

Contrasts in Demographic Structure and Linguistic Variation

on the Island of Korčula and the Pelješac Peninsula, Yugoslavia

Linda A. Bennett, Anita Sujoldžić & Pavao Rudan

Bennett, Linda A., Anita Sujoldžić & Pavao Rudan: Contrasts in Demographic Structure and Linguistic Variation on the Island of Korčula and the Pelješac Peninsula, Yugoslavia. – *Ethnologia Europaea* XIX: 141–168.

Around 800 A.D. the Adriatic Island of Korčula and adjacent Pelješac Peninsula commenced upon distinct courses in population movement, the results of which are evident today in demographic structure and linguistic patterns. This divergence encompasses contrasting experiences in political control, land tenure, economic development, epidemics, and physical-social isolation. Korčula and Pelješac fell under different political-economic spheres of influence, which imposed different restrictions upon land tenure and population mobility. Korčula retained relatively greater autonomy and isolation, while Pelješac was the regular recipient of off-peninsular settlers. As a consequence, demographic characteristics of the current population of Pelješac reflect a "mechanical" increase over the past twelve centuries while expansion on Korčula has been based mainly upon natural population growth. Additionally, Korčula exhibits more clearly defined dialect areas while Pelješac is linguistically more heterogeneous.

Prof. Linda A. Bennett, Department of Anthropology, Memphis State University, Memphis, Tennessee, 38152, USA. Prof. Anita Sujoldžić and prof. dr. Pavao Rudan, Department of Anthropology, Institute for Medical Research and Occupational Health, University of Zagreb, Zagreb, 41,000 Yugoslavia.

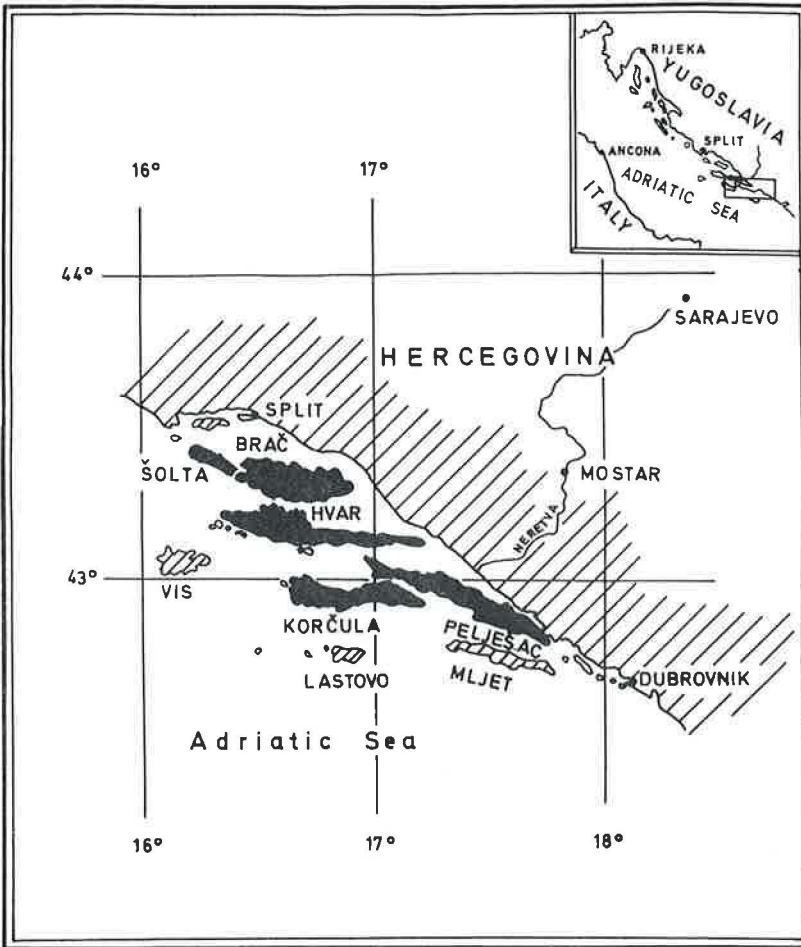
Introduction

The Adriatic Island of Korčula and the adjacent Pelješac Peninsula are part of the Dalmatian region of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Yugoslavia. Administratively, Korčula and the western region of Pelješac belong to the commune of Korčula, and the eastern territory of Pelješac is included within the commune of Dubrovnik, a major coastal city to the south (See Map 1). Separated by only a few kilometers, Korčula and Pelješac evidence similar terrain, climate, and flora and fauna. The people living on both the island and the peninsula are of Slavic ancestry, and speak dialects of the Slavic Croato-Serbian language. During prehistoric and early historic times, these territories were home to Neolithic Non-Indo-Europe-

ans, Indo-Europeans, Proto-Illyrians, Illyrians, Greeks, and Romans. Waves of Slavic immigrants from the mainland settled Korčula and Pelješac beginning in the sixth century, establishing nucleated villages primarily in the interior parts and basing their livelihood upon agriculture, livestock raising, fishing, and seafaring. For many centuries viticulture was a central part of the local economies of both Korčula and Pelješac, and more recently, tourism, small industry, and boat building have developed into important economic activities.

Amid the many apparent similarities in natural and human ecology, the current village populations of Korčula and Pelješac exhibit distinctive linguistic patterns with respect to the local speech idioms and evidence contrasting demographic structures. In this article, we

Map 1. The Central Dalmatian Region, S.R. Croatia, Yugoslavia.



demonstrate how these differences are related to a divergence in sociocultural development and population structure that began over one thousand years ago. These factors are addressed: type of political control by outside powers, land tenure restrictions, immigration and emigration patterns, local geographical mobility, economic opportunities and adversities, frequency and magnitude of epidemics, and extent of physical and social isolation. We adopt a diachronic, comparative approach in examining the parallels and divergences between these two proximal regions. Rather than presenting an in-depth, village-level analysis, we draw considerably upon macro-level data as a means for making comparisons between villages and, most importantly, between Korčula

and Pelješac. As Stoklund does in his community-level research of the Danish island community of Læsø (1985), we are interested in identifying internal and external stimulants for change and continuity in these village populations. We pay particular attention to their position within the wider cultural context. As Gamst points out with respect to studies of peasant societies, "A true holistic approach ... must be grounded in a study of a peasant community *and* its relations to the complex society of which it is a part ... (1974: 12).

The term "village" as used in this article denotes a type of community that historically, at least, has been based upon an agricultural, fishing, seafaring, and/or livestock raising economic way of life. Although some of these vil-

lages are, in fact, quite large (with a few thousand or more people during some eras), they are notably culturally distinct from the towns on Korčula and Pelješac which have served as administrative and business centers and which have had a cultural tradition oriented predominantly to towns and cities off the island and the peninsula. Reining and Lenkerd (1980) note that villages have been the most common type of settlement since the Neolithic, but ordinarily they have not held much political sway nor have they been centers of wealth, much more typical features of towns and cities. In line with this type of distinction, the villages on Korčula and Pelješac have been dominated throughout much of their history by the political centers of Dubrovnik and Venice.

In this article we also evaluate the extent to which we can consider the villages on Korčula and Pelješac to be "viable communities" in the late twentieth century. To do so, we apply Mead's definition of a village as "a community in which it is possible for every resident to know every other person living there," and where there is "some awareness of the settlement as a community, continuity over time, the presence of at least three living generations, and a belief in the possibility of continuity of membership in the future" (1980: 19).

The material presented here is part of an anthropological study of biological and cultural microdifferentiation among isolated village populations in the Adriatic region of Yugoslavia being carried out in the holistic anthropological tradition advanced by Angel (1946), Harrison and Boyce (1972); Howells (1966); and Wright (1931). The data reported on here were collected by members of the Department of Anthropology, Institute of Medical Research and Occupational Health of the University of Zagreb, Yugoslavia in collaboration with anthropologists from the United States and Great Britain. This "bilateral" project is being conducted through the support and cooperation of the Smithsonian Institution (e.g., Bennett et al., 1983; Smolej et al. 1987; Sujoldžić et al. 1986; 1988; Rudan, Angel, and Bennett 1986; Rudan et al. 1986; 1987). The research team includes biological anthropologists, medical doctors with various specializations, sociocul-

tural anthropologists, demographers, and linguists.

The study of living village populations on Korčula and Pelješac is based, in part, upon data obtained from a census-derived random sample of 1,168 inhabitants (578 men and 590 women) between the ages of 18 and 65 living in the eight villages on Korčula and of 1,170 inhabitants (623 men and 447 women) from the ten villages studied on Pelješac. This article also draws upon ethnohistorical, linguistic, demographic, economic, and medical data reported by other researchers, as well as census records and archival materials. Original field data were obtained through interviews and biological examination of the entire sample. Interviews encompass demographic, genealogical, linguistic, nutrition, and alcohol consumption information. Biological assessments include anthropometric, physiological cardio-respiratory, hemogenetic, dermatoglyphic, and hand X-ray data. The overall goal of the study is to trace biocultural variation over space and time as seen in isolated populations (Rudan, Angel, and Bennett, 1986).

Korčula-Pelješac Parallels

At first glance, the Island of Korčula and the Pelješac Peninsula appear more similar than different. This is particularly the case with respect to physical environment, architecture, and economic conditions. Nucleated villages on Korčula and Pelješac are surrounded by vineyards and olive groves and are situated within reach of the highly indented coastline along the Adriatic Sea – if not immediately on it. The terrain, flora and fauna, climate, and economic livelihood are clearly Mediterranean (Sweet and O'Leary, 1969). The population is Slavic in origin; and the language, Croat-Serbian. Until the post-World War II period, communities on Korčula and Pelješac were relatively cut-off from the outside world and to a very great extent from each other. Only during the past forty years has the coming and going of the inhabitants and people from outside the region accelerated, and communication with the mainland become a regular part of life.

