

ON THE SURVIVAL OF SLOVENE O-GRADE DEVERBAL THEMATICS IN RESIAN

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In an article dedicated to Rado Lencek¹ I studied the survival of Indo-European [IE] *o*-grade deverbal masculine thematics in Slovene. From a reading of Pleteršnik I found about 87 such nouns. Based on that list I then studied² the survival of such nouns in the speech of one cultured nuclear family of Serbian speakers, i.e., the survival of formal Serbo-Croatian cognates of Slovene nouns. That study produced about 68 surviving equivalents. Of course, a full and independently based study of the survival of this class in each language would be desirable. For further details of these studies, see the articles referred to. For the present, at least, they give us some idea of one parameter of comparability of two South Slavic languages.

I also studied the survival of such IE formations in nouns and adjectives of Dutch, as a means of contemplating the Germanic record through one sample.³ There I found 50 current words, of which about 33 have a reasonable chance of reflecting an IE patrimony (i.e., show probable related IE forms, though not all of the formation in question). Of these, some 17 show a matching formation elsewhere in IE, but only 6 find such an equivalent in Slavic; it must be remembered too that in Dutch we have a wider field to choose equivalents from, since the formation originally selected includes adjectives. The ratio here is thus, very crudely, Slovene-Serbian 68 : Dutch-Slavic 6 (or 5, if the adjective 'red' is excluded).

I now present the portion of the Slovene list for which I have succeeded in eliciting the Resian cognates. I am confident of these forms, for I have known and worked with the speaker⁴ for 12 years, and my analysis of the dialect is based on her speech. The forms are highly trustworthy, since the speaker has a remarkably clear pronunciation, an amazingly high sense of precision and accuracy, a strong critical sense and insistence, great patience, and alert discriminating observation; I know no native speaker I would rate higher. She has a very large and discerning vocabulary, a tasteful sense of style, an articulate mastery of propriety; she is a born scholar, an ornament of her language. We have here, therefore, an excellent specimen of a very "small" language (\pm 1500 resident speakers) in a rich, sophisticated version. If we lack forms here it is not because we can call this language or idiolect impoverished.

The forms are all given in their Oseacco/Osojane shape. I describe the phonology elsewhere, where I also introduce some corrections to Baudouin de Courtenay. I use here a relatively broad, largely IPA-based phonetic transcription, different from what I favor in other circumstances, in the interests of giving a linguistic and Slovene public an immediate impression of the sound qualities of this much misunderstood variety of language. For each noun I give a selection of declensional forms to show the alternations that establish its underlying phonology. I present the Resian forms below in the order in which their cognate forms appear in the Slovene list mentioned above; here, cognates are italicized. Entries in parentheses are indirect survivals, in that they are extant only in other derivations.

blesk, du. bl'ʷskʌ, pl. bl'ʷskaveɾ, gen. bl'ʷskɔʷ 'raggio, ray' = *blesk* :: tɔ
blišk'ø 'it glares (when the sun is strong)' = SCr. *bleštati*
(b'ødɛɪ, du. b'ødiɔɛ, pl. b'ødiɛɾ, gen. b'ødiɔʷ 'fitta, sharp pain' cf. *bɔd*::

