BURGENLAND CROATS AND BURGENLAND CROATIAN: SOME UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

The article gives an overview of the most important linguistic publications on the Burgenland Croatian dialects so far and concludes that our picture of these dialects is still far from complete. Two examples are given of unsolved questions that illustrate why a more complete picture than we have at the moment is necessary. The author wishes to point out that good quality linguistic fieldwork in this region deserves higher priority than it is given now, especially since the dialects are dying out so fast.

1. The relevance of Burgenland Croatian dialect material

The study of the Burgenland Croatian dialects is relevant from many different perspectives. In this paper I shall concentrate on only one of them, viz. the significance of the dialects for the reconstruction of the premigratory Croatian dialect map. The map below gives an overview of the Burgenland Croatian dialects. The dialects have a number of common characteristics, but also display a great variety. On the map, the different symbols stand for the different dialect groups within Burgenland Croatian. Also within the different types of Burgenland Croatian significant variety exists, especially in the south.¹ The dots represent locations where Croatian was once spoken but has disappeared.

¹ For the classification of the dialects on the map and further basic information on Burgenland Croatian I refer the reader to Neweklowsky 1978. As can be seen from the map – and as is usual in Croatian dialectology –, I use the word “Burgenland” for a territory that extends well beyond the Austrian state (Bundesland) with that name. The state Burgenland is the area between the dotted line and the Austro-Hungarian border.
Legend to the map

- ▼ Moravian Croats\(^2\)  ▲ Štoji
- △ Haci & Poljanci  ◊ Southern Čakavians
- X Kajkavian  ☆ intermediate between Štoji and Southern Č.
- ♦ Dolinci  + not belonging to any of the groups
- ○ Vlahi  • formerly Croatian villages

\(^2\) The location of the Moravian Croats on the map reflects the situation until 1946. Between 1946 and 1950 the Moravian Croats were deported from the villages they lived in to a great number of other villages, most of them in northern Moravia (see Houtzagers 2009: 147–149).
The Burgenland Croatian dialects are descendants of dialects that were once spoken in the ‘homeland’ (mostly Croatia and Slavonia) but cannot be found there any more. From their original dwelling-places the speakers have migrated to the north and the empty spaces left by them were filled up by others, mostly speakers of entirely different dialects. If we can establish for a particular Burgenland Croatian dialect where the speakers originally came from, we have a small bit of information about what the Croatian dialect map looked like before the great migrations to the north and a small piece of the large jigsaw is in its place.

However simple this may sound, the reality is, unfortunately, much more complicated. First, the information about who comes from where is very far from complete. Second, it is almost certain that the population of most — and perhaps all — locations in the Burgenland is ‘mixed’, i.e. that is originates from more than one location in the motherland. There have been waves of migrations at different times from different places. If the population is mixed, it is very probable that the dialects themselves are mixed as well. Third, the migrations that we are talking of started almost 500 years ago, so even if we are able to establish a connection between a location now and a location then, what do we really know? Burgenland Croatian has been forming a new dialect continuum for half a millennium, many innovations have taken place, shared by different sets of neighbouring dialects and, because Burgenland Croatian was always less prestigious than contact languages like German, Hungarian, Slovak and Czech, they have constantly been influenced by them in many ways (all of which is in itself linguistically very interesting). In other words, this is a very complicated jigsaw.\(^3\)

Because the jigsaw is so complicated, it is essential that we know as well as possible what the puzzle pieces look like, i.e. that our information on the individual dialects is as detailed and reliable as possible. It is my opinion that we are still very far from a complete and reliable picture of the present-day Burgenland Croatian dialects, although a number of linguists in the 20\(^{th}\) and the beginning of this century have been working very hard. I shall give a short overview of what has been done, without claiming to be complete.

2. Work done so far

The active interest of linguists\(^4\) for the Burgenland Croatian dialects began towards the end of the 19\(^{th}\) century. In the 80s and 90s of that century Jan Herben (1882) and Ivan Milčetić (1898) published some short notes on the dialect

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\(^3\) See the references in Houtzagers (2008b, 296–302).

