



EKAVIAN, IJEKAVIAN AND IKAVIAN DIALECTS IN THE FORMER SOKOLSKA NAHIJA IN WESTERN SERBIAIN THE 18TH, 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

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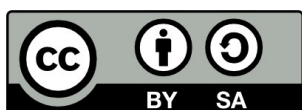
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This essay deals with the dialects ekavian, Ijekavian and Ikavian dialects in the former Sokolska nahija in Western Serbia, that were in use in the former region of Serbia known as Sokolska nahija. Sokolska nahija consisted of the right basin of the Drina River, that is, Serbia, from the southernmost point of the Zavaljanska village of Zapolje near Bajina Bašta, all the way to the bottom of the Zvornik Gorge. The name Sokolska nahija originates from the rule of Turkey and was derived from the city of Soko. nahija place, fortification, fortress and belonged to the Zvornik Pasha in nearby Bosnia.

Vladimir Karić introduced the term Gornje Podrinje for Sokolska nahija, which according to him encompassed much more territory in the southern part than the region called Sokolska nahija. When it comes to dialects in this part of Serbia at that time, the Ijekavian dialect was dominant, but there was also Ikavian speech. At that time, there was no Ikebian dialect in this part of Serbia. According to Vuk Karadžić, in his time at the beginning of the 19th century, the Ijekavian dialect was quite dominant in Serbia. Today, it has withdrawn from Serbia, it almost does not exist.

Valuable data for this purpose was provided by Ljuba Pavlović, the director of the gymnasium in Šabac, who in 1908 set off south of Šabac on a true scientific research adventure, to the mountainous right side of the Drina River in Serbia, which he repeated during 1911, 1912 and 1913. He continued his research from 1920 to 1926. He immortalized his findings in the collection of monographs SOKOLSKA NAHIJA published by the Serbian Royal Academy in 1930.



What is important for this purpose is that he also established the Ikavian dialect in this region, and it is interesting that he also learned about the local use of the western dialect - the Ikavian dialect. The fact that he established the western dialect in the Sokolska Nahija in Serbia means that there were settlers from Dalmatia and the western parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina in this region, where Ikavian is spoken.

When it comes to the presence of the Ikavian dialect in Western Serbia, this time in the Sokolska Nahija, this phenomenon attracted the special attention of Professor Ljubo Pavlović. In the introductory remarks in the book *Sokolska nahija*, he states that the famous ethnologist Jovan Cvijić, at a scientific meeting on the eve of Christmas in 1913, requested him to deepen his research by mentioning Dalmatians and Westerners in Sokolska nahija. For the sake of simplification, I will use a few simple examples of words to show the differences between these three dialects, Ekavian, Ijekavian and Ikavian:

- the word REKA (river in English) is in the Ekavian dialect with the letter E, RIJEKA in Ijekavian with the letters IJE, RIKA would be in the Ikavian dialect, with the letter I.

- the word STENA (stone in English) in the Ekavian dialect with the letter E. in Ijekavian STIJENA with the letters IJE, STINA would be in the Ikavian dialect, with the letter I. T

- the word *brižani*, in Ikavian, comes from the word breg (hill in English), brežani.

For the sake of understanding the presentation, I will show where in Serbia today which of

these three dialects is spoken.

According to today's encyclopedias, the dialects of the Serbian language spoken on the territory of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, in the southeast border with the dialects of the Bulgarian and Macedonian languages, and in the western areas they border or intertwine with the dialects of the Croatian and Bosnian languages. They belong to a dialect continuum that originally arose in the areas of medieval Serbian states, and then spread due to the migration movements of the Serbian population.

Dialects of the Serbian language are classified based on two criteria: reflexes of the flock and prosody. According to the first criterion, they are divided into dialects of Ekavian, Ijekavian and Ikavian pronunciation, with the

possibility of their combinations (e.g. Ekavian-Ijekavian or Ekavian-Ikavian). The second criterion is based on the degree of development of accentuation, and on this basis they are divided into: Old Štokavian, Middle Štokavian and New Štokavian dialects.

And when it comes to studying the origin of the Ikavian speech in the Sokolska nahija, it is connected with the settlements of Dalmatians and newcomers from the western regions, from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, because Ikavian is spoken there.

