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ON THE KAJKAVIAN DIALECTS OF HIDEGSÉG AND FERTŐHOMOK
IN THE NORTHWEST OF HUNGARY

H.P. HOUTZAGERS

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the most interesting tasks of Serbo-Croatian dialectology is the reconstruction of the linguistic state of affairs as it was before the mass migrations on the Balkan peninsula, which began in the early fifteenth century and lasted well into the nineteenth century.¹ The migrations resulted in the temporary depopulation of considerable areas and therewith in the extinction of entire groups of dialects. Fortunately, many of the dialects which were "taken along" by the migrants to their new dwelling-places have survived till the present day. Such dialects, which are often spoken far away from their original linguistic environment, constitute a valuable source of information on the premigratory dialect picture, not only because of their isolated development for many centuries, but also because they are in many cases the only representatives of otherwise extinct types of dialects.

The dialects of Hidegség and Fertőhomok², two neighbouring villages near Sopron in the northwest of Hungary, are the only surviving kajkavian diaspora dialects spoken by the descendants of the earliest migrants.³ Judging from the available historical data, there is reason to believe that the ancestors of the inhabitants of the two villages came from Velika and Međurič, not far from Novska.⁴ If this hypothesis is correct, the dialects of Hidegség and Fertőhomok are the only source of information - apart, perhaps, from written records - on the dialects once spoken east of the southeastern part of the present-day kajkavian dialect area.

In the literature on the "Croatian diaspora" and on kajkavian dialects, Hidegség and Fertőhomok are often mentioned in some way or

other. It is clear that the dialects do not have all characteristics which all kajkavian dialects are assumed to have in common and the authors have different opinions on their position within (and sometimes even outside) Serbo-Croatian.⁵ It is also clear, however, that the amount - and often the reliability - of the material available to the authors leaves much to be desired.⁶ The purpose of the present article, which is based on data gathered during three weeks of fieldwork in 1985⁷, is to contribute to the discussion by providing more information on the dialects themselves.

One of the first things I found out in Hidegség and Fertőhomok is that a more or less thorough description of the two dialects ought perhaps to have had higher priority for specialists on kajkavian than it seemed to have had so far: the population of the two villages is rapidly magyarizing and people with a really good command of the Serbo-Croatian dialects are found almost exclusively among inhabitants older than fifty years. The youngest generation (up to twenty years) speaks and understands Hungarian only. Serbo-Croatian is spoken neither at school nor in church.

Hidegség and Fertőhomok form a kajkavian speech-island within a large group of villages inhabited by Serbo-Croatian-speaking minorities all along the border between Austria and Hungary.⁸ Serbo-Croatian is spoken in over eighty villages in this region, for the most part in the Austrian province of Burgenland and to a lesser extent in adjoining areas in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. All the other dialects spoken here are usually classified as čakavian and štokavian. The inhabitants of Hidegség and Fertőhomok are well aware that their dialect is quite different from the other Burgenland dialects and they seem to know the dialect of the nearest Croatian village (Kópháza, which is some five miles away, along the road to Sopron) in some detail. During my first conversation in Hidegség my informant hesitated to use the word *jäpa* 'father' and explained it as *ötāc* (with a posttonic length, which does not exist in the dialect of Hidegség) and at a few occasions informants used words which they themselves later rejected as being *pu kyojmufsku* ('in the Kópháza dialect'), e.g. *küča* 'house', *püt* 'path', *t'aplu* 'hot', which should be *hiža*, *stjezä* and *tuoplü* H.⁹

The results of the analysis of my material so far will be presented below. Of course, the present article is by no means a complete dialect description. The material contains numerous gaps and raises questions which can only be answered after a renewed visit to Hidegség

and Fertőhomok. Because I have more material from Hidegség than from Fertőhomok, the latter village will be somewhat underrepresented in the examples.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 THE VOWELS

2.1.1 The dialects have the following vowel phonemes:

		stressed				unstressed			
		long	short	long	short	i	u	high	
high		î	í	û	ü				
mid	opening		je		uo				
	closing	ei		ou			o	mid	
low		'a	ä	ä	ä	a	ä	low	
		front		back		front		back	

As can be seen from the diagram, length is not distinctive in unstressed syllables, and in stressed syllables it is not distinctive on all vowels. There are no phonological pitch oppositions. The signs ' and ^ are used for indicating stress on short and long vowels, respectively, and ' for indicating stress on the quantitatively neutral vowel ä. No accent sign is needed on the diphthongs, which are always stressed. When necessary, the sign ~ will be used for indicating absence of stress, e.g. "ä" means "unstressed ä".

Examples:

Hidegség: *dím* 'smoke', *jazíki* 'languages', *nügli* 'coals', *nüki* 'grandchildren', *piekal* 'hell', *keim* 'who' Isg, *uoblák* 'cloud', *dvor* 'yard', *ž'aludac* 'stomach', *jä* 'I', *kräva* 'cow';

Fertőhomok: *kí* 'who', *štírmi* '4' I, *dacum* 'children' Isg, *zvünä* 'from'

outside', *kiesno* 'late' ADV, *vejka* 'always', *kyosti* 'bones', *koymu* 'who' Dsg, *zat* 'son-in-law', *zidāri* 'bricklayers', *jāpom* 'father' Isg.

Unstressed *o* is a heavy phoneme¹⁰: the feature "mid" as opposed to "high" is optional, in other words, *o* can always be replaced by *u* (but not vice-versa), e.g. *leipo/leipu* 'nice' ADV, *pojejm* 'I eat' F, *puješ* 'you eat' H, but always *u* in such forms as *zimu* 'winter' Asg F, *žejdu* 'thirst' Asg H. In Hidegség unstressed *o* is extremely rare, so that where *o* is expected on historical grounds, one almost always hears *u*, e.g. *līpu* 'nice' ADV, *Huomuk* 'Fertőhomok', *kyonjuf* 'horse' Gpl H, cf. *Huomok*, *kyonjof* F. Examples with unstressed *o* from Hidegség: *poveidäl* 'told' (3 attestations against many with -*u*-), *govorilli* 'talked' (1 attestation against many with -*u*-).¹¹ In examples of attested forms, phonemic unstressed *o* will be written *o* or *u*, according to its phonetic realization.

The prominence of the glide elements in the opening diphthongs *ie* and *yo* is variable and the phonemes are sometimes realized as short monophthongs. In the speech of certain informants, the closing diphthong *eɪ* can be heard without the glide element, but the resulting monophthong is long, so that it cannot be mistaken for a monophthongal realization of *ie*. One could say that *ie* and *yo* are "opening or short" and *eɪ* is "closing or long".¹²

The vowel *ä* (stressed and unstressed) is intermediate between [ɛ] and [a]; *ɔ* is a rounded [a].¹³

2.1.2 Stressed and unstressed *ä* show considerable phonetic variability:

- In Fertőhomok, *ä* is generally less open than in Hidegség: it varies between [e] and [ä]; the most frequent allophone is [ɛ]. In Hidegség it varies between [ɛ] and [a]; the most frequent allophone is [ä], and [a] occurs only in specific phonetic environments (see below).¹⁴
- In both villages, *ä* is usually less open when it is unstressed (except in word-final position), e.g. it tends to be more open in *t'aba* 'you' Asg and the last two syllables of *rač'ata* 'you say' than in *čluviekam* 'human being' Isg and the first syllable of *rač'ata* H.

- The phonetic length of stressed *ä* varies between short and long. It is mostly short or half-long. When 'ä' is in word-final position and the word contains more than one syllable, which only happens in PR 3pl endings, it is phonetically long. Examples: in such words as *zd'anac* 'well', *s'ali* 'village' Lsg, *rač* 'say' H F, the 'ä' is generally short

or half-long, in *zvon'ä* 'toll', *plat'ä* 'pay' F, *uženj'ä* 'marry', *učinj'ä* 'make' H (all PR 3pl), it is long.

- In Hidegség, stressed *ä* is even more open than usual (approximately [a]) in word-final position if the word has more than one syllable. These are the same conditions in which (in both villages) it is phonetically long (see above).¹⁵
- Before a tautosyllabic *r*, stressed *ä* tends to be realized long and in Hidegség it is usually relatively closed (approximately [ɛ], i.e. the normal Fertőhomok realization). Examples of forms which were attested with such realizations: *harš* 'rye' H F, *tf'ardu* 'hard' Nsg n, *ub'arnut* 'turn around' H.
- In Hidegség, the 'ä' in the word *v'aliki* 'large' is often rounded, probably due to the influence of *v* and *l*. The results vary between (approximately) German ö and ü.

2.1.3 In Fertőhomok, *ä* is often not rounded and both in Fertőhomok and in Hidegség stressed *ä* is seldom rounded before tautosyllabic *j*, e.g. in *dávatnäjs* '19' H F, *fäjnä* 'good' pl, *zäjc* 'hare' H, *näjpar* 'first of all', *jäjca* 'eggs' F. In such cases the pronunciation is [a]. As can be seen from the present and preceding section, in Hidegség both *ä* and *ɔ* are sometimes pronounced [a], but the positions in which they are pronounced [a] are complementary.

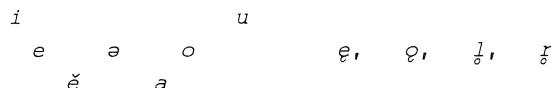
2.1.4 As a rule, *ǐ*, *ǔ*, *ie*, *yo*, 'ä', and *ɔ̄* (i.e. historically short stressed vowels) do not occur in the final syllable of polysyllabic words. The rule gives rise to inflectional alternations, e.g. *byožič* 'Christmas', cf. *božičam* Isg F, *čluovák* 'human being', cf. *čluviekä* Gsg, *vuodä* 'water', cf. *vudej* Gsg, *yobräs* 'face', cf. *ubräßä* Gsg, *dyonas* INF, cf. *dun'asamu* PR 1pl H. The only attested exceptions to the rule are: *pugl'äč* 'look' IMP, *sinyoč* 'last night', *undje* 'there' H, *kädje* 'where' H F, *ondje* 'there', *ovdje* 'here' F. These words (*pugl'äč* excepted) have also been attested with initial stress or with a different syllabic make-up so that they agree with the rule: *sinyoči*, *yonda*, *dje* 'where' H *uovda* H F.

Before *n* and *m*, *ɔ̄* and *ɔ̄̄* can be replaced by *oy* (see § 2.2.2).

2.2 DIACHRONIC OBSERVATIONS ON ACCENTUATION AND VOWELS

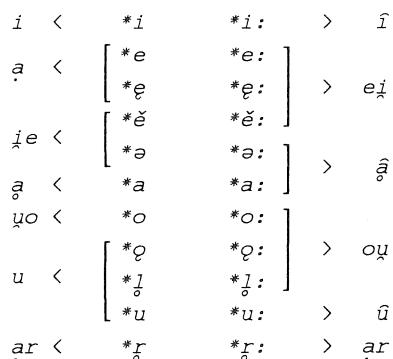
2.2.1 STARTING-POINT

The Hidegség and Fertőhomok vowel system can be derived from the late dialectal Proto-Slavic system shown in the following diagram¹⁶:



The vowels could all be long or short and showed phonological pitch oppositions in stressed syllables. The central mid vowel *ə represents strong *b and *b̄, except in the sequence *vb, which has become vu (see § 2.2.5).

Later, *ě was raised to a position between *i and *e and a number of other shifts and mergers took place which have resulted in the disappearance of *ě, *ə, *e, *ę, *l̄, and *r̄ as separate vowel phonemes (only the reflex of the merger of short *ə and *ě has survived as a separate phoneme in most cases, viz. ie), and in an adjusted position of the remaining vowels within the triangle. In the diagram below I have shown how (in general) the old vowels are reflected in stressed syllables in the present-day dialects of Hidegség and Fertőhomok.



(For examples and a detailed discussion of the reflexes see §§ 2.2.2 through 2.2.7).

