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## ON THE PHONOLOGY OF THE ČAKAVIAN DIALECT OF ĆUNSKI ON THE ISLAND OF LOŠINJ

This article deals with the phonology of a Central Čakavian dialect, both from a synchronic and diachronic perspective, and is based on the author's fieldwork material. First the author presents a synchronic analysis of the vowel system (including accentuation), then he proposes a reconstruction in the form of a series of rules which led from late dialectal Proto-Slavic to the present-day state of affairs. Special attention is given to the reflexes of *jat*. The article concludes with observations on the development of the consonants.

### 1. Introductory remarks

The material presented in this article was collected more than fourteen years ago, during two weeks of field-work in Ćunski in the summer of 1989. In that same year I made a preliminary analysis of the data, but until now I did not find the time to publish the results.

It was a lucky thing that I did not decide to visit Ćunski much later, because already in 1989 the number of potential informants was very small. Most houses in Ćunski were either uninhabited or owned by people from other parts of Croatia and used as weekend and holiday residences. For many decades, the 'original' population of Ćunski had been leaving the village for good, chiefly to the United States. As far as I could make out, only four families who had been living in Ćunski for at least

a couple of generations were still living there. Most members of these families were relatively young and not in full command of the local Čakavian dialect, but I was able to find five older dialect speakers (all over eighty years of age), four of whom were willing to spend a few hours with me, answer questions about their dialect and have themselves recorded. My material consists of nine hours of recorded speech.

The dialect possesses a combination of two traits which characterizes it as 'Central Čakavian' (see Vermeer 1982:289–290):<sup>1,2</sup>

1. an *ile-kavian* reflex of Proto-Slavic \*ě according to Jakubinskij's law (see Jakubinskij 1925), e.g. *dělo* 'work', *vrīme* 'time';
2. absence of neocircumflex in the present of verbs with *e*-conjugation and fixed stem-stress, e.g. *plāče* PR3sg 'cry', *potēže* PR3sg 'pull', *rižete* PR2pl 'cut', *būbne* PR3sg 'bump'.<sup>3,4,5</sup>

## 2. Accentuation and vowel inventory

The dialect shows no phonemic tone opposition ('rising' vs. 'falling'), but there is a length distinction on stressed vowels. As we shall see in 2.5 below, the feature 'long' is in some cases optional.

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<sup>1</sup> As I have tried to show in an earlier publication, Čunski is the northernmost village on Cres-Lošinj where Central Čakavian is spoken. The dialect of Nerezine (the second village north of Čunski and the northernmost village on Lošinj) is Northwest Čakavian, as are all dialects on Cres. The dialect of Sveti Jakov, the first village north of Čunski, is transitional between Central and Northwest Čakavian (1984–85:885).

<sup>2</sup> In the following, I shall often compare the data from Čunski with those from other Čakavian dialects spoken on Cres-Lošinj, especially from the dialect of Orlec, on which I wrote a monograph. When reference is made to material from Orlec without any bibliographical information, the forms in question can be found in the lexicon of Houtzagers 1985 (pages 204–407).

<sup>3</sup> Abbreviations: 'N', 'G', 'D', 'A', 'I' and 'L' mean 'nominative', 'genitive', 'dative', 'accusative', 'instrumental' and 'locative'; 'sg' and 'pl' mean 'singular' and 'plural'; 'm', 'f' and 'n' mean 'masculine', 'feminine' and 'neuter'; 'INF', 'PR', 'IMP', 'LP' and 'PP' mean 'infinitive', 'present', 'imperative', 'I-participle' and 'passive participle'; '1'-3' mean 'first person'-third person'; 'DIM', 'P-A' and 'TOP' mean 'diminutive', 'pejorative-augmentative' and 'toponym'.

<sup>4</sup> Long *â* and *ê* reflect originally short (not neo-circumflexed) vowels (see 2.1 below).

<sup>5</sup> Strictly speaking, neocircumflex should also be absent in adjectives. If this criterion is applied, such Čunski forms as *moâli* Nsg m 'small' and *stoâri* Nsg m 'old' (with neo-circumflex) present a problem, but so does the absence of neocircumflex in *stâri* in the (otherwise Northwest Čakavian) dialect of Orlec on Cres. Presence or absence of neo-circumflex in adjectives does not seem to be a useful criterion for the distinction between Central and Northwest Čakavian on Cres-Lošinj.

## 2.1. Stressed final syllables; lengthening before tautosyllabic resonants

In stressed word-final syllables (including monosyllables) we have a five vowel system with a length opposition. All long non-high vowels but one are diphthongs. The only non-high long monophthong (*â*) has a limited distribution.

long		short	
<i>î</i>	<i>û</i>	<i>ì</i>	<i>ù</i>
<i>iê</i>	<i>uô</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>ò</i>
<i>oâ (â)</i>		<i>à</i>	

Diagram 1: stressed word-final syllables

Examples: *aprîl* 'April', *umrît* 'die', *žil* Gpl 'root', *famiěj* Gpl 'family', *zięc* 'hare', *šezdesiët* '60', *jenoâr* 'January', *špoâh* 'rope', *znoân* PR1sg 'know', *Buôh* 'God', *muôre* 'sea', *nuôh* Gpl 'leg', *poberû* PR3pl 'gather', *kljûč* 'key', *kûc* Gpl 'house', *šufit* 'attic', *tel-čič* 'calf' DIM, *živit* 'live', *dešpèt* 'damage', *zèt* 'son-in-law', *žerè* PR3sg 'eat (of animal)', *stolâ* Gsg 'table', *fermât* 'stop', *svenâc* 'louse', *pòp* 'priest', *dobrò* adverb 'good', *bòp* 'broad beans', *krùh* 'bread', *paršût* 'ham', *tlohù* Lsg 'floor'.

