

REGIONAL GEOLINGUISTICS – CASE STUDY OF PREKMURJE DIALECT

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ABSTRACT

Among Slovenian dialects, three dialect groups have been the subject of regional geolinguistic analysis so far (Littoral, Carinthian, Pannonian); this paper examines the Prekmurje dialect, which can be divided into Dolinsko, Ravensko, Goričko and Porabje variants based on younger linguistic phenomena. The aim of this article is to contribute to knowledge on regional geolinguistics of the Slovenian language area. The article maps selected linguistic phenomena using the linguistic geography method.

Keywords: geolinguistics, regional geolinguistics, Prekmurje dialect

GEOLINGUISTICA REGIONALE – ESEMPIO DEL DIALETTO DEL PREKMURJE

SINTESI

Tra i dialetti sloveni, i dialetti di tre gruppi dialettali sono stati finora oggetto di un'analisi geolinguistica regionale (quello del Litorale, della Carinzia e pannonico). Questo articolo si riferisce al dialetto del Prekmurje, pertinente a quest'ultimo gruppo, che può, sulla base di fenomeni linguistici più giovani, essere diviso nelle varianti del Dolinsko, Ravensko, del Goričko e del Porabje. I fenomeni linguistici selezionati in questo articolo sono mappati utilizzando il metodo della geografia linguistica.

Parole chiave: geolinguistica, geolinguistica regionale, dialetto del Prekmurje

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article has been to contribute to knowledge on regional geolinguistics of the Slovenian language area. The geographic distribution of the lexemes under consideration in the Prekmurje dialect clearly shows the connectedness of certain areas, both in diachronic and synchronic terms.

Geolinguistics¹ is a special branch of dialectology, which has a tradition of over 130 years in Europe. Its beginnings date back to the 1880s, when Wenker created his atlas of German dialects (Škofic, 2020) (first volume – *Sprachatlas der Rheinprovinz, nördlich der Mosel und des Kreises Siegen*), followed in the early 20th century by Gilliéron's *Atlas linguistique de la France*, which also served as a model for K. Jaberg and J. Jud's *Sprach- und Sachatlas des Italiens und der Südschweiz*.

According to Alinei (1983, XIX), all geolinguistic works can be categorised by two criteria:

a) territorial and b) methodological. According to the territorial criterion, atlases are classified by the scope of the analysed geographic area: national atlases are defined as first-generation atlases; regional atlases are second-generation atlases; atlases of language groups (such as the Slavic Linguistic Atlas, *Obščeslavjanskij lingvističeskij atlas*) are defined as third-generation atlases, and so-called fourth-generation atlases cover the widest geographic territory (such as the European Linguistic Atlas – *Atlas linguarum Europae*). According to the methodological criterion, atlases are divided into two groups: the first group comprises so-called raw-data-based atlases, in which the materials are presented in a raw, non-analysed form, i.e. phonetically transcribed lexemes, phonemes or morphemes placed next to the name or number of the locality on the map. The second group comprises interpretative atlases, which provide language materials in an abstracted or interpretative form using various mapping techniques (symbols, isoglosses or a combination of both).

REGIONAL GEOLINGUISTICS

A comparison of the order in which each type of atlas was created for a particular language brings interesting findings. It reveals that for some languages, regional atlases were made before national ones (e.g. Wenker's *Sprachatlas der Rheinprovinz* and *Sprachatlas von Nord- und Mitteldeutschland*), or vice-versa. Certain research centres decided to make regional atlases before national ones due to a smaller and thus more manageable research

territory, which would be used to produce a "trial volume" before the national atlas (Reichan & Woźniak, 2004, 10), while others believed it would be sensible to first analyse a wider territory, i.e. a particular language area as a whole, and then build upon the findings of national atlases to make regional atlases of the already-examined territory through in-depth research. Linguistic peculiarities of individual territories, regions or areas thus became clear only in a contrastive relation to other regions (such as the presence/lack of particular objects and consequently of their names).

Regional geolinguistics in Slovenian language area

Three dialect groups have been the subject of regional geolinguistic analysis in Slovenia so far – Littoral, Carinthian and Pannonian.

Each area under consideration follows its own methodological principles, which can vary widely. In western and eastern Slovenian dialects, research is particularly oriented towards collecting dialectal lexis and presenting it on linguistic maps; in northern dialects, typical phonetic phenomena are documented in addition to lexis, enabling the identification of the locations of predominant isophones and isolexes.

Littoral dialect group

In the western part of the Slovenian language area, geolinguistics has been developed at the Institute for Linguistic Studies at the University of Primorska Science and Research Centre, where lexical regional atlases of Istrian and Kras as well as Croatian, Romanian, Istriot and Italian local dialects of the area have been created.

The 1987 *Slovenski dialektološki leksikalni atlas Tržaške pokrajine* (SDLA-Ts) by Rada Cossutta examines the area on the Italian side of the border. The mapping method makes this a raw-data-based atlas since dialectal materials are written in phonetic transcription next to the number of each locality. The materials were collected using the ASLEF² (*Atlante Storico-Linguistico-Etnografico del Friuli-Venezia Giulia*, (Pelegriani, 1972–1986)) questionnaire in ten localities in the vicinity of Trieste (with the addition of the materials of two data points included in the ASLEF network) and are displayed on 177 maps (the materials themselves are recorded for 740 questions).

According to Alinei's atlas classification, this is a second-generation raw-data-based atlas.

1 This paper builds upon the article by Kumin Horvat (2010).

2 More about ASLEF (Zuljan Kumar, 2016).

A second atlas by the same author – the 1996 *Slovenski dialektološki atlas koprške pokrajine* (SDLA-Kp, Cossutta, 1996) – methodologically matches the first (i.e. SDLA-Ts).

The *Slovenski dialektološki leksikalni atlas slovenske Istre* (2005), by Rada Cossutta is graphically more advanced and uses the same mapping method; it presents lexemes collected using an adapted questionnaire of the Friulian ASLEF atlas in 21 Istrian Slovenian data points. Materials were collected and mapped for 740 questions (which are written as cues with no context) categorised into thematic sets (such as natural phenomena, flora, fauna, parts of the human body, illnesses etc.). This atlas, too, is raw-data-based as the materials are not interpreted but merely provided for further linguistic analyses.

In addition to the above atlases, the Institute for Linguistic Studies at the University of Primorska Science and Research Centre designed the *Narečni atlas slovenske Istre in Krasa* (NASIK) project. The researchers, namely Goran Filipi, Rada Cossutta and Suzana Giljanovič, conceived the atlas with a view to present dialectal materials collected with the questionnaire for *Lingvistični atlas Istre* in selected Slovenian Istrian and Kras local speeches. The atlas designers saw regional geolinguistics as very meaningful, stating that compared to national atlases, regional ones are much better thought-out and more realistic as, based on special adapted questionnaires, they reveal the most authentic aspect of the researched area with greater precision (Giljanovič, 2011). In spite of reasonable prospects, the project has not borne fruit.

In parallel with the atlases listed above, Goran Filipi prepared different regional atlases that mostly explore the multilingual situation on the Istrian peninsula, also covering the Slovenian local dialect of Nova vas in one such atlas (Filipi & Buršič Giudici, 2012). Monographs published between 1998 and 2017 actually provide materials for atlases, but no maps as such. They discuss lexis in different semantic fields, such as: the weather, geomorphology, the body and feelings, numerals and descriptive adjectives, time and the calendar, life, marriage and family, the house and property, the wardrobe and accessories, food and drink, animals, agriculture, wild flora and mushrooms. As a standalone unit, the *Lingvistični atlas pomorske terminologije istrskih govorov* (Filipi & Buršič Giudici, 2013) was created, discussing, among 22 local dialects, terminology collected in the

local dialect of the town of Izola, which the author defines as an Istrian Venetian local dialect.

