

Hungarian cultural and linguistic borrowings in the folk tradition of Burgenland Croats in Hungary and Slovakia

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH PAPER

Received: February 11, 2021 • Revised manuscript received: April 16, 2021 • Accepted: April 28, 2021

Published online: September 27, 2021

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ABSTRACT

The work which forms the bulk of the present study was carried out on the basis of numerous pieces of field material collected by means of an ethnolinguistic questionnaire in villages inhabited by Burgenland Croats in Western Hungary and Southern Slovakia (where part of the Hungarian territory was annexed after World War II). The field data contain a number of latent and obvious borrowings from Hungarian folk culture. By latent borrowings we mean cultural phenomena that were initially feebly expressed in a particular tradition (and tended to be lost), but during long coexistence with a neighboring heterogeneous tradition they were eventually maintained due to the developed state of the similar phenomena in the neighboring population. We also include here cultural phenomena that are typical of both traditions and have deep roots in the universal model of the naive world view. Analyzing the popular culture and dialects of enclave villages of Burgenland Croats in Hungary and Slovakia, we show that traditional folk culture with the corresponding vocabulary nevertheless acts as an important marker of identity for the population living in a foreign language environment.

KEYWORDS

ethnolinguistics, traditional folk culture, vocabulary, lexical borrowings, calques, Croatin, Hungarian

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The present piece of research was carried out taking into account the scientific achievements of the Moscow Ethnolinguistic School, founded by N. I. Tolstoy in the 80's of the last century, which entails the study of the vocabulary of traditional folk culture in inseparable connection with the corresponding extralinguistic context. Moscow ethnolinguistics as a special branch of scholarship within the wider framework of linguistics is based on Slavic dialect data, both linguistic and ethno-cultural. Its sources are numerous dictionaries of various types (explanatory, dialect, mythological encyclopedic), ethnographic descriptions from various Slavic regions (of a general nature, including information about beliefs, family and calendar rites, as well as specific descriptions on different fragments of the traditional folk culture). An important part within the sources of empirical data is field material collected by using special questionnaires during expeditions to the villages.

In the period from 2017 to 2019, three ethnolinguistic expeditions took place to study Burgenland Croats¹ of Hungary and Slovakia: the first in what is called Middle Burgenland (villages to the south of Sopron: Und (Unda, 335 inhabitants, 54.5% Hungarian, 61.3% Croat), Peresznye (Prisika, 826 inhabitants, 88.4% Hungarian, 35.8% Croat), Horváthzsidány (Hrvatski Zhidan, 808 inhabitants, 91.7%-a Hungarian, 55.3% Croat), Olmód (Plajgor, 107 inhabitants, 87.4%-a Hungarian, 50.5% Croat) – 2017, the second - in Northern Burgenland, which includes not only villages in Austria, but also Slovakia (villages within the administrative district of Bratislava: Jarovce (Yarovce, 1438 inhabitants, 79.3% Slovak, 15.3% Croat), Čunovo (Chunovo, 1248 inhabitants 74.5% Slovak, 11.1% Croat) – 2018, and the third in Southern Burgenland (villages near Szombathely: Narda (Nard, 468 inhabitants, 88.7%-a Hungarian, 62% Croat), Felsőcsatár (Horní Četar, 509 inhabitants, 79.3% Hungarian, 43.4% Croat), Horvátlovő (Hrvatske Šice, 190 inhabitants, 77.9% Hungarian, 57.9% Croat), Szentpéterfa (Petrovo Selo, 987 inhabitants, 89.3%-a Hungarian, 80.2% Croat). In the paper, we do focus very much on the actual language situation, but on the influence of the current socio-linguistic situation on the sphere of traditional folk spiritual culture.²

A considerable amount of field material has been collected by means of the ethnolinguistic questionnaire³ in villages of Burgenland Croats in Western Hungary and Southern Slovakia (where part of Hungarian territory was annexed after World War II). Differences in the traditional folk culture of the three parts of Burgenland on the Austro-Hungarian border led to a

