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FLUCTUATIONS IN THE ACCENTUATION OF BLATNICA POKUPSKA

This paper presents doublets in the phonology and accentuation of a Kajkavian dialect in central Croatia, where all three major Croatian groups of dialects meet. Inconsistencies in the vowel and consonant systems are also noted. The second part considers the accentual system, its units and their distribution. Many fluctuations were noted, even with respect to retractions and special Kajkavian features. These are explained through influences of neighbouring local dialects and from the urban dialect of Karlovac and Standard Croatian.¹

1. Blatnica Pokupska

Blatnica Pokupska is a village situated 16 kilometres east of Karlovac, Croatia. The area is called Turopolje and it is in central Croatia, where all three

¹ This work was originally written for the proceedings of the 6th International Workshop on Balto-Slavic Accentology, held in 2010 in Vilnius, Lithuania. It is being published in honour of Mijo Lončarić, my field research mentor for Blatnica Pokupska, and a priceless coworker at the Institute. The abbreviations are: *–reconstructed, 1,2,3–person, A–accusative, a.p. *A, B, C*–accent paradigm, C–consonant, CDA–Croatian Dialectological Atlas, D–dative, def.–definite adjective (if there is no abbreviation, the adjective is indefinite), f–feminine, fut.–future, G–genitive, I–instrumental, imp.–imperative, L–locative, m–masculine, neg.–negation, n–neuter, N–nominative, part.–participle, pl–plural, pres.–present, PS1.–Proto-Slavic, sg–singular, superl.–superlative, vs.–*versus*. Examples are given by the formula: *form* grammatical description (in abbreviations) ‘meaning’; eg. *mòre* 3sg pres ‘can’. If no grammatical information is given, the example is a “basic” form, i.e. nominative case or infinitive. Quotations were translated by the author and given in the original language in brackets. All data were collected by the author in July 2008 and February 2009.

major groups of dialects of Croatian meet. Hence the dialectological picture of the inhabitants is rarely “clear” – we find autonomous Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects, but also migrated Štokavian and Kajkavian ones. The horizontal dialect contact is even more complicated when combined with the vertical one: the Croatian standard language and the urban dialect of Karlovac, which is based on Neo-Štokavian, have had an immense influence on the local dialect due to the spread of mass-media and commuting.

The name of the village is derived from the appellative *blato* ‘mud’ or even *blatnica* ‘muddy water’. This is not surprising, since Turopolje is a swampy region, with four rivers, the Kupa, Korana, Mrežnica and Dobra, flowing through it. Other village names in the area also indicate the prominent influence of rivers and rivulets: *Rečica* ‘little river’, *Luka Pokupska* ‘port on the Kupa’, *Ribari* ‘fishermen’, *Brođani* ‘men living near the ford’² etc. Until recently Blatnica was called *Blatnica Plemenita* ‘noble Blatnica’, but after the 1990s war, this was changed to *Pokupska* ‘Blatnica of Pokuplje’. The inhabitants mostly call it just Blatnica, but the toponym was expanded for differentiation from Blatnica near Štefanje in Bilogora, which is also of hydronymic motivation.

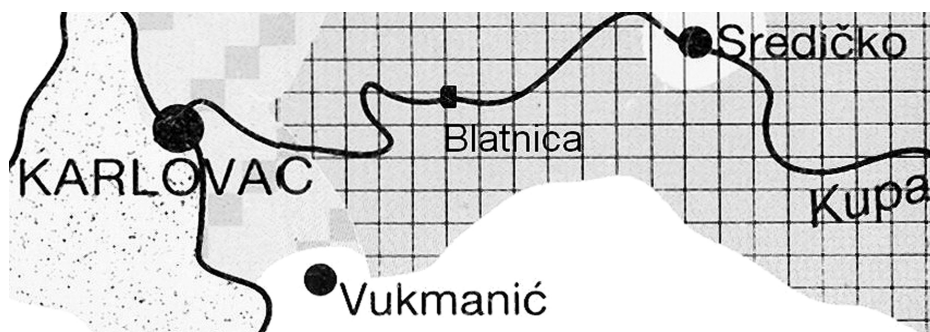
This local dialect can in many ways be considered endangered. Apart from the contact of different dialects, the younger inhabitants tend to imitate the urban dialect of Karlovac, and considerable generational differences in phonology have already been noted.³ Furthermore, due to *rural exodus*, many villages in Croatia are marking a significant drop in population, as already noted by Zečević (2000: 14). Blatnica Pokupska is no exception. According to the 2001 population census, Blatnica Pokupska had 59 inhabitants. Sadly, in July 2008, when I first started recording the dialect to collect data for the Croatian Dialectological Atlas, informant Ivan Bartolić counted thirteen households with 30 inhabitants, and in the meantime Jelica Jurčić has passed away. This means that Blatnica Pokupska has less than 30 inhabitants and its dialect will undoubtedly cease to exist in a decade or so. The “true” dialect of Blatnica, one comparable to other data for CDA (collected for example in 1966), has already died, since most of the speakers have either died or migrated. But we cannot say that the dialect of Blatnica has died; rather, it has changed and, as long as Blatnica is populated, it will live. Nonetheless, it is useful to see what theory of language death, as described by Hagege (2005) and Crystal (2000), applies to this