According to scientific sources, the Ikavian pronunciation (also Ikavica, Ikavština, is one of the pronunciations of the Serbian language and the only one that is not accepted in the standard language, unlike the Ekavian and Ijekavian, as well as previously in the Serbo-Croatian language standard.

The vernaculars that use the Ikavian pronunciation are certain dialects of Dalmatia, Istria, as well as some dialects of Slavonia and Vojvodina in Serbia, as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Ikavian pronunciation is one of the main features of the Croatian Čakavian dialect, although there are also Ekavian and Ijekavian Čakavian dialects. In the Štokavian dialect, the younger Ikavian dialect is the most widespread, spoken in northern Dalmatia and a large part of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the Ikavian pronunciation, the Old Slavic letter jat is consistently replaced by the letter i. In some Ikavian dialects, however, the influence of Ijekavica and Ekavica is also noticeable (in the regions of from Rijeka northward, the Ekavian and Ikavian pronunciations are mixed as part of the Čakavian dialect). Ikavica has a written tradition in literature. The influences of this pronunciation are found in Dubrovnik and Dalmatian literature, as well as in the modern (correct) literary language.

The presence of the Ikavian dialect in the Sokolska nahija can therefore be explained by the settlement of this region by newcomers from Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, mostly miners, but there were also farmers. In the 17th century, mainly miners from Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina began to settle, mostly speaking Ikavian.

According to Ljuba Pavlović, those from Dalmatia and the western regions made up nearly 10% of the total population of the then Sokolska nahija, the most numerous of whom later came from Montenegro, Herzegovina, Stari

Vlach, and Bosnia. Professor Pavlović claims that there are almost no natives in this region. Where did they disappear to then?

According to some sources, after the First and Second Serbian Uprisings against the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 19th century, the new Serbia found mostly empty territories in Šumadija and Central Serbia. It is possible that in the Sokolska nahija, Professor Pavlović did not register the natives, because the Orthodox were massively converted to Islam, which seems to have been the case in this region of Serbia. When liberated Serbia was created in the 19th century, they emigrated en masse to neighboring Bosnia, where Turkish rule persisted.

One detail speaks about the methods of Islamization of Christians. A Serbian boy was promised a beautiful Muslim girl, but to earn her he had to steal a loaf of bread from the hallway of a Serbian householder before Christmas.

Many words from the Ikavian dialect have been preserved in this part of Serbia to this day, such as: the word *stena* in the Ikavian dialect is pronounced *stina*, in Podrinje they say about a difficult life situation - *Gore stina dole Drinna*, there is also a pronunciation in Ikavian *stijena*. *Drina* is a large, fast river that divides Serbia and Bosnia, sometimes a river, or a river, but also a creek. Village of *Postenje*, *Postijenje*, *Postinje*. name *Stepo*, *Stijepo*, *Stipo*. *Mleko* (Milk), *mleko*, *mlijeko*, *mliko*.

From parts of Ljubo Pavlović's monograph *Sokolska nahija*, numerous treatises have been extracted that testify to the presence of the Ikavština in this region of Serbia. On page 347 of the monograph, Professor Pavlović claims that newcomers from Dalmatia and the west settled around the mines, because they were usually miners, but over time they also became cattle breeders and farmers. They were mostly Catholics, but there were also Orthodox Christians. Over time, they all became Orthodox Christians. They scattered around, throughout Serbia, and outside it, where there were mines. They spoke the Ikavian dialect, the name Theodore was pronounced as *Tiodor*, *Stepan Stipan*, *Tešan Tišan*, *Stevan Stivan*, *Postenje Postinje*, *Zvezda Zvizda*, *Preseka Priseka*, *Pleskovo-Pliskovo*, *Okletac-Oklitac*, *Trešnjica-Trišnjica*, *Presedlo Prisedlo*, *Reka Rika*, etc.

It is known that in the Balkans, Orthodox Christians were usually converted to Catholicism. In the Sokolska nahija, it was the opposite, because Catholics were few in number, there were no Catholic places of worship nearby.

The names of the settled families from the Ikavian region are different from those found, such as: *Margitić*, *Albijanić*, *Pepeljci*, *Ćeranić*, *Narandžić*, *Puljezi*, *Marčetić*. But some settlers from the western regions had Serbian surnames, such as the *Vasić* from *Gornja Bukovica*.

