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DIAL. SLOVENE **kr̥vês-* AND THE ACCENTUAL HISTORY OF PROTO-SLAVIC **kry* 'BLOOD'

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ABSTRACT

*Starting from an originally sigmatic inanimate noun as the likely source of the later Slavic feminine *krŷ 'blood' (= Old Irish crú), the author traces the accentual history of Late Proto-Indo-European *krṓ-s-Ø, Gsg *kruu̯-és (< *kruH$_2$-és-s) on its way to the emerging complexity of the Proto-Slavic reflexes, viz. *krŷ, Gsg *krъu̯-es-e (projected into Proto-Slavic as a peripheral variant of the ubiquitous non-sigmatic stem), and the athematic/i-stem feminine *krŷ, Gsg *krъu̯ė́/*krъu̯i.*

Keywords: Proto-Slavic **kry*, Slovene dialectal material, Old Irish *crú*, sigmatic stems, accentology, accentual mobility, analogy

LO SLOVENO DIALETTALE **kr̥vês-* E LO SVILUPPO ACCENTUALE DA PROTOSLAVO **kry* 'SANGUE'

SINTESI

*Il materiale dialettale sloveno rivela come per il sostantivo protoslavo *krŷ 'sangue' (= antico irlandese crú) sia necessario postulare due paradigmi paralleli: una base lessicale sigmatica *krŷ, gen. sg. *krъu̯-es-e di genere neutro e una base lessicale semplice, senza affissi derivativi, ovvero un sostantivo con tema in -i *krŷ, gen. sg. *krъu̯ė́/*krъu̯i di genere femminile. Nel presente articolo si vuole avvalorare con lo studio dell'evoluzione accentuale l'ipotesi, già avanzata nella letteratura scientifica, secondo cui proprio per tale duplicità il sostantivo protoslavo *krŷ 'sangue' sarebbe da interpretare come riflesso della trasformazione analogica dell'originario sostantivo sigmatico di genere neutro *krṓ-s-Ø (gen. sg. *kruu̯-és < *kruu̯éss).*

Parole chiave: protoslavo **kry*, dialetti sloveni, antico irlandese *crú*, basi lessicali sigmatiche, accentologia, accento mobile, analogia

The[1] Proto-Indo-European background of PSl. **kry* and its congeners is relatively clear (*cf.* especially NIL *s.v.*; Nussbaum, 1999, 402; Stüber, 2002, 176–177). At the beginning of the derivational chain must lie an abstract feminine root-noun **kruH$_2$-* 'Blutiges' *vel sim.*[2] (either acrostatic **krṓu̯H$_2$-/*kréu̯H$_2$-* (normally → **kruH$_2$-´*), proterodynamic **kréu̯H$_2$-/*kruH$_2$-´*, or possibly **krúH$_2$-/*kruH$_2$-´* of the OInd. *gī̆r*-type), which to all appearances seems to indeed be continued by YAv. Asg *xrūm* 'raw meat' (< **kru̯əm* < **kruH$_2$-m̥* or **krūm* < **kruH$_2$-m* by Stang's Law). The corresponding verbal value of the radical is probably preserved at least in Ved. °*krū-*/°*kruv-* < *°*krúH$_2$-*.[3] There is a relatively rich system of derived Caland adjectives in **kruH$_2$-ró-* (Av. *xrūra-* 'bloody, blood-stained', Ved. *krūrá-* 'bloody, raw, cruel'), **kruH$_2$-mó-* (Av. *xrūma-* 'cruel'), **kruH$_2$-(u̯)ent-* (Av. *xruuant-* 'terrible', Lat. *cruentus* 'bloody'), **krṓu̯H$_2$-o-* (PGmc. **χrau̯(u̯)a-* 'raw') and its corresponding deadjectival abstract noun **krṓ/éu̯H$_2$-i-* (Av. *xruui°*/Ved. *kravi°* 'blood(iness)', Lat. *crū-dus* 'bloody, cruel') with the pertaining set of adjectival derivatives **kro/eu̯H$_2$-i/ei̯-(n)ó-* (Ved. *kravyá-* 'bloody' = Lith. *kraũjas* 'blood', *krùvinas* 'bloody' etc.). This system is parallel to that established for, e.g., PIE **H$_1$reu̯d^h-* 'redness; *rubor*' and quite expectedly also includes a proterodynamic inanimate sigmatic abstract noun **kréu̯H$_2$-s-* / **kruH$_2$-és-* (Schindler, 1975a, 263–264, *pace* Hamp, 1977),[4] coupled with the regular internal amphidynamic collective as continued by Lat. *cruor*, Gsg *cruōris* '(clotted) blood, gore' < **kréu̯H$_2$ōs/*kruH$_2$-s-´*. Finally, the YAv. denominative *xruuiš-iia-* 'to thirst after blood' < **kru̯iš-i̯á-* will rather than going back to a monosyllabic **kru̯iš-* or to a full-grade **kruu̯iš-* < **krəu̯iš-* (on the latter *cf.* De Vaan, 2003, 228) continue a secondary, internally motivated zero grade to ***krəuuiš-* < **kreu̯H$_2$°-s-* = Ved. *kravíṣ-*, which is not at all necessarily based on *xruui-* = **xruu̯i-* < **kruH$_2$-i-*[5] (see, however, Stüber, 2002, 177), but is in any case unoriginal for the expected ***xrūš-iia-* < **kruH$_2$-s-i̯é-* (or possibly ***xrəuuiš-iia-* < **kreu̯H$_2$-s-*, *cf.* in this respect Av. *mąs°*/*mə̄ŋg°* 'wisdom' < **méns°* beside *maz-dā-* 'wise').

