Archaisms and Innovations in the Dialect of Središče (Southeastern Prlekija, Slovenia)

Marc L. Greenberg

1. Introduction

This paper is concerned with certain historical details derived from a description of an eastern Slovene village dialect, Središče, that belongs to one of the sparsely-described "Pannonian" dialect areas along the Slovene-Croatian border.[1] The Središče dialect was described by the philologist Karol Ozvald (1873–1946), a Središče native, in three seminar papers and a synopsis of his doctoral dissertation at the University of Graz (Ozvald 1895–96, 1897–98, 1898, 1904).[2] Although reports on Ozvald's work have appeared (Ramovš 1935: 170–73, 181–82; Kolarič 1956; Rigler 1968/1986), the dialect is discussed only in terms of its diacritic features (to the extent that they are identified) and little material is presented. Of the fairly large corpus of material produced by Ozvald, only one work has been published (Ozvald 1904), and that in an obscure publication; thus the material has remained beyond the reach of most scholars and has rarely been considered in the dialectological literature. The present paper is a contribution towards establishing the historical facts that show how Središče fits into the complex dialect geography of the region. This can only be a tentative comparative study, since relatively little is known about the Prlekija dialect and its neighboring dialects.[3]

The Središče dialect differs in many respects not only from most other Slovene, as well as Kajkavian Croatian, dialects, and, according to Ozvald "concerning language, even the closest villages significantly differ from Središče" (I: 3). Many of the linguistic features that separate Središče from its immediate neighbors are archaisms. This is not at all unexpected, as Središče, despite what the village name implies, is on the periphery of the Slovene and Kajkavian territories (see Figure 1 on the following page). To illustrate, Ramovš (1935) notes that Središče differs from other dialects in the Pannonian Slovene group (Slovenske gorice, Prekmurje, Prlekija, Haloze) with respect to the following features: 1) lack of fronted *u*: *kúpiti* 'to buy', *krùh* 'bread'; cf. Prekmurje *küpiti*, *krü(j)*

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[1] A number of texts originating in Središče from the 16th century on give clear indications of Kajkavian orthographic influences, but the local linguistic features that show up in the texts are largely ambiguous as to their provenience. The extant Središče texts in the context of Styrian Slovene writing are discussed in Rigler 1968/1986.

[2] I am grateful to Ms. Sonja Horvat of Dialectological Section of the Fran Ramovš Slovene Language Institute, Scientific Research Center, Slovene Academy of Arts and Sciences, for making copies of Ozvald 1895–96 and 1897–98 available to me, and to Mr. Marko Kranjec, librarian at the Slavic Department, University of Ljubljana, who provided me with the original manuscript of Ozvald 1898. It is unknown to me whether Ozvald's doctoral dissertation is preserved—it (or a copy of it) was not available to me at the Slavic Library of the University of Ljubljana, nor at the Slovene Academy of Arts and Sciences, when I was conducting research there on other matters in the second half of 1993. For the sake of brevity, the Ozvald mansuscripts and publication are referred to henceforth by Roman numerals: I = 1895–96; II = 1897–98; III = 1898; IV = 1904.

