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The Kajkavian Dialect of Hidegség and Fertőhomok

Peter Houtzagers

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This book could not have been written without the help of the local people of Hidegség and Fertőhomok. I should like to thank all inhabitants of Hidegség and Fertőhomok who took the time to talk with me and showed interest in my work. I am especially grateful to Anna Baumgartner, Ferenc Horváth, József Véghelyi and his wife Julianna in Hidegség and Károly Hospely, his wife Margit, Józse Jurinkovits and Veronika Rokob in Fertőhomok for their help and hospitality. Unfortunately, all informants mentioned here except the last three have passed away and will not be able to see this book.

I owe particular gratitude to Géza Völgyi, born in Hidegség and now living in Kópháza, who supported me in many ways, among other things by introducing me to informants, informing me about life in Hidegség and Fertőhomok at present and in former days, listening with me for many hours to "The story of Marko" (see Dialect Texts) and helping me to decipher the most difficult passages.

I also wish to thank the staff members of the Hungarian State Archive (Magyar Országos Levéltár) in Budapest for their kind help during the week I spent in the Archive in 1988 and for the information they gave me per letter and dr. Janneke Kalsbeek for proof-reading the camera-ready manuscript. I am very grateful to dr. Willem Vermeer for the generous way in which he let me profit from his knowledge of Serbo-Croatian dialectology, his interest and moral support.

KÖSZÖNETNYILVÁNÍTÁS

Ez a könyv nem készülhetett volna el Hidegség és Fertőhomok lakosainak a segítsége nélkül. Szeretnék köszönetet mondani minden hidegségi és fertőhomoki lakosnak, aki időt szánt a velem való beszélgetészre és érdeklődést tanúsított munkám iránt. Különösen Baumgartner Anna, Horváth Ferenc, Véghelyi József és Julianna hidegségi, valamint Hospely Károly és Margit, Jurinkovits József és Rokob Veronika fertőhomoki lakosoknak tartozom hálával segítségükért és vendégszeretetükért. Fenti adatközlőim közül sajnos többen nem érhették már meg könyvem megjelenését.

Külön is köszönöm a hidegségi születésű, ma Kópházán lakó Völgyi Gézának a sokoldalú segítséget, többek között azt, hogy adatközlőket ajánlott a figyelmembe, megismertetett Hidegség és Fertőhomok mai és régebbi életével, sok órán át együtt hallgatta velem "Marko történetét", és segítségemre volt a legnehezebb részletek megfejtésében.

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Map 1: the location of Hidegség and Fertőhomok

Map 2: Hidegség, Fertőhomok and their immediate surroundings

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Map 3: Croatian dialects in the Austrian province of Burgenland and adjoining areas

The terms *Haci*, *Poljanci*, etc. here refer to the main Croatian dialect groups in the area. The crosses indicate points where dialects are spoken that do not belong to any of the main groups. The names of these villages are (from north to south):

DNV	Devínska Nová Ves	We	Weingraben
ChG	Chorvátsky Grob	Ha	Hackerberg
Hi	Hidegség	St	Stinatz
Fe	Fertőhomok		

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Map 4: Hidegség, Fertőhomok, Velika and Međurič

Although there is no hard evidence, there are indications that the ancestors of the inhabitants of Hi and Fe for the most part came from Velika and Međurič in Slavonia. (see I.2).

I made use of the following published maps:

- *Győr-Moson-Sopron megye térképe* (1:150.000), ed. Cartographia, Budapest 1993;
- *Yugoslawien-Ungarn* (1:1.000.000), ed. Kümmerly + Frey, Bern 1978;
- *Ungarn* (1:500.000), ed. Hallwag, Bern 1986-87.

Map 3 is based on Neweklowsky (1978: 346).

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
COMP	comparative
CSl	Common Slavic
D	dative
d	see I.6.3.2
DEF	definite
DIM	diminutive
F	feminine
f	attested in Fertőhomok
Fe	Fertőhomok
G	genitive
Ge	German
h	attested in Hidegség
Hi	Hidegség
Hu	Hungarian
I	instrumental
IMP	imperative
IND	indefinite
INF	infinitive
IRR	irregular
L	locative
LP	*l*-participle
M	masculine
m	see I.6.3.2
Mar	The story of Marko (see Dialect Texts)
N	nominative, neuter
p	marks a "soft" ending (see I.7.6.5)
PL	plural
PLT	plurale tantum
poss	possessive
PP	passive participle
PR	present
PROP	proper name
SG	singular
ST	stem, see VI.1.2
SUP	superlative
TOP	toponym
VN	verbal noun
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
/ /	phonemic notation
[ ]	phonetic notation
< >	morphonemic notation
italics	"standard" notation (see I.7.6.1); in the Dialect Texts: nondialectal (e.g. Hungarian) word
◇, |, ▷	see the introduction to the Lexicon
§	refers to another section of the same chapter
I.1, etc.	Chapter + section number
+	marks a hypothetical (nonattested) form
+	see I.7.3
*	marks a reconstructed form

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1. Preliminaries, scope of the book

In and around the Austrian-Hungarian border region there are approximately 80 villages where Croatian immigrant dialects are spoken.[1] Most of these villages are situated in what is now the Austrian province of Burgenland (in Croatian: Gradišće), and therefore the dialects are often referred to as "Burgenland dialects", "gradišćanski govori", etc. These terms usually include those dialects that are not spoken in the Burgenland itself but in the adjoining areas. In this book, the terms "Burgenland" and "Burgenland dialects" will be used in the same somewhat broader sense.

The present monograph offers a synchronic description of the only dialect spoken in this area that belongs to the so-called "Kajkavian" dialect group of Serbo-Croatian (see note 1). Hidegség and Fertőhomok (further "Hi" and "Fe") are two neighbouring villages in the northwest of Hungary, not far from Sopron. Within Kajkavian, the dialect of Hi and Fe is unique for two reasons: (a) it is the only surviving Kajkavian dialect that was separated from its original surroundings as early as the sixteenth century; (b) there are indications that these original surroundings were located somewhat east of the area where Kajkavian dialects are spoken today.

This description is meant to be useful in three respects. Firstly, it is a contribution to the reconstruction of the history of Kajkavian and the premigratory Serbo-Croatian dialect picture. Secondly, a thorough comparison between this description and other descriptions of Burgenland dialects can contribute to the understanding of the way in which linguistic "new neighbours" take over each other's characteristics. Thirdly, however sad in itself, the description might provide good material for the study of dialect death.

---

[1] The dialects spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of the republics of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia and Montenegro form a single diasystem, for which "Serbo-Croatian" is the traditional term. This diasystem can be divided into four major groups: Štokavian, Čakavian, Kajkavian and Torlak. In this book I shall use the term "Serbo-Croatian" when designating the diasystem as a whole. For the varieties of Serbo-Croatian spoken in or around the Austrian-Hungarian border region and for the standard language of Croatia I shall use the term "Croatian", which is in accordance with the way the speakers refer to themselves and their language.

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In this monograph, the emphasis is on phonology, morphology and lexicon. Remarks on syntax are given in Chapter VII and syntactic phenomena are occasionally dealt with in the chapters on morphology and in the Lexicon. There are 30 pages of dialect texts. One of these is a lengthy story from Hi, which I shall call "The story of Marko". At various places in the book, the reader will be referred to fragments of this story where an example of the phenomenon under discussion can be found. Such references will have the form "Mar" followed by a number in square brackets, e.g. Mar [40].

2. The provenance of the inhabitants of Hi and Fe. The Velika theory

The presence of a considerable Croatian-speaking minority in the Burgenland (in the broader sense, see § 1) is due to the mass migrations on the Balkans from the fifteenth century onward following the Ottoman invasions. As a consequence of the sieges of Vienna (1529) and Köszeg (1532), parts of what is now the Burgenland were almost entirely depopulated. After the Turkish withdrawal, Croats were often willing to move to these fertile lands, especially if they happened to live in those parts of Slavonia and Croatia that suffered from Ottoman raids in the years that followed (see Burghardt 1962: 121). Such migrations were facilitated by the fact that in the depopulated areas and the now threatened areas most of the land was owned by the same rich families. In other words, a peasant could move to some distant possession of his own landlord.

The most widespread theory about the provenance of the Hi and Fe people is wat I shall call the "Velika theory". According to this theory, the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Hi and Fe came from (the surroundings of) the fortified towns of Velika and Međurič in Slavonia.[2] These towns, as Hi and Fe themselves, formed part of the pos-

[2] Through the centuries, both toponyms are spelled in various ways (see for instance note 5; in Korenčić 1979: 379 Međurič is spelled "Međurić"). The name "Velika" often occurs in the plural: "Velike". Velika is one of several towns and villages in Slavonia and Croatia with the same name. The Velika we are referring to now is also called "Kraljeva Velika". Velika and Međurič still exist and form part of the municipalities of Novska and Kutina, respectively (see Korenčić 1979: 433, 379).

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sessions of Tamás Nádasdy.[3] There is documental evidence in support of the Velika theory.

(1) An account of a visit to Fertőendréd in 1631 by a Lutheran bishop. The report makes mention of several church ornaments that the inhabitants said to have brought along from Velika. Fertőendréd is another Nádasdy possession not far from Hi and Fe.[4]

(2) A letter written by Tamás Nádasdy to his fellow nobleman Ungnad in 1538, in which he states that he gave some land in Hungary to the population of a small town in the neighboorhood of Velika, the only inhabitants of the area around Velika and Međurič that were left.[5]

[3] Count Tamás Nádasdy (1498-1562) was one of the richest and most influential Hungarians of his time. Devotees of horror stories might be interested to know that he was also the father-in-law of "blood countess" Erzsébet Báthori (see Thorne 1997).

[4] The first author (to my knowledge) to mention this document in relation with the provenance of the Croats in the Comitat Sopron is Nagy (1883: 27). Nagy is followed by Mohl (1915: 5), who in his turn is cited by a several other authors.

[5] As far as I know, the first who explicitly brought this document in connection with the migrations of Croats to the north was Pavičić (1920: 219-220). He then thought that the migrants could not have travelled farther than the southern parts of the church districts Somogy, Zala and Vas. In 1953 (207-208) Pavičić sees the relation between both documents and brings forward the hypothesis that the inhabitants of Hi and Fe came from Velika and Međurič.

Although he does not mention the Nádasdy letter explicitly, Ivšić in all probability already knew it in 1937-38 and had brought both documents in relation to the provenance of the inhabitants of Hi and Fe (cf. 1971: 762).

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From *Visitatio Ecclesiae Endrediensis* (1631)
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From the original: "Vagyon egy kelyh, tiszta ezüst aranyozott mind patinájával együtt, melyet régi eleik Velikéből magukkal hoztak, anno Domini 1515. csináltatván. Vagyon ugyan onnéjd hozott régi keszkenyő reá való, kin az régi betükkel tótul vagyon carmasin selyemmel ki varrva Istennek tiz parancsolatja. Vagyon más himes reá való keszkenyő is, és egy oltárra való kék selyemmel szőtt, két szélben való abrosz" (Stromp 1907: 16).

In English: "There is a chalice of pure silver overlaid with gold and patinated all over, which their forefathers brought along from Velike and which was made in 1515. There is also an old cloth to match, brought from the same place, on which in ancient letters, in Slav, God's ten commandments are embroidered in crimson silk. There is another embroidered cloth belonging to the first one and an altar-cloth of blue silk, consisting of two cloths stitched together".

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Letter from Tamás Nádasdy to Ungnad (May 26, 1538)
Courtesy of the Hungarian State Archive, Budapest

From the original: "... mea autem bona iam omnino perierunt, ita ut iam in pertinenciis castrorum Welyke et Megeryche nec vnicum quidem colonum habeo preter oppidulum sub castro Welike situm, de quo heri venerunt nuncii oppidanorum petentes, vt illis hic in Hungaria aliquam terram darem, quod et feci, et combusto oppido eos educam, ne ibi cum vxoribus et liberis pereant" (Šišić 1915: 227).

In English: "... my possessions were lost altogether, so that in the territories of the fortresses of Velika and Međurič I have not a single peasant left, except in a small town near the fortress of Velike. Yesterday messengers were sent to me by the inhabitants of that town, asking me to give them some land here in Hungary, which I did. When the town is destroyed I shall lead them away, so that they will not perish with their wives and children."

The Velika theory has one obvious weakness: there is – as yet – no direct evidence for a connection between Velika and Međurič on the one hand and Hi and Fe on the other. Strictly speaking, the population of Fertőendréd and that of Hi and Fe could have come from different places. Tamás Nádasdy had many more possessions, in Croatia and Sla-

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vonia as well as in Hungary.[6] Nevertheless the theory is plausible, both from a historical and a linguistic point of view, as I shall argue in the following two paragraphs.

Pavičić (1953: 208) mentions seven Nádasdy possessions near Sopron where there is proof for a Croatian population as early as 1537: Nagycenk, Hi, Fe, Fertőendréd, Sopronkövesd, Lövő and Sopronszécseny. These are all small villages within a compact area, the largest distance between them being 15 km.[7] The simplest hypothesis – and one that agrees with the overall picture of Burgenland Croatian (see map 3) – is that the Croatian inhabitants of these villages came from the same region. Furthermore, there is a quantitative argument. The Velika region was very densely populated (10.000-12.000 inhabitants according to the estimate of Pavičić 1953: 197). Even if one supposes that only one third survived the Ottoman attacks, left for a new homeland and did not die on their way there, Fertőendréd would be much too small to accommodate all these immigrants. It is more probable that they spread over the seven above-mentioned villages plus an unknown number of villages for which it cannot be proven that they once had Croatian inhabitants.

The dialect of Hi and Fe is obviously Kajkavian, yet it lacks a number of characteristics that Kajkavian dialects are believed to have in common. I shall give a few examples. As I have tried to show (1996), the vowel system can be derived from the Proto-Kajkavian vowel systems proposed by Ivić (1968: 57-61) and Vermeer (1983: 456) by assuming a series of natural developments. Nevertheless, the Hi and Fe vowel system is clearly different from that of other known Kajkavian dialects. The dialect has the "typically Kajkavian" long reflex of the short neoacute, but lacks clear evidence of neocircumflex (cf. Vermeer

[6] The Hungarian State Archive sent me a list of more than 100 villages in Hungary that belonged to Tamás Nádasdy. These villages are located in 4 comitats. The Archive could not provide me with such a detailed list of Nádasdy possessions in Slavonia and Croatia, but they could tell me offhand that apart from Velika and Međurič, these possessions included Steničnjak and Medvevára. In another letter (Šišić 1915: 478) Nádasdy mentions Szerdahely as one of his towns where the population was brought to famine because of the Ottoman raids.

The adherents of the Velika theory would be helped: (1) if direct documental evidence would be found for a connection between Velika/Međurič and Hi/Fe, or (2) if other Nádasdy possessions in Croatia and Slavonia could be argued to be "improbable candidates" for the provenance of the Hi and Fe people and/or if other Nádasdy possessions in Hungary could be argued to be "improbable candidates" as the new dwelling-places of the people from Velika and Međurič.

[7] The villages can be found on map 2, except Lövő, which is 6 km. south-southeast of Sopronszécseny.

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1983: 439-440).[8] Compared to the the other Kajkavian dialects spoken today, the dialect of Hi and Fe occupies a marginal position.[9] This agrees with the hypothesis that the early sixteenth century predecessor of the dialect was originally spoken somewhat outside the present-day Kajkavian area. Since it is reasonable primarily to look east and south of that area (where the Ottoman attacks took place) and it is generally supposed that to the south Čakavian was spoken (see e.g Ivšić 1971: map opposite p. 798, Neweklowsky 1978: 281), we are left with the vicinity of Velika and Međurič, a small area to the south of it and a larger one to the north.[10]

I shall leave the discussion on the original dwelling-place of the Hi and Fe people here. The subject will be briefly touched upon again in § 4.

3. The linguistic environment

From a linguistic point of view, Hi and Fe have three neighbours: Burgenland Čakavian, Hungarian and German. In the following subsections we shall examine the influence of each of these neighbours on the dialect.

3.1 Burgenland Čakavian

In the literature, most Burgenland dialects are classified as Čakavian. Apart from Hi and Fe, the only exceptions are the dialects of the Vlahi and Štoji (see map 3), which are regarded as mixed Čakavian-

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[8] Examples: lengthened short neoacute in *zęlêni* 'green' NSGM, *kôlę* 'wheel' NPL, no neocircumflex in *rëžęm* 'cut' PR1SG, *mlìnar* 'miller'.

[9] It is not necessary to explain this "marginality" by supposing that the dialect was somehow transitional between Kajkavian and Štokavian. It is commonly believed that Kajkavian once occupied a larger territory than it does today and it is logical to assume that then it was intersected by more isoglosses than it is at present. If everything would be known on Kajkavian in former times, the list of common Kajkavian features would probably be shorter than it is now. Of course, classification of dialects is largely a matter of definition and therefore not always of linguistic interest.

[10] It is not excluded that a more complete picture of the easternmost varieties of Kajkavian can help solving the problem of the provenance of the dialect. For instance, it would be interesting to know more about the geographic distribution of *sęstra* 'sister' and *čękat* 'wait' (where *ę* is the reflex of **ě/*; cf. *sëstra*[hf] and *čëkat*[h]) and of the pronoun *vęnî* (see IV.4). See also Ivić (1990: 205).

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Štokavian.[11] However great the internal differences within Burgenland Croatian may be, there are many characteristic traits that all or most of these dialects have in common, very often including Hi and Fe. These common traits can be lexical, morphological or phonological.[12] In view of the different provenance of the varieties of Burgenland Croatian, this can only be explained by intensive contacts and mutual influence over a long period.[13]

It is probable that through the centuries Hi and Fe have had more contact with each other than with the other Croatian villages. Mixed Hi-Fe marriages were very common and my informants told me that every Hi family is in some way or other related to one or more Fe families and vice versa.[14] The inhabitants of Hi and Fe call each other's village *drȕgo sȩ̀lo* 'the other village'. This is not difficult to understand, since Hi and Fe are adjacent, whereas the next nearest Croatian village, Kópháza, is 8 km. from Hi and 10 km. from Fe.[15] The other Croatian villages are considerably farther away.[16] In spite of all this, the contacts must have been frequent enough for Hi and Fe to take over a substantial amount of Burgenland Croatian characteristics.

At least part of this can be explained by the linguistic influence of the church and the school. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Hi and Fe have had Croatian-speaking priests and school-teachers (see § 5.2). These could come from any Croatian village in the diocese. Another important factor was the existence of a Burgenland Croatian

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[11] Here I follow Neweklowsky 1978 (266-280), which is the most extensive dialectological study of Burgenland Croatian as a whole.

[12] Neweklowsky (1969: 99-101) gives 13 of these "Burgenland-Kroatismen". Nine of them can be found in Hi and Fe.

[13] For some groups of Burgenland Croatian dialects it is assumed that they were already neighbours before the migrations (see Neweklowsky 1978: 266-281), but this does not account for the whole phenomenon of "Burgenland-Kroatismen".

[14] Against this background it is interesting that the Hi and Fe dialects still show so many differences. I noticed that children from mixed Hi-Fe marriages spoke the dialect of the village where they grew up, and not some kind of Hi-Fe mixture. Of course it is probable that on the long term the intensive contacts between Hi and Fe have had consequences and that there once were more differences between Hi and Fe than there are now.

[15] This small difference in distance is noticeable: the Hi dialect has clearly been more influenced by Burgenland Čakavian (cf. Hi *lîp*, Fe *lêp* 'beautiful', the PR3PL endings in *-du*).

[16] Most of them are also on the other side of the border, but that situation is fairly recent (1921, see Burghardt 1962: 165-188).

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literary language, based on the i/e-kavian Čakavian dialects of the three northernmost Čakavian groups: Haci, Poljanci and Dolinci (see Hadrovics 1974: 54, Neweklowsky 1978: 24, Kuzmich 1992).[17] This literary language was known in Hi and Fe at a very early date, as can be seen from a number of documents written there between 1661 and 1710 (see Nyomárkay 1992). These documents show typical Hi and Fe characteristics, but at the same time a strong influence of i/e-kavian Čakavian (see Houtzagers 1996: 132-133).

The inhabitants of Hi and Fe are well aware that their dialect is rather different from the surrounding varieties of Croatian, and many of them seem to find the latter more prestigious. Especially in the first contacts with my informants there was relatively much "spontaneous borrowing" from those dialects, sometimes accompanied by the use of hypercorrect forms.[18]

3.2 Hungarian

A distinction must be made between (a) the external and (b) the internal influence of Hungarian on the dialect.

(a) The external influence of Hungarian is enormous. All fluent speakers of the dialect are bilingual. Depending on the topic, the dialect is often too poor to express what the speaker wishes to say, and it is natural that the speakers spontaneously borrow Hungarian words and frequently switch to Hungarian.[19] But these are only the really good speakers of the Croatian dialect, who all belong to the older generation. For the young people Hungarian has already replaced Croatian as a means of com-

[17] The endeavour to maintain a literary Burgenland Croatian language and to extend it with words from standard Croatian has persisted until the present day (see for instance Hamm et al. 1982, Finka et al. 1991).

[18] Examples of spontaneous borrowing of the phonological make-up of words: use of unstressed *o* in Hi, *kȁmęn/kâmęn* 'stone' instead of *kômęn*. See also the Fe text and the first foot-note to II.3.2.3. Example of hypercorrectism: *jaćïla* 'she sang' instead of *jačïla*. (In Hi and Fe the distinction between *č* and *ć* only marginally exists. The replacement of *č* by *ć* in *jaćïla* is hypercorrect: all Burgenland dialects have *č* in this word.)

[19] Very often, in a situation when I had more than one interlocutor, they forgot to "switch back" to Croatian and only did so when they remembered that I was present and realized that I didn't understand them. This illustrates that also to the generation that has a good command of Croatian, communicating in Hungarian is a very natural thing to do.

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munication and the dialect is rapidly disappearing altogether. I refer the reader to § 5.2.

(b) Hungarian has also influenced the dialect itself more than superficially. The lexicon contains a great number of loans from Hungarian (see also II.1.3) and there are also phonetic, phonological and syntactic characteristics that betray Hungarian influence, e.g. the timbre of *ę̈*, *ę*, *ę̂*, *ä* and *a* in Hi (see II.2.1.1 and II.2.1.3), sentence intonation (see II.3.1.1), the unstressed vowel system in Hi (see Houtzagers 1996: 132), the use of antecedents in complex sentences (see VII.8.2).

3.3 German

Although German used to be spoken in the direct vicinity (e.g. in Fertőboz and Balf, respectively 3 and 6 km. from Hi), there is no reason to assume that the influence of German was very great. In contradistinction to the other Burgenland dialects (especially those in Austria) the loans from German are not numerous and I am inclined to believe that they were not taken over from German but from Burgenland Čakavian. One loan is likely to be as old as the history of the Hi and Fe dialect allows (i.e. from immediately after the migration): the preposition *obęr* 'above' and the toponyms formed with *obęr-* (see the Lexicon).

4. Previous studies of the Hi and Fe dialect

Because of its unique position both within Burgenland Croatian and within Kajkavian, the dialect of Hi and Fe has received quite some attention in the literature. I shall briefly discuss the available literature here. I shall not go into much detail, because I think that most of the uncertainty about the Hi and Fe dialect is due to lack of material, which I hope to do something about by publishing this book, and by the absence of a clear picture of the Hi and Fe vowel systems against a diachronic background, which I have tried to give in my 1996 article.

Probably the first slavist to visit Hi (and Fe?) and report about his linguistic findings was Ivšić (August 1933, see 1971: 745).[20] Ivšić (1971: 762-763) presents a number of dialect forms and suggests that it may be true that the majority of the Hi and Fe population came from Ve-

[20] Ivšić does mention previous authors who showed interest in the Burgenland dialects (1971: 739-743), but it is not clear whether they visited Hi and Fe or wrote about their dialect.

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lika and Međurič. On the basis of the accentual system, however, he classifies the dialect in his group I-7. These are the dialects without a long rising tone and with reflexes of *ě*, *ē* and *ō* similar to those of the Međimurje and Prekmurje types (see Ivšič 1971: 79-85).[21] Although Ivšić does not explicitly say so, he suggests a mixture between Velika and Međurič Kajkavian and northeast Kajkavian.

This is also the opinion of Lončarić (1982 and 1990). In his 1982 article the Hi and Fe dialect is not discussed in the main text but only shown on the map, with the same shading as the Međimurje dialects. In his 1990 book he does discuss the provenance of the Hi and Fe dialect and comes to the conclusion that the dialect is the result of a mixture of marginal Kajkavian from the Velika and Međurič region and Međimurje Kajkavian. He suggests that, on their way to Hungary, the migrants from Velika passed through Međimurje, where a part of the local population joined them.[22] Lončarić's idea of such a linguistic mixture is based on his picture of the reflexes of Proto-Slavic vowels in the dialect, in particular **ě*, **ь*, **ǫ*, and **l̥*. In my opinion, these reflexes are rather regular, though complicated: the long vowels did not develop exactly in the same way as the short ones, in unstressed syllables the Hi situation is not the same as the Fe one, and in Hi the situation in pretonic syllables is not the same as in posttonic ones (see Houtzagers 1996). Because of this complexity and because of the amount and the quality of the material Lončarić had at his disposal, the reflexes of the original vowels as presented by him indeed appear to be some kind of mixture. It is my opinon that once the material is viewed in full it is hard to believe that such a regular vowel system could have come about by mixture.

