

ON BURGENLAND CROATIAN ISOGLOSSES

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1. Introduction

Among the Croatian dialects spoken in the Austrian province of Burgenland and the adjoining areas¹ all three main dialect groups of central South Slavic² are represented. However, the dialects have a considerable number of characteristics in common.³ The usual explanation for this is

- (1) the fact that they have been neighbours from the 16th century, when the Ottoman invasions caused mass migrations from Croatia, Slavonia and Bosnia;
- (2) the assumption that at least most of them were already neighbours before that.

Ad (1) Map 1⁴ shows the present-day and past situation in the Burgenland. The different varieties of Burgenland Croatian (henceforth “BC groups”) that are spoken nowadays and from which linguistic material is available each have their own icon.⁵

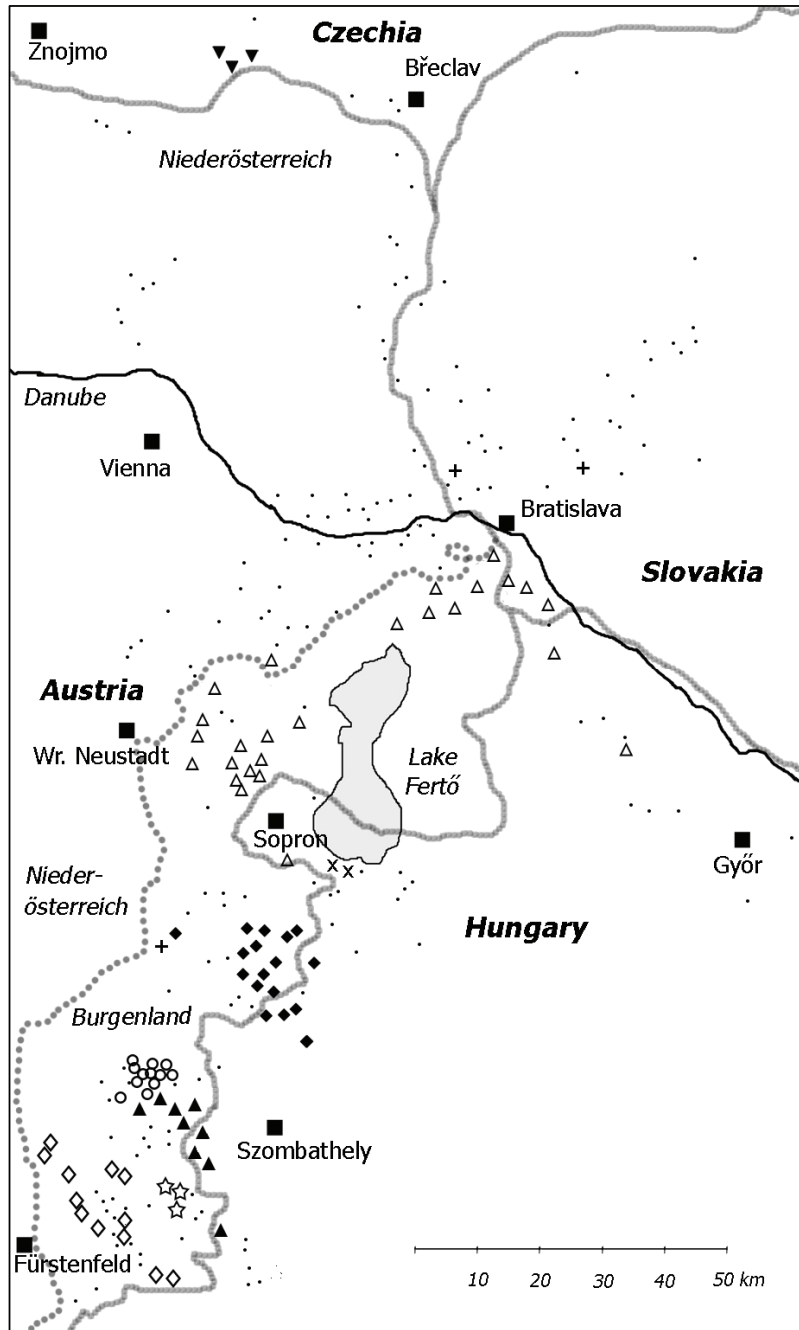
¹ For the sake of brevity the term “Burgenland” in this paper will include the adjoining areas inside and outside Austria where speakers of Croatian dialects can or could be found: the province of Niederösterreich, the region around Bratislava in Slovakia, a small area in the south of Moravia (Czech Republic), the Hungarian side of the Austrian-Hungarian border and an area somewhat deeper into Hungary east of Sopron and between Bratislava and Győr. As can be seen from Map 1, many locations are very far from the Burgenland in the administrative sense.

² With this term I refer to the dialect continuum formerly known as “Serbo-Croatian”. The main dialect groups are Čakavian, Štokavian and Kajkavian.

³ Neweklowsky mentions 13 “wichtigste Burgenland-Kroatismen”, one of which, the lexicon, forms a large set of common features by itself (1969: 99-101). For a dialectometric illustration of the linguistic closeness of the Burgenland dialects to each other see Sujoldžić et al. (1990).

⁴ Based on Breu (1970: 220-229) and Neweklowsky (1978: 346). From the latter I also adopted the division into dialect varieties and the assignment of the individual dialects to those varieties. The dotted line represents the west boundary of the province of Burgenland.

⁵ The Moravian Croats are also represented by an icon, although their dialect is extinct or at least untraceable since the Second World War. There is some linguistic material from these dialects (see Neweklowsky 1978: 89-93).



Map 1: present-day and former Croatian dialects in the Burgenland

Legend to Map 1	
▼ Moravian Croats	▲ Štoji
△ Hacı and Poljanci	◇ Southern Čakavians
✕ Kajkavian	☆ intermediate Štoji – Southern Č.
◆ Dolinci	+ not belonging to any of the groups
○ Vlahi	• formerly Croatian villages

The three dialects indicated by “+” do not belong to any BC group. These are Devínska Nová Ves and Chorvátski Grob (resp. NW and NE of Bratislava) and Weingraben (west of the Dolinci group). There is also a considerable number of small dots. Each dot stands for a location where a Croatian dialect was once spoken but disappeared between the 16th and the 20th century. In the case of the locations indicated by dots there is almost never any evidence as to what variety of Croatian was spoken there. However, the dots do give information on the former geographical spreading of Burgenland Croatian, which can have played a role in the diffusion of linguistic characteristics. The map shows that, whereas Burgenland Croatian today consists of a number of speech islands, it once more or less formed a dialect continuum. Only the Moravian dialects and those in the middle of Niederösterreich were already relatively isolated.

Ad (2) There is no full agreement among linguists as to where the predecessors of the Burgenland dialects come from. Yet most authors locate at least the majority of them in or around a compact area surrounded by the rivers Sava, Kupa and Una. Map 2 below illustrates this.

For a number of reasons it would be interesting to know which common characteristics of Burgenland Croatian are premigratory and which are postmigratory:

- (a) Such knowledge could help us clarify the chronology of some of the linguistic changes in the dialects under study.
- (b) In certain cases it could corroborate or contradict assumptions about the origins of the various BC groups.
- (c) The Burgenland Croats have been living for centuries in a complicated bi- or multilingual environment, in which the other languages (German, Hungarian, Slovak, Czech) have always had a higher prestige than Croatian. Many dialectologists would probably like to know, as I do, if under such circumstances the Croats kept influencing each other linguistically and if so where, in which direction, to what extent, in which aspects of the language, etc. Finding out which instances of spreading of linguistic features are pre- and which are postmigratory would contribute to such knowledge.

The aim of the present paper is to see if something can be said about the chronology of the linguistic phenomena that interest us by looking at them from the point of view of dialect geography, more specifically by comparing isoglosses in present-day Burgenland Croatian to hypothetical isoglosses in the (also hypothetical) area where the dialects came from. I shall do so from section 3 onward. But first I shall briefly discuss the various opinions on the origins of the Burgenland Croats.



Map 2: provenance of Burgenland Croatian according to N78 (281)⁶

2. The provenance of the Burgenland Croats

The most extensive and in-depth discussion on the origin of the various Burgenland Croatian dialects is found in the standard work about these dialects, viz. Neweklowsky 1978, henceforth abbreviated “N78” (264-281). I shall summarize Neweklowsky’s views and compare them with those of a number of other authors.

⁶ Of the dialects that do not belong to any BC group, Neweklowsky locates only “WG” (Wein-graben) and “CHG” (Chorvátsky Grob) on his premigratory map (with question-marks), not Devínska Nová Ves. He considers the Moravian Croats part of the Hacı and Poljanci, with the only difference that less is known about them (see N78: 89-93). The dialects that are intermediate between Vlahi and Štoji are not discussed separately. It stands to reason that their transitional character arose after the migration.

2.1 Čakavian i/ekavian

Neweklowsky's assumption about the provenance of the dialects of the Hacı and Poljanci, the Dolinci, Chorvátski Grob and Weingraben is chiefly based on comparison with present-day Čakavian i/ekavian dialects in the Croatian inland.⁷ In this comparison accentuation, diphthongization and vowel lengthening in final syllables play the most important role. In the Burgenland dialects discussed here the stress was in principle retracted from all final syllables and **e* and **o* were diphthongized if they were long. With the exception of part of the Dolinci dialects, stressed **e* and **o* were also diphthongized if they were short and already stressed before the retraction. In most of the Čakavian dialects that the Burgenland dialects are compared with we also find stress retractions and either closing or diphthongization of **e* and **o*. In a number of cases there is also vowel lengthening in closed final syllables. However, the retractions often apply under more restricted conditions and there never is diphthongization of originally short **e* and **o*. The place of the Hacı and Poljanci, the Dolinci, Chorvátsky Grob and Weingraben on Map 2 is chosen on the basis of the degree of similarity with the other inland Čakavian dialects in these respects, to which are added some other linguistic as well as historical arguments.⁸ Decisions of this kind – and this also holds for Neweklowsky's propositions on the provenance of the other BC groups – are in fact compromises and therefore in themselves not very satisfying, but Neweklowsky does not suggest any great precision, makes all proper reservations and under the circumstances this is probably all that can be achieved.⁹

2.2 Ikavian

All other Burgenland Croatian dialects except the Kajkavian ones are ikavian.¹⁰ Neweklowsky argues that their original location should have been

⁷ The term "i/ekavian" means that the dialects in question have either an [e]- or an [i]-like vowel as the reflex of **ě*, in principle depending on the phonetic environment (see Jakubinskij 1925).

⁸ Although he does not say so, it seems probable that in Neweklowsky's location of the different BC groups relatively to each other, differences and shared features between these groups themselves have played a role as well.

⁹ An example of such a compromise is the location of the Dolinci on Map 2 (east of the Hacı and Poljanci), part of which, as far as the diphthongization is concerned, are closest to the dialects of Račice, Brinje, Oštarije and Generalski Stol (all to the west), cf. Neweklowsky (1978: 271). Another example is the place of the Hacı and Poljanci on Map 2 in spite of the fact that, according to Neweklowsky, in a number of respects their dialect is closer to the one in the area around Otočac (1978: 271).

¹⁰ These dialects have an [i]-like vowel as the reflex of **ě*.

- (1) near the isogloss between the ikavian and the i/ekavian area. He assumes that this isogloss must have run from a point south-east of Dugi Otok (the most southeastern i/ekavian-speaking island today), almost straight north to the middle-course of the Una and then more or less parallel to that river to the left of it;
- (2) near the point where Čakavian, Štokavian and Kajkavian bordered on each other. He bases this on the great number of similarities with other varieties of Burgenland Croatian and he locates the various dialects with respect to each other according to these similarities. This, of course, is only valid if it is improbable that the similarities concerned are postmigratory, which question we shall address later in this article.

Neweklowsky ends his discussion on the origin of the ikavian dialects as follows:

“Meiner Meinung nach könnte man die ikavischen Čakaver des südlichen Burgenlandes entlang der Jat-Isoglosse lokalisieren, und zwar die rein čakavischen Mundarten etwas südwestlicher, die Čakaver mit štokavischen und kajkavischen Elementen aber etwas nordwestlicher [obviously “nordöstlicher” is meant, P.H.] in die Nachbarschaft der Vlahi und Štoji. Darauf, daß diese Čakaver nicht aus Dalmatien stammen, weisen die zahlreichen Übereinstimmungen besonders im Wortschatz mit dem übrigen Burgenländischen Material” (N78: 278-279).

The first sentence suggests that Neweklowsky thinks that the dialects that are now transitional – both geographically and linguistically – between Čakavian and Štokavian already were so in the premigratory situation. I think that this would be too much of a coincidence. If there are no strong indications to the contrary, it is more logical to assume that the dialects in question acquired their transitional character after the migration. What is said in the second sentence cited from Neweklowsky is only valid if there is reason to assume that the distribution of common lexicon is for the most part premigratory.

