

ON THE ČAKAVIAN DIALECT OF KOLJNOF NEAR SOPRON

PETER HOUTZAGERS

1. Introductory remarks

Koljnof is one of approximately eighty villages in the Austrian province of Burgenland and adjacent areas in Hungary and Slovakia where Croatian dialects are spoken.¹ In his standard work on Burgenland Croatian, Neweklowsky (1978; henceforth “N78”) assigns the Koljnof dialect to the (Čakavian) Hacı and Poljanci group, which is the northermost dialect group within Burgenland Croatian (not counting two isolated dialects north of Bratislava).² From the partial map of the Burgenland dialects on the next page it can be seen that, geographically speaking, Koljnof occupies a marginal position with respect to the rest of the Hacı and Poljanci group – from which it is also separated by Sopron and the Austrian-Hungarian border – and that it is nearer to the (Kajkavian speaking) villages of Hidegség and Fertőhomok and the (Čakavian) Dolinci group.

Until 1993 little was known about the dialect of Koljnof. Although N78 mentions it and classifies it as a Hacı and Poljanci dialect, it is clear that the amount of material that he has from Koljnof is very limited. Not a single attested form in the book is marked as being from Koljnof and of the 52 maps after page 376 on which he presents the most important Burgenland isoglosses, 48 give no information on Koljnof, including the maps on the presence vs. absence of length oppositions and diphthongization.³ In 1993 an article by Šojat appeared on Koljnof, which contains some valuable

¹ *Koljnof* (along with *Koljnov*) is how the Croatian name of this village is most commonly spelled. In the Koljnof dialect the village is called *Kòl̃noũ*. The stem-final *f* appears in the flexion, e.g. locative singular *Kòl̃nuõfi*. The *f* is probably original, considering that the German name of the village is *Kohlhof*. The Hungarian name is *Kópháza*.

² The Hacı and Poljanci constitute two separate groups of villages, but N78 treats them linguistically as one group.

³ This leads one to wonder on which basis N78 could assign the dialect to any group whichever. I take it that he had more material at his disposal than he presented on the maps. It is a pity that he does not give his readers clarity on this issue. Of course, this and other critical remarks in the present article do not in any way alter the fact that book is a splendid achievement and a most valuable source of information.

information but, in my opinion, also has serious flaws, to which I shall return below.

Map of the Burgenland Croatian dialects, northern part (after N78)

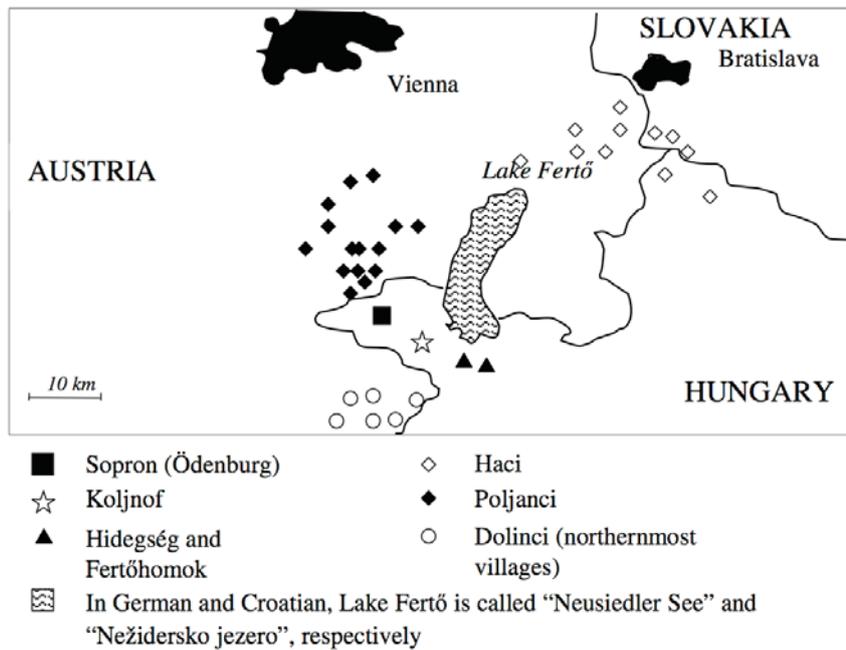


Figure 1

In the period when I was working on my monograph on the Kajkavian dialect of Hidegség and Fertőhomok (1999), I visited Koljnof a couple of times and seized the occasion to make recordings of the dialect. I have approximately ten hours of recorded speech from Koljnof, dating from 1985, 1988 and 1994. I chiefly worked with the age group born around 1920. During one recording session a speaker born in 1948 was present, whom I also met on several other occasions, together with her children, so that I have a good impression of the speech of younger generations as well.

In contradistinction to Hidegség and Fertőhomok, which are magyarizing very quickly, Koljnof seems not be in immediate danger of losing its Croatian dialect. Croatian is spoken by all generations, on all occasions and with equal fluency. It is taught at school and it is also the language of the church. One would perhaps expect that the varieties of Croatian spoken at school (Standard Croatian) and in church (literary Burgenland Croatian, see N78: 24) would exert influence on the local dialect in the

sense that it would lead to code switching, mixing, interference, lesser fluency in the dialect, etc. The only thing that I noticed in that respect during my recording sessions is that there was a lot of “spontaneous borrowing” from non-local varieties of Burgenland Croatian, chiefly motivated – as far as I could make out – by the speakers’ wish to make themselves better understood. It is obvious that the speakers’ knowledge of Croatian extends well beyond the boundaries of their own village and that they have ideas about which word, expression or pronunciation is understood more easily by an outsider. Yet my informants had no problem whatsoever in distinguishing between local and non-local elements.