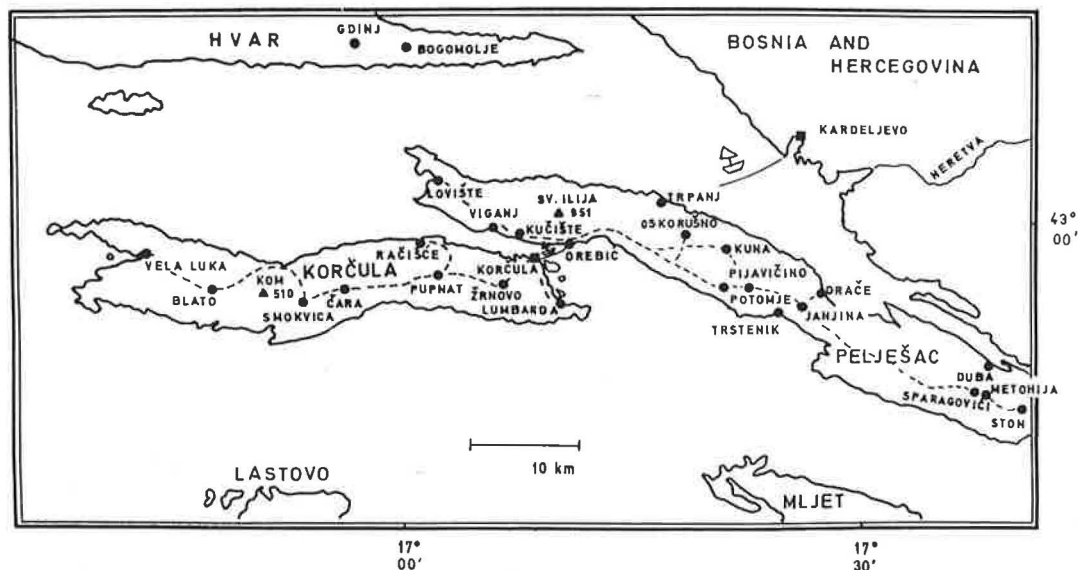
Table 1. Historical summary of population settlement and political control of Korčula and Pelješac.

Korčula	Pelješac
cca. 3000 B.C. Neolithic, non-Indo-European population settlement	
cca. 2000 B.C. Proto-Illyrian, Illyrian Indo-European settlement	
cca. 400 B.C. Greek colonization	
cca. 200 B.C. Roman administration and economic-cultural development	
cca. 500 A.D. Byzantine rule	
6–7th centuries, First wave of Slavic migrations and major population settlement	
1000 Pietro Orseolo II (Venice) occupation following strong local resistance	1018–1040 Byzantine rule
11th century, Part of Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom	9th–14th centuries, Zahumlje Province, Bosnian and Croatian rule
1125 Reoccupied for Venice by Poponi Zorzi, who then became governor	
1214 Independent statute for the island (reportedly the oldest such statute in Dalmatia)	
1254, Reassertion of Zorzi family rule, with assistance of Venice	1333–1808 Dubrovnik Republic rule
1358 Treaty of Zadar, followed first by Hungarian-Croatian, then by Stijepan Tvrtko of Bosnia, and later by Dubrovnik Republic rule	
1420–1797, Venetian rule	
16th–18th centuries, Second wave of Slavic migrations and settlement	14th–18th centuries. Second continuous wave of Slavic migrations and settlement
1797–1805, Austrian rule	
1806, France, later Russian fleet	
1807–1814, French rule under Napoleon (Illyrian Province)	
1813–1814, British fleet	
1815–1918, Austrian rule	
World War I	
1921 Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes;	1918
1929, Kingdom of Yugoslavia	
World War II, Italian and German Occupation	
1945–present, SFR Yugoslavia	

Prehistoric and Early Historic Periods

Extensive ethnohistorical records for the region of Dalmatia – including Korčula and Pelješac – are provided by population censuses collected and preserved by the local Roman Catholic churches and civil authorities over the past five centuries. Additionally, this area has been of considerable interest to archaeologists, historians, physical anthropologists,

and linguists, and the scholarly tradition of ethnological studies of the region is substantial (e.g., Fisković, 1970; Foretić, 1940; 1970; Gji-voje, 1969; and Ivić, 1957). Thus, we can consider this region to be based in the tradition of “Europe and the people *with* history” (Wolf, 1982). Numerous archaeological sites have been excavated. In the summer of 1985, for example, two human skeletons were found in a



Map. 2. The Island of Korčula and the Pelješac Peninsula.

cave above Vela Luka on the western end of Korčula. The cave had been inhabited as early as the fifth millennium B.C. Dating from the third millennium, the skeletons probably represent the oldest known human remains on the Adriatic islands (Čečuk, 1986).

Korčula and Pelješac share a relatively common prehistoric and early historic pattern of occupation and settlement. As indicated in Table 1, both were inhabited by Neolithic Non-Indo-Europeans in approximately 3000 B.C. (Fisković, 1970). The Proto-Illyrians and Illyrians were the first major groups to settle the area in substantial numbers, arriving about 2000 B.C. The Illyrians constituted the basic population for centuries to come (Foretić, 1940; Gjivoje, 1969) (See Table 1).

The Greeks founded colonies on Korčula and Pelješac in approximately 400 B.C. As evidenced by archaeological remains, they left a notable legacy. Two centuries later the Romans arrived and established their own administrative system; they made a particular imprint on economic and cultural development for the next seven centuries. Both the Greeks and the Romans influenced the region by introducing new cultural elements, but they left behind relatively few colonists. The Roman settlers who did remain inhabited the coastal

areas, and the earlier Illyrian inhabitants stayed in the interior and maintained small, isolated communities in inaccessible parts (Fisković, 1970). At this point, Korčula and Pelješac were culturally pluralistic in that different communities exhibited their own special ethnic character. For example, the town of Korčula was predominantly Roman, the village of Lumbarda was Greek, and most of the villages on Korčula were Illyrian (Foretić, 1940; Gjivoje, 1969) (See Table 1 and Map 2).

With the decline of the Roman Empire, the Byzantines took control of the area about 500 A.D. In the sixth and seventh centuries, the island and peninsula were recipients of the first major migration wave of Slavs, who from that point on constituted by far the largest group. The arrival of the Slavs resulted in substantial changes in population structure, as the new immigrants assimilated much of the other remaining ethnic groups. They also introduced a new language and various other cultural features, especially those associated with agriculture. Consequently, the villages developed a Pan-Slavic character, while retaining many features of the former Illyrian, Greek, and Roman cultures (Gjivoje, 1969; Protić, 1976, 1978; Skok, 1950).

Following this first major influx of Slavic



Vela Luka ("large bay"), the largest community on Korčula, a fishing, boat building, touristic, industrial, and agricultural community, on the west coast of the island.

peoples, political and economic developments and patterns of population settlement on Korčula and Pelješac began to diverge into distinct directions. These differences had a major impact on the demographic and linguistic characteristics of the populations as they have evolved over the past one thousand years. Before specifying those ethnohistorical contrasts, however, we review the commonalities seen in the natural ecology, arrangement of settlements, basic economic structure, and means of communication and transportation.

Natural Ecology and Contemporary Settlements

One of the most populous islands and the sixth largest in the Adriatic Sea, Korčula is 46.8 km long and 7.8 km wide at its broadest point. It is the southernmost island in the Central Dalmatian island group, based upon historic and cultural orientation and geomorphologic features

(Kalogjera, 1969). The Pelješac Peninsula lies adjacent to Korčula and is separated from it by three km at the narrowest sea route. Pelješac is the second largest peninsula on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, measuring 65 km in length and 10 km across at its widest point and 4 km at its most narrow section (Crkvenčić, 1960) (See Map 2).

Both Korčula and Pelješac are ruggedly mountainous. The two main relief forms on Korčula are karst areas with undulating formations in the eastern and western parts of the island. The central hilly region consists of limestone; a series of karst depressions gradually descend out from the middle in an easterly and westerly direction. Karst *polje* ("fields", "lowlands") are located within these depressions and provide the island's arable land. Four of the nine main settlements on Korčula are separated geographically from the other five by two centrally-located peaks (Klupac, 545 m and Točilo Brdo, 560 m) such that an east-west



Blato ("mud"), an inland agricultural village in the western part of Korčula.

separation of the villages results. A third mountain range serves as a barrier between the village of Račišće in the northeast and the other three eastern villages (Kalogjera, 1957) (See Map 2).

Pelješac's terrain is even more rugged. Primarily a massif, its slopes descend steeply toward the north and the south. It consists of three almost parallel ranges: one running along the northern coast, one along the southern coast, and one along the center of the peninsula. Longitudinal valleys and fields lying between the ranges provide the peninsula's main agricultural areas (Crkvenčić, 1960).

Both Korčula and Pelješac are Mediterranean in climate, with mild, windy winters and warm, breezy summers. The weather favors a rich vegetation and variable fauna. Korčula was one of the most forested Adriatic islands, as indicated by the derivation of its name (from the Greek name Korkyra Melaina, "The Black Korkyra" in recognition of the extensive oak woods covering the island at the time of the

Greek settlement). It is still relatively well-forested with cypresses and pines predominating, along with cultivated orchards. Pelješac derives its name from *peles* or "grey", denoting the massive stone cover (Skok, 1950).

Rainfall on both is very seasonal, reaching its maximum in the winter; droughts often occur during the summer. The northern parts of Korčula and Pelješac are exposed to the cold northeasterly wind (*bura*), and thus, are colder and drier, while the southwestern parts are warmer and more humid due to the southern wind (*jugo*). Although Pelješac does not have major stands of tall trees as does Korčula, small trees and undergrowth provide fuel, and in the cooler, northern parts, pine trees and maccia grow in a dense evergreen underbrush (Bjelovučić, 1922; Skok, 1950).

Eight villages and the town of Korčula constitute the primary settlements on the island. By and large, these communities are located in a line running from west to east along the island. Of the 41 settlements on Pelješac today,

Pupnat ("vineyard"), an inland agricultural village in the eastern part of Korčula.



14 villages and the towns of Ston and Orebić are the main communities. They are found in western, east-central, and eastern clusters (see Map 2).

Most of the village names on both Korčula and Pelješac denote something about their geographical and/or economic position. Ranging from west to east on Korčula, the four villages located in the western half are: Vela Luka ("large bay") in the far west on the sea and the inland agricultural villages of Blato ("mud"), Smokvica ("little fig"), and Čara ("stone quarry"). In the eastern half of Korčula, the two inland agricultural villages of Pupnat ("vineyard") and Žrnovo ("place where wheat is milled") and Lumbarda (derivation unknown) on the coast and the town of Korčula constitute a second group of communities. Finally, Račišće (from "rak", or "crab"), a coastal community of sea farers on the northern side of the island is separated from the others by a mountainous barrier (Foretić, 1940; Gjivoje, 1969; Lisičar, 1951; Skok, 1950). Vela Luka is the youngest settlement on Korčula. It was founded by families from Blato in the nineteenth century as a port locale for the inland agricultural community (Protić, 1976; 1978). During the post-World War II period, it has become the largest community on Korčula,

with a mixed industrial-agricultural-seafaring-touristic economy (see Map 2).

The settlements on Pelješac at its westernmost promontory are located on the sea and include: Lovište ("hunting place"), Viganj ("forge"), Kučište, ("homesite"), and the town of Orebić (after the family which founded it). The largest group of settlements is located in the eastcentral part of the peninsula and consists of the villages of Oskorušno ("of the service tree" bot.), Kuna ("marten"), Pijavičino ("leech"), Potomje (under the hill "Tom"), Janjina ("lamb"), Sparagovići (an extinct tribe), Metohija (property of the Orthodox church); and the town of Ston ("swamp" from the Latin "statnum"). This is a zone of well developed agriculture (especially viticulture) and livestock farming, with Ston being sea-oriented and well known for its salt and oyster industries. Finally, along the eastern coast, the four settlements of Trpanj (from the Greek denoting "sickle"), Drače ("thorn"), Duba ("oak tree"), and Trstenik ("reed") serve as ports to the inland villages (Krstić, 1960) (See Map 2).

