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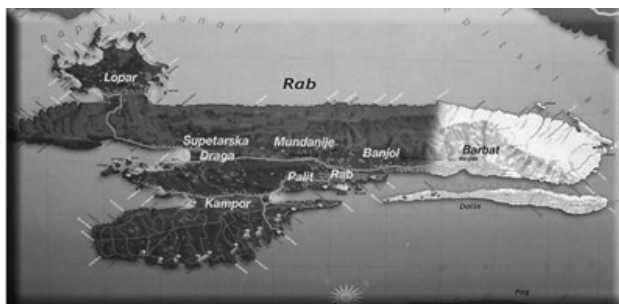
## **PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE BARBAT DIALECT ON THE ISLAND OF RAB**

This paper gives a description of the phonological features of the dialect of the village of Barbat, on the island of Rab. The dialect of Barbat belongs to the peripheral sub-dialect of the Central Čakavian (Ikavian-Ekavian) dialect. The focus of this paper is on the description of the phonological (vocalism and consonantism) and prosodical linguistic levels (prosodic system and lengthenings). Some basic morphological features are given, while the part that deals with syntax and lexicon is limited to a few comments. The Barbat dialect is compared to the other dialects from Rab as well as to some Central Čakavian island dialects.

*Keywords: Barbat, Rab, Central Čakavian, phonology, accentuation.*

## **INTRODUCTION**

Barbat – in local dialect *Brbät* (Br) – is a village on the southeastern coast of the island of Rab; administratively, it belongs to the town of Rab (Rb) together with Banjol (Ba), Palit (Pa), Mundanije (Mu), Kampor (Ka) and Supetarska Draga (SD). The settlement of Lopar (Lo), located in the far north of the island, also administratively belonged to the town of Rab until 2006, when it was separated into an independent municipality. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a rapid development of tourism and service activities was followed by the intensive construction. Therefore, the settlements from Barbat to Supetarska Draga are now merged; the only settlement that is geographically separated from other Rab settlements is Lopar.



Picture 1. The island of Rab and its settlements<sup>1</sup>

## METHODOLOGY

The description of the dialect of Barbat in this paper is primarily based on the material collected through elicitation – the dialectological questionnaire of the LinGeH project<sup>2</sup> was filled out in Barbat and Lopar, allowing for some useful comparisons. The description is complemented by examples from the material of the future *Dictionary of the Dialect of Rab* by Željko Peran, a native of Barbat, on the accentuation and editing in which I myself participate. Examples from other Rab dialects listed in this paper are mostly drawn from toponymic material collected on several occasions (from 2014 to 2020) by my colleagues at the Center for Adriatic Onomastics and Ethnolinguistics of the University of Zadar and myself.

## PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON RAB DIALECTS

Until present time, the dialects of Rab have been described by Marcel Kušar, Mate Hraste and Iva Lukežić. The most comprehensive discussion of the Rab dialects is Kušar's paper *Rapski dijalekat* (1894), which offers an insight into the linguistic situation on the island of Rab at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although detailed, Kušar's linguistic description is mainly based on the dialect of the town of Rab (with occasional examples from other Rab dialects). Hraste's work *Osobine suvremene rapske akcentuacije* (1955), based on the data from the town of Rab as well (including some data from other settlements), is a valuable contribution that gives us an insight into the prosodic features of the Rab dialects in the middle of the last century. A more

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.nauticarab.com/Otok-Rab/mapa-rab.asp>

<sup>2</sup> LinGeH (*Linguistic Geography of Croatia in the European Context*) is a project under the guidance of Dunja Brozović-Rončević and funded by the Croatian Science Foundation at the University of Zadar under number 3688.

thorough linguistic picture of Rab dialects is provided by Lukežić in her paper *O govorima na otoku Rabu* (2000), which includes examples from all of the Rab dialects. Finally, in her paper *Rapska akcentuacija nakon Osobina suvremene rapske akcentuacije Mate Hraste iz 1955. godine* (2009), Lukežić systematically treats prosodic features and tendencies in some Rab dialects. A portion of data on the Rab dialects can also be found in Lukežić (1990) and in Jakić-Cestarić (1957).

## CLASSIFICATION OF RAB DIALECTS

The dialects of the island of Rab belong to the most widespread Čakavian dialect – the Central Čakavian (Ikavian-Ekavian) dialect (Lisac 2002: 79, Lisac 2009: 95–96, Brozović 1988: 88). The Central Čakavian dialect encompasses the islands of Rab, Krk,<sup>3</sup> the southern part of Lošinj,<sup>4</sup> the Lošinj islands,<sup>5</sup> the northwestern part of Pag,<sup>6</sup> the Zadar islands (ending with Ugljan),<sup>7</sup> part of the Velebit coast, Istria and the Karst of Opatija, part of Gorski Kotar and Lika, as well as part of the area around the Kupa River and (Lisac 2009: 95–96 and Lukežić 1990: 19–26).<sup>8</sup> Within the subclassification of the Central Čakavian dialect into coastal, continental and peripheral, Lukežić (1990: 105) classifies the Rab dialects as part of the peripheral subdialect.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed analysis of Krk dialects, see Malecki 1963, Meyer 1996, Lukežić and Turk 1998; for older data, see Milčetić 1895.

<sup>4</sup> More precisely, the dialects of Čunski, Mali Lošinj and Veli Lošinj (Jurić & Šprljan: to appear).

<sup>5</sup> The dialect of Susak was described by Hamm, Hraste and Guberina (1956), with notes on other dialects of the Cres–Lošinj archipelago (Unije, Srakane and Ilovik). For a recent description of some aspects of the Susak dialect, see Kapović 2020.

<sup>6</sup> Northwestern Pag dialects belong to the Central Čakavian dialect, whilst the classification of southeastern dialects is controversial – although some authors include them in the South Čakavian Ikavian dialect (Lisac 2003 and 2009, Vulić 2002), others consider them Štokavian dialects (Jakić-Cestarić 1957). For descriptions of Pag dialects, see Houtzagers 1987, Vranić 2003 and 2011.

<sup>7</sup> For Ugljan, see Jurić 2007 and Benić 2014; for Dugi otok see Finka 1977, Šprljan 2016a and 2016b, Lisac 2013; for Iž see Lisac 1998 and Šprljan 2013; for Ist see Lisac 2010. See also Jakić-Cestarić 1960 and Finka 1972.

<sup>8</sup> There are also Central Čakavian dialects in northern Burgenland in Austria, and in southern Moravia and western Hungary (Lukežić 2000: 23).

<sup>9</sup> The dialects belonging to the peripheral subdialect are the island Ikavian-Ekavian dialects (except for the dialects in the north and the east of Krk, which belong to the coastal subdialect), the dialects of the Opatija Karst, the dialects in the interior of Istria, the dialect of Senj and the dialects around Otočac, Jezera and Brinje, the dialect of the lower part of Draga and the Ikavian-Ekavian dialects in the diaspora (Lukežić 1990: 111).