[3] This is particularly true of Prlekija and Haloze, on which see the remarks in Greenberg 1992: 78–80. The Prekmurje dialect, at least as concerns phonology, is relatively well described.
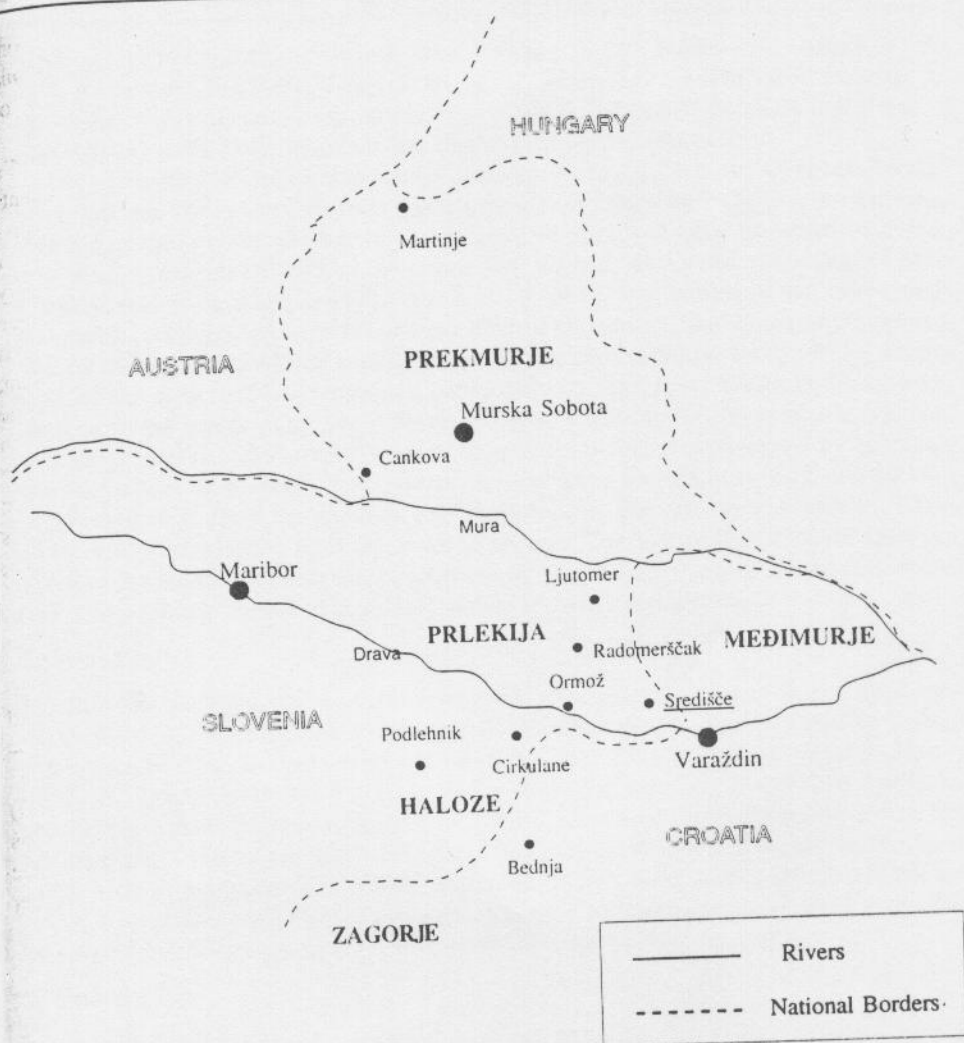
Figure 1. Središče and surrounding dialect areas

(170, 181);[4] 2) lack of metathesis of the type *ubiti* > (Prekm.) *buiti* 'to kill' (170, 181); 3) lack of positional rounding of /i/, as in Prekm. *blizu* > *blüzi* 'near' (170); 4) lack of "feminization" of neuter nouns (172); 5) lack of spread of *-n* to the nom and acc sg of *n*-stems, as in Prekm. *bremen* 'burden' (172, 181); 6) lack of a prothetic vowel before initial

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[4] In this paper the prosodic oppositions in Središče and the surrounding dialects, following Slovene dialectological tradition, are represented by the acute (*á*) and grave (*à*), representing long and short syllables, respectively, with concomitant word stress. In representations of systems with contrastive pitch, quantity and stress, the traditional diacritic marks are used: *á* for long, rising and stressed; *à* for short, rising and stressed; *â* for long, falling and stressed; *ã* for short, falling and stressed. The terms "rising" and "falling" are used here as convenient and widely recognized labels, but are not meant to imply a particular view on their phonetic or phonemic values. Additionally, for Common Slavic the sign *ã* refers to the old acute; unstressed length is marked with the macron *ā*.

syllabic ŗ, e.g., Prlekija *arjavi* 'brown'; Središče *rj̊ȧvi* (179);[5] 7) lack of -*i̧*- before -*o* from final -*l*, characteristic of Prlekija, e.g., Prlekija *štei̧o*, Središče *šteo* (181); 8) the change *mn* > *vn*, shared with Prekmurje, e.g., *vnogi* 'many' (181). Therefore, Središče is the type of dialect that can potentially important data for comparative reconstruction.

Before turning to historical matters, it is necessary to say a few words about Ozvald's mansucripts and the synchronic facts that can be gleaned from them. In this short presentation the intricacies of Ozvald's description cannot be discussed fully; therefore the discussion will be limited to a sketch of the phonology. Ozvald, who wrote these studies under the supervision of the Slovene philologist Karel Štrekelj, was trained in the 19th-century comparativist tradition, and thus his primary interest was to trace the historical provenience of the phonetics of Središče. Ozvald compared Središče forms to those of Old Church Slavic and the modern Slavic languages, particularly standard Slovene and Serbo-Croatian, as well as to the surrounding South Slavic dialects. Typically for the period in which he was working, Ozvald emphasized phonetic accuracy—almost excessively—having in each of the four works developed a progressively more detailed transcription, each one differing in significant ways from the previous one. Nevertheless, the systems are coherent within each work and translatable from one work to another. The bulk of Ozvald's attention was devoted to the vocalic and prosodic oppositions in the phonology, much less to consonants; therefore the remarks here will be limited to word prosody and vowels.

