <u>pokraé reku</u>   (T 323:239/250)

               (no examples for NWBg)

TWBg   <u>na dívutu svinjú</u>   (T 272:233/341)

            <u>svinjú</u>   (O 110:233/341)

                 vs.

            <u>svínju</u>   (T 273:231/234)

               (no examples for NWBg)

TWBg   <u>traži trávu</u>   (T 272:240/331)

NWBg   <u>bes trevé</u>   (T 272:409/322)

                 vs.

            <u>u tréva</u>   (T 322:324/331)

            <u>túru tréva</u>   (T 272:221/348)

TWBg   <u>vodá si nema</u> (T 266:240/231)

             <u>od jednú kápku vodá</u> (T 273:252/328)

                      vs.

             <u>vóda</u> (T 273:237/232--listed as Asg)

             <u>vódu</u> (T 218:239/250, T 273:231/234,

                  Tg 188:239/250)

             <u>vóda</u> (O 97:233/341--used as Asg)

NWBg   <u>zá voda</u> (T 272:304/340)

             <u>nósu vódu</u> (T 273:327/349)

             <u>ná vodu</u> (T 273:221/348)

             (Note that the only two examples of end

stress in Asg forms of this noun are when it is used

in a partitive construction.)

TWBg   <u>glaví</u> (T 218:243/344)

                      vs.

            <u>glávu</u> (T 218:239/250, ibid:243/344,

                  T 273:231/234, Tg 192:239/250, Tp 56:ibid,

                  O 110:233/341)

NWBg   <u>dignúl glavá</u> and <u>ne díga glávu</u> (T 273:221/348)

             <u>glávu</u> (T 218:343/333)

TWBg   <u>u jédnu góru</u> (T 272:258/301)

             <u>prekó jednú góru</u> (T 273:239/250, Tg 187:ibid)

             <u>niz edná góra</u> (KK 585:229/230)

NWBg   <u>goró</u> (T 272:343/333)

                      vs.

            <u>góru</u> (T 218:327/341)

TWBg   <u>nosíle su kósu</u> (T 272:240/331)

             <u>kósu</u> (T 218:335/320)

                      vs.

            <u>nósat kosó</u> (T 272:409/322)

            <u>ja nose kosó</u> (T 272:345/326)

(None of these forms are given in context
and it is thus unclear whether they mean
"hair" or "scythe".)

A survey of the above data shows that stem-stressed
Asg forms are nearly twice as frequent in TWBg (25 examples
of stem stress vs. 13 of end stress) as in NWBg (10 exam-
ples of stem stress vs. 8 of end stress).

2.7   When stem stress in Asg is attested, does it repre-
sent recessive mobility? To resolve this question, we must
know whether accent falls on a preceding preposition or not.
My data in this respect unfortunately resolve the question
only in a minority of cases.   Compare:

ETk	ná vodu	(Čin, VR, B 279:216/334)
	ú vodu	(CT 397, B 279:216/334, Br 247:213/ 306)
	dó vodu	(B 279:216/334)
	ná vodu and na vódu	(Tk)
	but	
	za vódu	(Br 292:236/309)
	u vódu	(Br 245:216/306)
TWBg	ná voda	(T 273:235/236
Sof	ná voda	(Sp 45)
NWBg	ná vodu	(T 273:221/348)
	ná voda	(T 272:304/340)
EMac	ná voda and od vódá	(MDA: Žel)
CWTk	dó glavu	(B 279:210/247)
	ód glavu	(ibid)
	pó glavu	(B 279:157/300)
	ná glavu	(Šarb)
	but na glávu in adjacent DP	
ETk	ná glavu	(Br 289:236/309, B 279:200/322, ibid:220/334, ibid:223/324)
	ú glavu	(B 279:206/334
	ispód glavu	(B 279:216/334--note that stress does not occur on initial syllable of preposition)
	ná glavu and na glávu	(Čin)
	na glávu	(Kr)

	u glávu (Br 213:209/233)
TWBg	ná glavu (T 231:244/329)
	pó glavu (T 231:239/250, Tp 50:239/250)
Kjus	prez gláva (Kj 79)
	but
	dóglava--listed as an adverb (ibid)
Sof	náglava--listed as an adverb (Sg 44)
EMac	po gláva (MDA: Žel)
	za gláva (ibid)
	na gláva (ibid)
NE KR	pôd glavu (KRs 322)
	ù glavu (ibid)

CWTk	u góru (Šil)
ETk	ú goru (CT 397)
	kako lis ná goru (B 309:242/303, ibid: 219/313)
TWBg	ú goru (T 231:231/234)

TWBg	ot dzvézdu (T 273:335/320)

SWTk	od zémnju (Bkg 74)
	iz zémnju (Bkv 44)
CWTk	ná zemlju (B 279:157/300)
	vs.
	na zémlju (Šarb)
ETk	ú zemlju (VR, B 310:223/300)
	ó zemlju (B 310:233/316)
	vs.
	od zémlju (B 310:216/334)
	na zévnu (B 309:225/304)

ETk	prekó zimu (B 280:216/334--note noninitial stress on the preposition)

SWTk	préd zoru (Bkp 189)
	vs.
	u dzóru (ibid:200)
CWTk	u zóru (Šil)
	do zóru (B 310:155/319)
ETK	ú zoru (Kr)

SWTk	za nógu (Br 135:159/229)
ETk	zá nogu (B 279:216/334)
	pód nogu (ibid)
	vs.
	na nógu (Kr)
TWBg	zá nogu (T 232:240/331)
	pó nogu (Tp 50:235/250)
Kjus	ná noga (Kj 78--listed as an adverb)
NE KR	nà nogu (KRs 322)

ETk	ná reku (Vr)
	vs.
	prokaj réku (B 310:236/309)
TWBg	ú reku (T 231:231/234)
	pokraé reku (T 323:239/250--note again
	noninitial stress on preposition)
SWTk	na rúku (Trg, Dj 104)
CWTk	ná ruku (Šarb)
ETk	ná ruku (Čin)
	zá ruku (B 279:216/334)
	ná ruku and na rúku (VR)
TWBg	íz ruku (T 232:240/331)
	vs.
	na rúku (T 272:314/349, Tp 50:239/250)
	prekó ruku (Tp 50:239/250)
NWBg	íz rəka (T 322:314/349)

SW KR zȁ ruku, nȁ ruku (E)
NE KR ȕ ruku, zȁ ruku (KRs 372)

TWBg ú svinju (T 231:240/331)

SWTk u tórbu (Pas)

ETk ú travu (CT 397)
Sof u tréva (T 322:327/248)

I have defined recessive mobility in nouns as an alternation between desinential syllable and absolute initial syllable. The examples ispód glavu, prekó zimu, pokraé reku and prekó ruku in the above listing contradict this, however: stress is on the lest syllable of the preposition and not the first. Nsg forms of all but one of these lexemes do have expected end stress in the pertinent areas, however (glavá, zimá, reká, but rúka).

On the other hand, pairs such as

NWBg vóda (T 273:327/349)/ná vodu (ibid:221/348)
         or
SW KR rȕka/zȁ ruku (E)

also fail to conform to this definition: initial stress in Asg prepositional phrase is opposed to stem stress(instead of expected end stress) in Nsg. Both the above instances are signalled on charts by an asterisk following the [M] ([M*]). Unless specific notice to the contrary is given in the text, this symbol will refer to accentuation of the type

     vóda/ná vodu   [M*]

I also encountered examples of modified recessive

mobile accentuation (stem stress in Nsg vs. initial stress

in Asg prepositional phrase) in trisyllabic nouns of the

type planina. The original questionnaire list included ten

nouns of this type (planina, polovina, visina, dubina,

dužina, rodnina, slanina, godina and tamnina), but of these

only polovina and planina could be elicited with any consis-

tency. I recorded the first with stem-final barytonesis

(polovína) in all my test areas,as in the std lg. The only

evidence of recessive mobility are Belić's examples:

SWTk	ú polovin	(B 305:155/233)
ETk	ú polovin	(B 305:206/328)

Contrast with this the more common

ETk	u polovínu	(B 319:233/316)
	na polovín	(B 305:200/322)

(as in my own data). Of the seeming lack of desinence in

forms like ú polovin, Belić notes, "Kod imenica od više

slogova na na gubi se nomin. i akuz. krajnji vokal, tako

da izgleda da su one osnove na suglasnik." (ibid.)

Planina shows a variety of accentual patterns,

none of which agree completely with std SC recessive mobil-

ity planìna/plǎninu. Belić and Broch give initial barytone-

sis, but with retraction to a preceding preposition for ETk.

Compare:

ETk	plánina pláninu	(B 382:225/335, ibid:227/
		339, ibid:216/334, ibid:229/324)

```
            íz planinu   (B 280:216/334)
            ná planinu   (ibid:224/303)
            pó planinu   (ibid:218/344, ibid:216/334)
            ú planinu    (ibid:200/322, ibid:216/334,
                    ibid:209/334, ibid:229/324, Br 242:
                    236/309, ibid:209/233)
    CWTk    plánina pláninu   (B 382:153/314)
                    but
            u pláninu   (Br 267:156/317, Br 160:157/300)
    SWTk    plánina pláninu   (B 382:155/233)
                (no data with preposition)
```

This was the case also in the majority of my investigation points, except for the alternate form planína (alongside plánina) in Kr (ETk) and Šil (CWTk). I elicited stress on the preposition (ú planinu) only in Šarb (CWTk). Stanojević's material offers an interesting hybrid: planiná planínu/ú planin (CT 398) where the accentuation of the Nsg and preposition phrase suggested recessive mobility, as in the std lg(and presumably according to the inherited archaic pattern), but the Asg did not conform.

NMac and EMac accentuation is similar to that found in the bulk of Tk dialects: plánina/plánine (plánini in appropriate eastern area) with alternate form planína attested in several places (V 109, MDA: Žel).

