

CIRCUMFLEX ADVANCEMENT IN HALOZE

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Introduction

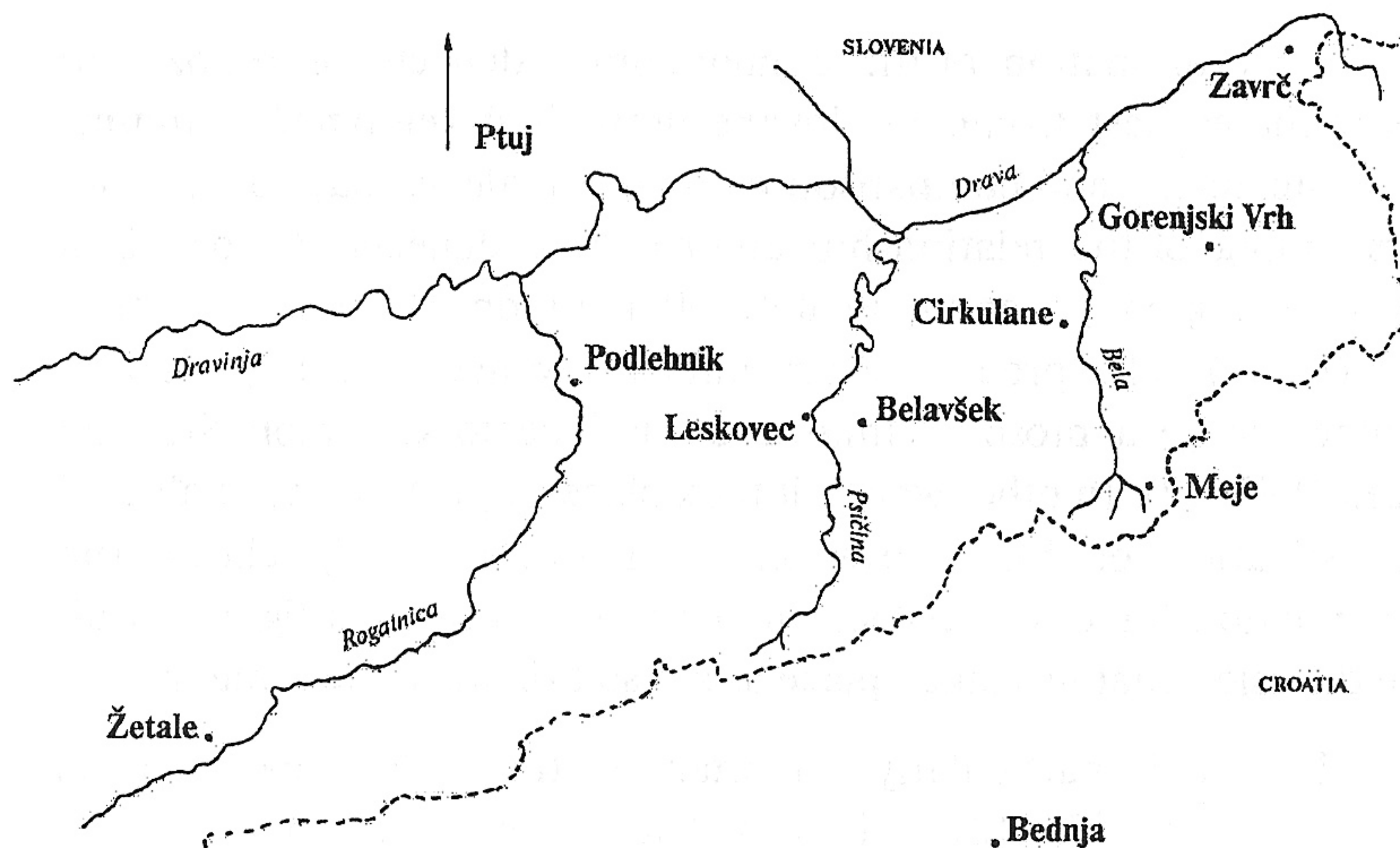
An examination of the contemporary dialects of Haloze for traces of the earliest Common Slovene prosodic development, circumflex advancement, and comparison of Haloze dialects may further our understanding of the relationship among these dialects. Haloze is a small, hilly region [of approximately 50 km²] on Slovenia's eastern border (fig. 1). The process of circumflex advancement is generally considered to be a prosodic innovation unique to Common Slovene (Lencek 1982: 82). In other words, it took place in all Slovene dialects.¹ An investigation of this innovation in Haloze will help clarify the genetic relationship of the dialects in question; it will shed light as well on the diffusion that has taken place as a result of areal phenomena.

Haloze is particularly important to this field because of its location (Ramovš 1935: 181). The fact that it is on the periphery of the Slovene speech territory means that Haloze is in close contact with dialects of the Croatian speech territory. In terms of language change this is an intriguing area for at least two reasons. First, it is a place where a certain number of innovations might be expected because of contact phenomena. It is an ideal laboratory in which to observe the way dialects and languages react in contact situations. Second, because Haloze is on the edge of the Slovene speech territory, it is also a place to look for archaisms. This is based on the idea that linguistic innovations often spread out in wave-like patterns from center to periphery. These innovations at times lose momentum before reaching some outlying areas. That means that peripheral dialects often retain archaic features which have been lost in other regions. This observation is supported by the fact that some Slovene-centered innovations did not reach the extreme northeast of the speech territory, as illustrated for example, in the case of relengthening of the original acute in Slovene, also called *brata*-lengthening. This development reached Styrian dialects as well

¹ A detailed discussion of this problem and the data which complicate it can be found in Greenberg 1992 and Vermeer 1987.

as western Haloze, but it did not reach central and eastern Haloze or other Pannonian Slovene dialects.