2.3 Kajkavian

In the Burgenland, Kajkavian is only spoken in two villages: Hidegség and Fertőhomok near Sopron. There is some (inconclusive) historical evidence that the inhabitants came from Kraljeva Velika and Međurič (near Kutina on Map 2, see also Houtzagers 1999: 20-25). N78 gives examples of Kajkavian characteristics lacking in the dialect of Hidegség and Fertőhomok and concludes that “Die sprachlichen Merkmale der beiden Mundarten lassen jedenfalls darauf schließen, daß sie sich einst in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft der übrigen burgenländischen Kroaten befunden haben müssen, vor allem in der der Štoji und Vlahi”

(279). I do not know if by “die sprachlichen Merkmale” Neweklowsky means the absent Kajkavian characteristics or other common Burgenland Croatian traits. With respect to the latter, I think that, in order to use them as an argument, there should be some indication that the distribution of the common traits is pre- and not postmigratory. Specific similarities between the Štoji and Vlahi and Burgenland Kajkavian are of course good candidates for being pre-migratory, since Kajkavian does not border on the other two in the new homeland. On the whole, as I have argued elsewhere (1999: 24-25), I find the location of Kajkavian as it appears on Map 2 plausible. Because the dialect lacks certain characteristics that Kajkavian dialects have in common today and that are assumed to be old (such as neo-circumflex in the present tense of verbs with fixed stem-stress), the original location of the dialect must be looked for outside the present-day Kajkavian speaking area. If one takes as a starting-point the hypothetical premigratory boundaries between Čakavian, Štokavian and Kajkavian according to Ivšić (1971: [799]) and Brozović (1970: 31), the area around Kraljeva Velika and Međurič and to the northeast of them is the only one that has to be considered. If Lončarić (1995: 97) is right and Kajkavian stretched out considerably farther to the east, the dialect could originate from a more eastward location in Slavonia. However, this would not be an option if it could be shown that the similarities to the other varieties of Burgenland Croatian are premigratory.¹¹

2.4 Other authors

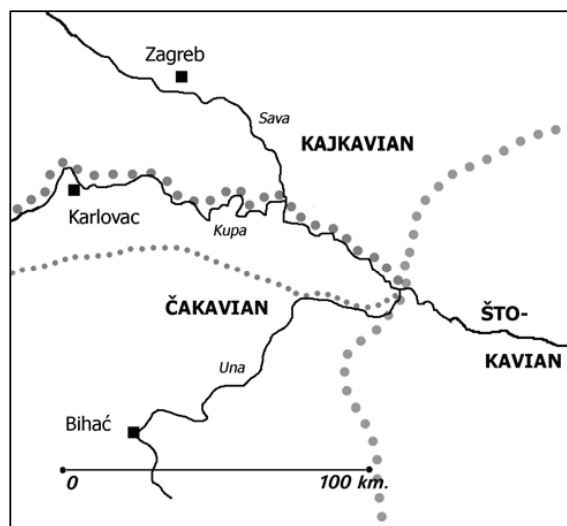
Neweklowsky's ideas are in most cases very similar to and almost always compatible with those of Ivšić (1971), Ivić (1961-62) and Brozović (1963, 1970). In Ivšić (1971) and Brozović (1970) we find maps of the premigratory borders between Štokavian, Kajkavian and Čakavian. As can be seen from Map 3, for the area we are discussing now, Ivšić's and Brozović's borders are the same and almost fully compatible with Map 2. The only exception to this compatibility is the location of the Štoji on Map 2, for which we would have to stretch out the Štokavian area somewhat to form a Štokavian peninsula between Kajkavian and Čakavian.¹² Ivić's view (1961-62: 119-122) on the original locations of the dialects

¹¹ In Lončarić's view (1984, 1990) the dialect is a result of mixture of western Slavonian and Međimurje Kajkavian. Although I am not against the assumption of mixed origin for this and other Burgenland dialects, I do not think that by assuming mixture Lončarić explains the things he wants to explain (see Houtzagers 1999: 29).

¹² The map in Ivšić 1971 was made by the editor, Božidar Finka, on the basis of Ivšić's texts and notes from the 1930s. Ivšić (1971) seems to contradict himself when on map nr. 5 he assumes that the Štoji came from western Slavonia, as well as the population of two other villages that he considers Štokavian but that Neweklowsky assigns to the south Čakavian group (see also N78: 277 n60).

of Tömörd (Dolinci, with vowel system identical to that of the Hacı and Poljanci) and Narda (Štoji) is also compatible with Neweklowsky's.¹³

Lončarić (1988: 95) draws the border between Kajkavian and the other two main groups farther to the south than the other authors do,¹⁴ but his view is compatible with Neweklowsky's as well. The only difference is that the "Štokavian peninsula" mentioned in the preceding paragraph would diminish the Kajkavian and not the Čakavian area somewhat.



Map 3:

- ● ● premigratory boundaries between Štok., Čak. and Kajk. according to Ivšić (1971)
- southern boundary of Kajk. west of the Sava according to Lončarić (1988)

¹³ Ivić gives two alternative possibilities for the origin of the dialect of Narda. The first one allows for the idea that the Štoji were originally located immediately north of the Una, which agrees with Neweklowsky. The second possible location would be farther to the north (near the Kupa). If we would want to combine this with Ivšić's and Brozović's borders between the main dialect groups, we would need an even longer "Štokavian peninsula" than the one just described. Ivić's views are incompatible with Lončarić's (1988, 1995). Ivić supposes a strip of Čakavian and, in one scenario, Štokavian dialects very near to the Kupa, whereas Lončarić assumes that south of the Kupa and southwest of the Sava there was a considerable area where Kajkavian was spoken.

¹⁴ Northeast of the point where it meets the Sava, Lončarić's southern Kajkavian border runs just as it does on Ivšić's and Brozović's maps. In his 1995 article, however, Lončarić describes another view, according to which (a) Kajkavian and transitional Kajkavian-Štokavian dialects could be found much farther east in Slavonia than Ivšić and Brozović assumed and (b) Kajkavian also stretched out rather far to the south, so that Štokavian in this area was spoken only in a relatively narrow strip north of the Sava (96-97).

2.5 Historical vs. linguistic evidence

In his chapter on the provenance of the Burgenland Croatian dialects, Neweklowsky distinguishes between historical and linguistic data and treats them in two different sections (N78: 264-266 and 266-281). In the beginning of the chapter he states “Uns soll die kroatische Besiedlung des Burgenlandes und der angrenzenden Gebiete nur in Zusammenhang mit der Dialektologie interessieren” (264). In keeping with this, the map that he presents at the end of the chapter and that is here reproduced as Map 2 seems to be based on the linguistic data only. Map 2 suggests that all the Burgenland Croats came from the area between the Kupa, Sava and Una or the direct vicinity of that area. However, many sources, several of which are cited by Neweklowsky himself, mention migrations into the Burgenland from other areas. The most prominent of these other areas is western Slavonia, followed by the Lika (a region in Croatia well to the south of the area shown on Map 2). Ujević assumes that between 1522 and 1527 migrations have taken place from Lika to the area around Sopron (1934: 8). According to Pavičić there have been mass migrations between 1536 and 1540 from the western part of Slavonia (until approximately 100 km. east of Sisak),¹⁵ first to the south of Hungary but later to the north of the Burgenland and the area around Bratislava (1920: 216-218). Pavičić also reports that in 1540 peasants from the west of Slavonia settled in the southern part of the Burgenland (1953: 208-209). Dobrovich mentions settlers from southern Bosnia in the county of Forchtenstein, between Sopron and Wiener Neustadt (1963: 88, cited by Koschat 1978: 35). According to Valentić: “Die größte Zahl der Auswander kam jedoch aus den Gegenden um den unteren Lauf der Kupa und der Una, ganz besonders viele aber aus Westslawonien” (1984: 15). Ernst writes: “Während sich die Herkunftsgebiete der meisten kroatischen Immigranten nur ziemlich global festlegen lassen, wie die Moslavina in Slawonien, Nordbosnien und die Region zwischen Una und Kupa sowie die Lika und Krbava (bis zum Velebitgebirge) [...]” (1987: 250).

It is not clear whether Neweklowsky sees the contrast between the historical data and his linguistic reconstruction as a problem. In my opinion, however, it is a matter that should be accounted for, especially where western Slavonia is concerned.¹⁶ Lončarić (1984: 121-124) makes an attempt to solve the apparent conflict between historical sources and linguistic reconstruction. He suggests the possibility that the immigrants from Slavonia settled later, in relatively small

¹⁵ Pavičić describes an area of approximately 70 km. from north to south.

¹⁶ The Lika perhaps presents less of a problem. The migrations from these regions were not directed exclusively to the north (cf. Valentić 1984: 15), so that the number of settlers in the Burgenland was not necessarily very great. Moreover, it is possible that the dialects spoken in (part of) the Lika were not too different from Burgenland Čakavian.

numbers at a time, into villages previously occupied by settlers from the area indicated on Map 2. These “new” immigrants for the most part adapted linguistically to the population that was already there, but did have a certain influence, especially where the lexicon is concerned. This would explain the remarkable quantity of characteristics common to Burgenland Čakavian that are usually considered Kajkavian.

“Navedene se crte mogu shvatiti na dva načina. Prvo, možemo ih najvećim dijelom dovesti u vezu s podrijetlom gradišćanskih Hrvata nekajkavaca, tj. s područja između Kupe, Save i Une te iz srednje Slavonije, dakle iz kajkavskoga susjedstva, koje su zahvaćale neke kajkavske izoglose. Drugo, utjecajem kajkavskih emigranata iz zapadne Slavonije koji su se u manjem broju naseljavali po Gradišću s naseljenicima iz drugih krajeva, kojih je govor prevladao, dok su od kajkavaca ostale pojedine crte. Naravno, u nekim mjestima moguće je djelovanje obaju činitelja” (124).¹⁷

Lončarić’s explanation sounds convincing. It provides a solution for the apparent linguistic disappearance into thin air of a considerable number of people and at the same time explains the Burgenland kajkavisms.¹⁸

2.6 Conclusion

I conclude that Neweklowsky’s reconstruction of the former dwelling-places of the Burgenland Croats provides a good starting point for the comparison of present and former isoglosses. As I have tried to show in the preceding sections, there are a few instances in which Neweklowsky assumes that certain common Burgenland Croatian traits are premigratory, while I think that this does not necessarily have to be the case. Moreover, apart from the dialect of Hidegség and Fertőhomok, Neweklowsky does not seem to take into account the potential linguistic input of migrants from Slavonia. I shall return to these issues in due course.

¹⁷ Neweklowsky gives only the first explanation by Lončarić for the kajkavisms in Burgenland Croatian (1982: 263). There is a possibility that he does not assume, as Lončarić does, that Kajkavian was originally spoken until far into Slavonia.

¹⁸ Of course, if we would choose only Lončarić’s first alternative (“Prvo ...”), the problem would remain unsolved. It would be worth while to check Lončarić’s scenario against other cases of mixed settlement.

3. Isoglosses

3.1 Preliminary remarks

In this and the following sections we shall have a closer look at a number of isoglosses in Burgenland Croatian from a dialect geographic point of view and see if this contributes anything to the discussion about their being pre- or postmigratory. In order to make clear what I mean I shall first give a few examples. On Map 4 (N78M26)¹⁹ we see the isoglosses for the form of the l-participle of **xā-těti*, which can be either *štil* or *til*.²⁰ The map consists of two parts. Map 4a represents the present-day state of affairs, Map 4b a hypothetical former situation.²¹ This hypothetical situation is nothing more than a projection of the present-day situation on a hypothetical premigratory map. Thus, not only the locations of the BC groups are hypothetical, but also the assignment of linguistic characteristics to specific BC groups. On Map 4b, the BC groups have the same locations as on Map 2, i.e. the premigratory locations as proposed by N78. The BC groups have labels “Č₁”, “Š₂”, etc., where “Č” stands for “Čakavian”, “Š” for “Štokavian” and “K” for “Kajkavian”. Č₁ are the Hacı and Poljanci, Č₂ the Dolinci, Č₃ the Southern Čakavians, Š₁ the Vlahi and Š₂ the Štoji. On Map 4b we see, for obvious reasons, only these labels and no icons that indicate individual villages as on Map 4a. “CHG” means “Chorvátsky Grob”, WG means “Weingraben”.²²

On Map 4a the areas that share the same linguistic characteristic are discontinuous, but on Map 4b they are continuous. One tends to infer from that that the distribution of this characteristic is, at least for the most part, premigratory.

¹⁹ The maps with numbers 4 and higher can be found at the end of the present article. N78Mx means “map x in N78” (after page 376). The sets of villages shown on the maps differ, as they do on the maps in N78, because not all relevant forms have been attested in all villages. The Moravian Croats are not shown on these maps. They only have separate relevance in the case of the phenomenon discussed in 3.2.3 below and shown on Map 8a.

²⁰ By underlining *š* and *t* I indicate that these are the phonemes that the discussion is about. Variation in other parts of the forms, e.g. the reflex of **ě*, is ignored. Other cases of underlining in this paper must be interpreted in the same sense.

²¹ This map and almost all the maps that follow are based on the maps and/or the data in N78. In some cases I have completed or corrected the data from the three villages from which I have my own field-work material. These are the two Kajkavian villages on the south bank of the Fertő Lake and the neighbouring Čakavian village of Kópháza.

²² On maps 4b, 5b, etc. some icons that stand for linguistic characteristics are smaller than others. The smaller icons are used when the feature is found in Chorvátsky Grob, Weingraben, or only in a small part of a certain BC group.