In the Sofia area of WBg we find the following:

```
    Sof     planiná   (Sg 29)
            planína   (T 221:314/242)
            plánina   (T 222:327/348)
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but only

<u>vos plánina</u>   (T 61:332/240)

note also

NWBg   <u>plánina</u>   (T 222:327/348)

(no forms with preposition attested)

KR has stem-final barytonesis, the Nsg with stress

placement as expected by comparison with the std lg (tak-

ing paroxytonesis into account) and Asg with stress simi-

lar to the Nsg:

NE KR   <u>planìna planìnu</u>   (KRt 104, KRs 307-308)

cf.

SW KR   <u>planìna, planìnu</u>   (E).

It thus appears that a mobile noun has been trans-

ferred to the barytonic class, with place of accent vari-

able although favoring initial barytonesis. The only non-

varying remnant of recessive mobility in this noun appears

to be the occurrence of initial stress in a prepositional

phrase. In other nouns of this class, the fragmentary in-

formation I was able to gather supported this trend, al-

though it did not always agree with Belić.

Where Belić and Broch have

ETk   <u>dlebiná</u>   (B 381:307/316)

<u>dlbinú</u>   (B 309:213/337)

but

<u>dlbína</u>   (B 94:233/316, ibid:221/242,

ibid:207/316, Br 282:236/309)

<u>dibína</u> [sic]   (B 122:213/337)

          dlbínu   (B 94:220/334, ibid:225/335,
                  ibid:223/322)
          dlibínu (B 122:209/334)

I elicited

    ETk   dlbína and dlbiná (Čin)
           glibínu (Kr)

Where Belić has

    ETk   visiná (B 381:227/339, ibid:200/322,
                   ibid:216/334)

I elicited

    ETk   visína (VR)
           visínu (Kr)

Where Belić has

    CWTk   dlužína (B 155:158/337)
                  but
    ETk   dížina (B 381:223/332)

I heard

    ETk   dlužínu (Kr)

Where Belić and Broch have

    CWTk   témnina (B 382:157/300)
    ETk   temnína (B 382:155/319, Br 286:236/309)

I have all three accentual possibilities:

    SWTk   témnina/u témninu (Trg)   [B]
           u témninu (Grač)
                  but
           temnína (Pas)
    CWTk   tevnína (Šil)
           u tevnínu and [NB] ú tevninu (ibid)

ETk   təmniná and təmnína/u təmnínu (Kr)   [$^{b}_{m}$]

Finally, for rodnina and slanina:

ETk   rodniná (B 382:200/322, 216/334;
                        Čin, Kr, VR)

CWTk   rodniná (Šarb)
                        but

ETk   rodniná/ródninu (CT 398)   [M]
                        and

ETk   slanína (B 382:216/334)
           slanína/slanínu   [b]
                (all my investigation points)
                        but

ETk   slaniná/slanínu (CT 398)   [m]

Examples of the recessive mobility seen in a prepositional phrase including such nouns are to be found in published sources, viz.

ETk   íz visinu   (B 280:216/334)
           ná visinu   (B 280:207/338)
           ú visin (B 305:200/322)

           ú dlibinu (B 310:235/325)
           ú dlibin (B 280:219/330, ibid:233/316)
           ú dibin (B 122:233/316)

           ú təvnin (B 280:219/313; CT 398)

I was not able to elicit examples other than those mentioned above (ú planinu, u pláninu [once each], and u təmnínu [twice], u támninu and ú təvninu [once each]). My general impression, however, is that accent on the preposition occurs more often in the east than in the west, and

more often in relatively fixed phrases than in other syn-
tactic constructions. Certainly Belić's data suggest that
this phenomenon is more prevalent in the east, since all
of his examples are from the TL dialect and none are from
SZ or JM.

Recessive mobility in all a-declension nouns seems
in general to be well attested only in the more eastern
areas (ETk, WBg), and then only in frequently occurring
fixed phrases. In NMac it is unknown; cf. Vidoeski:
"Osobina e na akcentot, ...da ne se prefrla od imenkite vrz
predlozite." (1962:120) This seems also to be true of EMac
villages, except for one occurrence of ná voda in Želigovo
near Kriva Palanka. This is one of the most common set
phrases (in Torlak the form is ná vodu) in a rural environ-
ment, since going to the well or spring "for water" is per-
haps the most essential of daily tasks, and it is not sur-
prising that it retains an otherwise obsolete accentuation.
Compare

ETk   vrz vódu (B 310:236/309)
where in a less frequently occurring context the head noun
retains the accent. Other common phrases such as ná noge,
zá ruku, ú ruke, ná glavu, almost always occur with prepo-
sitional stress. Jović notes for the Trstenik dialect
(NE KR), that whereas retraction of accent onto the prepo-
sition is optional, it is "important" only in the case of

"particular expressions", citing examples such as nà̀ vodu in the sense of ić nà̀ vodu (cf. above), and prèd glavu in the sense of a curse such as prèd glavu ti bilo (1968:36). Similarly, Simić notes that most of the examples with recessive mobility in the Levač dialect (NE KR) represent "sekvenci sa nešto izmenjenim padežnim značenjem." (1972:323)

Finally, in WBg areas where the Asg form has been lost, phrases such as dóglava, nánoga are known as adverbs (cf. Kj 78-79).

2.8   Within Torlak, it is interesting to note that both

Belić and Stanojević found mobility in certain cases where I

heard only oxytonesis (or barytonesis). Compare:

ETk	žénu	(B 385:216/334)
		and
	ženú	(B 385:216/334, CT 397)
		but only
	ženú	(Čin, KR)
		(although ženú and žénu both in VR)

ETk	ósu	(CT 397)
		vs.
ETk	osú	(Čin, KR, VR, Staj-Rad)
CWTk	osú	(Šil)

ETk	(p)čelú and (p)čélu [sic] (CT 397)
		vs.
ETk	pčelú	(Kr, VR, Staj-Rad)
CWTk	pčelú	(Šil)

ETk	svéču	(B 347:223/341, ibid:216/334,
		ibid:208/341, ibid:236/309)
		and
	svečú	(B 347:223/341, ibid:213/341, CT 397)
		vs.
ETk	svečú	(Čin, Kr, VR, Staj-Rad)
CWTk	svečú	(Šarb, DP, Šil)
SWTk	svečú	(Trg)
ETk	séstru	(B 347:216/334)
		and
	séstrú	(B 347:225/335, ibid:227/339,
		ibid:216/334, CT 398)

CWTk	<u>sestrú</u>	(B 347:208/235)
		vs.
ETk	<u>sestrú</u>	(Kr, VR, Staj-Rad)
CWTk	<u>sestrú</u>	(Šarb, Šil)

ETk	<u>snáu</u>	(B 309:225/335)
		and
	<u>snaú</u>	(B 347:225/335, ibid:200/322,
		ibid:216/334)
		vs.
ETk	<u>snaú</u>	(Čin, Kr, VR)
CWTk	<u>snaú</u>	(Šarb, DP)

ETk	<u>zímu</u>	(B 346:216/334)
	<u>zímu</u> and <u>zimú</u>	(CT 397)
		vs.
	<u>zimú</u>	(Čin, Kr, VR)

ETk	<u>pétu</u> and <u>petú</u>	(CT 397)
		vs.
ETk	<u>petú</u>	(Čin, Kr, VR, Staj-Rad)
CWTk	<u>petú</u>	(Šarb, Šil)

ETk	<u>rósu</u>	(CT 397)
		and
	<u>rosú</u>	(B 347:225/335)
		vs.
ETk	<u>rosú</u>	(Čin, Kr, VR)
CWTk	<u>rosú</u>	(Šarb)

The data are not conclusive (and it is not even sur-
prising that such a large body of data as Belić's should
yield more variation that either Stanojević's or my more

modest samples), but nevertheless offer tentative support to my thesis that oxytonesis was more common among these forms in 1970 than in 1905 or 1911, i.e. that this pattern has been extended to more lexemes.

2.9   The numerative form (used in Torlak dialects after nu-
merals) is generally identical with the plural form in femi-
nine and neuter nouns, e.g. dve žene, dva sela. Belić cites
other desinences attested less frequently in the Nmv, viz. -i
and -ø for feminines, and -i and -e for neuters. For example:

    (feminine)
ETk   sedum dúši   (B 328:216/344)
           šez gódin   (ibid:227/339)
    (neuter)
ETk   obe séli   (B 333:206/328)
        45 dŕveti   (B 334:209/337)
        deset védri   (B 333:208/341)
        dve méste   (ibid:233/316)

I did not record any of these variant forms during my field
work, apart from the forms like kríleti that are used in the
plural as well as the numerative.

In terms of accent, the feminine and neuter Nmv forms
are identical with the respective plural forms. Where Belić
give vacillation in the accentuation of a Nmv form, e.g.

ETk   kóze   (B 328:224/303)
            vs.
       kozé   (B 328:225/335, ibid:229/324)

he had already recorded vacillation in the plural forms of
the same nouns. In the field I observed no accentual dis-
tinction whatsoever between Nmv forms and plural forms of
feminine and neuter nouns.

Masculine nouns behave differently, however. The Nmv

of masculine nouns normally ends in -a, and is thus formally
identical with the Asg form of animate nouns. Belić noted a
few instances of plural forms being used as Nmv, e.g.

SWTk   tri nóži (B 330:157/230)
ETk   dva volóvi (B 331:208/341)

and rare cases of such nonplural forms as

ETk   dve voléta (B 334:221/242)

I did not record any such forms in my field work. Nmv forms
for inanimate masculine nouns showed the same accentuation as
the Nsg forms.

Generally, the Nmv of masculine animate nouns showed
the same accentuation as Asg; the homonymy was thus complete.
In ETk this meant that both forms were either end-stressed
(ednoga volá/dva volá) or stem-stressed (ednoga sína/dva sína);
in WTk with its constraint on stress in final open syllables,
all forms were stem-stressed (ednoga vóla/dva vóla). However,
in two of my investigation points (Kr and Šil), Asg and Nmv
were consistently distinguished by means of end stress in Asg
and stem stress in Nmv. Compare:

ETk   ednoga volá/dva vóla (Kr)
        ednoga konjá/dva kónja (Kr)
        ednoga petlá/dva pétla (Kr)
        ednoga juncá/dva júnca (Kr)

CWTk   ednoga veprá/dva vépra (Šil)
        ednoga volá/dva vóla (Šil)
        ednoga konjá/dva kónja (Šil, and possibly
            Trg)

CWTk	ednoga petlá/dva pétla	(Šil, Trg)
	ednoga orlá/dva órla	(Šil)
	ednoga moljcá/dva móljca	(Šil)
	ednoga juncá/dva júnca	(Šil)

Broch also recorded this opposition once in Ćurlina near Niš, (ETk-SZ) [236/317] and once in Vlasotince (CWTk, near border with SZ) [208/258] as follows:

ETk   samo jednóga konjá; nach Zahlworten aber
           mit Wurzelbetonung, dva kónja, pet, sto
           kónja (Br 271:236/317)
              and

CWTk   ímam jednóga konjá aber dva kónja (Br 59:
           208/258)

Furthermore, Broch cites

WTk   dva óvna, pedeset óvna (Br 162:157/300)
              and

ETk   dva óvna (Br 320n:242/315)
(TL)

Belić rejects both these forms as incorrect:

U ovim je rečima, svakako, povučen akcenat pod uticajem
književnog jezika, jer se oblik uz broj dva u imenica
muškog roda i u ovom dijalektu, kao u srpskom jeziku
uopšte, ne razlikuje od oblika genitiva jedn[ine].
(Bll 42)

Belić's own ETk data are all from the TL zone:

ETk   tri konjá (B 330:229/324)
           četiri konjá (B 330:213/341)
           volá (B 330:225/335, ibid:216/334--identi-
              fied as numerative)

These forms, as well as my ETk data, confirm end-stressed

Nmv in the dialect.   In Leskovac (157/300--23 km from Šil),
however, Broch's material is probably correct.

The two areas where this phenomenon is attested are
not geographically contiguous.   Kr (203/310) is in the SZ
dialect zone of ETk and Šil (143/254) is in the JM dialect
zone, some 96 kilometers away, separated from Kr by the main
thoroughfare within the Torlak zone, the Južna Morava River.
The extent of paroxytonesis is restricted in both areas, but
is noticeably more important than in the easternmost Torlak
dialects (such as in Čin or VR, for example). Whether or not
paroxytonesis is a factor here, it is surely significant that
everywhere roughly to the east of the north-south belt includ-
ing Kr and Šil, the forms concerned are end-stressed (ednoga
volá/dva volá), and everywhere roughly to the west they are
stem-stressed (ednoga vóla/dva vóla). The position of Trg is
thus very interesting, as it is situated quite close to a
clearly discernible isogloss of paroxytonesis. That is, al-
though paroxytonesis is strong, as in other SWTk dialects, we
find more vacillation (occurrence of final stress) here than
in the rest of SWTk. One clear instance of the Asg/Nmv al-
ternation is attested in Trg (ednoga petlá/dva pétla); ano-
ther case of vacillation (konjá/kónja) may be an example of
Asg opposed to Nmv, but I was not able to elicit unambiguous
confirmation.

All the above examples are of nouns denoting animals.
I was not able to elicit unambiguous Nmv (as opposed to Asg)

in any nouns denoting human beings. This is possibly because
human beings do not tend to be counted in the same objective
way as animals. My experience with informants was such that
any time the context clearly indicated a specific number of
priests, shepherds, etc., (as opposed to simply "more than
one," i.e. plural), each was enumerated and identified by
name, place of residence, or some other mark. However, the
fact that Todorov was able to record the forms

Sof   <u>dva svetcá</u>   (T 281:318/244)
                    and
NWBg   <u>šes popá</u>   (T 281:230/350)   .

suggests that my failure to record Nmv form of nouns denoting
humans is perhaps due to inexperience in field work. These
data, along with

NWBg   <u>dva volá</u>   (T 280:250/402)
           <u>dva konjá</u>   (T 280:247/339)

also suggest, incidentally, that no Asg/Nmv alternation is
known in these WBg dialects for animate nouns, human or non-
human.

In WBg dialects closer to the ETk border zone (i.e. the
TWBg group), this may not be the case. Material for KK (the
area around Bosilegrad) shows

TWBg   <u>dva óvna</u>   (KK 597:229/230, ibid:222/237)
                    vs.
           <u>ednoga ovná</u>   (KK 591:222/237)
           <u>dva ovná</u>   (ibid)

> dva pópa (KK 596:220/223)
> ot óbata pópa (ibid)
>
> devet kónja (KK 581:236/232).

The Asg forms of pop and konj unfortunately do not occur in the 47 pages of accented texts. The alternation is clearly attested in Tron, however, viz.

> TWBg   volá (Tg 176:239/250--noted as Asg)
>   vs.
> dva vóla (Tg 179:239/250)
>   cf. also
> dva pópa (ibid)

There may well be vacillation here as there is in KK, however. Finally, the northern TWBg village of Ošane seems to show an alternation between Asg and Nmv, but with the place of accent reversed, viz.

> TWBg   tóga vóla/dva volá (O 97:233/341)

Note also in Sof (outside the TWBg zone),

> Sof   dváta vóla (Sp 31)

Without further data, however, one must be cautious. In Tk, however, I am quite certain that the alternation exists as I have described it in Kr and Šil, at least among masculine nouns denoting nonhuman beings. The clear attestation of it in two areas a significant distance apart serves further to confirm its importance.

2.10   Chart 2 summarizes the sg/pl accent patterns in femi-

nine a-declension nouns. Oxytonesis (end stress in sg and

pl) is symbolized [o], e.g.

     ETk   iglá/iglé (Kr)   [o]

Stem stress in both sg and pl, or barytonesis, is symbolized

[b], e.g.

     SWTk   ígla/ígle (Grač)   [b]

Mobility is designated by [m], e.g.

     ETk   iglá/ígle (Čin)   [m]

When stress is on a preposition preceding the plural form,

this is recessive mobility, symbolized [M], e.g.

     ETk   nogá/ná noge (Čin)   [M]

. Of the 36 feminine a-declension nouns appearing on the ques-

tionnaire, six are listed as oxytonic by Daničić, 29 as mo-

bile and one as barytonic in std SC. In PS1, the majority

were mobile (circumflex) and the remainder oxytonic. The

fact that only one barytonic noun was included in the ques-

tionnaire listing was an oversight. During actual field work,

however, my ear was acutely tuned to catch stress on final

open syllables regardless of grammatical category or lexical

meaning, and all such cases were catalogued. I can confident-

ly say that no feminine a-declension nouns marked as barytonic

by Daničić appear with final accents with any significant reg-

ularity in any Tk dialect.

     Since all but one of the questionnaire items have mono-

syllabic stems, I could establish the presence of recessive

mobility unambiguously in these nouns only when accent ap-
peared on the preposition in a prepositional phrase. Unfor-
tunately, only a few of these items occurred in prepositional
phrases with any regularity. In fact, I can substantiate re-
cessive mobility only in the two nouns <u>ruka</u> and <u>noga</u>, and then
only in a minority of my investigation points. The data:

ETk	<u>nogá/ná noge</u> (Čin)		[M]
	but		
	<u>nogá/na nóge</u> (VR)		[m]
	and		
	<u>nogá/ná noge</u> and <u>na nóge</u> (Kr)		$[^m_M]$
	compare		
	<u>zá noge</u> (B 316:216/334)		
	<u>ná noge</u> (B 316:216/334, ibid:223/341)		
	but		
	<u>od nóge</u> (B 316:216/338)		
SWTk	<u>nóga/ná noge</u>		[M*]
SW KR	<u>nòga/pȍd noge</u> (E)		[M*]
NE KR	<u>nȍga</u> (KRs 48), <u>nȁ noge</u> (ibid:322) and		
	<u>na nȍge</u> (ibid 28)		$[^b_M]$

Note also the following feminine nouns attested in WBg:

TWBg	<u>ná noge</u> (T 231:239/250)	
Kjus	<u>nánodze</u> (Kj 78--identified as an adverbial	
	formation)	

CWTk	<u>ruká</u> and <u>rúka/zá ruke</u> (Šarb)	$[^M_{M*}]$
SWTk	<u>rúka/ú ruke</u> (Trg)	[M*]
SW KR	<u>rûka/û ruke</u> (E)	[M*]
NE KR	<u>rúka</u> (KRs 299)/<u>zȁ ruke, nȁ ruke</u> (KRs	[M]
	322)	

cf. however

NE KR   <u>dao mi nàruke</u> vs. <u>palo mi na rûke</u>   [ᵐ/ₘ]

           (KRt 35)

                compare also

ETk   <u>ná ruke</u>   (B 279:216/334, ibid:225/335)

        <u>ú ruke</u>   (B 279:216/334, ibid:236/309,

           ibid:207/324)

        <u>pód ruke</u>   (B 279:223/341)

             and the WBg adverbial form

Kjus   <u>nárace</u> (Kj 78)

All other examples of sg/pl mobility of the sort <u>zmijá/zmíje</u>

could be recessive, but in the absence of conclusive data I

have termed them A-mobile [m].

Only the example <u>petá/na péte</u> (VR) is unambiguously

nonrecessive. In NSV and in NMac, however, the pattern is al-

ways unambiguously nonrecessive as accent never appears on the

preposition in either locale, cf. Vidceski 120 and Mladenov

131-142.

Nouns of the type <u>planina</u> have recessive mobility in

std SC (<u>planìna/plànine</u>), but are usually initial barytonie in

Tk, NMac, EMac and WBg. Compare:

ETk   <u>plánina/plánine</u> (B 382:225/335, ibid:227/339,

           ibid:216/334, ibid:229/324, Čin,

           VR)   [B]

CWTk   <u>plánina/plánine</u> (B 382:153/314)   [B]

SWTk   <u>plánina/plánine</u> (B 382:155/233, Trg) [B]

EMac   <u>plánina/plánine</u> (MDA: Kal, Kis, Rank, [B]

           Žel)

NMac   <u>plánina/plánine</u> (V 109)   [B]

Note however that in NMac and the westernmost area of EMac we have also

    NMac   planína/pláninu (V 109, MDA: Žel)
    EMac

WBg, however, has stem-initial barytonesis:

    TWBg   plánina/plánine (KK 589:237/232)   [B]
    WBg   plánina/plánine (Mih 109)   [B]

while NE KR has stem-final barytonesis:

    NE KR   planìna/planìne (KRt 104)   [b]

In fact, only in CTim do we find the recessive mobile sg/pl alternation of the std lg:

    ETk   planiná/plánine (CT 398)
                    (but cf. Asg planínu [ibid])

Compare also in CTim:

    ETk   slaniná/slánine
                    (but Asg slanínu) (CT 398)
            rodniná/ródnine
                    (with expected Asg ródninu)   [M]
                    (ibid)

and the following recorded by Belić and Broch:

    ETk   dlabiná (B 381:207/316, Čin)
                    opposed to the pl form
           díbine (B 94:227/339)   [M]

vs. the much more frequent stem-final accent in the sg:

    ETk   dlbína (B 94:233/316, ibid:207/316,
                    Br 282:236/309, Čin)
           dlbína (B 122:213/237)
                    and

ETk visiná (B 381:227/339, ibid:200/322,
       ibid:216/334)
       vs.
    visína (VR)
       opposed to the pl form
    vísine (B 381:227/339)

Stress on a preceding preposition was found in two ETk areas:

ETk pó planine (B 280:218/344, ibid:216/
     334)   [M*]

In WBg, a pl form with preposition is attested only in
the Sofia area, with desinential stress:

Sof po planiná (T 277:349/239)

Together with the sg form planiná (sg 29:321/242), this is
an oxytonic sg/pl relationship. The following forms, however,
(marked by Todorov as Asg), are also given for the western
Sofia dialect:

Sof planína (T 221:314/242)
    plénina (T 222:327/348)

Barytonesis is practically the only type of sg/pl ac-
centuation encountered in dissyllabic feminine a-declension
nouns in SW KR, SWTk and NMac. Only the dual accent žená
heard in Grač hints at a possible A-mobile paradigm there as
well. Since both sg and pl forms of feminine a-declension
nouns terminate in a vowel, it is clear that the constraint
against stress in open final syllables determines barytonic
accentuation in these nouns.

2.11   Only Trg presents significant deviations with respect
to this statement. Several lexical items (brazda, sestra,
gora) are mobile in CWTk and ETk (areas not subject to parox-
ytonesis) and barytonic in other SWTk areas, but vacillate
between mobility and barytonesis in Trg. More significantly,
many lexemes which are barytonic in Trg are mobile in the
next two villages to the east, Staj and Rad. These are:
vaška, brazda, zvezda, buha, glava, greda, zmija, medja,
magla, muha, noga, osa, peta, pčela, ruka, svinja, and suza.
In addition, igla is barytonic in Trg but oxytonic in Staj-
Rad. This is more than half of the entire test list, and
clearly indicates that an important isogloss should be drawn
between Trgovište and Stajevac-Radovnica.

         This area is in fact a border zone: Trg is within the
SWTk dialect region but close to Bg-speaking territory, and
thus near the eastern limits of the paroxytonic area. Staj
and Rad are situated in the foothills of the mountain range
which forms the Serbian/Bulgarian language boundary.

         Essentially the same phenomenon can be noted, although
to a lesser degree, in Šarb, which is situated at the NE per-
iphery of the CWTk zone. There, seven lexemes(buha, voda,
glava, greda, zima, metla and ruka) vacillate between mobil-
ity and barytonesis. Further, in DP, a village 11 kilometers
to the southeast of Šarbanovac, 12 of the 36 test forms, which
are either barytonic or vacillating in Šarb, are unambiguously
mobile. These are: buha, voda, glava, zmija, koza, kosa[1],

kosa[2], medja, metla, noga, pčela, ruka, snaha and suza). On
the chart, the accentuation of both Trg/Staj-Rad and Šarb/DP
is symbolized as follows: where the accentuation of the
neighboring village differs from that of the major investi-
gation point, a slash separates the two symbols. The symbol
to the right of the slash always represents the easternmost
point, viz. Staj-Rad and DP, respectively.

In ETk, however, practically all test items were mo-
bile. The only exceptions in my field notes occur in Kr:
there reka is barytonic and sveća and igla are oxytonic. In
addition, rosa is oxytonic in Čin. The CWTk area presents an
interesting transition between the consistent barytonesis of
SWTk and the consistent mobility of ETk. As the chart indi-
cates, certain lexemes, such as reka, zora, kosa, zima,
greda, gora, magla, glava, zemlja, suza, torba, trava, are
usually barytonic in CWTk while others, e.g. sveća, žena,
sestra, koza, kosa, metla, and ovca, are usually mobile.

Sketch I illustrates the geographical variation within
Tk with respect to certain of these lexemes. The symbols in-
dicate the following six lexemes, always in the same order:

brazda	gora
sveća	igla
sestra	suza

For instance, the notation

b	b
m	b
b	b

LEGEND

- - - - dialect boundaries
——— political boundaries
Kr towns or villages
ETk dialect areas

NWBg

. NSV

Šarb
m b
m m
m b

mb
mm
mm

DP

CTim

m m
m m
m m

ETk

CWTk

Kr
. m m
o o
m m

mm
mm
mm

Čin.

TWBg

o Tran

TWBg

Šil.
m b
m m
m b

mm
mm
mm
Vk

. Sof

Grač
. bb
bb
bb

SWTk

b b
b
b
b
Trg

mb
mo
mm

TWBg

Staj . Rad

. Pas
bb
bb
bb

o Kjæ

CWBg

Žel

Gab.

. Psač

o Kum

Rank

Kis.

. Kal

NMac

EvMac

Dek.
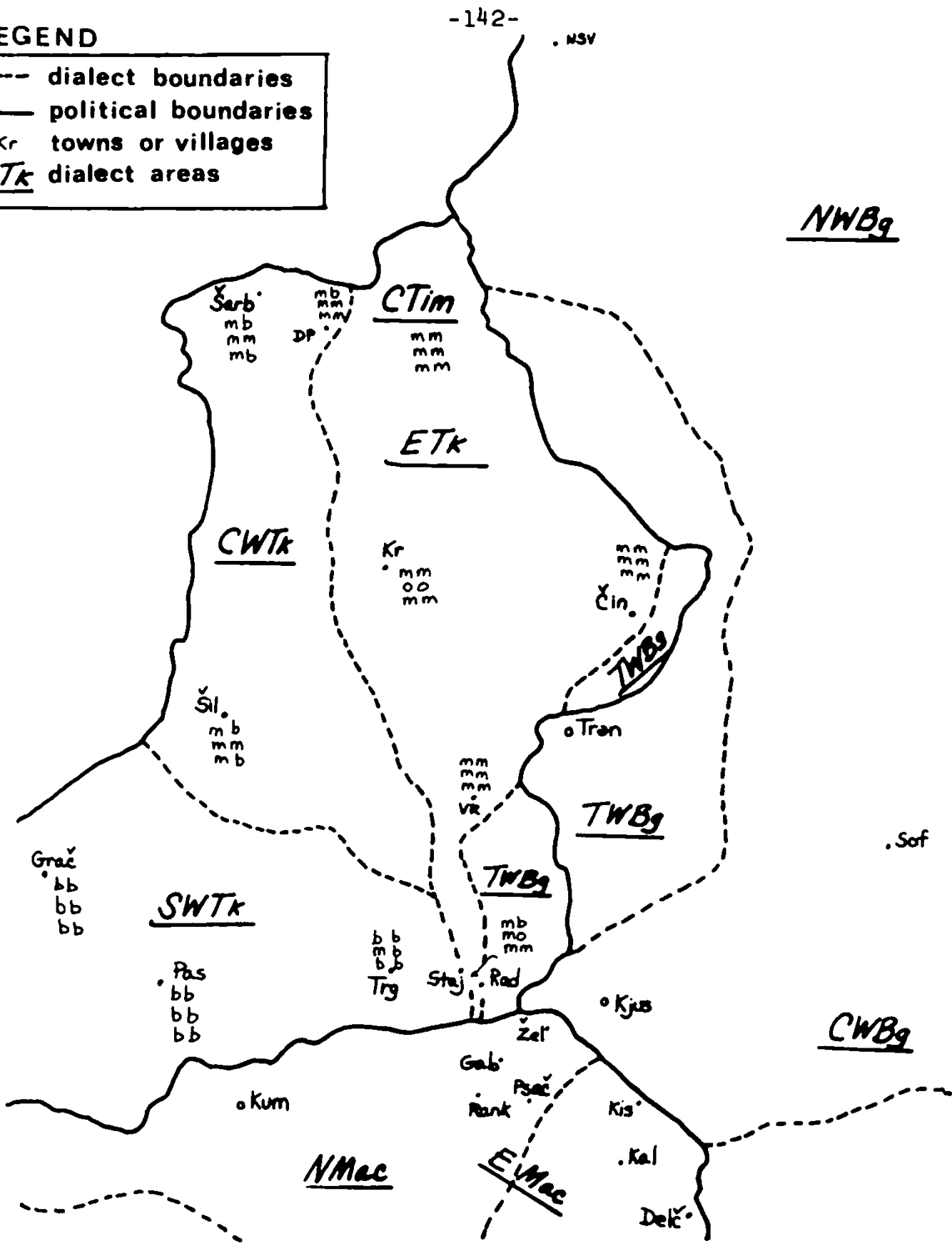
Sketch I: Sg/pl alternation in six a-declension nouns in Tk

for Trg means that in Trg all are barytonic but sve$\acute{c}$a, which
is mobile.

  With reference to sg/pl, an a̲-declension noun is mo-
bile or barytonic, depending on whether the Nsg exhibits fi-
nal stress or not. A question arises: is the significant
variation represented by these two isoglosses simply due to
the random effects throughout the lexicon of paroxytonesis
(that is, a generally"stricter" restriction upon stress in
final open syllables), or are certain specific lexical items
somehow more prone that others to paroxytonesis? While work-
ing in Šarbanovac, I devoted one session with informants par-
ticularly to this question. My informants were all women who
had married into a Šarb family but who had grown up in two
closely neighboring villages to the west, Mužinac (one kilo-
meter away) and Vrmdža (5 kilometers away). They had retained
the dialect of their native villages but were conscious of the
differences between their speech and that of their new fami-
lies. They were particularly conscious, it turned out, to
the variations of stem stress vs. final stress in nouns end-
ing in -a̲. Working with the women as long as their interest
remained focused on the problem, I elicited the following com-
parative listing. (The last heading, "down in the valley",
indicates the women's feeling about how the group of villages
in the valley immediately to the east say the words in ques-
tion [the left-to-right progression of columns in this list
corresponds to a west-to-east geographical progression]:

Vrmdža	Mužinac	Šarbanovac	"Down in the Valley"
séstra	sestrá	sestrá	sestrá
kóza	kozá	*kozá	kozá
óvca	ovcá	ovcá	ovcá
svínja	svinjá	svinjá	svinjá
žéna	žená	žená	žená
svéča	svečá	svečá	svečá
gréna	gréna	graná	graná
péta	péta	petá	petá
dáska	dáska	daská	daská
ígla	ígla	iglá	iglá
slána	slána	slaná	slaná
gréda	gréda	*gredá	gredá
zmíja	zmíja	*zmijá	zmijá
súza	súza	suzá	suzá
gréda	gréda	*gredá	gredá
zóra	zóra	*zorá	zorá
gláva	gláva	*gláva	glavá
rósa	rósa	*rósa	rosá
brézda	brázda	*brézda	brazdá
rúka	rúka	*rúka	ruká
nóga	nóga	nóga	nogá
vóda	vóda	vóda	vodá
médža	médža	médža	medžá
réka	réka	réka	reká
zémlja	zémlja	zémlja	zemljá

(Items marked with an asterisk in the Šarbanovac listing
above were elicited with opposite accentuation during my
informant work elsewhere in Šarbanovac.)

This examination of the Soko Banja area shows that paroxytonesis is unambiguously more regular in the west than in the east. It is also clearly in the process of passing from an optional to an obligatory fact as concerns those lexical items marked with an asterisk. While such a clear-cut listing is an interesting illustration of close-range variation, it can be misleading in terms of the larger CWTk area. Certain lexemes which are stem-stressed in Šarb (medja, kosa, noga, ɔsa, pčela, snaha) nevertheless are end-stressed in Šil, further to the southwest.

One factor seems more or less constant both with respect to the narrowly defined Soko Banja region and to the broader CWTk zone, however: nouns which denote animate beings are end-stressed without exception in Šil. Likewise, those nouns which are consistently end-stressed in most of the Soko Banja region (the first seven items of the list on the preceding page) all denote animate beings. Since a number of animate nouns are stem-stressed in Šarb (zmija, muha, osa, pčela, snaha), and inanimate nouns are attested with end stress in both villages, this can be termed only a tendency and not a general rule.[22] It is interesting, however, that Broch recorded the vacillation svinjá vs. svínja (as well as ovcá vs. óvca and kozá vs. kóza in Lukovo, noting

Schon aus den wenigen hier gesammelten Beispielen
fällt es auf, wie unter den ursprünglich oxytonir-
ten Femina auf -a̲ besonders Thiernamen fähig sind,
die alte Betonung zu bewahren. (Br 55)

As mentioned earlier, mobility is almost the only ac-
centuation found in ETk in these nouns. Oxytonesis/mobility
variation occurs in the extreme east of the Tk zone, however.
Compare the following examples of vacillation (since the sg
is end-stressed in all these forms in all ETk areas, only
pl forms are given):

ETk	žené (B 316:213/337, ibid:216/343, B 328:225/335, B 345:216/334)	[o]
	žené and žéne (CT 397)	[$_m^o$]
	žéne (Čin, Kr, VR)	[m]
	kozé (B 328:225/335, ibid:229/324, B 346:216/334, ibid:200/322, ibid: 213/341, B 348:213/341, ibid:218/341)	[o]
	vs.	
	kóze (B 328:224/303, Br 310:248/348, Čin, Kr, VR)	[m]
	cf. also	
TWBg	kóze (T 284:236/250)	
ETk	snaé (B 347:227/339)	[o]
	snaé and snáe (CT 397)	[$_m^o$]
	vs.	
	snáe (Čin, Kr, VR)	[m]
	cf. also	
TWBg	snáe (Ma 179:248/304)	[m]
	deveté snáe (T 318:234/332)	[m]

2.12   In the TWBg dialects located contiguous to ETk imme-
diately on the other side of the Serbian/Bulgarian border,
we find similar accentuation, i.e. most a̱-declension femi-
nine nouns are mobile. Mobility/oxytonesis variation is at-
tested only in the following example:

   TWBg   ženê̱ (T 219:243/344)
                          vs.
           žêne̱ (T 220:235/236, Ma 178:248/304)

The major difference between ETk and TWBg is that barytone-
sis (which is unknown in ETk) is attested in instances in
TWBg (vo̱da, gla̱va, zi̱ma and tra̱va).

        In EMac, mobility is likewise the predominant pattern.
Variation is attested in the following examples:

   EMac   žená̱ (but na žéna mi)/žéni̱ (MDA: Žel)   [o]
           žéna/žéne̱ (MDA: Rank)   [b]
           žená̱/žéni̱ (MDA: Gab, Kis, Kal)   [m]

           búa/búi̱ (MDA: Žel)   [b]
           buá̱/búi̱ (MDA: Gab)   [m]
           boá̱/bói̱ (MDA: Kis, Kal)   [m]

           zmiá̱/zmíi̱ (MDA: Kis)   [o]
           zmijá̱/zmíi̱ (MDA: Kal, Žel)   [m]

           muá̱/múi̱ (MDA: Žel)   [ᵇₘ]
           múa/múi̱ (MDA: Kis, Kal)   [b]

           osá̱/ósi̱ (MDA: Žel)   [ᵇₘ]
           osá̱/ósi̱ (MDA: Kis, Kal)   [m]

EMac   svinjá/svínje (MDA: Žel, Gab)   [m]

svínja/svinjáta [sic--this form was spe-
cifically marked as the plural of
svínja] (MDA: Kal)

snaá/snái (MDA: Kal)   [m]

snáa/no pl given (MDA: Kis)

In the rest of WBg, all three types of accentuation are attested. In NSV and NWBg dialects, oxytonesis and mobility are approximately equally attested, while comparatively few examples of barytonesis are found. Farther south, in Kjus and CWBg, the number of examples with barytonesis and mobility is approximately equal, but oxytonesis is poorly attested. The dialect of Sofia stands out in that the majority of examples are barytonic--neither oxytonesis nor mobility is well attested. In addition, one finds examples of B-mobility (in variation with other accentual types):

Sof   vóda/vodí (Sg 24)   [n]
             but
vóda/vódi (Sg 49)   [b]

góra/gorí (Sg 24)   [n]

snáa/snaí (Sg 24)   [n]
             but
snaá/snaí (Sp 246)   [o]

gláva (Sp 246, Sg 27)/glávi (Sg 24,
T 282:318/244) $[^b_n]$
             but

Sof   tri glaví (T 282:318/244)
         múha/muhí (Sp 304)   [n]
                 cf. also
         múa (T 217:321/245, Sg 9)/muí (T 282:
              314/242)   [n]

         tréva/treví   (Sp 246)   [n]
                 but note
         u tréva (T 322:324/331)/trévi (Sg 56)   [b]

Usually, end stress in the pl of feminine a-declension

nouns implies end stress in the sg (i.e. if gorí [or goré],

then gorá). It is probable that these exceptions to this

found in Sofia are due to the influence of definite forms

with end stress (e.g. goríte); see below, sec. 2.23.

In NE KR, the occurrence of the different types of ac-

centual alternations depends on the length of the pre-final

syllable, which is in nearly all these nouns the initial syl-

lable. As stated above (sec. 1.12), ictus has been retracted

from all short final syllables in KR. In NE KR, however, if

the penult is long, accent remains on the ultima. Thus, those

stems with long root vocalism which are oxytonic in the std lg

(brazda, zvezda, reka, sveća) are oxytonic in NE KR also. But

those with long root vocalism which in the std lg are mobile

tend more often in NE KR to be oxytonic. Jović (1968:102)

gives singular rúka and plural rûke/rúke with the note that

"akuzativ jednine i nominativ/akuzativ množine su običniji

sa ´ ," implying that all those stems marked by Daničić as

mobile in this way have the same pattern. He mentions the

tendency of mobile stems to oxytonesis twice more:

> U ovom govoru akcenat nominativ množine imenica
> ove vrste [type svinja] obično je isti kao i u
> nominativ jednine. (1968:28)

and

> Najbitnija [razlika prema književnom jeziku] je,
> svakako, težnja da se eliminiše tip s pokretnim
> alternacijom grána grânu grâne. (ibid:105)

In Levač, however, mobility appears to be more common than

oxytonesis, cf. Simić: "Akcenat ^ daleko je običniji u

obliku Np-Ap-Vp," citing as examples glâve, zvêzde, ôvce,

rûke, svînje (1972:299).

The above remarks apply to the sg/pl accentual alter-

nation as it is found in Tk dialects. In KR, this alterna-

tion must be defined more narrowly as Nsg/Npl, since stems

without mobility between Nsg and Npl forms often have dif-

ferent accentuation in Gpl or Ipl forms.

2.13   The east-to-west distribution of accentual patterns
is shown in schematic form in sketch II. The most striking
fact about this trend illustrated in the diagram is the out-
standing preponderance of mobility in ETk and TWBg. All pos-
sible patterns are represented in WBg dialects, and the WTk
and KR accentual distributions are more or less determined by
phonological/distributional factors. But in ETk, where this
sort of distributional constraint does not operate, the mobile
pattern appears to have been extended throughout the lexicon
to a great extent.
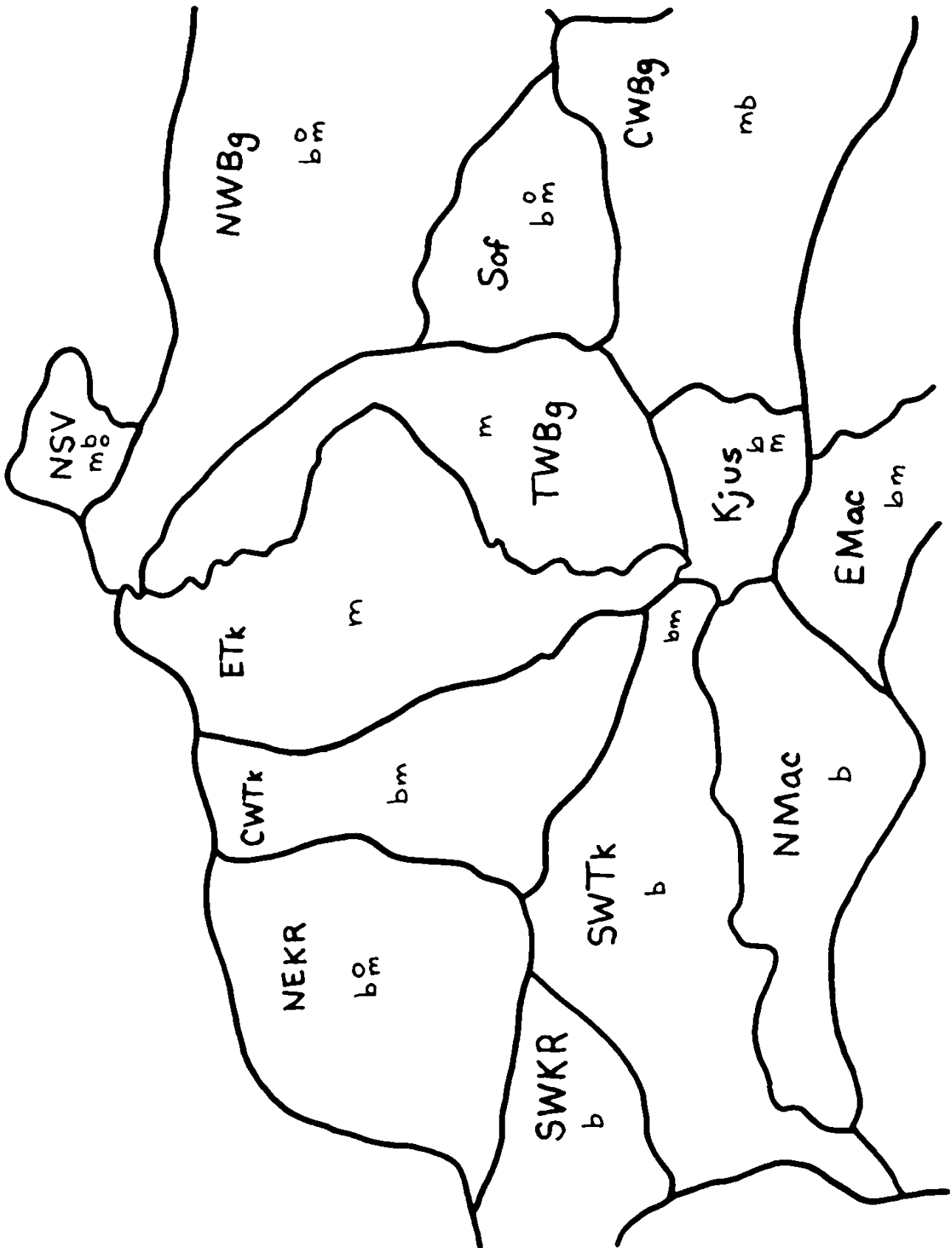
Sketch II: Sg/pl in feminine a-declension nouns in Tk, KR, NMac, EMac and WBg

2.14   Chart 3 summarizes the accentual relationship of sg/
pl in neuter nouns. All four types of central alternations
are attested in Tk for dissyllabic neuter nouns. Compare:

ETk	žíto/žíta	(Čin)	[b]
	vedró/vedrá	(Čin)	[o]
	rebró/rébra	(Čin)	[m]
	krílo/krilá	(Čin)	[n]

An asterisk next to a symbol in the chart indicates that an
expanded plural form is attested, e.g.

SWTk	vlékno/vlákniti	(Pas)	[b*]
	vedró/vedrínja	(Rad)	[o*]

I have marked neuter nouns of the type vreme with an aster-
isk only when they are attested with a plural formation oth-
er than the -en- found in std. SC Thus:

ETk	vréme/vrémena	(Čin)	[b]
	but		
Kjus	vréme/vremenjá	(Kj 69)	[N*]

ETk	íme/iména	(Kr)	[n]
	but		
	íme/imetína	(Čin)	[n*]

All instances of expanded plurals will be quoted specifically
in the text.

Accent rarely appears on the preposition in a prepo-
sitional phrase involving these nouns. When it does, it is
almost always an example of a fixed phrase (or in the case of
most WBg dialects, an adverbial form). Compare:

ETk	u rébra (Kr)

ETk	u sélo (Br 291:256/317)
Sof	po séla (Sp 257)

ETk	níz brdo (B 281:225/300)

Kjus	úkolo (identified as an adverb) (Kj 78)

ETk	ú oči (B 279:229/324, ibid:216/334)
	vs.
	u óko, u óči (Kr)
SW KR	nà oko, ù oči (E)
Kjus	úoči (adverbial) (Kj 78)

ETk	u úvo, u úši (Kr)
	za úvo (Br 267:256/317)

Kjus	ú vreme (Kj 78-adverbial)
Sof	ná vreme (Sg 45-adverbial)

ETk	ná ramo (Čin)
	vs.
	na rámo (Kr)
SWTk	na rámo (Trg)

Kjus	náramo (Kj 197-adverbial)
Sof	náramo (Sg 41-adverbial)

In terms of sg/pl accentuation, barytonesis is once more the only type found in SW KR, SWTk and NMac, unless there is an expanded plural formation, e.g.

SWTk	rámo/raménje (Pas)	[n]
NMac	vréme/vreména (also vréminja,	
	vremínja) (V 142)	

In NE KR barytonesis is the only type found with short-vowel stems, while with long root vocalism oxytonesis is usual.

In CWTk and ETk, barytonesis and mobility seem to occur with approximately the same frequency. Oxytonesis is not as rare in neuter nouns as in feminine a-declension nouns, nor do the instances of finally-stressed plural forms cluster as strongly around border points as they do in feminine a-declension nouns. Compare first the instances of oxytonic patterns in Torlak:

ETk	gnjezdó/gnjezdá and gnjézda (Čin)	$[^o_m]$
	vedró/vedrá (Čin, Kr, VR)	[o]
	vreló/vrelá (Čin, VR)	[o]
	koló/kolá (VR)	[o]
	drvó/drvé and dŕva (VR)	$[^o_m]$

There are only two instances of B-mobility in Tk in these nouns:

ETk	kríla/krilá (and kríla) (Čin)	$[^b_n]$
SWTK	dŕvo/drvé (Staj)	[n]

Finally note the close-range east-to-west variation in the accentuation of krilo in the corner of SWTk near ETk and TWBg:

SWTk	kriló/krilá (Rad)	[o]
	kriló/kríla (Staj)	[m]
	krílo/kríla (Trg)	[b]

2.15   In the main, WBg and EMac have similar accentuation.
The following deviations from the distribution already noted
for Tk or variations within areas of WBg are noteworthy,
however:

Kjus	vlákno/vlákna (Kj 69)	[b]
CWBg	vlaknó/vlakná and vlána [sic] (Mih 113)	
NWBg	vlaknó and vlákno (T 227:327/341)/	
	no plural given	
TWBg	vlaknó/vlákna	[m]

Sof	gnjézdo/gnjezdá (Sg 24)	[n]
NWBg	gnjezdó/gnjezdá (G 144) but gnjézda	
	(T 229:240/346)	[ᵒₘ]
Kjus	gnjézdo/gnjézda (Kj 69)	[b]
CWBg	gnezdó/gnezdá (Mih 111)	[o]
EMac	gnézdo/gnézda (MDA: Kal)	[b]
	but	
	gnezdó (MDA: Kis)	

NWBg	kriló/krilá (G 144)	[o]
	but	
	krílo (Sp 304:348/254--cited as a dia-	
	lectal feature of Orxanije [in NWBg]	
	specifically distinct from the ESof	
	dialect)/kríla (T 229:255/349)	
Kjus	krílo/kríla (Kj 69)	[b]
NSV	kriló/kríla (Mns 148)	[m]

NWBg	vedró/vedrá (G 144)	[o]
	but	
	védro (T 228:351/255)	
	and	

	vẹdrǫ́ (T 227:325/339)/vḗdra (T 229:311/	
	345, ibid:351/317)	[m]
CWBg	vẹdrǫ́/vḗdra (Mih 113)	[m]
NSV	vǝdrǫ́/vḗdra (Mns 147)	[m]
EMac	vḗdro/vḗdra (MDA: Kis, Kal)	[b]
NWBg	rebrǫ́/rebrá (G 144)	[o]

            but

	rébra (T 285:314/349)	
Sof	rebrǫ́/rebrá (Sg 49)	[o]
Kjus	rébro/rébra (Kj 69)	[m]

	sḗlo/sḗla (MDA: Žel)	[b]
EMac	sḗlo/sḗla (MDA: Žel)	[b]
CWBg	sḗlo/sḗla (Mih 112)	[b]
Kjus	sḗlo/sḗla (Kj 69)	

            but

	u sẹlǫ́ e (Kj 142)	
NWBg	sḗlo/selá (G 144)	[n]

            but

	sẹlǫ́ (T 228:240/346)	
Sof	sẹlǫ́ and sḗlo (Sp 247, Sg 24)/sḗla	
	(Sp 257, T 285:318/244)	

            vs.

sẹlá (Sg 24, T 285:310/244)

TWBg	dŕvo (O 110:233/341)	

            but

	dǝrvǫ́ (KK 608:239/227)/dǝrvá (T 229:	
	231/234)	
Sof	dŕvo/dŕvja (Sg 49)	[b]

            vs.

	dŕvo/drvá (Sp 247)	[n]

            vs.

drvesá (Sg 24--marked as "rarer")

Kjus   <u>dŕvo/dŕva</u> (Kj 69)   [$\begin{smallmatrix}b\\n\end{smallmatrix}$]

         and

        <u>drvá</u> (Kj 83)

EMac   <u>dŕvo/drvá</u> (MDA: Gab)   [n]

         vs.

        <u>dŕvo/dŕva</u> (MDA: Kal, Kis)   [b]

         vs.

        <u>dŕvo/dŕva</u>   [$\begin{smallmatrix}b\\n\end{smallmatrix}$]

         as well as

        <u>drvá-za-gorenje</u> (MDA: Žel)

NSV   <u>dervó/dérva</u> (Mns 148)   [m]

Sof   <u>žíto/žitá</u> (Sp 246, Sg 24)   [n]

NWBg   <u>žítoto</u> (T 229:240/346--accent placement

         assumed to be unaffected by postposed

         article)/<u>žitá</u> (T 299:345/339, ibid:

         314/349)   [n]

NSV   <u>zernó/zérna</u> (Mns 148)   [m]

Kjus   <u>okó</u>, <u>očé</u> (both listed as sg) (Kj 84)   [$\begin{smallmatrix}m\\b\end{smallmatrix}$]

         vs.

        <u>óko/óči</u> (Kj 69)   [b]

NWBg   <u>óko/óči</u> (G 144)   ·   [b]

         and

        <u>óči</u> (T 229:256/342)

         vs.

        <u>očí</u> (T 225:406/331)

Kjus   <u>ušé</u> (listed as sg)/<u>úši</u> (pl) (Kj 84)   [m]

EMac   <u>ušé</u> (listed as sg)/<u>úši</u> (pl) (MDA: Kal) [m]

         vs.

        <u>ušé</u> (listed as sg)/<u>uši</u> (pl) (MDA: Kis) [o]

The only data I was able to find on neuter nouns in KR suggest-
ed that barytonesis is the prevailing pattern, e.g. rȅbro/
rȅbra, sȅlo/sȅla, bȓdo/bȓda, dȓvo/dȓva, kȍlo/kȍla (KRs 273).
In nouns with long root vocalism, end stress would be expec-
ted in NE KR, e.g. krílo (KRs 274), but no other specific
mention was made of this. Of nouns like vreme, only the
following forms were found:

NE KR   vréme (KRs 51)/vremȅna (KRs 48)   [o]
        ȉme (KRs 283)/no pl attested
        rȁmena (KRs 283)/no sg attested

Note also

SW KR   rȁmo/rȁmena (E)   [b]

2.16   When attested with inherited -en- in the plural, nouns
of the type vreme are usually barytonic in Tk but mobile in
Mac and Bg.   Compare:

ETk	vréme/vrémena	(Čin)	[b]
	but		
	vréme/vreména	(Kr)	[n]
	vs.		
TWBg	vréme/vreména	(Ma 179:248/304)	[n]
NMac	vréme/vreména	(V 142)	[n]
NWBg	vréme/vremená	(G 144)	[N]
	cf.		
	vremená	(T 229:306/347, ibid:252/400,	
		ibid:250/402)	
NSV	vrémə/vremená	(Mns 215)	[N]

CWTk	rámo/rámena	(Šarb, Šil)	[b]
ETk	rámo/rámena	(Čin, Kr, VR)	[b]
	vs.		
NWBg	rámo/ramená	(G144)	[N]
Sof	rámo (Sg 28)/ramená and ramené/(Sg 24)		[N]
	but		
	raména	(T 229:318/244, T 285:327/348)	
	rámena	(T 285:318/244)	

ETk	íme/ímena	(Br 218:209/233)	[b]
	but		
	íme/iména	(Kr)	[n]
SWTk	íme/ímena	(Grač)	[b]
	vs.		
NWBg	íme/imená	(G 144)	[n]
CWBg	íme/imená	(Mih 112)	[N]
NSV	íme/ímena	(Mns 148)	[b]

and for vime (which in Tk has only plurals without -en-),the

WBg data:

    CWBg   <u>víme/vimená</u>   (Mih 112)   [N]

                      vs.

    NSV   <u>víme/vímena</u>   (Mns 148)   [b]

The accent of the sg forms <u>vimé</u> <u>imé</u> and <u>ramé</u> recorded by Broch in Leskovac (Br 193:157/300) are quite unexpected. Belić discounts them altogether, noting that Broch's informant in Leskovac gave otherwise unreliable data as well.

    In NE KR, accentuation of the std lg seems to be the norm, except for the retraction of accent from short open ultima to short penultima. Thus:

    NE KR <u>vréme</u> (KRs 51)/<u>vreména</u> (KRs 48)   [o]

No examples of the type <u>ime</u> were given; one assumes

    NE KR <u>íme/iména</u>   [n]

    Very often, however, these nouns have different expanded plural forms than expected. The most commonly occurring expander morpheme is -<u>inj</u>- (or its variant -<u>enj</u>-), viz.

    EMac   <u>vremínja</u> (MDA: Rank, Žel, Gab)

               <u>vréminja</u> (MDA: Psač)

               <u>vrémenja</u> (MDA: Kis, Kal)

    NMac   <u>vrémínja</u> (and <u>vreména</u>) (V 142)

    Kjus   <u>vremenjá</u> (Kj 69)

    EMac   <u>vimínja</u> (MDA: Rank, Psač, Gab, Žel)

                  (sg <u>víme</u> in all except Žel where it

                  is <u>vímé</u>)

               <u>víminja</u> (MDA: Kis, Kal)

    CWTk   <u>vimínja</u> (Br 164:157/300--rejected by Belić

               [B 11 48])

golémi vimínja (Br 165:157/300--likewise
   rejected by Belić [Bll 52])
SWTk   vímenja (Trg)

NMac   íminja (V 104)
SWTk   ímenja and iménja (Trg)
      íminja (Br 106:155/233, Pas)
      íminja (Br 138:200/229)
CWTk   imínja (Br 181:208/258, ibid:157/300--the
         latter form again rejected by Belić
         [Bll 48])
Kjus   ímenja, íminja (Kj 69)

SWTk   rámenja (Trg)
      raménja (Pas)

CWTk   rámenja (and rámena) (Šil)
EMac   réminja (MDA: Gab)
      rémenja (MDA: Kis, Kal)
TWBg   rámenje (T 285:222/237)
      ramenjá (KK 185)
NSV   rámenje (Mns 54)
Kjus   rámenja (Kj 69)
NWBg   rámenjete (T 230:248/345--definite form, cited
         for shape of desinence rather than place
         of accent)
SWKR   ramênje alongside rámena (E)

In fact, I recorded this particular type of expanded plural

only twice with nouns not of the vreme type, viz.

SWTk   vedró/vedrínja (Rad)   [o*]
      síto/sítinja (Pas)   [b*]

From the above data, it appears that the plural expander

morpheme -inj-/-enj- is most common in the southern portions
of the areas included in this study: SWTk (9 occurrences),
EMac (14 occurrences) and Kjus (4 occurrences). The limited
number of lexical items included in the investigation does
not allow us to say whether a particular stress pattern is
associated with this morpheme or not. However, it does seem
that near Kumanovo and Kriva Palanka (MDA: Žel, Rank, Gab,
Psač) this suffix is more often stressed, while in EMac near
Delčevo (Kis, Kal), Kjus, and SWTk, forms with this suffix
are usually stem-stressed. It is well known that the stressed
plural suffix -ínja is extremely productive in NMac dialects
(Kumanovo and other areas), freely forming plurals for nouns
which are etymologically not mobile, such as devójče/
devojčínja. Vidoeski notes that in the Ovče Polje-Kratovo
and Štip-Strumica dialect regions this suffix is almost al-
ways stressed, whereas further to the west it is sometimes
stressed (e.g. dečínja) and sometimes not (e.g. vrápčinja)
(V 104). The use of -inj-/enj- in plurals in SWTk dialects
may be a borrowed Macedonian trait (cf. B11 48), although
in Torlak this expander morpheme is normally not accented.

      Although nouns of the type vreme almost always appear
with expanded plurals (exceptions to this in my field notes
are ráme/ráma in Grač and víme/víme [unchanged in the plural]
in Grač and Pas), several other questionnaire nouns also were
elicited with expanded plurals (cf. entries on the chart
marked with an asterisk). The most common suffix by far is

-et-, attested with the following lexemes:

ETk	kril6/kríleti (Kr)		[m*]
	also		
	kríla (ibid)		
	dŕvo/drvéti (Kr)		[n*]
	cf.		
	drvéti (B 326:227/322)		
	koléti (B 334:216/331--noted as a Nmv form)		
	ímeti (B 334:224/305--noted as a Nmv form)		
	víme/vímeti (Kr)		[b*]
CWTk	vləkn6/vləknéti (Šil)		[o*]
	zŕno (Šil)/zrnéti (B 334:155/319)		
	rámo/rámeti (DP)		[b*]
	víme/vímeti (Šil)		[b*]
SWTk	rebr6/rebréti (Staj-Rad)		[ṁ̥*]
	also		
	rébra (ibid)		
	dŕveti (B 326:155/233)		
	lákno/laknéti (Dvor)		

(The last is cited only to show the expanded plural form, as it is from the area with fixed penultimate stress.)

In all the above examples, -et- was followed by the desinence -i instead of the normal neuter plural desinence -a. It is attested with -a much less frequently, and only in the easternmost Tk or NSV areas (and one example from Sofia):

ETk	íme/ímeta (Br 299:256/317)		[b*]
	víme/vímeta (ibid)		[b*]
NSV	gúvno/gúvnəta (Mns 53)		[b*]
	žíto (Mns 148)/žítəta (Mns 53)		[b*]
	síto/sítəta (Mns 53)		[b*]

Sof <u>krilǿ</u> (Sp 304)/<u>kriléta</u> (Sp 258)   [o*]

Often a second expander morpheme is added:

ETk <u>kolǿ</u>/<u>koletíja</u> (Čin, CT 396--noted as
      "rare" in CTim)   [o*]
    <u>koletíja</u> (B 396:np)
    <u>íme</u>/<u>imetíja</u> (VR)   [n*]
    <u>ime</u>/<u>imetína</u> (Čin)   [n*]
    <u>imetíja</u> (Br 249:228/308)
    <u>víme</u>/<u>vimetíja</u> (also <u>víma</u>) (Čin) $[^{n*}_{b}]$
CWTk <u>víme</u>/<u>vimetíja</u> (Br 272:256/317)
      note also
NWBg <u>kolía</u> (Sp 259:348/254)

Expanded plurals with different phonetic variants of the mor-

pheme -<u>it'</u>- are attested as follows:

ETk <u>kolǿ</u>/<u>kolíči</u> (also <u>kǿla</u>) (Kr $[^{o*}_{m}]$
CWTk <u>íme</u>/<u>imíć'i</u> (Šarb)   [n*]
    <u>íme</u>/<u>ímiK'i</u> (Šil)   [b*]
    <u>víme</u>/<u>vimíć'i</u> (Šil)   [n*]
SWTk <u>vlǽkno</u>/<u>vlǽkniti</u> (and <u>vlǽkna</u>) (Pas) $[^{b*}_{b}]$

  Finally, I must mention the following neuter plural

forms occurring with plural expanders which are more often

attested in masc. nouns:

ETk <u>dŕvo</u>/<u>dŕvje</u> (Čin)   [b*]
    <u>dŕvo</u>/<u>dŕvja</u> and <u>drvéta</u> (CT 396) $[^{b*}_{n*}]$
Sof <u>dŕvo</u>/<u>dŕvja</u> (Sg 49)   [b*]
      and
    <u>brdóvi</u> (B 319:np)

2.17   Does the picture of accentual alternations differ when
dissyllabic singular forms of neuter nouns are opposed to
trisyllabic plural forms rather than to the etymologically-
expected dissyllabic plural forms? From my limited data it
is difficult to say. For instance, the noun <u>krilo</u> has A-mo-
bile accentuation in one village (Kr) both with and without
the expanded plural, viz.

ETk	<u>krilό/kríla</u> (Kr)	[m]
	<u>krilɔ́/kríleti</u> (Kr)	[m*]

Similarly, the noun <u>kolo</u> is oxytonic in contiguous areas
both with and without expanded plurals, viz.

ETk	<u>kolό/koléti</u> (Čin)	[o*]
	<u>kolό/kolíći</u> (Kr)	[o*]
	<u>kolό/kolɑ́</u> (VR)	[o]

On the other hand, note examples such as:

CWTk	<u>rebrό/rébra</u> (Šil)	[m]
	but	
	<u>rebrό/rebréti</u> (Šil)	[o*]
SWTk	<u>vedrό/védra</u> (Rad)	[m]
	but	
	<u>vedrό/vedrínja</u> (Rad)	[ɔ*]
ETk	<u>kolό/kόla</u> (Kr)	[m]
	but	
	<u>kolό/kolíc'i</u> (Kr)	[o]

where we have A-mobility without expanded plurals but oxy-
tonesis when expanded plural formations are used.

2.18   Several different types of masculine nouns are rep-
resented on Chart 4. They can be grouped as follows:

I) monosyllabic stems (and two dissyllabic stems)
which nearly always appear with expanded plurals, e.g.

ETk   zíd/zídovi (Čin)   [b]

These are: zec (in Tk zajac) zid, kum, miš, muž, rog, svat.
sin, vepar, dom, nos, vo, koš, kralj, nož, pop and oganj.
When these nouns are attested without expanded plurals, an
asterisk appears in the chart, e.g.

CWTk   miš/míši (Šarb)   [b*]

II) stems which usually form non-expanded plurals, e.g.

SWTk   konj/kónji (Grač)   [b]
       kólec/kólci (Pas)   [B]

One of these is monosyllabic (konj), and the others
are dissyllabic stems whose second stem syllable includes a
vowel-zero segment. These include: kotao, petao, orao,
ručak, vrabac, kolac. moljac. svetac, junac, lonac and konac.
When these nouns appear with expanded plurals, an asterisk
appears on the chart, e.g.

ETk   kotél kotlé/kotlévi (VR)   [o*]

III) Dissyllabic stems (and one trisyllabic stem) with-
out a vowel-zero segment in the stem. These stems are attest-
ed only with nonexpanded plurals, e.g.

       kopáč/kopáči (Trg)   [b]

Exceptions to this are rare, cf.

NWBg   ovčaríe (Sp 259:346/254)

These are marked by an asterisk in the chart. The
nouns in this group include <u>govedar</u>, <u>drvar</u>, <u>junak</u>, <u>kovač</u>,
<u>kopač</u>, <u>kosač</u>, <u>ovčar</u>, <u>svinjar</u>.

On the charts. barytonesis is symbolized [b] whether
it occurs with expanded plurals or not:

SWTk	<u>míš</u> <u>míša/míši</u>	(Šarb)	[b*]
ETk	<u>zíd</u> <u>zída/zídovi</u>	(Čin)	[b]

If the stem is dissyllabic, [b] indicates stem-final bary-
tonesis, and [B] stem-initial barytonesis, e.g.

ETk	<u>junák</u> <u>junáka/junáci</u>	(Čin)	[b]
CWTk	<u>koléc</u> <u>kólca/kólci</u>	(Šarb)	[b]
	vs.		
ETk	<u>zájac</u> <u>zájca/zájci</u>	(Čin)	[B]
SWTk	<u>kólec</u> <u>kólca/kólci</u>	(Pes)	[B]

B-mobility is symbolized by [n]. In these instances, stress
is on the first syllable of the desinence. When stress is on
desinence-final syllables, this is marginal mobility ([N]).
This type of marginal mobility occurs only with expanded
plurals when the desinence-final syllable is -<u>e</u>. The desi-
nence -<u>i</u> can apparently be stressed only when no expander is
present.

ETk	<u>koš</u> <u>kóša/košévi</u>	(Čin)	[n]
ETk	<u>kum</u> <u>kúme/kumové</u>	(Čin)	[N]

B-mobility is defined as an alternation between stem-
final and desinence-initial syllables, e.g.

CWTk	<u>kotél</u> <u>kótla/kotlóvi</u>	(Šil)	[n*]

In certain instances, however. the alternation is between

stem-initial and desinence-initial syllables.

SWTk	kótel kótla/kotlóvi	(Pes)	[n̠*]
	vépar vépra/vepróvi	(Trg)	[n̠*]

This cannot be classed as a marginal alternation since desi-

nence-final syllables are not stressed. Nor is it a central

alternation in the strict sense, since the stem-final sylla-

ble does not carry stress in Nsg. Here I class it as B-mo-

bility of an exceptional type and distinguish it in the

charts by underlining the symbol [n̠] for B-mobility. A-mo-

bility is symbolized. as before, by [m]. I was not able to

elicit any examples which would have suggested the existence

of recessive mobility.

ETk	konj konjé/kónji	(Čin)	[m]
	kolóc kolcé/kólci	(Čin)	[m]

Oxytonesis (symbolized [o]) is present when the first (or

only) syllable of the desinence is stressed in all forms:

ETk	pop popá/popóvi	(Kr)	[ɔ]
	ovcér ovcaré/ovčarí	(Kr)	[o]
NWBg	ovcér [ovcaré] ovčaría	(Sp 2ɔ9:348/2b4	
	--the plural desinence -a is rarely		
	heard in masc nouns; this form is		
	apparently by analogy to neuters		
	such as koletija)		[o]

2.19   I will discuss the accentuation of plural forms first
before proceeding to a discussion of the sg/pl accentual re-
lationship.

Group I comprises the first 17 entries on Chart IV.
In general the first 8 of these (<u>zec</u>, <u>zed</u>, <u>kum</u>, <u>miš</u>, <u>muž</u>,
<u>rog</u>, <u>svat</u>, <u>sin</u>) have stem-stressed plurals in Tk, as in the
std lg.   End stress is found only in the noun <u>kum</u> in the TL
region of ETk, viz.

ETk	<u>kumové</u>	(Čin, VR)
	cf.	
	<u>ˋkumoví</u>	(B 318:223/317, ibid:216/334)

In the SZ region of ETk and in all of WTk it is attested
only with stem stress, however.

Marginal end stress is somewhat more common in WBg
and EMac in these nouns, but stem stress is still prevalent:

NWBg	<u>dzidové</u>	(G 141)

but stem stress in Sof and Kjus

TWBg	<u>kumové</u>	(T 278:240/331)
Sof	<u>kumové</u>	(Sp 248)
CWBg	<u>kumové</u>	(Sp 248:330/223)
	but	
	<u>kumóve</u>	(T 223:307/216)
NSV	<u>kuméve</u>	(Mns 146)
NBg	<u>rogové</u>	(G 141)
	cf.	
EMac	<u>rogóve</u>	(MDA: Žel)
TWBg	<u>rogóve</u>	(T 278:302/236)

                but

          <u>rógove</u>   (T 278:239/250)

          <u>rógovi</u>   (T 278:220/223)

          <u>rógovete</u> (KK 567:229/330)

Sof   <u>rógove</u> (Sg 21, T 278:327/348)

CWBg   <u>svatové</u> (Sp 248:330/223)

                but

          <u>svátove</u> (Mih 106)

and only stem stress in NWBg, NSV, Sof.

NWBg   <u>sinové</u> (G 141)

                but

          <u>sínove</u> (T 224:259/342; ibid:230/350)

and only stem stress in TWBg, NSV, Kjus, EMac.

Non-expanded plurals are infrequent in this group of nouns.

An exception to this statement is the noun <u>zec</u>, which always

appeared in the form <u>zéjac/zájci</u>. Otherwise, only the fol-

lowing occurred:

    CWBg   <u>kúmi</u> (Mih 106)

    CWTk   <u>míši</u> (Šil)

    SWTk   <u>míši</u> and <u>míševi</u> (Pas)

    NSV   <u>míši</u> (Mns 146)

    CWTk   <u>rózi</u> (Šarb)

    NSV   <u>rózi</u> (Mns 52)

    NWBg   <u>rogíte</u> (T 224:239/350--cited for desinence

                        shape and not accent placement)

    CWBg   <u>síni</u> (Mih 106)

There was considerable variation in the plural desinences
used with the noun muž, however. It appeared, in order of
descending frequency, without expanded plural, with the ex-
pander -ov-/ev-, with the expander -j-. and once with the
expander -išt-. Compare:

SWTk	múži	(Trg, B 322:155/233)
CWTk	múži	(B 322:155/319, ibid:150/318, ibid:207/297)
	múži and múževi	(Šarb)
	múževi	(B 162:157/300)
ETk	múži	(B 322:209/344, ibid:209/337, ibid: 216/334, ibid:214/330, ibid:212/323)
	múže	(Bll 41:236/309)
	múžje	(VR, B 328:4 examples not identified for location)
	múžje and múževe, múžove,mužéve	(CT 392)
	múžovi	(B 318:229/324)
	mužóvi	(B 318:216/344)
	múževi	("...daneben mužéve," marked as a newer form--Br 297:236/309)
TWBg	múžje	(Tp 52:239/250)
	mužé	(T 94:247/339)
NSV	mužéve	(Mns 146)
Sof	méze	(Sg 28)
	but	
	mežé	(Sp 248)
	méže, mežéve and méžíšta	(Sg 22)
Kjus	mážje	(T 84:243/221, Kj 65)
CWBg	máži	(Mih 106)
	but	

maž**éte** (T 84:331/246--cited here for desinence
shape and not accent, see secs. 2.22-2.24
for discussion of accent shifts occurring
before postposed article)

NWBg me**ž**é (G 142)

m**ó**že (T 77:246/359, ibid:221/348, ibid:259/342,
ibid:323/339, Sp 248:348/254)

m**ú**že (T 94:322/348)

Even if one considers only those more eastern areas of Tk,

EMac and WBg where paroxytonesis does not limit the occurrence

of end stress, stem stress is much more common than end

stress in the plural form of this noun, whether the form is

attested with expanded plural or not. Not counting SWTk or

CWTk, there are 30 examples of stem stress vs. 8 of end stress

in the above listing. Nearly half of the examples of ov/ev

plurals are end stressed, however (5 out of 11). Compare here.

too, the forms

SWTk miš**é**vi and miš**ó**vi (Grač),

the only examples of end stress in this group of nouns in

my field notes for all of Tk.

Among the remaining questionnaire items in group (1)

(vepar, dom, nos, vo, koš, kralj, nož, pop, and oganj),

end-stressed plurals predominate. Three of this group,

(dom, nos, and kralj) are almost always stem-stressed in

Tk. Only in extreme ETk is there vacillation in one in-

stance, viz.

ETk král**j**ove and kralj**é**ve (CT 395)

Otherwise, we find only end-stressed plurals for <u>vo</u>, <u>koš</u>, <u>nož</u>, <u>pop</u>, <u>vepar</u>, and <u>oganj</u>, in all areas of Tk, with the exception of <u>nóževi</u> and <u>ógnjevi</u> in Pas. In NE KR, however, we find <u>dȍmovi</u> and <u>nȍsovi</u> (KRr 308), opposed to the expected <u>domȍvi</u> and <u>nosȍvi</u>, which are attested in SW KR (E).

In WBg and EMac, end stressed plurals predominate, but stem stress occurs more frequently than in Tk. Compare:

Kjus	<u>dómove</u>	(Kj 65)
NWBg	<u>dómove</u>	(T 277:245/402. T 224:259/341)
		vs.
Sof	<u>domóve</u>	(Sg 48)

Kjus	<u>nósove</u>	(Kj 65)
EMac	<u>nósove</u>	(MDA: Kis, Kal)
		and
	<u>noséve</u>	(MDA: Žel)
Sof	<u>nosóve</u>	(Sg 48)
NSGg	<u>noséve</u>	(T 278:314/349)

CWBg	<u>vólove</u> and <u>volóve</u>	(Mih 106--the first variant is marked as more common)
	vs.	
	<u>volóve</u> in TWBg, NSV, Kjus, Sof and NWBg	

NWBg	<u>kóšove</u>	(T 224:406/331)
	and	
	<u>košóve</u>	(T 278:341/307, G 142)
CWBg	<u>kóšove</u> and <u>košóve</u>	(Mih 106--the first is marked as more common)
Kjus	<u>kóšove</u> and <u>košéve</u>	(Kj 81--the second is marked as more common)

NSV   <u>košéve</u> (Mns 140)

EMac   <u>nóževe</u> (MDA: Žel)

Kjus   <u>nóžove</u> and <u>nožéve</u> (Kj 81--the second is
                 marked as more common)

CWBg   <u>nóževe</u> and <u>nožóve</u> (Mih 106--the second is
                 marked as more common)

                 vs.

Sof   <u>nožéve</u> (T 278:314/242)

NSV   <u>nožéve</u> (Mns 146)

NWBg   <u>nožóve</u> (G 142, T 223:409/322)

                 and

      <u>nožéve</u> (T 278:245/402)

EMac   <u>pópóve</u> (MDA: Žel)

CWBg   <u>pópove</u> and <u>popóve</u> (Mih 106--the second is
                 listed as more common)

                 vs.

      <u>popóvi</u> in TWBg, <u>popóve</u> in NWBg, Kjus, Sof

Kjus   <u>ógnjove</u> but <u>ognjéve</u> (Kj 43)

                 vs.

      <u>ognjóve</u> in NWBg

Nonexpanded plurals are rare in this group of nouns in all areas studied. I recorded only:

SWTk   <u>ógnji</u> (Trg)

TWBg   <u>nóži</u> (T 279:302/236)

EMac   <u>vépri</u> (MDA: Žel)

In nouns of group II, on the other hand, nonexpanded plurals are the most common, e.g. <u>kónji</u>, <u>kótli</u>. In Tk, practically all of these nonexpanded plural formations are stem-stressed.

Only nouns in -ǝc are attested with end stressed plurals,
viz.

ETk	vrapcí (Kr, VR)
	moljcí (Čin)
	moljcí and móljci (VR, Kr)
	svecí (Čin, VR, Kr)
CWTk	vencí (Šarb)
	vrapcí (ibid)
	moljcí (ibid)
	svecí (ibid)
	svecí and svéci (Šil)
	cf. also
	juncí and júnci (CT 391)

In WBg end stress is also relatively rare among nonexpanded
plurals of this group, cf. chart 4. All examples of end
stress in such forms are given below:

TWBg	konjí alongside kónje (Kj 65, marked as occurring in transitional zone),
	kɔnjí (Ma 179:248/304)
NWBg	konjé, koné, (T 280:239/350)
	kɔnjé (G 142)
Sof	koní and kóni in the west of Sof area but only koné in ESof dialect region, according to Sp 257
CWBg	konjé (Mih 106)
CWBg	kotlí (marked as very rare, alongside more normal kótli) (Mih 107)
	vs.
	kótli in Kjus, EMac, NWBg
Sof	petlí (Sp 247)

Kjus   petlí   (T 279:241/215) but also pétli (Kj 82)

                       vs.

       pétli in EMac, CWBg, NWBg

Sof   orlí   (Sg 23, T 279:318/244)

                      but

       órli   (T 279:349/239)

       órli in TWBg, EMac, CWBg

Kjus   svetcí   (Kj 66)

EMac   svetcí   (MDA: Žel)

NWBg   sfetcí   (T 279:304/340)

Sof   svetcí   (T 279:318/244)

                    but

       svétci   (T 279:328/240)

                    and

CWBg   juncí   (Mih 107)

                       vs.

       júnci in Sof, EMac, NSV, and NSBg

The three nouns in -ao (Tk -ol) and the noun ručak are

attested quite often with expanded plurals, however. In

Tk (ETk, CWTk and SWTk alike) these expanded plural forms

are usually (but not always) end stressed. The data:

ETk   kotlóve   (Čin, VR)

       kotlóvi and kótli   (Kr)

CWTk   kotlóvi   (Šil)

SWTk   kotlóvi   (Pas)

       kotlóvi and kótli   (Trg)

       kotléve   (Grač)

ETk   petlóve   (Čin, VR, CT 391)

       petlóvi   (Kr, Staj-Rad)

CWTk	petlóvi	(Šarb, Šil)
SWTk	petlóvi	(Grač, Pas)
	but	
	pétli	(Trg)
	note also	
NE KR	petlȍve	(Apl) (KRs 234)

ETk	orlóve	(Čin, CT 491)
	orlóvi	(VR)
	but	
	órlovi and orlóvi	(Kr)
CWTk	orlóvi	(Šarb, Šil)
SWTk	orlóvi	(Pas)
	but	
	órlovi	(Grač)
	note also	
NE KR	orlȍvi	(KRt 91)

ETk	ručkóve	(Čin)
	ručkóvo	(Kr-desinence unexpected and possibly incorrectly recorded)
	vs.	
	rúčkove	(VR)
CWTk	ručkóvi and rúčkovi	(Šil)

In WBg and EMac expanded plurals are attested less often within this group of nouns: on the other hand, expanded plurals are found in nouns which have only -i (or -e) desinence in Tk. Compare:

NWBg	kȏnjeve	(T 278:246/340)
Sof	konjóve	(T 277:310/244. Sp 257, konjéve also noted in latter locale [also koní, kóni, koné, listed above])

NWBg konjéve (T 223:323/344)

TWBg kotlóve (T 278:253/323, T 71:243/344)
NSV   kotlóve (Mns 146)

TWBg petlóve (T 278:231/234)
NSV   petlóve (Mns 146)
NWBg petlóve (T 278:335/320)
              but
      pétli (G 130. T 278:245/402)

Sof   orlóve (T 277:314/242)
              but
      orlí (Sg 23, T 279:318/244)
CWBg orlóve (T 228:330/223)
              but
      órli (Mih 107)

Sof   ručkóve (Sp 257)

NSV   vencóve (Mns 51)
NWBg vénci (T 278:250/402)

2.20   Let us summarize the accentuation of plural forms of
groups I and II in Tk.   Group I nouns (expanded plurals ex-
pected) are attested with expanded plurals throughout Tk
except muž (cf. above listing, pp. 172-3).   All are stem-
stressed except for two instances of marginal end stress
(kumové) in ETk, one instance of nonmarginal end stress in
CWTk (kraljóve), and for end stress in all Tk areas in vepar,
vo, kos, nož. pop and oganj.   The only nonexpanded plurals
in this group of nouns are stem-stressed.

Group II nouns (non-expanded plurals expected) present
more accentual diversity.   Four of these were attested regu-
larly with expanded plurals: all end-stressed with the ex-
ception of rúčkove (VR, Šil) and rúčkovi (but also ručkóvi
in Šarb).   The other eight nouns in Group II (kolac, vrabac,
moljac, svetac, venac, junac, lonac, konac) are normally
attested with the non-expanded plural desinence -i.

Of the thirty-five occurrences of these plural forms
in CWTk and ETk, 13 are end-stressed and 22 stem-stressed.
Stem stress is thus more common when the plural desinence
is monosyllabic than when it is dissyllabic;   it is possible
that paroxytonesis plays a role here.   Of these 13 instances
of end stress, 12 occur in nouns which signify animate be-
ings.   Only vencí (Šarb) is an exception to this.   It is
perhaps worthy of note here that the only two nouns whose
plurals are not stem-stressed in NMac refer to animate be-

ings, viz. <u>popóvi</u>, <u>volóvi</u> (V 108).

    As the above listings have demonstrated, the accentuation of the plural forms of these nouns in WBg and EMac does not deviate significantly from the distribution found in ETk. Here, however, the expanded plural forms are of the greatest interest. For WBg Todorov notes that of the three accentual possibilities for such forms, marginal end stress (type <u>ku-mové</u>) has practically disappeared and that end stressed forms (type <u>volóve</u>) are well attested only if the suffix has the form -<u>eve</u>. For the Kjustendil area, Umlenski notes that "okončanieto -<u>ove</u> e neizmenno sverzano s korenno udarenie, a -<u>eve</u> s udarenie na predposlednata srička" (Kj 81). He .cites doublets such as

    Kjus   <u>kóšove</u> but <u>košéve</u> (Kj 81)
               <u>nóžove</u> but <u>nožéve</u> (ibid)
               <u>ógnjove</u> but <u>ognjéve</u> (Kj 43)

Continuing, he observes that

    okončanieto -<u>eve</u> berzo izmestva okoncanieto -<u>ove</u>.
    Tozi proces u po-mladite e počti zavrešen, vepreki
    če i v knižovnija ezik ima okončanie -<u>ove</u>. (ibid:81)

    My data confirm the rarity of marginal end stress, yet I found that stressed -<u>ove</u> plurals were quite common. Only in the Kjus area (cf. examples mentioned above) and in one EMac example

    EMac   <u>noséve</u> (MDA:Žel)
                   but
    <u>nósove</u> (MDA: Kis,Kal)

did there appear to be a correlation between desinence shape
and accent placement. Cf. however,

ETk   <u>králjove</u> (CT 395)

but

<u>kraljéve</u> (ibid)

2.21   The preceding discussion has concerned the stress of masculine plural forms. To define the sg/pl accentual relationship of these nouns, however, one must take into account another non-plural form than Nsg (since the Nsg form is in most instances monosyllabic). Assuming the absence of an alternation between Nsg and G-Asg for mascu-line animate nouns, I determined the accent of the sg by the Asg form. Assuming further the merger of Gsg and Nmv in in-animate nouns, I determined the accent of the sg of these nouns on the basis of the Nmv form. Except for the accentual distinction between Nmv and Asg of certain animate nouns in a few areas of Tk discussed above (sec. 2.9) the Asg of animate masculine nouns and the Nmv of inanimate masc nouns have merged in Tk as the "general case" (cf. above, sec. 2.1).

Referring to Chart 4, we see that except for the few end-stressed plurals discussed above, the first 8 nouns are barytonic in all areas of Tk:

ETk	sin sína/sínove	(Čin)	[b]
WTk	sin sína/sínovi	(Šil)	[b]
SWTk	sin sína/sínovi	(Trg)	[b]

In the remaining nouns of Group I, those which usually have end-stressed plurals, the sg/pl acc relationship is deter-mined by the accent of the Asg or Nmv. Since both these forms terminate in an open final syllable, we can expect that paroxytonesis will affect the distribution of accentual types. Thus we have mobility in SWTk but oxytonesis in CWTk

and ETk in the following examples:

SWTk	vol vóla/volóvi	(Pas, Grač, Trg)	[n]
CWTk	vol volá/volóvi	(Šil, Šarb)	[o]
ETk	vol volá/volóvi	(VR, Kr, Čin)	[o]

It is interesting to note that of the nine nouns of this type (vepar, dom, nos, vo, koš, kralj, noš, pop and oganj), oxytonesis is found only among the four which signify animate beings. In nouns signifying animals I elicited only end-stressed Asg forms in CWTk and ETk, but in the noun pop I found the following variation:

ETk	popá (Čin, Kr, VR, CT 395)
	but
	popá or pópa (Br 297:236/309)
CWTk	pópa (Šarb)
	pópa but kod popá (Šil)
	popá (Br 186:157/300)

Thus the definition of the accentual relationship as oxytonic or B-mobile depended on the accent of the Asg.

The noun kralj was attested only with stem stress in Asg. However, this is probably due to the fact that it occurs in the normal peasant lexicon only as a part of a title in Nsg with the ruler's given name, e.g. Kralj-Petar. (Rulers in folk tales are always referred to as "car".) Thus, the surface form accentuation of the monosyllabic Nsg form was very likely the basis of response when informants were requested for other forms.

The forms oganj and vepar must be mentioned separate-

ly. As noted earlier (sec. 1.16), the underlying stem may be
either monosyllabic or dissyllabic. Data such as the follow-
ing indicate a monosyllabic stem which is end-stressed (the
presence of the postposed article in certain of these is
assumed not to affect the accent of an oxytonic stem):

CWTk	vépar veprá/vepróvi (Šarb)		[o]
	véper veprá/no pl attested (Br 186:		
	157/300)		[o?]
ETk	vépar veprá/vepróve (VR)		[o]
	véperet (B 447:233/326) veprátoga		
	(B 448:233/317)		[o]
	óganj ognjá/ognjóve (Čin, VR)		[o]
TWBg	véper (T 225:239/250) veprátoga (Tg 191:		
	239/250)/no pl attested		[o?]
	ógonja (T 150:246/343) dva ognjá		
	(T 281:244/329)/no pl attested		[o?]

In these instances the stem is assumed to be ognj- [ognj--ǿ
ognj--á] or vepr- (vepr--ǿ vepr--á]; the second syllable in
Nsg is inserted after stress assignment. The occurrence of
this stem is indicated on the charts under the main entry
(oganj or vepar).

Usually, however, oganj and vepar are treated as dis-
syllabic stems, cf.

ETk	ógonj ógnja/ognjóve (Kr)		[n]
CWTk	ógonj ógnja/ognjévi (Šil)		[n]
	vepér veprá/vepróvi (Šil)		[o]
	véper vépra/no pl (Br 267:156/317)		[n?]
SWTk	ógonj ógnja/ógnji (Staj-Rad)		[B]
	vépar vépra/vepróvi (Staj-Rad)		[n]

TWBg   vep**ér** (T 69:258/301) veprátoga
              (T 266:258/301)/no pl attested   [o?]

Since the dissyllabic stem is initially-stressed in Kr and

Šil ([óg#nj--∅/óg#nj--a] vs. pl [og#nj--óv-e] in Kr and

[og#nj--év-i] in Šil) the B-mobility symbol [n̲] is under-

lined to signify that the alternation is between stem-initial

and desinence initial syllables. Similarly, in Staj-Rad stem-

initial stress on a dissyllabic stem [óg#nj--∅/óg#nj--a] is

symbolized [B].

      In Group II we find end stress in the sg of almost

all nouns in ETk. This means oxytonesis in sg/pl if the

plural has an expanded form, e.g.

              kotál kotlá/kotlóve (Čin)   [o]

and A-mobility if the plural is nonexpanded, e.g.

              konj konjá/kónji (Čin)   [m]

Instances of oxytonesis with nonexpanded plurals are rare,

e.g.

ETk	konj konjá/konjí (VR)	[o]
	vrabéc vrapcá/vrapcí (Kr, VR)	[o]
	moljéc moljcá/moljcí (Čin)	[o]
	moljéc moljcá/moljcí but also móljci	
	(Kr, VR)	[^o_m]
	svetéc svecá/svecí (Čin, VR, Kr)	[o]
CWTk	svetéc svecá/svecí (Šarb)	[o]
	svetec svecá/svecí but also svéci (Šil)	[^o_m]

Nouns of this group which had stem stress in sg in ETk all

signified inanimate objects, viz.

ETk	kolác kólca/kólci	(Kr)		[b]
	venéc vénca/vénci	(Kr)		[b]
	lónec lónca/lónci	(Čin, Kr, VR)		[B]

The data for CWTk suggest again a correlation between accent placement and animateness of the noun signified. Of the 13 nouns in this group, 6 signify inanimate objects (kotao, ručak, kolac, venac, lonac and konac) while the other 7 refer to animate beings (konj, petao, orao, vrabac, moljac, svetac, junac).

Of the first group, end stress in the sg is attested only twice in CWTk, viz.

CWTk	konéc koncá/kónci	(Šarb)	[m]
	venéc vencá/vencí	(Šarb)	[o]

Among the animate nouns, however, end stress is found in the singular everywhere. In SWTk, of course, paroxytonesis dictates stem stress in the sg of these nouns, animate and inanimate alike. In Trg, however, which is located near the point where SWTk, ETk and TWBg meet, we find the following:

SWTk	konj konjá and kónja/kónji	(Trg)	[^m_b]
	petél petlá/pétli	(ibid)	[m]

(The other 5 animate nouns are attested with stem stress in the sg in Trg). In addition Broch recorded

SWTk	vrzújem konjá za dŕvo	(Br 55:200/229)

In SW KR stem stress is found in all nouns in Asg or Nmv due to paroxytonesis. When plural desinences are mono-syllabic the same restriction applies and barytonesis is the

result, e.g.

SW KR   k̂ônj k̂ônja/k̂ônjl   (E)   [b]

When the nouns have expanded plurals, I assume either bary-
tonesis or B-mobility as in the std lg, since Elezović
rarely gives plural forms for the nouns.

In NE KR, the accent of the singular depends on the
length of the stem vowel. Thus we find end stress in králja
(KRs 224) and vénca (KRs 256) but stem stress in p̂ôpa (KRs
245). Simić notes an interesting tendency, however: zîd,
zída (KRs 244), thus end stress in the singular of a noun
which has stem stress in std SC. Jović mentions the same ten-
dency, noting that both zîda and zída occur, and that the se-
cond is far more common (KRt 89). He also points out, how-
ever, that this phenomenon is known only among inanimate
nouns.

As to the sg/pl relationship in NE KR, little infor-
mation is given and we must assume that final accent of the
st lg is retained whenever the root syllable is long but
that it is retracted when it is short. The only example
given of a sg/pl relationship which deviates from that of
the std lg is

NE KR   vénac vénca/vénci   (KRt 90)   [o]

In NMac, with consistent paroxytonesis, stem-initial stress
is found in all forms of group II. Vidoeski notes, however,
an isogloss of stress placement dividing the larger Kumanovo

area (1962:98). For instance, to the east one has

    NMac   kotél/kótli [kot#l--∅/kot#l--i] (V 98)   [b]

but to the west

    NMac   kótel/kótli [kót#l--∅/kót#l--i] (ibid)   [B]

I have indicated this isogloss in the NMac area on the chart
by means of the two symbols [B/b], where the left/right or-
der represents west/east.

    Most WBg and EMac dialects have only Nsg forms. In
determining the accent relationship of sg to pl in these di-
alects, therefore, I interpreted the stress of the Nsg in
light of comparative evidence from ETk dialects and std SC
and assumed that forms such as <u>orél</u> and <u>venéc</u> were end-
stressed. Thus,

    EMac   <u>orél/órli</u> (MDA: Kis, Kal)   [m]

on the basis of

    ETk   <u>orél orlá</u> (Kr)
    std SC <u>òrao òrla</u>

Asg or Nmv forms were normally attested in NSV, TWBg dialects
and, rarely, in westernmost NWBg, EMac Sof and Kjus dialects.
As can be seen on the chart, the accent of nouns in this
group is similar to that in ETk. The following examples of
stem-stressed singular forms may be noted, however:

    Kjus   <u>dva kónja</u> (Kj 43), <u>tri kónja</u> (Kj 191)/
                  <u>kónje</u> (Kj 65)   [b]
    Sof   <u>konjá</u> and <u>kónja</u> (Sp 247)
              but

konjá da mi kové (Sp 269)/

koní and kóni in western Sof, but

only konjé in eastern Sof (Sp 257)

Kjus   kotél (Kj 82) dva kótla (Kj 84)/

kótli (Kj 82)   [b]

EMac   kotél kótla/kótli (MDA: Žel)   [b]

orél órla/órli (ibid)   [b]

junéc júnca/júnci (ibid)   [b]

End-stressed singular is assumed for the following on
the comparative grounds noted above:

EMac   kotél/kótli (MDA: Gab, Psač, Rank, Kis

Kal)   [m]

orél/órli (MDA: Gab, Rank, Kis, Kal)   [m]

junéc/júnci (MDA: Psač, Kis, Kal)   [m]

cf. also

júnec (no other forms given) (MDA: Gab)

Finally, note the following instances of stem-initial stress
in this group of nouns in WBg and EMac, occurring in the lat-
ter alongside assumed end-stressed singular forms:

EMac   vrábec/vrápci (MDA: Žel)   [B]

but

vrapéc/vrápci (MDA: Gab)   [m]

Sof   mólec (T 248:308/247)/mólci (T 248:

310/244)   [m B]

EMac   vénec/vénci (MDA: Žel)   [B]

vs.

venéc/vénci (MDA: Kal, Gab)   [m]

and

venók/vénci (MDA: Kis)   [m]

NWBg   kólec (Sp 247:348/254, T 70:317/332)

kólec (T 248:329/347)/kolcí (T 248:233/

346)   [n?]

The alternation suggested by the last example is an unexpected one and since the areas concerned are so far away from each other, I am skeptical that a B-mobile alternation actually exists in NWBg.

The accentuation of Group III nouns (<u>govedar</u>, <u>drvar</u>, <u>duvar</u>, <u>junak</u>, <u>kopač</u>, <u>koač</u>, <u>kosač</u>, <u>ovčar</u> and <u>svinjar</u>) is fairly uniform. The following statements utilize the noun <u>ovčar</u> as an example for the entire group.

In paroxytonic areas we find stem-final barytonesis, e.g.

SWTk	<u>ovčár ovčára/ovčári</u>	(Grač, Pas, Trg)	[b]
CWTk	<u>ovčár ovčára/ovčári</u>	(Sil)	[b]

In ETk, and often in Šarb (CWTk near ETk boundary), oxytonesis predominates, viz.

ETk	<u>ovčár ovčará/ovčaré</u>	(Čin, CT 395)	[o]
	<u>ovčár ovčará/ovčarí</u>	(VR, Kr)	[o]
CWTk	<u>ovčár ovčará/ovčarí</u>	(Šarb)	[o]

The only nouns which deviates significantly from this pattern is <u>duvar</u>, with stem-initial barytonesis in practically all of Tk, e.g.

ETk	<u>dúvar dúvara/dúvare</u>	(Čin)	[B]
	<u>dúvar dúvara/dúvari</u>	(VR)	[B]
CWTk	<u>dúvar dúvara/dúvari</u>	(Šarb, Sil)	[B]
SWTk	<u>dúvar dúvara/dúvari</u>	(Trg, Grač, Pas)	[B]

Note the following, however:

ETk	<u>dúvar dúvara</u> and <u>duvára/dúvari</u>	(Kr)
	<u>dúvar/dúvare</u>, <u>dúvari</u> and <u>duvaré</u>	(CT 394) [$\frac{B}{N}$]

-192-

NSV   duvár duvára/duveré   (Mns 146)   [n]

Stem-final stress in sg vs. end stress in pl is also

attested in a few instances, cf.

ETk   kopáč kopáča/kopačí   (Kr)   [n]

       drvár drvára/drvarí   (VR)   [n]

       kosáč kosáča/kosačí and kosáči   (Kr)   [^b_n]

       kováč kováča/kovačí and kováči   (Kr)   [^b_n]

       govedár govedará and govedára/govedarí

              and govedári   (Kr)   [^b_o]

CWTk   kopáč kopáča and kopačá/kopačí   (Šarb)   [^o_n]

       drvár drvárá/drvárí   (Šarb)   [^b_o]

                    compare also

EMac   kováč kováča/kovačjé   (MDA: Kis)   [n]

       kováč kováča/kováči   (MDA: Kal)   [b]

MDA files indicated that all nouns in -ač had this accentu-

ation in Kis and Kal. In addition, the only noun in -ar on

the MDA questionnaire was ribar, but investigators indicated

that all nouns in -ar had the following accentuation in

these areas:

EMac   ribár ribára/ribaré   (MDA: Kis)   [n]

       ribár ribára/ribáre   (MDA: Kal)   [b]

Junak is attested throughout in Tk with stem final

barytonesis, e.g.

       junák junáka/junáci   (all areas)

Oxytonesis is the predominant accentuation is WBg dialects.

There are very few exceptions, and all seem to be in the

Vidin-Kula region of NWBg:

    NWBg   <u>govedáre</u> (T 235:242/342)

              <u>kosáče</u> (T 252:255/349)

              <u>sfinjáre</u> (T 280:230/350)

                    note however

    Kjus   <u>svináre</u> (T 280:242/217)

Finally, expanded plurals of the sort <u>ofcaría</u> and <u>kopačía</u>

are cited for the Orxanije region (348/254) of NWBg (Sp 259).

    In NMac, paroxytonesis usually affects nouns and ad-

jectives with a final closed syllable. Thus:

    NMac   <u>órač/oráči</u> (V 116-117)   [<u>B</u>]

                    but also

            <u>oráč</u> (V 117)

I have symbolized this relationship <u>B</u> to indicate that while

stress does not remain on the stem-initial syllable in all

forms, it nevertheless does not advance to a desinential syl-

lable. This type of accentuation may be due to influence

from std Mac, with its penultimate accent placement rule (cf.

<u>olóvar/volovári</u> [ibid]). Stress placement appears to be

non-automatic (i.e. free) in other instances in NMac, however.

2.22   In ETk, EMac and WBg, definiteness in nouns is sig-
nalled by means of a postposed article. Often a shift in
placement of accent occurs when the article is affixed: the
accent will appear on the syllable immediately preceding the
definite article. In forms with zero desinence (Nsg of mas-
culine and feminine nouns in a consonant and Asg of feminine
nouns in a consonant) the accent appears on the article it-
self. Thus:

(feminine a-declension)
Nsg   glа́va/glavа́ta   (MDA: Kis)
Asg   glа́vu/glavútu   (Čin)
pl   glа́ve/glavе́te   (ibid)

(neuter)
sg   óko/okóto   (Čin)
pl   óči/očíti   (ibid)

(masculine in a consonant)
Nsg   sín/sinó   (MDA: Kis, Kal)
Asg   sína/sinа́toga   (Tem)
pl   sínove/sinovе́te   (Čin)

(feminine in a consonant)
Nsg   jésen/jesentа́   (Čin)
Asg   jésen/jesentú   (ibid)
pl   rarely attested

Because of pairs like

plа́nina/planinа́ta   (feminine a-decl Nsg)
vrе́mena/vremenа́ta   (neuter pl)
sínove/sinovе́te   (masculine in a consonant, pl)
jésen/jesentа́   (feminine in a consonant, Nsg)

I shall call all examples of this alternation marginal mobil-
ity [N], even though in monosyllabic stems it appears to con-
cern stem-final and desinence-initial syllables, e.g. gláva/
glaváta.

The symbol [N] will thus designate accentual relation-
ships of the types exemplified above. When no accent shift
occurs, the symbols [o] and [b] appear on the chart. This
signifies that accent remains on the desinential or stem syl-
lable, respectively, whether or not an article is affixed.
Thus:

| EMac | brazdá/brazdáta | (MDA: Kal) | [o] |
| EMac | ráme/rámeto | (ibid) | [b] |

Where [o] appears in parentheses I did not record a definite
form, but assume that the end stress in the indefinite form
I did record would not be affected by the postposed article.

In the very rare instances where a postposed article
appears to occasion a non-marginal accent shift, the symbols
[m] and [n] appear, e.g.

| EMac | sestrá/séstrata | (MDA: Gab) | [m] |
| ETk | ógenj/ogónjet | (Čin) | [n] |

Each of these instances will be discussed specifically below.

Chart 5 summarizes the accentual relationship of def-
inite and indefinite nouns in eight areas: two in ETk (Čin,
CTim) one in Mac (EMac) and five in WBg (TWBg, Sof, Kjus,
NWBg and CWBg). According to Belić (1905a:442) the postposed
article is in full usage throughout ETk (TL and SZ both). In

my investigations, however, I found no trace of it in VR or
Kr (both ETk--one TL and the other SZ). Only in Čin and sur-
rounding areas which I later visited (Temska, Babušnica, Sur-
ačevo, Kaludjerovo and Svodje) did I find evidence of the post-
posed article in regular usage. The postpositive article is
found in NMac dialects, but no accentual shift accompanies its
usage. In addition, it appears to be disappearing quickly
from these dialects; Vidoeski recounts a conversation where
family members over 60 (i.e., born before 1900) used such
forms often but their children and grandchildren who were born
after 1935 avoided them altogether (1962:151). He feels that
the avoidance of the article has spread to NMac from adjacent
SWTk dialects (ibid:152). This suggests that the disappear-
ance of the article in all but the easternmost areas of ETk
may likewise be recent. Indeed, I did record the following
forms with postposed article from a very old woman in Trg
(very near NMac border): <u>ženútu</u>, <u>petlátoga</u>, <u>petelót</u>, <u>rékata</u>,
<u>rékutu</u>, <u>sítoto</u>, <u>ógenjet</u>, <u>kóncite</u>. In addition, Broch recorded
<u>selóto</u> in Čurlina near Niš (Br 296:156/317). On the chart, I
shall summarize only those ETk areas for which I have suffi-
cient data, however.

In EMac and WBg the article is in full usage. Of the
areas surveyed for this study, only NSV lacks the postposed
article (cf. Mns 49).

In Chart 5, sg and pl forms for each noun are listed

together. In Čin, CTim and TWBg, feminine a-declension nouns
and masculine animate nouns have two singular forms. In the
case of feminine a-declension nouns, the symbol on the chart
refers to the Asg form, since every noun but vaška is end-
stressed in Nsg in Čin and CTim (cf. charts 1 and 2). In
TWBg, for similar reasons, the symbol also refers to the Asg
unless otherwise indicated. As to masculine nouns, the sym-
bols refer to Nsg unless otherwise indicated. Concerning the
accentuation of definite forms in ETk, Belić states

> Nije teško doći do zaključka, da se dodavanjem člana,
> u opšte uzevši, ne menja mesto akcenta u rečima. Ali
> od toga pravila ima i odstupanja, istina, ne mnogo--
> bar ih ja nisam mogao u većem broju zabeležiti--, ali
> ih ima. (B 456)

My data from Čin attest to the contrary, however. The accent
shift before the postposed article is the rule and not the ex-
ception--at least for feminine nouns. Except for vaška, the
alternation is attested in nearly every one of the question-
naire items. Indeed, once I discovered the surprising regu-
larity of this alternation among mobile feminine a-nouns, I
made secondary field trips to Temska (to the north of Pirot)
and the villages of Suračevo and Kaludjerovo near Babušnica,
and Svodje (all to the south of Pirot) to discover the geo-
graphical extent of the alternation. As far as I could tell
in the limited time available to me in these new areas (def-
inite forms are much more difficult to elicit clearly than

indefinite ones), the alternation is as regular in Temska as

in the Pirot area (represented by Čin). It is somewhat less

regular in the Babušnica area, and there are only minor traces

of it in Svodje.

My data for neuter nouns are also convincing, though I

recorded several vacillations, viz.

<table>
<tr><td>ETk</td><td>séla/seláta and sélata (Čin)</td><td>[b/N]</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>u seló, u selotó (CT 446--stress on the
article is most likely the result of
sentence intonation, as these forms
were attested in a narrative context)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>bŕdo/bŕdoto and brdóto (Čin)</td><td>[b/N]</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>bŕdo/brdóto (Tem)</td><td>[N]</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>síto/sítoto (Čin, Bab, Suračevo)</td><td>[b]</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>vs.</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>síto/sitóto (Kaludjerovo)</td><td>[N]</td></tr>
</table>

For masculine nouns, I recorded relatively little evidence

of the accent shift. Only the following can be cited as

firm examples in the sg:

<table>
<tr><td>ETk</td><td>múž/mužót (Tem)</td><td>[N]</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>and</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>muž/mužót (Čin)</td><td>[N/b]</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>sín, sína/sinót sinátoga (Tem)</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

In the plural, examples are somewhat more numerous, cf.

<table>
<tr><td>ETk</td><td>zídove/zidovéte (Čin)</td><td>[N]</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>múzje/mužjéti (Tem)</td><td>[N]</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>sínove/sinovéte (Čin, Tem)</td><td>[N]</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>kónji/konjíti (Čin)</td><td>[N]</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>kólci/kolcíti (ibid)</td><td>[N]</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>vénci/vencíti (ibid)</td><td>[N]</td></tr>
</table>

<u>jǔnci/juncíti</u>	(ibid)	[N]
<u>lónci/loncíti</u>	(ibid)	[N]
<u>kónci/koncíti</u>	(Čin, Staj-Rad)	[N]

In CTim, on the other hand, such accent shifts are altogether unknown. Stanojević makes no mention of them in his discussion of the topic (1911:410-411), and in the texts appended to his work I found sufficient examples to substantiate the complete absence of such a phenomenon (note that on chart 5 only the symbols [b] and [o] appear in the CTim column).

Indeed, the discrepancies between Belić's forms and those I recorded are not numerous; Belić himself noted a fair amount of variation. Compare:

ETk	<u>prekaj vódutu</u> (B 310:224/305)	[b]
	<u>vódǔtu</u> (B 450:213/341, ibid:216/334)	
	vs.	
	<u>vódu/vodǔtu</u> (Čin)	[N]
	<u>zmíjutu</u> (B 459:216/344, ibid:209/233)	[b]
	vs.	
	<u>zmijǔ, zmijǔtu</u> (Čin, CT 435)	[o]
	<u>žénutu</u> (B 459:216/334, ibid:236/309)	
	<u>žéneve</u> (B 452:234/305)	[b]
	vs.	
	<u>žénu/ženǔtu</u> (Čin, Br 294:236/309)	[N]
	<u>žénu/ženǔtu</u> (CT 411)	[o]
	<u>žéne/ženéte</u> (Čin, Br 296:236/309)	[N]
	<u>rékǔtu</u> (B 451:225/335, ibid:214/330)	
	<u>rékunu</u> (B 452:216/331)	[b]

rékete (B 451:225/335)   [b]
        vs.
réku/rekútu, réke/rekéte (Čin)   [N]

svínjéte (B 451:213/337, ibid:233/316)
        vs.
svínje/svinjéte (Čin)   [N]

planínútu (B 451:227/339, ibid:225/325)
        vs.
pláninu/planinútu (Čin)   [N]

žítoto (B 450:216/330)   [b]
        vs.
žíto/žitóto (Čin)   [N]

dŕvovo (B 452:218/344, ibid:208/341)   [b]
dŕvoto (B 449:208/341)   [b]
        but
drvóvo, drvóno (B 452:216/334)   [N]
dŕvo/drvóto (Čin)   [N]

kólata (B 450:216/334)   [b]
        vs.
koláta (B 459:233/316, Čin, Tem, Suračevo,
    Kaludjerovo)   [N]

óčíte (B 451:223/341, ibid:233/317,
        ibid:209/233)
        vs.
óči/očíte (Čin)

<u>kônjiti</u> (B 449:225/315)

vs.

<u>konjíti</u> (B 449:233/316, ibid:216/334, Čin)

Furthermore, of the 27 examples Belić recorded without the accent shift, 11 are from the CTim zone (i.e. above approximately latitude 42°16' north), where we have already seen that the accent shift is absent.

The first mention of this accentual alternation was made in 1903 by Broch:

> Bemerkenswerth ist bei der Anknüpfung einer einsilbigen Form des Artikels die Neigung, die Endsilbe des Substantivs zu betonen, somit das Wortbild zu paroxytoniren. (1903:300)

In his review of Broch, Belić revised his earlier statements somewhat: "Takva sklonost postoji u mnogim slučajevima, i to u Pirotu i u okolini više nego u drugim krajevima" (1911a: 54).

2.23   In EMac, we can substantiate the existence of this ac-
cent shift in the singular only, since MDA investigators
rarely recorded definite forms of the plural. We have only
the following examples of definite plural forms:

EMac	<u>nóge/nogéte</u>	(MDA: Žel)	[N]
	<u>nóze/nozéte</u>	(MDA: Kal)	[N]
	<u>óvcí/ovcíte</u>	(MDA: Žel)	[^O_N]
	<u>ráce/racéte</u>	(MDA: Kal)	[N]
	<u>svínje/svinjéte</u>	(MDA: Žel)	[N]

(Note that in the MDA notes for Kal,
<u>svínja/svinjáta</u> is identified as sg/pl
and not indef/def)

	<u>drvá/drváta</u>	(MDA: Gab)	[o]
	<u>sínove/sinovéte</u>	(MDA: Žel)	[N]
	<u>kónje/konjéte</u>	(MDA: Žel)	[N]
	<u>vrápci/vrápcite</u>	(MDA: Gab)	[b]

Otherwise, as the chart shows, the accent shift is well
attested in EMac. There are several variant forms, however,
which are worth noting here. All concern feminine nouns; the
most interesting of these are the following:

EMac	<u>žená/žénata</u>	(pl <u>žení</u>)	(MDA: Gab)	[m]
	cf.			
	<u>žená(ta)</u>	(pl <u>žení</u>)	(MDA: Žel)	[o]

but in narrative context by same

.

.

<p style="text-align:center">informant the forms</p>

na žéna mi, žénáta mi   (ibid)

žéna/ženáta but žénutu   (MDA: Rank)

<p style="text-align:center">and in a narrative</p>

žénáta mi, vido ženáta mi   (ibid)

ovcá(ta) but dóteraj gu óvcata (possibly
       Asg?) (pl óvci)   (MDA: Gab)

<p style="text-align:center">vs.</p>

óvcá/óvcáta (pl óvcí)   (MDA: Žel)

sestrá/séstrata (pl séstri)   (MDA: Gab)   [m]

<p style="text-align:center">but later in same interview</p>

sestrá(ta)   (ibid)

plánina/planínata (pl plánine)   (MDA: Rank)

plánína/plánináta (pl plánini)   (MDA: Žel)

In addition there are a number of examples of the form

      EMac   múá/múáta   (MDA: Žel)

I do not ascribe any significance to these in terms of the

def/indef accentual relationship. Compare, however

      EMac   ósá/osáta   (MDA: Žel) $[^O_N]$

           réku/rekáta   (ibid) $[^O_N]$

where the vacillation definitely indicates a feeling on the

informant's part that end stress somehow "belongs" more with

the def form than the indef.

    As to the various forms of žena, ovca and sestra, it

is noteworthy that all were recorded in the western region of

EMac (around Kriva Palanka): In the villages near Delčevo

further to the east, the marginal accent shift (séstra/ sestráta) was recorded without vacillation. Thus the desuetude of the definite forms noted by Vidoeski for Kumanovo may be spreading to Kriva Palanka as well. If it was the case that definite forms were uncommon for these informants, they may have been tempted to apply the std Mac antepenultimate stress rule to produce sástrata, žénata, žénutu, planínata. The fact that in more relaxed contexts (e.g. narration) they produced forms such as "zenáta" lends support to this view. If indeed the pairs sestrá/séstrata and the like represent a new type of def/indef mobility, it would be quite unexpected in this area.

Finally, the fact that the Asg forms žénutu and óvcata were attested alongside Nsg ženáta and ovcáta is surprising. I know of no other such instance, nor am I able to suggest a possible explanation.

The examples of feminine nouns in TWBg for which the symbols on the chart refer to Nsg and not Asg are perhaps relevant at this point, however:

TWBg   vodá si nema   (T 266:240/331)
        vodá   (T 216:239/250, ibid:252/328)
                but
        vódata   (O 97:233/341)
                vs.
        vóda/vodáta   (KK 587:229/230)   [N]
                (Asg vódu/vodútu)

Here we have Nsg <u>vodá</u> in Čuprenja near Belogradčik (240/331)
opposed to <u>vódata</u> in Ošane near Belogradčik. As the geo-
graphical co-ordinates show, these areas are quite close to
one another. Does this, as well as the EMac <u>sestrá/séstrata</u>
examples quoted above, constitute evidence of an A-mobile al-
ternation [m]? Since this type of accentual mobility is oth-
erwise unknown in def/indef noun pairs, it is possible that