² There are some interdialectal semantic differences concerning this example. In standard Croatian, *brod* means ‘ship’, but in the dialect of Blatnica Pokupska (and the neighbouring villages, as well as some Štokavian and Čakavian dialects), *brod* means ‘ford (shallow water)’.

³ Cf. Ćurković & Vukša (2009).

dialect. The paper will focus on the fluctuations in phonology, which means that it will deal with the lowest level of this system. Decomposition of the system is usually one of the final stages of language death and it is a direct consequence of depopulation.

2. The dialect



Map 1: Kajkavian dialects, excerpt taken from Lončarić (1996: 199–200).

According to Lončarić (1996: 146), Blatnica is one of the villages where the *vukomeričko-pokupski* dialect is spoken, as marked on Map 1. You will notice that Sredičko is surrounded by a white area. It is an immigrant village of the *donjolonjski* dialect speakers. The area between that of the *vukomeričko-pokupski* dialect and Karlovac is where the *plješivičko-prigorski* dialect is spoken. Karlovac, the central city of the region, shows features of a dialect mixture, while less than fifty years ago two varieties were present: an older Kajkavian layer and a younger Štokavian (cf. Finka & Šojat 1971: 77–150). Together with the urban dialect of Zagreb and standard Neo-Štokavian, it is part of the change influences *from above*, while those generated through everyday contact with other Kajkavian dialects trigger changes *from below*, as described in Labov (1994: 78).

The map does not show that several villages in the area have somewhat different accentual features. Ivšić (1936: 82) wrote that »the type III₃ [includes] the area of Moslavina (east of the river Lonja) and local dialects on the Kupa in Donja Kupčina and Rečica« (»...tip III₃ [obuhvata] moslavački kraj (na istoku od rijeke Lonje) i govor na Kupi u župama D. Kupčina i Rečica«). Blatnica Pokupska is situated between these villages and also shows features of type III₃, which is how Ivšić called the younger revolutionary group of dialects, with no short tones on the final syllable. However, Šišljavić, the village between

Blatnica Pokupska and Donja Kupčina, has a different *yer* reflex and should be grouped with the *donjolonjski* dialects. The area should definitely be more thoroughly explored, as soon as possible.

3. Phonology

3.1. Vowels

| | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| ī | ū | i | u |
| ē | ō | ẹ | o |
| ē̄ | ā | e | o |
| | | ẹ̄ | a |

The vowel system of Blatnica consists of six long and eight short vowels.⁴ In most of the examples, they reflect the PSI. vowels as follows: *ě > ẹ (*zěnica* f ‘pupil (of the eye)’, *tělo* n ‘body’); *e, *e > ẹ (*smečẹ* n ‘garbage’, *nosẹča* f ‘pregnant’, *prẹšal* part. m sg ‘leave’); q, ǰ > o/u (*pōt/pūt* m ‘road’, *pōš/pūs* m ‘snail’); *ь, *ь > a (*dàn* m ‘day’, *dànas* ‘today’, *pōsal* m ‘job’).⁵ All vowels can be stressed except /e/ and /o/ (although there are exceptions to this too: *vōsak* m ‘wax’, *dōbar* m ‘good’), which might indicate that they are allophones. Only short vowels can appear in non-stressed position (see below for exceptions). All other vowels are either stressed or unstressed, and long or short:

