

# VOWEL SYSTEMS OF THE EKAVIAN DIALECTS SPOKEN ON CRES AND LOŠINJ

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0. The material on which this article is based was gathered during six months of field-work on the islands of Cres and Lošinj in 1980 and 1982<sup>1</sup>. I mainly worked at Orlec; a dialect grammar of this village is planned to appear in the beginning of 1984. One month — April 1982 — I spent visiting other villages on the two islands. I worked in the following villages (from north to south): Beli (Bi), Dragozetići (D), Predošćica (P), Vodice (V,) the town of Cres (C), Orlec (O), Lubenice (L), Belej (Bj), Ustrine (U), Nerezine (N), Sveti Jakov (SJ) and Čunski (Č). The last three villages are on the island of Lošinj.

1.0 A short visit to Čunski was enough to confirm Hamm, Hraste and Guberina's statement, that the boundary between ekavian and i/e-kavian in this area is between Sveti Jakov and Čunski (1956 : 44)<sup>2</sup>. The dialect of Čunski is i/e-kavian and therefore falls outside the group of dialects discussed in the present paper. All dialects north of Čunski are ekavian. Examples (only of Č, SJ, N and O; SJ, N and probably Č: no tone distinction, *ie* < \**ē*, *uo* < \**ō*, *oa* < \**ā*):

*crĭkva* (Č), cf. Asg *crĭekvu* (SJ), *crĕkva* (O); *mišat* (Č), cf. *mešali* (SJ), *mešat* (O); *brince* „quantity which can be carried at a time” (Č), cf. *brience* (N), *brĕnce* (O); *imĭt imĭt* (N, O); *imĭl* (Č), cf. *imĭel* (SJ, N), *imĕl* (U); *vĭjat* (Č), cf. *vĕjat* (N, O); *sĭjat* (Č), cf. *sĕjat* (SJ, N, O); *vĕrĭme* (Č), cf. *vĕrĭeme* (SJ, N), *vĕrĕme* (O); Gsg *vĕrĭmena* (Č), cf. *vĕrĕmena* (SJ), *vĕrĕmena* (O); *vĭdil* (Č), cf. *vĕdeli* (SJ, N, O); *rĭzat* (Č), cf. *rĕzal* (N), *rĕzat* (O); *rĭžen* (Č), cf. *rĕžen* (N), *rĕžen* (O); *lĭpo* (Č), cf. *lĕpo* (SJ, N), *lĕpo* (O); *mĭslit* (Č), cf. *mĕslet* (O); *bieli* (Č); cf. *bielo* (N), *bĕlo* (O); *obieliĭt* „whitewash” (Č), cf. *belĭt* (N, O).

1.1 The ekavian dialects of Cres—Lošinj can be divided into three groups:  
GROUP A Characteristics: 1. \**a* > *e*, e. g. *jedĕn* (C, O, L, Bj), *otĕc* (C, O, L,

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<sup>2</sup> Other interesting isoglosses are:

— *njoazlĕ* (Č; *oa* < \**ā*), cf. *njezlĕ* (SJ, N, O).

— Čunski has diphthongized vowels in pretonic position, e.g. *obieliĭt*, *njoazlā*, Sveti Jakov and Čunski have also diphthongized vowels but never in pretonic or posttonic position, e.g. *belĭt* (N), *obieli* (N).

— the ekavian dialects all have attested neo-circumflex (lengthening resulting in a falling vowel) in e-presents of verbs with fixed stem-stress. North of Sveti Jakov all verbs of this type consistently have neo-circumflex, e.g. *plāĕen*, (O), *potĕže* (O), *ploāĕen* (N; *oa* < \**ā*), *potĕžen* (N; *ie* < \**ē*). In Sveti Jakov only one verb has attested neo-circumflex: *potĕžen* (*ie* < \**ē*) along with *potĕžen* (*ē* < short \**e*; both forms attested several times), but *plāĕen* (*ā* < short \**a*; my realization \**plōĕen* was rejected). In Čunski only one present form of this type of verb has been attested, without neo-circumflex: *rĭžen*. Although it is theoretically possible that Čunski has neo-circumflex in other verbs, the forms attested in Sveti Jakov suggest a transition from presence to absence of neo-circumflex.

Bj), *prišel* (C, O, L, Bj); 2. No diphthongal vowel phonemes. These dialects are spoken in the centre of the island of Cres; Cres (town), Orlec, Lubenice and Belej.

GROUP B Characteristics: 1.  $*ə > a$ , e.g. *jedàn* (Bi, V, P, U), *otàc* (Bi, D), *kabàl* (D, U), *mànje* (P, V); 2. No diphthongal vowel phonemes. This group consists of Beli, Dragozetíci, Predošćica and Vodice (all in the „Tramuntana”, the northern part of Cres), and Ustrine (south of group A on the island of Cres).