the following enclitic <u>si</u> has occasioned end stress in <u>vodá</u>
<u>si nema</u> and that the regular pattern in the Belogradčik area
is <u>vóda/vódata</u> [b]. I do not have consistent data for the
accentual behavior of these words when followed by an encli-
tic, however.

The other examples in TWBg worth noting are given be-
low. Due to the amount of variation among them I have divid-
ed the data into three subgroups. TWBg-1 represents the Bo-
silegrad area in the south, TWBg-2 the Tron area in the cen-
ter of the transitional region, and TWBg-3 the Belogradčik
region in the north.

TWBg-1	<u>kónjet, kónjo</u> (KK 199)	[b]
	<u>kónjet</u> and <u>konjét</u> (KK 583:317/332)	[^b_N]
	<u>kónjet</u> (T 223:235/236)	[b]
	<u>múžet</u> (T 220:231/234)	[b]
	<u>múžo</u> (T 94:239/227, KK 579:227/226)	[b]
	vs.	
	<u>mažó</u> (KK 608:235/225, T 84:239/227)	[N]

TWBg-2 <u>kónjet</u> (Tg 117:239/250)   [b]

    <u>konjá/kónjatoga</u> (Tg 178:236/250)   [m]

                cf.

    <u>jednóga konjá</u> (T 268:256/301)

    <u>múžet</u> (Tg 192:239/250)   [b]

'TWBg-3 <u>dva konjá</u> (T 281:247/339)/<u>konjátoga</u>

             (T 268:234/332)   [o]

    <u>múžet</u> (O 98:233/341)   [b]

    <u>mežé</u> (T 77:247/339)   [N]

    <u>múžatoga</u> (T 268:234/332)   [b]

Again, we have one example of an accent shift which is the

opposite of what we would expect, viz.

       TWBg-2 <u>konjá/kónjatoga</u> (Tg 178:239/250)   [m]

The full context in which these examples were recorded, viz.

"<u>uzeše ni vólatoga i kónjatoga zarad bórč</u>" and "<u>da nogu da</u>

<u>uvátim crnónoga konjá, odjaál bi mu je</u>" (ibid) suggest that

the difference in accentuation may possibly have an emotive

connotation. But since <u>konjá</u> is attested elsewhere in Tron

with end stress (and since end stress is expected etymolog-

ically) the postposed article may indeed be associated with

an A-mobile alternation [m] in this area.

       Otherwise, one encounters no accent shift in the Nsg

of <u>muš</u> and <u>konj</u> in Tron (TWBg-2). In the areas of ETk clos-

est to Tron, however, we find 4 instances of the shift vs.

only 2 of its absence, viz.

ETk   <u>mužét</u>   (B 448:236/309, Tem, Čin,

          Br 295:236/309)   [N]

          but

       <u>múžet</u>   (B 448:219/313, Čin)   [b]

In the northern TWBg zone (TWBg-3), the accent shift occurs

only in

TWBg   <u>možé</u>   (T 77:247/339)

Since this village (Medovnica) is situated practically on the

border between TWBg and NWBg, it may possibly be due to in-

fluence from neighboring NWB dialects. In the area of ETk

closest to TWBg-3, we find no shift:

ETk   <u>múžet</u>   (B 448:227/339)   [b]

       <u>kónjet</u>   (B 447:227/339)   [b]

As the chart shows, most WBg dialects have the def/indef ac-

centual shift in most nouns, although the distribution is not

the same as in ETk. The examples quoted above show that TWBg

dialects coincide most closely with ETk in this respect. On

the basis of my limited data from TWBg, the only other differ-

ences between ETk and TWBg are the following:

TWBg   <u>slézite</u>   (T 284:239/232)   [b]

            vs.

ETk   accent shift expected though

          not attested

TWBg   <u>krílata</u>   (T 230:254/339)   [b]

            vs.

ETk   <u>kriláta</u>   (Čin)   [N]

TWBg	žítoto	(KK 567:229/230)	[b]
	vs.		
ETk	žitóto	(Čin)	[N]

Of the many examples of def/indef accentual shifts in WBg dialects, only two suggest possible vacillation. They are:

NWBg   selá/seláta (sg sélo/selóto)   (G 144:354/319)
             vs.
    sélata   (T 230:239/350)

    krilá/kriláta (sg kriló/krilóto)   (G 144:354/319)
             vs.
    krílata   (T 230:329/347, ibid:230/350)

Since the villages in question are not in immediate proximity to each other, however, I do not ascribe great significance to these examples.

As we have seen in feminine and neuter examples in ETk, the accent shift occasioned by the postposed article always affects both sg and pl forms. In WBg, however, this is not always the case. Often stem stress in the sg will remain when the article is affixed, but the stem stress of an indefinite pl form will be shifted in the presence of the article. For example:

Kjus	snáa/snáata	(Kj 67)	[b]
	vs.		
	snái/snaíte	(ibid)	[N]

This is the only feminine a-declension example which I found. With other types, it is somewhat more common. For example:

NWBg	zŕno/zŕnoto (G 144)	[b]
	vs.	
	zŕna/zrnáta (ibid)	[N]

The nouns gumno and brdo have the same accentuation (cf.
G 144). In CWBg dialects, a similar phenomenon occurs in two
masculine nouns, e.g.

CWBg	venéc/venéca (Mih 107)	[b]
	vs.	
	vénci/vencíte (ibid)	[N]

Vrabec has the same accentuation (ibid).

The reverse phenomenon, a shift in the sg vs. no shift
in the pl, is attested only in Kjustendil, viz.

Kjus	vlákno/vlaknóto (Kj 69)	[N]
	vs.	
	vlákna/vláknata (ibid)	[b]

According to Umlenski (Kj 69), the nouns gnezdo, zrno, krilo,
rebro and selo also behave in this manner.

2.24   Finally, I note two masculine nouns in which the post-
posed article occasions a shift not to the desinential sylla-
ble but to the stem-final syllable. These are:

ETk   lónəc/lonécət (Nmv lónca) (Čin)   [n]
                     compare plural forms
           lónci/loncíte (ibid)   [N]

           ógənj/ogónjət (Nmv ognjá) (Čin)   [n]
                     compare plural
           ognjóve/ognjóvete (ibid)   [o]
                     cf. also
           óganj (B 356:227/339, ibid:216/344)/
               ógánjət (B 448:216/334, ibid:236/309,
               ibid:233/316, ibid:229/324)   [^b_n]
                     but
SWTk   ógənj/ógənjət (Trg)   [B]
TWBg-1   ógənj/ogónjət (KK 588:237/232) (no other
                 forms given)   [n]
                     but
           ogónj (T 255:222/237)ogónjət (T 226:
               222/237)   [b]
TWBg-2   ógənj/ogónjət (Tg 190:239/250)   [n]
           ógənj (T 225:239/250)/ogónjət (T 226:
               239/250)   [n]
                     but
           ógánj/ogónjət (Tg 189:239/250)   [^b_n]

I analyzed the form oganj in Čin as having a monosyl-
labic stem on the basis of end stress in the Nmv [ognj--ǿ
ognj--á]. Although no Nmv forms were available for southern
and central TWBg dialects (TWBg-1 and TWBg-2, respectively),
data from northern transitional dialects (TWBg-3) suggest

that those TWBg forms with initial stress in Nsg should also

be analyzed as having a monosyllabic stem. Compare:

  TWBg-3 ógenja (T 190:247/343, no indef form

            available) Nmv ognjá (T 281:244/329)

How, then, can one account for stress on the second syllable

of what is supposedly a monosyllabic stem? Apparently, the

rules affecting stress shifts before postposed articles do

not make reference to stem or desinence syllables. Instead

they seem to shift stress forward blindly, as it were, to a

point just before a well-defined boundary of some sort, in

this case the article marker "t". The above forms must be

termed anomalous, in that the shift has operated, but not in

the prescribed manner. In the case of lonócat, it is probab-

ly a lapse on the speaker's part. Ogónjet, however, is at-

tested over a fairly wide area. Its frequent occurrence is

probably aided by the "newer" Nsg forms ogónj (cf. B 325, T 225)

which are spreading under the influence of std SC òganj (but

std Bg ógan).

    Feminine nouns in a consonant lack accentual alterna-

tions in Tk: accent always falls on the same stem syllable in

Nsg, Asg, and pl forms. For this reason I included none of

these nouns in the questionnaire. When the indef/def alter-

nation proved to be more significant than expected, however,

I tested a group of these nouns for the alternation also. As

Chart 5 shows, the alternation is common among these nouns as

well, at least in the singular. (The column headed ETk in-
cludes data from Činiglavci, Temska, Kaludjerovo, Babušnica
and Suračevo.) Unless otherwise indicated, accent falls on
the article morpheme in def forms, viz.

ETk   jésen/jesentá (Nsg) (Čin)   [N]
      jésen/jesentú (Asg) (ibid)   [N]

I was unfortunately not able to elicit any plural definite
forms other than one instance of prolettá (Čin--zero plural
desinence is unexpected). I should note here also the forms
mázet and sólet from Temska, indicating that the stems in
question are there masculine nouns.

     In nontransitional WBg dialects, plurals of these
nouns were also rarely recorded. I found only

Sof   próletí/próletíte (sg prólet/proletá) (Sg 49)
CWBg   éseni/esentíte (sg ésen/esentá) (Mih 111--
             note the inserted -t- with the pl
             desinence)

Mladenov indicates that in Ihtiman mas, noš, prolet and sol
are accented similarly, one assumes in both sg and pl (ibid).

     I found only one example of my questionnaire nouns in
NWBg dialects:

NWBg   pepeltá/no indef given (T 216:243/221)
Todorov cites other nouns of this declension group for NWBg,
however, all plural forms:

NWBg   bólesti/bólestíte (T 216:322/338)
       pesentíte/no indef given (T 216:249/358,
             ibid:304/340)

<u>pósti/postíte</u> (T 216:247/343)

The accent shift before postposed article thus appears
to be as common in this group of nouns as in the others sur-
veyed, cf. however ETk <u>jeséntu</u> (B 451:220/344). Only in EMac
and in one instance in southernmost TWBg did I find vacillation
as to accentuation among these nouns:

EMac	<u>ésen/esentá</u>	(MDA: Kis)	[N]
	but		
	<u>ésen/ésenta</u>	(MDA: Kal)	[B]
	and		
	<u>pépal/pépalta</u>	(MDA: Kis)	[B]
	cf.		
TWBg-1	<u>pépelta</u> and <u>pepeltá</u>	(КК 604:239/227)	$\begin{bmatrix}B\\N\end{bmatrix}$

The context of the latter citation is the following: "<u>Po páto</u>
<u>po pépelta, po pepeltá, i si otišlé dóma</u>."

It is interesting to note in certain areas the pres-
ence of Asg forms such as <u>jesentútu</u> (Tem), with reduplication
of the Asg definite article. (Reduplication of the Nsg arti-
cle, which would give the hypothetical <u>*jesentata</u>, does not
seem to occur anywhere.) I recorded such forms regularly in
Babušnica, and sporadically in Temska and Činiglavci. Note
also the following:

ETk	<u>večertútu</u>	(B 451:236/309)
	<u>nočtútu</u>	(B 451:212/243)
	<u>proletútu</u>	(B 451:230/319)

Todorov (1936:216) records similar examples from Trən
(239/250) noting that there forms such as <u>mastú</u> and <u>soltú</u> are

considered indefinite, as opposed to the definite forms <u>mastútu</u>,

<u>soltútu</u>. Compare the following indef/def pairs:

>   TWBg-2 <u>kos/kostá</u> (Nsg), <u>kostú/kostútu</u> (Asg)
>   (Tp 53:239/250)
>   <u>cev/cevtá</u> (Nsg), <u>cevtú/cevtútu</u> (Asg) (ibid)
>   <u>pámet/pámeta</u> (Nsg), <u>pametú/pametútu</u> (Asg)
>   (ibid)
>   <u>sol/soltá</u> (Nsg), <u>soltú/soltútu</u> (Asg) (ibid)

The pattern has even been extended to an <u>a</u>-declension noun, cf.

>   TWBg-2 <u>rábotu/rabotútu</u> (Asg) (ibid)

A similar reinterpretation has taken place in NSV,

where Nsg/Asg pairs such as the following are found:

>   NSV   <u>mostá/mostú</u> (*mastъ) (Mns 49)
>   <u>ostá/ostú</u> (*osъ) (ibid)
>   <u>ceftá/ceftú</u> (*cěvъ) (ibid)

These lexical items seem historically to be a compound of an

<u>i</u>-stem noun and the definite article, but they now belong to

the <u>a</u>-stem declension, and follow the accentual patterns of

that declension.

The forms which I have cited from the Tron dialect

and which I recorded in Babušnica et al. are hybrids. When

the inherited article in <u>mastútu</u> is reinterpreted as the Asg

desinence, these nouns can be seen to follow an accentual pat-

tern like that of <u>muž</u>: in Nsg def forms, accent appears on

the definite article itself, while Asg forms (def and indef)

are accented on the syllable immediately preceding the mor-

pheme representing the inherited article.

2.25   Indefinite adjectives are usually opposed to definite

adjectives in Tk by means of an A-mobile alternation, e.g.

        ETk   <u>visoká</u> (indef)/<u>visóka</u> (def) (Čin)   [m]

        In std SC this alternation is accompanied by the

presence or absence of vowel length, viz.

        std SC <u>mláda</u> (indef)/<u>mlâdā</u> (def)

Since length is not distinctive in any Tk dialect, however,

accent placement alone distinguishes indefinite from definite

forms in Tk dialects. Only in masculine Nsg forms is there a

distinction of desinence as well, viz.

        Tk   <u>crn--∅</u>(indef)/<u>crn--i</u>(def)   .

Since end stress in most indefinite forms in Tk would fall on

an open final syllable, viz.

            <u>belá</u>, <u>belú</u> (fem Nsg, Asg)
            <u>beló</u> (neut sg)
            <u>belí</u>, <u>belé</u>, <u>belá</u> (masc fem, neut pl)
                    vs.
            <u>belóga</u> (masc Asg)

one expects that paroxytonesis will severely curtail the func-

tioning of this alternation in western portions of the Torlak

zone. Indeed, I could substantiate the existence of the al-

ternation only in ETk (in VR and Čin and, with difficulty, in

Kr). I also found sporadic traces of final stress in adjec-

tives in Trgovište and in Dugo Polje east of Šarbanovac. In

Šarb and Šil, however, where there was otherwise a relatively

high frequency of accent on final open syllables, I did not

hear a single end-stressed adjectival form. Indeed, the few

examples of end-stressed adjectives that I did record in Trg

and DP seemed to be in free variation with stem-stressed forms.

Although I worked diligently with informants on this point, I

could not elicit evidence of an actual functioning alternation.

Broch recorded end-stressed adjectival forms in the SZ area of

ETk, although in nearly every instance he gave stem-stressed

variants as well, in predicative and attributive positions

alike:

> In Zaplanje ist diese Betonung [final stress in
> adjectives] ganz gewöhnlich, bei prädikativ wie
> bei attributiv gebrauchten Adjektivformen.
> Daneben kommen auch die nicht oxytonirten
> Formen vor (Br 251)

Among his examples are the following:

ETk
(SZ)
Žutá-e dúnja and dúnja je Žúta (Br 251: 228/308)

vodá je dliboká, dliboká vodá, dlibóka vodá
and dlibóka vóda (ibid)

ja som kupíl debelú kobílu (kubílu) and
ja som kupíl debélu kobílu (ibid)

Although he suggests "phraseology" may be the cause of this

variation, he subsequently concludes: "Meist dürfte sie aber

einer Vermischung der bestimmten und der unbestimmten Formen

des Adjektivs zuzuschreiben sein" (ibid).

He makes similar observations for the Pirot area:

> In den übrigen Kasus [sind] endbetonte und wurzelbe-
> tonte Formen neben einander geläufig, in attribu-

tivem so wie in prädikativem Gebrauch: <u>dobró</u> <u>sĭnce</u>
und <u>dóbro</u> <u>sĭnce</u>, <u>debélo</u> <u>méso</u> und <u>debeló</u> <u>méso</u>; ...
<u>golemá</u> <u>glavá</u> und <u>goléma</u> <u>gláva</u>.   (Br 301:236/309)

There is indeed in ETk a tendency to confuse the syntactic

distinction of def/indef adjectives, cf. Belić:

> Neodredjena [forma] se počinje, tamo gde se on
> uopšte razlikuje od odredjene, upotrebljavati i
> atributski, odredjena pak katkada i predikativno.
> Svega toga ima i u drugim govorima našim, samo je
> ovde to još pojačano time, što je razlika ismedju
> različnih pridevnih formi fonetski svedena na
> minimum. (B 626-627)

That is, accent placement is the sole distinction between the

two forms except in Nsg masculine. Does this accent place-

ment indeed function to distinguish def/indef adjectives?

On this point, cf. Belić again:

> Predikativno upotrebljenog, neodredjena forma
> [prideva je] ponajčešća, ali se za njegovu
> atributivnu upotrebu ne može reći da akcenat
> uvek odgovara značenju pridevskom, i ako je to
> obično. (B 428)

That is, it appears that the opposition idef/def is at best

obscured, at least in attributive position.

I conclude, therefore, that the accentual alternation

oppositon indefinite to definite adjectival forms exists in

ETk (Timok-Lužnica and Svrljig-Zaplanje dialects), although

in an unstable manner, but has been eliminated in the Južna

Morava dialect, except for sporadic traces at the easternmost

edges of this dialect zone. (In easternmost ETk, the post-
posed article affixed to adjectives often distinguishes def/
indef. This will be discussed below, cf. sec. 2.26.)

Why should paroxytonesis act to restrict this alter-
nation so much more strongly than, say, the sg/pl alternation
in feminine a-declension nouns? Part of the answer to this
question clearly lies in the greater "fuzziness" of the gram-
matical opposition concerned. In the field I had the definite
impression that definite and indefinite forms were being used
interchangeably in many, albeit not all, contexts. For exam-
ple, indefinite forms are still much more frequent in predi-
cative position than definite forms; on the other hand, where
the article is in use, it is affixed only to definite forms.
In general, though, the semantic-grammatical opposition is not
clearly defined, and there is considerable overlap in usage.
Secondly, due to the zero desinence in the indefinite form of
the masc Nsg, both definite and indefinite forms of masc Nsg
will always show the same surface accentuation, regardless of
whether the alternation normally operates, viz. cŕn/cŕni,
zelén/zeléni. This pattern would tend to favor the increase
of columnar stem stress (barytonesis) in other forms also,
thus eliminating the alternation. Even the single indef/def
pair which is phonologically outside the sphere of paroxyto-
nesis (i.e. in which accent would not be etymologically ex-
pected to occur on a final open syllable) masc Asg crnóga/

cŕnoga, never occurs in WTk. Only columnar stem stress (bary-
tonesis) is found there.

Further to the west and north, however, the KR dialect
group appears to distinguish indefinite and definite adjectival
forms by prosodic means. In SW KR, where no short open final
syllables are accented, indefinite forms appear with stem-final
stress, e.g. zelèna, stàra, bêla (E). Definite forms are ac-
cented on the same stem-final syllable, but this syllable is
long in every case e.g. zelêna, stâra, bêla (E). Contrast thus
exists only for underlying short vocalism, but is lost for
stems with long vowels. Here vowel length now functions as a
marker of definiteness instead of accent placement. In the
chart, the symbol [L] indicates that the indef/def opposition
is implemented by presence/absence of length in the stem
vowel.

In NE KR, the semantic distinction between indef and
def appears much less clear than in SE KR. Jović (1968:108)
states that in Trstenik indefinite forms are used much more
often than definite forms. That is, the opposition is being
lost in favor of the indefinite form. He also feels that the
accentual opposition is being lost:

> Gubljenje morfoloških razlika kao distinktivnih
> faktora odredjenosti/neodredjenosti praćeno je u
> velikoj meri i eliminisanjem prozodijskih distinkcija
> u istoj funkciji. (1968:109)

I consider that Jović uses the term "prosodic distinctions"

to refer to accent placement alone, since the posttonic length
distinctions of the std lg are not known in Trstenik (cf. KRt
37), and since Jović makes no mention of a length distinction
in tonic syllables of def/indef adjectives similar to that
found in SW KR.

Although indefinite forms also seem to occur in the
Levač area with much greater frequency than definite ones,
according to data given by Simić, he indicates that the A-mo-
bile accentual opposition does not function in adjectives
with a long monosyllabic root. Compare:

> U oblicima neodredjenog vida...imaju ove reči [type
> <u>bela</u>, <u>mlada</u>] dugouzlazni akc[enat]   (1972:330)
> > and
>
> u oblicima odredjenog vida ukoliko se javljaju,...
> imaju u L[evču] uvek dugi silazni akcent na osnovi.
> (ibid:332)

Adjectives with a short monosyllabic root have stem
stress in both def and indef forms (ibid:333). When we com-
pare std SC and NE KR forms with long and short vocalism,
respectively,

> std SC <u>dòbra</u> (indef)/<u>dȍbrā</u> (def)   [m]
> > vs.
> NE KR <u>dȍbra</u> (indef)/<u>dȍbra</u> (def)   [b]
>
> std SC <u>bélа</u> (indef)/<u>bêlā</u> (def)   [m]
> NE KR <u>bélа</u> (indef)/<u>bêlа</u> (def)   [m]

we see that it is paroxytonesis which causes the single dif-

ference.

In Trstenik, however, accent placement apparently
serves to distinguish indef and def forms only in fixed ex-
pressions and proper or geographical names, e.g.

NE KR   dâj mi bēlôga leba i crnôga vína (indef)/
                od bêloga luka me bolî kóram (def)
        (KRt 109)   [m]

                crnôga (indef)/iz Cřnoga Kâla (def) (ibid) [m]
                        cf. also
                de ću, cřnoga, da te sklonim (def., used as
                        derogatory form of address) (ibid)

In adjectives with dissyllabic stems, however, vowel
length has in Levač taken over the function performed by ac-
cent placement, cf.

NE KR   duboko, duboka (indef)/duboki (def)
        (KRs 338)   [L]

Although Simić gives only a few examples of definite
forms, he states that "u oblicima odredjenog vida, ukoliko se
ovi javljaju, imaju pridevi ovog akcenatskog tipa obično du-
gosilazni akcenat na mestu gde i u....neodr[edjenog] vida"
(ibid). (He gives numerous examples of indefinite forms with
short accented vowels.)

There is insufficient information about the def/indef
opposition of dissyllabic stems in Trstenik.

In rare cases, length will function to distinguish
def/indef forms of monosyllabic stem adjectives. This usual-

ly occurs in emotive contexts, however:

NE KR stàroga (indef)/ Stâroga (def, used as
nickname) (KRt 109)   [L]

gòla (indef)/onâj gôli (def, with the
note "znači pocepani") (KRs 330)   [L]

In Levač, however, the lexeme star seems to partici-

pate in this opposition in neutral contexts as well:

NE KR stàr (indef) (KRs 333)/stâri drug,
stâra kuća (KRs 334)   [L]

2.26   In those ETk areas where the postpositive article is in
full usage, definiteness in adjectives is usually signalled by
the affixation of the article. Often a shift in placement of
accent similar to that encountered in nouns will also occur
(whenever a def/indef accentual opposition involves a post-
posed article, an asterisk appears on the chart):

     ETk   <u>stára/staráva</u> (Svodje)   [n*]

This accent shift appears to function similarly to that seen
in nouns (secs 2.22-2.24):

     ETk   <u>sínove/sinovéte</u> (Čin)   [N]
     TWBg   <u>konéc</u> (T 70:247/343)/<u>konacát</u> [sic]
             (T 248:253/323)   [N]

I have symbolized the shift in adjectives [n] rather than [N]
as in nouns because of examples such as the following:

     ETk   <u>stár/staríjan</u> (B 455:223/341)   [n*]

where the accent shifts not to the position immediately pre-
ceding the article marker (in this case -<u>n</u>-, more often -<u>t</u>-),
but to the desinence of the masc sg def form (this distinction
is seen only in masc Nsg, where the indef and def desinences
themselves are not the same).

     However, since the article is always affixed to the
definite form and not to the indefinite (cf Belić: "Kada se
pridevima dodaje član, on se uvek dodaje odredjenoj pridev-
skoj formi" [1905a:626]), we should thus expect stem stress
for the definite forms of etymologically mobile adjectives,

e.g.

ETk   crná (indef)/cŕna (def)   (VR)   [m]
                           thus
           crná (indef)/*cŕnata (def)

Instead, accentuation of the type crníjet, crnótoga, crníte,

etc., is much more frequently encountered. Stanojević sees

in such forms the accentuation of the indefinite (1911:411).

Since no comparable accent shift occurs in nouns in the area

he treats (CTim), this view is understandable. However, since

we are dealing in each case with the affixation of an article-

morpheme to an inflected grammatical form, I feel that this

phenomenon should be treated in the same manner as the def/

indef opposition in nouns.

In ETk the shift of accent is encountered most often

in the adjective star. Compare:

ETk   stára   (VR, Tem, Svodje)
           stáro   (B 430:223/324)
           stároga   (Čin, B 431:209/334, ibid:222/313)
                        (and numerous other examples which I
                        will not list here, since this adjective
                        is barytonic and does not participate in
                        the A-mobile def/indef alternation)
                        vs.
ETk   staráta   (B 455:216/334, ibid:209/334)
           staráva (Svodje)
           starútu   (B 455:216/334, ibid:227/339)
           staróto   (B 455:216/334, ibid:205/237)
           staríjet   (B 454:221/329, ibid:221/329,
                        ibid:223/324, ibid:155/326, ibid:236/

309, ibid:255/304, ibid:216/334)

<u>staríjen</u> (B 455:223/341)

<u>staríte</u> (B 458:219/313, ibid:236/309)

<u>staríti</u> (B 454:236/309, ibid:219/313, ibid: 224/305)

Note, however, the following examples of vacillation:

ETk   <u>stárótoga</u> (B 454:233/317, ibid:236/309)

<u>stárítoga</u> [sic] (B 454:221/242, ibid:216/ 334--marked as "rarer")

and two instances in which no accent shift takes place:

ETk   <u>stárijet</u> (B 454:216/334)

<u>stáriti</u> (ibid)

(Note that both the latter examples are from the CTim region where this shift is unknown in nouns. However, several of the examples quoted above which do have the accent shift are also from CTim.)

Often, however, the etymologically-expected A-mobile alternation continues to operate even with the postposed article affixed to the definite form:

ETk   <u>visoká/visókata</u> (Čin)   [m*]

<u>visókijet</u>, <u>visókatoga</u> (ibid)

cf. also

<u>žletá</u> (Bab)/<u>žlétunu</u> (Kal, Sur)   [m*]

<u>crná</u>, <u>crná</u> (VR)/ <u>crnutu</u> (B 455:236/300)

Examples of the accent shift in adjectives which are otherwise A-mobile without a postposed article are attested only in the lexeme <u>mlad</u>:

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ETk   <u>mláda</u> (VR, B 430:216/334)/<u>mladáta</u> (B 455:
219/330, ibid:223/300), <u>mladáva</u> (B 455:
213/341)   [n*]

<u>na mládoga čovéka</u> (B 431:236/309)/
<u>mladótoga</u> (B 454:216/334, ibid:221/
329, ibid:233/316, ibid:224/305, ibid:
209/233)   [n*]

cf. also

<u>mladíjet</u> (Čin, B 453:223/324, ibid:229/
324, ibid:233/316, ibid:230/319, ibid:
236/309, ibid:209/233)

<u>mladíjen</u> (B 455:223/341)

<u>mladíti</u> (B 453:224/303)

Stanojević, however, indicates that when an article is affixed
to such adjectives, the accent shift occurs or does not occur
about equally:

ETk   <u>dobríjet</u>, <u>dobráta</u>, <u>dobréte</u>
as well as
<u>dóbrijet</u>, <u>dóbrata</u>, <u>dóbrete</u> (CT 411)
and
<u>dobrútu</u> or <u>dóbrutu</u>
<u>dobrónoga</u> or <u>dóbronoga</u> (CT 403)

The indefinite form, however, is always end-stressed;
and when the definite occurs without postposed article, the
expected A-mobile alternation occurs regularly in CTim, accor-
ding to Stanojević:

ETk   <u>dobrá/dóbra</u> (fem Nsg) (CT 402-403)   [m]
<u>dobró/dóbro</u> (neut sg) (ibid)   [m]
<u>dobrí/dóbri</u> (pl) (ibid)   [m]

In the Asg, however, he notes that definite forms appear with

both stem stress and end stress:

     ETk   dóbroga and dobróga (CT 403)

                dóbru and dobrú (ibid)

The latter form (dobrú) appears with the notation "(neodr. vid)" after it, but is listed in the section devoted to definite forms. I assume that Stanojević thus ascribes the accent of this definite form to contamination from the indefinite form. The confusion of def/indef forms, especially in predicative position, is attested in other ETk examples, too:

     ETk   bosóga (B 431:209/324)

                     vs.

          bósoga (B 431:233/317)

          səs belóga konjá (B 431:219/313)

                     vs.

          po béloga sveta (B 431:209/233)

          səs béloga konjá (B 431:233/316)

          na golú zemlju (B 431:207/328)

                     vs.

          gólo ramo (B 430:155/319)

In fact, in the examples cited above for the accent shift in definite forms of mlada, it is difficult (if not impossible) to say whether the forms without the postposed article (mláda and na mládoga čovéka) are:

a) definite forms appearing without the article, with expected accentuation

b) indefinite forms (with unexpected accentuation) or

c) formerly definite forms (as to accent) now functioning as
   indefinite forms in opposition to the definite forms marked
   by the postposed article.

2.27   In Mac and WBg, definiteness in adjectives is al-
ways signalled by the presence of the article. In NMac, there
is never any change of place in accent when the article is af-
fixed (inasmuch as it is used). In EMac, the place of accent
likewise remains constant whether or not an article is af-
fixed. The only possible exception to this in the MDA files
is

EMac   <u>gólem gólema gólemo/golémiot</u> (MDA: Gab)
But since <u>goléma</u> and <u>golémo</u> are also listed as variant forms
of the indefinite in Gab, little significance can be ascribed
to this example.

WBg has regular shifts of accent associated with the
postposed article. Even in NSV, where there is no definite
article utilized with nouns (cf. Mns 49), definiteness in
adjectives is signalized by the suffix -<u>ən</u>- (Mns 64). In a
number of adjectives an accentual opposition of the following
type (A-mobile) is found:

NSV   <u>golém, goləmá, goləmó/golémən, golémana,</u>
        <u>golémeno</u> (Mns 63)   [m*]
The adjectives listed by Mladenov as having this accentuation
are <u>bel</u>, <u>visók</u>, <u>gol</u>, <u>golem</u>, <u>dəbél</u>, <u>živ</u>, <u>žəlt</u>, <u>zelén</u>, <u>sin</u>,
<u>červén</u>, <u>čern</u>, <u>širók</u>, <u>šḱop</u> and <u>šum</u> (Mns 148).

The adjective <u>star</u> has the following forms:

NSV   <u>star, stára, stáro/ stáren, stárena,</u>
        <u>stáreno</u> (Mns 63)   [b*]
                    and

<u>star</u>, <u>stára</u>, <u>stáro</u>/ <u>steránen</u>,
<u>steránena</u>, <u>steráneno</u> (Mns 148) [n*]

The apparent reduplication of the suffix in the latter example
may or may not affect its accentuation; Mladenov comments
neither on the form of the suffix nor its accentuation. The
stem <u>mlad</u> belongs to this accentual class as well, cf. Mns
148 and

˅ NSV   <u>pó mládena žené</u> (Mns 248) [b*]

In other WBg dialects, the A-mobile type of def/indef
accentual relationship in adjectives is known, although no-
where with the consistency found in NSV. Examples:

Sof   <u>beló</u> (Sg 17)/ <u>béloto</u> (Sg 116) [m*]

<u>golemá</u> (Sg 17)/ <u>golémata</u> (Sg 34) [m*]
     cf. however
<u>od goléma roda</u> (Sg 28)

<u>zelená</u>/ <u>zelénata</u> (Sg 50) [m*]
     but
<u>od zeléna smokva</u> (T 305:318/244)

<u>crvená</u>/ <u>crvénata</u> (Sg 50) [m*]
     but
<u>crvená</u>/ <u>červéna</u> (Sg 14--the second cited
     as occuring among younger speakers)
<u>cervenó</u> (T 259:310/244)/ <u>červenáta</u> (ibid:
     320/236)(this is the only possible
     example I found of def/indef oxyton-
     esis in adjectives) [o]

belá/bélata (Sg 50)

vs.

béla (T 255:318/244)

bélo (T 255:318/244)

béli and belí (T 256:318/244)

NWBg   belá/bélata (G 145)   [m*]

bosá/bósata (G 145)   [m*]

but

bósa (T 255:248/353, ibid:240/346)

dobrí/dóbrite (G 145)   [m*]

NB however

dóber/dóbria (ibid)

golá/gólata (G 145)   [m*]

žltá/žítata (G 145)   [m*]

černá (T 255:243/355)/córnata (T 256:
    239/350), córnite (T 256:306/347)

but

córno (T 256:247/343)

čérno (T 256:351/255)

čérni (T 256:351/255)

In CWBg and Kjus we find only barytonesis among adjectives

of this group, e.g.:

Kjus   béla/bélata (Kj 71)   [b*]

and similar accentuation for žet, crn, zelén, crvén, and

gulém (ibid),

CWBg   béla/bélata (Mih 113)   [b*]

and similar accentuation for gol, žlet, golém, visók, dlibók,

<u>debél</u>, <u>zelén</u>, <u>širók</u> (ibid).

In TWBg, however, A-mobility is found in a number of lexemes:

TWBg-2 <u>belá</u> etc./<u>bélata</u> etc. (Tp 49:239/250) and
        eight examples of stem stress in def-
        inite forms (Tg 177-178)   [m*]
           vs
     <u>belótoga</u> (Tg 178:239/250--the author notes
        that this latter form is probably due
        to influence from pronominal declen-
        sion)   [m*]

     <u>dobrá</u> etc./<u>dóbrata</u> (Tp 49:239/250)   [m*]
          but more to the south
TWBg-1 <u>dobríjet</u> (KK 186)
       <u>dobríte</u> (KK 185)

TWBg-2 <u>široká</u> etc./<u>širókata</u> (Tp 49:239/250)   [m*]

     <u>debelá</u> etc./<u>debélata</u> (ibid)   [m*]

     <u>žltá</u> etc./<u>žltata</u> (Tp 50:239/250)   [m*]

     <u>visoká</u> etc./<u>visókata</u>, etc. (Tp 49:239/250) [m*]
        but stem stressed indefinite in KK, viz.
TWBg-1 <u>visóka</u> (T 257:237/232)
     <u>ednó visóko mesto</u> (KK 609:235/225)

TWBg-2 <u>crná</u> etc./<u>cŕnata</u> etc. (Tp 49:239/250)   [m*]

        but in the south
TWBg-1 <u>cŕna</u> (T 255:239/227)

       crѳno (T 256:239/227)

       crѳna, crѳno (KK 191)

       nešto crѳno (KK 74:231/234)

Although no definite forms were attested for the following in TWBg, I noticed once more that while end-stressed indefinite forms were common in TWBg-2 and TWBg-3 (the central and northern regions), only stem-stressed forms were attested in southernmost TWBg (TWBg-1):

    TWBg-3 golemá (T 257:243/344)

           pesne golemé (T 257:234/332)

           golemé svinje (O 98:233/341)

                  cf. however

           selåta su golémi (O 99:233/341)

    TWBg-2 tužbe golemí (T 257:258/301)

           golemá sela (T 306:239/250)

           tri golemí dɘrveta (T 257:258/301)

                  vs.

    TWBg-2 od gulémo nastojavanje (KK 592:222/237)

           ednå njiva guléma (KK 566:229/230)

In fact, examples of the accent shift of the type found in nouns are fairly rare in WBg, and occur mainly in the lexemes star and mlad:

    CWBg   mlåt/mladíja (Mih 115)   [n*]

           mlåda/mladåta (ibid)   [n*]

           mlådi/mladíte (ibid)   [n*]

           står/staríja (ibid)   [n*]

           ståra/staråta (ibid)   [n*]

           ståro/starѳto (ibid)   [n*]

           ståri/staríte (ibid)   [n*]

However, forms without the accent shift are also encountered,

although rarely ("makar i rjadko"):

       CWBg   <u>stárite</u>, <u>stárata</u>, etc. (Mih 115)

           <u>mládite</u>, etc. (Mih 115)

In NWBg, this type of accent shift is limited to certain types

of expressions, cf. Popivanov: "Pri prilagatelnite <u>málǝk</u>, <u>mlát</u>

i <u>dóbar</u> udarenieto se premjata samo v njakoi formi i seǝčetanija

(1956:145), e.g.

     NWBg   <u>mlat/mladía brat</u>   (G 145)   [n*]
             <u>dóbǝr</u>, <u>dobrá</u>, <u>dobró</u>, <u>dobrí/dóbria</u>,
                   <u>dóbrite</u> (ibid)   [m*]
                cf. also
            <u>mladíte</u> (T 256:250/402)
            <u>mladía</u> (T 256:349/239)

Note, however:

     Sof   <u>staráta</u> (T 256:351/255)
            <u>staríte</u> (T 256:250/402)
                 vs.
            <u>stárata</u> (T 256:333/312)
                 (and <u>staráta mogila</u> [toponym] in the
                 same village)
            <u>stárite</u> (T 256:239/350)

Golebov notes that the end-stressed definite forms are nore

characteristic of the older generation (ibid); by this I as-

sume are meant speakers born before about 1920.

      In Kjus, too, this shift is found only in <u>mal</u>, <u>star</u>

and <u>mlad</u> (Kj 71). Note, however, the following examples of

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end stress in indefinite forms:

Kjus   <u>tía sa náj-starí u selóto</u> (Kj 72)
         <u>oná beše náj-stará</u> (Kj 72)

which occurred only in the superlative degree of the adjec-

tive, cf.

         <u>stári sme veče</u> (Kj 72)

In the Sofia dialect, we find vacillation in the ac-

centuation of these nouns:

Sof   <u>mlád mláda</u>, etc./<u>mladíte</u> and <u>mládite</u> (Sg $\begin{bmatrix} b^* \\ n^* \end{bmatrix}$
        50)

        <u>stár stára</u>, etc./<u>staríte</u> and <u>stárite</u> (ibid) $\begin{bmatrix} b^* \\ n^* \end{bmatrix}$

On the other hand, compare

        <u>da stánat dobrí</u> (Sg 38)/<u>dobríte</u> and
        <u>dóbrite</u> (Sg 50) $\begin{bmatrix} m^* \\ o^* \end{bmatrix}$

Finally, the the Tron area we find the following forms:

TWBg-2 <u>mlád/mladíjet</u>   (Tp 50:235/250)   [n*]
        <u>mláda/mladáta</u>   (ibid)   [n*]
        <u>mládo/mladóto</u>   (ibid)   [n*]

        <u>stár/staríjet</u>   (ibid)   [n*]
        <u>stára/staráta</u>   (ibid)   [n*]
        <u>stáro/staróto</u>   (ibid)   [n*]

Compare, however, for the Bosilegrad area:

TWBg-1 <u>stáriat</u>   (KK 604:220/223)
        <u>najstáriat</u>   (KK 592:221/237)
        <u>najstárata</u>   (KK 580:239/232, KK 584:239/232)
                and
        <u>najmládijet</u>   (KK 592:222/237)

End stressed definite forms of <u>star</u> and <u>mlad</u> were also attest-
ed in KK. however.

In summary, the def/indef opposition is implemented in
WBg dialects by the presence or absence of the postposed arti-
cle, accompanied at times by a change in accent placement.
However, there appears to be noticeable variation as to the
place of accent in the indefinite form in various WBg dialects,
as certain of the above examples suggest. On this, Todorov
states:

> Ne može i duma da stava za postojanstvo na udarenieto
> u prilagatelnite: ne samo če na različni mjasta po-
> zemlišteto na severo-zapadnite govori namirame udare-
> nieto da stoi bilo na korennata glasna, bilo na okon-
> čanieto, no tova ne može da se kaže dori za govora na
> edno i sešto selo, kakto sem otbeljazal za njakoi
> primeri na samoto mjasto. (1936:256)

Variations from one region to the next are, as we have
seen, fairly common in the general WBg dialect area. But
since instances of variation in a single village can often
represent survivals of a previously existing opposition, I
feel the following pair merits mention:

> Sof   <u>dédino níve golémo</u> (Sg 259)
>   vs.
>   <u>tová je oblóg golemí</u> (Sg 261)

Here, it is very possible that end stress on an adjective in
predicative position vs. stem stress on an adjective used in

attributive position reflects a former def/indef accentual

opposition similar to that known in SC and its dialects.

2.28   The various accentual relationships in which each
nominal form participates, discussed in the preceeding pages,
comprise the accent pattern of that nominal form. Here I
will summarize the types of accent patterns encountered in Tk
dialects and comment briefly on certain innovative trends that
seem to be in process   I will discuss in order the three re-
gions SWTk, CWTk, and ETk. In identifying accent patterns, I
will for the most part use symbols (or combinations of sym-
bols) already used in the discussion of individual accentual
relationships. This time, however, the symbols will appear in
parentheses instead of in brackets.

I shall limit myself first to a discussion of the
SWTk areas west of Trg, for I feel Trg (with neighboring
Staj-Rad) occupies a special position and must be discussed
separately.

In SWTk, inanimate feminine a-declension nouns have
only one accent pattern, viz:

Nsg	gláva	pl	gláve
Asg	glávu		(b)
Vsg	glávo		

Nsg	planína	pl	planíne
Asg	planínu		(b)
Vsg	planíno		

Accent seems to fall in all forms on the stem-final syllable;
accent appears on a preceding preposition only in examples
such as ná noge (Grač). I consider these fixed expressions

which do not participate in the accent pattern of these nouns.

Since I have a complete paradigm attested for only one
trisyllabic noun, I hesitate to claim that stem-final bary-
tonesis is the only accent pattern associated with inanimate
feminine a-declension nouns in SWTk, although it is probable
that stem-initial barytonesis is now the accent pattern of
some of these originally mobile nouns (cf. témnina [Trg]).
The important point, however, is that oxytone and circumflex
nouns (those belonging to Stang's paradigms c and b) now all
have columnar stem stress.

Animate feminine a-declension nouns have the following
accent pattern:

Nsg	žéna	NApl	žéne	
Asg	žénu			
Dsg	žené	Dpl	ženáma	$(^{b}/_{D})$
Vsg	žéno			

Nsg	ópca	NApl	ópce	
Asg	ópcu			
Dsg	ópce	Dpl	opcáma	$(^{b}/_{D})$
Vsg	ópce (?)			

Here we have stem stress(apparently stem-final; no animate
trisyllabic nouns were studied, nor were there any instances
of accent on a preposition before Asg or pl of an animate
noun), opposed to end stress in the dative. End stress in Dsg
was attested only in nouns denoting humans, while end stress
in Dpl appeared in all animates, and even in one inanimate

noun (nogáma [Grač--my notes do not list a context for this
form, but I suspect it occurred in an adverbial phrase such as
na nogáma]). From KR data, where the corresponding desinence
(used for Gsg, Dsg and Lsg functions) is long (-ê), I assume
that the SWTk Dsg desinence continues the PSl Gsg fem (soft)
desinence *-eję. I further assume that this desinence has
retained end stress (despite the paroxytonesis which has elim-
inated end stress in all other desinences of this paradigm)
because of its former length: compare SW KR dialects which
have retracted accent from short open ultima but have retained
it in long open ultima. (On the hypothesis that the distinc-
tion of length was lost in SWTk fairly recently, see Ivić
1968-69 and Ivić and Alexander 1973.)

The ($^{b}/_{D}$) pattern was attested both in original oxy-
tones (žena, sestra--Stang's paradigm c) and circumflexes
(snaha--Stang's paradigm b). No animate barytones were tested.

The following accent pattern is attested in practically
all neuter nouns in SWTk:

sg	sélo	pl	séla	(b)

sg	vréme	pl	vrémena	(b)

Expanded plurals are attested infrequently in SWTk. The two
examples which I recorded, viz.

sg	síto	pl	sítinja	(b)

sg	íme	pl	íminja	(b)

have the same accent patterns. The single example of a dif-
ferent accent pattern in SWTk is:

       sg   <u>rámo</u>   pl   <u>raménje</u> (Pas)   (n)

Since this form is historically a collective noun with inher-
ited stress on the collective suffix (cf. Elezović's citation
"<u>ráme</u>, <u>rámena</u>; kolektiv <u>ramênje</u>" [E]), I do not feel it consti-
tutes an important exception to the generalization of the bary-
tonic accentual pattern for neuter nouns in SWTk.

      Masculine nouns of group I (those with expanded plu-
rals) have two different accent patterns in SWTk:

Nsg	<u>kúm</u>	Nmv	<u>kúma</u>	NApl	<u>kúmovi</u>	
Asg	<u>kúma</u>					
Dsg	<u>kúmu</u>			Dpl	<u>kúmovima</u>	(b)
Vsg	<u>kúme</u>					

Nsg	<u>póp</u>	Nmv	<u>pópa</u>	NApl	<u>popóvi</u>	
Asg	<u>pópa</u>					
Dsg	<u>pópu</u>			Dpl	<u>popóvima</u>	(n)
Vsg	<u>pópe</u>					

Both the nouns cited above are animate. Inanimate nouns have
the same declension but lack Asg, Dsg or Dpl forms; the accent
pattern is not affected. Thus, PS1 barytonic and circumflex
stems both have accent pattern (b) in SWTk, with the exception
of <u>vepar</u>, which has accent pattern (n). The fact that it is
animate may contribute to end stress in the plural of this
lexeme. In general PS1 oxytones have accent pattern (n). The
major innovation here seems to be that animate nouns retain

original end stress in the plural (i.e. on the <u>ov/ev</u> marker)

but inanimate ones do not.

Group II nouns with suffixes <u>-əl</u> and <u>-əc</u> have the

following declensions:

Nsg	<u>pétəl</u>	Nmv	<u>pétla</u>	NApl	<u>petlóvi</u>
Asg	<u>pétla</u>				
Dsg	<u>pétlu</u>			Dpl	<u>petlóvima</u>
(Vsg	<u>pétle</u>)				

(n)

Nsg	<u>vrábəc</u>	Nmv	<u>vrápca</u>	NApl	<u>vrápci</u>
Asg	<u>vrápca</u>				
Dsg	<u>vrápcu</u>			Dpl	<u>vrápcima</u>
(Vsg	<u>vrápče</u>)				

(b)

Inanimate nouns have the same declension except that

they do not have Asg, Dsg or Dpl forms.

Sometimes the stress in Nsg is on the stem-final syl-

lable, e.g.   <u>koléc</u> (Grač) vs.<u>kólec</u> (Pas); Nmv is <u>kólca</u> in

both cases. In the charts I have distinguished these as fol-

lows:

SWTk   <u>koléc kólca/kólci</u> (Grač)   [b]

vs.

<u>kólac kólca/kólci</u> (Pas)   [B]

In this general survey, however, I group them together as

barytones (b). Note, however, that whereas Grač has some-

times type [b] and sometimes type [B], Pas has only [B].

Since Pas is situated not far from those NWMac and extreme

SWTk dialects with fixed penultimate stress, this may be a

factor in the distribution of these types. All other indi-

cations are that Pas has completely free stress, however, except for paroxytonesis.

Masculine nouns of group III have only stem-final barytonesis, viz.

Nsg	ovčár	Nmv	ovčára	NApl	ovčári	
Asg	ovčára					(b)
Dsg	ovčáru			Dpl	ovčárima	
Vsg	ovčáre					

The single inanimate noun on the list, duvar, has the following forms, which conform to expectations based on standard Serbo-Croatian:

Nsg	dúvar	pl	dúvari
(Vsg	dúvare?)		

Thus original oxytones have become barytones because stress cannot fall on final open syllables. Only when the expanded plural suffix is stressed in animate nouns of the type petel do we have another type of pattern. The formation of such plurals in these nouns is an innovation here; end stress is possibly associated with animateness, as in volóvi.

The recessive mobile alternation in the Vsg of group III nouns has also been eliminated in favor of columnar barytonesis. The frequent occurrence of Nsg forms (i.e., forms with zero desinence) in vocative context has no doubt contributed to the generalization of stem-final stress in these nouns.

Adjectives have only one accent pattern, barytonesis:

(feminine)

Nsg indef	zeléna		Nsg def	zeléna
Asg indef	zeléna		Asg def	zelénu
			Dsg[def]	zeléne
pl indef	zeléne,		NApl	zeléne,
	(zeléni)			(zeléni)
			Dpl[def]	zelénima

(neuter)

sg indef	zeléno		sg def	zeléno
pl indef	zeléna		pl def	zeléna	(b)
	(zeléni)			(zeléni)

(masculine)

Nsg indef	zelén		Nsg def	zeléni
Asg indef	zelénog		Asg def	zelénog
			Dsg[def]	zelénom
pl indef	zeléni		NApl	zeléni
			Dpl[def]	zelénima

2.29   There are three accent patterns found in feminine a-
declension nouns in CWTk.   They are:

Nsg góra   pl góre
Asg góru   (b)
Vsg góro

Nsg nogá   pl nóge
Asg nógu   (m)
Vsg nógo

Nsg ovcá   pl óvce
Asg ovcú   (m/o)
Vsg óvce

Since none of the nouns on the test list are believed to repre-
sent original barytones, accent pattern (b) represents an inno-
vation in CWTk, where it is found in slightly over one-third
of the test items. The development of this accent pattern is
clearly a result of paroxytonesis: it is interesting to note
that all of the items which belong to accent pattern (b) in
all CWTk instances denote inanimate objects.

The second accent pattern, (m), represents the origi-
nal pattern of what is probably the majority of the test items.
However, it is very poorly attested in CWTk: only glava and
noga have this accent pattern without vacillation. In several
other lexemes it is found in variation with one of the other
two accent patterns.

Thus accent pattern (m/o) is the prevalent one in CWTk.

The spread of this accent pattern involves two innovations.
The first consists in the levelling of the old Nsg/Asg alter-
nation in favor of the end stress of the Nsg. Secondly,
since a number of nouns in the questionnaire list surely rep-
resent original oxytones, the originally end-stressed plurals
have retracted stress to the stem syllable in every instance.
It is doubtful that this development is due to paroxytonesis,
since the open final syllables of the singular were not af-
fected in any of these nouns.

In the subsequent discussion I will not make specific
mention of stem stress in Vsg when other forms of the para-
digm are end-stressed, since the Vsg stands outside the system
of case relationships. I will list it in the sample paradigms,
but will discuss it only if the form is stressed on a syllable
other than the first.

The village of Trg is part of the SWTk zone, and its
accentuation is very similar to that of SWTk as described
above, i.e. (b) is nearly the only accent pattern encountered
in these nouns. However, accent pattern (m/o) is found in
three test items (koza, sveća and metla) and vacillation be-
tween (b) and (m) is found in several more. Less than 15 km.
to the east of Trg, in Staj and Rad, accent pattern (m/o) oc-
curs with nearly the same frequency as in CWTk. In Šarb, on
the other hand, a number of lexemes which are (m/o) in Šil,
Staj-Rad, and DP (10 km southeast of Šarb), vacillate between

(b) and (m) (it is perhaps interesting that most of these are
insect names--<u>pčela</u>, <u>osa</u>, <u>muha</u> and <u>buha</u>; also included in
this list are <u>koza</u>, <u>magla</u>, <u>snaha</u> and <u>medja</u>). Since Šarb is si-
tuated near the border with NE KR,it is possible that KR accen-
tuation has interfered.

In neuter nouns we find two accent patterns:

| sg | <u>gnjezdó</u> | pl | <u>gnjézda</u> | (m) |
| sg | <u>bŕdo</u> | pl | <u>bŕda</u> | (b) |

In addition, two instances of expanded plural (both attested
in Šil) give the following accentuation:

| sg | <u>vleknó</u> | pl | <u>vleknéti</u> |
| sg | <u>rebró</u> | pl | <u>rebréti</u> |

Since both instances concern the accented expander morpheme
-<u>et</u>- in the irregular desinence --<u>et-i</u> (the normal neuter plu-
ral desinence is -<u>a</u>), I do not feel these two examples are suf-
ficient grounds to establish a third accent pattern for neuter
nouns in CWTk.

Of the two, accent pattern (b) is by far the more com-
mon, appearing in nearly three-fourths of the test items.

In Trg (b) is the accent pattern of all lexemes except
<u>selo</u> which has (m). But in Staj/Rad, (m) is much more common;
there is even one instance of an oxytonic pattern there:

| sg | <u>kriló</u> | pl | <u>krilá</u> | (o) |

Since these areas are so far to the east, however, I consider
this example to be due to influence from ETk and southernmost

TWBg accent patterns.

In diachronic terms, the major innovation is the re-traction of end stress in the plural of original oxytones and marginally mobile types (type drvo--cf. Illič-Svityč 1963:133). Since singular forms retain end stress in open final syllables in type (m), this retraction cannot be ascribed wholly (or per-haps even partially) to paroxytonesis. It is more probable that this is an example of the archaic type of marginal alter-nation (in diachronic terms, oxytonesis is considered marginal) being replaced by the more productive central type.

Nouns of the type vreme all have plural formations other than the inherited -ena in CWTk. Barytonesis is the on-ly accent pattern encountered except for two examples of the stressed suffix -ić'i.

CWTk	sg víme/pl vimíc'i	(Šarb)
SWTk	sg íme/pl imíć'i	(Trg)

As in the case of -éti in SWTk, I do not feel these two occur-rences of -íć'i are sufficient to establish a third accent pattern for neuter nouns in CWTk.

Masculine nouns of group I have three accent patterns in CWTk:

Nsg	kúm	Nmv	kúme	pl	kúmovi
Asg	kúme				
Vsg	kúme				

(b)

Nsg	póp	Nmv	pópa	pl	popóvi	
Asg	pópa					(n)
Vsg	pópe					

Nsg	vol	Nmv	vóla	pl	volóvi	
Asg	volá					$(^{o}/_{Nv})$
Vsg	vóle					

All examples are animate. Inanimate forms differ in that they do not have Asg forms; for these nouns the accent pattern $(^{o}/_{Nv})$ is indistinguishable from (n).

Accent pattern (b) is found in original barytones and circumflexes. Accent pattern (n) is found in original oxytones signifying inanimate objects (koš, nož, oganj,) as well as in oxytones from group II, (ručak and kotao) and the animate noun pop, while accent pattern $(^{o}/_{Nv})$ occurs in the animate nouns vo and vepar. The innovations are thus

1) elimination of end stress in the singular of inanimates such as koš and nož,

2) elimination of end-stressed plurals in ov/ev in a number of nouns, mostly inanimates, and

3) extension of end stress in the singular and plural of vepar.

The first of these can probably be ascribed to paroxytonesis. The second two are probably results of analogy: to inanimate barytones such as zid, in case 2), and to animate oxytones such as vo in case 3).

Another factor is involved in accent pattern ($^{\circ}/_{Nv}$),
however, the accentual distinction between Asg and Nmv, viz.

Asg <u>volá</u>   Nmv <u>vóla</u>
Asg <u>veprá</u>   Nmv <u>vépra</u>

Since this accentual opposition occurs both in one portion of
CWTk (Šil) and in another area in the westernmost region of
ETk, I will consider it to be basically a CWTk phenomenon.

In fact, however, the attestation of this phenomenon
in isolated areas in two different dialect zones suggests the
preservation of an archaic Gsg/NA dual accentual alternation.
No such alternation has been reconstructed for PSl (i.e., end
stress in singular vs. stem-stress in dual), but a number of
factors in the Tk area may have influenced the development of
such an alternation in the oldest stages of SC. For one, it
is not impossible that accent shifts connected with definite
nominal forms (these forms are now unknown in CWTk but are as-
sumed to have been a part of JM dialects in the past, cf B
442-443) may have influenced the retraction of accent in the
NAdual of oxytones. In addition, the stem stress in NAdual
reconstructed by Stang for circumflex stems (1957:74) may have
spread to original oxytones in this specific instance of nu-
meral constructions. In any case, I submit that this partic-
ular opposition, found in these areas in all the nouns denot-
ing animals which I recorded, apparently represents an archa-
ism with respect to modern-day Serbo-Croation dialects, but

an innovation with respect to PSl.

The accent patterns of group II nouns in CWTk are the following:

1)   Nsg petél   Nmv pétla   pl petlóvi
     Asg petlá $(^{o}/_{Nv})$
     (Vsg pétle?)

2)   Nsg junóc   Nmv júnca   pl júnci
     Asg juncá $(^{m}/_{Nv})$
     (Vsg júncu?)

3)   Nsg svetóc   (Nmv) svecá   pl svecí
     Asg svecá   (o)
     (Vsg svécu?)

4)   Nsg konóc   Nmv koncá   pl kónci
     (vsg kóncu?)   (m)

5)   Nsg kotól   Nmv kótla   pl kotlóvi
     Vsg kótle   (n)

6)   Nsg lónac   Nmv lónca   pl lónci
     (Vsg lóncu?)   (b)

Paradigms 1 and 2 are accentually distinguished from 3 and 4 respectively only in that the Asg/Nmv accentual opposition does not occur in 3 and 4.

The occurrence of paradigms 5 and 6 is very limited in CWTk: (n) is attested only once in CWTk and once in Trg (also in the noun kotao) and (b) is attested only twice in CWTk. Note that were it not for the stressed suffix -óvi occurring

in place of the expected -i, paradigm 5 would have accent
pattern (b) also. In Trg, however, all nouns of group II ex-
cept konj and petao have accent pattern (b). As to the dis-
tribution of [b] and [B] in Trg, it is interesting that [b]
occurs much more commonly than in Pas, where [B] was the pre-
dominant accentuation in such nouns. Both Trg and Pas are
close to the NMac border, but whereas Pas is near NMac areas
with fixed penultimate stress, Trg is adjacent to areas with
free stress; this fact is perhaps significant in the [b]/[B]
distribution.

The occurrence of (o) and (m) is approximately equal.
Note, however, that half the instances of (o) involve stressed
plurals in -óvi and the other half stressed plurals in -í,
while all instances of (m) involve plurals in -i with stem
stress.

In diachronic terms the major innovations (other than
the Asg/Nmv alternation discussed above) seem to be retraction
of end stress in nouns with the old suffix *-ьc . Most in-
stances of this retraction involve plural desinences only,
(móljci and vénci in Šil, and kólci, júnci and kónci in both
areas) but some also affect singular desinences (e.g., kólca,
vénca and lónca [NB sg lónac] in Šil only). Note that retrac-
tion of stress in singular occurs only in inanimates but in
plural affects both animates and inanimates.

In group III the following two accent patterns are at-

tested:

Nsg	ovčar	Nmv	ovčára	pl	ovčári	
Asg	ovčára					(b)
Vsg	ovčáre					

Nsg	ovčár	Nmv	ovčará	pl	ovčarí	
Asg	ovčará					(o)
Vsg	ovčáre					

In both the above paradigms the Vsg has taken the stress

of the Nsg; in the first it is clearly due to generalization of

columnar stress throughout the whole paradigm, while in the se-

cond there are two possibilities:

1) since Nsg forms are sometimes used in Vsg context,

the stress of the Nsg has been extended to the Vsg; or

2) the original marginal alternation (Asg ovcará/

óvčare) has been replaced by the more productive central al-

ternation: Asg ovčará/Vsg ovčáre.

The other significant innovation is retraction of stress

from the desinential to the stem-final syllable in both singu-

lar and plural. This innovation has been completed in Šil:

only accent pattern (b) is known there in these nouns. In

Šarb, however, it appears only in drvar, in which accent pat-

tern (o) is also attested, and in junak, where influence from

the standard literary language or, more likely, from the set

phrases in oral epics, can be cited as a possible cause.

In CWTk, adjectives have the same accent pattern as in

SWTk (see above), i.e. columnar stem-final stress in both definite and indefinite forms. A few end-stressed forms were heard in DP and Trg, but I do not feel that any functioning pattern is associated with adjectives in these areas.

2.30   The def/indef opposition will be included in all ETk
accent patterns cited below.   It must be remembered, however,
that the data upon which these conclusions are based were
gathered exclusively in the easternmost investigation point,
Čin . The postposed article is assumed to have been in use in
other ETk dialects until very recently, however (cf. Belić
1905a:442ff).

In ETk, four accent patterns are found in feminine a-
declension nouns.   They are:

Nsg	indef	véška	Nsg	def	véškata	
Asg	indef	véšku	Asg	def	véškutu	
(Vsg		véško?)				(b)
pl	indef	véške	pl	def	véškete	

Nsg	indef	plánina	Nsg	def	planináta	
Asg	indef	pláninu	Asg	def	planinútu	
Vsg		plánino				(b-t)
pl	indef	plánine	pl	def	planinéte	

Nsg	indef	kosá	Nsg	def	kosáta	
Asg	indef	na kósu	Asg	def	na kosútu	
Vsg		kóso				(m-t)
pl	indef	kóse	pl	def	koséte	

Nsg	indef	ruká	Nsg	def	rukáta	
Asg	indef	ná ruku	Asg	def	na rukútu	
Vsg		rúko				(m-t)
pl	indef	ú ruke	pl	def	u rukéte	

Nsg indef	osá	Nsg def	osáta	
Asg indef	osú	Asg def	osútu	
Vsg	óso			(m/o-t)
pl indef	óse	pl def	oséte	

Nsg indef	svečá	Nsg def	svečáta	
Asg indef	svečú	Asg def	svečútu	
(Vsg	svéču?)			(o)
pl indef	svečé	pl def	svečéte	

The two instances of accent pattern (m-t) given above
are symbolized in the charts (m) and (M) respectively. How-
ever, since retraction to a preceding preposition occurs with
regularity only in the nouns ruka and noga, and even then pri-
marily in fixed expressions, I do not distinguish these as
separate accent patterns. In diachronic terms, a marginal
alternation has been replaced by a central one. That is, the
third item in the series vodá/vódu/ná vodu represents not a
functioning alternation but a fixed Asg phrase, whereas vodá/
vódu/vrz vódu illustrates the accent pattern now operating.

Accent patterns (b) and (o) occur very rarely. Accent
pattern (b) is attested only in vaška in Čin and in reka in
Kr; (o) is attested only in igla and sveča in Kr and in rosa
in Čin. Accent pattern (b-t) apparently occurs in originally
circumflex dissyllabic stems. Unfortunately, I have a full
paradigm attested only for one noun of this type, and I do not
have sufficient data to state categorically that accent pat-
tern (b-t) does not exist in any monosyllabic stems. Howev-

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er, since I worked intensively with informants on this prob-
lem in the ETk area where the accent shift in question was at-
tested, I feel certain I would have noticed the presence of
this pattern had it occurred in any of the items not on my
questionnaire list. As to the other two accent patterns,
(m/o-t) is attested nearly three times as often as accent
pattern (m-t), viz. 63 occurrences of the former in my ETk
field data vs. 26 of the latter.

Innovations thus consist of the following:

1) retraction of end stress in the plural of nearly all
original oxytones (the extension of end stress in the plural
to the presumably original circumflexes igla and rosa may be
a relic of an earlier old SC innovation with respect to PSl--
or else it represents a slip either on the informant's or the
investigator's part)

2) extension of end stress in Asg to original circum-
flex nouns. As in CWTk, we have a levelling of the Nsg/Asg
alternation in favor of the accent of the Nsg. It is interes-
ting to note that while this extension has occurred among both
animate and inanimate nouns, all nouns which have not undergone
this innovation, i.e., which have retained accent pattern (m-t),
are inanimates.

In addition, the end stress of the definite form has
no doubt aided the spread of end stress in the indefinite
form. (Assuming the former existence of the article in CWTk,

it could possibly have affected this development there, too.)
In fact, in view of the consistency of this accent shift be-
fore postposed article throughout feminine a-declension nouns
in ETk, it is surprising that no indef pl forms appear with
end stress.

3) extension of the accent shift towards the enclitic
postposed article (originally a characteristic of circumflex
nouns) to original oxytones as well.

Neuter nouns are attested with three accent patterns
in ETk, viz:

sg	indef	z**í**no	sg	def	zrn**ó**to	(b-t)
pl	indef	z**í**na	pl	def	zrn**á**ta	

sg	indef	vr**é**me	sg	def	vrem**é**to	(b-t)
pl	indef	vr**é**mena	pl	def	vremen**á**ta	

sg	indef	rebr**ó**	sg	def	rebr**ó**to	(m-t)
pl	indef	r**é**bra	pl	def	rebr**á**ta	

sg	indef	vedr**ó**	sg	def	vedr**ó**to	(o)
pl	indef	vedr**á**	pl	def	vedr**á**ta	

sg	indef	**í**me	(n)
pl	indef	im**é**na	

(this accent pattern was attested in Kr, where the post-
posed article is unknown; therefore no definite forms
are given.)

The following were attested with expanded plurals in VR,
an area without the postposed article:

sg <u>víme</u>   pl <u>vimetíja</u>

sg <u>íme</u>   pl <u>imetíja</u>

According to my ETk field notes, accent patterns (m-t)
and (b-t) occurred with nearly equal frequency, the former
mainly among old oxytones and the latter among old barytones
and the marginally mobile type (e.g. <u>drvo</u>). Accent pattern (o)
occurred only in <u>vedro</u> (Čin, VR, Kr) <u>vrelo</u> and <u>kolo</u> (VR) and in
<u>gnjezdo</u> and <u>drvo</u> in variation with accent pattern (m-t). Final-
ly, accent pattern (n) occurred only twice, in <u>ime</u> in VR and in
<u>vreme</u> in Kr. The sum of innovations seen is similar to that
described for CWTk:

1) Retraction of end stress in the plural has occurred
in original oxytones and marginally mobiles of the type <u>drvo</u>,
<u>rame</u>, <u>ime</u>. In the latter case it is interesting that stress
has been retracted only one syllable towards the beginning,
producing <u>iména</u> in VR. VR and Čin, however, have <u>rámena</u>.
Again we see a tendency to replace marginal alternations by
central ones.

2) The accent shift towards the article-enclitic, orig-
inally a trait of circumflex stems, has been extended to all
neuter nouns, with the exception of <u>ime</u>, for which I recorded
<u>ímeto</u>, <u>iménata</u>. In addition, I have no definite forms for

<u>vime</u>. The accent pattern (b-t) is attested in <u>vreme</u> and <u>rame</u>, however.

Masculine nouns of group I have several accent patterns in ETk:

Nsg	indef	<u>dom</u>	Nsg	def	<u>dómət</u>	Nmv	<u>dóma</u>
Vsg		<u>dóme(?)</u>					
pl	indef	<u>dómove</u>	pl	def	<u>dómovete</u>		(b)

Nsg	indef	<u>zid</u>	Nsg	def	<u>zídət</u>	Nmv	<u>zída</u>
Vsg		<u>zíde</u>					
pl	indef	<u>zídove</u>	pl	def	<u>zidovéte</u>		(b/t)

Nsg	indef	<u>sin</u>	Nsg	def	<u>sinót</u>	Nmv	<u>sína</u>
Asg	indef	<u>sína</u>	Asg	def	<u>sinátoga</u>		
Vsg		<u>síne</u>					(b-t)
pl	indef	<u>sínove</u>	pl	def	<u>sinovéte</u>		

Nsg	indef	<u>nož</u>	Nsg	def	<u>nóžət</u>	Nmv	<u>nóža</u>
Vsg		<u>nóžu?</u>					
pl	indef	<u>nožéve</u>	pl	def	<u>nožévete</u>		(n)

Nsg	indef	<u>vol</u>	Nsg	def	<u>vólət</u>	Nmv	<u>volá</u>
Asg	indef	<u>volá</u>	Asg	def	<u>volátoga</u>		
(Vsg		<u>vóle?</u>)					(o)
pl	indef	<u>vólove</u>	pl	def	<u>volóvete</u>		

Relatively few innovations are found in the accentuation of this group of nouns. The accent shift before the article-enclitic seems confined to the original circumflexes, where it is expected (note however that all except <u>sin</u> and <u>muž</u>

have lost this shift in the singular). I have symbolized the accent pattern which involves shift in both singular and plural (b-t), as in feminine and neuter nouns. I have used the slash to separate the symbols, however, when the accent shift occurs only in the plural, e.g. (b/t). Only the retraction of stress from -ov- in certain original oxytones (nož, koš, pop [in VR] and oganj [in Kr]) represents an innovation.

On the charts I have symbolized the Asg/pl pair kúma/kumové [N] to distinguish it from nóža/nožéve (n). I feel that these two instances of kumové in ETk represent either influence from Bulgarian or survivals of an older, perhaps once more widespread, pattern in ETk. For this reason, I do not regard them here as a separate accent pattern.

Nouns of group II have essentially three accent patterns in ETk:

Nsg indef	junéc	Nsg def	junécet	Nmv	juncá		
Asg indef	juncá	Asg def	juncátoga				
(Vsg	júncu?)					(m/t)	
pl indef	júnci	pl def	juncíti				

Nsg indef	petél	Nsg def	petélet	Nmv	petlá		
Asg indef	petlá	Asg def	petlátoga				
(Vsg	pétle?)					(o)	
pl indef	petlóve	pl def	petlóvete				

Nsg indef	vrabéc	Nsg def	vrabécet	Nmv	vrapcá			
Asg indef	vrapcá	Asg def	vrapcátoga				(o)	
(Vsg	vrapcu?)							
pl indef	vrapcí	pl def	vrapcíti					

Nsg indef	kolóc	Nsg def	kolócet	Nmv	kólca	
Vsg	kólcu					(b)
pl indef	kólci	pl def	kólcite			

The following pattern occurred only once, but as it was quite unexpected, I quote it here:

Nsg indef	lónec	Nsg def	lonécet	Nmv	lónca	
Vsg	lóncu					(b-t)
pl indef	lónci	pl def	loncíte			

Accent pattern (m/t) is found in kolac, venac, junac and konac, in addition to konj. This suggests that the four nouns in -ac (older *ьcь) must have passed to the mobile class (which continues old circumflexes) quite early in the history of SC, since they now have the accent shift before the article-enclitic. While this shift has been extended to all feminine a-declension and neuter nouns, it appears in masculine nouns in a consonant (other than these four in -ec) only in "original" circumflexes.

Several other nouns which have retained original oxy-tonesis in Čin (from which locale all the above examples are taken, in order to include the accentuation of definite forms) are mobile in Kr and VR, viz:

Nsg <u>jun**ó**c</u>   Nmv <u>junc**á**</u>   pl <u>j**ú**nci</u>

Asg <u>junc**á**</u>   (m)

(Vsg <u>juncu?</u>)

These are <u>kolac</u>, <u>venac</u>, <u>junac</u> and <u>konac</u> in VR, and <u>kotao</u>, <u>junac</u> and <u>konac</u> in Kr. <u>Moljac</u> vacillates between (m) and (o) in both areas. The retraction of end stress in the plural forms of these nouns represents an innovation with respect to PSl; i.e., they have been transferred from the oxytonic type to the mobile type. Because of the distribution of the accent-shift before the article-enclitic in Čin, I assume that this transfer must have occurred fairly early in the history of SC.

Accent pattern (b) occurs rarely in ETk: only <u>ručak</u> in VR, and <u>kolac</u> and <u>venac</u> in Kr have it. In addition, all areas have the accentuation of <u>lonac</u> outlined above (except that no definite forms are attested in Kr or VR). Stress has thus been retracted in both singular and plural forms of these original oxytones. I do not perceive any significant trend in this since so few examples are concerned; I can only note that all four are inanimates. As to the (b-t) pattern of <u>lonac</u> in Čin, I am at a loss to explain its origin. The stress shift in the plural is no doubt due to analogy with forms such as <u>konc**í**te</u> etc., but the stress shift in the singular is very unexpected. Similarly, the shift <u>**ó**genj/og**ó**njet</u> in Čin (and in numerous TWBg dialects) is unexpected, both because it occurs in an original oxytone and because the stress does not shift to the expected position (immediately preceding the enclitic

form -t).

Nouns of group III have accent patterns (b), (o) and (n). There is no accent shift in definite forms in any of these nouns and thus I will not cite definite forms below.

Nsg	kosáč	Nmv	kosačá	pl	kosačé	
Asg	kosačá					(o)
Vsg	kosáču					

Nsg	junák	Nmv	junáka	pl	junáci	
Asg	junáka					(b)
Vsg	junáku					

Nsg	drvár	Nmv	drvára	pl	drvaré	
Asg	drvára					(n)
Vsg	drváru					

Accent pattern (o) is by far the most common, while (b) occurs mainly in the noun junak (probably due to influence from set phrases in epic songs) and in several nouns in Kr (drvar, govedar, kovač, and kosač) although usually in variation with accent pattern (o) or (n). Accent pattern (n) occurs infrequently: only drvar in VR and kopač in Kr have it. (Other instances where [n] appears on charts in variation with [b] concern vacillation in the stress of the plural.) Finally, the noun duvar has stem-initial columnar stress here as in almost all my test zones. It was included in the questionnaire, in fact, only because of a possible innovative stress pattern in CTim, cf.

ETk   dúvar/dúvari, dúvare and duvaré (CT 394)

Etymologically, however, it does not belong in this group of oxytones where the suffixes -ar, -ač and -ak all signify animate, indeed, human beings.

Innovations in group III in ETk thus consist of

1) replacement of the Asg/Vsg marginal alternation by a central one in the (o) paradigm, and levelling of stem-final stress in the singular in the (b) and (n) paradigms, and

2) retraction of original end stress in singular and plural forms in accent pattern (b) and in singular forms in accent pattern (n). Such retraction occurs mainly in Kr (SZ zone of ETk) and may be partially due to paroxytonesis; stress on open ultima is otherwise well attested in Kr, however.

Feminine nouns in a consonant have but one accent pattern in ETk:

Nsg indef	nóč	Nsg def	nočtá	
Asg indef	nóč	Asg def	nočtú	(b-t)
pl indef	nóči	pl def	(nočíte)	

I have placed the plural definite form in parentheses because I was not able to elicit such a form in ETk. Data from nearby TWBg dialects, which are generally very similar to ETk, provide the basis for the given form. Apparently this accent pattern occurs in all feminine nouns in a consonant. The extension of the accent shift to all nouns of this type is clearly an innovation: only half the nouns on the test list are original i-stems. Nouns of other declensional types seem

to have been transferred to this type at different times in
the history of Tk. Apparently the accent shift associated
with these nouns was productive, and spread to all of them as
well.

Adjectives in ETk have several accent patterns. The
following is usually found when the postposed article is ab-
sent:

(feminine)

Nsg	indef	dobrá	Nsg	def	dóbra
Asg	indef	dobrú	Asg	def	dóbru
pl	indef	dobré	pl	def	dóbre

(neuter)

sg	indef	dobró	pl	def	dóbro	
pl	indef	dobrá	pl	def	dóbra	(m)

(masculine)

Nsg	indef	dobór	Nsg	def	dóbri
Asg	indef	dobróg	Asg	def	dóbrog
pl	indef	dobrí	pl	def	dóbri

The postposed article is also used to indicate defini-
teness. The following two accent patterns are found associat-
ed with it (for brevity I will give just Nsg forms of all
three genders):

fem	indef	stára	fem	def	staráta	
neut	indef	stáro	neut	def	staróto	(n-t)
masc	indef	stár	masc	def	staríjot	

fem	indef	visoká	fem	def	visókata	
neut	indef	visokó	neut	def	visókoto	(m-t)
masc	indef	visók	masc	def	visókijot	

Accent pattern (m) itself apparently represents an in-
novation which occurred early in the history of SC: contrac-
tion of the complex desinences in the older long form adjec-
tives (which correspond to present-day definite adjectives)
led somehow to retraction of final stress, while the short
forms (today's indefinite adjectives) retained original end
stress.

In terms of present-day Tk, however, (m) is apparently
being replaced by the newer accent patterns associated with
the postposed article. Accent pattern (n-t) occurs not only
with original barytones such as the example given, but also
with original circumflexes such as mlad, or oxytones such as
dobar. It has apparently developed by analogy to the accent
shift in circumflex nouns which, as we have seen, has spread
to oxytones as well.

Accent pattern (m-t), on the other hand, is apparently
the inherited (from old SC) accent pattern (m); the article
simply functions to reinforce the meaning of definiteness and
has no effect on the place of accent.

III: VERBAL ALTERNATIONS

3.1   Essentially the same system of verbal categories exists in Tk as in std SC; the major differences were mentioned in the introduction (sec. 1.4)--loss of the infinitive in Tk and different formation of the future tense in Tk and std SC. I will discuss first the sets of forms that specify person and number plus tense: present (sec. 3.2), aorist (sec. 3.3), and imperfect (sec. 3.4). Then I will consider gerundial and participial forms, and the compound tenses which use these forms (sec. 3.5). The imperative mood will be discussed next (sec. 3.6), followed by a note on the infinitive (sec. 3.7), which has disappeared from Tk but occurs in standard SC and in relic form in WBg dialects. Finally, I will summarize the accentual patterns of SC conjugation (sec. 3.8) before proceeding to my discussion of verbal alternations in Tk (secs. 3.9ff).

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3.2   In std SC, the present tense may be described in terms
of three sets of desinences;   verbs are thus said to belong
to the e̲-conjugation, the i̲-conjugation or the a̲-conjugation.
In vocalic stems (Daničić's classes II-VI), the pres is formed
from the truncated stem, cf. sec. 1.16. The majority of verbs
(classes I[1-3], II, V-2, V-3 and VI) belong to the e̲-conjuga-
tion, e.g.

(class I-1)

1sg	bòd--ē̃-m	1pl	bòd--ē̃-mo
2sg	bòd--ē̃-š	2pl	bòd--ē̃-te
3sg	bòd--ē̃-∅	3pl	bòd--ū̃-∅

(class I-2)

1sg	mȉj--ē̃-m	1pl	mȉj--ē̃-mo
2sg	mȉj--ē̃-š	2pl	mȉj--ē̃-te
3sg	mȉj--ē̃-∅	3pl	mȉj--ū̃-∅

(class I-3)

1sg	ȕzm--ē̃-m	1pl	ȕzm--ē̃-mo
2sg	ȕzm--ē̃-š	2pl	ȕzm--ē̃-te
3sg	ȕzm--ē̃-∅	3pl	ȕzm--ū̃-∅

(class II)

1sg	gȉn--ē̃-m	1pl	gȉn--ē̃-mo
2sg	gȉn--ē̃-š	2pl	gȉn--ē̃-te
3sg	gȉn--ē̃-∅	3pl	gȉn--ū̃-∅

(class V-2)

1sg	pîš--ē̃-m	1pl	pîš--ē̃-mo
2sg	pîš--ē̃-š	2pl	pîš--ē̃-te
3sg	pîš--ē̃-∅	3pl	pîš--ū̃-∅

(class V-3)

1sg	bȅr--ē̃-m	1pl	bȅr--ē̃-mo
2sg	bȅr--ē̃-š	2pl	bȅr--ē̃-te
3sg	bȅr--ē̃-∅	3pl	bȅr--ū̃-∅

(class VI)

1sg	kùpuj--ē-m	1pl	kùpuj--ē-mo
2sg	kùpuj--ē-š	2pl	kùpuj--ē-te
3sg	kùpuj--ē-∅	3pl	kùpuj--ū-∅

Certain verbs of class I-1 may add -n- to the stem in the formation of the present tense. Usually this is optional, as in the case of sed, but sometimes verbs allow only this tense formation (historically, these represent pres tense formations of class II). For instance,

1sg	sèdn--ē-m	1pl	sèdn--ē-mo
2sg	sèdn--ē-š	2pl	sèdn--ē-te
3sg	sèdn--ē-∅	3pl	sèdn--ū-∅

In verbs of class I-1 whose stems end in a velar, the velar is replaced by a palatal in the pres tense. Thus pek has pres tense forms pèč--ē-m, etc.

In Tk, present tense formations of the above classes are essentially the same as in the std lg except that pres tense forms with -n- (e.g. sednem, reknem) seem to occur more often than in the std lg (cf. Belić 1905a:484ff); and in most cases these are not optional but obligatory. In addition the std SC present stem uzm-(class I-3) is uzn- in Tk; and the stem kuj (class V-3) is kov in Tk.

The a-conjugation is limited to verbs of class V-1, e.g.,

1sg	ìgr--ā-m	1pl	ìgr--ā-mo
2sg	ìgr--ā-š	2pl	ìgr--ā-te
3sg	ìgr--ā-∅	3pl	ìgr --a-jū

Historically, these represent contractions of forms which pre-
viously belonged to the e̱-conjugation (cf. Russian 3sg igráet,
igrájut 3pl). In ETk, older, non-contracted (e̱-conjugation)
forms occur in a few of these verbs, e.g. igráemo (Čin). It
is also quite common to find non-contracted e̱-conjugation forms
in the class I-2 verb znaj, e.g.,

        ETk   znáe   (Kr, VR)
        CWTk   nájjem (B 488:207/247)
        SWTk   znáeš (Trg)

Similarly, the stem tka (class V-3) appears most often with
non-contracted e̱-conjugation forms, e.g.,

        ETk   tkáemo (Čin)
        CWTk   tkáemo (Šil)
        SWTk   izatkáem (Pas)

On the other hand, several verbs which belong to the e̱-conjuga-
tion in std SC are attested more often in Tk with forms of the
a̱-conjugation, e.g.,

        std SC diž--ē-m   (1sg)
                      vs.
        Tk   díz--a-m   (1sg) (Čin, Kr, VR, Šil, Šarb, Trg)

        std SC vîč--ē-m   (1sg)
                      vs.
        Tk   vík--a-m   (1sg) (Kr, VR, Trg, Šil, Grač, Pas)

        std SC šapč--ē-m (1sg)
                      vs.
        Tk   šópk--a-m (Kr, Trg, Šil)
                      but
        ETk   šópč--e-š (Čin, VR)

In general, however, the forms of the present tense in class
V-1 verbs are the same in Tk as in std SC. Henceforth I will
refer to these verbs as a̲j̲-verbs to differentiate them from
class V-2 and V-3 verbs (a̲-verbs), and cite their stems as
i̲g̲r̲a̲j̲, g̲l̲e̲d̲a̲j̲, etc.

Finally, the i̲-conjugation is found in verbs of classes
III-2 and IV, e.g.

(class III-2)

1sg	vȉd--ī-m	1pl	vȉd--ī-mo
2sg	vȉd--ī-š	2pl	vȉd--ī-te
3sg	vȉd--ī-∅	3pl	vȉd--ē-∅

(class IV)

1sg	nȍs--ī-m	1pl	nȍs--ī-mo
2sg	nȍs--ī-š	2pl	nȍs--ī-te
3sg	nȍs--ī-∅	3pl	nȍs--ē-∅

Verbs of class III-1 belong to the e̲-conjugation. Un-
fortunately, the single verb of this class included on my or-
iginal questionnaire, u̲m̲e̲m̲, had to be omitted from the study
since I was unable to elicit sufficient forms in any of my
investigation points to determine its accentual paradigm. On
the other hand, the verb o̲g̲l̲a̲d̲n̲e̲m̲ was elicited only with pres
tense forms of class III-1, viz.

std SC o̲-̲g̲l̲à̲d̲n̲-̲-̲ī̲-̲m̲ (1sg)

vs.

Tk o̲-̲g̲l̲a̲d̲n̲-̲-̲é̲-̲m̲ (1sg)

Sometimes the class III-2 verb ž̲i̲v̲e̲ was attested with the
following pres tense forms:

ETk   živé--e-m   (1sg pres)   (VR)

cf. also

ETk   živéje [živéj--e-ø] (3sg pres)   (B 491:209/233)

Rarely, class IV verbs are attested with e-conj pres tense

forms, e.g.

ETk   o-stáv--e-m (1sg)   (B 505:215/242)

CWTk   práv--e-te (2pl)   (B 505:155/319)

SWTk   prá--e-v (3pl)   (Rad)

SWTk   nós--e-vu (3pl)   (Trg)

The most striking differences between the conjugation

of the pres tense in standard SC and Tk concern the 3pl forms.

In the standard language the 3pl desinence of the i-conjugation

is -e. In Tk, however, the 3pl -u desinence of the e- conjuga-

tion is common in i-conjugation verbs (those of classes III-2

and IV, cf. B 1905a:512f). In addition, 3pl forms of both the

e- conjugation and the i- conjugation appear in Tk with desi-

nences such as the following:

i- conjugation

std SC nòs--ě-ø

vs.

SWTk   nós--e-vu (Trg)

std SC žèn--ē-ø (3pl), cf. žèn--ī-ø (3sg)

vs.

CWTk   žén-i-ju (B 514:157/300)

e- conjugation

std SC po-mùz--ū-ø cf. po-mùz--ē-ø (3sg)

vs.

SWTk   po-múz--e-u (Pas)

std SC p**ì**j--ū-∅, cf. p**ì**j--ē-∅ (3sg)

               vs.

CWTk   p**í**j--e-v (Šil)

std SC pò-gin--ū-∅, cf. pò-gin--ē-∅ (3sg)

               vs.

SWTk   po-gín--e-v (Trg)

std SC sà-ber--ū-∅, cf. sà-ber--ē-∅ (3sg)

               vs.

CWTk   z-bér--e-v (Šil)

std SC smèj--ū-∅ se, cf. smèj--ē-∅ se (3sg)

               vs.

SWTk   sméj--e-v se (Pas)

Note that all these examples are from WTk; this type of inno-vation is absent in ETk. Belić sees here analogy on the ba-sis of the 3sg/3pl relationship igr--a-∅/igr--a-ju (1905a:514).

Finally, archaic 1sg pres forms in -u in all three con-jugational types are attested in that portion of the SWTk area which does not include Kosovo. For instance:

i- conjugation

        std SC vìd--ī-m

                   vs.

        SWTk   víd--u-∅ (B 510:155/233)

e- conjugation

        std SC ù-mr--ě-m

                   vs.

SWTk   ú-mr--u-∅ (B 510:155/233)

std SC ìd--ē-m
                        vs.
SWTk   ót-id--u-∅ (Šaj)

a- conjugation
        std SC ràbot--ā-m
                        vs.
SWTk   rábot--u-∅ (Trg)

(For the accentuation of these forms, see sec. 3.9 below.)

        Accentual alternations within the present tense occur

in standard SC only in two instances. In a group of verbs

(class V-1) the 3pl is opposed to the other forms, e.g.

        std SC 3pl ìgrajū vs. 1sg ìgrām, etc. [igr--á-jū/

                    ígr--ā-m]

In the single exceptional stem mog, 1sg is opposed to the

other forms:

        std SC 1sg mògū/2sg mòžeš, etc. [mog--ú-∅/móž--ē-š]

(Whenever std language forms are cited in brackets with seg-

ments separated by hyphens, the acute accent mark represents

the form's accent as defined in sec. 1.14. It is not be

confused with the std SC usage of the acute to signify "long

rising." Std SC forms given outside of brackets are accented

using traditional diacritical marks.)

        In addition, certain verbs have different stress in

prefixed than in non-prefixed forms in std SC, cf.

(class I-2)   bìjēm/ìzbijēm [bȋj--ē-m/ȋz-bij--ē-m]
                        and
(class IV)   lòmȋm/slòmȋm [lom--ȋ-m/s-lóm--ȋm]

The great majority of verbs have stem-final stress in the present tense in SC. End stress is found primarily in verbs of classes I-1 and III, e.g.:

(I-1) bòdēm [bod--é-m]
(III) dȑžȋm [dȑž--ȋ́-m]

although not exclusively, cf.

(I-1) jȅdēm [jéd--ē-m]
(III) vȉdȋm [vȋd--ȋ-m]

When a verb of class I-1 is attested with a pres tense form in -n-, it always has stem-final stress, viz.

(I-1) sȅdnēm [sédn--ē-m]

Certain verbs of classes I-3, IV, V-1, and V-3 also have end-stressed presents in the std language, e.g.:

(I-3) kùnēm [kun--é-m]
(IV)   lȉčȋm [lič--ȋ́-m]
(V-1) čȉtām [čit--á-m] (NB 3pl čȉtajū [čit--á-jū],
                thus no alternation as in ìgram)
(V-3) smèjēm se [smej--é-m se]

In many of these verbs, end stress may be realized as stress on the final syllable of the desinence in 1-2pl, e.g.

(III) držímo (1pl), držíte (2pl) [dȑž--ȋ-mó,
                dȑž--ȋ-té]
(V-1) čitámo (1pl), čitáte (2pl) [čȉt--ā-mó,
                čȉt--ā-té]

Finally, verbs of class VI may have either stem-final or stem-initial stress:

    (VI)   kùpujēm [kupúj--ē̆-m]
                    or
          vȅrujēm [véruj--ē̆-m]

3.3   The aorist tense in std SC is formed for all vocalic

stems (classes II-VI) by adding the aorist desinences to the

full stem. Thus:

(class II)   .

1sg	gĭnu--h-∅	1pl	gĭnu--s-mo
2sg	gĭnū--∅-∅	2pl	gĭnu--s-te
3sg	gĭnū--∅-∅	3pl	gĭnu--š-e

(class III)

1sg	dȑža--h-∅	1pl	dȑža--s-mo
2sg	dȑžā--∅-∅	2pl	dȑža--s-te
3sg	dȑžā--∅-∅	3pl	dȑža--š-e

(class IV)

1sg	pláti--h-∅	1pl	pláti--s-mo
2sg	plâtī--∅-∅	2pl	pláti--s-te
3sg	plâtī--∅-∅	3pl	pláti--š-e

(class V)

1sg	písa--h-∅	1pl	písa--s-mo
2sg	písa--∅-∅	2pl	písa--s-te
3sg	písa--∅-∅	3pl	písa--š-e

(class VI)

1sg	kupòva--h-∅	1pl	kupòva--s-mo
2sg	kȕpovā--∅-∅	2pl	kupòva--s-te
3sg	kȕpovā--∅-∅	3pl	kupòva--š-e

Verbs of the type <u>berem</u> have a different stem in the aorist,

viz.

(class V-3, 1sg pres [bȅr--ē-m])

1sg	brȁ--h-∅	1pl	brȁ--s-mo
2sg	brâ--∅-∅	2pl	brȁ--s-te
3sg	brâ--∅-∅	3pl	brȁ--š-e

Class I-2 and I-3 verbs also have a different stem shape in

the aorist than in the present, but the aorist desinences are

the same as in all previous examples:

(class I-2, 1sg pres [mij̈--ē-m])

1sg	mi̋--h-∅	1pl	mi̋--s-mo
2sg	mi̋--∅-∅	2pl	mi̋--s-te
3sg	mi̋--∅-∅	3pl	mi̋--š-e

(class 1-3, 1sg pres [ùzm--ēm])

1sg	ùze--h-∅	1pl	ùze--s-mo
2sg	ùzē--∅-∅	2pl	ùze--s-te
3sg	ùzȇ--∅-∅	3pl	ùze--š-e

In class I-1 verbs, however, the aorist desinence includes
the vowel -o- or -e-:

(class I-1)

1sg	bȍd--oh-∅	1pl	bȍd--os-mo
2sg	bȍd--ē-∅	2pl	bȍd--os-te
3sg	bȍd--ē-∅	3pl	bȍd--oš-e

In all the above examples, lengthening of the final vowel in
2-3sg forms accompanies the accentual alternation between
2-3sg and other forms, see below.

In Tk the formation of the aorist is very similar to
that of the std language. The major differences are in the
form of the 1sg and 1pl desinences. First, since Tk dialects
have lost /h/, all three persons of the sg are homonymous
except in obstruent stems (I-1). Differences in accent place-
ment between 1sg and 2-3sg occur in certain verbs which will
be discussed below in sec. 3.11. Secondly, the 1pl desinence
in Tk lacks the aorist marker -s-. Thus, the aorist paradigm
of the verb bod in Tk is as follows:

1sg	bốd--o-∅	1pl	bốd--o-mo
2sg	bốd--e-∅	2pl	bốd--os-te
3sg	bốd--e-∅	3pl	bốd--oš-e

and that of <u>drža</u> is

1sg	držá--∅-∅	1pl	držá--∅-mɔ
2sg	držá--∅-∅	2pl	držá--s-te
3sg	držá--∅-∅	3pl	držá--š-e

In a few instances aorist stems are different in Tk than in std SC. The most important difference is found in class VI verbs, where the aor is

Tk <u>kupuvá--∅-∅</u> (1sg)

as opposed to

std SC <u>kupòva--h-∅</u> (1sg)

Secondly, in the Vranje area of SWTk and in certain southern portions of CWTk, the -<u>nu</u>- of class II verbs has been replaced by -<u>na</u>-. Thus:

SWTk <u>pó-gina-∅-∅</u> (3sg) (Trg)

vs.

std SC <u>pò̀-ginū--∅-∅</u> (3sg)

CWTk <u>u-dená--∅-∅</u> (1sg) (Šil)

vs.

std SC <u>u-dènu--h-∅</u> (1sg)

SWTk <u>vrná--š-e se</u> (3pl) (B 610:155/233)

vs.

std SC <u>vŕnuše</u> (3pl) [<u>vrnǘ--š-e se</u>]

In std SC, there is a tense-internal accentual alternation in the aorist of many verbs whereby 2-3sg are stressed on the absolutely initial syllable, regardless of what syllable carries

stress in other forms. As noted earlier, length on the stem-
final vowel accompanies this initial stress whenever it occurs.
The distribution of this alternation in std SC is as follows:

       a) all verbs of I-1 (obstruent stems), IV (i̱-stems),
and VI (ova-stems) have this alternation,

       b) verbs of the following classes have the alternation
only if the root vowel of the verb is short: class II, class
III (ča̱- type only), and classes V-1, V-2,

       c) class III verbs of the type vide, and most class
I-2 verbs lack the alternation.

       Among the remaining classes (II-3 and V-3) the occur-
rence of this alternation must be specified by individual
verbs. Examples (all forms are 1sg aor/2-3sg aor):
(group a)
       (I-1)   ubòdoh/ubodē

       (IV)   okòsih/òkosī

       (VI)   kupòvah/kùpovā

(group b)
       (II)   pòginuh/pòginū
                      but
             prevŕnuh/prevŕnu

      (III-- izdr̀žah/ìzdržā
    ča̱-type)
                 but
            zabléjah/zabléja

(V-1)   pročìtah/pròčità

but

isčúvah/isčúva

(V-2)   uzòrah/ùzorà

but

napísah/napísa

Note, however:

(V-2)   slàgah/slàga

vs.

izlàgah/ìzlagà

(group c)

(III-   ìzvide/ìzvide
e-type)

zavŕteh/zavŕte

(I-2)   ùbih/ùbi

but NB

pòpih/pòpī

The accent of the aorist (except for 2-3sg) in std SC

is as follows: Obstruent stems (class I-1) normally have

end-stressed aorists, e.g.

std SC bòdoh (1sg) [bod--óh-∅]

All other stems have either stem-final stress, e.g.

std SC plátih (1sg) [platí--h-∅]

or stem-initial stress, e.g.

std SC gìnuh (1sg) [gínu--h-∅].

Note, however, that the morpheme boundary between verbal

prefix and verbal stem does not permit"stem-initial stress"

to fall on the prefix:

      std SC <u>pòginuh</u> (1sg) [<u>po-gínu--h-∅</u>]

3.4   The imperfect tense is formed from the same variant of
the stem as is the present, in both std SC and Tk. There is
considerable difference in the desinences, however. In add-
ition, there is variation within Tk as to the type of desi-
nence used for any one verb. Since the formation of the
imperfect in WTk is considerably different from that of ETk,
examples given in contrast with std SC below will be taken
from ETk. WTk will be discussed subsequently. First I shall
list the verbs that appear with the imperfect formant -ijā-
in std SC:

(class I-1)

1sg	bȍd--ijā-h-∅	1pl	bȍd--ijā-s-mo
2sg	bȍd--ijā-š-e	2pl	bȍd--ijā-s-te
3sg	bȍd--ijā-š-e	3pl	bȍd--ijā-h-u

Contrast this with ETk:

1sg	bod--é-o-∅ or bod--é-še	1pl	bod--é-o-mo
2sg	bod--é-š-e	2pl	bod--é-os-te
3sg	bod--é-š-e	3pl	bod--é-∅-u or bod--é-oš-e

Similar imperfect formations are found in class I-3 verbs, e.g.

std SC k<u>ȕn--ijā-h-∅</u> (1sg), etc.

vs.

ETk   <u>kun--é-o-∅</u> (1sg), etc.

and in a few class V-3 verbs, e.g.

std SC <u>bȅr--ijā-h-∅</u> (1sg), etc.

vs.

ETk   <u>bér--e-o-∅</u> (1sg), etc.

Next I list those verbs whose imperfect formant is
-jā- (or -ā if the preceding consonant is č, š, or ž). In
some cases the -j- of the imperfect desinence conditions the
replacement of a nonpalatal by a palatal (in these instances
the j does not appear in the surface form), e.g. nòs--ĭ-m
(1sg pres) vs. nòš--ā-h (1sg imf).

(class II)

1sg	gȉn--jā-h-∅	1pl	gȉn--jā-s-mo
2sg	gȉn--jā-š-e	2pl	gȉn--jā-s-te
3sg	gȉn--jā-š-e	3pl	gȉn--jā-h-u

as opposed to ETk:

1sg	gín--e-o-∅	1pl	gín--e-o-mo
2sg	gín--e-š-e	2pl	gín--e-os-te
3sg	gín--e-š-e	3pl	gín--e-∅-u or gín--e-oš-e

(class III)

1sg	dr̀ž--ā-h-∅	1pl	dr̀ž--ā-s-mo
2sg	dr̀ž--ā-š-e	2pl	dr̀ž--ā-s-te
3sg	dr̀ž--ā-š-e	3pl	dr̀ž--ā-h-u

vs. ETk

1sg	drž--é-o-∅ or	1pl	drž--é-o-mo
	drž--é-š-e		
2sg	drž--é-š-e	2pl	drž--é-os-te
3sg	drž--é-š-e	3pl	drž--é-∅-u

(class IV)

1sg	nòš--ā-h-∅	1pl	nòš--ā-s-mo
2sg	nòš--ā-š-e	2pl	nòš--ā-s-te
3sg	nòš--ā-š-e	3pl	nòš--ā-h-u

vs. ETk

1sg	nós--e-o-∅ or nós--e-š-e	1pl	nós--e-o-mo
2sg	nós--e-š-e	2pl	nós--e-os-te
3sg	nós--e-š-e	3pl	nós--e-∅-u

All other verbs have the imf formant -$\bar{\underline{a}}$- in std SC; it is normally added to the present stem:

(class V-1)

1sg	čûv--ā-h-∅	1pl	čûv--ā-s-mo
2sg	čûv--ā-s-mo	2pl	čûv--ā-s-te
3sg	čûv--ā-š-e	3pl	čûv--ā-h-u

vs. ETk

1sg	čúv--a-o-∅ or čúv--a-š-e	1pl	čúv--a-o-mo
2sg	čúv--a-š-e	2pl	čúv--a-os-te
3sg	čúv--a-š-e	3pl	čúv--a-∅-u

(class V-2)

1sg	kâž--ā-h-∅	1pl	kâž--ā-s-mo
2sg	kâž--ā-š-e	2pl	kâž--ā-s-te
3sg	kâž--ā-š-e	3pl	kâž--ā-h-u

vs. ETk

1sg	káž--e-o-∅ or káž--e-še	1pl	káž--e-o-mo
2sg	káž--e-š-e	2pl	káž--e-os-te
3sg	káž--e-š-e	3pl	káž--e-∅-u

Sometimes imf forms suggesting paradigms of the following type were found for class V-2 verbs in ETk:

1sg plák--a-o-∅ or   1pl plák--a-o-mo or
     pláč--a-∅ or   pláč--a-o-mo
     pláč--a-š-e

2sg pláč--a-š-e   2pl plák--a-os-te or
                              pláč--a-os-te

3sg pláč--a-š-e   3pl plák--a-∅-u or
                              pláč--a-∅-u

Finally, class VI has the following paradigm:

1sg kùpov--ā-h-∅   1pl kùpov--ā-s-mo

2sg kùpov--ā-š-e   2pl kùpov--ā-s-te

3sg kùpov--ā-š-e   3pl kùpov--ā-h-u

vs. ETk

1sg kupúj--e-o-∅ or 1pl kupúj--e-o-mo
     kupúj--e-š-e

2sg kupúj--e-š-e   2pl kupúj--e-os-te

3sg kupúj--e-š-e   3pl kupúj--e-∅-u

Note that std SC forms the imf from the aorist stem in these

verbs while Tk forms the imf from the present stem.

As in the aorist, 1sg and 1pl desinences in Tk lack

the -h- and the -s-, respectively, of std SC. The major

difference, however, rests in the imf marker. In std SC it

is -ljā-, -jā- or -ā-, while in Tk it is -e- except for verbs

of class V-1 where it is -a-. Often the preterite marker

-o- (found in the aorist of obstruent stems) is added in the

formation of 1sg and 1-2pl imf forms.

In SWTk, the formation of the aorist has been simpli-

fied in that the sequence --e-še- has been reinterpreted as

the imperfect-preterite marker for all persons, viz.

