

DIJALEKTI, JEZIČNA POVIJEST I TRADICIJA

Zbornik u čast Josipu Lisicu



mh
maticahrvatska

DIJALEKTI, JEZIČNA POVIJEST I TRADICIJA: Zbornik u čast Josipu Liscu

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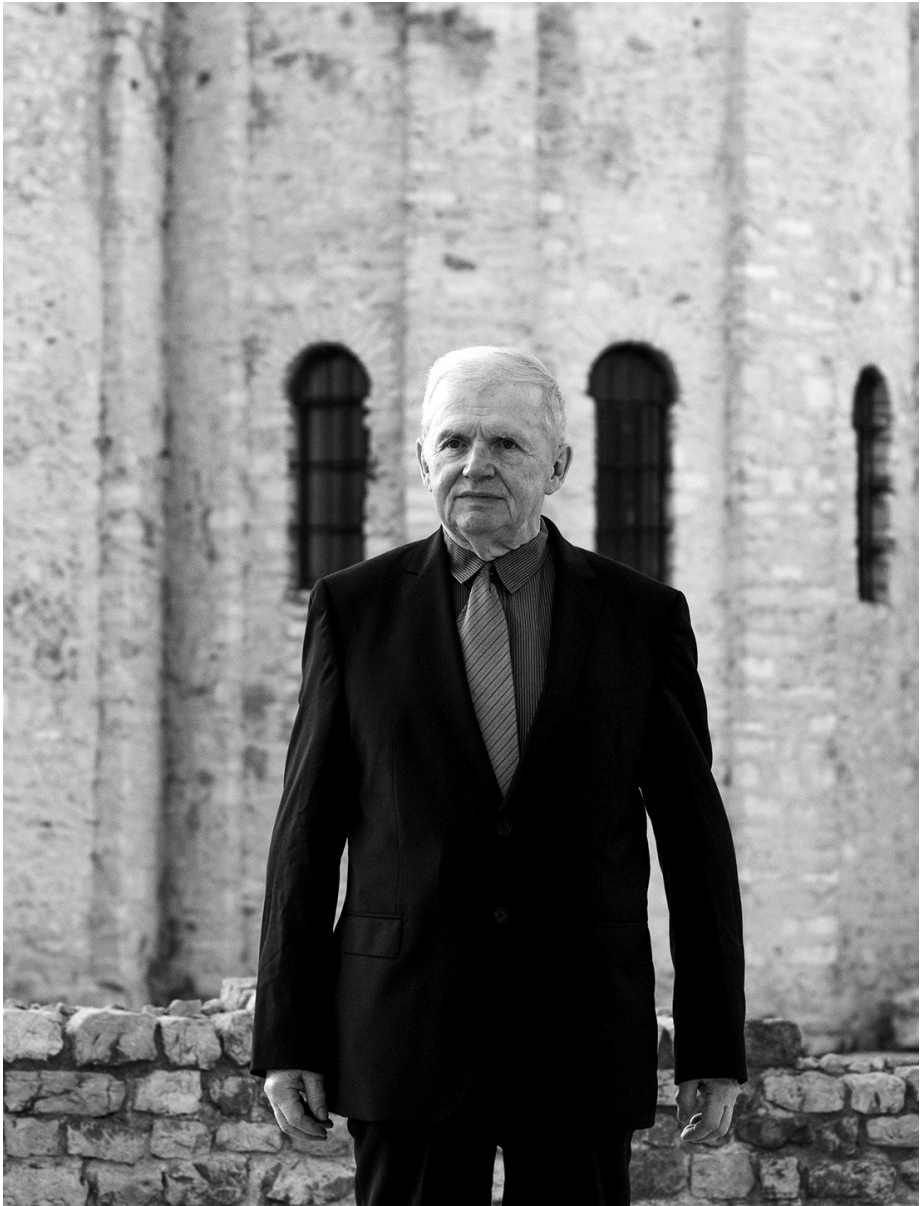
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prof. dr. sc. Josip Lisac

The Western South Slavic Change *-l > -o/-a* and Attendant Phenomena: Diachronic, Diatopic, Terminological, and Typological Considerations

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Among the changes characteristic of the Western South Slavic dialect area is the weakening of syllable- and word-final *-l > o*, which is part of the many changes in phonological systems and syllabic structures that followed from the loss of weak jers. The specific outcome of *-l > -o* (as well as *-a, -e*) is focused mostly in the Štokavian and is accordingly characteristic of the Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian standard languages. It occurs also in some Kajkavian and Slovene dialects. This paper examines the processes that have led to variation. Four processes are identified following the loss of weak jers (Havlík's law): (1) Weakening of *ǰ* to *w*, (2) Vocalization of *w* to *o*, (3) Assimilation of *-ǰ/ao* to *-ō, -ā* ("contraction"), (4) Intercalation of palatal glide (*-ijo/-ija*). Some discussion of the traditional term *sažimanje* 'contraction' for change (3) is offered and it is suggested that the term 'assimilation', which is occasionally used as a synonym, better denotes the change.