GROUP C Characteristics: 1.  $*ə > a$ , e.g. *otàc* (N, SJ), *danàska* (N), *vànka* (SJ); 2. Three diphthongal vowel phonemes *ie*, *uo* and *oa*, which reflect old long vowels and the results of a relatively early lengthening (rule I of par. 1.2), along with corresponding long monophthongs *ê*, *ô* and *â*, which result from a more recent lengthening (rule IV of par. 1.2), e.g. *vrìeme* (SJ), Gsg *vrèmena* (SJ), *brùot* (SJ), Npl *bròdi* (SJ), *zvòali* (N), *prodavàlo* (N). This group consists of Nerezine and Sveti Jakov (both on the island of Lošinj). In group A and B a stressed vowel is either short (˘), long rising (ˆ) or long falling (˜), in group C a stressed vowel is either short (˘) or long (˜). The phonetic realization of the tones in group A and B is not the same as in other čakavian dialects. This fact, in combination with the multitude of long vowels in positions where one expects short ones, has caused much confusion among field-workers (see my 1982 article). None of the dialects has pretonic or posttonic lengths.

1.2 I assume a common vowel system  $*i$  (< $*i$ ,  $*j_b$ ),  $*u$  (< $*u$ ,  $*ø$ ),  $*e$  (< $*e$ ,  $*ě$ ,  $*ē$ ),  $*ə$  (from short jer),  $*əl$  (< $*l̥$ ),  $*ər$  (< $*r̥$ ),  $*o$  (< $*o$ ),  $*a$  (< $*a$  and long jer) and six major changes:

I. Short vowels (expect  $*ə$ )<sup>3</sup> become long and rising before tautosyllabic resonants<sup>4</sup>.

II. Loss of the pretonic and posttonic lengths.

III. Only group C: diphthongization of  $*ā$ ,  $*ē$  and  $*ō$  to *oa*, *ie* and *uo*.

IV. Short  $*a$ ,  $*o$  and  $*e$  become long and rising in stressed non-final syllables.<sup>4</sup>

V. Group A: short  $ə > a$ , long  $*ə > e^5$ ; group B and C: short and long  $*ə > a$ .

VI. Only group C: loss of the tone distinction.

For group C the ordering of I before III, II before III, III before IV and III before V is relevant: the results of I are diphthongized according to III while the results of IV and V are not, and there are no unstressed diphthongs in these

<sup>3</sup>  $*ə$  was lengthened in *tānki* (V), *tēnki* (O), *tānki* (N) ( $*ə > ā/ē$  because of rule V).

<sup>4</sup> There are also instances of short vowels which have been lengthened before *st* and *št*. The words affected by the lengthening (or lengthenings) are not the same for all dialects and even when each dialect is considered separately they do not form a coherent group (or groups):

– infinitives in *-st*, e.g. *prēst* (Bi, P, C, O), *priest* (SJ), *prēst* (N), *ponēst* (Bi, P, O), *plēst* (Bi, O), *krāst* (V, O), *klāst* (O, U), *bōst* (O), *sōst* (O), *oplēst* (U), but *plēst* (JS), *parnēst* (SJ), *jēst* (Bi, D, P, V, O, L, U, SJ), *jēs* (C), *klāst* (N), *propāst* (SJ).

– certain Romance loanwords, e.g. *būšt* „satchel”, *vīst* „eye-sight”, *būšta* „corset” (all O) *ponēstra* „window” (N), but *agūšt*, *lūster* „lamp” (both O).

– the word *neviesta* (N), cf. *mēsto* (N; lengthened by rule V).

<sup>5</sup> In Cres short  $*ə$  and  $*e$  before a tautosyllabic *r* can be realized [e], [ə] or [a], e.g. *parnesèju*, *prnesèju*, Gsg *třsja*, *tārsja*, *nūtar*, *nūter*, *vřli*, *věrzemo*, *vārzes*, *popār*, *popěr*, IMP *farmāj se* „stop”, *frmāj se*, *vēcer*, *vēcar*, Asg *mātar* and, analogically, *vecarēska*, Gsg *mātari*. Forms of the type *mātar* and *vēcar* were neither reported by Tentor 1909 nor by Šojat in Ivić et al. 1981 (cf. p. 238–239).

dialects<sup>6</sup>. The ordering of I before V and IV before V is relevant for each of the three groups: the results of V are not lengthened by I and IV. In this section I shall give only a few examples from Vodice, Orlec and Nerezine:

Rule I: *sīr* (V, O), cf. Ġsg *sīra* (V, O); *govorīl* (N; no tone distinction because of rule VI), cf. *govorīla* (N); *imīel* (N; diphthong because of rule III), cf. *imēla* (N; long monophthong because of rule IV); with \*ə: *jedān* (V), *jedēn* (O).