Fig. 1: Map of Haloze



Historical Background

Proto-Slavic inherited two phonologically distinctive prosodic features from Indo-European, free stress and quantity distinctions (Shevelov 38). It is also apparently true that Proto-Slavic had a phonemic tonal opposition, though to what extent that distinctive intonation was present in Indo-European is unclear. It likely developed after the time when Balto-Slavic had begun diverging from the rest of the Indo-European daughter languages. Some claim that the relatively late retention of laryngeals in certain positions in several classes of words is the primary reason for the development of a phonemic tonal opposition. For example, Kortlandt suggests that the final stage of the loss of Indo-European laryngeals did not occur in Slavic until around 800 AD, making final development of the Slavic tonal oppositions relatively late (1975a, 20). At any rate, Common Slavic had three distinctive prosodic features: quantity, mobile stress and rising vs. falling word pitch. The falling, or circumflex, toneme could occur on etymologically short or long syllables. The rising, or acute, could only occur on etymologically long vowels. The fact that originally the acute

was found only on long vowels meant that this intonational difference was not phonemic on etymologically short vowels in Slavic in the earliest stages of its development.

This original Common Slavic situation was complicated somewhat by the development of a secondary rising tone, the neo-acute, in the period of Late Common Slavic. The neo-acute was a result of a retraction of the ictus to a previously unstressed syllable. This retraction took place when (1) a final stressed *jer* lost its ability to carry the ictus, **konĕ* > **kònĕ* 'horse,' and (2) when stress was retracted from a medial or final circumflex, **nosîši* > **nòsiši* 'you carry.' These medial and final circumflex forms developed from an Early Common Slavic progressive shift known as Dybo's law. Later, in the development of Late Common Slavic, only word-initial circumflex was tolerated, so all other falling tones were retracted. The retraction of medial and final circumflex accents is known as Stang's law. The neo-acute, which arose from these two retractions, had a rising pitch contour, and it occurred on both etymologically long and short syllables making pitch distinctions phonemic on short as well as long syllables (Stang 168–69).

Although comparative evidence for this Common Slavic system can be found throughout the living Slavic languages, the most important source of information for Slavic accentology is the development of the prosodic systems of Western South Slavic, which includes the dialects of the Slovene and Serbo-Croatian speech territories.

In all the dialects of Western South Slavic the original acute shortened, perhaps under pressure from the neo-acute. This shortening probably kept the two tonemes from merging. In Čakavian, as in Russian, the original Common Slavic place of the ictus is preserved in most forms, and quantity oppositions are preserved in accented as well as unaccented syllables. The tonemic oppositions exist here even though the old acute is realized as short falling and has merged with the original circumflex. The neo-acute provides the distinctive rising tone that makes the contour phonemic.

Standard Serbo-Croatian has maintained original quantity oppositions in accented and unaccented syllables except under short circumflex in monosyllabic words, where it has lengthened. A relatively recent stress retraction, known as the Neo-Štokavian retraction, has created a new rising tone to replace the original and neo-acute, both of which merged with the circumflex.

Standard Slovene distinguishes rising and falling tone in long syllables. Quantity outside of the stressed syllable has been lost, and all non-final stressed syllables have been lengthened. This means that short stress is only found on the final syllable of a word. In final position the original acute and the neo-acute on etymologically short vowels are short falling. Long rising in Slovene comes from non-final acute and neo-acute and a later stress retraction from final open syllables. The original circumflex in Slovene is realized as long and falling, regardless of the Common Slavic length of the vowel, and it has shifted to the following syllable where possible, *bôg* (nom. sg.) 'God,' *bogâ* (gen. sg.).

Slovene Prosodic Developments

The last Slovene prosodic development mentioned above, the so-called circumflex advancement, is important because it is thought to be the first Common Slovene prosodic process. In fact, because it is generally believed to have happened only in Slovene dialects, it has often been equated with "Sloveneness," and the lack of it has been interpreted as an indication that the dialect in question did not develop from the Common Slovene base (Kortlandt 1976, 8). Because the advancement of the circumflex is the first Common Slovene prosodic development, it must have happened quite early. In relative terms it can be dated after Stang's law, which was the last Common Slavic prosodic development, and after internal weak *yers* had lost their ability to carry stress. This is illustrated by forms like *nohtâ* (gen. sg.) < **nõgьtja* 'nail', which allowed the advancement to jump over the *jer*. It must have taken place after Stang's law because Stang's law retracted stress from internal and final circumflexes. On the other hand the original circumflex must have advanced before the development of the neo-circumflex because these new circumflex forms, which developed from short acutes through compensatory lengthening, did not advance with the other circumflexed tones (Kortlandt 1976, 6).

After the advancement of the circumflex and the development of the neo-circumflex, another Common Slovene prosodic development took place, the retraction of stress from a short final syllable to a long syllable. This was the last Common Slovene prosodic development. It happened in the twelfth century after the loss of weak *yers* in medial positions, *slěpca* (gen. sg.) "blind man" (6). Later, in the thirteenth or

fourteenth centuries, non-final short vowels were lengthened which gave rise to more forms with the long rising accent *bráta*, *brät* 'brother.' This so-called *brata*-lengthening did not reach the peripheries of Slovene such as Prekmurje, Prlekija, and Haloze. Finally, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, stress was retracted from short final syllables onto short vowels *žéna* < *ž^énà. This phenomenon is also not common to all dialects of Slovene.

