

**THE VOCALIC SYSTEM IN JAN BAUDOIN DE COURTENAY'S
OPYT FONETIKI REZ'JANSKIX GOVOROV**

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1.1. On the basis of the material in Jan Baudouin de Courtenay's *Opýt fonetiki rez'janskix govorov* (1875) I have analyzed the vowels and established the vocalic system which arises from this analysis.

It is a well-known fact that Baudouin de Courtenay [henceforward, BdC] distinguished length in his works on the Resian dialects. He had considerable difficulty, however, in determining in many cases whether the vowel of a word was long or short. Apart from signs for long and short (respectively, " ^ " and " ` ") in his *Opýt* he uses a special diacritic, viz. " ´ " for those accented vowels whose quantity he was not able to ascertain.

The analysis of the material in *Opýt* results in the vocalic system displayed in Table I.¹ /i u/ are phonetically long, /e q/ are phonetically short. /i u/ are missing in **G**.² **N** has a nasal variant [ɛ̃] occurring in the environment of the nasal consonants /m n/.

TABLE I:

i / î	i	u	u / ū
e / ē	e	o	o / ō
	a / ā		

1.2. The minimal and almost minimal pairs occurring in the data are displayed on Table II. The only words with long /e q/ are the ones listed above. Both the long /q/ words are of evident Romance origin, cf. Friulian *colôr* and *odôr*, both with [ō]. The forms for 'kamen' are dialect variants, /pêc/ in **GNO** and /pèñic/ in **SR**. The form /vêru/ from **RN**, with its Nsg /vîr/, appears to be an isolated case, at least as far as the *Opýt* is concerned.

1.3. A considerable number of word-forms in BdC's material show accentual variation. There is, however, very rarely any variation between long and short accents; more often, it is a matter of variation between a long or a short form on the one hand and an 'undetermined' form on the other. For examples, see Table III.

The only instances of variation between long and short vowels that I have found in *Opýt* are as follows (note the grammatical and dialectal limitations): (1) /norê/ *glupy* NApI = /norê/ **S glupy**e Npl; (2) /cîl/ **GNR**S = /ciu/ **OU cel**; and (3) /lîpçe/ = /liuče/ **OU** = /lîwçe/ **OU lučše**.

2.1. The systematic differences in the *Opýt* that occur between the various sub-dialects of Resia may be arranged as on Table IV:

TABLE II:

i	míša меньшая žíwa GN живая mañî менее	míš G мышь žíu жив nì они	míša обедня, ярмарка žíwjust пропитание dñí день Npl
e	pêt пять loncê горшок NApl gêr хвост	pêt пить loncê горшок Lsg gèt задница	tebé тебя Asg gêš R рожь
a	čâs время, раз Gpl pâs пояс zâd позади krâj = krâj ₁ король	čâs время, раз Nsg pâs N пец zât зять	čâsa время, раз Gsg krâj ₂ край
o	gòš цвет Gpl račó камень Isg žanô жена Isg	gòš русский očó V отец Nsg	gòš O рожь očó отец Asg žanó жена Asg
u	mûš муж, человек mûj мой	mûš G осел wûj G дядя	múj много
ɨ	sîŋ сын	∅	hîš R дом Gpl
ɛ	(pêč GNO камень) (vêru RN большой колодец Nsg)	pêhó SR камень kožê коза NApl DLsg koļenó колено Nsg koļenę колено NApl	dêsko S доска Ipl
ȯ	(kq̇lôŋ цвет) (oq̇ôŋ запах)	dôma дома, на родине d'ô da	dô do
ɥ	gûdy постоянно dûša душа	∅	gûsy желтый dûha дух Gsg

TABLE III:

i	tvîn = tvín твой Isg hčí = hčí дочь	guspudin = guspudín G хозяин jîuja = jîuja ива
e	otrokê = otroké ребенок NApl solzê = solzé слеза NApl	
a	krâj = krâj ₁ король ³ dwâ = dwâ два	wârba = wârba верба
o	tôrba = tórba сумка nasô = nasô сегодня вечером	orlôj = orlôj часы
u	mûc = mûc много	
ɨ	sînu = sînu сын Gsg mî = mî мы	
ɛ		mêra = mêra мера
ȯ		ôrsa = ôrsa овца
ɥ	trûdan = trûdan утомлен	dôma = dôma дом Gsg

TABLE IV:

I	G		NRSOU
II	G	NR	SOU
III		GNR	SOU
IV		GNRS	OU

Examples of these four dialectal variation types are set out on Table V (note a few minor sub-variations).

