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A LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF ISTRO-RUMANIAN

By

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Abstract

This work is a synchronic linguistic description of Istro-Rumanian, in accordance with certain principles of functional linguistics, as developed by the neo-Prague school. Although the work does not set out to be a linguistic theory, certain of the linguistic concepts which I have borrowed have,in the interests of the description, been extended and adapted, and in one case a new notion has been introduced.

The description is in two parts, which correspond to Martinet's distinction between the first and the second articulations of language; the two parts are respectively the grammar and the phonology. The concepts which I have borrowed, and in some cases adapted and extended, are those of the phoneme, the simultaneous bundle, the distributional unit, the position, the moneme and the grammateme. These concepts are used extensively throughout this work.

Istro-Rumanian is the language, or closely related group of dialects, spoken in two small "linguistic islets" in the Istrian peninsula in Yugoslavia. In cases where there is linguistic divergence between the two "islets", I have taken the forms of the Northern one as

representing the "standard" dialect, and noted the divergent Southern forms where appropriate. As its name suggests, Istro-Rumanian is a Romance language, from the historical point of view a dialect of Daco-Rumanian, but one which has been heavily contaminated by other languages, particularly by Serbo-Croat. The latter language is spoken by virtually all of the speakers of Istro-Rumanian, and is the language in which the children are being currently schooled. Istro-Rumanian, even for its native speakers, is <u>not</u> a written language, and this factor is an important agent contributory to the decline of the language and to its presumed eventual demise. The written representations of Istro-Rumanian speech occurring throughout this work are therefore in my own notation and are based on the "broad" transcription of recorded material collected by me. The recordings were obtained during two separate periods of field research in Istria during the Long Vacations of 1966 and 1967; they amount to forty hours of recorded Istro-Rumanian speech taken from thirty six informants, all of whom are native speakers. My "broad" transcription derives from the "narrow" transcription which I first made from my field recordings.

Part I of this description is the Phonology and it contains two chapters. Chapter I deals with the establishment of the phoneme inventory, and goes on to state the theoretical principles underlying the phonological part of the description. To this end the first four of the concepts mentioned above are defined, i.e. the phoneme, the simultaneous bundle, the distributional unit and the position. Of these the first is an extension of Martinet's phoneme theory, the second follows Mulder's interpretation of simultaneity, and the remaining two are adaptations of Mulder's notions.Whereas Mulder developed the notion of the distributional unit primarily to enable him to deal with the monosyllabic character of Pekingese, I have been concerned in this work with Istro-Rumanian, which is a highly inflected, polysyllabic structure. In the latter language the full distributional unit has a greater extension than it has in Pekingese, and this has led me to make a distinction in Chapter I between the phonematic position (i.e. essentially the Mulderian type) and the syllabic position (which is my extension). (N.B. the distributional unit is defined as a simultaneous bundle of positions).

The consonant and the vowel phonemes of Istro-Ruma-

nian are set out in two Cartesian tables which show them as simultaneous bundles of phonologically distinctive features. Their identity is established by means of the commutation test in the context of a number of minimal pairs. The phonemes are then grouped into position classes, which are sub-sets of the set of all phonemes, showing where each phoneme may stand within the distributional unit. The discussion then proceeds to the matter of syllabic boundaries and broaches the question of syllabic prominence, which leads to the consideration of the full distributional unit. Under this heading are described in detail the various types of syllabic-complexes which constitute the full distributional unit. At this point the discussion returns to the matter of syllabic prominence which is considered in more depth and used as an important criterion for the establishment of the syllabic positions. The chapter closes with an examination of both phonematic and syllabic expansion, and finally tabulates the different types of distributional unit and syllable in terms of their constituent positions.

Chapter II presents a detailed examination of the phonemes of Istro-Rumanian and of their distribution. The range of the distinctive function of each phoneme is indicated by

means of various series of minimal pairs which show the other phonemes in each paradigmatic sub-set with which the given phoneme commutes in the various positions in which it may stand. In addition to this, statements of realization are given for each of the phonemes. The latter are particularly detailed in those cases where the realization of the phoneme in question is radically affected by the position in which it stands. This is the case, for example, with the semi-vowels, which have a markedly different type of realization according to whether they stand in the nuclear position or in one of the peripheral positions.

Chapter II ends with a table summarizing the distributional possibilities of the vowel phonemes, and a series of charts showing the commutation dasses of all phonemes standing in each of the positions.

Part II is the Grammar, and this contains four chapters (Chapters III-VI) which deal respectively with the Verb, Verbal Aspect, the Noun and its Modifiers, and the Pronoun. Throughout Part II of the description, extensive use is made of the two remaining neo-Prague school concepts mentioned above, namely those of the mo-

neme and the grammateme. The first of these is taken from Martinet, and the second (i.e. the grammateme)derives from Mulder and is his extension of Martinet's moneme theory. Both of these concepts have to a certain degree been adapted for the purposes of this description. In each chapter, various types of moneme and grammateme are differentiated and then applied to the description of the grammatical category to be dealt with in that chapter.

Of the two chapters on the subject of the verb, Chapter III deals with the structure of the Istro-Rumanian verb, and is limited to a formal description of the monemes and grammatemes by which distinctions of person, number, tense, mood and voice are expressed, both with regard to the regular, and to most of the non-regular verbs in the language. The regular verbs are divided into two main classes and three sub-classes, each of which is exemplified by appropriate paradigms. The most common of the non-regular verbs are also exemplified, and their usage is characterized by a number of sample constructions, as is the usage of the regular verbs. The chapter closes with a brief section showing

how the verbal expressions may be negated.

Chapter IV is solely concerned with the phenomenon of Verbal Aspect which is the most complex feature of the description.

The fact that Istro-Rumanian possesses the Slavonic category of verbal aspect makes the language unique among the Romance languages. This phenomenon not only illustrates the high degree of contamination which Istro-Rumanian has undergone from Slavonic sources, but also constitutes strong evidence that interference caused by languages in contact can radically affect the grammatical structure of the language of less cultural prestige as well as that of its phonology and lexicology.

The adoption of verbal aspect by Istro-Rumanian presents, too, certain descriptive problems, which are discussed at length in Chapter IV. Part of the difficulty arises from the fact that the category of verbal aspect is one which is taken from 'traditional'Slavonic philology, and it must be open to doubt whether it has ever been completely satisfactorily described in purely linguistic terms. The difficulty is exacerbated by the lack of agreement between some scholars as to the precise nature of ver-

bal aspect, and also by the way in which the category has been adapted in its transition from a Slavonic to a Romance language. The place for a complete reappraisal of the whole question of verbal aspect is not the middle of a work which sets out to be an operational description of a language, and not a new linguistic theory, but in order to overcome some of the difficulties encountered, a theoretical solution of my own has been put forward in this chapter.

In general I have found it expedient to follow what I take to be the majority view among scholars, that verbal aspect has two members, respectively the perfective and the imperfective aspects, and these I have taken to be the aspectual grammatemes. Nevertheless I have found that, at least for Istro-Rumanian, the distinction between perfective and imperfective is, in certain types of context, blurred, and that in such cases the functional opposition between the two monemes is neutralized. In order to deal with this kind of neutralization I have in Chapter IV introduced the notion archigrammateme, which is actually in this particular set of instances the archiaspect.

The chapter otherwise describes the various ways in which aspectual differences are expressed in Istro-Rumani-

an, distinguishing between four different types of formation, all of which are exemplified. Also discussed are certain semantic changes brought about by the process of prefixation (one of the ways in which aspectual differences may be expressed). The question of "iterative" is examined in some detail, particularly the question of whether it properly belongs to the perfective or to the imperfective aspect, or whether it constitutes a separate aspect. The discussion then proceeds towards the distinction eventually made between aspects and modes of action, and thence to the question of neutralization in grammar, particularly with regard to cases of lack of functional opposition between perfective and imperfective, which leads to the introduction of the archigrammateme. At the end of Chapter IV there is some illustration of the difference between neutralization and syncretism, concepts which have elsewhere been confused.

Chapter V describes the Istro-Rumanian noun and what I have called its modifiers, which are taken to be the articles (generally enclitic to the noun), the adjectives, (including demonstratives and possessives), and the numerals.

The monemes and grammatemes relevant to this part of the

description are those of articulation (i.e.definite and indefinite articles), number, and case. The nouns are divided into four classes and ten sub-classes, each of which is exemplified by series of paradigms and illustrated by sample constructions. Discussion then proceeds to the adjectives which have a number of formal features in common with the nouns. These, too, are exemplified by means of paradigms and constructions, and a section follows on the subject of the formation of the comparatives and superlatives. Illustrated sections follow on the demonstratives and on the possessives which also possess formal characteristics in common with the nouns and adjectives; in the case of the demonstratives some of the forms listed and exemplified have a function similar to that of the definite article in certain contexts. Chapter V closes with a section describing the forms and the function of both the cardinal and the ordinal numerals.

Chapter VI is the final chapter and describes the pronouns. This chapter is the only one in Part II which deals solely with finite sets. This is because there are no lexical grammatemes involved, the only monemes and grammatemes occurring being those of person, number and

case. This makes it possible for the pronominal forms to be presented in terms of paradigmatic sets. The personal pronouns are set out in a Cartesian table which shows all of the personal pronominal forms, together with their more common variants, and which broadly illustrates their function.

The relative and the interrogative pronominal forms are less numerous than those of the personal pronouns. Those which are not invariable are shown as paradigms. Several series of examples are given to show the function within the utterance of the personal, relative and interrogative pronouns of Istro-Rumanian.

The work closes with two appendices, a lexicon of verbal forms and a glossary.

Appendix A examines some of the ways in which bilingualism, (in some cases multilingualism), has affected the language. The matter is considered under three headings corresponding to the three areas where the influence of bilingualism is most marked, namely verbal aspect, the numerals and the lexicon.

With regard to the first of these, although verbal aspect was dealt with extensively in Chapter IV, it seemed

necessary to return to the subject in an appendix because of certain considerations of a diachronic and comparativist nature which, it was felt, could not be overlooked, and yet which seemed out of place in the main body of a work, the aim of which is primarily synchronic. This section of Appendix A investigates the possibility that there is some "unease" in the way verbal aspect is manipulated in Istro-Rumanian.

The remaining sections of Appendix A examine the hybrid, (i.e. Romance/Slavonic) system of numerals in Istro-Rumanian, and the extent of lexical borrowing from Serbo-Croat, Italian and German.

Appendix B contains an extended sample text of Istro-Rumanian in phonemic transcription.

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Finally I thank Vera Hurren, smoother of my path in the field, whose kindness towards my informants frequently prevented their concentration from flagging at times when I, completely absorbed in the elicitation of their responses, was insufficiently perceptive of their growing fatigue.

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Introduction

This work sets out to provide a synchronic description of Istro-Rumanian in accordance with certain linguistic principles developed by the school of linguistics commonly referred to as the neo-Prague school, or as the school of functional linguistics.

The description is divided into two parts, corresponding to Martinet's distinction between the first articulation and the second articulation [1] of language;the two parts are called respectively the grammar and the phonology. I take as the atomic units of the syntagmatic level of each part of the description the grammateme and the phoneme respectively; on the paradigmatic level, the atomic units are the moneme and the distinctive feature respectively.

The definition of the phoneme used in this work as the basis of the phonological section, is that of Martinet,

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1. A.Martinet, La description phonologique avec application au parler franco-provençal d'Hauteville (Savoie), (Société de Publications Romanes et Françaises sous la direction de Mario Roques, LVI), Geneva and Paris, 1956.

as developed and extended by Mulder [2]. The basis of the grammatical section is the grammateme which Mulder [3] has developed out of Martinet's moneme theory. Other neo-Prague school concepts which I shall use extensively throughout this work are those of position, distributional unit and simultaneous bundle, each of which has been developed by Mulder [4].

These will be defined during the course of the description, but it should be stated at the outset that,whilst I am greatly indebted to the scholars mentioned for the notions phoneme, moneme, grammateme, position, distributional unit and simultaneous bundle, I am solely responsible for the interpretation and adaptation of those notions in the work that follows.

Istro-Rumanian is the name given by philologists and linguists to the language, or group of closely related dialects, still spoken alongside Serbo-Croat, which

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2. J.W.F.Mulder, Sets and Relations in Phonology,Oxford,1968.
3. ibid.
4. ibid.

is now the 'official' language in the area, in some half dozen villages in and around the Val d'Arsa in the Istrian peninsula now belonging to Jugoslavia, (see the map in Figure I.)

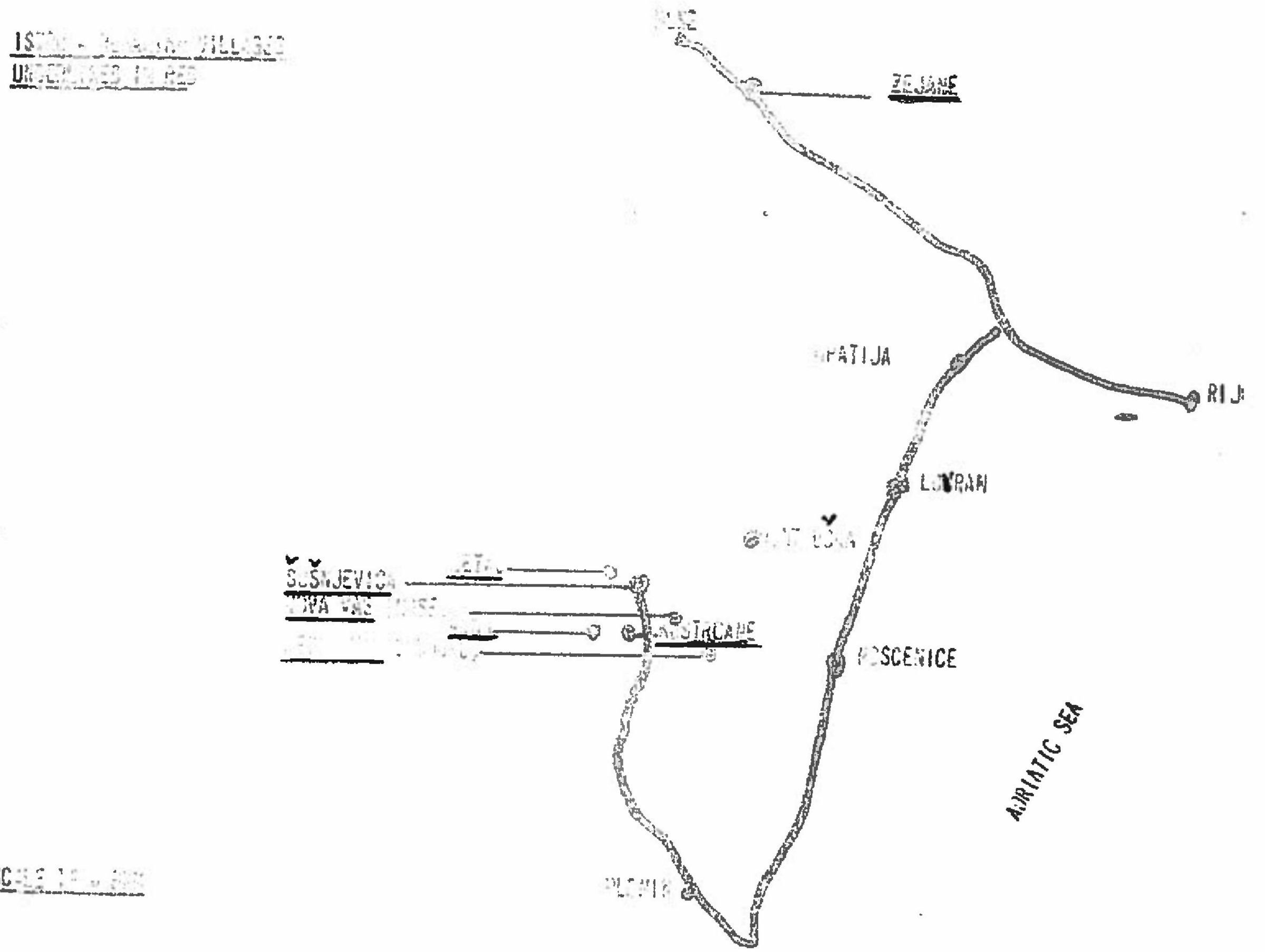


Figure I

The language was formerly spoken extensively in the Western area of Istria [5]. It now constitutes a linguistic island, or more precisely, as I have termed it elsewhere[6], two"linguistic islets" between which there is virtually no contact.

Istro-Rumanian is known <u>locally</u> by various other names. By those speakers who are aware, however dimly, of its parentage, the language is known as "romŭnski". Even more popularly, in the Southern dialects, it is known as "cĭribiri", whereas in the Northern dialect its name is [žejə̑nski,] (/žeiɨ̯nsKi̯/), after the name of the village (Žejane) in which it is spoken; an alternative designation on the popular level is "po nášu" (="in our way").

The latter dialect /žeiɾ̯nsKi̯/ is what I shall call <u>Northern</u> Istro-Rumanian and it constitutes one of the two "linguistic islets". It is the speech of the single village of Žejane which has slightly more than 400 inhabitants most, but not all, of whom speak Istro-Rumanian, (the small minority of <u>non</u>-Rumanian speakers are immi-

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5. For further information concerning the area over which Istro-Rumanian is currently spoken, and over which it was spoken at various periods in the past, see A.Kovačec, Observations sur les influences croates dans la grammaire istro-roumaine, <u>La Linguistique</u> I,1968,p.79;R.Flora, Despre stadiul actual al Istroromînei, <u>Fonetică şi Dialectologie</u> IV,Bucarest,1962,p.140;J.Popovici, <u>Dialectele Române</u> IX,Part I,Ch.I,Halle,1914;S.Puşcariu, Studii Istroromâne,II,Chap.II,Bucarest,1926;ID., <u>Die Rumänische Sprache</u>,transl.H.Kuen,map.no 21,Leipzig,1943.
6. H.A.Hurren,'Verbal aspect and archiaspect in Istro-Rumanian', <u>La Linguistique</u> II,1969.

grants into the village, often by reason of having married into the community). As noted, the village may be said to have in the region of 400 speakers of Istro-Rumanian, and this is the largest single body of speakers of that language; it represents in the region of half the total of active Istro-Rumanian speakers. The village is situated in Ćićarija, inland from Rijeka (Fiume), to the north of the Učka mountain.

What I call Southern Istro-Rumanian, is spoken on the other (southern) side of the Učka mountain in a group of villages of which Šušnjevica is at the centre. This latter area is to the south of Rijeka and inland from Lovran; it comprises rather more than 500 speakers of Istro-Rumanian, (there is in this area also a minority of immigrant non-Rumanian speakers), and consists of Šušnjevica, Brdo (together with its hamlet Kostrčan), Noselo, Letaj and Sucodru. In the two last-mentioned villages, knowledge of the language is becoming increasingly passive; the inhabitants generally can readily understand the language, and some may even be persuaded to speak it, but they are coming increasingly to speak Serbo-Croat, even among themselves. These two villages are now on the outskirts of the dwindling area over

which Istro-Rumanian may still be heard. For all practical purposes, therefore, one should take the active Istro-Rumanian speaking area as comprising Žejane in the north, and Šušnjevica, Brdo (including Kostrčan) and Noselo in the south.

There are thus two main dialects, although Southern Istro-Rumanian may be divided into "sub-dialects";differences, however, between Southern sub-dialects are not as marked as those between Northern Istro-Rumanian and Southern Istro-Rumanian.

A prime factor in the degree of divergence existing between Northern and Southern Istro-Rumanian would appear to be the almost complete lack of contact between the two groups of speakers, which results in there being no mutual linguistic support between them [7].

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7. On one occasion I took the opportunity of driving three of my informants from Zejane to Šušnjevica and Brdo, and was thus able to observe for several hours the reactions between speakers from the two areas at each other's speech. For all practical purposes mutual intelligibility was complete, although members of each group were struck by the differences they noted in the speech of the others. I was able to record part of their conversations. Furthermore, one of my informants, now living in Brdo having moved there at the time of his marriage, was born and brought up in Zejane. Not surprisingly his speech contains elements of both the Northern and Southern dialects.

The language has furthermore undergone a high degree of contamination, and the process is still continuing. The main source of this contamination is Slavonic. The vast majority of the speakers of Istro-Rumanian, of whom there are today barely one thousand, are bilingual in their own language and in Serbo-Croat, or more specifically, in the čakavian dialect of Croatian. Istro-Rumanian children attending the local schools have, since shortly after the end of the Second World War, been schooled in Serbo-Croat, the language of instruction, together with non-Rumanian speaking children. Furthermore, the majority of mature Istro-Rumanian speakers are in frequent contact with non-Rumanian speakers, and in many cases this contact is a daily one.

Although this work does not set out to be comparativist, manifestations of the stage of the Romance-Slavonic bilingualism achieved by the speakers of Istro-Rumanian can hardly be overlooked. In the interests of communicative efficiency, Istro-Rumanian speakers have integrated the two different linguistic systems as closely as possible, and nowhere is this more apparent than in the adoption by Istro-Rumanian of the Slavonic category of verbal aspect.

This has been discussed elsewhere [8] at some length, and will be further described later in this work, as will other results arising from the bilingualism of Istro-Rumanian speakers.

Furthermore, such contamination as there has been in Istro-Rumanian, is not restricted to Slavonic. Both Italian (Venetian) and German, (both at earlier periods during the course of the present century having been the offical language [9] in the area), have left their traces, as will readily be seen from the data given throughout this description. Both main dialects have been affected, but, whereas German influence has been stronger in Northern Istro-Rumanian, Italian influence has been more marked in Southern Istro-Rumanian.

But by far the most marked encroachments are from Serbo-Croat, and these are continuing. The rapidly dwindling numbers of Istro-Rumanian speakers are under increasing social and psychological pressure to adopt Serbo-Croat as they become progressively more dependent upon

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8. H.A.Hurren, op.cit.

9. This accounts for the fact that many of the more mature Istro-Rumanian speakers are not only bilingual but trilingual, the third language being German or Italian according to whether they were brought up and schooled at a time when one of these languages was the official language of the area.

their contact with non-Rumanian speakers. An additional important factor in the pressure brought to bear on Istro-Rumanian by Croatian is that the one thousand or so speakers of Istro-Rumanian do not form a single unit.The extremely poor state of road communications in the area means that despite the apparently close geographical proximity of the two areas, the two communities are effectively divided into the two "islets" mentioned above,each one comprising just over, or just under, 500 speakers.

It is furthermore important to bear in mind that to all native speakers of Istro-Rumanian, their language is purely a <u>spoken</u> idiom, as none of them can write it. This is because all of their schooling is in Serbo-Croat, and this is the language they use when they write home if they happen to be away from their native villages for reasons of, for example, military service or whatever other cause. This, together with the other reasons mentioned, is an important factor in the decline of Istro-Rumanian and of its presumed eventual demise.

Economic factors, too, play a certain part, in that quite a considerable proportion of those speakers possessed of any measure of ambition or initiative, on reaching maturity leave the area for the cities, sometimes even lea-

ving the country altogether. This means that those staying behind are generally the very old and the very young (together with the parents of the latter). The population of the Istro-Rumanian speaking villages has apparently declined during the last fifty to sixty years from some 3,500 [10] to approximately 1000.

Various factors have been cited as being contributory to the decline of Istro-Rumanian, and yet another has to be mentioned. It is that many of the speakers of the language, and more especially the younger ones who are currently going to school, (or who have recently left school), are becoming increasingly self-conscious about speaking Istro-Rumanian in the presence of non-Rumanian speaking strangers. This self-consciousness in the case of some speakers goes so far as to make them feel "ashamed" [11] of their native language, or at least causes them to as-

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10. S. Puşcariu, op.cit., 1926.

11. A.Kovačec, op.cit.,page 84, notes this and attributes it primarily to the greater prestige enjoyed by Croatian. This is undoubtedly an important factor, but equally important, I feel, is the fact that Istro-Rumanian children are schooled together with non-Rumanian speaking children and by non-Rumanian speaking teachers, many of whom tend to look down on an idiom they are unable to understand. This attitude is carried over when they leave school for those who obtain employment outside the Istro-Rumanian speaking community, as is the case, for example, with those who travel to work in the shipyards of Rijeka.

sume in public a somewhat deprecatory attitude towards it. On the other hand there are others, a very small minority however, who feel fiercely proud of it and who take pains to speak it whenever possible. The latter, needless to say, make very willing and valuable informants.

This work is based upon two extensive periods of field research carried out in Istria during the summers of 1966 and 1967, during which time I lived completely within the Istro-Rumanian communities. During each of the two periods half of the time was spent in the Southern and half in the Northern area. In the south my base was a small farmhouse in Šušnjevica; in the north I used the local hostelry in Žejane. Both bases were chosen because of their central location and because each, in its own way, served as a convenient focal point within its own community. Each was well frequented by a fully representative cross section of the population.

My field data comprise forty hours of recorded Istro-Rumanian speech taken on a portable tape recorder in the villages of Šušnjevica, Brdo, Kostrčan, Noselo, Letaj and

Zejane from a total of thirty six informants, all of whom are native speakers who have spent all or most of their lives in the Istro-Rumanian villages. The ages of my informants range from over 70 years old down to 8 years old; some of them were used much more extensively than others.

The recorded material in my possession falls into two main categories viz. a) impromptu speech and b) responses to questionnaires.

Category (a) comprises recitations of folk tales, reminiscences by the more mature speakers of the Second World War, or childhood memories, descriptions of the village life, of the villages themselves or of people who lived in them, descriptions of local occupations or festivals, fairy tales told by children or by their elders and accounts by children of school activities or excursions.

Category (b) comprises the answers to various sets of questions which I had drawn up in order to elicit specific information on a number of phonological, grammatical and lexical points, as well as to throw light on differences between the dialects.

In order to broaden as far as possible the range of

information to be obtained by the questionnaires, and to obtain sufficient variety of response to enable me to discount idiolectal idiosyncrasy, I put each question to as wide a variety of informants as possible. Furthermore, in order to obviate as far as possible the dangers of "conditioning" the responses of my informants by using a single language of communication, I presented the questions in three different languages, i.e. German, Italian and Serbo-Croat, to three different age-groups, i.e. respectively to the oldest (who were brought up when German was the official language), to the middle-aged (who were schooled between the first and second world wars at a time when Italian was the official language), and to the young (including those still attending school and those who were schooled since the middle 1940's since which time Serbo-Croat has been the official language).

During my first visit to the field it was necessary for me to use an intermediary language with my informants, and this was generally Italian or German, (Istro-Rumanian has diverged so much from Daco-Rumanian, that the latter is not understood by the speakers of Istro-Rumanian, except for isolated lexical items, and so is not effective

as a means of communication). Towards the end of the first visit I had assimilated enough Istro-Rumanian to carry on a limited, general conversation.

However, during my second visit to Istria, having spent the intervening year transcribing and studying my recordings, and becoming more proficient also in Serbo-Croat, I was able to converse with reasonable fluency in Istro-Rumanian and to make more effective use of Serbo-Croat as an intermediary language with the younger speakers. This greatly facilitated my task in obtaining much of the recorded material which forms the basis of this description. I was also further able to broaden my knowledge of the language by discussion in it, and in addition to my recorded material I was able to make extensive notes of the discussions I had had, including the mistakes which I had made in speaking the language and which my informants were able to correct.

I made a "narrow" transcription of my field recordings, and the transcription became progressively "broader" as I gradually arrived, by the setting up of numerous minimal pairs, at the phonemic transcription on which Part I of this description is based. However, although the description is almost entirely derived from

the phonemic transcription of the field recordings, it is occasionally supplemented by direct field transcriptions of conversations between informants, and of my own conversation with informants, particularly of their responses to my questions. I have also very occasionally made use of information found in the work of other scholars who have studied features of the Istro-Rumanian language. Such use has generally been restricted to isolated lexical items and the source has always been noted in the text. Reference has also been made in the text to the works of the scholars mentioned, particularly in cases where my own findings differ from theirs, although no attempt has been made to point out all of the differences between my own findings and those of my predecessors. To do so would have taken up an inordinate amount of space, and would, I feel, serve little purpose in a work which sets out to be purely a synchronic description.

The number of speakers of Istro-Rumanian was ascertained by the simple expedient of counting up the number of inhabitants of each house in the various villages in the company of one of the local residents of each community; the number of known non-Rumanian speakers was then subtracted from the total.

As mentioned above, transcription of forms throughout this work is generally broad, with the exception of realizations which appear in narrow transcription. Phonemes, and sequences of phonemes appear between the conventional slanting lines, e.g. /pat/; realizations appear between square brackets, e.g. [p^{u}at] , as do distinctive features, e.g. [labial] .

In the <u>grammar</u>, I have adopted the device of writing the grammatemes between double slanting lines, e.g. //imperfective aspect//, and the monemes, (which I take to be the distinctive features of the grammatemes), between double square brackets, e.g. [[iterative]] , in order to emphasize that the grammatemes are <u>bundles</u> or <u>complexes</u> of monemes.

At the beginning of this Introduction I indicated the theoretical concepts which I shall use throughout this work and acknowledged my debt to the scholars who have formulated them, at the same time fully admitting my own responsibility for their present interpretation. As I mentioned earlier, these concepts will be defined as they occur in the description; those required for the

Phonology, for example, are defined at the beginning of Chapter I. These are the phoneme, the position, the distributional unit and the syllable. It will be seen that in each of these definitions I have generally followed Mulder, although I have found it necessary with regard to the position to recognize two types, namely the phonematic position and the syllabic position.

However, as regards the concepts which I shall use in the Grammar, it is important to state right at the outset that my use of the terms moneme and grammateme differs in certain respects from that of Martinet and Mulder respectively, (nor does Mulder, of course, use the term moneme in quite the same way as does Martinet.)[12]

In order to avoid possible misunderstanding I find it advisable to give my definitions here. Accordingly I define the moneme as the atomic element on the paradigmatic level of the first articulation [13], i.e. it is the 'distinctive feature' in grammar.

My definition of the grammateme is that it is a simultaneous bundle of monemes, i.e. it is the atomic

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12. J.W.F.Mulder, op.cit., p.44 ff.

13. For Mulder the atomic element on the paradigmatic level is the morpheme; see table, op.cit., p.9.

element on the syntagmatic level of the first articulation [14].

The notion <u>morpheme</u> does not have the same fundamental importance to this work as do the other concepts which have been mentioned, nevertheless it is used as an operational convenience. As has already been intimated, I do not use this term either in quite the same way as Martinet or Mulder. I define the <u>morpheme</u> as <u>the phonological form of the expression of a moneme or of a grammateme</u>.It may thus consist of a single phoneme or of a sequence of phonemes. There may also be a 'zero' morpheme, i.e. a 'zero' phonological form of expression, for a moneme such as, for example, [[plural]] in the second of the English forms /šr̥ip - šr̥ip/ (sheep). Although a given moneme may have a 'zero' form of expression, there can, of course, be no such thing as a 'zero-moneme'. According to the way in which I have defined it, it will be clear that for the purposes of this description, the notion <u>morpheme</u> belongs within the sphere of phonology.

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14. For Mulder the atomic element on the syntagmatic level is the <u>word</u> (<u>op.cit</u>., p.9).
    I do not use the term 'word' in a functional sense in this description.

Part I.

Phonology

Chapter I

The Establishment of the Phonemes of Istro-Rumanian and a Statement of the Phonological Theory underlying the Description.

For the purpose of this description, the phoneme is defined as a simultaneous bundle of phonologically distinctive features, not extending over more than one position in the chain [1]. This is essentially a functionalist definition and is an extension of Martinet's definition of the phoneme, ("un ensemble de traits pertinents qui se réalisent simultanément,") [2]. The word "phonologically" in the definition is significant because, as has been shown elsewhere, (as well as below in this work), it is also possible to establish grammatically distinctive features [3].

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1. Cf. J.W.F. Mulder, Sets and Relations in Phonology, Oxford, 1968; cf. also J.W.F. Mulder and H.A.Hurren, The English Vowel Phonemes from a functional point of view, La Linguistique, 1968, I, p.43.
2. Cf. A. Martinet, La description phonologique avec application au parler franco-provençal d'Hauteville (Savoie), (Société de Publications Romanes et Françaises sous la direction de Mario Roques,LVI), Geneva and Paris, 1956.
3. Cf. J.W.F. Mulder, op.cit; cf. also H.A. Hurren, Verbal Aspect and Archi-Aspect in Istro-Rumanian, La Linguistique, 1969, II.

In addition to the concept phoneme, I shall need the concepts position, distributional unit and simultaneous bundle.[4] These latter concepts are defined as follows.

A position is a place in which a syntagmatic element can stand and in which it is substitutable for a similar element or for zero. It may conveniently be regarded as a paradigmatic point on the syntagmatic axis. Three types of position form the basic pattern of the syllable, and these types are labelled "explosive", "nuclear" and "implosive" respectively, and they are exemplified in the English word 'cat' (/kat/) as follows: explosive /k/,nuclear /a/ and implosive /t/, (N.B. It will be necessary to extend the notion position below in the treatment of the full distributional unit).

A distributional unit is a simultaneous bundle of positions. It is furthermore the smallest possible unit within which the distribution of the phonemes can be explained completely and exhaustively. It is the largest unit one has to consider in order to establish the phonemes and to account for their distribution.

It is generally convenient to take the syllable as the basis of the distributional unit (actually the syllable is the minimum extension of the distributional unit, and in some languages it is also its maximum extension).

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4. These concepts are all defined and applied to English in J.W.F. Mulder and H.A. Hurren, op.cit., p.44.

In Istro-Rumanian the distributional unit is sometimes greater than a single syllable, (which is not surprising for an inflected language), but the nucleus of the distributional unit is invariably simultaneous with the nucleus of a syllable, and in many cases the distributional unit coincides with the syllable. It is for these reasons that it is convenient to regard the syllable as the basis of the distributional unit; one may then go on to describe the various types of syllabic combinations constituting the full distributional unit.

A <u>simultaneous bundle</u> is a complex of features between which there are no syntagmatic relations. Although there are syntagmatic relations between phonemes within the same distributional unit, there are no syntagmatic relations between the distinctive features of the phonemes. For example, it is of no relevance whether one describes the phoneme /m/ in English as being made up of the distinctive features [labial, nasal], or [nasal, labial], as these features stand in a relation of "simultaneity".

The Consonants

The consonant phonemes of Istro-Rumanian, classi-

fied according to their distinctive features, are given in the following table:

	voiced occlusive	unvoiced occlusive	voiced fricative	unvoiced fricative	Nasal	unclassified /l/
Labial	b	p	v	f	m	
Apical	d	t			n	
'Hiss'			z	s		
'Hush'		c	ž	š		
Dorsal	g	k		h		

Fig.1

The identity of these phonemes is established by commutations such as those shown by the following minimal pairs: /bet-pet; vir-fir; me-ne; de-te; za-sa; ca-ža; sa-la; glas-klas; hladé-kladé/. These forms correspond to the English "drunk-five; wine-hay; my-snow; than-you; for-his; that-sorry; so-at; voice-ear (of corn); he shelters-he puts".

The phoneme /l/ does not fit into the table as it does not consist of any of the classified features. The phoneme may be described as 'mono-featured', i.e. it contains only the feature [l-ness].

The Vowels

The vowel phonemes of Istro-Rumanian, and the semi-

vowels, classified according to their distinctive features, are as follows:

	Neutral	Spread	Rounded
Vocalic	a	e	o
Semi-vocalic	r	i	u

Fig. 2

The identity of these phonemes is established by such commutations as are shown by the following minimal pairs: /an-un; vir-vor; brt-bet/ ("year-one; wine-they will; stick-drunk")

Zero

In order to complete the phoneme inventory of Istro-Rumanian, we need to take into account the phonological status of /zero/. Its identity is established by commutation as shown by minimal pairs such as /pok-po; mai-ma; krov-rov; lur-ur/ etc. ("I can-half; more-my; roof-furrow; Monday-one".

Thus the phoneme inventory consists of twenty four members i.e. /b,p,v,f,d,t,m,n,z,s,ž,š,c,g,k,h,l,a,e,o,r, i,u,zero/. Detailed statements of realizations are given in the next chapter, but at this stage it will be as well to make clear that the three semi-vowels /r,i,u,/(which are,

of course, semi-consonants as well), possess consonantal as well as vocalic function. In nuclear position they function as vowels, (/r/ representing the more-or-less 'neutral' vowel often realized [ə]), and they form, together with the vowels /a,e,o/, the nuclear position class [5]. In other positions they may possess consonantal function or else combine with other vowels or semi-vowels to form 'diphthongs' or 'triphthongs'. In order to make the functions of the semi-vowels clear in any given utterance a dot will be placed beneath them whenever they occur in the nuclear position. It is not necessary to place a dot beneath the vowels /a,e,o,/ because these can <u>only</u> stand in the nuclear position and therefore they can only have a 'vocalic' realization as opposed to /r,i,u,/ which may also have a 'consonantal' realization according to the position in which they stand. The following examples will serve to illustrate the difference between the 'vocalic' and the 'consonantal' realizations of the semi-vowels, and will also illustrate the purpose of the diacritical use of the dot:

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5. Full discussion and establishment of the "position classes" follows below, both on the level of the <u>syllable</u> and of the <u>distributional unit</u>.

'Consonantal' realizations

1) /r/,/rov/"furrow"/tren/"train"/lœr/"their"/pork/"pig"

2) /i/,/ieš/"go out!"/tia/"away"/mai/"more"/voisKa/"war"

3) /u/,/kuadrų/"picture"/taužen(t)/"thousand"

'Vocalic' realizations

1) /r/,/krt/"how much"/vrk/"always"/šPegrl/"mirror"/rnka/
"still"

2) /i/,/din/"from"/vir/"wine"/rivei/"to arrive"

3) /u/,/sub/"under"/lur/"Monday"/iušTo/"correct"

Consecutive 'consonantal' and 'vocalic' realizations within the same form

1) /r/,/krre/"dog"/prrsTen/"ring"/srrrr/"sisters
/brtrr/"old"/virrr/"Friday"

2) /i/,/zii/"day"/liisT/"letter"/miik/"small"/iii/"to go"

3) /u/,/cuude/"much"/šKuuro/"dark"/luuce/"light"/uuta/
"to forget"

Reduplication

It is interesting to note that in the case of all three of the semi-vowels there is a strong possibility of reduplication, especially, although this is by no means always the case, when the semi-vowel in question stands in the nuclear position of a prominent syllable,

(examples will be given illustrating the same phenomenon in weak syllables also). Such reduplication more commonly occurs implosively (i.e. in post-nuclear position),but it does occur explosively (pre-nuclearly), albeit with much less frequency. Examples showing instances of implosive reduplication in prominent syllables include: /krre//N), /zii,lʉuce/. Examples showing explosive reduplication in prominent syllables include: /srrɾr,iii, uʉutSii/ (this last example is the //second person singular// paradigmeme on /uʉtá/ "to forget"). It is an interesting feature of these latter examples that the explosive reduplication occurs with implosive reduplication, giving a sequence of three; in the case of /srrɾr/there is a sequence of four.

Examples showing reduplication of the semi-vowels in weak syllables includes: /brrhán/ "skirt", /prjiáteli/ "friends", /uʉtá/ "to forget".

In order to indicate the prominent syllable in polysyllabic forms, a stroke / will be placed over the phoneme standing in the nuclear position of the syllable in question, thus in the form /uʉutSii/ it is the first syllable which is prominent, whereas in the form expressing the infinitive /uʉtá/, the second syllable is the prominent one. It will be noted that in the examples just given

the syllabic prominence coincides with additional (implosive) expansion of /u/, giving a sequence of three /u/s.

Before relinquishing the subject of reduplication, it should be mentioned that in the normal chain of speech the reduplicative phonemes are quite frequently not realized. This is more particularly true in the cases of /i/ and /u/, although /r/ is sometimes affected in this way also. In deliberate speech, of course, or on occasions when the speaker needs to give emphasis to some part of the utterance, or when he has to repeat the message to overcome possible external 'interference', then the reduplicative phonemes are fully realized [6]. Usage, however, varies considerably between different speakers.

The "Position Classes"

The notion position has been defined [7] as "a place in which a syntagmatic element can stand and in which it is substitutable for a similar element or for zero". In this case the "syntagmatic element" about which we are talking is the phoneme.

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6. Such is the case, for example, in English with respect to forms such as /menɻi, verɻi/, which are the more emphatic variants of /meni̥,veri̥/.See J.W.F.Mulder and H.A.Hurren, op.cit., p.50.

7. See above,p.20

In the simplified example of the distributional unit given at the beginning of this Chapter [8] (i.e. the English syllable /kat/), three basic 'position types' were established, namely <u>explosive</u>, <u>nuclear</u> and <u>implosive</u> respectively, each of which is filled by a phoneme. Such a simplified type of unit is quite adequate for the description of many of the shorter monosyllabic forms of Istro-Rumanian. For example, the phonemes and their respective positions in the form /pok/ are: explosive /p/, nuclear /o/, and implosive /k/. The form /po/ has explosive /p/, nuclear /o/ and explosive /zero/, whereas the form /u̯r/ has explosive /zero/, nuclear /u/ and implosive /r/.

However such a restricted type of distributional unit is inadequate for the description of the more extended syllabic forms, and for this reason a more complex unit containing more positions has to be established. In Istro-Rumanian the maximum extension of the syllable is exemplified by the form /sTri̯ntS/ "narrow (m.pl.)", and in order to describe fully the distribution of the phonemes in such an extended syllable seven positions are required, namely:

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8. See above, p.20

1) pre-explosive
2) first explosive
3) second explosive
4) nuclear
5) first implosive
6) second implosive
7) post implosive

These positions may conveniently be referred to as 1)pre, 2)$\underline{e}^1$, 3)$\underline{e}^2$, 4)$\underline{n}$, 5)$\underline{i}^1$, 6)$\underline{i}^2$, 7) pos, respectively. Thus the form /sTrintS/ given above is described as {pre /s/, $\underline{e}^1$ /T/, $\underline{e}^2$ /r/, $\underline{n}$ /i/, $\underline{i}^1$ /n/, $\underline{i}^2$ /t/, pos /S/}[9].

The phonemes which stand in the positions just enumerated belong to different "position classes". The phonemes inventoried earlier in the Chapter, which comprise the set of all phonemes of Istro-Rumanian, all belong to position classes. Some of the phonemes belong to several position classes and others belong to one position class only, but no phoneme is capable of standing in all seven positions, nor does any one position class include all twenty four phonemes among its members. The over-all set of phonemes comprises seven sub-sets which are the position

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9. Positions $\underline{e}^1$ and pos are filled by the archiphonemes /T,S/; an archiphoneme is defined as a phoneme in a subsystem whidh is represented in the overall system by two or more phonemes. The opposition voiced-unvoiced is always neutralized in phonemes immediately following a phoneme belonging to the correlation voiced-unvoiced or an archiphoneme in which the opposition is already neutralized.

classes, defined in phonology as "sets of phonemes which can occur in the same position" [10]. From this it will be seen that the notion "position" involves rather more than is implied by "sequential order".

The position classes in Istro-Rumanian phonology are as follows:

1) Pre-explosive /z,s,š, zero/,
2) First explosive/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,z,s,ž,š,g,k,h,l,P,T,K,zero/,
3) Second explosive/r,i,u,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h, l,P,T,F,K,S,zero/,
4) Nuclear /r,i,u,a,e,o/,
5) First implosive /r,i,u,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h, l,zero/,
6) Second implosive/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h,l, P,T,K,S, zero/
7) Post implosive /r,d,n,l,T,K,S,zero/.

Examples of the realization of each of the phonemes for each of the position classes to which it belongs will be given in the following chapter, but before this can be done further comment must be made regarding the syllable,

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10. See J.W.F. Mulder, op.cit., p.118, "Sets of items which can occur in the same position or archi-position".

in so far as this affects the membership of phonemes of certain position classes.

Syllabic Boundaries and Functional Amalgamation.

The seven positions enumerated above have been established in order to provide a fully extensive context within which the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic aspects of the phonemes can be fully described. The unit which is composed of these seven positions corresponds to the fullest extension of the syllable in Istro-Rumanian. As long as we are dealing with monosyllabic forms, the procedure is reasonably straightforward, but in the case of polysyllabic forms we have to contend with the further problem of syllabic boundaries. For example, the disyllabic form /potɔ́k/ "river" raises the question as to whether its two syllables are to be regarded as 1) /pot+ɔ́k/, 2) /po+tɔ́k/, or 3) /pot+tɔ́k/- in other words, as to whether the phoneme /t/ belongs to the first syllable, to the second syllable, or to both. As the choice of either of the first two alternatives would to a certain extent be arbitrary, the third alternative in recommended [11],

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11. The third solution, too, is arguably an arbitrary one, although less so than either of the others. My purpose here is only to emphasize that this approach is not to be confused with an acoustic/phonetic one.

i.e., that of considering /t/ as belonging to both syllables. This is the solution adopted elsewhere and it is known as functional amalgamation [12], (i.e. it is of no functional relevance whether /t/ is considered as 'belonging' to /pot/, to /tók/ or to both).

It is therefore operationally convenient to regard the phoneme /t/ in /potók/ as belonging to two syllables at the same time, and thus to two position classes at the same time. That is to say it belongs in the syllable /pot/ to the first implosive position class (i ^{1}), /o/ standing in the nuclear position (n), and /p/ standing in the second explosive position (e ^{2}), the other four positions being filled by /zero/; in the syllable /tók/ the same /t/ belongs to the second explosive position class (e ^{2}), /o/ standing in the nuclear position (n), and /k/ standing in the first implosive position (i ^{1}), again the remaining four positions being filled by /zero/.

The same solution may to a certain degree be applied to forms in which there are clusters of consonants, or sequences of consonants and semi-vowels. The solution is valid in such cases only to a certain degree because if ta-

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12. Cf. J.W.F.Mulder and H.A.Hurren, op.cit., p.49; cf. also J.W.F.Mulder, op.cit., p.178.

ken to the extreme limits of its application it can lead to combinations of phonemes which look awkward in certain positions, for example in initial clusters. The fact that such combinations may look odd in certain positions, does not, of course, alter the fact that the phonemes in question nevertheless theoretically remain members of the relevant position classes. Yet most awkward looking seqwences (i.e. 'counter-intuitive' for certain positions), can be avoided, as I shall show in a later section, by the application of two modificatory distributional rules in respect to non-prominent syllables.

Before passing on to the next section, I shall show briefly what I mean regarding the difference between 'awkward looking' sequences and 'normal' sequences.

Applying the principle of 'functional amalgamation' one may consider the form /kʰutS‡it/ "knife" as being composed of the syllables /kʰutS/ and /tS‡it/, and the form /‡sKre/ "spark", may similarly be considered as being composed of the syllables /‡sKr/ and /sKre/. None of the syllables so constituted, i.e. /kʰutS, tS‡it, ‡sKr, sKre/, presents any difficulty at first sight; they appear quite 'normal' and the phonemes of which they are composed belong

regularly to the appropriate position-classes enumerated above. However, the situation regarding other forms is rather different. If we apply the same principle of functional amalgamation to forms such as /préfTụ "the priest", potPịséi "to sign", odKovorị̄i "to reply"/ etc., we obtain some distinctly awkward looking syllables, i.e. /préfTu/ gives /préfT+fTụ/,/potPịséi) gives /potP+tPịs+séi/, and /odKovorị̄i/ gives /odK+dKov+vor+rị̄i/.

Yet it must be emphasized that although some of these syllables may look odd as syllables, there is nothing theoretically 'wrong'with them, as the phonemes of which they are composed demonstrably belong to the appropriate position-classes. For example, in the 'odd-looking' syllable /fTụ/, it may be seen that /f/stands in the first explosive position, /T/ in the second explosive position and /u/ in the nuclear position; the other four positions being filled by /zero/. This is perfectly regular,[13] and similarly the other 'odd-looking' syllables /potP, tPịs, odK, dKov/ are also distributionally regular. The fact that their status as 'well-formed' syllables is counter-

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13. i.e. in accordance with the position classes established above. The whole question of "odd-looking" remains highly contentious, and largely depends on the linguistic background of the investigator.

intuitive could perhaps merely be regarded as a minor inadequacy of the description, were it not for two additional factors which must be considered, namely the difference between 'free' and 'bound' syllables, and, even more significantly, the difference between prominent and non-prominent syllables, both of which are discussed below.

None of the 'awkward looking' syllables just mentioned has the status of a free syllable, nor is any of them a prominent syllable. The question of stress, or syllabic prominence, is of paramount importance, as I shall demonstrate in the sections immediately following, in helping to determine the syllabic boundaries in the 'difficult' cases mentioned above, and in the establishment of the fully extended distributional unit.

Polysyllabic Forms and the Full Distributional Unit

The fully extended distributional unit in Istro-Rumanian, as has been indicated earlier, is composed not of a single syllable but of a complex of syllables. Such a complex consists of a prominent syllable together with one or more non-prominent syllables which are grouped around it in various combinations. Both prominent and non-promi-

nent syllables are composed of <u>positions</u> as will be shown below, but it will be necessary to extend slightly the notion 'position' in the case of the full distributional unit, i.e. in the <u>syllable</u> the positions are filled by <u>phonemes</u>, and the <u>syllables</u> so constituted fill the positions in the <u>distributional unit</u>.

Thus in the phonology of Istro-Rumanian there are <u>two</u> types of position,

a) those which constitute the syllable and which are filled by <u>phonemes</u> and

b) those which constitute the distributional unit and which are filled by <u>syllables</u>.

These may conveniently be called the <u>phonematic positions</u> and the <u>syllabic positions</u> respectively.

Much of the discussion so far has centred on monosyllabic, prominent forms. The seven positions established earlier were set up in order to enable us to describe prominent syllables which in their fullest extension are exemplified by the form /sTr̥ntS/, which form has all seven positions filled by phonemes. The non-prominent syllables are not as fully extended as the prominent syllables, and so we do not need seven positions in order to be able to describe them. The positions constituting the non-prominent syllables

are given below, but before giving them I shall first enumerate the different types of syllable-complexes which make up the full distributional unit. These complexes of syllables are of a variety of shape and I list them initially under several headings in accordance with the number of syllables of which they are composed.

I <u>The monosyllabic unit</u>. This consists of one free syllable, stressed. It is exemplified in its fully extended form by /sTrintS/. Other examples of this type of distributional unit include /pat/ "bed", /cinc/ "five", /sTFar/ "thing", /vrrt/ "garden", in which various positions are filled by /zero/.

II <u>The disyllabic unit</u> a). This consists of two syllables, the <u>first</u> of which is the prominent one. This type is exemplified by forms such as /vinde/ "to sell/, /préfTy/ "the priest", /téta/ "aunt", /fómey/ "hunger".

<u>The disyllabic unit</u> b). This consists of two syllables, the <u>second</u> of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /potók/ "river", /pisái/ "to write", /cevá/ "something", /racún/ "bill".

III The trisyllabic unit a). This consists of three syllables, the first of which is the prominent one. This type is exemplified by forms such as /préfTSi̯lor/ "of the priests", /dárụre/ "gifts", /kúhi̯nie/"kitchen", /žálosTrn/ "sad".

The trisyllabic unit b). This consists of three syllables, the second of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /gali̯ra/ "hen", /posTóla/ "shoe", /brtfri̯i/ "old men", /previše/"too much".

The trisyllabic unit c). This consists of three syllables the third of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /zadụrmfi̯i/ "to fall asleep", /cetrrtfk/ "Thurday", /si̯romáh/ "poor", /frrmi̯nánt/ "match".

IV The tetrasyllabic unit a). This consists of four syllables, the first of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /préfTulụ(u)i̯/ "of the priest", /lfsi̯itSele/ "the foxes", /frátelụ(u)i̯/ "of the brother", /rfbi̯itSele/ "the small fishes".

The tetrasyllabic unit b). This consists of four syl-

lables, the <u>second</u> of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /basérika/ "church", /konóbaru/ "barman,waiter", /lantSúunele/ "the sheets", /devétile/ "the ninth".

<u>The tetrasyllabic unit</u> c). This consists of four syllables, the <u>third</u> of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /kurijiéra/ "bus", /pisivésKu/ "they are writing", /frrminántji/ "matches", /a(d)vokátu/ "the lawyer".

<u>The tetrasyllabic unit</u> d). This consists of four syllables, the <u>fourth</u> of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /potPisivéi/ "to be signing", /kumparavéš/(N) "you are buying", /odKovoré/, "he is replying", /oslobodéim/ (N) "we are liberating".

V <u>The pentasyllabic unit</u> a). This consists of five syllables, the <u>first</u> of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /tíslarulu(u)i/ "of the joiner".

<u>The pentasyllabic unit</u> b). This consists of five syllables, the <u>second</u> of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /osTárulu(u)i/ /of the land-

lord".

The pentasyllabic unit c). This consists of five syllables, the third of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /gosPodárịtSa/ "proprietress", /osr̥mnáisTi̥le/ "the eighteenth".

The pentasyllabic unit d). This consists of five syllables, the fourth of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /odKovorésTi̥i/ "you reply", /potPi̥si̥vésKu̥/ "they are signing".

The pentasyllabic unit e). This consists of five syllables, the fifth of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /u̥niversi̥tét/ "university", /razKovoru̥uéš̆/(N) "you converse" /zabogati̥vé/ "he is enriching, is becoming rich".

VI The hexasyllabic unit.This is rather less common than the types listed above. It is possible to discern four sub-types.

The hexasyllabic unit a). This consists of six syl-

lables, the second of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /prịiáteliṭSele/ "the little (girl) friends".

The hexasyllabic unit b). This consists of six syllables, the third of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /profesórụlụ(u)ị/ " of the professor".

The hexasyllabic unit c). This consists of six syllables, the fourth of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /devedesétịle/ "the ninetieth".

The hexasyllabic unit d). This consists of six syllables, the fifth of which is prominent. This type is exemplified by forms such as /zabogatịvésKụ/ "they are enriching".

VII Residual units. There remain several, fairly marginal, types of unit which do not quite fit into any of the types enumerated. These are polysyllabic and are characterized by a sequence of two 'nuclear' phonemes,

i.e. vowels in hiatus. Examples of such units include /paɨ̯z/ "village", /poɨ̯gréi/ "to play" /poṵcɨ̯ide/ "to kill". In the normal chain of speech the adjacent vowels are not realized as in hiatus. Sometimes a 'parasitic" semi-vowel is interposed between the two vowels, e.g. [payɨ̯z] when the second of the two vowels stands in the nuclear position of the prominent syllable; sometimes the second of the two vowels a) when this is a semi-vowel and b) when it is <u>not</u> standing in the nuclear position of the prominent syllable, 'transfers' to the first implosive position of the preceding syllable and takes a 'consonantal' realization, e.g. [poygréy] . However usage is not consistent and varies from speaker to speaker.

<u>The Importance of Syllabic Prominence and the Establishment of Syllabic Positions.</u>

The above is an inventory of twenty types and subtypes of syllable-complexes, each of which constitutes a different type of distributional unit. These various types of syllable-complex are listed above in full chiefly for reference purposes. However, a proliferation of twenty

types of distributional unit would make for a somewhat cumbersome phonological description. Fortunately it is possible to simplify the situation considerably by recognizing the importance of the part played by syllabic prominence.

It has been shown in the preceding section that the distributional unit is composed of a complex consisting of a prominent syllable around which are clustered a number of non-prominent syllables (in the case of monosyllabic forms, it may be said that the unit is composed of a 'complex' of one together with a number of 'zero' syllabic positions). In the same way that the vowel (or the 'vocalic' allophone of the semi-vowel) is the nucleus of the syllable, the prominent syllable is to be considered as the nucleus of the distributional unit. Thus in the same way that a syllable may consist of a single (vocalic) phoneme,(standing in the nuclear position, the other phonematic positions being filled by /zero/), e.g. /a/ (possessive article), /o/ (indefinite article), a distributional unit may consist of a single (prominent) syllable, the other syllabic positions being similarly filled by /zero/, e.g. /sTrintS/, /pat/.

The syllable and the distributional unit are fairly symmetrical, the main difference being that the latter has

one additional 'pre-nuclear' position and one additional 'post-nuclear' position. Both are 'nuclear-based' but whereas the fully extended syllable has seven phonematic positions, the fully extended distributional unit has nine syllabic positions. The phonematic positions for the syllable have been given above together with instances of their application. The syllabic positions for the distributional unit will be given below. They will be established in relation to the prominent syllable (i.e. the nucleus of the distributional unit).

The non-prominent syllables which may fill the positions other than the nuclear position in the distributional unit are of two basic types, depending on whether they <u>precede</u> or <u>follow</u> the prominent syllable. They are classified accordingly as <u>ante-prominent</u> or <u>post-prominent</u>. Thus three types of syllabic position form the basic pattern of the distributional unit, respectively labelled, "ante-prominent", "prominent", and "post-prominent". They are exemplified by the form /posTóla/, which rather simplified form of distributional unit corresponds to the simplified type of syllable mentioned earlier and consisting of the three basic phonematic positions, "explosive", "nuclear" and

"implosive" respectively. In order to describe the fully extended distributional unit, we need to establish nine syllabic positions, which as mentioned above, is only two more than the number of phonematic positions which had to be set up for the syllable; this is more economical than the twenty types of syllable-complex listed above. The nine syllabic positions are respectively:

1) ante-ante-ante-ante-prominent
2) ante-ante-ante-prominent
3) ante-ante-prominent
4) ante-prominent
5) prominent
6) post-prominent
7) post-post-prominent
8) post-post-post-prominent
9) post-post-post-post-prominent

These classificatory labels may seem rather cumbersome by comparison with those used to describe the phonematic positions. The syllabic positions could easily be referred to simply by the numbers 1-9, but to do so would be perhaps less clear than to use the above labels which are, I think, of descriptive adequacy. It will generally be convenient to refer to them by the appropriate abbreviations as follows:

1) $\underline{ap}^4$, 2) $\underline{ap}^3$, 3) $\underline{ap}^2$, 4) $\underline{ap}^1$, 5) $\underline{p}$, 6) $\underline{pp}^1$, 7) $\underline{pp}^2$, 8) $\underline{pp}^3$, 9) $\underline{pp}^4$.

I shall now go on to demonstrate the adequacy of the nine syllabic positions in classifying the twenty types of syllable-complexes illustrated earlier.

Type I. Monosyllabic units of the type /sTr̥ntS,pat,sTFar/, all belong to syllabic position 5) p (Prominent).They form part of the Prominent syllabic position class. All of the other positions are filled by /zero/. Each of the remaining types of unit, as they are polysyllabic, belong not to single syllabic positions, but span sequences of positions as I now show.

Type IIa. Disyllabic units of which the first syllable is prominent, of the type /v̥́nde, préfTy̥/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 5) p and 6) pp^1, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type IIb. Disyllabic units of which the second syllable is prominent, of the type /potók, p̥sé̥i/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 4) ap^1 and 5) p , the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type IIIa. Trisyllabic units of which the first syllable is

prominent, of the type /dárure, préfTSilor/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 5) p, 6) $\underline{pp}^{1}$ and 7) $\underline{pp}^{2}$, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type IIIb. Trisyllabic units of which the second syllable is prominent, of the type /posTóla, galíra/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 4) $\underline{ap}^{1}$, 5) p and 6) $\underline{pp}^{1}$, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type IIIc. Trisyllabic units of which the third syllable is prominent, of the type /siromáh, zadurmíi/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 3) $\underline{ap}^{2}$, 4) $\underline{ap}^{1}$ and 5) p, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type IVa. Tetrasyllabic units of which the first syllable is prominent, of the type /lísitSele, frátelu(u)i/, b elong jointly to syllabic positions 5) p, 6) $\underline{pp}^{1}$, 7)$\underline{pp}^{2}$ and 8)$\underline{pp}^{3}$, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type IVb. Tetrasyllabic units of which the second syllable is prominent, of the type /basérika, devétile/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 4) $\underline{ap}^{1}$, 5)p , 6) $\underline{pp}^{1}$ and 7) $\underline{pp}^{2}$, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type IV c. Tetrasyllabic units of which the third syllable is prominent, of the type /pi̤si̤vésKṳ, kuri̤iéra/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 3) ap ^{2}, 4) ap ^{1}, 5) p and 6) pp ^{1}, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type IV d. Tetrasyllabic units of which the fourth syllable is prominent, of the type /potPi̤si̤vêi, odKovoré/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 2) ap ^{3}, 3) ap ^{2}, 4) ap ^{1} and 5) p , the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type V a. Pentasyllabic units of which the first syllable is prominent, of the type /ti̤šlarṳlṳ(u)i̤/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 5) p, 6) pp ^{1}, 7) pp ^{2}, 8) pp ^{3} and 9) pp ^{4}, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type V b. Pentasyllabic units of which the second is prominent, of the type /osTárṳlṳ(u)i̤/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 4) ap ^{1}, 5) p , 6) pp ^{1}, 7) pp ^{2} and 8) pp ^{3}, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type V c. Pentasyllabic units of which the third syllable is prominent, of the type /osr̤mnáisTi̤le/, belong jointly to

syllabic positions 3) ap ^{2}, 4) ap ^{1}, 5) p , 6) pp ^{1} and 7) pp ^{2}, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type V d. Pentasyllabic units of which the fourth syllable is prominent, of the type /potPisivésKu/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 2) ap ^{3}, 3) ap ^{2}, 4) ap ^{1}, 5) p and 6) pp ^{1}, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type V e. Pentasyllabic units of which the fifth syllable is prominent, of the type /zabogativé/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 1) ap ^{4}, 2) ap ^{3}, 3) ap ^{2}, 4) ap ^{1} and 5) p , the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type VI a. Hexasyllabic units of which the second syllable is prominent, of the type /priiátelitSele/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 4) ap ^{1}, 5) p , 6) pp ^{1} , 7) pp ^{2} , 8) pp ^{3} and 9) pp ^{4}, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type VI b. Hexasyllabic units of which the third syllable is prominent, of the type /profesórulu(u)i/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 3) ap ^{2}, 4) ap ^{1}, 5) p , 6) pp ^{1}, 7) pp ^{2} and 8) pp ^{3}, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type VI c. Hexasyllabic units of which the fourth syllable is prominent, of the type /devedesétile/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 2) ap ^{3}, 3) ap ^{2}, 4) ap ^{1}, 5) p , 6)pp ^{1} and 7) pp ^{2}, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type VI d. Hexasyllabic units of which the fifth syllable is prominent, of the type /zabogativésKu/, belong jointly to syllabic positions 1) ap ^{4}, 2) ap ^{3}, 3) ap ^{2}, 4) ap ^{1}, 5) p and 6) pp ^{1}, the remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

Type VII. Polysyllabic units which contain a sequence of two positions each of which is filled by a nuclear phoneme present a slightly different picture, in the sense that certain realizations of some of these units entail a modification in syllabic structure in the normal chain of speech. As an illustration of this phenomenon we may take the form /poigréi/ which in 'deliberate' speech is realized [po-igréy], the unit thus being trisyllabic and spanning the syllabic positions 3) ap ^{2}, 4) ap ^{1} and 5) p . However, when uttered informally in the chain the realization is more frequently [poygréy] which unit is disyllabic and spans the syllabic positions 4) ap ^{1} and 5) p . As indicated earlier, this type

of realization is only possible in situations where the second of a sequence of two nuclear positioned vowels is a semi-vowel and is not standing in the nuclear position of the prominent syllable.

In all other cases the syllabic structure is unaffected. For example, in the case of the form /paɪ̯z/, it is of no consequence whether the realization is 'deliberate', i.e. [pa-ɪ̯z] or 'informal', i.e. [payɪ̯z], and the syllable in all cases is disyllabic and spans the syllabic positions 4) ap [1] and 5) p.

The Syllabic Position Classes.

In the same way as it was possible above to establish the phonematic position classes, it is possible to establish syllabic position classes. The main difference between the two types of position class is that membership of the phonematic position classes is limited, whereas membership of the syllabic position classes is potentially unlimited. This is because the members of the former, i.e. the phonemes, belong to closed inventories, and consequently each of the phonematic position classes is a finite set. In the case of the syllabic position classes, it will not be possible to give all of the members of each position class. This

part of the description, therefore, is confined to the giving of examples of the membership of each class.

The syllabic position classes in Istro-Rumanian are exemplified as follows:

1) ap ^{4}, /un-, raz-, zab-/,
(as occurring in forms such as /universitét, razKovoruués, zabogativé/),

2) ap ^{3}, /od-, pot-, kum-, dev-, -(z)Kov-/,
(as occurring in forms such as /odKovoré, potPisivéi, kumparavéš, devedesétile, razKovoruués/),

3) ap ^{2},/zad-, sir-, os-, -(m)par-, -(d)Kov-/,
(as occurring in forms such as /zadurmíi, siromáh, osrmnáisT, kumparavéš, odKovoré/),

4) ap ^{1}, /gal-, bas-, lan-, siv-, -bod-/ ,
(as occurring in forms such as / galíra, basérika, lantSúunele, pisivésKu, oslobodéim/),

5) p , /sTrintS, pat, vind-, -sTol-, -veš/,
(as occurring in forms such as /sTrintS, pat, vínde, posTóla, kumparavéš /),

6) pp ^{1}, /-de, -la, -Ku, -rik-, -til-/,
(as occurring in forms such as /vínde, posTóla, pisivésKu, basérika, osrmnáisTile/),

7) pp ^{2}, /-lor, -ka, -le, -sel-, -l̥tS-/
(as occurring in forms such as /préfTSi̥lor,basérika,
osrmnáisTile, ríbitSele, prii̥átelitSele/),
8) pp ^{3}, /-le, -(u)i̥, -se, -lu̥(u)-/,
(as occurring in forms such as /ríbitSele,ǒsTárulu̥(u)i̥,
prii̥átelitSe, tǐ̥šlaru̥lu̥(u)i̥/),
9) pp ^{4}, /-(u)i̥, -le/ ,
(as occurring in forms such as /tǐ̥šlaru̥lu̥(u)i̥,
prii̥átelitSele,/).

Having established the syllabic positions and the syllabic position classes, I am now in a position to resolve in a more formal way the question of syllabic boundaries in the case of the problematical sequences mentioned in the earlier section "Syllabic Boundaries and Functional Amalgamation".

In that section I made a distinction, very informally, between what I called 'awkward looking' sequences and 'normal' sequences, the former of which I exemplified by the forms /potP, tPi̥s, dKov/ etc. and the latter by the forms /ku̥tS, i̥sKr, sKre /etc.. Needless to say, such a distinction as that between 'awkward looking' and 'normal' is largely intuitive and therefore unsatisfactory in a formalized phonology.

A formalized solution is made possible by the application of data to be found in the syllabic positions and position classes constituting the fully extended distributional unit. Bearing in mind that the syllabic positions are established in relation to the prominent syllable, (which is the nucleus of the distributional unit), we may say that the prominent syllable is the dominant syllable in the distributional unit, and that the remainder of the syllables in the unit, i.e. the ante-prominent and the post-prominent syllables, are subsidiary to it. Only the prominent syllable, of all the syllables in the complex which constitutes the distributional unit, is capable of having all seven of the phonematic positions filled by phonemes, i.e. other than by /zero/, as is exemplified by the form /sTr̥intS/. As mentioned above, none of the other, i.e. non-prominent, syllables is fully extended in terms of the seven phonematic positions, and therefore we do not require a complex of seven positions to enable us to describe non-prominent syllables.

As has been seen above,non-prominent syllables are of two basic types, a) ante-prominent, and b) post-prominent. The basic pattern for all syllables consists of the three positions, explosive, nuclear and implosive respectively.

The fully extended prominent syllable has a left-hand expansion of three explosive positions and a right-hand expansion of three implosive positions. Examination of the polysyllabic forms given above, and of the examples of syllables shown as members of the syllabic position classes, makes it clear that the main difference (apart from the question of stress) between prominent and non-prominent syllables lies in the degree of expansion possible. Furthermore, the difference between ante-prominent and post-prominent syllables is that the former is defective as regards the right-hand expansion whereas the latter is defective as regards the left-hand expansion. Apart from these limitations the data show that ante-prominent syllables in their fully extended form may have a full left-hand expansion, and that post-prominent syllables, fully extended, may have a full right-hand expansion. Ante-prominent syllables may have, in addition, a single right-hand expansion; post-prominent syllables may additionally have a single left-hand expansion.

As suggested earlier, the foregoing may conveniently be summarized by a distributional rule for prominent syllables, to which may be added two modificatory statements in respect of non-prominent syllables. The distributional rule,

together with its modifications reads as follows:

Prominent Syllables in Istro-Rumanian have three explosive and three implosive positions; ante-prominent syllables have three explosive positions and one implosive position; post-prominent syllables have one explosive and three implosive positions.

Therefore in order to describe non-prominent syllables we only need five phonematic positions instead of the seven required to describe the prominent syllables. (Actually, in the case of the more peripheral ante-prominent and post-prominent syllables, even less positions are needed, as will be seen in the tables at the end of this chapter).

Thus the positions constituting the ante-prominent syllables of Istro-Rumanian are:

1) pre-explosive
2) first explosive
3) second explosive
4) nuclear
5) implosive

The positions constituting the <u>post-prominent syllables</u> are:

1) explosive
2) nuclear
3) first implosive
4) second implosive
5) post implosive

In those cases where the solution of applying 'functional amalgamation', i.e. that of regarding /t/ in /potók/ as belonging equally to both syllables (in the same way as an interior wall between two adjoining rooms may be said to belong to both rooms at the same time), appears less than satisfactory, for example when the "interior wall" consists of more than a single phoneme, the difficulty may be resolved in a non-arbitrary fashion by applying the 'position criteria' on both levels. (N.B. by "both levels" here I mean by first establishing the syllabic positions and then the phonematic positions of any given polysyllabic form in which there are clusters of consonants or linear sequences of consonants and semi-vowels). For example, when confronted with a pentasyllabic form such as /potPịsịvésKụ/ our first task is to recognise that the prominent syllable is /vésK/, whereupon it becomes clear that there are <u>three</u>

ante-prominent syllables, (respectively /pot/ in syllabic position ap ^{3}, /Pi̤s/ in syllabic position ap ^{2}, /si̤v/ in syllabic position ap ^{1}), and one post-prominent syllable, (namely /Kṳ/ standing in syllabic position pp ^{1}). The question of syllabic boundary becomes easier to resolve once we have 'removed' the sequence representing the prominent syllable, shown here in square brackets, i.e. /potPi̤si̤-[vésK]ṳ/ because the residue must belong to non-prominent syllables. In the case of the three ante-prominent syllables, since we know that ante-prominent syllables may have a maximum right-hand expansion of only one position, it seems likely, working from left to right, that the three ante-prominent syllables in question are respectively /pot,Pi̤s, si̤v/, as opposed to, say, /potP, tPi̤s, si̤v/. In the case of the post-prominent syllable, it is clear that this is /Kṳ/ and not /sKṳ/ because of the rule that post-prominent syllables can only have a single left-hand expansion.

Despite the fact that the application of the 'position criteria' can do much to clarify the situation regarding syllabic boundaries, it will not have escaped notice that occasional question-marks may still remain. Such is the case with one of the ante-prominent syllables of /potPi̤si̤vésKṳ/

discussed above. Whereas it is quite plain that the ap^{3} syllable is /pot/ and not /potP/, (because of the rule that ante-prominent syllables can only have a single right-hand expansion), there still remains an element of doubt concerning the ap^{2} syllable. Although it is intuitively preferable to regard this syllable as /Pi̱s/, there is no phonological reason why it should not be /tPi̱s/, (nor any distributional reason, because although ante-prominent syllables are restricted to a single right-hand expansion, there are no such limitations imposed as regards the left-hand expansion). That /t/, as in /tPi̱s/, is undoubtedly a bona fide member of the phonemic position class e^{1} is adequately demonstrated by forms such as /tSéna/ "price", /tren/ "train", /sTFar/ etc. [14].