In 2019, another regional atlas for the Littoral dialect group was published, namely the first volume of the *Istrskobeneški jezikovni atlas severozahodne Istre/Atlante linguistico istroveneto dell'Istria nordoccidentale* by Suzana Todorović (2019), which is actually a bilingual monographic publication on Romance dialectology as it primarily explores Istrian Venetian local dialects, including three Slovenian Istrian data points as control points (Bertoki, Šared, Dragonja). In terms of Alinei's linguistic atlas classification, this is a second-generation raw-data-based atlas; it includes 573 bilingual lexical language maps providing lexis in the subject fields of weather, geomorphology, traditions and institutions, body and illnesses. The dialectal materials are not interpreted; they are written next to the name of each research point in phonetic transcription.

In 2020, the second volume of the *Istrskobeneški jezikovni atlas severozahodne Istre/Atlante linguistico istroveneto dell'Istria nordoccidentale* by the same author (Todorović, 2020) was published; it matches the first in conceptual terms and covers lexis for numerals, descriptive adjectives, time and the calendar, life, marriage, family, the house and property.

In terms of Alinei's definition of linguistic atlases, all the above atlases from the western part of the Slovenian language area can be considered second-generation raw-data-based atlases.

The northern part of the Slovenian language area

The dialects of the Carithian dialect group in the Austrian state of Carinthia have been studied in detail by the dialectologists of the Slovenian Scientific Institute of Vienna and the Institute for Slavistics at the University of Graz. Their work was carried out following the concept of a long-term goal, i.e. a project for collecting lexical and phonetic distinctive features of this area. The project was designed in the 1980s (Hafner & Prunč, 1980) and included the publication of *Ključ (Schlüssel, Hafner & Prunč, 1982)*, two volumes of the *Tezaver slovenskega ljudskega jezika na Koroškem (A–B 1982, C–dn 1987)*, twelve linguistic maps with commentaries and a provisional typology of certain isolexes in the Slovenian dialects of the Austrian state of Carinthia (Pfandl, 1981).

The above project includes, *inter alia*,³ determining the locations of isophones and isolexes in the entire area under consideration.

On the dialect map of the Slovenian language, the boundaries of the Carinthian dialect group were determined based on phonetic and morphological phenomena. The participants of the above project were aware that such an approach to differentiation can be complemented with information on the locations of isolexes, which often reveal different interconnections between individual localities. Within a research project on the Lexical inventory of the Slovenian folk language in Carinthia (*Leksikalna inventarizacija slovenskega ljudskega jezika na Koroškem/ Lexikalische Inventarisierung der slowenischen Volkssprache in Kärnten*), a field data gathering of the lexis was thus carried out in 220 local dialects, based on 111 questions prepared in advance (Pfandl, 1981, 449–452). The collected materials are mapped on symbol maps where each symbol is selected using a carefully designed system – the same geometric shape is used to map lexemes that are related in origin, and within these, individual distinctive phonetic features are presented using inner parts. Lexemes appearing in certain areas are displayed using the areal technique on some maps (e.g. Map 5: *pomlad* – Frühling, Map 11: *teloh* – Schneerose, Map 12: *zvonček* – Schneeglöcklein). In 2014, another objective of the dialectological research project was partly accomplished as part of Andrejka Žejn's doctoral dissertation. The author drew 38 symbol lexical linguistic maps equipped with linguistic (and partly ethnological) commentaries as well as 7 synthetic maps showing different types of areal distribution. The commentaries have a tripartite structure, with the first part analysing objects and listing their names, the second part explaining the names from the point of view of their origin, and the third part providing descriptions of the geographical distribution of the names. In terms of Alinei's definition of linguistic atlases, the geolinguistic project described above is a second-generation interpretative atlas.

The eastern part of the Slovenian language area

The dialects of the Pannonian dialect group have been the subject of in-depth research by the dialectologists of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Maribor. A notable contribution from this area, i.e. *Medjezikovni stiki v besedju iz pomenskega polja kmetija v slovenskogoriškem narečju* by Mihaela Koletnik (Koletnik, 2015), was created under the influence of the Slovenian Linguistic Atlas national project, as the author intended her monograph in regional geolinguistics to contribute to the expansion, i.e. densification of the research network for the Slovenske gorice dialect.

The materials for 224 linguistic maps have been collected in twelve equally distributed research points using the SLA questionnaire. Materials belonging to the "farm" semantic field have been analysed and commented upon.

In terms of the classification of atlases, this is a second-generation interpretative atlas containing maps equipped with linguistic commentaries, which consists of phonetically transcribed dialectal materials, etymological explanations of the listed dialectal lexemes and data on the documentation of the lexemes in selected dictionaries. The maps were made using the symbol technique.

Regional geolinguistics in Europe and beyond

Linguistic atlases have an important place in both European and non-European languages. This section briefly presents only some of these atlases, which I was able to access at the time of writing.⁴

Within the multitude of European linguistic atlases, an important place is held by atlases of Polish dialects. The beginnings of Polish linguistic geography temporally coincide with the germ of Slovenian linguistic geography, namely with Ramovš's initial plans for a Slovenian linguistic atlas. Polish dialectology thus boasts a rich geolinguistic tradition. In addition to a great number of regional atlases, three atlases covering the entire national area have been made (Reichan & Woźniak, 2004).

3 The final goal of the project consists of five partial objectives: 1. lexicographic objective: the publication of the *Tezaver slovenskega ljudskega jezika na avstrijskem Koroškem*, 2. phonological and geolinguistic objective: determining the locations of isophones in the common dialectological area, 3. lexical and geolinguistic objective: determining the locations of isolexes, 4. linguistic-sociolinguistic objective: exploring the semantic structure of the lexis in individual lexical fields with regard to the language ability of bilingual speakers, 5. linguistic-ethnological objective: a description of the complex linguistic situation and of significant ethnographic and cultural-historical elements (Žejn, 2006, 447; Žejn, 2014, 11–12).

4 Other regional linguistic atlases of European and non-European languages that are not examined here include, for example: the Linguistic Atlas of Sicily, <http://atlantelinguisticosicilia.it/cms/home/chi-siamo/>; the Linguistic Atlas of Campania, <http://www.alcam.de/>, the Linguistic Atlas of the Lesser Antilles, <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01360688>.

The first regional-scale atlas, the Atlas of Polish Subcarpathia (*Atlas językowy polskiego Podkarpacia*) (Małecki & Nitsch, 1934), was designed by the authors as an attempt at a smaller-scale study before a larger project, i.e. an atlas of the entire Polish language area. The network of points included 39 localities, where materials were collected using a questionnaire consisting of 1000 questions. In presenting the materials, the authors followed the example of Gilliéron and other pioneers of Romance geolinguistics, as they decided to draw maps displaying dialectal answers in phonetic transcription next to the number of locality (Reichan & Woźniak, 2004).

A different and far more advanced technique of mapping can be observed in the Linguistic Atlas of Kashubian and Neighbouring Dialects (*Atlas językowy kaszubszczyzny i dialektów sąsiednich*, 1964–1978), where coloured maps display geographic elements: rivers, towns, county borders, coastline. On this basis, linguistic characteristics are presented with black symbols of different shapes and different fillings, with isoglosses and with hatching. This interpretative atlas includes around 800 maps published in several volumes.

The Czech Linguistic Atlas of South-Western Moravia (*Jazykový atlas jihu západní Moravy*) by Libuša Čižmárová (2000) of the Masaryk University in Brno is another notable West Slavic linguistic atlas. The materials, which were collected based on a textual-pictorial questionnaire, are mostly displayed on combined maps (with text, isoglosses, symbols and areas) where the names of localities are labelled with abbreviations explained in an alphabetical list preceding the maps. The combination technique uses isoglosses of different width, with thinner lines separating areas with phenomena of the same origin that are distinguished on the synchronic level only phonetically (e.g. *kudla* and *kodla*) or morphologically, and thicker lines marking areas with lexemes of different origins (e.g. *burgyňa* and *epa*). Each interpretative map is equipped with a legend and commentary.

