

Phonological and morphological characteristics in the speech of older generation in Split

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According to the dialectological literature, the local dialect of the city of Split belongs to the Chakavian dialect, its South Chakavian group of dialects, although researchers have so far noted in it a certain number of Shtokavian features. What we have here is basically a Chakavian dialect but with several Shtokavian characteristics, on account of many and varied factors that have left extensive traces on the language. This is why it is a challenge to describe the local dialect of Split today, since this dialect has many layers. The aim of this article is to present an analysis of the phonological and morphological features in the speech of the older inhabitants of Split, i.e., the generation whose families have lived in Split for a long time. The features under investigation are placed in context and compared with the characteristics of other local dialects in the neighbouring South Chakavian area.

Key words: local dialect of Split, phonology, morphology, Chakavian, Shtokavian.

1. Introduction

Split is a city and a harbour in mid-Dalmatia and it is the headquarter of Split-Dalmatian county. According to the Croatian Bureau of Statistics from 2011, the city has 168,121 of inhabitants. Split is known as the economic center of Dalmatia due to its position along the sea and its nautical

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possibilities. Split was (and is) known as the shipbuilding and maritime quarter. In recent times, Split is a growing and well-known tourist center in Croatia.

According to the dialectological literature, the local dialect of the city of Split belongs to the Chakavian dialect, its South Chakavian group of dialects, although researchers have so far noted in it a number of Shtokavian features. What we have in Split is basically a Chakavian dialect but with several Shtokavian characteristics due to many and varied factors that have left extensive traces on the language. This is why it is a challenge to describe the local dialect of Split today, since this local dialect has many layers.

2. Previous researches

A great number of studies have been written about the local dialect of Split and also some texts written in Split dialect have been analyzed. However, we still lack a complete and detailed study on Split local dialect at a certain time. We here mention some more important authors and contributions. Radovan Vidović has written about Split dialect in a number of articles. He studied the accents as presented in his articles: “Primjeri dvostrukog različitog naglaska u splitskom čakavskom govoru (vernakularu) prve polovice XX. stoljeća” (1992), and “Prozodijski primjeri s početka ovoga stoljeća (tekstovi na primjeru Marka Uvodića)” (1994). He studied the language of the younger generation in Split which can be found in his articles “Rječnik žargona splitskih mladih naraštaja” (1990), and “Prilog poznavanju splitskoga studentskog vernakulara” (1993). The language of Split graffiti is published in “Splitski grafiti s jezične strane” (1991). The article “O frekvenciji romanskoga leksika talijanskog (mletačkog) porijekla u splitskom čakavskom govoru” (1973), Vidović deals with Romanisms in Split Chakavian. Thomas F. Magner, the American linguist, wrote about his observations of Split dialect in two articles: “Zapažanja o današnjem splitskom govoru” (1976), and in “Diglossia in Split” (1978). Dunja Jutronić published a series of articles about the dialect of Split, especially from the sociolinguistic point of view. The most important ones are: “Neki aspekti govora grada Splita” (1986), “Morfološke promjene u splitskom vernakularu” (1986), “Analiza čakavskog diskursa u napisima Miljenka Smoje” (1997), “Čakavski dijalekt kroz dvije generacije – prilog teoriji jezične promjene” (2002), “Čakavian as Spoken by Four Sportsmen from Split” (2003), “Što je ostalo od splitskog čakavskog dijalekta” (2004), “A Changing Urban dialect – A Contribution to theory of Dialect Change in the city of Split, Croatia” (2005), “Lokalni govor na nacionalnoj televiziji – emisija Po ure torture” (2006), “Splitski čakavski leksikon – deset

godina poslije” (2007) and many others. Special attention should be paid to her book *Spliski govor: Od vapura do trajekta* (2010), where, mostly on the basis of written texts, she shows how the dialect changed in the period of half a century. She presents the features that are changing, how they are changing and why they change in this particular manner. She has published the book *Libar o jeziku Marka Uvodića Splićanina* (2016) coauthored with Marijana Tomelić Ćurlin and Anita Runjić Stoilova where they researched the language of the journalist and a literary writer Marko Uvodić Splićanin. Marijana Tomelić studied the written texts of Ivan Kovačić and Marko Uvodić Splićanin in the articles “Splitska čakavština u tekstovima Ivana Kovačića” (2000) and “Splitska čakavština Marka Uvodića Splićanina” (2007). She coauthored with Anita Runjić Stoilova the article on the morphological characteristics in Uvodić’s texts under the title “Morfološke jezične značajke splitske čakavštine Marka Uvodića Splićanina” (2008). The two also wrote on the accentual system of the dialect of Split taking into account the generational layers in their article “Prozodijska obilježja splitske čakavštine kroz tri generacije” (2010). Ljerka Šimunković studied in greater details the Romanisms in Split dialect and together with Maja Kezić they published the book *Glosar kuhinjske i kulinarske terminologije romanskog podrijetla u splitskom dijalektu* (2004). Šimunković coauthored the book *Romanizmi u djelima Ive Tijardovića* (2011) with Marijana Alujević Jukić where they studied Romanisms in the texts of Ivo Tijardović. Romanisms were also researched by Magdalena Nigoević. In her book *Romanizmi u Berekinu* (2007) she presented and discussed Romanisms in all the issues of Split humorous magazine *Berekin*. Sanja Vulić published the article “Sociolingvistička situacija u gradu Splitu i okolici” (2008) presenting the basic features of this dialect and also analysing some linguistic features in the prose of Ivan Mosettig in the article “O izabranim jezičnim zanimljivostima u djelima Splićanina Ivana Mosettiga” (2019). Greetings in Split were studied by Marijana Alujević and Tanja Brešan in the article “Pozdravi kao dio javne komunikacije u splitskom govoru” (2009). Marina Marasović-Alujević presented ethymological analysis of some Greek words in Split in her article “Riječi grčkoga porijekla u splitskom govoru” (2009). Mira Menac-Mihalić and Antica Menac published the book *Frazeologija splitskoga govora s rječnicima* (2011) where the central part is dedicated to phrasal idioms but they also mention some linguistic characteristics of Split dialect on the phonological level. The same authors published the book *Frazemi i poslovice u dalmatinsko-venecijanskom govoru Splita* (2014). Filip Galović studied the poetic language of Split poet Nikša Krpetić in his article “Štokavsko i čakavsko: iz jezika splitskoga dijalekatskoga pjesništva”

(2013), then he studied the linguistic characteristics of Tonko Radišić texts in “Prilog poznavanju splitske čakavštine prve polovice 20. stoljeća” (2014). This was followed by his research of linguistic features used in the novel *Splićanin* written by Ljubo Plenković and published in the article “Jezične posebnosti jednoga splitskoga romana iz devedesetih godina XX. stoljeća” (2015). Galović also studied consonant features in old Split dialect in the article “O konsonantskim karakteristikama u starome splitskome idiomu” (2015). He has written about Split lexicon in the article “Poglavlje iz leksika splitskoga govora” (2015), and he has also published a review of basic linguistic features of old Split dialect in his contribution “O govoru starijih Splićana” (2018). Maja Bezić researched the semantic adaptation of Italian loanwords related to human features and characteristics in her article “Semantička adaptacija talijanizama u splitskome govoru” (2016). We presented here some of the studies that have been published so far. But special attention should be paid to the fact that the dialect of Split has a number of dictionaries. First is a small dictionary by Tonko Radišić *Ričnik splitskoga govora* (1999). Then Berezina Matoković-Dobrila published a huge dictionary *Ričnik velovareškega Splita* (2004), and Željko Petrić *Splitski rječnik. Rječnik starih splitskih riječi i izraza* (2008). Thomas F. Magner and Dunja Jutronic worked together on *Rječnik splitskoga govora/A dictionary of Split dialect* (2006), and some years later Jutronic published an enlarged edition under the *Rječnik splitskoga govora/A dictionary of Split dialect. Ča – Što – What* (2013) and recently the dictionary *Spliske riči. Rječnik hrvatski standardni jezik – splitski govor* (2018) where the starting point is the standard language and then translation of words into Split dialect. Lexical treasure can also be found in the above mentioned books by Mira Menac-Mihalić and Antica Menac.

3. Research Methodology

Field work is of special importance in dialectological studies so the authors approached their research primarily by field work. In the last couple of years, and on a number of occasions, they conducted the field work and interviewed genuine speakers of older generations who use Split local dialect in their daily life. The informants were a number of males and females, 60 or more years old. Apart from free conversations with the informants, the authors asked questions about many linguistic features related to the phonological and morphological levels. They used their own questionnaire made up for this purpose. The authors also read and researched some texts, i.e. they consulted the written sources as well as dictionaries and used some words and forms which they then checked with native speakers.

The aim of this article is to present an analysis of the phonological and morphological features² in the speech of the older inhabitants of Split, i.e., the generation whose families have lived in Split for a long time. The features under investigation with phonological and morphological characteristics are also placed in context and compared with the characteristics of other local dialects in the neighbouring South Chakavian area in order to notice and point out some similarities or differences with Split local dialect.

4. Phonological characteristics³

4.1. Split local dialect has five vowels in long and short syllables: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*. The function of syllable can also carry the sonant *r*.

4.2. It is well-known that ‘jat’ (**ě*) in Chakavian developed into *i*, *e*, *je* and partly into *i/e*-kavian reflex of ‘jat’ according to Meyer and Jakubinski law. The group of South Chakavian dialects where the local dialect of the city of Split belongs is regularly ikavian with only occasional items that do not conform to the otherwise consistent ikavian. Ikavian reflex of **ě* in Split local dialect in the root, inflexional and relational morphemes is the vowel *i*: *tilo* (‘body’), *živit* (‘to live’), *zvizda* (‘star’), *likarija* (‘medicine’), *nedija* (‘Sunday’), *priko* (‘across’), *prilipit* (‘to stick’),⁴ *kolino* (‘knee’), *lin* (‘lazy’), *lito* (‘summer’), *kosir* (‘hay mower’), *zamišat* (‘to mix’), *donit* (‘to bring’), *vrime* (‘time’), *mišina* (‘goatskin container’), *virovat* (‘to believe’), *tirat* (‘to chase’), *razumit* (‘to understand’), *bolit* (‘to ache’), *dvi* (‘two’ f.).

The prefix **ně*- originally had the ikavian form: *ništo* (‘something’), *niki* (‘someone’) although in some cases today we have the forms with *e* under the influence of the standard language.

In the final morphemes of adverbs⁵ (*-ě*, *-dě*, *-lě*) in Split local dialect **ě* is reflected as *i* as in the examples: *doli* (‘down’), *gori* (‘up’), *lani* (‘last year’), *naprid* (‘forward’), *nidir* (‘nowhere’), *svudir* (‘everywhere’). However, we recorded some departures in which the reflex of ‘jat’ is *e*: *dovle/dovlen* (‘up to here’), *okle/oklen* (‘from where’). One could also hear *ovode* (‘here’)

2 Looking at the accentual system in the dialect of Split we find five accents with a number of variations. That is to be understood since this is the area where Chakavian and Shtokavian accents intersect and mix. We do not deal with the accentual situation in Split since it deserves a special and thorough study altogether.

3 In the following pages, we also present word items from neighbouring South Chakavian settlements. Examples taken over from particular sources are given in the forms in which they were recorded. Concerning our examples from Split local dialect, we record them with middle *č* i *ž*. In order to make it more visible *ń* is written as *nj*, and instead of *í* we use *lj*.

4 There are two aspects in Croatian verb system, perfective and perfective and in the translation we indicate the difference.

5 In some forms the final *e* does not have to be the reflex of ‘jat’.

with the sound *e* but the old people rather say *ovod* ('here'), *onod* ('there'), *tod/tot* ('right here/there') and similar forms, without the final vowel. The adverb *pokle* ('after') is also heard.

It is known that the South Chakavian group of dialects have a limited number of ekavian forms. Thus for example, Donje Selo on the island of Šolta has *özleđa* ('wound'), *telesä* ('big bodies'), *starešina* ('senior, head'), *tërat* ('to be driving away') and others (Galović, 2019a, 65), the island of Drvenik has *zënica* ('eye pupil'), *žëlezo* ('iron'), *övde* ('here') (Vulić, 2001, 11), Slatine on the island of Čiovo has *cesta* ('road'), *obedvi* ('both' f.), *zanovetat* ('to whine') (Galović, 2018, 138), Dugi Rat has *gùsenica* ('caterpillar'), *ozlédija* ('he hurt'), *sëno* ('hay'), *zënica* ('eye pupil') (Galović, 2019b, 93), Pražnica on the island of Brač has *öbedvî* ('both' f.), *starešina* ('senior'), *telesina* ('big body') (Galović, 2017, 97), Jelsa on the island of Hvar has *öbedvî* ('both' f.), *zanovëtät* ('to whine'), *zënica* ('eye pupil'), *cësta* ('road') (Galović, 2020), Kaštel Kambelovac has *vénac* ('wreath'), *zënica* ('eye pupil'), *övde* ('here'), *önde* ('there') (Upitnik, 1966), Primošten has *vënci* ('wreaths' N pl.), *sëno* ('hay'), *zënica* ('eye pupil') (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 102), Krilo Jesenice has *tüdü* ('here'), *ünde* ('there'), *zënica* ('eye pupil') (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 102). The old Split dialect also conforms to this, namely, we can find a few ekavian forms like *koren* ('root'), *obedvi* ('both' f.), *zanovetat* ('to whine'). Newer ekavian form is *cesta* ('road'), which is today used by all generations.

Old change of **ě > a* in Split local dialect is visible in Roman loanword *praska* ('peach'). Older generations pronounce the adverb 'toward' as *prama* and *prima*, that is, with *a* and *i*, so we also have *pramaliče* and *primaliče* ('Spring'). However we have to note that in more recent time the forms *pramaliče/primaliče* are being replaced by more frequent word *proliče*. Although some Chakavian speakers say *jadro* ('sail'), *njazlo* ('nest'), *njadra* ('chests') i.e., with the old change of **ě > a*, the older generations in Split and speakers in neighbouring South Chakavian settlements have the vowel *i*: (*j)idro* ('sail'), *njidra* ('chest'), *gnjizdo* ('nest').