An exception to all this seems to be Chorvátsky Grob, which can have taken over *til* from the Hacı and Poljanci after the migration.²³

Of course, this is all highly hypothetical, because:

1. We assume that the locations on Map 4b are correct, which is not certain.
2. Even if we assume that they are correct in principle, we have no idea about the shape and size of the area occupied by each BC group and about the borders between them.
3. We have very little knowledge about the varieties of Croatian spoken *around* the dialects shown on Map 4b. It is not excluded that we should draw different conclusions if we had more.
4. We assume that the BC groups on Map 4b have a one-to-one relationship with those on Map 4a. It is highly improbable that it is for 100% the case. Dialects that belonged to the same premigratory BC groups in the area shown on Map 4b did not necessarily move to contiguous areas in the new homeland and it is very unlikely that they always did. Moreover, it is certain that the representatives of these groups were not the only Croatian-speaking immigrants in the area (see 2.5 above).
5. In addition to all this, we have the usual caveats that apply when one wants to draw conclusions about the history of a linguistic phenomenon by looking at the dialect map. To mention only two: (a) areal diffusion of a linguistic characteristic does not always take place just in the way most linguists would predict; (b) very often a linguistic characteristic and its development cannot be seen in isolation but must be viewed in a broader synchronic and diachronic context.

Yet I think that, if we keep these reservations in mind, try to avoid the pitfalls and use all the other knowledge we have about the characteristics under discussion, it is worth while to look at the Burgenland isoglosses from this point of view. Especially if the number of maps we take into account is not too small, we should be able to draw some tentative conclusions.

3.2 More examples

3.2.1 On Map 5 (N78M51) we see the different lexemes for the word ‘corn’ that are used in the Burgenland. If we compare Map 5a with Map 5b, we see that it is improbable that the present-day distribution of the lexeme among the BC groups was “brought along” by the Croatian immigrants, especially where the Štoji (Š2) are concerned. Probably the Štoji originally said *žito/žitak* and part of

²³ There is also a possibility that the Chorvátsky Grob dialect bordered on that of the Southern Čakavians before the migration (see also 3.4.2 below).

them took over *teg* from the neighbouring Southern Čakavians. One Southern Čakavian village took over *žito/žitak* from the neighbouring Vlahi and Kópháza took over *zrnje* from the Kajkavian Croats.²⁴ Other scenarios are possible as well. It cannot be excluded that only the Vlahi (Š₁) originally had *žito/žitak* and that the spreading to both the Štoji (Š₂) and Dolinci (Č₂) is postmigratory. This is slightly less probable in view of the greater geographical distance to the Dolinci, with few intermediate villages (see also Map 1). However, if convincing examples can be found of spreading of linguistic characteristics between the Vlahi and the Dolinci, that would substantiate this alternative hypothesis.²⁵

3.2.2 Of course the dialect geographic picture taken by itself often gives us no clue as to whether the present-day distribution is pre- or postmigratory. The distribution of *žetva* vs. *žatva* ‘harvest’, for instance, makes perfect sense, whether we look at the present situation or at the hypothetical old one (Map 6, N78M12).²⁶ On Map 6b the areas which share the same characteristic are adjacent to one another. On Map 6a there is one area with *a* in the middle which separates the two larger areas with *e*, but if we regard *a* in this particular word as an innovation, the present distribution can be as recent as we want it to be.

However, historical linguistics tells us that we have to do with two different reflexes of **ɛ* after a palatal consonant and it stands to reason that the difference between *e* and *a* in this word arose as early as the denasalization of the front nasal, viz. centuries before the earliest migrations. Since the reflexes of **ɛ* after palatal consonants are to a high extent lexicalized, it is possible that the isogloss moved somewhat in the course of the centuries, but it runs so neatly around one BC group (the Dolinci) that there is no reason to assume that it did.

Map 7 (N78M11), which shows us the reflexes of **ɛ* in the same phonetic environment in another lexeme (*žedan/žajan* ‘thirsty’), demonstrates how lexically dependent the distribution of this feature is (note that the Hacı and Poljanci have *žetva* but *žajan*) and at the same time corroborates the assumption that the isogloss originated in the old homeland. As was the case with Map 6, there is little reason to suppose that the isogloss moved after the migration.

3.2.3 Map 8 shows the locative singular endings of *o*-stem nouns (both masculine and neuter) as they are presented on N78M30, completed with some infor-

²⁴ The reader might object that part of the Štoji can already have taken over *teg* from the Southern Čakavians before the migration. However, this is highly improbable, since it would mean that the same Štoji dialects that now border on Southern Čakavian already did so before the migration (cf. the last paragraph of section 2.2).

²⁵ In the course of this article we shall see that such examples are rare.

²⁶ Map 13 of Neweklowsky 1978 suggests that in the westernmost Dolinci village the form is *žetva*, which is contradicted on page 105. I assume that the icon on the map is a mistake.

mation from the main text of N78 (195). According to N78, the dialects that have *-i* also have *-u* as a free variant ending, except the Moravian Croats and Chorvátsky Grob, which exclusively have/had *-i*.²⁷ (I left area 2 on Map 8a open to symbolize that it includes the Moravian Croats; the small club under Č1 on Map 8b stands for Chorvátsky Grob and the Moravian Croats.) Literary Burgenland Croatian also had free variation until the 19th century (Hadrovics 1974: 190, 192-193), whereas, according to N78, now only *-u* is written (195, no sources given). All this suggests that in the premigratory situation the Vlahi and Štoji had *-u* and the other BC groups *-i*. After the migration *-u* spread to the rest of Burgenland Croatian, resulting in the disappearance of *-i* in part of the Southern Čakavian dialects and variation in the other BC groups, except in the extreme north, which was not reached. If one assumes that prior to the migration the Štoji and Vlahi formed part of a larger area with *-u*, the premigratory location of the dialect of Chorvátsky Grob is improbable (see also 3.4.2 below). Summarizing, one can conclude that Map 10 reflects a large scale postmigratory development departing from a premigratory isogloss.

3.2.4 Map 9 (N78M27) tells us which dialects reflect original final *-m* as *-n* and which ones preserved *-m*. We see that the only BC group that has final *-m* consistently reflected as *-n* is that of the Štoji. Part of the Vlahi has retained *-m* and the picture of the Dolinci and the Southern Čakavians suggests that for these BC groups *-m* is the relict form. The only Hacı and Poljanci dialect that has *-n* is that of Kópháza, which neighbours on a Dolinci area with *-n*. It is clear that *-n* spread at least partially after the migration. I propose a premigratory situation in which the Štoji had *-n* and were the center from which *-n* diffused afterwards. It is probable that the diffusion of *-n* from the Štoji to the Dolinci had started before the migration.

3.2.5 If we would want the maps 4b-9b that we have discussed so far to represent the situation as it probably was before the migration, we would have to “correct” four of them. On Map 4b we would have to change the feature attested for Chorvátsky Grob and on Map 5b one of the features for the Štoji and the minority features for the Hacı and Poljanci and the Southern Čakavians. On Map 8b we would have to remove the ending *-u* for the Southern Čakavians and the possibility of free variation between *-i* and *-u* for the Dolinci, Kajkavians and Hacı and Poljanci. Chorvátsky Grob does not fit in very well (see 3.4.2 be-

²⁷ This free variation between *-i* and *-u* is confirmed by Koschat 1978: 82. For Kajkavian and the neighbouring Hacı and Poljanci dialect of Kópháza I must refine the picture somewhat. There the normal ending is *-i* and *-u* is only attested for a very restricted set of lexemes (Houtzagers 1999: 76 and forthc.). The preference for *-u* in *svet* ‘world’ agrees with that found in older written texts (see Hadrovics 1974: 192-193).

low). On Map 9b we would have to restrict final $-n < -m$ to the Štoji and part of the Dolinci.

All this would result in the “corrected” premigratory maps numbered 10 through 13 below. Maps 6b and 7b are not in need of “correction”. It goes without saying that “corrected” premigratory maps like Maps 10-13 are even one step more hypothetical than those of the type 4b and 5b, because they include my reconstruction, which does not have to be correct.

3.3 Comparison: pre- or postmigratory

I made 52 comparisons of the type described above, based on the maps presented in N78 (after page 376). The reason why I chose these maps as a basis for the comparison between the new situation and the hypothetical old one is the fact that almost all of them are about features that are explicitly used to distinguish the BC groups from each other.²⁸ Because the BC groups are assumed in some way or other to be continuations of premigratory dialect varieties, it is a reasonable hypothesis that the distribution of the features themselves is in principle premigratory.²⁹

For reasons of space I cannot present the details of each comparison in this article, but I shall give my conclusions, illustrated by examples and maps when I consider that helpful.

3.3.1 In most cases (37 out of 52) my comparison of the maps in N78 with the hypothetical premigratory maps along the lines shown in 3.1 and 3.2 corroborates Neweklowsky’s explicit or implicit hypothesis that we must consider the relevant characteristics premigratory, by which is meant that both the isoglosses themselves and their general geographic picture arose before the migration.³⁰ This does not mean that after the migration nothing happened (see 3.5 below).

3.3.2 In more than half of these cases (20 out of 37) the main clue against the assumption that the spreading of the relevant features was postmigratory are features shared by Kajkavian and presently non-adjacent BC groups to the south. The following possibilities can be distinguished:

²⁸ On pages 59, 60, 94, 108, 115, 138, 153, 170 and 186 I count 45, but Neweklowsky’s enumerations are often followed by “u.a.” (‘and others’).

²⁹ This hypothesis is by far not always explicit in N78, but sometimes it is, especially in the chapter on the origins of the Burgenland Croats (264-281).

³⁰ With respect to the question whether isoglosses were pre- or postmigratory I could find no statistically significant differences between isoglosses pertaining to different levels of the language such as phonology, morphology or lexicon.

- (a) The relevant feature is shared by Kajkavian and the Vlahi (3 cases: N78M4, 5, 34).
- (b) The relevant feature is shared by Kajkavian, the Vlahi and the Štoji (8 cases: N78M21, 26, 28, 32, 35, 36, 37, 48). These cases can also be seen as cases in which the Čakavian dialects are opposed to the other BC groups (see 3.3.3 sub (i)). In almost all of these cases part of the Southern Čakavian BC group shares the same feature, but, in contradistinction to the cases under (c) below, there is reason to believe that this arose after the migration. I shall give two examples. The first is Map 14 (N78M36). In view of the marginal location of the Southern Čakavian villages with *uho* it is probable that this is the original form for this lexeme in this BC group and that the other form spread from the Vlahi and Štoji after the migration. If we believe that the original location of Chorvátsky Grob is correct, we have to assume that it took over *uho* from the Hacı and Poljanci (but see 3.4.2). Map 15 (N78M37) shows us the same diffusion from the Vlahi and Štoji to the Southern Čakavians, but on a smaller scale. Chorvátsky Grob must have taken along its characteristic from the old homeland and probably spread it to Devínska Nová Ves. There is one Štoji village that does not fit in very well, viz. Miedlingsdorf (see 3.4.3 below).
- (c) The relevant feature is shared by Kajkavian, the Vlahi, Štoji and Southern Čakavians (4 cases: N78M6, 11, 18, 38).
- (d) The relevant feature is shared by Kajkavian and the Štoji (5 cases: N78M9, 25, 41, 42, 50). In most cases the feature spread to part of the Southern Čakavians after the migration (see (b) above).

In accordance with Neweklowsky's premigratory map, no features are shared by Kajkavian and the Southern Čakavians exclusively.

3.3.3 The remaining 17 cases in which the dialect map seems to corroborate the hypothesis "pre migratory" fall apart into a number of small categories.

- (i) The relevant feature is shared by non-adjacent Čakavian BC groups (8 cases; the 8 cases in 3.3.2 sub (b) can also be argued to belong here). In one case the Dolinci share the relevant feature with the Southern Čakavians only (N78M19, see last paragraph of 3.5.1 below and Map 19), in three cases the feature is shared by the Southern Čakavians and the Hacı and Poljanci (N78M47, 49, 51), in the other 4 (or 12) cases the feature is common to all Čakavian dialects (N78M1, 10, 24, 45). In part of these cases postmigratory developments have blurred the picture, especially in the Southern Čakavian area.
- (ii) The relevant feature is shared by the Dolinci and the Štoji (1 case: N78M13).

- (iii) The relevant feature is shared by the Hacı and Poljanci, Dolinci and the Štoji (1 case: N78M46).
- (iv) The relevant feature opposes one BC group to all the other ones (2 cases), and there is reason to believe that the feature did not occur separately in that one BC group. There is a single case in which the “one group” is the Dolinci and one in which it is the Vlahi (N78M12 and 15, respectively).
- (v) The relevant feature is obviously old, because it opposes large areas within Central South Slavic to each other and it also agrees with Neweklowsky’s premigratory map. The present dialect geographic picture does not corroborate much apart from the fact that the isoglosses run neatly between the BC groups (1 case: N78M14).
- (vi) The data from only a small number of villages corroborate the hypothesis “pre migratory”. This occurs in the case of Miedlingsdorf (2 instances, one of which together with Zuberbach; both belong to the Vlahi BC group: N78M2, 3) and Chorvátsky Grob together with Devínska Nová Ves (1 instance: N78M39).
- (vii) There is one complicated case, for which it cannot be said to which of the categories (i-v) it belongs (N78M22). We see this case on Map 16. The original form is undoubtedly *bil* and the marginal location of the villages with *bil* on Map 16a suggests that at least part of the diffusion of the other forms has been taking place after the migration. At the same time the discontinuous areas with *bi* indicate that part of the innovating forms are also premigratory. Several scenarios are possible. One of them is that before the migration the Vlahi already had *bi(j)a*, part of the Hacı and Poljanci had *bi_u* and part of the continuum of the Štoji, Dolinci and Southern Čakavians already had *bi*. After the migration these innovating forms kept spreading at the expense of *bil*.