2. Available literature

For those specifically interested in the dialect of Koljnof, the relevant literature is restricted to Koschat 1978 (henceforth “K78”), N78 and Šojat 1993.^{4,5} N78 and Šojat were briefly mentioned in the preceding section.

K78 gives a monographic description of all Poljanci dialects in Austria (that is all Poljanci dialects except Koljnof). She takes her own native dialect (that of Baumgarten) as a starting-point and presents data from the other dialects in those instances where they differ from the Baumgarten dialect. Baumgarten is the Poljanci village that is geographically closest to Koljnof (17 km.).

Although N78 gives almost no information that refers explicitly to Koljnof, he does assign the dialect to the Hacı and Poljanci group and gives a systematic description of the characteristics of that group and of the Dolinci group, both from a synchronic and a diachronic point of view, thus providing a set of predictions with which I could compare my findings.

Šojat’s contribution has, as I see it, two main weak points, which diminish its descriptive value:

- (1) he describes the dialect as having no distinctive tone contrast, which I consider incorrect;
- (2) his observations sometimes show a lack of sound linguistic reasoning, which would include a clear distinction between phonetics and phonemics and between synchrony and diachrony.

⁴ In Ivšić 1971 merely a few forms from Koljnof are given on page [783].

⁵ There is an unpublished dissertation by Vass on the Dolinci dialects (1965), which contains no accent signs except for the place of the ictus. In my opinion, its linguistic value is also limited in other respects, especially since N78.

Ad (a) – In Šojat's words:

“Premda još ima govornika sa starim čakavskim troakcenatskim sustavom, dakle u kojih akcenti \sim i $\hat{\sim}$ imaju fonološku funkciju i u minimalnim parovima, kao što je naprimjer u N *jûdi*, A *jûde* \sim GI *jûdi*, u tipičnom se suvremenom koljnovskom govoru različita intonacija dugih naglasaka pojavljuje samo na fonetskoj razini ...” (1993: 346).

Elsewhere in the same article even the older informants seem not to have a fully functioning tonal opposition:

“... u onih ispitanika koji još koliko-toliko čuvaju troakcenatski sustav, a to su oni najstariji s kojima sam razgovarao ...” (1993: 342)

Šojat's findings differ from mine. The informants on my recordings, as I hear it, including the one born in 1948, all have a tonal opposition on long vowels, with a distribution more or less along the lines described by K78 and N78. Of course it is hard to prove that I am right and Šojat is wrong, but I am inclined to think that Šojat failed to hear the tone distinction because it was acoustically different from what he expected to hear. This is a phenomenon that is not uncommon with tones in Čakavian dialects, even if the field-worker is a native speaker of Croatian, as I have tried to show long ago when I was studying the dialects of Cres (1982).⁶ Let me add that if Šojat were right, the Koljnof dialect would be the only Čakavian dialect in the northern Burgenland to have almost completely lost its tone distinction: K78 describes a tone distinction in her native dialect and the other representatives of the Poljanci group, and N78 has experimental proof for the existence of a tone distinction in the Dolinci dialects (cf. 97-102).

Ad (b) – I shall give two examples:

(i) Šojat writes:

“Osobito se fonem /a/ često realizira poludugo, a može biti promijenjen i u jedinom zatvorenom slogu riječi (usp. npr. Nsg. *bràt/brât/brât*, Gsg. *bràta/brâta/ brâta*, ali inf. *bràt* “brati”, samo tako).” (1993: 345)

⁶ As a matter of fact, Šojat also did not hear the tone distinction in the dialect of Cres, about which he wrote a contribution to the *OLA*, see Ivić et al. (ed.) 1981: 235-240 and my remark about it in my monograph on Orlec (1985: 409-410 note 18).

I think that there is no way of explaining how the same phoneme /a/ can have different sets of allophones in *bràt* 'brother' and in *bràt* 'take'. There is a chance that Šojat intends to make a diachronic observation, formulating it in synchronic terms, but that is anything but certain, because the observation could also have something to do with his idea that the length opposition in Koljnov is threatened "mnogim neutralizacijama dugoga i kratkoga naglasaka u akcentu ^ (o tome više u daljnjem tekstu)" (1993: 348). Unfortunately, "u daljnjem tekstu" I cannot find any clear example of neutralization, but I do find a confused picture of the situation in the dialect with regard to length, in which almost everything seems to be possible.

(ii) Another citation:

"Opreka između dugoga i kratkoga akcenta, poduprta razlikovanjem dugih i kratkih naglašenih vokala u mađarskom jeziku, *relevantna je*, ali se ona, kako sam već rekao, sve više narušuje čestim kraćenjem dugoga akcenta – osobito u položajima primarnoga i sekundarnoga akuta (već i zbog toga što je, kao i u drugim gradišćanskohrvatskim čakavskim govorima, kvantiteta akuta osjetna kraća nego kvantiteta cirkumfleksa) – do vrijednosti poludugoga akcenta, pa i kratkosilaznog akcenta." (1993: 349, original italics)

So what we have here is a dialect with no tone distinction, but in which the long vowels behave differently according to their once having been rising or not. I must admit that here Šojat has completely lost me.