In Split today as well as with older generations we find some jekavian forms like: *cjev* ('pipe'), *primjer* ('example'), *svjeski rat* ('world war'), *sjemenište* ('seminary'), *sjever* ('north'), *zamjenik* ('deputy'), *vječë* ('assembly'). These imports are mainly taken over in such forms from the standard language.

4.3. In Split local dialect as well as in the majority of Chakavian dialects the semivowels ($\partial < *b, *b$) regularly produces the vowel *a*: *dan* ('day'), *danas* ('today'), *magla* ('fog'), *daska* ('board'), *dobar* ('good'),

laž ('lie'), *oganj* ('fire'), *otac* ('father'), *lagat* ('to lie'), *petak* ('Friday'), *sudac* ('judge'), *bolestan* ('sick'), *smokav* ('figs' G pl.).⁶

The vowel *a* from the semivowel in the noun *pas* ('dog') is found in the whole paradigm: *pasa* ('of dog' G pl.), *pasu* ('to dog' D sg.) *pason* ('with dog' I sg.) *pasi* ('dogs' N/V pl.) and so on.

We find some examples of Chakavian vocalization of vowels in weak positions. In South Chakavian group of dialects this feature is confirmed only in some cases, and some examples of this typically Chakavian tendency is registered in the speech of the older generations in Split. The old form *namon* meaning 'with me' can be heard sometimes although today the form *menom* is prevalent. Older inhabitants of Split often say *vaze(s)* *t* ('to take') and *vazimat* ('to be taking'), i.e., with the development of the old prefix into *va-*. There is also the adverb *vavik* (< **v̆b* *věkb̆*) ('always') which is not often used today and is being replaced with *uvik* ('always'). In all other cases in the place of the initial **v̆b*/*v̆b* we regularly find the vowel *u*, as it is the case in the great majority of cases in the Chakavian speaking area and also in the Shtokavian dialect: *unuk* ('grandson'), *udovac* ('widower'), *udovica* ('widow'), *unutra* ('inside'), *ustat* ('to get up'), *usrid/usri* ('in the middle'); *u gradu* ('in town'), *u vaporu* ('in the boat'), *u meni* ('in me'). If we take a look at the neighbouring Chakavian local dialects we find a very similar situation. On the island of Drvenik we find *vazēst* ('to take'), *vāzda* ('forever'), *vāvīk* ('forever') (Vulić, 2001, 10), in Slatine on the island of Čiovo *vavik* ('forever'), *vazest* ('to take') (Galović, 2018, 139), in Grohote and Rogač on the island of Šolta *nāmōn/nāmon* ('with me'), *vāvīk/vāvīk* ('forever'), *zavazēst se* ('to intercede on behalf of one') (Galović, 2019, 68), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač *vazēst* ('to take'), *vazmēni* ('Easter' adj.) (Galović, 2014a, 238), in Pražnica on the island of Brač *vāzda* ('forever'), *vazēst* ('to take') (Galović, 2017, 98), in Pitve on the island of Hvar *vazēst* ('to take') (Galović, 2014b, 10), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar *vaziēst* ('to take') (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis *vazēšt* ('to take'), *vāzda* ('always') (Božanić, 2015, 47, 187) etc. In the local dialects on continent as for example in Kaštel Kambelovac we hear *vazēt* ('to take'), *vazīmje* ('he/she is taking') (Upitnik, 1966), in Dugi Rat *vazēst* ('to take'), *vāvīk* ('always') (Galović, 2019b, 94), and in the local dialects of Krilo Jesenice and Primošten this feature is found only in the verb 'to take' (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 103).

4.4. In the dialect of Split the nasal **ɔ* is consistently changed into the vowel *u* as is the case in the greater parts of the Chakavian dialect and

6 Here we also have some examples in which 'schwa' is secondarily interpolated into consonant groups.

in the Shtokavian, too. This can be seen in the following examples: *muž* ('husband'), *dubok* ('deep'), *golub* ('pigeon'), *tuga* ('sorrow'), *vruć* ('hot'), *paučina* ('cobweb'), *tup* ('blunt'), *prut* ('stick, rod'), *ruka* ('hand'), *zub* ('tooth'), *sestru* ('sister' A sg.), *čuju* ('they hear'), *buden* ('I will').

4.5. In the great number of Chakavian, as well as in the prevalent number of Shtokavian dialects, the vocalic **ɫ* is reflected as *u*. As the examples for Split local dialect show, the phoneme **ɫ* is always reflected as the vowel *u*. We have a consistent formula according to which **ɫ* and **ɣ* have the same reflex: *jabuka* ('apple'), *mučat* ('to keep silent'), *sunce* ('sun'), *tust* ('obese'), *dubina* ('depth'), *vuk* ('wolf'), *suza* ('tear'), *žut* ('yellow'), *vuna* ('wool').

4.6. The reflex of old **ɛ* in Croatian dialects is not uniform and Chakavian dialects show some peculiarities. The reflex of the phoneme **ɛ* in the position after *j, č, ž* is *a*, which is also found in some isolated examples in some local Kajkavian and Shtokavian dialects. However, the change of **ɛ* with vowel *a* is one of the most important Chakavian characteristics. The results of the reflex of nasal **ɛ̃* in old Split dialect is twofold. The old reflex of the nasal **ɛ̃* > *a* after *j, č, ž* shows the Chakavian basis of this dialect and is shown in a few words. The older people in Split still use the forms like *jazik* ('tongue'), *jačmin* ('stye in the eye'), *požnjat* ('to finish the harvest'), *zajat* ('to borrow'). For 'sister-in-law' the word is not *jastrva*, as some Chakavian speakers say, but the Roman loanword *kunjada*. On the other hand one says *jedar* ('hard, strong, healthy'), *načet* ('to cut into'), *počet* ('to begin'), *ožednit* ('to get thirsty'), *žedan* ('to be thirsty'), etc. In other words, we have the change into *e*, as in many other South Chakavian dialects. In Donje Selo on the island of Šolta we have *jàzikōn* ('with the tongue' I sg.), *požàli* ('they harvested'), *žàtva* ('harvest'), *zajāt* ('to borrow'), *prijat* ('to get'), but *načēt* ('to cut into'), *jēdar* ('hard, strong, healthy'), *žēja* ('thirst') (Galović, 2019a, 69), on the island of Drvenik *jàzik* ('tongue'), *jàtrva* ('sister-in-law'), but *žēja* ('thirst'), *počēt* ('to start') (Vulić, 2001, 10), in Slatine on the island of Čiovo *jazik* ('tongue'), *zajat* ('to borrow'), but *načet* ('to cut into'), *žedan* ('thirsty') (Galović, 2018, 139), in Dugi Rat people say *jàzik* ('tongue'), *jāšmīk/jāšnīk* ('stye in the eye'), *zajāt* ('to borrow'), sometimes *ujat* ('to catch'), but *jètrva* ('sister-in-law'), *žēli* ('they harvested'), *počēt* ('to begin') (Galović, 2019b, 94), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač *jāšmik/jāšnik* ('stye in the eye'), *požānot* ('to finish the harvest'), *ujōt* ('to catch'), *zajōt* ('to borrow') (where we have *ā* > *ō*), but *žēdan* ('thirsty'), *žētva* ('harvest'), *počēt* ('to begin') (Galović, 2014a, 238), in Pražnica on the island of Brač *jazik* ('tongue'), *požāt* ('to finish the harvest'), *zajōt* ('to borrow'), *ujōt* ('to catch'), *prijōt* ('to get, accept') (where *ā* > *ō*), but we have *jèčam* ('barley'),

nāčeli ('they cut into') (Galović, 2017, 99), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar *jažik* ('tongue'), *žānju* ('they harvest'), *jōdri* ('hard, strong, healthy'), *jōtra* ('liver'), *zajōt* ('to borrow'), *ujōt* ('to catch') (where we have $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$), but *počiēt* ('to start') (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis *jažik* ('tongue'), *žajōt* ('to borrow'), *ujōt* ('to catch') (where $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$), but *žēdan* ('thirsty'), *počet* ('to start') (Božanić, 2015, 57, 204, 218, 330, 712), in Kaštel Kambelovac *jažik* ('tongue'), but *jetřva* ('sister-in-law'), *žēnemo* ('we harvest'), *žetva* ('harvest') (Upitnik, 1966), in Primošten *jāzikov* ('of tongues' G pl.), *jařva* ('sister-in-law'), but *pōčeta* ('started' f.) (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 102–103), in Krilo Jesenice *jažik* ('tongue'), but *žēli* ('they were harvesting') (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 102–103) etc. In all other positions in Split dialect we find the expected change of $*\bar{e} > e$: *deset* ('ten'), *govedina* ('beef'), *meso* ('meat'), *greda* ('beam, timber'), *ime* ('name'), *sime* ('seed'), *pamet* ('intelligence'), *teletina* ('veal'), *time* ('the top of the head'), *vime* ('udder').

4.7. Vocalic *r* in Split local dialect can be found: *grlo* ('throat'), *obrva* ('eyebrow'), *brzo* ('fast'), *vrtit* ('to be turning'), *zrno* ('grain, seed'), *srdela* ('sardine'), *krv* ('blood'), *pršut* ('prosciutto'), *trče* ('he/she runs'), *uzbrdo* ('uphill'). Additional vowel is found "in some examples like *ervaski* ('Croatian'), or in some toponyms like *Dugi Rat* ('Long Promotory') a place name in Split area" (Lukežić, 2012, 174). Consequently, with older generation we can find, although rarely, doublets like *Rvaska/Ervaska* ('Croatia') or *prsi/persi* ('fingers'). Vocalic *r* is found in Pražnica on the island of Brač: *prč* ('he-goat'), *sřce* ('heart'), *držāva* ('country'), *ùzbrdo* ('uphill') (Galović, 2017, 99), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač: *hřstula* ('kind of Dalmatian sweet, fried in oil'), *nřzbrdica* ('downhill'), *vrsnřk* ('of the same age, peer'), *napřtit* ('to load, usually an animal'), *sāmrt* ('death') (Galović, 2014a, 236), in Dugi Rat: *sřp* ('sickle'), *vřtal* ('garden'), *vrsnřk* ('of the same age') (Galović, 2019b, 92), in Slatine on the island of Čiovo: *grdelin* ('goldfinch'), *krv* ('blood'), *prst* ('finger'), *trliř* ('1. kind of thick linen; 2. working outfit made of such material') (Galović, 2018, 139), in Grohote and Rogaç on the island of Šolta: *gřlica* ('dove'), *crkovnř* ('church' adj.), *satrvēna* ('very tired, worked out' f.) (Galović, 2019a, 56), in Kaštel Kambelovac: *břnica* ('skirt'), *gřm* ('bush'), *prvř* ('first'), *krřčānin* ('Christian') (Upitnik, 1966). It is different, for example, in Jelsa on the island of Hvar: *bārk* ('moustache'), *marřōv* ('thin'), *sārice* ('heart'), *tarčřř* ('you run'), *vōrst* ('kind') (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis: *ùzbrdo* ('uphill'), *parvř* ('first'), *na vōrhù* ('on the top'), *pārřt* ('finger') (Božanić, 2015, 174, 183, 206, 210).

As it is evident from research material obtained in Split, syllabic *r* can be found in the vicinity of consonants so it is not frequent where its position is initial before the consonant or at the absolute final position, as in the following examples: *rzat* ('to neigh'), *povr* ('above').

In the example of the type *umra* ('died', *l*-participle m. sg.), the vocalic *r* has the function of a consonant.

4.8. A great number of Chakavian and Shtokavian dialects have a characteristic change of *ra* > *re*, namely *ro* > *re*. Old Split dialect has a few well-known examples with the change of *ra* > *re* as the following: *krest* (*pokrest*, *nakrest*) ('to steal'), *rest* (*narest*, *izrest*) ('to be growing') and *rebac* ('sparrow'), and the change of *ro* > *re*: *greb* ('tomb'). The same we find in Srednje Selo on the island of Šolta: *zarěsla* ('she heeled'), *pokrěla* ('she stole'), *rěbac* ('sparrow') and *grěb* ('tomb') (Galović, 2019a, 72), on the island of Drvenik: *rěst* ('to grow'), *krědimice* ('stealthily') and *grěb* ('tomb') (instead of *rěbac* ('sparrow') more common word is *grajăš*) (Vulić, 2001, 11), in Slatine on the island of Čiovo: *rest* ('to grow'), *krest* ('to steal'), *rebac* ('sparrow') and *greb* ('tomb') (Galović, 2018, 139), in Pražnica on the island of Brač: *rěst* ('to grow'), *krěst* ('to steal'), *rěbăc* ('sparrow') and *grěb* ('tomb') (Galović, 2017, 99), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač: *rěst* ('to grow'), *krěst* ('to steal'), *rěbăc* ('sparrow') and *grěb* ('tomb') (Galović, 2014a, 239, 241), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar: *nariěst* ('to grow'), *riěbăk* ('sparrow'), but *krăst* ('to steal') and *griěb* ('tomb') (Galović, 2020). In the dialects on the continent, for example, in Dugi Rat we can hear the same: *rěst* ('to grow'), *krěst* ('to steal'), *rěbac* ('sparrow') and *grěb* ('tomb') (Galović, 2019b, 94). The very same examples we find in Krilo Jesenica, Kaštel Kambelovac and Primošten (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 105, 107, 108).

4.9. From old roots **topl-/*tepl-* in old Split dialect we exclusively have the root **tepl-*: *tepal* ('warm'), *teplina* ('warmth'), *teplit* ('to be warming up'), *teplik* ('greenhouse') and similar words. The same situation is found in many South Chakavian speakers.