'Bound' and 'Free' Syllables

Yet apart from intuitional preference, there are further non-arbitrary grounds for taking the syllable in question as /Pi̱s/ rather than /tPi̱s/. In an earlier section it was stated that apart from the important part played by

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14. It will be noted, that in the last three forms /t/ stands in the e^{1} position in what are 'word-initial' clusters. One could use as a secondary 'check' on 'awkward looking' clusters the criterion of whether these occur in 'word-initial' position.

syllabic prominence, an additional contributory factor to the solution of difficulties in regard to the determination of syllable boundaries is the matter of whether the syllables in question are <u>free</u> or <u>bound</u>. As one of the aims of linguistic description should be simplicity as far as this is compatible with completeness, one should endeavour to reduce the number of bound syllables in the description to a minimum. Of the possible descriptions of the syllable under discussion /Pịs/ is a free syllable whereas /tPịs/ would be a bound syllable. The difference can best be illustrated within the body of various types of distributional unit. For example the free syllable /Pịs/ belongs a) to class <u>ap</u>^{1} in the form /pịséi/, and b) to class <u>ap</u>^{2} in the form /pịsịvéi/.

It belongs to the same positions, i.e. to <u>ap</u> ^{1} and <u>ap</u> ^{2} respectively in each of the pairs /napịsịvéi-napịséi, zapịséi-zapịsịvéi, potPịséi-potPịsịvéi/. In the <u>last</u> of these pairs the syllable in <u>ap</u> ^{1} and <u>ap</u> ^{2} could just as easily be /tPịs/, but this would entail the establishment of an additional bound syllable (in addition to /Pịs/) which, for reasons of economy, would be undesirable. The fact that /tPịs/ is inextricably bound up with the left-hand

expansion /po(t)/, puts it at a distributional disadvantage as compared to /Pi̤s/, which can occur with or without having any one of the forms /pot, na, za/ or /zero/ in the immediately preceding left-hand position, all of which commute with each other in this position.

The description of the form /potPi̤si̤vésKṳ/ in the light of the foregoing discussion may be summarized in tabular form in terms of the two levels of position.

I

Syllabic Positions	ap^4	ap^3	ap^2	ap^1	Prominent	pp^1	pp^2	pp^3	pp^4
Syllables	zero	pot	pi̤s	si̤(v)	vesK	(k)ṳ	zero	zero	zero

II a

Phonematic Positions / ante-prominent syllables	pre	e^1	e^2	nuclear	implosive
ap^4	zero	zero	zero	zero	zero
ap^3	zero	zero	p	o	t
ap^2	zero	zero	p	i	s
ap^1	zero	zero	s	i	(v)

II b

Phonematic Positions	pre	e^1	e^2	nuclear	i^1	i^2	pos
Prominent Syllable	zero	zero	v	e	s	K	zero

II c

Phonematic Positions / Post-Prominent Syllables	explosive	nuclear	i^1	i^2	pos
pp^1	(K)	u	zero	zero	zero
pp^2	zero	zero	zero	zero	zero
pp^3	zero	zero	zero	zero	zero
pp^4	zero	zero	zero	zero	zero

Expansion

It will have been noticed that the above tabulated forms are in varying degrees defective as regards left-hand expansion, right-hand expansion, or both. They are given at this stage to illustrate the application of the procedures outlined earlier. At the end of this chapter I shall give, again in tabular form, examples of each of the types of distributional unit, both in terms of the nine syllabic positions and of the seven phonematic positions. Before doing this, however, I shall give further illustration of the different types of expansion possible on the level of the syllable and of the distributional unit. The tabulated examples at the end of the chapter will then serve as a convenient summary of the whole discussion.

Phonematic Expansion

This discussion will begin by establishing the minimum form of the distributional unit, and will then show how the various types of expansion may be built on to it.

The minimum form of the distributional unit is a monosyllable, and the minimum form of a syllable is a single nuclear phoneme. Monophonematic syllables in Istro-Rumanian

are /o/, the phonological form of the feminine singular indefinite article, and /a/, the form of the possessive article. Such forms may be said to have /o,a/ respectively in the nuclear position, all six remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

We turn first to the right-hand expansion.

The form /ai/ "you have" has /a/ in the nuclear position and /i/ in the first implosive position, all five remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

The form /anc/ "here" has /a/ in the nuclear position, /n/ in the first implosive position and /c/ in the second implosive position, all four remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

The form /altS/ "others" has /a/ in the nuclear position, /l/ in the first implosive position, /t/ in the second implosive position and /S/ in the post implosive position. No further right-hand expansions are possible, and the three explosive positions are all filled by /zero/.

We now turn to the left-hand expansion.

The form /po/, a perfectivizing morpheme, has /o/ in the nuclear position and /p/ in the second explosive position, all five remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

The form /kmo/ "now" has /o/ in the nuclear position, /m/ in the second explosive position and /k/in the first

explosive position, all four remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

The form /sTFar/ "thing" has /a/ in the nuclear position, /F/ in the second explosive position, /T/ in the first explosive position, /s/ in the pre-explosive position. No further left-hand expansions are possible, and the form has in addition /r/ in the first implosive position, the two remaining implosive positions being filled by /zero/.

The form /sTrintS/, given several times above, represents the complete expansion of the syllable in Istro-Rumanian having both the fullest possible left-hand and right-hand expansions. It has, from left to right, /s/ in the pre-explosive position, /T/ in the first explosive position, /r/ in the second explosive position, /i/ in the nuclear position, /n/ in the first implosive position, /t/ in the second implosive position and /S/ in the post-implosive position.

Syllabic Expansion

In the same way as the starting point for the discussion of phonematic expansion was the monophonematic syllable, so is the prominent syllable of the distributional

unit the basis of syllabic expansion. In the case of the monosyllabic unit /sTrintS/, we may say that it stands in the prominent position of the distributional unit, all eight remaining positions being filled by /zero/. But to be able to take the discussion of syllabic expansion further, we need to consider polysyllabic forms, beginning with the prominent syllable in each case.

We begin, as with phonematic expansion, with the right-hand.

The form /préfTu/ "the priest" has /prefT/ in the prominent position and /tu/ in position pp ^{1}, all seven remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

The form /préfTSilor/ "of the priests" has /prefTS/ in the prominent position, /sil/ in position pp ^{1} and /lor/in position pp ^{2}, all six remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

The form /préfTulu(u)i/ "of the priest" has /prefT/in the prominent position, /tul/ in position pp ^{1}, /lu(u) in position pp ^{2} and /(u)i/ in position pp ^{3}, all five remaining position being filled by /zero/.

The form /tišlaruluu(u)i/ "of the joiner" has /tišl/in the prominent position, /lar/ in position pp ^{1}, /rul/ in

position pp ^{2}, /lu̯(u)/ in position pp ^{3} and /(u)i̯/ in position pp ^{4}. No further right-hand expansions are possible, and the four ante-prominent positions are all filled by /zero/.

We now turn to the left-hand expansion.

The form /pi̯séi/ "to write" has /sei/ in the prominent position and /pi̯s/ in position ap ^{1}, all seven remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

The form /potPi̯séi/ "to sign" has /sei/ in the prominent position, /Pi̯s/ in position ap ^{1} and /pot/ in position ap ^{2}, all six remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

The form /potPi̯si̯véi/ "to be signing" has /sei/ in the prominent position, /si̯v/ in position ap ^{1}, /Pi̯s/ in position ap ^{2} and /pot/ in position ap ^{3}, all five remaining positions being filled by /zero/.

The form /zabogati̯véi/ "to grow rich, enrich",has /vei/ in the prominent position, /ti̯v/ in position ap ^{1}, /gat/in position ap ^{2} /bog/ in position ap ^{3} and /zab/ in position ap ^{4}. No further left-hand expansion is possible, and the four post-prominent positions are all filled by /zero/.

On the level of phonematic expansion, the form /sTri̯ntS/ exemplifies the complete expansion of the syllable in which all seven of the phonematic positions are filled by phonemes.

On the level of syllabic expansion there is no comparable form in which all nine syllabic positions are filled by syllables. Only forms possessing full right-hand expansion or full left-hand expansion exist, there being no unit of nine syllables to exemplify the complete syllabic expansion. The longest linear sequences of syllables within a single distributional unit have six syllables and are of four types as indicated above. These four types are exemplified by

a) /prịiátelịtSele/ "little girl friends" which has, from left to right, /prịi/ in position ap ^{1}, /iat/ in the prominent position, /tel/ in position pp ^{1}, /lịt(S)/in position pp ^{2}, /sel/ in position pp ^{3} and /le/ in position pp ^{4}, all three remaining ante-prominent positions being filled by /zero/,

b) /profesórụlụ(u)ị/ "of the professor", which has, /prof/ in position ap ^{2}, /fes/ in position ap ^{1}, /sor/ in the prominent position, /rụl/ in position pp ^{1}, /lụ(u)/ in position pp ^{2} and /(u)ị/ in position pp ^{3}, two ante-prominent positions and one post-prominent position being filled by /zero/,

c) devedesétịle/ "ninetieth", which has /dev/ in position ap ^{3}, /ved/ in position ap ^{2}, /des/ in position ap ^{1}

/set/ in the prominent position, /tįl/ in position pp ^{1} and /le/ in position pp ^{2}, one ante-prominent position and two post-prominent positions being filled by /zero/, and

d) zabogatįvẽsKų/ "they enrich", which has /zab/ in position ap ^{4}, /bog/ in position ap ^{3}, /gat/ in position ap ^{2}, /tįv/ in position ap ^{1}, /vesK/ in the prominent position and /Kų/ in position pp ^{1}, all three remaining post-prominent positions being filled by /zero/.

I now tabulate, for easy reference, a representative sample of the various types of distributional unit in Istro-Rumanian, in terms of the syllabic positions. The table of distributional unit types will be followed by additional tables illustrating different kinds of syllable in terms of the phonematic positions.

Table I

Examples of Distributional Units

Positions / units	ap^4	ap^3	ap^2	ap^1
sTrintS	zero	zero	zero	zero
prefT	zero	zero	zero	zero
prefTu	zero	zero	zero	zero
prefTSilor	zero	zero	zero	zero
prefTulu(u)i	zero	zero	zero	zero
tišlarulu(u)i	zero	zero	zero	zero
potok	zero	zero	zero	po(t)
pisei	zero	zero	zero	pi(s)
pisivei	zero	zero	pi(s)	si(v)
potpisivei	zero	pot	Pi(s)	si(v)
zabogativei	za(b)	bo(g)	ga(t)	ti(v)
zabogativesku	za(b)	bo(g)	ga(t)	ti(v)
devedesetile	zero	de(v)	ve(d)	de(s)
profesorulu(u)i	zero	zero	pro(f)	fe(s)
priiatelitSele	zero	zero	zero	pri(i)
gosPodarulu(u)i	zero	zero	gos	Po(d)
oslobodesku	zero	os	lo(b)	bo(d)
universitet	u(n)	ni(v)	ver	si(t)
lisitSele	zero	zero	zero	zero
rntSeleže	zero	zero	rn	tSe(l)

Table I

in Terms of the Syllabic Positions

prominent	pp^1	pp^2	pp^3	pp^4
sTrintS	zero	zero	zero	zero
prefT	zero	zero	zero	zero
prefT	(t)u	zero	zero	zero
prefTS	(s)il	(l)or	zero	zero
prefT	(t)ul	(l)uu	(u)i	zero
tišl	(l)ar	(r)ul	(l)uu	(u)i
tok	zero	zero	zero	zero
sei	zero	zero	zero	zero
vei	zero	zero	zero	zero
vei	zero	zero	zero	zero
vei	zero	zero	zero	zero
vesK	(k)u	zero	zero	zero
set	(t)il	(l)e	zero	zero
sor	(r)ul	(l)uu	(u)i	zero
iat	(t)el	(l)itS	(s)el	(l)e
dar	(r)ul	(l)uu	(u)i	zero
desK	(k)u	zero	zero	zero
tet	zero	zero	zero	zero
lis	(s)itS	(s)el	(l)e	zero
lež	(ž)e	zero	zero	zero

Table II

Examples of Prominent Syllables in Terms of the Phonematic Positions

Positions / Syllables	pre	e^1	e^2	nuclear	i^1	i^2	pos
a	zero	zero	zero	a	zero	zero	zero
ai	zero	zero	zero	a	i	zero	zero
anc	zero	zero	zero	a	n	c	zero
altS	zero	zero	zero	a	l	t	S
po	zero	zero	p	o	zero	zero	zero
kmo	zero	k	m	o	zero	zero	zero
sTFar	s	T	F	a	r	zero	zero
sTrint	s	T	r	i	n	t	zero
sTrintS	s	T	r	i	n	t	S
prefTS(i̯i)	zero	p	r	e	f	T	S-
sKand(u̯)	zero	s	K	a	n	d-	
prav(o)	zero	p	r	a	v-		
(pi̯)seitS		-	s	e	i	t	S
(fi̯)ni̯it		-	n	i	i	t	zero
(da)vei		-	v	e	i	zero	zero
sor	zero	zero	s	o	r	zero	zero
(po)tok		-	t	o	k	zero	zero
(po)sTol(a)	-	s	T	o	l	-	
(sr)rr̯r		-	r	r	r	-	-
vr̯rt	zero	zero	v	r	r	t	zero
(ka)zu̯ut		-	z	u	u	t	zero

Table III

Examples of ap^4 Syllables in Terms of the Phonematic Positions

Positions / Syllables	explosive	nuclear	implosive	as in:
un-	zero	u	n	/universitét
raz-	r	a	z	razKovoruués
zab-	z	a	b	zabogatívéi

Table IV

Examples of ap^3 Syllables in Terms of the Phonematic Positions

Positions / Syllables	e^1	e^2	nuclear	implosive	as in:
os-	zero	zero	o	s	/oslobodéim
pot-	zero	p	o	t	potPisívéi
kum-	zero	k	u	m	kumparavés
dev-	zero	d	e	v	devedesétile
-(z)Kov-	(z)	K	o	v	razKovoruués/

Table V

Examples of ap^2 Syllables in Terms of the Phonematic Positions

Positions / Syllables	e^1	e^2	nuclear	implosive	as in:
os-	zero	zero	o	s	/osrmnáisT
sir-	zero	s	i	r	siromáh
zad-	zero	z	a	d	zadurmíi
-(m)par-	(m)	p	a	r	kumparavés
-(d)Kov-	(d)	K	o	v	odKovoré/

Table VI

Examples of ap^1 Syllables in Terms of the Phonematic Positions

Positions / Syllables	pre	e^1	e^2	nuclear	implosive	as in:
ob-	zero	zero	zero	o	b	/obṛi
bas-	zero	zero	b	a	s	basérika
brt-	zero	zero	b	r	t	brtfṛi
prev-	zero	p	r	e	v	prevíše
sPred-	s	P	r	e	d	sPredi
-siv-	zero	zero	s	i	v	pisivésKu
-bod-	zero	zero	b	o	d	oslobodéim
-šTik-	zero	š	T	i	k	frušTikéi/

Table VII

Examples of pp^1 Syllables in Terms of the Phonematic Positions

Positions / Syllables	explosive	nuclear	implosive	as in:
-de	d	e	zero	/vínde
-la	l	a	zero	posTóla
-ru	r	u	zero	líukru
-rik-	r	i	k	basérika
-Til-	T	i	l	osṛmnáisTile/

Table VIII

Examples of pp^2 Syllables in Terms of the Phonematic Positions

Positions / Syllables	explosive	nuclear	i^1	i^2	as in:
-le	l	e	zero	zero	/osrmnáisTi̯le
-lor	l	o	r	zero	préfTSi̯lor
-lit(S)-	l	i	t	(S)	pri̯iátei̯itSele
-(S)el-	(S)	e	l	zero	ri̯bi̯tSele/

Table IX

Examples of pp^3 Syllables in Terms of the Phonematic Positions

Positions / Syllables	explosive	nuclear	implosive	as in:
-le	l	e	zero	/ri̯bi̯tSele
-(S)e	(S)	e	zero	pri̯iátei̯itSele
-(u)i	(u)	i	zero	oštárulu(u)i
-lu(u)-	l	u	(u)	ti̯šlarulu(u)i̯/

Table X

Examples of pp^4 Syllables in Terms of the Phonematic Positions

Positions / Syllables	explosive	nuclear	as in:
-le	l	e	/pri̯iátei̯itSele
-(u)i	(u)	i	ti̯šlarulu(u)i̯/

Tables III-X illustrate what was said earlier concerning the number of phonematic positions required to describe non-prominent syllables. Although the non-prominent syllable may possess five (filled) phonematic positions when fully extended, it will be seen that syllable-types $\underline{ap}^3$, $\underline{ap}^2$ and $\underline{pp}^2$ have only <u>four</u> positions, syllable-types $\underline{ap}^4$, $\underline{pp}^1$ and $\underline{pp}^3$ have only <u>three</u> positions and syllable-type $\underline{pp}^4$ has only <u>two</u> positions.

A further point regarding the above tables which perhaps needs mentioning is the appearance of certain phonemes in round brackets, e.g. (z) in Table IV, (m,d) in Table V. This reflects the earlier discussion of 'bound' and 'free' syllables. As the admission of sequences such as /zKov, dKov/ would have the undesirable effect, from the point of view of the economy of the description, of establishing additional bound syllables, it is better to regard /z,m,d/ in these contexts as belonging to the first implosive position of the preceding syllable.

The existence of the paradigmatic set

/govorʲi
pogovorʲi
odKovorʲi
razKovorʲi/

establishes both /raz, od/ as free forms, and so it is pointless to set up additional bound sequences such as /dKov,zKov/. It is sufficient to recognize the potential [15] (in the phonological sense) membership of the phonemes mentioned of the first explosive position class.

The round bracketed semivowel (u) in Tables IX and X draws attention to the fact that there is reduplication of this phoneme in deliberate speech, but that it is frequently not realized in the normal chain.

Finally, in Table XI I show how some of the hexasyllabic distributional units may be described in a kind of "master table" set out in terms of both the syllabic and the phonematic positions.

N.B. The double vertical lines mark the division between the syllabic positions, and the single vertical lines mark the division between the phonematic positions.

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15. It will be shown in Chapter II that /z,m,d/ do belong unequivocally to the first explosive position class, although there are certain distributional restrictions, i.e. they may stand in this position when the pre-explosive position is filled by /zero/ and when the second explosive position is filled by /l/ or /r/.

TABLE XI

TABLE XI

Syllabic Positions	ap⁴			ap³				ap²				ap¹					Prominent							pp¹			pp²				pp³			pp⁴	
Phonematic Positions	expl.	N	impl.	e¹	e²	n	impl.	e¹	e²	n	impl.	pre	e¹	e²	n	impl.	pre	e¹	e²	n	i¹	i²	pos	expl.	n	impl.	expl.	n	i¹	i²	expl.	n	impl.	expl.	n
FULL DISTRIBUTIONAL UNITS	z	a	b		b	o	g		g	a	t			t	i	v			v	e	s	K		k		u									
					d	e	v		v	e	d			d	e	s			s	e	t			t		i l	l		e						
								p	r	o	f			f	e	s			s	o	r			r		u l	l		u	(u)		u		i		
								p	r	o	f			f	e	s			s	o	r			r		u l	l		u	(u)		u		i		
													p	r	i	i			i	a	t			t		e l	l		i	t	S	(S)		e l	l	e

Chapter II

The Phonemes of Istro-Rumanian and Statements of their Realizations and Distribution.

The phonemes of Istro-Rumanian were established in the previous chapter and set out in two Cartesian tables. Their identity was established by means of series of minimal pairs. Although a single minimal pair is sufficient to establish the identity of a phoneme, i.e. that it is opposed to another phoneme or to zero, it does not suffice, as Mulder has shown [1], to indicate the range of distinctive function of that phoneme. The latter can only be achieved by showing the other paradigmemes (i.e. members of a paradigmatic set) with which it commutes in the various positions in which it stands. The paradigmemes with which a given phoneme may commute are the members of the same position class, or position classes (as established in the previous chapter.)

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the distinctive function of each phoneme, and archi-phoneme, of Istro-Rumanian by exemplifying its possible commutations with the other phonemes that are co-members of the posi-

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1. J.W.F.Mulder , Sets and Relations in Phonology, Oxford, 1968, p.143.

tion class, or position classes, to which it belongs.Having done this, I shall describe the realization (or realizations if there should be more than one type, for example in the case of phonemes belonging to more than one position class), of the phoneme in each of its positions [2].

The statements of realization are the means by which the phonological part of the description may be activated, and by which new data on the basis of the description may be generated. The phoneme, as a bundle of phonologically distinctive features, is, in a sense, a summary of potential realizations which may vary considerably in actual speech. Particularly, the position in which a phoneme stands has important phonetic implications for the realization of that phoneme. This is especially true in the case of the semi-vowels, the realization of which is more "open" when they stand in the nuclear position than when they stand in other positions, (for example /i/ is realized as a front closed vowel [i] in /di̯n/, but as a prepalatal spirant [j] in forms such as /ie/).

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2. The statements of realization which follow are to be regarded as generalizations and approximations. They are intended to represent the most commonly occurring realizations and the most conspicuous. To the latter extent they are impressionistic.

1. The phoneme /b/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^1$, $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{i}^1$, and $\underline{i}^2$. In position $\underline{e}^1$ it commutes with /p,d,t,v,f,z, g,k,h,zero/. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,i,p,d,t, v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,g,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /r,i,u,p,d,t,v,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /n,z,c,k,zero/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /b/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position e^1

b/p/bretS/(Šušnjevica)"dogs"
b/d/bratS/ "arm"
b/t/brek/(S)"dog"
b/v/blátṛn/ "dirty"
b/f/blátṛn/ "
b/z/blátṛn/ "
b/g/bratS/ "arm"
b/k/brúne/ "brown"(f)
b/h/brána/(Popovici)"harrow"
b/zero/bretS/(Šušnjevica)"dogs"

/pretS/(var./pretS-ịia/)"price"
/dratS/(Šušnjevica) "devils"
/trek/ "I pass"
/vlat+ṛn/(N) "taken + in"
/flat+ṛn/ "found + in"
/zlátṛn/ "golden"
/gratS/ (place name)
/krúne/ "crown"
/hrána/ "food"
/retS/"you would"(conditional)

The first pair /bretS,pretS/ is only marginally a minimal pair; the second form /pretS/ is given by Popovici but my own field data do not contain it, therefore I give alongside the form I frequently find /prétSịia/ which does not, of course, form a minimal pair with /bretS/, the former having an additional syllable.

Position e^2

b/r	/be/	"to drink"	/re/	"he would"
b/i	/be/	"	/ie/	"he"
b/p	/bet/	"drunken"	/pet/	"five"
b/d	/be/	"to drink"	/de/	"of"
b/t	/be/	"	/te/	"tea"
b/v	/be/	"	/ve/	"you"
b/f	/bur/	"good"	/fur/	"I should be"
b/m	/bire/	"well"	/mire/	"me"
b/n	/be/	"to drink"	/ne/	"us"
b/z	/be/	"	/ze-/	(S)(perfectivizing prefix)
b/s	/be/	"	/se/	"himself"
b/c	/bire/	"well"	/cire/	"who"
b/ž	/bivésK/	"I dwell"	/živésK/	"I live"
b/g	/bure/	"good"	/gure/	"throat"
b/k	/brt/	"stick,hammer"	/krt/	"how much"
b/h	/be/	"to drink"	/he/	(exclamation)
b/l	/búr/	"good"	/lur/	"Monday"
b/zero	/bur/	"good"	/ur/	"one"

Position i^1

b/r	/ábe/	"white"(fem)	/áre/	"he has"
b/i	/ab/	"white"(masc.)	/ai/	"you have"
b/u	/ab/	"white"	/au/	"they have"
b/p	/ábe/	"white"	/ape/	"water"
b/d	/rabésK/	"I work"(Popovici)	/radésK/	"I like"
b/t	/ab/	"white"	/at/	"other"
b/v	/ab/	"	/av/	"he has"
b/m	/ab/	"	/am/	" I have"
b/n	/ab/	"	/an/	(S)"we have"
b/z	/sKróbii/	(family name)	/sKrózii/	"through"
b/s	/ab/	"white"	/as/	"ace" (playing cards)
b/c	/ab/	"	/ac/	"here" (var. ánca)
b/ž	/róba/	"dress"	/róža/	"flower"
b/š	/ab/	"white"	/aš/	"I would" (var.raš)
b/g	/obrrnii/	"to turn"	/ogrrnii/	"to cover"
b/k	/déble/	"tree"	/dékle/	"maidservant"
b/zero	/ab/	"white"	/a/	(possessive article)

Position i^2

b/n	/korb/	"crow"	/korn/	"horn"
b/z	/orb/	"blind"	/orz/	"barley" (Popovici)
b/c	/tórbe/	"bag,knapsack"	/tórce/	"to spin"
b/k	/bárbe/	"uncle"	/bárke/	"boat"
b/zero	/kuiib/	"nest"	/kuii/	"to forge"

Realizations of /b/

The phoneme is realized as a voiced bilabial plosive and is slightly more tense and more fully voiced than are realizations of the phoneme /b/ of English. It is similar to the initial phoneme of Italian forms such as 'bruna , bene'. There is but slight difference between explosive and implosive realizations, the latter being, if anything, somewhat less tense, and in 'word final' position tending to become less voiced.

2. The phoneme /p/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^1$, $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{i}^1$ and $\underline{i}^2$. In position $\underline{e}^1$ it commutes with /b,t,v,f,m,z,s, g,k,zero/. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,i,b,d,t,v,f, m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /r,b,d,t,m,n,s,c,š,g,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /d,c,l/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /p/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position e^1

p/b	/pretS/	"price"	/bretS/	"dogs"
p/t	/prénde/	"through which"	/trén+de/(S)	"train+from"
p/v	/pre-/	(prefix meaning"very")	/vre/	"to wish"
p/f	/plérde/	"to lose"	/fler+de/	"iron+of"
p/m	/platíi/	"to pay"	/mlatíi/	"to thresh"
p/z	/pletíi/	"to knit"	/zletíi/	"to fly"
p/s	/plužésK/	"I till"	/služésK/	"I serve"
p/g	/pré-/	"very"	/gré/	"heavy"
p/k	/présTe/	"through,across"	/krésTe/	"to grow"
p/zero	/plug/	"plough"	/lug/	"valley"

Position e^2

p/r	/pắtu/	"the bed"	/rắtu/	"I show"
p/i	/po-/(perfectivizing prefix)		/io/	"I"
p/b	/pet/	"five"	/bet/	"drunken"
p/d	/par/	"pair"	/dar/	"gift"
p/t	/pat/	"bed"	/tat/	"thief"
p/v	/po-/(perfectivizing prefix)		/vo/(pronoun object,feminine)	
p/f	/pok/	"I can"	/fok/	"fire"
p/m	/pịre/	"until"	/mịre/	"me"
p/n	/po-/(perfectivizing prefix)		/no/	"new"(var.-nov)
p/z	/pịile/	"file"	/zịile/	"days"
p/s	/pịre/	"until"	/sịre/	"himself"
p/c	/pịre/	"	/cịre/	"who"
p/ž	/pọk/	"I can"	/žọk/	"game"
p/š	/pórec/	(Place name)	/šórec/	"mouse"
p/g	/po-/(perfectivizing prefix)		/go/	"naked"
p/k	/puụs/	"placed"	/kụus/	"piece"
p/h	/pắrte/	"part"	/hắrte/(N)	"letter"
p/l	/pat/	"bed"	/lat/ (S)	"taken"
p/zero	/po-/(perfectivizing prefix)		/o/(indefinite article,fem.)	

Position i^1

p/r	/ắpe/	"water"	/ắre/	"he has"
p/b	/ắpe/	"	/ắbe/	"white"
p/d	/kap/	"head"	/kad/	"hot"
p/t	/ắpe/	"water"	/ắte/	"others"
p/m	/kụp/	"heap"	/kụm/	"how"
p/n	/kopT/	"baked"	/kọnt/	"bill"
p/s	/kụp/	"heap"	/kụụs/	"piece"
p/c	/sKopésK/	"I dig"	/sKocésK/	"I jump"
p/š	/pắpa/	"the pope"	/pắša/	"the pasture"
p/g	/lụp/	"wolf"	/lụg/	"valley"
p/k	/potọp/	"flood"(Popovici)/	/potọk/	"river"
p/h	/kụpé/	"railway compartment"	/kụhé/	"he cooks"
p/l	/pịpé/	(S)"he smokes"	/pịlé/	"he files"
p/zero	/cep/	"cork"	/ce/	"that"

Position i^2

p/d	/frpe/	"stone"	/frde (se)	"to laugh"
p/c	/trrpịi/	"to suffer"	/trrcịi/	"to pour"
p/l	/trrpịi/	"	/trrlịi/	"to run"

Realizations of /p/

This phoneme is realized as an unvoiced bilabial plosive and is slightly more tense and much less aspirated than is the phoneme /p/ in English, especially in 'word initial' position. It is similar to the initial phoneme of Italian forms such as 'papa, prosciutto' but rather less tense. There is generally no marked difference between explosive and implosive realizations.

3. The phoneme /d/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^1$, $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{i}^1$, $\underline{i}^2$ and pos. In position $\underline{e}^1$ it commutes with /b,t,f,m, g,zero/. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,i,b,p,t,v,f,m, n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /r,i,b,p,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /p,t,s,g,k,zero/. In position pos it does not function in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /d/ in each of the positions in which it stands except pos.

Position e^1

d/b	/dratS/(S)	"devils"	/bratS/	"arm"
d/t	/drag/	"dear"	/trag/	"I drag"
d/f	/draž/	"dear"(pl.)	/fraž/	"strawberries"
d/m	/draž/	"	/mraž/	"hoar frost"
d/g	/dratS/(S)	"devils"	/gratS/	(place name)
d/zero	/dratS/	"	/ratS/	"you would"

Position e^2

d/r	/de/	"of"	/re/	"he would"
d/i	/de/	"	/ie/	"he"
d/b	/de/	"	/be/	"to drink"
d/p	/dar/	"gift"	/par/	"pair"
d/t	/de/	"of"	/te/	"tea"
d/v	/de/	"of"	/ve/	"you"
d/f	/duus/	"brought"	/fuus/	"spindle"
d/m	/dáre/(N)	"he would give"	/máre/	"sea"
d/n	/de/	"of"	/ne/	"us"
d/z	/de/	"	/ze-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
d/s	/de/	"	/se/	(reflexive pronoun)
d/c	/de/	"	/ce/	"what"
d/ž	/da/	"to give"	/ža/	"sorry"
d/š	/da/	"	/ša/	"so"
d/g	/do-/	(perfectivizing prefix)	/go/	"naked"
d/k	/duus/	"brought"	/kuus/	"piece"
d/h	/dé/	"of"	/hé/	(exclamation)
d/l	/da/	"to give"	/la/(S)	"to take"
d/zero/do-/		(perfectivizing prefix)	/o/	(indef.art.fem.)

Position i

d/r	/od-/	(perfectivizing prefix)	/or/	"they will"(var.of vor)
d/i	/od-/	"	/oi/	"sheep"
d/b	/radésK/	"I like"	/rabésK/	"I work"
d/p	/kad/	"hot"	/kap/	"head"
d/t	/kóde/	"tail"	/kóte/	"corners"
d/v	/od-/	(perfectivizing prefix)	/ov/	"egg"
d/f	/kadé/	"to fall"	/kafé/	"coffee"
d/m	/od-/	(perfectivizing prefix)	/om/	"man"
d/n	/did/	"old man"	/din/	"from"
d/z	/did/	" "	/diz/	"old men"
d/s	/od-/	(perfectivizing prefix)	/os/	"bone"
d/c	/od-/	"	/oc/	"here"(var. ánca)
d/ž	/redii/	"to arrange"	/rezii/	"to cut"
d/š	/kad/	"hot"	/kaš/	"cheese"
d/k	/pod/	"floor"	/pok/	"I can"
d/h	/grad/	"town"	/grah/	"peas"
d/l	/káde/	"hot" (fem.)	/kále/	"road"
d/zero/	/kad/	"hot"	/ka/	"horse"

Position i^2

d/p	/frde(se)/	"to laugh"	/frpe/	"stone"
d/t	/krnd+a/	"when+has"	/krnta/	"he sings"
d/s	/zíid/	"wall"	/zíis/	"said"
d/g	/vérde/	"green"	/vérge/	"rod"
d/k	/zíid/	"wall"	/zíik/	"I say"
d/zero/	/vérde/	"green"	/vére/	"summer"

Position pos

As mentioned above /d/ in this position is not found in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair. The phoneme stands in the post implosive position in forms such as /iezṬi̤(i)nda/ "mounted", where the prominent syllable is heavily stressed. Its membership of this position class is marginal.

Realizations of /d/

This phoneme is realized as a voiced post-dental plosive more fully voiced than realizations of the phoneme /d/ of English. It is similar to the initial phoneme of the Italian form 'Dino' but slightly less dental. There is no marked difference between explosive and implosive realizations.

4. The phoneme /t/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^1$, $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{i}^1$ and $\underline{i}^2$. In position $\underline{e}^1$ it commutes with /b,p,d,g,zero/. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,i,b,p,d,v,f,m,n,z,s,c, ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /r,i, u,b,p,d,v,m,n,s,c,ž,š,g,k,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /r,d,m,n,z,c,ž,g,k,h,zero/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /t/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position e^1

t/b	/trek/	"I pass"	/brek/(S)	"dog"
t/p	/tren+de/(S)	"a train+from"	/prénde/	"through which"
t/d	/trag/	"I drag"	/drag/	"dear"
t/g	/tras/	"dragged"	/gras/	"fat"
t/zero	/tren/	"train"	/ren/	"we shall"

Position e^2

t/r	/te/	"tea"	/re/	"he would"
t/i	/te/	"	/ie/	"he"
t/b	/te/	"	/be/	"to drink"
t/p	/to/	"that"	/po-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
t/d	/to/	"	/do-/	"
t/v	/to/	"	/vo/	(pronoun object,fem.)
t/f	/tak/	"I am silent"	/fak/	"I do"
t/m	/tev/	"your"	/mev/	"my"
t/n	/te/	"tea"	/ne/	"us"
t/z	/te/	"	/ze-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
t/s	/te/	"	/se/	(reflexive pronoun)
t/c	/te/	"	/ce/	"what"
t/ž	/tok/	"piece"	/žok/	"game"
t/š	/tev/	"your"	/šev/	"seam" (Popovici)
t/g	/to/	"that"	/go/	"naked"
t/k	/tárе/	"strong"	/kárе/	"which"
t/h	/tucʲi/	"to strike"	/hucʲi/	"to blow,puff"
t/l	/te/	"tea"	/le/	"take!"
t/zero	/tárе/	"strong"	/árе/	"he has"

Position i^1

t/r	/pat/	"bed"	/par/	"few"
t/i	/ot-/	(perfectivizing prefix)	/oi/	"sheep"
t/u	/at/	"other"	/au/	"they have"
t/b	/áte/	"other"	/ábe/	"white"
t/p	/áte/	"	/ápe/	"water"
t/d	/pot-/	(perfectivizing prefix)	/pod/	"floor"
t/v	/at/	"other"	/av/	"he has"
t/m	/ot-/	(perfectivizing prefix)	/om/	"man"
t/n	/at/	"other"	/an/	"year"
t/s	/ot-/	(perfectivizing prefix)	/os/	"bone"
t/c	/ot-/	"	/oc/	"here"
t/ž	/kurát/	"clean"	/kuraž/	"courage"
t/š	/at/	"other"	/aš/	"I would"
t/g	/žut/	"yellow"	/žug/	"yoke"
t/k	/žut/	"	/žuk/	"bitter"
t/l	/patʲi/	"to suffer"	/palʲi/	"to burn"
t/zero	/dat/	" given "	/da/	"to give"

Position i^2

t/r	/pi̯séit/	"written"	/pi̯séir/	"I would write"
t/d	/kr̥nta/	"he sings"	/kr̥nd+a/	"when+has"
t/m	/pi̯séit/	"written"	/pi̯séim/(N)	"we write"
t/n	/pi̯séit/	"	/pi̯séin/(S)	"we write"
t/z	/fr̥unta/	"forehead"	/fr̥unza/	"the foliage"
t/c	/kosi̯it/	"reaped"	/kosi̯ic/	"blackbird"
t/ž	/gu̯ut/	"neck"	/gu̯už/	"snake"("adder"Popovici)
t/g	/vi̯nt/	"wind"	/vi̯ng/	"I come"
t/k	/žu̯ut/	"yellow"	/žu̯uk/	"bitter"
t/h	/vr̥rt/	"garden"	/vr̥rh/	"mountain"
t/zero	/vr̥rt/	"	/vr̥r/	"above,over"

Realizations of /t/

This phoneme is realized as an unvoiced post-dental plosive with considerably less aspiration than the phoneme /t/ of English. It is similar to the initial phoneme of the French form 'ton', and considerably less dental than the initial phoneme of Italian 'tipo'. Implosive realizations tend to be slightly more voiced than explosive ones.

5. The phoneme /v/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes e^1, e^2, i^1 and i^2. In position e^1 it commutes with /b,p,f,m,z,s, g,k,zero/. In position e^2 it commutes with /r,i,b,p,d,t, f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/. In position i^1 it commutes with /r,i,b,d,t,m,n,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/. In position i^2 it commutes with /r,š,zero/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /v/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position e[1]

v/b	/vlat+ŗn/	(N)	"taken+in"	/blåtŗn/	"dirty"
v/p	/vre/		"to wish"	/pre-/	(prefix meaning "very")
v/f	/vla/	(N)	"to take"	/fla/	"to find"
v/m	/vlåre/	(N)	"he would take"	/mlåre/	"honey"
v/z	/vlat+ŗn/		"taken+in"	/zlåtŗn/	"golden"
v/s	/vréda/		"quickly" (var.vred)	/sréda/	"Wednesday"
v/g	/vre/		"to wish"	/gre/	"heavy"
v/k	/vred/		"quickly"	/kred/	"I believe"
v/zero	/vre/		"to wish"	/re/	"he would"

Position e[2]

v/r	/ve/		"you"	/re/	"he would"
v/i	/ve/		"	/ie/	"he "
v/b	/ve/		"	/be/	"to drink"
v/p	/vo/	(pronoun object)		/po-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
v/d	/ve/		"you"	/de/	"of"
v/t	/ve/		"	/te/	"tea"
v/f	/vir/		"wine"	/fir/	"hay"
v/m	/vire/		"he comes"	/mire/	"me"
v/n	/ve/		"you"	/ne/	"us"
v/z	/ve/		"	/ze-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
v/s	/ve/		"	/se/	(reflexive pronoun)
v/c	/ve/		"	/ce/	"what"
v/ž	/vir/		"wine"	/žir/	"fruit"
v/š	/vedé/		"to see"	/šedé/	"to sit"
v/g	/vo/	(pronoun object)		/go/	"naked"
v/k	/ve/		"you"	/ke/	"because"
v/h	/vucḭi/		"to pull"	/hucḭi/	"to blow"
v/l	/ve/		"you"	/le/	"take!"
v/zero	/vo/	(pronoun object)		/o/	(indef. art.fem.)

Position i[1]

v/r	/ov/		"egg"	/or/	"they will"
v/i	/ov/		"	/oi/	"sheep"
v/b	/av/		"he has"	/ab/	"white"
v/d	/ov/		"egg"	/od-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
v/t	/av/		"he has"	/at/	"other"
v/m	/ov/		"egg"	/om/	"man"
v/n	/av/		"he has"	/an/	"year"
v/s	/ov/		"egg"	/os/	"bone"
v/c	/ov/		"	/oc̣/	"here"
v/ž	/mev/		"my"	/mež/	"you go"
v/š	/av/		"he has"	/aš/	"I would"
v/g	/blåve/		"blue"	/blåge/	"cattle"
v/k	/lov/		"hunting"	/lok/	"place"
v/h	/prav/		"true"	/prah/	"dust"
v/l	/bivésK/		"I dwell"	/bilésK/	"I paint"
v/zero	/ov/		"egg"	/o/	(indef.art.fem.)

Position i^2

v/r	/ụuve/	"grapes"	/ụure/	"clock"
v/š	/ụuve/	"	/ụuše/	"door"
v/zero/	/pf̣rva/	"first"	/pf̣ra/	"bread"

Realizations of /v/

This phoneme is generally realized as a voiced labio-dental fricative. In explosive realizations it is similar to the phoneme /v/ of English. In implosive realizations there are two types of realization , a) as a voiced labio-dental fricative as above although slightly less voiced, and b) as a bi-labial spirant [w] with lip-rounding, e.g. [aw]. This latter type of realization is also possible when the phoneme acts as a syllabic boundary, e.g. [dáwụ]. The two types of realizations are in free variance. As regards (a), it is further noteworthy that /v/ is, in certain realizations,almost completely unvoiced e.g. [af].

6. The phoneme /f/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes e^1, e^2 and i^1. In position e^1 it commutes with /b,p,d,v,m,z,g,k, h,zero/. In position e^2 it commutes with /r,i,b,p,d,t,v, m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/. In position i^1 it commutes with /d,s,ž,l/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /f/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position e^1

f/b	/fratS/	"brothers"	/bratS/	"arm"
f/p	/fler+de/	"iron+of"	/plérde/	"to lose"
f/d	/fratS/	"brothers"	/dratS/	"devils"
f/v	/fla/	"to find"	/vla/(N)	"to take"
f/m	/fláre/	"he would find"	/mláre/	"honey"
f/z	/flat+rn/	"found+in"	/zlátrn/	"golden"
f/g	/fratS/	"brothers"	/gratS/	(place name)
f/k	/lu fratS/(S)	"to the brothers"	/lukratS/	"you work"
f/h	/fráne/	(man's Christian name)	/hráne/	"food"
f/zero/fla/		"to find"	/la/(S)	"to take"

Position e^2

f/r	/fe/	"do!"	/re/	"he would"
f/i	/fe/	"	/ie/	"he"
f/b	/fe/	"	/be/	"to drink"
f/p	/fok/	"fire"	/pok/	"I can"
f/d	/fuus/	"spindle"	/duus/	"brought"
f/t	/fak/	"I do "	/tak/	"I am silent"
f/v	/fir/	"hay"	/vir/	"wine"
f/m	/fir/	"	/mir/	"peace"
f/n	/fe/	"do!"	/né/	"us"
f/z	/fe/	"	/ze-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
f/s	/féte/	"girl"	/séte/	"thirst"
f/c	/fe/	"do!"	/ce/	"what"
f/ž	/fir/	"hay"	/žir/	"fruit"
f/š	/fíi/	"to be"	/ší(i)/	"and"
f/g	/fúre/	"he would be"	/gú(u)re/	"mouth"
f/k	/fe/	"do!"	/ke/	"because"
f/h	/fe/	"do!"	/he/	(exclamation)
f/l	/fe/	"	/le/(S)	"take!"
f/zero/fúre/		"he would be"	/úre/	"one"

Position i^1

f/d	/kafé/	"coffee"	/kadé/	"to fall"
f/s	/trefíi/	"to meet"	/tresíi/	"to shake"
f/ž	/ufái/	"to hope"	/užái/	"to be accustomed"
f/l	/kafé/	"coffee"	/kalé/	"he sweats"

Realizations of /f/

This phoneme is realized as an unvoiced labio-dental fricative. It is similar to the phoneme /f/ of English in forms such as 'friend, fur'. No difference is generally observable between explosive and implosive realizations. In

implosive position, as will be seen from the pairs quoted above, occurrence of this phoneme is rather infrequent [3].

7. The phoneme /m/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^1$, $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{i}^1$ and $\underline{i}^2$. In position $\underline{e}^1$ it commutes with /p,d,v,f,h/. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,i,u,b,p,d,t,v,f,n,z,s, c,ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /r,i, u,b,p,d,t,v,n,z,s,c,š,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /r,t,zero/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /m/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position e^1

m/p	/mlatʃi/	"to thresh"	/platʃi/	"to pay"
m/d	/mraž/	"hoar frost"	/draž/	"dear"
m/v	/mlʃare/	"honey"	/vlʃare/(N)	"he would take"
m/f	/mlʃare/	"honey"	/flʃare/	"he would find"
m/h	/mlad/	"young"(Pușcariu)	/hlad/	"shade"

Position e^2

m/r	/ma/	"out"	/ra/	"he would"(var.of/re/)
m/i	/ma/	"	/ia/	"she"
m/u	/mutʃá/	"to change"	/uutʃá/	"to forget"
m/b	/mʃire/	"me"	/bʃire/	"well"
m/p	/mʃire/	"	/pʃire/	"until"
m/d	/mʃare/	"sea"	/dʃare/(N)	"he would give"
m/t	/mev/	"my"	/tev/	"your"
m/v	/mʃire/	"me"	/vʃire/	"he comes"
m/f	/mʃir/	"peace"	/fʃir/	"hay"
m/n	/må/	"but"	/nå-/	(perfectivizing prefix variant of ne-)

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3. As mentioned under the previous section, the phoneme /v/ is quite frequently realized as [f] in implosive positions, especially in 'word-final' positions and in non-prominent syllables.

m/z	/ma/	"but"	/za-/(perfectivizing prefix var. of /ze-/)	
m/s	/me/	"my"	/se/	"his"
m/c	/me/	"	/ce/	"what"
m/ž	/ma/	"but"	/ža/	"sorry"
m/š	/ma/	"	/ša/	"so"
m/g	/mǫ́le/	"soft"	/gǫ́le/	"naked"
m/k	/me/	"my"	/ke/	"because"
m/h	/me/	"my"	/he/	(exclamation)
m/l	/me/	"my"	/le/ (S)	"take!"
m/zero/ma/		"but"	/a/	(possessive article)

[1]

Position i

m/r	/om/	"man"	/or/	"they will"
m/i	/om/	"	/oi/	"sheep"
m/u	/am/	"I have"	/au/	"they have"
m/b	/am/	"I have"	/ab/	"white"
m/p	/kụm/	"how"	/kụp/	"heap"
m/d	/om/	"man"	/ad-/(perfectivizing prefix)	
m/t	/am/	"I have"	/at/	"other"
m/v	/om/	"man"	/ov/	"egg"
m/n	/am/	"I have"	/an/	"year"
m/z	/dịm/	"smoke"	/dịz/	"old men"
m/s	/ọm/	"man"	/ọs/	"bone"
m/c	/om/	"	/oc/	"here"
m/š	/am/	"I have"	/aš/	"I would"
m/l	/dịmi̯i/(N)	"to smoke"	/dili̯i/	"to share out"
m/zero/ạm/		"I have"	/ạ/	(possessive article)

Position i[2]

m/r	/pịséim/	"we write"	/pịséir/	"I would write"
m/t	/pịséim/	"	/pịséit/	"written"
m/zero/pịséim/		"	/pịséi/	"to write"

Realizations of /m/

This phoneme is realized as a bilabial nasal occlusive. It is similar to the phoneme /m/ of English in forms such as 'my, mask', but is slightly more tense. There is generally no marked difference between explosive and implosive realizations.

8. The phoneme /n/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{i}^1$, $\underline{i}^2$ and pos. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,i,b,p,d,t, v,f,m,z,s,c,ž,š,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /r,i,u,b,p,d,t,v,m,z,s,c,š,g,k,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /r,b,t,k,K,zero/. In position pos,it does not function in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /n/ in each of the positions in which it stands except pos.

Position e^2

n/r	/ne/	"us"	/re/	"he would"
n/i	/ne/	"	/ie/	"he"
n/b	/ne/	"	/be/	"to drink"
n/p	/no/	"new"	/po-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
n/d	/ne/	"us"	/de/	"of"
n/t	/ne/	"	/te/	"tea"
n/v	/ne/	"	/ve/	"you"
n/f	/ne/	"	/fe/	"do!"
n/m	/na-/	(perfectivizing prefix)	/ma/	"but"
n/z	/na-/	"	/za-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
n/s	/ne/	"us"	/se/	(reflexive pronoun)
n/c	/ne/	"	/ce/	"what"
n/ž	/na-/	(perfectivizing prefix)	/ža/	"sorry"
n/š	/na-/	"	/ša/	"so"
n/k	/ne/	"us"	/ke/	"because"
n/h	/ne/	"us"	/he/	(exclamation)
n/l	/ne/	"	/le/ (S)	"take!"
n/zero/	na-/	(perfectivizing prefix)	/a/	(possessive article)

Position i^1

n/r	/munḭit/	"stupid"	/murḭit/	"died"
n/i	/an/	"year"	/aḭ/	"you have"
n/u	/an/	"	/au/	"they have"
n/b	/an/	"	/ab/	"white"
n/p	/kont/	"bill"	/kopT/	"baked"
n/d	/dḭn/	"from"	/dḭd/	"old man"

n/t	/an/	"year"	/at/	"other"
n/v	/an/	"	/av/	"he has"
n/m	/an/	"	/am/	"I have"
n/z	/din/	"from"	/diz/	"old men"
n/s	/an/	"year"	/as/	"ace"
n/c	/an/	"year"	/ac/	"here"
n/š	/an/	"	/aš/	"I would"
n/g	/žu̯(u)n/	"Lent"(Popovici)	/žu̯(u)g/	"yoke"
n/k	/žu̯(u)n/	"	/žu̯(u)k/	"bitter"
n/l	/ṛn/	"in"	/ṛl/	"him"
n/zero	/an/	"year"	/a/	(possessive article)

Position i[2]

n/r	/piśéin/	"we write"	/piśéir/	"I would write"
n/b	/kȯrn/	"horn"	/kȯrb/	"crow"
n/t	/piśéin/	"we write"	/piśéit/	"written"
n/k	/žu̯un/	"Lent"	/žu̯uk/	"bitter"
n/K	/ṷ(u)sne/	"lips"	/ṷsKe/	"it dries"
n/zero	/piśéin/	"we write"	/piśéi/	"to write"

Pos

As has already been stated, /n/ in this position is not found in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair. The phoneme stands in the post implosive position in forms such as /brị̈ižno/ "poor". Its membership of this class is somewhat marginal.

Realizations of /n/

This phoneme is realized as an apical nasal occlusive. In the explosive position it tends to have the somewhat dental quality of an Italian initial /n/. In the implosive positions it is generally realized in roughly the same way as in the explosive position except in the following cases;

a) when it has a dorsal occlusive phoneme as its right-hand expansion, then /n/ has a dorsal nasal realization [ŋ] rather like the sound represented by the sequence '-ng' in the English form 'sing', e.g. [luŋg] "long", [baŋka] "bank", [muŋká] "to eat",

b) when it has a fricative phoneme of the 'hissing' or 'hushing' order as its right-hand expansion, then the sequence of phonemes brought together in this way, i.e. /n/ + /s,z,š,ž/, influences the vowel of the prominent syllable to the extent that it frequently nasalizes it, particularly if that vowel is /ə/; in such cases the vowel is realized rather like a nasal vowel of French, e.g. [plə̃nže] "to weep" [ə̃ns] "alone".

9. The phoneme /z/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes pre, e^1, e^2, i^1 and i^2. In position pre it commutes with /zero/. In position e^1 it commutes with /b,p,v,l,zero/. In position e^2 it commutes with /r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,s,c,ž,š, k,h,l,zero/. In position i^1 it commutes with /r,i,b,d,m, n,c,g,zero/. In position i^2 it commutes with /b,t,g,zero/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /z/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position pre

z/zero /zProiḭi/ "to count out" //p// /broiḭi/"to count"//i//.

Position e[1]

z/b /zlátṛn/ "golden" /blátṛn/ "dirty"
z/p /zletḭi/ "to fly" /pletḭi/ "to knit"
z/v /zlátṛn/ "golden" /vlat+ṛn/(N) "taken+in"
z/f /zlátṛn/ " /flat+ṛn/ "found+in"
z/zero/zletḭi/ "to fly"//p//,/letḭi/ "to fly"//i//

Position e[2]

z/r /ze-/ (perfectivizing prefix) /re/ "he would"
z/i /ze-/ (perfectivizing prefix) /ie/ "he"
z/b /ze-/ " /be/ "to drink"
z/p /zḭile/ "days" /pḭile/ "file"
z/d /zḛ-/ (perfectivizing prefix) /dḛ/ "of"
z/t /ze-/ " /te/ "tea"
z/v /ze-/ " /ve/ "you"
z/f /ze-/ " /fe/ "do!"
z/m /ze-/ " /me/ "my"
z/n /ze-/ " /ne/ "us"
z/s /ze-/ " /se/(reflexive pronoun)
z/č /ze-/ " /če/ "what"
z/ž /za-/ "(var.of /ze-/) /ža/ "sorry"
z/š /za-/ " /ša/ "so"
z/k /ze-/ " /ke/ "because"
z/h /ze-/ " /he/ (exclamation)
z/l /ze-/ " /le/(S) "take!"
z/zero/za-/(perfectivizing prefix) /a/ (possessive article)

Position i[1]

z/r /voz/ "cart" /vor/ "they will"
z/i /voz/ " /voi/ "you"
z/b /sKróziḭi/ "through" /sKróbiḭi/ (family name)
z/d /diz/ "old men" /did/ "old man"
z/m /diz/ " " /dim/ "smoke"
z/n /diz/ " " /din/ "from"
z/c /sKuzéi/ "to excuse" /sKucéi/"to groan"
z/g /iázer/ "pond,lake" /iáger/ "hunter"
z/zero/voz/ "cart" /vo/(pronoun object,fem.)

Position i[2]

z/b /orz/ "barley" /orb/ "blind"
z/t /frúnza/ "foliage" /frúnta/"forehead"
z/g /lunz/ "long"(pl.) /lung/ "long"(sing)
z/zero/orz/ "barley" /or/ "they will"

Realizations of /z/

This phoneme is realized as a voiced sibilant fricative without palatalization. It is similar to the English 'hissing' phoneme /z/ as generally realized in forms such as 'zebra' 'gaze'. There is generally no observable difference between explosive and implosive realizations, however, as indicated in section 8 above, when /z/ stands in the second implosive position as the right-hand expansion of /n/, the sequence generally has phonetic implications for the vowel of the prominent syllable, especially when this is /r/; in such cases the vowel is usually nasalized, e.g. [lũnz] or [lɔ̃nz] "long".

10. The phoneme /s/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes pre, $\underline{e}^1$, $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{i}^1$ and $\underline{i}^2$. In position pre it commutes with /zero/. In position $\underline{e}^1$ it commutes with /p,v,š,k,zero/. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,c,ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /r,i,u,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,c,ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /d,g,ǩ,h,zero/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /s/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position pre

s/zero/sTresi̯i/ "to shake"//p// /tresi̯i/ "to shake" //i//

Position e^1

s/p	/služesK/	"I serve"	/plužesK/	"I till"
s/v	/sréda/(N)	"Wednesday"	/vréda/	"quickly"
s/š	/sKóle(se)/	"he gets up"	/šKóle/(S)	"school"
s/k	/sréde/(S)	"Wednesday"	/kréde/	"to believe"
s/zero	/sKuhéi/	//p// "to cook"	/kuhéi/	//i// "to cook"

Position e^2

s/r	/se/	(reflexive pronoun)	/re/	"he would"
s/i	/se/	"	/ie/	"he"
s/b	/se/	"	/be/	"to drink"
s/p	/sire/	"	/pire/	"until"
s/d	/se/	"	/de/	"of"
s/t	/se/	"	/te/	"tea"
s/v	/se/	"	/ve/	"you"
s/f	/se/	"	/fe/	"do!"
s/m	/se/	"	/me/	"my"
s/n	/se/	"	/ne/	"us"
s/z	/se/	"	/ze-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
s/c	/se/	"	/ce/	"what"
s/ž	/sir/	"chest,breast"	/žir/	"fruit"
s/š	/sev/	"his"	/šev/	"seam"
s/g	/sóre/	"sun"	/góre/	"mountain"
s/k	/se/	(reflexive pronoun)	/ke/	"because"
s/h	/sité/	"he sieves"	/hité/	"he throws"
s/l	/se/	(reflexive pronoun)	/le/(S)	"take!"
s/zero	/sáre/	"salt"	/áre/	"he has"

Position i^1

s/r	/os/	"bone"	/or/	"they will"
s/i	/os/	"	/oi/	"sheep"
s/u	/as/	"ace"	/au/	"they have"
s/b	/as/	"	/ab/	"white"
s/p	/ku(u)s/	"piece"	/kup/	"heap"
s/d	/os/	"bone"	/od-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
s/t	/tras/	"dragged"	/trat/	"time,occasion"
s/v	/os/	"bone"	/ov/	"egg"
s/f	/tresi̯i/	"to shake"	/trefi̯i/	"to meet"
s/m	/os/	"bone"	/om/	"man"
s/n	/as/	"ace"	/an/	"year"
s/c	/as/	"	/ac/	"here"
s/ž	/glas/	"voice"	/glaž/	"glass"
s/š	/as/	"ace"	/aš/	"I would"
s/g	/tras/	"dragged"	/trag/(S)	"I drag"
s/k	/žos/	"below"	/žok/	"game"
s/h	/gras/	"fat"	/grah/	"peas"
s/l	/obisi̯i/	"to hang"	/obili̯i/	"to whitewash"
s/zero	/os/	"bone"	/o/	(indef. art. fem.)

Position i^2

s/d	/ẓiis/	" said "	/ẓiid/	"wall"
s/g	/ḍuus/	"brought"	/ḍuug/	"debt"
s/k	/ẓiis/	"said"	/ẓiik/	"I say"
s/h	/ḍuus/	"brought"	/ḍuuh/	"breath"
s/zero	/ẓiis/	"said"	/ẓii/	"day"

Realizations of /s/

This phoneme is realized as an unvoiced sibilant fricative without palatalization. It is similar to the English 'hissing' phoneme /s/ as generally realized in forms such as 'save','school','goose'. There is generally no observable difference between explosive and implosive realizations, however, as indicated in section 8 above, when /s/ stands in the second implosive position as the right-hand expansion of /n/, the sequence generally has phonetic implications for the vowel of the prominent syllable, especially when this is /r/, in such cases the vowel is generally nasalized, e.g. [ə̃ns] "alone", [plə̃ns] "wept".

11. The phoneme /c/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{i}^1$, and $\underline{i}^2$. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f, m,n,z,s,ž,š,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /r,i,u,b,p,d,t,v,m,n,z,s,ž,š,g,k,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /b,p,t,k,h, ,zero/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /c/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position e²

c/r	/ce/	"what"	/re/	"he would"
c/i	/ce/	"	/ie/	"he"
c/b	/cire/	"who"	/bire/	"well"
c/p	/cire/	"	/pire/	"until"
c/d	/cė/	"what"	/dė/	"of"
c/t	/ce/	"	/te/	"tea"
c/v	/ce/	"	/ve/	"you"
c/f	/ce/	"	/fe/	"do!"
c/m	/ce/	"	/me/	"my"
c/n	/ce/	"	/ne/	"us"
c/z	/ce/	"	/ze-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
c/s	/ce/	"	/se/	(reflexive pronoun)
c/š	/ca/	"that"	/ša/	"sorry"
c/š	/ca/	"	/ša/	"so"
c/k	/ca/	"	/k-a/	"because+has"
c/h	/citė/	(S)"he reads"	/hitė/	"he throws"
c/l	/cė/	"what"	/lė/	(S) "take!"
c/zero	/ca/	"that"	/a/	(possessive article)

Position i¹

c/r	/mic/	"small"	/mir/	"peace"
c/i	/ac/	"here"	/ai/	"you have"
c/u	/ac/	"	/au/	"they have"
c/b	/ac/	"	/ab/	"white"
c/p	/sKocėsK/	"I jump"	/sKopėsK/	"I dig"
c/d	/oc/	"here"	/od-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
c/t	/pacii/	"to meddle" (Popovici)	/patii/	"to suffer"
c/v	/ac/	"here"	/av/	"he has"
c/m	/ac/	"	/am/	"I have"
c/n	/ac/	"	/an/	"year"
c/z	/sKucėi/	"to groan"	/sKuzėi/	"to excuse"
c/s	/ac/	"here"	/as/	"ace"
c/š	/drac/	"devils"	/draš/	"dear"
c/š	/ac/	"here"	/aš/	"I would"
c/g	/pocinii/	"to rest"	/poginii/	"to suffer"
c/k	/unuc/	"nephews"	/unuk/	"nephew"
c/l	/pacii/	"to meddle"	/palii/	"to burn"
c/zero	/pure c/	"flea"	/pure/	"to put"

Position i²

c/b	/tórce/	"to spin"	/tórbe/	"bag"
c/p	/trrcii/	"to pour"	/trrpii/	"to suffer"
c/t	/kosiic/	"blackbird"	/kosiit/	"reaped"
c/k	/porc/	"pigs"	/pork/	"pig"
c/h	/dúucii/	"you bring"	/dúuhii/	"breaths"
~~c/l~~	~~/tucii/~~	~~"to beat, strike"~~	~~/tulii/~~	~~"to cry out"~~
c/zero	/kosiic/	"blackbird"	/kosii/	"to reap"

Realizations of /c/

This phoneme is realized as an unvoiced palato-alveolar affricate in the Northern dialect. It is rather more tense than in the initial phoneme of English forms such as 'chain, choose', and more closely resembles the Italian [č] in forms like 'cento cittá' etc.. There is no marked difference between explosive and implosive realizations, except that the latter are slightly less tense. In the Southern dialect of Šušnjevica there is generally a different type of realization for /c/, i.e. it is realized by the sequence of phonemes /t+s/, e.g. [ts̩re] (/cire/) "who", [śntsa] (/śnca/) "here", [ts̩nts] (/cinc/) "five". It is not possible to consider [ts] as a separate phoneme in this particular dialect because Šušnjevica has the 'regular' Istro-Rumanian forms /ts̩re/ "you" /s̩re/ "himself", (which the Northern dialect possesses in addition to /cire/ "who"), and so it is clear that we must regard /ts/ (actually /tS/) as a sequence of phonemes and not as a separate phoneme. This type of realization is characteristic of the dialect of Šušnjevica, although it does occur in most of the other Southern dialects, apparently in free variance with [č]. However, in the Southern dialect of Brdo, (together with that of its hamlet Kostrčan)

the general realization is [č] as in the North.

12. The phoneme /č/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^1$, $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{i}^1$, and $\underline{i}^2$. In position $\underline{e}^1$ it commutes with /g,zero/. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,i,u,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,š,g,k,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /r,i,u,b,d,t,v,f,s,c,š,g,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /t/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /č/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position e^1

č/g	/čnii/	"to harvest"	/gnii/	"rotten"
č/zero/	/čnii/	"	/nii/	"neither"

Position e^2

č/r	/čivé/	"he lives"	/rivé/	"he arrives"
č/i	/ča/	"sorry"	/ia/	"she"
č/u	/čutá/(S)	"to help"	/uitá/	"to forget"
č/b	/čivésK/	"I live"	/bivesK/	"I dwell"
č/p	/čok/	"game"	/pok/	"I can"
č/d	/ča/	"sorry"	/da/	"to give"
č/t	/čok/	"game"	/tok/	"piece"
č/v	/čir/	"fruit"	/vir/	"wine"
č/f	/čir/	"	/fir/	"hay"
č/m	/ča/	"sorry"	/ma/	"but"
č/n	/ča/	"	/na-/(perfectivizing prefix)	
č/z	/ča/	"	/za-/	"so"
č/s	/čir/	"fruit"	/sir/	"chest"
č/c	/ča/	"sorry"	/cá/	"that"
č/š	/ča/	"	/ša/	"so"
č/g	/čóre/	"he swears"	/góre/	"mountain"
č/k	/ča/	"sorry"	/k-a/	"because+has"
č/l	/ča/	"	/la/(S)	"to take"
č/zero	/ča/	"	/a/ (possessive article	

Position i[1]

ž/r	/mež/ (N)	"you go"	/mer/	"apple"
ž/i	/fraž/	"strawberries"	/frai/	"free"
ž/u	/mež/	"you go"	/meu/	"my"(var.of /mev/)
ž/b	/rǒža/	"flower"	/rǒba/	"dress"
ž/d	/režʲi/	"to cut"	/redʲi/	"to arrange"
ž/t	/kuraž/	"courage"	/kurăt/	"clean"
ž/v	/mež/	"you go"	/mev/	"my"
ž/f	/užéi/	"to be accustomed"	/ufĕi/	"to hope"
ž/s	/glaž/	"glass"	/glas/	"voice"
ž/c	/draž/	"dear"	/drac/	"devils"
ž/š	/iežu/	"hedgehog"	/iešu/	(S) "I go out"
ž/g	/mež/	"you go"	/meg/	"I go"
ž/k	/draž/	"dear"	/drak/	"devil"
ž/h	/iežu/	"hedgehog"	/iehu/	"I go out"
ž/l	/butʲiž/	"shops"	/butʲl/	"bottles"
ž/zero	/mež/	"you go"	/mė/	"my"

Position i[2]

ž/t	/gu̯už/	"a snake"(adder,Popovici)	/gu̯ut/	"neck"

Realizations of /ž/

This phoneme is realized as a voiced 'hushing' fricative rather like the medial consonantal phoneme in the English forms 'leisure, measure'. There is generally no marked difference between explosive and implosive realizations, except that the same observations apply as were made above in sections 8-10 regarding the nasalization of the vowel of the prominent syllable, when /n/ stands in the first implosive position, e.g. [plə̆nže] "to weep".

13. The phoneme /š/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes pre, e[1], e[2], i[1] and i[2]. In position pre it does not function in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair. In

position $\underline{e}^1$ it commutes with /s,zero/. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,i,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,k,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /r,i,u,b,p,d,t,v,m,n,s,c,ž, k,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /r,v,zero/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /š/ in each of the positions in which it stands except pre.

Position pre

/š/ in this position is not found in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair. The phoneme stands in the pre-explosive position in forms such as /šTrɨige/ "witch".

Position e^1

š/s	/šKóle/(S)	"school"	/sKóle(se)/	"he gets up"
š/zero/	šKáre/	"scissors"	/káre/	"which"

Position e^2

š/r	/ša/	"so"	/ra/	"he would"
š/i	/ša/	"	/ia/	"she"
š/p	/šórec/	"mouse"	/pórec/	(place name)
š/d	/ša/	"so"	/da/	"to give"
š/t	/šev/	"seam"	/tev/	"your"
š/v	/šedé/	"to sit"	/vedé/	"to see"
š/f	/ši(i)/	"and"	/fii/	"to be"
š/m	/ša/	"so"	/ma/	"but"
š/n	/ša/	"	/na-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
š/z	/ša/	"so"	/za-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
š/s	/šev/	"seam"	/sev/	"his"
š/c	/ša/	"so"	/ča/	"that"
š/ž	/ša/	"	/ža/	"sorry"
š/k	/ša/	"	/k-a/	"because+has"
š/l	/ša/	"	/la/(S)	"to take"
š/zero/	ša/	"	/a/	(possessive article)

Position i[1]

š/r	/iešˇ/	"go out!"	/ier/	"yesterday"
š/i	/aš/	"I would"	/ai/	"you have"
š/u	/aš/	"	/au/	"they have"
š/b	/aš/	"	/ab/	"white"
š/p	/kaš/	"cheese"	/kap/	"head"
š/d	/kaš/	"	/kad/	"hot"
š/t	/aš/	"I would"	/at/	"other"
š/v	/aš/	"	/av/	"he has"
š/m	/aš/	"	/am/	"I have"
š/n	/aš/	"	/an/	"year"
š/s	/aš/	"	/as/	"ace"
š/c	/aš/	"	/ac/	"here"
š/ž	/iešu/	"I go out"	/iežu/	"hedgehog"
š/k	/foš/	"ditch"	/fok/	"fire"
š/l	/rš/	(N)"you are"	/ŗl/	"him"
š/zero	/kaš/	"cheese"	/ka/	"horse"

Position i[2]

š/r	/ǔuše/	"door"	/ǔure/	"clock"
š/v	/ǔuše/	"	/ǔuve/	"grapes"
š/zero	/nįiš/	"nothing"	/nįi/	"neither"

Realizations of /š/

This phoneme is realized as an unvoiced 'hushing' fricative; it is the unvoiced counterpart of the phoneme /ž/ discussed above in section 12. Its general realization is similar to that of the corresponding 'hushing' phoneme of English forms such as 'sharp, bishop, push'. There is generally no marked difference between explosive and implosive realizations. The observations made above in sections 8-10, and 12, regarding the realization of the vowel of the prominent syllable appear <u>potentially</u> to apply here,

except that my field data contain no instance of /n/ in the first implosive position in a comparable form to those quoted in sections 8-10 and 12, and so I cannot verify this.

14. The phoneme /g/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^1$, $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{i}^1$ and $\underline{i}^2$. In position $\underline{e}^1$ it commutes with /b,p,d,t,v,f, ž,k,h,zero/. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,i,u,b,p, d,t,v,f,m,s,ž,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /r,u,b,p,t,v,n,z,s,c,ž,k, zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /d,t,z,s,k,h,zero/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /g/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position e^1

g/b	/gratS/	(place name)	/bratS/	"arm"
g/p	/gre-/	"heavy"	/pre-/	(prefix="very")
g/d	/gratS/	(place name)	/dratS/(S)	"devils"
g/t	/gras/	"fat"	/tras/	"dragged"
g/v	/gre /	"heavy"	/vre /	"to wish"
g/f	/gratS/	(place name)	/fratS/	"brothers"
g/ž	/gnii/	"rotten"	/žnii/	"to harvest"
g/k	/glas/	"voice"	/klas/	"ear(of corn)"
g/h	/grane/	"twig"	/hrane/	"food"
g/zero/gre/		"heavy"	/re/	"he would"

Position e^2

g/r	/gané/(S)	"he speaks"
g/i	/go/	"naked"
g/u	/gúutu/	"the neck"
g/b	/gúre/	"throat"
g/p	/gó/	"naked"
g/d	/go/	"
g/t	/go/	"
g/v	/go/	"
g/f	/gúre/	"throat"
g/m	/góle/	"naked"
g/s	/góre/	"mountain"
g/ž	/góre/	"
g/l	/gúra/	"the throat"
g/zero	/gú(u)re/	"throat"

/rané/	"he wounds"
/io/	"I"
/uútu/	"I forget"
/búre/	"good"
/pó-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
/do-/	"
/to/	"that"
/vo/	(pronoun object)
/fúre/	"he would be"
/móle/	"soft"
/sóre/	"sun"
/žóre/	"he swears"
/lúra/	"the moon"
/úure/	"clock"

Position i^1

g/r	/lụg/	"valley"
g/u	/meg/	"I go"
g/b	/ogrrnịi/	"to cover"
g/p	/lụ́g/	"valley"
g/t	/žụ́(u)g/	"yoke"
g/v	/blấge/	"cattle"
g/n	/žụ́(u)g/	"yoke"
g/z	/iấger/	"hunter"
g/s	/trag/	"I drag"
g/c	/poginịi/	"to suffer"
g/ž	/mẹ́g/	"I go"
g/k	/drag/	"dear"
g/zero	/meg/	"I go"

/lụr/	"Monday"
/mẹu/	"my"
/obrrnịi/	"to turn"
/lụ́p/	"wolf"
/žụ́(u)t/	"yellow"
/blấve/	"blue"
/žụ́(u)n/	"Lent"
/iấzer/	"pond, lake"
/tras/	"dragged"
/pocinịi/	"to rest"
/mẹ́ž/	"you go"
/drak/	"devil"
/me/	"my"

Position i^2

g/d	/vérge/	"rod"
g/t	/ving/	"I come"
g/z	/lụng/	"long"(singular)
g/s	/dụ́ug/	"debt"
g/k	/rịiga/	"line"
g/h	/dụ́ug/	"debt"
g/zero	/vérge/	"rod"

/vérde/	"green"
/vint/	"wind"
/lụnz/	"long"(plural)
/dụ́us/	"brought"
/rịika/	(place name)
/dụ́uh/	"breath"
/vére/	"Summer"

Realizations of /g/

This phoneme is generally realized as a voiced dorso-velar occlusive [g]. In the first explosive position it usually resembles the initial phoneme of English forms such as 'grass, gravel', although in some realizations it is more of a dorsal fricative [ɣ]. In the latter case it is usually unvoiced and stands as a left-hand expansion in a form having /r/ in the second explosive position, e.g. [ɣ ras, ɣ re] . In the second explosive position /g/ is usually realized in a way similar to the initial phoneme of English 'got'. In the implosive positions, realizations generally resemble those of the phoneme /g/ of English forms such as 'big, target'. The fricative variant may also occur implosively particularly when /g/ is in 'word final' position or intervocalic.

