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## THE SHORTENED ACCENTUAL PARADIGM *c* IN *i*-VERBS IN THE ČAKAVIAN DIALECTS OF THE ISLAND OF UGLJAN

The paper discusses the reflexes of the old accentual paradigm *c* *i*-verbs with a long root (e.g. \*buditi, \*čediti, \*činiti) in three local Čakavian dialects on the island of Ugljan – in Kukljica, Kali and Preko. Unlike most of Čakavian (and Štokavian) dialects, but like Kajkavian and Slovene, Ugljan (like other Zadar islands) preserves the old accentual paradigm *C* in verbs like *buditi* – *budîn*, *ciditi* – *cidîn* (cf. Standard Croatian secondary a. p. B: in *búđiti* – *bûđim*, *cijéditi* – *cijêđim*). The exact distribution of reflexes of accentual paradigms is established (i.e. how many old long a. p. *c* *i*-verbs yielded modern a. p. *C* on Ugljan and how many yielded contemporary innovative a. p. B:) in the paper. Some general characteristics of prosody and vocalism of Kukljica, Kali and Preko are also discussed.

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

As is widely known and accepted among scholars, three accentual paradigms (a. p.) – called *a*, *b* and *c* (written in small Italic) – are reconstructed in Common Slavic paradigmatic morphology.<sup>2</sup> This also goes for *i*-verbs, which will be the topic of this paper.<sup>3</sup> Thus, we have e.g.<sup>4</sup> infinitive \*čīstīti – present \*čīstīte ‘clean’ (a. p. *a* – immobile root-accent), \*nosīti – \*nōsite ‘carry’ (a. p. *b* – root- or suffix-accent), \*lovīti – \*lovīte ‘hunt’ (a. p. *c* – initial, suffix- or final accent, i.e. mobile accent). Cf. their reflexes in Standard Croatian (with the modern accentual paradigms written in capital): čīstīti – čīstīte (a. p. A), nōsīti – nōsite (a. p. B), lovīti – lovīte ← older lovīte (a. p. C).<sup>5</sup> In the most conservative Croatian dialects (both Old Štokavian and Čakavian), these would be: čīstīti – čīstīte (a. p. A), nosīti – nōsite (a. p. B), lovīti – lovītè (a. p. C). While a. p. *a* always had the old acute (\*´) on the root in Common Slavic, and thus the originally long vowel, in a. p. *b* and *c* both originally short vowels (\*e, \*o, \*ь, \*ъ) and originally long vowels (\*a, \*ě, \*i, \*u, \*ę, \*o, \*y + \*ьr, \*ьl, \*ьr, \*ьl, \*er, \*el, \*or, \*ol) were possible (and thus exhibited both short and long neo-acutes and circumflexes): e.g. \*nōsite (short a. p. *b*) and \*bōrnite ‘you defend’ (long a. p. *b*), as well as \*lovīte (short a. p. *c*) and \*tajīte ‘keep secret’ (long a. p. *c*).<sup>6</sup> Cf. the reflexes in

<sup>1</sup> The authors would like to thank Nikol Dundov for additional information on the dialect of Kali, as well as Sofija Sorić, Milenko Lončar and especially Nikola Vuletić for additional data on *i*-verbs from Preko. Alvišana Klarić also helped us with her data on the Buzet dialect and Gračšće.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. now e.g. Kapović 2020b for a short introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. Stang 1957:163, Lehfeldt 1993:62–65 and Дыбо 2000:412–480.

<sup>4</sup> The following prosodeme marks are used here: \*´ (old acute), \*˘ (short circumflex), \*ˆ (long circumflex), \*˘ (short neo-acute), \*˜ (long neo-acute). For Croatian dialects, we used the usual accentual symbols (plus ˆ for the half-long accent in Kali).

<sup>5</sup> Except for the small Italic used for Common Slavic reconstructed accentual paradigms (*a*, *b*, *c* + *d*) and capitals used for their modern reflexes (A, B, C + D), the following symbols and combinations are used for modern accentual paradigms (as is nowadays more and more usual in Croatian dialectology/accentology). The symbol : is used for length, thus a. p. B is short a. p. B (or a. p. B with a short root), while a. p. B: is a long a. p. B (i.e. a. p. B with a long root). The symbol - is used for mixed accentual paradigms, e.g. a. p. C-B: is a combination of short C-forms (for instance, in the infinitive) and long B:-forms (for instance, in the present tense). The symbol / is used for variant accentual paradigms, e.g. a. p. B/C means that the word has either a. p. B or a. p. C. For the way these symbols are used for both Common Slavic reconstruction and their later reflexes in verbal system and what the precise characteristics of verbal accentual paradigms are cf. Kapović 2018.

<sup>6</sup> For the sake of convenience, we do not mark Common Slavic reconstructions with length (except when stressed) and we use the traditional (OCS-like and formal/anachronic) reconstruction.

Standard Croatian (with : as a mark of length with modern accentual paradigms): *nòsīte* (a. p. B) and *brânīte* (a. p. B:), *lòvīte* ← *lovīte* (a. p. C) and *tájīte* ← *tajīte* (a. p. C:). In the most conservative Croatian dialects, this would be: *nòsīte* (a. p. B) and *brânīte* (a. p. B:), *lovītè* (a. p. C) and *tájītè* (a. p. C:).

However, a. p. C(:) in general is only exceptionally found in most Čakavian/Štokavian dialects as a reflex of the Common Slavic paradigm long a. p. *c* in *i*-verbs – this is unlike the reflexes of other accentual paradigms, which generally have simple reflexes in most Štokavian/Čakavian dialects, i.e. a. p. *a* > a. p. A, a. p. *b* > a. p. B, short a. p. *c* > a. p. C. The reason for that is the fact that in original a. p. *c* *i*-verbs with long root one would expect the preserved length in some forms (e.g. in imperative \**tājī!* < Common Slavic \**tajī!*, with the length preserved before the accent in the final open syllable) but the phonetically shortened length in other forms (e.g. in infinitive \**tajīti* < \**tajīti*, with the expected shortening before an internal dominant old acute).<sup>7</sup> In most Štokavian/Čakavian dialects in most verbs, the length was generalized in old long a. p. *c*, but with it an analogical development of a. p. C: > a. p. B: ensued.<sup>8</sup> For instance, Common Slavic \**sušīšb* ‘you dry’ (long a. p. *c*) first yielded \**sušīš* with the expected shortening (cf. *sušīš* in a minority of Štokavian/Čakavian dialects), then the length was reintroduced from other forms (e.g. from the imperative \**sūšī!*) and we got \**sūšīš* and finally, in most Štokavian/Čakavian dialects, \**sūšīš* (a. p. C:) changed to \**sūšīš* (a. p. B:). The reason for this a. p. C → C: → B: process was primarily the instability<sup>9</sup> of the prosodic sequence of  $\sim$  (which was historically always innovative/analogical<sup>10</sup>).

Modern reflexes of the old Common Slavic long a. p. *c* in *i*-verbs<sup>11</sup> are quite diverse in Western South Slavic as a dialectal complex.<sup>12</sup> In Kajkavian

<sup>7</sup> The process of shortening of pretonic length in Slavic is very complex, cf. Kapović 2015:416–502.

<sup>8</sup> This was noted already a long time ago, cf. e.g. Ivšić 1911:171.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Kapović 2015:665–668.

<sup>10</sup> Originally, pretonic length is shortened in front of the long neo-acute, cf. Kapović 2015:498–501. A. p. B: might have been introduced first in prefixed present in Čakavian/Štokavian generally and this might have a role in its spread elsewhere (Benić 2014:360). Prefixed B-forms are short in Western Posavina, but the vocalism in Siče (e.g. *podīlīm*, not \**podjèlīm*) could point to the secondary nature of it (cf. Kapović 2011:136, 139). However, due to intricate short/long alternations attested in original a. p. *c* verbs (even in Kajkavian, where there is no prefixed B-accent), simplistic Kortlandt-style solutions of prefixed accent causing the whole long a. p. *c* → a. p. B: shift do not look likely.

<sup>11</sup> For a list of old “transdialectal” long a. p. C *i*-verbs in Croatian dialects see Kapović 2018:240–241.