3.3.4 In 2 cases it is more probable that the general geographical picture of the relevant feature is postmigratory. One of these was discussed in 3.2.3 above (Map 8 in the present article, N78M30). The other one is that of the distribution of the preservation or loss of the phoneme *ʃ* (Map 17, N78M23). Apart from the Štoji, in every BC group larger than one village there is a mixture of some kind. Kajkavian has two possibilities (*ʃudi/judi*), the other BC groups are divided: some villages have *ʃudi*, others have *judi*. The Hacı and Poljanci group is almost homogeneous, with consistent *ʃudi*, except in the village nearest to the Kajkavians (Kópháza), which has *ʃudi/judi*. The situation in Kópháza and Kajkavian suggests that the process of loss of the phoneme *ʃ* is going on right now, and the location of most of the villages in the middle and south of the Burgenland which have preserved *ʃ* seem to indicate that the spread of the loss of *ʃ* has at least in part taken place after the migration. The only thing that speaks against assuming this spread as entirely postmigrational is the slight discontinu-

ity of the areas with loss of *ʃ*. Possibly in the premigratory continuum between Vlahi, Southern Čakavians and Dolinci there already were a few villages where *ʃ* was being lost and after the migration loss of *ʃ* continued spreading from several – now discontinuous – locations.

3.3.5 There are 13 cases in which I think that it cannot be established whether the relevant feature arose before or after the migration (N78M7, 8, 16, 17, 20, 27, 29, 31, 33, 40, 43, 44, 52).

Map 18 (N78M7) shows what appear to be two different degrees of diphthongization resulting in rising diphthongs, the isogloss between which splits Burgenland Croatian in a northern and a southern part.³¹ To the south only originally long *e* and *o* have diphthongized (with some phonetic variation); to the north, in addition, short *e* and *o* have diphthongized if they were already stressed before the stress retraction.

What the areas marked “2” on the map have in common is the absence of the change of long *e* and *o* to rising diphthongs. Chorvátsky Grob and some Vlahi dialects have no diphthongization at all. Other Vlahi dialects have different other kinds of diphthongization, often resulting in falling diphthongs as reflexes of (part of the) old long vowels.³² The Kajkavian dialects diphthongized old long *e* and *o* to *ei* and *ou*. It is not excluded that the tendency to diphthongize long vowels into falling diphthongs must be accounted for by the assumption that before the migration the Vlahi and Kajkavians were neighbours. On the other hand the Vlahi dialects do not form a unity at all in this respect (very often other vowels than long *e* and *o* are involved) and in the case of the Vlahi the variety of German spoken in the area could have served as a model for this type of diphthongization (cf. N78: 29-31). In the case of Kajkavian the diphthongization had probably taken place before the migration: 1. it is very unlikely that the Kajkavian dialect was deeply influenced by German and 2. the languages by which the speakers of Burgenland Kajkavian – which has probably never consisted of more than a few villages – have always been surrounded, viz. western Hungarian and Burgenland Čakavian, diphthongize their long vowels in exactly the opposite direction (cf. Houtzagers 1996: 127).

Regarding the diphthongization resulting in rising diphthongs, what makes the chronology difficult is that it can be doubted whether it represented (and represents)³³ more than a phonetic characteristic of long *e* and *o* which can have

³¹ On N78M7, the south easternmost Dolinci village (Tömörd) belongs to the northern type within the Dolinci BC group. I corrected that on the basis of the main text (N78: 94).

³² The phonological and phonetic accounts of N78 (170-180) and Tornow (1989: 3-4) on the vowels in the Vlah dialects do not always agree.

³³ In N78, diphthongization is consistently treated as a phonetic and not a phonemic characteristic, with the exception of Weingraben, which has lost distinctive length.

come about at any time, affecting different sets of vowels according to the lengthenings that had previously taken place in the different dialects. In the north, where originally long and originally stressed short vowels are reflected as diphthongs (*tièlo*, *gliédət*) but originally pretonic short vowels are not (*s^lelo*), we can assume that before the retraction stressed short *e* and *o* were lengthened, in the south they were not. I do not agree with Neweklowsky that the situation in the north proves that the diphthongization took place before the retraction (N87: 73). In my opinion the situation in the southern half of the Dolinci group forms a stronger case for Neweklowsky's chronology. Here we have three sets of stressed *o*- and *e*- like vowels. Original long *e* and *o* are reflected as diphthongs, original stressed short *e* and *o* as long rising monophthongs and short *e* and *o* that received the stress as a result of the retraction as short monophthongs: *mieso*, *lé:to*, *s^lelo* (N78: 94-95). An elegant way to account for this would be to assume (1) diphthongization of long *e* and *o*; (2) lengthening of short stressed *e* and *o*; (3) retraction. However, this solution is not the only one possible. It is also imaginable that there were other types of timbre distinctions between the different sets of vowels before the present situation arose.³⁴

Summarizing, I conclude that little can be said about the chronology of the various types of diphthongization. In view of the frequency with which rising diphthongs are found in Čakavian dialects, it is reasonable to assume that at least a tendency toward diphthongization was brought along by (an unknown part of) the Čakavian dialects and spread to most of the Burgenland afterwards. There is an (albeit inconclusive) indication for a *terminus ante quem* in the case of part of the Dolinci. The course of isogloss 1 on Map 18 makes it improbable that the whole picture as it is now is premigratory: it would be too much of a coincidence if the neat internal division between north and south within the Dolinci group would reflect a premigratory situation.

3.4 Isoglosses on the premigratory dialect map

3.4.1 Those 37 cases in which we can assume that both the relevant characteristics themselves and their general distribution are premigratory agree very well with the premigratory map proposed in N78. In each case, if we would make "corrected" premigratory maps by removing the part of the distribution that we can reasonably consider postmigratory, the result would be a neat dialect map on which the linguistic features are shared by continuous areas. If we take all these maps together, we see that the isoglosses run through the area in almost every imaginable way and unite almost every possible set of premigratory neighbours. This, in my opinion, strongly corroborates Neweklowsky's assump-

³⁴ As a matter of fact, Neweklowsky assumes that on the phonemic level this type of Dolinci dialects has four degrees of openness, one of which is phonetically diphthongized (N78: 94).

tions. There are 19 different distribution patterns, one of which is found in 9 cases: here the area is divided into two parts with Kajkavian and Štokavian (Štoji and Vlahi) on one side of the isogloss and the Čakavian BC groups (Dolinci, Southern Čakavians and Dolinci) on the other (N78M21, 24, 26, 28, 32, 35, 36, 37, 48). One distribution pattern occurs 4 times, two occur 3 times, the other 15 occur once only or twice. This suggests that before the migration the dialects have been neighbours for a considerable time and that the situation was one of intensive contact in every possible direction.

3.4.2 There are also two individual villages that figure on Neweklowsky's premigratory map: Weingraben and Chorvátsky Grob (both with a question mark). The location of the former (between the Dolinci, Štoji and Kajkavians) is plausible and presents no problems. There are a few cases in which Weingraben shares characteristics with the Kajkavians and not with the other premigratory neighbours (final *-m*, the lexeme *ide* as opposed to *gre*, Isg of *a*-stems in *-um*). This could lead one to move the premigratory location of Weingraben somewhat to the east, but this is not necessary since the Kajkavian influence might have come from the north as well (from the north bank of the Kupa, see Map 3).

The location of Chorvátsky Grob south of the Vlahi is more problematic. This village shares several characteristics with the Dolinci and Hacı and Poljanci that cannot reasonably be assumed to have been taken over after the migration, e.g. the *i/ekavian* reflex of *jat*. In addition it has several traits in common with the Štoji, either together with Kajkavian (e.g. prothetic *v-* in *vučiti*, *menom* as opposed to *manom*) or the Southern Čakavians (distinctive length in accented and pretonic syllables). It seems more probable that the premigratory location was to the northwest of the Vlahi, between the Vlahi, Štoji, Dolinci and Southern Čakavians. The only feature shared exclusively with Kajkavian (viz. the interrogative pronoun *kaj*) could be due to mixed settlement (see the last paragraph of 2.5).³⁵ The small number of villages in which this type of Burgenland Croatian was spoken (cf. N78: 108) and its peripheral position within Burgenland Croatian can have it made more susceptible to influences from outside.

Devínska Nová Ves has no separate location on Neweklowsky's premigratory map. This is probably due to the fact that the dialect is very similar to that of the Hacı and Poljanci and there are no characteristics shared with other BC groups that would suggest historical connections. There are a few instances in which the dialect was probably influenced by those of the Chorvátsky Grob type

³⁵ *Menom* and *vučiti* could also be due to mixed settlement, but are already sufficiently accounted for if we assume that the Štoji were among the premigratory neighbours.

(see for instance N78M37, 39).³⁶ The original location of the Devínska Nová Ves dialect can in principle have been any not too central place in the Hacı and Poljanci area or a place near that area.

3.4.3 The two north westernmost Štoji villages Zuberbach and Miedlingsdorf also deserve separate attention. These villages have a more or less i/ekavian reflex of *jat* and several other characteristics that connect them historically with i/ekavian Čakavian, which is why Neweklowsky calls them “štojisierte, ehemals aber čakavishe Mundarten” (N78: 153). The problem is, however, that among the many characteristics that Zuberbach and Miedlingsdorf share with their present-day neighbours, there are several that they cannot have taken over after the migration, such as the absence of stress shift or the presence of distinctive length in stressed and pretonic syllables (instead of stressed and posttonic). We must assume that the premigratory location of these two dialects was near the western border of the Štoji area, not far from the Dolinci.

3.5 Postmigratory areal diffusion

3.5.1 After the migration many individual Burgenland Croatian dialects have been taking over linguistic characteristics from neighbouring BC groups (including the “single-village groups” Chorvátsky Grob and Weingraben). Examples: Kajkavian from the neighbouring Hacı and Poljanci dialect of Kópháza (e.g. several instances of *i*-reflexes of *jat* such as *crikfa*, see Houtzagers 1996: 123) and vice versa (choice between *lj* and *j* in *judi* ‘people’, see Houtzagers, *forthc.*), the Dolinci dialect of Kaisersdorf from neighbouring Weingraben (e.g. N78M10), Devínska Nová Ves from Chorvátsky Grob (see 3.3.2 (b)).

Instances of postmigratory areal diffusion on a larger scale are primarily found in the southern part of the Burgenland, in the area occupied by the Vlahi, Štoji and Southern Čakavians. By far the most instances of areal spreading took place in the eastern half of that area, mostly involving the Štoji and the eastern half of the Southern Čakavian dialects. The characteristics concerned can be either phonological, morphological or lexical. The direction of the spreading was almost always north to south. For example, the interrogative pronoun *što* (Vlahi and Štoji) spread to the south to such an extent that nowadays the majority of the Southern Čakavian villages has *što* (N78M1). Other examples can be seen on Maps 14 and 15 discussed in 3.3.2 above. Similar areal diffusion is found on N78M10, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 32, 35, 42, 46, 47, 48, 50. Only in the case of *menom* vs. *manom* (N78M9) there is reason to believe that the influence went from south to north (from Southern Čakavians to Štoji). There is a possibility that the

³⁶ Devínska Nová Ves and Chorvátsky Grob are not very near to each other, but from Map 1 it can be seen that in the past there were Croatian villages in between.

same happened in the case of the word for ‘corn’ (N78M51, see 3.2.1 above and Map 5 in the present article).

There are only a few instances of other patterns of postmigratory areal spreading on a larger scale. In one instance the Vlahi influenced part of the Štoji (lexeme for ‘forest’ N78M41), in another part of the Dolinci took over a lexeme from the Hacı and Poljanci (‘kitchen’, N78M44). In the complicated case of the form for ‘pull’ (*vlič* vs. *vuć* vs. *vluć*; see Map 19, N78M19) there is a possibility that for the Southern Čakavians and the Dolinci *vuć* was the original form and *vlič* spread from all other BC groups, resulting in Southern Čakavian and Dolinci relict areas with *vuć* and a Dolinci area with intermediate *vluć*. What is not indicated on the map is the fact that Kópháza (the Hacı and Poljanci village west of Kajkavian) has both *vuć* (together with one of its neighbours, the only Dolinci village with *vuć*) and *vlič*.

Another instance of large scale postmigratory diffusion was discussed in 3.2.3 and shown on Map 8.

