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## A Preliminary Report on Dialectological Fieldwork in Northwestern Croatia: Brezova Gora and the Croatian-Slovene Dialect Continuum

This paper is a contribution to the corpus of dialect data from regions along the Slovene-Croatian national border. It provides a brief description of the phonemic inventory of the Croatian village dialect of Mohenski in Brezova Gora. It also reports on developments in the prosodic system based on a spectrographic analysis of tonal oppositions in this dialect and compares the situation in Mohenski to the dialects just across the border in Slovenia.

Pričujoča razprava je prispevek k zbirki dialektološkega gradiva s področja vzdolž slovensko-hrvaške državne meje. Podan je kratek opis fonološkega inventarja hrvaškega govora Mohenskega v Brezovi gori. Obravnava tudi razvoj prozodičnega sistema na osnovi spektrografske razčlenbe tonemskih nasprotij v tem govoru in ga primerja s stanjem govorov v neposredni bližini na drugi strani državne meje.

### 1. Introduction

One of the more interesting questions in Western South Slavic dialectology is the relationship, both historical and modern, between the dialects of the Slovene and the Kajkavian Croatian speech territories. The debate over the origin and genetic relationship between these dialect regions goes back to Dobrovský in the early 19th century and was carried on by such scholars as Belić, Ramovš, Ivšić and more recently by Ivić, Vermeer and Greenberg (see Greenberg 2000: 42–50).

Contemporary Slavic linguists agree that the dialects of the Slovene and Kajkavian speech territories are part of a dialect continuum with almost all of the isoglosses which unite them being archaisms rather than shared innovations. Although it is clear that this is a dialect continuum, a great deal of weight is given to the political border between Slovenia and Croatia. Dialect maps of this region often correspond exactly with the political border. This may be because little is known about the characteristics of the village dialects directly on and around the national frontier. It is also because in some cases the political border does represent a linguistic border (Lončarić 156). Of course, linguistic isoglosses do not always correspond to political boundaries. For example, eastern Haloze, a Pannonian Slovene dialect, has merged the reflexes of the Common Slavic *jat* and *jers*, a Kajkavian development,<sup>1</sup> and does not exhibit circumflex advancement, a Slovene development (Lundberg 1997, 1999). On the other hand, the Kajkavian dialect of Bednja does have some circumflex advancement (Vermeer 1979). Additional descriptions of dialects in this region could be very helpful to linguists analyzing developments across this national frontier, especially for the question of tone loss.

<sup>1</sup> This important Kajkavian development was pointed out by Ivić (1968: 57).

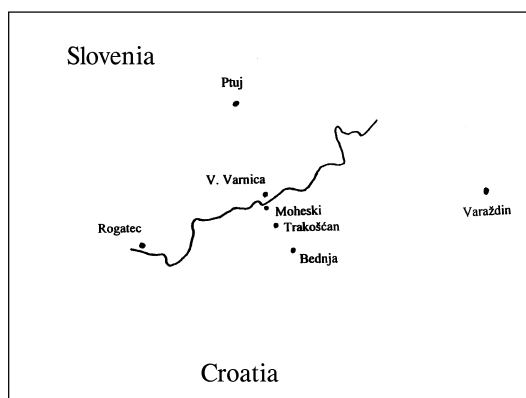
## 1.2. Brezova Gora

This paper is a contribution to the pool of dialect data from this area. I will provide a brief description of the phonemic inventory of the Croatian village dialect of Mohenski in Brezova Gora. I will also report on developments in the prosodic system based on a spectrographic analysis of tonal oppositions in this dialect and compare the situation in Mohenski to the dialects just across the border in Slovenia.

## 1.3. Location

Brezova Gora is a small area in northwestern Croatia about five kilometers northwest of Trakošćan. It is located directly across the border from the Slovene dialect area of Haloze, specifically the village dialect of Velika Varnica. Brezova Gora runs southwest along the border for nearly five kilometers, starting from Jamno, and is made up of approximately fifteen villages. This is an interesting area for dialect studies because, in terms of the geography of the region, these villages are more closely connected to the Slovene villages across the border than they are to other Croatian villages. This raises the question of their linguistic connection to Pannonian Slovene and Kajkavian Croatian dialects.