3. Some characteristic innovations

In this paragraph I shall briefly list a few characteristics of the dialect from a diachronic point of view, part of which I shall return to in more detail in section 6. The reason for introducing them now is that it prepares the reader for most of the instances of unexpected place of stress, falling tone and posttonic length to be found in the examples in section 4.

The dialect belongs, as N78 puts it, to the "ikavisch-ekavischen Mundarten mit partieller regressiver Akzentverschiebung" (58). The term "ikavisch-ekavisch" refers to the reflex of *jat*, which is a high front or a central front vowel, according to Jakubinskij's law (1925), e.g. *mlīko* 'milk', *svīća* 'candle', *siēno* 'hay', *ciēl* 'whole'.^{7,8}

⁷ Together with the absence of neo-circumflex in forms like *porīže* 'cut' PR3sg, the i/ekavian reflex of *jat* characterize the dialect as "Central Čakavian" in the sense of Vermeer (1982: 293).

The *partielle regressive Akzentverschiebung* is a stress retraction by one syllable (i) from final syllables, e.g. *žèna* 'woman', *zòra* 'sunrise'; (ii) from internal syllables if the vowel in the first pretonic syllable was long. If the vowel that received the stress was long, it became falling, e.g. *glâva* 'head', *pûti* 'way' Npl. The vowel that lost the stress became long, e.g. *òtāc* 'father', *jèzik* 'language', unless it was word-final, as in the first four examples of this paragraph (N78: 70-71).

Before the stress retraction, short and stressed *o and *e were lengthened, except in open final syllables. Examples: *dièlo* 'work', *čičle* 'bee' Npl, *kuōža* 'skin', *duōma* 'at home' (N78: 73).⁹

N78 mentions three other lengthenings: (a) lengthening in closed monosyllables, resulting in long falling vowels, e.g. *brât*, *mîš* (72);¹⁰ (b) optional lengthening of short stressed *a*, resulting in *ā* (62, 72); (c) lengthening of short stressed vowels in closed non-final syllables, resulting in long rising vowels (67-68).¹¹

The *jers* have merged with *a, e.g. *jèdān* '1', *snāha* 'daughter-in-law', *dān* 'day'; *o and syllabic *l have merged with *u, e.g. *mûka* 'flour', *sût* 'barrel', *pûni* 'full' Nsg m, *bûhe* 'flea' Npl, cf. *kûpit* 'buy', *slûžit* 'serve'; *e has merged with *e, e.g. *miêso* 'meat'.

⁸ As in all dialects with an i/e-kavian reflex of *jat*, there are exceptions to Jakubinskij's rule. I shall pay no special attention to the reflex of *jat*, since in that respect the Koljnof dialect seems to agree fully with the dialects described in K78.

⁹ Abbreviations: "N", "G", "D", "A", "I" and "L" mean "nominative", "genitive", "dative", "accusative", "instrumental" and "locative"; "sg" and "pl" mean "singular" and "plural"; "m", "f" and "n" mean "masculine", "feminine" and "neuter"; "INF", "PR", "IMP", "LP" and "PP" mean "infinitive", "present", "imperative", "l-participle" and "passive participle"; "1"- "3" mean "first person"- "third person".

¹⁰ In the present dialect, however, the opposition long vs. short is operative on closed monosyllables. There are short closed monosyllables and closed monosyllables with doublet lengths. These can be the result of "exceptions" to the lengthening rule discussed here, later restorations, different syllabic make-up at the time of the lengthening, later loans, etc. Examples: *pèc* 'bake' (N78: 72), *dāt/dāt* 'give', *pīt/pīt* 'drink', *vřc* 'throw', *gònc* 'entirely' (K78, lexicon). Therefore I do not agree with N78 that the length alternation in *brât*, *brâta* 'brother' and *přs*, *přsta* 'finger' is phonologically predictable (74).

¹¹ N78 also observes the reverse: shortening of long rising vowels, and assumes that the accentual system of these dialects is developing into one without distinctive length. Although he uses the word "neutralization", he does not seem to assume that the length distinction is nonexistent in the present dialect. Apparently, the neutralization he has in mind is restricted to certain types of sentence intonation and certain ranges of speech velocity (67-68). K78 also observes an optional lengthening of short stressed vowels to what she calls "ein halblanger, steigender Akzent", for which she uses the sign " (72-73). She makes no mention of any kind of shortening. In her analysis, the distinction between long rising and short vowels seems never to be neutralized.

4. Phoneme inventory

4.1 Accentuation, vowels and syllabic resonants

Stressed vowels and syllabic *r* can be (a) long and falling, (b) long and rising or (c) short. The long mid vowels are realized as opening diphthongs, and I chose to include that in my notation, with the accent mark on the second component of the diphthong:

vowels				syll. resonants		
long		short		long		short
falling	rising			fall.	ris.	
<i>î</i>	<i>û</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ũ</i>	<i>ì</i>	<i>ù</i>	
<i>îê</i>	<i>uô</i>	<i>îē</i>	<i>uō</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>ò</i>	<i>ř</i>
	<i>â</i>		<i>ã</i>		<i>à</i>	

Diagram 1: stressed syllables

Examples: *sîn* 'son', *mûka* 'flour', *tiêsto* 'dough', *mrtfuôga* 'dead' Gsgm, *blâgo* 'livestock', *čelînak* 'bee-hive', *fûćkat* 'whistle', *diēlat* 'do', *guôdina* 'rain', *râdo* 'with pleasure', *pînezi* 'money', *ùćit* 'learn', *žèna* 'woman', *ròd'āk* 'relative', *škàdān* 'barn', *k̄rma* 'fodder', *p̄r̄le* 'before; in the old days'.