¹Gradishche (Gradišće) is the Croatian name for Burgenland, a federal state within Austria or, in a broad sense, a historical region in Eastern Austria and Western Hungary. The toponym (Burgenland – “Land of castles”) is constructed from the German names of administrative-territorial units (comitates) of historical Hungary, containing the word “castle” (Burg): Sopron (Ödeburg), Vash (Eisenburg), Moshon (Wieselburg). Croats emigrated here in the 16th century, because their villages were destroyed by the Turks.

²Hungarian and Slovak data is given according to the 2011 population census.

³Plotnikova A.A. *Materialy dlja etnolingvisticheskogo izuzhenia balkanoslavjanskogo areala* [Materials for the ethnolinguistic study of the Balkan Slavic area.] (Moscow 2009). Semantic type of questionnaire – “from meaning to a word” – are compiled in cases where it is necessary to cover ethno-cultural areas with genetically different languages. Although initially orientated mostly toward the Balkans, the questionnaire has been successfully used in the Central European regions, particularly in Hungarian and Slovakian territories, which became possible due to a certain number of generic questions in the questionnaire’s sections relating to childbirth, wedding and funeral customs. For example, the topic «Birth» contains the following questions: «childless, infertile woman»; «pregnant woman»; «woman in labor»; «midwife»; «chemise (amniotic bubble), in which some children are born, and which is considered to be lucky, or endowed with demonic abilities)», etc.



detailed analysis of their regional ethnolinguistic features. Separately, each part of Burgenland is considered which is either part of Hungary at the present time, or was part of the borders of the Hungarian state before the Second World War (the region south of Bratislava). In the latter case, the Hungarian influence can also be traced; it is also reinforced by local Slovak layers in the case of a coincidence of vocabulary and corresponding extralinguistic contexts with Hungarian. Thus, according to field data, the following are distinguished: Sopron's "bush" villages, Szombathely "bush" and Croatian villages south of Bratislava.

Today, the situation regarding speaking the three languages in question among the Croats of Burgenland in Hungary and Slovakia is as follows.

In all the surveyed regions where Burgenland's Croatian language functions in family communication and in communication within the village, while the older and middle generations speak it actively, young people merely know it passively (or at least we witness the desire of young people to learn the Croatian literary language rather than the dialectal form common in Hungary/Slovakia).

The Hungarian language is in a special situation. In the Middle and Southern villages, it is used actively by the middle, and especially the younger generation; representatives of the older generation often switch to Hungarian when communicating with their young relatives. The situation in Northern Burgenland is somewhat different, since the Croatian villages of Jarovce, Čunovo and Rusovce located in their midst (originally with a predominant German and Hungarian population) were annexed to Slovakia only in 1946; before that they were part of Hungary, with Hungarian as the official language. Therefore, here Hungarian serves as a kind of "secret language": the older generation of informants still attended Hungarian schools and remembers Hungarian from the time of their school years; the middle generation learned Hungarian from their parents. In addition, representatives of the Hungarian ethnic group live in compact communities in these villages, and Burgenland Croats often try to communicate with them in Hungarian, partly to keep up their language competence, which is in this case, for obvious reasons, quite limited.

A few words should be said about the use of the German language. In middle and Southern Burgenland, German villages are present on the Hungarian side, while the Croats are actively in contact with their inhabitants; in Northern Burgenland, Germans live in Croatian villages; there are cases of mixed marriages – in any case, the German language is more or less within the linguistic competence of informants of all generations.