1.1. Prosody

Središče turns out to be, like most Slovene and Kajkavian dialects, a system with all prosodic distinctions occurring in the stressed syllable. Any syllable of a word may be stressed and the stressed syllable may be long or short, e.g., *nìti* (III: 43) 'thread' (nom du fem)— *níti* (III: 42) (gen pl fem). Short stresses are limited to the pretonic position of polysyllabic words and to stressed monosyllables, e.g., *nìt* (II: 16) (nom, acc sg fem)—*ríb* (III: 20) 'fish' (gen pl). Quantity has a low functional load, since virtually all quantity distinctions co-vary with vowel-quality distinctions, e.g., *pòlä* (II: 31) 'field'—*póla* (III: 26) (nom, acc pl). The dialect does not preserve pitch distinctions. This configuration is similar to other Pannonian dialects that have not yet lost quantitative oppositions altogether.

1.2. Vowels

The stressed vowel system of Središče is presented in the chart in Table 1 on the following page. This is a typical Slovene or Kajkavian dialect system in that it has a rich long-stressed vowel system with a distinction in height in the mid range. What is unusual is that Ozvald indicates fully three height distinctions are made between the front mid vowels, e.g., *brégi* (II: 24) 'hill' (dat sg)—*žéna* (IV: 5) 'wife' (nom sg)—*gréda* (II: 24) 'flowerbed'. However, from a phonemic point of view this is apparently illusory, as a rule accounts for the positional realization of long stressed [é]: the system does not permit the combination of stressed a short vowel plus nasal consonant and therefore this [é] can be interpreted as the phonetic realization of a stressed short vowel /ä/ before a nasal consonant, e.g., /žäna/ → [žéna]); further examples: *zémla* (IV: 5) 'land', *téma* (IV: 5) 'darkness'. In unstressed syllables the high vowels /i/ and /u/ are realized somewhat lower:

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[5] Ozvald's material is ambiguous on this point: in one place he has [ar], e.g. *àrja, àrji* (II: 13) 'rust' (nom, dat/loc sg), and in another [ŗ] , e.g., *rj̊ȧvi* 'brown' (IV: 10, 15). The discrepancy may have to do with whether the syllable in question is stressed or unstressed, though the number of examples is too small to be helpful in clarifying the matter.

Table 1. Središče Vowels

Long Stressed		Short Stressed and Unstressed	
i	u	i	u
ẹ	ọ	ẹ[6]	
[e]			
ε	å	ä	o
a		a	

"*ı̨* [ist] ein enger, zwischen *i* und *e* liegender Laut [...] *ų* [ist] ein zwischen *u* und *o* liegender Laut" (IV: 3).[7] This is typical of the type of vowel reduction reported for other Pannonian dialects (cf. Pável 1909: 7; Greenberg 1993: 484).

2. Historical Developments

2.1. Prosody

As can be seen from the synchronic analysis, Središče is a dialect that has not undergone "acute relengthening", as have the western and central Slovene dialects. For this reason, much more information about earlier quantity relationships remains transparent than in the central Slovene dialects and the standard language based upon them. Since these reflexes are fairly well understood, they will not be discussed in detail here. Some discussion on the aberrant reflexes of the Common Slavic circumflex is due and this will be discussed presently. The sources of stressed quantity in the Središče dialect are summarized in Tables 2 and 3 on the following page.

2.2. Circumflex Advancement

One of the features which distinguish Središče from other Slovene dialects is the heterogeneity of reflexes of the Common Slavic circumflex, which is generally found advanced from the initial word syllable in Slovene and is considered to be the first isogloss that distinguishes the incipient proto-Slovene dialect from all others (Rigler 1973/1986: 122). Ozvald noted the following in this regard:[8]

"[...] regarding the progressive stress movement, standard Slovene and the Središče dialect do not agree. Examples:[Standard Slovene] *okô* 'eye', *kolô* 'wheel', *srcê* 'heart', *na okô* 'on the eye', *po vodô* 'onto the water' sound the following way in the Središče dialect: *òko, mẹ́so, kòlo, sr̀ce*.[9] We see that

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[6] Short [ẹ] appears only as unstressed, as the short stressed [ẹ] has apparently merged with the long stressed (see below). The contrast between unstressed *ẹ—ä* is absent in Ozvald I and II, where both are marked identically <e>; it appears only in III (21) and IV (5).

[7] Here Ozvald's idiosyncratic transcription is preserved.

[8] The facts Ozvald adduces are ignored by Ramovš and corrupted by Kolarič. Kolarič reduces the examples to the "*ôko* type," among other things obliterating the qualitative and quantitative relationships that Ozvald had made explicit (Kolarič 1956: 165, 167).

[9] Ozvald's original transcription is preserved in the citation.