The pitch oppositions have been lost, and so has the length opposition in pre- and posttonic syllables. The stress has been retracted from short final syllables (cf. § 2.1.4). Since originally long pretonic *i, *a and *u which have received the stress as a result of the retraction are reflected short, we may assume that the loss of the pretonic lengths preceded the retraction. Long and pretonic *e, *ę, *q, and *l̄¹⁷ have stayed distinct from their short counterparts, which could be an indication that at the time of the loss of the pretonic lengths the predecessors of oy, ei, yo and ie already showed some kind of timbre distinction. Examples: pītāt 'ask' H, žīvīl 'live' LP m H F, bīkā 'bull' Gsg H, plāčāt 'pay', jāram 'yoke' H F, vāpnā 'chalk' Gsg F, pūstīt 'let', pūhāt 'blow' H; but: svejzāt 'tie', reidit 'put in order', ceipāt 'thresh', bejlit 'whitewash', koupat sā 'bathe', sousat 'neighbour', toykli 'knock' LP pl m H. There is reason to believe that the diphthongization of *o: and *e: took place before (or was taking place at the time of) the migration: in the variety of Hungarian spoken in this area, long mid vowels are realized as opening diphthongs, and it is improbable for a development in exactly the opposite direction to have started in a speech community of not more than two villages.

In unstressed syllables, the front mid vowel (<*ə, *ě) merged with the front high c.q. the front low vowel (see § 2.2.6); in Hidegség the back mid vowel (<*o) became marginal (see § 2.1.1).

2.2.2 *i, *u, *a, *o

Long, short and unstressed *i and *u are reflected as long, short and unstressed i and u, respectively.

Examples:

*i kītā 'branch', čīst 'clean', pramīsli 'think' IMP, sīn 'son', spīl 'drank', bīlu 'was' n, kyośit 'mow', dīm H, žīvā 'live' PR 3pl, štīri '4', kyośiti 'mow' F.

*u krūhā 'bread' Gsg, čūdim sā 'be surprised' PR 1sg, drūgač 'otherwise', kūp 'heap', slūšāmu 'listen', sūh 'dry', ljūdi 'people', brūs 'grindstone', dūšā 'soul', rāzumī 'understand' PR 3sg, vučī 'learn' PR 3sg H, sūho 'dry' n, lüka 'onion' Gsg, kupīli 'bought' pl F.

Long, short and unstressed *a are reflected as long, short and

unstressed *g*, respectively. Before nasals, however, stressed **a* (both long and short) is almost always represented by *oy*. Sometimes intermediate realizations (like [ɛ̄u] or [ɛ̄y]) are heard. When *g/â* + nasal occurs (no attestations from Fertőhomok), it mostly occurs along with *oy* + nasal. Unstressed **a* became *ä* before tautosyllabic *j* (not in F) and in the prefix **raz-*.

Examples:

- **a* kräv̄a 'cow', znäla 'knew' f, bräti 'brothers', nä vart 'into the garden', pläkälä 'cried' f, mäli 'small', mläda 'young' f, jäku 'very', pläčädu 'pay' PR 3pl, patnäjst '15', razumi 'understand' PR 3sg, l'ada 'ice' Gsg H, dvä '2', gospodär 'master', bräti 'brother' Ipl, gräh 'beans', krüha 'bread' Gsg F.
- **a+N* sroum 'shame', hoym 'harness', kupounj 'trough', jargounj 'threshing-floor', rounit 'feed', louni 'last year', zou njaga 'for him', voym 'you' D H, igroum 'play' PR 1sg, panazoumi 'money' Ipl, stoumaju 'stand up' PR 3pl F, moyaji 'smaller', slouma 'straw' H F; but: kämani 'stone' Lsg, cf. kouman Nsg; imämu 'have' PR 1pl, cf. imoumu; säma 'self' Nsg f, cf. souma H.
- **a+j* niekaj 'something', nā prudaj 'on sale', dvajsietuga 'twentieth' Gsg m, m'arkaj 'listen' IMP H. Cf. zäkaj F.
- **raz-* razdejidiu 'divide' PR 3pl, raspraf sa 'undress' IMP, raspüknulu 'burst' LP n H.

Original long and short stressed **o* are reflected as *oy* and *uo*, respectively. Unstressed **o* is reflected as *o*, which is a heavy phoneme and can be replaced by *u*. In Hidegséq, unstressed *o* is rare and the status of unstressed *o* is doubtful (see § 2.1.1 and note 11). The Isg ending *-om is reflected as -am.

Examples:

- *'o guvüorit 'speak', myokar 'wet', myogal 'could', kryof 'roof' H, luojam 'fat' Isg, dyobru 'good' ADV F.
- *'o: koyš 'bone', poyl 'half', z Bougum 'with God', noyš 'knife', poyt 'sweat', rout 'family', touga 'that' Gsg, zvoun H 'bell', dvouri 'yard' Lsg, koy 'who' F.
- *'o vuliku 'that much', drejvu 'wood', dunasü 'bring' PR 3pl, pujo pugi 'in the field', ničur 'nobody' H, nej slöbut 'it is not allowed' H F, nej slöbot F, kyolcov 'stake' Gpl, dielamo 'do' PR 1pl, blägu 'livestock' F, brätam 'brother' Isg, blägam 'livestock' Isg H.

2.2.3 **l*, **q*

Original **l* and **q* are reflected as *oy* if they are long and stressed (with some exceptions for **q:*), and *u* if they are short and stressed. It is not easy to give a clear-cut rule for unaccented **l* and **q:* on the phonetic level, the reflex is almost always [u], but [u] represents not only *u* but also the heavy phoneme *o* (see § 2.1.1). Phonetic [o] for unstressed **q* was only attested in Fertőhomok, and only in PR 3pl forms of the verbs. Since it is unlikely that this is mere coincidence (unstressed **q* is rather frequent in Asg endings of feminine nouns), and since it is very well possible that unstressed **q* is in many cases reflected as phonemic *u* (cf. the reflexes of short stressed **q*), I chose for the notation *u* everywhere except in Fertőhomok PR 3pl forms. The two only instances of unstressed **l* will also be written *u*: jäbukä 'apple', jäbuka Npl H.

Examples:

- *'l: putoukli 'knocked' pl, žout 'yellow', sounca 'sun', čoun 'boat', douk 'debt', doužan 'indebted', na gouti 'on the neck', kouk 'hip', žouti 'yellow' H, toyst 'fat' H F, čouni 'boats', gout 'neck' F.
- *'l bühä 'flea', dùgu 'long' n, mükä 'trouble', pünu 'much', zapünidu 'fill' PR 3pl, pünica 'mother-in-law' H, püno 'much', dùžički 'oblong' F.
- *'q: moyka 'flour' H F, goyst 'dense', kouti 'corner' Lsg, moyš 'husband', vä lougi 'in the wood', soysat 'neighbour', soydi 'barrels', roykä 'hand', roupčica 'small hole', muškou 'male' Nsg n, smarznoutu 'frozen' n H, zoubi 'teeth' F; but: gruban 'rude', gûskä 'goose' H, cf. goyskä F; vrúča 'hot' Nsg n H F, cf. vroyč m F, vroyčaga Gsg n H; kús 'piece'; tûžna 'sad' f H, cf. toyžna F; trûdan 'tired' H F; tút 'there (?)' H; tûga 'sorrow', tûžna 'sad' f H, cf. toyžna F; but: PR 3pl endings of the type dunasü¹⁸ 'bring' PR 3pl, znädu 'know' PR 3pl H; prepositional Asg f endings onu 'that', vû 'this', cf. yonu, yovu, cf. also čistou 'clean' Asg f H.
- *'q mükä 'trouble', nûgal 'coal', nûtar 'inside', spüknut 'burst', püçat H; in porüžji 'call names' PR 3sg and trübala 'chattered' f H there has probably been stress retraction on shortened pretonic **q:*, see § 2.2.1).
- *'q susiedi 'neighbours', siesnut 'suck', rukum 'hand' Isg, kupounj

'trough', *diecu* 'children' A, *trāvu* 'grass' Asg H, *pominajo* 'speak' PR 3pl, *vušeiso* 'ear' F.

2.2.4 *e, *ę

Original *e and *ę are reflected as *ei* if long and stressed and ą if short or unstressed. An exception is *siestra* 'sister' H (je < *e). Unstressed *e is reflected as ą in *nădieja* 'Sunday' HF, contrast *ponadieja/puondajak* 'Monday' F.

Examples:

- *'e: *lejt* 'ice', *čeir* 'daughter', *vušeisa* 'ears', *pučeijšamu* 'comb' PR 1pl, *žein* 'woman' Gpl H, *vušeiso* 'ear' F.
- *'ę: *meisu* 'meat', *zeit* 'take', *žeidna* 'thirsty' f, *žeidju* 'thirst' Asg, *vudej* 'water' Gsg, *padasejt* '50', *năsei* 'our' Gsg f H, *peitak* 'Friday', *mejso* 'meat' F.
- *'e: *d'asat* '10', *r'ači* 'say' IMP, *ž'ana* 'women', *nj'amu* 'him' D, *l'agal* 'lied down', *l'ada* 'ice' Gsg, *z'amju* 'earth' Asg H, *s'alii* 'village' Lsg F.
- *'ę: *gl'adat* 'look', *lat'a* 'fly' PR 3pl, *vaj'a* 'say' PR 3pl, *t'ašku* 'heavy' n, *zat* 'son-in-law' H, *j'azik* 'language', *z'atu* 'son-in-law' Dsg, *gov'adinu* 'beef' Asg F.
- *'e: *smjeja* 'laugh' PR 3sg, *liepča* 'nicer' Nsg n, *dunasū* 'bring' PR 3pl, *ümra* 'die' PR 3sg, *čat'arti* 'fourth' H, *zuova* 'call' PR 3sg, *jasanī* 'autumn' Lsg F.
- *'ę: *sa* 'myself, yourself, etc.', *ž'ana* 'women', *ljūda* 'people' Apl, *d'asat* '10' H, *järap* 'partridge' F.

2.2.5 STRESSED *ě AND *ə; *vb

As a rule, short stressed *ě and *ə are both reflected as *je*. Long stressed *ě is reflected as *ei*¹⁹, long stressed *ə (only 2 words attested) as ą. The sequence *vb (stressed or unstressed) is reflected as *vu*.

Attested words:

- *'ě: *brieskva* 'peach' H, *brieskva* Npl F, *čariešnja* 'cherry' F, *dieda* 'grandfather', *diednuki* 'great-grandchildren', *dielat* 'do' H,

dielati, *dielo* 'matter' F, *dielg* Gsg, *diecu* 'children' A, *dietič* 'young man' H, *dvjemi* '2' I m F, *dvjema* '2' I f, *liep* 'bread', *jiel* 'ate', *jielu* 'food', *undje* 'there', *miestu* 'place', *liepča* 'nicer' Npl f, *liesum* 'fence (?)' Isg, *lietu* 'year' H, *lietos* 'last year' F, *lietus*, *miesac* 'month' H, *nădieja* 'Sunday' H F, *ponadieja* 'Monday' F, *niegda* 'once' H, *niegda* F, *niegda* 'somewhere', *niekaj* 'something', *niekak* 'some-way', *naviestę* 'bride', *pienaza* 'money' Apl, *riepa* 'beet', *riezat* 'cut', *ubiedał* 'had lunch', *siedil* 'sat', *siema* 'seed', *smiel* 'dared', *smieja* 'laugh' PR 3sg, *srieča* 'happiness', *susiedi* 'neighbours', *susieljavu* 'neighbouring' Asg f H, *štiel* 'wanted' H, *putriebujata* 'need' PR 2pl H, *putriebuju* PR 3pl F, *vietar* 'wind' H F, *viera* 'faith' H, *vierujo* 'believe' PR 3pl F, *vriča* 'bags', *vriemana* 'time' Gsg, *zriela* 'ripe' f, *žalieu* 'iron' H.

*'ə: *cvjetadu* 'bloom' PR 3pl H, *dienas* 'today' H F, *dieska* 'board', *liegi* 'light' H, *lieggja* 'lighter' Nsg n F, *liekuceinu* 'cheap' Nsg n, *kiesnu* 'late' n H, *kiesno* F, *miegla* 'fog', *piekal* 'hell', *siesci* 'nipples' H, *siesnut* 'suck' H F, *snieha* 'daughter-in-law', *stiekli* 'glass' Lsg, *stieza* 'path' H, *stiezu* Asg F, *tienak* 'thin', *vies* 'whole', *ziemadu* 'take' PR 3pl H, *ziemāš* PR 2sg F, *ziebrat* 'choose', *žienjaš* 'mow' PR 2sg H, *žienja* PR 3sg F.