There are two articles by Brabec (1970 and 1982) in which he briefly discusses the dialect of Hi and Fe. He gives a number of forms (probably from available publications) that show resemblance to other Kajka-

[21] This is the area in the north of Croatia around the river Mura (see map 4).

[22] He does not explain why the Međimurje people would have done that. It is even possible, Lončarić suggests, that part of the migrants from Velika stayed behind in the Međimurje, mixed with the local population and part of their descendants followed the first migration wave after the "zrinsko-frankopanska buna" in 1671. To me it would seem too much of a coincidence that this second migration wave, after more than 130 years, could have ended up in the same villages as the first, the more so since there was no "Nádasdy connection" any more at that period. The Nádasdys were no longer landowners in the Sopron region, and I do not know whether they ever have been in the Međimurje.

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vian and non-Kajkavian dialects and concludes that the Hi and Fe dialect must be the result of dialect mixture.

Neweklowsky visited Hi and Fe and discusses their dialect on several occasions (1969, 1978, 1982). He characterizes the dialect as marginally Kajkavian and seems in principle to agree with the Velika theory. He suggests that prior to the migration the Hi and Fe people already lived in the direct neighbourhood of the Štoji and Vlahi (1978: 279-281).

It is obvious that the phonetic variability of a number of Hi and Fe phonemes, especially *ę*, *ê* and *ô*, was a great problem to some authors. The clearest examples are the descriptions by Kolarič (1973 and 1976) and Brozović and Lisac (Ivić et al. 1981: 349-358). Kolarič heard no distinctive length but still presented thirteen stressed vowel phonemes for Hi (1976: 347) and ten for Fe (1973: 371-372). Brozović and Lisac (Ivić et al. 1981: 349-350) do distinguish between long and short (and even between rising and falling) and have four degrees of openness in Fe, resulting in fourteen vowel phonemes. Although all these three publications contain some useful material, the analyses on the whole are very far from what I think is correct.[23]

Ivić visited Hi on one day in 1962. He only published his material in 1990, which gave him the opportunity to refer to the available literature up to 1988. The amount of material he collected on a single day is impressive and his findings in almost all cases agree with mine. He gives a survey of the most interesting traits of the dialect and characterizes it as a peripheral Kajkavian dialect with a basically Kajkavian vowel system (1990: 200), which may very well have come from the Velika region (1990: 204-205). In explaining the characteristics of the Hi and Fe dialect Ivić says we should keep in mind the possiblity of dialect mixture and the development of the dialect since the migration. He regrets that so little is known about the "donjolonjski govori", the dialects of the southeast angle of the present-day Kajkavian-speaking area (1990: 204-205). I fully agree with Ivić when he writes about the difficulty of describing such a phonetically instable dialect as that of Hi and Fe, with speakers who are uncertain as to their linguistic competence.[24]

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[23] It is worth mentioning that Kolarič assumed that the dialect was Slovene. In this he followed Ivić (1961-62: 122,n., and map between pp. 128 and 129). Ivić's judgment dates from before his own visit to Hi and Fe (cf. Ivić 1990: 195, n. 3).

[24] In his own words: "... stanje u tom neobičnom govoru, s veoma nestabilnim fonetizmom i s perspektivom skorog iščeznuća, budući da se mlađe pokolenje seljana služi pretežno ili isključivo mađarskim jezikom" (1990: 194-195) and "... mogućnost

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5. The villages of Hi and Fe

5.1 Hi and Fe at the present day

When speaking Croatian, the inhabitants of Hi and Fe call their villages *Hęḍęšīn/Hęḍęšīn* and *Hȍmok*, respectively. For the purpose of the present book I chose to use the Hu names "Hidegség" and "Fertőhomok" and, in accordance with that, the abbreviations "Hi" and "Fe" and the labels "^{h}" and "^{f}".[25]

Hi and Fe have 296 and 495 permanent inhabitants, respectively.[26] They are situated on the marshy and reedy south bank of Lake Fertő and along the main road from Sopron to Fertőd. Both have a local pub and Hi has a few shops. However, for most facilities (e.g. shops, post office, schools, health services, police) the inhabitants are dependent on Hegykő, Fertőd and, above all, Sopron, with all of which there are good bus connections. Hi and Fe both are municipalities with their own mayors and administratively fall under the Comitat Győr-Moson-Sopron.[27] Especially in Hi, the number of inhabitants over forty and over sixty years of age is relatively large. In the following table the Hi and Fe figures are compared with that of the comitat as a whole.

TABLE I.1: inhabitants over 40 and over 60 years of age

	Hi	Fe	Comitat Győr-Moson-Sopron
> 40	65 %	53 %	46 %
> 60	31 %	22 %	19 %

... pojedinih netipičnih primera zasnovanih na nesigurnosti jezičkog osećanja informatora" (1990: 195).

[25] There are two reasons for this choice: (a) The Croatian names show some instability: in most publications Hi is referred to as "Vedešin", Fe as either "Homok", "Humok" or "Umok". In the case of Hi, the most commonly used Croatian name in the literature is not the name that is used by the local people. (b) From motives of principle, I should have preferred to use the "real" local names "Hedešin" and "Homok". However, since these names have the same first letter, that choice would have diminished the immediate recognizability of the abbreviations (which would have been "He" and "Ho") and made the use of a one-letter label impossible.

[26] The figures given in this section were taken from the Győr-Moson-Sopron internet site in February 1999 but reflect the state of affairs in 1996.

[27] In Hungary municipalities can be very small, even considerably smaller than Hi and Fe. The word "comitat" is meant as a translation of Hu *megy* (Győr-Moson-Sopron megye).

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Both villages have a church. The Hi church is of some renown thanks to its thirteenth-century frescoes. Fe does not have its own priest but its church is affiliated to the parish of Hi. Services are in Hungarian.

Since the dissolution of the kolkhoz in 1990, the majority of the working population earns its living in private enterprises, factories (chiefly in Sopron) and all kinds of services (hospitals, public transport, etc.). Most families own plots of arable land, which they lease to the agricultural enterprises that replaced the kolkhoz. Very few of them work for these enterprises themselves. The Hi and Fe people have a market gardening tradition and keep it up till the present day: as long as their physical condition allows them, they grow celery, carrots, parsley, etc. and sell them on the market in Sopron, which is often a welcome additional source of income.

5.2 The linguistic situation in Hi and Fe

The Croatian dialect of Hi and Fe is dying out fast.[28] Those of my informants who were born before or around 1920 told me that until their first schoolday they had spoken Croatian only.[29] In church Hungarian had been spoken as long as they remember (along with Latin), but at home people prayed in Croatian.[30] In the fifties Hungarian was already

[28] The information given in this section is based on my own observations and on personal communications, and not on any kind of statistic research. It is important to stress that the speed with which Croatian disappears can vary considerably among households within the same village, depending on all kinds of invidual factors: what is the speakers' attitude towards the "old" language, where do (or did) the members of the family work, do they have Hungarian-speaking relatives, etc.

[29] Of course, even for this generation and probably many generations before them, Hungarian was already omnipresent and exerting influence on the Croatian dialect itself (see § 3.2). My Hungarian acquaintances told me that the Hungarian spoken by the inhabitants of Hi and Fe (including the older generation) was not in any way different or less fluent than their own, which would hardly seem possible if the language would have been totally unknown to them in their early childhood. Nevertheless Anna Baumgartner, my oldest Hi informant (born 1900) told me that the older she became, the stronger she felt that Croatian was easier to her than Hungarian.

[30] A note on the language of the school and the church in the past. The only source is formed by documents that are kept in the Hi parish archive. There one can find the names of the Hi priests and school-teachers, respectively from 1646 and 1670 onward. I have not seen these documents myself but rely on the notes given to me by Géza Völgyi (see Acknowledgements). Hi had Croatian-speaking priests until 1868. There were a few exceptions, but when the priest was Hungarian, the chaplain was a Croat. In 1832 the bishop of Győr had already decreed that every second mass was to be said in Hungarian. In Fe the situation has always been as it is now:

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well on its way to become the language that one used to communicate with one's school-going children. Really good dialect speakers can only be found among the inhabitants born before 1945. People born after 1970 speak (and mostly understand) Hungarian only. The rapid magyarizing is not only due to the influence of school, the media, the increased mobility of the population, etc., but also to the fact that marriage within the village or with someone in another Croatian village has become a rare phenomenon. For some time now the young people of Hi and Fe have been almost exclusively marrying Hungarian partners. For the Hi and Fe dialect, every such marriage meant the loss of one speaker and his or her offspring.

At several places in the book (e.g. § 7.3, IV.7.1 last paragraph, V.2.2) instances of variation, uncertainty and relative systemlessness will be discussed. It is probable that some – if not all – of these have to do with the process of extinction of the dialect.

6. Field-work, material, methodological remarks

6.1 Field-work

I visited Hi and Fe in 1985, 1988, 1990 and 1994, each time for two or three weeks. I had recording sessions with 21 informants, 12 in Hi and 9 in Fe. My main informants were Anna Baumgartner, Ferenc Horváth, József and Julianna Véghelyi in Hi, József Jurinkovits, Károly and Margit Hospely in Fe. Anna Baumgartner was the oldest informant (born 1900), József Jurinkovits the youngest (born 1935). The other informants were all born between 1920 and 1930.

Most sessions with Anna Baumgartner lasted for an hour and a half, those with the other main informants lasted much longer, since they were busier and it was more difficult to make appointments with them on a regular basis. Although I think that a concentrated conversation has its maximum length, the duration of the interviews did not seem to affect the quality of the material. The sessions mostly had the character of a more or less spontaneous conversation. I asked questions and the informants replied in the way they liked best: either by to-the-point

there is no priest and the church is affiliated with the Hi parish. The last Croatian school teacher in Hi was Mátyás Tomašić, of whom we only know that he began to teach in 1850. Even less is known about the school situation in Fe, but if the replacement of Croatian-speaking by Hungarian-speaking priests and teachers was government policy at the time, we can suppose that it was more or less the same as in Hi.

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answers or by taking the questions as a starting-point for expatiations on aspects of everyday life, life in former days or life in general. My questions mostly concerned everyday life in Hi and Fe and the meaning of words I had encountered during previous sessions. In my experience (also outside Hi and Fe) most informants are able to answer to such questions, but it is very rare that they understand (direct or indirect) questions about morphology or phonology, let alone that they can respond to them in a way that provides reliable answers.[31] Therefore the completeness of a dialect description remains partly a matter of chance.

6.2 Material

My material consists of approximately 20 hours of tape-recorded conversation from Hi and 21 from Fe. From the tapes, I entered the data into a database. In doing that, I tried not to collect too many attestations of exactly the same forms in the database, unless there was a reason to do so, e.g. if the form was for some reason problematic or crucial. In other words, the material in the data base is a selection from the material on the tapes. Of course it is probable that I made mistakes while making this selection, so that not all the forms on the tapes are present in the database. While studying the material in the database, I was very often confronted with forms that were attested in two or more different ways. Even in this dialect, with its great number of doublets and triplets, it must not be excluded that part of the apparent variation is due to mistakes of the field-worker. I therefore checked the data that seemed dubious to me by again listening to the relevant places on the tapes. In many cases this provided clarity and the material in the database could be "cleaned up". Henceforth, when I refer to "the material" ("MATERIAL" in terms of § 6.3.2), I shall have in mind this "cleaned up" database material.

The book was written (with many interruptions) in the course of more than five years, and there is a considerable difference in time between the completion of the various chapters. Although I checked and compared everything several times, it cannot be excluded that there are still some small discrepancies left.

[31] The only such informant I recall was Gašpica Deželić in Orlec (see Houtzagers 1985: 8).

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6.3 Methodological remarks

6.3.1 Relevance

At several points in this book emphasis will be laid on the principal difference between the dialect itself as it exists in the linguistic competence of the speakers and the incomplete reflection of the dialect as it is present in the available material. Although this difference is something readers of dialect descriptions are usually aware of, it is my opinion that in the case of the dialect of Hi and Fe it plays a particularly important role. The reason for this is the abundance of doublet and triplet forms, which makes it very difficult to make more or less conclusive generalizations, especially where morphology is concerned: absence of a crucial variant form in the material can always be coincidental. In the following subsections of § 6.3 this problem will be discussed to some depth.

I can assure those readers who are less interested in such discussions that no great harm will be done if they continue their reading from § 7.

6.3.2 Definitions

In the present section a number of concepts will be defined more rigorously than is usually done in dialect descriptions. Each concept defined here will be printed in small capital letters. Outside this section these concepts will be used only when necessary.

(i) For each word that is subject to inflexion the dialect possesses a PARADIGM. Each PARADIGM consists of a GRID and a set of MACROFORMs.

(ii) A GRID consists of a set of MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES and a set of BOXes. There are correspondences between the set of MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES and the set of BOXes in each GRID: each BOX corresponds to a "maximally defining" subset of two or more different MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES. Which set of MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES a GRID possesses and which bundles of MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES are "maximally defining" and correspond to a BOX is determined by the part of speech to which the word belongs. The structure of the GRID for each part of speech will be presented in the various chapters on morphology.

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Examples: for nouns the ISG and the NPL are BOXes, for adjectives the DEF ISG F and the DEF NPL NF are BOXes.

(iii) There is a one-to-one correspondence between the set of BOXes and the set of MACROFORMs. A MACROFORM is the set of strings of phonemic units that can represent a given BOX of a given PARADIGM. This set can be empty or it can contain one or more members. Each such member (a string of phonemic units) is a FORM. Two or more FORMs that belong to the same MACROFORM are each other's CO-FORMS. When it is necessary to make a distinction between empty MACROFORMs, MACROFORMs with one member and MACROFORMs with two or more members, they will be referred to by "MACROFORM(∅)", "MACROFORM(1)" and "MACROFORM(+)", respectively.

Examples: the DEF NSG M MACROFORM of *nasêča* 'pregnant' is empty; the FORMs *rukûm*, *rukôm* and *rôkum* are each other's CO-FORMS and belong to the ISG MACROFORM(+) of *rôka* 'hand'.

(iv) At certain points a distinction will have to be made between two levels:

– LEVEL D ("dialect"): the dialect as it can be supposed to be present in the linguistic competence of the speakers[32];

– LEVEL M ("material"): the reflection of the dialect to be found in the MATERIAL[33] in the form of attested instances.

When necessary, the names of the concepts defined in (i) through (iii) above will be followed by a superscript "d" if LEVEL D is meant and by a superscript "m" if LEVEL M is meant.

Of course, each FORM^{m} can occur either once or several times in the MATERIAL.

6.3.3 Hypothetical status of the description

6.3.3.1 There are a number of principle differences between a PARADIGM^{d} and its elements on the one hand and a PARADIGM^{m} and its elements on the other. A distinction must be made between

(i) differences that are mainly of theoretical interest and/or common to all descriptions of languages and dialects;

[32] For the purpose of the present discussion it is not necessary to distinguish between the linguistic competences of Hi and Fe speakers or of different speakers within each village.

[33] This is the "cleaned up" database material (see § 6.2).

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(ii) differences that should constantly be kept in mind by the users of the present description.

Ad (i) Strictly speaking, any grammar of a language consists of mere hypotheses, even if the complete material is available (cf. Ebeling 1978: 14-16). In practice, however, most dialectologists assume that a fairly reliable description can be made on the basis of a limited corpus of data. In this monograph the following steps from LEVEL M to LEVEL D will be taken without ado: each FORM^{m} will be considered identical to a FORM^{d} (which is the only thing one can do if one wants to arrive at a description but which is, properly speaking, only true if the linguist has not made a single mistake). Similarly it will be assumed, especially for those parts of speech that are represented by large numbers of words, that the GRIDs^{d} (and with them the MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES^{d} and the BOXes^{d}) have been established correctly[34].

Ad (ii) It was said above (ad (i)) that in the following each FORM^{m} will be considered identical to a FORM^{d}. However, it would not be justified to postulate a similar identity relation between the MACROFORMs^{m} and MACROFORMs^{d} of a PARADIGM. The dialect under description shows an abundance of PARADIGMs containing MACROFORMs(+) (e.g. accentual doublets or triplets), and there is no way of knowing whether a MACROFORM^{m}, even if it is a MACROFORM(+)^{m}, is complete, i.e. possesses the same number of elements as the corresponding MACROFORM^{d}. For this reason one can never know whether for a PARADIGM^{d} all FORMs^{d} have been attested, even if (and this is very seldom the case) the MATERIAL contains MACROFORMs(+)^{m} for every BOX.

In view of the incomplete and accidental way in which PARADIGMs^{d} are reflected by PARADIGMs^{m}, it would be impossible to make a description containing a reasonable amount of generalizations without saying anything (explicitly or explicitly) about FORMs^{d} for which no corresponding FORMs^{m} have been attested. Such a statement about a FORM^{d} for which no corresponding FORM^{m} has been attested is an EXTRAPOLATION. Below I shall give two examples of EXTRAPOLATION.

[34] With some hesitation regarding the distinction between DEF and IND adjectival forms (see V.3.2).

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(1) We assume that the PR1PL ending of all verbs is *-mo*, although the PR1PL has only been attested for a relatively small part of the verbs. For each verb for which no PR1PL FORM^{m} has been attested, the statement that the PR1PL ending of all verbs is *-mo* is an EXTRAPOLATION (based on the MACROFORMs^{m} of the same BOX (PR1PL) of other PARADIGMs). In fact, every table of endings for an inflexion class of a part of speech contains a multitude of EXTRAPOLATIONs. For each PARADIGM that belongs to a certain inflexion class only a part (in most cases a small part) of all FORMs^{d} has been attested.

(2) If for the verb *pomìnat sę* 'talk' we attest the FORMs^{m} INF *pomìnat*, PR1SG *pomînam*, PR2SG *pomînaš*, PR3SG *pomìna*, PR1PL *pomìnamo/pomînamo*, LPM *pomìnal*, it is natural to assume doublet length in all present forms and regard the fact that there is no attestation of a short vowel in the PR2SG nor of a long one in the PR3SG as accidental. These, too, are EXTRAPOLATIONs (this time on the basis of MACROFORMs^{m} for other BOXes of the same PARADIGM).

Such an EXTRAPOLATION will only be made when the author is convinced that there is not more than a theoretical chance that it distorts the picture of the virtual dialect.

It goes without saying that conclusions for which the presence or absence of a certain FORM^{d} is crucial (e.g. the assignment of a PARADIGM to an inflexion class or an accentuation type), will always have to be based on FORMs^{d} which are supported by the presence of the corresponding FORMs^{m} and never on EXTRAPOLATIONs.

Whether a statement is an EXTRAPOLATION for a certain PARADIGM can be checked by consulting the Lexicon, in which only FORMs^{m} are given.

6.3.3.2 The principal difference between MACROFORMs^{m} and MACROFORMs^{d} of a PARADIGM can be a major problem at those points in the description where a criterion of the type "the PARADIGM^{d} contains a FORM^{d} *x* such that ..." plays a role. If a corresponding FORM^{m} *x* is present in the MATERIAL, the matter is solved. If a corresponding FORM^{m} *x* is not present in the MATERIAL, nothing else can be done than to assume that the FORM^{d} *x* referred to is not present in the PARADIGM^{d}, but in principle the question remains open: if in the future the MATERIAL is extended, a corresponding FORM^{m} *x* can be found.

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Examples of criteria of the type just described are found at those places in the present description where words are assigned to accentuation types (see § 7.4):

Type I: Fixed stem-stress, the stressed vowel is short.
Type II: Ffixed stem-stress, the stressed vowel is long.
Type III: No fixed stem-stress: stress on the ending at least in part of the paradigm or stress shift(s) within the stem.
Type IV: Fixed stem-stress, but the stressed vowel is short in one part of the paradigm and long in another.

Three remarks can be made on the conclusiveness of the assignment of words to accentuation types:

(i) One FORM^{m} with end-stress or with stress on a different syllable than another FORM^{m} of the same PARADIGM is enough to assign a PARADIGM permanently to type III;
(ii) If the MATERIAL contains no FORMs^{m} on the basis of which the PARADIGM should be assigned to type III, one FORM^{m} with a stressed stem-vowel which is different with respect to quantity from the stressed stem-vowel in another FORM^{m} of the same PARADIGM is enough to assign a PARADIGM to type IV. It will never be assigned to type I or II, but it cannot be excluded, even if the PARADIGM has MACROFORMs(+)^{m} for every BOX, that in the future, if the MATERIAL is extended, the PARADIGM will be assigned to type III.
(iii) Types I and II are in principle very low on the scale of conclusiveness. If a PARADIGM^{m} is represented by a single FORM^{m} *y* with stem-stress, the PARADIGM is assigned to type I or II, depending on the length of the stressed vowel in FORM^{m} *y*. Future attestation of a single FORM^{m} *z* with an accentuation different from that of FORM^{m} *y* will be enough reason to assign the PARADIGM to type III or IV.

An example: for reasons that will be given in §§ 7.2 and 7.3 we should not be surprised if the PARADIGM^{d} of *jüha* 'soup' had the following MACROFORMs(+)^{d}: NSG *jüha/jûha*, ASG *jûhu/jühu* and ISG +*juhûm/jühum*/+*jûhum* (the forms marked with "+" were not attested). I assigned the noun to type IV, but if *jûha* and *jûhu* had not been attested, I would have assigned it to type I. On the other hand, if +*juhûm* would have been attested, I would have assigned the noun to type III.

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6.3.3.3 It is probable that for most readers the hypothetical status and the lesser conclusiveness of generalizations will be more of a problem in some cases than in others. In order to illustrate this I shall continue the discussion on the assignment to accentuation types that was started in the preceding subsection.

In the dialect under description by far most FORMs^{m} on the basis of which PARADIGMs are assigned to accentuation types III and IV (henceforth "FORMs^{m} α") are found (in most cases as members of MACROFORMs(+)) within a clearly defined set Y of PARADIGMs. Set Y consists of those PARADIGMs which in CSl and/or during some period between CSl and the present day showed accentual alternations. To be more specific: the PARADIGMs of set Y had MACROFORMs(1) which differed from one another with respect to the place of the stress or with respect to length (see §§ 7.2 and 7.3). Subset X ($\subset Y$) consists of those members of Y that really show the expected FORMs^{m} α in the MATERIAL. If a PARADIGM p belongs to the part of set Y that does not show FORMs^{m} α (i.e. $p \in Y - X$) one should be especially aware of the possibility that PARADIGM^{d} p possesses unattested FORMs^{d} α. Less formally stated: if there are historical reasons for expecting that a paradigm belongs to type III or IV, but on the basis of the attested forms it is assigned to type I or II, one should be aware of the possibility that the dialect possesses one or more nonattested forms that, would they have been attested, would have been reason to assign the paradigm to type III or IV. Examples are those feminine nouns of inflexion class II that historically belong to CSl accentuation type (b) or (c) and are assigned to accentuation class I or II (*srêda* 'Wednesday', *môka* 'flour', etc.; see III.5.2.2-5.2.4).

One the other hand, if the reader finds the word *mëra* 'certain unit of weight' assigned to accentuation type I, together with the vast majority of other CSl (a)-type nouns, he can be reasonably confident that the assignment of this word to accentuation type I, however inconclusive it may be in theory, is in accordance with PARADIGM^{d} of *mëra*.

7. Some characteristics of the dialect and of this description

7.1 Synchrony and diachrony

The aim of the present study is to provide a synchronic dialect description. However, at certain points in the book the characteristics of the dialect and the relations between them yield a more coherent picture if

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they are placed against a diachronic background. Diachronic information can also help the reader to draw his own conclusions in the case of "less conclusive generalizations" (see § 6.3.3.2 sub (iii)).

A number of diachronic developments will be presented in the following subsection, and also in many other places the reader will find remarks concerning the history of the dialect. Such remarks will be made whenever the author thinks that they contribute to a better understanding of the present-day situation, but they have the status of additional information and can in principle be skipped.

7.2 Five characteristic innovations

For a better understanding of a number of accentual phenomena in the present-day dialect of Hi and Fe, the reader can profit from the knowledge of two chronologically ordered sound laws that can be supposed to have operated in the dialect:[35]

(a) Loss of the pretonic length distinction, e.g. **dęčākȁ* 'young man' GSG > **dęčakȁ*, **pītȁt* 'ask' > **pitȁt*;
NB. At this stage long and short mid vowels (*e*, *ē*, *o* and *ō*) had additional distinguishing characteristics, so that they did not merge. With some simplification we can say that the operation of rule (a) has had no consequences for the pretonic vowels in, for example, **mōkȁ* 'flour' and **svēzȁt* 'tie'.

(b) Stress retraction from short final syllables, e.g. **dęčakȁ* > *dęčȁka*, **pitȁt* > *pȉtat*, **mōkȁ* > *môka*, **svēzȁt* > *svêzat*.

Changes (a) and (b) have had a number of consequences for, among other things, the accentual systems of the various parts of speech. I shall enumerate the most important ones here:

(1) Absence of short stressed endings in polysyllabic forms, e.g. *kȍnja* 'horse' GSG (< **konjȁ*);

(2) Presence in the dialect of paradigms with what I shall call "semi-automatic stress retraction", e.g. in the NSG of accentual subtype I/2 of the masculine Ia nouns (*Bȍžič* 'Christmas', GSG *Božȉča*; see III.2.2.3.2);

[35] Developments (a) and (b) are discussed in their chronological context in Houtzagers (1996: 130-131). As a result of change (b), short vowels are rare in stressed final syllables of polysyllabic words. Some exceptions are: *kadë(n)* 'where', (also with a deviant reflex of **ъ*), *ondë* 'there', *ovdë* 'here' (along with *dë(n), ȍndę(n) and ȍvdę(n)*) and such IMP forms as *donęs* 'bring' (cf. INF *dȍnęs*).