<sup>12</sup> The whole process is dealt with in details in Kapović 2011:228–231 and Kapović 2015:477–488.

and Slovene one usually finds the a. p. C as the reflex<sup>13</sup> (e.g. Standard Slovene *sušim*). A. p. C as the reflex is also found in some Čakavian dialects<sup>14</sup> – on Žumberak<sup>15</sup> (close to Kajkavian), in the kajkavized Upper Sutla dialect (*gornjosutlanski*)<sup>16</sup> and on Central-Čakavian islands near Zadar (Ugljan, Rivanj, Iž, Sestrunj).<sup>17</sup> In Štokavian, the short a. p. C is preserved in the majority of verbs in the westernmost part of Old Štokavian Posavina region, i.e. in the famous villages of Siče and Magić Mala.<sup>18</sup> In the rest of Čakavian and Štokavian, old long a. p. *c* mostly yield innovative a. p. B:<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> With occasional shift to a. p. B: in some verbs in some Kajkavian dialects – cf. Kapović 2011:226–227. In Kajkavian, the C-reflex can be either a short a. p. C or the half-long a. p. C (with a lot of complications, cf. Kapović 2015:480–481).

<sup>14</sup> Vermeer (1982:287<sup>8</sup>) claims that the accent like *platī* is found in “the dialects spoken in northern Istria”, but does not specify which dialects. This would not be unexpected due to closeness to Slovenia. However, at least in the Buzet dialect the situation is a bit more complex. According to Alvižana Klarić (personal communication), for the verbs \*aviti, \*buditi, \*čediti, \*děliti, \*gorditi, \*grěšiti, \*miriti, \*molditi, \*platiti, \*pustiti, \*sadi, \*sněžiti, \*solditi, \*sušiti, \*slěpiti, \*zoltiti (original long a. p. *c* – see below) we find the following. In Črnica (the far north of the Buzet dialect area, right on the Slovene border) one finds almost exclusively a. p. B (the dialect has a dynamic accent with no distinctive length): *jòven, bòden, cèden, dèlen, –, grěšen, mèren, mlòden, plòten, pòšten, sòden, sněže, šòšen, slěpeš, zlòte* (*o < \*ā, e* from both short and long \**ě* – Klarić 2023:64, 117–118). The only exception is *kadin* ‘I incense’ (\**kaditi*). In Pagubice (in the far south of the Buzet dialect), however, we find a. p. B: in *juòvin, bùdin, dīlin, gruàdin, mīrin, mluàdin, pluàtin, pūštin, suàdin, sūšin, slīpiš, zluàti* (there is no tonal distinctions in the dialect), but a short a. p. B in *cèdin, grěšin, kàdin, sněži*. The short a. p. B must point to an older long shortened a. p. C (there seem to be no a. p. C end-stressed present forms of *i*-verbs in the dialect nowadays). However, it is curious that this is found in a more southern dialect. In Slum (Ribarić 2002:37), also in the north of the Buzet dialect, near the Slovene border, there is also a. p. B: in *cèdet, dèlet, lèpet, promènet* (with retraction). More data would be welcome for the Buzet dialect. In Klana & Studena (Lukežić 1998), which are not precisely in Istria, but are close – just north of Rijeka and just south of the Slovene border – again nothing of the sort Vermeer is claiming is found. The distribution there is standard Čakavian: shortened a. p. C in *učī* (:180), *načinin – načinīy* (:177) and *pusfīt* (:180) – *pustīš* (:183), *pustē* (:175) – *pustīy* (:175), *pustīy* (:174) (*trđila* (:175) is doubtful, cf. *trđila* (:82) and long a. p. B: in *ocīdīla* (:180), *jāvīt* (2x) (:174), *promīnīt* (:179), *plātīt* (2x) (:180) – *plātīla* (:179), *sādīla* (:181), *sādīli* (:185).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the examples in Kapović 2015:477<sup>1725</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Kapović 2011:189 for Drinje and RKDI for Šenkovac.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Kapović 2015:477–478, for the Zadar islands cf. also Benić 2014:359. The Zadar islands are the only such dialects which are not close to Kajkavian/Slovene (Benić 2014:360). Valčić (2012) unfortunately lists only the infinitives *činīti se, mladīti* in his Ošljak dictionary, which is typical for many (amateur) lexicographers that cannot grasp the importance of adducing data of Slavic origin in dialectal dictionaries. However, the dialect of Ošljak is very close to the one of Preko.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Kapović 2011:135–144, 224–225.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Kapović 2011:225–226 for examples of Čakavian dialects and :223–224 for Neo-Štokavian.

as per the mentioned process. The only usual exceptions, where old long a. p. *c* does yield a. p. *C*, are four frequent verbs (adduced here in Standard Croatian form): *činiti*, *gùbiti* ‘to lose’, *ùčiti* ‘to learn’, *pùstiti* ‘to let go’ (the last one less so in Čakavian and with a secondary shift to short a. p. B in most dialects with a shortened reflex<sup>20</sup>). In Neo-Štokavian, less so in Čakavian, one also finds a few verbs with the long a. p. *C*: (primarily *tájiti* and *snijéžiti* ‘to snow’), but most modern a. p. *C*: *i*-verbs are either of other origin (original a. p. *b*<sub>2</sub>) or younger and expressive.<sup>21</sup>

In this paper, we shall deal with the reflex of the old long a. p. *c* *i*-verbs<sup>22</sup> in three Central-Čakavian dialects on the island of Ugljan – the local dialects of Kukljica (*Kukl̥ica*), Kali (*Kuâle* [plural]) and Preko (*Priêko*).<sup>23</sup> The data from Kukljica is mostly already published,<sup>24</sup> while the *i*-verb data from Kali is mostly unpublished and will be presented here.<sup>25</sup> For reasons of space, we shall present only the relevant examples<sup>26</sup> from Kali and not the whole *i*-verb system (a. p. A, short a. p. B and the reflexes of the short a. p. *c* are mostly not relevant for the topic). The data from Preko is limited only to the relevant a. p. *c* *i*-verb data (in relation and comparison to the larger data from Kukljica and Kali). The situation in the other local dialects on Ugljan is, as far as we can see, similar<sup>27</sup> but they are yet to be researched in detail in this regard. The focus of the paper will be on the distribution of verbs according to accentual paradigms (i.e. which verb be-

<sup>20</sup> Cf. also e.g. Gračišće near Pazin in Istria (Alvijana Klarić – personal communication), where a. p. B: is found in both *gùbit* – *gùbi* and *pùštit* – *pùšti*, and a. p. C only in *se činīt* – *se čini*.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the list again in Kapović 2018:240–241.

<sup>22</sup> In this paper, as in Kapović 2011, we have used the manuscript reconstruction of accentual paradigms of *i*-verbs of the Moscow accentological school (i.e. Sergei L. Nikolaev – cf. also Дыбо 2000:448–461). The subject of Common Slavic accentual reconstruction of *i*-verbs is beyond the scope of this paper.

<sup>23</sup> This paper is a natural continuation of Kapović 2011 and Benić 2011 (published in the same volume).

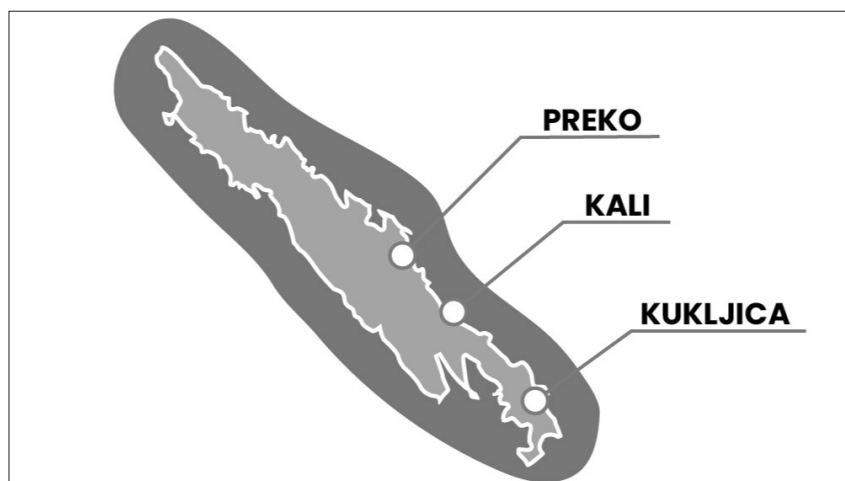
<sup>24</sup> In Benić 2014:397–406 (also previously in Benić 2011).