*'ě: *bejl* 'white', *beilit* 'whitewash', *bleida* 'pale' Nsg f, *bleit* 'bleat', *breik* 'hill' H, *breiguf* Gpl F, *ceili* 'whole' H, *ceipi* 'flails' F, *cveit* 'flower', *čareivu* 'intestine', *razdeijit* 'divide' H, *deita* 'child' H F, *deikla* 'girl', *dreivu* 'wood' H, *dreivo* F, *dvej* 'two' f H F, *sagdeir* 'everywhere' H, *gneizdu* 'nest', *gneizdo* F, *greih* 'sin', *greišni* 'sinful', *jeis* 'eat' INF, *keim* 'who' Isg, *lein* 'lazy', *lejt* 'year' Gpl, *zaljeiva* 'water' PR 3sg H, *meisili* 'kneaded' pl F, *meišamu* 'mix' PR 1pl, *mleika* 'milk' Gsg F, *mrejli* 'died' pl, *neimški* 'German', *njeim* 'he' Isg, *peisak* 'sand', *pejvac* 'cock', *plejt* 'weed', *zapreil* 'closed', *rejč* 'word', *rejtkā* 'rare' pl, *sejda* 'grey' pl, *sleip* 'blind', *smej* 'be allowed', *sneik* 'snow' H, *sreida* 'Wednesday' H F, *steing* 'wall', *svejt* 'world', *sveiča* 'candle' Npl, *tei* 'those' Npl f, *teim* 'that' Lsg, *teilu* 'body', *teistu* 'dough',

nei treip 'it is not necessary', *puveim* 'tell' PR lsg H, *poveim* F, *vejka* 'always' H F, *veincuf* 'wreath' Gpl H, *vlejča* 'pull' PR 3sg H F, *sejm* 'all' ILsg, *nižvredan* 'good-for-nothing', *vrejma* 'time', *zvezda* 'stars', *žaleizna* 'iron' pl F, *ždrejba* 'foal' H.

*'ə: *douŋ/dāŋ* 'day' (oy from *g before a nasal, see § 2.2.2), *tāst* 'father-in-law' H.

*vb *vùzam* 'Easter', *vùni* 'outside' H, *vùn* H F, *vùš* 'louse', *vùžgat* 'set fire to' H, *vu* 'in', *vù* to 'into that' F, but *v̥* 'in' H.

In a number of words stressed *ě (long or short) is reflected as i, and there are also words in which short stressed *ə is reflected as ə. The noun *siema* 'seed' has a parallel form *s'ama*, Gsg *s'amanə* H.

*'ě:} i - *bižat* 'run' H; *līp* 'beautiful' H, *līpu* ADV F, cf. *leip* F and *liepča* COMP Nsg f H; *ubisiti* 'hang up' H, *mìsacə* 'month' Gsg, cf. *miesac* H; *pusidja* 'sit down (?)' H; *stizə* 'path' (1 attestation against many with ie) H;

- verb forms of the type *tarpilə* 'endured' f H and *visila* 'hanged' pl F;

- *nísmu* 'we are not', *ní bilu* 'it was not' H, both attested once, against many attestations with *nei*: *neísmu* H, *neiso* 'they are not' F, *neis* 'I am not', cf. *neip* 'he would not' H;

- Dsg and Lsg endings, e.g. *dicí* 'children' Dsg, *murjí* 'sea' Lsg H (it goes without saying that these instances of i may very well reflect original *i).

- comparatives formed with *-ěj-, e.g. *bugatiži* 'richer' H, *siromäšižaga* 'poorer' Asg m, *čarniža* 'blacker' Gsg f F;

- verbs of the type *zvijat* 'winnow' H, *pusižat* 'sow' (and *pusiža* 'chaff' Apl H), *sižali* 'sowed' pl H F, *zrižalu* 'ripened' n, *strižat* 'shoot', cf. *siežali*, *zriežadu* PR 3pl, *streiljat/* *streijat*, *smiejat* 'laugh' H;

- the present tense forms *plíjamo* 'weed' lpl, *zapríjajo* 'close' 3pl F, cf. *plejt* INF H F, *zaprejt* INF H;

*'ə>ə *bädnjak* 'day before Christmas' F, *lāža* 'lie' PR 3sg, *neimán* *lāznu* 'I have no time' H, *lāzno* F, *mäša* 'mass', *mounja* 'less' H (oy < *g < *ə).

2.2.6 UNSTRESSED *ě, *ə

Unstressed *ě and *ə are reflected either as a or i (the only exception is *käđie* 'where' H F). In posttonic syllables, the reflex is a. Lsg and (pronominal and a-stem) Dsg endings have i (which again may very well reflect original *i), e.g. *logi* 'wood' Lsg H, *stjezi* 'path' Lsg H, *ž'ani* 'woman' Dsg H, *t'abi* 'you' Dsg and in INF and LP forms of the type *l'atil* 'flew' H, *udl'atit* 'fly away' H, *sjedil* 'sat' H, *živil* 'lived H F, *živiti* 'live' H (in F also *živali* attested). The reflex is also i in *n'a smi* 'is not allowed', cf. *smej* 'is allowed' H. (Stressed *ě is also i in these noun and verb forms, see § 2.2.5). In pretonic syllables, the reflex is either i or i/a. The only exceptions are the words *srađinski* 'middle' and *mahūr* 'pig's-bladder' (H, both 1 attestation).²⁰

Examples:

*'ě In posttonic position: *člyovak* 'human being', *drùgdə* 'some-where else', *niğdar* 'nowhere', *niegda* 'somewhere', *uora* 'wal-nut', *pyojas* 'eat' INF, *kyoranga* 'root' Asg, *m'advat* 'bear', *uobat* 'midday meal', *uondan* 'there' H, *uovda* 'here' H F, *uovdan* 'here', *pyondajak* 'Monday' F, *sousat* 'neighbour' H, *ümrali* 'died' pl H F.

In pretonic position: *biži* 'run' PR 3sg, *dicej* 'children' Gsg H, *dacej* F, *ditiči* 'young man', cf. *djetič* Nsg, *dičák* 'young man', *divyojkə* 'girl', *misejč* 'month' Gpl, cf. *miesac* Nsg, *miesacə/miseča* Gsg, *pinejs* 'money' Gpl H, cf. *panejs* F, *sid'a* 'sit' PR 3pl, *sidili* 'sat' pl H, cf. *sadim* 'sit' PR lsg H, *pusidjāj* IMP H, *sikirə* 'axe' H, *sakirum* Isg F, *svidočidu* 'tes-tify' PR 3pl, *vidriču* 'bucket' DIM Asg, *vijálñica* 'utensil used for winnowing (?)', *zvizdica* 'star' DIM Npl H.

*'ə In posttonic position: *bat'ažan* 'ill', *čareišanj* 'cherry' Gpl, *dienas* 'today', *l'agal* 'lay down', *myogal* 'could', *myokar* 'wet', *neimac* 'German', *peivac* 'cock' H, *pyondajak* 'Monday' F, *zăšal* 'went' H, *teidən* 'week' H F, *uv'dazal* 'brought away' F, *vìganj* 'chimney' H.

In pretonic position the only attested words are *kisniža* 'lat-er' H, *kasniža* F, *pikleinska/pakleinska* 'hell' ADJ Nsg f H (also *pokleinska* H, from Hungarian *pokol*?) and verbs with the prefix *zi-/za-*: *zabírat* 'gather', *zibráli* LP pl H, *zabráli* LP m F, *zasiesnul* 'sucked out' F, *zišruotamu* 'grate' PR lpl H.

2.2.7 **r*

Original **r* (both long, short and unstressed) is reflected as *ar*. Examples:

- **r* *parst* 'finger', *ub'arnul* 'turned', *s'arca* 'heart', *m'arvu* 'a little', *sarp* 'sickle', *garmi* 'thunder' PR 3sg, *vart* 'garden', *čarf* 'worm' H, *garm* 'bush', *g'armi* 'bushes', *m'arkfu* 'carrot' Asg, *yobarva* 'eyebrows' F.

2.3 THE CONSONANTS

The dialects have the following consonants:

- labial: <i>p b f v</i>	- nasal: <i>m n</i>
- dental: <i>t c² d s z</i>	- lateral: <i>l</i>
- palatal: <i>č š ž</i>	- glide: <i>j</i>
- velar: <i>k g</i>	- trill: <i>r</i>
- laryngeal: <i>h</i>	

The feature "voiced" is optional for word-final obstruents, e.g. *Boyk* 'God', cf. *Buogu* Dsg, *rīp* 'fish' Gpl, cf. *riča* H, *breig/breik* 'hill' H, cf. *breiguf* Gpl F, *loug/louk* 'wood', cf. *louga* Gsg H, *hudoyv/hudouf* 'certain quantity of land' Gpl H, cf. *kyolcov* 'stake' Gpl F, *knjik* 'book' Gpl H. I have the impression that the optional feature 'voiced' is realized in most cases. Examples of words which were attested with phonetically voiced final obstruents: *lād* 'shade' F, *hoyd* 'certain quantity of land' H, *kād* 'tub' H F, *leid* 'ice', *meid* 'honey', *sneig* 'snow', *skarb* 'worry', *tvārd* 'hard', *nājzādj* 'back' H, *odzādj* 'from behind' F. I have no attestations of voiced realizations of word-final dental and palatal fricatives, e.g. *moyš* 'husband', *krīš* 'cross' H, *yobras* 'face' H F. In examples of attested forms, phonemically voiced word-final obstruents will be written according to their phonetic realization.

Voiceless word-final obstruents can become voiced under influence of a following word-initial voiced consonant or vowel, e.g. *brīd* z *brītvum* 'shave with a razor', *zmaz douli* 'throw down', *hitīž a* 'you throw them', *toydž ɔli* 'to knock, or ...', *pugl'adəd yonda* 'to look, and then ...'.

The laryngeal fricative *h* is voiceless; in word-final position it is sometimes barely audible or not audible at all. For instance, in

the words *prāh* 'dust' and *krūh* 'bread' H the *h* could be clearly heard in a majority of the attestations, but sometimes it was very weak, in *siruomāh* 'poor person' H I was able to hear the *h* only in two of the three attestations. In *grej* 'sin' and *yora* 'walnut' I did not hear the expected final *h* at all.

Morpheme-initial *h* has been lost in *lād* 'shade', *lādnū* 'cool' n, *ulādil* 'cooled off', *liep* 'bread', *roynit* 'feed' H, *rūška* 'pears' H F and between consonants *h* has been lost in *d'ārtat* 'tremble', PR 1sg *d'ārščam* H; *h* appears between vowels in such words as *fabruhāři* 'February' Lsg F, *jānuhāř* 'January', *dnyohā* 'bottom' Asg, *tlýohā* 'floor' Asg H.

Word-initial **v* has disappeared in *lāsi* 'hairs' H F and *rābac* 'sparrow' H, but has been preserved in *vlekli* 'pulled' F and *vrāk* 'devil' H. In the sequences **kv*, **sv* and **tv*, *v* is mostly - but not always - realized without voice, e.g. *britfā* 'razor', *crīkfā/crīkvā* 'church', *kfāřgā* 'damage' Asg, *kfās* 'yeast', *m'arkfā* 'carrot', *sfyojā* 'his, etc.' Nsg f, *svujejm* Lsg m, *tākfā* 'such' Nsg f, *tf'ārdū* 'hard' n, *tvārd* m, *tfyojā* 'your' Nsg f H, *ž'ātfā* 'harvest' H F, *ž'ātvā* H (always voiced in *brjeskva* 'peaches' H F). In forms of *vies* 'all' H F, the *v* is often not present, e.g. *sa/svā* Nsg n H F, *s'ājādnū* 'the same' Nsg n H. Word-initial *p* has been lost in *tičā* 'bird' H F and *syovat* 'swear' H. Word-initial *z* has disappeared in *luočast* H 'vicious' and sometimes it is not realized in *znām* 'know' PR 1sg, *znāš* PR 2sg H.