Economy, Transportation, and Communication

Historically, farming has been the primary occupation on both Korčula and Pelješac, with vineyard and olive tree orcharding predominating. The main source of income during the Middle Ages was from viticulture, which reached its peak in the second half of the nineteenth century. At that time, the destruction brought by the *Phylloxera* louse to the vineyards in France and Italy indirectly caused a boom in Dalmatian wine production. The inclusion of the "wine clause" in 1891 in the trade agreement between Italy and Austria-Hungary, as the Italian vineyards were restored, put Italy in an advantageous position vis-à-vis Dalmatia in selling its wine to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As a consequence, winegrowers on Korčula and Pelješac were severely affected by the tariff advantages of the Italian wines (Perić, 1960). Two years later the *Phylloxera* disease infected the vineyards in Dalmatia, further exacerbating the economic depression and accelerating out-migration of the population to the Americas and New Zealand and Australia at the turn of the twentieth century.

In addition to viticulture – which still constitutes a major economic base of Korčula and Pelješac – olive orcharding, fruitgrowing, cultivation of medicinal herbs, livestock raising, and fishing are major contributors to their economies. On Pelješac, especially, fishing and oystering has become the second most important branch of economic activity, while livestock raising has declined in importance. Because of the very high quality and demand for its wine (such as Dingač and Postup), Pelješac is particularly famous for its viticulture. From the fourteenth century on, seafaring became especially well developed on Pelješac, and Orebić was home to many sea captains. In the coastal areas, especially in Orebić, tourism has become increasingly important in the post-World War II period (Basioli, 1960; Vekarić, 1960; 1976) (See Table 2).

On Korčula, agriculture still predominates in the livelihood of the populace living in the interior villages, but industry – particularly boat building – is a significant part of the econ-

omy in Korčula town and Vela Luka. This industry has a long tradition on the island; since the last war, it has been substantially modernized and expanded to include the production of commercial and recreational fiberglass and wooden boats. Boat building provides a major source of employment for workers across the island. Additionally, tourism has become well developed on Korčula during the post-World War II years, and is an important branch of the economy especially in the far western and eastern parts of the island (Gjivoje, 1969; Kalogjera, 1957) (See Table 2).

Until this century, both Korčula and Pelješac had relatively limited contact with the outside world, and villages were also isolated from each other. Rugged terrain, rocky land surface, and lack of roads contributed to the internal and external isolation of villages until the post-World War II period. A cross-island road was built on Korčula in the 1930s, but road transportation and services to the more remote villages have been available only since the last war. Until that time, rural lanes or goat trails led from settlements in the interior to their fields and down to the shoreline. Each agricultural village in the interior had its own "port" locale on the coast through which the inhabitants came and went from the island. All in all, there was no strong need to be in regular contact with inhabitants of the other settlements since each village was economically self-sufficient and had its own route to and from the sea (Protić, 1976; 1978).

After the last war, a road was constructed along the Pelješac Peninsula for the first time. It linked the settlements with the Adriatic Highway on the mainland. Before then, sea routes connected Orebić and other communities with major administrative and cultural centers on the mainland. These sea passages are still an important part of the transportation system. Frequent ferry services between Orebić and the town of Korčula and between Trpanj and Kardeljevo on the mainland connect people living on both Korčula and Pelješac to each other and to the mainland. Twice-daily buses run from Vela Luka, across Korčula, over Pelješac, and south to Dubrovnik. Similarly, a daily bus connects this region with



Roof tops of Lumbarda, a coastal touristic, agricultural, and fishing village at the eastern end of Korčula, looking out to sea.

Zagreb, the capital city of Croatia. Additionally, a daily ferry connects Vela Luka with the major city of Split on the mainland (See Maps 1 and 2). Although road transportation has been developed over the past forty years, people still rely considerably on sea travel.

Points of Divergence in Political Control and Population Migration

Ties Between the Little and the Great Traditions

Following the first Slavic migration waves in the sixth and seventh centuries, Korčula and Pelješac moved in different directions with respect to population settlement, political-economic incentives and constraints, and land tenure patterns. As “part societies”, or “Little Traditions” (Kroeber, 1947; Redfield, 1940), Korčula and Pelješac were substantially affected by the political and economic policies of outside urban-based “Great Traditions”. From the eleventh century until 1815 – when the Austrians took over this part of the world – Korčula and Pelješac came under the sphere of influence of various political powers (See Table 1). In general, Pelješac was more forcefully controlled by outside political rulers – particularly by the Dubrovnik Republic – while Korčula developed a reputation for maintaining relatively greater autonomy. One of the clear-

est indications of their reputed self-reliant character goes back to 1214 when Korčula created its own independent statute, the oldest in Dalmatia (Foretić, 1940).

The fact that Korčula fell predominantly under Venetian domination and that Pelješac came under Dubrovnik Republic rule was perhaps the most critical overall outside determinant of immediate and long-term effects on population demography and language. Following several earlier periods of rulership by Venetian nobles, Korčula became part of the Venetian Empire in 1420 and was under their domination until 1797. Pelješac was incorporated into the Dubrovnik Republic in 1333, and remained subjugated to its nobles until 1808 (Foretić, 1940; Gjivoje, 1969; Perić, 1960) (See Table 1).

Under Venice, Korčula retained relatively greater political and economic independence than did Pelješac under Dubrovnik. It is true that the island and its inhabitants were used by the Venetians to the Empire’s considerable economic advantage. For example, large stands of oak trees were extracted – along with local labor – for building ships for the Venetian fleets. However, the villagers (*pučani* or “commoners”) were not legally constrained from moving around on the island, owning their own land, and negotiating sharecropper arrangements with the large landowners (often Vene-

Residential and work buildings and garden in Lumbarda, coastal village on the eastern part of Korčula.



tian nobles). Most importantly, they never became actual serfs to the Venetians. According to Protić.

“Although on this island we had nobles and commoners, nevertheless it was not the typical feudal structure such as that which ruled in some other regions of our homeland... It is certainly the case that some nobles owned large complexes of farm land, which they did not cultivate alone – and they could not – but instead on these landholdings they had a type of sharecropper who had some control over the land. It is not possible to say that we had feudalism in the full sense of the word on this island” (1978: 71, translation).

Some commoner families, in fact, became large land owners themselves (Protić, 1978).

Internally, too, Korčula villagers exhibited considerable resolve in holding their own against the Venetian and local nobles living on Korčula (often in the town of Korčula). According to Foretić, frequent struggles broke out between the commoners and the nobility over communal power, beginning in the fifteenth century and continuing to the eighteenth. As the nobility attempted to increase the duties of the island’s commoners in Venetian military efforts and domestic projects, the commoners first appealed to Venice to fairly arbitrate their grievances. When they felt this attempt had

failed, they established their own assembly, which became recognized by the local and Venetian authorities. Procurators from the town and villages were elected by the assembly to represent them in Venice. “Though the commoners in Korčula never achieved equal status with the nobility, their situation somewhat improved as they succeeded in defending their personal freedom and gained some degree of participation in the administration of the commune” (Foretić 1977: 274).

While we do not wish to overdraw the point that the Korčula villagers exhibited an unusually strong spirit of autonomy during these centuries under Venetian rule, there is solid evidence to demonstrate that they were considerably more independent politically and economically than were the villagers living on Pelješac.

Pelješac was quite different, for example, with respect to villagers’ control over the land. At the time they took control of the peninsula in 1333, the Dubrovnik government parcelled the land of the peninsula into 300 parts, which nobles and distinguished bourgeois families from Dubrovnik divided among themselves on the basis of feudal land ownership (Perić, 1960). They further organized these holdings into six communes (*kontrade*), and established a rigid system to control the peasants’ physical mobility and use of the land:

Table 2. Working population of Korčula and Pelješac by economic activities, 1971*.

Village	TOTAL	Industry and mining	Agriculture and fishing	Forestry	Construction	Transportation	Trade and tourism	Craftsmanship	Housing and municipal programs	Cultural and social programs	Public and administrative programs	Other
<i>Korčula</i>												
1. Vela Luka	1609	313	305	3	22	115	148	500	36	54	27	86
2. Blato	3489	91	1375	114	12	34	81	795	24	65	17	881
3. Smokvica	438	3	257	5	2	19	16	59	2	13	3	59
4. Čara	362	1	226	1	1	2	13	46	—	6	5	61
5. Pupnat	320	—	115	6	2	6	11	55	—	4	5	116
6. Žrnovo	511	1	153	3	13	17	66	130	—	14	20	94
7. Lumbarda	218	3	69	2	22	17	49	91	—	10	8	28
8. Račišće	159	—	11	4	6	98	12	13	—	7	—	8
9. Korčula Town	911	58	6	1	13	94	229	157	2	111	115	125
TOTAL	8017	470	2517	137	93	402	625	1846	64	200	200	1460
<i>Pelješac</i>												
1. Lovište	59	—	26	—	—	19	7	2	—	2	—	3
2. Viganj	109	1	21	—	—	26	14	17	—	4	1	25
3. Kučište	47	—	7	—	2	9	15	3	—	—	3	8
4. Oskorušno	97	1	76	—	1	4	6	1	—	2	—	6
5. Kuna	139	6	71	—	1	3	9	20	—	12	—	4
6. Pijavičino	92	5	36	—	—	1	2	40	—	1	—	17
7. Potomje	110	—	80	—	—	9	8	3	—	1	1	8
8. Janjina	161	2	122	3	3	2	10	3	—	9	—	7
9. Sparagovići	75	2	63	1	—	1	1	—	—	3	—	4
10. Metohija	56	1	46	—	1	1	2	2	—	—	2	1
11. Orebić Town	254	2	32	—	2	31	81	31	3	13	14	45
12. Ston Town	165	26	24	12	1	8	20	21	2	14	2	35
TOTAL	1364	46	604	16	11	114	175	143	5	61	23	163

* not including self-employed nor supported persons.
Source: Yugoslav Population Census.

