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PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF  
THE ČAKAVIAN DIALECT OF KALI  
ON THE ISLAND OF UGLJAN

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**1. Introduction**

1.1 The material on which the present article is based consists of approximately 35 hours of tape-recorded speech gathered by one of us (Budovskaja) during three months of field-work in 1990. In the following we shall confine our statements on the dialect to that part of the material (5 hours) which we had the opportunity of analyzing together in Groningen between November 1992 and February 1993.<sup>1</sup> One of the following volumes of *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics* will contain an article on the morphology of the dialect of Kali. We hope that on a later occasion we shall be able to present a more detailed picture of the dialect, in which all the data available to us will be taken into account.

1.2 The amount of information on the Čakavian dialects of Ugljan that can be found in published sources is very limited. The relevant publications known to us (Finka 1972, Hraste 1957a, 1957b and 1959, Ivić 1964, Jakić-Čestarić 1957 and Moguš 1972)<sup>2</sup> all deal with considerably larger areas and at best contain a few general remarks explicitly referring to Ugljan and/or a small number of attested forms. In § 2.2 we shall discuss a number of observations made by other authors on the number of accentual oppositions.

1.3 Kali has approximately 3000 inhabitants. The villagers usually communicate in the local dialect, but when addressing strangers, most of them try to speak the standard language. Apparently the dialect is so strongly felt to be a strictly local means of communication, that some people (especially women under 50 years of age) have difficulty speaking dialect to strangers at all, even after being encouraged to do so. Older people

tend to speak the dialect more freely in all situations, including contacts with strangers, but all of them may use the standard language on some occasions. A clear example is provided by a story told by a very good informant, Jelka Rakvin, about a dream she had of her deceased husband coming home and telling her about his death and his experiences in the hereafter: she told the story in pure dialect, switching to standard Serbo-Croatian whenever quoting God and Jesus Christ.

The inhabitants of Kali and the neighbouring villages are well aware of the differences between their local dialects. Interestingly enough, it is not so much the features of individual phonemes as certain intonational and vocal peculiarities which are felt to be characteristic of the speech of the Kali people, who, according to their fellow-islanders, *viču i zavijaju* ('shout and howl').

The informants were all women and varied in age from 50 to 80 years (1990). Those to whom we owe most of the material analyzed here are: Jelka Rakvin (+75), Šofija Grzunov (71), Tina Mišlov (+70), Lindvina Blaslov (50) and Neda Kolega (59). Of these informants, only Tina Mišlov spent a longer period outside the village, when she was a member of a partisan detachment during the Second World War.

## 2. Vowel inventory, length and tones

2.1 The dialect shows distinctive length in the stressed and first pretonic syllable. In addition, long stressed vowels have a distinctively rising or falling intonation. The phonetic realization of phonologically short stressed *e*, *o* and *a* varies greatly as to length: it is mostly longer in word-internal than in word-final position, it tends to be short if it is followed by more than one unaccented syllable, and, as can be expected, *a* is generally longer than *e* and *o*.<sup>3</sup>

Half-long and long realizations of phonologically short *e*, *o* and *a* are (nondistinctively) rising. In order to bring our phonological notation as close as possible to the most frequent phonetic realization, we shall mark short stressed *e*, *o* and *a* with the sign  $\hat{}$  (half-long).

The vowel inventory is as follows:

STRESSED					
long falling		long rising		short	
$\hat{i}$	$\hat{u}$	$\tilde{i}$	$\tilde{u}$	$\hat{i}$	$\hat{u}$
$\hat{ie}$	$\hat{uo}$	$\hat{ie}$	$\hat{uo}$	$\hat{e}$	$\hat{o}$
$u\hat{a}$ ( $\hat{a}$ )		$u\hat{a}$		$\hat{a}$	

UNSTRESSED					
first pretonic syllable			other syllables		
long		short			
$\hat{i}$	$\hat{u}$	$i$	$u$	$i$	$u$
$\hat{ie}$	$\hat{uo}$	$e$	$o$	$e$	$o$
$ua$		$a$		$a$	

The dialect also possesses a syllabic *r*, which can occur in any syllable (stressed, pretonic and posttonic) and is always short. If stressed, it will be written  $\tilde{r}$ . Examples<sup>4</sup>: *přstu* Lsg 'finger', *drvâ* Npl 'wood', *dřv* Gpl, *dô zrna* Gsg 'to grain'.

The phonologically long vowels reflect:

- 1) old long vowels, e.g. *sîn* 'son', *grîh* 'sin', *napîsâti* 'write', *miêso* 'meat', *biêli* 'white', *dosiežîn* PR1sg 'reach', *bluâgo* 'cattle', *kruâl* 'king', *truavâ* 'grass', *uôvce* Npl 'sheep', *guôr* Gpl 'mountain', *tuofâla* LPf 'peck', *mûža* Gsg 'husband', *pût* 'path', *kûpâti se* 'bathe'.
- 2) old short stressed vowels that were subject to the distinctive lengthenings discussed in § 3. Examples will be given there.

This means that originally long as well as distinctively lengthened  $*a$ ,  $*\hat{a}$ ,  $*e$  and  $*o$  were diphthongized.