Word-final **t* is often not present after *s*, e.g. *kous* 'bone', *mās/māst* 'fat', *grīs* 'bite', *zmas* 'throw' H, *duonas* 'bring' H F, *pās* 'graze', *zrās/zrāst* 'grow', *jeis* 'eat', *pyojas* 'eat' H.

Four words have been attested with a voiceless palatal stop č ([t']): *rukovejčā* 'stack' (1x) F, *jādnūč* 'suddenly' (1x, against several times *jādnūč*) H, *nyoč* 'night' (1x, normally *noyč*) and *prutuličā* (3x) H/*pratuličā* (1x) F 'spring'. Apart from these forms, **tj* is reflected as č, e.g. *plāčat* 'pay', *svejčā* 'candles', *djetič* 'young man' H, and the unvoiced counterpart of *dj* also seems to be č, e.g. *glāč* H F, IMP from *glādīm* 'look' PR 1sg H, *nā Hačkūri* 'in Hegykő' H F.

After a short vowel, obstruents are often realized long. Examples of words in which such realizations were heard: *pītał* 'asked', *tičā* 'bird' H, *priešā* 'press' F, *snyopā* 'sheaf' Asg, *brāti* 'brothers', *skūpā* 'together', *māšā* 'mass', *jāpā* 'father', *mūku* 'trouble' Asg H.

It seems that *lj* (<**lj/lbj*) can always be replaced by *j*: in my material, *lj* occurs almost always along with *j* in the same words. Only

in a small number of cases *lj/lbj is reflected either as lj or as j, but this might be a matter of coincidence. Examples with lj - j: *klijūč* 'key', *kjūč*, *kirālj* 'king', *kirāj*, *ljūdi* 'people', *jūdi* H, *zamljej* 'earth' Gsg H, *zamjej* F, *vaseilja* 'wedding', *vaseija*, *trasljej* 'reed', *trasjej*, *tvojk* 'stupid', *tvojk*, *zaljeivā* 'water' PR 3sg, *zajeivām* PR lsg, *divljej* 'wild' Npl H, *divjā* Nsg f F. Only lj in: *učītalj* 'teacher', *č'ašalj* 'comb', *smatljej* 'dirt', *ljūbim* 'love' PR lsg. Only j in: *kāpjā* 'drop' H, *kr'ajut* 'wing' F, *p'ajali* 'brought' pl H, *ponadiejā* 'Monday', *oprāvjet* 'regulate' F.

In verbs with infinitives ending in -lit(i), the l can be replaced by lj or j: *myoljit* 'pray', *myojit*, *bejljili* 'whitewashed' pl, *bujī* 'hurt' PR 3sg H *bujila* LP pl F, *rāzdejijit* 'divide', *mīslin* 'think' PR lsg, *mīsljin* (also *mīsin*) H. The noun *žlicā* 'spoon' was also attested as *žljicā* H; the alternation l-j is also present in *suoj* 'salt', *syoli* Gsg, *syojam* Isg F.

Something very similar happened with verbs in -nit(i): here n can be replaced by nj, e.g. *už'anjil* 'married', *už'anil*, *rovnit* 'feed', *zapünjil* 'filled', *napünidu* PR 3pl, *činiš* 'do' PR 2sg, *činjīš* H, *zamjenjijit* 'replace' F.

Original *dj and *dþj are reflected as dj, e.g. *žeidju* 'thirst' Asg, *soydja* 'barrels' H, *sadjej* 'vegetables' F. The only attested exceptions are *mlāji* 'younger' Npl, *tūja* 'strange' Nsg f H.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1 THE NOUN

Most endings occur only unstressed. If an ending occurs both stressed and unstressed, both variants will be given. Remember that in the examples phonemic units which have optional features are written according to their phonetic realization, i.e. u can represent the heavy phoneme o in unstressed syllables (see § 2.1.1) and phonemically voiced word-final obstruents are represented by their voiceless counterparts if they were phonetically voiceless (see § 2.3). In §§ 3.1.1 through 3.1.4 the endings of the various declension classes will be presented, and in § 3.1.5 I shall give a brief survey of the accentual phenomena.

3.1.1 O-STEMS

The endings of the masculine and neuter o-stems are:

Nsg: m -ø, n -o/-ej; Gsg: -g/-ḡ; Dsg: -u; Asg: m = Nsg/Gsg, n = Nsg; Isg: -am; Lsg: -i/-ī; Npl: m -i, n -a/-ā; Gpl: -ov/-ouv/-ø; Apl: m -a, n -a/-ā; Ipl: -i/-āmi; Lpl: -i.

Remarks:

- The Asg of inanimate masculine nouns is identical with the genitive if the noun is a direct object, and with the nominative if it is preceded by a preposition, e.g. *dýobruga glāsa īma* 'he has a good voice', *nā vart* 'into the garden' H, *pojeivām v'artā* 'I water the garden' F. I do not know what the rule for animate nouns is, because I have only two relevant instances in my material, which seem to point in different directions: *v'jerujām vā Boyk* 'I believe in God', *pryošāl zā* *suldātā* 'he went into military service' H.
- The Isg ending is -um in *z Boygum* 'goodbye' H; the noun *Boyg* also has a vocative: *Bozoža* H.
- The Lsg ending is -u in *svejtu* 'world' H.
- The Lsg and Npl endings are stressed in *biki* LsgNpl 'bull' H.
- The noun *døyān* 'day' H has the special Lsg and Npl forms *vüdnā* 'by day', *dvā dñi* 'two days' H, *trí dñi* 'three days' H F.
- The Gpl ending -i was attested in *ljūdi* NGIpl H.
- The only attested Dpl forms are *dýoktorum* 'doctor' and *jūdim* 'people' F.
- Apl forms in -i were attested in *lāsi* NApI 'hair' and *klāsi* NApI, *klāsā* Apl 'ear' H.
- The only form of which I am certain that it is a Ipl is *zoubi* 'beak' (*vā zoubi nyosi* 'carries in its beak') H. There are other attested forms which could be a Ipl, but the problem is that the Lsg ending is also -i. If the Ipl ending of the o-stems is indeed -i (from *-ih), it shows much resemblance to the a-stem Ipl ending -a (from *-ah; see § 3.1.2).
- The word *s'alu* 'village' H has also been attested as a feminine a-stem: *s'ala* Nsg, *vā vejm s'ali/vā vuoj s'ali* 'in this village' H.
- After the numerals *dvej*, *trí* and *štìri* ('2', '3', '4') neuter nouns take the ending -a and masculine nouns take either -i or -a. In the latter case the choice probably depends on the syntactic function of the combination numeral + noun, but I have not been able to check this hypothesis for each instance.

Examples:

- | | |
|-----|--|
| Nsg | - masculine: <i>batažník</i> 'sick person', <i>Boý</i> 'God' H, <i>byor</i> 'fir', <i>býožič</i> 'Christmas', <i>bräť</i> 'brother' F, <i>breig</i> 'hill' H, <i>čluovák</i> 'human being', <i>dvoúr</i> 'yard', <i>guspudár</i> 'master' H, <i>gospodár</i> F, <i>grej</i> 'sin' H, <i>gout</i> 'neck' F, <i>hoúd</i> 'certain unit of area', <i>járam</i> 'yoke' H F, <i>kyonj</i> 'horse', <i>kríš</i> 'cross', <i>krúof</i> 'roof', <i>miesac</i> 'month', <i>mouš</i> 'husband', <i>pejsak</i> 'sand', <i>puop</i> 'priest', <i>rús</i> 'Russian', <i>siruomáh</i> 'poor person', <i>sarp</i> 'sickle', <i>sout</i> 'barrel', <i>sousat</i> 'neighbour' H, <i>sveít</i> 'world', <i>tiedan</i> 'week' H F, <i>vougar</i> 'Hungarian', <i>zäjc</i> 'hare' H. |
| | - neuter: <i>blágú</i> 'livestock' H, <i>díelo</i> 'matter' F, <i>díhánja</i> 'breathing', <i>drejvu</i> 'wood', <i>gneizdu</i> 'nest' H, <i>gnjeizdo</i> F, <i>jútru</i> 'morning', <i>ljetu</i> 'year', <i>míestu</i> 'place', <i>murjei</i> 'sea' H, <i>sádjei</i> 'vegetables' H F, <i>s'álu</i> 'village', <i>smatligei</i> 'dirt', <i>s'árca</i> 'heart', <i>tejstu</i> 'dough', <i>trasljei/trasjei</i> 'reed', <i>z'árnja</i> 'corns', <i>žaleizu</i> '(piece of) iron' H. |
| Gsg | - masculine: <i>breiga</i> , <i>č'apa</i> 'cork', <i>čluvíeká</i> , <i>dvoúra</i> H, <i>pažouna</i> 'beans', <i>gouta</i> F, <i>Hačkúra</i> 'Hegykő', <i>kouncá</i> 'thread' H, <i>krúha</i> 'bread' H F, <i>l'áda</i> 'ice', <i>luoja</i> 'fat', <i>miesaca</i> , <i>pejska</i> 'sand', <i>vinýograda</i> 'vines' H. |
| | - neuter: <i>blágá</i> H, <i>grouzja</i> 'grapes' F, <i>jútra</i> , <i>meisa</i> 'meat', <i>mleika</i> 'milk', <i>murjá</i> , <i>s'ádla</i> 'saddle', <i>vápná</i> 'chalk', <i>žalízeza</i> H. |
| Dsg | - masculine: <i>Buogu</i> , <i>brätu</i> , <i>bugnáru</i> 'wagon-builder', <i>čluvíeku</i> , <i>Hačkúru</i> , <i>moužu</i> , <i>sveitu</i> 'world', <i>z'atu</i> 'son-in-law'. |
| | - neuter: <i>blágú</i> H (no other attestations). |
| Asg | - masculine: <i>bíká</i> 'bull', <i>Boý/Buoga</i> , <i>bräta</i> , <i>č'apa</i> 'cork', <i>čluvíeká</i> , <i>douga</i> 'debt' H, <i>gostá</i> 'gest' F, <i>gout</i> H, <i>lág</i> 'shade' F, <i>küp</i> 'heap', <i>ubráža</i> 'face', <i>reipa</i> 'tail' H. |
| | - neuter: <i>blágú</i> F, <i>grouzja</i> , <i>jútru</i> , <i>kupítu</i> 'hoof', <i>líšča</i> 'leaves' H, <i>míesto</i> 'place' F, <i>pívu</i> 'beer' H, <i>soudja</i> 'barrels', <i>teisto</i> F. |
| Isg | - masculine: <i>bujam</i> 'war' H F, <i>božičam</i> F, <i>čluvíekam</i> , <i>kljúčam</i> 'key', <i>krížam</i> , <i>lükam</i> 'onion', <i>májkam</i> 'poppy', <i>moužam</i> , <i>noužam</i> 'knife', <i>uognjam</i> 'fire', <i>sínam</i> 'son'. |
| | - neuter: <i>blágam</i> , <i>dreivam</i> H, <i>máslam</i> 'butter' H F. |
| Lsg | - masculine: <i>dougi</i> H, <i>dvoúri</i> H F, <i>gouti</i> H, <i>Hačkúri</i> H F, <i>Homuoki</i> F, <i>jármí</i> 'yoke', <i>jazíki</i> 'language' H, <i>kádi</i> 'tub' F, <i>kyonji</i> , <i>luogi</i> 'wood' H, <i>objedi</i> 'midday meal' F, <i>puopi</i> , <i>Šupryoni</i> 'Sopron', <i>Hádašíni</i> 'Hidegség'. |
| | - neuter: <i>dreivi</i> F, <i>j'azari</i> 'lake', <i>ljeti</i> 'summer', <i>míesti</i> 'place' |