Rule III: *brūot* (N), *zvōali* (N), *pīet* (N) (old long vowels); *imīel* (N), *kupovōal* (N) (results of I).

Rule IV: Npl *urēhi* „walnut” (V), cf. Nsg *urēh* (V); Gsg *brāta* (O), cf. Nsg *brāt* (O); *nagōre* (N); with \*ə: Npl *pāsi* (V), *pēsi* (O).

Rule V: *jedān* (V), *jedēn* (O), *otēc* (O), *otēc* (N), Gpl *dārf* (V), *dērf* (O), *dārf* (N).

The exceptions to I and IV are relatively few, so that alternations of the type *sīr*, *sīra* and of the type *brāt*, *brāta* may be considered regular. There are, however, enough exceptions to both rules to prevent neutralizations in the synchronical vowel systems of the dialects. The exceptions will be discussed in par. 6.

## 2 Group A

### 2.1 The vowel system is as follows:

stressed				unstressed	
ī	î	ĩ	ù	ú	ũ
ě	ê	ẽ	ò	ô	õ
	à	â	ã		
					a

The short and long falling vowels reflect old short and long falling vowels, respectively. The long rising vowels reflect old long rising vowels or originally short vowels which were lengthened according to rule I or IV. Examples:

CRES old short owels: *nīki* „nobody”, *reklī*, *mīslīn*, *zabīlo* „forget”, *Crēs zovē*, *ovdē* „here”, *jēs* „eat”, *bēcvar<sup>7</sup>*, *vēnka*, *dēlgo*, *vēlna*, Gsg *tārśja* (see note 5), *vīli* „throw”, *vērzero*, *vārzes*, *decā*, *oprāt*, *reklā*, *mlekō*, *kōs* „pannier”, *tlōh*, *ūliki*, Asg *ūru*, *naūcni*; old long falling vowels: Asg *zīmu*, *zīvo* „livestock”, *krumpīr*, *razumēmo*, *lēpo*, *cērf*, *gērdo*, *pasān*, *glās*, *na mōru*, Asg *ōfcu*, *pūst*, Npl *jūdi*; old long rising vowels: *pītate*, *zīvīju*, Gpl *dēc*, Lpl *mestēh*, *vērēh*, *rākna*, *sādi*, *zapūscaju*, Dpl *jūden*, Asg f *kūpjenu*; Rule I: *njīn*, *kjīn*, *ocernēl*, *znāl*, *tovār*, *kōnj*, Gsg *mīlca*; Rule IV: Npl *sēla*, *rēzali*, *strēha*, *znāla*, *kāmīk*, *slātki*, *kōpa*, *smōkva*, *dōle*.

ORLEC old short vowels: *vīnut* „take out”, *devōca*, *īgra*, *karīc*, *kopīto*, *zēt*, *gorēt*, *belēh*, IMP *hēbaj* „listen”, *zēmemo*, *mirēc* „parapet”, *mēlč* „be silent!”, *pēlno*, *pērst*, *zērno*, *tāk*, *kopāt*, *rukāf*, *belmō*, *šīrōk*, *krōf*, *ūle*, *ūfat se*, *obernūt*; old long falling vowels: *vīne*, Asg *škīnu*, *pīr*, *tēsto*, Gpl *vrēc*, *rēt*, *dēlh*, *pēlt*, *žēlč*, Gpl *tērs*, *vērst*, *pās*, Asg *glāvou*, *zā se*, *nōs*, *gōt*, *zgōra*, Asg *rūku*, *ūl*, *sūh*; old long rising vowels: *gorī*, *na pīreh*, *zēt*, *trēst*, *vēže*, *pēlš*, Gpl *bēlh*, Gpl *dērf*, *vērēh*, Gpl *dān*, *zlatār*, *pālīmo*, Gpl *nōh*, Gpl *kokōš*, *pūsti*, Gpl *rūk*, Gpl *dūbac*, *pūt*; Rule I: *sīr*, *dīm*, *posadīl*, *upletēn* (participle), *debēl*, *tēnki*, *znāl*, *krāj* „edge”, *vōl*, IsgDpl *volōn*, Gsp *pūnta* „stitch” Npl *ogūnci* „small piece of wood”, Npl *nadūlci* „unripe fig” (cf. Nsg *pūnet*, *ogūnjek*, *nadūlek*); Rule IV: *lētō*, *vēli*, *vēčer*, *jāma*, Asg *māter*, *znāla*, *gōreka*, *nōsi*, Gpl *ōtac*.

<sup>6</sup> In Čunski pretonic length had not been lost when the diphthongization took place, cf. *obielit* and *njoazlō*.

