

*STUDIES IN  
SLAVIC AND GENERAL  
LINGUISTICS*

*VOLUME 10*

*edited by*

*A.A. Barentsen*

*B.M. Groen*

*R. Sprenger*

DUTCH STUDIES IN SOUTH SLAVIC  
AND BALKAN LINGUISTICS

*edited by*

*A.A. Barentsen*

*B.M. Groen*

*R. Sprenger*



- Spasova, A.  
 1957 "Neologizmите на Penčo Slavejkov", *Izvestija na Instituta za  
 bǎlgarski ezik* 5, 207-269.
- Stojkov, Stojko  
 1968<sup>2</sup> *Bǎlgarska dialektologija*, Sofija.
- Vǎlčev, Veličko  
 1968 "Penčo Slavejkov i narodnoto tvorčestvo", *Folklor i literatura*,  
 Sofija, 103-138.

ON THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF THE ČAKAVIAN DIALECTS SPOKEN ON  
 THE ISLAND OF PAG

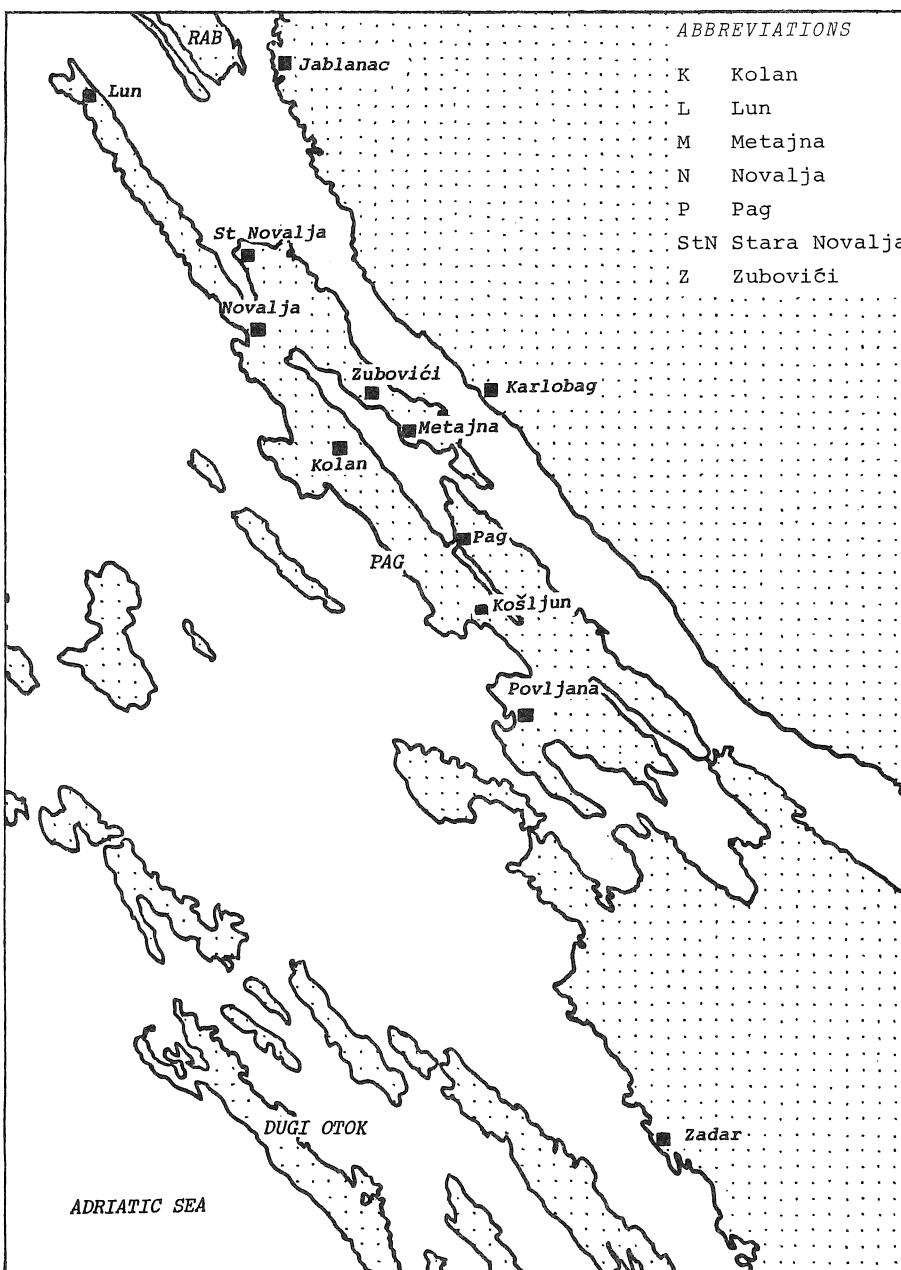
H.P. HOUTZAGERS

1. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

1.1 Pag is one of the Čakavian areas on which very little information can be found in the available literature. The material published so far consists of short notes, all dating from between 1955 and 1966<sup>2</sup>. The present article, which is based on field-work material gathered in 1985<sup>3</sup> and 1987, is meant as a survey of the main characteristics of the Čakavian dialects spoken on the island. Some phenomena which deserve special attention, such as the vowel lengthenings mentioned in §2.2, will be dealt with more extensively on some later occasion.

1.2 The following places on the island will be discussed in the present paper: Lun (L), Stara Novalja (StN), Novalja (N), Kolan (K), Zubovići (Z), Metajna (M) and the town of Pag (P). Košljun, which I also visited, will not be dealt with separately, since the dialect spoken there is identical with that of the town of Pag. The two or three families which make up the entire population of Košljun - not counting the owners of week-end cottages - came from Pag one or two generations ago.

My material from Povljana seems to corroborate Hraste's observation (1956b: 390), that the dialect forms a transition between Pag Čakavian and the neo-Štokavian dialects which - also according to Hraste - are spoken in the south-east of the island. It would be very interesting to study this transition in detail, but for that to be possible, more must be known about the adjoining neo-Štokavian dia-



lects. The dialect of Povljana will therefore fall outside the scope of the present article<sup>4</sup>.

1.3 My material consists of approximately 24 hours of tape-recorded speech: 10 hours from Novalja and between 1 and 4 hours from the other places on the island. The age of the informants - nearly all female - varied between 55 and 81 years (1987).

## 2. PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 ACCENTUATION AND VOWEL INVENTORY

The dialects under discussion all show distinctive length in the stressed and first pretonic syllable. In the other syllables length is not distinctive and the vowels are phonetically short. There is no phonological pitch opposition. The dialects can be divided into two groups according to the number of vowel phonemes. Group A: the three northernmost villages (L StN N), which have only the five 'classical' vowels; Group B: the remaining villages (K Z M P), which have, in addition, a rounded low vowel (*a*) in long syllables.

Thus:

#### group A (L StN N)

stressed and first pretonic syllable		other syllables
long	short	
ī	ū	i u
ē	ō	e o
ā		ā

#### group B (K Z M P)

stressed and first pretonic syllable		other syllables
long	short	
ī	ū	i u
ē	ō	e o
ā	ā	ā

All dialects have a syllabic *r*, which is always short.

Long stressed vowels will be marked <sup>~</sup>, short stressed vowels <sup>˘</sup>.

On the opposition <sup>˘</sup>*a* vs. <sup>~</sup>*a* in group B the following remarks must be made:

- <sup>˘</sup>*a* is a rare phoneme: in stressed syllables I have attested it only in the word *vrâg* (K Z) 'devil'<sup>5</sup> and in the Gsg ending -<sup>˘</sup>*a* in *zrnjâ* 'grains' (K; only 1 attestation), in pretonic syllables I have no attestation at all (the only attested end-stressed form of *vrâg* has a short pretonic *a*: *ko stô vrâgôv* 'like a hundred devils' (N K)).
- My material does not contain any attestation of the relevant word or the relevant morphological ending from M and P, so that for these places the opposition <sup>˘</sup>*a* vs. <sup>~</sup>*a* is purely hypothetical<sup>6</sup>.

## 2.2 LENGTHENINGS

In general, the old place of the stress has been preserved<sup>7</sup>, and, in the first pretonic syllable, also the old quantities<sup>8</sup>. In stressed syllables a number of lengthenings have taken place:

- I. As in many other Serbo-Croatian dialects, vowels have often been lengthened before tautosyllabic resonants, e.g. *dâm* (StN N), cf. *dîma* Gsg (N); *jânjca* Gsg (K) 'lamb', *jânjci* Npl (StN N), cf. *jânjac* Nsg (K); *brûnči * DIM, cf. *brûnac* (N P) 'pan'; *  nt* (L N), *u  nt* (Z M) 'do'; *s  r* (StN N K M), cf. *s  ra* Gsg (N K); *tov  r* 'ass' (N), *tov  r* (K), cf. *tov  ra* Gsg (N K); *im  l*, cf. *im  li* (N); *op  nci* Npl 'type of peasant shoe', cf. *op  nak* Nsg (N); *nev  ljea* Gsg (L), *nev  jci* Npl (Z) 'inhabitant of Novalja', *nev  jka* (K), *nev  jke* Npl (Z) 'female inhabitant of Novalja', cf. *nev  ljac* (L); *p  nti* Npl (L N) 'stitch', cf. *p  nat* (N).

But: *b  ljci* Npl (StN N K Z) 'type of blanket'; *p  nj* (L N K) 'vine'; *ml  n* (K) 'mill'; *  jte* (Z) 'listen (IMP)'.