The long vowels in diagram 1 reflect not only 'originally' long vowels, but also the results of lengthening before tautosyllabic resonants, e.g. *ženîl* LPm 'marry' (cf. *ženili* LPplm), *usnûl* 'fall asleep' LPm (cf. *usniula* LPf), *tovoâr* 'donkey' (cf. *tovâra* Gsg), *stuôl* 'table' (cf. *stolâ* Gsg).<sup>6</sup>

There are three sets of instances of long monophthongal *â* in stressed final syllables: (1) the lexeme *vrâh* 'devil'; (2) the Lpl ending *-âh*, e.g. *nogâh* 'foot', *rukâh* 'hand'; (3) forms ending in *-âRC#* (where *R* is *r* or *l*, *C* is one or more consonants and *#* is a word-boundary), e.g. *pârst* 'finger', *dârf* Gpl 'firewood', *vârh* 'top', *kârf* 'blood', *Târst* 'Trieste', *sârp* 'sickle', *pâlt* 'complexion', *pâls* 'snail', *bâlh* Gpl 'flea'.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Lengthening before tautosyllabic resonants has taken place over a very wide area, including all dialects of Cres–Lošinj (cf. Houtzagers 1984–85:886).

<sup>7</sup> The phonological status of *â* in the instances under (3) is not clear, since I have not attested any forms in *-âRC#* or *-oâRC#*. The monophthong *â* in the instances under (1) and (2) is phonemically distinct from *oâ*, cf. *špoâh* 'string'; I have no instances with *-âh#*. It is very well possible that the monophthongal quality of the vowel in *vrâh* is distinctive, as it is in the same word in many Čakavian dialects that usually diphthongize (or round) originally long *a*, cf. Hamm–Hraste–Guberina 1956:104, Houtzagers 1987:68, Budovskaja–Houtzagers 1994:95, Jurišić 1973:233, Steinhauer 1973:288, Vermeer 1975:141.

## 2.2. Stressed non-final syllables; the Lengthening Rule

In stressed non-final syllables the number of phonemic oppositions is greater than in stressed final ones. As can be seen in diagram 2, long non-high vowels cannot only be diphthongal, but also monophthongal:

long			short		
diphthongal		monophthongal			
<i>iê</i>	<i>uô</i>	<i>î</i>	<i>û</i>	<i>ì</i>	<i>ù</i>
		<i>ê</i>	<i>ô</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>ò</i>
<i>oâ</i>		<i>â</i>		<i>à</i>	

Diagram 2: stressed non-final syllables

As in many other dialects in the area, we must assume that there has been a lengthening of originally short *e*, *a* and *o* in stressed non-final syllables. In the following I shall refer to this lengthening as the 'Lengthening Rule'.<sup>8</sup> Monophthongal *ê*, *â* and *ô* in diagram 1 reflect the results of the Lengthening Rule. Examples: *poglêdat* 'look', *susêda* Gsg 'neighbour', *vêli* 'big', *râme* 'shoulder', *slâme* Gsg 'straw', *znâli* LPplm 'know', *dôbar* 'good', *kônji* Npl 'horse', *nôge* Npl 'leg'.

The Lengthening Rule has caused length alternations in such paradigms as *Crès* TOP, Gsg *Crêsa*; *bogât* 'rich', Nsgf *bogâta*; *kamižòt* 'skirt', Npl *kamižòti*.

The long monophthongs *ê* and *ô* show a tendency to maximize the phonetic difference between themselves and the diphthongs *iê* and *uô*: they are often realized as closing diphthongs ([e<sup>ɨ</sup>], [o<sup>ɨ</sup>]). The degree of diphthongization varies.

Short *è*, *à* and *ò* in diagram 2 represent vowels on which the expected length is not found.<sup>9</sup> Examples: *dêset* 'ten', *zovèmo* PR1pl 'call', *nâj-* (superlative prefix), *svàki* 'each', *dòma* '(at) home' (but *puđ dôme* 'on the way home'), *dòsta* 'enough', *šòldi* 'money'.

The monophthongs *î* and *û* and the diphthongs *iê*, *oâ* and *uô* reflect vowels that were already long before the operation of the Lengthening Rule. Examples: *butîga* 'shop', *pîtaš* PR2sg 'ask', *zîda* Gsg 'wall', *pûstimo* PR1pl 'let', *rûku* Asg 'hand', *žûtu* Asgf 'yellow', *biêlo* Nsgn 'white', *riêtko* Nsgn 'rare', *viêzete* PR2pl 'tie', *mloâdi* Nsgm

<sup>8</sup> The Lengthening Rule has also operated in Sveti Jakov and Nerezine on Lošinj and in all dialects spoken on Cres (see Houtzagers 1984–85) and on Susak (see Vermeer 1975: 175–176). One can also argue that it operated in Kali on the island of Ugljan (see Budovskaja-Houtzagers 1994:95–96).

<sup>9</sup> About the question of the exceptions to (or restoration after) the Lengthening Rule see 2.6.

'young', *stroâha* Gsg 'fear', *vroâta* Gsg 'neck', *muôre* 'sea', *uzguôra* 'from above', *gruôzje* 'grapes'.<sup>10</sup>

Short *i* and *u* reflect originally short *i* and *u*. Examples: *đimi* PR3sg 'smoke', *dičina* 'children (P-A)', *koliko* 'how much', *drugi* Nsgm 'second', *čula* LPf 'hear', *kùhat* 'cook'. Short *i* and *u* (both in final and nonfinal syllables) are sometimes realized lower than their long counterparts. The frequency of these lower realizations is different for each speaker and the degree of lowering varies as well.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.3. First pretonic syllable

In unstressed syllables the length distinction was lost. In the first pretonic syllable originally long *e*, *a* and *o* are reflected as diphthongs, their originally short counterparts as monophthongs. This suggests that the loss of the length distinction in the first pretonic syllable took place after the diphthongization of originally long *e*, *a* and *o*:

diphthongal		monophthongal	
<i>ie</i>	<i>uo</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
		<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
	<i>oa</i>		<i>a</i>