"The dialects of the peripheral subdialect as a subsystem combine both tendencies characteristic of the Ikavian-Ekavian dialects as a system: the conservatism characteristic of the coastal subdialect and the evolution characteristic of the continental subdialect. This subdialect, including its territorial and numerical superiority, is the most prominent linguistic representative of the Ikavian-Ekavian dialect."<sup>10</sup>

Within the same classification, Lukežić (2000: 24–28) classifies the Rab dialects as transitional between the Čakavian dialects of the northern areal and the Čakavian dialects of the central areal, noting that "dialects on the island of Rab have also specific linguistic features, which, in general, with the others mentioned above, form a special dialectal picture in which all of the dialects from Rab are seen as a separate group of dialects."<sup>11</sup>

### VOCALISM

The Barbat dialect has a simple vowel system consisting of five short and five long vowels. As in many Čakavian island dialects, the long vowels are closed:  $\bar{a} > \bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{e} > \bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o} > \bar{o}$  (e. g. *ćapâl* 'caught (*m.*)', *pârtit* 'to leave', *grâd* 'town', *gôst*, 'guest', *zêmlja* 'earth', *nevêra* 'tempest'). The quantity of long vowels is same in Lopar: *gâvran* 'raven', *spôza* 'bride', *gôst* 'guest', *nevêsta* 'daughter-in-law', while in the other Rab settlements, I only note the closure on the vowel *a* (e. g. *brâk* 'a place in the sea rich with fish', *jâz* 'shallow end of the bay', but *mêl* 'fine sand', *nevêra* 'tempest', *škôlj* 'island' (Ba); *Na Tâliji*, *mâslina* 'olive', *jedân* 'one', but *nêman* 'I don't have', *pêt* 'five', *gôrika* 'up', *pôj* 'to go' (SD)).<sup>12</sup>

short vowels			long vowels		
<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>	$\bar{i}$		$\bar{u}$
<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>	$\bar{e}$		$\bar{o}$
	<i>a</i>			$\bar{a}$	

Table 1. Vowel system of the Barbat dialect

<sup>10</sup> Lukežić 1990: 116 (my translation).

<sup>11</sup> Lukežić 2000: 19 (my translation).

<sup>12</sup> The closing of long vowels is one of the features of the peripheral subdialect of the Ikavian-Ekavian dialect (Lukežić 1990: 114).

There is no centralization of the short *i* as in some neighboring dialects (e. g. in Susak dialect).<sup>13</sup> However, I noted this phonetic version sporadically in other places on Rab.

In the syllable closed by a nasal consonant,  $\bar{o} > u$  (*z maščûn*); the change  $\bar{e} > i$  has not been attested (*tênpla* ‘temple’, *grên* ‘I go’, *pečên* ‘I bake’).<sup>14</sup>

The syllabic *r* (in this paper <r>) is realized without an accompanying vowel:<sup>15</sup> *tr̥sje* ‘vineyard’, *břzo* ‘quickly’, *vřtal* ‘garden’, *přst* ‘finger’; the sporadic reflex *ar* is attested in *čârñ* ‘black’ (variant: *cřñ*). There is no length distinction (*cřñ* ‘black’, *cřv* ‘worm’, *smřt* ‘death’, etc.); the long *r* is sporadically realized in *cřñčit* ‘to work hard’ and *do smřti* ‘until death’.<sup>16</sup> The syllabic *l* yields *u* (*vûk* ‘wolf’, *sûnce* ‘sun’, *sûza* ‘tear’, *žûti* ‘yellow’), as well as in other Rab dialects.

The reflex of *jat* is ikavian-ekavian, which makes the Barbat dialect (as well as other Rab dialects) representative of the Central Čakavian dialect; the North Čakavian dialects have the ekavian, whilst the South Čakavian have the ikavian reflex of *jat*. The distribution of ikavian versus ekavian reflexes follows, with minor deviations, the rule of Jakubinsky and Meyer.<sup>17</sup>

Ikavian-ekavian duality occurs primarily in lexical morphemes:

– Ekavian reflex: *věrovat* ‘to believe’, *uběd* ‘lunch’, *cvěće* ‘flowers’, *stěnje* ‘rocks’, *cělo tělo* ‘whole body’, *větar* ‘wind’, *naměstit* ‘to place’, *sědu* ‘they sit’, *lěto* ‘summer’, *susěd* ‘neighbour’, *lěñ* ‘lazy’, *krělo* ‘wing’, *zděla* ‘bowl’;

<sup>13</sup> For Susak, Kapović 2020: 514–515) cites the examples of *misec* ‘moon’, *vidin* ‘I see’, *rizat* ‘to cut’ etc. The same phenomenon is noted on Dugi otok by Finka (1977: 34), and on Ugljan by Jurić (2007: 335).

<sup>14</sup> In Lopar, a closure occurs on both vowels  $\bar{o} (> u)$  and  $\bar{e} (> i)$ : *mladičun* ‘with the boy’, *nôžûñ* ‘with the knife’; *tînpla* ‘temple’, *grîn* ‘I go’, *pečîn* ‘I bake’; exception: *žênska* ‘woman’. Kušar (1894: 2) observes this phenomenon only in Lopar (except for *undî* ‘there’, which he notes in other settlements as well), whilst Lukežić (2000: 27) also observes it in Mundanije and Palit. The only confirmation for this change in the Rab toponymy is the toponym *Za Stenûn*, noted in Mundanije.

<sup>15</sup> The reflex *ar* sporadically occurs in the Rab toponymy: *Artić*, *Pûnta Artića* (Ba), *Mâli Artić* (SD), *Mrřina/Marřina* (Mu) and *Mrgânjska Drăga/Margânjska Drăga* (Ka). Kušar (1894: 4) notes the reflex *er* in the town of Rab (e. g. *gërlo* ‘throat’), and in the other settlements of the island of Rab in *ěrja/ěrđa* ‘rust’.

<sup>16</sup> In Lopar, according to the examples of *řž* ‘raž’, *cřñ* i *cřv* (my data), the opposition has been preserved.

<sup>17</sup> According to the rule of Jakubinsky and Meyer, *jat* was reflected as *e* before dental consonants (*d, t, n, r, l, s, z*) followed by a back vowel (*a, o, u, q, y, ʊ*), e. g. *cělo vrîme* ‘all the time’ (Br). In other contexts, *jat* was reflected as *i* (Lukežić 1990: 12–13, Moguš 1977, Lisac 2002: 80–81).

– Ikavian reflex: *îst* ‘to eat’, *postîlja* ‘bed’, *čovîk* ‘man’, *vrîme* ‘weather’, *idû* ‘they eat’, *orîh* ‘walnut’, *grihotà* ‘sin’, *obîsit* ‘to hang’, *povîdat* ‘to tell’, *dicà* ‘children’, *srića* ‘happiness’, *trîbat* ‘to need’,<sup>18</sup> *ûsan* ‘narrow’.

Dual forms can also occur, e.g. *lêto/lîto* ‘summer’, *lêhà/lîhà* ‘flower bed’, *mîsto/mêsto* ‘place’.<sup>19</sup>

Ikavian reflexes prevail in derivational morphemes, with some rare eka-vian reflexes:

– Ikavian reflex: *nedîja* ‘Sunday’, *bolîit* ‘to ache’, *mîslit* ‘to think’, *živît* ‘to live’, *volîli* ‘they loved’, *gòrika* ‘up’, *vanî* ‘outside’, *nîki* ‘some’, *nîš* ‘something’, *kadî* ‘where’, *falîit* ‘to make a mistake’, *dvî* ‘two (f.)’, *starîji* ‘older (m.)’, *zdravîji* ‘healthier (m.)’, *bogatîji* ‘richer (m.)’;

– Ekavian reflex: *uvdê* ‘here’, *tudê* ‘there’, *òbedvî* ‘both’, *kòren* ‘root’; *kolèno/kolîno* ‘knee’.