Circumflex advancement can likewise be dated through the process of textual analysis. One study of this nature has been done on the *Freising Fragments* (Kortlandt 1975b). Kortlandt's analysis is based on the realization of the Common Slavic back nasal. In this text, *ǫ is realized as *o* under stress and *u* in posttonic position. The examples *vuolu* (< *voljǫ) (acc. sg.) "will" and *tuoriu* (< *tvǫrǫ) (1st per. sg.) "create" show that this text was written after Stang's law because *vuolu* has neo-acute stress on the first syllable but before circumflex advancement and because *tuoriu* still has stress on the first syllable. That puts circumflex advancement between the ninth and tenth centuries based on the dating of the *Freising Fragments* (405).

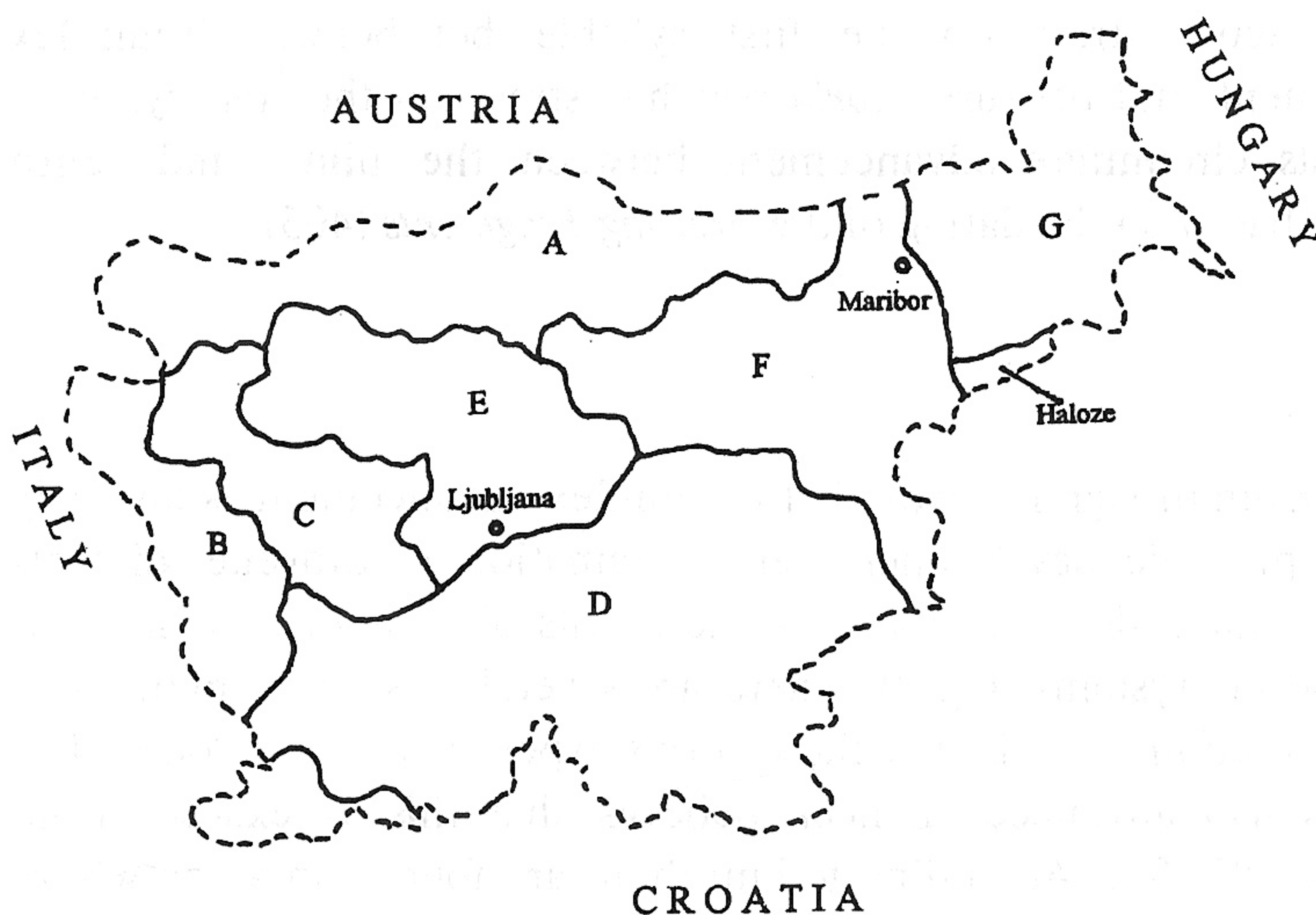
Exceptions

Even though it is true that circumflex advancement is an early Slovene prosodic development, an examination of Slovene dialects shows that all dialects do not show the results of advancement in their contemporary systems (fig. 2). There are several possible explanations for this situation. One is that these forms experienced retraction after the ictus had advanced. Lencek believes that this is exactly what happened (83–84). According to him there are four main areas where this relatively late retraction took place: (1) eastern Carinthia and the adjoining Styrian dialects of the Savinja valley, *mə̀sə* 'meat,' *òqə* 'eye' (Rož); (2) Zilja, Rezija and the adjoining Ter dialect, *zwáto* 'gold,' *měso* 'meat,' *òko* 'eye' (Ter); (3) Poljane dialects of Rovte, *zlàtu* 'gold,' *měsu* 'meat,' *gòspo:d* 'mister'; (4) Bela Krajina, *zlàtu* 'gold,' *gòsput* 'mister,' *měsu* 'meat.'

Retraction has been the most common explanation for this apparent exception to the general advancement of circumflex since it was first introduced by Ramovš (1950, 21). Ramovš held that this was a relatively recent retraction, not before the eighteenth century, because

it happened in geographically discontinuous areas, and because it seemingly followed recent developments like vowel reduction which only took place in unaccented syllables, *àku* 'eye' (Črni Vrh). This concept of late retraction is also supported by the fact that in some of these dialects, Rovte for example, the syllable with the accent is short regardless of its etymological length, *vīčer* 'evening,' *mèsu:* 'meat' (Kostel). This fact seems to indicate that pretonic length had already been lost. On the other hand, some of the realizations of this supposed retraction are not so easy to explain. These will be dealt with below in the section on advancement hierarchies.