```
1sg  plét--e-še-ø or  1pl  plét--e-še-mo
         plet--e-še-m
2sg  plét--e-še-ø       2pl  plét--e-še-te
3sg  plét--e-še-ø       3pl  plét--e-še-u or
                             plet--e-še-u
```

This formation is found in verbs of all types, e.g.

```
(III)  drž--e-še(-m)   (1sg), etc.
(IV)   nós--e-še(-m)   (1sg), etc.
(V-1)  čúv--a-še(-m)   (1sg), etc.
(V-2)  káž--e-še(-m)   (1sg), etc.
(VI)   kupúj--e-še(-m) (1sg), etc.
```

In SWTk only the above type of imf is heard. In CWTk, how-
ever, one encounters forms both from the above paradigms and
from the types listed for ETk.

   There are no accentual alternations within the imf.
The accentuation of the imf always agrees with that of the
present in std SC. The accentuation of the imf in Tk will
be discussed below, sec. 3.31.

3.5   There are two gerundial forms in std SC. One, the past gerund (SC _prilog prošli_), e.g. _pogledavši_, is not known in Tk (cf. Belić 1905a:475). The present gerund (SC _prilog sadašnji_) is formed in std SC by adding -_ći_ to the 3pl pres form, viz. _běrūći_, _nȍsēći_ and _ìgrajūći_ for the _e_-, _i_- and _a_-conjugations, respectively. The accent is normally that of the present tense.

In Tk the present gerund appears to be formed by adding -_eči_ (-_eći_ in areas where /_ć_/ is distinguished) or -_ečki_ to what appears to be the present tense form of the stem in some cases and the aorist form in others. Examples:

ETk	_daváječi_	(B 582:216/334)
	poznáječi	(B 582:234/303)
	igráječi	(B 582:212/303)
	sedéeči	(B 582:224/303, ibid:200/322)
	učéeči	(B 582:218/344)
	jašéeči	(B 583:223/324, ibid:207/324, ibid: 200/322, ibid:158/329, ibid:201/238)
	jašéči	(B 582:216/334, ibid:219/340, ibid: 223/341, ibid:207/328)
	sedéči	(B 582:216/334)
	stojéči	(B 582:208/341)
	stojéčki	(B 582:225/303)
WTk	_gledáječi_	(B 582:157/230, ibid:155/233)
	čuváječi	(B 582:157/300)
	jaháeči	(B 582:202/228)
	kupuváječi	(B 582:155/319)
	noséeči	(B 582:157/300, ibid:200/233)
	sedéeči	(B 582:157/300, ibid:155/233, ibid: 158/238, ibid:204/259)

As the examples show, accent seems always to fall on
the syllable immediately preceding the suffix -e̯či. The last
three forms in the ETk listing, where the suffix itself ap-
pears to be accented (jašéči, etc.), seem to be contractions
of the more frequently occurring type jašéeči. Since these
forms are not declined, it is possible that they are now
considered adverbial expression by Tk speakers, i.e. that
they are separate lexical items, no longer a part of the ver-
bal morphophonemic system. Such forms occurred very rarely
during my field experience in the Tk area. Lacking any in-
formation which would define their place within the Tk accen-
tual system, I will omit these forms from my discussion of
the accent patterns.

There are two participial forms in std SC, the "past
active participle" (SC radni pridev) which I will call the
L-participle, and the "past passive participle" (SC trpni
pridev) which I will call the P-participle. Each is inflect-
ed for number and gender; their paradigms are thus more sim-
ilar to nominal paradigms than to verbal ones.

In std SC the L-participle of vocalic stems (classes
II-VI) is formed from the full stem, as is the aorist, e.g.
(class II)

masc	sg	gȋnu--o-∅	masc	pl	gȋnu--1-i
fem	sg	gȋnu--1-a	fem	pl	gȋnu--1-e
neut	sg	gȋnu--1-o	neut	pl	gȋnu--1-a

(class V-1)

masc	sg	ìgra--o-∅	masc	pl	ìgra--l-i
fem	sg	ìgra--l-a	fem	pl	ìgra--I-e
neut	sg	ìgra--l-o	neut	pl	ìgra--l-a

In these stems the accent of the nonprefixed L-participle

almost always agrees with the accent of the aorist.

In class I-1 (obstruent stems) the L-participle desi-

nences are added directly to the aorist stem, and in masc sg

forms the vowel -a- is inserted before the desinence -o.

Thus:

masc	sg	pèk--ao-∅	masc	pl	pèk--l-i
fem	sg	pèk--l-a	fem	pl	pèk--l-e
neut	sg	pèk--l-o	neut	pl	pèk--l-a

·Obstruent stems terminating in a dental (t or d) have L-

participle forms without the final stem consonant (and thus

no inserted vowel in masc sg):

masc	sg	plè--o-∅	masc	pl	plè--l-i
fem	sg	plè--l-a	fem	pl	plè--l-e
neut	sg	plè--l-o	neut	pl	plè--l-a

Stems of classes I-2 and I-3 (sonorant stems) form the L-

participle from the aorist stem. Since all these stems end

in a vowel, the mechanics are the same as for vocalic stems:

(class I-2, 1sg pres [mìj--ē-m])

masc	sg	mì--o-∅	masc	pl	mì--l-i
fem	sg	mì--l-a	fem	pl	mì--l-e
neut	sg	mì--l-o	neut	pl	mì--l-a

(class I-3, 1sg pres [kùn--ē-m])

masc	sg	klè̀--o-∅	masc	pl	klé--1-i
fem	sg	klé--1-a	fem	pl	klé--1-e
neut	sg	klé--1-o	neut	pl	klé--1-a

In stems of classes I-1 and I-3 and certain stems of class
I-2, accent is usually on the desinence in L-participle forms
[pek--1-á, klē--1-á, pĭ--1-á]. The apparent accentual alter-
nation between masc sg and other forms of the L-participle
paradigm is to be explained by the fact that neither the -o
of the masc sg desinence nor the -a- inserted in obstruent
stems can carry stress.

The major differences between Tk and std SC with re-
spect to the formation of the L-participle are that while
std SC has -o for the masc sg desinence, ETk has -l and WTk
has -ja. Thus:

std SC gìnu--o-∅, ìgra--o-∅, pèk--ao-∅

vs.

ETk   ginú--1-∅, igrá--1-∅, pék--əl-∅
WTk   giná--ja-∅, igrá--ja-∅, pék--əja-∅

Note that the inserted vowel in the masc sg L-participle of
obstruent stems is /ə/ in Tk as opposed to /a/ in std SC.
Sometimes, in fact, this vowel is absent in WTk forms of this
sort; e.g.

SWTk   pékja (B 608:158/337)

As in the aorist, the -nu- of class II verbs is often heard as
-na- in SWTk; e.g.

SWTk   <u>zamináli</u> (B 612:200/233)

In addition, those same SWTk dialects have generalized the old fem pl marker for both masc and fem L-participle forms; e.g.

<u>uzé--l-e gi oni</u> (B 626:155/233)

Finally the -<u>t</u>- and -<u>d</u>- of verbs like <u>plet</u> are retained in some L-participle formations in Tk, cf.

ETk   <u>uplétle</u> (B 584:225/300)

          <u>ukrádla</u> (VR)

The L-participle is used in conjunction with the copula in Tk to form the compund past tense; sometimes the copula is omitted in Tk. The L-participle is also used together with the particle <u>bi</u> to express conditional meaning.

The past passive participle (P-participle) is formed in the std language in different ways for different verbs. Sometimes it consists of the marker -<u>en</u>- added to a stem identical with the present, e.g.

(class I-1)

masc sg	pèč--en-∅	masc pl	peč--èn-i
fem sg	peč--èn-a	fem pl	peč--èn-e
neut sg	peč--èn-o	neut pl	peč--èn-a

(The paradigm has desinential stress throughout: [peč--en-∅́, peč--en-á], etc.) In verbs of class IV a non-palatal final consonant of the present stem is replaced by a palatal consonant before the participle marker -<u>en</u>-:

(class IV, lsg pres [nȍs--ī́-m])

masc sg	nȍš--en-∅	masc pl	nȍš--en-i
fem sg	nȍš--en-a	fem pl	nȍš--en-e
neut sg	nȍš--en-o	neut pl	nȍš--en-a

In verbs of classes I-2, I-3, II, III, V-1, V-2, V-3 and VI, however, the aorist stem is used in the formation of the past passive participle. Verbs of classes I-2, I-3, and II have the participle marker -t-, while the others have -n-. Examples (forms are masc sg and fem sg):

(I-2) ȕbi--t-∅, ȕbi--t-a, etc.

(I-3) ȕze--t-∅, ȕze-t-a, etc.

(II) dȅnu--t-∅, dȅnu--t-a, etc.

(III-e-type) gȍre--n-∅, gorȅ--n-a, etc.

(III-ča-type) dȑžā--n-∅, dȑžā--n-a, etc.

(V-1) glȅdā--n-∅, glȅdā--n-a. etc.

(V-2) kâzā--n-∅, kâzā--n-a, etc.

(V-3) brâ--n-∅, brâ--n-a, etc.

(VI) kȕpovā--n-∅, kȕpovā--n-a, etc.

Note that in those participles formed by adding the marker -n- to stems ending in -a, the final a always is lengthened in std SC.

In Tk the formation of these participles is in general the same as in the std language; the vowel lengthening of the type kȕpovān does not occur, of course. However, the consonant replacement normally found in class IV verbs is usually absent in Tk; cf.

ETk   <u>kúpen</u>   (B 148:225/335)

                    vs.

std SC <u>kûpljen</u>

SWTk   <u>kŕsten</u>   (B 150:155/233)

                    vs.

std SC <u>kȑšćen</u>

In a number of std SC verb classes, prefixed forms of both the participles often appear with absolute initial stress, i.e. there appears to be a recessive mobile alternation between the nonprefixed form and the prefixed form. Examples:

(class I-1)   <u>dála/pròdāla</u>
                  <u>dȃta/pròdāta</u>

(found only in <u>dad</u> and <u>-nes</u>)

(class I-2)   <u>píli/pòpĭli</u>
                  <u>pȋta/pòdnapȋta</u>

(found in several stems of this class)

(class I-3)   <u>kléla/zàklēla</u>
                  <u>klȇta/pròklēta</u>

(found in all stems of this class)

(class III-- <u>dr̀žala/zàdr̀žāla</u>
č̌a-stems)   <u>dr̀žana/zàdr̀žāna</u>

(found in all stems of this class)

(class V-1)   <u>čȉtala/pròčitāla</u>
                 <u>čȉtan/pròčitān</u>

(found only in verbs with stem-final accent in the aorist

and short root vocalism)

(class V-2)   làgala/dȍlagȁla
               làgāna/dȍlagȁna

(found only in a few verbs of this class)

(class V-3)   brála/nȁbrāla
               brâna/ȍbrāna

(found only in verbs of the type brati/berem)

Note that in all the above examples there is a true recessive
mobile alternation only in the L-participle forms: the P-
participle has initial stress, which falls on the prefix if
there is one. Thus:

    dála/prȍdāla [dā--l-á/prȍ-dā--l-a]
    dȑžala/zȁdržāla [držá--l-a/zá-držā--l-a]
               but
    dâta/prȍdāta [dȁ--t-a/prȍ-dā--t-a]
    dȑžāna/zȁdržāna [dȑžā--n-a/zá-držā--n-a]

In general the accent of the L-participle corresponds
to that of the aorist and the accent of the past   passive
corresponds to that of the present. Exceptions to this in-
clude verbs of the type čìtam (V-1) and držȋm (III), cited
above, in which the P-participle accent differs from the ac-
cent of the present, viz.

    čȉtām/čȉtān [čit--ȁ-m/čȉtā--n-Ø]
    dȑžȋm/dȑžȃn [drž--ȋ-m/dȑžā--n-Ø]

and a number of verbs whose L-participle (and P-participle)
forms have absolute initial stress regardless of the accent

of the aorist. These occur in classes V-2, V-3, and VI.

Examples:

(class V-2)　ȍrah [orȁ--h-∅] (1sg aor)/ȍrala, ȕzorala
　　　　　　　[ȏra--l-a, ȗz-ora--l-a], cf. also ȕzorāna

(very few verbs of this class have this accentuation)

(class V-3)　kòvah [kovȁ--h-∅] (1sg aor)/kòvala, ȍkovāla
　　　　　　　[kȏvā--l-a, ȍ-kovā--l-a], cf. also ȍkovāna

(class VI)　kupòvah [kupovȁ-h-∅] (1sg aor)/kȕpovāla,
　　　　　　　prȅkupovāla [kȕpovā--l-a, prȅ-kupovā--l-a],
　　　　　　　cf. also prȅkupovān

Note that the same lengthening of stem-final -a takes place
when the L-participle of these verbs has this initial accent.

3.6   The imperative mood in std SC is formed with the imv des-
inences and the pres tense stem. Imv sg desinences are -i-∅ and
-∅-∅, and plural imv desinences are -i-te and -∅-te, respectiv⸳
The zero desinence is found with all verbs whose present tens
stems end in -j and verbs of class V-1, e.g.

    (III)   stôj--∅-∅, stôj--∅-te (1sg pres stòj--ī-m)
    (I-2)   pîj--∅-∅, pîj--∅-te (1sg pres pîj--ē-m)
    (V-3)   kûj--∅-∅, kûj--∅-te (1sg pres kûj--ē-m)
    (VI)   kùpūj--∅-∅, kùpūj--∅-te (1sg pres kùpuj--ē-m)
    (V-1)   čìtāj--∅-∅, čìtāj--∅-te (1sg pres čìt--ā-m), ⸳

The vowel preceding the stem-final j is lengthened before the
imv desinence -∅. The accent is always on the stem-final sy
lable. All other verbs take the desinence -i(te), e.g.

    (I-1)   pèc--i-∅, pèc--i-te (1sg pres pèč--ē-m)
            (note consonant replacement in velar stems)
    (I-3)   ùzm--i-∅, ùzm--i-te (1sg pres ùzm--ē-m)
    (II)   gîn--i-∅, gîn--i-te (1sg pres gîn--ē-m)
    (III)   vîd--i-∅, vîd--i-te (1sg pres vîd--ī-m)
            dřž--i-∅, dřž--i-te (1sg pres dřž--ī-m)
    (IV)   nòs--i-∅, nòs--i-te (1sg pres nòs--ī-m)
    (V-2)   kâž--i-∅, kâž--i-te (1sg pres kâž--ē-m)
    (V-3)   bèr--i-∅, bèr--i-te (1sg pres bèr--ē-m)

In most of these instances the accent is on the first or only
syllable of the imv desinence, e.g.

        pèc--i-∅, pèc--i-te [pec--í-∅,pec--í-te]

The accent falls on the stem syllable in only three types of
verbs:

    1)   class III verbs whose aorist stem ends in -a pre-

ʒd by č̣, ṣ̌, ẓ̌, (ča- verbs) with short root vocalism e.g.

(III-- dȑ̃ž--i-∅, dȑ̃ž--i-te
ča-type)

2) all vocalic stems whose aorist forms have stem-
ial stress, e.g.

(II)	gȉn--i-∅,	gȉn--i-te	(1sg aor gȉnu--h-∅)
(III)	vȉd--i-∅,	vȉd--i-te	(1sg aor vȉde--h-∅)
(IV)	gȁz--i-∅,	gȁz--i-te	(1sg aor gȁzi--h-∅)
(V-2)	brȉš--i-∅,	brȉš--i-te	(1sg aor brȉsa--h-∅)

(note consonant replacement in these stems)

3) the few obstruent stems which have stem stress in
pres and aor, e.g.

(I-1) jȅd--i-∅, jȅd--i-te (1sg pres jȅd--ē-m,
        1sg aor jȅd--oh-∅)

In Tk the formation of the imv is similar to that in std

However, there are differences. Thus, the archaic imv

s vidž and jedž (std SC vȉdi, jȅdi) are heard often, e.g.

ETk	jédz	(B 541:220/344, ibid:223/341, ibid:224/305, ibid:216/343, ibid:219/330, ibid:236/309, VR)
	jédžte	(B 541:229/334)
	vídž	(ibid:220/344, ibid:215/343, ibid:224/305, CT 430)
SWTk	jédj	(B 541:204/259)
	vídj, vídjte	(ibid)

Note also the following forms:

SWTk	jédži, pojédžite	(Grač)
	izédži	(Šarb)

The major difference in the formation of the imv in Tk is that

the pl desinence is -e-te (vs. std SC -i-te), e.g.

ETk   poneséte (B 543:213/341) (cf. std SC ponèsite)

CWTk   naprávete (B 543:157/300) (cf. std SC nàpravite)

3.7   There is no infinitive form in Tk, and only remnants of
it in WBg. Standard SC has the suffix -ti with the aorist stem
of all but obstruent-stem verbs, and this is the only infinitive
desinence found in WBg. (There is no trace of any correspondent
to the alternate desinences -ći, as in peći, or -sti, as in
mesti, rasti.) In WBg, infinitival forms occur occasionally
in future tense formations, cf.

    TWBg   često če ti doodíti (T 377:234/332)
    Sof   néčem kónja potkováti (ibid:318/244)
    CWBg   čat treperíti, čat grootíti (ibid:307/216)

The future is much more frequently expressed in WBg by the
present tense form (which may or may not be introduced by da).
This is the only type of future tense formation found in Tk.
Todorov noted one interesting instance where the inf form had
been used in this more frequent type of construction:

    Kjus   očem da zapojáti (T 377:241/215)

3.8   There are three basic accentual patterns in std SC con-
jugation: columnar barytonesis, columnar oxytonesis, and a
mobile pattern which has been called the 'cardinal alternation"
(cf. van Schooneveld 1959, Ivić 1965). In the columnar bary-
tonic pattern, accent remains on the same stem syllable in all
forms, e.g.

inf	dȅnuti	[dénu--ti]
1sg aor	dȅnuh	[dénu--h-∅]
fem sg L-part	dȅnu la	[dénu--l-a]
fem sg P-part	dȅnuta	[dénu--t-a]
1sg pres	dȅnēm	[dén--ē-m]
1sg imf	dȅnjāh	[dén--jā-h-∅]
sg imv	dȅni	[déni--i-∅]

This pattern occurs in nearly all classes of verbs, e.g.

(I-1) jed (only a few verbs of this class have this
           accentual pattern)

(I-2) šij (almost all verbs of this class have this
           accentual pattern)

(II)   denu, etc.

(III) vide (very few verbs of this class have this
           accentual pattern)

(IV)   pravi, etc.

(V-1) gledaj, etc.

(V-2) brisa, etc.

(V-3) laja, etc.

(VI)   verova, etc.

In the columnar oxytonic type accent is on the last stres
sable syllable in all forms; sometimes this is the stem-final
syllable and sometimes it is the desinence-initial syllable, e.g

inf	gòreti	[goré--ti]
lsg aor	gòreh	[goré--h-∅]
fem sg L-part	gòrela	[goré--l-a]
fem sg P-part	gòrena	[goré--n-a]
lsg pres	gòrĭm	[gor--í-m]
lsg imf	gòrjāh	[gor--já-h-∅]
sg imv	gòri	[gor--í-∅]

inf	pèći	[pe--ćí]
lsg aor	pèkoh	[pek--óh-∅] ,
fem sg L-Part	pèkla	[pek--l-á]
lsg pres	pèčēm	[peč--é-m]
lsg imf	pècijăh	[pec--íjā-h-∅]
sg imv	pèci	[pec--í-∅]

This accentual pattern occurs mainly in verbs of class I-1 (ob-
struent stems--in these stems the inf, P-part and L-part desi-
nences are accentable) and verbs of class III. It is also
found in a few verbs of class IV (e.g. lìči) and V-2 (e.g.
smeja se). A sub-type of this accentual pattern may be iden-
tified; it is exemplified by the verb drža:

inf	držati	[držá--ti]
lsg aor	držah	[držá--h-∅]
fem sg L-part	držala	[držá--l-a]
but	zàdržala	[zá-drža--l-a]
fem sg P-part	dŕžana	[dŕža--n-a]
lsg pres	držĭm	[drž--í-m]
lsg imf	držāh	[drž--á-h-∅]
sg imv	drži	[dŕž--i-∅]

Here we have columnar and stress except in the imv, P-part, and
the prefixed L-part. This accentual pattern is found in class

III ča- type verbs with short root vocalism. It is also found in class V-1 verbs of the type čitaj, where, however, the accent of the imv remains on the last stressable syllable, viz.

<div align="center">

čìtāj--∅-∅, čìtāj--∅-te/1sg pres čìtām

[čitáj--∅-∅, čitáj--∅-te/čit--ā́-m]

as opposed to

dȑž--i-∅, dȑž--i-te/1sg pres dr̀ž--ī-m

[dŕž--i-∅, dŕž--i-te/drž--ī́-m]

</div>

Two types of the third accentual pattern, the cardinal alternation, are known in std SC. One, found only among a small group of obstruent stems, contrasts end-stress in pres, imf, and imv to stem stress in inf, aor, and both participles, viz.

1sg pres	prédēm	[prēd--ḗ-m]
1sg imf	prédijāh	[prēd--í︲ā-h-∅]
sg imv	prédi	[prēd--í-∅]
	vs.	
inf	prȅsti	[pré--sti]
1sg aor	prȅdoh	[préd--oh-∅]
fem sg L-part	prȅla	[pré--l-a]
fem sg P-part	prȅdena	[préd--en-a]

Note that the stem vowel is lengthened in the pres, imf, and imv in verbs which have this alternation.

The other type is much more widespread: it is usually described as an opposition between "end stress" in inf, aor, L-part, and imv vs. "stem stress" in pres, imf, and P-part; e.g.

		inf	k**á**zati	[kāz**á**--ti]
	1sg aor	k**á**zah	[kāz**á**--h-∅]
	fem sg L-part	k**á**zala	[kāz**á**--l-a]
	imv sg	k**á**ži	[kāž--**í**]
		vs.		
	1sg pres	kâžēm	[k**á**ž--ē-m]
	1sg imf	kâžāh	[k**á**ž--ā-h-∅]
	fem sg P-part	kâzana	[k**á**za--n-a]

Only the imv has desinential accent. The inf, aor and L-part
are accented on the final stem syllable; the pres and imf also
have accent on the stem but since it is the truncated stem,
the accent must be on the single stem syllable. The P-part,
on the other hand, is formed from the full stem and is accent-
ed on the first of the two stem syllables. Thus the alterna-
tion of accent placement is largely concomitant with the al-
ternation of stem shapes in all verb classes other than ob-
struent stems. This accentual pattern is found in verbs of
classes II, IV, V-1, V-2, and V-3.

The occurrence of alternations opposing 2-3sg aor to
other forms of the aor and that opposing prefixed and non-
prefixed L-part form cannot be clearly identified with any one
of the above three major accentual patterns in the std language.

Verbal accentuation in Tk differs from that of the std
language in a number of important ways. Below I will discuss
the verbal categories of Tk in approximately the same order
that I have described those of the std language. I will treat
first the accentual alternations occurring within the present

(secs. 3.9--3.10), the aorist tense (secs. 3.11--3.17), the
L- and P-participles (secs. 3.18--3.19) and the imperative
mood (secs. 3.20--3.22). Then I will discuss the accentua-
tion of each of the major tenses (present [secs. 3.23--3.27],
aorist [secs. 3.28--3.30] and imperfect [sec. 3.31]), parti-
cipial forms (secs. 3.32--3.34), and the imperative mood
(sec. 3.35). The accentuation of the present and aorist
tenses will be shown on charts. The present/aorist alternation,
corresponding to what is called the cardinal alternation in
the std lg, will also be depicted on a chart, and the appropri-
ateness of the term cardinal alternation as applied to Tk
dialects will be discussed briefly (sec. 3.36). In summary,
I will outline the accent patterns of the verbal systems of
SWTk, CWTk and ETk, respectively, and indicate the innovations
that appear to have taken place (secs. 3.37--3.39).

3.9   Within the present tense in Tk we find an accentual
alternation opposing 1sg forms to other forms of the present,
viz.

    SWTk   nápravu/popráviš, etc. (Trg)

Since the alternation is between absolute initial syllable and
stem-final (not desinential) syllable in this instance, it is
not a recessive mobile alternation in the strict sense. I will
symbolize it [M*]. In the few verbs which have desinential
stress in forms other than 1sg the symbol [M] will appear.
Thus:

    SWTk   záboravu/zaboráviš (Šaj)   [M*]
            ízmetu/izmeté (3sg) (Staj)   [M]

(The accentuation of the present tense is shown in charts
7-15.) Normally this alternation occurs only when 1sg forms
have the archaic desinence -u (which represents a regular SC
phonological development of PSl *-ǫ), but, rarely, it is also
found in forms with the more common desinence -m, e.g.

    SWTk   pródam (Rad)

    The 1sg desinence -u is limited to a small area in Tk.
Belić defined it as Vranje and its immediate environs (B 510),
but I found the desinence -u quite frequently in Šajince (to
the west of Trgovište), Trgovište itself, and Stajovce and
Radovnica to the east of Trgovište (that is, in a narrow belt
just north of the Macedonian border, stretching east of Vranje
all the way to the Bg-speaking area). Furthermore, I found

that initial accent usually accompanied the desinence -u̱ in
these villages. In most verb classes the presence of the
alternation can be confirmed only if prefixed forms are at-
tested. Since such forms do not occur as often as unprefixed
ones, my data are necessarily limited. Compare:

SWTk   <u>ízmetu/izmétemo</u> (Trg)   [M*]

         <u>ízmetu/meté</u> (Staj)   [M]

         <u>dónesu/donésemo</u> (Staj, Trg, Šaj)   [M*]

         <u>zájedu</u>, <u>ízedu</u> (but <u>prejédu</u>)/assumed <u>izédeš</u>
             (Šaj)   [M*]

         <u>ótidu/otíde</u> (Šaj)   [M*]

         <u>údenu/udéneš</u> (Šaj, Rad)   [M*]
                    cf. however
         <u>údenem</u> and <u>udénem/udéneš</u> (Trg)   [$^{M*}_b$]

         <u>zástanu/assumed zastáneš</u> (Šaj)   [M*]

         <u>dřžu</u> (as well as <u>držím)/držíte</u> (Trg)   [^M_o]

         <u>sédu/sedímo</u> (Trg)   [M]

         <u>nikad ne záboravu/zaboráviš</u>   [M*]

         <u>prékrstu se</u> (but also <u>zakŕstu)/prekŕstimo</u>
             (Trg)   [$^b_{M*}$]

         <u>če prépišu/assumed prepíše</u> (<u>píše</u> attested)
             (Šaj)   [M*]

<u>náberu</u> (Šaj), <u>rázberu</u> (Rad)/<u>zbéremo</u> (Trg) [M*]

On the other hand, compare:

SWTk   <u>izúču/izúči</u>   (Trg)   [b]

<u>donósu</u>/(<u>donóse</u> assumed on the basis of
attested 3pl <u>nósevu</u>--Trg; note also
the absence of mutation which might
be expected on comparative grounds,
cf. OCS <u>nošǫ</u> and the like)   [b]

Compare further initial stress in the following non-question-
naire items recorded in Trg and Šaj:

SWTk   <u>nákladu</u>   (Šaj)

<u>úmesu</u>   (Šaj)
<u>zámesu</u>   (Trg)

<u>ískoču</u>   (Šaj, Trg)

<u>násadu</u>   (Trg)

     Around Vranje, however, the alternation seems to be
absent, cf.

SWTk   <u>da ti naprávu</u>   (B 510:155/233)

To confirm the isogloss of this phenomenon, I made a brief vi-
sit to the village of Davidovac, situated four kilometers
southeast of Vranje, towards Trgovište. There I found frequent
usage of 1sg forms in -<u>u</u>, but always with non-initial stem
stress, viz. <u>naprávu</u>, <u>iskóču</u>, <u>izmétu</u>. However, the forms
<u>záboravu</u> and <u>dónesu</u> were recorded from an informant born in

Bujanovac (south of Vranje, west of Davidovac), now living in Novi Sad. An accentual alternation accompanying 1sg pres in -u̲ was previously not known to occur in Tk. It is now firmly attested in the southeast zone, but the exact area over which it is found remains to be defined.

In other areas of SC, there are possible traces of such an alternation, cf. vȅlju in apparent variation with vȅlim (Stanić 1959-60:317, cited in Gustavsson 1969:76) and vȅlju/ vȅli (Peco 1964:149, 176, 189 [from the dialect of East Her-cegovina]; Pešikan 1965:226, 68, 172, 174, 200, 194-8 [from the dialect of Stara Crna Gora], all cited in Gustavsson 1969:77). Although initial stress in the 1sg form from Stara Crna Gora is probably due to a phonological restriction against stress in short open ultima, the East Hercegovina form may be an actual relic of the older state.

3.10   Initial stress in 1sg pres forms with desinence -a̱

(from PSl *-ǫ) is well documented in WBg dialects, however, at

least in those outside the TWBg zone.   In fact, in most NWBg

and CWBg dialects, only such forms are encountered, e.g.

     NWBg   <u>zápleta/zapletéš</u>   (G 146)   [M]

              <u>pórasta</u>   (T 334:239/350)/<u>rastót</u>   (T 334:
                   233/346)   [M]

              <u>príbia</u>   (T 334:332/332)/<u>izbíat</u>   (T 342:
                   329/347)   [M*]

              <u>póznaa</u>   (T 334:341/329)/<u>znáe</u>   (T 348:
                   314/349)   [M*]

              <u>prístana</u>   (T 334:332/332)/<u>pristánat</u>
                   (T 342:323/344)   [M*]

              <u>žívea/živéeš</u>   (G 145)   [M*]

              <u>stóa/stoíme</u>   (G 137)   [M]

              <u>póseda</u>   (T 334:332/332)/<u>posedímo</u>   (T 338:
                   329/344)   [M]

              <u>nápraa/naprávat</u> and <u>nápráat</u>   (G 137)   [M*]

              <u>záplača/zapláčeš</u>   (G 146)   [M*]

              <u>prékrsta</u>   (T 353:354/319)

óstava (T 344:348/254, ibid:332/332,
            ibid:339/335, ibid:346/257)

zákopaa/zakopáeš (G 146)   [M*]

ótreža (T 334:336/335)/odréžem (1pl pres
            --T 338:341/329)   [M*]

nábera (T 334:341/329, ibid:331/311)/
         nabéreš (T 346:348/318)   [M*]

Only in NWBg villages which are close to the TWBg border do
we find non-initial stress on such forms, e.g.

NWBg   otída, navía, ožéna (T 334:229/345)

Todorov considers these to be due to influence from the neigh-
boring dialects, indicating that he expects "po-starite *óžena,
*návia, *ótida "(ibid). Otherwise, the only examples in NWBg
of 1sg pres forms in -a without initial stress listed by
Todorov are the following:

NWBg   otstópa (T 334:239/350)
        nemóa (ibid)
        vervá (T 334:352/341)

In a very few areas in NWBg, initial stress is found in
1sg forms in -m, viz.

NWBg   ízem (T 330:333/312)/projedát (ibid:
            331/313)   [M]

        dónem, íznem (T 334:239/350; T notes that
            such forms are also found further to the
            south in the Vraca area [333/312])/
            donesé (T 331:331/315)   [M]

Note that all three of these examples involve contracted forms (i.e. izem in place of izedem, etc.).

In CWBg dialects, we may assume that initial stress always accompanies 1sg pres in -a, cf. Mladenov's statement for the Iʰtiman dialect: "Pri xarakteristika na udarenieto v segašno vreme se isključva udarenieto v 1 l[ice] ed[instveno] čislo, toj kato pri vsički glagoli to ostava neizmenno" (Mih 117), and the examples cited:

CWBg préda (Mih 115)/predéš (Mih 117)   [M]

dónesa (Mih 121)/doneséš (Mih 117)   [M]

péra (Mih 115)/peréš (Mih 121)   [M]

kóla/koléš (Mih 122)   [M]

méla/meléš (ibid)   [M]

and the following examples from Todorov:

CWBg dónesa (T 335:330/223, ibid:331/246)

préleta (T 335:331/246)

náuča (T 335:308/207)

ókosa/okósiš (T 353:351/221)   [M*]

zákolja (T 346:331/246)/da zakóljem
(1pl pres) (T 377:302/230)   [M*]

ízbera (T 335:331/246)

Note, however, the lsg forms beléa and nesméja from Dupnica
(T 335:308/207), where the desinence -a is not accompanied
by initial stress, and the following examples of initial
stress in lsg forms in -m:

CWBg   réčam   (T 335:308/207--note that the verb has
                been influenced by the a-conjugation)
                vs.
        rečém   (T 336:334/224)

        pódam   (T 345:307/216)

In NSV and TWBg lsg pres forms always have the desi-
nence -m, and apparently the place of accent is the same
throughout the present tense. I found no evidence of an al-
ternation.

In Kjus and Sof, however, we find mixture of lsg forms
in -a and in -m. Where the desinence is -a, initial stress
almost always accompanies it. When the desinence is -m, how-
ever, the place of accent is usually the same as in the rest
of the present tense, although not without exception.

Within the Kjustendil area, a clear isogloss separates
the area with desinence -m and non-initial stress (e.g.
donesém) and that with -a and initial stress (e.g. dónesa),
cf. the map on Kj 100. The former includes southernmost TWBg
dialects and the northern half of the Kjus area and the lat-
ter comprises the southern portion of the Kjus zone, which
borders with CWBg dialects. There is also a small transi-

tional area where 1sg forms of both types (<u>dónesa</u> and <u>donesém</u>)
are heard. The center of this zone is the town of Kjustendil
itself. For a full discussion of this distribution, see
Umlenski 1965:99-102.

In this transitional area around the town of Kjustendil,
Umlenski notes (Kj 101) that in class VI verbs (type <u>ispíšu-
vam</u>) 1sg forms in -<u>a</u> are not encountered. They are found in
all other classes, however:

   Kjus <u>donesém</u> and <u>dónesa</u> (Kj 101)

      <u>ostánem</u> and <u>ódvrna</u> (ibid)

      <u>vídim</u> and <u>vída</u>

      <u>stojím</u> (assumed on the basis of <u>kónjo stoí
       i frčí</u> [Kj 196])and <u>stója</u> (Kj 101)

      <u>gréšim</u> and <u>ókosa</u> (Kj 101)
         cf.
      <u>naprávim</u> and <u>náprava</u> (Kj 75)

      <u>pokážem</u> and <u>ízora</u>, <u>ískopa</u> (Kj 101)
Often a speaker will use both types in the same sentence,
according to Umlenski, e.g.

   Kjus <u>Četém pismóto, pa mi milo da go čéta</u> (Kj 101)
In this area we also find a few verbs with 1sg pres in -<u>m</u> and
initial stress, viz.

Kjus   <u>Ja ím nápišam písmo</u>   (Kj 101)

      ...<u>da te zákopam</u>   (ibid)

Compare also the following:

Kjus   <u>Drobni pupki právim--da gi ne dópravu, síten</u>

              <u>gergef véza--da go ne dóveza</u>   (ibid)

Here, the speaker has used the desinence -<u>m</u> with a nonprefixed verb but the desinence -<u>a</u> (and initial stress) with the pre-fixed form. In a discussion of the northern zone where -<u>m</u> is the prevalent desinence, Umlenski noted that sometimes the desinence -<u>a</u> "ostava samo v prefigirani, i to redom s formi na -<u>m</u>" (Kj 101); he also notes that in the central Kjus area, the desinence -<u>m</u> is more common among the younger generation ("[okončanieto -<u>m</u>] e proniklo v rečta predimno na po-mladite") (ibid).

    The only 1sg pres form in -<u>a</u> recorded by Todorov for the Kjus zone is from this northern area where -<u>m</u> predominates but -<u>a</u> often remains in prefixed forms:

Kjus   <u>préleta</u>   (T 336:243/221)

    Finally, Umlenski notes in his discussion of aspect that non-initial stress in 1sg pres forms "e siguren beleg če tova sa glagoli ot nesveršen vid, zaštoto sveršenite prefigir-ani glagoli sa s načalno udarenie" (Kj 120), e.g. <u>donósim</u> vs. <u>dónosa</u>. All other examples of 1sg pres forms cited in the paragraph following this statement are forms in -<u>m</u>, however, where initial stress is not expected.

On the chart devoted to present tense accentuation, I
will symbolize this division within the Kjus area by means of
a slash separating two symbols. The first will refer to the
north-northwestern area where -m̲ is the prevalent desinence,
and the second to the south-southeastern area where -a̲ prevails.
Thus:

Kjus   napíšem in the NNW but nápisa in the SSE/
        napíšeš assumed for both   [b/M*]

      donesém in the NNW but dónesa in the SSE/
        doneséš assumed for both   [o/M]

In the Sofia area, the desinence -m̲ appears to be the
more commonly occurring one. In Dobroslavci(317/249), located
16 km. to the north of Sofia, it is the predominant one, cf.
Golobov: "Formite kata dónesa, náprava, ódnesa sa sovsem
ograničeno javlenie i se sreštat v rečta na pridošli ot drugi
mesta xora" (Sg 42), and the following 1sg pres forms cited as
typical for the dialect:

Sof   donesém   (Sg 42)
      ispečém   (ibid)
      nasečém   (ibid)
      ispletém (ibid)
      napredém (ibid)
      vortím se (Sg 14)
      poprávim (Sg 42)
      prekópam (ibid)
      napíšem   (ibid)
      prekážem (ibid)
      razorém   (ibid)

zakóljam (Sg 42--note a-conjugation desinence
indicating that the stem has been trans-
ferred to class V-1 in this dialect)

In his discussion of the general Sofia area, Popivanov
notes that the desinence -m is more common in the western
Sofia area and -a in the eastern region, and that -a is always
accompanied by initial stress (Sp 250), viz.

Sof   óstava, náprava (eastern Sof region) (ibid)
                    vs.
         naprávim (western Sof region) (ibid)

         ódreža (eastern Sof) (ibid)
                    vs.
         odréžem (western Sof) (ibid)

The following forms, cited as typical for the whole area (i.e.
no reference was made to specific geographical region), appar-
ently come from the eastern Sof region:

ESof   pléta/pletéš (Sp 251)   [M]

         pía/piéš (ibid)   [M]

         préstana (Sp 265)/assumed prestáneš   [M*]

while the following would, according to Popivanov's state-
ments, be from the western Sof area:

WSof   če sedím (Sp 267)

         kópam (Sp 270)

         vénčam and venčáem (ibid)

WSof   <u>mótam</u> (Sp 270)

        <u>ígram</u> (ibid)

Todorov's data for the Sof area, as concerns 1sg pres forms

in -<u>a</u>, are all from villages further to the east than Dobro-

slavci, but not necessarily to the east of Sofia itself:

Sof   <u>šte ti ízvørta</u> (T 378:321/242)

        <u>ódreža</u> (T 334:321/242)

        <u>ízlaža</u> (T 335:332/241)
               note also
        <u>ízláža</u> (T 334:346/257), with stress vacillation
               in an area further to the east than one in
               which unambiguous initial stress was re-
               corded in the same lexeme

        <u>pókova</u> (T 334:321/242)

        <u>sábera</u> (T 335:328/240)
               but
        <u>sabéra</u> (attested in the same village [T 346])

    On the other hand, note these 1sg forms in -<u>a</u> with non-

initial stress:

Sof   <u>otkésna</u> (T 335:343/233)

        <u>nakíča</u> (ibid)

        <u>naóda</u> (T 334:328/240)

    In the EMac dialects of Kis and Kal near Delčevo, 1sg

-320-

pres forms in -a̱ with initial stress are found almost without

exception, e.g. (forms cited are 1sg pres/3sg pres unless

otherwise indicated)

    EMac   préda/predé (MDA: Kis, Kal)   [M]
                NB however
        íspreda/ispréde (ibid)   [M*]

        ógladnea/ogladné (ibid)   [M*]

        dŕža/drží (ibid)   [M]
                NB however
        zádrža/zadŕži (ibid)   [M*]

        ókosa/okósi (ibid)   [M*]

        kóva/kové (ibid)   [M]
                NB however
        zákova/zakóve (MDA: Kal)   [M*]

        pója/poé (MDA: Kis, Kal)   [M]

        béra/beré (ibid)   [M]

Only verbs of class V-1 have the 1sg pres desinence -m̱, but

initial stress is found here also, e.g.

    EMac   prégledam/pregléda (MDA: Kis, Kal)   [M*]

The only example of non-initial stress in 1sg pres was found

in the verb zaboravi:

    EMac   zabóraja/zaborájiš (2sg) (MDA: Kis,
                Kal)   [m]

This is also the only example I found of an alternation be-

tween stem-initial and stem-final syllables [za-bóraj--a-∅/
za-boráj--i-š] within the present tense. The investigator in
fact noted that the forms

     EMac   zaborávjam/zaborávja (ibid)   [b]

were more commonly heard, i.e. that this verbal root was
more often used with a different verbal classifier suffix.

     In Delčevo, initial stress is also found in 1sg pres,
e.g.

     EMac   jáda/jadé (D 89)   [M]

              méta/meté (ibid)   [M]

              pía/pié (ibid)   [M]

     Initial stress in 1sg pres is not found in EMac dialects
near Kriva Palanka, however, nor in NMac dialects except for
the forms

     NMac   "pródam, pokraj prodádu" (V 195)

     The alternation in which initial stress in 1sg pres is
opposed to stem-final or desinential stress in óther forms of
the present tense (symbolized [M*] and [M], respectively) is
thus found in an area which includes a narrow strip of south-
easternmost Serbia just north of the Macedonian border (the
Gornja Pčinja region), the northeasternmost corner of Mace-
donia (the Delčevo region), and most of the WBg dialects out-
side the transitional zone (as well as the Rhodope dialects
of Bg, cf. Stojkov 1968:144). With very few exceptions,

which may all be termed the result of analogy, this initial
stress occurs only in forms which show reflexes of the PSl
1sg pres desinence *-ǫ, which has yielded -u̲ in ETk, -a̲ in
EMac and WBg, with further variants in different Rhodope
dialects.

Sketch III shows the isogloss of this phenomenon. Two
symbols are given for each area: the first refers to verbs of
class I (type <u>donesém/dónesa</u>) and class III (type <u>sedím/séda</u>)
where oxytonesis is normally encountered in the present. The
other refers to verbs of other classes, where barytonesis is
the usual present tense accentuation (e.g. <u>pobíjem/póbija</u>,
<u>naprávim/náprava</u>, <u>poglédam/pógleda</u>, <u>pokážem/pókaža</u>, <u>izgréjem/
ízgreja</u>). The reader is referred to charts 7 through 15 and
sections 3.23 through 3.27 for more complete information on
the distribution of present tense accentuation, and specifi-
cally for the exceptions to the above general statements.

. NSV
ob

LEGEND

- - - dialect boundaries
—— political boundaries
Kr towns or villages
ETk dialect areas

NWBg

M M*

Šarb · ob ob
DP

CTim
ob

ETk

CWTk

Kr
· ob

ob
Čin.

TWBg

Šil · ob

o Tran
ob

ob
Vr

TWBg

o/M b/M*
· Sof

Grač
bb

SWTk

TWBg

Pas
bb

M M*
M*   M M*
Trg Staj · Rad

o/M b/M*
o Kjus

M M*

CWBg

Žel
Gab ·

o Kum
bb

Psač
Rank   Kis ·

M
M* · Kal

NMac

EMac

Dek ·
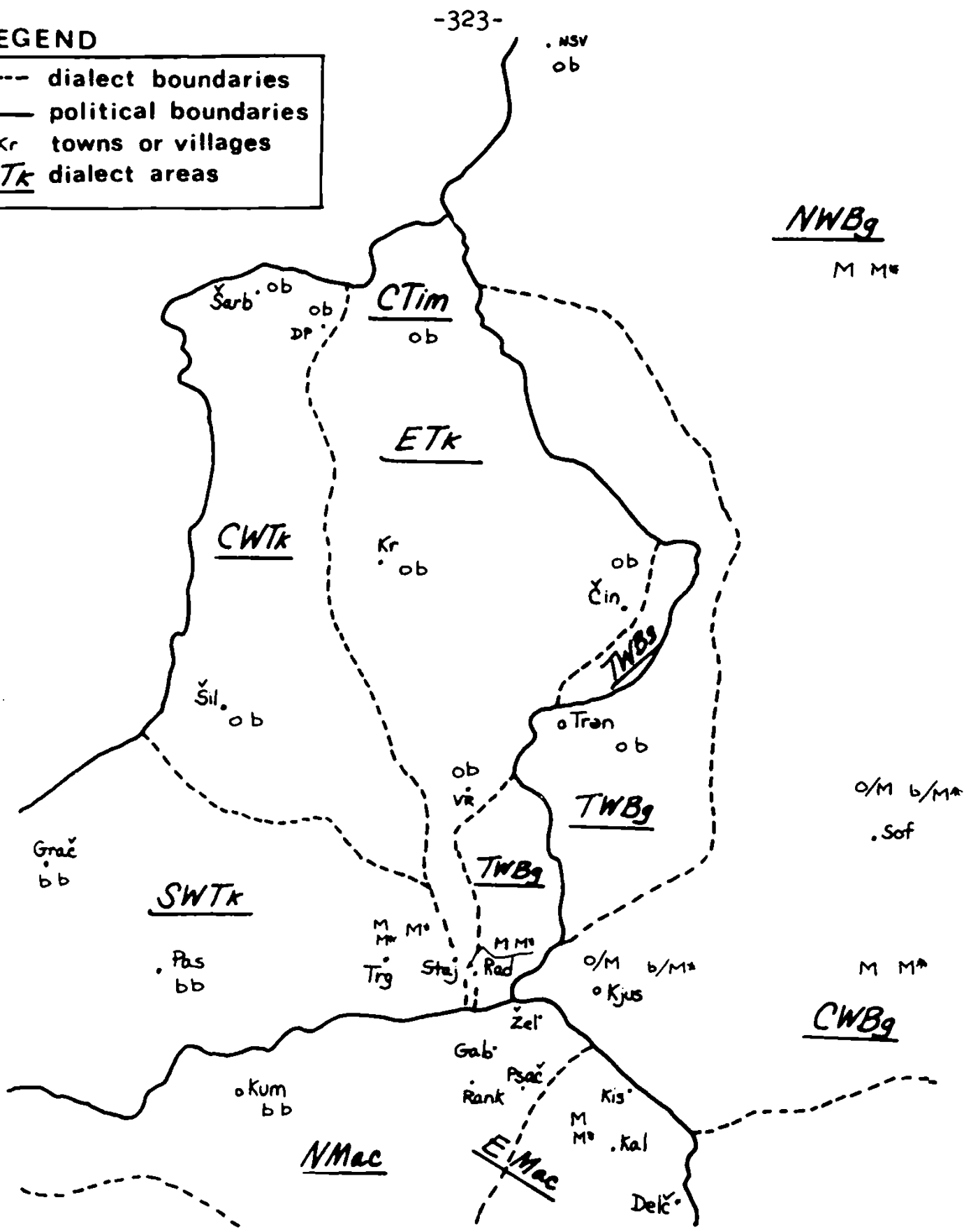
Sketch III: 1sg pres/other pres forms in Tk, EMac, NMac, WBg

3.11   An alternation within the aorist tense is attested in
almost all verbs in Tk. Stress in 2-3sg is always on the ini-
tial syllable, and in other forms on the desinential or stem-
final syllable. Since only in obstruent stems does the aorist
desinence carry stress, the symbol [M] will signify this al-
ternation in these stems. (All examples given below are 1sg
aor/2-3sg aor unless noted otherwise.)

       SWTk   <u>pometó/pómete</u> (Pas)   [M]

In most WTk and all ETk dialects, however, 1sg and 1-3pl aor
of obstruent stems are stem-stressed:

       WTk   <u>ispéko/íspeče</u> (Trg, Šil, Šarb, Pas)   [M*]
       ETk   <u>ubódo/úbode</u> (CT 416)   [M*]

For these, as well as for all other stems in which stress on
the final (or only syllable in 1sg and 1-3pl is opposed to
initial (prefixal) stress in 2-3sg, the symbol [M*] is used:

(class I-1)   <u>ispéko/íspeče</u> (Trg, Šil, Šarb, Pas
                 Br 173:157/300)   [M*]

(class I-2)   <u>saší/sáši</u> (Kr, VR, Trg, Šarb, Šil, Pas) [M*]

(class I-3)   <u>zaklé/zákle</u> (Br 147:159/229, ibid
                 174:157/300)   [M*]
                <u>isklé/ískle</u> (Kr)   [M*]

(class II)   <u>prevrnú/prévrnu</u> (Kr)   [M*]

(class III--
e-type)   <u>izgoré/ízgore</u> (VR, Pas)   [M*]

(class III--
ca-type)   <u>izdržá/ízdrža</u> (Čin)   [M*]

(class IV)   prekrstí/prékrsti   (Čin, Kr)   [M*]

(class V-1)   pogledá/pógleda   (VR, Trg, Šarb, Pas)   [M*]

(class V-2)   izbrisá/ízbrisa   (Čin, Pas)   [M*]

(class V-3)   razbrá/rázbra   (Čin, VR, Trg, Grač)   [M*]
                ogrejá/ógreja   (Kr, VR, Šil)   [M*]
                potková/pótkova (Čin, Šarb)   [M*]

(class VI)   kupová/kúpova (Čin)   [M*]

When the accent alternates between the initial syl-
lable in 2-3 sg and a non-final stem syllable in other forms,
the symbol [M**] is used, e.g.

        std SC pògazih/pȍgazī   [M**]
               pòverovah/pȍverovā   [M**]

This occurs rarely in Tk.

        In a number of verbs, I was able to elicit both pre-
fixed and unprefixed forms in my field investigation. In a
large percentage of these cases, initial stress occurred in
2-3sg of the prefixed forms, but remained on the stem final
or desinential syllable in non-prefixed forms (all forms are
2-3sg aor). This relationship is symbolized [P] on the charts.

    SWTk   idé/ótide   (Trg)   [P]
    ETk   kazá/nákaza (VR)   [P]
            brisá/ízbrisa (Čin)   [P]
            raní/nárani   (VR)   [P]
            trčá/dótrča   (Čin)   [P]

        In most cases, however, I have data either only for

prefixed forms, or for unprefixed ones. Except for obstruent
stems (see below), a recessive mobile relationship ([M] or
[M*]) is almost always attested in the prefixed paradigm in
Tk. When I was able to elicit forms for the non-prefixed
paradigm, however, sometimes they had columnar stress (usu-
ally stem-final but occasionally desinential and rarely--in
Tk--stem-initial) and sometimes there was an accentual al-
ternation similar to that found in the prefixed forms. Exam-
ples:

(columnar stem-final accent--forms are 1-3sg)

ETk	<u>kupí</u> (Kr)	[b]
	<u>brisá</u> (Čin)	[b]
	<u>pražnjuvá</u> (Kr)	[b]

(columnar desinential accent--forms are 1sg/2-3sg)

ETk	<u>idó/idé</u> (Kr, Šarb)	[o]

(columnar stem-initial accent--the form is 1-3sg)

SWTk	<u>lája</u> (Grač)	[B]

(recessive mobility--forms are 1sg/2-3sg)

CWTk	<u>nosí/nósi</u> (Šarb)	[M*]

Where both prefixed and non-prefixed paradigms were
attested with the same accentuation, I have symbolized this
by underlining the appropriate symbol (forms are 1sg/2-3sg):

SWTk	kazá, <u>pokazá/káza</u>, <u>pókaza</u> (Grač)	[<u>M</u>*]
	<u>jedó</u>, <u>najedó/jedé</u>, <u>najedé</u> (Trg)	[<u>o</u>]

In certain non-transitional WBg dialects (as well as in std Bg) accent is on the final syllable of non-prefixed dissyllabic stems but on the initial stem syllable when these stems are prefixed. An A-mobile accentual relationship thus obtains between the two forms. I symbolize it on the chart [P*], retaining the capital P to indicate that the accentual relationship is conditioned by the presence of the prefix. For instance (examples are 1sg aor):

CWBg   pazíh/zapázih   (Mih 119)   [P*]

Charts 16 through 24 summarize the accentuation of the aorist in Tk, KR, NMac, EMac and WBg.

3.12 The recessive mobile alternation opposing 2-3sg aor
forms to other forms of the aorist is well attested in all
parts of the Torlak region in prefixed paradigms of all verb
classes except obstruent stems (class I-1). In the field, I
found that this alternation was known among obstruent stems
only in WTk. There were no traces whatsoever of it in my ETk
villages of Čin, Kr, and VR, (nor in Bab, Svodje, Tem or Pluž),
and very few examples from Broch and Belić. Of the latter,
only the following may be cited:

ETk   okrádoše (3pl)/úkrade (3sg)   (B 567:
               216/334)   [M*]

        zapléto (1sg)/záplete (2-3sg)   (Br 226:
               209/233)   [M*]

        otresó (1sg)/ótrese   (Br 227:209/233--
               Broch identifies this as a younger
               variant form, viz. In Zusammenset-
               zung war bei dem Älteren nur otréso,
               otrése u.s.w. zu hören; die Jüngeren
               sagen daneben otresó, 2.3. ótrese,
               welches von einem Älteren als aus der
               Ebene stammend bezeichnet wurde.")   [M]

        vró (1sg)/vŕše (2-3sg)   (Br 307:236/309;
               Belić, however, rejects these forms:
               "vró, vŕše...nije tačno, već treba
               vŕo, vŕše" [Bll 67])   [M]

The only area of ETk where this alternation is regu-
larly attested in obstruent stems is the Timok valley area

studied by Stanojević. His data:

ETk   "Ja ga <u>ubódo</u>, ama on mene <u>úbode</u>"   (CT 416)
        (CT 416)   [M*]

        "<u>Dóvede</u> li deté u čkolu?--<u>Dovédo</u>" (ibid)   [M*]

        "Ja <u>izméto</u> guvno, a <u>ízmete</u> li ti tvo(j)é?"
           (CT 417)   [M*]

        <u>donéso</u>, 2. i 3. j. <u>dónese</u>"   (CT 418)   [M*]

        "Ja <u>ovŕ</u> a ti ne <u>óvr</u> još"   (CT 419--note
           that accent is not on the negation)   [M*]

Only 1sg forms are given for the following lexical items but as Stanojević makes no mention of an exception, one would assume the recessive mobile alternation in their prefixed paradigms also:

ETk   <u>jédo</u>   (CT 416)   [M*]
         <u>prédo</u>   (ibid)   [M*]
         <u>rásto</u>   (CT 417)   [M*]
         <u>mízo</u>   (ibid)   [M*]
         <u>tréso</u>   (CT 418)   [M*]
         <u>péko</u>   (ibid)   [M*]
         <u>réko</u>   (ibid)   [M*]
         <u>téko</u>   (ibid)   [M*]
         <u>séko</u>   (ibid)   [M*]

In his review of Stanojević, Belić confirms this view:

    Kako svi svršeni glagoli obično povlače akcenat na
    prvi slog u 2. i 3. 1. jed., i ovde je to slučaj kada
    glagoli postaju svršeni: <u>ispléto</u>: <u>ísplete</u> i sl.
    (Belić 1913b: 142)

In his review of Broch, however, he states the general rule
to which this is an exception (without noting the exception):

> Zasebno mesto zauzimaju glagoli I vrste tipa <u>pletem</u>
> i sl. tipova. U timočko-lužničkom govoru tu imamo
> prosto i generalno pravilo: akcenat <u>ne menja nikada</u>
> svoga mesta i uvek je na prvom slogu prostog glagola,
> dakle: <u>pléto</u>, <u>pléte</u>, <u>plétomo</u>; <u>ispléto</u>, <u>ispléte</u>,
> <u>isplétomo</u>. (Bll 65, italics mine)

As soon as one passes to the Južna-Morava dialect,
however, the alternation is commonly heard. The SWTk village
of Trg, situated within the JM zone but close to both the
border with NMac and with the TL zone, may serve as an exam-
ple of a transitional area between the areas of these two
 opposing accentual patterns. Of the verbs for which I was
able to elicit 2sg or 3sg prefixed aorist forms, most are
mobile, cf.

SWTk   <u>dovédo/dóvede</u>, <u>ódvede</u> (Trg)   [M*]

          <u>ispéκo/íspeče</u> (ibid)   [M*]

          <u>prodádo/pródade</u> (ibid)   [M*]

          <u>ukrádo/úkrade</u> (ibid)   [M*]

          <u>réko/réče</u> (ibid--I was unable to elicit
                  prefixed forms)

On the other hand, I found the following forms for the
verbs <u>-nes</u>, <u>jed</u> and <u>plet</u>:

SWTk   odnéso and dóneso/donése and dónese   (Trg)

najedó/najedé but poéde   (ibid)

spléto/spleté   (cf. 3sg pres spléte--such
        accentuation in the aorist is quite
        unexpected)

The rest of my investigation points, all in the JM
zone, exhibit the alternation regularly, viz.

WTk   ispéko/íspeče   (Šarb, Šil, Grač, Pas)   [M*]

This is also the case according to Broch's and Belić's data,
with very few exceptions. These exceptions are:

CWTk   ubódo/ubóde and úbode   (Br 257:208/258)   [$^b_{M*}$]

odvéde (3sg)   (B 568:155/319)
zovéde (3sg)   (B 568:223/234)

donéso/donése and dónese   (Br 258:208/
        258)   [$^b_{M*}$]

In fact, the only significant discrepancy between my data
and those of Belić consists in the accentuation of forms
other than 2-3sg in the JM area; for discussion, see below,
sec. 3.28.

3.13   In WBg, accent remains on the same syllable throughout
the aorist tense of obstruent stems. Usually this is the
stem syllable, e.g.

CWBg   izmétoh/izméte (Mih 118)   [b]

In certain cases, primarily the verb id and its compounds, it
is the desinential syllable, e.g.

CWBg   najdóh/najdé (ibid)   [o]

See chart 16 for the distribution of stem and end stress in
WBg, and secs. 3.14 and 3.30 below for discussion.

NMac retains end stress throughout the aorist paradigm
of all stems, obstruent stems included (cf. V 114). The only
exception noted by MDA researchers in the NMac region are

NMac   predadó/prédadé (MDA: Žegnjane)   [^O_M]
        dádé, predáde and prédadé (all 3sg)
        (MDA: Četirce)

There are no such examples in EMac; only columnar stress is
encountered there.

In NE KR we find an unambiguous recessive mobile al-
ternation only in stems with long root vocalism, e.g.

NE KR   ovŕo (KRs 410), ovrȍše (KRs 411)/
        vȑše (KRs 410)   [M]

In the majority of obstruent stems, we also find an accentual
opposition between sg and pl: stem stress in the sg vs. end
stress in the pl. Within the sg, recessive mobility usually
distinguishes 2-3sg from 1sg, but sometimes all three forms
of the sg are identical. Examples:

NE KR ub<u>ŏdo</u>/<u>ŭbode</u> (KRt 141)/<u>pobodŏše</u>
                (KRs 412)   [ᴹ∗]

                    but also
        <u>ŭbode</u> (1-3sg) (KRt 141)

        <u>donĕso</u> (KRt 142)/<u>dŏnese</u> (KRs 53)/
            <u>donéše</u> and <u>donesóše</u> (KRt 142)   [ᴹ∗]
                    but also
        <u>dŏnese</u> (1-3sg) (KRt 142)

Sometimes variant forms with stem stress are found in the

plural as well, e.g.

    NE KR <u>jĕdo'</u>, <u>poĕdo'</u>/<u>pŏede</u>/<u>poĕdo'mo</u> and <u>jĕdo'mo</u>
                (1pl) as well as <u>jedŏste</u> (2pl) and
            <u>jedŏše</u> (3pl) (KRs 412)   [M∗M]

        <u>pĕko'</u>/<u>pĕče</u>, <u>ispeče</u>/<u>pĕkoše</u> and <u>pekŏše</u>
                (3pl) (KRs 412)   [M∗M]

        <u>presĕko</u> (1sg) (KRt 169)/<u>pŏseče</u> (2-3sg)
                (KRs 409)/<u>posĕkoše</u> and <u>isekŏše</u> (3pl)
                (KRs 409)   [M∗M]

In some instances stem stress appears to have been extended

throughout the paradigm; if variant forms with end stress are

also known in the pl, they are not mentioned in the sources.

Compare:

    NE KR <u>ŭkrade</u> (2-3sg)/<u>krădoše, ukrădoše</u> (3pl)
                (KRs 413)   [M∗]

NE KR   udȁdo and ǚdade (KRt 141), prodȁdo
                (KRs 432) (all 1sg)/prȍdade (KRs 432),
                ǚdade (KRt 141) (2-3sg)/dȁdomo (1pl),
                prodȁdoše (3pl) (KRs 432)   [M*]

Non-final stress in place of expected final stress in 1sg of
stems with short root vocalism is to be expected in KR be-
cause of paroxytonesis. Stem stress in pl forms is no doubt
by analogy to the sg forms. Sometimes, however, end stress
is attested in both sg and pl (although alongside stem stress
in each case), e.g.

NE KR   rekô (KRt 141), rȅko¹ (KRs 409), rȅče
                (KRt 142) (all 1sg)/rȅče (KRs 409,
                KRt 142) (2-3sg)/rȅkomo, rȅkoste,
                rȅkoše (1,2,3pl) (Krs 409) but also
                rekȍste (2pl) (KRs 54)--unfortunately
                no prefixed forms were available, thus
                no information about recessive mobility
                in 2-3sg.   [bo]

Conversely, stem stress is also found alongside end stress in
stems with long root vocalism, e.g.

NE KR   tréso and trêse (1sg)/trêse (2-3sg)
                (KRt 141)/trésoše (3pl) (KRs 410)   [M]

In one instance, there was vacillation in the nonprefixed
forms between stem stress and end stress, but only stem stress
in the prefixed forms, viz.

NE KR   plȅto and pletȏ   (KRt 142) but oplȅto(h)
        (KRs 63), uplȅto and ȕplete   (KRt 141)
        (all 1sg)/ȗplete   (KRt 141), ȍplete
        (KRs 63) (2-3sg)/no pl forms
        attested   [M*M]

The sg/pl accentual opposition of the type presȅko
(1sg)/presekȍše (3pl) is clearly the result of paroxytonesis
--avoidance of accent on short open ultima of 1sg aorist
forms. (Jović's comment about these forms--"povećan broj
slogovu u množini automatski utiče i na promenu mesta akcenta"
[KRt 144] apparently makes reference to paroxytonesis in the
singular.) The sg/pl opposition of the type ȕdade (1-3sg)/
udȁdoše (3pl) seems to be a further extension of this trend:
stem stress in the 1sg (due to paroxytonesis) led to the gene-
ralization of stem stress in the plural. At the same time,
initial stress in 2-3sg forms was extended to 1sg as well by
some speakers; this extension was clearly supported by the
fact that in all other verb classes all three forms of the
singular have the same desinence shape.

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3.14   The stems <u>id</u> and <u>mog</u> do not follow this general pattern.

Instead, they are attested with end stress throughout their

unprefixed paradigms. For instance:

WTk	<u>idó/idé</u> (Šarb, Br 117:155/233)	[o]
Tk	<u>idé</u> (3sg) (Kr, Šil, B 556:157/230, ibid:	
	158/337, ibid:157/300, ibid:159/229	[o]
Sof	<u>idóh</u> (T 363:315/241, ibid:318/244)/<u>idé</u>	
	(T 363:318/244)	[o]

Sometimes, the aorist paradigm of <u>mog</u> included forms based on

the suffixed stem <u>moga</u>. These forms were accented on the

stem-final syllable, e.g.

SWTk	<u>mogá</u> (1-3sg)/<u>mogámo</u>, <u>mogáste</u>, <u>mogáše</u> (Pas)	[b]

The occurrence of such paradigms is indicated on the chart by

the entry <u>moga</u> listed underneath <u>mog</u>. When a mixed paradigm

was attested, e.g. <u>mogá</u> (1sg)/<u>možé</u> (2-3sg), I have summarized

it under <u>mog</u> as having end stress. Compare:

ETk	<u>mogó/možé</u> (Čin, Br 308:236/309)	[o]
	<u>ne mogó</u> (B 567:233/316, ibid:223/324)/	
	<u>ne možé</u> (Kr, B 567:216/334, ibid:	
	233/316)	[o]
	<u>mogá</u> (1sg)/<u>možé</u> (2-3sg) (Br 228:209/233)	[o]
	<u>mogá</u> (1-3sg) and <u>možé</u> (2-3sg) (Br 259:	
	228/308, ibid:157/300)	[o]
TWBg	<u>mogó/možé</u> (T 363:239/250, Tg 184:239/250)	[o]
	<u>mogó/možé</u> as well as <u>možé</u> (1-3sg) and	
	<u>možá</u> (1-3sg) (Mbr 10)	
CWBg	<u>ne mogóh</u> (T 360:304/205)/<u>možé</u> (Mih 118)	[o]

As to prefixed forms, I have full data only for the verb <u>id</u>.

End stress is retained with very few exceptions throughout

the prefixed aorist paradigm in WBg and ETk. In WTk, however,

the recessive mobile alternation (i.e. initial accent in 2-3

sg) is the prevailing pattern in prefixed forms of this verb.

The data are listed below in approximate east-to-west order

(when 2-3sg aor are end-stressed, end stress is assumed for

the rest of the paradigm):

NWBg	<u>dojdé</u> (3sg)	(T 363:245/402)	
	<u>najdé</u> (3sg)	(ibid:239/350)	
	<u>zajdé</u> (3sg)	(T 363:249/358)	
	<u>zajdé se</u> (3sg)	(T 363:314/349)	
	<u>otidóh</u>	(T 363:318/244, ibid:326/331)/	
	<u>otidé</u>	(T 363:243/344, ibid:245/402)/	
	<u>otidómo</u>	(ibid:319/350)	[o]
	but	•	
	<u>otíde</u> (3sg)	(T 363:341/329, ibid:230/350)/	
	<u>otídomo</u>	(ibid:239/350)	[b]
CWBg	<u>najdóh/najdé</u>	(Mih 118)	[o]
Sof	<u>najdé</u> (3sg)	(T 363:318/244)	
	<u>otidóh/otidé</u>	(ibid)	[o]
	<u>otidé</u> (Sg 44)		
	<u>dojdé</u> (3sg)	(Sg 44)/<u>dojdóme</u> (Sg 46)	[o]
	but		
	<u>otíde</u> (3sg)/<u>otídoše</u> (3pl)	(T 363:349/239)	[b]
	<u>otído/otíde</u>	(Sp 253)	[b]
	<u>dójde</u>	(ibid)	
Kjus	<u>dojdó^h</u>	(Kj 39)/<u>dojdé</u> (Kj 33)	[o]
NSV	<u>pojdó</u> (1sg)	(Mns 102)	
	<u>dojdé</u> (3sg)	(Mns 103)	
	<u>otidé</u> (3sg)	(Mns 131)	
EMac	<u>dojdé</u> (3sg)	(MDA: Kis, Kal, Gab)	
	<u>idé</u> (3sg)	(MDA: Gab)	

EMac   íde (3sg)   (MDA: Kis, Kal--no other forms
           given)

TWBg   najdó/najdé   (O 102:233/341)

       dojdó   (T 363:247/339)/dojdé   (KK 198)   [o]

       dojdé (3sg)   (KK 574:231/234, KK 577:
           235/236, KK 605:239/227)

       si dojdé, si pojdé   (KK 199) (3sg)

       pojdé (3sg)   (Tg 190:239/250)

       otidé (3sg)   (Tg 187, Tg 188, Tg 191,
           T 363:239/250, O 102:233/341)
               but

       otíde (3sg)   (T 363:325/320)

ETk   dojdé (3sg)   (VR, Svodje, B 566:225/33ɔ,
           ibid:216/334, ibid:233/301, ibid:
           215/242, ibid:217/240, ibid:214/240,
           ibid:214/250)

       dojdó/dojdé   (Br 226:209/233)   [o]

       pojdó/pojdé   (Br 306:236/309)   [o]

       pojdé (3sg)   (B 566:216/344)

       najdé (3sg)   (ibid, B 566:233/341)

       projdé (3sg)   (B 566:209/233, ibid:216/334)

       otidó/otidé   (Čin, Kr, Br 257:228/308,
           Svodje)   [ɔ]

       otidé (3sg)   (B 566:200/322, ibid:216/344)
             vs.

       ótide (3sg)   (Tem[233/316], B 566:216/334--
           each recorded once in the area in ques-
           tion, alongside numerous instances of
           3sg otidé)

CWTk   dojdó/dójde   (Br 172:157/300)   [M]

       otído/ótide   (ibid)   [M*]

       ótide (3sg)   (Šil)

SWTk	dojdó/dójde	(Grač)	[M]
	dojdjó/dódje	(Pas)	[M]
	otidó/ótide	(Br 117:155/233)	[M]
	otíde (3sg)	(Grač)	

End stress occurred with equal frequency in WTk also, but

only in dissyllabic forms, viz.

CWTk	dojdé (3sg)	(B 567:157/300, ibid:305/245,	
		ibid:150/318, ibid:155/319)	
	najdé (3sg)	(B 567:204/259, ibid:150/318)	
	pojdé (3sg)	(B 567:211/244)	

(unfortunately no trisyllabic forms available
for CWTk)

SWTk	dojdó/dojdé	(Trg, Br 117:59/233, Br 145:	
		159/229)	[o]
	dojdé (3sg)	(B 567:155/233, ibid:257/230)	
	najdé (3sg)	(B 567:159/234)	
	pojdé (3sg)	(B 567:155/233)	
	but		
	ótide (3sg)	(Trg, Br 117:155/233)	

In his comments on Broch's material, however, Belić indicates

that he expects end stress in such forms as well:

Interesantno bi bilo otidó: ótide Vr[anje] 117, ali
ono, na žalost, nije tačno zabeleženo. Isto tako u
Lesk[ovcu] ne nahodimo otído ótide (172) i dodjó:
dódje (ibid), dodjómo, već pojednako i u Vranju i u
Leskovcu samo: otidó:otidé: otidómo i dodjó: dodjé:
dodjómo (Bll 66)

However, my field data for Trg (207/233) and Šil (143/254)--

which are situated very close to Vranje (155/233) and Leskovac

(157/300), respectively--confirm Broch's data and contradict

Belić's statement. I found recessive mobility in trisyllabic
forms (3sg ótide) throughout WTk. As to dissyllabic forms,
however, my data agree with Belić and contradict Broch: I
found mobility only in areas of Kosovo (Grač and Pas), where-
as in Šil, Šarb and Trg these forms occurred exclusively with
columnar end stress.

Thus, dissyllabic forms of the verb id have end stress
throughout the aorist, whether prefixed or not (except in the
Kosovo region of SWTk), but trisyllabic aorist forms, neces-
sarily prefixed, have a recessive mobile alternation in all
of WTk. This suggests that the difference in place of accent
is dependent on the number of syllables and not on the pre-
sence or absence of a prefix. The isogloss "presence/absence
of recessive mobility for the verb id" thus appears to coincide
with that for other obstruent stems, viz.

WBg ETk	péko/péče ispéko/ispéče	[b]
	idó/idé otidó/otidé	[o]

(alternation absent)

<div align="center">vs.</div>

WTk	péko/péče ispéko/íspeče	[M*]
	idó/idé otidó/ótide	[P]

(alternation present in prefixed forms)

regardless of the fact that the nonprefixed forms are stem-stressed for the majority of obstruent stems but end-stressed for the verb id. This isogloss can be seen on sketch IV, which depicts the distribution of this alternation in obstruent stems in Tk, WBg, NMac and EMac. Three symbols are given for each locality, in the shape of an inverted triangle. The two on top refer to the lexemes dad and jed in that order, and the one below to id. This emphasizes the accentual difference between id and other obstruent stems. Thus the notation

<div align="center">

M* M

M

</div>

next to Pas on the map stands for the following accentuation:

Pas	predádo/prédade	[M*]
	najedó/nájede	[M]
	otidó/ótide	[M]

Note that the symbol M (with or without an asterisk), which indicates the presence of an alternation within the aorist tense, appears only once in ETk (in CTim), and not at all in WBg, NMac or EMac. Only in WTk is the alternation regular in this group of stems.

2-3 sg aorist forms of the verb mog are unfortunately not attested with a prefix. In one instance, accent appears on a preceding negative particle in the 2-3 sg form, viz.

CWTk né može (Br 259:208/258)

Normally, however, this is not the case, cf.

CWTk   <u>ne možé</u>   (Br 174:157/300)
ETk   <u>ne možé</u>   (Kr, B 567:216/334, ibid:233/316,
                 Br 259:228/308)
TWBg   <u>ne možé</u>   (KK 577:235/236, KK 609:235/225)
NWBg   <u>ne možé</u>   (T 361:314/349)

LEGEND
- ·- dialect boundaries
- — political boundaries
- ⟨r towns or villages
- 𝒯𝓀 dialect areas

NWBg

. NSV
b b
o

Šarb·
M⁺ b   DP
o

CTim
M⁺ b
o

ETk

CWTk

Kr
· b b
o

b b
o
Čin.

Šil.
M⁺ M⁺
P

TWBg

o Trən
b b
o

. Sof
b b
o

Grač
M⁺ M⁺
M

SWTk

TWBg

b b
o
Vr.

TWBg

M⁺ o
M

Pas
M⁺ M
M

Trg   Staj · Rad

Žel·

Gab·

o Kjus   b b
o

CWBg

o Kum   o o
o

Psač
Rank   Kis·

b b
o
. Kal

NMac

EMac

Dek·
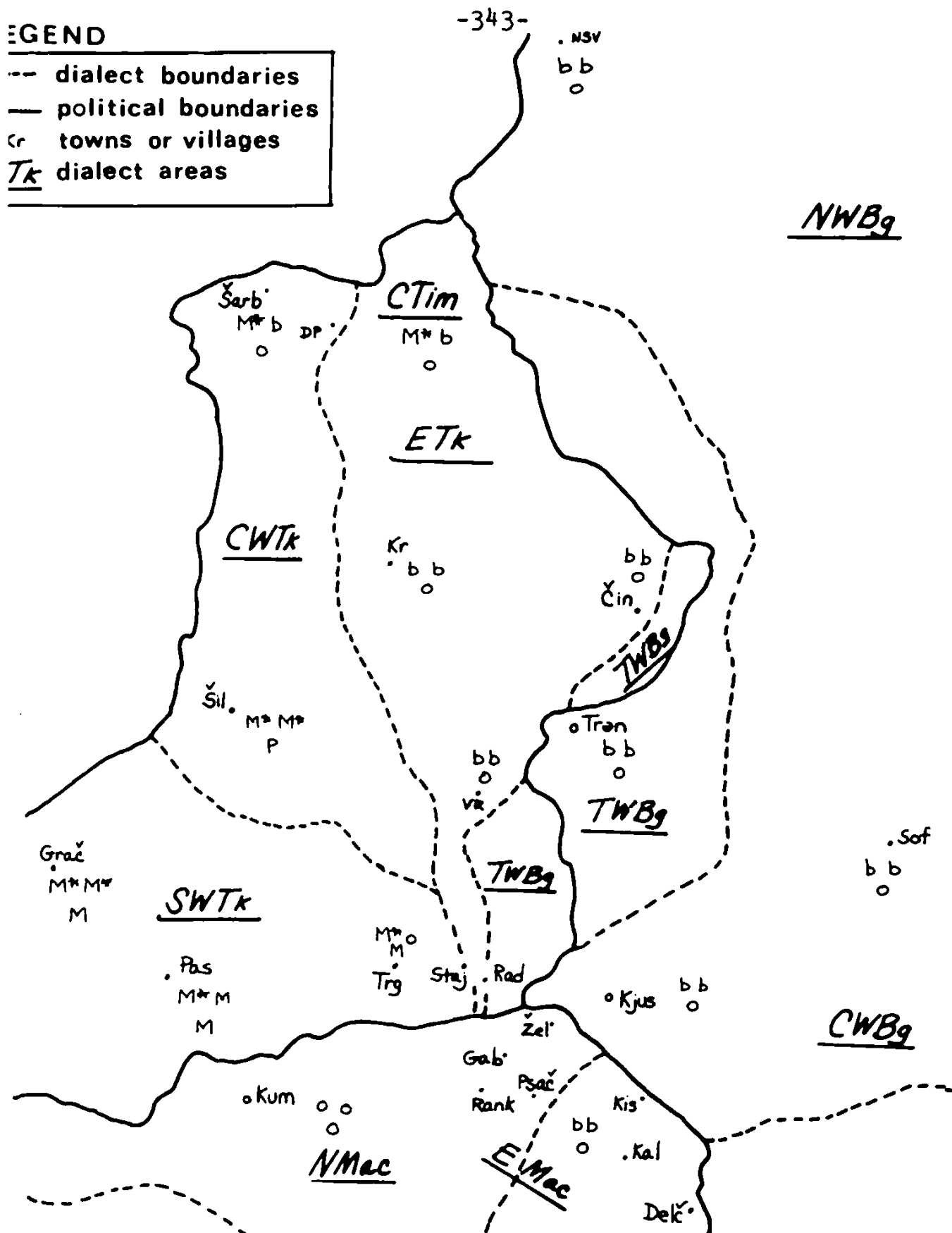
Sketch IV: 2-3sg aorist/other aorist forms in three obstruent
stems in Tk, WBg, NMac and EMac

3.15   Aorist markers are non-syllabic in all remaining stem

classes, which means that the aorist desinences are not ac-

centable in these verbs. Alternation within the aorist are

thus usually between stem-final syllable and absolute initial

syllable, symbolized [M*]. In a few verbs, however, the

aorist is formed from a stem of the obstruent type, with end

stress. The recessive mobile alternation within such para-

digms is symbolized [M]. A separate entry on the chart, ap-

pearing directly under the main entry, indicates where this

occurs.

The most frequently occurring example of this is the

verb <u>vide</u>, whose aorist is formed from the stem <u>vid</u> in all

Tk dialects, e.g.

Tk   <u>vidó/vidé</u> [<u>vid--ó-∅/vid--é-∅</u>] (Trg, Šil,
                     DP, Kr, VR, Čin, CT 430, Br 310:236/309,
                     Br 262:228/308, Br 231:209/233)   [o]
             <u>vidó</u> (B 507:209/334, ibid:216/334, ibid:
                     225/335)/<u>vidé</u> (B 55:212/323)   [o]

Columnar end stress is the norm for this verb in Tk. Mobil-

ity and barytonesis are also found in WTk, viz.

WTk   <u>vidó/víde</u> (DP, Pas, Šil)   [M]
         <u>vído/víde</u> (Pas, Grač, Šarb, Br 177:
                     157/300)   [b]

In addition, one possible example of mobility is recorded by

Stanojević for ETk:

ETk   jutrédan, kad sóvne, <u>víde</u> dve
                     bábe mŕtve (CT 434, italics mine)
                 vs.

ETk   <u>vidó/vidé/vidómo</u>   (CT 430)   [o]

Prefixed forms of this verb are rare; I recorded none. Compare Broch's data, however:

ETk   <u>uvidó/uvidé</u>   (Br 231:209/233)   [o]

          <u>nenavidó/nenavidé</u>   (Br 262:228/308--

              Belić remarks "ako je narodno"

            [Bll 74])   [o]

                 as well as

CWTk   <u>zavído/závide</u>   (Br 177:157/300)   [M*]

          <u>nenavidó/nenavíde</u>   (Br 262:208/258)   [m]

The last pair is suspect: not only is the verb form <u>nenavide</u> rare in village speech (whence Belić's doubt as to its authenticity, quoted above), but the accentual pattern is suspicious. Mobility within the aorist, if it occurs, is practically always recessive in nature.

Similar forms are found for the verb <u>sede</u>. Here, however, we find aorist forms from the obstruent stem <u>sed</u> occurring alongside aorist forms from <u>sede</u>. The data, grouped according to regions within Tk, are:

ETk   (<u>sede</u>)

        <u>posedé</u> (1sg)   (B 576:216/334)

        <u>posedéše</u>   (Kr)

        (<u>sed</u>)

        <u>sédo</u>   (Čin)

        <u>zasédo</u>   (Kr, CT 454)

        <u>sédo/séde</u>   (Bll 65:n.p.)   [b]

CWTk   (<u>sede</u>)

          <u>sedé</u> (1sg)   (B 558:155/319)

          (<u>sed</u>)

          <u>posédo</u> (Šarb)

SWTk   (<u>sede</u>)

          <u>sedé</u> (1sg)   (B 558:155/233, Br 150:159/229)

          (<u>sed</u>)

          <u>sédo/séde/sédoše</u> but <u>sedómo</u> (Grač)
                       vs.

          <u>sedó</u> (Br 122:155/233, Br 150:159/229)
          <u>sedó/sedé</u> (Pas)   [o]
          <u>sedómo</u> (B 597:159/229)

Regarding the last two forms in this listing, Belić commented in his review of Broch that <u>sedó</u> is the "correct" 1sg aorist form for <u>sed</u> ("nahodimo pravilno <u>sedo</u>"--B11 74). When he recorded <u>sedómo</u> in the same town, however, he noted that "<u>sedómo</u> ...je obrazovano od <u>sednem</u> [i.e. <u>sed</u>] i ne dolazi ovamo [i.e. in a comparison with <u>vidó</u>, <u>vidómo</u>]" (B 507).

For both stems, however, the 2-3sg aorist surface form is <u>sede</u> ([<u>sede</u>--∅-∅] for <u>sede</u> and [<u>sed</u>--e-∅] for <u>sed</u>). But as the data from ETk and CWTk show, aorist forms for <u>sed</u> are stem-stressed while those for <u>sede</u> are end-stressed in those areas. We can thus presume that the following 2-3sg forms are based on <u>sede</u>:

ETk   sedé (2-3sg) (VR)

           posedé (3sg) (Čin, VR)

           sedé (3sg) (B 555:213/341, ibid:216/334,

                ibid:225/325, ibid:223/324)

SWTk   sedé (3sg) (Trg)

When the 2-3 sg surface form is stressed on the initial syllable,

however, we cannot be certain of its base form. Nonprefixed

forms can be identifiable as regular members of the paradigm of

sed only if all other forms of the paradigm are stem-stressed

forms of sed. In most instances, however, variation between

end stress (sedé) and stem stress (séde) is attested, e.g.

SWTk   séde (2sg) but sedé (3sg) (Trg)

CWTk   sedé and séde (3sg) (Šil)

ETk   sedé (2sg) but séde (3sg) (VR)

Initial accent in prefixed 2-3sg forms is clear proof of the

recessive mobile alternation. It is found in the following

instances (all forms are 3sg):

SWTk   zásede (Grač)

CWTk   présede (Šil)

ETk   ósede (B 576:216/334)

                  but

           posedé (Čin, VR)

I recorded aorist forms of the obstruent type for three

other stems in Tk, uze (all areas), stanu (WTk only) and vrte

(SWTk only). The data:

ETk   uzó/úze (Kr)   [M]

           uzó and uzé (1sg)/úze (2-3sg) (CT 419,

                Br 308:236/313, Br 260:228/308)   [M]

vs.

<u>úzo</u> (Čin)

CWTk   <u>uzédo</u>/<u>úzede</u> (Šil--but cf. 2-3sg forms
<u>uzé</u> and <u>préuze</u> also recorded there)
<u>uzó</u> and <u>uzé</u> (1sg)/<u>úze</u> (2-3sg) (Br 174:
157/300)   [M]

<u>préstade</u> (3sg) (Šarb)
<u>óstade</u> (3sg) (Šarb, Šil)

SWTk   <u>uzédo</u>/<u>úzede</u> (Pas, Trg)   [M*]
<u>uzédo</u> and <u>uzedó</u>/<u>úzede</u> (Br 147:159/229)   [M*/M]

<u>ostádomo</u> (1pl)/<u>óstade</u> (3sg) (Grač)   [M*]
<u>ostádo</u>/<u>óstade</u> (Pas)   [M*]

<u>vrtó</u>/<u>vrté</u> (Pas)   [o]

In addition, I recorded several aorist forms of the type

SWTk   <u>ogladnóu</u> (3pl) (Dvor)

in Dvorane, just north of NMac border. Since this dialect has
the fixed penultimate stress of neighboring NMac dialects, I
consider these forms to be due to NMac influence.

Except for <u>uzó</u> and <u>vrtó</u>, all instances of obstruent
type aorist formations in Tk occur after a stem final <u>d</u>. The
forms <u>uzedoh</u>, <u>stadoh</u> and <u>sedoh</u> are known in the std lg, but Tk
<u>vrto</u> and <u>vido</u> appear to dialectal innovations. <u>Vrto</u> is attest-
ed only in one dialect, which is located near the NMac border.
<u>Vido</u> is found in all areas of Tk, and appears to be formed on
the pattern of the obstruent stem <u>id</u>, cf. L-participle forms

vi**šél** (T 387:239/250), etc. of **vid** in WBg.

Recessive mobility appears to be the norm in the para-
digms of **uzo**, **uzedo** and **stado**, even in ETk where obstruent
stems otherwise do not have this alternation. Recessive mo-
bility is common in the **sedo** paradigm, although with signifi-
cant variation; but in **vido** it is quite rare. Comparison of
the isogloss of accent in the paradigm of **vido** (sketch V) and
those for **dado**, **jedo** and **ido** (sketch IV) shows that **vido** fol-
lows **ido** (and not other obstruent stems) in accent as well as
in form.

The data for WBg and EMac dialects are similar on this
point:

TWBg   **vidó/vidómo** (T 364:239/250, ibid:246/337,
                  Tg 184:239/250)
        vidőme (T 364:229/230, KK 585:229/230)
        vidóme (T 364:246/340)
        vidó and **vidé** (1sg)/**vidé** (2-3sg)/**vidómo**,
                  vidóste, **vidóše** (O 102:233/341)   [o]

        sédo (Tg 185:239/250)
        sédomo (O 109:233/341)
                  but
        sedómo (O 110:233/341)

        stáde (3sg) (T 364:231/234)
                  but
        stanó (1sǵ) (T 368:231/234)

LEGEND
- - - - dialect boundaries
———— political boundaries
Kr   towns or villages
ETk   dialect areas
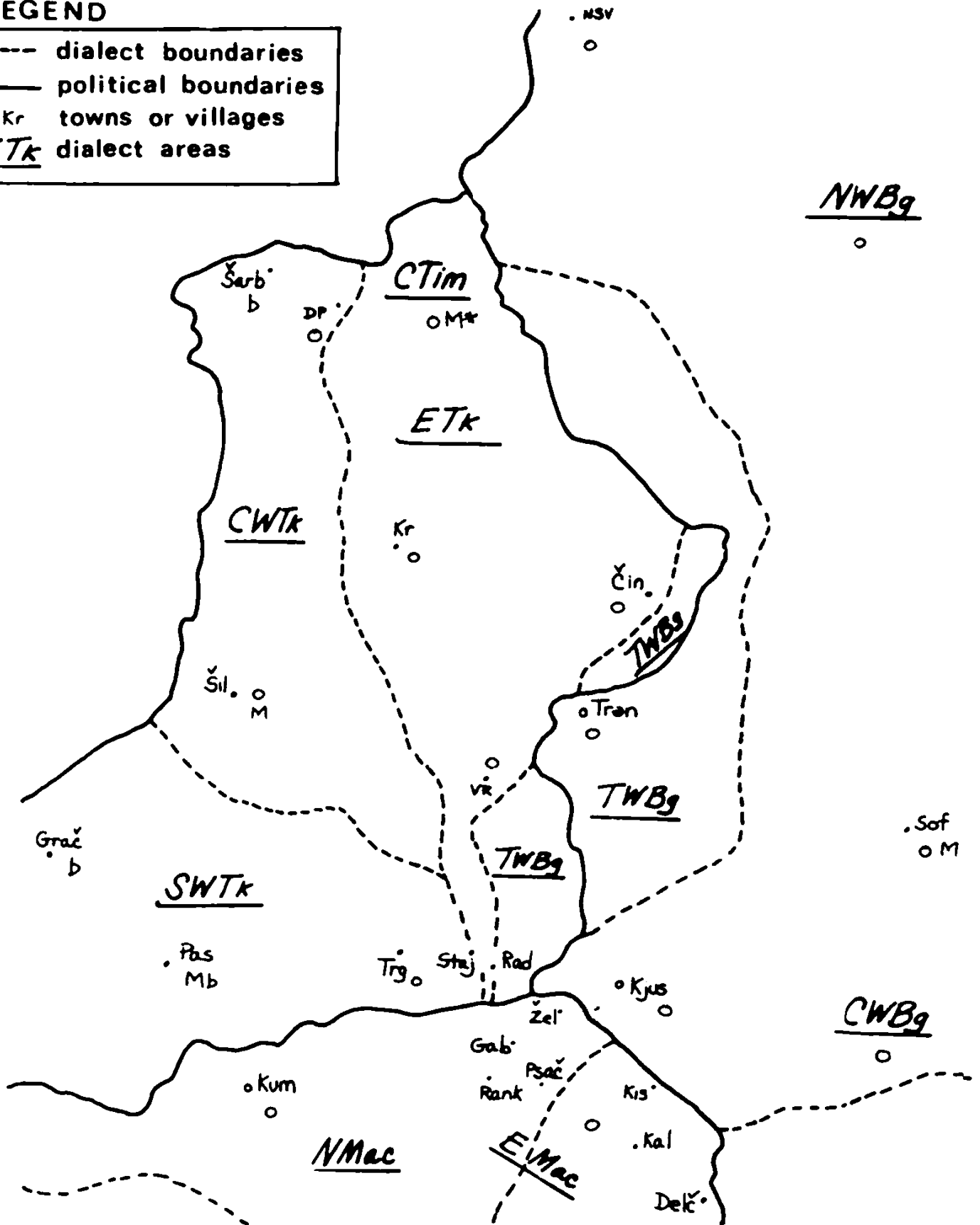
Sketch V: Accentuation of aorist tense of <u>vide</u>

TWBg   uzó   (Tg 173:239/250)/uzé   (Tg 187:239/
          250)/uzómo   (Tg 200:239/250)   [o]
        uzóme   (O 102:233/341)
               but
        uzéste, uzéše   (ibid)

Kjus   sedó^h (Kj 76)

Sof   vidóh/previdóa   (T 364:318/244)
        vidóh/víde/vidóha   (T 364:315/241)   [M]

        doletóha   (T 364:327/348)

NWBg   vidóh   (T 360:322/331)
        vidó   (T 364:229/345, ibid:246/337)
        vidóme   (T 364:246/340)
        vidóste   (T 364:234/332)

In NMac and NSV, however, obstruent type aorist formations are

more common, e.g.

NMac   úzede (3sg)   (V 114)
        umró, izmróa and umróva   (V 203)
        ostanóa   (ibid)
        vidó/vidómo/vidóte/vidóa and vidóše   (ibid)
        obidó and obigó   (ibid)

        goró, izgoró/izgorómo/izgoróa and izgoróva
            (ibid)
        izgoró/ízgore   (MDA: Dumanovce)

        oživó   (ibid)

        vrtóa and zavrtóše se   (ibid)

-352-

izgladnóa (ibid)

izoróa (ibid)

(Note that etymologically expected aorist forms, e.g. izgoré,
izgladnéa, izoráše, are also attested alongside the above
forms in NMac.)

NSV   žno/žne (Mns 95)

uzó/úzo (Mns 99)   [M]

vidó (Mns 214)/vído (Mns 159)

izbégo/izbéžo (Mns 99)

vortó/vorté (Mns 94, 99)   [P]
              but
zovortó/závorte (Mns 99)

goró/goré (Mns 94)   [P]
              but
izgoró/ízgore (Mns 95)

sédo/sédo/sédomo, sédosto, sédou (Mns 15) [b]
              but
sodó pet minúto (Mns 283)

istorpó/ístorpe (Mns 150)   [M]

(Apparently all class III verbs have this type of aorist in
NWV, cf. Mns 94 and 99-100.)

In these paradigms, as in the aorist of other cbstruent
stems, alternations within the aorist are generally absent in

NMac and EMac dialects. Recessive mobility is attested in some
instances in WBg (as in <u>vido</u> in Sofia, noted above), but nor-
mally the aorist of obstruent stems has columnar accent in
WBg. Only in NSV does the recessive mobile alternation occur
regularly: it is attested in prefixed forms of all stems ex-
cept obstruent stems, cf. Mns 150-151. Mladenov feels that
such a clear correlation between morphological stem-class and
accentual patterns is rare for this dialect:

> Proličava jarkata zavisimost v minalo sveršeno vreme
> ot slovoobrazovatelnata struktura, kojato počti
> nikode ne se projavjava vev vrezka s udarenieto
> (Mns 151)[23]

Since the prefixed forms of <u>verto</u> and <u>goro</u> do have the alter-
nation, they are apparently not considered as obstruent stems
by the speakers of this dialect, despite the shape of the
desinences.

3.16   Practically all other verbs have the recessive mobile
alternation within the aorist in Tk, at least in their prefixed
paradigms. Of the 122 instances in which I recorded non-initial
stress in 2-3sg, nearly two-thirds (80 examples) are in non-
prefixed forms. My data thus seem to confirm Belić's statement
of the distribution of this alternation:

> Za sve dvosložne izvedene glagole (na a, e, i), može
> [se] postaviti pravilo: Prosti glagoli imaju akcenat
> u aoristu obično na kraju, složeni ga pak u 2. i 3.
> licu jedn[ine] povlače na prvi slog. (B 579, italics
> of original not reproduced)

Note the following exceptions, however:

a) presence of mobility in nonprefixed paradigms

ETk   vrnú/vŕnu (CT 422)   [M*]

         stanú/stánu (Čin, Kr)   [M*]
         stánu (no ps, 1-3sg assumed)/
               stanúmo (CT 423)

         sémnu (3sg) (Kr)

         pljunú/pljúnu (Kr--listed under pljuva
               on chart 23)   [M*]

         čuvá and čúva (3sg) (Kr)

         vénča (2sg)/venčémo (Kr)   [M*]

         viká/víka (Kr)   [M*]

ETk   <u>kazá/kéza</u> (Kr, Br 264:228/308--rejected
by Belić [Bll 73] but supported by
my own data from Kr [203/310])   [M*]

    <u>kupová/kúpova</u> (Čin)   [M*]

CWTk   <u>sávnu</u> (3sg) (Šarb)

    <u>pljunú/pljúnu</u> (ibid--listed under <u>pljuva</u>
on chart 23)   [M*]

    <u>nosí/nósi</u> (Šarb)   [M*]

    <u>kazá/kéza</u> (Šarb)

SWTk   <u>sámnu</u> (3sg) (Pas)

    <u>kazá/kéza</u> (Pas--recorded with "?")   [M*]
    <u>kazá</u> (1-2sg)/<u>kéza</u> (3sg) (Trg)

    <u>šópča</u> (3sg) (Trg)

b) absence of mobility in prefixed paradigms

ETk   <u>ubí</u> (1-3sg) (Br 229:209/233)   [b]

    <u>izmí</u> (1-3sg) (Br 261:228/308)   [b]

    <u>sekrí</u> (no ps) (Br 229:209/233)

    <u>pozná</u> (1-3sg) (Br 261:228/308)   [b]
    <u>pozná</u> (1-3sg) and <u>ón me né pozna</u>
       (Br 229:209/233) $[^b_{M*}]$

ETk   zaklé (1-3sg) (Br 260:228/308)   [b]

uzé (no ps) (Br 229:209/233)
uzé (1-2sg)/úze (3sg) (VR--possibly
      recorded incorrectly)

počé (1-3sg) (Čin, VR, Br 260:228/308)   [b]
počé (no ps) (Br 228:209/233)

izmlé (1-3sg) (Br 260:228/308)   [b]
umlé (1-2sg) (VR)
semlé (no ps) (CT 426)

kakó umré kesárija (B 570:214/250)
muž mi umré (Bll 71:236/309)
umré (3sg) (Kr)
umré (1-3sg) (Br 260:228/308)   [b]
umré (no ps) (Br 229:209/233)

ožé (1-2sg) (VR)
ožé (1-3sg) (Br 308:236/309)   [b]
požé (1-3sg) (Br 260:228/308)

posónu (3sg--stem-initial stress
      unexpected) (Čin)

zadržá (1-3sg) and on me zádrža (Br 231:
      209/233)   [$^{b}_{M*}$]

proležá (1-3sg) (Br 262:228/308)   [b]

prestojá (1-3sg) (Br 231:209/233,
      Br 262:228/308)   [b]

ETk   <u>ogladné</u> (1-2sg) (VR)

<u>izgoré</u> (1sg, 3sg) (Čin, Br 262:228/308)
<u>pregoré</u> (3sg) (Br 311:236/309)
<u>izgoré</u> and <u>ízgore</u> (3sg) (Br 231:209/233)

<u>zaživé</u> and <u>zážive</u> (3sg) (Br 231:209/233)   [$^b_{M*}$]

<u>pile proleté</u> (Br 231:209/233)
<u>poleté</u>, <u>uleté</u> (Br 311:236/309, identified
      as 3sg but shown by Belić to be 1sg,
      stress thus as expected [Bll 75-76])

<u>prenosí</u> (1-3sg) and <u>íznosi</u> (2-3sg--"auch
      einmal notiert") (Br 311:236/309)   [bM*]

<u>pogazí</u> (1-3sg) (Br 263:228/308--termed
      "svakako...netačno" by Belić [Bll 76]   [b]

<u>zbiré</u> (3sg) (B 589:233/301)

<u>izrezá</u> (3sg) but <u>ízreza</u> (2sg) (VR)

<u>zaorá</u> (1-3sg) (Br 264:228/308--rejected by
      Belić as incorrect [Bll 73])   [b]

<u>posejá</u> (1-3sg) and <u>pósejá</u> (2sg) (VR)
<u>posejá</u> (1-3sg) (Br 264:228/308, rejected by
      Belić as 'netačno" [Bll 73])   [b]

<u>sková</u> (1-3sg) (Čin)   [b]

ETk   <u>prekupuvá</u> (1-3sg)   (Br 313:236/309,
             Br 264:228/308)   [b]

CWTk   <u>izmí</u> (1-3sg)   (Br 261:208/258)   [b]

        <u>uzé</u> (but <u>préuze</u>) (3sg)   (Šil)   [P]

        <u>umré</u> (1sg)/umré and <u>úmre</u> (2-3sg)
            (Bll 71:157/300)   [$^{b}_{M*}$]

        <u>požnjé</u> (no ps)   (Br 174:157/300,
            Br 260:208/258)

        <u>naučí</u> (3sg)   (Šil--recorded with "?")

SWTk   <u>ubí</u> (no ps)   (Br 121:155/233)

        <u>popí</u>, <u>ispí</u> (no ps)   (Br 148:159/229)

        <u>iznosí</u> (1-3sg) but <u>íznosi</u> (3sg), listed
            with a note on semantic difference
            about which see below (Bll 75:155/
            233)   [$^{b}_{M*}$]

        <u>zaklé</u> (1-3sg)   (Br 148:159/229)   [b]

I have included sonorant stems and <u>u</u>-verbs in these lists as
well, since my field experience confirmed the extension of
Belić's rule (stated for <u>a</u>-, <u>e</u>- and <u>i</u>- stems) to them as well.
It is true that the majority of exceptions in list (b) above
represent sonorant stems (29 examples of sonorant stems vs. 24
of <u>e</u>-, <u>i</u>- and <u>a</u>-stems; none of <u>u</u>-stems). Note, however, that

all examples from class I-2 (type ubí) are quoted from Broch--
I found only recessive mobility in these stems in Tk. On the
other hand, I found that verbs of class I-3 (type poče) have
recessive mobility and columnar stem-final stress in roughly
equal proportions. The high frequency of occurrence of colum-
nar stress in these prefixed stems is probably due to the fact
that they are not usually attested in nonprefixed form. In
particular, the u- of uze and umre, and the po- of poče seem
to be regarded as part of the stem and not as prefixes, cf. the
relationship between 3sg uzé and 3sg préuze (Šil).

Despite the relatively large number of exceptions just
listed, it is certain that recessive mobility occurs more
consistently when a prefix is present than when it is absent.
Whether the differentiating criterion is grammatical (perfec-
tive vs. imperfective aspect) or phonological (presence vs.
absence of an additional syllable at the beginning of the
word) is difficult to say. In 1905, Belić felt that the second
of these was the limiting factor:

> Svi prosti izvedeni glagoli...bili oni trajni ili
> svršeni, imaju u aor[istu] akcenat uvek na kraju;
> kada pak dodavanjem prefiksa postanu složeni i
> svršeni--povlače ga u 2. i 3. l[icu] jednine na
> prvi slog. (B 580)

In 1911, however, he appeared convinced that the aspectual dis-
tinction alone conditioned place of accent:

> Kada iterativni glagoli postaju složeni i imaju
> trajno ili iterativno značenje,...akcenat ostaje
> neprevučen u 2.3. l[icu] sing[ulara]." (Bll 64)

This statement does not in fact conflict with the earlier one,

in which the condition for recessive mobility included both

perfective meaning and the presence of a prefix. Compare the

following, however:

> Ako neki glagol ima samo jednu formu, pa ma bio i
> svršen, ili ako se od svršenog glagola obrazuju
> <u>složeni svršeni</u>, onda za njih vredi ono što i za
> proste glag[ole] (t.j. da ne menjaju mesta akcenat-
> skoga). (Bll 65, italics mine)

> ...kod glagola na <u>nu</u> (resp <u>na</u>) koji su većinom
> trenutni <u>i kad nisu složeni</u>, razvija se odnos kao
> i kod složenih svršenih mnogosložnih glagolskih
> osnova. (ibid, italics mine)

and finally:

> ...kod nekih glagola zavisi jedino od smisla da li
> će u 2. i 3. l[icu] jedn[ine] prenositi akcenat....
> Zabeležio sam u Vranju <u>iznosí</u> 1.2.3. na pr[imer] seno
> ili sl[ično], ali kокóška se <u>íznosi</u>--"kokoška prestade
> da nosi (jaja)." (Bll 75)

Class VI verbs (<u>ova/uva</u> type), for example, normally

retain imperfective meaning even when prefixed. Thus, according

to Belić, "[oni] imaju akcenat u aoristu uvek na kraju" (Bll 73)

The following examples confirm this statement:

ETk   <u>kupuvá</u> (1-3sg)   (Br 234:209/233, Kr)   [в

ETk   prekupuvá (1-3sg) (Br 313:236/309,
              Br 264:228/308)   [b]

         pražnjuvá (1-3sg) (Kr)   [b]

CWTk   psuvé (1-3sg) (Šil)   [b]

However, I recorded recessive mobility in ETk both with and
without a prefix in this stem class:

ETk   kupové/kúpova (Čin)   [M*]
        poverové/né poverova (Kr)   [M*]
               cf. also
          ópcuva (3sg) (B 501:157/322)

Belić apparently rejected out of hand the following examples
of Broch's, simply because they did not conform with his al-
ready-formulated rule, claiming "svugda tu treba da je akcenat
na kraju" (Bll 73):

ETk   prikupuvé/prikúpuva (Br 278:227/255,
              ibid:225/325--non-initial accent in
              2-3sg is unexpected)
CWTk   prekupové/prékupova (Br 179:157/300)   [M*]

It is possible that the above forms may reflect interference from
std SC.

    Most of my own data suggest that the difference in accent
placement has at least some correlation with aspect, i.e. pres-
ence or absence of perfective verbal meaning. Although I was
not able to identify unambiguously the "perfectivity" of every
aorist example as it occurred in context, one particularly
clear example stands out:

ETk on čúva óvce ("he watched the sheep"--
      simple completion of action)
      vs.
   cél dán on gi čuvá ("all day he watched
      them [sheep]"--duration of [completed]
      action stressed more than simple completion)

(Both examples were recorded in Kr.)

   The number of counter-examples (listed earlier) is still high, however. In particular, many examples of stem-final stress in prefixed forms recorded by Broch in Kriva Feja (209/233) and Zaplanje (228/308) were rejected by Belić, cf. Belić's general reservation on the reliability of Broch's material from these areas: "Bojim se da Broh nije dobio rdjava izvešća u ovome pravcu" (Bll 70). However, the majority of my own examples of stem-final stress in prefixed (also perfective) forms are from VR (219/244) which is located not far from Kriva Feja. This suggests that variation still exists on this point, and that the distinction is not as clear as Belić describes it to be. Certain of the counter-examples listed above suggest that the conditions for recessive mobility may include not only prefixation and perfectivity, but also syllabicity of the prefix. Compare:

ETk sková vs. pótkova (3sg) (Čin)
   zbirá (3sg) (B 589:233/301)
      and
 std SC slàga but dòlagā (SCd 179)

as well as prefixed forms of the verb id (listed in sec. 3.14 above), such as

SWTk   <u>dojdé</u> (3sg)   (Trg)   vs.   <u>ótide</u> (3sg)

         (Br 117:155/233)

3.17   There is little trace of accentual mobility within the
aorist in NMac and EMac dialects: stress is columnar, appear-
ing on the stem-final syllable throughout the paradigm.   I found
no trace of the recessive mobile alternation in EMac, and only
a very few examples in NMac dialects, cf. Vidoeski:

> Samo sporadično, i toa glavno vo zapadnata polovina
> [of the Kumanovo area] možat da se sretnat obrazuvanja
> so akcentot na prefiksot, sp. kət ono pótraži. (V 114)

The examples of mobility from the MDA files were noted for
villages around Kumanovo.   Usually these were recorded with
double accent marks, indicating vacillation:

NMac   vŕljí (1-3sg)   (MDA: Šopsko Rudare)
            ískočí (not identified, apparently 3sg)
                    but in narrated text only ískočí (3sg)
                    (MDA: Četirce)

            rásplaká (apparently 3sg)   (MDA: Žegnjane,
                    (MDA: Četirce)
            ízbljuvá (apparently 3sg)   (MDA: Šopsko
                    Rudare)
            kázá, prékazá (apparently 3sg)   (MDA: Žegnjane)

In WBg dialects, the occurrence of this alternation varies from
area to area.   In TWBg the [P] relationship of Tk dialects
(stem-final stress in nonprefixed forms vs. recessive mobility
in prefixed paradigms) seems to be prevalent, cf. Mladenov 1959:
17.   In addition, u-stems (class II) are mobile even when at-
tested without a prefix (ibid:16).   Compare the following
counter-examples, however:

TWBg   <u>ubí se ná ruke</u> (no ps)   (Tp 56:239/250)

<u>uzé</u> (3sg)   (Tg 188:239/250, O 110:233/341)
<u>uzé</u> (1-3sg)   (O 102:233/341)   [b]
<u>uzé</u> (no ps)   (Tg 187:239/250, T 365:
        239/250)

<u>on počé</u>   (Tg 193:239/250)

<u>umré</u> (3sg)   (Tg 181:239/250)

<u>ostaví</u> and <u>ostávi</u> (3sg--attested in same
        narration)   (KK 603:220/223)
<u>ostaí</u> (3sg)   (KK 611:235/225)

<u>ponaučí</u> (2sg)   (T 371:300/240)

<u>upazí me i ti</u>   (KK 589:237/232)

<u>kato káza</u> (3sg)   (O 111:233/341)

This mobile accentual pattern has become crystallized in
NSV in all verbs except obstruent stems, cf. Mns 150-151. There