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(3) Length oppositions in parts of accentual type IV in the nominal and verbal morphology, e.g. *dęčâk* 'young man', GSG *dęčäka* (< **dęčakä̀* < **dęčākä̀*), *pǐtat* 'ask' (< **pitä̀t* < **pītä̀t*), PR1PL *pîtamo* (see III.2.2.2, III.2.2.6.1, VI.4.4, VI.4.5).

Another very important tendency in the dialect is:

(c) The tendency towards accentual analogy, i.e. towards copying the accentuation of a certain word form from other forms of the same paradigm. Often the analogical and the more original accentuation occur along with each other, so that the tendency towards analogy results in doublet accentuation.

This tendency and its consequences will be discussed in the next section.

One change operated in a more specific phonetic environment, but often had accentual consequences for the words it affected:

(d) **ä̀* and **â* > *ô* before *n* or *m*, e.g. *jôma* 'hole', *tôncat* 'dance'.

There is one change that took place in the Hi dialect only:

(e) Pretonic **ĕ* and **ə* > *i*, e.g. *tȅdęn*^{h} 'week', GPL *tidnôv*^{h}, *kȅsno* ADV 'late', COMP ADV *kišnǐjȩ*^{h}.

From a synchronic point of view, this change causes an unpredictable morphonemic alternation in, among others, a number of nouns (see e.g. III.2.3 (5)).[36]

7.3 Accentual doublets: alternations and analogy

Many nominal, adjectival and verbal paradigms show some kind of doublet accentuation. Examples are given in (1), (2) and (3) below. If one of the accentual variants has been attested more frequently than the other, it is preceded by "+".

(1) *+jüha/jûha* 'winter', ASG *+jûhu/jühu*;
(2) *mêd* 'honey', GSG *mêda/mȅda*; *+nös/nôs* 'nose', GSG *nösa*;
(3) *pǐsat* 'write', PR3SG *+pîšę/pǐšę*, LPM *pǐsal*.

In dialect descriptions which, as the present one, are based on a limited corpus of data, the picture of the morphological system presented is of necessity partly founded on assumptions about nonattested forms (see

[36] For a diachronic account of this innovation see Houtzagers (1996: 132-134).

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also § 6.3.3.1, where such assumptions are called EXTRAPOLATIONs). This also holds where doublet accentuation is concerned: when a paradigm shows doublet accentuation, usually not all accentual variants have been attested. Example (also given in § 5.3.3.1(2)):

(4) *pomi̇̏nat sę* 'talk', PR1SG *pomî̏nam*, PR2SG *pomî̏naš*, PR3SG *pomi̇̏na*, PR1PL *+pomi̇̏namo/pomî̏namo*, LPM *pomi̇̏nal.*

For the paradigm presented in (4) I assume doublet accentuation in all present forms. The fact that there is no attestation of a short vowel in the PR2SG nor of a long one in the PR3SG I regard as accidental.

In (5) part of the attested forms of *dȍbęr* 'good' are given:

(5) NSGF *dobrâ*, GSGMN *dobrôga/dȍbroga*, GSGF *dobrê*, ASGN *dobrô*, LSGMN *dȍbręm.*

The majority of the attested inflected forms of *dȍbęr* has end-stress, but stem-stress is by no means exceptional. I assume that all inflected forms can in principle have both accentuations and that the nonattestation of end-stress in some forms and of stem-stress in others is accidental.

Because doublet accentuation is very common, the first impression one gets of the accentuation of the dialect is one of systemlessness. On closer inspection, however, it turns out that this apparent systemlessness is mostly found in paradigms in which on historical or comparative grounds it is reasonable to expect an accentual alternation. We shall now discuss the examples given above from this point of view.

For the reasons why in the examples (1), (3) and (4) it is reasonable to expect an accentual alternation, the reader is referred to rules (a) and (b) of § 7.2.

Ad (1) Here one expects NSG *jȕha* (< **juhȁ* < **jūhȁ*), ASG *jûhu*. The present state of affairs can be explained by assuming an analogic tendency which worked "both ways": the length of the stressed vowel in *jûha* was caused by analogy to the originally stem-stressed forms (like the ASG), the shortness in *jȕhu* by analogy to the originally end-stressed forms (like the NSG).[37]

[37] The accentual phenomena under discussion can also be viewed (and this is not necessarily in conflict with the explanation suggested above) as symptoms of a state of confusion in the linguistic competence of the speakers of the dialect with regard to certain accentually complex paradigms, which in the long run might result in the loss of the relating accentual alternations.

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Ad (2) In the case of *mêd* 'honey' and +*nȍs/nôs* 'nose' one would expect *mêd*, GSG *mẹ̏da*, *nôs*, GSG *nȍsa* (like in almost every Serbo-Croatian dialect). The length of the stem-vowel in the GSG variant *mêda* is caused by analogy to the NSG, the shortness of the NSG variant *nȍs* by analogy to the shortness in inflected forms. There is no proof for analogy "both ways" in each of the two paradigms. The nonattestation of NSG +*mẹ̏d* and GSG +*nôsa* could in principle be accidental, but in view of the accentuation of similar paradigms (*lêd* 'ice', GSG *lẹ̏da*, LSG +*lẹ̏di/lêdi*; *Bôg* 'God', GSG *Bȍga*) I am inclined to think that it is not.

Ad (3) In the paradigm *pȉsat* 'write' (< **pisȁt* < **pīsȁt*), PR3SG +*pȉšẹ/pȉšẹ*, LPM *pȉsal* (< **pisȁl* < **pīsȁl*), "one-way analogy" is found, too. The shortness of the stressed vowel in *pȉšẹ* is caused by analogy to the forms with former end-stress. The INF and LP have been abundantly attested and always with a short stem-vowel, so that one can assume that the analogy in this paradigm worked only one way.

Ad (4) The same applies to *pomȉnat* 'tell' (< **pominȁt* < **pomīnȁt*), PR1SG *pomȉnam*, PR2SG *pomȉnaš*, PR3SG *pomȉna*, PR1PL +*pomȉnamo/pomȉnamo*, LPM *pomȉnal*. The stem-vowel in PR forms can be either long (original state) or short (by analogy to the INF) and the nonattestation of the short variant in the PR2SG and of the long one in the PR3SG are clearly accidental. Nonattestation of the long variant in the INF and LP is clearly not accidental: both forms occur frequently in my material, always with a short stem-vowel.

Ad (5) For *dȍbẹr* I assume original stem-stress in the IND forms and original end-stress in the DEF ones. The DEF forms show a tendency toward copying the accentuation of the IND ones (see V.3.2).

As can be seen from (1) and (2), the doublet member that occurs more frequently in the material is sometimes historically the more original one (as *jȕha* in (1)) and sometimes it is not (as *nȍs* in (2)). It is possible that this has to do with the absolute number of attested instances: the material contains many more instances of the forms given in (1) than of those of each of the paradigms in (2). However, the material is too small for statistical operations and therefore no conclusions will be drawn from the numerical proportions between doublet members.

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7.4 Accentuation types and subtypes

In the lexicon and in the chapters on morphology, paradigms will be classified, among other things, according to their accentuation. The principles on which the accentual classification is based are the same throughout the monograph:

(1) Each paradigm will be assigned to an accentuation type (numbered I through IV). These Roman numerals have essentially the same meaning for all parts of speech and all inflexion classes:
I: fixed stem-stress, the stressed vowel is short;
II: fixed stem-stress, the stressed vowel is long;
III: no fixed stem-stress: stress on the ending at least in part of the paradigm or stress shift(s) within the stem;
IV: fixed stem-stress, but the stressed vowel is short in one part of the paradigm and long in another.

(2) There can be slight differences in the meaning of the Roman numerals. For example, for masculine nouns of inflexion class Ia the condition for assignment of a noun to accentuation type I does not apply to the NSG (see III.2.2.1).

(3) Within the accentuation types, subtypes are distinguished. For the assignment of a paradigm to a subtype, sometimes diachronic criteria can play a role.[38]

A remark must be made on accentuation type III. In the dialect there is or has been an overall tendency towards eliminating desinential stress. Almost in every inflexion class of every part of speech instances of desinential stress are found, but they yield the picture of archaisms, the distribution of which – in any case in the available material but probably also in the dialect itself – is highly accidental. The same holds for stress shifts within the stem. Those sets of words that represent accentuation type III are always both synchronically and diachronically heterogeneous: end-stress is often attested in different forms for different words and in most cases it is not clear why precisely these words show end-stress in the material while others do not.

[38] The observant reader might object that this is in contradiction with what was said in § 7.1, viz. that the aim of this study is to provide a synchronic description. In this case, however, the use of diachronic criteria does not impair the value of the present work as a synchronic description, since it merely offers the possibility of subdividing sets of paradigms that from a synchronic point of view cannot be further subdivided. In other words, no synchronic information is lost, the reader is only given additional (diachronic) information.

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There are two explanations for this heterogeneity:

(i) It is possible that a form which is crucial for assigning a paradigm to accentuation type III exists in the dialect but are not present in the material. This and similar methodological problems have been discussed in § 6.3.3.

(ii) There are indications that individual words (even if they belonged to the same CSl accentuation type) can have their own "preferences" for stem-stress or end-stress in certain forms (see III.5.2.5).

7.5 Theoretical framework

The framework for the phonological description is that of the Prague School (see for instance Trubetzkoy 1939), further developed by Ebeling (1960: 7-80) and Kortlandt (1972: 131-166). This means that a strict distinction is made between phonemics and phonetics. On the phonemic level only distinctive features are taken into consideration. Phonemes are sets of such distinctive features. Archiphonemes occur in positions where the opposition between two or more phonemes is neutralized. In phonemic notation (between slants), archiphonemes are traditionally represented by capital letters.

For the chapters on morphology and syntax in this book no particular theoretical framework is needed and the traditional terminology will be used.

7.6 Notation

7.6.1 "Standard notation"

For reasons of readability, phonemic, phonetic and morphonemic notation (between / /, [ ] and < >, respectively) will be used only when necessary. Wherever possible, Hi and Fe forms and parts of forms will be given in what I shall call the "standard notation". The standard notation is close to the phonemic notation, but it is somewhat adapted to common practice in Serbo-Croatian dialectology. Four properties distinguish the standard notation from the phonemic notation:

(1) (parts of) forms are printed in italics, without slashes;

(2) archiphonemes (see § 7.5) are not marked as such, but are written as if they were full phonemes, e.g. *nôž* (/nôŽ/);

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(3) intervocalic [j] is always written, whether distinctive or not (see II.3.3.5);

(4) The symbols *c* and *č* will be used although, strictly speaking, there is no ground for a monophonemic interpretation of [ts] and [tš] (see also II.1.2 (1)). Phonemic /ť/ is written *ć*.

7.6.2 Notation in sandhi position and in case of variation

In the chapter on syntax (VII), in the text part of the book and in the examples given in the Lexicon, phonemic units in external sandhi position will be written according to their phonetic realization. This will give the reader a better impression of the speech-flow as a whole. Since the sandhi rules are all optional (see II.4), a form can appear either altered or unaltered, according to how it was attested on a specific occasion.

The same applies to variation: in the parts of the book listed above, forms which show variation will be written according to how they were actually attested. This variation can be due to phonological optionality, e.g. of *j* in *lj* (see II.3.3.3), or to morphological phenomena, e.g. stem-final *n* - *nj* in II verbs (see VI.5.3).

7.6.3 Differences between Hi and Fe: notational conventions

Although the dialects of Hi and Fe are almost identical, there are a number of phonological, morphological and lexical differences. Because the differences are so few, I shall describe the dialects as one single system as much as possible. When necessary, dialect forms will be marked as belonging to the dialect of only one of the two villages by adding a superscript "h" or "f". It is relevant that the reader be aware of the following notational conventions:

(1) If in the description a (part of) a dialect form (an example, a desinence, etc.) is not followed by "^{h}" or "^{f}", the form in question represents the state of affairs in both Hi and Fe. This means either that the form has been attested for both dialects or that it has been attested for one of the two but that there is no reason to assume that there is any difference between the two.

(2) The dialect of Hi has no unstressed *o*: where unstressed *o* is expected on historical grounds, *u* is found. The dialect of Fe, however, does have an unstressed *o*. Therefore, strictly speaking, in all forms containing an unstressed *o* in Fe, the description would

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have to give separate Hi and Fe variants. For practical reasons I have chosen not to do this. If in the description forms with unstressed *o* will be given without the indication "^{f}", the reader must keep in mind that this is the Fe variant and that the Hi variant is obtained by substituting *u* for unstressed *o*. If in such cases only the Hi form has been attested, unstressed *u* will be written and "^{h}" will be added.

However, in the chapter on syntax (VII), in the text part of the book and in the examples given in the lexicon, Hi unstressed *u* will be written *u*, also if it parallells unstressed *o* in Fe. This, together with what was said in the preceding section about the notation of forms in sandhi position and forms showing variation, is meant to give the user a more accurate acoustic impression of the fragments of speech presented.

7.6.4 Remark on morphonemic notation

In the morphonemic notation no distinction is made between the accentual variants of the vowels. For example, "<a>" refers to /â/, /ȁ/ and/or /a/.

7.6.5 Notation of variant endings; alternative endings

In the ending inventories in this dialect description, slashes are used for separating desinences for the same number and case that differ only with respect to accentuation, e.g. LSG *-i/-î* for the masculine nouns of class Ia (see III.2.1.1). A double slash is used for separating the "hard" and "soft" variant(s) of an ending. The "soft" variant is marked "^{p}" (for "palatal"). For an example, see the "hard" and "soft" NSG endings of the neuter nouns in III.3.1.1. Endings which differ in other respects than accentuation and the characteristic "hard" vs. "soft" will be called "alternative endings". Alternative endings are separated by commas, e.g. the GPL of masculine class Ia nouns: *-ov/-ôv*, *-Ø*, *-i* (see III.2.1.1).

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CHAPTER II: PHONOLOGY

1. Phoneme inventory

1.1 The vowels

In stressed syllables the dialects of Hi and Fe have the same vowel inventory. In unstressed syllables, however, the dialect of Fe has one phoneme more than that of Hi. As a consequence, the system of distinguishing features in unstressed syllables is slightly different.

In addition to the vowel phonemes shown in the following tables, the Fe dialect has a rare phoneme /ö/, both in stressed and unstressed position (see remark (2) below). In loan-words of Hungarian origin both in Hi and Fe the loan phonemes /ö/ and /ü/ occur (see § 1.3.2).

There is a posttonic /ę̄/ in Hi and a posttonic /ā/ in Fe, both with a very limited distribution (see remark (5) below).

TABLE II.1: inventory of stressed vowels (Hi and Fe)

	front		back	
	short	long	short	long
high	/ì/	/î/	/ù/	/û/
mid	/è/	/ê/	/ò/	/ô/
low	/ę̀/	/ę̂/	/à/	/â/

TABLE II.2: inventory of unstressed vowels in the dialect of Hi

	front	back
high	/i/	/u/
low	/ę/	/a/

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TABLE II.3: inventory of unstressed vowels in the dialect of Fe

	front	back
high	/i/	/u/
mid	/ę/	/o/
low	/a/	

Remarks:

(1) In stressed syllables the phoneme /r/ can occur in interconsonantal position. I shall call /r/ in this position "vocalic /r/". Vocalic /r/ shows no length opposition and in standard notation it will be represented by the symbol "*r̈*".[1] Examples: *obr̈not* 'turn', *zr̈no* 'grains', NPL *dr̈va* 'wood', NPL *Jęzr̈cę* TOP. Vocalic /r/ is realized as mid front vowel + [r][2]. The mid front vowel preceding [r] varies in length and in timbre. On vocalic /r/ see also §§ 2.1.2 and 3.2.2.

(2) I assume that in the dialect of Fe there exists a rounded mid front vowel phoneme /ö/. This /ö/ occurs in only three roots: *čörn* 'black', *čvörst* 'hard' – along with *čr̈n* and *čvr̈st* (with the realizations of vocalic /r/ discussed above) –, N *tfördo* 'hard' and LPN *otvördnolo* 'harden'. There are two attestations of unstressed /ö/, viz. COMP NSGN *čörnïję* 'black' and NSGN *tvördô* 'hard'. In the other attested instances /ö/ is stressed. The realizations of stressed /ö/ vary in length. There is no possibility to analyze the phonetic sequence [ör] in [čörn], etc. as a positional allophone of vocalic /r/, since there is an opposition with /r̈/ in the word *čr̈v* (with normal realizations of vocalic /r/).

(3) In the dialects of both Hi and Fe, /ę̈/ has rounded allophones between /v/ and /l/, e.g. in *vę̈li* 'big' (see § 2.1.1, last paragraph).

[1] From a phonological point of view, the sign ¨ would have to be omitted, since neither stress nor shortness are distinctive on vocalic /r/. The reader be remembered, however, that the standard notation is meant to improve the readibility of the present description and does not always have to be fully correct in terms of phonemic oppositions.

[2] The material contains a very small number of instances of vocalic /r/ realized as ultrashort mid central vowel (schwa) + [r].

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(4) As can be seen from the tables, the dialect of Hi has no unstressed /o/. Where unstressed /o/ is expected for historical reasons, /u/ appears, e.g. NASG *sẹ̈lu*^{h} 'garment' (cf. *sẹ̈lo*^{f}).[3]

(5) Hi has a posttonic long /ē/ and Fe a posttonic long /ā/ in the words *vüdēj*^{h} 'this way', *nüdēj*^{h}/*nüdāj*^{f} 'that way', *tüdēj*^{h}/*tüdāj*^{f} 'that way', *küdēj*^{h}/*küdāj*^{f} 'which way'.

1.2 The consonants

TABLE II.4: inventory of consonant phonemes

	labial	dental	palatal	velar / laryngeal
voiceless stops	/p/	/t/	/ť/	/k/
voiced stops	/b/	/d/	/d'/	/g/
voiceless fricatives	/f/	/s/	/š/	/h/
voiced fricatives	/v/	/z/	/ž/	
nasals	/m/	/n/		
glide	/j/			
lateral	/l/			
trill	/r/			

The fricatives and stops will also be called "obstruents", the other consonants "resonants".

Remarks:

(1) I see no justification for assuming separate affricate phonemes $^{+}$/c/ or $^{+}$/č/. For such phonemes to exist there would have to be oppositions between $^{+}$/c/ and /ts/ and between $^{+}$/č/ and /tš/ (or /ťš/), which is not the case. For the purposes of the present book, however, I think that the accessibility of the data presented is more relevant than theoretical rigour. Therefore in the so-called "standard" notation (the notation used almost everywhere in the book) the familiar symbols "*c*" and "*č*" will be used. Examples: *crîkva* 'church', *člövęk* 'human being'.

(2) There is an opposition between the phoneme /ť/ and the phoneme sequence /tj/. In the standard notation, /ť/ is represented

[3] I also attested *u* < **o* in such instances in which phonologically unstressed *u* < **o* was occasionally stressed for contrastive reasons, e.g. in *utprêt* 'open' [ùtprêt] (in a context where the speaker wanted to contrast this verb with *zaprêt* 'close').

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by the more familiar symbol "*ć*". Both /ť/ and /tj/ are rare[4] The attested forms in which they occur are: *pȍtjęg*, *pȍtjęgzęm* 'since', *smętjê* (less frequent variant of *smętljê*) 'dirt', N *smętjȉvo* 'dirty', PPN *hȉćęno* 'throw', NPL *Ćȕćęvi* PROP, *prętolȉćę/protolȉćę* 'spring'.[5]

(3) There is an opposition between the phoneme /ď/ and the phoneme sequence /dj/. The sequence /dj/ has only been attested in the adjective NSGN *sosȅdjęvo* 'the neighbour's'. Examples with /ď/: *pohȁďat*, *nȁjzad'* 'back', *rodȃk* 'relative'.

(4) The phoneme sequences /lj/ and /nj/ are realized [l'] and [ń]), respectively. There is no reason to assume separate phonemes +/l'/ or +/ń/, since there are no oppositions between +/l'/ and /lj/ and between +/ń/ and /nj/. There are certain optionality and variation phenomena connected with the sequences /lj/ and /nj/ (see §§ 3.3.3 and VI.5.3).

1.3 Loan-words and loan phonemes

1.3.1 What is a loan-word?

The dialect is rich in words of Hungarian origin. There are several common concepts for which the dialect does not possess an originally Slavic lexeme, e.g. *lęvęgê* 'air', GSG *lęvęgêja/lęvęgêha* (Hu *levegő*), GSG *ajandȉka* 'gift' (Hu *ajándék*). In addition, a lot of spontaneous borrowing takes place: when speaking Croatian, the speakers frequently use Hungarian words, whether or not with Croatian grammatical endings and whether or not adapted to Hi and Fe phonology. For instance, when a speaker wants to say 'stars' it can happen that he says *čȉllagi, ... zvêzdę* (Hu *csillag* means 'star').[6]

---

[4] This is because **tj* is usually represented by *č* (e.g. *svȅča* 'candle') and in inflexion and derivation *č* is almost always the palatal alternant of *t* (e.g. *mȅtat* 'put', PR3SG *mȅčę*; *plȁtit* – *plȁčat* 'pay' (perfective – imperfective)).

[5] This is obviously a loan-word (cf. *ȉ* < **ě*). Apart from the forms mentioned, *ć* occurred in the speech of one informant in the form PR3SG *dȉšćę* 'tremble' (other informants: *dȉščę*).

[6] The form *čȉllagi* consists of a Hu stem (with a double *-ll-*) followed by a Croatian NPL ending. The use of Hu grammatical endings in the middle of Croatian utterances is less common than the use of Hu lexemes, but it is relatively frequent in combination with toponyms, e.g. *ję dȍšęl sȉm Hidegségre* 'he came here, to Hidegség', *Firenzébe sęm bȉla, Rómába sęm bȉla* 'I have been in Florence, I have been in Rome'. Combinations of Croatian prepositions and Hu endings are also possible, e.g. *va Pȅręstęgęn* 'in Peresteg'.

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It is difficult to draw a sharp line between borrowings of the type *lęvęgê* and those of the type *čïllagi* or, in other words, between

(a) loans that have a more or less permanent position in the vocabulary of the dialect and
(b) Hungarian words that occur in the middle of otherwise Croatian utterances as a result of code switching or code mixing.

Yet it is nesessary to make some kind of distinction between (a) and (b), because only words belonging to group (a) are loan-words in the proper sense: they must be included in the Lexicon and their grammatical peculiarities must be discussed in the chapters on morphology. I consider a word as belonging to group (a) if the following conditions are met:

(1) the word has been attested in Croatian utterances on more than one occasion;
(2) on the occasions when it was attested it was (at least once and at least partly) adapted to Hi and Fe Croatian, either by the use of a Croatian grammatical ending or by replacement of Hungarian phonemes by Hi and Fe ones;
(3) the way in which the word is (partly) adapted to the dialect of Hi and Fe is more or less consistent;
(4) there is no reason to think that the speakers themselves do not consider the word as a part of their Hi and Fe lexicon (e.g. correction or immediate replacement by a synonym).

The word *lęvęgê* meets all four conditions. The fact that the speaker can choose between stem-final *-h-* and *-j-* in inflected forms is common in Hungarian loans ending in a vowel and is not in conflict with condition (3). The form *čïllagi* meets only condition (2).

Needless to say that if conditions (1) - (4) are not met this can be due to coincidence and that in condition (3) there is an arbitrary element.

It is also possible that a word meets conditions (1) - (4) (e.g. *autô* 'car', GSG *autôja/autôha*, ISG *autôhęm*, NPL *autôji*) but that the material also contains instances in which the original Hungarian word is adapted in a different way or to a lesser extent than in the majority of other attested instances (e.g. [àutōji] with a posttonic length, cf. Hu *autó*). In such cases the "non-typical" instances (e.g. [àutōji]) will not be regarded as realizations of a Hi and Fe form.

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1.3.2 Adaptation of loan-words. Loan phonemes

In general, loan-words are completely adapted to the phonological system of the Hi and Fe dialect.

Posttonic lengths are removed, usually by moving the stress to the syllable that is long in Hungarian, e.g. *hatâr* 'territory', (Hu *határ*). If the Hungarian word contains more than one long vowel, one (mostly the last one) is chosen to preserve length, e.g. *radijô* 'radio' (cf. Hu *rádió*). If the Hungarian word ends in *-ék*, *-ég* or *-ény*, the corresponding Hi and Fe word has *-ïk-*, *-ïg-* or *-îń/ïń* , respectively, e.g. GSG *tajïka* 'region' (Hu *tájék*), GASG *bętęksïga* 'illness' (Hu *betegség*), APL *vęndï gę* 'guest' (Hu *vendég*), NAPL *ędïnję/ędïnję* 'dishes' (Hu *edény*), GSG *šętęmïnja* 'pastry' (Hu *sütemény*). I have no examples of non-inflected forms of such words. The word *orsâg* 'country' (Hu *ország*) has a short *ä* in inflected forms, e.g. GSG *orsäga*. A short *ï* appears in the inflected forms GSG *njugdïja* and LSG *njugdïji* (Hu *nyugdíj*; no noninfected forms attested).

As can be seen from the examples given in the present and the preceding section, those Hungarian vowels that have counterparts in the Hi and Fe phoneme system – i.e. all vowels except *ö*, *ü*, *ő* and *ű* – are in general replaced by those counterparts. In the preceding paragraph a few exceptions were presented: Hungarian words ending in *-ék* or *-ég* and the word *ország*. Before *m* and *n* stressed *á* and *a* are replaced by *ô*, e.g. *kormônj* 'government' (Hu *kormány*; cf. § 3.2.3).

