Dutch Contributions to the Eleventh International Congress of Slavists
Bratislava
August 30 - September 9, 1993
Linguistics

edited by
A.A. Barentsen
B.M. Groen
R. Sprenger
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. 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 (Fink 1972, Hraste 1957a, 1957b and 1959, Ivić 1964, Jakić-Ćestarčić 1957 and Moguš 1972) 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, viću 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), Sofija Grunov (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 distinctly 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.3

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 ́ (half-long).

The vowel inventory is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRESSED</th>
<th>UNSTRESSED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>long falling</td>
<td>long rising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ⱃ ī</td>
<td>ⱂ ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iː</td>
<td>uː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uː (ā)</td>
<td>uː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ř. Examples*: pěštu Lsg ‘finger’, drvā Npl ‘wood’, drv Gpl, dō zrna Gsg ‘to grain’.

The phonologically long vowels reflect:


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, *e and *o were diphthongized.

The phoneme ā has only been attested in the word vrāg ‘devil’.5

2.2 According to Hraste (1957a: 5):

“u svim čakovskim mjestima na Pagu i u svim mjestima na otoku Ugljanu danas imamo dvakcenatski sistem, dakle na jednom i na drugom otoku imamo samo: pút, súd, náta, stúp (...) pedesét, šezdesét, osamdesét i t. d. U svim tim i drugim primjerima imamo u čakavskim govorima, koji čuvaju stari treškencatski sistem, čakavski akut (”). U ovim se govorima samo sporadički može katkada, ali vrlo rijetko, čuti čakavski akut (“), i to ne jako izrazit: otégnen (Novalja na Pagu) (...) kuáljski, tíěkli, téčúti (Kali na Ugljanu).”

From this fragment it is clear - and this is confirmed by many other remarks in the article -, that having a “troškencatski sistem” means, in Hraste’s view, having a “čakavski akut” on every vowel that reflects an old long rising vowel. 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.

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.

3. Distinctive vowel lengthenings

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:

- I. Lengthening of stressed *a 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/ž, 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, Ivšić 1964, Kušar 1894).

3.2 I. Lengthening of stressed *a in word-final syllables. Examples: danulůs ‘today’, duúš ‘rain’, konučuk ‘thread’, notuúš ‘tonight’, papaúr ‘pepper’, petuúk ‘Friday’, prusauč ‘pig’, puúš ‘dog’, svaúš ‘whole’, tuúč ‘father’. On *a before tautosyllabic n/ž 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 *a is followed by n or ţ.

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


The Gsp ending *ov is also lengthened when stressed, e.g. cvituóv ‘flower’, kruguóv ‘circle’, mužuóv ‘husband’, roguóv ‘horn’.
Instances without the expected length (the reader be reminded that š, ě and ñ are phonologically short):

With -š: ějdě INT 'come on', ějmě INT 'good heavens', bărki Lsg 'boat' (1x), děj IMP 'give', děvšt Npl 'devil', máčka 'mother', máří INT 'march', the superlative prefix náj- (also nulj-), ribárnica 'place where fish is sold' (1x), rájno ADV 'secret'.

With -ě: Jělka Vsg PROP.

With -ě: gěršta Npln 'upper' (1x), dějě PR3sg 'come', pějě PR3sg 'go' (both PR forms along with very frequent -u), pěj IMP 'go', slěměněně PPn 'break', slěměněj NPPA 'break', měřška Nspg 'sea' (1x), obněvěj Vppm 'renovate', ověřě Nspg 'pertaining to a (a) sheep' (1x).

With -ř: zauříčku 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 normal word-final į was lost.12 Examples:

ubuř Lppm 'sting', govorč Lppm 'alk', iskuř Lppm 'look for', kabuř 'tub', ukruž Lppm 'steal', pakuř 'hell' posuř 'work', rastigešnj Lppm 'stretch', ukuř Lppm 'have the custom of', vudo 'ox'.