LUBENICE old short vowels: *govorīt, zajīk, šito, detè, jèst* „eat”, *obèt, dèzji* <sup>7</sup>, *denèška, kèlk* „cliff”, *pèlna, zèrno, tèrsje, sadà, bràt, siromàh, guvnò, bòp, takò, na konjù, va kùce, drùgi*; old long falling vowels: *posìpje*, Gpl *Lubenìc, zèli, zatèzu, bèrzo, zvàli*, Gpl *kráf, dån, mòre, bròt, Bòh* Gpl *ùr, kapùs*; old long rising vowels: *stìsće, pìtamo, mèsamo*, Gpl *mèseci, rèn* „I go”, *Tèrst, sàjeno, lekār*, Npl def *mlàde, nisù, mùliji*, Gpl *jùdi*; Rule I: *pustìl, imèl, zivèl, povedàl, tovàr, tåncał, kònj*; Rule IV: *sèkli, dèlal*, Npl *vèle*, Npl *lèta, tènki, slàma, kràva, prodavàli, govòrimo, dõma*.

BELEJ old short vowels: *žito, ìmam, vèdeli, zagasiło, imèt, u menè, mènje, jedèn, tèrskje, pèrvo, u nàs, deržàt, ovò, živòt, rečenò, vnùk, kùca, vav gradù*; old long falling vowels: *sin, trì, pèt lét, vrème, tást, znàte, navigà, mòre, stò, ófce*, Gpl *kùc*; old long rising vowels: *blizu, olìta*, Lsg *Bèlon, povèda, zgorè, sèdmi, lâne*, Gpl *gláf, netjàk, stàt*, Gpl *jùdi*; Rule I: *načìnil, zagradił, pustìl, utèl* „want”, *navigàł*; Rule IV: *mèsec, na dèlu*, Lsg *Crèsu, po našu, pàmet, gòre* „up”, *mògel*, Asg *konòbu*.

## 2.2 Phonetic remarks.

In all dialects of this group *â* and *ã* have nondistinctive slightly rounded variants, which occur infrequently, mostly before or after labial or nasal consonants. This rounding is strongest and most frequent in Belej, in the other villages it is rare and weaker. In Orlec and Lubenice *ê* and *ẽ* are pronounced very open before *r* (in Orlec the timbre is even close to [a]). Apart from this, in all dialects of group A the phonemes *ê, ẽ, ô* and *õ* are more closed than their short and unstressed counterparts. In Cres and Orlec they have diphthongized variants, which run from open to more closed in Cres ([ei], [ou]), and from closed to more open in Orlec ([ie], [uo]). These variants are nondistinctive: the frequency and the degree of diphthongization of a vowel in a certain word have no connection with its origin, e. g. they are the same in *sènca* „sun”, *zèt, sème* and *sèdon* (all 0). This phenomenon must not be confounded, as Hamm, Hraste and Guberina did (cf. 1956:49), with the situation in Nerezine and Sveti Jakov: the latter dialects have distinctive diphthongal vowel phonemes.

## 3 Group B

3.1 Dragozetići and Vodice have the same vowel system as group A (see par. 2.1). The only difference is that \**ə* is not reflected as *e* but as *a* (rule V). Examples:

DRAGOZETIĆI old short vowels: *cetìri*<sup>7</sup>, *ze zličami, malžìci, covèk, na ofcè gorèt, znojràc* „diver (bird)”, *ogànj*, Gsg *vàlni*, comp *bàrže*, Gsg *tàrsja, pàrvo*, G *vàs*, Npl *darvà, stavjàt, però, krizuhò* „certain ear-mark”, Asg *kozù, Gsg mùki* „suffering”, *ùra*; old falling vowels: *mì, vì, za žìmu*, Gsg *kumpìra, prekìneju, povèc, sprèda, mèso, razumète*, Gpl *besèt, sàn* „alone”, *jàko, màst, tån* „there”, *ozdèla, bròt, ùli, grùh*; old long rising vowels: *ìsće, Ipl kamìci, běli*, Gpl *dèc, unvrèt, po jutrèh, Gpl dārf, Gpl mārvtvih*, Gsg f *cetārte*, Gpl *ovàc, po ofcāh, do vrāt, posùda, nùtre*; Rule I: *kropìl, na nžen, vezàl, postòl*; Rule IV: *brème, parnèsal*, Gsg *jāsmika, zājeno, dōbri, kōla*.

<sup>7</sup> The dialects of Dragozetići, Cres and Lubenice have no distinction *s-š, z-ž, c-č* (cakavian). In Beli come speakers have the distinction and others have not. My notation will follow the richer idiolect.

