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Common Slavic *-nǫ-, *-ny-, or *-nu-? A New Look at the History of the Slavic Nasal Suffix. Slovene Evidence for *-nu-

The current consensus is that the aorist/infinitive suffix of Class II verbs in Common Slavic was either *-nǫ- (in most of the area) or *-ny- (part of the western periphery). In this study, we argue that this picture is still inadequate as it does not account for part of the dialectal Slovene evidence. A careful analysis shows that some peripheral varieties of Slovene must reflect a pre-form *-nu-, lexicalized relics of which are also found more widely in Slovene. The existence of CSl *-nu- has thus far only been conjectured based on internal reconstruction and Indo-European parallels. (An attempt at an integrated diachronic explanation of the rise of the CSl variants will be the task of a separate ensuing study.)[1]

Keywords: Common Slavic, Class II verbs, Slovene dialectology, Resian, Carinthian

Splošnoslovansko *-nǫ-, *-ny- ali *-nu-? Nov pogled na rekonstrukcijo pripone glagolov II. vrste. Slovenski dokazi za *-nu-

Pripono nedoločniške/aoristne osnove splošnoslovanskih glagolov II. vrste se danes običajno rekonstruira kot *-nǫ- (tako na večini spsl. področja) oz. *-ny- (del zahodnega obrobja). V pričujočem prispevku argumentirava, da ta rekonstrukcija še vedno ni ustrezna, saj se z njo ne da pojasniti dela slovenskega narečnega gradiva. Natančna analiza pokaže, da nekateri periferni slovenski govori odražajo praobliko *-nu-, katere leksikalizirane ostanke sicer najdemo tudi drugje znotraj slovenskega jezikovnega območja. Obstoj spsl. *-nu- je bil doslej domnevan le na podlagi notranje rekonstrukcije ter primerjave z drugimi indoevropskimi jeziki. (Poskus celotne diahrone razlage nastanka spsl. različic bo naloga ločene prihodnje študije.)

Ključne besede: splošna slovanščina, glagoli II. vrste, slovenska dialektologija, rezijanščina, koroščina

1 Basic premises

Class II verbs of Common Slavic are defined by a present stem in *-ne-*: OCS *drъznetъ* 'dares', *minetъ* 'passes'. Their aorist/infinitive stem, if it is overtly marked (as is the case in most subtypes), displays the suffix traditionally reconstructed as *-nǫ-*: OCS *drъznǫti* 'dare.INF', *drъznǫšę* 'dare.PRET.3PL', *minǫti* 'pass.INF', *minǫ* 'pass. PRET.3SG'. This latter morpheme – more specifically, its form only[2] – is the topic of the present study. Wherever we refer to the 'nasal suffix' or '*-nV-*', we mean this CSl aorist/infinitive suffix specifically.

Research in recent decades (see below) has shown that the traditional reconstruction CSl *-nǫ-* is oversimplified. While most Slavic languages do indeed point to such a form, it is now clear that a variant shape of this suffix, *-ny-*, must have existed in the Common Slavic period already. But although the coexistence of *-nǫ-* and *-ny-* is now broadly recognized, how this fact is to be interpreted within the chronology and geography of Common Slavic, as well as how the situation arose, remains controversial.

The problem of the variation in the suffix *-nV-* is described amply in recent literature. Andersen (1999; more concise but updated treatment 2020: 26-9) remains the most comprehensive guide to the overall situation. The West Slavic material discussed there can be extended somewhat, cf. AJK14 (159-60) on Polish dialects. The South Slavic situation has since been studied in more depth – Menac-Mihalić, Celinić (2016) (Менац-Михалич, Целинич 2016), Celinić, Menac-Mihalić (2017: 98-102), Vranić (2017), Pronk (2022: 104-8), and Štarkl (2023) supply detailed data and references to additional literature.

Forms consistent with *-ny-* are attested in two general zones – West and South Slavic, respectively. The former encompasses Polabian (type *-nět*, e.g. *våtåknět* 'put in'), dialectal Polish (type *-nyć*, found in Kociewie, in the intersection of Wielkopolska, Mazowsze, and Małopolska, and ranging into Silesian), and Upper Sorbian (type *-nyć*, e.g. *hasnyć* 'extinguish'). Within all of these areas, *-ny-* competes geographically and/ or chronologically with *-nǫ-* (types Plb *-nǫt*, Pol *-nąć*, OUSorb *-nuć*); in fact, all of the West Slavic forms compatible with *-ny-* can also be argued to derive from *-nǫ-*, though generally at the cost of relying on certain less-than-regular transformations.[3] In view of the much stronger evidence for *-ny-* in South Slavic (see below), the presence of an inherited cognate in West Slavic is, at the very least, a serious possibility.

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[2] Note that we are not concerned with Class II as such, in particular its functional domains, apophonic, derivational, and syntactic properties, internal divisions (including the distribution of suffixed vs. unsuffixed aorist/infinitive stems), or the prehistory of individual verbs within it. On the more general background of the 'nasal verbs' of Slavic and the evidently closely related structures in Baltic and Germanic, see, for example, Schuyt (1990: 10-4), Gorbachov (2007), and Villanueva Svensson (2010, 2016), all with copious earlier literature.

[3] Generally consisting in the reduction of unstressed vowels. See for example Bígl (2019: 43-4), Schaarschmidt (1997: 143-6), SSA12 (299), and Michalk (1962: 231) on Upper Sorbian (postulated *-nǫC- > *-nuC- > *-nC- >(>) -nyC-* and/or a hypercorrect reaction to the change *y > u* after labials). For criticism of this approach, see Andersen (1999: 54-6). On the nature of the Polabian evidence see fn. 35.

The second zone where *-*ny*- is reflected is tantamount to »the north-western half of western South Slavic, northwest of the line that runs approximately from Kikinda in the Serbian Banat to the Croatian coast just north of Dubrovnik« (Pronk 2022: 104). Note that in all of this area CSl *-*y* is reflected as *i*, so that the relevant forms display the shape *-ni*-. This zone notably includes standard Slovene (type *-niti*, l-participle *-nil*: e.g. *miniti* 'pass.INF', *minil* 'pass.PST.M'), but also many dialectal varieties of Croatian, Bosnian, and Serbian. In some parts of this zone reflexes of *-*ny*- coexist with *-*nǫ*- within the same paradigm; relationships with the present stem, as well as the past passive participle stem, are also complex (Lenček 1985; Pronk 2022). It is possible that *-*ny*- formerly ranged into the now extinct Slavic dialects further south, judging by loanwords in Albanian that have *-nit*-, consistent with *-*nyti* (Majer 2019).

In general, the distribution of *-*ny*- has the markings of a peripheral archaism, but this qualification is relative to the comparatively recent migrations that brought the presently continued Slavic dialects to these areas in the first place (Andersen 1999: 56, 2020: 18; see also Lindstedt, Salmela 2020).