3.5 Before tautosyllabic n/ň non-high vowels - both stressed and un-stressed - have been raised, e.g. inmn 'I have', košin Gpl 'knee' (< košin). Short stressed non-high vowels have, in addition, become long and rising: ěče > ěč, ěče > ěč, a (also from ěč) > ěč, o > oč. Examples:

bretenš Lsg 'spindle', jedin 'one', krššinka 'woman', káln 'horse', lúnško 'last year's', měndlula 'almond', donešin PR1sg 'bring', donešin PPM 'bring', ogůř 'fire', podůř Lsg 'plot of land', pořšinka Npl 'female inhabitant of Poljana', sín 'dream', sünnte Vsg 'godfather', tünditi 'tend', ūnda 'then', vůnka 'out' žúška 'woman'.

Instances without the expected rising and length:

ândel Npl 'angel', dán 'day', dušin 'shop', jedâin 'one', jedâinpu 'once', ogâj 'fire' (1x); násan 'I am not', pučástno 'crowd', štâng Npl 'rod', vânta 'outside', vânskašša Npln 'outer', vânska Npln 'outer'.

3.6 III. Other lengthenings in closed syllables. Examples:

bůčča 'barrel', bůve 'sock', bůtva 'spinach beet', buôb 'broad bean', bůğušt 'rich', brušt 'brother', brůku Agrp 'nail', dušška 'shell', důšbi LPpm 'dig', očščita 'clean', očščtemu PPF 'clean', uzduššho 'sigh', digne

---


The diminutive suffix -ít is also lengthened when stressed, e.g. bakâlárít DIM 'cod-fish', božôt 'Christmas', kožôt DIM 'goat', mladôt 'young (unmarried) man', tit DIM 'small bird'.

Usually no vowel lengthening takes place before intervocalic c or č, e.g. arânhâču 'walnut pie', bôča 'jar', bonâča 'calm weather', tarâča 'terrace'.

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 LPn if followed by more than one consonant (VCV) and short in the LPn if followed by consonant + vowel (VCV), irrespective of its original length.

Examples with an originally short root-vowel:

pobígha LPm 'run away', pobígha LPf; ubodiè PR3sg 'sting', ubodiè INF; dígà LPm 'lift', dígàt INF, dígà LPf; kláde PR3sg 'put', klála LPf, kluášti INF; křáde PR3sg 'steal', křádlí LPpm, kruáští INF; pomečí PR3sg 'sweep', poméšť INF, ponečí PR3sg 'sweat', doncéšti 'bring', iznîka LPm 'come up', níkka LPf, pâde PR3sg 'fall', puàšti INF; pêču PR3pl 'bake', ispéka LPm, ispékl LPpm; pletí PR3sg 'knit', plèští INF, sède PR3sg 'sit down', sìští INF, otečí PR3sg 'sweat', otèka LPm, otečla LPf; potepíè PR3sg 'hit', potèpa LPm, potèprésti INF, potèpréla LPf; ovedí INF.

Examples with an originally long root-vowel:

izdúšť INF 'dig out', izdúbiè PR3sg, izdùbà LPf, izdùba LPm; ogrúští INF 'bite', ugrúští PR3sg, zagrůžà LPm; pomúšť INF 'milk', pomùšlá LPf, pomùšla LPm; puàšti INF 'graze', puàšti PR3sg, nàpuùšla LPm, napùšà LPm; sèčè PR3sg 'cut', síkla LPf, síkà LPm; ostrièè PR3sg 'shear', ostrièìà LPf, postrígà LPm; istrièí INF 'shave out', istrièí INF, istrièšla LPf, istrièùpla LPm; navíkùnûti INF 'get used to', navíkla LPf, navíka 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 (izdība, izdībla).

There is a large number of instances in which the result of lengthening III, though expected, does not appear. Although we are aware that both the lengthening itself and the cases in which there are no results of lengthening to be seen 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 (VC or VC#, where “C” means “one or more consonants”).