VODICE old short vowels: *pobìrat*, G *dvìh*, *varašìci*, *va ušìjah*, *želèt*, *rastè*, *lemèš*, Gsg *putà*, *do varhà*, *s mànu*, *kàsno*, *zàmen*, IMP *hàbaj* „listen”, *sòn* „I am”<sup>8</sup>, *zdàlbano*, Gsg *vàlni*, *màrvìce*, *smàrt*, *ìlòh*, *pomòc*, *ùle*, *ùmar*, *čùla*, old long falling vowels: *škrìj* „flat stone”, *dìgnen*, *bìl*, Gpl *malzìc* „milk-sheep”, *se posèden*, *vrème*, *dvè*, *pedesèt*, *dàn*, *stànen*, *kàn* „whither”, *bòk*, *nòc*, *pól*, *mùš*, Asg *rùku*, Gpl *ùr*; old long rising vowels: *šìrìnja*, *po dajìne*, *mèšano*, *va gradèh*, *vlèc*, Gpl *dàrf*, Nsg def *čàrni*, *lekàr*, *stàt*, Gpl *janjác*, *na nogàh*, Isg *rukù*, *ovùda*, *zapùšceno*; Rule I: *pustìl*, D *njin*, *pojèl*, Dpl *ofcàn*, Npl *tànke*, *potegnùl*; Rule IV: *v lète*, *vèje* „thin branches with leaves”, Npl *pèra*, *pod ofcàmi*, *nàpret*, *hòdiju*, *onò dòba*.

### 3.2 Phonetic remarks on Dragozetići and Vodice.

What was said in par. 2.2 about the nondistinctive rounded variants of *â* and *ã* applies also to these two dialects. In Dragozetići the rounded variants are rare, in Vodice they are not. In Vodice *ò*, *õ*, *è* and *ě* are more closed than their short and unstressed counterparts. In Dragozetići *ò* and *õ* are almost as open, and *è* and *ě* are quite as open as their short and unstressed counterparts.

3.3 In Beli, Predošćica and Ustrine *â* and *ã* have become rounded (in my notation *â̂*, *ã̂*) except in a few proper names. This rounding must have taken place after rule IV and V, cf *nã̂zat*, Gpl *dã̂rf* (both Bi). The vowel system of these dialects is as follows:

stressed		unstressed	
ĩ	î	ĩ	ũ
ẽ	ê	e	o
à	(ã)		a

The phonemes in parentheses are marginal:

— *ã̂* does not exist in Ustrine; in Beli and Predošćica it occurs only in the superlative prefix *nã̂j-*, e.g. *nã̂jprè* (Bi), *nã̂jstàreji* (Bi), Ssg f *nã̂jzã̂dnju* (Bi), *nã̂jjã̂ca* (P), *nã̂jviše* (P), and the numerals „11—29”. e.g. *jedanã̂jst* (Bi), *šešnã̂jst* (P), *dvã̂jset* (Bi, P), *dvã̂jsti jedàn* (Bi). The shortness in these forms is distinctive, cf. *krã̂j* „king” (Bi), *lã̂jna* „ball of dung” (Bi). This group of words is exceptional in all dialects of group A, B and C (see par. 6). — *ã̂* has been attested only twice in Beli and once in Predošćica: *Mã̂rka* (Bi), *Zã̂grop* (Bi), *Bã̂nić* (P; my realization \**Bã̂nić* was rejected by the informant).

In Ustrine long unrounded *a* has not been attested, and it has no *ã̂* (cf. *nã̂jviše*, *dvã̂jset*), so that there is no proof that the rounding of long *a* in this village is distinctive.

<sup>8</sup> This form has a short *o* in all dialects north of the town. In all other dialects the form is *sòn*, which one expects in the case of group A but not in the case of Ustrine (group B) and Nerezine and Sveti Jakov (group C).

## Examples:

BELI old short vowels: Gsg *zemjì*, *z otìmi vìli*, *vìsel*, *zaprè*, *po zimè*, *vanè*, *jèst* „eat”, *Vazàn*, *zàmemo*, Asg *báčvu*, *màša*, *kàšnje*, *obàlcina*, Asg *vàlmu*, *dàlgi*, *kàlčic* „ball (e.g. of wool)”, *zatàrt*, Gsg *vàrcina* „champer-pot”, *siromàh*, *zoràt*, *daržimò*, *konòp*, *kùp*, *po vratù*, *krùh*, *ùzlicì*; old long falling vowels: *sìsne*, *vìnete*, *zìt*, *péc* „oven”, *ne smèš*, *zèh* „brand”, *rèže*, Gpl *urèh*, Asg *hécér*, *dàñ*, *jàko*, *sàmi*, *vàñ* „hither”, *Gàšpe*, *nòs*, *pól*, *gnjòj*, Gpl *gròt* „rock”, *skròza*, Isg *mùžen*, *zùbi*, *ba rùki*; old long rising vowels: *bolì*, *nì* „is not”, *daržì*, *groì*, *Bèli*, *scèdi*, *zaprèt*, Asg *crèkvu*, *vràta*, *ščàp*, Gpl *dàn*, *ovàc*, Gpl *dàrf*, *rekù* „say”, Isg *vodù*, *pùt*; Rule I: Dpl *svìn*, *posèl* „sit down”, *daržàl*, *z vargnjàn* „plouht”, *stól*, *povarnùl*; Rule IV: Lpl *plè-čéh*, Ipl *ramèni*, *darvèni*, *čavjèna*, *ràme*, *kàmik*, *ràlo*, *nàzat*, *z vòli*, *pòbralo*, Gsg *nòci*, *mòlimo*.