As a rule, the Hungarian vowels *ö*, *ü* and *ő* (no examples with *ű* were available) are replaced by Hi and Fe *ę*, *i* and *ê*, respectively, e.g. *gêzęš* 'train' from Hungarian *gőzös*, *šitê* 'oven' (Hu *sütő*). However, there are exceptions to this, e.g. *tučêr* 'funnel' (Hu *tölcsér*).

In Hungarian loan-words – i.e. words that meet the conditions (1) through (4) in the preceding section – *ü* and *ö* sometimes survive, e.g. *rępülê/röpülê* 'airplane' (cf. Hu *repülő*, locally also *röpülő*), LSG *fürdêhi* 'bathing establishment'. Therefore *ü* and *ö* will be regarded as occasional loan phonemes.

In LSG *januhâri* 'January' and *fębruhâri* 'February' intervocalic *h* is inserted. It is not clear why the word *hôd* '0.75 hectares' (Hu *hold*) was adapted the way it was (if it is a loan from Hu).

Of course Hungarian words can be extended by Croatian suffixes or Hungarian suffixes can be replaced by Croatian ones, e.g. *bälogast* 'left' and *kösošast* 'dirty' (Hu *balog*), *koszos*, *politizälovat* 'talk politics' (Hu *politizál*), *füdbalozovat* 'play soccer', (Hu *futballozik*). Sometimes

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the Hungarian word is subject to unpredictable changes, e.g. ASG *šarabüja* 'weeder' (Hu *saraboló*), ASG *sâru* 'leg (of a boot)' (feminine) from (Hu *szár*).

The loan-words from German are much less numerous than those from Hungarian[7]. Examples: *gmäjna*[f], *gmę̈jna*[h] 'parish', *plôc* 'market', *špêrat* 'sense', *gratulêram* PRISG 'congratulate', toponyms beginning in *obęr-* such as *Obęrgâj*. For the present-day speakers of the Hi and Fe dialect German is a foreign language and no clear cases of spontaneous borrowing have been attested. The German loans in the material do not contain any loan phonemes.

Spontaneous borrowing from the neighbouring Čakavian dialects, which are felt as more prestigious, is a quite common phenomenon, e.g. *vrîme*, *nedìlja* instead of local *vrême* 'time', *nadëja* 'Sunday'. There are also loan-words from Čakavian dialects in the stricter sense of the word described in the preceding section. Of course, such loan-words can only be recognized as such if they differ from what one would expect a "normal" Hi and Fe word to look like. Examples: *crîkfa* 'church' (with *î* < **ĕ̄*), *prętolìćę/protolìćę* 'spring' (with *ì* < **ĕ* and the rare phoneme *ć*, see § 1.2 sub (2)), *nûgęl* 'corner' (with *û* < **ǭ*; see also Houtzagers 1996: 121-123).

1.4 The phonemic status of rounded front vowels ([ü], [ö])

In the present section a number of phenomena are summarized that are discussed at various places in this chapter.

Phonetic [ö] in the dialects of Fe and Hi can be a realization of:

(a) the loan phoneme /ö/ in words of Hungarian origin, e.g. in *röpülê* 'airplane' (see § 1.3.2), or

(b) (in Fe only) the rare phoneme /ö/; in this case [ö] can vary in length, (see § 1.1 sub (2)).

Phonetic [ü] represents the loan phoneme /ü/ in words of Hungarian origin, e.g. LSG *fürdêhi* 'bath' (see § 1.3.2).

In addition, **both [ö], [ü] and intermediate vowels** can represent the phoneme /ę̈/ between /v/ and /l/; in this case [ö] and [ü] can vary in length (see § 2.1.1, last paragraph); example: *vę̈li* 'big'.

[7] The other Burgenland Croatian dialects usually possess a considerable number of Ge loan-words, cf. Koschat 1978, Tornow 1989.

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2. Phonetic realization of the phonemes

2.1 The vowels

2.1.1 *ę̈*, *ę* and *ę̂*

The degree of openness of both stressed and unstressed *ę* shows a great deal of positional variation:

(1) *ę* is more open in stressed than in unstressed syllables, e.g. the first vowel in *mę̈tęm* 'I sweep' is more open than the second one.

(2) In unstressed syllables it is more open in final than in medial position, e.g. the second vowel in *žënję* 'he mows' is more open than in *žënješ* 'you mow'.

(3) In stressed syllables it is more open when it is long than when it is short e.g. it is more open in the stressed vowel of the form *lętę̂* 'they fly' than in *žę̈t* 'mow'.

(4) In addition to all this, there is a difference in the degree of openness of *ę* between Hi and Fe: in each of the positions mentioned, the Hi allophone is more open than the Fe one.

The maximal degree of openness of *ę* is reached in the dialect of Hi in long stressed syllables, where it is not only very open but also retracted to a central low position: Hi *ę̂* (in, for instance, PR3PL *lętę̂* 'fly') is phonetically indistinguishable from Hungarian *á*. The minimal degree of openness of *ę* is reached in Fe in unstressed non-final position (e.g. in *dënęs* 'today'), where the timbre varies between [ɛ] and [e]. I have chosen the symbol *ę* to represent this vowel in both dialects and in all positions. This choice is necessarily arbitrary.

Above, when the position of *ę* within the word was discussed, reference was made to the phonological word, including clitics. For example, in *zakësnilu ję sę* 'it became late', the *ę* in *sę* is lower than that in *ję*.

In the dialects of both Hi and Fe rounded front vowels (mostly [ö] but sometimes also [ü]) are heard in the paradigms NSGM *vę̈li* 'large' and NSGM *vę̈liki* (also *vêliki*) 'large'. I regard these rounded front vowels as allophones of /ę̈/ between /v/ and /l/ (see also § 1.1 sub (3) and § 1.4).

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2.1.2 Vocalic /r/

As was said in § 1.1 sub (1), vocalic /r/ occurs only in stressed position and it is realized as mid front vowel + [r]. The reason to assume a vocalic /r/ and not to regard the phonetic mid front vowel mentioned as a realization of either *ë*, *ê* or *ę̈* is that phonemic /CrC/ is in opposition with /CërC/, /CêrC/ and /Cę̈rC/. On the phonemic status of vocalic /r/ see § 3.2.2.

The phonetic mid front vowel that precedes [r] in /CrC/ varies in length. In average its realization is longer than that of the short vowels. Its degree of openness varies as well. Sometimes it is identical to that of /ę̈/ (remember that /ę̈/ is higher in Fe than in Hi, see § 2.1.1), but in most instances it is more closed.

In contradistinction to /ë/ and /ê/, the vocalic part of interconsonantal /r/ is not diphthongal.

2.1.3 *ä̈*, *â* and *a*

Hi *ä̈*, *â* and *a* are retracted and strongly rounded. Short and unstressed *ä̈* and *a* are phonetically identical to Hu stressed and unstressed short *a*. The traditional notation in Serbo-Croatian dialectology for a vowel with this timbre is *å*. In Fe these vowels are also retracted but much less rounded than in Hi. For reasons of typographical simplicity and in order to be able to treat Hi and Fe together as much as possible, I shall use the symbol *a* for both dialects.

2.1.4 *ê*, *ô*, *ë*, and *ö*

The stressed long mid vowels, *ê* and *ô*, are almost always realized as closing diphthongs ([ei], [ou]). Their short counterparts are in general realized as opening diphthongs ([ie], [uo]).

In the speech of some informants, especially in Hidegség, *ê* and *ô* are occasionally realized as long monophthongs or even (rarely) as long opening diphthongs ([i̯e:], [u̯o:]). In approximately 10 hours of sessions with my oldest Hidegség informant (Anna Baumgartner, born 1900) I recorded a very small number of monophthongal realizations and not a single realization with a long opening diphthong. In view of the overwhelming majority of realizations with closing diphthongs, especially by older informants and especially in Fertőhomok, I am inclined to regard the phonetic realizations with long opening diphthongs as recent practice: the dialects of the two villages are dying out very fast and opening

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diphthongal realizations of long mid vowels are found both in the sociolinguistically stronger Čakavian dialects spoken nearby and in the variety of Hungarian spoken in the area.[8] Hidegség is geographically somewhat nearer to the Čakavian dialects mentioned and has been slightly more influenced by them in several respects.[9]

Before *m*, the vowel *ô* is occasionally realized short and monophthongal. Intermediate realizations – e.g. somewhat shorter or with less diphthongization than in other positions – are also heard. Examples of forms where such realizations were attested (along with "normal" long and diphthongal *ô*): *kômęn* 'stone', *kôm* 'whither', *pômęt* 'memory'.[10] Even when *ô* is phonetically short, it stays distinct from *ö*, which is pronounced as an opening diphthong.

2.2 The consonants

2.2.1 Long realization of voiceless consonants after short vowels

Between vowels, the first of which is short and stressed (except *ę̈*), voiceless consonants (except *h*) are often realized long. Examples:

The form	is often realized as	
hüpas	[hùp:as]	'fall'
bräti	[brȁt:i]	'brothers'
pravìca	[pravìc:a]	'truth'
müčit	[mȕč:it]	'torment'
pręto̧lìćę	[pręto̧lìt́:ę]	'spring'
polëko	[polȅk:o]	'slow'
üfam sę	[ȕf:am sę]	'I hope'
kösa	[kȍs:a]	'scythe'
mäša	[mȁš:a]	'mass'

[8] Two things that I noticed in Hi and Fe could be significant in this respect: (a) One informant, who qualified Anna Baumgartner's Hi idiolect as very authentic, imitated her speech and, in doing so, produced exaggeratedly diphthongal realizations of /ô/; (b) Károly Hospely, one of my Fe informants, was once interviewed for a Croatian radio programme. During this short interview he realized *ê* consistently as an opening diphthong, whereas in his dialect sessions with me he almost always pronounced *ê* as a closing diphthong.

[9] For instance, in Hidegség there is an *i*-reflex of **ě* in the word *lîp* 'beautiful' and the preposition **vъ* appears almost exclusively as *va* when unstressed. In Fertőhomok, the forms are *lêp* and *vu* (along with *va*).

[10] With very few exeptions, e.g. *domôm* 'home (direction)', DSGMN *tômu* 'that', the sequence *-ôm-* reflects etymological *-am-* or *-ām-* (see also § 3.2.3).

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This tendency can be of additional help in determining the length of the stressed vowel in a given form.

There are three examples of distinctive length on consonants (see § 3.3.1 sub (4)).

2.2.2 Occasional palatalization of consonants before *i*, *î*, *ĩ* and *ë*

There is a tendency toward palatalization of consonants before stressed and unstressed *i* and – less frequently – before *ë*. In the case of *ž*, *š* and *č* the effect obtained is that of a slight palatal glide after the consonant ([ž^{j}], [š^{j}], [č^{j}]). This palatalization is heard in a small minority of the realizations of the sequences in question and *k*, *g*, *ž*, *š* and *č* are palatalized more often and more strongly than other consonants. Examples of forms where such realizations were heard (the palatalized consonant is underlined): NPL *kôki* 'hip', NPLM *žîvi* 'alive', PR1PL *žënjęmo* 'mow', DSG *žęni* 'woman', NPLM *sômi* 'self', NPL *hajôvi* 'ship' (spontaneous borrowing, Hu *hajó*), LSG *dûši* 'soul', NPL *zôbi* 'tooth', *dočëkat* 'wait until', LPPLM *visìla* 'hang', LPF *curìla* 'pour', LPPLM *bîli* 'be'.

The occasional palatalization of consonants should not be confounded with (a) the optionality of *l* in the sequence *lj* (see § 3.3.3); (b) the variation *n-nj* and *l-lj-j* in stem-final position in verbs belonging to class II (see VI.5.3).

2.2.3 Weaker articulation of obstruents before nasals

Before nasals, obstruents often have a somewhat less clear articulation. Sometimes it seems as if not the obstruent in question is heard but as if the nasal is lengthened instead. Examples of forms in which this kind of articulation was heard:

gmëjna	'municipality'
jëdna NSGF	'one'
znâš PR2SG	'know'
mlêdna F	'skinny'

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3. Distribution, distinctiveness, neutralization and optionalities

3.1 Accentuation

3.1.1 Stress

Any syllable of a word can be stressed and – although there are many stress doublets and few minimal pairs – the place of the stress is distinctive. Examples:

gôri 'up, on top'	*gorî* 'burn' PR3SG
gr̀mi 'shrub' NPL	*gęrmî* 'thunder' PR3SG
dûši 'soul' LSG	*dušî* 'smell' PR3SG
dȍbro 'good' N	*dobrô* 'good' DEF NSGN[11]

Examples of doublets: *morȁli/môrali* 'have to' LPPLM, *glâvum/glavûm* 'head' ISG.

As is normal in Serbo-Croatian, certain categories of words (conjunctions, prepositions, auxiliary verbs, etc.) are seldom stressed and certain pronouns have special clitic forms (for examples see IV.1.2).

Superlative adjectival forms and certain numerals can have two stressed syllables (see IV.7.1 and V.6). The first stress is more prominent than the second one. The same applies to the adjective N *lȅkucênu*^{h} N 'cheap'.

In interrogative sentences, the highest pitch can be on a vowel that normally does not carry the word stress. In the following examples the vowel with the highest pitch is underlined, whereas the diacritic accent sign indicates where the word stress is in other intonational circumstances:

(1)	*dȍz ę̲ ti?*	'have you had enough?'
(2)	*mar znâš, vȉdi̲š?*	'you know (quite a lot), you see?'
(3)	*znâš kada prîmi̲du?*	'do you know when they receive (it)?'
(4)	*prȉ vas ę gârva̲njuf?*	'are there any ravens where you come from?'
(5)	*dȍbru̲ ję?*^{h}	'is it all right?'

In (1) the sentence peak is on a form that outside interrogative sentences appears only unstressed. In (2) it is on a word-final syllable which is not long. In (3) and (4) the effect obtained is that of stressed

[11] Although *dȍbro* and *dobrô* are interchangeable in most contexts, only *dobrô* can be used independently (cf. V.3.3 (2)).

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syllable preceded by a long pretonic syllable. I made no systematic study of the Hi and Fe sentence intonation, but it sounds very similar to that in Hungarian.

3.1.2 Length

The opposition between long and short vowels is distinctive as well. Examples:

dëla 'work' PR3SG	*dêla* 'part' GSG
dä̀ 'yes'	*dâ* 'give' PR3SG
gös̀tę 'guest' APL	*gôstę* 'dense' APL
tù 'here'	*tû* 'that' ASGF
pì̀tali 'fatten' LPPLM	*pîtali/pì̀tali* 'ask' LPPLM
čę̑k/čëk 'wait' IMP	*vę̑k* 'immediately'

Length doublets are even more numerous than stress doublets, e.g. *Hędęšîn/Hędęšì̀n* 'Hidegség', *kûm/kùm* 'godfather', *dì̀m/dîm* 'smoke', *nös/nôs* 'nose', *brä̀t/brât* 'brother', *trä̀va/trâva* 'grass'. For many more examples see the sections on accentuation type IV in the chapters on the noun, the adjective and the verb.

Doublet length is especially frequent before tautosyllabic resonants and in monosyllables ending in a consonant (see all examples in the preceding paragraph except the last one). This could give the impression that in these phonetic environments vowel quantity is neutralized or that either length or shortness is optional. However, although there is no solid proof for a length distinction on every vowel in every relevant position, there is no reason to assume neutralizations or optionalities.

Examples of length oppositions before tautosyllabic resonants:

short	long
melì̀nkat 'play the "mill game"'	*mašînka* 'machine'
bì̀rka 'sheep'	*mîr* 'quiet'
Mä̀rkini house name NPLM	*hatâr* 'area'
znä̀l 'know' LPM	*dâl* 'give' LPM
Flä̀jsinovi[f] house name GPL	*fęrtâj* 'quarter'
kö̀nj 'horse'	*dôn* 'day'

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Examples of length oppositions in monosyllables (not before resonants):

short	long
bïť 'be'	*lîp*^{h} 'beautiful'
zę̈t 'son-in-law'	*zêt* 'take'
pöp 'priest'	*nôž* 'knife'
čüt 'hear'	*pljût* 'swim'

In addition to this, the following remarks must be made on the operativeness of the distinction between long and short vowels.

(1) There is no length opposition on vocalic *r* (see § 1.1, remark (1)).

(2) As a result of the stress retraction from short final syllables (see I.7.2 sub (b) and further), short vowels are rare in stressed final syllables of polysyllabic words. The exceptions are:

(a) *kadë(n)* 'where', (also with an unexpected reflex of *ъ), *ondë* 'there', *ovdë* 'here' (along with *dë(n), öndę(n) and övdę(n)*);

(b) such IMP forms as *donę̈s* 'bring' (cf. INF *döneş*), *pripräv* 'prepare', *poglę̈č* 'look', *pukäž*^{h} 'show';

(c) a number of doublets with *ï*, *ü*, *ï/î* or *ü/û* before a tautosyllabic resonant: *Hęčkür* 'Hegykő', *Hędęšîn/Hędęšïn* 'Hidegség', *Kęręstür* TOP, *męhûr/męhür* 'bladder', such DPL forms as *starjïm* 'older', *mlajïm* 'younger' (cf. *našîm* 'our').[12]

(d) the word *zabęžljïv* 'forgetful'

3.2 The vowels

3.2.1 The distribution of *ę̂*

The distribution of *ę̂* is restricted:

(1) In Fe *ę̂* occurs (a) in the word *vę̂k* 'immediately', (b) in stressed endings of the PR3PL of AI and II verbs, e.g. *vęję̂* 'they say', *lętę̂* 'they fly' (see VI.2.3) and (c) in a number of words where original **a* or **ā* is reflected as *ę̂* before a tautosyllabic *-j* (see § 3.2.4). The functional load of the opposition *ę̈* ≠ *ę̂* is small: as a consequence of the stress retraction from short final syllables (see § 3.1.2 sub (2)), *ę̈* does not occur in positions comparable to that of *ę̂* in *lętê*. Before tautosyllabic *-j-* the opposition *ę̂* – *ę̈* is marginal.

[12] The doublet members with a short vowel are more frequent.

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(2) In Hi, *ę̂* is less rare because **ā* and **a* were more often fronted before tautosyllabic *j* than in Fe, e.g. *zę̂jt* 'go behind' vs. *zę̏jc* 'hare', *nę̂j* 'don't' (negative imperative particle) vs. *nę̏jzad'* 'back' (see also § 3.2.4).

(3) The Fe forms with *ę̂* (*vę̂k*, *lętę̂*, etc.) also occur in Hi.

3.2.2 The oppositions /CrC/ - /Cę̏rC/ - /Cȅrc/ - /Cêrc/

In stressed syllables the combination /CrC/ occurs very frequently in the dialect. For examples and phonetic characteristics see §§ 1.1 (1) and 2.1.2.

Interconsonantal /ę̏r/ occurs in only two roots: (a) *ję̏rbat*[f] 'inherit', *poję̏rbat*[f] 'spoil'; (b) *pę̏ršin* 'parsley', PR3PL *pę̏ršinadu* 'grow parsley'.[13]

Interconsonantal /ȅr/ occurs in the following words: DPL *Bȅrtinin* PROP, *pȅrtlin* 'bundle', *vęčȅrnji* 'evening-', *vȅrni* 'believing', *vȅrvat* (same as *vȅrovat* 'believe').

Interconsonantal /êr/ (including the position between a consonant and a word boundary) has been attested in approximately 15 words. Examples: *čêr* 'daughter', GPL *jęzêr* '1000', *pêrję* 'leaves', *ręndêr* 'policeman', *sagdêr* 'everywhere'.

3.2.3 The oppositions /ã/ - /õ/ - /ã̀/ - /õ̀/ before nasals

In stressed syllables, etymological **a* (both long and short) before a nasal is almost always reflected as *ô*, e.g. *cigôn* 'gipsy', *dôn* 'day', *jôma* 'hole', *kôm* 'whither', *kômęn* 'stone', PR1SG *kônjim* 'want', *lôni* 'last year', *pômęt* 'memory', *rômęn* 'shoulder', *sôm* 'self, alone', *slôma* 'straw', *srôn* 'shame', *strônk* 'side', *tôncat* 'dance', *zôman* 'in vain', *zô mę* 'for me' (cf. *zâ tę* 'for you'). This also holds for Hungarian loans,

[13] As was said in § 2.1.2, the phonetic realization of /ę̏r/ (viz. [ę̏r]) forms a subset of the possible realizations of interconsonantal /r/ (which vary as to length and degree of openness). Therefore to analyze something phonemically as interconsonantal /ę̏r/ is always a temporary solution. However, both roots have been attested a reasonable number of times (*pę̏ršin* even quite frequently), so that one can be more or less confident that the proposed solution is correct. There is also some support from other dialects: *jèrbinstvō* 'inheritance', *pêršin*, cf. *pr̀st* 'finger', *pr̀sa* 'breasts' (Tornow 1089; 163, 247, 283), *pi̯êršin*, cf. *pr̥̀si* 'breasts', *pr̥̂s(t)* 'finger' (Koschat 1978: 244, 255).

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e.g. *kormônj* 'government' (Hu *kormány*), *vônkuš* 'pillow' (Hu *vánkos*)[14]

There are a few exceptions, however, and therefore it must be supposed that the oppositions /â/ - /ô/ - /ä̀/, however small their functional load, do exist before nasals. Short /ä̀/ before a nasal has been attested in *Ä̀na* PROP (cf. ASG *Ôninu* 'St Anne's Day'), *ä̀ngolski* 'English', LSG *Kä̀nadi* 'Canada' (cf. NPL *Amẹrikônci* 'American'), *mä̀ma/mä̀mka* 'mom'. Long /â/ before a nasal has only been attested in the Fe word *âm* 'well, really' (Hu *ám*).[15]

3.2.4 The oppositions between low vowels before tautosyllabic *j*

Before tautosyllabic *j*, etymological **a* (both long and short, both stressed and unstressed) is very often reflected as *ê*, *ë̂* or *ẹ*, e.g. *tudê̂j*^{h} 'that way', IMP *dë̂j*^{hf} 'give', *pẹjtäba*^{h} 'barn'.[16] On the other hand, *â*, *ä* and *a* are by no means excluded before tautosyllabic *j* and there are many doublets, triplets and quadruplets in which the vowel before tautosyllabic *j* varies between back and front and/or between long and short, e.g. *mäjka/më̂jka*^{f} 'mother', *krä̂j/krâj/krê̂j*^{f} 'end, edge'.

In the present subsection an attempt will be made to establish which phonemic oppositions exist in each position in each of the two dialects. This is simpler for unstressed syllables than for stressed ones. In stressed position before tautosyllabic *j* it is often hard to distinguish between *â*, *ê*, *ä* and *ë̂*. Moreover, if one compares different attestations of the same form, it is often as if all kinds of intermediate realizations can be heard. This holds for both parameters under discussion here (back vs. front and long vs. short). On the other hand, the distribution of the various possibilities over different (categories of) words is not random.

In order to sort things out as well as possible, I assembled a special tape with a great number of realizations of a wide variety of forms

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[14] The speakers seem to be aware that this characteristic of their dialect could endanger the understandability for speakers of other variants of Croatian and occasionally replace *ôm/ôn* by nondialectal *âm/ân/ä̀m/ä̀n*.

[15] The corresponding Hi word is *ệm* (Hi *ệ* is phonetically identical with Hungarian *á* (see § 2.1.1).

[16] In this context "etymological long or short **a*" includes long and short *a* in Hu and Ge loans. Unstressed *ẹ* before tautosyllabic *j* can originate both from **e* and from **a*. However, in all attested forms with stressed *ä*, *ë̂*, *â* or *ê* before tautosyllabic *j*, the stressed vowel originates from etymological long or short **a*, Hu *a* or *á* or the vowel in Ge orthographic *ei*.

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with *â*, *ê*, *ä* and *ë* before tautosyllabic *j* in both dialects. My tentative conclusion is that in stressed syllables the oppositions back vs. front and long vs. short on low vowels are still operative. However, their functional load is very small (especially in the case of *ä* vs. *ë* and especially in Hi) and the oppositions are probably in the middle of a process of disappearing altogether.

Unstressed. In the dialect of Fe the opposition *a* - *ę* before tautosyllabic *j* exists, e.g. *zäkaj* 'why' vs. *šmr̈kęj* 'snot'. In the Hi dialect it does not, e.g. *zäkęj* 'why', *nä kręj* 'aside' and *nä prudęj* 'for sale' have the same posttonic vowel as *Sumbätęj* TOP 'Szombathely'. In pretonic position compare *pajtäba*[f] 'shed', *pęjtäba*[h].

Long and stressed in Fe. Some words have *âj*: I attested *sakudâj* 'everywhere', *tudâj* 'that way', *kudâj* 'which way' and the Hungarian loans *fęrtâj* 'quarter' and *ostâj* 'class'. The other words with *âj* have doublets *âj/êj*, e.g. *nâj/nêj* (negative IMP particle), *gêj/gâj* 'shrub', *zêjt* 'go behind', *obâjt* 'go around', N *fêjno/fâjno* 'nice', *trinâjs/trinêjs* '13'. I have no attestations of *êj* outside such doublets.