Diagram 3: first pretonic syllable

Examples of diphthongs: *cvietki* Npl 'certain variety of fig', *pietà* 'heel', *stiegnò* 'hind-quarter', *striesè* PR3sg 'shake', *viezàt* 'tie', *žietàc* 'cask in which cheese is made', *zoabila* LPf 'forget', *broadà* 'chin', *buhoačà* Gsg 'Dalmatian pyrethrum', *pokoazàt* 'show', *plòatit* 'pay', *proascà* Gsg 'pig', *dvuorù* (also *dvorù*) Lsg 'yard', *guospù* (also *gospù*) Asg 'Assumption of the Virgin Mary', *kuogòt* 'anyone', *muorù* (also *morù*) Lsg 'sea'. As one can expect on historical grounds, pretonic *oa* is quite common and *ie* and *uo* are relatively rare (resp. 10 and 4 different lexemes). The fact that in three out of four at-

<sup>10</sup> Of course the lengthening before tautosyllabic resonants discussed in the preceding section has taken place in nonfinal syllables as well, e.g. *luônčić*, DIM of *lonàc* 'pan'; *studièncu* 'well' Lsg, *Studièncić* TOP (cf. *studènac* 'well' Nsg); *moârča* 'March' Gsg (cf. Nsg *mârač*); *rîlčiče*, DIM of *rilo* 'snout'.

<sup>11</sup> Vermeer reports about Susak that '/i/ and /u/ are not only shorter, but very often considerably lower than their short counterparts' (1975:143). I have also had the opportunity of hearing the dialect of Susak and I think that both dialects show the same tendency towards lowering of *i* and *u*, but in Susak the lowering seems stronger and less sporadic.

tested paradigms with pretonic *uo* monophthongs occurs along with diphthongs suggests that pretonic *uo* is gradually disappearing.

Examples of monophthongs in the first pretonic syllable: *imit* ‘have’, *letila kaminje* ‘stones (collective)’, *hodit* ‘walk’, *umiraju* PR3pl ‘die’.

## 2.4. Other unstressed syllables

In other unstressed syllables than the first pretonic no trace of vowel length is left:

<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>a</i>	

Diagram 4: other unstressed syllables

Examples: (pretonic) *čimituôrij* ‘churchyard’, *očeperili* LPplm ‘remove sheep-ticks from’, *zgaškurilo se* ‘become dark’ LPn, *osušilo* LPn ‘dry’, *učinit* ‘make’; (post-tonic) *zikoj* Lsg ‘cradle’, *time* ‘crown (of head)’, *vartila* LPf ‘turn’, *gorilo* LPn ‘burn’, *dicu* Asg ‘children (collective)’.

## 2.5. Problems with the length distinction on non-high vowels

The opposition between ‘short’ and ‘long and monophthongal’ on non-high vowels (i.e.  $\hat{e} - \grave{e}$ ,  $\hat{a} - \grave{a}$ ,  $\hat{o} - \grave{o}$ ) in stressed nonfinal syllables (see 2.2) is not unproblematic. Numerous forms have been attested with doublet length and the number of forms that have been attested only short is very small. One could wonder if it would not be realistic to give up the idea of an opposition and assume not more than three non-high non-diphthongal vowels with free (or positionally motivated) variation in phonetic length.<sup>12</sup> However, of the few forms that consistently have short  $\hat{e}$ ,  $\hat{a}$  and  $\hat{o}$  (in spite of the Lengthening Rule) some have been attested relatively often and some agree with forms with unexpected shortness found in other dialects. I thought that this could hardly be a coincidence and therefore I chose to maintain the opposition in question in my description. I assume that the phonemes  $\hat{e}$ ,  $\hat{a}$  and  $\hat{o}$  show variation in phonetic length (and can be realized long, half-long and even short) and that  $\grave{e}$ ,  $\grave{a}$  and  $\grave{o}$  are realized only short. In phonological terms one can say that on  $\hat{e}$ ,  $\hat{a}$  and  $\hat{o}$  the feature ‘long’ is optional or that there exists a ‘one way opposition’ (jednosmjerna opozicija, see Brozović 1968:27–33) between  $\hat{e}$ ,  $\hat{a}$  and  $\hat{o}$  vs.  $\grave{e}$ ,  $\grave{a}$  and  $\grave{o}$ .

<sup>12</sup> This is in fact what Budovskaja and I proposed for Kali on Ugljan (1994:94).

## 2.6. Forms that do not show the results of the Lengthening Rule

Forms with *è*, *à* and *ò* in nonfinal syllables (see 2.2 and 2.5) do not show the expected results of the Lengthening Rule. We must assume that either the forms in question were exceptions to the Lengthening Rule, or shortness in these forms was restored after the operation of the Lengthening Rule. There is no proof in favour of either alternative (exceptions or restoration). In 3 below I arbitrarily chose the second alternative (restoration of shortness after the Lengthening Rule). It is not clear why exactly these forms do not show the expected length while almost all others do. Here is a list of forms in which the expected length is not found:<sup>13</sup>

- (1) (forms of) *svàki* 'each', *svàkakove* Nplf 'all kinds of';<sup>14</sup>
- (2) the superlative prefix *nàj-*;<sup>15</sup>
- (3) *zabàjka* 'certain garment';
- (4) the numerals 'seven' to 'ten': *sèdan*, *òsan*, *dèvet*, *dèset*;<sup>16</sup>
- (5) the present endings *-èmo*, *-ète*, *-èju*;<sup>17</sup>
- (6) the words *mès'to* 'place', *zèmlja* 'earth', *tèško* 'difficult', *mètla* 'broom', *pulètkovat* 'pick the grapes that were left during harvest';
- (7) present and LP forms of *pòčnen* 'start' PR1sg, *pòčelo* LPn; the words *dòma* 'at home', *pòsli* 'after', *dòsta* 'enough', *šòldi* Npl 'money' and the IMP forms *hòmo* 1pl and *hòte* 2pl 'go'.<sup>18</sup>

## 3. Historical development of the vowels

As a point of departure for the reconstruction I assume the following earlier vowel system:

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<sup>13</sup> The list contains only forms that were attested at least three times, each time without doubt as to the shortness of the stressed vowel.

<sup>14</sup> Shortness in the same words is found in Orlec.

<sup>15</sup> Shortness in this prefix is generally found in the dialects on Cres-Lošinj north of Ćunski (see Houtzagers 1984-85:892).

<sup>16</sup> The dialect of Susak also has shortness in *sèdan* and *dèset* (see Vermeer 1975:141).