My material contains no instances of *ř*, which is not surprising in view of the limited amount of data: even in K78 forms with *ř* are rare.

I am inclined to believe that the opposition falling vs. rising tone is also operative in monosyllables, but I would need more material to be confident about it.^{12,13} In the vast majority of monosyllabic forms with a long vowel I heard a falling intonation, with the exception of *dān* 'day' Gpl (cf. *dān* Nsg), *stār* 'old' indefinite m and *stvār* 'wild animal'. I have no examples of rising vowels in the last syllable of polysyllabic words.

In the first posttonic syllable, vowels can be either long or short. Again, the long mid vowels are realized as opening diphthongs. I shall omit the length sign $\bar{}$ on the unstressed diphthongs, since it would be redundant. I have no examples of long posttonic \bar{r} except for one instance where the

¹² If pitch is not distinctive in this position, there is a chance that long vowels can be realized phonetically both falling and rising. Therefore presence in the material of a few attested monosyllables with a phonetically rising intonation is not conclusive.

¹³ K78 (74) and N78 (71, 99) suppose that there is no tone opposition on monosyllables in the Poljanci and the Dolinci dialects, although in K78 there is some uncertainty as to the intonation of the monosyllabic forms of personal pronouns.

stress shifts from the noun to the preposition: *nà trk* 'to the market'. There are four more syllabic resonants along with *r*, which occur only in German loans.¹⁴

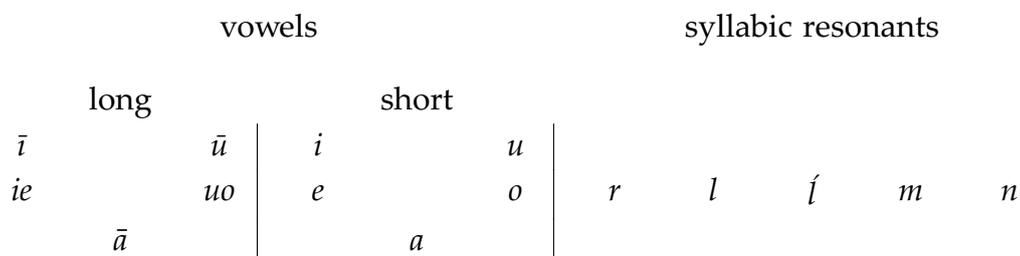


Diagram 2: first posttonic syllable

Examples: *jèzik* 'language', *vèlū* 'say' PR3sg, *vòdie* 'water' Gsg, *dòmuon* 'home (direction)', *kònāc* 'thread', *kòsit* 'mow', *křemu* 'pub' A sg, *krāve* 'cow' Npl, *dùgo* 'long' (adverb), *brāda* 'chin', *òbrve* 'eyebrow', *mòntl* 'coat', *kifl* 'locust bean', *mājstns* 'mostly'.

In other unstressed syllables than the first posttonic there is no length distinction:¹⁵

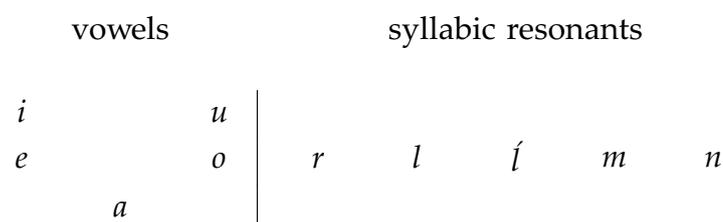


Diagram 3: other unstressed syllables

Examples: (pretonic) *pijân* 'drunk', *ugrīca* 'Hungarian woman', *teplīje* 'hotter' Nsgn, *dovīca* 'widow', *vraçitel̥* 'doctor', (posttonic) *divòjkami* 'girl' Ipl, *špòtadu* 'mock' PR3pl, *nasòlite* 'salt' PR3pl, *posìjemo* 'send' PR1pl, *spàmetan* 'clever'.

As a consequence of the stress retraction described in section 3 above, end-stress is rare on polysyllabic forms. It occurs in some adjectival and verbal paradigms and in a few loanwords, always with a long and falling stressed vowel, e.g. *svitskî* 'worldwide', *razumīš* 'understand' PR2sg, *soldât*

¹⁴ I have no examples of syllabic *m* and my examples with syllabic *l*, *l̥* and *n* do not cover all types of unstressed syllables.

¹⁵ This rule needs refining: I have one attestation of a compound word where it does not apply: *prèotāc* 'great-grandfather'. K78 mentions the word *nèzavalnuōst* (74).

‘soldier’, *mašîn* ‘machine’. N78 and K78 mention one form with a short stressed vowel in the final syllable, viz. *nekà*, a particle used in combination with the infinitive to express a negated imperative, cf. *nèka*, which is also a particle, but is used with the third person present to express a positive imperative. In Koljnof, only *nèka* exists. The only cue for the listener to differentiate between ‘don’t’ and ‘do’ is the choice of the verb form (infinitive or present) after *nèka*: *nèka to diēlat* ‘don’t do that’, *nèka to diēla* ‘may he do that’.