The phoneme  $\hat{a}$  has only been attested in the word *vrâg* 'devil'.<sup>5</sup>

The phonologically short vowels (including stressed *â*, *ê* and *ô*), reflect old short vowels. Examples: *čovika* Gsg 'human being', *čekun* PRLsg 'wait', *brâta* Asg 'brother', *lôze* Npl 'vine', *životū* Lsg 'life'. This means that originally short stressed \**a*, \**ə*, \**e* and \**o* are nondistinctively lengthened in many positions.

2.2 According to Hraste (1957a: 5):

"u svim čakavskim mjestima na Pagu i u svim mjestima na otoku Ugljanu danas imamo dvoakcenatski sistem, dakle na jednom i na drugom otoku imamo samo: *pūt, sūd, nōž, šřāp* (...) *pedesēt, šezdesēt, osamdesēt* i t. d. U svim tim i drugim primjerima imamo u čakavskim govorima, koji čuvaju stari troakcenatski sistem, čakavski akut (~). U ovim se govorima samo sporadički može katkada, ali vrlo rijetko, čuti čakavski akut (~), i to ne jako izraziti: *otēgnen* (Novalja na Pagu) (...) *kuāljiski, tiēkli, tečūti* (Kali na Ugljanu)."

From this fragment it is clear - and this is confirmed by many other remarks in the article -, that having a "troakcenatski sistem" means, in Hraste's view, having a "čakavski akut" on every vowel that reflects an old long rising vowel.<sup>6</sup> Now the term "čakavski akut" does not refer in general to any rising tone attested in a Čakavian dialect, but to a specific phonetic realization of a rising tone, viz. a realization with a sudden jump to a higher level of pitch and loudness (cf. Ivšić 1911: 147). It is evident that Hraste's specific expectations about how a tone opposition in a Čakavian dialect should sound prevented him from perceiving the tone opposition that was there.<sup>7</sup>

The rising tone in the dialect of Kali, in contradistinction to what is usually called the "Čakavian acute", does not have a very clear characteristic of its own except its not being falling. Whereas the falling tone shows a clear pitch drop soon after its onset, the rising tone has a tendency to remain "flat", to keep up the pitch until its end. In a falling sentence intonation, one has the impression that a rising vowel "resists" the pitch lowering and drops more slowly than a falling vowel would have done in the same position in the sentence. Of course, the actual acoustic pitch contours of sentences depend on many variables, and in practice one realization of a form does not always suffice to determine whether the stressed vowel is rising or falling.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Distinctive vowel lengthenings<sup>9</sup>

3.1 Originally short stressed vowels have very frequently become long and rising in closed syllables. In order to facilitate the comparison with similar phenomena in other dialects, we shall distinguish three types of lengthening in closed syllables:<sup>10</sup>

- I. Lengthening of stressed \**ə* in final syllables (see § 3.2);
- II. Lengthening of stressed vowels before tautosyllabic resonants (as far as not included in I; see § 3.3);
- III. Other lengthenings of stressed vowels in closed syllables (see § 3.6).

Sections 3.4 and 3.5 will deal with specific phenomena before tautosyllabic \**l* and *n/ń*, respectively.

Lengthenings of type II are a very wide-spread phenomenon within Serbo-Croatian. Type I and III occur in many Central Čakavian dialects, but never with the same degree of regularity (see Houtzagers 1984-85 and 1987, Ivić 1964, Kušar 1894).

3.2 I. Lengthening of stressed \**ə* in word-final syllables. Examples:<sup>11</sup>

*danuās* 'today', *duāž* 'rain', *konuāc* 'thread', *nofuās* 'tonight', *papuār* 'pepper', *petuāk* 'Friday', *prasuāc* 'pig', *puās* 'dog', *svuās* 'whole', *tuāc* 'father'.

On \**ə* before tautosyllabic *n/ń* and word-final \**l* see §§ 3.4 and 3.5. The only attested examples in which the expected lengthening does not occur are forms in which the \**ə* is followed by *n* or *ń*.

3.3 II. Lengthening of stressed vowels before tautosyllabic resonants. Examples:

*bravīncov* Gpl 'ant', *fūrmini* Npl 'match', *gotuōv* 'ready', *kakuōv* 'what kind of', *kfīn* 'wedge', *muōj* 'my', *ūmreš* PR2sg 'die', *pūn* 'full', *ruāj* 'heaven', *rūj* 'certain herb' (cf. Isg *rūjun*), *sīr* 'cheese', *svuōj* (possessive pronoun pertaining to the subject of the clause), *šuōldi* 'money', *tovuār* 'donkey', *tovuārčit* DIM 'donkey', *tovuārja* Nsgf 'pertaining to a donkey', *tvuōj* 'your', *utuōrka* Gsg 'Thursday', *zapiērci* 'side-branches', *ziēmļa* 'earth'.

The Gpl ending \*-*ov* is also lengthened when stressed, e.g. *cvituōv* 'flower', *kruguōv* 'circle', *mužuōv* 'husband', *roguōv* 'horn'.

Instances without the expected length (the reader be reminded that *é*, *â* and *ô* are phonologically short):

With *-â-*: *âjde* INT 'come on', *âjme* INT 'good heavens', *bârki* Lsg 'boat' (1x), *dâj* IMP 'give', *dâvli* Npl 'devil', *mâjka* 'mother', *mârš* INT 'march', the superlative prefix *nâj-* (also *nuâj-*), *ribârnica* 'place where fish is sold' (1x), *tâjno* ADV 'secret'.