The migration of Croats from the territory of their primary residence to the northern parts of Europe took place more than 500 years ago, so the features of the linguistic and cultural dialects that they preserve were in some cases influenced by the surrounding traditions (Austrian, Hungarian, Slovakian). Nevertheless, even today it is possible to distinguish a number of authentic characteristics of the Croatian cultural dialect with features inherent in certain parts of Burgenland and separate Croatian villages. Several archaic rituals and beliefs have revealed their exclusive ties to the Hungarian villages of Burgenland, for example games with mummers in straw on Shrovetide, unknown to the Burgenland Croats in neighboring Austria.⁴ Next, we will

⁴See: Sučić R. *Narodni običaji* [Folk rituals] In: *Povijest i kultura gradišćanskih Hrvata* (Zagreb, 1995) P. 315–333.; Plotnikova A.A. *Slavjanskije ostrovnyje arealy: arhaika i innovacii* [Slavic Island Areas: Archaism and Innovation] (Moscow 2016.) P. 114–168.



present the Hungarian borrowings in the language and traditional folk culture of the rural population of the Burgenland Croats in the territory of Hungary and Slovakia.

Hungarian cultural and linguistic borrowings in Burgenland's folk traditions include:

1. Direct borrowings from different spheres of traditional folk culture, which are reflected in individual fragments of the rural world view, and accordingly in the folk terminology which reflects it. Direct Hungarian influence is especially noticeable in the sphere of folk mythology; it is also evident in various components of calendar and family rituals. In ethnolinguistic studies it is known that in folk mythology there is a tendency to call undesirable or harmful demonic characters by names borrowed from neighboring languages, as well as to identify their images with «foreigners» - usually with representatives of the ethno-cultural tradition they are in contact with.

In some cases, borrowings can be not so much Hungarian loanwords as “Carpathisms”.⁵ In such precedents Hungarian acts as a donor language (in fact, an intermediary language, since in Hungarian itself these terms were early loanwords from Slavic and non-Slavic languages), while the spread of the lexical units in the Carpathian area may be a supporting factor here.

- 1.1. In the family rites of Burgenland Croats, the most significant impact of the Hungarian tradition is found in villages which are most remote from the main array of Croatian villages in Hungary. Thus, in South Burgenland there is a village called Petrovo Selo which is actually separated from the villages Narda, Gorni Četar and Croatian Schice by two Austrian borders and has a direct connection with the district center – the city of Szombathely (see map below). This is the village whose name is recognizable in the names of wedding bun-rolls distributed at the invitation to the wedding and during the celebration (in the ritual invitation these sweet pretzels were impaled on a staff along with other treats for the guests), called by the names *pirjaci* or *perjaci* from the Hungarian *perec* ‘wedding bread in the form of a pretzel’. (In Hungarian, the corresponding lexeme is considered to be a borrowing from the upper German *preze*, *bretze*). It is important to emphasize that the native speakers themselves are aware of this word being a borrowing: «Pirjaci to su ti koláči, koje stavu na batiku. . . , to iz Madjarske, Madjarska – perjac, to je tako zašlo u naš reč. Perjaci mi kažemo» [Pir’atci are those <wedding> pretzels, which you put on a stick. . . it’s from Hungary, in Hungarian, “per’ak” is so entrenched in our speech, “per’atci” we say] (Petrovo Selo).
- 1.2. When designating ritual participants, actions and realities in funeral and memorial rites, Hungarian loanwords are also revealed, although it is this sphere of folk tradition that, as a rule, is the least permeable to foreign-language influence. So, along with the Croatian *dvoriti* proper, the lexeme denoting keeping awake with a dead person is widely used in Southern Burgenland, which is represented in both Hungarian and German versions, and in two villages located to the North (villages Narda, Gorni Četar) it is represented by the Hungarian loanword *verestovati*. In Hungarian, the lexeme *virrasztani* ‘to be awake’ is most

⁵Russian scholars with a long-standing involvement with the “General Carpathian Dialect Atlas”, S. B. Bernshtein and G. P. Klepikova explain the term “Carpathisms” as all the specific elements characteristic of the languages and traditions of the Carpathian area, regardless of their origin or direct source of borrowing.



often used in this meaning, literally in the form 'zorevat' from *virradat* (dawn),⁶ in which one can see a certain semantic parallel with Croatian *bdjenje*. To the south, the Germanism *boktati/bohtati* (Hrvatske Šice)/*boftati* (Petrovo Selo) is used. In Austrian Burgenland, the main lexeme is *vawochtn* 'to guard'; while the term *boktati/bohtati/boftati*, which occurs in the territory of Hungary in the villages Hrvatske Šice and Petrovo Selo,⁷ is in all probability a borrowing and goes back to *vawochtn*.