Fig. 2: Dialect map of Slovenia



A	Carinthia	E	Upper Carniola
B	Littoral	F	Styria
C	Rovte	G	Pannonia
D	Lower Carniola		

To the extent that the phenomenon described above is a result of retraction, it fits at the bottom of the Slovene hierarchy of retractions from a final syllable. This retraction hierarchy is detailed by Greenberg (1987), and it progresses from most likely to least likely to be retracted: (1) neo-acute retraction, *klúč* 'key' (Common Slavic), (2) from a short

final syllable onto a long syllable, *klúča* (gen. sg.) (Common Slovene), (3) from a short final syllable onto a short syllable, *žéna* 'wife' (Slovene dialects), (4) from a short syllable onto a reduced vowel, *mə̀gla* 'fog' (Slovene dialects), (5) *òko*-type retraction, the retraction of a previously advanced circumflex (1987, 292). Greenberg also points out that, if this hierarchy is accurate, there are some inconsistencies in the data. For example, the Primorsko dialect of Ter has the fifth stage of retraction, *ó:ko*, *mé:so* with rising intonation, but it does not have the third stage of the hierarchy, *ženà* 'wife,' *mehlà* 'fog' (1987, 293). This violation of the structural hierarchy suggests that there may be another way to explain these inconsistencies. It seems likely that some of the dialects which do not show the results of Slovene circumflex advancement represent the archaic situation rather than a relatively recent retraction.

Advancement Hierarchies

The advancement of the Common Slavic circumflex has long provided an easily identifiable indicator of dialects that should be considered Slovene and those to be considered Croatian. Dialects that have the progressive shift and length on the newly accented syllable are Slovene. It has already been pointed out that there are exceptions to this statement within Slovene dialects, and, as Vermeer points out, there are exceptions within Kajkavian dialects and to some extent even in standard Serbo-Croatian (1987).

The inconsistency lies in the fact that Kajkavian dialects have the progressive shift plus length when Common Slavic circumflex advanced from a weak *jer* onto a full vowel. For example, in the village dialect of Prodinol there is an opposition between *vèčer* 'evening' and *zvêčera* (<* zǝ večera) "in the evening" where the later form gets its length from the progressive advancement. There are similar examples from Ozalj, *òko* 'eye' as opposed to *v ôko* 'into the eye,' and even some forms in Čakavian and Štokavian, *dnê* (archaic gen. sg.) "day" and *stô* 'hundred' (Vermeer 1987, 275). The point is that this progressive advancement began to take place in other Western South Slavic dialects as well, but it was limited to some very specific environments outside of Slovene.

Additional support for the claim that circumflex advancement began to take place in some Serbo-Croatian dialects is found in the Kajkavian dialect of Bednja. Bednja has this advancement from weak *jers* and from full vowels when the following syllable is closed, *eblâok* 'cloud,' *gelôub* 'dove,' *kekÿeš* 'hen' (Vermeer 1987, 277). This is significant because in all other ways Bednja does not have Slovene features. For example, the vowel system can only be derived from a Kajkavian base, and Bednja does not have the typical Slovene feature of retraction of the ictus from a final short vowel onto a long vowel. Vermeer also explains that this progressive shift was early in Kajkavian because it presupposes a distinction between rising and falling short vowels. Short rising vowels did not lose the ictus to the following syllable. Also, advancement to closed syllables did not take place when a weak *jer* occurred between the original circumflex and the following full vowel, *nâobrol* 'gathered' and *vÿyžgol* 'kindled' (Vermeer 1979, 369). This advancement must have taken place after Stang's law but before the loss of weak internal *jers*.

After examining the Slovene dialects that do not have circumflex advancement and the Kajkavian dialect that do have it, Vermeer offers a six-stage hierarchy of advancement from environments where the progressive shift is most likely to occur to those where it occurs in only a very limited number of dialects (1987, 295): (1) from weak *jers* onto open final syllables, *sĕto*; (2) from weak *jers* onto any following syllable, *sĕ bogomĕ*; (3) from full vowels into polysyllabic forms, *sirôtoŭ*; (4) from full vowels in disyllabic forms with closed second syllable, *oblâkĕ*; (5) from full vowels in disyllabic forms with closed second syllable with a weak *jer* between the syllables, *nabĕrâlĕ*; (6) from full vowels on disyllabic forms with an open second syllable, *oĉi*. This hierarchy is strong support for the idea that circumflex advancement did not take place in all Slovene dialects and that it did take place on a limited scale in other Western South Slavic dialects.

Faced with the same Western South Slavic dialect data and some new information from his own research and field work in Prekmurje and Središče, Greenberg asks the question as well. Are the forms with circumflex on the initial syllable a result of retraction or retention of the original place of stress? Greenberg's study shows that in Prekmurje, for example, advancement took place in all environments except when a *jer* occurred between the first and the second syllable,

kolôu 'wheel,' *mäsôu* 'meat,' *gospôud* 'mister,' but *nâbro* 'gathered,' *zôuro* 'plowed' (1992, 72).² This presents a slightly different sequence than the one given by Vermeer earlier because in Prekmurje Vermeer's sixth stage takes place but his fifth does not.

The facts in Prekmurje can only be explained as a retention of Common Slavic accent in some phonetic environments. This is based on the fact that all syllables where the circumflex has remained on the first syllable are long regardless of etymological length. On the other hand, other retractions in Prekmurje have retained the original Common Slavic length on the newly accented syllable, **sŏ:sědъ* > *sôused*, **ženà* > *žănà*. If the examples from Prekmurje were a retraction, either they should have retained original length distinctions, if the retraction was early, or they should all be short, if the retraction was late, as Ramovš thinks it was, because it would have happened after pretonic syllables had lost length distinctions (76).