15. The phoneme /k/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^1$, $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{i}^1$ and $\underline{i}^2$. In position $\underline{e}^1$ it commutes with /b,p,v,f,s,g, h,zero/. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,i,b,p,d,t,v, f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /r,i,b,p,d,t,v,n,s,c,ž,š,g,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /r,b,d,t,n,s,c,g,h,zero/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /k/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position e[1]

k/b	/krúune/	"crown"	/brúune/	"brown" (fem.)
k/p	/krésTe/	"to grow"	/présTe/	"through,across"
k/v	/kred/	"I believe"	/vred/	"quickly"
k/f	/lukratS/	"you work"	/lu fratS/(S)	"to the brothers"
k/s	/krêde/	"to believe"	/srêde/	"Wednesday"
k/g	/klas/	"ear(of corn)"	/glas/	"voice"
k/h	/kladé/	"he puts"	/hladé/	"he shelters"
k/zero	/krov/	"roof"	/rov/	"furrow"

Position e[2]

k/r	/ke/	"because"	/re/	"he would"
k/i	/"/	"	/ie/	"he"
k/b	/krt/	"how much?"	/brt/	"stick,hammer"
k/p	/kû(u)s/	"piece"	/pûus/	"placed"
k/d	/kû(u)s/	"	/dûus/	"brought"
k/t	/kâre/	"which"	/târe/	"strong"
k/v	/ke/	"because"	/ve/	"you"
k/f	/"/	"	/fe/	"do!"
k/m	/"/	"	/me/	"my"
k/n	/"/	"	/ne/	"us"
k/z	/"/	"	/ze-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
k/s	/"/	"	/se/	(reflexive pronoun)
k/c	/"/	"	/ce/	"what"
k/ž	/k-a/	"because+has"	/ža/	"sorry"
k/š	/k-a/	" "	/ša/	"so"
k/h	/ke/	"because"	/he/	(exclamation)
k/l	/ke/	"because"	/le/(S)	"take!"
k/zero	/kopt/	"baked"	/opt/(N)	"eight"

Position i[1]

k/r	/mik/	"small"	/mir/	"peace"
k/i	/trek/	"I cross"	/trei/	"three"
k/b	/dékle/	"maidservant"	/déble/	"tree"
k/p	/potók/	"river"	/potóp/	"flood"
k/d	/pok/	"I can"	/pod/	"floor"
k/t	/tok/	"piece"	/tot/	"all"
k/v	/lok/	"place"	/lov/	"hunting"
k/n	/žuuk/	"bitter"	/žuun/	"Lent"
k/s	/žok/	"game"	/žos/	"below"
k/c	/unúk/	"nephew"	/unúc/	"nephews"
k/ž	/drak/	"devil"	/draž/	"dear"
k/š	/fok/	"fire"	/foš/	"ditch"
k/g	/drak/	"devil"	/drag/	"dear"
k/h	/kuké/	"he cries(like cuckoo)	/kuhé/	"he cooks"
k/l	/váke/	"cow"	/vále/	"valley"
k/zero	/pok/	"I can"	/po-/	(perfectivizing prefix)

Position i[2]

k/r	/mi̯iku̯/	"the little one"	/mi̯iru̯/	"the peace"
k/b	/bárke̯/	"boat"	/bárbe/	"uncle"
k/d	/zi̯ik/	"I say"	/zi̯id/	"wall"
k/t	/žu̯uk/	"bitter"	/žu̯ut/	"yellow"
k/n	/žu̯uk/	"	/žu̯un/	"Lent"
k/s	/zi̯ik/	"I say"	/zi̯is/	"said"
k/c	/pórk/	"pig"	/pórc/	"pigs"
k/g	/ri̯ika/	(place name)	/ri̯iga/	"the line"
k/h	/du̯uk/	"I bring"	/du̯uh/	"breath"
k/zero	/zi̯ik/	"I say"	/zi̯i/	"day"

Realizations of /k/

This phoneme is generally realized as an unvoiced dorso-velar occlusive. In the first explosive position it generally resembles the initial phoneme of English forms such as 'class, cream', although in some realizations it is more of a dorsal fricative e.g. [ɣred] beside the more regular [kred] . In such cases it is very similar to the fricative variant of /g/ in the first explosive position, as both are generally unvoiced. The realizations of [ɣ] for [k] usually occurs when the phoneme stands as a left-hand expansion in a form having /r/ in the second explosive position. In the second explosive position /k/ is generally realized in a way similar to the initial phoneme of Italian forms such as 'caro,cura'. It is less aspirated than /k/ in English forms such as

'could'. When /e,i,/ stand in the nuclear position and /k/ stands as the left-hand expansion, realizations are more 'palatal' than when the nuclear position is filled by /a, r,o,u/. In the implosive positions, realizations of /k/ generally resemble those of the phoneme /k/ of English forms such as 'tack, bark'. The fricative variant is also possible implosively, but it is less common than in the case of /g/. It sometimes occurs in 'word final' position, e.g. [ž̥ɯuɣ̞].

16. The phoneme /h/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^1$, $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{i}^1$ and $\underline{i}^2$. In position $\underline{e}^1$ it commutes with /b,f,m,g,k,zero/. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s, c,k,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /i,p,d,v,s, ž,k,l/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /t,s,c,g,k/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /h/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position e^1

h/b	/hŕána/	"the food"	/bŕána/	"the harrow"
h/f	/hŕáne/	"food"	/fŕáne/	(Christian name)
h/m	/hlad/	"shade"	/mlad/	"young"
h/g	/hŕáne/	"food"	/gŕáne/	"twig"
h/k	/hladé/	"he shelters"	/kladé/	"he puts"
h/zero	/hŕáne/	"food"	/ŕáne/	"wound"

Position e^2

h/r	/hucé/	"he blows"	/rucé/	"he breakfasts"
h/i	/he/(exclamation)		/ie/	"he"
h/b	/"/	"	/be/	"to drink"
h/p	/hárte/(N)	"letter"	/párte/	"part"
h/d	/he/(exclamation)		/de/	"of"
h/t	/hucíi/	"to blow"	/tucíi/	"to strike"
h/v	/ " "/	" "	/vucíi/	"to pull"
h/f	/he/(exclamation)		/fe/	"do!"
h/m	/"/	"	/me/	"my"
h/n	/"/	"	/ne/	"us"
h/z	/"/	"	/ze-/(perfectivizing prefix)	
h/s	/hité/	"he throws"	/sité/	"he sieves"
h/c	/ " /	" "	/cité/	"he reads" (S)
h/k	/he/(exclamation)		/ke/	"because"
h/l	/"/	"	/le/(S)	"take!"
h/zero	/he/	"	/e/	"and"

Position i^1

h/i	/kuhé/	"he cooks"	/kụié/	"he forges"
h/p	/ " /	" "	/kupé/	"railway compartment"
h/d	/grah/	"peas"	/grad/	"town"
h/v	/prah/	"dust"	/prav/	"true"
h/s	/grah/	"peas"	/gras/	"fat"
h/ž	/iéhụ/(N)	"I go out"	/iéžu/	"hedgehog"
h/k	/kuhé/	"he cooks"	/kuké/	"he cries"(like a cuckoo)
h/l	/dihé/	"he breathes"	/dilé/	"he shares"

Position i^2

h/t	/vṛrh/	"mountain"	/vṛrt/	"garden"
h/s	/dụuh/	"breath"	/dụus/	"brought"
h/c	/dụuhịi/	"breaths"	/dụucịi/	"you bring"
h/g	/dụuh/	"breath"	/dụug/	"debt"
h/k	/ " /	"	/dụuk/	"I bring"

Realizations of /h/

This phoneme is generally realized as an unvoiced aspirated dorsal fricative. There is no marked difference

between explosive and implosive realizations, except that the more peripheral the position in which the phoneme stands, the less pronounced is the degree of aspiration. Although realizations of /h/ are almost always unvoiced there is nevertheless a <u>slight</u> tendency towards voicing when the phoneme stands in either of the positions $\underline{e}^1$ and $\underline{i}^2$. In the latter case this tendency is somewhat more marked when /h/ occurs in 'word-final' position; the same phenomenon can also be noted in $\underline{i}^1$ when the phoneme stands in 'word-final' position. In such cases it is very similar to realizations of the initial phoneme of Dutch forms such as 'Groningen', otherwise it may be described as being somewhat between [h] and [ɣ] in English forms such as 'hole' and in (Scottish) English forms such as 'loch', respectively.

17. <u>The phoneme /l/</u>

This phoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^1$, $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{i}^1$, $\underline{i}^2$ and <u>pos</u>. In position $\underline{e}^1$ it does not function as a member of a minimal pair. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /r,i,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,s,c,ž,š,k,h,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /p, ,zero/. In position <u>pos</u>

it does not function in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair, The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /l/ in each of the positions in which it stands except $\underline{e}^1$ and pos.

Position e^1

As mentioned above /l/ in this position is not found in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair. The phoneme stands in position $\underline{e}^1$ in forms such as /liụbi̯i/ "to love", /liépụr/, "hare".

Position e^2

l/r	/la/(S)	"to take"	/ra/	"he would"
l/i	/"/ "	"	/ia/	"she"
l/b	/lụr/	"Monday"	/bụr/	"good"
l/p	/lạt/(S)	"taken"	/pạt/	"bed"
l/d	/la/(S)	"to take"	/da/	"to give"
l/t	/le/(S)	"take!"	/te/	"tea"
l/v	/"/	"	/ve/	"you"
l/f	/"/	"	/fe/	"do!"
l/m	/"/	"	/me/	"my"
l/n	/"/	"	/ne/	"us"
l/z	/"/	"	/ze-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
l/s	/"/	"	/se/	(reflexive pronoun)
l/c	/"/	"	/ce/	"what"
l/ž	/la/(S)	"to take"	/ža/	"sorry"
l/š	/"/	"	/ša/	"so"
l/g	/lűra/	"the moon"	/gűra/	"the throat"
l/k	/lẹ́/(S)	"take!"	/kẹ́/	"because"
l/h	/"/	"	/he/	(exclamation)
l/zero	/la/(S)	"to take"	/a/	(possessive article)

Position i[1]

l/r	/kåle/	"road"	/kåre/	"which"
l/i	/ɾl/	"him"	/ɾi/	"is"
l/p	/pilé/	"he saws"	/pipé/(S)	"he smokes"
l/d	/kåle/	"road"	/kåde/	"hot" (f.)
l/t	/palɨi/	"to burn"	/patɨi/	"to suffer"
l/v	/bilésK/	"I paint"	/bivésK/	"I dwell"
l/f	/kalé/	"he sweats"	/kafé/	"coffee"
l/m	/dilɨi/	"to share"	/dimɨi/(N)	"to smoke"
l/n	/ɾl/	"him"	/ɾn/	"in"
l/s	/obilɨi/	"to whitewash"	/obisɨi/	"to hang"
l/c	/palɨi/	"to burn"	/pacɨi/	"to meddle"
l/ž	/butɨl/	"bottles"	/butɨž/	"shops"
l/š	/ɾl/	"him"	/ɾš/	"you are"
l/k	/våle/	"valley"	/våke/	"cow"
l/h	/dilé/	"he shares"	/dihé/	"he breathes"
l/zero	/sTol/	"table"	/sTo/	"hundred"

Position i[2]

l/p	/trrlɨi/	"to run"	/trrpɨi/	"to suffer"
~~l/c~~	~~/tůlɨi/~~	~~"to cry out"~~	~~/tučɨi/~~	~~"to beat"~~
l/zero	/mɾrle/	"the hands"	/mɾre/	"tomorrow"

Position pos

As has been mentioned above /l/ in this position is not found in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair. The phoneme occurs rarely in the post implosive position in forms such as /tɾ(i)šlar/"joiner", where the prominent syllable is heavily stressed. In the speech of many speakers the implosive /i/ is not realized, and so /l/'s membership of this position class is extremely marginal, and could almost be ignored.

Realizations of /l/

This phoneme is generally realized as an alveolar lateral liquid. It is similar to the English phoneme /l/ in forms such as 'lake','believe','pale'. In 'word-final' position realizations are commonly "darker" than when the phoneme stands in 'word-initial' or 'intervocalic' positions. When /l/ stands as the left-hand expansion of forms in which /i/ stands in position $\underline{e}^2$ its realization is markedly palatal. Such palatal realizations may also occur when /i/ stands in 'word-final' position as the right-hand expansion of /l/ standing in position $\underline{i}^1$.

18. The phoneme /a/

This phoneme belongs to the position class $\underline{n}$, in which position it commutes with /e,o,r,i,u/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /a/.

a/e	/pat/	"bed"	/pet/	"five"
a/o	/pak/	"then"	/pok/	"I can"
a/r	/bátu/	"I beat"	/brtu/	"the stick"
a/i	/dan/	"day"	/din/	"from"
a/u	/an/	"year"	/un/	"one"

Realizations of /a/

This phoneme, in common with the other vowels and semi-vowels, has quite a considerable range of possible realiza-

tions. In fact the semi-vowels have an even wider range of realization because they belong to <u>three</u> position classes, whereas the vowels belong to only one position class. As has been seen above in the case of the consonants, the position in which a phoneme stands often has considerable phonetic implications for its realization. This is particularly true of the semi-vowels. The vowels, however, can only stand in the nuclear position and therefore are not subject to positional variance. The variations in their realization are partly attributable to contextual variance and to free variance, although a further important factor is that of syllabic prominence.

The phoneme /a/ when standing as the nucleus of a <u>prominent</u> syllable is generally heavily labialized [^{u}a] . Such labialization is particularly pronounced when /a/ stands in 'word-initial' position, e.g. in forms like /an/ 'year', /ásiṛ/ "donkey", /ab/ "white", /ápe/ "water", the standard realizations are [^{u}an, ^{u}ásiṛ, ^{u}ab, ^{u}ápe] respectively; it is only slightly less marked in forms like /pat/ "bed", /kumparấ/ "to buy", /mấre/ "great", the most common realizations of which are [p^{u}at, kumpar$^{\hat{u}}$<u>á</u>, m^{u}ấre] respectively.

In non-prominent or weak syllables the phoneme, when interconsonantal, is generally realized as a front [a] which is usually shorter than the [ᵘa] of more prominent syllables. Examples of this type of realization are [pak, kafé, kadé] which correspond to the phonological forms /pak/ [4] "then", /kafé/ "coffee", /kadé/ "to fall" respectively. In 'word-initial' position the standard realization is generally very similar to [a] but slightly further back. Examples of such realizations are [a̲ré, a̲s̆ᵘá, a̲vé] which correspond to the phonological forms /aré/ " a ring", /aš̆á/, "so", /avé/ "to have", respectively. In 'word-final' position the standard realization is generally rather weak. In reasonably deliberate speech it is close to [a] but a fairly common variant is [ə] . Examples of this type of realization are ánca , cást , cúd which correspond to the phonological forms /ánca/ "here", /cásTa/ "this", /cúda/ "much" respectively. This latter type of 'shwah-like' realization may, in fact, occur in almost any context in which the phoneme /a/ is unstressed or weakly stressed, e.g. [ré, aflavéi, dóst] for /aré, aflavéi, dósTa/.

19. The phoneme /e/

This phoneme belongs to the position class n , in

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4. It should be noted that /pak/, although a monosyllable, is generally a weak form because it usually stands in a non-prominent position in a word group.

which position it commutes with /a,o,r,i,u/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /e/.

e/a	/pet/	"five"	/pat/	"bed"
e/o	"	"	/pot/	"sweat"
e/r	/bet/	"drunk"	/brt/	"stick"
e/i	/prénde/	"through,which"	/prínde/	"to light"
e/u	/légu̯/	"they bind"	/lúgu̯/	"the valley"

Realizations of /e/

This phoneme is generally realized as a short front half open vowel [e]. Examples of such realization include [pet] "five", [meg] "I go", [vets] "you will".

The realization of the phoneme in forms such as /rei/ "you would", /provéi/ "to try", /fidéit/ "trusted", is that of a front half open vowel [e] but slightly longer, more closed and tenser than in the previous examples. The latter forms are generally realized [rej, provéj, fidéjt].

In forms like /mérgu̯/(South) "they go" /véra/ "the Summer" the phoneme is realized as a front half open vowel [ɛ] but slightly longer, more open and laxer than in such realizations as [e] in [pet]. The forms in question are generally realized [mɛ̯rgu, vɛ̯ra].

There is generally no marked difference between realizations of /e/ in prominent and non-prominent syllables, although in the case of the former the phoneme sometimes tends to have somewhat 'diphthongal' realizations. Such realizations are of two types:

a) the phoneme is realized via a 'yod'-like onset, e,g, [mjes, misl̑jes, sjéliš̌te] , which occur in free variance with [mes] "gone", [mislés] "I think", [séliš̌te] "village", and

b) the realization of the phoneme terminates in an [a] - like or [ə] - like glide, e.g. [pisé^{a}, fé^{a}te, me^{a}v] which occur in free variance with [pisé] "he writes", [féte] "a girl", [mev] "my".

20. The phoneme /o/

This phoneme belongs to the position class n, in which position it commutes with /a,e,r,i,u/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /o/.

o/a	/pok/	"I can"	/pak/	"then"
o/e	/pot/	"sweat"	/pet/	"five"
o/r	/om/	"man"	/rm/	"to me"
o/i	/žóru/	"they swear"	/žíru/	"the fruit"
o/u	/žok/	"game"	/žuk/(S)	"bitter"

Realizations of /o/

This phoneme is generally realized as a short back half-close vowel[ɔ]. Examples of such realization include

[pɔk] "I can" [ǯɔk] "a game", [kɔpt] "baked", [lɔv] "hunting", for /pok, ǯok, kopT, lov/ respectively.

In prominent syllables, especially when it stands in 'word-initial' position, the phoneme is sometimes realized via a labial onset, particularly in the Northern dialect. In such cases the realization is closer to [o] than to [ɔ] and examples include [ᵘom] "man" [ᵘov] (S) "egg" [ᵘopt] (N) "eight", for /om,ov, opT/ respectively; possible Northern variants of [pɔk, kɔpt] etc., are [pᵘok, kᵘopt].

In forms like /io/, "I", /do/ "two" in which the phoneme stands in 'word-final' position, the realization is still more close than is the case with the foregoing examples and is very close to [o], [jo,do].

In forms like /nou/ "new", the phoneme is realized as a back half open vowel /o/ and somewhat longer than /ɔ/, [now].

In forms like /o̩i/ "sheep", /bo̩i/ "oxen", the phoneme is realized as a back open vowel [ɔ̃], [ɔ̃j, bɔ̃j].

In forms like /sor/ "sister", /pork/ "pig", the phoneme

is realized as a back open vowel [ɔ], [sɔr, pɔrk] and slightly longer than [ɔ] in the forms [ɔj, bɔj] etc..

21. The phoneme /r/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{n}$, $\underline{i}^1$ and $\underline{i}^2$. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /i,b,p,d,t,v,f, m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{n}$ it commutes with /a,e,o,i,u/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /i,u,b, p,d,t,v,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /t,v,m,n,š,k,zero/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /r/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position e^2

r/i	/re/	"he would"	/ie/	"he"
r/b	/"/	"	/be/	"to drink"
r/p	/rátu/	"I show"	/pátu/	"the bed"
r/d	/re/	"he would"	/de/	"of"
r/t	/"/	" "	/te/	"tea"
r/v	/"/	" "	/ve/	"you"
r/f	/"/	" "	/fe/	"do!"
r/m	/"/	" "	/me/	"my"
r/n	/"/	" "	/ne/	"us"
r/z	/"/	" "	/ze-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
r/s	/"/	" "	/se/	(reflexive pronoun)
r/c	/"/	" "	/ce/	"what"
r/ž	/rivé/	"he arrives"	/živé/	"he lives"
r/š	/rédu/	"the line"	/šédu/	"they sit"
r/g	/ranć/	"he wounds"	/ganć/	(S) "he speaks"
r/k	/re/	"he would"	/ke/	"because"
r/h	/rucć/	"he breakfasts"	/hucć/	"he blows"
r/l	/re/	"he would"	/le/	(S) "take!"
r/zero/	/ráte/	"he shows"	/áte/	"other"

Position n

r/a	/bṛ́tu/	"the stick"	/bátu/	"I beat"
r/e	/bṛt/	"stick"	/bet/	"drunk"
r/o	/rṃ/	"to me"	/om/	"man"
r/i	/ṛ́r/	"without"	/fir/	"hay"
r/u	/pṛ́re/	"bread"	/pure/	"to put"

Position i[1]

r/i	/vor/	"they will"	/voi/	"you"
r/u	/mer/	"apple"	/meu/(N)	"my" (var. of mev)
r/b	/áre/	"he has"	/ábe/	"white"
r/p	/"/	" "	/ápe/	"water"
r/d	/or/"they will"(var.of vor)		/od-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
r/t	/par/	"few"	/pat/	"bed"
r/v	/or/	"they will"	/ov/(S)	"egg"
r/m	/"/	" "	/om/	"man"
r/n	/murṛ́it/	"died"	/munṛ́it/	"stupid"
r/z	/vor/	"they will"	/voz/	"cart"
r/s	/or/"they will"(var. of vor)		/os/	"bone"
r/c	/mir/	"peace"	/mic/	"small" (plur.)
r/ž	/mér/	"apple"	/mež/(N)	"you go"
r/š	/ier/	"yesterday"	/ieš/	"go out!"
r/g	/lur/	"Monday"	/lug/	"valley"
r/k	/mṛ́r/	"peace"	/mik/	"small" (sing.)
r/l	/káre/	"which"	/kále/	"road"
r/zero	/vor/	"they will"	/vo/	(pronoun object)

Position i[2]

r/t	/piséir/	"I would write"	/piséit/	"written"
r/v	/ǔure/	"clock"	/ǔuve/	"grapes"
r/m	/piséir/	"I would write"	/piséim/(N)	"we write"
r/n	/ " /	" " "	/piséin/(S)	" "
r/š	/ǔure/	"clock"	/ǔuše/	"door"
r/k	/mṛ́iru/	"the peace"	/mṛ́iku/	"the little one"
r/zero	/piséir/	"I would write"	/piséi/	"to write"

Realizations of /r/

As intimated above, realizations of /ṛ/, and of the two semi-vowels to be described below, show considerable

variance according to the position in which the phoneme stands. For this reason it will be convenient to discuss the realizations of the semi-vowels under three sub-headings according to whether the phoneme in question stands in an explosive, nuclear or implosive [5] position.

a) /r/ in e[2]

In this position the phoneme is realized as a voiced alveolar liquid [r] which is frequently "flapped" but rarely "trilled" except by a minority of speakers when the phoneme stands in 'word-initial' position. Examples of such realizations include [rad] "glad", [rɔv] "a furrow", [rej] "you would" for /rad, rov, rei/ respectively.

When /r/ in this position has as its left hand expansion an unvoiced phoneme, the realization of /r/ is partially unvoiced, as for example in the forms [krɔv] "a roof", [trej] "three", i.e. /krov, trei/.

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5. Statements of realization for /r/ in implosive positions will be restricted to positions i[1] and i 2. As indicated above, /r/ may, in theory, belong to the post implosive position class cf. forms such as /detSémbre, fntru/, but for practical purposes it will be convenient to consider such /r/s as belonging to a post-prominent rather than to a prominent syllable. They may then be described as standing in position e 2 of such syllables, but see further discussion below.

b) /r/ in n

In this position the phoneme is realized as a short central half open vowel [ə] as in the forms [bət] "a stick", [kət] "how much", [grəw] "wheat", [əj] "is", representing the phonological forms /bṛt, kṛt, grṛu, ṛi/ respectively.

In polysyllabic forms the realization of /r/, when it stands in the nuclear position of the prominent syllable, is generally longer than in the case of monosyllables, e.g. [bə́tu] "the stick", [kə́te] "how much" (fem.), [pə tʃə́k] "Friday", representing /bṛ́tu, kṛ́te, pṛtʃṛ́k/.

In cases where nuclear /r/ has a second /r/ as its right-hand expansion (i.e. implosive reduplication), the realization of nuclear /r/ is longer yet, e.g. [sə́re] "healthy", [mə́re] "tomorrow", [lə́ra] "the wool", [sərə́r] "sisters", which correspond to the phonological forms /sṛ́re, mṛ́re, lṛ́ra, sṛrṛ́r/ respectively.

In non-prominent syllables the realization [ə] may occur as the under-articulated variant of the other vowels, or of the semi-vowels standing in the nuclear position.

c) /r/ in i^1

In this position the phoneme is realized as a retroflex liquid [ɻ] or as a "flapped" [r] . When /r/ stands in 'word-final' position, the former realization [ɻ] is the more usual one, but its articulation is considerably stronger and more "flapped" than is the case of the final phoneme in English forms such as 'far', 'sir'. Examples of such realization include [bu̥ɻ] "good", [paɻ] "few", [fɔɻ] "without", corresponding to the phonological forms /bu̥r, par, fɔ̥r/.

In cases where /r/ acts as the syllabic boundary between two syllables, the latter realization (i.e. that of a "flapped" [r]) is the more usual one. Examples of such realization include [sáre] "salt", [fú̥ry̥]"they steal", [sóra] "the sister".

d) /r/ in i^2

In this position realizations of /r/ are similar to its realizations in i^1 e.g. [piséjɻ].

22. The phoneme /i/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes e^2, n,

$\underline{i}^1$ and $\underline{i}^2$. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /r,b,p,d,t,v, f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{n}$ it commutes with /a,e,o,r,u/. In position $\underline{i}^1$ it commutes with /r,u,b, d,t,v,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,k,h,l,zero/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /zero/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /i/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position e^2

i/r	/ie/	"he"	/re/	"he would"
i/b	/"/	"	/be/	"to drink"
i/p	/io/	"I"	/po-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
i/d	/"/	"	/do/	"two"
i/t	/ie/	"he"	/te/	"tea"
i/v	/"/	"	/ve/	"you"
i/f	/"/	"	/fe/	"do!"
i/m	/"/	"	/me/	"my"
i/n	/ie/	"he"	/ne/	"us"
i/z	/"/	"	/ze-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
i/s	/"/	"	/se/	(reflexive pronoun)
i/c	/"/	"	/ce/	"what"
i/ž	/ia/	"she"	/ža/	"sorry"
i/š	/"/	"	/ša/	"so"
i/g	/io/	"I"	/go/	"naked"
i/k	/ie/	"he"	/ke/	"because"
i/h	/"/	"	/he/	(exclamation)
i/l	/"/	"	/le/(S)	"take!"
i/zero/	ia/	"she"	/a/	(possessive article)

Position n

i/a	/din/	"from"	/dan/	"day"
i/e	/príde/	"to light"	/prénde/	"through which"
i/o	/žíru/	"the fruit"	/žóru/	"they swear"
i/r	/fir/	"hay"	/frr/	"without"
i/u	/fíru/	"the hay"	/fúru/	"they steal"

Position i[1]

i/r	/voi/	"you"	/vor/	"they will"
i/u	/ai/	"you have"	/au/	"they have"
i/b	/ai/	"you have"	/ab/	"white"
i/d	/oi/	"sheep"	/od-/	(perfectivizing prefix)
i/t	/ai/	"you have"	/at/	"other"
i/v	/oi/	"sheep"	/ov/	"egg"
i/m	/"/	"	/om/	"man"
i/n	/ai/	"you have"	/an/	"year"
i/z	/voi/	"you"	/voz/	"cart"
i/s	/oi/	"sheep"	/os/	"bone"
i/c	/ai/	"you have"	/ac/	"here"
i/ž	/frai/	"free"	/fraž/	"strawberries"
i/š	/ai/	"you have"	/aš/	"I would"
i/k	/trei/	"three"	/trek/	"I cross"
i/h	/kuié/	"he forges"	/kuhé/	"he cooks"
i/l	/rí/	"is"	/rl/	"him"
i/zero	/ai/	"you have"	/a/	(possessive article)

Position i[2]

i/zero/ani/	"years"	/an/	"year"

Realizations of /i/

a) /i/ in e[2]

In this position the phoneme is realized as an unrounded apico-prepalatal spirant [j] similar to the initial phoneme in English forms such as 'you, yet'. Examples of such realizations include [je] "he", [jɛr] "yesterday", [jáko] "very" [júšto] "correct", corresponding to the phonological forms /ie, ier, iáko, iúšTo/.

When /i/ in this position has a left-hand expansion, the phoneme is frequently under-articulated and at times

replaced by /zero/. Examples of this type of realization include [l(j)épu̯r] "a hare", [l(j)ubi̯j] "to love" [pos(j)eti̯j] "to visit", which correspond to the phonological forms /liépu̯r, liu̯bi̯i, posieti̯i/ respectively.

b) /i/ in n

In this position the phoneme is generally realized as a front closed vowel [i] similar, although a little 'lower', to the nuclear /i/ of Italian forms such as 'divano', 'pi̯gro'. Examples of such realization include [din] "from", [picór] "a foot", [vi̯r] "wine", which correspond to /din, picór, vi̯r/ respectively.

When /i/ stands in the nuclear position of prominent syllables, its realization tends to be longer than in the case of weak syllables, and there is then a strong likelihood of implosive reduplication of /i/. This type of realization is exemplified by [fini̯j] "to finish", [mi̯jku̯] "the small one", [vi̯jše] "more", [gni̯jla] "rotten". Such reduplication occurs regularly in monosyllabic forms which have otherwise no right-hand expansion, as in [fi̯j] "to be", [zi̯j] "day".

In prominent syllables in which nuclear /i/ has no left-hand expansion (i.e. in 'word-initial' position), the

phoneme is frequently realized via a 'yod'-like onset. Examples of this type of realization are [j̝íjve] "man's name", [j̝í(j)stina] "true", which correspond to the phonological forms /íve, i̯sTina/. This type of realization occasionally occurs even when /i/ does have a left-hand expansion e.g. [ljį̝vé] "it is raining".

c) /i/ in i^1

In this position the realization of /i/ is similar to, but slightly more open than its realization in position e^2. Examples include [voj] "you", [aj] "you have", [rej] "you would", [ɔj] "is", as well as the 'reduplicative' realizations such as [fį̝j, vį̝jše, finį̝j] ; the phonological forms corresponding to the foregoing examples are /voi,ai, rei, i̯i, fį̝i, vį̝iše, finį̝i/.

d) /i/ in i^2

In this position /i/ is realized as a short 'yod'-like sound [j] and is more close than its realization in i^1, e.g. [anj] "years" [vetj] "already".

23. The phoneme /u/

This phoneme belongs to the position classes e^2, n and i^1. In position e^2 it commutes with /m,ž,g,k/. In po-

sition n it commutes with /a,e,o,r,i/. In position i^1 it commutes with /r,i,b,t,m,n,s,c,ž,š,g,zero/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /u/ in each of the positions in which it stands.

Position e^2

u/m	/uutá/	"to forget"	/mutá/	"to change"
u/ž	/ " /	" "	/žutá/(S)	"to help"
u/g	/uútu/	"I forget"	/gútu/	" the neck"
u/k	/uitá/	"to forget"	/skutá/(S)	"to listen to"

Position n

u/a	/un/	"one"	/an/	"year"
u/e	/lúgu/	"the valley"	/legu/	"they bind"
u/o	/žuk/(S)	"bitter"	/žok/	"game"
u/r	/púre/	"to put"	/pre/	"bread"
u/i	/fúru/	"they steal"	/firu/	"the hay"

Position i^1

u/r	/meu/(N)	"my"	/mer/	"apple"
u/i	/au/	"they have"	/ai/	"you have"
u/b	/"/	" "	/ab/	"white"
u/t	/"/	" "	/at/	"other"
u/m	/"/	" "	/am/	"I have"
u/n	/"/	" "	/an/	"year"
u/s	/"/	" "	/as/	"ace"
u/c	/au/	"they have"	/ac/	"here"
u/ž	/meu/	"my"	/mez/	"you go"
u/š	/au/	"they have"	/aš/	"I would"
u/g	/meu/	"my"	/meg/	"I go"
u/zero	/au/	"they have"	/a/	(possessive article)

Realizations of /u/

a) /u/ in e^2

In this position the phoneme is realized as a fairly

close bi-labial spirant [w] as exemplified by the forms [wutát] "forgotten", [wúwtsi] "you forget", which correspond to /uụtát, uúutSịi/.

In the speech of some speakers the phoneme is sometimes realized as a voiced labio-dental fricative [v] e.g. [vutát], and in such speech [v] is in free variance with [w] in this position.

In some realizations [w] in this position is replaced by zero, e.g. [ụtát, úwtsij] and such realizations are in free variance with [wutát, wúwtsij] ; for this reason, combined with the additional reason of the paucity of forms having /u/ in position $\underline{e}^2$, /u/'s membership of this position class is somewhat marginal.

b) /u/ in n

In this position the phoneme is realized as a short back closed vowel [u]. Examples of such realizations include [kum] "how", [puté] "to be able", [lukrá] "to work", [lug] "a valley" [fúgụ] "they flee". There is no marked difference in realization between prominent and non-prominent syllables.

When /u/ stands in the nuclear position and has as

its right-hand expansion one of the semi-vowels, the realization of /u/ is longer. Examples of this type of realization are [by̯] "good" [ú̯wšа] "the door", [ú̯jets] "uncle", which correspond to the phonological forms /bu̯r, ú̯uša, ú̯ietS/ respectively.

c) /u/ in i^1

In this position the phoneme is realized as a bi-labial spirant [w] but is generally more open than in e^2, as described above under sub-heading (a). Examples of such realization include [ú̯wš̯a] "the door", [grə̯w] "wheat", [nɔw] "new", [mew] "my", which correspond to the phonological forms /ú̯uša, gru̯, nou, meu/.

A similar realization of /u/ occurs in this position as the free variant of /v/ in forms such as [štíwu] "I know", [dáwu] "I give", which are variant realizations of the phonological forms /ští̯ivu̯, dávu̯/.

24. The archi-phoneme /P/

This archi-phoneme belongs to the position classes e^1, e^2 and i^2. In position e^1 it commutes with /T/. In position e^2 it commutes with /T, F, K/. In position i^2 it does not function in a form which would constitute a member of a

minimal pair. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /P/ in each of the positions in which it stands except $\underline{i}^2$.

Position e^1

P/T /sPravi̯i/ "to arrange" /(po)zTravi̯i/ [6] "to greet"

Position e^2

P/T /sPéle/ "he washes" /sTéle/ "stars"
P/F /zPerésK/ "I choose" /zFerésK/ "I jump out"
P/K /sPu̯ure/ "to tell" /šKu̯ure/ "dark"

Position i^2

/P/ in this position is not found in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair. The archiphoneme stands in position $\underline{i}^2$ in forms such as /désPre/ "from above".

Realizations of /P/

The archiphoneme is realized as a bilabial plosive [b] or [p] or somewhere between the two. Realizations

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6. It will have been noted that /sPravi̯i-(po)zTravi̯i/ is not quite a minimal pair. Nevertheless, it serves to establish the opposition /P-T/ in the first explosive position, as both /s,z/ serve equally well as a context for the neutralization of the features voiced-unvoiced in the case of the labial and apical occlusives.

are generally less aspirated than those of /p/.

25. The archiphoneme /T/

This archiphoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^1$, $\underline{e}^2$, $\underline{i}^2$ and pos.

In position $\underline{e}^1$ it commutes with /P/. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /P,K/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ and in position pos it does not function in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /T/ in each of the position in which it stands except $\underline{i}^2$ and pos.

Position e^1

T/P /(po)zTravi̯i/ "to greet" /sPravi̯i/ "to arrange"

Position e^2

T/P /sTéle/ "stars" /sPéle/ "he washes"
T/K /sTáre/(N)"he would stand" /šKáre/ "scissors"

Position i^2

/T/ in this position is not found in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair. The archiphoneme stands in position $\underline{i}^2$ in forms such as /pášTe/ "to graze".

Position pos

/T/ in this position is not found in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair. The archi-

phoneme stands in position pos in forms such as /ɨisTina/ "true".

Realizations of /T/

This archiphoneme is realized as a post-dental plosive [d] or [t] or somewhere between the two. Realizations are generally less aspirated than those of /t/.

26. The archiphoneme /F/

This archiphoneme belongs to position class e^2, in which position it commutes with /P/. The following minimal pair exemplifies the distinctive function of /F/ in the second explosive position.

Position e^2

F/P /zFerésK/ "I jump out" /zPerésK/ "I choose"

Realizations of /F/

This archiphoneme is realized as a labio-dental fricative [v] or [f]or somewhere between the two. Realizations are more usually closer to those of /f/ than to those of/v/.

27. The archiphoneme /K/

This archiphoneme belongs to the position classes e^4 ,

$\underline{e}^2$, and $\underline{i}^2$. In position $\underline{e}^1$ it does not function in forms which would constitute members of minimal pairs. In position $\underline{e}^2$ it commutes with /P,T/. In position $\underline{i}^2$ it commutes with /n/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /K/ in each of the positions in which it stands except $\underline{e}^1$.

Position e^1

/K/ in this position is not found in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair. The archiphoneme stands in position $\underline{e}^1$ in forms such as /šKr̥ipéi/ "to creak", /sKróbi̯i/ (family name).

Position e^2

K/P	/šKúure/	"dark"	/sPúure/	"to tell"
K/T	/šKáre/	"scissors"	/sTáre/(N)	"he would stand"

Position i^2

K/n	/ú̯sKe/	"it dries"	/ú̯sne/	"lips"

Realizations of /K/

This archiphoneme is realized as a dorso-velar occlusive [g] or [k]or somewhere between the two. Realizations are more usually closer to those of /k/ than to those of /g/.

28. The archiphoneme /S/

This archiphoneme belongs to the position classes $\underline{e}^2$,

$\underline{i}^2$ and pos.In position $\underline{e}^2$ it does not function in forms which would constitute members of minimal pairs. In positions $\underline{i}^2$ and pos it commutes with /zero/. The following minimal pairs exemplify the distinctive function of /S/ in each of the positions in which it stands except $\underline{e}^2$.

Position e^2

/S/ in this position is not found in a form which would constitute a member of a minimal pair. The archiphoneme stands in position $\underline{e}^2$ in forms such as /tSi̯ru̯/ "I hold".

Position i^2

S/zero /aflátS/ "you find" /aflát/ "found"

Position pos

S/zero /piséitS/ "you write" /piséit/ "written"

Realizations of /S/

This archiphoneme is generally realized as an unvoiced sibilant fricative without palatalization. Realizations are similar to those of /s/.

A convenient summary of the vast majority of the distributional possibilities of the vowels and semi-vowels of Istro-Rumanian, i.e. of the phonemes /a,e,o,r,i,u/ is given in the following table. The distributional possibilities are shown within the framework of the syllable, which has

been adopted (see chapter I) as the basis of the distributional unit. The vertical axis in the table represents the vowels (and semi-vowels) and the horizontal axis shows each one as the nucleus of a syllable. The columns, with the exception of the centre one, show each of the vowels and semi-vowels in a semi-vocalic environment, i.e. preceded or followed (in some cases preceded and followed) by a semi-vowel. The syllabic nucleus is marked by a dot in each form.

	r+	i+	u+	---	+u	+i	+r
a	rạš	iạ		pạt	dạuy	ại	sạre
e	rẹm	iẹ		pẹt	mẹu	rẹi	sẹre
o	rọž	iọ		pọt	nọu	ọi	sọre
r	rṛnze	frạirr		bṛt	grṛu	ṛi	sṛre
i	rịibe	iịi		dịn	šTịuy	fịi	sịre
u	rụsKe	iụšTo	uytá	kym	ɣušе	ɣietS	sụre

Fig. 1

The table accounts for all explosive and all nuclear occurrences of the vowels and semi-vowels. It accounts also for all occurrences of these phonemes in the first implosive position, thereby summarizing almost, (but not quite), all of their distributional possibilities. However

it does not cover occurrences of /r,i/ in the second implosive position, as found in forms such as /piséir,ụre, mịiry, ani, fịli, veti, fịlie/.

The forms just cited, as well as others having /r/ or /i/ in position $\underline{i}^2$, may be sub-divided into two groups, a) 'monosyllables' and other forms having /r/ or /i/ in 'word-final' position, e.g. /piséir, ani, fịli,veti,/and b) forms in which /r/ or /i/ have a right hand expansion, e.g. /ụre, mịiry, fịlie/.

In the case of b), the best solution is to adopt a procedure similar to the one suggested above in footnote [5], namely to consider those /r/s and /i/s standing in position $\underline{i}^2$ and having a right hand expansion, as belonging to post-prominent syllables, in which case the /r/s and /i/s in question may be described as standing in position $\underline{e}^2$ of such syllables. The table given above is thus adequate for the description of such forms.

In the case of a), forms such as /piséir, ani, fili/, are not completely accounted for in the table. However, in mitigation of the inadequacy, it may be said that such forms

have <u>two</u> types of realization, namely an <u>underarticulated</u> variant and an <u>emphatic</u> variant. Of these the former is the more common in the normal chain of speech, and in many cases the final phoneme, i.e. /r,i/, is not realized at all, there being generally sufficient redundancy in the remainder of the utterance for the meaning to be clear. A second, albeit rarer, possibility for forms such as /piséir/ is that the semivocalic /i/ is not realized and the form becomes /piséɾ/, with /r/ standing in $\underline{i}^1$ instead of $\underline{i}^2$ position, (see below Chapter III, n.5).

In cases other than the foregoing, the emphatic variant occurs and in such instances there is a strong tendency for an additional 'weak' syllable to be generated. Thus, when the emphatic variant of /piséir/ occurs, it is generally realized as three syllables instead of two,i.e. /pis+séi+iɾ/. In such cases the /r/ is <u>not</u> to be regarded as standing in position $\underline{i}^2$ of the prominent syllable, but in the <u>nuclear</u> position of the $\underline{pp}^1$ syllable. The emphatic variants of the so-called 'monosyllabic' forms /ani,fili/ may be regarded as disyllabic /ániɾ, fíliɾ/ where the post-nuclear /i/ acts as the syllabic boundary between e.g. /áni+iɾ/, i.e. it stands in position $\underline{i}^2$ of the prominent syllable and at the same time in position $\underline{e}^2$ of the $\underline{pp}^1$

syllable; in the latter case /r/ stands in the nuclear position of what is in effect a 'parasitic' pp[1] syllable. Nevertheless occurrences of /r,i/ in position i[2] and at the same time in 'word-final' position are rare, and so may be regarded as marginal.

I conclude this chapter with a series of tables which illustrate the commutation classes in the phonology of Istro-Rumanian. A separate table is given for each of the positions in which commutations occur, i.e. in which there are sets of phonemes which commute with one another. This is a convenient way of summarizing the main part of this chapter. In each table the diagonal line represents the commuter phonemes, and the crosses represent the commutants. Absence of a cross indicates that there is no commutation.

Commutation classes in position pre

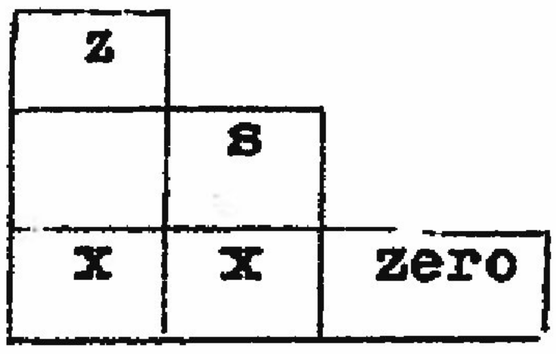


Fig. 2

The table shows the following commutation classes for position pre.

1. commutation class {pre,z} = /z,zero/,
2. commutation class {pre,s} = /s,zero/,
3. commutation class {pre,zero} = /z,s,zero/.

As mentioned above in section 13, the phoneme /š/ may also stand in position pre, but, for the reasons given, it does not function as a member of a pre commutation class.

Commutation classes in position e[1]

b																
x	p															
x		d														
x	x	x	t													
x	x			v												
x	x	x		x	f											
	x	x		x	x	m										
x	x			x	x		z									
	x			x				s								
									ž							
								x		š						
x	x	x	x	x	x				x		g					
x	x			x	x			x			x	k				
x					x	x					x	x	h			
														P		
														x	T	
x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x			zero

Fig. 3

The table shows the following commutation classes for position $\underline{e}^1$;

1. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, b\}$ =/b,p,d,t,v,f,z,g,k,h,zero/
2. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, p\}$ =/b,p,t,v,f,m,z,s,g,k,zero/
3. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, d\}$ =/b,d,t,f,m,g,zero/
4. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, t\}$ =/b,p,d,t,ŝ,zero/
5. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, v\}$ =/b,p,v,f,m,z,s,g,k,zero/
6. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, f\}$ =/b,p,d,v,f,m,z,g,k,h,zero/
7. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, m\}$ =/p,d,v,f,m,h/
8. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, z\}$ =/b,p,v,f,z,zero/
9. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, s\}$ =/p,v,s,š,k,zero/
10. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, ž\}$ =/ž,g,zero/
11. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, š\}$ =/s,š,zero/
12. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, g\}$ =/b,p,d,t,v,f,ž,g,k,h,zero/
13. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, k\}$ =/b,p,v,f,s,g,k,h,zero/
14. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, h\}$ =/b,f,m,g,k,h,zero/
15. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, p\}$ =/P,T/
16. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, T\}$ =/P,T/
17. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^1, zero\}$ =/b,p,d,t,v,f,z,s,ž,š,g,k,h, zero/

As mentioned in sections 17 and 27, the phoneme /l/ and the archiphoneme /K/ may also stand in position $\underline{e}^1$, but, for the reasons given, they do not function as members of an $\underline{e}^1$ commutation class.

Commutation classes in position $\underline{e}^2$

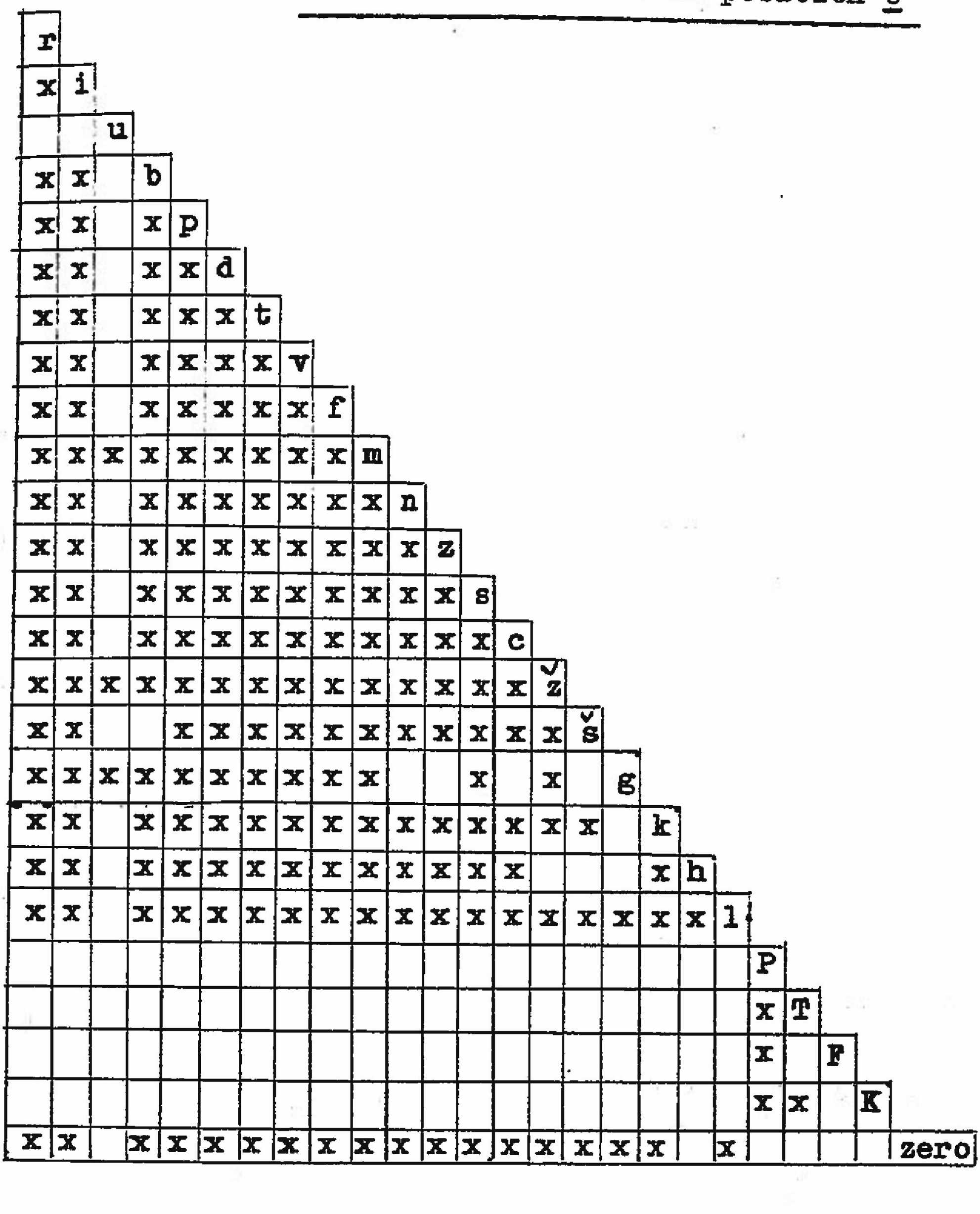


Fig. 4

The table shows the following commutation classes for position $\underline{e}^2$:

1. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, r\}$ =/$\underline{r}$,$\underline{\check{z}}$,$\underline{i}$,$\underline{\check{s}}$,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c, g,k,h,l,zero/

2. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, i\}$ =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c, ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/

3. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, u\}$ =/u,m,ž,g/

4. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, b\}$ =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c, ž,g,k,h,l,zero/

5. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, p\}$ =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c, ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/

6. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, d\}$ =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c, ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/

7. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, t\}$ =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c, ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/

8. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, v\}$ =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c, ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/

9. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, f\}$ =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c, ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/

10. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, m\}$ =/r,i,u,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s, c,ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/

11. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, n\}$ =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c, ž,š,k,h,l,zero/

12. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, z\}$ =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c, ž,š,k,h,l,zero/

13. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, s\}$ =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c, ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/

14. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, c\}$ =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c, ž,š,k,h,l,zero/

15. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, ž\}$ =/r,i,u,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s, c,ž,š,g,k,l,zero/

16. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, š\}$ =/r,i,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž, š,k,l,zero/

17. Commutation class $\{\underline{e}^2, g\}$ =/r,i,u,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,s,ž,g, l,zero/

18.Commutation class { $\underline{e}^2$,k} =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,
ž,š,k,h,l,zero/

19.Commutation class { $\underline{e}^2$,h} =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,
k,h,l/

20.Commutation class { $\underline{e}^2$,l} =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,
ž,š,g,k,h,l,zero/

21.Commutation class { $\underline{e}^2$,P} =/P,T,F,K/

22.Commutation class { $\underline{e}^2$,T} =/P,T,K/

23.Commutation class { $\underline{e}^2$,F} =/P,F/

24.Commutation class { $\underline{e}^2$,K} =/P,T,K/

25.Commutation class { $\underline{e}^2$,zero } =/r,i,b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,
c,ž,š,g,k,l,zero/

As mentioned above in section 28, the archiphoneme /S/ may also stand in position $\underline{e}^2$, but, for the reasons given, it does not function as a member of an $\underline{e}^2$ commutation class.

Commutation Classes in position n

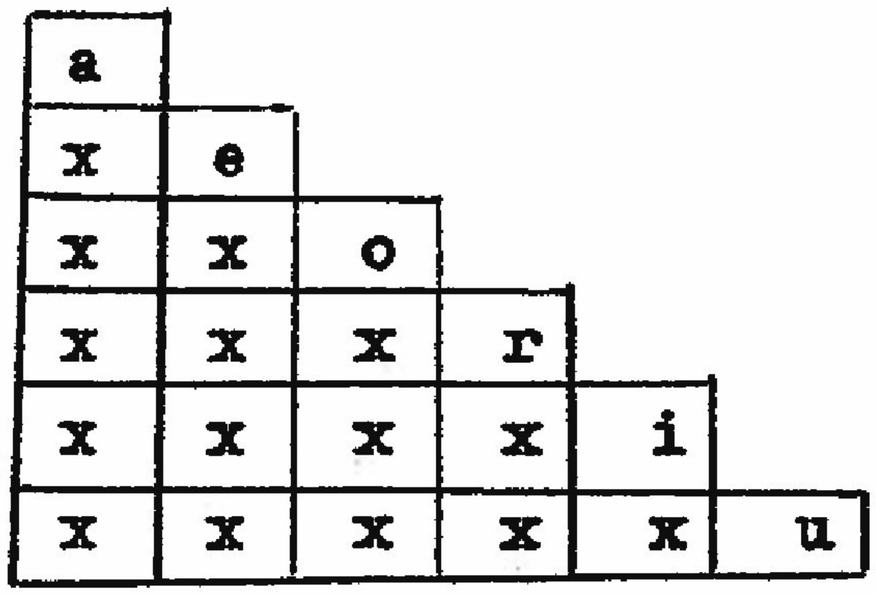


Fig. 5

The table shows the following commutation classes for position n.

1. Commutation class {n,a} =/a,e,o,r,i,u/
2. Commutation class {n,e} =/a,e,o,r,i,u/
3. Commutation class {n,o} =/a,e,o,r,i,u/
4. Commutation class {n,r} =/a,e,o,r,i,u/
5. Commutation class {n,i} =/a,e,o,r,i,u/
6. Commutation class {n,u} =/a,e,o,r,i,u/

Commutation classes in position i[1]

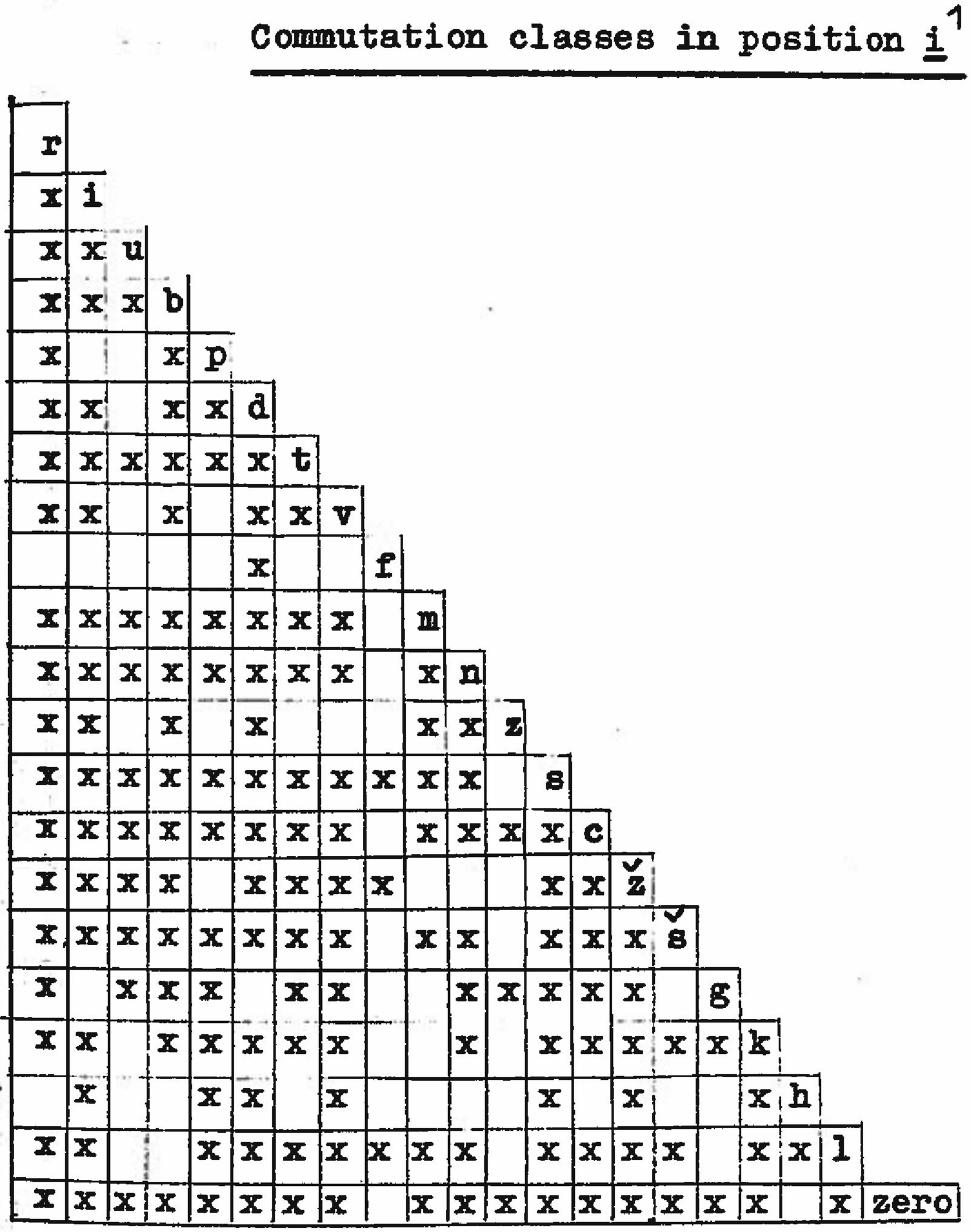


Fig. 6

The table shows the following commutation classes for position $\underline{i}^1$:

1. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, r\}$ =/r, i̊, u, b, p, d, t, v, m, n, z, s, c, ž, š, g, k, l, zero/

2. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, i\}$ =/r̊, i, u, b, d, t, v, m, n, z, s, c, ž, š, h, k, l, zero/

3. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, u\}$ =/r, i, u, b, t, m, n, s, c, ž, š, g, zero/

4. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, b\}$ =/r̊, i̊, u, b, p, d, t, v, m, n, z, s, c, ž, š, g, k, zero/

5. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, p\}$ =/r, b, p, d, t, m, n, s, c, š, g, k, h, l, zero/

6. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, d\}$ =/r̊, i̊, b, p, d, t, v, f, m, n, z, s, c, ž, š, k, h, l, zero/

7. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, t\}$ =/r̊, i, u, b, p, d, t, v, m, n, s, c, ž, š, g, k, l, zero/

8. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, v\}$ =/r, i, b, d, t, v, m, n, s, c, ž, š, g, k, h, l, zero/

9. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, f\}$ =/d, f, s, ž, l/

10. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, m\}$ =/r̊, i, u, b, p, d, t, v, m, n, z, s, c, š, l, zero/

11. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, n\}$ =/r̊, i, u, b, p, d, t, v, m, n, z, s, c, š, g, k, l, zero/

12. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, z\}$ =/r, i, b, d, m, n, z, c, g, zero/

13. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, s\}$ =/r̊, i̊, u, b, p, d, t, v, f, m, n, s, c, ž, š, g, k, h, l, zero/

14. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, c\}$ =/r̊, i̊, u, b, p, d, t, v, m, n, z, s, c, ž, š, g, k, l, zero/

15. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^1, ž\}$ =/r, i, u, b, d, t, v, f, s, c, ž, š, g, k, h, l, zero/

16. Commutation class {i¹, š} =/r, i, u, b, p, d, t, v, m, n, s, c, ž, š, k, l, zero/

17. Commutation class {i¹, g} =/r, u, b, p, t, v, n, z, s, c, ž, g, k, zero/

18. Commutation class {i¹, k} =/r, i, b, p, d, t, v, n, s, c, ž, š, g, k, h, l, zero/

19. Commutation class {i¹, h} =/i, p, d, v, s, ž, k, h, l/

20. Commutation class {i¹, l} =/r, i, p, d, t, v, f, m, n, s, c, ž, š, k, h, l, zero/

21. Commutation class {i¹, zero} =/r, i, u, b, p, d, t, v, m, n, z, s, c, ž, š, g, k, l, zero/

Commutation classes in position i²

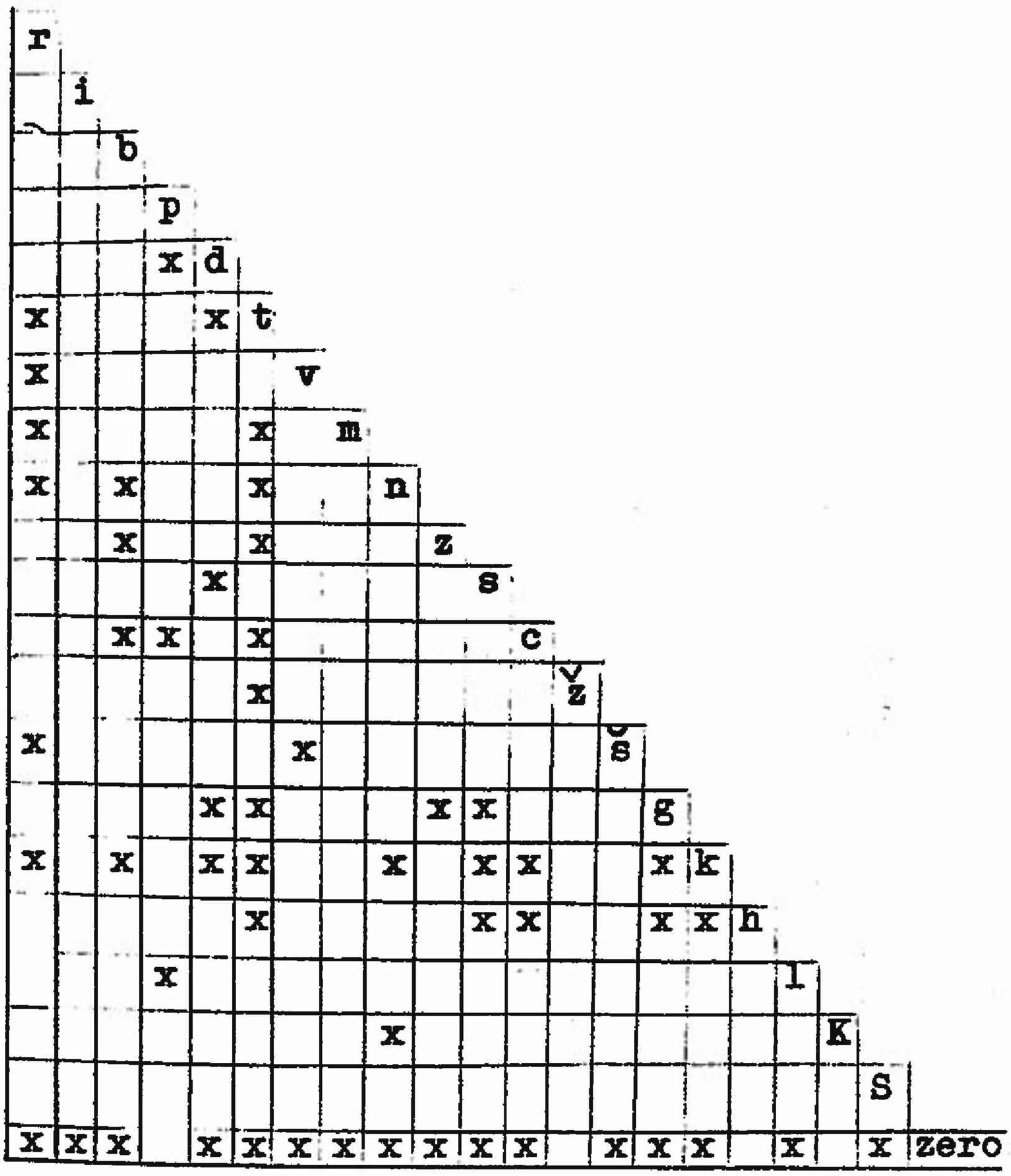


Fig. 7

The table shows the following commutation classes for position $\underline{i}^2$:

1. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,r\}$ =/r,t,v,m,n,š,k,zero/
2. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,i\}$ =/i,zero/
3. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,b\}$ =/b,n,z,c,k,zero/
4. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,p\}$ =/p,d,c,l/
5. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,d\}$ =/p,d,t,s,g,k,zero/
6. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,t\}$ =/r,d,t,m,n,z,c,ž,g,k,h,zero/
7. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,v\}$ =/r,v,š,zero/
8. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,m\}$ =/r,t,m,zero/
9. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,n\}$ =/r,b,t,n,k,K,zero/
10. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,z\}$ =/b,t,z,g,zero/
11. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,s\}$ =/d,s,g,k,h,zero/
12. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,c\}$ =/b,p,t,c,k,h, ,zero/
13. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,ž\}$ =/t,ž/
14. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,š\}$ =/r,v,š,zero/
15. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,g\}$ =/d,t,z,s,g,k,h,zero/
16. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,k\}$ =/r,b,d,t,n,s,c,g,k,h,zero/
17. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,h\}$ =/t,s,c,g,k,h/
18. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,l\}$ =/p, ,l,zero/
19. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,K\}$ =/n,K/
20. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,S\}$ =/S,zero/
21. Commutation class $\{\underline{i}^2,zero\}$ =/r,i,b,d,t,v,m,n,z,s,c,š, g,k,l,S,zero/

As mentioned above in sections 24 and 25, the archiphonemes /P,T/ may also stand in position $\underline{i}^2$, but for the reasons given they do not function as members of $\underline{i}^2$ commutation classes.

Commutation classes in position pos

S	
x	zero

Fig. 8

The table shows the following commutation classes for position pos:

1. Commutation class {pos,S} =/S,zero/
2. Commutation class {pos,zero} =/S,zero/

As mentioned above in sections 3,8,17,21 and 25 the phonemes and archiphonemes /d,n,l, (all marginally) r,T/ may also stand in position pos, but, for the reasons given, they do not function as members of pos commutation classes.

Finally in Figure 9 I set out the set of all phonemes in a single table showing the commutation classes in the overall system. As is the case in the preceding tables,the

diagonal line in Figure 9 represents the phonemes which are the commuters, and the crosses represent the commutants. Absence of a cross indicates that there is no commutation between the two intersecting phonemes. The table in Figure 9 thus indicates the occurrence of commutation between any two phonemes in the set of all phonemes of Istro-Rumanian. It is, however, of less interest than the preceding tables which show the occurrence of commutation between phonemes in a given position, because it is membership of a position class which provides the paradigmatic requirements for commutation to take place.

Commutation classes in the overall system

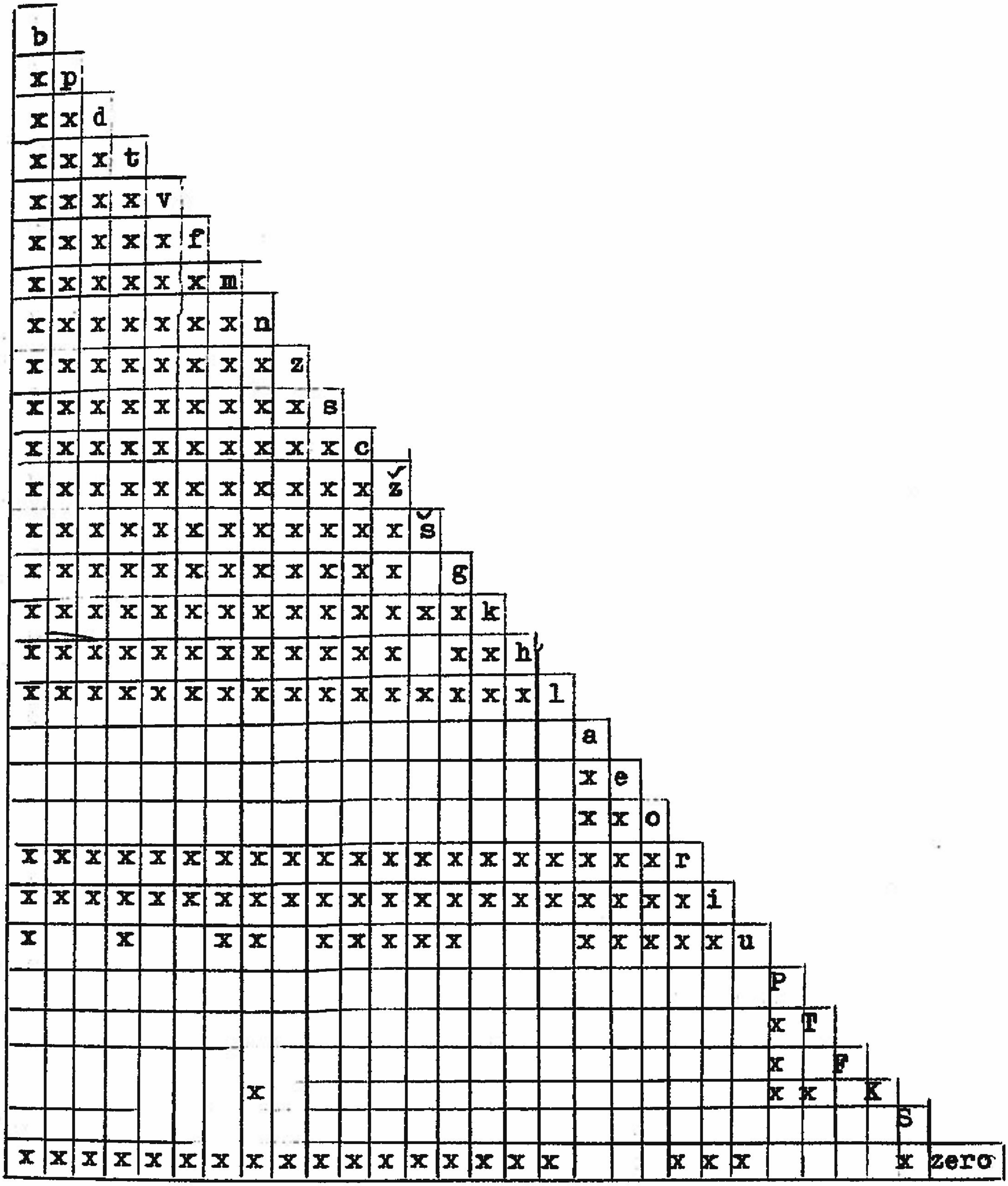


Fig. 9

The table shows the following commutation classes for the overall system:

1. Commutation class b=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h, l,r,i,u,~~P,T,F,K,S,~~zero/

2. Commutation class p=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h, l,r,i,~~P,T,F,S~~,zero/

3. Commutation class d=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h, l,r,i,~~P,T,K~~,zero/

4. Commutation class t=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h, l,r,i,u,~~P,T,K,S~~,zero/

5. Commutation class v=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h, l,r,i,~~P,T,K,S~~,zero/

6. Commutation class f=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h, l,r,i,~~P,T,F,K,S~~,zero/

7. Commutation class m=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h, l,r,i,u,~~P,T,K,S~~,zero/

8. Commutation class n=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h, l,r,i,u,~~P,T,K,~~zero/

9. Commutation class z=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h, l,r,i,~~T,P~~,zero/

10. Commutation class s=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h, l,r,i,u, zero/

11. Commutation class c=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h, l,r,i,u,~~P,T,F,K~~,zero/

12. Commutation class ž=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h, l,r,i,u,~~P,T,F,K,S~~,zero/

13. Commutation class š=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,k,l,r, i,u, zero/

14. Commutation class g=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,g,k,h,l, r,i,u,~~P,T,F,K~~,zero/

15. Commutation class k=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h,
l,r,i,~~P,T,F,K~~,zero/

16. Commutation class h=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,g,k,h,l,
r,i,~~F,F~~,zero/

17. Commutation class l=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h,
l,r,i,~~P,T,F,K,S~~,zero/

18. Commutation class a=/a,e,o,r,i,u/

19. Commutation class e=/a,e,o,r,i,u/

20. Commutation class o=/a,e,o,r,i,u/

21. Commutation class r=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h,
l,a,e,o,r,i,u,~~P,T,F,K~~,zero/

22. Commutation class i=/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,k,h,
l,a,e,o,r,i,u,~~T,K~~,zero/

23. Commutation class u=/b,t,m,n,s,c,ž,š,g,a,e,o,r,i,u,
zero/

24. Commutation class P=/P,T,F,K/

25. Commutation class T=/P,T,K/

26. Commutation class F=/P,F/

27. Commutation class K=/n,P,T,K/

28. Commutation class S=/S,zero/

29. Commutation class zero =/b,p,d,t,v,f,m,n,z,s,c,ž,š,g,
k,h,l,r,i,u,S,zero/

Part II.