Thus, on the one hand, there is semantic parallelism between the Hungarian and Croatian original lexemes, absent in Burgenland' Croatian, while borrowing Hungarian lexemes (*virrasztani* – *verestovati*). At the same time, there is a penetration of the German lexeme, which in its internal form makes a semantic parallel with *dvoriti*. At the same time, *boktati* is also common in Austrian Burgenland Croatian, and *verestovati* is common only in Hungarian ones.

In Southern Burgenland, Hungarian terms were also used to refer to some calendar holidays:

- 1.3. *Sureti* (*u nas sureti deržu* [we hold «sureti»]) 'grape harvest festival' - from the Hungarian lexeme *szüreti* (*felvonulás*) literally 'related to the grape must', which, in turn, goes back to the verb *szür* 'to reap, to crush'.⁸ This holiday in South Burgenland was first mentioned in the villages of Gornji Četar, Hrvatske Šice and Petrovo Selo. The holiday itself was a solemn procession through the village of a group of people on tractors in the direction of the vineyard or in the vineyard, followed by food and dancing. The holiday itself is typical of the wine regions of the Carpathians, but in the region where the surveyed villages are located, it is rather a late innovation⁹ and for both Croatian and Hungarian villages it is a kind of artificial construct: in this case it is not so much a contact phenomenon as an influence from above, from the state.
- 1.4. In the village of Petrovo Selo, the term *buča/bučura* 'feast of the church' emerged from Hungarian *bucsú*, a word of Turkish origin.¹⁰ In another part of the surveyed villages of Hungary, Slovakia and Austria, the holiday has the traditional Burgenland Croatian name *kiritoľ* (German Kirtag 'holiday of the church').
- 1.5. In the sphere of folk mythology, the name of the witch *bosorka* (a Hungarian loanword, used along with Croatian dialect *viška*) is regularly recorded among the Burgenland Croats of Slovakia (Chunovo, Yarovce).¹¹ This phenomenon is connected, firstly, with the specifics of these villages that were part of Hungary until the end of WWII and still retain an active possession of the Hungarian language along with Croatian, and secondly with the use of

⁶Benkő L. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen* [Etymological Dictionary of Hungarian]. (Budapest 1993.)

⁷This was also recorded in *Gradišćanskohrvatsko-hrvatsko-nimški rječnik*. [Burgenlandcroatian-Croatian-German dictionary] Zagreb – Eizenshtadt, 1991. P. 63.

⁸Benkő L. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen* [Etymological Dictionary of Hungarian]. (Budapest 1993.) P.1465.

⁹Illés P. "A szüreti felvonulások és az egyesületi élet kapcsolatai a 2. világháborúig Vas megyében" [Connections between harvest parades and association life until World War II in Vas County] In: *Vasi Honismereti és Helytörténeti Közlemények* 2005(33)/3. P. 51–65.

¹⁰Benkő L. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen*. Budapest. 1993. P. 142.

¹¹For more information about the borrowing *bosorka* in the villages Chunovo and Yarovce, see the detailed report on the field work in these villages in 2018 conducted by A. A. Plotnikova and D. Yu. Vashchenko in the publication: Plotnikova A. A. "Water Croats' and the specifics of their tradition: A review of an ethnolinguistic expedition" In: *Slavic Almanach*, 3–4, 2018. P. 350–352.



the term in the surrounding Slovak villages. In contrast to this situation, there is a clear dichotomy in the villages of the Burgenland Croats of Hungary – Croatian *viška*, but Hungarian *boszorkány* – that is caused by the processes of ethno-cultural self-identification in a foreign language environment.