\(^4\) Scholars engaged in other fields than linguistics have sometimes studied the Burgenland earlier. Kurelac’s well-known collection of songs (1871) is an example of this.
of the Moravian Croats and Milčetić (1973 [1898]) wrote about the Croats living and the Croatian spoken in Lower Austria and in the most northern part of what is now the state of Burgenland (between Eisenstadt and Sopron). In the 1920s Václav Vážný published relatively extensive descriptions of the dialects of Hrvatski Grob, Devinsko Novo Selo and other villages in Slovakia (1925a, 1925b, 1926a, 1926b, 1927, 1934). These scholars were active in the northern part of the area. The first linguist who covered the whole area and made an overview based on the knowledge that was available to him was Stjepan Ivšić in the 1920s and 30s. Unfortunately that overview was not published during his life but only posthumously by Božidar Finka (Ivšić 1971). Until the 1960s the dialectology of Burgenland Croatian had a very quiet period, but then many things happened within a short lapse of time. Studies about individual dialects appeared, among others by Ivan Brabec (e.g. 1966, 1970, 1973), Helene Koschat (1966) and Gerhard Neweklowsky (e.g. 1967). In this period the attention was no longer limited to the northern part of the area, but the centre and the south came into the picture as well, especially in short studies by Pavle Ivić (1961-62), Neweklowsky (e.g. 1974, 1975) and in a monograph about the Vlahian dialects by Siegfried Tornow (1971). Three works from the 1970s deserve special attention: Tornow’s and Koschat’s monographs about the Vlahi and the Haci & Poljanci, respectively (Tornow 1971 and Koschat 1978), and Neweklowsky 1978, which in my opinion is still the standard work on Burgenland Croatian. The latter book not only summarized all that was known about Burgenland Croatian until then, extending that knowledge by the author’s own fieldwork, it also proposed a classification of the dialects (prepared in earlier publications) which has stayed the norm until now. The groups of dialects were described contrastively and so are many dialects within the groups. Moreover, explanations of the current state of affairs were proposed, both in terms of chronological sound laws and in terms of hypotheses about the place of origin of the various groups of dialects.

There is one important issue that is presented rather carefully in Neweklowsky 1978, but that is clear to the attentive reader from the first sentence of the introduction: the fact that Burgenland Croatian is losing ground very quickly:

»Obwohl auf dem Boden der Republik Österreich selbst slawische Minderheiten leben, hat sich die österreichische Slawistik seit dem Ersten Weltkrieg nur sehr zögernd für die Sprachen der slawischen Minoritäten interessiert. Auf diese Weise konnte es dazu kommen, daß zahlreiche slawische Dorfmandarten heute verklungen sind, ohne daß sich jemand die Mühe gemacht hätte sie aufzuziehen, so daß wertvolles Kulturgut unwiederbringlich und für immer verlorengegangen ist.« (1978: 11)
Also other linguists besides Neweklowsky are aware of the speed with which Burgenland Croatian is disappearing, as we can see from the following citation from Sanja Vulić:


If this is correct, we should have to remove the ten southernmost symbols from the map above and replace them by dots. And this is only what happened in the south: there is no particular reason to believe that the situation in other parts of the area is different. Moreover, Vulić’s article is from 1994: it is probable that Burgenland Croatian has suffered more losses since then. In view of this alarming situation one would expect that Croatian dialectology would have thrown itself on the remaining Burgenland Croats in order to save what could be saved, viz. to record for science what was left to be recorded. If we look at published research in the post-Neweklowsky-1978 era, however, the situation is disappointing. A few monographs have been published,5 also a number of descriptive articles on individual dialects have appeared, but not many.6 There have been quite a number of publications on Burgenland Croatian based on the available puzzle pieces, in which the authors sometimes make interesting observations on Burgenland Croatian in general or on individual dialects and sometimes even try to put the jigsaw together,7 but relatively little has been writ-

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5 Neweklowsky’s works on Stinatz (e.g. 1989), Tornow (1989), Balaž (1991), Vulić & Petrović (1999), Houtzagers (1999), Takač (2004), Mühlgasner & Szucsich (2005). Balaž, Vulić & Petrović and Takač deal with dialects about which relatively much was known already. Neweklowsky (1989), Balaž (1991), Takač (2004) and Mühlgasner & Szucsich (2005) are not really monographic dialect descriptions. Neweklowsky (1989), Balaž (1991) and Takač (2004) are in fact dictionaries (albeit valuable and sizeable ones). The latter contains a brief dialect description by Mijo Lončarić. Tornow (1989) is also a dictionary, but it contains a sizeable descriptive part. Mühlgasner & Szucsich (2005) is obviously not meant for a professional linguistic audience. Sometimes monographs – such as Mühlgasner & Szucsich (2005) – appear in lesser-known publishing houses, are not discussed in the linguistic literature and cannot be found in linguistic bibliographies. Therefore there is a chance that there are monographs that I missed, for which I apologize beforehand.