With *-ê-*: *Jêlka* Vsg PROP.

With *-ô-*: *gôrîa* Npln 'upper' (1x), *dôjde* PR3sg 'come', *pôjde* PR3sg 'go' (both PR forms along with very frequent *-uô*), *pôj* IMP 'go', *slômjeno* PpN 'break', *slômjnena* Ppf 'break', *môrška* Nsgf 'sea-' (1x), *obnôvjîn* PpM 'renovate', *ôvčija* Nsgf 'pertaining to (a) sheep' (1x).

With *-î-*: *zuatîlku* Lsg 'back of the neck' (1x).

3.4 The lengthenings mentioned in §§ 3.2 and 3.3 have also taken place in those forms where a former word-final *\*l* was lost.<sup>12</sup>

Examples:

*ubuô* LPm 'sting', *govori* LPm 'talk', *iskuâ* LPm 'look for', *kabuâ* 'tub', *ukruâ* LPm 'steal', *pakuâ* 'hell', *posuâ* 'work', *rastiegnû* LPm 'stretch', *užuâ* Lpm 'have the custom of', *vuô* 'ox'.

3.5 Before tautosyllabic *n/ri* non-high vowels - both stressed and unstressed - have been raised, e.g. *îmun* 'I have', *kolîn* Gpl 'knee' (< *\*kolén*). Short stressed non-high vowels have, in addition, become long and rising: *\*e* > *ĩ*, *\*ě* > *ĩ*, *\*a* (also from *\*ə*) > *ũ*, *\*o* > *ũ*. Examples:

*bretenûn* Isg 'spindle', *jedûn* 'one', *krštûnka* 'woman', *kûn* 'horse', *lûnsko* 'last year's', *mîndula* 'almond', *donesîn* PR1sg 'bring', *donesîn* PpM 'bring', *ogûn* 'fire', *podûnku* Lsg 'plot of land', *polûnke* Npl 'female inhabitant of Poljana', *sûn* 'dream', *sûntule* Vsg 'godfather', *tînditi* 'tend', *ûnda* 'then', *vûnka* 'out', *žînska* 'woman'.

Instances without the expected raising and length:

*ândeli* Npl 'angel', *dân* 'day', *duân* 'shop', *jedân* 'one', *jedânpu* 'once', *ogânj* 'fire' (1x); *nisân* 'I am not', *pučânstvo* 'crowd', *štânge* Npl 'rod', *vânka* 'outside', *vânkašîa* Npln 'outer', *vânška* Npln 'outer'.

3.6 III. Other lengthenings in closed syllables. Examples:

*buâčva* 'barrel', *bîčve* 'sock', *blîtva* 'spinach beet', *buôb* 'broad bean', *boguât* 'rich', *bruât* 'brother', *brûkvu* Asg 'nail', *duâška* 'shelf', *dûblî* LPplm 'dig', *očîstila* 'clean', *očîštîna* Ppf 'clean', *uzduâhlo* 'sigh', *dîgne*

PR3sg 'lift', *funiêstre* Npl 'window', *gruâh* 'peas', *gruôb* 'grave', *gruôzd* 'bunch', *hîb* 'loaf', *îgraju* PR3pl 'play', *îsti* 'same', *jezîk* 'language', *kodluâk* 'werewolf', *konuôp* 'string', *krûh* 'bread', *kuôš* 'basket', *kûp* 'heap', *lûk* 'garlic', *muâslina* 'olive', *muâška* 'cat', *molîtva* 'prayer', *nuaruôd* 'people', *nuâs* Apl 'we', *nuâš* 'our', *nuôhta* Gpl 'nail', *obiêd* 'midday meal', *obiêdvaju* PR3pl 'have one's midday meal', *uôsti* Npl 'harpoon', *puôp* 'priest', *popluât* 'sole', *pruâg* 'threshold', *pršût* 'ham', *pûkne* PR3sg 'burst', *pûp* 'bud', *pûpka* Gsg 'navel', *posuâhne* PR3sg 'dry out', *sluâb* 'weak', *snuôp* 'sheaf', *ošîškati* 'trim', *sîsne* PR3sg 'press', *ûski* 'narrow', *vuâs* Apl 'you', *viêtra* Gsg 'wind', *vuôška* Gsg 'wax', *žeruâkvun* Isg 'live coal'.

The diminutive suffix *\*-it'* is also lengthened when stressed, e.g. *bakalarîit'* DIM 'cod-fish', *božîit'* 'Christmas', *kozlîit'* DIM 'goat', *mladîit'* 'young (unmarried) man', *tîit'* DIM 'small bird'.

Usually no vowel lengthening takes place before intervocalic *c* or *č*, e.g. *arahîâču* 'walnut pie', *bôca* 'jar', *bonâca* 'calm weather', *tarâca* 'terrace'.<sup>13</sup>

Lengthening III caused morphophonemic alternations in verbs with infinitives in *-sti*, *-ti* and *-nuti*: a stressed root-vowel is long in the INF and LP forms except the LPm if followed by more than one consonant (VCCV) and short in the LPm if followed by consonant + vowel (VCV), irrespective of its original length.