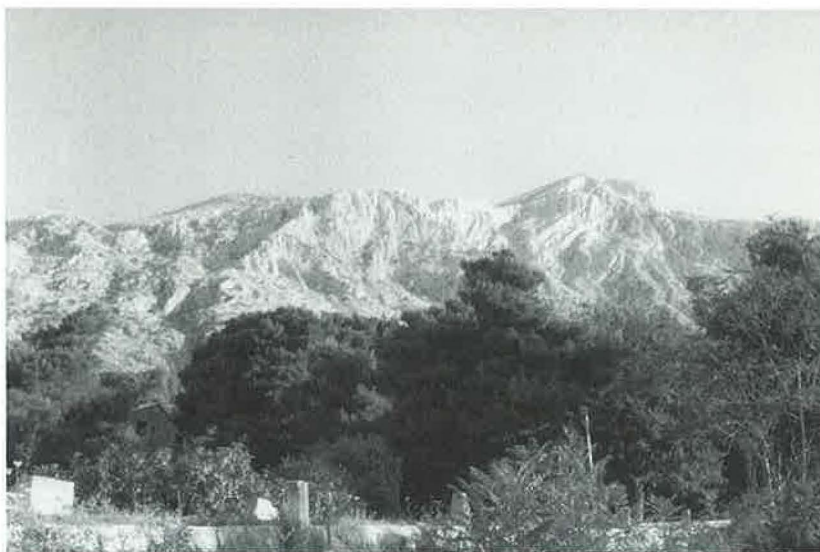
"The peasant had to live within his own commune and was not able to move from that commune to another. Further, only within his own commune, could a peasant cultivate the landowner's land and, thus, he became a peasant tied to a landowner... The peasant Pelješac was, further, a serf to a Dubrovnik noble... The peasant was nevertheless only a serf" (Foretić, 1970: 273, translated).

In these texts, the terminology adopted to designate the local population living in the villages is clearly distinct for Korčula and Pelješac. While Protić (1978) and Foretić (1977)

both refer to the *pučani* ("commoners") on Korčula, Foretić (1970) uses the terms *seljak* ("peasant") or *kmet* ("serf") for villagers on Pelješac.

As enjoined by the "Great Traditions" of Venice and Dubrovnik, people who were already settled on the island and peninsula or who migrated there during the Middle Ages were exposed to radically different policies with respect to geographical mobility and land tenure. The commoners on Korčula were able to move across the island from place to place – if they so wished – and were permitted to own land or to establish contractual relationships with the noble landowners. In addition to the control

Mt. Ilija on the Pelješac Peninsula, 961 meters high, view from the eastern part of the peninsula.



exercised by these outside powers over how the peasants could use the land and to what extent internal migration was regulated, very different types of migration policies affecting Pelješac and Korčula were instituted. For Korčula, a more open policy existed, with relatively less explicit control by Venice than was the case with Dubrovnik and Pelješac inhabitants. Basically, once a settler arrived on Pelješac, he/she had two choices: (1) to stay on the property assigned by the authorities in Dubrovnik and retain the land use contract with that particular landowner or (2) to leave the peninsula. The Pelješac villagers were obliged to live in their respective communes until 1808, when Napoleon's conquest of this region ended the rule of the Dubrovnik Republic (Foretić, 1970; Perić, 1960).

Origins of Immigrants and Intensity of Migration

The place of origin and the number of people who immigrated to this area during these centuries is another important factor in determining their demographic structures and language patterns. During the second wave of Slavic migrations – which began around 1500 and has continued to the present – most immigrants to Korčula came from the mainland

and traveled from east to west across the island (Gjivoje, 1969). In contrast, immigrants to Pelješac originated from both the mainland and the islands themselves, Korčula and Hvar included (see Map 1). Generally, Pelješac received immigrants from both an easterly and westerly direction (Bjelovučić, 1921; 1922; Vekarić, 1960; 1976; 1985). Thus, the pattern of immigration and cross-land migration tends to be more consistent on Korčula than what we find on Pelješac.

Additionally, a considerably more continuous and intense immigration process took place on Pelješac. The second great Slavic migration which occurred between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries was due in large part to Turkish penetration on the mainland during the Candian and Morean Wars. As the Turks expanded westward and toward the sea, Slavs were pushed out of the hinterlands of Hercegovina and Bosnia. The last time that a major wave of these Slavs arrived on Korčula was in 1682, when an entirely new settlement, Račišće, was founded. This final great migration onto Korčula was followed by only minor immigrations to the island and by relatively little within-region population movement (Čolak, 1962; Jutronić, 1952; Rudan, Angel, and Bennett, 1986; Sujoldžić, 1985; and Vuletić-Vukosović, 1906).



Houses on the outskirts of Oskorušno on Pelješac.

In contrast, Pelješac continued to regularly receive a “new stock” of people, and frequent replenishing of the population took place. As the populace died off from plague, famine, and war, the Dubrovnik nobles permitted new settlers from the mainland to fill the abandoned farmland. Especially during the times of the Turkish expansion into the Balkans, Slavs in the hinterlands were ready and eager to settle on Pelješac. However, due to legal restrictions under Dubrovnik and geographical inaccessibility until quite recently, intra-peninsular isolation of individual settlements continued. There was very little contact among the villages due to poor communication, underdeveloped transportation, and lack of a centralized administrative settlement on the peninsula (Ferenca, 1976).

In addition to its relatively easier access from the coastal hinterland, compared with Korčula, Pelješac regularly received new inhabitants over the centuries because of its more extensive rich agricultural land. Its pro-

duce was especially important for feeding the town-dwellers of Dubrovnik. The Dubrovnik nobles ensured the continuous settlement of the Pelješac communes and never let the land remain uninhabited or fallow for long. A dramatic instance of this occurred in 1543 when plague killed about 90% of the people on the peninsula, and in short order their space was refilled by new settlers (Murvar, 1964). Even today, a steady stream of agriculturalists from the mainland hinterlands has continued to immigrate to Pelješac. In addition, a substantial number of pastoralists from Hercegovina bring their herds to pasture them during the winter months (Supek-Zupan, 1980).

Natural and Health Disasters

Both Korčula and Pelješac benefitted from the impressive public health advances made in Dubrovnik during and following the Middle Ages. Dubrovnik was a world leader in instituting public health measures and for maintaining



Kučišće ("homesite"), a coastal tourism and fishing village on the southwestern part of Pelješac, a community built by sailors.

medical records. Its Franciscan pharmacy, which dates back to 1318, was among the original ones to be instituted in Europe. The first quarantine regulations were established in Dubrovnik as early as 1377, the same year as in Venice (Krekić, 1972; Petrovich, 1974). The spread of plague was a major factor in establishing these measures. Further, Dalmatia was the first region in Europe where compulsory annual vaccinations against smallpox was introduced (1810) (Grmek, 1985).

Even with the outstanding strides made in Dubrovnik's public health programs, Korčula and Pelješac both experienced overwhelming catastrophic epidemics as well as natural disasters such as earthquakes and famines during the Middle Ages. These calamities took a greater toll on Pelješac in terms of loss of population. Similarly, the impact of wars was felt more intensely on the peninsula. The relative isolation of Korčula's population from the mainland seems to have given them more pro-

tection from the spread of disease and from the ravages of war. Their island situation, in and of itself, has been an important factor in keeping them sufficiently isolated physically and socially to prevent some of the most severe natural catastrophies.

Furthermore, the influence of Dubrovnik's public health programs is more apparent on Korčula than on Pelješac. For example, by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, well organized health services on Korčula had become well organized. Both the town of Korčula and the large village of Blato in the western part of the island were home to the first pharmacies on the island. Local measures to quarantine people suffering from various diseases are also evident: two islets – one in the east and one in the west – served as places to segregate people afflicted with leprosy from the time of the Middle Ages (Gjivoje, 1969).

While great epidemics were apparently less common and not as devastating on Korčula

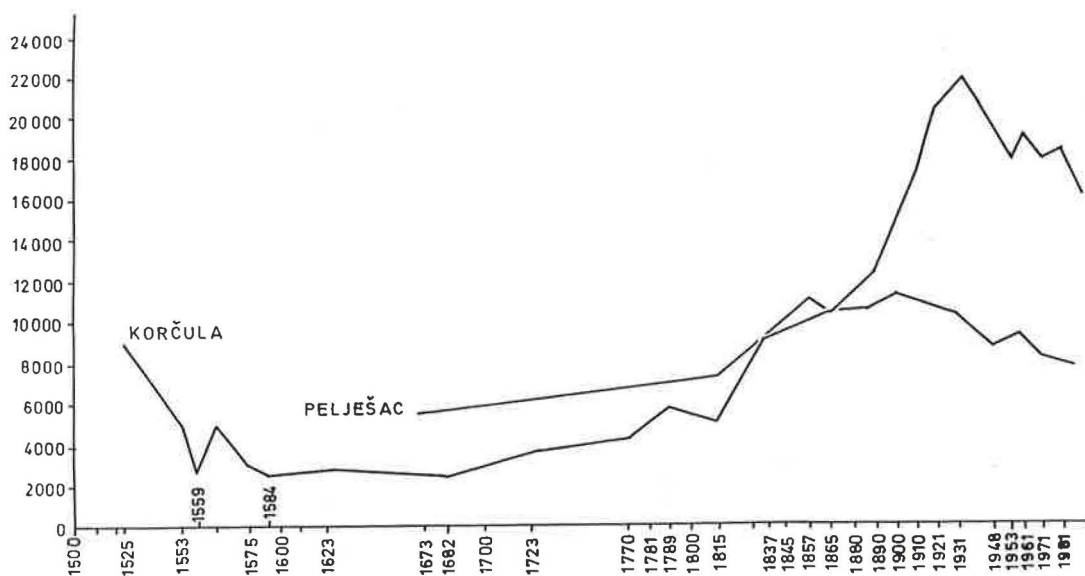


Figure 1. Total Population of Korčula and Pelješac, 1525–1981.

than on Pelješac, they did break out with some regularity. Bubonic plague was especially frequent in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as it was throughout Europe. It was recorded on the island for the first time in 1370. The 1617 plague killed off almost half the population of the town of Korčula (Vuletić-Vukasović, 1884). Famine also took a heavy toll: in 1816–1817, poor harvest years resulted in the death of many islanders. Cholera epidemic in 1855 ravaged the island, killing more than 200 people in Blato alone. Since 1865, no cases of bubonic plague, cholera, leprosy, or small pox have been reported on the island, but epidemics of dysentery, typhoid fever, diphtheria, scarlet fever, meningitis, and whooping cough recurred in the nineteenth century. In 1904 a major measles outbreak caused the death of 150 people in Blato, and in 1915 and 1917 more than 200 died from scarlet fever and dysentery in this village. Following the First World War, the population suffered a widespread attack of Spanish influenza, and in 1943 a considerable number of people died from a dysentery epidemic.

The historical record of catastrophic epidemics is even worse for the population on Pelješac. This, in turn, had a considerable impact on

population structure. From the fourteenth century on, frequent epidemics of plague and other disease broke out and spread across the peninsula. During the 1348 to 1456 period, for example, bubonic plague struck Pelješac at least twelve times (Bazala, 1962; Nedeljković, 1969). As noted earlier, the 1543 plague epidemic caused the death of 90% of the population on the peninsula (Bjelovučić, 1921). Huge famines also occurred in 1764 and in 1817 (Murvar, 1964; Vekarić, 1985).