Among non-Slavic linguistic atlases, it is worth listing the already-mentioned Goran Filipi, who co-authored the materials for several regional atlases, i.e. *Istriotski lingvistični atlas* (Filipi & Buršič Giudici, 2017) and *Istrorumunjski lingvistički*

atlas (Filipi, 2002). These monographs represent a continuation of the design of the *Atlas Linguarum Histriae et Liburniae* project and provide materials for 11 (1998 and 2017) and 14 (2002) local dialects, but no maps as such. Thematically, the same semantic fields are included as in the above-mentioned atlases by the same author; the collected materials are presented in lists, they are not (yet) mapped.

The next multifaceted atlas (both in terms of spatial coverage and of language and nationality) is the *Atlante storico-linguistico-etnografico del Friuli-Venezia-Giulia* (ASLEF), which is actually an Italian regional atlas.⁵ The atlas consists of 6 volumes, which the University of Padua and the Udine Institute of Romance Philology published in 1972–1986. The questionnaire used to collect the materials consists of 6290 questions; the network of localities comprises 129 local dialects, of which 18 include Slovenian-speaking populations in the Italian region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia. In terms of methodology, the atlas follows the Romance geolinguistic tradition, the guidelines of which favour raw-data-based presentation over interpretation.

In terms of the definition of atlases, this is thus a second-generation raw-data-based atlas.

REGIONAL GEOLINGUISTICS: CASE STUDY OF PREKMURJE DIALECT

Following the examples of the regional geolinguistics of Slovenian dialects explored so far, the western (Littoral), northern (Carinthian) and eastern (Slovenske gorice) dialects are now joined by a regional geolinguistic case study of another peripheral, i.e. eastern (Prekmurje) dialect. A tradition of creating regional linguistic atlases of peripheral dialects is present, for example, in the Polish language area as well (cf. Reichman & Woźniak, 2004).

The network of localities for the regional maps of the Prekmurje dialect created for this article builds upon the national network for the Slovenian Linguistic Atlas; its framework consists of 21⁶ SLA local dialects, and in order to densify the network, another 8 local dialects have been added for the present discussion, including 2 local dialects of the old⁷ SLA network and 6⁸ local dialects analysed

5 Slovenian experts, mostly students at the University of Padua (such as Milko Matičetov), contributed to the preparation of ASLEF as regards the Slovenian localities.

6 The framework of the network consists of the local dialects of Cankova, Gorica, Martjanci, Strehovci, Beltinci, Gomilica, Nedelica, Velika Polana, Gornja Bistrica, Hotiza, Večeslavci, Grad, Gornji Petrovci, Križevci, Kančevci, Šalovci, Markovci, Gornji Senik, Slovenska ves, Ženavci and Žetinci.

7 The local dialects of Turnišče and Črenšovci have been added from the old SLA network.

8 From various bachelor theses, materials have been added for the local dialects of Cankova (supplementary materials) (Gere, 1993), Puconci (Drvarič, 2015), Petanjci (Drvarič, 2015), Dolnja Bistrica (Drvarič, 2015), Lukačevci (Cipot Hari, 2016), Dokležovje (Pucko, 2015) and Gančani (Börc Hozjan, 2016).

as part of various bachelor theses. The network of data points thus covers 29 localities⁹ with varying distances between them.

Prekmurje dialect¹⁰

Along with the Prlekija, Slovenske gorice and Haloze dialects, the Prekmurje dialect is part of the Pannonian dialect group and represents the easternmost Slovenian dialect at the contact with Germanic, Hungarian and Kajkavian language areas. According to the earliest dialectal differentiation of the Slovenian language area, this dialect was formed in an area settled by people of the South Slavic group. Based on this earliest division, the Prekmurje dialect is considered part of the south-eastern unit, which is characterised by an early denasalisation of the PSl. nasal ϵ and o , the diphthongisation of $*\hat{o}$ and $*\check{e} > ou$ and e_i , the labialisation of $\bar{a} > \bar{a}$ and the development of u towards i ($u > \ddot{u}$). This dialect is particularly interesting from the lexical point of view as Germanisms (borrowed in different periods of development) and Hungarianisms appear alongside the predominant Slavic (even Old Slavic) lexis. (Logar, 1993)

Extralinguistic outline of the Prekmurje dialect

In geographic terms, four units can be outlined in Prekmurje: Dolinsko, Ravensko¹¹ and Goričko on the Slovenian side of the border and Porabje on the Hungarian side. The boundary between Dolinsko and Ravensko is the line Dokležovje–Bratonci–Lipovci–Gančani–Filovci–Strehovci–Dobrovnik; on the other side, the line Bakovci–Rakičan–Lukačevci–Mlajtinci–Ivanci–Bogojina connects the border Ravensko villages. The boundary between Goričko and Ravensko follows the foot of the hills, with the local dialects of Korovci–Gornji Črnci–Beznovci–Zenkovci–Šalamenci–Brezovci–Sebeborci in Goričko and Cankova–Topolovci–Strukovci–Puževci–Lemerje–Gorica–Puconci–Moravske Toplice–Tešanovci in Ravensko. The boundary between Goričko and Porabje is marked by the state border between Slovenia and Hungary, sharply carved in the early 20th century.

It is worth relating the contemporary division of the area under consideration with the historical division of the region along the Mura river. Milko Kos (1935, 16–20) divides the history of this area into three major periods: the first encompasses the time from the Slavic settlement to the coming of the Hungarians to the Pannonian Plain around the year 900; the second, which is the longest, ends with one of the most important years for Prekmurje – 1919, when the land on the left bank of the Mura administratively rejoined the Slovenian nation; this year also marks the beginning of the new, third period, which still runs today. The characteristics of the Prekmurje dialect as it is known today were formed in the second, i.e. the longest historical period. In this period of Hungarian rule, Prekmurje was administratively divided into two counties: the Vas County (Slovenian: *Železna županija*, Hungarian: *Vasvármegye*) included Porabje, Goričko and the vicinity of Murska Sobota (Goričko and Ravensko), while the south-western part with Dolnja Lendava (Dolinsko) belonged to the Zala County (Slovenian: *Zalska županija*, Hungarian: *Zalavármegye*). In ecclesiastical terms, Prekmurje Slovenians in the Vas County belonged to the diocese of Győr (Raba), while those in the Zala County belonged to the diocese of Veszprém. In the 11th century, some Zala parishes (Bogojina, Turnišče, Dobrovnik, Dolnja Lendava) became part of the newly established diocese of Zagreb. Since 1176, the administrative boundary between the counties was thus also the ecclesiastical boundary between the dioceses of Győr and Zagreb. Up until the 18th century, the Hungarian Slovenians were divided in administrative terms; in 1777, they were united in the then established diocese of Szombathely, which had a beneficial effect on the development of a regional consciousness (Slavič, 1999, 23).

Intralinguistic outline of the Prekmurje dialect

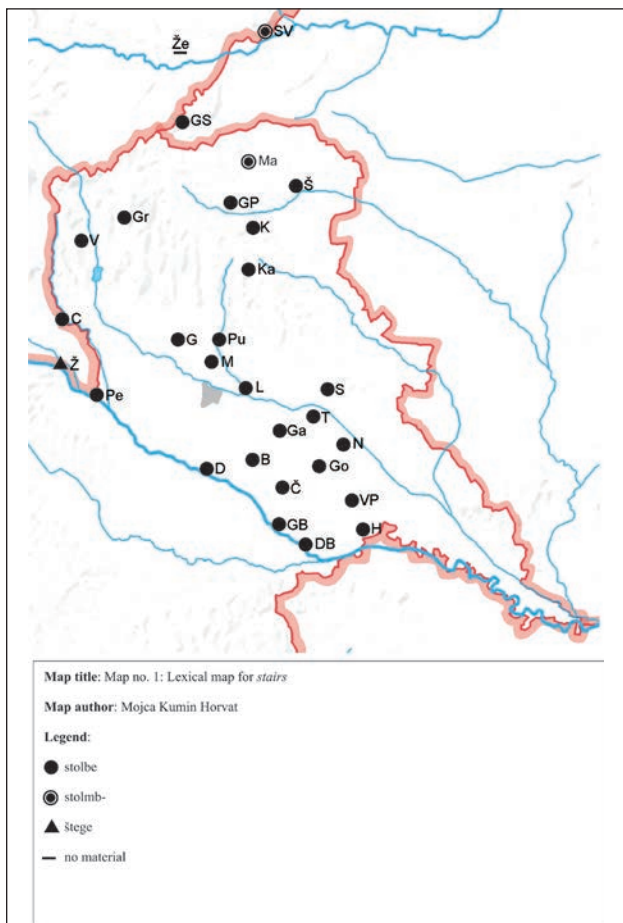
A multitude of distinguished Slovenian and other dialectologists¹² have explored the linguistic landscape of this area; only the most essential findings are summarised here (following Logar, 1996; Zorko, 1994, 2005).