The columnal Ved. *kraví-ṣ-* 'raw meat'[6] (= Av. **krəuuiš-*) and Greek κρέα-σ- 'id.' (each time evidently concretised from an older meaning **'that which is bloody') can best be viewed as generalisations of the Proto-Indo-European full-grade variant **kréu̯H$_2$-s-Ø* → **kréu̯H$_2$°-s-*, i.e. as replacements of the originally mobile pattern **kréu̯H$_2$-s-Ø*, Gsg **kruH$_2$-és-os*, Dsg **kruH$_2$-és-ei̯:* Ved. *krav-íṣ-Ø*, *krav-íṣ-* (*kravíṣas*, *kravíṣe* etc.), Gr. κρέας, κρέϝ-ασ- (κρέως, κρέᾳ etc.). This scenario is much more likely[7] than it would be to assume for both respective paradigms a regular phonetic reflex of an amphidynamic paradigm (viz. **kréu̯H$_2$-s-Ø*, **kr(e)uH$_2$-s-és* …) seeing that one would in such a case almost certainly expect a generalised zero-grade in the root, and that a secondarily mobile, "amphidynamic" pattern is normally (and quite sporadically)[8] only encountered in originally acrostatic, not proterodynamic neuter nouns. Cases such as the seemingly secondarily amphidynamic Hitt. Gsg *lamnaš*

1 The manuscript has been prepared with the input system ZRCola (http://ZRCola.zrc-sazu.si) developed by Dr Peter Weiss, a fellow of the Scientific Research Centre at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (http://www.zrc-sazu.si). It is based on the talk presented at the 10th International Workshop on Balto-Slavic Accentology (IWoBA X), 16 October 2014, held at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

2 But *cf.* Nikolaev (2010, 139ff.), who analyses **kreu̯H$_2$-* as a secondary derivative to **(s)ker-*. A similar idea can be found in Scarlata 1999, 88, ft. 124.

3 Judging from the position of the accent in the Vedic hapax *mitra-krúvas* 'bloodying/hurting *vel sim.* the *mitram*', but *cf.* Scarlata 1999, 88–89, Stüber 2002: 176, who regardless of the accent take it as a *bahuvrīhi*. Looked at in the context, nothing decisive can admittedly be said about the exact meaning of *mitra-krū̆-*. Semantically, however, it does seem to be on a more or less equal footing with *drógha-mitra-*, itself an indubitable case of a *bahuvrīhi*, in the twelfth stanza of the same hymn:
RVS X.89.14
kárhi svit sā́ ta indra cetya̋sad
aghásya yád bhinádo rákṣa éṣat
mitra-krúvo yác chásane ná ga̋vaḥ
pṛthivya̋ ā-pṛ́g amuya̋ śáyante
»When, oh when, Indra, will there be this retribution/punishment of yours
when you will split asunder the harmfulness of evil as it strives to reach (us) [if **°H$_1$í-H$_1$i-s-n̥t-*],
when those who stain with blood (their) alliances like cattle in slaughter
will lie there in that way (as one) mixed (= joined) with the earth?«
X.89.12c-d
áśmeva vidhya divá ā́ sṛjānás
tápiṣṭhena héṣasā drógha-mitrān
»Like a stone which has been released from heaven pierce
with the hottest weapon those whose alliance is a deception!«

4 Proto-Indo-European ablauting *s*-stems belong to the older layer of such suffixal formations, only rather later receiving a non-ablauting counterpart in the ubiquitous **CéC-os* type.

5 *Cf.* Ved. *tuvíṣ°* for expected ***tavíṣ°* = Av. *təuuiš-* 'raw power, force' beside the well-represented simplex *táviṣī-* 'strength'.

6 With regular accent shift (*pace* Schindler, 1975a, 265): **kráu̯H°-s-* > **kráu̯i-š-* > **krau̯í-š-* as in, e.g., *rayí-* 'wealth, possessions' < **réH$_1$-i-* 'what is given'.

7 *Cf.* Stüber (2002, 21–22, 177), who supposes inter- or, in the case of Vedic, intra-paradigmatic contamination: **kréu̯H$_2$-os-Ø*, **kréu̯H$_2$-es-* → Ved. (or generally Indo-Iranian?) **krav-i-š-* (*cf. arcíṣ-*), Gr. **kréϝ-as-*.