**Figure 1: Map of Slovene-Croatian Border Region**



## 1.4. Previous Scholarship

To my knowledge almost nothing has been written about Brezova Gora in dialect literature. Kolarič, in his 1964 article on the Haloze dialect, mentions it as a contrast to the Slovene dialect he is describing. Using about five forms to represent the diphthongal reflexes of the Common Slavic \*ě and \*o as *ie* and *uo* respectively, he indicates that Brezova Gora appears to be like Bednja, a Kajkavian dialect (397).<sup>2</sup> Jedvaj in his well-known work on the Bednja dialect mentions that a dialect like

<sup>2</sup> There are at least two reasons to be cautious about this conclusion. First, we are presented with very little information. We are given the reflexes of only two Common Slavic phonemes. Second, Kolarič's informant from Mahinski (possibly Mohenski), had lived for over thirty years in Slovenia when Kolarič spoke with her. She also said that she rarely went home and that they spoke differently there at that time than when she left (397).

that of Bednja could be heard in Cvetlin (283). Cvetlin is not part of Brezova Gora, but it is only five kilometers to the northeast. The interesting point here is that Brezova Gora is located right at the traditional dividing line between Pannonian Slovene and Kajkavian dialects. This is also the location of the isoglosses for several important vocalic developments as well as the isogloss of tone loss. Northeastern Slovene dialects have lost tone, while some Kajkavian Croatian dialects have retained it. This paper will attempt to determine if Brezova Gora is vocalically and tonemically more like Haloze or Bednja.

## 2. Haloze

In order to make a comparison between dialect systems, I will start by briefly describing the system found in Haloze. The Slovene dialect directly across the border from Mohenski is Velika Varnica. There is no wholly reliable description of this dialect,<sup>3</sup> but my experience in this area confirms that it is a typical central Haloze village dialect. Forms from the author's fieldwork in Belavšek, a neighboring central Haloze village dialect, will be used here.

### Figure 2: Belavšek Vowel System (Central Haloze)

<i>i/i:i</i>	<i>ü/ü:i</i>	<i>u/u:</i>	
<i>e/ɛ:</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɚ/ɚ:</i>	
	<i>ä/ä:i</i>	<i>ɔ:u</i>	
	<i>a/a:</i> (a:)		

Belavšek, like Velika Varnica, Trdobjci and other central Haloze systems, has both monophthongs and diphthongs in its vocalic system. Judging from the historical development of the vocalic system, it is a Pannonian Slovene dialect. This can be seen in the merger of the reflexes of the Common Slavic \**e*, \**e* and \**b/\*b* > \**ə* in *e*, while the reflex of the Common Slavic \**ě* has remained distinct, 'pe:t 'five' < \**e*, 'pe:č 'oven' < \**e*, 'de:n 'day' < \**ə*, but z'vä:izda 'star' < \**ě* (Lundberg 1999: 100). This dialect has a rounded reflex of Common Slavic \**a*, t'ra:vq 'grass', and the reflexes of the Common Slavic \**q* and \**o* have merged in *ɔ:u*, gl'avq:u 'head' < \**q*, b'lq:u 'was' < \**o* (101). Belavšek has a fronted reflex of the Common Slavic \**u*, 'vü:ista 'mouth', 'pü:ivali 'built', and the Common Slavic \**l* has developed into a reflex distinct from \**q* and \**o*, 'du:go 'long', 'vu:k 'wolf' (101).

### 2.1. Prosody

Belavšek has a vocalic system in which all distinctions of word-level prosody are realized in the accented syllable and in which the accent is free to fall on any syllable of the word. This system has distinctive quantity, b'rat 'brother', b'ra:t (sup.) 'to pick', although that quantity, still distinctive, carries low functional load in Belavšek because it is almost always accompanied by a quality distinction, 'delati 'to work', 'dä:ilaš 'you work'. Circumflex advancement occurs in the same vocalic con-

<sup>3</sup> A student of Professor Zinka Zorko at the University of Maribor, Anton Roškar, wrote a description of Varnica as part of his course work. In some ways it is a very helpful thesis, especially in the area of morphology, but his approach to the vocalic system and prosody is inconsistent.

texts as in other Pannonian dialects, *me'sq:u* 'meat', *glavq:u* (acc. sg. fem.) 'head', *ku'kq:uš* 'chicken', but *'vü:izgali* 'kindled' (95).