4.10. In small group of words with initial vowel there appears a prothetic consonant *j* in order to avoid the vocalic beginning. This is optional for every speaker. Here are a couple of examples: (*j*)*arja* ('air'), (*j*)*ist* ('to eat'), (*j*)*oko* ('eye'), (*j*)*opet* ('again'), (*j*)*usne* ('lips'), (*j*)*uvo* ('ear').

4.11. Vowel *i* is eliminated in the final position in the infinitive: *dovest* ('to bring'), *kupit* ('to buy'), *iskat* ('to look for'), *obuč* ('to dress').

Vowel *i* is also eliminated at the end of participles: *bacilajuč* ('caring'), *noseč* ('carrying'), *vatajuč* ('catching').

Vowel *o* is optionally added at the end of demonstrative pronouns: *oti(n)* ('that one' m.), *ota* ('that one' f.), *oto* ('that one' n.).

Modelled on the word *ovaki* ('like this') we find vowel *o* in *otaki* ('like that, such'), *onaki* ('of that kind').

Instrumental of the personal pronoun *ja* ('I'), is sometimes *namon* ('with me'), but today we more often hear *menon*, where the vowel *e* is inserted by analogy.

In great number of examples the consonant groups in the final position are eliminated by the insertion of vowels within the consonant groups: *batimenat* ('beating'), *apuntamenat* ('meeting, appointment'), *buškamenat* ('rib on the prow and the stern of the ship'), *finimenat* ('the end'), *godimenat* ('enjoyment, satisfaction'), *inkanat* ('bankruptcy'), *fanag* ('mud'), but *intrigant* ('plotter'), *injorant* ('1. rude person; 2. ignoramus'), *kampošant* ('graveyard'), *kortezant* ('suitor'), *ašvalt* ('asphalt'), *konvulš* ('muscle spasm, convulsion'), *ešpert* ('expert'), *konvikt* ('educational institution where wards have lodging and food'), *mužikant* ('musician'), *parafang* ('car fender'), *kavafang* ('sludge extraction vessel'). In some cases we find both forms: *ardimenat* and *ardiment* ('courage'), *tremanat* and *tremant* ('golden hairpin'), *pašaport* and *pašaporat* ('passport').

4.12. Split dialect has the following consonants: *b, c, č, ž, d, f, g, j, k, l, (ḷ), m, n, ṇ, p, r, s, š, t, v, z, ž*.

4.13. A very important Chakavian characteristic feature is a strongly palatalized stop *t'*. This is "a phonological-phonetic archaism unique to the Slavic area" (Lukežić, 2012, 226). Although the mentioned characteristic feature is part of the consonant system in many Chakavian dialects, some of them do not make the distinction between *č* and *t'*, but pronounce the middle *č'* or have some particular other solutions. Recent investigations have shown that the result of primary and secondary jotation of the dental **t* (as well as **kt, *gt*) in Split dialect is levelled together with primary **č* into the middle *č*. In other words, the soft Chakavian *t'* is not heard in the speech of any generation in Split. This means the people in Split pronounce the following words in the same manner: *noč* ('night'), *kuča* ('house'), *sviča* ('candle') and *očistit* ('to clean'), *čejade* ('person'). This middle sound is today prevalent in some other close South-Chakavian dialects as for example in Dugi Rat (Galović, 2019, 97), in Krilo Jesenice (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 113), in Kaštel Kambelovac (Upitnik, 1966), in Primošten (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 113), in all local dialects on the island of Šolta (Galović, 2019a, 86),

7 Middle *č* is pronounced so that "the tip of the tongue slightly touches the front alveoli and upper teeth so that the tongue is half way between the lower teeth (which is characteristic for the Shtokavian *č*)" (Moguš, 1977, 65).

on the island of Drvenik (Vulić, 2003, 54), in the local dialect of Jelsa on the island of Hvar (Galović, 2020), etc.

4.14. The phoneme *ǰ* as the result of primary and secondary jotation of the dental *d* is a feature of Shtokavian system although it can also be found in some Chakavian dialects in which the phoneme *j* is a dominant result. The phoneme *ǰ* can even be prevalent in some local dialects. In the speech of the older generations in Split sequences *dj* i *dbj* have a double reflex and both are confirmed in older and newer loanwords: *izmeju* ('between'), *mlaji* ('younger'), *mlajarija* ('young people, youth'), *rajat* ('to be giving birth'), *rojen* ('born'), *caja* ('soot'), *preja* ('yarn'), *slaji* ('sweeter'), *tuji* ('foreign'); *tvrži* ('harder'), *anžel* ('angel'), *žaval* ('devil'), *žardin* ('park'), *kortežavat se* ('to court, to woo'), *režipet* ('bra'), *ženovež* ('kind of sail'), *žita* ('short trip, journey'). It has to be mentioned that with the Chakavian *j* in Split dialect, we more often nowadays find *ǰ*. The neighbouring South Chakavian dialects in many instances still have the basic Chakavian *j* which is evident from the following examples: in Slatine on the island of Čiovo *gospoja* ('Mrs., lady'), *izmeju/meju* ('between'), *meja* ('the border between two properties'), *mlaji* ('younger'), *preja* ('yarn'), *žeja* ('thirst') but *anđel* ('angel'), *đelozija* ('jealousy'), *vijađ* ('trip, journey')⁸ (Galović, 2018, 140), on the island of Drvenik *mläji* ('younger'), *prëja* ('yarn'), *säje* ('soot'), *žëja* ('thirst'), *jävāl* ('devil'), *jårdîn* ('park') but *rödāk* ('cousin') (Vulić, 2003, 54–55), in Donje Selo on the island of Šolta *dogájat se* ('to be happening'), *glöje* ('he gnaws'), *jävāl* ('devil'), *ražējälö* ('got thirsty'), *rjäv* ('rusty') but also *izmëžu* ('between'), *rážat* ('to be giving birth'), *tùžinac* ('foreigner') (Galović, 2019a, 84), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač *krëja* ('stealth'), *mejōš* ('border stone between two properties'), *mläji* ('younger'), *rōjät* ('to be giving birth'), *rōjok* ('cousin') but also *izväd'en* ('taken out'), *ugrōdjēn* ('endangered') (Galović, 2014a, 244), in Pražnica on the island of Brač *mejōš* ('border stone between two properties'), *mlajarija* ('youth'), *rōjok* ('cousin'), *tujîn* ('foreigner'), *jëmper* ('sweater'), *štajün* ('season') but also *obrōd'en* ('cultivated') (Galović, 2017, 101), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar *na mëju* ('on the border'), *mläji* ('younger'), *tujinä* ('foreign land'), but also *dogođälo se* ('it was happening'), *đardîn* ('park') (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis *mläji* ('younger'), *tüji* ('foreign'), *rōjen* ('born'), *mlajarija* ('youth'), *vijatûr* ('traveller') but also *žacüdjeno* ('surprised'), *rašporëdjēn* ('arranged, placed') (Božanić, 2015, 86, 105, 210, 293, 329, 335), in Dugi Rat *čäja* ('soot'), *göspoja* ('Mrs., lady'), *mëja* ('border between two properties'), *släja* ('sweeter' f.) but also

8 In Slatine there is soft *d'* (and *t'*), but it is written/presented here as found in the source material, i.e., as *đ*.

ròžāk ('cousin'), *žěža* ('thirst') (Galović, 2019b, 96), in Kaštel Kambelovac *prèja* ('yarn'), *mejãš* ('border between two properties'), *gòsposjo* V ('lady' V. sg.) but *slàža* ('sweeter' f.), *tužê* ('foreign'), *žêž* ('thirst') (Upitnik, 1966), in Krilo Jesenice *mèja* ('border'), *prèja* ('yarn'), *mlàja* together with *mlàža* ('younger' f.) (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 113–114).

4.15. The affricate *ž* as a Shtokavian innovation is not confirmed in the speech of old generation in Split. The lack of this affricate makes it an important Chakavian feature. Examples: *naružba* ('order, commission'), *žigarica/žigerica* ('liver'), *svidožba* ('certificate'), *žep* ('pocket'). There is no Chakavian dialect where we find the phonem *ž*, so Moguš says that "the consonant *dž*, however, has not penetrated the phonemic inventory of the Chakavian dialects: Chakavian is not known to have the realization of the phoneme *dž* as it is in the Shtokavian" (Moguš, 1977, 65).

4.16. The group *šč* is found in all Chakavian systems (apart from few exceptions in South Western Istrian migratory dialects and some "shaken" Chakavian local dialects which were under some new influences). The group *šč* can be found in part of Shtokavian dialects, too. In old Split dialect we find the reflex *šč* (i.e., *šč*) from primary groups **stj* i **skj*, and from the secondary group *stbj*. Here are some examples from older Split generations: *guščerica* ('lizard'), *dopušćat* ('to allow'), *klišća* ('pliers'), *koščica* ('pit, bone'), *miščanin* ('local person'), *namiščat* ('to arrange'), *puščat* ('to let go'), *krščenje* ('baptism'), *kršćen* ('baptized'), *ščap* ('stick'), *viščica* ('witch'), *težaščina* ('hired labor'), *dogodovščina* ('event, happening'), *ušćap* ('full moon'), *zablišćat* ('to dazzle'), *zapuščćen* ('neglected'), *boleščina* ('sickness'). With such consistent realizations of *šč* (i.e., *šč*), older generation use Shtokavian forms occasionally but this happened in more recent times.

Sequences of consonant groups **zgj* i **zdj* and secondary group *zdbj* in old Split dialect have Chakavian and Shtokavian forms: *grozje* ('grapes'), *možjani* ('brain'), *gožže* ('iron'), *gožžarija* ('different items made of iron'), *zvižžat* ('to be whistling'), *zvižžak* ('a whistle'). Examples that are less frequent are: *dažit* ('to rain') te *dažjevica* ('rain water').

4.17. Phoneme *h* is lost or exchanged with *v*, *j* or *k*: *ajduk* ('highwayman'), *ladan* ('cold'), *odit* ('to go, to walk'); *kuvarica* ('female cook'), *suvica* ('raisins'), *puvat* ('to blow'), *kruv* ('bread'), *gluv* ('deaf'), *suv* ('dry'); *grijota* ('pity'), *mijur* ('babble, bladder'), *u praju* ('in powder'), *siromaj* ('poor person'); *špaker* ('cooker'). However phoneme *h* can reappear in new loanwords like *Čeh* ('Czech'), *tehnika* ('technique') and similar words. This feature in Split local dialect shows the amount of Shtokavian influence since many Chakavian speakers keep quite well the phoneme *h*. The lost or

change of *h* with other phonemes is a feature of many Shtokavian dialects and also some Chakavian under the Shtokavian influence. Neighbouring South Chakavian dialects generally keep *h* but there are local dialects where its position is unstable or the sound has been lost from the system. Here are some examples: in Pražnica on the island of Brač *xmūt'äk* ('rotten egg'), *mixūr* ('babble, bladder'), *nesxōran* ('ungrateful'), *smīx* ('laugh'), *tūjix* ('foreign' G pl.) (Galović, 2017, 100), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač *hūškot* ('to encourage conflicts'), *pūhät* ('to blow'), *strīha* ('roof edge'), *hītīt* ('to throw'), *krūh* ('bread'), *strahīv* ('fearful') (Galović, 2014a, 242), in Pitve on the island of Hvar *hlōdno* ('cold'), *hītīdu* ('they throw'), *krūha* ('bread' G sg.), *u grīhū* ('in sin'), *strōh* ('fear'), *tlēh* ('ground') (Galović, 2014b, 11), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar *hodīt* ('to walk'), *u hlōdū* ('in shade'), *sūh* ('dry'), *tvojīh* ('of yours' sg.) (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis *hodīli* ('they walked'), *muhā* ('a fly'), *kilīh* ('kilo' G pl.), *štrōh* ('fear'), *mālahan* ('small, tinny'), *mīh* ('goatskin container') (Božanić, 2015, 86, 87, 100, 103), in Donje Selo on the island of Šolta *xībac* ('loaf of bread'), *xōd* ('walk, gait'), *būxa* ('flee'), *oxolīja* ('arrogance'), *mīx* ('goatskin container'), but also *grijōta/grijotā* ('pity'), *kūvāš* ('you cook' sg. pres.) (Galović, 2019a, 77, 79), on the island of Drvenik *grāh* ('beans'), *mīh* ('goatskin container'), *jūha* ('soup'), *pūhat* ('to blow'), but also *lād* ('shade'), *krīv* ('bread'), *kūvarica* ('female cook') (Vulić, 2003, 55), in Dugi Rat only *lād* ('shade'), *prilādīt se* ('to catch a cold'), *mīj* ('goatskin container'), *sirōmaj* ('poor person'), *sūv* ('dry'), *špāker* ('cooker') (Galović, 2019b, 96), in Krilo Jesenice *rānimo* ('we feed'), *ōrij* ('walnut'), *kūvā se* ('it is cooking') (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 115), in Kaštel Kambelovac *lād* ('shade'), *mīj* ('goatskin container'), *vīj* ('top'), *mijūr* ('bladder, bubble'), *duvān* ('tobacco'), *mačūka* ('step mother') (Upitnik, 1966).