In grammatical morphemes, Ikavian reflexes are consistent (dat<sup>sg</sup> *ženî* ‘to a woman’, *màteri* ‘to mother’, *sestri* ‘to sister’; loc<sup>sg</sup> *na kùci* ‘on the house’; instr<sup>sg</sup> *sa svojîn mûžon* ‘with one’s husband’, *krîvin putên* ‘wrong way’; gen<sup>pl</sup> *črñih ovâc* ‘of black sheep’), except in the loc<sup>sg</sup> of masculine and neuter nouns which was leveled to dat<sup>sg</sup> (*u grādû* ‘in the town’, *na selû* ‘in the village’, *na vapòru* ‘in the ship’).

After a palatal, *jat* reflects as *a*, e.g. *njâdra/jândra* ‘bosom’, *jâdro* ‘sail’.

The reflex of psl. \**ę* > *a* behind the palatal, which occurs in the Barbat dialect (e. g. *pòčal* ‘started (m.)’, *jâtra* ‘liver’, *jazîk/zajîk* ‘tongue’, *žâja* ‘thirst’, *žâjna* ‘thirsty (f.)’, *žânjemo* ‘we harvest’)<sup>20</sup> is one of the distinctive features of Čakavian.<sup>21</sup>

The nasal *ǫ* yielded *u* (*mûka*, *zûb*, *rûkà* etc.). The semi-vowel in a strong position regularly yielded *a* (*dân* ‘day’, *sân* ‘dream’, *otâc* ‘father’, *kadî* ‘where’). Examples of strong Čakavian vocalization of the Old Croatian *schwa* are preserved in the examples of *màlin* ‘mill’ and *z mànon* ‘with me’.<sup>22</sup> The preposition/prefix *vъ* regularly yielded *va*: *va selû* ‘in the village’, *vàik* (and *ùvik*) ‘always’, *važgàt* ‘to light’, *vàs/svàs* ‘whole’, *Vazâm* ‘Easter’.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. in Lopar *trèbat* (my data).

<sup>19</sup> Duality in the reflex of *jat* is found also in the toponymy of Rab, e. g. *Vèla Stîna* (Ba)/*Vèla Stèna* (Ka).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. in Lopar *žâjna*, *žâja*, *pòčala* ‘started (f.)’, *zajîk* and *žânjemo*, but *žètva* ‘harvest’ (my data).

<sup>21</sup> The reflex of \**ę* > *a* before palatal consonants is an old Čakavian feature, generally better preserved in island dialects than in the mainland ones (Lukežić 2000: 19).

<sup>22</sup> Examples of strong vocalisation are one of the features of Čakavian, as opposed to Kajkavian and Štokavian, but also to all other South Slavic systems (Lukežić 2000: 20, ref. 13).

The change *ra-* > *re-* occurs in *rēbâc* ‘sparrow’, but not in *râst* ‘to grow’, *narâsal* ‘grew (*m.*)’, *krâst* ‘to steal’, *kradê* ‘(s)he steals’.<sup>23</sup>

## CONSONANTISM

	bilabials	labio-dentals	dentals	alveolars	postalveolars	palatals	velars
stops	b p		d t			đ í	g k
affricates			c		č		
fricatives		v f	z s		ž š		x
resonants	m		n	l r		ɫ ɲ j	

Table 2. Consonant inventory of the Barbat dialect

The consonantism of the Barbat dialect system generally coincides with the consonantism of other Rab dialects. The main difference concerns the distribution of phonemes *x* and *f*, which will be discussed below.

Reflex of the Proto-Slavic *\*tj* is a palatal stop *í* (in this paper <ć>): *ća-kulăt* ‘to chatter’, *ćapăt* ‘to catch’, *kũća* ‘house’, which clearly differs from the postalveolar affricate *č*.

Proto-Slavic *\*dj*, which yielded *j* (*milosr̃je* ‘charity’, *tũji* ‘foreign’, *žâja* ‘thirst’, *mejă* ‘border’),<sup>24</sup> is often replaced by *đ* (in this paper <đ>) (*răđe* ‘more gladly’, *mładarija* ‘youngsters’), with the occasional occurrence of doublet forms, e.g. *rōđen/rōjen* ‘born (*m.*)’.<sup>25</sup> In addition, the phoneme *đ* regularly appears in the words of more recent origin (e. g. *zarađuje* ‘(s)he earns’, *nakin-đūrīt* ‘to embellish’), as well as in lexemes of Venetian and Italian origin (*đirăt* ‘to take a walk’, *đardîn* ‘garden’, *đelôz* ‘jealous’).

The cluster *\*zdj* yielded *zj*: *grōzje* ‘grapes’, *gvōzje* ‘iron’, *dažjî* ‘it rains’.<sup>26</sup> The cluster *jd* has been preserved: *pōjden* ‘I go’, *dōjden* ‘I come’, whilst *jt* yielded *í*: *pôc* ‘to go’, *dôc* ‘to come’. The phoneme *ž* is replaced by *ẓ̌*: *žēp* ‘pocket’.

<sup>23</sup> Same in Lopar: *rēbâc*, ali *krādê* ‘(s)he steals’, *râst* ‘to grow’, *râstê* ‘(s)he grows’, *râslo* ‘grew (*n.*)’ (my data).

<sup>24</sup> Kušar (1894: 5) noted that “the consonant *đ* is pronounced either as the Štokavian *đ*, or as *j*, or even as *dj*: the first pronunciation is heard more by the peasants, and the two latter by the city folk.” (my translation). Lukežić (2000: 21) believes the phoneme *đ* to be quite recent.

<sup>25</sup> Although psl. *\*dj* > *j* is in most Central Čakavian dialects, in some of them “*d*”, *đ* or a similar consonant” (my translation) appears instead of *j* (Lisac 2002: 84).

<sup>26</sup> A common reflex in Central Čakavian dialects (Lisac 2002: 84).



The clusters *\*skj* and *\*stj* yielded *št* (in this paper <šč>): *zapûščeno* ‘abandoned (*n.*)’, *godîšće* ‘year’, *boleščîna* ‘illness’, *ščâp* ‘cane’, *lăščarica* ‘tongue blister’, *pûščén* ‘released (*m.*)’, *križîšće* ‘crossroads’.

The phoneme *l* (in this paper <lj>) is preserved (*pòlje* ‘field’, *kljûč* ‘key’, *postîlja* ‘bed’, *ûlje* ‘oil’); however, sometimes *j* can occur in its place, therefore both variants exist, e. g. *ljubâv/jubâv* ‘love’, *ljûdil/jûdi* ‘people’, *škôlj/škôj* ‘island’, *zêmlja/zemjâ* ‘earth’, *zdrâvlje/zdrâvje* ‘health’.<sup>27</sup>

The phoneme *ň* (in this paper <nj>) is preserved: *njâdra* ‘bosom’, *njôn* ‘neighbour’, *njorît* ‘to dive’.