Grammar

Chapter III

The Verb

In Part II the key concepts are those of moneme and grammateme. As these are used throughout the Grammar which follows, I set out once again my definition of these terms.

The moneme is defined as the atomic element on the paradigmatic level of the first articulation, i.e. it is the corresponding unit in grammar of the distinctive feature in phonology.

The grammateme is defined as a simultaneous bundle of monemes, i.e. it is the atomic element on the syntagmatic level of the first articulation, the corresponding unit in grammar of the phoneme in phonology.

The notion morpheme is not as fundamentally important to this description as either of the two just mentioned. It is nevertheless used as an operational convenience, and is defined as the phonological form of the expression of a moneme or of a grammateme. This means that a morpheme may consist of a single phoneme or of a sequence of phonemes. A morpheme may even have a 'zero' phonological form, but the fact that there can be such a

thing as a 'zero morpheme' must not obscure the fact that there can never be a 'zero moneme'. In this description, the notion morpheme belongs firmly within the sphere of phonology. I do not use the term word in any 'technical' sense in either the phonology or the grammar.

The grammatemes and monemes which in various combinations make up the verbal system in Istro-Rumanian are of several different types. I shall briefly enumerate and characterize each type before going on to consider them in more detail, when I shall also list the morphemes by which they are expressed.

I. Lexical Grammatemes

These belong to unlimited inventories and constitute the basic component to which must be added one or more of the other types of grammateme or moneme expression given below. Examples of this type, given in the form of the infinitive, are lukrá (to work), durmíi (to sleep), puté (to be able), KrésTe (to grow). Whether entities such as these are grammatemes or monemes is not always easy to determine, and my decision to regard them all as grammatemes may at first sight appear arbitrary. In theory it is simply

a question of deciding whether they are molecular or atomic units, i.e. whether they consist of one or of more than one 'content', or item of experience to be communicated. In the case of the examples just listed, (to work, to sleep etc.) it is clear that there is only a single 'content' in each instance, and that by definition the forms lukrá, durmíi etc., are monemes, as opposed to forms such as lukravéi, durmivéi etc. where, in addition to the morphemes expressing "to work", "to sleep", there is a further element, one of the possible 'contents' of which is [[iterative]] ; this means that lukravéi, durmivéi are grammatemes, as they possess at least two monemes. As what is traditionally known as the infinitive constitutes a convenient phonological shape and frequently appears as a morpheme in Istro-Rumanian, it would be cumbersome to call certain types of infinitive grammatemes and other types monemes. I accordingly regard them all as grammatemes and classify the //lukrá, durmíi// type as monomonematic and the //lukravéi, durmivéi// type as polymonematic. In the former case, the grammatemes are at the same time monemes. The monomonematic type of grammateme is paralleled in phonology by the phonemes /l,h/ in English which are "mono-featured", i.e. functionally speaking they possess only

the features [l-ness] and [h-ness] respectively; they are nevertheless full phonemes of English [1].

A lexical grammateme such as a verbal infinitive, as it is not autonomous, will always require other types of grammateme or moneme in order to activate it, e.g.//person and number, tense and mood// etc..

II. Grammatemes of Person and Number.

There are six of these and they are amalgamations, or complexes, of monemes of person and monemes of number. It is not possible in these cases to establish the phonological forms of the expression of each moneme [2]. For example it is easy enough to identify /tS/ in the form /lukrátS/ as expressing the grammateme //second person plural//, but it is not possible to break /tS/ down further to identify the monemes [[second person]] and [[plural]]. The six grammatemes of this type are

---

1. see J.W.F.Mulder, Sets and Relations in Phonology, Oxford, 1968, p.199;
see also J.W.F.Mulder and H.A.Hurren, The English Vowel Phonemes from a functional point of view, La Linguistique, 1968, I, p. 45.

2. J.W.F.Mulder, op.cit., p.48, refers to the fact that it is not always possible to establish the form of a moneme expression as a discrete entity.

1) // first person singular //

2) // second person singular //

3) // third person singular //

4) // first person plural //

5) // second person plural //

6) // third person plural //

III. Grammatemes of Tense and Mood.

These, too, are amalgamations, and consist of monemes of tense and monemes of mood, as follows;

IIIa. Monemes of Tense.

Basically these number three in Istro-Rumanian and are respectively [[present]], [[future]] and //past//. In the Southern dialects only, the last of these is a grammateme as it possesses the sub-members [[imperfect]] and [[simple past]]. Illustrations of these monemes are included in the grammatemes //lʲukrʲu// "I work", //voi lukrá// "I shall work", //am lukrát// "I have worked"; illustrative of the moneme [[imperfect]] is the form //lukráiam// "I was working".

IIIb. Monemes of Mood.

These total four and they are respectively [[indicative]], [[subjunctive]], [[imperative]] and [[conditional]].

There is generally no formal device for distinguishing in Istro-Rumanian between [[indicative mood]] and [[subjunctive mood]] . The forms given above under type IIIa, i.e. /lų̇ukrų̇, voi lukrá, am lukrát/ contain the moneme [[indicative]] although they possess no formal mark expressing this moneme. They can conveniently be regarded as being 'unmarked' as far as the expression of mood is concerned, but the fact that they are [[indicative]] cannot be ignored because this moneme is in opposition to other monemes of mood which do have formal expression as I shall show below.

The expression of [[subjunctive mood]] in present-day Istro-Rumanian is rare enough to be almost negligible, and were it not for the existence of separate forms expressing the moneme [[subjunctive]] in the case of a single verb, it would be possible to disregard this mood. Historically the verb //fi̇i// (to be) appears to have been the most stubborn in retaining distinct forms expressing [[subjunctive]] in the present tense; in all other verbs such forms have disappeared.

[[Imperative mood]] can be separately expressed formally in certain verbs in the case of //second pėrson sin-

gular// e.g. (a)sTépTa (wait!). In the case of both //first person plural, second person plural// the forms expressing [[imperative]] coincide with those expressing [[indicative]] except for //fi̯i// which has a full set of forms expressing [[imperative]] to be described below.

There are full sets of inflexions for the expression of the present, future and past tenses of the <u>conditional mood</u>. The grammatemes //raš lukrá, lukrár, raš fosT lukrá// contain, in addition to the form /lukrá/, monemes of [[conditional]] and of [[present]], [[future]] and [[past]] respectively.

IV. <u>Monemes of Voice</u>.

There are two of these in Istro-Rumanian, namely [[active]] and [[passive]]. An example of the former is <u>am pəidi̯it pi̯ra</u> (I have eaten the bread), and of the latter <u>pi̯ra fosT-a poidi̯ita</u> (the bread has been eaten).

V. <u>Grammatemes of Aspect</u>.

There are two grammatemes of this type, i.e.//perfective// and //imperfective//. Neither these nor the monemes of which they are composed will be dealt with in this

chapter, except in passing. They will be described in detail in Chapter IV.

Of the five types of grammateme listed, only the first type, the lexical grammatemes, belong to unlimited inventories, and thus cannot be described in terms of a paradigmatic set. They are combinable with grammatemes or monemes of the other types which do belong to paradigmatic sets and which impart function to the lexical grammatemes. The lexical grammatemes may be analysed into several classes according to the types of moneme or grammateme expressions (i.e. morphemes) with which their own phonological expressions may be combined. The variety of such morphological combinations is greatest in the present indicative, and for this reason the present indicative provides a suitable starting point for the classification.

The Indicative

Present Tense

The present indicative paradigm on //lukrá// is

1) lụ́ukrụ
2) lụ́ukrịi
3) lụ́ukre/a
4) lukrám/n
5) lukrátS
6) lụ́ukrụ

Each of these paradigmemes consists of the underlying lexical grammateme //to work//, which in this paradigm is expressed by the 'full' morpheme /lukrá/ or by its allomorph /lʊ́ukr-/, together with a further grammateme of //person and number//. These latter grammatemes are expressed by the morphemes

1) -ʊ which is combined with the allomorph lʊ́ukr-
2) -ɨi which is combined with the allomorph lʊ́ukr-
3) -e/a which is combined with the allomorph lʊ́ukr-
4) -m/n which is combined with the morpheme lukrá-
5) -tS which is combined with the morpheme lukrá-
6) -ʊ which is combined with the allomorph lʊ́ukr-

I prefer this method of operation, i.e. that of establishing <u>two</u> forms expressing the grammateme //lukrá//, namely /<u>lʊ́ukr</u>-/ in paradigmemes 1,2,3,6, and /<u>lukrá</u>/ in paradigmemes 4,5, to a possible alternative which would be to recognise a single form /lʊ́ukr-/ only. This would have the effect of making the //person and number// grammatemes more complex. Actually 4) and 5) -<u>am/n</u>, -<u>átS</u> would be quite straightforward, but in 1,2,3, and 6 one would be left with the problem of how to describe the

discontinuous shape of the remaining grammatemes, and this would involve a change in syllabic prominence. In such a method one would have to say that the grammateme //second person singular// has as its expression the morpheme /-i̱i/ plus a simultaneous shift of stress from the final to the preceding syllable which could be called a retrogressive stress shift and which could be characterized by a formula such as (← S) where S would stand for <u>stress</u>. Under such a system the grammatemes of //person and number// would be represented as follows:

1) -u̱ + (← S)

2) -i̱i+ (← S)

3) -e/a + (← S)

4) -ám/n

5) -átS

6) -u̱ + (← S)

However such a system would be unnecessarily cumbersome and I reject it in favour of the previous one, i.e. that of establishing two allomorphs which express the lexical grammateme in the present indicative paradigm in question. One may therefore summarize the present indicative paradigm on //lukrá// by the formula

$$\left\{ \begin{bmatrix} lʉukr- \\ lukrə́- \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} -u_e \\ -i_ei \\ -e/a \\ -m/n \\ -tS \\ -u_e \end{bmatrix} \right\}$$

bearing in mind that the 'full' morpheme /lukrə́/ occurs in conjunction with the morphemes /m/n,tS/. This is the pattern for many verbs in Istro-Rumanian which will be characterized below as Class II.

It will be seen that there is syncretism in the expression of the grammatemes //lʉukruʉ// "I work" and //lʉukru// "they work". Although there is no formal distinction between the expression of these grammatemes, there is usually an adequate degree of redundancy in the rest of the utterance to avoid ambiguity. However when the requisite amount of redundancy is not present, the grammatemes in question have to be reinforced by means of the pronominal grammatemes //io// "I" or //ieli,iə́le//,"they (masculine), they (feminine)". This will be discussed below in Chapter VI.

The inflexional variants shown in the paradigm are

the result of dialectal differences. The forms given first are the standard Northern ones, the second being the standard Southern variants. Thus /lụ́ukre, lukrám/ are the most frequent forms in the North although one may find /-a/ or /-n/ in verbs of this Class. The variant /-a/ when it <u>does</u> occur is only found in verbs whose lexical grammateme ends in -á e.g. lukrá. Similarly in the South forms such as /lụ́ukra, lukrám/ are <u>possible</u>, although these are extremely rare, beside the regular /lụ́ukre, lukrán/.

The most 'regular' //present indicative// paradigms are those of verbs which I categorize as Class I, and it is therefore convenient to begin the detailed classification with these.

<u>Class I</u>

Verbs typical of this class include //finị́i// "to finish" and //mislị́i// "to think". The present indicative paradigms on these verbs are

1)	finés(K)	mislés(K)
2)	finéš (finésTị́i)	misléš (mislésTị́i)
3)	finé	mislé
4)	finị́im/n	mislị́im/n
5)	finị́itS	mislị́itS
6)	finés(Kụ)	mislés(Kụ)

The forms in round brackets indicate that in the Southern dialects the realizations of the grammateme //second person singular// and //third person plural// are respectively /finésTi̯i, mislésTi̯i / and /finésKu̯, mislésKu̯/. The regular Southern form of //first person singular// is /finésK, mislésK/, but may be /finés,mislés/.

These paradigmemes are each made up of a lexical grammateme, which in the Class I paradigms just given are expressed by the morphemes /fin/ and /misl/, plus the corresponding grammateme of //person and number//. In Class I these latter grammatemes are expressed by the morphemes

1) -és(K)
2) -ésv(-ésTi̯i)
3) -é
4) -i̯im/n
5) -i̯itS
6) -és(Ku̯).

The present indicative paradigm on //fini̯i// may be summarized by the formula

$$//\{/fin-/ + /\begin{matrix}-és(K)\\ -és(-ésTi̯i)\\ -é\\ -i̯im/n\\ -i̯itS\\ -és(Ku̯)\end{matrix}/\}//$$

The morphemes /fin-, misl-/are allomorphs of /finʲi, mislʲi/ and will be shown in the lexicon beside the form of the infinitive in order to enable the full Class I paradigm to be generated. Additional common verbs of Class I expressed in the form described include /pošnʲi-pošn-/ "to begin", /trrlʲi-trrl-/ "to run", /popʲi-pop-/ [3] "to drink", /poidʲi-poid-/ [4] "to eat",/platʲi-plat-/ "to pay",/volʲi-vol-/ "to wish".

Class Ia

Verbs typical of this class include //piséi// "to write" and //ganéi// "to speak" (a verb which in the South frequently occurs instead of //kuvintá//). The present indicative paradigms on these verbs are

1)	pisés(K)	ganés(K)
2)	piséš(pisésTi)	ganésTi(ganeš)
3)	pisé	gané
4)	piséim/n [5]	ganéin
5)	piséitS [5]	ganéitS
6)	pisés(Ky)	ganésKy

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3. Perfective form of be, see Chapter IV.

4. Perfective form of munká, see Chapter IV.

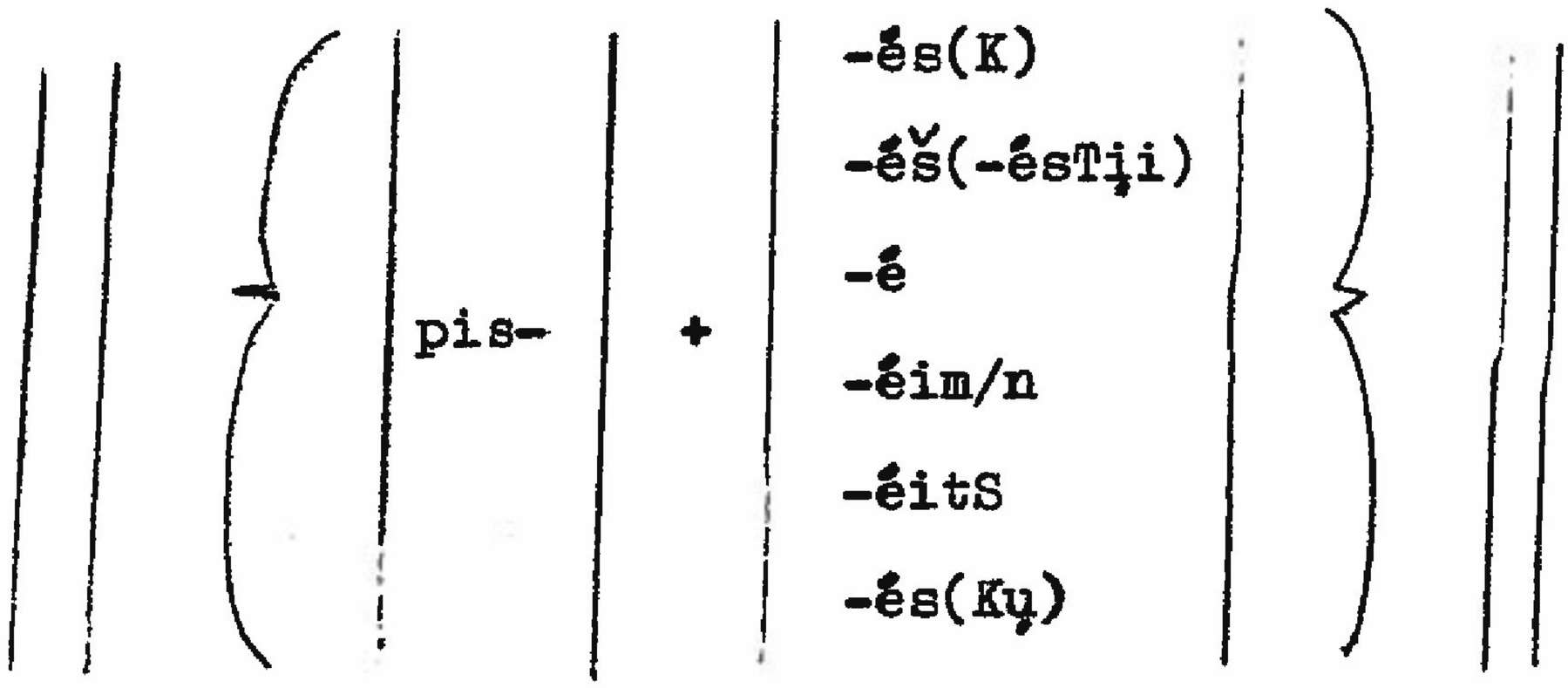
5. In a few verbs of this Class //first person plural// and //second person plural//are realized [pisém/n,igrém/n, kuhém/n,pisétS,igrétS,kuhétS] etc..Such forms,although quite rare,occur with slightly greater frequency in the Southern dialects;cf.Chapter II.

The forms in round brackets indicate that in the Southern dialects the realizations of the grammatemes //second person singular// and //third person plural// are respectively /pisésTii, ganésTii/(although /ganes/ is possible), and /pisésKu, ganésKu/. The regular Southern form of //first person singular// is /pisésK, ganésK/although the form without /K/ occurs more frequently in Class Ia than in Class I.

Class Ia present indicative paradigmemes are each made up of a lexical grammateme, here represented by the morphemes /pis-/ and /gan-/, plus the corresponding grammateme of //person and number//. In Class Ia these latter grammatemes have forms similar to those of Class I; they differ only in the forms of //first person plural// and //second person plural//. The morphemes of this class are

1) -és(K)
2) -ěs(-ésTii)
3) -é
4) -éim/n
5) -éitS
6) -és(Ku)

The present indicative paradigm on /piséi/ may be summarized by the formula



The morphemes /pis-, gan-/ are allomorphs of /piséi, ganéi/ and will be shown in the lexicon beside the form of the infinitive in order to enable the full Class Ia paradigms to be generated. Additional common verbs of Class Ia expressed in terms of their lexical allomorphs include /igréi- igr-/ "to play", /kuhéi - kuh-/ "to cook", and to this class also belong the many so-called 'iterative' [6] verbs of the type /aflavéi - aflav, vindavéi - vindav-, ṛmnavéi - ṛmnav-, kumparavéi - kumparav-,pisivéi - pisiv-, dų̈rmivéi - dų̈rmiv/. N.B. Rare variants of the forms /éim/n, éitS/ are /ém/n, étS/.

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6. For discussion of [[iterative]], and related matters see Chapter IV.

Class II

Typical paradigms of this class are:

//aflá//"to find"	//ṛmná//"to go"	//ramaré//"to stay"
áflu	ṛmnu	rámaru
áflii	ṛmniį	rámariį
áfle/a	ṛmne/a	rámare
aflám/n	ṛmnám/n	ramarém/n
aflátS	ṛmnátS	ramarétS
áflu	ṛmnu	rámaru

//durmíi//"to sleep"	//sPúure [7]//"to tell"
dórmu	sPúuru(sPúuniu)
dórmįi	sPúuriį(sPúuniįi)
dórme	sPúure(sPúunie)
durmíim/n	sPurém/n(sPuniém)
durmíitS	sPurétS(sPuniétS)
dórmu	sPúuru(sPúuniu)

---

7. Earlier descriptions of Istro-Rumanian, notably those of S.Puşcariu and J.Popovici, assign verbs such as ramaré, durmíi, sPúure, to different classes largely on historical grounds and with respect to the conjugational system of Latin. See S.Puşcariu, Studii Istroromâne, Bucarest, 1906; see also J.Popovici, Dialectele Romîne, IX, Halle, 1909.

(The forms in brackets are the usual variants in the Southern dialect of Brdo). The full paradigms are given here purely for illustration and easy reference. In the case of most regular verbs it will be unnecessary to give the full paradigm as one can easily generate this from the usually more restricted number of allomorphs which make up the phonological form of the expression of the lexical grammateme. Thus for the four verbs just illustrated one need only give the forms.

/ { áfl- / aflá- } { ṛmn- / ṛmná- } { rámar- / ramaré- } { dórm- / durmí- } { sPúur- / sPuré- } /

which together with the Class II flexional morphemes given above with respect to /lukrá/ enable one to generate the paradigm. A convenient term for forms such as these is 'lexical allomorphs' and it will be necessary to give them in the lexicon in order to complete the description. Other common verbs of Class II expressed in terms of their lexical allomorphs are

/ { ṛntréb- / ṛntrebá- } /"to ask" / { táli- / taliá- } /"to cut"

/ { kúmpar- / kumpará- } /"to buy" / { žór- / žurá- } /"to swear"

/ { ṛnsór- / (se)ṛnsurá- } /"to marry" / { sKól- / (se)sKulá- } /"to get up"

Class IIa

This is a similar class of verbs, which possesses the Class II flexional morphemes but which has a set of three lexical allomorphs instead of two. Examples illustrating this class are

//(a)sKutá//"to listen"	//(a)ǰutá//"to help"	//báte//"to beat"
(a)sKu̍utu̍	(a)ǰu̍utu̍	bátu̍
(a)sKu̍utSi̍i	(a)ǰu̍utSi̍i	bátSi̍i
(a)sKu̍ute/a	(a)ǰu̍ute/a	báte
(a)sKutám/n	(a)ǰutám/n	batém/n
(a)sKutátS	(a)ǰutátS	batétS
(a)sKu̍utu̍	(a)ǰu̍utu̍	bátu̍

//avSi̍i//"to hear"

ávTu̍

ávSi̍i

ávTe

avSi̍im/n

avSi̍itS

ávTu̍

The sets of three lexical allomorphs belonging to these verbs are respectively

$$\left|\ \left\{\begin{matrix}(a)sK\acute{u}ut-\\(a)sK\acute{u}utS-\\(a)sKut\acute{a}-\end{matrix}\right\}\ \left\{\begin{matrix}(a)\check{z}\acute{u}ut-\\(a)\check{z}\acute{u}utS-\\(a)\check{z}ut\acute{a}-\end{matrix}\right\}\ \left\{\begin{matrix}b\acute{a}t-\\b\acute{a}tS-\\bat\acute{e}-\end{matrix}\right\}\ \left\{\begin{matrix}\acute{a}vT-\\\acute{a}vS-\\avS\acute{i}-\end{matrix}\right\}\ \right|$$

It will be seen that in verbs of this class, the 'full' allomorph occurs in conjunction with the morphemes /m/n,tS/; of the two remaining members of the set one occurs with the flexional morphemes /u,e/a,u/, and the other with the morpheme /ii/only. Again, this method of description is more economical than the alternative mentioned earlier which would involve not only the need to represent the shift of stress in four paradigmemes out of every six, but would further involve in this class the need to represent in the grammateme //second person singular// phonological changes such as $\left[t\rightarrow tS\right]$,$\left[T\rightarrow S\right]$. The present indicative paradigm on (a)sKutá may be summarized by the formula

$$\left|\left|\ \left\{\ \left|\begin{matrix}(a)sK\acute{u}ut-\\(a)sK\acute{u}utS-\\(a)sKut\acute{a}-\end{matrix}\right|\ +\ \left|\begin{matrix}-u\\-ii\\-e/a\\-m/n\\-tS\\-u\end{matrix}\right|\ \right\}\ \right|\right|$$

Other verbs of this type are //aratá,kuvintá, vedé, (se)frde,vínde,kadé//, and their lexical allomorphs are

| {(a)rát- / (a)rátS- / (a)ratá-} "to show", | {kuvínt- / kuvíntS- / kuvintá-} "to speak", | {véd- / véz- / vedé-} "to see",

| {(se)ṛd- / ṛrz- / ṛrdé-} "to laugh" | {vínd- / vínz- / vindé-} "to sell" | {kád- / káz- / kadé} "to fall"

The set of three lexical allomorphs will in each case be given in the lexicon in order to enable the full Class Ia paradigms to be generated.

Class IIb.

This class comprises five verbs only and they are the ones which Puşcariu classified as the "monosyllabic" verbs (presumably because of the form of their infinitive). They possess the same flexional morphemes as Classes II and IIa, and a set of three lexical allomorphs which are of a similar but not identical type to those of Class IIa, e.g. | {bév- / béi- / be-} |

in which each member of the set occurs with two of the six

flexional morphemes as will be seen below. As Class IIb only contains five verbs, and as the phonological forms of their present indicative paradigmemes show more divergence in the two main dialects than is the case with the majority of verbs, it will be as well to give the full paradigms instead of relying on the sets of lexical allomorphs in these instances. The five verbs in this class are //be, da, sTa, šTi̯i, vla/la//, and their present indicative paradigms follow.

//be//"to drink"	Southern variants	//da//"to give"	Southern variants
bév̯u		dáv̯u	
bei̯i		dai̯i	
béie		dáie	
bem/n	beién	dam/n	daién
betS	beiétS	datS	daiétS
bévu		dávu	

//sTa//"to stand,be"	Southern variants	//šTi̯i//"to know"	Southern variants
sTávu		šTi̯ivu	
sTái̯i		šTi̯i̯i	
sTáie		šTi̯ie	
sTam/n	sTaién	šTi̯im/n	šTi̯ién
sTatS	sTaiétS	šTi̯itS	šTi̯iétS
sTávu		šTi̯ivu	

//vla// "to take"		//la//	
vlắvụ		lắvụ	
vlắiịi		lắiịi	
vlắie	North	lắie	South
vlam/n		laién	
vlatS		laiétS	
vlắvụ		lắvụ	

Non-Regular Verbs

The two main classes (together with the three sub-classes) given above include the majority of verbs in Istro-Rumanian and constitute what may be called the regular verb system. There remains nevertheless an important residue of verbs, some of which are very common, which do not conform to any of the paradigms given above, although individual paradigmemes may well match those of the regular paradigms. For example, the verb //munkắ//"to eat" has as its paradigmemes (4) and (5) the forms /munkắm/n, munkắtS/ whose grammatemes of //person and number// match those of /lukrắm/n, lukrắtS/ of Class II, although the rest of the present indicative paradigmemes of //munkắ// do not fit into the same mould, as I shall show below.

Yet despite their considerable formal disparity, the verbs belonging to this residue do, almost without exception, possess a marked feature in common. This feature is that the morpheme expressing //first person singular// ends in a consonant (i.e. other than the /-s/ of the termination /-es(K)/ of Class I),and the consonant, in the vast majority of cases is /k/ or /g/ [8].

Notwithstanding the irregularity of the paradigms,it is still possible to discern a certain amount of patterning, and knowledge of the //first person singular// paradigmeme is significant because it enables one to generate some of the other paradigmemes in a number of cases, notably //third person plural// simply by adding the morpheme /ụ/. Examples of this are /fak-fáku, konósK-konósKụ, zịik-zịikụ, mɾrfnk-mɾrfnkụ,plɾng-plfngụ, kutég-kutégụ,/. An important counter example is /pok-pótụ/ which is evidence of the somewhat haphazard patterning of these verbs.

The remaining four paradigmemes generally, but not always, show the same consonant phoneme in the stem as appears in the corresponding position in the form of the

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8.In Puşcariu's description one finds many more verbs of this type,(i.e.with consonantal termination in the first person singular),as well as a greater variety of terminations,i.e. /p,r,t,d,k,g/.Of these I only find /k,g/apart from /d/in the infrequent /kred/ beside the regular /krédu/.If Puşcariu was right,it suggests that a good deal of levelling has taken place during the present century.See S.Puşcariu,op.cit.partII,

infinitive, for example /zʲicʲii,zʲice/ etc./fácʲii, fáce/ etc., /plʲnžʲii, plʲnže/etc., and /rnt(s)elézʲii, rnt(s)eléže/ etc.. However, as there are counter examples, as will be shown below, and in view of the frequent formal divergence between the paradigmemes in the different dialects, there are insufficient paradigms following any given pattern for them to be categorized as a separate class, unless one has recourse to extremely involved formulae even more complex than the type rejected at the beginning of this Chapter, and which would in any case be uneconomical in view of the small numbers of each type of verb involved.

I therefore refrain from following the example of my predecessors because, in the present state of the language, any attempt to classify the verbs which do not fit into Classes I and II is likely to prove unsatisfactory. As an alternative I give below the //present indicative// paradigms of the most common of the residual verbs for illustration and comparison. Where appropriate they will also serve as models for less common verbs of a similar type shown in the lexicon.

//fáce// "to do"	//zíice// "to say"
1) fak	ziik
2) fácii (fátSii)	zíicii (zítSii)
3) fáce (fátSe)	zíice (zítSe)
4) facém/n(fatSén)	zicém/n (zitSén)
5) facétS (fatSétS)	zicétS (zitSétS)
6) fáku	zíiku

The forms in round brackets represent the standard realizations of the Southern dialect of Šušnjevica, indicating that in this particular dialect (although not generally in the other Southern villages) the phoneme /c/ is replaced by the sequence /tS/

//putê//"to be able",//krêde//"to believe,//munká//"to eat"

1)pok	kred/krédu	mrrŕnk(sometimes in North mrrŕnku)
2)pótSii	krez/krézii(North-rare)	mrrŕnčii(South mrrŕntSii)
3)póte	kréde	mrrŕnke/a
4)putém/n	kredém/n	munkám/n
5)putétS	kredétS	munkátS
6)pótu	krédu	mrrŕnku

//ṛnt(S)eléže//[9] "to understand",//mére//"to go"

1)ṛnt(S)elég		meg	meg/meng
2)ṛnt(S)elézi̯i		mez	méri̯i
3)ṛnt(S)eléže		méže North	mére South
4)ṛnt(S)elezém		mezém/n	mezén
5)ṛnt(S)elezétS		mezétS	mezétS
6)ṛnt(S)elégu̯		mégu̯	mergu̯

//veri̯i// "to come"

1)ving		ving/vi̯iru̯	
2)vi̯iri̯i		vi̯iri̯i	
3)vi̯ire	North	vi̯ire	South
4)vi̯rém		viri̯in/veri̯in	
5)vi̯rétS		viri̯itS/veri̯itS	
6)vi̯iru̯		vi̯iru̯	

//tSi̯ré//"to hold"

1)tSi̯iru̯/tSéru̯		tSi̯iru̯		tSing
2)tSi̯iri̯i		tSi̯iri̯i		tSíni̯i variants in dialect of Brdo
3)tSi̯ire	North	tSi̯ire	South	tSínie
4)tSi̯rém		tSi̯rén(tSi̯rán)		
5)tSi̯rétS		tSi̯rétS(tSi̯rátS)		
6)tSi̯iru̯		tSi̯iru̯		

9.This is a Northern verb.Its Southern counterpart is //rezumi̯i//, or more rarely //kapi̯i//.

It will be noted that the syncretism between the expression of //first person singular// and //third person plural// which is a feature of all verbs belonging to Classes I and II (and to the sub-classes) is generally absent from the non-regular verbs. The verb //tSiṛé// almost belongs to Class II, cf. //ramaré//, but since it has more variants than most verbs of this class, it seems safer to consider it non-regular.

Under the heading of 'non-regular verbs' one must include the verbs //fi̯i//"to be", and //(a)vé//"to have". The present indicative paradigms of these verbs contain many variants particularly in the case of //(a)vé// which possesses two sets of forms,i.e. a 'long' one and a shorter one, the latter being used as an auxiliary which together with the past participle of a given verb constitutes the form of the expression [[past tense]].

1)	sṛm	(ś)sṛm	
2)	ṛš	(ś)sTi̯i	
3)	ie/ei/ṛi/i	North	e/ṛi/i South
4)	smo	(ś)smo/(ś)sno	
5)	sTe	(ś)sTe	
6)	ṛs	ṛs (Dialects of Brdo and Kostrčan /(ś)sKu̯/)	

//(a)vé//

	long	short		long	short	
1)	am	am		am	am	
2)	árị̈i	ai/i		árị̈i	ai/i	
3)	áre	a/av	North	áre	a/av	South
4)	avém/(árem/n)	am		áren	an/m	
5)	avétS/(áretS)	atS/ṛtS		áretS	atS	
6)	áru̇	a/av		áru̇	a/av	

Finally the present indicative paradigms of the verb //vre// "to wish" must be included in this section of the description. This verb,too, has a paradigm of 'long' forms and one of 'short' forms. Of these the latter is by far the more common and its main function is to combine with the infinitive of a given verb in order to form the expression of the moneme [[future tense]] . The less frequent longer form, although it <u>may</u> be used in an auxiliary function, more generally occurs as a 'full' verb of //wishing, wanting// followed by a direct object rather than by a verbal infinitive. The function of these verbs will be discussed later; their forms are given below, the 'short' paradigms first.

//vre//

	short	long			
1) voi		vrésu̯		vrésu̯	
2) ver		vrés̯ii(vrés̯ii)		vrés̯i	
3) va	All	vrése	North	vrése	South
4) rem/n(ran)	Dialects	vrem		vresén(vrés̯in)	
5) vetS		vretS		vresétS(vres̯itS)	
6) vor		vrésu̯		vrésu̯	

The forms in round brackets here indicate rare forms in the respective dialects. It will be noted that the 'long' paradigms are almost 'regular', the Northern paradigm following fairly closely the pattern of Class IIb, and the Southern paradigm following Class II cf.//mamaré, durmi̯i//. The forms /vrem, vretS/ in the Northern paradigm are used only rarely, the Northern Istro-Rumanians preferring to use the appropriate paradigmemes on //voli̯i// (see Class I above) in realizing these grammatemes. The remaining four 'long' paradigmemes on //vre// are all in common use beside the corresponding ones on //voli̯i//.

As far as the 'short' paradigm is concerned, these forms are common to both dialects apart from the distinc-

tion /rem-ren(ran)/ between North and South respectively. In the chain of speech the initial phoneme of each of the 'short' paradigmemes tends to be dropped, although /v/ is more prone to this than is (consonantal) /r/.

I close this section on the present indicative by listing the formulae which summarize the two main classes and the sub-classes and by giving examples of the realization of each.

Class I

		(				-és(K)		)	
						-éš(-ésTi̯i)			
				fin-	+	-é			
						-i̯im/n			
		)				-i̯itS		(	
						-és(Ku̯)			

i̯n kára u̯ra <u>pošnéš</u> lukrá? (N) "At what time do you start work?" <u>finésKu̯</u> poidi̯i mántie négo iésu̯ (S). "They finish eating before they go out".

Class Ia

		{				-és(K)		}	
						-éš(-ésTi̯i)			
				pis-	+	-é			
						-éim/n			
		}				-éitS		{	
						-és(Ku̯)			

<u>ganéin</u> i̯ntru̯ noi (S) "we are talking between ourselves".

lu̯ ku̯ui̯ <u>pisésTi̯i</u>? (S)"to whom are you writing?"

Class II

lʊukr-1,2,3,6 lukrá-4,5	+	-u -i -ë/a -m/n -tS -ų

noi <u>aflám</u> vṛk cevá(N) "we always find something".

Kum te <u>klémii</u>? "what are you called?"

Class IIa

(a)skʊut-1,3,6 (a)skʊutS-2 (a)skutá-4,5	+	-u -i -ë/a -m/n -tS -ų

<u>sTépTų</u> médikų (S)"I am waiting for the doctor"

ie ĵisTina ke <u>kuvíntSii</u> hṛrvatSKĵi? (N) "Is it true that you speak Croatian?"

Class IIb

In view of the small number (five) of verbs involved and because there are marked differences between the dialects it is not helpful to devise a formula. Examples of realizations of these verbs follow. Nu <u>dam</u> nís a lʊuĵ (N)

"we don't give <u>him</u> anything". Nu <u>béie</u> cúda (N) "he doesn't drink much". Nu <u>sTiitS</u> ke ieli nu <u>sTávu</u> bíre? (N)"Don't you know that they are not well?

Future Tense

In contrast with the complexities of the Indicative Present Tense, the expression of the moneme [[future]] is very straightforward. As I have already mentioned, the future tense is formed by the combination of the 'short' present indicative paradigm on //vre// and the morpheme expressing the infinitive of the appropriate verb. Typical realizations of [[future]] may be seen in the following examples.

<u>Voi</u> t-<u>rntrebá</u> mfre (N) "I shall ask you tommrrow".

As indicated already in the present indicative paradigms on //vre//, the initial phoneme of the short forms is often not realized. The above message can be equally well conveyed by the sequence io t-<u>oi rntrebá</u> mfre, and in fact I took both utterances from the same informant, (the second after an interval of one year),so it is not a question here of dialectal differentiation. That the same phenomenon occurs in the South can be seen from the utterances io me

voi sProberíi na dévet."I shall wake up at nine", and
io l-oi šTepTá rn butíiga."I shall wait for him in the shop"
rn kára úra ver iii rn cetáte?(N)"At what time will you go
into town?"
m-er kumpará o ýura,mólim te (N)?"Will you please buy me a
watch?"
Tu m-er da césTa míre.(S)"You will give me this tomorrow".
Fráne va vínde ošórele.(N)"Frane will sell the eggs".
I-a veríi kų míre rn merkát.(S)"He will come with me to
the market".
Nų va puté tornéi míre(S)"He won't be able to return tomorrow".
Noi rem platíi césTe knígige(N) "We shall pay for these books".
Datúnce rem iii názat la Márina(N) "Afterwards we shall
go back to Mary's".
voi m-etS piséi sákii doi místrtS(S) "You will write to
me every two months".
vetS vla ca míika fétina rn šúula(N) "You will take the
little girl to school".
ašTepTá vor ínka pet minúutii(N). "They will wait five more
minutes".
n-or veríi kų noi. (S) "They will not come with us".

Use of 'long' forms

It is, of course, possible, as I said earlier, to use

the 'long' paradigmemes on //vre// in conjunction with the infinitive of a verb, although these forms generally occur in other contexts, particularly with nouns as direct objects. When these forms do occur in conjunction with a verb, their function may be purely auxiliary,but it is much more likely that they will be used as synonyms for the corresponding paradigmemes on //voli̯i//,in the sense of "to want to" do something as opposed to the mere expression of [[futurity]]. This meaning will be clear in the following examples;

Fecórii <u>vrésy munká</u> a kásа. "The boys want to eat at home".

Fráne nu̯ <u>vrése žytá</u> profesóru̯.(S)"Frane doesn't wish to help the professor".

noi <u>vresén mere</u> rn cínema. (S) "We want to go to the cinema".

The function of these paradigmemes is similar to those in the following examples;

cire <u>volé kumpará</u> un ka? (N)"Who wants to buy a horse?"

voi nu̯ va <u>voli̯itS sKulá</u>.(N)"You don't want to get up".

Compound Past Tense

The moneme [[past]] in Istro-Rumanian is regularly expressed by the combination of the 'short' present indicative paradigm on //(a)vé// and the morpheme expressing the

past participle of the appropriate verb. The phonological form of the past participle is part of a grammateme expression of which the appropriate 'short' paradigmeme constitutes the remainder, e.g. Íive <u>taliát-a</u> lémne. "Ive cut the wood".

The past participle in the case of regular verbs is generally formed by the addition of the phoneme /t/ to the morpheme expressing the infinitive of the verb in question. Thus in Class I the past participle formed on //finíi// is /finíit/. Other past participles of this Class include /pošníit, trrlíit, popíit, poidíit, platíit, volíit/.Class Ia past participles formed on the infinitive //piséi//etc. include /piséit, ganéit, igréit, kuhéit, aflavéit,vindavéit, durmivéit, pisivéit, rmnavéit/.

In Class II the situation is similar to that of Class I, e.g. /aflát, lukrát, rmnát, durmíit, rntrebát, taliát, kumparát, žurát, rnsurát/ whenever the infinitive ends in either of the phonemes /-a,-i/ e.g. //aflá, durmíi// etc.. Exceptions however do occur in those cases where the infinitive ends in /-e/, when the normal pattern is no longer followed e.g. //ramaré, sPúure// (infinitive)→ /ramás,

sPuus/ (past participle). Whenever the normal pattern is not followed it will be necessary to include the form of the past participle in the lexicon in order to complete the description.

In Class IIa the normal pattern can be seen in the past participles /(a)sKutât, kuvintât, (a)žutât, avSit/ formed on the basis of the infinitives //kuvintá, avSi// etc. in the same way as in Class II when the infinitive ends in /-á, -i/. Exceptions to the normal pattern occur whenever the infinitive ends in the phoneme /-e/. Where /-e/ occurs in final position in the infinitive, e.g. in //vedé, kadé, báte, vínde, piérde (pliérde)//, the more usual form of the expression of the past participle <u>in-cludes</u> (but is not necessarily wholly composed of) the sequence of phonemes /-ut/, i.e. /vezut, kazut, batut, vindut, pierdut (plierdut)//.(In one of the Southern dialects, i.e. that of Šušnjevica, the regular form of the expression of the last of these past participles is /pierzut/).

A less frequent phonological form of the expression of the past participle of verbs whose infinitive ends in /-e/ is to be found in verbs such as //(se)frde, tražе//, the past participles of which are expressed as /rrs,tras/

respectively. As it is not possible to predict, on the basis of the infinitive of Class IIa verbs ending in /-e/, whether the past participle will be of the type /vezụut, vindụut/ or of the type /ṛrs/, it will be necessary to include the form of the past participles in the lexicon.

In Class IIb, the past participles of three of the five verbs are formed in the regular manner, i.e. by the addition of the phoneme /t/ to the expression of the infinitive, /dat, sTat, vlat (lat) /. The remaining two are non-regular, i.e. /sTivụut, beiụut/. It is noteworthy that beside the latter form there is a form /bet/ which looks regular in that it is formed of {infinitive + /t/} but which is <u>not</u> a synonym of /beiụut/ as it has a different semantic function meaning "drunk(en)"in the sense of "intoxicated" as opposed to "drunk" (past participle),e.g. i-am beiụut te, "I have drunk some tea", as opposed to i-am fosT bet, "I was drunk".

The past participles of non-regular verbs are generally expressed in three ways, each of which can be illustrated from the examples of such verbs given above.

The past participles are expressed:

a) according to the regular pattern i.e. {infinitive + /t/},
   e.g. /munkát, kutezát/,

b) by a moneme expression which <u>includes</u> the phoneme sequence /ʉ̯ut/, e.g. /fakʉ̯ut, konosKʉ̯ut, tSirʉ̯ut, (a)vʉ̯ut, vrʉ̯ut/,

c) by a process which consists in replacing the final syllable by the phoneme /s/, which leaves a form representing the past participle of the verb in question, e.g. /zi̯is, plr̥ns, (r̥)nt(S)elés, mes/. It can be said of forms such as these that /s/ is a morpheme expressing the past participle, and that /zi̯i, plr̥n, r̥nt(S)elé, me/ etc. are allomorphs of the lexical grammatemes.

Finally there is the form /fosT/ which represents the past participle of the verb //fi̯i//. In this last case, and in the cases of b) and c) where the form of the past participle does not conform to the regular pattern, it will be necessary for it to be given in the lexicon.

The expression {infinitive + /t/} is the regular expression of the past participle in Istro-Rumanian. It covers the verbs of Classes I and Ia as well as a high proportion of verbs from the other classes, including the non-regulars, generally those in which the form expressing the infinitive ends in the phoneme /-á/, or the sequence /-i̯i/.

In the case of verbs whose phonological form of the infinitive ends in /-e/ there are two possible ways of expressing the past participle, either a) by a form containing the sequence of phonemes /-ɟut/, or b) by a form ending in the phoneme /s/.

It is not possible satisfactorily to formalize a) or b) beyond this, and the reason why it is necessary to include both types of past participle expressions in the lexicon is because of the difficulty in predicting the form of the past participles of types a) and b) either from the form of the infinitive or from the present indicative paradigm, as the examples show. All that one may safely say is that if the form expressing the infinitive ends in stressed /-é/ as opposed to unstressed /-e/ then the past participle is more likely to be of type a) than of type b), e.g. /kadé (infinitive) - kazɟut (past participle), puté-putɟut, tSiré- tSirɟut/ etc., but there are counter examples e.g. /ramaré-ramás/. Similarly if the form of the infinitive ends in /-e/ (unstressed) then the past participle is marginally more likely to be of type b) e.g. /sPɟure-SPɟus, (se)frde-rrs, rnt(S)eléže-rnt(S)elés, mére-mes, tráže-tras/ etc.; counter examples include /fáce-

fakʲut, p(l)iérde-p(l)ierdʲut/zʲut, báte-batʲut, vínde-vindʲut, krésTe, kresKʲut/ etc..

Nor is it easy to be more explicit in the statements describing types a) and b) given above. In the case of a) one may <u>not</u> merely describe /-ʲut/ as a morpheme (or allomorph) expressing the past participle. Whereas such a 'description' would be <u>partially</u> true for past participles such as /batʲut, vindʲut/, one would, in order to make it wholly adequate for these restricted cases, have to include an additional statement to the effect that the allomorph /-ʲut/ replaces the /-e/ termination of the infinitive. Its value would be restricted because of the existence of other past participles such as /vezʲut,kazʲut, fakʲut, kresKʲut/ in which the phonemes /z,k/ respectively play <u>some</u> part in the expression of these past participles. Forms such as these involve, in addition to the other changes mentioned, a phonological change e.g.,/d→ z, c→ k, t→K/ etc., which must be regarded as part of the moneme expression of [[past participle]] . The variety of such changes and the fact that there are insufficient numbers of past participles of any one type exhibiting identical features makes any finer degree of classification im-

practicable.

In the case of type b) it is possible to be a little more explicit, than in that of type a). It is possible to regard /s/, as I suggested earlier, as a morpheme (allomorph) expressing the moneme [[past participle]] , and /sPụụ-ṛr-, ṛnt(S)elé-, me-,tra-, zịi-, plṛn-/ as lexical allomorphs of /sPụure, (se)fṛrde, ṛnt(S)eléže, mére, tráže, zịice, plṛnže/ respectively. An alternative would be to regard the expression of the past participle as being

{ /s/= replacement of last two phonemes of infinitive }

(respectively) /-re, -de, -že, -re, -že, -ce, -že/.

Nevertheless I shall reject these various tentative solutions as being too cumbersome for the purpose. In the case of the past participle, one is, after all, only concerned with a single form for each verb. As none of the tentative suggestions discussed has much in the way of generative value (with the possible exception of the last mentioned) and in view of the difficulty in predicting the relevant past participle allomorph from the form of the infinitive whenever the latter ends in /-e/, it is clearly more economical to give the additional form in the lexicon than to attempt to give generative rules to which there would be numerous exceptions.

In order to complete this section on the compound past tense some mention must be made of the ways in which the various components combine.

Word order, generally, in Istro-Rumanian is comparatively free and therefore one is not surprised to find that the two main components of the phonological form of the expression of the compound past tense, i.e. the past participle and the 'short' form of the present indicative paradigm on //(a)vé//, (a third component being the personal pronoun where this is felt to be required) have no fixed sequence, e.g. Fran-av cersit a sev kre.(N)"Frane looked for his dog", beside Frane cersit-a se brek (S), and krn am io fosT tirr, "when I was young"; beside krn am fosT io tirr, and krn am io tirr fosT.

Nevertheless in a normal declarative statement it is probably true to say that the most common sequence of these various components is the same as in English, i.e. 1)subject (if separately expressed), 2) auxiliary, 3) past participle, 4) complement, especially in the cases of the first and second persons, (both singular and plural). In the case of the third person (singular and plural) the auxiliary follows the

past participle in almost as many cases as it precedes it, particularly, it appears, in the Southern dialects, e.g. Ţivin-a finţit na trei ţre šį po (N), "Ive finished at half past three", as opposed to Ţive finţit-a na trei ţre šį pódiia (S).

Yet despite the slightly higher frequency of reversibility in the components expressing the compound past tense a) in the Southern dialects and b) in the third person paradigmemes, it should not be overlooked that the phenomenon does quite often affect the Northern dialect and the other persons of the verb, as the following examples show;

a)kukát m-am šį am zadurmţit,(N)"I lay down and fell asleep"; variants include kukát m-am šį zadurmţit am(N), and kukát m-am šį zedurmţit am (S).

b)pųus am [10] ţgrácKele pre mţiza (N),"We put the toys on the table"; variants include pųus an ţgrácKile pre sKand(S).

c)pošnţit am piséi (N), "I began to write".

d)popţit am o šálitSa de te (N)," I drank a cup of tea".

e)rnvetSavéit am frantSųuzKa límba (N), "I have been learning French".

10.It will be noted that there is syncretism in the Northern dialect between forms such as pųus am(I) meaning"I put" (past tense)and pųus am(2) meaning"we put"(past tense).Ambiguity is avoided by the use of the appropriate personal pronoun,e.g. noi am pųus ígrácKile pre mţiza. In the Southern dialects,of course,there is no syncretism,the form pųus an being opposed to pųus am.

When the utterance is introduced by a moneme containing a reference of time, reversibility is unlikely in either dialect;

a) Ier <u>am vindúut</u> knį́iga lu profesórų (N), "Yesterday I sold the book to the professor".

b) zą́in-<u>am zadurmíit</u> (N), "we fell asleep at once".

c) Ier <u>am kumparát</u> kálų(S),"I bought the horse yesterday".

d) kŗn <u>a verį́it</u> kása, Marį́ia mes a ŗn se kámera (S)" when she came home Maria went to her room".

Although reversibility is not general in this type of utterance, there are counter examples, e.g. Ier <u>lasát-a</u> Įivána ráno mére (S),"He allowed Ivan to leave early yesterday".

In utterances of a similar type to the foregoing,but where a pronominal subject is expressed, the sequence of the compound past tense components, although still flexible, is frequently 1) auxiliary 2) pronominal subject 3) past participle, e.g. kŗn <u>am io durmíit</u>, tátSįi mįi a furát tot (S), "when I was asleep, the thieves stole everything from me". A similar sequence prevails even when the subject is other than pronominal,e.g. Ier <u>av Įívina mes</u> na o ŗra (N), "Yesterday Ive left at one o'clock". There is also

a marked tendency, in this type of utterance, for predicative expansions to precede the past participle which often occupies final position in the clause, e.g. kṛn <u>am io</u> tîrṛr <u>fosT</u> (N), "when I was young".

Nevertheless, despite these indications, the sequence of the various elements remains extremely flexible.

The compound tense, as was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, is the <u>only</u> past tense in Northern Istro-Rumanian. The imperfect indicative, which is a feature of Southern Istro-Rumanian, and which will be dealt with in the following section, is completely unknown in the North. Despite the apparent paucity, many refinements in the expression of the moneme [[past tense]] are possible in view of the fact that most Istro-Rumanian verbs have both a perfective and an imperfective form, and in some cases a so-called 'iterative' form. The question of verbal aspect will not be discussed here, but will be dealt with in the next chapter.

<u>The Imperfect Indicative</u>

As an alternative to the compound past tense, the Southern dialects have recourse to an //imperfect indicative//

which is used predominantly among the more mature speakers to indicate continuity or repetition of action in the past tense. The younger speakers of the Southern dialects tend to prefer to use the 'iterative' forms of the appropriate verbs in the compound past tense in situations where the older people prefer the imperfect. The imperfect indicative consists of a fully inflected set of paradigmemes which are, in the case of most verbs, enclitic to the form of the infinitive. The set of phonological forms which constitute the expression of the imperfect are;

1) -(i)am
2) -(i)ai
3) -(i)a
4) -(i)an
5) -(i)atS
6) -(i)a

Imperfect indicative paradigms of the various verb classes are as follows;

Class I	Class Ia
1) finiam	piséiam
2) finiai	piséiai
3) finia	piséia
4) finian	piséian
5) finiatS	piséiatS
6) finia	piséia

	Class II	Class IIa
1)	lukráiam	vedéiam
2)	lukráiai	vedéiai
3)	lukráia	vedéia
4)	lukráian	vedéian
5)	lukráiatS	vedéiatS
6)	lukráia	vedéia

It will be noted that the set of phonological forms expressing the imperfect is very similar to the 'short' present indicative paradigm on /(a)vé/.

The majority of the verbs classified as 'non-regular' form their imperfect indicative in the same way as the regular verbs just mentioned, e.g., /puté-putéiam etc., fáce-facéiam, etc., (a)vé-(a)véiam, etc./. Rare exceptions include /mére-mezéiam, etc., fi̯i-fi̯iéiam etc./ and the verbs of Class II(b), //da,be// etc. whose imperfect indicatives are /davéiam, davéiai/ and /bevéiam, bevéiai/ etc.. Actually the imperfect indicatives of the Class IIb verbs are formed <u>not</u> on the regular 'unmarked' infinitives//da,be// etc., but on the infinitives of the so-called 'iterative' verbs, //davéi, bevéi// etc.. On the

basis of the regular form of the imperfect indicative paradigms one would expect to find the forms *dáiam, *béiam etc., but I find no trace of their occurrence.

Examples of the usage of the usage of the imperfect indicative follow;

a) kṛn av fosT ṛn FrántSịie, Íive <u>vedéia</u> Marịia sáka séra, "when he was in France, Ive saw Maria every evening".

b) kṛn a fosT tírṛr, <u>mežéia</u> rano ṛn šKole, "when he was young, he used to go to school early".

c) me fráte ṛm <u>davéia</u> lápTe sáka zịi, "My brother used to give me milk every day".

d) me cáce vaik <u>verịia</u> na pátrụ ṛre, "My father always came at four o'clock".

e) tóta vréma ce io <u>bevéiam</u>, me fráte <u>krntáia</u>, "All the time that I was drinking,my brother was singing".

It is possible for the 'iterative' verbs to be used in the //imperfect indicative//,e.g. Íive vávik <u>krntavéia</u> ṛn <u>fịiéia</u> bet,"Ive always used to keep singing when he was drunk", but more frequently the compound past tense is used in conjunction with this type of verb.

The Conditional

The Conditional in Istro-Rumanian possesses, like the Indicative, the three tenses of present, past and future. Of these the first two are formed analytically and the third synthetically.

The Present Conditional

This is referred to by Puşcariu as the "present restrictive" and by Popovici as the "present optative" [11]. It is composed of the infinitive of the appropriate verb and the paradigm

1) raš/reš/res
2) rei
3) ra/re
4) rem/ren(ram)
5) ratS/retS
6) ra/re,

the former variants of which are the general Northern forms, the latter being the Southern ones. In the case of 1), the last mentioned form /res/ is the usual realization in Šušnjevica of the general Southern form /reš/; occasionally one finds the variant /ras/. In the North, the

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11. See S.Puşcariu, op.cit., part II, p. 183; J.Popovici, op.cit., part I, p.74.

paradigmeme /rem/ is sometimes realized as /ram/.Examples of the use of the present conditional are as follows;

a) io <u>raš puté</u> iḭi, se <u>raš avé</u> šóldḭi(N)."I could go if I had the money".

b) tụu <u>rei tacá</u>, se tSe <u>raš io da</u> bambóne (N),"you would be quiet if I were to give you some sweets".

c) Ḭivina <u>ra ramaré</u>, se <u>rei fḭi tụu</u> kụ ie (N), "Ive would stay if you were with him".

d) noi <u>rem iḭi</u> afára, se nụ <u>ra fḭi</u> ašá amṛnát (N), "we would go out if it were not so late".

e) voi <u>ratS sTa</u> bḭre, se <u>ratS puté</u> sTa ṛn vṛrh (N),"you would feel well if you could be in the mountains".

f) ieli <u>ra krésTe</u> mai vḭiše, krnd <u>ra munká</u> mai vḭiše (N), "They would grow more, if they would eat more".

g) <u>reš vre</u> pozovḭi me prḭiátel (S), "I would like to invite my friend".

h) <u>vre res</u> ke me fil váika zḭice ḭisTina (S), "I would like my son always to speak the truth".

The last example, again, is evidence of the flexibility of word order in Istro-Rumanian, although more generally the sequence 1) subject 2) auxiliary 3) infinitive prevails.

The paradigm given above shows up a further instance of syncretism, for example the sequence noi rem iį́i afárа may be taken as meaning "we would go out", or "we shall go out", according to context.

A further analogy to the forms expressing future tense lies in the fact that the initial phoneme of the paradigmemes may not be realized in the chain of speech,e.g. io l-aš̌ buš̌ii, se ra ie mintSį́i (N), "I would hit him if he were to lie".

The Past Conditional

This, too, is formed analytically in Istro-Rumanian, utilizing, in addition to the forms expressing the present conditional, the form of the past participle of the verb //fį́i//.

Examples of the past conditional are;

a) io raš̌ fosT žurá ke Fráne a verį́it po de ǧra mántie (N), "I would have sworn that Frane arrived half an hour earlier".

b) Įivina ra fosT ramaré, se rei fosT tu fii kų ie (N) "Ive would have stayed if you had been with him".

c) ieli ra fɑsT verʲi, se nu̯ <u>ra fɑsT fi̯i téta</u> bólna (N)
"They would have come if their aunt had not been ill".

d) tu̯ <u>rei fɑsT puté</u> verʲi, se <u>rei fɑsT avé</u> tSait (N)"You could have come if you had had time".

<u>The Future Conditional</u>

As the Future Conditional is fully inflected, and as there are certain differences in its formation in the various classes of verbs, it cannot be dealt with as summarily as either the Present Conditional or the Past Conditional. There are,furthermore,formal differences between the dialects.

The Future Conditional is composed of a set of characteristic forms which are enclitic to the 'base' lexical grammateme which may conveniently be represented as the form of the past participle <u>minus</u> the final phoneme in those classes of verbs which have /-t/ in this position. In such cases the enclitic forms characteristic of the future conditional are;

1) -r
2) -ri̯i
3) -re
4) -rem/n (South-rno/-rmo)
5) -retS
6) -ru̯

Thus, typical future conditional forms of Class I and Class Ia verbs are /finḭ́ir, pisḗir/ etc.. In Classes II and IIa similarly composed future conditional forms include /lukrár, ṛmnár, dṵrmḭ́r, avSḭ́r, batṵ́ur/ etc..Cases of non-regular verbs whose future conditional is formed according to the regular pattern include /fakṵ́ur, munkár, tSiṛṵ́ur/.

Exceptions to the regular formation of the future conditional are the whole of Class IIb, the verb//fḭi//, and those verbs, some non-regular and some belonging to Classes II and IIa, whose past participle ends in the phoneme /s/. In the case of this last group the paradigm of enclitic forms is as follows;

1) -ér
2) -éṛii
3) -ére
4) -érem/n (South-érno/-érmo)
5) -éretS
6) -éru

Examples of such future conditional formations include /mesér, trasér, plṛnsér, ṛrsér, ramasér, ṛnt(S)elesér/, etc.. The rare exceptional formations are given below:

The future conditional paradigm on //fi̯i// is

1) fu̯r
2) fu̯ri̯i
3) fu̯re fusére [12]
4) fu̯rem/n, (fu̯rno/mo)
5) fu̯retS
6) fu̯ru̯

The proliferation of acceptable forms expressing the future conditional of the Class IIb verbs makes the description somewhat complex. I therefore give below the more frequently occurring paradigms for each verb, and note the commoner variants.

//da//

	North	South
1)	dâru̯	davu̯r
2)	dâri̯i	davu̯ri̯i
3)	dâre	davu̯re
4)	dârem/n	davu̯rno/mo
5)	dâretS	davu̯retS
6)	dâru̯	davu̯ru̯

12. My field data contain only a single utterance of this form, and it occurs in the dialect of Šušnjevica in a local folk tale and so may be an archaic form. See S. Puşcariu, op.cit., part II, p.196; J.Popovici, op.cit., part I, p.76.

//sTa//

1) sTárų		sTavúr
2) sTárịi		sTavúrịi
3) sTáre		sTavúre
4) sTárem/n	North	sTavúrno/mo South (possible also sTavúren/m)
5) sTáretS		sTavúretS
6) sTárų		sTavúrų

//(v)la//

1) vlárų(vlavúr)		lavúr
2) vlárịi		lavúrịi
3) vláre		lavúre
4) vlárem/n	North	lavúrno/mo South
5) vláretS		lavúretS
6) vlárų		lavúrų

// šTịi //

1) šTivúr(ų)	All Dialects	
2) šTivúrịi		
3) šTivúre		
4) šTivúrem/n(South-rno/-rmo)		
5) šTivúretS		
6) šTivúrų		

// be //

beiúr(bevúr etc.)	All Dialects
beiúrịi	
beiúre	
beiúrem/n(South-rno/-rmo)	
beiúretS	
beiúrų	

In the case of //be//, the general forms are as given above, but a set of possible Northern variants is /bə́iru, bə́iriʲi, bə́ire, bə́irem, bə́iretS, bə́iru/. The form /bevʊ́r/ also occurs in the North, but it is very rare.

Examples of the usage of the future conditional are as follows:

a) se io <u>aflár</u> a vósTre rúkovitSe, io va le voi da (N), "If I find your gloves, I shall give them to you".

b) se tuu <u>kazúrii</u> ʲntru ápa, ver te utopʲi (N),"If you fall into the water you will drown".

c) se ie <u>krntáre</u>, ia va sFirʲi vʲiolʲínu (N), "If he sings, she will play the violin".

d) se noi <u>lukrárem</u>, rem fʲii iáko trúdnʲi ásera (N), "If we work we shall be very tired this evening".

e) se voi <u>durmíretS</u> ʲn šTála, vetS va prihladʲi (N), "If you sleep in the stable, you will catch cold".

f) se ieli munkáru la nóna, io nu voi sKuhéi merínda (N), "If they eat at their grandmother's, I'm not going to cook lunch".

Examples of the usage of non-regular future conditional forms include the following:

a) se se ia <u>rrsére</u> [13], šumáisTeru nu va fʲi kunténat(N)"If she laughs, the teacher will not be pleased".

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13. The variant realization [ʲrdére] etc., is possible but not common.

b) se tu <u>mesérii</u> mére la máre, io te voi kumpaniéi (N)"If you go to the sea-side tomorrow, I will go with you".

c) se noi <u>beiúrno</u>, nóna va fii iádna (S), "If we drink, grandma will be angry".

d) se tuu <u>fúrii</u> buur, te voi vla rn kíino (N), "If you are good, I will take you to the cinema".

e) se mére <u>sTavúr</u> bíre, voi te lá la máre (S), "If I feel well tomorrow, I'll take you to the sea-side".

Word order, in the Conditional generally, is potentially fairly free, as is apparent from the examples given, but the most frequent sequence in the case of the <u>analytically</u> formed tenses is 1) subject 2) auxiliary 3) fosT (in the past conditional), 4) infinitive, and 1) subject 2) verb form in the case of the future conditional.

<u>The Subjunctive</u>

As already indicated at the beginning of this chapter, only the present tense of the verb //fii// possesses distinct forms for the expression of [[subjunctive]]. The present indicative paradigm is as follows:

1) (fiiu)
2) (fiiíi)
3) /fiie/
4) (fiién)
5) (fiétS)
6) (fiiu), fiivu

I should explain that I have taken the forms in brackets from my predecessors [14]. The form /fi̯ie/ I have encountered fairly frequently and the form /fi̯ivu̯/ once only. In all other instances where the subjunctive might be expected (i.e. in constructions similar to those where /fi̯ie/ is found but where grammatemes of //person and number// other than //third person singular// occur) I find only the corresponding indicative forms. This suggests that /fi̯ie/ is the only generally extant form of the subjunctive in Istro-Rumanian. In virtually all other cases the forms expressing [[indicative]] and those expressing [[subjunctive]] show syncretism.

Examples of utterances showing realization of [[subjunctive]] include

a) zi̯is li-av néka fi̯ie poslúšr̥n, "He told him to be obedient".

b) ia zi̯is-a lu̯ fetSór̥i ke néka fi̯ivu̯ káse (S),"She told the children that they should be at home".

This latter form, as I indicated earlier, occurs only once in my material, and thus may be suspect. [15]

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14. See S.Puscariu,op.cit.,part II,p.196;J.Popovici,op.cit., part I,p.76.

15. It is however confirmed by A.Kovačec who attests it both for the //first person singular//form as well as for//third person plural//,Quelques Influences croates dans la morphosyntaxe istroroumaine,Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia, 21-22,1966.

The form /fi̯ie/ in example a), may almost be considered to be in free variance with the corresponding forms of the expression of [[present indicative]] and of [[future indicative]] as the following alternative realizations show:

a,1) zi̯is li-a néka i-ei poslúšr̯n,

a,2) zi̯is li-a néka va fi̯i poslúšr̯n.

In the case of all other verbs the realization of the moneme [[subjunctive]] is indistinguishable in form from that of [[indicative]] as the following examples show:

c) gosPodáry mi̯i av ordinéit ke néka meg lukrá, "The boss ordered me to go to work".

d) am zi̯is néka nu̯ m-aš̆TépTSi̯i, "I told you not to wait for me".

e) me sor m-a rugát (ke) néka rámaru̯ (S),"My sister asked me to stay".

f) me cáce vrése néka munkán totS sKúpa (S),"My father wants us all to eat together".

From these examples the syncretism which is general between the realizations of [[subjunctive]] and [[indicative]] is evident. It would be tempting to believe otherwise and

to consider forms such as /néka, ke néka/ as being part of the form of the expression of [[subjunctive]], in utterances such as am zi̯is <u>néka</u> nu̯ m-<u>asTépTSi̯i</u>, gosPodáru̯ mi̯i av ordinéit <u>ke néka meg</u> lukrá, were it not for utterances such as a,1) and a,2) above where it is clear that the form /néka/ etc. can be used with the forms of the expression of //present indicative// and //future indicative// of the verb //fi̯i// of which there are forms of the expression of //present subjunctive// available.

The Imperative

The imperative paradigm is made up of three grammatemes of //person and number// which are respectively //second person singular, first person plural, second person plural//. The last two of these coincide formally with the corresponding paradigmemes of the present indicative in the vast majority of verbs in Istro-Rumanian, the notable exception being //fi̯i//.

The //second person singular imperative// paradigmeme coincides formally, in most verbs, with the //third person singular indicative// paradigmeme.

Typical paradigms are as following:

Class I

platé	finé	pošné
platʃim/n	finʃim/n	pošnʃim/n
platʃitS	finʃitS	pošnʃitS

Class Ia

pisé	igré	kuhé
piséim/n(pisém/n)	igréim/n(igrém/n)	kuhéim/n
piséitS	igréitS	kuhéitS

Class II

ʃmne/a	láse/a	áfle/a
ʃmnám/n	lasám/n	(a)flám/n
ʃmnátS	lasátS	(a)flátS

Class IIa

pórte/a	(a)šTépTe/a	kuvínte/a
portám/n	(a)šTepTám/n	kuvintám/n
portátS	(a)šTepTátS	kuvintátS

Class IIb

The regular pattern is not followed. The paradigms are

de/a		be	
dam	(South daién)	bem/bevém	(South beién)
datS	(South daiétS)	betS	(South beiétS)

sTe			
( )		( )	
( )		( )	//s̆Ti i//
		( )	
vle		le	
vlam	North	laiém	South
vlatS		laiétS	

The gaps in the above columns indicate that my field data do not contain any realizations of //first person plural// nor of //second person plural// of the imperative of //sTa//, nor any realization at all of the imperative of //s̆Tii//.

The imperative paradigm on //fi̯i// is

fi̯i

fi̯im

fi̯itS [16].

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16. In the descriptions of both S.Puşcariu and J.Popovici the imperative paradigm on //fi̯i// is fii, fiiém, fiiéţ ,

e.g. na miru zivit si fiieţ bur, S.Puşcariu, op.cit., part I,p.46. (Puşcariu's notation).

Non-regular //second person singular// paradigmemes expressing [[imperative]] include //fe(fáce), zi̯i (zi̯ice), tac (tacá), mez̆ (mere), krez (kréde), víro (veri̯i), ieš̆ (ieš̆i̯i), ári̯i (avé) //.

Examples of the usage of the imperative are as follows:

a) Máio, až̆uta me! (N) "Help me, mother!"

b) i̯mna tia! (N) "Go away!"

c) pórte vali̯iža! (S) "Garry the suitcase!"

d) platé racu̯unu̯! "Pay the bill!"

e) be o mi̯rva vi̯r! (N), "Drink a little wine!"

f) sKután ca ce zi̯ice préfTu̯ (S),"Let's listen to what the priest says!"

g) Durmi̯im mântie négo fecóri̯i veri̯ru̯ (N), "Let's sleep before the children come"

h) vlam fecóru̯ i̯n pat! (N),"Let's take the child to bed!"

i) Fi̯im o mi̯rva vréme anc! (N) "Let's spend a little time here!"

j) ratátS li̯ibri̯i lu̯ préfTu̯ (S), "Show the books to the priest!"

k) vindétS i̯m céstTa ka! "Sell me this horse!"

l) Fi̯itS bu̯ri̯i fecór pi̯rla veri̯r nâzu̯t ! (N) "Be good boys until I come back!"

m) kafTátS céstTa om! "Look at that man!"

After a negative expression the //second person singular// paradigmeme is regularly realized by a form which corresponds to the form of the infinitive, e.g.

a) ny vla ca knįiga, vle cásTa knįiga! (N) "Don't take that book, take this book!"

b) ny mére tia, sTépTa profesóry ! (S),"Don't go away, wait for the professor!"

c) ny pliérde césTa aré! (N), "Don't lose this ring!"

d) ny da cúda a lúui!,"Don't give him too much !"

e) ny ucíide liépyrii!, "Don't kill the rabbits!"

f) ny kuhéi ásera!" Don't cook this evening!"

In the case of //first person plural, second person plural//, the regular 'positive' imperative paradigmeme is used, e.g.

a) ny dam arély! (N),"Let's not give away the ring!"

b) ny betS prevíše !(N),"Don't drink too much!"

Occasionally this type of formation may occur in the //second person singular// paradigmeme,e.g. n-árii fríka! "Don't be afraid!"

The moneme [[imperative]] is sometimes realized in a way different from the one described above, in that it is

possible to use the form of the expression of the future indicative, instead of the regular paradigmemes expressing [[imperative]] . Examples of such usage include nu̯ vetS plfnže! "Don't cry!", nu̯ rem be vi̯ise!"Let's not drink any more!", ren treméte o kartoli̯ine lu̯ Fráne!,"Let's send a postcard to Frane!"

This type of realization is not common, but is slightly more frequent in negative than in positive utterances.