9 The network of data points: C – Cankova (SLA T387), G – Gorica (SLA T388), Pu – Puconci, Pe – Petanjci, L – Lukačevci, M – Martjanci (SLA T389), S – Strehovci (SLA T390), D – Dokležovje, Ga – Gančani, B – Beltinci (SLA T391), T – Turnišče, Č – Črenšovci, Go – Gomilica (SLA T392), N – Nedelica (SLA T393), VP – Velika Polana (SLA T394), DB – Dolnja Bistrica, GB – Gornja Bistrica (SLA T395), H – Hotiza (SLA T396), V – Večeslavci (SLA T397), G – Grad (SLA T398), GP – Gornji Petrovci (SLA T399), K – Križevci (SLA T400), Ka – Kančevci (T401), Š – Šalovci (T402), Ma – Markovci (SLA T403), GS – Gornji Senik/Felsőszölnök (SLA T404), SV – Slovenska ves/Rábatótfalu (SLA T405), Že – Ženavci/Jennersdorf (T406) and Ž – Žetinci/Sicheldorf (SLA T414).

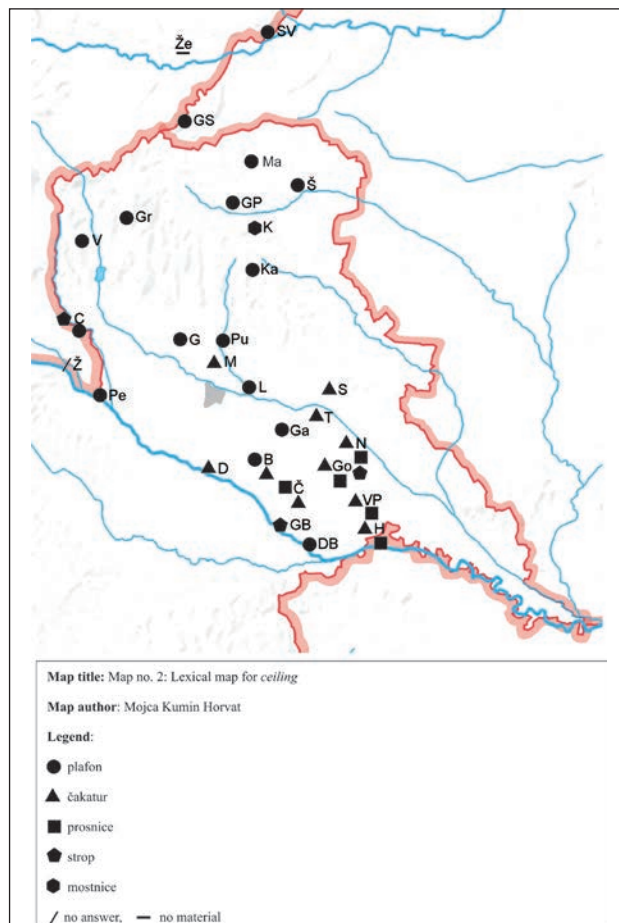
10 This section is an abridged and somewhat adapted part of the following article, the content of which is linked to the theme of this discussion Kumin Horvat (2008).

11 This part also includes the area of Radgonski Kot in Austria, which consists of five villages with a Slovenian-speaking population.

12 Compare with Kumin Horvat (2010, 93, note no. 7).



Map 1: Lexical map for ‘stairs’.



Map 2: Lexical map for ‘ceiling’.

The Prekmurje dialect, which features dynamic accentuation, is classified into the south-eastern group according to the original dialectisation of the Slovenian language. Both Common-Slovenian stress shifts (the *zlâto* > *zlatô*, *ôko* > *ôko* > *okô* type and the retraction of short stress onto pretonic long vowels) took place. In this dialect, the shortened old acute is mostly still short; lengthening is present in the local dialects of Goričko. There is a monophthong-diphthong system of long vowels and monophthong system of short vowels. The vowel inventory thus encompasses: a) long vocalism: *i:i̇, u:u̇, u:i̇, (ü:u̇), e:i̇, o:u̇, e:̇, (ö:), o:̇, e:i̇, o:u̇, a:/ä:̇*, b) short vocalism: *i, u, ü, e, o, e, â, ɾ*.

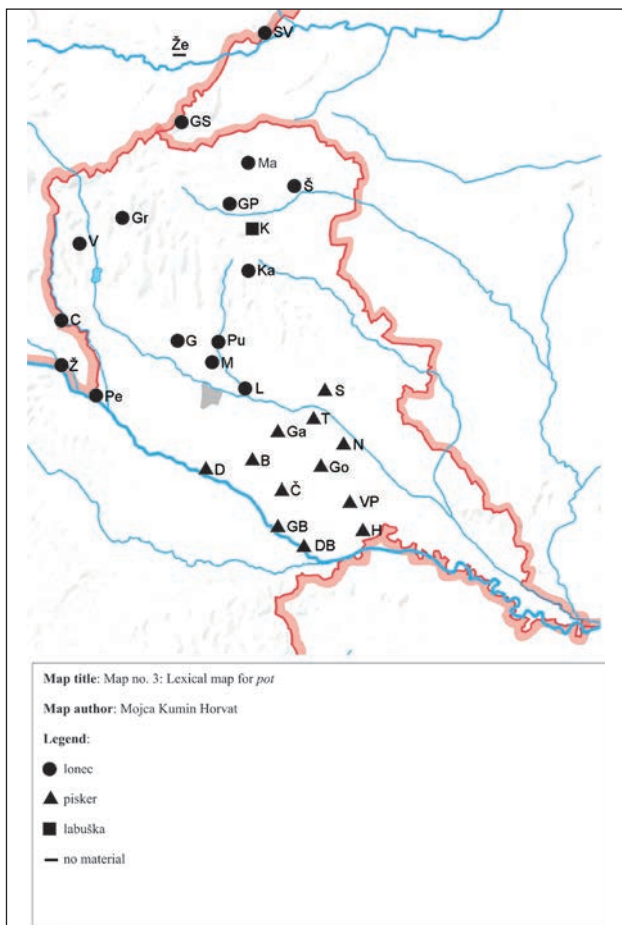
Synchronically, based on newer phonetic phenomena, the Prekmurje dialect can be divided into three units: the northern local dialects (Goričko and Porabje) are characterised by the labialisation of short and unstressed *a*, the development of final *-t* > *-o*, *j* > *d'*; the central dialects (Ravensko) also

labialise the short and unstressed *a* and feature the development of *-t* > *-o*, *j* > *g* (before front vowels in word-initial positions), *j* > *dž* (before back vowels), *t* > *k* (before *ʃ*); the southern local dialects (Dolinsko) labialise the long stressed *a*, *-t* > *u*, *t* > *k* (before *ʃ*).