- 1.6. Everywhere among the Burgenland Croats of Hungary, the general Carpathian word *šarkanj* ‘dragon’ from the Hungarian *sárkány* (of Iranian origin) is used, this name is also common in the Slovak ethno-cultural tradition.
- 1.7. It should be noted that the Hungarian cultural borrowings among the Burgenland Croats along the Austrian-Hungarian border may be a kind of reinterpretation of motifs of the folk mythology of the surrounding ethnic groups. So, Carpathian stories about people with supernatural abilities, saddling a dragon and sending hail and bad weather¹² left a certain trace on the beliefs of the Burgenland Croats living in the border areas with Austria. In a typical Hungarian narrative about «garabontciash» from the village of Sacon’ near Croatian villages in the middle of Western Hungary (Croatian Zhidan, Prisika) storytelling is focused on the child, originally predestined to be «garabontciash» (*garabonciás diák* ‘magician’s apprentice) who is growing rapidly and in 14–16 years goes on to seek the dragon (*sárkánykigyó* – dragon-snake). The story describes how he saddles a dragon after which they both set off, causing huge storms, rain and hail. *Garabonciás* brings destruction to the people and hears only curses. The story ends with the statement that «it was not a man, but a creature of the devil, *garabonciás*». ¹³ In all Burgenland Croatian villages in Hungary, the personage «garabontciash» (*garaboncijaš*) is immediately recognized as an element of the surrounding Hungarian culture, but sometimes the lexeme can be used as a characteristic of a real person, for example: *garaboncijaš* ‘strong man’ (Narda). ¹⁴ However, on the other side of the border, in the nearby Croatian village Filezh in Austria we recorded a belief about a man with supernatural abilities called *grebencijaš* and having the power to influence the weather, cause rain, snow and bad weather (*on je krivac kad je nevrime* – «he is guilty when it is bad weather»). ¹⁵ This phenomenon fits well into the structure of separate Slavic areas: where cultural and linguistic identity is important (in Hungary itself), a fragment of folk culture is not borrowed, whereas in neighboring villages surrounded by other cultural specifics (in Austria), it can be easily perceived.
2. Latent borrowings. Latent borrowings are understood as cultural phenomena that were initially weakly expressed in a particular tradition (and tended to be lost), but during long coexistence with a neighboring heterogeneous tradition were maintained due to the developed state of the similar phenomena in the surrounding cultural environment.
- 2.1. For the study of cultural dialects within the enclave area of Burgenland it is important to note some significant differences which may be traced back to diverse streams of settlement of the northern lands by Croats who came from different parts of their territory of primary

¹²Cf. similar Romanian stories about warlocks flying on a dragon and sending bad weather.

¹³A *Répcse mente meséi és mondái*. [Tales and legends along the Répceseed] (Szombathely 1996.) P. 29.

¹⁴Cf. the use of other Hungarian loanwords from the sphere of folk demonology in the function of swearing or negative characterization of a person: *To je pravi šarkanj, ta žena!* [A real dragon, this woman!] (village of Petrovo Selo).

¹⁵See Plotnikova A.A. *Slavjanskije ostrovnyje arealy: arhaika i innovacii* [Slavic Island Areas: Archaism and Innovation] (Moscow 2016.) P. 158-159.