- | | |
|-----|---|
| Npl | H, <i>murjī</i> F, <i>n'abi</i> 'heaven', <i>nä puji</i> 'in the field' H, <i>nä poji</i> F.
- masculine: <i>bräti</i> H, <i>breigi</i> H F, <i>ceipi</i> 'flail', <i>hurväti</i> 'Croat', <i>kuojmufci</i> 'inhabitant of Koljnov (Kópháza)', <i>kyonji</i> , <i>kr'ajuti</i> 'wing', <i>kouki</i> 'hip', <i>jüdi</i> 'people', <i>mouži</i> H, <i>čeilci</i> 'bee' H F, <i>peifci</i> 'cock', <i>p'arsti</i> 'finger', <i>ryogi</i> 'horn', <i>rusi</i> 'Russian', <i>sini</i> , <i>sirumähi</i> 'poor person', <i>nüki</i> 'grandchild' H, <i>läsi</i> 'hair' H F, <i>vyoli</i> 'ox', <i>vougri</i> 'Hungarian' H.
- neuter: <i>dreiva</i> / <i>dreivä</i> , <i>koulä</i> 'wheel', <i>kupitä</i> , <i>lieta</i> , <i>vrätä</i> 'door' H. |
| Gpl | - masculine: <i>breiguf</i> , <i>dukät</i> 'ducat' F, <i>fileiruf</i> 'fillér', <i>gärvanjuf</i> 'raven', <i>hudouf</i> 'certain unit of area', <i>järgounjuf</i> 'threshing-floor', <i>jazikuf</i> H, <i>kyolcov</i> 'stake', <i>kyonjuf</i> F, <i>kyonjuf</i> , <i>miseic/miesacuf</i> 'month', <i>mietaruf</i> 'meter', <i>čeilcuf</i> 'bee', <i>tidnouf</i> 'week', <i>tuvärušuf</i> 'comrade', <i>nükuf</i> H, <i>vyolov</i> F.
- neuter: <i>dreif</i> H, <i>jazeir</i> 'thousand' F, <i>leit</i> H F, <i>pismuf</i> 'letter' H. |
| Apl | - masculine: <i>batažníka</i> H, <i>bika</i> H F, <i>breiga</i> , <i>grejha</i> 'sin', <i>goyta</i> 'neck', <i>jära</i> 'factory', <i>umušounca</i> 'inhabitant of Fertőhomok', <i>hurväta</i> , <i>houda</i> , <i>kyonja</i> H, <i>čeilca</i> F, <i>ryoga</i> , <i>sína</i> , <i>siesca</i> 'nipple', <i>nüglä</i> 'coal', <i>viignja</i> 'chimney', <i>vougra</i> H, <i>zouba</i> 'tooth' H F.
- neuter: <i>d'arva</i> 'piece of wood', <i>koulä/kuola</i> , <i>žalieza</i> 'piece of iron' H. |
| Ipl | - masculine: <i>bräti</i> , <i>kyonjami</i> F, <i>ljüdi</i> , <i>neimcami</i> 'German', <i>rusi/rüsami</i> 'Russian' H.
- neuter: no attestations. |

3.1.2 *a*-STEMS

The endings of the feminine and masculine *a*-stems are:

- Nsg: -*ə*; Gsg: -*a/-ei*; Dsg: -*i/-î*; Asg: -*u*; Isg: f -*um/-ûm*, m -*um/-om*;
 Lsg: -*i*; Npl: -*a*; Gpl: -*uf/-ø*; Dpl: -*am/-âm/oûm*; Apl: -*a*; Ipl: -*ami/-oumi*; Lpl: -*a*.

Remarks:

- The only masculine *a*-stem with other attested forms than the Nsg is *jäpa* 'father', Gsg *jäpa*, Dsg *jäpi*, Asg *jäpu* H, Isg *jäpom/jäpum* F.
 - I have only two instances of Dpl forms in my material: *krävam* 'cow' and *svinjoum/svinjäm* 'pig' H. Only in one attestation a final *-m* occurs, the others are all with *-n* followed by *d* or *s*. I assume that the

"underlying" final vowel of the Dpl forms is *m*, which became *n* under sandhi influence.

- The only attested Lpl form is *tuorba* 'bag' F.

Examples:

Nsg	<i>bǎbǎ</i> 'grandmother', <i>brǎdǎ</i> 'chin', <i>bǔhǎ</i> 'flea' H, <i>dǐecǎ</i> 'children' H F, <i>dǔšǎ</i> 'soul', <i>glǎvǎ</i> 'head', <i>hǐžǎ</i> 'house', <i>iǐglǎ</i> 'needle', <i>kǐticǎ</i> 'flower', <i>kumyora</i> 'cellar', <i>kyosǎ</i> 'scythe', <i>m'atla</i> 'broom', <i>nyoga</i> 'leg', <i>pejta</i> 'heel', <i>pǐtarba</i> 'kitchen', <i>šanǐca</i> 'wheat', <i>rounǎ</i> 'wound', <i>rǔhǎ</i> 'clothes', <i>roukǎ</i> 'hand', <i>sloymǎ</i> 'straw', <i>stejnǎ</i> 'wall', <i>sviňja/svínja</i> 'pig', <i>vuodǎ</i> 'water' H, <i>z'amja</i> 'earth' H F, <i>zǐmǎ/zíma</i> 'winter' H.
Gsg	<i>críkfa</i> 'church', <i>dicej</i> H, <i>dacej</i> F, <i>gmǎjna</i> 'municipality', <i>hǐža</i> 'house', <i>mouka</i> 'flour' H, <i>P'ašta</i> 'Budapest' F, <i>šanǐca</i> , <i>sloymǎ</i> H, <i>sviňja</i> H F, <i>škyola</i> 'school', <i>vudej</i> H, <i>vodej</i> F, <i>z'amlia/zamljej</i> H, <i>zamjej</i> F, <i>ž'anā</i> 'woman' H.
Dsg	<i>bǎbi</i> , <i>dicī</i> H, <i>daci</i> F, <i>dejklia</i> 'girl', <i>dǔši</i> , <i>mǎjki</i> 'mother', <i>k mǎši</i> 'to mass' H, <i>k nǎdieji</i> 'for Sunday' (e.g. prepare something) F, <i>šanǐci</i> , <i>snjehi</i> 'daughter-in-law', <i>ž'anu</i> H.
Asg	<i>críkvu</i> , <i>dǔšu</i> , <i>glǎvu</i> , <i>guoru</i> 'vineyard' H, <i>jǎčku</i> 'song' H F, <i>krǎvu</i> 'cow', <i>mǎčavu</i> 'stepmother' H, <i>mouku</i> H F, <i>P'aštu</i> F, <i>pǐtarbu</i> H F, <i>rouku</i> H, <i>stjezu</i> 'path' H F, <i>čariešnu</i> 'cherry' F, <i>vač'aru</i> 'evening meal', <i>vuodu</i> H, <i>z'amju</i> , <i>zímu</i> H F, <i>ž'anu</i> H.
Isg	<i>bǎpkum</i> 'old woman' DIM, <i>dicūm</i> H, <i>dacūm</i> F, <i>glǎvum</i> , <i>iǐglum</i> H, <i>kyosum</i> H F, <i>kusūm</i> F, <i>lǐesum</i> 'gate', <i>mǎjkum</i> 'mother', <i>m'atlicum</i> 'broom' DIM, <i>m'arkfum</i> 'carrot', <i>rukūm/roukum</i> , <i>sloymum</i> , <i>vudūm</i> H.
Lsg	<i>críkfi</i> , <i>flyoši</i> 'bottle' H, <i>glǎvi</i> H F, <i>grounici</i> 'border', <i>hǐži</i> , <i>krǎvi</i> , <i>k'arčmi</i> 'public house', <i>nyogi</i> , <i>pǐtarbi</i> , <i>rǔhi</i> , <i>stjezi</i> , <i>škyoli</i> , <i>štǎli</i> 'stable', <i>vuodi</i> , <i>z'amli</i> , <i>zími</i> 'in winter' (without preposition) H, <i>zimí</i> F.
Npl	<i>brěeskva</i> 'peach' H F, <i>dejklia</i> 'girl' H, <i>dǐnja</i> 'pumpkin' F, <i>hǐža</i> , <i>jǎbuka</i> 'apple', <i>krǎva</i> H, <i>rǔška</i> 'pear' H F, <i>nyoga</i> , <i>uobarva</i> 'eyebrow' F, <i>tǐca</i> 'bird', <i>rǐba</i> 'fish', <i>rouka</i> H, <i>čariešnja</i> , <i>vǐšnja</i> 'sour cherry' H F, <i>vuodá</i> F, <i>ž'anā</i> H.
Gpl	<i>bǎbuf</i> , <i>dǔšuf</i> H, <i>hǐž</i> F, <i>knjik</i> 'book', <i>krǎf</i> , <i>lǎdic</i> '?', <i>mašin</i> 'machine' H, <i>mašinov</i> F, <i>rǐp</i> , <i>čarejšanj</i> , <i>žejn</i> H.
Apl	<i>brěeskva</i> , <i>hǐža</i> F, <i>kǐticǎ</i> , <i>nyoga</i> , <i>pusiňja</i> 'chaff', <i>rouka</i> , <i>stejnǎ</i> 'wall', <i>svejča</i> 'candle', <i>sviňja</i> , <i>vuodá</i> , <i>vričeča</i> 'bag', <i>z'amja</i> H.
Ipl	<i>bǐrkami</i> 'sheep' H, <i>dieskami</i> 'board' F, <i>mašinami</i> , <i>nyogami</i> , <i>rǐljami</i> 'part of a plough' H, <i>roukami</i> F, <i>tuoržami</i> '?', <i>zamjoumi</i> H.

3.1.3 *i*-STEMS

The following endings have been attested for the *i*-stems: Nsg: -ø; Gsg: -i; Dsg: -i; Asg: -ø; Isg: -am; Lsg: -i; Npl: -i; Apl: -i.

Examples:

Nsg	<i>j'asán</i> 'autumn', <i>koys</i> 'bone', <i>karf</i> 'blood', <i>mǎst/mǎš</i> 'fat', <i>noyč</i> 'night', <i>poumat</i> 'intelligence', <i>pejč</i> 'oven' H, <i>harš</i> 'rye' H F, <i>skarb</i> 'worry', <i>smart</i> 'death' H, <i>suoj</i> 'salt' F, <i>vúš</i> 'louse' H.
Gsg	<i>mǎsti</i> , <i>nyoči</i> , <i>duo nuči</i> 'until night', <i>poumati</i> , <i>h'arži</i> , <i>du sm'arti</i> 'until death' H, <i>suoli</i> F.
Dsg	<i>k nyoči</i> 'for the night' H.
Asg	<i>karf</i> , <i>mǎš</i> , <i>noyč</i> , <i>rejč</i> 'word' H.
Isg	<i>suojam</i> F
Lsg	<i>jasaní</i> (without preposition) 'in autumn', <i>v nuči</i> H, <i>noči</i> (without preposition) F 'at night'.
Npl	<i>kyosti</i> H F, <i>reiči</i> , <i>sk'arbi</i> , <i>vúši</i> H.
Apl	<i>sk'arbi</i> H.

The word *kyokuš* 'chicken' H has NApI *kyokuša* H F. The neuter noun *yoku* 'eye' has the Npl *yoči/yoka* (also *dvej yoči/dvej yoka* 'two eyes') H and the Ipl *očijami* F.

3.1.4 CONSONANT STEMS

For the consonant stems the number of attested forms is very small: *dejta* 'child' H F, *čeir* NAsg 'daughter' (*imá dvej čeiri* 'he has two daughters') H, *imá* 'name', Lsg *imani*, *prǎsa* 'pig', *rouman* 'shoulder', *siema/s'amá* 'seed', Gsg *s'amana*, *vimá* 'udder', *vušeisu* H, *vušeiso* F 'ear', Npl *vušeisa/vušeisá* H, *vušeisá* F, *vrejma* 'time', Gsg *vrijemana*, *ždrejba* 'foal' H.