8 The normal result of a secondary transfer to the mobile paradigm is of course the proterodynamic pattern.

'name' (ntr.) < *H_1*nómn-os* or, for that matter, the likes of YAv. Apl *pərəθuuō* 'ford' (m.) < *$p_{\underline{r}}$-$t_{\underline{u}}$-$m_{\underline{s}}$*,[9] do not in fact represent counterexamples to such an observation, seeing that the former certainly owes its ablaut pattern to the generalisation of the *o*-grade variant of the originally static[10] rather than a dynamic paradigm (*H_1*nóm-$n_{\underline{n}}$/*H_1*ném-n-(o)s* → *H_1*$n_{\underline{n}}$m-én-s* as in *$u_{\underline{u}}$(e)d-én-os* for *$u_{\underline{u}}$éd-$n_{\underline{n}}$-s* etc.) and as such reflects a virtual *H_1*ném-$n_{\underline{n}}$-s* → *H_1*ném-n-os* (= type seen in Hitt. *gēnuuaš* < **gén-u̯-os*, *mēḫunaš* < **méH$_2$-un-os* etc.) not *H_1*n(e)m-n-és*, while the latter can still be unproblematically reconcilled with the normal proterodynamic paradigm **pér-tu-*/**p$_{\underline{r}}$-téu̯-*, *cf.* Ved. Apl *dyū́n* 'heaven' < **di̯-ú-ns* (OAv. Apl *pərətūš* < **p$_{\underline{r}}$-tú-ns*) beside *dív-as* 'id.' = Hitt. *ši-mu-uš* 'god' < **di-u̯-$m_{\underline{s}}$*, both latter examples within an originally hysterodynamic paradigm. The Hittite Gpl *iš-ša-aš* 'mouth', if it goes back to a proterodynamic sigmatic neuter *H_1*éH$_3$-s* (remodelled to coalesce with the *nēpiš*-type), Gsg *H_1*H$_3$-és-os*,[11] must surely continue the latter paroxytonon with the morphonologically restored vowel of the suffix (*H_1*oH$_3$-e̯s* < *H_1*éH$_3$-e̯s* : *H_1*H$_3$-e̯s-os*) rather than a secondarily amphidynamic *H_1*H$_3$-s-ós*. The typical representatives of such a pattern, viz. the likes of Hitt. Gsg *iš-ḫa-na-a-aš* 'blood', however, are generally difficult to account for with reasonable certainty as such heteroclite neuters typically have an originally amphidynamic collective by their side, so that Hittite *iš-ḫa-na-a-aš* may be equated with the Ved. Gsg *asnás* 'id.' < *H_1*esH$_2$-n-ós*, a marginally mobile replacement of the acrostatic *H_1*ésH$_2$-$n_{\underline{n}}$-s* (→ *H_1*esH$_2$-én-os*), but may just as likely go back to *H_1*(e)sH$_2$-n-ós* of the accompanying collective (that is if the sequence does not in the end stand for **išḫan-*, based on the locativa l *H_1*(e)sH$_2$-en-*[12]).[13]

In a 2009 lecture (handout dated 2002/2003), Prof. Furlan brought the Slavic and tentatively also the Old Irish comparanda (for an attempt at justification see Repanšek, 2010) into the question of the existence of a proterodynamic sigmatic stem and proposed to see in PSl. **kry* 'blood' and Old Irish *crú* 'id.' the generalisations of the theoretically predictable but until then unidentified zero-grade, which in any case would have been completely ousted in Indo-Iranian and Greek. The cumulative evidence would then by reciprocal reconstruction confirm the theoretically surmised proterodynamic ablaut distribution in the PIE sigmatic neuter *kreu̯H$_2$-es-* (see Repanšek *op. cit.*, Furlan, 2011). This is of course in dire contrast with the *communis opinio*, which normally recognises in PSl. *kry* and Old Irish *crú* athematic feminine nouns, identical to Avestan *xrū-* and thus representatives *par excellence* of the PIE *animate* root noun[14] (NB that the respective paradigms of both Slavic and Celtic representatives have too been often equated, and that at least since Pokorny, 1917). The latter view may be deemed problematic especially from the point of view of the implications that such an interpretation has for the gender of the congeners in question. It may not be coincidental that Old Irish Nsg *crú* is very ambiguous as to its original gender, and much like in Slovene, Čakavian, Slovincian, Polabian and Old Polish, where the outcome of PSl. **kry* still serves as the common form for both the nominative and accusative singulars, formally identical with the accusative. For an alternative analysis of the Old Irish Asg *crú* early application of Stang's Law must be assumed, but this is problematic at best as one would then rather expect **kruu̯æn* (*cf.* Avestan *xrūm* if from **kruH$_2$-$m_{\underline{m}}$*), resulting in Old Irish ***croí* (*cf.* OIr. *cnaoi* (LU 7329) = **cnoí* to *cnú* 'nut'): Nsg *crú* < **krū-s*, Gsg *cróu* (> *cráu* ~ *cráo* > *cró*) < **kru̯-os*, Dsg *crú* < **kru̯-i*,[15] Asg *crú* < **krūm* (?)

