

# The Resian reflex for Slovene stressed non-final schwa and some related issues

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Zagovarja se teza, da je podaljšanje naglašanih nekončnih samoglasnikov (podaljšanje tipa *bráta*) povzročilo pri rezijanskem naglašenem nekončnem polglasniku enak razvoj kot pri nekončnih \*ě, \*e in \*o, kar je pripeljalo do sovпада njihovih samoglasniških kakovosti z odgovarjajočimi kratkimi samoglasniki. Razlog za takšen razvoj je treba iskati v posebnem zaporedju dveh sprememb, namreč 1) znižanje in sprednjenje dolgega polglasnika; 2) podaljšanje naglašanih nekončnih samoglasnikov.

Es wird die These vertreten, dass die Verlängerung akzentuierter Vokale in nicht-letzter Silbe (Verlängerung des Typs *bráta*) beim akzentuierten Schwa im Resianischen die gleiche Entwicklung bewirkte wie bei \*ě, \*e und \*o in nicht-letzter Silbe, was zum Zusammenfall ihrer Vokalqualitäten mit den entsprechenden kurzen Vokalen führte. Der Grund für eine solche Entwicklung muss in einer speziellen Abfolge von zwei Änderungen gesucht werden, nämlich 1) dem Absenken und Frontieren des langen Schwa und 2) der Verlängerung akzentuierter Vokale in nicht-letzter Silbe.

**Ključne besede:** rezijanščina, zgodovinsko glasoslovje, samoglasniški sestav, naglas, polglasnik

**Schlüsselwörter:** Resianisch, historische Phonetik, Vokalbestand, Akzent, Schwa

## Introduction

Whereas the Resian reflexes for Slovene originally long schwa (\*ā), confined to monosyllables, and for Slovene short-stressed schwa in final syllables (\*-ǎ) have been clearly identified, there is some uncertainty on the outcome of Slovene stressed non-final schwa (\*ǎ-). This has proven to be a drawback in discussions on Resian historical phonology, notably the reconstruction of the historical development of its vowel system(s) (Vermeer 1987a, 1993), and on the status of the progressive circumflex in Resian (Šekli 2006; Pronk 2011). We will therefore address this question in order to remove the existing uncertainty as far as possible.<sup>1</sup>

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Each of these vowel types can be considered as belonging to a specific historical layer in the Slovene development of phonemic length:<sup>2</sup>

1. \*ǫ

An older layer, consisting of length that developed in forms that became monosyllables with the fall of weak jers, causing lengthening of the preceding strong jer with falling stress, eg.

csl. \*tǫstb → slv. *tâst*, res. 'tęst';<sup>3</sup>  
 csl. \*dǫnb → slv. *dân*; res. SG 'dęn, elsewhere 'din.

The Resian reflex *i* is caused by a preceding or following nasal consonant, but in San Giorgio, only a following consonant does generally have no such effect. Resian *e* is a development shared with *koroško*, East *štajersko* and *prekmursko*.

2. \*ǝ-

A younger layer, consisting of stressed non-final schwa that was lengthened together with the originally acute-stressed vowels, that previously had been shortened by the end of the Common Slavic period,<sup>4</sup> eg.

csl. \*tǝst'a → slv. *tášća*; res. 'tęšća;  
 pre3sg csl. \*vǝzǝme → slv. *vzáme*; res. SG *u'zǝmĕ*, elsewhere *u'zimĕ*.

These reflexes are in line with the one shown above for \*ǫ. However, another series of reflexes is exemplified by

csl. \*pǝstǝjǝb → slv. *pásji*; res. SG 'pǝsji, G 'pasji, O 'pǝsje, S 'pǝsji/'pesji;  
 pre3sg csl. \*lǝže → slv. *lázje*; res. SG 'lǝžĕ, G 'lažĕ, O 'lǝžĕ, S 'ležĕ.

Such vowel correspondences in the Resian local dialects closely follow what one usually finds for short-stressed schwa in final syllables, for which see immediately below. Also note the non-uniform reflex in Stolvizza, 'pǝsji/'pesji and 'ležĕ.

<sup>2</sup> The layer metaphor is adapted from Vermeer (1987a).

<sup>3</sup> Dialect material is transcribed according to Kenda-Jež (1996), except when cited from other sources.

<sup>4</sup> Because of the fusion of the accentuation of Common Slavic short-stressed vowels with Common Slavic acute-stressed vowels, in Slovene the terms *novoakutirani* or *akutirani polglasnik* are often used to refer to stressed non-final schwa.

3. \*-ə̃

A layer consisting of short-stressed schwa in final syllables that was not subject to lengthening, because the originally acute-stressed vowels were not lengthened in such syllables either,<sup>5</sup> eg.

csl. \**d̥b̥zd̥b̥* → slv. *dəž*, res. SG *'dəš*, G *'daš*, O *'dəš*, S *'deš*

csl. \**p̥b̥s̥b̥* → slv. *pəs*, res. SG *'pas*, G *'pas*, O *'pas*, S *'pes*

Here the reflex is uniform in Stolvizza.

Further layers need not be assumed for Resian, as retraction of the type csl. \**m̥b̥gl̥ā* → slv. *məgla* as a general phonetical development is absent. There do, however, exist cases of analogical retraction.

The problem may be clear by now: following the descriptive scheme mostly applied in Slovene historical phonology, how is the outcome in layer 2 to be seen, as being identical with layer 1 or with layer 3? In Standard Slovene “layer 2 = layer 1” obtains and the same goes for most Slovene dialects. In that case Resian outcomes like those for \**p̥b̥s̥b̥j̥b̥j̥b̥*, \**l̥b̥ž̥e* would be exceptions that need to be explained away. Inevitably, uncertainty has arisen from this state of affairs. Forced to make a choice in the face of contradictory evidence, Vermeer (1987a: 252) assumes layer 2 to be identical to layer 1, when he treats the fusion of *ə̃* and *ē̃*:

Običajno se v slovenščini dolgi polglasnik izgubi po podaljšanju tipa *bráta*, kot to kaže dejstvo, da kratki polglasnik po tem podaljšanju teži k istemu odrazu kot prejšnji slovenski dolgi *ə̃*. ... Za zdaj domnevam, da je odraz regularen v [solbaških, HS] primerih kot *u'sēne* in *u'zímem* in da ima rezijanščina potemtakem normalno slovensko zaporedje.

In (Vermeer 1993: 127), however, he gives a list of reconstructed examples subsequent to the above developments to illustrate his vowel system C, in which layer 2 is presented as identical to layer 3:

*ē̃* (< *ē̃*): *yrē* 'lui/lei va', 'ylēdam 'guardo', *tēst* 'suocero'.

...

*ə̃* (< *ə̃*): *dəž* 'pioggia', *zələ'nəc* 'lucertola', 'ləžə 'lui/lei mente'.

Alas, this new appraisal of the status of layer 2 is not elaborated upon in the accompanying text, apart from the remark that in non-final stressed syllables “lo

<sup>5</sup> The csl. forms shown here are bisyllabic, the final weak jers already having ceded the ictus to the preceding syllable, ie. \**p̥b̥s̥b̥* → csl. \**p̥b̥s̥b̥*, which resulted in the Common Slavic neoacute.

sloveno (incluso il resiano comune) ha unicamente vocali lunghe (e ə)” (Vermeer 1993: 133).<sup>6</sup>

The dispute between Šekli (2006) and Pronk (2011), a contribution to the ongoing discussion on the status of the progressive circumflex in Resian, centers on the interpretation of contemporary stressed non-final ə in examples from San Giorgio. Like Vermeer (1987a), Šekli (2006: 279) operates by the assumption that layer 2 = layer 1:

Odraz psl. stcirk. polglasnikov v sln. dvožložnicah v vsaj rez. ni enak odrazu psl. novoakutiranih polglasnikov (in psl. stcirk. polglasnikov v sln. enožložnicah): sln. *daskô*, rez. *'dasko* tož. ed. ← psl. *\*dǣskô*; ...

The examples adv *'lǣhku*, NApl *'vəsi*, Asg *'dasko* are therefore interpreted by him as showing a stressed vowel quality in non-final position that can only be accounted for when one assumes that during a certain historical period these syllables were unstressed, ie. when stress was on the final syllable as a consequence of the progressive circumflex.