| | |
|----|---|
| ī | <i>vīče</i> 3sg pres. ‘yell’, <i>z_dečkī</i> 1pl m ‘boy’, <i>līce</i> ‘face’, <i>bojīm</i> 1sg pres. ‘afraid’ |
| ē | <i>tělo</i> n ‘body’, <i>dōbrēm</i> Lsg m ‘good’, <i>rěčīma</i> Lpl f ‘word’, <i>dlěto</i> n ‘chisel’ |
| ẹ̄ | <i>šẹču</i> 3pl pres. ‘walk’, <i>smečẹ</i> n ‘garbage’, <i>klẹčala</i> part. f sg ‘kneel’ |
| ā | <i>māli</i> def. Nsg n ‘little’, <i>ničāv</i> Gpl f ‘dough’, <i>špināt</i> m ‘spinach’ |
| ō | <i>nōs</i> m ‘nose’, <i>čẹrjōm</i> 1sg f ‘daughter’, <i>škvōrac</i> m ‘starling’ |
| ū | <i>zūbom</i> 1sg m ‘tooth’, <i>kunū</i> 3pl pres. ‘swear’, <i>klūpa</i> f ‘bench’, <i>pastīv</i> m ‘stallion’ |
| ī̄ | <i>mīrk</i> m ‘dark’, <i>sīpaín</i> ‘July’, <i>mīrla</i> part. f sg ‘die’, <i>čřna</i> def. Nsg f ‘black’ |

⁴ According to the vowel inventory Blatnica Pokupska belongs to the central and eastern group of the *turopoljsko-posavski* dialect (Zečević 2000: 23).

⁵ Vocalisation of a weak *yer* *ь > ẹ occurred in *mẹlīn* m ‘mill’ (but not in *mlīnar* m ‘miller’) and in the instrumental of the 1st person singular pronoun (*mẹnom* 1 Isg ‘I’), which is probably a result of an analogy to the accusative *mẹne*.

- i *kičma* f ‘spine’, *sęstrična* f ‘cousin’, *pláčlivac* m ‘cry baby’
e *zènica* f ‘pupil (of the eye)’, *kolèno* n ‘knee’, *sędite* 2pl pres. ‘sit’, *čõvek* m ‘man’
e *želudac* m ‘stomach’, *pàmet* f ‘cleverness’
e *pręšal* part. m sg ‘leave’, *slezèna* f ‘spleen’, *įspękla* part. f sg ‘bake’
a *ràme* n ‘shoulder’, *uxvàtil* part. m sg ‘catch’, *tañęr* m ‘plate’, *žęna* f ‘woman’
o *vòsak* m ‘wax’, *dręvo* n ‘tree’, *opęčeš* 2sg pres. ‘burn (oneself)’
o *mòzak* m ‘brain’, *lopàta* f ‘shovel’, *dęlova* Gpl m ‘part’, *blįzo* ‘near’
u *žũbar* m ‘muck’, *razũmemo* 1pl pres. ‘understand’, *šàpnula* part. f sg ‘whisper’
r *õbrve* Npl f ‘eye brow’, *křȳ/křȳ* f ‘blood’
[i] *divànił* part. f sg ‘talk’
[y] *młȳnar* m ‘miller’, *įstręsty* ‘shake out’, *cũry* Dsg f ‘girl’, *màly* def. ‘little’

In the examples above, two vowels are in brackets, [y] and [i]. The first is an allophone appearing in the final open syllable⁶ and alternating in realization with closed /ę/ (*màmy/màme* Dsg f ‘mum’). It can rarely be found in the middle syllable (as shown above). The second is syllabic /ł/ which becomes the syllable core after shortening and weakening of vowels in post-tonic position: *divànil* > *divànił* > *divànił* part. f m ‘talk’. Vowels /i/ and /a/ are most commonly omitted, but these examples are exceptions rather than the rule.

All vowels can occur in the initial, middle and final position in the word. However, we find fluctuations in the distribution of /u/. In initial position *v*-prothesis is present in some examples (*vũglen* m ‘coal’, *vũmre* 3sg pres. ‘die’), but in others it is not (*ũxo/vũvo* n ‘ear’, *ũmrl/mřl* part. m sg ‘die’). Furthermore, there is a tendency towards the elimination (apocope) of initial and final /a/ and /o/, which is very common in Kajkavian: *tàm* (< *tamo*) ‘there’, *vũd* (< *ovuda*) ‘this way’.

Hiatus is eliminated in numerals⁷ (*jedànaįst* ‘11’, *dvànaįst* ‘12’, *šęsnaįst* ‘16’), but it is preserved in other examples in the data, all with the sequence /au/, in which one of the vowels is accented: *pàun* m ‘peacock’, *naũčiti* ‘learn’, *miñàuče* 3sg pres. ‘meow’.

⁶ Young speakers do not have this feature (Ćurković & Vukša 2009).

⁷ Young speakers eliminate hiatus differently: *jedànest* ‘11’, *dvànest* ‘12’ (Ćurković & Vukša 2009).