KEYWORDS: Slovene language, BCMS, Bosnian language, Croatian language, Montenegrin language, Serbian language, dialectology, phonology, phonetics

1. It is an honor to contribute to the volume honoring Prof. Dr. Sc. Josip Lisac on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. His opus encompasses many works concerning the history, dialectology, description, and cultural history of the Croatian language, ranging from focused studies to synthetic works. He is one of the few linguists in the post-Yugoslav period to continue to synthesize the broader picture of organic varieties of the Western South Slavic languages, most notably in his valuable (planned) trilogy *Hrvatska dijalektologija* (Lisac 2003, 2009). He has done pioneering work on the description of the dialect of the Gorski Kotar region,

some of whose speakers emigrated in the early twentieth century to the Strawberry Hill neighborhood of Kansas City, Kansas and whose descendants sometimes study standard Croatian at the University of Kansas.

2. This paper focuses on the change of $l > o/a$ at the end of a syllable, most notably—but not exclusively—in word-final position, and related phenomena in Western South Slavic dialects. Though the sound change itself is not uncommon, the precursors to the change, as well as the follow-on effects on surrounding segments, are of diacritic value for dialect classification and understanding the dialectal reticulation of the South Slavic language area (Ivić 1958: 44; Popović 305–306: 1960; Lisac 2003: 17). Nevertheless, in the literature changes such as $(-al >) -ao > -\bar{o}/\bar{a}$ are often referred to in a common shorthand (such as the formula just adduced or traditional terms such as *sažimanje* ‘contraction’) that leaves aside consideration of the complex nature of the changes. In addition to the complex nature of the change and its motivations, there is more than one change at stake—indeed there are many. Such shorthand, of course, is useful when referring to common changes well known to the in-group of Slavic philologists, or, more precisely, when referring sets of overlapping changes. Nevertheless, their repetition as shorthand terms through generations of research can make the nature of the change ambiguous or obscure, especially to out-group readers. Accordingly, some of these changes deserve more explanation than they have received.¹ The changes are listed here, of which some are hypothetical stages, and are presented in rough relative chronological order:

¹ This paper benefitted from discussion and comments with Siniša Habijanec (Bratislava) and Mate Kapović (Zagreb).

Symbol used in this paper	Change	Notes
H	$-Vl-\text{ь}(C) > -Vl-\emptyset(C)$	Loss of final weak jer (as applicable) – Havlík’s law
W	$-Vl-\emptyset(C) > -Vw(C)$	Weakening of l to w
O	$-Vw(C) > -Vo(C)$	Vocalization of w to o
S	$-\text{ə}/\text{ao}(C) > -\bar{o}(C), \bar{a}(C)$	“ <i>Sažimanje</i> ” ‘contraction’ ²
I	$-i/\text{eo} > V\text{yo}, V\text{ya}$	Intercalation of palatal glide

3. In this section we provide a brief overview of the changes listed above from Common Slavic to Western South Slavic and its dialect dissolution.

3.1. Change H requires no discussion here, as Havlík’s Law is well understood, it applies equally to all Slavic languages, and its results are consistent in final position: all final jers are eliminated. As is well-known, the contrast between front and back jers were eliminated in Western South Slavic such that there is no trace of such a contrast on adjacent consonants. Accordingly, in the continuation they will be rendered in reconstructed forms with a single sign, ə . Its inclusion here is principally to remind the reader that the changes to be discussed in the remainder of the paper are a consequence of this watershed development in the disintegration of the Common Slavic phonological system. As a result, the reorganization of phonological systems and the structure of syllables resulted in considerable variation across the Slavic-speaking groups.

3.2. Change W is common in Slavic languages, but is not a characteristic of Common Slavic and, as such, it belongs to the period of dialectal differentiation after the disintegration of Common Slavic. It occurs notably in Polish, Slovak, Belarusian, Ukrainian, Slovene, and BCMS.

² The impetus for this article comes from an e-mail discussion with Brian D. Joseph (27 April 2019), who responded to my use of the term contraction to characterize the change $-al > -ao > -\bar{o}$ or $-\bar{a}$ in Štokavian dialects, in this case referring to Montenegrin dialect variation (Greenberg 2019: 138) corresponding to Čirgić’s (and many others’) term *sažimanje* (Čirgić 2017: 55, 57, 101). In the continuation it will be suggested that this is not contraction, but assimilation.

3.3. Change O involves the change of the new (phonetic variant) syllable- or word-final *-w* (necessarily following change H) to *-o* or, less frequently, *-a*.³ The change is dated to the around 1400 (Brozović and Ivić 1988: 12). In terms of geography, it characterizes the Štokavian dialect as a whole, though there are exceptions: it occurs also in a subset of Kajkavian dialects (Western Međimurje, Blažeka 2008: 186) and in the Pannonian dialect of Slovene, e.g., (Cankova, Prekmurje: *pòubro* ‘he read’ < **pòb̄aral̄a*, *pòslo* ‘he sent’, *s̄amlo* ‘he milled’ [Pável 1909]; Crkvenjak, Prlekija: *n̄esa* ‘he carried’, *č̄aka* ‘he waited’, *nor̄eja* ‘he went crazy’ *doj̄ija* ‘he milked’ [Rajh 2008]).⁴ In the northern Štokavian Slavonian dialect the regular reflex of final *-l* is *-o* (Ivić 1958: 294; Lisac 2003:34). On the other hand, syllable-final *l* is preserved as such in peripheral dialects, e.g., in the west of the Posavina Slavonian dialect in Magić Mala/Siče (*d̄al* ‘gave’, *pl̄el* ‘wove’ Lisac 2003: 34); Mrkopalj (*m̄ěnil* ‘he put’, *b̄il* ‘he beat’ alongside O-type changes, Lisac 2003: 54, Lukežić 2008: 312–313), and in Torlak with the exception of the Prizen-Southern Morava dialect, which has *b̄eja* ‘white-m.sg’, *b̄ija* ‘was-m.sg’ (Lisac 2003: 144). The first two of these dialects are in contact with Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects, respectively. The Mrkopalj dialect is unusual in that it systematically preserves *-l* in nominal forms, both internally and in word-final position and has the results of the O change in the *l*-participle: *kólci* ‘stakes’, *sól* ‘salt’ – *b̄iž̄ā* ‘he ran’, *m̄ětnija* ‘he put’, *b̄ija* ‘he beat’ (Vranić and Crnić 2008: 124). Ivić indicates that the replacement of *-l* in categories other than the *l*-participle is a function of contact with Čakavian (1958: 189), as noted also by Kapović, who points out that the nearby Central Čakavian dialect of Sunger has influenced it (2011: 161).⁵