6 Neweklowsky (1981), Ivanović (1982), Ivić (1990), Šojat (1993), Lončarić (1998), Houtzagers (2008a), Houtzagers (2009). There is a chance that I missed articles that appeared in lesser-known series, were not discussed in the linguistic literature and cannot be found in linguistic bibliographies.

7 Examples of such articles containing interesting observations are Browne (2010), Vulić’s articles about word-formation, (e.g. 2006), Maresić (2004). Vulić’s contributions do contain some data from her own field-work. Examples of publications in which the author endeavours to contribute to the putting together of the jigsaw are Brabec (1982), Lončarić (1984), Lončarić (1988), Hajsan (1991), Houtzagers (2008b).
ten that extends our knowledge of the pieces themselves. Also in comparison with (i) the number of descriptive articles on other dialect areas within Croatian, and (ii) the number of nondescriptive articles on Burgenland Croatian, e.g. on the Burgenland Croatian literary language, old texts, onomastics, etc., the number of descriptive publications on Burgenland Croatian dialects is, to put it mildly, not impressive.

If we do not restrict ourselves to published sources, we of course have the project *Hrvatski jezični atlas* of the Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovje, and I very much hope that within the framework of that project much has been done and is being done, and that there is much material of good quality that “the public” does not know about yet. I must admit that since the appearance of the *Fonološki opisi* for the *Opšteslovenski Lingvistički Atlas* (Ivić et al. (eds.) 1981) I am a little sceptic about the description of dialects in the form of an atlas. The two sites about which I know most – Homok in Hungary and the town of Cres – are both described in a rather unsatisfactory way, especially Homok, which probably is in part due to the method used. Linguists gathering data for dialect atlases usually use questions that are formulated in advance and that are the same for the whole area, whereas in different parts of the area different questions can be relevant, and which questions are relevant can often not be known in advance. The material is for the most part made up of short answers to questions that are formulated in the standard language and the researchers usually do not spend enough time on one site to get a good picture of the system of phonological distinctions of each individual dialect, so that often many superficial phonetic details are written down, while at the same time important phonological matters are not noticed.\(^8\) I hope that the *Hrvatski jezični atlas* will succeed in avoiding all this, that the fieldworkers are trained linguists who look at things from a phonological perspective, that enough time can be spent in each individual site, that a considerable part of the material consists of spontaneous speech and that the material is recorded in audiofiles which are kept in some form of audioarchive, so that there is a possibility to listen to the material again and, if necessary, to reanalyze it on the basis of growing insight.

\(^8\) The main weak point in the description of Cres – by Antun Šojat (Ivić et al. (eds.) 1981: 235–240) – is the absence of the tonal distinction, but also other generalizations about the development of the present-day distribution of length and shortness have been missed, such as the lengthening of *a*, *o* and *e* (not from jer) in stressed nonfinal syllables. In the description of Homok – by Dalibor Brozović & Josip Lisac (Ivić et al. (eds.) 1981: 349–358) – the proposed vowel system can hardly be called a system at all. It is very far away from what I think is correct (cf. Houtzagers 1999) and from the systems proposed by most other authors (e.g. Ivić 1990).
3. Two examples of unanswered questions

In the following, I shall give two examples to illustrate my point that we need to know more about more sites in the Burgenland.

3.1. Vowel lengthening and the role of original short stressed $a$

The first example has to do with the lengthening of vowels, in particular with the role of original short $a$ in those lengthenings. In order not to make things more complicated than necessary, I shall not use the symbols for rising and falling tone in this subsection, only marks for stress and length:

' = place of the stress, ̄ = vowel length

In the great majority of Burgenland Croatian dialects, original stressed long $e$ and $o$ have been diphthongized into $ie$ and $uo$:

Everywhere in Burgenland Croatian
original long and stressed:

*e*\textsuperscript{9} > *ie*  
\begin{itemize}
\item e.g. $m'ieso$ ‘meat’
\end{itemize}

*ō* > *uo  
\begin{itemize}
\item e.g. $nuoć$ ‘night’
\end{itemize}

Part of the dialects (in the south) only diphthongized old long $e$ and $o$, but in the northern dialects, on which we shall be focusing from now, old short $e$ and $o$, except in open final syllables, were first lengthened and then diphthongized.