3.2. Consonants

If we look at the consonant system, we will also find some inconsistencies in the distribution and realization of phonemes:

| Resonants | | | Obstruents | | | |
|-----------|---|---|------------|---|-----|---|
| v | | m | p | b | f | |
| l | r | n | t | d | | |
| j | | | c | | s | z |
| ǰ | | ń | č | ž | š | ž |
| | | | k | g | (x) | |

Two obstruents deserve special mention: /f/ and /x/. The first is often found in onomatopoeia (*fřk* m ‘swirl’) and loan words (*fundomęnt* m ‘foundation’, *rřfunk* m ‘chimney’, *fřrunĝa* f ‘curtain’), but it can also appear as a voiceless archiphoneme of /v/ (*křřf* f ‘blood’, *čřřf* m ‘worm’, *ńęęĝof* m ‘his’). Although this is quite often the case in west Kajkavian dialects, in Standard Croatian /v/ is not the voiced partner of /f/.⁸ The labiodental voiceless obstruent /f/ is also present as an indirect continuant of the PSI. initial sequence /*vB- > *v- > f-/ (*fčęęra* f ‘dinner’, *fčęęzu* Asg f ‘house’), but there are also examples in which it reflected as /u-/ (*udřřfca* Gsg m ‘widow’). The consonant cluster /*xv-/ is also simplified to /f-/ (*fřla* ‘thanks’), but is preserved in some examples (*uřvřtřl* part. m sg ‘catch’). They are probably the result of influence from above, i.e. of Standard Croatian and the urban dialect of Karlovac (this is especially so for *fřla* ‘thanks’, which is most certainly borrowed from the urban dialect of Karlovac).

The other obstruent we have to take into consideration is /x/. The voiceless velar fricative is a phoneme which is lost in many Croatian dialects, especially in the Neo-Štokavian ones. In Blatnica Pokupska, /x/ is unstable in its distribution. We can find examples in which it is consistent in initial (*xřvadu_se* 3pl pres. ‘wrestle’) and final position (*krřx* m ‘bread’), but there are those in which it is omitted (*řřdma* ‘now’, *řřza* f ‘house’⁹) or replaced by another consonant (e.g.

⁸ In many Kajkavian dialects, /v/ is a labial sonant /w/, and in Standard Croatian labiodental sonant /v/. Lončarić (1996: 87–88) claims that this is an older feature, and as a proof he offers the fact that /f/ was present in the system and influenced the older /w/ to become /v/. In some cases, »preceding an obstruent and in the final position, /v/ started to act as an obstruent, i.e. it becomes the voiced pair of the voiceless /f/« (»...ispred opstruenta i u finalnom položaju u riječi – v se počeo ponašati kao opstruent, tj. postaje zvučni parnjak bezvučnome f«).

⁹ It is possible that this is in analogy to forms following a preposition, e.g. *fčęęzu*, where the /x/ was omitted after a preceding consonant.

/j/ *ðreĵ* m ‘nut’). The voiceless velar fricative is usually not found in intervocalic position (*măčava* f ‘step mother’, *njȳjevo* n ‘their’, *žôgar* m ‘cockroach’ vs. *ũxo/vũvo* n ‘ear’, *snàja/snāxa* f ‘daughter in law’)¹⁰ or preceding a consonant¹¹ (/hC/: *těty* ‘want’, *plàta* f ‘bed sheet’, *lăče* f *plurale tantum* ‘pants’, *rān’mo* 1pl pres. ‘feed’). Fluctuations are seen in examples like *ũxo/vũvo* n ‘ear’ and *snàja/snāxa* f ‘daughter in law’.

While the consonant system shows some Kajkavian features, such as the preservation of the initial consonant cluster /čr-/ (*črēp* m ‘brick’, *črěšna* f ‘cherry’, *črĕn* m ‘red’, *črn* m ‘black’) or devoicing of the final consonant (*mũš* m ‘husband’, *nazât* ‘back’, *zũp* m ‘tooth’, *snĕk* m ‘snow’, *křf* f ‘blood’, *lâš* f ‘lie’, *kðlovos* ‘August’) and consonant clusters (*grðst* m ‘grape’), some of the oldest features show a development more similar to neighbouring local dialects:

I) The examples *vrĕča* f ‘bag’, *svĕča* f ‘candle’ show that PSI. /*t’/ developed as /č/, which is a typical Kajkavian feature, but its voiced counterpart PSI. /*d’/ is today /j/, well preserved in the examples *prĕĵa* f ‘skein’, *brĕĵa* f ‘with young (animal)’, *mĕĵa* f ‘border’ – a feature more common in Čakavian, but also found in west Kajkavian dialects, which are in direct contact with the mentioned Čakavian dialects.