Table 2. Short-Stressed Reflexes

Old acute	kràva 'cow'	<	*kråva
Neo-Acute on short vowel	bòb, bòba 'bean' nom, gen sg	<	*bobъ̀, bobà
Common Slavic circumflex on short vowel	òko 'eye', pròso 'millet'	<	*õko, prõso
Dialectal retraction onto short vowel	sä̀stra 'sister', dä̀ždža 'rain' gen sg	<	*sestrà, dъzdjà

Table 3. Long-Stressed Reflexes

"Morphological" lengthening	póla 'fields' nom/acc pl	<	*pōljà
Gpl lengthening	séstär 'sisters' gen pl	<	*sestrъ̀
Compensatory lengthing under circumflex	kọ́st 'bone', dẹ́n 'day'	<	*kõstь, dъ̃nь
Circumflex lengthening	pomọ́č 'help'	<	*põmoktị̈ь
Neo-circumflex	grúška 'pear', čúvam 'protect' 1sg	<	*grũšьka, čũvajem
Preservation of length under circumflex	mẹ́so 'meat', golọ́bi 'pigeons'	<	*mẹso, gōlọ̄bi
Preservation of length under neo-acute	krål 'king'	<	*kōrlị̈ь

here the Središče dialect comes closer to Štokavian than standard Slovene. In this, of course, we should not seek an independent development in Središče accentuation, but view this and several other peculiarities of Središče accentuation as due to the influence of nearby Croatian accentuation." (II: 43)

Ozvald himself fails to indicate that there are examples in his dialect where the circumflex advancement has taken place. Such examples include golọ́b (IV: 6) 'pigeon', oblåk (II: 30) 'cloud', obrọ́č (IV: 7) 'hoop', otrọ́bi (IV: 7) 'husks', dužnọ́st (IV: 10) 'obligation', pomọ́č (IV: 14) 'help', gospọ́d (IV: 15) 'mister'. There is no reason to suspect that these everyday words are borrowings. As has been argued elsewhere (Greenberg 1992: 84–85), circumflex advancement in the Središče dialect is conditioned by whether the second syllable is open or closed (at least, followed by a consonant): advancement failed to take place if the second syllable was open and final or contained a weak jer (e.g., zä̀bro (IV: 12) 'chose' < *zъ̀bъralъ); otherwise, advancement took place. In the corpus available, the only counterexamples are dävät (II: 33) 'nine', däsät (IV: 6) 'ten', which can be viewed as results of contamination from the stress of the numerals sä̀dän (IV: 13) 'seven', òsän (IV: 13) 'eight'; however, the regular accentuation can be seen in the compound štìrdäsẹ́t (IV: 8) '40'. Moreover, circumflex advancement took place in eastern Slovene and western

Table 4. Circumflex Advancement Hierarchy (S = Stress, P = Pitch, Q = Quantity)

Syllable Weight	Common Slavic	Standard Slovene (SPQ)	Prekmurje (SQ)	Bednja (SPQ)[10]	Središče (SQ)	Turopolje (SPQ)[11]
CV̆CьC	sъ̆-/zъ̆-žьgālъ, -ālī; nâbьrālъ, -ālī	sežgâl, -âli; nabrâl, -âli	zéžgo, -âli; nábro, -åli	vēyžgol	pòžro	prĕbral
(C)VC	ŏko	okô̦	okòu	jyēke	òko	ŏko
CV̄CV	mę̆so, sę̄no	mesô̦, senô̦	mesòu, senòu	sīene	méso, séno	sę̆no
CV̄CV̄	rǫ̆kǫ̆, lę̄sā, brę̆gā, pîlī, nâpī̆lī	rokô̦, lesâ, bregâ, (pîli), napîli	rokòu, lesá, bregá, pilí	rōuku	bréga, rǫ́ko	rǫ̆kǫ
CVCV̄	nŏgǭ, kŏstī, pę̆čī	nogô̦, kostî, pečî	nogòu, kostí	negoū/nyēgu	pǎči, (nógo)	nŏgǫ
CVCVC	kŏkošь, vę̆cerъ, ję̆senь	kokô̦š, večę̂r, jesę̂n	kokòuš	kekyĕš	večér	kŏkoš
CVCV̄C	gŏlǭbъ	golô̦b	golòub	geloūb	golóp	gŏlǫp
CV̄CV̄C	sûšīt, bûdītъ	sušît	sišít	syšeīt	budít	*sûšit

Kajkavian dialects according to a hierarchy of phonetic environments, as summmarized in Table 4 above (for further discussion, see Greenberg 1992). Unlike in Prekmurje Slovene and Bednja Kajkavian, where similar developments took place, the Središče reflexes of the circumflex preserve the Common Slavic quantity of the vowel when the circumflex remained on the initial syllable; this gives some strong evidence for the notion that the circumflex advancement and comcomitant lengthening of the circumflex, found virtually without exception elsewhere in Slovene, are, in fact, causally linked. Furthermore, it was unnecessary for Ozvald to explain the discrepancy with respect to standard Slovene as the result of external influence—here the development is clearly organic.

2.3. Vowels

Let us turn now to a reconstruction of the processes that led to the Središče vowel system. A summary of the reflexes is given in Table 5 (beginning on the following page). The sources of quantity are given above; below, greater detail is given on the quantity sources of those reflexes that could not be synopsized adequately in Tables 2 and 3.