PREDOŠĆICA old short vowels: IMP *mulì*, *nišì*, Npl *putì*, *zeš njìmi*, *kedè*, *nèč* „something”, *mlèt*, *žajàn* „thirsty”, *dubàc*, *vànka*, *zàrno*, *kladàt*, *kol nàs*, *sestrà*, *kigòt*, *bilò*, *vakò* „like this”, *ùmar*, *na varhù*, *po jùgu*; old long falling vowels: *digne*, *pìl* „drink”, *sèje*, *drèvo*, *pèst* „handful”, *zvàl*, *zàč* „why”, Gpl *bràt*, *Bòh*, *zgòra*, *jùdi*, *rùki*; old long rising vowels: *nìmamo*, *va Bèlon*, *vèžemo*, *pcvèj* „tell”, *povèn*, *četàrto*, Nsg m *čàrni*, *zidàr*, *stàr* „16 kg of corn”, *z rukù*, *kùpìmo*, *mùlec* (gerund), *ogùjene*; Rule I: *naučìl*, Asg f *tànku*, *poslál*; Rule IV: Asg *zèmjù*, *porèzat*, *zes vàmì*, *slàbo*, Gpl *nakòvi*, *kòkoši*, *òson*.

USTRINE old short vowels: *sìgoda* „this year”, Npl *feralì* „lantern”, *sìla* „much”, *hjàp*, *vaf pecè*, *čàbric*, *zatàrile*, *tàrsje*, *dàlga*, Gsg *darvà*, *visokà*, *žìžinàt* „fast”, *parneslò*, *mlekò*, *ovò*, *krùšvi*, *zùt se* „take off ones shoes”, *otharnùlo* (odgrnuti); old long falling vowels: Gpl *slif*, *razrèže*, Isg *ždrèpon* „cork”, *znàñ*, Gpl *fàš* „certain quantity of fire-wood”, *pòst*, *bròt*, Asg *jùhu*, Gpl *frùt*; old long rising vowels: *poznìva*, Lpl *mestèh*, *vèžz*, *dodž*, Gpl *dàrf*, Lpl *žàrneh* „hand-mill”, *sùša*, *ze z jùdi ovùda*; Rule I: *urodìl*, *s konjèn*, *tànki*, *obàlklo*, *z vinòn*; Rule IV: *v lète*, *dèlali*, Gsg *jàbalk*, *nà more*, Npl *dòbre*, *s kònji*.

## 3.4 Phonetic remarks on Beli, Predošćica and Ustrine.

The (distinctive) rounding of long *a* in Predošćica is phonetically the same as the (nondistinctive) rounding in group A, and Dragozetici and Vodice of group B (see par. 2.2 and 3.2). In Beli and Ustrine the rounding is stronger. To give a very rough idea of the difference: it can be compared with the timbre difference between the stressed vowels in the English words *father* (less rounded) and *lawyer* (more rounded). Though geographically very remote from each other, Beli and Ustrine are very similar in phonetic respect, e.g. in both dialects short and unstressed *o* are almost not rounded.