Examples with an originally short root-vowel:

*pobîga* LPm 'run away', *pobîgla* LPf; *ubodiê* PR3sg 'sting', *ubuôsti* INF; *dîga* LPm 'lift', *dîgnuti* INF, *dîgla* LPf; *klâde* PR3sg 'put', *klâla* LPf, *kluâsti* INF; *krâde* PR3sg 'steal', *ukrâli* LPplm, *kruâsti* INF; *pometiê* PR3sg 'sweep', *pomiêsti* INF; *ponesiê* PR3sg 'take', *doniêsti* 'bring'; *iznîka* LPm 'come up', *nîkla* LPf; *pâde* PR3sg 'fall', *puâsti* INF; *pečû* PR3pl 'bake', *ispêka* LPm, *ispîekli* LPplm; *pletiê* PR3sg 'knit', *pliêsti* INF; *sêde* PR3sg 'sit down', *sîesti* INF; *otečîê* PR3sg 'swell', *otêka* LPm, *otiêkla* LPf; *potepiê* PR3sg 'hit', *potêpa* LPm, *potiêpsti* INF, *potiêpla* LPf; *dovedî* IMP 'bring', *doviêsti* INF.

Examples with an originally long root-vowel:

*izdûsti* INF 'dig out', *izdûbiê* PR3sg, *izdûbla* LPf, *izdûba* LPm; *ogrîsti* INF 'bite', *ugrîziê* PR3sg, *zagrîza* LPm; *pomûsti* INF 'milk', *pomûzla* LPf, *pomûza* LPm; *puâsti* INF 'graze', *puasiê* PR3sg, *napuâsla* LPf, *napâsa* LPm; *sîčiê* PR3sg 'cut', *sîkla* LPf, *sîka* LPm; *ostrîziê* PR3sg 'shear', *ostrîgla* LPf, *postrîga* LPm; *istriêsti* INF 'shake out', *istriesî* IMP, *istriêsla* LPf, *istrêsa* LPm; *naviknûti* INF 'get used to', *navîkla* LPf, *navîka* LPm;

*navūčiē* PR3sg 'pull', *navūkla* LPf, *navūka* LPm; *poziēsti* INF 'freeze', *poziebiē* PR3sg, *poziebla* LPf, *pozeba* LPm.

Probably the length alternation due to lengthening III in verbs with an originally short root-vowel (*pobīga*, *pobīgla*) was copied in verbs with an originally long root-vowel (*izdūba*, *izdūbla*).

There is a large number of instances in which the result of lengthening III, though expected, does not appear.<sup>15</sup> Although we are aware that both the lengthening itself and the cases in which there are no results of lengthening to be seen call for an explanation, we shall confine ourselves to presenting the attested instances below. Of course a list of "short vowels in closed syllables" varies according to the definition of "closed syllable". We adopted a broad definition: a vowel in a closed syllable is a vowel followed by two or more consonants or by one or more consonants followed by a word-boundary (VCC or VC#, where "C" means "one or more consonants").

Closed syllables with -i-:

*bīk* 'bull', *blīzje* Nsgn 'closer', *čīstilište* 'Purgatory' (alongside many attestations of forms of *čīstiti* 'clean' with *ī*), *dvīsto* '200', *īgrašku* Asg 'toy' (cf. *īgraju* PR3pl 'play'), *īsti* Nsgm 'same', (alongside very frequent *īsti*), *īdra* Npl 'sail', *Josīp* PROP, *mīslī* PR3sg 'think', *Mīšlovo* TOP, *nevīsta* 'daughter-in-law', *nīč* 'something', *nīšte* 'nothing', *sīt* 'pail', *sīknice* Gsg 'sieve', *sītno* Nsgn 'small', *slīzni* Nsgm 'made from mallow', *smīšno* ADV 'funny', *stīgneš* PR2sg 'arrive', *šīpkamin* Ipl 'stick', *vīčni* Nsgm 'eternal' (1x).

Closed syllables with -ē-:

*bēštija* 'animal', *cēsta* 'road', *dēčko* 'young man', *furēšta* Nsg 'woman not from Kali', *lētni* 'summer-', *mēci* Npl 'bullet', *mēkl'i* Nsgm 'softer', *smēstiš* PR2sg 'place', *mēsto* 'place', *smēštēni* PPplm 'place', *nebēski* 'heavenly', *nēmrs* 'abstinence from meat', *nēšto* 'something', *petnaēsti* 'fifteenth', *sēdmicu* Asg (d?) 'week', *sēstre* Vpl 'sister', *sēstro* Vsg 'sister', *sēstrinoj* Lsgf 'sister's', *srēdnā* Nsgf 'middle', *srētnēš* PR2sg 'meet', *šēsta* Gsg 'decency', *tēsla* 'hatchet with two blades (carpenter's tool)', *žēmpēr* 'sweater'. The following instances form two more or less homogeneous sets: a) *bokēt* 'bouquet', *brudēt* 'dish with fish and potatoes', *cigarēt* 'cigarette', *milēt* 'certain piece of cloth', *parkēt* 'parquet floor'; b) *lētriku* Asg 'electricity', *mētri* Npl 'meter'.