A few remarks on the phonetic realization of the vowels. The first component of the diphthongs can be realized as a vowel, as a glide, or in between. The second component of both diphthongs is sometimes realized very low, more or less as an [a]-like vowel, resulting in [ia], [ua]. In my perception, the high vowels – not only short and unstressed *ì*, *ù*, *i* and *u* but also long *ĩ*, *ũ*, *î* and *û* – often sounded somewhat on the low side, resulting in high-mid [e], [o]. Whether the variation in the realization of the diphthongs and high vowels is free and, if not, on what factors it depends, could be a subject of further investigation. N78 mentions a tendency in part of the Hacı and Poljanci dialects of the diphthongs *ie* and *uo* to be raised before a glide (e.g. *stû* ‘100’); according to him, *uo* can also be shortened, resulting in forms like *divùjka* ‘girl’, *dùjt* ‘come’. I did not attest exactly the same, but my material does contain a short vowel in *divòjka* and doublets *dùjt/dòjt*, *dùjde/dòjde* ‘come’ PR3sg. In view of what was said above about the realization of short *u* and *i*, it is not excluded that upon closer inspection the “doublets” of the type *dùjt/dòjt* will turn out not to be doublets but different realizations of phonemic *dùjt*.

All vowels tend to be strongly nasalized in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, that is before or after *m*, *n* or *ń* and not separated from it by another vowel. The degree of nasalization varies, especially from one informant to another. The nasalization can have a strong effect on the timbre of the vowel, and there were instances where I did not immediately recognize which vowel it was that was nasalized.

Syllabic *r* is realized differently by different informants. In the realization of part of the speakers, syllabic *r* is preceded by an ultra-short vocalic element, which is much shorter than the trill. Here, length and pitch can be heard on the trill itself. In the speech of other informants, the trill is preceded and followed by a short vowel (mostly schwa-like, but sometimes [i]-like, probably depending on the phonetic surroundings) and the trill element is relatively short. In these cases, length and pitch characterize the vocalic and trill elements of *r* as a whole.

Voiceless stops, especially *p*, *t* and *k*, are often realized long after short stressed vowels, including *ř*, e.g. *křpe* 'piece of cloth' Npl, *bìti* 'be', *bìke* 'bull' Apl.

4.2 Consonants

The dialect possesses the following consonant phonemes:¹⁶

	stop	fric.	affr.	nas.	lat.	trill	glide
<i>voice:</i>	+	–	+	–	+	–	
lab.	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>f</i>			<i>m</i> <i>ɸ</i>
dent.	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>c</i>	<i>n</i> <i>l</i> <i>r</i>
pal.	<i>d'</i>	<i>ć</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>č</i>	<i>ń</i> <i>ǐ</i> <i>j</i>
vel./lar.	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>		<i>h</i>			

Diagram 4: consonants

The labial glide *ɸ* occurs only tautosyllabically after a vowel or syllabic *r*. It is almost always the reflex of **l* or **v* and it very often alternates with *l* or *v*, e.g. *zdràùle* 'health', *òude* 'here', *ditićou* 'boy' Gpl, *mi je žâɸ* 'I am sorry', *řèkau* 'say' LPm.¹⁷ However, the alternation *l* – *ɸ* does not seem to operate stemfinally in adjectival paradigms, e.g. *dèbel* 'fat', *cièl* 'whole', *zrièl* 'ripe', so that *ɸ* is still opposed to *l* and must be analysed as a full-fledged phoneme.¹⁸

The palatal stop *d'* appears very often prothetically before morpheme-initial *i* and as a variant of morpheme-initial *j*, e.g. *d'imàla* 'have' LPf, *zd'iskat* 'look for', *d'èsen* 'autumn', *d'âje* 'egg', *D'ugoslâvije* 'Yugoslavia' Gsg. Occasionally it even replaces morpheme-internal *j*, e.g. *mòd'a* 'my' Nsg f. However, this does not threaten the phonemic status of *d'*, since not every

¹⁶ Strictly speaking, the monophonemic status of at least *d'*, *ć*, *č*, *ń* and *ǐ* would have to be proven by their being distinct from *dj*, *tj*, etc. I have not attested any forms that provide such proof and I very much doubt that the potential phonemes *d'*, *ć*, etc. would survive the test even if there were substantially more material. However, I shall maintain the notation *d'*, *ć*, etc. since it agrees with common practice in Croatian dialectology.

¹⁷ Examples in which *ɸ* has a different etymological origin: *pàɸtat* 'build', *tràɸf* 'on it', *Kòlnoɸ* 'Koljnof', cf. Lsg *Kòlnoɸfi* (see also note 1), *stòɸ* '100'. I have no explanation for the form *stòɸ*. In K78 it appears as *stòɸ* (110), with a long falling monophthong, which, in her analysis, is not an existing phoneme (64). Ivšić (1971: 783) gives the form *stùo*, which I never heard.

¹⁸ On this point Koljnof differs from the Hacı and Poljanci dialects (e.g. *bièɸ* 'white', K78: 190).

d' can be replaced by *j*, e.g. in *zîd'e* 'build' PR3sg, *ròd'āk* 'relative', *mèd'a* 'boundary'. Something similar exists between *j* and *l̂*. There is reason to believe that *j* can always replace *l̂*, though the attestations with *l̂* are more frequent: *l̂ûdi/jûdi* 'people'. The reverse, however (replacement of *j* by *l̂*, e.g. in *jâje* 'egg') is not found.