Malaria was a special health problem in Ston, which is surrounded by shallow waters and which served as Pelješac's governmental seat while under Dubrovnik rule. For many centuries the people living in Ston were more severely affected by malaria than any other part of Dalmatia. These conditions also reportedly dampened the interest of government officials in Dubrovnik to serve in Ston. According to Krekić, "The Ragusan [Dubrovnik] patricians, in spite of their dedication to duty, hated having to go to Ston to work, and sending a patrician there for a few months' forced stay became a punitive measure used against unruly members of the elite" (1972: 99). By the nineteenth century, however, economic prosperity and expansion of medical services

Buildings in the village of Kučišće on the southwestern part of Pelješac.



brought about improved health conditions on Pelješac.

In the meantime, the frequent decimation of the population by disease, famine, and war regularly opened the way for yet a new influx of immigrants onto the peninsula. Bjelovučić's conclusion that very few families living on Pelješac today can trace their roots back on the peninsula for more than 350 years is well supported by these records (1921; 1922). This is a totally different situation from that of Korčula where it is not unusual for families to be able to follow their lineages back on the island for at least four centuries. With the ongoing movement of new settlers to Pelješac, its population pool became considerably more heterogeneous.

Contemporary Linguistic Variation

The spoken vernacular of the village inhabitants on Korčula and Pelješac constitutes the southern border between the čakavian (*čakavski*) and štokavian (*štokavski*) dialects of the Croato-Serbian language. This speech tradition is situated in a zone of strong interaction between a čakavian substratum and štokavian superstratum, making this area exceptionally suitable for studying the intermixing of the two dialects (Šimunović and Olesch, 1983). The relative emphasis on either of the two dialects and the distribution of each varies considerably among villages on Korčula and Pelješac. Additionally, two other subdialects – *ikavski*

and *ijekavski* have been incorporated into the local idioms on Pelješac. These speech patterns reflect the divergence between the island and the peninsula in political-economic development and immigration history, as described in the previous section.

People on the Island of Korčula by-and-large speak the čakavian dialect, which is the original idiom introduced to Dalmatia by the first Slavic immigrants in the sixth and seventh centuries. However, each village on Korčula has developed its own distinct idiom incorporating features of both čakavian and štokavian (Finka, 1971; Moskovljević, 1950). The retention of these local vernaculars reflects the fact that intra-island mobility has been remarkably low, and villages have been highly endogamous (Rudan, Angel, and Rudan, 1986; Sujoldžić, 1985; Sujoldžić et al., 1986).

The limited presence of štokavian elements on Korčula can be attributed to two influences. First is the influx of štokavian speaking Slavs during the second major migration wave in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from the coastal area around Makarska and from Hercegovina. These colonists were not dispersed uniformly throughout the island. Since more of these "new" immigrants settled in the eastern part, we find stronger evidence of the štokavian superstratum in the eastern čakavian-speaking villages of Žrnovo, Pupnat, and Lumbarda and relatively weaker evidence of the štokavian superstratum in the western villages of Vela Luka, Blato, Smokvica, and Čara (See Map 2).

A special situation is found in the community of Račišće on the northeast coast. Its inhabitants speak what is called the "new štokavian-ijekavian" dialect, which is distinct from that of all other villages on the island. The presence of this particular dialect is a consequence of the arrival of people from Hercegovina on the mainland to this location in 1685 and their remaining isolated from the rest of the villages by the mountain barrier behind them. Their economic livelihood has always been primarily based on seafaring, and they never became agriculturalists like most of the other inhabitants on the island. Their dialect

has remained distinct to the present (Sujoldžić, 1985; Sujoldžić et al., 1986).

A second source of štokavian elements on Korčula is an outgrowth of developments in modern communication and transportation, especially since the last war. The štokavian dialect which is the basis for the standard Croato-Serbian language – with *ijekavski*, *ekavski*, and *ikavski* sub-dialects – has been adopted throughout Yugoslavia in the school system, by the mass media, in economic activities, and in political administration. Furthermore, during the post war years, the island has lost some of its isolated character, which had favored the conservation of older language features during earlier times (Sujoldžić, 1985; Sujoldžić et al., 1986). However, the čakavian vernacular is very much alive, as indicated both in linguistic research as well as by general observation.

Although Pelješac shares many similarities with the Island of Korčula with respect to language, the distribution of the čakavian and štokavian dialects is different (Bjelovučić, 1922; Brozović, 1970; Ivić, 1957; Milas, 1891; Rudan et al., 1986). Additionally, čakavian and štokavian are intermixed with idioms from yet two other sub-dialects: ikavian and jekavian (Ferenca, 1976). The speech of the populace on Pelješac can be divided into three language clusters: (1) *štokavian-ijekavian* (which is spoken in the eastern part, including the villages of Metohija and Sparagovići and the small town of Ston); (2) *štokavian-ikavian* (which is spoken in the central inland part, extending from Janjina westerly to Oskorušno and including Janjina, Potomje, Pijavičino, Kuna, and Oskorušno); and (3) *čakavian-štokavian-ikavian* (which is spoken in the southwestern part and includes Kučište, Viganj, Lovište, and the town of Orebić) (Novak, 1976; Rudan, Angel, and Bennett, 1986).

The presence of multiple regional dialects on Pelješac is due to a number of historical factors, some of which also affected Korčula, and some of which are specific to Pelješac. The western part of the peninsula was preponderantly settled from the Imotski, Vrgrovac, and Makarska areas on the coast which are regions where štokavian ikavian is spoken. In contrast, the eastern part was settled in more re-

cent times mainly by immigrants from Hercegovina where štokavian jekavian is spoken. In the central (Župa) agricultural region, the villages have experienced continuous migrations over the centuries from different regions on the mainland. Consequently, the dialect which has evolved has characteristics of both štokavian-jekavian and čakavian-ikavian, constituting a transitional idiom. Although these three regions on Pelješac have preserved their idioms until the current time, it is difficult to determine a precise boundary between them. Continuous population migrations to the peninsula have caused the dialects to shift and change to varying degrees (Novak, 1976; Rudan, Angel, and Bennett, 1986).

Interpretation

To summarize, on Korčula three dialect areas are relatively clearly demarcated, and individual villages have retained their own special idioms. We conclude that this is due to four historical developments which have set Korčula apart from Pelješac. First, over the past six centuries, there has been relatively less population migration onto Korčula, both with respect to frequency and intensity. Second, when immigration movements did take place, they originated from a more limited area on the mainland, in comparison with Pelješac. Further, the path of migration was relatively consistent in that it usually extended from the mainland, across Pelješac, onto the eastern edge of Korčula, and gradually westward. (The settlement of Račišće – which has an entirely different dialect from the other villages – followed a totally different route directly across the sea). And finally, once the immigrants settled on Korčula, they were inclined to put down their roots and to stay in one village. Thus, the maintenance of special language idioms was reinforced by village isolation.

On Pelješac, the borders between dialects are much less definite. This is the case both with respect to regions on the peninsula and between villages, as well as in comparison with other speech idioms. Additionally, we find a relatively greater impact from the štokavian dialect. This linguistic patterning is attributed

to four developments that contrast sharply with that of Korčula. First, immigration has been more continuous and intense over the past six centuries. Second, the colonists who came to Pelješac represent a much more mixed population with respect to geographical origins than do those who settled on Korčula. Third, during five centuries of Dubrovnik Republic rule (1333–1808), newcomers to Pelješac were required to settle in a particular community – depending on land availability – and could not move on to other locales. Thus, where they settled was determined more by external political and economic policies, rather than internal cultural processes. Finally, the replacement of these inhabitants was frequently dictated by relatively greater decimation of the population due to epidemics, wars, and famine and by the economic demands of the people in power in Dubrovnik. As land was evacuated for whatever reason, the Dubrovnik nobles drew upon an extremely wide population pool on the mainland in assigning their plots. Consequently, the linguistic profile on Pelješac is more heterogeneous than on Korčula.

Contrasts in Demographic Patterns

In clarifying the relationship between ethno-historical factors and demographic patterns on Korčula and Pelješac, we present four types of data: (1) overall population size historically and currently for Korčula and Pelješac, as well as for individual communities; (2) vital statistics for the population in 1971 and 1981; (3) age and sex structure of the population in 1971 and 1981; and (4) the place of birth of the parents of randomly sampled subjects in the early 1980s.

Size of Population

In 1673, the first year when we have total population figures for both areas, approximately twice as many people lived on Pelješac as on Korčula. Specifically, while Korčula had approximately 3,000 inhabitants, Pelješac was occupied by around 6,000. Their populations increased substantially over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries so that by 1815, Korčula was home to about 6,000 people; and Pel-

ješac, 8,000. Both reached the 10,000 population mark by 1857, at which point Korčula began to outpace Pelješac: by 1890, 14,923 people lived on Korčula, compared with 10,487 on Pelješac. This magnitude of difference – with Korčula being larger in population size than Pelješac – has continued to the present time (See Figure 1 and Table 3).

According to the 1981 census, 8,069 people lived on Pelješac while double this number (16,130) lived on Korčula. In short, over the past three centuries, the two-to-one ratio of population size has reversed itself for Korčula and Pelješac (Republički Zavod za Statistiku 1953; 1981) (See Figure 1 and Table 3). While this increase on Korčula was primarily due to natural growth of the population already living on the island, the expansion on Pelješac was, in part, a mechanical increase, the result of the immigration of new inhabitants from outside the peninsula (Rudan et al., 1986).

Looking historically, we see that Pelješac reached its population peak of 11,263 in 1900; and Korčula, in 1931, when 20,689 people resided on the island. At this time, the agricultural village of Blato on Korčula, was the most populous community in the region with 8,301 inhabitants. After 1910, though, Pelješac gradually declined in population. Between the effects of the Depression and the devastations during the Second World War, the number of inhabitants living on Pelješac and Korčula in 1948 was 86% of their 1931 size (Jutronić, 1952; Kalogjera, 1969; Republički Zavod za Statistiku 1953) (See Table 3).

Following the Second World War, the population of both Korčula and Pelješac initially increased (1948–1961). After 1961, Pelješac began a gradual decline that was still evident in the 1981 census. In the case of Korčula, its population continued to gradually increase, only to decline during the 1971–1981 decade (See Table 3). An examination of the particular communities indicates a similar pattern on both Korčula and Pelješac with respect to this decline: coastal towns and villages (Korčula and Vela Luka on Korčula and Orebić and Trpanj on Pelješac) have increased in population, while all the inland agricultural villages (with the single exception of Čara on Korčula)

have declined. During this past decade, the magnitude of the overall decline has been somewhat greater on Korčula (12%) than on Pelješac (7%) (See Table 3).