Pavlovć's information is interesting that the Muslims from the Sokolska nahija around Mali Zvornik in Western Serbia spoke a Western-Ikavian dialect. Linguists recognize these three dialects in other South Slavic languages as well.

The Serbian word *reka* in the Ikavian dialect, in Bosnian, Montenegrin and Croatian is *rijeka*, in Slovenian it is *reka*, as well as in Macedonian, in Bulgarian and Russian *reka*, in Slovak *rieka*, in Czech *reka*, in Ukrainian *rika*. So, in the word river in some Slavic languages, *ekavština*, *jekavština* and *ikavština* are observed. For researchers, the information about the mass of *ikavština* in the Ukrainian language should be significant: The name of the city of Lviv in Western Ukraine, in Serbian is *Lavov*, in Ukrainian Kiev is *Kiev*. The river *reka* in Serbian is *rika* in Ukrainian, the *stena* (rock) is *stina*, the *pesma* (song) is *pisna*, etc. The true regularity of the Ikav dialect in the Ukrainian language is observed.

How to explain this?

Is it in connection with the migrations of Slavs from the Ukrainian areas to the Balkan Peninsula, meaning primarily to Croatia, Dalmatia and parts of western Bosnia? Or are there some other ethnic, religious influences?

The Vatican archives should contain answers to this enigma. One thing should be known, the Vatican had, and has, top scholars. The Catholicization of Dalmatia and the Balkans began long before the penetration of the Catholic Church into Ukraine at most in the 16th century. The experts Vatican prelates knew the Slavs and their spirit, including linguistic peculiarities, well in those ancient times. It is quite reasonable to assume that they noticed, since the Slavs were a topic of primary importance for them, the similarity of the inhabitants of Ukraine with those Ikavians from the Balkans. And it should be known that the Vatican Catholic Church had loyal subjects among the Croats, Slovenes and Catholicized Serbs from those regions, some of whom, logically, Vatican personnel could appoint to the positions of friars in churches in Ukraine. This question can also be asked this way, does this mean that the Ikavians were brought to the Balkans by Slavic

tribes from Ukrainian areas, and the Ekavians and Ijevans by Slavic tribes outside Ukraine?

For us from these regions, the Ukrainian language is more understandable than Russian, Ukrainian folk songs are more similar to ours than Russian ones, the Ukrainian spirit is more similar to us, than Russian. Ukraine is closer to us geographically. The Slavs are blond, when they came to the Balkans, or according to some theories, the natives of the Balkans, mixed with the autochthonous population, black-haired. Serbs are often dark brown, but with greenish eyes, because the indigenous current was more present in the territory of Serbia. In Croatia, this current was less numerous, and therefore Croats are on average lighter in than Serbs. The Slovenes are the blondest because the concentration of native Slavs was most present there.

Pavlović mentions in the Sokolska nahija there certain intolerances arose among some settlers, a certain feeling of superiority of those western regions and a strong penetration of Montenegrin and Herzegovinian settlers from the mountains who suppressed those who had moved there before them. The Sondy test was developed by the Hungarian psychiatrist Leopold Sondy in 1935, who intended to discover a person's hidden traits, parts of themselves that they push into their subconscious. Psychiatrist Sondy believed in "genotropism", a theory that claims that similar people attract each other. Based on this, he created a test that consisted of photographs of people with different facial expressions. The patient was supposed to choose the most pleasant and the most unpleasant faces, and the idea is that a person identifies with "similar" people and that their choice of photograph can indicate certain personality traits.

Interesting views on the personality types of the Balkan man were expressed by Jovan Cvijić. When we compare people from different climates, we see that they differ from each other, both in character and appearance. We can notice that people who come from the same region have some common traits, which have become a characteristic of that place. claims Jovan Cvijić in his book "Balkan Peninsula". He distinguished the Dinaric, Central, East Balkan and Pannonian types of man. He paid the most attention to the Dinaric type, which includes the largest part of the population. The Dinaric type of man prevails in Moravian Serbia, Herzegovina and Croatia. Since this type is widespread over a large area, we distinguish many

variants. Thus, we have subtypes such as: Šumadija type, Herzegovina, Cetinje type, Semićan type, etc.