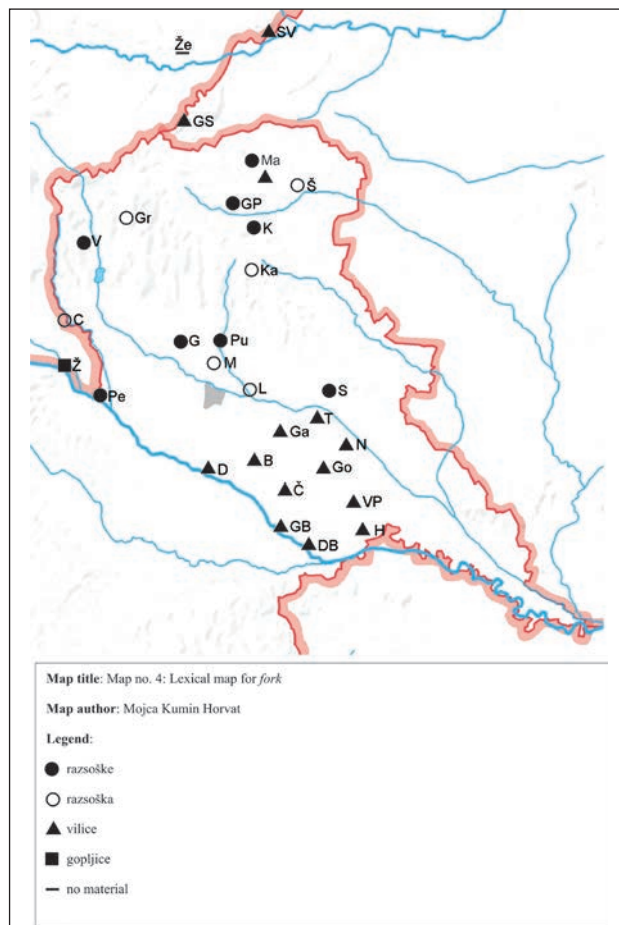
LINGUISTIC MAPS

The following section presents and comments on the lexical maps for the area of Prekmurje dialect, which have been drawn based on the dialectal materials. The dialectal materials have been selected with a view to differentiate the area in question as certain lexemes indicate a complete homogeneity of the linguistic landscape, while others show divisions into two or three parts combining different layers. The commentary consists of three parts; the first defines the mapped objects, the second provides a morphological analysis¹³ of the lexemes

13 Morphological analyses of the lexemes are taken from the *Slovenian Linguistic Atlas 2.2* (SLA 2.2), which the author of the present article co-authored.



Map 3: Lexical map for ‘pot’.



Map 4: Lexical map for ‘fork’.

under consideration, and the third differentiates them geographically.

The mapping methods follow the Slovenian geolinguistic tradition, which was developed as part of the drafting of the Slovenian Linguistic Atlas. Although different types can be used to differentiate dialectal materials on the mapped linguistic elements, the symbol technique of mapping has been selected.

Lexical linguistic maps

Map no. 1 shows the dialectal names for the meaning ‘horizontal spaced platforms at different heights to facilitate walking up or down’, *stopnice* ‘stairs’ in standard Slovenian, collected using question V133.01 *stopnice* ‘stairs’.

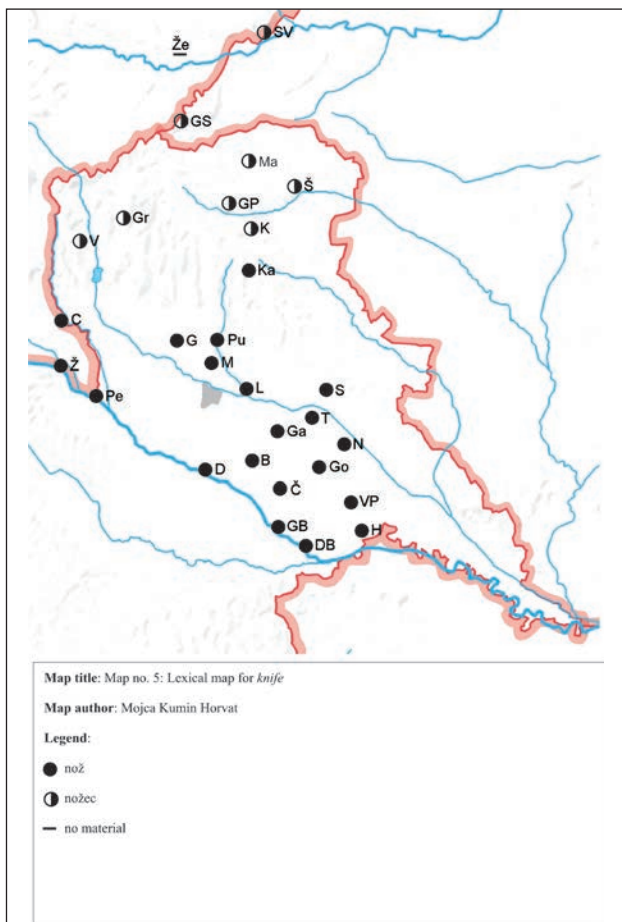
Two lexemes have been recorded in the local dialects under consideration, i.e. *stolbe* (< **stolb-a/-e* < *stǫlb-a* ‘stair’) and *štege* (< *(*šteg*)-e ← MHG *stēge* ‘stairs’), including the phonetic variant *stolmba/stolmbe* recorded in the data points of Markovci (M) and Slovenska ves (SV) for the first

lexeme. Based on the mapped materials, the region under consideration reflects homogeneity as the *stolbe* lexeme (dialectal: *stube*) is recorded in most local dialects, and the *štege* lexeme is recorded only once in the local dialect of Žetinci (Ž).

Map no. 2 shows the dialectal names for the meaning ‘part of building that limits, closes off a room from above’, *strop* ‘ceiling’ in standard Slovenian, collected using question V139.01 *strop* ‘ceiling’.

Five lexemes are recorded for the mapped meaning in the local dialects under consideration, i.e. *plafon* (< *(*plafon*)-v ← German *Plafond* ‘ceiling’), *čakatur* (< unclear origin, probably related to *štokatur* ← German *Stuckatur* ‘moulding’), *prosnice* (< unclear origin), *strop* (< **strop-v* ‘ceiling, roof’) and *mostnice* (**most-ǫn-ic-e* ← **most-v* ‘bridge’).

In terms of lexemic differentiation, two areas can be drawn here: a homogenous Porabje-Goričko area with the predominant *plafon* lexeme is separated from the Ravensko area, which includes the *plafon*, *čakatur* and *strop* lexemes and represents a transition to the Dolinsko area, where the *čakatur*



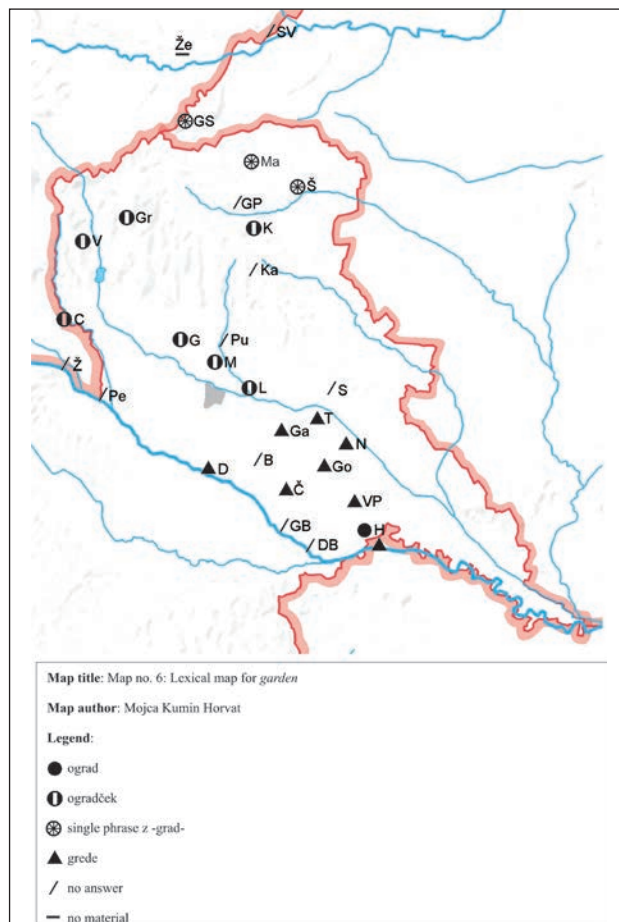
Map 5: Lexical map for ‘knife’.

and *prosnice* lexemes alternate evenly. The *strop* lexeme is rare in the dialect, recorded dispersedly in only three local dialects – Gornja Bistrica (GB), Gomilice (Go) and Cankova (C) – even merely as a variant name in the last two. The *mostnice* lexeme is recorded in only one local dialect (Kančevci (Ka)).

