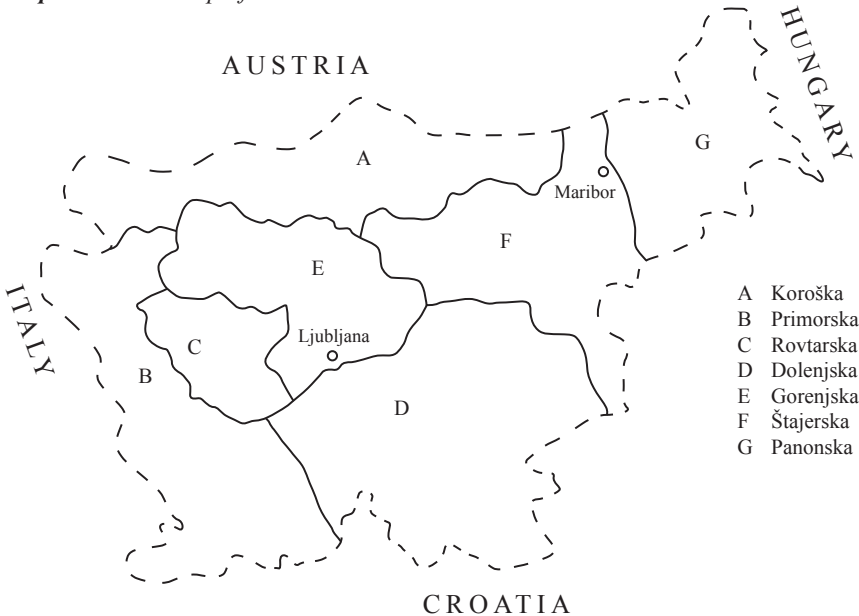

Chapter 3: Historical Developments

3.1 LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF HALOZE

The Slovene dialect area of Haloze, which is located to the southeast of Ptuj along the present Slovene-Croatian national border, is essentially part of the Pannonian Slovene dialect base (See map 3 below.), yet my own fieldwork in the area documents an unexpected phonological development in Haloze that connects it to an ancient Kajkavian Croatian vocalic merger (Lundberg 1999).

Map 3: Dialect Map of Slovenia



This chapter will provide an explanation for this unusual occurrence using a synthesis of available historical data and dialect information. This

analysis will also provide insights on the historical development of the ethnic, linguistic and political border between Slovenia and Croatia as well as comment on the complexity of deciphering dialect data on and around national borders, where dialect material and ideological concerns are often intertwined.¹⁶

3.2 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Most Slavists agree that the Slavs who would much later be known as the Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes and Croatians entered the Pannonian plain and the alpine region just north of the Adriatic in the mid sixth century. They may have arrived in the Carpathian basin with some preexisting dialect divisions (See Ramovš 1933 and Andersen 1999.), but little is known about early linguistic distinctions among the Western South Slavs. It is true that the earliest kingdoms among these Slavs united parts of the Alpine and Pannonian regions.¹⁷ Samo's seventh-century kingdom united Bohemian and Alpine Slavs (Kos 1955: 77), and the ninth-century Pannonian kingdoms of Pribina, Kocel and Greater Moravia also included these groups (Kos 1955: 116, Guldescu 98). We know that the area, which is today northeastern Slovenia, was part of these Pannonian kingdoms because both Prince Pribina and Prince Kocel had connections to Ptuj (Kos 1969: 83). There is also linguistic evidence that during the Late Common Slavic period Slovene, Kajkavian and central Slovak dialects formed an innovating dialect area (Greenberg 2000: 41).

With the Carolingian defeat of the Avars at the end of the eighth century, the area around the confluence of the Drava, the Mura and the Dravinja, the area that would later be known as Haloze, became part of a border

¹⁶ Much of the content of this chapter was originally published as an article in *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* in 2005 under the title "Phonological Results of an Ancient Border Shift: Vocalic Mergers in Northeastern Slovenia."

¹⁷ In referring to these early Slavic peoples as Alpine and Pannonian, I am only indicating the geographic regions of settlement, i.e., the eastern Alps and the Pannonian plains. In this chapter these terms do not refer to hypothetical proto-ethnic groups.

region. This was confirmed at the beginning of the ninth century when Charlemagne made the Drava the border between the Salzburg and the Aquileian patriarchates. With the arrival of the Magyars in the early tenth century and the establishment of the Hungarian nation in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, this area became a disputed border region between the areas controlled by Germanic, Hungarian and Croatian feudal lords. This dispute continued over the course of nearly five centuries.