5. Other characteristics of the dialect

N78 presents 52 maps (after page 376), which give a picture of the principal isoglosses in the area. Koljnof is only represented on four of them. In the following I shall give the missing information on Koljnof. For the sake of brevity I shall do so in a somewhat condensed form. The marginal numbers below are the numbers of Neweklowsky's maps. "=/≠HP" means "Koljnof shares/does not share this isogloss with the Hacı and Poljanci dialects". In the same context the abbreviations "Dol" (Dolinci dialects), "Hi" (Hidegség dialect) and "Fe" (Fertőhomok dialect) are used; "≠N78" means "this does not agree with the information in N78".

1. The interrogative pronoun 'what' is *ča*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
2. The reflex of *jat* is *i/ekavian*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
3. *Jat* is reflected *a* in *gñâzdo*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
4. There is a length opposition in stressed and posttonic syllables, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
5. There is a partial stress retraction, as N78 calls it, of "type 1" (*žèna*, *òtác*, *dîte*, *sûsietka*, *žènie*, *pedèsiet*), =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
6. Length of (once) stressed final syllables: *òtác*, *člòvîk*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
7. Diphthongization of (i) old long **ē*, **ō* and (ii) old short **e*, **o* with original stress, not if word-final, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.¹⁹
8. Presence of syllabic *r*, =HP =Dol =HiFe (HiFe ≠N78).
9. Reflex of *jer* in Isg *mànon*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
10. Reflex of weak *jer* in **d̂n̂v̂ŝv̂*: *dènās*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.²⁰
11. Reflex of front nasal in **ž̂d̂n̂v̂*: Npl m *žāĵni*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
12. Reflex of front nasal in **ž̂t̂va*: *žīēt̂va*, =HP ≠Dol =HiFe.
13. Development **ra* > *re* in *riēbac* but not in *rās*, *krās*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
14. Preposition *va*, =HP =Dol =HiFe.²¹
15. Reflex of **v̂* in **v̂ẑeti*: *ziēt*, =HP =Dol =HiFe.
16. Accentuation in the verb *morati*: *mòre* (sic), =HP =Dol =HiFe.

¹⁹ HiFe also have diphthongization here, but of an entirely different type.

²⁰ HiFe agrees in one of the two reflexes of *v̂*: *dènes*.

²¹ Fe can have *vu*, Hi also when it is stressed.

17. Presence of *-i* in *māti*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe have *mājka/m'ājka*, ≠N78).
18. Vowel in *tepal/topal*: *tèplo*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe have *tòplo*, ≠N78).
19. Form of the verb 'pull': both *vlíc* (=HP) and *vûc* (= some dialects to the south) attested, HiFe have *vlêč*.
20. Absence of initial *i-* in *šlī*, =HP ≠Dol ≠HiFe.
21. Presence of opposition *č* vs. *ć*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
22. The masculine singular form of the *l*-participle ends in *-u*, e.g. *bīu*, =HP ≠Dol ≠HiFe.
23. Retention or loss of the phoneme *l̄* as opposed to *j*: in this respect, the dialect is intermediate between HP (*l̄ūdi*) and the majority of Dol dialects (*jūdi*). In Koljnof *l̄* persists, but can always be replaced by *j*: *l̄ūdi/jūdi*, =HiFe.
24. Presence of prothesis of *j-*, *d'-* or *dž-* before initial *i-*: Koljnof has *điskat*, =HP ≠Dol ≠HiFe.
25. Absence of prothesis of *v-* in *ūcit*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (1 attestation of *vūčī*).
26. Absence of initial *š* in *tīu* 'want' LPm, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
27. Final *-m* has almost always become *> n*, ≠HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
28. No *-k-* in the comparative of *velik*: *vèci*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (Hi has *v'ākci*, ≠N78);
29. Ordinal numeral *triēti* (as opposed to *treći*), =HP =Dol =HiFe.
30. The Lsg ending of o-stems is *-i*, =HP =Dol =HiFe. However, Koljnof and HiFe are unique in that they have no ending *-u* along with *-i*; *-u* is restricted to a very small set of words, which never have *-i*; these words include *svīt* and *mīr*.
31. The Isg ending of a-stem nouns is *-un*, ≠HP (except three villages, one of which is Baumgarten) ≠Dol =HiFe.²²
32. Lpl ending of neuter pluralia tantum: no data, HiFe have *na vrāti*, =HP =Dol.
33. Ending *-u* (not *-i*) in *po nimšku* (as opposed to *po nimški*), =HP =Dol =HiFe.
34. The enclitic accusative of neuter personal pronoun is *je* (not *ga*), =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe have both *je* and *ga*, ≠N78).

²² In 4.1 it was said that the realization of unstressed *u* sometimes is somewhat low. Therefore one sometimes tends to hear *-on* in the Isg of a-stems instead of *-un*. In most cases, however, the [o]-like part of the vowel is preceded by an [u]-like part, resulting in something like [uo] or [ɤo]. In contradistinction to phonemic posttonic /uo/, these diphthongal realizations of phonemic /u/ are short.