In the majority of Younger Ikavian dialect varieties, the reflex is *-o*, though in the south-west there are examples of *-a*: *bi(j)a* ‘he was’, *ci(j)a* ‘all m.sg’, *te(j)aci* ‘calves’ (< **tel̄aci*) (Ivić 1958: 189). Similar examples are found in Istrian Ikavian, e.g., *bija* ‘he was’, *čuja* ‘he heard’, *stejana* ‘pregnant (said of a cow)’ (< **stel̄ana*) (Ivić 1958: 254), which represent an extension of the situation in the Makarska Littoral (Lisac 2003: 60).

³ In a small minority of localities, *-e* as in *b̄ije* ‘he was’ also occurs, for example, in Trnovac (Lika) and Posedarje, as noted by Lisac (2003: 54).

⁴ Neither dialect contrasts pitch – the acute and grave refer to long and short stress, respectively.

⁵ Standard Croatian, as well, permits the replacement of *l* by analogy, e.g., *kolac* nom.sg, *sol̄i* gen.sg) as well as the inherited *kóci* and *sō* typical in Štokavian dialects (or in phrases such *s kóca i kónopca* ‘mix and match’) (Mate Kapović: p.c.).

3.4. Change S occurs throughout the areas in which the O change has taken place and creates differential zones within the Štokavian territory which are used as diacritic isoglosses to define dialect contours, e.g., the “Younger Ikavian” dialect subzones are defined by Ivić on the basis of the permutations of the reflex of **-sk’- > št || šć* and *-l > -o* (inland) || *-a* (littoral) into four groups from the Makarska Littoral inland towards Mostar in Bosnia; these isoglosses have spread westwards and northwards with resettlements following Turkish incursions (1958: 196–198; see also Lisac 2003: 60–64). Otherwise, both the western and eastern Bosnian dialects typically have *-ō* as the default results (Lisac 2003: 61, 79), with discrepancies in accented vs. unaccented forms. For example, in Štokavian dialects similar to the BCMS standards (and colloquially) forms such as (monosyllabic) *dào* ‘he gave’ occur simultaneously in systems with *pròdō* ‘he sold’, *ně dō* ‘he didn’t give’; in Dubrovnik and environs *dō* ‘he gave’ and *pròdō* are attested, Western Ikavian has both *dā* and *pròdā* (Ćupić 1985: 75 and M. Kapović: p.c.). Following the Adriatic coast further to the south, Montenegrin dialects show, in addition to a parallel arrangement to the Younger Ikavian dialect, an inland zone with *-ō* and a littoral zone with *-ā*. Further reticulation of the Montenegrin isoglosses occurs with southerly dialects coinciding with those areas where strong jer reflexes have remained distinct from inherited *a*, yielding four subtypes: (1) *-al > -ō*, *-al > -ao* (*mògō* ‘he could’, *čěkao* ‘he waited’); (2) *-al > -ō*, *-al > -ā/-ā^o* (*mògō*, *čerā/čerā^o* ‘he pushed’); (3) *-al > -ā^e/-ā^{en}*, *-al > -ā^o* (*pošā^e/pošā^{en}* ‘he went’, *krepā^o* ‘he died’); (4) *-al > -ā^e*, *-al > -ā* (*mògā^e*, *čěrā*) (Čirgić 2017: 101–107). In the Eastern Herzegovina dialect, again, the default reflex of the *-ao* is *ō* with the exception of *-ā* reflexes in some smaller zones in northern Dalmatia, enclaves north of Karlovac (Žumberak, Kordun, Banija, Gorski kotar), and the south-western Bosnia (Lisac 2003: 100). In these exceptional areas, Lisac attributes the *ā* reflex to influence from Dalmatian Ikavian dialects in the north-western zone and to the influence of Montenegrin (“Zeta-Sandžak”) dialects in the south-west (Lisac 2003: 105; see also Ivić 1958: 264).

3.4.1. In the Kosovo-Resava dialect stress *-ào* is typically preserved as such, though in a subset of localities changed to *-ō*, e.g., *dō* ‘he gave’, *došō* ‘he came’ (Ivić 1958: 233).

