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MORPHONOLOGICAL ALTERNATIONS IN THE LOCAL DIALECT OF RAVNICE (SLA T411) FROM SLAVIC COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

In this article we present an »intermediate« linguistic layer, namely morphophonology or morphonology. We present the beginnings of attaining independence as a discipline and tasks of morphophonology. Types of alternations are given. On the base of the selected lexical corpora of the local dialect of Ravnice (SLA T411) morphonological stem alternations on the paradigmatic axis are presented. We show that vowel alternations occur namely as a result of vowel changes as a consequence of suprasegmental/accent alternations. The presence or absence of alternation can be semantically distinguishing.

Keywords: morphonology, alternation, Lower Carniolan dialect group, Slovenski lingvistični atlas (Slovenian Linguistic Atlas), comparative Slavic linguistics

ALTERNAZIONI MORFONOLOGICHE DELLA PARLATA DEL LUOGO DI RAVNICE (SLA T411) DALLA PROSPETTIVA COMPARATIVA SLAVA

SINTESI

Il contributo presenta uno strato linguistico "intermedio", vale a dire la morfofonologia ovvero morfonologia. Vengono presentati gli inizi della sua indipendenza come disciplina indipendente e i compiti della morfonologia. Vengono indicati anche i tipi di alternanze. Sulla base dei corpora lessicali selezionati della parlata del luogo di Ravnice (SLA T411) si presentano alternanze morfonologiche sull'asse paradigmatico. Abbiamo dimostrato che le alternanze vocali si verificano in particolare a causa di alternanze suprasegmentali/ di accento. La presenza o l'assenza di alternanza può essere semanticamente distinta.

Parole chiave: morfonologia, alternanza, gruppo dialettale della regione Dolenjska, Slovenski lingvistični atlas (Atlante linguistico sloveno), linguistica slava comparata

INTRODUCTION

In synchronic linguistics Slavic languages are, within morphological typology, placed amongst flecive languages.¹ Their characteristics are: the existence of null morpheme, homonymy and synonymy of grammatical affixes, root suppletion, alternations in grammatical affixes, stem alternations (Ružička, 1972, 201).

The focus of this article are the alternations in grammatical morphemes and stem alternations. Alternation is a replacement of one linguistic sign with the other within the phoneme, morphoneme. However, the stem alternation is a deviation of all sorts from the declension pattern either in phonetic or in prosody (Toporišič, 1992, 212).

Stem alternation which occur as a result of vowel changes as a consequence of suprasegmental alternations are presented on the base of the selected dialectal corpora from the non-tonal local dialect of Ravnice. Namely, for a non-tonal local dialect quantitative and qualitative vowel characteristics are the only witness of different stress movements which occurred in the past of a certain language system. Solely a synchronically presented system of alternations can reveal a potential regularity of different movements.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Definition of the term

Morphonology (←morphophonology) is a linguistic discipline established by the structuralist scholars. It deals with alternations which occur within a word itself. It has long been just a branch of phonology or rather an intermediate discipline between phonology and morphology. The reasons why lie in the fact that alternations which are treated within morphonology are based on phonetics (Bernštejn, 1974, 7). Within linguistics the foundations of science, later named morphonology, were laid by Jan Baudouin de Courtenay, Mikołaj H. Kruszewski and N. S. Trubetzkoy who made a theoretical base for it. They were especially strong in the theoretical aspect of morphonology as they were the first in history to try to delimit the research of the acoustic side of the language and alternations. The term morphonology itself was first used by Nikolaj S. Trubetzkoy (1988, 231),² who defined it as a part of linguistics which studies the morphological use of phonological differences (Bernštejn, 1974, 10).

After Trubetzkoy we could only in the 1960s and 1970s once again witness the rebirth of interest for the theoretical questions of morphonology and concrete morphonological descriptions of Bulgarian, Russian

and Polish language were being made as well (Tolstaja, 1998). A lot of attention was put on morphonology from the historical point of view by S. B. Bernštejn in his comparative grammar of Slavic languages (1974). Convinced that morphonology is not just a passage between phonology and morphology, as often described, but rather occupying a completely equivalent place next to phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax, he stressed that the definition of the sound function fundamentally differs in specific sciences. Phonology is defined by the distribution of the sound and its position in the word while morphonology is interested in grammatical position of a specific sound thus dealing with exploring different structures, activity of alternations and their history (Bernštejn, 1974, 7). Later he pointed out the importance to distinguish paradigmatical and sintagmatical types of alternations. Paradigmatic alternations are those which occur within one word within a paradigm (so called morphonologically marked paradigm), while sintagmatical or derivative ones are defined with morpheme alternations of different words which belong to the same word family.

V. V. Lopatin (1977) presented morphonology within Russian word formation, while S. M. Tolstaja in her monograph (1998) gave an elaborate introduction to morphonology and the term itself as well as a detailed synchronic morphonological treatment of Polish. Morphonology of Polish was also studied by K. Kowalik (1997). Bulgarian was treated by N. J. Aronson (1968) who presented morphonology within noun inflection patterns, while T. V. Popova (1975) within verbs. Suprasegmental alternations in Proto Slavic were in detail described by V. Dybo (1981).

In Slovenian studies morphonology (Sln. *oblikoglasje*) is defined as a science of sounds and prosody of morphemes or words (Toporišič, 1992, 152). It studies sound alternations in morphemes carrying a specific meaning which is not subdued to change even if one of the sounds of the morpheme alternates (Toporišič, 2006, viii).

Morphoneme, alternant

Basic unit of morphonology is a morphophoneme or morphoneme which in contrast with phoneme does not change the meaning of the word, but rather finds its expression when it alternates due to the vocal surroundings in specific grammatical categories. That occurs in verb and noun inflection and in word formation.

Toporišič (1992, 112) defines a morphoneme (Sln. *oblikoglasnik*) as a sound with its prosodic characteristic which is subdued to alternation in a specific position of the morpheme (for example: //ò-ô//, //a-e//, //k-č//). A morphoneme which alternates is named

1 This article has been supported by ARRS (program P6-0038).

2 A short record is an author's summary expressed at the 1st international Slavistic congress in Prague in 1929.

alternant. Toporišič (2006, 321) uses a Slovenian term *premenilnik*. In Slovenian literature this expression is seldom used, the most frequent is a collocation »sound which alternates with«.

For an entire chain of morphemes or alternants Bernštejn (1974, 7) uses a term *link* or *article* (Russ. člen). Examples from standard Slovenian: //ă-â-ã//: Nsg *brāt* 'brother' – Gsg *bráta* – Npl *brátje*.

In Slovenian studies morphemes are marked with two slashes (Toporišič, 1992, 112), for example //g-ž// in words *knjiga* 'book' – diminutive *knjižica* 'booklet'.³ This type of marking will be used in this article as well.

Types and regularity of alternations

Within morphological alternations we can distinguish, as mentioned above, paradigmatical and sintagmatical (derivational) types of alternations (Bernštejn, 1974, 15). Paradigmatical alternations are presented within one word, one inflection pattern, while sintagmatical ones are characterized by alternations of morphemes in different words (of the same word family). The latter bring morphonology closer to word formation, while the paradigmatical alternations bring it closer to morphology.

Regarding the position in the word where the alternation occurs we can distinguish two types, that is alternations which occur on: 1) morphemic seams (on the boundary of the base word and prefix/suffix): Sln. *roka* 'hand' – diminutive *ročica*, Croatian *vuk* 'wolf' – Npl *vuci*; and 2) stem alternations: Sln. *brati* 'to read' – 1sg praes *berem*, Polish *miasto* 'town' – D/Lsg *mieście*.

Regarding the alternant we can distinguish two types of morphonological alternations, that is vowel and consonant alternations. 1) Vowel alternations or alternations of vowel alternants: Sln. *trėti* 'to crack' – 1sg praes. *tarem*, Polish Nsg *ząb* 'tooth' – Npl *zęby*. Within we can distinguish quantitative alternations (Nsg *nít* 'thread', Gsg *níti*) from qualitative alternations (Std. Sln. *brati* 'to read' – 1sg praes *berem*). 2) Consonant alternations or alternations of consonant alternants: Sln. *pečí* (< PS. **pekti*) 'to bake' 2sg imp *peci!*, Polish Nsg *osoba* 'person' – D/Lsg *osobie*.

In Slovenian linguistics Toporišič (2000, 262–266) treated morphonological alternations of morphemes within morphology and categorized the following alternations: 1) consonant alternations (alternations due to: *j*-palatalization, palatalizations of velars, dis-

simulations and assimilations, distribution of phonetic variants (such as the distribution of sonants), consonant reduction, base lengthening with consonants in oblique cases) and 2) vowel alternations (alternations due to: ablaut,⁴ changing the quantity of the stressed vowel, umlaut, metathesis, alternations of stressed vowels due to different accent paradigms).