Map no. 3 shows the dialectal names for the meaning ‘cylinder-shaped container for cooking’, *lonec* ‘pot’ in standard Slovenian, collected using question V149.01 *lonec* ‘pot’.

Three lexemes have been recorded for the mapped meaning in the local dialects under consideration, i.e. *lonec* (< *lon-ьc-ь ‘clay pot, clay bowl’), *pisker* (< *(piskr)-ь, probably from MHG *phister*, *phistrīne* ‘bakery’ with the semantic development ≥ ‘oven (for baking bread)’ ≥ ‘pan (for baking bread)’ ≥ ‘pot’) and *labuška* (< *(labuš)-ьk-a ← Hungarian *lábás* ‘pan’).

Based on the mapped lexemes, the Prekmurje linguistic landscape can be divided into two homogenous areas, namely Dolinsko, where only the *lonec* lexeme is recorded, and the Ravensko-



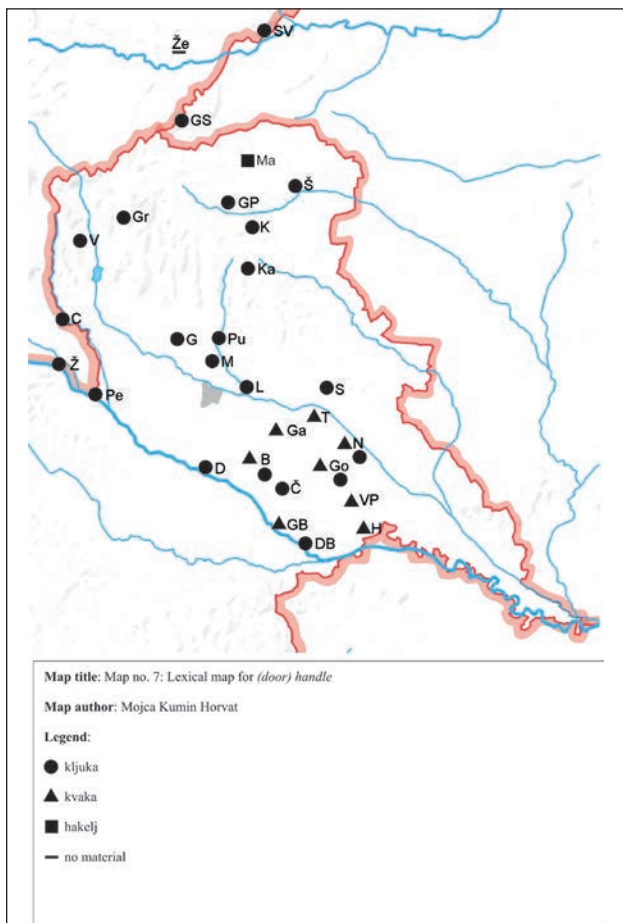
Map 6: Lexical map for ‘garden’.

Goričko-Porabje area, where the majority lexeme *pisker* and the one-off *labuška* (Kančevci (Ka)) are recorded.

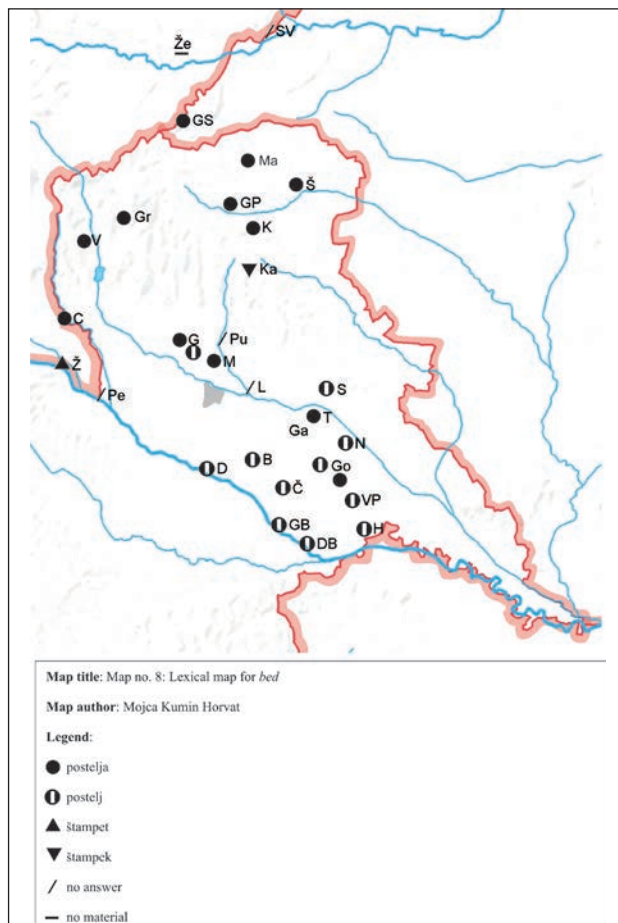
Map no. 4 shows the dialectal names for the meaning ‘utensil consisting of prongs and a handle for sticking pieces of food on’, *vilice* ‘fork’ in standard Slovenian, collected using question V152.01 *vilice* ‘fork’.

Three lexemes are recorded for the mapped meaning in the local dialects under consideration, i.e. *razsoške* (< *orz-soš-ьk-a/-e ← *orz-sox-a ← *orz- [prefix meaning ‘apart’] + *sox-a ‘branch’), *vilice* (< *vidl-ic-e ← *vidl-a ‘vila’ ← *vidl-o ‘contraption for coiling, reel’) and *gopljice* (< *(gopljic)-e ← German *Gabel* ‘fork’ in the Bavarian German pronunciation (a > o, -b- > -p-), with the first lexeme also recorded in its singular form, *razsoška*.

The geographic distribution of the lexemes shows a bi- or tripartite division of the Prekmurje language area. The *vilice* lexeme is continuously recorded in the Dolinsko local dialects and in the border Goričko local dialect of Markovci (Ma), with the area also



Map 7: Lexical map for ‘(door) handle’.



Map 8: Lexical map for ‘bed’.

extending into the local dialects of Porabje. On the other hand, the *razsošk-* lexeme is attested in the Goričko-Ravensko area, appearing both in the plural (GP, K, V, Pe, G, Pu, S) and singular (Š, Gr, Ka, C, M, Ma and L) forms.

Map no. 5 shows the dialectal names for the meaning ‘utensil for cutting consisting of a blade and handle’, *nož* ‘knife’ in standard Slovenian, collected using question V153A.01 *nož* ‘knife’.

Two lexemes from the same word family are recorded for the mapped meaning in the local dialects under consideration, i.e. *nož* (< **nož-b* ‘knife’) and *nožec* (< **nož-bc-b*).

The geographic distribution of the lexemes shows a bipartite division of the Prekmurje language area, namely into the Dolinsko-Ravensko area with *nož* as the only recorded lexeme and the Goričko-Porabje area where the *nožec* lexeme predominates – the *nož* lexeme is only recorded in the local dialect of Kančevci (Ka) in this area.

Map no. 6 shows the dialectal names for the meaning ‘small plot of land, usually near a house, where grass, trees, vegetables or ornamental plants

are grown’, *vrt* ‘garden’ in standard Slovenian, collected using question V165(b).01 *vrt za zelenjavo in rože* ‘vegetable and flower garden’.