- II. \**o* in word-final syllables has almost always been lengthened, e.g. *ot  c* (L StN N), *ot  c* (K Z M P); *kab  l* (N) 'tub', *kab  l* (K); *dan  s* 'to-day' (L StN N), *dan  s* (K Z P); *v  z  n* 'Easter' (pretonic \**o* also lengthened here, but *v  z  n* (Z)) (L StN N), cf. *v  zm  * Gsg (N); *d    * (L StN N), *d    * (K Z), cf. *da  j  * Gsg (N Z) 'rain'; *jed  n* 'one' (L StN N), *jed  n* (K M P); *l  s  c* (L StN N) 'fox'; *og  nj* (L StN

N) 'fire'; *  lj  c* (N), *  lj  c* (Z) 'young sheep'; *kot  l* (N) 'kettle' (N), *kot  l* (P); *kon  c* (N) 'thread'; *p  t  k* (N) 'Friday', *p  t  k* (P); *j  p  n* 'lime' (N); *  l* 'went' (N), *  l* (K); *j  r  m* 'yoke' (N); *t  t  c* 'uncle' (N).

But: *  lj  c*, *dv  z  c* 'two-year old sheep', *j  r  m*, *  v  v* 'seam', *t  t  c*, *v  z  n* (all K), *molj  c* 'moth', *  v  c* 'nerve' (N) (no more counterexamples found in my material);

III. There are many cases of vowel-lengthening in closed final syllables and before consonant clusters (not always in the same words all over the island). The words affected by the lengthenings do not form a coherent group (or groups), so that I cannot give any clear-cut rule. Examples: *b  b* 'broad bean', cf. *bob  * Gsg (L StN N K P); *kr  h* (L StN N K M P), *kr  v* (Z); *  st  t* (L N), *  sti* PR 3sg (K), *  st  t* (M); *  sto/  sto* (N), (but *  sto* (StN N)); *l  hta* 'elbow' Gsg (N), *l  kt  * (M), cf. *l  kat* Nsg (N); *m  sto* (L StN N), cf. *m  sto* (M), *m  sti* Gpl (Z)); *p  st* (L StN N K); *pr  st* (L StN N K); *  blak* (StN), but *  blaci* (K)); *d  ska* 'board' (L), *d  sku* (N), *d  sku* (P); *m  sline* 'olive' Npl (L), *m  slina* Nsg (N), *m  sline* (K); *n    * 'our' (StN), *n    * (Z); *n    * 'us' (L StN N), *n    * (K Z M); *v  s* 'you' (StN), *v  s* (K Z); *j    * 'still' (Z M P); *k  sno* 'late' (StN N), *k  sno* (Z P), (but *k  sno* (K)); *l  sno* (je - 'there is time') (K); *br  kva* 'nail' (Z) (but *br  kva* (N)); *br  t* 'brother' (Z M) (but *br  t* (L StN N K)); *r  kla* 'said' (StN N K), cf. *r  kal* (N); *p  kli* (N K), *p  klo* (Z), *p  kle* (P), cf. *p  kal* (N); *b  cve* 'barrel' Npl (L), *b  cva* (N), *b  cva* (Z) (but *b  cve* (K P)); *  zli* 'knot' Npl, cf. *  sal* (K); *ob  d* 'midday meal' (StN K Z M), *ub  d* (N); *  v  k* (M), *c  v  k* (P) (but *  v  k* (K Z)); *p  sm  s* 'begin' (N), *p  cm  * (K); *d  d* (StN N P) (but *d  d* (Z)); *br  skva* 'peach' (N); *  uf  t* 'loft' (Z); *bo    * 'Christmas' (Z M), *pirun  c* DIM 'fork', *grozd  c* DIM 'bunch' (Z) (but *bo    * (L StN), *mladi  * (L), *kaj  c* 'small boat' (StN)).

Lengthenings similar to those exemplified under II and III have taken place in a great number of Central Čakavian and also some Northwest Čakavian dialects<sup>10</sup>, but have, to my knowledge, never been satisfactorily explained. It is conceivable that a detailed comparison of all the relevant material from the whole area would throw some light on the matter.

## 2.3 REFLEXES OF \*ě/ë

Original \*ě/ë is reflected as *i/î* or *e/ë*, according to Jakubinskij's law: *e/ë* 'vor harten Vorderzungenlauten' (i.e. *d, t, z, s, n, r, l* not followed by *j* or a front vowel) and *i/î* everywhere else (1925: 381). No alternations within inflectional paradigms (through analogy), e.g. *děl* 'part' Npl after *děl* Nsg (N), *rízali* 'cut' after *ríže* (N). I shall give a full list of \*ě/ë-reflexes found in my material.

Expected *i/î*:

*pobῆgne* 'run away' (N K P)<sup>11</sup>; *bῆjaše* IPF 3sg 'be' (L StN N); *bilῆg* 'ear-mark' (StN N K Z); *biližât* 'earmark' (N); *ubilile* 'whitewash' (L K M); *biljac* 'type of blanket' (N); *bížal* 'run' (N K); *žabolile* 'hurt' (P); *bríme* 'burden' (N); *bríneca* 'certain quantity (of wood, etc.)' Npl (N); *brígov* 'mountain' Gpl (L N K); *bubriča* Gsg 'kidney' (N); *ocídi* 'filter' 3sg (N); *cípât* 'graft' (L K); *críkva* (L StN N K M P); *eríva* 'intestine' (N); *čovíka* (L N K Z M P); *čípnja/čípnja* 'hollow piece of earthenware under which bread is baked' (= standard *erijep*) (N); *dílile* 'divide' (N K M P); *dílnici* 'person who shares' Npl (N); *zadít* 'get entangled' (L N K P); *dítě*, *dicâ* (L StN N K Z M P); *zdívât* 'unpick' (N); *díteline* 'clover' Gsg (N); *divôjčice* DIM 'girl' (L N K Z); *dökli* 'as long as' (P); *döli* 'down' (N K Z M); *drívlja* Gsg 'trees' (L); *gòri* (L StN N K Z M P) 'up'; *nagorít* 'light' (N K P); *sagríšit* 'sin' (K); *grihotâ* 'waste' (N); *gríh* 'sin' (N K Z); *zagrižalo* 'heat' (N); *hljib* 'loaf' (L K); *pðjili* 'eat' (L N K Z M P); *kadi/dì* 'where' (N Z P); *dikðd* 'wherever' (StN); *drugdì* 'elsewhere' (K); *kudílja* 'distaff' (N K); *lâni* 'last year' (StN N K Z M); *lîk* 'medicine', *likâra* 'doctor' (N); *lîpo* ADV 'nice' (L StN N K M P); *nâlije* 'pour' (N K); *zalîvan* 'water' (N K M P); *lîvo* 'left' (N K); *mîsi* 'bags' (L N K); *mîrilo* 'measure' (N K Z); *mîsec* 'month, moon' (L StN N Z M P); *mîsečina* 'moonlight' (N); *umîsit* 'knead' (L StN N K Z M P); *mîšât* 'mix' (N K Z P); *mlîkð* 'milk' (L N K Z M P); *mlît* 'grind' (StN N K M P); *umrít* (StN N K M P); *mrižice* DIM 'net' (N K); *nistè* 'you are not' (N K P); *nî bilo* 'was not' (N K); *nedîlja* 'Sunday' (N M P); *orîh* 'nut' (K); *plít* 'weed' (N); *plivít* 'weed' (K P); *plîvel* 'chaff (?)' (K); *ponedîljak* 'Monday' (N); *prenít* 'bring

over' (StN N K M P); *ðsik* 'enclosure' (N); *otîle* 'wanted' (L N K P); *pinězi* 'money' (Z); *prije* 'before' (N K); *nâjpri* 'first' (N); *pîvat* 'sing' (StN N); *žaplînít* 'confiscate' (P); *uprít* 'pry' (N); *prolîčeu* Lsg 'spring' (N); *rîč* 'word' (N); *Rîka* 'Rijeka' (L StN N); *sîkavac* 'thistle' (N); *osîčeno* 'cut off' (N K P); *sidîli* 'sit' (N K M P); *síjalo* 'sow' (L StN N K Z M P); *síme* 'seed' (K Z); *sírišéa* 'rennet' Gsg (N K P); *slîpa* 'blind' (N); *ne smî*, *smîli* 'be allowed' (L StN N K); *smîšni* 'funny' (N); *smîjë* 'laugh' (L N K Z); *smîšu* 'mixture' (N); *snîga* 'snow' Gsg (StN N P); *sriča* 'happiness' (N), *nèsriči* Dsg (K); *sričan* (N); *sričnjen* 'middle' Lsg n (M); *ostârila* 'grow old' (N); *stînj* 'wick' (N K Z P); *Stîpana* Gsg (N); *svičâ* 'candle' (L N K Z P); *svitîli* 'emit light' (N); *svitlî* 'lighten' (N); *tîme* 'crown' (N); *potîrala* 'chase away' (N); *trpîli* 'suffer' (P); *umîtë* 'be able' (N); *razumít* 'understand' (L N K Z); *vant* 'outside' (StN N K P); *uvík* (L StN N Z M P), *vâvik* (K) 'always'; *pripovîdâli* 'command' (N K); *vîdit* (L StN N Z M); *víjalo* 'winnow' (K M P); *obîsit* 'hang up' (N P); *vrîče* 'bag' (L StN N K Z); *uvrîdít* 'offend' (N Z); *vrîme* (L StN N K Z P); *nêvrîme* 'thunderstorm' (N K); *zazrîju* 'ripen' (N); *ždrîb* 'dice' (N); *živít* (L StN N Z M P); comparative suffix: *finiža* 'finer', *bogatiži* (N).

Expected *e/ë*:

*bêle* 'white' (N Pl); *besêde* 'word' (Z); *blêda* (N); *brêskva* 'peach' (N); *cêli* (N K P); *cénê* 'cheap' (StN); *cêsta* 'road' (N K); *cvetâ* 'bloom' (StN N K); *děl* 'part' (L StN N K); *dělat* (Z P); *na kolénih* (N); *kôren*, *korênge* (N); *mêra* 'hectolitre' (L N); *obêd* (StN N K Z M); *plêndâ* 'napkin' (N); *rêtko* 'seldom' (N P); *sêno* (StN N K); *slêd* (N); *stêndâ* 'cliff' (L StN N), *stêanje* (L); *susêdi* 'neighbour' (StN N P); *tesnîje* 'narrower' (N), *tesnočâ* 'narrowness' (L); *têsto* 'dough' (L StN N); *vêrovali* 'believe' (L); *zavêt* 'vow' (N); *zděla* 'bowl' (N Z), *zdělicu* (N); *zrêlo* 'ripe' (N); *zvêzde* (L StN); *žêlezon* (K P).