<sup>25</sup> The data from Kali is mainly from fieldwork done by Mislav Benić in 2010 (transcribed by him in 2024 – in a few cases, additional information was obtained in 2024). The data from Preko is also from Mislav Benić from 2020, while some of the verbal forms from Preko were confirmed and some additional information gained in 2024 via Nikola Vuletić. Mate Kapović wrote the paper itself and did most of the historical accentological analysis.

<sup>26</sup> Likewise, for reasons of space we shall give meanings only for words which are significantly different or non-existent in Standard Croatian.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Benić 2014:358–359. Unlike the situation on the neighboring South Čakavian island of Pašman, which seems to show the usual a. p. B: reflexes in cases of the old long a. p. *c* *i*-verbs (Benić 2014:359).

longs to which accentual paradigm) and not the details of the synchronic (originally shortened) a. p. C in these local dialects or on the details of their historical development (which has already been discussed elsewhere). We shall shortly discuss which Common Slavic long a. p. *c* verbs have yielded the shortened a. p. C on the island of Ugljan, while comparing this briefly to situation in other (Croatian) dialects.



Picture source: <https://otoci.eu/otok-kompleksni/otok-ugljan/>

## 2. The accentual systems of Kukljica, Kali and Preko

The dialect of Kukljica has free stress, e.g. *òlovo* – *korìto* – *bretenò* 'spindle', *kráva* – *lopâta*. There are no systemic accentual retractions in the dialect – Common Slavic accentual position is generally preserved. A length distinction exists under stress, e.g. *pìton* 'I feed (a child)' – *pîton* 'I ask', gen<sup>sg</sup> *lûka* 'garlic' – *Lûka* (in monosyllabic words ending in a consonant and in polysyllabic words with stress in closed syllables, there is usually no length distinction due to the lengthening in closed syllables – see below). The situation is a bit more complex with the old /ǎ/ because it usually lengthens under stress, e.g. *kráva* – *daskâ*, while the old /ā/ is phonetically closed, e.g. gen<sup>sg</sup> *grâda*. Distinctive length also exists in the first pretonic syllable, e.g. *selò* – *vînò*. Old long /ā/ yielded *o* in posttonic syllables, e.g. *pîton* ~ Standard Croatian *pîtâm*. Tone distinction is mostly gone but the neo-acute still occurs facultatively (usually non-finally and in the expected positions) in the speech of the oldest informants (much less so than



in Kali), e.g. *stāri*, *pīšen*, *slūži*.<sup>28</sup> Historically speaking, the dialect exhibits (inconsistent) Čakavian lengthening in closed syllables, e.g. *hļib* ‘bread’ (cf. StandCro *hļèb*), but gen<sup>sg</sup> *hļiba*, and *grīsti* (as opposed to *grīsti* in Standard Croatian and more conservative Čakavian).<sup>29</sup> Syllabic *r* is always short, e.g. *čřv* ~ StandCro *čřv*.

The dialect of Kali<sup>30</sup> has free stress, e.g. *plīvañe – korīto – bretenò*. No phonetic retractions occurred in the dialect. A length distinction exists under stress, e.g. *podilī!* ‘share!’ – *podilī* ‘shared’ [masculine singular], *pītun* ‘I feed (by force)’ – *pītun* ‘I ask’, *vūka* ‘pulled’ and gen<sup>sg</sup> *vūka*. Length distinction also exists in immediate pretonic syllables, e.g. *mečāti* ‘to put’ – *zīdāti* ‘to build’. Tone distinction still exists facultatively on long stressed syllables, more in the usage of older speakers, e.g. gen<sup>sg</sup> *zemļiē*, but can always be substituted with the circumflex. The vowel system in relation to length is rather complicated and we will not go into details here.<sup>31</sup> Original long /ā/, /ē/, /ō/ diphthongize to [uā], [iē], [uō] (the syllabic part is usually long under the stress, but not pretonically, though there is a lot of variation in general – diphthongs as a whole function phonologically as long syllables), cf. e.g. *luāž*, *piēt(t)*, *guovnô* (cf. *lāž*, *pēt(t)*, *gōvnò* elsewhere in Čakavian). Since their brevity is no longer important due to changes of their original long counterparts, the old stressed /ā/, /ē/, /ō/ lengthen. Originally short /ă/ is usually completely lengthened phonetically and we write it as <â> in this paper (the tone can be either neo-acute or, if it is neutralized, the circumflex), e.g. *jâma* (StandCro *jàma*). On the other hand, /ě/ and /ǒ/ sometimes remain short, sometimes are half-long and sometimes are long – we note them here as half-long <ê>, <ô>, cf. e.g. nom<sup>pl</sup> *ženê*, *selô* (cf. *ženè*, *selò* elsewhere in Čakavian). Historically speaking, the dialect exhibits Čakavian lengthening in closed syllables (more consistent than in Kukljica),<sup>32</sup> e.g. *hļib*, but gen<sup>sg</sup> *hļiba*, and *grīsti*. Syllabic *r* is always short, e.g. *čřv*. Non-high vowels rise before a nasal coda, e.g. *ìmun* < \*ìmam but *ìmaš*, *zôvin* < \*zòvem but *zôveš*, gen<sup>sg</sup> *kuncâ* < \*koncà but *konuâc* (< \*konàc).

The dialect of Preko also has free stress (e.g. *pròmajà*, *kobòtnica* ‘octopus’, *grihotà*) and a quantitative distinction in stressed (e.g. *dīdo* ‘grandpa’ but *Dīno*, loc<sup>sg</sup> *nozì* but *muškî*) and immediate pretonic position (e.g.

<sup>28</sup> See more examples in Benić 2014:14.

<sup>29</sup> See Benić 2014:87–94 for more examples.

<sup>30</sup> See Budovskaja–Houtzagers 1994 and Benić 2013:16–20 for a fuller analysis.

<sup>31</sup> See Benić 2013:18–22.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Kapović 2015:594–606 for this wider phenomenon in Čakavian. Benić (2014:90–110) gives a detailed analysis of the lengthening in Kukljica in comparison to the one in Kali.

gen<sup>sg</sup> *tlohà* ‘ground’ but *glòvà* ‘head’). There are no systemic accentual retractions. There seem to be no remnants of the neoacute in Preko. As elsewhere on Ugljan, non-high long vowels have changed: old *ā* yielded *ō*, e.g. acc<sup>sg</sup> *glòvu*, old *ē* diphthongized to *ie*, e.g. *počìeti*, and old *ō* yielded *uo*, e.g. *bruòd* (cf. *glāvu*, *počēti*, *bròd* in more conservative Čakavian dialects). Short *a* is lengthened in non-final syllables and final/only closed syllables, e.g. *māti*, *pråg*, *počietāk* but *ženà* (cf. *māti*, *pråg*, *počētāk*, the same as *ženà*, in more conservative Čakavian dialects). There is no lengthening in closed syllables, unlike Kukljica and Kali, e.g. Preko *pòp*, *jazìk*.