The Središče vowel system cannot be derived from the Common Kajkavian system, since it did not undergo merger of the jers and jat. In this sense it is identical to all of

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[10] Data quoted from Vermeer 1979a.

[11] Data quoted from Šojat 1982.

Table 5. Središče Vowels and Their Sources

Reflex	Source	Examples
í	*i	kosít (II: 21) 'mow' (sup.), lícä (II: 24) 'cheek', lovím (IV: 12) 'I hunt', víno (II: 24) 'wine', zíma (II: 25) 'winter'
	*y	bíla (II: 14) 'was' (fem sg), mí (II: 37) 'we', sín (II: 29) 'son'
ẹ́	*ě	gdẹ́ (IV: 15) 'where', rẹ́šän (IV: 5) 'saved' (past pass pcp nom sg masc), slẹ́p (IV: 5) 'blind', srẹ́da (IV: 5) 'Wednesday', svẹ́ča (IV: 6) 'candle', trplẹ́njä (IV: 12) 'suffering'
	*ę̃ before nasal	brémä (IV: 6) 'burden', koléno (IV: 6) 'knee', vrẹ́mä (IV: 6) 'weather'
	ь/ъ before nasal	dẹn (IV: 9) 'day', lẹ́n (IV: 12) 'flax', pẹ́nj (IV: 12) 'tree stump'
	contraction of *-ojě, -éje	gospẹ́ (IV: 5) 'lady' (dat sg); močnẹ́ (IV: 11) 'more strongly' (adv), globlẹ́ (IV: 11) 'more deeply' (adv), slabẹ́ (IV: 11) 'more weakly' (adv)
	*ē from compens. or morph. lengthening	räspätjẹ́ (III: 24) 'crucifix', zvonäńẹ́ (III: 24) 'ringing'
é	*ę̀, ь/ъ before nasal	éna (IV: 14) 'one' (fem sg), vzémäm (IV: 9) 'I take', zémla 'land'; génäm (IV: 9) 'I touch, move', sénjän (IV: 9) 'I dream', téma (IV: 9) 'darkness'
ẹ́	*ē	čẹ́r (IV: 14) 'daughter', väsẹ́ljä (IV: 12) 'happiness', väčẹ́r (IV: 12) 'evening'
	*ь/ъ	tẹ́st (IV: 9) 'father-in-law', vẹ́s (IV: 9) 'village'
	*ę	mẹ́so (IV: 6) 'meat', glẹ́dati (IV: 6) 'to look', grẹ́da (IV: 6) 'flowerbed', naprẹ́žäm (IV: 6) 'I hitch', vzẹ́ti (IV: 6) 'to take'
	*ě̃	jẹ́č (IV: 15) 'eat!' (2nd pers sg imp.), lẹ́to (IV: 6) 'year', mẹ́säc (IV: 6) 'month', mẹ́sto (IV: 6) 'city', obẹ́siti (IV: 6) 'to hang', slẹ́päc (IV: 9) 'blind man'; svẹ́čnca (IV: 8) 'Candlemas Day', vẹ́rvati (IV: 6) 'to believe'
	contraction of -oje-	mẹ́ga, tvẹ́ga (IV: 11) 'mine, yours' (gen sg masc/neut)
á	*a before nasal	brána (II: 24) 'harrow', cigán (II: 16) 'gypsy', rokámi (III: 20) 'hands' (inst pl), láni (II: 26) 'this year', nám, vám (II: 33) 'us, you' (dat pl), ná mä (II: 33) 'on/to me', srámba (III: 19) 'pantry', tám (II: 26) 'there', žgánjä (II:13) 'brandy'