Six names are recorded for the mapped meaning in the local dialects under consideration, i.e. *ograd* (**o(b)-gord-ь* ← **o(b)-gord-i-ti* ← **ob-* ‘next to, near, around’ + **gord-i-ti* ‘to wall in, to make a fence’), *ogradec* (**o(b)-gord-ьc-ь*), *gradec* (**gord-ьc-ь* or **o(b)-gord-ьc-ь*), *ogradček* (< **o(b)-gord-ьč-ьk-ь* ← **o(b)-gord-ьc-ь*), *gradčenič* (< **gord-ьč-ьn-ik-ь* or **o(b)gord-ьc-ь*) and *grede* (**gręd-ę* ‘a plot of land suitable for cultivation, bed’), five of which are part of the same word family with the *grad-* root.

The geographic distribution of the lexemes shows a bipartite division of the Prekmurje language area, namely into the Dolinsko area, where the *grede* lexeme predominates (as a variant name, the *ograd* lexeme is recorded only in the local dialect of Hotiza (H)), and the Ravensko-Goričko-Porabje area, where all the recorded lexemes are part of the same word family – the *ogradček* lexeme is the most common, while the others (*ogradec*, *gradec* and *gradčenič*) appear only once each.

Map no. 7 shows the dialectal names for the meaning ‘movable contraption used to open or close doors’, *kljuka* ‘(door) handle’ in standard Slovenian, collected using question V285(b).01 *kljuka pri vratih* ‘door handle’.

Three names are recorded for the mapped meaning in the local dialects under consideration, i.e. *kljuka* (< **kľuk*-a ‘crooked piece of wood, hook’), *kvaka* (< **kvak*-a ‘hook’) and *hakelj* (< *(*xakl*)-ъ ← diminutive of OHG *hācko*, *hāko*, MHG *hāke* ‘hook, raftsman’s pole’).

The geographic distribution of the lexemes shows a bipartite division of the Prekmurje language area, with the predominant *kljuka* lexeme recorded in the homogenous Ravensko-Goričko-Porabje area (only the local dialect of Markovci (Ma) has the one-off *hakelj*), while the Dolinsko area is a conglomerate of the equally represented *kljuka* and *kvaka* lexemes.

Map no. 8 shows the dialectal names for the meaning ‘piece of furniture designed and adapted for lying, sleeping’, *postelja* ‘bed’ in standard Slovenian, collected using question V779(a).01 *postelja* ‘bed’.

The following names are recorded for the mapped meaning in the local dialects under consideration: *postelja* (< **po-stel*-a (< **po-stel-j*-a) ← **po-stel-a-ti* **po-stel-ŕ* ← **po-* ‘on’ + **stel-a-ti* **stelŕ*ŕ (< **stel-jŕ*) ‘to spread out, to litter’), *postelj* (< **po-stel*-ъ (< **po-stel-j-ъ*), gen. sg. -i ‘bed’), *šampet* (< *(*šampet*)-ъ ≤ *(*šampet*)-ъ (through dissimilation of *p-p* > *t-p*) and *šampek* (*(*šampek*)-ъ ≤ *(*šampet*)-ъ (through dissimilation of *p-p* > *t-p* and transition of -t ≥ -k).

The geographic distribution of the lexemes shows a multipartite division of the Prekmurje language area; the lexemic form *postelj* (fem.) seemingly predominates in the Dolinsko area; the Ravensko area has a transitional character based on these materials as both the *postelja* and

postelj forms are attested there, and the Goričko-Ravensko-Porabje area mostly displays the *postelja* lexemic form. The *šampet* lexeme (Ž) and its variant *šampek* (Ka) appear only once each.

THE MATERIALS¹⁴

It seems sensible to publish the materials despite the non-uniform transcription as this enables the verification of the geolinguistic presentation and its analysis. The materials for the Slovenian Language Atlas (Škofic et al., 2016a, 2016b) are kept by the Dialectological Section of the Fran Ramovš Institute of the Slovenian Language at ZRC SAZU in Ljubljana, in notebooks and index cards in the catalogue; in recent years, the materials have also been digitised and are kept in the form of scans. In the present article, the materials are published in citation form, i.e. as they are written in the index card-notebook database, in two transcriptions, the old, so-called Ramovš transcription and the new national transcription (Benedik, 1999, 20).

The first column lists the sequential number of the local dialect, which is used to systematise the materials. The second column contains the label of the local dialect, which is also displayed on linguistic maps; the third lists the name of the locality, and the fourth provides information on which variant of Prekmurje dialect the local dialect belongs to (D: Dolinsko, R: Ravensko, G: Goričko, P: Porabje). The Type column lists the source of the materials (the SLA collection or bachelor theses (DN)), and the subsequent columns contain phonetically transcribed dialectal materials for the eight analysed cues (V133.01 *stopnice* ‘stairs’, V139.01 *strop* ‘ceiling’, V149.01 *lonec* ‘pot’, V152.01 *vilice* ‘fork’, V153A.01 *nož* ‘knife’, V165(b).01 *vrt* ‘garden’, V285(b).01 *kljuka* ‘(door) handle’ and V779(a).01 *postelja* ‘bed’).

14 The materials are transcribed using the ZRCola input system developed at ISJFR ZRC SAZU by Peter Weiss. <https://zrcola.zrc-sazu.si/>.

	Label	Locality	Variant	Type	V133.01 stopnice 'stairs'	V139.01 strop 'ceiling'	V149.01 lonec 'pot'
1	C	Cankova	R	SLA, DN	s'tube	st'rop, pla'fõn	'pisker
2	G	Gorica	R	SLA	stübę, stübe	pláfõn, plafõn	pískęr, písker
3	Pu	Puconci	R	DN	s'tube	pla'fo:un	'pi:sker
4	Pe	Petanjci	R	DN	s'tube	pla'fo:un	'pi:sker
5	L	Lukačevci	R	DN	s'tube	pla'fõ:n	'pisker
6	M	Martjanci	R	SLA	stübe	čakătõr	pískär
7	S	Strehovci	R/D	SLA	stübę	čákătũr	lõnęç
8	D	Dokležovje	D	DN	s'tu:bä	čaka'tu:r	'lunäc
9	Ga	Gančani	D	DN	s'tube	pla'fo:un	'lunec
10	B	Beltinci	D	SLA	stübe	plafõun, čakătũr	lünec
11	T	Turnišče	D	SLA-s	stübe	čakatũr	lünec
12	Č	Črenšovci	D	SLA-s	stübę	prusniçę, čakătũr	lũnęç
13	Go	Gomilica	D	SLA	s'tube, stübę, stübe	čakatũr, st'rop, čakatũr, prũsnĩçę	'lunec, lünęç, lünec, 'lõnec
14	N	Nedelica	D	SLA	stübä	čakatũr, prusniçä	lõnäc
15	DB	Dolnja Bistrica	D	SLA	s'tube	pla'fo:un	'lunec
16	VP	Velika Polana	D	SLA	stübę	čakatũr, prusniçę	lũnęç
17	GB	Gornja Bistrica	D	SLA	s'tube	st'rop	'lunec
18	H	Hotiza	D	SLA	stübę	čakatũr, prusniçę	lünęç
19	V	Večeslavci	G	SLA	s'tu:be	pla'fõ:n	'pi:sker
20	Gr	Grad	G	SLA	stübę	plafän	pískär
21	GP	Gornji Petrovci	G	SLA	stübę	plafõun	pískęr
22	K	Križevci	G	SLA	stübe	mosniçe	pískär
23	Ka	Kančevci	G	SLA	s'tube	pla'fõn	'lä:buška
24	Š	Šalovci	G	SLA	s'tu:be	pla'fõ:n	'pi:sđer
25	Ma	Markovci	G	SLA	stũmba (nom. pl.)	plafõn	pĩst'är
26	GS	Gornji Senik	P	SLA	stübe, s'tube, s'tu:be, s'tu:be	plafõn, pla'fõ:n, pla'fõ:n, pla'fõ:n	písker, 'pisker, 'pi:sker, 'pi:sker
27	SV	Slovenska ves	P	SLA	s'tumbe	pla'fõn	'pi:sđer
28	Že	Ženavci	/	SLA	-	--	--
29	Ž	Žetinci	R	SLA	š'te:ige, š'téiga (nom. sg.)	/	'pisker