Closed syllables with -ō-:

*bōžja* Nsgf 'God's', *dōbro* ADV 'good', *dōkle* 'until', *dōtle* 'until', *gospōski* ADV 'as educated townspeople do/say', *grōbl'u* 'churchyard', *jōš* 'still',

*kobōtnice* Npl 'octopus', *kōpl'e* 'spear', *kōšnica* 'basket', *omōdri* 'become blue', *mōdro* Nsgn 'blue', *mōkra* Nsgf 'wet', *mōsta* Gsg (and other forms; cf. Nsg *muōst*) 'bridge', *ōblašno* Nsgn 'clouded', *ōdma* 'immediately', *ōkrugle* Nplf 'round', *ōštre* Nplf 'sharp', *ōtporan* 'resistant', *ōtrovi* Npl 'poison', *ōtvor* 'opening', *pōkloni* Npl 'gift', *pōsli* 'afterwards', *pōslušni* Nplm 'obedient', *pōsta* Gsg (and other forms; cf. Nsg *puōst*) 'fast', *pōsteli* Dsg 'bed', *pōzdrav* 'greeting'.

Closed syllables with -ū-: *izdūbl'ena* PPf 'dig out', *gūske* Npl 'goose', *Isūs* PROP, *kūk* 'hip', *lūsiki* ADV 'human', *pūšku* Asg 'rifle', *sūtra* 'tomorrow', *štrūt* 'fat', *ujūtro* 'in the morning'.

Closed syllables with -â- from \*a: *mâslīne* Npl 'olive' (attested several times, along with *muâslīne*), *mâslīnovo* Nsgn 'made of olives', *brâska* Nsgf 'fraternal', *čas* 'while', *grâska* 'pertaining to a town', *jâdna* 'pitiful', *krâsno* Nsgn 'beautiful', *krâstava* Nsgf 'crusty', *lâskav* 'flattering', *mâc* 'hank', *Pâsman* TOP, *pâštu* Asg 'pasta', *pâtka* 'duck', *râdnikov* Gpl 'labourer', *Râkvin* PROP, *rât* 'war', *sâd* 'now', *slâtkoga* Gsgm 'sweet', *zdrâča* 'thorn', *zubâtka* 'certain fish with large teeth'.

Closed syllables with -â- from \*ə:

*kâšnie* ADV 'later', *pâklenih* Gpl 'pertaining to hell', *stâbla* Npl 'tree', *stâkla* Npl 'glass'.

The result of lengthening III is absent in prepositions: *īs poľa* 'from the field', *īspod* 'under', *kōd nēga* 'near him', *ōt straha* 'from fear', *ū glavu* 'into the head', *zâ glavu* 'by the head'.

The situation with prefixes is more complicated:

*īshrane* Gsg 'food', *nâcrt* 'sketch', *nâprid* 'forward', *nâglas* 'loud', *nâžgala* LPm 'light', *pōbrali* LPplm 'gather', *ūžga* LPm 'light', *zâspala* LPf 'fall asleep', *zâtvoru* Lsg 'prison'.

But: *nuâžgena* PPf 'light', *puōčmu* PR3pl 'begin', *puōjdu* PR3pl 'go', *pruōjti* 'pass', *puōspeno* PPn 'strew', *ūslugu* Asg 'service', *ūžgeš* PR2sg 'light'.

#### 4. Reflexes of *jat*

As can be expected in this part of the Čakavian area, the dialect of Kali is "i/e-kavian", i.e. it reflects Proto-Slavic *jat* as either a high or a mid front vowel. More often than not, the reflexes of *jat* are distributed according to "Jakubinskij's law" (see 1925: 381-382): mid front before a "hard dental" (*d*, *t*, *z*, *s*, *n*, *r*, *l* not followed by *j* or a front vowel) and high front everywhere else. In roots of inflexional paradigms, no alternations as to the reflex of *jat* take place, so that one

form (or part of the forms) must be considered "basic": in adjectives, nouns and verbs we generally find the reflex of *jat* which we expect in the short form masculine, the nominative singular and the third person singular of the present tense, respectively. Examples: *ciěli* Nsgm/Nplm 'whole' after *cěl* (Ćunski)<sup>15</sup>, *na kolěni* 'on the knees' after *kolěno* (Ćunski), *rīzat* 'cut' after *rīže* PR3sg (Pag, Ćunski). In groups of words derived from the same root it is less clear what one has to expect. Sometimes the derived word takes its reflex of *jat* from the word from which it is derived, sometimes it does not. Examples: *běli* Nsgm 'white', *běliti* 'whitewash' (many places, according to Jakić-Cestarić 1957, 413), but *běli*, *bilit* (Pag). Dialects do not necessarily behave systematically in this respect: the same places which have *běli*, *běliti* can have *děl* 'part', *diliti* 'share' (see Jakić-Cestarić 1957, 414). There are also cases of semantic differentiation between the two reflexes of *jat* within the same root.<sup>16</sup>

In the following the reflexes of *jat* found in our material will be presented in alphabetical order according to the root, prefix or suffix in which they occur. Roots which in Proto-Slavic had interconsonantal \*-er-/\*-el- will be given in the form they obtained after the metathesis of liquids in early South Slavic, i.e. with \*-rě-/\*-lě-. Reflexes which do not agree with Jakubinskij's law in the strict sense described above (without taking into account derivational relationships) have been marked "[NJ]".