Toporišič presented alternations solely on a synchronic level making it difficult to distinguish which alternations are still active and which are inactive, but were active in the past of a certain language system respectively. With a synchronic presentation of alternations, we may lose a chronological insight into alternations, yet with a diachronic presentation we quickly realize that every alternation is a result of a sound change in different time periods of a certain language system. Also Trubeckoy (1988, 233), being very critical namely towards descriptive grammars of Slavic languages, claimed that ordinarily authors in their (synchronic) descriptions of individual Slavic languages usually very quickly pass over to historical linguistics thus obstructing different peculiar morphological systems of individual Slavic languages. In that way not only the descriptions of alternations become an enumeration of phonetic alternations lacking any kind of distinction between active and inactive alternations in the language, but also phonetically based alternations and morphonologically based alternations are treated in the same manner. In this way an idea of morphonology as a special branch of descriptive grammar disappears.

In contemporary Croatian grammar from Barić et al. we find a sensible presentation of different alternations. Authors (Barić et al., 1997, 76) distinguish two types of alternations within a phoneme/phonological system of a morpheme (so-called *alternacije fonema*):⁵ 1) phonologically based alternations (for example devoicing assimilation), 2) morphonologically based alternations (such as the umlaut, *j*-palatalization, palatalizations of velars). The first type includes the entire language material (e.g. Croatian *vrabac* 'vrabec' – Gsg *vrápca*), while the alternations of the second type germinate from morphology and word formation and thus include only specific morphological and word formational categories (e.g. Croatian Nsg *momak* 'fant' – Vsg *momč-e* – Npl *momc-i*; *daska* 'deska' – diminutive *daščica* – Lsg *na dasci*).

Morphonological alternations are (in a specific language period) always systematical and not individual

3 In Russian linguistics some authors such as Bernštejn uses square brackets [k : č]: *ruka* - *ručka*; S. M. Tolstaja in her morphological description of Polish uses an arrow for alternants and brackets for a starting variant: *r* → *ż* {*por-e*} → *porze*. Steenwijk in his description of the Resia/Rezija dialect is using a slash, e.g. /i/ ~ /é/ Gsg *síra* 'cheese' ~ N/Asg *séř*. IPA (International phonetic alphabet) anticipates these signs for marking morphemes: //...//, |...|, ||...|| or {...}.

4 In contrast with the definition of ablaut in diachronic linguistics, in synchronic Slovenian linguistics ablaut can be any kind of a vowel stem alternation, named as »young« (e.g. 1sg praes *nósim* 'to carry' ~ 2sg imp *nósi*). This is pointed out by Šekli (2012, 604, note 3).

5 The term *glasovne promjene* (sound changes) is in Barić grammar justifiably used only in explanation of historic language changes, so in a diachronic view of a language system.

which means that a morphoneme in a specific position in a word is subjected to alternation following a certain rule. For example, each consonant alternates only with a specific consonant (e.g. //g-ž//) and not just with any (Tolstaja, 1998, 16). Vowel alternations are subjected to their laws as well (e.g. Polish //a-'e//) which confirms the regularity of morphonological manifestation and enables their predictability. However, not only phonological criterion and grammatical position of a word are relevant in morphonology. Also semantic, lexical or stylistic criterion may appear, although the influence of analogy may be strong as well.

Alternations on a paradigmatic axis

According to Stojanova (2003, 161) on a paradigmatic axis, that is within nominal inflected pattern, we can distinguish morphonologically unmarked and morphonologically marked paradigms. In unmarked paradigms the nominal base is unaltered in all paradigmatic positions, variable being only the ending. However, in marked paradigms the nominal base segmentally differs in certain paradigmatic positions. Segment differentiation can appear either on a morphemic boundary or in word base. Sometimes, due to active influence of morphonological analogy, it can come to the disintegration of a morphonological link or article of alternants and finally to the transition of a paradigmatic pattern into morphonologically unmarked paradigms.

Within morphonologically marked paradigms we must distinguish (Stojanova, 2003, 162): 1) a starting-point variant (with a starting-point base alternant) and 2) a modified variant (with a secondary base alternant). To determine a starting-point variant in synchronic descriptions two basic criteria exist: dictionary form or lemma (e.g. Nsg for nouns) and a criterion of morphonological distribution, that is a base most frequent.⁶

MORPHONOLOGICAL ALTERNATIONS ON A PARADIGMATIC AXIS WITHIN THE LOCAL DIALECT OF RAVNICE

Local dialect of Ravnice

The locality of Ravnice lies in Gorski Kotar, Croatia. The local dialect of Ravnice is classified as a part of the Čabranka dialect within the Lower Carniolan dialect group of Slovenian (Gostenčnik, 2018) and is a part of the data-point network for the Slovenski lingvistični atlas (Slovenian Linguistic Atlas, SLA).⁷ The local dialect is characterized by the loss of tonal

distinctions, thus knowing only dynamic stress, stress retractions of a younger descent, shortening of high vowels *u* and *i*. Characteristics of modern vocal reduction are strongly present, therefore we find akanye in syllables, stressed according to newer accent shifts (Gostenčnik, 2018, 229).

Stem alternations which occur as a result of suprasegmental changes are presented on the base of the selected dialectal corpora. Vowel alternations were chosen namely for the information this insight into the dialectal data can enable. Namely, for a non-tonal local dialect quantitative and qualitative vowel characteristics are the only witness of different stress movements which occurred in a certain language system. Solely a synchronically presented system of alternations can reveal a potential regularity of different movements.

Different examples of morphonologically unmarked paradigms and morphonologically marked paradigms are presented, the latter are shown in a synchronic system of vowel alternations. For each separate case within the nominal inflection paradigm the vowel alternation is recognized either as a) a regular reflection of Proto-Slavic accent paradigms within regular sound and accent changes; or as b) an intraparadigmatic, i.e. analogical levelling within one flexional paradigm, or c) interparadigmatic analogical levelling, i.e. analogical levelling between different flexional paradigms.⁸

Firstly, examples for morphonologically unmarked paradigms are presented followed by examples for morphonologically marked paradigms. As a starting-point variant a dictionary form of a word was used.

All exemplars are limited to those nouns which do or do not express vowel stem alternation and which do not express base lengthening, these are: monosyllabic masculine and feminine nouns of accent paradigm (henceforth a. p.) a, b and c; monosyllabic masculine nouns of a. p. d; disyllabic masculine, neutrum and feminine nouns of a. p. b; disyllabic neutrum and feminine nouns of a. p. c; disyllabic neutrum nouns of a. p. a.

Words having three or more syllables in nominative singular or in singular of oblique cases are not discussed (e.g.⁹ *'mačerat* – *mače'ra:da* 'salamander', *'čuo:viĕk* (arch.) – *ča'vę:iĕka* 'man, human', *'pelin* – *pe'lè:na* 'absinthe', *'pĕo:grep* – *pag'rè:ba* 'funeral', *'ĕo:trak* – *ĕot'ra:ka* 'child', *'pĕo:tĕk* – *pa'tò:ka* 'brook', *'tĕĕu* – *te'lè:sa* 'body', *'ĕoku* – *u'ĕę:sa* (arch.) ~ *'ĕaka* (new.) 'eye',¹⁰ *'vĕxu* – *vĕ'sĕ:sa* ~ *'vĕxa* 'ear', *'peru* – *pe'rè:sa* ~ *'pera* 'feather', *v're:ĕime* – *vre'mè:na* 'weather',

6 This form of a starting-point variant is probably more often used (such as E. Stojanova, S. M. Tolstaja, H. Steenwijk).

7 Open access to SLA (1 and 2) on the website <https://fran.si/iskanje?FilteredDictionaryIds=204&View=1&Query=%2A>.

8 Terminology from Hock, 1991.

9 First form is always nominative singular, the second genitive singular.

10 Label newer or archaic, which is sometimes given next to the word in brackets, is always a subjective view of the speaker and does not necessarily represent an etymologically younger or archaic form.

'pepiu – pe'pè:ua 'ash', 'gauop – ga'uo̯ba 'pigeon', 'kakuš – ka'kuši 'chicken').

Additionally, words showing an irregular development in the nominative case (taken as a starting-point form) due to its consonant vicinity (such as the development of jat in position before *r*: 'mè:ra 'measure') were not treated.

Within given declension patterns the etymologically irregular forms (due to intraparadigmatic or interparadigmatic analogical levelling) are in grey colour. To determine an (ir)regular reflex we stem from Common Slovenian accent system which was reconstructed on the base of Proto-Slavic accent paradigms within declension patterns (Stang, 1957; Dybo, 1981, 2000) and the documented accent changes in the Slovenian dialects (Ramovš, 1950, 16–23; Logar, 1981, 29–33).