<sup>17</sup> Shortness in these endings is generally found in the dialects on Cres-Lošinj north of Ćunski (see Houtzagers 1984-85:892). The dialect of Susak has shortness in *èmo* 'we shall' (see Vermeer 1975:141).

<sup>18</sup> The dialect of Susak also has shortness in *pòčnen*, *dòma*, *pòsli* (see Vermeer 1975:141). The dialects on Cres-Lošinj north of Ćunski also have shortness in the verb *pòšnet* (see Houtzagers 1984-85:892). Orlec has shortness in *hòmo* and *hòte*.

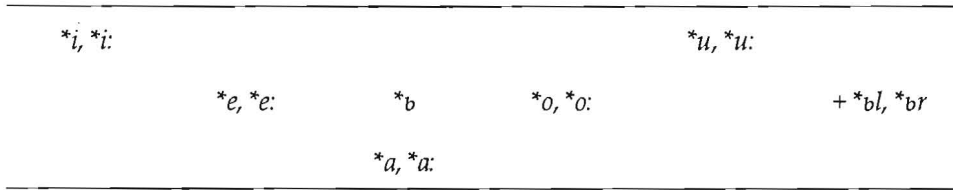


Diagram 5: earlier vowel system

Origin of the vowels in diagram 5: long and short \*i < \*jb, \*i, \*ě;<sup>19</sup> long and short \*u < \*u, \*ø, vocalic l;<sup>20</sup> long and short \*e < \*e, \*ě, \*ę; short \*b < short jer; long and short \*o < \*o; short \*bl < vocalic l;<sup>21</sup> short \*br < vocalic r;<sup>22</sup> long and short \*a < \*a and long jer.

The present-day situation can be reconstructed from the system in diagram 5 when we assume five major changes:

- I. Lengthening of vowels (except \*b) before tautosyllabic resonants;<sup>23</sup>
- II. Diphthongization of long \*e, \*a, and \*o;
- III. Loss of distinctive length in the first pretonic syllable;
- IV. \*b > a;<sup>24</sup>
- V. The Lengthening Rule: lengthening of short \*e, \*a and \*o in stressed nonfinal syllables;
- VI. Restoration of shortness on part of the results of the Lengthening Rule (see 2.6);
- VII. Rise of the freedom with respect to phonetic length of the long monophthongs ê, ô and â, leading to the somewhat blurred opposition between ê, ô, ò on the one hand and ê, ô and â on the other in the present dialect (see 2.5).

<sup>19</sup> \*ě > \*i or \*e according to Jakubinskij's law, cf. 1; see also 4 below.

<sup>20</sup> The reflexes of vocalic l show some complications (see next note and 5 below).

<sup>21</sup> As far as we can judge from the present reflexes, long vocalic l, if not reflected as long u, merged with short vocalic l into short \*bl (see 5 below).

<sup>22</sup> The reflexes of vocalic r show some complications. As far as we can judge from the present reflexes, long vocalic r merged with short vocalic r into short \*br (see 6 below).

<sup>23</sup> Like in other Čakavian dialects there are also cases of lengthening in other closed syllables than before tautosyllabic resonants: *bôšak* 'wood', Gsg *buôška*; *frâtar* 'friar', Npl *froâtri*; *lâčan* 'hungry', Nplm *loâčni*; *vêtar* 'wind', Npl *viêtri*; *ponêsal* 'bring' LPm, *parniêsl* LPpl m; *rêkal* 'say' LPm, *riêkla* LPf. The lengthenings do not present a coherent picture. See also Houtzagers 1987: 69 and the references given there.

<sup>24</sup> Short \*b is reflected e (not a) in *čè* 'what', *čegòt* 'something'.



The ordering of these rules is relevant in the following cases:

- I before II and II before V: the results of I are diphthongized according to II while the results of V are not;
- II before III: we have diphthongs in the first pretonic syllable;
- II before IV: *a* from short jer is never reflected as a diphthong;
- IV before V: *a* from \**b* is subject to V in the same way as any other *a*;
- V before VI: this needs no explanation;
- V before VII: an explanation for VII could be the small functional load of the opposition *ê, â, ò* vs. *ê, ô, â* after V and VI (if VI operated before VII), or the absence of that opposition after V (if VI operated after VII).

There are no traces of length in other unstressed syllables than the first pretonic, so that we can assume that there the loss of the length distinction took place before II. The loss of the tonal distinction can have taken place at any stage.

There have been no stress shifts, so that the place of the stress – as one can expect in a Čakavian dialect – is in principle the ‘old’ one, e.g. *gloavà* ‘head’, *rukà* ‘hand’. Two exceptions that I found in my material are *dâska* ‘board’ and *dâržal* ‘hold’ LPM (cf. PR3pl *daržiju*).

#### 4. Reflexes of *jat*

In 1 above it was already said that the dialect has an *ile*-kavian reflex of *jat* according to Jakubinskij’s law (see 1925: 381–382). This means that, in principle, the reflex is a mid front vowel (*e, ê, è* or *ie*) before a ‘hard dental’ (*d, t, z, s, n, r, l* not followed by *j* or a front vowel) and a high front vowel (*i, î* or *ì*) in other environments.<sup>25</sup>

Within inflexional paradigms we usually do not find alternating reflexes of *jat*, but the reflex we expect in part of the forms is generalized throughout the paradigm, e.g. *rižat* ‘cut’ after PR3sg *riže*, Npl *besêde* ‘word’ after *besêda* Nsg, *biêle* Apl after non-attested \**biêl* (short form masculine).<sup>26</sup>

If words show a derivational relationship the picture is less clear. Sometimes the reflex of *jat* in a derived form is adopted from the word from which it is derived (*premèstit* after *mèsto*, *vresìna* ‘certain shrub’ P-A after *vriês*), sometimes not (from the

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<sup>25</sup> An entirely different reflex is found in \**gnêzd-* and \**nêdr-* (see below).