II) The sequence /-jt- < *-jĵt-/ is found in *prĕĵti* ‘leave’, but not in *izĩĉi* ‘exit’, where progressive iotation occurred. The same can be expanded to /-jd- < *-jĵd-/: *prôjdem* 1sg pres. ‘leave’ vs. *izĩži* 2sg imp. ‘exit’.

III) Sibilization (second palatalisation) is absent in examples such as *čvôrki* Npl m ‘starling’, but under the influence of Standard Croatian, there are examples like *bũbrezi* Npl m ‘kidney’.

IV) Rhotacism is confirmed in the examples *mðrem* 1sg, *mðre* 3sg pres. ‘can’, but in free speech the informants also use *nĕmože* 3sg neg. pres. ‘can’.

As for consonant clusters, fluctuations in distribution are found in clusters involving /p/ (*leptîr* m ‘butterfly’, *klũpko* n ‘hank’ vs. *pĩca/tĩca* f ‘bird’, *šĕnica* f ‘wheat’¹²), /t/ (*kôst* f ‘bone’, *prĩšt* m ‘pimple’ vs. *šĕs* ‘ó’, *prĕgrš* ‘handful’), and /vr/ (*čĕtvrtak* ‘Thursday’ vs. *svrbi/srbĩ/srbĩ* 3sg pres. ‘itch’). Although there is not enough space in a paper on accentuation to illustrate all the noted exam-

¹⁰ All the examples can be found in south-west Kajkavian dialects except *snàja/snāxa* ‘daughter in law’ and *žôgar* ‘cockroach’.

¹¹ The omission before consonants is partly the result of an older development seen elsewhere in the area.

¹² The forms *pĩca/tĩca* f ‘bird’, *šĕnica* f ‘wheat’ are found in Kajkavian (but also in Čakavian and Štokavian) dialects, so it is possible that *leptîr* m ‘butterfly’, *klũpko* n ‘hank’ are borrowed from Standard Croatian through the media.

ples, it must be stated that, in all the cases mentioned above, one variant predominates: the cluster is usually preserved in /pC/ and /CvrC/, and simplified in /Ct/.

Another consonant cluster change must be mentioned. It is the simplification of a consonant cluster /*šć > š/, as in *klěša* n *plurale tantum* ‘pincers’, *dvoriše* n ‘front yard’, *vrīši* 3sg pres. ‘scream’ etc.¹³ It is not noted in the previous research of the area, but Brozović & Ivić (1988: 84) spoke of this feature, attributing it to the *prigorski* dialect in the local dialects around Ozalj.

All in all, the consonant system of Blatnica Pokupska is far from disintegrating, but as we have seen, realizations of several changes have shown undeniable inconsistencies. Some can be explained by influences from above (such as *ně_může* 3sg neg. pres. ‘can’) and some by those from below (e.g. distribution of /x/ in *ũxo/vũvo* n ‘ear’ and *snãja/snãxa* f ‘daughter in law’).

4. Accentuation

4.1. Units and distribution

The distinctive features in the accentuation of Blatnica Pokupska are stress, length and tone. Unstressed vowels are either short or, in rare examples, long. Short unaccented vowels can be closed, open and mid. The mid vowels /o/ and /e/ appear only in short unaccented syllables, so they can be treated as allophones, as noted above. There is evidence of former post-tonic length in distribution of closed vowels (*mõtikõm* f 1sg ‘mattock’). Long unaccented syllables are very rare, and the only examples collected were immediately preceding the stress in accent paradigm with immobile stress on the suffix (a.p. *B*¹⁴) and accent paradigm with mobile stress (a.p. *C*): *klěčãle* part. f pl ‘kneel’, *brãñli* part. m pl ‘defend’. Stress can fall on any syllable of the word, except on a short final syllable (see below). Compound words can have two accents: *prãdđeda* m ‘great grandfather’, *prãũnuk* m ‘great grandson’, *nãjbõli* superl. m ‘good’. Stressed syllables are either long or short, and a distinction in tone can be made in long stressed syllables only. The accent system therefore consists of four units, one of which is extremely rare: /ã, â, ã, (ã)/:

ã *dět* m ‘grandfather’, *čělo* n ‘forehead’, *poglědaj* 2sg imp. ‘look’

â *sîn* m ‘son’, *lãsi* Npl f ‘hair’, *divãnidu* 3pl pres. ‘tell’, *nazât* ‘back’

¹³ We must note that young speakers do not have this feature (Ćurković & Vukša 2009).

¹⁴ The capital letters indicate that these are synchronic paradigms, while small letters stand for diachronic PSI. paradigms. Cf. Kapović 2008.