Morphologically unmarked paradigms

Morphologically unmarked paradigms are characteristic for: mono- or disyllabic nouns with a long root vowel of a. p. b (examples for *pot* 'path, way', *gnezdo* 'nest', *zvezda* 'star'; PSl. *pōtī Gsg *pōti (b) 'path, way' > CSln. *pōt *pōti ≥ Ravnice 'pō:t 'pō:ta, Std. Sln. pōt potí, pōt pōta; PSl. *gnězdō (b) 'nest' > CSln. *gnězdo > Ravnice g'nē:izdu, Std. Sln. gnězdo; PSl. *gvězdā, Asg *gvězdō (b) 'star' > CSln. zvězda zvězdo > Ravnice z'vē:izda z'vē:izdo, Std. Sln. zvězda zvězdo); disyllabic neuter nouns of a. p. a (examples for *blato* 'mud'; PSl. *bōlto (a) 'mud' > CSln. *blāto > Ravnice b'ua:tu, Std. Sln. blāto); disyllabic neutrum nouns after tertiary retraction of the circumflex of a. p. c (examples for *meso* 'meat'; PSl. *mēsō Gsg *mēsa (c) 'meat' > CSln. *mēsō *mēsā > Ravnice 'mesu 'mesa, Std. Sln. mesō mesā; disyllabic masculine and feminine nouns with a schwa root vowel of a. p. b (example for *steber* 'column', *steza* 'footpath'; PSl. *stǫbъrb (b) 'column' > CSln. *stǫbъr > Ravnice s'tębęr, Std. Sln. stebër/stèber; PSl. *stǫdzā (b) 'footpath' > CSln. *stǫzā > Ravnice s'tęza, Std. Sln. stezà/stèza; after stress retraction onto pretonic reduced vowel.

Exemplars for morphologically unmarked paradigms:

Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
N 'pō:t	'pō:tę	g'nē:izdu	g'nē:izda	z'vē:izda	z'vē:izde
G 'pō:ta	'pō:tu	g'nē:izda	g'nē:ist	z'vē:izde	z'vē:ist
D 'pō:tę	'pō:tęm	g'nē:izdę	g'nē:izdan	z'vē:izdę	z'vē:izdam
A 'pō:t	'pō:te	g'nē:izdu	g'nē:izda	z'vē:izdō	z'vē:izde
L 'pō:tę	'pō:tęx	g'nē:izdę	g'nē:izdax	z'vē:izdę	z'vē:izdax
I 'pō:tęn'	'pō:tęmę	g'nē:izdęn	g'nē:izdamę	z'vē:izdō	z'vē:izdamę

	Sg	Sg	Pl
N	b'ua:tu	'mesu	'mesa
G	b'ua:ta	'mesa	'mes
D	b'ua:tę	'mesi	
A	b'ua:tō	'mesu	
L	b'ua:tę	'mesi	
I	b'ua:tō	'mesęn	

	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
N	s'tębęr	s'tębri	s'tęza	s'tęzi
G	s'tębra	s'tębru	s'tęzi	s'tęzi
D	s'tębri		s'tęzi	s'tęzan
A	s'tębęr	s'tębri	s'tęzō	s'tęzi
L	s'tębri	s'tębrix	s'tęzi	s'tęzax
I	s'tębręn	s'tębramę	s'tęzō	s'tęzamę

In the local dialect of Ravnice high vowels *i* and *u* are subject to shortening, therefore in monosyllables with a root long CSln. **i* or **u* of a. p. b and c (examples for *luč* 'light', *ključ* 'key' and *duh* 'ghost'; PSl. *lúčь Gsg *luči (b) 'light' > CSln. *lúč *luči > Ravnice 'luč 'luči, Std. Sln. lúč luči/luč luči; PSl. *ključь Gsg *ključā (b) 'key' > CSln. *ključ *ključā > Ravnice k'luč, k'luča, Std. Sln. ključ ključa; PSl. *dūxъ Gsg *dūxa (c) 'breath, ghost' > CSln. *dūx *dūxā > Ravnice 'dux 'duxa, Std. Sln. dūh duhā) we find only short *i* and *u* in basic case due to regular shortening of high vowels, in oblique cases as a result of stress retraction onto pretonic long vowel (nouns of a. p. b) or as a result of tertiary retraction of the circumflex (nouns of a. p. c). In disyllables with root vowels *i* or *u* of a. p. b (examples for *lice* 'cheek', *pljuča* 'lungs'; PSl. *licē (b) 'face, cheek' > CSln. *lice > Ravnice 'lice, Std. Sln. lice; PSl. *plūća (b) 'lungs' > CSln. *plūća > Ravnice p'luča, Std. Sln. pljuča) we find only short *i* and *u* in basic and oblique cases due to stress retraction onto pretonic long vowel followed by the regular shortening of high vowels.

Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
N 'luč	'luči	k'luč	k'lučę	'dux	'duxę
G 'luči	'luči	k'luča	k'luču	'duxa	'duxu
D 'luči	'lučęn	k'lučę	k'lučęn	'duxę	'duxęn
A 'luč	'luči	k'luč	k'luče	'duxa	'duxe
L 'luči	'lučix	k'lučę	k'lučęx	'duxę	'duxęx
I 'lučjo	'lučmi	k'lučęm	k'lučmę	'duxęm	'duxmę

	Sg	PI	PI
N	'lice	'lica	p'luča
G	'lica	'lic	p'luč
D	'lice	'lican	p'lučan
A	'lice	'lica	p'luča
L	'lice	'licex	p'lučax
I	'licen	'licme	p'lučme

Morphologically marked paradigms

We can classify morphologically marked paradigms into three types: 1) The first type includes some substantives that belong to a. p. a and show only regular reflexes, thus meaning we do not find any analogical levelling in individual cases. Vowel alternations are due to the changes in the number of syllables. Those are examples such as: *brat* (brother), *kruh* (bread), *kup* (heap, pile), *nit* (thread), *ptič* (bird). 2) In the second type we find alternations due to analogy within the paradigm itself, that is intraparadigmatic analogical levelling, for example: *koš* 'basket', *rob* 'edge', *pest* 'fist', *med* 'honey'. 3) In the third type we find interparadigmatic analogical levelling, such as: *koza* 'goat', *gora* 'mountain', *nos* 'nose', *most* 'bridge', *cesta* 'road'.

Type 1

Alternation //a-a://

Alternation //a-a:// is present in monosyllabic stems with a short stressed *a* in only word syllable of a. p. a (example for *brat* 'brother'; PSl. *brātrъ Gsg *brātra (a) 'brother' > CSln. *brāt *brāta > Ravnice *b'rat b'ra:ta*, Std. Sln. *brāt brāta*).

	Sg	PI
N	b'rat	b'ra:tę
G	b'ra:ta	b'ra:tu
D	b'ra:tę	b'ra:tęn
A	b'ra:ta	b'ra:te
L	b'ra:tę	b'ra:tęx
I	b'ra:tęn	b'ra:tmę

All of the forms are regular. In the treated local dialect the reflex of the short stressed *a* in the final or only word syllable is short *a*, while in the non-final word syllable a long *a*.

Alternation //ę-u//

Alternation //ę-u// is present in monosyllabic stems with a short stressed *u* in the only word syllable of a. p. a (examples for *kruh* 'bread', *kup* 'heap'; PSl. *krŭxa Gsg *krŭxa (a) 'bread' > CSln. *krŭh *krŭha > Ravnice *k'ręx k'ruxa*, Std. Sln. *krŭh krŭha*; PSl. *kŭpъ Gsg *kŭpa (a) 'heap' > CSln. *kŭp *kŭpa > Ravnice *'kęp 'kupa*, Std. Sln. *kŭp kŭpa*).

	Sg	PI	Sg	PI
N	k'ręx	/	'kęp	'kupa
G	k'ruxa		'kupa	'kupu
D	k'ruxę		'kupa	'kupęn
A	k'ręx		'kęp	'kupa
L	k'ruxę		'kupa	'kupęx
I	k'ruxęn		'kupęn	'kupamę

All of the forms are regular. In the treated local dialect the reflex of the short stressed *u* in the final or only word syllable is short *ę*, while in the non-final word syllable a short *u*, due to latter shortening of high vowels *u* (and *i*).