3.4.2. Change S also presents a terminological issue, as it is traditionally referred to as *sažimanje* ‘contraction’, as was mentioned earlier. The term in this context

is not used in a way that corresponds to the normal “dictionary” definition of the word, which connotes in both BCMS and English the loss of something, e.g., a segment or a syllable, such as English *can not > can't*. It is also not used in the way that it is used to refer to the loss of one or more segments in the shorthand for the 3-stage Slavic process as in Proto-Slavic (0) **dobrajego >* Old Church Slavic (1) *dobraego >* (2) *dobraago >* (3) *dobrago* ‘good gen.sg.masc’. Although the change (0) to (1) is an example of contraction *proprie dictu*, the term is often used in the Slavistic literature to refer to stages (0)–(3). In BCMS, the same term is used to refer to a change like (1) to (2), as we shall see below.

3.4.3. For example, the term is used in the early twentieth century by Vušović to refer to the phenomenon at the end of the masculine *l*-participle, internal syllables that contained *a/o + l* before a consonant, as well as other categories containing heterogeneous phonological input, and the term *gubljenje* ‘loss’ is used explicitly to refer to the “loss” of a vowel, e.g.,

“**SAŽIMANJE I GUBLJENJE VOKALA.** Po mnogostručnosti **sažimanja** i gubljenja vokala, ovaj je dialekt vrlo interesantan. Najpre ću pregledati slučajeve **sažimanja**. Vokal *a + o* u ovom se govoru dvojako **sažimaju**. Mesta bliže okoline Nikšića (sela nikšićskog polja i župe) ta dva vokala **sažimaju** obično u dugo *a*: *dòšā, glèdā, nāšā, pròšā, ùkrā, stājā, prèdā, mākā; žā* (žao), *krā, pā* (pāo), *kā* (kāo), *übā, kòtā, rānik* (raonik), *sāne, nāditi* (nahoditi), *nádio, on j jā* na konju (jahao – jāo), *zāva* (zaova), *gāvica* (gaovica). Na celom ostalom terenu ovog govora (u Grahovu, Banjima, Rudinama, Goliji i dr.) **sažimanje** gornjih vokala je u *ō*: *dòšō, glèdō, žō, ùkrō, kō* (kāo), *zōva* (zaova), *gōvica, Grōvo ...*”⁶ (Vušović 1927: 13; emphasis MLG)

- 6 ‘Contraction and loss of vowels. Regarding the variety of contraction and loss of vowels, this dialect is very interesting. First, I shall examine examples of contraction. The vowels *a + o* in this dialect contract in two ways. Places in the environs of Nikšić (villages of Nikšić field and district) the two vowels usually contract into a long *a*: *dòšā* ‘he came’, *glèdā* ‘he saw’, *nāšā* ‘he found’, *pròšā* ‘he passed’, *ùkrā* ‘he stole.pf’, *stājā* ‘he stood’, *prèdā* ‘he delivered’, *mākā* ‘he removed; žā (žao) ‘pity’, *krā* ‘he stole.impf’, *pā* (pāo) ‘he fell’, *kā* (kāo) ‘as, how’, *übā* ‘cistern for collecting rainwater’, *kòtā* ‘cauldron’, *rānik* (raonik) ‘plowshare’, *sāne* ‘copper dish’ (< *sahane* op. MLG), *nāditi* (nahoditi) ‘to find’, *nádio* ‘he found’, on je *jā* na konju (jahao – jāo) ‘he rode on a horse’, *zāva* (zaova) ‘sister-in-law’, *gāvica* (gaovica) ‘spotted minnow, *Delminichthys adspersus*’. In all of the rest of the terrain of this dialect (in Grahovo, Banje, Rudine, Golija, etc.) contraction of the above-mentioned vowels becomes *ō*: *dòšō, glèdō, žō, ùkrō, kō* (kāo), *zōva* (zaova), *gōvica, Grōvo ...*’

In the preceding, the author adduces both forms that involve segment-loss, such as *nahoditi > náđiti*, *jahao > jào* as well forms in which assimilation has resulted in a (long) two-mora monophthong under the term *sažimanje*, which means that the term refers not just to sement loss (*nahoditi > náđiti*), but also idiosyncratically to changes such as *ao > ō*, in which nothing is “lost,” but, rather, the identity of two adjacent vowels has assimilated in quality to produce a long vowel.

3.4.4. This usage carries over from corresponding literature on the topic written in German, which uses *KONTRAHIEREN*, *KONTRAKTION*. For example:

“Es ist aber die Tatsache hervorzuheben, daß, soviel ich weiß, nur in Ragusa ein *ao* auch im Inlaute **kontrahiert** wird: *Konàvōka* (aus *Konavalka*), *svirō-ka* (aus *sviralka*), *svrdōnica* (aus *svrdalnica*), *pōma* (aus *palma*), *vōga* (aus *valga*, Ital. *alga*), usw., vgl. aber *snōpaka* in Prčañ (S. 111).