4.18. Phoneme *f* is very frequent, stable and is regularly found in words of foreign origin: *barufant* ('person prone to fights'), *fabrika* ('factory'), *ferata* ('train'), *fratar* ('friar'), *profešur* ('professor'), *gariful* ('carnation'), *konfužjun* ('1. confusion; 2. mess'), *kafen* ('brown'), *kalafat* ('shipwright'), *portafoj* ('purse'), *perfin* ('finally'), *reful* ('gust of wind'), *picaferaj* ('lamp lighter'), *monfrina* ('a kind of Split dance'). Other South Chakavian speakers keep the phoneme *f* very well: in Srednje Selo on the island of Šolta *fālda* ('fold, usually on the dress'), *faturēta* ('small job or task, undeclared work'), *fremantūnica* ('corn bread'), *škūfija* ('hood') (Galović, 2019, 80), in Slatine on the island of Čiovo *fermat* ('to stop'), *fešta* ('celebration'), *forca* ('force'), *fumar* ('chimney'), *kofa* ('basket') (Galović, 2018, 139), in Pražnica on the island of Brač *fremētūn* ('corn'), *fundamēnat* ('foundation usually of a building'), *naftalīna* ('moth balls'), *trēfit* ('to

meet’) (Galović, 2017, 101), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač *fěta* (‘a slice’), *fumōr* (‘chimney’), *fūdra* (‘lining’), *naftalīna* (‘moth balls’), *ofendīt se* (‘get angry’) (Galović, 2014a, 242), in Pitve on the island of Hvar *drōf* (‘grape pressing residues’), *fregāla* (‘she scrubbed’), *fremāla* (‘she stopped’), *kafū* (‘coffee’ A sg.), *trěfila* (‘she met’) (Galović, 2014b, 11–12), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar *afōn* (‘unconsciousness’), *faculět* (‘handkerchief’), *fěca* (‘wine residue’), *fīndefēr* (‘iron galvanized wire’), *ffūba* (‘buckle’) (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis *trafig* (‘promenade, crowd’), *perlafēnta* (‘not seriously, allegedly’), *fōng* (‘mud’), *oficīr* (‘officer’), *fūlmin* (‘safety match’) (Božanić, 2015, 140, 153, 155, 158, 168), in Kaštel Kambelovac *kāfa* (‘coffee’), *fažōl* (‘beans’), *fundamēnat* (‘foundation, usually of a building’), *frīgat* (‘to fry’) (Upitnik, 1966), in Trogir *frīgat* (‘to fry’), *kāfa* (‘coffee’) (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 117). There are some fluctuations in the continental dialects like in Dugi Rat where we have both *f* and *v*: *vrīgat* (‘to be frying’), *trěvimo* (‘we meet’), *vùrešt/fùrešt* (‘foreigner’), *vamīlijafamīlija* (‘family’), but also *fažōl* (‘beans’), *ferāta* (‘train’) (Galović, 2019, 96), or in Krilo Jesenice where we find *šūvit* (‘attic’), *vrīgat* (‘to fry’), but also *karanfil* (‘carnation’) (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 117).

In Split dialect the phoneme *f* is found in place of the old group **pv* as it is expected like the following: *ufat se* (‘to hope’), *ufajuć se* (‘hoping’), etc.

The group *hv* in most of the cases is changed into *f*: *fala* (‘thanx’), *pofalit* (‘to praise’), *zafalit* (‘to thank’), *zafalan* (‘thankful’), *zafalnost* (‘gratitude’), just as it is in the nearby Chakavian dialects: in Donje Selo on the island of Šolta *fāla* (‘thanx’), *fāljen* (‘praised’), *zafālit* (‘to thank’) (Galović, 2019a, 82), in Slatine on Čiovo *fala* (‘thanx’) (Galović, 2018, 139), in Pražnica on the island of Brač *fōlā* (‘thanx’), *fōlimo* (‘we praise’), *zafōlīt* (‘to thank’) (Galović, 2017, 101), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač *pofofōlīt* (‘to praise’), *zafōlīt* (‘to thank’), *Fōrka* (‘woman from Hvar’) (Galović, 2014a, 243), in Pitve on the island of Hvar *fala Bōgu* (‘thank Lord’), *fōlīla se* (‘she praised herself’), *pofofōli* (‘he praises’) (Galović, 2014b, 12), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar *fōlā* (‘thanx’), *Fōr* (‘Hvar’) (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis *fōlīt* (‘to praise’), *pofofōlīt* (‘to finish praising’) (Božanić, 2015, 161, 668), in Primošten *fāla* (‘thanx’) (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 117), in Kaštel Kambelovac *fālā/fālā* (‘thanx’) (Upitnik, 1966). However, in Split dialect we found examples like the following: *uvatit* (‘to catch’), *vatat* (‘to be catching’), *vatalo* (‘kind of children’s game’), in other words with the reduction of the phoneme *h* in the group *hv*, which is specific for organic Shtokavian dialects in which *h* is not stable. Such cases can be found in some neighbouring continental dialects, for examples *uvātija* (‘he caught’)

in Kaštel Kambelovac (Upitnik, 1966) and *uvàtija* ('he caught') in Krilo Jesenice (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 117). One can also find it on the island of Drvenik: *ùvatit* ('to catch') (Vulić, 2003, 56), and in some settlements on Šolta: *uvàtīt* ('to catch'), *povàtāli* ('they caught') in Donje Selo, also *svàtila* ('she understood'), *uvàtit* ('to catch'), *vàtaju* ('they are catching') in Gornje Selo (Galović, 2019a, 83).

4.19. The consonant *l* is preserved in syllable-final position in most Chakavian dialects. In parts of the Chakavian areas *l* is lost, in some parts it is changed into *a*, and in others it is changed into *u* (*v, f*). In Split dialect, the syllable-final *l* appears as follows:

- it is kept in syllable-final root positions in nouns and adjectives and mostly in the final position in adverbs: *lavel* ('kitchen sink'), *acal* ('steel'), *gariful* ('carnation'), *čaval* ('nail (as a tool)'), *kabal* ('wooden water container'), *macel* ('slaughterhouse'), *skandal* ('scandal'), *stol* ('table'), *sol* ('salt'), *vol* ('ox'), *tavajol* ('napkin'), *žmul* ('glass'); *injul* ('single, one-fold, thin'), *nagal* ('impulsive'), *okrugal* ('round'), *svital* ('bright'), *uzdol* ('upwards'), *nizdol* ('downwards');

- it is kept in the final position of inner syllable: *opolca* ('wooden plate' G sg.), *fulmin* ('safety match'), *kalmadura* ('calmness'), *karatilci* ('small barrel' N pl.), *krnjolci* ('a kind of goldfinch' N pl.), *maštilca* ('small wooden barrel' G sg.), *nosilka* ('stretcher'), *pulca* ('pulse' G sg.), *almeno* ('at least'), *falšo* ('false'), *finalmente* ('finally');

- it is replaced with the vowel *a* in the masculine singular of *l*-participle which is contracted with the previous vowel or the hiatus *j* is inserted between the two vowels: *reka* ('he said'), *doša* ('he came') together with *mislija* ('he thought'), *načuja* ('he overheard'), *vazeja* ('he took'), *uboja* ('he stabbed').

The last examples of the type *vidija* ('he saw') are under the Shtokavian influence and can be found "in any dialects in Northern Dalmatia, along the coastline and a bit further from the coast from Split to Nin" (Finka, 1997, 131). In most of the places on the neighbouring islands the final *l* in *l*-participles (masculine singular) is usually lost: in the local dialect of Gornje Selo on the island of Šolta: *dā* ('he gave'), *dīga* ('he lifted'), *kūpī* ('he bought'), *ukrē* ('he stole'), *nosī* ('he carried') (Galović, 2019a, 99), in Pražnica on the island of Brač: *dočëko* ('he met, welcomed'), *dōni* ('he brought'), *dōvō* ('he was giving'), *povūko* ('he pulled'), *vāze* ('he took') (Galović, 2017, 103), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač: *beštīmō* ('he cursed'), *očīsti* ('he cleaned'), *pō* ('he fell'), *pōče* ('he began'), *zavīkō* ('he shouted') (Galović, 2014a, 243), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar: *imō* ('he had'), *dō*, *rodī se* ('he was born'), *smī* ('he dared'), *postō* ('he became')

(Galović, 2020), in Pitve on the island of Hvar: *rèka* ('he said'), *pīsô* ('he wrote'), *tōrkô* ('he ran'), *tūka* ('he was beating'), *uzjāha* ('he mounted') (Galović, 2014b, 12), but in Komiža on the island of Vis consonant *l* is still well kept: *pokrīl* ('he covered'), *oštāvil* ('he left'), *znôl* ('he knew'), *čapôl* ('he caught'), *iskocīl* ('he jumped') (Božanić, 2015, 291). There are some exceptions, of course, so in Slatine on the island of Čiovo we find *naša* ('he found'), *puka* ('he broke') together with *lomija* ('he was breaking'), *odveja* ('he took away'), *zaustavija* ('he stopped') (Galović, 2018, 141), just as in Stomorska on the island of Šolta where we hear *namīsti* ('he arranged'), *pōče* ('he began'), *jemā* ('he had'), but we also find forms like *izīja* ('he ate'), *ōdnija* ('he took away'), *čūja* ('he heard') (Galović, 2019a, 99).

4.20. Although part of the Chakavian dialects in their consonant inventory have the phoneme *l̂*, in certain local dialects *l̂* is changed with *j*, and in fewer dialects we find *l*. The change of *l̂* > *j* in Chakavian idioms is "sporadic but still a characteristic change" (Finka, 1971, 29) which in the literature is put together with Adriatisms (Brozović, 1988, 84). As expected in old Split dialect the consonant *l̂* changed into *j*: *jubav* ('love'), *kjuč* ('key'), *kapja* ('drop'), *nedija* ('Sunday'), *krajica* ('queen'), *košuja* ('shirt'), *prijatej* ('friend'), *jubit* ('to kiss'), *izgobavjen* ('hunched over'), *slomjen* ('broken'), *voja* ('will'), *zdravje* ('health'), *zeje* ('greens') although we find instances with *l̂* mostly in words from standard language and in more recent vocabulary, as for example: *cilj* ('aim, goal'), *ljigav* ('slimy') and similar examples. The change of *l̂* in *j* has spread to a great number of nearby Chakavian dialects: in Slatine on the island of Čiovo we noted: *pojubit* ('to kiss'), *divji* ('wild'), *izgubjen* ('lost'), *zemja* ('earth, soil') (Galović, 2018, 140), in Stomorska on the island of Šolta: *dēbji* ('fatter'), *kāpja* ('drop'), *kāšaj* ('cough'), *kūpjen* ('bought'), *prijatej* ('friend') (Galović, 2019a, 101), in Pražnica on the island of Brač: *grūbji* ('harsher'), *kuđija* ('bobbin') *nevōja* ('misfortune'), *pōsteja* ('bed'), *slōmjēn* ('broken') (Galović, 2017, 102), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač: *izjūbīt* ('to kiss'), *kašjāt* ('to cough'), *pōstija* ('bed'), *zemjā* ('earth, soil'), *žūj* ('blister, callus') (Galović, 2014a, 243), in Pitve on the island of Hvar: *jūbōv* ('love'), *kāpjima* ('with drops' DLI pl.), *zgōbjena* ('hunched over' f.), *žūjadu* ('they cause blisters') (Galović, 2014b, 13), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar: *divjarīja* ('savagery'), *dūbji* ('deeper'), *kadūja* ('sage'), *u jubāvi* ('in love') (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis *u poštēju* ('in bed'), *dajinē* ('distance' G sg.), *jūdi* ('people'), *zemjūn* ('earth, soil' I sg.) (Božanić, 2015, 297, 299, 301, 311), in Kaštel Kambelovac: *čejāde* ('person'), *mójac* ('moth'), *nedija* ('Sunday'), *ūje* ('oil'), *divjī* ('wild'), *jūt* ('sour') (Upitnik, 1966). In Dugi Rat we find doublets: *pōle* and *pōje* ('field'), *pōstela* and *pōsteja* ('bed')

(Galović, 2019b, 98), on the island of Drvenik *l̂* is frequent, but there are also doublets: *nèdilja* ('Sunday'), *pòstelja* ('bed'), *ljūdi* and *jūdi* ('people'), *žūlj* and *žūj* ('blister, callus') (Vulić, 2003, 54–55), while in Primošten this change is not present (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 120).

4.21. The reflex of final *m* into *n* is characteristic for Chakavian dialects along the Adriatic coast, to the Shtokavian dialects closer to the coast and some non-Croatian dialects. In literature, this feature, together with the reflex of *l̂ > j* and some other characteristics is put together with the Adriatic features (Brozović, 1988, 84). Neutralization of *m > n* in the final position of grammatical endings and indeclinable words we also find in Split dialect: *čujen* ('I hear'), *vidin* ('I see'), *s mojon ženon* ('with my wife'), *sedan judi* ('seven people'), *dobro van je* ('you are fine'), *o našin pasima(n)* ('about our dogs'). The change does not happen at the end of word roots: *dim* ('smoke'), *sram* ('shame'), *koram* ('kind of hard skin'), *kalum* ('sign on fisherman's net, bobber'), *šaldam* ('refined sand used to clean the bottle, utensils'), *alum* ('zinc, metal'), *drim* ('1. sleep; 2. sleepiness').