Although this border, which in its approximate form later became the Slovene-Croatian national border, was unstable and permeable from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, it seems to have had a defining effect on dialect development. It is regularly stated that dialects on the Slovene side of the border exhibit Slovene developments, while dialects on the Croatian side exhibit Croatian phonological developments (Lončarić 156). This does not hold true for the Slovene dialect of Haloze. The village dialects of northeastern Haloze have a vocalic merger of the reflexes of the Common Slavic *jat* and *jers*¹⁸ (Lundberg 1999). This is considered a defining Kajkavian Croatian development (Ivić 57, Vermeer 1983: 440).

What is the source of this “Kajkavian” development in a Pannonian Slovene dialect? Is it the result of an old unity between the dialects of northeastern Haloze and the Kajkavian dialect base, or is it a relatively recent development that arose from intense contact with Kajkavian speakers in the last few hundred years? Both could be possible because of the ancient instability of this border region and because of the movement of people within the Western South Slavic area in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

3.3 PHONOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Identifying the genetic relationships that Haloze shares with the dialects that surround it has not proved an easy task for scholars in this field. The two best known and most influential Slovene linguistic scholars, Ramovš and Rigler, offered contradicting opinions on the matter. Ramovš included

¹⁸ See figure 26 below.

Haloze in the Pannonian group (1935: 170), but Rigler said it would fit more naturally into the Styrian dialect base (1986a: 117). Part of the difficulty is that all Haloze dialects do not have uniform phonological developments. Another problem is that until recently very little was known about Haloze.¹⁹

It might be helpful here to trace the development of the vocalic system of Haloze from the vocalic system of Late Common Slavic. The innovations and processes of development in this system will begin to define the genetic relationships that exist between Haloze and the Styrian, Pannonian and Kajkavian dialects with which it shares a border.

Figure 24: Late Common Slavic Vowel System

i		y		u
	e	ь	ь	o
				o + r, l
ę	ä(ě)	a		

Figure 25: Belavšek Vowel System (Central Haloze)²⁰

(*i, *y>)	i/i:i	ü/ü:i	(<*u)	u/u:	(<*!)
(*e, *ə, *ę>)	e/ę:			o	(<*ö, *ŏ) r/r:
	(*ě>)	ä/ä:i	o:u	(<*o, *ŏ)	
	(*a>)	a/a: (a:)			

(The *ä* represents a fronted /a/, and the *a* represents a rounded /a/. The *o* and *ę* are lax or lowered vowels.)

¹⁹ For a full discussion see Kolarič 1964, Zorko 1993 and Lundberg 1999.

²⁰ For this discussion of dialect provenience, we will consider western Haloze, specifically Žetale, to be represented by the dialects of central Haloze. Žetale appears to have developed from the same dialect base, although it also has features in common with neighboring central Styrian dialects (Zorko 1998).

Figure 26: *Gorenski Vrh (Eastern Haloze)*

(*i, *y>)	i/i:	ü/ü: (<*u)	u/u: (<*!)
(*ě, *ǣ>)	ě/ě:	o/ɔ: (<*o, *ǫ)	ř/ř:
(*e, *ę>)	e/e:		
	(*a>)	a: (ǣ)	

Figure 24 is a representation of the Late Common Slavic vocalic system. It is clear that there are many developments that take place before it becomes the systems shown in figures 25 and 26, which are the contemporary vocalic systems in central and eastern Haloze. Among the earliest changes are the mergers of *i and *y into *i and of *b and *b into *ǣ. These innovations set up a system from which all Slovene dialects can be derived. The vocalic system depicted in figure 27 is based on Greenberg’s reconstruction (2000: 113).

Figure 27: *Common Slovene Vowel System (10th Century)*

i/i:		u/u:	
e/e:	ǣ/ǣ:	o/o:	ɔ/ɔ:
ě/ě:	ǣ̃/ǣ̃:	ǣ̃/ǣ̃:	

Greenberg’s reconstruction is different from previous interpretations in that he posits a velarized reflex of Common Slavic *a in the tenth century for the dialects of the Slovene and Kajkavian speech territories. Greenberg also posits that the first major vocalic development to differentiate this region is the loss of the velarization of *a south of the Sava river. This isogloss separates northeastern Slovene and Kajkavian dialects from southwestern Slovene dialects. Greenberg’s work solves several difficult problems in earlier reconstructions, and it defines the early developments that differentiate Slovene dialects north and south of the Sava river as well as Kajkavian dialects by positing different relative chronologies of the raising of the Common Slavic *jat* (ǣ), the lowering of the reflex of the *yers* (ǣ) and the loss or retention of velarization of *a (ǣ).