A detailed diachronic treatment of the above facts – covering both the intra-Slavic innovations in this suffix and its Indo-European cognates and Proto-Indo-European sources – will be the object of a separate, ensuing study (Majer, Szeptyński 2024), where the research history on these issues will also be reviewed. For the purposes of the present article, some basic remarks will be sufficient.

2 Common Slavic *-*nu*-: Introduction

It has long been known that external Indo-European comparanda (PIE *-*new*-) and inner-Common Slavic alternations (past passive participle and verbal noun in *-*noven*-, cf. OCS *drъznovenie* 'courage' from *drъznǫti* 'dare.INF'; infrequent[4] imperfective derivatives in *-*ati* built to Class II verbs, such as *minovati* 'pass.IPFV' from *minǫti*) suggest that the original Common Slavic form of the nasal suffix may have been *-*nu*- (from the monophthongization of PSl *-*now*-), and that the well-attested *-*nǫ*- may represent a secondary nasalization of this *-*nu*- (or its pre-monophthongization stage, with a nasalized glide as the intermediate step): cf. doublets of the type *gnusъ* ~ *gnǫsъ* 'filth', *vъnukъ* ~ *vъnǫkъ* 'grandson', or *nuditi* ~ *nǫditi* 'coerce'. What is problematic with this explanation of the verbal suffix *-*nǫ*-, as is well-known, is the apparent lack of reflexes of the variant *-*nu*- in the material. The perseverative nasalization *nu > *nǫ was a sporadic, chaotic process, with incoherently distributed outputs – doublets are encountered even within the single written traditions (OCS *gnušati sę* 'be disgusted' alongside *gnǫšati sę*, OPol *wnuk* 'grandson' alongside *wnęk*). Contrariwise, the nasalization in the *nǫ*-verbs would be remarkably consistent (not only in comparison with root morphemes, which is less surprising in a grammatical suffix, but also across the dialect continuum), obliterating all traces of the original input. (This

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[4] The imperfectivization *-*nǫti* → *-*novati* is rare and often competes with other types, some of which may in fact be older (e.g. *mijati* 'pass', which omits the nasal suffix). The type in *-*novati* is nevertheless clearly residual and may hardly be a recent creation (Arumaa 1985: 227; Tedesco 1948: 348).

presentation of the matter is slightly oversimplified and excludes the question of the variant *-ny- and several other matters; detailed treatment and research history will follow in Majer, Szeptyński 2024).

The objective of the present contribution will be to show that viable evidence for CSl *-nu- can indeed be demonstrated in dialectal Slovene material. Before we proceed to this task, we shall briefly review other scholars' attempts to detect palpable traces of CSl *-nu-. As far as we are aware, of all other 'phonologically probative' varieties (i.e., those in which *ǫ does not fall together with *u – which essentially means most of Lechitic and East South Slavic), such claims have only been made with regard to Old Church Slavic.

3 Old Church Slavic evidence?

Possible traces of CSl *-nu- in the OCS canon were dealt with the most extensively by Vaillant. Initially, he considered the rare instances of -nu- there (see below) as reflecting the expected, archaic form of the suffix, opposing them to the predominant but secondary forms in -nǫ- (Vaillant 1948a: 45). He later changed his opinion, stating that the OCS evidence for CSl *-nu- is insufficient, as no traces are observable in the other Sl languages; he thus acknowledged -nǫ- as the only primordial variant for OCS too (Vaillant 1966: 230).
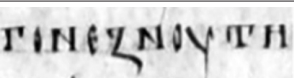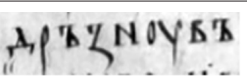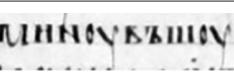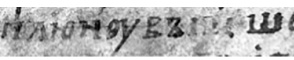
Vaillant (1948a: 45) puts aside the manuscripts in which the graphical interchange between <ǫ> and <u> may result from general denasalization in one of the copyists' dialects, most notably the Codex Marianus. As regards the rest of the corpus, he lists the following forms with -nu- from three manuscripts: INF *goneznuti* 'save oneself' (Supr. 220v), PST.PTCP.ACT NOM.SG.M *drъznuvъ* 'dare' (Supr. 227v), PST.PTCP.ACT DAT.SG.N *minuvъšu* 'pass' (Supr. 280v), PST.PTCP.ACT NOM.PL.M *pljunuvъše* 'spit' (Sav. 119v – Matt. 27:30), AOR.3SG *dunu* 'breathe' (Ochr. 2r). Elsewhere (Vaillant 1948b: 8), following earlier literature, he reads *dъrznu<ti>* 'dare' in the Macedonian Cyrillic Fragment (1r); this is, however, emended to *bez nu<ždę>* 'without coercion' by Minčeva (Минчева 1978: 80, 86). The key examples mentioned above are presented in their original manuscript form in Table 1.

It should be noted that, in fact, the first three manuscripts mentioned above all exhibit the confusion between <u> and <ǫ> to some extent. The Codex Suprasliensis, as the largest of them, shows the most numerous instances of both <u> in place of <ǫ> – e.g. PRS.PTCP.ACT DAT.SG.M.DEF *imuštuumu* 'have' (189r), PRS.PTCP.ACT DAT.SG.M *kažuštu* 'indicate' (284r) – and <ǫ> in place of <u>, e.g. PRS.PTCP.ACT DAT.SG.M *sǫštǫ* 'be' (114r), ACC.SG *dǫšǫ* 'soul' (191r). For Sava's Book, we may mention e.g. ADV *protivu*[5] 'against' (Matt. 25:1) or DAT.SG *velьbǫdǫ* 'camel' (Matt. 19:24). The Ochrid Folios have *nǫždašete* 'force' (1r).[6]

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[5] Vaillant (1948a: 46) reckons with influence from adverbs in *-u*.

[6] Less probative, as the variation *nud'a ~ *nǫd'a is found more widely in Sl (see §2); but note that the manuscript consists of only two folios, so that gaps may be coincidental.

Table 1: OCS spellings with *-nu-* for usual *-nǫ-* in the Class II suffix in Supr., Sav., and Ochr.

Supr.	*goneznuti*	*drъznuvъ*	*minuvъšu*
Sav.	*pljunuvъše*		
Ochr.	?*dunu*		

Thus, we consider the OCS examples of the suffix *-nu-* unreliable as possible reflexes of CSl *-nu-*. In theory, they are ambiguous; in practice, their low frequency suggests treating them as corruptions of original forms with *-nǫ-*.

Conversely, as we shall see, the dialectal Slovene evidence for *-nu-* is of a far more systematic nature and thus incomparably more reliable.

4 Slovene evidence

4.1 Introduction

It is widely believed that the Slovene linguistic area is divided into three main parts as regards the continuation of the CSl nasal suffix (cf. Lenček 1985: 396; Andersen 1999: 50; Lundberg 2013: 47; Greenberg 2020: 3; Pronk 2022; already Miklosich 1879: 54). The largest, central part evidently reflects the variant *-ny- > -ni-*, as does the standard language (*miniti* 'pass'). The other two, namely the dialect of Resia Valley (It *Resia*, Sln *Rezija*) on the western periphery and the Pannonian dialect (Sln *panonska narečna skupina*) on the eastern one, are conventionally deemed to reflect *-nǫ-*. However, there are in fact some indications of yet another variant, viz. a reflex of CSl *-nu-*.[7] The aim of this section is to evaluate the evidence for such an interpretation.