	contraction of -oja	gospá (III: 16) 'lady'
	*a in certain lexical items	kák (II: 26) 'how', náš, váš (II: 16) 'our, your' (masc sg), ták (II: 26) 'so'
å̄	*a	brå̄t (II: 34) 'pick' (sup.), brå̄zda (II: 24) 'furrow', dnå̄ (II: 13) 'bottom' (gen sg), gdå̄ (II: 26) 'when', glå̄va (II: 25) 'head', jå̄z (II: 17) 'I', kolå̄č (II: 22) 'cake', komå̄r (II:22) 'mosquito', plå̄tno (II: 24) 'cloth', prå̄zän (II: 25) 'empty' (nom sg masc indef.), siromå̄k (II: 16) 'poor person', vå̄pno (II: 24) 'lime'
	*ь/ъ in certain lexical items	čå̄st (II: 14) 'honor', lå̄ž (II: 14) 'lie'
ọ́	*o	dnọ́ (II: 13) 'bottom', glasọ́v 'voices' (gen pl), kọ́njom (III: 29) 'horses' (dat pl), nävnọ́gič (IV: 13) 'many times', pọ́dloga (II: 36) 'lining', štọ́ (II: 36) 'who'
	*ǫ	branọ́j (II: 24) 'harrow' (instr. sg), golọ́b (II: 30) 'pigeon', mọ́ž (II: 29) 'husband', sọ́sed (II: 36) 'neighbor'
	*o before nasal	kónäc.(IV: 9) 'end', kónj (IV: 12) 'horse'
ú	*u	drúgi (II: 33) 'second, other' (nom, acc sg masc), dúh (II: 29) 'spirit', dúša (II: 24) 'soul', júnäc (II: 23) 'bull calf', klabúk (II: 22) 'hat', klúč (II: 22) 'key', kúpiti (IV: 8) 'to buy', odzvúna (IV: 4) 'outside', púntati (IV: 8) 'to rebel', súkno (II:13) 'cloth', vúho (II: 30) 'ear'
	*ḷ̥	dúg (II: 29) 'debt', napúnjän (IV: 12) 'filled' (nom, acc masc indef.), púž (IV: 10) 'snail', súncä (II: 37) 'sun', túčäm (IV: 10) 'I pound, beat', vúk (II: 29) 'wolf',
	*ъ̄ in *vъ̄-	vúdrla (IV: 15) 'broke in' (fem sg l-pcp), vújti (IV: 11) 'to enter', vú mä, vú tä (II: 33) 'into me, you', vúš (IV: 8) 'louse'
	in the adverb 'homeward' (from *-ou?)	domú (III: 40)
i	*ī	mìsäl (IV: 7) 'thought', nìt (II: 16) 'thread', pìcäk (IV: 13) 'chick', pustìti (II: 16) 'to release', rìba (III: 20) 'fish', vìdẹti (IV: 5) 'to see'
	*i (secondarily stressed)	ìti (III: 41) 'to go', prì njäm (IV: 12) 'by him' (loc sg masc)
	*ȳ	hìža (IV: 14) 'house, room' fsìpati (IV: 13) 'to pour in', sìt (II: 16) 'sated'
	*jь-	ìgla (II: 13) 'needle', ìmä (II: 30) 'name'

	*i, *y	mälin (IV: 7) 'mill', nòsim (IV: 7) 'I carry'; jäzik (IV: 6) 'tongue'
ę	*ě	člòvęk (IV: 5) 'man', dęvìca (IV: 5) 'girl', drùgdę (IV: 5) 'elsewhere', vìdęti (IV: 5) 'to see', zàpovęt (IV: 5) 'commandment'
ä	*e (neo-acute, later retraction, circumflex)	ädän (IV: 14) 'one' (nom sg masc), mädvęd (III: 21) 'bear', pälam (IV: 12) 'I drive', prämäkjän (IV: 12) 'moved' (past pass pcp nom sg masc indef.), sädän (IV: 13) 'seven', tälä (III: 47) 'calf', tkä (II: 15) 'weaves', zäljä (IV: 12) 'cabbage'
	*ь/ъ (neo-acute, later retraction, circumflex)	cvästi (II:14) 'to bloom', däska (II:13) 'board', däšč, däždža (IV: 15) 'rain' (nom, gen sg), mägla (IV: 12) 'fog', päs (II: 13) 'dog', snäha (III: 19) 'daughter-in-law', zäbro (IV: 12) 'chose'
	a before j or ń	cigänjski (IV: 14) 'gypsy' (adj.), jäjcä (II: 13) 'egg', kräj (II: 16) 'area', länjski (IV: 14) 'last year's'
	*ę̈	präja (IV: 15) 'yarn', sräča (IV: 14) 'happiness', täläta (III: 47) 'calf' (gen sg), žäli (III: 17) 'reaped' (masc pl)
	*e, *ь/ъ, *ę(unstressed)	čäbär (IV: 9) 'bucket', zäbräti (IV: 9) 'choose'; väsęljä (IV: 5); kǫ́njä (IV: 6) 'horses' (acc), męsäc (IV: 6) 'moon, month'
a	*ã	čàs (II: 16) 'hour', jàboka (IV: 3) 'apple', kupovàti (IV: 8) 'to buy', pàmät (IV: 6) 'mind', prjàtäl (II: 30) 'friend', sàjä (IV: 15) 'soot', slàma (IV: 12) 'straw', zdràv (II: 16) 'healthy', zbràti (IV: 7) 'to choose', žàba (IV: 3) 'frog'
	*a (secondarily stressed)	nà nas (II: 33) 'onto us', nàpnä (II:15) 'fastens', zàčni (II: 14) 'begin!' (2nd pers sg imper), zàpoved (II: 30) 'commandment'
	*r̥- (stressed?)	àrja (II:13) 'rust'
	*ь/ъ in certain lexical items	làžäm (IV: 9) 'I lie', pàsji (IV: 9) 'mean'
	*a (unstressed)	råstava (IV: 4) 'display'
o	*o (neo-acute-stressed, stressed from later retraction, circumflex)	bòb (II: 15) 'bean', kòsti (II: 18) 'bone' (gen sg), kòtäl (II: 21) 'pot', mòlit (II: 21) 'pray' (sup.), òdpri (II: 14) 'open!' (2nd pers sg imper), òkno (II: 19) 'window', pròso (II: 30) 'millet', tòga (II: 14) 'this' (gen sg masc, neut)
	*ǫ̃	dòga (IV: 7) 'stave', mòštvo (II: 42) 'team', pròga (II: 24) 'line, path', vòzäl (IV: 7) 'knot'
	*o, ǫ	odàti (IV: 6) 'to sell'; žälot (IV: 7) 'acorn'