3.4 RAISING OF *JAT*

As is clear from figure 27, the low front vowel **ǣ*, which is believed to be the realization of the Common Slavic (CSl) *jat* (**ě*), is lower than the **e*. This is significant because in most contemporary Slovene and other Western South Slavic dialects the reflex of *jat* is higher than the reflex of the **e*. This means that, at some point in the development of the Slovene language, *jat* had to have raised. This development is not unique to Slovene. The raising of *jat* is considered to be a Late Common Slavic process. What is of interest is the way this innovation occurred in Slovene and neighboring Kajkavian dialects.

The interaction between the raising of *jat* and other phonemes in the Slovene vocalic system has been explained in several different ways. Rigler believed that the process of the raising of *jat* began in the southeast of the Slovene speech territory and moved toward the northwest, reaching some areas only very late (1963: 31). In terms of dialect geography, this fits very well with two other developments. The first is the raising of *jat* in the dialects of Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian (BCS). This also happened very early, and the fact that these dialects are located to the south and east of the Slovene speech territory connects this process in both areas.

The second area in which Rigler's explanation of the raising of *jat* fits nicely with another development is the loss of the CSl nasals in Slovene. This process began around the eleventh century and gradually spread to most Slovene dialects by around the thirteenth century, but there are some indications that the process may have been even slower than that in some regions. There are several dialects in the northwest of the Slovene speech territory, the Carinthian dialect of Kneža and possibly some local dialects around Gorica, where nasality may persist to this day (Greenberg 2000: 118, Vermeer 1982). Rigler indicates that the retention of nasality in the northwest caused *jat* to stay low longer. *Jat* raised in the southeast because nasality was lost early in that part of the speech territory. This also fits with evidence from other Slavic dialects. The reflex of the CSl *jat* is still low in languages like Polish where nasality was not lost. The explanation might be that the CSl front nasal and *jat* were originally both low front vowels. When the nasal feature was lost, to avoid merger with the front nasal, *jat* raised.

Vermeer disagrees with Rigler's idea that *jat* raised later in the northwest than it did in the southeast largely because of the development of the CSI long **o*, which also raised in Slovene (1982: 99). Rigler explains the raising of long **o* as a reaction to the raising of *jat* in the southeast. Long **o* became the long back counterpart of the new high *jat*. The problem is that in the northwest **o* also raised but without the motivation of *jat* to pull it up, then later, according to Rigler, *jat* raised to become the front counterpart to the long **o* (1963: 32).

It is possible to explain the development of the long **o* in the northwest even without the motivation of the raising of *jat*. It may be that the long **o* raised to emphasize the difference between long and short **o*. The question is, why would the long *jat* be the front vowel to raise as the front counterpart of the long **o*. According to Vermeer, if the long **o* raised to emphasize the difference between the short and long variant of this phoneme, then the long **e* would be the most likely front counterpart to the long **o* (100).

Vermeer mentions another problem with Rigler's explanation of the raising of *jat* in the northwest in connection with *brata*-lengthening, the relengthening of internal short acutes in Slovene. If things happened as Rigler said they did, in other words if long **o* "pulled up" long *jat*, then *brata*-lengthening should have produced a new long low counterpart for short *jat* (100). This is not what happened. The new long *jat* merged with the original long *jat*. Both of these problems are solved if we posit an early, meaning Late Common Slavic, raising of *jat* in both the southeast and the northwest. Greenberg agrees with this notion and posits this development as one that began in the Slovene northwest and moved south and east, reaching Kajkavian only after the reflex of the CSI *jers* had merged with *jat* (2000: 123). This is significant for the dialects of Haloze because they are located on the eastern periphery of the Slovene speech territory. The raising of *jat* reached Haloze later than other Slovene dialects and appears to have been only partially implemented in central Haloze, where the long reflex of *jat* is still a low front vowel, (ä:i).

3.5 LOWERING OF *ǣ

The next significant Western South Slavic vocalic development is the lowering of the reflex of the Common Slavic *ǣ, including the vocalic mergers that took place as a result. In Slovene dialects south of the Sava river that did not retain a velarized reflex of *a, the long reflex of *ǣ merged with *a. In Slovene dialects north of the Sava and in Kajkavian dialects, where a velarized reflex of *a was retained, *ǣ merged with an *e*-like vowel. A good example of this is the simplification of the front of the vowel system in the Styrian and Pannonian dialects of Slovene.