Unexpected *i/î*<sup>12</sup>:

*dîde* (P), *dîd* (Z) 'grandfather', cf. *dêd* (StN N P); *dvîzâc* 'two-year old sheep' (K); *dvîsto* '200' (N); *kantîr* 'piece of wood which is placed under a barrel' (N); *lîto* 'summer' (K Z M), *lîtno* 'summer-' (P), cf. *lêto* (L StN N); *mîsto* (Z M), cf. *mêsto* (L StN N); *prid* 'ago' (P), *osprid* 'in front' (N K), *nâprid* 'forward' (N K P); *posîdali* 'sit down' (N); *čista* *sričâ* 'Ash Wednesday' (Z), cf. *čista*

*sredā* (N K); *svit* 'world' (L N K Z M P), but lx *po svetu* (P); *vira* 'faith' (M), *neviran* (N), cf. *vēra* (N); *nēsvist* 'unconsciousness', (N); *nevista* 'bride' (L N K M P); *vitar* 'wind' (K Z M), cf. *vētar* (StN N); *vrīdna* 'fit, able' (N M), cf. *vrēdne* (P).

Unexpected e/ē:

*beli se* 'become white' (N); *obēljaše* 'make white' IPF 3sg, cf. *ubilile* 'whitewash' (L K M); *cviče* 'flowers' (StN N), cf. *cvitē* (K Z); *děčki* 'young man' Npl (N); *mī dvē* 'we two' (L N), cf. *dvī* (L StN N K Z M P); *promēniła* 'change' (L), cf. *prominīt* (N K Z) and *mīnjale* (L N K); *nēčemu* 'something' Lsg (N), *nēgdi* 'somewhere' (L N K Z), *nēkoga* 'someone' Asg (N K), *odnēkud* 'from somewhere' (N), cf. also indefinite *nīki* (N K), *nīkako* (N); *ovdē* 'here' (L N), *ōvde* (M), *odāvde* 'from here' (N); *pōsle*, *pōtle* 'after' (N), cf. *pōtli* (K P); *preko* (L StN N Z P), cf. *priko* (K) 'over, through'; *odrēzana* 'cut off' (lx), *prerēže* (lx) (N), *odrēže* (lx) (Z), cf. *rīzalo*, *rīže* (N K); *sēceju*, *sēce* (P), cf. *osič*, *osičē* (N K); *sekiramin* 'axe' Ipl (N); *sredīnu* 'middle' Asg (N); *trēbat* 'be necessary' (Z), *pōtrebno* (N), cf. *trībalo* (N P), *trībovalo* (N), *potrībe* (Z), *trībe* (L); *vretend* (L).

Reflex *ā* in:

*gnjazdō* (N), *gnjazdō* (K) 'nest'; *jādno* ADV 'bad' (P).

#### 2.4 REFLEXES OF OTHER VOWELS

Accented:

- \*a > a : *kāmen*(L M), *māter* (L), *bābe* 'grandmother' Npl (N K), *krāve* 'cow' Npl, *držāt* 'hold', *glāvā* 'head' (Z)
- \*ā > ā (group A)/ā (group B): *posādi* 'put', *jāk* 'strong' (L), *dvā*, *glāvu* (N), *bunār* 'well', *glāvu* (K), *dvā* (K P), *vrātu* Lsg 'neck', *znā* (Z), *rādu* 'work' PR 3pl (M)
- \*ə > a : *mānje* 'less' (L Z), *zdāhnen* 'sigh', *kāsnje* 'later' (N), *odāhne* (K), *lāgše* 'easier' (M); preposition \*va > u (StN N K Z M P), *ū to* (N), *ū grlo* (K), *ū poje* (P), but *va* (L); \*vəvēk > ūvik 'always' (L StN N K Z M P), but *vāvik* (K)
- \*ē > ā (group A)/ā (group B): *dān* 'day', *tāst* 'father-in-law', *ovāc* 'sheep' Gpl (N), *dān* (K Z M P), *ovāc* (K Z P)

- \*y > r : *žīna* 'hand-mill', *sr̄ce* 'heart' (L), *břzo* ADV 'fast', *cřne* 'black' (N), *dřveno* 'wooden' (N K), *třsja* 'vines', *pocřkaju* 'die (of animals)' (Z), *přvo* 'first' (Z M), *sřpon* 'sickle' Isg (M), *břzje* 'faster' (P)
- \*ř > r : *dřv* 'fire-wood' Gpl (N Z), *křv* 'blood' (N K), *u křvi* (M), but *kēr* 'blood' (P)
- \*ē > e : *zēt* 'son-in-law' (N), *dítě* 'child' (N K), *glēda* 'look' (K), *potězat* 'pull' (M), *žēt* 'mow' (K) (N M P have žāt), *počāt* 'begin' (N), *žāja* 'thirst' (N), *žēdan* 'thirsty' (K)
- \*ē > ē : *vēz* 'string' (L), *mēsa* 'meat' Gsg (StN), *vēže* 'tie', *zēt* 'take' (N), *vēžeš* (K), *misēci* 'month' Gpl (Z), *misēc* Gpl (M)
- \*ø > u : *būde* 'be', *mūčiti*<sup>13</sup> 'torment', *zgūsne* 'full (e.g. wool)?', *obūču* 'cloathes' (N), *kūče* 'house' (Z), *drūgi* 'other' (M)
- \*ō > ū : *rūke* (L), *kūć* Gpl (L StN), *vrūču* 'hot' Asg f (StN), *zūb*, *būbaju* 'bump' (N), *pūt* (N K P), *mūža* (N K), *zūbi* (K)
- \*ł > u : *vūna* 'wool' (L), *dūgo* ADV 'long', *žūhko* 'bitter' (N), *vūne* (Z), *šūže* 'tears' (P)
- \*ł > ū : *dūg* 'debt' (StN), *udublēno* 'hollow', *būh* 'flea' Gpl, *sūnce* 'sun' (N), *tūkli* 'knock' (N K P), *mūzlo* 'milk' (N M), *žūto* 'yellow' (Z)
- \*i, \*jv > i : *sīpahomo* 'strew' IPF 1pl (L), *učīni* 'do', *ubīrali* 'take away', *rasbīlo*, *īgle*, *igri* Lsg, *dīgnut* 'lift' (N), *dīmit* (K), *grādīle* 'build', *īgle*, *vīme* 'udder' (K), *rodīla* (M), *bīli* 'hit', *śa jīglon* (P)
- \*ī > ī : *ponīzahu* 'put in a row' IPF 3pl (L), *dobīva* 'obtain' (N), *sīnu*, *pītaju* 'ask' (Z), *bīla* (M)
- \*u > u : *kūpi* 'gather' (L), *ūha* 'ear' Gsg, *pokūpit* (StN), *mūha* 'fly', *jūtro* 'morning' (N), *sūknje* 'skirt' (Z), *glūhasta* 'deafish', *skūpit* (M)
- \*ū > ū : *līudi* (L), *čūva* 'keep' (N), *kūpé* 'buy' PR 3pl, *sūho* (Z), *glūha* (M P)
- \*e > e : *vēčer* (L M), *čēka* 'wait' (N K), *čēle* 'bees' (K P), *mēda* 'honey' Gsg (K), *vēči* 'larger' (M), *čēkaj* (P)
- \*ē > ē : *mēd* 'honey' (L K), *čēra* 'yesterday', *hēčr* 'daughter' (N), *šēst* 'six' (M), *čēr* 'daughter' (P)

- \*o > o : *nōsu* 'carry' PR 3pl (L), *Bōga* (N P), *brōdon* 'ship' Isg (N), *dōbar* 'good', *dōma*, *drōpa* 'marc' Gsg (N K), *vōliman* Ipl, *selō*, *grōta*'stone' (Z), *brōdi* (M)
- \*ō > ō : *na tōmu* 'on that', *gnōj* 'dung', *kōz* 'goat' Gpl (L), *birōd* (N), *pōl* 'half', *mōra* 'sea' Gsg, *stō* '100', *sōl* 'salt' (Z), *mōren* 'sea' Isg (M)

Unaccented:

- \*a > a : *kakō* 'how' (L), *travīna* 'grass (pejorative-augmentative)', *ōba ūha* 'both ears', *svāka* 'each' (StN), *skūta* 'certain whey product', *zīkva* 'cradle' (N), *rāntje* 'earlier', *ūmrla* 'died' (Z), *kōpaju* 'dig' (M)
- \*ā > ā (group A)/ā (group B) : *nārđda* 'people' (L), *brāzdā* 'furrow', *bunāri* 'wells', *glāvā* (N), *udāvāla* 'marry' (K), *glāvā* (Z), *nasādīli* 'put' (M), *udāvāli* (P), *rāstē* 'grow' (L), but *reštē* (P), *narestē* (Z P)
- \*ə > a : *daskē* 'board' Gsg, *mastīt* 'press (grapes)' (L N), *zdahnūt* 'sigh', *danās* 'to-day', *dašēčee* 'board' DIM, *dažjīlo* 'rain' (N), *odahnūt*, *mastīmo* (K), *kabāl* 'tub' (Z)
- \*ə > ā : *po dānū* 'by day' (N), cf. *dō dana* 'till daylight' (P), *sēstar* 'sister' Gpl (M)
- \*r̥ > r : *pōmr̥l* 'died' (L), *ūmrl* (StN), *drvā* 'fire-wood' (N Z), *crvēne* 'red', *četvrtāk* 'Thursday', *zagrñuti* 'bury' (N), *ernīka* 'holm oak' (N K), *držū* 'hold' PR 3pl (K), *držāt* (Z), *ukrcāli* 'load into', *pōmr̥le* 'died' (M)
- \*r̥ > r̥ : *zavrñut* 'turn' (N M)
- \*e > e : *vrīme* 'time' (L), *brīme* 'burden' (N), *dēset* (N K), *sīme* 'seed' (K), *vīme* 'udder' (Z), *pōčeli* 'begin' (N), *pōčela* (K), *klječiš* 'kneel' (N)
- \*ē > ē : *vēzāli* 'tie', *pētāk* 'Friday', *prēdē* 'spin', *uprēžē* 'put to (horses)' (N), *potēgnūt* 'pull' (Z), *vēzālo* (P), cf. *mīsec* 'moon' (Z), *mēseca* (M)
- \*ø > u : *kudđlju* 'distaff' Asg (StN), *kupīna* 'blackberry' (N K)
- \*ø > ū : *rūkā*, *mūkē* 'flour' Gsg (L), *mūkā*, *vrūčit* 'heat' (StN), *būbāle* 'bump', *kūpālo* 'bathe' (N)
- \*l̥ > u : *vunenīna* 'wool' (L), *mučāt* 'be silent' (N K), *buhē* Npl 'flea' (N P), *mučī* (Z), *jābuka* 'apple' (M)
- \*l̥ > ū : *zdūbū* 'dig' PR 3pl (L), *mūzē* 'milk' (L N), *dūžīli* se

- 'make debts' (StN), *zadūbē*, *pūžē* 'snail' Npl (N), *tūčē* 'knock' (N K)
- \*i > i : *činjāhu* 'do' IPF 3pl (L), *imājahu* 'have' IPF 3pl, *rēkli* 'say', *vēlika*, *zdēlice* 'bowl' DIM (StN), *činū* 'do' PR 3pl (K), *trinājst* '13' (P)
- \*ī > ī : *līsāc* 'fox' (L), *dobīvāli* 'obtain' (N P), *borīmō se* 'struggle' (K), *žīvē* 'live' (Z), *žīvīla* (M)
- \*u > u : *na nōmu* 'on that' (StN), *umītē* 'be able', *kupovāt* 'buy' (N), *razumī* 'understand' (K)
- \*ū > ū : *čūvāla* 'keep', *kūpit* (N K), *sačūvāli* (Z), *dūšā* (M), *kūptī* (P)
- \*e > e : *ženē*, *zemljā* (L), *čelā* 'bee' (N), *odnesē* 'bring away' (Z), *sestrī* Dsg (M)
- \*ē > ē : *strēsē* 'shake' (L), *rečēmō*, *donesētē* (N)
- \*o > o : *životā* 'life' Gsg (L), *bojū se* 'be afraid' PR 3pl (N), *bojē se* (K), *žovīka*, *bobā* 'broad bean' Gsg (Z), *okopāt* (M)
- \*ō > ō : *na dvōrū* 'in the yard' (L StN N), *nōžēn* 'knife' Isg (N)

## 2.5 PHONETIC REALIZATION OF THE VOWELS

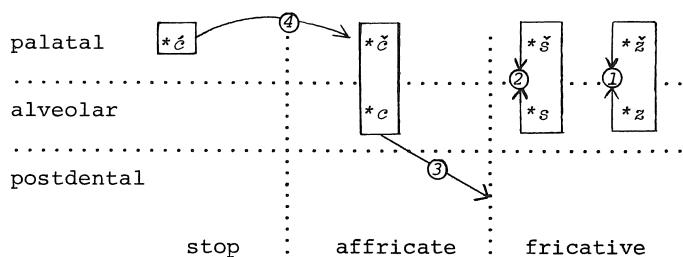
Everywhere on the island except in the town, short *u* and *o* are rounded. Short *i* is usually spread, though now and then less spread realizations can be heard. In Kolan, Zubovići and Metajna stressed *ō* and *ē* are often somewhat diphthongized; the resulting diphthongs are closing ([ou], [eŋ]) in Kolan and Zubovići and usually opening ([uo], [yŋ]) in Metajna. In Stara Novalja *a* and *ā* are respectively nasalized and rounded in the direct vicinity of nasal and labial consonants. In Kolan, Zubovići, Metajna and Pag, stressed short *a* is often - and sometimes considerably - lengthened in non-final syllables, less often and to a lesser extent in Metajna and Pag than in Kolan and Zubovići. In Zubovići, Metajna and Pag there is also sometimes a slight lengthening of stressed *a* in closed final syllables. Syllabic *r* is pronounced [ɔr] in Lun, Stara Novalja, Novalja and Kolan and usually [ér] in Zubovići, Metajna and Pag.

In Pag, short *u* and *o* have usually very little rounding and short *i* is hardly spread. In the speech of the oldest generation, ā,

ō and ē are realized as opening diphthongs: [øɑ], [øɔ], [øe]. Younger speakers<sup>14</sup> pronounce ŷ as a rounded monophthong (see however note 4) and less often realize ŷ and ē as diphthongs.

## 2.6 CONSONANTS

The dialect of the town of Pag is 'Cakavian': \*š, \*ž and \*č have merged with \*s, \*z and \*c, respectively. The results of the mergers are, in my notation, š, ž and c. The place of articulation of š and ž is usually between alveolar and palatal, sometimes it is palatal. In c the occlusive element is optional, in other words, c has free allophones [ts] and [s]. One can hear the same speaker pronounce the same word both with [ts] and [s]. The allophone [s] is more frequent than [ts]<sup>15</sup>. The articulation place of both allophones is usually postdental. Original \*č has become affricate and has thereby filled the place left open by \*č. The dialects of Zubovići and Metajna took part in the change \*č → č, but they have maintained the oppositions between š, ž, č and s, z, c. Since original \*č stayed where it was, the change \*č → č has resulted in a merger of \*č and \*č. The changes are schematically represented in the illustration below.



Pag: changes 1, 2, 3 and 4. Zubovići and Metajna: only change 4.

Examples:

Pag (phoneme c spelled c or s here, according to how it was attested): kāpisu, cf. kāpice 'small cap' (N); māras 'March', u mārsu 'in

March', mečālo 'put'; košūja 'shirt', cf. košūlju (K); óvse 'sheep', óvcu; sapún/capún 'type of hoe'; dicón Isg 'children'; ðsi 'eyes'; otāc, osà 'father'; kūče Gsg 'house'; brūnas 'pan', DIM brūnsič, cf. brūnac, brūnčić (N K); cípka 'lace'; Zubovići: pð noči 'by night'; rěč 'say'; ščipótina 'certain ear-mark', cf. ščipótina (K); Božič 'Christmas'; domáči 'home-made'; Metajna: pěč 'bake'; tūč 'knock'; ščápmán Ipl 'bar'; bráča 'brothers'; věči 'larger'; Božič; domáči.

As could be seen from many of the examples already given in the present article, the dialects on the island have voiced obstruents in word-final position. Some more examples: Bôg (K M), glâv 'head' Gpl (StN N), gðd 'anniversary of a person's death' (N), grðzd (N) 'bunch', kríž 'cross' (N), drðb 'belly' (N K), óv 'this' (M), sôldov Gpl 'money' (P), dêd (StN P), krðv 'roof' (StN), pîz 'weight' (N K P). If the next word begins with a voiceless obstruent, however, there is optional devoicing, e.g. us kûču 'near the house', cf. uz ogânj 'near the fire' (N), kroš cêlo... 'through the whole...'<sup>16</sup> (N), ispot kûč 'under the houses' (N), bôp, to 'broad beans, that' (N), but Bôg svðga 'God His' (P), od kôz 'of the goats' (L). When similar consonant sequences occur word-internally, devoicing takes place in certain positions, e.g. rëtko 'rarely' (N), rëtka 'rare' (K); slâtko 'sweet' (N K); têški 'heavy' (N P); friško 'fresh' (N); bîste 'run' IMP (N); grâtski 'town-' (K); râpske 'from Rab' (N); but: brâvčë 'ram' (K Z); óvce 'sheep' (N K Z P); ovčëtina 'mutton' Gsg (N); lâgše (N M) 'easier' (along with lâkše (N)).

In Zubovići, Metajna and Pag, \*lj has changed into j, e.g. dâje 'farther', jûdi 'people', košūja 'shirt', famèje 'household' (P), nevâjci 'inhabitants of Novalja', dîvja 'wild', zakðje 'slaughter' (Z), zemjâ, bôji 'better' (M), nedîju 'Sunday' (M P), cf. dâlje, lâudi, košûlja (N), košûlju (K), famèlje (N), famèlji (K), nevâljkâ, dîvlje (K), zakðlje (N K), zemljâ/zemljâ, bôlje, nedîlja (N K).

In Metajna and Pag, word-final t and d often change into r before consonants, and also word-internally before a consonant r often appears instead of expected t or d. Examples: kor generâla 'to the general' (P), slârki 'sweet' (M), orkînut 'tear off', orkâd 'since' (P), orpîlili 'saw off', por pêku 'under the stove' (M), or žakôna 'of the law', bir ža nîs 'be no good', ža polûdr bîlo 'it was mad-dening', ubîr se 'kill oneself', Bârnjak 'day before Christmas',

*kor njē* 'to her', *sprovodīr dōma* 'accompany home', or *dīma* 'from the smoke', *đrma* 'immediately', or *tānac* 'from the dances', or *fakultēta* 'from the faculty' (P). But: *od Metājne* 'from Metajna' (M), *kōd njega* 'to him', *sūrotka* 'whey' (P)<sup>17</sup>.

### 3. NOTES ON MORPHOLOGY

#### 3.1 THE NOUN

Most inflectional endings occur both stressed and unstressed. In the enumerations below, I shall give only the stressed variants (if attested).