3.5.2 What strikes the eye when one looks at the maps in N78 is the internal unity of the Hacı and Poljanci dialects. There are three maps (N78M21, 48, 49) on which one or two villages in the extreme north differ from the rest of their BC group, always together with Devínska Nová Ves and/or Chorvátsky Grob. There is one map (N78M31) on which Kajkavian and a few adjoining Hacı and Poljanci dialects share the same characteristic (Isg *-um* in *a*-stem nouns). What I know from my own data is that Kópháza, a Hacı and Poljanci village in Hungary geographically close to Kajkavian, is in a number of respects intermediate between the Hacı and Poljanci and Dolinci and shares a few characteristics with Kajkavian (see Houtzagers, *forthc.*). The explanation for the homogeneity of the Hacı and Poljanci group could be its size, in combination with its distance to the other BC groups.

4. Conclusion

By far the most maps in Neweklowsky 1978 (37 out of 52) show isoglosses that are probably premigratory, by which I mean that both the existence itself of the isoglosses and the general picture of the sets of dialects divided by them must be assumed to date from before the migration. Only in two cases I think that the general dialect geographical picture is postmigratory: the spread of the desinence *-u* in the Lsg of *o*-stems and the loss of the phoneme *ʃ*. In 13 cases I am of the opinion that it cannot be established whether it is pre- or postmigratory.

In the first part of this article I have argued that Neweklowsky’s proposed premigratory map is a good starting-point for drawing hypothetical premigratory isoglosses. Comparison of the new and the hypothetical old map corroborates in a very convincing way the relative premigratory locations of the BC

groups proposed by Neweklowsky, with the exception of that of Chorvátsky Grob. The patterns of the premigratory isoglosses suggest intensive contacts over a long period.

After the migration areal diffusion on a small scale (one or two villages) has taken place over the whole area. Larger-scale spreading of linguistic features has been quite common in the south, notably from the Štoji to the eastern part of the Southern Čakavian area, and has been much more restricted in other parts of the Burgenland. An example of a large scale diffusion from south to north is the just mentioned spread of the desinence *-u* in the Lsg of *o*-stems.

It must be noted that the validity of almost everything that has been said above rests heavily on the assumption that the present BC groups more or less correspond to dialect groups showing a comparable kind of similarity before the migration, which is not more than a working hypothesis.³⁷

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³⁷ There are instances in which there is some proof that the migrants moved from one possession of the same landowner to another (e.g. in the case of the Kajkavians, see Houtzagers 1999: 20-25), but (a) this does not mean that this was always the case; (b) one landowner could have various, non-contingent properties in the Burgenland region; (c) it would be highly coincidental if the boundaries between the properties of the various landowners in the premigratory situation would coincide with bundles of isoglosses between dialects.

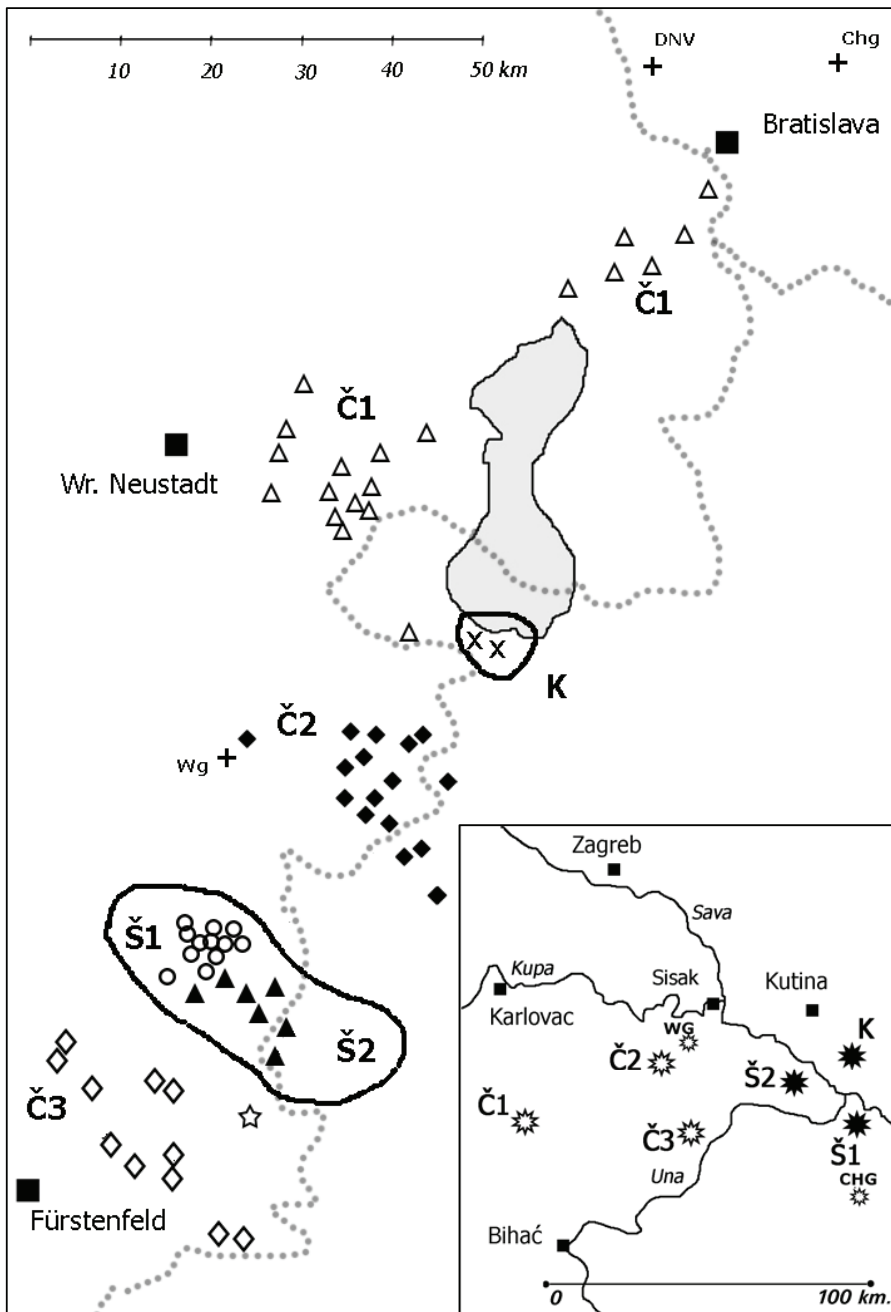
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APPENDIX: LIST OF MAPS IN N78

1. Interrogative pronoun: *ča, što* or *kaj*?
2. The reflex of *jat*: *i-*, *e-* or *i/ekavian*?
3. Reflex of *jat* in **gnězdo*.
4. Presence/absence of length oppositions in various positions.
5. Place of the stress: old, retracted, etc.
6. Presence or absence of lengthening of (once) stressed final closed syllables.
7. Presence or absence of diphthongization of (i) old long **ē, *ō* and (ii) old short **e, *o* with original stress, except in final syllables.
8. Reflex of syllabic *r*.
9. Reflex of weak *jer* in Isg **sṵ mṵnom*.
10. Reflex of weak *jers* in **dṵnṵsb*.
11. Reflex of front nasal in **žṵdṵnb*.
12. Reflex of front nasal in **žṵtva*.
13. Presence or absence of change **ra > re* in *vrabac, rasti, krasti*.
14. Preposition *vṵ*: *u, va* [vu in Kajkavian, PH].
15. Reflex of **vṵ* in **vṵzṵti*.
16. Accentuation in the present of the verb *morati*.
17. Presence or absence of *-i* in *mati*.
18. Vowel in *tepal/topal*.
19. Form of the verb 'pull': *vlić* [including *vleć*, PH], *vuć* or *vluć*.
20. Presence or absence of initial *i-* in (i) *šli*.
21. Presence or absence of the opposition *č* vs. *ć*.
22. Masculine singular of the *l*-participle: *bīy, bil, bi, bi(j)a*.
23. Retention or loss of the phoneme *l* as opposed to *j*.
24. Presence or absence of prothetic *j-*, *dʲ-* or *dž-* before initial *i-*: *iskat, jiskat*, etc.
25. Presence or absence of prothetic *v-* in *učiti*.
26. Presence or absence of initial *š* in *štil*.
27. Final *-m > n*?
28. Comparative of *velik*: *veći* or *veksi*?
29. Ordinal numeral *treti* or *treći*?
30. Lsg ending of *o*-stems: *-i* or *-u*?
31. Isg ending of *a*-stems: *-u, -um* or *-om*?
32. Lpl ending of neuter pluralia tantum: *na vrati(h)* or *na vrato(h)*?
33. *Po nīmški* or *po nīmšku* 'in German'?
34. Enclitic accusative of neuter personal pronoun: *je* or *ga*?
35. Habitual past: *oni su tili povidat* or *oni su mogli povidat*?
36. Form of the word 'ear': *uho* or (v) *ušeto/(v)ušeso/šeto*?
37. *Pri nas* or *kod nas*?
38. 'Always': (v) *senek* or (u) *vik*?
39. 'He goes': *gre* or *ide*?
40. Does the word *poredan* exist?
41. The word for 'forest': *loza, gora, lug, kiće* or *grmlje*?
42. The word for 'cock': *pětěh* or *pěvac*?
43. The word for 'Monday': *pandiļak/ pondiļak* or *prvi dan*?
44. The word for 'kitchen': *kuhnja, veža, krepljet*?
45. The word for 'lazy': *lěn, taman/tamal* or *mañi*?
46. The word for 'spring': *protuliće, prmalice/premaliće, proliće*?
47. The word for 'wedding': *pir, veseļe* or *svadba*?
48. The lexeme for 'dog': *kucak, cucak, pas*?
49. The word for 'harrow': *brana* or *zubatka/zubatica*?
50. The word for 'acre (parcel of arable land)': *lapat* or *poļe*?
51. The lexeme for 'corn': *teg* or *žito/žitak*?
52. The word for 'farmer': *paur, or pugar/pogar*?

SUMMARY

In the present article the isoglosses in the Burgenland Croatian dialect area and hypothetical isoglosses in the old homeland of the Burgenland Croats are discussed from a dialect geographical point of view. The author has three purposes: (1) to verify existing theories about the provenance of the Burgenland Croats, especially that of Neweklowsky (1978); (2) to establish the chronology of a number of changes in Burgenland Croatian; (3) to shed some light on the dynamics of postmigratory areal diffusion within Burgenland Croatian.



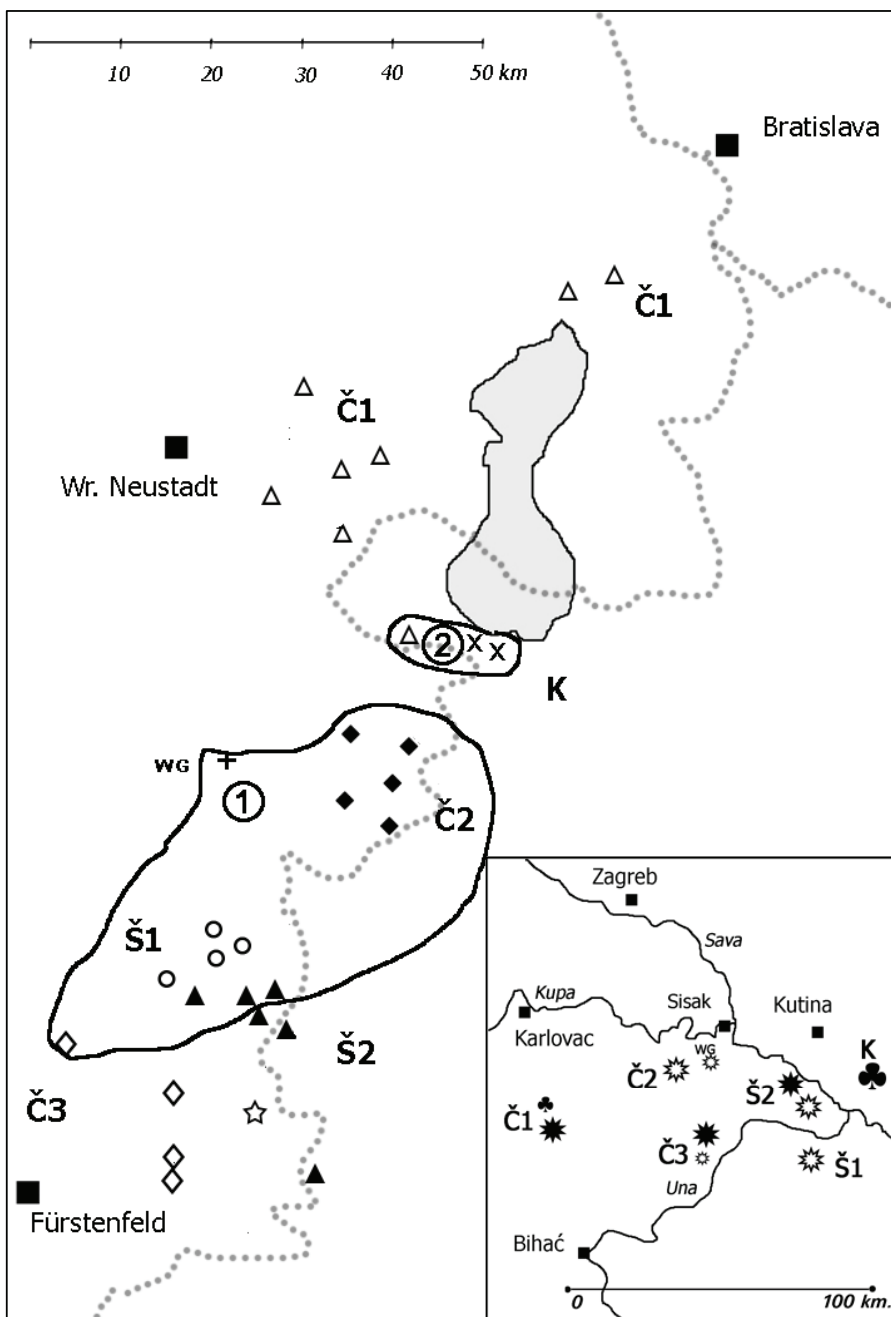
Map 4a

Presence or absence of initial *š* in *štíl*

Map 4b

4a: within the isoglosses the l-participle of **xv̄tēti* is *štíl*, elsewhere *tíl*