One of the key innovations that defines the difference between a Styrian system and a Pannonian system is how these phonemes simplified. First in short syllables and later in long, Styrian dialects merged *ei* (<*ě) and *e* (<*e) and Pannonian dialects merged *e* (<*e) and *ɛ* (<*ǣ). Finally the *jer*, which became an *e*-like vowel in the northeast of the Slovene speech territory, merged in Styrian dialects with *ɛ*, which was the reflex of *ǣ, and in Pannonian dialects the *jer* merged with the reflexes of the *e and *ǣ (Rigler 1963: 59). These mergers are old, the development of *ǣ > e took place around the 13th century, because they took place before *brata*-lengthening in Styrian dialects (Rigler 1986a: 124). This means that as a general rule, in Pannonian dialects, the reflex of the CSI *jat* is distinct from the reflexes of *e, *ǣ and *ǣ, which have all merged. The resulting Pannonian Slovene system is listed in figure 28 below.

Figure 28: *Common Pannonian Vowel System* (Rigler 1963: 45)

i/i:	ü/ü:
ɛ/e:i	o/o:u
e/e:	ǣ o/o:
	a/a:

A glance back at the vowel chart from central Haloze (figure 25) will show that this area has undergone the mergers and vocalic developments that are characteristic of Pannonian dialects. (*pe:t*, ‘five’ < **ę*, *pe:č*, ‘oven’ < **e*, *de:n*, ‘day’ < **ǝ*, but *z'va:izda*, ‘star’ < **ě*)

The vocalic systems of eastern Haloze (figure 26) are different from those of central Haloze in several important ways. The most striking divergence is the fact that all over the east of Haloze the reflexes of CSI long **ě* and long **ǝ* have merged, and they have combined in a vowel distinct from the other *e*-like vowels. In Gorenjski Vrh long **ě* and **ǝ* give *e:*, and the reflexes of long **ę* and **e* have merged in *e:* (*pe:t*, ‘five’ < **ę*, *pe:č*, ‘oven’ < **e*, but *de:n*, ‘day’ < **ǝ*, *z'vɛ:zda*, ‘star’ < **ě*). This is significant because if we are to assume the same provenience for the vocalic systems of eastern and central Haloze, in other words a Pannonian Slovene provenience, we must assume that at an early stage in eastern Haloze the reflexes of the CSI **e*, **ę* and **ǝ* merged, all of which had a reflex distinct from **ě*, but later **ǝ* diverged from these and merged with **ě*. This is impossible because once two distinct vocalic phonemes have merged there is no way to reestablish their original distributions. The fact that only the reflexes of the CSI *jers* merged with the reflexes of *jat* while the reflexes of **e* and **ę* never do indicates that in eastern Haloze, unlike in other Pannonian dialects, such as central and western Haloze, the **ǝ* never merged with **e* and **ę* but merged with the reflex of **ě* instead.

A much simpler model for these mergers can be found in neighboring Kajkavian dialects, which also underwent the raising of **ě* and the lowering of **ǝ*. In Kajkavian dialects, like Slovene dialects north of the Sava, the velarized reflex of **a* prevented the merger of **ǝ* and **a*, but Kajkavian is different from Slovene dialects north of the Sava in that *jat* raised later in Kajkavian, so that the new low reflex of **ǝ* merged with **ě* before it raised. This merger of the reflexes of the long *jat* and the long *jer* is seen as a basic feature of Kajkavian dialects (Ivič 1968). With that in mind, it is much less problematic to derive the vocalic system of eastern Haloze from a Common Kajkavian base like the one purposed by Vermeer in his 1983 discussion of the development of the Kajkavian vocalic system (456). This system represents a stage after the long reflexes of the *jat* and *jers* merged and raised.

Figure 29: Common Kajkavain Vowel System

i/i:	ü/ü:	u/u: (<ǫ, and later /)
ɛ/i:e	ə	o/u:o (ö/ǫ:u)
e/e:	a/a:	r/r:

3.6 OTHER VOCALIC DEVELOPMENTS IN EASTERN HALOZE

The back and middle of the vowel system of eastern Haloze is somewhat more complicated in terms of a Kajkavian provenience. One area in which eastern Haloze seems to be different from most Kajkavian dialects is as regards the reflexes of CSI **l̥* and **ǫ*. Most Kajkavian dialects have merged these two vocalic phonemes in a vowel distinct from the reflex of **o*, although certainly not all Kajkavian dialects are the same in this respect. For example, in Bednja, a well-known Kajkavian dialect near the Slovene border, the reflex of long **l̥* and **ǫ* is *o:u*, *vo:uk* ‘wolf’, *mo:už* ‘husband’, but the reflex of long **o* is *y:e*, *ny:es* ‘nose’ (Jedvaj 1956: 289).²¹ On the other hand, western Medimurje has the development **l̥ > u*, while the reflexes of **ǫ* and **o* have merged in *o:u*, *po:ut* ‘path’, *mo:ruka* ‘flour’ (Oblak 1896: 47). Eastern Haloze, like central Haloze and the rest of the Pannonian Slovene dialects, has *u* for **l̥*. This is not necessarily a problem for deriving eastern Haloze from a Kajkavian base because, according to Vermeer (1979b: 175), the Kajkavian development **l̥ > ǫ* may be a later development after an earlier stage of **l̥ > u*, such as is found in Pannonian and Styrian dialects. This variety of reflexes in the back of the vocalic system is an indication that several of the developments involved, such as loss of nasality and loss of vocalic /l/, were concluded relatively late in the development of Western South Slavic.

²¹ For an additional discussion of Bednja see Vermeer 1979a.

The arguments for the claim that, in Kajkavian dialects, **l* first became *u* then later merged with *o* rest largely on dialect geography. The development of **l* > *u* takes place over a large portion of the South Slavic territory. It is found in Pannonian Slovene and most of Čakavian and Štokavian. If Kajkavian never experienced this development, then we must assume that for some reason Kajkavian was excluded from a process that took place all around it. On the other hand, if Kajkavian is included, we can connect a large portion of the South Slavic area with this innovation.

Another area in which contemporary eastern Haloze does not seem to be the same as many Kajkavian dialects is the development **u* > *ü*. This development is regular in Haloze except in the extreme east around Zavrč, where it is being replaced by *u*, perhaps because of influence from Prlekian or contemporary Kajkavian dialects which do not have *ü*. In any case, it is a recent innovation because it has only been partially implemented. The areal innovation **u* > *ü* took place in Pannonian Slovene, southeast Styrian, Dolenjsko and southern Primorsko, as well as in northern Čakavian and in the Posavian dialects of Slavonian Štokavian. It probably also took place in Kajkavian. Again this idea is based on dialect geography because this innovation occurs today on the periphery of Kajkavian, in the northwest (Bednja), northeast (Kloštar) and south (Mraclin). This typical pattern in dialect geography indicates that the reflexes found on the edges of the speech area are the most archaic, making the reintroduction of non-fronted /u/ a much later innovation. This would also explain why eastern Haloze has retained most of the original distribution of *ü* even though it has a Kajkavian base because the Kajkavian replacement of non-fronted /u/ probably took place as a result of a heavy increase of non-Kajkavian speakers into Kajkavian territory in the 1500's (Vermeer 1979b: 176). That would have been after eastern Haloze began to converge with the Pannonian dialects of Slovene. This points to the notion that the development of **u* > *ü* was relatively early in the processes which shaped Western South Slavic because it is mostly uniform over a large territory and because it had to happen before the loss of nasality and the loss of vocalic /l/ because, in those dialects where it occurred, there was no merger of the reflexes of **o* or **l*.

3.7 SUMMARY OF VOCALIC DEVELOPMENTS

According to this scenario, in the tenth century northeastern Slovene and Kajkavian dialects were characterized by a velarized reflex of **a*, which prevented the merger of **ǝ* and **a*, so in these dialects **ǝ* merged with an *e*-like vowel. The raising of *jat* moved across this area from the Slovene northwest to the southeast. In the Slovene dialects north of the Sava, *jat* raised before **ǝ* lowered, so **ǝ* merged with **e*. In eastern Haloze and in Kajkavian dialects, *jat* raised later, so that by the time **ǝ* lowered, *jat* was still low, and they merged. This means that eastern Haloze developed in contact with Kajkavian dialects long enough to experience the merger of *jat* and the strong *jers*. Greenberg dates the development of the isogloss of the merger of the *jers* and *jat* in Kajkavian as opposed to the merger of the *jers* with **e* and the front nasal in neighboring Slovene dialects between the tenth and twelfth centuries (2000: 65). Eastern Haloze also experienced the fronting of **u*, which was also an early development. The other historical processes in northeast Slovene and Kajkavian dialects, which complete the development of the back of the vocalic systems, are later. Eastern Haloze and most Kajkavian dialects do have the development **! > u* in common, but, by the time that nasality was lost, eastern Haloze had begun to converge with Pannonian Slovene, so there was never a merger of the reflexes of **!* and **ǝ* in eastern Haloze. Eastern Haloze, as well as the Međimurje Kajkavian dialects did not innovate **! > u > ǝ*. The back nasal in Haloze merged with the reflex of **o*.