The phoneme *x* (in this paper <h>) is unstable; it is preserved in some examples (*glûh* ‘deaf (*m.*)’, *glûha* ‘deaf (*f.*)’, *orîh* ‘walnut’, *hrânimô* ‘we feed’, *kûhamo* ‘we cook’), but substituted by *v* in many others (*strâv* ‘fear’, *kûva* ‘(s)he cooks’, *skûvat* ‘to cook’, *ûvo* ‘ear’, *krûv* ‘bread’, gen<sup>sg</sup> *krûva*). At the beginning of the word *x* is most often lost: *îtît* ‘to throw’, *itâc* ‘shot’, *ôcu* ‘I want’.<sup>28</sup> The change *x > f* sometimes occurs:<sup>29</sup> *oflâđilo* ‘cooled down (*n.*)’, *trûfla* ‘gravid’,<sup>30</sup> *krûv/krûf* ‘bread’, whilst in Supetarska Draga, Kapor and Mundanije (sporadically also in Banjol) *f* changes to *x*.<sup>31</sup> This change is attested in Barbat toponym *Hûnda* (<*fundat* ‘to submerge’); in other examples, *f* is well preserved (*kafê* ‘coffee’, *fremetûn* ‘corn’, *frîgat* ‘to fry’). The cluster *xv* changed to *f*: *fâlâ* ‘thank you’, *pořâlît* ‘to praise’.

Final suffixal *-m* changes to *-n*: *vrûcon vodôn* ‘with hot water’, *ž njôn* ‘with her’, *sêdan* ‘seven’, *ôsân* ‘eight’, *êapân* ‘I catch’, *mîslin* ‘I think’, *vîdin* ‘I see’.<sup>32</sup> The root *-m* is preserved: *srâm* ‘shame’, *grôm* ‘thunder’, *dîm* ‘smoke’.

The initial cluster *čr-* is preserved in *črñ* ‘black’, *črljêno* ‘red’, *čřv* ‘worm’, and in the toponyms *Črljêno*, *Črñîcje*.

<sup>27</sup> Doublets like these also occur in toponymy elsewhere on Rab, e.g. *Grôblje/Grôlje* (Ba), *Školjîć/Škojîć* (SD) and *Škôj/Škôlj* (Lo).

<sup>28</sup> In the Lopar dialect, the phoneme *x* is far more stable (*ûho* ‘ear’, *glûh* ‘deaf’, *mâceha* ‘step-mom’, *hrâni* ‘(s)he feeds’, *krûh* ‘bread’, gen<sup>sg</sup> *krûha*, *petêh* ‘rooster’, *buhâ* ‘fly’), *x > v* only sporadically (*glûva* ‘deaf (*f.*)’). In the toponymy throughout the island *x* is well preserved, e. g. *Mâli Grûh*, *Vêli Grûh*, *Hrbočarica* (Ka); *Grûh*, *Orîhovica* (SD); *Hêrôvo*, *Vřh*, *Hrustîne* (Lo) (my data), which indicates that its elimination/substitution is relatively recent.

<sup>29</sup> The change *x > f* also occurs on Iž (Lisac 2002: 86).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. in Lopar *trûhla* (my data).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *facâda* (Br)/ *facâda* (Ka, Mu, SD) ‘facade’, *facôl* (Br)/ *hacôl* (Ka, Mu, SD) ‘scarf’, *famêja* (Br)/ *famêja* (Ka, Mu, SD) ‘family’ etc. There are numerous doublets in the toponymy, e.g. *Čîfnâta/Čîhnâta*, *Frkânj/Hrkânj*, *Funtâna/Huntâna* (Ka); *Hahândeli/Fafândeli*; *Hûnda/Gôrñja Fûnda* (Mu); *Fitâncija/Hitâncija* (Ba).

<sup>32</sup> The final suffixal change *-m > -n* is a phenomenon common to Čakavian and Štokavian dialects on the islands and on the Adriatic coast (Moguš 1977: 81–82).



The final suffixal *-l* is preserved in all three categories:

- the ending of the final syllable in the singular of the masculine nouns: *načinil* ‘made (*m.*)’, *pâl* ‘fell (*m.*)’, *zgûbil* ‘lost (*m.*)’;
- the ending of the final syllable of the root of nominal words: *zrêl* ‘mature’, *gôl* ‘naked’, *vřtal* ‘garden’, *fažôl* ‘bean’, *pakâl* ‘hell’, *ôral* ‘eagle’;
- the ending of the medial syllable of the root of nominal words: *dôlnji*, gen<sup>sg</sup> *dolcà* ‘of the valley’, *kôlci* ‘sticks’, with dublet forms in the toponym *Polhljîb/Pohljîb*.

The assimilation in sonority normally occurs when two consonants of different sonority come in contact (e. g. *frîžak* ‘fresh (*m.*)’, *frîška* (*f.*); *nâpri-dak* ‘progress’, gen<sup>sg</sup> *nâpritka*). This change, however, does not affect the labiodental fricative *v* (e. g. *ôvca*, gen<sup>sg</sup> *ôravca* ‘of blind man’, gen<sup>sg</sup> *dovcà* ‘of widower’ etc.).

As in many Čakavian dialects, tense consonants in consonant clusters are replaced by less tense consonants: *gd* > *jd*: *svâjderi* ‘everywhere’; *pk* > *vk*: *klûvko* ‘ball (e. g. of yarn)’; *čk* > *šk*: *mâška* ‘cat’; *kt* > *xt*: gen<sup>sg</sup> *nôhta*; analogically nom<sup>sg</sup> *nôhat* ‘fingernail’; but gen<sup>sg</sup> *lâkta* ‘of elbow’.<sup>33</sup> The omission of initial consonants occurs in clusters: *pt* > *t*: *tîca* ‘bird’; *pš* > *š*: *šenîca* ‘wheat’; *pč* > *č*: *čëla* ‘bee’.<sup>34</sup> In the examples of *dumbòk* ‘deep’, *dumbâlĵ* ‘depth’ i *dumbînĵa* ‘depth’,<sup>35</sup> the epenthesis *m* before *b* occurs.

Other attested changes in consonant clusters: *st* > *c* (*staklò/caklò* ‘glass’); *gn* > *gñ* (*gnĵôj* ‘manure’), *žl* > *zl* (*zľica* ‘spoon’), *mñ* > *mľ* (*sũmlĵamo* ‘we doubt’), *tr* > *čr* (*črêšnja* ‘cherry’), *žd* > *ž* (*žerăt* ‘to devour’), *svr* > *sr* (*srbî* ‘it itches’); dissimilation *r-r* > *l-r* (*lebrò* ‘rib’). The rotacism *ž* > *r* occurs in the present of the verb *mòc* ‘can’: 1. sg. *mòren*, 2. sg. *mòreš*, 3. sg. *mòre*; the prothesis occurs in *jòpet* ‘again’.

The second palatalization is consistent in nom<sup>pl</sup>, dat<sup>pl</sup>, loc<sup>pl</sup> and instr<sup>pl</sup> of the masculin nouns:<sup>36</sup> *bâk* ‘bull’ – *bâci*, *brîg* ‘hill’ – *brîzi*, loc<sup>pl</sup> *po brîzima<sup>n</sup>*, *nûk* ‘grandson’ – *nûci*, dat<sup>pl</sup> *nûcima<sup>n</sup>*, *rôg* ‘horn’ – *rôzi*, instr<sup>pl</sup> *rôzima<sup>n</sup>*, *orîh* ‘walnut’ – *orîsi*. There is no palatalisation in dat<sup>pl</sup> and loc<sup>pl</sup> of the *e*-stem feminine nouns: *na nogî* ‘on the leg’, *na rûkî* ‘on the arm’, *va jûhi* ‘in the soup’.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Such consonant changes are common in Central Čakavian dialects (Lisac 2002: 87).