4.22. Chakavian dialects exhibit a tendency "to modify consonant clusters by changing the first member to a fricative or approximant, or by deleting one of the consonants" (Lukežić, 2021, 226). Old Split dialect has this Chakavian feature: *braški* ('about Brač'), *junaški* ('courageous'), *komišno* ('comic, funny'), *maška* ('cat'), *mušno* ('painful'), *obišni* ('usual'), *puški* ('folk-like'). With the weakening of *č > š*, or the complete loss of fricatives: *bogastvo* ('wealth'), *pone* ('noon'), *pesto* ('five hundred'), *susistvo* ('neighbourhood'), *zanji* ('last'). In the local dialect of Praznica on the island of Brač we hear: *bōraški* ('veteran' adj.), *prōžniški* ('about Praznica'), *ōlbor* ('committee'), *ol mēne* ('about/of me'), *spl̂iski* ('about Split') (Galović, 2017, 103), in the local dialect of Donje Selo on the island of Šolta: *stāraški* ('of old age'), *lišno* ('personally'), *lāxta* ('elbow' G sg.), *klūjko* ('ball, skein'), *pōjkova* ('horseshoe'), *pōjpis* ('signature'), *bogāstvo* ('wealth') (Galović, 2019a, 105–106), in Slatine on the island of Čiovo: *drveniški* ('about Drvenik'), *maška* ('cat'), *slaki* ('sweet'), *zanji* ('last') (Galović, 2018, 141), on the island of Drvenik: *drveniški* ('about Drvenik'), *vojnīški* ('military'), *lāhta* ('elbow' G sg.), *pōplat* ('sole') (Vulić, 2003, 57), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač: *ōblošno* ('cloudy'), *komunīstiški* ('communist'), *olgōjen* ('educated'), *ōlbor* ('committee'), *sūlca* ('judge' G sg.), *prēstava* ('show'), *spl̂iski* ('about Split') (Galović, 2014a, 246), in Dugi Rat: *jeseniški* ('about Jesenice'), *māška* ('cat'), *lūsķī* ('human'), *rōkvica* ('radish') (Galović, 2019b, 99), in Pitve on the island of Hvar: *māške* ('cat' G sg.), *gūlca* ('pig' G sg.) (Galović, 2014b, 13), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar: *težōškega* ('peasant, hard'), *ol bōra* ('of the tree'), *pol sulōr* ('under

the small stone terrace'), *harvōski* ('Croatian') (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis: *māška* ('cat'), *targōvaški* ('trading'), *olnīt* ('to take'), *olgovōromo* ('we are answering'), *olgojīli* ('they educated'), *ol đīma* ('of smoke'), *pol štīl* ('under the table') (Božanić, 2015, 43, 44, 58, 149, 186, 232, 293), in Krilo Jesenice: *kūška* ('pear') (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 122), in Kaštel Kambelovac: *kvōška* ('broody hen'), *kūška* ('female dog'), *vōška* ('fruit'), *bogāstvo* ('wealth'), *klūko* ('ball, skein') (Upitnik, 1966).

In all the dialects we find a tendency to eliminate non typical consonant groups at the beginning of the words in such a way that the first consonant is eliminated. In the investigated field material this is a rule: *čer* ('daughter'), *čela* ('bee'), *čelar* ('beekeeper'), *šenica* ('weat'), *tica* ('bird'), *ko* ('who'), *di* ('where').

4.23. In the dialect of Split we find the so-called rotacism where *ž* is reflected as *r* in the present tense of the verb 'can'. This is a feature of many local dialects of all three Croatian dialects: *moreš* ('you can'), *moremo* ('we can'), *morete* ('you can' pl.). Many nearby local dialects know of rotacism although it is not used consequently. For comparison, in Slatine on the island of Čiovo we find *moreš* ('you can'), *moremo* ('we can') (Galović, 2018, 141), Pitve and Jelsa on the island of Hvar have *mōreš* ('you can'), *mōre* ('he/she/it can'), *mōredu* ('they can') (Galović, 2014b, 13; Galović, 2020), Komiža on the island of Vis *mōremo* ('we can'), *mōrete* ('you can' pl.) (Božanić, 2015, 184, 303), Grohote on the island of Šolta often have doublets *mōreš/mōžeš* ('you can') (Galović, 2019a, 110), and also Dugi Rat often has doublets *mōremo/mōžemo* ('we can') (Galović, 2019b, 100). It is interesting that in Pražnica and Donji Humac on the island of Brač we find three variants: *mōreš/mōžeš/mōgeš* ('you can') (Galović, 2017, 103; Galović, 2014a, 248). Kaštel Kambelovac is the only place where we found only one variant *mōže* ('he/she/it can') (Upitnik, 1966).

4.24. The sequence *čr* (< **čbr*, **čer*) is maintained in Chakavian, while in Shtokavian this became *cr*. In the dialect of Split we find *crjen* ('red'), *crn* ('black'), *crnilo* ('black colour' ink), *pocrnit* ('to get black, dark'), but it is important to mention the examples *črv*, *črjiv* ('one who has worms, maggoty'), *črivo* ('bowels') where the consonant group is still preserved with the older generation. Dugi Rat has *čripña* ('clay pot in which one cooks or bakes'), *črīva* ('bowels' N pl.), *črv* ('worm'), but *cřn* ('black'), *crvĕn* ('red') (Galović, 2019b, 97), Slatine on the island of Čiovo has *črivo* ('bowels'), *čripnja* ('clay pot in which one cooks or bakes'), *črv* ('worm'), but *crn* ('black'), *crven* ('red') (Galović, 2018, 141), the island of Drvenik *črivo* ('bowels'), *črv* ('worm'), but *cřn* ('black') (Vulić, 2003, 57), Pražnica on the island of Brač *črivo* ('bowels'), *črjenica* ('red soil'), *čřn* ('black'),

učrpot ('to immerse'), but *crnāvina* ('thick black clouds'), *pocrvenit* ('to become red, flushed') (Galović, 2017, 101), Donji Humac on the island of Brač *črmañ* ('kind of soil'), *črjēnāk* ('1. kind of grapes; 2. kind of grapevine'), but *crno vīnò* ('red wine'), *crnīlo* ('black colour, ink') (Galović, 2014a, 245), Donje Selo on the island of Šolta *črvāñ* ('kind of soil'), *črivo* ('bowels'), *črv* ('worm'), but *crn* ('black'), *crvenica* ('red soil') (Galović, 2019a, 89–90), Krilo Jesenice *črv* ('worm'), but *crno* ('black' n.), *crvèna* ('red' f.) (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 122), Kaštel Kambelovac *črv* ('worm'), *črvič* ('small worm'), but *crna* ('black' f.), *crjēnkast* ('reddish') (Upitnik, 1966). Pitve on the island of Hvar keeps č: *čōran* ('black'), *čarnjèna* ('red' f.), *počōrnīla* ('she got black'), *čōrvi* ('worms' N pl.) (Galović, 2014b, 14), the same in Jelsa on the island of Hvar: *črivo* ('bowels'), *čōran* ('black'), *čarnīlo* ('black colour, ink'), *čarněj* ('kind of black small fish').

4.25. The sequence *jd* that resulted from the addition of prefixes ending in a vowel to the verb **i-/id-* ('to go') are often preserved in old Split dialect. This is also found in a number of Chakavian, Kajkavian and partly Shtokavian areas. Here are some examples from the living speech: *dojđite* ('come!' pl.), *izajdeš* ('you go out'), *najden* ('I find'), *obajde* ('he pays a visit'), *pojden* ('I go'), *projdemo* ('we pass'), *snajdimose* ('let us manage'), etc. Such forms are found in the nearby dialects. Thus in Prazhnica on the island of Brač we can hear *izōjđite* ('come out!' pl.), *nōjđete* ('you find' pl.), *obōjdemo* ('we pay a visit') (Galović, 2017, 102), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač *dōjdemo* ('we come'), *izōjđu* ('they go out'), *snōjđite se* ('you can manage' pl.) (Galović, 2014a, 246), in Slatine on the island of Čiovo *dojđeš* ('you come'), *najdemo* ('we find'), *projde* ('he/she/it passes') (Galović, 2018, 141), on the island of Drvenik *dōjden* ('I come'), *izājden* ('I go out'), *pōjden* ('I go') (Vulić, 2003, 54), in Srednje Selo on the island of Šolta *dōjdedu* ('they come'), *dōjđite* ('come!' pl.), *izājdedu* ('they go out'), *snājde se* ('he manages') (Galović, 2019a, 90), in Pitve on the island of na Hvar *izōjdedu* ('they go out'), *nōjđe* ('he finds') (Galović, 2014b, 14), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar *obōjđeš* ('you go around'), *prōjđeš* ('you pass'), *duōjdemo* ('we come') (Galović, 2020), in Komžiža on the island of Vis *izōjden* ('I go out'), *dūjđe* ('he comes'), *dūjđu* ('they come'), *nōjđe* ('he finds') (Božanić, 2015, 166, 187, 194, 304), but in Dugi Rat only *dōžemo* ('we come'), *izāžje* ('he goes out'), *pōžje* ('he goes') (Galović, 2019b, 97), in Kaštel Kambelovac *izāžje* ('he goes out'), *nāžje* ('he finds'), *pōžjite* ('you go!' pl.) (Upitnik, 1966), as in the neighbouring continental dialects Krilo Jesenice and some others (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 113–114).

4.26. In the dialect of Split as well as in some other Chakavian and Shtokavian dialects the reflex of the base *vs-* (< **v̥s-*) and derivates from

it consistently gives *sv-*. Namely, in north western Chakavian area we have “*sv-* (*sa* (‘all’ f.), *se* (‘all’ n.), *si* (‘all’ m.), *sega* (‘all’ G sg.), *sih* (‘all’ G pl.)), apart from nominative singular masculine form *vas* (*ves*, *vos*)” (Lukežić, 2012, 229), and in the south east “*sv-* (*sva* (‘all f.), *sve* (‘all n.), *svi* (‘all’ m.), *svega* (‘all’ G sg.), *svih* (‘all’ G pl.)), apart from masculine nominative singular form *vas* (*ves*, *vos*)” (Lukežić, 2012, 231). Here are some examples: *sve* (‘all’ f. pl.), *svi* (‘all’ m. pl.), *svega* (‘of all’), *svima* (‘to all’), *svaki* (‘everybody’ m.), *svaka* (‘everybody f.’), etc. We have to stress that older inhabitants of Split regularly use masculine, nominative (accusative) singular form *vas* (< **vbsb*) (‘all, whole’) where we have the vocalization of the semivowel in strong position.

4.27. In all Croatian dialects we find the following consonant groups *šk*, *št*, *šp* in loanwords. Split dialects has many loanwords in which such consonant groups are present: *peškadur* (‘fisherman’), *škaf* (‘boat’s bow on a small boat’), *škovace* (‘garbage’), *škuribanda* (‘unlighted place – usually for lovers’), *škatula* (‘box’); *fogišta* (‘stoker on the boat’), *šterika* (‘candle’), *štivadur* (‘stevedore’), *štufat se* (‘to get bored’), *poteštati* (‘city mayor’); *grišpa* (‘1. fold on dress; 2. wrinkle on the face’), *izrašpat* (‘to wood file’), *španjulet* (‘cigarette’), *šporkuja* (‘dirty woman’), *špoža* (‘bride-maid’), *šperanca* (‘hope’).

4.28. In part of the Chakavian dialect area the sonant *v* in consonant groups with the *r* or with syllabic *r* in the same or the following syllable can become eliminated. This limited distribution of phoneme *v* in Chakavian is a feature of the dialects in northwest areas in which such limited distribution is also possible in other consonant groups. In the dialect of Split phoneme *v* is lost in some of the words: *srbiti* (‘to itch’), *sraka* (‘magpie’), *mrtac* (‘dead person’), but *stvoriti* (‘to create’), *svrdal* (‘drill’), *četvrti* (‘fourth’) *četvrtak* (‘Thursday’). Some say *trd* (‘hard’), and some say *tvrd* (‘hard’). Sonant *v* is lost in the initial position in the word *rebac* (‘sparrow’). Elimination of the sonant *v* is possible in other consonant groups as in the examples like: *gozd* (‘iron’ noun), *gozden* (‘iron’ adj.), *gožže* (‘iron’).

4.29. Contact and distant assimilation can be seen in some examples: *čizme* (‘boots’), *škuša* (‘mackerel’), *šuša* (‘drought’), *šušiti* (‘to be drying’), i.e.; *š njin* (‘with him’), *š njima(n)* (‘with them’), *š njon* (‘with her’). This feature is optinal.

4.30. In a series of Chakavian dialects we find examples of dissimilation of *mn* > *vn* and *mń* > *mń*, but also dissimilation of certain consonants (Finka, 1971, 28–29). Dissimilation in old Split dialect can be seen in some examples: *guvno* (‘thrashing floor’), *pomjiv* (‘caring’), *sedavnajst* (‘seventeen’), *sumjat* (‘to doubt’), *zlamenovati se* (‘to cross oneself’), and also in *lebro*

(‘rib’). Dissimilation of some consonants can be found in some loanwords like *lizerva* (‘reserve’), *palket* (‘parquet’), *šalturica* (‘seemstress’), etc.

4.31. Nasal is softened in some words, mostly in consonant group *gn*: *gnjizdo* (‘nest’), *gnjoj* (‘manure’), *gnjojar* (‘manure collector’), *gnjusavac* (‘scoundrel’).

5. Morphological characteristics

5.1. In the Chakavian dialects the genitive case of feminine nouns of *e*-type we find the endings *-e* and *-i*.⁹ Nowadays, with final palatal consonant, the endings *-e i -i* (*ženi* ‘woman’, *duše* (‘soul’)) are found in Chakavian ekavian dialect and also in the ikavian-ekavian dialect (Lukežić, 2015, 57). Split dialect, as well as the neighbouring dialects, have always the genitive ending *-e*: *duše* (‘soul’), *bufete* (‘dental selling’), *fonje* (‘cesspit’), *bukare* (‘wooden containers for wine drinking’), *gratakaže* (‘grater’), *žene* (‘woman’), *krave* (‘cow’), *južine* (‘southern warm wind’), *mišance* (‘mixture’), *mistrije* (‘kind of mason’s spoon’), *motike* (‘hoe’).

5.2. In most of the Chakavian dialects the dative and locative masculine and neuter gender have the same ending *-u*. Locative singular with the ending *-u* (from the old *u*-stem), in Chakavian dialect we also find the ending *-i* (*na krovi* ‘on the roof’, *po seli* ‘in the village’), but only in marginal Chakavian dialects, also *-e* (*na krove* ‘on the roof’, *po sele* ‘in the village’) in the North Chakavian dialects, and also the ending *-je*: (*na krovje* ‘on the roof’, *po selje* ‘in the village’) in the local dialect of the island of Lastovo (Lukežić, 2015, 50). The dative and locative masculine and neuter gender in the local dialect of Split always have the ending *-u*: *kruvu* (‘bread’), *ščapaduru* (‘a kind of stone chisel’), *lupežu* (‘thief’), *bufunu* (‘joker’), *stolu* (‘table’), *javoru* (‘laurel’), *štracunu* (‘ragged fellow’), *parangalu* (‘kind of fisherman’s tool’), *verzotu* (‘kale’); *nebu* (‘sky’), *suncu* (‘sun’), *selu* (‘village’), *motovilu* (‘winding device’), *rešetu* (‘sieve’). We also find such situation in the neighbouring dialects.