North
originally short and stressed, not in open final syllables:\textsuperscript{10}

*e* \textsuperscript{9} > *ē* > *ie*
\begin{itemize}
\item e.g. $d'ielo$ ‘work’
\end{itemize}

*ō* > *ū* > *uo*
\begin{itemize}
\item e.g. $n'uosin$ ‘I carry’
\end{itemize}

Because of all this, old short stressed (outside open final syllables) and old long stressed $e$ and $o$ have the same reflex in the present dialect, viz. $ie$ and $uo$:

\textsuperscript{9} For this discussion it is not necessary to distinguish between *e*, *ē* and e-reflexes of *ě*.
\textsuperscript{10} In open final syllables *e* and *o* were not lengthened. See, for instance, the word $s'elo$ ‘village’ (two diagrams down). The final $o$ lost the stress to the preceding syllable. If it would have been long at the time of the retraction, we would see a posttonic length on $o$. In closed syllables (both final and non-final), all vowels, including $a$, $i$ and $u$, were lengthened. Example: $čl'ovīk$ ‘person’, where the stress was retracted from long $i$ on the preceding syllable.
North
originally stressed, both long and short:
* 'e, 'ē > ie  e.g. d’ielo, m’ieso
* 'o, 'ō > uo  e.g. n’uosin, nuoć

Having read this, the reader could wonder whether in the northern Burgenland dialects short stressed e and o exist at all. They do. This is because in these dialects, after the vowel lengthening and diphthongization, a stress retraction has taken place which caused many pretonic short e’s and o’s to become stressed. So the stress retraction created new stressed short e’s and o’s which remained short.

North
originally pretonic (but stressed after the stress retraction):
* e > ‘e  e.g. sel’o > s’elo ‘village’
* o > ‘o  e.g. nog’a > n’oga ‘leg’

But let us go back to originally short stressed e and o, which in the north were lengthened and diphthongized. When linguists establish that in a language or dialect short e and o have lengthened, they mostly wonder what happened with short a. Did it lengthen as well? If so, how, and if not, why not?\(^{11}\)

North
originally short and stressed:
* ‘e > ‘ē > ie  e.g. d’ielo
* ‘o > ‘ō > uo  e.g. n’uosin
* ‘a > ?

In the literature on Burgenland Croatian we do not find unambiguous answers to those questions. Let us look at the Haci & Poljanci group. The most important sources of information on those dialects are Koschat 1978 (a monograph on that dialect group) and Neweklowsky’s well-known survey of 1978. Both books explicitly and clearly discuss the diphthongization (probably preceded by lengthening) of e and o (e.g. Koschat 1978: 76–77, Neweklowsky 1978: 154). For typological arguments see Langston 2006: 126.

\(^{11}\) In many dialects, short a in such cases as these underwent the same fate as e and o. See, for instance, the situation on Cres and Ugljan (Houtzagers 1982: 126 and Budovskaja & Houtzagers 1994: 94–95) and in the southern Burgenland dialects (e.g. Neweklowsky 1978: 154). For typological arguments see Langston 2006: 126.
1978: 73, but are much less clear about a possible lengthening of a. Koschat does not mention such a lengthening at all, but her examples contain many doublets (cases in which both length and shortness are possible) for originally short and stressed a:


- *b'raba/b'raba* ‘midwife’
- *bl'ato/bl'ato* ‘mud’

Neweklowsky mentions an optional lengthening of short *a*, not as a diachronic phenomenon like the diphthongization of *e* and *o*, but as a phonetic realization of short *a* (e.g. 1978: 62).

Neweklowsky 1978:

*/a/ > ['a], ['a]*

Although one would not expect such a free phonetic realization to be restricted to short *a*’s with a specific origin, the examples that Neweklowsky gives are all examples of originally stressed short *a*, in other words cases that are comparable to Koschat’s *b'raba* and *bl'ato*. The examples do not contain short *a*’s from other sources, such as original pretonic *a* that became stressed by the stress retraction (*n'abuos(t)* ‘impale’, 1978: 234) or *a* from *jer* (*sl'agat* ‘to lie’, 1978: 65). Both Koschat and Neweklowsky give forms with long *a* (not as part of a doublet) where we would expect short *a*, such as *pr'aga* (genitive singular of *prag* ‘threshold’, Koschat 1978: 252, Neweklowsky 1978: 75), also a case in which the *a* is originally stressed and short.