35. Habitual past with *òni su tili povèdat* (habitual past), =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe have either *mògli povèdat* or *bi bili povèdali*).
36. The word 'ear' is *ûho*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe *vušêso*).
37. Preposition *kod* in *kòd nās*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe *prì nas*, ≠N78).
38. 'Always' is *sènek*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe *vêke*).
39. 'He goes' is not **gre* but *hìdel/jìde*, ≠HP =Dol =HiFe (HiFe *ìde*, ≠N78).
40. The word **poredan* was not attested, =HP =Dol =HiFe.
41. The word for 'forest' is *lòza*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe.
42. The word for 'cock' is *pètie*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe;
43. The word for 'Monday' is *panđilāk*, =HP =Dol =HiFe.
44. The most frequent word for 'kitchen' is *viêža* (=HP =Dol); *kùhiña* (≠HP ≠Dol) was also attested, according to the informant it has a slightly different meaning; Hi has *pìterba*, Fe *pìtarba*.
45. The word for 'lazy' is *nižvorìdān*, ≠HP ≠Dol =HiFe.
46. The word for 'spring' is *protolìce* =HP =Dol =HiFe.
47. The word for 'wedding' is *pîr*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe have *vesêje*).
48. The word for 'dog' is *kûcāk*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe have *cùcek*).
49. The word for 'harrow' is *brāna*, ≠HP =Dol, not attested in HiFe.
50. The word for 'acre (parcel of arable land)' is *lāpāt*, =HP =Dol ≠HiFe (HiFe have *pòje*, ≠N78).
51. The word for 'corn' is *tiêk*, =HP ≠Dol, *zrñje* is also used; HiFe have *zrñje*.
52. The word for 'farmer' is *pāur*, =HP =Dol; HiFe *pôr* is probably a Hungarian loan.

Summarizing, there are 9 characteristics that distinguish the Hacı and Poljanci type from the Dolinci type of Burgenland Čakavian. Koljnof shares 5 of these with the Hacı and Poljanci (numbers 12, 20, 22, 24 and 51 above) and 3 with the Dolinci (numbers 27, 39 and 49 above). With respect to nr. 23, Koljnof is intermediate between the two groups. The same more or less holds for map 19, although in this case there is no clear isogloss between the two groups. With regard to nrs. 30, 31 and 45, the Koljnof dialect has its own characteristics, which it shares only (or almost only) with the dialect of Hidegség and Fertőhomok.

6. Problems regarding the reconstruction of the present-day accentuation and vowel system

The accentual sound changes presented in section 3 were formulated along the lines of N78.²³ On the whole, if one takes as starting-point the typical

Čakavian accentual system with the “old” place of the stress, distinction of three tonemes in stressed syllables ($\overset{\sim}{\sim}$) and distinctive length in the first pretonic syllable and applies the rules proposed by N78, the output agrees with the distribution of accentual features found in the dialect. However, a number of questions remain to be asked. In this section I shall address two of them: (i) the lengthening of short stressed **e* and **o* and the possible participation in it of **a*; (ii) the assumed lengthening of the vowel that lost the stress at the time of the stress retraction.

The scope of this section will be broader than that of the preceding ones: the sound changes under discussion regard at least all the Hacı and Poljanci dialects and in most cases larger areas of Burgenland Croatian.

The lengthening of short stressed **e* and **o* before the partial stress retraction explains the length difference of the stressed vowels in *kuōsi* ‘mow’ PR3sg vs. *kōsit* INF; *luōkfa* ‘puddle’ vs. *nōga* ‘leg’; *gliēdat* ‘look’ vs. *tēle* ‘calf’; *miēsto* ‘place’ vs. *sēlo* ‘village’ (N78: 73). The short stressed vowels in these examples received the stress as a result of the retraction, i.e. after the vowel lengthening had ceased to operate.²⁴

In view of such convincing evidence for the lengthening of **e* and **o* it seems natural to wonder what happened with **a*. Did it take part in the same lengthening, and if not, why? This question is not asked in N78. However, there are signs that **a* did not remain unaffected. In the paragraph about the phonetic realization of the vowels in the Hacı and Poljanci dialects, N78 states: “Das kurze betonte /a/ kann fakultativ zu [á:] gedehnt werden, z.B. *br’ata* neben *brá:ta*” ‘brother’ Gsg (62). On the same page he mentions “*m’aša/má:ša*” ‘mass’ and a few pages later “*j’abuka* (neben *já:buka*)” ‘apple’ (66). K78 does not report any optional lengthening of /a/ (apart from the phenomenon that was described in note 11 and that regarded all short vowels, not /a/ in particular), but she gives

²³ Some caution should be exercised here, since the statements in N78 on the diachronic phonology of the Burgenland dialects are not always unambiguous. The long posttonic vowel in such words as *ōtāc*, for instance, is sometimes treated as a result of lengthening of short stressed vowels that lost the stress to a preceding vowel (71) and sometimes as a result of lengthening of stressed vowels in closed final syllables before the stress retraction in the northern Burgenland (133 and map nr. 6).

²⁴ If the Hacı and Poljanci dialects are considered separately from the rest of Burgenland Croatian, the lengthening rule also accounts for the length difference in *sēlo* vs. *siēla* ‘village’ Nsg and Npl. However, there is evidence from part of the Dolinci dialects (“Dolinci b”, cf. N78: 94) that the length in *siēla* is older than the lengthening of **e* and **o*. – In my view, N78 erroneously treats *liēto* vs. *lētā* ‘year’ Nsg and Npl on a par with *sēlo* vs. *siēla* (72). The Dolinci b data show that the length difference in *liēto* vs. *lētā* is more recent and should be explained by the overall lengthening of **e* and **o* (104).