One point that remains to be explained is the existence of the monophthongs *ɛ* and *ɔ* in an area where some sort of diphthong is expected. Eastern Slovene has *e:i* and *o:u* and much of Kajkavian has *ie:* and *uo:*. If we posit a Kajkavian base for the dialects of eastern Haloze, then the monophthongs attested today probably developed from diphthongs with rising sonority like those found in many Kajkavian dialects today.

These monophthongal reflexes may have developed as speakers of eastern Haloze came into close contact with speakers of Styrian and Pannonian Slovene dialects where the diphthongs *e:i* and *o:u* would have appeared in contrast to the forms used by speakers of eastern Haloze. There is little

direct evidence for this explanation,²² but there are other examples of this very thing happening. This is perhaps much like the monophthongization of *e:i* and *o:u* in the near-by Slovene dialect of Središče which is also on the Slovene-Croatian frontier, *s're:da* 'Wednesday', *mɔ:ž* 'husband' (see Greenberg 1995). Additionally, Tine Logar claims that this is the process by which we get the monophthong *ɛ:* and *ɔ:* in Gorenjsko dialects (1996: 27). The monophthongs represent a compromise between dialects with opposing reflexes for one CSI phoneme. This may be a process of accommodation in which speakers of different dialects, when they are in regular contact, accommodate their speech to the speech of the other.

It is significant to note that in dialect contact, accommodation takes place only for the most salient features, those that are perceived to be the most radically different phonetically. Finally, the accommodated feature is often not the same as the original form because speakers reduce perceived differences, they do not imitate slavishly (Trudgill 1986: 58). This explanation fits well with the situation in eastern Haloze.

The problem with this accommodation explanation for this particular circumstance is that it generally works in a way in which the lower prestige variant or dialect accommodates to the higher prestige dialect. I have made the assumption that as eastern Haloze began to converge with Slovene dialects and as the national and ecclesiastical borders brought Haloze back into the realm of Ptuj and Slovene lands that the prestige variants would be those dialects spoken in Pannonian Slovene areas. Unfortunately, there is no demographic information for eastern Haloze in the feudal period.

3.8 HISTORY OF HALOZE

The developments in the phonological systems of northeastern Haloze that connect this area with early Kajkavian developments fit in well with what

²² In her 1991 article on eastern Haloze, Zorko lists the form *vi:išeš*, meaning 'higher', which is formed from the suffix *ejši*. In the form listed, *ej* has been simplified to *e* (63). This might serve as a clue to the monophthongization of other diphthongs. Its usefulness is limited because the vowel discussed does not carry the word accent.

is known about the early history of the region. Most of this information is based on the history of larger towns and fortresses in the region, such as Ptuj and Borl because there is almost no information about Haloze specifically.

The picture of Haloze in the early feudal period is quite dark. Most of the information that helps to define which church and state centers had control over these lands is indirect. One such piece of information is Charlemagne's declaration in the year 811 that the Drava would be the dividing line between the Salzburg and the Aquileian Patriarchates. This made Haloze the eastern boundary of the Aquileian Patriarch's control. Charlemagne's confirmation of a decision made at a synod in 796 resulted from intense missionary competition between missionaries from Salzburg and Aquileia (Schenker 23). It is also known that in the very early feudal period the lands to Haloze were under the control of Ptuj, a town that in the mid-ninth century was poised to become an important trading center (Kos 1969: 83).

The situation in which Ptuj and the lands of Haloze were part of western state and ecclesiastic control did not last long. This is due to the fact that the Magyars arrived in Pannonia at the beginning of the tenth century. They devastated Greater Moravia and destroyed Ptuj along with all feudal and ecclesiastical organization of the time (Kos 1969: 83), and by 907 they had crushed the Ostmark of the Germanic Holy Roman Empire (Burghardt 60). Europe was exposed to fifty years of extensive Magyar raiding that threatened all but the extreme reaches of the continent (61).

The Magyars first occupied eastern Haloze in the early tenth century, but it would be another hundred years before Hungary settled into the role of a nation state with clear boundaries (Burghardt 64). The fifty years of Magyar raids into Europe in the early tenth century created a power vacuum that severed the earlier ecclesiastical and feudal ties of eastern Haloze to the west from Aquileia, Salzburg and Ptuj. After this important event, we have almost no information from Haloze for nearly three hundred years.