The most recognizable Slovene examples of *-nu-* belong to the standard language, cf. the adjectives *minuli* 'past', *preminuli* 'deceased' (SSKJ), *izginuli*, *minuli*, *poginuli*, *preminuli*, *zginuli* (Pravopis) as well as the noun *trenutek* 'moment' (SSKJ; Pravopis). Familiar though they may look from a comparative Slavic perspective, they undoubtedly cannot reflect either *-nǫ-* or, all the more, *-ny-* in any regular way. The easiest way

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[7] On *-na-* see further discussion in Majer, Szeptyński (2024: §3.2).

to explain these forms is to assume Croatian influence, where *u* is the regular outcome of *ǫ in the standard language – thus also in the verbal class in -*nu*-, including *minuti* 'pass', *ginuti* 'perish', *tre(p)nuti* 'blink'. Nevertheless, Snoj ³SES considers the *u* in *trenutek* and in the full-fledged verb *minuti* (16th c.) a genuine, although unexpected (»nepričakovani«) Slovene reflex of *ǫ. Moreover, Ramovš (1922), who devoted a separate study to such unexpected instances of *u* in Slovene (including ones unrelated to the verbal suffix), mentions some non-trivial philological and dialectal facts that encourage a closer examination.

Our survey based on the lexical index (Besedje16) and corpus (Korpus 16) of 16th-c. Slovene prints confirms Ramovš's (1922: 5) conclusion that potentially genuine instances of *minuti* occur mainly in Krelj's translation of Spangenberg's *Postil* from 1567, with a single example attested in Dalmatin's translation of the Book of Sirach from 1575.[8] As also observed by Ramovš, *ganuti* 'move' is actually a *hapax legomenon*[9] occurring in Trubar's translation of the New Testament, repeated in the second edition.

Linking these facts with the modern dialectal data analyzed below, as well as reviewing the material of later writings (including both early and modern grammatical, lexicographical, and orthographical works), remains beyond the scope of this paper. These issues would certainly deserve a dedicated study. For the present purposes, however, we consider the modern dialectal material both more reliable and more important. Thus, the remainder of this section will be devoted to examining potential traces of -*nu*- in Slovene dialects. First, the counterparts of the standard Sln verb *miniti* will be discussed in §4.2. Second, we will scrutinize the systematic reflexes in Resia (§4.3) and Jaun Valley (§4.4). Finally, a synthetic account of the Sln data will be presented against the wider Slavic background in §5.

4.2 Slovene *minu-* in dialects

Apart from the philological data briefly discussed above, Ramovš (1922: 5) quotes examples of the verb *minuti* from the dialects of Upper Carniola (Sln *Gorenjska*) and Carinthia (Sln *Koroška*), where the usual form of the nasal verbal suffix, when accented, is -*ni*-. Actually, he was not the first to take notice of these facts. Already in 1814, Kopitar pointed to Carniola in general as the areal domain of such forms (cf. Jagić 1885: 378), as did later Janežič, who also included his native Carinthia into it (Janežič 1854: 71). However, the material we analyzed has revealed no unambiguous

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[8] The 16th-c. adjective, originally a participle, *minuči* (absent in Krelj's works, *pace* Bezlaj 1982: 184), seems to have been borrowed from Croatian, possibly via Juričič's writings. The latter author's numerous uses of -*nu*- are irrelevant in view of his being a Croat (cf. Ramovš 1922: 8). Note that *trnutje* (*ternutye*), attributed by Ramovš to Krelj's *Postil*, does not appear in this incomplete version but in Juričič's complete one of 1578. As regards *vspomenutje* (*vſpomenutie*), with two tokens in Krelj's *Otrozhia biblia* of 1566, these occur in the Croatian part of the work.

[9] Apart from Juričič's later uses, cf. the previous footnote. Note, however, *genutje* 'movement' in Pohlin's dictionary of 1781 (Snoj 2020: 193) and similar forms in some later Slovene lexicographic works.

traces of *minuti* in Lower Carniola (Sln *Dolenjska*).[10] Accordingly, we will concentrate exclusively on the two dialectal areas identified by Ramovš.[11]

Ramovš (1922: 5) quotes the neuter singular form *mnúl* from Ravne (or *mnûl*, from Ravne and Bohinjska Bistrica, Ramovš 1920: 159) and, presumably, the feminine *mnú-wa* from Grabče for Upper Carniolan, as well as the set *mənútə*, *mənù*, *mənúwa* from the Rosen Valley (Ge *Rosental*, Sln *Rož*) for Carinthian. The infinitive *mənútə* and the feminine form *mənúwa* of the latter paradigm are explicitly contrasted by Ramovš with, respectively, *hənə̀t* and *hənîwa*, reflecting *-ni-* (cf. standard Sln *ganiti* 'move'). In order to explain these facts, he assumes a regular change of PST.SG.M *minil* to *mənù* and the subsequent generalization of the new vowel in the other past forms and the infinitive.

It remains unclear, however, why *mini-* would be the only stem to undergo this remodeling, unlike other verbs in *-(n)i-* (note that there is no reason to treat *-ni-* and *-i-* separately in this scenario). Besides, the change *-il* > *-u* is not common to all dialects in which the archetype *minuti* is reflected. This is evident, e.g., for Kropa[12] in Upper Carniola, where PST.SG.M *mnù:u̯* exclusively matches *obù:u̯ ~ obò:u̯* < *obul* 'put on shoes' and not any form in *-(n)i-l*, cf., e.g., *poté:gnu* 'pull', *bəc'noу̯* 'kick', *loу̯í:u̯* 'hunt' (Škofic 2008; 2019); both the similarity to *obuti* and the difference *vis-à-vis* verbs in *-(n)iti* are also reflected in the infinitive and in the other past forms, cf. inf *mnú:t ~ obú:t*, PST.SG.F *mnú:la ~ obú:la*, PST.SG.N *mnù:l ~ obú:l* (Škofic 2008: 15, 31; 2019: 202, 215) as opposed to inf *poté:gənt*, *bá:cənt*, *lo'у̯ət/loу̯í:t*, PST.SG.F *poté:gənla/potegní:la*, *bəcní:la*, *louí:la*, PST.SG.N *poté:gənlə/potegní:l*, *bəcní:l*, *loу̯í:l* (Škofic 2008: 22-3; 2019: 194, 197). Thus, the hypothesis that *minuti* goes back to *miniti* faces serious obstacles.[13]

Ramovš was probably aware of these problems, as he changed his interpretation in a later account (Ramovš 1936: 179). This time, he assumes that it is **minǫti*, not *miniti*, that was subject to an irregular change – namely, either a dissimilation (denasalization) **-nǫ-* > *-nu-* or an analogy to the present stem *minuj-* of the corresponding imperfective verb *minovati* (thus already Oblak 1890: 196). Nevertheless, he still invokes the *l*-participle PST.SG.M *mənù* as an additional factor possibly supporting the generalization of *u*.