Finally three fairly common forms must be mentioned, namely /vi̯ro, pómo/ and /ii̯itS/ which are respectively //second person singular, first person plural// and //second person plural// of the verbs given below.

Of these the first is the most common way of expressing //second person singular imperative// of //veri̯i//, the second may possibly be connected etymologically with //mére//, and the last is clearly a derivative of the otherwise defective verb//iii̯i// which only occurs in the infinitive and second person plural imperative forms. Examples of their usage are vi̯ro anc! "Come here!",pómo la máre!"Let's go to the sea!", and nu̯ tia ii̯itS!"Don't go away!"

Voice

The two voices in Istro-Rumanian are the Active and the Passive. The majority of realizations of verbal forms given so far in this chapter are illustrations of the active voice and so it is unnecessary to say anything further about this voice. The passive voice requires a little more attention and is illustrated by the realization given earlier, i.e. pṛa fosT a poidṛita "The bread has been eaten".

It will be seen from this example that the moneme [[passive]] is realized by the compound past tense of the verb //fṛi// (in the paradigmeme which corresponds to the subject of the utterance) plus the past participle of the verb whose passivity is to be expressed. The past participle regularly 'agrees' in gender and number with the subject of the utterance, although it need not necessarily do so. In other words the past participle acts in much the same way as the adjective which will be discussed in Chapter V.

The same type of construction can be seen in the utterance tátụ fosT a kasTigéit, "The thief was punished", and this may be said to be the regular way of expressing [[passive]] in Istro-Rumanian.

However the construction is not particularly 'popular', and the moneme [[passive]] is sometimes realized by the present indicative of the verb //fi̯i// (again in the paradigmeme which corresponds to the subject of the utterance) plus the past participle of the verb whose passivity is to be expressed, the latter, too, generally 'agreeing' in gender and number with the subject,e.g. cẽli̯i bũri̯i prrsúutS rs totS vindúutS, "The good hams have all been sold", meli fratS rs totS rnsurátS,"My brothers are all married".

Furthermore, the moneme [[passive]] is frequently circumlocuted by means of a corresponding realization of [[active]] plus the reflexive pronoun //se//, e.g. pi̯ra av se poidi̯it,"The bread has been eaten", tõtile kášų av se pierdúut, "all the cheese has been used".

Invariable forms

There remain several verbal phenomena of a somewhat marginal nature. These are the gerund, the various 'impersonal' verbs, and the defective verb //ii̯i// "to go".

The Gerund

This is regularly formed by the addition of the morpheme /-nda/ to the form expressing the infinitive. Examples of this type of formation include //iezTi̯inda (iezTi̯i), kuhéinda (kuhéi), r̥ntrebánda (r̥ntrebá)//. The last of these i.e., //r̥ntrebánda//, although it follows the regular pattern, is only itself the regular form for the Southern village of Šušnjevica.In the Northern dialect and in the rest of the Southern dialects the regular form of the gerund of verbs whose infinitive ends in /-á/ is /-r̥nda/, e.g., //munkr̥nda (munká), tacr̥nda (tacá), lukrr̥nda (lukrá)//, etc..

This latter type of formation of the gerund is general in verbs whose infinitive ends in /-e/ (stressed or unstressed), e.g. //kadr̥nda (kadé), tSi̯r̥nda (tSi̯ré), r̥rdr̥nda (r̥rde), fakr̥nda (fáce), plr̥ngr̥nda (plr̥nže),beir̥nda (be) //. In the case of the last three examples it will be seen that there is a phonological change in the body of the verb, i.e. /k< c; g< ž; ei< e/.

In view of the rarity of occurrence of the gerund in Istro-Rumanian,(my field data contain the relevant forms for only a limited number of verbs), it is not practicable

to include in the lexicon the form of the expression of the gerund in the case of the non-regular formations.The rarity of the gerund is even more marked in the Northern dialect.

Examples of utterances showing realization of the gerund include,

a) me nóno mére iezTi̦nda pre un ási̦r (S), "My grandfather travels ri̦ding on a donkey".

b) kuhéinda ápa io m-am zKori̦t (S). "Whilst boiling the water I burned myself".

c) peti̦t vi̦re munkínda (N),"Appetite comes by eating".

d) pli̦ngi̦nda fecóru̦ mi̦i av zi̦is i̦isTina (S),"Crying, the child told me the truth".

e) taliánda pi̦ra ie zi̦is-a k-ei trúdi̦n (S.Šušnjevica), "whilst cutting the bread, he said he was tired".

f) tSiri̦nda me mi̦r mi̦i a ratát c-a faku̦t (S), "Holding my hand, he showed me what he had done".

'Impersonal' Verbs and Defective Verbs

Istro-Rumanian possesses a number of verbal expressions which it is convenient to classify under the label 'impersonal'. They are generally used in conjunction with an indirect object (often a pronoun) and in some cases

with a third person paradigmeme of the verb //fi̯i//,when the verbal expression is not wholly self-contained. In other words the verbal expression may be continuous or discontinuous.

Examples of realizations of impersonal verbs are as follows:

a) mi̯i <u>e trí̯iba</u> áta kní̯iga (N) "I need another book"

b) ṛtS kunvinié verí̯i mai mántie? (S),"Is it convenient for you to come earlier?"

c) se tS-<u>e trí̯iba</u> šóldi̯i, vínde ǵu̯ra,"If you need money, sell the watch".

d) mi̯i <u>e ruší̯ire</u> de me fráte (S), "I am ashamed of my brother".

e) mi̯i <u>e frí̯ika</u> ke médiku̯ nu̯ va verí̯i, "I am afraid that the doctor won't come".

f) <u>ie</u> va <u>fóme</u> ? (N),"Are you bungry?"

g) gú̯ra <u>me dóre</u>, "My mouth hurts".

h) nu̯ me <u>piažé</u> króvu̯ de frpe (S), "I don't like the stone roof".

The last two of the examples just given, it could be argued,are not strictly 'impersonal' verb expressions in that the verb in each case has a clearly defined subject,

(i.e., /gu̯ra/ and /krǒvu̯/ respectively), and a direct object personal pronoun.

Of the other examples, some of them, notably those including the forms /trʲiba/ and /frʲika/, may be expressed in a way other than the 'impersonal' one illustrated, e.g.,

a) áren potrʲiba de u̯r kutSʲit (S), "we need a knife".

b) n-áre frʲika de niʲiš (S), "She is afraid of nothing".

c) áretS fǒme? (S) "Are you hungry?"

The most obvious example of a defective verb is //iʲi//, which was mentioned earlier. This verb is realized in my field data in two forms only, namely the infinitive //iʲi//, which is very frequent, and the imperative //iʲitS// which is rare.

Examples of the usage of //iʲi// are:

a) mʲre voi iʲi rn šu̯la (N),"Tomorrow I shall go to school".

b) cěsTa an io nu̯ voi tia iʲi (N) "This year I shall not go away".

c) io raš fosT iʲi, se raš fosT avé šǒldʲi (N),"I would have gone if I had had money".

d) nu̯ tia iʲitS (N), "Don't go away".

The verb is very common in the Northern dialect,but comparatively rare in the South, where in equivalent contexts //mére// occurs more frequently.

The form //pómo!//, "Let's go!", e.g. pómo a kása(N), "Let's go home", may also conveniently be regarded as a paradigmeme of a defective verb, although it occurs in no other form. It, too, is much more common in the Northern dialect, the form //mežén// regularly occurring in the South in equivalent contexts. Alternative to considering it part of a defective verb is the possibility, as tentatively suggested earlier, that //pómo!// may be a derivative of //mére// compounded with the 'perfectivizing' prefix /po-/.

Negation

Before this chapter is concluded it will be necessary to include a brief section to show how the verbal expressions in Istro-Rumanian may be negated.

The most common and the most straightforward way of expressing [[negative]] is by the insertion of the negative morpheme /nu/ (emphatic nuu) or of its allomorph /n-/. The most common position for this morpheme is immediately preceding the form of the moneme or grammateme which is to

be negated, and this is frequently the verb. Nevertheless, as mentioned several times,above, the sequence of elements within the utterance is very free in Istro-Rumanian, and /nu/ may be found in virtually any position, according to emphasis or desired stylistic effect.

Examples of negative utterances are as follows:

a) nu lásu me brek mére pre kále (S) "I don't let my dog go on the road".

b) nu pok zíice ca ce vrésu, "I cannot say what I want".

c) io žúru (žoru) ke nu-i fisTina, "I swear that it isn't true".

d) n-am vuut šóldii ši n-am putut tia iii (N),"I didn't have any money and so I couldn't go away".

e) io n-oi mére ku tire (S), "I shall not go with you".

The last two examples show the realization of the allomorph /n-/, and the final example shows the amalgamation of /n+voi > n-oi/.

Other common negative expressions include /ni(i)š, nicúr, níkad(a),/ and examples of their usage include:

a) nu fáce niiš de síre (N), "She never does anything for herself".

b) nu konósTe nicúr rn cásTa cetáte (N),"She doesn't know anyone in this town ".

c) ia nu sKúuta níkad ca ce zíice préfTu (S),"She never listens to what the priest says".

d) nu iéše níkad ke-i previíše siromáh (S), "He never goes out because he is too poor".

It will be seen from the latter examples that a double negative expression is quite common in Istro-Rumanian, (even triple negatives are by no means rare). Such constructions serve to reinforce the negative, as the multiple negative expressions do not cancel each other out to make the utterance positive.

Chapter IV

Verbal Aspect [1]

A marked feature of the verb system of Istro-Rumanian is its extensive adoption of the category of verbal aspect [2].

Detailed examination of this phenomenon must form a part of any serious description of Istro-Rumanian, although it has to be admitted that this raises some difficulty in a work such as this which sets out to be synchronic, and which has therefore neither diachronic nor comparativist aims.

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1. An earlier version of this Chapter has appeared as part of my article, Verbal aspect and archiaspect in Istro-Rumanian, La Linguistique, II, 1969. The diachronic and the comparativist considerations contained in that article are as far as possible omitted for the purposes of this Chapter, although some of them are referred to below in Appendix A, and occasionally in the footnotes to this Chapter.

2. The category of verbal aspect is usually regarded as the most characteristic feature of the Slavonic verb system. Its adoption by Istro-Rumanian, a Romance language, makes the language virtually unique among currently spoken Romance languages. This, of course, is not to overlook the fact that Latin possessed a two aspect system, the aspects being known as the infectum and the perfectum; furthermore, in the modern Romance languages, one can point to the contrast between the imparfait and the passé défini in modern French, but such a distinction as the latter is confined to the past tense and is not generalized in the verbal system of the language. For the aspectual situation in Latin see the scheme ofL. M.Skrelina, De l'économie de certains changements grammaticaux en ancien français, La Linguistique,I,1968, pp. 69-70.

Complexities arise from the fact that Istro-Rumanian is a Romance language, and the category of verbal aspect is one which is normally associated with the Slavonic languages. This means that the body of literature written on the subject of verbal aspect has generally been composed with reference to one or more of the Slavonic languages. As I shall refer below to some of this literature, it will not always be possible to avoid reference to, and sometimes even comparison with other languages, in order to illustrate more clearly how verbal aspect functions in Istro-Rumanian. Such reference and comparison will also be necessary to a certain degree to enable me to state my own position on what I take verbal aspect to be. However, I shall keep such reference and comparison to a minimum in this chapter, leaving them as far as possible for consideration in Appendix A. It is emphasized that my only purpose in this chapter is to describe how verbal aspect functions currently in Istro-Rumanian, and to put forward a theoretical solution of my own to account for certain "difficult cases".

In the initial section of Chapter III, enumerating the different types of grammatemes and monemes which constitute the verb system of Istro-Rumanian, I stated that

the language possesses <u>two</u> grammatemes of aspect, and that these are //perfective// and //imperfective// respectively. In recognizing a system of two aspects, namely <u>perfective</u> and <u>imperfective</u>, I believe I am following the main body of scholarly opinion on the subject [3] of verbal aspect. Of the two aspects the perfective, as most authorities agree, draws attention to the <u>completion</u> of the action expressed by the verb, or to its <u>result</u>. The imperfective aspect, on the other hand, describes the <u>continuity</u> or the <u>progress</u> of an action, without reference to its completion or result. According to many scholars the imperfective aspect is further used to describe an action which is <u>habitual</u> or <u>frequentative</u>, although on this particular point there is a certain amount of disagreement, some scholars preferring to consider this type of action as being described by a <u>third</u> verbal aspect, namely an "iterative aspect".

I have already mentioned the difficulty of dealing in a purely synchronic way with the matter of verbal aspect in Istro-Rumanian. This difficulty is compounded by

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3. Most of which has been written, as I have said, with reference to the verb in the Slavonic languages.

the scholarly disagreement referred to above, and by the consequent problem of how to regard "iterative", i.e. whether it is to be regarded as a separate aspect, or whether it should be seen as part of the imperfective aspect. The question cannot be by-passed, because "iterative", or verbal action which is habitual or frequentative, is rather an obtrusive feature of the Istro-Rumanian verb. This fact has been recognized by other scholars who have examined Istro-Rumanian, (notably Puşcariu and Kovačec),[4] and who are among those authorities who have postulated an "iterative aspect". For reasons which I shall give below, I am unable to accept an "iterative aspect" for Istro-Rumanian.

As has already been stated, the main purpose of this work is to provide a practical, synchronic description of Istro-Rumanian, which will be operationally adequate. To this end, certain linguistic principles will be applied and sometimes adapted. The work's main aim is therefore not to be a theoretical treatise, such as would be a totally new, fully synchronic, presentation of the ways in which verbal aspect functions in the various languages of which it is a feature. To attempt such a task here would

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4. S.Puscariu, Studii Istroromâne, II, Bucarest, 1926, p.251; A.Kovačec, Quelques influences croates dans la morphosyntaxe istroroumaine, Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia, 21-22/ Zagreb, 1966, p.70.

be either to upset the whole balance of the work, or to change its nature altogether. All that I set out to do, therefore, in the present chapter, is to apply as far as possible to Istro-Rumanian what I take to be "standard doctrine" on verbal aspect, and to supplement this by proposing my own theoretical solution to the descriptive problems caused by the incidence of "iterative" in the language.

The first part of the description which follows will be concerned with the more straightforward realizations of the grammatemes //perfective// and //imperfective//, and particularly with the morphological devices used by Istro-Rumanian to express the aspectual grammatemes. The more theoretical part of the description will be given subsequently. Nevertheless, even at the initial stage, it seems desirable, in order to provide as firm a base as possible for the discussion which follows, to accept as common ground those points on which there is more-or-less general agreement among the scholars who have examined verbal aspect.

Accordingly, I take as an initial assumption that there <u>is</u> such a phenomenon as that traditionally described as <u>verbal aspect</u>, and that it is a feature of Istro-Rumanian

as well as of the Slavonic languages. I further take as a basic assumption that the category of verbal aspect has two members, i.e. those traditionally referred to as perfective and imperfective respectively. It is also assumed that the term perfective includes those types of verbal action usually described as "complete", "productive of a result" and "non-durative", and that the term imperfective includes those types of action often referred to as "incomplete", "non-resultative" and "durative".These will be discussed more specifically below in terms of grammatemes and monemes, as will the matter of "iterative" which I leave aside for the moment.

Ways In Which Aspectual Differences Are Expressed

Istro-Rumanian generally expresses aspectual oppositions in four ways [5]. The methods used by the language,by which imperfective verbs are made perfective, or vice versa, are:

1) by the addition of a prefix, or what others have called a "préverbe", [6] to the otherwise "unmarked" imperfective form,

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5. Slavonic languages have a number of ways in which aspectual differences may be expressed. The four methods listed above are common in Croatian from which language they have presumably been borrowed by Istro-Rumanian.

6. A.Mazon,Morphologie des aspects du verbe russe,Paris,1908; p.30;
A.Meillet and A.Vaillant,Grammaire de la langue serbo-croate, Paris, 1924, p.256.

2) by change of conjugation,

3) by change of conjugation and simultaneous [7] phonological modification of the stem,

4) by suppletion.

Each of these methods is exemplified below under the appropriate heading.

1. The Prefixation class.

This is one of the more common, and also the most straightforward in that it does not involve interference either with the body of the verb or with its conjugation. Frequently used prefixes are /po-,do-,a-,na- (North),ne- (South), za- (ze-) /.

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7. I use the term "simultaneous" in the Mulderian sense, that is to say on the syntagmatic level of the description and not on the paradigmatic level. In the case of zisikuɟi (imperfective) - ziseciɟi (perfective) given below, it is of no functional relevance that change of the sequence [sik → sec] precedes in the linear sequence of the chain the change of the conjugation [uɟi → iɟi], because the two changes are incapable of being reversed in the linear sequence; their position in the chain therefore does not represent a choice for the speaker. The two changes are thus to be regarded as a simultaneous bundle. See J.W.F.Mulder, Sets and Relations in Phonology, Oxford, 1968, p.28; see also J.W.F.Mulder and H.A.Hurren, The English vowel phonemes from a functional point of view, La Linguistique, I, 1968, p. 44.

In addition to changing the aspect of the verb in question, some of the prefixes may involve a change of lexical meaning as I shall subsequently show.

Examples of this type of formation (imperfective forms first) include: /tórce-potórce/ (to spin), /letíi-doletíi/ (to fly), /dúuce-adúuce/ (to bring), /piséi-napiséi (nepiséi) / (to write), /plínže-zaplínže (zeplínže) / (to weep),

Less common formations of the same class include /lomíi-odlomíi/ (to break), /citéi-procitéi/ (to read).

2. The Change of Conjugation class.

This class is rather less common. It is exemplified by such pairs as: /hitéi-hitíi/ (to throw), /dozFoluíi-dozFolíi/ (to allow), /potPiluíi-potPilíi/ (to saw).

3. The Change of Conjugation and Phonological Modification class.

Examples of this class include:

/zisikuíi-zisecíi/ (to cut,chop),/pripravliéi-pripravíi/ (to prepare), /prisTavluíi-prisTavíi/ (to introduce).

4. The Suppletion class.

This class is quite common and is illustrated by pairs such as:

/be-popĭi/ (to drink),/munká-poidĭi/ (to eat), /tórce-sPredĭi (N) / (to spin), /ará-zorĭi/ (to plough),/sapá-sKopéi/ (to dig),/matSirá-smilĭi / (to grind).

Realizations of Aspectual Difference in Istro-Rumanian.

In order to demonstrate some of the ways in which verbal aspect functions in Istro-Rumanian, I include here a number of realizations illustrative of aspectual opposition in the language. The class numbers refer to the four classes enumerated above. In all cases the first member of the pair illustrated is that which is generally considered to be the imperfective one.

Class I

a) tórce - potórce

i-am tors lĭra tóta zĭia."I have been spinning wool all day long".

i-am potórs[8](S) lĭra."I have spun the wool"(i.e.and there is no more left to spin).

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8. cf. below Class 4, /sPredĭit/ (N).

b) dúuce - adúuce

ie duus - a katrîidele de sîre ši de mîre. "he was bringing the chairs for himself and for me".

av adúus tóte a sále sTFar kụ sîre."He brought all his things with him".

c) piséi - na/nepiséi

ie pisé. "he writes, is writing".

napiseit - am (N) cụuda hárte."I have written a lot of letters".

rugát - am me fil néka nepisé (S) lîisTụ."I asked my son to write the letter" (i.e.that he writes the letter).

d) plîrže - za/zeplîrže

i-a plîrns tóta zîia "She cried all day long".

krnd a máie na vezúut, av zaplîrns (N)."When mother saw us she cried"(i.e. burst into tears).

e) citéi - procitéi

i - am citéit tóta nópTa."I was reading all night".

procitéit - am (S) lúui trétii román."I have read his third novel".

Class 2

a) hitéi - hitîi

ie vîvrk a hitéit a sále sTFar."He always threw his things away".

cek atS céla kumarák hitîit rn kanál?"Why did you throw that hat into the canal?"

b) dozFoluíi - dozFolíi

óbicno av dozFoluíit (N) lụ Fráne néka méže rn kịino.
"She usually allowed Frane to go to the cinema".

ier mịi av a me máie dozFolíit néka meg rn kịino.
"Yesterday my mother allowed me to go to the cinema".

Class 3

a) zisikuíi - zisecíi

i - am zisikuíit (N) lémne rn kódrụ."I have been chopping up some wood in the forest" (i.e.but there is still some left to be done).

i-am zisecíit lémnele k-am ier posecíit."I have chopped up all the wood which I felled yesterday".

b) pripravliéi - pripravíi

citéit - am naglás dókle Fráne pripravliéit-a (S)kafélụ.
"I was reading aloud while Frane was preparing the coffee".

Fráne mịi av zịis ke va pripravíi kafélụ."Frane told me that he would prepare the coffee".

Class 4

a) be - popíi

krnd am fosT tírrr am beiúut sáka séra."when I was young I used to drink every evening".

ómu a vred popíit bíira."The man quickly drank up the beer".

b) munká-poidíi

munkát - am kaš krn a Márina veríit."I was eating some cheese when Mary came".

am poidíit (tóta) [9] pfra."I have eaten all the bread".

c) tórce - sPredíi

i - am tors líra tóta zíia."I have been spinning wool all day long".

i - am sPredíit [10] (N) líra."I have finished spinning the wool".

d) matSirá - smilíi

i - a matSirát kafé segúutra."She was grinding coffee this morning".

i - am smilíit o šálitSa de kafé."I have ground a cup-ful of coffee".

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9. The form /tóta/ is redundant and frequently omitted in this type of utterance.

10.cf. above Class I /potórs/ (S)

Change Of Lexical Meaning Brought About By Prefixation

Of the four methods described and illustrated above, in which Istro-Rumanian may express aspectual oppositions , the first, i.e.that of prefixation, requires further comment.

Every occurrence of verbal prefixation brings with it a degree of change of "meaning", merely by making an imperfective verb perfective, [11] at least in the sense that it imparts a higher degree of precision, or in the sense that it changes the emphasis of the action described by the verb.

However, some of the prefixes impart to the verb an additional range of lexical meaning, as does, for example, the prefix /pot-/ which gives the additional meaning "under", hence /piséi/ "to write", -/potPiséi/ "to underwrite" i.e. "to sigh.

Similarly the prefix /za-/, (or /ze-/South),conveys the idea of <u>inception</u> of action, e.g./plȩnže/"to weep", -/zaplȩnže/"to start crying,burst into tears".

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11. H.Galton, A new theory of Slavic verbal aspect,<u>Archivum Linguisticum</u>,16,4,Glasgow,1964,p.133 f. The author quotes from the grammar of the Russian Academy to the effect that identity of meaning is an essential condition for the establishment of what he calls an "aspectual couple". I cannot see how absolute identity of meaning is possible. If this were to be the case then there could be no effective opposition between the aspects.

Of the other prefixes /a-/ often conveys the additional meaning "towards", /od-/ often means "off",/pro-/ may mean "through", and /z-/ may mean "out of, away".

This type of meaning change may perhaps best be envisaged if we consider the effect of some of the different forms which can be affixed to the verb /mislʹi/ "to think". Thus the more-or-less "neutral" [12] prefixed perfective form /pomislʹi/ means "to have a thought, to start thinking", /ʸmislʹi/ means "to have something occur to one",/(se)domislʹi/ means "to remember", /nemislʹi/ "to decide", /predomislʹi/ "to change one's mind", /zmislʹi/ "to conceive the idea, to invent, to think out", and /promislʹi/ means "to reconsider".

By the addition of any of these prefixes, the imperfective verb /mislʹi/ automatically becomes perfective (at least <u>formally</u> [13]). However each of these "prefixed perfective" forms can become "reimperfectivized" when necessary simply by a change of conjugation. Thus, for example, / (se) domislʹi/ ("perfective") becomes / (se) domisléi/ ("imperfective")with the meaning "to keep remembering, to go on remembering".

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12. More will be said in the appendix concerning the semantic function of the prefix /<u>po</u>-/.

13. I shall return to the <u>semantic</u> implications below.

The Problem of "Iterative" And The So-Called "Iterative Infixes" - AV- AND -IV- [14]

The discussion so far has centred on the various morphological devices by which imperfective verbs may be made perfective, and has been further designed to illustrate what I believe to be reasonably straightforward oppositions between the two aspects.

I say reasonably straightforward because already in some of the examples given (notably 2a, 2b, 4a) the difficulties with regard to "iterative" are foreshadowed. Whereas all of the perfective examples given appear to be in accordance with the assumptions made above (i.e. they describe actions which are "complete", "productive of a result" or "non-durative"), only the majority of the "imperfective" examples seem unequivocally to bear out the assumed areas of meaning for imperfective verbs, i.e. that they describe actions which are "incomplete", "non-resultative" or "durative". At least partial exceptions are the aspectual realizations expressed in the forms /hitéit, dozFoluíit, beiúut/ (cf. examples 2a, 2b, 4a respectively) which contain some of

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14. It should be noted that although the infixes /-av-/ and /-iv-/ are frequently used to express repeated action, the meaning they convey is not invariably "iterative"; they can as readily indicate the durative imperfective. Conversely, as will be shown below, a verb does not necessarily have to contain either of the infixes /-av-, -iv-/ to be able to convey the meaning "iterative".

the meaning associated with "iterative".

The three forms in question show no formal mark indicating that they are to be considered as being "iterative" realizations, and my examples appear to show them as being in opposition to perfective verbs. I do not believe that this should be so, despite their juxtaposition in the examples, and despite the fact that this would be in agreement with the view expressed by a number of authorities [15] that the iterative concept is "by nature" more closely related to the sphere of <u>imperfective</u>, than to that of perfective. The fact is that many verbs in Istro-Rumanian are capable of expressing an iterative meaning <u>in addition</u> to their being able to express the opposition perfective-imperfective. It has been claimed [16] for Istro-Rumanian that both

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15. N.Forbes, <u>The Russian Verb</u>, Oxford, 1950, p.13; W.J.Entwistle and W.A.Morison, <u>Russian and the Slavonic Languages</u>, London, 1949, p.106; F.M.Borras and R.F.Christian, <u>Russian Syntax</u>, Oxford, 1959, p.141; D.Subotić and N. Forbes, <u>Serbian Grammar</u>, Oxford, 1918. Conversely, W.R. Morfill, writing (p.32) in <u>The Serbian Language</u>, London, 1887, draws upon the authority of F.Miklosich, <u>Vergleichende Grammatik der Slavischen Sprachen</u>, Vienna, 1883, vol.IV, pp.274-279, and maintains that in Serbo-Croat there is an iterative perfective and a durative perfective; A.Meillet and A.Vaillant, <u>Grammaire de la Langue Serbo-croate</u>, Paris, 1924, p.273f., discuss at some length verbs they consider to be iterative perfectives.

16. S.Puşcariu, <u>op.cit.</u>, p.252.

perfective and imperfective verbs can convey the iterative meaning. But Puşcariu, who makes the claim, is among those who postulate an "iterative aspect". This situation is rather confusing and arises, I believe,from the lack of scholarly agreement as to what precisely constitutes verbal aspect, particularly with regard to the iterative concept.

I shall refer more specifically below to this lack of agreement, but first, Puşcariu's claim that in Istro-Rumanian both perfective and imperfective verbs can convey the iterative meaning must be further examined.

Formations which for Puşcariu, if I understand him correctly, would be "Iterative Imperfective", may be created by the addition of one of two affixes, /-av-/ or /-iv/, to the unmarked imperfective form. The change of form brought about by the addition of an infix is simultaneous with a change of conjugation; the infix /-av-/ almost invariably generates the infinitival ending /-éi/, e.g./kumparákumparavéi/ (to buy, to buy frequently),/vínde-vindavéi/ (to sell,etc.), /aflá-aflavéi/ (to find,etc.),/verşi-viravéi (S) [17]/ (to come,etc.), whereas the infix /-iv-/

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17. exc. North /veravuşi/

behaves differently in each of the two main dialects, generating the infinitival ending /-éi/ in the South, but more frequently /-u̯i̯i/ in the North, e.g. /dur̯mi̯i - dur̯mivéi/ (both dialects - to sleep- to sleep frequently), /ieši̯i - ieši̯vu̯i̯i (N)/ (to come out, etc.) /piséi - pisivéi (S) / (to write, etc.).

Ways in which the opposition iterative-semelfactive (or non-iterative) functions can be seen from the following realizations.

a) Óbicno <u>am kumparavéit</u> kárne, ali̯ ier <u>am kumparát</u> ri̯ibe.
"Usually I bought meat,but yesterday I bought fish".

b) i-<u>am veri̯it</u> din kódru̯. "I have come from the forest".
i-<u>av vi̯vr̥k veravu̯i̯it</u> l -a mev cáie."He always kept coming up to my father".

c) ier <u>am vindut</u> kni̯iga lu̯ profesóru̯."Yesterday I sold the book to the professor".
a me fráte <u>a vindavéit</u> vi̯vr̥k nóvine."My brother always used to sell newspapers".

The "<u>Iterative Perfective</u>", on the other hand, seems to have been postulated to account for the need of speakers to indicate repeated occurrance of a verb which is perfective

in <u>form</u>, but not necessarily so in <u>meaning</u>. Into this class, I assume, would fall that type of verb whose underlying unmarked imperfective form has undergone prefixation. Such prefixation would not only have rendered the verb perfective (in form),but, as I have already indicated, may also have imparted to it a new lexical meaning.

Illustrative of this phenomenon is the verb "to write", of which the underlying unmarked imperfective form /pisáei/ may undergo affixation of the prefix /pot-/, thereby becoming /potPisáei/ and acquiring the additional meaning "to sign", which is perfective in <u>form</u> but not necessarily so in <u>meaning</u>, since one can sign once, as a completed and independent action, or one can sign <u>continuously</u> or <u>repeatedly</u>.

If <u>continuously</u>, the action is, of course, already semantically imperfective by definition, and the matter is therefore quite straightforward as the prefixed perfective form can easily become, as I have termed it above, <u>re-imperfectivized</u> by a morphological operation such as the change of conjugation cited above in the case of /(se)domislíi/ (perfective) - /(se)domisláei/ (imperfective). In the case of /potPisáei/, the "re-imperfectivized"

form occasioned by the need to give this formally perfective verb a "durative" or "continuous" meaning,varies according to dialect, being in the North /potPiśuḷi/(change of conjugation and simultaneous phonological change in the body of the verb) and in the South /potPisivéi/(addition of the infix /-iv-/). Thus far everything is in accordance with the definitions accepted above.

If repeatedly however, the action expressed by the so-called "iterative perfectives" presents a complex descriptive problem. The problem arises, I believe, from the confused situation referred to above concerning the proper place of "iterative" in the aspectual system. Before suggesting a way of dealing with the problem of "iterative", I find it necessary to summarize the main opinions that are in conflict, with a view to isolating the points of difficulty.

Borras and Christian [18] hold that "iterative verbs" form a subdivision of the imperfective aspect, and that they are opposed to "semelfactive verbs" which form a subdivision of the perfective aspect. This view is close to the one put forward by Entwistle and Morison [19] in their

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18. They are speaking for Russian; op.cit., p.109;cf.also N.Forbes, op.cit., p.13.

19. W.J.Entwistle and W.A.Morison, op.cit., p.106.

description of Slavonic, that there are two "varieties" of the imperfective aspect, namely the "durative" and the "iterative". Galton, in a fairly recent article [20], regretting that some scholars "still posit three aspects, including a frequentative one", states his view that the term frequentative, or iterative, denotes only a mode of action, on the same level as inchoative, terminative, semelfactive, etc., and that such modes are not what he calls as "all-pervading" in Slavonic as are aspects.

The assumption of an "iterative aspect" for Istro-Rumanian appears to have originated in Pușcariu's description of over forty years ago. He pays, it must be admitted, very scant attention to the highly complex question of verbal aspect, dismissing it in barely two pages of an extensive work. Pușcariu's assumption of the third aspect was quite probably necessitated by his definition of the imperfective aspect which he seems to have restricted to mean nothing more than durative, "Imperfectivă e o acțiune verbală când în vorbitor deșteaptă ideea unei continuități care nu e întovărășită de ideea unui început sau a unui sfârșit (rezultat) " [21].

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20. H.Galton, op.cit.

21. S.Pușcariu, op.cit., p.251.

Having imposed upon himself this limited view of the imperfective aspect, it appears that Puşcariu was faced with the task of accounting for the many instances in the language of the expression of repeated action, and thus had recourse to the "iterative aspect". Having set up the latter he goes on to say that <u>both</u> perfective and imperfective verbs can be made iterative, although the examples he cites in his brief exposé include only "iterative imperfective" formations.

Kovačec, writing some forty years later, follows Puşcariu's tripartite division of Istro-Rumanian verbs into perfective, imperfective and "iterative" aspects. He gives much useful information concerning the various ways in which imperfective verbs may be made perfective,(and vice versa), and concerning the different methods in which iterative meaning may be imparted to both imperfective and perfective verbs. Kovačec gives a very clear illustration of his view by means of a diagram in the form of a kind of "aspectual" triangle showing Imperfective at the apex and Perfective and Iterative respectively at the left hand and at the right hand of the base. The three points of the "triangle" are linked by two-way arrows showing the mutual re-

lationship which Kovaćec postulates for the verbal aspects [22].



FIGURE I

(Kovačec's System)

The difficulty to my mind is this: if an iterative verb must <u>also</u> be either perfective or imperfective, as is indicated in the descriptions of both Kovačec and Puşcariu, how can it be said that the "iterative aspect" is in opposition either to the perfective aspect or to the imperfective aspect? Neither Puşcariu nor Kovačec mentions "semelfactive" [23] which appears to me to be indispensable if one wishes to talk about an "iterative aspect" in a functional way - otherwise, to what is "iterative" opposed?

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22. A.Kovačec, <u>op.cit</u>., p.71.

23. Or "non-iterative" if the term "semelfactive" is taken to imply any more than this. Regarding this particular point I follow the view expressed by Borras and Christian, <u>op.cit</u>., p.141, that the term "semelfactive" describes "a single action once performed", and that the term "iterative" opposed it, i.e. that it describes an action repeated once or more.

A possible solution would be to set up for Istro-Rumanian a system of four aspects, consisting of perfective, imperfective, semelfactive and iterative, although I believe that Kovačec and Pușcariu were right not to have done so. Such a system could not help but complicate the description, as any given realization of a verb would then have to be shown as embodying one "bundle" of aspects, and as being in opposition to the remaining "bundle" of aspects e.g.
//verb x// [[perfective, semelfactive]] -//verb y// [[imperfective, iterative]] .

The hypothetical system would have the further disadvantage, unless we accept Pușcariu's rather limited interpretation of the aspects, (referred to above), of placing on the same level of the description concepts such as "semelfactive" and "iterative", each of which can be said to have a single content (or meaning), and concepts such as "perfective" and "imperfective", each of which can be said to have a variety of contents, although not necessarily at the same time. If we were to take such a view, then we should logically have to set up, in addition to the "semelfactive" and "iterative" aspects, aspects of

"durative", "continuous", "inchoative", "momentaneous", "terminative", etc., possibly ad infinitum, i.e. one aspect for every type of verbal action. We could then dispense with the somewhat imprecise terms "perfective" and "imperfective", but the resulting proliferation of aspects would be most cumbersome. Indeed, one of the chief advantages of the concepts "perfective" and "imperfective" seems to be that they allow us to group under two headings many different types of verbal action.

I therefore prefer to follow Galton's proposal, and maintain a distinction between modes of action (iterative, semelfactive, inchoative, terminative, etc.,) and aspects (perfective and imperfective), the aspects being regarded as complexes of modes.

A conceivable compromise between Kovačec's system and the one proposed by Borras and Christian, would be to return to the position that there are only two aspects, namely perfective and imperfective, and that between the twin poles of perfectivity and imperfectivity there are two sub-aspectual modes, semelfactive and iterative, respectively emanating from the aspects and linking them. Alternatively, one could possibly view the situation as being analogous to

the colour spectrum, the perfective and imperfective aspects being respectively at the outer edges of the spectrum, and the modes forming the gradually intershading sections in between. But neither of these highly tentative representations would be anything more than a rough approximation, and would hardly constitute a scientific description.

If we return to the so-called "Iterative Perfective" formations such as those illustrated above, and consider them in the light of the position of Entw istle and Morison, of Borras and Christian, and of others, (i.e. that "iterative" is a subdivision of the imperfective aspect and is opposed to "semelfactive" which is a subdivision of the perfective aspect), it would appear that forms such as /potPisivéi/ are imperfective (iterative) formations.However it has already been stated [24] that the infixes /-av-, -iv-/ do not necessarily indicate <u>frequency</u> of action, but may instead merely serve to emphasize <u>continuity</u>. This is illustrated by the following examples:

<u>ɾnmetSavéit</u> - am frantSu̯uzKa límba."I have been learning the French language"

fosT - am tru̯udɾn k-<u>am</u> tSu̯ude <u>putavéit</u>."I was tired because I had been travelling for a long time".

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24. See footnote 14. above.

It has also been shown above (cf. example 2,b) that the suffix /-uĵi/ need not necessarily indicate the durative, but may instead indicate the iterative. Further examples illustrating this are:

a me sóra a vŕvŗk pobiruĵit rož."My sister always used to pick flowers".

Fráne a vŗk potPišuĵit d-a sa máie (N)

(Fráne a vávika potPisivéit za lu se máie (S))"Frane always used to sign for his mother".

Therefore it is clear that formations such as/potPisivéi, zisikuĵi [25]/ etc., each represent the aspectual form of two

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25. With regard to /zisikuĵi/ it may be interesting, in passing, to compare conclusions arrived at by synchronic as opposed to diachronic means. According to the synchronic point of view /zisikuĵi/ was assigned above to Class 3 and cited as an example of an imperfective verb from which a perfective verb /zisecĵi/ may be formed by means of a change of conjugation and a simultaneous phonological change /-ik-→-ec-/. Diachronically however /zisecĵi/ would be viewed as a prefixed perfective (Class 1) formation from */secĵi/ (imperfective of posecĵi); /zisikuĵi/ would then be the "re-imperfectivized" form from /zisecĵi/.

distinct modal expressions. They could be described as /potPisivéi I, zisikuṷi I /, etc., representing the "imperfective durative", and /potPisivéi II, zisikuṷi II/, etc., representing the "imperfective iterative" [26].

Nevertheless, it would be unsatisfactory to leave the matter here, for despite the frequent formal coincidence of the forms of the expressions of "iterative" and "durative", Kovačec has shown very persuasively that "iterative" is a prominent feature in the verb system of Istro-Rumanian, and that far from being inextricably a subdivision of the imperfective aspect, it does have a not inconsiderable bearing on the perfective aspect.

It seems to me that one can accept the main implications of this without diverging too far from the Borras and Christian, Entw istle and Morison view, bearing in mind that Borras and Christian were describing Russian, and that Entw istle and Morison were generalizing about

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26. It would be possible to regard /potPisivéi I, potPisivéi II / etc., as homonyms, as are, for example, in English the verbs "to pick" I = "to choose", and "to pick" II = to make a hole with a pick", etc..

common Slavonic [27]. Whilst one may readily accept that verbal aspect is the dominant characteristic of the Slavonic verb, it seems reasonable to believe that it may not necessarily function in an identical way in all Slavonic languages. It seems even more reasonable to expect verbal aspect to function in a particularly individual way in Istro-Rumanian, since the latter, a Romance language and rather less familiar, despite its Latin parentage, with the category of aspect, will have had to adapt it to its own particular needs.

It has often been assumed, mistakenly as Galton points out [28], that the expression of "iterative" automatically calls for the imperfective aspect in all of the Slavonic languages. Galton also points to a second widely held false assumption that the "present tense" [29] of perfective verbs must always refer to future events [30]. The

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27. N.B. not exclusively about Serbo-Croat, which is the most relevant example of a Slavonic idiom when one is considering Slavonic influence on Istro-Rumanian.

28. H.Galton, op.cit.

29. i.e. the paradigm of morphological flexions which convey the meaning of "present time" when appended to imperfective verbs.

30. This is the case, for example, in Russian and in the North Slavonic languages, although even in Russian the present tense of perfective verbs may be used as a historic present.

fact is that in some Slavonic languages [31] the "perfective present" can be used as a present tense, a) to describe a succession of events and b) as a "historic present" [32] in narrative to describe events which have taken place in the past. In neither case does the "perfective present" have future connotations, as in such languages the future tense of both perfective and imperfective verbs is formed analytically [33].

Despite the fact of making allowances for linguistic divergence in the usage of verbal aspect in the Slavonic languages [34], and whilst bearing in mind the special situation of Istro-Rumanian, it is still very difficult to

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31. e.g. in Serbo-Croat; there is no difference in usage between main clauses and subordinate clauses.

32. A most interesting illustration of the vividness of the durative form in Greek is to be found in L.R.Palmer, The Latin Language, London, 1954, p.266. Palmer refers to this as the "eyewitness aspect" or the "aspect of presentation".

33. In Serbo-Croat the future tense of both perfective and imperfective verbs is formed analytically, i.e. with the enclitic form of the verb hteti (to want). It is interesting to note, in passing, that A.Mazon, op.cit., p.2, defines imperfective and perfective verbs according to this criterion, i.e. according to whether they possess, or do not possess, an analytical future (formed in Russian by the auxiliary budu). This method may be satisfactory for Russian, but for the reasons mentioned does not help us with Serbo-Croat and therefore cannot help us with Istro-Rumanian either.

34. Among the reasons for such divergence seems to be that Southern Slavonic (to which Serbo-Croat, together with Slovenian and Bulgarian belongs) possesses a more highly developed conjugation system than does Northern Slavonic (cf.H.Galton, op.cit.)A glance at the map "Slavonic Languages and Dialects in the Twentieth Century"(in W.J. Entw istle and W.A.Morison, op.cit.), serves to remind one of the geographical isolation of Southern Slavonic from

accept "iterative" as a separate aspect and to adhere at the same time to the principles of functional linguistics. The difficulty of how to consider "iterative" is hinted at in the description of Entwistle and Morison, despite their having firmly designated "iterative" (in the same way as "durative") a variety of the imperfective aspect. Having given a number of examples of unmarked imperfective verbs becoming perfective by means of prefixation, the authors go on to say that the newly formed perfective verbs may be made iterative (and imperfective) by means of the Slavonic affixes "-va-, -yva-, -ja". They then say that "while it is always necessary to unite the imperfective and perfective forms of the verb in order to complete its full paradigm, it is sometimes necessary to add the iterative form as the third member of the group".

Going back to Kovačec's position, it seems to me that if we accept the idea of an "iterative-perfective", such as would appear to occur in the sequence /Fráne a vȓk potPisȕ̌it d - a sa máie/ ("Frane always used to sign for his mother"), we have gone a long way towards destroying the case for an

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34. cont. the other Slavonic languages, thereby suggesting a further reason for such wide divergence.

"iterative-imperfective". If we accept that in the above sequence the form /potPišuṷit/ denotes a series of individual and completed acts of signing, then it would be but a short step to draw the conclusion that the iterative realizations given above are equally sequences of individual and completed actions, which should therefore be considered perfective, although the verbs in question (i.e. /kumparavéit, veravuṷit, vindavéit/) lack any prefix, or indeed any of the formal distinguishing marks of the perfective verbs. It would therefore be possible to argue that /óbicno am kumparavéit kárne /("usually I bought meat"), denotes a series of individual and completed acts of buying, and that /i-av veravuṷit l-a mev cáie/ ("he kept coming up to my father"), indicates a series of individual and completed acts of coming, and that these, and similar cases, should for this reason be considered perfective verbs. Examples such as these of iterative realizations in Istro-Rumanian speech, as well as the foregoing discussion, suggest that in this particular area at least, (i.e. that of "iterative"), the functional line dividing the perfective and the imperfective aspects is blurred [35].

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35. It would appear that the distinction is sometimes far from clear in Russian also, cf. B.O.Unbegaun, Russian Grammar, Oxford, 1957, p.228.

Such "blurring" becomes even more apparent if we consider that type of verbal action to which "iterative" is functionally opposed, namely "semelfactive". It will be recalled that "semelfactive" for Borras and Christian is a subdivision of the perfective aspect and describes "a single action once performed". The statement (that "semelfactive" is a subdivision of perfective) may well fit Russian, but it certainly would not always hold for Istro-Rumanian, as may be seen from the following realizations of the aspectual pair /ucíide - poucíide/ (to kill):

i - am ucíis o músKa. "I have killed a fly".

i - am poucíis mŭsTile. "I have killed (all) the flies".

Of these the former realization appears to be semelfactive and imperfective (at least in form); furthermore the sequences:

i - am ucíis kápra. "I have killed the goat", and

ie s-av ucíis. "He killed himself",

are also semelfactive and also (formally) imperfective.

It is, of course, possible to argue that all of these realizations (except the second one /i-am poucíis mŭsTile/) are semantically perfective despite the fact that they are formally imperfective. Such an argument would provide further

supporting evidence of the "blurring" between the perfective and imperfective aspects. Furthermore, unless we take Borras' and Christian's definition "a single action once performed" to mean that the action must be complete or productive of a result, numerous examples could be cited of Istro-Rumanian imperfective verbs, particularly in the present tense, describing single actions performed only once, e.g.

a me fráte ciravé ku presidénty."My brother is dining with the President", (i.e."at this moment",the assumption being that this is an isolated occasion, as opposed to his being a regular dining companion of the president's).Moreover the verbs "to die" (i.e. to be dying), and "to be born" make it even more clear that "once only" verbs can almost as readily be imperfective as perfective.

Although on functional grounds, "iterative" and "semelfactive" must be taken together as an opposed pair, it seems clear from the studies of Kovačec as well as from my own observations that the former is more "obtrusive" in Istro-Rumanian, and that it therefore makes more obvious demands on the describer. This is because Istro-Rumanian possesses discrete morphological units /-iv-, -av-, -úi,-liéi/,which

are capable of making verbs iterative, although they do not necessarily do so. On the other hand, the verbs expressing "semelfactive" may be said to possess a zero formal mark (that is to say the absence of any of the four morphemes just mentioned may indicate that the verb is semelfactive, although it does not necessarily do so). The semelfactive subsystem could therefore quite easily be overlooked, and this would falsify the description.

Neutralization in Grammar

The term "blurring" has been used several times above in reference to the lack of clear distinction between the perfective and the imperfective aspects with respect to iterative and semelfactive realizations of the verb. The term is imprecise and therefore unsatisfactory for the purposes of this description; it has been used up to this point merely to draw attention tc what is more precisely, according to functionalist criteria, the neutralization of opposition between the perfective and the imperfective aspects [36]. Such neutralization of opposition occurs not only

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36. A further instance of grammatical neutralization is given below in Chapter V, in regard to number.

in Istro-Rumanian, but also, it appears, in Serbo-Croat, the adjacent Slavonic idiom. In the latter language, the imperfective aspect is used generally to describe actions which are continuous, repeated, or the completion of which is not stated or foreseen. Yet the perfective aspect is generally used in that language to denote repeated action in conjunction with expressions meaning "whenever", "each or every time that", etc.. The same principle often applies in Istro-Rumanian, e.g. ieli doplavés rn kanál trei vóte na drn. "They go swimming in the canal three times a day".

In order to deal with the neutralization of opposition between the perfective and imperfective aspects in Istro-Rumanian, I propose to introduce the notion archi-aspect.The method I shall use in establishing the archi-aspect will be similar to that used in Neo-Prague school phonology for the establishment of the archiphoneme. I hope thereby to deal with the awkward situation with regard to "iterative" in Istro-Rumanian, and at the same time to demonstrate the practicability of extending the concept of neutralization to the grammatical level of linguistic description.

A number of attempts have been made to evolve procedures which would be equally applicable both to phonology and to grammar, and which would make the two levels of description isomorphic. Martinet, in a most interesting recent article, [37] refers to some of them and argues that a high degree of isomorphism between the two levels is impracticable. This is, as he says, because of the essential difference between the units of the two articulations, i.e. between the phoneme, which is a unit possessing form only, and the moneme which possesses both form and meaning. Martinet points out that the situation is further complicated by the fact that we have so far no generally accepted procedure for identifying the distinctive feature (traits significatifs) of the monemes. In the same article Martinet illustrates the difference between the notions "neutralisation" and "syncrétisme", and shows why the two are often confused.

Martinet's article explores the question of how far it is valid, and how far it is desirable, to apply the notion "neutralisation" (one of the tools "qui ont été forgés par la phonologie et pour la phonologie") to grammar.

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37. André Martinet, Neutralisation et syncrétisme, La Linguistique, I, 1968.

He concludes that it is permissible if there are similar limitations of usage which affect both phonemes and monemes, respectively the unités distinctives and the unités significatives; he says that the conditions for the extension of the notion "neutralisation" are fulfilled in contexts where the meaning function of two or more monemes no longer operates. For such instances of neutralization of meaning features, Martinet tentatively proposes the term archimonème.

The difficulties which Martinet anticipates towards the end of his article, particularly the one mentioned above concerning the lack of a generally accepted procedure for the identification of the distinctive features of monemes, but also the question of "un ou deux monèmes", can be circumvented, as I hope to show, by the application of Mulder's extension of the moneme theory, and by recourse to the notion grammateme.

In the Introduction to this work it was stated that the moneme is defined for the purposes of this description as the atomic element on the paradigmatic level of the first articulation, i.e., it is the equivalent in grammar of the 'distinctive feature' in phonology. The definition of the

grammateme, it will be recalled, is a simultaneous bundle of monemes.

As I stated earlier in the present Chapter, I propose to follow Galton in maintaining a distinction between modes of action and aspects. Among the former, as was also stated earlier in the Chapter, are included "complete", "incomplete", "durative", "non-durative","productive of a result", "non-resultative". To these may be added various other types of verbal action such as "inchoative","terminative", "momentaneous", "eyewitness", "descriptive","absolute", as well as the much discussed "iterative" and "semelfactive". These are all single, specific types of verbal action and are to be taken as the monemes,i.e.the individual items on which the aspectual system is based.

The aspects, as stated above, are "perfective" and "imperfective", and these are the grammatemes, which are made up of one or more monemes. It should be noted that neither of the terms "perfective", "imperfective" is generally taken to denote any one of the types of verbal action listed in the preceding paragraph. In fact it is difficult to assign a definite meaning to either of the terms, both being traditional appellations, one of the main advantages of which is, as I have said, that they enable us to

group under a strictly <u>limited</u> number of headings an open-ended list of varieties of verbal action.

Thus, the grammateme //perfective// is made up of <u>one or more</u> of the monemes ⟦complete⟧, ⟦productive of a result⟧ and ⟦non-durative⟧ ; the grammateme //imperfective// is made up of <u>one or more</u> of the monemes ⟦incomplete⟧, ⟦non-resultative⟧ and ⟦durative⟧ [38]. The phrase "one or more" indicates that the grammateme may be either <u>monomonematic</u> or <u>polymonematic</u>.In the former case, the grammateme //perfective// or the grammateme //imperfective// will at the same time be a moneme.

In functional terms, this means that each moneme represents a choice for the speaker. In accordance with the message he wishes to communicate, the speaker "selects" his monemes from the paradigmatic set relevant to his semantic requirements. He may select one or more paradigmemes according to the degree of sophistication he wishes to impart to his message. For example, in the case of

i - <u>am citéit</u> tóta nópTa. "I was reading all night".

which is a realization of the grammateme //imperfective//,

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38. These grammatemes may, of course, include in addition one or more of the other monemes of verbal action listed above.

the only 'aspectual' moneme brought into play is that of [[durative]] [39]. On the other hand the sequence

procitéit-am lúui trétii román."I have read his third novel". is a realization of //perfective// which is made up of the 'aspectual' monemes [complete] and [productive of a result] . In the case of a sequence such as

procitéit-am lúui trétii román

the fact that the speaker chooses for example [[complete]] and neglects other 'aspectual' monemes such as e.g. [momentaneous] , does not mean that those monemes which have been neglected are neutralized, any more than it could be said that the distinctive features [voiced] and [unvoiced] are neutralized in realizations of the [labial,nasal] phoneme /m/ in English. It simply means in each case that the 'neglected' features are not relevant to the message to be transmitted; the opposition [voiced-unvoiced] does not function in the context of the nasal series of phonemes in English, and the opposition [momentaneous - non-momentaneous] does not function in the context /procitéit-am lúui trétii román./

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39. Of course there are other types of moneme involved here besides 'aspectual' ones, e.g. [past, singular, first person, reading] ,etc..

As may be seen from the foregoing, many of the 'aspectual' monemes listed above can be assigned fairly uncontroversially to one or other of the aspectual grammatemes //perfective, imperfective//. That there are some "difficult" cases has been discussed at some length, and has been seen in some of the examples of utterances which have been cited above, particularly as regards the monemes [[iterative, semelfactive]] . It is here that I believe the notion <u>archiaspect</u> can be of help.

For example, in the context [[iterative]] , one can say that the opposition between the monemes [[complete-incomplete]] is neutralized, as in a realization such as i-<u>av veravuŷit</u> l-a mev cȃie, "he kept coming up to my father",

which indicates a series of acts of coming, each one complete in itself,but nevertheless part of a continuous series. The realization thus contains not only the moneme [[iterative]] ,but also the neutralization of the opposition [[complete-incomplete]] , which monemes belong respectively to //perfective, imperfective//, (hereafter referred to for the sake of convenience as //p// and //i//).

Similarly in the realization

Fráne a vŗk potPišuĵit d-a sa máie."Frane always used to sign for his mother",

the verbal part of the sequence is a further example of a realization of [[iterative]] which again provides the context for the neutralization of the opposition [[complete-incomplete]] , because neither of these monemes has any semantic value once [[iterative]] has been selected by the speaker.

Thus in the context [[iterative]] the opposition between //p// and //i// ceases to function, thereby establishing the archigrammateme. The archigrammateme is defined as a grammateme in a subsystem, which when projected into the overall system is represented there by two or more grammatemes.[40] This definition is analogous to the definition of the archiphoneme. Although the unit in question is the archigrammateme, in the context of this Chapter it is more specifically the archiaspect, referred to hereafter for the sake of convenience as //A//. Hence from the aspectual viewpoint of this description the verbs in sequences such as

i - av veravuĵit l-a mev cáie,

Fráne a vŗk potPišuĵit d-a sa máie,

etc., are considered as belonging to //A//.

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40. In this instance there are only two items involved.

A different situation prevails in the case of sequences such as

i-<u>am ucíis</u> o músKa, "I have killed a fly".

i-<u>am ucíis</u> kápra, "I have killed the goat".

ie s-<u>av ucíis</u>,"he killed himself".

The realizations of the verb in such sequences have to be regarded as belonging to //p//, despite the fact that there are none of the morphemes present which often in other realizations constitute one of the generally recognized distinguishing marks of perfective verbs.

This factor emphasizes the desirability of regarding verbal aspect from the <u>semantic</u> rather than from the <u>formal</u> viewpoint. From the <u>formal</u> viewpoint it would be possible to say of the realizations of the verb in the sequences just cited, that they each contain a <u>zero</u> morpheme of "perfectivity", but such a statement would have little descriptive value compared with the much more important recognition of the fact that they contain the monemes ⟦complete⟧ and ⟦productive of a result⟧ . That the <u>expression</u> of a moneme may be zero must not obscure the fact that a given <u>moneme</u> can <u>never</u> be zero.

If we look again at one of the examples just given ie s-av ucíis, we can see how dangerous it can be to rely solely on formal criteria in order to decide to which aspect a given verb should be assigned. In some realizations ie s-av ucíis means "he killed himself", whereas in others it may mean "he was killing himself" (i.e.when something else happened). In the former case the realizations contain the moneme [[complete]], whereas in the latter case they contain [[incomplete]].

Yet this does not automatically mean that ie s-av ucíis belongs to //A//. If we bear in mind that in functional linguistics we are concerned only with those units in language which involve a choice on the part of the speaker, it is clear that the speaker will always know, in utterances such as ie s-av ucíis, whether he has imparted the idea of completeness or of incompleteness to his utterance, in other words whether he has "chosen" the monemes [[complete]] or the moneme [[incomplete]]; there will normally be sufficient redundancy in the remainder of the context to make the speaker's choice clear to the hearer, and therefore the aspectual grammateme will be //p// or //i// according to this context.

The position regarding ie s-av ucíis is therefore quite

different from that of sequences such as i-av veravu̯it l-a mev cáie and Fráne a vrk potPišu̯it d-a sa máie, where the speaker does not choose between [[complete]] and [[incomplete]] because the opposition of these monemes does not function once the moneme [[iterative]] has been selected.

An alternative, although perhaps not very attractive way of looking at cases such as ie s-av uc̯is, would be to take the view that there are two verbs, i.e. uc̯ide I and uc̯ide II, meaning I"to kill" (as an absolute, completed "perfective" action), and II"to kill" (as a descriptive, durative, "imperfective" action).

The "two" verbs could then be regarded as homonyms, as are, for example, the English verbs "to pair" and "to pare", or the verbs "to pick" I and II, mentioned above [41]. The same principle could then be extended to many verbs of Istro-Rumanian, but apart from going a long way towards doubling the verbal part of the lexicon, it is difficult to see how such a procedure would clarify the description of the functioning of verbal aspect in the language. I also doubt strongly whether two homonyms would be sufficient in

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41. See note 26, above.

the case of most verbs,and, were such a procedure adopted, we should have to multiply each entry in order to include "iterative" and other "homonyms" as well.

A further alternative solution, similar to the extent that it would, like the preceding one, derive from the recognition of the important rôle played by context, would be that we should talk about <u>aspects of realizations of the verb</u>, rather than about <u>aspects of the verb</u> in Istro-Rumanian. But however tempting this type of solution may at first appear, it would undoubtedly make for a very laborious description if we were obliged to deal with each individual realization of the verb, and to limit in this way our description of the functioning of verbal aspect in the language. The result of such an approach may well prove adequate for an essentially inductivist treatment of a given corpus, but would seriously limit the scope of the general descriptive statements we could otherwise make. It would also partially, but by no means completely, obviate the need for the notion archiaspect, the main advantage of which is that it enables us to make generalizations which go beyond any corpus, however extensive.

However, as regards cases such as <u>ie s-av ucís</u>, the notion archiaspect can be of no help to us, because they do

not evidence any instance of neutralization of opposition between //p// and //i//. In such cases the speaker knows whether or not he has chosen e.g. [[complete]] as well as any speaker of English knows whether in any given utterance he has chosen "pair" as opposed to its homonym "pare". Mere instances of homonymy are not, as Martinet has shown [42], to be regarded as neutralization. Absence of formal differentiation, such as one encounters in the expression of the monemes [[complete]] and [[incomplete]] in the types of realization discussed above, is syncretism not neutralization. In other words, the morphemes, or sequences of phonemes, by which the monemes of ie s-av uc{is //p// and of ie s-av uc{is //i// are expressed, are identical, but the actual monemes (of completeness and incompleteness), nevertheless remain distinct.

A further illustration of syncretism, as opposed to neutralization, may be seen in the comparison of the present tense paradigms of certain aspectual pairs in which some of the paradigmemes show syncretism, whereas others maintain morphological, as well as monematic, distinction. This is

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42. André Martinet, op.cit., 1968.

the case with certain prefixed forms such as the reflexive (se)domisl̓i,"to remember", which is a prefixed perfective formation from the imperfective misl̓i,"to think"; the re-imperfectivized form is (se)domisléi. The two prefixed verbs show syncretism in four members of the present tense paradigm, as can be seen below [43].

(se)domisl̓i //p//	(se)domisléi //i//
io me domislésK	io me domislésK
tyu te domislésTi̓i	tyu te domislésTi̓i
ie se domislé	ie se domislé
noi ne domisl̓in	noi ne domisléin
voi ve domisl̓itS	voi ve domisléitS
ieli se domislésKy	ieli se domislésKy

It will be seen from the above that the paradigms coincide formally with the exception of the forms of expression for the first and second persons plural. There is thus no difference in form, for example, between the expression of "I remember (i.e. am remembering) those days", and the expression of "I suddenly remember those days", the phonological form for both in Istro-Rumanian being domislésK me de cále zíle.

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43. The forms given here are from Southern Istro-Rumanian.

This represents a syncretism between //p// and //i// but not a neutralization, because the monemes,e.g. [[complete]] and [[incomplete]] (and hence the aspectual grammatemes) remain distinct as far as the meaning is concerned.

We find a similar type of syncretism in the English forms "I cut" (present tense) and "I cut" (past tense),where it would not be correct to say that there is neutralization between the monemes [[present]] and [[past]] despite the absence of formal differentiation.

Neutralization does occur in the case of (se)domisléi whenever the moneme [[iterative]] neutralizes the [[complete-imcomplete]] opposition, as for example in the sequence

io m-am domisléit ke va verʃi me fráte,

in the sense of "I kept remembering that my brother would come", in which the realization of the verb belongs to //A//. In a formally identical sequence, in the sense of "I was just remembering (reminding myself) that my brother would come" (i.e. when he suddenly arrived), the realization of the verb would belong to //i//.

Discussion of the question of syncretism brings us to the situation of a number of very common verbs in Istro-

Rumanian [44] which do not readily lend themselves to classification under the heading of either of the verbal aspects. It is not possible to assign an aspect to such verbs except on the basis of individual realizations. As the phonological forms of the expression of //p// and //i// are not differentiated in these verbs, they are to be taken as further instances of syncretism.

Examples of this type of verb include fíi "to be", avé "to have", lukrá "to work", lasá "to let,allow", la (S) /vla (N)"to take". The following realizations will serve as illustration:

krnd am fosT tírrr am beiúut sáka séra//i//"when I was young I used to drink every evening".

ier am fosT la médiku //p//"Yesterday I was at the doctor's"

io n-am lukrát tóta ca setimána trekúuta//I//,"I didn't work all last week".

m-am lukrát zálika segúutra",//p//,"but I worked a little this morning".

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44. cf. B.O. Unbegaun, op.cit., p. 225, for verbs in Russian which do not form aspectual pairs.

vávika m-a gosPodáru lasát ráno mére //A// (because of context [[iterative]]),"the boss always used to let me go early".

alį ier nų m-a lasát asá ráno mére//p//"but yesterday he didn't let me go so early".

This concludes the main part of the treatment of verbal aspect in this work. A certain matter which I have not so far mentioned, concerns what I consider to be evidence of "unease" in the manipulation of verbal aspect in Istro-Rumanian. Treatment of this question, partly on account of its somewhat intuitive nature, but mainly because of its largely comparativist implications, has been left for Appendix A, as have several other considerations, also of a comparativist nature, which I feel should not be entirely overlooked despite the stated synchronic aims of this description.

CHAPTER V

THE NOUN AND ITS MODIFIERS

The Istro-Rumanian noun system is, like the verb system, composed of grammatemes and monemes of various types which occur in combinations. In dealing with them I shall follow a procedure similar to the one adopted in Chapter III, i.e. that of enumerating and characterizing each type before going on to a detailed consideration.

I. Lexical Grammatemes

These belong to unlimited inventories and constitute the basic component of the 'noun expression'. They are to be found in combination with one or more of the other types of grammateme or moneme expression given below. Examples of this type, given in the form of what is traditionally known as the nominative, or 'subject', case are //prefT//(priest), //pṛre//(bread), //zii//(day), //mṛr//(hand).

The reason why entities such as these are grammatemes and not monemes is that in addition to the lexical 'content', or moneme, expressed, there are also expressed monemes of articulation, number, and case.

Each of the latter is discussed in the classification below.

II Grammatemes of Articulation and Number.

These are amalgamations, i.e. complexes of monemes of articulation and monemes of number, as follows:

IIa Monemes of Articulation.

In Istro-Rumanian, nouns (and frequently adjectives) are inflected according to whether they are articulated or unarticulated. In the case of the former, in addition to the rest of the expression, there is also expressed a moneme which may be called [[definite article]] ; in the case of the latter, there is generally the additional expression of [[indefinite article]] . There are,therefore, two monemes of articulation in Istro-Rumanian, and these are [[definite]] and [[indefinite]] respectively.

Examples of [[definite]] are included in the expressions of the grammatemes //préfTu//(the priest),//pṛa// (the bread), //zi̯a//(the day); examples of [[indefinite]] are included in the expressions of //prefT//(a priest) //zi̯i//(a day), although in these latter cases the expression is frequently reinforced by the inclusion of an additional expression of the indefinite article in one of the

forms of the numeral [[one]] e.g. /u̯r, r̥n/ (masc.), /o/(fem.), i.e. //u̯r prefT, o zi̯i//,etc..

IIb Monemes of Number.

In the case of most nouns, there are only two monemes of number in Istro-Rumanian, namely [[singular]] and [[plural]]. In the case of one, extremely limited, class of nouns there is a third moneme of number, namely one which has some of the characteristics of [[dual]] or more accurately [[paucal]], which occurs only after the numerals [[two,three,four]].

Examples of [[singular]] are to be found in the grammatemes //préfTu̯// and //zi̯i// which, in addition to their lexical 'content', contain also the monemes [[definite]] and [[indefinite]] respectively; expressions of [[plural]] are included in the grammatemes //prefTS//(priests) and //mr̥rle// (the hands), which express in addition, the monemes [[indefinite]] and [[definite]] respectively; examples of the expression of [[paucal]] are included in the grammatemes //do u̯re//(two hours), //pátru̯ minu̯te //(four minutes).

As mentioned above, the monemes of articulation and the monemes of number are amalgamations, and are to be considered

as <u>grammatemes of articulation and number</u>. This is because it is not possible to establish the phonological form of the expression of each of the monemes in question (i.e. those of articulation and those of number). For example, although we can identify the morpheme /le/ (as in //mɨrle//) as the phonological form of the expression of the grammateme //definite,plural//, it is not possible further to analyse /le/ into the monemes ⟦definite⟧ and ⟦plural⟧ respectively. The situation is analogous to that of the grammatemes of person and number encountered in Chapter III where, for example, /tS/ represents the phonological form of the expression of //second person plural//, and may not be further broken down into the monemes ⟦second person⟧ and ⟦plural⟧ .

III <u>Grammatemes of Case and Number</u>.

These, too, are amalgamations, and comprise monemes of case and monemes of number, as follows:

IIIa <u>Monemes of Case</u>.

There are in Istro-Rumanian five monemes of case and these are respectively, according to traditional terminology,

a) <u>the nominative</u> , (or subject case),

b) <u>the accusative</u> , (or object case),

c) <u>the genitive</u>

d) <u>tne dative</u>

e) <u>the vocative</u>

The phonological forms of the expression of a), and b), and of c) and d) coincide.

There are thus three types of expression of the monemes of case and they are included in the grammatemes //préfTu, prefTS, kfre (dog)// which contain the moneme [[nominative/accusative]] ,

//préfTuly(u)i (of/to the priest), préfTSilor(of/to the priests), frátelu(u)i (of/to the brother)//which contain the monemes [[genitive/dative]] ,

and //filiule//(son!), Northern dialect, //filio// Southern dialect, which contain the moneme [[vocative]] .

It will be seen that in the first type of grammateme listed above, the moneme of case([[nominative]] or [[accusative]]) has a 'zero' phonological form. In other words it represents the 'unmarked' member of the paradigm,and is characterized by a 'zero morpheme'.

It should be noted, in passing, that instances of <u>formal</u> coincidence of the monemes of case, such as those given above where the phonological forms of the expression of ⟦nominative⟧ and ⟦accusative⟧ coincide, still have to be considered as <u>monemes</u> of case and <u>not</u> as grammatemes [1] of case, because here there is no question of there being complexes of monemes of case. Although the formal expressions of ⟦nominative⟧ and ⟦accusative⟧ coincide, in any given utterance the moneme will be <u>either</u> ⟦nominative⟧ <u>or</u> ⟦accusative⟧. The same is true of the formal coincidence of the monemes ⟦genitive⟧ and ⟦dative⟧ ,although there are cases, as will be shown below,where formal differentiation of these monemes is possible by analytical means.

In fact some nouns do not possess a 'synthetic' phonological form of the expression of the monemes ⟦genitive⟧ or ⟦dative⟧ , and in such cases the monemes in question have to be realized analytically. In the Southern dialects only an analytical form of expression is possible. Some nouns which in the Northern dialect <u>do</u> possess the synthetic form of expression also possess alternative, sometimes even discontinuous, forms of expression by which the monemes of case are realized. An example of this type of

1.The forms in which the monemes of case are contained are,of course,themselves <u>grammatemes</u>,because in addition to the monemes of case,grammatemes such as //préfTu// contain also the moneme ⟦singular⟧ and ⟦definite⟧ as well as the lexical component.

realization is //lu̯ préfTu̯://which is a variant of //préfTulu̯(u)i//(of the priest). This question will be discussed more fully below.

Grammatemes which include a separate phonological form of the expression of the moneme [[vocative]],(i.e. other than by a 'zero' form of expression) are rare in Istro-Rumanian.

IIIb Monemes of Number.

These are the same as those referred to in Section IIb above, and, as stated earlier, are amalgamated with monemes of case to form grammatemes of case and number.

Such formations are analogous to those discussed in Section II,i.e.the grammatemes of articulation and number. They are further analogous in that the grammatemes so formed are not analysable into separately expressed monematic components. The forms //-lu̯(u)i̯, -lor// which are contained in the grammatemes// préfTulu̯(u)i̯, préfTSi̯lor// are the phonological forms of the expression of//genitive [2], singular//, and //genitive,plural// respectively.

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2. or dative.

It is not possible to isolate the expression of ⟦genitive⟧, because the expression of this moneme is partly contained in both of the forms //-lu̯(u)i̯// and //-lor//. Furthermore, although //-lu̯(u)i̯, -lor// are to be regarded as being the respective phonological forms of the expression of //genitive, singular//, and //genitive, plural//, it is clear that there is a certain amount of redundancy in the expression, because the monemes ⟦singular⟧ and ⟦plural⟧ are already expressed in the more 'underlying' forms //préfTu̯-// and //préfTSi̯//. One must therefore recognize that the grammatemes //genitive, singular// and //genitive, plural//may have a nondiscreteform of expression; they are nevertheless simultaneous bundles of grammatically distinctive features.

Grammatical Gender

Before I proceed to a detailed examination of the various types of form listed above, it seems advisable to make a brief mention of the phenomenon of grammatical gender, which is a feature of the noun system of Istro-Rumanian. In this work, nouns will be considered for the sake of convenience as belonging to the traditional distinctions of masculine, feminine and common gender.

In a functional description, grammatical gender is something that has to be recognized and dealt with rather like the statements of realization in a functional phonology which describe instances of contextual variance. Grammatical gender is an instance of contextual variance on the level of the first articulation. It has no functional relevance and is not monematic. In other words it does not represent a choice for the speaker, because its occurrence is contextually determined. The speaker who chooses //mr̥r//(hand) as opposed to ,say, //án//(year), does not select 'feminine' as opposed to 'masculine'; the occurrence of 'feminine' is predetermined by the speaker's selection of //mr̥r// which possesses certain attributes which condition the phonological form of some of its accompanying elements, e.g. /-a/ as opposed to /-u̯/ expressing [[definite]], or of, say, /bu̯ra/ as opposed to /bu̯r/ expressing [[good]].