<sup>26</sup> For an exception, see under \**dě-* below.

root \**věd*- we have *povidàt* 'tell' imperfective after \**povì* perfective PR3sg, but also *neviêsta* 'bride').<sup>27</sup>

Even if we leave aside cases of analogy like those discussed in the last two paragraphs, the reflexes of *jat* in *i/e*-kavian dialects never fully agree with Jakubinskij's law. The picture is different for each dialect. Below I shall give a list of forms attested in Čunski in which reflexes of *jat* are present, alphabetically ordered according to the root, prefix or suffix in which they were attested.

* <i>běg</i> -	<i>bižàt</i> 'run', <i>biži</i> PR3sg, <i>bižalo</i> LPn;
* <i>běl</i> -	<i>biêlo</i> Nsgn 'white', <i>biêla</i> Nsgf, <i>biêle</i> Nplf; <i>beljica</i> 'certain variety of figs'; <i>Beliěj</i> TOP (I have assumed here that this toponym is derived from * <i>běl</i> -);
* <i>bělěg</i> -	<i>belèh</i> 'earmark on sheep';
* <i>besěd</i> -	<i>besěda</i> 'word';
* <i>brěg</i> -	<i>brih</i> <sup>28</sup> 'boundary between parcels of land', <i>brizi</i> Npl;
* <i>brěk</i> -	<i>brika</i> 'certain kind of grass'; <i>brišnjak</i> 'certain burry shrub'; <sup>29</sup>
* <i>brěmen</i> -	<i>brince</i> 'load';
* <i>čěd</i> -	<i>cidila</i> 'stream' LPf, <i>scidi</i> PR3sg;
* <i>čěl</i> -	<i>ciêli</i> 'whole';
* <i>čěn</i> -	<i>ciênu</i> 'cheap' (uninflected);
* <i>čěp</i> -	<i>cipàt</i> 'graft', PR3sg <i>čipa</i> ;
* <i>čěst</i> -	<i>česte</i> Gsg 'road' (with initial <i>č</i> -, as in Orlec);
* <i>crěkv</i> -	<i>crikva</i> 'church', <i>crikvoica</i> DIM;
* <i>cvět</i> -	<i>cvietki</i> Npl 'flower';
* <i>čověk</i> -	<i>čovik</i> 'human being';
* <i>dě</i> -	<i>nadit</i> 'put (a thread into a needle)', <i>nadêne</i> PR3sg; <sup>30</sup>
*- <i>dě</i>	<i>drùgder</i> 'elsewhere', <i>kadè</i> 'where', <i>kadegòt</i> 'wherever', <i>nìgder</i> 'somewhere; nowhere', <i>ondè</i> 'there', <i>ondêka</i> 'there' (also <i>undè</i> , <i>undêka</i> ), <i>ovdè</i> 'from here' (also <i>uvdè</i> ), etc.;
* <i>děl</i> - (1)	<i>diljnica</i> 'small piece of land'; <i>diêli</i> 'divide' PR3sg, <i>razdilili</i> LPplm; <sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> For more information on and more examples of reflexes of *jat* in *i/e*-kavian dialects see Belić 1909:184-187, Jakić-Cestarić 1957 and Vermeer 1984:278-279.

<sup>28</sup> This form has been attested only once. One would expect the root-vowel to be long (see also *mih* and *snih*).

<sup>29</sup> I have assumed here that these lexemes are related to *brekinja* (see Skok 1971-74 I:206), which is not necessarily true.

<sup>30</sup> Here we find different reflexes of *jat* within one paradigm.

<sup>31</sup> Here the simplex and the compound verb show different reflexes of *jat*.

- \**děl-* (2) *děla* 'work' PR3sg, *dělala* LPf; *dělo* 'work'; *nedilju* Asg 'Sunday';  
 \**dět-* *ditè* 'child', *ditèta* Gsg; *dicà* 'children', *dicina* P-A, *dicičina*  
 (diminutive-pejorative); *děčko* 'young man';  
 \**děv-* *divuôjka* 'girl';  
 \**dvě* *dvì* 'two (fem)', *dvìh* GL; *dvìstô* '200';  
 \**-ě* (1) (in lexicalized case forms) *gòre*, *gòreka* 'above', *dòle* 'below',  
*loâni* 'last year', *nûtri* 'in, inside', *pòsli* 'afterwards', sometimes  
*pòsle*;  
 \**-ě* (2) (productive case ending): *críkvi* 'church' Dsg, *živini* 'livestock'  
 Dsg, *butìgi* 'shop' Lsg, *gloavi* 'head' Lsg, *v létli/letì* 'in summer',  
*menì* 'I D';  
 \**-ě(ti)* *bolilo* 'hurt' LPn; *gorila* 'burn' LPf; *imìt* 'have', *imili* LPplm; *letit*  
 'fly', *letila* LPf; *ofil* 'want' LPm, *otili* LPplm; *sedili* 'sit' LPplm;  
*umín* 'be able' PR1sg, *umila* LPf; *vartil* 'turn' LPm, *vartila* LPf;  
*vít* 'see', *vidili* LPplm, *vidilo* LPn; *živòit* 'live', *živilo* LPn;  
 \**ěd-* (1) *jis(t)* 'eat', *ji* PR3sg, *jimo* PR1pl, *jil* LPm, *jili* LPplm, *pojida*  
 PR3sg;  
 \**ěd-* (2) *jedila se* 'become angry'; *jidan* 'angry';  
 \**ědr-* *jidro* 'sail';  
 \**ěj-* *bogatiji* 'rich'; *siromašniji* 'poor' (both comparative Nsgm);  
 \**gnězd-* *njoazlò*,<sup>32</sup>  
 \**klěšt-* *klišća* Npl 'tongs';  
 \**kolěn-* *kolèno* 'knee';  
 \**kosěr-* *koseriç* 'kind of sickle'; *koserâça* 'kind of chopping-knife';  
 \**kudělj-* *kudilja* (spinning term);  
 \**-lě* *dokle*<sup>33</sup> 'until', *doklegòt* 'until', *zđòkle* 'from where', *pòkle* 'after  
 (conjunction)';  
 \**lěh-* *lihà* 'strip of land'; *Liški* TOP;  
 \**lěk-* *likoâr* 'doctor';  
 \**lěn-* *lièncina* 'lazy person';  
 \**lěp-* (1) *lipo* 'beautiful' Nsgn;  
 \**lěp-* (2) *prilipci* Npl 'limpet';  
 \**lět-* *lèto* 'summer', *letì* 'in summer';  
 \**lěv-* *liva* 'left' Nsgf;  
 \**měh-* *mih*<sup>34</sup> 'bag made of sheepskin';

<sup>32</sup> The reflex of *jat* in this word is often *a* in *i/e*-kavian dialects (see Milčetić 1895:103, Jakić-Cestarić 1957:414, Houtzagers 1984–85:885 note 2, Budovskaja–Houtzagers 1994: 103). See also \**njědr-* below.