In our view, this alternative interpretation is no more plausible. First, Ramovš does not actually quote instances of denasalization **-nǫ-* > *-nu-* for Slovene but rather the

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[10] Incidentally, Janežič's account may be understood differently if one assumes that *miniti* and *minuti* have been switched around by mistake, which, in our view, would make the passage more coherent and comprehensible. In this case, Lower Carniola would be excluded from his formulation. As regards Kopitar, since he was born in Upper Carniola, one may argue that also his information is more reliable for this area than for Lower Carniola.

[11] Murko's (1843: 110) information on *-nu-* occurring in some areas of Styria ("in einigen Gegenden von Steiermark"), illustrated precisely with *minuti*, seems irrelevant for our discussion. Such examples of *-nu-* belong geographically to East Styria and linguistically to the Pannonian dialect, where the reflex of **u* is more often fronted to *ü* when accented and to *i* when unaccented. Admittedly, in some Pannonian idioms (unaccented) *-nu-* can hardly be analyzed as containing a regular reflex of any CSl vowel (cf. Škofic 2004: 112).

[12] See Škofic (1997, 2019: 29-85) for a phonological description of the Kropa dialect.

[13] For the Rosen Valley dialect of the Carinthian group, see Scheinigg (1881, 462, 1882a, 530, 1882b: 25).

opposite, e.g., *noja* < **nǫd'a* instead of *nuja* < **nud'a* for Upper Carniolan (Ramovš 1936: 177, after Miklošič and Štrekelj).[14] Second, although CSl **minovati* is arguably an old formation, in Slovene the verb *minovati* (PRS.1SG *minujem*) is absent in both the standard language (where the corresponding form is *minevati*, PRS.1SG *minevam*, SSKJ) as well as, apparently, in the dialects, so that it could hardly have influenced the base verb. It only appears in a few 19th-c. dictionaries and occurs extremely rarely in texts (based on a Google Books survey), arguably as a learned, 'Slavonic' loanword.[15] Third, PST.SG.M *mənù* is irrelevant, as it cannot be considered the regular reflex of **minǫlъ* in Upper Carniolan and Carinthian. Fourth, Ramovš still provides no justification for the exceptional development of *minuti* as compared to the other verbs of the same class. In light of these objections, we consider *minuti* not an irregular modification of a more familiar form in **-ny-* or **-nǫ-*, but rather an archaism—i.e., a reflex of the CSl variant **-nu-*.

The question now is why the evolution of this single verb has been so distinct. In our view, one factor behind the divergence could be the verb's peculiar prosodic pattern—i.e., its mobile accentuation (accentual paradigm *c*; see Olander 2009: 136-7 for background). As is clear from Skljarenko's (Скляренко 1998: 180) overview,[16] this prosodic type was quite exceptional among verbs displaying the nasal suffix. Most probably, after the earliest Slovene accentual changes—i.e., the advancement of the CSl circumflex and the retraction of the final short accent onto a preceding long vowel, the stem *minu-* was consistently accented on the suffixal vowel, which was predominantly long: CSl **minűti*, **mînūlъ*, **minūlà*, **mînūlo* > PSln. **minùti*, **minûl*, **minúla*, **minûlo* (apart from some nonsingular aorist forms, which were lost early in most of the Slovene dialects). Owing to these prosodic features, the vowel *u* in this verb could

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[14] This, as we saw in §2, is a broader phenomenon by no means limited to Sln. The argument could be invoked that the verb **minǫti* features a 'hyper-nasal' environment due to the composition of the root, but note that verbs in **-nǫ-* built to roots containing nasal consonants or vowels were no rarity and such a purported dissimilation is nonetheless never found elsewhere.

[15] Pleteršnik (1894) only quotes Šolar's dictionary (Šolar 1873), where *minovati* appears s.vv. *abnehmen*, *hinschwinden*, *hinstreichen*, *schwinden*, *vergehen*. In fact, the verb is also included in Cigale's dictionary (Wolf 1860) s.v. *aufhören*; it is mentioned also s.v. *uebergehen* as 'Old Slovene' (*altsl.* = *altslovenisch*), i.e. OCS. Importantly, it is consistently cited in the latter way in Miklošič's works (Miklosich 1868-1874: 310; 1886: 197) and never as Slovene proper, "Modern Slovene" (*nsl.* = *neuslovenisch*). As regards the ephemeral adjective *minujezhi* occurring s.v. *caducus* in the copies of Kastelec's dictionary from the 1680s (Kastelec ms 169; Kastelec ms 803), it is arguably an *ad hoc* emendation of the Croatian loanword *minuzhe* (cf. fn. 8) – probably encountered by Kastelec in Megiser's 1592 dictionary, where it translates *Vergenglich, caducus*. The genuine Sln participle form 'passing, transient', attested from the 16th c. onwards, is *mineozhi* (Dalmatin) and *minezhi* (Trubar, Dalmatin). The former occurs in Kastelec's dictionary s.v. *momentaneus*. Vorenc's version has the former also s.v. *praeteritus* and the latter s.v. *transitorius* (Stabej 1997: 221).

[16] We follow Skljarenko's (Скляренко 1998: 176-7) reconstruction of **minǫti* save for the notation of prosodic features (which we replace with the traditional one). The vowel of the suffix, of course, has to be treated as subject to variation.

resist later reductions that exposed the morpheme -nu- in the other accentual paradigms to the influence of the competing variant of the nasal suffix—i.e., -ni- < *-ny-.[17]

So far, this interpretation merely explains why the verb *minuti* could retain the suffix -nu- as its possibly original characteristic and avoid the alignment with the type in -ni-, but it remains to be explained why the variant -nu- was inherited in this verb in the first place. A natural working assumption would be that it is a lexical relic of a pattern that was once more widespread in Sln. Further dialectal evidence indeed confirms this, as discussed below.

4.3 Regular -nu- in Slovene dialects: Resia

As mentioned in §4.1, it is generally believed that the dialect of Resia Valley (It *Resia*, Sln *Rezija*) has inherited the CSl nasal suffix in the form *-nǫ-. Curiously, however, while discussing the evolution of this morpheme, Baudouin de Courtenay (Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ 1875: 82) and Ramovš (1928: 117) allude to the development of the CSl vowel *u (cf. fn. 31). In order to resolve this controversy, we will first present the modern data and then confront them with the expected Resian outcomes of *-nǫ- and *-nu-. Additionally, we will comment on why Baudouin de Courtenay's earlier material, also used by Ramovš, did not enable the conclusion proposed within this section.