There is some information about Ptuj. According to Kos, in 982 the Magyars were driven back, and a border was formed where the Dravinja flows into the Drava (1969: 83). This puts Ptuj back in the control of the Salzburg Archdiocese and leaves Haloze in Hungarian hands, where it would remain

for three hundred years. Sometime during this gap in information the castle Ankenstein was built. This is the center from which most of eastern and central Haloze were ruled. Ankenstein was originally a Hungarian fortress (Pirchegger 15). This castle and the lands of Haloze were still held by the Hungarians in 1137. In this year Konrad I, the Archbishop of Salzburg, decided to rebuild the fortress at Ptuj to guard the eastern border of this realm. Ptuj had long been in ruins, and the road and crossing of the Drava were not safe because Ankenstein belonged to the Hungarians (Pirchegger 4). We next read the name Ankynstain, the castle appears with several different spellings, and its Hungarian name, Borlyn, in connection with a battle against the Hungarians to retake this land in 1291 (von Zahn 10).

The modern Slavic name for the castle is Borl. The Hungarian name appears in several different forms in the earliest records, Borlyn 1291, Bornel 1335 and Bornyl 1337 (von Zahn 10).²³ The Hungarians did lose control of the lands of Ankenstein when Frederick of Ptuj reclaimed the Ormož region on Easter 1200. At the same time the castle Tranbek, located near the present day village of Dravinjski Vrh, which is on the western edge of Haloze, took back the lands of eastern Haloze and probably the castle Borl (Bračič 1967: 57).

From the mid thirteenth century on most of eastern and part of central Haloze was controlled from Borl, which, because of its location on the border, had complete feudal independence from Salzburg and Hungary. The Hungarians made many attempts to regain this territory well into the fourteenth century because they believed that it was a part of Hungary (Pirchegger 15). Nevertheless, after about 1260, Borl and Haloze began to move closer to Štajersko (Kos 1969: 88), and the Slovene state and ethnic borders developed along the boundaries of this feudal domain. This area fell under Hungarian control one more time near the end of the fifteenth century.

²³ Bračič cites the last form and says that it has some connection to a river crossing (56). This form could also have something to do with wine. The modern Hungarian word *bornal* means 'with wine.' This is interesting because Haloze has been a wine producing area since Roman times. On the other hand, it seems more likely that the first mentioned form is the original because the modern Slovene name for the castle is Borl.

The records of this castle would be invaluable for the study of the early history of Haloze. Unfortunately, some time after 1927, all of the land registers of the castle Borl disappeared, so that almost nothing is known about the demographics of eastern Haloze during the feudal period. It is also not clear what the boundaries of church government were during the time of Hungarian control of this region. Pirchegger argues that the organization of ecclesiastical government in Haloze points to Hungarian origin (15). It is known that at least the villages around the northeastern center of Zavrč were under the control of the Zagreb diocese until at least 1545 (Bračič 62). Late in the eleventh century the regions under the ecclesiastical control of Zagreb were added to the Hungarian Archbishopric of Kalocsa, which was established in 1006 (Burghardt 68).

3.9 CONNECTIONS BETWEEN HISTORICAL EVENTS AND VOCALIC DEVELOPMENTS

For three to five hundred years the economic, political and ecclesiastical center of gravity for the lands of northeastern Haloze was to the east in places like Zagreb and Varaždin. Varaždin is especially important for the early history of this area because it was an important center of commerce. It was recognized as a royal town already in the early twelfth century. This town is also important to a discussion of linguistic influences in Haloze because the language of Varaždin in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was Kajkavian (Guldescu 209). This is the very time period during which all of the major phonological developments discussed above took place, e. g., loss of nasality, lowering of *ǫ, merger of *ě and *ǫ, and raising of *ě. The historical border shift, which incorporated part of Haloze into Hungary, provides a plausible explanation for the fact that the dialects of eastern Haloze exhibit an ancient vocalic merger that took place only in dialects east of that national border.

3.10 RECENT DIALECT CONTACT

The historical and linguistic data from this area make a convincing argument that the merger of **ě* and **ǝ* in eastern Haloze is an ancient development. On the other hand, the very fact that Haloze is located on a longstanding national border means that it is susceptible to dialect contact through the movement of people, i. e., immigration from Croatian lands into Haloze. There is no documentation that this took place, but Bračič speculates that there may have been a substantial immigration into Haloze from the central Bednja river valley in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (89). We do not know if this took place in Haloze, so it may be helpful to compare the developments in Haloze to those in other Slovene border dialects where recent Kajkavian influence is more clearly documented. The Prlekian village dialect of Središče is an interesting example.