ã *tĕ* Gsg f ‘that’, *lĭce* n ‘face’, *bjelāńak* m ‘egg white’, *duvān* m ‘tobacco’
(ã) *brāńili* part. m pl ‘defend’, *klĕčāle* part. f pl ‘kneel’

The short stressed vowel is a bit longer than in Standard Croatian, it represents the accent Ivšić (1936: 66–67) called *tromi* ‘inert’. The long stressed vowels are a bit shorter, so we could say that the distinction itself is in some examples indistinctive: *ōko/ōko* n ‘eye’, *zūp/zūp* m ‘tooth’; or, more clearly, that there is a tendency towards the leveling of quantitative distinctions, which could be encouraged by rate of speech. There are also signs of neutralization of pitch distinctions in the final long accented syllables (*rebā̂r/rebā̂r* Gpl n ‘rib’, *srbi/srbi* 3sg pres. ‘itch’, *žĕn/žĕn* Gpl f ‘woman’) which could be influenced by sentence intonation, and, again, rate of speech.

In short, the accentual system, too, has its weak spots:

1. pretonic length can be heard in the variety of the oldest speakers, but it is only present in the syllables preceding the stress;
2. there is a tendency towards leveling of quantitative and qualitative distinctions.

4.2. Retractions

When we look at the dialectal accent retractions, we will see that some are more common than others. Retraction of stress from final short open syllables to preceding short vowels (*-aCă > -ăCa) has taken place without exception, and results in a short accent, i.e. *tromi*, on the preceding syllable: *nōga* f ‘leg’, *žĕna* f ‘woman’, *māgla* f ‘fog’, *sūza* f ‘tear’. Retraction from a short closed final syllable to a preceding short one (*-aCăC > -ăCaC) yields the same result (short accent) and is also without exception: *čĕvĕk* m ‘man’, *lĕnac* m ‘casserole’, *kĕlac* m ‘stake’, *jĕzik* m ‘tongue’. Retraction from an open final syllable to a preceding long vowel (*-āCă > -āCa) has also taken place and resulted in a long rising tone: *brāzda* f ‘furrow’, *glĭsta* f ‘earthworm’, *ghĕzdo* n ‘nest’, *krĭlo* n ‘wing’, *stāblo* n ‘tree’, *vĕrba* f ‘willow’, *glāva* f ‘head’, *rūka* f ‘hand’. Retraction from a closed final syllable onto a preceding long vowel (*-āCăC > -āCaC) has the same results: *sūdac* m ‘judge’, *vĕnac* m ‘garland’.

We can conclude that retractions from final short syllables have taken place without exception in the dialect of Blatnica Pokupska, resulting either in a short accent (if the preceding syllable is short) or a long rising tone (if the preceding syllable is long). As a result, there is a restriction in distribution of stress on the

short final syllable. This is also noted by Ivšić (1936: 81), who states that the restriction is present in groups III₂ and III₃.

Retractions of the short accent from the medial syllable to a preceding short vowel (*aCăCa > äCaCa) have also taken place in this dialect (*vęčera* f ‘dinner’), but we find a few exceptions: *želūdac* m ‘stomach’, *lopàta/štijàča* f ‘shovel’. This may be explained by the fact that the medial syllable is a position in which the stress is most stable. If we look at the retraction from a short medial syllable to a preceding long vowel (*āCăCa > āCaCa), we see that there are some examples where the stress does not retract and pretonic length being retained: *pītāti*, *pītàle* part. f sg ‘ask’, *rānīti* ‘feed’, *brānīti* ‘defend’. All these examples can also be pronounced with retraction resulting in a long rising tone, especially in the variety of young speakers (*pītati*, *pītale* part. f sg ‘ask’, *rāniti* ‘feed’, *brāniti* ‘defend’).¹⁵

One of the most interesting features is the retraction from a long medial syllable with a falling tone (*aCāCa > äCaCa). It is one of Ivšić’s criteria for determination of Kajkavian sub-dialects. In Blatnica (and other dialects in Turropolje) we find what he determined as type III₃ (younger revolutionary dialects): *pōsekal* m, *pōsekla* part. f sg ‘cut’, *kōpala* part. f sg ‘dig’, *zāmazana* f ‘dirty’ etc. (cf. Ivšić 1936: 72–73).

4.3. Kajkavian characteristics

Two Kajkavian accentual characteristics must be taken into consideration in this paper – neo-circumflex and neo-acute.

A) The neo-circumflex is a reflex of the old acute in specific environments, which is long in duration and flat or, in some instances, falling in tone. In Kajkavian, it is originally found in three nominal categories (genitive plural of all three genders in a.p. *A*, locative singular of masculine gender in a.p. *A*, nominative plural of neuter gender in a.p. *A*), two verbal categories (all persons of a.p. *A* present tense verbs and masculine and feminine singular of l-participle), and two positional categories (one with post-tonic length and the other preceding a consonant cluster formed by the elimination of a weak *yer*).¹⁶ Table 1 shows examples found in Blatnica.