### 3. Shortened a. p. *c* in Kukljica

Here, we shall shortly describe the reflexes of the old Common Slavic a. p. *c* *i*-verbs with a long root in Kukljica, as described in Benić 2011, 2014.<sup>33</sup> Kukljica exhibits three synchronic accentual paradigms in *i*-verbs:

a. p. A *mìsliti* – present *mìslin* – *mìsliš* – *mìsli* – *mìslimo* – *mìslite* – *mìslu* (*mìsliju*) (with secondary lengthening in closed syllable: *čìstiti* – present *čìstin* – *čìstiš* – *čìsti* – *čìstimo* – *čìstite* – *čìstu* (*čìstiju*))

a. p. B *nositi* – present *nòsin* – *nòsiš* – *nòsi* – *nòsimo* – *nòsite* – *nòsu* (*nòsiju*)

a. p. B: *brāniti* – present *brānin* – *brāniš* – *brāni* – *brānimo* – *brānite* – *brānu* (*brāniju*)

a. p. C *saditi* – present *sadīn* – *sadīš* – *sadī* – *sadīmo* – *sadīte* – *sadū* (*sadīju*)<sup>34</sup>

a. p. C: *srāmīti se* – present *srāmīn se* – *srāmīš se* – *srāmī se* – *srāmīmo se* – *srāmīte se* – *srāmū se* (*srāmīju se*)

The following verbs originally belong to long-root a. p. *c* and now have the synchronic short a. p. C: *buditi* – *budī*, *ciditi* – *cidī*, *činiti* – *činī*, *diliti* – *dilī*, *dužiti se* – *dužī se* ‘gets in debt’, *gasiti* – *gasī*, *gubiti* – *gubī*, *kaditi* – *kadī*, *mladiti* – *mladī* ‘to straighten the dug up ground’, *saditi* – *sadī*, *sladiti* – *sladī* ‘to de-salt with freshwater; to sweaten’, *snižiti* – *snižī*, *sušiti* (older *šušiti*) – *sušī*, *učiti* – *učī*, *valiti* – *valī* ‘tears down’ (*krafiti* – *krafi* also belongs here syn-

<sup>33</sup> Some additional data from Kukljica, not explicitly mentioned in Benić 2011, 2014, has also been included in the following description. Maričić Kukljčanin 2000 dictionary, unfortunately, has a lot of accentual mistakes, e.g. he has *\*\*sāditi* instead of *sadīti*.

<sup>34</sup> The opposition of the old shortened a. p. C and the originally short a. p. C is synchronically still clear in forms with root-accent, which can be long in the former (e.g. *posādīn*) but seems to be always short in the latter (e.g. *zapāprin*) – cf. Benić 2014:357.<sup>737</sup>



chronically but is not originally a. p. *c*).<sup>35</sup> Most of these (at least originally) do have the length plus the a. p. B: attested in prefixed present forms<sup>36</sup> and passive participles, e.g. *izbuditi* (like *buditi*) but *izbûdi*, *izbûđen*.<sup>37</sup>

Prefixed verbs *obariti*, *ograditi*, *preminiti*, *udačiti* also have the short root in the infinitive and are originally long a. p. *c* but have a younger B:-present, i.e. older *obari* (replaced by younger *obàri*) ‘boils’, older *ograditi* (replaced by younger *ogràdi*), *premini* ‘changes’ and older *udàči* (replaced by younger *udàči* – however, the verb itself could very easily be a newer import).<sup>38</sup> The verbs *tvrdiš* – *potvrdiš*, *mrsiš* – *zamrsiš* probably also belong here, but syllabic *r* is synchronically always short in Kukljica, so they are not reliable.<sup>39</sup>

The verb *plati* – *plâti* (informants claim that the present used to be *plâti* before) is a. p. B (originally perhaps also mixed *plafiti* – *plâti*, if the latter form, which is no longer used, is reliable), which seems to derive from older a. p. C (see Analysis). The verb *puštiti* – *pûšti*<sup>40</sup> is mixed (the root is short when unstressed and long when stressed), which would also point to older a. p. C (also see Analysis).

Cf. the secondary a. p. B: in StandCro (and most Štokavian/Čakavian dialects) in all the adduced verbs: *bûdi*, *cijedi*, *dijeli*, *dûži* (ARj), *gâsi*, *kâdi*, *krâti*, *mlâdi* (ARj), *sâdi*, *slâdi*, *sûši*, *prèvâli*, *vâri*, *grâdi*, *pròmijeni*, *udâči*, *plâti* (also *tvrdi*, *mrsi*), the only exceptions being *čini*, *gubi*, *uči* with the preserved original a. p. C<sup>41</sup> (*pûsti* is secondarily a. p. B in most Neo-Štokavian dialects) and *snijéži*, which is a. p. C: (the same as *tâji*<sup>42</sup>).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Benić 2014:356–357. Kukljica *preduglîš* ‘you elongate’ (cf. StandCro *dûžiš*) is secondary.

<sup>36</sup> This separates Ugljan (and Western Posavina) from Kajkavian, which has a. p. C in prefixed verbs as well (cf. Benić 2014:360).

<sup>37</sup> The spread of length in prefixed forms on Ugljan must have been similar to the general process of a. p. *c* → a. p. B:, but we will not get into details here.

<sup>38</sup> Synchronically, accentual paradigm like *ograditi* – *ogrâdim* is either a. p. B-B: (which would be synchronically preferred due to simplicity of description – only the quantity would vacillate) or a. p. C-B: (which is historically more correct and also points synchronically to the *sušiti* – *osušiti* connection) because forms like *ograditi* can be both B- and C-forms.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Benić 2014:358.

<sup>40</sup> The form *pûšti* could theoretically be from lengthening in closed stressed syllable, but comparison to Preko *pûšci* (where there is no such lengthening) does not point to that.

<sup>41</sup> But cf. e.g. in Batina (Old Štokavian Slavonian dialect in Baranja) *uči* (a. p. B:) (Mate Kapović’s data).

<sup>42</sup> The verb *tajâti* secondarily shifted to *a-â*-verbs in Kukljica (Benić 2014:357<sup>734</sup>).

However, in a few original long a. p. *c* *i*-verbs, the result was a. p. B:<sup>43</sup> as in most of Čakavian/Štokavian. These are: *blâčĭ se* ‘gets clouded’, *drŭžĭ se* (probably newer), *grĭši* (but see Analysis), *jâvi (se)*, *lĭpi*, *mĭri*, *svĕti*. These are, of course, all a. p. B: in StandCro: *òblâčĭ se*, *ciĭjĕnĭ*, *drŭžĭ se*, *griĭjĕši*, *liĭjĕpĭ*, *mĭrĭ*, *svĕtĭ*. But cf. the old a. p. C in Western Posavina in Siče *se oblâčĭ*, *cinĭ*, *grĭšĭm*, *lipĭ*.<sup>44</sup> There are also a number of deadjectival B:-verbs like *hlâdi*, *slĭpi*, *osvĕti se*, *tŭpi*, etc., which are a. p. B: in Kukljica (also denominal *pozlâfĭti* – *pozlâfĭla san kùču*).

#### 4. Shortened a. p. *c* (and other verbs) in Kali

Here, we shall first present the accentual paradigms in *i*-verbs in Kali, then give a few details on the Kali verbal accentuation (since Kali had not been already described in the literature in so much details as Kukljica is) and then go on to discuss the shortened a. p. C of the Kali dialect and other reflexes of the old long a. p. *c*. Here are the accentual paradigms:

a. p. A *mĭsliti* – present *mĭslin* – *mĭslĭš* – *mĭslĭ* – *mĭslimo* – *mĭslite* – *mĭslu* (imperative *mĭslĭ!* – *mĭslimo!* – *mĭslite!*; *l*-participle *mĭslĭ* – *mĭslĭla* – *mĭslĭlo*; *n*-participle *izmĭšĭin* – *izmĭšĭena*) (with secondary lengthening in stressed syllable: *gâziti* – present *gâzim* etc. – imperative *gâzi!* etc.; *l*-participle *gâzi* etc.; *n*-participle: *izgâžĭin* – *izgâžĭena*)

a. p. B *nosĭti* – present *nôsin* – *nôsiš* – *nôsi* – *nôsimo* – *nôsite* – *nôsu* (imperative *nosĭ!* – *nosĭmo!* – *nosĭte!*; *l*-participle *nosĭ* – *nosĭla* – *nosĭlo*; *n*-participle *iznôšĭin* – *iznôšĭena*)

a. p. B: *gŭlĭti* – present *gŭlin* – *gŭliš* – *gŭli* – *gŭlimo* – *gŭlite* – *gŭlu* (imperative *gŭlĭ!* – *gŭlĭmo!* – *gŭlĭte!*; *l*-participle *gŭlĭ* – *gŭlĭla* – *gŭlĭlo*; *n*-participle *izgŭlĭin* – *izgŭlĭena*)

a. p. C *dvorĭti* – present *dvorĭn* – *dvorĭš* – *dvorĭ* – *dvorĭmô* – *dvorĭtê*<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Benić 2014:398–399 for all a. p. B: verbs. The verb *\*\*cĕnĭti* ‘to appreciate’ is not actually attested (it is attested in the sense of ‘to cheapen’, but that is derived from *cĕnĕ* ‘cheaply’).