are apparently no exceptions. On the other hand, NWBg and Sof
present considerable variation. Gelebov notes for Sofia:

Izvestni otklonenija se sreštat v minalo svaršeno
vreme. V govora se upotrebjavat mnogo dvojni formi,
i to predimno vev 2 i 3 l. ed. č., kedeto ima otmet na
udarenieto verxu načalnata srička: <u>zag'iná--zág'ina</u>,...
<u>razvrná--rázvrna</u>,...<u>sasipá--sásipa</u>. (Sg 50)

In general, however, nonprefixed aorist paradigms usually
have columnar stem-final accent, e.g. <u>kosí</u>, and prefixed forms

can be accented on the stem-final syllable (e.g. okosí), stem-initial syllable (okósi) or, in 2-3sg, absolute initial syllable (e.g. ókosi). According to Todorov, the second of these (kosí/okósi) is the productive pattern in many areas, cf. T 367. The fact that this accentuation is the norm in std Bg certainly aids its spread in these areas. I have marked this accentual relationship [P*] on the charts. This symbol appears on charts only when both prefixed and nonprefixed forms are attested, however, and this happens rarely. Thus, when recessive mobility is indicated for these areas by [M*] (rarely, [M**]), prefixed forms are meant. [B] and/or [b] indicate stem-initial (in either prefixed or nonprefixed paradigms) and/or stem-final (usually in nonprefixed paradigms) stress. But in most cases it was impossible to establish the relationship between prefixed and nonprefixed paradigms of particular lexemes.

In Kjus, there is no accentual mobility in the aorist, cf. Kj 76; while in CWBg (represented by the Ihtiman dialect) the relationship [P*] has been extended to all verbs, e.g.

| CWBg | kazáh/izkázah | (Mih 118) | [P*] |
| | pazíh/izpázih | (Mih 119) | [P*] |

Note, however, that this statement holds only when the prefix is syllabic, cf. svaríh, zgotvíh (Mih 119).

To the west, in štokavian KR dialects, the recessive mobile alternation is well attested. Among stems with short root vocalism, the sg/pl opposition (mentioned earlier in the

discussion of obstruent stems, sec. 3.13) is frequently found in
unprefixed forms as well, e.g.

NE KR rȅza (1-3sg)/rezȁmo, rezȁste, rezȁše (KRt 144)

Jović states that this accentuation is common among a number
of verbs, giving as examples "isterat, izlomit, sakupit, izgubit,
itd" (ibid). In prefixed forms the opposition of initial stress
in 2-3 sg to stem stress in 1sg is apparently maintained, cf.

NE KR ȉzlomi (3sg) (KRs 447)
        ȉstera (3sg) (KRs 443)

The sg/pl opposition also occurs in prefixed forms of
monosyllabic stems, e.g.

NE KR prȍbi (1-3sg)/probȉmo, etc. (KRt 141)
        zȁkla (1-3sg)/zaklȁmo, etc. (KRs 416)

However, 1sg forms sometimes retain end stress, e.g.

NE KR dȍbi and dobȉ (1sg) (KRt 142)
        oprȁ' and ȍpra (1sg) (KRs 147)

Thus the alternation is not lost altogether in these stems.

3.18   On the basis of data from the std lg, I expected to find at least some evidence of a marginal alternation opposing pre-fixed to nonprefixed forms of the L-part in Tk. However, I found evidence only in the verbs <u>dad</u> and <u>znaj</u>, and in every instance, these were attested in variation with nonalternating forms. Compare:

CWTk	<u>dalá</u>, <u>dalí</u>/<u>údala</u>, <u>údali</u> but <u>udalé</u> (Šarb)	[$_O^M$]
	vs.	
	<u>dalá</u>, <u>dalí</u>, <u>prodalá</u>, <u>prodalí</u> (Šil)	[o]
	cf. also	
ETk	<u>dalá</u>/<u>odalá</u> (Kr)	[o]
	<u>dalá</u>/<u>prodalá</u>, <u>udalá</u> (VR)	[o]
	<u>dalá</u>/<u>prodalá</u> and <u>prodála</u> (Čin)	
SWTk	<u>dalá</u> and <u>dála</u>/<u>prodalá</u> (Trg)	

ETk	<u>znalá</u>, <u>znalé</u>/<u>né</u> <u>znalo</u> but <u>priznalá</u> (VR)	[$_O^M$]
	and	
	<u>znalá</u>, <u>znalí</u>/<u>upoznalí</u> (Kr)	[o]
	cf. also	
SWTk	<u>znála</u>/<u>póznala</u> (Grač)	[M*]
	<u>nája</u> (Dj 135)/<u>dóznale</u> (Dj 121)	[M*]

(paroxytonesis accounts for absence of
end stress in the nonprefixed form in
both cases)

In KR dialects, the alternation is clearly attested in these two verbs:

NE KR	<u>dáli</u> (KRt 142, KRs 432), <u>dála</u>, <u>dálo</u> (KRs 432), <u>dálľ-mu</u>, <u>dálľ-smo</u> (KRs 53)/<u>pròdao</u>, <u>pròdala</u>, <u>pròdali</u>, <u>ùdali</u> but also <u>prodào</u> (ibid) [Mo]
	cf. also

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-369-

SW KR ǔdala, ǔdali (no nonprefixed forms) (E)

NE KR znále/pȍznao, pȍznala, pȍznali, dȍznali,
ǔpoznala (KRs 432)   [M]

There are only sporadic traces of this alternation in other

verbs in KR, however:

NE KR držȁo, držȁla, držȁli (KRs 449)/ȉzdržao
(KRs 452--marked as "sporadično")
vs. more common
izdržȁo, zadržȁlo, zadržȁli, podržȁli
(KRs 451)   [bM*]

čitȁo, čitȁla (KRs 435)/pročitao (KRs
436, KRt 148) and pročitȁo (ibid--
Jović notes this as the more frequent
form of the two [KRt 148])   [bM*]

orȁo/pȍrao (KRs 63--the second form is
apparently a contraction of pȍorao)   [M*]

kupovȁo, kupovȁla/ȍtkupovao, but also
otkupovȁo (KRs 430)   [ᵇM*]

In general, however, one finds stem-final stress (or end

stress) in both prefixed and nonprefixed forms of the L-part in

Tk. The few additional examples of vacillation between end

stress and initial stress do not seem to depend on the presence

or absence of a prefix:

CWTk   poneslé (B 585:155/319)
vs.
SWTk   ráznelo (ibid:155/233)

SWTk   ódneli   (ibid:200/233)

          dóneli and donéli   (Br 57:150/233)

Since this verb never occurs without a prefix, there is no question of an alternation opposing prefixed to nonprefixed forms. However, desinential stress in poneslá vs. initial stress in dónela (cf. std SC dǒnēla) suggests that there might be some relationship between the shape of the stem and accent placement in these forms. In KR, for example, one finds only forms of the type donela (and not ponesla), and initial stress in every instance but one, viz.

NE KR   dǒno, dǒnela, dǒneli (KRs 409)

           ìzno, ìznela, ìzneli (ibid)

           ǒdno, ǒdnela, ǒdneli (ibid)

           nǎnela, nǎneli (ibid)

           prènela (ibid)

           pǒno, pǒnela, pǒneli (ibid)

           dǒneo (KRt 148)

           dǒnela (KRt 163)

Jović notes, however:

> U Medvedji i Mijajlovcu zabeleženo je da ponekad [radni pridev] ima akcenat kao u prizrensko-timočkom dijalektu: donèo... (KRt 147)

(Jović uses the diacritical mark ˋ to signify a "phonetic variant" of ˋ\ [KRt 26]; its usage seems to be conditioned primarily by "speech tempo" [KRt 27].)

    I found only stem stress in this verb, however, regardless of stem shape:

ETk	donéla	(Čin, VR)
CWTk	donéja	(Šarb)
	donéla	(Šil)
SWTk	donéja	(Trg)
	snéla, donéla	(Grač)
	odnéa	(Pas)

Belić and Broch noted end stress in a few more verbs where I

recorded only stem stress (with very few exceptions), viz.

ETk	klelá	(Br 308:239/309--"neobičan akcenat"
		notes Belić [Bll 78])

but

ETk	kléla	(VR)
	zakléla	(Čin)
	iskléla	(Kr)
CWTk	kléla	(Šerb)
	zakléla	(Šil)
SWTk	kléla	(Grač, Pas)

End stress is retained in KR, however (at least before an

enclitic):

NE KR	kléli ga	(KRs 51)
	klēlì ga	(KRs 53)
	klelì ga	(KRt 147)

Further:

ETk	səbralá	(B 587:218/344)

but

səbralá	(B 587:216/334)
sabrálo	(ibid:223/341)
bráli	(Čin)
obráli	(Kr)
nabrál	(VR)

CWTk   obréli (Šil)

        obréja (Šarb)

SWTk   nabréla (Trg)

        sabréli (Grač)

            cf. also

SW KR   nabrào and nàbralo se (E)

NE KR   bràla, bràli (KRs 416--Simić notes "u ovom obliku

        ne čuje se nikad ´akc.")

      òdabrao, òdabrala, ìzabrala, ìzabrali (ibid)

ETk   mrlá, umrló, umrlí (Br 260:228/308--"ako [je]

        tačno zabeležen[o]" notes Belić [Bll 77])

    umrlí, umrlá, umrló and umrélo (VR)

          vs.

ETk   umréla (Čin, Kr, CT 420)

CWTk   umréla (Šarb, Šil)

SWTk   umréla (Trg, Pas, Grač)

          cf.

SW KR   ùmrela (E)

NE KR   ùmreo (KRt 130)

        umrèla (KRt 189)

Thus there is very little trace in Tk of the marginal alternation opposing prefixed and nonprefixed forms of the L-participle. Even in std SC, this alternation is being lost: Daničić gives only dòtrčāla, for example, but Pravopis lists both dòtrčāla and dotřčala. See Nikolić 1961-62 for further discussion.

I found no evidence of an alternation between prefixed and nonprefixed L-participle forms in NMac or EMac, and in WBg, only the Ihtiman dialect of CWBg deserves mention. There, L-

part forms of vocalic stems have the same accentuation as the
aorist, i.e. stem-final stress in nonprefixed forms vs. stem-
initial stress in forms with a syllabic prefix, e.g.

CWBg   kazál/nakázal   (Mih 119)   [P*]
        ženíl/preženíl   (ibid)   [P*]

Mladenov notes that as in the aorist, forms in which the prefix
is nonsyllabic retain stem final stress, e.g.

CWBg   gazíl/zgazíl   (Mih 119)   [b]
        krestíl/skrestíl   (ibid)   [b]

The alternation is also absent in prefixed e-verbs, regardless
of the syllabicity of the prefix, and in the verb id, e.g.

CWBg   naletél   (Mih 119)
        išlé/otišlé   (Mih 120)

3.19   In std SC one finds initial stress in prefixed forms of
the P-participle of certain verbs, as in the L-participle of
the same verbs. But since unprefixed forms of the P-part of
these verbs also have initial stress (as opposed to stem-final
or desinential stress in most L-part forms of the same verb),
there is no alternation. While preparing the questionnaire,
however, I was intrigued by the CTim forms

ETk   bran, brána i braná/crešnja-va óbrana   (CT 421)
       pran, praná i prána   (ibid)
       tkána ili tkaná, tkanó   (CT 422)

which seemed to suggest that an alternation similar to that
found in L-part forms in the std lg might be present in P-part
in Torlak.

The following data appear to confirm this hypothesis:

ETk   zbranó   (Kr)
                 vs.
       óbran   (Br 69:236/309)
       óbrano   (Čin, VR)
       sábrano   (Kr, Pluž)
       sábrana   (Svodje)
       óbrane   (Kr, Bab)
       sábrani   (Tem)
                 cf. also
CWTk   príbrano, sábrano   (Šarb)
                 and
SWTk   zbráno   (Trg--paroxytonesis restricts occurrence
                 of final stress)
                 vs.
       sábrat, sábrano   (Pas)

SWTk   <u>sábrana</u>   (Grač)

ETk   <u>praná</u> and <u>prána</u>   (CT 421)

              vs.

      <u>óprana</u>   (Čin, Kr)

      <u>óprano</u>   (VR, Pluž)

      <u>ísprano</u>   (Čin)

      <u>óprane</u>   (Bab)

            cf. also

SWTk   <u>óprano</u>   (Grač, Pas)

      <u>né prano</u>   (Grac)

      <u>óprane</u>   (Trg)

ETk   <u>tkaná</u> and <u>tkána</u>   (CT 422)

      <u>tkaná</u>   (Svodje)

      <u>tkanó</u>   (Svodje, Kr, Bab, CT 422)

             vs.

      <u>pótkani</u>   (Čin)

           cf. however

ETk   <u>izátkan</u>   (Kr)

      <u>izátkano</u>   (Bab)

      <u>zatkáeno</u>   (VR--from stem <u>tkaj</u>)

CWTk   <u>izátkano</u>, <u>izatkaní</u>   (Šarb--the latter recorded

           with "?")

SWTk   <u>izátkano</u>   (Grač, Pas)

      <u>tkáeno</u>   (Trg, Pas,--both from stem <u>tkaj</u>)

Compare also the following forms recorded by Broch:

SWTk   <u>záklan</u>   (Br 69:155/233)

             but

CWTk   <u>zaklán</u>   (ibid:200/229)

ETk   <u>záklan</u> and <u>zaklán</u>   (ibid:209/233)

      <u>záklan</u>   (ibid:236/309)

Initial stress on prefixed forms is a common occurrence
in these stems, and was expected by comparison with the std lg.
Proof that a recessive mobile alternation exists thus depends
on end stressed nonprefixed forms, of which I recorded only
five, in addition to the four end-stressed forms which Stano-
jević listed as occurring in variation with stem-stressed forms.
Nevertheless, the data do indicate that the alternation is at
least optional for these three stems. Note that end stress
occurs both in nonprefixed forms and when a nonsyllabic prefix
is added:

ETk	zbranó	(Kr)
ETk	smlenó	(Br 69:236/309)

This seems to suggest that the condition for intial stress is
polysyllabicity as well as prefixation.

There is no evidence of this alternation in WBg, EMac,
NMac or KR. Initial stress is found in prefixed P-part forms
of the above verbs, e.g.

NSV	nábran	(Mns 120)
TWBg	óbrano	(Tg 177:239/250, T 388:243/334)
	nébran	(T 388:242/342)
SW KR	nȁbrano	(E)
NE KR	ȍdabran	(KRs 416)
CWBg	óprano	(Mih 120)
Sof	ísprani	(T 388:308/243)
SW KR	ȍprano, nȅ oprano	(E)

Sof   nátkano   (T 388:327/348)
NE KR   ìzatkan   (KRs 417)
                but cf.
EMac   izótkan   (MDA: Žel)

But since nonprefixed forms seem always to have initial stress
as well, e.g.

NE KR   tkâne   (KRs 416)

there is no alternation.

In the great majority of stems, P-part forms in Torlak
have the same accentuation in both prefixed and nonprefixed
forms. This place of accent is discussed below, cf. sec. 3.34.

3.20   According to data gathered by Broch and Stanojević, there
are traces of an alternation opposing singular to plural imper-
ative forms in the CTim and Pirot regions of ETk. Compare
Broch's comment:

> In Pirot kommt als ein Sonderzug [with respect to the
> more regular stem-stressed imperative forms] hinzu, dass
> die Endung des Plurals -ete eine Neigung hat, die Betonung
> auf sich zu ziehen. (Br 70)

and the examples:

ETk   ídi/idéte (Br 70:236/309)

úzni/uznéte (Br 308:236/309)

óri/oréte (Br 70:236/309)

béri/beréte (Br 304:236/309)

kólji/koljéte (Br 309:236/309)

Compare also Stanojević's examples:

ETk   jedž/jédžte and jedéte (CT 416)

dírni and dirní/dirnéte (CT 423)

klékni and klekní/kleknéte (CT 424)

písní and písni/písnéte (CT 423)

stáni and stan/stanéte and sténte (ibid)

tókni and tokní/toknéte (ibid)

béži/bežéte (CT 431--after giving a full
          paradigm of this verb, Stanojević notes
          that all ča-stems have the same
          inflection)

Finally, compare one example of the opposite relationship:

ETk   dovedí/dovédote (CT 416--the shape of the imv
          pl desinence is perhaps a misprint;
          Stanojević makes no comment)

Belić discounted Broch's examples of a sg/pl alternation
within the imperative (apparently as incorrectly recorded, since
he cited counterexamples of his own for the same area), and as-
serted that no such accentual pattern exists in Tk (Bll 62). I
found no such examples in my own field work, excepting the var-
iation in

     ETk   <u>prédi</u> and <u>predí/predéte</u> (Pluž)

Otherwise, stress placement was the same in both sg and pl forms
of the imperative; these forms will be discussed below in sec.
3.35.

3.21   In WBg and EMac, however, sg and pl imv forms are often

distinguished by accent placement. The following two types of

alternations are found:

CWBg	pósedi/posedéte	(Mih 120)	[N]
EMac	ísperi/isperéte	(MDA: Kis, Kal)	[N]
	and		
EMac	ispéri/isperéte	(MDA: Žel)	[n]
	ispéči/ispečéte	(ibid)	[n]

The marginal type of alternation [N] is found regularly in Kjus,

in neighboring southernmost TWBg dialects, in CWBg dialects,

and in the EMac border dialects of Kis and Kel. There are also

traces of it in other EMac dialects and in northern TWBg dia-

lects.

     In Kjus, its occurrence appears limited to perfective

verbs, while imperfective verbs have the B-mobile alternation

[n], e.g.

Kjus	dónesi/doneséte	(Kj 78)	[N]
	íspleti/ispletéte	(ibid)	[N]
	nápi se (Kj 208)/napíte se (assumed from		
	statement on Kj 78)		
	pókaži (Kj 143)/pokažéte (assumed from		
	statement on Kj 78)		
	póvozi/povozéte	(Kj 78)	[N]
	but		
	donósi/donoséte	(Kj 78)	[n]
	cf. also		
	rabóti (T 375:247/217--no plural form given)		

All examples of prefixed imperative forms in southernmost

TWBg dialects (the Kjustendilsko Kraište) are perfective verbs;

marginal mobility within the imv seems to be without exception,
although there are very few instances of plural imv forms in
the sources. All singular forms are attested with initial
stress, however:

TWBg-3 ótseči (KK 595:220/223, T 375:220/273)
       pripéči (T 375:235/225, KK 612:235/225)
       dóvedi (KK 600:220/223)
       ódvedi si gɔ (KK 609:220/223)
       óstavi (KK 601:220/223, KK 597:ibid)
       zákovi (T 375:235/225)

and the single example of imv pl:

TWBg-3 sedéte (T 374:239/227)

In the MDA files for Kis and Kal (EMac) and in Mladenov's
description of the CWBg dialect of Ihtiman, both sg and pl forms
are listed, and allow us to establish marginal mobility within
the imperative with certainty. Examples:

EMac   ízedi/izedéte (MDA: Kal)   [n]
       ízedi/izéšte and izedéte (MDA: Kis)   [N]
       ísperi/isperéte (MDA: Kis, Kal)   [N]
       stoj/stójte and stoéte (MDA: Kis)

I found no exceptions to this pattern of imperative accentuation
in the MDA archives for Kis and Kal.

In Ihtiman, this accentuation also appears to be without
exception, cf. Mladenov's statement:

Vəv 2 l. ed. čislo [of the imv] udarenieto e vinagi
vərxu korennata glasna pri glagoli koito ne sa pre-
figirani: béri [etc.]....Prefigirani glagoli sa
vinagi s udarenie vərxu glasnata na predstavkata:

zánesi [etc.]...Vøv 2. l. mn. čislo na glagolite ot
I i II spreženie udarenieto e vinagi vørxu okončanieto:
beréte...zakoléte [etc.].   (Mih 120)

Other CWBg dialects appear to have the same accentuation, al-
though only singular forms are listed by Todorov:

CWBg ópleti (T 375:307/216)

      ómi (ibid:308/207)

      pórasni (ibid)

      ízori (ibid)

In both Kjustendil and Ihtiman, however, aj-stems ("third-
conjugation verbs") retain stress on the same stem syllable
in both sg and pl forms. Only nonprefixed examples are given
for Ihtiman, but as the data for Kjus include both prefixed
and nonprefixed forms, I assume this pattern to be regular for
neighboring CWBg dialects as well. Examples:

CWBg kópaj/kópajte (Mih 120)   [b]
Kjus dotkávjaj/dotkávjajte (Kj 78)   [b]
      dokáruvaj/dokáruvajte (ibid)   [b]

In perfective verbs, however, the following accentuation is
found in Kjus:

Kjus prégledaj/preglédajte (Kj 78)
      úkaraj/ukárajte (ibid)

But in Kis and Kal (the EMac dialects bordering directly with
Kjust), aj-verbs appear to have initial stress in both sg and
pl. e.g.

EMac ístkaj/ístkajte (Kal)   [M]

(The symbol [M] is used to indicate this accentuation.)

In Sof, absolute initial stress in both sg and pl forms
[M̲] appears to be the norm. For example:

Sof	ídi/ídete (Sg 51)	[M̲]
	pléti/plétete (ibid)	[M̲]
	prénesi/prénesete (ibid)	[M̲]
	prépravi/prépravete (ibid)	[M̲]
	káži/kážete (ibid)	[M]
	béri (Sg 39)/bérete (Sg 40)	[M̲]
	náberi/náberete (Sg 51)	[M̲]

Popivanov indicates that this is the prevailing accentuation

of the imperative in Sof: 'V Sofijskija govor v povelitelnite

formi ima obšt otmet na udarenieto vrəz načalnata srička, [e.g.]

rásti rástete dóvedi dóvedete" (Sp 251).

Todorov cites 27 instances of sg imv forms from the

Sofia area, all of which have initial stress except

    Sof   ne ginî (T 374:326/248)

All 4 of the pl forms he cites (of verb types other than aj̲-

stems) are end stressed, however. Marginal mobility is thus

known in Sofia as well. Compare:

Sof	ótidi (T 375:318/244)/otidéte	
	(T 374:314/242)	[N]
	dónesi (T 375:310/244)/izneséte	
	(T 375:318/244)	[N]
	káži (T 375:310/244)/kažéte (T 374:	
	318/244)	[N]
	cf. also	
	naletéte (T 374:349/239)	

Without knowing the pl forms which correspond to the remaining

23 initially-stressed sg forms, however, we cannot tell the
extent of marginal mobility in Sofia. Indeed, Popivanov cites
several examples of vacillation in the accent of sg imv forms,
e.g.

Sof	<u>ótidí</u>	(Sp 252:328/241)	
		as well as	
	<u>otidí</u>	(ibid:319/249)	
		and	
	<u>otídi</u>	(ibid:320/300, ibid:320/251)	
		vs. the more common	
	<u>ótidi</u>	(T 375:318/244)	
	<u>ídi</u>	(ibid, Sp 251)/<u>ídete</u> (Sp 251)	[<u>M</u>]

	<u>uvedí</u>	(Sp 252:320/251)	
	<u>prevedí</u>	(ibid:331/258)	
	<u>závedí</u>	(ibid:324/248)	
	<u>izvédi</u>	(ibid:315/259)	
		vs. the more common	
	<u>dóvedi</u>	(T 375:326/248)	
	<u>návedi</u>	(ibid:327/248)	
	<u>ótvedi/ótvedete</u>	(Sp 252)	[<u>M</u>]

	<u>dónesí</u>	(Sp 252:315/259, ibid:323/242)	
		vs. the more common	
	<u>dónesi</u>	(T 375:310/244, Sp 251)/<u>dónesete</u>	
		(Sp 251)	[<u>M</u>]

	<u>ispletí</u>	(Sp 252:320/300)	
		vs. the more common	
	<u>úpleti</u>	(T 375:327/248)	

<u>pristaní</u> (Sp 252:324/303)

Sof   <u>prístani</u> (ibid:315/259)
                    vs. more common
<u>nástani</u> (T 375:328/240)
<u>óstani</u> (ibid:327/248)
<u>prístani</u> (ibid:326/248, ibid:332/240)
<u>stáni/stánete</u> (Sp 251)   [<u>M</u>]

<u>náučí</u> (Sp 252:318/247)

<u>príkaži</u> (Sp 252:324/248)
                    vs. more common
<u>pókaži</u> (T 375:320/244)
<u>káží</u> (ibid, Sp 251)/<u>kážete</u> (Sp 251)   [<u>M</u>]
                    but cf.
<u>kaží</u> (Sp 252:336/242)/<u>kažéte</u> (T 374:
        318/244)   [o]

<u>odreží</u> (Sp 252:320/300)

<u>izbéri</u> (Sp 252:320/258)

Golobov, however, discounts these examples of Popivanov's,
claiming that initial stress in both sg and pl imv forms is the
only accentuation found in Sof: "Slučai kato <u>posetí izleží</u> i
dr, koito posočva G. Popivanov, ne se sreštat v govora" (Sg 51).

    As in Kjus and CWBg, third conjugation verbs (<u>aj</u>-stems)
retain stem stress in the imv in Sof as well, e.g.

Sof   <u>zakáraj/zakárajte</u> (Sp 51)   [b]
        <u>predáj/predájte</u> (ibid)   [b]
        <u>prekópaj/prekópajte</u> (ibid)   [b]
                    cf. also
        <u>iskópajte</u> (T 376:314/242)

Sof   <u>sabíraj</u> (ibid)

        <u>zaigrájte</u> (T 376:326/248)

Similar accentuation is found in the Rhodope dialects of Bg (cf. Stojkov 1968:145) and in the SE Mac dialects of the Štip-Strumica area, cf.

SE Mác   <u>íspleti/íspletete</u>   (Vidoeski 1970:8)   [<u>M</u>]

         <u>zágini/záginete</u>   (D 76)   [<u>M</u>]

         <u>ízberi/ízberete</u>   (ibid)   [<u>M</u>]

In the dialects of Želigovo (NE Mac), Delčevo (EMac) and in the SMac areas of the lower Vardar valley, however, B-mobilit [n] is the most common. MDA files for Žel indicate that this is the only accentuation found in the imv, except for <u>aj</u>-stems. Examples:

NE Mac   <u>ispéri/isperéte</u>   (MDA: Žel)   [n]

         <u>ispéči/ispečéte</u>   (ibid)   [n]

         <u>jádi/jadéte</u>   (ibid)   [n]

         <u>prédi/predéte</u>   (ibid)   [n]

         <u>krádi/kradéte</u>   (ibid)   [n]

         <u>sólji/soljéte</u>   (ibid)   [n]

               but

<u>izótkaj/izótkajte</u>   (ibid)

<u>kupúj/kupújete</u>   (ibid)

             but in the neighboring village

<u>dóteraj</u>   (MDA: Gab)

Compare also Kuševki's statement on the Delčevo dialect:

Vo delčevskiot govor vo množinskata forma vo imperativ ne samo što akcenat se zadržuva na osnovniot del, tuku ponekogaš mine i na nastavkata: <u>ígrete</u> <u>poígrate</u>, <u>píšete</u> <u>popíšete</u>, ili <u>zaginéte</u>, <u>izberéte</u>. (D 76)

and Vidoeski's words on SMac dialects:

> Vo dolnovardarskite [govorni] imperativot se izdeluva
> akcentski od drugite forme [of the paradigm, apparent-
> ly], bidejḱi i morfološki se osamostaluva: <u>pléti</u>
> <u>pletéjte</u> (vo dojranskiot, kukuškiot, gevegelskiot),
> <u>čúvaj</u> <u>čuvájte</u>, <u>pléti</u> <u>pletéjte</u> (vo vodenskiot)" (1970:8)

Since none of the paired examples is prefixed however
(we do not have sg forms corresponding to <u>zaginéte</u> and <u>izberéte</u>
in Delčevo), we cannot tell whether the alternation in these
dialects is marginal [N] or B-mobile [n]; in the absence of
conclusive data I assume B-mobility.

In none of the above sources is any specific mention
made of the accentuation of imv forms preceded by the particle
<u>ne</u>. The accentuation of such forms is apparently the same as
when there is no negation; whether or not accent on the nega-
tive particle may have influenced the spread of absolute initial
stress in either the singular or the plural imperative is im-
possible to say.

3.22   B-mobility within the imperative thus appears to be
limited to southern and eastern dialects of Mac, and to pre-
fixed imperfective imperatives in Kjus. Since most prefixed
forms are perfective, however, the occurrence of B-mobility in
Kjus is severely limited.

Marginal mobility in the imv occurs in a fairly compact
zone which includes SW Bg dialects (the southernmost portion
of the transitional area, the dialects of Kjustendil and
Ihtiman and intermediate areas), and the northeasternmost
corner of EMac (Kiselica and Kalimanci). Compare Todorov's
statement:

> Akcentuvaneto na glagolnata predstavka [in imv sg] ne
> e svojstveno na celata grupa severozapadni govori, a
> samo na texnata južna polovina, i to po-često v
> zapadnata čast, otkolkoto v istočnata;...[taja] oso-
> benost se e ograničila s ed. čislo. (T 376)

He continues, apparently referring to the Sofia dialect:

> A v mn. č. edva sega počva da si probiva pet, gdeto
> idva bez semnenie ot edin. čislo. (ibid)

The mobility reported by Broch and Stanojević for ETk
(see examples quoted above, sec. 3.20) is interesting, partic-
ularly as similar examples are reported in adjacent TWBg dia-
lects--in Caribrod (now Dimitrovgrad), adjacent to Pirot
(236/309), and Belo Pole and Čuprenja near Belogradčik, adja-
cent to the CTim area, whose approximate center is Knjaževac
(216/334), viz.

TWBg-1 sédí/sedéte (T 375:254/339--Belo Pole)

ómi (ibid:240/331--Čuprenja)

TWBg-2 rázori (ibid:258/301--Caribrod)

The overall number of examples from these areas is small, however. In addition, none of the ETk examples is prefixed, so that ambiguity as to the type of accentual alternation in ETk ([n] or [N]) remains. In absence of conclusive data, I have symbolized the ETk examples [n].

Although I did not record any examples of sg/pl imv accentual alternations in my own work in ETk, I did note an accentual alternation between nonprefixed and prefixed imperative forms in Temska (233/316) located just to the north of Pirot. In a number of verbs (mostly i-stems) end stress in nonprefixed forms was opposed to stem stress in prefixed forms, viz.

ETk   mlzí but izmízi/izmízete (Tem)

raní but nárani (ibid)

kosí/koséte but okósi (ibid)

krstí/krstéte but prekŕsti (ibid)

cf.

prekŕsti (Čin--no nonprefixed form attested)

lomí but odlómi/izlómete (Tem)

lomí but nalómi (Čin)

uči/učéte but naúči/naúčete (Tem)

učíni (Tem, Čin--no nonprefixed form

attested in either area)

The existence of a similar accentual opposition in the present tense of three out of six of these examples (krsti, lomi, uči)

is well known over a wide geographical area in several dialects
of SC, as well as in the std lg (cf. sec. 3.24). In the im-
perative, however, it appears to exist only in Temska, although
the few forms recorded in Činiglavci (lomí/nalómi, prekŕsti and
učíni) suggest that it may be spreading.

A possible analogue to this is seen in the EMac dialect
of Gabor:

EMac   <u>péri/peréte</u>   (MDA: Gab)   [n]
                    but
      <u>ispéri/ispérete</u>   [b]

All other imv forms in this dialect are stem-stressed, however,
except for <u>dóteraj</u> (cited earlier), and the pair

EMac   <u>íspeči/ispéčete</u>

in which the sg form is anomalous, since neighboring dialects
have either stem stress in both sg and pl (Rank, Psač), or B-
mobility (Žel).

B-mobility is thus found in three nonadjacent areas of
Mac--the northeastern dialect of Žel, the eastern dialect of
Delčevo, and a large area of the south (the lower Vardar valley).
It has also been recorded further to the north in two nonadja-
cent areas of ETk (Pirot and CTim), although the existence of
these forms is disputed by Belić and unsubstantiated by my own
work. In addition, these two areas are separated by an area
where accent opposes not sg to pl but nonprefixed to prefixed
forms (Temska).

Finally, initial stress in both sg and pl forms is found

in the southeastern Mac dialects of the Štip-Strumica area, and in the WBg dialects of the Sofia region. These two fairly large areas are separated by a broad zone in which marginal mobility is the norm.

Sketch VI summarizes the distribution of these various types of sg/pl accentual relationships in ETk, WBg and EMac. Marginal mobility [N] occupies a central core zone, spanning several dialect areas, while initial stress in both sg and pl [M] is found in at least two regions situated at the periphery of this central area. B-mobility [n], which appears in several areas less well-defined than the zones of [M] and [N], probably represents an innovation: a central alternation, [n], has replaced a marginal alternation, [N], through the reinterpretation of the initial boundary, i.e. the boundary significant for the rule, to exclude the prefix.

On the other side of Tk, in KR, one would expect the effects of paroxytonesis to produce mobility of the type ispéri/isperéte. I found only one such example in the sources, however:

NE KR sèči (and séči)/sečíte (KRt 139)

In certain other instances, I found stem stress in the sg (the apparent result of paroxytonesis) accompanied by stem stress in the plural, apparently by analogy with the singular form, e.g.

NE KR pèči/pèčite (KRt 139)
       ùzni/ùznite (KRt 351)
       kòvi/kòvite (ibid)
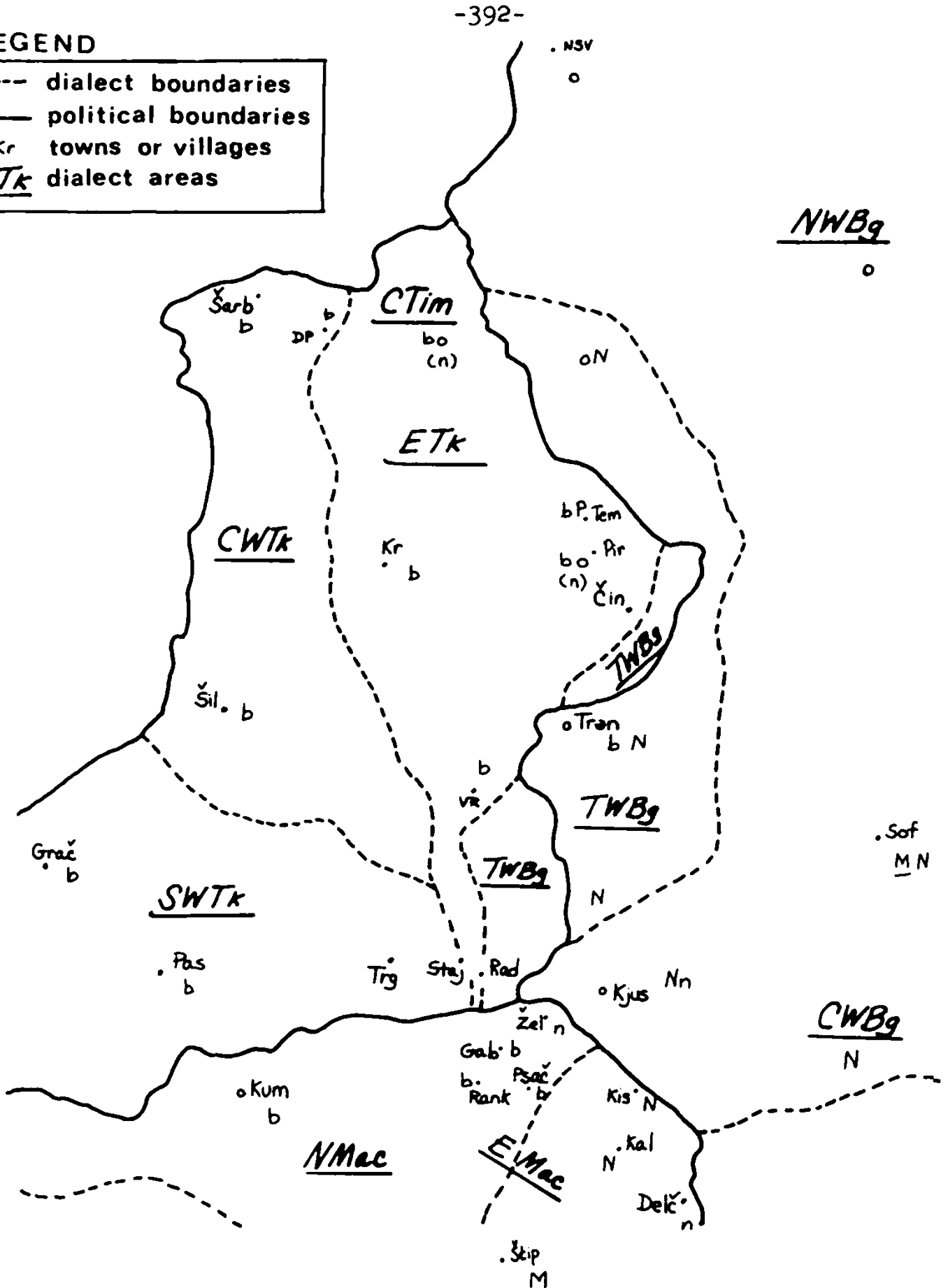
Sketch VI: Sg/pl imperative in E̅T̅κ, EMac and WBg

Jović makes no mention of the difference between this accentua-
tion and that of the std lg.

3.23   Charts 7-15 summarize the accentuation of the present
tense in Tk and surrounding areas. Except for those regions
where an alternation between 1sg pres and other forms of the
pres is attested (see above, sec. 3.9), accent is on the same
syllable in all forms of the present in Tk. In most stems, it
is usually on the single syllable of the (truncated) stem, viz.

1sg	nós--i-m	1pl	nós--i-mo	
2sg	nós--i-š	2pl	nós--i-te	[b]
3sg	nós--i-ǿ	3pl	nós--e-ǿ or	
			nós--i-v	

This accentual relationship within the present is symbolized
[b]. In some class VI verbs, accent is on the stem-initial
syllable throughout the paradigm. This relationship is symbo-
lized [B]:

1sg	véruj--e-m	1pl	véruj--e-mo	
2sg	véruj--e-š	2pl	véruj--e-te	[B]
3sg	véruj--e-ǿ	3pl	véruj--u-ǿ	

In Dvorane (SWTk, near boundary with NWMac), stress
placement in the present tense appears to be completely deter-
mined by a penultimate ictus placement constraint. I have sym-
bolized this accentuation [b*]. (That ictus placement is not
completely automatic in Dvorane is seen by the accentuation of
the aorist as opposed to that of the present, cf. sec. 3.29.)
Thus, in Dvorane we have:

1sg	nós--i-m	1pl	nos--í-mo	
2sg	nós--i-š	2pl	nos--í-te	[b*]
3sg	nós--i-ǿ	3pl	nós--i-u	

Desinential stress is found in verbs of class I-1 (ob-
struent stems) and class III (e̲- and c̆a̲-stems) in ETk and
CWTk, and in a very few instances, in SWTk. This relationship
is usually symbolized [o], e.g.

1sg	pec̆--é-m	1pl	pec̆--é-mo
2sg	pec̆--é-š	2pl	pec̆--é-te
3sg	pec̆--é-ø	3pl	pec̆--ú-ø
		or	pec̆--é-v

[o]

It is also found in certain verbs of other classes in certain
areas, examples of which will be listed below (sec. 3.24).

Sometimes the final syllables of the 1pl and 2pl
desinences are accented. In these cases, desinential stress is
symbolized [0]:

1sg	drž--í-m	1pl	drž--i-mó
2sg	drž--í-š	2pl	drž--i-té
3sg	drž--í-ø	3pl	drž--é-ø
		or	drž--í-v

[0]

I have called this marginal oxytonesis [0], as distinct from
desinence-initial oxytonesis [o]. Marginal oxytonesis in the
present tense is usually limited to class III verbs, although
there are exceptions which I will discuss below (sec. 3.27).

The symbol [M] indicates an alternation between initial
stress in 1sg pres and desinential stress in other forms of
the present, e.g.

1sg d̲ó̲-̲n̲e̲s̲-̲-̲u̲-̲ø̲/2sg d̲o̲-̲n̲e̲s̲-̲-̲é̲-̲š̲, etc.   [M]

Since there are no instances in which initial stress in 1sg

pres is opposed to desinence-final stress in 1pl and 2pl
pres, the symbol [M] will indicate a recessive mobile present
of the following sort:

1sg	dó-ɴes--u-∅	1pl	do-nes--é-mo
2sg	do-nes--é-š	2pl	do-nes--é-te
3sg	do-nes--é-∅	3pl	do-nes--ǔ
		or	do-nes--é-v

[M]

The symbol [M*], it will be recalled, refers to initial accent
in 1sg pres opposed to stem-final accent in other persons of
the present, e.g.

1sg ná-prav--u-∅/2sg na-práv--i-š, etc.   [M*]

In certain areas, the nonprefixed forms of the present
tense have desinential stress while the prefixed forms have
stem stress. This relationship will be symbolized [P], e.g.

SWTk	ber--é-m/sa-bér--e-m	(Grač)	[P]
EMac	drž--í-m/za-dŕž--i-m	(MDA: Kis, Kal)	[P]

Finally, a number of variant stems are listed on the
charts under the main entries, indicating that in the appro-
priate area the stem has been reformulated or transferred to a
different stem class. These fall into several categories:

a) transfer to class II, viz

SWTk	porásne (Trg)		rastnu
	preporásnev (Pas)		
TWBg	da rásne (KK 566:229/230)		vs.
	če porásnet (KK 567:229/230)		
		vs.	
ETk	rasté (Čin, VR), etc.		rast

NE KR	pretȅknem (KRt 129)	teknu
	vs.	vs.
ETk	tečé (Čin, Kr, VR), etc.	tek

ETk	krádne (Kr, VR)	kradnu
	krádnem (CT 424)	
	vs.	vs.
CWTk	kradé (Šil, Šarb), etc.	krad

ETk	réknem (Kr, VR)	reknu
CWTk	réknem (Šarb)	
SWTk	réknem (Grač)	
SW KR	rȅknem (E)	vs.
NE KR	rȅknem (KRt 129)	
	vs.	
ETk	rečém (Čin, CT 418), etc.	rek

b) transfer to class IV (i-conjugation), viz.

CWTk	vŕšimo (Šil)	vrši
SWTk	vŕšimo (Grač, Pas)	
	vs.	vs.
ETk	vršémo (Čin, VR), etc.	vrh

ETk	jášim (Čin)	jaši
SWTk	jáši (Trg)	
	vs.	vs.
ETk	jášem (Kr, VR), etc.	jaha

SWTk	razátkiš (Grač)	tki
	vs.	vs.
SWTk	če se to nátke (ibid)	tka

NWBg   z<u>ó</u>v<u>im</u> (T 346:252/328--Todorov notes   "mjastoto na udarenie e vtorično",   but makes no comment about the   shape of the stem)   <u>zovi</u>

                                          vs.   vs.

ETk   <u>zové</u>, <u>zovú</u> (Kr, VR), etc.   <u>zva</u>

c) transfer to class V-1 (<u>a</u>-conjugation), viz.

ETk   d<u>í</u><u>zam</u> (Čin, Kr, VR)   <u>dizaj</u>

CWTk   d<u>í</u><u>zam</u> (Šarb, Šil)

NMac   d<u>í</u><u>zam</u> (V 190)   vs.

                              vs.

SWTk   d<u>í</u><u>žemo</u> (Grač)   <u>diza</u>

TWBg   <u>jáam</u> (Tg 173:239/250)   <u>jahaj</u>

         <u>jáa</u> (KK 178)

                         vs.

ETk   <u>jášem</u> (Kr, VR), etc.   <u>jaha</u>

ETk   v<u>í</u><u>kam</u> (VR, Kr, CT 427)   <u>vikaj</u>

CWTk   v<u>í</u><u>kam</u> (Šil)

SWTk   v<u>í</u><u>kam</u> (Grač, Pas, Trg)

NMac   v<u>í</u><u>kam</u> (V 113)

TWBg   <u>da víka</u> (KK 571:231/234)   vs.

NSV   v<u>í</u><u>kem</u> (Mns 83)

NWBg   v<u>í</u><u>kamo</u> (T 338:329/344)

CWBg   p<u>ovíkat</u> (T 338:334/220

SW KR   v<u>ì</u><u>kam</u> and v<u>î</u><u>čem</u> (E)

                         vs.

CWTk   v<u>í</u><u>če</u> (Šarb)

NE KR   v<u>î</u><u>čem</u> (KRs 420)   <u>vika</u>

ETk   pl<u>á</u><u>čam</u> (CT 427)   <u>plačaj</u>

                       vs.   vs.

ETk   pláčem (Kr, VR), etc.   plaka

SWTk   sípa (Trg)   sipaj
        rásipam (Grač)
SW KR   sĭpam and sĭpem (E)   vs.
NE KR   sĭpam, sĭpa (KRs 415)
                    vs.
ETk   sípem (VR)   sipa
CWTk   sípem (Šil)
(note absence of consonantal alternation in Tk,
        cf. std SC sĭpljem)

SWTk   óramo (Grač)   oraj
                    vs.   vs.
ETk   óremo (Čin, VR, Kr), etc.   ora

ETk   šópkam (Kr)   šepkaj
CWTk   šópkaš (Čin, VR)
SWTk   šepkaš (Trg)   vs.
                    vs.
ETk   šópčeš (Čin, VR)   šapta

CWTk   izátka (Šarb)   tkaj
                    vs.   vs.
SWTk   nátke (Grač)   tka

ETk   lája (VR)   lajaj
                    vs.   vs.
ETk   láje (Čin)   laja
CWTk   láje (Šil, Šarb), etc.

SWTk   potkóvamo (Grač)   kovaj
                    vs.   vs.

ETk	kové (Čin, VR, Kr)	kova (V-2)
CWTk	bljúva (Šil)	bljuvaj
NWBg	bljúva (T 350:245/402)	vs.
	vs.	
SWTk	bljúje (Trg, Grač, Pas), etc.	bljuva

The following stems have been transferred to class V-1 only in WBg:

NWBg	upljúvam (T 346:314/349)	pljuvaj
NSV	pljúvəm (Mns 84)	vs.
	vs.	
ETk	pljúje (Čin, VR), etc.	pljuva

Kjus	verúvam (Kj 164)	veruvaj
	vs.	vs.
ETk	vérujem (Čin, Kr, VR), etc.	veruva

TWBg	kupúvam (O 101)	kupuvaj
	but	
	kupúje (T 349:239/250)	vs.
NWBg	kupúvamo (T 350:245/402)	
	nakúpuvat (ibid:246/340)	
	vs.	
ETk	kupújem (Čin, Kr, VR), etc.	kupuva

NWBg	pcúva (T 350:246/359)	pcuvaj
	vs.	
ETk	psújem (Čin, Kr, VR), etc.	psuva

d) transfer to class V-2 (e-conjugation)

CWTk	žnjéemo (Šil)	žnjeja
SWTk	žnjéje and žníemo (Grač)	

SWTk	<u>žnjéje</u> (Pas)		
	<u>žnéemo</u> (Trg)		
NSV	<u>žnéem</u> (Mns 95)		vs.
EMac	<u>žnée</u> (MDA: Psač)		
Kjus	<u>žnjéem</u> (Kj 102)		
	vs.		
ETk	<u>žnjémo</u> (Čin, VR, Kr), etc.		<u>žanj</u>

ETk	<u>ogladnéem</u> (CT 430)		<u>ogladnea</u>
NWBg	<u>ugladnéem</u> (T 335:256/333)		
	vs.		vs.
ETk	<u>ogladnémo</u> (Čin, VR, Kr--<u>e</u>-conjugation		
	endings used in all Tk areas, vs.		
	SW KR <u>ogladnîm</u> [E])		<u>ogladne</u>

ETk	<u>živéem</u> and <u>živîm</u> (CT 430)		<u>živeja</u>
	<u>živée</u> (VR)		
TWBg	<u>da živée</u> (KK 583:239/232)		
Kjus	<u>da živéat</u> (Kj 41)		
Sof	<u>živéat</u> (Sg 36)		vs.
NWBg	<u>živéeš</u> (G 145)		
CWBg	<u>živéeš</u> (Mih 122)		
	vs.		
ETk	<u>žívim</u> (Čin, Kr), etc.		<u>žive</u>

SWTk	<u>síšem</u> (Grač)		<u>sisa</u>
	vs.		vs.
ETk	<u>sísam</u> (Čin, VR, Kr), etc.		<u>sisaj</u>

SW KR	<u>iskȍpljem</u> and <u>iskopâm</u>		<u>kopa</u>
	vs.		vs.
ETk	<u>kȍpa</u> (Kr, VR, CT 427)		<u>kopaj</u>

ETk	tkáemo	(Čin, VR, Kr)	tkaja
CWTk	tkáemo	(Šil)	
SWTk	tkáemo	(Pas, Trg)	
NMac	tkáe	(V 193)	vs.
Kjus	tkáeš	(T 332:243/221)	
Sof	tkáem	(Sg 37)	
	vs.		
SWTk	nátke	(Grač)	tka

SWTk	tkíe	(Grač)	tkija
SW KR	tkĺjem and tkêm	(E)	
	vs.		vs.
ETk	čém	(CT 421)	tka
SWTk	nátke	(Grač)	

ETk	bljuvém and bljújem	(CT 428)	bljuva (V-2)
	vs.		vs.
SWTk	bljúje	(Trg, Grač, Pas)	bljuva (V-3)

ETk	pljuvém and pljújem	(CT 428)	pljuva (V-2)
NWBg	upljuvém	(T 346:314/349)	
	vs.		vs.
ETk	pljúje	(Čin, VR)	pljuva (V-3)

ETk	kové	(Čin, Kr, VR)	kova (V-2)
CWTk	kové	(Šarb, Šil)	
SWTk	kové	(Pas)	
	kové in all EMac and WBg points		vs.
NMac	kóve	(V 193)	
	vs.		
SW KR	kovêm and kújem	(E)	kova (V-3)
NE KR	potkòvem and potkùem	(KRt 131)	
	or		or

SWTk	kovíje (Grač)		kovija
	vs.		vs.
ETk	kové (Čin, VR, Kr)		kova(V-2)

In addition, certain stems of class V-1 occur with forms of the e-conjugation. In these instances, an entry titled "non-contracted" appears on the charts. These stems are:

ETk	igráemo	(Čin)		"non-contr"
TWBg	igráem	(KK 611:235/225)		
Sof	igráeme	(Sg 35)		vs.
NWBg	igráet	(T 343:239/350)		
	vs.			
ETk	ígramo	(Kr), etc.		igraj

NWBg	kopáem	(T 338:345/320)		"non-contr"
	vs.			vs.
ETk	kópam	(VR, Kr)		kopaj

Sof	da se venčáem	(Sp 263)		"non-contr"
	vs.			
ETk	vénčam	(Čin, Kr, VR), etc.		venčaj

The verb znaj (class I-2) occurs in std SC and in most Tk dialects with forms of the a-conjugation (znam, znaš,... znaju). In certain areas of Tk, however, it has forms of the e-conjugation (znaem, znaeš...znaju). This is noted on the charts by "non-contracted" also.

　　Finally, the stem which appears as poja in most of Tk is pej in certain areas, e.g.

TWBg	péem	(O 101)		pej

Sof	p\u00e9em	(T 348:327/248)	
NWBg	p\u00e9em	(ibid:250/402)	
	pe\u00e9m	(ibid:249/358)	vs.
		vs.	
ETk	poj\u00e9	(\u010cin, Kr, VR)	poja

3.24   As seen in charts 8 and 9, and 11-14, stem-final
stress in the present is by far the most common accentuation
in classes I-2, I-3, II, IV and V. There are numerous ex-
ceptions to this statement, but since they concern a rela-
tively small number of stems, I will list them here.
(class 1-2)

ETk   pijémo (Čin, Br 240:218/249, Br 278:227/255)
        pijéte (B 529:213/337)
        pijéš, napijém se, napijé se, pijú, popijú
             (ibid:216/334)
                 but
        píjemo (Kr, VR, CT 426, B 529:213/341)
        popíjem (B 529:216/334, ibid:227/322)
        píjé, píju (ibid:236/309)
        opíje (ibid:212/243)

CWTk   meljé (Šil)
                 but
        mélja (B 524:157/300--note transfer of this
                 verb to the a-conjugation)
                 vs.
ETk   mélje (all points)

ETk   klné (Čin, CT 419)
        klném (Br 260:228/308, Br 308:236/309)
        kleném (Br 207:209/233)
        klenemo (VR)
        kuném (Kr)
        zakuném (B 516:202/325)
        zakuné (ibid:205/332, ibid:202/320)

CWTk   kuném (Šil, Šarb, Br 260:208/255, Br 174:
157/300)
kuné (B 516:157/328)
kunémo (ibid:204/259)
kunév (ibid:152/241)
zakuné (ibid:158/240, Šil)

(class II)

CWTk   deném, denémo (Šil)
vs.
nadéne (Šarb)

ETk   dénem (Čin, Kr, VR)

ETk   vrném and vŕnem (Br 79:236/309--Belić notes
"akcenat...[je] pogrešan" [Bll 58])
vs.
vŕnem in all my ETk investigations points

(class IV)

ETk   goji̇́ (VR)
no information for other ETk points

End stress in nonprefixed forms of certain i-stem verbs (type
lòmim), expected by comparison with std SC, occurs only spor-
adically in Tk. Belić states:

> Svi glagoli IV-A [i-stems], dakle i tipa lòmim,
> imaju u ovom dijalektu akcenat na prvom slogu...
> ali glagoli tipa lòmȋm:slȍmȋm...i ovde sporadički
> imaju akcenat na prostom glagolu na kraju, a na
> složenom uvek prenesen. (B 537)

My data corroborate Belić's observation for the verbs uči
and čini:

ETk   dzvoní   (B 537:225/335)

                 vs.

        zvóni   (Čin, VR)

        dzvóni   (Kr)

        and all CWTk and SWTk points

                 but

SW KR   dzvŏnim and dzvonîm   (E)

ETk   učí, uču̇   (B 537:216/334)

        učímo   (Čin)

                 vs.

        u̇či   (Kr, VR)

        u̇če (3pl)   (Čin)

        nau̇či   (Kr)

        izu̇či   (VR)

CWTk   učíš but u̇čiś, u̇če   (Šarb)

        u̇čiv, nau̇čiv   (Šil)

        nau̇čim   (B 537:157/300)

SWTk   učíju   (Dj 124)

                 but

        u̇ču, izu̇ču, u̇čev   (Trg)

        u̇čiv, nau̇čiv   (Pas)

        u̇čim, nau̇čim   (Grač)

        nau̇či   (B 537:155/233)

ETk   činí   (B 537:233/317)

        činé   (ibid:229/324)

        učiním, učiníš   (Br 232:209/233)

                 vs.

        číni   (ibid:216/334)

        číne   (ibid:233/324)

        učíni   (ibid:213/341, VR)

        učínim   (Čin, Kr)

CWTk   činíju (Br 158:157/300--Belić notes "U
                Leskovcu je poznato samo číniju"
                [Bll 60])
       činí (Šil)
                    vs.
       čínu (B 513:157/300)
       učínim (B 537:155/319)
       učíniv (ibid:157/300)
SWTk   činíju, činí, čínímo, učiní but učíni (Grač)
                    vs.
       čínim (B 537:159/233)
       učínim (ibid:205/243)
       činiv (Dj 123)

ETk   ličíš (B 537:216/334)
       liči (ibid, VR)
                    vs.
       zalíče (B 537:206/328)
CWTk   ličé (Šil)
                    vs.
       líči (Šarb)
SWTk   líči (Trg, Grač, Pas)
       prelíči (B 537:159/233)

According to Belić, all aj-verbs (class V-1) have stem stress
in the present in Tk (B 526). I found exceptions to this
statement, however, mostly in the SWTk dialect of Grač (close
to SW KR), with a few in ETk (Čin and VR) as well.

SWTk   igrám, igrámo, igráju (Grač)
                    vs.
       ígrav (Dj 122)

SWTk <u>kopámo</u> (Grač)

    <u>motámo</u> (ibid)

    <u>čitám</u> (ibid)

ETk <u>davámo</u> but <u>dáva</u>, <u>dávaš</u>, <u>dávate</u> (Čin)
    <u>dávamo</u> (VR)
    <u>dáva</u>, <u>dávau</u>, <u>prodávau</u> (B 523:216/334)

    <u>kopámo</u> (Čin)

    <u>igráju</u> (VR, Br 213:209/233)
    <u>igráemo</u> (Čin--listed in chart 12 as "non-
      contracted")
        vs.
    <u>ígram</u> (B 523:216/334)
    <u>ígraju</u> (ibid:200/322, ibid:221/329, ibid:
      216/334)

On Broch's citation of <u>igráju</u>, Belić comments:

> Sumnjiv je akcenat u <u>igráju</u>..., iako Broh na istoj
> strani...primećuje "Seltener betont man <u>ígraju</u>,"
> jer u koliko sam god slučajeva beležio akc[enat]
> kod takvih glagola, a ja sam ga zabeležio u stoti-
> nama slučajeva, zabeležio sam ga na prvom slogu.
> (Bll 59)

Nevertheless, my informants in VR also gave <u>igráju</u> as the
3pl form. There is no trace in TK of the <u>ígram/ígraju</u>
alternation of the std lg, however. Present tense paradigms
of these verbs have either stem stress (<u>ígram...ígraju</u>) or
end stress (<u>igrám....igráju</u>) throughout.

Examples from a̱-stems (classes V-2 and V-3) are the
most numerous:

ETk   l<u>ə</u><u>žé</u> and l<u>ə́</u><u>žeš</u> (VR)

               vs.

      l<u>ə́</u><u>že</u> in all other areas

ETk   <u>orém</u>, <u>oréš</u>, <u>oré</u>, <u>orémo</u>, <u>oréte</u>, <u>orú</u>

       (Br 312:236/309---"daneben ist Wurzel-
       betonung, wenigstens für die 1 P. Pl.,
       belegt: <u>óremo</u>". Belić disagrees, how-
       ever: "Ja sam konstatovao samo <u>órem</u>")
       [B11 59]

               vs.

      <u>óremo</u> (Čin, Kr, VR)

CWTk   <u>orémo</u> (Šil, Šarb)

               vs.

SWTk   <u>óre</u>, <u>poóre</u> (Pas)

ETk   <u>berémo</u> (Kr)

      <u>berém</u> (Br 264:228/308)

      <u>bérem</u> and <u>berém</u> (CT 421)

             but

      <u>béru</u> (B 519:221/329)

      <u>razbérem</u> (Čin)

      <u>obére</u> (Kr)

      <u>pribérem</u>, <u>zbére</u> (B 519:216/334)

CWTk   <u>zberé</u>, <u>zberév</u> (Šil)

      <u>berém</u> (Br 177:157/300)

      <u>berémo</u>, <u>oberémo</u>, <u>saverú</u> (Šarb)

             and

      <u>béremo</u>, <u>obéremo</u>, <u>bére</u> (ibid)

               vs.

      <u>sabére</u> (B 519:155/319)

SWTk b̲e̲r̲ém but s̲a̲b̲érem (Grač)

    b̲é̲r̲em (B 519:159/234)

    b̲é̲r̲e (ibid: 200/233)

NE KR b̲ĕ̲r̲em (KRs 416)

ETk o̲p̲e̲r̲émo (Kr)

   p̲e̲r̲ém (Br 264:228/308)

   p̲e̲r̲ém and p̲é̲r̲em (CT 421)

       but

   p̲é̲r̲e (VR)

   o̲p̲é̲r̲em, o̲p̲é̲r̲emo (Čin)

   o̲p̲é̲r̲e (B 519:216/334)

CWTk p̲e̲r̲éš, p̲e̲r̲ú (Šarb)

   p̲e̲r̲é (Šil)

   p̲e̲r̲ém (Br 179:157/300)

       vs.

SWTk p̲e̲r̲ém and p̲é̲r̲ém but o̲p̲é̲r̲e (Grač)

NE KR o̲p̲ĕ̲r̲em, o̲p̲ĕ̲r̲emo (KRs 417)

ETk z̲o̲v̲é (Kr, Br 291:236/309)

   z̲o̲v̲ú (Kr, VR, B 516:218/344)

   z̲o̲v̲ém (Br 264:228/308)

   z̲o̲v̲émo (B 516:236/309, Br 278:227/255, Br

    238:218/249)

   z̲o̲é (B 516:213/341, ibid:216/334)

   o̲z̲o̲v̲é (ibid:215/242)

   n̲a̲z̲o̲v̲é (ibid:216/334)

   z̲a̲z̲o̲v̲ú (ibid:209/337)

CWTk z̲o̲v̲é, z̲o̲v̲év (Šarb)

   z̲o̲v̲ú (Šil)

   z̲o̲v̲émo but z̲ó̲v̲em, z̲ó̲v̲e se (Br 267: 156/317)

       but

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SWTk   zóvu   (Grač)

               vs.

SW KR   zovêm   (E)

ETk   sejámo   (Čin--recorded as pres in my notes)

               vs.

       séjem   (VR)

       poséjem   (Kr)

       séjemo   (B 530:225/300)

ETk   pojé   (Čin, VR)

       poé   (B 517:200/322)

       pojú   (Čin, Kr, B 517:216/334)

       zapojé   (Kr)

       pojémo   (Br 238:218/249)

            but

       oni če mu póju   (ibid)

       pojém, pojéš, pojé, pojémo, -jéte, -jú

           (Br 234:209/233)

            vs.

       pójem, póju   (both 1sg, both listed as

           seltener") (ibid)

CWTk   pojé   (Šil)

       pojémo   (Šil, Br 158:157/300, B 517:157/300)

       opojé   (Šarb)

           but

SWTk   póju   (Grač)

       póje, pójev   (Pas)

            vs.

SW KR   pōjêm and pojêm   (E)

ETk   smejé se   (Čin)

ETk   <u>smejémo se</u> and <u>sméje se</u>   (Kr)

                    vs.

        <u>sméješ se</u>   (VR, B 530:223/324)
CWTk   <u>smejé se</u>   (Šarb)

        <u>sméemo se</u>   (Šil)

                    but

SWTk   <u>sméemo</u>   (Grač)

        <u>smějev</u>   (Pas)

        <u>sméje se</u>   (B 530:159/233)

                    vs.

NE KR   <u>smē̌jêm se</u>, <u>smē̌jê se</u>, <u>smē̌jête se</u>   (KRs 420)

ETk   <u>kové</u>   (Čin, VR, Kr)

        <u>kovém</u>   (Br 233:209/233, B 483:236/309, ibid:
                223/324)

        <u>potkovém</u>   (B 483:227/255)

        <u>kovéš</u>, <u>prekovéte</u>   (ibid:236/309)

        <u>zakové</u>   (ibid:216/334)

        <u>zakovú</u>   (B 483:223/324)
CWTk   <u>potkovém</u>   (Šil, Šarb)

                    but

        <u>zakóve</u>   (B 483:155/319)

                    vs.

SWTk   <u>kóve</u>   (Pas)

        <u>otkóvete</u>   (Br 101:155/233)

                    but

NE KR   <u>kovêm</u>   (KRs 426)

SWTk blají and blájev (Trg)
      problají (B 538:159/233)

      bojím se (ibid:201/236)
              but
      bójev se (ibid:155/233)

      vrtí and vŕtiš (Trg)

      gorí, izgorí (Grač)
      gorí (Br 150:200/229)

      držím and dŕžu, dŕžiš (Trg)
      držú (B 513:205/243)
      izdŕžím (recorded with "?") and dŕžim,
          izdŕžim (Grač)

      živíš (Pas)
              but
      živi (B 538:155/233)

      ležím, poležím (Grač)

      sedím, sedímo, sedíju (Grač)
      sedímo but sédu, sédim (Trg)
              cf.
      sédiš, sédimo (B 538:155/233)
      sédiš (ibid:159/233)
      sédim and sedím (Br 150:208/229)

      stojím (Grač)
      stojí (Trg)
      postojí (recorded with "?"), and stójim,
          stóju (Pas)

SWTk   <u>trčí</u> and <u>tŕči</u>   (Trg)

The [P] relationship is attested in both these groups of

verbs in EMac and certain areas of WBg, however. Compare:

      EMac   <u>górí/izgóri</u> (MDA: Žel)   [Pb]

      Kjus   <u>gorí/izgóri</u> (Kj 76)   [P]

      EMac   <u>držĭ/zadŕži</u> (MDA: Gab, Kis, Žel)   [P]

               cf. also

      EMac   <u>koné/zakóne</u> (MDA: Kis, Kal)   [P]

                <u>kové/zakóve</u> (MDA: Kal)   [P]

    Sof   <u>sedíme</u> (T 355:319/238)/<u>dosédi</u> (ibid:

          310/244)   [P]

      <u>činí</u> (T 354:310/244)/<u>učínim</u> (T 335:

          310/244)   [P]

The reverse relationship, noted [P*] on charts, is

attested in two stems:

      EMac   <u>sédim/posedí</u> (MDA: Žel)   [P*o]

               cf.

      <u>sedí</u>/no prefixed form (MDA: Gab)

      Kjus   <u>réžem/odrežém</u> (Kj 76)   [P*]

In obstruent stems, the [P] relationship is well attested in

both EMac and in the Pijanec subgroup of the Kjustendil dia-

lect, located between Kjus and the EMac border. On chart 7,

symbols to the right of the slash in the Kjus column refer

to the Pijanec subdialect. Compare:

EMac   <u>snesé/donése</u> (MDA: Žel--note here, as in
2-3sg aor [sec. 3.16] the apparent
necessity that the prefix be syllabic)

<u>peče/ispéče</u>	(MDA: Kis, Kal, Gab)	[P]
<u>tečé/dotéče</u>	(MDA: Gab)	[P]
<u>dadé/predáde</u>	(MDA: Kis, Kal, Žel)	[P]
<u>kradé/ukráde</u>	(MDA: Kis, Kal)	[P]
<u>predé/ispréde</u>	(MDA: Kis, Kal)	[P]

and Umlenski's description of the Pijanec dialect as characterized by

> otmetət na udarenieto pri glagolite ot 1 spr. v
> svəršen vid s kraeslovno udarenie v knižovnija ezik
> i drugade v Kjustendilsko vərxu korennata glasna vəv
> 2 i 3 l., ed.č.i v trite lica na mn. č. Tova udar-
> enie e prisəšto samo na pijaneškija podgovor...
> Napr.: <u>ke dóveda</u> <u>ke dovédeš</u> <u>ke dovéde</u> <u>ke dovédeme</u>
> <u>ke dovédete</u> <u>ke dovédat</u>...<u>izédeme</u>, <u>naséčeme</u>, <u>opéčeme</u>,
> i dr. (Kj 167)

The [P] relationship is known in std SC only in certain <u>i</u>-stems such as <u>lomi</u>. I found only one solid example of such accentuation among <u>i</u>-stems in Tk--in Grač, where [P] is well attested among other verb types as well (obstruent stems, <u>bra</u> and <u>pra</u>). In southwestern Kjus and northeasternMac dialects it is also well attested in obstruent stems, and in certain other verbs as well. In Sof, it is possible that it occurs in a number of verbs.

I also recorded accent on the prefix of perfective

forms of certain verbs whose nonprefixed present forms are

monosyllabic in the sg, e.g.

CWTk	<u>žnjé</u>, <u>žnjemó/póžnješ</u> (Šarb)
	<u>nážnjemo</u> (B 529:156/317)
	vs.
ETk	<u>žnjémo/sažnjé</u> (Čin)
	cf. however
ETk	<u>žnjé</u>, <u>žnjémo/póžnje</u> (B 529:216/334)
	<u>óžnju</u> (ibid:233/316)
	<u>sóžnju</u> (ibid:224/305)
TWBg	<u>da óžnje</u> (KK 566:229/230)
	<u>óžnje</u> (T 346:229/230)
Kjus	<u>žnjéem</u>, <u>žnját</u> (Kj 102)/<u>óžnjat</u> (Kj 103)
CWBg	<u>póžnat</u> (T 340:307/216)
	<u>da óžnje</u> (ibid)
NE KR	<u>póžnjem</u> (KRs 432)
CWTk	<u>znáju/príznam</u> (Šarb)
	<u>znáe/póznaem</u> (Šil)
	cf.
	<u>néznamo</u> (B 527:205/245)
ETk	<u>prízna/znáe</u> (VR)
	<u>néznam</u> and <u>znáem</u> (Čin)
	<u>néznam</u> and <u>ne znáe</u> (Kr)
	cf.
	<u>né znam</u> (B 527:216/334, ibid:225/335)
	<u>príznau</u> (B 527:216/334)
	but
	<u>poznájem</u> (B 527:236/309)
	<u>poznáješ</u> (ibid:223/322)
	<u>opoznáje</u> (ibid:225/335)
SWTk	<u>znáev/póznae se</u> as well as <u>prízna</u> (Pas)

SWTk   né ga znaš (B 527:202/234)
        mǔž gu ne poznáje (B 527:155/233)
        ne znáješ (ibid)
        ne gu znáje (ibid)

CWTk   da izátka (Šarb)
SWTk   razátkiš (stem raza-tki) (Grač)
        če se to nátke (ibid)
                but
ETk   zatkáje (Kr)
        izetkáje (B 483:209/337)
CWTk   izetkéjem (B 483:157/300)
SWTk   tkáem, izatkáem (Pas)
                but
NE KR   sătkeš (KRt 131)

Note also

ETk   jášim/újaši (Čin--both recorded in my notes
                as pres forms)
SWTk   rásipam (Grač)

In the case of tka, there appears to be a correlation between
stem shape and accent placement: accent appears on the pre-
fix when the stem is tka, tkaj or tki (e.g. izátka, nátke and
razátkiš, respectively), but not when it is tkaja (e.g. zat-
káje, etc.) In znaj, accent on the prefix is attested more
often when the present is of the form znam than when it is
"non-contracted" (znaem), but there are instances of pre-
fixal accent in the latter as well, e.g. póznaem.

        Finally, certain class VI stems have initial stress
[B], although the majority have stem-final stress [b]:

ETk   vérujem (Čin, B 498:216/334, ibid:225/305,
              ibid:204/240)
         vérujete (ibid:210/323--with a note "po
              svoj prilici, ne nar[odnog] porekla")
         véruješ (B 530:225/315)
         véruje (ibid:209/337, ibid:216/334)
         povérujemo (Kr)
         véruješ vs. verúješ (ibid)
         prážnjujemo (Čin, VR)
         práznujem (CT 428)
                  vs.
         pražnújemo (Kr)
CWTk   vérujem (Šarb)
                  vs.
         verújem and véruješ (Šil)
SWTk   vérujem (Grač)
                  but
         verújemo (Pas)

3.26   Let us return to the distribution of stem stress vs.
end stress in the present in Tk. End stress is found in ETk
and CWTk in obstruent stems and e- and ča-stems, with the
following exceptions:

ETk   métemo and metém, metémo (Čin)

        kráde (Čin,Kr)

        tresém and trésem (Br 227:209/233)

        mĺzem and mlzém (Br 282:236/309)

        da izéde (Br 240:218/249)

        "dom gorí; das daneben notirte góri P.
              góru ist augenscheinlich eine neue
              Erscheinung" (Br 231:209/233)

        držím and dŕžim (ibid)
        oni dŕžu (Br 238:218/249)

        žívim   Čin, Kr, Br 231:209/233, Br 261:238/308)
        žíviš (B 538:224/305)
        ožívi (ibid:216/334)

        izláti (B 538:233/316--this and following
              listed as forms of lete)
        naláti, proláte (ibid:216/334)
        odláte (ibid:215/336
        proláti (ibid:225/305)

        sédi (Br 278:218/249)

ETk   <u>trpím</u> and <u>tŕpim</u>   (CT 430)

CWTk   <u>ubódeš</u>   (Šarb)

           <u>da ponése</u>   (Br 266:156/317)

           <u>da izéde</u>   (Br 159:157/300)

           <u>žívim</u>   (Šil)

           <u>sédimo</u>   (Br 267:156/317)

           <u>da tŕpi</u> but <u>trpím</u>   (Br 266:156/317)

In addition, the stems <u>id</u>, <u>mog</u> and <u>vid</u> are stem-stressed
everywhere except for the following:

ETk   <u>idú</u>, <u>idém</u>   (Br 226:209/233--"akcenat neobičan
                  i verovatno netačan," says Belić [Bll 5b])
                    cf. however

ETk   <u>projdú</u> (3pl)   (Kr)

EMac   <u>idé</u>   (MDA: Gab)

CWTk   <u>vidím</u> and <u>vídim</u>   (Šil)
           <u>vidité</u>   (DP)

When obstruent stems appear with present tense forms of
class II verbs (e.g. <u>réknem</u> for <u>rečém</u>), they are always stem-
stressed.

ETk   <u>réknem</u>   (Kr, VR)

CWTk   <u>réknem</u>   (Šarb)

SWTk   <u>réknem</u>   (Trg, Grač)
           <u>porásne</u>   (Trg)
           <u>preporásnev</u>   (Pas)

End stress also occurs in ETk and CWTk in several stems of
other classes, most frequently in pij (I-2), kun (I-3), uči
and čini (IV), igraj and kopaj (V-1), ora (V-2) and bra,
pra, zva, poja, smeja se and kova (V-3).

In SWTk, however, end stress is exceptional. Only in
Grač (near SW KR border) does it appear with any frequency
(compare the SWTk sections of the listings given in sec.
3.24). To illustrate the isogloss of stress placement in
the present tense in Tk, I have chosen six stems which are
consistently end-stressed in CWTk and ETk (three obstruent
stems and three e/ča-stems) and plotted their accentuation
in Tk on sketch VII. The stems are

pek	gore
sek	sede
jed	trča

The symbols next to each location on sketch VI represent the
present tense accentuation of these six stems, always in the
same order. For instance,

P	o
P	o
b	b

for Grač signifies the following accentuation there:
(class I)

pečém/ispéčem, etc.	[P]
sečém/iséčem, etc.	[P]
jédem, jédeš, etc.	[b]

LEGEND

- - - - dialect boundaries
——— political boundaries
Kr   towns or villages
ETk dialect areas

. NSV

NWBg

CTim

Šarb

DP

ETk

CWTk

Kr

Čin.

TWBg

Šil.

o Tran

TWBg

Grač
.P o
P o
b b

SWTk

Vk

TWBg

. Sof
o o
o P
o o

Pas
b b
b b
b b

b b
b M
b. b
Trg

Staj

o o
o o
bo
. Rad

O P
o o

o Kjus o

CWBg

Žel'

P o
P
P

Gab

Psač

o Kum b b
b b
b b

Rank

Kis

P P
b P
o o
. Kal

NMac

EMac

Dek'.
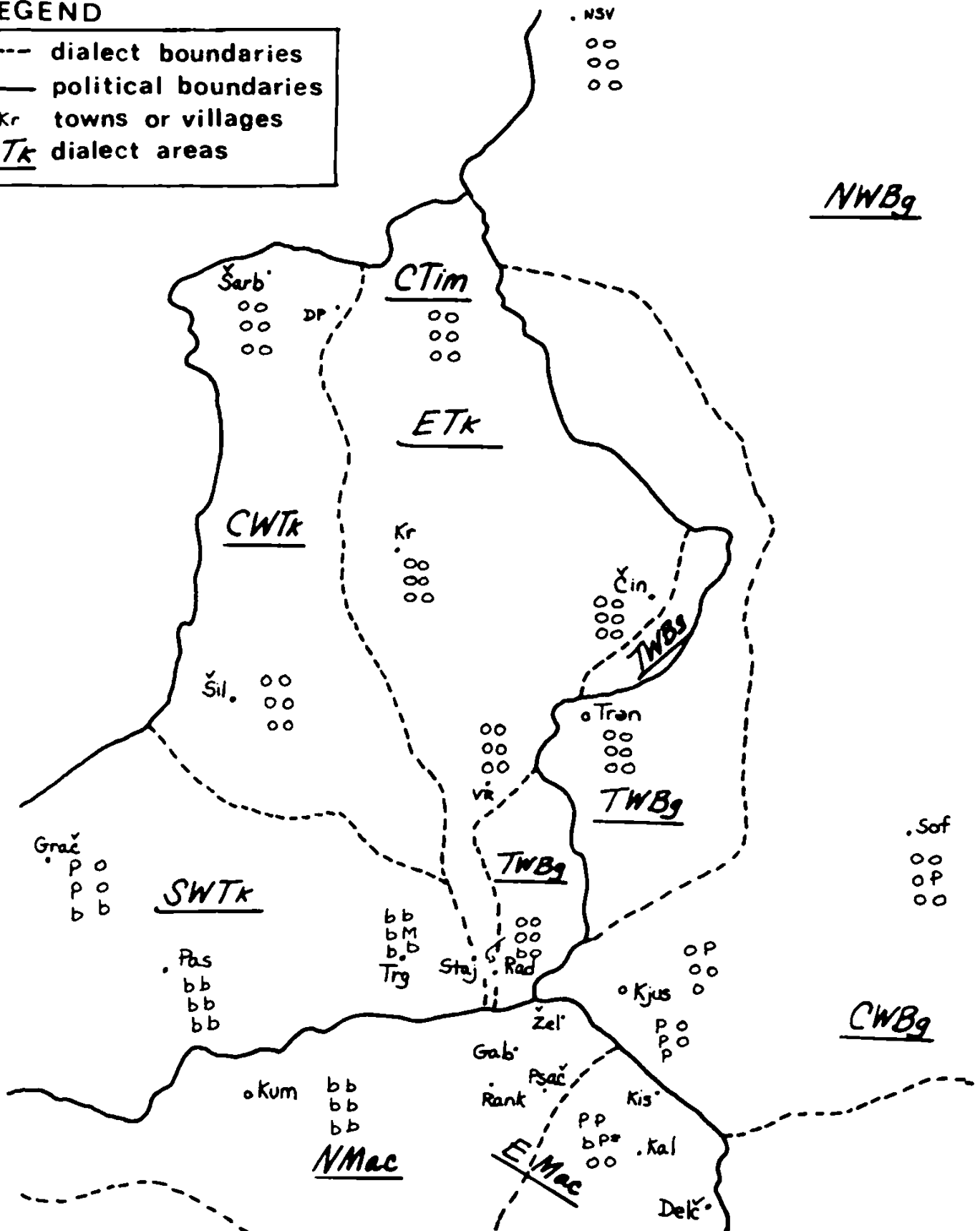
Sketch VII: Accentuation of present tense of six verbs in
Tk, NMac, EMac and WBg

(class III)

> gorím, goríš, etc.   [o]
>
> sedím, sedíš, etc.   [o]
>
> tŕčim, tŕčiš, etc.   [b]

The isogloss of [b] accentuation (exclusive stem stress) in sketch VII is quite similar to that in sketch I (the sg/pl accentuation of six feminine a-declension nouns). Note es-specially in both cases the presence of end stress in Staj-Rad vs. its absence in neighboring Trg. From this, as well as from the infrequency of end stress in SWTk vs. its nearly complete regularity in ETk and CWTk in these verb classes, I conclude that paroxytonesis is the factor governing the distribution of end stress in the present tense in Tk.

     NMac has only stem stress in the present tense, cf. V 113. In WBg and EMac, however, the distribution of end stress vs. stem stress in the pres is approximately the same as in ETk (see charts 7--15). That is, end stress is the rule in obstruent stems (except id and mog) and in e- and ča-stems (except vide) and stem stress the norm in all other groups, with a fairly well-defined group of exceptions. Here, the dialect of Novo Selo (Vidin) in WBg is of interest. According to data and assertions in Mladenov's 1969 monograph on this dialect, present-tense accentuation appears to be a predictable consequence of the verb's stem class: I-1 and III are end-stressed and all others are stem-stressed (cf. Lunt 1974). What is merely a tendency in other areas (judg-

ing by the amount of variation I found both in the field and
in the sources) has apparently become a crystallized rule in
NSV. Our knowledge of the NSV dialect area is based on this
single monograph, however,[24] and there are certain inconsis-
tencies on a number of points; perhaps more variation is to
be found in present tense accentuation there than Mladenov's
statements would indicate.

3.27   Absolute end stress (or marginal oxytonesis [O]) in
the present tense is distinguished from desinence-initial
oxytonesis [o] by stress on the second syllable of the des-
inence in 1-2pl forms, e.g. bežimó, bežité. In std SC, most
oxytonic verbs are marginally oxytonic; in a number of verbs
both desinence-initial oxytonic and marginal oxytonic vari-
ants are permitted. In ETk, however, only class III verbs
are consistently attested with this pattern, cf. Belić:

> Kod glagola druge grupe [apparently all class III
> verbs except vidim and vrvim] prelazi akcenat u 1
> i 2 pl. na krajni vokal --mó, --té. U ovom dijalektu
> to su jedini glagoli (sem jesam) koji u tim licima
> imaju takav akcenat, dok kod Vuka biva to češće i
> kod drugih glagola. (B 537)

Examples:

ETk   bežimó, bežité (CT 431, B 538:225/335, ibid:
            209/334)
        bežimó (B 538:218/344)

        blajité (Kr)

        bojimó se (Kr)
        bojité se (B 538:213/337)

        vrtimó (Kr)
        izvrtimó (B 538:216/331)

        držimó (B 538:225/335, Br 310:236/309)
        držité (Kr, Br 310:236/309)

ETk   <u>živimó</u>   (B 538:225/335, CT 430)
         <u>živité</u>   (B 538:216/334, CT 430)

         <u>ležimó</u>   (Kr, B 538:209/334, Br 311:236/309)
         <u>ležité</u>   (Br 311:236/309)

         <u>sedimó</u>   (Čin, Kr, B 538:225/335, ibid:220/334,
             ibid:209/237)
         <u>sedité</u>   (Kr, B 538:221/339, ibid:216/334,
             ibid:223/322)
         <u>posedité</u>   (B 538:216/334)

         <u>stojimó</u>   (Kr, B 539:205/332, ibid:211/339)
         <u>stojité</u>   (B 539:223/341)

         <u>trpimó</u>   (Kr)

In addition, Stanojević implies that all class III verbs have
this accentuation:

> Kao <u>bežím</u> [<u>bežimó</u> <u>bežité</u>] menjaju se <u>držím</u>, <u>trčím</u>,
> <u>ble[j]ím</u>, <u>sto[j]ím</u>, <u>bo[j]ím se</u>...<u>ležím</u>...
> it.d. (CT 431)

> Kao <u>živím</u> [<u>živimó</u> <u>živité</u>] menjaju se na pr. i ovi
> glagoli: <u>visím</u>...<u>tŕpim</u> i <u>trpím</u>...<u>letím</u>...<u>gorím</u>...
> it.d. (CT 430)

In CWTk, I recorded marginal oxytonesis only in Šarb and DP.
There, however, I found it in verbs of several classes, viz.

         CWTk
(I-1)   <u>dovedeté</u>   (Šarb)
         <u>doneseté</u>   (ibid)
         <u>damó</u>   (ibid)

CWTk	<u>predemó</u> (ibid, DP)
	<u>jemó</u>, <u>jeté</u> (Šarb--apparently contracted forms
	of <u>jedemó</u>, <u>jedeté</u>)

(I-2)	<u>ne znamó</u>, <u>znaté</u> (Šarb)
(I-3)	<u>žnjemó</u> (but <u>póžnjemo</u>) (Šarb)
(III)	<u>vidité</u> (DP)

but

<u>vídite</u> (Šarb)
<u>držimó</u>, <u>držité</u> (Šarb)
<u>živité</u> (ibid)
<u>ležité</u> (ibid)
<u>sedimó</u>, <u>sedité</u> (ibid)
<u>stojimó</u> (ibid)
<u>trčimó</u> (ibid)

(V-3)	<u>tkamó</u> (Šarb)

Belić and Broch recorded no examples of marginal oxytonesis from CWTk. As to Belić's ETk examples, they are primarily from northern areas--with one exception (<u>sedité</u> from Miranovac [22°23' 43°22']), all are located above latitude 43°30' north. The majority of my ETk examples are from Krastavče, however, which is considerably south of this line (22°03' 43°10'), as are Pirot (22°36' 43°09'--two examples recorded by Broch) and Činiglavci (22°43' 43°03'--one example, with vacillation, recorded by me). On the other hand, the CWTk villages of Šarb and DP, where I recorded marginal oxytonesis in five verb classes, lie in this northern zone (21°53' 43°42' and 21°57' 43°38', respectively).

In EMac dialects, I found this accentuation only in

Želigovo (northeasternmost corner of Macedonia), and only in verbs of classes I-1 and III. In WBg, it is attested in a larger number of verbs, but its occurrence is restricted to a compact area located just to the northeast of Žel. According to Zahariev, only the southernmost corner of the TWBg dialect zone (comprising less than 10 villages, which he identifies as speaking a <u>št-žd</u> dialect of Bg [cf. KK 120]) has this accentuation (cf. KK 202). In his study on the Kjustendil dialect, Umlenski includes these same TWBg villages as well (since they have many traits in common with the bulk of Kjus dialects), although he calls them <u>č-dž</u> dialects (see map, Kj 7). Marginal oxytonesis, according to Umlenski, is found in an area extending from the transitional zone in the north to the town of Kjustendil itself, cf. his map showing the isogloss of this accentuation (Kj 74). The data, by verb classes:

(class I)

Kjus	<u>dovedeté</u>	(T 354:243/221)
	<u>ovršemé</u>	(Kj 75)
	<u>metemé</u>	(ibid)
TWBg	<u>donesemé</u>	(T 344:232/227, KK 580:232/227)
Kjus	<u>prinesemé</u>	(Kj 75)
Kjus	<u>pečemé</u>	(ibid)

EMac   <u>pletemé</u>   (MDA: Žel)

TWBg   <u>pleteme pletete</u>   (KK 202--<u>št-žd</u> zone)

                vs.

           <u>pletémo pletéte</u>   (KK 203--<u>č-dž</u> zone)

Kjus   <u>pleteme</u>   (Kj 74)

EMac   <u>téčemé téčeté</u>   (MDA: Žel)

Kjus   <u>da pretečemé</u>   (T 345:243/221)

TWBg   <u>da dademé</u>   (T 345:227/226)

Kjus   <u>dademé</u>   (Kj 74)

EMac   <u>muzemé</u>   (MDA: Žel)

Kjus   <u>muzemé</u>   (Kj 74)

Kjus   <u>predemé</u>   (ibid)

EMac   <u>sečemé</u>   (MDA: Žel)

TWBg   <u>jadeté</u>   (KK 178)

          <u>če jademé</u>   (KK 580:232/227)

Kjus   <u>jademé</u>   (Kj 74)

(class I-2)

TWBg   <u>piemé pieté</u>   (KK 802--<u>št-žd</u> zone)

          <u>piemé</u>   (T 348:239/227--note Todorov's comment

               "ot edno po-staro *<u>piéme</u>")

Kjus   <u>piemé</u>   (Kj 75)

Kjus   <u>čegá če poznaemé</u>   (ibid)

(class I-3)

Kjus   <u>žnjemé</u>   (Kj 75:237/227)

(class III)

      Kjus   <u>provrtimé</u> (Kj 75)

      EMac   <u>górimé</u> <u>górité</u> (MDA: Žel)

      EMac   <u>držimó</u> [sic] (MDA: Žel)
      Kjus   <u>držimé</u> (Kj 74)

      EMac   <u>sédimé</u> <u>sédeté</u> (MDA: Žel)

      EMac   <u>stojimé</u> (MDA: Žel)
      Kjus   <u>stoimé</u> (Kj 75)

      TWBg   <u>trəpimé</u> <u>trəpité</u> (KK 202-<u>št-žd</u> zone)
                        but
            <u>trəpímo</u> <u>trəpité</u> (KK 203--<u>č-dž</u> zone)
      Kjus   <u>trpimé</u> (Kj 75)

      EMac   <u>trčimé</u> (MDA: Žel)

(class V-3)

      TWBg   <u>poemé</u> <u>poeté</u> (KK 202--<u>št-žd</u> zone)
                        vs.
            <u>poémo</u> <u>poéte</u> (KK 203--<u>št-žd</u> zone)

            <u>kovemé</u> (T 346:239/227)
            <u>raskovemé</u> (T 344:239/227)

We thus find marginal oxytonesis in the present tense in two nonadjacent areas--northernmost Tk (both ETk and CWTk), and the border area where EMac, TWBg and Kjus converge. Sketch VIII shows the distribution of marginal oxytonesis.

Two symbols are given for each area. The first represents class III verbs, e.g. sede or drža, and the second refers to other oxytonic verbs (primarily obstruent stems), e.g. nes, dad, plet and znaj. As on charts 7-15, the symbols [O] and [o] in sketch VIII indicate marginal oxytonesis (držimó, dademó) and desinence-initial oxytonesis (držímo, dadémo), respectively. It can be seen from the sketch that in Tk marginal oxytonesis affects only class III verbs, except for Šarb where it occurs in other oxytones as well. In the WBg-EMac area of marginal oxytonesis, however, all oxytones apparently have this accentuation.

In charts 7-15, I have entered the symbol [O] only when 1-2pl forms with marginal oxytonesis were firmly attested. In all other instances, [o] appears. Many times, however, this simply signifies that sg forms had end stress (e.g. pleté, drží). Plural forms may well have shown the paradigm to be marginally oxytonic had they been recorded. Indeed, I am quite certain that marginal oxytonesis characterizes all class III verbs in Krastavče and Šarbanovac, as well as more verbs of other classes in Šarb than the few which I recorded.

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LEGEND

- - - - dialect boundaries
——— political boundaries
Kr   towns or villages
ETk dialect areas

NSV
oo

NWBg
∞

Šarb·
oo   DP

CTim
Oo

oo

ETk

CWTk

Kr
· Oo

Čin.
oo

TWBg

Šil.
· oo

o Tran
oo

oo
VR

TWBg

·Sof
oo

Grač
· bo

SWTk

TWBg

oo

bo

Pas
· bb

Trg

bo
· Staj · Rad

oo

o Kjus

oo

CWBg

Žel· oo

o Kum
bb

Gab·oo
Psač·
Rank

NMac

Kis·
oo
·Kal

EMac

Dek·
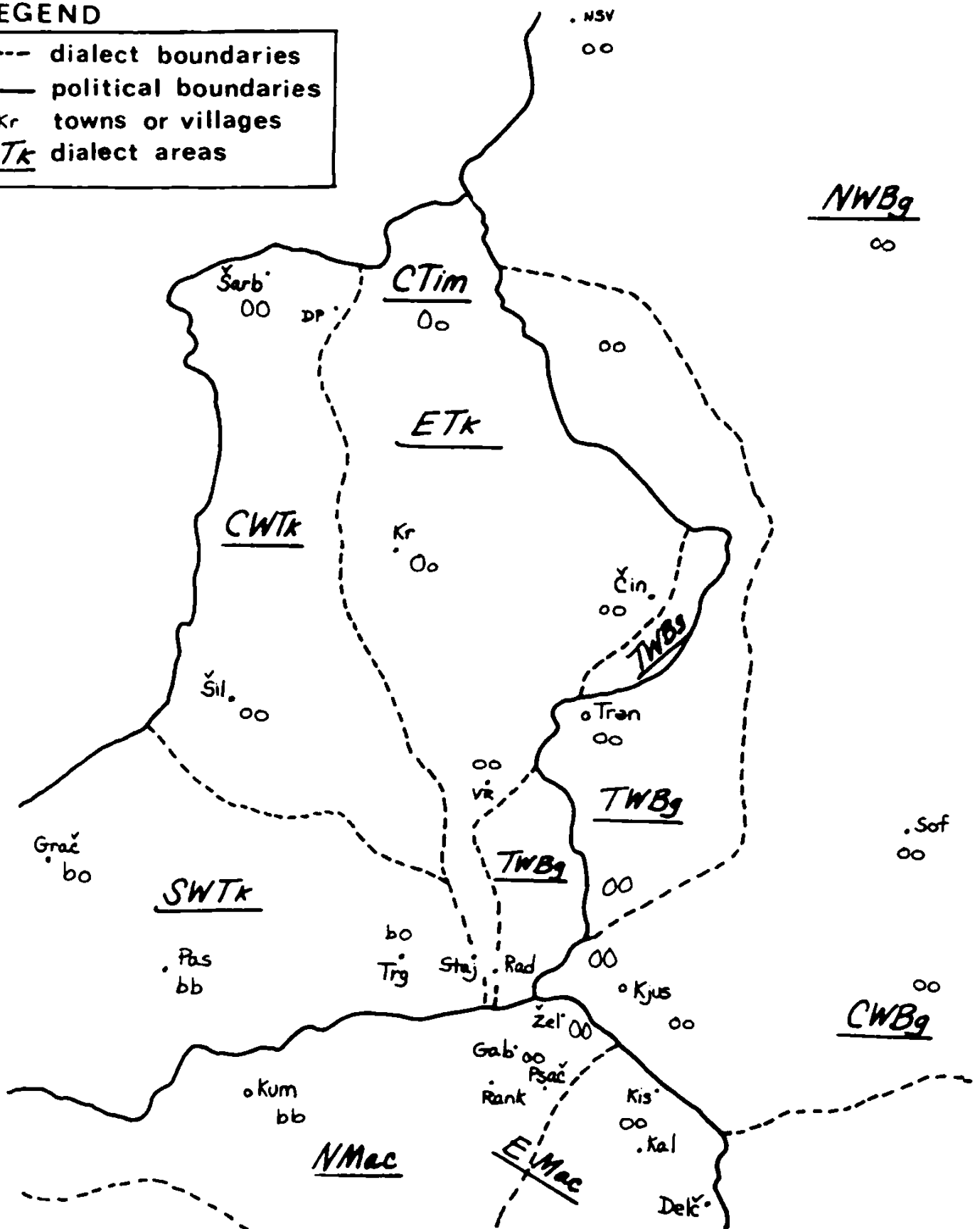
Sketch VIII: Distribution of marginal oxytonesis in the
present tense of certain verbs in Tk, NMac, EMac, WBg

3.28   As noted earlier, a recessive mobile alternation op-
posing 2-3sg aor to other forms of the aorist is attested in
most areas of Tk. When stress remains on the same syllable
throughout the aorist, however, the symbols [b] and [o] ap-
pear on the charts to signify columnar stress on stem-final
and desinential syllables, respectively, e.g.

ETk   pék--o-∅, péč--e-∅, pék--o-mo, etc.
        is-pék--o-∅, is-péč--e-∅, is-pék--o-mo, etc.
              (Kr, VR, Br 307:236/309)   [b]

        nosí--∅-∅ (1-3sg), nosí--∅-mo, etc.
        do-nosí--∅-∅(1-3sg), do-nosí--∅-mo, etc.
              (Čin, Kr)   [b]

        id--ó-∅, id--é-∅, id--ó-mo, etc.
        ot-id--ó-∅, ot-id--é-∅, ot-id--ó-mo, etc.
              (Čin, Kr, Br 257:228/308)   [o]

In the majority of cases, however, the alternation
opposing 2-3sg to other forms is attested. The accentuation
of 1sg and 1-3pl forms can be determined easily from the
symbols used on the chart. Thus

        is-pek--ó-∅/is-peč--e-∅ (1sg/2-3sg)

implies

    1pl   is-pek--ó-mo
    2pl   is-pek--ós-te
    3pl   is-pek--óš-e

and

        iz-brisá--∅-∅/íz-brisa-∅-∅ (1sg/2-3sg)   [M*]

implies

> 1pl <u>iz-brisá--∅-mo</u>
>
> 2pl <u>iz-brisá--s-te</u>
>
> 3pl <u>iz-brisá--š-e</u>

Aorist stems have been reformulated in a number of instances. Formations of the obstruent type were listed earlier (sec. 3.15). The other types are:

a) reformulations on the pattern of class II stems (this is most common in WBg and EMac), e.g.

TWBg	<u>izrasnãme</u> (KK 607:239/227)	<u>rastnu</u>
	vs.	vs.
ETk	<u>porásto</u> (Čin\), etc.	<u>rast</u>
TWBg	<u>ja ukradnã</u> (KK 593:229/225)	<u>kradnu</u>
Sof	<u>ukradná</u> (T 366:318/244)	
EMac	<u>ukradná</u> (MDA: Gab, Žel, Psač)	vs.
CWBg	<u>uкradná</u> (T 368:334/225)	
	vs.	
ETk	<u>ukrádo</u> (Kr), etc.	<u>krad</u>
TWBg	<u>on póčna</u> (0 110)	<u>póčnu</u>
NSV	<u>nočnú</u> (Mns 93)	
NWBg	<u>zapóčname</u> (T 331:336/335, ibid: 233/312)	vs.
	vs.	
ETk	<u>počé</u> (Čin, Kr, VR), etc.	<u>počn</u>
SWTk	<u>ukunú</u> (Pas)	<u>kunu</u>
EMac	<u>zakolná</u> (MDA: Psač, Renk, Žel)	
	vs.	vs.
ETk	<u>isklé</u> (Kr), etc.	<u>kun</u>

b) on the pattern of i-stems (class IV verbs), e.g.

CWTk	ovrší (Šil)	vrši
SWTk	ovrší (Trg)	vs.
	vs.	
ETk	ovŕo, ovŕše (Čin), etc.	vrh

ETk	drží (3sg aor) (VR)	drži
	vs.	vs.
	izdržá (1sg aor) (Čin), etc.	drža

ETk	ujaší (Čin)	jaši
	vs.	vs.
	ujašá (Kr), etc.	jaha/
	(note consonant mutation)	jaša

c) on the pattern of a-stems (class V-2 or V-3), in addition to the forms of moga (instead of mog), cited earlier in sec. 3.14, e.g.

TWBg	možéh (Kj 39--cited as typical of TWBg)	može
	vs.	vs.
ETk	mogó (Čin)	mog

SWTk	ja znajá (Pas)	znaja
NMac	ja znajá but poznámo (V 204)	
TWBg	znajá (KK 201, 202, 203)	vs.
CWBg	znajáh (Mih 83)	
	vs.	
ETk	prízna (B 571:206/334), etc.	zna

NSV	semoljá (Mns 150)	melja
	vs.	vs.

ETk	samlé (Kr), etc.	mle
Kjus	živejáh (Kj 76)	živeja
	vs.	vs.
ETk	živé (CT 430)	žive

NMac	zakoljáše and zakláše (V 203)	kolja
NSV	koljá (Mns 91)	
Kjus	zakoljáh (Kj 115) and zakláa (3pl) (Kj 139)	vs.
	vs.	
ETk	zaklá (Čin, Kr, VR), etc.	kla

ETk	zová (CT 421)	zova
	vs.	vs.
	pozvá (Kr), etc.	zva

SWTk	ožnejá (Trg)	žnjeja
NMac	žnjejá (V 204)	
EMac	ožnejá (MDA: Pšač)	vs.
	vs.	
ETk	požé (Kr), etc.	žanj

Aorist accentuation in Tk is quite regular--except for prefixed 2-3sg forms with initial stress (discussed earlier, secs. 3.12--3.16), stress almost always falls on the last or only syllable of the stem. Except for obstruent stems (class I-1), the following examples are typical of all three Tk dialects (ETk, CWTk and SWTk). The variation found in accentuation of obstruent stem aorists will be discussed below, sec. 3.30. Thus (forms are 1sg and 1pl nonprefixed, 1sg

and lpl prefixed):

(class I-1)

péko--o-∅, pék--o-mɔ, is-pék--o-∅, is-pék--o-mo

(class I-2)

pí--∅-∅, pí--∅-mo, na-pí--∅-∅, na-pí--∅-mo

(class I-3)

klé--∅-∅, klé--∅-mo, is-klé--∅-∅, is-klé--∅-mo

(class II)

ginú--∅-∅, ginú--∅-mo, po-ginú--∅-∅, po-ginú--∅-mo

(class III)

goré--∅-∅, goré--∅-mo, iz-goré--∅-∅, izgoré--∅-mo
držá--∅-∅, držá--∅-mo, iz-držá--∅-∅, iz-držá--∅-mo

(class IV)

krstí--∅-∅, krstí--∅-mo, pre-krstí--∅-∅, pre-krstí--∅-mo

(class V-1)

gledá--∅-∅, gledá--∅-mo, po-gledá--∅-∅, po-gledá--∅-mo

(class V-2)

brisá--∅-∅, brisá--∅-mo, iz-brisá--∅-∅, iz-brisá--∅-mo

(class V-3)

brá--∅-∅, brá--∅-mo, sa-brá--∅-∅, sa-brá--∅-mo
grejá--∅-∅, grejá--∅-mo, iz-grejá--∅-∅, iz-grejá--∅-mo
ková--∅-∅, ková--∅-mo, pot-ková--∅-∅, pot-ková--∅-mo

(class VI)

kupuvá--∅-∅, kupuvá--∅-mo, pre-kupuvá--∅-∅
pre-kupuvá--∅-mo

As can be seen from the above examples, stress occurs

on open final syllables in the sg aorist forms of all verbs but obstruent stems, in SWTk as well as in ETk and CWTk. Since paroxytonesis appears to prohibit stress in an open final syllable in all other inflectional forms in SWTk, one can only conclude that the grammatical category "aorist" is exempt from this restriction.

3.29   In the SWTk dialect of Dvorane (transitional to NMac),
3pl aorist forms constitute the major exception in a system
with apparent fixed penultimate stress.   Compare the follow-
ing aorist paradigms:

1sg	is-pék--o-∅	1pl	is-pek--ó-mo
2sg	is-péč--e-∅	2pl	is-pek--ós-te
3sg	is-péč--e-∅	3pl	is-pek--ó-u

1sg	po-ná-pi--∅-∅	1pl	po-na-pí--∅-mo
2sg	po-ná-pi--∅-∅	2pl	po-na-pí--s-te
3sg	po-ná-pi--∅-∅	3pl	po-na-pí--∅-u

1sg	po-gína--∅-∅	1pl	po-giná--∅-mo
2sg	po-gína--∅-∅	2pl	po-giná--s-te
3sg	po-gína--∅-∅	3pl	po-giná--∅-u

1sg	iz-dŕža--∅-∅	1pl	iz-držá--∅-mo
2sg	iz-dŕža--∅-∅	2pl	iz-držá--s-te
3sg	iz-dŕža--∅-∅	3pl	iz-držá--∅-u

1sg	pre-kŕsti--∅-∅	1pl	pre-krstí--∅-mo
2sg	pre-kŕsti--∅-∅	2pl	pre-krstí--s-te
3sg	pre-kŕsti--∅-∅	3pl	pre-krstí--∅-u

1sg	po-gléda--∅-∅	1pl	po-gledá--∅-mo
2sg	po-gléda--∅-∅	2pl	po-gledá--s-te
3sg	po-gléda--∅-∅	3pl	po-gledá--∅-u

I have transcribed the final segment of the 3pl aorist
desinence as /u/. My field notes, however, show various pho-
netic realizations of this segment, viz. [v], [w], [u̯] and

[u]. The final segment of the 3pl pres desinence is also
/u̲/, rendered similarly [v], [w], [u̯] or [u]. I could es-
tablish no correlation between the phonetic shape of the
final segment in these 3pl forms and the grammatical cate-
gory which they represented. Compare 3pl pres forms of
the above six verbs:

> pres is-péč--e-u̲   vs.   aor is-pék--o-u̲
> pres po-na-pí--e-u̲   vs.   aor pɔ-na-pí--∅-u̲
> pres po-gín--e-u̲   vs.   aor po-giná--∅-u̲
> pres iz-dŕž--i-u̲   vs.   aor iz-držá--∅-u̲
> pres pre-kŕst--i-u̲   vs.   aor pre-krstí--∅-u̲
> pres po-gléd--a-u̲   vs.   aor po-gledá--∅-u̲

It is possible that the person-number marker -u̲ is
regarded by the speakers as consonantal in 3pl present but
vocalic in 3pl aorist. If so, the inflectional morphology
of Dvorane could be described by a single constraint requir-
ing ictus to fall on the penultimate syllable. I do not
believe this is the correct interpretation, however; if it
were, I would expect to find at least some reflection in
surface forms of this consonant/vowel distinction. It seems
much more likely that the grammatical category of [3pl] aor-
ist is exempted from the penultimate ictus placement con-
straint of the Dvorane dialect, just as it is exempted from
the paroxytonesis constraint in surrounding SWTk and NMac
dialects.

3.30   In fact, the tendency to accent the final syllable of
sg aorist forms is so strong that in NMac dialects and in
certain SWTk dialects, aorist forms of obstruent stems are
stressed on the desinential syllable instead of on the stem-
final syllable, e.g.

NMac	<u>is-pek--ó-∅</u>	(V 203)	[o]
SWTk	<u>sa-plet--ó-∅</u>	(Pas)	[o]

Indeed, Belić speaks of a trend towards end stress in the
aorist of obstruent stems thoughout the JM zone:

> U južnomoravskom govoru imamo razvitak kojim se i
> ovaj glagol[ski] tip približuje ostalim, jer pored
> običnog <u>ispléto</u>,...<u>ísplete</u>, <u>ispletómo</u>,...sada se
> sve više razvijaju oblici <u>ispletó</u> (1 sing.) prema
> <u>ispletómo</u>, i sasvim je obična, na pr. u Vranju, kod
> prostih glagola, upotreba akcenta na kraju: <u>pletó</u>,
> <u>pleté</u>, prema pletómo i sl.   (B11 65-66)

I found traces of end stress in obstruent stems only in Pas,
however.   In the SWTk areas of Trg (which otherwise has ac-
centuation very similar to that recorded by Belić for Vranje)
and Grač, and the CWTk villages of Šil and Šarb--all JM dia-
lect--I rarely found end stress in obstruent stem aorists.
The data:

CWTk	<u>ubódo</u>	(Šarb, Br 172:157/300)
	<u>ubódɔ</u>, <u>ubóde</u>	(Br 257:208/258)
SWTk	<u>pobódo</u>	(Grač)
	vs.	
	<u>probódo</u> and <u>probodó</u>	(Br 144:159/229)
	<u>ubodó se</u>, <u>ubodómo</u>, <u>pobodó</u>	(Pas)

note also

SWTk   ub**ó**de se and pob**ó**de (2-3sg) (ibid)
        bod**ó**, probod**ó** (Br 116:155/233)

CWTk   uv**é**doše (Šarb)
        odv**é**de (B 568:155/319)
SWTk   dov**é**do (Trg, B 568:157/230)
                vs.
        uved**ó** and uv**é**do (Br 144:159/299)
        odved**ó**še (B 568:155/233, Bkp:139/218)
        poved**ó**(h) (Bkg 95:128/227)

CWTk   pom**é**to (Br 172:157/300)
SWTk   izm**é**to (Trg)
        pom**é**to (Grač)
                vs.
        m**é**to, prom**é**to and met**ó**, promet**ó** (Br 144:
            159/229)
        met**ó** and m**é**to but only promet**ó** (Br 116:
            155/233)
        pomet**ó** (Pas)

CWTk   don**é**so (Šil)
        izn**é**so (B 569:155/319)
        don**é**so (Br 258:208/258)
SWTk   odn**é**so, odn**é**soše (Trg)
        odn**é**so (B 569:155/233)
        don**é**somo (ibid)
                vs.
        prenes**ó** but don**é**seše (Pas)
        odnes**ó** and odn**é**so (Br 145:159/229)
        "odnes**ó** oder odn**é**so" (Br 117:155/233)
        pones**ó** (Br 98:155/233)

SWTk   <u>donesómo</u>   (Bkp 209:139/218)

CWTk   <u>ispéko</u>   (Šarb, Šil, Br 173:157/300)

SWTk   <u>ispéko</u>   (Trg, Grač)

          vs.

<u>ispéko</u> and <u>ispekó</u>   (latter recorded with "?")
        (Pas)

'<u>pekó</u> oder <u>péko</u>, 2.3.P. dagegen nur <u>pečé</u>;
        vgl. <u>prepekó</u>"   (Br 119:155/233)

CWTk   <u>ispléto</u>   (Šarb, Šil, Br 171:157/300)

SWTk   <u>spléto</u>   (Trg)

          vs.

<u>pletó</u> and <u>pléto</u> but <u>zapletó</u>   (Br 116:155/233)

<u>pletó</u>, <u>pleté</u> and <u>исplétó</u>   (Bll 67:155/233)

<u>sapletó</u>   (Pas)

CWTk   <u>utékoše</u>   (Šarb)

        <u>utéče</u>   (B 569:155/319)

SWTk   <u>utéče</u>   (B 569:155/233)

   Aor [<u>tekó</u> oder <u>téko</u>], 2.3. <u>tečé</u>   (Br 119:
        155/233)

CWTk   <u>istréso</u>   (Br 170:157/300, Br 185:208/258)

SWTk   <u>tráse se národ</u>   (Pas)

          vs.

<u>tresó</u> <u>tresé</u> and <u>tréso</u>, <u>trésosmo</u> (but "die...
        erwarteten 2.3. Sg *<u>trése</u>, 1.Pl. *<u>trésomo</u>
        liessen sich dagegen nicht konstatiren"--
        Br 113:155/233; Belić appends "(?)" to his
        citation of these forms [Bll 66])

<u>istrésó</u>, <u>istrésómo</u>   (Bll 67:155/233)

SWTk   <u>tresóh</u>, <u>tróse</u>, <u>tresómo</u>, <u>-óste</u>, <u>-óše</u>   (BKv 54: 155/233)

        <u>tresó(h)</u>   (Bkg 95:128/227)

CWTk   <u>dádoše</u>   (Šarb)

        <u>dádo</u>   (Šil)

        <u>dádo</u>, <u>prodádo</u>   (Br 179:157/300)

        ne <u>dádo</u>   (B 567:157/300)

SWTk   <u>prodádo</u>   (Trg)

        <u>dádo</u>, <u>dádoše</u>   (Grač, Pas)

            vs.

        <u>dadó</u>, <u>dadé</u> and <u>dáde</u>, <u>dadómo</u>, <u>dadóste</u>   (Br 26: 155/233--Belić notes "običnije je <u>dádo</u> i sl." [Bll 68])

        <u>dadó</u> and <u>dádo</u>, <u>dáde</u>, pl only <u>dádomo</u>, etc. (Br 152:208/258)

        <u>odadó se</u>   (B 567:155/233--with a note "što delimično prelazi i na ostala lica: <u>dadé</u> <u>ga</u> [203/235])

        <u>dadómo</u>   (Bkp 201:139/218)

CWTk   <u>pokrádo</u>   (Šarb)

SWTk   <u>ukrádo</u>   (Grač, Trg)

CWTk   <u>pomuzó</u>   (Br 173:157/300, with Belić's note "meni je za Lesk. poznato samo <u>pomúzo</u>" [Bll 67])

SWTk   <u>izmúzo</u>   (Trg)

        <u>pomúzo</u>   (Grač)

            but

        <u>pomuzó</u> and <u>pomúzo</u>   (Pas)

        <u>pomuzó</u>   (Br 118:155/233)

CWTk   isprédo   (Šarb, Šil, Bll 67:157/300)
SWTk   isprédo   (Trg)
     vs.
ispredó   (Pas)
predó and zapredó   (Br 116:155/233)

CWTk   iséko   (Šarb, Šil, Br 173:157/300, B 568:
    155/319)
SWTk   iséko   (Trg)
     vs.
sekó   (Br 119:155/233--Belić cites this form
    and adds "sečé it.d.; posékó [Bll 67:n.p.])
sekómo   (Pas)

CWTk   jédomo   (Šarb)
SWTk   najédo   (Grač)
     vs.
jedó, najedó, edóste but édomo   (Trg)
izedó, izedómo, jedósmo   (Pas)
izedó   (Br 117:155/233)

CWTk   réko, réče   (Šil, Br 173:157/300)
SWTk   réko   (Trg, Pas)
réko, réče, rékoste, rékoše   (Grač)
     vs.
CWTk   réko, réče and rekó rečé   (Šarb)
rečé   (B 567:157/300)
SWTk   réko réče vs. pl rékomo rékoste rékoše and
    rekómo rekóste rekóše   (Br 119:155/233)
réko, rékomo and rekómo   (Br 146:208/258)
rekó(h), rekómo   (Bkg 94:128/227, Bkp 189:
    139/218, Bkv 41:155/233)

Although Belić's statement above refers to the entire JM zone,
it is clear from his own examples that he had in mind only
SWTk (i.e. the Vranje region, since the rest of SWTk was part
of Ottoman Turkey at that time). My data from Pas (130/225
--southwest of Vranje [155/233]) concur with Belić's obser-
vations but those from Trg (207/223-southeast of Vranje, less
distant from it than Pas) contradict his statement.

In all other areas of Tk, obstruent stem aorists ap-
pear with stem stress, e.g. ispéko (cf. chart 16). The verbs
id and mog are end-stressed in all areas, however (see chart
16 and examples and discussion above, sec. 3.14), as are
aorist formations of other stems made on the pattern of ob-
struent stems (see chart 16 and sec. 3.15). The only excep-
tions to be noted are:

EMac   íde (3sg aor) (MDA: Kis, Kal)
                    but (NB)
        dojdé (3sg aor) (MDA: Kis)
SWTk   dójdemo (listed as 1pl aor) (Bkp 184)

Note also the absence of expected stem stress in the follow-
ing forms from the transitional WBg zone, adjacent to ETk:

TWBg   pekó (Tg 184:239/250)
                    vs.
        péko (T 364:239/250)
        ispékoha and ispékova (KK 192)
        ispékoa (T 361:229/230)

        pletó (T 330:239/250)

<center>vs.</center>

ETk   <u>pléto</u>   (KK 200)

<u>najadóše</u>   (T 361:239/250)
<center>vs.</center>
<u>ponajédoše</u>   (Tg 192:239/250)
<u>najédomo</u>   (T 361:239/250, Tg 189)
<u>izédoa</u>   (T 361:229/230)
<u>jédomo</u>   (Tg 189)
<u>édomo</u>   (Tg 197)
<u>jédo</u>   (Tg 200)
<center>note also</center>

EMac   <u>jedé</u> (3sg aor)   (MDA: Rank)
<center>vs.</center>
<u>jáde</u> (3sg aor)   (MDA: Žel)

<u>meté</u> (3sg aor)   (MDA: Rank)
<center>vs.</center>
<u>méte</u> (3sg aor)   (MDA: Gab, Kis, Kal, Žel)

In general, however, the accentuation of nonprefixed forms of the aorist in WBg and EMac differs very little from that of ETk. The accentuation of prefixed forms and of 2-3sg in these areas (which do present significant differences from ETk) was treated above in secs. 3.13 and 3.17, respectively.

3.31   The imperfect tense has the same accentuation as the
present tense in Tk (cf. Belić 1905a:553). There thus exists
at least in theory an accentual opposition between imperfect
and aorist exactly analogous to the accentual opposition be-
tween present and aorist. For example:

> plet--é-m/plét--o-∅   (1sg pres/1sg aor)   [n]
> plet--é-o-∅/plét--o-∅ (1sg imf/1sg aor)   [n]
>
> nós--i-m/nosí--∅-∅   (1sg pres/1sg aor)   [m]
> nós--e-o-∅/nosó--∅-∅ (1sg imf/1sg aor)   [m]
>
> drž--í-m/držá--∅-∅   (1sg pres/1sg aor)   [o]