5.3. The endings *-on i -en* are characteristic for the instrumental singular in nouns of masculine and neuter gender. The ending *-on* is found in nouns whose stems have a nonpalatal consonant while nouns ending in palatal consonant usually have *-en* (with some exceptions). The nouns with the endign root in *c* have both endings. Some examples from Split dialect are: *kajišon* (‘belt’), *lapišon* (‘pencil’), *konjon* (‘horse’), *brdašcon* (‘small hill’),

9 Under *a*-type we include nouns of masculine and neuter gender which in the genitive singular have the ending *-a*. Under *e*-type we include feminine nouns which in the genitive singular have the ending *-e* (with some nouns of masculine gender). The *i*-type is a separate group of feminine nouns which have the ending *-i* in the genitive singular.

palcon ('thumb'), but also *kjučen* ('key'), *križen* ('cross'), *ocen* ('father'). There are also doublets like *ujen/ujon* ('oil') and similar cases. Interesting are the examples in the neighbouring Chakavian areas. Thus in Donje Selo on the island of Šolta we can hear *kònjōn* ('horse'), *krīžōn* and *krīžēn* ('cross'), but *nōžēn* ('knife'), *òcēn* ('father') (Galović, 2019a, 141), in Grohote and Rogaç on the island of Šolta *mīšōn* ('mouse'), *žālcon* ('sting'), but *ščapīčen* ('small stick'), *mūžen* ('husband') (Galović, 2019a, 142), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač *kjūčōn* ('key'), *žūjōn* ('blister, callus'), *nōžōn* ('knife'), but *ūjen* ('oil') (Galović, 2014a, 252), in Komiza on the island of Vis *macīcon* ('soul of an unbaptized child'), *puīčcon* ('small path'), *mīrlīcon* ('lace'), *šūlcon* ('judge'), but *krīžēn* ('cross') (Božanić, 2015, 99, 154, 192, 357), in Krilo Jesenice *prīščōn* ('pimple') (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 130), in Kaštel Kambelovac *prīščōn* ('pimple'), *mūžon* ('husband'), *mīšon* ('mouse'), but *nóžen* ('knife') (Upitnik, 1966).

Nouns of feminine gender of *e*-type in the Chakavian dialect not that rarely have the ending *-un* (*ženun* ('woman'), *dušun* ('soul')). But there is also the ending *-on* in the South Chakavian (*ženon* ('woman'), *dušon* ('soul')), the ending *-om* in the continental dialects (*ženom* ('woman'), *dušom* ('soul')), the ending *-a* (*žena* ('woman'), *duša* ('soul')) in the dialect of Buzet, the ending *-o* (*ženo* ('woman'), *dušo* ('soul')) in the central Chakavian dialect on the island of Ist, *-ov/-ev* in the central Chakavian dialects of Silba and Olib (Lukežić, 2015, 58). In the dialect of Split we always find the ending *-on*: *ženon* ('woman'), *škatulon* ('box'), *mularijon* ('children'), *garbinadon* ('kind of stormy south-west wind'), *umidecon* ('humidity'), *obotnicon* ('octopus'), *probivačon* ('kind of children game'), *šervon* ('maid, helper').

5.4. As it will be evident from the examples, in the old Split dialect we have short plural forms of one syllable or partly two syllable nouns of masculine gender. In other words, we find forms without the suffixes *-ov-*, *-ev-*. Shtokavian long plural in all plural forms of one syllable and partly two syllable words is an old phenomenon tied to the disappearance of the old *u*-stems. As such this is the opposite to Chakavian and Kajkavain short plurals and the literature mentions it as morphologically distinctive feature (Lukežić, 2015, 44). Here are some examples: *brodi* ('boats'), *dlani* ('palms'), *golubi* ('pigeons'), *gromi* ('lightening bolts'), *klipi* ('pistons'), *kotli* ('caultron'), *lakti* ('elbows'), *kjuči* ('keys'), *miši* ('mice'), *noži* ('knives'), *popi* ('priests'), *posli* ('jobs'), *zidi* ('walls'). The same is found in the neighbouring Chakavian dialects: in Donje Selo on the island of Šolta: *mīši* ('mice'), *vòli* ('oxes'), *ròzi* ('horns'), *sīni* ('sons'), *snòpi* ('sheaves'), *žūji* ('blisters, callouses') (Galović, 2019a, 143), in Slatine on the island of Čiovo: *cviti* ('flowers'), *dlani* ('palms'), *glasi* ('sounds'), *vitri* ('winds')

(Galović, 2018, 142), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač: *dlāni* ('palms'), *gòlubi* ('pigeons'), *pòsli* ('jobs'), *pūti* ('paths'), *stoli* ('tables') (Galović, 2014a, 252), in Pitve on the island of Hvar: *bròdih* ('boats' G pl.), *gròmi* ('lightening bolts'), *ratì* ('wars'), *stoli* ('tables') (Galović, 2014b, 15), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar: *cvìti* ('flowers'), *bòri* ('pine trees'), *rièpi* ('tails'), *čìri* ('ulcers'), *žepi* ('pockets') (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis: *pūti* ('paths'), *šini* ('sons'), *kūmi* ('fathers-in-law'), *pošli* ('jobs'), *bròdi* ('boats') (Božanić, 2015, 46, 51, 165, 256, 331), in Kaštel Kambelovac: *kòreni* ('roots'), *gòlubi* (pigeons'), *strici* ('uncles'), *šavi* ('seams') (Upitnik, 1966), in Dugi Rat: *snīzi* ('snows'), *pràgi* ('doorsteps'), *Dūsi* ('Pentecost, church holiday') (Galović, 2019b, 100).

5.5. In the genitive plural of masculine and neuter nouns we find three possible endings. First is the ending *-i*: *bokali* ('glass jugs'), *dvori* ('yards'), *ferali* ('gass lamps'), *tovari* ('donkeys'), *brdi* ('hills'), *kili* ('kilos'), *poji* ('fields'). This ending goes back to *i*-stem if not formed by the reduction of the consonant *h*. The other ending is the zero ending *-ø* which is the original genitive plural ending: *buganac* ('frozen spots on skin'), *banak* ('benches'), *dan* ('days'), *sudac* ('judges'); *cabal* ('trees'), *čriv* ('bow-els'), *kolin* ('knees'), *rebar/lebar* ('ribs'). The third ending is the ending *-ov*, nowadays not that frequent which goes back to the old *u*-stem: *sinov* ('sons'), *gradov* ('cities'), *rebov* ('ribs'), *težakov* ('peasants'), *kopitov* ('hooves'). Some nouns can have double realizations such as: *konji/konjov* ('horses'), *špar/špari* ('a kind of small fish'), *opanak/opanki* ('peasant shoes'), *prstac/prstaci* ('kind of sea shells'), *mrav/mravi* ('ants'); *slov/slovi* ('letters'), etc. In isolated example *prstiju* ('fingers') we find the ending *-iju* (see below). In recent times we find the ending *-a*, which is one of the main Shtokavian characteristics. The above-mentioned endings (*-i*, *-ø*, *-ov*) are found in the neighbouring Chakavian dialects. In few dialects we also find the endings *-ih*. Examples: in Donje Selo on the island of Šolta: *lakāt* ('elbows'), *jānjāc* ('lambs'), *līstī* ('leaves'), *gospodārih* ('masters'), *jāj* ('eggs'), *sēlīh* ('villages'), *vesāl/veslī* ('oars') (Galović, 2019a, 145, 154), in Slatine on the island of Čiovo: *dan* ('days'), *črvi* ('worms'), *gospodari* ('masters'), *godišć* ('years'), *misti* ('places') (Galović, 2018, 142), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač: *rogōv* ('horns'), *ušēnok* ('lice'), *karatīlih* ('wooden barrels'), *prōsoc/prōjcih* ('suitsors'), *lebōr* ('ribs'), *korītih* ('a kind of wooden container for feeding/drinking cattle') (Galović, 2014a, 252–253), in Pitve on the island of Hvar: *cvitīcih* ('small flowers'), *mūlih* ('mules'), *tovārih* ('donkeys') and some other solutions (Galović, 2014b, 15), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar: *bīskupih* ('bishops'), *dōn* ('days'), *orīhov* ('walnuts'), *sluōv* ('letters'), *pōjih* ('fields') (Galović, 2020), in Komiža

on the island of Vis: *brôvih* ('rams' animal), *tovãrih* ('donkeys'), *dupînih* ('dolphins'), *ušënok* ('lice'), *grîhu(v)* ('sins'), *kòlin* ('knees'), *lebrîh/lëbor* ('ribs') (Božanić, 2015, 55, 70, 86, 95, 271, 615, 640), in Krilo Jesenice: *dãni* ('days'), *vukôv* ('woolves'), *sinôv* ('sons') (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 130, 132), in Kaštel Kambelovac: *jazîk* ('tongues'), *vřtli* ('gardens'), *ambruzîni* ('pots'), *vukôv* ('woolves'), *cvitôv* ('flowers'), *kolîn* ('knees'), *stãbli* ('trees') (Upitnik, 1966).

5.6. In Chakavian, "the genitive plural of feminine nouns of *a*-declension very often has the zero ending" (Finka, 1971, 48). The genitive plural of feminine nouns in Split dialect can have two realizations. First is the zero- \emptyset ending: *jabuk* ('apples'), *kuč* ('houses'), *maslin* ('olives'), *sip* ('cuttlefishes'), *svič* ('candles'), *škrap* ('large rough stones'), *tikav* ('squashes'), *zemaj* ('lands'), *bičav* ('stockings'), *čakul* ('gossips'), *brokav* ('nails'), *ovac* ('sheep'). The other ending is the ending *-i*: *beštîmji* ('curses'), *lokardi* ('a kind of blue fish similar to macherel'), *srdeli* ('sardines'), *strili* ('arrows'), *uri* ('watches'). Some nouns have sometimes one and other times the other ending as for example: *fritull/frituli* ('a type of Dalmatian doughnuts'), *ijad/ijadi* ('hundreds'), *smokav/smokvi* ('figs'). The same endings are found in the neighbouring local dialects but sometimes we also encounter the ending *-ih*: in Donje Selo on the island of Šolta: *bëšîd* ('words'), *bilîc* ('type of figs'), *slîv* ('plums'), *butîgi* ('stores'), *pënzîjih* ('pensions') (Galović, 2019a, 169), in Slatine on the island of Čiovo: *konob* ('inns'), *nog* ('legs'), *suz* ('tears'), *grišpi* ('1. fold; 2. wrinkle') (Galović, 2018, 142), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač: *lîtor* ('liters'), *krûšok* ('pears'), *udovîc* ('widows'), *kobilîh* ('mares'), *tavãjih* ('tablecloths'), *bahûjih* ('1. pigs, f.; 2. untidy female person') (Galović, 2014a, 253), in Pitve on the island of Hvar: *guzîc* ('asses'), *rûk* ('hands'), *bãčvih* ('barrels'), *pôlmih* ('palms') (Galović, 2014b, 15), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar: *jãgod* ('strawberries'), *mrîž* ('fishing nets'), *gomîlih* ('piles'), *tîkvih* ('squashes') (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis: *banîc* ('10 kreuzer Austrian coin'), *gîr* ('small fishes'), *mrîž* ('nets'), *lîtor* ('liters'), *incerôdih* ('raincoats'), *pòlkovih* ('horseshoes') (Božanić, 2015, 83, 95, 159, 200, 212, 270), in Kaštel Kambelovac: *ovãc* ('sheep'), *trîšań* ('cherries'), *planîń* ('mountains'), *gusãk* ('geese') (Upitnik, 1966).

Here we have to mention the genitive ending of nouns of *i*-stem in old Split dialect. Namely we have examples like *kostiju* ('bones'), *očiju* ('eyes'), *ušiju* ('ears') where we have the ending *-iju*. This is the ending from the old dual which is a Shtokavian characteristic.

5.7. The old endings for dative, locative and instrumental plural are often preserved in north west Chakavian area while the south east Chakavian area

is more innovative. It is well known that the old difference between D pl. ≠ L pl. ≠ I pl. does not exist anymore so by this feature Split dialect belongs to dialects “which during the middle language era developed newer or new Shtokavian morphological structure in the plural paradigm with the levelling of two cases to same form (D pl. = I pl. or I pl. = L pl.) or levelling of all three cases (D pl. = L pl. = I pl.) to the same ending” (Lukežić, 2015, 155). Dative, locative and instrumental plural of masculine and neuter gender in Split dialect are levelled to the ending *-ima(n)*: *inčunima(n)* (‘anchovies’), *kavaletima(n)* (‘wooden construction frames’), *kondućtima(n)* (‘toilettes’), *krtolima(n)* (‘wicker baskets’), *obrazima(n)* (‘cheeks’), *šudarima(n)* (‘handkerchiefs’), *zubima(n)* (‘teeth’), *tovarima(n)* (‘donkeys’); *guvnima(n)* (‘threshing floors’), *kolinima(n)* (‘knees’), *krščenjima(n)* (‘baptisms’), *jajima(n)* (‘eggs’), *krilima(n)* (‘wings’), *pojima(n)* (‘fields’). The ending *-ima*, at places with the additional *(n)* or without it, is characteristic for the neighbouring Chakavian dialects: in Slatine on the island of Čiovo *konjima* (‘horses’), *librima* (‘books’), *prijatejiman* (‘friends’), *mistima* (‘places’), *rameniman* (‘shoulders’) (Galović, 2018, 142), in Srednje Selo on the island of Šolta *àpostolima* (‘apostles’), *cvõtima* (‘flowers’), *jãzicima* (‘tongues’), *sèlimãn* (‘villages’), *stãblima* (‘trees’) (Galović, 2019, 147, 155), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač *bròdima* (‘boats’), *mornòrìma* (‘sailors’), *kandilìrìma* (‘candle holders’), *bilòncima* (‘egg whites’), *vretenìma* (‘spindles’) (Galović, 2014a, 252–253), in Pitve on the island of Hvar *pòjima* (‘fields’), *rebrìman* (‘ribs’) (Galović, 2014b, 16), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar: *òblocima* (‘clouds’), *vìtrima* (‘winds’), *veslìma* (‘oars’) (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis *budèlima* (‘one of four smaller nets that make a big net for catching sardines’), *milicionèrìma* (‘policemen’), *pū̀tìma* (‘paths’), *bãrdima* (‘hills’), *jìdrima* (‘sails’) (Božanić, 2015, 46, 51, 155, 183, 341), in Dugi Rat *zúbima* (‘teeth’), *gū̀vnìma* (‘threshing floors’) (Galović, 2019b, 101), in Kaštel Kambelovac *veštìtima/veštìtin* (‘suits’), *zìdìma/zìdin* (‘walls’), *koñìma* (‘horses’), *pòjìman* (‘fields’) (Upitnik, 1966).