Closed syllables with -i:


Closed syllables with -ē:


Closed syllables with -o:


The result of lengthening III is absent in prepositions: īs paňa ‘from the field’, īsđo ‘under’, kōd ‘near’ ‘near him’, īt stra ‘from fear’, ī glavu ‘into the head’, zā glavu ‘by the head’.


4. Reflexes of jat

As can be expected in this part of the Cakavian area, the dialect of Kali is “i/ë-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 “Jakubinski’s law” (see 1925: 381-382): mid front before a “hard dental” (d, t, s, i, n, r, l not followed by j or a front vowel) and high front everywhere else. In roots of inflectional 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: čiši Nsgm/Nplm ‘whole’ after cěl (Cuns之日起), řezat ‘cut’ after rřez PR3sg (Pag, Čuns之日起). 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: béli Nsgm ‘white’, bělíti ‘whitewash’ (many places, according to Jakič-Cestarič 1957, 413), but běl, bělit (Pag). Dialects do not necessarily behave systematically in this respect: the same places which have běl, běliti can have dél ‘part’, difiti ‘share’ (see Jakič-Cestarič 1957, 414). There are also cases of semantic differentiation between the two reflexes of jat within the same root.16

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 *-re/-l-ē. 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].

*děl(o) nedīla ‘Sunday’, dīlo [NJ] ‘affair’
*děř- děř ‘child’, dicā ‘children’ (*děršča)
*děřv- divoŋška ‘girl’
*děver- diver ‘brother-in-law’
*děř- lītš ‘chisel’
*děřv- drīva Lsg ‘wood’
*děř- jīdra [NJ] Nplm ‘sail’
*ě ulušni ‘last year’, děi ‘down’, gōri ‘up’
*ě(t) šēlša LPf ‘wish’, švīla LPf ‘live’ trpīla ‘endure’, razumī LPplm ‘understand’, vušīla LPf ‘see’, višīla LPf ‘hang’, hīla LPf ‘want’
*(dv)ě dvī f ‘two’, ū dvī ‘at two’, dvěsto ‘two hundred’
*ě- ranīje, etc.
*ě-ĕmī dvimin Lplf ‘two’
*größe- grīh ‘sin’, grīšimo PR1pl ‘sin’
*ḥēb- ḥībh ‘load’
*kolēn- kolēno ‘knee’
*kučēl- kudušla ‘spinning-wheel’
*lēk- līk ‘medicine’
*lēp- līpo ADV ‘nice’
*lēs- liēs ‘young branch(es) on vine’
*lēt- leto ‘summer’, lētini Nsgm ‘summer-’, litini Nsgm ‘summer’
*lēv- livo, ADV ‘left’
*mēh- mīhb ‘bag’
*mēn- naminīla LPf ‘dedicate’
*měr- izmiři PR3sg ‘measure’
*měs- premišimo PR1pl ‘knead’, měšano PPnsg ‘mix’
*měsec- mišec ‘month’, mišeci Gp ‘month’
*město- město ‘place’, ismišteni [NJ] PPmplm ‘place’
*měř- samišle LPplf ‘grind’
*měř- mlīk ‘milk’