<sup>34</sup> For the explanation of this phenomenon, see Moguš 1977: 83–90.

<sup>35</sup> This example regularly occurs in the toponymy of the Central Čakavian islands; there are numerous confirmations on Pag (e.g. *Dumbâlĵ*, *Dumbòka* etc., Oštarić 2011) and on the Zadar islands (*Dumbòka/Dunbòka* – several times on Ist, Iž, Dugi otok and Sestrunj; Skračić 1996: Index of toponyms).

<sup>36</sup> The productive second palatalization is one of the features that distinguishes Central Čakavian from North Čakavian, where it no longer occurs (Lukežić 2000: 26).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. the toponyms in other Rab settlements: *Vrsî* (Ba), *Bëzi*, *Pod Orîsi*, *Gložîci* (Mu), *Grûsi*

## PROSODY

The Barbat dialect, like other Rab dialects, has an older two-accent system with no pitch distinction<sup>38</sup> consisting of a short / ʔ and a long accent / ː, both of the falling pitch.<sup>39</sup> The neo-acute (long accent of the rising pitch, / ˨/) merged with the circumflex (long accent of the falling pitch, / ː) at both phonetic and phonological levels (e. g. gen<sup>sg</sup> *vodě̌* > *vodě̌*).<sup>40</sup>

The short accent / ʔ can occur:

– on the initial syllable: *kòkoš* ‘hen’, *ròba* ‘clothes’, *vĩdin* ‘I see’, *čũjen* ‘I hear’;

– on the medial syllable: *pijăca* ‘square’, *promĩnĩla* ‘changed (f.)’, *su-sědi* ‘neighbours’, *visòka* ‘tall (f.)’;

– on the final syllable: *pojidēmò* ‘we eat’, *vũčě* ‘(s)he pulls’, *po selũ* ‘round the village’.

The long accent / ː can occur:

– on the initial syllable: *dòšal* ‘came (m.)’, *tăvula* ‘table’, *spîza* ‘food’, *vrĩdi* ‘it is worth’;

– on the medial syllable: *provětrit* ‘to aerate’; *provĩšta* ‘groceries’, *pr-văšni* ‘former’;

– on the final syllable: *barkũn* ‘window’, *propećě* ‘crucifix’, *proštĩj!* ‘read!’, *z dicôn* ‘with children’.

In the gen<sup>sg</sup> of the *e*-stem feminine gender nouns, the long accent is shortened after the pretonic length,<sup>41</sup> e. g. *trăvě* ‘of grass’, *glăvě* ‘of head’ (< *trăvê*, *glăvê*). Variants *travê*, *glavê*, with the preserved long accent, but the shortened pretonic length, also occur. Sporadically, both pretonic length and long accent can be preserved (*glăvê* ‘of head’, *mũkê* ‘of flour’). The long accent is sometimes shortened after a short pretonic syllable: *vodě̌/vodě̌* ‘of water’, *ženě̌/ženě̌* ‘of woman’.

(Ka), but loc<sup>sg</sup> *Na Frânovoj Sĩki* (SD), *u Supětarsoj Drăgi*, *u Frũgi/u Frũzi*). On Susak, palatalization takes place also in loc<sup>sg</sup> of the feminine nouns: *na rĩcĩ* ‘on the hand’, *na nozĩ* ‘on the leg’, *na jũsĩ* ‘on the soup’ (Hamm et al. 1956: 78).

<sup>38</sup> According to the Moguš’s classification (Moguš 1977: 56).

<sup>39</sup> The prosodic system without tonal opposition is a general feature of the peripheral subdialect of the Ikavian-Ekavian dialect (Lukežić 1990: 112).

<sup>40</sup> Neo-acute had disappeared from the prosodic system of Rab dialects back in Kušar’s time (Kušar 1894: 7). Hraste (1955: 166–167), on the other hand, claims that slight remnants of the three-accent system can be heard on Rab, and resents to Kušar for not mentioning the Čakavian acute (as he calls it) in the Rab dialect at all. Lukežić (2009: 63, ref. 9) notes the neo-acute on Rab as a stylistic variant.

<sup>41</sup> Pretonic lengths before long accents tend to shorten in many Čakavian dialects as this sequence is phonetically unstable (Kapović 2015: 665–666).

As in most Ikavian-Ekavian dialects, posttonic lengths are shortened (e.g. *mīsec* ‘moon’, *gòlub* ‘pigeon’, *vīdin* ‘I see’, *mòren* ‘I can’; *pokùpila* ‘picked (f.)’, *vīdila* ‘saw (f.)’; instr<sup>sg</sup> *bròdon* ‘by ship’, *sřīcon* ‘by hapiness’ etc.).<sup>42</sup> Pretonic lengths (for which I use the symbol / 7) have been preserved, but with a tendency of shortening, which occur almost regularly before a long accent: *sudȁc* ‘judge’, gen<sup>sg</sup> *sūcȁ*; *klanȁc* ‘canyon’, gen<sup>sg</sup> *klȁncȁ*; *trȁvȁ* ‘grass’, gen<sup>sg</sup> *travȁ*; *pȁt* ‘path’, instr<sup>sg</sup> *putȁn*; *razdȁlȁt* ‘to share’, past participle (m.) *razdȁlȁl*; *mlȁtȁt* ‘to beat’, past participle (m.) *mlȁtȁl*.<sup>43</sup> Pretonic lengths are mainly preserved before a short accent (*razdȁlȁla* ‘shared (f.)’, *ogrȁšȁt* ‘to sin’), with some cases of shortening (*ubȁlȁt* ‘to pull down’, past participle (f.) *ubȁlȁla*; *presȁdȁt* ‘to transplant’, 1. sg. pres. *presȁdin*; *dvȁr* ‘yard’, loc<sup>sg</sup> *na dvorȁ*; *nisȁ* ‘they did not’). The fluctuations in the realisation of pretonic lengths in Rab dialects were confirmed already in Kušar’s time<sup>44</sup> and later by Hraste<sup>45</sup> and Lukežić.<sup>46</sup>

The old stress positions are relatively well preserved; there is, however, a tendency to sporadic stress retractions.<sup>47</sup> Retractions result in accents of a falling pitch, and usually occur to level different forms of the same paradi-

<sup>42</sup> Posttonic lengths were lost early in most of Čakavian dialects (Kapović 2015: 757). According to Kušar’s data (1894: 7), they disappeared on Rab before the 19<sup>th</sup> century (*řibar* ‘fisherman’, *vīdiš* ‘you see’, *stȁri* ‘old (m.)’).

<sup>43</sup> Pretonic lengths are inconsistent in the other settlements of the island of Rab as well. E. g. in Lopar *tetȁc/tȅtȁc* ‘uncle’, *Ponȁr/Pȅnȁr*, as well as in the toponymy throughout the island: *Pȅndȁv Brȁg* (Ba), *Pȁlȁ* (Ka), *Mȁčȅv Vřh*, *Vřutȁk* (Lo), all with pretonic length, but *Pesȁk* (Ba), *Přivȁr* (Mu), *Plȁvȁc*, *Šušȁc* (Lo) without it.