The original endings *-an* (< **-amъ*) in the dative case, *-ah* (< **-ahъ*) in the locative and the ending *-ami* (< **-ami*) in the instrumental plural of feminine nouns are mostly kept in the north-west region while going towards south-east there is a tendency for syncretisms. Dative, locative and instrumental plural of feminine nouns in old Split dialect have the old ending *-an*: *betulan* (‘inns’), *dežgracijan* (‘misfortunes’), *kočan* (‘1. kind of fisherman’s nets; 2. kind of fisherman’s boats’), *divojkan* (‘girls’), *nogan* (‘legs’), *kjukkan* (‘hooks’), *makakadan* (‘stupid moves, foolery, mischiefs’), *prijatejican* (‘friends’ f.), *ženan* (‘women, ladies’), *vričan* (‘bags’). The neighbouring dialects also have *-an*, but in some dialects we have other endings:

in Slatine on the island of Čiovo: *kapjican* ('drops'), *smokvan* ('figs'), *škuran* ('wooden shutters on the window'), *rukan* ('hands') (Galović, 2018, 142), in Donje Selo on the island of Šolta: *mazgân* ('mules'), *rukân* ('hands'), *zâbavân* ('parties'), *košûjân* ('shirts') (Galović, 2019a, 171), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač: *kozôn* ('goats'), *krâvima* ('cows'), *plöçima* ('slabs'), *ženâmi* ('women') (Galović, 2014a, 253), in Pitve on the island of Hvar: *grônâmin* ('branches'), *nogâmin* ('legs'), *kalcëtiman* ('socks'), *torbican* ('bags') (Galović, 2014b, 16), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar: *mrîžima* ('nets'), *batûdima* ('1. blows; 2. humorous sayings, jokes'), *pûškima* ('guns'), *sûzimal/suzâmin* ('tears') (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis: *banîcami* ('10 kreuzer Austrian coins'), *grônâmi* ('branches'), *metlâmi* ('brooms'), *molitvima* ('prayers'), *pölkovima* ('hoofs') (Božanić, 2015, 95, 110, 200, 201, 267), in Dugi Rat: *nôgân* ('legs'), *grêdân* ('beams') (Galović, 2019b: 92, 98), in Kaštel Kambelovac: *bîčvan* ('socks'), *papûčan* ('slippers'), *ovcân* ('sheep') (Upitnik, 1966).

5.8. Accusative plural of masculine nouns in Split dialect has the ending *-e*: *brode* ('boats'), *kjuče* ('keys'), *mažinine* ('manual kind of coffee mills'), *kaluncine* ('little cannons'), *grkjane* ('larynxes'), *pisnike* ('poets'), *milune* ('melons'), *frižidere* ('fridges'). Let us mention in passing that in north west and central Chakavian areas have forms like: *gradi* ('towns'), *krovi* ('roofs'), *konji* ('horses'), i.e., with the ending *-i* (Lukežić, 2015, 51), but Split does not have this ending.

The accusative plural of feminine nouns has "the same characteristics as the masculine nouns: 1) North west keeps well the difference between nonpalatal (final morpheme *-i*) and palatal stem (final morpheme in *-e*), 2) In other places we mainly find the final morphem *-e*" (Finka, 1971, 48). In Split dialect we consistently hear *kjučanice* ('keyholes'), *lizalice* ('lollipops'), *monade* ('stupidities, mischiefs'), *žene* ('women'), *duše* ('souls'), *ovce* ('sheep'), *bonegracije* ('curtain rods'), *buže* ('holes').

5.9. The noun *dite* ('child') keeps the characteristic old *t*-changes so in the genitive, dative, locative and instrumental it has the long stem expanded form with the consonant *-t-*: *diteta* ('child' G sg.), *ditetu* ('child' D sg.). Plural is covered with the noun *dica*, which is declined after the *e*-stem declension in the singular: *dice* ('children' G), *dici* ('children' D).

Nouns that belonged to the old *n*-declension have the expanded *-t-* stem with the consonant *-t-* in all cases apart from nominative, accusative and vocative singular: *vrimenta* ('times'), *imena* ('names'), *ramena* ('shoulders'), *prezimenta* ('last names'), *vimena* ('udders').

The relicts of the old *s*-declension can be found in the forms of some nouns. We have words like *nebesa* ('heavens') and *čudesas* ('miracles'), in

which the latter can have the plural form *čuda* ('miracles'). The noun *kolo* ('wheel') is declined like the noun *selo* ('village'): *kolo* (N sg.), *kola* (G sg.), *kolu* (D sg.), etc.

5.10. Chakavian speakers in principle keep well the distinction between palatal and nonpalatal stems (for example *žutoga* ('yellow') – *tujega* ('foreign')) although there are dialects in which the change went into the palatal form (*žitoga* ('yellow') – *tujega* ('foreign')) or into the nonpalatal stem (*žitoga* ('yellow') – *vručoga* ('hot')) (Finka, 1971, 52). In Split dialect in the pronominal and adjectival declensions in the genitive, dative and locative cases in the singular masculine, the distinction between palatal and nonpalatal is mainly preserved. Thus we have *lipoga* ('beautiful') – *tujega* ('foreign'). However, not that rarely, we also find examples of the type *lipoga* ('beautiful'), although the nonpalatal endings are dominant. The examples are: *crnoga* ('black'), *morskoga* ('maritime'), *drugoga* ('other'), *staroga* ('old'), *suvoga* ('dry'), but also *bilega* ('white'), *lipoga* ('beautiful'), *svetega* ('saint'), *šesnega* ('lovely'), *poštenega* ('honest'), *onega* ('that one'), *ovega* ('this one'), *jednega* ('one'). There are also doublets. In dative and locative singular we hear *malome(n)* ('little, small'), *lipome(n)* ('beautiful'), *mladome(n)* ('young'), *ovome(n)* ('this one') and *pokojnemu* ('deceased'), *ingleškemu* ('English'). We also often find short forms like: *dragon* ('dear'), *velon* ('big'), *ton* ('that one'), *cilon* ('whole'); *lipen* ('beautiful, nice'), *svaken* ('everyone'), *teplen* ('warm').

It is important to stress that feminine adjectives (and adjectivals) in dative and locative singular have the ending *-on*, but today we more often hear the ending *-oj*: *na lipon ženi* ('on beautiful woman'), *u cilon kući* ('in the whole house'), *po njegovon kući* ('in his house'), *svojon materi* ('to his mother'), *u oton vešti* ('in that dress') but also *punoj glavi* ('in the full head'), *na onoj pjaci* ('on that market place'), *po zelenoj škuri* ('on green shutters'). Examples with the ending *-on* is noted in some South Chakavian dialects so this "connects Chakavian speakers with a number of Shokavian dialects from Dubrovnik to Šibenik; such changes happened under the influence of Shtokavian" (Lisac, 2009, 152).

5.11. Comparatives in Split dialect are formed from the positive with the suffixes *-j-* and *-ij-*: *debji* ('fatter'), *dražji* ('dearer'), *lipji* ('nicer'), *skupji* ('more expensive'), *težji* ('heavier'), *žešći* ('more violent'); *kripniji* ('stronger'), *pametniji* ('smarter'), *tepliji* ('warmer'), *klaviji* ('clumsier'). Superlatives are formed with the prefix *naj-* which is added to the comparative forms: *najlipji* ('the nicest'), *najžešći* ('the most intense, violent').

5.12. Here are some adjectives that have a particularly interesting form: *šparenjožast* ('thrifty'), *špiritož/špiritožast* ('temperamental, impulsive'),

štiman ('estimated'), *tašelán* ('patched'), *ukočénut* ('stiff, torpid'), *furjan* ('very angry'), *gobav* ('hunched'), *sapet* ('knotted, tied with rope'), *sinčér* ('sincere'), *smišán* ('good looking, cute, pleasant'), *impegulan* ('unhappy, unlucky'), *inamoran* ('in love'), *infetan* ('infected'), *ruzinav* ('rusty'), *inkapelan* ('having a hat on one's head, hatted'), *ruvinan* ('damaged, destroyed'), *izdušen* ('deflated, empty of air'), *izleman* ('beaten up').

5.13. Instrumental of the personal pronoun 'ja' ('I') is *namon*, with the reflex of vocalized semivowel which is a very Chakavian feature. The old people in Split use this form although we more often nowadays hear *menon* ('with me'), i.e., with the stem *men-*, which generalized from the genitive singular form. We also find the form *tebon* ('with you' sg.), the stem of it being *teb-*, generalized from the genitive singular. The most common form of the reflexive pronoun nowadays is *sebon* ('with oneself'), i.e. with the stem *seb-*.

It should be stressed that the pronoun 'ona' ('she') in the dative and locative singular vacillates between double endings *njoj* and *njon* ('her'), namely between the unstressed forms *joj* and *jon* ('her').

In the Chakavian dialect "dative, locative and instrumental plural of the pronouns *mi* ('we') and *vi* ('you' pl.) usually have different forms: D pl. *nam* ('to us'), *vam* ('to you' pl.) (with possible known phonetic changes), L pl. *nas* ('us'), *vas* ('you'), I pl. *nami* ('with us'), *vami* ('with you' pl.), but more often these forms are levelled to the old instrumental case: DLI pl. *nami*, *vami*, and less often in dual dative-instrumental form: *nama*, *vama* (as it is in the standard language)" (Finka, 1971, 50). With older people in Split we find both *nan* and *nami*, but nowadays the most common form is *nama(n)*.

5.14. The demonstrative pronouns 'this', 'that' and 'yonder, that over there' are realized as *(o)vi*, *(o)ti*, *(o)ni*, which rarely also have a prothetic *j*. Such forms are characteristic for the West Shtokavian and South Chakavian dialects (Lukežić, 2015, 218).

The demonstrative pronouns 'that, such', 'like this', 'such, like that' are realized as *(o)taki*, *(o)vaki*, *(o)naki*, which rarely also have a prothetic *j*. Such forms are characteristic for the West Shtokavian and South Chakavian dialects (Lukežić, 2015, 218).

5.15. Split dialect has the interrogative-relative pronoun *ča* ('what'), for 'inanimate', with *šta* ('what') becoming more and more prevalent. The pronoun *ča*, whose presence "is taken as the most important criterion when determining the Chakavian dialect" (Moguš, 1977, 20), has genitive form *česa* ('of what'), used by the older speakers. In the 20th century this form has been confirmed in Chakavian and Kajkavian dialects and it is a relict

form in West Shtokavian dialects (Lukežić, 2015, 234). With *ča* ('what') we also have words *čagod/čakod* ('whatever'). The neighbouring South Chakavian dialects use these forms of interrogative pronoun for 'inanimate': in Slatine on the island of Čiovo – *ča* ('what'): *jesu li ča rekli?* ('did they say anything?'), *sve ča su našli* ('all what they found') (Galović, 2018, 142), in Stomorska on the island of Šolta – *ča* ('what'): *čã govòriš?* ('what are you saying?'), *gržemo se čã nĩsmo pĩsãli* ('we torment/blame ourselves that we did not write') (Galović, 2019a, 202), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač – *če* and *čo* ('what'): *če sè dogođilo?* ('what happened?'), *mĩslidu da me čõ bolĩ* ('they think something is hurting me') (Galović, 2014a, 254), in Pitve on the island of Hvar – *ča* and *čo* ('what'): *nĩ ni znãla ča jè snõšlo* ('she did not know what happened to her'), *jer bi se ugõšila da se čõ brãtu dogođĩ* ('she would die if something happened to her brother') (Galović, 2014b, 16), in Komiža on the island of Vis – *ca* and *co* ('what'): *ca sè dogõdjo?* ('what happens?'), *nĩmomo mĩ cõ prodãt* ('we have nothing to sell') (Božanić, 2015, 80).

Composite or compound forms created from the prepositions and the pronoun *ča* ('what'), which in Chakavian show up as *poč* ('how much'), *nač* ('on what'), *zač* ('why'), *vač/uč* ('in what'), in today's Split dialect are not used at all and are consequently replaced by *pošto* ('how much'), *našto* ('on what'), *zašto* ('why'), *ušto* ('in what'). The mentioned Chakavian realizations are not found at all on the island of Šolta (Galović, 2019a, 203). There are places like Donji Humac on the island of Brač where they are partly kept so we find *zõč* ('why'), *põč* ('how much'), *nõč* ('on what'), but only *ũšto* ('in what') (Galović, 2014a, 254), and in other places we find them all like in, for example, Milna on the island of Brač *zõc* ('how much'), *põc* ('on what'), *nõc* ('why'), *ũc* ('in what') (the authors' research findings).

In Split dialect we find the word *ko* ('who'), which is the interrogative and relative pronoun for 'animate' just as it in the neighbouring dialects.