¹⁵ Cf. Ćurković & Vukša (2009).

¹⁶ Cf. Ivšić (1936: 70–74) and Kapović (2008: 21–23).

| | |
|-------|---|
| Gpl | <i>lisíc/lisīc</i> f ‘fox’, <i>mīšov</i> m ‘mouse’, <i>orējov</i> m ‘nut’, <i>dēļova</i> ¹⁷ m ‘part’ |
| Lsg m | <i>prāgu</i> ‘doorstep’, <i>rātu</i> ‘war’ |
| Npl n | <i>sīta</i> ‘sieve’, <i>mēsta</i> ‘place’, <i>kolēna</i> ‘knee’ |
| Isg f | <i>sājom</i> ‘soot’, <i>mōtikom</i> ‘mattock’ ¹⁸ |
| pres. | <i>čūjem</i> 1sg ‘hear’, <i>vīdim</i> 1sg ‘see’ |
| part. | <i>gorēla</i> f ‘burn’ vs. <i>zdīzal</i> m ‘lift’ |
| *äCā | <i>mļynar</i> ‘mill man’, <i>mēsec/mēsac</i> moon |
| *äCьC | <i>svādба</i> f ‘wedding’, <i>črēšņa</i> f ‘chery’ vs. <i>rūška</i> f ‘pear’, <i>zājci</i> Npl m ‘hare’ |

Table 1. Neo-circumflex realizations in Blatnica Pokupska

As we can see in Table 1, the neo-circumflex is not very common in the dialect of Blatnica Pokupska. In the genitive plural it occurs alongside the secondary neo-acute (*lisíc/lisīc* f ‘fox’), which is presumably a result of tendency to eliminate pitch distinctions. The only other positions in which it can be found are masculine 1-participles (*zdīzal* m sg ‘lift’) and syllables preceding the consonant cluster formed by the elimination of a *yer* (*rūška* f ‘pear’, *zājci* Npl m ‘hare’). Examples like *klēčala* part. f sg ‘kneel’, *kōpala* part. f sg ‘dig’ and *pōsekal* part. m sg ‘cut’, with retraction to the first syllable indicate that the neo-circumflex was present in the middle syllable, but later retracted.

B) The neo-acute is an accent that was created by the two laws that are referred to as Ivšić’s laws (cf. Holzer 2007: 72–73). In Kajkavian it is generally a long rising tone. This is also the case in Blatnica Pokupska. For the reflexes in other Croatian dialects, see Kapović 2008: 13–15. The following are the positions in which Kajkavian usually reflects a neo-acute and their realizations in Blatnica Pokupska.

¹⁷ This example is most certainly borrowed from standard Croatian. The genitive plural suffix /-a/ is one of the younger features in Neo-Štokavian dialects. Also, the plural extension /-ov-/ is not typical in Kajkavian.

¹⁸ Here the neo-circumflex was retracted to the first syllable, as described in the previous section.

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Npl | <i>sęła</i> n 'village', <i>rębra</i> n 'rib', <i>ękna</i> n 'window' |
| Lipl | <i>vęli</i> m 'ox', <i>kęnji</i> m 'horse' |
| numerals | <i>sędmo</i> '7th' vs. <i>ęsmo</i> '8th', <i>stęti</i> '100th' |
| Nsg n | <i>zęle</i> 'cabbage', <i>gręble</i> 'graveyard', <i>smęę/smęęce</i> 'garbage' |
| contraction | <i>tę</i> Gsg f 'that', <i>nę</i> 3sg neg. pres. 'be' |
| lexemes | <i>sęša</i> f 'drought', <i>kljęc</i> m 'key' vs. <i>pastęv</i> m 'stallion' |

Table 2. Neo-acute realizations in Blatnica Pokupska

Table 2 shows that the neo-acute is present in three of five positions: the locative and instrumental plural of masculine nouns (*vęli* 'ox', *kęnji* 'horse'), and contracted forms of pronouns and auxiliary verbs (*tę* Gsg f 'that', *nę* 3sg neg. pres. 'be'). In numerals it is present in some examples (*ęsmo* '8th', *stęti* '100th'), but not found in others (*sędmo* '7th'). In the nominative singular and plural of neuter nouns it is not retained (*zęle* Nsg n 'cabbage', *sęła* Npl n 'village'). Individual lexemes also show little evidence of the neo-acute (*pastęv* m 'stallion').