*bĕg-	pobĕga Lpm 'run'
*běl-	biěli 'white'
*bĕs-	bĕsan [NJ] 'enraged'
*brĕ-	brĕme 'load'
*brĕg-	brĕg 'mountain'
*bubrĕg-	bubrigov Gpl 'kidney'
*cěl-	ciěli 'whole'
*cĕp-	cĕp 'graft'
*cĕst-	cĕsta 'road'
*cvĕt-	cvĕt [NJ] 'flower', cvĕte 'flowers'
*črĕv-	črĕvo 'intestine'
*čĕlovĕk-	čovĕk 'human being'
*dĕ-	nadĕj IMP 'stuff'
*-dĕ	dĕ 'where', ōnde [NJ] 'there', svūder [NJ] 'everwhere', nĕder [NJ] 'nowhere', etc.
*dĕd-	dĕd [NJ] 'grandfather'
*dĕl-	diĕ 'part', podĕlĕli LPplm 'share'

*dĕl(o)	nedĕla 'Sunday', dĕlo [NJ] 'affair'
*dĕt-	dĕtĕ 'child', dicā 'children' (<*dĕtĕca)
*dĕv-	divuōjka 'girl'
*dĕver-	dĕver 'brother-in-law'
*dlĕt-	lietō 'chisel'
*drĕv-	drĕva Gsg 'wood'
*ĕdr-	jĕdra [NJ] Npl 'sail'
*-ĕ	uluāni 'last year', dōli 'down', gōri 'up'
*-ĕ	tetĭ Dsg 'aunt', kōkoši Dsg 'chicken', gluavi Lsg 'head', kŭfi Lsg 'house', mĕni Dsg 'I'
*-ĕ(ti)	želĭla LPf 'wish', žĭvĭla LPf 'live' trpĭla 'endure', razumĭli LPplm 'understand', vĭdĭla LPf 'see', vĭsĭla LPf 'hang', htĭla LPf 'want'
*(dv)ĕ	dvĭ f 'two', ū dvi 'at two', dvĭsto 'two hundred'
*ĕj-	ranĭje, etc.
*ĕmi	dvĭmin Iplf 'two'
*gnĕzd-	grĭuazdō 'nest' (as in many i/e-kavian dialects, cf. Milčetić 1895: 103, Jakić-Cestarić 1957: 414, Houtzagers 1984-85: 885 N2, 1987: 72), but also gnĕzddō
*grĕh-	grĭh 'sin', grĭšimo PR1pl 'sin'
*hlĕb-	hlĭb 'loaf'
*jĕd-	obiĕd 'midday meal', jidiĕ/jĭ PR3sg 'eat', jĭtĕ PR2pl 'eat', jĭsti 'eat'
*kolĕn-	kolĕno 'knee'
*kudĕl-	kudĭla 'spinning-wheel'
*-lĕ	doklĕ [NJ] 'until', poklĕ [NJ] 'afterwards' pōsle [NJ] 'after' (but also pōsli), zduōtle [NJ] 'from there', zduōvle [NJ] 'from here'
*lĕk-	lĭk 'medicine'
*lĕp-	lĭpo ADV 'nice'
*lĕs-	liĕs 'young branch(es) on vine'
*lĕt-	lĕto 'summer', lĕtni Nsgm 'summer-', lĭtni Nsgm 'summer'
*lĕv-	lĭvo, ADV 'left'
*mĕh-	mĭh 'bag'
*mĕn-	naminĭla LPf 'dedicate'
*mĕr-	izmĭri PR3sg 'measure'
*mĕs-	premĭsimo PR1pl 'knead', mĭšano PPnsgn 'mix'
*mĕsĕc-	mĭsec 'month', misiĕci Gpl 'month'
*mĕst-	mĕsto 'place', ismĕštĕni [NJ] PPnplm 'place'
*mlĕ-	samlĕle LPplf 'grind'
*mlĕk-	mlĕkō 'milk'