Masculine:

Nsg -*ø/-o/-ě*; Gsg -*à*; Dsg -*ù*; Asg = Nsg/Gsg; Isg -*ðn/-ēn*; Lsg -*ù*; Npl -*ì*; Gpl -*ðv/-ev/-ø/-i*; Dpl -*ìman*; Apl = Npl/Gpl; Lpl -*ìman/-ëh* (-*ih* only in Novalja).

Examples:

Nsg *jāpān* 'lime', *kōnj* 'horse (N)', *křst* 'cross' (Z), *kunjādo* 'brother-in-law' (N), *Mārko* (P), *njōrè* 'diver (certain bird)', *pān̄j* 'vine', *posâl* 'work' (N), *pōt* 'mug' (StN), *prâz* 'ram' (N)  
Gsg *dâna* (N), *dâna* (K P) 'day', *grâda* 'town' (N), *grâda* (P), *grîhâ* 'sin', *krstâ* (Z), *lâkta* 'elbow' (M), *mrâka* 'darkness' (L), *Pâgâ*, *panjâ*, *poslâ* (N), *prašcâ* 'pig' (N K), *težâkâ* 'day-labourer' (Z), *volâ* 'ox', *vrâta* 'neck' (L)

Dsg *ocù* 'father', *panjù* (L), *prašcù* (N), *sînu* 'son', *tovâru* 'ass' (Z), *volù* (N K P)

Asg *brâta* (Z), *konjâ* (P), *krûh* 'bread' (N), *Mârka* (P), *njōrâ*, *Pâg* (N)

Isg *brôdon* 'ship' (N), *frmentûnðn* 'maize', *jâpnðn* (K), *kłancëñ* 'narrow path' (N), *klatâčon* 'certain cooking utensil' (K), *kvâson* 'yeast' (Z), *mûžen* (K), *nôžen* (N), *nožîčen* DIM 'knife' (K), *ognjêñ* (StN P), *pêtkôn* 'Friday' (Z)

Lsg *briḡù* 'mountain', *brodù*, *po dânu* (N), *filù* 'spine' (N K), *gradù* (N), *pô gradu* (P), *Kolânu* (Z), *krûhu*, *mrâkù* (L), *Pâgù*, *panjù* (N), *pûtu* 'path' (M), *słedù* (N), *stânu* 'small settlement' (N), *stânu* (Z), *svîtu* 'world' (L Z M P), *svîtu* (L).

Npl *brôdi* (N), *kumpîri* 'potato' (L), *kunjâdi* (N), *pinèzi* (Z), *poslî* (N), *potî* (StN), *pûži* 'snail', *stâni* (N), *šusèdi* 'neighbour' (P), *težâci* (Z M), *težâci/težâci* (N)

Gpl *blâgdanov* 'feast' (N), *dân* (Z), *danðv* (L), *dêli* 'part', *hljîbov* 'loaf' (K), *janjâc* 'lamb' (StN), *janjâc* (K), *ježikov* 'language' (P), *kônjev*, *kumpirîčev* (N), *lakât* (K), *mîhov/mihôv* 'bag' (N), *misêci* (N Z), *misêc* (M), *pinðz* (L), *prâsac* (N P), *pûšev*, *sinðv*, *težâkov* (N), *tôvar* (L N), *vôlov* (L), *zidôv* 'wall' (N)

Dpl *gôstiman*, *kônjiman* (L), *lîjdîman* (StN), *sinîman* (N), *vôliman* (L)

Apl *panjì* (N), *prašcî* (Z), *strîcev* 'uncle' (N), *škofûni* 'boot' (Z), *tovâri* (StN), *žûbi* (P)

Ipl *brâtiman* (N), *grâmpiman* 'certain tool' (L StN), *kônjiman* (N P), *lîstiman*, *sîniman* (N), *vôliman* (L N K P)

Lpl *dânimana*, *gradîh*, *makarûnîh* 'macaroni', *pôsliman* (N), *stanîman* (L), *tâncih* (N), *tovâriman* (Z P), *tovârih/tovâriman*, *zidih* (N).

Four vocatives have been attested: *brâte* (N P), *dîde*, *prižatelju* 'friend', *tâste* 'father-in-law' (P).

Neuter:

Nsg -*ð/-è/-ë*; Gsg -*à/-â*; Dsg -*u*; Asg = Nsg; Isg -*ðn/-ēn*; Lsg -*ù*; Npl -*à/-â*; Gpl -*ø/-i*; Dpl not attested; Apl = Npl; Ipl -*iman*; Lpl -*iman/-ih*.

Examples:

Nsg *dîtè* 'child' (L StN N Z P), *jâje* 'egg' (N), *jâje* (Z), *mlîkð* 'milk' (M), *môre* (N P), *rebrô* (K), *selcë* 'small village' (StN), *sîce* 'heart' (L), *sudjê* 'dishes', *tième* 'crown' (N), *ülje* 'oil' (L), *vrîme* 'time' (N K P), *zîno* (N), *zîto* (Z)

Gsg *bîâga* 'livestock' (M), *dîtèta* (N), *jâja* (P), *mlîkâ* (Z), *môra* (N K Z P), *sudjâ* (N), *vrîmena* (N K P), *zrnjâ* 'corn' (K), *žîta* (N)

Dsg *dîtètu* (N K), *mêstu* (StN)

Asg *bîâgo* (StN), *ù poje* 'into the field' (Z), *nâ rame* 'on the shoulder' (N K)

Isg *ðmenon* 'name', *koncëñ* 'thread' (N), *krîlon* 'wing' (P), *môren* (N), *platnðn* 'cloth' (Z), *pôjen* (M), *ùljen* (N K), *žîlezon*, *žîton* (K)

Lsg *godîšëu* 'year', *mêstu* (L), *môru*, *râmenu* (N), *selù* 'village' (M), *ti  menu* (N), *ülju* (StN); an exception is *u lèti* 'in the summer' (N), *u lîti* (Z M)

Npl *imenâ* (L N), *jâja* (N), *jâja* (K P), *komôštra* 'chain on which a cauldron hangs' (StN), *ramenâ* (N), *rêbra* (K), *selâ* (N), *vrâta* 'door' (StN), *vrimenâ* (N), *zrnâ* (M)

Gpl *dřv* 'piece of fire-wood' (N Z), *gôdišć* (N M), *jâj* (K Z), *mêsti* (N), *mîsti* (Z), *ûst* 'mouth' (N), *vrât* (P)

Apl *drvâ* (L N), *žrna* 'hand-mill' (M)

Ipl *krûliman* (P)

Lpl *kâbliman* 'tub' (K), *kolènih*, *kôliman* 'wheel', *ûstih* (N).

There is one neuter word in -a: *dôba* NAsg 'time' (N). The plural ðči is masculine, e.g. *bôlji* ðči 'better eyes' Npl (L), c.f. *lîpe vrimenâ* 'nice times' Npl (N).

#### Feminine I:

Nsg -â/-ë/-ø; Gsg -ê; Dsg -î; Asg -û/-ø; Isg -ân; Lsg -î; Npl -ë;

Gpl -ø/-î; Dpl -âmin/-ân (-ân only in StN and N); Apl = Npl; Ipl -âmin; Lpl -âmin/-ah/-an (-ah only in N, -an only in StN).

#### Examples:

Nsg *čorë* 'kind of lamp' (K), *glâvâ* (N), *hêr* 'daughter' (StN N), *čér* 'daughter' (P), *kâša* 'porridge', *kôkoš* 'chicken', *Mârë* (N), *Mârë* (P), *mât* (K Z), *mâter* (L N), *mriža* 'net' (K), *mukâ*, *plenâ* 'napkin' (N), *prêja* 'yarn' (N Z), *sredâ* 'Wednesday' (N K), *travâ* (N), *zenâ* (N P)

Gsg *daskê* 'board' (L), *glavê* (N), *hêrê*, *kâše* (N), *kozê* (N K), *lître* 'litre', *mâtere*, *mukê*, *nogê* (N), *ovcê* 'sheep' (N K), *rðbe* 'things' (P), *smôkve* 'fig' (K), *snâgê* 'force' (N), *sredê* (N K), *travê* (N), *zimê*, *zenê* (N)

Dsg *kôkoši* (Z), *mâteri* (N), *nèsriči* 'misfortune', *nevîsti* 'bride' (K), *ovci* (Z), *sestrî* (M), *zenî* (P)

Asg *čorù* (K), *dâsku* (N), *dâsku* (P), *hêr* (N), *čér* (P), *kôkoš*, *glâvu* (N), *glâvu* (K P), *kâšu*, *kozù*, *lîtru*, *Mârù* (N), *mrižu* (K), *mukù* (N), *ovcu* (N K P), *prêju* (Z), *travù* (N), *zimu* (StN N K Z), *zenù* (L N)

Isq *hêrân*, *kâšon* (N), *môtikon* 'hoe' (L StN N Z), *nogân* (N K P), *pësnicon* 'fist', *rukôn*, *sredân* (K), *travôn* (N); but: *pot pëku*, *pot čipnju* (N), *pot čripnju* (Z) (synonyms) 'object under which bread is baked'

Lsg *butîgi* 'shop' (StN), *čorî* (K), *glavi*, *nogi* (N), *ovci* (StN), *postilji* 'bed' (L), *rûkî*, *travî* (N), *zimî* (L N)

Npl *dâske*, *glâve*, *hêere* (N), *kôkoše* (K), *kûčice* 'stable' (L N), *mûhe* (N), *nôge* (K), *ôvce* (N P), *plene* (N), *sestre* (N P), *skâle* 'stairs' (StN), *ûre* 'hour' (N), *ûre* (P), *zvezdë* (L), *zvezde* (StN), *zenê* (N K)

Gpl *děki* 'decagram' (N), *glâv* (StN N), *hêerî* (N), *kôz* (L N), *kûč* (L), *lîtar* (Z), *matér*, *nôg*, *ovâc* (N), *ovâc* (K), *sêstar* (N M), *smôkav* (K), *ûri* (N), *ûri* (Z), *zmîj* 'snake' (Z), *zvêzd* (L)

Dpl *hêerâmin*, *kokošân* (N), *ôvčican* DIM 'sheep' (StN), *ovcâmin* (L), *sestrâmin* (N)

Apl *kôkoše* (N Z), *nôge* (N), *ôvce* (N P), *rûke* (StN), *nâ ruke* (K P), *štâlice* (StN), *smôkve* (N)

Ipl *daskâmin*, *hêerâmin*, *materâmin* (N), *nogâmin* (K), *ovcâmin* (Z), *zenâmin* (L)

Lpl *Brâjdâ* (StN), *gradêlah* 'grill' (N), *Mèrikamin* 'Amerika' (M), *njîvamin* 'acre' (L), *nogâmin*, *ovcâmin* (N), *pečicamin* DIM 'oven' (L), *prašcîman* (P), *skâlan* (StN), *zvezdâmin* (L), *zurnâdamin* 'work for daily wages' (StN).