<sup>44</sup> Kapović 2011:139, 224.

<sup>45</sup> As is clear, Kali preserve the original desinential accentuation (*-ĭmô*, *-ĭtê*), unlike Kukljica which has analogical *-ĭmo*, *-ĭte*. Cf. also in *e*-present *peĭĭm* – *peĭĭš* – *peĭĭe* – pl. *peĭĭemô* – *peĭĭetê* – *peĭĭû*; *triĕsĭn* – *triĕsĭš* – *triĕsĭe* – pl. *tresemô* – *tresetê* – *triĕsŭ* (younger speakers sometimes vacillate in 1<sup>pl</sup> and 2<sup>pl</sup> in verbs with long root which are less often used). On the other hand, the old non-final accent is preserved in *a*-presents, cf. *morŭn* ‘I must’ – *moruâš* – *moruâ* – pl. *moruâmo* – *moruâte* – *morâju* (however, one does find *znuamô* – *znuatê* by analogy to *duamô* – *duatê*). Neoacute appears in a. p. B: and C(:) *i*- and *e*-presents and in a. p. B: *a*-presents, but the informants for this paper usually did not exhibit the neoacute.

– *dvorû* (imperative *dvorî!* – *dvorîmo!* – *dvorîte!*; *l*-participle *dvorî* – *dvorîla* – *dvorîlo*; *n*-participle *podvôrin* – *podvôrena*)

original shortened a. p. C: *dilîti* – present *dilîn* – *dilîš* – *dilî* – *dilîmô* – *dilîtê* – *dilû* (imperative *dilî!* – *dilîmo!* – *dilîte!*; *l*-participle *dilî* – *dilîla* – *dilîlo*; *n*-participle *podîlin* – *podîlena*)

There are no old *i*-verbs in a. p. C: – \**sormiti* (originally a. p. *b*<sub>2</sub>), which is a. p. C: in Kukljica, is a. p. B: in Kali: *sruâmin̩ se*. Other synchronic a. p. C: verbs are original *-ěje*-presents (e.g. *biel̩ se*) or *ě-i*-verbs (e.g. *blîšćî* ‘sparkles’ but with a secondary *i*-infinitive *blîšćîti*).<sup>46</sup>

All synchronic prefixed *i*-verb present forms have stem-stress, e.g. *dvorîn* – *podvôrin*, *suzî mi ôko* – *zasûzi*, *dilîn* – *podîlin*, *gasîn* – *uguâsin*, *budîn* – *izbûdin*, *sušîn* – *osûšîn*, *bolî* – *zabôli*, *blîšćî* – *zablîšćî*. Original shortened a. p. *c* verbs have length under stress in prefixed forms, e.g. *podilîti* ‘to share’ – *podilî!* – *l*-participle *podilî* but present *podîlin* – *n*-participle *podîlin̩*; *ugasîti* – *ugasî!* – *l*-participle *ugasî* but present *uguâsin* – *n*-participle *uguâšîn* (cf. also *n*-participle *osûšîn* ‘dried’). Original short a. p. *c* verbs with *-a-* originating in a *jer* behave the same as the old shortened a. p. *c* verbs by analogy (regardless on whether the syllable is open or closed): *stañîti* – *stuânin̩*, *smañîti* – *smuânin̩*, *zakašîti* – *kašînin̩* – *zakuâšînin̩*, *popapri̩ti* – *papri̩n̩* – *popuâprin̩* (participle *popuâprin̩* – *popuâprena*). The same is with the verbs with *-e-* in the root and the lengthening in a closed syllable: *isteplîti* – *teplîn̩* ‘I heat (up)’ – *istiêplin̩*. However, in shortened prefixed *a-i*-verbs, one finds brevity under stress as well: present *kričîn* – *zakričîn*, *mučîn* – *premučîn*, *čičû* – *začičû* ‘they [crickets] chirp’, *bižû* – *razbižû se*.

Here is the list of the old shortened a. p. C *i*-verbs in Kali:

*budîti* – *budîmô*, *cidîti* – *cidîmô* (with a strainer), *činîti* – *činîmô*, *dilîti*, *dužîti se* ‘to get in debt, to loan from somebody’ – *dužîmô se*, *gasîti* – *gasîmô*, *gubîti* – *gubîmô*, *kadîti* – *kadîmô*, *mładîti* – *mładîmô*, *sadîti* – *sadîn̩* – *sadîš* – *sadî* – *sadîmô* – *sadîtê* – *sadû*, *sladîti* – *sladîmô*, *snižîti* – *snižî*, *šusîti* (nowadays *sušîti*) – *šusîmô*, *učîti* – *učîmô*

The following prefixed only verbs also belong to the old shortened a. p. *c* verbs (though they have B:-presents, they have no length in the infinitive, unlike the “real” a. p. B: verbs):

<sup>46</sup> Cf. also the difference of *kûća se bielî* (intransitive) and *bielîn kûću* (transitive) ‘I whitewash the house’ (the same as Neo-Štokavian intransitive *bijêlî se* but transitive *bijêlî*). Some long-root original *ě-i*-verbs have a. p. B:, e.g. *puâs cvîli*, *uôvce bliêju* (cf. Neo-Štokavian where there is no a. p. B: in *ě-i*-verbs) – this may be due to their semantics (animate subjects).

*-miñiti* (*premiñiti*) – *prem̃inimo*, *-grad̃iti* (*zagradãiti*) – *zagruãdimo*, *-val̃iti* (*razval̃iti*) – *razvuãlimo*, *-var̃iti* (*obar̃iti*) – *obuãrin* (also the innovative *-dug̃iti* (*predug̃iti*) – *predũg̃lino*)

In Kukljica, *uãiti* is an exception because the prefixed form remains short (*uãin* – *naũãin*), but this is not the case in Kali, where we find *uãin* – *naũãin* with length. Unlike *kraãiti* (C) in Kukljica, in Kali we find *kruaãiti*, *skruaãiti* – *kruãtino* (B:) (\**kortiti* originally seems to be a. p. *b*<sub>2</sub>). Kukljica has both unprefixated and prefixed *val̃iti* (C), while only prefixed forms like *razval̃iti* seem to be attested in Kali (also *razvuãliti* from a younger informant).

Here are some prefixed examples of the old shortened a. p. *c* verbs, which are attested without the prefix as well (the root is short pretonically and long under the stress):

*izbud̃iti* – *izbũdimo*, *podil̃iti* – *podĩlino*, *zamlad̃iti* (*ispo muãslin*) – *zamluãdimo*, *pomlad̃iti se* – *pomluãdimo se*, *zaslad̃iti* – *zasluãdimo*, *zakad̃iti* – *zakuãdimo*, *zaduãiti (se)* – *zadũãimo*, *ugas̃iti* – *uguãsimo*, *osuãiti* (nowadays *osuãiti*) – *osuãimo*, *nauc̃iti* – *naũãimo*, *precid̃iti* – *precĩdimo*

Within *i*-verbs, the one possible example, with short prefixed a. p. B, is *zasniãiti* – *zasniãiti* (?), but the informant was not certain about the present (also, one has to take into consideration the fact that Kali very seldomly get snow).

The verb \**pustiti* is a mixed short-long accentual paradigm in Kali although it has no prefix, just like in Kukljica: *puãiti* – present *pũãiti*<sup>47</sup> – *puãiti!* – *l*-participle *puãiti* – *n*-participle *pũãin*. The verb \**platiti* is, however, a. p. B: in Kali (*pluaãiti* – *pluãtin*). While Kukljica has the secondary accent in *zarañiti* ‘to be early’ and *oslab̃iti*, Kali preserve the original a. p. A: *zarãniti*, *oslab̃iti*.