According to Jovan Cvijić, the Dinaric people are characterized by a tall and slender stature; they have strong bones, developed muscles, long arms and legs, a strong and long neck. The skull is short and flat at the back as if it had been cut off, the temples are high, the lower jaw is pronounced, the face is narrow and oblong, the forehead is high, protruding and wide. The nose is set back, prominent, long and often curved at the end, the chin is broad and massive, the lips are strong, and the mouth is wide. The eyes are deep-set, large and dark brown, just like the hair, which is strong and more often straight than curly. The eyebrows are prominent and lowered. The skin is dull brown. Serbs make up three-quarters of this type. No further claims that the Dinar people have a lively spirit and a subtle intelligence. They are imaginative, impulsive, fair, patriarchal and moral. They look very rough, but they are quite sensitive and emotional. They value pride, honor and have a strong fear of shame. Their faith is strong, and their trust is boundless. They have national consciousness and heroic blood. They know how to be arrogant, vain and careless towards women, but they are still warm-hearted, hospitable and warm people.

The Dinar people are connected to nature and it is said that no other people has grown so close to nature as this one. Because of this, they have particularly developed senses of sight, hearing and smell. They are well oriented in space. It is said that they feel the noise and whisper of nature, from the gurgling of springs and the rustling of leaves, to underground sounds and tremors. As imaginative people turned to nature, they invented various mystical creatures such as fairies, winged horses, and water spirits. They are connected to all these creatures, because they influence their lives, and there are customs and rituals that must be respected. The Dinarics believe in the supernatural, and especially in God and fate, which determine everything and without which nothing can happen.

The former Sokolska nahija is the father's homeland, and not far away is Bratunac in neighboring Eastern Bosnia, the mother's homeland. As a student, I would spend my childhood and summers in my parents' homeland, absorbing the visible and not yet sufficiently recognizable flickers of the damars cods of my native Dinaric region. All these past decades, until today, I have been curiously

observing around me, studying these people, their spirit, and physical appearance. Even as a student, I was passionately captivated by the color of hair, eyes, and skin tone. A good part of the locals from the homeland, maybe a third to a half, were blonde. Most were brown or dark brown, and black-haired, but an interesting discovery, most, even those with black hair, mostly had green or yellowish-greenish eyes of a dove color. That's when I concluded that there were white and black Serbs. So to speak, half of the village was blonde like Russians or Germans and half like distant Mediterraneans.

I didn't notice that the locals' sympathies were divided depending on hair color. In families, the brother was blonde, the sister was black-haired. No one noticed anything unusual there. However, there were also signs of mutual reactions depending on the color of hair and complexion. That did not escape my curiosity. Grandfather, father's father was very blond, tall, narrow hips and broad shoulders, very strong but slim, a picturesque mountaineer, that's how I imagined the old Slavs. His head was not bulky, more of medium size, with strong jaws, a higher forehead, straight, the head flattened at the top above the neck. There were relatives with dark brown and darker complexions, strong build, thick, drawn eyebrows and a strong beard. Rare were skinny. All of them were, so to speak, of strong build, with a pronounced repulsive, pitiful prejudice against the thinner ones, they would humiliate them with the naive "šiljo" and "špicasti". They were strong-shouldered, muscular, capable of working in the fields and manual labor. It was a real shame for someone to play the piano, those who became administrative officials were valued and looked down upon, some called them with a certain pejorative decadence "čate".

In the post-war II years, the inhabitants were on average young, the village was teeming with youth, cattle, expanded along the Drina and along the mountains, the songs of shepherdesses and the sounds of flutes echoed. Over time, the number of villagers decreased, aging was noticeable, habits and customs gradually changed, there were more and more people who had pensions after a century of employment outside the village, the demographic structure also changed. Today's villages have a significantly smaller population, are significantly older than before, and health conditions have changed. Mechanization has taken hold, many households have cars, agricultural machinery,

and tractors. Traditional Serbian feasts and collective harvests have disappeared. Weddings and celebrations were organized according to strict Orthodox customs, which have been preserved to a considerable extent. Fairs are no longer what they were before, they are less visited, except for a few, the national Orthodox spirit is giving way to commercialization, the number of tents where all kinds of goods are sold. I notice that a significant percentage have personal computers, and almost all have mobile phones, that they are very familiar with digitalization, especially the younger generations.