A functional description has, nevertheless, to take grammatical gender into account in the interests of descriptive adequacy, and thus to account for instances of concord between the forms of the expression of the nouns and of the adjectives, (as well as of some of the numerals and other accompanying elements). For example, in the se-

quence //césTa mi̱ku̱ fecór//, (this small boy), the selection of the form //fecór//contextually determines the form //césTa// as opposed to //cásTa// and the form //mi̱ku̱// as opposed to //mi̱ka//. We have to regard parts of the phonological expressions of //césTa// and //mi̱ku̱// as belonging in some degree to the expression of //fecór//. Alternatively, it may be said that 'boy' in the above sequence is expressed by means of a discontinuous phonological form which may be represented as /...e.... ....u fecór/. [3]

The lexical grammatemes, such as those given in Section I, are combinable with the other types of grammatemes and monemes described above, which impart function to them. The lexical grammatemes may be analysed into flexional classes in accordance with the morphemes which are the phonological forms of the expression of the various combinatory grammatemes and monemes. The classes, or noun declensions, given below, are designated for the sake of

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3. See the discussion of discontinuous phonological form in A.Martinet, Elément de Linguistique Générale,Paris 1960, para.4.5;see also J.W.F.Mulder, Sets and Relations in Phonology, Oxford 1968,pp.45-49.

convenience and in accordance with tradition, as being of masculine, feminine or common gender, but again it is emphasized that these designations are not functional.

CLASS I (Masculine)

The paradigm on // prefT // is

1/ prefT

2/ préfTu̯

3/ préfTu̯lu̯(u)i̯ (N. only)

4/ prefTS

5/ préfTSi̯i

6/ préfTSi̯lor (N.only)

Each of the above paradigmemes is composed of the underlying form /prefT/(priest) together with morphemes expressing complexes of monemes, or grammatemes,of articulation, number and case. In the case of 1) there is no form in addition to /prefT/ and thus the monemes ⟦indefinite⟧ , ⟦singular⟧ , ⟦nominative⟧ are represented by 'zero morphemes', in the same way that the moneme ⟦plural⟧ of the English form //sheep// is represented by a 'zero morpheme'.

The morphological flexions attached to the six paradigmemes above are the phonological forms of the expression of the following grammatemes, set out in terms of their monematic components.

1) //indefinite,singular,nominative/accusative//

2) //definite,singular,nominative/accusative//

3) //definite,singular,genitive/dative//

4) //indefinite,plural,nominative/accusative//

5) //definite,plural,nominative/accusative//

6) //definite,plural,genitive/dative//

Viewed paradigmatically the above set is complete only from the standpoint of synthetic flexional formations. In order to complete the paradigm two further members must be added, namely

7) //indefinite,singular,genitive/dative//

8) //indefinite,plural,genitive/dative//

but these can only be realized analytically,i.e. they have a discontinuous form of expression.

Of the first six paradigmemes, four may be realized as variants by analytical means, sometimes with a certain amount of tautology, as illustrated by the following paradigm which

may be regarded as an alternative to the one given above.

1) (ŗn/ụr) prefT

2) préfTụ

3) lụ préfTụ

4) (ụrị) prefTS

5) préfTSị̣i

6) lụ préfTSị̣i

There is tautology in 1) and 4) because the expression of the indefinite article is already implied in the 'un-articulated' forms //prefT, prefTS//.

The forms //lụ préfTụ, lụ préfTSị̣i// although they may express the moneme [[genitive]], much more commonly express [[dative]]. Furthermore in such cases of analytical realization it is possible to isolate the moneme [[dative]] (or [[genitive]]) which is expressed here by the form /lụ/ which may conveniently be regarded as a dative marker.

For paradigmemes 7) and 8) the phonological forms of the expression are

7) de prefT or lụ prefT

8) de prefTS or lụ prefTS

according to whether the moneme of case is [[genitive]] or [[dative]] respectively, and in instances such as these the expressions of the moneme [[genitive , dative]], are isolatable as /de,lụ/.

It should also be noted that in some (very rare) cases there is occasional tautology in the (otherwise) purely synthetic forms given above. For example the form //de préfTSilor// may be encountered instead of the more 'regular' //préfTSilor// [4].

In the Southern dialects generally, there is a greater tendency towards analytical realization, as has been mentioned above, (N.B. in this chapter, as elsewhere in the work, the procedure has been adopted of giving the standard Northern forms first, followed by a note of the Southern forms where these are different).

The above paradigm as realized in the Southern dialects is as follows:

1) prefT
2) préfTu̯
3) lu̯ préfTu̯
4) prefTS
5) préfTSi̯i
6) lu̯ préfTSi̯i
7) de prefT/lu̯ prefT
8) de préfTS/lu̯ préfTS

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4. Possibly this may represent an attempt by the speaker to emphasize his choice of [genitive] as opposed to [dative], although its use appears to be unconscious, and regarded as not quite 'right' by the speakers.

In the case of 6), and even more rarely in the case of 3), there is the very infrequent occurrence of the forms //de lụ préfTSịi, de lụ prefTụ// which, again, show tautology [5].

Class I noun paradigms, such as the one on //prefT//, may be summarized by the formula

		North	South
prefT	+	-zero	-zero
		-ụ	-ụ
		-ulụ(u)ị	lụ ---ụ
		-S	-S
		-Sịi	-Sịi
		-Sịlor	lụ ---Sịi
	de/lụ---		de/lụ ---
	de/lụ---S		de/lụ ---S

The forms on either side of the equation are the morphemes expressing the monemes which amalgamate to constitute the full grammatemes making up the paradigm. In the lexicon, it will suffice to list the first and the fourth members of the paradigm, in this case //prefT,prefTS// respectively the 'unarticulated' singular and the 'unarticulated' plural forms since from these two forms,the remaining

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5. Similar considerations would seem to apply here as those tentatively suggested in note 4; the /de/may represent a reinforcement when the context is deemed insufficient to carry the meaning unequivocally.

)aradigmemes are all derivable, members two and three from //prefT//, and members five and six from //prefTS//, in ;ach case by the addition of the appropriate flexional ıorpheme. Paradigmemes seven and eight, and those other)aradigmemes of the Southern dialects which also possess ı discontinuous form of expression, are also derivable 'rom //prefT, prefTS// according to whether they are [[singular]] or [[plural]].

Class Ia

Nouns of this sub-class form paradigms very similar :o those of Class I. The sub-class is exemplified by the ıaradigms on //fịl// (son).

	North	South
)	fịl	fịl
!)	fíliu	fịliu
i)	filiulu(u)i	lu fíliu
·)	fịli	fịli
;)	fíliii	fíliii
ı)	fíliilor	lu fíliii
')	de/lu fịl	de/lu fịl
ı)	de/lu fịli	de/lu fíli
ı)	fíliule([[vocative]])	fílio

This sub-class may be summarized by the formula:

fil	+	zero	zero
		-iu̯	-iu̯
		-iu̯lu̯(u)i̯	lu̯---iu̯
		-i	-i
		-iii̯	-iii
		-ii̯lor	lu̯---ii̯i̯
		de/lu̯---	de/lu̯---
		de/lu̯--i	de/lu̯--i
		-iu̯le	-io

In this case the forms appearing in the lexicon will be //fil,fi̯li//, again the first and the fourth paradigmemes representing the 'unarticulated' singular and the 'unarticulated' plural forms. The remaining paradigmemes are all derivable from these two forms.

These paradigms are comparatively rare for Istro-Rumanian in that for both dialects they possess an additional member (i.e. number 9), consisting of a flexional morpheme expressing [[vocative]] .

CLASS Ib

Nouns of this sub-class form paradigms which, although basically quite similar to those of Class I, show certain

differences in that a phonological change occurs within the body of some of the paradigmemes. This sub-class is exemplified by the paradigms on //médik//(doctor), and //suséd//(neighbour).[6]

1)	médik	suséd
2)	médiku	susédu
3)	médikulu(u)i	susédulu(u)i
4)	médic	suséz
5)	médicii	susézii
6)	médicilor	susézilor
7)	de/lu médik	de/lu suséd
8)	de/lu médic	de/lu suséz

The phonological change referred to is /k→c/ in the first paradigm, and /d→z/ in the second. This phenomenon could well be described in terms of 'replacive morphemes' in the case of this sub-class, as for example

médik	+	-zero
		-u
		-ulu(u)i
		-k→c
		k→cii
		k→cilor
		de/lu---
		de/lu--k→c

6. The forms given are those of the Northern dialect. Those of the Southern dialects are omitted here and for the remainder of Class I nouns because their patterning is uniform with that of the Southern forms already described.

or

susédˈ + -zero / -u / -ulu(u)i / d→z / d→zii / d→zilor / de/lu--- / de/lu--d→z

but such seems unnecessarily cumbersome, and would create a proliferation of such 'replacive morphemes' as the number of nouns belonging to this sub-class is large.

Instead, I prefer to adopt a procedure very similar to the one adopted in Class I and Class Ia, namely that of listing paradigmemes one and four in the lexicon,(in this case //médik, médic; suséd, susézˈ// etc.). Then by using <u>both</u> of these forms in the summarizing formula, the need for 'replacive morphemes' is eliminated as the phonological change involved is accounted for in the setting up ofaseparate sub-class. This, in a sense, almost amounts to regarding pairs such as //médik, médic; suséd, susézˈ// etc. as allomorphs of the same expression, and is a procedure analogous to the one adopted in respect to the verbs in Chapter III. But, of course, //médik, médicˈ// etc. are

not allomorphs because each expresses a different moneme, namely [[singular, plural]] respectively.

The revised formula for paradigms of Class Ib is therefore

			-zero	
			-u	
		médik	+ -ulu(u)i	
		médic	-zero	
			-ii	
			-ilor	
			de/lu--	
			de/lu--	

the forms //médik, médic// being the lexical entries which enable the remainder of the paradigmemes to be generated, all of thos e paradigmemes containing the moneme [[singular]] (i.e. 1,2,3,7), being derivable from //médik//, and the remainder of the paradigmemes expressing [[plural]] (i.e.4,5, 6,8) being derivable from //médic//.

CLASS I c

Nouns of this sub-class form, strictly speaking, a sub-class of Class I b. They form paradigms which are very similar to those of Class I b, a difference being that there is coincidence of phonological form between the grammatemes

//indefinite, singular nominative/accusative// and //indefinite, plural, nominative/accusative//, in other words between paradigmemes one and four, (as between the English forms //sheep (singular), sheep (plural) //).

1) fecór
2) fecóru̯
3) fecóru̯lu̯(u)i̯
4) fecór
5) fecóri̯i
6) fecóri̯lor
7) de/lu̯ fecór
8) de/lu̯ fecór

This is summarized by the formula:

$$\left\{\begin{matrix}\\ \\ \\ \\ \end{matrix}\right. \text{fecór} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{-zero}\\ \text{-u}\\ \text{-u̯lu̯(u)i̯}\\ \text{-zero}\\ \text{-i̯i}\\ \text{-i̯lor}\\ \text{de/lu̯--}\\ \text{de/lu̯--}\end{matrix}\right\}$$

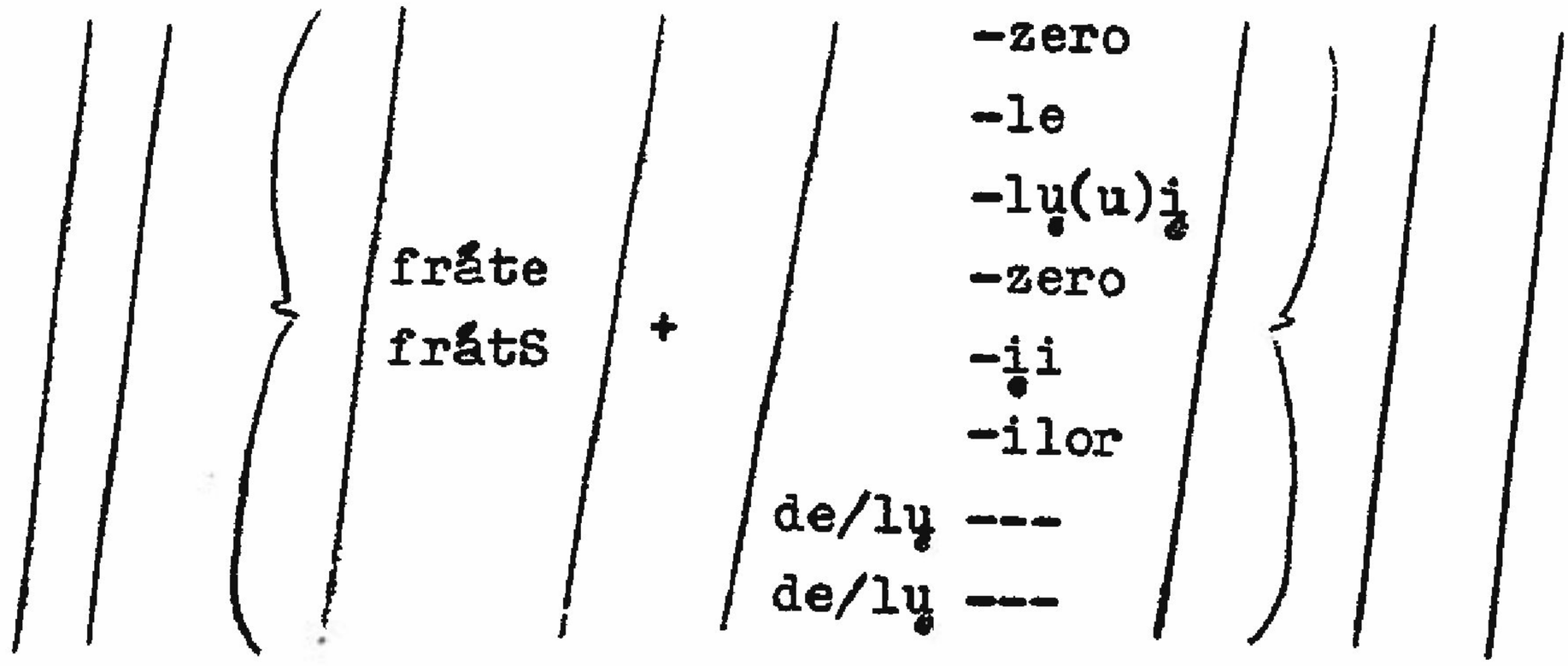
The lexical entry in this case will include <u>both</u> of the paradigmemes one and four,i.e. //fecór, fecór//, in order to indicate that there is syncretism between the paradigmemes in question, and to indicate that [[plural]] in this type of paradigm has a 'zero' morpheme.

CLASS I d

A characteristic of this sub-class is that the first member of the paradigm ends in /-e/. The most marked effect of this is that the <u>second</u> paradigmeme has a somewhat uncommon flexional morpheme, /-le/, for nouns of Class I. Examples of this sub-class include //fráte// (brother), //dínte// (tooth). The paradigm on //fráte//is as follows:

1) fráte
2) frátele
3) frátelu̯(u)i̯
4) fratS
5) frátSi̯i
6) frátSi̯lor
7) de/lu̯ fráte
8) de/lu̯ fratS

The sub-class may be summarized by the formula:



and the lexical entry will be //fráte, fratS//.

Quite similar to nouns of this sub-class, but not common enough to merit a sub-class of its own, is the paradigm on //kfre// [7] (dog).

1) kfre
2) kfrele
3) kfrlụ(u)i
4) krr (variant kfrii)
5) kfrle
6) kfrlor
7) de/lụ kfre
8) de/lụ krr

It will appear in the lexicon under the forms //kfre,krr//.

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7. Northern dialect only; the Southern form for "dog" is //brek//.

CLASS I e

This sub-class is composed of a remainder of nouns, many of them very common, which are masculine and which show some of the characteristics of Class I nouns but which cannot be placed into any of the sub-classes given above. Such nouns include //om//(man),//ka//(horse),//bo//(ox), and their paradigms are as follows:

1)	om	ka	bo
2)	ómụ	kálụ	bóvụ
3)	ómụlụ(u)ị	kálụ(u)ị	bóvụlụ(u)ị
4)	ómịr	kali	boi
5)	ómịrịi	kálịịi	bóịịi
6)	ómịr(i)lor	kálịlor	bóilor
7)	de/lụ om	de/lụ ka	de/lụ bo
8)	de/lụ ómịr	de/lụ kali	de/lụ boi

Their lexical entries will appear as //om, ómịr;ka, kali; bo, boi// respectively [8].

CLASS II (Feminine)

The paradigm on //posTóla// (shoe) is

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8. This sub-class cannot conveniently be summarized by means of a formula.

	North	South
1) (o)	posTóla	(o) posTóle [9]
2)	posTóla	posTóla
3)	posTóleliei(var.de/le[10] posTóla)	lụ posTóla
4)	posTóle	posTóle
5)	posTólele	posTólele
6)	posTólelor	lụ posTólele
7)	(de/lụ)posTóle	(de/lụ)posTóle
8)	de/lụ posTóle	de/lụ posTóle

The monematic components of these grammatemes, apart from the lexical unit, are respectively

1) //indefinite, singular, nominative/accusative//
2) //definite, singular, nominative/accusative//
3) //definite, singular, genitive/dative//
4) //indefinite, plural, nominative/accusative//
5) //definite, plural, nominative/accusative//
6) //definite, plural, genitive/dative//
7) //indefinite, singular, genitive/dative//
8) //indefinite, plural, genitive/dative//

It will be seen that there is a slightly higher incidence of syncretism in Class II paradigms than in those of Class I.

There are again more analytical forms of expression in the Southern dialect, as is the case in Class I.

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9. This is the form for the dialect of Šušnjevica which I take as the main Southern dialect. However in Brdo the corresponding paradigmeme is the same as in the Northern dialect.

10. Rarely lụ.

The Northern form //posTóleliei// has the frequent analytical variant //de/le posTóla//, depending on whether the moneme of case is [[genitive]] or [[dative]], although the distinction is not always maintained; the forms //de, le//, in this context are virtually interchangeable.

It is possible, too, for the Northern form//posTólelor// to be realized analytically, but such realizations are rare in this dialect. When they do occur, they usually do so in conjunction with the demonstrative adjective //cásTe// as in the sequence //de cásTe posTóle// [11].

In the case of paradigmemes 7 and 8 in both dialects, it will be seen that the phonological forms of the expressions are almost identical, the only difference being that the analytical component in number 7 is written in round brackets. The brackets serve to indicate that the expression of de/lu is not necessary to communicative efficiency in the [[singular]] form. In other words the form //posTóle// frequently expresses "of a shoe", the morpheme /-e/ being functionally opposed to the morpheme /-eliei/in paradigmeme //posTóleliei// expressing "of the shoe".

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11. It will be noted that in such cases the appropriate paradigmeme is the one containing [[indefinite]], i.e. //--posTóle// not //--posTólele//.

In cases where de/lu̯ is expressed (albeit quite frequently) as part of paradigmeme 7 (as opposed to paradigmeme 8), such expression is to be considered as further evidence of tautology.

Class II noun paradigms, such as the one on//posTóla//, may be summarized by the formula

	North	South
posTól +	-a	-e
	-a	-a
	-eliei	lu̯ --a
	-e	-e
	-ele	-ele
	-elor	lu̯ -ele
	-e	-e
de/lu̯ --e		de/lu̯ --e

In accordance with the procedure adopted in Class I, only the first [12] and the fourth members of the paradigm will be listed in the lexicon,e.g.//posTóla, posTóle//. The remaining paradigmemes are all derivable from one or other of these two forms.

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12. The Northern variant is the one to be listed.

CLASS II a

Nouns of this sub-class form paradigms very similar to those of Class II. The sub-class is exemplified by the paradigms on //roža//(flower).

		North	South
1)		róža	róże
2)		róża	róża
3)		różeliei(var.de/le róża)	ly różа
4)		róz	roz
5)		różile	różile
6)		różilor	ly różile
7)	(de/ly)	róże	(de/ly)róże
8)	de/ly	roż	de/ly roż

This sub-class may be summarized by the formula:

roż	+	-a	-e	)			
		-a	-a				
		-eliei	ly--a				
		zero	zero				
		-ile	-ile				
		-ilor	ly--ile				
		-e	-e				
		de/ly--	de/ly--				

The lexical entries will be //róża, roż//,respectively the first and the fourth paradigmemes.

CLASS II b

Nouns of this sub-class form paradigms which are quite similar to those of Class II a, although some of the paradigmemes undergo a phonological change within the body of the form. The sub-class is exemplified by the paradigms on //váka// (cow).

	North	South
1)	váka	váke
2)	váka	váka
3)	vákeliei(var.de/lę váka)	lų váka
4)	vac	vac(vatS-Šušnjevica)
5)	vácile	vácele(vátSele-Šušnjevica)
6)	vácilor	lų vácele(vátSele-Šušnjevica)
7)	(de/lų)váke	(de/lų)váke
8)	de/lų vac	de/lų vac(vatS-Šušnjevica)

This sub-class may be summarized by the formula:

$$\left\{\begin{matrix} vak \\ vac \end{matrix}\right\} + \left\{\begin{matrix} -a & -e \\ -a & -a \\ -eliei & lų--a \\ zero & zero \\ -ile & -ele \\ -ilor & lų--ele \\ -e & -e \\ de/lų- & de/lų- \end{matrix}\right\}$$

The lexical entries for this paradigm will be //vaka, vac//, and these two forms enable the whole paradigm to be generated, i.e. paradigmemes 1,2,3,7 containing the moneme [[singular]] are derivable from //vak//, and paradigmemes 4,5,6,8 containing [[plural]] are derivable from //vac//.

CLASS II c

Nouns of this sub-class also form paradigms similar to those of Class II a. The sub-class is exemplified by the paradigms on //galȩre// (hen).

	North	South
1)	galȩre	galȩre
2)	galȩra	galȩra
3)	galȩreliei(var.de/le galȩra)	lų galȩra
4)	galȩr	galȩr
5)	galȩrle	galȩrle
6)	galȩrlor	lų galȩrle
7)(de/lų)	galȩre	(de/lų)galȩre
8) de/lų	galȩr	de/lų galȩr

In Class II c paradigmeme 7 is more frequently realized in its more expanded (i.e.analytical)variant. This is presumably to counter possible confusion with paradigmeme I, the phonological form of which coincides with the unexpanded variant of 7.

This sub-class may be summarized by the formula:

galir	+	-e	-e	
		-a	-a	
		-eliei	lu--a	
		zero	zero	
		-le	-le	
		-lor	lu--le	
		-e	-e	
		de/lu--	de/lu--	

The lexical entries for this paradigm are //galire,galir//.

CLASS II d

Nouns of this sub-class form paradigms very similar to those of Class II c, the only difference being that there is an additional 'zero grade', i.e. in this particular sub-class the monematic components of the grammateme //indefinite, singular, nominative/accusative// are represented by a zero morpheme. This sub-class is exemplified by the paradigms on //mrr// (hand).

	North	South
1)	mr̥r	mr̥r
2)	mf̥ra	mf̥ra
3)	mf̥reliei(var.de/le mf̥ra)	lu̥ mf̥ra
4)	mr̥r	mr̥r
5)	mf̥rle	mf̥rle
6)	mf̥rlor	lu̥ mf̥rle
7)	(de/lu̥) mf̥r(e)	(de/lu̥)mf̥r(e)
8)	de/lu̥ mr̥r	de/lu̥ mr̥r

This sub-class may be summarized by the formula:

		zero	zero	
		-a	-a	
		-eliei	lu̥--a	
	mf̥r	+ zero	zero	
		-le	-le	
		-lor	lu̥--le	
		(-e)	(-e)	
		de/lu̥--	de/lu̥--	

The lexical entries for this paradigm will be //mr̥r, mr̥r//,i.e. the first and fourth paradigmemes, which will serve to indicate the syncretism between them, ⟦[plural]⟧ in this type of paradigm having a 'zero' morpheme.

CLASS II e

This sub-class is composed of a remainder of nouns, many of them very common, which are feminine and which show some of the characteristics of Class II nouns but which cannot be placed into any of the sub-classes listed above.

Such nouns include //sóra// (sister), //sTe// (star) and the less common, albeit still fairly frequent//úsna// (lip) and //músKa// (fly). The paradigms on these nouns are as follows:

		North	South
1)	(o)	sóra	sor
2)		sóra	sóra
3)		sóreliei(var.de/le sóra)	lu sóra
4)		srrfr	srrfr
5)		srrfrle	srrfrle
6)	lu	srrfrle [13]	lu srrfrle
7)	(de/lu)	sóre	(de/lu) sór(e)
8)	de/lu	srrfr	de/lu srrfr

1)		sTe	sTéle (sTe-Brdo)
2)		sTélu (var.sTéuu)	sTéla
3)		sTéliei(var.de/le sTélu)	lu sTéla
4)		sTéle	sTéle
5)		sTélele	sTélele
6)		sTélelor	lu sTélele
7)			
8)	de/lu	sTéle	de/lu sTéle

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13. The form //srrfrlor// is theoretically possible,but the only realizations I have on record are analytical ones in both the Northern and the Southern dialects.

	North	South
1)	úsna	úsne
2)	úsna	úsna
3)	úsneliei(var.de/le úsna)	lu úsna
4)	úsnii	úsne
5)	úsnile	úsnele
6)	úsnilor	lu úsnele
7)		
8) de/lu	úsnii	de/lu úsne

1)	músKa	músKe
2)	músKa	músKa
3)	músKeliei(var.de/le músKa)	lu músKa
4)	mušT	mušT
5)	músTile	músTile
6)	músTilor	lu músTile
7)		
8) de/lu	mušT	de/lu mušT

In the last four pairs of paradigms the empty spaces standing opposite paradigmeme 7, indicate that I have no attested forms for these particular grammatemes. The lexical entries of these paradigms will be //sóra, srrŕr;sTe,sTéle; úsna, úsnii, músKa, mušT.//[14]

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14. This sub-class cannot conveniently be summarized by means of a formula.

CLASS III (Masculine and Common Gender)

Nouns of this class are in the Northern dialect,masculine, but in the Southern dialect they have to be regarded as belonging to the 'Common' Gender. This is because in the Southern dialects, when Class III nouns appear in combinations with certain other forms which enter into relations of concord with nouns of this class,(e.g. when they appear in conjunction with adjectives, or with the numerals 'one' or 'two'), the 'agreeing' forms behave as if the nouns in question possess certain characteristics of nouns classified above as belonging to the masculine and feminine genders. This is to say that in the singular,Class III nouns exhibit certain characteristics of masculime nouns,whereas in the plural (in the Southern dialects) they show feminine features. For example the form //pat// (bed), in combinations with the numeral 'one' is realized //ụr pat// (a bed, one bed), the numeral //ụr// being the form which occurs in conjunction with other masculine nouns described in Class I above, as opposed to //o// which is the form of the same numeral occurring with feminine nouns such as those described in Class II,e.g. o posTóla.

In the plural, the expression 'two beds' is realized in Northern Istro-Rumanian as //doi pătură//, (doi being the 'regular' counterpart of masculine ur, as opposed to do which is the 'regular' counterpart of the feminine numeral o), but as //do pătură// in the Southern dialects; cf.also //ŗn bur pat// (a good bed) but //do bŭre pătură//, where //bŭrĵi// is the regular masculine plural realization of //bur//, as, for example, in the Northern expression //doi bŭrĵi pătură// [15] (two good beds).

Nouns of this type, possessing masculine characteristics in the Northern dialect and feminine characteristics in the plural forms in the South, form a single class in Istro-Rumanian, showing a single set of morphological features. They are not to be confused with certain other nouns, which in both dialects belong to Class I in the singular and to Class II in the plural (and characterized as such in the lexicon). The flexions on such nouns are fully in accord with the Class I and Class II paradigms given above.

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15. This phenomenon has been described elsewhere, largely on historical grounds, as the disappearance of the Rumanian neuter gender in Northern Istro-Rumanian;cf.E.Petrovici and P.Neiescu, Persistență insulelor lingvistice.Constatări făcute cu prilejul unor noi anchete dialectale la istroromâni, meglenoromâni și arumâni. Cercetări de Lingvistică, IX, 2, 1964 pp. 187-214.

Class III nouns are exemplified by the paradigms on //pat// (bed), //nas// (nose),//žep// (pocket) //vešTid// (dress) as follows:

1)	pat	nas	žep	vešTid
2)	pátu	násu	žépu	vešTídu
3)	lu pátu	lu násu	lu žépu	lu vešTídu
4)	páture	násure	žépure	vešTídure
5)	páturle	násurle	žépurle	vešTídurle
6)	lu páturle	lu násurle	lu žépurle	lu vešTídurle
7)	de/lu pat	de/lu nas	de/lu žep	de/lu vešTid
8)	de/lu páture	de/lu násure	de/lu žepure	de/lu vešTídure

The forms are identical in both the Northern and the Southern dialects.

There appears to be no theoretical reason why in the Northern dialect paradigmemes 3 and 6 should not be realized synthetically, viz.* pátulu(u)i, páturl(i)or,although I have no instance of either in my recorded material, nor have I heard any utterance of them.

In paradigmeme 2 there is a strong tendency for the synthetic form to be replaced by an analytical realization making use of a 'demonstrative' form, e.g. //céla pat,céla nas, céla žep, céla vešTid//. Although this type of realization may occur for any of the regular synthetic paradigmemes,it appears to do so more frequently with the few'polysyllabic'lexemes of Class III,e.g. //vešTid//.

The same tendency incidentally, is to be noted elsewhere in the case of nouns of other classes, and it is particularly marked in Class II especially in the Northern dialect where there is frequent syncretism between paradigmemes 1 and 2, e.g. //posTóla, posTǒla// etc.. In cases such as this the 'demonstrative' acts as a reinforcement to communicative efficiency in the realization of the moneme [[definite]] . This phenomenon will be discussed further below.

Class III nouns may be summarized by the formula:

					zero
					-ụ
					lụ--ụ
			pât	+	ụre
					ụrle
					lụ--ụrle
					de/lụ--
					de/lụ--ụre

There are no exceptions to paradigms of this Class.The lexical entries for //pat// are paradigmemes 1 and 4,namely //pat,pâtụre//. All of the remaining paradigmemes are derivable from these two forms.

CLASS IV (Nouns expressing units of time).

There are seven nouns belonging to this class,but they do not all belong to the same gender, four being masculine

and three feminine. Nor do they all belong to paradigms which exhibit the same set, or similar sets, of morphological flexions. The decision to regard them as belonging to a single class is to a certain extent an arbitrary one, although it <u>is</u> governed by formal considerations, albeit of a rather more disparate nature than those described above.

At the beginning of this Chapter, I referred in Section II b (Monemes of Number) to a limited class of nouns which show certain characteristics of a 'dual' or 'paucal' number [16]. In fact the term <u>paucal</u> more accurately describes the facts, because the phenomena to be noted occur after the numerals [[two, three, four]] , and not merely after [[two]] .

However, it must be noted that the term 'paucal' in this description applies to the formal characteristics of the Class IV <u>nouns</u> only. It does <u>not</u> apply to the verb system at all, and the forms of the verb occurring after instances of the [[paucal]] number are the same as those occurring after the number [[plural]] generally.

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16. This phenomenon has been noted by A.Kovačec,"Notes de lexicologie istroroumaine",<u>Studia Romanica et Anglica</u> Zagrabiensia,15-16,Zagreb 1963,pp 24-25,although several of the morphological flexions and oppositions found in my own recorded material differ from those cited by him.

The nouns belonging to this class are //minúut// (minute), //tiédrn// [17] (week), //místS// (month),//an// (year), //ora// (hour), //zii// (day),//vóta//(time, occasion).

The first four of these are masculine and the last three feminine.

In the singular, the paradigms on these nouns are similar to noun paradigms of Class I and Class II respectively. In the plural, i.e. after the numerals [[five]] and above, some of the paradigms, as will be seen below, are again similar to those of Classes I and II, although some are quite different. In the paucal,i.e. after the numerals [[two,three, four]] some, but not all, of the Class IV nouns show different morphological flexions than those expressing the monemes [[singular]] or [[plural]] .

Notwithstanding the variety of forms exhibited by nouns of this class, and despite the fact that their behaviour under the conditions mentioned is not always consistent, I find it convenient to treat them as belonging to a single class because they have in common the feature that they each

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17. This is a Northern form; the Southern form for 'week' is //setimána//.

express a unit of time, and because they are unique in that they are the only seven nouns of Istro-Rumanian which can express the moneme [[paucal]] .

They are now set out in paradigmatic sets designed to show the ways in which the moneme [[paucal]] is expressed.

//minʒut// (minute)

ɾn	minʒut	[[singular]]
doi,trei,pátrʒ	minʒte	[[paucal]]
pet,etc.	minʒtʒi	[[plural]]

//ʒra// (hour)

o	ʒra	[[singular]]
do, trei,pátrʒ	ʒre	[[paucal]]
pet,etc.	ʒr	[[plural]]

//zʒi// (day)

o	zʒi	[[singular]]
do, trei,pátrʒ	zʒle	[[paucal]]
pet,etc.	dɾn	[[plural]]

//tiédɾn// (week)

ɾn	tiédɾn	[[singular]]
doi,trei,pátrʒ	tiédnʒi	[[paucal]]
pet,etc.	tiédnʒi	[[plural]]

//mísɾtS// (month)

ɾn	mísɾtS	[[singular]]
doi,trei,pátrʒ	mísɾtS	[[paucal]]
pet,etc.	mísɾtSʒi	[[plural]]

//an// (year)

ɣn	an	[[singular]]
doi,trei,pátrų	ani	[[paucal]]
pet,etc.	let	[[plural]]

//vóta// (time,occasion)

o	vóta	[[singular]]
do, trei,pátrų	vóte	[[paucal]]
pet,etc.	pűtįi	[[plural]]

Of the seven paradigms listed, only five, namely those on //minúut, úra, zįi, an, vóta// show a full set of three paradigmemes expressing the monemes [[singular, paucal, plural]] respectively. Of these five, only the first two show a full set of morphological flexions, //minúut, minúte, minútįi// and //úra, úre, ur//,whereas the other three possess only two inflected forms //zįi, zíle; an, ani; vóta, vóte;// respectively expressing [[singular, paucal]] ;these last three express the moneme [[plural]] by means of suppletion, viz.//dɣn//(days),//let// (years), //pűtįi// (times).

The other two paradigms, i.e. those on //tiédɣn// and //mísɣtS// possess only two members, namely //tiédɣn,

tiédnji; mísrtS, mísrtSii//.

In the first of these, the first member of the set //tiédrn// expresses [[singular]] ,whereas the second member may express either [[paucal]] or [[plural]] .

In the second paradigm, the first member //mísrtS// may express either [[singular]] or [[paucal]] ,whereas the second member of the set expresses [[plural]] .

In each of these two paradigms, namely those on //tiédrn// and //mísrtS//, it may be said that the moneme [[paucal]] is neutralized. In the case of //tiédnji// it is the moneme [[plural]] which provides the context for the neutralization of [[paucal]] whereas in the case of //mísrtS// the neutralizing context is the moneme [[singular]] .

In the list of Class IV paradigms given above "pet, etc." means that the plural form of the noun in question appears after the numerals five to twenty. Beyond the numeral [[twenty]] the situation is as follows:

With [[twenty one]] the singular form of the noun is used, e.g. //dFáiset ši rn minút// (twenty one minutes), //dFáiset ši o úra// (twenty one hours); the same situation prevails with the numerals [[thirty one,forty one,fifty one]] etc..

With [[twenty two, twenty three, twenty four]] the paucal form of the noun is used, e.g. //dFáiset ˇši dœ zile// (twenty two days), //dFáiset ˇši trei ani//(twenty three years); the same situation prevails with the numerals [[thirty two,forty three, fifty four]] etc..

With [[twenty five]] and above up to [[thirty]] , the plural form of the noun is used, e.g. //dFáiset ˇši pet dṛn// (twenty five days), //dFáiset ˇši ˇsesT let//(twenty six years); the same situation prevails with the numerals [[thirty five]] to [[forty]] , [[forty five]] to [[fifty]] etc..

The forms given above in the paradigms of Class IV, including the numerals which form part of the expression, are the regular ones in the Northern dialect of Istro-Rumanian. It must be noted however that the functional distinction between the paradigmemes in each set is not always strictly maintained. Blurring of the distinction is usually accompanied by a synonymous form for the numeral in question, which acts as a variant of the more regular form given above.

Fuller discussion of the numerals of Istro-Rumanian will follow below, but it should be noted here that for certain numerals the language possesses a pair of forms which act sometimes in free, sometimes in contextual variance

with each other [18]. Examples showing how the functional distinction between [[paucal]] and [[plural]] is sometimes blurred, include //cinc zíle// [19] (five days),//cinc vóte// (five times), //šápTe ani// (seven years),//cinc ụr//, (five hours), //opT ani// (eight years) //iedṛnáisT ani// (eleven years), for the more regular //pet dṛn,pet púṭii, sédṛm let, pet ụr, ósṛm let, iedṛnáisT let//.

In the Southern dialects the paradigms on the seven nouns described here as belonging to Class IV are somewhat different. In fact had Class IV not been established for these nouns as they are expressed in the Northern dialect, it would not have been necessary to set up a fourth class for the nouns in the Southern dialects, and they could be regarded as belonging to Class I or Class II depending on whether they are masculine or féminine.

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18. A comparativist study would reveal this phenomenon to be a result of the Istro-Rumanian speakers' bilingualism;the second series of forms is taken from Serbo-Croat, see Appendix A.

19. A.Kovačec's informant ISV claimed this form to be an archaism,op.cit.p.24.I heard it quite frequently during the course of normal conversations and have several instances of it in my recorded material.If questioned the speaker would sometimes 'correct' himself to//pet drn//.In the Southern dialect, however,//cinc zíle//is the regular form.

Furthermore the Southern dialects do not express [paucal] and they do not normally make use of the suppletive forms. The relevant paradigmemes on the seven nouns in the Southern dialects are given here for the sake of completeness and for reference:.

(ur)	minúut	(o)	úre
	minúutS (variant minútii[20])		úre (variant ur)
(o)	zii	(o)	setimâne
	zíle		setimâne
(ur)	mísrtS	(ur)	an
	mísrtS		ani

(o) vôte

vôte (variant pútii)

These pairs do not, of course, constitute the full paradigm on the nouns concerned any more than do the triplets given above as the Northern forms. Both sets of forms only constitute those paradigmemes which occur in normal contexts with numerals. The remainder of the paradigmemes can be generated by reference to the paradigms of Class I and Class II given above, for in all other respects the seven

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20. Very rare in the South but tends to occur after the numerals eleven to nineteen.

nouns described in this section are 'regular'. In fact all of the paradigmemes (with the exception of the variants) of each of these nouns are perfectly regular as far as the Southern dialects are concerned. As stated above, they are listed under Class IV largely as a convenience for reference purposes. They may otherwise be regarded as normal Class I or Class II nouns (according to gender). The paradigmemes to be listed in the lexicon are, incidentally, numbers 1 and 4.

It will be seen from the above paradigms that the incidence of syncretism is again higher in the South than in the North.

As already mentioned the moneme [[paucal]] is not expressed in the Southern dialects, but after the numerals [[twenty one, thirty one, forty one]], etc. the first member of the noun paradigm occurs, as is the case in the North, e.g. //dFáiset ši ur an// (twenty one years) //kṃrnár ši o ziṭi// (forty one days).

In completion of this section I list a series of examples to illustrate some of the realizations of the various types of grammateme and moneme described above, and these will serve to indicate their function within the phrase.

CLASS I

1) ŭr ei médik e ŭr ei prefT (one [brother] is a doctor and one is a priest)

2) voi kumpará ŗn bo (I shall buy an ox)

3) filiŭ lŭ médikŭ áre dévet ani(S)(the doctor's son is nine years old)

4) cásT ei kása frátelŭ(u)i lŭ Fráne(N)(this is Frane's brother's house)

5) am platĭit oštárulŭ(u)i (N) (I have paid the landlord)

6) ŗn césTa grad ŗs doi prefTS (in this town there are two priests)

7) médicii nŭ vrésu verĭi(the doctors do not wish to come)

8) kŗrii préfTSilor a fosT tŗmnii(N)(the priests' dogs have been disobedient)

8a)brécii (de) lŭ préfTSii a fosT porédnji(S)(translation as in 8, above)

9) popĭit-a ŗn glaž de vir (he drank a glass of wine)

10)vetS da fir kálilor?(N)(will you give hay to the horses?)

CLASS II

11)n-ai zĭis o beséda (N)(You didn't say a word)

12)límba áre cŭuda beséde ke io nŭ le ŗntSelég(N)(the language has many words which I do not understand)

13)voi piséi o hárta sóreliei lu Fráne(N)(I shall write a letter to Frane's sister)

13a)voi piséi ur liisT lu sóra lu Fráne(S)(translation as for 13)

14)ucíis-a do galír (he has killed two hens)

15)vátSele mes-a na pášu (S)(the cows have gone to pasture)

16)io nu krédu fétenelor (N)(I do not believe the girls)

16a)io nu krédu lu fétenele (S)(translation as for 16)

17)De-m knígiga le Márine (N)(give me Mary's book)

17a)De-m líibru lu Maríie (S)(translation as for 17)

18)kár-ei prétSiia lu posTólele(S)(what is the price of the shoes?)

CLASS III

19)vrésu durmíi rn mai lung pat(I want to sleep in a longer bed)

20)césT-ei pátu lung (this is the long bed)

21)platíit-am do veštídure (I have paid for two dresses)

22)násurle lu mei frátS fsKu previíše mar (S)(My brothers' noses are too big)

23)a me(v) fráte ie de bur kap(N)(my brother is intelligent)

24)míre voi pituréi zíidurle(S)(tomorrow I shall paint the walls)

CLASS IV

25) fosT-am o zi̯i la máre (I spent a day by the sea)

26) am ramás a kása tóta zí̯ia (I have been at home all day)

27) du̯réit-a pet dr̯n (N)(it lasted five days)

27a)du̯réit-a cinc zíle (S)(translation as for 27)

28) va fi̯i ánca trei tiédni̯i(N)(he will be here for three weeks)

28a)va fi̯i ánca trei setimáne (S)(translation as for 28)

29) aš̆TepTát-am š̆esT u̯r(N)(I have been waiting for six hours)

29a)am sTepTát š̆áse u̯re (S)(translation as for 29)

30) fecóru̯ áre doi ani (N)(the child is two years old)

30a)a mev sTri̯itS áre pedesét let(N)(my uncle is fifty years old)

31) misli̯it-am ke áre kurrnár š̆i pátru̯ ani(I thought he was forty four years old)

32) a fosT š̆esT místr̯tSi̯i ku̯ mí̯re (he was with me for six months)

33) ku̯ri̯iéra va verí̯i do trei minú̯te (N)(the bus will arrive in three minutes)

34) io voi fi̯i frai do pet minú̯ti̯i (N)(I shall be free in five minutes)

The Adjective

Examination of the adjective in Istro-Rumanian may conveniently be carried out in conjunction with that of the noun,

for both have certain characteristics in common. This is to say that both nouns and adjectives may be articulated or unarticulated, (i.e. the phonological forms of their expressions may include the moneme [[definite]]); furthermore many of the adjectives form paradigms which include members whose phonological form of expression contains monemes of number and of case. The similarity between the forms of the nouns and the adjectives is partly accounted for by the fact that the latter are frequently used substantivally.

The adjectives accordingly reflect the forms of the nouns they qualify, particularly those of the Class I and Class II nouns, which together constitute the majority of the nouns of Istro-Rumanian.

The nouns generally express, by means of their morphological flexions, the relevant monemes of number, articulation and case. The adjectives generally 'agree' in gender and number with the nouns they qualify [21].

Such 'agreement' does not normally extend to the spheres of articulation and case, except in cases where it is con-

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21. As is, of course, common in the Romance and other languages.

venient to regard the juxtaposed adjectives and nouns as being represented in each instance by the 'unmarked' member of the paradigm. For example the sequence //ɾn bur pat// shows both the adjective and the noun in their [[indefinite]] forms as well as in their [[nominative/accusative]] forms. But in sequences of paradigmemes which include [[definite]] and /or [[genitive/dative]] as part of their expression, the monemes just mentioned are generally expressed <u>either</u> as part of the noun-expression <u>or</u> as part of the adjective-expression. The Istro-Rumanian expression of 'the good bed' may be //pắtu bur// or //búru pat// but generally not búru pắtu, although exceptions to the rule <u>may</u> occur especially in feminine forms. Similarly the expression of 'to the old priest' may be //lu brtfrulu(u)i [22] prefT//, but not lu brtfrulu(u)i préfTulu(u)i. In other words the monemes [[definite]] and [[genitive,dative]] may be expressed by morphological flexion on the noun <u>or</u> on the adjective, although the former is rather more common, especially in the feminine. Furthermore, the morphemes in question are generally attached to the <u>left</u> hand component of the expression.

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22. Northern form; in the South this would be //lu brtfru prefT//.

Although there are various types of potential 'agreement' between adjective and noun in Istro-Rumanian, as indicated above, the only 'agreements' that are mandatory are those of number and gender. In fact, even these instances of concord are only mandatory, strictly speaking, when the adjective immediately precedes or immediately follows the noun. In all other cases, as for example when the noun and the adjective are separated by a verbal expression, concord may occur, but frequently does not. In such cases the 'agreeing' form of the adjective may be replaced by a 'neutral' form, i.e. one usually ending in the morpheme -o [23], e.g. //bȕro//, although sometimes the 'unmarked' paradigmeme 1 occurs. Such forms, although adjectival in some contexts, are adverbial in others; furthermore the forms in -o are invariable, i.e. apart from their not exhibiting distinctions in grammatical gender, they do not participate in oppositions showing distinction between nonemes of number, articulation or case.

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23. Kovačec calls this form the 'neuter', op.cit., p.33; see also A. Kovačec "Quelques Influences Croates dans la Morphosyntaxe Istroroumaine", Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia, 21-22, Zagreb 1966, pp.66-70. I do not use the term 'neuter' because there are no 'neuter' nouns in Istro-Rumanian. Those which have been designated above as belonging to the common gender, when occurring with attributive adjectives are treated by the latter as being masculine in the singular and feminine in the plural, as described above. Adjectives in -o do not occur in juxtaposition with nouns of common gender.

The full adjectival paradigms, in both masculine and feminine forms, may be exemplified by the paradigm on //bɾtʃr// (old).

	Masculine	Feminine
1)	bɾtʃr	bɾtʃra(S.bɾtʃre)
2)	bɾtʃru	bɾtʃra
3)	bɾtʃrulu(u)i(variant lu bɾtʃru)	bɾtʃreliei(lu bɾtʃra)
4)	bɾtʃr	bɾtʃre
5)	bɾtʃrii	bɾtʃrele
6)	bɾtʃrilor(variant lu bɾtʃrii)	bɾtʃrelor(lu bɾtʃrele)
7)	de/lu bɾtʃr	de/lu bɾtʃre
8)	de/lu bɾtʃr	de/lu bɾtʃre

'neutral' bɾtʃro

In practice some of the above paradigmemes are hardly ever realized. Although each is theoretically possible, however rare its actual realization may be, the most common forms of the adjectives, are paradigmemes 1 and 4 in both masculine and feminine form (when these occur in an attributive function), and the 'neutral' form in -o, viz. //bɾtʃr, bɾtʃra, bɾtʃr, bɾtʃre, bɾtʃro//.

The next most common forms are paradigmemes 2 and 5, both when they perform attributive function and also when

they perform substantival function.

Paradigmemes 3 and 6, particularly the latter, occur infrequently, and generally, but not always, when the adjective concerned has substantival function.

The lexical entries for this adjective will be//brṭfr, brṭfra//; all other paradigmemes are derivable from these, with further reference to the relevant type of Class I and Class II noun paradigm such as //fecór, posṬóla//, respectively, (specifically Class I c and Class II in this case).

The forms given above are the general ones for the Northern dialect. The Southern forms are generally the same with the exception, (as is the case with the nouns) of paradigmemes 3 and 6 where the forms in round brackets indicate the normal Southern forms which are at the same time the more analytical variants in the North of the standard synthetic realizations.

The above paradigms on //brṭfr// are relatively straightforward in that they consist of a single 'underlying' lexical form to which are appended a series of morphological flexions.

No less straightforward are the paradigms on adjectives

such as //bogát// (rich). These, too, consist of a single underlying form together with flexional morphemes, although the latter in the masculine paradigm are <u>not</u> identical with those just quoted for //brtfr//, as they follow the pattern of a different Class I noun paradigm, namely that on //prefT//. Paradigmemes 1 and 4 together with the 'neutral' form are thus //bogát, bogáta, bogátS, bogáte, bogáto//.

The lexical entries in this case will be //bogát, bogáta//.

Other adjectival paradigms are slightly more complex in that they possess two allomorphs capable of expressing the lexical 'content', e.g. /trúudrn, trúdn-/ (tired), /žálosTrn, žálosn-/ (sad).

In cases such as these, the first member of the pair can be regarded as the 'unmarked' form; it expresses, in addition to the lexical element //indefinite, singular, nominative/accusative//, as well as signifying masculine gender. The second member of the pair is the 'underlying' component of all of the other paradigmemes. The five commonest paradigmemes on each of these adjectives are thus //trúudrn, trúdna, trúdnii, trúdne, trúdno// and //žálosTrn, žálosna, žálosnii, žálosne, žálosno//. The lexical entries will be //trúudrn, trúdna; žálosTrn, žálosna// respectively.

A certain type of adjectival paradigm does not exhibit any formal distinction between the masculine and feminine genders, (either in the singular or the plural) nor does it possess a 'neutral' form. This type is generally characterised by the ending -e in paradigmeme 1. Examples of this type include //mâre// (big), and //târe// (strong). They are morphologically similar to the noun paradigm on //kfre// given above in Class I d in that they have a'zero', grade in the 'unarticulated' plural, in both masculine and feminine forms, and the flexion -le in the 'articulated' singular form of the masculine paradigm. The lexical entries for adjectives of this type will be //mâre, mâre// [24].

The various types of adjective paradigm mentioned above account for the vast majority of adjectival forms in Istro-Rumanian. As they follow fairly closely the flexional pattern of the noun paradigms described in the previous section, I have not found it necessary to set up distinct

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24. I have heard one speaker in the North make a distinction between //mâre// and //mâra// for masculine singular and feminine singular. I believe he made the distinction artificially, and so I have chosen to disregard it. Even if 'genuine', it would seem to be a feature of that speaker's idiolect.

classes for the adjectival paradigms. There remains,however, a residue of adjectival paradigms which do not 'fit' the types discussed above, and they have to be considered as 'non-regular' and will be treated as such in the lexicon. This is to say that their lexical entry will include all five of their commonest paradigmemes (i.e. 1 and 4 of each gender, plus the 'neutral' form).

Examples of this type include the paradigms on //siromáh// (poor),//at//(other), //lung// (long). Their lexical entries will be //siromáh, siromáš, siromášna, siromášne, siromášno; at, altS, áta, áte, áto; lung,lunz, lúnga, lúnge, lúngo//. The five forms in each case enable the rest of the paradigms to be generated, e.g. //siromáh,at, lung// each of which represents the 'unarticulated' singular paradigmeme in the masculine form, provide the basis for //siromáhu, átu,lúngu// each of which contains the moneme [[definite]] .

As has been mentioned earlier, the forms given above are generally those of the Northern dialect. The Southern forms are generally the same, except as has been noted above and with the further exception of forms such as //búrlii, márlii,áblii (white), tárlii//, in which the morpheme /-lii/, expresses the grammateme //definite,plural,

nominative/accusative//; in the Southern dialect of Brdo this is opposed to <u>zero</u> [25] which is the expression in that dialect of //indefinite,plural,nominative/accusative//.

I now list some examples to illustrate the various types of usage of the adjectival forms discussed.

1) ie-i ŗn buŗ om (he is a good man)
2) tîrŗŗu médik n-áre fecór(the young doctor has no children)
3) bûrîi prŗsûutS ŗs totS vindûutS(the good hams have all been sold)
4) cesT-ei pátu lung (this is the long bed)
5) nu me dopadés fecóŗii tŕmnîi(I don't like naughty children)
6) pisés kuŗ désna mŕra(I write with the right hand)
7) méle posTóle nu-s nóve (S)(my shoes are not new)
8) am kumparšt o nóve kemése (S)(I have bought a new shirt)
9) vréma nu-i veti kad (the weather is no longer warm)
10) mî(i)kuŗ plŗnže vîvŗk (the little one is always crying)
11) ŗn grad ŗs zálik siromáš(S)(in town there are a few poor people)

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25. In the dialect of Brdo there is a 'zero' grade in plural unarticulated forms, whereas in other Southern dialects there is a fully inflected form.

12) zac ganésTi̯i žálosno? (S)(why do you speak sadly?)

13) ier ai kr̯ntát vesélo (yesterday you sang happily)

14) ámu̯ s-av iáko siromásno r̯nvesTí̯it (the man dressed very poorly)

15) do-s bogáte e do siromásne (two are rich and two poor)

16) siromášnele r̯s mai bú̯re(the poor ones are kinder)

17) káprele -s tiáro br̯tf̯r (the goats are very old)

18) a ma sor-a fosT o žénsKa táre (my sister was a strong woman)

19) žénsKele nu̯-s pošTén (the women are not honest)

20) zac r̯s fecórii̯ žálosni̯i? (why are the children sad?)

The Formation of Comparatives and Superlatives

Comparatives and superlatives of adjectives, and of adverbs, are realized by analytical means in Istro-Rumanian.

Comparative realizations are generally by means of the form /mai/ (more) which precedes the 'positive' form of the adjective; the latter is generally in concord with the noun it qualifies in terms of number and grammatical gender.

Examples of such comparative formations include

1) césTa kaš ei iáko mai drag (this cheese is much more expensive)

2) cásTa žénsKa-i mai brtíra neg-a ma máie (this woman is older than my mother)

3) me vir ei mai bur (S)(my wine is better)

4) me sTriitS ei mai máre nego me cáce (S)(my uncle is bigger than my father)

5) cásTa knígig-ei mai tSéna négo ca áta (N)(this book is cheaper than that other one)

5a)cásTa knígig-ei mínie drága négo ca áta (N)(this book is less expensive than that one).

Superlative realizations are commonly of two types, namely

a) those very similar to the comparative type of realization given above, usually with some kind of additional expansion, e.g.

1) césTa kaš ie mai bur de tot (this cheese is the best of all)

2) cásTa besérik-ei mai máre de cetáte (N)(this church is the biggest in the town)

3) césTa om ie mai konosKút de cetáte (N)(this man is the best known in the town)

4) césTa fecór ei mai len de šúula (N)(this boy is the laziest in the school)

and b) those which, in addition to the use of the form /mai/, make use of the demonstrative adjective //céla,ca//, etc. as part of the superlative expression, e.g.

1) césTa om ei céla mai târe (this man is the strongest)
2) me tét-ei ca mai bûra (S)(my aunt is the kindest)
3) vósTra valîz-ei ca mai gréla (S)(your suitcase is the heaviest)

The above are the most common ways in which comparatives and superlatives are realized in Istro-Rumanian. However there are two further possibilities (although comparatively rare), in which the 'non-absolute' superlative may be realized, which are worthy of passing mention:

i) by repetition of the adjective, e.g.
a mev cái-ei rn márle márle om (N)(my father is a very big man), and

ii)by preceding the adjective with the form /tiáro/(very)e.g.
Zágreb ei o tiáro musáte cetáte (N)(Zagreb is a very beautiful town).

Demonstrative Adjectives

Discussion of sequences which include demonstratives as part of their expression leads naturally to the description

of the forms and functions of the demonstratives themselves.

The demonstrative adjectives behave formally in a very similar fashion to the other types of adjective described above, except that their paradigms do not include members which express the moneme [[definite]] . In other words their paradigmemes express by means of flexional morphemes and by internal phonological change oppositions of number and case, as well as distinctions of grammatical gender, but do not enter into oppositions of the monemes of articulation. One of the demonstratives is further defective in that it does not possess a formally distinct 'neutral' form.

There are two demonstrative adjectives in Istro-Rumanian, respectively //césTa// and //céla//. They correspond roughly in meaning to English "this" and "that", although the latter has a range of functions which is rather wider than those of the English demonstrative, some of which have already been referred to above, and others of which will be discussed below.

The paradigms on //césTa// and //céla// are as follows:

//<u>césTa</u>//

	North		South	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1)	césTa	cásTa	césTa	césTa
2)				
3)				
4)	césTi̯i	cásTe	césTi̯i	césTe
5)				
6)				
7)	césTFa (var.de césTa)	césTia (var.de cásTa)	de/lu̯ césTa	de/lu̯ césTa
8)	césTore (var.de césTi̯i)	césTore (var.de cásTe)	de/lu̯ césTi̯i	de/lu̯ césTe

'neutral' cásTo

//cêla//

North		South	
Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1)cêla	ca	céla	ca
2)			
3)			
4)célįi	cále (var.céle)	célįi	cále
5)			
6)			
7)célva (var.de céla)	célia(-e) (var.de ca)	lų céla	lų ca
8)célore (var.de célįi)	célore (var.de cále)	lų célįi	lų cále

The blank spaces in the above paradigms serve to indicate the defective members.

In the case of //céla// the paradigms show differences between the Northern and the Southern dialects only in paradigmemes 7 and 8, i.e. between the analytical type of construction and the synthetic forms which are characteristic of the North.

In the case of //césTa// the masculine paradigms show differences between Northern and Southern usage in paradigmemes 7 and 8, but in the feminine paradigms there are further differences between the dialects in the remaining members of the set, i.e. in paradigmemes 1 and 4. In the Southern dialects the feminine paradigm maintains the characteristic vowel -e- of the prominent syllable throughout, whereas in the Northern forms this is replaced by -a-.

Examples illustrating the use of //césTa// are as follows:

1) césTa mịsṛtS ei tSáitụ ráce (N)(this month the weather has been cool)

2) césTa fétina nu-i mị(i)ka (N)(this girl is not small)

3) césTa ženskK-ei sịromášna (S)(this woman is poor)

4) césTịi kali ṛs prevị(i)še mị(i)c (these horses are too small)

5) cásTe žensK-ŗs prevíi̯(i)še brtf̯re (N)(these women are too old)

6) césTe posTóle sKų bų́re (S)(these shoes are good)

7) ke ke-m voi datS cásTo?(N)(why are you giving me this?)

8) io nų voi da niiš césTFa fecór (N)(I shall not give anything to this child)

8a)io nų voi da niiš lų césTa fecór(S)(translation as for 8)

9) li-am aratát césTia žénsKe(N)(we have shown them to this woman)

9a)li-am aratát lų césTa žénsKe(S)(translation as for 9)

10)ai aratát hártele césTore žénsKe?(N)(have you shown the letters to these women?)

11)am dat ŗn glaž de vir césTore ómir(N)(I have given a glass of wine to these men)

11a)am dat ur žmuli de vir lų tSésTii ómir (S)(translation as for 11)

12)frátSii lų (cé)sTe fétine ŗs meli suséz(S)(the brothers of these girls are my neighbours).

In example 12 the round brackets in the form /césTe/are to indicate that forms such as /sTe, sTa/ are frequently occurring variants of /césTe, césTa/ in both dialects.

The examples show that //césTa// is reasonably 'regular' in the way it functions, apart from in those areas where it is defective. Further examples occur above under the preceding heading. Its meaning, as mentioned above,is close to the semantic range covered in English by 'this'.

The following examples illustrate the functions of //céla//:

1) céla fecór ie poš̆Tén (that child is honest)

2) ca bț̦rs-ei gre (N)(that bag is heavy)

3) ṛn ca cetát-ei o máre basérika(N)(in this town there is a big church)

4) voi ratá célii l̦ibrii lu̦ préfTu̦ (S)(I shall show those books to the priest)

5) cále posTóle-s de m̦ire (those shoes are mine)

6) dat-am kn̦igele célva om (N)(I gave the books to that man)

7) ie-v dat dínarț̦i célie žénsKe(N)(he gave money to that woman)

7a)ie dat-a pínez lu̦ ca žénsKe(S)(translation as for 7)

8) aratát-a sl̦ikele célia féte(N)(he showed the photographs to that girl)

9) ia nu̦ kréde célore médic(N)(She does not believe these doctors)

9a)ia nu̦ kréde lu̦ célii médic(S)(translation as for 9)

These examples illustrate the normal range of realizations of //céla// as a demonstrative adjective. Its usage in these examples closely parallels that of its counterpart //césTa//. The lexical meaning of //céla// in the examples just given, and generally when it functions as a demonstrative adjective, roughly corresponds to the English demonstrative 'that'.

However, as noted above, //céla// possesses certain functions other than that of demonstrative adjective, and one of these has been examined already in the preceding pages on the subject of the superlative forms of the adjective in Istro-Rumanian.

An additional function possessed by //céla// is that of 'demonstrative article', or, as some would call it 'adjectival article',[26] which means in effect that in such a context it acts as a reinforcement of the expression of the moneme [[definite]] in certain contexts where the noun is preceded by an adjective, or where the adjective is itself

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26. J.Popovici, Dialectele Romîne IX, Halle 1914, p.62.

substantival. Actually in some realizations of this type its function appears to be no more than that of definite article.

Examples of this type of usage are:

1) céla mįiku vrk plfnže(the little one is always crying)

2) vrése céla mįiku kfre alį céla márele?(N)(Does he want the small dog or the big one?)

3) io vrésu céla mįiku. (I want the small one)

4) célįi mįic fecór dórmu (the small children are asleep)

5) célįi bogátS nu vrésu lukrá(the rich do not want to work)

6) cále tar posTóle gušTés cúuda(strong shoes are expensive)

7) ca brtfra ženSka áre cúuda nipótS(S)(the old woman has many grandchildren)

8) ca tįrra n-áre nicur (the young one has none)

Of these examples the first three show tautology, or at least a certain amount of reinforcement of the moneme [[definite]] . In example 2 the attribute adjective,and in examples 1 and 3 the 'substantival' adjectives already express [[definite]] by means of their appended flexional morphemes i.e. //mįiku, márele//, and the 'demonstrative' //céla// only serves to reinforce it.

The same is true of examples 7 and 8, particularly in the case of 7 where both the noun and the adjective express [[definite]] ,(//žénsKa// being the 'articulated' form of the noun in this Southern realization as opposed to //žénsKe// which is the 'unarticulated' form). There is thus a triple reinforcement of the moneme. In example 8, //ca// simply reinforces the /-a/ of //tị́rra// which in this Southern realization already expresses [[definite]] .

In examples 4,5,6, the forms //célịi,cále// seem to be functioning as nothing more than definite articles.In 4 and 6 neither the attributive adjective //mịic,tar//nor the noun //fecór,posTóle// expresses the moneme [[definite]] [27] and it is left to //célịi, cále// to perform this function.

The same is true of example 5 where //célịi//again constitutes the sole expression of [[definite]] (//bogátS//being the 'unarticulated' form), but here it has the additional role of participating in the expression of a generalization, almost of proverbial force, i.e. the translation of example 5 could also read "rich people do not want to work".

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27. They express, in addition to the lexical content,//indefinite,plural,nominative/accusative//.

In example 6, too, there is an element of generalization expressed by //cȃle//, in addition to the latter's function here as a definite article.

There are occurrences of sequences similar to that of example 5 where there is again evidence of tautology,e.g. célii bogátSii nu morésK lukrá, (the rich do not have to work).

This type of realization, although less frequent than the célii bogátS...of example 5, appears to be in free variation with it, and no <u>consistent</u> functional distinction can be discerned.However in <u>some</u> contexts the simultaneous occurrence of //célii// with the flexional morpheme/-ii/ of //bogátSii//, (the latter morpheme expressing [[definite]]), <u>does</u> have the function of differentiating between a generalizing or 'proverbial' statement and a specific instance. In the latter case célii bogátSii nu morésK lukrá would mean "<u>those</u> rich people do not have to work". In such a case the realization of //célii// would be closer to its more common function as a demonstrative adjective.

Possessive Adjectives

The possessive adjectives in Istro-Rumanian have a certain amount in common with the demonstrative adjectives in that they, too, have defective paradigms. They do not participate in oppositions between the monemes of articulation because they have no paradigmemes expressing [[definite]] ;nor do they have a 'neutral' form.

In all other respects the possessive adjectives enter into relations of concord with the nouns they qualify, as they possess flexional morphemes enabling them to express monemes of number and monemes of case, as well as distinctions of grammatical gender.

There are, strictly speaking, five possessive adjectives. There are also three additional forms which perform a similar function, and which will therefore be discussed as part of this section, although they cannot properly be called adjectives.

The five possessive adjectives [28] are respectively //mev, tev, sev, nósTrụ, vósTrụ//. They correspond in meaning to

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28. In the Northern forms.

English 'my', 'your' (singular), 'his, her, their'(reflexive), 'our', 'your' (plural or formal). The three additional forms, which will be examined immediately afterwards, are //lʒ(u)i, liei, lor//. These correspond in meaning to 'his', 'her', 'their'.

The paradigms on the five possessive adjectives are as follows:

I //mev//

	North		South	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
1)	a mev/a me	a ma/a me	me	me
2)				
3)				
4)	a meli	a méle	meli	méle
5)				
6)				
7)	a mélva (var.d-a lʒ me)	a mélia (var.d-a me)	lʒ me	lʒ me
8)	a mélva [29] (var.d-a meli)	a mélia (var.d-a méle)	lʒ meli	lʒ méle

29. I find no evidence of the plural genitive/dative forms given by Kovačec, viz. a melor'e, a telor'e, a sélor'e; see A. Kovačec "Notes sur des Formes de Cas en Istroroumain", Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia 13-14, Zagreb 1962, p. 83; nor do I find what seems to be a corresponding form of /krt/(how much), i.e. cîtor in the notation of Kovačec and cited in his "Certaines modifications grammaticales et sémantiques des quantitatifs et qualitatifs istroroumains dues a l'influence croate", Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia 23, Zagreb 1967, p. 196.

II //tev//

North		South	
Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1)a tev/a te	a ta/a te	te	te
2)			
3)			
4)a teli	a tále/a téle	teli	téle
5)			
6)			
7)a télva (var.d-a lụ te)	a télia (var.d-a te)	lụ te	lụ te
8)a télva (var.d-a teli)	a télia (var.d-a tále/téle)	lụ teli	lụ téle

III //sev//

1)a sev/a se	a sa/a se	se	se
2)			
3)			
4)a seli	a sále/a séle	seli	séle
5)			
6)			
7)a sélva (var.d-a lụ se)	a sélia (var.d-a se)	lụ se	lụ se
8)a sélva (var.d-a seli)	a sélia (var.d-a sále/séle)	lụ seli	lụ séle

IV //nósTru//

1)a nósTrụ	a nósTra	nósTrụ	nósTre
2)			
3)			
4)a nósTrịi	a nósTre	nósTrịi	nósTre
5)			
6)			
7)a nósTFa (var.d-a nósTrụ)	a nósTia (var.d-a nósTra)	lụ nósTrụ	lụ nósTra
8)a nósTore (var.d-a nósTrịi)	a nósTore (var.d-a nósTre)	lụ nósTrịi	lụ nósTre

V //vósTrų//

	North		South	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1)	a vósTrų	a vósTra	vósTrų	vósTre
2)				
3)				
4)	a vósTrịi	a vósTre	vósTrịi	vósTre
5)				
6)				
7)	a vósTFa (var.d-a vósTrų)	a vósTia (var.d-a vósTra)	lụ vósTrų	lụ vósTra
8)	a vósTore (var.d-a vósTrịi)	a vósTore (var.d-a mósTre)	lụ vósTrịi	lụ vósTre

The blank spaces in the above paradigms serve to indicate the defective members.

It will be noted that in the Northern paradigms the form /a/ precedes the majority of the possessive adjectives. This form is invariable and only occurs in the Northern dialect. It may be regarded as a 'possessive marker' in that

dialect. In quite a considerable number of the paradigmemes the /a/ is the only distinguishing feature between the Northern and Southern dialects.

Characteristically, the Northern dialect possesses more synthetic forms. There is a higher incidence of syncretism than is generally common in the paradigms discussed in the earlier parts of this chapter. The analytical variants of paradigmemes 7 and 8 are available in cases where syncretism between the 'regular' forms may lead to ambiguity [30].

Examples illustrating the usage of the various possessive adjectives are as follows:

1) ai vezʹut a mev cáie?(N)(Have you seen my father?)

2) me fráte s-a kumparát ur ka(S)(my brother has bought himself a horse)

3) a tev gosPodár ei rn drak(N)(your boss is a devil)

4) a me sóra cére a sev kre(N)(my sister is looking for her dog)

4a) me sor cére se brek(S)(translation as for 4)

5) ia vrése aflá séle posTóle(S)(she wants to find her shoes)

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30. As, for example, may occur between paradigmemes 7 and 8 of Class II nouns.

6) a plierdu̯ut a sále kni̯ige(N)(he has lost his books)

7) a meli fratS r̥s u̯dóvTSi̯i(N)(my brothers are widowers)

8) iále nu̯ rámaru̯ r̥n a se káse(N)(they aren't staying in their own house)

9) a teli fili r̥s vr̥vr̥k kunténtS(N)(your sons are always happy)

10)ai piséit a mélva fráte?(N)(have you been writing to my brother?)

10a)ai piséit lu̯ me fráte?(S)(translation as for 10)

11)césTe-s posTólele lu̯ méle sr̥rr̥r(S)(these are my sisters' shoes)

12)ca áta kása-i (de) a mélva fratS(N)(this other house belongs to my brothers)

12a)ca áta-i kása lu̯ meli fratS(S)(translation as for 12)

13)am zi̯is a télia sr̥rr̥r ke nu̯ lúukru̯(N)(we have told your sisters not to work)

14)c-ei césTa kása (de) lu̯ te sor?(S)(is this your sister's house?)

15)a tále téte-s iáko bú̯re(N)(your aunts are very kind)

16)a nósTru̯ suséd áre trei vózu̯re(N)(our neighbour has three carts)

17)vósTru̯ fráte-i bólr̥n (S)(your brother is ill)

18) kr̥tS ani áre vósTre fílie?(S)(how old is your daughter?)

19) am aflát a nósTre kn̥ige, ma cásTe ny̥-s a nósTre (N)(I have found our books, but these are not ours)

20) iú̥va-s vósTre sr̥fr̥?(S) (where are your sisters?)

21) ke ke datS a vósTFa m̥ik fecór te?(N)(why do you give tea to your small child?)

21a)zatS daietS l̥ vósTr̥ m̥ik fetSór te?(S)(translation as for 21)

22) vetS da sTe sTFar a vósTia sóre?(N)(Do you want to give these things to your sister?)

22a)vetS da tSésTe sTFar l̥ vósTra sor?(S)(translation as for 22)

23) a me fil vu̥ut-a fr̥ika d-a vósTr̥ kf̥re(N)(my son was afraid of your dog)

24) kum se klému a vósTr̥i fratS?(N)(what are your brothers called?)

25) aratá vor hártele a nósTia téte(N)(they will show the letters to our aunt)

26) céla at tiédr̥n rem i̥i a kása le nósTia sóre(N)(next week we shall go to our sister's house)

27) voi treméte r̥n šenk a nósTore téte(N)(I shall send a present to our aunts)

28) a zi̥is cevá l̥ vósTre sr̥fr̥?(S)(has he said anything to your sisters?)

The three remaining 'possessive' forms of expression mentioned at the beginning of this section, (/lʉ̣(u)i, liei, lor/), are 'third person'(non-reflexive) expressions of a pronominal type.

Although they are not adjectives and do not enter into relations of concord with the nouns to which they are appended, they do have a function similar to those possessives described above. They do <u>not</u> form paradigms, and, apart from a small difference in phonological form between the dialects, are invariable.

The phonological forms of the expressions of these possessives are:

/ a lʉ̣(u)i̯ (N), lʉ̣(u)i (S); 'his'
a liei (N), liei (S); 'her'
a lor (N), lor (S);/. 'their'

The following examples illustrate the function of these forms:

1) cesT-ei a lʉ̣(u)i̯ lápiž (N)(this is his pencil)
2) iʉ̣v-ei a lʉ̣(u)i̯ iakéta? (N)(where is his jacket?)
3) césT-ei lʉ̣(u)i̯ iakéte (S) (this is his jacket)

4) kavTát-am a lú(u)i žépure (N)(I looked in his pockets)

5) cásTa knígа nu-i a lú(u)i (N)(this isn't his book)

6) nu konósK a liei cáie (N)(I don't know her father)

7) zíis-am (lu) liei máie (S)(I told her mother)

8) Maríia ši a liei sóra mes-a tia (N)(Mary and her sister have gone away)

9) ia vrése la césTe ma nu-s liei (S)(she wants to take these but they aren't hers)

10)ažútu a lor priiátel (N)(they are helping their friend)

11)a vlat a lor knígа (N)(he has taken their book)

12)lor máie ri bólne (S)(their mother is ill)

13)rs césTii glázure a vósTrii alі a lor(N)(are these glasses yours or theirs?)