Long and stressed in Hi. One word only has *âj*: *fęrtâj* 'quarter' (cf. Fe above; *ostâj*[f] was not attested in Hi). Some words have doublets, e.g. *sędamnâjs/sędamnêjs* '17', *nâj/nêj* (negative IMP particle). Others have only *êj*, e.g. *tudêj* 'that way', *zêjdę* 'go behind', *nêjdędu* 'find'.

Short and stressed in Fe. All forms with a reasonable number of attestations have *äj* along with *ëj*. One could argue that [ëj] is a free phonetic variant of phonemic /äj/ along with [äj]. There is one argument against this analysis, however. The relative frequency of [ëj] and [äj] differs for different (categories of) words. In *käj/këj* 'what' the realization [ëj] is relatively rare, whereas in realizations of German loan-words with orthographic *ei* [ëj] appears as often as [äj].[17] Therefore I assume that there is an opposition between /ä/ and /ë/ before tautosyllabic *j*, although its functional load is very small. Examples: *mëjka/mäjka* 'mother', *nëj-/näj-* (superlative prefix), *nëjzad'/näjzad'* 'back', PR3PL *štrëjtajo sę*[f] 'argue', PR3SG *lëjda* 'like', *gmäjna* 'municipality', *fëjta/fäjta* 'kind', *nê bäj* 'never mind'.

Short and stressed in Hi. The only word with *ä* is *kräj* 'end, edge' (along with *krêj*). Examples with *ëj*: *këj* 'what', NPL *fëjtę* 'kind', *nëj-* (superlative prefix), IMP *dëj* 'give', *nëjzad'* 'back', *nëjpęr* 'first', *zëjc*

[17] There are also idiolectic differences with regard to the relative frequency of [ëj] and [äj]: in the speech of Józse Jurinkovits, [äj] is clearly heard more often than in the speech of of Károly Hospely.

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'hare', ASG *fëjfu* 'pipe', *mëjka* 'mother', GPL *paradëjzink* 'tomato', *gmëjna* 'municipality'.

Long along with short in Fe and Hi. The following words have both long and short realizations of *a* and/or *ę*: *dvêjsęt*[hf], *dväjsęt*[f], *dvëjsęt*[hf] '20'; *krâj*[f], *krêj*[hf], *kräj*[hf] 'region'; NPLM *glêjni*[h], ADV *glëjno*[hf] 'equal(ly)'; NPL *jâjca*[f], NSG *jêjcę*[hf], *jäjcę*[f]. In the latter paradigm both long and short realizations of *a* and *ę* occur also before heterosyllabic *j*: GPL *jêjęc*[f], *jäjęc*[f], *jëjęc*[f] 'egg'.

3.3 The consonants

3.3.1 Internal sandhi in consonant sequences[18]

The number of internal sandhi phenomena that are operative in the present-day dialect is not great, and neither is the number of available examples for each of the phenomena presented. Rule (4) is relevantly ordered after (1) and (3).

(1) Regressive voice assimilation
This rule applies to clusters of obstruents, except when the last element is /v/. I only have examples for devoicing. Examples:

with assimilation:	cf. without assimilation:
nöftę APL 'nail'	*növęt* 'nail'
stöpjit 'heaten'	*zörat* 'plough'
otpri̇mit 'bring away'	*odlëtit* 'fly away'
raski̇nolo LPN 'tear apart'	*razmëtat* 'demolish'

(2) Progressive voice assimilation
After voiceless obstruents /v/ is optionally devoiced. Examples:

crîkvu/crîkfu ASG 'church'
čvr̥sto/čfr̥sto N 'firm'
šväja/šfäja 'seamstress'
svêtu/sfêtu LSG 'world'

Intermediate realizations (with lesser voicing) can also be heard.

[18] It is not always possible to know whether one has to do with a phonemic or a morphonemic alternation. For example, sometimes the insertion of a fleeting vowel in endingless forms, which is in most cases morphonemic, prevents the occurrence of a phonemically prohibited cluster, e.g. final *gnj*-in *ögęnj* 'fire' (see III.2.3). I have chosen to treat all instances of insertion of a fleeting vowel as morphonemic (including the insertion of *ę* in *rëkęl* 'he/she said', cf. VI.5.8).

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(3) Regressive palatality assimilation
Before palatal consonants dental fricatives become palatal. Examples:

with assimilation:	cf. without assimilation:
îščęš PR2SG 'look for'	*ìskat* 'look for'
ščìstit 'clean'	*sklę̈pat* 'sharpen'

In *ščìstit* rule (1) applied as well (whether or not before rule (3)); in *sklę̈pat* only rule (1) applied.

(4) Of two identical consonants one is deleted.
This happens on morpheme boundaries. Examples:

with deletion:	cf. without deletion:
rasr̈dit sę 'become angry'	*razmę̈tat* 'demolish'
rašìrit 'extend'	

The form *rasr̈dit sę* has also undergone rule (1), *rašìrit* has undergone rule (1) and (3).

There are three attested sequences of identical consonants within one word: (a) *ll* in *gę̈llo* 'throat', *vę̈l(l)o* 'very' and *vę̈l(l)i* 'big'[19]; (b) *kk* in *mę̈kko* N 'soft'; (c) *dd* in *od(d)ȍmud* 'from home' and *od(d)âlkud* 'from afar'

3.3.2 Voice distinction in word-final position

As was shown in § 1.2, all obstruents except /h/ are distinctively voiced or voiceless. In word-final position the feature "voiced" is optional: distinctively voiced consonants can be realized either voiced or voiceless. The relative frequency of voiced and voiceless realizations varies: /z/ and /ž/ are usually realized voiceless, the other voiced obstruents are usually realized voiced.

Examples:

word	usual realization	possible realization
pinêz^{h} GPL 'money'	[pinês]	[pinêz]
môž 'husband'	[môš]	[môž]

[19] *ll* in *gę̈llo* and *vę̈llo* originates from **rl*. In *vę̈lli* it could be due to confusion between *vę̈llo* 'very' and the paradigm of *vę̈li* 'big'.

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But:

zôb 'oats'	[zôb]	[zôp]
sprâv 'utensil'	[sprâv]	[sprâf]
lêd 'ice'	[lêd]	[lêt]
nȁjzad' 'back'	[nȁjzad']	[nȁjzat']
brêg 'mountain'	[brêg]	[brêk]

Distinctively voiceless consonants are realized voiceless only.

A remark must be made on the limited number of positions in which the state of affairs described above can be observed. As will be shown in § 4, in sandhi position the feature "voiced" or "voiceless" is almost always copied from the following sound (including vowels and resonants). Therefore the only cases which provide proof that the voice distinction is not neutralized in word-final position are:
(1) if a word-final obstruent is realized voiced in other positions than before a voiced phoneme (including vowels and resonants), e.g. [zôb] before a pause or before initial /t/.
(2) if word-final obstruent is realized voiceless before a voiced phoneme (including vowels and resonants), e.g. [bȉt] ← *bȉt* 'be' before initial /b/.

3.3.3 Optionality of /l/ in /lj/

In the sequence /lj/ the phoneme /l/ kan be dropped. Examples:

zaljêvam/zajêvam PRISG 'sprinkle'
ljûdi/jûdi 'people'
čę̏šęlj/čę̏šęj 'comb'

This optionality most not be confounded with the variation *l* - *lj* - *j* in verb class II (see VI.5.3).

3.3.4 Word-final /h/

The laryngeal /h/ is almost always realized without voice, even in those sandhi positions where consonants usually become voiced (see § 4 (1)). It is also realized with very little friction. These phonetic properties often make it difficult to hear /h/ in final position. Nevertheless, final /h/ was heard in all attestations of the words *čęh* 'Czech', *glûh* 'deaf' and *dûh* 'spirit'.

Although I am aware that one must be careful with statements about optionality, especially if the sound in question is difficult to hear, I assume that in certain words final /h/ is optional (or present in some

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idiolects and absent in others). In my material this optionality was found in the words *grâ(h)* 'peas', *krû(h)* 'bread', *prâ(h)* 'dust' and *sû(h)* 'skinny'. In inflected forms of these words stem-final *-h-* is present.

In some words where one expects final /h/ on historical or morphological grounds, it was not attested. This is the case in *grê* 'sin', *plę̑* 'tin-plate', *siröma* 'poor' and *štï* 'stitch'. In these words, too, stem-final *-h-* is present in inflected forms .

None of the forms with (expected) final /h/ above are highly frequent. Therefore both nonattestation and consistent attestation of final /h/ for a certain form can be due to coincidence.

A more complicated variation is found in the word for 'walnut': *örę(l)j*^{hf}, *örę*^{h}, *örij*^{f}, GSG *orïja*^{f}, GPL *orïjov*^{f}/*orîs*^{f}, *urę̑juv*^{h}. On the optionality of *l* in *lj* see § 3.3.3.

In one word unexpected initial *h-* is found: *hüpas* 'fall, PR3SG *hupädę*, LPM *hüpal*, LPN *hupälu*^{h}.

3.3.5 Intervocalic [j] and [h]

It can be assumed that in certain positions intervocalic [j] is not distinctive. After *ë*, *ê*, *ï*, *î* and *i* and/or before *ï*, *î* and *i*, intervocalic [j] is often realized very weakly or not at all and it is very probable that Hi and Fe informants would consider, for example, [möji] and [möi] (*möji* 'my' NPLM) phonemically identical. In certain other intervocalic positions, however, [j] is clearly distinctive, e.g. we have *äuto* 'car' and *päuk* 'spider' vs. *mâjuši* LSG 'May' and it is highly improbable that informants would identify +[tûa] with *tûja* F 'other people's'. In order to find out with certainty where intervocalic [j] is distinctive and where it is not, one would have to carry out specific functionality tests with well-prepared informants. For the present I assume that after *ë*, *ê*, *ï*, *î* and *i* and/or before *ï*, *î* and *i*, intervocalic [j] is not distinctive and that in all other positions it is. Thus, phonemically *möji* and *tûja* are analyzed as /möi/ and /tûja/. In the standard notation [j] will also be written when it is nondistinctive. This notation agrees with general practice in Serbo-Croatian dialectology and is more transparant from a morphological point of view, e.g. *möji* belongs to the same paradigm as *möj* and *möja*.

With intervocalic [h] the situation is different. Intervocalic [h], too, is sometimes realized very weakly and in some cases where one expects it to be present (on historical grounds or on the basis of other attestations of the same word-form) there are doubts if it is realized at all.

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For example, in such words as *kühat* 'cook' and *prâhi* LSG 'dust' the *-h-* is audible in the majority of the cases, but sometimes there is doubt if it is there. In contradistinction to intervocalic [j], however, there are no positions in which one can assume intervocalic [h] to be automatic. Moreover, if one would analyze *prâhi* phonemically as +/prâi/, one would have to expect a possible realization +[prâji] (with nondistinctive [j], see last paragraph), and there is no ground for that.

Intervocalic *-j-* or *-h-* are inserted in inflected forms of masculine nouns ending in a vowel in the NSG. The words in question are:

(a) proper names, e.g. *Märku*[h], GSG *Märkuja*[h], *Käri*, GSG *Kärija*, *Fẹ̈ri*, GSG *Fẹ̈rija*. These names all end in *-i*, with the sole exception of *Märku*.

(b) Hungarian loans, e.g. *šitê* 'oven', LSG *šitêhi* (Hu *sütő*), *bäči* 'uncle', GSG *bačïja* (Hu *bácsi*), *autô* 'car', GSG *autôha/autôja*, *lẹvẹgê* 'air', GSG *lẹvẹgêja/lẹvẹgêha* (Hu *levegő*).

(c) *dnö* 'bottom', APL *dnöhẹ* and *tlö*, LSG *tlöhi* 'floor'.

4. External sandhi

In sandhi position a number of phonetic changes can be observed. They will be presented here in the form of rules. Although the rules are all optional, the changes take place in the great majority of the cases in which the rules apply.

(1) Voiceless obstruents become voiced before voiced phonemes, including nondistinctively voiced phonemes (viz. resonants and vowels).[20] Examples:

jâ nês znäla 'I didn't know' → [nêzznàla]
tö jẹ vïdit uš 'that still remains to be seen' → [vïdiduš]
brät ẹ mi rẹ̈kẹl 'my brother said to me' → [brädẹ]
zöpẹt jẹ̈dẹn 'another one' → [zöpẹdjẹ̈dẹn]
pöp nẹ̈ zna 'the priest doesn't know' → [pöbnẹ̈]
prï vas ẹ̈ jäbuka? 'are there any apples where you come from?' → [vazẹ̈]
hïtiš ẹ 'you throw them away' → [hïtižẹ]
tö sẹ drügač dëlat môra 'that must be done in another way' → [drügadždëladmôra]

[20] There is no need for a sandhi rule in the opposite direction (devoicing before unvoiced phonemes) because the feature "voiced" is optional in word-final position (see § 3.3.2).

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nę̏mręm zäbit mujêga sîna 'I can't forget my son' → [zäbidmujêga]

The nondistinctively voiceless laryngeal /h/ (see § 3.3.4) is usually not affected by this rule. However, voicing of /h/ does sporadically occur, e.g.

na krûh mäzat 'spread on bread' (with voiced [h])

(2) Dental fricatives become palatal before palatal consonants (including *č*). Examples:

s čę̏sa čę dät, kad nêma? 'what must he give from, if he hasn't got anything?' → [ščę̏sa]
pinêz čęš ïmat 'you will have money' [pinêščęš] (also with optional devoicing of word-final *z*)

(3) Palatal fricatives (including the fricative element of *č*) become dental before dental fricatives and *c*. Examples:

čęš si namäzat rôkę 'you will get dirty hands' → [čęssi]
zâč sę nêstę navučïlę 'why didn't you learn?' → [zâcsę]
njûj ę mûž cïmęrman 'her husband is a carpenter' → [mûscïmęrman] (also with optional devoicing of word-final *z*)

(4) The phoneme /v/ is devoiced after voiceless consonants. Examples:

pöj k vrâgu '(lit.) go to the devil' → [kfrâgu]
s vômi 'with you' → [sfômi]

(5) *m* changes into *n* before a dental consonant and into [ŋ] before a velar. Examples:

tö vôm döbru 'that is good for you' → [vôndòbru]
s čęljênęm krîžęm, znâš? 'with the Red Cross, you know?' → [čęljênęŋkrîžęznâš]

(6) In consonant clusters consisting of (dental or palatal) stop + fricative + stop, the first stop is dropped. Examples:

kuvâč tö önda čïsti 'then the smith cleans that' → [kuvâštò]
vu vî pêt stèkla 'in those five glasses' → [pêstèkla]
povèdat štôrnicu 'to tell a story' → [povèdaštôrnicu]

(7) Of two identical consonants one is dropped. Example:

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möč čęš 'you will be able to' → [mȍčęš]
(more examples below)

Words can be altered by more than one sandhi rule in succession. Examples:

nę kônjiš znät 'you don't want to know' – 1 → [kônjižznȁt] – 3 → [kônjizznȁt] (or reverse order)
da büdęš znäl 'in order that you know' – 1 → [bȕdežznȁl] – 3 → [bȕdezznȁl] – 7 → [bȕdeznȁl] (rules (1) and (3) not necessarily in that order)
pȍpas žę̏t 'to start mowing' – 1 → [pȍpazžę̏t] – 2 → [pȍpažžę̏t] (or reverse order)
slêč si môraš tȍpankę 'you must take off your boots' – 3 → [slêtssi] – 7 → [slêtsi]
na Bȍžič su ovdë bîli 'they were here for Christmas' – 3 → [bȍžicsu] – 7 → [bȍžicu]

Very sporadically, insertion of *-v-* or *-h-* between vowels has been attested. The material contains three instances:

*ȍnda v̲ȍkulu to ïšlu*ʰ 'then it went round'
jâ h̲ȍnda ... 'I then ...'
mî tȍ h̲ïmamo 'we have that'[21]

[21] The verb *hüpas* 'fall' always has initial *h-*.

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CHAPTER III: THE NOUN

1. Introduction

1.1 Inventory of forms; inflexion classes

The nominal inflexion system comprises six cases and two numbers: there is neither a separate vocative case nor a dual number.

Three inflexion classes can be distinguished:

Class Ia: GSG in *-a*, no stem extension *-ęn-* or *-ęt-* in inflected forms. Only masculine and neuter nouns belong to this class. Examples: *zrâk* 'shade', GSG *zrâka*, *mlêko* 'milk', GSG *mlêka*.

Class Ib: GSG in *-a* and stem extension *-ęn-*, *-ęt-* or *-ęs-* in inflected forms. This class consists of 8 neuter nouns, e.g. *ïmę* 'name', GSG *ïmęna*, *dêtę* 'child', DSG *dętętu*.

Class II: GSG in *-ę/-ê*. These are feminine nouns with a NSG in *-a* and 13 masculine nouns with a NSG in *-a* or *-ę*. Examples: *čęrëšnja* (F) 'cherry', GSG *čęrëšnję*, *jäpa* (M) 'father', GSG *jäpę*.

Class III: GSG in *-i*. Only feminine nouns. Examples: *sôj* 'salt', GSG *söji*.

In § 8 eleven words will be presented that do not fit into the inflexion classes.

1.2 Endings: general survey

A general survey of the nominal endings is given in table III.1. For reasons of space only the unstressed endings are presented here.

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TABLE III.1: general survey of the nominal endings

	Ia M	Ia N	Ib (N)	II F	II M	III (F)
NSG	*-Ø*	*-o, -ę*	*-ę*	*-a, -Ø*	*-a, -ę*	*-Ø*
GSG	*-a*	*-a*	*-a*	*-ę*	*-ę*	*-i*
DSG	*-u*	*-u*	*-u*	*-i*	*-i*	*-i*
ASG	=NSG/GSG	=NSG	=NSG	*-u, Ø*	*-u,* =NSG	*-Ø*
ISG	*-ęm*	*-ęm*	*-ęm*	*-um*	*-um*	*-um, -ęm*
LSG	*-i*	*-i*	*-i*	*-i*	*-i*	*-i*
NPL	*-i*	*-a, -ę, -i*	*-a, -ę*	*-ę*	*-ę, -i*	*-i*
GPL	*-ov, -Ø, -i*	*-ov, -Ø, -i*	*-Ø*	*-ov, -Ø, -i*		*-i*
DPL	*-om, -am*			*-am*		
APL	*-ę*	=NPL	=NPL	*-ę*		*-i*
IPL	*-i, -ami*	*-i*		*-ami*		*-i, -imi*
LPL	*-a, -i*	*-i*		*-a*		*-i*

2. Class Ia: masculine nouns

2.1 Endings

2.1.1 Inventory

As was said in I.7.6.5, slashes are used for separating desinences for the same number and case that differ only with respect to accentuation, e.g. LSG *-i/-î* below. At some points in the description double slashes can be found. They are used for separating the "hard" and "soft" variant(s) of an ending. The "soft" variant is marked "^{p}" (for "palatal"). For an example, see § 3.1.1. Endings which differ in other respects than accentuation and the characteristic "hard" vs. "soft" (henceforth "alternative endings") are separated by commas, e.g. GPL *-ov/-ôv, -Ø, -i* below.

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TABLE III.2: endings of the masculine nouns of class Ia

	SG	PL
N	*-Ø*	*-i*
G	*-a*	*ov/-ôv, -Ø, -i*
D	*-u*	*-om, -am*
A	=NSG, =GSG	*-ę*
I	*-ęm*	*-i, -ami*
L	*-i/-î*	*-a/-i*

Examples: *brät* 'brother', GSG *brätа*, DSG *brätu*, ISG *brätęm*, NPL *bräti*, DPL *brätom*, *brätam*, APL *brätę*, IPL *bräti*, *brätami*; *könj* 'horse', GSG *könja*, DSG *könju*, ISG *könjęm*, LSGNPL *könji*, GPL *könji*[f], *könjov*[h], DPL *könjom*, *könjam*, APL *könję*, IPL *könji*, *könjami*, LPL *könji*, *könja*.

2.1.2 Remarks; distribution of alternative endings

NSG

The vast majority of nouns end in a consonant. There are three groups of nouns with a NSG in a vowel:

(1) nouns with a stem originally ending in *-h*, e.g. *plę̈* 'tin-plate', GSG *plę̈ha*; there are also nouns ending in an optional *h*, e.g. *prâ(h)* 'dust', GSG *prâha* (see II.3.3.4);

(2) Hungarian loans with stem extension *-h-* or *-j-* in inflected forms, e.g. *šitê* 'oven', LSG *šitêhi* (Hu *sütő*), *bäči* 'uncle', GSG *bačïja* (Hu *bácsi*), *autô* 'car', GSG *autôha/autôja*;

(3) proper names with stem extension *-j-* in inflected forms, e.g. *Märku*, GSG *Märkuja*, *Käri*, GSG *Kärija*.

On these three groups of nouns see also § 2.3, (3) and (4).

ASG

ASG = GSG if the noun is a direct object, ASG = NSG if preceded by a preposition, e.g *čôna ïma* 'he has got a boat', *vu čôn* 'into the boat', *könja naprêč* 'put a horse to', *na könj vrs* 'put (e.g. a saddle) on a horse'. See VII.2.3 for more information.

ISG

The ending is *-um* in the fixed expression *z Bôgum*[hf] 'good-bye' (also with a long stem-vowel), cf. *z Bögęm* 'with God'.

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LSG

Only one noun in my material has end-stress, viz. *jęsęnî* 'in autumn' (without preposition, cf. *zimî* 'in winter', *lëti* 'in summer', *jûtri* 'in the morning').

Three nouns, viz. *svêt* 'world', *rêd* 'row', and *mîr* 'peace' have the ending *-u*: *na svêtu* 'in the world', *po svêtu* 'all over the world' (also *svêti*); *va/na rêdu* 'all right' (cf. *va rêdi* 'in a row'), *na mîru* 'at one's ease'.

GPL

The vast majority of attested GPL forms ends in *-ov/-ôv*, either exclusively or along with *-Ø* or *-i*. My material contains 147 attested GPL forms (from 83 different nouns), 28 of which end in *-i* (19 nouns) and 24 in *-Ø* (7 nouns). Most nouns with attested GPL forms in *-Ø* or *-i* were also attested with *-ov/-ôv*.

GPL in *-i*

The only noun that seems to have a real preference for the ending *-i* (more than one attestation and not along with either of the other two endings) is *štüki* 'piece' (5 times).

Apart form *štüki*, two things can be said about the GPL ending *-i*:

(a) It is almost exclusive for Fe (exceptions: GPL *könji*^{h} 'horse',[1] *kvadräti*^{hf} 'square meter'). The reverse is not true: the endings *-ov* and *-Ø* are spread equally over Hi and Fe.

(b) It is typical for the use of a GPL after a numeral (including such indefinite numerals as *čüda* 'many', *vęč* 'more'). The reverse is not true: after numerals all three endings occur.

GPL in *-Ø*

Nouns with only *-Ø* or a preference for *-Ø* are NSGGPL *dôn* 'day' (7x), *krât* 'time' (2x, but cf. *vęčkrat* 'more than once', *trïkrat* 'three times', etc.), *pënęzi* 'money', GPL *pęnêz* (11x), NSGGPL *prâščič* 'piglet', *mësęc* 'month', GPL *męsêc* (3x against 1x with *-ov*), *örę* 'walnut', GPL *orîs* (2x against 1x with *-ov*), NSGGPL *minût* 'minute'. The other attested GPL forms in *-Ø* are: NSGGPL *dukât* 'ducat', NSGGPL *hôd* 'certain measure of land'. Apart from *prâščič* all endingless GPL forms have a long stressed vowel in the last stem-syllable.

[1] This form was attested in the context *jędęn pâr könji*^{h}. It is not impossible that *könji* is NPL (the NPL is also used after *dvâ*).

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DPL and IPL

The endings *-am* and *-ami* seem to be free but statistically less common variants of *-om* and *-i*, respectively. I did not notice any significant difference between Hi and Fe. For parallel phenomena in the inflexion of adjectives see V.2.2.

The material contains three DPL forms in *-am* (against 25 in *-om*), all three along with *-om*: *brätam/-om* 'brother', *könjam/-om* 'horse', *nù-kam/-om* 'grandson'. Further examples: *sînom* 'son', *zôbom* 'mouth', *rûsom* 'Russian', *pôrom* '(wealthy) farmer'.

There are 18 attestations of IPL in *-ami* against 38 in *-i*. Examples: *bräti/-ami*, *könji/-ami*, *rûsi/-ami*, *rögi/-ami* 'horn', *nöfti* 'nail', *vôgri* 'Hungarian', *tuvârušami* 'friend'.

LPL

Out of 34 attested LPL forms in my material, 20 have the ending *-a*. The only word that seems to show a preference for one of the two endings is NLPL *zôbi* 'mouth' with 7 attestations in *-i* against none in *-a*. Further examples: *sôdi/-a* 'barrel', *könji/-a* 'horse', *pïnęza*^{h}, *pënęzi*^{f} 'money'.

2.2 Accentuation

2.2.1 Division into accentuation types

The masculine nouns of class Ia can be divided into four accentuation types according to the following characteristics:[2]

Type I: Fixed stem-stress on a short vowel, at least from the GSG onward. If the syllable that is stressed from the GSG onward is stem-final, the stress is retracted in the NSG (this is the semi-automatic stress retraction discussed in I.7.2 (2)). This type can be subdivided into subtypes according to the accentuation of the NSG:

Subtype I/1: accentuation NSG same as in GSG-LSG;

Subtype I/2: stress retraction in the NSG.

Type II: Fixed stem-stress on a long vowel throughout the paradigm.

Type III: Stress shift (other than in subtype I/2) somewhere in the paradigm.