4b: * *štíl*; * *tíl*



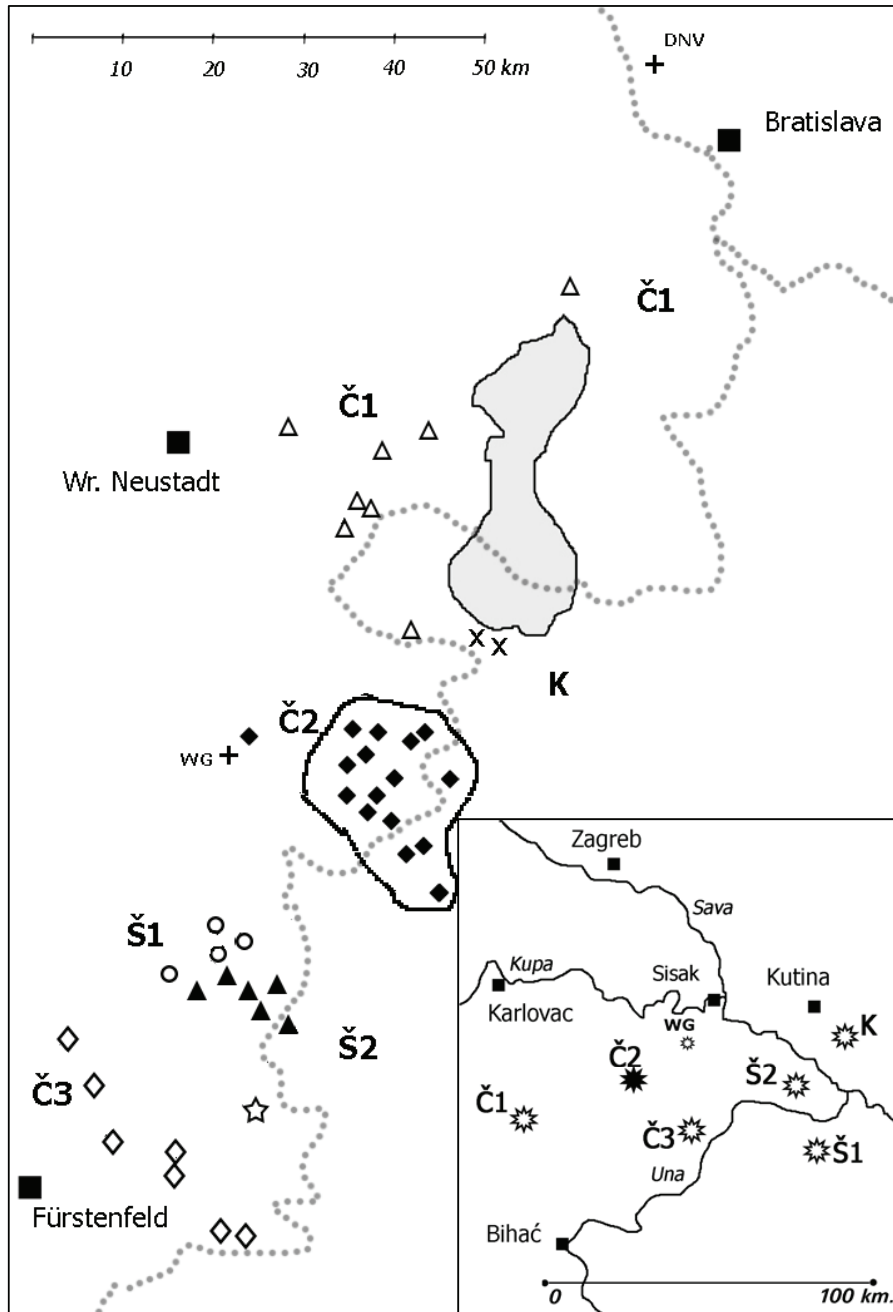
Map 5a

Lexeme for 'corn'

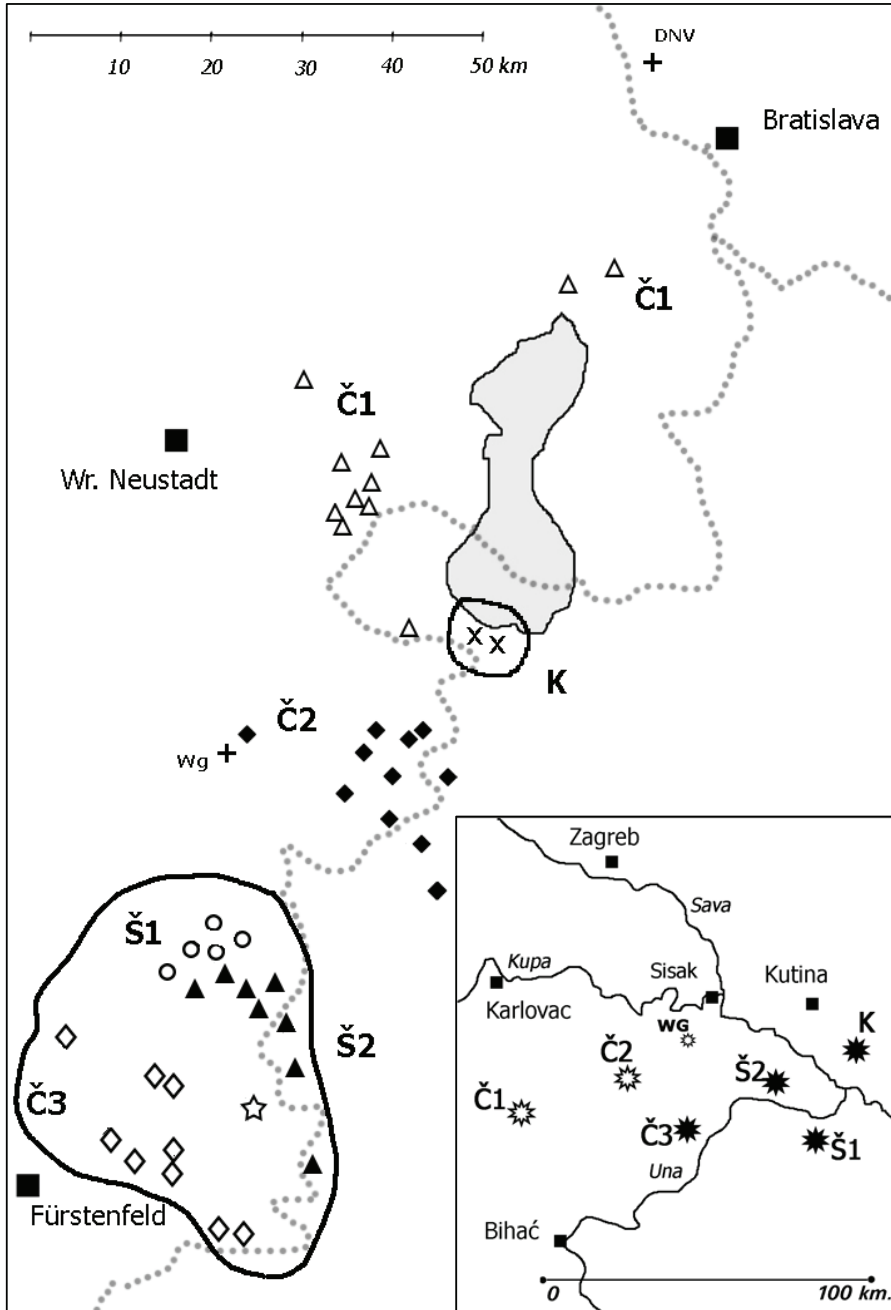
Map 5b

5a: area 1 žito/žitak, area 2 zrnje, elsewhere teg

5b: ☀ žito/žitak; ♣ zrnje; ★ teg



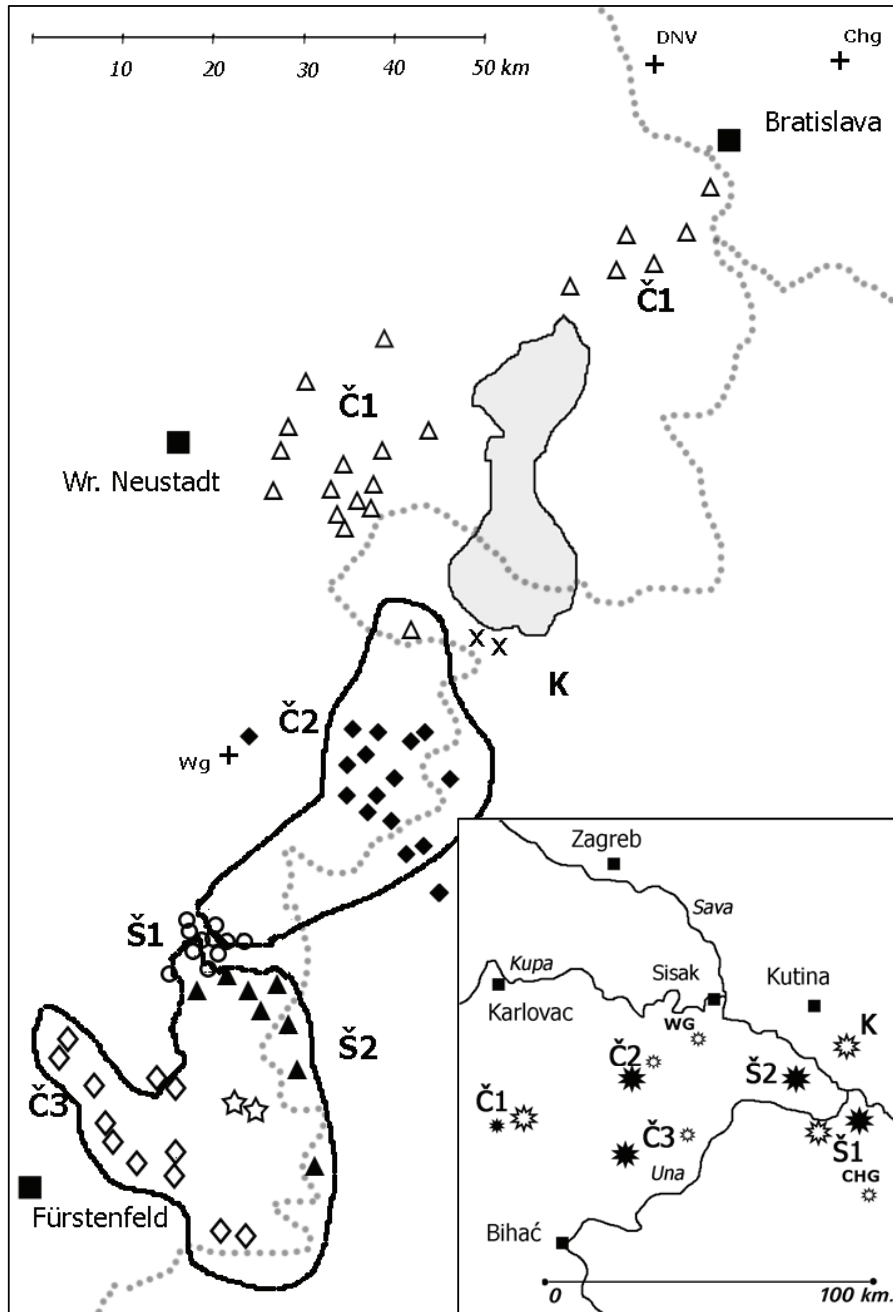
Map 6a Reflex of *ę in *žetva 'harvest' 6a: within the isogloss žatva, elsewhere žetva; 6b: ★ žatva; ☆ žetva Map 6b



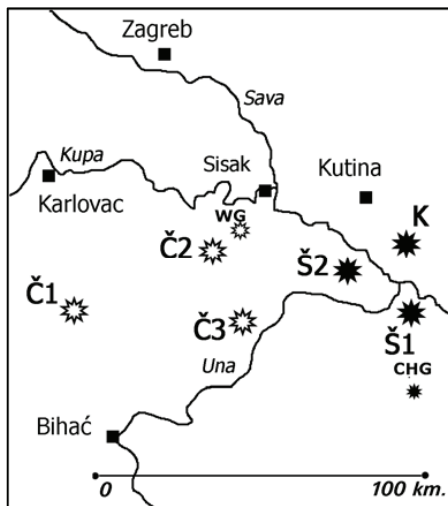
Map 7a Reflex of *ε in *žędono 'thirsty' Map 7b
 7a: within the isoglosses žedan, elsewhere žajan; 7b: žedan; žajan