§ 39. Die Erklärung dieses Ersatzes eines *ao* durch *ō*, beziehungsweise *ā* scheint auf der Hand zu liegen: es hat ganz einfach eine **Kontraktion** der beiden Vokale stattgefunden, welche in dem größten Teile des serbokroatischen Sprachgebietes ein *ō*, an zwei Punkten desselben aber ein *ā* ergeben hat. Dies wird ferner auch dadurch bestätigt, daß in dem Falle, wenn das *ao* betont ist, letzteres zumeist unverändert bleibt, was nicht anders erklärt werden kann, als so, daß eben die Betontheit des ersten Vokals, wodurch dieser als selbstständiges Element im Worte hervortritt, seiner Verschmelzung mit dem zweiten Vokale sich widersetzt.” (Rešetar 1907: 108, emphasis MLG)

The “Serbo-Croatian” (SH = HS) term *sažimanje* is listed as equivalent to Eng. *contraction*, Ger. *Kontraktion*, Fr. *contraction*, Cz. *kontrakce/stahování*, Rus. *kontrakcija/stjaženie* in Jedlička 1977: 158–159 (term 2-27-41). Lisac illustrates the use of the verb underlying the deverbal noun, e.g., “Vokalna skupina *-ao* obično je **sažeta** u *-ō* (*imō*) [...]” ‘The vocalic group *-ao* is usually **contracted** to *-ō* (*imō* ‘he had’) [...]’ (Lisac 2003: 100, emphasis MLG).

3.4.5. As it turns out, BCMS *sažimanje* is used consistently for the corresponding contraction processes during and following earlier process in the disintegration of Common Slavic, whereby an intervocalic segment /j/ is lost, e.g.,

“Budući da je $\tilde{}$ u stvari spoj dviju mora sa silinom na drugoj ($\tilde{a} = a\tilde{a}$), počeo se isti akcenat javljati pri **sažimanju** dvaju vokala od kojih je drugi bio naglašen, nao npr. *něćeš – něće < ne(h)ďćeš – ne(h)ďće [...]* *mōga – mōmu < mojěga – mojěmu [...]* *dvājset < dvā(d)set* i dr.”⁷ (Moguš 1971: 91, emphasis MLG).

In Halilović et al. 2009 the use of the term *sažimanje* is again used as a shorthand for the process, though the more accurate term assimilation is used in the describing the process:

“**Asimilacija vokala** je u razgovornome bosanskom jeziku redovno “blizinska”, regresivna i potpuna. Karakteristična je za glagolski pridjev radni, gdje -ao, preko -oo, sažimanjem postaje -ō: rekao > rekoō > rekō.”⁸ (Emphasis authors’, 117)

3.4.6. This more accurately describes the process at hand, which involves the change of one of the vowels to reflect the other, in this case assimilation “regressively,” from the second to the first.

3.5. Change I is attested throughout the Štokavian dialect and is found in both Torlak and Čakavian dialects.

4. To summarize the discussion of the geographical of the changes, the processes of change suggest the following scenario:

- Change H sets up the conditions in which velarized *-l* can now appear before a consonant or in word-final position.
- Change W occurs in a subset of Slavic dialect areas and follows logically on

⁷ ‘Since $\tilde{}$ essentially combines two moras with the emphasis on the second ($\tilde{a} = a\tilde{a}$), the same accent began to appear with the **contraction** of two vowels of which the second had been stressed *něćeš – něće* ‘you won’t’ – ‘s/he won’t’ < *ne(h)ďćeš – ne(h)ďće [...]* *mōga – mōmu* ‘of mine’ – ‘to mine’ < *mojěga – mojěmu [...]* *dvājset* ‘twenty’ < *dvā(d)set*, etc..’

⁸ ‘**Assimilation of vowels** in the Bosnian colloquial language is typically ‘proximate’, regressive, and complete. Characteristic is the l-participle, where -ao, via -oo, through contraction, becomes -ō: rekao > rekoō > rekō ‘he said’.’

the conditions set up by change H.

- Change O occurs in a subset of those areas that are affected by change W and does not occur in all areas of Western South Slavic – it is widespread in Štokavian, but does not reach the entire territory. It occurs sporadically in Slovene and Kajkavian. Where it does occur, its results are heterogeneous, resulting in merger with either /o/ or /a/, with the latter reflex less common and generally restricted to peripheral areas in the north and the south-west of Štokavian.
- Change S occurs in disparate areas of those in which the O change has occurred.
- Change I occurs in a smaller subset of peripheral areas of Štokavian and, notably, Torlak dialects, and sporadically throughout the Štokavian area as a whole.

5. Phonological considerations. In the following sections, the model of language change outlined in Andersen 1973, which proposes that change is driven by changes in the output of phonological structures, which are reinterpreted in constructing the grammars of the following generation of language learners. In phonological terms, sub-phonemic change occurs through deductive processes, which lead to ambiguities in judging the phonemic value of output, which is reinterpreted by successive generations of speakers through abductive processes that in effect reassign the phonetic output to new values in the underlying phonemic representation.

5.0.1. It is helpful to think about the phonetic characteristics of diphthongs with regard to other structures in the syllable. As Sánchez Miret points out, the acoustic properties of diphthongs vs. monophthongs are difficult to perceive – both may be characterized by formant movement – and notes that in diachronic terms movement between structures typically: diphthongs to monophthongs, diphthongs to bi-vocalic sequences (hiatus), or consonantization of the glide portion of a diphthong (Italian *uomo* ‘man’ > dial. *vomo*) as well as the same changes in the opposite direction. Thus, on one axis, diphthongs stand on a continuum between CV and VC sequences, and on another axis, diphthongs stand on a continuum between monophthongs and hiatus (Sánchez Miret 1998: 32).