The basic modern source for Resian are the works by Steenwijk – most notably the online dictionary (Resianica), which combines a descriptive and a prescriptive approach, and the grammatical description of the dialect as spoken in San Giorgio di Resia/Bila (Steenwijk 1992). The relevant material from the dictionary can be divided into three parts. The first contains verbs with the accent[18] on the root (20 lexemes, e.g. [+]|*sednut* 'sit down'),[19] the second – those with the accent on the suffix (3 lexemes, e.g.

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[17] Importantly, the Upper Carniolan group and the Rosen Valley dialect of the Carinthian group have retained the reflex of the advanced circumflex on *u*. A wholly different situation obtains in the westernmost varieties of the Gail Valley dialect of the Carinthian group, where root accentuation has been generalized, cf. PST.SG.M *mínu,* F *mínuwa,* N *mínuwo* (Pronk 2009: 119, 236), so that the resulting unaccented *u* is ambiguous. The accent of *mínu* and *mínuwo* is due to either the so-called tertiary retraction of the circumflex (»terciarni umik cirkumfleksa«) or the retention of the non-advanced circumflex (cf. discussion in Pronk 2009: 173-90; 2011).

[18] The entries include some forms that are provided with accent marks, unlike the lemmata themselves. For clarity, in line with Steenwijk's 2008 description, we provide some other forms from his dictionary with explicit information on the position of stress. The latter is generally marked by the acute, save for the grave in the case of open-mid *ò* and *è* (as opposed to close-mid *ó* and *é*, respectively); besides, we use the symbol [|] in cases where the timbre of *e* or *o* varies among the subdialects. We mark such forms with [+]; they should not be quoted on par with those occurring in primary sources.

[19] Cf. *bocnut* 'prick (pierce slightly)', *kapnut* 'drip (fall in drops); to rain gently', *kleknut* 'kneel down', *nategnut* 'stretch, spread', *pähnut* 'kick (hit with the foot)', *pärdnut* 'fart', *pïknut* 'sting (pierce with a sting); peck (take food with the beak)', *pjüwnut* 'spit (eject from the mouth)', *poknut* 'burst (break with violence); burst (explode)', *potegnut* 'pull, draw (cause to move towards oneself); suck (draw into the mouth by breathing); absorb (drink in)', *pudïhnut* 'smell; snuff (tobacco)', *sednut* 'sit down (place oneself on a seat)', *skašnut se* 'sneeze; cough', *stïsnut* 'press together, clench', *stopnut* 'step (move and set down the foot)', *šćïpnut* 'pinch (squeeze the skin between the fingers)', *wgasnut* 'extinguish (a fire); quench (thirst)', *wgrïznut* 'bite (grip with the teeth)', *wpïknut* 'thrust, stab', *wzdïgnut* 'lift, raise'.

+*taknòt* 'touch'),[20] and the third – with both options available (1 lexeme).[21] Although much less frequent, the latter two types are more important for our discussion, because unaccented vowels in the first group have been liable to neutralizations (not necessarily due to the Resian vowel harmony).[22] Below, we will review the diversity of the forms of the suffix in the individual dialects as attested in Steenwijk's works (Table 2 below).

In the infinitive, *-no-* (+*-nò-*) is the basic form of the suffix when accented and *-nu-* when unaccented. The entries in the dictionary, as well as Steenwijk's separate dedicated study (1992: 154), show that the San Giorgio dialect differs from those spoken in the other villages regarding the quality of the vowel in the accented infinitive suffix, cf. *-nű-* in +*bušnűt*, +*gnűt*, +*spomanűt*, +*taknűt*. On the other hand, the Stolvizza/Solbica dialect shows *-no-* also if unaccented; cf., e.g., *kléknot*, *sédnot*.

It is clear (also from Steenwijk 1992 and Бодуэнъ-де-Куртенэ 1895) that the accentuation of the infinitive is basically matched by the related past forms (cf., however, fn. 21). In the masculine singular form in -*l*,[23] the quality of the vowel remains as in the infinitive, including the accented *ü* in San Giorgio (Steenwijk's 1992: 154) and the unaccented *o* in Stolvizza (cf. Logar 1981a: 39), since both forms are structurally similar (*-nV-C#*). In the other past forms, which contain a syllabic desinence (*-nV-l-V#*), the accented suffix shows up consistently as *-nü-*, cf. PST.SG.F +*bušnűla*, +*gnűla*, +*spomanűla*, +*taknűla*. That this in fact applies to all of the villages can be deduced from, e.g., +*gnűla* and +*nűla*[24] in San Giorgio and Stolvizza, respectively; these two varieties otherwise differ to the largest extent (cf. above). The descriptions do not usually provide the unaccented suffix for forms with a syllabic desinence, but it can be securely established as *-nu-* based on, first, the numerous feminine singular forms in *-nula* cited from Stolvizza (e.g., *kléknula*, *sédnula*) and, second, Steenwijk's description of the San Giorgio dialect (Steenwijk 1992: 153).

We will start the discussion on the origin of the suffix by confronting the modern data with the expected outcomes of CSl *-no- in each position (the discussion on CSl *-nu- will then follow). The expectations are formulated mainly on the basis of previous literature (Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ 1875; Ramovš 1928; Logar 1972; 1981a; Steenwijk 1988; 1992; Vermeer 1993).

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[20] Cf. *bušnot* 'kiss', *gnot* 'move (set in motion)', *taknot* 'touch (make physical contact)'. Cf. also *pargnűt* 'bend', *wsanűt se (PST.SG.M *wsanűl se*) 'fall asleep', *zadinűt* 'take on one's shoulders', *zagnűt* 'bend', *zasanűt* 'oversleep' in San Giorgio (Steenwijk 1992).

[21] Cf. +*spomanòt* 'remember (revive memory of)'. While the form of the infinitive conforms to the pattern of the second group, alternate accentuation is observable in past forms, cf. +*spomanűla*/+*spŏmanula*.

[22] Pronk (2022: 108) assumes that such neutralizations paved the way for the replacement of the original reflexes of CSl *ǫ in accented position. As laid out in §4.4, we consider this direction of change rather implausible.

[23] Oseacco/Osojani: -*w*.

[24] Note the loss of the only root segment due to the change *g > h > ∅*. On the other hand, the verb *gnot* exhibits secondary remodeling of the present stem, cf. PRS.3SG *gnüjë*, Stolvizza *nüjë* (see Steenwijk 1992: 128). This remodeling does not affect the whole type; cf. the inherited PRS.3SG form *taknë*. Probably, imperative forms are the first to undergo this change (Steenwijk 1992: 136, 154).