14)césTe-s lor (S)(these are theirs)

The pronominal features of /lú(u)i, liei, lor/ will be discussed in the following chapter.

Numerals

Discussion of the numerals has already been incidentally initiated above in this chapter in the section dealing

with the seven nouns expressing units of time, and, for the sake of convenience, assigned to Class IV because of the way they behave phonologically when they occur in conjunction with certain numerals.

It seems appropriate to conclude this chapter with an examination of the numerals, which, although in many cases, (at least in the cardinal forms) are not adjectives, are no less modifiers of the noun than the various other forms discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter (N.B. the ordinal numerals <u>are</u> adjectives and at least partially so are the first two cardinals, the latter possessing respectively limited numbers of flexional morphemes enabling them to express distinctions of grammatical gender).

The numerals in Istro-Rumanian are of two types, namely the cardinal numerals and the ordinal numerals. The cardinals will be examined first. Their forms are as follows:

<u>Cardinal Numerals</u>

1. ụr/ụn/ṛn (masculine)
1. o/ụra (feminine, North); o/ụre (feminine, South)
2. doi (masc.)
2. do (fem.)

3. trei
4. pátrụ
5. cinc (tSintS, South); pet
6. šáse; šesT
7. šápTe; sédṛm
8. opT (North only); ósṛm
9. dévet
10. déset (North); zéce (South only)
11. iedṛnáisT
12. dFanáisT
13. triṇáisT
14. cetṛrnáisT
15. petnáisT
16. šesnáisT
17. sedṛmnáisT
18. osṛmnáisT
19. devetnáisT
20. dFáiset
21,etc. dFáiset ši ụr/o
30. tridesét
31.etc. tridesét ši ụr/o
40. kuṛrnár
50. pedesét
60. šesTesét
70. sedṛmdesét
80. osṛmdesét
90. devedesét
100. sTo
101.etc.sTo ši ụr/o
200. dFísTo
300. trísTo
400. cetíṛasTo (var.South pátrụsTo)
500. pétSTo (var. South tSíntSTo)
600. šésTo (var. South šásesTo)

700. sédrmsTo (var.South šápTesTo)
800. ósrmsTo
900. dévetSTo
1000. tášužen(t),tisúuti (North only)(var.híliadu)[31] ; miliár (South)

1,000,000.miliún/milión.

The forms given above are common to both dialects, except where otherwise stated. In most cases there is no difference between Northern and Southern realizations of the numerals.

Mention has already been made of the fact that certain numerals in Istro-Rumanian are expressed by two distinct forms [32]. Such pairs are a feature of the numerals 5, 6, 7, 8, and they are listed above. There are also pairs of forms for the 'compound' numerals 25, 26, 27, 28, 35-38, 45-48 etc..

It was stated above that members of such pairs are sometimes in free and sometimes in contextual variance. The 'freedom' of variance is considerably greater in the South than in the North, but in both dialects, (although in the North particularly) the context limiting the freedom of va-

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31. Used principally in dates.

32. See the discussion of Class IV nouns and note 18 above.

riance is generally one of the nouns of Class IV, when the latter contains the moneme [[plural]] .

Thus the numerals 5, 6, 7, 8 when used in conjunction with nouns of Classes I-III may be realized as [[cinc or pet; šáse or šesT; šápTe or sédṛm; opT (North only) or ósṛm]] , although the first alternative is the more general.However, when the noun in question belongs to Class IV, the second alternative is more common, e.g. //cinc mịic// but //pet ụr//; //šáse fecór// but //šesT let//; //šápTe kali// but //sédṛm minútịi//; //opT kápre// but //ósṛm dṛn//.

As I mentioned earlier, usage is not always consistent and even in the North one hears sequences such as //šesT zíke, opT ani// although by some speakers these are felt to be 'wrong'.

The numeral I has, apart from the variants listed,the further form /ụ́rị/ which occurs infrequently in sequences such as //ụ́rị vṛ́rhụre// (some mountains) and seems to function as a partitive article.

Ordinal Numerals

North		South	
Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
1.pʃrvile	pʃrva	pʃrvi̯i	pʃrve/a
2.dóvile	dóua	dóile(var.drúgi̯i)	dóue/a
3.tréile	tréia	trétʃi̯i	tréie/a
4.pátri̯le	pátra	pátri̯le	pátre/a
5.cíncile	cínca	tSíntSile	tSíntSe/a(var. péte)
6.ˇsásile	ˇsásа(var.ˇsésTa)	ˇsásile(var.ˇsésTi̯i)	ˇsáse/a
7.ˇsápTile	ˇsápTa	ˇsápTile(var.sédmi̯i)	ˇsápTe/a
8.ósmile	ópTa(var.ósma)	ósmile	ósme/a
9.devétile	devéta	devétile	devéte/a
10.desétile	deséta	zécile(var.desétʃi̯i)	zéce/a

Above 10 the ordinal numerals in both dialects add the morpheme /-ile/ for the masculine forms, and the morpheme /-a/ (South-e) for the feminine forms, e.g.//iedri̯náisTile, iedri̯náisTa//, etc..

For 100 the forms are //sTótile (North), sTóti̯i(South)// for the masculine and //sTótina (North), sTóte// for the feminine.

In the Northern dialect the form /a/ [33] frequently precedes the ordinal numeral.

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33. cf. use of /a/ with possessives discussed above.

The following examples illustrate the usage of both cardinal and ordinal numerals:

1) ári̦i doi fecór ali̦ u̦r?(have you two children or one?)

2) n-am négo u̦r (I only have one)

3) a me frat-a pierdu̦t ɣn óklu̦ (N)(my brother has lost an eye)

4) mácK-áre cinc mi̦ic (the cat has five kittens)

5) áre šáptTe kápre ši opT oi(N)(he has seven goats and eight sheep)

6) am kumparát déset kni̦ige (N)(I have bought ten books)

6a)am kumparát zéce li̦ibri̦i (S)(translation as for 6)

7) sí̦mbr̦tr̦ va fi̦i osr̦mnáisT apri̦ila(Saturday will be April 18th)

8) vezú̦ut-am dFáiset ši o váka(N)(I have seen twenty one dows)

9) io sr̦m rodi̦it na tridesét setémbra híliadu̦ dévetSTo pedesét ši trei(N)(I was born on September 30th 1953)

10)r̦n cásTa séliš T-r̦s pétSTo ómi̦r (N)(in this village there are five hundred people)

11)pr̦rvilu̦ fecori̦ina n-av zi̦is i̦isTina (N)(the first child did not speak the truth)

12)a dóua vót-am r̦ntSelés ca c-av zi̦is(N)(the second time I understood what he said)

13)zéca zi̦i ie mes-a tia (S)(on the tenth day he went away)

14)tSésT-ei sTóte vóta ke plóie áze (S)(this is the hundredth time that it has rained today)

Chapter VI

The Pronouns

The pronominal system of Istro-Rumanian may be said to be made up of personal pronouns, relative pronouns and interrogative pronouns. The personal pronouns possess the greatest number of forms and will be dealt with first.

A Personal Pronouns

These are made up of grammatemes and monemes as follows:

I Grammatemes of Person and Number.

There are six of these (as described for the verbs in Chapter III above), and they are amalgamations made up of the monemes of person, i.e. [[first, second, third]], and the monemes of number, i.e. [[singular, plural]]. The grammatemes are repeated below for reference purposes.

1) // first person singular //

2) // second person singular //

3) // third person singular //

4) // first person plural //

5) // second person plural //

6) // third person plural //

II Monemes of Case

These number five,[1] four of which are the same as those listed above for the nouns in Chapter V. They are respectively

a) ⟦nominative⟧
b) ⟦accusative⟧
c) ⟦dative⟧
d) ⟦prepositional⟧
e)(⟦genitive⟧)

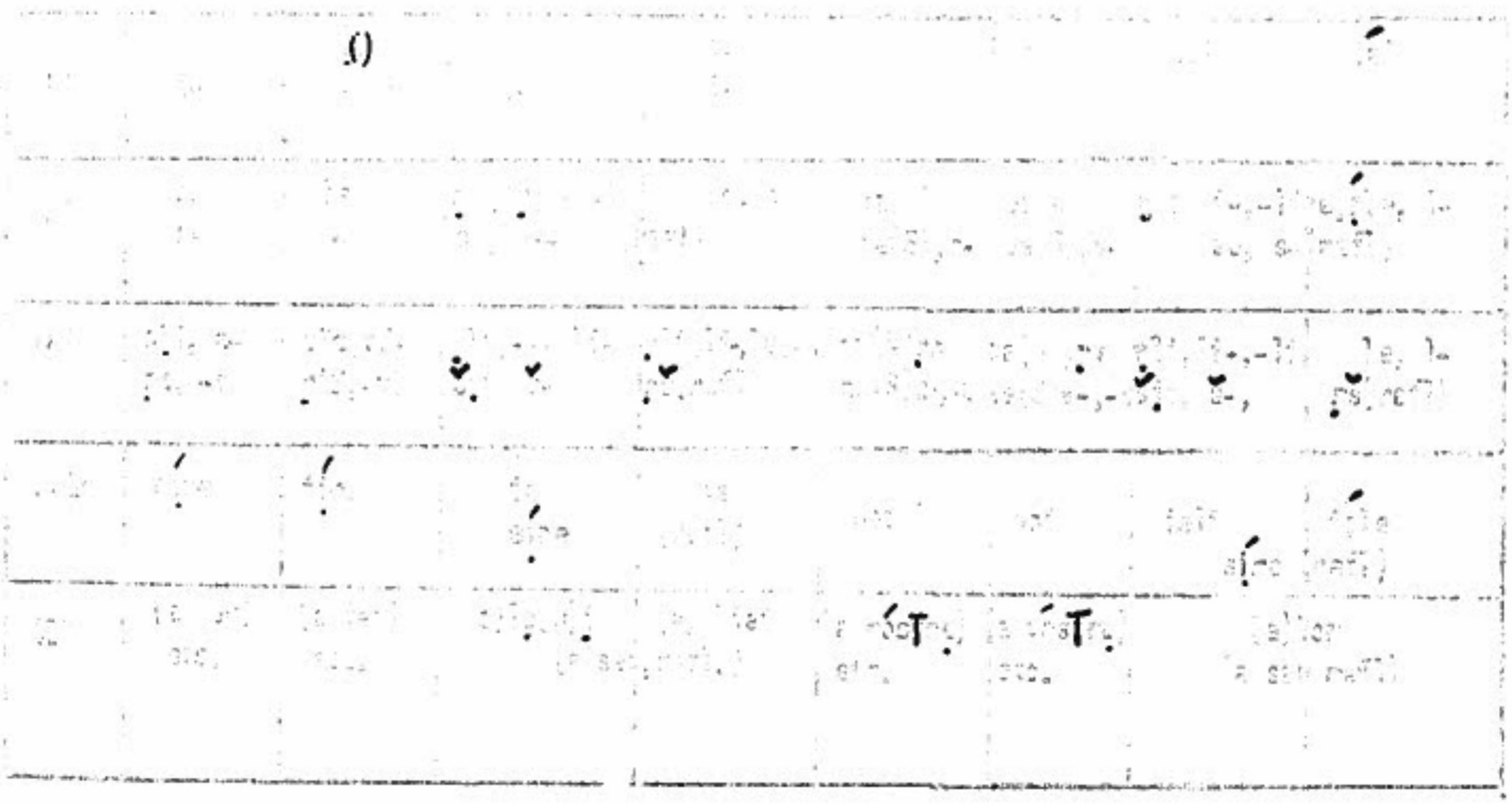
The two [2] types of grammatemes and monemes just listed both belong to limited inventories and combine to make up

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1. The status of ⟦genitive⟧ in this paradigm is of a somewhat marginal nature, which is why it is shown in round brackets. The 'marginality' of its status has to do with the fact that in several of the paradigmatic sub-sets shown in figure I below, there is no 'proper' phonological form expressing ⟦genitive⟧ . In such cases the paradigmeme is expressed by one of the forms of the possessive given above in Chapter V. This will be further discussed below.

2. Potentially there is a third type of moneme which could be considered in this context. Monemes of this type may conveniently be called 'monemes of formality of discourse'. There are two members, namely ⟦informal⟧ and ⟦formal⟧ and they potentially affect the grammateme // second person singular // which may be expressed by the phonological forms /tuu/ or /voi/, according to whether the realization is ⟦informal⟧ or ⟦formal⟧ . However, since the Istro-Rumanian speech community is a very restricted one, its members forming a closely-knit group having a common social position, the form /voi/ occurs (in the singular) very rarely. For this reason the monemes of this type may virtually be disregarded.

the system of personal pronouns in Istro-Rumanian, which are themselves members of a limited inventory. This being so, the personal pronouns may be described in terms of a paradigmatic set, or, more specifically, in terms of six paradigmatic sub-sets, which may be conveniently represented by means of a Cartesian table. In the table given below in Figure I, the vertical axis shows the monemes of Case, and the horizontal axis shows the grammatemes of Person and Number. The intersections show the phonological forms of the personal pronouns, which are themselves grammatemes, together with their more common variants.



The table contains the full set of the phonological forms of the expression of the personal pronouns of Istro-Rumanian. It is, I think, reasonably self-explanatory and serves to indicate in general terms the function of the paradigmemes.

Thus the forms shown as belonging to the [[nominative]] order generally function as the pronominal subjects, whereas the forms belonging to the [[accusative]] order and to the [[dative]] order respectively function generally as the direct and indirect objects of verbs.

As the name implies, the forms belonging to the [[prepositional]] order are used predominantly with prepositions. Examples of realizations of pronominal forms of this order, occurring in combination with prepositions, include //kf̣tra mi̯re// "towards me", // dúpa ti̯re // "after you", // f̣ntre si̯re // "among themselves", // ku̯(u) ie // "with him", // la noi // " in company with us " (chez nous), // de iále // [3]"of them".

Of the forms set out in the so-called [[genitive]] order, it will be seen that, strictly speaking, only those three forms listed in the // third person singular // series and in the // third person plural // series, i.e.//(a)lu̯(u)i̯, (a)liei, (a)lor//, are fully pronominal forms. The remainder

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3. Fairly rare Northern variant of //(a)lor//

of the forms cited, as was mentioned in footnote I above, are forms of the possessive. Nevertheless such forms do constitute the phonological expression of [[genitive]] in respect of the first and second person (singular and plural) pronominal grammatemes, and so are shown for the sake of convenience as partial members of the same order as //(a)lu̯(u)i̯, (a)liei, (a)lor //[4].

It will be noted, too, that the table in Figure I shows a number of forms which express the additional moneme [[reflexive]]. Such forms, however, occur only in the //third person singular// series and in the // third person plural //series and in the //third person plural// series. The forms are respectively //se// (var.//s-//), //ši̯i// (var.//š-,r̆š//), //si̯re// and //(a)sev//.

In the remaining four series, the phonological form of the expression of [[reflexive]] coincides with the phonological forms expressing //accusative, non-reflexive//,//dative,non-reflexive//, //prepositional, non-reflexive // and // genitive, non-reflexive//. Thus, for example, the forms // me, mi̯i// may represent, according to the context, the expression of respectively the direct and indirect pronoun objects (first person singular, non-reflexive), or the expression of the reflexive direct (or indirect) pronoun objects,(first person singular).

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4. For similar reasons of convenience //(a)lu̯(u)i̯, (a)liei, (a)lor//were considered in conjunction with the possessive 'adjectives' above in Chapter V.

The following examples are illustrative of the function of the pronouns tabulated in Figure I:

a) Nominative Case

1) io le voi aštepTá ánca (N),(I want to wait for them here; or I will, etc.)

2) tuu n-ai vruut asKutá(N),(you didn't want to listen)

3) ie nu vrése iii tia, (he does not want to go away)

4) ia va sPelá sKalíinele míre,(she will wash the steps tomorrow)

5) noi rem platíi, (we will pay)

6) voi štiitS ke ieli nu sTávu bíre? ,(you know that they are not well?)

b) Accusative Case

1) iále m-a lasát ánca, (they have left me here)

2) io nu te voi vedé (I do not want to see you ; or, I will not, etc.)

3) rl védu sáka zii, (I see him every day)

4) nu l-am vruut štepTá (S),(I didn't want to wait for him)

5) io n-am vo vezúut, (I haven't seen her)

6) noi na rem vedé míre (N),(we shall see each other tomorrow)

7) io voi ve klemá na ósrm (S),(I shall call you at eight)

8) kum se klému a vósTrii fratS (N),(what are yourbrothers called?)

9) io le áflu simpáticne, (I find them (fem.) kind)

c) Dative Case

1) ie mii av dat rn lápiž, (he gave me a pencil)

2) io nu-tS krédu, (I don't believe you)

3) io li-am dat dFísTo, (I gave him two hundred)

4) a mev fil la va da rn aré (N),(my son will give her a ring)

5) i-oi va aratá cevá (N),(I will show you something)

6) rli voi zice, (I shall tell them (masc.))

7) susédu le a ratát se mákina (S), (the neighbour showed them (fem.) his car)

8) a mev fráte šii av kumparát nóve posTóle (N), (my brother has bought himself some new shoes)

9) nu-tS-er kumpará cevá? , (aren't you going to buy yourself anything?)

d) Prepositional Case

1) Fráne verít-a ku míre, (Frane came with me)

2) me fráte mes-a dúpa tíre (S), (my brother went after you)

3) cásTa róba-i de ia (N), (this dress is hers)

4) fecórii av kuvintát fntru síre, (the children talked among themselves).

5) io nu meg ku voi , (I am not going with you)

6) cásTe-s posTólele de ieli (N), (these are their shoes)

e) Genitive Case [5]

1) tSésTa róba-i liei (S), (this dress is hers)[6]

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5. For further examples illustrating the use of 'possessive' forms, see Chapter V above.

6. cf. example d) 3, above.

2) iúv-ei lăpižu a lú(u)i ? (N), (where is his pencil?)

3) tSésTe-s posTólele lor (S), (these are their shoes) [7]

It should be added that in the case of realizations of the type exemplified in section a) above, the pronominal form may be omitted, and quite frequently is. In fact, the omission of the 'subject pronoun' appears to be in free variance with its inclusion. Its omission is particularly marked when the pronoun is unstressed and when the subject of the utterance is unambiguously expressed by the verbal flexion, as is often the case. Separate expression of the subject pronoun is mandatory only when its function is emphatic or contrastive, and in cases where its use is disjunctive as opposed to conjunctive. Thus the first example in section a) may equally well be realized as le voi ašTepTă ănca (io being omitted), as long as these last two considerations do not apply. Examples of disjunctive and of contrastive use include the sequences

tSire fakúut-a tSésTa? (S), io (who did this ? I)

io srm mai visók négo tyu (N), (I am taller than you).

The conjunctive personal pronoun forms are those listed in the [[accusative]] and in the [[dative]] orders in the table, in their function as direct or indirect (both reflexive and

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7. cf. example d) 6, above.

non-reflexive) objects of the verb. As such they are generally unstressed, and, as may be seen from the chart, are frequently used proclitically or enclitically (sometimes both). Examples of this type of realization include the sequences <u>iśle m-a lasśt ánca</u> (bI, above), <u>nu l-am vrŭut ˇsTepTá</u> (b,4,above), <u>io nu-tS krédu</u> (c,2, above), and <u>védu-l śáka zii</u> (I see him every day).

The pronouns of the [[nominative]] order, too, may be used conjunctively, and in such cases several of the forms have proclitic variants, as may be seen from the chart.

The <u>disjunctive</u> personal pronoun forms are those listed in the [[nominative [8], prepositional and genitive]] orders in the table, and they are generally stressed. In the case of pronouns of the [[nominative]] order, these frequently function as <u>emphatic</u> or as <u>contrastive</u> forms, or <u>independently</u> as replies to a certain type of question, as illustrated above. In the case of the remaining two orders, the forms tabulated function respectively as the pronominal extensions of prepositional or of genitival phrases. Realizations of both of these types are given in the examples above.

The freedom of word-order which is a feature of Istro-Rumanian has already been mentioned several times. This fea-

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8. May also be used conjunctively, as mentioned above.

ture is also noteworthy with regard to the position in the utterance of the personal pronouns. In the case of conjunctive pronominal objects (both direct and indirect) the most usual position, as may be expected, is immediately preceding the verb of which they are the object, e.g.

ie nụ te volé (he does not like you)

However in cases where there is also an auxiliary verb, the pronoun object may precede either the auxiliary or the main verb, although the former appears to be the more common, e.g.

iále m-a lasát ánca, beside iále av me lasát ánca, cf. also io nụ te voi vedé, (var. io nụ t-oi vedé), beside io n-oi te vedé [9].

When the verb expresses [[imperative]] however, and the expression is not negative, the position of the pronoun object (direct or indirect) is generally fixed and stands immediately after the verb. Examples are as follows:

ažúuta me (N), (help me!), asKúuta me (N), (listen to me!)

arát-rm (N), (show me!)

vindétS rm césTa ka, (sell me this horse!)

fe-m rn piacér (S), (do me a favour!)

datS rm vo, (give it to me! fem. obj.)

de mii-l, (give it to me! masc. obj.)

dam rli o bótSa, (let's give him a bottle!)

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9. In the sense of "I don't want to see you" as well as of " I won't see you".

However, when the expression is negative,the position of pronominal forms is regular,i.e. they generally immediately precede the verb, e.g.

nu te iadi, (don't get angry!)

nu -li aratá kniga(N),(don't show him the book!)

nu -li datS cuda,(don't give him too much!) [10]

A further sequential variant is possible in the Southern dialects,albeit rarely,when a direct personal pronoun object stands in conjunction with the form of the infinitive. In such cases the pronominal form may stand immediately following the infinitive and enclitic to it, [11] e.g.

io va raš ažutá(N),(I would like to help you),but

io res vre žutá-ve (S).

In cases where a conjunctive direct pronominal form and a conjunctive indirect pronominal form occur as objects of the same verb, the indirect object generally precedes the direct object. Examples include

datS rm vo (see above)

noi tS-rl rem aratá o zii,(we will show you it one day)

ie mii l-av ziis, (he told me it)

tSe l-oi da, (I'll give it to you)

rli voi vo aratá, (I will show them it).

10.Rare emphatic variant:nu datS cuda a lui,(don't give him too much!)

11.Possibly shows Italian influence.

In conclusion of this section it must be added that some of the pronominal forms fulfil a rôle in certain types of verbal expression characterized above as a) passive and b) impersonal. Such types of expression have already been discussed in Chapter III, and the discussion need not be repeated here. It will suffice simply to refer to what has been said in the appropriate sections of Chapter III, and to give examples illustrative of such usage for reference purposes.

With regard to the first type of usage, e.g.

pʃra av se poidʃit, (the bread has been eaten),

we are dealing with the matter of circumlocution of the moneme [[passive]] via an [[active]] realization of the relevant verb in conjunction with the reflexive direct pronoun object // se //. Such realizations seem to be preferred by the speakers of Istro-Rumanian to possible sequences such as

pʃra fosT a poidʃita.

In the case of the so-called 'impersonal' verbs, both direct and indirect personal pronoun objects occur in conjunction with such verbs, although whether in the former case[12] we may strictly use the term 'impersonal verbs' must remain in some doubt.

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12. i.e. with direct pronoun objects.

Examples of such usage include

ţtS kunvinié verţi mai mántie? (S), (Is it convenient for you to come earlier?)

tSésT-ei un lok ke nu me piažé (S), (this is a place I do not like, lit. that does not please me).

A further type of usage of the reflexive pronoun //se//, not previously mentioned, and which it is difficult to classify categorically as either 'passive usage' or 'impersonal usage', since it possesses a certain amount of affinity with both, is exemplified by the sequence

se šTţie ke-n frántSţie róba gušTé tSuda (S), "one knows (it is known) that in France things cost a lot". Such realizations, howver, are not common.

B. Relative and Interrogative Pronouns

Relative and interrogative pronoun forms in Istro-Rumanian are not numerous. The relative pronouns are //kára, ce, ke, ca ce//. The first of these is a member of the paradigmatic set

Masculine	Feminine	
kára	kára	('singular unarticulated')
kárle	kára	('singular articulated')
kárliţi	kárliţi	('plural')

The three remaining relative pronouns are invariable, apart from the Southern regional variants/tSe/etc..

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The interrogative pronouns are//círe(genitive kúui);krt[13], krtS(masc.pl.),kfte(fem.pl.);kâre(paradigm as above);ce//.

The function of the relative and interrogative pronouns is illustrated by the following examples:

a) Relative

1) ei fetSóru kâre kunósTe te fráte (S), (he is the boy who knows your brother)
2) tSésTa-i rîka rn kâre m-am io sKadât (S),(this is the river in which I bathed)
3) ómu de kârle am io ganéit ri médik (S),(the man of whom I was speaking is a doctor)
4) cásTa-i ca ženska de kâra tSe am kuvintât (N),(this is the woman about whom I spoke to you)
5) rs célii brtfrii kârliii ai tuu rniurbât rn Zágreb(they are the old men whom you met in Zagreb)
6) ie pîrva vóta ke vîre rn a nósTra cetâte(N),(it is the first time that she has come to our town)
7) sâka vóta ce io ving,ie-m zîice âta sTFar(N),(every time that I come, he tells me something else)
8) césTii-s fecórii ku c-am io rnvetSavéit(N),(these are the boys with whom I studied)

13.As I mentioned earlier,Kovačec gives a gen.dat.plural form cîtor(his notation)of which I find no trace.See A.Kovačec Certains modifications grammaticales et sémantiques des "quantitatifs"et"qualitatifs"istroroumains dues à l'influence croate,Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia,23, 1967, p.196

~~9) mi-ar zi-s ke nu-i právo, (they told me that it isn't true)~~

10) <u>ca ce</u> io zik ie právo (what I say is true)

b) Interrogative

1) <u>tSire</u> [14] fakut-a tSésTa? (S), (who did this?)

2) lu <u>kúui</u> ei tSésTa úre (S), (whose is this watch?)

3) a <u>kúui</u> rs cásTe mašine? (N), (whose are these cars?)

4) na <u>kíte</u> úr va sKulátS? (at what time do you get up?)

5) <u>krtS</u> ani áre a tev nóno? (N), (how old is your grandfather?)

6) <u>kárle</u>-i césTa fecorina? (who is this child?)

7) rn <u>kára</u> úra t-ai tuu sKulát? (N), (at what time did you get up?)

8) <u>ce</u> v-atS voi kumparát?, (what did you buy yourself?)

It should be added that in the case of //káre//, etc., the functional opposition in the singular between the 'unarticulated' and the 'articulated' forms i.e. //káre-kárle; káre-kára// is not always clear. In fact the expression of the definite article in the latter cases frequently appears to be redundant as it has already been expressed earlier in the utterance, e.g. example 3a above ómu de kar<u>le</u> am io ganéit, etc., Although there is undoubtedly a certain amount of flexibility and overlapping, it does not appear to be the case that there is complete freedom of variance. The

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14. North /cire/

'articulated' forms occur most frequently in conjunction with a preposition, e.g. //de kárle; de kára// etc.. But the rule is not invariable as may be seen from the incidence of //ɽn káre// in example 2, above.

In the case of the <u>interrogative</u> pronouns, the 'articulated' forms are possible, as is shown by examples 6) and 7) above, although it must be noted that they do not occur so frequently as interrogative pronouns, as they do as relatives.

APPENDIX A

Some Effects of Bilingualism on Istro-Rumanian.

Reference has been made several times in the main part of this work to the fact that the majority of speakers of Istro-Rumanian are today bilingual[1]. The language has, as a consequence, undergone a high degree of contamination. As stated in the Introduction, Slavonic has been, and still constitutes the main source of this contamination. More specifically this comes from the čakavian dialect of Croatian, although in Northern Istro-Rumanian there is a slight admixture of Slovenian; a minority of speakers speak this language in addition to Croatian and their own native dialect. Other speakers are to a certain degree tri-lingual, their third language of competence being either Italian or German, both of which idioms have been the 'official' language in the area within living memory.

When a language has clearly been so radically affected, as has Istro-Rumanian, by the idioms with which it is, and has been in the past, so closely in contact, and when the process of contamination is still continuing, it seems to me that even in a description the purpose of which is predominantly

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1. In fact many Istro-Rumanian speakers are tri-lingual. I shall refer below to some of the consequences of this fact.

synchronic, one cannot completely overlook the effects of the various external influences, despite their comparativist and diachronic implications.

In this Appendix then, I propose to deal briefly with some of the manifestations in Istro-Rumanian of contamination from Croatian, Italian and German sources. I shall treat them for the sake of convenience under three headings, as they affect a) verbal aspect, b) the numerals, c) the lexicon.

a) Some Comparativist Considerations and Evidence of Possible "unease" In The Manipulation of Verbal Aspect In Istro-Rumanian [2].

Towards the beginning of Chapter IV above, under the heading "Ways in which Aspectual Differences are Expressed", four classes of aspectual pairs were established according to the way in which the aspectual differences are formally expressed. Of these there are two classes which, I believe, merit some further attention. They are Class I and Class 4, respectively the Prefixation class, and the Suppletion class.

Class I.

Aspectual pairs such as those listed under this heading in Chapter IV, form from the synchronic point of view a single

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2. Much of this section has appeared in an earlier version in my Verbal aspect and archiaspect in Istro-Rumanian. La Linguistique, II, 1969.

class in Istro-Rumanian, and this is how they are treated in the main part of this work. Viewed from the comparativist, or from the diachronic standpoint, however, they would fall into two distinct sub-classes, namely

(I) <u>the simple prefixation class</u>, as illustrated by such pairs as piséi - napiséi (nepiséi), citéi - proci-téi, misli-zmisl̥i, let̥i - dolet̥i, etc., and

(II) <u>the hybrid prefixation class</u>, as illustrated by such pairs as dy̯rm̥i-zady̯rm̥i (zedy̯rm̥i), tórce-potórce, pl̥nže-zapl̥nže, dy̯uce-ady̯uce, etc..

The difference is that in sub-class (I) both the verb and the perfectivizing prefix are Slavonic in origin, cf. Croatian pisati-napisati (to write), whereas in sub-class (II) only the prefix is Slavonic, the verb being Romance.

<u>Class 4.</u>

The Suppletion class, from the diachronic point of view, is also a hybrid class in that of each aspectual pair the first member, i.e. the <u>imperfective</u> one, is of Romance origin, whereas the <u>perfective</u> member is of Slavonic origin. Of the pairs listed under Class 4, the verbs <u>be</u> (to drink), <u>munkâ</u> (to eat), <u>tórce</u> (to spin), <u>arâ</u> (to plough), <u>sapâ</u> (to dig) and <u>matSi̯râ</u> (to grind) are all imperfective and

Romance, whereas their perfective counterparts, i.e. <u>popĵi</u>, <u>poidĵi</u>, <u>sPredĵi</u>, <u>zorĵi</u>, <u>sKopéi</u>, <u>smilĵi</u> are all Slavonic.

Neither of the above points, it must be admitted, has any marked or far-reaching significance in a synchronic description; they are worthy of passing note, but nothing more.

Much more significant, however, is the strong possibility that there is a certain amount of "unease" in the manipulation of verbal aspect; this appears to be an important consequence of the degree of bi-lingualism, and perhaps even of tri-lingualism, achieved and maintained over a considerable period by the speakers of Istro-Rumanian.

The high incidence of syncretism, referred to in Chapter IV, in the expression of verbal aspect in Istro-Rumanian means that communication is always liable to break down. Misunderstandings, which can and do occur between speakers, may be remedied by re-emphasis or by re-phrasing, but are more often avoided altogether by the use of expansions in the form of adverbs or phrases containing a clearly designated time reference, such as <u>óbinno</u> (usually), <u>vaik</u>, <u>vŗk</u>, <u>vávik</u> (always), etc.. Constructions including 'time phrases' such as these could be loosely termed "circumlocution of aspect" [3], or

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3. In certain senses expansions of the type mentioned may be regarded as <u>re-inforcement</u>.I return to this question below.

rather "expression of aspect via circumlocution", were it not for the notions moneme and grammateme. These notions enable us to consider expansions of the type mentioned as part of the moneme expression, or as part of the grammateme expression [4].

Other ways in which verbal aspect may be "circumlocuted", or expanded, in Istro-Rumanian are by the use of certain verbs with clearly defined temporal associations as "additional auxiliaries". For example, the monemes and grammatemes contained in the sequence

krnd a máie na vezúut av zaplíns, "when mother saw us she started to cry",

may be realized equally well by the sequence

krnd n-a vezúut máie a pošníit plínže.

Such "additional auxiliaries" include pošníi (to begin), zFršíi (to finish), both of Slavonic origin, and finíi (to finish), of Romance origin. When used in this way, these verbs should be regarded, as is the case of the other type of expansion given above, as part of the discontinuous grammateme expression.

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4. J.W.F.Mulder, Sets and Relations in Phonology, Oxford, 1968, p.48. As Mulder shows the expression of a moneme or of a grammateme may have a discontinuous shape; cf. his example from English he walks which is composed of two grammatemes, one of which has a discontinuous shape, i.e. (1) walk and (2) he ....s, (phonological forms (1) uork and (2) hRi...s, respectively).

The Verb u̯žéi and Related Expressions

This type of "circumlocution of aspect" is, I believe, possible, and perhaps even common in certain Slavonic languages, and so may appear rather trivial in connection with the functioning of verbal aspect in Istro-Rumanian.But much less trivial, I feel, and much more pronounced, is the frequent use of another verb of Romance origin as an "additional auxiliary". The verb is u̯žéi and it means "to do habitually, or frequently" ;followed by a verb in the infinitive, it is a common way of realizing the moneme [[iterative]] .Recorded utterances in my field data of the type

ʲIivin-a óbicno vʲvrk potPisuʲit d-a sa máie,

by the inclusion of both forms óbicno (usually),and vʲvrk (always), together with the archiaspectual(iterative) form of the verb, suggest strongly that the "unexpanded"form of the verb alone is not felt by some speakers of Istro-Rumanian to be sufficient for the unequivocal expression of [[iterative]] .The fact that an alternative construction, using u̯žéi, is not only possible but very frequent, (for example the sequence

ʲIivin-a (vʲvrk)[5] u̯žéit potPisuʲi d-a sa máie,

5.The form vʲvrk may,or may not occur in this type of utterance.It may be regarded as being in free variance,or at most as being an optional re-inforcement of the moneme [[iterative]] for speakers who feel this to be required.

is at least as likely to occur in an equivalent context as the sequence cited above), further strengthens the impression that a number of Istro-Rumanian speakers may not feel completely 'at home' with verbal aspect.

Constructions containing the verb <u>užéi</u> are undoubtedly extremely popular, and one of the reasons for this popularity is very probably historical.

Istro-Rumanian is, of course, in close geographical proximity with the Venetian dialect of Italian. Rather more important than this is the fact that from 1918 until 1943 the Istrian peninsula was politically a part of Italy (Val d'Arsa), during which time Italian was the <u>official</u> language in the area. As the Istro-Rumanians were at that time administered in Italian, and, perhaps even more significantly, schooled in Italian, quite possibly by non-Croatian speaking administrators and by elementary schoolteachers of whom the latter would probably most have been native Italian speakers, it seems likely that many of their mentors would not have been familiar with the refinements of the functioning of verbal aspect. This being so, the circumlocutory <u>užéi</u> may well have been introduced in order to fill an awkward gap in communicability. It is also conceivable that the Istro-Rumanians were schooled to believe that

there was something "wrong" or in some way inadequate about the aspectual distinctions they were making in their own native speech, and which may not have been understood by their teachers. It seems very likely that u̯žéi is a development of the Italian form (Venetian dialect) usár (usare) and that it is a borrowing from Italian, used in the sense "to be accustomed, be in the habit of"; the form usár does feature commonly in the Venetian dialect with which Istro-Rumanian was adjacent [6].

The circumlocutory use of u̯žéi shows certain variants in Istro-Rumanian which are themselves fairly common.These are:

(1) the noun u̯žántSa [7], plus the verb avé (to have)and

(2) the adverbial phrase po u̯žántSii [8].

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6. G.Volpi, Vocabolario della lingua italiana, Florence,1945; G.Pinguentini, Dizionario storico etimologico fraseologico del dialetto triestino, Trieste, 1954; G.Rigutini and P. Fanfani, Vocabolario italiano della lingua parlata, Florence, 1875.

7. Cf. Italian (Venetian) usánza

8. var. na u̯žántSii

Examples of these variants are:

(1) Fráne a vuut užántSa potPiséi za se máie

(2) cáie po užántSii mes-a rn kása na pátru úre,
"father usually went home at four o'clock".

It is to be noted that the occurrence of these expressions (užéi, po užántSii etc.), although very common in the Istro-Rumanian speech community as a whole, is extremely rare in the speech of many of the youngest members of the community who are currently being schooled in Croatian and who, it seems fair to assume, are more at ease with the functioning of verbal aspect.

Italian influence has, I believe, shown itself in another way in the Istro-Rumanian verb, and this, too, seems to illustrate the current "unease" with regard to the use of verbal aspect in that language.

It has been shown in Chapter IV above, that the so-called "iterative infixes" -av-, -iv- are frequently used in a non-iterative, i.e. durative imperfective sense. It seems quite likely that these infixes have lost much of their "iterative" association because of a popular tendency to equate them semantically, despite their apparent Slavonic origin [9], with the similar phonological forms contained in

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9. Cf.A. Kovačec, Observations sur les influences croates dans la grammaire istroroumaine, La Linguistique, I, 1968, p.111.

the expression of the Italian past descriptive tense, (cantavo, cantavi; dormivo, dormivi, etc.).

This latter consideration throws a possibly different interpretation on the uzéi constructions already discussed. Assuming that the "aspectual" Istro-Rumanians were being schooled during the period in question to differentiate between Italian past descriptive compravo, Italian compound perfect ho comprato, and possibly also Italian past absolute comprai, then, far from being a "circumlocution" of verbal aspect, a sequence such as

Íivin-a vrvrk užéit potPišuíi d-a sa máie,

could have developed as a re-inforcement of the archiaspectual iterative infinitive potPišuíi. It is certainly not difficult to imagine that Istro-Rumanian school children and their Italian teachers, finding themselves placed respectively on opposite sides of the "aspectual/non-aspectual" linguistic barrier, found it easy to equate the morphemes /-av-, -iv-/ with the idea of past descriptive verbal action as expressed by the Italian verbal forms cantavo, dormivo, etc.. Such an equation would help to explain why the so-called "iterative infixes" so readily express [[durative]] in Istro-Rumanian.

Nevertheless, despite these various considerations, my

overall impression remains, and it must be emphasized that this is largely intuitive, that the speakers of Istro-Rumanian, apart from the very young speakers, experience "unease" with verbal aspect. I find it otherwise difficult to account for pairs such as uc‡is-pouc‡is, in sequences such as those cited above, viz.

i-am uc‡is o músKa "I have killed a fly", and

i-am pouc‡is (tőte) műšTile "I have killed (all) the flies".

The case of the former sequence is not in itself difficult. In the light of the discussion of this and other sequences in Chapter IV, the realization is considered as belonging to //p// despite the absence of any formal mark of "perfectivity", on the grounds that semantically it belongs to //p// because it contains, among others the moneme [[complete]].

As suggested above, the case of i-am pouc‡is tőte műšTile is less easy in that it does contain, (in the prefixed morpheme po-), one of what are commonly taken to be the formal markers of "perfectivity". Yet the sequence seems less "perfective" than i-am uc‡is o músKa, since it denotes a number of actions, each one, however, probably complete in itself. Both sequences include the moneme [[productive

of a result]] , which results may be taken respectively as "a fly has been killed", and "all the flies have been killed".

In view of the seeming popularity of po- as a "perfectivizing" device capable of expressing among other things the moneme [[complete]] , one might reasonably have expected to find sequences such as

i-am poucíis o músKa, "I killed a fly", and

ie s-av poucíis, "he killed himself" //p//.

Such sequences however are <u>not</u> found.

A possible explanation of this phenomenon, and again it is an intuitive one, is that popular etymology has been at work. It is conceivable that the postulated "unease" experienced by the speakers of Istro-Rumanian with regard to the manipulation of verbal aspect has caused them to attribute the moneme [[all of]] to the otherwise semantically "empty" perfectivizing morpheme <u>po-</u>[10], on the analogy of forms such as <u>poidíit</u> //p//, the suppletive counterpart of <u>munkát</u> //i//, and <u>popíit</u> //p//, the counterpart of <u>beiúut</u> //i//, as used, for example, in the sequences

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10. Some scholars have attributed further additional meanings to the prefix <u>po-</u> in various languages namely that of "distributive", "in turn","diminutive", e.g. poigrati (Serbo-Croat) for "danser un peu", cf. A.Meillet and A.Vaillant, <u>Grammaire de la langue serbo-croate</u>. Paris, 1924, p. 256.

poidʃit-am pʃra, "I have eaten all the bread",

as opposed to

munkát-am kaš, "I have eaten some cheese".

cf. also

i-am popʃit viru, "I drank all the wine",

as opposed to

beiʃut-am te, "I drank some tea".

Less intuitively, however, and an approach more in accordance with the procedure adopted above in Chapter IV, would be to regard the form po-, in sequences such as i-am poucʃis muš Tile, as part of the phonological form of the expression of [[iterative]] . The presence of the moneme [[iterative]], (i.e. the action of the verb here denotes a series of acts of killing), means that this is to be considered as a further instance of //A//.

The Imperfect Indicative In The Southern Dialects And Some Diachronic Implications

The forms and the usage of the Imperfect Indicative in Southern Istro-Rumanian have been discussed above in Chapter III. Further mention is superfluous here except for a brief consideration of the possibility that the survival in

the Southern dialects of the Imperfect Indicative may be taken as historical evidence that Istro-Rumanian has been resistant to the adoption of verbal aspect; such would be further support for the theory that speakers of the language experience "unease" with regard to verbal aspect.

As may be seen from the paradigms given in the relevant section of Chapter III, the enclitic morphemes which constitute the phonological form of the expression of the imperfect indicative may just as readily be attached to verbs of Slavonic origin as to those of Romance origin, (e.g. piséiam, lukráiam). They may also be added to perfective verbs (e.g. poidʒiam), as well as to the verb ʒžéi, e.g.

Fráne ʒžéia potPiséi za se máie.

The imperfect indicative is commonly used by speakers of the Southern dialects, particularly by the middle-aged and by the older speakers. The younger speakers, and especially those still attending school, seem to prefer to use the compound past tense wherever possible. Were it not for the difference in usage between speakers of different ages it would be possible to regard sequences such as

io poidʒiam plʒra sKátola de rʒibe,

and

i-<u>am poidivêit</u> plîra šKátola de rîibe, (I often used to eat up a whole tin of fish), as being in free variance, as indeed from a purely <u>linguistic</u> view they are. The more mature speakers, however, tend to maintain that the former variant, i.e. the imperfect indicative construction, is "better".

Other evidence [11] has been adduced from the diachronic viewpoint to suggest that Istro-Rumanian resisted verbal aspect by showing reluctance to adopt hybrid-prefixed formations such as <u>durmîi-zadurmîi</u>, where the verb is Romance and the prefix Slavonic, and that the language preferred to use suppletive pairs of the type Romance verb //i//- Slavonic verb //p//. This may well be so, but there are nevertheless quite a number of hybrid-prefixed formations in Istro-Rumanian, as has been shown above. Furthermore the seeming popularity of suppletive pairs quite probably is the result of linguistic economy whereby it has been easy for the historically "non-aspectual" Istro-Rumanians to take over the ready made Croatian form of the perfective when they felt the need to make aspectual distinction. As Kovačec has shown, the adoption by Istro-Rumanian of a given Croatian perfective verb

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11. A.Kovačec, Quelques influences croates dans la morphosyntaxe istroroumaine, <u>Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia</u>. 21-22, 1966, p.71.

often opened the door for the corresponding Croatian imperfective verb which came in the wake of the perfective form. When this happened it was generally at the expense of the indigenous Istro-Rumanian imperfective verb. An illustration of this phenomenon is the case of the verb tórce "to spin". In the Southern dialects tórce //i// forms an aspectual pair with potórce //p//. In Northern Istro-Rumanian the perfective counterpart of tórce is the suppletive sPredíi, borrowed from Serbo-Croat, and for the more mature speakers tórce - sPredíi constitute the aspectual pair. In the speech of the younger speakers in the North, the Croatian sPredíi has brought with it the imperfective counterpart predíi, and this has been at the expense of the native tórce which is unknown to many of the younger speakers [12].

This latter trend, i.e. that of the steady replacement of ~~its~~ lexemes by their Croatian 'equivalents' may well prove to be one of the most effective factors in hastening the demise of Istro-Rumanian.

Many of the constructions which have been illustrated above appear to show evidence of tautology, a particularly striking example being

Iívin-a vívrk užéit potPisuíi d-a sa máie.

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12. A.Kovačec, Notes de lexicologie istroroumaine, Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia, 15-16, 1963, p. 26.

An equally illustrative example of possible tautology is the sequence

a me sor-av ʯžéit vrk aflavéi tSʃet ŗn vŗrt, "my sister was always finding flowers in the garden", but whether such examples are really evidence of tautology,which may then be taken as further support for the theory that there is "unease" in Istro-Rumanian concerning verbal aspect, or whether they merely illustrate normal linguistic redundancy must remain open to doubt. Nevertheless the very strong impression I retain from the highly complex situation regarding verbal aspect described here and in Chapter IV, is that a certain amount of "unease" there certainly is, at least in the speech of the more mature speakers. This, however, seems less true, as I have indicated, for the younger speakers particularly those who are currently attending school. It is also less marked in the speech of those who have recently left school, and of those most open to pressure of mass communication, or of those otherwise most receptive to linguistic contacts with the čakavian speech communities which are increasingly encroaching upon the Istro-Rumanian speaking areas.

b) The Hybrid Numeral System of Istro-Rumanian.

One of the more marked manifestations of the bi-linguialism of speakers of Istro-Rumanian lies in the system of

numerals. The numeral system provides further evidence of the high degree of contamination undergone by Istro-Rumanian from Croatian. The forms expressing the numerals, and ways in which these are used, are discussed in detail in Chapter V above. A glance at the forms of the cardinal numerals listed in Chapter V will suffice to show the extent of contamination from Croatian. The numerals from ten upwards in both dialects are generally borrowings from Croatian; in the case of compound forms, they usually have one component at least which is Croatian. The numerals up to and including ten are generally Romance in origin, but in cases where there is a pair of forms, one of the pair is Croatian, e.g. cinc (Romance) - pet (Croatian). An exception is nine (dévet). The numerals eight and ten are special cases; in the North, the Romance form opT is used for eight and the Croatian form déset for ten, whereas in the South, eight is represented by the Slavonic form ósrm, and ten by the Romance zéce.

Also discussed in Chapter V was a series of seven nouns expressing units of time, categorized as Class IV nouns. As was stated at the time, these nouns exhibit peculiar morphological characteristics when occurring in conjunction with

certain numerals in the Northern dialect.

In the case of five of the nouns of Class IV, namely minůut, ůra, zii, an and vóta, there are three distinct paradigmemes on each noun depending on whether the number to be expressed is [[singular, paucal]] or [[plural]] . Of these, the paradigmeme containing [[singular]] is used in conjunction with the numerals one and with compound numerals of which one is a component, e.g. twenty one, thirty one, one hundred and one, etc.; the paradigmeme containing [[paucal]] occurs in conjunction with the numerals two, three, four and with compound numerals of which they constitute one of the components, e.g. twenty two, thirty three etc.; the paradigmeme containing [[plural]] occurs in conjunction with all other numerals. This situation reflects Slavonic usage. Specifically, in Serbo-Croat the three corresponding noun paradigmemes are respectively // nominative singular//, (used with the numeral one [13], //genitive singular//, (used with two, three, four [14]), and //genitive plural//, (used with all other numerals).

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13. and with compound numerals of which one is a component.

14. and with compound numerals of which two, three or four are a component.

From the examples given above in the relevant section of Chapter V it will be clear that in the case of those numerals for which there exists a pair of forms, it is generally the Romance member of the pair which occurs whenever the moneme [[paucal]] is expressed, and generally the Slavonic member whenever [[plural]] is expressed [15]. Apart from this contextual restriction, (which applies only to the Northern dialect since there is no possibility of formally expressing [[paucal]] in the South), the Romance and the Slavonic forms of those numerals possessing a pair of forms for their expression are generally in free variance.

It has been shown above in Chapter IV that in the case of two of the Class IV nouns, namely // tiédrn// and // mísrtS//, the moneme [[paucal]] is neutralized. The same thing could be said generally for all nouns of this type in the Southern dialect, but as [[paucal]] can never be separately expressed in the South such a statement would have little descriptive value. An alternative way of looking at this phenomenon would be to regard those forms which I have

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15. Kovačec (op.cit.,1963,p.25) says that in Zejane there are no Rumanian counterparts of the Croatian forms of the numerals above 5. This, he suggests, is so that what he calls hybrid formations (by this I think he means sequences consisting of Romance forms for the numerals and Slavonic flexional morphemes on the nouns) may be avoided. This is not confirmed by my field data. Furthermore several of Kovačec's tabulated forms for this type of noun differ from my own findings.

categorized as 'paucal' as being evidence that fossilization has set in, and that the forms //minu̯(u̯)te, u̯re, zîle, ani, vôte// are contextual variants of //minu̯(u̯)ti̯i, u̯r, drn̯, let, pûti̯i// occurring after the numerals two, three, four and their compounds [16].

c) The Lexicon

This Appendix closes with a brief survey of some of the lexemes which Istro-Rumanian has borrowed from languages with which it is, or has recently been, in direct contact. The survey is intended to be illustrative and not exhaustive, and is designed to provide further evidence of the effects of the multi-lingualism of the speakers of Istro-Rumanian [17].

Reference will be made here to three types of lexical borrowing, according to whether the lexemes in question are

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16. Such appears to be the view of Kovačec, cf. op.cit., 1963, p. 24.

17. For a more detailed treatment of certain Istro-Rumanian lexical items, particularly from the diachronic point of view see S.Puşcariu, Studii Istroromâne, II, Bucarest, 1926; see also A. Kovačec, op.cit., 1963.

taken from Serbo-Croat, Italian or German [18]. Of the three, borrowing from Serbo-Croat has had by far the most pervasive influence, as the preceding two sections of this Appendix have shown, notably in the suppletive pairs discussed in section a), where one member of each pair is a borrowing from Croatian, and in the pairs of numerals discussed in section b), where, again, one member of each pair is Croatian.

Borrowings from Italian and German are less numerous but nevertheless quite common. Generally borrowings from Italian are more frequent in the South, and those from German are commoner in the North although there are exceptions to this as will be shown below.

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18. The lexicon of Istro-Rumanian shows the influence of other languages too, particularly, of course, of Daco-Rumanian. But the latter is not one of the languages currently spoken by the Istro-Rumanians, nor is it now in contact. My purpose here, as I have said, is to illustrate the effect on the language caused by the multi-lingualism of the speakers of Istro-Rumanian. Nor would it be appropriate to talk of "borrowings" from Daco-Rumanian since that language is the "parent language" of Istro-Rumanian.

1) Borrowings from Serbo-Croat.

Apart from the borrowings from Serbo-Croat already mentioned there are many others, some of which are common to both the Northern and the Southern dialects, and some of which occur in one dialect only.

Included among the former are forms such as //igrə́i//< igrati (to play); //živi̯i//< živeti (to live); //morə́i//< //morati// (to have to) ; //misli̯i//< misliti (to think); //se cudi̯i//< čuditi se (to wonder) ; //sTFar//< stvar (thing) ; //žep//< džep (pocket) ; //bogə́t//< bogat (rich); //zi̯id//< zid (wall).

Included among the latter are forms which are the Serbo-Croatian counterparts in one dialect of Italian or German borrowings in the other dialect. Examples of these are given incidentally in the following two sub-sections.

2) Borrowings from Italian.

Some of the Italian borrowings are common to both dialects, but the majority are to be found only in the Southern dialects.

Examples of Italian borrowings in both dialects are //albə́rgu̯//< albergo (hotel, inn) ; //kə́po//< capo (boss); //šə́ldi̯i//< soldi (money); //rə́ba//< roba (dress, "thing");

//partʲi//< partire (to set off); //finʲi//< finire (to finish) ; //provéi//< provare (to try); //turnǎ//< tornare (to return).

Borrowings from Italian which occur in Southern Istro-Rumanian only include //rnkontréi//< incontrare (to meet); //piažé//< piace (it pleases); //taliǎ//< tagliare (to cut), cf. Northern Istro-Rumanian //otSecʲi//< otseći;//kapʲi//< capire (to understand); //gambʲiéi//< cambiare (to change), cf. Northern //miniéi//< menjati; //frrméi//< fermare (to stop), cf. Northern //ʊsTavʲi//< ustaviti; //lʲibrʊ//< libro (book), cf. Northern //knʲiga//< knjiga; //setimǎna//< settimana (week), cf. Northern //tiédrn// ; //indirʲitS//< indirizzo (address).

3) Borrowings from German.

The majority of the German borrowings are to be found in the Northern dialect only, although there are a few isolated examples which occur in both dialects. As illustrations of the latter one may mention //vint//< Wind (wind), and //fráila//< Fräulein (young woman).

Examples of borrowings from German in Northern Istro-Rumanian include //tSait//< Zeit (time); //frai//< frei (free); //glaž//< Glas (glass); //frʊusTik, frʊusTikéi//< Frühstück (breakfast).

A number of the German borrowings in Northern Istro-Rumanian have counterparts in the Southern dialects which are themselves borrowings from Italian. These include //šTrafέi//< strafen (to punish), cf. Southern Istro-Rumanian //kasTigέi//< gastigare); //fṛrbέi//< färben (to paint, colour), cf. Southern //pitṵrέi//< pitturare; //šenkέi//< schenken (to give, present), //šenk//< Geschenk (gift), cf. Southern //regál//< regalo; //šṵula//< Schule (school), cf. Southern //šKǒle//< scuola; [19] //šumáisTeṛṵ// < -Meister (schoolmaster), cf. Southern //maiésTrṵ//< maestro; //kį̄inɔ//< Kino (cinema), cf. Southern //cinema//.

19. cf. Daco- Rumanian şcoală.

APPENDIX B

The following is a folk tale popular in the Southern dialect of Istro-Rumanian and reproduced here in phonemic transcription.

Blága ókolii de lúme

1. O vóte s-a sPravíit mácKa, kókotu, ásiru ši ói̯a ke mérgu ókolii de lúme, ke nu pótu káse áto sTa. 2. Ieli a mes lárgo ši fosT-a veti nópTa, ši ieli n-a vuut niiš za munká nii za be. 3. Ieli a mislíit ke krn se mére ókolii de lúme, ke nu-i tríiba nii munká nii be. 4. ToSS a ziis núšTe, ma lu nitSúr n-a niis valéit. 5. Ši aréitu gané ke ie va núšTe hmo zíitSe, ke néka mére kókotu rn vírhu de déble, ši ke va ie zegledíi iúve-i vro sFítlosT. 6. Ie mes-a ši zegledíit-a, ši tSa vóte totS a fosT kunténtS ke vor veríi iúve-i vro sFítlosT, ke nu s-or pliérde. 7. Ši ieli a ziis ke néka mére kókotu pírvii ke-l va ie tráže pírla tSa sFítlosT. 8. Ali ie ziis-a ke nu mére, ke ie mére dúpa ieli, ši ke le va sPuravléi. 9. Ši ie l-a ša sPuravléit, ši veríit-a do tSa sFítlosT. 10. Krn a veríit ieli a vezúut o kásitSe, ši núntru fosT-a tatS iúve broiíit-a pinezíi. 11. Ieli a mislíit ke vor tátSii-l utSíide, ši aréitu gané ke va ku séle

kórne prísTe ókne zletíi núntrụ k-or mislíi ke-i dráku, ši ke vor sKapá tia. 12. Ši ie ša fakúut-a. 13. Krn a ieli vezúut ke sKróze de ókna núšTe viravé, ieli a mislíit ke-i dráku, totS a posKapéit e pínezii lasát-a. 14. Ši ieli a mes núntrụ, ši ieli a sụminieít ke va vrụr verí i názrt. 15. Ši máckа mes-a pre ógnišTa, kókotụ mes-a pre gréde, e ásirụ ši aréitụ sTat-a la úuše sámo se re vrụr verí i ke rl re pošní i báte. 16. Ši tSélii trei tatS kárii fosT-a kolé s-a pogovoréit lárgo iúve sKapát-a, ke kụm re ieli putế verí i názrt din sTii pínez ke l-a fosT ža.17. Ši ụr a fosT zálika bédasT, ši ieli tremés-a. 18. Krn a verí it la úuše, aréitụ l-a pošní it báte kụ kórnele, ásirụ l-a pošní it kụ kopí itele báte. 19. Krn a verí it rn kása ie ke va nepušíi pre ógnišTa fóku, fosT-a óklii lụ máckа sFitíit-a ka isKrele. 20. Krn a verí it kolé ši zepušíit rn óklii lụ máckа, máckа l-a tot zKrebíit e kókotụ dísPre gréda l-a pošní it šTioréi, ši ie s-a turnát názrt frr de pínez krtra tSélii altS tatS, ši li-a sPuus kum a fosT. 21. E ieli a komóti šTepTát tSe va dúutSe pínezii. 22. Ši ieli s-a pogovoréit ke morésKụ mére názrt din sTii pínez. 23. TSa vóte ụr gané ke ie mére ínka o vóte vedế ke tSe ri. 24.Krn a ie verí it tSa vóte, ásirụ ši aréitụ l-a lasát pírla rn kúhinie, ši ie mes-a ke va neložíi fóku ma fosT-a óklii lụ máckа, ši ie zepuhní it-a ši mislíit-a ke va neložíi fóku.

25. E mácKa li-a rn óklii sKocíit ši l-a oslipíit. 26. Ši ieli tSa vóte l-a tot trrlíinda sTucíit, ši aréitu ši ásiru e kókotu l-a totS šTiofonéit. 27. Krn a veríit kolé názrt, ieli n-a šTivúut veti tS-or fátSe, ši tSéla trétii kárle s-a tSirúut mai šégav, ie n-a vruut mére. 28. Ši ieli s-a turnát e sKapát-a de fríike, e kókotu ši mácKa ši aréitu ši ásiru, ieli s-a podelíit pínezii ši srícno tia mes-a la seli gosPodár.

Translation

1. Once the cat, the cock, the donkey and the sheep agreed to go around the world because they could not (Mt. can not) stand (being) at home (any) longer. 2. They travelled far, and it was already night and they had had nothing to eat nor drink. 3. They had thought that when one goes around the world there is no need to eat or drink. 4. They all had something to say, but it did no good to anyone. 5.And the ram said (says) that now he was going to say something, that the cock should go to the top of a tree, and that he should have a look where there might be some light. 6. He went and had a look, and then they were all glad because they would come (to a place) where there was some light, and because they would not get lost. 7. And they said that

the cock should go first and lead them up to that light. 8. But he said that he would not go, that he would go behind them and would tell them (the way). 9. And he did tell them this (lit. in this way), and they came to that light. 10. When they arrived they saw a little house, and inside there were thieves where they were counting the money. 11. They thought that the thieves would kill them, and the ram said that he would fly inside with his horns through a window so that they would think it was the devil and would run away. 12. And he did thus. 13. When they saw that something was coming through the window, they thought it was the devil; they all escaped and left the money. 14. And they went in, and they suspected that one of them would come back. 15. And the cat went on to the hearth, the cock went on to a beam and the donkey and the ram stood by the door just in case someone would come and so that they would begin to hit them. 16. And those three thieves who had been there were having a talk far away where they had escaped, about how they would be able to come back because of this money which they badly wanted (lit. which they were sorry about). 17. And one was a little stupid, and they sent (him). 18. When he came to the door, the ram began to strike him with his horns, the

donkey began to beat him with his hooves. 19. When he came into the house he was about to blow on the fire in the hearth, (but) it was the eyes of the cat (which) shone like sparks. 20. When he came there and blew in-to the cat's eyes, the cat scratched him all over and the cock from on top of the beam began to peck him, and he went back without (the) money to those other thieves, and he told them how it had been. 21. And they had been waiting impatiently for him to (lit. that he would) bring the money. 22. And they kept telling each other that they must go back because of this money. 23. Then one said that he would go again to see that it was so. 24. When he went that time, the donkey and the ram let him get as far as the kitchen and he went to make the fire, but there were the eyes of the cat, and he blew and thought he would kindle the fire. 25. And the cat jumped into his eyes and blinded him. 26. And then they beat him all over as he ran, and the ram, the don-key and the cock all bit him. 27. When he got back there, they no longer knew what they should do, and that third one who had kept back more cunningly did not want to go. 28. And they turned back and ran away in fear, and the cock, and the cat, and the ram and the donkey shared out the money and went off happily back to their masters.

Lexicon of Verbal Forms

Verbs are generally indexed under the form expressing the infinitive, which is followed 1) by the Class and aspect (where appropriate), 2) by the lexical morpheme (or allomorphs) enabling the present indicative to be generated, 3) by the past participle in cases where this is <u>not</u> derivable from the data already given, and 4) the meaning in English.

Some of the 'impersonal' and otherwise defective verbs are indexed under what appears to be the most convenient form, as for example the form expressing //third person singular// in the case of certain 'impersonal' verbs.

The various 'aspectual' morphemes (prefixes, infixes, suffixes) are also listed here both <u>independently</u> together with an indication of their range of 'meaning' where this appears to go beyond mere expression of aspectual difference, and <u>attached to verbs</u> in cases where the frequency of occurrence of the composite form justifies a separate lexical entry.

As shown in the Phonology, when a semi-vowel occurs in the nucleus of a <u>prominent</u> syllable the stress often coincides with semi-vocalic closure, i.e. the implosive allo-

morph of the semi-vowel in question is often realized in conjunction with the nuclear allomorph, e.g./batu̯t, veri̯t/etc.. In such cases a dot is placed beneath the syllable nucleus.

N.B. In cases where a verb possesses different forms in the various dialects, this fact will be indicated; for example the initial phoneme of certain verbs in the North is /a/, which in the Southern dialects is often replaced by /zero/. Such verbs will be written (a)sKutå, (a)žutå, etc., and it is important to bear in mind that the symbol (a) does <u>not</u> indicate the perfectivizing prefix /a-/ which may be added to certain verbs. As indicated above, when the frequency of their occurrence appears to justify it, composite forms will be entered separately in this lexicon, thus adu̯uce //p// will be listed separately from du̯uce //i//, <u>not</u> as (a)du̯uce etc..

A

a- perfectivizing prefix, often expressing in addition [[motion towards]]

-a 1) flexional morpheme expressing //third person singular present indicative// (variant-e)

2) flexional morpheme expressing //third person singular imperfect// (S) (variant-ia)

3) flexional morpheme expressing //third person plural imperfect// (S) (variant-ia)

abáte IIa //p// { abát -1,3,6 / abátS-2 / abaté-4,5 } abatʉ́ut, "to strike,hit".

adʉ́uce non-regular cf.fáce Ch.III,//p// { adʉ́uk-1,6 / adʉ́uc-2,3 / aducé-4,5 } adʉ́us,
"to bring" (Šušnjevica adʉ́utSe etc.)

(a)flå II { åfl-1,2,3,6 / (a)flå-4,5 } "to find"

-ai flexional morpheme expressing //second person singular imperfect// (S) (variant-iai)

(a)katSå II { (a)kåtS-1,2,3,6 / (a)katSå-4,5 } akatSåt, "to receive"

-am flexional morpheme expressing //first person singular imperfect // (S) (variant-iam)

-an flexional morpheme expressing //first person plural imperfect // (S) (variant-ian)

aparå (se)II //i// { apår-1,2,3,6 / aparå-4,5 } "to dress"

arå II //i// { år-1,2,3,6 / arå-4,5 } "to plough"

(a)ratå IIa { (a)råt-1,3,6 ; (a)råtS-2 ; (a)ratå-4,5 } "to show"

(a)sKůnde II { (a)sKůnd-1,2,3,6 ; (a)sKundé-4,5 } asKůns "to hide"

(a)sKutå IIa { (a)sKụut-1,3,6 ; (a)sKụutS-2 ; (a)sKutå-4,5 } "to listen to"

(a)šTepTå IIa { (a)šTépT-1,3,6 ; (a)šTépTS-2 ; (a)šTepTå-4,5 } "to wait for"

-atS flexional morpheme expressing //second person plural imperfect // (S) (variant-iatS)

-av- aspectual infix possessing imperfectivizing function, sometimes expressing iterative

avavéi Ia //A// {avav-} "to have"also expressing [[iterative]]

(a)vé non-regular see Ch.III (a)vụut "to have"

avSị́i IIa { åvT-1,3,6 ; åvS-2 ; avSị́i-4,5 } "to hear"

(a)zutå IIa { (a)žụut-1,3,6 ; (a)žụutS-2 } "to help"

B

bâte IIa //i// {bât-1,3,6 / bâtə-2 / batê-4,5} batûut "to beat"

balotêi Ia //i// {balot-} "to throw balls,play ball"

bandonêi Ia {bandon-} "to abandon"

be IIb//i//see Ch.III beiûut "to drink"

berîi I //i// {ber-} 1)"to read" (N)
2)"to gather,collect"(S)

bevêi Ia //A// {bev-} "to drink" also expressing [[itera-tive]]

bilịi I //i// {bil-} "to paint"

bivêi Ia //i// {biv-} "to dwell"

boitiêi Ia //i// {boiti-} "to play bowls".

broiịi I //i// {broi-} "to count"

bụšịi I //i// {bụš-} "to hurt".