*pobīa LPm ‘run’
*bēl- bieli ‘white’
*bēs- bīši [NJ] ‘enraged’
*brē- brēme ‘load’
*brēg- brīg ‘mountain’
*burbrēg- burbrigov Gpl ‘kidney’
*cēl- cieli ‘whole’
*cēp- čep ‘graft’
*cēs- cēsta ‘road’
*cēv- čev [NJ] ‘flower’, čvite ‘flowers’
*čēr- čīro ‘intestine’
*čsolvē- čolvik ‘human being’
*dē- nadī IMP ‘stuff’
*děd- dīd [NJ] ‘grandfather’
*dě- diē ‘part’, podīi LPplm ‘share’
*mréž-
*mríža 'net'
*ně-
někí [NJ] Nplm 'some or other', but also níka Nsgf 'some or other', něsto [NJ] 'something' (probably standard loan but more frequent than níč 'something')
*né(sms.)
ní PR3sg 'is not', nísť PR2pl 'are not'
*né(t)
opnít 'bring' (along with poničští), póníla LPf
*nevěst-
nevīsta [NJ] 'daughter-in-law'
*orěh-
oríh 'walnut'
*pě-
píva PR3sg 'sing', pěch [NJ] 'cock'
*pěn-
píši se PR3sg 'foam'
*pěsk-
piesuāk 'sand'
*přl-
opřít 'weed', přijemom PR1pl
*pr-
*prě-
spříště Nsg 'front', ispríž [NJ] 'in front', příje 'earlier';
*prěk-
*prém-
spriemēti [NJ] 'prepare'
*prč-
prčti IMP 'threaten'
*rěd-
rički Nsgm 'rare'
*rěk-(1)
řik Gpl 'river'
*rěk-(2)
řič 'word'
*rěš-
riši PR3sg 'liberate'
*rět-
srěta [NJ] 'luck', sřetně 'lucky', sřišla LPf 'meet' (unexpected diphthong, along with srěla)
*rěz-
rizati 'cut', riz [NJ] 'cut'
*s(děl)-
zděl 'bowl'
*s-
posōjila LPf 'sew', sūne 'seed'
*sěd-/spěd-
sě Lpm 'sit down', sieděti gerund 'sit', sidi PR3sg 'sit' (the -i in the latter two forms is not altogether certain), susišťva Gsg 'neighbourhood'
*sěč-
sičě PR3sg 'cut', issička LPf 'cut', sikřa 'axe'
*sět-
sitša se LPf 'remember', sštín se PR1sg 'remember'
*sěv-
sšva PR3sg 'shine'
*sřed-
sloči [NJ] PR3sg 'follow'
*sřem-
sšime (only attested in a fixed expression)
*sřep-
sšíp 'blind'
*sřez-
sřiz [NJ] 'mallow', sšizni [NJ] Nsgm 'made from mallow'
*smě-
směšno Nsg 'funny'

*smřek-
smřič 'juniper'
*šněg-
šníg 'snow', sněži PR3sg 'snow'
*sréd-
sředu 'on Wednesday', srásříd 'in the middle', srůšni Nplf 'middle', srůštia [NJ], srůšni Nplf 'middle', nasrás/nasře [NJ] 'in the middle of'
*stěp-
Stěpa PROP
*strěl-
strīlice Npl 'arrow DIM', zstrīlin PR1sg 'shoot'
*svět-
světia 'candle', rasvětí PR3sg 'give light', švīta [NJ] Gsg 'people'
*těch-
ošťela LPf 'comfort'
*těl-
tělo 'body'
*těm-
tíme 'crown'
*těr-
potřa [NJ] PR3sg 'chase'
*těskn-
tíšeno 'tight'
*těst-
těsto 'dough'
*třeb-
třeba [NJ] PR3sg 'be necessary', mi tribė 'I need'
*vě-
vžijati 'winnow'
*věd-
povídalia [NJ] LPf 'tell' (after the following forms?), povín PR1sg 'tell', povíši PR2sg, povíš PR3sg, povíšm PR1pl, povíšť PR2pl, svidoči [NJ] LPM 'witness'
*věd-
vič [NJ] 'always', vični Nplm 'eternal'
*věnač-
vču.sha Gsg 'marriage'
*věr-
věrova LPm 'believe', vīran [NJ] 'faithful', nevěra [NJ] 'faithful', tone not certain 'thunderstorm'
*větr-
věťar 'wind'
*vřed-
uvřídši PR2sg 'offend', vříd P3sg 'be worth'
*vřém-
vřime 'time'
*vřet-
břenči [NJ] 'spindle'
*vřet-
vřita 'bag'
*zre-
dozdrējala [NJ] LPf 'ripen', uzdrēju [NJ] PR3pl
*zvěr-
zvěr [NJ] 'wild animal'
*zvězš-
zvěze [NJ] Npl 'star'
*zře-
Zdřílec TOP, Ždřešca Gsg (see note 12 on this last form).