3.1.5 ACCENTUATION

The stress-retraction from short final syllables has caused accentual alternations of the type *Huomok* 'Fertőhomok', *Humyoki* Lsg F (see §§ 2.1.4 and 2.2.1) and, together with analogical retractions in many paradigms, it has resulted in the relative rarity of stressed endings. Stressed endings occur in:

- neuter nouns in *-jei*, e.g. *murjei* 'sea' H F, *murjā* Gsg H, *murjī* Lsg H F, *sadjei* 'vegetables (?)' H F, *smatljei* 'dust', *träsljei* 'vines' H and the Lsg *poštanī* 'respect' F;
- the *i*-stem Lsg forms *jasanī* 'autumn' F and *nočī* 'night' H F;
- some forms of *a*-stem paradigms which originally had mobile accentuation: Gsg *vudei* 'water' H, *vodei* F and *zamljei* 'ground' (along with *z'amlja*) H; Dsg *dici* H, *daci* F 'children'; Isg *dicūm* H, *dacūm* F, *rukūm* 'hand' (alongside *rukum*) H, *kusūm* 'scythe' H F (alongside *kjosum* F) and *vudūm* H; Lsg *zimi* 'winter' H F (along with *zīmi* F; the Dpl *svinjoum* 'pig' and the Ipl *zamjoumi* H; endstress is absent, however, in Isg *glāvum* 'head' H, Lsg *glāvi* H F, *nyogi*, *vyodi*, *z'amlji* H, Ipl *nyogami* and in paradigms which originally had fixed end-stress, e.g. Gsg *mouka* 'flour', *stiza* 'path', Lsg *stiezi*, *ž'ana* 'woman', Dsg *z'ani* H;
- the Ipl *panazoumi* 'money' F;
- the Gpl forms *tidnoyf* 'week', *hudoyf* 'certain unity of area' H;
- the LsgNpl *biki* 'bull' H.

Length alternations on the stem-vowel occur in the following paradigms:

- some of the old mobilia which had lengthening of short vowels in monosyllabic forms in Proto-Slavic: *Boug* 'God', *Bugogu* Dsg, *gnjouj* 'dung', *gnjuoja* Gsg, *koys* 'bone' H, *kyosti* Npl H F, *lejd* 'ice', *l'ada* Gsg, *meid* 'honey' H, *m'ada/m'eida* Gsg F, *noyč* 'night', *nuoči* Dsg; but: *luoj* 'fat', Gsg *luoja* F, *nyos* 'nose' H F, *pyost* 'fast', *pyostja* Gsg H, *syoj* 'salt', *syoli* Gsg, *syojam* Isg F;
- *kyoli* Lsg 'wheel', *koula* Npl, *koula/kyola* Apl, *s'alu* 'village', *seilä* Npl (also *s'ala* Nsg, *s'ala* Npl, the word can also be feminine) H.
- *vreima* 'time', *vriemana* Gsg H.
- in paradigms with endingless Gpl forms: if the last stem-vowel is stressed, it is lengthened (see the Gpl examples in §§ 3.1.1 and 3.1.2).
- in *z Bougum* 'good-bye', lit. 'with God' H.²²

As was said in § 2.2.1, originally long pretonic *i, *a and *u which has received the stress as a result of the retraction from final short syllables have become short. The number of examples for the nouns is much smaller than for the verbs: *bika* 'bull' Gsg H, *järam* 'yoke' H F, *žitka* 'life' Gsg, *pismu* 'letter' H, *väpnä* 'chalk' Gsg F, *mästi* 'fat' Gsg H, *glävi* 'head' Lsg H F. The long vowels in *bräzda*

'furrow', *bräda* 'chin', *dūša* 'soul', *gläva* 'head', *zimä/zämä* 'winter', *svinjä/svinjä* 'pig' H might be caused by analogy with stem-stressed forms in the same paradigms.

3.2 THE PRONOUN

3.2.1 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

The demonstrative pronouns are *oyf* 'this', *tä* 'that (near)', and *vani* 'that (remote)'. The latter pronoun is often used if the speaker is has some difficulty hitting upon the right word. The forms found in my material will be given below.

- *oyf* Nsg m H, *vyo* NAsg n H F, *vouga* Gsg m n, *voymu/vyomu* Dsg m n H, *veim* ILsg m n H F, *vä* Nsg f, *vej* Gsg f, *yovu/vü* Asg f, *vüm* Isg f H, *vyoj* Lsg f H F, *ví/vü* Npl m, *vej* Npl f n/Apl, *vím* Dpl, *vimi* Ipl, *nä* uf *svejt/nä* vi *svejt* 'on this world' H;
- *tä* Nsg m f, *tøy/tyo* Nsg n, *touga/tyoga* Gsg m n H, *toymu/tyomu* Dsg m n H F, *teim* Isg n, *tej* Gsg f, *tyoj* DLsg f, *tøy* Asg f, *tüm* Isg f, *tí* Npl m, *tej* Npl f n, *tím* Dpl, *tej* Npl f n/Apl, *tími* Ipl H.
- *vani* Nsg H F, *v'ano* (?) Nsg n F, *vanoygä* Gsg m n, *vanejm* ILsg m n, *vani* Npl m H F, *vanej* Npl f n, *vánim* Dpl F.

There is also another and less frequent pronoun with the meaning 'that (remote)': *nou/unou* Nsg n H, *onoygä* Gsg m n F, *nä* *nugä* Asg m, *neim* Lsg n, *nä* Nsg f H, *onej* Gsg f F, *yonu/onü* Asg f H F, *nej/onej* Npl f H F.

3.2.2 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The first and second person personal pronouns are:

- *jä* 'I', *m'ani* D, *m'ana* A, *mä* enclitic A, *m'anum* I (*m'ani/m'ana douda* 'comes to me') H;
- *tí* 'you', *t'abi* D, *t'aba* A, *t'abum* (lx *tyobom*) I H;
- *mí* 'we', *noym* D, *näis* A, *pri näs/pri näs* 'with us' L H;
- *vi* 'you', *voum* D, *pri väs* 'with you' L H.

The third person personal pronouns are:

- *oyn* Nsg m, *yono* (?) Nsg n, *nj'aga* Gsg m n, *ga* enclitic Gsg, *nj'amu*

Dsg m n H, *njeim* ILsg m n F;

- *yonə/ona* (?) Nsg f, *njei* Gsg f, *njūj* Dsg f, *njū* Asg f, *ju* enclitic Asg f H, *njūm* Isg f F;
- *yonı/oni* (?) Npl m, *nei* (?) Npl f n, *i* clitic Gpl F, *nīm* H/*njīm* F Dpl, *nja/a* enclitic Apl, Ipl *njīm* H.

There is also a reflexive enclitic pronoun *si* D, *sa* A H, which refers to the subject of the clause.

3.2.3 INTERROGATIVE AND RELATIVE PRONOUNS

Of the interrogative/relative pronoun *koy* H F, *kī* (lx, F) 'who' the following forms were attested: *koumu* Dsg F, *kugə* Asg, *keim* ILsg, *kei* Npl f, *kīmi* Ipl H. A related pronoun is *nīkur* 'nobody' H, *nīkurgə* GA H F, *nīkurm* D H.

I have no inflected forms of *kāj* 'what' H F and *nīkaj* 'something' H.

There is also a relative pronoun *teiri* 'which' Nsg m Npl m H F, *teirə* Nsg f, *teiru* Nsg n H.

3.2.4 POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

The possessive pronouns are:

- *mouj* 'my' Nsg m, *mujeigə* Gsg m, *mujeimu* Dsg m H, *muojamu* Dsg m F, *mujeim* Isg m, *muojə* Nsg f, *muojuj/mujūj* Dsg f, *muoji* Npl m, *muojə* Apl H;
- *tfujeimu* 'your' Dsg m, *tfuojə* Nsg f, *tfujūj* Dsg f, *tfuoju* Asg f, *tfuojə* Npl f H;
- *svujeigə* (refers to the subject of the clause) GAsg m, *svujeim* Isg m H.
- *nj'aguf* 'his' Nsg m, *nj'agvə* Nsg f, *nj'agvuj* Dsg f H;
- *nāš* 'our' Nsg m, *nāšə* Nsg f, *nāšei* Gsg f, *nāšə* Nsg n, *nāši* Npl m, *pu nāšu* 'in our dialect'.

The Gsg of the personal pronoun 'she' is used by way of possessive pronoun: *njei* *mouš* 'her husband', *njei* *čeir* 'her daughter'.

3.2.5 NUMERALS

Of the numerals *j'adən* '1', *dvā* '2', *štīri* '4', *peit* '5', *d'avat* '9', *d'asat* '10' and *vīes* 'all, whole' the following inflected forms have been attested:

- *j'adən* Nsg m, *j'adnam* ILsg m, *j'adnu* Asg f, *j'adnum* Isg f, *j'adni* Npl m H;
- *dvā* N m, *dvei* N f n H F, *dvieju* G F, *dvieimi* I m H, *dvieima* I f H F;
- *štīri* N H F, *štīriju* G, *štīrmi* I F;
- *peit* H N, *patīmi* I F;
- *d'avat* N, *davatī* L H;
- *d'asat* N H, *dasatī* G, *dasatīmi* I F.
- *vīes* Nsg m, *sagā* Gsg m n, *seim* ILsg m n, *ses/vā* Nsg n, *si* Npl m, *svīn* Dpl.

3.3 THE ADJECTIVE

There is an opposition between what is traditionally called "definite" and "indefinite" forms (henceforth also "DEF" and "IND"). I have the impression that the functional difference between the two sets of forms is less a matter of "definiteness" vs. "indefiniteness" than of attributive or substantival (DEF) vs. predicative (IND) use. The formal differences between DEF and IND forms can be:

- presence vs. absence of an ending in the Nsg m, e.g. *bejli* DEF vs. *bejl* IND 'white' H;
- end-stress vs. stem-stress, e.g. *dobrou* 'good' DEF Nsg n F vs. *dyobru* IND n H;
- long vs. short stem-vowel (where "long" includes the closing diphthongs and "short" the opening diphthongs), e.g. *stāri* 'old' IND Nsg m, *stārə* IND Nsg f, *stār* IND m, *stārə* IND f.

I have no clear examples of declined IND forms outside *pu Kyojmufsku* 'in the dialect of Koljnov (Kópháza)', *pu rūsku* 'in Russian' H (also *pu rūski*, cf. *pu hurvātski* 'in Croat', *pu nāšu* 'in our dialect' H).

Alternations between long and short stem-vowels within a paradigm do not always run parallel with the opposition DEF vs. IND, e.g. *tienak/teinak* 'thin' IND m H, *vejliku* DEF Asg f F, *v'ālikum* DEF Isg f H, *sveitā āngā* 'St Anne' Nsg, *svjetuj āni* Dsg H. Similarly it is not

always possible to decide whether a given form is DEF or IND. For example, in the adjective *guol* 'naked' IND m, *guola* DEF Apl H, the accentuation of the stem-vowel is apparently the same in DEF and IND forms, so that there is no formal indication whether *guola* H is DEF Nsg f or IND f.

The endings are as follows:

- Masculine and neuter: Nsg m DEF -i/-î, IND -ø, Nsg n DEF -ou, DEF/IND -o²⁴/-a; Gsg -oga/-aga; Dsg -omu; Asg = Nsg/Gsg; Isg/Lsg -am;
- Feminine: Nsg DEF -â, DEF/IND -a; Gsg -a; DLsg -uj; Asg DEF -ou, DEF/IND -u; Isg -um;
- Plural: Npl m -i, f n -a; Gpl -i; Dpl -im; Apl -a; Ipl -imi; Lpl not attested.
- Adverb: -o/-a, -i (-i only for adjectives in Nsg m -ski).

Exceptions: Dpl *mlâdum* 'young' H (lx, substantively used, along with *mlâdim*); *dav'atuj* Gsg f 'ninth' H (lx, in *poul dav'atuj* 'half past eight').