> drž--é-o-∅/držá--∅-∅ (1sg imf/1sg aor)   [o]

In the first example, desinential stress in present and im-
perfect is opposed to stem stress in aorist. This is sym-
bolized [n]. In the second, stress is on the stem-final syl-
lable in each case. Due to the truncation of the verbal
classifier morpheme in the present and imperfect tense forms,
however, the accent appears on a different syllable in the
surface forms of these tenses than it does in the surface
form of the aorist. I thus use the symbol [m] to signify
this relationship between surface forms. In the third ex-
ample, stress is on the last accentable syllable in each in-
stance, although in pres and imf forms this is a desinential
syllable and in the aorist it is a stem-final syllable. I use
the symbol [o] to indicate this relationship.

The aorist/imperfect relationship is obscured in many

areas of Torlak, however, because the aorist and imperfect

forms are often confused. In 1905, Belić spoke of a mixing

of aorist and imperfect tenses (B 546-548), and listed as

examples of the imperfect tense many forms which seemed, out

of context, to be obvious aorist formations, e.g.

ETk	pi̱'é (3sg) (B 554:223/324)
	pravémo (B 555:209/313)
	gadžá (3sg) (B 558:157/322, ibid:219/326)
	pogadžá (ibid:225/335)
	gadžáše (ibid:220/344, ibid:229/324)
	ugadžáše (B 559:200/322)
	čuváše (3pl) (B 559:209/337)
	čuvá (ibid:209/233, ibid:216/334)
	čuvá (3sg) (B 560:213/333)
	jašá (3sg) '(B 559:225/304)
	plačá (3sg) (B 559:215/336)
	viká (3sg) (B 558:221/329)
	kazáše (3pl) (B 559:236/309, B 561:150/318)
	lagáše (3pl) (B 559:236/309)
CWTk	muzéše (3pl) (B 554:223/324)
	idé (B 556:157/230, ibid:157/300)
	zbirá (3sg) (B 559:223/301)
	režá (3sg) (B 561:155/319)
	viká (3sg) (B 561:155/319)
SWTk	idé (B 556:158/237)
	činéše (3pl) (B 558:155/233, repeated [Bll 96]
	with the note "ako je tačno izgovoreno")
	gadjámo (B 558:155/233)
	kopámo (B 560:202/234)

In 1911, however, he retracted his earlier views, which mixed semantic and formal criteria, and formulated the aor/imf distinction more precisely:

> Nije tačna moja ranija pretpostavka, i pored njihova delimičnog slaganja u formalnom pravcu, o mogučnosti mašavine [sic] aorista i imperfekta. (Bll 95)

He also regretted identifying such forms as the above as imperfect:

> Ja sam...izneo zajedno imperfekatska i aoriska obrazovanja, kada im je sve zajedničko sem akcenta i vremenskih (ličnih) nastavaka. Prema tome, na osnovu toga ih i treba razlikovati. Bilo bi možda bolje da sam svaku kategoriju izneo zasebno. (ibid)

Forewarned by Belić's experience, I made consistent effort in the field to elicit separate aorist and imperfect forms even when informants seemed at first to be mixing them. By careful construction of syntactic frame and frequent repetition of this type of questioning, I succeeded in most cases in eliciting distinct forms. There were numerous instances, however, where I was forced to conclude that the "imperfect tense" in a certain local dialect differed very little from the corresponding aorist tense. For example, consider the forms

ETk   pléteše (imf)/pléte (aor) (Kr)   [b]

At first, the informant gave only aorist forms in the frame "A knock came at the door while I/she was knitting," viz.

ja pléto, oná pléte. Finally, after a long discussion of the difference between the durative nature of knitting and the cessation of knitting immediately preceding some other action, she volunteered that one could say oná pléteše in the first instance and oná pléte in the second. The form ja pléto meant both, however; and she firmly rejected the possibility of the form "oná pletéše" (I had, however, elicited other, expected end-stressed imperfect forms from the same informant).

Another type of mixing is seen in the following imperfect paradigm, recorded from the same informant:

1sg	ja sedé	1pl	mi sedémo
2sg	ti sédeše	2pl	vi sedéste
3sg	on sédeše	3pl	oní sédeoše

Here we have apparent imperfect forms in 2-3sg and 3pl, opposed to aorist forms in 1sg and 1-2pl.

I recorded another clear example of mixing in Pasjane (SWTk), where I elicited the following paradigms, all in imperfect frames (except for 2-3sg, the same forms were elicited in aorist frames):

1sg	ja kunú	1pl	mi kunúmo
2sg	ti kúneše	2pl	vi kunúste
3sg	on kúneše	3pl	oní kunúše

1sg	ja vidó	1pl	mi vidómo
2sg	ti vídeše	2pl	vi vidóste
3sg	on vídeše	3pl	oní vidóše

The same informant also gave:

<div style="margin-left:2em">

1sg imf <u>ja sedó</u>
2sg imf <u>ti sédeše</u>
3sg imf <u>on sédeše</u>

but

1sg aor <u>ja sedó</u>
2sg aor <u>ti sedé</u>
3sg aor <u>on sedé</u>

</div>

He was decisive about the singular forms of the aor and imf
of this verb, but confused about the plural. At first he
gave (both aor and imf):

<div style="margin-left:2em">

1pl <u>sedésmɔ</u>
2pl <u>sedéste</u>
3pl <u>sedéšev</u>

</div>

but then corrected himself to

<div style="margin-left:2em">

1pl <u>sedósmo</u>
2pl <u>sedóste</u>
3pl <u>sedóšev</u>

</div>

with the remark that the first set of forms were "Macedonian"
(the village is situated close to the Macedonian border).
Since I observed mixing of styles (school language, town
language, and Macedonianisms as well as the indigenous village
dialect) in this informant's speech, the quoted paradigms may
not be typical of the local dialect. However, he was the only
informant I found in the SWTk area with whom I could discuss
the difference, since distinct imperfect forms occurred much
less often in WTk than in ETk. In addition, the informant's

reference to Macedonianisms is not in this case spurious (most
informants identify any trait not indigenous to their local
dialect as belonging to a specifically named neighboring
dialect, usually of the village or ethnic group over the
next hill, across the nearest river, etc.--when in fact the
particular characteristic is traceable to another dialect
altogether). While working with the MDA files, I discovered
that in the dialect of Dumanovce (northeast of Kumanovo near
the Serbian border), the imperfect tense is regularly formed
in the following manner:

1sg	<u>viká</u>	1pl	<u>vikámo</u>
2sg	<u>víkaše</u>	2pl	<u>vikáste</u>
3sg	<u>víkaše</u>	3pl	<u>vikáše</u>

1sg	<u>sečó</u>	1pl	<u>sečómo</u>
2sg	<u>séčeše</u>	2pl	<u>sečóste</u>
3sg	<u>séčeše</u>	3pl	<u>sečóše</u>

Broch apparently encountered similar difficulties in .
the SWTk town of Lukovo. Although he speaks only of aorist
forms, the accentual vacillation which he found in aorist forms
of certain obstruent stems seemed to him to signify differences
in meaning similar to the aorist/imperfect distinction. I
quote his examples in the context of his speculations:

> Bei solcher doppelten Betonung [as <u>dadó</u> vs. <u>dádo</u>] ist
> in Lukovo nicht selten ein gewisser Bedeutungsunterschied
> zu konstatiren, ein Verhältniss, das sich hier passend
> mitbehandeln lässt. Die endbetonte Form bezeichnet das

> mehr momentan Abgeschlossene oder entschiedener als
> fertig Angegebene. Z.B. "ja odnéso vódu na žétvu,"
> aber "za tój što me pitúješ, ja ga još sínoć odnesó";
> in der 2. und 3. Pers. braucht man ódnese in beiden
> Bedeutungen, im Plural kehrt dagegen mit der doppel-
> ten Betonung die divergirende Bedeutung wieder:
> "sínoć odnesómo', aber "mi odnésomo vódu na žétvu";
> die 2. P. Plur. hat, z.B. in den Fragen: "vi odne-
> sóste?", "vi odnésoste?" einen ähnlichen Unterschied,
> während ich in der 3. P. Plur. zwischen odnesóše und
> odnésoše keinen Unterschied feststellen konnte. So
> kann weiter 'odnéso" von einem längeren, "odnesó" für
> einen kürzeren Weg gelten. Man vergleiche nun hier-
> mit die folgenden Beispiele: "ja jučér cel-dén pléto";
> aber auf das Geheiss "pléti mi to!" erfolgt die Ant-
> wort "ja ga pletó". Überhaupt ist in der Antwort bei
> entschiedener Behauptung die oxytonirte Form das Ge-
> wöhnliche. (Br 75)

Although Broch does not give imperfect forms for these verbs
(tréseše [1-3sg] is given as a typical obstruent stem for the
Lukovo area [Br 142]), I suspect that the above semantic dif-
ference within the aorist is due to contamination from imper-
fect forms.

I conclude, therefore, that while there exist numerous
undeniable examples of aorist-imperfect mixing, the imperfect
and aorist tenses are distinguished in Tk. The imf is usually
formed from the pres stem, and usually has the same place of
accent as the pres form. It is thus distinguished from the
aor by accent placement in all stem classes except I-2 (where
the stems are the same except for the presence of j in the

present stem) and III (where present, aorist and imperfect
all have the same place of accent). For example, in ETk and
CWTk we have:

(class I-2)

  <u>píje</u> (pres), <u>píješe</u> (imf)/<u>pí</u> (aor)   [b]

(class III)

  <u>držím</u> (pres), <u>držéo</u> (imf)/<u>držá</u> (aor)   [o]

        but

(class I-1)

  <u>pečé</u> (pres), <u>pečéo</u> (imf)/<u>péko</u> (aor)   [n]

(class IV)

  <u>nósim</u> (pres), <u>nóseo</u> (imf)/<u>nosí</u> (aor)   [m]

    In SWTk, however, an imf/**aor** accentual opposition is
sometimes present in class III verbs and is usually absent
in obstruent stems, viz.

(class I-1)

SWTk	<u>méteše</u>, <u>méteamo/izméto</u>	(Trg)	[b]
	vs.		
ETk	<u>metéše/izméte</u>	(VR)	[n]
SWTk	<u>tréseše/rastrése</u>	(Trg)	[b]
	vs.		
ETk	<u>treséše/trése</u>	(VR)	[n]
SWTk	<u>prédeše/isprédo</u>	(Trg)	[b]
	vs.		
ETk	<u>predéše/ispréde</u>	(Čin)	[n]

(class III)

SWTk	dŕžeše/izdržá	(Trg)	[m]
	vs.		
ETk	držéomo/izdržá	(VR)	[o]

SWTk	žíveše/doživé	(Trg)	[m]
	vs.		
ETk	živéše/živé	(Čin)	[ɔ]

SWTk	sédeše/sedé, sedómo	(Trg)	[m]
	vs.		
ETk	sedéše/posedé	(VR)	[o]

but

SWTk	vrtée/zavrté	(Trg)	[o]

as in ETk.

Compare also:

(class V-3)

SWTk	póješe/pojá	(Trg)	[m]
	vs.		
ETk	pojéše/pojá	(Čin)	[o]

The difference between the imf/aor accentual relationships
in Trg and in ETk appears to be an indirect result of parox-
ytonesis. As demonstrated earlier(sec. 3.26), end stress in
present tense forms is rare in SWTk due to the constraint
against stress in open final syllables, but this constraint
does not appear to apply to aorist tense forms (sec. 3.28).
Imperfect forms are similar to present forms not only in
being based on the same stem, but in being opposed to aorist

forms by accent placement. It is thus probable that the
constraint against final/desinential stress in the present
has been extended to restrict the occurrence of desinential
(but not final!) stress in imperfect forms as well.

Instances where the imf/aor accentual relationship
does not reflect the pres/aor relationship are not numerous.
I recorded only the following:

ETk	<u>tréseše</u> (imf)/<u>tróse</u> (aor)	(Kr)		[b]
	vs.			
	<u>tresém</u> (pres)/<u>tréso</u> (aor)	(ibid)		[n]

<u>pléteše</u> (imf)/<u>pléte</u> (aor)	(Kr--discussed		
earlier)			[b]
vs.			
<u>pletém</u> (pres)/<u>pléte</u> (aor)	(ibid)		[n]

<u>víseo</u> (imf)/<u>viɛé</u> (aor)	(Čin)		[m]
vs.			
<u>visí</u> (pres)/<u>visé</u> (aor)	(ibid)		[o]

<u>bójeoše se</u> (imf--CT 431)/<u>bojá se</u>			
(aor--CT 431)			[m]
vs.			
<u>bojím se</u> (pres)/<u>bojá se</u> (aor)	(CT 431)		[o]

<u>vŕtaoše</u> (B 563:233/316), <u>vŕtamo</u> (B 538:
216/334) but <u>vrtéše se</u> (B 555:218/
344) (imf)/<u>zavrtémo</u> (aor--B 506:218
334)   [mo]
vs.

-460-

ETk   izvrtímó (pres--B 538:216/331)/
          zavrtémo (aor--B 506:218/334)   [o]

      žívéše (imf)/žívé (aor) (Čin)   [o]
              vs.
      žívim (pres)/žívé (aor) (ibid)   [m]

      žívéjemo (B 543:224/305), žívéo (B 543:
          216/334) (imf)/žívé (aor--B 506:
          220/334)   [o]
              vs.
      žíviš (B 543:224/305, B 538:216/334)
          (pres)/žívé (B 506:220/334) (aor)   [m]
                                                  ₒ
          cf. however

      žíveše (imf--B 554:225/335)/žívé (aor--
          B 506:216/334)   [m]
              vs.
      žívimó (pres--B 554:225/335)/žívé (aor--
          B 506:216/334)   [o]

      ígraše (imf)/igrá (aor) (VR)   [m]
              vs.
      igráju (pres)/igrá (aor) (ibid)   [o]

      isteráše (recorded as imf in my notes
          despite the perfective stem)/
          isterá (aor--Kr)   [o]
              vs.
      istéram (pres)/isterá (aor) (ibid)   [m]

      daváše (imf)/davá (aor) (Kr)   [o]
              vs.
      dávamo (pres)/davá (aor) (ibid)   [m]

ETk kopájoše (B 563:223/324--imf)/okopá
(B 573:216/334--aor) [o]
vs.
okópam (B 524:216/334--pres)/okopá
(B 573:216/334-aor) [m]

zóveše (B 484:216/334--imf)/ozváše
(B 571:206/328--aor) [b]
vs.
nazové (B 538:216/334--pres)/ozváše
(B 571:206/328--aor) [o]

póješe and pojéoše (imf)/pojá (aor) (Kr) [^m_o]
vs.
zapojé (pres)/pojá (aor) (Kr) [o]

CWTk dŕžešev (B 558:157/300)/držá (B 561:
157/300--listed as imf but clearly
aor, cf. držá in Šil [143/254]) [m]
vs.
zadržím (B 538:157/300, Šil--pres)/držá
(Šil, B 561:157/300--aor) [o]

stóješev (B 558:157/300--imf)/prestojá
(Br 177:157/300--aor) [m]
vs.
stojím (B 539:157/300, Br 177:157/300--
pres)/prestojá (Br 177:157/300
--aor) [o]

podavášem (B 560:155/319) but podávešeu
(ibid (imf)/davá (B 574:n.p.), cf.
davá (Šarb--153/342) (aor) [^m_o]

vs.

CWTk   <u>davá</u> (B 492:155/319--imf)/<u>davá</u> (B 574:
n.p., Šarb--aor)   [m]

The above listing includes 19 instances of unexpected accentuation in the imperfect. Half of these imf forms appear with the accent of the aorist, thereby eliminating the aor/imf accentual opposition (e.g. <u>pléteše/pléte</u> or <u>živéše/živé</u> in place of expected <u>pletéše/pléte</u> or <u>žíveše/živé</u>). In these cases, I suspect interference between aorist and imperfect forms.

Nearly two-thirds of the above examples, however, concern stem stress in the imperfect regardless of stress placement in the aorist. It is possible that a general constraint against end stress in imf forms is developing in nonparoxytonic areas of Tk as well as in SWTk (cf. above examples for Trg). In this respect, compare the following examples from Želigovo and Gabor near Kriva Palanka in EMac:

EMac   <u>pléteše</u> (imf)/<u>pléte</u> (aor) (MDA: Žel)   [b]
                vs.

        <u>pleté</u> (pres)/<u>pléte</u> (aor) (ibid)   [n]

             cf. however

        <u>pletéh</u> (D 96--imf)/<u>plétoh</u> (D 76--aor)   [n]
                 vs.

        <u>pleté</u> (D 89--pres)/<u>plétoh</u> (D 76--aor)   [n]

        <u>téčeše</u> (imf)/<u>dotéče</u> (aor) (MDA: Žel,
        Gab)   [b]

vs.

EMac   <u>tečé</u> (MDA: Gab), <u>téčé</u> (MDA: Žel) (pres)/
       <u>dotéče</u> (MDA: Žel, Gab--aor)   [nb]

       but

<u>tečéše</u> (imf)/<u>dotéče</u> (aor)   (MDA: Kis,
   Kal)   [n]
       vs.
<u>tečé</u> (pres)/<u>dotéče</u> (aor)   (ibid)   [n]

<u>múzeše</u> (imf)/<u>múze</u> (aor)   (MDA: Žel)   [b]
       vs.
<u>muzé</u> (pres)/<u>múze</u> (aor)   (ibid)   [n]

<u>prédeše</u> (imf)/<u>préde</u> (aor)   (MDA: Žel)   [b]
       vs.
<u>predé</u> (pres)/<u>préde</u> (aor)   (ibid)   [n]

       cf.

<u>predéše</u> (imf)/<u>préde</u> (aor)   (MDA: Kis,
   Kal)   [n]
       vs.
<u>predé</u> (pres)/<u>préde</u> (aor)   (ibid) .   [n]

<u>séčeše</u> (imf)/<u>séče</u> (aor)   (MDA: Žel, Gab)   [b]
       vs.
<u>sečé</u> (pres)/<u>séče</u> (aor)   (ibid)   [n]

       cf.

<u>sečéše</u> (imf)/<u>séče</u> (aor)   (MDA: Kis, Kal)   [n]
       vs.
<u>sečé</u> (pres)/<u>séče</u> (aor)   (ibid)   [n]

EMac <u>jádeše</u> (imf)/<u>jáde</u> (aor) (MDA: Gab, Žel) [b]

        vs.

   <u>jadé</u> (pres)/<u>jáde</u> (aor) (ibid)   [n]

        cf. however

   <u>jadéše</u> (D 90-imf)/<u>jadóh</u> (D 76--aor) [o]

        vs.

   <u>jadéš</u> (D 89--pres)/<u>jadóh</u> (D 76--aor) [o]

   <u>dŕžeše</u> (imf)/<u>držá</u> (aor) (MDA: Žel, Gab) [m]

   <u>dŕžaše</u> (imf)/<u>držá</u> (aor) (MDA: Rank) [m]

        vs.

   <u>drží</u> (pres)/<u>držá</u> (aor) (MDA: Žel, Gab,

     Rank)   [o]

   <u>sédeše</u> (imf)/<u>sedé</u> (aor) (MDA: Gab) [m]

        vs.

   <u>sedí</u> (pres)/<u>sedé</u> (aor) (ibid)   [o]

        cf.

   <u>sedéše</u> (D 90)

   <u>stóeše</u> (imf)/<u>stojá</u> (aor) (MDA: Gab, Žel) [m]

        vs.

   <u>stoí</u> (pres)/<u>stojá</u> (aor (ibid)   [o]

   <u>tŕčeše</u> (imf)/<u>trčá</u> (aor) (MDA: Žel)   [m]

   <u>tŕčaše</u> (imf)/<u>trčá</u> (aor) (MDA: Gab) [m]

        vs.

   <u>trčí</u> (pres)/<u>trčá</u> (aor) (MDA: Gab, Žel) [o]

In Gab and Žel, all imf forms appear to be stem-stressed re-
gardless of the pres/aor accentual relationship. I found no
exceptions in the MDA files. In Kis and Kal near Delčevo,

and in Delčevo itself, however, the imf/aor accentual re-
lationship is always as the pres/aor one.

There is very little difference between WBg dialects
and ETk dialects in this respect: imf/aor is as pres/aor.
In Kjus, however, Umlenski notes that imf forms sometimes
have stem stress in place of the more regular end stress,
e.g.

Kjus   péčete (Kj 77--imf)/opékoh (Kj 76--aor) [b]
              vs.
      pečemé (KJ75--pres)/opékoh (Kj 76--aor) [m]

      léžea (Kj 77:243/221) vs. more common
          ležéh (Kj 77) (imf)

      sédete (Kj 77--imf)/sedóh (Kj 76--aor) [m]
              vs.
      sedím (Kj 77--pres)/sedóh (Kj 76-aor)   [o]

In KK (southernmost TWBg), we also find:

TWBg   pléte, pléteše, etc. (imf)/pléto, pléte,
        etc. (aor) (KK 201-204)   [b]
           vs.
      pletém, pletéš, etc. (pres)/pléte, etc.
        (aor) (ibid)   [n]

      pí, píeše, etc. (imf)/pí, pí, etc. (aor)
        (ibid)   [b]
           vs.
      piém, piéš, etc. (pres)/pí, pí, etc. (aor)
        (ibid)   [o]

TWBg   trópe, trópeše, etc. (imf)/tropē̃, tropé,
        etc. (aor) (ibid)   [m]
                    vs.
        tropím, tropíš, etc. (pres)/tropē̃, tropé,
        etc. (aor) (ibid)   [o]

        póe, póeše, etc. (imf)/pojá, (1-3sg aor)
        (ibid)   [m]
                    vs.
        poém, poéš, etc. (pres)/pojá (1-3sg aor)
        (ibid)   [o]

Unexpected stem stress in the imperfect is thus found
in the same compact area and in the same groups of verbs as
marginal oxytonesis in the present, viz. the Kjustendilsko
Kraište area of TWBg, the Kriva Palanka area of EMac, and
Kjustendil. Except for Želigovo and Gabor in EMac, however,
its occurrence is sporadic in these areas, while marginal oxy-
tonesis is apparently a regular feature of oxytonic verbs.

     In other WBg dialects, I recorded very few examples of
unexpected accentuation in the imf (i.e. noncongruence of
imf/aor and pres/aor accentual relationships). They are:

Sof   píješe (T 357:314/242), píjeha (ibid:
        318/244) (imf)/píhme (T 360:314/242
        --aor)   [b]
                    vs.
        napiéš (Sg 40, T 348:310/244--pres)/píhme
        (T 360:314/242--aor)   [o]

        goréh (T 357:314/242--imf)/izgoréh (Sg 17
        --aor)   [m]

vs.

Sof   gorá (T 339:318/244--3pl pres)/izgoréh

(Sg 17--aor)   [o]

noséh (T 358:318/244) but nóseh (Sg 36)

-(imf)/nosíme (Sg 37--aor) $[^m_o]$

vs.

nóse (Sp 256--3pl pres)/nosíme (Sg 37--

aor)   [m]

kopáh (Sg 36--listed as imf)/kopáh (Sg 8

--aor)   [o]

vs.

da kópa (Sg 41--pres)/kopáh (Sg 8-aor) [m]

NWBg   biráeše (T 357:319/350--imf)/assumed

birá (aor)

vs.

odbíra (T 351:245/402--pres)/assumed

birá (aor)

sméeše se (T 357:245/402--imf)assumed

smejá se (aor)

vs.

smejét se (T 338:245/402--pres)/assumed

smejá se (aor)

3.32   The accentuation of the L-participle agrees with that

of the aorist (1sg or 1-3pl) in the majority of instances.

Consider the following examples (forms are 1sg aor/fem sg

L-part):

(class I-1)   péko/pékla

(class I-2)   sašī/sašīla

(class I-3)   zaklé/zakléla

(class II)   ginú/ginúla

(class III--
  e-type)   izgoré/izgoréla

(class III--
  ča-type)   držá/držála

(class IV)   prekrstī/prekrstīla

(class V-1)   gledá/gledála

(class V-2)   izbrisá/izbrisála

(class V-3)   potková/potková la

(class VI)   kupuvá/kupuvá la

Since the aorist and the L-participle are formed from

the same stem, reformulation of the L-part stem is usually

found in the same lexemes and in the same areas as reformu-

lation of the aorist stem (cf. sec. 3.28). Thus we have the

following:

a) patterned after class II

TWBg   porasnála   (KK 605:239/227), cf. aor

        izrasnāme   (KK 607:293/227)   rastnu

           vs.   vs.

ETk	poráslo, cf. aor poráste (Čin), etc.	rast
EMac	ukradnál (MDA: Rank, Gab), cf. aor	
	ukradná (MDA: Gab)	kradnu
TWBg	kradnál (KK 595:220/223)	
	ukradnál (KK 592:229/225)	
Sof	ukradnála (T 384:218/244), cf. aor	vs.
	ukradná (T 368:318/244)	
	vs.	
ETk	krádel, krála, cf. aor iskráde (Čin),	
	etc.	krad
SWTk	ukunúja, cf. aor ukunú (Pas)	kunu
	vs.	vs.
ETk	iskléla, cf. aor isklé (Kr), etc.	kun
TWBg	počnáli (0 109), cf. aor počná (0 110)	počnu
	vs.	vs.
ETk	počéla, cf. aor počé (Čin), etc.	počn
TWBg	uznál (KK 568:229/230, KK 569:231/234,	
	KK 570:231/234)	uznu
	uználo (KK 560:229/230, KK 587:237/232)	
	uznála (KK 581:239/232)	
	uználi (KK 569:231/234), cf. aor uzná	vs.
	(KK 192)	
	vs.	
ETk	uzéla, cf. aor uzé (VR), etc.	uzn

b) patterned after class III

TWBg	ne možél (KK 601:220/223)	može
	možélo bi (T 390:240/331)	

NWBg   <u>možéle</u> (T 331:232/229)

                 vs.   vs.

ETk   <u>mogél</u>, <u>moglá</u>, cf. aor <u>mogó</u>, <u>možé</u> (Čin),

              etc.   <u>mog</u>

c) patterned after class IV

CWTk   <u>ovršíli</u>, cf. aor <u>ovrší</u> (Šil)   <u>vrši</u>

SWTk   <u>vŕšili</u> (aor <u>ovrší</u>, stem stress in L-part

             unexpected) (Trg)

      <u>vršíja</u>, <u>vršíli</u> (Pas)   vs.

      <u>vŕšili</u> (Grač)

              vs.

ETk   <u>ovŕli</u>, cf. aor <u>ovŕo</u>, <u>ovŕše</u> (Čin), etc. <u>vrh</u>

ETk   <u>jašíl</u>, cf. aor <u>ujaší</u> (Čin)   <u>jaši</u>

              vs.   vs.

SWTk   <u>jáali</u>, cf. 3pl aor <u>jáaše</u> (Trg)   <u>jaha</u>

d) patterned after class V

SWTk   <u>mogája</u>, cf. 1sg aor <u>mogá</u> (Grač)   <u>moga</u>

NWBg   <u>možále</u> (T 331:304/340)

                                       or

      <u>možál</u> (ibid:330/335), cf. aor

           <u>možáme</u> (ibid:304/340)   <u>moža</u>

              vs.

ETk   <u>mogél</u>, <u>moglá</u>, cf. aor <u>mogó</u>, <u>možé</u> (Čin), vs.

              etc.   <u>mog</u>

TWBg   <u>znajál</u> (KK 579:232/227), cf. aor <u>znajá</u>

          (KK 201)   <u>znaja</u>

NWBg   <u>bi znajála</u> (T 389:229/345)

      <u>znajála</u> (ibid:250/402), cf. aor <u>znajá</u>

                                     vs.

          (T 366:322/331)

              vs.

ETk	priznalá, cf. 3sg aor prízna (VR), etc.	znaj
SWTk	ožnejáli, cf. aor ožneá (Trg)	žneja
	ožnjeá sem (T 598:155/233)	
NMac	ožnejále, cf. aor žnejá (V 204)	vs.
	vs.	
ETk	ožéli, cf. aor požémo (Kr), etc.	žanj
NSV	koljál, cf. aor koljá (Mns 51)	kolja
	vs.	vs.
ETk	zaklál, cf. aor zaklá (Čin), etc.	kla
ETk	zovála, cf. aor dozová (CT 421)	zova
	pozovál (B 484:216/331, ibid:225/312)	
	odzovál (ibid:209/233)	
	odzovál (ibid:209/233)	
	pozovála (ibid:218/344)	
	zováli (ibid:216/334, ibid:234/301,	vs.
	ibid:233/316), cf. 3sg aor dózova	
	(ibid:216/331)	
TWBg	zováli (T 331:252/328)	
	vs.	
ETk	pozváli, cf. aor pozvá (Kr), etc.	zva
Sof	zapejáli (T 385:310/244), cf. aor	
	zapejáh (T 366:214/242)	

Verbs which are attested with aorist formations of the obstruent type (cf. sec. 3.15) do not usually form the L-participle from this stem. Thus:

ETk	sédo but sedél (Čin, Kr)
	vidó but vidéla (Čin, Kr, VR)

Note, however, the L-part forms of <u>vidim</u> found in certain

areas of WBg:

TWBg <u>višél</u> (T 387:239/250, Tg 188)

    <u>višél</u> (KK 605:239/227, KK 608:235/225)

    <u>višlá</u> (KK 605:239/227)

    <u>višló</u> (KK 609:235/225)

    <u>višlé</u> (T 387:239/227, KK 605:239/227)

    <u>zavišlé</u> (KK 610:235/225)

CWBg <u>višél</u> (T 383:258/228, T 387:332/221)

    <u>višló</u> (T 333:307/216)

    <u>višlé</u> (T 333:331/246, T 387:332/221)

    <u>višlí</u> (T 387:307/216)

Sof <u>višél</u> and <u>vidél</u> (Sg 39)

In this case, it appears that both the aorist and L-participle

are formed on the pattern of the obstruent stem <u>id</u> (aor <u>idó</u>,

L-part <u>išél</u>, <u>išlá</u>, etc.).

 In a number of instances, reformulation of the L-part

stem is found, but corresponding reformulations of the aorist

is not attested. For instance:

 a) on the pattern of class II

SWTk <u>rasnája</u> (Trg)

SWTk <u>reknája</u> and <u>rekája</u> vs. aor <u>réko</u>, <u>réče</u> (Trg)

NMac <u>reknája</u> (V 224)

    <u>reknál</u> (V 217)

    <u>reknála</u> (V 151)

    <u>reknále</u> (V 63) vs. aor <u>rekó</u> (V 94)

EMac <u>reknál</u> and <u>rékal</u> vs. aor <u>reče</u> (MDA: Rank)

SWTk   načnája   (Br 147:200/229)

SWTk   kunála (Trg)

NMac   prokelnája (V 54)

b) on the pattern of class III

SW KR   vršěli and vŕli (vs. pres vršîm) (E)

SWTk   dádela and dála (Grač)

TWBg   možélo bi (T 390:240/331)

EMac   Ke pîel (MDA: Gab)

SWTk   držéja and držála (Trg)

ETk   zovélo (B 484:213/341)

       zovéli (ibid:216/334)

TWBg   potrečéle (KK 589:237/232)

ETk   pazél and pazíl (CT 430)

       zapazéli (B 505:223/322)

       zapantél (B 505:232/322)

       zapantéla, ne zapantélo (ibid:223/341)

       ličéli (VR)

CWTk   ličéli (Šarb)

SWTk   ličéli (Trg)

       šapučéla (Grač)

c) on the pattern of class IV

SWTk   vísila and viséla   (Grač)

NWBg   živíle (T 386:250/402)

SWTk   letíle and letéle   (Grač)

        jášil (Trg)

d) on the pattern of class V, or reformulation accord-
   ing to a different subclass of class V

EMac   znaál (D 94)

SWTk   žnjejáli   (Pas)
        žnjejája   (Br 147:200/229)

        meljája and mléja   (ibid)
        smeljáa and samléja   (Pas)

        umrejála   (Bll 97:155/233)

ETk   živeál   (B 507:223/324)
        živeála   (ibid:236/309)
        živeále   (ibid:225/325)
        živejál and živél   (CT 430)
NMac   živejál and živél   (V 214)
TWBg   živejál   (KK 587:237/232)
        živejáli   (KK 582:239/232)
NWBg   živejále   (T 385:245/352, ibid:245/402)

CWTk   sedéali   (B 599:204/259, ibid:157/300)

NSV   <u>režáli</u>   (Mns 274)

              <u>kežál</u>, <u>kežála</u>, etc.   (Mns 119)

SWTk   <u>šapučála</u>   (Pas)

ETk   <u>zovejéla</u>   (B 484:225/335)

Note also instances where a vowel is inserted in the L-part
forms (other than masc sg) of obstruent stems:

    SWTk   <u>rekálo</u>   (B 586:202/338)

    EMac   <u>metéla</u> and <u>méla</u>   (MDA: Rank)

              <u>pečéle</u>   (MDA: Gab)

    Certain of the above forms suggest a distinction within
the L-participle such as is found in std Mac and std Bg. In
these languages, L-part forms from the pres-imf stem are found
alongside L-part forms from the aor stem, e.g.

    imf L-part   <u>učel</u>

    aor L-part   <u>učiJ</u>

    imf L-part   <u>pišel</u>

    aor L-part   <u>pisal</u>

This distinction is made in all verbs in most dialects of Bg
and Mac. It is not known in Tk, however, nor in the NMac, EMac
or WBg dialects under study here; furthermore, the exact iso-
gloss defining the area of this phenomenon in Mac and Bg dialects
is unknown. Thus, although the SWTk L-part forms <u>dádela</u> and
<u>držéja</u> cited above appear to be formed from the imperfect stem,
they represent only sporadic reformulations, and not a separate
grammatical category.

3.33   The accentuation of L-participle forms for suffixed
stems (class II through VI) in Tk is the same as in the aor-
ist.   The only significant exceptions to this statement are
found in the Kosovo area of SWTk, in Gračanica and Djakovica.
In the instances where corresponding aorist forms are not at-
tested, stem-final stress is assumed for Grač, since there
are no examples of stem-initial stress in the aorist in Grač.
Stem-initial stress is found in the aorist in Djakovica, al-
though rarely.   Compare:

      SWTk   <u>rasámnulo</u> and <u>svanúlo</u>, <u>rasemnúlo</u>   (Grač)

           <u>bójala</u>   (Grač)

           <u>bléjali</u> and <u>blejála</u>   (ibid)

           <u>sédeli</u>   (Br 133:200/229)

           <u>gázili</u>   (but aor <u>pregazísmo</u>)   (Grač)

           <u>právili</u>, <u>naprávili</u> and <u>dopravíla</u>   (but aor
                <u>spravímo</u>, <u>spravíše</u>)   (Grač)
           <u>právija</u>   (Dj 130)
           <u>naprávija</u>   (Br 152:200/229)

           <u>naránila</u>   (but aor <u>naranímo</u>)   (Grač)

           <u>gádžala</u>   (ibid)

           <u>zídali</u>   (ibid)

SWTk   dotéraja   (ibid)

otérali   (Br 152:200/229)

dávala   (Grač)

napísála   (ibid)

mázala   (ibid)

plákala   (ibid)

plákaja   (Dj 135)

Compare also:

CWTk   vídela   (Šarb)

ETk   sédeli and posedéli   (Čin)

brísála   (VR)

In class I-1 verbs, however (obstruent stems), desinential stress was expected in 13 of the 19 test items cf. std SC bòla, dovèla, vŕhla, mèla, pèkla, plèla, rásla, tèkla, trésla, dála, ìšla, mògla and rèkla. It was also expected in three of the 13 sonorant stems, cf. std SC znála, píla (class I-2) and kléla (class I-3). Only five of the above are consistently attested with end stress in Tk--dad, id, mog, rek and znaj. Since the number of examples is very great, I will not list them all here. I note only that prefixed L-participle forms of certain of these verbs may have initial stress as well as final stress (cf. sec. 3.18), and that end stress is found

only sporadically in SWTk, the paroxytonic region.

End stress in L-part forms of other stems is found
rarely. In addition to forms cited earlier in sec. 3.18, on-
ly the following are of interest:

    ETk   vrlí, ovrlí, ovrlá (Kr)

            ukralá and ukrála, ukráli (Kr)

    CWTk   néje čujá (B 598:157/300)
    SWTk   čujá sem (ibid:158/240)

Compare also:

    TWBg   čuvalé (Tp 47)

            ostanaló and ostánalo (attested in the same
                        sentence of a narrative--KK 604:220/223)

    Sof   izelá (T 383:310/244)

    EMac   snelá, snelí (MDA: Kal)

The accentuation of the L-part in WBg and EMac is usu-
ally the same as the accentuation of the aorist (see sec. 3.18),
except for obstruent stems. There, as in Tk, the five stems
dad, id, mog, rek and znaj are end-stressed and others are stem-
stressed. Variation on this point was noted only for rek in
the Pijanec region of Kjus, and in Sof:

    Kjus   rékol (Pijanec)/rekól (Kjus) (Kj 113)
    Sof   rékal, reklá and rékla (Sg 51)
            reklá (attested in a narrative) (Sg 115)
            rekló (Sg 118)

3.34   In Tk, the P-participle is almost always stressed on
the stem syllable, e.g.

Tk   ispéčen (Kr, Šil, Šarb)
        ubíjen (Čin, Kr)
        ožén‚et (Trg)

When sonorant stems are attested with the desinence -t, how-
ever, initial stress is the norm (as in std SC), e.g. póžeto,
úbita. I found only the following exceptions:

ETk   ubít (B 619:216/334)
CWTk   požnjéta and póžn‚eta (Šarb)
        proklét (B 616:157/300, Br 229:209/233)

When sonorant stems were attested with desinence -n, initial
stress was found only rarely, viz.

ETk   úbijen, úbivan (VR)
        póčnena (Br 229:209/233)
        úznena (Br 229:209/233)
CWTk   né zvano (Šarb)
Sof   néznano (Sg 43)

Finally, desinential stress is found in a few instances, main-
ly in obstruent stems (note, however, that by comparison with
std SC such accentuation would be expected in the majority of
obstruent stems in the sample):

ETk   ovršéno (B 616:216/334)
                but
        ovŕšeno (ibid:233/316, Čin)

        pečéno (VR)
                but

ETk   <u>ispéčen</u> (Kr)

           <u>opéčen</u> (Čin)

           <u>péčen</u> (CT 418)

           <u>izmlzéna</u> (Čin)

                    but

           <u>mízen</u> (CT 417)

           <u>pomúzena</u> (Kr)

           <u>prekrsténo</u> (Kr)

                    but

           <u>kŕsteno</u> (VR)

           <u>nedokŕsten</u> (CT 429)

           <u>posejána</u> (Čin)

                    but

           <u>poséjano</u> (VR)

SWTk   <u>pleténo</u> (Grač)

                    but

           <u>isplétene</u> (Trg)

           <u>požnjejéno</u> (Bkg 72:128/227)

                    but

           <u>ožnéeno</u> (Trg)

           <u>požnjéana</u> (Grač)

Compare also:

      CWBg   <u>ne noséna</u> (T 388:307/216)

      SW KR   <u>rečeno</u> (E)

              <u>trpên</u> (ibid)

      NE KR   <u>sečên</u>, <u>isečên</u> and <u>sêčen</u> (KRt 151)

              <u>vidjên</u>, <u>vidjêna</u> and <u>víden</u>, <u>vídena</u> (ibid)

3.35   By comparison with std SC and PS1, we should expect
end-stressed imperative forms in more than half the ques-
tionnaire items. Specifically, 65 out of 120 lexemes would
be expected to have end-stressed imperative forms in ETk,
where there is no restriction on the occurrence of final ac-
cent. However, my ETk data show consistent end stress on on-
ly 17 of these verbs. The low figure can be partially ascribed
to a paucity of actual data, since imperative forms are diffi-
cult to elicit; indeed, for some verbs it is almost impossible
to construct a frame in which the imperative may be success-
fully elicited. Nevertheless, I recorded clear examples of
stem stress where end stress was expected (and where Belić,
Broch or Stanojević did in fact find end stress). Compare the
following:

ETk   <u>povédi</u> (Tem)
       <u>uvédi</u>, <u>uvédete</u> (Br 306:236/309)
                vs.
       <u>izvedéte</u> (B 543:236/309)

       <u>méti</u>, <u>métete</u> (Tem)
       <u>izméti</u> (Bab)
       <u>méti</u> (Br 306:236/309)
                vs.
       <u>metí</u> (CT 417)

       <u>saséči</u> (Čin)
       <u>iséči</u>, <u>iséčete</u> (Tem)
       <u>séči</u> (Br 307:236/309)

.

vs.

sečí̱ (CT 418)

séči̱, iséčí̱ (B 480:216/334)

jédi̱ (Čin)

vs.

jedéte̱ (CT 416)

kíni̱ (Čin, Br 308:236/309)

vs.

klní̱ (CT 419)

sédi̱ (Čin, Pluž)

vs.

sedéte̱ (B 544:225/325)

cf. also

sédete̱ (B 544:225/335, ibid:236/309--
     ascribed by Belić to the verb sednuti̱
     and not to sedeti̱)

píši̱ (VR, Čin, Pluž, Svodje)

napíši̱ (Tem)

píšete̱ (Bab)

vs.

zapíší̱ (B 542:216/334)

óri̱ (Čin, Tem, Kr)

órete̱ (Tem)

vs.

orí̱, oréte̱ (Br 312:236/309--"neuer auch órete̱")

béri̱ (VR, Čin, Br 304:236/309)

pribérete̱ (Svodje)

béri, bérete (Bll 62:236/309)

vs.

razberí (B 542:155/319)

I also recorded the following stem-stressed forms which correspond to end stress in the std lg, and for which no corresponding (end-stressed) forms are given by Belić, Broch or Stanojević:

ETk bódi (Čin)
nabódi, nabódete (Tem)

péči (Tem, Kr, Br 307:236/309)
péčete (Tem)

mélji (Čin)
smélji (Tem)

vŕti (Čin, Tem, Pluž)
vŕtete (Tem, Pluž)

šópči (Čin)

kólji (Čin, Kr, Br 309:236/309)
zakólji (Bab, Svodje)

kóvi (Čin, Kr, VR, Tem--std SC is kûj [zero
       desinence], but with a desinence one would
       expect end stress)

Vacillation between end stress and stem stress in ETk occurred in the following lexemes:

ETk   <u>vrší</u>   (CT 419)

             vs.

<u>vŕši</u>   (Br 307:236/309)

<u>donesí</u> and <u>donési</u>   (Pluž)

<u>poneséte</u>   (B 543:213/341)

<u>iznesí</u>   (Tem--recorded with "?")

             vs.

<u>donési</u>   (Čin)

<u>prenési</u>   (Čin, Tem)

<u>ponési</u>   (B 542:218/344)

<u>prenésete</u>   (Tem)

<u>donésete</u>, <u>ponésete</u>   (B 543:209/233--with the
      note "moglo se nahoditi pod uticajem
      južnomoravskog dijalekta")

<u>donési</u>, <u>donésete</u>   (Br 306:236/309)

<u>pletéte</u>   (Pluž)

             vs.

<u>plétete</u>   (Tem, Bab, Svodje)

<u>ispléti</u>   (Čin, Svodje)

<u>pléti</u>   (Tem, Br 306:236/309)

<u>ne zaplétete</u>   (Čin)

<u>mlzí</u>   (Čin, CT 417, Tem)

             vs.

<u>pomúzi</u>   (Pluž, Svodje, Bab)

<u>mĺzi</u>   (Br 306:236/309)

<u>predí</u> and <u>prédi</u>, <u>predéte</u>   (Pluž)

<u>predí</u>   (CT 416)

             vs.

<u>prédi</u>   (Čin, Tem, Bab)

ETk   <u>prédete</u>   (Bab)

<u>dojdí</u>   (Tem, Bab, Svodje, Br 306:236/309)
<u>dojdéte</u>   (Bab, Pluž, B 543:229/324, ibid:
      208/341)
<u>projdéte</u>   (Tem)
<u>idí</u> and <u>ídi</u>, <u>idéte</u>   (Pluž)
<u>najdéte</u>   (B 543:213/341)
       vs.
<u>ídi</u>   (Svodje, Kr, Br 306:236/309, B 542:216/334)
<u>ídete</u>   (Svodje, B 543:229/334, ibid:233/317,
      Br 306:236/309)
<u>prójdi</u>   (B 542:209/233)
<u>pójdi</u>   (Br 306:236/309)

<u>uzní</u>   (Pluž, Bab, Svodje)
<u>uznéte</u>   (Bab)
       vs.
<u>úzni</u>   (Čin, Kr, Tem, Br 308:236/309)
<u>úzni</u>, <u>úznete</u>   (Bll 62:236/309)

<u>udení</u>   (Pluž)
       vs.
<u>udéni</u>   (Svodje, Tem, Čin)

<u>platí</u>   (Čin)
<u>platéte</u>   (B 544:209/237, ibid:213/337)
       vs.
<u>pláti</u>, <u>plátete</u>   (Tem)
<u>pláti</u>   (Kr)

<u>ráni</u>   (Čin)
       vs.

ETk   <u>raní</u>   (Tem)

      <u>maží</u>, <u>mažéte</u>   (Tem)
             vs.
      <u>namázi</u>   (Kr--stem <u>maz</u>)
      <u>zamázi</u>   (VR--stem <u>maz</u>)

      <u>perí</u>, <u>operí</u>   (Pluž)
             vs.
      <u>opéri</u>   (Čin, Tem)
      <u>opérete</u>   (Tem)

In fact, the only lexemes which consistently have end-stressed imperative forms in ETk are <u>ženi</u>, <u>kosi</u>, <u>kupi</u>, <u>nosi</u>, <u>krsti</u>, <u>lomi</u>, <u>uči</u> and <u>kaza</u>--all <u>i</u>-stems except for <u>kaza</u>. In addition, I recorded end-stressed imperative forms in WTk only in the stem <u>kaza</u>, viz.

CWTk   <u>kaží</u>   (DP, east of Šarb)
      <u>kaží</u> and <u>káži</u>   (Šarb)
           cf. also
NE KR   <u>kaži je</u>   (KRt 185)

The ETk area in which I found end-stressed imperative forms is quite narrow, encompassing only Činiglavci, Temska, Babušnica, Svodje, Plužina, and, marginally, Krastavče. Although only Čin and Kr are among the nine major investigation points in my study, I did supplementary work in the additional four villages named above to establish more precisely the isogloss of end-stressed imperatives in ETk. In southern ETk (VR) and in CWTk (Šarb and Šil), where there is otherwise a high fre-

quency of end stress, I found no end-stressed imperatives
whatever except for <u>kaží</u> (noted above). Since this form is
usually attested with a following enclitic, e.g. <u>kaži mi</u>,
however, it can be classed as part of a fixed expression.

In 1905, Belić reported that Timok-Lužnica dialects
had the expected accentuation in the imperative, with certain
exceptions ("odstupanja su...pod uticajem analogije ili su
donekle postala uticajem knjiž[evnog] govora"), but that ac-
cent was consistently retracted in the Južna Morava dialect
(B 541). My research definitely confirms the retraction in
WTk (Južna Morava). For ETk (Timok-Lužnica), however, I am
able to substantiate end stress where expected only in the
northeasternmost area of the TL zone, and then only in a frac-
tion of the lexemes where expected.

The gap between my data and Belić's is even more strik-
ing in the light of Belić's 1911 remarks on the stress of the
imperative. Here he states that TL dialects not only have end
stress where it is expected, but that end stress appears to be
spreading in the imperative: "U timočko-lužn[ičkom] govoru,
opaža se tendencija da se što više u imperat[ivu] upotrebljava
akcenat na nast[avak]" (B11 61). In the two paragraphs follow-
ing this statement, however, he discusses the particularities
of the Pirot area, where stem stress is more common than end
stress in the imperative (cf. B11 61-62 and Br 306-312). This
observation, upon which Belić does not comment further, agrees

more with my data. Excluding the nine stems listed above
which have only end-stressed imperatives in TL (eight i-stems
and kaza), I found the following distribution of stress in the
imperative: 79 examples of stem stress and 16 of end stress
in the general Pirot area (Pir, Ćin, Tem, Bab) vs. 27 instan-
ces of stem stress and 32 of end stress in other areas of the
TL zone. Thus, the surprising preponderance of stem stress in
place of expected end stress in the listings given at the be-
ginning of this discussion can be partly ascribed to the Pirot
retraction which Belić noted but did not explicate.

The remainder of the data, however, still shows a def-
inite spread of stem stress at the expense of end stress,
which obviously is the reverse of the general tendency noted
by Belić in 1911 (excluding Pirot). Should we conclude from
this that the accentuation of the imperative in central and
southern ETk zones has undergone a radical change in the last
65-70 years? Since my data correspond quite closely to Belić's
in most other areas, the most circumspect solution might be to
distrust my own data and to suspend judgment on the problem.
However, one must remember that the imperative is a special
type of verbal form, standing outside the verbal paradigm in
the same way as the vocative is separate from the nominal
paradigm. Perhaps it is thus more susceptible to outside in-
fluence than are forms which are locked more closely into mor-
phophonemic, paradigmatic structural interrelationships. The

influence of the std lg and of other (stem-stressed) impera-
tive forms could well have expanded to a great extent in this
relatively short time. The fact that stem stress has been
generalized in the present tense of most of the verbs in
question (except for obstruent stems, where end stress has
been generalized in the present tense) may also have played
a role here, in that the many quasi-imperative constructions
consisting of a participle such as <u>da</u>, <u>neka</u>, <u>nemoj</u> plus a pres-
ent tense form may lead to the spread of present-tense accen-
tuation in the imperative. Compare the tendency of masculine
nouns to generalize the stem-final stress of the Nsg in Vsg
forms, thus eliminating the Nsg/Vsg recessive mobile alterna-
tion (see above, sec. 2.4). In any case, the problem merits
further study.

In NMac, imv forms are always stem-stressed, cf. V 113.
The accentuation of the imperative in Kjus, Sof, CWBg and EMac
was described earlier in sec. 3.21. NWBg and NSV appear to
agree with std Bg (and thus, to a great extent, with PSl) in
the accentuation of the imperative, cf. Mns 151, and Popov's
statement for the NWBg dialect of Gabare (near Bela Slatina):
"Udarenieto v zapovednata forma vervi po obštobelgarskoto udar-
enie" (G 146).

In TWBg dialects, however, stem-stressed imperative forms
predominate. Specifically, the Tren dialect (TWBg-2) has only
stem stress in the imv, while the Belogradčik area (TWBg-1)

has the accentuation of NWBg dialects and the Kjustendilsko
Kraište (TWBg-3) has the accentuation of Kjus dialects, cf.
sec. 3.21. I conclude from this that the Pirot type of im-
perative accentuation described above extends as far as Trœn
in TWBg. The reader is referred to sketch VI (p. 392) for
an overview of this distribution.

3.36   We have seen above that the P-participle and the im-
perative (with certain well-defined exceptions) have stem
stress in practically every verb class and practically every
geographical area of the Tk region. The major accentual op-
position is thus between present and imperfect (wherever the
imperfect is unambiguously attested, cf. sec. 3.31) on the
one hand, and aorist and L-participle (excepting specific in-
stances discussed above, sec. 3.32) on the other. Indeed, the
core opposition is between present and aorist. When the im-
perfect is attested, its accent usually agrees with that of
the present, and the accent of the L-part (with specific ex-
ceptions) usually agrees with that of the aorist. For in-
stance, in the Čin dialect we have the following (all examples
are 1sg pres, 1sg imf/1sg aor, fem sg L-part):

(class I-1)	predém, predéo/prédo, préla	[n]
(class I-2)	bíjem, bíjeo/bí, bíla	[b]
(class I-3)	úznem, úzneo/uzé, uzéla	[m]
	méljem, méljeo/mlé, mléla	[b]
(class II)	gínem, gíneo/ginú, ginúla	[m]
(class III- e-type)	gorím, goréo/goré, goréla	[o]
(class III- ča-type)	držím, držéo/držá, držála	[o]
(class IV)	kŕstim, kŕsteo/krstí, krstíla	[m]
(class V-1)	glédam, glédao/gledá, gledála	[m]
(class V-2)	bríšem, bríšeo/brisá, brisála	[m]

(class V-3)	bérem, béreo/brá, brála	[b]
	lájem, lájao/lajá, lajála	[m]
	pljújem, pljújeo/pljuvá, pljuvála	[b]
	kovém, kovéo/ková, kovála	[o]
(class VI)	kupújem, kupújeo/kupuvá, kupuvála	[b]
	vérujem, vérujeo/véruva, véruvala	[B]

The pres/aor opposition, which I consider to be the ma-
jor component of verbal accent patterns in Tk, is summarized
in charts 25 through 33. As in my discussion of the individu-
al tenses, I have used the symbols [m], [n], [o], [b] and [B]
to designate the accentual relationship between present and
aorist. Here, however, the significance of these symbols is
necessarily altered. In describing individual tenses, I used
the symbols to define accent placement with reference to the
stem-desinence boundary. Thus, both kŕst--i-mo (1pl pres) and
krstí--∅-mo (1pl aor) were defined as having stem-final accent
[b], as were držá--∅-mo (1pl aor) and préd--e-mo (1pl pres).
On the other hand, the forms drž--í-mo (1pl pres) and pred--
ó-mo (1pl aor) were defined as carrying desinence-initial
stress [o].

To define the pres/aor accentual opposition, however,
is to define the relationship which obtains between these two
tenses in any one lexical item. Thus, the symbol [o] means
that accent falls on the last accentable syllable in both pres-
ent and aorist (e.g. pres držímo and aor držámo), regardless
of the fact that this is the desinential syllable in the pres-

ent but stem-final syllable in the aorist. Similarly, [b]
means that the accent falls on the same stem styllable in
both present and aorist. Where both present and aorist stems
are monosyllabic (e.g. bij/bi and ber/bra), accent falls on
the single stem syllable, which is by definition both stem-
initial and stem final (e.g. bíjem/bí, bérem/brá). When the
aorist stem is dissyllabic but the present stem is monosyl-
labic (e.g. ginu/gin, krsti/krst), [b] signifies that accent
is always on the stem-initial syllable: gínem/gínu, kŕstim/
kŕsti. When the aorist stem is trisyllabic but the present
stem dissyllabic (e.g. verova/veruj), [B] signifies stem-
initial stress in both forms while [b] denotes stem-final
stress in both forms, e.g.

vérujem/vérova	[B]
verújem/verová	[b]

The symbols [m] and [n] indicate pres/aor relationships
in which one of the two tenses is accented on the last possi-
ble syllable (either desinential, e.g. 1sg aor pred--ó-mo, or
stem-final, e.g. 1sg aor držá--∅-mo), and the other is not.
When the aorist is end-stressed in this sense and the present
is not, I call the relationship [m], and when the present is
end-stressed but the aorist is not, I call the relationship
[n]. Thus:

prédemo (1pl pres)/predómo (1pl aor)	[m]
kŕstimo (1pl pres)/krstímo (1pl aor)	[m]

<u>vérujemo</u> (1pl pres)/<u>veruvámo</u> (1pl aor)   [m]

<u>predémo</u> (1pl pres)/<u>prédomo</u> (1pl aor)   [n]

In most instances of the [m] relationship, the difference in

accent placement in the surface forms is due to the fact that

the present stem has one less syllable than the aorist stem,

e.g.

<u>póčn--e-mo</u> (1pl pres)/<u>počé--ǿ-mo</u> (1pl aor)

<u>kŕst--i-mo</u> (1pl pres)/<u>krstí--ǿ-mo</u> (1pl aor)

The accentual alternation appearing in surface pairs such as

the above is thus conditioned by the following tense markers.

In Dvorane, the pres/aor accentual opposition is re-

stricted to 3pl forms (see above, sec. 3.29), and is the same

in all verb classes: accent on the last accentable syllable

in the aorist but on the preceding syllable in the present.

For instance (forms are 3pl pres/3pl aor):

<u>prédeu/predóu</u>   [m*]

<u>gíneu/gináu</u>   [m*]

<u>kŕstiu/krstíu</u>   [m*]

The asterisk next to the symbol [m] indicates that there is a

difference in accent placement between present and aorist in

3pl forms only.

The various reformulations of present and aorist stems

have been discussed earlier (secs. 3.23 and 3.28, respectively).

When both present and aorist stems have been reformulated on

the same model in a single area, the accentual relationship be-

tween these two tenses is noted on the chart in a separate
entry immediately below the main entry. For instance,

       vrh
        vrši   m

signifies that in the given area the 1sg pres/1sg aor rela-
tionship is <u>vŕšim/vrší</u>. Where only one or the other of the
two stems has been reformulated, however, the pres/aor ac-
centual relationship in that area is clearly not commensurate
with those found in other areas. Thus, when pres/aor pairs
such as <u>rastém/rasnú</u> or <u>vršém/vrší</u> are attested, I have placed
an "x" in the appropriate column on the chart. In such cases,
the reader is referred to the charts summarizing the present
and the aorist tense for the accentuation of the individual
tense forms in these areas.

     I have made an exception to this in two instances. The
first concerns the stems <u>vide</u> and <u>kova</u>. In std SC, the pres
and aor forms of these verbs are

      std SC <u>vȉdim</u>, <u>vȉdiš</u>, etc./<u>vȉdeh</u>, <u>vȉde</u>, etc.

           <u>kȕjem</u>, <u>kȕješ</u>, etc./<u>kòvah</u>, <u>kòva</u>, etc.

In all Tk dialects, however (as well as in Mac, WBg, and most
KR dialects), the pertinent forms are

           <u>vidim</u>, <u>vidiš</u>, etc./<u>vido</u>, <u>vide</u>, etc.

           <u>kovem</u>, <u>koveš</u>, etc./<u>kova</u>, <u>kova</u>, etc.

That is, the aorist of <u>vide</u> (class III in std SC) is formed in
Tk as the aorist of obstruent stems (class I-1); and the pres-

ent of <u>kova</u> (class V-3 in std SC) is formed in Tk on the pat-
tern of <u>ora</u> (class V-2) rather than that of <u>pljuva</u> (class V-3).
Since the reformulations are consistent throughout the test
area, the accentual relationships are commensurate: I sum-
marize them on the charts under the main headings <u>vide</u> and
<u>kova</u>. An asterisk next to the entry reminds the reader of the
stem reformulation in each instance, and that the pres/aor re-
lationship of these two verbs cannot be compared directly with
the pres/aor relationship of std SC.

The second instance concerns class V-2 pres/aor pairs
such as Tk <u>dizam/diza</u> vs. std SC <u>dižem/diza</u>. I do not feel
that the reformulation of <u>diza</u> (pres <u>dižem</u>) as <u>dizaj</u> (pres
<u>dizam</u>) affects the comparison of the accentual relationships
<u>dížem/dizá</u> and <u>dízam/dizá</u>, and I have thus not listed them
separately in the pres/aor chart (see chart 13 for the distri-
bution of <u>aj</u>-stem present forms in class V-2).

Finally, when there is a difference between the accent
of the prefixed and nonprefixed forms of the present and/or the
aorist, the nonprefixed forms are utilized to determine the
type of pres/aor accentuation. For discussions of these spe-
cific differences in the present and the aorist, the reader is
referred to sections 3.25 and 3.16, respectively.

3.37   The sum of the various accentual relationships described
above constitutes the accent pattern of each verb. Here I
shall summarize separately the types of accent patterns that
occur in each of the three areas of Tk, and note briefly the
innovative trends represented in Tk verbal accentuation. The
symbols denoting accent patterns appear in parentheses. The
symbol to the left of the slash represents the primary compo-
nent of each accent pattern, the present/aorist relationship.
Subordinate accentual specifications, if any, are given to the
right of the slash. The accentuation of the imv is noted only
if this form is not accented on the first (or only) stem sylla-
ble, and the accent of the P-part is noted only in the case of
an accentual alternation within the P-part paradigm (see sec.
3.34 for specific instances of initial accent and end accent
in P-part forms).

As in my discussion of nominal accent patterns, I shall
describe the accentuation of the SWTk dialect of Trg separately
from the rest of SWTk. In SWTk excluding Trg, the following
accent patterns are found:

1)   pres   kŕstim, kŕstiš...kŕstevu
        imf   kŕstešem, kŕsteješ...kŕstešev
        imv   kŕsti, kŕstete
        P-part kŕsten, kŕstena, etc. $(m/_{Ma})$
        L-part krstíja, krstíla, etc.
        aor   krstí (1-3sg), krstímo, etc.
                prekrstí (1sg), prékrsti (23sg), prekrstímo, etc.

2) pres   b**í**je, b**í**je**š**...b**í**jev
    imf   b**í**je**š**em, b**í**je**š**e**š**...b**í**je**š**ev
    imv   b**í**j, b**í**jte
    P-part ub**í**jen, ub**í**jena, etc.
              or **ú**bit, **ú**bita, etc.   (b/Ma)
    L-part ub**í**ja, ub**í**la, etc.
    aor   b**í** (1-3sg), b**í**mo, etc.
          ub**í** (1sg), **ú**bi (23sg), ub**í**mo, etc.

3) pres   dr**ží**m, dr**ží**š...dr**ží**v
    imf   dr**žé**šem, dr**žé**šeš...dr**žé**šev
    imv   d**ŕ**ži, d**ŕ**žete
    P-part d**ŕ**žan, d**ŕ**žana, etc.   (o/Ma)
    L-part dr**žá**ja, dr**žá**la, etc.
    aor   dr**žá** (1-3sg), dr**žá**mo, etc.
          zadr**žá** (1sg), z**á**dr**ža** (23sg), zadr**žá**mo, etc.

4) pres   **č**it**á**m, **č**it**á**š...**č**it**á**v
    imf   **č**it**á**šem, **č**it**á**šeš...**č**it**á**šev
    imv   **č**it**á**j, **č**it**á**jte
    P-part **čí**tan, **čí**tana, etc.   (o/Ma
    L-part **č**it**á**ja, **č**it**á**la, etc.   i)
    aor   **č**it**á** (1-3sg), **č**it**á**mo, etc.
          pro**č**it**á** (1sg), pr**ó**čita (23sg), pro**č**it**á**mo, etc.

5) pres   plet**é**m, plet**é**š...plet**é**v
          sapl**é**tem, sapl**é**teš...sapl**é**tev
    (imf   ?pl**é**t**é**šem, pl**é**t**é**šeš...pl**é**t**é**šev)
    imv   pl**é**ti, pl**é**tete
    P-part pl**é**ten, pl**é**tena, etc.   (n/Ma
    L-part pl**é**ja, pl**é**la, etc.   mp)
    aor   pl**é**to, pl**é**te, pl**é**tomo, etc.
          sapl**é**to, s**á**plete (23sg), sapl**é**tomo, etc.

6)   pres   berém, beréš...berév
                  sabérem, sabéreš...sabérev
       (imf   ?béréšem, béréšeš...bérešev)
       imv   béri, bérete
       P-part   sabrán, sabrána, etc.
       L-part   sabrája, sabréla, etc.
       aor   brá (1-3sg). brámo, etc.
                 sabrá (1sg). sábra (23sg), sabrámo, etc.

$(o/_{Ma}$
$mp)$

(The imf tense is given in parentheses, with a question mark
and variant accentuation, in a few instances above because I was
not able to elicit it in any of the verbs which exhibited the
accent patterns in question.)

The recessive mobile alternation within the aorist (Ma)
is known in all prefixed verbs in SWTk; it is not normally
found in nonprefixed verbs (specific exceptions are listed in
sec. 3.16). The extension to all prefixed verbs of this accen-
tual alternation, assumed in PS1 to have occurred only in oxy-
tones, represents a significant innovation in Tk.

Accent patterns $(n/_{Ma}$ and $(o/_{Ma}$ are characterized by
               $mp)$ $mp)$
an accentual opposition between prefixed and nonprefixed forms
of the present tense. The first is found in obstruent stems
only (and only in Grač), in five of the 19 test items (met, pek,
plet, tek and sek). The second is found in Grač in five verbs
on the test list (čini, bra, pra, tka and plet) and in Pas in
plet. Note that were it not for end stress in nonprefixed pre-
sent tense forms, both these accent patterns would be indistin-
guishable from $(b/_{Ma})$.

This sort of accentual opposition in the present tense
is known in std SC (lòmĩm/slòmĩm, cf. above, sec. 3.24), but
only in i-stems. It is found in other SC dialects in a greater
number of verbs (e.g. in Montenegro, cf. Bošković 1932) and in
other Slavic languages and dialects (e.g. EMac, cf. sec. 3.25,
and std Ukrainian and its dialects), however. Since all verbs
which exhibit it in SWTk are original oxytones, we may surmise
that the accent of nonprefixed presents is archaic and that
retraction has occurred in all other instances.

Accent patterns (o/$_{Ma}$) and (o/$_{Ma}$ differ in the accent
                                      i)

of the imperative: it is accented on the second stem syllable
in the latter case but on the first or only stem syllable in
the former. Imv accentuation of the type čitáj occurs only in
Grač, and only in a few aj-verbs, viz. igraj, kopaj, čitaj and
motaj. Although only the last two of these verbs have such
accentuation in the imv in std SC, the other two have end-stresse
presents (and presumably, stem-final stress in the imv) in čaka-
vian, cf. Stang 1957:124. This suggests that the accentuation of
the imv of these four verbs in Grač is archaic. It is certain
that the generalization of stem (-initial) stress in the imv of
all other verbs is an innovation in Tk. Since the imv sg of
most verbs ends in an open final syllable, paroxytonesis certain-
ly contributes to the spread of this innovation in SWTk.

Oxytonesis--accent pattern (o/$_{Ma}$)-- is attested in a very
few verbs in SWTk. With one exception, all are class III verbs.

In Grač, this accentuation is found in gore, leža, lete, stoja, drža and čini, and in Pas it is attested only in žive and stoja. Accent pattern $(m/_{Ma})$ is also found in two of these seven verbs (drža in Grač and stoja in Pas) and accent pattern $(o/_{Ma}$ is mp$)$ also attested in čini in Grač. All of the above are assumed to be original oxytones.

Berytonesis--accent pattern $(b/_{Ma})$--is found primarily in verbs whose present and aorist stems are both monosyllabic (e.g. bij, kun, bra) and those in which an aorist stem in -va alternates with a present stem in -uj (pljuva, kupuva). The [b]/[B] distinction made earlier (indicating which syllable of a polysyllabic stem was accented) is here summarized as (b); see charts 15 and 33 for the distribution of [b] and [B]. Barytonesis has also been extended to the majority of obstruent stems in Grač and to certain obstruent stems in Pas (see chart 25). Since most obstruent stems on the test list represent PS1 oxytones, this means that accent has been retracted in both pres and imf and in aor and L-part forms. The latter retraction is known throughout Tk, but the former is found only in SWTk. I thus consider stem stress in the pres (and, by analogy, in the imf) in SWTk to be due to paroxytonesis.

Finally, $(b/_{Ma})$ is found in Grač in a number of vocalic stems. Most of these represent original barytones, e.g. ginu, pazi, sisaj, teraj, zidaj, diza, jaha, maza and plaka; but a

few (denu, krsti and ora) are assumed to have had original
end stress in aorist or in both pres and aor forms.

The remainder of the test items--all which have not
been mentioned previously--have accent pattern (m/$_{Ma}$) in SWTk.
That is, the accentuation of original circumflexes has been
extended both to original barytones and to original oxytones.
This involves three major innovations:

1) retraction of accent in the present tense of most
original oxytones--obstruent stems, class III verbs (e- and
ča-stems), and certain verbs of classes IV (i-stems) and V
(a-stems). Paroxytonesis is undoubtedly a factor in this
retraction.

2) retraction of end stress in the aorist of obstruent
stems in Grač and in some cases in Pas;

3) extension of end stress in the aorist to original
barytones of classes IV (e.g. pravi) and V (e.g. brisa, gleda,
greja).

All verbs have the same accent pattern in the SWTk dia-
lect of Dvorane: accent falls on the penultimate syllable ex-
cept in 3pl aorist where it is on the final (closed) syllable.
There is thus an accentual opposition between 3pl present and
3pl aorist. For example:

ispéčeu	(3pl pres)/ispekóu	(3pl aor)	(m*)
pogíneu	(3pl pres)/pogináu	(3pl aor)	(m*)
izdržíu	(3pl pres)/izdržáu	(3pl aor)	(m*)
prekfstiu	(3pl pres)/prekrstíu	(3pl aor)	(m*)

    poglédau (3pl pres)/pogledáu (3pl aor)   (m*)

    izbríšeu (3pl pres)/izbrisáu (3pl aor)   (m*)

(The above descriptive statements assume that the 3pl person-number marker /u̯/ is consonantal and not vocalic; see sec. 3.29 for more detailed discussion.) The asterisk signifies that the [m] relationship obtains only between 3pl pres and 3pl aor forms, and that ictus falls on the penultimate syllable in all other verb forms.

    In the easternmost SWTk area of Trg, the following accent patterns are found:

1)   pres   nápravu, nápraviš...nápraviv

          imf   právešem, práveseš...právešev

          imv   právi, právete

          P-part   práven, právena, etc.   (m/Ma

          L-part   pravíja, pravíla, etc.   Mp)

          aor   praví (1-3sg), pravímo, etc.

2)   pres   okósim, ɔkósiš...okósiv

          imf   kósešem, ƙósešeš...kósešev

          imv   kósi, kósete

          P-part   kósen, kósena, etc.   (m/Ma)

          L-part   kosíja, kosíla, etc.

          aor   kosí (1-3sg), kosímo, etc.

                 okosí (1sg), ókosi (23sg), okosímo, etc.

3) pres   ízdržu, izdržíš...izdržív
    imf   držéšem, držéšeš...držéšev
    imv   dŕži, dŕžete
    P-part dŕžan, dŕžana, etc.   (o/Ma
    L-part držája, držála, etc.   Mp)
    aor   držá (1-3sg). držámo, etc.
            izdržá (1sg), ízdrža (23sg), izdržámo, etc.

4) pres   izgorím, izgoríš...izgorív
    imf   goréšem, goréšeš...goréšev
    imv   góri, górete
    P-part góren, górena, etc.   (o/Ma)
    L-part goréja, goréla, etc.
    aor   goré (1-3sg), gorémo, etc.
            izgoré (1sg), ízgore (23sg), izgorémo, etc.

5) pres   dónesu, doneséš...donesév
    imf   doneséšem, doneséšeš...doneséšev
    imv   donési, donésete   (n/Ma
    P-part donésen, donésena, etc.   Mp)
    L-part donéja, donéla, etc.
    aor   donésɔ, dónese, donésomɔ, etc.

6) pres   pečém, pečéš...pečév
    imf   pečéšem, pečéšeš...pečéšev
    imv   péči, péčete
    P-part péčen, péčena, etc.   (n/Ma)
    L-part pékeja, pékla, etc.
    aor   ispéko, íspeče, ispékomɔ, etc.

7) pres   sáberu, sabéreš...sabérev
    imf   bérešem, bérešeš...bérešev
    imv   béri, bérete   (b/
                                                          Ma
    P-part   sabrán, sabrána, etc.
                                                        Mp)
    L-part   sabrája, sabrála, etc.
    aor   sabrá (1sg), sábra (23sg), sabrámo, etc.

8) pres   ubíjem, ubíješ...ubíjev
    imf   bíješem, bíješeš...bíješev
    imv   bíj, bíjte
                                                       (b/Ma)
    P-part   ubíjen, ubíjena, etc.
             or úbit, úbita, etc.
    L-part   ubíja, ubíla, etc.
    aor   ubí (1sg), úbi (23sg), ubímo, etc.

The accentual trait which distinguishes Trg from other

·Tk dialects is the recessive mobile alternation opposing 1sg

pres to other forms of the present tense (Mp). This alterna-

tion is found in nearly every verb class, although it occurs

only when the 1sg form ends in -u. When 1sg forms are in -m,

the accentuation (Mp) is never found. (Statements made below

about the distribution of accentual types in Trg are phrased

in terms of paradigms without the (Mp) alternation, i.e. with

1sg pres in -m. When the variant 1sg pres in -u is heard, the

accent pattern nearly always includes the (Mp) alternation.)

This alternation is assumed to have characterized original

oxytones (cf. Dybo 1971:95-97); here it has apparently been

generalized as a characteristic of all 1sg pres forms in -u,

regardless of the PS1 accentual paradigm.

Otherwise, the accentuation of Trg differs little from that of other SWTk dialects. Accent pattern (n/$_{Ma}$) is found only in two obstruent stems, -nes and met; all other obstruent stems have accent pattern (b/$_{Ma}$). Accent has thus been retracted in the aor and L-part of all oxytone obstruent stems and in the pres and imf of all but -nes and met. Accent pattern (o/$_{Ma}$) is attested somewhat more frequently than in other SWTk dialects: it characterizes seven class III verbs and one class V verb (poja), although in all but two of these instances, accent pattern (b/$_{Ma}$) is also attested.

The distribution of (b/$_{Ma}$) and (m/$_{Ma}$) is as in other SWTk dialects. The major innovations are thus the retraction of end stress in the pres and imf of most original oxytones and the extension of end stress to the aor of most original barytones. I consider paroxytonesis to be a factor in the first case, and in the second I feel that end stress has become identified as a marker of the aorist tense and has thus been extended to the aorist of all verb classes. In Staj-Rad, to the east of Trg, where paroxytonesis is much less regular, it is significant that (n/$_{Ma}$) and (o/$_{Ma}$) are much more frequently found among obstruent stems and class III stems, respectively, but that the accentuation of other verb classes is unchanged.

3.38   Four accent patterns are known in the CWTk verbal system:

1) pres   <u>bíjem</u>, <u>bíješ</u>...<u>bíju</u> or <u>bíjev</u>

    imf   <u>bíješem</u>, <u>bíješeš</u>...<u>bíješev</u>

            or <u>bíjeo</u>, <u>bíješe</u>...<u>bíjeu</u>

    imv   <u>bíj</u>, <u>bíjte</u> $(^b\!/_{Ma})$

    P-part <u>ubíjen</u>, <u>ubíjena</u>, etc.

            or <u>úbit</u>, <u>úbita</u>, etc.

    L-part <u>ubíja</u>, <u>ubíla</u>, etc.

    aor   <u>ubí</u> (1sg), <u>úbi</u> (23sg), <u>ubímo</u>, etc.

2) pres   <u>gorím</u>, <u>goríš</u>...<u>goré</u> or <u>goрív</u>

    imf   <u>goréšem</u>, <u>goréšeš</u>...<u>goréšev</u>

            or <u>goréo</u>, <u>goréše</u>...<u>goréu</u>

    imv   <u>góri</u>, <u>górete</u> $(^o\!/_{Ma})$

    P-part <u>góren</u>, <u>górena</u>, etc.

    L-part <u>goréja</u>, <u>goréla</u>, etc.

    aor   <u>goré</u> (1-3sg), <u>gorémo</u>, etc.

            <u>izgoré</u> (1sg), <u>ízgore</u> (23sg), <u>izgorémo</u>, etc.

3) pres   <u>predém</u>, <u>predéš</u>...<u>predú</u> or <u>predév</u>

    imf   <u>predéšem</u>, <u>predéšeš</u>...<u>predéšev</u>

            or <u>predéo</u>, <u>predéše</u>...<u>predéu</u>

    imv   <u>prédi</u>, <u>prédete</u> $(^n\!/_{Ma})$

    P-part <u>préden</u>, <u>prédena</u>, etc.

    L-part <u>préja</u>, <u>préla</u>, etc.

    aor   <u>isprédo</u>, <u>ísprede</u>, <u>isprédomo</u>, etc.

the obstruent stems <u>id</u> and <u>mog</u>--have (^m/_{Ma}). The innovations

represented by CWTk verbal accentuation are thus the same as

those mentioned earlier in the discussion of SWTk. The major

difference is that in CWTk nearly all PSl oxytones of classes

I-1 and III retain end stress in the present. Accent has

been retracted in the aorist of oxytonic obstruent stems, how-

ever.

3.39 ETk verbal morphology is characterized by the following accent patterns:

1) pres   predém, predéš...predú
    imf   predéo, predéše...predéu
    imv   prédi, prédete
    P-part préden, prédena, etc.   (n)
    L-part prél, préla, etc.
    aor   isprédo, ispréde, isprédomo, etc.

2) pres   ídem, ídeš...ídu
    imf   ídeo, ídeše...ídeu
    imv   ídi, ídete
    P-part ---   (m/L)
    L-part išél, išlá, etc.
    aor   idó, idé, idómo, etc.

3) pres   gorím, goríš...goré
    imf   goréo, goréše...goréu
    imv   góri, górete
    P-part góren, górena, etc.   (o/Ma)
    L-part gorél, goréla, etc.
    aor   goré (1-3sg), gorémo, etc.
            izgoré (1sg). ízgore (23sg), izgorémo, etc.

4) pres   kŕstim, kŕstiš...kŕste
    imf   kŕsteo, kŕsteše...kŕsteu
    imv   krstí, krstéte
    P-part kŕsten, kŕstena, etc.   (m/Ma
    L-part krstíl, krstíla, etc.   1)
    aor   krstí (1-3sg), krstímo, etc.
            prekrstí (1sg), prékrsti (23sg), prekrstímo, etc.

5)   pres   <u>bríšem</u>, <u>bríšeš</u>...<u>bríšu</u>

       imf   <u>bríšeo</u>, <u>bríšeše</u>...<u>bríšeu</u>

       imv   <u>bríši</u>, <u>bríšete</u>

       P-part   <u>brísan</u>, <u>brísana</u>, etc. $(^m/_{Me})$

       L-part   <u>brisál</u>, <u>brisála</u>, etc.

       aor   <u>brisá</u> (1-3sg), <u>brisámo</u>, etc.

                 <u>izbrisá</u> (1sg), <u>ízbrisa</u> (23sg), <u>izbrisámo</u>, etc.

6)   pres   <u>bíjem</u>, <u>bíješ</u>...<u>bíju</u>

       imf   <u>bíjeo</u>, <u>bíješe</u>...<u>bíjeu</u>

       imv   <u>bíj</u>, <u>bíjte</u>

       P-part   <u>ubíjen</u>, <u>ubíjena</u>, etc. $(^b/_{Me})$

                 or   <u>úbit</u>, <u>úbita</u>, etc.

       L-part   <u>ubíl</u>, <u>ubíla</u>, etc.

       aor   <u>ubí</u> (1sg), <u>úbi</u> (23sg), <u>ubímo</u>, etc.

7)   pres   <u>bérem</u>, <u>béreš</u>...<u>béru</u>

       imf   <u>béreo</u>. <u>béreše</u>...<u>béreu</u>

       imv   <u>béri</u>, <u>bérete</u> $(^b/_{Ma}$

       P-part   <u>brán</u>, <u>braná</u>, etc.   MP)

                 <u>óbran</u>, <u>óbrana</u>, etc.

       L-part   <u>obrál</u>, <u>obrála</u>, etc.

       aor   <u>obrá</u> (1sg), <u>óbra</u> (23sg), <u>obrámo</u>, etc.

Accent pattern (n) is found in all obstruent stems but

<u>id</u> and <u>mog</u>, which have $(^m/_L)$. The absence of recessive mobili-

ty within the aorist of obstruent stems is one of the outstan-

ding characteristics of ETk verbal accentuation. Since most of

the obstruent stems on the test list continue PS1 oxytones,

accent pattern (n) in ETk represents two major innovations:

       1) original end stress in the aorist has been retracted

to the stem syllable

.

2) the recessive mobile alternation has been elimina-
ted through a generalization of stem stress in 23sg.

The other specific traits which distinguish ETk verbal
accentuation are end stress in the imv of a number of verbs--
accent pattern $(m/\frac{Ma}{i})$--and a recessive mobile alternation oppo-

sing prefixed and nonprefixed forms of three verbs--accent

pattern $(b/\frac{Ma}{MP})$.

The first of these is found in oxytone and circumflex i-
stems and presumably represents the inherited accentuation
(at least in the imv) of these verbs. The retraction of end
stress in the imv of all other oxytone and circumflex stems is
a Tk innovation. Vacillation between end stress and stem
stress in these verbs (cf. sec. 3.35) suggests that this retrac-
tion is fairly recent.

Accent patterns $(b/\frac{Ma}{MP})$ and $(o/\frac{Ma}{MP})$ are found in <u>bra</u>, <u>pra</u>

and <u>tka</u> (see sec. 3.19), both in variation with accent pattern
$(b/\frac{Ma})$. The first is found in the SZ zone of ETk, and the se-
cond is found in TL. In the CTim area of TL, both accent pat-
terns are attested in these verbs. The recessive mobile alter-
nation opposing prefixed and nonprefixed forms of the P-part
(found in ETk) is no doubt related to the recessive mobile al-
ternation opposing fem sg P-part forms to other forms of the
P-part (found in other dialects of SC). I am unable to specify
precisely the historical connection between them.

The remaining three accent patterns--$(o/_{Ma})$, $(b/_{Ma})$ and $(m/_{Ma})$--are known in SWTk and CWTk as well. The number of stems which have $(b/_{Ma})$ is somewhat less than in SWTk and CWTk, however, while the number of stems which are oxytonic, i.e. which have accent pattern $(o/_{Ma})$, is greater than in CWTk and SWTk. In each case, the difference between ETk and CWTk is slight although noticeable, while the difference between ETk-CWTk on the one hand and SWTk on the other is considerable. Specifically, oxytonesis is found in <u>pij</u>, <u>kun</u>, all class III verbs, <u>goji</u>, <u>liči</u>, <u>uči</u>, <u>davaj</u>, <u>igraj</u>, <u>kopaj</u>, <u>zva</u>, <u>poja</u>, <u>smeja se</u> and <u>kova</u>. $(b/_{Ma})$ is a variant accent pattern in six of the above stems---<u>uči</u>, <u>davaj</u>, <u>igraj</u>, <u>kova</u> and <u>smeja se</u>.

As in other areas, accent pattern $(m/_{Ma})$ is found in the remainder of stems: all class II and V-2 verbs, those sonorant stems with dissyllabic aorist stems (type <u>počn/poče</u>), and the great majority of class IV, V-1 and V-3 verbs.

In terms of the distribution of verbal stems among PS1 accentual classes, ETk has the most conservative accentuation. The two major innovations noted in vocalic stems for SWTk and CWTk--retraction of end stress in the pres of original oxytones and extension of end stress to the aorist of original barytones--have occurred here as well, but to a lesser extent. Similarly, the retraction of end stress in the imv of all original oxytones and circumflexes has also occurred here, but to

a lesser extent than in CWTk and SWTk. On the other hand,
the elimination of recessive mobility from the aorist of all
obstruent stems in ETk represents a significant innovation
which is not known in CWTk or SWTk.

IV. CONCLUSION

4.1   In the preceding pages I have examined in detail the accentual morphophonemics of nominal and verbal inflection in Torlak. The discussion has been based on a 120-word sample designed to include representatives of all stem classes which would offer an insight into the accentual morphophonemic system. Wherever instructive, the accentuation of specific categories in Tk was constrasted with that of neighboring dialects--Kosovo-Resava štokavian, both southwestern (Vučitrn) and northeastern (Trstenik-Resava-Levač) subgroups, North Macedonian (Kumanovo region), East Macedonian (Kriva Palanka and Delčevo regions), and West Bulgarian, comprising six subgroups: transitional (č̲-dž̲ zone), Kjustendil area, Sofija area, central-west subgroup (Ihtiman-Stanke Dimitrov [Dupnica]-Samokov-Radomir regions), northwest subgroup (Vraca, Raxovo, Lom, Vidin, Kula, Ferdinand [Mihajlovgrad]-Berkovica and Bela Slatina regions), and the isolated dialect of Novo Selo near Vidin.

All Tk examples were categorized as belonging to one of three subgroups--East Torlak (ETk), which includes both the Svrljig-Zaplanje and Timok-Lužnica areas of Tk, Central-West Torlak (CWTk), which includes that part of the Južna Morava area north of Vranje and northeast of the province of Kosovo, and Southwest Torlak (SWTk), which includes the remaining portion of the Južna Morava subdialect. This division is based

primarily on accentual criteria but is also supported by other
phonological and morphological isoglosses (see sec. 1.4); it
is depicted on the map to be found in the appendix to this
work.

In my summaries of rominal and verbal accentual mor-
phophonemics in Tk, I discussed each of these three regions
separately, and gave a brief outline of the specific innova-
tions which appear to have taken place in the development of
the accentual morphophonemic system of each of the three areas
since Proto-Slavic times. Certain of these innovations are
restricted to one subgroup of Tk dialects, while others are
common to all Tk dialects. In addition, several are known in
Bulgarian, Macedonian and/or Kosovo-Resava as well.

Below I will outline the major accentual isoglosses
found in Tk and indicate which of these isoglosses extend into
one or more of the surrounding dialect areas treated in this
work (sec. 4.2). I will then give a note on the relationship
between morphological stem-classes and the incidence of the
various accent patterns in Tk, including sketches to depict
the distribution of certain specific accent patterns (secs.
4.3--4.4). Finally, I will focus on accentual variation within
Tk dialects and discuss the dynamic processes which this vari-
ation represents (secs. 4.5--4.6).

4.2   Accentual isoglosses in this area, defined in terms
of accent shifts which are presumed to have occurred since
PSl, fall into three major categories:

    1) paroxytonesis, or retraction of accent from final
to penultimate syllables (in certain analogical environments,
from penultimate to antepenultimate);

    2) advancement of accent to final or desinential sylla-
bles;

    3) shift of accent from absolute initial position to
the stem-final syllable.

    The most noticeable accentual division within Tk is
the paroxytonesis isogloss which separates SWTk from CWTk and
ETk. Within the inflectional system of SWTk, there are only
two instances in which final open syllables and/or desinences
are accented. These are Dsg forms of animate feminine a-declen-
sion nouns (e.g. sestré, snaé), and sg aorist forms (e.g. idó/
idé, nosí, pisá). All other inflected forms are stem-stressed
in SWTk. In CWTk and ETk, on the other hand, desinential (end)
accent is encountered in a number of inflectional categories.
In all three Tk areas, however, the extent of etymologically
expected desinential accent (or in the case of aorist forms
with zero desinence, end stress) has been curtailed in a num-
ber of grammatical categories. These include the following
(std SC examples are given both in standard orthography and,
in parentheses, with the place of accent marked as defined in
sec. 1.12):

1) pl forms of feminine a-declension nouns, e.g. Tk
žéne vs. std SC žene (žené)

2) plural forms of a number of neuter nouns, e.g. Tk
kríla vs. std SC kríla (kríla)

3) plural forms of rany masculine nouns in -ec when
the desinence is -i, e.g. Tk kólci vs. std SC kólci (kólcí)

4) present tense forms of a number of i-stem verbs,
e.g. Tk kŕstim, čínim vs. std SC kŕstĩm, čĩnĩm (krstím, činím)

5) aorist forms of obstruent stems, e.g. Tk péko vs.
std SC pèkoh (pekóh)

6) imperative forms of obstruent stems and of most voca-
lic stems, e.g. Tk píši, úči, prédi vs. std SC píši, ùči,
prèdi (píši, uči, predí)

7) past passive participle forms of oxytonic obstruent
stems and most oxytonic vocalic stems, e.g. Tk péčena vs. std
SC pečena (pečená)

8) L-participle forms of most obstruent and sonorant
stems, e.g. Tk pékla vs. std SC pèkla (peklá)
(slight variation exists on certain of the points in peripheral
Tk dialects; for instance a number of obstruent stems retain
end-stressed aorists in Pasjane).

Retraction of final accent in SWTk appears to be phone-
tically determined for the most part: no final open syllable
may carry accent. The retention of end stress in Dsg (the desi-
nence in SWTk and KR is the Gsg one, cf. sec. 2.5) can be ex-
plained by former length of the desinential vowel, and end

stress in 1sg aorist forms is apparently due to the fact that
before the loss of /h/, the final syllable was a closed sylla-
ble. End stress in 2-3sg aorist, however, can only be explai-
ned by analogy--the generalization of accent placement through-
out the paradigm on the model of a productive accent pattern.

In CWTk and ETk, however, retraction appears to be
grammatically determined. Both sg and pl forms of feminine
a-declension nouns terminate in open syllables--but whereas
Nsg and Asg forms regularly have end stress, plural forms
rarely do: žená, ženú but žéne, sestrá, sestrú but séstre.
Similarly, Asg (or Nmv) forms of masculine nouns in -ec are
normally end-stressed, while plural forms are rarely stressed
on the desinence -i: kolcá, moljcá but kólci, móljci. In
conjugation, present tense forms of obstruent stems and e/ča-
stems (e.g. pečé, drží) regularly have end stress, but pre-
sent tense forms of other stem classes (e.g. účí) are rarely
attested with end stress.

Paroxytonesis, defined simply as the appearance of pen-
ultimate accent in place of expected final accent, is found in
all Tk dialects. In this work, however, I have usually used
the term to signify the substitution of penultimate accent for
final accent independent of morphological specification. This
type of paroxytonesis is known only in SWTk; and even there
one must specify the grammatical category of aorist as exempt
from paroxytonic restrictions on the occurrence of accent.

Between CWTk and ETk there is also a difference in the degree of paroxytonesis: final stress appears less often in CWTk than in ETk in certain morphologically defined environments, viz.

1) indefinite adjectives retain end stress in most ETk dialects (although with variation, see sec. 2.25), but have only stem stress in CWTk, e.g. CWTk goléma vs. ETk golemá

2) imperative forms of certain verbs retain end stress in some ETk dialects (cf. sec. 3.35), but have only stem stress in CWTk, e.g. CWTk pláti vs. ETk platí.

Most instances of paroxytonesis in inflectional morphology concern the retraction of accent from desinential to stem-final syllables. There are also numerous instances of retraction from a penultimate desinential syllable to an antepenultimate stem-final syllable. Since these are frequent in SWTk but nearly nonexistent in CWTk and ETk, I assume them to be the combined result of paroxytonesis and grammatical analogy. The pertinent cases are:

1) imperative plural, e.g. SWTk-CWTk nósete vs. ETk noséte (compare imv sg forms: SWTk-CWTk nósi vs. ETk nosí)

2) Asg masculine indefinite adjective (animate referent), e.g. SWTk-CWTk cŕnoga vs. ETk crnóga (compare feminine Asg forms: SWTk-CWTk cŕnu vs. ETk crnú)

3) 1-2pl present, e.g. SWTk dŕžimo, dŕžite vs. CWTk-ETk držímo, držíte or držimó, držité (compare 3sg present forms:

SWTk <u>dŕži</u> vs. CWTk-ETk <u>drží</u>)

4) all persons of the imperfect, e.g. SWTk <u>prédešem</u>, <u>prédešeš</u>, etc. vs. CWTk-ETk <u>predéo</u>, <u>predéše</u>, etc. (cf. 3sg present forms: SWTk <u>préde</u> vs. CWTk-ETk <u>predé</u>; on the relationship between pres/aor and imf/aor, see sec. 3.31).

Finally, there are instances of retraction from closed final syllables in SWTk that are absent from CWTk and ETk, e.g. SWTk <u>júnec</u> <u>júnca</u> vs. CWTk-ETk <u>junéc</u> <u>juncá</u>. Although paroxytonesis has contributed to this accentual distribution, paradigm levelling is also clearly a factor in these cases.

In dialects to the southwest, west and northwest of Tk, paroxytonesis is a regular feature. To the north and northwest lie the Kosovo-Resava dialects, which distinguish length. In these dialects, only short open final syllables yield their ictus to the preceding syllable; long final vowels retain ictus. Furthermore, in NE KR, short open final syllables retain accent (but not ictus, cf. sec. 1.13) if the preceding vowel is long. Indeed, paroxytonesis seems to be even less dependent on morphological considerations in KR than in SWTk. Compare, for instance, aorist paradigms where the sg is stem-stressed (due to paroxytonesis), e.g. 1-3sg <u>rȅza</u>, but the plural retains end stress, e.g. <u>rezȁmo</u>, <u>rezȁste</u>, <u>rezȁše</u>.

In NMac dialects (located to the southwest of Tk), on the other hand, accent placement seems to be even more closely connected with morphological factors than in SWTk. All nouns are accented on the same stem syllable regardless of the dis-

tance of that syllable from the word boundary, e.g. n̂óž̌,
n̂óža, n̂óževi. Verbs are likewise accented on the same stem
styllable in all but L-participle and aorist forms; aorist
forms are end-stressed and L-part forms are stressed on the
same syllable as the aorist in most stems. Thus:

pres	nósim...nósimo, etc.
imf	nóseo...nóseomo, etc.
imv	nósi, nósete
P-part	nósen, nósena, etc.
	vs.
aor	nosí, nosímo, etc.
L-part	nosíl, nosíla, etc.

pres	péčem...péčemo, etc.
imf	péčeo...péčeomo, etc.
imv	péči, péčete
P-part	péčen, péčena, etc.
	vs.
aor	pekó...pekómo, etc.
	but
L-part	pékja or pékeja, pékla, etc.

NMac is thus a paroxytonic area only in the sense that final
syllables are not accented (other than sg aorist forms). The
actual place of accent (penultimate, antepenultimate, etc.)
is determined by morphological factors.

To the southeast and east of Tk, in EMac and WBg dia-
lects, however, paroxytonesis is less frequent. In nominal
inflection, end stress is found in most instances where it is
expected historically. TWBg dialects (situated immediately to