[2] For the general principles according to which paradigms are assigned to accentuation types and subtypes in this monograph I refer the reader to I.7.4.

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Type IV: Fixed stem-stress with accentual alternation and/or doublet accentuation. Three subtypes:

Subtype IV/1: original accentuation: NSG long, GSG-LSG short;

Subtype IV/2: nouns with a fleeting vowel; original accentuation unknown;

Subtype IV/3: other words that can appear both with a short and a long stem-vowel.

2.2.2 Diachronic observations on the accentuation types

In the present section we shall look at the correspondences between the Common Slavic (henceforth "CSl") accentuation types (a), (b) and (c) and the accentuation types of the masculine class Ia nouns in the present-day dialect. In principle, the types (a), (b) and (c) are reflected as follows in the dialect of Hi and Fe:[3]

TABLE III.3: correspondences between CSl and Hi and Fe accentuation types

CSl type (a)	→ I, e.g. *küp*, LSG *küpi*
CSl type (b)	stem-vowel originally short → I, e.g. *völ*, GSG *völa* stem-vowel **ō*, **ē* → II, e.g. *dêl*, GSG *dêla* stem-vowel **ī*, **ā*, **ū* → IV, e.g. *dęčâk*, NPL *dęčäki*
CSl type (c)	stem-vowel originally long → II, e.g. *brêg*, LSG *brêgi* stem-vowel originally short → IV, e.g. *Bôg*, GSG *Böga* incidentally → III, e.g. *mësęc*, GPL *męsêc*^{f}, *misêc*^{h}

Remarks:

(1) Most of the correspondences found in the table that are specific for Hi and Fe can be understood if one takes into account what was said about the development of the dialect in I.7.2 and I.7.3.

(2) Doublet accentuation can in most cases be accounted for along the following lines: (i) rise of an accentual alternation (ii) analogic spreading of one accentual variant (sometimes even both) to other forms than where it originally belonged. A number of subtypes are characterized by the presence of accentual alterna-

[3] The distinction between CSl (a), (b) and (c) is generally accepted in Slavic historical accentology. CSl (a) had fixed root-stress, (b) had fixed end-stress and (c) had mobile accentuation (see Stang 1957 and Dybo 1981). The Hi and Fe dialect yields no proof for a distinction between (c) and a "mixed" accentuation type (d) (cf. Dybo 1990: 129 ff.).

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tions and/or doublet accentuation. For such subtypes it not possible to make a well-founded distinction between paradigms with doublet accentuation and paradigms with an accentual alternation. The reason for this is, in terms of I.6.3, that it is very well possible that PARADIGMs^{m} with length alternations represent PARADIGMs^{d} with doublet length. In the following I shall assume that they do, unless there is proof to the contrary.

(3) Type III is very rare (cf. the last paragraph of Chapter I.7.4). It is found in only six paradigms, five of which belong to CSl type (c) and one of which is of non-Slavic origin (*hôd* '0.57 hectares', cf. Hu *hold*). All other CSl (c) paradigms and all CSl (b) paradigms have fixed stress on the same syllable of the stem.

(4) Table III.3 gives an idealized representation of the correspondences, from which the actual picture found in the material can deviate:

(i) It is possible that not all relevant FORMs (see I.6.3) of a paradigm have been attested and that therefore the paradigm is assigned to another accentuation type than to which it virtually belongs.

(ii) Individual (groups of) nouns can have a different accentuation than one expects them to have on historical grounds, e.g. the long stem-vowel in *čêlci* NPL 'bee' and *stôlęc* 'chair'. (For more examples see § 2.2.6.2.) An explanation of the present-day accentuation of every individual word would be beyond the scope of the present book.

(iii) It is not always possible to distinguish deviations of the type mentioned under (i) from those of the type mentioned under (ii). For instance, on historical grounds one would expect the word *rȍg* 'horn' to belong to subtype IV/1. On the basis of the attested forms, however, it is attested to I/1.

(iv) For certain nouns (especially loans) it cannot be established what accentuation one can expect it to have on historical grounds.

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2.2.3 Accentuation type I (fixed stem-stress on a short vowel in GSG-LSG)

2.2.3.1 Subtype I/1 (accentuation NSG same as in GSG-LSG)

Monosyllabic stem, no fleeting vowel

Full list: *Bęč* 'Vienna', *bȉč* 'whip', *böj* 'war', *büs* 'bus', *čęp* 'tap', *gȑm* 'shrub', *gröf* 'count', *hlëb* 'loaf', *könj* 'horse', *kröv* 'roof', *kùp* 'heap', *lüft* 'sky', *nörc* 'fool', *pȑst* 'finger', *pöp* 'priest', *rȉlj* 'tool for digging', *rög* 'horn', *sȑp* 'sickle', *snöp* 'sheaf', *stöl* 'table', *štȉh* 'stitch', *štük* 'piece', *vȑt* 'yard', *völ* 'ox', *zęt* 'son-in-law', *žęp* 'pocket'.

Polysyllabic stem, no fleeting vowel

In these paradigms the stress is never on the last stem vowel.

Full list: *bädnjak* 'day before Christmas', *böčkor* 'witch', *čęjar* 'celery', *čękęr* 'bag', *Čęnzuš* TOP, *cükor* 'sugar', *čȉgar* 'root', *döktor* 'doctor', *Fęręnc* PROP, *Fęri* PROP, *fȉlęž* 'basket', *förint* 'forint', *hȉntov* 'carriage', *jöškędli* 'jar', *kȉritov* 'patronal festival', *kölhos* 'kolhoz', *köręn* 'root', *krękljut* 'wing', *lȉtęr* 'liter', *Märko* PROP, *mętęr* 'meter', *mlȉnar* 'miller', *mötor* 'engine', *növęt* 'nail', *öblak* 'cloud', *pępęl* 'ashes', *pęršin* 'parsley', *pȑtlin* 'bundle of wood', *pȉplič* 'chick', *plätni* 'cooktop', *plę* 'tin', *plöt* 'fence', *pöd* 'attic', *pöp* 'priest', *prätęš* 'garment', *pütor* 'butter', *rękmęn* 'strap', *šnękjdęr* 'tailor', *vękčęr* 'evening', *vinögrad* 'grapes', *žȉdov* 'Jew'.

Fleeting vowel

The material contains approximately 30 instances. Examples: *čęšęlj* 'comb', ISG *čęšjęm*; *Hędęšȉnęc* 'inhabitant of Hidegség', NPL *Hędęšȉnci*; *hȑbęt*, LSG *hȑpti*; *jünęc* 'calf', GSG *jünca*; *ögęnj* 'fire', GSG *ögnja*; *pëkęl* 'hell', GSG *pëkla*; *töpanjęk* 'boot', NPL *töpanki*; *Türki* NPL 'Turk', GPL *Türkov*, *vëtęr* 'wind', GSG *vëtra*; *vȉgęnj* 'chimney', APL *vȉgnję*.

2.2.3.2 Subtype I/2 (stress retraction in the NSG)

These nouns have a short stressed stem-final syllable in the GSG through LPL. This was the original accentuation throughout the paradigm until the stress retraction from short final syllables (see I.7.2). For instance, original NSG **božȉč* 'Christmas' became *božič* as a result of the retraction from short final syllables, whereas GSG *božȉča* remained unaltered.[4]

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[4] For a number of nouns of this subtype (e.g. those of Hu origin such as *Hömok*, GSG *Homöka*) it is improbable that they originally had fixed stress on a

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The material contains approximately 20 nouns with a short stressed vowel in the NSG against 1 with a long stressed vowel in the NSG.

Short stem-vowel in the NSG

Full list: *bïruv* 'judge', GSG *biröva*, *böžič* 'Christmas', GSG *božïča*, *člövęk* 'human being', GSG *človëka*, *dëtič* 'young man', NPL *dętïči*, *göspon* 'rich person', NPL *gospöni*, *Hömok* 'Fertőhomok', LSG *Homöki*, *jęzik* 'language', NPL *jęzïki*, *Köljmof* 'Kópháza', LSG *Koljmöfi*, *krïžič* 'certain quantity of corn', NPL *križïči*, *mędvęd* 'bear', GSG *mędvëda*, *męlin* 'mill', GSG *męlïna*, *öbęd* 'mid-day meal', GSG *obëda* , *öblok* 'window', LSG *oblöki*, *öbraz* 'face', LSG *obräzi*, *öbrus* 'tablecloth', GSG *obrüsa*, *örę* 'walnut', NPL *orïhi*, GPL *orîs*, *pötplat* 'sole', GSG *potpläta*, *sirömah* 'poor person', NPL *siromähi*, *Šöpron* 'Sopron', LSG *Šopröni*, *tŕbuh* 'stomach', GSG *tęrbüha*, *türov* 'curds', GSG *turöva*, *zästor* 'belt for tools', GSG *zastöra*, *žümpor* 'plaited basket', LSG *žumpöri*.

Long stem-vowel in the NSG

Only *sôsęd* 'neighbour', GSG *sosëda*.

Long/short stem-vowel in the NSG

Two Hungarian loans have a subtype I/2 accentuation, but also kept (in the form of a doublet) their original long stem-vowel in the NSG: *bâči/bäči* 'uncle', GSG *bačïja*, *vâroš/väroš* 'town', GSG *varöša*.

2.2.4 Accentuation type II (fixed stem-stress on a long vowel)

Monosyllabic stem

Full list: *brêg* 'mountain', *brûs* 'grindstone', *čôn* 'boat', *dêl* 'part', *dâr* 'factory', *dôg* 'debt', *drôt* 'wire', *dvôr* 'court', *fêl* 'kind', *Gâj* TOP, *glâd* 'hunger', *glâs* 'voice', *gôt* 'neck', *grêh* 'sin', *grês* 'semolina', *hôm* 'collar (for horse)', *kâd* 'tub', *klâs* 'ear', *klôp* 'bench', *kôt* 'corner', *kûs* 'piece', *lâd* 'shade', *lôg* 'forest', *mîr* 'peace', *môž* 'husband', *nôž* 'knife', *plôc* 'market', *pôr* 'rich farmer', *prâh* 'dust', *rêd* 'row', *rêp* 'tail', *rûs* 'Russian', *sîn* 'son', *sôd* 'barrel', *srôma* GSG 'shame', *srôn* (used in expressions, see Lexicon), *stôn* 'dwelling', *svêt* 'world', *šîj* 'reed (during summer)', *vrâg* 'devil', *zôb* 'oats', *zrâk* 'shadow', *zvôn* 'bell'.

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short stem-final syllable. At some stage (before or after the stress retraction) these nouns probably copied the stress-pattern of such nouns as *Božić*, GSG *Božïča*. The same applies to the Hu loan *špörhęlt* 'cooking range' (cf. Hu *sparhert*), GSG *šporhëlta/špörhęlta*, but this word kept (in the form of a doublet) its original stress along with the newer stress pattern.

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Polysyllabic stem, stress not on the last stem-vowel
Full list: *cimîtęr* 'churchyard', *gêzęš* 'train', *kômęn* 'stone', *mârcijuš* 'March', *oktôbęr* 'October', *Pâškum* TOP, *prâščič* 'piglet', *prêtęj* 'father-in-law', *šôgor* 'brother-in-law'.

Polysyllabic stem, stress on the last stem-vowel
Most of these words are Hungarian loans. Full list: *bognâr* 'coach-builder', *cigôn* 'gipsy', *čęrêp* 'roof-tile', *ęčêm* 'brother', *fębruhâr* 'February', *fürdê* 'swimming-pool', *grabancijâš* 'legendary evil person', *humbâr* 'granary', *januâr* 'January', *jargônj* 'threshing-floor', *lęvęgê* 'air', *Obęrgâj* TOP, *pažôn* 'bean', *šitê* 'cooking-range', *škadâr* 'shed', *tanjêr* 'plate', *žęljêr* 'poor farm-hand'.

Fleeting vowel
The material contains approximately 20 instances. Examples: *Homočônęc* 'inhabitant of Fe', NPL *Homočônci*; *lônęc* 'chain', ISG *lôncęm*, *Nêmec* 'German', NIPL *Nêmci*, GPL *Nêmcov*, *pêsęk* 'sand', GSG *pêska*, *pêvęc* 'cock', NPL *pêvci*, *rôbęc* 'piece of cloth', *stôlęc* 'chair', *vênęc* 'wreath', GSG *vênca*, *vôgęr* 'Hungarian', NPL *vôgri*.

2.2.5 Accentuation type III (stress shift)

Almost all nouns have stem-stress throughout the paradigm. Only *hôd* 'certain measure of land', *tëdęn/têdęn* 'week', *jësęn* 'autumn' and the irregular noun *ljûdi* 'people' (see § 8) have stress on the ending in one or two forms of their paradigm: GPL *hodôv*, *jęsęnî* 'in autumn', GPL *tidnôv*^{h}, DPL *ljudêm*^{h}, IPL *ljudêmi*^{h}.

Two nouns show a different type of alternation, with stem-initial stress in most forms and stem-final stress in the GPL (one also in the IPL): *mësęc* 'month', GPL *męsêc*^{f}, *misêc*^{h} NPL *pënęzi* 'money', GPL *pęnêz*^{f}, *pinêz*^{h}, IPL *pęnêzi*.

2.2.6 Accentuation type IV (fixed stem-stress, accentual alternation and/or doublet accentuation)

2.2.6.1 Subtype IV/1 (no fleeting vowel)

These nouns can be divided into 4 groups:

(1) In 5 attested words the alternation is due to the Proto-Slavic lengthening of monosyllables with mobile stress. For 3 of them I have attested accentual doublets. The words are: *Bôg* 'God',

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GSG *Bȍga*, *gnjȍj* 'manure', GSG *gnjȍja*, *lêd* 'ice', GSG *lêda/lȅda*, *mêd* 'honey', GSG *mêda/mȅda*, *nôs/nȍs* 'nose', GSG *nȍsa*.

(2) For 19 words the quantity alternation can in most cases be explained by the same stress retraction from short stressed final syllables that caused the stress alternation of the type *bȍžič*, GSG *božȉča* (see § 2.2.3.2). In these paradigms the retraction did not take place in the NSG but in the inflected end-stressed forms, after the loss of pretonic length, e.g. GSG **bętężnīkȁ* to NSG *bętężnȉk* 'sick person' first became **bętężnikȁ* (loss of pretonic length) and then *bętężnȉka* (retraction from short final syllables), whereas NSG *bętężnȉk* remained unaltered. Further examples: *dęčâk* 'young man', NPL *dęčȁki*, *dęlâč* 'worker', GPL *dęlȁčov*, *fęrtâj* 'quarter', NPL *fęrtȁji*, *horvât* 'Croat', NPL *horvȁti/horvâti*, *kljûč* 'key', GSG *kljȕča/kljûča*, *kovâč* 'smith', GSG *kovȁča*, *krîž* 'cross', GSG *krȉža/krîža*, *kvadrât* 'square', NPL *kvadrȁti*, *mękûr* 'bladder', GSG *mękȕra*, *orsâg* 'country', NPL *orsȁgi*, *ostâj* 'class', NPL *ostȁji*, *pęrvâč* 'boss', NPL *pęrvȁči*, *pudâr* 'guard who chases birds from acres', NPL *pudȁri*, *Puščâk* TOP, NPL *Puščȁki*, *rękâš* 'hay-stack', APL *rękȁšę*, *ribâr* 'fisherman', NPL *ribȁri*, *rodȁ̑k* 'relative', NPL *rodȁki*, *špitâj* 'hospital', *špitâji/špitȁję*, *urȉč* 'highest part of the house', GSG *urȉča*, *zidâr* 'builder', NPL *zidȁri*.[5]

(3) A number of words in which the stressed vowel is before a tautosyllabic resonant in the NSG show doublet length or a length alternation: *dȉm/dîm* 'smoke', LSG *dȉmi*, *gospodîn* 'gentleman', GSG *gospodȉna*, *grûnt* 'land', GSG *grûnta/grȕnta*, *Hędęšîn/Hędęšȉn* TOP, GSG *Hędęšȉna*, *krȁj/krâj* 'edge', LSG *krâji/krȁji*, *kȕm/kûm* 'godfather', GSG *kȕma*, *sȅm/sêm* 'market', LSG *sȅmi/sêmi*, *šętęmînj* 'pastry', GSG *šętęmȉnja*.

(4) 8 monosyllabic words (not fitting the conditions for groups (1) - (3)) have doublet length or a length alternation, too: *brȁt/brât* 'brother', GSG *brȁta*, *mâk* 'poppy', GSG *mȁka*, *krû(h)/krȕh* 'bread', GSG *krȕha*, *lûk/lȕk* 'onion', GSG *lȕka*, *nûk/nȕk*, NPL *nȕki*, *plûg/plȕg* 'plough', GSG *plȕga*, NPL *plûgi*, *čȁs/čâs* 'moment', GSG *čȁsa/čâsa*.

[5] For a number of nouns of this subtype (e.g. those of Hu origin such as *ostâj*, GSG *ostȁja*) it is improbable that they originally had fixed stress on the ending. At some stage these nouns probably copied the stress-pattern of such nouns as *dęčâk*, GSG *dęčȁka*.

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2.2.6.2 Subtype IV/2 (fleeting vowel)

These are 13 nouns: *cûcęk/cücęk* 'dog', GSG *cücka*, *järęm/jâręm* 'yoke', GSG *järma/jârma*, *kôlęc* 'stake', APL *kölcę*, *könęc/kônęc*[6] 'end; thread', GSG *könca/kônca*, *kusïčęk* 'small piece', APL *kusïčkę/kusîčkę*, *lönęc/lônęc* 'pan', LSG *lönci/lônci*, *nûgęl* 'corner', APL *nüglę/nûglę*, *Potstäręc* TOP, NPL *Potstârci* (cf. NPL *Stârci* TOP), *râbęc* 'sparrow', APL *räpcę*, *svêtęk* 'holiday', GSG *svëtka*, *škôrci/škörci* NPL 'starling', *žïtęk/žîtęk* 'life', GSG *žîtka*.

This subtype is heterogeneous in several respects. Some of its members have an originally long stem-vowel, e.g. *järęm/jâręm*, others have not, e.g. *lönęc/lônęc*. Although most of them originally had end-stress throughout the paradigm, not all of them have, e.g. *kusïčęk*, *Potstäręc*.

In most cases the source for a length alternation is not clear.[7] The explanation that accounted for *kljûč*, GSG *kljûča/kljüča* (see § 2.2.6.1 (2)) cannot be used for such words as *järęm/jâręm* and *lönęc/lônęc*: The root vowel in *järęm/jâręm* probably became stressed throughout the paradigm at the same time, after the shortening of long pretonic vowels; the vowel in *lönęc/lônęc* was originally short.

It is possible that at some stage the dialect showed lengthening before tautosyllabic resonants or even in all closed syllables, but then it would have to be explained why length appears in precisely these forms and not in others with the same syllabic make-up.

2.2.6.3 Subtype IV/3 (remaining nouns)

These are: *färnjik/fârnjik* 'priest', *Käri/Kâri* PROP, *krümplin* 'potatoe', APL *krûmplinę/krümplinę*, *tuväruš/tuvâruš* 'friend'.

2.2.7 Stress on prepositions

The following instances of stressed prepositions have been attested: *nä kraj* 'away', *nä kraji* 'on the edge' (also *na kräji/krâji)*, *nä pod* 'to the attic', *nä prodaj* 'for sale', *nä put* 'for the road', *pô ręd* 'one after the other', *pöd vęčęr* 'just before the beginning of the evening' (also *na vęčęr* 'at night'), *nä vęrt* 'to the yard'.

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[6] The vowel is mostly (but not consistently) short if the word means 'end' and long if it means 'thread' (cf. *kònac* and *kónac* in Tornow 1989: 179).

[7] I assume that doublet length developed from a length alternation (see § 2.2.2 (2) and I.7.2).

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2.3 Morphonological alternations

The following alternations are morphonemic:[8]

(1) Insertion of /ę/ before the stem-final consonant in the NSG. There are 85 masculine class Ia nouns with a fleeting vowel. The vast majority (50) ends in *-ęc* in the NSG, the other nouns end in *-ęk* (15), *-ęr* (5), *-ęlj* (5), *-ęm*, *-ęn*, *-ęnj* or *-ęt* (less than 5 each). All these numbers are approximate. Examples:
- in *-ęc*: *Hędęšïnęc* 'inhabitant of Hidegség', NPL *Hędęšïnci*, *Homočônęc* 'inhabitant of Fertőhomok', APL *Homočôncę*, *järęc* 'barley', GSG *järca*, *lônęc* 'chain', ISG *lôncęm*, *lönęc/lônęc* 'pan', NPL *lönci/lônci*, *Nêmęc* 'German', NPL *Nêmci*, *pêvęc* 'cock', NPL *pêfci*;
- not in *-ęc*: *cücęk/cûcęk* 'dog', NPL *cücki*, *čävęl* 'nail', GSG *čävla*, *čęšęlj* 'comb', ISG *čęšjęm*, *hřbęt* 'back', LSG *hřpti*, *ögęnj* 'fire', GSG *ögnja*, *töpanjęk* 'type of shoe', NPL *töpanki*, *vętęr* 'wind', GSG *vętra*.
In a number of examples above internal sandhi rules were operative, e.g. *b* → *p* in *hřbęt* (see II.3.3.1). In the flexion of *čęšęlj* we see the optionality of *l* in *lj* (see II.3.3.3).

(2) Palatalization of stem-final velars in two words: the forms in which palatalizations was attested are NPL *vrâzi*, GPL *vrâzuv*, APL *vrâzę* (from *vrâg* 'devil'), VSG *böžę* (from *Bôg* 'God'). Compare the following words without palatalization: *bętęžnïki* NPL 'sick person', *brêgi* NPL 'mountain', *čęhi* NPL 'Czech'. Palatalization was also attested in the irregular noun *örij* 'walnut', GPL *orîs* (cf. NPL *orïhi*).[9]

(3) Insertion of stem-final *h* or *j* in inflected forms of proper names and Hungarian loans ending in a vowel in the NSG, e.g. *autô* 'car', GSG *autôha/autôja*, *Fęri* PROP, GSG *Fęrija*, *lęvęgê* 'air', GSG *lęvęgêha/lęvęgêja* (see II.3.3.5).

(4) Insertion of stem-final *h* in inflected forms of nouns which originally end in *-h* in the NSG but have been attested either without *-h* or both with and without *-h*, e.g. *plę* 'tin-plate', GSG *plęha*, *prâ(h)* 'dust', LSG *prâhi* (see also II.3.3.4).

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[8] As was said in a footnote to II.3.3.1, it is not always possible to draw a sharp line between phonemic and morphonemic alternations.

[9] The noun *örij* also shows some other peculiarities which could be considered morphonemic. I refer the reader to § 8.

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(5) Only in Hi: in certain words stressed *ë* (< **ě*) alternates with pretonic *i*: *dëtič* 'young man', NPL *ditìči*, *tëdęn* 'week', GPL *tidnôv*, *mësęc* 'month', GPL *misêc*, NPL *pënęzi* 'money', GPL *pinêz*.

(6) *nj* is depalatalized in *töpanjęk* 'boot', NPL *töpanki*.[10]

3. Class Ia: neuter nouns

3.1 Endings

3.1.1 Inventory

TABLE III.4: endings of the neuter nouns of class Ia

	SG	PL
N	*-o/-ö/-ô// -ę/-ê*[p]	*-a, -ę, -i*
G	*-a/-â*	*ov, -Ø, -i*
D	*-u*	
A	=NSG	=NPL
I	*-ęm/-êm*	*-i*
L	*-i/-î*	*-i, -a*

Examples: *blâgo* 'livestock', GSG *blâga*, DSG *blâgu*, ISG *blâgęm*, LSG *blâgi*; NPL *kôla/kôlę* 'wagon', GPL *kôluv/kôli*, ILPL *kôli*.

3.1.2 Singular: distribution of alternative endings; stem-stress and end-stress

The NSG ending *-ę/-ê* is only found after palatal consonants and *c* (no stem in *-š-* attested), *-o/-ö/-ô* only after other consonants. Examples: *sôncę* 'sun', *vôžę* 'rein', *pöję* 'field', *zȑnję* 'grain', *vìliščę* 'handle of pitchfork', *protolìćę* 'spring', *tręsljê* 'reed', *jëlo* 'food', *čęrêvo* 'bowel', *väpno* 'chalk', *mësto* 'place', *jûtro* 'morning'.

The nouns with end-stress are not numerous: 1 in *-ô* (*kumstvô* 'relatives (collective))' against 275 in *-o*) and 7 in *-ê* (*koščê* 'bones', GSG *męrvjâ* 'crumbs', *morjê* 'sea', *sadȅ* 'vegetables', *smętljê* 'dirt', *tręsljê* 'reed', GSG *zvirjâ* 'animals'; against 35 in *-ę*).

[10] This depalatalization is probably not phonologic: *nj* is possible before stops, e.g. *vönjba* 'bad smell'.

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3.1.3 Plural: distribution of alternative endings

NAPL *-i*

The ending *-i* has been attested for one noun: *sr̈ci* 'heart'.

NAPL *-a, -ę*

It is possible that *-a* and *-ę* are in free variation: for many words both endings have been attested in the same syntactic environment. The NAPL ending *-ę* has also been attested for nouns with a NSG in *-ę* and there is no significant difference between Hi en Fe where the choice between *-a* and *-ę* is concerned. However, some nouns with many attested NAPL forms seem to have a preference for one of the two endings, e.g. PLT *vrâta* 'door', *lëtę* 'year'.