The Slavic data is less straightforward, owing to the significantly greater variety of the attested forms. These can be grouped together into three more or less dominant inflectional patterns:

a) The feminine long *ū*-stem **krŷ*, Gsg **kr̆u̯ė̀*, Asg **kr̆ŭ̯ь*, with the accusative singular **kr̆ŭ̯ь* usurping the

9 For the alleged reflexes of the so-called rhizodynamic/acrodynamic pattern see Tremblay, 1998; *idem* 2003, 82.

10 For a resuscitation of this older view see especially Stüber, 1997; *eadem* 1998, 53ff.; *cf.* Pinault, 2003, 162. See, however, Neri, 2005 for a very sound attempt to salvage the more generally accepted idea of an amphidynamic collective *H_1*néH$_3$-mō(n)/*H_1*$n_{\underline{n}}$H$_3$-mn-´* (side by side with its immobile neuter counterpart *H_1*ne̋/e̋H$_3$-men-*, which, nevertheless, seems unlikely precisely because of the combined Anatolian data that so clearly points to *H_1*nóm-n-/*H_1*$n_{\underline{n}}$m-én-*). There is in fact nothing that can be deemed absolutely fatal to the projection of the second laryngeal in the root (while anlauting *H_1* is of course incontestable) and at least Proto-Italic **nōm$_{\underline{n}}$*, **nōmen-* (*cf.* Oscan *numn-* < **nōmen-* with the unambiguous reflex of a long vowel) seems to speak rather strongly, if not irreproachably, in its favour (note that PAlb. **ameno-* < **anmeno-* < *H_1*$n_{\underline{n}}$H$_3$men-o-* vs. a direct **ameno-* < *H_1*$n_{\underline{n}}$m-en-o-* does not fare any better than PBSl. oblique **imen-* < **inmen-* < *H_1*$n_{\underline{n}}$m-en-*, dissimilatory loss having to be invoked either way). It is, however, evident that the majority of the comparanda rest on a marginally mobile paradigm *H_1*n(ó)(H$_3$)(-)m(-)$n_{\underline{n}}$-*, oblique *H_1*$n_{\underline{n}}$(H$_3$)(-)m(-)én-*, which certainly is not original (as is made evident by Hittite and Indo-Iranian) but neither can it easily have arisen as a transformation of an amphidynamic pattern. An acrostatic starting point is, so it seems, inevitable.

11 *Cf.* Stüber, 2002, 195.

12 *Cf. s-an-* in Lat. *sanguīs* 'blood'.

13 The Greek type πῦρ, πυρός 'fire' < *pH_2-ur-ós* ← **pH-un-ós* is equally ambiguous. If the proto-form **puH$_2$-r* (rather than **puH$_2$-$r_{\underline{!}}$*) > **pūr* were based on the strong stem of the originally proterodynamic **péu̯H$_2$-u̯r* < **péH$_2$-u̯r*, its Gsg **pH$_2$-un-ós* would necessarily reflect a marginally mobile replacement of **pH$_2$-u̯én-*. On the other hand, non-Anatolian IE **p(H$_2$)ūr* 'fire' (= Umbr. *pir*, Arm. *hur* etc.) could easily be seen to reflect a secondary, purely analogical formation based on the oblique stem of the formal amphidynamic collective **pH$_2$-un-´*, based off of an acrostatic neuter.

14 *Cf.* the highly archaic OIr. *rú* 'red colour' < *H_1*rud^h-* (for the declension see GOI §323).

15 See Joseph, 1988, 181ff.; Uhlich, 1995, 22, 28.

place of the nominative **krȳ* outside Slovene, Čakavian, Slovincian, Polabian and Old Polish:

Nsg **krȳ* ← **krъ̀ụь* (< Asg): Sln. *krî*, Čak. *kri*, Slov. *krã*, Plb. *k(å)råi*, OPol. *kry* vs. OCSl. **кръвь** etc. < **krū̂-s*
Gsg **krъụ̀ė* (OCSl. **крꙑ̀вѣ** etc.) < **kru-ụ̂-és*
Asg **krъ̀ụь*, virtually < **krú-ụ̂-m̥*.

The attested accentual pattern is fully parallel to that of the hysterodynamic PSl. **dъ́ti* 'daughter' < **duk-ˈtḗ*, Gsg **dъ́terė* < **duk-teˈ-rė́*, Asg **dъ̀terь* = Lith. *dùkterį* 'id.' < **duk-ˈtḗr-im* and the amphidynamic type **(o)brȳ*, Gsg **(o)brъụ̀ė* < **-uụ̂-és*, Asg **(o)brъ̀ụь* (→ **ȍbrъụь*) 'eye-brow' < **-ˈūụ̂-im*,[16] both marginally accented accusative singulars being best explained by the older, already Balto-Slavic rule of accent retraction known as Pedersen's Law.

b) The more recent feminine *i*-stem pattern:

Nsg **krȳ* ~ **krъ̀ụь* (secondarily replaced by the Asg; on the process *cf.* PSl. **kamy* 'stone' ← **kamenь* < Asg.)
Gsg **krъ̀ụi* (as in Russ. *крóви,* Sln. *krvî* etc. for original **krъụ̀ė* by the following chronology of analogical remodelling: **krъụ̀ė* → **krъ̀ụe* → **krъ̀ụi*)[17]
Asg **krъ̀ụь*

c) An originally neuter sigmatic stem, preserved by a number of Western Slovenian dialects as has now been clearly established and aptly explained by Furlan, 2011:[18]

WSln. Nsg **kri*, Gsg **kr̥vesa/i*[19]

As no convincing model has been found which would successfully account for the secondary creation of such neuter sigmatic forms (see Furlan *op. cit.*, p. 13), this particular archaic and peripheral pattern should from the point of view of PIE (that is if one does not want to reconstruct an athematic feminine stem *beside* a sigmatic neuter for Slavic, which incidentally is not as likely as it is unnecessary) be easily proved to be the probable starting point of all the later productive patterns. In Furlan, 2011 (esp. 14–16) a plausible scenario has already been put forward which would account for the reshiftings that took place in the arguably originally proterodynamic sigmatic declension after it began to acquire the characteristics of, on the one hand, the inherited baritone *non*-ablauting sigmatic stems (i.e. the **nebo/*nebese* type) and, on the other, those of the feminine long *ū*-stems. The relative chronology can, however, be further refined through careful consideration of the previously neglected accentological data.