On the contrary, Pronk (2011: 13) notes that an ə like in *'lǣhku* “je ... v tem položaju verjetno lahko tudi odraz kratkega naglašenege praslovanskega polglasnika (prim. ... *pǣsji*)”, thus raising serious doubts about the weight of the examples cited by Šekli in order to prove the previous presence of the progressive circumflex in Resian. Pronk’s remark implies that layer 2 would be identical to layer 3, but like Vermeer (1993) he does not explain how the Common Slavic short-stressed non-final schwa survived unchanged as regards length in present-day Resian. After all, Resian is assumed to be a part of the group of Slovene dialects where the original acute was lengthened in non-final syllables, be it later than in the majority of Slovene dialects, and at present no one is operating by the assumption that, just like in *prekmursko*, this lengthening never took place in Resian.

One may wonder what motivated these either-or approaches, as already Ramovš (1923–1924: 228) clearly states that there are different sets of outcomes for stressed non-final schwa:

V Reziji se je vokalizacija ə razvijala v raznih smereh: a) *tínki, míša, wsakidíni*: b) *se unámja* [sic], *nášni, prǣkne; lǣzate*: c) *téšća, léhka, ...*

where the examples under b) originate from Gniva and Oseacco, cfr. Baudouin de Courtenay (1875: 61), and point to layer 3 reflexes, whereas the examples under a) and c) have layer 1 reflexes.

<sup>6</sup> Probably this change of heart was contingent upon new results from fieldwork by the author of the present contribution, cfr. Vermeer (1993: 119–120).

In Ramovš (1928: 110) the examples under b) are in fact cited together with layer 3 cases:

ɔ̄ in ɔ̄ sta se zlila najprej v ǟ, iz česar je pozneje nastal tako v Reziji kot na Koroškem v dolgih zlogih ē̄; nadaljnji rez. razvoj tega ē̄ je isti kot pri ē̄ < e: 1. v dolgih zlogih zoženje: *têst*; 2. v kratkih zlogih pa preide ǟ > a preko samostojno razvitega rez. ǟ < ǟ: *pr̄tākne, lāžate, dāž, ovās, pālac*.

their common denominator being that they occur in short syllables (stressed non-final and final and non-stressed final).<sup>7</sup>

The examples cited under a) are now treated separately, together with a series of long vowels (Ramovš 1928: 117):

rez. *ō* in *ē* (< *o, e, ē, ɔ, ɔ̄*) se neposredno za nosnim konzonantom preko *ō̄, ē̄* zožita v *ū, ī*: *mój* > *múj*, *mōž* > *mūž*, *внѡтрѣ* > *nutar*, (*edb*)*нѡ-že* 'enkrat' > *nur*, *тѡнојѡ* > *\*mnó* > *mlú*; *mīsu* < *mēso*, *mīta* < *mēta*; *тѡša* > *\*māša*, *\*mēša* > *mīša*; tudi pred nazalom najdemo ta pojav: *дѡнѣ* > *dīn*, *wsakidīni*, *tiīnki* itd.

So according to Ramovš the different outcomes in layer 2 are tied up with a differentiated development of length in stressed non-final schwa. From (Ramovš 1923–1924: 227–229) it emerges that he regarded cases like *mīša* as a secondary development:

mlado, šele nastopajoče podaljšanje oblike *brāta* > *brāta* v navedenih dialektih slov. severa ...,

the basic reflex being represented by cases like G *lāžate*. This is because late lengthening of the non-final acute in the Northern dialects of Slovene gave rise to a similar development of non-final *\*o* and *\*ě*, eg. res. *nōsy*, *stræha*, likewise having the same reflex as layer 3 *\*o* and *\*ě*. The cases *téšća*, *léhka* cited above under c) are left unaccounted for, however.

The concise statements in Logar (1972: 4) put the emphasis on layer 1 and layer 3:

... razvoj podaljšanega polglasnika / ь /, / ъ / v / e / (лънь → lən → len)<sup>8</sup>...;  
... razvoj polglasnika v kratkih slovenskih zlogih v / a / (/ ə / v / a /) ...,

a formulation that seems to suggest that layer 2 = layer 1.

<sup>7</sup> For the sake of clarity some examples in unstressed pretonic position, where this statement also holds: res. *ma'nji* 'less', SG *wsa'nüt*, G, O, S *wsa'not* 'to fall asleep'.

<sup>8</sup> This is probably quoted by way of example rather than as a concrete attestation, see below section 2.1.

This alternative to Ramovš' analysis is laid out more explicitly in Logar (1981). In his description of Stolvizza for OLA he gives the following examples:

1. \* $\bar{\delta}$ 

*'din, 'mi Gsg 'm̄a; 't̄st, 'v̄s<sup>9</sup>*

2. \* $\bar{\delta}$ -

*u'zimen; 't̄šća, 'p̄sja,<sup>10</sup> 'v̄esk̄,<sup>11</sup> u's̄ene,<sup>12</sup> te'l̄exk̄a*

3. \*- $\bar{\delta}$ 

*'pes, 'nes, 'deš, zala'nec, 'bes;<sup>13</sup> ko'tol, ta'rok, o'oń/o'õń*

which together show perfect identity between Stolvizza's layer 2 and layer 1 closed reflexes as opposed to Stolvizza's layer 3 open reflexes.

On the contrary, Šekli (2009: 298, footnote 16) aligns with Ramovš' analysis in acknowledging two basic reflexes for layer 2:

V prid Riglerjevi tezi [o odsotnosti poznega daljšanja v predprezadnem zlogu, HS] bi govorili rezijanski primeri kot Bila *'l̄ž̄eš 'l̄ž̄ate* < psl. \**l̄ž̄ešb* \**l̄ž̄ete* brez podaljšave (: Bila *'t̄šća* < psl. \**t̄šća* podaljšavo).

That is to say that the layer 3 reflex in trisyllabic verb forms like *'l̄ž̄ate* would be phonetically regular and analogically caused bisyllabic forms like *'l̄ž̄eš* to acquire a layer 3 reflex as well, as opposed to layer 1 reflexes in forms like *'t̄šća*, that were not subject to this kind of analogy. However, exactly because of the assumed analogical origin of *'l̄ž̄eš* this leaves no possibility to prove that *'l̄ž̄ate* is phonetically regular as a result of the process described by Rigler. Ideally, rather than the cancellation of a morphophonemic alternation, its presence as the consequence of an assumed phonetical change constitutes convincing evidence.

<sup>9</sup> This example is actually cited from material collected for SLA in 1962; the OLA material has an open *e* in this lexeme. Both collections were kindly put at my disposal by Tine Logar.

<sup>10</sup> See the previous footnote.

<sup>11</sup> Unknown in the dialect, according to present speakers.

<sup>12</sup> These two examples only occur in the SLA material.

<sup>13</sup> Probably a transcription error. The subscript dot is hardly readable in the OLA notebook.

## The material

It may be useful at this point to give a complete inventory of the material collected over the years, including all local Resian variants instead of concentrating on just one. This is all the more necessary as concise generalisations on the distribution of the various reflexes are not so easily arrived at, unlike what may have been suggested by the above overview of existing literature.<sup>14</sup>

### \**ǣ*, slv. *â*

|  | San Giorgio   | Gniva         | Oseacco       | Stolvizza     |
|--|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| csl. * <i>dǣnъ</i><br>'day', slv. <i>dân</i>   | ' <i>dɛn</i>  | ' <i>din</i>  | ' <i>din</i>  | ' <i>din</i>  |
| csl. * <i>mǣhъ</i><br>'moss', slv. <i>mâh</i>  | ' <i>mih</i>  | ' <i>mih</i>  | ' <i>mih</i>  | ' <i>mi</i>   |
| csl. * <i>tǣstъ</i><br>'father-in-law', slv. <i>tâst</i>   | ' <i>tɛst</i> | ' <i>tɛst</i> | ' <i>tɛst</i> | ' <i>tɛst</i> |
| csl. * <i>bǣzъ</i><br>'elder', čak. <i>bâzd.</i>   | (n.a.)        | (n.a.)        | ' <i>bɛs</i>  | ' <i>bɛs</i>  |
| Also cfr. O NApl <i>Béza</i> (top.) (Dapit I: 41).   |               |               |               |               |
| csl. * <i>svǣtъ</i> 'blossom'  | (n.a.)        | (n.a.)        | ' <i>svɛt</i> | ' <i>svɛt</i> |
| O, S 'svɛt has no known modern Slavic parallels. It may have arisen by distant dissimilation, ie. csl. * <i>cvǣtъ</i> [ts-] → * <i>svǣtъ</i> . |               |               |               |               |