The attested NAPL forms are: PLT *dr̈va* 'wood', *drêva*, *drêvę* 'tree', *gnjêzda*, *gnjêzdę* 'nest', *igrônję* 'toy', *jâjca* 'egg', *ję̈zęrę* 'lake', *Ję̈zęra* TOP, PLT *kôla*, *kôlę* 'wagon', *kolêsę*, *kolêsa* 'wheel', *kopr̈ta* 'hoof', *lëtę* 'year', *mësta* 'place', *pę̈ra* 'feather', *pr̈sma*, *pr̈smę* 'letter', *pjûča* 'lung', *rühę* 'garment', *sę̈dla* 'saddle', *vôžę* 'rein', *vrâštva* 'medicine', *vrâta* 'door', *vušêsa*, *vušêsę* 'ear', *žęlêzę* 'iron'.

GPL

Of the 24 attested GPL forms in the material, 19 are endingless, 2 have *-ov* and 3 have *-i*: *pr̈smuv*^{h}, *kôluv*^{h}, *kôli*, *lëti* (also *lêt*), *stëkli* 'glass', *mësti*. The instances with *-i* have been attested in Fe (cf. §§ 2.1.2 and 5.1.2), those with *-ov* are from Hi (cf. § 5.1.2).[11]

LPL *-a*

This ending has been attested once: *drêva* (1x, along with *drêvi* 3x, all Fe).

3.2 Accentuation

3.2.1 Division into accentuation types

The neuter nouns of class Ia can be divided into four accentuation types according to the following characteristics:

Type I: Fixed stem-stress on a short vowel, sometimes with the exception of the GPL. In those cases where the GPL is endingless, the stem-final syllable is long if stressed.

[11] This also holds for two irregular nouns: GPL *sêluv*^{h} 'village' and GPL *stëkli*^{f} 'glass'.

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Type II: Fixed stem-stress on a long vowel throughout the paradigm.

Type III: Fixed end-stress or stress shift somewhere in the paradigm.

Type IV: Fixed stem-stress with accentual alternation and/or doublet accentuation.

3.2.2 Diachronic observations on the accentuation types

In the present section we shall look at the correspondences between the generally accepted Common Slavic (henceforth 'CSl') accentuation types (a), (b) and (c) and the accentuation types of the neuter class Ia nouns in the present-day dialect. In principle, the types (a), (b) and (c) are reflected as follows in the dialect of Hi and Fe:

TABLE III.5: correspondences between CSl and Hi and Fe accentuation types

CSl type (a)	→ I, e.g. *blȁto*
CSl type (b)	stem-vowel originally short → I, e.g. *stȅklo* stem-vowel **ō*, **ē* → II, e.g. *gnjêzdo* stem-vowel **ī*, **ā*, **ū* → I, e.g. *vȁpno* incidentally → IV, e.g. *sȩ̏lo*
CSl type (c)	stem-vowel originally short → I, e.g. *pȍjȩ* stem-vowel originally long → II, e.g. *blâgo* incidentally → IV, e.g. *gȍvno*

Remarks:

(1) Most of the correspondences found in the table can be understood if one takes into account what was said about the development of the dialect in I.7.2 and I.7.3.

(2) Fixed end-stress is found in a number of nouns formed with the suffix *-jê* (one in *-stvô*), e.g. *koščê* 'bones', *morjê* 'sea', *kumstvô* 'godfathers (collective)'.

(3) Type IV is found in not more than three nouns.

(4) Table III.5 gives an idealized representation of the correspondences, from which the actual picture found in the material can deviate. I refer the reader to remark (4) in § 2.2.2.

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3.2.3 Accentuation type I (fixed stem-stress on a short vowel)

Monosyllabic stem

Full list: *blȁto* 'mud', *cȕlo* 'knapsack', *čę̏lo* 'forehead', *dȅlo* 'work', *dȑvo* 'wood', *gę̏lo* 'throat', *jȅlo* 'food', *lȅto* 'year', *mȅsto* 'place', *nę̏bo* 'sky', *pę̏ro* 'feather', *pȉsmo* 'letter', *pȍję* 'field', *rę̏bro* 'rib', *rȕdo* 'pole', *rȕho* 'garment', *sę̏dlo* 'saddle', *sȑcę* 'heart', *sȉto* 'sieve', *stȅklo* 'glass, *šȉlo* 'awl', *vȁpno* 'chalk', *vȑnję* 'cream', *zdrȁvję* 'health', *zȑnję* 'grain'.

Polysyllabic stem, stress not on the last stem-vowel

Full list: *dȉhanję* 'breath', *ję̏zęro* 'lake', *lopȁtiščę* 'handle of a shovel', *mȍtinkiščę* 'handle of a hoe', *štrȉkanję* 'knitting', *vȉliščę* 'handle of a pitchfork'.

Polysyllabic stem, stress on the last stem-vowel

Full list: *dęržȁlo* 'handle', *jęzȑcę* 'small lake', *kolę̏no* 'knee', *kopȉto* 'hoof', *korȉto* 'trough', *pokrivȁlo* 'lid', *protulȉćę* 'spring', *srcȁlo* 'mirror', *svętȉlo* 'small light', *žęlȅzo* 'iron'.

3.2.4 Accentuation type II (fixed stem-stress on a long vowel)

Monosyllabic stem

Full list: *blâgo* 'livestock', *dlêto* 'chisel', *drêvo* 'tree', *gnjêzdo* 'nest', *grôzlję* 'grapes', *jâjcę* 'egg', *jûtro* 'morning', PLT *kôla* NPL 'wagon', *lȉščę* 'leaves', *mêso* 'meat', *mlêko* 'milk', *pêrję* 'feathers', *pîvo* 'beer', *pjûča* 'lung' NPL, *râlo* 'ploughing', *sêno* 'hay', *stônję* 'residence', *têlo* 'body', *têsto* 'dough', *vêdro* 'bucket', *vôžę* 'rein', *vrâštvo* 'medicine', PLT *vrâta* NPL 'door'.

Polysyllabic stem, stress not on the last stem-vowel

No instances found in the material.

Polysyllabic stem, stress on the last stem-vowel

Full list: *čęrêvo* 'intestine', *dogovônję* 'merchandise', *igrônję* 'toys', *korênję* 'roots', *rukovêćę* 'sheaf', *vesêlję* 'wedding', *vuglênję* 'coals', *vušêso* 'ear'.

3.2.5 Accentuation type III (fixed end-stress or stress shift somewhere in the paradigm)

Fixed end-stress

With the exception of *morjê* and LSG *poštęn(j)î*, these nouns have a collective meaning.

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Full list: *koščê* 'bones', *kumstvô* 'relatives', *mẹrvjâ* GSG 'crumbs', *morjê* 'sea', LSG *poštẹn(j)î* 'respect', *sadệ* 'vegetables', *smẹtljê* 'dirt', *trẹsljê* 'reed', *zvirjâ* GSG 'animals'.

Stress shift within the stem

Only one noun: *jẹ̈zẹro* 'thousand', GPL *jẹzêr*.

3.2.6 Accentuation type IV: (fixed stem-stress with accentual alternation and/or doublet accentuation

Two nouns have a short stem-vowel in the SG and a long one in the PL: *gövno* 'excrement', GPL *gôvẹn*; *kölo* 'wheel', NAPL *kôla*, *kôlẹ* (along with *kölẹ*). The latter word has also a PL variant with an extended stem: *kolêsa*. I regard the PLT *kôla* 'wagon' synchronically as a separate paradigm. Compare also the noun *sẹ̈lo*, *sẹ̈la* 'village' in § 8.

Three nouns have doublet accentuation: *sôncẹ/söncẹ* 'sun' (short *ö* is relatively rare), *vîno/vïno* 'wine', *mâslo/mäslo* 'butter'.

3.2.7 Stress on prepositions

This phenomenon was only attested with the noun *pöjẹ* 'field': *nä pojẹ*, *nä poji*, *pö poji*.

3.3 Morphonemic alternations

Three types of morphonemic alternations are found in neuter class Ia paradigms. The number of words affected by them is very small.

(1) Two nouns have a fleeting vowel in the GPL: *gövno* 'turd', GPL *gôvẹn*, *jâjcẹ* 'egg', GPL *jâjẹc*.

(2) In the LSG of *morjê* 'sea' the *-j-* can optionally be dropped: LSG *murî/murjî*. The same happens in LSG *poštẹn(j)î* 'respect'.

(3) The word *kölo* 'wheel' has an optional stem extension in plural forms: NPL *kolêsa/kôla*, IPL *kolêsi*. This noun must not be confounded with PLT *kôla* 'cart'.

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4. Class Ib

TABLE III.6: endings of the nouns of class Ib

	SG	PL
N	*-ę*	*-a/-â*
G	*-a*	*-Ø*
D	*-u*	
A	=NSG	=NPL
I	*-ęm*	
L	*-i*	

This inflexion class consists of 10 nouns. No subdivision into accent types will be made. I shall present all the attested forms here.
NASG *dêtę* 'child', DSG *dętȅtu*, NASG *ȉmę* 'name', GSG *ȉmęna*, ISG *imȅnęm*, LSG *ȉmęni*, *ȉmęnu*, NPL *imęnâ*, GPL *imên*, NASG *prâsę* 'piglet', DSG *prasȅtu*, NSG *sȅmę* 'seed', GSG *sȅmęna*, NPL *sęmêna*, NSG *tȅlę* 'calf', NSG *vȉmę* 'udder', NSG *vrêmę*, GSG *vrȅmęna*, LSG *vrȅmęni*, NASG *ždrêbę* 'foal'.[12] The noun *kȍlo* 'wheel' can be inflected with or without insertion of *-ęs-*: NPL *kȍlę*, *kôlę*, APL *kôla*, *kolêsę*, *kolêsa*.

[12] Strictly speaking, the class membership of *tȅlę*, *vȉmę* and *ždrêbę* is not certain (no inflected forms attested). The noun *pȉplę* 'chick' is IRR (see § 8).

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5. Class II: feminine nouns

5.1 Endings

5.1.1 Inventory

TABLE III.7: endings of the feminine nouns of class II

	SG	PL
N	*-a, -Ø*	*-ę/-i*
G	*-ę/-ê*	*ov, -Ø, -i*
D	*-i/-î*	*-am/-ôm*
A	*-u, -Ø*	*-ę/-i*
I	*-um/-ûm/-ôm*	*-ami/-ômi*
L	*-i/-î*	*-a*

Examples: NSGLPL *hïža* 'house', GSGNPL *hïžę*, DLSG *hïži*, ASG *hïžu*, ISG *hïžum*, GPL *hîž*, Fe also *hïži*, IPL *hïžami*; *žę̈na*, GSGNPL *žę̈nę*, DLSG *žę̈ni*, ISG *žę̈num*, GPL *žên*, DPL *žę̈nam*, IPL *žęnômi*, *žę̈nami*. For more examples of stressed endings see § 5.2.5.

5.1.2 Distribution of alternative endings

NSG/ASG

The nouns *čêr* 'daughter', *kökoš* 'chicken' and *Märgit* PROP are the only ones with a zero ending. Further attested forms: DSG *čęrî*[f], *čirî*[h], ASG *čêr*, ISG *čęrûm*, LSGNAPL *čêri*, GSGNAPL *kökošę*, DSG *kökoši*, DPL *kokošôm*, *kökošam*, DSG *Märgiti*.

ISG

If the ending is unstressed, it is always *-um*. If it is stressed, it is *-ûm* in Hi and optionally *-ûm* or *-ôm* in Fe. The attested end-stressed ISG forms are: *dicûm*[h], *dęcûm*[f], *dęcôm*[f] 'children', *glavûm*[f] 'head', *kusûm*[hf] 'scythe', *nogûm*[f] 'leg', *rukûm*[h] 'hand', *rokôm*[f], *vodûm*[h] 'water', *zęmjûm*[f] 'earth'.

NPL/APL

The only noun with a NAPL ending *-i* is *čêr* (see NSG/ASG above).

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GPL

The majority has *-Ø* (49 attested forms from 22 different words). With the exception of *ürí/ûri* 'hour' (see below), the ending *-i* (21x from 13 different nouns) occurs only in Fe, *-ov* (16x from 15 nouns) only in Hi. This distribution has parallels in inflexion class Ia (see §§ 2.1.2 and 3.1.3).

In the respective villages where they occur, the endings *-i* and *-ov* seem to be free though less frequent variants of *-Ø*. For example, the word that has the most attestations with *-Ø*, viz. *hïža* 'house', GPL *hîž* (5x) , also has attestations with *-i* and *-ov*: *hïži*[f] (2x), *hïžov*[h] (1x).

The only noun with a demonstrable preference for the ending *-i* in the GPL is *ûra* 'hour', GPL *ürí*, which was attested in both villages and only with *-i* .

DPL

The collective noun *dëca* 'children' has a DPL form *dęcôm*, *dëcam* along with DSG *dęcî*[f], *dicî*[h]

LPL

For two nouns the LSG ending *-i* has been attested (both once): *hïži* 'house' (also LPL *hïža*), *vïli* 'pitchfork'.

5.2 Accentuation

5.2.1 Division into accentuation types

The feminine nouns of class II can be divided into four accentuation types according to the following characteristics:

Type I:	Fixed stem-stress on a short vowel. If the GPL is endingless, the stem-final syllable is long if stressed.
Type II:	Fixed stem-stress on a long vowel throughout the paradigm;
Type III:	End-stress somewhere in the paradigm.
Type IV:	Fixed stem-stress with accentual alternation and/or doublet accentuation.

In an endingless GPL the last stem-vowel is long when stressed, e.g. *družîn* 'household', *hîž* 'house', *jezerîc* 'banknote of 1000 forint', *kîl* 'kilo', *krâv* 'cow', *mašîn* 'machine', *pûz* 'snail', *žên* 'wife', cf. *bäbov* 'grandmother', *čęrëšęnj* 'cherry', *hïži*, *jägod*-'berry', *lädic* 'box'.

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5.2.2 Diachronic observations on the accentuation types

In the present section we shall look at the correspondences between the generally accepted CSl accentuation types (a), (b) and (c) and the accentuation types of the feminine class Ia nouns in the present-day dialect. In principle, the types (a), (b) and (c) are reflected as follows:

TABLE III.8: correspondences between CSl and Hi and Fe accentuation types

CSl type (a)	→ I, e.g. *bäba*
CSl type (b) or (c)	stem-final vowel originally short → I, e.g. *stëza*, *göra* stem-final vowel **ō*, **ē* → II, e.g. *svêča*, *môka*, *srêda* stem-final vowel **ī*, **ā*, **ū* → I, e.g. *trüba* stem-final vowel **ī*, **ā*, **ū* : incidentally → IV, e.g. *träva*, *jüha* incidentally → III, e.g. *žęna*, *gläva*, *nöga*

Remarks:

(1) Most of the correspondences found in the table can be understood if one takes into account what was said about the development of the dialect in I.7.2 and I.7.3.

(2) Table III.8 gives an idealized representation of the correspondences, from which the actual picture found in the material can deviate (see remark (4) in § 2.2.2). Especially in the case of nouns belonging to CSl (b) or (c) one should be aware of the fact that the assignment of nouns to accentuation types is based on a limited corpus of data and therefore very often a matter of coincidence (see also I.6.3.3.2 and I.6.3.3.3).

5.2.3 Accentuation type I (fixed stem-stress on a short vowel)

Monosyllabic stem

Full list: *Ȁna* PROP, *bäba* 'grandmother', *bȉrka* 'sheep', *Böjsa* TOP, *bölta* 'shop', *brëskva* 'peach', *büha* 'flea', *cȉgla* 'roof-tile'^{h}, *cȉma* 'part of a plant', *čȉzma* 'boot', *dëska* 'board', *dȉnja* 'melon', *dȕpa* 'dress', *dläka* 'beard', *fäjta* 'species', *flöša* 'bottle', *göra* 'vineyard', *güska*^{h} 'goose', *gräba* 'ditch', *güslę* 'gusle', PLT *häję* 'clothes', *hȉža* 'house', *käpa* 'cap', *käva* 'coffee', *kę̈čka* 'goat', *krčma* 'inn', *krma* 'fodder', *knjȉga* 'book', *köca* 'jacket', *köčka* 'setting hen', *köra* 'bark', *köza* 'goat', *krästa* 'crust', *kräva* 'cow', *küča* 'shelter', *kȕjsa* 'part of a yoke', *küma* 'godmother', *läčę* 'trousers', *lësa* 'fence', *löjtra* ladder', *löza* 'wood', *mäša*

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'mass', *mëgla* 'fog', *mëra* 'measure', *mȑkfa* 'carrot', *mętla* 'broom', *müka* 'pain', *Pęšta* 'Budapest', *pizda* 'cunt', *plȁca* 'street', PLT *plëvę* chaff', NPL *plündrę* 'trousers', *prëša* 'press', *püška* 'rifle', *püza* 'snail', *rȁca* 'duck', *rëpa* 'beet', *rȉba* 'fish', *rühа* 'garment', *rüška* 'pear', *sȁpa* 'breeze', *šfȁja* 'seamstress', *slȉva* 'plum', *srȁka* 'magpie', *srëča* 'happiness', *stȁja* 'bed', *stëkla* 'glass', *stępkę* 'buttermilk', *stëza* 'road', *strëha* 'eaves', *strëla* 'lightning', PLT *strȕnę* 'beard', *süza* 'tear', *šȉba* 'whip', *škȁrję* 'scissors', *škȍla* 'school', *škrȉnja* 'chest', *šküja* 'hole', *špȉka* 'spire', *šprȉca* 'hose-pipe', *štȁla* 'stable', PLT *štȉgę* 'stairs', *štȁjfa* 'partition-wall in stable', *štręjsa* 'street', *tȁbla* 'slate', *tëgla*[f] 'roof-tile', *tęta* 'aunt', *tȉca* 'bird', *tȍrba* 'bag', *tȍrža* 'maize-stalk', PLT *trübę* 'mouth (rude)', *Ȕša* 'USA', *vȁda* 'argument', *Vëra* PROP, PLT *vȉlę* 'pitchfork', *vȉška* 'witch', *vȉšnja* 'cherry', *vȍja* 'mood', *vȍnjba* 'stench', *vrëča* 'bag', *zdëla* 'dish', *zȉpka* 'cradle', *žętfa* 'harvest', *žȉla* 'vein', *žję̨ba* 'marsh', *žljȉca* 'spoon'.

Polysyllabic stem, stress not on the last stem-syllable

Full list: *Ȁustrija* 'Austria', *bȍsorka* 'witch', *büborka* 'cucumber', *dęvȉčica*[f] 'girl DIM', *famȉlija* 'family', *gȍdina* 'rain', *govędina* 'beef', *grȁbica* 'ditch', *gürgula* 'roller', *hȍkica* 'small axe', *ȉstina* 'truth', *jȁbuka* 'apple', *jȁgoda* 'berry', *Kȁnada* 'Canada', *karȉčica* 'ring', *kȑpica* 'piece of cloth', *kȉtica* 'flower', *kükorica* 'maize', *küpica* 'glass', *lȁdica* 'box', *lȁloka* 'part of the face (jaw?)', *Mȁriška* PROP, *mërica* 'certain measure', *mȍtinka* 'hoe', *ȍbęrva* 'eyebrow', *pȁlica* 'small stick', *pȁrkęta* 'floor-board', *pęlęnka* 'napkin', *pȉtęrba* 'kitchen', *pȍtkova* 'horseshoe', *prȉsiga* 'marriage', *pünica* 'mother-in-law', *rëpnica* 'depository', *rȍdbina* 'family', *sinȍkoša* 'hay-field', *sȉrota* 'poor creature', *stëzica* 'road DIM', *šküjica* 'hole DIM', *šnję̨jdęrica* 'seamstress', *Vülica* TOP.

Polysyllabic stem, stress on the last stem-syllable

Full list: *Amęrȉka* 'America', *bubulȉca* 'certain fruit', *čęrëšnja* 'cherry', NPL *Čilȁbę* TOP, *duvȉca* 'widow', *družȉna* 'household', *fabrȉka* 'factory', *Gorȉca* TOP, *gospodarȉca* 'lady of the house', *jęzęrȉca* '1000 forint note', *kobasȉca* 'sausage', *komȍra* 'shed', *kosęrȉca* (meaning unclear), *Kosȁča* TOP, *košȁra* 'basket', *krajȉca* 'queen', *krajȉna* 'surroundings', *lopȁta* 'shovel', *lučȑna* 'lucerne', *mašȉna* 'machine', *nadëja* 'Sunday', *nęsrëča* 'accident', *norȉja* 'joke', *pajtȁba* 'shed', *paprȉka* 'paprika', *partȉka* 'merchandise', *pęvnȉca* 'cellar', *posȉję* 'chaff', *pravȉca* 'truth', *prębȁba* 'great-grandmother', *rivajȉca* 'certain tool', *rodȁkȉnja* 'relative', *rodȉnja* 'family', *rogȍža* 'kind of blanket', *rȍsa* 'dew', *sękȉra* 'axe', *sęstrȉca* DIM to *sëstra*, *slanȉna* 'fat bacon', *sobȍta* 'Saturday', *Starȉna* TOP, PLT *šalamȉję* 'musical instrument', *šęnȉca* 'wheat', *škęrjȁka* 'hat', *šfangüja*

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'behind', PLT *talïčkę* 'wheelbarrow', *tęlïca* 'female calf', *tręstïna* 'reed-stalk', *Tromëd'a* TOP, *vęčęra* 'evening meal', *vidrïca*[h] 'small bucket', *vragolïja* 'trick', DLSG *žęlęznïci* 'railway station'.

5.2.4 Accentuation type II (fixed stem-stress on a long vowel)

Monosyllabic stem

Full list: *brôna* 'harrow', *brâzda* 'furrow', *brîtfa* 'razor', *cêna* 'price', *crîkva* 'church', *dêkla* 'girl', *gôja* 'stork', *gôska*[f] 'goose', *grêda* 'beam', *jâčka* 'song', *jôma* 'hole', *kâpja* 'drop', *kônja* 'kite (bird)', *lêča* 'lentil', *Mlâkfa* TOP, *môka* 'flour', *plâča* 'pay', ASG *pôzu* 'armpit', NPL *rômę* 'window', *rôna* 'wound', *rôna* 'food', *slôma* 'straw', *srêda* 'Wednesday', *stêna* 'wall', *svêča* 'candle', *špârga* 'string', *tûga* 'sorrow'.

Polysyllabic stem, stress not on the last stem-syllable

Full list: *ârẹnda* 'lease', *grônica* 'border', *Jugoslâvija* 'Yugoslavia', *kovâlnica* 'shoeing-forge', *lâstovica* 'swallow', *ôkulę* 'glasses', *pâjinka* 'liquor', *Pêščanka* TOP, *prêtęljica* 'mother-in-law', *štôrnica* 'story', *vijâlnica* 'winnowing-mill'.

Polysyllabic stem, stress on the last stem-syllable

Full list: NPL *ędînję* 'plates and dishes, *grofîca* 'countess', *Jandrînja* 'St. Andrew's day', *Kamęnjâča* TOP, *kjučônka* 'key-hole', *mašînka* 'small machine', *vęčêrnja* 'vespers'.

5.2.5 Accentuation type III (end-stress somewhere in the paradigm)

The following 14 nouns have end-stress in one or more forms, more often than not along with stem-stress in the same form(s): *dëca* 'children', GSG *dęcê*[f], *dicê*[h], DSG *dëci*, *dęcî*[f], *dicî*[h], ASG *dëcu*, ISG *dëcum*, *dęcûm*[f], *dicûm*[h], LSG *dëci*, DPL *dëcam*, *dęcôm*[f], *dicôm*[h]; *glâva/glàva* 'head', GSG *glâvę*, ASG *glâvu*, ISG *glàvum/glâvum/glavûm*, LSG *glâvi/glàvi*; NASG *kòkoš* 'chicken', GSG *kòkošę*, LSG *kòkoši*, GSGNAPL *kòkošę*, DPL *kòkošam/kokošôm*; *kòsa* 'scythe', ISG *kòsum/kosûm*, GPL *kòsov*, *nòga* 'leg', ISG *nogûm*, LSG *nògi*, NAPL *nògę*, IPL *nògami/nogômi*, LPL *nòga*, *rôka* 'hand', NAPL *rôkę*, DSG *rôki*, LSG *rôki/rokî*, ISG *rôkum/rokûm*, IPL *rôkami*, LPL *rôka*, *sëstra* 'sister', GSGNAPL *sëstrę*, DLSG *sëstri*, ASG *sëstru*, DPL *sęstrôm/sëstram*, IPL *sëstrami*, *snëha* 'daughter-in-law', GSG *snęhê*, DSG *snęhî*, *svînja/svìnja* 'pig', GSG *svìnję*, ASG *svìnju/svînju*, LSG *svìnji*, GSGNAPL *svìnję/svînję*, GPL *svînj*, DPL *svinjôm*, IPL *svinjômi*, LPL *svìnja*, *vòda* 'water, GSG *vodê/vòdę*, ASG *vòdu*, ISG *vodûm/vòdum*, LSG *vòdi/vodî*, NAPL *vòdę*, IPL *vòdami*,

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NSGLPL *zę̏mlja* 'land', GSG *zęmljê/zę̏mlję*, DLSG *zę̏mlji*, ISG *zęmljûm*, NAPL *zę̏mlję*, GPL *zę̏mljuv*, IPL *zęmljômi*, *zìma/zîma* 'winter', ASG *zìmu/zîmu*, LSG *zîmi/zimî*, *zȍra* 'dawn', LSG *zȍri/zorî*, *žę̏na* 'wife', GSGNAPL *žę̏nę*, DLSG *žę̏ni*, ASG *žę̏nu*, ISG *žę̏num*, GPL *žên*, DPL *žę̏nam*, IPL *žęnômi*.