	Label	Locality	Variant	Type	V152.01 vilice 'fork'	V153A.01 nož 'knife'	V165(b).01 vrt 'garden'
1	C	Cankova	R	SLA, DN	'rāšuška	'nøš	*og'rāček
2	G	Gorica	R	SLA	rāšuške (nom. pl.), rāšoška	nøš, nøš	ugrāček, /
3	Pu	Puconci	R	DN	'rāšoške	'nøš	/
4	Pe	Petanjci	R	DN	'rāšoške	'nøš	/
5	L	Lukačevci	R	DN	'rāšuška	'nøš	og'rāček
6	M	Martjanci	R	SLA	rāšuškā	nøš	ogrāčāk
7	S	Strehovci	R/D	SLA	rāšuške (nom. pl.)	nøš	/
8	D	Dokležovje	D	DN	'vi:lčā	'nøš	grā'di:ę
9	Ga	Gančani	D	DN	vi'lice	'nøš	gre'de:
10	B	Beltinci	D	SLA	vīlice	nøš	/
11	T	Turnišče	D	SLA-s	vīlce	nøš	grāde
12	Č	Črenšovci	D	SLA-s	vīlčę	nøž	gręde
13	Go	Gomilica	D	SLA	'vilice, vīlica, vilice	'nøš, nøš, nøš,	gręde
14	N	Nedelica	D	SLA	vīlčā	nøš	grādā
15	DB	Dolnja Bistrica	D	SLA	'vilice	'nøš	/
16	VP	Velika Polana	D	SLA	vīlčę	nøš	gręde
17	GB	Gornja Bistrica	D	SLA	'vilce	'nøš	/
18	H	Hotiza	D	SLA	vīlčę	nøš	ògrad, gręde
19	V	Večeslavci	G	SLA	'ru:šoške	'no:užec	og'ru:ček
20	Gr	Grad	G	SLA	røšoška	nøžic	ogrøčāk
21	GP	Gornji Petrovci	G	SLA	rāšuške, rāškuše	nøžic	/
22	K	Križevci	G	SLA	røšoške	nøžic	ogrøčāk
23	Ka	Kančevci	G	SLA	'rāšuška	'nøš	/
24	Š	Šalovci	G	SLA	'rā:šoška	'no:užęc	og'ra:dec
25	Ma	Markovci	G	SLA	røšušt'a, vīlca	nøžic	grādac
26	GS	Gornji Senik	P	SLA	vīlca, 'vilca, 'vi:lce, 'vū:lce	nøžęc, 'no:užęc, 'no:užic, 'no:užęc	og'rā:čenek
27	SV	Slovenska ves	P	SLA	'vilčā	'na:užic	/
28	Že	Ženavci	/	SLA	--	--	--
29	Ž	Žetinci	R	SLA	'gopļca (nom. sg.), gopļce	'noš	/

	Label	Locality	Variant	Type	V285(b).01 kljuka '(door) handle'	V779(a).01 postelja 'bed'
1	C	Cankova	R	SLA, DN	k'lüka	*'pøstála
2	G	Gorica	R	SLA	klûká, klüka	pøstêlá, pøsteu
3	Pu	Puconci	R	DN	k'lüka	/
4	Pe	Petanjci	R	DN	k'lüka	/
5	L	Lukačevci	R	DN	k'lüka	/
6	M	Martjanci	R	SLA	klûká	pøstelá
7	S	Strehovci	R/D	SLA	klüka	pøsteu
8	D	Dokležovje	D	DN	k'lü:ka	'pøstál
9	Ga	Gančani	D	DN	k'váka	/
10	B	Beltinci	D	SLA	kváka, klüka	pøsteu
11	T	Turnišče	D	SLA-s	kváka	pøstela
12	Č	Črenšovci	D	SLA-s	klüka	pøsteo
13	Go	Gomilica	D	SLA	k'va:ka, klõka, klüka, kváka	'pøsteu, pøsteo, pøstela
14	N	Nedelica	D	SLA	kváka, klüka, klõka	pøstäu
15	DB	Dolnja Bistrica	D	SLA	k'lüka	/, *pøsteo
16	VP	Velika Polana	D	SLA	kváka	pøsteo
17	GB	Gornja Bistrica	D	SLA	k'vaka	postew
18	H	Hotiza	D	SLA	kváka	pøsteo
19	V	Večeslavci	G	SLA	k'lü:ka	'p'o:stela
20	Gr	Grad	G	SLA	klüka	pøstela
21	GP	Gornji Petrovci	G	SLA	klüka	pøstála
22	K	Križevci	G	SLA	klûká	pøstála
23	Ka	Kančevci	G	SLA	k'lü:ka	š'tämpäk
24	Š	Šalovci	G	SLA	k'lü:ka	'pø:stala
25	Ma	Markovci	G	SLA	ât'eü, âceü	pøstala
26	GS	Gornji Senik	P	SLA	klüka, k'lü:ka, k'lü:ka, k'lüka	pøstala, 'pøstela, 'pø:stala, 'pø:stala
27	SV	Slovenska ves	P	SLA	k'lü:kä	/
28	Že	Ženavci	/	SLA	--	--
29	Ž	Žetinci	R	SLA	k'lüka	š'tämpet, š'tämpet

CONCLUSION

The aim of this article has been to contribute to knowledge on regional geolinguistics of the Slovenian language area. The geographic distribution of the lexemes under consideration in the Prekmurje dialect clearly shows the connectedness of certain areas, both in diachronic and synchronic terms. The drawn linguistic maps thus show how Prekmurje dialect is divided, which suggests the boundary between the southern flats (Dolinsko) and the northern hilly area (Ravensko and Goričko) is still relatively distinct; it follows the 12th-century historical eccle-

siastical border. The boundary between the Goričko and Ravensko areas is not as prominent, which is also a reflection of the fact that this territory had no administrative divisions in the past and has been linked more tightly through history.

All Slovenian regional geolinguistic studies conducted so far demonstrate that regional geolinguistics significantly complements and enriches the field of national dialectological research, though it still seems essential to simultaneously publish national linguistic atlases, which integrate regional fragments into a whole, showing a broader picture of the language area under consideration.

REGIONALNA GEOLINGVISTIKA – PRIMER PREKMURSKEGA NAREČJA

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POVZETEK

S tem člankom smo želeli prispevati k védenju s področja regionalne geolingvistike slovenskega jezikovnega prostora. Geografska distribucija obravnavanih leksemov prekmurskega narečja jasno prikazuje povezanost določenih območij, tako v diahronem kot v sinhronem smislu. Na podlagi izrisanih jezikovnih kart je prikazana členitev prekmurščine, iz česar je razvidno, da je meja med južnim ravninskim (dolinskim) in severnim gričevnatim (ravenskim in goričkim) področjem še danes razmeroma ostra, in sicer poteka po zgodovinski cerkvenoupravni ločnici iz 12. stoletja. Meja med goričko in ravensko ploskvijo je manj izrazita, kar je tudi odraz tega, da to ozemlje v preteklosti upravno ni bilo razdeljeno, pač pa je bilo skozi zgodovino tesneje povezano. Iz vseh dosedanjih primerov slovenske regionalne geolingvistike je razvidno, da ta bistveno dopolnjuje in bogati področje nacionalnih dialektoloških raziskav, še vedno pa se zdi nujno hkrati izdajati nacionalne lingvistične atlase, ki regionalne drobce povezujejo v celoto in prikazujejo širšo sliko obravnavanega jezikovnega prostora.

Ključne besede: geolingvistika, regionalna geolingvistika, prekmursko narečje

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