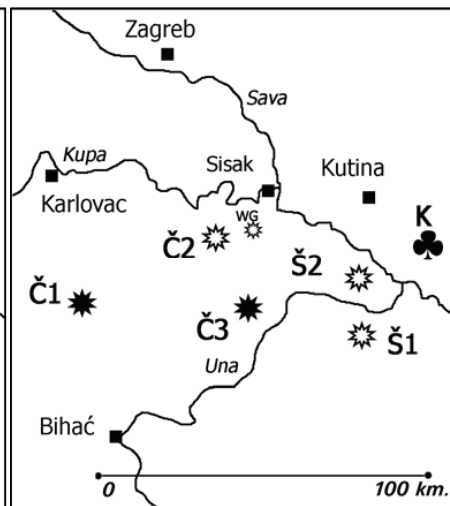
Map 8a Lsg ending of o-stems: -i or -u? Map 8b
 8a: area 1 -u, area 2 -i, elsewhere -i/-u; 8b: * -u; ♣ -i; * -i/-u



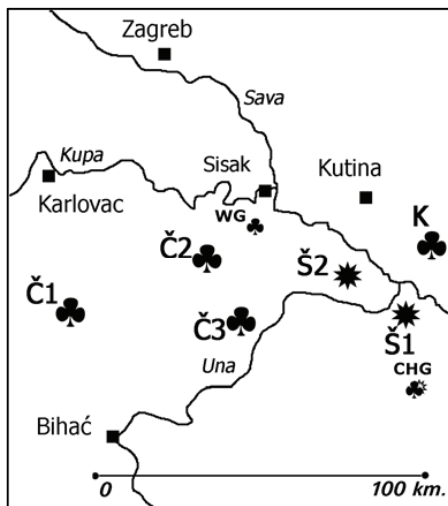
Map 9a Original final $*-m: > -n$ or $> -m$ Map 9b
 9a: within the isoglosses $-n$, elsewhere $-m$; 9b: \star $-n$; \star $-m$



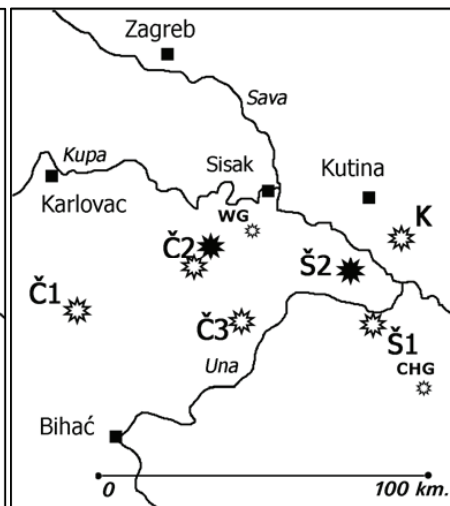
Map 10: corrected version of Map 4b



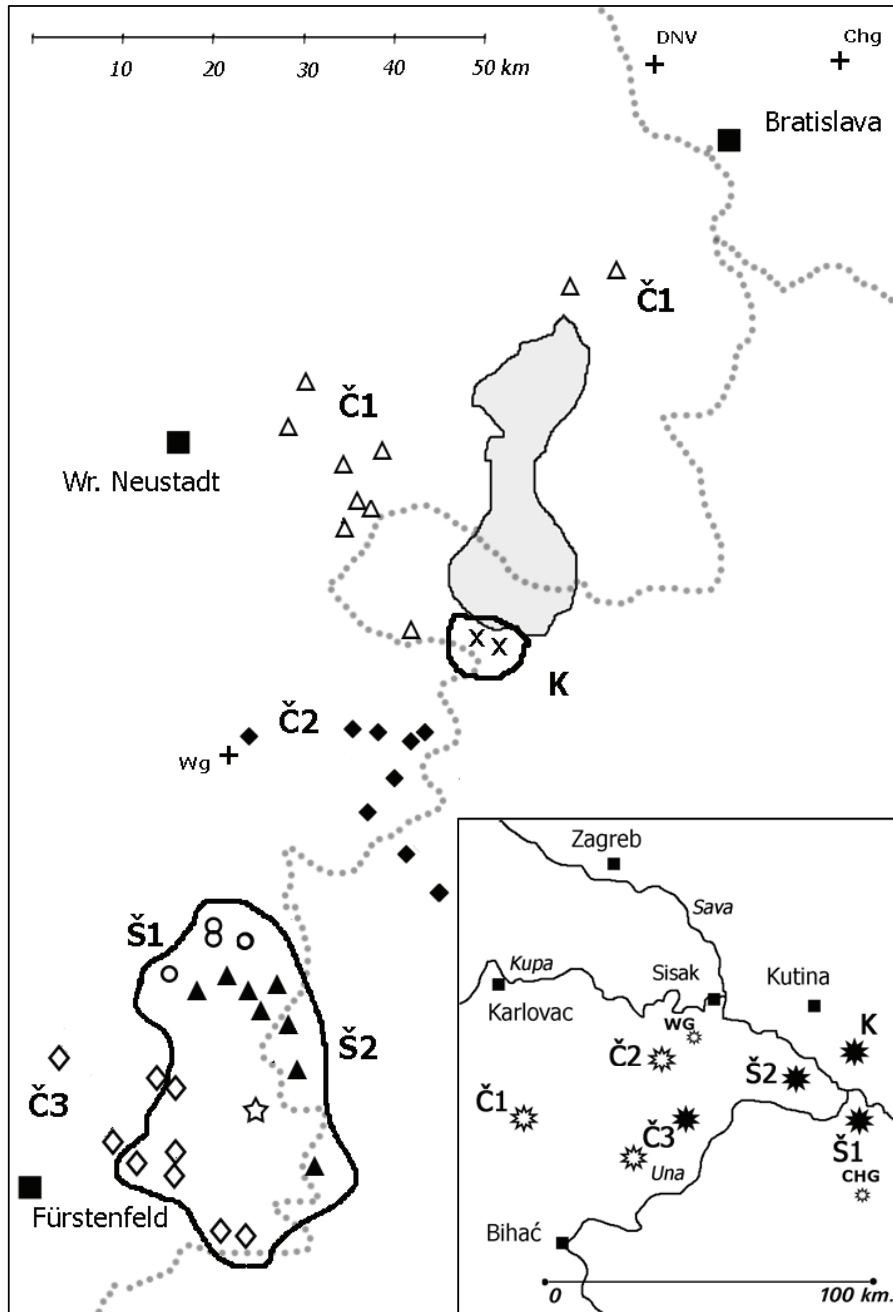
Map 11: corrected version of Map 5b



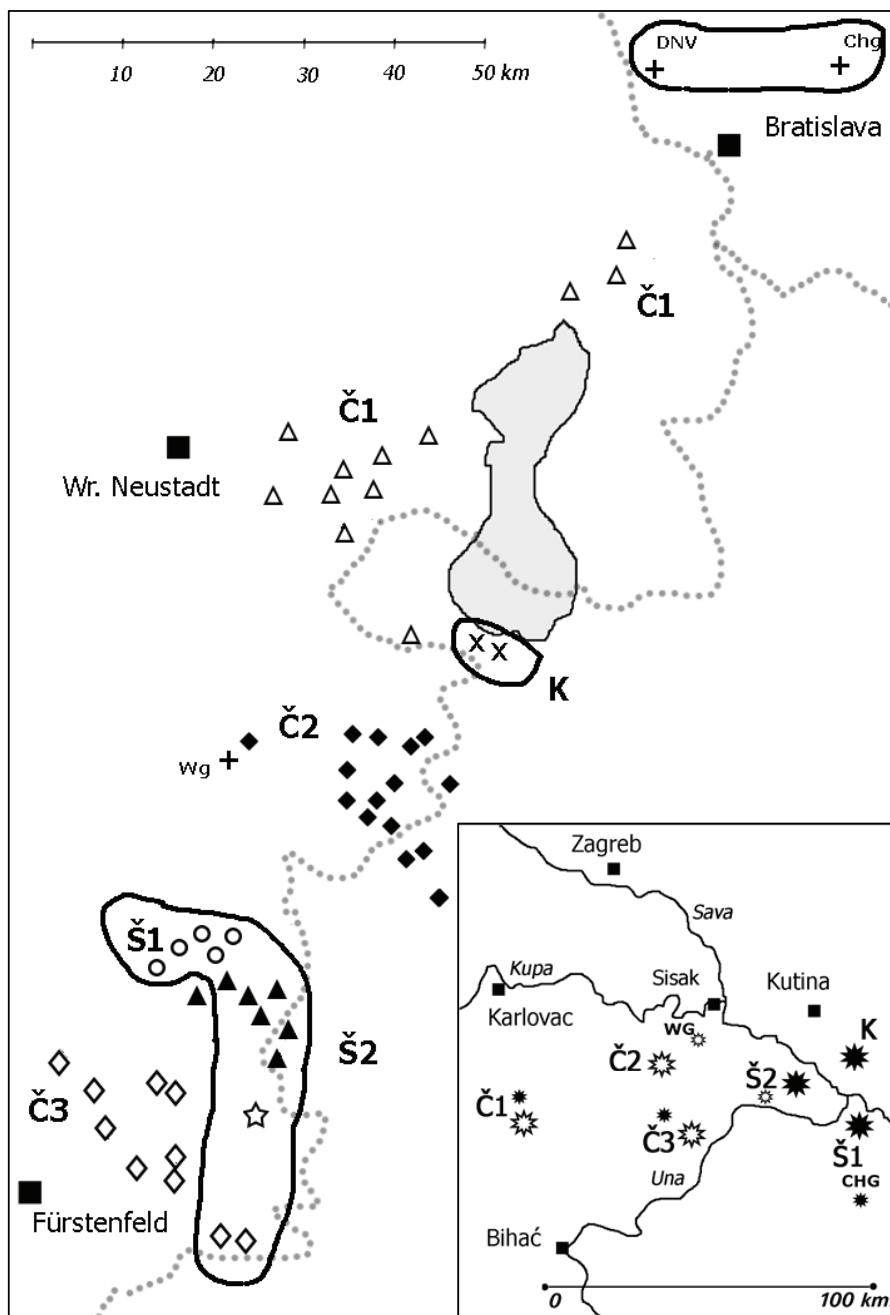
Map 12: corrected version of Map 8b



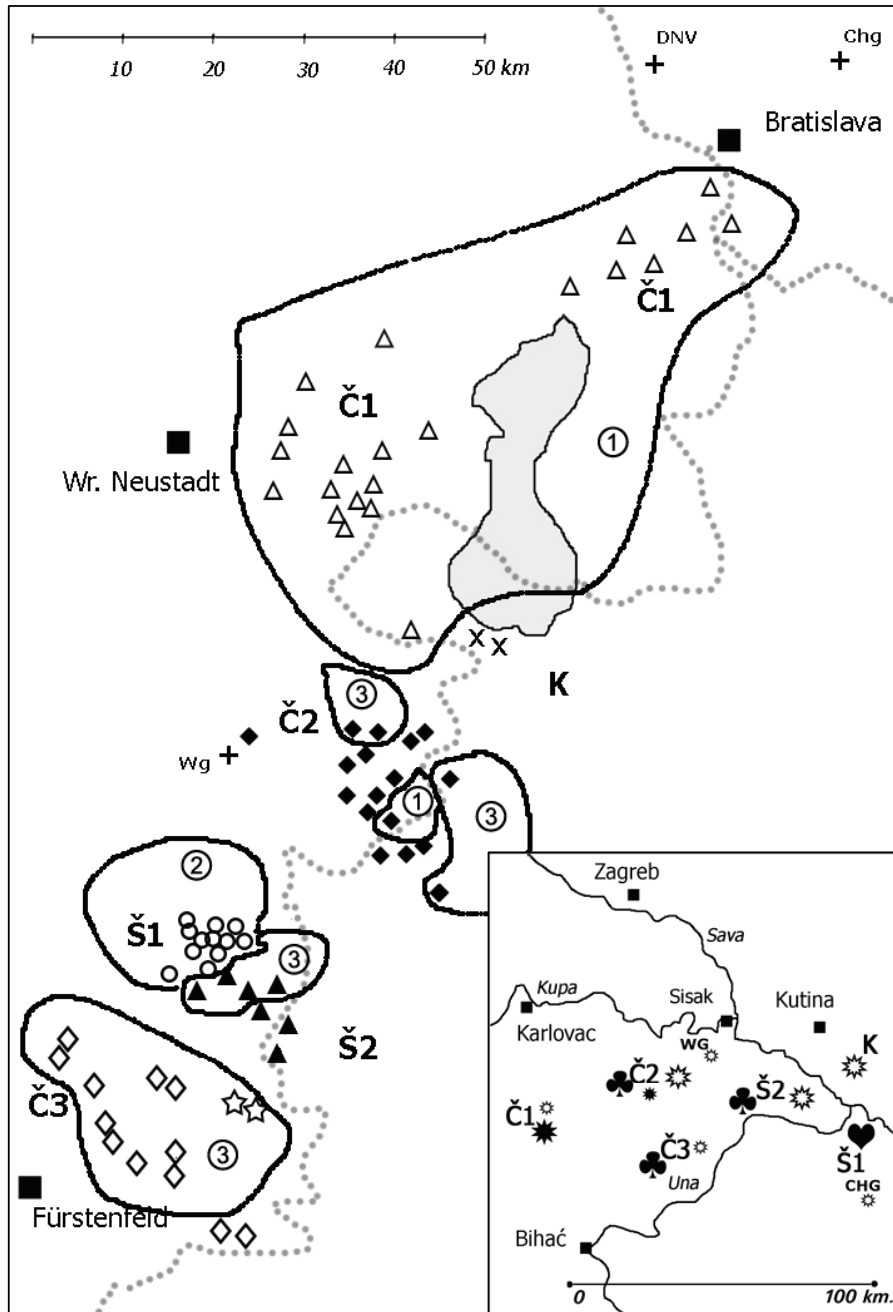
Map 13: corrected version of Map 9b



Map 14a (v)ušeto/(v)ušeso/šeto or uho 'ear' Map 14b
 14a: within the isoglosses vušeto, etc., elsewhere uho; 14b: * vušeto, etc.; * uho