<sup>44</sup> According to Kušar (1894: 9), lengths before long accents had been lost in all Rab settlements, e.g. *stupȁv* ‘of piles’, *pitȁl* ‘asked (m.)’, analogically *pitȁla* (f.), *pitȁlo* (n.). Kušar also gives examples of shortening of the pretonic length before the short accent in the town Rab: *stupȁ* ‘of pile’, *gluhȁ* ‘deaf (f.)’, *pitȁt* ‘to ask’.

<sup>45</sup> Hraste states that the lengths before the accent in urban idiom are completely lost. In rural dialects, he argues that “pretonic lengths are generally well preserved in the mentioned forms of type IV and V verbs: *gȁlȁt*, *cȁdȁt* (...) *zarȁčȁl* – *zarȁčȁla* – *zarȁčȁlo* (...)” (my translation) and in some places the accent of the type V verbs (*pȁsȁt*/ *pȁsat*) is influenced by the urban idiom (Hraste 1955: 167).

<sup>46</sup> Lukežić (2009: 65) analyzes this phenomenon as follows: “(...) pretonic lengths as a linguistic phenomenon were not generally lost in any dialect in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however there was a significant tendency for their shortening in certain categories” (my translation).

<sup>47</sup> Hraste (1955: 166) observed that prosodic changes on Rab were exhibited faster (and are still ongoing) than on any other Dalmatian island. He sees the origin of this phenomenon in the urban variety of the town of Rab, interpreting it by the tendency of the town population to meet the standard accentuation. Furthermore, he considers the intensive development of tourism and the leading tourist position of the town of Rab key factors for this phenomenon. Lukežić (2009: 79–80), however, believes that the accent retractions originate from the system itself and considers them the result of redistributions among different accent types.

gm on the prosodic level. Retractions to a pretonic length are more frequent (e.g. *glāvê/glāve* ‘of head’, *na pūtù/pātu* ‘on the path’, *na snīgù/ snīgu* ‘on the snow’, *na brīgù/brīgu* ‘on the hill’, *mošûni* (< *mošûnī*) ‘sheepfolds’, *priz jûdi-ma* (< *jûdīman*) ‘in front of people’, whilst those to a pretonic short syllable are less frequent (e.g. *vodê/vòde* ‘of water’, *nogê/nòge* ‘of leg’).<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, these examples do not necessarily represent cases of stress retractions – all of them might be result of the analogical stress leveling according to other forms of the same noun. In this case, the stress is leveled either according to nom<sup>sg</sup> (*pût*, *snīg*, *brīg*, *mošûn*), nom<sup>pl</sup> (*jûdi*) or acc<sup>sg</sup> (*glāvu*, *vòdu*, *nògu*).

Unexpected innovation is found in the past participle of some few verbs: e. g. *zgubīt* ‘to lose’, 1. sg. pres. *zgùbin*, past participle *zgùbil* – *zgùbila* – *zgùbilo*; *donêst* ‘to bring’, 1. sg. pres. *donesên*, past participle *dònesal* – *dònesla* – *dòneslo*, where the stress retracted to the initial syllable.

In nouns with a mobile accent paradigm the accent shifts to proclitics (mostly on the preposition *na* ‘on, in, to’ or *za* ‘for’) in acc<sup>sg</sup>: *nà ruku* ‘on the arm’, *nà more* ‘to the sea’, *nà sunce* ‘in the sun’, *nà noge* ‘on the legs’, *nà vrime* ‘on time’, *nà uvo* ‘in the ear’, *zà vrat* ‘for the neck’, *zà glavu* ‘for the head’, sometimes even in gen<sup>sg</sup> on the preposition *kod* ‘at, by’ or *od* ‘from’: *kòd mene* ‘by me’, *kòd njega* ‘by him’, *òd njega* ‘from him’ and in loc<sup>sg</sup> on the preposition *na* ‘on’: *Nà Mesti*, *nà mori* ‘on the sea’.

In the Barbat dialect, as in other Rab dialects, different types of accent lengthening occur: preresonant lengthening, lengthening in stressed closed syllables, and (sporadically) lengthening in stressed syllables.

#### A) Preresonant lengthening

Preresonant lengthening is a common feature of Čakavian dialects (it also occurs in Štokavian and Kajkavian dialects);<sup>49</sup> the variations relate to the conditions and results of lengthening. In the Barbat dialect, lengthening occurs consistently before resonants (*j*, *l*, *r*, *v*, *m*, *n*, *ń*) in both final and medial syllables. The quality of the vowels affected by the preresonant lengthening is equal to that of the originally long vowels.

Examples of lengthening:

<sup>48</sup> Some examples of accent retractions from the Rab toponymy: *Bârićev Vřh* (Ba), *Vřata Nârôda* (Rb), *Mûli*, *Svêta Mârâ/Svêta Mâra* (Ka), *Prâšćar/Praščâr* (SD), *Zêlena Vřata*, *Sîće/Sîćê* (Lo) (my data).

<sup>49</sup> "Preresonant lengthening irregularly intersects Štokavian, Čakavian and Kajkavian dialects, thus refuting the artificial division into three dialects and pointing to the dialectal continuum among them." (Kapović 2015: 554, my translation).

- in the medial syllable: *divôjka* ‘girl’, *pokôjna*, *nâjbolje* ‘the best (n.)’, *jănjac* ‘lamb’ nom<sup>pl</sup> *jănci*, *štûmak* ‘stomach’ gen<sup>sg</sup> *štûmka*;
- in the final syllable: *kônj* ‘horse’, *sîr* ‘cheese’, *krôv* ‘roof’, *ogânj* ‘fire’, *dîm* ‘smoke’, *nisân* ‘I did not’, *posâl* ‘job’; *načinîl* ‘made (m.)’, *pâl* ‘fell (m.)’, *muzên* ‘I milk’; *čigôv* ‘whose’.

## B) Lengthening in stressed closed syllables

Lengthening in stressed closed syllables is typical for Central Čakavian dialects south of the Lošinj–Novi Vinodolski line (Kapović 2015),<sup>50</sup> and is mostly widespread in the peripheral subdialect (Lukežić 2000 and Lukežić 1990). The lengthening results in the long accent, phonetically equal to the original long accent. The quality of the lengthened vowels is equal to that of the originally long vowels.<sup>51</sup>

The lengthening in the medial syllable occurs consistently on the vowel *a* and with some exceptions on other vowels:<sup>52</sup>

- on the vowel *a*: *bogâstvo* ‘wealth’, *jâdrit* ‘to sail’, *mâslina* ‘olive’, *brbâski* ‘from Barbat’, *kopâtva* ‘season of digging’, *zâdnji* ‘the last’, *blâgdan* ‘holiday’;

- on the vowel *e*: *mêsto* ‘place’, *lêtnje* ‘summer (adj.)’, *rêbra* ‘ribs’, *srêdnji* ‘middle’, but *mêštar* ‘teacher’, *bljêzgo* ‘babblers’, *têpla* ‘warm (f.)’, *mêhka* ‘soft (f.)’, *čêsta* ‘road’;

- on the vowel *o*: *kôzji* ‘goat (adj.)’, *brôskva* ‘coliflower’, *pôšta* ‘post office’, *ôvčji* ‘sheep (adj.)’, but *bôžji/bôžji* ‘God’s’, *môgla/môgla* ‘could (f.)’, but *dôsta* ‘enough’, *pôslin* ‘later’, *ôbruč* ‘hoop’;

- on the vowel *i*: *dîčji* ‘children’s’, *dîvlja* ‘wild (f.)’, *delîdba* ‘division’, *provîšta* ‘grocery shopping’, but *črîšnja/črîšnja* ‘cherry’, *îstina/îstina* ‘truth’;

- on vowel *u*: *jûžnji* ‘southeastern’, *sûski* ‘of court’, *mûštra* ‘sample’, but *zûtra* ‘tomorrow’, *pûknut* ‘to break’.