Examples²⁵ of singular masculine and neuter forms:

IND m	<i>beil</i> 'white', <i>bat'ažan</i> 'ill', <i>ceil</i> 'whole', <i>d'abal</i> 'fat', <i>dyobar</i> 'good', <i>guol</i> 'naked', <i>stâr</i> 'old' H;
IND n	<i>dyobru</i> , <i>t'ašku</i> 'heavy' H, <i>t'aško</i> F, <i>tyoplù</i> 'hot', <i>tf'ardu</i> 'hard', <i>vìsuku</i> 'high' H;
Nsg m	<i>bejli</i> , <i>cejli</i> H, <i>č'arni</i> 'black' H F, <i>čistî</i> 'clean', <i>drâgi</i> 'expensive' H, <i>drûgâči</i> H F, <i>nouvi</i> 'new', <i>stâri</i> , <i>sâki</i> 'each' H;
Nsg n	<i>ceilu</i> , <i>č'arnu</i> H, <i>dobrou</i> F, <i>drûgu</i> 'other', <i>liepča</i> 'nicer', <i>muškou</i> 'male' H, <i>ousmo</i> 'eighth' F, <i>susieljavu</i> 'the neighbours'', <i>tuploù</i> 'hot' H, <i>tvardou</i> F, <i>visouku</i> H;
Gsg m n	<i>beiluga</i> , <i>č'arnuga</i> , <i>čaljeinuga</i> 'red', <i>dubrouga</i> , <i>lîpugâ</i> 'nice' H, <i>leipogâ</i> F, <i>uosmuga</i> H, <i>siromâšijaga</i> 'poorer', <i>sûhogâ</i> 'dry' F, <i>sâkuga</i> , <i>taškouga</i> H, <i>v'akčaga</i> 'larger' H F, <i>vroučaga</i> 'hot' H;
Dsg m n	<i>mâlomu</i> 'small' F, <i>mlâdumu</i> 'young' H;
Isg m n	<i>drûgam</i> F, <i>nâkfam</i> 'such', <i>vâkfam</i> 'such', <i>sâkam</i> H;
Lsg m n	<i>Ustrâčkam</i> 'Austria', <i>drûgam</i> H, <i>Nejmâskam</i> 'Germany' F, <i>p'arvam</i> 'first' H, <i>vyogarskam</i> 'Hungary' F.

Examples of singular feminine forms:

IND f	<i>č'ista</i> , <i>stâra</i> H;
Nsg f	<i>čistâ</i> H, <i>divjâ</i> 'wild' F, <i>drûga</i> , <i>prâva</i> 'right (e.g. side)', <i>stâra</i> , <i>zdanâ</i> 'cold' H;
Gsg f	<i>horvâtska</i> 'Croatian' F;

Dsg f	<i>stâruj</i> , <i>svjetuj</i> 'holy' H;
Asg f	<i>č'arnu</i> , <i>čistoy</i> , <i>drûgu</i> , <i>nouvu</i> 'new', <i>prâvu</i> H;
Isg f	<i>drûgum</i> , <i>dûžičkum</i> 'oblong', <i>mâlum</i> , <i>mouňum</i> 'smaller', <i>stârum</i> , <i>tâkfum</i> H;
Lsg f	<i>mâluj</i> , <i>sâkuj</i> / <i>svâkuj</i> H.

Examples of plural forms:

IND m	<i>stâri</i> H;
IND n f	<i>dyobra</i> H;
Npl m	<i>dubrî</i> , <i>duhuvnî</i> 'clergyman', <i>prâvi</i> , <i>stâri</i> H;
Npl n f	<i>divlješ</i> H;
Gpl	<i>vâkvî</i> , <i>stâri</i> H;
Dpl	<i>drûgim</i> , <i>mâlim</i> H;
Apl	<i>guola</i> , <i>gousta</i> 'dense', <i>mâla</i> , <i>reitka</i> 'thin (e.g. hair)', <i>sejda</i> 'grey' H;
Ipl	<i>količimi</i> 'how many' F, <i>mâlimi</i> , <i>tâkfimi</i> H.

Adverbs:

č'aski 'Czech', *čistu*, *dyobru*, *dûgu* 'long' H, *dûgo* F, *frišku* 'fresh', (*pu*) *hurvâtski* H, *horvâtski*, *kjesno* 'late' F, *kjesnu*, *kisnižja* 'later' H, *kasnižja*, *lîpo* F, *lîpu*, *mâlu* 'a little', *neimški* 'German', *prâvu*, *râdu* 'with pleasure', *tîhu* 'quiet', *vyogarski* 'Hungarian', *zaroujnja* 'earlier'. The adverb *p'arva* H means 'earlier'. I attested the form *bojs* 'barefoot' in predicative position in a context where it referred to a woman.

The root vowel is long in the following DEF adjective forms: *bugâtuga* 'rich' Gsg m, *boužji* 'divine' Nsg m, *droubnu* 'in small pieces' Nsg n, *kouzna* 'goat-' Nsg f, *mâli* 'small' Nsg m (cf. *mâlu* 'a little'), *nouvi* 'new' Nsg m H, *ousmo* 'eighth' Nsg n F (but *uosmuga* Gsg n H), *prâva* 'right' Nsg f (cf. *prâvu* ADV), *sejdma* 'seventh' Nsg f (but *siedmuga* Gsg m), *stâri* 'old' Nsg m (cf. *stâr* IND m), *vejli* 'large' (cf. *v'âla* IND? f) H, *vejliku* 'large' Asg f F (but *v'âlikum* Isg f H), *visouku* 'high' Nsg n H, *zaleina* 'green' F (cf. *z'alana* IND? f H), *zaleiznum* 'iron' Isg f H.

3.4 THE VERB

A verb paradigm has 6 present forms, 5 1-participles (three genders in the singular, two in the plural: one form for plural feminine and neuter), 2 imperative forms, a passive participle which is in-

flected as an adjective, and an infinitive. The future tense is formed with čü, čaš... 'I want, you want...' + the infinitive. As far as I know, there is no aorist, imperfect, gerund, active participle or supine.

3.4.1 INFLEXION TYPES

The verbs have been divided into inflexion types according to the first vowel of the ending (henceforth "theme vowel") in the infinitive/l-participle and present. Each inflexion type has an abbreviation, e.g. type AI has a theme vowel -a- in the infinitive and -i- in the present, type ØE has no theme vowel in the infinitive and -e- in the present. AE has been subdivided into AE₁, AE₂ and AE₃.

Examples for each type:

- AA *djelat* 'do' H, *djelati* F, *djelam* PR 1sg H, *murälja* 'must' Lpl f H F, *mourä* PR 3sg H;
- AE₁ *ziškät* 'earn', *zíšča* PR 3sg, *koupat sa* 'bathe', *koupjamu sa* PR lpl, *puloumaj* 'break' LP m, *puloumjadu* PR 3pl H;
- AE₂ *vjerovat* F 'believe', *vjerujam* PR 1sg H, *räduvala* 'be glad' LP f H, *räduja sa* H F;
- AE₃ *spät* 'sleep', *spälja* LP f, *spijaš* PR 2sg, *spija* PR 3sg, *spijamu* PR lpl H;
- AI *bižat* 'run', *ubbižalja* 'run away' LP f, *biži* PR 3sg, *blajälja* 'bleat' LP f, *blaji* PR 3sg, *bujat sa* 'be afraid', *bujim sa* PR 1sg H;
- EI *viðala* 'see' LP f F, *viðis* PR 2sg H;
- IE: *näpit sa* 'get drunk', *näpija sa* PR 3sg, *brít* 'shave', *bríjam* PR 1sg H;
- II *jäčit* 'sing', *jäčimu* PR lpl, *kyosili* 'mow', LP pl m, *kyosi* PR 3sg, *zapünjl* 'fill' LP sg m, *zapünidu* PR 3pl H;
- UE *pukl'aknut* 'kneel' H, *pukl'aknamo* PR lpl F;
- ØE *touč* 'knock', *touča* PR 3sg, *zmas* 'wipe', *zm'atam* PR 1sg H, *lač* 'lie down' F, *l'agäl* LP sg m H, *l'aža* PR 3sg F, *dyonäs* 'bring' H F, *don'asäl* LP sg m F, *dun'asäl*, *dun'asamu* PR 1pl H, *p'aklä* 'bake' LP sg f, *sp'ačadu* PR 3pl, *zrägs/zräst* 'grow', *zräslu* LP sg n H, *zrästa* H F, *oblejč* 'dress' F, *ublejč*, *vlejkal* 'drag' LP sg m, *vlejkli* LP pl m, *vlejča* PR 3sg H;

The verb *spät* is the only attested member of type AE₃. Type EI is

also very restricted: it contains only the verb *viðala* 'see' LP f, *viðali* LP m pl F, *viðim* H, and only in Fertőhomok, cf. *viðil* LP m, *viðila* H.

Type IE contains a few words that one would expect to belong to II: *zbüdil* 'wake' LP m, *budiža* PR 3sg, *küpít* 'buy' H F, *kupižadu* PR 3pl, *luovit* 'catch', *luviža* PR 3sg H.

3.4.2 PRESENT ENDINGS

The endings will be given below, together with some examples. I have distinguished between a-, e- and i-presents. The endings of the e-presents are never stressed, except in the irregular verb *ídám* 'go' H, *ídä* PR 3sg, *id'amu* PR lpl, *id'ata* PR 2pl, *idü* PR 3pl H, *id'aju* F.

Stressed a-present endings:

- äm (or -oum or realizations in between) *igroum* 'play' F, *znäm/znoum* 'know' H;
- äš *znäš* H;
- ä *käštigä* 'punish';
- ämu (or -oumu or realizations in between), *imoymu* 'have' H F, *znämu* H;
- äta *znäta* H;
- ädu H *imädu*, *znädu* but also *znädū* (cf. negated *n'a* *znädu*) H;
- äju F *puščäju* 'let', *znäju* F, but *mädu* 'have' F.

Unstressed a-present endings:

- äm *čjekäm* 'wait', *djeläm* 'do' H, *zajeiväm* 'water' F, *prouham* 'need' H;
- äš *imäš* 'have', *pumänäš sa* 'speak', *pítäš* 'ask' H;
- ä *ceipa* 'thresd', *nejma* 'has not', *kühä* 'boil';
- ämo *djelamo* F, *zakyopamu* 'bury', *kühamu*, *mejšamu* 'mix', *pumänämu*, *prouhamu* H, *rívamu* 'push' F;
- äta *djelata* H;
- ädu H *prudävadu* 'sell', *djeladu*, *jähädu* 'ride', *zakyopädu*, *mourädu* 'must' H;
- äju F *djelaju*, *mouraju* F.

Endings of the e-presents:

- äm *br'äšäm* 'cough', *därščäm* 'tremble', *bantüjam* 'treat with contempt', *zäbižäm* 'nail down', *pukl'aknam* 'kneel' H; one attested exception: *r'aku* 'say' H.

- aš *br'ašaš*, *mäšaš* 'wave', *mäžaš* 'rub', *bäntüjaš* H, *zäbïjaš* F;
 -a *b'ara* 'harvest' H, *räduja sa* 'be glad', *zdìgna* 'lift' H F,
sjesna 'suck' H;
 -amo *pučešamu* 'comb' H, *pukl'aknamo* F;
 -ata *putriebujata* 'need', *vjerujata* 'believe' H;
 -adu H *b'aradu*, *käžadu* 'show', *vjerujadu*, *cvjetadu* 'bloom', *brïjadu*
 'shave', *dun'asadu* (also *dunasù*) 'bring' H;
 -aju F *don'asaju* 'bring', *povlečaju* 'drag'; in type AE₂ the ending
 is -o: *putriebuju*, *vjerujo* F.

Stressed i-present endings:

- im *sadim* 'sit', *bujim sa* 'be afraid' H;
 -iš *činíš/činjiš* 'do', *nävučiš* 'learn' H, *učiš* F;
 -i *bují* 'hurt', *bují sa* 'be afraid' H, *bojí sa* F, *gurí* 'burn',
garmí 'thunder', *kipí* 'boil' H, *latí* 'fly', *rodí sa* 'be born'
 F, *curí* 'flow', *užanjí* 'marry', *putí* 'sweat', *pustí* 'let';
 -imo *näčinjímu* 'make', *glädímu* 'look', *lažímu* 'lie' H;
 -ita *bujíta sa*, *glädíta* H;
 -'a *gor'a* F, *lat'a* H F, *sid'a* 'sit', *näčinj'a* H, *pokos'a* 'mow',
plat'a 'pay' F, *užanj'a*, *buj'a sa*, *gläd'a*, *krič'a* 'scream',
stuj'a 'stand' H, *vuč'a* H F, *zvon'a* 'toll' F. One attestation
 with -idu: *näčinjídu* H.