Koschat 1978, Neweklowsky 1978:

*pr'aga*

There are a number of questions we could ask:

1. Is it a coincidence that Koschat and Neweklowsky present length doublets in some words (e.g. *b'raba/b'raba*) and in other words only length (e.g. *pr'aga*)? In other words, is *pr'aga* only one half of a doublet of which the other half was not attested?

2. Is it a coincidence that all examples of lengthened *a* are cases where the *a* carries original stress? If this is not a coincidence, we do not have to do with free phonetic lengthening of short *a*. 

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3. Does the distribution of length and shortness in the present dialects support the idea that at the same time when short stressed e and o were lengthened, short stressed a was lengthened as well?

If we suppose that short a was lengthened together with short e and o, we have to account for the fact that in the present-day dialects the situation with regard to the length of original short stressed a is less straightforward than the situation with regard to the length of original stressed e and o. This could be due to the circumstance that e and o, after the lengthening, were diphthongized, whereas a was not. The new stressed short e and o that arose from the stress retraction were distinct from old stressed short e and o by their not being diphthongal. When new stressed short a arose (from the same stress retraction and from jer), old short a was not diphthongal and – because length was not distinctive on this vowel – it is very well possible that it had free short allophones.

If the answer to the third question is positive (the situation in the present dialect does support the idea that short a was lengthened together with e and o), the situation in northern Burgenland Croatian would be analogous with that in many dialects in the south, such as that of the Ţtoji and the Southern Čakavians: there first long e and o diphthongized and then short e, o and a were optionally lengthened.\footnote{Under that assumption, the difference between the north and the south would be a one of chronology and of optionality: in the north the lengthening of e, o and a took place before the diphthongization and was not optional.}

Conclusion: even if we know quite a lot about a specific group of dialects, it is still possible that some things may remain unclear, even relatively central things such as the matter discussed here. It would be interesting to obtain some clarity in this matter, not only because we would know more about the dialects of the northern Burgenland and their history, but also because there is a chance that we could learn more about the historical development of Burgenland Croatian as a whole and find new connections with the “homeland”, where there also have been several kinds of vowel lengthening.

3.2. The presence or absence of distinctive tone

The second and last example of an unanswered question that I would like to give is the question of the presence or absence of a tonal distinction in Burgenland Croatian dialects. Most linguists agree that most Burgenland dialects derive from dialects that had a so-called three-way accentual system (“troakcenatški sustav”), which means that in stressed syllables there was a distinction between (1) short and long vowels and between (2) long rising and long falling vowels.
Three-way accentual system ("troakcenatski sustav"):  
` short vowel  
~ long vowel, rising tone  
^ long vowel, falling tone

But as is often the case with distinctions in languages, the tone distinction was lost in many places, so that there are many dialects about which linguists agree that they do no longer have a three-way but a two-way accentual system ("dvoakcenatski sustav"), which means that there still is a distinction between long and short vowels, but the tone opposition on long vowels does not exist any more.

Two-way accentual system ("dvoakcenatski sustav"):  
` short vowel  
^ long vowel

But linguists do not always agree about this: it happens relatively often that fieldworkers either doubt whether a particular dialect has a tone opposition, or disagree about that. This happens with Čakavian dialects on the Adriatic coast, but also with Burgenland Croatian dialects, both in the north and in the south. I shall give an example. Neweklowsky assumed in 1978 (with caution) that the tone distinction probably had been lost everywhere in the Štoji and Southern Čakavian dialects except in the Southern Čakavian dialects of Stinjaki, Stinjački Vrh and Santalek (Stinatz, Hackerberg and Stegersbach, 1978: 126, 139). However, in his notes on several Štoji and Southern Čakavian dialects (e.g. Pincovac, Petrovo Selo, Narda) Stjepan Ivšić distinguished between long rising and long falling vowels (1971: [785], [789–790]) and Pavle Ivić established a tonal distinction in Narda (Štoji), although he assumed that it was optional (1961-62: 120–121). During my fieldwork in 2008 in Petrovo Selo (the southernmost Štoji dialect on the map) I clearly heard a tonal distinction, although I doubt whether it is distinctive on all vowels (Houtzagers 2011). It is clear that there are differences of perception here. In some publications I have given my opinion on the causes of these differences in perception, and so have others. Two things are clear: (1) that the phonetic differences that we are dealing with are subtle, also for native speakers of Croatian, and that it is easy not to hear such differences or to hear a difference that is not there; (2) that it is impossible or at least very difficult to prove that a tone opposition is or is not present. For
that experimental research in laboratory circumstances would be needed, for which all kinds of practical problems would have to be overcome.\textsuperscript{13}