<sup>33</sup> This form was attested only unstressed.

<sup>34</sup> This form was attested several times. One would expect the root-vowel to be long (see also *brih* and *smih*).

*mĕn-	preminĭt 'change clothes';
*mĕr-	mĕru 'weight' Asg;
*mĕšec-	mĭsec 'month';
*mĕsi-	umĭsĭt 'knead';
*mĕšt-	mĕsto 'place', premĕstĭt 'move', premešćĭvat;
*mĕša-	mĭšĭt 'mix';
*mlĕ-	mlĭt 'grind', mĕlje PR3sg, mlĭl LPm;
*mlĕk-	mlĭkò 'milk'; mlĭst 'milk', pomlĭs;
*mrĕ-	umrĭt 'die';
*mrĕž-	mrĭže Npl 'net';
*nĕ-	with indefinite meaning: nĭgdir/nĭgder 'somewhere', nĭč/nĭš 'something', nĭkat 'sometimes', nĭki 'somebody';
*njĕdr-	v njoâdra Apl '(put) under one's coat' (cf. *gnĕžd- above);
*orĕh-	orĭh 'walnut';
*pĕ-	pĕteh 'cock';
*plĕv-	plĕve Npl 'chaff', plĕvine P-A;
*prĕ-	prevĭše 'too much';
*prĕd-	noâpret/noâpreda 'forward' (also noâprit), sprit <sup>35</sup> /sprida 'in front (of)', sprĭde 'in front'; prija 'earlier (than)';
*prĕk-	prĭko 'over (prep./adv.);
*rĕd-	rĭetko 'thin (not dense) Nsgn;
*rĕp-	rĭĕpa; Podrĭpišća TOP (assuming that this toponym is derived from *rĕp-);
*rĕž-	rĭzat 'cut', rĭže PR3sg;
*sĕ-	sĭjat 'sow', sĭje PR3sg;
*sĕd-	posĭs se 'sit down'; sedĭli 'sit' LPplm; susĕdi 'neighbour' Npl;
*sĕk-	sĭc 'cut', sĭcĕ PR3sg, sĭkli LPplm; sĭkĭra 'axe';
*sĕmen-	sĭme 'seed';
*sĕmo	sĭmo 'hither';
*sĕn-	pôcin 'shadow';
*sĕrk-	sĭrĭk 'sorghum';
*slĕp-	slĭp 'blind';
*smĕ-	smĭlo se LPn 'be allowed';
*smĕh-	smĭjat se 'laugh', smĭjali se LPplm;
*smrĕk-	smrĭka 'juniper; smrĭška 'juniper-berry';
*snĕg-	snĭh <sup>36</sup> 'snow';
*srĕd-	nasrĕt 'in the middle (of)';
*srĕt-	srĭcno Nsgn 'happy';

<sup>35</sup> This form was attested only unstressed.

<sup>36</sup> This form was attested twice. One would expect the root-vowel to be long (see also *brih* and *mih*).

*stĕn-	stiĕn 'cliff' Gpl, stenina P-A;
*svĕt-	svĕt 'world', svetinu Lsg P-A; svitlo Nsg 'light';
*svĕtj-	sviĕcè 'candle' Npl, sviĕca DIM, sviĕcine Npl P-A;
*iĕmen-	tiĕme 'crown';
*iĕr-	stirat 'chase away';
*iĕst-	tiĕsto 'dough';
*irĕb-	potriba Nsg 'lack'; trĕbala LPf 'need';
*vĕd-	povĕt 'tell'; povidat 'tell'; neviĕsta 'bride';
*vĕj-	vijat 'winnow';
*vĕk-	vĕvik 'always', odvĕvik 'from times immemorial';
*vĕr-	vĕra 'faith'; vĕruje PR3sg 'believe';
*vĕs-	obisit 'hang';
*vĕt-	zoavĕt 'testament';
*vĕtr-	vĕtar 'wind';
*vrĕc-	vrĕcu Asg 'bag';
*vrĕd-	vrĕdi PR3sg 'be worth';
*vrĕmen-	vrĕme/vrĕme 'time', vrĕmena Gsg;
*vrĕs-	vrĕs 'certain tree or shrub', vresina;
*vrĕten-	vretenò 'spindle';
*zrĕl-	zrijat 'ripen';
*zvĕr-	zvĕrje 'animals (collective)';
*zvĕzd-	zvezdà 'star', zvezdi Lsg, zviĕzde Npl;
*zelĕz-	zelĕzo 'iron' (with initial z-, see also 7 below).

The dialect form that corresponds with the standard Croatian verb *liti* is *polĕt* 'pour', PR3sg *polĕje*, imperfective *polivāt* (cf. Orlec *polĕt*, *polejĕ*, *polevāt*). Standard Croatian *obuĕi* 'dress' is *oblĕc* (cf. Orlec *oblĕc*). The frequentative suffix is *-iva-*: *veživāt* 'tie', *bruštulivāt* 'roast', *sekĕiva* PR3sg 'bother', *pariĕiva* PR3sg 'prepare' (cf. Orlec *veževāt*, etc.).

As in many other Čakavian dialects \**e* is reflected *i* in *viĕeràs* 'this evening', *viĕĕeru* Asg 'dinner', *viĕĕeramo* PR1pl 'have dinner'. The word for 'bed' is *postilja*, Asg *pustilju*, cf. *pustĕja* in Orlec. Original \**e* is reflected *i/e* in *kaminjel/kamĕnje* (cf. Orlec *kamĕnje*) 'stones (collective)'; the latter Čunski variant is less frequent.