Based on this finding, Greenberg surveys the advancement of circumflex in Pannonian Slovene dialects and northwestern Kajkavian dialects. The details of that study will not be given here except to mention that various stages of advancement are found in these dialects. In particular the Slovene dialect of Središče is interesting here. Središče is a transition area between Slovene and Kajkavian dialects and the situation with circumflex advancement there is very similar to the situation in parts of Haloze. In Središče, advancement took place only onto closed second syllables where no weak *jer* came between syllables: *oblâk* 'cloud,' *pòžro* 'burned' (85). Etymological length has been retained: *òko* 'eye,' *mêso* 'meat,' a strong indication that this is an archaic situation rather than a recent retraction.

Greenberg's Hierarchy

Based on the data from northeastern Slovene and northwestern Kajkavian, Greenberg reformulated a hierarchy of advancement based on relative syllable weight and open as opposed to closed second

² The northeastern Slovene dialects discussed here do not have distinctive pitch oppositions. The symbols $\hat{\ }$ and $\`$ indicate only length. On the other hand, the Kajkavian dialect of Bednja does retain pitch oppositions, so the forms with circumflex from that dialect are to be understood as distinctively falling in nature.

syllable: (1) from a long syllable onto a long closed syllable, (2) from a short syllable onto a long closed syllable, (3) from a short syllable onto a short closed syllable, (4) from a short syllable onto a long open syllable, (5) from a long syllable onto a long open syllable, (6) from a long syllable onto a short open syllable, (7) from a short syllable onto a short open syllable, (8) from initial syllable onto a following when a weak *jer* occurs between the syllables (86–7). For more specific examples and argumentation the reader is referred to Greenberg's original publications (1992, 1995).

It might be noted that, although Greenberg's hierarchy of advancement seems to be supported by the attested data in terms of the distinctions between open and closed syllables and situations when a weak *jer* comes between syllables, there is very little evidence in the attested material from the northeast to show that syllable weight contributes to the hierarchy of advancement. The data seem to show that within the domain of closed or open syllable it is all or nothing. Either a dialect has advancement onto closed syllables or it does not. There is no dialect material to show that some syllable structures cause advancement and some do not. The same is true for open syllables with the exception of some ambiguous forms from Bednja. Here I intend to make a contribution to the attested material in support of Greenberg's hierarchy from my field work in Haloze.

Advancement in Haloze

According to the work of Vermeer (1979, 1987) and Greenberg (1987, 1992, 1995), the dialect geography of northeastern Slovenia and northwestern Croatia suggests that Haloze might be a part of the continuum of circumflex advancement. The area is close to Središče, on the edge of Pannonian dialects, and it also shares its eastern and southern borders with Kajkavian dialects. Bednja is only a few kilometers east of Haloze. This is a likely place to find more information relating to the progressive accent shift.

The search for material on this subject from Haloze is hampered by the fact that very little has been recorded from this area. Further, the two existing descriptions of Haloze give contradictory material. Zorko has used the retraction explanation before in describing other Pannonian dialects (1989, 242), but she does not employ this

explanation for Haloze. According to her there is no evidence of this tertiary retraction. She states that the *okô*-type is preserved, *kostî* (gen. sg.) 'bone,' *mesô* 'meat' (1993, 205). Within the text of his article, Kolarič agrees with Zorko. Using an example that appears to be from central Haloze, *okôu* 'eye,' Kolarič states that this type of accent is preserved, yet in his data there are several examples of non-advanced forms, *ôko* 'eye,' *ôka* (gen. sg.), *zlâto* 'gold,' *zlâta* (gen. sg.), *drêivo* 'tree,' *drêvo*, *zôba* (gen. sg.) 'tooth.' Kolarič does not comment on these forms but indicates that the source of at least some is the area near the castle Borl, which is in eastern Haloze (1964). This appears to be important, as will be seen below in the section on circumflex advancement in Gorenjski Vrh. Based on previous research in Haloze it seems clear that circumflex advancement took place in most of the expected environments, but it also seems likely that all village dialects within the region of Haloze did not develop in the same way with respect to this phenomenon.³

Data from Haloze

There are clear differences in the way eastern and central Haloze dialects have carried through this Common Slovene development. Greenberg's advancement hierarchy can be applied to the type of advancement found in three Haloze dialects: in Gorenjski Vrh, a village in eastern Haloze (fig. 3), in the southeastern Haloze village dialect of Meje (fig. 4), which is a transition dialect as regards this historical development, and in the central Haloze village dialect of Belavšek (fig. 5).

³ The forms listed in this study are based on the author's fieldwork in Haloze between January of 1997 and August of 1998. This research was supported by grants and fellowships from the Slovene Ministry of Education and Sports, the National Security Education Program, the International Research and Exchange Board and a Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Research Fellowship. For a more detailed description of the phonology of these dialects see Lundberg 1999.