These five lexemes testify to the regular change \**ǣ* → *ɛ* (→ *i*), the first three demonstrating that \**ǣ* → *ɛ* (→ *i*) was a common Resian development. The lexeme res. '*mih* has Gsg *měha*, a consequence of interparadigmatic analogy to substantives like '*lis* Gsg '*lěsa* 'wood', '*lid* Gsg '*lěda* 'ice'. Obviously this analogy could only operate after the change \**měh* → '*mih* had been carried through.

|   | San Giorgio | Gniva       | Oseacco     | Stolvizza   |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| csl. * <i>i-</i> + * <i>tǣ</i><br>'that', slv. <i>tâ</i> 'this' | <i>j'tɛ</i> | <i>i'ti</i> | <i>i'ti</i> | <i>i'ti</i> |

<sup>14</sup> In order to get a better grasp of the phonetic characteristics of *ɛ* in the local dialects where it occurs, these IPA transcriptions of their range may help: San Giorgio [ī – ɛ̄], ie. clearly higher than [ɛ] and unrounded, Oseacco [ɛ̘ – ɛ̙], ie. clearly lower than [ɛ] and somewhat retracted, and Stolvizza [ɛ̘], ie. rather close to [ɛ]. This may also help in explaining some of the vagaries in the examples cited from Baudouin de Courtenay (1875: 61–62) above, cfr. SG *pìs*, O *p'rtákne*, S *šèl*.

This development may also be regular, if one assumes a form *\*tɔnɔ* or *\*itɔnɔ*. However, elsewhere in Slovene forms in *\*-nɔ* are unknown, which makes this assumption difficult to back up.<sup>15</sup> The demonstrative that developed out of *\*sɔ* ‘this’ has parallel forms: SG *j'se*, elsewhere *i'si*.

However, some lexemes unexpectedly contain layer 3 vowels that reflect a short-stressed *\*ə*:

|  | San Giorgio | Gniva | Oseacco | Stolvizza |
|--|-------------|-------|---------|-----------|
| csl. <i>*cvǔtɔ</i><br>‘blossom’, hrv. <i>cvât</i>  | 'cvət       | 'cvat | (n.a.)  | (n.a.)    |
| Cfr. also csl. <i>*cvĕtɔ</i> , slv. <i>cvĕt</i> .  |             |       |         |           |
| csl. <i>*lǔnɔ</i><br>‘flax’, slv. <i>lân</i>   | 'lən        | 'len  | 'lən    | (n.a.)    |
| This is not a loan from fur. <i>lin</i> , as that would have yielded res. <i>**lĭn</i> , cfr. fur. <i>camarlĭn</i> = SG, G <i>komarlĭn</i> , O, S <i>kamarlĭn</i> ‘cupboard’. However, it is a very rare lexeme, indicating only the plant and not the product.      |             |       |         |           |
| csl. <i>*vǔsɔ</i><br>‘village’, slv. <i>vâs</i>  | 'vəs        | 'vas  | 'vəs    | 'ves      |
| Unlike the former two lexemes the latter lexeme, which is still rather common alongside <i>pa'jis</i> = fur. <i>paĭs</i> , is present in all of Resian. Its vowel quality is presumably due to intraparadigmatic analogy, cfr. NApI 'vəsi cited above. <sup>16</sup> |             |       |         |           |

### *\*ə*-, slv. *á*

|   | San Giorgio | Gniva          | Oseacco        | Stolvizza      |
|---|-------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| csl. <i>*mǔn'bši</i><br>‘minor’, slv. <i>mānjši</i>               | 'miši       | 'miši          | 'miše          | 'miši          |
| csl. <i>*mǔša</i><br>‘mass’, slv. <i>máša</i> , lat. <i>missa</i> | 'miša       | 'miša          | 'mišə          | 'miša          |
| csl. <i>*okǔnɔce</i><br>‘window (dim.)’, slv. <i>ókance</i>       | (n.a.)      | <i>u'kincĕ</i> | <i>o'kincĕ</i> | <i>o'kincĕ</i> |
| csl. <i>*tǔstá</i><br>‘mother-in-law’, slv. <i>tášča</i>          | 'tešća      | 'tešća         | 'teščə         | 'tešća         |

<sup>15</sup> Forms in *\*-nɔ* are general in West Slavic (ces., csb., dsb., pol., slk. *ten*, hsb. *tón*, pox. *tɔ*) but in the oldest stages of Polish and Czech *tet* also occurred (Schuster-Šewc V: 1515). The extension of *\*tɔ* with various means was provoked by the jor vocalisation, which puts this development well after the dissolution of Common Slavic. In order to recognize a West Slavic *\*-nɔ* in Resian, one would have to assume that contact with that language area was not lost by then.

<sup>16</sup> This of course begs the question as to the phonetical process by which 'ə originated in the NApI.

|  |               |               |               |               |
|--|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| csl. * <i>t̪n̪k̪</i><br>'thin', slv. <i>tának/tànak/tanák</i>  | <i>'tɛnak</i> | <i>'tinak</i> | <i>'tɪnək</i> | <i>'tinek</i> |
| The accented vowel probably reflects *ǝ- from the definite form csl. * <i>t̪n̪k̪j̪</i> , like in slv. <i>tának</i> . |               |               |               |               |
| pre3sg csl. * <i>v̪z̪m̪e</i><br>'to take', slv. <i>vzáme</i>   | <i>ɥ'zɛmĕ</i> | <i>ɥ'zimĕ</i> | <i>ɥ'zimĕ</i> | <i>ɥ'zimĕ</i> |

These six lexemes show the change \*ǝ- → *e* (→ *i*) to be regularly present in all of Resian.

The following lexeme, however, shows this reflex only in two local dialects:

|  |               |               |               |             |
|--|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
|  | San Giorgio   | Gniva         | Oseacco       | Stolvizza   |
| csl. * <i>l̪g̪k̪</i><br>'light', slv. <i>láħak/lahâk</i> | <i>'ləħak</i> | <i>'lehak</i> | <i>'ləħək</i> | <i>'lək</i> |

O *'ləħək*, S *'lək* could again have been influenced by the definite form \**l̪g̪k̪j̪*. Where SG *'ləħak* can be compared to the regular layer 3 reflex, the open *e* in G *'lehak* is completely unexpected.

All other attested lexemes consistently contain layer 3 reflexes, with Gniva \**a* → *e* in a nasal environment:

|   |                 |                 |                |                      |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------------|
|   | San Giorgio     | Gniva           | Oseacco        | Stolvizza            |
| csl. * <i>b̪z̪áti</i><br>'to run about'   | <i>'bəzat</i>   | <i>'bazat</i>   | <i>'bəzət</i>  | <i>'bəzet/'bezet</i> |
| Said of children or young animals, slv. <i>bəzāti bəzâ</i> 'to cause nuisance'. In Resian the verb belongs to another conjugation, cfr. pre3sg SG, O, S <i>'bəžĕ</i> , G <i>'bažĕ</i> .                             |                 |                 |                |                      |
| csl. * <i>b̪z̪j̪e</i><br>'elder', slv. <i>bəzjè</i>   | <i>'bəzjĕ</i>   | <i>'bazjĕ</i>   | (n.a.)         | (n.a.)               |
| Also cfr. <i>Bēzje</i> (top., Kranjska Gora). The local dialect of Kranjska Gora also has <i>vês</i> for slv. <i>vâs</i> (Kliner & Škofic 2015). Both these examples contain [ɛ:] (Škofic, personal communication). |                 |                 |                |                      |
| csl. * <i>dn̪s̪n̪j̪</i><br>'today's', slv. <i>danášnji</i>  | <i>'nəšnji</i>  | <i>'nešnji</i>  | <i>'nəšnje</i> | <i>'nešnji</i>       |
| csl. * <i>ed̪n̪ n̪ des̪ɛte</i><br>'eleven', slv. <i>enájst</i>  | <i>'dənijst</i> | <i>'denajst</i> | <i>'dənest</i> | <i>'denest</i>       |
| pre3sg csl. * <i>l̪že</i><br>'to lie', slv. <i>láže</i>   | <i>'ləžĕ</i>    | <i>'lažĕ</i>    | <i>'ləžĕ</i>   | <i>'ležĕ</i>         |
| pre3sg csl. * <i>p̪h̪ne</i><br>'to kick', slv. <i>páhne</i> 'to shove'  | <i>'pəhnĕ</i>   | <i>'pahne</i>   | <i>'pəhnĕ</i>  | <i>'penĕ</i>         |
| This vocalism has been analogically carried over in the if. forms, cfr. pre3sg csl. * <i>p̪h̪āj̪et̪</i> , slv. <i>pəhâ/phâ</i> , but SG <i>'pəha</i> , G <i>'paha</i> , O <i>'pəhə</i> , S <i>'pea</i> .            |                 |                 |                |                      |