In many ways Središče is very similar to eastern Haloze. It is located almost directly on the Slovene-Croatian border. This region was also conquered by the Hungarians in the early tenth century, and the feudal control of Ptuj was not reasserted here until the early thirteenth century. One important difference from Haloze is that the region around Središče seems to have been empty and depopulated when Fridrik of Ptuj regained control here (Bračič 57). It was not uncommon for the Hungarians to depopulate an area of thirty to a hundred miles as a border region. This served as protection against medieval armies that required a local population for support during an attack (Burghardt 66). It is also true that there was a major repopulation of the Ormož / Središče area from Pannonian Slovene regions after the end of the twelfth century (Kos 1969: 88).

Although most dialects of eastern Slovenia felt some influence from Kajkavian Croatian between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, especially from the Kajkavian literary language, Središče, surrounded as it is by Kajkavian, experienced significant pressure (Rigler 1986b: 77). This influence was especially strong after the beginning of the eighteenth century when the literary language in this area was clearly Kajkavian.

Even though the Kajkavian influence in Središče is significant, the spoken dialect of the region, as described by Ozvald and later Greenberg, is clearly

Pannonian Slovene. This dialect does not have the merger of the reflexes of the Common Slavic *jat* and the *jers*. It has a monophthongal realization of CSI *jat*. This is likely a later development, perhaps as a result of heavy contact with Kajkavian speakers in whose dialect the reflex of *jat* had rising as opposed to falling sonority. A similar explanation could be given for the monophthongal reflex found in eastern Haloze. Greenberg claims that Središče has early Pannonian Slovene phonological developments and later developments that connect this dialect to an eastern Slovene and Kajkavian areal (1995: 100).

The example of Središče is instructive because this area clearly had intense Kajkavian influence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This influence did not cause the dialect to adopt the phonemic inventory of Kajkavian. The merger of *jat* and *jers* is not attested. On the other hand, this influence probably did cause the monophthongization of some diphthongs and some other vocalic shifts like a non-fronted reflex of CSI **u* or lengthening and raising of short mid-vowels before nasals (Greenberg 1995: 100). Eastern Haloze also has several developments that appear to be the result of later contact with Kajkavian, monophthongization of reflex of *jat* and perhaps intonation patterns on stressed syllables (rising but not distinctive) (Lundberg 2001) and non-fronted reflex of **u* in area around Zavrč.

3.11 CONCLUSION

It is interesting to find a Slovene dialect on the Slovene-Croatian border that exhibits characteristics usually considered to belong to Kajkavian Croatian dialects. The merger of the long reflexes of the CSI *jat* and *jers* in the Pannonian Slovene dialect of Haloze is unusual. This chapter argues that both the linguistic and historical data presented here indicate that the merger of the *jat* and *jers* must have happened during the tenth to the thirteenth century control of this area by Hungary and Croatia. Dialect data show that all the major developments discussed in this paper, lowering of the reflex of the *jers*, merger of *jat* with the reflex of the *jers* or the reflex of **a* or **e*, and loss of nasality, happened between the tenth and fourteenth centuries. Historical data show that during this crucial time period much of Haloze

was separated from other Slovene dialects by the creation of the Hungarian nation, which also included the Kajkavian speech territory. This border shift provides a working explanation for the fact that eastern Haloze, alone among Slovene dialects, has merged the long reflexes of the *jat* and *jers*.

One of the difficulties of dialect work on a national border is the role sometimes played by ideological concerns. Some linguists view isoglosses and vocalic developments as signifiers of national identity. This may be part of the reason that no scholar has yet attempted a detailed analysis of this merger in Haloze.²⁴ This discussion reinforces the argument that the ancient relationship between the dialects of the Slovene and Kajkavian speech territories is one of a dialect continuum. Developments like **ě* raising and **ǝ* lowering moved across this continuum, originating in different regions. The relative chronology of these developments is what differentiates the dialects of this area. Clearly, movements of armies and medieval borders also played a role in determining how quickly some developments moved across the continuum.

²⁴ It may also be that no one has attempted an analysis of the merger of the *jat* and *jers* in Haloze because Haloze is an obscure dialect and the discussed merger has only been recently described.