Fig. 3: Circumflex advancement in Gorenjski Vrh

Syllable Structure	Common Slavic	Standard Slovene	Haloze
CVC ₂ C	*nâbъra:li	nabrâli	vùžgali, pòžgali, zèbrali, làhkò
(C)VCV	*òko	okò	kòlò, òkò, pròso
CV:CV	*mêso	mesò	mêso, črêvo, drêvo, dâlo
CV:CV:	*ròkò:	rokò	ròku, glâvu, zlâta, lûdi
CVCV:	*kòsti:	kostì	vòdu/vòdu, dùma, pèci kòsti
CVCVC	*kòkošъ	kokòš	kòkòš / kòkòši, gòspot, večêr pòkòsu
CVCV:C	*gòlò:bъ	golòb	dèvet, orât, gòlòp
CV:CV:C	*sûši:tъ	sušit	navûčili, vučit, napîli

Fig. 4: Circumflex advancement in Meje

Syllable Structure	Haloze
CVC ₂ C	têško, zèbrala
(C)VCV	kòlo/kolò, sŕce
CV:CV	mêso/mesò, lèpo/lepò
CV:CV:	rokò, ludi
CVCV:	domâ, nogò, po vòdu, vodò
CVCVC	kokòšj, večêr
CVCV:C	golòp
CV:CV:C	napîli, sŕšilj

Fig. 5: Circumflex advancement in Belavšek

Syllable Structure	Haloze
CVC ₂ C	vûžgalj, vûžgij, tâšk _o , p _o ubralj
(C)VCV	ok _o , kol _o
CV:CV	na ô _u k _o , meš _o _u , le _p _o _u , zlat _o _u
CV:CV:	na glâvu, glav _o _u , rok _o _u , imê
CVCV:	kostij, nug _o _u , p _o tâjstij, v _o d _o _u / p _o v _o _u du
CVCVC	k _o k _o _u š, p _o k _o _u su, j _e š _e n, v _e č _e r
CVCV:C	p _o p _i lj, p _o r _o _u č _i la
CV:CV:C	s _i š _i it, v _i č _i it, nav _u č _i lj

Belavšek

Zorko and Kolarič believe, as regards Haloze, that circumflex advancement was regular in all environments (fig. 3). The development of the Common Slavic circumflex in Central Haloze is similar to that in other conservative Pannonian dialects and exactly like that in Prekmurje dialects. Advancement took place in all phonetic environments except when a weak *jer* occurred between the first and second full vowels. As in Prekmurje, the analogical type *dôubu*, *dôubili* is present and length distinctions in these non-advanced forms are poorly preserved.

This consistent length is probably the result of compensatory lengthening, which is widespread in Western South Slavic under the Common Slavic circumflex. For a detailed discussion of compensatory lengthening in Slavic the reader is referred to a series of articles by Timberlake (1983a, 1983b). Timberlake identifies three main factors in Slavic that determine whether a short accented vowel will lengthen. These factors are: (1) the consonant following the stressed vowel, (2) the position of the stressed vowel and the following weak *jer* in the word as a unit (final, internal), and (3) the accent type found on the stressed vowel. Interestingly, in East and West Slavic the neo-acute is the most

likely toneme to cause lengthening, but in Western South Slavic it is caused most commonly by the circumflex (1983b, 296).

In Standard Slovene etymologically short circumflex vowels in final position are lengthened, but short acute and neo-acute in final position are not, *bôg* 'God,' *môst* 'bridge,' *brät* 'brother,' *kônj* 'horse.' This is also true of Haloze, *bôug* 'God,' *kôust* 'bone,' *brät* 'brother,' *kùj* 'horse' (Belavšek). In Standard Slovene this distinction has been lost outside of the final syllable because all internally stressed syllables have lengthened. In central Haloze, where *brata*-relengthening never took place, the strong influence of the circumflex on the process of compensatory lengthening is still visible, *bràta* (gen. sg.), *pôubralj* 'picked.'

In many ways central Haloze exhibits some very archaic prosodic patterns. For example, we see the expected pattern of length and advancement of ictus on the form *okôu* 'eye.' This form might easily serve as a model for the rest of the paradigm, but it does not. The accusative form of this word without a preposition is identical to the nominative form listed above, but the form with a preposition shows the length and ictus placement expected with advancement from the preposition, *na ôuko*. This is also true of the forms *glavôu* (acc. sg.) "head" and *na glâvu* (acc. sg.) as well as for *vodôu* (acc. sg.) "water," *pô vôudu* (acc. sg.), *pô tâistj* (loc. sg.) "dough."

Another good example of these archaic accent patterns can be seen in the past-tense stress pattern of the verb *bĭti* 'to be.' The Belavšek forms are *bĭu* (masc. sg.), *bĭila* (fem. sg.), *blôu* (neut. sg.), *blĭi* (masc. pl.) and *blê* (fem. pl.). Based on comparison with Russian, the past tense of this verb must have been part of the Common Slavic mobile paradigm C. All the forms originally had circumflex on the initial syllable except the feminine singular, which had a short acute accent on the final vowel. The Russian forms show the original place of stress: *býl* (masc. sg.), *bylá* (fem. sg.), *býlo* (neut. sg.), and *býli* (pl.). The central Haloze forms simply went through the Slovene developments of circumflex advancement and, for the feminine form, retraction from a short final syllable onto a long pretonic one where original length was preserved. This archaic accent shift within the paradigm is preserved in the contemporary dialects. There are other examples where Common Slavic prosodic oppositions have been

preserved in this way, *rôukâ* (nom. sg.) "hand," *rokôu* (acc. sg.), and *nùgâ* (nom. sg.) 'leg,' *nugôu* (acc. sg.).