There is no distinctive tone in Haloze, but there is a non-phonemic rising contour on accented syllables (Lundberg 2001: 95). On short and long stressed syllables the pitch level starts low at the beginning of the syllable and peaks 75% to 80% through the duration of the syllable nucleus, then it falls off slightly but finishes higher than it started. The basic measurements of the long and short syllables are almost exactly the same. The average long syllable rises 41Hz to a peak at 274Hz and then falls 25Hz to the end of the syllable. The average short syllable rises 34Hz to a peak of 273Hz and then falls 16Hz to the end of the syllable. The striking difference is that the short syllable makes this contour fit within half the duration of the long syllable. The contour is therefore much sharper.

### 3. Kajkavian

As was mentioned before, Kolarič states that, according to his limited information, Brezova Gora should be classified as a Kajkavian dialect. Lončarić and Ivšić also list it as Kajkavian on their dialect maps (Lončarić 65, 199). If it is Kajkavian, what is it likely to look like? Vermeer lists some characteristics shared by most Kajkavian dialects, including a likely Common Kajkavian vowel system (1983: 456). Several of these points will be discussed below.

#### Figure 3: Common Kajkavian Vowel System

<i>i/i:</i>	<i>ü/ü:</i>	<i>u/u:</i> (< <i>o</i> , later <i>ɨ</i> )
<i>eli:e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>olu:o</i> ( <i>ö/ö:u</i> )
<i>e/e:</i>	<i>a/a:</i>	<i>r/r:</i>

The vowel system above represents the most salient Kajkavian vocalic features. First, the reflexes of the Common Slavic *jat* and *jers* have merged,<sup>4</sup> *b'ri:eg* 'hill', *'di:en* 'day' (Jedvaj 286, 288). Second, the reflexes of the Common Slavic *\*ę* and *\*e* have merged, *'ma:se* 'meat', *'ša:st* 'six' (285, 288). Third, the reflex of the Common Slavic *\*u*, though fronted in the early stages of Common Kajkavian, has in most modern Kajkavian dialects velarized. Fourth, the reflexes of the Common Slavic *\*o* and *\*ɨ* have merged in a phoneme distinct from that of the Common Slavic *\*o*, *mo:už* 'husband', *vo:uk* 'wolf', but *ny:es* 'nose' (289, 285). To this list we might add several secondary Kajkavian characteristics. 1) There is a velarization of the reflex of *\*a*. 2) The reflex of *\*e* is low. 3) The reflex of long *\*ě* is distinct from *i* and *e*. 4) There is a fronting of the reflex of *\*o* to *e* or *ö*. 5) The reflex of long *\*ě* and *\*o* are diphthongs of the type *ie* and *uo* respectively (Vermeer 1983: 440–1).

#### 3.1. Prosody

In most Kajkavian dialects tonal oppositions are retained only on long syllables. The fundamental frequency (F0) contour is contained in one syllable, and it is the shape of that tone contour, rising or falling, that is distinctive and not the F0 height of the following syllable, as is the case for Standard Serbo-Croatian and to some extent Slovene as well (Lehiste and Ivić 1986: 81). Kajkavian, like Slovene, has

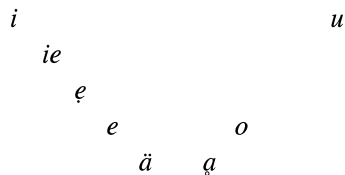
<sup>4</sup> All Kajkavian examples are from Jedvaj 1956.

neo-circumflex, which is a circumflex that developed on a syllable with an original acute (Lončarić 40). The neo-acute in Kajkavian on etymologically short syllables is long rising, *sēla* (nom. pl. neut.) ‘villages’, *žēnska* (nom. sg. fem.) ‘woman’ (Vermeer 1983: 440). Finally, some Kajkavian dialects have limited circumflex advancement. For example, Bednja has advancement onto closed syllables but not onto open syllables, *so'de:il* ‘planted’ (Jedvaj 296), *ke'ky:eš* ‘hen’ (283), but *'ma:se* ‘meat’ (288).

#### 4. Mohenski

Based on the discussion of the Pannonian Slovene dialect of Belavšek and of the common Kajkavian features listed above, it should now be possible to compare the Brezova Gora dialect of Mohenski to these in order to determine which features it shares with the dialects that surround it.