5.1. Change W is easily understood as a reinterpretation of variation in the allophonic realization of the “dark” or velarized l , known in many languages, as noted by Blevins, who points out that both articulatory and acoustic features are potentially at play in the change: “While coda weakening of $l > w, u$ is commonplace in the world’s languages, and may, in part, relate to articulatory undershoot, there is also evidence that, due to the similar formant values of F1 and F2 in these sounds, $[ɫ]$ and $[w]/[u]$ are easily confused” (2007: 271–272). The articulatory particularities of the sound have perceptual effects, especially with respect to its position in the syllable. Velarized l is formed by both a lateral closure at the dental or alveolar place of articulation (coronal) as well as retraction of the back of the tongue (dorsal) towards the velum. The differential articulatory action in syllable-onset versus syllable-coda leads to conditions that set up speakers to perceive the allophones of the velarized l differently: “in onset (L) the coronal articulation occurs before the dorsal, whereas in nucleus and coda (L) the dorsal articulation occurs before the coronal” (Hall-Lew and Fix 2012: 795). In terms of perception, “bright” (non-velarized) $[l]$ has less defined formant structures (it is more consonantal), while dark $[ɫ]$ is characterized by more defined formants (it is more vocalic) (loc. cit.).

5.2. Once change W had taken place, the phonetic realization of syllables with $V+o$ (or $V+a$) created two ambiguities. On the surface, with regard to systemic syllable structure, the sequence could be realized either as a diphthong (tautosyllabic vowels) or a sequence of vowels (vowels in sequential syllables). Each of these results clashed with canonical syllable structure, which typically consisted (post jer-fall) of CV or CVC where V is either a short or long monophthong. Potentially, medieval Štokavian (and other western South Slavic dialects) contained at most one two other diphthongs, the descendant of Common Slavic *jat*, which may have been realized either as a high-mid vowel $[ɛ̃]$ or a diphthong $[jɛ]$ and the parallel development of $*l̥ > uo$. The second ambiguity was with regard to the underlying morphophonemic structure: particularly with regard to the *l*-participle, but also word-internally in derived words such as BCMS standard *palac*, *palca* ‘thumb-n.sg, -g.sg’, which would have normally produced an alternation *palac – paoca*. With the change *pisalə – pisala* ‘he read – she wrote’ $>$ *pisao – pisala*, the canonical stem-final consonant in nominal and quasi-nominal stems (such as the *l*-participle) was violated, setting up a quandary for speakers of the innovative forms: does the $/o/$ (or $/a/$) represent the end of the stem or the desinence? As we shall see in the discussion of change I, below, the quandary may be resolved in

some dialect varieties in favor of the second solution. In the former case, the new shape of the morpheme-final syllable ending in a vowel may be accepted as such and thus must be reckoned with as an innovative diphthong in a system otherwise poor in monophthongal-diphthongal contrasts.

5.3. Velarization and vocalization of *-l*, as pointed out above, may be a natural outcome of the mechanical and acoustic properties of “dark” *l*, but this leaves open the question of why the vocalization resulted in merger with /o/ or /a/, rather than allophonic variation between erstwhile [ɫ] and [w], as is the general trend in north Slavic languages and Slovene. Most likely this is a function of the probability of merger on the basis of the extant phonemic systems at the time of the phonetic change. As is readily observable, but has also been noted in detail in a structural framework by Isačenko 1939/1940 and Andersen 1978, the northern Slavic languages have in their post-Common-Slavic dissolution developments tended to evolve increased consonantal contrasts, whereas in South Slavic languages, especially Slovene and BCMS, richer vowel and word-prosodic contrasts have proliferated. In this light, it is not difficult to see why there would be a trend towards vocalization rather than consonantization of the glides. Moreover, it gives a clue as to why the Pannonian dialect area of Slovene and neighboring Western Međimurje stands apart from general developments in Slovene: in the areas contiguous (or co-territorial) with Hungarian, the reflex of Common Slavic **u* had begun fronting sometime around the twelfth century, making it a less likely target for merger than with /o/ (see Greenberg 2000: 116).

5.3.1. Merger of the continuation of velarized *-l* with the reflex of Common Slavic **a* presents a puzzle, as this merger is not expected. Under the prevailing view, the reflex of **a* should be a plain low central vowel. However, change O typically results in a merger with a labialized vowel. There are two logical paths to *-a* in the change under discussion: (1) the change *-l > -o* is followed by a change of *-o > -a*. Alternatively, (2) a labialized variant of **a* was available for merger, so that the change – vocalization and merger – could have taken place directly with [ã] as the target. If we accept scenario (1), this raises the question of why a further innovation took place in exclusively peripheral areas (e.g., Prlekija in northeastern Slovenia, Istrian Čakavian, the Dalmatian littoral, southern and western Montenegrin, eastern Torlak). It is possible that the change took place in multiple subzones in Slovene, Čakavian, and Štokavian (and Štokavian Torlak), but this requires

seeking independent motivation for such a development in each of these areas. Scenario (2) provides a more efficient explanation, as it assumes that there were pockets of dialect subzones in the Western South Slavic periphery that had retained a phonetically labialized reflex of Common Slavic **a*, which then provided an available target for merger with the vocalized *-l*. Scenario (2) is more plausible than (1) and, moreover, accords with other developments that point to the retention of a labialized reflex of **a* (e.g., non-merger of strong jer reflexes with **a* in northeastern Slovene dialects, Kajkavian, and southern Montenegrin dialects; see Greenberg 2000: 41, 113–115; Greenberg 2019: 142–143).