Forms from Belavšek:

vûžgi (imperative) "kindle," *vûžgalj*, *tâškô* 'difficult,' *pôubralj* 'gathered,' *dôubu* 'received,' *dôubijlĭ*, *lâhkô* 'can,' *okôu* 'eye,' *kolôu* 'wheel,' *na ôuko* 'on the eye,' *blôu* 'was,' *męsôu* 'meat,' *lepôu* 'beautiful,' *zlatôu* 'gold,' *srebrôu* 'silver,' *na glâvu* (acc. sg.) "head," *glavôu* (acc. sg.) 'head,' *rokôu* (acc. sg.) "hand," *imê* 'name,' *kostĭj* (gen. sg.) "bone," *nugôu* (acc. sg.) 'leg,' *pô tâistj* (loc. sg.) "dough," *vodôu / pô vodu* (acc. sg.) "water," *okôulj* 'around,' *kosĭu* "mowed," *kokôuš* 'hen,' *pokôusu* (< *pökosilъ) 'mowed,' *jęsên* 'fall,' *vęčęr* 'evening,' *okrôugla* 'round,' *pôpĭlj* 'drank,' *pôrôučĭla* 'married,' *sĭšĭit* (sup.) 'to dry,' *vĭčĭit* (sup.) 'to learn,' *navûčĭlj* 'taught,' *sĭšĭilj* 'dried.'

Gorenjski Vrh

The forms representing the situation in Gorenjski Vrh (fig. 3) are quite different from those forms in Belavšek (fig. 5). Circumflex advancement in Gorenjski Vrh, much like in Središče, is very limited. The Common Slavic circumflex only advanced when the second syllable was closed and when there was no *jer* between the two full vowels, *orât* (sup.) 'to plow,' *navûčĭli* 'taught,' *pôžgali* 'burned,' *sĭcę* 'heart,' *čręvo* 'gut.' In the cases where advancement took place, the newly stressed vowel is long regardless of original length. In the cases where the Common Slavic place of accent was preserved, the original length of the vowel is also preserved, *ûbrali* 'picked,' *zębrali* 'gathered.' The exception to this statement is monosyllabic forms which were lengthened as a result of compensatory lengthening, *bôg* 'God,' *kôst* 'bone.'

As mentioned before, most of the attested data from the northeast of Slovene and the northwest of Kajkavian does not clearly support the claim that relative syllable weight plays a part in the hierarchy of circumflex advancement. The main factor seems to be whether the second syllable is open or closed. In Prekmurje, Prlekija, and western Haloze it is all or nothing in terms of advancement when the second syllable is open or closed. This could also be said for Bednja

except for the existence of several forms which can be stressed on the first or the second syllable, *negôu* (acc. sg.) ‘leg,’ *kesôu* (acc. sg.) ‘scythe’ (Greenberg 1992: 83). In this area, eastern Haloze adds important new data to the hierarchy. In several disyllabic forms with closed second syllables eastern Haloze has forms with initial stress, *kòkoš* ‘hen,’ *gòspod* ‘mister,’ *dèvęt* ‘nine.’

There are two possible explanations for these forms with initial stress. The first is that they are borrowings from neighboring Kajkavian dialects. For example, one Kajkavian dialect, in the region of Bednja, has *kèket* for “rooster” and *kèkeš* for “hen” (Rinkovec). This is a typical example of Kajkavian non-advancement (Vermeer 1979). There are several problems with this explanation. First, it is not clear where these forms might have come from. Bednja, the best known Kajkavian neighbor of eastern Haloze has advancement in these forms. This question must remain open until more data is available from the Kajkavian dialects that border Haloze. The second problem with the borrowing explanation is that it is ad hoc. There is no reason to assume that these common “every-day” forms are borrowings except that they are difficult to explain. It must be admitted that it is possible that these forms are borrowings, but it is also possible that they are archaisms that did not advance in this dialect. Particularly *kòkoš* and *gòspod* are likely to be archaic because they represent the syllable structure least likely to advance according to Greenberg’s hierarchy, (short > short). It is difficult to come to any clear conclusions because there are so few attestations of this type of form, but they do add support to the idea that syllable weight plays a role in the advancement hierarchy.

Forms from Gorenjski Vrh:

vûtro ‘in the morning,’ *zlòžili* ‘put together,’ *ûbrali* ‘picked,’ *dôbu* ‘received,’ *dôbili*, *têško* ‘difficult,’ *lâhkò* ‘can,’ *pòzvau* ‘called,’ *zèbrali* ‘gathered,’ *zèbrala*, *vũžgali* ‘kindled,’ *vũžgi*, *pòžgali* ‘burned,’ *sęcę* ‘heart,’ *kòlo* ‘wheel,’ *òko* ‘eye,’ *dòli* ‘down,’ *skòru* ‘almost,’ *pròso* ‘millet,’ *mêso* ‘meat,’ *dâlo* ‘gave,’ *zâto* ‘therefore,’ *črêvo* ‘gut,’ *drêvo* ‘tree,’ *sâmò* ‘only,’ *mêsa* (gen. sg.), *glâvu* (acc. sg.) “head,” *zâkaj* ‘why,’ *zlâta* ‘gold,’ *ròku* (acc. sg.) “hand,” *lêsa* (gen. sg.) “wood,” *lũdi* (nom. pl.) “people,” *vòdu/vòdu* (acc. sg.) “water,” *dùma* ‘at home,’ *smèti* ‘garbage,’ *kòsti* (gen. sg.) “bone,” *pèči* (gen. sg.) “oven,” *gòspot* ‘mister,’ *gòspoda/gòspoda* (gen. sg.),

kòkòš ‘hen,’ *kòkòši* (nom. pl.), *jēsên* ‘fall,’ *věčēr* ‘evening,’ *pòkòsu* (< pòkosilъ) ‘mowed,’ *dèvęt* ‘nine,’ *gòlòp* ‘pigeon,’ *òrât* (sup.) “to plow,” *napîli* ‘got drunk,’ *navûčili* ‘taught,’ *vučît* (sup.) “to learn,” *sušît* (sup.) “to dry,” *sušili* ‘dried.’