*mrěž-	<i>mriža</i> 'net'
*ně-	<i>něki</i> [NJ] Nplm 'some or other', but also <i>nika</i> Nsgf 'some or other', <i>něšto</i> [NJ] 'something' (probably standard loan but more frequent than <i>něč</i> 'something')
*ně(smь)	<i>nī</i> PR3sg 'is not', <i>nīstē</i> PR2pl 'are not'
*ně(ti)	<i>ponīti</i> 'bring' (along with <i>poniēsti</i> ), <i>pōnila</i> LPf
*nevěst-	<i>nevīsta</i> [NJ] 'daughter-in-law'
*orěh-	<i>orīh</i> 'walnut'
*pě-	<i>pīva</i> PR3sg 'sing', <i>pēteh</i> [NJ] 'cock'
*pěn-	<i>pīni se</i> PR3sg 'foam'
*pěsk-	<i>pīesuāk</i> 'sand'
*plě-	<i>oplīti</i> 'weed', <i>plijemō</i> PR1pl
*prě-	<i>prēlipo</i> Nsgn [NJ] 'very nice', <i>prēteško</i> [NJ] Nsg 'very difficult', <i>prebūčiē</i> [NJ] PR3sg 'change clothes', <i>pretočiti</i> 'pour over';
*prěd-	<i>spriđnie</i> Nsgn 'front', <i>isprīd</i> [NJ] 'in front', <i>prīje</i> 'earlier';
*prěk-	<i>prēko</i> [NJ] 'through', <i>Priēko</i> [NJ] TOP, <i>prīēški</i> [NJ] ADV 'in the dialect of Preko', <i>spriečiti</i> [NJ] 'prevent'
*prēm-	<i>spriemīti</i> [NJ] 'prepare'
*prēt-	<i>prīti</i> IMP 'threaten'
*rěd-	<i>riētki</i> Nsgm 'rare'
*rěk- (1)	<i>rīk</i> Gpl 'river'
*rěk- (2)	<i>rīč</i> 'word'
*rěš-	<i>rīši</i> PR3sg 'liberate'
*rēt-	<i>srēta</i> [NJ] 'luck', <i>srētna</i> 'lucky', <i>sriēla</i> LPf 'meet' (unexpected diphthong, along with <i>srēla</i> )
*rěz-	<i>rīzati</i> 'cut', <i>rīz</i> [NJ] 'cut'
*s(dě)l-	<i>zdēla</i> 'bowl'
*sē-	<i>posījala</i> LPf 'sew', <i>sīme</i> 'seed'
*sěd-/sęd-	<i>siē</i> LPm 'sit down', <i>sidiēti</i> gerund 'sit', <i>siđ</i> PR3sg 'sit' (the -i in the latter two forms is not altogether certain), <i>susiēstva</i> Gsg 'neighbourhood'
*sěk-	<i>sičiē</i> PR3sg 'cut', <i>issīkla</i> LPf 'cut', <i>sikīra</i> 'axe'
*sēt-	<i>sičila se</i> LPf 'remember', <i>sičin se</i> PR1sg 'remember'
*sěv-	<i>sīva</i> PR3sg 'shine'
*slěd-	<i>sliēdi</i> [NJ] PR3sg 'follow'
*slēm-	<i>sliime</i> (only attested in a fixed expression)
*slěp-	<i>sliip</i> 'blind'
*slěz-	<i>sliiz</i> [NJ] 'mallow', <i>sliizni</i> [NJ] Nsgm 'made from mallow'
*směh-	<i>smišno</i> Nsgn 'funny'

*smrěk-	<i>smrič</i> 'juniper'
*sněg-	<i>snīg</i> 'snow', <i>snīži</i> PR3sg 'snow'
*srěd-	<i>ū sredu</i> 'on Wednesday', <i>nasriēdi</i> 'in the middle', <i>srīđnie</i> Nplf 'middle', <i>srēđna</i> [NJ], <i>srīđnie</i> Nplf 'middle', <i>nasri/nasrē</i> [NJ] 'in the middle of'
*stěp-	<i>Stīpa</i> PROP
*strěl-	<i>strilice</i> Npl 'arrow DIM', <i>zastriilin</i> PR1sg 'shoot'
*svět-	<i>svitā</i> 'candle', <i>rasvitli</i> PR3sg 'give light', <i>svīta</i> [NJ] Gsg 'people'
*těh-	<i>otišila</i> LPf 'comfort'
*těl-	<i>tiēlo</i> 'body'
*těm-	<i>tīme</i> 'crown'
*těr-	<i>potīra</i> [NJ] PR3sg 'chase'
*těskn-	<i>tiēсно</i> 'tight'
*těst-	<i>tiēsto</i> 'dough'
*trěb-	<i>trēba</i> [NJ] PR3sg 'be necessary', <i>mi trībe</i> 'I need'
*vě-	<i>izvijati</i> 'winnow'
*věd-	<i>povīdala</i> [NJ] LPf 'tell' (after the following forms?), <i>povīn</i> PR1sg 'tell', <i>povīš</i> PR2sg, <i>povī</i> PR3sg, <i>povīmō</i> PR1pl, <i>povītē</i> PR2pl, <i>svidočī</i> [NJ] LPm 'witness'
*vědr-	<i>viēdro</i> Nsgn 'bright', <i>razvedriilo</i> [NJ] LPn 'brighten'
*věk-	<i>vāik</i> 'always', <i>vīčni</i> Nplm 'eternal'
*věнъс-	<i>vinčuāna</i> Gsg 'marriage'
*věr-	<i>vērova</i> LPm 'believe', <i>vīran</i> [NJ] 'faithful', <i>neviēra</i> (tone not certain) 'thunderstorm'
*větr-	<i>vētar</i> 'wind'
*vrěd-	<i>uvriđiš</i> PR2sg 'offend', <i>vriđi</i> PR3sg 'be worth'
*vrēm-	<i>vriime</i> 'time'
*vrět-	<i>bretenō</i> [NJ] 'spindle'
*vrēt-	<i>vriita</i> 'bag'
*zrě-	<i>dozdrējala</i> [NJ] LPf 'ripen', <i>uzdrēju</i> [NJ] PR3pl
*zvěr-	<i>zvīr</i> [NJ] 'wild animal'
*zvězd-	<i>zvīzdē</i> [NJ] Npl 'star'
*žrě-	<i>Ždriēlac</i> TOP, <i>Ždriēlca</i> Gsg (see note 12 on this last form).

The word for 'church', for which in part of Serbo-Croatian a secondary root \*crěk- must be assumed, is *crīkvi* Lsg (cf. *crěkva* in the ekavian dialect of Orlec, Houtzagers 1985, 221).