It is possible that the reader wonders whether it is important to know whether or not a dialect has preserved a three-way accentual system. It is, as I shall try to show with yet another example. That example, too, has to do with vowel lengthening. In many Croatian dialects short vowels have been lengthened before tautosyllabic resonants (e.g. \textit{n}, \textit{r}, \textit{l}). Example:

\begin{center}
\textit{t'ancat} > \textit{tâncat} \ 'dance'
\end{center}

In 1935, basing himself on material gathered by Stjepan Ivšić, Aleksandar Belić discovered an isogloss that is generally considered old and important and that runs through the westernmost part of Posavian Štokavian and the southeasternmost part of Čakavian (1935: 9–11). (North)west of this isogloss the lengthening just mentioned results in a long and rising vowel, (south)east of the isogloss it results in a long and falling one, e.g.

\begin{center}
\text{(north)west:} \quad \textit{t'ancat} > \textit{tâncat} \\
\text{(south)east:} \quad \textit{t'ancat} > \textit{tȃncat}
\end{center}

Until now in those Burgenland Croatian dialects where a three-way accentual opposition was established we always found the “northwestern variant” of the lengthening before tautosyllabic resonants, in other words the result was always a long rising vowel (e.g. Neweklowsky 1978: 72, 133; Ivić 1961-62: 120 ).\textsuperscript{14}

\begin{center}
\text{Burgenland:} \quad \textit{tȃncat}
\end{center}

However, the data from my field-work in (Houtzagers 2011: 281) seem to indicate that the dialect of Petrovo Selo has the “southeastern” variant of the lengthening, e.g.

\begin{center}
\text{Petrovo Selo:} \quad \textit{tȃncat} \\
\text{example in a final syllable: \textit{karmil} ‘feed’ (past tense),} \\
\text{\hspace{1cm} cf. \textit{dĩl} ‘part’}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{13} In order to make it possible for a larger number of colleagues to form an opinion on this matter, I published a web page on which one can hear sound material from various dialects in which I think a tone distinction exists. The URL is \text{http://www.let.rug.nl/houtzage/tones.html.}

\textsuperscript{14} Neweklowsky treats this lengthening together with the overall lengthening in closed nonfinal syllables (not restricted to the position before tautosyllabic resonants), which applies in many Burgenland dialects and yields the same results (a long and rising vowel).
If this is correct, there is a possibility that Belić’s isogloss runs through the Burgenland as well and gives us new information on the origin of (part of) the Burgenland Croats. It is clear that this isogloss is about tones and in order to find out how the it runs we must first know which dialects have a tone distinction.

Apart from historical phonology, the presence of a tonal opposition is relevant for other fields within linguistics, such as morphology: there is very little material from Burgenland Croatian dialects on how the various accentual oppositions (stress, length and tone) function in morphological paradigms. I would consider it a great pity, and I hope the reader agrees with me after having read this article, if through a lack of interest or energy from the part of Croatian dialectology this relevant information would be lost.

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Gradišćanski Hrvati i gradišćanski hrvatski: neka neriješena pitanja

Sažetak

U članku se donosi pregled najvažnijih dosad objavljenih lingvističkih rada o gradišćanskim hrvatskim dijalektima i zaključuje se da je lingvistička slika tih dijalekata još uvijek nepotpuna. Navode se dva primjera neriješenih pitanja, kojima se objašnjava zašto je potrebna potpunija slika od postojeće. Jedan je primjer još uvijek postojeća nejasnoća o sudbinu ishodišnoga kratkog naglašenog a u mnogim dijalektima. Drugi je primjer neriješeno pitanje o tome je li ton u nekim dijalektima južnoga Gradišća razlikovan ili nije. Autor ima razloga pretpostaviti, a pokušava to i pokazati u članku, da je barem dio hrvatskih dijalekata u Gradišću očuvao razlikovni ton i da je distribucija tog tona dijakronijski vrlo zanimljiva. Najvažnije što autor želi istaknuti je da kvalitetnim lingvističkim terenskim istraživanjima u ovom području treba dati veću važnost nego ju imaju sada, pogotovo ako se uzme u obzir da ovi dijalekti brzo izumiru.

Key words: Burgenland Croatian, Croatian dialectology, Slavic accentology, Čakavian, Štokavian, Kajkavian.

Ključne riječi: gradišćanski hrvatski, hrvatska dijalektologija, slavenska akcentologija, čakavski, štokavski, kajkavski