|  | San Giorgio     | Gniva             | Oseacco         | Stolvizza            |
|--|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| csl. * <i>pъsъjъjъ</i><br>'canine', slv. <i>pásji</i>  | <i>'pəsji</i>   | <i>'pasji</i>     | <i>'pəsje</i>   | <i>'pəsji/'pesji</i> |
| csl. * <i>sъmastīti</i><br>'to squash, to mash', slv.<br><i>zmasīti</i> 'to squash or grind,<br>especially grapes' | <i>z'məstīt</i> | <i>z'mestīt</i>   | <i>z'məstet</i> | <i>z'mestīt</i>      |
| Derived from csl. * <i>mъstъ</i> , a loan from lat. <i>mustu(m)</i> 'must' (Bezljaj II: 170).                      |                 |                   |                 |                      |
| csl. * <i>tъknōti</i><br>'marked'  | <i>'təkněn</i>  | <i>'takněn</i>    | <i>'təknən</i>  | <i>'tekněn</i>       |
| Said of someone who has a spot in the face, cfr. slv. ( <i>dotáknen</i> )  |                 |                   |                 |                      |
| csl. * <i>usъxnōti</i><br>'to settle'  | (n.a.)          | <i>u'o'sahnut</i> | (n.a.)          | <i>u'senano</i>      |
| Said of wood or hay, cfr. slv. <i>usahniti/usáhniiti</i> 'to dry out'  |                 |                   |                 |                      |

The Stolvizza variant *'ə* is rare and always accompanied by a doublet with *'e*: *'bəzet/'bezet*, *'pəsji/'pesji*.

Some lexemes present etymological difficulties, however:

|   | San Giorgio       | Gniva             | Oseacco           | Stolvizza         |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| csl. * <i>pъtāti</i><br>'to suffer'   | <i>'pətēt</i>     | <i>'patēt</i>     | <i>'pətēt</i>     | <i>'petēt</i>     |
| Tentatively I propose a hybrid of csl. * <i>tъrpěti</i> 'to suffer' and fur. <i>patī</i> id., cfr. pre3sg res. <i>pat'ī</i> .                                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |
| csl. * <i>възpromъn'āti</i><br>'to remind'  | <i>spo'mənjət</i> | <i>spo'menjat</i> | <i>spo'mənjət</i> | <i>spo'menjet</i> |
| The csl. form set up in this case would be a hybrid of * <i>възpromъněti</i> and * <i>възpromin'āti</i> .   |                   |                   |                   |                   |
| csl. * <i>prēmъknōti</i><br>'soaking wet'   | (n.a.)            | (n.a.)            | <i>pra'məknən</i> | (n.a.)            |
| Cfr. slv. <i>preməknen</i> 'shifted'. This lexeme, only present in Oseacco, <sup>17</sup> is probably a hybrid resulting from contact with * <i>prēmoknen</i> . |                   |                   |                   |                   |

These then are ten or maybe even thirteen lexemes that contradict the assertion that *ɛ* ( $\rightarrow$  *i*) is the basic reflex for \**ǣ*-.

<sup>17</sup> Chinese (2003) contains the entry "prymāknen inzuppato, fradicio", however.

A quite unclear case is:

|  | San Giorgio     | Gniva              | Oseacco            | Stolvizza         |
|--|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| csl. * <i>upahnǫti</i><br>'to wither'                              | <i>u'pǫhnut</i> | <i>se u'pahnut</i> | <i>se u'pəhnut</i> | <i>se u'penot</i> |
| Said of flowers, cfr. rus. <i>pachnut</i> 'emit a pleasant odour'. |                 |                    |                    |                   |

I only propose this etymology in order to submit it for further scrutiny. If the accented vowel really reflects accented \**a*, it would not even belong in this overview, cfr. also \**nǫnǫ* below.

**\*-ǫ, slv. ǫ**

|  | San Giorgio     | Gniva          | Oseacco         | Stolvizza      |
|--|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| csl. * <i>dǫžd'ǫ</i><br>'rain', slv. <i>dǫž</i>  | <i>'dǫš</i>     | <i>'daš</i>    | <i>'dǫš</i>     | <i>'deš</i>    |
| csl. * <i>ǫnǫsǫ</i><br>'oats', slv. <i>ǫnǫs</i>  | (n.a.)          | (n.a.)         | (n.a.)          | <i>o'ves</i>   |
| csl. * <i>pǫčǫ</i><br>'well', lat. <i>puteu(m)</i>   | <i>'pǫč</i>     | <i>'pač</i>    | <i>'pǫč</i>     | <i>'peč</i>    |
| I assume this to be a loan from Latin rather than from fur. <i>pòz</i> (Bezljaj III: 66), which would have yielded SG ** <i>'pǫč</i> Gsg ** <i>'počǫ</i> , cfr. fur. <i>tròp</i> = SG <i>t'röp</i> Gsg <i>tro'pǫ</i> 'herd'. |                 |                |                 |                |
| csl. * <i>pǫsǫ</i><br>'dog', slv. <i>pǫs</i>   | <i>'pǫs</i>     | <i>'pas</i>    | <i>'pǫs</i>     | <i>'pes</i>    |
| csl. * <i>vǫsǫ</i><br>'all', slv. <i>vǫs</i>   | <i>'vǫs</i>     | <i>'vas</i>    | <i>'vǫs</i>     | <i>'ves</i>    |
| csl. * <i>vǫdǫnǫsǫ</i><br>'widower', slv. <i>vǫdǫnǫc</i>   | <i>uodo'vǫc</i> | <i>odo'vac</i> | <i>vodo'vǫc</i> | <i>udo'vec</i> |

Individual developments in the local dialects, which are to be found especially in originally short syllables, resulted in the regular correspondence of reflexes SG *ǫ* :: G *a* :: O *ǫ* :: S *e* shown above.

As in Gniva *'a* → *'e* obtains in the presence of a nasal consonant, eg. csl. \**mǫti* → *'meti*, the regular correspondence may become SG *ǫ* :: G *e* :: O *ǫ* :: S *e*:

|   | San Giorgio | Gniva       | Oseacco     | Stolvizza   |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| csl. * <i>dǫnǫsǫ</i><br>'today', slv. <i>dǫnǫs/(arc.)</i><br><i>dǫnǫs</i> | <i>'nǫs</i> | <i>'nes</i> | <i>'nǫs</i> | <i>'nes</i> |
| csl. * <i>edǫnǫ</i><br>'one', slv. <i>édǫn</i>                            | <i>'dǫn</i> | <i>'den</i> | <i>'dǫn</i> | <i>'den</i> |

|  | San Giorgio      | Gniva            | Oseacco          | Stolvizza        |
|--|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| csl. * <i>mъnъ</i><br>'gudgeon', slv. <i>mānək</i>   | <i>'mānj</i>     | <i>'menj</i>     | <i>'mānj</i>     | <i>'menj</i>     |
| csl. * <i>kōnъcъ</i><br>'edge; end', slv. <i>kónac</i>   | <i>ko'nac</i>    | <i>ko'nec</i>    | <i>ko'nac</i>    | <i>ko'nec</i>    |
| csl. * <i>lōnъcъ</i><br>'little pan', slv. <i>lónac</i>  | <i>lo'nac</i>    | <i>lo'nec</i>    | <i>lo'nac</i>    | <i>lo'nec</i>    |
| csl. * <i>ovъnъ</i><br>'ram', slv. <i>ónan</i>   | (n.a.)           | (n.a.)           | <i>o'van</i>     | <i>o'ven</i>     |
| The SLA material also has G <i>ovъn</i> , cited from Oseacco as the equivalent of G <i>'wübac</i> .                            |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| csl. * <i>pletēnъcъ</i><br>'basket', slv. (reg.) <i>pleténac</i>   | <i>plata'nac</i> | <i>plata'nec</i> | <i>plata'nac</i> | <i>plata'nec</i> |
| csl. * <i>sъnъ</i><br>'dream', slv. <i>sān</i> 'sleep'   | <i>'sān</i>      | <i>'sen</i>      | <i>'sān</i>      | <i>'sen</i>      |
| csl. * <i>vъzromъnъ</i><br>'souvenir'  | <i>spo'mānj</i>  | (n.a.)           | <i>spo'mānj</i>  | <i>spo'menj</i>  |
| Another substantive without known modern Slavic parallels. It is probably a deverbative from csl. * <i>vъzromъn'āti</i> above. |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| csl. * <i>zelenъcъ</i><br>'green lizard', slv. <i>zelénac</i>  | <i>zalo'nac</i>  | <i>zala'nec</i>  | <i>zalan'nac</i> | <i>zala'nec</i>  |