#### Figure 4: Vocalic System of Mohenski



##### 4.1. Examples

- i* < \**i*: – *ve'li* (3rd pers. sg.) ‘to say’, *'zimu* (acc. sg. fem.) ‘winter’, *'pil* (1-pcp. masc. sg.) ‘to drink’, *'bili* (1-pcp. masc. pl.) ‘to be’, *'vinsko* (adj. nom. sg. neut.) ‘wine’, *sq'dil* (1-pcp. masc. sg.) ‘to plant’
- < \**i* – *žg'nica* (nom. sg. fem.) ‘brandy’, *'hiža* (nom. sg. fem.) ‘house’, *'hiži* (loc. sg. fem.), *j'žik* (nom. sg. masc.) ‘tongue’, *ke'siti* (inf.) ‘to cut’
- ie* < \**ě*: – *s'vietu* (loc. sg. masc.) ‘world’, *'bieži* (imp. sg.) ‘run’, *'liet* (gen. pl. neut.) ‘year’, *d'rievu* (nom. sg. neut.) ‘tree’, *k'liet* (nom. sg. fem.) ‘cellar’
- < \**ə*: – *g'nies* (adv.) ‘today’, *'dien* (nom. sg. masc.) ‘day’
- e* < \**ě* – *'leto* (nom. sg. neut.) ‘year’, *'belega* (adj. gen. sg. masc.) ‘white’, *'dělati* (inf.) ‘to do’
- < \**ə* – *'deš* (nom. sg. masc.) ‘rain’, *'peš* (nom. sg. masc.) ‘dog’
- e* < \**ɛ* – *'serce* (nom. sg. neut.) ‘heart’, *der'väna* (adj. nom. sg. fem.) ‘wooden’
- < \**o* – *ge'veriš* (2nd pers. sg.) ‘to talk’, *'hečeš* (2nd pers. sg.) ‘to want’, *pede'mq-čen* (adv.) ‘like at home’, *kes'mqti* (inf.) ‘to pluck’, *he'dili* (1-pcp. masc. pl.) ‘walked’
- ä* < \**ę*: – *'pät* (num.) ‘five’, *'mäso* (nom. sg. neut.) ‘meat’, *mäsa* (gen. sg. neut.)
- < \**ę* – *tride'sätega* (adj. gen. sg. neut.) ‘thirtieth’, *'dävät* (num.) ‘nine’
- < \**e* – *š'täri* (nom. sg. masc.) ‘which’, *'mäle* (gen. sg. fem.) ‘flour’, *'žänska* (nom. sg. fem.) ‘woman’, *'däsät* (num.) ‘ten’, *'dävät* (num.) ‘nine’, *'näbren* (1st pers. sg.) ‘cannot’, *'räkel* (1-pcp. masc. sg.) ‘to say’
- a* < \**a*: – *s'tari* (adj. nom. sg. masc.) ‘old’, *pep'raqvili* (1-pcp. masc. sg.) ‘to repair’, *z'naju* (3rd pers. pl.) ‘to know’, *z'nqš* (2nd pers. sg.)

- < \*a – *g'rāba* (nom. sg. fem.) 'valley', *g'rāx* (nom. sg. masc.) 'bean', *k'rāve* (acc. pl. fem.) 'cow', *'jābuka* (nom. sg. fem.) 'apple'
- o < \*aN – *g'i'bojnca* (nom. sg. fem.) 'gibanica'
- < \*o – *p'ropalo* (1-pcp. neut. sg.) 'ruined', *'pojel* (1-pcp. masc. sg.) 'to eat', *'počel* (1-pcp. masc. sg.) 'to begin', *'kosti* (dat. g. fem.) 'bone', *'dobil* (1-pcp. masc. sg.) 'to receive', *ke'koš* (nom. sg. masc.) 'chicken', *ke'koši* (nom. pl. masc.), *š'kolu* (acc. sg. fem.) 'school'
- u < \*l̥ – *'puno* (adj. nom. sg. neut.) 'full', *'suncu* (loc. sg. neut.) 'sun', *'jābušnica* (nom. sg. fem.) 'apple wine'
- < \*No – *pe 'muči* (dat. sg. fem.) 'power'
- < \*q: – *pe'sudili* (1-pcp. masc. pl.) 'to judge', *'sused* (nom. sg. masc.) 'neighbor', *'bum* (fut. 1st pers. sg.) 'to be', *'buš* (2nd pers. sg.), *'ruke* (nom. pl. fem.) 'hands'
- < \*q – *'su* (3rd pers. pl.) 'to be', *s'mu* (1st pers. pl.)
- < \*u: – *'pujci* (acc. pl. fem.) 'girls', *d'rugi* (adj. nom. pl. masc.) 'other'
- < \*u – *'vuzen* (nom. sg. masc.) 'Easter', *'vuzma* (gen. sg. masc.), *'gudika* (nom. sg. fem.) 'chicks', *'buberek* (nom. sg. masc.) 'cucumber', *'buberke* (acc. pl. masc.)