The following are the originally short a. p. *c* verbs that have gotten a secondary length (and a. p. B:) in prefixed forms (by analogy to prefixed shortened a. p. *c* verbs) in Kali (unlike Kukljica):

(*po*)*ãast̃iti* – *ãast̃in* – *poãuãstin*, *daãiti* ‘to rain’ – *daãiti* – *ako zãduããiti*, *kasñiti* – *kasñin* – *zakuãsñin*, *magl̃iti se* – *ka se zãmuãgli*, (*za*)*masãiti* ‘to press grapes’ – *zãmuãstin*, (*po*)*papr̃iti* – *popuãprin*, (*is*)*tepl̃iti* – *istiãplin*, *razvodñiti* – *razvuãdñin*, *smaãiti* – *smuããin*, *staãiti* – *stuããin*<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> That this is not secondary is clear from Preko *pũãiti* (Preko has no lengthening in stressed closed syllables).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. also *izlamp̃iti* ‘to get loony’ – *izluãmpin*. The verb *laãiti* ‘to polish’ – *laãin* has no prefixed forms.

There are a few verbs with the (always short) syllabic *r* that also belong here:

*mrsiti* ‘to ruffle’ – *mrsîn* – *zamršin*, *mrsiti<sub>se</sub>* ‘to eat meat’ – *mrsîn<sub>se</sub>*,  
*tvrđiti* – *tvrđîn* – *potvrđin*

Let us adduce also the shortened original *ě/a*-verbs (a. p. C): *sediti* – *nasediti<sub>se</sub>* – *nasêdin<sub>se</sub>*, *klačati* ‘to kneel’, *bižati* – *bižimô* – *bîži!*, *kričati*, *čičati*, *mučati* – *mùči!*.<sup>49</sup> There are also a number of them with a syllabic *r* in the root: *mržiti*, *vrđiti*, *trpiti*, *smrđiti*, *prđiti*, *držati*.

The following original long a. p. *c* *i*-verbs (see Analysis for \*grěšiti, though) are a. p. B: in Kali:

*drūžiti<sub>se</sub>* – *drūžimo<sub>se</sub>*, *grīšiti* – *grīšimo*, *hluaditi* – *hluâdimo*, *juaviti* – *juâvimo*, *lîpiti* – *lîpimo*, *mîriti* – *mîrimo*, *obluaciti<sub>se</sub>* – *obluâči<sub>se</sub>*, *oslîpiti* – *oslîpimo*, *sviefiti* – *sviêtimo* ‘we consecrate’, *pozluafiti*

These are the rest of the synchronic a. p. B: *i*-verbs in Kali:

*bieliti* ‘to whitewash’ – *biêlimo*, *bruaniti* – *bruânimo*, *brūsiti* – *brūsimo*, *cîpiti* – *cîpimo*, *cvîliti* – *cvîlimo*, *duaviti* – *duâvimo*, *dîčiti<sub>se</sub>* – *dîčimo<sub>se</sub>*, *fualiti* ‘to praise’ – *fuâlimo*, *glûmiti* (probably a newer word), *glûšiti<sub>se</sub>* – *glûšimo<sub>se</sub>*, *gûuaviti* – *gûuâvimo*, *gospoduariti* – *gospoduârimo*, *gûliti* – *gûlimo*, *hruaniti* – *hruânimo*, *jiežiti<sub>se</sub>* – *jiêžimo<sub>se</sub>*, *krîpiti* – *krîpimo*, *krûžiti* – *krûžimo*, *krouariti* – *krouârimo*, *kûpiti* – *kûpimo*, *ličiti* – *ličimo*, *muamiti* – *muâmimo*, *muariti* – *muârimo*, *miežiti* ‘to squeeze’ – *miêžimo*, *mûtiti* – *mûtimo*, *ohruabriti* – *ohruâbrimo*, *pualiti* (the older word is *užigati*), *pîzditi* – *pîzdimo*, *pluafiti* – *pluâtimo*, *ruaditi* – *ruâdimo*, *rîšiti* – *rîšimo*, *kruafiti* – *kruâtimo*, *slûžiti* – *slûžimo*, *sruamiti<sub>se</sub>* – *sruâmimo<sub>se</sub>*, *stûpiti* – *stûpimo*, *sûđiti* – *sûđimo*, *sûžiti* ‘to narrow’ – *sûžimo*, *svîriti* – *svîrimo*, *svîfiti* ‘to shine’ – *svîti*, *šîriti* – *šîrimo*, *truažiti* (the older word is *iskâti*), *istrîbiti* – *istrîbimo*, *trûbiti* – *trûbimo*, *trûđiti<sub>se</sub>* – *trûđimo<sub>se</sub>*, *tûpiti* – *tûpimo*, *tûžiti* – *tûžimo*, *ugluaviti* – *ugluâvimo*, *vuariti* (‘with a machine’ – a newer word), *znuačiti* – *znuâči*

## 5. Shortened a. p. *c* in Preko

The present forms from Preko paint a very similar picture as dialects of Kukljica and Kali, thus additionally confirming the historical validity of the data.<sup>50</sup>

First, here is the whole present paradigm of the shortened a. p. C verb *saditi* in Preko:

<sup>49</sup> The verb ‘to squat’ is *čučuñati* (*a-a*-verb) in Kali.

<sup>50</sup> More details about the verbal system in Preko will be available in Benić *forthcoming*.

- |                 |                                |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>sadîn</i> | 1. <i>sadîmò</i>               |
| 2. <i>sadîš</i> | 2. <i>sadîtè</i> <sup>51</sup> |
| 3. <i>sadî</i>  | 3. <i>sadû</i>                 |

Here are the shortened a. p. C present forms from Preko:

*budîti* – *budî*, *cidîti* – *cidî*, *činîti* – *činî*, *dilîti* – *dilîn* – *dilî*, *dužî*, *gasîti* – *gasîn* – *gasî*, *gubîti* – *gubîn* – *gubî*, *kadî*, *mladîti* – *mladî*, *sadîti* – *sadîn* – *sadî*, *sladî* ‘gloats’, *snižî*, *šušîti* – *šušîn* (younger speakers also *šûšî*), *učîti* – *učîn* – *učî*

The prefixed verbs from old shortened a. p. *c* have B: presents:

*izbûdi*, *ocîdi*, *učîni*, *podîlin* – *podîli*, *udôli* (seems to be a newer word), *ugôsîn* – *pogôsi*, *ogrôdi*, *izgûbin* – *izgûbi*, *premîni*, *pomlôdi*, *posôdin* (younger *posâdin*) – *posôdi*, *ošûšîn*, *izvôli/prevôli/razvôli*...<sup>52</sup>

However, while we have *osušîti*, *podîlîla* and *preminîti* (the last one from older speakers) with the preserved short root, the secondary length has been introduced in the always prefixed infinitives such as *udôlîti*, *ogrôdîti*, *izvôlîti*, *prevôlîti* (also *promîni* in the lect of younger speakers), thus making them regular a. p. B:

The exception, as in Kukljica (but not in Kali), is *naučîn*, which is short. The mixed paradigm (with unaccented short root-vowels and accented long vowels) is attested in *puščâti* – *pûšći* (with the secondary *a*-infinitive), while *plôti* – *plôti* is regular a. p. B: as in Kali.

A. p. B: is also found in the following old long a. p. *c* verbs (though see Analysis for some of them):

*oblôci se*, *drûži se*, *grîši*, *hlôdi*, *jôvi*, *lîpi*, *mîri se*, *oslîpîti* – *oslîpi*, *vôrîti* ‘to boil laundry’ (also prefixed *obôrîti* – *obôri*), *pozlôfîti* – *pozlôti*

## 6. Analysis

Here, we shall analyze the reflexes of Common Slavic long a. p. *c* *i*-verbs on the island of Ugljan. These are the reflexes.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Like Kali, but unlike Kukljica (and the island of Pašman), Preko has the old accent in 1P<sup>l</sup> and 2P<sup>l</sup> (though with vacillation, e.g. Preko *glûmîte*), cf. also *zovèn* – *zovèš* – *zovîè* – pl. *zovemò* – *zovetè* – *zovû* (note also Kali *pečîš* but Preko *zovèš* – additionally, *zvâti* is a. p. B in Kukljica and Kali but a. p. C in Preko and the rest of Ugljan). However, there is both the old *morômo* and the younger *morômò* ‘we must’.