The form for 'quickly' presented by Skok under '*list*<sup>39</sup> (1971-74 II: 308) is *lĕšto* (cf. Orlec *lišto(n)*).

There are a number of Italian loanwords which have an *i*-like vowel in Čunski and an *e*-like vowel in Orlec: *bandĕira* 'flag', *butĕiga* 'shop', *diciĕmbar* 'December', *diferiĕnto* 'different' Nsgn, *dižgrāciju* Asg 'handicap', *mulĕta* 'grill' (cf. Orlec *bandĕricu* Asg, *butĕga*, *decĕmber/dicĕmber*, *deferĕncal/diferĕnca*, *dežgrācija*, *mulĕta*). Compare also Čunski *tarilj* 'plate' and Orlec *tarĕj*.

## 5. Reflexes of vocalic \*j

Vocalic \*j is mostly reflected as *u/ù/û*: *dûga* 'debt' Gsg, *mučât* 'be silent', *pûn* 'full', *napûnit* 'fill', *stûp* 'tree', *sûze* 'tear' Npl, *sûnce* 'sun', *tûsto* 'fat' Nsgn, *žûč* 'bile', *žûti* 'yellow'.

In a minority of the cases vocalic \*j first changed into \*vl and is reflected in the present-day dialect as *al*: *balhà* 'flea', *galbôka* 'deep' Nsgf (cf. Skok 1971-74 I: 451), *Halmàc* TOP, *jàbalka* 'apple'. In all attested instances where the relevant vowel is stressed, it is long (*âl*), either because of the Lengthening Rule or because of its position before -C# (where C stands for one or more consonants and # is the word-boundary, see the last paragraph of 2.1 above): *dâlgo* 'far', *Kâlku* Lsg TOP, *obâlkal* 'dress' LPm, *vâlna* 'wool'; *pâlt* 'complexion', *pâls* 'snail', *bâlth* Gpl 'flea'.

One would perhaps expect originally long vocalic \*j̄ – when it is not reflected as *û* – to appear as \*\**oâl* (reflex of long *jer + l*). However, such reflexes are not found. We must assume that long vocalic j̄, if not reflected as long *u*, merged with short vocalic *l* into short \*vl.

## 6. Reflexes of vocalic \*r

Vocalic \*r is consistently reflected as *ar*. In all attested instances where the relevant vowel is stressed, it is long (*âr*), either because of the Lengthening Rule or because of its position before -C# (where C is a consonant and # is the word-boundary, see the last paragraph of 2.1 above). Examples: *darvò* 'piece of fire-wood', *tarbùh* 'belly', *dârva* Npl, *gârto* 'throat', *umârto* 'die' LPn, *čârf* 'worm', *dârf* Gpl, *pârst* 'finger'.

The same that was said about vocalic *l* in 5 above can be said here: one would expect long vocalic *r* to be reflected as \*\**oâr*, but this is not the case. We must assume that long vocalic *r* merged with short vocalic *r* into short \*br.

For the well-attested paradigm of *pârvi* 'first' my material contains many occurrences with phonetically short [a], and there are also numerous attestations with a schwa- or *e*-like vowel. I tentatively assume that what we hear in such attestations is an interconsonantal *r*, which in a restricted number of words can occur along with *ar*.

Comparison of *markodlâci* Npl 'malignant sorcerer', *parniês* 'bring', *šûmpar* 'sulphur', Gsg *šûmpara*, with the corresponding words in the dialect of Orlec suggests

that we must derive present-day *ar* from *\*br*. In Orlec short and unstressed *\*b > e*; the corresponding Orlec words are *merkodlāk*, *pernést*, *súnfer*, Isg *súnferon*).<sup>37,38</sup>

## 7. The consonants

The dialect has the following consonant phonemes: *p, b, v, f, t, d, z, s, c, č, ž, š, k, g, h, m, n, j, l, r*.

The palatal stop *ć* is distinct from the sequence *tj*, which, in my material, is present only in *netjôak* 'nephew' and *netjakinja* 'niece'.

The dialect is not 'Čakavian', i.e. there is no neutralization of the opposition palatal – dental. There are some words, however, in which Čunski *s* and *z* correspond to Orlec *š* and *ž*, respectively: *rùzina* 'rust', *rùzavo* 'rusty' Nsgn, *škùla* 'school', *skrinjina* 'trunk' P-A, *škôrup* 'skin (om milk)', *zmôrac* 'north', *zelêzo* (Orlec *rùzina*, *rùzinavo* Nsgn, *škùla*, (r)*iškrinja*, *škôrup*, *Žmôrec* TOP, *želêžo* (sic)).

In Orlec, *s* and *z* optionally become palatal when followed by a palatal fricative or affricate within the same word and not separated from it by more than one vowel, e.g. *súša/súša* 'drought', *znâš/žnâš* 'know' PR2sg, *sečemo/šečemo* 'cut' PR1pl (see Houtzagers 1985:28). This is probably also the case in Čunski. My material contains the following examples: *žašijeno* 'sew together' PPNsgn, *šušit* 'dry', *došêzete* 'reach' PR2pl (cf. INF *dosiêc*), *šičè* 'cut' PR3sg (cf. PR3pl *posikù*), *poslùšaju/pošlišaj* 'listen' PR3pl/IMP2sg, *smriške/smriške* 'juniper berry' Npl, *strižèlo/ostriženo* 'cut' PR3sg/PPNsgn, *Sùfcani/Šiufcani* 'inhabitant of Susak' Npl.

Like in Orlec, *s* and *z* became palatal in *šešnájs* 'sixteen' and *šeždesiêt* 'sixty' (Orlec *šešnájs*, *šeždesêt*).