One vocative singular attested: *ženo* (P)

#### Feminine II:

Nsg -ø; Gsg -i; Asg = Nsg; Isg -ân; Lsg -î; Npl -i; Apl = Npl; other forms of the paradigm not attested.

#### Attested forms:

Nsg *kôst* 'bone' (K), *křv* 'blood' (N K), *kêr* 'blood' (P), *mâst* 'fat' (N), *mâst* (K), *mîsal* 'thought' (N), *nît* 'thread' (N Z), *nôé* (N), *pêč* (N K), *pôlnoč* (L), *sôl* (StN N Z P), *stvâr* 'thing' (N), *stvâr* (Z), *vîst* 'kind' (N Z)

Gsg *mâsti* (N), *mâsti* (K), *nôci* (N), *dô noči* (P), *do pôlnôci* (N), *sôli* (N Z), *vîsti* (N)

Asg *nît* (N), *nôé*, *pêč* (K)

Isq *za polnočô* (L)

Lsg *křvi* (M), *mîsli* (N), *noči* (adverb? L N), *pameti* 'memory' (L), *peči*, *sôli* (N)

Npl *kôsti* (K), *nîti* (N), *vîsti* (L K)

Apl *nôci* (K), *pêci* (N)

#### Feminine III:

Nsg -â/-ë; Gsg -ë; Asg -û; no other forms attested.

## Attested forms:

- Nsg *gospē* 'the Virgin Mary' (N Pl), *kafā* 'coffee', *mužnjā* 'period in which lambs are taken from their mothers' (N)  
 Gsg *kafē*, *mužnjē* (N)  
 Asg *gōšpu* (P), *kafū* (StN N Z; length not certain in Z)  
 The masculine words *Jurē* and *bārba* and pejorative-augmentative nouns derived from masculine words (only *kvasīna* attested in another form than the Nsg) are inflected like feminine I nouns: Nsg *bārba* 'uncle' (N), *Jurē* (K), *kvasīna* 'yeast' (N); Gsg *bārbe* (N); Dsg *bārbī* (Z); Asg *Jurū* (K), *kvasīnu* (N); Isg *bārbon* (Z).

The noun *dicā*, the Nsg of which behaves syntactically like a plural form (cf. *dicā su imāle* (N!)), is inflected as follows: Nsg *dicā* (N Z M P), vocative *dīca* (L N P), Gsg *dicē* (N K P), Isg *dicān* (M P) (see also note 18). The noun *vēčer* 'evening' (StN N K), Asg *vēčer* (StN N) is feminine, e.g. *dōbra vēčer* 'good evening' (N), *svāku vēčer* 'every evening' (StN).

The final *-n* of the endings *-īman* and *-āmīn* is sometimes omitted (in all flexion types).

## 3.2 THE VERB

## 3.2.1 PRESENT TENSE

The endings are:

- I -ān, -āš, -ā, -āmo, -āte, -āju  
 II -ēn, -ēš, -ē, -ēmō, -ētē, -ē  
 III -īn, -īš, -ī, -īmō, -ītē, -ī

Remarks:

- In group B (\*ā ā), the type I endings are: -ān, -āš, -ā, -āmo, -āte, -āju (thus, with a long vowel in the 3pl ending);
- In Pag, the 3pl endings of type II and III are disyllabic: -ēju and -īju, respectively.
- In Pag and Metajna, the lpl and 2pl endings of type II and III, when accented, have penultimate stress: -ēmo, -ēte, -īmo, -īte. Forms with -ēmo, -ēte (not -īmo, -īte) can also occasionally be heard in Lun, Novalja and Zubovići. In Novalja such forms are

rare; the number of instances from Lun and Zubovići is too small to say anything about relative frequency. In Kolan I attested one form in -īmo: *mastīmo* 'press (grapes)' and one end-stressed lpl form of type I: *piturāmō* 'paint' (*piturāmo* also attested).

- The attested end-stressed lpl and 2pl forms of type II from Kolan and Stara Novalja (only four) had no pretonic length: -emō, -etē.

## Examples:

Type I with end-stress: *bajardān* (N) 'boast'; *znāš* (K), *morāš* 'must' (Z); *lampā* 'lighten' (StN), *pumpā* 'pump' (N), *beštimā* 'swear' (M); *morāmo* (K); *liberāmo* 'free' (P); *znāte* (Z M P), *prodāte* (P); *morāju*, *znāju* (L N), *štufāju se* 'get fed up' (N), *morāju* (M), *piturāju* (Z), *znāju* (P);

Type I with stem-stress: *nēznan* (L M), *skūhan* 'boil' (L); *pīvaš* 'sing', *frīgaš* 'deep-fry' (N); *kūha* 'boil' (L StN), *kūva* 'boil' (Z M), *čūva* 'keep' (StN M); *nīmamo* 'we do not have' (StN), *pītamo* 'ask' (Z); *piturāvate* 'paint' (K); *īmaju* 'have' (StN), *pītaju* (Z), *kōpaju* 'dig' (M);

Type II with end-stress: *rečēn* (N Z M P), *pređēn* 'spin' (StN), *stūčēn* 'knock' (K); *zovēš* (StN), *donesēš* 'bring' (K); *živē* (L), *cvātē* 'bloom' (StN), *trūjē* 'poison' (N), *pījē* 'drink' (K), *odnesē* (Z); *umrēmō*, *živēmō*, *živēmo* (L), *rečēmō*, *zovēmō* (StN K), *pletēmō* 'knit', *perēmō* 'wash' (\*perēmo rejected) (N), *rečēmō*, *živēmo* (Z), *zovēmo*, *živēmo* (M P); *donesētē* (N), *živētē* (M P); *rekū*, *spekū* (L), *rodū* 'give birth', *rāstū* (N), *zovū* (N K M), *doletū* 'arrive (flying)' (Z), *žovēju*, *živēju* (P);

Type II with stem-stress: *ščjen* (K), *dīgnen* 'lift' (P); *dīgneš* (N), *mōresē* 'be able' (Z); *kōlje* 'slaughter' (L StN), *lāje* 'bark' (K), *potēgne* 'pull' (P); *mēljemo* 'grind' (N), *ščemē* 'cut' (P); *pomāže* 'rub' (N); *šālju* 'send' (L), *mirūju* 'rest' (N), *vēdu* (N K), *pomāžeju*, *ščejeju* (P);

Type III with end-stress: *držēn* 'hold' (L), *smēn* 'be allowed' (StN), *razumīš*, *gorīš* (Z); *stojē* (L N), *kosi* 'mow' (StN), *mučē* 'be silent' (Z); *gorīmō* (L), *razumīmō* (\*razumīmo rejected) (N), *borīmō* se (K); *umītē* (N), *ražumītē* (P); *spū* 'sleep' (L N), *rodū* (StN), *bīžū* 'run', *stojū* (N), *stojīju* (P);

Type III with stem-stress: *čīštin* (StN), *vīdin* (K); *zakāsnīš* 'be

late' (K); *posādi* put' (L StN), *osūši* 'dry' (Z), *spāsi* (M), *žatrūbi* 'blow (e.g. a bugle)' (P); *mīslite* 'think' (N), *pūstite* 'let' (P); *pokūpu* 'gather' (L), *kūpu* 'buy' (StN), *govōru* (N K), *rādu* 'work' (M), *žaplīniju* 'confiscate', *vōliju* 'like', *vōžiju*, *nōsiju* (P).

### 3.2.2 THE *I*-PARTICIPLE

If the last vowel of the LP m is stressed, it is long. The dialects of group B (K Z M P) have no final -*l* in the LP m. Thus, the endings of the largest inflection classes are:

-*āl* (group B: -*ā*), -*āla*, -*ālo*, -*āli*, -*āle*;  
-*īl* (group B: -*ī*), -*īla*, -*īlo*, -*īli*, -*īle*.

The plural forms in -*i* are masculine, those in -*e* are feminine and neuter. Such distinctions as human vs. non-human or animate vs. inanimate do not play any role in the choice between -*i* and -*e*<sup>18</sup>.

Examples:

*znā* (Z), *potēza* 'pull' (K), *propāl* 'disappear' (StN), *đral* (N); *udāvāla* 'marry' (Z), *zakūhala* 'boil' (N); *klālo* 'slaughter' (StN), *trebalo* 'be necessary' (Z); *sacūvāli* 'keep', *đrali* (Z); *znāle*, *kūhale* (N); *nosī*, *vīdi* (Z), *nasādīt*, *poprāvil* 'repair' (StN); *osūšīla*, *nastāvila* 'continue' (N); *lovīlo*, *naprāvilo* (Z); *vozīli*, *naprāvili* (Z); *grādīle* 'build' (Z), *zahvātile* 'grab' (N).