In the final syllable, the lengthening occurs consistently on the vowel *a* and facultatively on the vowels *e*, *o* and *i*.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Lukežić (1990: 90) states that the lengthening in the final closed syllable is feature of the Čakavian Ikavian-Ekavian dialects and does not occur in other linguistic systems (with the exception of the Čakavian Ikavian town of Stinatz in Burgenland, Austria).

<sup>51</sup> This is also the case in Lopar, e. g. *pêkla* ‘baked (f.)’, *lêtno* ‘summer (adj. n.)’, while in Banjol the quality of the vowel *a* affected by lengthening in the closed stressed syllable is equal to that of the short *a* (*mâška* ‘cat’, *lenâc* ‘lazy bone’ etc.) (my data).

<sup>52</sup> For Barbat, Lukežić (1990: 85) states a general mandatory lengthening in the medial syllable on *a*, *e*, *o*, and optional lengthening on *i* and *u*.

<sup>53</sup> Kušar (1894: 10–13) concludes that the lengthening is absent before certain consonants and consonant clusters, e. g. in the final syllable before *k*, *č*, *ć* and *t*. Lukežić (1990: 88),

- on the vowel *a*: *žitāk* ‘estate’, *telāc* ‘male calf’, *lenāc* ‘lazy bone’, *vjāž* ‘journey’, *danās* ‘today’;
- on the vowel *e*: *dēd* ‘grandfather’, *srēdnji* ‘in the middle’, *ubēd* ‘lunch’, but *zēt* ‘son-in-law’, *ciprēs* ‘cyprus’;
- on the vowel *o*: *mōgla* ‘could (*f.*)’, *gōst* ‘guest’ (gen<sup>sg</sup> *gōsta*, nom<sup>pl</sup> *gōsti*), *trōskut* ‘species of weed’, but *jōš* ‘more’, *pōp* ‘priest’, *tlōh* ‘ground’;
- on the vowel *i*: *īst* ‘to eat’, *čīstīt* ‘to clean’, *grīst* ‘to bite’, but *bubrīg* ‘kidney’, *ježik* ‘tongue’, *perīt* ‘judicial expert’.

There is no lengthening on the vowel *u* (*potprūh* ‘rope for tightening the saddle on a donkey’, *požerūh* ‘glutton’, *pršūt* ‘bacon’, *trūhla* ‘gravid’, *dūblji* ‘deeper’).

### C) Lengthening in stressed syllables<sup>54</sup>

This type of lengthening is spread across the Čakavian territory, but it occurs in two other Croatian macro-dialects as well; the differences between individual dialects are related to vowels affected and to the conditions of lengthening (Kapović 2015: 594). In the Barbat dialect, lengthening occurs sporadically on the vowel *a* in some examples from toponymy (*Jūričićeva Drāga*, *Drāžica*, *Zā Vodu*)<sup>55</sup> and as a result of the accent shift to the proclitic (e.g. *nā vrime* ‘in time’, but *nā noge* ‘on the legs’, *nā mori* ‘on the sea’).<sup>56</sup> Since the lengthening in a stressed syllable is a chronologically younger phenomenon, the quality of lengthened vowels remains unchanged in most Croatian dialects.<sup>57</sup> The change of the vowel quality of *a* in Barbat is a rarity which may indicate that the closing of long vowels in Barbat dialect is still operative.

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however, states for Barbat a mandatory lengthening on vowels *a*, *e*, optionally on *o*, *i*.

<sup>54</sup> For this type of lengthening, Lukežić uses the term “the lengthening of a short accent in the medial open syllable” (my translation), and so do Langston (2006: 124–125) and Zubčić (2006: 338). Kapović (2015: 594, ref. 2195), however, considers that name incorrect, stating that the condition for the lengthening is neither necessarily a case of non-final syllables, nor the openness of a syllable.

<sup>55</sup> Kušar (1894) does not give any example of this type of lengthening on Rab, whilst Lukežić (1990: 90) mentions only a facultative lengthening on vowels *a* and *o* in Supetarska Draga.

<sup>56</sup> Some examples of the lengthening in the Rab toponymy: *Ogrāde*, *Nā Polje* (Ka), *Gromāčica* (Lo), *Bābine Drāžice*, *Nā Drnāči* (Lo); exceptions: *Gromāče*, *Božāve* (SD), *Drāžina* (Ka), *Tātarica* (Lo). In Banjol, I noted examples of lengthening of the vowel *a* from spontaneous speech (*rāčić* ‘little crab’, *drāga* ‘valley’, *vāla* ‘bay’, *od kāmēna* ‘of stone’; exceptions: *rāža*, *pāgar*, *gāleb* (different fish species), which, to my knowledge, does not occur in Barbat.

<sup>57</sup> Kapović (2015: 610 and ref. 2236) claims that lengthened vowels in stressed syllables almost never close or diphthongize (see also Lukežić 1990: 91).

## MORPHOLOGICAL NOTES

In this section, I will highlight some of the morphological features of the Barbat dialect.

As in other Rab dialects, the interrogative adjective and relative pronoun is *čă/čq* ‘what/which’. Other forms derived from *ča* are also in use: *zqč* ‘why’, *vqč* ‘in what’ and *nqč* ‘on what’, as well as the old genitive form *čqsa* ‘of what’.

In loc<sup>sg</sup> masculine nouns have the ending *-u* (*na dvōrŭ* ‘in the yard’, *na svītŭ* ‘in the world’), while the neuter nouns have preserved the remnants of the alternation *-u/-i*, which existed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>58</sup> (*na selŭ* ‘in the village’, but *nă mori* ‘in the sea’, *na pōlji* ‘on the field’, *na mēsti* ‘in the place’). The preposition *va* (‘in’) in the locative case can be omitted (*Kāmpori su jŭdi orăli z voľman*. ‘In Kāmpor, people used to plough with oxen.’).

As in most Čakavian island dialects, two-syllable nouns have short plurals (*brōdi* ‘boats’, *stōli* ‘tables’, *sīni* ‘sons’, *dēdi* ‘grandfathers’). Acc<sup>pl</sup> of masculine nouns equals nom<sup>pl</sup> (*nōsin opānci* ‘I wear mocassins’, *īdēn orīsi* ‘I eat walnuts’, *vīdin rībari* ‘I see fishermen’).<sup>59</sup>

Gen<sup>pl</sup> has typical Čakavian endings: feminine and neuter nouns have the ending *-Ō* (*z rūk* ‘of the hands’, *kod ovqč* ‘at the sheep’, *ot smōkav* ‘from figs’, *rebqč* ‘of ribs’, *kolēn* ‘of knees’). The masculine nouns have the ending *-ov/-ev* (*brōdov* ‘of ship’, *gōstov* ‘of guests’, *nōhtov* ‘of fingernails’, *volōv* ‘of oxen’, *tīcev* ‘of birds’), which sporadically also occurs in the neuter nouns (*zvōnov* ‘of bells’, *pērov* ‘of feathers’).<sup>60</sup> Nouns denoting units of measurement often have the ending *-i* (*četrđēset kīli* ‘fourty kilograms’, *dvanājst kilomētri* ‘twelve kilometers’).