In a few lexemes in several or all local dialects the reflex is *'o*:

|  | San Giorgio    | Gniva         | Oseacco       | Stolvizza     |
|--|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| csl. * <i>koťъlъ</i><br>'kettle', slv. <i>kótal</i>    | <i>ko'tal</i>  | <i>ko'tol</i> | <i>ko'tou</i> | <i>ko'tol</i> |
| csl. * <i>ogъn'ъ</i><br>'fire', slv. <i>óganj</i>      | <i>uo'ginj</i> | <i>o'honj</i> | <i>o'yonj</i> | <i>o'onj</i>  |
| csl. * <i>orbъlъ</i><br>'eagle', slv. <i>órāl</i>      | <i>uo'rāl</i>  | <i>o'rol</i>  | <i>o'rou</i>  | <i>o'rel</i>  |
| csl. * <i>vъtorъkъ</i><br>'Tuesday', slv. <i>tórak</i> | <i>ta'rok</i>  | <i>ta'rok</i> | <i>ta'rok</i> | <i>ta'rok</i> |

Mostly confined to the local dialects east of San Giorgio, the exact conditions under which this reflex appears are yet to be defined. Apart from SG *uo'ginj*, also *ua'ginj*, these items will be ignored in the discussion.

An unexpected reflex in San Giorgio and Stolvizza is found in:

|   | San Giorgio  | Gniva        | Oseacco      | Stolvizza    |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| csl. * <i>něně</i><br>'now'   | <i>'njgn</i> | <i>'njen</i> | <i>'njən</i> | <i>'njən</i> |
| Cfr. slv. (dial.) <i>njan</i> (Bezljaj II: 224 s.v. * <b>ninje</b> ). SG <i>'njgn</i> suggests an etymological *- <i>ǎ</i> here. That the Stolvizza reflex also goes back to *- <i>ǎ</i> , when between nasal consonants, can be seen from prelsj <i>'mən</i> 'to have', D <i>'nən</i> 'we' as opposed to <i>spo'menj</i> . |              |              |              |              |

## Discussion

Although a neat, clear-cut distribution rule for the different reflexes within layer 2 does not emerge, I think the best criterium is the nasal consonant environment. Five out of seven items with layer 1 reflexes have such an environment (*'miši*, *'miša*, *u'kincě*, *'tinak*, *u'zimě*), against five out of thirteen items with layer 3 reflexes (*'nəšnji*, *'dənijst*, *z'məstit*, *spo'mənjat*, *pra'məkənən*). The nasal environment is clearly over-represented in the layer 1 group while constituting a minority within the layer 3 group.

Possibly, analogies may have diluted the original distribution according to this criterium. For *'tešća*, the case for analogy with *'test* can easily be made,<sup>18</sup> but for O *'leħək*, S *'leək* things become rather more complicated. Consider the triad:

|                      | San Giorgio   | Gniva         | Oseacco       | Stolvizza     |
|----------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| csl. * <i>lěgъkъ</i> | <i>'ləhak</i> | <i>'lehak</i> | <i>'leħək</i> | <i>'leək</i>  |
| csl. * <i>těžъkъ</i> | <i>'težak</i> | <i>'težak</i> | <i>'težək</i> | <i>'težek</i> |
| csl. * <i>měkъkъ</i> | <i>'mihak</i> | <i>'mehak</i> | <i>'mihək</i> | <i>'miek</i>  |

As these adjectives are known to display accentual doublets in Slovene, it is hard to draw any firm conclusion about regular phonetical developments here. However, that apart from intraparadigmatic leveling of intonations also some kind of interparadigmatic leveling as to vowel quality must have taken place is made especially clear by the forms with open *e*, G *'lehak*, SG, G *'težak* and G *'mehak*, a vowel quality for which at present no phonetical explanation is known for Resian.<sup>19</sup> Within this web of relationships, the vocalism in O *'leħək*, S *'leək*

<sup>18</sup> Thus also Pronk (2011: 13).

<sup>19</sup> Possibly Rigler (1963: 72) had G *'težak*, *'mehak* in mind when he remarked that \**ě* resulted in *e* when "so prišli pod akcent pri premiku cirkumfleksa proti začetku", an idea the other local dialects do not confirm. An unexpected open *e* is also found in G *'lewči* 'more beautiful' and

needs not necessarily be of phonetical origin, but could just as well be due to O *'težək*, S *'težek*.

Turning to forms with an unexpected, because in a nasal environment, layer 3 reflex, *'nəsŋji* and *'dənijst* are obvious candidates for the analogy approach, cfr. *'nəs* and *'dən*. This would leave *z'məstīt*, *spo'mənjat* and *pra'məknən* as annoying counterexamples, but it should be noted that there is not a single thematic verb with layer 1 vocalism, whereas there are several with layer 3 vocalism that must be of phonetical origin (*'bəžĕ*, *'ləžĕ*, *'pəhnĕ*, *'təknĕn*, *u'senano*), so *z'məstīt*, *spo'mənjat* and *pra'məknən* may have been analogically influenced by them.

When we now concentrate on those items that do not fall under the suspicion of being due to analogy the picture becomes clear: a layer 3 vowel should be regarded as the regular reflex of \*ə-, whereas a layer 1 vowel is conditional upon a nasal environment. This raises the question of how to interpret the fact that in Resian, layer 2 and layer 3 have the same basic phonetical reflex. The two possibilities are:

- a) layer 2 schwa escaped lengthening, as implied by Ramovš (1928), Vermeer (1993), Šekli (2009 (trisyllabic forms)) and Pronk (2011);
- b) layer 2 schwa was lengthened, like in the view of Logar (1981), Vermeer (1987a) and Šekli (2006; 2009 (bisyllabic forms)), but without fusing with layer 1 schwa.

To evaluate possibility a), consider the layer 3 items with a nasal consonant environment: *'nəs*, *'dən*, *ko'nəc* etc., *'mənĵ*, *o'vən* and *'sən*. There is no sign of raising here, so this environment had no effect on short-stressed schwa in final syllables. SG *u'o'ginĵ/ua'ginĵ* is the only locally restricted counterexample against this assertion and therefore I assume this development to be of a later date. Besides, a following nasal consonant generally does not trigger raising in San Giorgio, so a different process must have been at work here. Raising also affected \*ĕ and \*o → *e* and *o*, and, going by the contrast between A *m'le* ← \**mnĕ* and I *'mlu* ← \**mnŏ* 'I', cfr. also *'nji* ← \**nĵĕ* 'her', only affected long-stressed vowels. Furthermore, loans from Friulian and German show the alternation that one expects to be triggered by the different treatment of long vs. short \*ĕ and \*o: G *ta'renj* Gsg *ta'rinĵa* 'meadow' = fur. *tarein*, G *š'tont* Gsg *š'tunta* 'market-stall' =

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in some verbs of the type SG, G *'kleknut* 'to kneel', SG, G, O *'poknut* 'to explode'. However, as this is not a general Resian phenomenon, it cannot be very helpful in clarifying the regular development of stressed non-final schwa. In verbs ending in *-nut*, the presence of vowel qualities typically found in final previously short-stressed syllables, eg. SG *'pəknut* 'to sting', SG, G *s'topnut* 'to step', SG *'kəpnut* 'to drip', resulting in alternations with the root vowels in SG *'pikat*, *s'topat*, *'kapat*, may actually be due to interparadigmatic analogy to SG *'pəhnĕ*, *'təknĕn* etc.

bar. *štont*. Therefore, the raising in *'miši*, *'miša*, *u'kincë*, *'tinak*, *u'zimë* must have happened under length and proves that layer 2 schwa was lengthened, just like all other non-final vowels.