## 4 Group C

## 4.1 The vowel system is as follows:

stressed				unstressed	
ì	î	ù	û	i	u
	ïe		ûo	e	o
è	ê	ò	ô		a
		òa			
	à	â			

## Examples:

NEREZINE old short vowels: *prīdu*, *hodīli*, *dvīzat*, Npl *puī*, *očīstimo*, *nīg-dere* „nowhere”, Npl *tvōjī*, *zi šcapičen*, Asg *malzīcu* „milk-sheep”, *pēc* „bake”, *nasrēt*, *kladē*, *posēc*, *dadš*, *tebē*, *talčē*, *Vazān*, *otāc*, IMP *hābaj* „listen”, *prišāl*, *mā-nji*, *napārčeno*, *pārč*, *vārgli*, *napālmi*, *dālgō*, *vālna*, *od varhā*, *od dažjā*, Asg *gospodarā*, *bogatāš*, *darvō*, *japnō*, *jōš*, *njezlō*, *na brodū*, *spūtīt*, *ūmar*; old long falling vowels: Gpl *rīp*, *za zīmu*, *sīn*, *dostīgnemo*, *zīt*, *sprēt*, *līepo*, Npl *kīe* „which”, *razumīeš*, *šīest*, *mīeso*, *pīec* „oven”, Npl *grīede*, Gpl *līet*, Gpl *tārs*, *bārzo*, *od zlōata*, *kvōas*, *znōamo*, *zōa nju*, *zvdālī*, *ustōane*, *lōaje*, Gsg *jōaja*, *brūot*, *pūol*, *stūo*, *ūli*, *rūmo*, *kūc*, *jūdi*, *bez mūža*; old long rising vowels: *pītajte*, *žīvi*, *blīzu*, *bolī*, *pūt*, *gorī*, *dīel*, *razdīe-jen*, *vīeže*, *rīeš* „you go”, *obielite*, *napriegnjeni*, *kamīenje*, *oblīec*, *jīe*, *z dārvi*, Gpl *dārf*, *umārļa*, *s krōatkimi rukōavi*, *vrōata*, *ščōap*, Gpl *kūos* „goat”, *pūt*, *zis pīlū*, *pūsti*, *zis kozū*, *mūtre*, Gpl *jūdi*; Rule I: *dīm*, *brīence*, *pojīel*, *modīerno*, *vezōal*, *vūol*, *ziz repūon*; Rule IV: *lēto*, *parnēsāl*, *do jēzera*, *čavjēne*, Gsg *Crēsa*, *smrēka*, *mēsto*, *dēla*, *do Vrāne*, *nāpol*, *zā pust*, *pāla*, *navīgāli*, Asg *māter*, *vāvek*, *tovāra*, *govōriju*, *Ipl brōdi*, *hōdi*.

SVETI JAKOV old short vowels: *naučīli*, *stīsnut*, *umīraju*, *počīnen* (see note 2), *pogīne*, *dvīže*, *vīdel*, *korīst*, *predē*, *kedē*, *človēk*, *ovdē*, Gsg *zemjē*, *prazān*, *hāba* „listen”, *danāška*, *prišāl*, *sekārva*, Gsg *f pārve*, *dālgī*, Asg *vālnu*, *travā*, Gsg *togā*, Gsg *popā*, *teplō*, *pōp*, *čegōt*, *ūmar*, *na mūrū*; old long falling vowels: *hči*, *līst*, *pīet*, *mīeso*, *svīet*, *fčīera*, *dvīe*, *umīe*, *prieko*, *līepo*, *zīel*, *četaradesīet*, *vrīeme*, Gsg *gvīere* „war”, *bārzo*, *zōa te*, *hlōadno*, *nōa se* „back”, *dvōa*, *vājōa*, *kōa*, *glōat*, *sōami*, *znōaš*, *brūot*, *mūore*, *ūof* „this”, *lūoj*, *odsgūora*, *skrūos*, *Būoh*, Gpl *ūr*, Dsg *mūžu*, *tūsto*; old long rising vowels: *žīve*, *pīta*, *grīe*, Gpl *mesīeci*, *na Bīelon*, *mīešamo*, *umrīet*, *mīecete*, *povīej*, *Lpl stīenah*, *Npl žīenske*, *Asg crīekvu*, *Gpl dīec*, *povīeda*, *umārļa*, *Gpl dōan*, *mījōar*, *Gpl ovōac*, *nōac*, *lōane*, *hrōanīn*, *Apl netjōaci*, *grūozje*, *Gpl pūti*, *pūšcāju*, *šūša*, *naučī*, *gedū*, *z nogū*; Rule I: *učīl*, *imīel*, *pisōal*, *D nōan*, *znōal*, *krōaj* „shore”, *škūoj*, *ziz vinūon*; Rule IV: *dēlat*, *do nēba*, Gsg *vrēmena*, *Asg zēnju*, *nāzat*, *nā misal*, *Lpl krā-jeh* „region”, *māžeš*, *nāši*, *drugāčīje*, *znāli*, *plāčen*, *hōdi*, *dōle*, *Npl nōge*, *kōpamo*.

## 4.2 Phonetic remarks.

The first element of the diphthongs *ie*, *uo* and *oa* is much more prominent than the second, e.g. *ie* sounds like a long stressed *i* followed by a short unstressed *e*. The long monophthongs *ē* and *ō* are very often — especially in Nerezine — pronounced as closed diphthongs ([ei], [ou]), very much like, *ē*, *ē*, *ō*, *ō* in Cres (see par. 2.2), so that such alternations as *imīel*, *imēla* and *brūot*, *brōda* can be realized [imiel], [imeila] and [bruot], [brouda] (all N).