#### 4.2. Vocalic Developments

Based on these forms, Mohenski has much more in common with Kajkavian than with Pannonian Slovene dialects. 1) It has the merger of the *jat* and the *jers*, *'liet*, *'dien*. 2) The reflex of Common Slavic \*o is distinct from that of the reflexes of Common Slavic \*l̥ and \*q, which have merged in *u*, *ke'koši*, but *'puno* and *pe'sudili*. Mohenski also exhibits several of Vermeer's secondary Kajkavian features, all of which it also shares with Bednja. 1) It has a velarized *a*. 2) The reflex of the *jat* is distinct from *i* and *e*. 3) The reflex of Common Slavic \*o is fronted to *e*. 4) The reflex of the *jat* is a diphthong with rising sonority, *ie*.

#### 4.3. Prosody

All prosodic oppositions including quantity oppositions have been lost in Mohenski. This is based on the author's perception as well as an instrumental analysis, which will be discussed below. There is almost no circumflex advancement in this dialect. As would be expected for a Kajkavian dialect, there is no advancement onto open syllables. This is true no matter what the relative syllable weight of the word is, *'mäso* 'meat', *'kosti* 'bone', *'bili* 'were', *'bilo* 'was', *d'riervo* 'tree'.

The picture for circumflex advancement onto closed syllables is not so clear. This is likely due to lack of sufficient examples. In Bednja and eastern Haloze circumflex advancement onto closed syllables tends to function according to a hierarchy of syllable weight (Vermeer 1987, Greenberg 1992, Lundberg 1997). According to this hierarchy, advancement is most likely to take place from a long syllable onto a long closed syllable. This study records only one example of this kind of advancement in Mohenski, *sq'dil* 'planted'. The next step in the hierarchy is advancement from a short syllable onto a long closed syllable. This stage of advancement is not attested in Mohenski, *'dävät* 'nine', *'däsät* 'ten', *'pojel* 'ate', *'počel* 'began'. The final stage of the hierarchy on closed syllables is from a short syllable onto a short closed syllable. One word with this type of advancement appears in several forms in this

study, *ke'koš* 'chicken'. It is difficult to explain why this final stage of advancement is attested while other more likely types of advancement are not. It could be that this inconsistency is due to the borrowing of a form like *ke'koš*. This is the regular form just across the border in Haloze. This explanation is not satisfying because it is ad hoc and because, except for advancement, the form has little in common phonetically with the form from Haloze, *ku'kɔ:uš*. At this point, there simply are not enough examples to make a good argument.

#### 4.3.1. Spectrographic Analysis

As was mentioned above, all tonemic oppositions have been lost in Mohenski. This is surprising based on the fact that it is clearly a Kajkavian dialect that is similar in many ways to Bednja. Bednja is less than ten kilometers away and has retained tonemic oppositions.

In order to confirm the author's perceptual observation, an instrumental analysis was performed using *Speech Analyzer*, software created by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Twenty-six words were examined on which the traditional accent types might be expected.<sup>5</sup> There was, of course, variation, but I found no consistent connection to the historical accent types. As a general rule, the F0 peak of the word is also the peak of the accented syllable. The F0 rises gradually through the pretonic syllables to the peak in the accented syllable and then falls gradually through the posttonic syllables. On all measured words, the F0 height of the posttonic syllable turns out to be lower than that of the accented syllable.<sup>6</sup> The average peak of the F0 on the accented syllable is at 33% of the duration of the syllable nucleus. The default contour of accented syllables seems to be falling, but there are several forms in this study with a peak from 45% to 68% of the duration. In fact, the shape of the syllable, especially the type of consonant that precedes the accented syllable, has the most influence on the location of the F0 peak. This is consistent with Lehiste and Peterson's work on English accented syllables, in which they argue that a preceding voiceless consonant, especially a voiceless fricative causes the peak of the accented syllable to be early, while a preceding voiced consonant causes the F0 to rise slowly with a peak near the center of the syllable (Lehiste and Peterson 420). For example, *škola* has a peak located 22% of the way through the syllable nucleus, and *'sälu* peaks at 8% of the duration. On the other hand, *žgǎnica* peaks at 68% of the duration, *'buš* peaks at 45%, and *'mäso* has a peak located at 60% of the duration of the syllable nucleus.