Focusing on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Korčula and Pelješac evidence some similarity in terms of outside and internal pressures that had a direct bearing on population size, as well as some clear-cut differences. After a relatively prosperous period in the mid-to-late nineteenth century due to expansion in the winegrowing and shipping industry, both experienced economically good times, compared with earlier eras. However, both the island and peninsula underwent a major turn-around in economic status and substantial out-migration to overseas countries early in the century due to the wine crisis. Similarly, great losses among inhabitants in their reproductive years were incurred in both world wars. As Table 3 indicates, the nature of overall change in population on Pelješac during these decades has been one of gradual decline with the exception of the 1948–1961 period. In contrast, Korčula experienced, first, a substantial increase during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a leveling off after the last war, and a rather substantial decline of 12% in the 1971–1981 decade.

In the post-World War II era, Korčula's growth has been due mainly to natural growth and less to in-migration of new settlers. This follows earlier historical patterns. Concomitantly there was an increase in resettlement of the island population living in the interior agricultural villages to coastal communities where jobs were available. Additionally, in the 1970s and 1980s a pattern has emerged whereby some young people who had left the island to go to specialized secondary schools and to institutions of higher education in the coastal and inland areas are returning to the island, where jobs – and housing – are available. The return of these young people is contributing to the continuing stable population size.

Table 3. Size of village populations, Korčula and Pelješac, 1857–1981.

Korčula	1857	1890	1910	1921	1931	1948	1961	1971	1981
1. Vela Luka	1346	2632	4334	4091	4038	4202	4356	4193	4398
2. Blato	3695	5047	7208	5732	8301	5916	5148	5912	3861
3. Smokvica	521	659	986	1160	1120	1160	1137	1052	1022
4. Čara	397	488	668	706	675	706	636	661	669
5. Pupnat	368	578	786	767	756	767	691	772	512
6. Žrnovo	1037	1645	1781	1439	1592	1439	1427	1363	1184
7. Lumbarda	639	1029	1349	1215	1234	1185	1142	1068	1040
8. Račišće	474	776	941	995	928	995	945	644	511
9. Korčula Town	1854	2069	2287	1778	2045	1778	2458	2657	2953
TOTAL	10331	14923	20245	17883	20698	17853	17949	18322	16130
Pelješac	1857	1890	1910	1921	1931	1948	1961	1971	1981
1. Lovište	—	12	109	216	200	184	208	202	196
2. Viganj	562	471	414	369	337	235	338	346	312
3. Kučište	417	273	295	273	266	203	272	225	222
4. Oskorušno	453	404	411	389	336	261	255	240	193
5. Kuna	384	438	469	555	504	337	477	388	326
6. Pijavičino	354	368	328	205	290	188	213	233	224
7. Potomje	442	400	409	413	418	331	353	340	299
8. Janjina	1059	1104	1183	1157	1131	858	791	685	544
9. Sparagovići	533	327	397	427	386	393	337	315	261
10. Metohija	—	200	195	208	204	199	185	160	136
11. Ston Town	1529	1562	1703	1552	1523	1500	1503	1434	1321
12. Orebić Town	489	565	520	622	579	417	534	768	1189
13. Trpanj	696	748	649	645	649	582	652	623	672
14. Others	3894	3615	3490	3396	2911	2766	2754	2716	2174
TOTAL	10812	10487	10572	10417	9734	8454	8872	8675	8069

Source: Yugoslav Population Census.

Vital Statistics

In comparing vital statistics for Korčula and Pelješac over the 1971–1981 decade, we find that they tend to follow similar patterns with two exceptions. On Korčula the *birth rate* (number of births /1000 people) was 11.19 in 1971 and 14.26 in 1981; on Pelješac, it was 11.82 in 1971 and 17.25 in 1981. *Fertility* (number of births/100 fertile women) on Korčula was 45.06 in 1971, and 42.72 in 1981. On Pelješac fertility increased substantially from 52.30 to 80.77 during this decade (Republički Zavod za Statistiku, 1981).

Both Korčula and Pelješac underwent an expansion in natural growth, vital index, and mortality during this period. With respect to *mortality*, (number of deaths/1000 people),

Korčula increased from 11.46 to 12.28; and Pelješac, from 9.93 to 13.57. The *natural growth* (number of births minus number of deaths) on Korčula was –0.27 in 1971 and 1.98 in 1981; on Pelješac, it also increased from 1.89 to 3.70. And the *vital index* (number of births/100 deaths) jumped from 97.6 to 116.2 on Korčula and from 119.05 to 127.27 on Pelješac during this same period (Republički Zavod za Statistiku, 1981).

Although mortality increased over this decade on both Korčula and Pelješac, the birth rate also increased sufficiently to result in an overall higher natural growth and vital index. Higher mortality along with higher birth rate on Korčula in 1981 can be accounted for by the fact that older males and females and younger

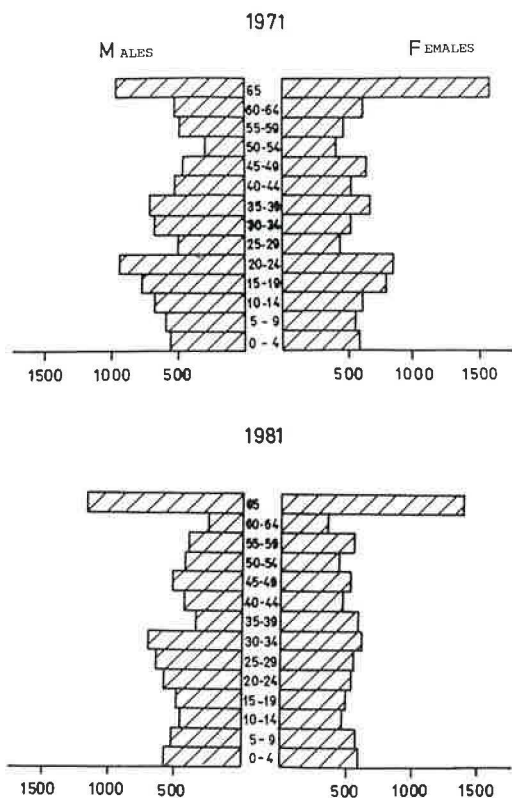


Figure 2. Sex and Age Distributions of men and women on Korčula, 1971, 1981.

men and women of child-bearing age were the most numerous age groups in 1971. In the interim decade, many of the older population had died, and many in the younger generation had borne children. On Pelješac, we see a similar pattern, but it is not nearly as striking as on Korčula. Beginning in 1971 and continuing in 1981 the differences in age groups is not nearly as well demarcated. The higher mortality rate on Pelješac over this decade can be accounted for by deaths in the relatively sizeable older population living there in 1971. The extremely high fertility and birth rates must be due, in large part, to the in-migration of men who married women living there who were in their childbearing years and who then had children.

Age and Sex Structure

Before presenting specific details about the sex and age composition for Korčula and Pelješac in 1971 and 1981, it is worth noting differences in the form that the age distributions take. An examination of Figures 2 and 3 shows these differences very clearly. For Pelješac, the five-year age groupings tend to be relatively even, rather than variable, for both men and women. On Korčula, in contrast, wide disparities occur between the total number of people in each age group, among men and women. Thus, it is more difficult to distinguish clear-cut patterns in sex and age distribution on Pelješac. We understand this to be the result of a continuation in "mechanical" population increase on Pelješac, a pattern which began centuries ago. The influx of new settlers in the post-World War II era accounts for much more of the current population on Pelješac than that of Korčula. The age distribution for men and women

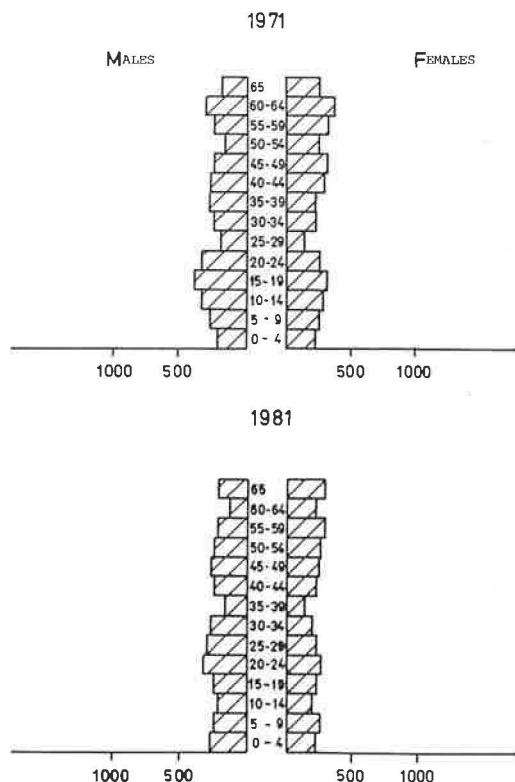


Figure 3. Sex and Age Distributions of Men and Women on Pelješac, 1971, 1981.

Table 4. Birthplace of parents and offspring, Korčula and Pelješac, 1980's.

Korčula	Birthplace of both parents combined										Si	Ii	Oi	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8						
1. Vela Luka	165	6	—	—	1	1	—	—			173	—	9	182
2. Blato	8	288	2	2	—	—	—	—			300	2	22	324
3. Smokvica	6	8	166	—	—	2	—	—			182	—	28	192
4. Čara	2	2	3	223	13	2	—	4			250	—	28	278
5. Pupnat	—	10	—	2	289	—	—	5			306	1	9	316
6. Žrnovo	2	7	—	4	8	292	5	10			328	2	30	360
7. Lumbarda	5	1	—	—	—	2	203	1			312	1	45	358
8. Račišće	6	3	—	2	3	1	2	292			309	—	17	326
Pelješac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Si	Ii	Oi	Total
1. Lovište	43	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	44	2	76	122
2. Viganj	1	39	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	42	—	16	58
3. Kučište	—	1	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	2	18	34
4. Oskorušno	—	—	—	93	2	2	1	—	—	—	98	6	6	110
5. Kuna	—	—	—	2	91	3	1	—	—	—	97	9	14	120
6. Pijavičino	—	—	—	1	—	32	4	2	—	—	39	9	10	58
7. Potomje	—	—	—	4	—	3	152	1	1	—	161	21	18	200
8. Janjina	—	—	—	6	6	—	1	226	—	—	239	32	49	320
9. Sparagovići	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	197	1	198	—	4	202
10. Metohija	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	169	169	—	1	170

Si = Total parents from analysed villages.

Ii = Parents originating from within the island, but not from the analysed villages.

Oi = Parents originating from outside the island and the peninsula.