residence. So, in the villages of Burgenland Croats in Western Hungary's Croatian villages Zhidan and Prisika the rituals of farewell to winter on Shrove Tuesday have been preserved. Saying goodbye to the cold season, they burned or buried the symbolically represented winter time, most frequently a straw doll. This ritual was described as follows: *A nekad tako načinjju na slamu, ter je požgu, a to je da zima projde, protuliće dojde* [And before that, they will make a man out of straw and burn him, and this is so that winter will pass, spring will come] (Croatian Zhidan); *zakápaju zimsko vrime* [bury the winter time] (Prisika); *da se zima zakapa; strašidu zimu da projde* [to bury the winter; scared the winter to pass] (Croatian Zhidan). For the same purpose, the masqueraders on Shrovetide made as much noise as possible in order «to scare and drive away the winter» (Croatian Zhidan). In the same villages, it is still practiced to dress up in straw a «gaffer» (*djed*) and a «woman» (*baba*), «gaffer» and «zhuzha» (*žuža*), who imitate a wedding and frighten oncoming girls. Despite the deeply archaic nature of such Slavic excesses and amusements, in this case there are also borrowings from the surrounding Hungarian cultural environment. The name of the personage *žuža* is borrowed from the Hungarian roundabout rites of the winter-spring cycle. The play about Zsuzsa was written by the Bardejov rector Lenart Steckel in the 16th century, and was performed in the Hungarian and German Protestant milieu, most often on St. Susanna day, on February 18, including in the form of rounds: among the participants of the ritual of house-to-house were Zsuzsanna, her husband and two old men (MN, MNL).

For the Shrovetide rituals in the villages of Playgor and Unda, people also made a dummy of the «straw grandfather», often along with a similar «straw woman» (*baba*). In the village of Unda, this «hugging» couple was spun on a wooden wheel while being dragged around the village, in both villages (Playgor, Unda) straw effigies were burned at the end of the holiday, marking the «departure of winter» (own records from informants in 2017).¹⁶ This twisting of figures on a wheel or on a round wooden platform seems to be associated with the Hungarian influence on rural Croatian culture, for example, it is known that Hungarian men from a neighboring village would come to the village of Prisika and carried a spinning wheel through the whole village, with hugging dolls «dancing» on top.¹⁷

2.2. Among the Burgenland Croats of Hungary, we never observed the rite of «kolodka», known to the Austrian Croats as a Shrovetide rite (dragging trees or objects made of wood, for example troughs, by young people who did not get married on Shrovetide).¹⁸ According to our records, the public censure of young people who did not marry in the past year is

¹⁶Jordanić M. *Narodni običaji Gradišćanskih Hrvatov. Das Brauchtum der Burgenlandkroaten* [The customs of the Burgenland Croats]. (Filež – Nikitsch 2009.) P. 35.

¹⁷Horváth I. «A naptári ünnepekhez fűződő szokások és hiedelmek a nyugatmagyarországi horvátoknál» [Customs and beliefs related to calendar holidays among Croats in Western Hungary] In: *Folklór archívum*. 1978. 10., 57; Sági F. «Változó, átalakuló szokások a Répce-vidéken és Alpokalján» [Changing, transforming customs in the Répce region and in Alpokalja] In: *Vasi honismereti és helytörténeti közlemények*. 2010/1, P. 45–51., P. 47.

¹⁸According to Hungarian ethnographers, the custom existed in Middle Burgenland as early as the late 1970's: in Unda, the drawing of a wooden block was recorded, and in Croatian Zhidan, the dragging of a trough. Horváth I. «A naptári ünnepekhez fűződő szokások és hiedelmek a nyugatmagyarországi horvátoknál» [Customs and beliefs related to calendar holidays among Croats in Western Hungary] In: *Folklór archívum*. 1978. 10. P. 57].



associated with the «straw» characters of Shrovetide processions. Those who have stayed without marriage are called *slamnji djed i baba* (*na toga su mogli reć da je slamnji ostal* [about such a person they said that he remained «straw»] Croatian Zhidan), cf. similar motifs of the «straw man» in other Slavic and European zones.¹⁹ Among the Burgenland Croats this is probably a borrowing from Hungarian (*szalmaözvegy* ‘straw widow’), where in turn it is interpreted as a calque from German. Let us add that in the Southern part of Burgenland’s Croats in Hungary (as well as among the Slovak Croats), none of these early spring archaic rites are known, but they have parallels in different Slavic zones.