Alternation //ę-i//

Alternation //ę-i// is present in monosyllabic stems with a short stressed *i* in only word syllable of a. p. a (examples for *nit* 'thread', *miš* 'mouse', *ptič* 'bird'; PSl. *nŭtъ Gsg *nŭti (a) > CSln. *nŭt *nŭti > Ravnice *'nęt 'niti*, Std. Sln. *nŭt nŭti*; PSl. *mŭšъ Gsg *mŭši (a) 'mouse' > CSln. *miš *miši/*miša > Ravnice *'męš 'miša*, Std. Sln. *mŭš miši*; PSl. *pŭtŭъ Gsg *pŭtŭa (a) 'bird' > CSln. *pŭtŭč *pŭtŭča > Ravnice *'tęč 'tiča*, Std. Sln. *pŭtŭč pŭtŭča*).

	Sg	PI	Sg	PI	Sg	PI
N	'nęt	'niti	'męš	'mišę	'tęč	'tičę
G	'niti	'niti	'miša	'mišu	'tiča	'tiču
D	'nitę	'nitęn	'mišę	'mišęn	'tičę	'tičęn
A	'nęt	'niti	'miša	'miše	'tiča	'tiče
L	'nitę	'nitęx	'mišę	'mišęx	'tičę	'tičęx
I	'nitjo	'nitmę	'mišęn	'mišamę ~ 'mišmę	'tičęn	'tičmę

All of the forms are regular. In the treated local dialect the reflex of the short stressed *i* in the final or only word syllable is short *ę*, while in the non-final word syllable a short *i*, due to latter shortening of high vowels *i* (and *u*).

Alternation //ɛ-e//

Alternation //ɛ-e// is present in monosyllabic stems of a. p. b nouns with a secondary semivowel in oblique cases due to easier pronunciation (example for *pes* ‘dog’; PSI. *p̥s̥ɛ Gsg *p̥s̥á (b) ‘dog’ > CSIn. *p̥s̥ *ps̥á > Ravnice p̥ɛs p̥esa, Std. Sln. p̥ɛs p̥s̥ä).

	Sg	Pl
N	p̥ɛs	p̥esɛ
G	p̥esa	p̥esu
D	p̥esɛ	p̥esɛn
A	p̥esa	p̥ese
L	p̥esɛ	p̥esɛx
I	p̥esɛn	p̥esamɛ

Type 2

Alternation //u-a-uo://

Alternation //u-a-uo:// is present in monosyllabic stems of *i*-stem feminine nouns (examples for *noč* ‘night’, *kost* ‘bone’; PSI. *n̥d̥b̥ Gsg *n̥d̥í (c) ‘night’ > CSIn. *n̥d̥č̥ *noč̥í > Ravnice n̥uɛ n̥ač̥i, Std. Sln. n̥d̥č̥ noč̥í; PSI. *k̥d̥st̥b̥ Gsg *k̥d̥st̥i (c) ‘bone’ > CSIn. *k̥d̥st̥ *k̥ost̥í > Ravnice k̥ust k̥asti, Std. Sln. k̥d̥st̥ k̥ost̥í) and in masculine monosyllable with a long root vowel *o* (example for *bog* ‘god’; PSI. *b̥d̥g̥ Gsg *b̥d̥ga (c) ‘god’ > CSIn. *b̥d̥g̥ *b̥og̥á > Ravnice b̥uk b̥aga, Std. Sln. b̥d̥g̥ bog̥á), all of a. p. c.

	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
N	n̥uɛ	n̥ač̥i	k̥ust	k̥asti	b̥uk	b̥agi
G	n̥ač̥i	n̥ač̥i	k̥asti	k̥asti	b̥aga	b̥agu
D	n̥uɔ:č̥ɛ		k̥uɔ:st̥ɛ	k̥uɔ:st̥ɛn ~ (k̥astin)	b̥agi	b̥agen
A	n̥uɛ	n̥ač̥i	k̥ust		b̥aga	b̥age ~ b̥uɔ:ge
L	n̥uɔ:č̥ɛ	n̥uɔ:č̥ɛx	k̥uɔ:st̥ɛ		b̥agi	b̥agix ²
I	n̥ač̥jɔ	n̥ač̥mi	k̥o:st̥jɔ		b̥agen	b̥agamɛ

In the Nsg the word *noč* is showing a regular reflex of CSIn. long *o, that is short *u*. The oblique case form with the root short *a* is a reflex of vowel *o* stressed after the tertiary retraction of the circumflex (in the Isg, G/Ipl by analogy). The forms with the diphthong *uo:* reflect a regular reflex of retraction stressed *o*.

In the word *kost* forms of the D/Lsg were regularly equated, that is the form of Lsg was by analogy extended to the dative case. Analogy was at work in the G/Dpl (the form in brackets).

In the word *bog* all singular forms are etymologically justified, but in the G/D/L/Ipl we find an analogy by the basic case with a short root *a*. A variant in the Apl with a root diphthong is maybe due to analogy with a. p. d.

Alternation //a-uo://

Alternation //a-uo:// is present in monosyllabic stems of a. p. b masculine nouns with a neoacute root vowel *o* (examples for *grob* ‘grave’, *koš* ‘basket’, *kròp* ‘boiling water’, *pod* ‘floor’, *strop* ‘ceiling’, *konj* ‘horse’; PSI. *gr̥òb̥ Gsg *gr̥òb̥á (b) ‘grave’ > CSIn. *gr̥òb̥ *gr̥òb̥á > Ravnice g̥rap g̥ruɔ:ba, Std. Sln. gr̥òb̥ gr̥òb̥a; PSI. *k̥òs̥'̥ Gsg *k̥òs̥'̥á (b) ‘basket’ > CSIn. *k̥òs̥'̥ *k̥òs̥'̥á > Ravnice k̥aš k̥uɔ:ša, Std. Sln. k̥d̥š k̥òs̥'̥a; PSI. *kr̥òp̥ Gsg *kr̥òp̥á (b) ‘boiling water’ > CSIn. *kr̥òp̥ *kr̥òp̥á > Ravnice k̥rap k̥rapa ~ k̥ruɔ:pa, Std. Sln. kr̥òp̥ kr̥òp̥a/kr̥òp̥a; PSI. *p̥òd̥ Gsg *p̥òd̥á (b) ‘floor’ > CSIn. *p̥òd̥ *p̥òd̥á > Ravnice p̥at p̥uɔ:da, Std. Sln. p̥d̥d̥ p̥òd̥a; PSI. *str̥òp̥ Gsg *str̥òp̥á (b) ‘ceiling, roof’ > CSIn. *str̥òp̥ *str̥òp̥á > Ravnice st̥rop̥ ~ st̥rap̥ st̥ruɔ:pa, Std. Sln. str̥òp̥ str̥òp̥a; PSI. *k̥òñ̥ Gsg *k̥òñ̥á (b) ‘horse’ > CSIn. *k̥òñ̥ *k̥òñ̥á > Ravnice k̥ajn k̥uɔ:jna, Std. Sln. k̥òñ̥ k̥ón̥ja).

	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
N	g̥rap	g̥ruɔ:bɛ	k̥aš	k̥uɔ:šɛ
G	g̥ruɔ:ba	g̥ruɔ:bu	k̥uɔ:ša	k̥uɔ:šu
D	g̥ruɔ:bɛ		k̥uɔ:šɛ	k̥uɔ:šɛm
A	g̥rap	g̥ruɔ:be	k̥aš	k̥uɔ:še
L	g̥ruɔ:bɛ	g̥ruɔ:bɛx	k̥uɔ:šɛ	k̥uɔ:šɛx
I			k̥uɔ:šɛn	k̥uɔ:šmɛ

	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
N	k̥rap	k̥ruɔ:pɛ	p̥at	p̥uɔ:dɛ ~ p̥adi
G	k̥rapa ~ k̥ruɔ:pa (arch.)	k̥ruɔ:pu	p̥uɔ:da	
D	k̥ruɔ:pɛ	kr̥uɔ:pɛn	p̥uɔ:dɛ	p̥uɔ:dɛn
A	k̥rap		p̥at	p̥uɔ:di ~ p̥adi
L	k̥ruɔ:pɛ		p̥uɔ:dɛ	p̥uɔ:dix
I	kr̥uɔ:pɛn		p̥uɔ:dɛn	p̥admi ~ (p̥uɔ:dɛmɛ)

	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
N	<i>st'rop ~ st'rap</i>	<i>st'ruo:pę</i>	<i>'kajn</i>	<i>'kjo:jnę</i>	<i>'mó:š</i>	<i>'maži</i>
G	<i>st'ruo:pa</i>	<i>st'ruo:pu</i>	<i>'kjo:jna</i>	<i>'kjo:jnu</i>	<i>'maža</i>	<i>'maži</i>
D	<i>st'ruo:pę</i>	<i>st'ruo:pęn</i>	<i>'kjo:jnę</i>	<i>'kjo:jnęn ~ 'kjo:jnan</i>	<i>'maži</i>	<i>'mažęn</i>
A	<i>st'rop ~ st'rap</i>		<i>'kjo:jna</i>		<i>'maža</i>	<i>'maži</i>
L	<i>st'ruo:pę</i>	<i>st'ruo:pęx</i>	<i>'kjo:jnę</i>	<i>'kjo:jnęx</i>	<i>'maži</i>	<i>'mažix</i>
I	<i>st'ruo:pęn</i>	<i>st'ruo:pęx</i>	<i>'kjo:jnęn</i>	<i>'kjo:jnęx</i>	<i>'mažęn</i>	<i>'mažmi</i>

In the Nsg (for inanimate also in the Asg) all the nouns express the regular reflex of the neoacute *o* in the only syllable short *a*. In all other cases (with exceptions in the G/L/Ipl) retraction stressed *o* is carried out with the reflex *uo*:. In the G/L/Ipl we find an irregular reflex of retraction stressed *o* instead of the regular reflex of neoacute *o* which is due to analogy by the Npl to all other oblique cases. The form with root diphthong *uo*: was in all examples (almost) consistently generalized to all plural cases.