The paradigm underlying the Western Slovene set of sigmatic forms can be securely reconstructed as Common Slovene **krî*, **kr̥vêsa/i*, basing the reconstructed accent pattern on the admittedly sparse but reliable set of telling attestations such as Ter *ót kъrvǽs*[20] (prepositional genitive) = *kərvèːs*[21] < **kr̥vêsi* and, e.g., Log pod Mangartom *k(ə)rɦìesẹ/a* < **kr̥vêsi/a*.[22] In theory, Common Slovene **krî*, **kr̥vêsa/i* could point to a defectively mobile paradigm **krȳ*, Gsg **krъụ̀-ės-e*, Dsg **krъụ̀-ės-i* of the **ûxo*, **uše̋se* (< **ūšese*) type, assigned to accentual paradigm (AP) *d*. It should be noted in passing, however, that the reconstructed pattern of the so-called AP *d* is altogether problematic. It is true that an original **ūχo*, Gsg **ūšese* 'ear' > PSl. **uše̋se* (NApl **ūšesa* > **uše̋sa*) better accounts for the Slovene type *uhọ̑* 'id.', Gsg = NApl *ušẹ́sa* than **ūχo*, **ūšese* vs. NApl **ušesȁ*, i.e. a mobile paradigm, resulting in dial. Sln. *uhọ̑*, Gsg *ušẹ̑sa* : NApl *ušẹ́sa*, which however cannot do without analogical modification of the NApl **ušesȁ* to **ušèsa* (on the latter still rather *possible* development see Snoj, 1996, 292). But it is also true that this kind of analogy needs to be taken into account in the case of all other AP *c* sigmatic neuters anyway and that Gsg = NApl *ušẹ́sa* is not in fact the dominant pattern in non-standard Slovene. Neither is there any immediately obvious reason why this particular *s*-stem should have behaved differently than any other inherited neuter of a comparable morphological shape. Note that even if a reflex of an originally proterodynamic paradigm is assumed for Slavic, the marginally mobile **H₂éu̯s-os*, Gsg **H₂u̯s-és-(o)s* (*cf.* Stüber, 2002, 193–194)[23] would again result in Proto-Slavic AP *c* **ūχo*, Gsg **ūše̋se* > **ūšese*. In the end it all boils down to the question of whether one wants to favour a two-part analogy to account for the type Gsg = NApl *ušẹ́sa* in AP *c* over the possibility that the eccentric pattern Gsg = NApl *ušẹ́sa* in AP *d* was liable to attraction to the predominant pattern with Gsg *ẹ̑* : NApl *ẹ́* in other structurally comparable sigmatic neuters. Either way analogical levelling has to be invoked.[24]

16 *Cf.* Snoj, 1994, 491–493, 514–515, 526.
17 Thus convincingly explained by Snoj, 1994, 492.
18 A resumptive presentation of the dialectal material is given in Orel, 2015.
19 For a comprehensive list of relevant attestations and their detailed interpretation see Furlan, 2011, 9–13.
20 De Courtenay, *Glossario del dialetto del Torre*. See Spinozzi Monai, 2009, s.v.
21 For *ǽ* as a graphic representation of the reflex of **ê* compare *zvьčǽr* 'in the evening' (*op. cit.*, s.v.).
22 Exactly like *ukû*, *učîẹsa* 'eye'; *uxû*, *ušîẹsa* 'ear' etc. (SLA pre-printed dictionary slips), with *îẹ* for *ẹ̑*.
23 I.e. as in Hitt. *iššāš* 'mouth' < **H₁H₃-es-ós*, which must imply an older proterodynamic **H₁H₃-és-(o)s*. Note also the highly archaic NAdu **H₂(e)us-iH₁* 'ears' < **H₂(e)us-s-iH₁*.
24 For an analogical explanation of the Gsg = NApl *ušẹ́sa* type see Snoj, 1996, 293.

However that may be, a hypothetical *krȳ, *krъu̯ė̀se, *krъu̯ė̀si would of course only on surface level and only synchronically behave as a possibly AP *d* noun, obviously due to the monosyllabicity of the NAsg form, which was regularly assigned a circumflex intonation. Since in the case of *krî no alternative by-form **kr̥vésa appears beside the normal *kr̥vêsa, however, the neoacute-resembling mezostatic accent *krъu̯ė̀se, *krъu̯ė̀si (virtually AP *d*) would at some point have to be ousted on analogy with the reflex of the predominantly mobile type. The end result being then fundamentally the same, and this is significant, as under the assumption of an originally mobile pattern: *krȳ, Gsg *krъ̀u̯-es-e, Dsg *krъ̀u̯-es-i (i.e. exactly like *ǒko, *ǒčese ...).