- 2.3. In the village of Unda (Middle Burgenland) on St. Lucia’s Day, there are processions that are not found in the other Burgenland villages we surveyed. A group of ten-year-old boys walk through the village, each holding an armful of straw. The procession stops at each house, the boys ask if they can enter, then put an armful of straw on the threshold of the house, kneel on the straw and say good wishes.²⁰ Similar rounds are also characteristic of the Hungarian village Zsira, examined in 2017 and of the entire region of Hungary (while they are not mentioned in the extensive description of the authentic rituals and superstitions on St. Lucia’s Day in Unda in the relevant volume by M. Jordanić,²¹ therefore we can assume that the rounds in Unda represent the contact phenomenon.
- 2.4. In the same village Unda, there has been a change in the procession carried out on the day of Trinity, and the new version coincides with the one that is common in neighboring Hungarian villages. So, until the 1910’s “there was a group consisting of three girls: two older and one younger. They were called “Duhi”. A young (younger) girl was covered with a colored headscarf. A wreath woven from blue cornflowers (*plavijenke*) was placed on the headscarf on the girl’s head. First they went to the rectory, then to the church, and so on. Near each house they said good wishes and sang the song “Hódi k nam Düh Sfijeti. . .”.²² The recording of this song, complete with the score, is given in the book about the folk customs of the Burgenland Croats by M. Jordanić, and the version of the Trinity procession is interpreted by him as the most archaic form, “ki potiče iz stare domovine” (which comes from the old homeland).²³ Later, the procession changed: it consisted of five girls, four older and one younger, who was also in the center; the older girls held a youthful headscarf like a canopy over their heads.²⁴ Similar rounds are presented in the neighboring Hungarian

¹⁹Berezovich Y. L. *Russkaja leksika na obščeslavjanskom fone: semantiko-motivatsionnaja rekonstrukcija* [Russian vocabulary against a common Slavic background: semantic and motivational reconstruction]. (Moscow 2014).

²⁰This is also mentioned in Horváth I. “A naptári ünnepekhez fűződő szokások és hiedelmek a nyugatmagyarországi horvátoknál” [Customs and beliefs related to calendar holidays among Croats in Western Hungary] In: *Folklór archívum*. 1978. 10. P. 69, where the author writes that during the rounds on St. Lucia’s Day boys placed straw on the doorsteps of the houses and said good wishes which were designed to bring the owners of the house fertility of their poultry and small livestock.

²¹Jordanić M. *Narodni običaji Gradišćanskih Hrvatov. Das Brauchtum der Burgenlandkroaten* [The customs of the Burgenland Croats]. (Filež – Nikitsch 2009.) P. 137.

²²Horváth I. “A naptári ünnepekhez fűződő szokások és hiedelmek a nyugatmagyarországi horvátoknál” [Customs and beliefs related to calendar holidays among Croats in Western Hungary] In: *Folklór archívum*. 1978. 10. P. 69.

²³Jordanić M. *Narodni običaji Gradišćanskih Hrvatov. Das Brauchtum der Burgenlandkroaten* [The customs of the Burgenland Croats]. (Filež – Nikitsch 2009.) 74–75.

²⁴The authors’ field data from 2017.



villages of Zsira and Gyaloka. For example, in Gyaloka: “four girls held a shawl like a “tent” over the head of the fifth. They went from house to house to congratulate. During this, they sang and scattered petals”.²⁵