The word for 'church', for which in part of Serbo-Croatian a secondary root *ćrěk-* must be assumed, is črěkvi Lsg (cf. črěkva in the ekaevian dialect of Orlec, Houtzagers 1985, 221).

Institute of Slavistics and Balkanistics, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; Groningen University
NOTES

1 Budovskaja’s field-work on Užljan 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 Ćestarić 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: nominative singular ... locative plural; m, n: masculine, feminine, neuter; INF: infinitive; PR: present; IMP: imperative; LP: 1-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; 1x: attested only once; d?: is this form dialectal?


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 “troakentski sistem”: uđd only has a rising tone if it means ‘court’, not if it means ‘barrel’; nôô has a falling tone in Orlice on the island of Cres (which has a tone opposition). In the dialect of Omišalj on Krk, which has no tone opposition, nôô has a “mobile” stress pattern, which points to an originally falling tone. We thank Willem Vermeers 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 “dvokentski 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 Užljan.

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 Ivic ed. 1981: 235-240, Vidoenski and Ivic 1988, passim).

9 The distinctive lengthenings discussed in § 3 must not be confounded with the (non-distinctive) lengthening of originally short *a, *o, *ć to ā, ő and ē (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. štare ‘die’ under ś (NB oškril ‘dress’ under oš, nuziti ‘find’ and pušiti ‘go’ under p, politi LP ‘go’ under p, gržiti PRL ‘go’ under grž). 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 kriśl ‘wing’, pōčel ‘bee’, srdieš ‘sardine’, stabuš ‘tree’, stákal ‘glass’) and in the word pribuš ‘parsley’. Word-internal syllable-closing -l is present everywhere where one expects it on historical grounds, e.g. Ješka Vag PROP, kolčine Npl ‘curtain’, rilcne DIM ‘snout’, svsči Npl ‘money’. We are not certain about the Gsg of the toponym Ždrižlač, which is Ždrižlča or Ždrižča (lx). TOP. Syllable- and word-final /s/ seems to have survived everywhere, e.g. kršit ‘king’, ljšat ‘lichen (skin disease)’, ugal ‘coal’.

13 But udca (♀ota), Gsg of tuč ‘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. ubesti (lx) INF ‘sting’ (along with a considerable number of attestations with length in this and similar verbs, see above), bez čest (lx) ‘without a heart’ (cf. ubestim lpl).

15 The examples from Čunski and Pag are from Houtzagers’ field-work material. On Pag see also Houtzagers 1987.

16 Cf. in Omišalj bifiti ‘whitewash’, pobeliti ‘make white’ (Vermeur 1984: 278).

REFERENCES

Ćestarić, V. 1966 “Diialekt zadarskog kraja u dinamici suvremenog života”, Zadarska revija 15/6, 471-475.


Hraste, M. 1957a  "Dvoakcenatski sistem u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku", Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku 1, 85-93.
1957b  "O kanovačkom akcentu u Hrvatskoj", Filologija 1, 59-75.
1959  "Osnovna akcentuacija Biograda na moru i njegove okolice", Filologija 2, 5-11.
Ivić, P. 1964  "O govoru ličkih čakavaca (okolina Otočca)", Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku 7, 127-139.
Jakubinskij, L. 1925  "Die Vertretung dei urslavischen č im Čakavischen", Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie 1, 381-396.
Kušar, M. 1894  Rapski dijalekt", Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 118, 1-54.
Milčetić, I. 1895  "Čakavština Kvarnerskih otoka", Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 121, 92-131.
Vermeer, W.R. 1975  "Problems in the synchronic and diachronic phonology of Susak čakavian", Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku 18/2, 139-159.