It is not, however, just the principle of Occam's razor that in fact militates against the former starting point but, more importantly, the uncomfortable assumption that should we want to start from an originally immobile (= virtual AP *d*) pattern viz. NAsg *krũ̀, Gsg *krũ̀u̯-e, Dsg *krũ̀u̯-es-i, the underlying proterodynamic neuter NAsg *kréu̯H$_2$-s-Ø → *krúH$_2$-s-Ø, Gsg (*kruH$_2$-és-s >) *kruH$_2$-és,[25] Dsg *kruH$_2$-és-ei̯ would be expected to show a generalised baritone accent throughout the paradigm: NAsg *krúH$_2$-s-Ø, Gsg *krúH$_2$-es, Dsg *krúH$_2$-es-ei̯. This particular type of accent regulation in an originally *proterodynamic* neuter, however, is only to be expected as a direct consequence of the synchronous generalisation of the full-grade stem[26] (*cf.* the type observable in PSl. *u̯ẽrt-mēn > *u̯er-mė̀ 'time, weather', Gsg *u̯ẽrt-men-e > *u̯er-mė̀n-e).

The Proto-Slovene paradigm *krî, *kr̥vêsa/i, *kr̥vêsu/i therefore rather clearly points to AP *c*, which expectedly translates the original mobility of the inherited pattern in a proterodynamic neuter (NAsg *kréu̯H$_2$-s-Ø → *krúH$_2$-s-Ø, Gsg *kruH$_2$-és (< *-és-s), Dsg *kruH$_2$-és-ei̯). This pattern is fully parallel to the one plainly observable in PSl. *i̯ь̀mę 'name' < *i̯mēn (with *-ēn for *n̥, which can easily be analogical),[27] Gsg *i̯ь̀mene < *i̯ьm-ė́n-e < *H$_1$n̥m-én-s, again with leftward accent shift from the penult by Pedersen's Law.[28]

Subsequent development is easily envisaged. The morphologically highly abnormal and hence unstable inherited Proto-Slavic paradigm NAsg *krũ̀,[29] Gsg *kru-u̯-ė́, Dsg *kru-u̯-ẽs-i[30] etc. would immediately be regularised in favour of the oblique stem. The transference of the suffixal morpheme *-es- from the rest of the oblique cases into the anomalous genitival form resulted in the mobile sigmatic paradigm (Gsg *kru-u̯-ė́ → *kruu̯-ė́s-e > *krъ̀u̯-es-e, by Pedersen's Law), which still enjoys limited productivity in the Western dialects of Slovene (I). Simultaneously, however, a reinterpretation of the inherited genitive *kru-u̯-ė́ as a combination of the stem *kruu̯- and desinential *-es triggered the generalisation of the asigmatic *kruu̯- in the oblique

25 Proto-Indo-European seems not to have tolerated any heteromorphemic geminates (consider the likes of PIE *g$^{\text{u}}$ōm 'cattle' (Asg) < *g$^{\text{u}}$óm-m by assimilation from an older *g$^{\text{u}}$ou̯-m, descriptively a "Stang's Law" development). It is important to note, however, that the loss of a segment as the immediate result of simplification in a *C_1C_1 cluster did not result in compensatory lengthening (i.e. mora-transfer) of the preceding vowel if the lost segment was a fricative: PIE *H$_1$éssi > *H$_1$ési 'you are', PIE *H$_2$us-s-és (Gsg) > *H$_2$us-és, as preserved by Ved. uṣás 'dawn', very similarly PIE *H$_2$us-s-íH$_1$ (NAdu) > *H$_2$us-íH$_1$, *cf.* Av. uši, OPers. ⟨u-š-i-y⟩ = *ušī 'ears, intelligence'. In much the same fashion one can envisage a straightforward development from a proterodynamic *kruH$_2$-és-s to a descriptively amphidynamic *kruH$_2$-és. It is very likely that it was the very alomorphy thus created in the orginally proterodynamic pattern that exerted enough pressure to restore transparency in favour of the stabilised variant *kréu̯H$^{\text{o}}$s- (→ Gsg *kréu̯H$^{\text{o}}$s-os etc.) in Indo-Iranian and Greek (see above).

26 To be added to Snoj's insightful observation (1993, 240, reiterated in *idem* 1994, 526) that »die [neutrale] Akzentparadigmen, die anfangsbetonte Formen enthielten, diese auf das ganze (singularische) Paradigma verallgemeinert haben."