Source: Field interviews.

on Korčula in 1971 is very similar to that found on the island of Hvar located to the north of Korčula. Furthermore, the age distributions on both Korčula and Hvar are much more like that of the entire Republic of Croatia in 1971 than is the age profile of inhabitants on Pelješac (Rudan et al. 1982).

Korčula as a whole has more females than males. This reflects two historical factors: the enormous loss of males during the devastations of the Second World War and the relatively greater emigration of men to other parts of the country and abroad. Both sexes exhibit an irregular distribution among age groups with a considerably larger proportion of people over sixty and people under twenty. The change in the ratio between older and younger people from 1948 to 1981 also reflects the tendency for older people to remain in the villages and the young adults to be more likely to leave. On Pelješac, there were also more females than

males in 1971 (52.8% of the population), but by 1981 the number of females had declined to 50.5%. This was the consequence of an increase in the number of males in the 15–49 age groups and a simultaneous decline in women in those age groups (Rudan, Angel, and Bennett, 1986).

Korčula and Pelješac experienced similar changes in age and sex structure between 1971 and 1981 with some interesting exceptions. In 1971, on both Pelješac and Korčula, the *smallest male age group* was the 50–54 range; in 1981, the smallest number of males was in the 60–64 age group. Ostensibly this is the same group of men, but ten years older. This would have been the age group of men most likely to have participated in the Second World War many of whom died of war-related causes. These men would have been between the ages of 20–24 years old during the war. Both Korčula and Pelješac were very involved in war

activities, and the loss of life demonstrates it. For example, close to 200 adult men and 40 adult women from Vela Luka alone died in the war (Savez Boraca NOR Vela Luka, 1967).

On Korčula, women follow much the same pattern as the men in that the *smallest female age group* in 1971 was 50–54, and in 1981, 60–64. On Pelješac, in contrast, this age group was not especially small; instead, the smallest female age group in 1971 was the 25–29 year olds and in 1981, the 35–39 year olds. Interestingly, while in the 1971 census, this age group was small for both men and women on Korčula, by 1981 women between the ages of 35 and 39 were relatively numerous, and evidenced an expansion over the decade (See Figures 2 and 3). This is a reflection of in-migration of some younger women onto Korčula during this ten year period as well as a return of some women after schooling or work off the island.

It is not surprising, however, that in 1971, the 25–29 age group for men and women is not sizeable since it represents that generation of children who would have been born during the war, when conditions were far from conducive to the birth and survival of children. The mortality rate for young children was very high. For example, records for Vela Luka indicate that at least 40 children from that village who were born between 1941 and 1944 died during the war, primarily in refugee camps such as the one at El Shatt on the Sinai Peninsula (Savez Boraca NOR Vela Luka, 1967).

Looking at the *largest age groups* for males and females during these two decades, we see that among *women* on both Korčula and Pelješac, older age groups are the most populous: the 60–64 age group in 1971 and both the 65 (and older) and 55–59 age groups in 1981 on Pelješac; and the 65 (and older) age group during both censuses on Korčula. Thus, we can say that both Korčula and Pelješac evidence relatively sizeable female populations in the oldest age groups during both periods. The same pattern holds for *males* on Korčula: in both 1971 and 1981, the largest male age groups were in the 65 (and older) category. Pelješac evidences quite a different pattern in that in 1971 the largest age group was 15–19;

and in 1981, 25–29 and 20–24. This is accounted for by young men migrating onto Pelješac during the post-World War II period. In contrast, there was a consistent decline in the number of women on Pelješac in their child-bearing years (15–34 age groups) over this decade. Considering this information, the relatively small group of women who resided on Pelješac was especially fertile, an explanation for the high birth rate (See Figures 2 and 3).

To summarize, on Korčula, men have left during the 1971–1981 decade while some women have come onto the island. The opposite pattern holds for Pelješac, where men have been moving onto the peninsula while women have been moving off. This is especially the case for people in the 35–39 age group, as of 1981. However, on Pelješac, in-migration is greater than on Korčula, where as in previous decades and centuries, the population has remained much more stable.

Migration and Endogamy

Using data collected from randomly-selected adult subjects regarding their place of birth as well as that of their parents, now we compare patterns of migration and endogamy for the Island of Korčula and the Pelješac Peninsula, overall as well as for each village studied. These adult subjects span three generations. As Table 4 demonstrates, for both Korčula and Pelješac, when the parents of the subjects interviewed were born on the island or on the peninsula, very likely they were also born in the same village as the subject. Thus, for parents originating from the island or from the peninsula, endogamy is very high, and mobility is very low. This pattern is even more pronounced on Pelješac in that only 3% of the parents came from a community on the peninsula other than the birth place on Pelješac of the subject; in comparison, 6% of the parents were born in a village on Korčula other than the birth place of the subject. Furthermore, those few inter-village marriages on Pelješac occurred primarily within the central region of Župa, where agriculture is most highly developed. On Korčula, such marriages were more dispersed among all villages, but overall were

oriented more toward the western and eastern coastal areas, especially in Vela Luka and Blato in the west.

These data make sense in light of the fact that on Pelješac the primary movement of people on the peninsula – other than to the town of Orebić, which was not included in the sample – was in the agricultural interior, where wine growing has been very successful in the post-World War II period. In contrast, on Korčula, the intra-island movement has responded to other economic incentives: small industry and the major boat building industries in Vela Luka and Blato and tourism in Vela Luka and the town of Korčula (which, like Orebić, was not sampled). All in all, these findings show that both Korčula and Pelješac have evidenced relatively little intra-island and intra-peninsula migration within the past three generations.

Relatively more of the “new” migrants into villages on Korčula and Pelješac are from off of the island and the peninsula. This pattern is especially pronounced on Pelješac. While 8% of the parents of subjects originated off of Korčula, 15% of the parents of subjects were born off of the peninsula (See Oi on Table 4). This is consistent with the observation that immigration during this century has continued on Pelješac with greater intensity than on Korčula. Two villages studied on Pelješac represent considerably greater in-migration from off the peninsula: (1) Lovište, on the far western coast, was founded in 1885 by several families from the island of Hvar and although small in overall population size, is supported by agriculture, fishing, and transportation activities and (2) Janjina, in the central rich viticulture region of Župa, where agriculture predominates (See Table 2). Both of these communities have attracted new immigrants from outside the peninsula over the past three generations, as new opportunities in agriculture and sea-oriented economic activities have opened up. Consequently, these two villages account for 59% of all parents of interviewed subjects originating from off the peninsula (See Table 4) (Rudan et al., 1986).

The Viable Village: Concluding Comments

We now consider the question of whether or not the villages on Korčula and Pelješac are “viable” in the sense that they exemplify these features: (1) everyone can know everyone else living there; (2) the villagers are aware of their settlement being a community; (3) the village is continuous over time; (4) at least three generations live there; and (5) the residents believe in the possibility that the village will persist as a community into the future (Mead, 1980: 19).

We also assess the degree to which the villages can be described (1) as being a *complete* “geographically definable entity, a “whole”, which is named and identified by that name;” (2) as having an *inclusive* social structure with “the institutions, the culture, and the forces of the whole society of which it is a part;” and (3) as evidencing a *cohesive* cultural life that is “integrated, common-minded, and cooperative” (Reining and Lenkerd, 1980: 9).

With respect to *completeness*, villages on both Korčula and Pelješac are clearly geographically bounded, occupy a permanent site, are named, exhibit distinctive architectural styles in their houses and public buildings, draw upon local economic resources, and have a relatively stable population. Village names, in fact, are well rooted in history and often designate local physical features. Village life is very connected to the surrounding land and the nearby sea, and these resources are expertly drawn upon in the subsistence of the villagers.

However, Pelješac differs in some important respects from Korčula. For example, many small villages (41) were established over the centuries on the peninsula while fewer (eight) large villages were founded and maintained on Korčula. Furthermore, because of heavy immigration and emigration, the population filling these villages had changed considerably over the centuries on Pelješac while on Korčula, the current population as a whole descends from earlier settlement periods. Thus, it can be argued that in physical form and population composition, communities on Pelješac

have tended to wax and wane over the centuries, while the villages on Korčula have remained more consistent entities for longer periods of history. We would still consider both Korčula and Pelješac to consist of "complete" villages, in which the inhabitants are aware of belonging to a community.

To what degree is the social structure of these villages *inclusive* in the sense that it can meet the social and cultural needs of the inhabitants? Before the Second World War, most of the requirements for day-to-day social life and ceremonial occasions were accommodated by the social system in each community. Furthermore, it is possible for everyone to know everyone else within the community. This focus on social life within mainly the village has changed considerably over the past two generations with the lessening of physical and social isolation and substantial improvements in transportation and communication (especially television and telephone services). These developments have opened both Korčula and Pelješac to "the outside world" to a very great degree. Additionally, social contacts between villages have increased on both Korčula and Pelješac so that it is now possible to draw upon the resources of the overall island/peninsula much more so than before the last war. Furthermore, both Korčula and Pelješac attract foreign and domestic tourists in large numbers each summer, and relatives often return to the homes of family members remaining in the villages. Thus, while each village continues to meet many of the social and cultural needs of its inhabitants, the populace overall has become also oriented toward the social and cultural life on the mainland.

The extent of *cohesiveness* evidenced by villagers can be indirectly assessed on the basis of linguistic and demographic data. High village endogamy and the fact that age groups span four generations are good indications that communities on both Korčula and Pelješac are integrated sociocultural groups. Cohesiveness is more clearly evident on Korčula than on Pelješac, as demonstrated by the preservation of "older" idioms of the dialects in more distinct forms and as demonstrated by the greater number of people who are descendants of ear-

lier settlers. Most families in Pelješac villages, for instance, cannot trace their presence on the peninsula back nearly as far as families on Korčula can. This is a reflection of a shorter time-depth and collective memory regarding their community as held by people living in villages on Pelješac.

We should not make light of the fact that Korčula's island position played an important role in the degree to which it remained relatively more closed to outsiders. Population expansion on Korčula by-and-large occurred through natural growth of the population already living there, rather than through immigration as was the case on Pelješac. However, on both Korčula and Pelješac, the villages have stood the test of time, and there is no reason to believe that most of the villages, at least, will not persist into the future.

Generally, until the end of the last war, villages on Korčula could be characterized as emphasizing *continuity* in population structure and way of life; with respect to demographic structure and linguistic patterns Pelješac has undergone relatively greater *change*. The heterogeneous nature of spoken idioms clearly reflects this. For both the island and the peninsula, however, the combination of being on the one hand, part of a wider "Great Society" with its literate tradition and at the same time part of a folk tradition has given these villages the opportunity to express their identity in multiple ways: through publication of ethnohistorical accounts; recording genealogical data; creation and publication of poetry, as well as other literary forms; excavation of archaeological sites; development of community museums; performance of traditional and contemporary music; singing village and regional songs in characteristic "Dalmatian" harmony; and presentation of folk dances and costumes at national folk festivals. Belonging to both a literate and folk tradition over many centuries is an important contributor to the continuing viability of these villages within the wider context of a developed nation state.