In other forms than the masculine singular, the LP never has ultimate stress, cf. *bīla* (N K), *dāla* (K P), *prōdala*, *mōglo*, *mōgli*, *plēlo* 'knit', *plēli* (N), *plēla* (StN K), *plēle* (StN Z). Exceptions are, of course, monosyllables such as *šlā*, *šlī* (N K P).

### 3.2.3 THE IMPERFECT TENSE

In the dialects of group B the imperfect tense does not exist, at any rate I have not attested a single form. In all three villages of group A I heard imperfect tense forms, but it is clear that there, too, the imperfect tense is falling into disuse. Speakers under seventy do not use it at all and in Novalja and Stara Novalja it is al-

so relatively rarely used by older people. During 5 hours of conversation with my two older informants in Novalja, who are in their seventies, I recorded 12 different imperfect forms from 8 verbs. My informant in Stara Novalja (80 years) used 4 different forms from 3 verbs in the course of one hour. The situation is different with the older dialect speakers in Lun, for whom the imperfect tense is still very much alive. During a session with two informants of 72 and 74 years old, which lasted two hours, I recorded almost 100 different imperfect tense forms from approximately 80 verbs.

Although it is not always possible to decide with certainty to which aspect a given imperfect form belongs - the imperfect suffix is -(j)a, but -(j)a is also a suffix for building secondary imperfectives - I have the impression that the perfective imperfect is almost as frequent as the imperfective imperfect. The imperfect tense (of both aspects) expresses habitual actions in the past, the perfective imperfect is used for expressing successions of habitual actions, e.g. *dōjdjaše se ot poslā*, *skūhaše se zēlje*, *nāvečer zdēlu nasrēdu...* 'we would come (home) from work, boil vegetables, in the evening the bowl (would be put) in the middle...' (L). There is of course more to say about the formation of the imperfect and its meaning in combination with the verbal aspect, but I propose to do so on a later occasion, after further analysis - and perhaps extension - of my material. At present I shall confine myself to presenting a few examples of imperfect tense forms.

Novalja, attested forms: *bījaše* 3sg, *bījahu* 3pl 'be', *učīnjaše* 3sg 'do', *očīšéahu* 3pl 'clean', *govōrahomo* lpl, *dōjdjaše* 3sg 'arrive', *rekāše* 3sg, *rekāhomo* lpl, *rekāhu* 3pl 'say', *užadījah* lsg 'have the habit (of doing something)', *užadījahu* 3pl<sup>19</sup>, *zvāhomo* 'call' lpl. Stara Novalja, attested forms: *bījaše*, *bījahu*, *imājahu* 'have' 3pl, *zaklāše*<sup>20</sup> 3sg.

Lun, examples: *būdjaše* 'be' 3sg, *smījāhomo se* 'laugh' lpl, *govōraše* 3sg, *sīpahomo* 'strew' lpl, *sīpaše* 3sg, *stāhomo* 'stand' lpl, *stāhu* 3pl, *imadījaše* 'have' 3sg, *imadījahu* 3pl, *hōdjase* 'go' 3sg, *hōdjahomo* lpl, *hōdjahu* 3pl, *īdjaše* 'go' 3sg, *īdjahomo* lpl, *īdjhahu* 3pl, *dōjdjaše*, *dōjdjahu* 3pl, *ponesāh* 'bring' lsg, *donesāhu* 3pl, *zakōljaše* 3sg, *posōljaše* 'salt' 3sg, *odmōraše* 'rest' 3sg, *dobijsaše* 'obtain' 3sg, *umīsaše* 'knead' 3sg, *dolijsaše* 'pour' 3sg.

## 4. NOTES ON SYNTAX

Uninflected forms of the numerals '2', '3' and '4' govern the Gsg of masculine and neuter nouns and the Npl of feminine nouns.

## Examples:

- dvâ dâna, dvâ brâta (N), dvâ volâ (L), trî dâna (N), trî brâta (StN), trî mîseca (M), četîri/četîre dâna (N), četîri hlijiba (StN)
- ðba dvâ ûha (StN), dvâ ðka (N), trî ditëta, četîri ditëta (L)
- dvî nôge (K), četîri ðvce, četîre sestrë (N).

In Pag, the prepositions *u* and *na* are used exclusively with the accusative case, also when they do not have the meaning of direction, e.g. the combinations *na krôv* 'on the roof', *nâ glavu* 'on the head', *u Pâg* 'in Pag', *u vu kûču* 'in this house', *u Amèrike* 'in America' were all attested with a non-directional meaning.

University of Groningen

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For a correct understanding of the examples given in the present article, the following information is needed:

- The *l*-participle masculine singular has no final *-l* in Kolan, Zubović, Metajna and Pag;
- In Zubović, Metajna and Pag \*č > č, in Pag \*s and \*š > š; \*z and \*ž > ž; \*č and \*c > c (see §2.6);
- Morphological abbreviations: Nsg...Lpl: nominative singular...locative plural; m, f, n: masculine, feminine, neuter; INF: infinitive; PR: present; IPF: imperfect tense; IMP: imperative; LP: l-participle; 1sg...3pl: first person singular...third person plural; DIM: diminutive.

<sup>2</sup> The only publication which is entirely devoted to Pag is Hraste 1956b (2 pages). A small number of dialect forms can be found in Hamm 1955, 1959, 1963, Hraste 1956a, 1957, 1959, 1961, Jakić-Cestarić 1957 and Šimunović/Olesch 1983.

<sup>3</sup> My work on Pag in 1985 was paid by the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO).

<sup>4</sup> Povljana shares the following characteristics with the Čakavian dialects of Pag: a) old place of the stress and distinctive length in the first pretonic syllable, e.g. posâditi 'put', čuvâti 'keep'; b) certain morphological endings, e.g. smrdû 'stink' PR 3pl, rovê 'neigh' PR 3sg, nôeu 'carry' 3pl, ljûdiman 'people' Lpl (see §3); c) vowel lengthenings in some words, e.g. nâs 'us', danâs 'to-day', but dâske 'board', krûn 'bread' (cf. §2.2).

Differences with Pag Čakavian: a) štô 'what', koji (short?) 'which'; b) the dialect seems to have distinctive tones, e.g. cîpa 'graft' PR 3sg, žîva 'alive' f; c) l-participles in -a, e.g. dôbia 'obtain', nosia, rëka 'say', računâ 'calculate'; d) the dialect is ikavian (not i/e-kavian), e.g. bîloga 'white' Gsg m n, dîlu 'part' Lsg (also lîto 'summer', od vîtra 'from the wind', but so have K, Z and M, see §2.3).

<sup>5</sup> For field-workers, the problem of the opposition between ã and ã is complicated by two things: a) when talking to strangers, many speakers tend to avoid the proper dialectal pronunciation of ã and pronounce [ã] instead, which sounds more like the standard language. On the other hand, they do not always succeed in suppressing [ã], so that the picture one gets in the beginning is odd and inconsistent; b) in K and Z - and to a lesser extent in M and P - ã is often somewhat lengthened, especially in non-final syllables (see §2.5).

<sup>6</sup> In the Čakavian dialects of Susak and Vrgada, which also reflect \*â as ã, the word vrâg is an exception, too (cf. Steinhauer 1973: 288, Jurisić 1973: 233, Vermeer 1975: 141, Hamm, Hraste and Guberina 1956: 104).

<sup>7</sup> Retraction of the stress in:

- LP bîžal 'run' (N), bîžale (K), bîžala 'bleat' (N), bôžale se (K), dîžali (N Z P), dîža (K), ležali (N K) (cf. PR, INF and IPF bîž (N), bîži (N), boži se (N L), boži se (N), božat se (L), držat (N), drži (N), držu (K), držâše (L), ležat (N), leži (N), ležâše (L));
- ðgarj (K Z) (\*ogânj rejected in K and accepted as an obsolete dialect form in Z), cf. ogânj (N); vðde Gsg alongside vodâ (L N K), vðda, vðde (P), cf. vodâ (N), vodðn Isg (N K); zêmija, zêmâje Gsg, zêmâji Lsg (N), zêmje Gsg (P), cf. zemljé Gsg (K).

Stress on the first syllable of the stem in oðerât 'skin' (N), along with oðerât (N K), dêren, oðerena (N); zdêre 'eat (of animals)', zêre, zdêral (N), cf. zêrât (L N); igrâj, cf. igrâli (N); ðralo (N), ðrali (P), ðre (N P).

Initial stress in the words čêperi Npl 'sheep-tick', čêper (K), cêper (P) (but čêperina (K)); čîvere Npl 'type of carrier' (N); cîgani Npl 'gipsy' (N).

<sup>8</sup> In a number of attested forms an expected pretonic length did not appear, sometimes along with attestations which did have the expected length: čuvâli 'keep' (K), cuvâla (P), cf. čuvâla, čuvât (N K); dîlîlo 'divide' (P), cf. dîlîle (N), podîlîli (K); rukâmin (N K), rukôn (N), cf. rukôn (N K); dîtê (P), cf. dîtè (N) (other sg forms short: dîtëta (N), dîtetu (K)); krupâ 'hail' (K), cf. krupð (N); lisâc 'fox' along with lisâc (N); kupîle 'buy' (N P), kupi (LP (P), cf. kupâlo se (N); mukâ along with mukâ 'flour' Gsg (N) i mûzâmo 'milk' PR 1pl (M), pomužâ (P), cf. mužâ (N); Lunâ Gsg 'Lun' (P), cf. Lunâ Lsg (N K); narôd 'people' (M P), cf. narôd (N); tetâc 'uncle' (N), cf. tetâc (K); stucâ 'knock' PR 3sg (P), cf. tučê (N K); pomisâlo 'mix' (P), cf. misâlo, pomisât (N); nožén along with nožén (N); petâk 'Friday' (P) cf. petâk (N); sredâ 'Wednesday' (N), cf. sredâ (N K), sridâ (Z); smijâ se (K), smijâmo se (Z), cf. smijâ (N) 'laugh'; strižâmo 'shear' (L), ostrîžâ (N Z), strižâ (P), cf. ostrîžâ (N); vapôr 'ferry' (P), cf. vapôr (N), šušîli (P), cf. šušîle (P), sushâlo (N); svičâ 'candle' (P), cf. svicâ (N K); živê 'live' PR 3sg, živîlo (Pl), živête (M), živêju (P), živêmo (L), cf. živîlo (P), živili, živê (N); hrane Gsg 'food' (Z P), hrani (P), cf. hrana (N), hrane (K), hrana (M), hrânu (P); hrani 'feed' (P), cf. hrani (N); travâ (P), travê Gsg (Z P), cf. travâ, travê (N), travu (K Z), and, with initial stress, travâ (Z), travê (N), travu (K P), travu (P); živâc 'nerve' (N), cf. živâca Gsg (L); ugrizê 'bite' PR 3sg (Z), cf.