6. The question of change S hinges first on whether one believes that there was truly “contraction”, i.e., whether there was a change I before there was assimilation of one vowel to the next in the emergent vowel sequences that develop with change O. While there is no reason to dismiss the intermediate I stage out of hand, there are reasons to think that the two developments are independent. Indeed, both outcomes may co-occur in a single system. The evidence in the Montenegrin lowland Bjelopavljinci dialect is instructive, as it shows multiple outcomes in an otherwise conservative Štokavian dialect system (examples from Čupić 1977: 163–165):

-rl	<i>třo</i> ‘he rubbed’, <i>ũmro</i> ‘he died’
-C(ə)l	<i>došâ</i> ‘he came’, <i>mǔgâ</i> ‘he could’
-al	<i>pǔzvâ</i> ‘he called’, <i>prĩčâ</i> ‘he talked’, <i>propâ</i> ‘he became lošt’
-ěl	<i>ĩĩo</i> ‘he ate’ (p. 27), <i>pǔnio</i> ‘he brought’, <i>vĩdĩio</i> ‘he saw’
-il	<i>ubĩo</i> ‘he killed’, <i>izbĩo</i> ‘he beat up’, <i>bĩio</i> ‘he was’ (cited twice in different contexts), <i>vrãtĩio</i> ‘he returned’,
-ul	<i>čũo</i> ‘he heard’, <i>mřdnuo</i> ‘he moved’

In these examples we can make the following observations: (1) the regular reflex of *-l* is *-o*. (2) Change I occurs optionally only after *-i-* and *-ě-* (which has become *-i-* in short syllables). (3) There is no evidence for change I in other environments. (4) Assimilation has occurred in combinations of *-ao* and *-æo* (< *-əl*) – this is a dialect in which jers have otherwise failed to merge with *a*. Further, we can infer that

(5) non-suffixed stems such as **moglə* have merged with the *-al/-əl* types, presumably through a stage in which *-Clə* had changed to *-Cəl*. This is likely in light of the non-merger of the final sequences in *ũmro* (presumably via an intermediate **ũmr̥l̥*) with *mõgã*, the long ending of which matches both *došã* (< **došəl*) and *pðzvã*. The nearby highland Vasojevići dialect shows a system even more conservative: *mřo* ‘he was dying’, *ũmro* ‘he died’ (Stijović 2014: 9), *mõgã* ‘he could’ (Stijović 1990: 26, 43, 47), *rěkã* ‘he said’ (idem: 170, 286), *pãdã* ‘he fell’ (idem: 207, 214, 217), *propão* ‘he became lost’ (idem: 12, 234, 241) – in these examples *-əl* fails to merge with *-al* and assimilation does not occur in stressed position (*propão*).

6.1. As should be clear from the exposition above, Western South Slavic, and Štokavian in particular, demonstrates a tendency towards monophthongization not of all diphthongal syllables with the *V+o/a* structure, but of those with the structure *-əo/-əa*, *-ao*, while sequences of *-io*, *-uo* are not prone to monophthongization. Obviously, in systems in which (syllable-)final *l* merged with **a*, sequences of *-əa*, *-aa* would result directly in a monophthong *-ã*. This tendency is hardly random, but it is rather a function of the nature of diphthongs, in which the “best” or most prototypical – arguably most stable – diphthongs are those in which the contrast between the two phases are greater rather than lesser, while the lesser varieties of diphthongs – less stable and also less frequently attested in languages with diphthongs – are those with less contrast (Sánchez Miret 1998: 38, 41–43). Diphthongs with the structure *-əo/-əa*, *-ao* fit the description of less well-formed diphthongs and are thus more likely to monophthongize.

7. Finally, change I represents a potential alternative route of change to resolve the inherent structural ambiguities of new diphthongs resulting from change O. As we have seen in the Bjelopavlići examples in section 5, hiatus between a high or mid front vowel and *o/a* may be optionally filled by an intercalated glide *j̥*. Another logical possibility is hiatus as a bisyllabic realization without a glide, thus yielding three possible outcomes: (1) *bĩo* (diphthong, monosyllabic), (2) *bi.o* (disyllabic), (3) *bi̯o* (disyllabic with glide). It is often difficult to discern (2) in the literature, though it is clear that this is the preferred target pronunciation in BCMS standards and it can be presumed to be supported by dialect pronunciation throughout the Štokavian territory. Type (1) is theoretically possible, but expected less frequently and probably does not occur: in this type of a diphthong the less

sonorous element (*i*) would normally be the glide portion, and yet in monosyllabic forms it is obligatorily stressed and etymologically continues either the root vowel or a vocalic suffix. In non-stressed forms it should have a chance at developing, though to be a single syllable requires a shift of the the syllable nucleus to a previously consonantal element (*o/a < i*). Within the typology of diphthongs, the type with a high-vowel glide followed by a more sonorous (mid- or low-vowel) second element is less stable, particularly in quantity-sensitive systems, as rising (sonority) diphthongs are, inter alia, associated with shorter duration than falling ones (Sánchez Miret 1998: 48). Moreover, this type of rising-sonority diphthong has been eliminated through various processes in the history of Slavic, e.g., deiotation, monophthongization of the reflexes of **ě*.