In the case of the noun *k'rap* 'boiling water', Gsg *k'rapa* (archaic form *k'ruo:pa*) a tendency of generalization of the nominative form to oblique cases is shown. However, the noun *'pat* 'floor' is showing a duplicate form the Npl *'padi* which could be due to analogy by the Nsg or rather as a result of analogy by the Npl of masculine monosyllables of a. p. c. The form with short root vowel *a* was then (as a variant) generalized to the A/Ipl.

Alternation //ò:-a//

Alternation //ò:-a// is present in monosyllabic stems with a long nasal root vowel *o* of a. p. c nouns (examples for *rob* 'edge', *zob* 'tooth', *mož* 'man'; PSl. **rôbъ* Gsg **rôba* (c) 'cloth, rag' > CSln. **rôb* **robâ* > Ravnice *rô:p* *'raba*, Std. Sln. *rôb* *rôba*; PSl. **zôbъ* Gsg **zôba* (c) 'tooth' > CSln. **zôb* **zobâ* > Ravnice *'zô:p* *'zaba*, Std. Sln. *zôb* *zobâ/zôba*; PSl. **môžъ* Gsg **môža* (c) 'man' > CSln. **môž* **možâ* > Ravnice *'mó:š* *'maža*, Std. Sln. *môž* *možâ*).

	Sg	Pl	Sg	Du	Pl
N	<i>'ró:p</i>	<i>'rabi</i>	<i>'zô:p</i>	<i>'zaba</i>	<i>'zabi</i>
G	<i>'raba</i>	<i>'rabi</i>	<i>'zaba</i>		<i>'zabi</i>
D	<i>rô:be ~ 'rabi (arch.)</i>				
A	<i>'ró:p</i>	<i>'rabi</i>	<i>'zô:p</i>		
L	<i>rô:be ~ 'rabi (arch.)</i>	<i>'rabix</i>			<i>'zabix</i>
I	<i>'ró:bęn</i>	<i>'rabmi</i>	<i>'zabęn</i>		<i>'zabame ~ 'zabmi</i>

A regular reflex in the Nsg of the CSln. long **o* is a long vowel *ô*:

Strong cases of analogy are displayed in singular cases of the word *rob* for in the D/L (as a variant) as well as in I we find a generalized basic case form with a long root vowel. The words *zob* and *mož* were not subjected to analogy in oblique singular cases showing only regular forms with short root vowel *a*. The forms of N/Apl are regular, though analogy was strong in plural in all the examples above as we find a generalized form of the Npl with a short root vowel *a*, a regular reflex of the long nasal *o* stressed after the tertiary retraction of the circumflex, in all oblique cases.

Alternation //a:-a//

Alternation //a:-a// is present in disyllabic feminine nouns with a long *a* vowel of *a*-stem declension (example for *trava* 'grass'; PSl. **travâ* Asg **trâvô* (c) 'fodder' > CSln. **tráva* **travô* > Ravnice *t'ra:ya* *t'ravi*, Std. Sln. *tráva* *trávo*), monosyllabic stems with a long root vowel *a* or long CSln. **a* of *i*-stem feminine nouns of a. p. c (examples for *stran* 'side', *vas* 'village'; PSl. **stôrnъ* Gsg **stôrni* (c) > CSln. **strân* **stranî* > Ravnice *st'ra:n* *st'rani*, Std. Sln. *strân* *stranî*; PSl. **vôsvъ* Gsg **vôsi* (c) 'village' > CSln. **vâs* **vasî* > Ravnice *'ya:s* *'yasi*, Std. Sln. *vâs* *vasî*) and in monosyllabic stems with a long root vowel *a* of a. p. c masculine nouns (examples for *las* 'hair', *prah* 'dust'; PSl. **vôlsъ* **vôlsa* (c) 'hair' > CSln. **vlâs* **vlasâ* > Ravnice *'ya:s* *'yasi*, Std. Sln. *lâs* *lâsa/lasû*; PSl. **pôrxъ* (c) 'dust' > CSln. **prâx* > Ravnice *p'ra:x*, Std. Sln. *prâh* Gsg *prâha/prahû*).

	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
N	<i>t'ra:ya</i>	<i>t'ravi</i>	<i>st'ra:n</i>	<i>st'rani</i>
G	<i>t'ravi</i>		<i>st'rani</i>	<i>st'rani</i>
D	<i>t'ra:vę</i>		<i>st'rani</i>	
A	<i>t'ra:vô</i>		<i>st'ran</i>	<i>st'rani</i>
L	<i>t'ra:vę</i>		<i>st'ra:ni</i>	<i>st'ra:nax</i>
I	<i>t'ra:vô</i>		<i>st'ranjo</i>	<i>st'ranmi</i>

	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg
N	' <i>ua:s</i> (f) 'hair'	' <i>uasi</i>	' <i>ua:s</i> 'village'	' <i>uasi</i>	<i>p'ra:x</i>
G	' <i>uasi</i>	' <i>uasi</i>	' <i>uasi</i>	' <i>uasi</i>	<i>p'raxa</i>
D	' <i>uasi</i>		' <i>uasi</i>		<i>p'raxi</i>
A	' <i>ua:s</i>	' <i>uasi</i>	' <i>ua:s</i>	' <i>uasi</i>	<i>p'ra:x</i>
L	' <i>uasi</i>	' <i>uasix</i>	' <i>uasi</i>		<i>p'raxi</i>
I	' <i>uasjo</i>	' <i>ua:smę</i>	' <i>uasjo</i>	' <i>uasmı</i>	<i>p'raxęn</i>

In mono- and disyllables a long root vowel *a*, a reflex of long CSln. **a* is to be found in the Nsg. (in monosyllable *vas* as a reflex of CSln. long **a*) in oblique cases as a result of stress retraction onto pretonic long vowel *a*. The form with a short root *a* in oblique cases express a reflex of *a* stressed after the tertiary retraction of the circumflex (in the Lsg by analogy). This shortness is irregular in the Lsg of the words *las* and *vas* so we are probably witnessing a generalization of the whole singular paradigm. The length is analogical in the Lpl of the word *las*. The length shown in the D/L/Asg of the word *trava* and in the Lpl of the word *stran* is probably due to analogy by the Nsg or by other feminine disyllables.

Alternation //e-è://

Alternation //e-è:// is present in mono- and disyllabic masculine nouns with a short stressed root vowel *e* of a. p. b (examples for *kmet* 'peasant', *rebro* 'rib'; PSl. **kъmětъ* Gsg **kъmetà* (b) > CSln. **kmět* **kmětà* > Ravnice *k'met* *k'mè:ta*, Std. Sl. *kmět* *kměta*; PSl. **rebrò* (b) 'rib' > CSln. **rebrò* > Ravnice '*rebru*, Std. Sl. *rěbro*) and monosyllabic stems with a short stressed nasal *e* of a. p. a masculine nouns (example for *zet* 'son-in-law'; PSl. **zětъ* Gsg **zěti* (a) 'son-in-law' > CSln. **zět* **zěti*?/**zěta* > Ravnice '*zet* '*zè:ta*, Std. Sl. *zět* *zěta*).