Meje

The examples from Meje are interesting for circumflex advancement because they represent a transitional dialect. This transitional dialect helps to better define the stages of advancement. In Meje, all circumflex accents on disyllabic words with a closed second syllable except the ones with an intervening *jer* gave up the ictus to the following syllable, *kokòši* (nom. pl.) ‘hens,’ *večēr* ‘evening.’ In the case of open syllables, similar to what we see in Bednja, the syllable weight is important. When the structure is CVCV: or CV:CV:, the progressive shift always takes place, *domâ* ‘at home,’ *vodò* (acc. sg.) “water,” *nogò* (acc. sg.) ‘leg,’ *rokò* (acc. sg.) “arm,” *ludî* (nom. pl.) “people.” In the environments with a short second syllable, advancement is much more sporadic. For these syllable structures, both forms are attested in the dialect. For example, speakers use both *mesâ* (gen. sg.) “meat” and *mêso* (nom. sg.). It seems that an etymologically long vowel was more likely to attract the ictus during circumflex advancement. It may also be that at some earlier time Meje had a system much like Gorenjski Vrh, but contact with central Haloze has introduced many of the advanced forms that now occur on open syllables.

Forms from Meje:

têško ‘difficult,’ *zèbrala* ‘gathered,’ *kòlo/kolò* ‘wheel,’ *sřce* ‘heart,’ *mêso/mesò* ‘meat,’ *lêpo/lepò* ‘beautiful,’ *rokò* (acc. sg.) “hand,” *nočî* (gen. sg.) “night,” *ludî* (nom. pl.) “people,” *domâ* ‘at home,’ *nogò* (acc. sg.) “leg,” *po vòdu* (acc. sg.) “for water,” *vodò* (acc. sg.) “water,” *kokòšj* ‘hens,’ *večēr* ‘evening,’ *gòlòp* ‘pigeon,’ *napîlj* ‘got drunk,’ *sjšilj* ‘dried.’

This material from eastern and central Haloze supports Greenberg's assertion that advancement is a function of relative syllable weight between the first two syllables. Advancement is favored onto long and closed rather than short and open. The processes

involved in this advancement are interesting. It is likely that early in the development of the dialects of the Slovene language original Common Slavic circumflex shortened, as it did in all of Western Slavic and parts of Serbo-Croatian. This caused the following syllable to lengthen as a result of compensatory lengthening. In Slovene and parts of Kajkavian, that development produced a situation of ambiguity in which speakers had to abductively determine which syllable of the word had the pitch peak. In areas where advancement took place, the new long second syllable was evaluated as stressed and falling.⁴ It is interesting that in both Slovene and Kajkavian eventually distinctive quantity was lost in posttonic syllables. Slovene followed this course further in that it lost all quantity outside of the stressed syllable. On a speculative note, it may be that circumflex advancement was prevented in the Kajkavian and peripheral Slovene dialects discussed above by a relatively early loss of quantity distinctions in posttonic syllables.

Conclusions

One of the most important and necessary contributions to the field of historical accentology is new dialect information. This new information is so important because it provides new insights to help the field look at old problems in a new way or to confirm theories put forth by other scholars. Haloze is located in the right place to contribute to the understanding of Slovene prosodic developments, particularly old ones like circumflex advancement, because it is on the periphery of the Slovene speaking world where archaisms are expected. This is precisely what the Haloze material presented in this article does. It shows that circumflex advancement spread through Slovene and Kajkavian dialects according to syllable weight and structure.

Central Haloze is much like other Pannonian dialects. It has advancement in all environments except when a weak *jer* came between the first and second syllable of the word. Meje is an eastern Haloze village dialect in close contact with central Haloze dialects. This area is a transitional region in terms of circumflex advancement. It always has advancement on closed syllables, but advancement is more sporadic when the second syllable is open. Gorenjski Vrh is an example of a dialect with only limited advancement. The Common Slavic circumflex

⁴ See Greenberg 2000.

advanced there only when the second syllable was closed and most regularly if that syllable was long. Additionally, original length was preserved on these non-advanced forms.

There are two important points that arise from this discussion of circumflex advancement in Haloze. First, the existence or lack of circumflex advancement cannot be considered a marker of Sloveneness for the dialects in question. This development did not take place in several peripheral Slovene dialects, and in many of them the situation cannot be explained as a retraction. Furthermore, this development did take place on a limited scale in Kajkavian, Croatian dialects. Circumflex advancement is an innovation which spread out from the center of the Slovene speech territory and lost momentum near the peripheral dialects. This development can best be understood in terms of a hierarchy of advancement based on syllable weight and structure. Second, in terms of historical development, during the time of circumflex advancement, some time around the tenth century, eastern Haloze exhibits developments in its vocalic and prosodic systems closer to those in Bednja and other western Kajkavian dialects than those found in the rest of Haloze and in other Pannonian and Styrian Slovene dialects.

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POVZETEK

POMIK CIRKUMFLEKSA V HALOŠKIH GOVORIH

Pričujoča razprava išče v sodobnih slovenskih haloških govorih sledove najzgodnejšega splošnoslovenskega prozodičnega razvoja, tj. pomika cirkumfleksa. Razprava podpira tezo, da se je pomik cirkumfleksa širil v slovenskih in kajkavskih govorih glede na težo in strukturo zloga. Osrednji haloški govori imajo pomik v vseh položajih razen v primerih, ko je bil šibki polglasnik med prvim in drugim besednim zlogom. Vzhodnohaloški govori tvorijo prehodno področje, kar zadeva pomik cirkumfleksa. Dosledno imajo pomik na zaprti zlog, medtem ko je pomik na odprti zlog bolj sporadičen. V skrajno severovzhodnih haloških govorih pa najdemo pomik le v primerih, ko je drugi zlog zaprt, najbolj redno pa, če je ta zlog dolg. V primerih, kjer pomika ni, je ohranjena prvotna dolžina.