the east of ETk) constitute the major exception to this:
the incidence of final accent in the plural of feminine and
neuter nouns in TWBg is very low, as in ETk, while in other
WBg dialects and in EMac dialects, final stress is usually
heard where expected. Paroxytonesis in verbal inflection, on
the other hand, seems to occur in many of the same catego-
ries as in Tk. The major exception to this is imperative
forms in NWBg dialects, which preserve end stress in nearly
all instances where it is expected. EMac and other WBg dia-
lects have special developments in the imv, cf. sec. 3.21.

Accent is advanced to final or desinential syllables
in the following instances in Tk (all of which must be defined
in grammatical terms):

1) accent has been shifted to the last accentable sylla-
ble of aorist forms in all original barytones (i.e., all verbs
which did not already have end-stressed aorists) in all areas
of Tk, e.g. brisá, gledá, praví;

2) end stress is found in place of expected stem stress
in the Asg of many feminine a-declension nouns in CWTk and ETk,
e.g. iglú, gredú, metlú;

3) accent has been shifted to the syllable immediately
preceding the postposed definite article in all definite noun
forms except masculine sg. If the desinence is zero, accent
is shifted to the article morpheme itself, e.g. rúku/rukútu,
jésen/jesentá.

The first of these developments is common to all Tk dialects, including SWTk where accent is otherwise not known in final open syllables. The second is found in CWTk and ETk dialects, and the third is known only in those peripheral ETk dialects in which the postposed article is in everyday use-- the east-central zone of the TL dialect area (cf. sec. 2.22). Indeed, this development is absent in the northern part of the TL zone (the Central Timok valley dialect described in Stano- jević 1911), although the postposed article is used regularly there.

Advancement of accent in the aorist has been consis- tently carried out in NMac and EMac dialects; it is also found in WBg, although with much less regularity than in either Tk or NEMac dialects. Asg forms are not distinguished from Nsg forms in NEMac dialects nor in most WBg dialects. In those WBg dialects where Asg forms are distinct, no accent shift is found. Kosovo-Resava, on the other hand, apparently agrees with std SC as to accent placement in the aorist of barytonic stems, i.e. no significant shift has occurred. Asg forms of feminine a-declension nouns frequently have end stress in place of expected stem stress, however (cf. Jović 1968:102).

Of the several dialect regions which surround Tk, only EMac and WBg have the postposed article. In none of these is the accent shift as consistent as it is in ETk. Such a shift is present in the sg of masculine nouns in these areas, how- ever, although in TWBg (adjacent to ETk), the shift is less

frequent in this grammatical category than in other areas
of WBg.

Absolute initial accent contrasting with the accent
of other forms of the paradigm occurs (or is expected to oc-
cur) in Tk in the following instances:

1) Vsg of most feminine and masculine nouns, cf. std
SC òvčār/ȍvčāre, planìna/plànino

2) in prepositional phrases involving Asg or pl forms
of certain feminine a-declension nouns, cf. std SC nȁ glāvu

3) P-participle forms of a number of stems, cf. std SC
zȁdržāna, ȍtkupovāna

4) prefixed L-participle forms of a number of verbs,
cf. std SC zȁdržāla, ȍtkupovāla

5) 2-3sg aorist forms of certain verbs, cf. std SC
pȍginū, ȉzbrisā

6) 1sg present forms in -u of a number of verbs, e.g.
SWTk nápravu.

The first two of these concern the nominal system; the
second two concern participial forms with nominal inflection;
and the last two concern the verbal system proper. It is in-
teresting that alternations involving absolute initial stress
have practically disappeared from nominal inflection, but have
been extended to a greater number of stems in verbal inflection.

Very few instances of contrastive absolute initial
stress in vocative forms are found in Tk; accent has usually
been shifted only to the stem-final syllable, e.g. Tk ovčáre.

Initial accent in prepositional phrases is limited to a few nouns, and only in fixed expressions such as nánoge, ná vodu, ú ruke. Initial stress in P-part forms is maintained in certain sonorant stems (e.g. úbit, záklan), but is lost in prefixed forms of other stems as is initial stress in prefixed L-part forms.

The shift to initial accent in 2-3sg aorist appears to have been extended to all prefixed verbs in SWTk and CWTk and in the northern part of ETk described by Stanojević. In other ETk dialects and in the isolated WBg dialect of Novo Selo (Vidin), it has been eliminated from all obstruent stems, although it occurs without exception in all other prefixed verbs. Initial accent is rare in nonprefixed aorist forms, however--final accent is found instead, even in original barytones. Initial accent in 2-3sg aorist is unknown in NMac and EMac, and occurs only sporadically in WBg (and never in obstruent stems). In KR, the distribution of initial accent in the aorist appears to be the same as in std SC (for a statement of this distribution, see sec. 3.3).

Initial stress in 1sg present forms is limited to a small area of Tk (the southeastern part of SWTk, cf. sec. 3.9). It is also found in EMac and in most non-transitional WBg dialects, i.e. Kjus, Sof, CWBg and NWBg regions. Although initial accent occurs only in 1sg present forms in -u, it appears to have been extended to all such forms, regardless of original (PSl) stem class or accent paradigm.

Finally, initial accent is found in imperative forms
in certain EMac and WBg dialects south of the Balkan moun-
tains (cf. sec. 3.22).

4.3   The accent shifts summarized above have produced sig-
nificant changes in the accent patterns of the several re-
gions.   Earlier (sec. 1.14), I defined a stem's accent pat-
tern as "a hierarchically ordered set of specifications which
determines the accentuatior of all paradigmatic forms." The
symbols used to denote the several accent patterns, given in
parentheses in summary sections (2.28--2.30 and 3.37--3.39)
reflect this hierarchical ordering.   The primary accentual
characteristic of a noun, adjective or verb is given to the
left of the slash and subordinate accentual characteristics,
if any, are given to the right of the slash.   Two or more sym-
bols may appear on the right but only one may appear on the
left.   For instance: (o), (o/$_{Nv}$), (o/$_{Ma}$, (b), (b/t), (b/$_{Ma}$).
                                               mP)

On the basis of data summarized in chapters II and III,
it is clear that there is a more consistent correlation between
the type of accent pattern and the stem class of a noun or verb
in Tk than there is in std SC, although the Tk system is by no
means so regular that one may specify the accentuation of a
noun or verb simply by knowing its stem class (as appears to
be possible for Novo Selo, Vidin, cf. Lunt 1975).   In the fol-
lowing exposition, I will attempt to show how the accentual
shifts summarized in sec. 4.2 have contributed to the increased
correlation of accent pattern and stem class in Tk.   I shall
cite examples from CWTk and ETk, since the nearly complete re-
traction of final accent in SWTk has eliminated a number of

distinctions which can still be seen in CWTk and ETk.

The most frequent accent pattern among feminine a̱-declension nouns which continue old oxytones and circum-flexes is (m/o), viz.

| Nsg | metlá́ | pl | na métle | (m/o) |
| Asg | metlú́ | | | |

| Nsg | žená́ | pl | žéne | (m/o) |
| Asg | ženú́ | | | |

Three innovations are involved: the shift of initial accent from the preposition to the stem-final syllable in circumflex stems (cf. PSl Apl *ná metly),· the shift of Asg accent to the desinence (cf. PSl Asg *métlǫ) in circumflex stems, and the shift of plural accent to the stem syllable in original oxy-tones (cf. PSl Npl *ženỳ). The first shift exemplifies the re-placement of a marginal alternation by a central one, a̱ pro-cess well known in the history of Slavic. In the second case, the Asg has taken the accent of the Nsg, thereby curtailing the domain of the accentual alternation within the singular, and in the third, the sg/pl opposition has been emphasized by extending the sg/pl accentual alternation of circumflex stems to original oxytones as well. (Note that the sg/pl alternation has not been extended to original barytones; I presume this is because such an extension would involve stress advancement-- rare in Tk dialects--rather than retraction, which is very common in Tk dialects.) In both cases, the net result is the clarification and strengthening of the grammatical opposition

singular vs. plural.

The prevalent accent patterns among neuter nouns are
(b) and (m), e.g.

        sg   <u>rebró</u>   pl   <u>rébra</u>   (m)

        sg   <u>ráme</u>   pl   <u>rámena</u>   (b)

In both cases, a shift of accent from ending to stem in plural
forms appears to have occurred (cf. assumed PS1 Npl *<u>rebrà</u>,
*<u>ramenà</u>),[25] resulting in an extension of sg/pl mobility (m)
to a greater number of nouns, and the elimination of an ac-
centual opposition in certain others.

The accentuation of masculine nouns in a consonant is
complex; I will discuss only two types--polysyllabic masculine
nouns of the type <u>ovčar</u>, and nouns with the suffix -<u>ǝc</u>, e.g.
<u>kolǝc</u>.

Accent pattern (o) is the most common among the <u>ovčar</u>
group. But whereas such nouns have initially-stressed vocative
forms in std SC (which is assumed to continue PS1 accentuation
in this respect), in Tk the Vsg has the same accent as the
Nsg, viz.

        Nsg   <u>ovčár</u>   pl   <u>ovčarí</u>
        Asg   <u>ovčará</u>   (o)
        Vsg   <u>ovčár</u>

vs. std SC

        Nsg   <u>òvčar</u>   Npl <u>ovčári</u>
        Asg   <u>ovčára</u>   ....
        ....   (o/Mv)
        Vsg ovčare

Again, we have an apparent replacement of a marginal accen-
tual alternation by a central one; indeed, one might claim
that Vsg desinences are in fact unaccentable (cf. sec. 2.4
for exceptions to this, however), and that all forms are now
accented on the last possible syllable.

Masculine nouns in -ǝc have accent pattern (m) almost
without exception, if the plural desinence is -i (when these
nouns occur with expanded plurals--symbolized on chart 4 by
an asterisk--the usual accent pattern is (o)), as opposed to
(o) in std SC, e.g.

| Nsg | kolɛ́c | pl | kólci | (m) |
| Nmv | kolcá | | | |

vs. std SC

Nsg	kȍlac	Npl	kólci	(o)
. . . .		. . . .		
Gsg	kólca			
. . . .				

The sg/pl alternation (m) has been extended to include these
nouns by a retraction of accent in the plural, resulting in a
strengthening of the sg/pl opposition.

In adjectives, (b) is the only accent pattern found in
CWTk, while (m), (m-t) and (n-t) occur in ETk. Morphophonemic
accentual alternations involving accent on open final sylla-
bles are otherwise well known in CWTk. It is thus possible
that the def/indef accentual alternation has been eliminated
because the def/indef grammatical opposition is not afforded
primary importance in areas which do not have the postposed

article. In certain ETk dialects, all nouns mark definitive-
ness by the affixation of the article morpheme, e.g. <u>žená/</u>
<u>ženáta</u>. Adjectives may also mark definiteness in this way:
<u>stára/staráta</u>. In most of these dialects, accent it shifted
to the desinence before th?s article morpheme (e.g. <u>žéne/</u>
<u>ženéte</u>); this feature is signified by "-t". When the shift
occurs in all inflected forms in which the accent is not al-
ready on the desinence, no slash separates the "t" from any
other symbol. When the shift occurs only in the plural, how-
ever, as in the case of most masculine nouns, a slash is used
to indicate this subordinate relationship.(cf. sec. 2.30).

Most of the accent patterns mentioned above--(m/o) in
feminine <u>a</u>-declension nouns, (m) and (b) in neuter nouns, and
(m) for masculine nouns in -<u>ec</u>, have this shift (although mas-
culine nouns have it only in the plural):

Nsg indef	<u>metlá</u>	Nsg def	<u>metláta</u>	
Asg indef	<u>metlú</u>	Asg def	<u>metlútu</u>	(m/o-t)
pl indef	<u>métle</u>	pl def	<u>metléte</u>	

sg indef	<u>rebró</u>	sg def	<u>rebróto</u>	
pl indef	<u>rébra</u>	pl def	<u>rebráta</u>	(m-t)

sg indef	<u>ráme</u>	sg def	<u>raméto</u>	
pl indef	<u>rámena</u>	pl def	<u>ramenáta</u>	(b-t)

Nsg indef	<u>kolóc</u>	Nsg def	<u>kolócet</u>	
pl indef	<u>kólci</u>	pl def	<u>kolcíti</u>	(m/t)

The accentual alternation opposing definite and indefinite

forms has been extended to include nearly all nouns, and the

grammatical opposition def/indef is thereby strengthened.
The extension of this accentuation to adjectives(e.g. st*á*ra/
star*á*ta (n-t)) further attests to its productivity, although
in most instances adjectives retain accent pattern (m) even
when the article is affixed, e.g. visok*á*/vis*ó*kata.

Sketch IX summarizes the distribution of four nominal
accent patterns--(m/o) in feminine a-declension nouns, (m)
in neuter nouns, (m) in masculine nouns in -*o*c, and the accen-
tuation of adjectives such as visoka. The order of the sym-
bols is as follows:

> feminine   masculine in -*o*c
> neuter   adjective

·Thus, the notation

> m/o   m
> m   b

for CWTk signifies the following accentuation:

(fem)	žen*á*	ž*é*ne	
	žen*ú*		(m/o)

(neut)	kril*ó*	kr*í*la	(m)

(masc)	kol*ó*c	k*ó*lci	
	kolc*á*		(m)

(adj)	vis*ó*ka	vis*ó*ka	(b)

Sketches IX and X (verbal accent patterns, see sec.4.4)
must be interpreted as greatly simplified views of the distri-
bution of these accent patterns. Here, sketch IX summarizes
the most frequently encountered accentuation of nouns like

Žena, krilo and kolac (original oxytones) and of polysyllabic
adjectives like visoka. It does not assume that no variation
exists with respect to these accent patterns, however: the
reader is strongly urged to review charts 1-6 and the discus-
sion of variation in chapter II above.

But even when one takes into account existing variation,
two things stand out clearly from the distribution pictured
here. One is the preponderance of (b) in roughly the south-
west quadrant (SW KR, SWTk, and NMac), and the other is the
preponderance of (m) in the central core area (CWTk, ETk and
TWBg). This distribution clearly reflects the isoglosses of
regular paroxytonesis on the one hand and grammatically based
analogical spread of accent patterns on the other (see 4.6
below for discussion).

NWBg
o b-t
o b

CWBg
m-t m-t
o b

Sof
o m
o m

NSV
o m
m m

TWBg
m/o-t m
m m-t

ETk
m/o m
m
m/o-t m/t
m-t m

Kjus
m-t o b
b-t b

EMac
m-t m
m b*

CWTk
m/o m
m b

NMac
b b
b b

NEKR
m/o o b
o

SWTk
b b
b b

SWKR
b b
b b
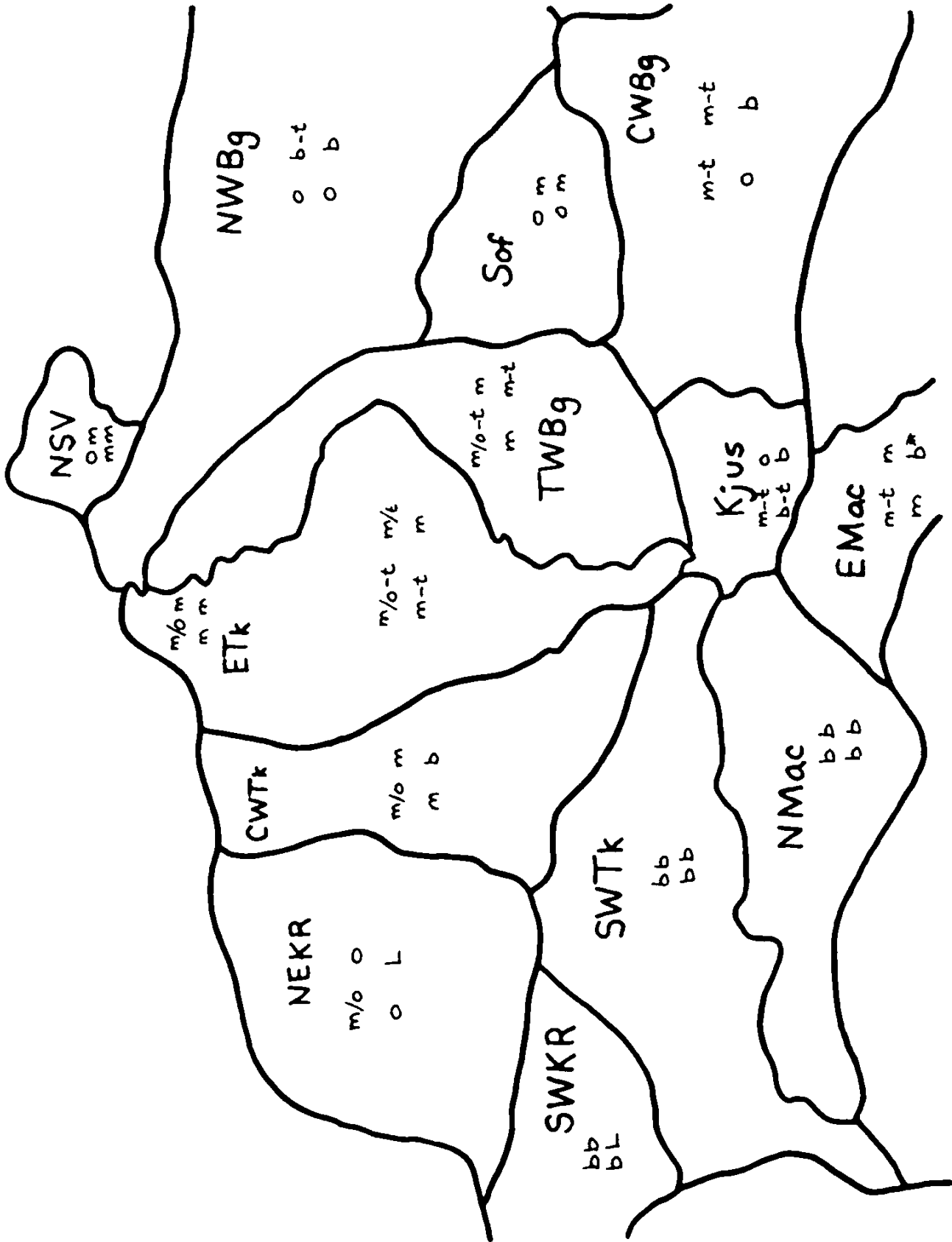
Sketch IX: Distribution of four nominal accent patterns

4.4   The most common accent pattern in verbs is $(m/_{Ma})$.

It is found in nearly all vocalic stems (except e/ča-stems

and stems of the type bra and verova). In Pas, it is also

found in obstruent stems. The innovations involved are:

1) extension of end stress to the aorist of all such

stems

2) curtailment of end stress in the present of all

such stems

3) extension of initial stress in 2-3sg of the aorist

of prefixed paradigms of these stems

4) curtailment of initial stress in 2-3sg nonprefixed

aorist forms of these stems

5) curtailment of end stress in imperative and P-part

forms of these stems.

Generalization of stem stress in P-part and imperative

forms appears in nearly all stem classes (exceptions were

noted in secs. 3.34 and 3.35). I see in this a reflection of

the peripheral nature of these categories, as opposed to aor-

ist, present and imperfect. Whereas the latter all express

tense, person and number, P-part forms are more a part of the

nominal than of the verbal system; and imv forms express mood

primarily, person secondarily and tense not at all.

On the other hand, accent shifts in the present and

aorist lead directly to the extension of the pres/aor accentu-

al alternation, and to the strengthening of the pres/aor gram-

matical opposition. Belić feels that the loss of distinctive
length may have contributed to the spread of end stress in the
aorist:

> U ovim dijalektima...1 l. j. i cela množina dobili su
> i kod trećeg tipa [barytones such as ginuti]...akcenat
> na kraju. To se moglo izvršiti u toliko pre, što su
> im prezensi--razlike u dužini u ovom govoru nema--
> akcenatski jednaki. (B 571)

Similarly, the occurrence of the accentual alternation oppo-
sing 2-3sg aorist to other forms of the aorist in std SC ap-
pears to be dependent on the length of the stem vowel: it
occurs primarily in stems with short root vocalism, e.g. gìnuh/
pòginū but vŕnuh/prevŕnu (note that the final vowel is also
lengthened whenever the 2-3sg forms have initial accent). In
Tk, with vowel length no longer distinctive, initial accent
in 2-3sg appears to have been extended to all prefixed (per-
fective)aorist paradigms. On the other hand, initial accent
in 2-3sg forms of nonprefixed (imperfective) paradigms is
being eliminated. Here, the net result is a strengthening of
the perfective/imperfective grammatical opposition in aorist
paradigms.

Accent pattern (n/$_{Ma}$) is found in obstruent stems
everywhere in Tk but Pas and south-central ETk (i.e. ETk mi-
nus the CTim zone). The following innovations have contri-
buted to the spread of this accent pattern:

1) extension of end stress in the present to the few
obstruent stems which did not already have it

.

2) curtailment of end stress in the aorist of these

stems

3) extension of absolute initial stress in 2-3sg aor

in prefixed paradigms to the few stems which did not already

have it.

The mechanisms are the same as for the spread of accent pat-

tern $(m/_{Ma})$ except that the place of accent in pres and aor

is reversed. In each case, however, greater emphasis has

been placed on the pres/aor opposition by the extension of the

pres/aor accentual alternation to a greater number of stems.

(Ma), or the opposition of 2-3sg aor to other aorist

forms, has been eliminated in obstruent stems in most of ETk.

This is an innovation in these dialects: nearly all obstruent

stems were original oxytones, which are assumed to have had

this initial accent in 2-3sg in PS1. This innovation has not

spread to CTim dialects, however; there the opposition is still

maintained. It is interesting that this accentual isogloss

within ETk separating CTim from other ETk dialects coincides

with the isogloss defining the presence/absence of the accent

shift to the desinence before the postposed article. This

shift is found in nearly all nouns in other ETk dialects, but

is completely absent in CTim (see chart 5).

Sketch X shows the distribution of $(m/_{Ma})$, (m), $(n/_{Ma})$

and (n). The upper symbol in each instance represents the

accentuation of original barytones of classes II, IV and V

(e.g. <u>ginu</u>, <u>pravi</u>, <u>brisa</u>), and the lower symbol represents
the accentuation of obstruent stems. For instance, the
notation

$$^{m}/_{Ma}$$
$$n$$

for south-central ETk signifies the following accentuation:

pres	<u>právim</u>, <u>práviš</u>, etc.	
aor	<u>pravi</u> (1-3sg), <u>pravímo</u>, etc.	$(^{m}/_{Ma})$
	<u>napraví</u> (1sg), <u>nápravi</u> (2-3sg), <u>napravímo</u>, etc.	

pres	<u>predém</u>, <u>predéš</u>, etc.	
aor	<u>prédo</u>, <u>préde</u>, etc.	(n)
	<u>naprédo</u>, <u>napréde</u>, etc.	

Again, let me emphasize that this sketch is an oversimplifi-
cation and refer the reader to chapter III and charts 7-33
for a full understanding of the variation encountered. But
even when one considers that the sketch represents only the
accentuation of the majority of stems (and not all of them),
the distribution is striking. (Ma) is known only in Serbian
dialects and in NSV and TWBg (both of which have a strong
Serbian base); it is completely unknown in WBg and Mac. On
the other hand, (m) is found primarily in the central portion
of the area depicted; it is unknown in KR and in non-transitio-
nal Bg dialects to the north of the Balkan mountains. The area
where both (Ma) and (m) are widespread (i.e., where grammati-
cally-based analogical spread of accent patterns has occurred
to a great degree) encompasses Tk dialects, NSV and TWBg.

NWBg

b
n

CWBg

m
n

Sof

b
n

NSV
m/Ma
n

TWBg
m/Ma
n

Kjus
m
n

EMac
m
n

ETk
m/Ma
n

m/Ma
n/Ma

CWTk

m/Ma
n/Ma

SWTk
m/Ma
b/Ma

m/Ma
m/Ma

NMac
m
m

NEKR
b/Ma
o/Ma

SWKR
b/Ma
o/Ma
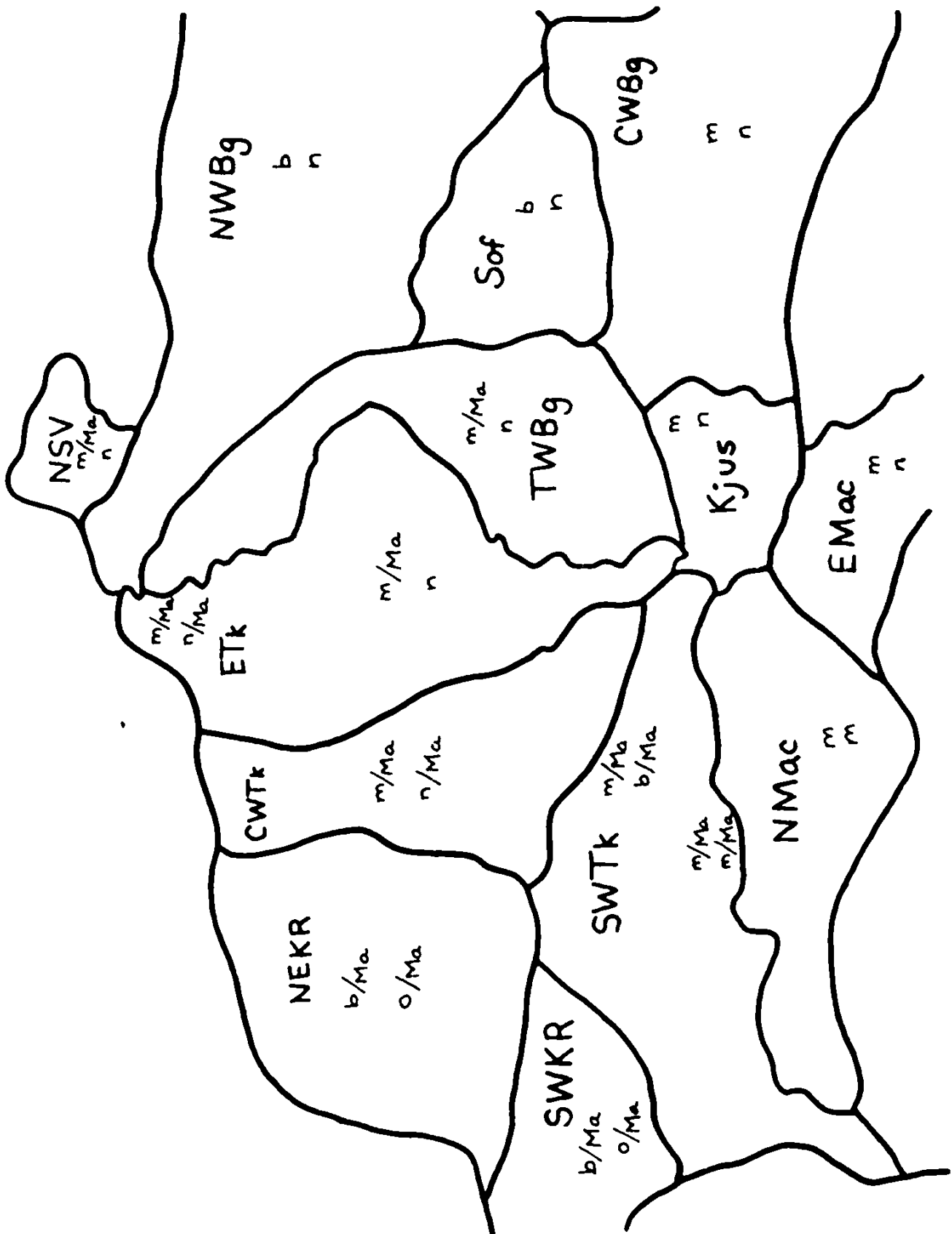
Sketch X: Distribution of two verbal accent patterns

4.5   The isoglosses listed above in sec. 4.2 summarize the geographical variation within Tk with respect to accentual morphophonemics. As shown in secs. 4.3 and 4.4, certain accent patterns can be identified as productive (i.e., they have been extended to a greater number of stems), while the domain of others has been curtailed, indicating that they are no longer productive. The variation within individual Tk dialects represents these same dynamic processes in progress (the extension of some accent patterns and the curtailment of others).

     This study has thus concerned the restructuring of the Tk accentual morphophonemic system, both in terms of changes which have already taken place at some point between PSl and the present day, and in terms of change now in progress. Two major factors seem to be governing (or at least influencing and channelling) these processes. They are paroxytonesis, or the tendency to retract accent from final syllables, and paradigmatic analogy, or the tendency of accentual oppositions to become so strongly identified with grammatical oppositions that they are extended to all instances of the grammatical opposition in question.

     Previous researchers in the Tk dialectal area have noted both these tendencies. Belić discussed the "Vranje stress retraction" (SWTk paroxytonesis) in two instances (1905a:282-287, 1911:88-90). In each case, he indicated that the accentuation of Vranje was closely connected with the accentuation of "Stara Srbija" (this is the cover term used at that time to

denote all areas which included Serbian- and Macedonian-speaking population but which were still part of Ottoman Turkey): "Potrebno je tu stranu vranjskog govora ispitati zajedno sa govorima St[are] Srbije" (1911:88). In most of his discussion, however, it appears that "Stara Srbija" refers only to NMac dialects; he sees paroxytonesis in Vranje as the result of Macedonian influence, cf. "Vranjska se akcentuacija razvila pod naročitim prilikama..., nesumnjivo pod uticajem s juga" (ibid). In support of this thesis, he cites other features common to NMac dialects and the dialect of Vranje, such as the occurrence of -na- in class II verbs (as opposed to -nu- in the rest of Tk), e.g. padnála in Vranje and NMac but padnúla in Tk, and the generalization of -le as the plural marker in Vranje and NMac instead of -li as in the rest of Tk.

He also considers the outline of the isogloss limiting the spread of this type of accentuation around Vranje to be convincing evidence: it takes the shape of a triangle whose base is the border between Serbia and Macedonia and whose highest north-south extension is along the valley of the Južna Morava river. Since the area of this phenomenon is wider in the south and narrower in the north, it seemed to him natural to assume that the influence was moving northwards, and that north Macedonian accentuation was "flowing into" south Serbia: "U taj trougao izgleda kao da se izliva Stara Srbija, i tako

je zaista" (1905a:286). However, as the present study has shown, paroxytonesis is found over a much wider area of Tk than the "Vranje triangle" of which Belić speaks. The remainder of SWTk dialects, comprising a large portion of the province of Kosovo, has the same accentuation, as do the SW KR dialects (if one discounts instances of accent on long final open syllables).

The origin of the stress retraction in Vranje (and of that in NMac) has been the subject of scholarly discussion. In viewing the data, many have been tempted to speak of a general rule by which accent was retracted from all final open syllables to the penultimate position. The large number of lexemes which apparently remained exempt from this rule must then by "explained away", normally as the result of analogical processes. This was the position adopted by Ivković, viz. "Za nas je nesumnjiv fakt da je u ovim govorima postajao glasovni zakon o redukciji [sic] akcenta na otvorenim krajnjim slogovima" (1921:265). Exceptions to this sound law, such as 2-3sg aor forms, pronouns or numerals, had arisen, he felt, by analogy with other forms of the paradigm. Vidoeski correctly points out, however, that while the Štip-Strumica and Kukuš-Voden dialects of which Ivković spoke belong to the same accentual group of the Kumanovo-Kratovo dialect (i.e. NMac), the number of exceptions in the latter is significantly greater:

Brojot na slučaite so neprenesen akcent vo kumanovska-
ta i kratovsko-ovčepolskata govorna oblast e znatno
pogolem otkolku vo štipsko-strumičkite. (1962:109)

He thus feels that another explanation must be sought.

Belić also rejected the idea of a phonetic retraction
for the Vranje dialect:

Ima još mnogo [primera] koji pokažu da taj pojav na
južnosrbskome terenu nije fonetski. Nalazimo cele
kategorije slučajeva gde je akcenat na kraju reči,
pa se ipak ne prenosi nikad na prethodni slog, ma da
nema nikakvih specijalnih prilika koje bi to spre-
čavale. (1905a:285)

Ivić has proposed recently, however (1968-69:479),that
the source of the retraction was indeed phonetic: accent was
retracted from short open ultima but remained if the final syl-
lable was long, as in KR dialects. In support of this argu-
ment, he cites a number of NMac forms with stressed open ulti-
ma together with the corresponding KR forms, all of which show
length on the final stressed vowel. While this argument ac-
counts for such forms as ovdé and čijá, it still leaves unex-
plained the consistent accentuation of final open syllables
in 2-3sg aorist forms. By comparison with other SC dialects
we know that the final vowel in these forms is long only when
the forms have initial accent. When 2-3sg aor forms have end
stress, however, the final vowel is short. Retraction should
therefore have taken place. Thus, retention of end stress in
the aorist does not fit into a phonetically based view of par-

oxytonesis in NMac and SWTk dialects.

Leaving aside the problem of 2-3sg aor, however, Ivić's hypothesis is supported by my data from Grač: the retention of end stress in Dsg forms such as žené and snaé seems clearly due to former vowel length, as in KR dialects (the forms show the PSl Gsg desinence *-eję, contracted to -e in SC, and not the PSl Dsg desinence *-ě). But the source of end stress in 2-3sg aor forms in SWT). and NMac must be sought in paradigmatic analogy, as several of the scholars quoted above have suggested. In fact, the productive accent pattern, the extension of which accounts for end-stressed aorists in SWTk and NMac, involves both present and aorist forms. According to Belić's formulation, end stress was originally extended to forms of the aorist (other than 2-3sg) of barytonic stems on the basis of identical accent in 2-3sg in both originally circumflex and barytonic paradigms in SC:

> U ovim dijalektima takvo slaganje [of 2-3sg forms]
> je preneseno, donekle, i na druga lica: 1 l. j. i
> cele množine dobili su kod trećeg [barytonic] tipa
> prema gl. tònuti [i.e. circumflex type] akcenat na
> kraju, (B 571)

But it is the entire pres/aor accent pattern which supports the wide-scale extension of end stress in aorist forms:

> Izgleda, prema tome, da će se razvitak ovih glagola
> u ovom pravcu završiti time, što će se dobiti svega
> jedan tip sa akcentom u praes. na prvom slogu, a u
> aoristu u 2. i 3. l. j. takodje na prvom slogu, u
> ostalim na kraju. (B 571-572)

Later, he concluded, initial accent in 2-3sg forms was genera-
lized for prefixed paradigms, and final accent in 2-3sg (and
in all other forms as well) was generalized for nonprefixed
paradigms:

> Na taj smo način dobili jedan tip i kod prostih i
> kod složenih: kod prostih (ili, bolje, dvosložnih)
> sa akcentom na kraju,--kod složenih (ili, bolje,
> višesložnih) sa povlačenjem u 2. i 3. j. (B 575)

4.6   There thus seem to be two basic trends which underlie
the restructuring of Torlak accentual morphophonemics. Both
paroxytonesis and paradigmatic analogy appear to be highly
productive in Tk accentuation: the frequency of penultimate
accent in place of final accent is increasing, and the corre-
lation between morphological stem class and accent pattern is
growing stronger. The first of these trends is defined mainly
in phonetic terms (distance of the accented syllable from the
word boundary and degree of openness of the final syllable),
and the second is defined primarily in grammatical terms (the
nature of the grammatical opposition which an accentual al-
ternation implements). I see certain distinct processes at
work in each of these two general tendencies.

First, the widespread variation which I found with re-
spect to paroxytonesis during my field work appeared at the
outset to be of a random nature within any one morphological
category. Later, however, I began to notice certain correla-
tions between the socially conditioned speech styles of in-
formants and the incidence of final accent. As I outlined
earlier (sec. 1.11), I attempted in my choice of informants
to keep socially conditioned variation to a minimum. How-
ever, every informant seemed to command three fairly distinct
socially defined stylistic ranges, although the degree of com-
mand of each naturally varied from informant to informant.
The first of these may be called "varoški" or "gospod-

ski"--city, educated speech. This is the style taught in school and spoken by radio and television announcers, school-teachers, and visitors from the city. Since this is a prestigious style (particularly among the young and upwardly-mobile), many villagers try to imitate it as much as possible, and hypercorrect forms (stylistic modifications) often result.

The second style is called "seljački", or village speech. It is the normal, neutral medium of communication between villagers, especially those to whom life in the village is of central importance. They may have been to school (usually not more than four or at most eight years), and may often listen to the radio or the television or take occasional trips to town. But although they are exposed to urban civilization, they are content to remain in the village and have no aspirations towards a more urban existence.

The third style is "starinski", or archaic speech. This term describes the speech pattern of elderly people who have not been to school or travelled outside the village (except possibly for army service many years ago), and who show a strong desire to cling to old-fashioned patterns of life. Usually such people participate little in the mainstream of village life, whether because of age and infirmity, poverty, or personal desire (distrust of modern technology and social values); and they rarely watch television or pay attention to the radio. Their contact with urban civilization is limited to a minimum.

The differentiation of these three styles of speech became gradually clear to me through the sideline comments made by observers during my work with informants. The villagers themselves labelled the three styles above, and it is through their comments on their own speech that I formulated the above distinctions. For instance, if an informant volunteered a form which seemed to other villagers present to be an obvious hypercorrection produced under influence of the standard language, one of them would chide her for trying to speak "gospodski". On the other hand, when astute observers became aware that I would be writing furiously at some points in a conversation with an informant but sit with notebook and pencil idle at others, they would offer to take me to a particularly old villager, commenting that he spoke "starinski" quite well.

Thus the style of speech described in this work is essentially a mixture of "starinski" and "seljački". I was able to exclude obvious examples of "gospodski", but some less obvious ones surely remain. Moreover, I am unable to delimit the exact boundary between "seljački" and "starinski" as concerns the place of accent in any one locale. Nevertheless, the identification of these speech styles helped me to see certain social patterns to the accentual variation. Final accent on certain items is clearly marked as "starinski"; in "seljački" penultimate accent would be used more often. In many other lexical items, final accent is the "seljački" norm. Final

accent never occurs in "gospodski", however; in that style the absence of final accent is unvarying with respect to geographical locale. The identification of which lexical instances of final accent are marked as "starinski" and which are accepted in "seljački varies by geographical region, however.

The replacement of final accent by prefinal accent can thus be visualized in the following manner: Each local dialect has a central fund of lexical items and accent patterns unconsciously commanded by each speaker (these basic patterns were outlined in sections 2.28--2.30 and 3.37--3.39 above). This central fund of data represents the "seljački" style. When an informant wishes to affirm his identification with old-fashioned values and traditional village life, however, he may unconsciously switch into "starinski"; the incidence of final accent in his speech will increase. In theory, since "starinski" is the manner in which one's ancestors spoke, only etymologically correct final accents would be expected to occur. However, the possibility of hypercorrection (in this case, extension of final accent to items which did not originally have it) must not be ruled out. On the other hand, when an informant aspires to partake in all that is new, modern and urban, he will unconsciously inject 'gospodski" forms and patterns into his speech. Here, the possibility of hypercorrection, or stylistically motivated modification, is much greater, for the only rule is that final accents are taboo. (Since Tor-

lak speakers do not command the dissyllabic high tone of std
SC "rising accents", they hear such accents simply as stress
on the longer of the two syllables, which is always the first.
Therefore, word-final accent in std SC, the base of their
"gospodski" style, is not perceived by Torlak speakers.) A
number of these "gospodski"-oriented stylistic modifications
may become so integrated with time into village speech that
they enter the "seljački" store of succeeding generations.

The above statements are merely subjective impressions.
Ideally, social variation in these dialects should be the
topic of a separate study carried out with rigorous and quan-
titative methods. Nonetheless, even without such a study, I
am certain that the variation in each individual Torlak spea-
ker's dialect can be described according to social parameters,
and that such a description would confirm, at least in gen-
eral terms, the impressions outlined above. That is, while most
of the geographically defined variation between subgroups of
Torlak with respect to paroxytonesis represents differences
in the indigenous base dialects, the variation within a single
dialect appears to represent externally motivated change. The
prestigious style, for the overwhelming majority of speakers,
is that represented by the standard language, or "gospodski"
style. The adoption of penultimate accent in place of final
accent by a large number of speakers, even if this style remains
marked as "gospodski" and non-indigenous, will probably eventu-
ally become part of the unmarked village style. One cannot

tell, of course, at what rate such change has taken place in
the past (for instance, how much of the spread of the neo-
štokavian ictus retraction or the NMac stress retraction can
be ascribed to such factors?), but it is certain that its
rate is now being accelerated because of the rapid spread of
mass communication and urbanization.

Paradigmatic analogy, on the other hand, is independent
of stylistic variation. It represents a much more fundamental
type of linguistic restructuring. Of the accent patterns dis-
cussed above, those which appear to be the most productive,
both in terms of the geographical area encompassed by their
extension and the degree of their spread throughout the lexi-
con, are those which implement major grammatical oppositions
by means of a difference in place of accent. Specifically,
accent pattern (m/ɔ) in feminine a-declension nouns, accent
pattern (m) in neuter nouns and accent pattern (m) in mascu-
line nouns in -əc have all been extended to a greater number
of stems. The common feature of these accent patterns is an
opposition of end stress in the singular to stem stress in
the plural. Similarly, in verbal accentuation, accent patterns
$(m/_{Ma})$ and $(n/_{Ma})$ have been extended to a significantly grea-
ter number of vocalic and obstruent stems, respectively. The
common feature of these two accent patterns is the difference
in place of accent between present and aorist: in $(m/_{Ma})$ aor-
ist forms are end-stressed and present forms are stem-stressed;

in $(n/_{Ma})$ the pattern is the reverse. In each case, the accent pattern which has been extended is that which implements the primary grammatical opposition--sg/pl in nouns and pres/ aor in verbs. That this extension (productivity) finds at least part of its source in the importance of these grammatical oppositions is beyond doubt.

Other accent patterns whose domain has been significantly extended in Torlak also concern major grammatical oppositions. The extension of (Ma) to all prefixed (perfective) paradigms of the aorist vs. its curtailment in all nonprefixed (imperfective) aorist paradigms, for instance, reflects the opposition perfective/imperfective; and the extension of the `"-t"` component of nominal accent patterns in ETk reflects the definite/indefinite opposition.

A description of the process commonly termed "analogy" has been formulated in terms of the productivity and nonproductivity of morphophonemic rules by Andersen (1969). Following both this work and Andersen 1973, I submit that the spread of a productive pattern can be visualized in the following manner: The linguistic command of every Torlak speaker includes the association of each nominal or verbal stem with a specific accent pattern. Within certain stem classes, this identification of stem with accent pattern must be formulated more explicitly for some accent patterns than for others. That is, the various possible accent patterns which a stem might exhibit stand in a marked/unmarked relationship to one another. In the case

of feminine a-declension nouns, for instance, it appears that
an accent pattern which specifies that singular and plural
must both be accented on the same (desinential) syllable is
more marked than one in which there is a difference in place
of accent emphasizing the opposition between singular and
plural. The fact that mobile accent serves a grammatical
function while fixed accent does not makes this interpreta-
tion of the markedness relationship more plausible than the
reverse.

As each new generation of speakers formulates its lin-
guistic code, some will fail to identify certain stems for
the "proper" accent pattern, in this case a sg/pl pattern with
fixed accent. These stems will automatically become mobile,
for this is the unmarked, productive pattern in this stem class.
Repetition of this learning cycle from one generation to the
next leads to the extension of the mobile accent pattern
throughout the store of feminine a-declension nouns. A simi-
lar process takes place in the extension of other accent pat-
terns. In an overwhelming number of cases, the fundamental
principle appears to be the identification of an accent pat-
tern which serves a grammatical function as unmarked and pro-
ductive, as opposed to one which does not serve such a func-
tion. I consider this strong evidence in support of the tele-
ology of linguistic change, provided that one means by this
teleology of function (cf. Andersen 1973:789).

NOTES

1. Ivić 1961 estimates that there are over 150 distinct systems represented within the SC speech area.

2. See Ivić 1962 for a more complete discussion and for examples of specific dialectal systems exhibiting these different types of accentuation.

3. Both of these traits represent structural innovations which appear to have come about through the intense contact of Balkan languages, both Slavic (Bulgarian, Macedonian and the Torlak dialects of SC) and non-Slavic (Rumanian, Albanian, modern Greek, and to a lesser extent Turkish), known as the Balkan Sprachbund. The classic work on the Balkan linguistic alliance is Sandfeld 1930. So much subsequent work has been done in this area that there are now entire journals devoted to these problems, such as Zeitschrift für Balkanologie (published in Wiesbaden).

4. See, for instance, Bidwell 1968, Ivić 1965, Naylor 1969, Nikolić 1961-62.

5. The dilemma of system vs. variation was summarized aptly by Weinreich 1954 as "Is a Structural Dialectology Possible?". See also Stankiewicz 1957, Ivić 1962, and Ivić 1963.

6. Vuk's 1818 edition lists "Torlak" as "ein Grosssprecher, gloriosus." The 1852 and later editions repeat this entry and add "Torlak: čovjek koji niti govori čisto Srpski ni Bugarski."

7. Cf. Urošević 1965:21.

8. Cf. Sapir 1921:128.

9. Cf, in particular Ivić and Lehiste 1963, 1965, 1967, 1969 and 1970, and Rehder 1968.

NOTES, p. 2

10. Many scholars now mark SC accent in this way, accounting
    for ictus by a phonetic rule specifying prominence on the
    preceding syllable. Cf. Browne and McCawley 1965, Garde
    1966, Ivić 1965, Stankiewicz 1966.

11. Cf. for Tk Belić 1905a:271--"Akcenat je svih ovih dijale-
    kata ekspiratoran: jedan se slog po jačini glasa ističe
    medju ostalim", and for std SC Lehiste and Ivić 1963.

12. This hierarchy correspons to that presented by Ivić
    (1958:105) in his description of accentual isoglosses
    between štokavian dialects.

13. Generativists like Lunt and Halle reject this distinction,
    holding that most phonological alternations do not require
    reference to morphological category.

14. This criterion was first introduced into morphophonemic
    studies by Bloomfield (1939). For studies of Slavic ac-
    centual morphophonemics of this type, see Stankiewicz
    1963, 1966, 1968.

15. The best example of this approach is Halle 1973; see also
    Lunt 1966, 1975.

16. Usually, the last accentable syllable is the first or only
    syllable of the desinence. In some cases, however,
    the second syllable of a dissyllabic desinence appears to
    be accentable (e.g. 1pl pres <u>bež--i-mó</u> in certain dia-
    lects). In other instances, the only syllable of the des-
    inence is unaccentable, e.g. aor pl desinences: <u>nosí--mo</u>,
    <u>nosí--s-te</u>, <u>nosí--š-e</u> (1-3pl aor). (In this work, double
    hyphens separate stem and desinence; single hyphens sepa-
    rate morphemes within stem or desinence.

17. Stang 1957. Proto-Slavic accentual paradigms to which
    this study makes reference are determined on the basis of this

NOTES, p. 3

work, as well as Leskien 1914, Sadnik 1959, Jaksche
1965, Illič-Svityč 1963, Kolesov 1962 and Dybo 1958,
1962, 1968, 1969a, 1969b, 1971.

18. Kiparsky 1973 refers to these as "central" and "margi-
    nal" alternations, respectively.

19. Cf Belić 1905a:356.

20. The stem <u>vide</u> has a similar conjugation in all the Tor-
    lak dialects which I investigated. All other members
    of this verb class (III) have regular <u>e</u>-stem conjugations
    in Tk. In certain WBg and NMac dialects, however, some
    of them are attested with aorist formations of the obstru-
    ent stem type, e.g. <u>istarpó</u> (1sg aor) in Novo Selo (Vidin),
    <u>doletóha</u> (3pl aor) in Lokorsko near Sofia (both WBg), and
    <u>izgorómo</u> (1pl aor) in Kumanovo (NMac). See below for
    further discussion, sec. 3.15.

21. If one were to consider the Vsg desinence unaccentable,
    a paradigm such as Nsg <u>ovčár</u>, Asg <u>ovčará</u>, Vsg <u>ovčáre</u>
    could then be described as oxytonic. The few instances
    of desinential stress in Vsg cited above, however, sug-
    gest caution in this respect.

22. On the possible correlation of the category of animateness
    and Nsg-Asg oxytonesis in feminine <u>a</u>-declension nouns,
    see Stankiewicz 1973.

23. NSV accentuation does appear to be more closely connected
    with morphological stem class than this statement of Mla-
    denov's would suggest, however. See Lunt 1975 and chapter
    4 below.

24. The dialect texts given in S. Mladenov's 1901 article on
    NSV give additional information but are still too frag-
    mentary to be of much use.

NOTES, p. 4

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25. In these and numerous other instances it is not possible
    to reconstruct PS1 accent with certainty. For the pur-
    poses of comparison, I have tentatively identified each
    of the questionnaire items as belonging to one of the
    three PS1 accent paradigms but these identifications
    are at best only working hypotheses. More reliable
    reconstruction of the accentuation of individual PS1
    lexical items remains a task for the future.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF JOURNALS

ASPh	<u>Archiv für slavische Philologie</u>. Berlin.
BD	<u>Bəlgarska dialektologija, proučvanija i materiali</u>. Sofia, BAN.
BE	<u>Bəlgarski ezik</u>. Sofia, BAN.
CTL	<u>Current Trends in Linguistics</u>, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok. The Hague.
FL	<u>Folia Linguistica</u>. The Hague, Societas Linguistica Europaea.
GjA	<u>Gjurmime Albanologjike</u>. Priština.
GlSKA	<u>Glas Srpske kraljevske akademije</u>. Belgrade.
GJPD	<u>Glasnik jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva</u>.
GFFNS	<u>Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta</u>. Novi Sad.
GdSKA	<u>Godišnjak Srpske kraljevske akademije</u>. Belgrade.
HDZ	<u>Hrvatski dijalektološki zbornik</u>. Zagreb, JAZU.
ISS	<u>Indiana Slavic Studies</u>. Bloomington, Indiana University.
IJSLP	<u>International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics</u>. 's-Gravenhage.
IIBE	<u>Izvestija na Instituta za bəlgarski ezik</u>. Sofia, BAN.
ISSF	<u>Izvestija na Seminara po slavjanska filologija pri Universiteta v Sofia</u>. Sofia.
JF	<u>Južnoslovenski filolog</u>. Belgrade, Institut za srpski jezik Srpske akademije nauka.
KnJ	<u>Književnost i jezik, časopis za srpskohrvatski jezik i književnost</u>. Belgrade.
Lg	<u>Language</u>. Baltimore. Linguistic Society of America.
LZ	<u>Literaturen zbor, spisanie na Društvoto za makedonski jazik i literatura</u>. Skopje.
MJ	<u>Makedonski jazik</u>. Skopje, Katedra za južnoslovenski jazici pri Filosofskiot fakultet vo Skopje.
NJ	<u>Naš jezik</u>.N. s. Belgrade. Institut za srpski jezik Srpske akademije nauka.
OLA	<u>Obščeslavjanskij lingvističeskij atlas</u>. Moscow, Institut russkogo jazyka AN SSSR.
Orbis	<u>Orbis, bulletin international de documentation linguistique</u>. Louvain, Centre international de dialectologie générale près l'université catholique de Louvain.
PPJ	<u>Prilozi proučavanju jezika</u>. Novi Sad, Katedra za južnoslovenske jezike Filozofskog fakulteta.
RPAU	<u>Rocznik Polskiej akademji umiejętności</u>. Kraków.
RS	<u>Rocznik slawistyczny - Revue slavistique</u>. Kraków, Słowiańsky Uniwersytet Jagiellońskiego.

SbBAN	Sbornik na Belgarskata akademija na naukite. Sofia.
SbS	Sbornik po slavjanovedeniju. Saint Petersburg, Impera-torska akademija nauk.
SbNU	Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija i narodopis. Sofia.
ScSl	Scando-slavica. Copenhagen.
Slavia	Slavia, časopis pro slovanskou filologii. Prague.
SSl	Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie. Moscow, Institut slav-janovedenija AN SSSR.
SDZ	Srpski dijalektološki zbornik. Belgrade.
SEZ	Srpski etnografski zbornik. Belgrade.
SMBD	Stat'i i materialy po bolgarskoj dialektologii. Moscow, Institut slavjanovedenija AN SSSR.
TCLP	Travaux du cercle linguistique de Prague. Prague.
UIK	Universitetskija izvestija. Kiev.
VJa	Voprosy jazykoznanija. Moscow, Institut jazykozna-nija AN SSSR.
VSJa	Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija. Moscow, Institut slavjanovedenija AN SSSR.
VrG	Vranjski glasnik. Vranje, Narodni muzej.
Word	Word. New York, Linguistic Circle of New York.
ZFL	Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku. Novi Sad, Lin-gvistička sekcija Matice srpske.

APPENDIX

The reference materials contained in this section are
the following:

1) Charts 1-33 (pp. 575--742) which summarize the ac-
centuation of nouns, adjectives and verbs in 20 specific areas
of southeastern Serbian, northeastern Macedonian and western
Bulgarian dialects;

2) Index lists (pp. 744--793) giving the exact lati-
tude and longitude co-ordinates of all Serbian, Macedonian
and Bulgarian villages mentioned in Todorov 1936, Belić 1905a,
Popov 1940 and in this work;

3) The complete questionnaire list (pp. 796--806) uti-
lized in preparing this work, together with English glosses
of each item:

4) A fold-out map of the area under discussion, showing
political boundaries, dialect boundaries, major towns and ri-
vers, and villages visited in the preparation of this work.

The CHARTS are laid out as follows:

The 20 geographical target points are listed across the top of the page in approximate west-to-east order. Each chart consists of at least three pages. Pages whose designation includes the letter "a" always concern the following areas:

NE KR	(northeastern Kosovo-Resava dialects of the Trstenik-Resava-Levač area)
SW KR	(southwestern Kosovo-Resava dialects of the Vučitrn area)
Pas	(Pasjarie, SWTk region)
Dvor	(Dvorane, SWTk region)
Grač	(Gračanica, SWTk region)
NMac	(northern Macedonian dialects of the Kumanovo area)
Trg	(Trgovište, SWTk region)

Pages bearing the letter "b" always refer to the following areas:

Šil	(Šilovo, CWTk region)
Šarb	(Šarbanovac, CWTk region)
Kr	(Krastavče, ETk region)
VR	(Vlasina Rid, ETk region)
Čin	(Činiglavci, ETk region)
CTim	(dialects of the central Timok valley region of ETk)
TWBg	(transitional [č-dž] western Bulgarian dialects)

Pages with the letter "c" always concern the following areas:

NSV	(the dialect of Novo Selo near Vidin in extreme northwestern Bulgaria)
Kjus	(central western Bulgarian dialects of the Kjustendil area)

EMac (eastern Macedonian dialects of the Kriva
       Palanka-Delčevo region)

Sof   (central western Bulgarian dialects of the
       Sofija region)

CWBg (central western Bulgarian dialects outside
       the Sofija and Kjustendil area)

NWBg (northwestern Bulgarian dialects excluding
       Novo Selo, Vidin)

(These target points are more fully defined above in sec.
1.18, pp. 74-77.)

   The only exception to this layout pattern is chart 5,
which treats the def/indef opposition in nouns; it is by defi-
nition restricted to a smaller area and is summarized on a
single page. This chart, however, is subdivided to treat the
different stem-classes separately: chart 5a summarizes the
def/indef opposition in feminine a-declension nouns; chart
5b concerns neuter nouns, and so on.

   Lexical items are listed down the left-handside of
each page. If the number of entries exceeds the length of a
single page, as is usually the case, subsequent pages are num-
bered in order. For instance, pages 1a, 2a and 3a of chart
1 give information about the Nsg/Asg accentual relationship
in all feminine a-declension nouns on the questionnaire list
for areas in KR, SWTk and NMac; pages 1b, 2b and 3b of chart
1 give the same information for CWTk, ETk and TWBg; and pages
1c, 2c and 3c treat this topic in EMac and other WBg dialects.
Within the page number of each chart, therefore, the numeral

refers to the vertical order of the separate pages and the letter to the horizontal order. I am aware, of course, that if all of the information conveyed by each chart could have· been included on a single page, it would have made the data much more easily accessible to the reader, and I regret that this was not possible. The reader must instead imagine a large matrix whose horizontal axis consists of the alphabetical sequence "a,b,c" (ordered from left to right) and whose vertical axis consists of the numerical sequence "1,2,3...n" (ordered top to bottom).

The meaning of the symbols used in each chart and the significance of their placement are discussed above in sec. 1.18, pp. 77-79. For the form of entry citations, see pp. 71-72.

Chart 1, p. 1a

Nsg/Asg in feminine a-declension nouns

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	vȁška	b	b	b		b	(b)	b/o
o	brázda	(o)	(b)	b		b	b	b/m /o
o	bùha	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/m
o	žèna	b	b	b		b*/m	(b)	o/n /o
o	zvézda	o	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/o
o	zmìja	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/o
o	kòza	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	o
o	mùha	(b)	b	b		b	(b)	b/o
o	óvca	(o)	b	b		b	(b)	o/m
o	òsa	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/o
o	pčela	(b)	b	b		b	(b)	b/o
o	réka	o	b	b		b	b	b
o	svéća	o	b	b		b	b	o
o	svínja	o	(b)	b		b	(b)	(b)

Chart 1, p. 2a

Nsg/Asg in feminine a-declension nouns

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
o	sèstra	b	b	b		b	b	b/o
o	sùza	(b)	b	b		b	(b)	b/o
o	snàha	(b)	b	b		b	(b)	bm
o	tórba	o	b	b		b	(b)	b
o	tráva	(o)	b	b		b	(b)	b
M	vòda	b M	b	b		b	b	b / b M
M	gláva	oM	(b)	b		b	m	b / b o
M	gòra	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b m
M	gréda	o	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/m
M	zèmlja	b	(b)	b		b	b	b / o n
M	zíma	o	(b)	b		b	(b)	b
M	zòra	M*	(b)	b		b	(b)	b
M	ìgla	(b)	b	b		b	(b)	b/o
M	kòsa [hair]	(b)	b	b		b	(b)	b

Chart 1, p. 3a

Nsg/Asg in feminine a-declension nouns

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
M	kòsa [scythe]	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/o
M	màgla	(b)	(b)				(b)	b/o
M	mèdja	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/$\overset{o}{m}$
M	nòga	M*	b	b		b	b	b/o
M	péta	o	(o)	b		b	(b)	b/o
M	ròsa	om	b	b		b	(b)	b
M	rúka	$\overset{O}{M}$	M*	b		b	(b)	b/m
M	planìna	B	b	b			b (B)	(B)

Chart 1, p. 1b

Nsg/Asg in feminine a-declension nouns

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	vằška	o	o	o	o	b	(o)	
o	brázda	o	o	o	o	o	o	
o	bùha	o	b/m /o	m	o	o	o	
o	žena	o	o	o	o/m	o	o	om
o	zvézda	o	(o)	o	o	o	o	m
o	zmìja	o	b/o		o		o	o
o	kòza	o	b/o	o	o	o		o
o	mùha	o/m	(b)		o	o		
o	óvca	o	o		o		o	o
o	òsa	o	b	o	o	o	m	
o	pčela	o	b/o	o	o		o/m	
o	réka	b	b	b	o/M	o	m	M*
o	svéća	o	o	o	o	o	o	m
o	svínja	o			o	o	o	Mo

Chart 1, p. 2b

Nsg/Asg in feminine a-declension nouns

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
o	sèstra	o	o	o	o		o	o
o	sùza	b	b/o					
o	snàha	o	b/o	o	o	o	(o)	o
o	tórba		b	b	o			o
o	tráva	b	b		m	m	M	b
M	vòda	b	b/m	bm M	M	M	M	M
M	gláva	b	M/m	m	m	m M	M	Mo
M	gòra	b	b	m	m	o m	M	M
M	gréda	o	on	o	o	m	o m	
M	zèmlja	b	b		M		m	m
M	zíma	b	b	o	o	o	o m	
M	zòra	M*	b	M	o	m		
M	ìgla	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
M	kòsa [hair]	b	b/o	m	m	m		(b/m)

Chart 1, p. 3b

Nsg/Asg in feminine a-declension nouns

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
M	kòsa [scythe]	o	om			o		(b/m)
M	màgla	o	b	o	o	o	o	(m)
M	mèdja	o	b/o	o	o	o	o	
M	mètla	o	(o/n)/o	o	o	o	o	
M	nòga	m	b/m	m	m	m	m	M
M	péta	o	o	o	o	(o)	o/m	
M	ròsa	b		o		o	m	(m)
M	rúka	b	(b/M)/m	m	m/M	M	m	b/M*
M	planìna	Bb	M*	B	B	B		

Chart 1, p. 1c

Nsg/Asg in feminine a-declension nouns

		NSV	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
b	vȁška	o					
o	brázda						o
o	bùha	o					
o	žena	o		b m			om
o	zvézda	o					o
o	zmìja	o					o
o	kòza	o					o
o	mùha	o					
o	óvca	o		o m			o
o	òsa	o					
o	pčela						
o	réka						
o	svéća	o					
o	svínja	o					

Chart 1, p. 2c

<u>Nsg/Asg in feminine a-declension nouns</u>

		NSV	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
o	sèstra	o				o	
o	sùza	o					
o	snàha	(o)					o
o	tórba	o					o
o	tráva	b					b o
M	vòda	b		M m o	(M*)		M*
M	gláva	b	(M)	b m	(M)		m
M	gòra						om
M	gréda	o					
M	zèmlja		(b)				o
M	zíma	b					
M	zòra						
M	ìgla	o					o
M	kòsa [hair]	o					(om)

Chart 1, p. 3c

Nsg/Asg in feminine a-declension nouns

		NSV	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
M	kòsa [scythe]	o					(om)
M	màgla						
M	mèdja						
M	mètla						
M	nòga	b	(M)				
M	péta	(o)					
M	ròsa	o					
M	rǔka	b					M*
M	planìna						

Chart 2, p. 1a

Sg/pl in feminine a-declension nouns

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	vàska	b	b	b		b	(b)	b/m
o	brázda	(o)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/m / m
o	žena	(b)	b	b		b / m	b	m
o	zvézda	m	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/m
o	réka	(o)	b	b		b	(b)	b
o	svéća	(o)	b	b		b	(b)	m
o	sèstra	b	b	b		b	b	b/m / m
M	bùha	b	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/m
M	vòda	b	b	b		b	b	b / b/m
M	glàva	om	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/m
M	gòra	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b / m
M	gréda	om	(b)				(b)	b/m
M	zèmlja	b	(b)	b		b	(b)	b
M	zíma	om	(b)	b		b	(b)	b

-585-

Chart 2, p. 2a

Sg/pl in feminine a-declension nouns

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
M	zmìja	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/m
M	zòra	b	(b)	b		b	(b)	b
M	ìgla	(b)	b	b		b	(b)	b/o
M	kòza	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	m
M	kòsa [hair]	(b)	b	b		b	(b)	b
M	kòsa [scythe]	(b)	b	b		b	(b)	m
M	màgla	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/m
M	mèdja	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/m
M	mètla	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	m
M	mùha	(b)	b	b		b	(b)	b/m
M	nòga	M	M*	b		M*	b	b/m
M	óvca	(om)	b	b		b	(b)	m
M	òsa	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/m
M	péta	om	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/m

Chart 2, p. 3a

Sg/pl in feminine a-declension nouns

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
M	pčela	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/m
M	ròsa	om	b	b		b	(b)	b
M	rúka	M	M*	b		b	b	M*/m
M	svínja	m	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/m
M	snàha	(b)	b	b		b	(b)	b m
M	sùza	b	b	b		b	(b)	b/m
M	tórba	(om)	b	b		b	(b)	b
M	tráva	(om)	b	b		b	(b)	(b)
M	planìna	(b)	b	b		b	($^{b}_{B}$)	B

Chart 2, p. 1b

Sg/pl in feminine a-declension nouns

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	vȁška	m	m	m	m	b	m	
o	brázda	m	m	m	m	m	m	
o	žèna	m	m	m	m	m	mo	mo
o	zvézda	m	m	m	m	m	m	
o	réka	b	b	b	m	m	m	m
o	svéća	m	m	o	m	m	m	m
o	sèstra	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
M	bùha	m	m/b	m	m	m	m	
M	vòda	b	b/m	m	m	m	m	m
M	gláva	b	m/b	m	m	m	m	m
M	gòra	b	b	m	(m)	m	m	m
M	gréda	m	bm	m	m	m	m	
M	zèmlja	b	b				m	m
M	zíma	b	b	m	m	m	m	

Chart 2, p. 2b

Sg/pl in feminine a-declension nouns

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
M	zmìja	m	b/m		m	m		
M	zòra	b	b	m	m	m	(m)	
M	ìgla	m	m	o	m	m	m	m
M	kòza	m	m/b /m	m	m	m	(m)	m
M	kòsa [hair]	b	b/m	m	m	m		(m)
M	kòsa [scythe]	m	b/m /m			(m)		
M	màgla	m/b	b	(m)	(m)	m	m	(m)
M	mèdja	m	b/m	m	m	m	m	
M	mètla	m	m/b /m	m	m	m	m	(m)
M	mùha	m	b	m	m	m		m
M	nòga	m	b/m	m/M	m	M	m	M
M	óvca	m	m	(m)	m	(m)	m	m
M	òsa	m	b	m	m	m	m	
M	péta	m	m	m	m	m	m	

Chart 2, p. 3b

Sg/pl in feminine a-declension nouns

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
M	pčela	m	b/m	m	m		(m)	
M	ròsa	b	(m)	m	(m)	o	m	
M	rúka	b	b/M /m	m	m	m	m	M*
M	svínja	m	(m)		(m)	m	m	
M	snàha	m	b/m	m	m	m	o/m	m
M	sùza	b	b/m	m	m	m	m	(b)
M	tórba		b		m			m
M	tráva	(b)	(b)		(m)	(m)	m	b
M	planìna	(B/b)	(b)	B/b	B	B	M	B

Chart 2, p. 1c

Sg/pl in feminine a-declension nouns

		NSV	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
b	vàska	m	b		b	b	
o	brázda		o	m	o	m	
o	žena	o	m	m/b o	o	m	o
o	zvézda	m	m	m	b m	m	m
o	réka		b	m	b	b	o
o	svéća	o					m
o	sèstra	o	m	m	o m	m	o
M	bùha	m	m	mb			m
M	vòda	b			bn	b	b
M	glàva	b	b	b	b n		b
M	gòra		b	(m)	n	b	o
M	gréda	m	b	m	b	m	m
M	zêmlja		b		b		b o
M	zíma					b	b
	zime		b	b	o		

00046960

Chart 2, p. 2c

Sg/pl in feminine a-declension nouns

		NSV	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
M	zmìja	m		mo	mb		(m)
M	zòra			b	b		(m)
M	ìgla	m	m	m	b	m	m
M	kòza	o	m	m	o / m	m	o
M	kòsa	(b)		b	b	m	o
M	kòsa	o	o	m / b	b	(m)	o
M	màgla		m	(m)	on	b / o	o
M	mêdja	m	m	m	b	m	m
M	mètla	m	m	m	b	m	m
M	mùha	m	b	b / m	n		b / m
M	nòga	b	M*	b	M*	b	m
M	óvca	m	m	m	mo	m	m
M	òsa	o	m	mb		m	
M	péta		b		m	o	o

Chart 2, p. 3c

Sg/pl in feminine a-declension nouns

		NSV	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
M	pčela		m	m			o
M	ròsa	o	o m	(o m)		o	
M	rúka	b	M*	b	b		b
M	svínja	m	m	b m	m	m	b m
M	snàha	(o)	b	b m	o n		o
M	sùza	m	b		m	b	b
M	tórba	o	m			o	m
M	tráva	b	b		b n	b	mb
M	planìna			B	o b B		B

Chart 3, p. la
Sg/pl in neuter nouns

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grac	NMac	Trg
ɔ	vlákno	(o)	(b)	b*			(b)	b/m
ɔ	gnjézdo	(o)	b	b		b	b	b/m
ɔ	gúmno	(o)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b
ɔ	kŕlo	(o)	b			b	(b)	b/$\overset{o}{m}$
m	vèdro	(b)	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/$\overset{o*}{m}$
m	rèbro	b	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/m
m	sèlo	b n	(b)	b		b	(b)	m
n	bȑdo	(b)	(b)	(b)		b	(b)	b
n	dȑvo	b	(b)	b		b	(b)	b/n
n	žȉto	(b)	(b)	b		(b)	(b)	b
b	vrȅlo	(b)	(b)	(b)		(b)	(b)	
b	zȑno	(b)	(b)	b		(b)	(b)	
b	kȍlo	b	b	b		b	(b)	b
b	sȉto	(b)	b	b*		b	(b)	b

-594-

Chart 3, p. 2a

Sg/pl in neuter nouns

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	ȍko	b	b	b		b	(b)	b
b	ȕvo	b	b	b		b	(b)	b
m	vréme	ɔ	(b)				n b*	b
N	vȉme		(b)	b*		b*		b*
N	ȉme		(b)	b*		b	b*	b* n*
N	rȁme			b	n*		b*		b*

-595-

Chart 3, p. 1b

Sg/pl in neuter nouns

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
o	vlákno	o*	m	m	m	m	m	m
o	gnjézdo	m	m	m	m	o m	m	(m)
ɔ	gúmno	b	b		m			
o	krílo	m	m	m m*	m	b n		
m	vèdro	m	b m	o	o	ɔ	m	
m	rèbro	o* m	m	m	m	m		
m	sèlo	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
n	brdo	b	b	b	b	b		
n	drvo	b	b	b*	m o	b	m	bo
n	žíto		b	b	b	b		(b)
b	vrelo	b	b	b	ɔ	om		
b	zrno	b		b	b	b		
b	kòlo			m o*	o	o*		(b)
b	síto	b	(b)	(b)	b	(b)		
b	òko	b	b	b	b	b		

Chart 3, p. 2b

Sg/pl in neuter nouns

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	ůvo	b* b	b	b	b	b		(b)
m	vréme			n		b		n
N	vǐme	b*	n*	b*	n*	b* n*		
N	íme	b*		b*	n	n*		
N	rǎme	b*			b	b		b* n*

Chart 3, p. 1c

Sg/pl in neuter nouns

		NSV	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
o	vlákno		b	b / m		o	ob
o	gnjézdo		b	b / m	n	o / m	o
o	gúmno	b*	b*		b	b	
o	krílo	m	b	b*	o / o*		b / o
m	vedro	m		b	o	m	bo
m	rebro	m	b	m	o	m	o / m
m	selo	m	bm	b	nb / om	b	b / n
n	brdo	b	b		b		b
n	drvo	m	b / n	bn	b / m N*		b
n	žito	B*	b		n	n	n
b	vrelo						(m)
b	zrno	m					
b	kolo	o*	b	(m)	o*	o	o / o*
b	sito	b*	b				b

Chart 3, p. 2c

Sg/pl in neuter nouns

		NSV	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
b	ȍko	b	mb	b	b	b	b n
b	ȕvo	b	b m	o m	b	b	b
M	vréme		N*	b* o* n*	b		N
N	vȉme	b		b* m*		N	
N	ȉme	b	b*			N	N
N	rȁme	b*	N*	b			N

Chart 4, p. 1a

Sg/pl in masculine nouns in a consonant

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	zêc	(mb)		B*		B*	(B)	B*
b	zîd	mb	(b)	b		b	(b)	b
b	kûm	b	(b)	b		b	(b)	b
b	mîš	(b)	(b)	b b*		n	(b)	b
b	mûž	b	(b)	b		b	(b)	b*
b	rôg	(mb)	b	b		b	(b)	b
b	svàt	(b)	b	b		b	b	b
b	sîn	b	b	b		b	(b)	b
n	vêpar	(<u>n</u>)	(<u>n</u>)	<u>n</u>		<u>n</u>	(n)	<u>n</u>
n	dôm	b	(n)	b		b	b	
n	nôs	b	(n)	b		b	(b)	b
o	vô	n	(n)	n		n	n	n
o	koš	n	n	n		n	(b)	n
o	krâlj	o	(n)	b		b	(b)	b

Chart 4, p. 2a

Sg/pl in masculine nouns in a consonant

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
o	nôž	n	(n)	b		n	b	n
o	pôp	n	n	n		n	n	n
o	òganj	n	(n̲)	B		n	(b*)	B*
o	kônj	b	b	b		b	b	m / b
o	kòtao	(n)	n*	n̲*		n*	B*/b*	b / n*
o	pétao	(o*)	n*	n̲*		n*	B/b	m/o*
o	òrao	o*	n*	n̲*		b*	B/b	b
o	rúčak	(o)	(B)			B	B/b	b / B
o	vrábac	(o)	B	B			B/b	B/b
o	kòlac	(o)	B	B		b	B/b	b
o	môljac	(o)	B	B		B	B/b	(b)
o	svétac	(o)	B	B		b	B/b	b
m	vénac	om	B	B		B	B/b	b / B
m	jùnac	(m)	B	B		b	B/b	b

Chart 4, p. 3a

Sg/pl in masculine nouns in a consonant

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
m	lȍnac	B	(B)	B		B	(b)	B
m	kȍnac	B	Bb	B		b	B/b	b/B /b
o	govèdār	(o)	(b)	b		b	(B̲)	b
o	dȑvār	(o)	(b)	b		b	b / o	(B̲)
B	dȕvar		(b)	B		B	(B̲)	B
o	jȕnāk	(o)	(b)	b		b	(B̲)	b
o	kòvāč	(o)	b	b		b	(B̲)	b
o	kòpāč	(o)	(b)	b		b	(B̲)	b
o	kòsāč	(o)	(b)	b		b	(B̲)	b
o	òvčār	(o)	(b)	b		b	B̲	b
o	svȉnjār	(o)	(b)	b		b	(B̲)	b

Chart 4, p. 1b

<u>Sg/pl in masculine nouns in a consonant</u>

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	zêc	B*	B*	B*	B*	B*		
b	zîd	b	b	b	b	b		
b	kûm	b	b	b	N	N	b	N
b	mîš	n*	b	b	b	b		
b	mûž	b*	b b*		b*			n
b	rôg	b	b*		b	(b)		bn
b	svât	b	b	b	b	b	(b)	
b	sîn	b	b	b	b	b	(b)	b
n	vêpar	o						
	vepr-		o		o			
n	dôm	b		b	b	b		
n	nôs	b	b		b			
o	vô	o	o	o	o	o	(o)	on
o	kôš	n	n	n	n	n		

Chart 4, p. 2b

Sg/pl in masculine nouns in a consonant

	Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
o krȃlj	b	b	b	b	n	bn	
o nȁž	n	n	n	n	n	(n)	b*
o pȍp	o n	n	o	n	o	o	o
o ȍganj	n̲	(n̲)	n̲			n̲	(o)
ognj-				o	o		(o)
o kȍnj	m	m	m	o	m	m	o
o kȍtao	n*		o* m	o*	o*	(o*)	(o*)
o pétao	o*	o*	o*	o*	o*	o*	(o)*
o ȍrao	o*	o*	o*m*	o*	o*	o*	m
o rúčak	b*	b* n*	(n*)	b*	(n*)		
o vrábac		o	o	o	m	(m)	
o kȍlac	b	m	b	m	m	m	(m)
o mȍljac	m	o	o m	o m	o	(m)	
o svétac	b o	o	o	o	o	(m)	

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-604-

Chart 4, p. 3b

Sg/pl in masculine nouns in a consonant

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
m	vénac	b	o	b B	m	m	(m)	
m	jùnac	m	m	m	m	m	o m	
m	lònac	B		B	B	B	(m)	
m	kònac	m	m	m	m	(m)	(m)	
o	govèdār	b	o	b o	o	o	o	o
o	dŕvār	b	b o	b	n	o	mo	o
B	dȕvar	B	B	b	B	B	N B	B
o	jùnāk	b	b	b	b	b	m	(o)
o	kòvāč	b	o	b n	o	m	(o)	
o	kòpāč		o n	n	o	o		
o	kòsāč	b	o	b n	o	o		o
o	òvčār	b	o	o	o	o	o	o
o	svìnjār	b	o		o	o	o	o

Chart 4, p. 1c

Sg/pl in masculine nouns in a consonant

		NSV	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
b	zêc						B*
b	zîd		b		b		N
b	kûm	n		b	N	b* N / n	
b	mȉš	m*					
b	mûž	b* / n	b*		n* / b*n	b*	b*n*
b	rôg	b*		n	ḃ		N (n*)
b	svȁt	b			ƅ	bN	b
b	sîn	b	b	b		b*	N / b
n	vȅpar	o		b*			
n	dôm	b	b		n		b
n	nôs		b	b / n	n		n
o	vô	ɔ	n	n	n	nb	n
ɔ	kȍš		n	bn		b / n	nb
o	krâlj				b		

Chart 4, p. 2c

Sg/pl in masculine nouns in a consonant

		NSV	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
o	nôž	n	nb	b n	n	nb	n
ɔ	pȍp		n	bn	n	nb	o
o	òganj			(b*)			n̲
o	kȍnj	m	b	b	b m ɔ*	o	m* o* o
o	kòtao	o*	b	bm	(o)	mo	m
o	pétao	o*	m o	m	ɔ	m	m* m ɔ*
o	òrao			m	ɔ* ɔ	m n*	
o	rúčak				(ɔ*)		
o	vrábac	(m)		Bm			
o	kôlec	m		m	(m)		B (n̲)
o	mȍljac			b	mB		b
o	svétac		ɔ	o	m o		o
m	vénac	ɔ*		Bm	(m)		
m	jùnac			B bm	(m)		m

Chart 4, p. 3c

Sg/pl in masculine nouns in a consonant

		NSV	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
m	kònac	m		m			
o	govèdār		o	(b/n)	(o)	(o)	(m)
o	dr̀vār		·		(o)		
B	dùvar	n			(o)		
o	jùnāk				(o)		
o	kòvāč			b/n	(o)		
o	kɔ̀pāč				(o)	o	o*
o	kòsāč		o		o		
o	ɔvčār	o			o	o	ɔ*
o	svìnjār		b/o		(o)	o	b

Chart 5a, p. 1

Def/indef in nouns, feminine a-declension

		Čin	CTim	TWBg	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
vàška	(sg)	b						b	
	(pl)	b						b	
bùha	(sg)	(o)			o	$\frac{N}{o}$			
	(pl)	N			N				
brázda	(sg)	(o)			o	o	o	o	o
	(pl)	N			o		o	N	o
vòda	(sg)	N	b	No	N	o	N	N	N
	(pl)				N		N^m_o	N	N
gláva	(sg)	N		(o)	N	N	N		N
	(pl)	N			N		N		N
gòra	(sg)	$\frac{o}{N}$			N		N	N	o
	(pl)	N			N		(o)	N	o
gréda	(sg)	N			N		N	o	ɔ
	(pl)	N		(N)	N		N	N	N
zvézda	(sg)	(o)			o		(N)	o	o
	(pl)	N			N		(N)	N	No

-609-

Chart 5a, p. 2

Def/indef in nouns, feminine a-declension

	Čin	CTim	TWBg	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
zèmlja (sg)			N	N		N		No
(pl)						N		
zìma (sg)							b	N
(pl)							b	N
zime					b	o		
zmìja (sg)		o	o		o			
(pl)		b						
zòra (sg)	N				N			N
(pl)	N							
žèna (sg)	(o)	o		o	o$^{b}_{m}$	o	o	o
(pl)	N	o		N		o	N	o
ìgla (sg)	o		o	o	o	N	o	o
(pl)	N			N		N	N	N
kòza (sg)	o		(o)	o	o	o	o	o
(pl)	N		N	N	(o)	o/N	N	o
kòsa (sg) [hair]	N			N	N$^{b}_{o}$		(ɔ)	
(pl)				N			(N)	

Chart 5a, p. 3

Def/indef in nouns, feminine a-declension

		Čin	CTim	TWBg	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
kòsa [scythe]	(sg)				o	o	N	ɔ	o
	(pl)				o			N	o
màgla	(sg)	(o)			o	ɔ	oN	ɔN	o
	(pl)				N		ɔ	o	o
mèdja	(sg)	(o)			o	o			o
	(pl)	N			o				o
mètla	(sg)	ɔ			oN		N	o	
	(pl)	N			N		N	N	
mùha	(sg)	(o)				bo	N		b
		N		`			o		b
nòga	(sg)	N		o		Nb	N	N	
	(pl)	N		N	N	N	N	N	b
śvca	(sg)	N			ɔ	om	o	o	o
	(pl)	N			N	No	No	N	N
òsa	(sg)	(o)			o	ɔN			
	(pl)	N			N				

Chart 5a, p. 4

Def/indef in nouns, feminine a-declension

		Čin	CTim	TWBg	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
péta	(sg)	(o)			N			o	o
	(pl)	N			N			o	o
pčela	(sg)				ɔ	o			
	(pl)				N				
réka	(sg)	o		N	N	Nb	N	oN	No
	(pl)	N			N		N	N	N
ròsa	(sg)	(o)				Nb		o	(o)
	(pl)	ɔ						o	
rúka	(sg)	N		N		Nb	N		N
	(pl)	N	o			N	N		N
svínja	(sg)	o			o	o	o	o	o
	(pl)	N	b		N	N	N	N	N
svéća	(sg)	(ɔ)						(o)	
	(pl)	N						N	
sèstra	(sg)	o			o	ɔm	o	o	o
	(pl)	N		N	N		oN	N	o

Chart 5a, p. 5

Def/indef in nouns, feminine a-declension

		Čin	CTim	TWBg	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
snàha	(sg)	(o)			b	o			
	(pl)	N			N				o
sùza	(sg)				b		o	b	N
	(pl)			b	b		N	b	N
tórba	(sg)				ɔ			o	o
	(pl)			o	N			N	o
tráva	(sg)	N			N		N	N	N
	(pl)				N		N	N	N
planìna	(sg)	N		N		$^{b}_{N}$n	NN*	B	
	(pl)	N					o	B	

Chart 5b, p. 1

Def/indef in neuter nouns

		Čin	CTim	TWBg	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
vlákno	(sg)	(o)			N	o		o	
	(pl)	N			b			o	
gnjézdo	(sg)			o				o	o
	(pl)							o	o
gúmno	(sg)				b				b
	(pl)								N
krílo	(sg)	N			N		(o)		o
	(pl)	N o	b	(b)	b				bm
vèdro	(sg)	(ɔ)		(o)		o	o	o	
	(pl)	(o)					o	N	
rèbrɔ	(sg)	(o)			N	o	(o)	ɔ	o
	(pl)	N	b		b		(o)	N	b o
sèlo	(sg)	(o)	o*		N	N	oN	N	N
	(pl)	b N		b	N			b N	om
bȑdo	(sg)	bN			b				b
	(pl)				N				N

Chart 5b, p. 2

Def/indef in neuter nouns

		Čin	CTim	TWBg	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
drvo	(sg)	N		bN		N	N	N	N
	(pl)					o	b	N	o
žito	(sg)	N		b	b		b	N	b N
	(pl)		b		b		bo	o	
vrelo	(sg)	No							o
	(pl)								
zrno	(sg)	N							b
	(pl)	N							N
kolo	(sg)							o	
	(pl)	N		Nb		ɔ		o	
sito	(sg)	bN			b				
	(pl)				b				
oko	(sg)	N	b		N	N		N	N
	(pl)	N			N			N	N
uvo	(sg)	N				o	N	N	N
	(pl)	N	b				N	N	N

Chart 5b, p. 3

<u>Def/indef in neuter nouns</u>

		Čin	CTim	TWBg	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
vréme	(sg)	N		N	N	b	N		b
	(pl)	N		N	o				o
víme	(sg)							b	b
	(pl)							o	b
ìme	(sg)	b			b			b	b
	(pl)	o			b o			o	o
ràme	(sg)				b	b			b
	(pl)	N			b		o		o b

Chart 5c   p. 1

Def/indef in masculine nouns in a consonant

		Čin	CTim	TWBg	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
zêc	(sg)	(b)			b				
	(pl)		b						
zîd	(sg)			b	N		b N		N
	(pl)	N			N				N
kûm	(sg)	b				Nb	N	N	N
	(pl)	ɔ						N	
miš	(sg)								
	(pl)								
mûž	(sg)	Nb	b	bN	N	Nb	N	N	N
	(pl)	N		N	N		N	N	o
rôg	(sg)				b		b		N
	(pl)			b	b		b		N
svàt	(sg)						N	b	
	(pl)							b N	
sîn	(sg)	N	b	b	N	N	N	N	N
	(pl)	N		b	N	N		N	N

Chart 5c. p. 2

Def/indef in masculine nouns in a consonant

		Čin	CTim	TWBg	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
věpar	(sg)			bN					
	(pl)								
dôm	(sg)				N		Nb		
	(pl)	b			N		b / N		N
nôs	(sg)			N	N	b / N	N	o	N
	(pl)				N		N / b	o	
vô	(sg)			bo	b	b	bo	o	o
	(pl)	o		o	o		o	o	o
kôš	(sg)				o			o	o
	(pl)				ob			bo	o
krâlj	(sg)								
	(pl)	o							
nôž	(sg)	b		o	o		o	o	o
	(pl)	o			o			ob	o
pôp	(sg)		b	o	o	o	o	o	o
	(pl)			o	o		o	o	o

Chart 5c. p. 3

Def/indef in masculine nouns in a consonant

		Čin	CTim	TWBg	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
òganj	(sg)	n		nb	n	b	n		b
	(pl)	o			o				
k̈onj	(sg)	o		oN	ɔ	o	o	o	o
	(pl)	N	b	oN		N	o	o	o
kòtao	(sg)	o	o		b	o		o	o
	(pl)			o				N	N
pétao	(sg)	o		o		o		ɔ	
	(pl)							N	
òrao	(sg)					o		ɔ	o
	(pl)				(o)			N	
rúčak	(sg)								
	(pl)	ɔ							
vrábac	(sg)							b	
	(pl)					b		N	
kòlac	(sg)	(o)							B / o
	(pl)	N							N / o

Chart 5c, p. 4

Def/indef in masculine nouns in a consonant

	Čin	CTim	TWBg	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
mòljac (sg)						o		
(pl)	(o)					b		N
svétac (sg)				o	o			
(pl)	(o)			o				
vénac (sg)			b				b	
(pl)	N						N	
jùnac (sg)	o							
(pl)	N	b						
lònac (sg)	n						b	
(pl)	N						o	N
kònac (sg)			b N		b		b	
(pl)	N						(b)	
govèdār (sg)		ɔ		(o)				
(pl)				(o)				
drvār (sg)			o					
(pl)								

Chart 5c, p. 5

Def/indef in masculine nouns in a consonant

		Čin	CTim	TWBg	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
dȕvar	(sg)			B					
	(pl)			B					
jùnāk	(sg)		b						
	(pl)								
kòvāč	(sg)				(o)				
	(pl)				(o)				
kòpāč	(sg)				(o)				
	(pl)		o		(o)				
kòsāč	(sg)	o			(o)				
	(pl)			o	(o)				
òvčār	(sg)				o				
	(pl)			o	o		o N		
svìnjār	(sg)				o				
	(pl)				o				

Chart 5d, p. 1

Def/indef in feminine nouns in a consonant, sg only

	ETk	TWBg	Kjus	EMac	Sof	CWBg	NWBg
vèčer	N		N	N	N		
žâr	N			N		N	
jèsen	N*			b N	N	N	
mâst	N	N*		N		N	
nôć	N	N	N	N	N	N	
pròleće	N		N	N	b N	N	
pèpeo		B N		B	N		
sô	N	N*		N	N	N	

Chart 6, p. 1a

Def/indef in adjectives

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	stàra	L*	L	b		b	b	b
m	béla	m	b	b		b	b	(m)
m	bòsa	b	(b)	b		b		(b)
m	visòka	(L)	(b)	b		b	b	b
m	gòla	L*	(b)	b		b	(b)	m
m	golèma	(L)	(b)	b		b	b	b
m	debèla	(L)	(L)	b		b	b	b
m	dòbra	b	(L)	b		b	(b)	(b)
m	dubòka	L	(L)	b		b	b	b
m	žíva	m	(b)	b		b	(b)	(b)
m	žúta	m	(b)	b		b	b	
m	zelèna	(L)	L	b		b	b	b
m	mláda	m	(b)	b		b	b	b
m	crvèna	L	(L)	b		b	b	b

Chart 6, p. 2a

Def/indef in adjectives

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
m	cŕna	m	(b)	b		b	b	b/m
m	šìròƙa	(L)	(L)	b		b	b	b

Chart 7, p. 1a

Accentuation of present tense, class I-1

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
O	bod	(P)		b	b*	b	b	b
O	-ved		b		b*	b	b	b
O	vrh	o			b*		b	b
	vrši			b		b		
O	met			b	b*	ob (P)	b	M/o
O	-nes	b	b o	b	b*	b	b	M
O	pek	O P		b	b*	P	b	b/o
O	plet	o/o P/P	o	P	b*	P	b	M*/o
O	rast	o	o		b*	b	b	b
	rastnu-			b				b
O	tek			b	b*	P	b	b/o
	teknu	b						
O	tres	o	o	b	b*	b	b	b/o
O	dad			b	b*		b	b/o
O	krad	o	o	b	b*	b	b	M*

Chart 7, p. 2a

Accentuation of present tense, class I-1

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
O	muz	o		b	b*	b	b	b
O	pred	o	o	b	b*	b	b	M*/o
O	sek	b / o	o	b	b*	P	b	b/o
b	jed	b / O	b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	id	b / O	b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	mog	b	b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	rek		b	(b)	b*			
	reknu	b	b			b		b

-626-

Chart 7, p. 1b

Accentuation of present tense, class I-1

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
O	bod	o	b	o	o	o	o	o
O	-ved	ɔ	O	o	o	o	o	o
O	vrh		o	o	o	o	o	o
	vrši	b						
O	met	o	o	o	ɔ	b o	o	
O	-nes	o	O	ɔ	o	o	ɔ	o/O
O	pek	ɔ	o	o	o	o	o	o
O	plet	o	ɔ	o	ɔ	o	ɔ	o/O
O	rast	ɔ	o	o	o	o	ɔ	ɔ
	rastnu							b
O	tek	o	o	ɔ	o	o	o	o
O	tres	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
O	dad	o	O	o	o	o	o	o/O
O	krad	o	o	b		b		b o
	kradnu			b	b		b	b

Chart 7, p. 2b

Accentuation of present tense, class I-1

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
O	muz	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
O	pred	o	O	o	o	o	o	
O	sek	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
b	jed	o	O	o	o	o	o	o/O
b	id	b	b	o	b	b	b	b
b	mog	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b	rek					o	o	o
	reknu		b	b	b			

Chart 7, p. 1c

Accentuation of present tense, class I-1

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
O	bod	o				M	M
O	-ved	O	P / O/M* / M	o		o	M
O	vrh	o	O / P o		o	o	M
O	met	o	P / O/M / o		ob	M	
O	-nes		O / P o	o	bP	o	M
O	pek	o	O / P o	o	Pb	o	M
O	plet	o	O / P o	o/M	O ob	M	M
O	rast	o		M		o	
O	tek	o	O/P	o	O b P	o	M
O	tres	o					
O	dad	o	Ob/o	o	O bP	o	M
O	krad				b P		M
	kradnu	b			b	M*	
O	muz	o	O/P o	o	bO		o

Chart 7, p. 2c

Accentuation of present tense, class I-1

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
O	pred	o	O/M o	o	P.O	M	M
O	sek	o	(0)/M P	o	O bo	o	M
b	jed	o	O/P	o	b o	o M	M
b	id	b	b	b	Pb	bM*	
b	mog	b	b	b		b	b
b	rek	o	o	o	ob	M	M

Chart 8, p. a

Accentuation of present tense, classes I-2 and I-3

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	čuj		b	b		b	b	b
o	znaj	O		P		b		
	non-contr			P			b	b
b	bij	b	b	b		b	b	b
b	krij	b	b	b		b	b	b
b	mij	b		b		b	b	b
b	pij	b	b	b		b	b	b
b	šij	(o)	(b)	b		b	b	b
O	kun	b / o		b		b	b	b
O / P	žanj	P					(b)	
	žnjeja			b		b		b
b	počn	b	b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	uzm(uzn)	b	b / o	b	b*	b	b	b
b	melj			b		b	b	b
b	umr	b	o	b	b*	b	b	b

-631-

Chart 8, p. b

Accentuation of present tense, classes I-2 and I-3

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	čuj	b	b	b	b	b	b	bo
o	znaj		P O	P	P	P		
	(non-contr)	P		b	b	b		b
b	bij	b	b	b	b	b	b	bo
b	krij	b	b	b	b		b	b
b	mij	b	b	b	b	b	(b)	b
b	pij	b	b	b	b	o	b	o/0
b	šij	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
O	kun	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
O P	žanj		O P	b	b	b	b	P
	žnjeja	b						
b	počn	b	b	b	b	(b)	b	b
b	uzm(uzn)	b	b	b	b	b	b	bo
b	melj	o	(b)	b	b	b	b	b
b	umr	b	b	b	b	b	b	b

Chart 8, p. c

Accentuation of present tense, classes I-2 and I-3

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	čuj	b		b	b	b	M*
o	znaj		0/b			P	M*
	(non-contr)			b		M*	
b	bij	b	b	b		M*M	M*
b	krij						M*
b	mij	b		bo		M*	M*
b	pij	b	0/o	MB	o	b M	M
b	šij	b	b				M*
O	kun	o			bP	b	
O P	žanj		0/b	b		b	P
	žnjeja	b	P		b		
b	počn	b		b		b	
b	uzm(uzn)	b		b	b	b	
b	melj	b	b			b	M
b	umr	b	b	b	b	b	M*

Chart 9, p. a

Accentuation of present tense, class II

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	venu		b			b	(b)	b
b	ginu	b		b	b*	b	b	b
b	denu		b	b	b*	b	b	M*
b	vrnu		b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	savnu		b	b	b*	b	(b)	(b)
b	stanu	b	b	(b)		(b)	(b)	b

Chart 9, p. b

<u>Accentuation of present tense, class II</u>

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	ГWBg
b	venu	b	b	b	b		b	
b	ginu	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b	denu	b	b	b	b	b		b
b	vrnu	b	b		b		b	b
b	savnu	b	b	b	(b)	b	b	b
b	stanu	(b)	(b)	b	b	b	b	b

Chart 9, p. c

Accentuation of present tense, class II

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	venu						
b	ginu					b	
b	denu	b	b	b			
b	vrnu	b	b	b		b	
b	savnu	b	b		b	b	
b	stanu	b		M*		M*	

Chart 10, p. 1a

Accentuation of present tense, class III

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	vide	b	b	b	b*	b	b	b/0
b	vise			b	b*	b	b	b o
O	beža	b 0			b*		b	(b)
O	bleja	o	o	b		b	b	b o
O	boja (se)		o	(b)	b*	b	b	b/o
O	vrte		o	b		b	b	b o
O	ogladne	o	o	b	b*	b	b	
O	gore	b 0	o	b	b*	o	b	b/o
O	drža	0	o	b	b*	bo	b	b/o
O	žive	o		o	b*	b	b	
O	leža	0			b*	o	b	
O	lete	o	o	b	b*		b	b/o
O	sede	0	o	b	b*	o	b	M/o
O	stoja	0	o	bo	b*	o	b	o

.

Chart 10, **p**. 2a

Accentuation of present tense, class III

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
O	trpe		o	b	b*	b	b	b/o
O	trča	O	ɔ	b	b*	b	b	$\frac{b}{o}$/o

-638-

Chart 10, p. 1b

Accentuation of present tense, class III

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	vide	b ɔ	b/O		b	b	b	bɔ
b	vise	ɔ	ɔ	o	ɔ	ɔ	(o)	o
O	beža	(ɔ)	ɔ	o	(ɔ)	ɔ	O	
O	bleja	o	o	O	ɔ	ɔ	(O)	b o
O	boja(se)		ɔ	O	o	ɔ	(o)	
O	vrte	ɔ	o	O	o	o		ɔ
O	ogladne			ɔ	o	o		
	ogladneja						b	
O	gore	o	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	(O)	ob
O	drža	o	O	O	ɔ	(O)	o	
O	žive	b	O	o		b	O	
	živeja				b		b	b
O	leža	o	O	O			(O)	o
O	lete	o	o	o	o	o	(O)	o
O	sede	o	O	O	o	o		O

Chart 10, p. 2b

Accentuation of present tense, class III

	Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
O stoja	o	O	O	o	o	(O)	o
O trpe	o	o	O	o		(O) b	o/O
O trča	o	O	o	o	o	(O)	o

.

Chart 10, p. 1c

Accentuation of present tense, class III

	NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b vide	b	b	b	b	b	M*
b vise						M
O beža	O				O	
O bleja	b / o		b			b
O boja (se)	b					
O vrte	O	O/o	O/M		O	M
O ogladne						
ogladneja					b	
O gore	O	P	b / o	b / P	bo	b
O drža	O	O/o	O	b / P O	MO	M
O žive	b					b
živeja		b	b		M*	M*
O leža		O	O		M	M
O lete		M	O		O	M
O sede	O	O	P	P* / b O	MO	M

Chart 10, p. 2c

Accentuation of present tense, class III

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
O	stoja		O/o	o	oO	oO	
O	trpe	o	O/o				M
O	trča	o		o	oO	$^{b}_{o}$O	M

Chart 11, p. 1a

Accentuation of present tense, class IV

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	zaboravi		b	(b)	b*	b	b	b
b	gazi	b	b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	kupi [gather]			b	b*	b	b	(b)
b	pazi			b	b*	b	b	
b	pamti	b	b	b	b*	b	b	
b	pravi	b		(b)	b*	b	b	b
b	rani			b	b*	b	b	b
b	ostavi	b	b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	ženi	b		b	b*	b	b	b
b	kosi	b		b	b*	b	b	b
b	kupi [buy]	bo		b	b*	b	b	b
b	nosi	b	b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	plati	b		b	b*	b	b	b
b	hrani	b	b	b	b*	b	b	M*

Chart 11, p. 2a

Accentuation of present tense, class IV

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	goji		b	(b)	b*	b	b	
b	zvoni		b o	b	b*		b	b
P	krsti	P	P	b	b*	b	b	b M*
P	lomi	(P)	P	(b)	b*	b	b	
P	soli	P	b	b	b*	b	b	
P	uči	p b	o	b	b*	b	b	b
P	čini	P	P	b	b*	Po	b	
o	liči	o		b	b*	b	b	b

Chart 11, p. 1b

Accentuation of present tense, class IV

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	zaboravi	b	(b)	b	b	b	b	
b	gazi	b	b	b	(b)	b	b	b
b	kupi [gather]	b	b	b	b	b		b
b	pazi	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b	pamzi	b		b	b		b	
b	pravi	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b	rani	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b	ostavi	(b)	(b)	b	b			b
b	ženi	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b	kosi	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b	kupi [buy]	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b	nosi	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b	plati	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b	hrani	b	b	b	b	b	b	b

Chart 11, p. 2b

Accentuation of present tense, class IV

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	goji	b			o			
b	zvoni		b	b	b	b		
P	krsti	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
P	lomi	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
P	soli	b			b		b	
P	uči	b	b / o	b	b	b / o	b	b
P	čini	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
o	liči	b	o	b	o	b		

Chart 11, p. 1c

Accentuation of present tense, class IV

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	zaboravi	b	b		b	b	
b	gazi	b				M*	
b	kupi [gather]						
b	pazi					M*	b
b	pamti					M*	M* b
b	pravi	b	M*/b	b/M*	b		
b	rani					M*	
b	ostavi			b/M*		M*	M*
b	ženi	b	b	b		M*	M*
b	kosi		M*/b		b		M*
b	kupi [buy]		b	b			M*
b	nosi	b	M*/b	b	b	M*	M*
b	plati	b	b	b		b	
b	hrani	b				b	

Chart 11, p. 2c

Accentuation of present tense, class IV

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	goji						
b	zvoni						
P	krsti				b	M*	
P	lomi			b			
P	soli		b		b	b	
P	uči	b	b M			M*	
P	čini			P		b	b
o	liči					o	M

Chart 12, p. 1a

Accentuation of present tense, class V-1