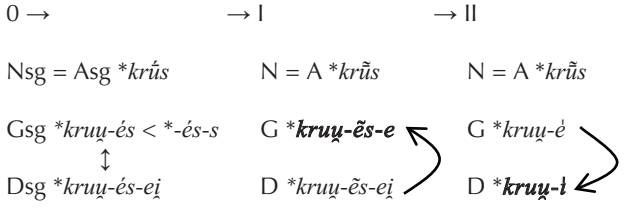
27 *-(m)n̥-, oblique *-(m)én- → *-(m)ẽn, oblique *-(m)én-, on analogy with the masculine hysterodynamic type in *-ę < *-ēn + -s (for PIE *-ēn#). There is no need to assume (contrary to Schindler, 1975b, 9; *cf.* Nussbaum, 1986, 119; Snoj, 1993, 231; Neri, 2005, 219 but *cf.* p. 222!) that the ending goes back to a hysterodynamic singular neuter collective (i.e. semantically the Gr. ὕδωρ/PSl. *u̯odà 'water' (vs. Hitt. u̯itār beside u̯ātar 'id.') type), the evidence for which, at least in the case of the PIE proterodynamic neuter *men*-stems (or acrostatic *n*-stems for that matter), is in fact vanishingly small. Neither would a hysterodynamic internal derivative be expected in an originally immobile neuter, even if it did quite naturally secondarily acquire a proterodynamic pattern. But nor is there any solid proof for an amphidynamic collective. The Proto-Germanic neuter *namõ̀ 'name', which at face value does seem to be exactly that, does not in fact unambiguously point to original *-(m)ō < *-(m)on-H$_2$ of the collective, since in Germanic proterodynamic neuter *n*-stems generally acquire the ending of amphidynamic masculines, i.e. *-mõ̀ ← *-(m)ō < *(m)on-s (subject to subsequent remodelling and non-unitary split into *-õ̀ and *-ōn, the latter coalescing with the old *-ōn > *-õ̀ > *-a). There are no survivals of an overtly immobile type (note that cases such as Goth. *hliuma* (m.) 'hearing, audience' = 'ear' (*cf.* Cor. I 12:17) < *kléu̯-mō ~ pl. *hliumans* 'ears' seem to reflect the possessive derivative, which was masculine from the start; OHG *sāmō* 'seed', however, is a good candidate for an actual collective reinterpreted as masculine singular). The fact that there arose the need to create new, analogical plurals such as PCelt. *anman-ā, PSl. *i̯ь̀men-a, Goth. *namn-a* etc., compared to old, inherited collectives, directly continued by Av. nāmąm = Ved. nā́mā < *(m)on-H$_2$, is not a definite sign of a singulativisation of the inherited plural since such archaic internal derivatives could simply have been (and generally were) ousted by more productive morphology.

28 Contrary to Snoj, 1993, 233; Neri, 2005, 211 and *pass.*, *cf.* Pronk, 2009 *pass.* Note here, however, that *seṭ*-root *H$_1$néH$_3$-mn̥ (→ *H$_1$ń̥H$_3$-mn̥), Gsg *H$_1$n̥H$_3$-mén-s may through regular neutralisation of the accent in a mobile paradigm in the case of *H$_1$ń̥H$_3$-mēn have unproblematically resulted in the same Proto-Slavic accentual pattern.

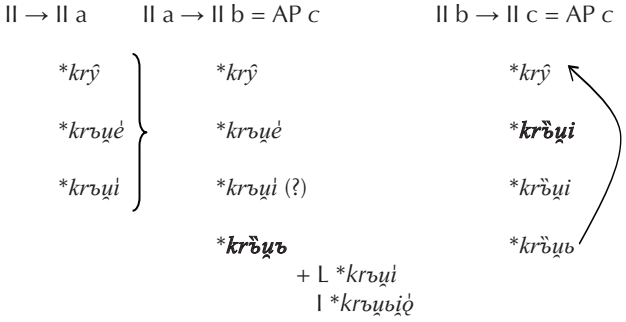
29 Circumflex intonation in a monosyllable needs no special explanation. It is not, however, strictly speaking the result of accent neutralisation in a mobile paradigm, although the ultimate result is the same.

30 Note that the non-colouration of PSl. *-e- in the suffix is to be regularly assumed in a grammatical morpheme (Repanšek, 2010, 166; Furlan, 2011, 19).

cases and then logically led to the creation of a new dative (etc.) singular form **krъu̯-i̯* … (II):[31]



What is plainly obvious is that in both its accentual and morphological pattern the asigmatic paradigm came fatally close to the group of inherited mobile feminine stems in long *-ū* of the **(o)brŷ*, **(o)brъu̯ė̀* type.[32] The correlation was sufficient to afford a successful means to renovate the non-systemic inanimate paradigm of **krŷ*, **krъu̯ė̀* and adapt it fully to the pattern displayed by the feminine long *ū*-stem nouns (II b). Note that the adaptation must also have involved a replication of the animate accusative singular form **krъ̏u̯ъ*. This further caused partial identification (especially through the accusative, dative, locative and the instrumental) with the pattern observable in the group of feminine short *i*-stems of the **nȍtь* (< **nókᵘ-ti-* 'night') type and subsequent logical introduction of the by now dominant *i*-stem paradigm (II c) **krŷ*, **krъ̏u̯i*, **krъu̯i̯* (possibly), **krъ̏u̯ъ* (with subsequent and typologically expected generalisation of the accusative **krъ̏u̯ъ* in the nominative singular):



31 If on the evidence of Slavic, the Old Irish data is reconsidered, it can easily be envisaged that the very same process that triggered the creation of the Proto-Slavic dative singular form **krъu̯i̯* could also have been responsible for the generalisation of the oblique stem **kruu̯-* in the Old Irish paradigm. In fact, this seems to be an Insular Celtic innovation, as is demonstrated by Late British **kroṷ* (MW *creu* 'blood, gore' etc.), which in my opinion best represents a straightforward and purely formal thematisation of the oblique stem (as in, e.g., Goth. *triu* 'tree' < **dr-eu̯-o-*):