As to possibility b), this has theoretically been foreseen by Rigler (1963: 40):

Blizu časa splošnega daljšanja nezadnjih kratko poudarjenih zlogov na severu je treba staviti tudi razvoj dolgega *ə* v *a* ali *e*. Ker imajo tudi v severnih dialektih za v nezadnjih zlogih pozneje podaljšani kratko poudarjeni *ə* isti refleks kot za že prej dolgi (cirkumflektirani), je treba ta razvoj staviti najbrž šele v čas po podaljšanju nezadnjih kratko poudarjenih zlogov na severu. Tudi če bi se *ə* → *e* razvil še pred podaljšanjem akuta in bi ga potem akutirani *ə* v razvoju ujel, bi se to ne moglo zgoditi dosti prej, ker bi sicer gotovo dobili kje drugačno kvaliteto za enega in drugega.

This is to say that in Slovene generally layer 2 schwa has the same reflex as layer 1 schwa because layer 2 had already been lengthened when the lowering of long *\*ə* in *a* or *e* occurred. An inverse order, first lowering and then lengthening, would have resulted in different vowel qualities for layer 1 and layer 2 schwa. Actually, that is the situation we have at hand in Resia.<sup>20</sup> This conclusion has several implications for such questions as the reconstruction of the historical development of the Resian vowel system, its relation to *ziljsko* and the status of the progressive circumflex.

To start with the Common Ziljsko-Rezijansko vowel system, the lowering of long *ə* → *e* was still carried out in common, with the difference that the items containing a long *ə* in Resian only comprised those with *\*ə̄*, because the items with *\*ə̀* were still short at that point. Lengthening had already operated in *ziljsko* when lowering occurred, but failed to propagate in timely fashion to Resian, i.e. the lowering isogloss preceded the lengthening isogloss in its expansion to Resian. Hence the contrast:

(layer 1) zilj. *dēn*, *mēh*;<sup>21</sup> res. *\*dēn*, *\*mēh* → *'din*, *'mih*

(layer 2) zilj. *\*péhnti*, *\*pésji* → *pèhnti*, *pèsji*; res. *\*'pəhnut*, *\*'pəsji* → G *'pahnut*, *'pasji*

The question now arises how this discrepancy in the timing of the two changes came about. In contrast to the lowering change the focal point of the lengthening change lay outside the Northern Slovene dialects. The Western and Southern Slovene dialects carried it out relatively early and from there it spread to the Northern dialects, in the case of the North-West probably by way of the Kranjska Gora-Rateče contact zone between *gorenjsko* and *koroško*. From there it fanned

<sup>20</sup> Šekli (2018: 310) does not seem to accept this line of reasoning, as he sees lowering of *\*ə̄* in the North as a separate event preceding lowering of lengthened *\*ə̀* by about two centuries, although the two vowels still fused in *e*.

<sup>21</sup> The source for all *ziljsko* examples is Pronk (2009).

out to *ziljsko* in Val Canale and the Gail valley and finally to Resia. Within this scenario, lengthening of non-final syllables can still to be seen as a development falling within the Common Ziljsko-Rezijansko period (Vermeer 1987a: 252) that must have come to an end during the 14th century (Steenwijk 2022: 56, footnote 28). As in a nasal environment \*ǝ- still managed to fuse with \*ǝ̄, lengthening reached Resian at a relatively short temporal distance after lowering.<sup>22</sup> Although a Common Ziljsko-Rezijansko change then, the different outcomes in the case of \*ǝ- also mark the demise of that common vowel system.

The relatively late lengthening in the North is generally deduced from the fact that layer 2 \*ě, \*e and \*o did not fuse with layer 1 \*ě, \*e and \*o, eg.:

(layer 1) *zilj. līas, līad, būæg* :: res. \**līas, \*līad, \*būæg* → SG 'lis, 'lit, 'buk  
(layer 2) *zilj. lēto, sēdn, ōsn* :: res. \**lēto, \*sēdan, \*ōsan* → 'lētu, 'sēdan, 'ōsan

Instead, in Resian layer 2 \*ě, \*e and \*o fused with layer 3 \*ě, \*e and \*o:

(layer 3) res. 'dēt, za'lēn, 'kōnj

To this series of reflexes testifying to relatively late lengthening in the North, in Resia layer 2 and 3 schwa can now be added. Or rather, “again be added”, because Ramovš (1924: 229) had already made this equation, cfr.

... ker tu pojav sub V. [ie. early lengthening in non-final syllables] ni nastopil; zato tudi: *lāzate, nōsy* kakor *strēha*...

Resian turns out to have been the last dialect within the Northern group to carry out this change. Seen in this context the fusion of \*ǝ- and \*ǝ̄ is a natural state of affairs.

The phonetic characteristics of the vowel resulting from this fusion were *low*, because in an environment with a nasal consonant fusion with \*ǝ̄, \*ǝ̄ → *e* occurred,<sup>23</sup> *unrounded*, because the *u* → *v* change conditioned by a following unrounded vowel was carried out also before this vowel, eg. G

<sup>22</sup> This assumption builds upon Rigler's (1963: 40) “se to ne moglo zgoditi dosti prej”, from the complete quote above.

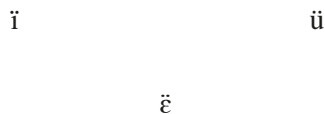
<sup>23</sup> And not in every environment, as Ramovš (1935: 33) implies, cfr. in short-stressed final syllables SG, G, O, S 'zet 'son-in-law', SG 'zet 'to reap'. In pretonic syllables the reflex of \*ǝ̄ is subject to regressive vowel assimilation (“Vokalharmonie”), whereas the reflex of \*ǝ̄ is not, eg. SG *zgl'i'düyat*, G *zli'düyat* ‘to count’ vs. SG, G *ȳza'müyat* ‘to take’. Only in closed unstressed final syllables fusion occurred, eg. SG, G 'dēvat, O 'dēvət, S 'dēvet ‘nine’ and SG 'delavac, G 'dēlovac, O 'dēlavəc, S 'dēlavec ‘worker’.

'*vas*, *odo'vac*,<sup>24</sup> and of course *central*, because it fused with \*-ə̌ in all other environments. The raising to maximally high *i* of the product of the conditional fusion of \**ɛ̌*, *ə̌* and \**ə̌*- → *e*, eg. res. *u'nit* 'to light', '*din*, '*miši*, is of a later date, as in San Giorgio it has been carried out under slightly different conditions, cfr. SG '*dən*.<sup>25</sup>

In IPA terms the product of the fusion of \**ə̌*- and \*-*ə̌* is best represented as [ɛ:] in non-final and as [ɛ̃] in final syllables, a centralised vowel with respect to the open *e* that resulted from denasalized \**ɛ̌*. In present-day Resian the Stolvizza local dialect seems to have preserved this phone, as it is the phonetic reality behind the phoneme /ə/ in the forms '*bəzet*, '*pəsji*; '*mərɥa*, '*pərvi*; '*məš*, '*nət*. In the first subgroup (unspecific non-final syllables) *ə̌* has been almost completely substituted by *e*, hence the occasional doublets '*bəzet*/'*bezet*, '*pəsji*/'*pesji*. With innovating speakers, this process now also can be observed in the second (syllables with tautosyllabic *r*, eg. '*pertine*) and third subgroup (closed final syllables with \*-*i*, eg. *bana'den*).

With this phoneme /ɛ̃/, a slightly modified reconstruction of the historical development of the Resian vowel system as proposed by Vermeer (1987a; 1993) can be made. After it had moved from its central to a low position, /ɛ̃/ was at first the only centralised vowel in the system.<sup>26</sup> Then it was joined by centralised /i/ and /ü/, as they assumed the same distinctive trait that distinguished /ɛ̃/ from /ɛ/, ie. centralisation, in order to avoid fusion with the new /i/ and /u/ arising from the monophthongization in \**liəs*, \**buəg* etc. Because the fusion of \**ə̌*- and \**ɛ̌*, \**ə̌* in nasal environment is a general Resian phenomenon, the resulting subsystem comprising three centralised vowels maximally equidistant from each other was likewise a general Resian trait:

### 1. Common Resian A, centralised subsystem



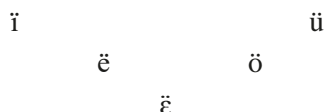
<sup>24</sup> In contrast to *ziljsko*, where the similarly conditioned *u* → *b̌* change did not operate on *zilj. wə̌s* 'all; everything', another sign of the disintegration of the Common Ziljsko-Rezijansko dialect unit.