### 5. Conclusions

If we compare Mohenski to the Pannonian dialects to the west and to the Kajkavian dialect to the south and east, it clearly has more in common with Kajkavian. The best examples of this are the merger of the reflexes of the Common Slavic *jat* and *jers* as well as the merger of the reflexes of the Common Slavic *\*ǫ* and *\*ǫ̆* in a phoneme separate from the reflex of the Common Slavic *\*o*. The dialect also has a velarized reflex of the Common Slavic *\*a* and shows some evidence of the fronting of the reflex of *\*o*, especially in pretonic position.

<sup>5</sup> These twenty-six forms were made up of ten circumflex, eight acute and eight neo-acute.

<sup>6</sup> The one exception to this was on the word *'počel*. The posttonic syllable in this word was higher than the accented syllable, but this can be explained as a result of the palatal affricate (Lehiste and Peterson).

It is interesting to note that the dialect has changed significantly in the seventy years since Kolarič's informant left Brezova Gora.<sup>7</sup> The innovations in Mohenski over nearly three quarters of a century are partly due to influence from Standard Serbo-Croatian. Kolarič's informant was born in 1901 and moved to Slovenske Gorice in Slovenia in 1930. She could neither read nor write. In the early 1930's a school was built in Brezova Gora. Both of my major informants, now in their eighties, went to grammar school there. This may explain the loss of the diphthongal reflex of the Common Slavic \*o. The neighboring Slovene dialects in the area are probably also part of this development. People from Mohenski have family relationships that extend across the national frontier. They also cross the border into Slovenia regularly to shop and even to work if possible. Many people in Brezova Gora believe that prices are lower and social benefits are better in Slovenia. Anecdotal evidence, based on interviews with the owner of a small grocery store and an elementary school teacher in Haloze, suggests that the Zagorci try to use forms that they think are Slovene when doing business in Slovenia.

Finally, it must be noted that Brezova Gora is likely not uniform in its dialect. The author's limited experience there suggests that some village dialects, like Ilijevci, which is closer to the border, have a dialect very similar to that found in central Haloze and some, like Mohenski, are of Kajkavian origin. More fieldwork is needed in Brezova Gora to clarify the situation and to more specifically locate the isogloss of tone loss and circumflex advancement in this border region.

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<sup>7</sup> If Kolarič's forms can be trusted, the diphthongal reflex of \*o has not been retained, and he list one form with circumflex advancement onto an open syllable, *žre'bie* (398). This has also not been retained. It should also be noted that, although the present study is more detailed than Kolarič's description of Brezova Gora, it is also based on a small data set. This description is based on one hour of recorded dialog and notes from several additional conversations with residents of the village. Because of the small amount of material, the conclusions here must be viewed with some caution.



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One of the more interesting questions in Western South Slavic dialectology is the relationship, both historical and modern, between the dialects of the Slovene and the Kajkavian Croatian speech territories. The debate over the origin and genetic relationship between these dialect regions goes back to Dobrovský in the early 19th century and was carried on by such scholars as of Belić, Ramovš, Ivšić, and more recently by Ivić, Vermeer and Greenberg.

Contemporary Slavic linguists agree that the dialects of the Slovene and Kajkavian speech territories are part of a dialect continuum with almost all of the isoglosses which unite them being archaisms rather than shared innovations. Although it is clear that this is a dialect continuum, the political border between Slovenia and Croatia has had an important influence on dialect development in this area. This paper is a contribution to the pool of dialect data from the border region. It provides a brief description of the phonemic inventory of the Croatian village dialect of Mohenski in Brezova Gora. It also reports on developments in the prosodic system based on a spectrographic analysis of tonal oppositions in this dialect and compares the situation in Mohenski to the dialects just across the border in Slovenia.