C [č]

cêre non-regular//i// {cêr-1,2,3,6 / ceršịi-4,5} ceršịit "to look for"

cịrâ II //i// {cịr-1,2,3,6 / cirâ-4.5} "to have supper"

cịsTíi I //i// {cịsT-} "to clean"

cịtéi Ia //i// {cịt-} "to read" (S)

cụdíi(se) I //i// {cud-} "to wonder at, admire"

D

da IIb see Ch.III "to give"

davêi Ia //A// {dav-} "to give" also expressing [[iterative]]

dịhêi I(a)//i// {dịh-} "to breathe"

dịmíi I //i// {dịm-} "to smoke" (N)

dịsTụrbêi Ia//i// {dịsTurb-} "to disturb" (S)

dịsTụrbụíi I //i// {dịsTurbụ-} "to disturb" (N)

dịventíi I //i// {dịvent-} "to become"

dịvertíi(se) I//i// {dịvert-} "to amuse oneself"

do- perfectivizing prefix, generally possessing no specific 'content'.

dobandíi I //p// {doband-} "to give,obtain,win"(N)-(South-dobrndíi) etc.

dobịvêi Ia //i// {dobịv-} "to obtain,win" (S)

dobịvụíi I //i// {dobịvụ-} "to obtain,win" (N)

dogodíi I {dogod-} "to happen"

domịslêi(se) Ia//i// {domịsl-} "to remember"

domịslíi(se) I//p// {domịsl-} "to remember"

dopadíi I {dopad-} "to please" (N)

doperêi Ia {doper-} "to use, adopt"

dopụsTíi I //p// {dopụsT-} "to allow"

dôre //third person singular// impers. durụt "it hurts, is painful"

doz- perfectivizing prefix, sometimes also expressing [[concession]]

dozFolị́i I //p// {dozFol-} "to allow"

dozFoluị́i I //A// {dozFolu-} "to allow" (N) also expressing iterative

dụ́uce non-regular cf.fåce Ch.III {dụ́uk-1,6; dụ́uc-2,3; ducé-4,5} duus"to bring" (Šušnjevica dụ́utSe etc.)

dụrêi Ia //i// {dụr-} "to last"

dụrmị́i II //i// {dorm-1,2,3,6; durmị́i-4,5} "to sleep"

dFịgnị́i I //p// {dFịgn-} "to raise"

dFịžêi Ia //i// {dFịž-} "to raise"

E

-e flexional morpheme expressing //third person singular present indicative// (variant-a)

-é flexional morpheme expressing //third person singular present indicative//

-éim flexional morpheme expressing //first person plural present indicative// (variant-éin)

-éitS flexional morpheme expressing //second person plural present indicative//

-és 1) flexional morpheme expressing //first person singular present indicative// (variant-ésK)

2) flexional morpheme expressing //third person plural present indicative// (variant-ésKụ)

-ésTị i flexional morpheme expressing //second person singular present indicative// (S)

-eš flexional morpheme expressing//second person singular present indicative// (N)

F

fåce non-regular see Ch.III {fåk-1,6; fåc-2,3; facé-4,5} fakúut "to make" (Šušnjevica fåtSe etc.)

ferméi(se) Ia {ferm-} "to stop" (S)

fịdêi Ia {fịd-} "to trust"

fii non-regular see Ch.III fosT "to be"

fịnĵi I {fin-} "to finish"

fǫme fịi + indirect object "to be hungry" (variant (ạvé fǫme).

fondéi Ia //i// {fond-} "to sink"

frĵika fịi + indirect object "to be afraid" (variant (a)vé frĵika)

fṛrbêi Ia //i// {fṛrb-} "to paint" (N)

fụmêi Ia //i// {fụm-} "to smoke" (S)

fụrá II //i// {fụr-1,2,3,6 ; furâ-4,5} "to steal"

fụžĵi non-regular {fǫg-1,6 ; fǫž-2,3 ; fụžé-4,5} (N) {fụg(1) fụẓụ(6) ; fụž-2,3 ; fụžĵi-4,5} (S) "to flee"

G

gambịiêi Ia //i// {gambịi-} "to change" (S)

ganêi Ia //i// {gan-} "to speak" (S)

godĵi I //i// {god-} "to enjoy"

gonĵi I //i// {gon-} "to drive" (N)

govorĵi I // i// {govor-} "to speak"

gụšTé //third person singular//impers. 1) "it tastes"
2) "it costs"

gFịdêi Ia //i// {gFịd-} "to drive" (S)

H

hịtêi Ia //i// {hịt-} "to throw"

hịtîi I // p// {hịt-} "to throw"

hladé(se) //i//third person singular//"he shades himself"

hlapêi Ia //i// {hlap-} "to lap (milk,water etc.)"

hucîi I //i// {huc-} "to blow"

I [j]

-ịi flexional morpheme expressing //second person singular present indicative//

iadîi(se) I //i// {iad-} "to be angry"

iezTîi I //i// {iezT-} "to ride (horse)"

ieš̆ịi non-regular {ieh-1,6; iêš̆-2,3; ieš̆ịi-4,5} (N) {iêš̆-1,2,3,6; ieš̆ịi-4,5} (S)"to go out"

ịibêi Ia //i// {ịib-} "to hesitate"

(i)igrêi Ia //i// {(i)ịgr-} "to play"

ịịi defective see Ch.III //ịịitS (second person plural imperative) //"to go"

-ịim flexional morpheme expressing //first person plural present indicative // (variant-ịin)

ịsPravịi I //p// {ịsPrav-} "to correct"

-ịitS flexional morpheme expressing //second person plural present indicative//

-ịv- aspectual infix possessing imperfectivizing function, sometimes expressing [iterative]

kadê IIa //i// {kâd-1,3,6; kâz-2; kadê-4,5} kazụut "to fall"

kalị́i I //i// {kal-} "to sweat"

kapị́i I {kap-} "to understand" (S)

kasTigé́i Ia //i// {kasTig-} "to punish" (S)

kavTá IIa//i// {kåvT-1,3,6 ; kåvTS-2 ; kavTá-4,5} "to look for, seek"

kaznị́i I //p// {kazn-} "to punish"

kịsé́i Ia //i// {kịs-} "to ferment"

kladị́i I //p// {klad-} "to put"

kladị́i(se) I //p// {klad-} "to dress" (variant klatị́i etc.)

klekní(se) I //i// {klekn-} "to kneel"

klemá II //i// {klém-1,2,3,6 ; klemá-4,5} "to call"

kóce non-regular//i// {kók-1,6 ; kóc-2,3 ; kocé-4,5} (N) {kók-1,6 ; kótS-2,3 ; kotSé-4,5} (S)kopT "to bake"

konóšTe non-regular {konósK konošTém ; kunósTSii konošTétS ; kunósTe konósKy} (S.KonosTén) konosKúut"to know,be acquainted

konvinié //third person singular//impers."It is convenient" (S. Kunvinée)

kopé́i Ia //i// {kop-} "to dig" (N)

kopịv́éi Ia //A// {kopịv-} "to dig"(N),also expressing [iterative]

kosị́i I //i// {kos-} "to cut with a sickle"

kréde non-regular {krédu(ụ) kredém/n ; krézu(ịi) kredétS ; krédu kredú} krezúut"to believe"

krêsTe non-regular { krêsK(u) kresčTên ; krêsčT(S)ii kresčTêtS ; krêsčTe krêsKu } kresKúut "to grow"

kṛntå IIa //i// { krnt-1,3,6 ; krntS-2 ; krntå-4,5 } "to sing"

kruṇîi I //i// { krun- } "to decorate with garlands"

kuhêi Ia //i// { kuh- } "to cook"

kuiîi I //i// { kui- } "to forge"

kuk-1,3,6
kuk-2
kukå-4,5
kukå(se) non-regular//i// "to lie down,go to bed"

kumpaniêi Ia //i// { kumpani- } "to accompany"

kumpar-1,2,3,6
kumparå-4,5
kumparå II "to buy"

kutêg kutezâm/n
kutêž/žii/zii kutezâtS
kutêze/že kutêgu
kutezå non-regular "to dare"

kuvintå IIa //i// { kuvint-1,3,6 ; kuvintS-2 ; kuvintå-4,5 } "to speak"

L

la IIb see Ch.III "to take" (S)

lâs-1,2,3,6
lasâ-4,5
lasâ II "to let,allow,leave"

legå	IIa //i//	lẽg-1,3,6 lẽž-2 legå-4,5	"to tie,bind"
letį̈i	I //i//	{let-}	"to fly"
liberêi	I a //i//	{liber-}	"to set free"
-liei	imperfectivizing suffix,sometimes also expresses iterative		
liubį̈i	I //i//	{liub-}	"to love"
livêi	Ia //i//	livê //third person singular//impers. "to rain"(N)	
lomį̈i	I //i//	{lom-}	"to break"
ložį̈i	I //i//	{lož-}	"to set fire to,kindle"
lukrå	IIa	{lukr-1,2,3,6 lukrå-4,5}	"to work"

M

-m	flexional morpheme expressing //first person plural present indicative// (variant-n)		
marį̈i	I	{mar-}	"to care about,take notice of"
maritå(se)	IIa	{marįt-1,3,6 marįtS-2 maritå-4,5}	often + dúpa "to marry (female subject)"(South meritå etc.)
matSirå	II	{matSir-1,2,3,6 matSirå-4,5}	"to grind"
mêre	non-regular see Ch.III mes		"to go"
merindå	IIa	{merind-1,3,6 merinz-2 merindå-4,5}	"to have lunch"

mịniéi	Ia //i//	{mịni-}	"to change" (N)
mịntSíi	I //i//	{mintS-}	"to tell lies"
mịrá	II //i//	{mịr- / mirá-}	"to look after"
mịslịi	I //i//	{misl-}	"to think"
mlatịi	I //i//	{mlat-}	"to thresh"
montéi	Ia //i//	{mont-}	"to mount"
morêi	Ia //i//	{mor-}	"to have to (must)"
mụnká	non-regular //i//	see Ch.III	"to eat"
mụrịi	non-regular	{mȏr- / mụrîi-}	"to die"
mụšKá	IIa //i//	{mȗšK-1,3,6 / mȗšTS-2 / mụšKá-4,5}	"to bite"
mụtá	IIa //i//	{mụ̂ut- / mȗutS- / mụtá}	"to change"
mụzịi	I //i//	{mụz-}	"to milk"

N

-n	flexional morpheme expressing //first person plural present indicative (variant-m)
na-	perfectivizing prefix, often further expressing completeness . (South ne-)
nadiêi(se)	Ia //i// {nadi-} "to hope" (South nediêi etc.)
nagnịi(se)	I //p// {nagn-} "to climb" (South negnịi etc.)

nahladi̯i I //p// nahlad- "to chill"

na(i)i̯grêi Ia //p// na(i)igr- "to play"

napali̯i I //p// napal- "to kindle,light up"

napi̯sêi Ia//p// napi̯s- "to write"(South nepisêi etc.)

narasTi̯i I //p// narasT- "to grow"

nasadi̯i I //p// nasad- "to plant"(South nesadi̯i etc.)

nasecí̯i I //p// nasec- "to chop up"

násK-1,3,6

nástě non-regular našTS-2 naskúut "to be born"

našTé-4,5

natazêi Ia //p// nataz- "to pull,drag"(South netezêi etc.)

-nda flexional morpheme regularly constituting the form of the expression of [[gerund]] (variant-i̯nda)

ne- see above na-

neberi̯i I //p// neber- "to gather,pick up"

negodi̯i I //p// negod- "to enjoy"

nehi̯têi Ia//p// nehi̯t- "to throw at"

neloži̯i I //p// nelož- "to light,set fire to"

nemažêi Ia //i// nemaž- "to grease,lubricate"

nemisli̯i I //p// nemisl- "to decide"

nepu̯ni̯i I //p// nepu̯n- "to fill up"

nepu̯ši̯i I //p// nepu̯š- "to puff,blow"

neseli̯i I //p// nesel- "to live,i.e. settle down"

O

obeci̯i I //p// obec- "to promise"

obisi̯i I //p// obis- "to hang"

obrîi(se)	I //p//	obr-	"to shave"
obṛrnîi(se)	I //p//	obṛrn-	"to turn (round)"
obuš̌Kêi	Ia//i//	obuš̌K-	"to kiss"
ociṣTîi	I //p//	ociṣT-	"to clean"
od-	perfectivizing prefix, often further expressing off, away (variant ot-)		
odKovorîi	I //p//	odKovor-	"to answer"
odlomîi	I //p//	odlom-	"to break off"
odluciîi	I //p//	odluc-	"to decide"
ofendêi	Ia//i//	ofend-	"to offend,insult"
ogṛrnîi	I //p//	ogṛrn-	"to cover"
okupêi	Ia//p//	okup-	"to swim"
opazîi	I //p//	opaz-	"to notice"
opravîi	I //p//	oprav-	"to arrange"
ordiṇêi	Ia	ordiṇ-	"to order"(variant urdinêi etc.)
osigurêi	Ia//p//	osigur-	"to insure"
oslipîi	I //p//	oslip-	"to blind"
oslobodêi	Ia//i//	oslobod-	"to set free"
oslobodîi	I //p//	oslobod-	"to set free"
osTavîi	I //p//	osTav-	"to stop"
osTavliêi	Ia//i//	osTavli-	"to stop"
osTriš̌žîi(se)	I //p//	osTriš̌ž-	"to cut hair"(have hair cut)
osuš̌îi	I //p//	osuš̌-	"to dry"
ot-	perfectivizing prefix, often further expressing off, away (variant od-)		
otarîi	I //p//	otar-	"to wipe"
otKupîi	I //p//	otKup-	"to redeem,ransom"

otSecíi	I //p//	otSec-	"to cut off"
		P	
pacíi	I //i//	pac-	"to meddle"
palíi	I //i//	pal-	"to burn"
partíi	I	part-	"to leave,set out"
~~patíi~~	~~I //i//~~	~~pat-~~	~~"to suffer"~~
pasKavéi	Ia//A//	pasKav-	"to graze,take to pasture"also expressing iterative
		pásK-1,3,6	
pášTe	non-regular//i//	pášTS-2	pasKúut"to graze,take to pasture"
		pašté-4,5	
patíi	I //i//	pat-	"to suffer"
pazíi	I //i//	paz-	esp.//pazé!(imperative//"look out!"
pecíi	I //i//	pec-	"to bake"
peglέi	Ia//i//	pegl-	"to iron"
peklέi	Ia//i//	pekl-	"to beg"
pesecíi	I //p//	pesec-	"to cut up"
piažέi	Ia//i//	piaž-	"to please"
pilíi	I //i//	pil-	"to saw,file"
pipέi	Ia//p//	pip-	"to smoke" (S)
pirovέi	Ia//i//	pirov-	"to celebrate"
piturέi	Ia//i//	pitur-	"to paint"
pisέi	Ia//i//	pis-	"to write"
platíi	I //i//	plat-	"to pay (for)"
plavέi	Ia//i//	plav-	"to swim"

pletíi I//i// {plet-} "to knit"

p(l)iérde IIa//i// {p(l)iérd-1,3,6; p(l)iérz-2; p(l)ierde-4,5} p(l)ierdúut "to lose" (pierzúut, Šušnjevica)

plodíi I//i// {plod-} "to bear fruit"

ploiíi I//i// //ploié (third person singular)//impers. "to rain" (S)

plȓnže [plžže] non-regular cf. rnt(s)eléže Ch.III,//i//, plrns "to weep"

pluženi Ia//i// {pluž-} "to till"

po- perfectivizing prefix usually possessing no specific 'content', occasionally expressing [all of], and occasionally [iterative].

poberíi I//p// {pober-} "to gather"

pobiruíi I//A// {pobiry-} "to gather" (N)

pobilíi I//p// {pobil-} "to paint"

pociníi I//p// {pocin-} "to have a rest"

pod- perfectivizing prefix, expressing in addition [under] (variant pot-)

podelíi I//p// {podel-} "to divide, share out" (variant podilíi etc.)

podimíi I//p// {podim-} "to smoke" (N)

poginíi I//p// {pogin-} "to suffer extremely, perish"

pogledíi I//p// {pogled-} "to have a look, glance"

pogovoréi Ia//i// {pogovor-} "to talk (something) over"

pogovoríi I//p// {pogovor-} "to have a chat"

poidíi I//p// {poid-} "to eat up"

po(i)igrɛ́i	Ia //p//	po(i)igr-	"to play (for a while)"
pokusi̯i	I //p//	pokus-	"to taste"
pokuari̯i	I //p//	pokuar-	"to waste"
poliubi̯i	I //p//	poliub-	"to love"
pomisli̯i	I //p//	pomisl-	"to have a thought"
pómo	defective see Ch.3//pómo!//"let's go!"		
pomuzi̯i	I //p//	pomuz-	"to milk"
ponesmi̯i	I //p//	ponesm-	"to smile"
ponudi̯i	I //p//	ponud-	"to offer"
popi̯i	I //p//	pop-	"to drink up"
porini̯i	I //p//	porin-	"to push"
		pórt-1,3,6	
portá	IIa//i//	pórtɛ-2	"to carry"
		portá-4,5	
posecí̯i	I //p//	posec-	"to cut"
posiẹti̯i	I //p//	posiẹt-	"to visit"
posKapéi	Ia//p//	posKap-	"to escape"
posrndi̯i	I //p//	posrnd-	"to borrow"
pošni̯i	I //p//	pošn-	"to begin"
pot-	perfectivizing prefix, expressing in addition under (variant pod-)		
		potórk-1,6	
potórce	IIa //p//	potórc-2,3	"to spin" (S)
		potorcó-4,5	
potPisɛ́i	Ia //p//	potPis-	"to sign"

potPịsịvêi Ia//A// potPịsịv- "to sign"(S) also expresses iterative

potPịšụ́i I //A// potPịšụ- "to sign"(N) also expresses iterative

potSmịhụ́i(se) I//p// potSmịhụ- "to smile(to oneself)"

potụcịi I//p// potục- "to knock"
potụcịid-1,3,6

poụcịide IIa//p// poucịiz-2 poucịis "to kill"
poucịidê-4,5

pozTravịi I //p// pozTrav- "to greet"

pozovịi I //p// pozov- "to call,invite"

poželịi I //p// požel- "to wish for, desire"

predịi I //i// pred- "to spin" (N)

predikêi Ia//i// predik- "to preach"

predomislịi I //p// predomisl- "to change one's mind"

prị- perfectivizing prefix, sometimes expressing in addition away, again

prịbịi I //p// prịb- "to break (off)"

přịhladịi(se) I //p// prịhlad- "to catch a cold"

prịk(i)nîi I //p// prịk(i)n- "to break off,break"(limb etc.)

prịmetịi I //p// prịmet- "to notice"

prịmịi I //p// prịm- "to receive"

prịmrndêi Ia//i// prịmrnd- "to change, exchange"
prịnd-1,3,6

prịnde IIa//i// prịnz-2 } prins "to light"
prịndê-4,5

prịnesíi	I //p//	prines-	"to carry"
prịnocíi	I //p//	prịnoc-	"to spend the night"
prịpadFei	Ia//i//	pripadF-	"to belong"
pripravíi	I //p//	prịprav-	"to prepare"
pripravlíei	Ia//i//	prịprav-	"to prepare"
prịsTavíi	I //p//	prịsTav-	"to introduce"
prịsTavlụíi	I //i//	prịsTavlụ-	"to introduce" (N)
prịsTavliéi	Ia//i//	prịsTavli-	"to introduce" (S)
prịsTrašíi(se)	I //p//	prịsTraš-	"to get a fright"
pro-	perfectivizing prefix, often expressing in addition completeness, thoroughness		
procitêi	Ia //p//	procịt-	"to read through,finish reading"
promenịi	I //p//	promen-	"to exchange, swap"
prometéi	Ia//i//	promet-	"to promise"
promislịi	I //p//	promisl-	"to reconsider"
prontivéi	Ia//i//	prontiv-	"to prepare" (S)
prosíi	I //p//	pros-	"to sieve"
prosPíi	I //p//	prosP-	"to flow out"
prošTịi	I //p//	prošT-	"to read"(S.esp.dialect of Kostrcan)
provêi	Ia//i//	prov-	"to try"
pṛtazêi	Ia//p//	pṛtaz-	"to pull up"
pụknịi	I //p//	pụkn-	"to explode"

		pụrụ	púniụ	pụrém/n	
pụre	non-regular//i//	pụrịi	púniịi	pụrétS	pụus"to put,place"
		pụre	púnie	pụrụ/púniụ	

pụtê	non-regular see Ch.III	putụut	"to be able"
pụtavêi	Ia//i//	pụtav-	"to travel" (S)

pụtuf́i I //i// pụtụ- "to travel" (N)

R [ə]

-r flexional morpheme expressing //first person singular future conditional//. (variant-ér)

ra //third person singular//paradigmeme forming part of the expression of //present conditional// and //third person plural//paradigmeme forming part of the expression of //past conditional// (variant re)

rabf́i I //i// rab- "to work"

radé́i Ia//i// rad- "to like"

rad(a) (a)vé́ non-regular//i//cf. (a)vé́ Ch.III,(a)vụ́t"to like, be fond of"

ramaré́ II //i// rámar-1,2,3,6 / ramaré́-4,5 ramás "to remain"

ranf́i I //i// ran- "to wound"

rasKlf́id-1,3,6 / rasKlf́iz-2 / rasKlịdé́-4,5 rasKlf́is "to open (South resklf́ide etc.)

rasPóli-1,2,3,6 / rasPụliá́-4,5 rasPuliá (se)II//p// "to undress"(South res-Puliá, etc.)

raš //first person singular//paradigmeme forming part of the expression of//present conditional// and //past conditional// (variants-reš,res)

ratS //second person plural// paradigmeme forming part of the expression of //present conditional// and //past conditional// (variant-retS)

raz- perfectivizing prefix,often expressing in addition [apart, away] (variant rez-)

razPíi I //p// razP- "to break, crack, shatter" (South rezPíi etc.)

razKovoruíiI//i// razKovoru- "to converse" (N)

rezKovoréiIa//i// rezKovor- "to converse" (S)

re see ra above

-re flexional morpheme expressing //third person singular future conditional// (variant-ére)

redíi I //i// red- "to arrange"

regaléi Ia//i// regal- "to present" (S)

rei //second person singular//paradigmeme forming part of the expression of//present conditional// and //past conditional//

rem 1) //first person plural//paradigmeme forming part of the //present conditional// and //past conditional// (variant ren)

2) also part of expression of//first person plural future// see Ch.III

rem/n flexional morpheme expressing// first person plural future conditional// (variants-érem,-éren) (N)

resPartíi I //p// resPart- "to divide,separate"

resPondíi I //p// resPond- "to reply" (S)

retS, see ratS above

-retS flexional morpheme expressing //second person plural future conditional// (variant-éretS)

rez- see raz- above

rezervéi Ia//i// rezerv- "to reserve,book" (S)

rezervuíi I //i// rezervu- "to reserve" (N)

rezlegavéi Ia//A// rezlegav- "to unpack,untie" also expressing iterative

rezumíi I rezum- "to understand" (S)

režíi I //p// rež- "to cut" (N)

-rii flexional morpheme expressing //second person singular future conditional// (variant-érii)

rivêi	Ia //i//	riv-	"to arrive" (S)
rmnâ	II //i//	fmn-1,2,3,6 rmnâ-4,5	"to go"
rniurbâ	II	rniûrb-1,2,3,6 rniurbâ-4,5	"to meet"
rnmesTi(se)	I//i//	rnmesT-	"to dress" (S)
rnmetSâ	II //p//	rnmêtS-1,2,3,6 rnmetSâ-4,5	"to learn" (S)
rnmetSavêi	Ia//i//	rnmetSav-	"to study" (S)
rnprinde	IIa//p//	rnprind-1,3,6 rnprinz-2 rnprindé-4,5	" rnprins "to kindle"
rnsurâ(se)	II//i//	rnsôr-1,2,3,6 rnsurâ-4,5	"to marry"(male subject)
rntrebâ	II//i//	rntrêb-1,2,3,6 rntrebâ-4,5	"to ask"
rnt(S)elêže	non-regular //i//	see Ch.III	"to understand"(N)
rnveštI i(se)	I //i//	rnveštT-	"to dress" (N)
rnvetSâ	II //p//	rnvêtS-1,2,3,6 rnvetSâ-4,5	"to learn" (N)
rnvetSavêi	Ia//i//	rnvetSav-	"to study" (N)
rnvitêi	Ia//i//	rnvit-	"to invite" (S)
rnklide	IIa//p//	rnklid-1,3,6 rnkliz-2 rnklidé-4,5	rnklis "to lock"

ṛnkontréi Ia//i// (rnkontr- "to meet" (S)

rodíi(se) I //p// (rod- "to be born"

frd-1,3,6)

ṛde(se) IIa//i// ṛrz-2 "to laugh"

ṛrdé-4,5)

-rno/-rmo flexional morpheme expressing //first person plural future conditional// (South only) (variants-érno, -érmo)

-rụ flexional morpheme expressing //third person plural future conditional// (variant-érụ)

rụcíi I //i// rục- "to have breakfast"

rógˇ-1,3,6 rógˇ-1,3,6

rụgá IIa//i// rózˇ-2 (N) (rog-/rozˇ-2 (S)"to ask,pray"

rogá-4,5) (rụgá-4,5)

rụšíre fii non-regular //i//cf.fii Ch.III impers.+indirect object "to be ashamed"

S

S- perfectivizing prefix, sometimes expressing in addition completeness

sapá II //i// (sáp-1,2,3,6) "to dig" (S)

(sapá-4,5)

secíi I //i// { sec- } "to cut" (S)

semirá II //i// (semír-1,2,3,6) "to [illegible]"

(semirá-4,5)

sFiríi I //i// { sFir- } "to play"(instrument)

sFitíi I //p// { sFit- } "to flash,shine"

síila fii, non-regular //i// cf. fii Ch.III impers.+indirect object,"to be in a hurry"

sitêi	Ia//i//	sit-	"to sieve"
		sKâd-1,3,6	
sKadâ(se)	IIa//i//	sKâz-2	"to bathe" (S)
		sKadâ-4,5	
		sKâp-1,2,3,6	
sKapâ	II//i//	sKapâ-4,5	"to escape"
sKocịi	I //i//	sKoc-	"to jump"
sKopêi	Ia//p//	sKop-	"to dig"
sKụhêi	Ia//p//	sKụh-	"to cook"
~~sKụzêi~~	~~Ia//i//~~	~~sKuz-~~	~~"to excuse"~~
		sKôl-1,2,3,6	
sKụla(se)	IIa//i//	sKulâ-4,5	"to get up"
sKụzêi	Ia//i//	sKụz-	"to excuse" (S)
slịkêi	Ia//i//	slịk-	"to photograph"
slụžịi	I //i//	slụž-	"to serve"
smịlịi	I //i//	smịl-	"to grind" (variant smelịi etc.)
smịšịi(se)	I//i//	smịš-	"to smile" (N)
snazịi	I//i//	snaz-	"to clean" (S)
sParịi	I//p//	sPar-	"to disappear"
sPasịi	I//p//	sPas-	"to save,rescue"
sPecịi	I//p//	sPec-	"to roast,bake"
sPeglêi	Ia//p//	sPegl-	"to iron"
		sPêl-1,2,3,6	
sPelâ	II//i//	sPelâ-4,5	"to wash"
sPelavêi	Ia//A//	sPelav-	"to wash",also expressing iterative
sPlodịruịi	I	sPlodịrụ-	"to explode"

sPoknịi	I	//p//	sPokn-	"to extinguish" (N)
sPravịi(se)	I	//p//	sPrav-	"to arrange" (come to an agreement)
sPredịi	I	//p//	sPred-	"to spin" (N)
sProberịi(se)	I	//p//	sProber-	"to wake(up)"
sPụrav(l)ẹ́i	Ia	//i//	sPụrav(l)-	"to relate, narrate"
sPůure	II	//i//	sPůur-1,2,3,6 sPụrẹ́-4,5	sPụus "to tell"
sTa	IIb	see Ch. III, "to stand,be"		
sTegnịi	I	//i//	sTegn-	"to tighten"
sTeplǰi	I	//i//	sTepl-	"to warm"
sTịnže̊	non-regular	//i//	sTịng-1,3,6 sTịnž-2 sTịnžẹ́-4,5	sTins "to extinguish"
sTrafẹ́i	Ia	//i//	sTraf-	"to punish" (N)
sTrašǰi	I	//i//	sTraš-	"to frighten"
sTresịi	I	//p//	sTres-	"to shake (off)"
sTṛrmonẹ́i	Ia	//i//	sTṛrmon-	"to shake"
sTṛrpẹ́i	Ia	//i//	sTṛrp-	"to stuff"
sTụcịi	I	//p//	sTục-	"to hit,beat"
sTụdịiẹ́i	Ia	//i//	sTụdịi-	"to study" (S)
suminiẹ́i	Ia	//i//	sumin-	"to suspect"

S̲

šedẹ́	IIa	//i//	šẹ́d-1,3,6 šẹ́z-2 šedẹ́-4,5	šezụut "to sit"

šenkéi	Ia //i//	šenk-	"to present" (N)
šepéi	Ia //i//	šep-	"to limp"
šKripéi	Ia //i//	šKrip-	"to squeak, creak"
šopíi	I //i//	šop-	"to play (musical instrument)"(S)
šopTíi	I // i//	šopT-	"to whisper"
šPendéi	Ia//i//	šPend-	"to spend (money)"
šTiof(on)éi	Ia//i//	šTiof(on)-	"to peck"
šTii	IIb see Ch. III	šTivůut	"to know"
šTraféi	Ia //i//	šTraf-	"to punish"
šTudiruíi	I //i//	šTudiru-	"to study" (N)
šušníi	I //p//	šušn-	"to sit down" (S)

T

-t		flexional morpheme regularly constituting the form of the expression of past participle	
taca non-regular//i//		tåk(1),tåku(6) tåk(1),tåku(6) tåc-2,3 (N) tåtS-2,3 (S)takůut "to be silent" tacé-4,5 tatSå-4,5	
taliå	II//i//	tåli-1,2,3,6 taliå-4,5	"to cut"
topíi	I//i//	top-	"to melt"
tórce	IIa//i//	tórk-1,6 tórc-2,3 torcé-4,5	tors "to spin"
tórnéi	Ia//i//	torn-	"to return" (S)
traže non-regular//i//		tråg-1,6 (South 1,trag) tråz-2,3(North 3,treže) tražé-4,5	tras"to drag"

trêce non-regualr //i// cf. fâce Ch.III, trekůut "to cross"

treméte IIa//i// { tremêt-1,3,6 ; tremêtș-2 ; tremetê-4,5 } tremés "to send"

trefți I //i// {tref-} "to meet"

tresți I //i// {tres-} "to shake"

trțiba fți non-regular //i// cf. fți Ch.III, impers.+indirect object "to need"

trțrcți I //i// {trțrc-} "to pour"

trțrlți I //i// {trrl-} "to run"

trțrpți I //i// {trțrp-} "to suffer"

-tS flexional morpheme expressing //second person plural present indicative//

tSiré non-regular //i// see Ch.III, tSirůut "to hold"

tucți I //i// {tuc-} "to strike"

turnâ II //i// { tôrn-1,2,3,6 ; turnâ-4,5 } "to return"

U

u- perfectivizing prefix, often expressing in addition into

-u 1) flexional morpheme expressing //first person singular present indicative//

2) flexional morpheme expressing //third person plural present indicative//

ucêre non-regular//p// { ucêr-1,2,3,6 ; uceršți-4,5 } uceršțit "to seek"

ụcị́ide IIa//i// ucị́id-1,3,6 / ucị́iz-2 / ucị́ide-4,5 ucị́is"to kill"(South utSị́ide,etc.)

ụdịhéi Ia//p// udịh- "to breathe"

ụféi Ia//i// uf- "to hope"

-uị́i imperfectivizing suffix,frequently also expressing iterative (N)

ụmislị́i I //p// ụmisl- "to have something occur to one"

ụnịšTị́i I //p// unịšT- "to destroy"

ụsK-1,3,6 / ụsTS-2 / ụsKá-4,5 ụsKá IIa//i// "to dry"

ụsKocị́i I //p// usKoc- "to jump"

ụsTavị́i I //p// ụsTav- "to stop"

ụšị́i I //i// ụš- "to go out"

ụtopị́i(se) I//p// ụtop- "to sink" "to drown"

(u)ụt-1,3,6 / (u)ụtS-2 / (u)ụtá-4,5 (u)utá IIa//i// "to forget"

ụzịdéi Ia//p// ụzịd- "to immure"

ụžéi Ia//i// ụž- "to be accustomed,used to"

V

valéi Ia//i// val- "to be worth"

véd-1,3,6 / véz-2 / vedé-4,5 vedé IIa//i// vezụ́ut "to see"

-vei imperfectivizing suffix, frequently also expressing iterative

veravụ́i I //A// {veravu-} "to come" (N)also expresses iterative

verị́i non-regular //i// see Ch.III "to come"

veš̆Tị́i I //i// {veš̆T-} "to dress"

vịkêi Ia//i// {vịk-} "to shout"

vịnde IIa//i// {vịnd-1,3,6 / vịnz-2 / vịndê-4,5} vindůut "to sell"

viravêi Ia//A// {vịrav-} "to come" (S) also expresses iterative

viažêi Ia//i// {viaž̆-} "to travel"

vịžịtêi Ia//i// {vịžịt-} "to visit"

vla IIb//i// see Ch.III "to take" (N)

volị́i I //i// {vol-} "to wish"

vre non-regular auxil. see Ch.III "to wish"

vụcị́i I //i// {vục-} "to pull"

Z

z- perfectivizing prefix, often expressing in addition away

za- perfectivizing prefix, often expressing in addition inception (South ze-)

zabogatị́i I//p// {zabogat-} "to grow rich,enrich"(variant zPogatị́i etc.)

zacá(se) IIa//i// {zâk-1,6 / zâc-2,3 / zacâ-4,5} zakůut (N) zacât (S)"to lie(down)"

zadụrmị̀i II//p// zadȏrm-1,2,3,6; zadụrmị̀i-4,5 "to go to sleep"(South zedụrmị̀i etc.)

zagr̥rnị̀i I//p// zagr̥rn- "to cover up"

zahvalị̀i I//p// zahval- "to thank"(South zehvalị̀i etc.)

zaimị̀i I//i// zaim- "to borrow"

zaklị̀id-1,3,6

zaklị̀ide IIa//p// zaklị̀iz-2; zaklị̀dé-4,5 zaklị̀is"to lock up"(South zeklị̀ide etc.)

zakreš̀i I zakreš̆- "to lighten"

zamolị̀i I//p// zamol- "to ask"

zapalị̀i I//p// zapal- "to kindle,set fire to"

zapiséi Ia//p// zapis- "to write"(South zepiséi etc.)

zaplr̥nžĕ non-regular//p//,see above plr̥nžĕ "to burst into tears"(South zeplr̥nžĕ etc.)

zaslụžị̀i I//p// zaslụž- "to earn"

ze- see above za-

zegledị̀i I//p// zegled- "to glance at,look around"

zegụšị̀i I//p// zegụš̆- "to choke"

zekopéi Ia//p// zekop- "to bury" (S)

zepụhnị̀i I//p// zepụhn- "to puff,blow"

zepusị̀i I//p// zepus- "to puff,blow" (S)

zesKụrị̀i I//i// zesKụr- "to get dark,darken"

zFị̀kéi Ia//p// zFị̀k- "to shout"

zFonị̀i I//i// zFon- "to ring"

zFr̥rš̆ị̀i I//p// zFr̥rš̆- "to finish"

zFụcị̀i I//p// zFục- "to pull out"

zi̯ice non-regular//p//see Ch.III {zi̯ik-1,6 / zi̯ic-2,3 / zicé-4,5} zi̯is"to say"(Šušnjevica zi̯itse etc.)

zi̯déi	Ia //i//	{zi̯d-}	"to build"
zi̯seci̯i	I//p//	{zi̯sec-}	"to chop up"
zi̯sikuíi	I//i//	{zisiku̯-}	"to chop up"
zKori̯i	I//p//	{zKor-}	"to burn,scorch"
zKrebi̯i	I//p//	{zKreb-}	"to scratch"
zleti̯i	I//p//	{zlet-}	"to fly"
zlomi̯i	I//p//	{zlom-}	"to break"
zmisli̯i	I//p//	{zmi̯sl-}	"to think out,invent"
zori̯i	I//p//	{zor-}	"to plough"
zPeri̯i	I//p//	{zPer-}	"to choose"
zPokéi	Ia//p//	{zPok-}	"to paint, colour"
zPu̯di̯i	I//p//	{zPu̯d-}	"to wake" (S)
zTi̯héi	Ia//p//	{zTi̯h-}	"to breathe"

Z

ža fi̯i non-regular//i//cf.fi̯i Ch.III impers.+indirect object "to be sorry"

želi̯i	I //i//	{žel-}	"to desire"
ži̯vi̯i	I //i//	{živ-}	"to live"
ži̯i	I //p//	{žn-}	"to harvest"
žu̯ká	IIa	{žók-1,6 / žoc-2,3 / žuká-4,5}	"to dance"
žurá	II	{žór-1,2,3,6 / žurá-4,5}	"to swear"

Glossary of Non-Verbal Forms.

The Roman numerals appearing after the nouns in this glossary indicate the Class to which the nouns belong, in accordance with the description in Chapter V. In cases where a given noun possesses variant forms it may be that membership of two Classes is involved, according to the phonological form of the variants.

A minority of nouns belong to Class I in their singular paradigm and to Class II in their plural paradigm,e.g. žážet (finger) Class I - žážete (fingers) Class II. These should not be confused with the far greater number of nouns of the pat - pátųre type categorized as Class III.

A

a, 1) at
2) possessive marker (N),sometimes also used before ordinal numerals
ab, ába, white
ac, here
a(d)vokát,a(d)vokátS, I lawyer
afára,afáre, outside
ákmo,akmóce, now
albérg,albérg(var.alberz), Ic or Ib, inn
álbįre,álbįr(N)Id.(cf. kįre), bee
álį, but
alóra, then
ámindoi(m),ámindo(f),both
amįrnát,amįrnáta(cf.bogát Ch.V), late

an, ani, IV, year
ánca, anc, here
angústT,angústa,August
ániel, ániel, Ic, angel
antôšniak,antôšniaka(S),
 January
ápa(N),ápe(S)II, water
aprí̯l - aprí̯ila(N), April
aprópe, near
aré, aréli Ie(N), ring
aréit, aréitS, I, ram
armár, armár Ic,cupboard
as, ási̯i Ie, ace
asá, ašа, thus, so
ašá(v) ašáli, ašáva,ašáve,
 ašávo, such
ásera (N), this evening
(a)séra, yesterday evening
ási̯r, ási̯r Ic, donkey
ásTrz, today
ásTr(z)sére(S),this
 evening
at,altS,áta,áte,áto, other
atênto (S), look out!
atrés,atrési̯i Ie(N),
 address
avrí̯l,avrí̯ila(S), April
áze (Brdo), today
azezi̯i, nowadays

B

báier,báier(var.báiere)Ic,
 ribbon
bambóna,bambóne II,a sweet
bandi̯iéra,bandi̯iére II,
 flag
bánka,bánke II,bank
bárbe,bárbe I?d(cf.kfre),
 uncle
bárem, at least
bárka,bárke II,boat
bas, exactly
basérika,baséric (var.
 besérika)II b, church
bédasT, bédasTa, mad
beséda, beséde II, word
bésTi̯ia, bésTi̯ie II,animal
bet, betS, drunken
bi̯ira, bi̯ire,I beer
biliét,biliétS I,ticket
bikiér, bikiér Ic, a glass
biond, bionda, blond
bi̯re, well
bisKúp,bisKúp(i) Ia, or
 Ic, bishop
blága(N),bláge(S)II,cattle
blátrn,blátna, dirty
blav, bláva, blue

bo,boi, Ie, ox
bogát,bogáta(see Ch.V), rich
bólen(bólrn)bólna, ill
bórsa,bórse II,purse
bósKa,bósKe II,wood
bótSa,bótSe II,bottle
božíiti,Ia Christmas
božíitniak,božíitniaka,(S) December
bóžu, God
bragéše(pl)II,trousers
brána,bráne,II,harrow
bratS,bratS or brátSure I or III, arm
brek,bretS (S),Ib, dog
brig, brígure,III,hill
brí(i)žrn,brí(i)žna,poor
brrhán,brrháne,I(sing.) II(pl.), skirt
bfrsa,bfrse, II,bag
brt,bfture,III,stick, hammer
brtfr,brtfra, old
brtSúun,brtSúun(i),Ia or Ic, barrel
bruun, brúuna, brown
bur,búra,búrii,búre,búro, good
butíilia,butíl(i),IIa, bottle
butíiga,butíž,IIb,shop
búure (S), II,butter

C

ca, (fem.see Ch.V),that
ca ce(see Ch.VI),that which
cáce,cáci(S)Id(cf.kfre), father
cáie,cáii(N)Id(cf.kfre), father
ce,(see Ch.VI),that,what
céla (masc.see Ch.V),that
célitSe,célitSe(S)II,bee
cek, why
cep, cépure III, cork
cer, cérure(S)III,sky, heaven
cerúuša,cerúuše II,ash
césTa, (see Ch.V),this
cetáte,cetátS(N)Id,town
cetírasTo,(see Ch.V), four hundred
cetrrnáisT,(see Ch.V), fourteen
cetrrtfk, Thursday
cevá, something
cinc,(see Ch.V),five
círneme,círneme(S)II,cinema
círe,(see Ch.VI), who

cú(u)da,cú(u)de,much,many

D

dan, drn IV, day
dar,dárure III, gift
datúnce, afterwards
de, 1)of, from
2)about
3)for (N)
4)than(S)
de nóvo, again
dęble, dęble(S)II,tree
dębole,dębole, weak
dękla,dękli̯i,IIe,maid-
servant
demúnt(N),for a long time
dęnde, whence
depárte (N), far
derę́ntie(N),inside
dęset (see Ch.V) ten
desKrátSi̯ie,desKrátSi̯ie(S)
II, accident
dęsr̥n,dęsn̥i̯i,dęsn̥a ,dęsne,
dęsno, right
dęsPre,di̯sPre,from above
desárr̥t,desárta,(N),empty
detSęmbr̥r,detSęmbra,(N),
December
devedeset,(see Ch.V),
ninety
devedesętile,(see Ch.V),
ninetieth
dęvet,(see Ch.V),nine
devętile,(see Ch.V),ninth
devetnáisT,(see Ch.V),
nineteenth
dęvetSTo,(see Ch.V),
nine hundred
dęvno, daily
dFáiset,(see Ch.V),twenty
dFanáisT,(see Ch.V),twelve
dFísTo,(see Ch.V),
two hundred
did,diz,Ib, old man
dim,dímúre III,smoke
dimbók(dembók),dimbóka,
deep
din, 1)from
2)because of
di̯(i)nar,di̯(i)nar,Ic,dinar
dínte,dintS,Id, tooth
díntru, out of
di̯io, God
do,(fem.),doi(masc.),(see
Ch.V), two
do, until,within(of time)
dóbr̥r,dóbr̥i̯i,dóbr̥a ,dóbre,
dóbro, good
dóile(S. see Ch.V),second
dókle (S),1)while
2)until

đomarétSe,tomorrow
đómnu, God,lord
đósTa,(đósTi̯i),enough
đóua(fem.see Ch.V)second
đóvile(masc.N¦see Ch.V)
 second
drag,drági̯i,drága.,dráge,
 drágo, 1)dear
 2)expensive
drak,drac Ib,devil
dri̯it,dri̯itii,dri̯ita.,
 dri̯ite,drí̯ito(S),straight
drôbne,drôbne (N), thin
drúgi̯i(S.see Ch.V),second
dy̯ug,dúgure III,debt
dy̯uh,dúhure III,breath
dumi̯rika,dumi̯ric,IIb,
 Sunday
dúpri̯l,dúpla,double
dq̯(u)pa, 1)after
 2)behind

F

fábri̯ka,fábri̯ke,II,factory
falót,falótS,I,lad,youth
fami̯li̯ia,fami̯li̯ie,II,
 family
fára (fáre),outside
faž̌ó,(sing.),Ie,beans
febrár,febrára,(N),
 February
fecór,fecór,Ic,boy,child
fecori̯ina,fecori̯ine(N),II,
 small child
ferovi̯ie,(sing.S.)II,rail-
 way
fét,fetS,(S) I boy
féta,féte,II,girl
fétina,fétene,II,young
 girl
fétitSa,fétitSe,II,small
 girl
fi̯in,fiina,fine,beautiful
fil,fili, Ia, son
fília,fílie,II,daughter
fi̯r,(sing.),Ic, hay
fler,(sing.),Ic, iron
fok,fókyre,III, fire
fólia, foli,(S)IIa,leaf,
fóme(sing.see Verb Lexicon),
 hunger
fórse (S),perhaps
frai (invar.) free
fráila,fráile,II,young
 woman
frái̯r,frái̯r,Ic,fiancé
frái̯ritSa,frái̯ritSe,II,
 fiancée
frántSi̯ia(sing.),II,France
frántSyuzKi̯i,frántSyuzKa,
 French
fráte,fratS, Id,brother
fraž̌(sing.)I,strawberries

frigéit,frigéita,(cf.bogát Ch.V),fried
frį́ika,frį́ike,II,fear
frį́(i)zrk,frį́iśKa,fresh, cool
frntfra,frntfre II, fountain, well
frr (de),without
frrminánt,frrminántS,I, match
frúniga,frúnige,II,ant
frúnta,frúnte,II,forehead
frúnza,frúnz,(N),IIa, foliage
frúusTik,frúusTikure(N) III, breakfast
frúut,frúuture,(S),III, fruit
fuus,fúusure,III,spindle

G

galįre,galįr,IIc,hen
glas,glásure,III,voice
glaž,glažure,III,glass
glínda,glínde,II,acorn
glúhav,glúhali,glúhava, glúhave,glúhavo, deaf
gnįi,gnįili,gnįila,gnįile, gnįilo, rotten
go,goli,góla,góle,go,naked
gódina (sing.N.)II,rain
góra,góre,II,mountain
gosPodár,gosPodár,Ic, master, boss
gosPodáritSa,gosPodáritSe, II,mistress
gosT,gósTi, Ia,guest
grad,grádure(S)III,town
grah,gráhure(but often sing.only)III,pea
grána,gráne II,twig
gránitSa,gránitre,II, frontier
gras,gras,grása,gráse, (gráso),fat
grev,greli,gre,(gréle S.), gréle,grélo, heavy
gréda,gréde,II, beam
gros,groš,grósa,gróse, (gróso), big
grru (sing.)Ie,wheat
grumb,grúmba, ugly
gú(u)ra,gú(u)re,II,mouth, throat
(na)gúsTo,(S), often
gúut,gúuture,III,neck
gúuž,guuž, Ic, snake

H

hárta,hárte(N)II,1)letter (all dialects)2)(playing)card

hartáca,hartáce,II,brush
he, exclamation
híliadu,(N.see Ch.V),
thousand
hlad,hládure,III,shade
hládṛn,hládna, cold
hleb,hlébure,III,bread
hmet,hmetS, I, peasant
hmo, now
hódnik,hódnic,Ib,corridor
hrána,(sing.) II, food
hrasT,hrásTure,III,oak
hṛvatSKi,hṛvatSKa,
Croatian
hrušFa,hrušFe,II,pear
hFála, thank you

I

ia (see Ch.VI),she
iádṛn,iádna, angry
iáger,iáger,Ic, hunter
iakéta,iakéte,II,jacket
iáko, very
iále (fem.see Ch.VI),they
ianár,ianára(N),January
iardin,iardini Ia,
garden, park
iárna,iárne, II,winter
iázer,iázer,Ic,lake
ie (see Ch.VI), he
iedrnáisT,(see Ch.V)eleven
ieli(masc.see Ch.VI),they
ier, yesterday
iésen,iésen,Ic,autumn
ež,ež,Ic,hedgehog
igrácKa,igrácKe,II,toy
(i)ime,(i)iim(var.(i)imii)
Id(cf.kfre),N. name
irima,irime,II,heart
isTi,isTa, same
(i)istina(sing.),II,truth
ili, or
infáti,(S),actually,in
fact
inglésKi,inglésKa,English
inka, again,more
io, (see Ch.VI), I
isKra,isKre II,spark
iúli,(N.invar.),July
iúni,(N.invar.), June
iúva (var.iúve),where
iúsTo,correct,just,true

K

ka,kali,Ie, horse
kad,káda, hot
kadéna,kadéne(N)II,chain
kafé, coffee
kále,kále(S),II road,way
kámbra,kámbre(N)II, room

kámere,kámere(S)II,room
kamịión,kamiióne I(sing.) II(pl.) lorry
kampánie,(sing.S.)II, countryside
kanál,kanáli Ia, canal
kantrịide,kantrịide(S) II, chair
kantSóne,kantSóne (S)II, song
kap,kapúre III,head
kapót,kapótS I,coat
kápo,kápịi Ie,chief,boss
kápra,kápre II,goat
kára(see Ch.VI),which
karaméla,karaméle II,a sweet
kárna,kárne,II meat
kartolịina,kartolịine,II, post-card
kása,káse II, house
káse, at home
kasịi, as if,like
kásitSa,kásitSe,II,cottage
kásno, late
kásTịi,kásTa,pure
kaš,kášụre III,cheese
katrịida,katrịide(N)II, chair
ke, 1) because
2)(see Ch.VI),which
ke ke, why
kemése,kemése(S)II shirt
kịikere,kịikere(S)II cup
kịino(invar.N.) cinema
klas,klásụre III,ear of corn
klụuc,klụuc,Ic,key
kmet,kmetS,I,peasant
kmo, now
knịiga,knịige(N)II,book
ko (de),(N)along,past
kóda,kóde,II,tail
kódrụ,kódrịi I?c(N)foreat, (S) mountain
kókot,kókotS, I,cock
kolé, there
kolóna,kolóne II,column
kolp,kólpụre III,blow
komóti, impatiently
konfúzịi,konfúza confused
konóbar,konóbar Ic,waiter, barman
kont,kontS,I bill
kontadịin,kontadịin(S)Ic, peasant
kopịita,kopịite,II,hoof
korážrn,korážna,cheerful
korb,korb, Ic, crow
korn,kórne I(sing.)II(pl.), horn

korónə,korónə (S)II crown
kosíic,kosíic,Ic,blackbird
kosúulie,kosuuli,(N)IIc,
shirt
krai,kráiure III,beginning
krali,krali,Ic,king
krepát,krepátS(cf.bogát
Ch.V),dead(of animals)
krípKii,krípKa,strong,
sturdy
krn(d), when
kfnta,kfnte(N),II,song
krntadúr,krntadúr,Ic,
singer
krov,króvure III,roof
kfre,krr(N),Id,dog
krrsTiián,krrsTiiáni,(S)
Ia,man(lit.Christian)
krt(see Ch.VI),how much
kftra,(var.kftre),towards
krúuna,krúune(N)II,crown
ku(u), with
kuádry,kuádrii I?c,picture
kualitá (invar.),type
kuárrt,kuárrt,Ic,quarter
kúfer,kúfer,Ic,suitcase
kúhinie,kuhíni,IIc,kitchen
kuiiib,kuiiibure III,nest
kuiiin,kuiiin(masc.),
kuiiine(fem.)(S),cousin
kum, how
kumarák,kumarác,Ib,hat
kumpír,kumpír Ic,potato
kunélik,kunélic Ib,rabbit
kunfiin,kunfiin or kunfiinure,
Ic or III,frontier
kumiád,kuniáz,Ib,brother-
in-law
kuniádə,kuniáde II,sister-
in-law
kunténrt,kunténtS,kunténta,
kunténte,kunténto,happy
kup,kúpure III, heap
kupé (invar.),railway com-
partment
kurát,kuráts (cf.bogát Ch.
V), clean
kuráž, (sing.)?Ic,courage
kuriiéra,kuriiére II,bus
kurrnár,(see Ch.V),forty
kutSiit,kutSiitS I ,knife
kúucKa,kúucKe II,bitch
kuui,(see Ch.VI),to whom
kuum,kuum,Ic,godfather,
close friend
ku(u)s,kú(u)sure,III piece
kuvért,kuvértS,I,envelope

L

la 1)at,'chez'
2)N.(see Ch.VI),to her

lámpa,lampe II,lamp
lantSúun,lantSúune(S)I (sing.)II(pl.),sheet
lápiž,lápiž,Ic,pencil
lápTe,(sing.)Id,milk
lárgo (S), far
le(see Ch.VI),them(fem.)
lémne(sing.)IIc,wood
len,leni,lénia,lénie,léno, lazy
let(plur.)IV years
liei (see Ch.VI),her
l(i)épur,l(i)épur Ic,hare
lʲibrr,lʲibrr(S) Ic,book
lʲik,lʲikure III a little
lʲisT,lʲisTure(S) III letter
lʲiv,lʲivʲi,lʲiva,lʲive, liévo, left
límba,límbe II,language
língura,língure II,spoon
lísitSa,lísitSe,II,fox
litrát,litrátS,I,picture
lok,lókure III,place
lor,(see Ch.VI) their
lov,(sing.)I?c hunting
lr,l-,(see Ch.VI) him
lfgrk,lfgKʲi,lrgKa(lrgfhna) lrgKe,lfhko, easy
lfra,lrre II,wool
lu, [genitive] or [dative] marker
lug,lúgure III,valley
lúme,lúme,IId world
lúme,lúmʲi(S)Id(cf.kfre), name
lung,lunz,lúnga,lúnge, lúngo, long
lup,lup or lúpure,Ic or III, wolf
lur (N),Monday
lʲui(see Ch.VI),to him
lú(u)ra,lʲú(u)re,II,moon

M

ma 1) but
2)(see Ch.V) my
mácKa,mácKe II,cat
mai, more
mai,máia, May
maiésTr,maiésTrr(S)Ic, (school)master
máia, máie,II,mother
mákine,mákine(S)IId,car
mánitSe,mánitSe(S)IId,glove
mántie, before
máre,mar IIc, sea
máre,máre, big
márec,márca, March
márka,márke,II,(postage) stamp
másla,(sing.ördo)II,butter
mašʲina,maśʲine(N)II 1)train
2)car

matíiśniak,matíiśniaka,(S) November
(a)me(v)(see Ch.V+VI)my,me
mędik,mędic,Ib,doctor
mer,mer,Ic,apple
merínda,merínde,II,lunch
męrika,męrike,II,America
merkåt,merkåtS,I,market
mi̯(i) (see Ch.VI),to me
mihóšniak,mihóšniaka,(S), October
mi̯(i)k,mi̯(i)c,mi̯ika,mi̯ike, mi̯iko, small
mi̯isla,mi̯isle,II,idea, thought
mi̯iza,mi̯ize(N)II,table
miliár,miliár(S)Ic,(see Ch.V), thousand
milión(var.miliún)Ic,(see Ch.V),million
minúut,minúte,minúti̯i (S.minúutS),IV minute
mir,(sing.)Ic,peace;na mi̯rų,in peace
mi̯re (see Ch.VI), me
mi̯sr̥tS,mísr̥tSi̯i IV, month
mlad,mláda, young
mladi̯it,mladi̯itS,I,young man
mlára,mláre II,honey
mogúutie(N),possible
móle,moli,mólia,mólie, mólio, soft
mólim, please!
mórka (N),perhaps
mort,mórta(cf.bogåt Ch.V), dead
mosT,mósTure,III,bridge
mraž (sing)I?c,hoar frost
mr̥gla,mr̥gle,II, fog
mr̥nie, less
mr̥r,mrr,IId, hand
mr̥rangúun,mr̥rangúuni(S),Ia, joiner
mr̥re, tomorrow
mr̥ršav,mr̥ršavi̯i,mr̥ršava, mr̥ršave,mr̥ršavo, thin
mr̥rva,mr̥rve(N),II,a little
muliára,muliár(N),muliére, muliér(S)IIc, wife
mund, more
muni̯it,muni̯ita(cf.bogåt Ch.V), stupid
músKa,musT,IIe, fly
mušåt,mušåltS,mušåta, mušåte,mušåto,pretty, beautiful
múuzika,(sing.)II,music
muzéi,muzéi Ic,museum

N

na, at,on

na(N),ne(S),(see Ch.VI),us, to us
na dṛn, daily
na glas,aloud
na gúśTo,often
na ópak,back to front
nabrusíit,nabrusíitS,(cf. bogát Ch.V), sharp
náda,náde,II,steel
nánke, not even
národ,národụre,III,people
nas,násụre III,nose
názat(var.názṛt),back, backwards
ne, no
ne,(sing.)IIe(cf.sTe),snow
nébo,(N.invar.),sky
nedụ́užṛn,nedụ́užna,innocent
négo, 1)only
2)(N) than
négrụ,négrị́i,négra,négre, black
néka, so that
nemogụ́utie,impossible
nenavị́idṛn,nenavị́idna, jealous
nesrị́ica,nesrí́ice(N),II, accident
nevésTa,nevésTe,II,bride
nicúr(masc.),nicó(fem.), no-one
ni(i), neither
níkad(a), never
ni(i)š,nothing
nipót,nipótS,I,grandchild
no(v),nóvị́i,nóva,nóve, nóvo, new
noi (see Ch.VI), we
nóna,nóne,II,grandmother
nóno,nónoi Ie,grandfather
nópTa,nopTS,IIb,night;kụ nópTa, by night
nósTra,nósTre(see Ch.V+VI), our
novémbṛr,novémbra,(N), November
nóvina,nóvine,II,newspaper
nụ(u), negative particle
núntrụ, inside
nuntS,(plur.)IIb,wedding
nụsKára,nusKáre,etc.(cf. kára Ch.VI),some
núsTe, something

O

o, 1)indefinite article,feminine singular
2)(see Ch.V),one(fem.)
3)(see Ch.VI), her
obéd,obédụre,III,lunch
óbicno, usually

ǒblak,ǒblace,Ib(sing.)II (plur.),cloud
ǒbraz,ǒbrazure,III,face
oc, here
ocále(plur.)II,spectacles
ǒgnišTa,ǒgnišTe,II,hearth
ǒie,oi,IIc, sheep
ǒkly,ǒkli,I?c, eye
ǒkna,ǒkne,II, window
ǒkoli, around
olandésKi,olandésKa,Dutch
om,ǒmir, Ie, man
ombrêla,ombrêle,II,umbrella
opT(N.see CH.V), eight
orb,ǒrbi,ǒrba,ǒrbe,ǒrbo, blind
orz(sing.)I?c, barley
os,ǒse,Ie, bone
ǒsina,ǒsine(N)II,bee
oslǔuga,oslǔuge(N)II, favour
ǒsrm (see Ch.V),eight
osrmdesét " ",eighty
osrmnáisT " ",eighteen
ǒsrmsTo " ", eight hundred
osTár,osTár,Ic,innkeeper, landlord
osTarǐia,osTarǐie,II,inn
ǒsTe,osT,(N),IIc, war
ǒsTrr,ǒsTrii,ǒsTra,ǒsTre, ǒsTro, sharp
oš́ór,oš́ór(var.oǒre),IId, egg
otǒbrr,otǒbra(N),October
ov,ǒve(S) Ie, egg

P

padéla,padéle,II,frying pan
paíz,paízure III,village
pak, then
paminta,paminte,II,mind
pangusTiti,pangusTitia (S), September
pár,par Ic,1)pair 2)few
pâred,párez,Ib,inner wall
párrt,partS,Ib, part
pâsTir,pâsTir,Ic,shepherd
pấsa,pâše,II, pasture
pat,páture,III, bed
pâtra(fem.),pâtrile(masc.), (see Ch.V), fourth
pâtrų (see Ch.V),four
pedesét " " ,fifty
pekât, a pity(exclam.)
pemint,pemînture,III, ground, earth
péna,péne 1)feather II
2)(N.and Brdo)pen
3)(N) leaf

per,per,Ic, 1)hair
2)(S)pen
perké(S), why
pet,(see Ch.V), five
petịit,petịitS,I,appetite
petnáisT,(see Ch.V),fifteen
pétSTo, " " ,
five hundred
piacér,piacér Ic(S),favour
piat,piatS I(S), plate
picór,picóre,I(sing.) II
(plur.) foot
pịile,pịile,IId, file
pínez(plur.),Ib,money
pịre(var.pịrla),until
pịrúun,pịrúune,I(sing.) II
(plur.) fork
pládṛn,pládṛn,Ic(N),plate
pleh,pleh,Ic, tin
plịr,plịrii,plịra,plịre,
plíro, full
plóie,(sing.),IIc, rain
plug,plúgụre,III,plough
po (N.invar.),half
pod,pódụre,III, floor
pod,(var.pot), under
pódịie,pódịie(S),II,half
pódne,midday;dúpa pódne,de
la pódne, afternoon
pókle,(S),then,afterwards
pólie,polie(N),IId,1)field
2)countryside
polítSái(N)Ic,police
polítSịie(S)II,police
poméiec,poméica(S),June
pomálo,gradually,slowly
pomidór,pomidór,Ic,tomato
pómoc,pómoc,Ic,help
ponedélek,ponedelec(S)Ib,
Monday
pónoc, midnight
porédṛn,porédna(S),disobe-
dient
pork, porc Ib, pig
posịibile(S), possible
poslú(u)šṛn,poslú(u)šna,
obedient
posPáno, sleepily
posTóla,posTóle II,shoe
pǒsTa,pǒsTe,II post(office)
pošTén,pošTéna, honest
pot,(pótụre)III,sweat
pótKova,pótKove II,horse-
shoe
potók,potókụre III,river
potóp,potópụre III,flood
potrịiba,potrịibe,II,need
potrịibṛn,potrịibna,
necessary
pózTrav,pósTrav,Ic,
greeting
prah(sing.)Ic, dust
prav,právịi,práva,práve,
právo,right,true,just

prázrn,prázna,(S),empty
pre, on
pre-, very
prefT,prefTS,I,priest
premúre,premúre(S),IId,
 hurry
prénde,through which
présTe,(var.prísTe),through,
 across
prísTe zii(S),daily
pretS,prétSure III,price
prétSiie,prétSiie,IId,
 price
prevíše,too much
priiátel,priiáteli,Ia,
 friend
prínga, along
printSíip,printSíip,Ic,
 prince
profesór,profesór,Ic,
 professor
próope, near
pfra,(pfre),II,bread
pfrla, until
pfrsTen,pfrsTene(S),I(sing)
 II(pl.), ring
prršúut,prršúutS,I,ham
pfrva,(fem.)pfrvile(masc),
 pfrvii(S),(see Ch.V),
 first
prržúun,prržúune,I(sing.),
 II(plur.), prison

prtfk,prtfc(S),Ib,Friday
puli,puli,Ic, chicken
punt,púntii(N),puntS(S),Ia
 or I, point
púra,púre,II,turkey
púrec,púrec,Ic,flea
put,pútii IV,time,occasion
pútnik,pútnic Ib,traveller
pútrr (N.sing),Ic,butter
putSíin,putSiin(S),Ic,
 a little
púupa,púupe,II,doll

R

ráce, ráce, cold
racúun,racúun Ic,bill
rad,ráda, glad
rakiia,rakiie,II,plum
 brandy
rána,ráne II, wound
ráno, early
rátSa,rátSe,II 1)duck
 2)type
rávrn,rávna(N),straight
razPiit,rezPiit(S),
 razPiitS,etc.(cf.bogát
 Ch.V),broken
ráznii,ráznii,rázna,rázne,
 rázno, different
razúumrn,razúumna,intelli-
 gent

red,rędure,III,row,order;u rędu, in order,
regâl,regâli(S)Ia,gift
rei,rei,(S)Ic, king
rêntie, forwards
rîbitSa,rîbitSe II,sardine
rîiba,rîibe,II,fish
rîiga,rîige II,line
rîika,rîike,II,river
îl,(see Ch.VI),him
île " ",them)fem.)
îli " ",them,(masc.),to him
îm " ", to me
îmnât,îmnâta(cf.bogât Ch. V), late
în 1)indefinite article, masculine,singular
2)(see Ch.V) one (masc)
3) in
înka, still, more
îns,însa, 1)alone
2)self
între,between,among
întru 1)between,among
2)into
înțuntru, within
înțeniér,înțeniér,Ic, engineer
rôba,rôbe II,1)dress
2)thing
roiš,rôišii,rôiša,rôiše, (rôišo), red
român,român,Ic, novel
rov,rôvure III,furrow
rozâ,rož IIa,flower
rînza,rînze II,stomach
înpa,înpe II,stone
rš(see Ch.VI),to himself, etc.
rtS " ", to you
rucênii̯a,rucênii̯e II, breakfast
rûha,rûhe(N)II, sheet
rûkovitSa,rûkovitSe,(N),II, glove
rumûnsKii̯i,rumûnsKa, Rumanian
rûupa,rûupe II,rock
(de)rupôi 1)behind
2)afterwards
rûsKii̯i,rûsKa,Russian
rušîre,rušîre IIc,shame
rûuka,rûuke,II, hand

(a)sa,(see Ch.V),his,etc.
sad, sâdure (N)III,tree
sâkii̯i,sâkîle,sâka,sâke,sâko, every, each
salôn,salôn Ic,drawing room

sámo, only
sára,sáre,II,salt
se, if
se(v)(see Ch.V+VI)his,etc.
sédṛm(see Ch.V),seven
sedṛmdeséṭ" ",seventy
sedṛmnáisT" ",seventeen
sédṛmsTo " ",
 seven hundred
segúutra,this morning
sélišTe,sélišT,IIc,village
sekúura,sekúure,II, axe
senóciì,tonight
séra,sére,II,evening
séta,séte,II,thirst
setémbṛr,setémbra,(N),
 September
setimána,setimáne(S) IV,
 week
sFet,sFétii,sFéta,sFéte,
 sFéto,saint,holy
sFịila,sFịile II,silk
sFítlosT,sFítlosT,Ic,light
sigúrno, of course,surely
sịicṛn,sịicna,(S),February
sịila,sịile,II,hurry,haste
simpáticṛn,simpáticna,kind
sịr,sịrụre III,chest,breast
sịre(see Ch.VI),himself,etc.
sịromáh,sịromáš,sịromášna,
 sịromášne,sịromášno,poor
sKála,sKále II,step
sKalína,sKalín IIa,
 stair, step
sKand,sKándure(S),III,
 table
sKántSịie,sKántSii(S)IIc,
 cupboard
sKóro, soon,quickly
sKróze(var.sKrózịi)(de),
 through
sKụrt,sKúrta(cf.bogát Ch.
 V),short
sKú(u)pa,together
slịika,slịike,II,photo-
 graph
slóbodṛn,slóbodna,free
slab,slába,1)weak
 2)painful
smih,smih,(N),Ic,joke
smišéit,smišéita(N),(cf.
 bogát,Ch.V),confused
sólo, only
sor(S),sóra(N),sṛrịr IIe,
 sister
sóre(sing.)Id,sóle(N.rare),
 sun
sPáda,sPáde II,sword
sPágụ,sPágịi I?c,string
sPaniuléta,sPaniụléte,II,
 cigarette
sPecịit,sPecịita,(cf.bogát,
 Ch.V), roast

sPíisṛk,sPíisṛk,Ic,list
sPiṛ,sPiṛ Ic, thorn
sréda,sréde,II,Wednesday
sṛícṛn,sṛícnịi,sṛícna,sṛíc-
ne,sṛícno,happy
sfmbṛtṛ,sfmbṛtṛ,Saturday
sṛmfṇ,sṛmfṇi Ia,fair
sfnže(sing.)Id,blood
sṛṛ,sfṛa, healthy
sfṛpSKịi,sfṛpSKa,Serbian
sTa,sTe(see césTa Ch.V),this
sTáretS,sTáretS,Ic,old man
sTatSịión,sTatSịión Ic,
(railway)station
sTe,sTéle,IIe,star
sTFar,sTFárụre(var.sTFar)
III or IId, thing
sTo,(see Ch.V),hundred
sTol,sToli Ia,table
sTótile,(N)sTotii(S),(see
Ch.V) hundredth
sTótina,sTótineII,
1)about one hundred,
hundreds
2)hundredth(fem.N.)
sTfbla,sTfble II,tree,
tree trunk
sTréla,sTréle,II,lightning
sTṛịina,sTṛịine,II,aunt
(father's sister)
sTṛịitS,sTṛịitS Ic,uncle
(father's brother)
sTṛint,sTṛintS,sTṛinta,
sTṛinte,sTṛinto,tight
sTṛrmb,sTfrmba,guilty
sTuk,sTúkụre,III,piece
sub, under
súbito, at once
subTSíṛ,subTSíṛịi,subTSíṛa,
subTSíre,subTSíṛo,thin
sụr,sụ́ra, grey
sus, above
suséd,susézIb, neighbour

Š

šа, so, thus
šálitSa,šálitSe(N)II,cup
šápTe (see Ch.V),seven
šápTesTo(S)" ",
seven hundred
šárpa,šarpe,II 1)snake
2)tie
šáse (see Ch.V),six
šásesTo(S)" ",six hundred
šégav,šégava, cunning
šenk,šenk(N),Ic, gift
šesnáisT,(see Ch.V),sixteen
šesT, " ", six
šesTesét, " ", sixty
šésTo, " ",
six hundred
šev,ševụre,III, seam
šFóhnịi,šFóhna,(N),weak

šį(i), 1)and
2)(see Ch.VI), to himself,etc.
šKadolį́in,šKadolį́in(N),Ic, cupboard
šKǻre,(plur.)II,scissors
šKǻta,šKǻte,(N),tin box,II.
šKǻtole,šKǻtole(S)II, tin box
šKertS,šKertS,Ic,joke
šKolǻr,školǻr,Ic,school-child
šKǫ́le,šKǫ́le(S),II,school
šKų́ur,šKų́urti,šKų́ura, šKų́ure,šKų́uro, dark
šǫ́ldįi(plur.)Ic, money
šǫ́rec,šǫ́rec Ic,mouse
šofé́r,šofé́r,Ic,driver
šPé́gr̥l,šPé́grli Ia,mirror
šPitá́,šPitá́le,IIe,hospital
šTǻla,šTǻle,II,stable
šTé́rna,šTerne,II,1)fountain, well,
2)tank
šTǫ́rįia,šTǫ́rį́ie,II,story
šTrį́iga,šTrį́ige,II,witch
šugamá́n,šugamánure,III, towel
šų́ula,šų́ule(N),II,school
šumáisTer,šumáisTer(N),Ic, schoolmaster
šų́utKa,šų́utKe,II,kiss

T
(a)ta (see Ch.V),your,etc.
taliánsKii,taliánsKa, Italian
tá́lį́ie(sing.)IIc,Italy
tǻre,tǻre, strong
tat,tatS, I,thief
tǻužen(t)(N)(see Ch.V), thousand
(a)te(v)(see Ch.V+VI), your, you
teknicǻr,teknicǻr,Ic, architect
té́ta,té́te,II,aunt
tę́žr̥k,tę́šKa,1)heavy
2)difficult
tia, away
tiáro, very
tié́drn,tié́dnii(N)IV,week
tį(i)šlar,tį́(i)šlar,Ic, joiner
tį́nta,tį́nte,II,ink
tį́re(see Ch.VI),you
tį́rr̥r,tį́r̥ra,young
tisų́uti,(N),(see Ch.V), thousand
to, that (dem.)
tok,toc,Ib, piece
tǫ́lmac,tǫ́lmac,Ic,interpreter
tomobí́l,tomobí́li(N),Ia,car

tórba,tórbe,II,bag,
knapsack
tot, completely
tot,totS,tóta,tóte,tot,
all, every
tóturo, 1)however
2)it's all the
same!(exclam.)
trat,tratS,(S),I,time,
occasion
trei,(see Ch.V), three
tréia(fem.),treile(N) masc)
(see Ch.V), third
trekút,trekútS(cf.bogát
Ch.V),last,past
tren,tren,Ic,train
trétii(S.masc.)(see Ch.V),
third
tríiba,tríibe,II, need
trideséT(see Ch.V),thirty
trináisT " ",thirteen
trísTo " ",
three hundred
trmrn,trmna(N),bad,
disobedient
trrd,trrs,trda,trde,
trdo, hard
trtk,trtc,(N),Ib,uncle
tru(u)drn,trudna,tired
tSáit,(sing.N.),I,1)time
2)weather
tSe (see Ch.VI),to you
tSéna,tSéne(N),II,price
tSen,tSen,tSéna,tSéne,
tSéno, cheap
tSésTa,tSésTe(N),II,1)road,
way
2)S.var.cesTa,etc.(see Ch.
V), this
tSigarét,tSigarétS,I,
cigarette
tSintS,S.var.cinc,(see Ch.
V), five
tSintúre,tSintúre (S),II,
belt
tSíntSTo,S.var.pétSTo(see
Ch.V),five hundred
tSíre,S.var.círe(see Ch.
VI), who
tSúuda,tSúude(S),much,many
tSFet,tSFet,Ic,flower
tu(u) (see Ch.VI),you
túudii(N), also
tusPátru, all four
tusTréi(masc.),tóte trei
(fem.), all three
tu(u)s, all

U

údovitSa,údovitSe,II,widow
úietS,úietS,Ic,uncle(mother's
brother)

un,(see Ch.V)1)one,
2)indefinite article,masculine singular
universitét,universitéts,I, university
unt(sing.N.),I,butter
unúk,unúc,Ib, nephew
unúca,unúce,II,niece
ur(masc.),ure(fem.),(see Ch.V), one
úra,úre,ur,IV, hour
urékla,urékle,(var.urékli) II, ear
úsna,úsnji(N),úsne(S),IIe, lip
utóliko(invar.),brief lapse of time;sak-utóliko, every so often
utórrk,utórrc,Ib,Tuesday
úura,úure II,watch,clock
úusa,úus IIa, door
úuva,úuve II,grapes
užántSa,užántSe,II,use, custom
na/po užántSji,habitually

V

va(N),ve(S),(see Ch.VI),you, to you
vagón,vagón,Ic,(railway) compartment
váik(a), always
váka,vac, IIb, cow
vále,vále,IId,valley
valíža,valíže,II,suitcase
vávik(a), always
vécer,vécer,Ic,evening
véra,vére,II,summer
vérde,verz,(plur.masc.), green
vérga,vérge,II,rod
verúuga,verúuge (S),II, chain
vesél,veséli,veséla,veséle, vesélo, happy
vesTíd,vesTídureIII,dress
veti, already
vetúra,vetúre(S),II,car
viiái,vijáiure III,journey
vijolíin,vijolíinure III, violin
víše, more
víju,víji,víja,víje,víjo, lively
vínt,víntúre,III,wind
vír,vír, Ic, wine
vírrr,vírrrL(N),Friday
visók,visóka,high,tall
vitSé(l),vitSéli,Ia,calf
vo, (see Ch.VI), her
voi, " ", you
vóisKe,vóisKe(S)II ,war
vósTra,vósTre,(see Ch.V+VI), your

vóta,vóte IV,time,occasion
voz,vózure III,cart
vréd(a), quickly
vréma,vréme II,1)weather
2)(S)time
vṛk,(var.vf̣vṛk),always
vf̣lie, at once
vro(fem.),someone
vṛr(de),above,over
vṛrh,vf̣rhure III 1)mountain
2)top;rn vf̣rhụ de,on top
of
vṛrt,vf̣rtụre III,garden
vrụr(masc.),someone

Z

za,for,on behalf of
zac(S.zatS), why
zadovólịṛn,zadovólna,
satisfied
zádṛn,zádnịi,zádna,zádne,
zádno, late
záino,immediately,suddenly
zálik, a little
zásTo, why
zéce(S)(see Ch.V)ten
zéda,zéde,II,lamp
zelén,zeléna(N),green
zéma,zéme,II,soup
zet,zetS,I,son-in-law
zidár,zidár Ic,mason
zịi(art.zíia),zị́le IV,day
zịid,zíidure,III, wall
zlátṛn,zlátna, golden
zláto,(sing.)Ie, gold
zPali,zPáliure,III,mistake
zṛrmán,zṛrmán(N)Ic,cousin
zTrávile(sing.)IIc,health
zTriil,zTrị́la, ripe

Ž

ža,žále(fem.plur.),sorry
žába,žábe,II,frog
žálosTṛn,žálosna, sad
žážet,žážete I(sing.)II(pl.),
finger, toe
želéznitSa,želéznitSe(N)II,
railway
žénsKa,žénsKe II,woman
žep, žépụre,III,pocket
žétFeniak,žétFeniaka,(S),
July
žị́la,žị́le,II, vein
žị́ivina,(sing.),II,livestock
žịr,žírụre,III, fruit
živlénịie(S.sing.)II,life
živót,(N.sing.),I,life
žmuli,žmúliure,(S)III,glass
žnịi,žnị́i Ic, harvest
žok,žókụre,III,game

žos, below
žȕrnie, žȕrniį̈i(N)Id,(cf.
kȓre), belt
žų(u)g, žúgure, III, yoke
žúuhŗk, žúuhka, (N), bitter
žu(u)k, žų̇uka, (S), bitter
žuun (sing.)I?c, Lent
žų(u)t, žų̇uta, yellow

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