- tɔ bɔd'œ 'punge, pricks' : *bósti, bôdati*)
 tana brɔd'o 'sopra il fiume [name of part of the main river of the valley]' = *brɔd*
 'ford' :: sam'ø præbradl'ɛ ʊ'ødɔ 'we've forded the river', brazd'ɛt 'attraver-
 sare il fiume scalzi, to cross the river barefoot'
 svet, du. sv'etɒ, pl. sv'etɛ, gen. s'vetoɾʊ 'flower(s) on trees' = *cvêť*
 sv'ete d'ʏx 'Padre Eterno'⁵ = *dûh* :: d'ʏxɒt tɔb'ɒk 'take snuff'
 finoʊ, gen. fin'œɒ 'letame, manure' = *gnôj* :: fɪɾʊʊ m., fɪɾ'ʊɒ 'marcio,
 rotten' = *gnil*, SCr. *gnjio*
 firɔp, du. fir'opɒ 'nodo, knot; tumulo, grave' = *gròb* 'grave'⁶
 (fɪərm 'thunder' cf. *grôm* has been formed on the verb *grméti*, and matches the
 Bulgarian *grŭm*)
 (tɔ kad'ø 'fuma, it smokes' cf. *kâd*, but dɛm 'smoke')
 kœʊ, gen. kɔl'ɒ 'bastone, un legno fisso nella terra, siepe' = *kòl* 'stake' ::
 k'ʷɒt/wklät/ 'coltellare', fem. past. k'ʷɒl'ɒɒ = *kláti* 'to slaughter'
 kreʊ 'roof' = *kròv*
 krɔx, gen. kr'ʏxɒ 'pane, brêad' = *krùh*
 dʊ'akɾ,ɒt 'twice', tr'ʊkr,ɒt 'thrice' (not used for 'once') = *kràt*
 lox, du. l'ofɒ 'l'arco che si suona violino, violin bow' = *lòk*, SCr. *lûk*⁷
 mrɒs, gen. mr'azɒ 'freddo, cold' = *mràz* :: zm'ərznano 'gelato, ice cream'
 (p'ʏxat ɔf'ɔɾ 'soffiare il fuoco, blow the fire', nur p'ʏxnot 'un solo soffio', cf.
pûh)
 sat, gen. s'adɒ 'frutta, fruit' = *sâd* :: s'ɛdnot 'sedersi, sit down', s'idɒt 'seduto,
 seated'
 skɔk du. sk'økɒ 'precipice ripido, cliff' = *skòk*
 pɔt'øk, du. pɔt'økɒ 'brook' = *pòtok* 'stream'; *potóček*; *tòk* :: tɔ tæç'ø 'fuori esce
 l'acqua, the water comes out' = *téçi téčem*⁸
 p'øʊɔʊ 'fascia, swaddling clothes', p'øʊɔʊɛ 'fascie' = *povôj* :: prɛv'ɛt 'fas-
 ciare' (pɔv'ɛt 'parturire') = *víti* 'wind', SC. *poviti* 'swaddle'
 us, du. ʊ'øzɒ, pl. ʊ'øzɛ, gen. ʊz'ɔʊ 'carro, wagon' = *vôz*
 filas, du. fil'asɒ 'voce, voice' = *glâs*
 xlat 'cool, refreshing state' = *hlâd*
 sʊœɪ, du. sʊ'œɒ 'foglio di pasta, sheet of pasta' = *slòj* 'layer'
 trak, du. tr'akɒ, pl. tr'akɛ 'nastro, ribbon' = *tràk*
 zɔp, du. z'ɔbɒ, pl. z'ɔbɛ, gen. z'ɔbɔʊ 'tooth' = *zôb*
 zʊʊn, du. zʊ'ønɒ, pl. zʊ'ønɒvɛ, gen. zʊ'ønɔʊ 'campana, bell' = *zvôn* :: zʊɔn'ɛt
 'sonare campane, ring bells' (ʊʊn zʊɔn'øzɛs zʊ'ønɛ 'suona con le campane')

It is immediately noticed that the above list is notably shorter than the Slovene list on which it is based. This latter was drawn from Pleteršnik plus Vondrák, i.e., from a very full collection representing the entire Slovene territory, and a substantial time depth. The above list reflects the restricted environment of a single valley, isolated for many centuries. It is noteworthy that replacements which remove items from our list are not universally, or perhaps even in an important way, taken from the Friulian or German or Italian contacts, though the results of these contacts on semantic structure and on syntax *are* evident. For example, some items such as 'thunder' and 'soffio' reflect native productivity, and there must be many more of this sort which were not elicited simply because the shape I suggested did not call forth an immediate response. More impressive is the incidence of selection of (near)-synonyms or paraphrases as with /dɛm/ 'fumo, smoke', /pʊt/ 'sudore,

sweat', /š'ʷΛ/ 'neck', /d'urɛ/ 'porta, door', /l'akotΛ/ 'hunger', /zix/ 'a yawn'; /xud'ʷk/ 'devil', /žʷøt/ 'corpo, body' (← /život/). Resia has simply moved on and chosen differently.

We must accept these numbers as reflecting human and linguistic life.

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NOTES

1. "Indo-European *o*-grade deverbals in Slovene," *Slovene Studies* 10/1 (1988) 65-70.
2. "Some Indo-European *o*-grade deverbals in Serbo-Croatian," *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku* [in press.]
3. "On the survival of *o*-grade thematics in Dutch," [to appear].
4. Sgra. Anna Pusca-Čukawa (-Madotto).
5. Cf. Boduën de Kurtenè, Jan I. *Rez'janskij Katixizis 1875*, = *Catechismo resiano* [prima ristampa, 1979], p. 1: "Sveti Duh."
6. Two lexemes have obviously been conflated here.
7. This shows either the conflation of two lexemes, or ancient lexicalization of neutralized final voicing.
8. But to make a predication one says *u'œdΛ fire* 'corre l'acqua'; the language is not poor, just differently organized in predicate paradigms.

POVZETEK

O PREOSTANKIH SLOVENSKIH IZPELJANK Z O-JEVSKIM PREVOJEM V REZIJANŠČINI

Naslanjajoč se na seznam indoevropskih izpeljank iz glagolov z o-jevskim prevojem v slovenščini, tiskanem v Slovene Studies 10/1: 65-70, avtor objavlja spisec primerov teh izpeljank, ki jih je zapisal v Osojanih/Oseacco v Rezijanski dolini. Gradivo, ki podaja posamezne primere tudi v njihovih sklonskih oblikah, je zapisano v širši transkripciji. Seznamu sledi kratka diskusija, v kateri avtor skuša pojasniti relativno skromnost teh izpeljank iz Rezije z relativno številčnostjo primerov, ki jih je bil našel registrirane v Pleteršnikovem slovarju.