many forms with doublet length on originally short and stressed *a*, e.g. *blàto/blāto* 'mud', *bàba/bāba* 'midwife' (K78: lexicon), *gànem/gānem* 'move' PR1sg, *gānut* PP indefinite m (K78: 119). In addition, both K78 and N78 give forms with *ā* (without optionality or doublet length) instead of expected *à*, such as *prāga* 'threshold' Gsg (K78: 88, N78: 76) and *kāpa* 'cap' (K78: lexicon). The accentual class to which *prāk*, *prāga* belongs is restricted to words with an originally short stressed **e*, **a* or **o*, and a similar situation exists for neuter and feminine nouns (K78: 88-92). Against the idea of a possible lengthening of **a* along with **e* and **o* one could object that in the case of **a* the results of the supposed lengthening are much less straightforward: there are many cases in which original short stressed **a* shows no trace of lengthening. Moreover, the occurrence of doublet length (K78) or optional lengthening (N78) of **a* is not by far as convincing as the apparently exceptionless, non-optional and non-doublet lengthening of **e* and **o*. One should keep in mind, however, that the long counterparts of short **e* and **o* have probably been diphthongs for a long time, which makes the situation for **o* and **e* on the one hand and **a* on the other very different. It is well imaginable that after the lengthening of **e*, **o* and **a* – if there was such a lengthening – and before the stress retraction, there was a period when length was not distinctive on *e*, *o* and *a* and the phonetic realization of *e*, *o* and *a* could vary freely with respect to length. When later new short stressed *e*, *o* and *a* developed as a result of the stress retraction, new short *e* and *o* were distinct from old stressed *e* and *o* by their being monophthongal. New stressed *a*, however, found itself in the same phonetic area already occupied by the shorter allophones of old stressed *a*. This could have given rise to confusion and all kinds of reshuffling.

Another question that should be asked concerns the assumption in N78 of lengthening, at the time of the stress retraction, of the short vowels from which the stress was retracted, unless they were word-final (see section 3 above and N78: 71). This lengthening, together with the retraction itself, is discussed on page 70-71 and a number of examples are given. Unfortunately, none of these examples provide evidence of the lengthening. The posttonic vowels in the examples either were already long (*glāvū* 'head' 1sg), or they were not lengthened because they were word-final (*glāva* Nsg), or they were in a closed syllable, which leads to lengthening anyhow, independently of the lengthening discussed here (*jèzīk* 'language'), or they can be supposed to have been subject to the lengthening of originally short and stressed **o* and **e* discussed in the previous two paragraphs (*rāstuoka* 'taproom' Gsg, *sūsieda* 'neighbour' Gsg). If one does not reject the idea of

a possible lengthening of originally stressed short **a*, proof for the lengthening of the vowel which lost the stress in the process of stress retraction can only be provided by lengthened *i* or *u* in an open, nonfinal syllable that is presently posttonic. I have been looking for such evidence myself in N78, K78 and my own material and all that I found was doublet length on LP forms of the type *ub̄rnuli/ub̄rnūli* ‘turn over’ LP plm (K79: lexicon) and *kūpili/kūpīli* ‘buy’ LP plm (my material and K78:118-119),²⁵ doublet length in adjectival forms like *l̄pimi/l̄pīmi* ‘beautiful’ indefinite Ipl (K78: 103), and posttonic length in the lexeme *pr̄l̄ika* ‘occasion’ (my material; K78: lexicon gives doublet length). That is not much, the more so as the doublet length in the LP and Ipl forms mentioned might have a morphological origin, just as the absence of lengthening in the final syllable of infinitives (*kòsit* ‘mow’, *p̄tat* ‘ask’, cf. N78: 71) the imperative of the type *p̄taj* (cf. *kòpāj* ‘dig’), and the passive participle of the type *rasp̄itan* and *ub̄d̄r̄žān* (last four examples K78: 118-120).^{26,27}

7. Conclusions

The dialect of Koljnof seems not to be in immediate danger of dying out. As can be expected from its geographical position, it is intermediate between the Hacı and Poljanci and the Dolinci group. It also shares a few isoglosses exclusively with Hidegség and Fertőhomok. It has a “troakce-natski sistem” (˘˘) in stressed syllables and an opposition between long and short vowels in the first posttonic syllable. The vowel system and the distribution of the vowels, including their accentual characteristics, are not essentially different from the situation in the Hacı and Poljanci and Dolinci dialects, with the exception of those Dolinci dialects that have two degrees of opening for the mid vowels.

In section 6 I have discussed two problems connected with the diachronic – and partly also synchronic – phonology of the Hacı and Poljanci dialects. I think that the historical development of these dialects,

²⁵ The forms *ub̄rnuli/ub̄rnūli* and *kūpili/kūpīli* are not given in K78, but one can infer them from the accent classes to which the verbs are assigned.

²⁶ K78 probably does not assume that there was a lengthening of the vowel from which the stress was retracted, since she explains the doublet length in *p̄tala/p̄tāla* by analogy to the masculine *p̄tāl* (before the stress retraction) > *p̄tāl* (afterwards).

²⁷ N78 comments: “Da es in den Infinitivformen wie *p̄tat* nicht zu Dehnung der Silbe, von der sich der Iktus verlagert hat, gekommen ist, kann man annehmen, daß Akzentverlagerung und Abfall des *-i* nicht gleichzeitig stattgefunden haben” (72). It is unclear to me what is meant here. According to the author’s formulation of the stress retraction, the operation of neither the retraction nor the lengthening in this form depended on the presence or absence of a final *-i*.

especially the chronology of the various lengthenings and other changes in the accent and vowel systems, deserve further study. Since many of these changes are not restricted to this area of Burgenland Croatian – nor indeed to Burgenland Croatian – such a study should preferably involve a somewhat wider dialectological context.

University of Groningen

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Abbreviations

K78 = Koschat 1978

N78 = Neweklowsky 1978

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