5.16. The indefinite pronoun 'nothing' is *ništa*. The word 'somebody' is covered with the indefinite pronoun *nikor*. *Nikor* is used with the meaning of 'nobody'.

5.17. The pronoun meaning 'whose' has the Chakavian form *čigov* (masc.), and from that we have the pronouns *svačigov* ('everybody's'), *ničigov* ('nobody's'). We find *čigov* ('whose'), in many dialects, for example, in Slatine on the island of Čiovo (Galović, 2018, 142), in all dialects on the island of Šolta (Galović, 2019a, 207–208), in Kaštel Kambelovac (Upitnik, 1966) and other places too. It is interesting that Donji Humac on the island of Brač and Pitve on the island of Hvar have the form *čihõv*

(Galović, 2014a, 254; Galović, 2014b, 17), while the Cakavian Komiža on the island of Vis has the form *cihûv* ('whose') (Božanić, 2015, 256).

5.18. In Split the indefinite pronoun 'all, whole' is realized as *vas*, as in *vas je potan* ('he is all sweaty'), *bija je vas u krvi* ('he was all in blood'). This pronoun is found in the nearby areas. For example, in Grohote on the island of Šolta we hear *väs je požūtī* ('he is yellow all over') (Galović, 2019a, 208), in Stomorska on the island of Šolta *väs je škakjîv* ('he is ticklish all over') (Galović, 2019a, 208), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač *jesù izili väs krüh?* ('did they eat the whole bread?') (Galović, 2014a, 248), in Pitve on the island of Hvar *na väs glôs* ('loudly') (Galović, 2014b, 14), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar *po väs dôn küho kafè* ('he was making coffee all day long') (Galović, 2020).

5.19. The infinitive is apocopated as it is in the majority of Chakavian and Shtokavian dialects and only in some cases the final endings *-t*, *-č* are eliminated: *vidit* ('to see'), *razbit* ('to break'), *pisat* ('to write'), *izventat* ('to invent'); *doč* ('to come'), *izač* ('to go out'), *pobič* ('to escape'). In all the neighbouring dialects the infinitives are apocopated.

5.20. The verbs of the 2nd declensional type have morpheme *-nu-* (< **-nq-*) and *-ni-* (< **-ny-*). Although one can hear *-nu-* and *-ni-*, more frequent is the morpheme *-ni-*: *prikinit* ('to cut short'), *maknit* ('to move'), *dignit* ('to pick up'), *potegnit* ('to pull'), *opočinit* ('to rest'), *banit* ('to pop in'), *uzdanit* ('to sign'), *navrnit* ('to graft'). In the neighbouring dialects we find the same: in some places the prevalent is one morpheme, in other places, the other one. Thus in Srednje Selo on the island of Šolta: *potégnut* ('to pull'), *prígnut* ('to bend'), *sűsnűt* ('to squeeze'), *zamřžnűt* ('to freeze') (Galović, 2019a, 214), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač: *dĭgnut* ('to raise'), *kăpnut* ('to drip'), *klĕknut* ('to kneel'), *maknűt* ('to remove'), *olkĭnut* ('to break off') (Galović, 2014a, 239), in Pitve on the island of Hvar: *promòknit* ('to promote'), *promĭnĭt* ('to change') (Galović, 2014b, 17), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar: *potiĕgnĭt* ('to pull'), *sűsnit* ('to squeeze') (Galović, 2020), in Dugi Rat: *pűnit* ('to blow'), *osĕknit se* ('to blow one's nose') (Galović, 2019b, 93, 96), in Kaštel Kambelovac: *kănit* ('to drip'), *mĕknĭt* ('to put in, insert') (Upitnik, 1966), in Komiža on the island of Vis: *omaknĭt* ('to slip'), *potĕgnĭt* ('to draw'), *olvörnĭt* ('to unscrew') (Božanić, 2015, 139, 658).

5.21. The 3rd person plural present time, the older generations in Split use the endings *-u* and *-du*: *govoru* ('they speak'), *nosu* ('they carry'), *vidu* ('they see'), *pišu* ('they write'), *radu* ('they work') but also *skupidu* ('they collect'), *jubidu* ('they kiss'), *dižedu* ('they lift'), *pitadu* ('they ask'), *bižidu* ('they run away'), *slavidu* ('they celebrate'), *guštadu* ('they enjoy'). Very similar situation is in the neighbouring dialects: in Slatine on the island of

Čiovo *spavadu* ('they sleep'), *vratidu* ('they return'), *pletu* ('they knit'), *pušu* ('they blow') (Galović, 2018, 143), in Kaštel Kambelovac *jūbu* ('they kiss'), *sīču* ('they cut'), *letū* ('they fly'), *razgovārāju* ('they talk') (Upitnik, 1966), in Srednje Selo on the island of Šolta *priokrēnu* ('they turn over, change'), *zēbū* ('they freeze'), *beštīmāju* ('they curse'), *smētāju* ('they disturb'), *kūpidu* ('they collect'), *usādu* ('they plant') (Galović, 2019a, 218, 222, 225), in Pražnica on the island of Brač *živedū* ('they live'), *mējedu* ('they grind'), *blejū* ('they bleat') (Galović, 2017, 96, 104, 105), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač *plīvidu* ('they weed out'), *mučīdū* ('they keep silent'), *umīdu* ('they can'), *čīstu* ('they clean'), *otečū* ('they bulge') (Galović, 2014a, 255), in Dugi Rat *púščaju* ('they let go'), *držū* ('they hold'), *lěgnu* ('they lie down'), *kredū* ('they steal') (Galović, 2019b, 92, 94, 97, 101), in Pitve on the island of Hvar *blīdidu* ('they fade away'), *govōridu* ('they speak'), *letīdū* ('they fly'), *svītlidu* ('they shine'), *jaūču* ('they moan'), *znāju* ('they know') (Galović, 2014b, 17), in Jelsa on the island of Hvar *kāšju* ('they cough'), *posīpjedu* ('they pour out'), *mōlidu* ('they pray'), *vrīdidu* ('they are worth') (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis *igrāju* ('they play'), *racunāju* ('they count'), *izvōrsīdu* ('they carry out'), *konū* ('they curse') (Božanić, 2015, 297–298).

5.22. Present tense of the verb **gresti* meaning 'to go, to walk', whose infinitive and other forms are not used, goes as follows: *gren* – *greš* – *gre* – *gremo* – *grete* – *gredu* ('I go, you go, he/she/it goes, we go, you go (pl.), they go'). The negative forms of the present tense of the verb *imat* ('to have') are: *niman* – *nimaš* – *nima* – *nimamo* – *nimate* – *nimadu/nimaju* ('I don't have, you don't have, he/she/it doesn't have, we don't have, you don't have (pl.), they don't have'). After the old verb **živsti* ('to live') with the old generation we can still hear the forms in the present tense: *živen* – *živeš* – *žive* – *živemo*... ('I live, you live, he/she/it lives, we live'), etc. The word 'to have' together with the variant *imat* also has the form *jemat* (< **jьmati*). The verb 'to eat' also appears in the form of *jist* (with the old stem **ēd-*): *jīn* – *jīš* – *jī*... ('I eat, you eat, he/she/it eats'), etc.

5.23. The area of South Chakavian dialects (more precisely: south and east from Drvenik) has a special way of forming the iterative present tense and here are some examples from the dialect of Split: *pokrije* ('is covering'), *iskažije* ('is telling'), *partiješ* ('you are leaving'), *pokažijen* ('I am showing'), *vežijen* ('I am binding'), *zafalijemo* ('we are thanking'). The same is in Srednje Selo on the island of Šolta when they say *obučije* ('is dressing'), *optužije* ('is accusing'), *zaliје* ('is watering') (Galović, 2019a, 227), in Krilo Jesenice *dobīje* ('is obtaining'), *privalīje* ('is rolling over, is covering'), *darīju* ('they are giving gift') (Kurtović Budja, 2010, 132), in

Kaštel Kambelovac *zapišije* ('is writing down'), *zagradiju* ('are enclosing'), *dobiju* ('are getting') (Upitnik, 1966), in Donji Humac on the island of Brač *napravije* ('is making'), *umije se* ('is washing the face'), *otkupije* ('is buying up'), *pokažiješ* ('you are showing') (Galović, 2014a, 256), in Pitve on the island of Hvar *stavijete* ('you are putting down' pl.) (Galović, 2014b, 17), in Jelsa on the island Hvar *partijè* ('is going away, is passing'), *darijè* ('is giving gift'), *počijè* ('is resting') (Galović, 2020), in Komiža on the island of Vis *potvordijè* ('is confirming'), *ispedijè* ('is letting the air out') (Božanić, 2015, 65, 299).

5.24. For the present participle in Chakavian dialects "the most common suffix is *-ć* (Novi: *igrajuć* ('playing')), and less common is *-ći* (Tkon: *hodeći* ('walking')). Someplace we have both and very rarely a zero suffix (*side* ('sitting') – Dobrinj). Sometimes the present participle is not used at all (Rab, Žirje, etc.)" (Lisac, 2012, 215). The present participle in Split dialect has the ending *-č* and it is not used often: *inpicavajuč* ('teasing'), *jemajuč* ('having'), *pivajuč* ('singing'), *noseč* ('carrying'), *rikamavajuč* ('lacing'), *rutavajuč* ('burping').

5.25. The future tense is formed with the unstressed forms of the present tense of the verb (*o)tit* ('to will') and the infinitive of the used verb: *ja ću poč na misu* ('I will go to the mass'), *lako će se ona snač* ('she will easily manage'), *koliko ćeš vrimena ostat?* ('how much time are you going to stay?') etc. If the infinitive is before the helping verb they are fused together: *dočedu iza subote* ('they will come after Saturday'), *dobičeš sve ča si tražija* ('you will get all you asked for'), *izgubiče se ako ide sama* ('she will get lost if she goes by herself').

5.26. By inverting the future tense of the verb *bit* ('to be') plus the the verb participle of the verb in question, speakers of Split dialect refer to the past events which probably happened. This tense we can call "possible past tense". A couple of examples: *bičeš se diga rano* ('you probably got up early'), *bičedu se sakrili* ('they probably hid'), *bičete čuli da je uteka* ('you probably heard that they escaped').

5.27. An important Chakavian feature are the archaic forms of the helping verb in the conditional *bin*, *biš*, *bimo*, *bite* ('I would, you would, we would, you would pl.'). These forms are not used in part of the Chakavian dialects where the conditional is modified so that only some of the Chakavian forms of the verb *bit* ('to be') have been kept or they are all levelled to the form *bi* ('would'). Special Chakavian forms *ti biš* ('you would'), *mi bimo* ('we would'), *vi bite* ('you would' pl.) which are dying out can be still heard used by the older generations in Split. Many nowadays use the form *bi*

(‘would’) for all persons: *ti bi napravija* (‘you would make’), *mi bi rekli* (‘we would say’), *oni bi učinili* (‘they would do it’), etc.

5.28. Here are some averbs that have a specific form: *dentro* (‘inside’), *fondo* (‘at the bottom, under’), *izvanka* (‘outside’), *napodanak* (‘at the bottom of something’), *nidir* (‘1. nowhere; 2. somewhere’), *odozgar* (‘above’), *jušto* (‘right now’), *obnoč* (‘at night’), *otolič* (‘shortly before’), *drugovačije* (‘differently’), *stopru* (‘just now’), *šempre* (‘always’), *čipo* (‘precisely’), *dakordo* (‘accordingly’), *prišapoko* (‘in sufficient quantity’), *gracjožo* (‘charmingly, cuddly’), *dekapoto* (‘completely’), *lešto* (‘fast, urgently’), *tolišno* (‘so little’).

5.29. Here are some prepositions that have specific forms: *između* (‘between’), *pu* (‘towards’), *zarad/zaraj* (‘because of’), *brez/prez* (‘without’), *užežin* (‘on the eve’).

5.30. Here are some conjunctions with special forms: *altroke* (‘let alone’), *dočin* (‘while’), *jerbo* (‘because’), *vengo/ven* (‘but, apart from’).

6. Conclusion

According to the dialectological literature, the local dialect of the city of Split belongs to the Chakavian dialect, its South Chakavian group of dialects, although researchers have so far noted in it a certain number of Shtokavian features. In the last decades, this local dialect has undergone a number of changes. We can say that it has been so it has been Shtokavized. The article presents the speech of the older generation in Split, i.e., the generation whose families have lived in Split for a long time. The results clearly show that even today the old generation uses Chakavian as well as some Shtokavian features. With younger generations, the relation of Chakavian and Shokavian characteristics show the prevalence of Shtokavian features together with some elements from the standard Croatian language. It was of great importance to record the dialect of the older generation because there are not that many of such speakers. There are many newcomers to the city and a number of linguistic influences from various parts, especially from the standard language. It would be of great interest to investigate and record to a greater extend the spoken language of the present young generation as well as the speech of the older ones in some time in the future. This would be the work of sociolinguists primarily interested in language change in real time (at different points in the past) and in present time, i.e. as the dialect is in use nowadays.

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Fonološke i morfološke osobitosti govora starijih Splićana

Sažetak

Govor grada Splita prema dijalektološkoj literaturi pripada čakavskom narječju, njegovu južnočakavskom dijalektu, premda su istraživači u njemu do sada uočavali i stanovit broj štokavskih posebnosti. Riječ je, dakle, o govoru koji je svojim temeljem čakavski govor, no koji je danas u znatnoj mjeri štokaviziran uslijed brojnih i različitih faktora koji osjetno ostavljaju traga na jeziku. Stoga nije lako opisati današnji govor grada Splita jer je riječ o slojevitome govoru. Ciljem je ovoga rada izdvojiti i analizirati fonološke i morfološke značajke govora starijih Splićana, dakle iskonskih žitelja ovoga grada, te ih staviti u kontekst s jezičnim posebnostima koje su prisutne u drugim govorima susjednoga južnočakavskoga područja.

Ključne riječi: govor Splita, fonologija, morfologija, čakavski, štokavski.