Table 2: Resian reflexes of the CSl nasal suffix

	accented suffix		unaccented suffix	
	INF	PST.SG.F	INF	PST.SG.F
San Giorgio	⁺taknȗt	⁺taknȗla	sèdnut	⁺ˡsednula
standard	⁺taknòt			
Stolvizza			sédnot	

The clearest evidence against the inheritance of *-nǫ- comes from the accented suffix -nȗ-, occurring in past forms with syllabic desinences, e.g. PST.SG.F ⁺taknȗla. While the basic Resian reflex of accented *ǫ is [o] when originally long and [ɔ] when short (cf. Vermeer 1993), in the position after a nasal consonant it yielded *u* according to Logar (1981a: 37). Therefore, CSl *tъknǫla should have yielded †t(a)knúla, which does not match the attested form ⁺taknȗla. However, as has been pointed out by Baudouin de Courtenay (Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ 1875: 55-6) and Nahtigal (Nahtigall 1915: 99), the raising to *u* after a nasal consonant concerns the early long *ǫ, different than the non-final acute vowel in the suffix under discussion.[25] Even if the change did not apply under these conditions – which we in fact do not know – the expected outcome of *-nǫ-, with the regular reflex of *ǫ, would be †-no-, i.e. †t(a)knóla or †t(a)knòla, which does not match the attested form either.

As regards accented final syllables (after the loss of the jers), it has to be noted that acute vowels remained short in this position for an even longer time. This pertains directly to masculine singular past forms in *-l-ъ. While the evolution of the infinitive in Resian was probably more complicated, in any event it behaves exactly like the masculine singular past form in synchronic terms.[26] For this position, too, no straightforward evidence for or against the raising of CSl *ő to *u* after nasal consonants is available.[27] Although [ɔ], as the regular outcome of short *ǫ (cf. above), would account for the standard forms in -no- occurring in most of the villages (e.g., ⁺taknòt, cf. Table 2), it does not do so in the case of the San Giorgio dialect (cf. ⁺taknȗt).

Another possibility, which to our knowledge has not yet been pursued, would be that at some point accented *ǫ after nasal consonants merged with *o irrespective of

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[25] For a different, less convincing interpretation, involving the nasal suffix, see Ramovš (1928: 117).

[26] Šekli (2007: 189) reconstructs a similar structure in *-tь for the infinitive, viz. *tъknőtь > taknot. Early apocope in *-ti might be surmised as well (see Ramovš 1928: 118 on the traces of *-ti in Resian).

[27] The situation in open final syllables, i.e. basically in desinences, is unclear too. For instance, the noun žanä 'woman' exhibits ACC.SG žanɔ́ 'woman' (Steenwijk 1992: 95; žanó, Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ 1875: 78). However, the long vowel of the INS.SG ending has avoided the change too, cf. žanó (Steenwijk 1992: 95; žanô, Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ 1875: 78). On the other hand, the vowel of the INS.SG form of the 3SG personal pronoun has been raised, cf. njú (Steenwijk 1992: 118; ńû, Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ 1875: 79), but scholars are not unanimous as regards the related ACC.SG form – cf. njú (Steenwijk 1992: 118) vs. ńó (Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ 1875: 79). While it is reasonable to expect levelings to the unmarked forms of the desinences, i.e. ones occurring after stems not ending in nasal consonants, no secure conclusion on short final vowels can ultimately be drawn from this material.

the quantity, ultimately yielding *u* in the case of early length (cf. Ramovš's reservations mentioned above) but *ö* otherwise, cf. ⁺*mȍ́ški* 'men's' < CSl **mǫžьskъjь*, just as *möj* 'my' < CSl **mojь*.[28] If so, one would expect INF †*t(a)knȍ́t* and PST.SG.F †*t(a)knȍ́la*, which are still different from the attested forms.

    The unaccented form of the suffix apparently poses fewer problems. Baudouin de Courtenay is not very explicit as regards the reflexes of unaccented CSl **ǫ*; he adduces some examples of both *o* and *u*, as well as a few in which the vowel is lost (Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ 1875: 56). Logar (1981a: 37) points to **ǫ > o* in Stolvizza. While these accounts do not contradict the reconstruction of **-nǫ-*, it has to be borne in mind, as already mentioned above, that the data from unaccented syllables are generally a less reliable source for the reconstruction of the phonological evolution of Resian.

    Considering the above, CSl **-nǫ-* does not inspire confidence as a possible protoform of the suffix in Resian. In fact, the data are much better accounted for by CSl **-nu-*, since, according to Steenwijk (1988; cf. also Vermeer 1993), accented **u* yields *ü* in non-final syllables (as in ⁺*taknűla*) and, specifically, acute **ű* in final syllables yields *ü* in San Giorgio (as in ⁺*taknűl*) and *o* [ɔ] elsewhere (as in ⁺*taknòt*); recall the data from Table 2. While *u* is undeniably the basic reflex of unaccented **u*, as in ⁺ˡ*sednula*, the discrepancy between *u* and *o* of standard *sèdnut* and Stolvizza *sédnot*, respectively, is paralleled e.g. by standard *tríbuh* and Stolvizza *tríbo* (with *h > ∅*), cf. literary Sln *trebuh* 'belly'.

    Table 3 summarizes the above interpretations concerning the accented suffix for both CSl **-nu-* and CSl **-nǫ-* (the expected reflexes that do not conform to the attested forms are marked in gray).

Table 3: Resian data vs. expected reflexes of CSl **-nu-* and **-nǫ-*

	attested forms	expected reflexes of	
		*-nu-	**-nǫ-*
standard	*-not, -nüla*	*-not, -nüla*	*-not/-nöt/-nut, -nola/-nöla/-nula*
San Giorgio	*-nüt, -nüla*	*-nüt, -nüla*	*-not/-nöt/-nut, -nola/-nöla/-nula*

    The question now is why the interpretation proposed here differs from previous accounts, which universally suggested the reconstruction with a nasal vowel, apart from the allusions to the development of the vowel **u* mentioned above (Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ

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[28] The Resian adjective *möški* may have acquired root stress due to the late, so-called tertiary retraction of the circumflex (cf. fn. 17), unlike in numerous other Slovene dialects and the standard language, where such a change did not take place. The type *móški* in standard Slovene must have resulted from another development, viz. the late retraction from final short vowels (cf. Ramovš 1936: 183), basically unknown to Resian. See Baudouin de Courtenay (Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ 1875: 55-6) for a morphophonological explanation of Resian *möž-*.

1875; Ramovš 1928; cf. also Logar 1981a). The misinterpretation going back to Baudouin de Courtenay probably resulted from:

i.   his attachment to the reconstruction of the suffix with a nasal vowel based on the OCS[29] and Pol counterparts,

ii.   his problems in distinguishing *u* and *ü*,[30]

iii. the small number of examples with accented suffix in his material,[31]

iv.   the sound changes that blurred the opposition between the reflexes of *ǫ and *u in certain positions, most notably in unaccented syllables, where the suffix occurs the most frequently.[32]

Before we proceed to the final conclusion, a brief note should be taken of the material collected by Adayevskaya (von Schoultz-Adaïewski) and included by Baudouin de Courtenay in his edition of Resian dialectal texts. Her original records, while less systematic and using a somewhat different set of signs, comprise four forms relevant to the issue at hand, viz. INF *taknut*, *taknüt*, PST.SG.F *taknüla* 'touch', PST.SG.N *perhnülo* 'bow down' (Бодуэнъ-де-Куртенэ 1895: 431-2; italics reversed, i.e., romans indicate the stress). Baudouin de Courtenay transcribes these forms as *taknùt* [×2], *taknúla*, *perhnúlo*, respectively, and deems the single relevant text to represent the Oseacco dialect Бодуэнъ-де-Куртенэ 1895: 692), without providing any argument for this choice. While the lack of *o* in the final accented syllables of *taknut*, *taknüt* points to the San Giorgio dialect, this possibility is contradicted by the change *g* > *h*, e.g., in *perhnülo*. Be that as it may, the use of the diaeresis by Adayevskaya in three out of the four forms suggests some kind of marked articulation other than plain [u]. Thus, arguably, the modern data reflected in Steenwijk's works are paralleled by material collected simultaneously with Baudouin de Courtenay's investigations. Importantly, Adayevskaya was probably not diachronically biased as much as Baudouin de Courtenay may have been.