Map 15a *pri nas* or *kod nas* Map 15b
 15a: within the isoglosses *pri nas*, elsewhere *kod nas*; 15b: *pri nas*; *kod nas*

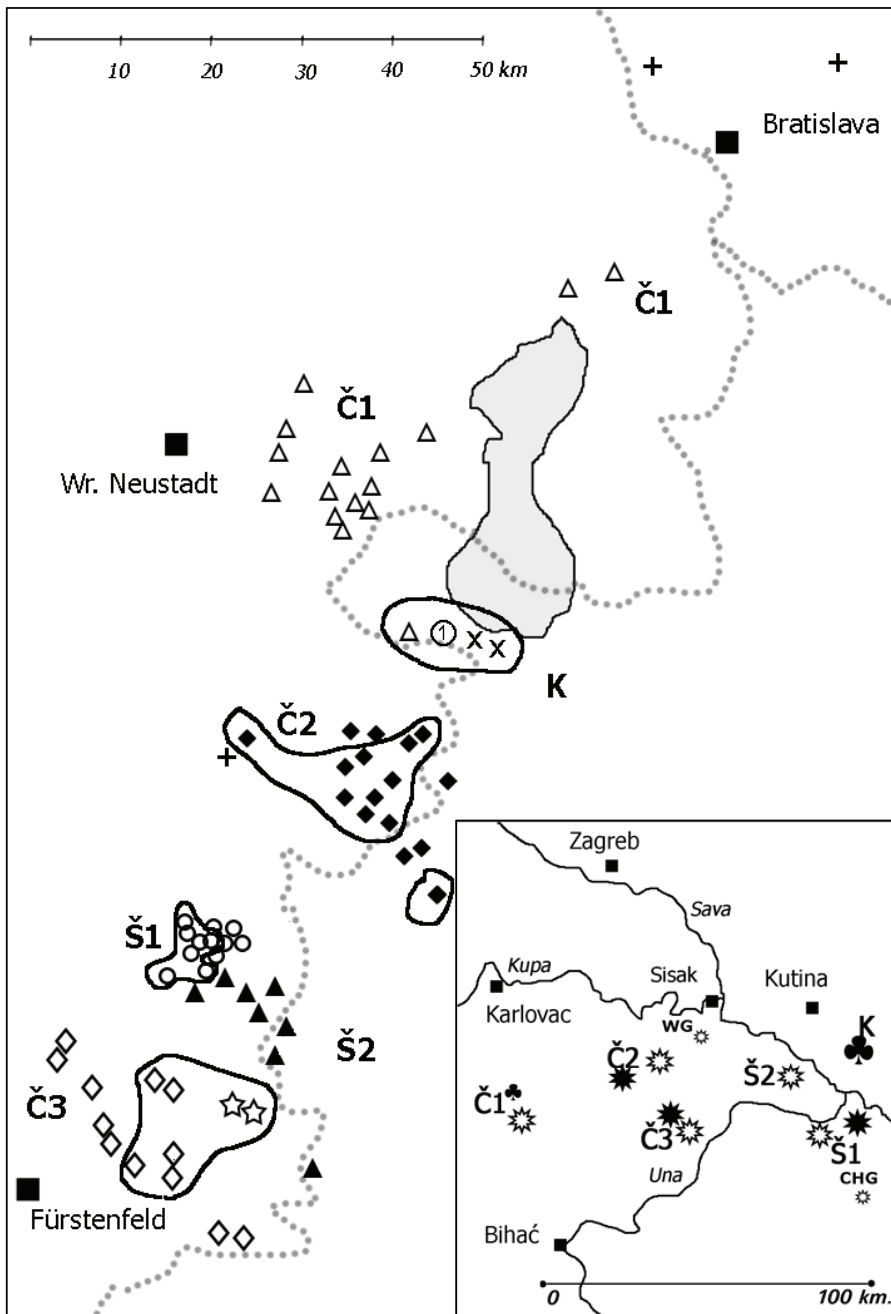


Map 16a Final -l in the l-participle

Map 16b

16a: areas 1 *biy*, area 2 *bi(j)a*, areas 3 *bi*, elsewhere *bil*

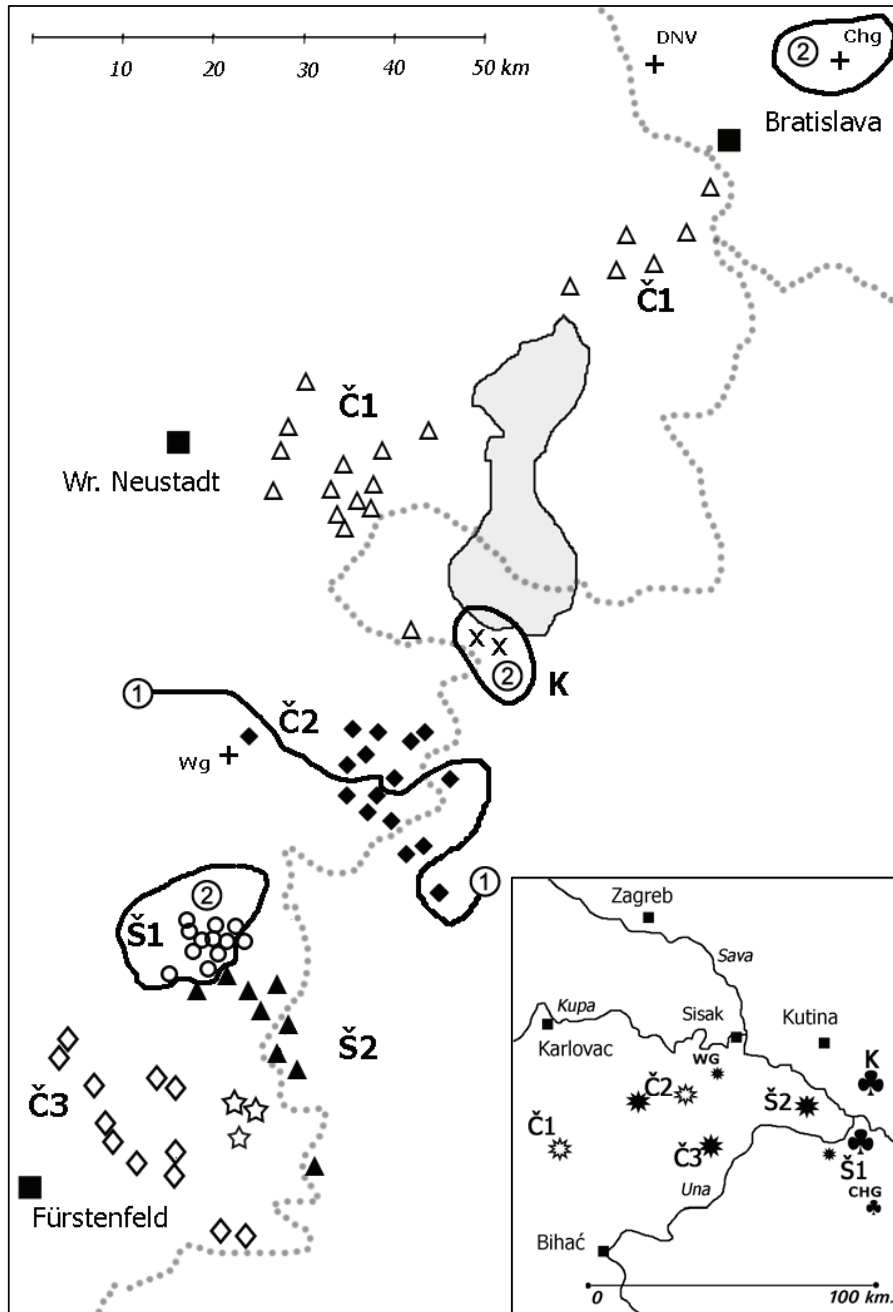
16b: ★ *biy*; ♥ *bi(j)a*; ♣ *bi*; ☀ *bil*



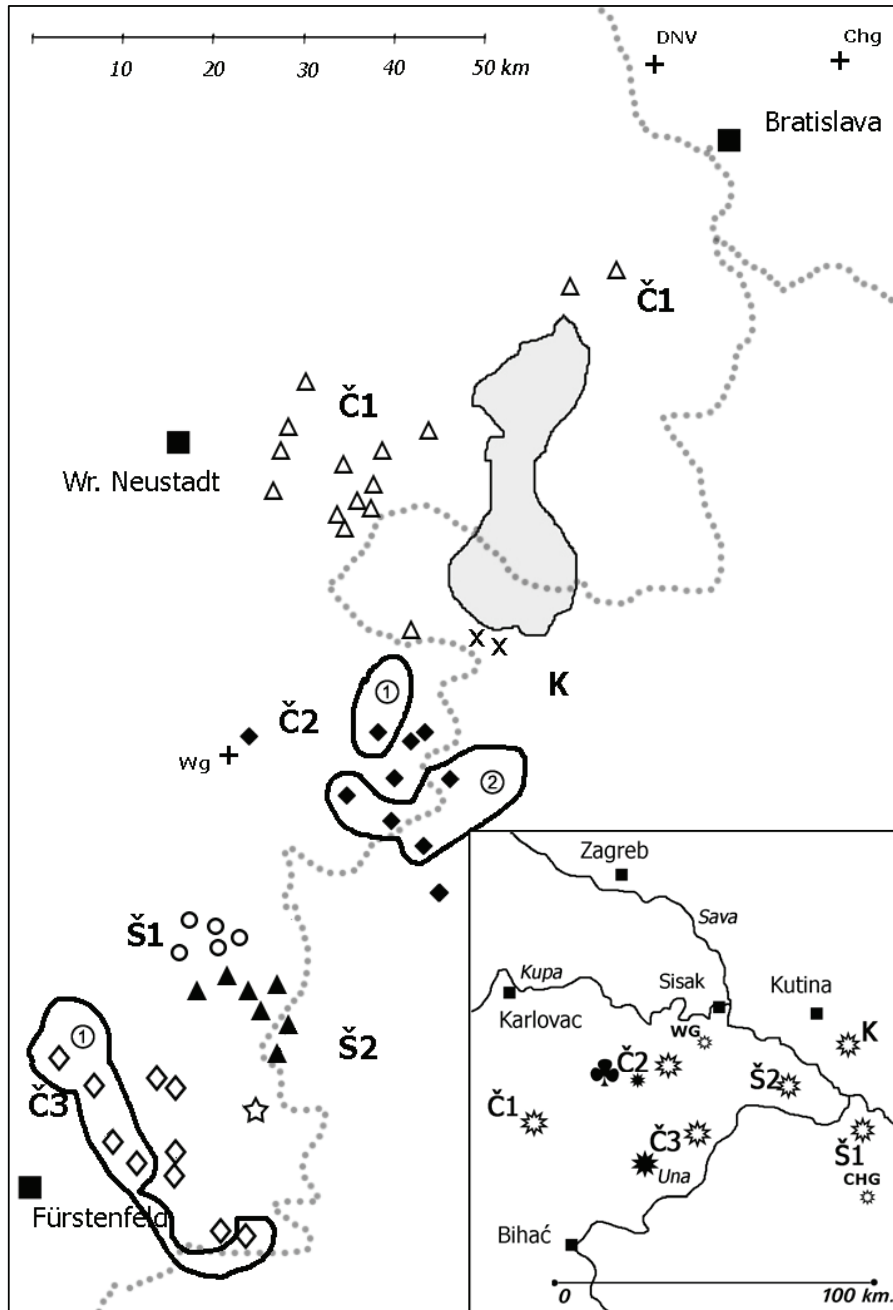
Map 17a Preservation or loss of *j Map 17b

17a: unnumbered isoglosses: *judi*; isogloss 1: *judi/ɭudi*, elsewhere *ɭudi*

17b: ★ *judi*; ♣ *judi/ɭudi*; ☆ *ɭudi*



Map 18a Diphthongization of *e and *o only when originally long? Map 18b
 18a: S of line 1: only when long; N of line 1: not only when long; areas 2: no diphthongs
 18b: * only when long; * not only when long; ♣ no (rising) diphthongs



Map 19a Form of the word for 'pull' Map 19b
 19a: areas 1 vuć, area 2 vluć, elsewhere vlić/vleć; 19b: ★ vuć; ♣ vluć; ★ vlić/vleć