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have seen instabilities in both the phonology and accentuation of Blatnica Pokupska. We have described weak spots in both the vowel and consonant systems, and in the accentuation we have considered the units and their distribution, as well as dialectal retractions and realizations of the neo-circumflex and neo-acute.

In the vowel system, we have found two unstable units ([y] and [ɨ]). We have also seen that some PSl. phonemes have doublets in their reflexes (*pęš/püş* 'snail'), and that some vowel alternations are sometimes executed and sometimes not (e.g. apocope: *ęmrl/mřl* part. m sg 'die').

The consonant system also has unstable units (e.g. /x/: *ęxo/vęvo* n 'ear', *kręx* m 'bread', *ędma* 'now', *bęva* f 'flee', *ęrej* m 'nut'). The alternations such as sibilization and rhotacism are confirmed in some cases, and not in others (e.g. sibilization: *dęski* Lsg f 'board', *bębrezi* Npl m 'kidney'; or rhotacism *męre* 3sg pres. 'can' vs. *nęmože* 3sg neg. pres. 'can').

In accentuation, we have seen that the distinctive features are sometimes neutralized, since short syllables may be lengthened, and long ones shortened (*ôko/ôko* n ‘eye’). Furthermore, pitch distinctions in the long stressed vowels are sometimes neutralized, especially in the last syllable (*srbî/srbî* 3sg pres. ‘itch’). We established these phenomena as tendencies to level the distinctions in quantity and quality of the accent.

When we considered retractions, we found that retractions from an internal syllable exhibit variation (*vĕčera* f ‘dinner’ vs. *lopàta/štijàča* f ‘shovel’), while retractions from a short final syllable are systematic (*žĕna* f ‘woman’, *jĕzik* m ‘tongue’, *glāva* f ‘head’, *vĕnac* m ‘garland’).

The Kajkavian neo-circumflex is found in some lexemes, but not consistently in the syllable preceding the consonant cluster formed by the disappearance of weak *yer* (*črĕšna* f ‘cherry’ vs. *rúška* f ‘pear’). In other forms, it was mostly not attested. The neo-acute is also preserved only in a few examples (*tĕ* Gsg f ‘that’, *stôti* ‘100th’), but in other cases it is not attested where it might be expected (*zĕle* ‘cabbage’ vs. *grôbĕ* ‘graveyard’).

As we have noted in the introduction, the village has less than 30 inhabitants. The circumstances described in the introduction favour the deconstruction of the three unit accent system and the emergence of fluctuations in length, tone and distribution of the accents. The local speech of Blatnica Pokupska has reached the level of erosion of phonology, which is in agreement with similar situations in which language death occurs (cf. Hagège 2005: 85–91). Nonetheless, the local dialect of Blatnica Pokupska is distinctive from its neighbouring villages, so we might argue that the dialect is not eroding, but it is rather being replaced by a more prestigious one. Actually, the beauty of Croatian dialectology is exactly that – five villages in a diameter of two miles all have their own distinctive dialects.

The fluctuations described in this paper can be explained by extra-linguistic factors, namely by the number of inhabitants, but also by influences of other varieties: from below (neighbouring dialects) and from above (the urban dialect of Karlovac and Standard Croatian). These influences are growing stronger and stronger as the village has fewer and fewer inhabitants. Perhaps the local dialect of Blatnica Pokupska can be saved, or a new dialect can be formed in its place (e.g. a *koiné* of Standard Croatian and Kajkavian local dialects, similar to *Spanglish*, a pidgin of Spanish and English), but the chances are slim. Rather, it reflects our reality in which the rural way of life is replaced by the urban, and accordingly, so are the dialects.

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Kolebanja u akcentuaciji Blatnice Pokupske

Sažetak

U radu su predstavljene dublete u fonologiji i akcentuaciji kajkavskoga mjesnog govora u središnjoj Hrvatskoj, gdje se sastaju sva tri narječja hrvatskoga jezika. Najprije su predstavljene nedosljednosti u suglasničkim i samoglasničkim sustavima. U drugom dijelu promatra se naglasni sustav, odnosno njegove jedinice i njihova distribucija. Zabilježena su mnoga kolebanja, čak i u pogledu retrakcija i karakteristika tipičnih za kajkavske govore. Nestalnosti su protumačene kroz utjecaje susjednih mjesnih govora te karlovačkog urbanog govora i hrvatskoga standardnog jezika.

Key words: Kajkavian, phonology, accentuation, dialect contact, language death

Ključne riječi: kajkavsko narječje, fonologija, akcentuacija, kontakt dijalekata, jezična smrt