Distinctively voiced consonants are devoiced in word-final position, e.g. *bobà* 'broad bean' Gsg, *bòp* Nsg; *darvò* 'piece of firewood', *dârf* Gpl; *griêde* 'beam' Npl, *griêt* Gpl; *obrâzu* 'face' Lsg, *obràs* Nsg; *pâlži* 'snail' Npl, *pâlš* Nsg. The final dental of *pod* 'under' was attested voiceless before vowels in *pot* Itoâliju 'under Italy' and *pot* Àustriju 'under Austria' (i.e. in the days of Italian/Austrian rule). Word-internal *v* is

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<sup>37</sup> The declined forms of *šûmpar/súnfer* are given in order to distinguish this word from loans with a fleeting vowel like *frâtar* 'friar', Npl *froâtri*, Orlec *frâter*, Npl *frâtri* (in which the fleeting vowel is always equal to the reflex of *\*b*).

<sup>38</sup> The case of *zermôâni/zarmôâni* 'relative' Npl (not attested in Orlec) is less clear. Perhaps there was a doublet *\*br/er*. Even more mysterious are *voâjer* 'up, into the air', *kùšcer* 'lizard', Orlec *vâjar*, *kùšcar/kùšcer*, where the situation is the reverse from what one would expect. The form *naprimar* 'for instance' (one attestation) could be a slip of the tongue.

not always devoiced before voiceless obstruents: in *lòvci* 'hunter', *udovci* 'widower' and *òvce* 'sheep' (all Npl) it was attested voiced (the latter form was also attested with voiceless *f*).

Palatalized *l* (in my notation *lj*) did not change into *j*: *ljúdi* 'people' Npl, *tarilj* 'plate', *tareljici* 'plate' DIM Npl, *škuôlj* 'island', *škúlja* 'hole' (cf. Orlec *júdi*, *tarěj*, *tarejic*, *škój*, *škúja*). It is also present in the comparative/superlative forms *bàšlje* 'low' Nsgn, *nájvišlja* 'high' Nsgf (cf. Orlec *basěji* Nsgn, *nájviše* Nsgn), and in *beljica* 'certain variety of figs', *baršljoân* 'ivy', *baršljinci* 'certain kind of grass', *gljiste* Npl 'worm', *đimljak* 'chimney', *sloâmljicu* 'straw mattress' Asg (cf. Orlec *belica*, *beršjân*, *gĵist* (no parallels for the last two words)).

Epenthetic *-lj-* was attested in *zìmlje* 'take' PR3sg, *najìmlju* 'take over' PR3pl, *blagoslòvljenu* 'bless' PPAsgf (cf. Orlec *zìmlje*, *blagoslòvjenu* Nsg m).

Palatalized *n* (in my notation *nj*) is present after initial *g-* in *gnjìlo* 'rotten' Nsgn and *gnjuôj* 'dung'.

Original *\*dj* is reflected *j*: *ròjeno* 'born' Nsg n, *zagrajivâli* LPplm 'fence in', *sâjeno* 'plant' PPNsgn, *sajivât* 'plant', *hùje* comparative Nsgn from *hûdi* 'bad'.

Initial and word-internal *g* is realized either as a stop (the majority of cases) or as a fricative. Word-internal *g* alternates with word-final *h*, e.g. *vrâga* 'devil' Gsg, *vrâh* Nsg. In *povâca* 'cake' we find *-v-* instead of expected *-g-*. Prothetic *g-* was once attested in *goârija* 'air' and once in *guôrgan* 'pulley (for tackling boats out of the water)', along with *oârija*, *uôrgan*.

After *g* and *k* the realization of *v* can be bilabial. Such realizations were heard in *crikva* 'church' and its diminutive *crikvoica*, *kvâdri* 'square', *smokvina* 'fig', *zìkvi* Lsg 'cradle', *smôkve* Npl 'fig', *gviêra* 'war'.

In *fcà* Gsg from *pàs* 'dog', *fcìc* DIM, *fcina* P-A and *ftiç* 'bird' DIM, original *\*p* became fricative before a stop. In *prilipci* Npl 'limpet' it did not. In *čêle* 'bee' Npl it was dropped altogether.

Before initial *i-* we very often hear prothetic *j-*, e.g. *jìgre* 'play', Gsg *jìme* 'name', *jìma* 'have' PR3sg, *jimil* LPm, *jiskât* 'look for', *jistina* 'truth' (cf. without *j-*, also from Čunski: *iglu* 'needle' Asg, *ime*, *ima*, *imil*, *iskâla* LPf, *isto* 'same' Nsgn).

Initial *sv-* in *svàka* 'each' Nsgf, *svàkakove* 'all kinds of' Nplf and the declined forms of *\*vàs* 'all, whole' (e.g. *svâ* Nsgf, *svì* Nplm, *Svi Sviêti* 'All Saints') is not simplified to *s-* (as it optionally is in Orlec).

I have not yet systematically studied the external sandhi phenomena of the dialect, but the few notes that I took about the subject remind of the situation in Orlec: drop of the occlusive element in *otâs taljoânski* father-Italian Nsgm, *ò skùte* 'from *skuta* (substance from which whey-butter is made)' and *vej ne znoâmo* 'we don't remember' (instead of *otâc*, *ot* and *veç*) (see Houtzagers 1985:37–39 under rules 1 and 9).



The same applies to such internal sandhi phenomena as in *súfĉani/šufĉani* 'inhabitant of Susak' Npl (instead of *šč*) and *roščići* 'horn' DIM Npl (from *gĉ > hĉ*) (see Houtzagers 1985:25–26).

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## O fonologiji čakavskoga dijalekta mjesta Čunski na otoku Lošinju

### Sažetak

Članak se bavi fonologijom središnjega čakavskoga dijalekta sa sinkronijskoga i dijakronijskoga stanovišta, a za temelj članka poslužila je autorova građa s terenskoga istraživanja. Prvo se prikazuje sinkronijska analiza samoglasničkoga sustava (također s akcentuacijom), zatim se predlaže rekonstrukcija u obliku niza pravila koja vode od mlađega dijalekatnoga praslavenskoga do današnjega stanja. Posebna se pažnja posvećuje odrazima jata. Članak završava napomenama u vezi s razvojem suglasničkoga sustava.

Ključne riječi: hrvatska dijalektologija, čakavski, slavenska povijesna dijalektologija, fonologija, akcentologija

Key words: Croatian dialectology, Čakavian, Slavic historical dialectology, phonology, accentology