When it comes to character, I have noticed the occasional tendency of exemplary hosts, loyal neighbors, to explode around the borders and property, thunder with foaming voices, and flash sparks. But I did not notice that there were any real physical confrontations. They are very united, they all gather together in mobs, harvest, dig, pick corn. They respect and appreciate each other. Godfathership and neighborliness are sacred. Until the beginning of the 20th century, large family cooperatives existed, which disappeared over time. The inhabitants of this region were very religious, over time, religiosity faded, but to this day they celebrate holidays and festivals. They respected the cult of family, children. In the evenings, they would sit on warm nights and talk about vampires and apparitions until late hours.

Those Sokoljani around Ljubovija are called Krivotorbići, and the further south you go towards Bajina Basta they are called Era. There are certain differences between them, the former are more solid hosts, and Era are more spiritually oriented. Perhaps Jung would have found extroverts and introverts among them. Jung and Freud respected each other, but there were also differences in views between them when it comes to libido, personal and collective unconscious, and also when it comes to defense mechanisms. I had the opportunity to follow subtle reactions, and linguistic slips, I tried to be absorbed in Jung's teachings and Freud's understanding of the subconscious of the personal unconscious.

At a local feast in the middle of the freezing winter, a tall, hulking blond man appeared at the door of a room full of smiling highlanders. He noticed the cheerful attendees and a large roasted beef head in the middle of the table. He wanted to say, "God helps, happy feast, but he interrupted. Roasted beef head, people were smiling. I listened

to an older woman reciting songs, imitating the throaty song of a dove: "What are you doing here, with someone else's wife, in someone else's house," Which was an ode to marital loyalty. Who was right, Freud or Jung, who tried to challenge Freud's view on libido and sexuality, even calling libido the thanatos pulse. I think both brilliant thinkers were right, each in their own way.

In middle age and later years of life, I studied Jung's theories of personality and the collective unconscious. Recognizing everything around me, I came to the conclusion that the world in that region of Serbia was changing. Yes, it has changed.

Among the central concepts of Jung's analytical psychology is individuation — the lifelong psychological process of differentiating the self from the conscious and unconscious elements of each individual. Jung considered this to be the main task of human development. Individuation as Jung saw it inspired me to interpret changes in the personality and psychology of people in this part of Serbia within the spectrum of his theory. Jung developed the concept of the collective unconscious, as one of the influences on the emergence and development of personality. By this he meant general predispositions that are characteristic of all people or certain groups of people. Initially, he believed that the collective unconscious was characteristic of each family, then the nation, but in his later works he rejected this national interpretation of the collective unconscious. During his research and travels around the world, Jung established the existence of certain symbols in all cultures and, according to him, they represent the collective unconscious of all humanity. Just as all human beings have two hands with five fingers in the physical sense, so all human beings have some common aspiration in the spiritual sense, that is, a collective unconscious consisting of several archetypes.

Reading the works of the French psychologist Pierre Janet, I learned of his opinion that there is no difference between the collective unconscious of an African native and a modern Western man. Personality is determined by past events, as well as by planning for the future. The unconscious, for Jung, is not only a repository of bad instincts, but also a source of wisdom. In addition to the personal unconscious, which includes many complexes, the inherited and superpersonal, collective unconscious plays a particularly important role in mental life.

This time, my attention was particularly captured by Jung's theory; according to Jung, personality develops throughout life, but he paid special attention to the process of spiritual development in the second half of life, when the focus of personality shifts from the I to the Self. This path of spontaneous self-development and self-fulfillment, on which the personality meets its Person, Shadow, Anima/Animus and Mana—personality, Jung called individuation. Personality is a self-regulatory system that develops with the help of a compensation mechanism, through which it constantly strives for an ever-more complete balance.

From the end of World War II until today, there have been ups and downs in the lives of these people, but also downs, crises, wars, all kinds of social breakdowns and injustices, sanctions. In such limiting and, one might say, repressive circumstances, a specific spiritual development of the inhabitants of Podrinje emerged. Those earlier robust, picturesque mountinners, full of enthusiasm and pride, passionate believers, raised with folk songs and myths, under the influence of everything that happened in the past decades, from the catacombs of the subconscious and instincts, they realized that other times had come. Now they were no longer picturesque mountinners, they looked more like pale, worried residents of nearby larger cities.