NAsg *crú* < **krū̃-s*, **kruH₂-és* > **kruu̯-as*/*es* → **kruu̯-os* (> *cróu*)
⇒ oblique **kruu̯-* (for the British forms *cf.* already Cowgill, 1985, 23)
↳ Dsg **kruu̯-i* etc.
↳ Late Proto-British **kroṷ* (MW *creu*, MCo. *crow*) < **kruu̯-o*/*ā-*

32 Femine stems of the **su̯ekry*/**su̯ekrъu̯e* ('mother-in-law') type are a much less likely source of analogy (*pace* Furlan, 2011, 15), since originally (i.e. before the operation of Ivšić-Stang's Law) these had a mezostatic columnal accent: **su̯ek-rỳ*, **su̯ek-rь̀-u̯-e*, **su̯ek-rь̀-u̯-ь* < **-rúH₂-* (on the reconstruction *cf.* also Snoj, 1994, 498–499, with a different interpretation of the accentual history, however). Note that simple affinity between the morphological patterns of the asigmatic **kry*/**krъu̯-e* and a random disyllabic feminine *uH₂*-stem should not be assumed to have been sufficiently strong to motivate complete integration of the former, rather eccentric pattern into the latter.

NAREČNOSLOVENSKO *kr̥vês- IN NAGLASNI RAZVOJ PRASLOVANSKEGA *kry 'KRI'

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POVZETEK

*Proterokinetični (prednjepremični) naglasno-prevojni sklanjatveni vzorec, ki se ga teoretično smiselno predpostavlja za praindoevropsko (pide.) sigmatsko osnovo srednjega spola *kreu̯H$_2$-es- (prvotni pomen je težko precizno rekonstruirati, saj ni nujno, da je bila tvorjenka funkcijsko in s tem semantično gledano nomen abstractum), se preurejen zrcali v različnih posplošitvah prevojnih stopenj nekdaj premične paradigme v grščini in stari indijščini na eni strani (pide. *kreu̯H$_2$-s-) in praslovanščini ter otoški keltščini na drugi (pide. *kruH$_2$-s-). Tak, s primerjalno metodo podprt in s tem popolnoma upravičen sklep pa vendarle ogroža enako legitimna možnost, da je podoba starogrškega in staroindijskega kontinuanta predpostavljenega prajezičnega izhodišča pravzaprav rezultat paralelnega internega analoškega preoblikovanja, medtem ko je izhodišče slovansko-keltski izoglosi *krūs 'kri' (Ied) mogoče interpretirati tudi kot v ničti prevojni stopnji posplošeno brezpriponsko izglagolsko tvorjenko *kruH$_2$-s (Ied) ženskega spola. Prav narečno slovensko gradivo, ki opozarja na periferni soobstoj praslovanske stranskosklonske sigmatske osnove *krъu̯-es- ob očitnem neologizmu *krъu̯-, pa je tisto, ki sklep o obstoju prajezične proterokinetične sigmatske osnove *kreu̯H$_2$-s-∅, *kruH$_2$-és- bistveno utrjuje in hkrati omogoča v slednji prepoznati izhodišče vsaj za praslovanski, verjetno pa tudi otoškokeltski samostalnik. V prispevku se možnost, da je izvorno praslovansko paradigmo *krŷ, *krъu̯es- < *kruu̯ēs- (tu rekonstruirano kot osnovo s premičnim naglasnim mestom tipa psl. *i̯ьm-ę 'ime', Red *i̯ьmen- < *i(n)m-ēn-) mogoče osmisliti kot verjetno izhodišče vsem produktivnim in arhaičnim slovanskim sklanjatvenim vzorcem samostalnika s pomenom 'kri', preverja z zgodovinskonaglasoslovnega zornega kota.*

Ključne besede: praslovansko *kry, slovensko narečno gradivo, staroirsko *crú*, sigmatske osnove, naglasoslovje, naglasna mobilnost, analogija

ABBREVIATIONS

A = accusative;
AP = accentual paradigm;
Arm. = Armenian;
(Y)Av. = (Young) Avestan;
Čak. = Čakavian;
D = dative;
dial. = dialectal;
du = dual;
G = genitive;
Goth. = Gothic;
Gr. = Old Greek;
Hitt. = Hittite;
Lat. = Latin;
Lith. = Lithuanian;
MCo. = Middle Cornish;
MW = Middle Welsh;
N = nominative;
OCSl. = Old Church Slavonic;
OHG = Old High German;
OInd. = Old Indic;
OIr. = Old Irish;
OPers. = Old Persian;
PAlb. = Proto-Albanian;
PBSl. = Proto-Balto-Slavic;
PGmc. = Proto-Germanic;
PIE = Proto-Indo-European;
pl = plural;
Plb. = Polabian;
PSl. = Proto-Slavic;
Russ. = Russian;
sg = singular;
Sln. = Slovene;
Slov. = Slovincian;
Umbr. = Umbrian; Ved. = Vedic

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