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[29] Baudouin de Courtenay invokes the OCS shape of the morpheme, -nǫ-, while discussing the Resian data (Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ 1875: 82).

[30] While he acknowledges this explicitly only for San Giorgio Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ 1875: 56), it can be inferred also for the other villages from the numerous instances of *ú* in place of expected *ǘ* in the dialectal texts recorded and published by him (Бодуэнъ-де-Куртенэ 1895). Although many of these have been emended in the famously tremendous errata, a large number of such examples still remains valid.

[31] There are 5 instances of the accented suffix in non-final syllables (Бодуэнъ-де-Куртенэ 1895: 4 [×2], 11, 222, 365), all of them rendered by Baudouin de Courtenay with *u*, not *ü*. Importantly, 3 of them come from San Giorgio, which makes them ambiguous in Baudouin de Courtenay's terms (cf. fn. 30). Incidentally, it was the 12 instances of the accented suffix in final syllables (Бодуэнъ-де-Куртенэ 1895: 6 [×2], 7, 76, 79, 109, 127, 222 [×2], 323, 349, 367), pointing to *-nu- and not *-nǫ-, that made the scholar implicitly connect the development of the suffixal vowel with *u* (cf. above). Note, however, that a cross-reference to the discussion of the vowel in the nasal suffix is ultimately placed in the paragraph devoted to the reflexes of *ǫ (Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ 1875: 56), not *u*.

[32] There are 30 examples of the unaccented suffix in Baudouin de Courtenay's material, some of which include mid-close and mid back vowels, variously marked. In fact, the optional change of unaccented *u to *o* in Baudouin de Courtenay's texts can be demonstrated (also outside the suffix in question) not only for Stolvizza.

In conclusion, the above analysis revealed that the traditional reconstruction of the CSl nasal suffix with *$ǫ$ is unable to account directly for the outcome observable in the Resian dialect. The modern Resian data published by Steenwijk and corroborated by Adayevskaya's as well as, only partially, by Baudouin de Courtenay's earlier records (cf. fn. 31) point rather unambiguously to the vowel *u, i.e., *-nu-.[33]

4.4 Regular -*nu*- in Slovene dialects: Jaun Valley

The reflexes of the nasal suffix in the dialects of Jaun Valley (Ge *Jauntal*, Sln *Podjuna*) and the easternmost part of Rosen Valley (Ge *Rosental*, Sln *Rož*) have never been explicitly analyzed, to our knowledge. Since unaccented high vowels are basically reduced in Carinthia, we will review the data for the suffix in accented position only. The relevant material was collected:

i.   by Grafenauer in the 1960s for the *Slovene Linguistic Atlas* (SLA): St. Kanzian am Klopeiner See/Škocijan (SLA T027);

ii.   by Logar in the 1960s for the *Slovene Linguistic Atlas* (SLA): Sittersdorf/ Žitara vas (SLA T028), Rinkolach/Rinkole (SLA T036), Wiederndorf/Vidra vas (SLA T038); by Logar, undated, for the *Slavic Linguistic Atlas* (OLA): Grafenbach/Kneža (OLA T148); cf. also his two descriptions of the Grafenbach dialect (Logar 1968; 1981b);

iii.   by Zdovc in his more comprehensive work (1972).

In the northern part of the territory of the Jaun Valley dialect, the suffix usually contains the vowel *u*, cf. for Grafenbach: PST.SG.M *minú:* (OLA T148: 2371), PST.SG.F *səxnù:ụa ‖ səĥnù:ụa* (OLA T148: 2488), PST.PL.M *uziĥnú:lə*, *minú:lə* (OLA T148: 3043); for Diex: PST.PL.F *səhnúla* (Zdovc 1972: 106, 123). One example from Grafenbach shows a nasal reflex, cf. PST.PL.F *ụzihnónla* (Logar 1968: 407). In the central part, over the Drava, nasal vowels predominate – cf. for Rinkolach and Wiederndorf: PST.PL.M *ụzignǫ̃li*, PST.PL.F *ụzignǫ̃ụe* (SLA T036: 841a; T038: 841a). The vowel *u* shows up again in the neighboring part of the Rosen Valley dialect, still on the right bank of the Drava – cf. for St. Kanzian am Klopeiner See and Sittersdorf, respectively: PST.SG.F *pəxnûła* (SLA T027: 855), PST.SG.F *pəxnûụa* (SLA T028: 855).

In light of the descriptions by Logar (1968; 1981b) and Zdovc (1972), the vowels *u* and *ǫ̃* directly correspond to CSl *u and *$ǫ$, respectively. Two conclusions arise in this connection. First, we see here yet another peripheral Slovene area exhibiting reflexes of *-$nǫ$- (cf. above on Pannonian; conventionally Resian is included here too, which

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[33] While the material collected for the *Slovene Linguistic Atlas* (SLA) by Logar and Rigler in 1962 in San Giorgio di Resia/Bila, Gniva/Njiva, Oseacco/Osojani, and Stolvizza/Solbica (SLA T056-T059: 841a) agrees with Baudouin de Courtenay's account in displaying *u*, not *ü* (exclusively in some secondary present forms mentioned in fn. 24, however), Steenwijk's and Šekli's personal communications and, most importantly, entire paradigms of all three accentual types presented by Luigia Negro (Stolvizza) and Dino Valente (Oseacco) to Šekli and one of the authors in June 2023 leave no doubt that both the modern pronunciation *ü* as well as the relevant vowel alternations match the expected reflex of CSl *-nu-.

we dismiss in §4.3). Second, an even more peripheral area exhibits reflexes of *-nu-; quite strikingly, it also seems to reflect an extremely old (even if somewhat labile) isogloss *-nu- : *-nǫ-, more or less strictly connected to the irregular nasalization of *u after nasal consonants (cf. §5).[34]
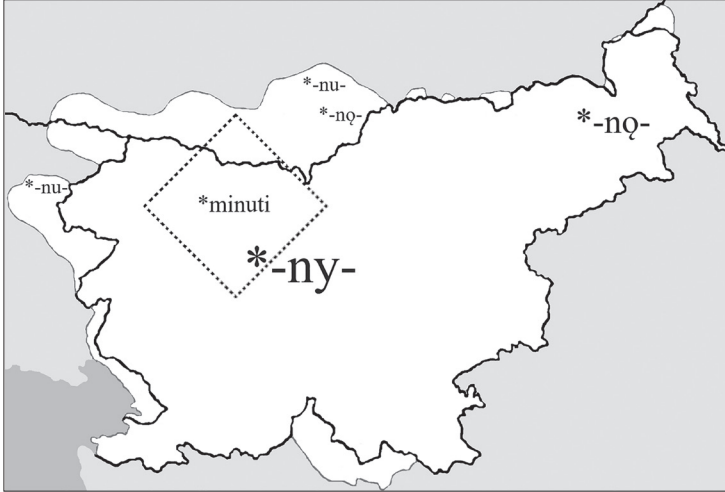
5 Evaluation