7.1. Type (3) occurs throughout Štokavian, though the phonemicization of the intercalated *j*, to judge by the dialectological literature, tends to cluster in certain geographic areas (and is likely an emergent and ongoing process in both dialect and standard speech). Pertinent to this discussion is the status of the intercalated *ĭ* as it is integrated (or not integrated) into the phonemic system of the dialect in question (for a broader discussion of the phonemicization of *ĭ* in standard and dialects, see Kapović Forthcoming: 48, 82–93 and, with regard to the *l*-participle, fn. 465). As we have seen in the Bjelopavlići examples, it can appear as an optional hiatus filler. In the Ikavian Štokavian dialect varieties along the Dalmatian coast it appears that the change has regularly resulted in phonemicization of the hiatus filler as /*j*/, which appears in the masculine singular endings of the *l*-participle except in the case of *-al*, which consistently yields *-ā* (Menac-Mihalić 2008: 36). In the same group *l* has been restored by analogy in most localities in the noun and the adjective (idem: 37). In effect, then, the phonemicization has resulted in a morphophonemic alternation in which *-j-a* (or in inland localities *-j-o*) marks the stem ending + masculine singular desinence, contrasting with the feminine, neuter, and plural structures in *-l-a*, *-l-o*, and *-l-i*, respectively. It should be noted that the Ikavian Štokavian development is, in its results, nearly identical to the developments in Prlekija, eastern Slovenia, mentioned in section 2.3. In a parallel fashion are similar developments in the Torlak dialect of Jablanica (Prizren–Southern Morava subzone), where the masculine ending is (morpho)phonemicized as *-j-a* (examples from Žugić 2005): *pĭja* ‘he drank’ (176), *vidĕja* ‘he saw’ (67, 78, 87, 476), *nosĭja* ‘he carried’ (172, 386, 438), *čĭja* ‘he heard’ (xxxii, 78, 112, 178). Notably, the entire structure is carried over to consonantal stems such as *mogĭa* ‘he was able’

(424) (alongside archaic *moga* – 425, 442, 456), *rèkja* ‘he said’ (197, 245, 258, 275, 292) as well as the *-əl* type *došja* ‘he came’ (200, 240, 256). It is worth noting that the investigator notes a distinction in this dialect between emergent vowel sequences that have weak or no interposed *i*, which are falling sonority diphthongs (*ae, ai, oi*) or equal height (e.g., *poiěja* ‘he ate’ xxx) and rising sonority sequences, which are divided by *j* (*ua, ea, ia, io*), in which she points out the latter class has a more strongly realized articulation of the intercalated segment (Žugić 2005: xv). It is clear that this path of development is typologically motivated in view of the fact that it occurs in three widely separate localities within the Western South Slavic dialect territory.

8. To conclude, this paper has attempted to draw together the parallel phenomena related to the changes in syllables ending in *l* in the Western South Slavic languages (Slovene, BCMS) and their dialects and provide an account of the processes of the change with regard to dialect geography, phonetic and phonological typology and motivation for the changes. New insights and contributions to the discussion of South Slavic dialect phonology include the following. The changes have been described in terms of layers of innovation: loss of weak jers inherited from Common Slavic (Havlík’s law), weakening (or lenition) of syllable-/word-final velarized *l* to *w*, vocalization of syllable-/word-final *w* to *o* or *a*, assimilation of emergent vowel sequences (misleadingly referred to as *sažimanje* ‘contraction’ in the literature) to long monophthongs (*ō* or *ā*), facultative intercalation of a hiatus filler *i* and its phonemicization. It is suggested that *-l > -a*, in light of its geographic peripherality, may be a result of merger with an archaic, labialized variant of Common Slavic **a*. A phonetic framework for understanding the continuum of bisyllabic sequences–diphthongs–monophthongs is discussed to make sense of the paths of change that developed in the dialect continuum. A tacit insight is that there is no need to refer to population dislocations to explain (nearly) identical developments in geographically distant zones (e.g., Pannonian Slovene–Štokavian, Prekija Slovene–Ikavian Štokavian–Prizen–Southern–Morava).

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Zapadnojužnoslavenska promjena *-l > -o/-a* i popratne pojave: dijakronijska, dijatopijska, terminološka i tipološka razmatranja

SAŽETAK

*Promjena -l > o jedna je od mnogih promjena koje su se dogodile nakon i zbog gubljenja slabih jerova i koje su imale posljedice u daljnjem razvitku fonoloških sustava i strukture sloga. Specifični rezultat -l > -o (kao i -a, -e) nalazimo uglavnom u štokavskome i u skladu s tim on je karakterističan za bosanski, hrvatski, crnogorski i srpski standardni jezik. Javlja se i u nekim kajkavskim govorima i slovenskim narječjima. Ovaj rad ispituje procese koji su doveli do varijacije. Izdvajaju se četiri procesa nakon gubitka slabih jerova (Havlikov zakon): (1) slabljenje *l > w*, (2) vokalizacija *w > o*, (3) asimilacija *ə/ao > ō, ā* ("kontrakcija"), (4) umetanje palatalnog aproksimanta (-ijo/-ija). Uzgredno se raspravlja o tradicionalnom izrazu sažimanje za promjenu (3) te se pokazuje da termin asimilacija, koji se povremeno koristi kao sinonim, bolje određuje promjenu.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: slovenski jezik, BCHS, bosanski jezik, crnogorski jezik, hrvatski jezik, srpski jezik, dijalektologija, fonologija, fonetika

Zbornik u čast Josipu Lisicu

DIJALEKTI, JEZIČNA POVIJEST I TRADICIJA



h
matica hrvatska

Dneponi Marcu,

Najtrdocije i kolegielino!

Thoo