The endings for dat<sup>pl</sup>, loc<sup>pl</sup> and instr<sup>pl</sup> are uniform; masculine and neuter nouns have the ending *-ima<sup>n</sup>* (*na plećima<sup>n</sup>* ‘on the shoulders’, *z vēlin zŭnima<sup>n</sup>* ‘with big grains’), while feminine nouns have the ending *-amin* (*ovcāmin* ‘to sheep’, *z famējamin* ‘with families’).<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> According to Kušar (1894: 28), in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, all masculine and neuter nouns had a double ending *-u/-i* (*Lošinŭ, Zădri, vĕtri* ‘wind’, *mĕsti* ‘place’, *mōri* ‘sea’ etc. besides *Lošinŭ, Zădru* etc.).

<sup>59</sup> Cf. in Lopar: *Čŭvāli smo voľi, tovāri*. ‘We tended oxen, donkeys.’ (my data).

<sup>60</sup> The gen<sup>pl</sup> ending *-ov* for masculine nouns, feature of Dalmatian Central Čakavian dialects and of the dialects of Senj, Lika and the continental area, is sporadically generalized to the neuter nouns (Lukežić 2000: 25). On Pag, however, Vranić (2011: 633) notes the ending *-ov/-ev* exclusively for masculine nouns.

<sup>61</sup> Old endings for dat<sup>pl</sup>, loc<sup>pl</sup> and instr<sup>pl</sup> are preserved in most North Čakavian dialects, whilst they are sporadically leveled in island dialects south of Rab (Lukežić 2000: 26). In Kušar’s time, the old endings for dat<sup>pl</sup> (*-on/-en* for masculine and neuter nouns, *-an* for feminine



The infinitive has no ending *-i* (*imăt* ‘to have’, *gūlīt* ‘to peel’, *hodīt* ‘to go’). The ending for the 3. pl. pres. is *-u* (*mučû* ‘they are silent’, *sičû* ‘they cut’, *činû* ‘they do’). The present tense of the verb *hodīt* ‘to go’ is: *grēn*, *grēš*, *grê*, *grēmō*, *grēstē*, *grēdũ*. Past participle has preserved a final *-l* (*govorîl* ‘spoke (*m.*)’, *nosîl* ‘carried (*m.*)’, *volîl* ‘loved (*m.*)’). The imperative has the ending *-i* (*držî!* ‘hold!’), *kūpî!* ‘buy!’). The present participle is functional (*spûc* ‘sleeping’, *hodûc* ‘walking’), while the perfect participle, the aorist and the imperfect tense are now lost.<sup>62</sup>

## NOTES FROM SYNTAX AND LEXICON

In the Barbat dialect, the preposition is often omitted in the accusative case of direction (*Posprāvite stvâri kũcũ*. ‘Take the things **into the house**.’; *Îtićemo mrîžu mōre*. ‘We’ll throw the net **into the sea**.’) and in locative case (*Kânti se razvâlĵala mocîra*. ‘**In the field**, the stone wall collapsed.’; *Bîl san grădu*. ‘I was **in the town**.’). Intention is often expressed with *kako bi* ‘in order to’ (*Mătē se fûra na malaĵju kako bi škivâl posâl*. ‘Mate pretends to be ill **in order to** avoid work.’), whilst the construction *za* + infinitive, otherwise common in Čakavian island dialects, has a rarer occurrence (*Učinîl je găşu za ėapăt zêca*. ‘He made a noose **to catch** a hare.’).

At the lexical level, there is a significant amount of words of Venetian and Italian origin, e.g. *parlatăt* ‘to speak’, *štũmak* ‘stomach’, *lêtera* ‘letter’, *spôza* ‘fiancée’, *veštîd* ‘suit’, *pulîto* ‘clean’, *tăvula* ‘table’, *kunĵin* ‘border’, *šetemăna* ‘week’, *měştar* ‘teacher’, *gvêra* ‘war’, *desinjăt* ‘to draw’, *băş* ‘low (*m.*)’, *şêmpre* ‘always’ etc.

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nouns), loc<sup>pl</sup> (*-ih* for masculine and neuter nouns, *-ah* for feminine nouns) and instr<sup>pl</sup> (*-i* for masculine and neuter nouns, *-ami* for feminine nouns) were still in use (Kušar 1984: 31). Today, old endings are preserved only in Lopar, as can be seen in the toponymy: *Na Kopăh*, *Na Boronĵinah*, *Va Măslinah*, as well as in the spontaneous speech: *po žurnădah* ‘by wages’, v *Mundanĵah* ‘in Mundanije’ (my data).

<sup>62</sup> In Kušar’s time, both the aorist and the imperfect tenses were productive (Kušar 1894: 38), and according to Lukežić (2000: 26), in the mid 1980s the imperfect tense could still be heard in all Rab dialects. The dialect of Lopar is the only one that has preserved some forms of aorist tense to this day, e. g. *dôjti* ‘to come’ (*dôjdoh*, *dôjde*, *dôjde*, *dôjdohomo*, *dôjdoste*, *dôjdoše*) as well as some forms of the imperfect tense, e. g. *ċũvahomo* ‘we were keeping’, *skũpljahomo* ‘we were collecting’ (my data).

## Conclusion

The Barbat dialect is a typical representative of the dialects of the island of Rab, which, as stated in the introduction, are relatively homogeneous at the phonological, morphological, prosodic and lexical levels. In addition to the features which are typical for Central Čakavian dialects (ikavian-ekavian reflex of *jat*, two-accent system, lengthening in a stressed closed syllable), it has some peculiarities that are specific to Rab dialects. By this, I primarily refer to the tendency to accent retractions, which are more frequent than in other Central Čakavian island dialects. As Hraste observed in the middle of the last century, this tendency is growing under the increasing influence of urban idiom, whilst the significant development of tourism in the last few decades only seems to contribute to the standardization of the dialect. Nowadays, the town of Rab itself is inhabited by people from the surrounding villages, whilst the majority of domicile population has emigrated from the island in the last few decades. Therefore, the original dialect of the town of Rab (as described by Kušar and Hraste) is no longer in use, whilst the idiom spoken in Rab is a combination of other Rab dialects (which are very similar among themselves). In Barbat, Banjol and Palit, tourism has progressed to such an extent that it has almost completely eradicated the traditional island way of life. The future will show us to which extent the dialects of Rab will be able to resist the pressure of the standard language caused by the predominance of tourism and the modernization of the island.

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## **FONOLOŠKA OBILJEŽJA GOVORA BARBATA NA OTOKU RABU**

U radu su opisana fonološka obilježja čakavskoga govora naselja Barbat na otoku Rabu, koji pripada rubnom poddijalektu srednjočakavskog (ikavsko-ekavskog) dijalekta. Rad orijentiran k opisu fonološke (vokalizam i konsonantizam) i prozodijske jezične razine (naglasni sustav i naglasna duljenja), no usto se navode i osnovne morfološke značajke te nekoliko napomena iz sintakse i leksika. Govor Barbata uspoređuje se s ostalim rapskim govorima kao i s ostalim srednjočakavskim otočkim govorima.

Ključne riječi: *Barbat, Rab, srednjočakavski, fonologija, naglasak.*