<sup>52</sup> The prefixed forms always have a fixed root-accent, e.g. *bolî* – *zabôli*, *trpîn* – *istîpin*.

<sup>53</sup> The table somewhat differs from the one in Kapović 2011:225–226 (\*golsiti, \*krasiti, \*kriviti and \*žerbiti, which can be reconstructed as a. p. *b*<sub>2</sub>, are left out, while



	<b>Kukljica</b>	<b>Kali</b>	<b>Preko</b>
*aviti	B:	B:	B:
*buditi	C	C	C
*čediti	C	C	C
*činiti	C	C	C
*daļiti	prefixed C-B: ~ *C	–	B:
*děliti	C	C	C
*družiti	B:	B:	B:
*gasiti	C	C	C
*gorditi	prefixed C-B: ~ *C	prefixed C-B: ~ *C	B:
*grešiti	B:	B:	B:
*gubiti	C	C	C
*kaditi	C	C	C
*lěpiti	B:	B:	B:
*měniti	prefixed C-B: ~ *C	prefixed C-B: ~ *C	prefixed C-B: ~ *C <sup>54</sup>
*miriti	B:	B:	B:
*molditi	C	C	C
*obvolčiti	B:	B:	B:
*platiti	C-B;/B < *C	B:	B:
*pustiti	C-B: < *C	C-B: < *C	C-B: < *C
*saditi	C	C	C
*slěpiti	B:	B:	B:
*sněžiti	C	C	C
*solditi	C	C	C
*sušiti	C	C	C > B:
*svętiti	B:	B:	–
*učiti	C	C	C
*valiti	C	prefixed C-B: ~ *C	B:
*variti	prefixed C-B: ~ *C	prefixed C-B: ~ *C	B:
*zoltiti	B:	B:	B:

other a. p. *c* verbs, such as \*měniti, \*molditi, \*solditi, \*slěpiti, \*sušiti, \*valiti, \*zoltiti, are added).

<sup>54</sup> Also younger a. p. B:.

As one can see, the difference between the three local dialects are minor (cf. \**pustiti*, unprefixated \**valiti* only in Kukljica, innovative a. p. B: in Preko in some words where the other two dialects have the older a. p. C-B:, and a few unattested verbs in specific cases).

As we have already shown (we shall write the Kali forms here), C-verbs like *buditi* – *budîn* turn to the type *izbuditi* – *izbûdin* (with the same short C-infinitive but with a long B:-root in the present) when having a prefix. This correlation is quite robust in the verbal accentual system, at least in Kali.<sup>55</sup> As already said, the prefixed type can synchronically be analyzed as a. p. B-B: (in order to keep the alternation just on the quantitative side<sup>56</sup>) or a. p. C-B: (considering forms like *buditi* are originally a. p. C), since forms like *buditi* – *budîla* – *budî!* can be both a. p. B and C synchronically.<sup>57</sup> Since we are doing historical analysis here, we note such verbs as a. p. C-B: in the table. However, there are also minor synchronic reasons for this to be a. p. C-B: (and not a. p. B-B:) – in this way, the relation of *buditi* (C) and *izbuditi* (C as part of C-B:) is preserved. The same type of a. p. C-B: is seen in verbs which appear only with prefixes, such as *ograditi* – *ogruâdin* (a. p. B: in most verbs without unprefixated forms in Preko in such cases is younger), which would then point to original and directly unattested C-presents like \**gradîn*.

The a. p. C-B: of unprefixated *puštiti* – *pûštin* could be, at least partly, due to analogy to originally prefixed a. p. C-B: forms like *popuštiti* – *popûštin*. A. p. B in Kukljica *platiti* – *plâtin* is probably also to be derived from the older a. p. C (the unattested \**platîn*), which could also be at least partly due to analogy to the originally prefixed verbs like *isplatiti* – *isplâtin* (or possibly older *isplâtin*). Additionally, it could be indicative that \**pustiti* and \**platiti* are the only two perfective verbs in our list of old long a. p. *c* verbs. Since perfectiveness is often derived by prefixation, which automatically yields a fixed accent on the root (and thus a. p. B)<sup>58</sup> on Ugljan, B(:)-presents in these two perfective verbs might be a consequence of that as well (though of course there are imperfective non-prefixed old a. p. B verbs like *nositi*, etc.). The a. p. B: in Kali (*pluatiti* – *pluâtin*) is either an even

<sup>55</sup> In Kukljica, the short root appears in the more innovative forms like *posâdin* instead of *posâdin*, and in Preko we find the innovative long forms like *ogrôditi*.

<sup>56</sup> Unlike “real” a. p. B:, which has the length in all forms, e.g. Kali *pluatiti* – *pluâtimo*.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. the same accent in e.g. *nositi* (B) and *čimiti* (C) – the difference of a. p. B and C is not observable in the infinitive.

<sup>58</sup> Note here that Kajkavian, which preserves the old shortened a. p. C very well, has no fixed accent in prefixed verbs.

further development from that (with the length introduced to the infinitive as well) or goes with other a. p. B: < a. p. *c* verbs like \*javiti or \*miriti.<sup>59</sup>

From the supposed original long a. p. *c* verbs in the list (according to the reconstruction of the Moscow accentological school<sup>60</sup>), the reflexes are the following:

short(ened) a. p. C – 14 (\*buditi, \*čediti, \*činiti, \*děliti, \*gasiti, \*gubiti, \*kaditi, \*molditi, \*saditi, \*sněžiti, \*solditi, \*sušiti, \*učiti, \*valiti)

a. p. C-B: or a. p. B < \*C – 2 (\*platiti, \*pustiti)

prefixed C-B: (connected to the shortened a. p. C) – 4 (\*daļiti, \*gorditi, \*mēniti, \*variti)

a. p. B: – 9 (\*aviti, \*družiti, \*grěšiti, \*lěpiti, \*miriti, \*obvolčiti, \*slěpiti, \*světiti, \*zoltiti)

Thus, we have 14 directly attested shortened a. p. C verbs. If we count \*platiti and \*pustiti and always prefixed a. p. C-B: verbs to them, we are at 20 old shortened a. p. C verbs. As opposed to that, there are 9 old long a. p. *c* verbs with a. p. B: as the reflex.

However, not all reflexes/attestations are created equal. If we are trying to judge the a. p. C versus a. p. B: reflexes of the old long a. p. *c* verbs on Ugljan, the verbs \*činiti, \*gubiti, \*učiti cannot really be considered in this regard since those are a. p. C almost everywhere in Čakavian and a. p. B or even C is also attested for \*pustiti elsewhere in Čakavian as well.<sup>61</sup> This brings the number of the shortened a. p. C down to 16. The verb *udaļiti* seems to be a recent import and not an inherited word,<sup>62</sup> which would further lower the number of C-reflexes to 15. On the other hand, *drūžiti* might also be an innovation on Ugljan (Kukljica also has definitely old *prijateļiti* *se* ‘to be friends with somebody’ of a similar, but not the same, meaning),<sup>63</sup> which brings the count to 15 C-reflexes as opposed to

<sup>59</sup> Note that *platiti* is also a. p. B: in Western Posavina (Kapović 2011:225).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Дыбо 2000 for the reconstructed a. p. *c* in \*aviti (:448–449), \*buditi (:449), \*čediti, \*činiti, \*daļiti, \*děliti, \*dylžiti (also \*golsiti) (:450), \*gasiti, \*gorditi (:451), \*grěšiti, \*gubiti (:452), \*kaditi (:453), \*krěpiti (:454 – reconstructed as a. p. *b*<sub>2</sub> by Nikolaev, though), \*lěpiti (:455), \*mēniti, \*miriti (:456), \*pustiti (:457), \*saditi, \*světiti, \*solditi (:458), \*slěpiti, \*sněžiti (:459), \*sušiti, \*tajiti, \*učiti (:460), \*valiti, \*xolditi (also reconstructed as a. p. *b*<sub>2</sub>) (:461).

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Kapović 2011:225–226.

<sup>62</sup> The vocalism in Kukljica was perhaps influenced by the adverb *dāle* when it was introduced from Neo-Štokavian/StandCro *udaļiti* (which is a. p. B:) and the verb could have taken the pattern of *skrañiti*, *istañiti*, *smañiti*.