Acknowledgements

This study was conducted with financial support from the Joint Yugoslav-United States Board for Bilateral Research, as a common Institute for Medical Research and Occupational Health (Zagreb) and Smithsonian Institution (Washington) research project (JFP-429 and 674). We especially appreciate the substantial encouragement and assistance we have received over the years from Ms. Francine Berkowitz, Directorate International Activities, Smithsonian Institution.

References

- Angel, J.L. 1946: Social biology of Greek culture growth. In *The American Anthropologist* 48: 493–533.
- Basioli, J. 1960: Pelješac. In *Pomorska enciklopedija*. Leksikografski zavod. Zagreb.
- Bazala, V. 1962: Calendarium pestis I. In *Acta historica, medicinae, pharmacie, veterinae*. God. II. 2: 53.
- Bennett, L. A., J. Lawrence Angel, D. F. Roberts, and P. Rudan 1983: Joint study of biological and cultural variation in Dalmatian village populations. In *Collegium Antropologicum* 7 (2): 195–198.
- Bjelovučić, N. Z. 1921: Povijest Poluotoka Raba (Pelješca) sa dijelom povijesti zahumlja (Hercegovine) i Dubrovačke republike. Split.
- Bjelovučić, N. Z. 1922: Polustrovo Rab (Pelješac). In: *Zbirka naselja i poreklo stanovništva*. Knjiga II. Beograd.
- Brozović, D. 1970: Dialekatska slika hrvatskogsprskoga jezičnog prostora. In *Zvornik filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*: 5–29. Zadar.
- Crkvenčić, I. 1960: Pelješac. In *Pomorska enciklopedija*, Leksikografski zavod. Zagreb.
- Čečuk, B. 1986: Istraživanje u Spilji Kopačini na Otoku Braču i Veloj Spilji na Otoku Korčuli. *Obavijesti*, Hrvatsko Arheološko Društvo, Zagreb, 3/ XVII: 32–34.
- Čolak, N. 1962: Borba novih stanovnika na srednje dalmatinskom otočju u XVII i XVIII stoljeću za očuvanje stečenih privilegija. In *Prilozi povijesti otoka Hvara*. II, 13: 52–89. Publikacija Historijskog arhiva, Hvar.
- Ferenca, J. 1976: Trpanjski dijalekt pred sto godina i danas. In *Pelješki zbornik*: 437–462. Zagreb.
- Finka, B. 1971: Čakavsko narječje, Čavaska rič I: 11–71. Split.
- Fisković, I. 1970: Povijesni spomenici Pelješkog kanala do gradjenja Franjevačkog samostana nad Orebićima. In *Spomenice Gospe od Andjela u Orebićima*. Omiš.
- Foretić, V. 1940: Otok Korčula u srednjem vijeku do 1420. godine. In *Jugoslavenska Akademija Umjetnost i Znanosti*. (JAZU). Zagreb.
- Foretić, V. 1970: Kroz prošlost poluotoka Pelješac. In *Spomenice Gospe od Andjela u Orebićima*. Omiš.
- Foretić, V. 1977: Borbe između pučana i plemića na Korčuli u 15. i 16. stoljeću. In *Institut za Hrvatsku Povijest*, Radovi 10. Zagreb.
- Gamst, Frederick C. 1974: Peasants in Complex Societies. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. New York.
- Gjivoje, M. 1969: Otok Korčula. In *NIŠP Prosvjeta*. Bjelovar.
- Grmek, M. D. 1964: Les conditions sanitaires et la Medicine en Dalmatie sous Napoleon I^{er} (1806–1813). Extrait de la Biologie Medicale. Numero "Hors-Serie."
- Harrison, G. A. and A. J. Boyce 1972: The Structure of Human Populations. Clarendon Press. Oxford.
- Howells, W. W. 1966: Population distances: Biological, linguistic, geographical and environmental. In *Current Anthropology* 7: 531–540.
- Ivić, P. 1957: Izveštaj o terenskom dijalekatskom radu u severnoj Hrvatskoj i južnoj Dalmaciji u leto 1957. In *Godišnjak Filozofskog Fakulteta* 2: 406–507.
- Jutronić, A. 1952: Kretanje stanovništva na srednje dalmatinskim otočima kroz zadnjih 100 godina. In *Geografski Glasnik* 14–15: 65–70.
- Kalogjera, A. 1957: Korčula. In *Pomorska enciklopedija*. Leksikografski zavod SFRJ 4: 449–452.
- Kalogjera, A. 1969: Korčula. Prilog poznavanju socijalno-geografskih obilježja. In *Radovi Geografskog instituta* 2: 69–118. Zagreb.
- Korenčić, M. 1979: Naselja i stanovništvo S.R. Hrvatske 1957–1971. In *Djela JAZU*. Knjiga 54. Zagreb.
- Kroeber, A. L. 1947: Culture groupings in Asia. In *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 3: 322–330.
- Krstić, K. 1960: Pelješac. In *Pomorska enciklopedija*. Leksikografski zavod. Zagreb.
- Lisičar, P. 1951: Crna Korčula kolonija antičkih Grka na Jadranu. In *Posebna izdanja Filozofskog fakultet u Skopju*. 2: 132–134. Skopje.
- Mead, Margaret 1980: The village defined. In *Village Viability in Contemporary Society*, Pricilla Cope-land Reining and Barbara Lenkerd, eds. Westview Press. Boulder, Colorado.
- Milas, M. 1891: Današnji trpanjski dijalekat. In *Rad JAZU*. Knjiga CII. Zagreb.
- Moskovljević, M. 1950: Govor ostrva Korčule. In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik* 11: 155–223. Beograd.
- Murvar, M. 1964: Sanitarni kordon za vrijeme Dubrovačke republike i poslije njena pada. In *Naše more*. No. 6. Dubrovnik.
- Nedeljković, B. M. 1969: Pravna organizacija Dubrovačke republike za vrijeme morije 1437. godina. In *Acta historica, medicinae, pharmacie, veterinae*. God. III. 1–2: 50.
- Novak, Z. M. 1976: Kratki osvrt na dijalekte poluotoka Pelješca. In *Pelješki zbornik*: 431–436. Zagreb.
- Perić, J. 1960: Pelješac. In *Pomorska enciklopedija*. Leksikografski zavod. Zagreb.
- Petrovich Miodrag B. 1974: A Mediterranean City State: A Study of Dubrovnik Elites, 1592–1667.

- Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Protić, I. 1976: Župa Blato od IV–XX stoljeća. In *Vlastita naklada*. NIP Štampa-Šibenik. Blato.
- Protić, I. 1978: Župa Blato II dio. In *Vlastita naklada*. "Zrinski" Čakovec. Blato.
- Redfield, Robert 1965: *Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Reining, Pricilla Copeland and Barbara Lenkerd 1980: *Village Viability in Contemporary Society*. Westview Press. Boulder, Colorado.
- Republički Zavod za Statistiku 1953: Popis stanovništva Dubrovačke republike iz 1673/74. Historijski arhiv. Dubrovnik.
- Republički Zavod za Statistiku 1981: Popis stanovništva 1971. and 1981. Zagreb.
- Rudan, P., J. L. Angel, and L. A. Bennett 1986: Biological and cultural microdifferentiation among the rural populations in Yugoslavia: Status report on the investigations. Institute for Medical Research and Occupational Health and Smithsonian Institution. Zagreb and Washington, D.C. Final Report.
- Rudan, P., D. F. Roberts, A. Sujoldžić, B. Macarol, N. Smolej, and A. Kastelan 1982: Geography, Ethnohistory, and Demography of the Island of Hvar. In *Collegium Antropologicum* 6(1): 47–68.
- Rudan, P., D. Simić, N. Smolej-Narančić, L. A. Bennett, B. Janićijević, V. Jovanović, M. Lethbridge, J. Miličić, D. F. Roberts, A. Sujoldžić, and L. Szirovicza 1987: Isolation by distance in Middle Dalmatia – Yugoslavia. In *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*: 417–426.
- Savez Boraca NOR Vela Luka 1974: Pali Velolučani u narodno oslobodilačkoj borbi, 1941–1945. Slobodna Dalmacija. Split.
- Skok, P. 1950: Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otočima. In *Jadranski institut*. JAZU. Zagreb.
- Smolej, Nina, J. L. Angel, Linda A. Bennett, Derek F. Roberts, and Pavao Rudan 1987: Physiological variation and population structure of the Island of Korčula, Yugoslavia. In *Human Biology* 59(4): 667–685.
- Stoklund, Bjarne 1985: Economy, Work, and Social Roles. Continuity and Change in the Danish Island Community of Læsø, c. 1200–1900. In *Ethnologia Europaea* XV(2): 129–164.
- Sujoldžić, Anita 1985: Poplacijska struktura otoka Korčule: Antropološki, demografski i lingvistički problemi. Doctoral dissertation, Philosophy faculty, University of Beograd. Beograd.
- Sujoldžić, Anita, Petar Šimunović, Božidar Finka, Linda A. Bennett, J. Lawrence Angel, Derek Roberts, and Pavao Rudan 1986: Linguistic microdifferentiation on the Island of Korčula, Yugoslavia. In *Anthropological Linguistics* 28(4): 405–432.
- Supek-Zupan, Olga 1980: Kulturne veze Pelješca sa svojim hercogovačkim zaledem. In *Pelješki Zbornik* 2: 197–211.
- Sweet, Louise E. and Timothy J. O'Leary 1969: *Circum-Mediterranean Peasantry: Introductory Bibliographies*. Human Relations Area Files Press. New Haven.
- Šimunović, P. and R. Olesch 1983: Čakavisch-deutsches Lexicon. Teil III. Čakavische Texte. In *Slawistische Forschungen* 25/III. Köln-Wien.
- Vekarić, S. 1960: Pelješki jedrenjaci. Split.
- Vekarić, S. 1976: Pormci Pelješke Župe i Janjinskog područja u plovidbi izvan Jadrana u 18. stoljeću. In *Pelješki Zbornik*: 357–422. Zagreb.
- Vekarić, N. 1985: Stanovništvo Stona od 1833 do 1900. godine. In *Stonski Zbornik*. Ston.
- Vuletić-Vukasović, V. 1884: Kuga na Korčuli. In *Buletino di archeologia e storia Dalmacia* 6. Split.
- Vuletić-Vukasović, V. 1906: Božić o Račišćim (O Korčula). In *srd* 16: 774–777.
- Wolf, Eric R. 1982: *Europe and the People Without History*. University of California Press. Berkeley.
- Wright, S. 1931: Evolution in Mendelian populations. In *Genetics* 16: 97–159.