<sup>25</sup> Cfr. the German loan SG *kol'endrin*, G *ku'lindrin* = deu. *kolender*, not older than the 15th century (Weigand 1968: 966).

<sup>26</sup> Vermeer (1993: 127) explicitly mentions the possibility that *ə̌* "può esser stato un membro effettivo del sistema delle vocali scure, per esempio, l'equivalente scuro di *a*." The difference in our approaches lies in the determination of the starting point of the formation of the centralised subsystem, which he sees in the redundant frontedness of \**u* (Vermeer 1993: 123).

Then, when denasalized \*ɛ and \*ɔ → e and o acquired a more closed realisation, the closed reflexes of \*ě, \*e, \*o also resorted to centralisation, and, by occupying the open space left in the centralised subsystem, became /ĕ/ and /ö/. Now a vowel triangle consisting of centralised vowels emerged, characterised by three degrees of openness, high, mid and low, and pairs of fronted vs. back vowels in the more closed ranges:

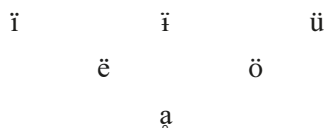
## 2. Common Resian B, centralised subsystem



The high quality for the present San Giorgio reflex, [i̯ – u̯], ie. clearly higher than [ə], is of a later date, as examples like SG *spo'mənjət*, *plata'nəc* show. When regressive vowel harmony set in, the San Giorgio reflex for \*ə- and \*-ə was still phonetically low, cfr. SG *ku'njəć* 'foal' ← \**konjic*, SG *plis'tət* 'to knit' ← \**plestì-t*. At least at this point /ĕ/ also comprised the vowel segment of syllabic \*ɣ, cfr. SG *ča'tərtək* 'Thursday' ← \**četřtək*.

The secondary raising of /ĕ/ to /i̯/ in San Giorgio must have occurred after the formation of the Common Resian B subsystem. This is implied by Vermeer's (1993: 127) reconstruction of /ĕ/ and /ö/ in unstressed syllables as well, res. \**pěčě'na*, \**zělē'nəc*, which amounts to a phonological interpretation of the *moderna vokalna redukcija* that in Resian set off the regressive vowel assimilation (Ramovš 1928: 115–116). The secondary raising of /ĕ/ in San Giorgio was probably provoked by the earlier loss of distinctive length in that village with respect to the other localities (Vermeer 1993: 135), that out of \*-ə had produced a rival for the position of the low centralised vowel, /ə/. Phonetically /ĕ/ and /ö/ were still clearly fronted resp. back when this happened.

## 3. San Giorgio Resian, centralised subsystem



In this view, /ĕ/ was the nucleus that introduced the distinctive trait of centralisation in the vowel system, around which a whole subsystem of centralised vowels was eventually constructed. Another characteristic of this subsystem was the

reduced distinctive load of vowel length: /i/ and /ü/ were automatically long and with /ë/, /ö/ and /ë/ length was in complementary distribution, long in non-final and short in final syllables. Without proposing to modify the process by which distinctive length was eventually lost in Resian, I still would maintain that length had already lost its phonemic significance in the centralised subsystem as this process started to unfold. As already noted by Rigler (1963: 71), phonetically the centralised vowels are shorter than the non-centralised ones.

As the pairs /i/ and /ü/ (except in San Giorgio) and /ë/ and /ö/ became even more centralised, instead of fronted vs. back, unrounded vs. rounded became the distinctive trait for these pairs. Under such circumstances /ë/ was left without a partner with which to enter in this kind of opposition and that probably started off the various fusions with vowels belonging to the non-centralised system in the local dialects. Like already discussed above, it fused with \*-i in San Giorgio, but east of that village it could now only fuse with a low vowel, as the escape route in between /ë/ and /ö/ had by now been blocked, and therefore we get fusion with \*-à: Gniva (→ a), Oseacco (→ ə) and Stolvizza (→ e). In the latter village, this happened only in closed syllables. A trace of the realisation of /ë/ is here preserved in the positionally conditioned outcome of this fusion in the forms 'mən ← \*imām, 'nən ← \*nām.<sup>27</sup>

The centralised subsystem had now become square and that is still the present situation with the older generation of speakers, born before 1940. With younger speakers the two pairs are now merging in a single vowel each, opposed between themselves as high vs. mid, as can be seen by written forms like O <zvüzdä>, <pošlüšät> vs. <rëče>, <wëdä> (Chinese 2007).<sup>28</sup>

Now that /ë/ has been firmly established as a factor in the historical development of the Resian vowel system, this insight can be put to work when interpreting its non-final occurrence in the forms SG adv 'lähku, NApl 'vəsi, Asg 'dasko cited in the introduction.<sup>29</sup> As Pronk (2011: 13) already supposed, these forms can be explained by assuming that they go back to a short-stressed schwa (that was subject to lengthening in non-final syllables, we can now add). In other words, these forms do not constitute compelling evidence that the schwa must have been unstressed during a certain historical period as a result of stress having been shifted to the following syllable, the so-called progressive circumflex. Instead, their stressed

<sup>27</sup> Logar (1972: 6–7), treating the distribution of these reflexes in the various local dialects, explains unexpected attestations as the consequence of dialect mixture. I cannot confirm these observations: in unmarked speech the informants do not mix their dialects. In interviews, when under pressure, this may occasionally happen.

<sup>28</sup> Of course, in San Giorgio only merging of /ë/ and /ö/ occurs.

<sup>29</sup> Personally, I would leave out 'lähku for the reasons explained above.

vowel quality makes them similar to examples like *'sěnu*, Gsg *'lěsa*, *'böga* in being indifferent as to the presence or absence of the progressive circumflex.

At this point I do not intend to give a new twist to the century-old discussion on the status of the progressive circumflex in Resian, but I would like to draw attention to the fact that the question is in no way settled then.<sup>30</sup>

## Conclusion

Thanks to his exceptional attention for detail, Ramovš was able to correctly observe the state of affairs obtaining in Resian and propose a realistic phonetic reconstruction for the product of the fusion of \*ǰ- and \*-ǰ. After him, Rigler's balanced application of the structuralistic framework to historical phonology enabled him to hit upon the explanation of this situation, without even realising that such a situation actually existed. Together they have shown that an inclusive and unprejudiced approach is to be preferred if one intends to arrive at durable results. Although the development of Slovene stressed non-final schwa in Resian as delineated above is rather unique, it still fits in nicely with the conclusions already arrived at by internal reconstruction and by Slovene dialect geography.

## Abbreviations

- A = accusative
- adv. = adverb
- Asg = accusative singular
- bar. = Bavarian
- ces. = Czech
- csb. = Kashubian
- csl. = Common Slavic
- čak. = Čakavian
- D = dative
- deu. = German
- dim. = diminutive
- dsb. = Lower Sorbian
- fur. = Friulian

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<sup>30</sup> As long as the cases of the type Lp *'na spövět*, S *'pöwadenj* do not receive a satisfying phonetical explanation, the historical presence of the progressive circumflex is hard to prove, cfr. Rigler (1972: 122); Stankiewicz (1984–1985: 723); Vermeer (1987b: 291–292).