2.2. A more complicated kind of dialectal distribution appears in the data on Table VI. In quite a few cases accented /â/ varies with accented /ĕ/ in N: mâst = mĕst *maslo*, slâma = slĕma *soloma*. There is also an instance of free variation between stressed /b/ and /ĉ/: bôp = bĉp *bob, fasol'*; gòl = gĉl G = hòu = hĉu *OU gol(yj)*.

I have not been able to establish whether variations such as stòu = stù *sto*, damòu = damù *domoj*, sinòu = sinù *syn* Gpl, are in free variation or have a predictable distribution with respect to the villages in the Resia valley.

Finally, the distribution of the variants /â/ and /ò/ can, on the basis of the *Opyt*, be only partly established, cf. Table VII.⁵

3. It is clear that the above system, set up on the basis of the *Opyt*, reveals a number of problems, the most obvious of which is BdC's assumption of the existence of a quantitative opposition. It would therefore be worthwhile to investigate to what extent BdC's later publications on Resia (the most important of which for its wealth of texts is *Materialien*) are consistent or show a quite different pattern from the one based on *Opyt*.

The *Materialien*, in particular, are not easily accessible to a thorough analysis because of the enormous number of diacritics and other symbols used; the rather complicated way in which BdC published his subsequent corrections, improvements and additions to the texts, his translations of the texts, his headings, footnotes, etc.,—each time in separate lists, with the total number of pages amounting to 180; and, last but not least, the large quantity of material. It is hoped that such an analysis will sooner or later be undertaken by a persistent and conscientious scholar.

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REFERENCES

1. Following modern usage, I denote BdC's "y æ ö ü ě" by, respectively, ĭ ě ǫ ů ě. For typographical reasons, "č d" replace BdC's Cyrillic equivalents. In all other respects I follow the transcription of the original.
2. Like BdC I use the following abbreviations for the sub-dialects of the Resia valley: **G** = Bìla/San Giorgio, **R** = Rávanca/Prato, **O** = Osojáne/Oseacco, **N** = Níwa/Gniva, **S** = Sòlbica/Stolvizza **U** = Učjà/Uccea. In addition, NGDAIL in combination with sg dl pl denotes case and number; forms without such indications are in the Nsg.
3. Cf. kráj₂ *kraj*, with no variation, listed above.
4. V̇ is used to denote any stressed vowel.
5. The question mark denotes a form for which no sub-dialect area is noted in *Opyt*, but which I assume to be geographically restricted.

TABLE V:**Type I:**

G		NRSOU		
î	blîzu	î	blîzu	вблизи
í	planîna	í	planîna	пастбище на горах
û	şûş	û	şûş	засуха
ù	rùş GR	ò	ròş NRSOU	русский
†	hîrbat	è	(h)èrbat	
		à	hàrbat N	спина
	vîc		vêc, vâc N	более, много

Type II:

G		NR		SOU		
u	î	bubiç	u	è	bubèc	фасоль
u	û	klubûk	u	û	klubûk	шляпа
î	î	pitilîn	î	è	petilèn	петух
u	î	kuşîşçe	u	î	kuşîşçe	косовище
î	pîr	á	par	∅	p'r	при
	pîrvî		pârvî N			первый
	tîrga		târha N			город Gsg

Type III:

GNR		SOU	
î	bisîda	e	besîda
u	mîhku	o	mîhko
	kubîla		kobîla

слово
мягко
кобыла

Type IV:⁴

GNRs		OU	
∇î	bîl	∇u	bîu
	gòl = hòl		hòu
	mál		màu
	bòlna		bòuna
ûl	bûlna	û	bûna
	bûl		bû
jV	jéřo	∅V	éřo
	krâja		krâa

бел(ый)
гол(ый)
мал(ый)
больна
больна
болезнь
священник
король Gsg

TABLE VI:

G	N	R	S	OU	
î/é	à	à/é	à/é	é/ó/á	
čîrnî	čárnî		čèrnî	čèrnî	черный
vîc = vèc	vâc	vèc	vèc	vèc	более, много
vès, vîsî DLsg	vàs	vàs	vâse Apl	vâsî Gsg	деревня
tèrk, tîrga Gsg	târh			.	город
	râş	réş		rôş	рожь

TABLE VII:

kotlà ?	kotlò U		котел NAdl
wàrt ?	wòrt RO		сад
wàrh NR	wòrh O	wùrh G	вершина, гора
hàrlò N	hòrlò O		горло

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POVZETEK

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JANA BAUDOUINA DE COURTENAYA**

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