	*-lъ, -alъ, -ǫlъ	vučìo (IV: 11) 'taught', grízo (IV: 11) 'bit', näso (IV: 11) 'carried'; vmíro (IV: 11) 'died'; mägno (IV: 11) 'blinked'
u	*ǘ	krùh (II: 16) 'bread', kùp (II: 16) 'pile', kralùvao (IV: 10) 'reigned' (masc sg l-pcp), kùščar (IV: 8) 'lizard', vùpanjä (IV: 8) 'hope'
	u (secondarily stressed)	gùba (II: 13) 'wrinkle', kùpäc (II: 15) 'customer', lùstvo (II: 13), zgùblän (II: 15) 'lost'
	*l̥̇	bùha (IV: 10) 'flea', pùn (IV: 10) 'full', žùna (IV: 10) 'woodpecker'
	*l̥ (secondarily stressed)	mùčati (IV: 10) 'to be silent', sùza (IV: 10) 'tear'
	*ъ in *vъ-	vùdrti (IV: 8) 'to break in', vù jo (II: 33) 'into her', vùžgä (II: 15) 'ignites'
	*u (unstressed)	lépomu (IV: 8) 'beautiful' (dat sg masc, neut), skušjåva (IV: 8) 'temptation'
	*l̥ (unstressed)	dužnǫ́st (IV: 10) 'obligation', jàbuka (IV: 10) 'apple', mučím (IV: 10) 'I am silent'

Slovene as well as the neighboring western Međimurje Kajkavian dialects, which have a higher reflex of jat than the jers and have merged the reflex of the jers with both *ę and *e (Lončarić 1992: 327). The regular reflex of long jat is ę, which most likely reflects a diphthong in a prior stage. The diphthong eĩ as a reflex of ě̃ is found to the north in Prekmurje, to the west in Slovenske gorice, to the south in Styria, and to the east in western Međimurje, in the south through Lower Carniola to the southern Littoral dialects (for details see Rigler 1963/1986: 146, 157 on Slovene; Oblak 46–47 on Međimurje). Further evidence that this ę derives from a diphthong is to be found in the reflexes of the contracted sequences *-ojě, *-ěje, which likely yielded a diphthongal stage *ēĩ before monophthongization to ę (močné, slabé). As elsewhere in Slovene, the reflex of *ō (as well as *ǫ) is the back counterpart of *ě; this relationship yields a set of front and back high-mid vowels ę–ǫ. For reasons similar to those mentioned for ę, the ǫ reflex most likely derives from the diphthong oũ (see sources just cited for details). Short stressed jat has become long and merged with the long reflexes of e, ę, and the jers (as ę́). It is unlikely that the merger of short jat and the jers took place directly, as the geography suggests a merger first with the reflex of ę and lengthened e and the jers, as elsewhere in the Pannonian Slovene and most Kajkavian dialects. This would assume an intermediate stage in which the reflex of the short (old-acute-stressed) jat was either a short, high-mid vowel *ę (as found in modern Prekmurje dialects) or a short diphthong *eĩ, for which there are no known attestations in the immediate area. In either case, the short vowel created a complex set of oppositions in the short stressed front vowels, and its elimination, by merger with an existing long vowel (either *ę̀ > ę́ or *eĩ, > ę́), resulted in a simplification in the short stressed vowel inventory. Thus, as regards the earliest changes in the vowel system, there is no reason to believe that Središče went through any significant changes different from other southeastern Slovene dialects, and specifically, from what Rigler calls the Basic Pannonian System, which he dates roughly to the 14th century (1986: 157, 159).