G = Gniva/Njiva  
Gpl = genitive plural  
Gsg = genitive singular  
hrv. = Croatian  
hsb. = Upper Sorbian  
I = instrumental  
if. = imperfective  
IPA = International Phonetic Alphabet  
lat. = Latin  
Lp = Lipovaz/Lipavac  
n.a. = not attested  
NApl = nominative/accusative plural  
O = Oseacco/Osojane  
OLA = *Obščeslavjanskij lingvističeskij atlas*  
pol. = Polish  
pox. = Polabian  
pre1sg = present tense 1st person singular  
pre3sg = present tense 3rd person singular  
res. = Resian/*rezijansko*  
S = Stolvizza/Solbica  
SG = San Giorgio/V Bili  
SLA = *Slovenski lingvistični atlas*  
slk. = Slovak  
slv. = Slovene  
top. = toponym  
zilj. = *ziljsko*

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### Zusammenfassung

#### DER REFLEX DES SLOWENISCHEN AKZENTUIERTEN SCHWA IN NICHT-LETZTER SILBE IM RESIANISCHEN UND EINIGE VERWANDTE FRAGEN

Während reguläre resianische Reflexe des slowenischen ursprünglich langen und auf Einsilber beschränkten Schwa (\* $\bar{\sigma}$ ) und des slowenischen kurzakzentuierten Schwa (\* $\bar{\sigma}$ ) bisher eindeutig bestimmt wurden, besteht bezüglich des regulären Reflexes des slowenischen akzentuierten Schwa in nicht-letzter Silbe (\* $\bar{\sigma}$ -) weiterhin Unsicherheit. Dies hatte negative Auswirkungen auf die Diskussion über die historische Phonetik des Resianischen, insbesondere bezüglich der Rekonstruktion der historischen Entwicklung seines Vokalbestandes und der Position des progressiven Zirkumflexes in diesem Dialekt. Beispiele für Reflexe sind:

1. \* $\bar{\sigma}$ : gsl. \**t̥st̥b* → slv. *tást*, res. *'t̥st̥*;
- 2a. \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -: gsl. \**t̥st̥'a* → slv. *tásč'a*; res. *'t̥šč'a*;
- 2b. \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -: pre3sg gsl. \**l̥ž'e* → slv. *láže*; res. SG *'l̥ẓ̌ě*, G *'laẓ̌ě*, O *'l̥ẓ̌ě*, S *'leẓ̌ě*;
3. \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -: gsl. \**p̥s̥b* → slv. *pàs*, res. SG *'p̥às*, G *'pas*, O *'p̥às*, S *'pes*.

Wie ersichtlich, sind die Reflexe für \* $\bar{\sigma}$ - in einigen Fällen mit den Reflexen für \* $\bar{\sigma}$  (2a. *'t̥šč'a*, vgl. *'t̥st̥*) identisch, während sie in anderen Fällen mit den Reflexen für \* $\bar{\sigma}$  (2b. SG *'l̥ẓ̌ě* usw., vgl. SG *'p̥às* usw.) übereinstimmen. Wir schlagen vor, den letztgenannten Reflex als regulär zu bezeichnen, da er durch die späte Verlängerung von \* $\bar{\sigma}$ - verursacht wurde. Dies stellt eine Parallele zu den resianischen Reflexen für \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -, \* $\bar{\sigma}$ - und \* $\bar{\sigma}$ - dar, welche mit \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -, \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -, \* $\bar{\sigma}$  zusammenfielen und zu *ě*, *ö* wurden. Die Lautentwicklung wird somit mit der späten Verlängerung folgender Vokale in Verbindung gesetzt:

1. \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -, \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -, \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -. ksl. \**l̥s̥b*, \**l̥d̥b*, \**b̥g̥b* → slv. *l̥ēs*, *l̥ēd*, *b̥ōg̥*, res. *'lis*, *'lit*, *'buk*;
2. \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -, \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -, \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -. ksl. \**l̥t̥o*, \**s̥d̥m̥b*, \**ōsm̥b* → slv. *l̥éto*, *s̥édem*, *ōsem*, res. *'l̥t̥u*, *'s̥édan*, *'ōsan*;
3. \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -, \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -, \* $\bar{\sigma}$ -. ksl. \**d̥d̥b*, \**z̥el̥n̥b*, \**k̥on̥b* → slv. *ḍéd*, *ẓeḷen*, *ḳonj*, res. *'ḍēt*, *ẓa'ḷēn*, *'ḳonj*

Obleich diese Entwicklung eine Ausnahme unter den slowenischen Dialekten darstellt, fügt sie sich dennoch gut in die Ergebnisse der bisherigen internen Rekonstruktion und der geografischen Dialektologie ein. Zum Zeitpunkt des nordslowenischen Absenkens und Frontierens von langem \* $\bar{\sigma}$  war es im Gailtal bereits zu einer Verlängerung gekommen. Folglich reflektierten sich die Absenkung und das Frontieren vom langen \* $\bar{\sigma}$  in \* $\bar{\sigma}$  und \* $\bar{\sigma}$ - (Gailtal *ṃēh*, *p̣ēhnti*). In Resia erfolgte die Verlängerung jedoch erst später, und somit betraf das Absenken und Frontieren des langen \* $\bar{\sigma}$  nur die Veränderung von \* $\bar{\sigma}$  (res. *\*ṃēh* → *'mih*; G *'pahnut*).

**Povzetek****REZIJANSKI ODRAZ SLOVENSKEGA NAGLAŠENEGA NEKONČNEGA POLGLASNIKA IN NEKATERE S TEM POVEZANE ZADEVE**

Medtem ko sta bila regularna rezijanska odraza slovenskega izvorno dolgega polglasnika (\**ǣ*), omejena na enozložnike, in slovenskega kratkonaglašenege polglasnika (\**-ǣ*), nedvoumno določena, obstaja negotovost glede regularnega odraza slovenskega naglašenege nekončnega polglasnika (\**ǣ*). Takšno stanje je imelo negativen vpliv na razprave o rezijanskem zgodovinskem glasoslovju, predvsem o rekonstrukciji zgodovinskega razvoja njegovega samoglasniškega sestava in o statusu progresivnega cirkumfleksa v tem narečju. Zgledi odrazov so:

1. \**ǣ*: csl. \**tǣstb* → slv. *tāst*, res. *'tešt*;
- 2a. \**ǣ*-: csl. \**tǣsta* → slv. *tāščā*; res. *'teščā*;
- 2b. \**ǣ*-: pre3sg csl. \**tǣže* → slv. *lāže*; res. SG *'lǣžē*, G *'lǣžē*, O *'lǣžē*, S *'ležē*;
3. \**-ǣ*: csl. \**pǣsb* → slv. *pās*, res. SG *'pās*, G *'pas*, O *'pās*, S *'pes*.

Kakor je razvidno, so odrazi za \**ǣ*- v nekaterih primerih enaki odrazom za \**ǣ* (2a. *'teščā*, cfr. *'tešt*), medtem ko so v drugih primerih enaki odrazom za \**-ǣ* (2b. SG *'lǣžē* etc., cfr. SG *'pās*, itd.). Predlaga se določitev zadnjega odraza kot regularnega, povzročenegega z zakasnelim podaljšanjem \**ǣ*-. To bi bilo vzporedno z rezijanskimi odrazi za \**ě*-, \**ǣ*- in \**ǝ*-, ki so se izenačili z \**-ě*, \**-ǣ*, \**-ǝ* in postali *ě*, *ǣ*, razvoj, ki je postavljen v povezavi z zakasnelim podaljšanjem teh samoglasnikov:

1. \**ě*, \**ǣ*, \**ǝ*: csl. \**lěsb*, \**lědb*, \**bǝgb* → slv. *lēs*, *lēd*, *bǝg*, res. *'lis*, *'lit*, *'buk*;
2. \**ě*-, \**ǣ*-, \**ǝ*-: csl. \**lěto*, \**sědmь*, \**ǝsmь* → slv. *lěto*, *sědem*, *ǝsem*, res. *'lětu*, *'sědan*, *'ǝsan*;
3. \**-ě*, \**-ǣ*, \**-ǝ*: csl. \**dědb*, \**zělěnb*, \**kǝn'b* → slv. *dēd*, *zēlēn*, *kǝnj*, res. *'dēt*, *zǣlēn*, *'kǝnj*

Čeprav takšen razvoj \**ǣ*- predstavlja izjemo med slovenskimi narečji, se vseeno lepo vključuje v ugotovitve, ki so že bile dosežene v okviru notranje rekonstrukcije in zemljepisne dialektologije. Ko se je zgodilo severnoslovensko znižanje in sprednjenje dolgega \**ǣ*, v Zilji se je že uresničilo podaljšanje in zaradi tega sta znižanje in sprednjenje dolgega \**ǣ* zavzemala \**ǣ* tako kot \**ǣ*- (zilj. *mēh*, *pēhnti*). V Reziji pa se je podaljšanje uresničilo kasneje, ker sta tam znižanje in sprednjenje dolgega \**ǣ* vplivala samo na \**ǣ* (res. \**mēh* → *'mih*; G *'pahnut*).