Unstressed i-present endings:

- im *vìdim* 'see', *guvyorim* 'speak', *ljübim* 'love' H;
 -iš *vìdiš*, *živiš* 'live', *hìtiš* 'throw' H;
 -i *ljübi*, *hìti* H;
 -imo *žívimu*, *jäčimu* 'sing', *prímimu* 'receive', *duprímimu* H;
 -ita *vìdita*, *puk'ärstita* 'baptize' H;
 -idu H *žívividu*, *brüsidiu* 'sharpen', *razdejigidu* 'divide', *guvyoridu*
 'speak', *hyodidu* 'go', *k'ärnidu* 'feed', *kupïjádu* 'buy',
prímidiu, *puryodidu* 'bring forth' H, but *vìda* H, *žíva*²⁶ H F;
 -a F *hyoda*, *k'ärma*, *príma* F, but *oslobyodiju* 'liberate' F.

3.4.3 ACCENTUATION

In infinitives and masculine singular LP forms the stress has been retracted from final syllables (see § 2.2.1). In many paradigms optional analogical stress retraction has taken place in other LP forms, e.g. *ìmag* 'have' sg m, *ìmagli/imägli* pl m, *muoljili* 'pray' sg m,

muoljili/muljìli pl m H. As was said in § 2.2.1, originally long pretonic *u, *i and *a which received the stress as a result of the retraction are now short. This shortness has often - again optionally - been adopted in the present forms, e.g. *počìvala* 'rest' LP sg f, *počìvà* PR 3sg F, *näčinjat* 'make' F, *näčinjádu* PR 3pl H, *näčinjajo* F, *pominjal sa* 'talk' LP sg m, *pominadu/pominadu* PR 3pl H.

I have attested only two examples of neo-circumflex (see Ivšić 1936: 70-71) in verbal paradigms: *mäšaš* 'wave' PR 2sg, *mäša* PR 3sg (INF *mäšat*), *puglejdà* 'look' PR 3sg (INF *puglädät*; the simplex verb *glädät* has an i-present: *glädim*, etc.), H. Cf. without neo-circumflex: *díelam* 'do' PR lsg H, *díelamo* PR 1pl F, *vìdim* 'see' PR lsg, *rieža* 'cut' PR 3sg H, *zdìgna* 'lift' PR 3sg H F.

The PR of the verb *ìmat* 'have' H F has a stress opposition between sg and pl forms: *ìmaš* 2sg, *imämu* H/*imoymu* H F 1pl, *imädu* H 3pl, *mädu* F.

3.4.4 IRREGULAR VERBS

1. *sam* 'be' PR lsg, other PR forms *si*, *ja* (often a after a consonant) H F, *smu* H, *smo* F, *sta* H F, *su* H, *so* F, LP *bíl*, *bíla*, negated PR *nejs* (lsg), *neisi*, *nej*, *neismu*, *nejsta*, *neisu* H, *neiso* F;
2. *b'ara* 'harvest' PR 3sg, *b'aradu* PR 3pl H, LP *brâli*, *brâla* H F; *pyobrat*; *zäbrat*; *zjebrat*, *zib'aradu* PR 3pl H, LP *zabrâl* F, *zibrâli* H;
3. *ìdam* 'go' PR lsg, other PR forms *ìda*, *id'amu*, *id'ata*, *idû* H, *id'aju* F, negated PR *neidam*, *neidamu*, LP *ìšla*, negated IMP *nejdi* H; *doyt* 'arrive' INF, PR *doydám*, *doydádu* H, *doydo*, *doydáju* F, LP *dyošlu*, *dyošla*; *poyt/pouti* INF, PR *poydaš*, *poydádu*, IMP *pyoj*, *pyojta*; LP *pryošal* H; *üdja* 'come (out of), leave' PR 3sg F;
4. *ču* 'want', also auxiliary for future tense PR lsg, other PR forms *čaš*, *ča*, *č'amu*, *č'ata* H F, *tađu*, negated PR *n'ašu*, *n'ašaš*, *n'ašadu*, LP *štjel* H;
5. *jejs* H, *jeisti* F 'eat', PR *jejm* H, *jejš* F, *jejmu*, *jejta*, *jejdu*, LP *jiel* H, IMP *jieč* H F; *pyojas* INF H, PR *pojejš* F, LP *pyojal*, IMP *pujječ* H;
6. *zäklat* 'slaughter', PR *zäkuolja*, *zäklädu* H;
7. *myoram* 'be able' PR 1sg, negated PR *n'amra* H, *n'amramo* F, *n'amradu*, LP *muogal*, *muogla*; *pyomuč* 'help', PR *pumyožam* H;
8. *mrejt* 'die' H, PR *ümra*, LP *ümral* H F, *mrejl*, *mrejla* H;

9. *prāt* 'wash' H F, PR *p'arāmo* F, *p'arādu* H, *op'araju*, LP *oprāla* F;
 10. *zaprejt* 'shut' H, PR *zaprijajo* F, LP *zaprejl* H, passive participle
zaprejta Nsg f F;
 11. *smej* 'be allowed' PR 3sg, PR *smejdu*, LP *smiel* H, negated PR *n'a smim* F, *n'a smiš* H;
 12. *stoūnam sa* 'stand up' PR lsg, other PR forms *stoūnamu* H, *stoūnaju* F, LP *stāl* (quantity uncertain), *sa nej stālu* 'it did not happen' H; *postāla* 'become' LP f F; *dustāt* 'get' H F, PR *dostouña* F, LP *dustāl* H, *dostāl* F; *yostāt* 'remain', PR *ustoūna*, LP *yostāl*, *ustāla* H;
 13. *vejim* or *valjim* 'say' PR lsg, other PR forms *vejš/vajíš*, *vej/vají*, *vejmu/vajímu* H, (-o F), *vejta/vajíta*, *vaja* H;
 14. *puvieč* 'tell' H, PR *povejm* F, *puvejm*, *puvej* H;
 15. *zeit* 'take' H, PR *ziemaš* H F, LP *zeil*, *zeili* H, IMP *ziem* H F;
 16. *zvāt* 'call' H, PR *zvová* F, *zvovadu*, LP *zvāl*, *zvāli* H;
 17. *ž'arāt* 'eat (of animals and ill-bred human beings)', PR *ž'ara*, *ž'aradu* H, *žarū* H F, LP *ž'arāl*; *nāžarouni* 'drunk' DEF Nsg m H;
 18. *žat* 'mow', PR *žienjaš*, LP *ž'ali* H; *pvožat* F, PR *pužienjaš*, *pužienjadu* H, LP *puž'ali* F.

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NOTES

¹ See Ivić (1958: 72-84).

² The Serbo-Croatian-speaking inhabitants call their villages *Vadašin/Hadašin* 'Hidegség' H F and *Huomuk* F, *Huomuk* H 'Fertőhomok'.

³ The migrations from the east of the then kajkavian area began in the first half of the sixteenth century (see Pavičić 1953: 205f.).

⁴ See Mohl (1915: 5), Pavičić (1953: 207-208).

⁵ Cf. Ivšić (1971: 762-763), Ivić (1961-62: 122), Brabec (1970: 500), Kolarič (1973 and 1976), Neweklowsky (1978: 279-280).

⁶ A brief discussion of the available literature on Hidegség and Fertőhomok is given in Houtzagers (forthcoming).

⁷ My fieldwork in 1985 was financed by the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO).

⁸ On the Burgenland dialects see Ivšić (1971: 723-798) and Neweklowsky (1978).

⁹ Abbreviations: N...L: nominative...locative; sg, pl: singular, plural; PR 1sg...PR 3pl: present tense first person singular...third person plural; LP: l-participle; INF: infinitive; IMP: imperative; m, f, n: masculine, feminine, neuter; DEF, IND: definite, indefinite; DIM: diminutive; ADJ, ADV: adjective, adverb; H, F, H F (after one or more examples): attested in Hidegség, Fertőhomok, both villages.

¹⁰ See Ebeling (1967).

¹¹ I am not certain whether unstressed o exists at all in the Hidegség dialect: of the 14 instances of unstressed o in my material, 5 are doubtful (timbre somewhere between [u] and [o]) and 6 were attested during my first recording session with the informant. The latter point could be an indication that the o's must be attributed to influences from outside, which are likely to play a greater role as the interlocutor and the situation are more unfamiliar to the speaker. On the other hand, it is also possible that in Hidegség the process of the raising of unstressed *o, although nearer to its completion than in Fertőhomok, is still in progress.

¹² In Hungarian loanwords, ó and é are reflected as oy and ej, respectively, e.g. *tanítou* 'teacher', *pour* 'farmer' H, *komlou* 'hop' F, *žaljejri* 'farmhands', *filejruſ* 'certain coin, 1/100 of a forint' Gpl H from *tanító*, *pór*, *komló*, *zsöllérek*, *Fillér*. From these examples it can also be seen that posttonic lengths in Hungarian, which has fixed initial stress, are reflected by (stressed) lengths in Hidegség and Fertőhomok (of course in words with two posttonic lengths, such as *tanító*, one must be dropped).

¹³ The use of the signs a and å agrees with Ivić et al. (1981: 19). Phonetic notations (between []) are approximate.

¹⁴ In general, the vowel phonemes are labelled according to their most frequent allophones. For Fertőhomok "e" would be more appropriate than "a", but I have chosen not to use more different symbols than strictly necessary.

¹⁵ If 'a happens to be phonetically long in other positions, e.g. if the speaker lengthens it for reasons of expressiveness, it is also very open. My main informant in Hidegség often realized 'a long and very open in *glač* 'look' IMP.

¹⁶ On the history of the kajkavian vowel system see Ivić (1968) and Vermeer (1979, 1983).

¹⁷ I have no examples with originally pretonic *o: or *e:.

¹⁸ I have no Fertőhomok example of a PR 3pl in -û (cf. *znâju*, *dâju* F, where u, in my analysis, represents the heavy phoneme o). Instead of the Hidegség ending -û one would expect -ou (from *o:), just as instead of the PR 3pl ending 'a H F in the i-presents (see § 3.4.2) one would expect ej (from *e:). Although 'a is phonetically long and û is phonemically (and phonetically) long, they have the timbre normally found in the reflexes of short *e and *o, respectively. In the nominal and adjectival declension the reflexes of *e: and *o: are as one expects, e.g. *zamjei* 'land' Gsg F, *čistou* 'clean' Asg f H (see §§ 3.1.2 and 3.3).

¹⁹ The reflex is ie in *sviečnjaki* 'candle-holders' (1x).

20 Also *g* in the prepositions *prād* 'before', *praz* 'without' and the prefix *pra-* H.

21 I have no evidence for the existence of phonemic oppositions between *ts* and *c*, *tš* and *č*, *dj* and *d'*, *lj* and *l*, or *nj* and *ń*.

22 Ivšić (1936: 71) gives three examples of compensatory lengthening of root vowels caused by the loss of jers in prepositions: *fiži* from *v_b *hiži*, *jútro* from *v_b *jútro* and *véčer* from *v_b *véčer*. Hidegség has a long root-vowel in NAsg *jútru*, Gsg *jútrę*.

23 The reason why I am uncertain about most of the nominative forms is that in the environments where they were attested it was not clear 1) which syllable was stressed and 2) whether the form in question was really a personal pronoun and not a form of the demonstrative pronoun mentioned in the last paragraph of the preceding section. I have the impression that third person personal pronouns are relatively rarely used: they are mostly omitted if they are the subject of a verb and very often demonstrative pronouns (also forms of *ouf* and *tā*) are used without a clearly deictic function, i.e. in cases where one would expect a personal pronoun.

24 Remember that unstressed *-o* is often realized as [u], especially in Hidegség. In the list of adjectival desinences, endings which have only been attested with unstressed [u], e.g. the Dsg and Isg f, will be written with *-u-*. The same applies to the examples given below.

25 The examples include pronouns with an adjectival inflexion and comparative forms of adjectives.

26 The forms *vídä* and *žívä* also happen to be the only attested PR 3pl forms of verbs with an infinitive in **-ěti*.

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