*grizē* (N), *ugrizē* (K); *predē* 'spin' PR 3sg (Z), cf. *prēdjaše* (L) IPF 3sg, *prēdēn* (StN), *predē* (N); *glavē* Gsg 'head' (M), cf. *glavē* (N), *glavā* (Z); *dusē* 'soul' Gsg (Z), *dusā* (M), cf. *dusā* (M); *zimē* Gsg 'winter' (Z), cf. *zimē* (N); *šiljāc* 'young sheep' (K), cf. *šiljāc* (N), *šiljāc* (K); *mlikā* Gsg 'milk' (P), cf. *mlikō* (N K); *dviziča* 'two-year old sheep' (StN), cf. *dviziča* (K); *zgubil* 'lose' (StN); *tepliti* along with *teplili* 'heat' (L).

More material than I have at present would be needed to explain for each instance the absence of the pretonic length. In some forms the original length may have been lost or an accentual doublet may have arisen. I think, however, that in many cases the explanation must be looked for on the level of phonetic realization: there seems to be a tendency towards not consistently realizing the pretonic lengths. I had the impression that this tendency was stronger in group B - especially in Pag - than in group A (The reader be reminded that I have more material from Novalja than from the other places, so that Novalja is over-represented in the examples).

<sup>9</sup> According to my K informant, the common dialect word is *uskrs*.

<sup>10</sup> See Ivić 1964: 127-8 (and the references in N 11), Vermeer 1975: 153, and Houtzagers 1984-85: 886 N 4. The dialect of Pag is very similar to Rab with respect to lengthenings (see Kušar 1894: 10-14). For the terms 'Central Čakavian' and 'Northwest Čakavian' I refer to Vermeer 1982: 289-96. (Northwest Čakavian dialects have neocircumflex; Central Čakavian dialects have no neocircumflex and i/e-reflex of the jati).

<sup>11</sup> In order not to make the list of \*e/ē-reflexes too long, I have chosen to present the examples in a somewhat condensed form. The phrase '*pobične* (N K P)' means: 'the form *pobične* has been attested in either Novalja, Kolan or Pag. In the other two places I have attested the same \*e-reflex in the same paradigm, but not necessarily in the same form of the paradigm'.

<sup>12</sup> I.e. unexpected strictly according to Jakubinskij's law. Many of the 'unexpected reflexes given here are simple analogies or combinations of different roots (such as *dvisto*). In general, Pag Čakavian does not differ greatly from other i/e-Cakavian dialects with respect to \*e-reflexes.

<sup>13</sup> Everywhere on the island the infinitive is heard both with and without final -i.

<sup>14</sup> My younger informant was 65 years old. Neither from her nor from her husband I heard a single [qa]-realization. My older informant was 80. In the streets I frequently heard the same diphthongs produced by women approximately her age.

<sup>15</sup> I nevertheless chose for the notation c, in order to make it easier for the reader to recognize the examples.

<sup>16</sup> With sandhi dissimilation s > š before c, cf. *bež zida* (*bez zida* 'without a wall'), *kod nāš sū* ('*kod nās sū* 'with us are'), *līž za Mērike* (*list za Mērike* 'a letter to America') and word-internally *praščā*, Gsg of *prasāc* 'pig' (all examples N).

<sup>17</sup> Compare the change d > l before consonants on Rab (Kušar 1894: 5).

<sup>18</sup> The same holds for the choice between -i and -e in adjectival and pronominal plural forms. The noun *dici* 'children' takes l-participles, pronouns and adjectives in -e, e.g. *ovē dici* su *jako dobrē* 'these children are very nice' (K), *dici* su *imale* 'the children had' (N).

<sup>19</sup> Note the suffix *-di-* in *uzadijaše*, -ahu (N) and *imadijaše*, -ahu (L). Compare also the latter two forms with *imājahu* (StN).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *zakđijaše* (L).

#### REFERENCES

- Hamm, J.  
 1955 "Izvještaj o naučnom putovanju na Olib, Silbu, Ist, Premudu i Pag", *Ljetopis JAZU* 60, 334-339.  
 1959 "Istraživanja iz područja čakavske dijalektologije", *Ljetopis JAZU* 63, 439-440.  
 1963 "Čakavski imperfekt", *Ivšićev zbornik*, 113-122. Zagreb.  
 Hamm, J., M. Hraste, P. Guberina  
 1956 "Govor otoka Suska", *Hrvatski dijalektološki zbornik* 1, 7-213.  
 Houtzagers, H.P.  
 1984-85 "Vowel systems of the Ekavian dialects spoken on Cres and Lošinj", *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku* 27-28, 885-893.  
 Hraste, M.  
 1956a "Izvještaj o dijalektološkom istraživanju u Lubenicama na otoku Cresu, na otocima: Unije, Male i Velike Srakane, na Susku, Rabu i Pagu", *Ljetopis JAZU* 61, 386-388.  
 1956b "Izvještaj o terenskom radu na otoku Pagu", *Ljetopis JAZU* 61, 389-390.  
 1957 "Dvoakcenatski sistem u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku", *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku* 1, 85-93.  
 1959 "Osnovna akcentuacija Biograda na moru i njegove okolice", *Filologija* 2, 5-11. Zagreb.  
 1961 "Cakavizam na istočnoj obali Jadranskoga mora", *Studi in onore di E. Lo Gatto e G. Maver*, 323-330. Firenze.  
 Ivić, P.  
 1964 "O govoru ličkih čakavaca (okolina Otočca)", *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku* 7, 127-139.  
 Jakić-Cestarić, V.  
 1957 "Refleks jata na sjeverodalmatinskim otocima", *Radovi Historijskog instituta JAZU u Zadru* 3, 407-420.  
 Jakubinskij, L.  
 1925 "Die Vertretung des urslavischen ē im Čakavischen", *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 1, 381-396.  
 Jurišić, B.  
 1973 *Rječnik otoka Vrgade. II. Rječnik*. Zagreb.  
 Kušar, M.  
 1894 "Rapski dijalekat", *Rad JAZU* 118, 1-54.  
 Steinhauer, H.  
 1973 'Čakavian studies. The Hague-Paris.  
 Šimunović, P., R. Olesch  
 1983 *Čakavisch-deutsches Lexikon. Teil III. Čakavische Texte*. Köln/Wien (Böhlau).

Vermeer, W.R.

- 1975 "Problems in the synchronic and diachronic phonology of Štokavian", *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku* 18/2, 139-159.  
 1982 "On the principal sources for the study of Čakavian dialects with neocircumflex in adjectives and e-presents", *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics* 2, 279-341.

POLOŽAJ GOVORA NUGLE KOD ROČA UNUTAR SJEVEROZAPADNO-  
 ČAKAVSKOG KOMPLEKSA

JANNEKE KALSBEEK

0. Svi starosjedilački hrvatskosrpski govori Istre, tj. sjeverozapadnočakavski govori "Bužeštine", "Boljunštine", "Pazinštine", "Žminjštine", i "Labinštine" posjeduju ove crte:

(1) Takožvani neocirkumfleks.<sup>1</sup> Nalazimo dug naglašen vokal, koji je u govorima koji su sačuvali tonski akcenat silazno intoniran, u sadašnjem vremenu glagola tipa *plăkat-plăčen*, tipa *dîgnut-dîgnen*, tipa *s  s-si  den*, i tipa *  t-  jen* (dakle, u e-prezentu) i u određenom obliku pridjeva tipa *st  ri*. Ovom se crtom sjeverozapadnočakavska grupa razlikuje od svih drugih čakavskih, a i od štokavskih govora. Od kajkavskih i slovenskih govora, sjeverozapadnočakavski se razlikuju po tome što se neocirkumfleks ne javlja u drugim kategorijama (nalazimo na pr. kratki vokal pod naglaskom u *d  la*, *slab  ja* 'slabija', *p  s  la*).<sup>2</sup>

(2) Refleks nazala zadnjeg reda, koji u ovim govorima, za razliku od drugih čakavskih (čak i inače vrlo srodnih sjeverozapadnočakavskih govora Kastavštine, Cresa, Krka i Hrv. primorja do Novog), i od štokavskih govora, nije prešao u u. Nalazimo refleks o u većini istarskih sjeverozapadnočakavskih govora, usp. Orbanići kod Žminja *kr  vo* A sg., *muok  * 'brašno' (svako je dugo o prešlo u uo), *  el  t* 'žir', *ruok  *, *n  go* A sg., *br  do* A sg., *m  o  * 'mu  ', *ru  p* 'rub', *p  šo*, *br  šo*. U "Bužeštini", međutim, nalazimo a, usp. Nugla (kod Roča) *  el  dac*, *g  aba* 'gljiva', *ru  ka* A sg. (svako je dugo a prešlo u ua), *puat* 'put', *zuap* 'zub', *tru  va* A sg., *mak  * 'brašno', *pusad  t* 'posuditi', *z vudu  * 's vodom', *gas  nica* 'gusjenica'.

(3) Pokraćene su posttoničke duljine.