Based on the dialect forms in this study, Mohenski has much more in common with Kajkavian than with Pannonian Slovene dialects. (1) It has the merger of the *jat* and the *jers*, 'liet, 'dien. (2) The reflex of Common Slavic \*o is distinct from that of the reflexes of Common Slavic \*j and \*q, which have merged in *u*, *ke'koši*, but 'puno and *pe'sudili*. Mohenski also exhibits several of Vermeer's secondary Kajkavian features, all of which it also shares with Bednja. (1) It has a velarized *a*. (2)

The reflex of the *jat* is distinct from *i* and *e*. (3) The reflex of Common Slavic \**o* is fronted to *e*. (4) The reflex of the *jat* is a diphthong with rising sonority, *ie*.

All prosodic oppositions including quantity oppositions have been lost in Mohenski. This is based on the author's perception as well as an instrumental analysis. There is almost no circumflex advancement in this dialect. As would be expected for a Kajkavian dialect, there is no advancement onto open syllables. This is true no matter what the relative syllable weight of the word is, *mäso*, *'kosti*, *'bili*, *'bilo*, *d'riervo*.

Additional dialect descriptions from this area are needed in order to more specifically locate the isoglosses of circumflex advancement and tone loss in this part of the Slovene-Croatian dialect continuum.

### Uvodna opažanja iz dialektološke terenske raziskave na severozahodnem Hrvaškem: Brezova Gora in hrvaško-slovenski narečni kontinuum

Eno od zanimivejših vprašanj v zahodni južnoslovanski dialektologiji je tako zgodovinsko kot sodobno razmerje med govori slovenskega in hrvaškega kajkavskega jezikovnega ozemlja. Razpravljanje o izvoru in sorodnosti teh govorov sega v začetek 19. stoletja k Dobrovskemu, nadaljevali so ga Belić, Ramovš, Ivšić, v novejšem času pa Ivić, Vermeer in Greenberg.

Današnji slovanski jezikoslovci se strinjajo v ugotovitvi, da so govori slovenskega in kajkavskega jezikovnega ozemlja del narečnega kontinuuma, v katerem so skoraj vse izoglose, ki povezujejo ta dva dela, arhaizmi in ne skupne inovacije. Čeprav je jasno, da gre za narečni kontinuum, pa je imela politična meja med Slovenijo in Hrvaško pomemben vpliv na razvoj narečij tega področja.

Pričujoča razprava je prispevek v zbirko narečnega gradiva z mejnega področja. Podaja kratek opis glasovnega inventarja hrvaške vasi Mohenski v Brezovi Gori. Na osnovi spektrografske analize tonemskih nasprotij v tem govoru avtor poroča tudi o razvoju prozodičnega sistema ter stanje v govoru Mohenskega primerja z govori na slovenski strani meje. Narečne oblike iz te raziskave kažejo, da ima govor Mohenskega veliko več skupnega s kajkavskimi kot s slovenskimi panonskimi govori: (1) sovpad jata s polglasnikoma, npr. *'liet*, *'dien*; (2) refleks psl. \**o* se razlikuje od refleksov psl. \**l̥* in \**q*, ki sta sovpadla v *u*, npr. *ke'koši*, vendar *'puno* in *pe'sudili*. Govor Mohenskega izkazuje tudi nekatere Vermeerove drugotne kajkavske poteze, ki jih ima vse tudi govor Bednje: (1) zaokroženi *a*; (2) refleks jata se razlikuje od *i* in *e*; (3) refleks psl. \**o* se je pomaknil naprej v *e*; (4) refleks jata je dvoglasnik z rastočo zvočnostjo *ie*.

Vsa prozodična nasprotja, vključno s kolikostnimi, so se v govoru Mohenskega izgubila. To opažanje temelji na avtorjevem slušnem vtisu in na strojni analizi. Govor skoraj ne pozna pomika cirkumfleksa. Kot bi bilo pričakovati za kajkavski govor, pomika na odprte zloge ni. To velja ne glede na relativno zložno težo besede, npr. *'mäso*, *'kosti*, *'bili*, *'bilo*, *d'riervo*.

Za natančnejšo določitev izoglos pomika cirkumfleksa in izgube tonemskosti v tem delu slovensko-hrvaškega narečnega kontinuuma bodo potrebni dodatni opisi govorov s tega področja.