5. The examples given in par. 2, 3 and 4 are mainly words of Slavic origin. Regarding the Romance loanwords I tentatively assume that the stressed vowel was originally either long falling or short, e.g. *rīva*, *gvēra*, *kunjādo*, *kolōr*, *fūga* „haste”, *drīto*, *dešpēt* „damage”, *kuntrāt* „contract”, *būro* „butter” (all O), Gsg *gvīere*, Gsg *fažūola* „bean(s)”, *marmelōada* (all N). The loanwords with long rising vowels generally fit the conditions of the rules I and IV, e.g. *šijil* „seal”, cf. Gsg *šijīla*, *kunšēra* „tomato-purée”, *mījār* „thousand”, *šōldī* „money”, *žūnj* „July” (sic), cf. Gsg *žūnja*, *kalcēta* „sock”, *čāvel* „nail”, *grōta* „rock” (all O). About such words as *būšta*, *vīšt*, etc. see note 4.

6. In the following words the stressed vowel is short although one would expect it to be long (the list is not complete):

— The words which in Beli and Predošćica have  $\text{ä}$  (see par. 3.3): the superlative prefix *näj-*, e.g. *näjstǎreji* (Bi), *näjbölja* (D), *näjjäča* (P), *näjšiše* (V, L, Bj, U), *näjmlāja* (C), *näjägöre* (O), *näjmänji* (N), *näjstarēji* (SJ) and the numerals „11–29” e.g. *dvǎjset* (Bi, P), *dvǎjset* (D, V, O, U, P), *dvǎjsti jedēn* (O), *petnǎjst* (L, Bj), Gsg f *osovnǎjste* (SJ).

— Comparatives forms with *-j-* and *-č-*, e.g. *krāće* (Bi), Npl *věće* (D), *böje* (P, C, Bj), *těže* (V), *göre* (O), *děbje* (L), *rēja* (U), *lěpće* (N), *drāže* (SJ). But: *věca|věće* (V), *böje|böje* (C), *mlāja* (C), *drāže|drāže* (O), *mlāji|mlāji* (O), *děbje|dēbju* (N), *göre* (N), *böje* (N), *věca* (SJ), *mlāji* (SJ), *göre|göre* (SJ).

— Verbs of the type *lǎjat* (O), *sějat* (O), e.g.: *vějat* (Bi, N), *sějali* (D, C, L), *sějalo* (P), *lǎjal* (V), *kǎjat* (O), IMP *kǎji* (O), IMP *ověji* (O), GER *vějuc* (O), *pre-sějat* (U), *vějat* (N), *lǎjat* (SJ). In SJ also the present has a short vowel, whereas the other dialects have neo-circumflex, e.g.: *lǎje* (SJ), *sěje* (SJ), *lǎaje* (N), *vieješ* (N), *sěje* (O).

— Present forms with the endings *-ēn*, *-ēmo*, *-ēte*, *-ēju*, e.g. *prospěmo* (Bi), *čěmo* (Bi), *pecěmo* (D), *pasěmo* (P), *zovēju* (V), *padēn* (V), *obelcēju* (C), *pletēte* (O), *umrēn* (L), *kladēju* (U), *naberěmo* (N), *rečěmo* (SJ).

— Words with a stressed *a* followed by *u*, e.g. *Āustrija* (D, O, L, SJ), Isg *Āustriju* (C), *pǎuk* (O), *pǎučina* (O), *ǎuto* (O), Npl *ǎuti* (N). No attestations of long vowels in this position.

— All forms of the verbs *mǎrat* (O) (sometimes *mǎrat* (O)), *pǎšnet* (O) and *stǎvit* (O), e.g. *stǎvi* (Bi), *mǎralo* (Bi), *pǎšnite* (Bi), *pǎšneli* (D), *stǎvili* (D, V), *mǎraju* (V), *pǎšne* (V), *mǎrali* (C), *pǎcelo* (C), *stǎvijju* (C), *stǎvite* (L), *mǎral* (L, Bj), *pǎce* (L), *pǎšnel* (SJ), *mǎraš* (SJ).

— Group B: in paradigms which have a nepostojano *a* in endingless forms: *sěkal* (Bi, V), *sěkli* (Bi, D, P, B), *sǎpaj* „certain ear-mark” (Bi, D), Npl *sǎpji* (Bi, D), *větär* (Bi, D), *splǎšan* „not fastidious where food is concerned” (D, V), *splǎšnoga* (V), *grǎbar* (D, P, V), Asg f *těplu* (D). But: *sǎpaj* (P, V), *těpal* (V), *těpli* (V).

— Only attested at Orlec and further to the north: stem-stressed forms of verbs with stresse  $\text{ä}$  suffix *-nu-* in the infinitive, e.g. *potegnüt*, *potěgne*, *potpuhnüla*, *napühnemo*, *pregnüt*, *prěgne*, *oběrnüt*, *oběrne*, cf. *stisnut*, *stisne*, *püknut*, *pükne* (all O). Other dialects: *potěgnu* (Bi), *napühnemo* (D), *protěgne* (V), *obǎrnjena* (V), *pogǎrne* (C), *obǎrneju* (C). Cf. Npl *prěgnjene* (N).

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