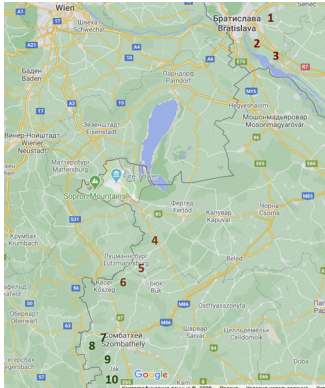
3. Ethno-cultural inclusions – we are talking about cases when in the speech of individual informants who tell about autochthonous customs, rituals and beliefs, the Croatian ethno-cultural vocabulary is replaced by Hungarian, and the speaker realizes that he cannot remember the Croatian name. These words are not borrowings in their pure form, since the corresponding term is present in the minds of another part of the region’s informants and, in addition, the word, as a rule, appears in an unadapted form and is accompanied by a metalinguistic comment.
 - 3.1. Both in Middle and Southern Burgenland, the best man at the wedding could be designated by the Hungarian lexeme *vőfény*, see examples, one of which is a duplication of the nomination: *vertanj je nosil statilo vőfény* [wedding bread was carried by the best man].
 - 3.2. Only in Southern Burgenland, dances at a wedding could also have a Hungarian name – the Hungarian designations *menyasszonytánc* ‘bride’s dance’, *vánkostánc* ‘pillow dance’ were used to denote the bride’s dance. Here, in all likelihood, we are not talking about borrowing as such, but about regular code switching. In the interview, the relevant passages are followed by a pause, when the informant, apparently, does not find the right word, talking in his dialect about wedding customs.
 - 3.3. In connection with the current system of health care, where children are born in a hospital, the interlocutors from the Southern Town (for example, in the village of Hrvatske Sice) could forget the Croatian vocabulary for a woman in labor (also other folk terms related to the birth rites): *jako se to velilo gyerekágyas?* [what was it called *gyerekágyas?*].
 - 3.4. Only in Middle Burgenland the term *álarc* literally ‘fake, artificial face’ was used to denote a mask in the Maslenitsa procession, this term could denote all mummers as such: *A ja kad sam bila Krampus imala sam na licu-čo je to álarc-mask* [And when I was Krampus, I had on my face - what is an *álarc*-mask].
4. Finally, it is possible to distinguish lexemes that are part of the common cultural vocabulary of Hungarians and Croats (more broadly, southern Slavs). So, if in Northern and Middle Burgenland the main wedding bread was called *vrtanj*, in Southern Burgenland this ritual term is not used, and the wedding loaf is designated by the term *kolač*, (see also SerboCroatian. *kolač* ‘muffin, festive bread’). This phenomenon among Croats in a foreign-speaking environment may also be motivated by the supportive influence of the Hungarian language, where wedding bread is most often referred to by the term *kalács*, a Slavism by origin.

Conclusions. Analyzing popular culture and dialects of enclave villages of Burgenland Croats in Hungary and Slovakia, it should be noted that traditional folk culture with corresponding vocabulary becomes an important marker of identity of the population living in foreign language environments. It is in this sphere of life that borrowings, both lexical and extralinguistic, are least expressed, because of the preservation of the original features that show the cultural identity of the minority under consideration. The gradual penetration of Hungarian loanwords occurs, first

²⁵Brummer K. Gyalókai krónika [Chronicle of Gyalóka]. (Gyalóka 2007.)



of all, in the most remote Croatian communities from the main enclave (in our case, it is Unda in the north of Middle Burgenland and Petrovo Selo in the very south of Southern Burgenland), while the influence concerns both the actual language elements and separate rituals, customs and beliefs.



- 1 – Chorvátsky Grob
- 2 – Jarovce - Jandorf
- 3 – Čunovo

- 4 – Und - Unda
- 5 – Peresznye - Prisika
- 6 – Horvátszidány – Hrvatski Zidan

- 7 – Narda – Narda
- 8 – Felsőcsatár – Gornji Četar
- 9 – Horvátlövő – Hrvatske Šice
- 10 – Szentpéterfa – Petrovo Selo

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author's work was carried out in the framework of the project of the Russian scientific Foundation № 17-18-01373 «Slavic archaic zones in Europe: ethnolinguistic research».