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	gledaj	b	b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	sisaj			b	b*		b	b
	sisa		b			b		
b	teraj	b	b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	sabiraj	b		b	b*		b	b
b	gadjaj	b	b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	davaj	b		M	b*	b / o	b	
b	zidaj				b*	b	b	
b	čuvaj	b	b	b		b	b	b
b	igraj	b	o	b	b*	o	b	b
b	kopaj	b	o	b	b*	o	b	b
	kopa		b					
O	venčaj	O	b	b	b*	b	b	b
O	imaj	bO	b	b	b*	b		b
O	motaj			b	b*	o	b	b

00046960

Chart 12, p. 2a

Accentuation of present tense, class V-1

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	Nmac	Trg
O	čitaj	OP	o	b	b*	o	b	b

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Chart 12, p. b

Accentuation of present tense, class V-1

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	gledaj	b	b	b	b	b		b
b	sisaj		b	b	b	b	b	b
b	teraj	b	b		b		b	b
b	sabiraj	b	b	b	(b)	b	b	b
b	gadjaj	b	(b)	b	b	b	b	b
b	davaj	(b)	(b)	b	b o	b o	b	b
b	zidaj	b			b	b	b	
b	čuvaj	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b	igraj	b	b	b	o	b	b	
	(non-contr)					b		b
b	kopaj	b	b	b	b	o	b	b
O	venčaj	b	b	b	b	b		b
O	imaj	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
O	motaj	b	b		b			b
O	čitaj	b	b		b			

Chart 12, p. 1c
Accentuation of present tense, class V-1

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	gledaj	b	b	b	b	b	M*
b	sisaj	b					
b	teraj	b					
b	sabiraj					b	M*
b	gadjaj		b				
b	davaj	b				b	M*
b	zidaj						
b	čuvaj	b		b		b	M*
b	igraj			b		b	M*
	(non-contr)			b		b	
b	kopaj	b	b	b	b		M*
	(non-contr)					b	
O	venčaj	b	b	b			M*
	(non-contr)			b			
O	imaj	b			b		M*

Chart 12, p. 2c

Accentuation of present tense, class V-1

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
O	motaj		b	b			
O	čitaj				b		

Chart 13, p. la

Accentuation of present tense, class V-2

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	brisa		b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	diza	b				b		
	dizaj			b	b*		b	b
b	jaha	b		b	b*	b	b	
	jaši							b
b	maza			b	b*	b	b	
b	plaka	b	b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	reza		b		b*	(b)	b	
b	sipa		b		b*		b	
	sipaj	b	b			b		M*
b	vika	b	b					
	vikaj		b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	kaza	b	b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	laga	b	b	b	b*	b	b	b
b	ora	b		b	b*		b	b
	oraj					b		

Chart 13, p. 2a

Accentuation of present tense, class V-2

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	pisa	b		b	b*	b	b	(M*)
b	šapta			(b)	b*	(b)	b	
	šepkaj							b

Chart 13, p. 1b

Accentuation of present tense, class V-2

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	brisa	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b	diza							
	dizaj	b	b	b	b	b		
b	jaha	b	b	b	b		b	
	jaši					b*		
	jaaj							b
b	maza	b	(b)	b	b	b	b	b
b	pleka	b	b	b	b			b
	plačaj						b	
b	reza	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b	sipa	b	b		b			b
b	vika		b					
	vikaj	b		b	b		b	
b	kaza	b	(b)	b	b	b	b	b
b	laga	b	(b)	b	bo	b	b	b
b	ora	o	o	b	b	b		bo

Chart 13, p. 2b

Accentuation of present tense, class V-2

	Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b pisa	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b šapta		(b)		b	b		
šepkaj	b		b				

Chart 13, p. c

Accentuation of present tense, class V-2

	NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b brisa	b		b	b	b	M*
b diza						
b jaha	b					
b maza						
b plaka					b	M*
b reza	b	P*	b/M*		b M*	
b sipa	b					
b vika				b		
vikaj	b				b	M*
b kaza	b		b	b	b M*	b M*
b laga		b	b/M*		M* b	M*
b ora	o	b o	o	o	o M	b M
b pisa	b		b		b	M*
b šapta						

-658-

Chart 14, p. 1a

Accentuation of present tense, class V-3

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	bra	b	o	b	b*	P	b	b
b	pra	b	b	b	b*	Pb	b	b
b	tka	P O	b			P		
	tki					P		
	tkija		b			b	b	b
	tkaj			b				
b	kla	b		b	b*	b	b	b
b	zva	(P) O/b	o	(b)	b*	b	b	
b	greja			b	b*	b	b	b
b	laja			b	b*	b	b	b
b	seja			b	b*	b	b	b
O	poja	o	o	b	b*	b	b	b o/b
O	smeja(se)	o	o	b	b*	b	b	b
b	bljuva			b	b*	b	b	b
b	pljuva	b		b	b*	b		b

Chart 14, p. 2a

Accentuation of present tense, class V-3

	NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b kova	b						
kova (V-2)	b/o	ɔ	b				b
kovija					b		

Chart 14, p. 1b

Accentuation of present tense, class V-3

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	bra	o	o	o	b	b	b o	b o
b	pra	o	o	o	b	b	b o	b
b	tka		o P					b
	tkaj	b		b	b	b		
b	kla	o		b	b	b	b	b
b	zva	o	o	o	o		c	o
b	greja	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
b	laja	b	b	b		b	b	b
	lajaj				b			
b	seja	b	b	b	b	(o)	b	b
O	poja	o	o	o	ɔ	o	ɔ	b o /C
	pej							b
O	smeja (se)	o	o	b o	b	o	ɔ	b/o
b	bljuva							
	bljuvaj	b						
	bljuva (V-2)						o	

Chart 14, p. 2b

Accentuation of present tense, class V-3

	Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
pljunu	b	b	b				
pljuva(V-2)						o	

b kova

	Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
kova(V-2)	o	o	o	o	o		o/0

Chart 14, p. 1c

Accentuation of present tense, class V-3

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	bra	b	M/b	M o b	MB	M*	Mb
b	pra	b	b		P	b	M
b	tka					o	
	tkaj		P	b	(b)		
b	kla	b	b	b		b	M* M
b	zva	b		o		o	
	zovi					b	
b	greja		b				M*
b	laja					b	M*
b	seja	b			b	o b	M*
O	poja	o	o		ob		M
	pej			M		b o	b
O	smeja (se)	o		o	b	ob	M*
b	bljuva	b			b		M*
	bljuvaj					b	(M*)

Chart 14, p. 2c

Accentuation of present tense, class V-3

	NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b pljuva						
pljuvaj	b				b	
pljuva(V-2)					o	
b kova						
kova(V-2)	o		M	bP	o	M

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-664-

Chart 15, p. a

Accentuation of present tense, class VI

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
B	verova			b	b*	B		B b
B	praznova		B	(B)	b*			
b	kupova	b	b		b*	b		(b)
b	psova	b	b	b	b*	b	b	b

2

Chart 15, p. b

Accentuation of present tense, class VI

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
B	verova	B	B	B b	B	B		Bb
B	praznova			b	B	B	B	
b	kupova			b	b	b	b	b
	kupuvaj							b
b	psova	b		b	b	b		b

Chart 15, p. c

Accentuation of present tense, class VI

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
B	verova		b	B			Bb
	veruvaj		b				
B	praznova					b	
b	kupova		b			b	
	kupuvaj					bB	
b	psova						
	psuvaj					b	

Chart 16, p. 1a

Accentuation of aorist tense, class I-1

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
M	bod	M M*		MM*		(M*)	o	
M	-ved	M*M					o	M*
M	vrh	M						
	vrši							M*
M	met			M		M*	(o)	
M	-nes	M M*	M*	M* M		M*	o	M*
M	pek	M*M		M*M		M*	(o)	M*
M	plet	M*M		M			o	n
M	rast	M	M b			M*	(o)	
M	tek						o	
M	tres	M						
o	dad	M*		M*		(M*)	o	M*
M	krad	M*				M*	o	M*
M	muz			b o		M*	(o)	(M*)
M	pred	M*		M			(o)	

Chart 16, p. 2a

Accentuation of aorist tense, class I-1

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
M	sek	M*M		(M)			o	
b	jed	M*M	(o / b)	M		M*	o	b / o
o	id	b / o	M	M / b		M / b	ɔ	o / M
M / o	mog	(M*M)						
	moga			(b)		b	b	(b)
o	rek	bo	b	b		b	o	b

-669-

Chart 16, p. 1b

<u>Accentuation of aorist tense, class I-1</u>

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
M	bod		M*	b	b	b	M*	(b)
M	-ved		M*	b		b	M*	b
M	vrh				b	b	M*	
	vrši	M*						
M	met			b	b	b	M*	
M	-nes	M*	M*	b	(b)	b	M*	b
M	pek	M*	M*	b	b	b	(M*)	(o/b)
M	plet	M*		b	b	b		(o/b)
M	rast	M*	M*			b	(M*)	b
	rastnu							(b)
M	tek	M*	M*	b		b	(M*)	b
M	tres				b	b	(M*)	b
o	dad	M*	M*	b	(b)	(b)	(M*)	b
M	krad		M*	b		b	(M*)	
	kradnu							(b)

Chart 16, p. 2b

Accentuation of aorist tense, class I-1

		Šli	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
M	muz			b	b		(M*)	(b)
M	pred	M*	M*	b	b			
M	sek	M*	M*		b	b	(M*)	b
b	jed	M*	(b)	b	(b)	(b)	(b)	bo
o	id	P	<u>o</u>	<u>o</u>	o	o	(o)	o
M o	mog		(o)	o b		o	(o)	o
	moga	(b)	(b)		(b)			
	može							(b)
o	rek	b	b	b	b	<u>b</u>	b	b

Chart 16, p. 1c

Accentuation of aorist tense, class I-1

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
M	bod	b		bo		(b)	
M	-ved	(b)		b		b	b / ɔ
M	vrh	(b)	b		b	(b)	b
M	met	b	b	b	bo	b	b
M	-nes	(b)	b	(b/o)	b	b	b
M	pek	b	b		b	(b)	b
M	plet	b		b	(b)	b	b
M	rast	(b)		b		(b)	
M	tek	b	b	(b)	b	(b)	b
M	tres	(b)	b			b	b
o	dad	b	b	b	b	(b)	b
M	krad	(b)		b	b		
	kradnu			(b)	b		(b)
M	muz	(b)	b		(b)		

Chart 16, p. 2c

Accentuation of aorist tense, class I-1

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
M	pred	b			b		b
M	sek	b		b	b	(b)	b
b	jed	(b)	(b)		bo	b	b o
o	id	o	o	b o	ob	o	o
M o	mog	o	o	ob			o
	moga				b		
o	rek	b	b	b	bo	<u>b</u>	b

Chart 17, p. 1a

Accentuation of aorist tense, classes I-2 and I-3

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	čuj						(b)	
b	znaj		˙				b	
	znaja		.	b				
b	bij	M*	M*			M*	b	M*
b	krij	M*	b				b	M*
b	mij	M*		M*		M*	(b)	
M*	pij	M*		M*			b	M*
b	šij	M*		M*			(b)	M*
M*	kun	M*					(b)	
	kunu			M*				
b	žanj	M*		M*				
	žnjeja						b	M*
M*	počn	M*	(M*)	M*			b	(b)
M*	uzm (uzn)	o	M*			M*		M*
	uzed			M*			M	M*
	uz					M*		

Chart 17, p. 2a

Accentuation of aorist tense, classes I-2 and I-3

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	melj	M*		M*	M*		(M*)	
M*	umr	M*	M*				b	
	umreja						o	

Chart 17, p. 1b

Accentuation of aorist tense, classes I-2 and I-3

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	čuj						M*	(b)
b	znaj							b
	znaja							b
b	bij	M*	M*	M*	M*	M*	M*	M*b
b	krij				M*		M*	M*
b	mij			M*	M*			M*
M*	pij	M*	M*	M*	M*		M*	(b)
b	šij	M*	M*	M*	M*		M*	
M*	kun		(M*)	M*				
b	žanj	(M*)	(M*)	M*	b		(b)	
M*	počn	(M*)	M*	M*	b	b	M*	M* b
	počnu							M*
M*	uzm (uzn)		M*		b M*		M*	b
	uzed	M*						
	uz			M*				o

Chart 17, p. 2b

Accentuation of aorist tense, classes I-2 and I-3

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	melj	M*		M*	b		b	(b)
M*	umr		M*	b	b	b	M*	b

Chart 17, p. 1c

Accentuation of aorist tense, classes I-2 and I-3

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	čuj	(P)		(b)	b	(b)	
b	znaj	(P)					
	znaja					b	P*
b	bij	P	b			(b)	b
b	krij	(P)					b
b	mij	(P)			b	M*	b
M*	pij	(P)	b	(b)	b	(b)	b
b	sij	(P)				(b)	b
M*	kun	(P)		(b)	<u>b</u>	(b)	
	kuna				<u>b</u>		
b	žanj						
	žnj	(b)					
	žnjeja				b .		
M*	počn			(b)			
	počnu	(M*)					
M*	uzm (uzn)			M*		M*	

Chart 17, p. 2c

Accentuation of aorist tense, classes I-2 and I-3

	NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
uz	M					
b melj						
melja	P					
M* umr	(P)	b		b		($\substack{M* \\ b}$)

Chart 18, p. a

Accentuation of aorist tense, class II

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
M**	venu						(b)	
M**	ginu					(M**)	b	M*
M**	denu			M*			(b)	M*
b	vrnu	M*					b	b
M*	savnu	(M*)		M*		M*	(b)	
M*	stanu						b	M*
	stad			M*		M*		
	stan						o	

-680-

Chart 18, p. b
Accentuation of aorist tense, class II

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
M**	venu						M*	
M**	ginu			M*		M*	M*	(M*)
M**	denu	M*	M*	M*	M*	(M*)		(b)
b	vrnu		P		M*		M*	P
M*	savnu		M*	M*	b		M*	b
M*	stanu			M*		M*	M*	M*
	stad	M*	M*					b
	stan							o

Chart 18, p. c

Accentuation of aorist tense, class II

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
M**	venu	(P)				M**	(P*)
M**	ginu	(P)		b M* M**			(P*)
M**	denu	(P)	b			(b)	(P*)
b	vrnu	(P)	b	b M* M**	b	P* M*	(P*)
M*	savnu	P			b	M*	(P*)
M*	stanu	(P)	b	b M* M**		B M**	(P*)
	stan					b	

-682-

Chart 19, p. 1a

<u>Accentuation of aorist tense, class III</u>

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
B	vide	B					b	
	vid	MM*	b	Mb		b	<u>o</u>	o
B	vise							
M*	beža						(b)	
b	bleja						(b)	
M*	boja (se)						(b)	
b	vrte					M*	b	
	vrt			o			o	
b	ogladne						b	
	ogladn						o	
b	gore	M*		M*			b	B
	gor						o	
M*	drža	M*					(b)	
b	žive	M*					b	
	živ						o	
M*	Ieža	M*					(b)	M*

Chart 19, p. 2a

Accentuation of aorist tense, class III

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	lete	M*					(b)	
b	sede	M*	B				(b)	
	sed	M*		o		M* M	(o)	oM*
M*	stoja	M*		b			(b)	
b	trpe						(b)	
M*	trća	M* M**		b			(b)	

Chart 19, p. 1b

Accentuation of aorist tense, class III

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
B	vide							b
	vid	o / M	b/o	o	o	o	o	o
B	vise						(M*)	
M*	beža						(b)	
b	bleja				o		(b)	
M*	goja (se)						(b)	
b	vrte	b						
b	ogladne			M*	b	b	(M*)	
b	gore	M*		M*	M*	b	(M*)	b
M*	drza		b			M*	(b)	b
	drži				b			
b	žive						M*	
M*	leža		M*	M*	(M*)	M*	(b)	
b	lete	M*	M*	M*	(M*)	M*	(M*)	
	let							

Chart 19, p. 2b

Accentuation of aorist tense, class III

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	sede	PM*	b	b	b			b
	seć		b	b		b	b	bo
M*	stoja		M*	M*	P	M*	(b)	
b	trpe							b
M*	trča	M*	M*	b		P	(b)	b

Chart 19, p. 1c

Accentuation of aorist tense, class III

	NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
B vide			b			
vid	o	o	oM	o	o	o
B vise	(P)					
M* beža						
beg	P(M)					
b bleja	(P)					
M* boja (se)	(P)				b	
b vrte		b	b		b	
vrt						
b ogladne	(P)					
b gore		b	b	b	b	
gor	M					
M* drža	(P)	b		b		
b žive	(P)				b	
živeja		b			b	
M* leža	(P)				b	b

Chart 19, p. 2c

Accentuation of aorist tense, class III

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	lete	(P)		<u>b</u>		b	b
	leᴛ			o			
b	sede		b	b	b	b	b
	sed	bM	o				
M*	stojᴀ	(P)	B		b	b	
b	trpe	P		b			
M*	trča	(P)		b	b		

Chart 20, p. la

Accentuation of aorist tense, class IV

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
M**	zaboravi	M*				M*	(b)	(M*)
M**	gazi	M**					(b)	M*
M**	kupi [gather]	b B					b	
M**	pazi						(b)	
M**	pamti	M**					(b)	
M**	pravi	M**		(M*)		(M*)	b	(M*)
M**	rani						(b)	
M**	ostavi	(M**)	M**	M*		(M*)	b	M*
M*	ženi	(M*)		(M*)		M*	(b)	(M*)
M*	kosi	(M*)		M*		(M*)	(b)	(M*)
M*	kupi [buy]	(M*)		(M*)		(M*)	(b)	(M*)
M*	nosi						(b)	(M*)
M*	plati					(M**)	(b)	(M*)
M*	hrani	M*		(M*)		(M**)	(b)	P

Chart 20, p. 2a

Accentuation of aorist tense, class IV

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
M*	goji						(b)	
M*	krsti	(M*)		(M*)			b	(M*)
M*	lomi	(M*)		(M*)		(M*)	(b)	(M*)
M*	soli			(M*)		(M**)	(n)	
M*	uči	(M*)		(M*)		M*	b	M*
M*	čini		M*	(M*)			(b)	
M*	liči						(b)	

Chart 20, p. 1b

Accentuation of aorist tense, class IV

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
M**	zaboravi	(M*)	(M*)	M*	(M*)		(M*)	M*
M**	gazi							
M**	kupi [gather]							(b)
M**	pazi						(M*)	b
M**	pamti			M*			(M*)	
M**	pravi	M*	(M*)	M*	M*	(M*)	(M*)	P
M**	rani							
M**	ostavi	(M*)		M*	M*			M*
M*	ženi	M*	(M*)	b	M*	M*	(M*)	(M*)
M*	kosi	(M*)	M*	M*	M*	(M*)	M*	b
M*	kupi [buy]			b	(M*)	M*	(M*)	(M*)
M*	nosi		M*	b		b	M*	
M*	plati	(M*)		M*		M*	(M*)	
M*	hrani	M*	(M*)	M*	M*	M*	(M*)	

Chart 20, p. 2b

Accentuation of aorist tense, class IV

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
M*	goji							
M*	zvoni			b				
M*	krsti	(M*)	(M*)	M*	(M*)	M*	(M*)	
M*	lomi	(M*)	M*	(M*)	M*	M*	(M*)	P
M*	soli	M*			P		(M*)	
M*	uči	(b)	M*	M*	M*	M*	(M*)	b
M*	čini			M*	M*	M*		
M*	liči							

Chart 20, p. 1c

Accentuation of aorist tense, class IV

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
M**	zaboravi	M*	b		b		(P*)
M**	gazi	(P)	b	M*			(P*)
M**	kupi [gather]	(P)		B			(P*)
M**	pazi	(P)					P*
M**	pamti	(P)					(P*)
M**	pravi	P	b	M* B b		M*	P*
M**	rani	(P)	b	B	b	M* B	(P*)
M*	ženi	(P)	b	b M*		M* B	P*
M*	kosi	(P)	b		b		(P*)
M*	kupi [buy]	(P)	b				P*
M*	nosi	P	b	(b)		(b)	P*
M*	plati	(P)					(P*)
M*	hrani	(P)		b		M*	(P*) b
M*	goji	(P)					(P*)

Chart 20, p. 2c

Accentuation of aorist tense, class IV

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
M*	zvoni	(P)					(P*)
M*	krsti	(P)		M*	b		(P*)
M*	lomi	(P)					(P*)
M*	soli	(P)					(P*)
M*	uči	(P)		b B		B	(P*)
M*	čini	(P)					(P*)
M*	liči	(P)					(P*)

Chart 21, p. a

Accentuation of aorist tense, class V-1

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
M**	gledaj	M*		M*			b	M*
M**	sisaj			M*			(b)	
M**	teraj	M** M*		(M*)			b	
b	sabiraj						(b)	
b	gadjaj	M*					(b)	
b	davaj	M*	(b)				(b)	b
b	zidaj						(b)	
b	čuvaj						(b)	(M*)
M*	igraj	(M*)				(M*)	b	b
M*	kopaj	(M*)	M*	M*		(M*)	(b)	(M*)
M*	venčaj						b	
M*	imaj			b̄			b	
M*	motaj			(M*)			(b)	M*
M*	čitaj	M*		(M*)			(b)	

Chart 21, p. b

Accentuation of aorist tense, class V-1

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
M**	gledaj	b	M*	b	M*	(M*)		b
M**	sisaj				P	M*	(b)	
M**	teraj	M*	P	(M*)		(b)		
b	sabiraj							
b	gadjaj			b			(b)	
b	davaj		b		b	b	(b)	
b	zidaj					M*	(b)	
b	čuvaj			b M*			(b)	b
M*	igraj	M*			b		b	
M*	kopaj	(M*)	(M*)	M*	P	M*	(b)	P
M*	venčaj			M*	(M*)	P		
M*	imaj	B					(b)	B b
M*	motaj	(M*)	(M*)	M*	M*			
M*	čitaj	b	b		M*			

Chart 21, p. c

Accentuation of aorist tense, class V-1

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
M**	gledaj	P		M* bB		B	b
M**	sisaj	(P)					(P*)
M**	teraj	(P)					(P*)
b	sabiraj	(P)				B	(P*)
b	gadjaj	(P)					(P*)
b	davaj	(P)		b		b	(P*)
b	zidaj	(P) ·					(P*)
b	čuvaj	(P)	b	bM*		P*	(P*)
M*	igraj	(P)		b			(P*)
M*	kopaj	(P)	b	b		b P*	(P*)
M*	venčaj	(P)					(P*)
M*	imaj	(P)		b	b	b	(P*)
M*	motaj	(P)					
M*	čitaj	(P)					

Chart 22, p. a
Accentuation of aorist tense, class V-2

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
M**	brisa	(M**)		M*		(M**)	(b)	(M*)
M**	diza	(M**)		M*			(b)	B
M**	jaha						(b)	
M**	maza						(b)	
M**	plaka	M**		(M*)			(b)	
M**	reza	(M*)					(b)	
M**	sipa	M**					(b)	
b	vika	M*		(M*)		b	(b)	
b	kaza	M*		(M*)		<u>M</u>*	b	M*
P	laga					M*	(b)	M*
M*	ora	M*		(M*)		(M**)	b	(M*)
	or						ɔ	
b	pisa	M*		P		M*	(b)	P
b	šapta						(b)	M*

Chart 22, p. b

Accentuation of aorist tense, class V-2

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
M**	brisa			P	M*	P	b	
M**	diza	b	M*	P(m)	(M*)		(b)	
M**	jaha			P	b		(b)	
	jaši					P		
M**	maza		M*	M*	M*		(b)	
M**	plak	(b)		P	(b)		(b)	b
M**	reza		(M*)	P	M*	M*	(b)	b M*
M**	sipa		M*					
b	vika	(M*)	b	M*		M*	(b)	b
b	kaza	M*	b	M*	P	M*	(b)	bM*
P	laga	P	(M*)	M*	M*		(b)	b
M*	ora	M*	(M*)	M*	M*	(M*)		b
b	pisa		P	M*	M*	M*	(b)	b
b	šapta	b			b		(b)	

Chart 22, p. c

Accentuation of aorist tense, class V-2

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
M**	brisa	(P)			b		P*
M**	diza	(P)					(P*)
M**	jaha	(P)					(P*)
M**	maza	(P)					P*
M**	plaka	(P)	b	B	b		P*
M**	reza	(P)	b	M* B		B	P*
M*·*	sipa	(P)		M** B			P*
b	vika	P		B	b		(P*)
b	kaza	P	b	b	b		P*
P	laga	(P)		M* b			P*
M*	ora	(P)	b	M* b	b	(b)	P*
b	pisa	P		b		(bB)	P* b
b	šapta	(P)					(P*)

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-700-

Chart 23, p. a
Accentuation of aorist tense, class V-3

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
M*	bra	M*		M*		M*	b	M*
M*	pra	M*		(M*)		M*	b	M*
b	tka	M*		M*			(b)	M*
b	kla	M*		M*		M*	b	(M*)
	kolja						b	
M*	zva	M*					(b)	
M**	greja	M**		M*		(M*)	b	(M*)
M**	laja			(M*)		B	(b)	(M*)
M**	seja			(M*)		(M*)	b	(M*)
M*	poja						(b)	b
M*	smeja (se)	(M*)		(M*)		(M*)	b	M*
M*	bljuva	(M*)				(M*)	(b)	(M*)
M*	pljuva			M*			(b)	
	pljuna					B		B
M*	kova	M*		(M*)		(M*)	(b)	M*

Chart 23, p. b

Accentuation of aorist tense, class V-3

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
M*	bra	(M*)	(M*)	M*	M*	M*	M*	
M*	pra	M*		M*	M*	M*	(M*)	
b	tka	M*	M*	M*	M*	M*	M*	
b	kla	M*		M*	M*	M*	M*	
M*	zva	M*		M*				
	zova						M*	
M**	greja	M*	(M*)	M*	M*	(M*)	(b)	
M**	laja	b	(M*)	(M*)	(M*)	(M*)	(b)	
M**	seja		M*	(M*)	b M*	(M*)	(b)	
M*	poja	b		b	M*	M*	(b)	
M*	smeja (se)	(M*)	P	(M*)	M*	(M*)	(b)	
M*	bljuva	(M*)					(b)	
M*	pljuva	(M*)			(M*)	(M*)	(b)	
	pljunu		M*	M*				
M*	kova	(M*)	M*	M*	b	P		M*

Chart 23, p. c

Accentuation of aorist tense, class V-3

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
M*	bra	(P)		b	b	M*	b
M*	pra	(P)			b		b
b	tka	(P)			b		b
b	kla	(P)	b				
	kolja		b				
M*	zva	(P)					
M**	greja	(P)			b		
M**	laja	(P)					
M**	seja				b		
M*	poja	P		M*	b		
M*	smeja (se)	(P)		(b)	b		
M*	bljuva	(P)			b		
M*	pljuva	(P)					
M*	kova	P		M*			

Chart 24, p. a

Accentuation of aorist tense, class VI

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
M**	verova						(b)	
B	praznova						(b)	
M*	kupova		M*				(b)	
M*	psova		(M*)	B		(M*)	(b)	(M*)

Chart 24, p. b

<u>Accentuation of aorist tense, class VI</u>

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
M**	verova			M*				
B	praznova			b			(b)	
M*	kupova			b		M*	b	b
M*	psova	M*	M*	M*	M*	M*		

Chart 24, p. c

Accentuation of aorist tense, class VI

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
M**	verova	(P)	b				(P*)
B	praznova	(P)					(P*)
M*	kupova	(P)					(P*)
M*	psova	(P)					(P*)

-706-

Chart 25, p. 1a

Pres/aor alternation in class I-1 verbs

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
o	bod	n o		m	m*	(b)	m	
o	-ved	(no)			m*		m	b
o	vrh	o						x
	vrši			(m)	m*	(b)	m	
o	met			m		nb	(m)	n
o	-nes	n o	b n	bm	m*	b	m	n
o	pek	no		b	m*	n	m	b/(n)
o	plet	no	(n)	o	m*	(n)	(m)	b/(n)
o	rast	o	n o			b		x
o	tek			(b)	m*	(n)		
o	tres	o	(o)		m*	(b)	(m)	
n	dad	n		b	m*	(b)	m	b/(n)
n	krad	n	(n)		m*	b	m	b
n	muz	(n)		b m	m*	b	(m)	b

Chart 25, p. 2a

Pres/aor alternation in class I-1 verbs

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
n	pred	n	(n)	m	m*		m	b
n	sek	n/o b	(n)	m	m*	(n)	m	b/(n)
b	jed	n/o b	o	m	m*	b	m	mb
m	id	(b/o)	m	mb	m*	m	m	m
m	mog	m / b		x	m*	x	(m)	x
m	rek		b			x		
	reknu							m

Chart 25, p. 1b

Pres/aor alternation in class I-1 verbs

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
ɔ	bod	(n)	b	n	n	n	n	n
o	-ved	(n)	n	n	(n)	n	n	n
o	vrh		(n)		n	n	n	
	vrši	m						
o	met	(n)	(n)	n	n	nb	n	
o	-nes	n	(n)	n	n	n	n	n
o	pek	n	n	n	n	n	n	n o
o	plet	n	n	n	n	n	(n)	n o
o	rast	n	n	(n)	n	n	n	n
	rastnu							m
o	tek	(n)	n	n	(n)	n	n	n
o	tres	(n)	(n)	(n)	n	n	n	n
n	dad	n	n	n	n	n		n
n	krad	(n)	r	b	x	b	x	
	kradnu							m

Chart 25, p. 2b

Pres/aor alternation in class I-1 verbs

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
n	muz	(n)	(n)	n	n	(n)	n	
n	pred	n	n	n	n	(n)	n	
n	sek	n	n	(n)	n	n	n	n
b	jed	(n)	n	n	n	n	n	
m	id	m	m	(o)	m	m	m	
m	mog	m	m	m	x	m	m	
m	rek	x	x	x	x	n	n	

Chart 25, p. 1c

<u>Pres/aor alternation in class I-1 verbs</u>

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
o	bod	n				n	
o	-ved			n		n	b / n
o	vrh	n	n		nb	n	n
	vrši				m		
o	met	n	n		n_b^m	n	
o	-nes		n	n / o	bn	n	n
o	pek	n	n		nb	n	n
o	plet	n		n	nb	n	n
o	rast	n		n		n	
o	tek	n	n	n	nb	n	n
o	tres	n					
n	dad	n	nb	n	nb	n	n
o	krad	x			n b		
	kradnu				m		
n	muz	n	n		nb		

Chart 25, p. 2c

Pres/aor alternation in class I-1 verbs

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
n	pred	n			n		n
n	sek	n		n	bn	n	n
b	jed	n	n		n	n	$\frac{n}{o}$
m	id	m	m	m	m^{o}_{b}	m	(m)
m	mog	n	n	nb			n
m	rek	n	n	n	nm	n	n

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Chart 26, p. a

Pres/aor alternation in class I-2 and I-3 verbs

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	čuj			b		b	b	b
o	znaj							
	znaja			m				
m	bij	b	b	(b)	m*	b	b	b
m	krij	b	b	(b)	m*	(b)	b	b
m	mij	b	(b)	b	m*	b	(b)	
m	pij	b	(b)	b	m*	b	b	b
m	šij	b	(b)	b	m*		b	b
o	kun	b				(b)	b	(b)
	kunu			m	m*			
b	žanj			x				
	žnjeja						(m)	m
m	počn	m	m	m	m*	(m)	m	m
m	uzm (uzn)	o	m o	x	m* ·	m		m
b	melj			b		b		b
m	umr	m	o	(m)	m*	m	m	m

Chart 26, p. b

Pres/aor alternation in class I-2 and I-3 verbs

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	čuj						b	bo
o	znaj							
	znaja							m
m	bij	b	b	b	b	b	b	bo
m	krij	(b)	(b)	(b)	b		b	b
m	mij	(b)	(b)	b	b	(b)		b
m	pij	b	b	b	b	o	b	o
m	šij	b	b	b	b	(b)	b	(b)
o	kun		o	o			o	
b	žanj	x	b	b	b	(b)	b	
m	počn	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
	počnu							m
m	uzm (uzn)	x	m	x	m	m	x	m
b	melj	o	(b)	b	b	(b)	b	b
m	umr	(m)	m	m	m	m	m	n

Chart 26, p. 1c

Pres/aor alternation in class I-2 and I-3 verbs

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	čuj	b		b	b	b	(b)
o	znaj						
	znaja					m	o
m	bij	b	b	(b)		b	b
m	krij						b
m	mij	b		(bo)	b	b	b
m	pij	b	o	b	b/o	b	b
m	šij	b	(b)				b
ɔ	kun	o			b	b	
	kuna				m		
b	žanj	x					
	žnjeja				m		
m	počn			m			
	počnu	m					
m	uzm (uzn)	x		m		m	
b	melj						

Chart 26, p. 2c

Pres/aor alternation in class I-2 and I-3 verbs

	NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
melja	m					
m umr	m	m		m	m	

Chart 27, p. a

Pres/aor alternation in class II verbs

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	venu				(m*)		(m)	(m)
b	ginu				m*	(b)	m	m
b	denu			m	m*	(b)	m	m
m	vrnu	m	m		m*	(m)	m	m
m	savnu				(m7)			
m	stanu	(m)	(m)	x		x	m	m

.

Chart 27, p. b

Pres/aor alternation in class II verbs

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	ČTim	TWBg
b	venu			m	m		m	
b	ginu	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
b	denu	o	m	m	m		m	m
m	vrnu		m		m		m	m
m	savnu		m	m	m		m	m
m	stanu	x	x	m		m	m	m

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Chart 27, p. c

Pres/aor alternation in class II verbs

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	venu	(m)				(b)	(m)
b	ginu	(m)		(m)	(m)		(m)
b	denu	m	m		m	(m)	(m)
m	vrnu	m	m	m	m	m	(m)
m	savnu	m			m	m	(m)
m	stanu	m	m	m		b	(m)

Chart 28, p. 1a

Pres/aor alternation in class III verbs

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	vide*	bm	m	m	m*	m	m	m/ɔ
b	vise			(m)			(m)	$\binom{o}{m}$
o	beža						(m)	
o	bleja			(m)	m*	$\binom{b}{m}$	(m)	$\binom{o}{m}$
o	boja (se)				m*		(m)	
o	vrte			x	m*		m	$\binom{o}{m}$
o	ogladne			(m)	m*	(m)	m	
o	gore	ɔ		(m)	(m*ɔ	(o)	m	b/o
ɔ	drža	o	(o)	m	m*	mo	(m)	$\frac{o}{m}$/o
ɔ	žive	ɔ		$\binom{o}{m}$	(m*)	(m)	m	(m)
o	leža	o			m*	(o)	(m)	(o)
o	lete	o		(m)	(m*)	(o)	(m)	m/o
o	sede	o	(o)	x	m*	x	(m)	x
o	stoja	o		mo	m*	(o)	(m)	(o)

Chart 28, p. 2a

Pres/aor alternation in class III verbs

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
o	trpe			m	(m*)	m	(n)	m
o	trča	On		m	(m*)	(m)	(n)	m o

Chart 28, p. 1b

Pres/aor alternation in class III verbs

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čln	CTim	TWBg
b	vide*	m o	b/o	m	m	m	m	m o
b	vise	(o)	(o)	(o)	(o)	(o)	o	(o)
o	beža						o	
o	bleja	(o)	(o)	(o)	o	(o)	o	
o	boja (se)		(o)	(o)	(o)	(o)	o	
o	vrte	o			(o)			
o	ogladne			o	o	o	x	
o	gore	o	o	o	o	o	o	om
o	drža	(o)	o	(o)	x	o	o	o
o	žive	m	o	(m)	(o)	(m)	o	
o	leža	(o)	o	o	o		o	
o	lete	o	o	o	o	o	o	
o	sede	o	o	o	o	x		o
o	stoja	(o)	o	o	o	o	o	o

Chart 28, p. 2b

Pres/aor alternation in class III verbs

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
o trpe		o	(o)	(o)	o			
o trča		o	o	o	(o)	o	(o)	o

Chart 28, p. 1c
Pres/aor alternation in class III verbs

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	vide*	m	m	m	m	m	m
b	vise	(o)					
o	beža	x					
o	bleja	(o/m)					
o	boja (se)	m					
o	vrte		o	o		o	
o	ogladne				o/m		
o	gore	x	o	o/m	o/m	mo	
o	drža	o	o		om		
o	žive	m		x		o	
o	leža						
o	lete			o		o	o
o	sede	x	o	o	om	o	o
o	stoja		n		o	o	

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Chart 28, p. 2c

Pres/aor alternation in class III verbs

	NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
o trpe	o		(o)			
o trča	o		o	o		

Chart 29, p. la

Pres/aor alternation in class IV verbs

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	zaboravi			(m)	m*	m	(m)	m
b	gazi	b			m*		(m)	m
b	kupi [gather]				(m*		m	
b	pazi			m	m*	(b)	(m)	
b	pamti	b		(m)	m*		(m)	
b	pravi	b		m	m*	m	m	m
b	rani				(m*)		(m)	(m)
b	ostavi	b	b	m	m*	m	m	m
m	ženi	m		m	m*	m	(m)	m
m	kosi	m		m	m*	m	(m)	m
m	kupi [buy]	mo		m	m*	m	(m)	m
m	nosi			(m)	m*	(m)	(m)	m
m	plati				m*	m	(m)	m
m	hrani			m	(m*)	m	(m)	m

-726-

Chart 29, p. 2a

Pres/aor alternation in class IV verbs

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
o	goji				(m*)		(m)	
o	zvoni				(m*)		(m)	b
o	krsti	o		m	m*	(b)	m	m
o	lomi	(o)		m	m*	m	(m)	m
o	soli			m	(m*)	m	(m)	
o	uči	o / m		m	m*	m	m	m
o	čini	(o)	o	m	m*	o	m	
o	liči	(o)			(m*)		m	

Chart 29, p. 1b

Pres/aor alternation in class IV verbs

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	zaboravi	m	m	m	m	(m)	m	(m)
b	gazi			(m)		(m)		
b	kupi [gather]							m
b	pazi		(m)	(m)		(m)	m	m
b	pamti	(m)		m			m	
b	pravi	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
b	rani			(m)	(m)	(m)		
b	ostavi	m		m	m			m
m	ženi	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
m	kosi	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
m	kupi [buy]			m	m	m	m	m
m	kosi	(m)	m	m	(m)	m	m	
m	plati	m		m		m	m	
m	hrani	m	m	m	m	m	m	

Chart 29, p. 2b

Pres/aor alternation in class IV verbs

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
o	goji				(o)			
o	zvoni			m		(m)		
o	krsti	m	m	m	m	m	m	
o	lomi	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
o	soli	m			m		m	
m	uči	m	m/o	m	m	m/o	m	m
m	čini	(m)	(m)	m	m	m		
m	liči	(m)	(o)	(m)	(o)	(m)		

Chart 29, p. 1c

Pres/aor alternation in class IV verbs

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	zaboravi	m	m		m		(m)
b	gazi	m					
b	kupi [gather]	(m)		(b)			
b	pazi	(m)					m
b	pamti	(m)					m
b	pravi	m	m	mb	(m)	(m)	(m)
b	rani	(m)	(m)				(m)
b	ostavi	(m)	(m)	b	(m)	b m	m
m	ženi	m	m	m		b m	m
m	kosi	(m)	m		m		m
m	kupi [buy]	(m)	m		(m)		m
m	nosi	m	m	m	(m)	m	m
m	plati	m			(m)		(m)
m	hrani	m		(m)		m	

Chart 29, p. 2c

Pres/aor alternation in class IV verbs

	NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
o goji	(m)					(o)
o zvoni	(m)					(m)
o krsti	(m)		(m)	m		(m)
o lomi	(m)			(m)		(m)
o soli	(m)			m		(m)
o uči	m		m b	(m)	b	(m)
o čini	(m)		(o)	(m)		(m)
o liči	(m)				(o)	(m)

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Chart 30, p. a

Pres/aor alternation in class V-1 verbs

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	gledaj	m		m	m*	(m)	m	m
b	sisaj			m	m*	(b)	(m)	(m)
b	teraj	b / m		m	m*	(b)	m	(m)
m	sabiraj				(m*)		(m)	
m	gadjaj	m			m*		(m)	(m)
m	davaj	m	(m)		(m*)	(m)	(m)	(m)
m	zidaj				m*	(b)	(m)	
m	čuvaj			(m)	m*	(m)	(m)	m
m	igraj	m	(o)	m	m*	o	m	m
m	kopaj	m	o	m	m*	o	(m)	m
o	venčaj	(o)		(m)	m*	(m)	m	(m)
o	imaj	(mo)		m	(m*)	m	m	(m)
o	motaj			m	m*	(o)	(m)	m
o	čitaj	o	(o)	m	m*	(o)	(m)	(m)

Chart 30, p. b
Pres/aor alternation in class V-1 verbs

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	gledaj	m	m	m	m	m		m
b	sisaj			(m)	m	m	m	
b	teraj	m	m	(m)	(m)		m	
m	sabiraj			m			m	
m	gadjaj	(m)	(m)	m	(m)	(m)		
m	davaj	(m)	(m)		m o	m o	m	
m	zidaj				m	m	m	
m	čuvaj	(m)		m	(m)	(m)	m	m
m	igraj	m	(m)	(m)	o	(o)	m	
m	kopaj	m	m	m	m	o	m	m
m	venčaj	(m)	(m)	m	m	m		
m	imaj	b		(m)	m	(m)	m	b m
m	motaj	m	m	(m)	m			
m	čitaj	m	m		m			

Chart 30, p. c

Pres/aor alternation in class V-1 verbs

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	gledaj	m		mb	m	b	m
b	sisaj	m					(m)
b	teraj	m			m		(m)
m	sabiraj	(m)				b	m
m	gadjaj	(m)					(m)
m	davaj	m				m	m
m	zidaj	(m)					(m)
m	čuvaj	(m)	m	m	m	m	m
m	igraj	(m)		m		m	m
m	kopaj	m	m	m		m	m
m	venčaj	m					m
m	imaj	m			m		m
m	motaj	(m)					
m	čitaj	(m)			m		

Chart 31, p. a

Pres/aor alternation in class V-2 verbs

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	brisa	b		m	m*	(b)	(m)	m
b	diza	b		(m)	m*	(b)	(m)	b
b	jaha			(m)	(m*)	(b)	(m)	x
b	maza			(m)	m*	(b)	(m)	m
b	plaka	b		m	m*	(b)	(m)	
b	reza	m			m*		(m)	
b	sipa	x			(m*)		(m)	
m	vika	m		m	m*	m	(m)	m
m	kaza	m		m	m*	m	m	m
m	laga				(m*)	m	(m)	m
m	ora	m		m	m*	(b)	m	m
m	pisa	m		m	m*	m	(m)	m
m	šapta						(m)	

-735-

Chart 31, p. b

Pres/aor alternation in class V-2 verbs

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
b	brisa	(m)		(m)	m	m	m	
b	diza	m	m	m	m	(m)		
b	jaha	(m)	(m)	m	m		m	(m)
	jaši					m		
b	maza	(m)	m	m	m	(m)	m	(m)
b	plaka	(m)	(m)	m	m		(m)	m
b	reza	(m)	m	m	m	m	(m)	m
b	sipa		m					
m	vika	m	m	m	(m)	m	(m)	m
m	kaza	m	m	m	m	m	(m)	m
m	laga	m	m	m	m	(m)	(m)	m
m	ora	o	o	m	m	m		mo
m	pisa	(m)	m	m	m	m	(m)	m
m	šapta				m	(m)	(m)	
	šepkaj	m		m				

Chart 31, p. c

Pres/aor alternation in class V-2 verbs

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	brisa	(m)			m		m
b	diza	(m)					(m)
b	jaha	(m)			m		(m)
b	maza	(m)					m
b	plaka	(m)			m		m
b	reza	(m)	m	m b		m	(m)
b	sipa	(m)		m b			(m)
m	vika	m		(b)	(m)		(m)
m	kaza	m		m	(m)		m
m	laga	(m)		m			m
m	ora	o	m o	o	mo	o	m
m	pisa	m		m		m	m
m	šapta	(m)					(m)

Chart 32, p. a
Pres/aor alternation in class V-3 verbs

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
b	bra	b	o	b		o	b	b
b	pra	b	b	b		ob	b	b
b	tka	o	b	x		x	x	x
b	kla	b		b		b	b	b
o	zva	ob					b	
b	greja	(b)		m	m*	m	m	m
b	laja			m	m*	b	m	m
b	seja			m	(m*)	m	m	m
o	poja				m*		m	m / o/m
o	smeja (se)	o	o	m	m*	m	m	m
b	bljuva	b				b	b	b
b	pljuva			b			b	b
b	kova*	m / o	o	m		x		m

Chart 32, p. b

Pres/aor alternation in class V-3 verbs

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TvBg
b	bra	o	o	o	b	b	b o	b o
b	pra	o	o	o	b	b	b o	b
b	tka	x	o	x	x	x	b	
·b	kla	o		b	b	b	b	
o	zva	o	o	o	o		o	o
b	greja	m	m	m	m	m	m	
b	laja	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
b	seja		m	m	m	(o)	m	m
o	poja	o	(o)	o	o	o	o	o
o	smeja (se)	o	o	m o	m	o	o	m/o
b	bljuva							
b	pljuva				b	b	b	
b	kova*	o	o	o	o	o		o

Chart 32, p. c

Pres/aor alternation in class V-3 verbs

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
b	bra	b	b	ob	b	b	ob
b	pra	b			o		o
b	tka		x	x	x	o	
b	kla	b	b				
o	zva	b		(o)		(o)	
b	greja	(m)			m		
b	laja					m	m
b	seja	m			m	o / m	m
o	poja	o	o		om		o
o	smeja (se)	o		o	m	om	m
b	bljuva	b			b		(b)
b	pljuva	b				x	
b	kova*	o		o	mo	o	o

Chart 33, p. a
Pres/aor alternation in class VI verbs

		NE KR	SW KR	Pas	Dvor	Grač	NMac	Trg
B	verova			(b)		B	b	(^b_B)
B	praznova		(B)	(B)				
b	kupova	b	b			b	b	(b)
b	psova	b	B	(b)		b	b	b

Chart 33, p. b

Pres/aor alternation in class VI verbs

		Šil	Šarb	Kr	VR	Čin	CTim	TWBg
B	verova	b m	m	bm	m	B		
B	praznova			b	m	m	m	
b	kupova			b	b	b		b
b	psova	b		b	b	b		b

Chart 33, p. c

Pres/aor alternation in class VI verbs

		NSV	Kjus	Sof	EMac	NWBg	CWBg
B	verova		b				
B	praznova						
b	kupova						
b	psova						

The INDEX LISTS of villages and geographical co-ordinates are organized as follows:

Longitude and latitude coordinates (given in an abbreviated form which is explained in sec. 1.18 p. 83) appear along the left margin. The name of the village is listed in the center (transliterated according to conventions outlined on p. 73), and the area of Tk or WBg to which it belongs is given in parentheses to the right. The entire list of villages is given twice, once in numerical order (Index of Geographical Coordinates, pp. 744--768) and once in alphabetical order (Reference Index of Villages, pp. 769--793).

In the Index of Geographical Coordinates, entries are ordered primarily according to increasing distance east of the Greenwich meridian, and secondarily according to increasing distance north of the equator. For instance:

152/233   Suderce (SWTk)
152/332   Krupac (CWTk)

The location of Suderce (SWTk) is east $21°52'$ longitude, north $42°33'$ latitude. Krupac (CWTk) is located on the same longitudinal axis but at north $43°22'$ latitude, and thus follows Suderce in the listing.

In the Reference Index of Villages, the order is that of the Cyrillic alphabet.

INDEX OF GEOGRAPHICAL COORDINATES

055/219   Dvorane (SWTk)

112/237   Gračanica (SWTk)

128/227   Gnjilane (SWTk)

130/224   Pasjane (SWTk)

135/326   Ljupten (SWTk)

139/218   Preševo (SWTk)

143/254   Šilovo (CWTk)

146/228   Bujanovac (SWTk)

147/309   Crnatovo (CWTk)

147/323   Mezgraja (CWTk)

148/322   Trupala (CWTk)

149/230   Gornja Vrtogaš (SWTk)

149/318   Čokot (CWTk)

150/318   Medjurova (CWTk)

151/243   Golemo Selo (SWTk)

152/240   Roždace (SWTk)

152/241   Vlase (SWTk)

152/233   Suderce (SWTk)

152/332   Krupac (CWTk)

153/230   Neradovce, Dolnja and Gornja (SWTk)

153/238   Drenovac (SWTk)

153/245   Tumba (CWTk)

153/314   Malošište (CWTk)

153/318   Pasja Poljana (CWTk)

153/321	Komren	(CWTk)
153/329	Vrelo	(CWTk)
153/342	Šarbanovac	(CWTk)
154/239	Sekirje	(SWTk)
154/242	Gradnja	(SWTk)
154/243	Krušja Glava	(SWTk)
154/324	Leskovik	(CWTk)
155/233	Vranje	(SWTk)
155/319	Niš	(CWTk)
155/324	Hum	(CWTk)
155/326	Cerje	(CWTk)
155/327	Kravje	(CWTk)
156/229	Gornja Trebešinje	(SWTk)
156/236	Klašnica	(CWTk)
156/245	Mečkovac	(SWTk)
156/317	Ćurlina	(CWTk)
156/324	Brenica	(CWTk)
157/230	Tibudže	(SWTk)
157/237	Tesovište	(SWTk)
157/243	Srneći Dol	(CWTk)
157/300	Leskovac	(CWTk)
157/315	Berbatovo	(CWTk)
157/320	Dolnja Vrežina	(ETk-SZ)
157/322	Dolnji Matejevci	(ETk-SZ)
157/324	Kamenica	(CWTk)

157/328	Popčica (CWTk)
157/338	Dugo Polje (CWTk)
158/238	Toplac (SWTk)
158/240	Beliševo (SWTk)
158/240	Ravna Reka (SWTk)
158/255	Moštanica (CWTk)
158/312	Vilandrica (CWTk)
158/322	Gornji Matejevci (ETk-SZ)
158/329	Pirkovci (ETk-SZ)
158/337	Gumerište (CWTk)
159/229	Lukovo (SWTk)
159/233	Kumarevo (SWTk)
159/234	Banja (SWTk)
159/323	Berčinac (CWTk)
200/227	Surdul (SWTk)
200/233	Katalenac (SWTk)
200/238	Joovac (SWTk)
200/304	Babušnica (ETk-TL)
200/308	Babičko (CWTk)
200/313	Grkinja (CWTk)
200/317	Emina Kutina (Prva Kutina) (ETk-SZ)
200/320	Gornja Vrežina (ETk-SZ)
200/322	Knez Selo (ETk-SZ)
200/347	Ostrovica (CWTk)
201/231	Srednji Del (SWTk)

201/236	Priboj (SWTk)
201/238	Barbarušince (CWTk)
201/304	Jašunja (CWTk)
201/307	Crkovina (CWTk)
201/324	Jasenovik (ETk-SZ)
201/331	Galibabinci (ETk-SZ)
202/223	Šajince (SWTk)
202/228	Viševci (SWTk)
202/234	Bujkovac (SWTk)
202/320	Malča (ETk-SZ)
202/325	Grbavča (ETk-SZ)
202/327	Lalinci (ETk-SZ)
202/338	Stubol (CWTk)
203/235	Korbevac (CWTk)
203/241	Suva Morava (CWTk)
203/310	Krastavče (ETk-SZ)
203/317	Jelašnica (ETk-SZ)
204/236	Sebe Vranje (SWTk)
204/259	Stajkovce (CWTk)
204/305	Gornja Kupinovica (CWTk)
204/321	Pasjača (ETk-SZ)
204/322	Oreovac (ETk-SZ)
204/327	Plužina (ETk-SZ)
205/237	Bogoševce (SWTk)
205/243	Kržince (CWTk)

205/245	Manalje	(CWTk)
205/246	Tegovište	(CWTk)
205/303	Gradašnica	(CWTk)
205/310	Gare	(ETk-SZ)
205/332	Beli Potok	(ETk-SZ)
205/339	Skrobnica	(ETk-SZ)
206/211	Rankovce	(EMac)
206/233	Slivnica	(CWTk)
206/235	Klisurica	(SWTk)
206/237	Rdjavica	(ETk-SZ)
206/237	Ra(v)ut́ovo	(ETk-SZ)
206/244	Ružić	(CWTk)
206/246	Džepa	(CWTk)
206/303	Piskupovo	(CWTk)
206/315	Gornja Studena	(ETk-TL)
206/316	Dolnja Studena	(ETk-TL)
206/326	Merdželat	(ETk-SZ)
206/328	Niševci	(ETk-SZ)
206/329	Varoš	(ETk-SZ)
207/245	Dupljane	(CWTk)
207/247	Garinje	(CWTk)
207/302	Lipovica	(ETk-SZ)
207/316	Bencarevo	(ETk-TL)
207/324	Prekonoga	(ETk-SZ)
207/328	Zorunovci	(ETk-TL)

207/336	Šuman Topla (ETk-TL)
208/231	Crni Vr(h) (SWTk)
208/250	Predejanje (CWTk)
208/258	Vlasotince (CWTk)
208/319	Ostrovica (ETk-TL)
208/323	Djurinci (ETk-SZ)
208/325	Derven (ETk-SZ)
208/327	Slivovik (Šljivovik) (ETk-SZ)
208/331	Svrljiška Topla (ETk-SZ)
208/341	Bučje (ETk-TL)
209/233	Kriva Feja (ETk-TL)
209/235	Nesvrta (CWTk)
209/243	Baciovci (CWTk)
209/246	Manjak (CWTk)
209/300	Lomnica (CWTk)
209/318	Ravni Dol (ETk-TL)
209/324	Ribare (ETk-TL)
209/326	Željevo (ETk-TL)
209/328	Drajinci (ETk-TL)
209/329	Miljkovci (ETk-SZ)
209/334	Vasilj (ETk-TL)
209/337	Vina (ETk-TL)
210/224	Stajovce (SWTk)
210/247	Ljutež (CWTk)
210/256	Lopušnja (CWTk)

210/259	Baljare (CWTk)
210/300	Kruševica (CWTk)
210/305	Ličje (ETk-SZ)
210/323	Belo Inje (ETk-TL)
211/240	Dolnji Romanovce (CWTk)
211/244	Danjino Selo (CWTk)
211/257	Brezovica (CWTk)
211/319	Gradište (ETk-TL)
211/339	Dolnja Sokolovica (ETk-TL)
212/243	Kijevac (CWTk)
212/248	Guzevje (ETk-SZ)
212/303	Ostatovica (ETk-TL)
212/317	Tamnjanica (ETk-TL)
212/322	Orešac (ETk-TL)
212/323	Crnoljevica (ETk-TL)
212/349	Leskovac (ETk-TL)
212/358	Ramni Del (ETk-SZ)
213/306	Veliki Krčimir (ETk-SZ)
213/313	Glogovac (ETk-TL)
213/317	Crveni Breg (ETk-TL)
213/333	Rgošte (ETk-TL)
213/337	Valevci (ETk-TL)
213/338	Lepena (ETk-TL)
213/341	Koželj (ETk-TL)
213/345	Marinovac (ETk-TL)

213/347	Gornja Bela Reka (ETk-TL)
214/209	Psača (EMac)
214/225	Radovnica (SWTk)
214/240	Gornja Romanovce (ETk-TL)
214/250	Rupje (ETk-SZ)
214/315	Špaj (ETk-TL)
214/327	Tijovci (ETk-TL)
214/330	Ponor (ETk-TL)
215/214	Gabor (EMac)
215/226	Babina Poljana (SWTk)
215/242	Bitvrdja (ETk-TL)
215/258	Dean (ETk-SZ)
215/314	Vrgudinci (ETk-TL)
215/316	Vran Dol (ETk-TL)
215/336	Štipina (ETk-TL)
215/349	Grlište (ETk-TL)
216/243	Troskači (CWTk)
216/259	Svodje (ETk-SZ)
216/301	Golemo Bojnince (ETk-TL)
216/305	Štrbovac (ETk-TL)
216/314	Novo Selo (ETk-TL)
216/327	Bučum (ETk-TL)
216/329	Krenta (ETk-TL)
216/331	Žlne (ETk-TL)
216/334	Knjaževac (ETk-TL)

216/338	Potrkanje (ETk-TL)
216/340	Debelica (ETk-TL)
216/341	Trnovac (ETk-TL)
216/343	Vrbica (ETk-TL)
217/231	Musul, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
217/233	Ploča, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
217/240	Vučedelci (ETk-TL)
217/251	Brod (ETk-SZ)
217/254	Dobro Polje (ETk-SZ)
217/257	Ora(h) (ETk-TL)
217/316	Draževo (ETk-TL)
217/328	Mučibaba (ETk-TL)
217/336	Gornja Zuniče (ETk-TL)
217/338	Dolnja Zuniče (ETk-TL)
218/238	Topli Dol (ETk-TL)
218/249	Crna Trava (ETk-SZ)
218/304	Bogdanovac (ETk-TL)
218/312	Mokra (ETk-TL)
218/315	Moklište (ETk-TL)
218/333	Trgovište (ETk-TL)
218/341	Kraljevo Selo (ETk-TL)
218/344	Borovac (ETk-TL)
219/239	Biljanica (ETk-TL)
219/244	Vlasina Rid (ETk-TL)
219/309	Dolnja Koritnica (ETk-TL)

219/311	Divljana (ETk-TL)
219/313	Bela Palanka (ETk-TL)
219/326	Lukova (ETk-TL)
219/330	Štrpcl (ETk-TL)
219/338	Jelašnica (ETk-SZ)
219/340	Jakovac (ETk-TL)
220/233	Doganica, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
220/309	Gornja Koritnica (ETk-TL)
220/311	Oreovac (ETk-TL)
220/325	Vlahovo (ETk-TL)
220/342	Seljačka (ETk-TL)
220/344	Mali Izvor (ETk-TL)
221/242	Vlasina (Blato) (ETk-TL)
221/259	Vrelo (ETk-TL)
221/303	Linovo (ETk-TL)
221/321	Vitanovci (ETk-TL)
221/329	Dolnja Kamenica (ETk-TL)
221/348	Gorno-Linjavo, Lomsko (NWBg)
222/237	Topli-dol, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
222/313	Klisura (ETk-TL)
222/327	Gornja Kamenica (ETk-TL)
222/342	Manastir Suvodol (ETk-TL)
223/258	Leskovica (ETk-TL)
223/300	Berduj (ETk-TL)
223/301	Ljuberažda (ETk-TL)

223/317	Glama (ETk-TL)
223/322	Miranovac (ETk-TL)
223/324	Izvor-Jalovnik (ETk-TL)
223/341	Ošljane (ETk-TL)
224/214	Želigovo (EMac)
224/237	Božica, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
224/302	Gorčinci (ETk-TL)
224/303	Suračevo (ETk-TL)
224/305	Izvor (ETk-TL)
225/300	Radinjinci (ETk-TL)
225/312	Tijelovac (ETk-TL)
225/315	Ljubatovica (ETk-TL)
225/325	Kalna (ETk-TL)
225/335	Radičevci (ETk-TL)
226/315	Sinjac (ETk-TL)
226/319	Orlja (ETk-TL)
227/226	Zli-dol, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
227/255	Crvena Jabolka (ETk-TL)
227/303	Draginac (Zlokučanje) (ETk-TL)
227/305	Radoševci (ETk-TL)
227/310	Ponor (Pirotski) (ETk-TL)
227/322	Stanjanci (ETk-TL)
227/339	Novo Korito (ETk-TL)
228/303	Vava (ETk-TL)
228/308	Zaplanje (ETk-SZ)

228/314	Crnoklište (ETk-TL)
229/225	Brankovci, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
229/230	Bosiligrad (TWBg-3)
229/324	Baltaberilovci (ETk-TL)
229/345	Rakovica, Kulsko (NWBg)
230/259	Valuniš (Valniš) (ETk-TL)
230/305	Pasjača (ETk-TL)
230/308	Kostur (ETk-TL)
230/309	Blato (ETk-TL)
230/319	Cerova (ETk-TL)
230/350	Staropatica, Kulsko (NWBg)
231/231	Izvor, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
231/234	Metoxija, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
231/304	Sina glava (Sinja glava) (ETk-TL)
231/311	V. Suvodol (ETk-TL)
231/312	Steničenje (ETk-TL)
231/320	Mirkovci (ETk-TL)
231/358	Kulsko (NWBg)
232/227	Mlekominci, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
232/307	Rasnica (ETk-TL)
232/322	Tioštica (ETk-TL)
233/308	Čivlik (Barječivlik) (ETk-TL)
233/316	Temska (ETk-TL)
233/317	Rudinje (ETk-TL)
233/326	Ravno Bučje (ETk-TL)

233/341	Ošane, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
233/346	Car Šišmanovo, Kulsko (NWBg)
234/301	Cerev Del (ETk-TL)
234/303	Kamik (ETk-TL)
234/305	Prisjan (ETk-TL)
234/314	Sopot (ETk-TL)
234/332	Stakevci, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
235/225	Dolno-Ujno, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg·3)
235/236	Kosovo, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
235/325	Crni Vr(h) (ETk-TL)
236/309	Pirot (ETk-TL)
236/313	Nišor (ETk-TL)
236/336	Praužda, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
237/232	Trekljano, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
237/306	Dolnja Držina (ETk-TL)
238/203	Kiselica (EMac)
238/216	Žilenci, Kjustendilsko (Kjus)
238/310	Berilovac (ETk-TL)
238/313	Dobri Dol (ETk-TL)
238/357	Car Petrovo, Kulsko (NWBg)
239/227	Zlogoš, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
239/232	Gabreševci, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
239/250	Transko (TWBg-2)
239/333	Vurbovo, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
239/350	Gramada, Kulsko (NWBg)

240/230	Dobri-dol, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
240/301	Gornja Držina (ETk-TL)
240/331	Čuprenja, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
240/337	Belogradčik (TWBg-1)
240/346	Makreš, Kulsko (NWBg)
241/215	Bogoslov, Kjustendilsko (Kjus)
242/217	Kjustendilsko (Kjus)
242/315	Gostuša (ETk-TL)
242/332	Torgovište, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
242/342	Bela, Belogradčiško (NWBg)
243/216	Slokoštica, Kustendilsko Kraište (Kjus)
243/221	Šiškoci, Kustendilsko Kraište (Kjus)
243/223	Roždavica, Kustendilsko Kraište (Kjus)
243/303	Činiglavci (ETk-TL)
243/355	Vojnica, Vidinsko (NWBg)
243/335	Borovica, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
243/344	Aleksandrovo, Belogradčiško (NWBg)
244/249	Filipovci, Trensko (TWBg-2)
244/329	Gorni-Lom, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
244/331	Repljana, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
244/338	Orešec, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
245/352	Ivanovci, Vidinsko (NWBg)
245/402	Gorci, Vidinsko (NWBg)
246/337	Vorbovčec, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
246/340	Skomlja,Belogradčiško (NWBg)

246/359	Bela-Rada, Vidinsko (NWBg)
247/217	Tornovlak, Kjustendilsko Kraište (Kjus)
247/219	Konjavo, Kjustendilsko Kraište (Kjus)
247/229	Žabljano, Radomirsko (CWBg)
247/339	Medovnica, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
247/343	Kostičovci, Belogradčiško (NWBg)
247/410	Novoselsko (NWBg)
248/304	Petrlaš (TWBg-2)
248/248	Baba, Trønsko (TWBg-2)
248/345	Izvor, Vidinsko (NWBg)
248/348	Visok (ETk-TL)
248/353	Žeglica, Vidinsko (NWBg)
249/233	Kovačevica, Radomirsko (CWBg)
249/234	Sirištnik, Radomirsko (CWBg)
249/358	Tatardžik, Vidinsko (NWBg)
250/357	Ružinci, Belogradčiško (NWBg)
250/402	Smørdan, Vidinsko (NWBg)
251/215	Nevestino, Kjustendilsko Kraište (Kjus)
251/347	Mali-Drenovec, Vidinsko (NWBg)
252/232	Čelinci, Radomirsko (CWBg)
252/328	Prevala, Ferdinandsko (TWBg-1)
252/400	Vidin (NWBg)
253/323	Čiporovci, Berkovsko (TWBg-1)
254/339	Belo-pole, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
255/244	Breznik (TWBg-2)

255/246	Dolni-Romanci, Brezniško (TWBg-2)
255/349	Arčar, Vidinsko (NWBg)
256/225	Žituša, Radomirsko (CWBg)
256/256	Dragoman, Sofijsko (Sof)
256/333	Belotinci, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
256/336	Černo-pole, Belogradčiško (NWBg)
257/236	Batanovci, Radomirsko (CWBg)
257/244	Babica, Brezniško (TWBg-2)
257/346	Tolovica, Lomsko (NWBg)
258/211	Skrino, Dupniško (CWBg)
258/228	Boboraci, Radomirsko (CWBg)
258/231	Vɵrba, Radomirsko (CWBg)
258/233	Radomir (CWBg)
258/301	Caribrod (TWBg-2)
259/215	Golemi-Vɵrbovnik, Dupniško (CWBg)
259/326	Beli-mel, Ferdinandsko (NѝBg)
259/342	Čorljovo, Lomsko (NWBg)
300/209	Boboševo, Dupniško (CWBg)
300/240	Meštica, Brezniško (TWBg-2)
301/207	Dragodan, Dupniško (CWBg)
301/333	Dolna-Riksa, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
302/236	Pernik (TWBg-2)
303/251	Slivnica, Sofijsko (Sof)
304/205	Kočarinovo, Dupniško (CWBg)
304/256	Vasilovci, Sofijsko (Sof)

304/312	Kotenovci, Berkovsko (NWBg)
304/340	Brusarci, Lomsko (NWBg)
305/220	Djakovo, Dupniško (CWBg)
305/334	Slavotin, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
306/252	Opi-Cvet, Sofijsko (Sof)
306/327	Gorna-Verenica, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
306/347	Orsoja, Lomsko (NWBg)
307/204	Ginci (Sof)
307/205	Stob, Dupniško (CWBg)
307/216	Dupnica (CWBg)
307/314	Berkovica (NWBg)
307/336	Slivovik, Lomsko (NWBg)
308/207	Rila, Dupnica (CWBg)
308/232	Studena, Sofijsko (Sof)
308/241	Grdoman (Sof)
308/243	Verdikal, Sofijsko (Sof)
308/247	Gurmazovo-Proleša, Sofijsko (Sof)
308/326	Dolna-Verenica, Rahovsko (NWBg)
308/343	Vasilovci, Lomsko (NWBg)
309/247	Proleša, Sofijsko (Sof)
309/330	Velkova-Slatina, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
310/231	Krapec, Sofijsko (Sof)
310/242	Ivanjane (Sof)
310/244	Gurmazovo, Sofijsko (Sof)
310/312	Klisura, Berkovsko (NWBg)

310/337	Medkovec, Lomsko (NWBg)
310/344	Stalijska-Mahala, Lomsko (NWBg)
311/250	Šijakovci (Sof)
311/319	Borovci, Berkovsko (NWBg)
311/345	Vlaška-Mahala, Lomsko (NWBg)
312/237	Vladaja, Sofijsko (Sof)
312/328	Studeno-buče, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
312/333	Bezdenica, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
313/325	Ferdinand (NWBg)
314/201	Zagožene (Sof)
314/242	Suxodol, Sofijsko (Sof)
314/256	Čibaovce (Sof)
314/313	Slatina, Berkovsko (NWBg)
314/331	Virove, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
314/349	Lom (NWBg)
315/231	Čupetlovo, Sofijsko (Sof)
315/240	Knjaževo, Sofijsko (Sof)
315/241	Gorna-Banja, Sofijsko (Sof)
315/259	Zaselje-Iskrec, Sofijsko (Sof)
315/318	Gušanci, Berkovsko (NWBg)
315/335	Dolno-Cerovene, Lomsko (NWBg)
315/348	Golinci, Lomsko (NWBg)
316/239	Bojana, Sofijsko (Sof)
317/228	Jarlovo, Samokovsko (CWBg)
317/247	Mramor, Sofijsko (Sof)

317/248	Dobroslavci, Sofijsko (Sof)
317/332	Gabrovnica, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
317/336	Delgodelci, Lomsko (NWBg)
318/218	Separevo, Dupniško (CWBg)
318/244	Vrebnica, Sofijsko (Sof)
318/247	Mirovjane (Sof)
318/303	Zimevica, Sofijsko (Sof)
318/312	Veršec, Berkovsko (NWBg)
319/238	Dragalevci, Sofijsko (Sof)
319/246	Trevič (Sof)
319/249	Žiten (Sof)
319/251	Ketina (Sof)
319/254	Cerecel, Sofijsko (Sof)
319/343	Komoštica, Lomsko (NWBg)
319/350	Dolno-Linjavo, Lomsko (NWBg)
320/248	Kumarica (Sof)
320/251	Brezje (Sof)
320/300	Cerovo, Sofijsko (Sof)
320/312	Dolna-Bela-Rečka, Vračansko (NWBg)
320/338	Progorelec, Lomsko (NWBg)
321/242	Sofija (Sof)
321/244	Birimirci, Sofijsko (Sof)
321/245	Obradovci, Sofijsko (Sof)
321/250	Kurilo (Sof)
321/257	Svoge (Sof)

321/308	Dupni-vrex, Vračansko (NWBg)
321/311	Bela-Rečka, Vračansko (NWBg)
321/314	Dolno-Ozirovo, Vračansko (NWBg)
321/331	Klisurica, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
322/235	Bistrica, Sofijsko (Sof)
322/259	Zelen (Sof)
322/330	Portitovci, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
322/331	Golemo-Merčevo, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
322/338	Kotenovci, Lomsko (NWBg)
322/348	Kovačica, Lomsko (NWBg)
323/247	Svetovračure (Sof)
323/253	Rebrovo (Sof)
323/339	Vojnici, Lomsko (NWBg)
323/344	Dušilnica, Lomsko (NWBg)
324/248	Podgumec
324/252	Lukovo (Sof)
324/254	Batulija (Sof)
324/302	Lakatnik, Sofijsko (Sof)
325/235	Kokaljane, Sofijsko (Sof)
325/243	Vraždebna, Sofijsko (Sof)
325/307	Osikovo, Vračansko (NWBg)
325/339	Černi-Vrex, Lomsko (NWBg)
325/345	Mokreš, Lomsko (NWBg)
326/240	Busmanci, Sofijsko (Sof)
326/245	Čepinci, Sofijsko (Sof)

326/248	Vojnegovci, Sofijsko (Sof)
326/331	Kobiljak, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
327/222	Reljovo, Samokovsko (CWBg)
327/248	Lokorsko, Sofijsko (Sof)
327/341	Belčedrøm, Lomsko (NWBg)
327/349	Labec, Lomsko (NWBg)
328/240	Kazičene, Sofijsko (Sof)
328/241	Krivina (Sof)
328/258	Bakovo (Sof)
328/316	Babino, Vračansko (NWBg)
329/244	Čelopečene, Sofijsko (Sof)
329/344	Krumovo, Lomsko (NWBg)
329/347	Ignatevo, Lomsko (NWBg)
330/223	Rajovo, Samokovsko (CWBg)
330/236	Dolni-Lozenec, Sofijsko (Sof)
330/247	Kremikovci, Sofijsko (Sof)
330/331	Gromošin, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
330/345	Razgrad-mahala, Lomsko (NWBg)
331/223	Široki-dol, Samokovsko (CWBg)
331/242	Dolni Bogrov (Sof)
331/244	Butunec, Sofijsko (Sof)
331/246	Dospej, Somokovsko (CWBg)
331/247	Seslavci, Sofijsko (Sof)
331/311	Zgorigrad, Vračansko (NWBg)
331/313	Bistrec, Vračansko (NWBg)

331/319   Liljače, Vračansko   (NWBg)

332/221   Prodanovci, Samokovsko   (CWBg)

332/240   Barijevo, Sofijsko   (Sof)

332/243   Gorni Bogrov   (Sof)

332/258   Osenovlak   (Sof)

332/313   Nefela, Vračansko   (NWBg)

332/332   Lexčevo, Ferdinandsko   (NWBg)

333/312   Vračansko   (NWBg)

333/313   Varbešnica, Vračansko   (NWBg)

334/220   Samokov   (CWBg)

334/222   Dragušinovo, Samokovsko   (CWBg)

334/224   Zlokučene, Samokovsko   (CWBg)

334/246   Bukorovci, Sofijsko   (Sof)

334/251   Jablanica, Sofijsko   (Sof)

334/311   Medkovec, Vračansko   (NWBg)

334/328   Lesura, Vračansko   (NWBg)

335/320   Čiren, Vračansko   (NWBg)

335/332   Beli-Brad, Raxovsko   (NWBg)

336/240   Šeremet, Sofijsko   (Sof)

336/242   Griguvero   (Sof)

336/308   Čelopek, Vračansko   (NWBg)

336/309   Pavolče, Vračansko   (NWBg)

336/335   Dolna-Gnojnica, Raxovsko   (NWBg)

337/245   Željava, Sofijsko   (Sof)

337/316   Kostalevo, Vračansko   (NWBg)

338/243	Stolnik, Sofijsko (Sof)
338/259	Radotina, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
339/245	Elešnica (Sof)
339/311	Krapec, Vračansko (NWBg)
339/335	Monastirište, Raxovsko (NWBg)
340/240	Dolna Malina (Sof)
340/333	Xajredin, Ranovsko (NWBg)
341/257	Litakovo, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
341/303	Ljuti-dol, Vračansko (NWBg)
341/307	Rebarkovo, Vračansko (NWBg)
341/329	Malorad Raxovsko (NWBg)
342/304	Tipčenica, Vračansko (NWBg)
343/233	Vakarel, Sofijsko (Sof)
343/246	Čurek, Sofijsko (Sof)
343/308	Dermanci, Vračansko (NWBg)
343/331	Rogozen, Ranovsko (NWBg)
343/333	Berzina, Raxovsko (NWBg)
344/310	Dolna-Kremena, Vračansko (NWBg)
344/319	Golemo-Peštene, Vračansko (NWBg)
345/245	Osoica, Sofijsko (Sof)
345/254	Vračeš, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
345/302	Lipnica, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
345/326	Borovan, Beloslatinsko (NWBg)
345/339	Butan, Raxovsko (NWBg)
346/200	Kalimanci (EMac)

346/219	Dolna-Banja, Ihtimansko (CWBg)
346/257	Skravena, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
348/254	Orxanije (NWBg)
348/310	Vlaško-selo, Vračansko (Zarevec) (NWBg)
348/318	Virovsko, Beloslatinsko (NWBg)
349/226	Ihtimansko (CWBg)
349/239	Bajlovo, Sofijsko (Novoselsko) (Sof)
349/245	Gorno-Kamarci, Sofijsko (Sof)
349/301	Boženica, Orxanijsko (CWBg)
349/313	Gorna-Bešovica, Vračansko (NWBg)
351/221	Vasilica, Ihtimansko (CWBg)
351/255	Ležane, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
351/317	Vərbica, Beloslatinsko (NWBg)
352/245	Stərgel, Pirdopsko (CWBg)
352/341	Bukjovci, Raxovsko (NWBg)
354/259	Kalugerovo, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
354/319	Gabare, Beloslatinsko (NWBg)
355/213	Sestrimo, Ihtimansko (CWBg)
355/315	Dəršan, Beloslatinsko (NWBg)
356/309	Roman, Vračansko (NWBg)
357/328	Beloslatinsko (NWBg)
358/344	Raxovsko (NWBg)
400/258	Praveška-Ləkavica, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
401/256	Osikovica, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
403/323	Enica, Beloslatinsko (NWBg)

406/331	Kneže, Raxovsko (NWBg)
409/309	Petrovene, Lukovitsko (NWBg)
409/322	Kojnare, Beloslatinsko (NWBg)
410/313	Lukovitsko (NWBg)
411/242	Pirdopsko
432/328	Dolna-Mitropolija, Plevensko (NWBg)

REFERENCE INDEX OF VILLAGES

243/344   Aleksandrovo, Belogradčiško   (NWBg)

255/349   Arčar, Vidinsko   (NWBg)

248/248   Baba, Trensko   (TWBg-2)

215/226   Babina Poljana   (SWTk)

328/316   Babino, Vračansko   (NWBg)

257/244   Babica, Brezniško   (TWBg-2)

200/308   Babičko   (CWTk)

200/304   Babušnica   (ETk-TL)

349/239   Bajlovo, Sofijsko (Novoselsko)   (Sof)

328/258   Bakovo   (Sof)

210/259   Baljare   (CWTk)

229/324   Baltaberilovci   (ETk-TL)

159/234   Banja   (SWTk)

201/238   Barbarušince   (CWTk)

332/240   Barijevo, Sofijsko   (Sof)

233/308   Barječivlik (Čivlik)   (ETk-TL)

257/236   Batanovci, Radomirsko   (CWBg)

324/254   Batulija   (Sof)

209/243   Baciovci   (CWTk)

312/333   Bezdenica Ferdinandsko   (NWBg)

242/342   Bela, Belogradčiško   (NWBg)

219/313   Bela Palanka   (ETk-TL)

246/359   Bela-Rada, Vidinsko   (NWBg)

321/311	Bela-Rečka, Vračansko (NWBg)
335/332	Beli-Brod, Raxovsko (NWBg)
259/326	Beli-mel, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
205/332	Beli Potok (ETk-SZ)
158/240	Beliševo (SWTk)
210/323	Belo Inje (ETk-TL)
240/337	Belogradčik (TWBg-1)
254/339	Belo-pole, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
357/328	Beloslatinsko (NWBg)
256/333	Belotinci, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
207/316	Bencarevo (ETk-TL)
157/315	Berbatovo (CWTk)
223/300	Berduj (ETk-TL)
238/310	Berilovac (Serb TL) ETk-TL)
307/314	Berkovica (NWBg)
159/323	Berčinac (CWTk)
219/239	Biljanica (ETk-TL)
321/244	Birimirci, Sofijsko (Sof)
331/313	Bistrec, Vračansko (NWBg)
322/235	Bistrica, Sofijsko (Sof)
215/242	Bitvrdja (ETk-TL)
230/309	Blato (ETk-TL)
258/228	Boboraci, Radomirsko (CWBg)
300/209	Boboševo, Dupniško (CWBg)
218/304	Bogdanovac (ETk-TL)

241/215	Bogoslov, Kjustendilsko (Kjus)
205/237	Bogoševce (SWTk)
349/301	Boženica, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
224/237	Božica, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
316/239	Bojana, Sofijsko (Sof)
345/326	Borovan, Beloslatinsko (NWBg)
218/344	Borovac (ETk-TL)
243/335	Borovica, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
311/319	Borovci, Berkovsko (NWBg)
229/230	Bosiligrad (TWBg-3)
229/225	Brankovci, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
320/251	Brezje (Sof)
255/244	Breznik (TWBg-2)
211/257	Brezovica (CWTk)
156/324	Brenica (CWTk)
217/251	Brod (ETk-SZ)
304/340	Brusarci, Lomsko (NWBg)
146/228	Bujanovac (SWTk)
202/234	Bujkovac (SWTk)
352/341	Bukjovci, Raxovsko (NWBg)
334/246	Bukorovci, Sofijsko (Sof)
326/240	Busmanci, Sofijsko (Sof)
345/339	Butan, Raxovsko (NWBg)
331/244	Butunec, Sofijsko (Sof)
208/341	Bučje (ETk-TL)

216/327	Bučum (ETk-TL)	
327/341	Bəlčedrəm, Lomsko (NWBg)	
343/333	Bərzina, Raxovsko (NWBg)	
228/303	Vava (ETk-TL)	
343/233	Vakarel, Sofijsko (Sof)	
213/337	Valevci (ETk-TL)	
230/259	Valuniš (Valniš) (ETk-TL)	
206/329	Varoš (ETk-SZ)	
351/221	Vasilica, Ihtimansko (CWBg)	
209/334	Vasilj (ETk-TL)	
308/343	Vasilovci, Lomsko (NWBg)	
304/256	Vasilovci, Sofijsko (Sof)	
213/306	Veliki Krčimir (ETk-SZ)	
308/243	Verdikal, Sofijsko (Sof)	
252/400	Vidin (NWBg)	
158/312	Vilandrica (CWTk)	
209/337	Vina (ETk-TL)	
314/331	Virove, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)	
348/318	Virovsko, Beloslatinsko (NWBg)	
248/348	Visɔk (ETk-TL)	
221/321	Vitanovci (ETk-TL)	
202/228	Viševci (SWTk)	
312/237	Vladaja, Sofijsko (Sof)	
152/241	Vlase (SWTk)	
221/242	Vlasina (Blato) (ETk-TL)	

219/244	Vlasina Rid (ETk-TL)
208/258	Vlasotince (CWTk)
311/345	Vlaška-mahala, Lomsko (NWBg)
348/310	Vlaško-selo, Vračansko (Zarevec) (NWBg)
220/325	Vlahovo (ETk-TL)
326/248	Vojnegovci, Sofijsko (Sof)
243/355	Vojnica, Vidinsko (NWBg)
323/339	Vojnici, Lomsko (NWBg)
325/243	Vraždebna, Sofijsko (Sof)
215/316	Vran Dol (ETk-TL)
155/233	Vranje (SWTk)
333/312	Vračansko (NWBg)
345/254	Vračeš, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
216/343	Vrbica (ETk-TL)
215/314	Vrgudinci (ETk-TL)
153/329	Vrelo (CWTk)
221/259	Vrelo (ETk-TL)
318/244	Vrebnica, Sofijsko (Sof)
217/240	Vučidelci (ETk-TL)
309/330	Velkova-Slatina, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
258/231	Verba, Radomirsko (CWBg)
333/313	Verbešnica, Vračansko (NWBg)
351/317	Verbica, Beloslatinsko (NWBg)
239/333	Verbovo, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
246/337	Verbovčec, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)

318/312	Veršec, Berkovsko (NWBg)
354/319	Gabare, Beloslatinsko (NWBg)
215/214	Gabor (EMac)
239/232	Gabreševci, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
256/317	Gabrovac (CWTk)
317/332	Gabrovnica, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
201/331	Galibabinci (ETk-SZ)
205/310	Gare (ETk-SZ)
207/247	Garinje (CWTk)
307/204	Ginci (Sof)
223/317	Glama (ETk-TL)
213/313	Glogovac (ETk-TL)
128/227	Gnjilane (SWTk)
259/215	Golemi-Verbovnik, Dupniško (CWBg)
216/301	Golemo Bojnince (ETk-TL)
322/331	Golemo-Merčevo, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
344/319	Golemo-Peštene, Vračansko (NWBg)
151/243	Golemo Selo (SWTk)
315/348	Golinci, Lomsko (NWBg)
315/241	Gorna-Banja, Sofijsko (Sof)
349/313	Gorna-Bešovica, Vračansko (NWBg)
306/327	Gorna-Verenica, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
332/243	Gorni Bogrov (Sof)
244/329	Gorni-Lom, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
349/245	Gorno-Kamarci, Sofijsko (Sof)

221/348	Gorno-Linjavo, Lomsko (NWBg)
213/347	Gornja Bela Reka (ETk-TL)
200/320	Gornja Vrežina (ETk-SZ)
149/230	Gornja Vrtogaš (SWTk)
240/301	Gornja Držina (ETk-TL)
217/336	Gornja Zuniče (ETk-TL)
222/327	Gornja Kamenica (ETk-TL)
220/309	Gornja Koritnica (ETk-TL)
204/305	Gornja Kupinovica (CWTk)
214/240	Gornja Romanovce (ETk-TL)
206/315	Gornja Studena (ETk-TL)
156/229	Gornja Trevešinje (SWTk)
158/322	Gornji Matejevci (ETk-SZ)
224/303	Gorčinci (ETk-TL)
242/315	Gostuša (ETk-TL)
205/303	Gradašnica (CWTk)
211/319	Gradište (ETk-TL)
154/242	Gradnja (SWTk)
239/350	Gramada, Kulsko (NWBg)
112/237	Gračanica (SWTk)
202/325	Grvavča (ETk-SZ)
308/241	Grdoman (Sof)
336/242	Grigorevo (Sof)
200/313	Grkinja (CWTk)
215/349	Grlište (ETk-TL)

330/331	Gromošin, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
212/248	Guzevje (ETk-SZ)
158/337	Gumerište (CWTk)
310/244	Gurmazovo, Sofijsko (Sof)
308/247	Gurmazovo-Proleša, Sofijsko (Sof)
315/318	Gušanci, Berkovsko (NWBg)
245/402	Gørci, Vidinsko (NWBg)
211/244	Danjino Selo (CWTk)
055/219	Dvorane (SWTk)
215/258	Dean (ETk-SZ)
216/340	Debelica (ETk-TL)
208/325	Derven (ETk-SZ)
343/308	Dermanci, Vračansko (NWBg)
206/246	Džepa (CWTk)
219/311	Divljana (ETk-TL)
305/220	Djakovo, Dupniško (CWBg)
208/323	Djurinci (ETk-SZ)
238/313	Dobri Dol (ETk-TL)
240/230	Dobri-dol, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
217/254	Dobro Polje (ETk-SZ)
317/248	Dobroslavci, Sofijsko (Sof)
220/233	Doganica, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
346/219	Dolna-Banja, Ihtimansko (CWBg)
320/312	Dolna-Bela-Rečka, Vračansko (NWBg)
308/326	Dolna-Verenica, Rahovsko (NWBg)

336/335	Dolna-Gnojnica, Raxovsko (NWBg)
344/310	Dolna-Kremena, Vračansko (NWBg)
340/240	Dolna Malina (Sof)
432/328	Dolna-Mitropolija, Plevensko (NWBg)
301/333	Dolna-Riksa, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
331/242	Dolni Bogrov (Sof)
330/236	Dolni-Lozenec, Sofijsko (Sof)
255/246	Dolni-Romanci, Brezniško (TWBg-2)
319/350	Dolno-Linjavo, Lomsko (NWBg)
321/314	Dolno-Ozirovo, Vračansko (NWBg)
235/225	Dolno-Ujno, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
315/335	Dolno-Cerovene, Lomsko (NWBg)
157/320	Dolnja Vrežina (ETk-SZ)
237/306	Dolnja Držina (ETk-TL)
217/338	Dolnja Zuniče (ETk-TL)
221/329	Dolnja Kamenica (ETk-TL)
219/309	Dolnja Koritnica (ETk-TL)
157/322	Dolnji Matejevci (ETk-SZ)
211/240	Dolnji Romanovce (CWTk)
211/339	Dolnja Sokolovica (ETk-TL)
206/316	Dolnja Studena (ETk-TL)
331/246	Dospej, Samokovsko (CWBg)
319/238	Dragalevci, Sofijsko (Sof)
227/303	Draginac (Zlokučanje) (ETk-TL)
301/207	Dragodan, Dupniško (CWBg)

256/256	Dragoman, Sofijsko (Sof)
334/222	Dragušinovo, Samokovsko (CWBg)
217/316	Draževo (ETk-TL)
309/328	Drajinci (ETk-TL)
259/341	Drenovec, Lomsko (NWBg)
153/238	Drenovac (SWTk)
157/338	Dugo Polje (CWTk)
207/245	Dupljane (CWTk)
321/308	Dupni-vrex, Vračansko (NWBg)
307/216	Dupnica (CWBg)
323/344	Dušilnica, Lomsko (NWBg)
317/336	Delgodelci, Lomsko (NWBg)
355/315	Deršan, Beloslatinsko (NWBg)
339/245	Elešnica (Sof)
200/317	Emina Kutina (Prva Kutina) (ETk-SZ)
403/323	Enica, Beloslatinsko (NWBg)
247/229	Žabljano, Radomirsko (CWBg)
248/353	Žeglica, Vidinsko (NWBg)
224/214	Želigovo (EMac)
337/245	Željava, Sofijsko (Sof)
209/326	Željevo (ETk-TL)
238/216	Žilenci, Kjustendilsko (Kjus)
319/249	Žiten (Sof)
256/225	Žituša, Radomirsko (CWBg)
216/331	Žlne (ETk-TL)

314/201	Zagožene (Sof)
228/308	Zaplanje (ETk-SZ)
315/259	Zaselje-Iskrec, Sofijsko (Sof)
331/311	Zgorigrad, Vračansko (NSWBg)
322/259	Zelen (Sof)
318/303	Zimevica, Sofijsko (Sof)
227/226	Zli-dol, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
239/227	Zlogoš, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
227/303	Zlokučanje (Draginac) (ETk-TL)
334/224	Zlokučene, Samokovsko (CWBg)
207/328	Zorunovci (ETk-TL)
310/242	Ivanjane (Sof)
245/352	Ivanovci, Vidinsko (NWBg)
329/347	Ignatevo, Lomsko (NWBg)
248/345	Izvor, Vidinsko (NWBg)
231/231	Izvor, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
224/305	Izvor (ETk-TL)
223/324	Izvor-Jalovnik (ETk-TL)
349/226	Ixtimansko (CWBg)
334/251	Jablanica, Sofijsko (Sof)
219/340	Jakovac (ETk-TL)
317/228	Jarlovo, Samokovsko (CWBg)
201/324	Jasenovik (ETk-SZ)
201/304	Jašunja (CWTk)
219/338	Jelašnica (ETk-TL)

203/317	Jelašnica (ETk-SZ)
200/238	Joovac (SWTk)
328/240	Kazičene, Sofijsko (Sof)
346/200	Kalimanci (EMac)
225/325	Kalna (ETk-TL)
354/259	Kalugerovo, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
157/324	Kamenica (CWTk)
234/303	Kamik (ETk-TL)
200/233	Katalenac (SWTk)
212/243	Kijevac (CWTk)
238/203	Kiselica (EMac)
242/217	Kjustendilsko (Kjus)
156/236	Klašnica (CWTk)
310/312	Klisura, Berkovsko (NWBg)
222/313	Klisura (ETk-TL)
321/331	Klisurica, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
206/235	Klisurica (SWTk)
200/322	Knez Selo (ETk-SZ)
406/331	Kneža, Raxovsko (NWBg)
216/334	Knjaževac (ETk-TL)
315/240	Knjaževo, Sofijsko (Sof)
326/331	Kobiljak, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
249/233	Kovačevica, Radomirsko (CWBg)
322/348	Kovačica, Lomsko (NWBg)
213/341	Koželj (ETk-TL)

409/322	Kojnare, Beloslatinsko	(NWBg)
325/235	Kokaljane, Sofijsko	(Sof)
319/343	Komoštica, Lomsko	(NWBg)
153/321	Komren	(CWTk)
247/219	Konjavo, Kjustendilsko Kraište	(Kjus)
203/235	Korbevac	(CWTk)
235/236	Kosovo, Kjustendilsko Kraište	(TWBg-3)
337/316	Kostalevo, Vračansko	(NWBg)
247/343	Kostičovci, Belogradčiško	(NWBg)
230/308	Kostur	(ETk-TL)
304/317	Kotenovci, Berkovsko	(NWBg)
322/338	Kotenovci, Lomsko	(NWBg)
304/205	Kočarinovo, Dupniško	(CWBg)
155/327	Kravje	(CWTk)
218/341	Kraljevo Selo	(ETk-TL)
339/311	Krapec, Vračansko	(NWBg)
310/231	Krapec, Sofijsko	(Sof)
203/310	Krastavče	(ETk-SZ)
330/247	Kremikovci, Sofijsko	(Sof)
216/329	Krenta	(ETk-TL)
205/243	Kržince	(CWTk)
209/233	Kriva Feja	(ETk-TL)
328/241	Krivina	(Sof)
329/344	Krumovo, Lomsko	(NWBg)
152/332	Krupac	(CWTk)

210/300	Kruševica (CWTk)
154/243	Krušja Glava (SWTk)
231/358	Kulsko (NWBg)
159/233	Kumarevo (SWTk)
320/248	Kumarica (Sof)
321/250	Kurilo (Sof)
319/251	Ketina (Sof)
327/349	Labec, Lomsko (NWBg)
324/302	Lakatnik, Sofijsko (Sof)
202/327	Lalinci (ETk-SZ)
213/338	Lepena (ETk-TL)
157/300	Leskovac (ETk-TL)
212/349	Leskovac (ETk-TL)
154/324	Leskovik (CWTk)
223/258	Leskovica (ETk-TL)
334/328	Lesura, Vračansko (NWBg)
332/332	Lexčevo, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
331/319	Liljače, Vračansko (NWBg)
221/303	Linovo (ETk-TL)
345/302	Lipnica, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
207/302	Lipovica (ETk-SZ)
341/257	Litakovo, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
210/305	Ličje (ETk-SZ)
225/315	Ljubatovica (ETk-TL)
223/301	Ljuberažda (ETk-TL)

135/326	Ljupten (SWTk)
210/247	Ljutež (CWTk)
341/303	Ljuti-dol, Vračansko (NWBg)
327/248	Lokorsko, Sofijsko (Sof)
314/349	Lom (NWBg)
209/300	Lomnica (CWTk)
210/256	Lopušnja (CWTk)
219/326	Lukova (ETk-TL)
410/313	Lukovitsko (NWBg)
324/252	Lukovo (Sof)
159/229	Lukovo (SWTk)
351/255	Ležane, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
240/346	Makreš, Kulsko (NWBg)
251/347	Mali-Drenovec, Vidinsko (NWBg)
220/344	Mali Izvor (ETk-TL)
341/329	Malorad,Raxovsko (NWBg)
153/314	Malošište (CWTk)
202/320	Malča (ETk-SZ)
205/245	Manalje (CWTk)
209/246	Manjak (CWTk)
213/345	Marinovac (ETk-TL)
150/318	Medjurova (CWTk)
334/311	Medkovec, Vračansko (NWBg)
310/337	Medkovec, Lomsko (NWBg)
247/339	Medovnica, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)

147/323	Mezgraja	(CWTk)
206/326	Merdželat	(ETk-SZ)
300/240	Meštica, Brezniško	(TWBg-2)
231/234	Metoxija, Kjustendilsko Kraište	(TWBg-3)
156/245	Mečkovac	(SWTk)
209/329	Miljkovci	(ETk-SZ)
223/322	Miranovac	(ETk-TL)
231/320	Mirkovci	(ETk-TL)
318/247	Mirovjane	(Sof)
232/227	Mlekominci, Kjustendilsko Kraište	(TWBg-3)
218/315	Moklište	(ETk-TL)
218/312	Mokra	(ETk-TL)
325/345	Mokreš, Lomsko	(NWBg)
339/335	Monastirište, Raxovsko	(NWBg)
158/255	Moštanica	(CWTk)
317/247	Mramor, Sofijsko	(Sof)
217/231	Musul, Kjustendilsko Kraište	(TWBg-3)
217/328	Mučibaba	(ETk-TL)
251/215	Nevestino,Kjustendilsko Kraište	(Kjus)
153/230	Neradovce, Dolnja and Gornja	(SWTk)
209/235	Nesvrta	(CWTk)
332/313	Nefela, Vračansko	(NWBg)
155/319	Niš	(CWTk)
206/328	Niševci	(ETk-SZ)
236/313	Nišor	(ETk-TL)

227/339	Novo Korito (ETk-TL)
216/314	Novo Selo (ETk-TL)
247/410	Novoselsko (NWBg)
321/245	Obradovci, Sofijsko (Sof)
306/252	Opi-Cvet, Sofijsko (Sof)
217/257	Ora(h) (ETk-TL)
204/322	Oreovac (ETk-SZ)
220/311	Oreovac (ETk-TL)
212/322	Orešac (ETk-TL)
244/338	Orešac, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
226/319	Orlja (ETk-TL)
306/347	Orsoja, Lomsko (NWBg)
348/254	Orxanije (NWBg)
332/258	Osenovlak (Sof)
401/256	Osikovica, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
325/307	Osikovo, Vračansko (NWBg)
345/245	Osoica, Sofjsko (Sof)
212/303	Ostatovica (ETk-TL)
200/347	Ostrovica (CWTk)
208/319	Ostrovica (ETk-TL)
233/341	Ošane, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
223/341	Ošljane (ETk-TL)
336/309	Pavolče, Vračansko (NWBg)
153/318	Pasja Poljana (CWTk)
130/224	Pasjane (SWTk)

204/321   Pasjača (ETk-SZ)

230/305   Pasjača (ETk-TL)

302/236   Pernik (TWBg-2)

248/304   Petrlaš (TWBg-2)

409/309   Petrovene, Lukovitsko (NWBg)

411/242   Pirdopsko

158/329   Pirkovci (ETk-SZ)

236/309   Pirot (ETk-TL)

206/303   Piskupovo (CWTk)

217/233   Ploča, Kjustendislko Kraište (TWBg-3)

204/327   Plužina (ETk-SZ)

324/248   Podgumec (Sof)

214/330   Ponor (ETk-TL)

227/310   Ponor (Pirotski) (ETk-TL)

157/328   Popčica (CWTk)

322/330   Portitovci, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)

216/338   Potrkanje (ETk-TL)

400/258   Praveška-Lokavica, Orxanijsko (NWBg)

236/336   Praužda, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)

252/328   Prevala, Ferdinandsko (TWBg-1)

208/250   Predejanje (CWTk)

207/324   Prekonoga (ETk-SZ)

139/218   Preševo (SWTk)

201/236   Priboj (SWTk)

234/305   Prisjan (ETk-TL)

320/338	Progorelec, Lomsko (NWBg)
332/221	Prodanovci, Samokovsko (CWBg)
309/247	Proleša, Sofijsko (Sof)
214/209	Psača (EMac)
158/240	Ravna Reka (SWTk)
209/318	Ravni Dol (ETk-TL)
233/326	Ravno Bučje (ETk-TL)
206/239	Ra(v)utovo (ETk-SZ)
330/345	Razgrad-mahala, Lomsko (NWBg)
225/300	Radinjinci (ETk-TL)
225/335	Radičevci (ETk-TL)
214/225	Radovnica (SWTk)
258/233	Radomir (CWBg)
338/259	Radotina, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
227/305	Radoševci (ETk-TL)
330/223	Rajovo, Samokovsko (CWBg)
229/345	Rakovica, Kulsko (NWBg)
212/358	Ramni Del (ETk-SZ)
206/211	Rankovce (EMac)
232/307	Rasnica (ETk-TL)
358/344	Raxovsko (NWBg)
213/333	Rgošte (ETk-TL)
206/237	Rdjavica (ETk-SZ)
341/307	Rebarkovo, Vračansko (NWBg)
323/253	Rebrovo (Sof)

327/222	Reljovo, Samokovsko (CWBg)
244/331	Repljana, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
209/324	Ribare (ETk-TL)
308/207	Rila, Dupnica (CWBg)
343/331	Rogozen, Rahovsko (NWBg)
152/240	Roždace (SWTk)
356/309	Roman, Vračansko (NWBg)
233/317	Rudinje (ETk-TL)
250/357	Ružinci, Belogradčiško (NWBg)
206/244	Ružić (CWTk)
214/250	Rupje (ETk-SZ)
243/223	Reždavica, Kjustendilsko Kraište (Kjus)
334/220	Samokov (CWBg)
323/247	Svetovračure (Sof)
321/257	Svoge (Sof)
216/259	Svodje (ETk-SZ)
208/331	Svrljiška Topla (ETk-SZ)
204/236	Sebe Vranje (SWTk)
154/239	Sekirje (SWTk)
220/342	Seljačka (ETk-TL)
318/218	Separevo, Dupniško (CWBg)
331/247	Seslavci, Sofjsko (Sof)
355/213	Sestrimo, Ihtimansko (CWBg)
231/304	Sina glava (Sinja glava) (ETk-TL)
226/315	Sinjac (ETk-TL)

249/234	Sirištnik, Radomirsko (CWBg)
246/340	Skomlja Belogradčiško (NWBg)
346/257	Skravena, Orxanijsko (NWBg)
258/211	Skrino, Dupniško (CWBg)
205/339	Skrobnica (ETk-SZ)
305/334	Slavotin, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
314/313	Slatina, Berkovsko (NWBg)
303/251	Slivnica, Sofijsko (Sof)
206/233	Slivnica (CWTk)
307/336	Slivovik, Lomsko (NWBg)
208/327	Slivovik (Sljivovik) (ETk-SZ)
243/216	Slokoštica, Kjustendilsko Kraište (Kjus)
250/402	Smerdan, Vidinsko (NWBg)
234/314	Sopot (ETk-TL)
321/242	Sofija (Sof)
201/231	Srednji Del (SWTk)
157/243	Srneći Dol (CWTk)
204/259	Stajkovce (CWTk)
210/224	Stajovce (SWTk)
234/332	Stakevci, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
310/344	Stalijska-mahala, Lomsko (NWBg)
231/312	Staničenje (ETk-TL)
227/322	Stanjanci (ETk-TL)
230/350	Staropatica, Kulsko (NWBg)
307/205	Stob, Dupniško (CWBg)

338/243	Stolnik, Sofijsko (Sof)
202/338	Stubol (CWTk)
308/232	Studena, Sofijsko (Sof)
312/328	Studeno-buče, Ferdinandsko (NWBg)
352/245	Stergel, Pirdopsko (CWBg)
203/241	Suva Morava (CWTk)
231/311	V. Suvodol (ETk-TL)
220/342	Manastir Suvodol (ETk-TL)
152/233	Suderce (SWTk)
224/303	Suračevo (ETk-TL)
200/227	Surdul (SWTk)
314/242	Suxodol, Sofijsko (Sof)
212/317	Tamnjanica (ETk-TL)
249/358	Tatardžik, Vidinsko (NWBg)
205/246	Tegovište (CWTk)
233/316	Temska (ETk-TL)
157/237	Tesovište (SWTk)
157/230	Tibužde (SWTk)
225]312	Tijelovac (ETk-TL)
214/327	Tijovci (ETk-TL)
232/322	Tioštica (ETk-TL)
342/304	Tipčenica, Vračansko (NWBg)
257/346	Tolovica, Lomsko (NWBg)
158/238	Toplac (SWTk)
222/237	Topli-dol, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)

218/238	Topli Dol (ETk-TL)
218/333	Trgovište (ETk-TL)
319/246	Trebič (Sof)
237/232	Trekljano, Kjustendilsko Kraište (TWBg-3)
216/341	Trnovac (ETk-TL)
216/243	Troskači (CWTk)
148/322	Trupala (CWTk)
239/250	Trensko (TWBg-2)
153/245	Tumba (CWTk)
242/332	Tergovište, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
247/217	Ternovlak, Kjustendilsko Kraište (Kjus)
156/317	Ćurlina (CWTk)
313/325	Ferdinand (NWBg)
244/249	Filipovci, Trensko (TWBg-2)
340/333	Xajredin, Rahovsko (NWBg)
155/324	Hum (CWTk)
238/357	Car Petrovo, Kulsko (NWBg)
233/346	Car Šišmanovo, Kulsko (NWBg)
258/301	Caribrod (TWBg-2)
234/301	Cerev Del (ETk-TL)
319/254	Cerecel, Sofijsko (Sof)
155/326	Cerje (CWTk)
230/319	Cerova (ETk-TL)
320/300	Cerovo, Sofijsko (Sof)
227/255	Crvena Jabelka (ETk-TL)

213/317	Crveni Breg (ETk-TL)
201/307	Crkovina (CWTk)
218/249	Crna Trava (ETk-SZ)
147/309	Crnatovo (CWTk)
235/325	Crni Vr(h) (ETk-TL)
208/231	Crni Vr(h) (SWTk)
228/314	Crnoklište (ETk-TL)
212/323	Crnoljevica (ETk-TL)
252/232	Čelinci, Radomirsko (CWBg)
336/308	Čelopek, Vračansko (NWBg)
329/244	Čelopečene, Sofijsko (Sof)
326/245	Čepinci, Sofijsko (Sof)
325/339	Černi-vrəx, Lomsko (NWBg)
256/336	Černo-pole, Belogradčiško (NWBg)
314/256	Čibaovce (Sof)
233/308	Čivlik (Barječivlik) (ETk-TL)
243/303	Činiglavci (ETk-TL)
253/323	Čipovovci, Berkovsko (TWBg-1)
335/320	Čiren, Vračansko (NWBg)
149/318	Čokot (CWTk)
259/342	Čorljovo, Lomsko (NWBg)
315/231	Čupetlovo, Sofijsko (Sof)
240/331	Čuprenja, Belogradčiško (TWBg-1)
343/246	Čurek, Sofijsko (Sof)
202/223	Šajince (SWTk)

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153/342	Šarbanovac (CWTk)
336/240	Šeremet, Sofijsko (Sof)
311/250	Šijakovci (Sof)
143/254	Šilovo (CWTk)
331/223	Široki-dol, Samokovsko (CWBg)
243/221	Šiškovci, Kjustendilsko Kraište (Kjus)
214/315	Špaj (ETk-TL)
215/336	Štipina (ETk-TL)
216/305	Štrbovac (ETk-TL)
219/330	Štrpci (ETk-TL)
207/336	Šuman Topla (ETk-TL)

The QUESTIONNAIRE LIST gives each lexeme in standard
Serbo-Croatian orthography. English glosses appear in sin-
gle quotes. Nouns are listed in the nominative singular,
and adjectives in the nominative singular feminine. Verbs
are listed by their stems. In each case, the 1st singular
present and infinitive forms are also given, in standard or-
thography.

The questionnaire items are listed according to the
following grouping:

1) Feminine a-declension nouns with monosyllabic
stems (36 entries)

2) Feminine a-declension nouns with dissyllabic
stems (1 entry)

3) Neuter nouns with monosyllabic stems (16 entries)

4) Neuter nouns with -en- in oblique cases of the
singular and in all cases of the plural (4 entries)

5) Masculine nouns in a consonant with monosyllabic
stems and/or plurals in ov/ev (18 entries)

6) Masculine nouns in a consonant with # in the
second stem syllable (12 entries)

7) Masculine nouns in a consonant with dissyllabic
or polysyllabic stems (9 entries)

8) Feminine nouns in a consonant (8 entries)

9) Adjectives with monosyllabic stems (9 entries)

10) Adjectives with dissyllabic stems (7 entries)

11) Class I-1 verbs (obstruent stems) (19 entries)

12) Class I-2 verbs (sonorant stems in -j-) (7 entries)

13) Class I-3 verbs (sonorant stems in a resonant) (6 entries)

14) Class II verbs (u-stems) (6 entries)

15) Class III verbs (e/ča-stems) (16 entries)

16) Class IV verbs (i-stems) (22 entries)

17) Class V-1 verbs (aj-stems) (14 entries)

18) Class V-2 verbs (a-stems) (13 entries)

19) Class V-3 verbs (a-stems) (13 entries)

20) Class VI verbs (ova-stems) (4 entries)

Within each subgroup stems are arranged according to the Cyrillic alphabetical order. Verbs appearing in prefixed form on the questionnaire list are alphabetized according to their stems.

QUESTIONNAIRE LIST

1. Feminine a-declension nouns with monosyllabic stems

brázda	'furrow'
bùha	'flea'
vàška	'louse'
vòda	'water'
gláva	'head'
gréda	'beam, rafter'
žena	'woman, wife'
zvézda	'star'
zèmlja	'land, earth'
zòra	'dawn'
ìgla	'needle'
kòza	'goat'
kòsa	'scythe'
kòsa	'hair'
màgla	'fog'
mèdja	'boundary marker'
mètla	'broom
mùha	'fly'
nòga	'leg, foot'
óvca	'sheep'
òsa	'wasp'
péta	'heel'
pčela	'bee'

réka	'river'
ròsa	'dew'
rúka	'arm, hand'
svéća	'candle'
svínja	'pig'
sèstra	'sister'
snàha	'daughter-in-law'
sùza	'tear[from eye]'
tórba	'bag, sack'
tráva	'grass'

2. Feminine a-declension nouns with dissyllabic stems

planìna	'mountain'

3. Neuter nouns with monosyllabic stems

br̀do	'hill'
vèdro	'pail'
vlákno	'fiber, strand'
vr̀lo	'spring, source'
gnjézdo	'nest'
gúmno	'threshing area'
dr̀vo	'tree'
žìto	'grain, wheat'
zr̀no	'grain, kernel'
kòlo	'wheel'
krílo	'wing'

ȍko	'eye'
rèbro	'rib'
sèlo	'village'
sȉto	'sieve'
ȕvo	'ear'

4. Neuter nouns with -en- in oblique cases of the singular and in all cases of the plural

vȉme	'udder'
vréme	'time'
ȉme	'name'
rȁme	'shoulder'

5. Masculine nouns in a consonant with monosyllabic stems and/or plurals in ov/ev

vȅpar	'boar'
vô	'ox'
dôm	'house, gathering place'
zêc	'hare'
zîd	'wall'
kȍnj	'horse'
kȍš	'basket'
krêlj	'king'
kûm	'godfather'
mȉš	'mouse'
mûž	'man, husband'

nȍž	'knife'
nôs	'nose'
òganj	'fire'
pȍp	'priest'
rôg	'horn'
svȁt	'wedding guest'
sîn	'son'

6. Masculine nouns in a consonant with -#- in the second stem syllable

vénac	'wreath'
vrábac	'sparrow'
jùnac	'bullock'
kòlac	'pole, stick'
kònac	'thread'
kòtao	'kettle'
lònac	'pot'
mòljac	'moth'
òrao	'eagle'
pètao	'cock, rooster'
rúčak	'dinner'
svétac	'saint'

7. Masculine nouns in a consonant with dissyllabic or poly-syllabic stems

govèdār	'cowherd'

dȑvār	'woodsman'
dȕvar	'wall'
jȕnāk	'hero'
kòvāč	'blacksmith'
kȍpāč	'digger'
kòsāč	'reaper, mower'
òvčār	'shepherd'
svȉnjār	'swineherd'

8. Feminine nouns in a consonant (certain nouns in this list belong to other declensional classes in standard SC, but have been transferred to this class in Tk)

vȅčer	'evening'
žȃr	'embers, heat'
jȅsen	'autumn'
mȃst	'grease'
nȏć	'night'
pròleće	'spring [season]'
pȅpeo	'ash'
sȏ	'salt'

9. Adjectives with monosyllabic stems

bélа	'white'
bòsa	'barefoot'
gòla	'naked'
dòbra	'good'

žíva	'alive'
žúta	'yellow'
mláda	'young'
stä̀ra	'old'
cŕna	'black'

10. Adjectives with dissyllabic stems

visòka	'tall'
golèma	'big'
debèla	'fat'
dubòka	'deep'
zelèna	'green'
crvèna	'red'
širòka	'wide'

11. Class I-1 verbs (obstruent stems)

bod	(bòdēm, bòsti)	'pierce'
-ved	(do-vèdēm, do-vèsti)	'lead'
vrh	(vŕšēm, vŕći)	'thresh'
dad	(dádēm or dâm, dä̀ti)	'give'
id	(ìdēm, ìći)	'go'
jed	(jèdēm, jèsti)	'eat'
krad	(krádēm, krä̀sti)	'steal'
met	(mètēm, mèsti)	'sweep'
mog	(mògu [mòžeš], mòći)	'can, be able'
muz	(múzēm, mǜsti)	'milk'

-nes	(do-nèsēm, dò-nēti)	'carry'
pek	(pèčēm, pèći)	'bake'
plet	(plètēm, plèsti)	'knit'
pred	(prédēm, prèsti)	'spin'
rast	(rástēm, rásti)	'grow'
rek	(rèčēm or rèknēm, rèći)	'say, tell'
sek	(séčēm, sèći)	'cut, chop'
tek	(tèčēm, tèći)	'flow'
tres	(trésēm, trésti)	'shake, tremble'

12. Class I-2 verbs (sonorant stems in -j-)

bij	(bìjēm, bìti)	'beat'
znaj	(znâm, znàti)	'know'
krij	(krìjēm, krìti)	'hide'
mij	(mìjēm, mìti)	'wash'
pij	(pìjēm, pìti)	'drink'
čuj	(čùjēm, čùti)	'hear'
šij	(šìjēm, šìti)	'sew

13. Class I-3 verbs (sonorant stems in a resonant)

žanj	(žnjêm or žànjēm, žèti)	'reap, harvest'
kun	(kùnēm, kléti)	'vow, swear'
melj	(mèljēm, mlèti)	'mill [flour], grind'
počn	(pòčnēm, pòčeti)	'begin'
uzm (uzn)	(ùzmēm, ùzēti)	'take'
umr	(ùmrēm, ùmrēti)	'die'

14. Class II verbs (u̲-stems)

venu	(vènēm, vènuti)	'wilt, fade'
vrnu	(vr̂nēm, vr̂nuti)	'turn, return'
ginu	(gìnēm, gìnuti)	'perish'
denu	(dènēm, dènuti)	'put, thread [needle]'
savnu	(svànē, svànuti [sàvnuti]	'dawn'
stanu	(stànēm, stànuti)	'stand, become'

15. Class III verbs (e̲/ča̲-stems)

beža	(bèžīm, bèžati)	'flee'
bleja	(bléjīm, bléjati)	'bleat'
boja (se)	(bòjīm se, bòjati se)	'fear'
vide	(vìdīm, vìdeti)	'see'
vise	(vìsīm, vìseti)	'hang, be suspended'
vrte	(vr̂tīm, vr̂teti)	'turn, spin around'
ogladne	(oglàdnīm, oglàdneti)	'be hungry'
gore	(gòrīm, gòreti)	'burn'
drža	(dr̂žīm, dr̂žati)	'hold'
žive	(žìvīm, žìveti)	'live'
leža	(lèžīm, lèžati)	'be lying'
lete	(lètīm, lèteti)	'fly'
sede	(sèdīm, sèdeti)	'be sitting'
stoja	(stòjīm, stòjati)	'be standing'
trpe	(tr̂pīm, tr̂peti)	'endure'
trča	(tr̂čīm, tr̂čati)	'run'

16. Class IV verbs (i-stems)

zaboravi	(zabòravĩm, zabòraviti)	'forget'
gazi	(gàzĩm, gàziti)	'step, wade'
goji	(gòjĩm, gòjiti)	'fatten'
ženi	(žènĩm, žèniti)	'marry'
zvoni	(zvònĩm, zvòniti)	'ring [bell]'
kosi	(kòsĩm, kòsiti)	'mow'
krsti	(kȑstĩm, kȑstiti)	'christen'
kupi	(kȕpĩm, kȕpiti)	'gather, collect'
kupi	(kûpĩm, kúpiti)	'buy'
liči	(líčĩm, líčiti)	'resemble'
nosi	(nòsĩm, nòsiti)	'carry'
pazi	(pàzĩm, pàziti)	'beware'
pamti	(pâmtĩm, pâmtiti)	'remember'
plati	(plâtĩm, plátiti)	'pay'
pravi	(prȁvĩm, prȁviti)	'do, make'
rani	(rȁnĩm, rȁniti)	'wound'
soli	(sòlĩm, sòliti)	'salt'
ostavi	(òstavĩm, òstaviti)	'leave'
uči	(ùčĩm, ùčiti)	'teach, learn'
hrani	(hrânĩm, hrániti)	'feed'
čini	(čȉnĩm, čȉniti)	'make, do'

17. Class V-1 verbs (aj-stems)

sabiraj	(sàbīrām [sabírajū], sabírati)	
		'gather'

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venčaj	(vènčām, vènčati)	'marry, join in wedlock
gadjaj	(gâdjām [gádjajū], gádjati)	
		'aim, shoot'
gledaj	(glȅdām, gledati)	'look at'
davaj	(dâvām [dávajū], dávati)	'give'
zidaj	(zîdām [zídajū], zídati)	'build, construct [house]'
igraj	(ȉgrām, [ȉgrajū], ȉgrati)	'play, dance'
imaj	(ȉmām, ȉmati)	'have'
kopaj	(kȍpām [kȍpajū], kȍpati)	'dig'
motaj	(mȍtām, mȍtati)	'wind up'
sisaj	(sȉsām, sȉsati)	'suck'
teraj	(tȅrām, tȅrati)	'drive'
čitaj	(čȉtām, čȉtati)	'read'
čuvaj	(čûvām [čúvajū], čúvati)	'care for, watch'

18. Class V-2 verbs (a-stems)

brisa	(brȉšēm, brȉsati)	'wipe'
vika	(vîčēm, víkati)	'cry, call'
diza	(dȉžēm, dȉzati)	'lift'
jaha	(jȁšēm, jȁhati)	'ride [horse]'
kaza	(kâžēm, kázati)	'say, speak'
laga	(lȁžēm, lȁgati)	'lie [tell untruth]'
maza	(mȁžēm, mȁzati)	'spread grease'
ora	(ȍrēm, ȍrati)	'plow'
pisa	(pîšēm, písati)	'write'
plaka	(plȁčēm, plȁkati)	'cry'

| reza | (rèžēm, rēzati) | 'cut, carve' |
| sipa | (sȉpljēm, sȉpati) | 'pour' |

19. Class V-3 verbs (a-stems)

bljuva	(bljȕjēm, bljùvati)	'vomit'
bra	(bèrēm, brȁti)	'gather, collect'
greja	(grèjēm, grèjati)	'heat'
zva	(zòvēm, zvȁti)	'call'
kla	(kȍljēm, klȁti)	'slaughter'
kova	(kȕjēm, kòvati)	'forge'
laja	(lȁjēm, lȁjati).	'bark'
pljuva	(pljȕjēm, pljùvati)	'spit'
poja	(pòjēm, pòjati)	'sing, chant'
pra	(pèrēm, prȁti)	'wash'
seja	(sȅjēm, sȅjati)	'sow'
smeja (se)	(smèjem se, smèjati se)	'laugh'
tka	(čêm or tkêm, tkȁti)	'weave'

20. Class VI verbs (ova-verbs)

verova	(vȅrujēm, vȅrovati)	'believe'
kupova	(kùpujēm, kupòvati)	'buy'
praznova	(prâznujēm, prâznovati)	'celebrate a holiday'
psova	(psȕjēm, psòvati)	'curse'

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