	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
N	<i>k'met</i>	<i>k'mè:tę</i>	' <i>rebru</i>	' <i>rè:bra</i>	' <i>zet</i>	' <i>zè:tę</i>
G	<i>k'mè:ta</i>	<i>k'mè:tu</i>	' <i>rebra</i>	' <i>rè:bər</i>	' <i>zè:ta</i>	' <i>zè:tu</i>
D	<i>k'mè:tę</i>	<i>k'mè:tęn</i>	' <i>rebrę</i>	' <i>rè:bran</i>		
A	<i>k'mè:ta</i>	<i>k'mè:te</i>	' <i>rebro</i>	' <i>rè:bra</i>		
L	<i>k'mè:tę</i>	<i>k'mè:tęx</i>	' <i>rebrę</i>	' <i>rè:bręx</i>		
I	<i>k'mè:tęn</i>	<i>k'mè:tamę</i>	' <i>rebręm</i>	' <i>rè:bramę</i>		

The Nsg of the word *kmet* is showing a regular reflex of neacute *e* in a final or last syllable. All the other singular forms show a generalization of the form with the reflex of neacute *e* in a non-final syllable which is typical for some plural cases.¹¹ Irregular plural forms of the D/A are generalized from other plural cases.

The word *rebro* in plural expresses only regular forms to wit the reflex of neacute *e* in a non-final syllable.

11 As well as in standard Slovenian.

In the Nsg the word *zet* reflects a regular reflex of the short CSln. **ę* in the last or only syllable, in the Gsg and the Npl a regular reflex in the penultimate syllable.

Alternation //è:-e//

Alternation //è:-e// is present in monosyllabic stems of *i*-stem feminine nouns with a long nasal root vowel *e* of a. p. c (example for *pest* 'fist'; PSl. **pěstъ* Gsg **pěsti* (c) 'fist' > CSln. **pěst* **pěstı* > Ravnice '*pè:st* '*pesti*, Std. Sl. *pěst* *pestı*) and in monosyllabic stems with the long stressed root vowel *e* of a. p. c masculine nouns (examples for *led* 'ice', *med* 'honey'; PSl. **lědъ* Gsg **lědu* (c) 'ice' > CSln. **lěd* **lědû*/**lědâ*? > Ravnice '*lè:t* '*lè:da* '*leda*, Std. Sl. *lěd* *ledû*/*lěda*; PSl. **mědъ* Gsg **mědu* (c) 'honey' > CSln. **měd* **mědû*/**mědâ*? > Ravnice '*mè:t* '*mè:da*/'*meda*, Std. Sl. *měd* *medû*/*měda*). In the latter also a consonant alternation //t-d// is present.

	Sg	Pl
N	' <i>pè:st</i>	' <i>pesti</i>
G	' <i>pesti</i>	' <i>pesti</i>
D	' <i>pesti</i>	' <i>pestin</i>
A	' <i>pè:st</i>	' <i>pesti</i>
L	' <i>pesti</i>	' <i>pestix</i>
I	' <i>pestjo</i>	' <i>pestmi</i>

	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
N	' <i>lè:t</i>	' <i>lè:dę</i>	' <i>mè:t</i>	' <i>mè:dę</i>
G	' <i>lè:da</i> ~ ' <i>leda</i> (arch.)		' <i>mè:da</i> ~ ' <i>meda</i> (arch.)	' <i>mè:du</i>
D	' <i>lè:dę</i>		' <i>mè:dę</i>	' <i>mè:dęm</i>
A	' <i>lè:t</i>		' <i>mè:t</i>	' <i>mè:de</i>
L	' <i>lè:dę</i>		' <i>mè:dę</i>	' <i>mè:dęx</i>
I	' <i>lè:dęn</i>	' <i>lè:dmę</i>	' <i>mè:dęn</i>	' <i>mè:damę</i> ~ ' <i>medmi</i> (arch.)

Reflex of the long nasal *ę* and the long vowel *e* is *è*. The forms with a short *e* vowel are reflexes of the vowel *e* or nasal *ę* stressed after the tertiary retraction of the circumflex. In the word *pest* we can still clearly see quantity opposition of the root vowel between the basic and oblique cases (with the exception of an analogical form in the Lsg) which is a result of the tertiary retraction of the circumflex.

This contrast is in the case of *led* and *med* almost completely blurred given that the masculine disyllables show a complete generalization of the form with the long root vowel. The original forms exist only as a variant in the Gsg and in the Lpl in the case of *med*.

Alternation //è:-e-je://

Alternation //è:-e-je:// is present in monosyllabic stems with a long root vowel e of *i*-stem feminine nouns of a. p. c (example for *peč* ‘stove’; PSl. **pěťb* Gsg **pěti* (c) ‘stove’ > CSln. **pěč* **peči* > Ravnice *‘pě:č* *‘peči*, Std. Sln. *pěč* *peči*).

	Sg	Pl
N	<i>‘pě:č</i>	<i>‘peči</i>
G	<i>‘peči</i>	<i>‘peči</i>
D	<i>‘pje:čę</i>	<i>‘pečan</i>
A	<i>‘pě:č</i>	<i>‘peči</i>
L	<i>‘pje:čę</i>	<i>‘pje:čix</i>
I	<i>‘pečiŋ</i>	<i>‘pečmi</i>

Analogy was at work in the Dsg by the locative case with the regular reflex of retraction stressed root e. In the Isg, G/D/Ipl (compare with the alternation //u-a-uo://) we find forms with the short root e as a result of analogy by the Npl where the short root vowel is a regular result of the tertiary retraction of the circumflex.

Alternation //je:-è://

Alternation //je:-è:// is present in disyllabic neutrum nouns with Proto-Slavic root vowel *e of a. p. b (example for *selo* ‘village’; PSl. **sedlŏ* (b) > CSln. **sedlŏ* > Ravnice *‘sje:yu*, Std. Sln. *sélo*).

	Sg	Pl
N	<i>‘sje:yu</i>	<i>‘sje:ya</i>
G	<i>‘sje:ya</i>	<i>‘sě:l</i>
D	<i>‘sje:lę</i>	<i>‘sje:yan</i>
A	<i>‘sje:yu</i>	<i>‘sje:ya</i>
L	<i>‘sje:lę</i>	<i>‘sje:uęx</i>
I	<i>‘sje:lęn</i>	

All the singular forms show a diphthong *je:*, a regular reflex of retraction stressed e. In plural the singular form is generalized with the exception of the Gpl where a regular reflex of the long neoacute e is present.

Alternation //ę:i-ę//

Alternation //ę:i-ę// is present in monosyllabic stems of masculine nouns with a long stressed CSln. root vowel *ě of a. p. c (examples for *smeh* ‘laughter’, *sneg* ‘snow’; PSl. **směxъ* Gsg **směxa* (c) > CSln. **směx*

**směxā* > Ravnice *‘smě:ix* *‘směxa*, Std. Sln. *směh* *směha*; PSl. **sněgъ* Gsg **sněga* (c) ‘snow’ > CSln. **sněg* **sněgā* > Ravnice *‘sně:ik* *‘sněga*, Std. Sln. *sněg* *snegā*).

	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
N	<i>‘smě:ix</i>	<i>‘smě:ixę</i>	<i>‘sně:ik</i>	/
G	<i>‘směxa</i>	<i>‘smě:ixu</i>	<i>‘sněga</i>	
D	<i>‘smě:ixę</i>			
A	<i>‘smě:ix</i>	<i>‘směxi</i> ~ <i>‘smě:ixę</i>	<i>‘sně:ik</i>	
L	<i>‘smě:ixę</i>			
I	<i>‘smě:ixęn</i>	<i>‘směxmi</i>	<i>‘sně:igęn</i>	

In the examples presented the diphthong *ę:i*, a regular reflex of long jat, is in singular by analogy extended from the basic case to the D/L/I, where we would rather expect a short *ę* as a result of a tertiary retraction of the circumflex. We find just the opposite in the Ipl in the word *smeh* where we would expect a root diphthong, but rather we find a short root *ę*.

Type 3

Alternation //uo:-a//

Alternation //uo:-a// is present in disyllabic feminine nouns of a. p. b and c which carried out stress retraction from short open final syllable onto pretonic reduced vowel (word *roka* by analogy) (examples for *koza* ‘goat’, *gora* ‘mountain’, *roka* ‘hand’, *noga* ‘leg’, *kosa* ‘scythe’;

PSl. **kozā* Asg **kozŏ* (b) ‘goat’ > CSln. **kozā* **kozŏ* > Ravnice *‘kuz:za* *‘kaza* *‘kazo* *‘kuz:zo*, Std. Sln. *kóza* *kózol* *kozŏ*; PSl. **gorā* Asg **gŏrŏ* (c) ‘mountain, mountain forest’ > CSln. **gorā* **gorŏ* > Ravnice *‘guo:ra* *‘gara* *‘guo:ro*, Std. Sln. *góra* *góro* *gorŏ*; PSl. **rŏkā* Asg **rŏkŏ* (c) ‘hand’ > CSln. **rŏkā* **rŏkŏ* > Ravnice *‘ruo:ka* *‘raka* *‘rakŏ*, Std. Sln. *róka* *róko* *rokŏ*; PSl. **nogā* Asg **nŏgŏ* (c) ‘leg, foot’ > CSln. **nogā* **nogŏ* > Ravnice *‘nuo:ga* *‘naga* *‘nago* *‘nuo:go*, Std. Sln. *nóga* *nógo* *nogŏ*; PSl. **kosā* Asg **kŏsŏ* (c) ‘scythe’ > CSln. **kosā* **kosŏ* > Ravnice *‘kuz:sa* *‘kasa* *‘kazo* *‘kuz:so*, Std. Sln. *kósa* *kóso* *kosŏ*).