<sup>63</sup> Reflexes of \*družiti are a. p. B: in Western Posavina and Kajkavian as well (Kapović 2011:224, 227) and thus this may also be a regional development (and it is a denominative too – see below).

8 B:-reflexes. If we discount all deadjectival examples (\**molditi*, \**solditi*, \**sušiti*; \**slěpiti*, \**svętiti*<sup>64</sup>), the count is down to 12 vs. 6. Of the 6 apparent B:-reflexes left, \**grěšiti* is not completely reliable<sup>65</sup> because it might have also had an a. p. *b*<sub>2</sub> variant in Common Slavic<sup>66</sup> (\**grěxъ* is a. p. *b*). It is also difficult not to notice that of the 5 a. p. B:-verbs left (\**aviti*, \**lěpiti*, \**miriti*, \**obvolčiti*, \**zoltiti*), 3 are denominative, which might have played a role. It is possible that the length (and a. p. B:) on Ugljan (given here in Kukljica form) *mīrīti*,<sup>67</sup> *blāčiti* < \**oblāčiti*, *zlāti* has been reintroduced by analogy to nominal *mīr*, *đblok* (< \**đblāk*), *zlāto* (this is also possible for *drūžiti*), while this kind of analogy was obviously not at disposal for \**čěditi*, \**gasiti*, \**gubiti* etc. (though it would be possible in e.g. \**dělit* and some of the other verbs where we have C-reflexes, and also in deadjectives). If we discount denominatives, that leaves us with only 2 proper a. p. B: reflexes on Ugljan (\**aviti*, \**lěpiti*) – note here that \**lěpiti* is clear a. p. C and \**aviti* a. p. B < \*C in Western Posavina,<sup>68</sup> while both are attested as a. p. C in Kajkavian (\**lěpiti* a bit less clear).<sup>69</sup> A. p. B: in these verbs has to be an innovation on Ugljan.

We can summarize all of this considering the number of C- versus B:-reflexes on Ugljan in the following table (C-verbs vs. B:-verbs):

total	without * <i>činiti</i> , * <i>gubiti</i> , * <i>pustiti</i> , * <i>učiti</i>	without possible younger verbs (* <i>daļiti</i> , * <i>družiti</i> )	no deadjectives	no B:- denominatives
20 vs. 9	16 vs. 9	15 vs. 8	12 vs. 6	12 vs. 2

<sup>64</sup> Cf. the note in Kapović 2011: 208<sup>86</sup> – accentual paradigms of deadjectival *i*-verbs for Common Slavic seem to be reconstructible only formally (from the accentual paradigm of their base adjectives). The reflex of \**kortiti* is also a. p. C on Ugljan, but this seems to be a. p. *b*<sub>2</sub> originally (as clear from the adjective \**kortъkъ* as well), as well as \**xolditi* (cf. a. p. *d* in \**xoldъ* and the attested nominal a. p. D on Susak – Kapović 2020:694), which has B:-reflexes on Ugljan.

<sup>65</sup> Though Western Posavina has a. p. C there (Kapović 2011:224).

<sup>66</sup> Note also that all three Kajkavian dialects in Kapović 2011:227 have a. p. B: in \**grěšiti* as well.

<sup>67</sup> Note also that \**miriti* is a. p. B: in Western Posavina and part of Kajkavian as well (Kapović 2011:224, 227).

<sup>68</sup> Kapović 2011:224.

<sup>69</sup> Kapović 2011:226–227.

As we can see, however we count them, there are always more C-reflexes than B:-reflexes – in total numbers even twice as many. Compare that to 21 C-reflexes vs. 5 B:-reflexes in Western Posavina<sup>70</sup> and to 22 C-reflexes vs. just 3 all-B:-reflexes in Kajkavian (\**družiti*, \**grěšiti* – which may not be a. p. *c* originally, \**světliti*).<sup>71</sup> It is clear that old a. p. *c* (with shortening) was best preserved in Kajkavian, then in neighboring Western Posavina Old Štokavian, and not as consistently on Ugljan, which was, due to its position, probably at least partially encompassed by the common Čakavian-Štokavian analogical process of long a. p. *c* → a. p. B: in *i*-verbs.

## 7. Conclusion

As we have seen, the Central-Čakavian dialects of Ugljan preserve the old (shortened<sup>72</sup>) a. p. C in many original a. p. *c* *i*-verbs with long root (e.g. *buditi* – *budîn*), though not as consistently as Kajkavian or Western Posavina, since there are a number of B:-reflexes as well (e.g. *mîriti* – *mîrin*), as is the norm elsewhere in Čakavian and Štokavian. This is not surprising due to position of Ugljan (and other Zadar islands) – far away from the archaic north-western region where a. p. *c* is best preserved. However, it is still remarkable that most of the long a. p. *c* *i*-verbs on Ugljan were able to escape the otherwise almost pan-Čakavian/Štokavian process of long a. p. *c* → a. p. B: in *i*-verbs.

Although in this paper we have data from only three of the local dialects on the island of Ugljan, these can be taken as representative, since the dialects of the southernmost Kukljica and Kali are most diverse in comparison to other Ugljan dialects, while the central dialect of Preko can be taken as the representative of the remainder of the island. Benić (2014: 359) explicitly attests a. p. C in *ciditi* – *cidîn* > *cidîn* and *sušiti* – *sušîn* > *sušîn* for all Ugljan dialects. There is no reason to assume that other data from Ugljan would be much different from what we have seen from Kukljica, Kali and Preko – and if so, the situation would probably be more innovative rather than more archaic.<sup>73</sup> Of course, more data from other dialects from Ugljan

<sup>70</sup> Discounting \**golsiti*, \**krasiti*, \**krěpiti* (which are actually a. p. *b*<sub>2</sub>) from Kapović 2011:224–225.

<sup>71</sup> Kapović 2011:226–227 (again, not counting \**golsiti*, \**krěpiti*).

<sup>72</sup> The short a. p. C is not a completely phonetic reflex. For instance, in imperatives like Kali *dil!*, one would expect long \**dîl!*, but brevity was introduced from forms like *dilite!*, *diliti* and *dilîn* < \**dilîn*, where the shortening is expected phonetically. Thus, the brevity in this shortened a. p. C is only partly archaic (cf. Kapović 2011:228–231, 2015:483–485). However, what is archaic is the preservation of a. p. C.

<sup>73</sup> There is a tendency on Ugljan to replace the old shortened a. p. C, at least in some words, with a younger a. p. B: influenced by the standard/Zadar Neo-Štokavian.

would always be welcome. What would be even more important would be to get more data from the other Zadar islands that share this archaic isogloss with Ugljan – from the islands of Rivanj, Sestrunj and especially Iž, which seems to attest the old accentual mobility even in the *l*-participle.

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## Skrraćena naglasna paradigma *c* u *i*-glagolâ u čakavskim govorima otoka Ugljana

### Sažetak

U članku se govori o odrazima stare naglasne paradigme *c* u *i*-glagolâ s izvornim dugim slogom (u glagolima kao \*buditi, \*čediti, \*činiti) u tri čakavska govora na otoku Ugljanu – u Kukljici, Kalima i Preku. Za razliku od većine čakavskih (i štokavskih) govora, ali slično kao u kajkavskom i slovenskom, na Ugljanu se (kao i na drugim zadarškim otocima) čuva stara naglasna paradigma *C* u glagolima poput *buditi* – *budîn*, *ciditi* – *cidîn* (usp. s tim sekundarnu n. p. B: u standardnom hrvatskom *bûditi* – *bûdîm*, *cijéditi* – *cijêdîm*). U radu se pokušava odrediti točna razdioba odrazâ naglasnih paradigama (tj. koliko starih dugih *i*-glagola iz n. p. *c* na Ugljanu ostaje u n. p. *C*, a koliko ih prelazi u

suvremenu inovativnu n. p. B:). Također se raspravlja i o nekim općim karakteristikama prozodije i vokalizma govora u Kukljici, Kalj i Preka.

Ključne riječi: akcentuacija, akcentologija, naglasak, čakavski, hrvatski, Ugljan

Keywords: accentuation, accentology, accent, Čakavian, Croatian, Ugljan