Although we are not aware of any positive evidence for CSl *-nu- anywhere else in the 'phonologically probative' varieties,[35] we are convinced that the Slovene data discussed in §4 on their own suffice to consider *-nu- not only as a heuristic stipulation, but as a tangible entity, reflected directly, if scantily, in the material. The discussion of the Slovene material and its basic relationship with the broader Slavic background can be summarized as follows.

Whereas most Slovene dialects reflect CSl *-ny-, some peripheral ones point to either *-nǫ- (as commonly acknowledged in previous literature) or *-nu- (as suggested in this paper). Of the two, the latter occurs in dialects that are peripheral not only from the Slovene but also from the general Slavic perspective, and may therefore be considered more archaic. The dialect areas in question are those of Resia Valley (It *Resia*, Sln *Rezija*) and the northern Jaun Valley (Ge *Jauntal*, Sln *Podjuna*), together with the easternmost part of the Rosen Valley (Ge *Rosental*, Sln *Rož*). As is known, these areas have not been reached by certain other early and almost pan-Slovene innovations: cf. the non-retraction of stress from final short syllables in Resia or the retention of nasal vowels in Jaun Valley, or, in the sphere of morphology, the retention of synthetic past tenses (aorist and imperfect) in Resia. More central – and thus probably innovative – are the reflexes of *-nǫ- in the central Jaun Valley dialect as well as in Pannonian. Apparently, the establishment of the variant *-nǫ- reached the central Jaun Valley dialect but basically left its northern part intact. The expansion of the variant *-ny- (i.e., the tendency to generalize it) proceeded differently: certain other, more western Carinthian and Upper Carniolan dialects were affected by it but they retained a single residual verb in *-nu-, *minuti*. Regrettably, the Slovene material does not allow for reconstructing the original intrasystemic distribution of *-nu-, *-nǫ-, and *-ny- (cf., however, some basic remarks on *minuti* in §4.2). The results that we consider certain based on data currently available to us are outlined in Figure 1. What remains to be investigated in future studies is, first and foremost, whether it is possible to demonstrate a continuity in reflecting *-nǫ- between the Jaun Valley and Pannonian areas.

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[34] One may argue that it is *u* that has emerged secondarily, e.g. due to the generalization of unaccented reflexes of *ǫ: cf. PST.SG.F *u̯zîgnuu̯a* in Rinkolach and Wiederndorf (SLA T036: 841a; T038: 841a). But apart from the fact that unaccented allomorphs are usually recessive rather than dominant, this scenario fails to explain the reduction in the infinitive, which occurs even in the dialects with the nasal vowel in the suffix: cf. *u̯zîgṇte* in Rinkolach and Wiederndorf (SLA T036: 841a; T038: 841a). Since the reduction points to *u and not *ǫ, one would have to assume a chain of non-trivial steps to account for the actual picture.

[35] In Polabian, *-nĕt* could represent either *-nyti* or *-nuti*. According to Paweł Janczulewicz (p.c.), the philological evidence makes the position of the variant *-nĕt* (vis-à-vis regular *-nǫt*) insecure. Janczulewicz intends to treat the issue elsewhere.

Figure 1: Rough areas of the variants *-nǫ-, *-ny-, and newly determined *-nu- in Slovene (including material from OLA and SLA; scope of Slovene dialects after Gostenčnik 2023)

6 Conclusion

The direct confirmation of the existence of CSl *-nu- is potentially of considerable significance for the diachronic explanation of the evolution of the nasal suffix, i.e. both its Indo-European prehistory and the development of the Common Slavic variation. A reevaluation of these topics is thus necessary – a task which we will attempt to carry out in a separate study (Majer, Szeptyński 2024).

ABBREVIATIONS

CSl – Common Slavic; Ge – German; IE – Indo-European; It – Italian; O – Old; OCS – Old Church Slavic; Plb – Polabian; Pol – Polish; P – Proto-; Sl – Slavic; Sln – Slovene; USorb – Upper Sorbian. Grammatical glosses in SMALL CAPS follow the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* (Online), extended by: AOR – aorist.

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Povzetek

Pripono nedoločniške/aoristne osnove splošnoslovanskih glagolov II. vrste se danes običajno rekonstruira, odvisno od narečnega območja, bodisi kot *-nǫ- (tako v večini slovanskih jezikov: starocerkvenoslovansko -nǫ-, poljsko -nǫ-, vzhodnoslovansko -nu- itn.), bodisi kot *-ny- (le na delu zahodnega obrobja: slovensko ter narečno bosansko/hrvaško/srbsko -ni-, morda tudi gornjelužiško -ny-, polabsko -nĕ- itn.). V pričujočem prispevku argumentirava, da ta razlaga še vedno ni ustrezna, saj se z njo ne da pojasniti nekaterih oblik znotraj dela slovenskega narečnega gradiva.

Na podlagi notranje rekonstrukcije (npr. trpni deležnik na *-nov-en-) ter primerjave z drugimi indoevropskimi jeziki (pie. *-new-) se je že dolgo domnevalo, da je bila najstarejša splošnoslovanska oblika te pripone *-nu- (domnevna izvirnejša faza nazaliziranega *-nǫ-). Opozorjeno je bilo na dejstvo, da nekateri starocerkvenoslovanski rokopisi sicer izpričujejo zapise z <-nu->, vendar pa poglobljena analiza pokaže, da v tem primeru ne gre za spsl. *-nu-. Medtem pa natančna raziskava slovenskih narečnih podatkov kaže na to, da morajo nekateri obrobni govori zares odražati praobliko *-nu-: rezijansko -nü-, (severno)podjunsko -nu-, (vzhodno)rožansko -nu-. Leksikalizirani ostanki le-te različice so sicer v slovenščini zastopljeni tudi širše (npr. v glagolu *minuti* 'miniti' na Gorenjskem in deloma na Koroškem).

Obstoj arhaične spsl. oblike *-*nu*- je bila doslej le domneva, ki je temeljila na posrednih ali neveljavnih dokazih. Zato je dognanje, podano v prispevku, relevantno tako za slovensko kot za slovansko jezikoslovje.

Poskus celotne diahrone razlage nastanka spsl. različic, ob upoštevanju novih interpretacij slovenskega gradiva, bo naloga ločene prihodnje študije.