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## NOTES

- 1 Budovskaja's field-work on Ugljan was paid by the Vukova Zadužbina in Belgrade. Her three months' visit to the Slavic Department of the University of Groningen was made financially possible by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO). Budovskaja would like to express her gratitude to professor Božidar Finka for drawing her attention to the dialect of Kali.
- 2 Cestarić 1966 was not available to us.
- 3 This also holds good for unstressed *a*, which, irrespective of its origin, can frequently be heard half-long, especially in the first pretonic syllable.
- 4 The following abbreviations will be used: Nsg ... Lpl: nominative singular ... locative plural; m, f, n: masculine, feminine, neuter; INF: infinitive; PR: present; IMP: imperative; LP: l-participle; lsg ... 3pl: first person singular ... third person plural; GER: gerund; PP: passive participle; DIM: diminutive; ADV: adverb; PROP: proper name; TOP: toponym; INT: interjection; lx: attested only once; d?: is this form dialectal?.
- 5 Absence of diphthongization or rounding in *vrâg* is a frequent phenomenon in those Čakavian dialects that usually diphthongize or round old long *a* (cf. Jurišić 1973: 233, Houtzagers 1987: 68, Vermeer 1975: 141, Steinhauer 1973: 288, Hamm, Hraste and Guberina 1956: 104).
- 6 Two more remarks can be made on Hraste's words. 1) Not all the forms given by Hraste have a rising tone - let alone a "Čakavian acute" - in every Čakavian dialect with a "troakcentski sistem": *sûd* only has a rising tone if it means 'court', not if it means 'barrel', *nôž* has a falling tone in Orlec on the island of Cres (which has a tone opposition). In the dialect of Omišalj on Krk, which has no tone opposition, *nôž* has a "mobile" stress pattern, which points to an originally falling tone. We thank Willem Vermeer for this piece of information about Omišalj. 2) Hraste's remark about his sporadic attestation of a "Čakavian acute" on originally rising vowels in dialects which in his opinion had a "dvoakcenatski sistem" (more or less repeated in 1957b: 64) indicates that he had confused ideas about phonology.
- 7 Those other authors who make observations on the accentual system and/or present dialect forms either mention or tacitly assume the absence of a tone distinction on Ugljan.
- 8 To one of us (Houtzagers) the tone opposition in Kali was recognizable as showing much resemblance to that in the dialects spoken on Cres (see Houtzagers 1982, 1984-85, 1985). There, too, the perception of the tones was problematic to field-workers. As a matter of fact, in the publications of the Common Slavic Linguistic Atlas no tones are distinguished in the dialect of the town of Cres (see Ivić ed. 1981: 235-240, Vidoeski and Ivić 1988, passim).
- 9 The distinctive lengthenings discussed in § 3 must not be confounded with the (nondistinctive) lengthening of originally short \**a*, \**ə*, \**o* and \**e* to *â*, *ô* and *ê* (see the last paragraph of § 2.1).

- 10 The following division agrees with the one adopted in Houtzagers 1987: 68-69, except for the order in which the types of lengthening are presented.
- 11 In the following, the examples will be presented in alphabetical order. Compound verbs will be ordered starting from the first letter of the root from which the form in question is derived, e.g. *ûmreš* 'die' under *m-* (NB *obûkli* 'dress' under *v-*, *nuâjti* 'find' and *puôjti* 'go' under *i-*, *pošlâ* LPf 'go' under *š-*, *griên* PRlsg 'go' under *g-*). Diphthongs are ordered according to their last part, e.g. *ie* under *e*.
- 12 In our material, the only occurrences of word-final *l* are in endless Gpl forms (e.g. Gpl *kriêl* 'wing', *pčieł* 'bee', *srdieł* 'sardine', *stabuâl* 'tree', *stâkal* 'glass') and in the word *prtešimul* 'parsley'. Word-internal syllable-closing *-l-* is present everywhere where one expects it on historical grounds, e.g. *Jêlka* Vsg PROP, *koltrîne* Npl 'curtain', *rîlce* DIM 'snout', *šuołdi* Npl 'money'. We are not certain about the Gsg of the toponym *Ždriêlac*, which is *Ždriêlca* or *Ždriêca* (lx). TOP. Syllable- and word-final *l* seems to have survived everywhere, e.g. *kruâl* 'king', *lišal* 'lichen (skin disease)', *ûgal* 'coal'.
- 13 But *uôca* (<\**otca*), Gsg of *tuâc* 'father'.
- 14 In view of the relatively small data, it is not always possible to distinguish between "real" cases in which the expected lengthening is absent and mispronunciations by the informants, whether or not under the influence of the standard language and/or the unnatural conditions of the conversation. This becomes even more difficult when there are attestations both with and without the expected lengthening, e.g. *ubôsti* (lx) INF 'sting' (along with a considerable number of attestations with length in this and similar verbs, see above), *bez ôstov* (lx) 'without a harpoon' (cf. *uôstimin* Ipl).
- 15 The examples from Čunski and Pag are from Houtzagers' field-work material. On Pag see also Houtzagers 1987.
- 16 Cf. in Omišalj *bilîti* 'whitewash', *počelîti* 'make white' (Vermeer 1984: 278).

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