	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
N	<i>‘kuz:za</i> ~ <i>‘kaza³</i>	<i>‘kazi</i>	<i>‘guo:ra</i> ~ <i>‘gara</i> (arch.) ⁴	<i>‘gari</i>
G	<i>‘kazi</i>	<i>‘kazi</i>	<i>‘gari</i>	<i>‘gari</i>
D	<i>‘kazi</i> ~ <i>‘kuz:zę</i>	<i>‘kuz:zam</i>	<i>‘guo:rę</i> ~ <i>‘gari</i>	
A	<i>‘kazo</i> ~ <i>‘kuz:zo</i>	<i>‘kazi</i>	<i>‘guo:ro</i>	<i>‘gari</i>
L	<i>‘kazi</i> ~ <i>‘kuz:zę</i>		<i>‘guo:rę</i> ~ <i>‘gari</i>	<i>na</i> <i>‘guo:rax</i>
I	<i>‘kazo</i> ~ <i>‘kuz:zo</i>	<i>ka’za:mę</i> ~ <i>‘kuz:zamę</i>	<i>‘guo:ro</i>	<i>ga’ra:mę</i>

Sg	Du	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl		
N	'r _{yo} :ka ~ 'raka (arch.)	'raki	'raki	'n _{yo} :ga ~ 'naga	'nagi	N	'must	('m _{yo} :sti) ~ 'masti
G	'raki		'raki	'nagi	'nók ~ 'nagi	G	'm _{yo} :sta	'masti
D	'raki		'r _{yo} :kan	'nagi ~ 'n _{yo} :gę	'n _{yo} :gan	D	'm _{yo} :stę	
A	'rakø		'raki	'nagø ~ 'n _{yo} :gø	'nagi	A	'must	
L	'raki		'r _{yo} :kax	'n _{yo} :gę ~ 'nagi	'n _{yo} :gax	L	'm _{yo} :stę	'm _{yo} :stęx
I	'rakø		ra'ka:mę	'n _{yo} :gø	na'ga:mę	I	'm _{yo} :stęn	'm _{yo} :stamę ~ 'm _{yo} :stmę

Sg	Pl	
N	'k _{yo} :sa ~ 'kasa	'kasi
G	'kasi	'kasi
D	'k _{yo} :sę ~ 'kasi	'k _{yo} :san
A	'kasø ~ 'k _{yo} :sø	'kasi
L	'k _{yo} :sę ~ 'kasi	'k _{yo} :sax
I	'k _{yo} :sø ~ 'kasø	'kasamę ~ 'k _{yo} :samę

Diphthong *yo:* reflects a regular reflex of retraction stressed *o*, a short root *a* is a reflex of *o* stressed after the tertiary retraction of the circumflex. The effect of analogy was very strong in the paradigm. In the Gsg the form with the short root *a* (as a result of akanye) appears. In almost all of the other cases we find variants, yet in the Gpl the analogical form by the Npl almost completely superseded the former neoacute form (exception being the word *noga*, but lack the regular length of the root vowel).

The coalescence between a. p. b and c is present, that is in the word *koza* in the forms with the short root *a*, a result of the tertiary retraction of the circumflex, showing a strong influence of a. p. c.

Alternation //u-uo:-a//

Alternation //u-uo:-a// in present in monosyllabic stems with a long root vowel *o* of a. p. d masculine nouns (examples for *nos* 'nose', *rog* 'horn', *most* 'bridge'; PSI. *n_os̄ Gsg *nosá (d) 'nose' > CSln. *n_os̄ *nosá > Ravnice 'nus 'n_{yo}:sa, Std. Sln. n_os̄ nosû/n_osa; PSI. *r_oḡ Gsg *rogá (d) 'horn' > CSln. *r_oḡ *rogá > Ravnice 'ruk 'r_{yo}:ga, Std. Sln. r_oḡ r_oga/rogá; PSI. *m_ost̄ Gsg *mostá (d) 'bridge, wooden footbridge' > CSln. *m_ost̄ *mostá > Ravnice 'must 'm_{yo}:sta, Std. Sln. m_ost̄ mostû/m_osta).

Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl		
N	'nus	'nasi ~ 'n _{yo} :sę	'ruk	'ragi	N	'z _{je} :m _{la}	'zemli	'v _{je} :ža	'veži
G	'n _{yo} :sa	'n _{yo} :su ~ 'nasi	'r _{yo} :ga	'ragi	G	'zemli		'veži	'veži
D	'n _{yo} :sę	'n _{yo} :sęn	'rougę		D	'z _{je} :mlę		'v _{je} :žę	'viežan
A	'nus	'n _{yo} :se ~ 'nasi	'ruk	'ragi	A	'zemlø		'v _{je} :žø	'veži
L	'n _{yo} :sę	'n _{yo} :sęx	'rougę	'ragix	L	'z _{je} :mlę		'v _{je} :žę	'v _{je} :žax
I	'n _{yo} :sęn	'n _{yo} :smę ~ 'nasmi (arch.)	'r _{yo} :gęn	'ragmi	I	'z _{je} :mlø		'v _{je} :žø	(ve'za:mę)

In the Nsg a short root *u* in a regular reflex of the long CSln. **o*. The shortness is a result of the regular shortening of the vowel *u*. All the forms in oblique cases reflecting a reflex of retraction stressed *o* are regular. The forms with a short root vowel *a* in (some) plural cases are showing an analogy by a. p. c.

Alternation //i:e:-e//

Alternation //i:e:-e// is present in disyllabic feminine nouns with a short stressed root vowel *e* of a. p. b and c which carried out stress retraction from short open final syllable onto pretonic reduced vowel (examples for *sestra* 'sister', *žena* 'wife, woman', *zemlja* 'soil', *veža* 'vestibule'; PSI. *sestrá Asg *sestrǫ (b) 'sister' > CSln. *sestrá *sestrǫ > Ravnice 'sje:stra 'sje:střø, Std. Sln. séstra séstro/sestrǫ; PSI. *žená Asg *ženǫ (b) 'wife, woman' > CSln. *žená *ženǫ > Ravnice 'zje:na 'zje:nø, Std. Sln. žéna žéno/ženǫ; PSI. *zemlá Asg *zěmlǫ (c) 'soil' > CSln. *zemlá *zěmlǫ > Ravnice 'zje:m_{la} 'zemlø, Std. Sln. zém_lja zěmljøl zemljǫ; PSI. *vezá Asg *vězø (c) > CSln. *věžá *věžǫ > Ravnice 'vje:ža 'vje:žø, Std. Sln. véž_a véžø/vežǫ).

Diphthong *je:* as a reflex of retraction stressed *e* is to be found in almost all singular cases of the words *sestra* and *žena*, exception being the Gsg where the short root vowel *e* as a result of the tertiary retraction of the circumflex is present. That is due to a common coalescence between a. p. b and c. This type of analogy is also shown in the N/G/Apl.

In the Dsg the word *zemlja* shows a typical analogy by the locative case.

The word *veža* is showing an irregular reflex in the Nsg. With a stem alternation in oblique cases indicates its belonging to either a. p. b or c.

Alternation //i̇e:-e-è://

Alternation //i̇e:-e-è:// is present in the word *čelo* ‘forehead’ (PSl. *čelò (b) ‘the highest part (of the face)’ > CSln. *čelò > Ravnice 'č̇ie:yu ~ 'č̇eyu, Std. Sln. čélo), a neutrum disyllable with a root retraction stressed *o* of a. p. b.¹²

	Sg	PI
N	'č̇ie:yu ~ 'č̇eyu	'č̇ie:ya
G	'č̇eya	'č̇ie:y ~ 'č̇è:l
D	'č̇ie:l̇e	'č̇ie:lam
A	'č̇ie:yu ~ 'č̇eyu	'č̇ie:ya
L	'č̇ie:l̇e	'č̇è:l̇ex
I	'č̇el̇en	'č̇ie:lame ~ 'č̇è:lmi (arch.)