Somewhat more problematic are the reflexes of *ḷ and *u, which have merged and yielded ū/u in Središče. The change *ḷ > u is found uniformly in the Pannonian Slovene dialects, and most of Štokavian and Čakavian. (In most of Kajkavian the reflex of *ḷ is o̦, which may be a secondary development, after a stage *ḷ > u—see Vermeer 1979b: 175). It is unlikely here that Središče u (< *u) directly continues Common Slavic *u and has merged directly with the reflex of *ḷ. Središče lies within a large territory where fronted ü (< *u) or indirect traces of this reflex are found (Lončarić 1992: 325), in particular, in the Pannonian, Styrian, Lower Carniolan, and southern Littoral dialects of Slovene; in Kajkavian; in northern Čakavian; and in Posavian Štokavian (see Vermeer 1979b: 172–73 for details). It would be strange, then, to assume that Središče failed to undergo this development; moreover, many Kajkavian dialects, for example, Sveti Martin in Međimurje (Oblak 1896: 48–49), appear to have restored the non-fronted value of u, a 16th-century and later innovation that Vermeer argues is due to sociolinguistic as well as structural factors (1979b: 175–76). It therefore makes sense on geographical evidence to posit for Središče first *ḷ > u, *u > ü, perhaps as isochronic processes (possibly dating to the time of Rigler's Basic Pannonian System), and a later merger of *ü with the existing u (< *ḷ).[12]

Of apparently relatively recent provenience is the lengthening and raising of short mid-vowels before nasals, a phenomenon found also in Sveti Martin in Međimurje; e.g., z̧iéna vs. séᵃstra (Oblak 1896: 45). Both the reflex of the short *e and jers are realized as [ẹ], e.g., ẹ́noga (II:14), mẹ́noj (II: 18) 'by me' (inst sg), sršẹ́n (IV: 10) 'hornet', ž̧ẹ́na; short *o is realized as [ọ]: kọ́näc. A following nasal vowel also affects lengthened jers, e.g., dẹ́n (IV: 9), lẹ́n (IV: 12) vs. tẹ́st (IV: 9), vẹ́s (IV: 9)., which have also merged with ẹ; as well as *ā (see below).

As elsewhere in the Pannonian dialects, with the exception of the northern portion of Prekmurje (Goričko, Porabje), *ā has become rounded and *a has remained plain. The symmetry of the long vowel system has been restored by the appearance of a new long plain a, which is the reflex of etymological long *ā before a nasal consonant (cigán 'gypsy', rokámi, žgánjä 'liquor') as well as a long /a/ in certain native forms (kák, ták, náš, váš) and in borrowings (gázda 'master', gláž 'windowpane').

3. Conclusion

Based on a partial reconstruction of its vocalic and prosodic features, Središče appears to be an example of a dialect that has undergone both Common Slovene and later Kajkavian phonological developments. Early innovations, dated roughly to the 10–11th centuries, are part of the Common Slovene development, whereas later developments are part of an areal that connects southern and eastern Slovene with Kajkavian. With respect to circumflex advancement, the earliest prosodic prosodic innovation in Slovene (generally dated to the 10th century AD), Središče has an unusual (and apparently unique) restricted realization: advancement has taken place only onto vowels followed by a consonant; when circumflex advancement has not taken place, the syllable has retained the Common Slavic vowel quantity. This indicates that at least two innovative processes occurred: 1) advancment; and 2) neutralization of quantity with falling stress. Središče had restrictions on the realization

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[12] Further evidence that the reflexes of *ḷ, *u did not merge directly is found in Ozvald's comment that "Ob sich in unbetonten Silben das sonant. l zu ų [Ozvald's mark for a short, unstressed u—MLG] vokalisierte oder ob wir in den Wörtern jàbųka, mų̊čím, dų̊žnost, sų̊žiti nicht vielmehr ein o̦ [unstressed o] vor uns haben, vermag ich nicht zu entscheiden, da die Laute ų und o̦ ziemlich gleich artikuliert werden" (IV: 10–11). Nothing similar is said about u (< *u), which suggests that the merger is fairly recent, though perhaps earlier than the phonetic lowering (or reduction) of unstressed /u/ (and /i/).

of innovation (1), as predicted by a hierarchy of advancement found among peripheral Slovene dialects; innovation (2) applied only in monosyllables and the syllables which became stressed as a result of innovation (1). In addition to the structural importance of the Središče evidence for circumflex advancement, the facts as they fit into a hierarchy of advancement suggest that Središče was one of a number of dialects that were on the periphery of the Slovene dialect territory at a time when advancement was still underway. Moreover, the parallel development of $*\bar{e}$, $*\bar{o}$, and the non-merger jers and jat are part of the general development of Common Slovene, absent from Kajkavian. Later innovations, especially in the development of the vowel system, are typical both of southern and eastern Slovene as well as Kajkavian ($*u > \ddot{u}$, $*\mathit{l} > u$, $*\bar{a} > \mathring{a}$, $*\ddot{u} > u$). The raising of front mid-vowels before nasals appears to be a local and relatively recent innovation, possibly originating in Međimurje, though further (as yet unavailable) data will be necessary to clarify the territory of this innovation.

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Dept. of Slavic Languages
University of Kansas
Lawrence, KS 66045–2174
m-greenberg@ukans.edu

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LINGUISTICS