In the N/A /G/lsg (in A as a variant) a short root *e* is present. Most probably the forms with this short root vowel *e* are a result of analogy by a. p. c where the shortening is due to tertiary retraction of the circumflex onto CSln. **e*. In plural cases N/G/D/A/I (in G and I as a variant) a singular form with reflex of retraction stressed root *e* is generalized. Variants in the G/lpl and the only form in the Lpl are showing an etymologically justified reflex of the neoacute root *e*.

Alternation //è:-e//

Alternation //è:-e// is present in monosyllabic stems of masculine nouns with a long nasal root vowel *e* of a. p. b (example for *rep* ‘tail’; PSl. *ṙéṗḃ Gsg *ṙeṗa (b) > CSln. *ṙéṗ *ṙépa > Ravnice 'ṙè:p 'ṙè:pa/'ṙepa, Std. Sln. ṙèp ṙépalṙépalṙép ṙépa).

	Sg	PI
N	'ṙè:p	'ṙè:ṗe
G	'ṙè:pa ~ 'ṙepa (arch.)	'ṙeṗi ~ 'ṙè:pu
D	'ṙè:ṗen	
A	'ṙè:p	'ṙeṗi
L	'ṙè:ṗe	'ṙeṗix
I	'ṙè:ṗen	'ṙeṗmi

Forms with a short root vowel *e* are most probably the result of analogy by a. p. c and generalized into some plural cases. This tendency is perhaps displayed in the example 'pat 'floor' (a.p. b) as well (maybe also in the example 'krap 'boiling water', but there an analogy by the Nsg is more likely).¹³

Alternation //ė:i-̇e//¹⁴

Alternation //ė:i-̇e// is present in monosyllabic stems of masculine nouns and disyllabic stems of feminine nouns with a long stressed CSln. root vowel **ě* of a. p. b (examples for *gṙeh* 'sin', *stena* 'wall'; PSl. *gṙéẋḃ Gsg *gṙéẋa (b) 'something burning' > CSln. *gṙéẋ *gṙéxa > Ravnice g'ṙè:iẋ g'ṙéẋal̇ g'ṙè:iẋa, Std. Sln. gṙèh gṙéha; PSl. *sṫěná A sg *sṫěṅo (b) 'which is firm, solid' > CSln. *sṫěna *sṫěno > Ravnice s'ṫè:i̇na s'ṫè:i̇no, Std. Sln. sṫéna sṫéno).

	Sg	PI	Sg	PI
N	g'ṙè:iẋ	g'ṙè:iẋe	s'ṫè:i̇na	s'ṫèni ~ s'ṫè:i̇ne
G	g'ṙè:xa ~ g'ṙè:ixa	g'ṙè:iẋu	s'ṫèni ~ s'ṫè:i̇ne	
D			s'ṫè:i̇ne	
A			s'ṫè:i̇no	
L		g'ṙè:iẋeẋ	s'ṫè:i̇ne	
I	g'ṙè:iẋen	g'ṙè:iẋame	s'ṫè:i̇no	s'ṫè:i̇name

Alternation //ė:i-̇e// is also present in a single feminine disyllable with a long root vowel *ja* of a. p. a *cesta* 'road' (PSl. *ċěsta (a) '*clean (of trees, roots)' > CSln. *ċěsta > Ravnice 'ċe:i̇sta, Std. Sln. ċésta).

12 Compare with the word *selo* in Alternation //e:-è://.

13 Compare with alternation //a-o://.

14 Compare with the words *smeh* 'laughter' and *sneg* 'snow'.



Map 1: Proposal for a new dialectal demarcation (Gostenčnik, 2018, 179).

	Sg	Pl
N	'ce:īsta	'ceṣti
G	'ceṣti	'ceṣti
D	'ce:īstę	'ce:īstan
A	'ce:īstɔ	'ceṣti
L	'ce:īstę	'ce:īstax
I	'ce:īstɔ	'ce:īstameḡ

Irregular are the forms in the Gsg and N/G/Apl of the word *cesta* with a short root vowel. This shortness indicates that analogy by a. p. c was at work. Ordinarily we would expect this word to be showing a morphologically unmarked paradigm.

Alternation: absence of alternation

The presence or absence of alternation in a specific case of the same word can have a lexical meaning, i.e. the presence/absence of alternation is semantically distinguishing (examples for *greh* 'sin', *stena* 'wall').

	Sg
N	g're:īx
G	g'ręxa 'conflict' ~ g're:īxa 'sin'

The word *greh* is showing two forms in the genitive case. Alternation, etymologically irregular, is semantically distinguishing. The first one with a short root vowel (a result of the tertiary retraction of the circumflex) and the alternation //e:ī-ę// has the meaning 'conflict, quarrel'. However, the second form, has a biblical meaning, that is a 'sin that we carry and we need to be relieved of'. The latter, primary

form with a moral meaning is chronologically older, thus the meaning itself originates with the influence of Christianity (Bezljaj, 1977, 174).

	Sg	Pl
N	s'tę:īna	s'tęni 'small quantity of stones' ~ s'tę:īne 'big quantity of stones'
G	s'tęni 'wall' ~ s'tę:īne 'rock wall'	

In the word *stena* in the genitive case we again find two different meanings. The first form with the alternation has the meaning 'wall', whilst the second, regular one with the root diphthong present, has the meaning 'big rock wall'. The difference in lexical meaning is also displayed in the Npl where the irregular form with the short root vowel has the meaning a 'small quantity of stones', whilst the other form has the meaning a 'big quantity of stones'.

CONCLUSIONS

The treated dialectal material of the local dialect of Ravnice is limited to substantives that do not show base lengthening. The material was organized in a synchronic system of vowel alternations within paradigms which enabled an insight into the differences in root vowel quantity and quality within the paradigm and bared witness to the past ictus position and its movements. In the case of the local dialect of Ravnice we can confirm the following: the local dialect carried out the tertiary retraction of the circumflex; the selected substantives of all genders show a tendency of coalescence of the Proto-Slavic a. p. b and a. p. c; examples of a. p. d were identified (e.g. 'nus 'nose'); it was demonstrated that the presence or absence of alternation can be semantically distinguishing.

OBLIKOGLASNE PREMENE V KRAJEVNEM GOVORU RAVNIC (SLA T411) S PRIMERJALNEGA SLOVANSKEGA VIDIKA

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POVZETEK

V prispevku so predstavljeni morfonologija oz. oblikoglasje in vrste alternacij. Znotraj sinhronega jezikoslovja so vsakršne spremembe znotraj osnove oz. na morfemskem šivu leksema pri pregibanju, v oblikotvorju ali besedotvorju poimenovane s skupno besedo – premena oz. alternacija. Ta je glede na alternant lahko samoglasniška ali soglasniška. Prepoznavo alternantov morfonema in določitev izhodiščne osnove leksema nam omogoča le diahron pogled na jezik oz. na glasovne spremembe, ki so v njem potekale v točno določenih časovnih obdobjih in vedno sistemsko. Šele delovanje analogije in standardizacijski posegi v jezik lahko zabrišejo jasno sliko. Sistematizacija alternacij je zato pri obravnavi nekega jezikovnega sistema potrebna pri vzpostavitvi tipologije teh sprememb in aplikacija le-te na morebitne nove ali do sedaj neznane lekseme. Na primeru krajevnega govora Ravnice, vključen v mrežo Slovenskega lingvističnega atlasa (SLA T411), so na izbranem vzorcu prikazane oblikoglasne premene na paradigmatiki osi. Narečno gradivo je določeno znotraj morfonološko nezaznamovanih sklanjatvenih vzorcev oz. morfonološko zaznamovanih sklanjatvenih vzorcev. Pokažemo, da so samoglasniške premene predvsem posledica naglasnih sprememb. Za netonemske govore je sinhroni prikaz samoglasniških alternacij dobrodošel sistem, ki omogoči vpogled v to, katera osnova je postala dominantna znotraj posamezne paradigme. Kvaliteta, predvsem pa kvantiteta samoglasnika pričata o nekdanjih naglasnih mestih in (lahko) tonemu ter morebitnih kasnejših naglasnih premikih. S primerjavo samoglasniških premen se je v krajevnem govoru Ravnice našlo odraze praslovanskega naglasnega tipa d, kar je za južnoslovenski tip govorov tudi pričakovano. Jasno so razvidne tendence prehajanja samostalnikov moškega, srednjega in ženskega spola akcentske paradigme b proti c. Pokazalo se je, da ima lahko prisotnost premene oz. njena odsotnost leksikalni pomen oz. pomenskorazlikovalno funkcijo.

Ključne besede: oblikoglasje, morfonologija, premena, dolenska narečna skupina, Slovenski lingvistični atlas, primerjalno slovansko jezikoslovje

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