In § 5.2.2 it was already said that the extent to which the virtual accentuation of a paradigm is represented by the set of attested forms in the material is largely a matter of coincidence. This is especially true for the presence and absence of end-stress in the material: for a number of nouns that were assigned to types I, II and IV few (if any) MACROFORMs^{m} potentially showing end-stressed FORMs are available, and even if they are, the absence of end-stressed FORMs^{m} does not prove anything (for the terms used here see I.6.3.2). Examples: *brâzda* 'furrow' (type II), *dȅska* 'board' (type I), *dûša* 'soul' (type IV).

Restricting ourselves to those words for which end-stress in one or more forms is present in the material, we can say the following:

(1) The dialect shows an overall tendency towards eliminating desinential stress and those instances of desinential stress that are found yield the picture of accidentally distributed archaisms. End-stress is often attested in different BOXes for different words.

(2) Although the number of attested instances is often very small, it is clear that some BOXes (e.g. the ISG, DPL and IPL) have a stronger preference for end-stress than others (e.g. the LSG and LPL).

(3) It is also clear that the preference for end-stress or stem-stress is to a considerable extent lexicalized. For example *dȅca* has a relatively strong preference for end-stress, whereas *glȁva*, *rôka*, *sȅstra* and *žę̏na* have a relatively strong preference for stem-stress.

(4) In BOXes that themselves have a strong preference for stem- or end-stress, nouns can deviate in their own way from the general picture, e.g. the LSG of *zìma* and the DSG and ISG of *žę̏na*.

I shall present the number of attestations of stem- and end-stress of the words that were assigned to type IV in the following table.

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TABLE III.9: attestations of stem-stress/end-stress

	GSG	DSG	ISG	LSG	DPL	IPL	LPL	av. %
dëca	0/8	1/4	1/5	1/0	2/6	-	-	N=28
%	**0/100**	**20/80**	**17/83**	100/0	**25/75**			**32/68**
glàva	2/0	-	3/1	18/0	-	-	-	N=24
%	100/0		75/25	100/0				**92/8**
kȍkoš	2/0	-	-	1/0	1/1	-	-	N=5
%	100/0			100/0	50/50			83/17
kȍsa	-	-	4/3	-	-	-	-	N=7
%			57/43					57/43
nȍga	-	-	0/1	3/0	1/1	1/2	2/1	N=12
%			0/100	100/0	50/50	33/67	67/33	50/50
rȏka	1/0	1/0	6/7	7/1	-	2/0	2/0	N=27
%	100/0	100/0	46/54	88/12		100/0	100/0	**89/11**
sȅstra	1/0	3/0	1/0	1/0	3/1	3/0	-	N=13
%	100/0	100/0	100/0	100/0	75/25	100/0		**96/4**
snȅha	0/1	0/1	-	-	-	-	-	N=2
%	0/100	0/100						0/100
svînja	4/0	-	-	1/0	0/4	0/1	1/0	N=11
%	100/0			100/0	**0/100**	0/100	100/0	60/40
vȍda	1/11	-	3/1	7/1	-	1/0		N=25
%	**8/92**		75/25	88/12		100/0		68/32
zȩ̏mlja	9/5	1/0	0/1	7/0	-	0/2	3/0	N=28
%	64/36	100/0	0/100	100/0		0/100	100/0	61/39
zȉma	-	-	-	7/5	-	-	-	N=12
%				**58/42**				58/42
zȍra	-	-	-	1/1	-	-	-	N=2
%				50/50				50/50
žȩ̏na	1/0	7/0	5/0	1/0	1/0	1/1	-	N=17
%	100/0	**100/0**	**100/0**	100/0	100/0	50/50		**92/8**
	N=46	N=18	N=42	N=63	N=21	N=14	N=9	↓
av. %	67/33	70/30	52/48	**90/10**	50/50	55/45	**92/8**	65/36

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A dash means "no attestation", "av." means "average".[13] Those BOXes for which end-stress has not been attested at all (NSG, ASG, NPL, GPL and APL) are not represented in the table and have not been included in the statistics. Significant numbers are printed in bold type. In three boxes I underlined percentages I considered interesting. For these percentages the N is very small, so that that they cannot be considered statistically significant in isolation from other relating data.

As I have tried to show in I.7.2 and I.7.3, in paradigms in which the stem-vowel is *ā, *ī or *ū and which originally has end-stress in part of their forms, length alternations or doublet length on the stem-vowel can be expected. Three members of accentual type III meet these conditions: *glâva*, *svînja* and *zȉma*. On the whole there is a strong preference for length on the stressed stem-vowel. The deviances from the overall picture can be accidental. The figures are presented in the following table.

TABLE III.10: attestations of length/shortness on the stressed stem-vowel

	NSG	GSG	ASG	ISG	LSG	NPL	GPL	APL
glâva	8/2	2/0	10/0	2/1	10/7			
svînja	4/3	4/0	2/1		1/0	9/1	2/0	9/2
zȉma	7/8		4/3		7/0			

5.2.6 Accentuation type IV (fixed stem-stress with accentual alternation and/or doublet accentuation)

bâpka/bȁpka 'old woman', *bȅtfa/bêtfa* 'letter', *brâda/brȁda* 'chin', *Cênka* TOP, GSG *Cę̑nkę*, LSG *Cę̑nki*, *gmę̑jna/gmę̏jna*[h], *gmȁjna* 'municipality', *hâloga* 'weeds', GSG *hȁlogę*, *îgla/ȉgla* 'needle', *jûha/jȕha* 'soup', *Jûra* 'Győr', GSG *Jûrę/Jȕrę*, *kȉla* 'kilogram', GSG *kȉlę*, *lâbuška* 'pan', ASG *lâbušku/lȁbušku*, *mâčka/mȁčka* 'cat', *mâjka/mâjka*[f], *mę̏jka/mę̑jka* 'mother', *mladȉna* 'young people (coll.)', GSG *mladȉnę/mladȉnę*, PLT *mustâči/mustȁči* 'moustache', *paradâjzinka/paradȁjzinka* 'tomato', *srędȉnu/srędînu* ASG 'middle', *trȁva/trâva* 'grass', *ûra* 'hour', GPL *ûri/ȕri*, *zvêzda* 'star', NPL *zvêzdę/zvȅzdę*.[14]

[13] Please note that the percentages in the rightmost column and the lowermost row of TABLE III.9 are based on the percentages given for each separate form. This is to prevent that frequently attested forms would outweigh less frequently attested ones. As I pointed out in (3) above, the preference for stem-stress or end-stress is to a considerable extent lexicalized.

[14] On historical grounds one would expect *zvêzda* to belong to type II or III.

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5.2.7 Stressed prepositions

No instances found in the material.

5.3 Morphonemic rules

(1) One feminine class II noun has a fleeting vowel in the GPL: *čęrëšnja* 'cherry', GPL *čęrëšęnj* (along with *čęrëšnji*).

(2) Only in Hi: in *dëca* 'children' stressed *ë* (< **ě*) alternates with pretonic *i*: GSG *dicê*. In the paradigm of *snëha* 'daughter-in-law' (*ë* < **ь*) one expects the same alternation (cf. I.7.2 (e)) but no end-stressed forms have been attested in Hi.

6. Class II: masculine nouns

This class has 9 members. I shall give all attested forms here: *dëda* 'grandfather', *jäpa* 'father', GSG *jäpę*, DSG *jäpi*, ASG *jäpu*, ISG *jäpum*, *Jöška* PROP, DSG *Jöški*, ASG *Jöšku*, *katôna* 'soldier', ASG *katônu*, NPL *katôni*, NPL *komunïštę* 'communist', *pâpa* 'pope', LSG *pâpi*, *Pïšta* PROP, *prędëda* 'great-grandfather', *sïrota*[15] 'poor creature', ASG *sïrotu*, *Štêfę* PROP, DSG *Štêfi*, ASG *Štêfę*, *Štêfu*.

There are no attestations of forms with stressed endings. I chose not to subdivide this class into accentuation types.

The endings will be given in TABLE III.11.

Remarks on the distribution of individual endings:

NSG

There is only one noun in *-ę*, viz. *Štêfę*.

ASG

Štêfę is also the only noun for which an ASG has been attested which was identical with the NSG. In the context where this form was attested it had the function of an indirect object. ASG *Štêfu* has also been attested (as a direct object). The other nouns, which all have a NSG in *-a*, have ASG *-u* both with and without a preposition, e.g. *kad bi jâ pröšla za tvôj jäpu* 'if I should marry your father', *döbroga jäpu ïmam* 'I have a good father'.

NPL and other PL forms

NPL *katôni* and NPL *komunïštę* 'communist' are the only attested PL forms.

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[15] *sïrota* can be either M or F.

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TABLE III.11: endings of the masculine nouns of class II

	SG	PL
N	*-a, -ę*	*-ę, -i*
G	*-ę*	
D	*-i*	
A	*-u*, =NSG	
I	*-um*	
L	*-i*	

7. Class III

This class has 17 members. In § 7.2 all the attested forms will be presented.

7.1 Endings

TABLE III.12: endings of the nouns of class III

	SG	PL
N	*-Ø*	*-i*
G	*-i*	*-i*
D	*-i/-î*	
A	*-Ø*	*-i*
I	*-um/-ûm/-ǔm*[f], *-ęm*	*-i, -êmi, imi*
L	*-i/-î*	*-i*

The only endings with two or more (other than accentual) variants are found in the ISG and IPL. The data is too small to judge whether the distribution of the variants is systematic. The attested instances are:

ISG *ręčûm* 'word', *rêčum, mučûm* 'power', *mâsčum/maščǔm*[f] 'fat', *söjęm* (1x) 'salt'

IPL *ręčêmi, rêči, vǔšimi* 'louse'.

For further examples I refer to § 7.2, where all the attested forms are given.

If only the attested endings are taken into consideration, not all words presented in § 7.2 can be proven to belong to class III, e.g. *krv*

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and *rȉt* (§ 7.2.1). In such cases the fact that the word is feminine has been regarded as additional proof.

The irregular words NPL *lâsi* 'hair', NPL *pȑsi* 'breasts' and NPL *ljûdi* 'people' (see § 8) show much resemblance to class III nouns.

7.2 Accentuation

There are four accentuation types:

Type I:	Fixed stem-stress on a short vowel.
Type II:	Fixed stem-stress on a long vowel throughout the paradigm.
Type III:	End-stress somewhere in the paradigm.
Type IV:	Fixed stem-stress with accentual alternation and/or doublet accentuation.

7.2.1 Accentuation type I

NASG *hȑž* 'rye', GSG *hȑži,* NASG *kȑv* 'blood', LSG *kȑvi*, *ȍprav* 'clothing', *rȉt* 'bum', *skȑb* 'worry', NGAPL *skȑbi*, *smȑt* 'death', GSG *smȑti.*

7.2.2 Accentuation type II

râl 'field', LSG *râli*, *sprâv* 'harness', LSGNAPL *sprâvi,* NASG *strônk* 'side', GLSG/NPL *strônki.*

7.2.3 Accentuation type III

NASG *mâs* 'fat', GLSGNGPL *mâsti*, ISG *mâščum/maščȕm*[f], NASG *môč* 'power', GSG *mȍči*, ISG *močûm*, NASG *nôč* 'night', GSG *(dȍ) noči*, LSG *nȍči/nočî*, NASG *rêč* 'word', GSGNGAPL *rêči*, ISG *ręčûm/rêčum*, IPL *ręčêmi/rêči.*

7.2.4 Accentuation type IV

dôb 'time,period', LSG *dȍbi*, *kôs* 'bone', LSG *kȍsti/kôsti*, NAPL *kȍsti*, NASG *pêč*, LSGNPL *pȅči*, NASG *sôj* 'salt', GSG *sȍji*, ISG *sȍjęm*, *vûš* 'louse', GPL *vûši/vȕši*, APL *vûši*, IPL *vȕšimi.*

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8. Irregular nouns

Eleven nouns are considered irregular.

(1) NASG *dôn* 'day' (M), GASG *dôna*, GPL *dôn*. There is a special form *dnï*, which is used after the numerals *dvâ*, *trî* and *štïri*.

(2) NASG *ökо* 'eye' (N), LSG *öki*, NAPL *öči*, *ökę*, IPL *ökami/očïjami*.

(3-4) Two nouns can be both neuter and feminine and are accordingly inflected as class I or class II nouns: NSG *sęlo* (N)/*sęla* (F) 'village', GSG *sęla/sęlę*, LSG *sęli* (*vu vêm sęli*, *va vûj sęli*), NAPL *sêla/sęlę*, GPL *sêl/sêluv*^{h}, IPL *sêli*, LPL *sêli/sęla*; NSG *stëkla* (F) 'glass', ASG *stëklu*[16], GSG *stëkla* (N), ISG *stëklęm*.

(5-7) The endings of the nouns *ljûdi* 'people', *pŕsi* 'breasts' and *lâsi* 'hair' NPL (only PL forms attested) show much resemblance to the endings found in class III (see § 7.2):

TABLE III.13: the plural of *ljûdi*, *pŕsi* and *lâsi*

NPL	*ljûdi*	*pŕsi*	*lâsi*
GPL	*ljûdi*	*pŕsi*	*lâsi*
DPL	*ljûdim*, *-am*, *ljudêm*		
APL	*ljûdę*	*pŕsi*	*lâsi*
IPL	*ljûdi*, *-imi*, *-ami*, *ljudêmi*		*lâsimi*
LPL	*ljûdi*		*lâsi*

DPL *ljûdim* and IPL *ljûdi* are more frequent than their alternatives. The forms *ljudêm* and *ljudêmi* were only attested in Hi.

(8) *bïka* 'bull', GSGNPL *bïkę*, DSG *bïki*, ASG *bïku*, LSG *bikî*, GSG *bïkuv*^{h}, LPL *bïka*. There are also attestations of NAPL *bikî*.[17] The noun is generally treated as feminine (e.g. *dvê bïkę* 'two bulls', *jędnu bïku* ASG 'one bull'), but sometimes it is masculine (e.g. *smo imäli dvâ bikî* 'we had two bulls').

(9) *tlö* 'flour, ground' (gender unknown), has LSG *tlöhi*, but also *nä tli* 'on the floor (location)' and *nä tla* 'on the floor (direction).'

[16] ASG *stëklu* has only been attested in Hi. Although in Hi there is no distinction between unstressed /o/ and /u/, at least in some cases the form in question agrees with a clearly feminine adjective (e.g. ASGF *zâdnju* 'last') or it is referred to with a feminine pronoun.

[17] I am not fully confident about the length in LSG and NAPL *bikî*.

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(10) *örẹlj*[h]/*örẹj*[hf]/*örẹ*[h]/*öri*[f]/*örij*[f] 'walnut', ASG *orïja*[f], NIPL *orïji*, GPL *orîs*[f]/*orïjov*[f]/*urëjuv*[h].

(11) *pïplẹ* 'chick', NPL *pïpli*.

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CHAPTER IV: PRONOUNS AND NUMERALS

1. Personal pronouns

1.1 General remarks

The personal pronouns are: *jâ* 1SG, *tî* 2SG, *ôn* 3SGM, *nâ* 3SGF, *nö* 3SGN, *nî* 3PLM, *nê* 3PLF and *sębe* (G). The latter pronoun has no nominative case and refers to the (SG or PL) subject of the clause.

Inflected forms of personal pronouns are often realized without stress. In such cases we see either unstressed equivalents of the stressed pronouns or special monosyllabic clitics.

In tables IV.1 to IV.4 the following variants of each pronominal form are given (if attested):

(1) the forms that occur under stress; if the equivalent unstressed form has also been attested, the form is marked "‡";
(2) special clitic forms.

1.2 *jâ, tî* and *sębę*

TABLE IV.1: the inflexion of *jâ* , *tî* and *sębę*

N	*jâ*	*tî*	
G	*mę̈nę* ‡	*tę̈bę* ‡	*sębę*
D	*mę̈ni, mę̈nę*^{h}, *mi*	*tę̈bi, ti*	*sę̈bi, si*
A	*mę̈nę, mę*	*tę̈bę, tę*	*sę*
I	*mę̈num*^{h} ‡, *mę̈nom*^{f}	*tę̈bum*^{h}, *tę̈bom*^{f}	*sę̈bum* ‡, *sö̈bum*
L	*mę̈ni* ‡	*tę̈bi* ‡	*sę̈bi* ‡

Remarks:

(a) The D form *mę̈nę* is less frequent than *mę̈ni* (also in Hi). This could explain the nonattestation of similar D forms from *tî* and *sębę*.
(b) The stressed forms from *sębę* are relatively rare. The I *sö̈bum* has been attested once in both villages.

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1.3 *mî* and *vî*

TABLE IV.2: the inflexion of *mî* and *vî*

N	*mî*	*vî*
G	*nâs* ‡	
D	*nôm* ‡	*vôm* ‡
A	*nâs* ‡	*vas*
I	*nômi*	*vômi*
L	*nas*	*vas*

The unstressed variants of *nôm* and *vôm* are *nam* and *vam*, respectively.

1.4 *ôn, nâ, nǒ, nî* and *nê*

Some forms of the third person personal pronouns have more than two variants. The choice between the variants can depend on the phonetic environment.

TABLE IV.3: the inflexion of *ôn* and *nâ*

N	*ôn*	*nâ, onâ*
G	*njẹ̀ga* ‡, *ga*	*njê, jẹ*
D	*njẹ̀mu, mu*	*njûj, (j)uj*
A	*njẹ̀ga* ‡, *ga, nji, nj*	*njû* ‡, *(j)u, (j)ẹ*
I	*njêm*	*njûm* ‡
L	*njêm*	*njûj* ‡

The ASG form *(j)ẹ* has been attested only twice (on different occasions, but from the same informant).

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TABLE IV.4: the inflexion of *nȍ, nî* and *nê*

N	*nȍ*	*nî* ‡, *onî*	*nê*
G	*njȅga*	*njî, i*	
D		*njîm* ‡, *îm* ‡, *nîm* ‡	
A	*njȅga, njẹ, (j)ẹ, ga*	*njê* ‡, *(j)ẹ*	*jẹ, ẹ*
I		*njȉmi*	
L	*njêm*	*njî*	

If a form has variants without initial *nj-* or *n-*, these are never chosen after a preposition, e.g. *k njȅmu* 'to him', cf. *žȅna mu* 'his wife'. Stressed forms with initial *nj-* and *n-* (and their unstressed but otherwise identical variants) can very well occur without a preposition, e.g. *njȅmu starȉji* 'his parents'. The few real clitics in *nj-* (the accusative forms *nji, nj, njẹ*) are rare and have been attested only after prepositions, e.g. *nô nji* 'on him', *zô nj* 'for it'.

Of those forms that occur both with and without initial *j-*, the variant with *j-* is chosen after vowels, the one without *j-* after consonants, e.g. *tȍ ju bujî* 'that hurts her', *sẹm u znêl* 'I took her away'.

In some forms there is a demarcation problem between the third person personal pronoun and the demonstrative pronouns. The nominative forms and the dative plural form "*nîm* ‡" given above are identical with (part of the variants of) two sets of pronouns:

(1) The substantival demonstrative pronoun *ȍno, nȍ* 'that' (see § 3.1);
(2) The adjectival demonstrative pronouns *ôn* NSGM, *nâ* NSGF, *nî* NPLM and *nê* NPLFN 'that, those' (see § 3.2).

With regard to set (1) the demarcation problem is uni-directional: it is often possible positively to identify the demonstrative pronouns by their adjectival use, but it is not possible to know with certainty that one has to do with a third person personal pronoun. Therefore there is a chance that some of the forms given in the two tables above do not belong there but in the sections on demonstrative pronouns. Where the nominative is concerned, it is not excluded that in the linguistic competence of the speakers there is no boundary between the forms in question, i.e. that the nominative of the third person personal pronouns has no forms of its own but is expressed by a substantivally used demonstrative pronoun.

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2. Possessive pronouns

The pronouns discussed in this section are:

(1) *môj* 'my', *tvôj* 'your' and *svôj*, which refers to the (SG or PL) subject of the clause (TABLE IV.5);
(2) *nâš* 'our', *vâš* 'your (PL or polite; TABLE IV.6);
(3) *njęgov* 'his', *njïhov* 'their' (TABLE IV.7);
(4) the interrogative possessive pronoun *čëv*^{h}/*čïhov*^{f} 'whose'.

Ad (1) There is no separate possessive pronoun with the meaning 'her'. Instead, the form *njê* (the G of *(o)nâ*, see § 1.4) is used. Not all forms of all pronouns are present in the material.
Ad (2) A special form is found in *po nâšę*^{hf} 'in our language/dialect'.
Ad (3) The possessive pronouns *njęgov* and *njïhov* are inflected as adjectives. A peculiarity of *njęgov* (shared by the qualitative pronouns treated in § 6) is that its stem is shortened in declined forms.
čïhovo^{f}, NSGF *čïhova*^{f}.

TABLE IV.5: the inflexion of *môj, tvôj* and *svôj*

	M	N	F
NSG	*môj, tvôj*	*möję, tvöję, svöję*	*möja, tvöja, svöja*
GSG	*mojêga, svojêga*		*möję, svöję*
DSG	*mojêmu, tvojêmu*		*mojûj, tvojûj*
ASG	= N/G	= N	*möju, tvöju*
ISG	*mojêm*		*mojûm*
LSG	*möjęm, svojêm*		*möjuj, mojûj*
NPL	*möji*	*möję, tvöję*	
GPL	*möji*		
DPL			
APL	*möję*		
IPL			
LPL			

Ad (4) For reasons of space, the forms of the interrogative possessive pronoun *čëv*^{h}/*čïhov*^{f} 'whose' will not be presented in tabular

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form. The attested forms are: NSGM *čëv*[h], *čïhov*[f], NSGN *čëvu*[h], *čïhovo*[f], NSGF *čïhova*[f].

TABLE IV.6: the inflexion of 1PL and 2PL possessive pronouns

	M	N	F
NSG	*nâš*	*näšę*	*näša, väša*
GSG	*našêga, vašêga*		*našê*
DSG	*näšęmu*		*näšuj, väšuj*
ASG	= N/G	= N	*näšu*
ISG			
LSG	*našêm*		*näšuj*
NPL	*näši*		
GPL			
DPL	*našîm*		
APL	*näšę*		
IPL			
LPL	*näša*		

TABLE IV.7: the inflexion of *njęgov* and *njïhov*

	M	N	F
NSG	*njęgov*	*njïhovo, njęgvo*	*njęgva, njïhova*
GSG	*njęgvoga*		*njïhovę*
DSG	*njęgvomu*		*njęgvuj*
ASG	= N/G	= N	
ISG			
LSG			
NPL			
GPL			
DPL			
APL			
IPL			
LPL	*njęgvi*		

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3. Demonstrative pronouns

3.1 Substantival *ȍvo, tȍ* and *ȍno*

The reason for presenting substantival neuter *ȍvo* 'this', *tȍ* 'that (near)' and *ȍno* 'that (remote)' separately is that in Hi they differ from their adjectival counterparts (-*ȍ*- vs. -*ô*-) in part of their paradigm.

TABLE IV.8: the inflexion of substantival *ȍvo, tȍ* and *ȍno*

N	*ȍvo/vȍ, ȍto/tȍ, ȍno/nȍ*
G	*vȍga*^{h}, *vôga*^{f}, *tȍga*^{h}, *tôga*^{f}
D	*vȍmu*^{h}, *tȍmu*^{h}, *tômu*^{f}, *nȍmu*^{h}
A	= N
I	*(o)vêm, (o)têm*
L	*vêm, têm*

3.2 Adjectival *ôv, tê*^{f}*/tâ*^{h}*, ôn*

TABLE IV.9: the inflexion of *ôv, tê/tâ* and *ôn*

	M	N	F
NSG	*ôv, tê*^{f}*, tâ*^{h}*, ôn, nâ*	*vô, tô, nô, onô*	*(o)vâ, tâ, nâ*
GSG	*(o)vôga, (o)tôga, (o)nôga*		*ovê, tê*
DSG	*(o)vômu, (o)tômu, (o)nômu*		*vûj, tûj, onûj*
ASG	*vi, ti, ni*/= G	= N	*(o)vû, tû, onû,*
ISG	*vêm, (o)têm*		*(o)vûm, (o)tûm, nûm*
LSG	*vêm, têm*		*vûj, tûj, nûj*
NPL	*(o)vî, tî, nî*	*(o)vê, tê, nê*	
GPL	*vî, tî*		
DPL	*(o)vîm, tîm, nim*		
APL	*(o)vê, tê, (o)nê/nę*		
IPL	*(o)vïmi, tïmi*		
LPL	*vî, tî, nî*		

The lexical meaning of these pronouns corresponds to the meaning of the pronouns presented in § 3.1: *ôv* means 'this', *tê*^{f}*/tâ*^{h} means 'that (near)', *ôn* means 'that (remote)'.

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There are three more NSGM forms: *ovî*, *(o)nî* and *nâ*ʰ. All three have been rarely attested. The ASGM forms *vi, ti* and *ni* are used after prepositions, e.g. *nâ vi čas* 'at present', *vû ti mẹ̑lin* 'into that mill', *vù ni stôn* 'into that house', *nadâ ti Štêfẹ* '(lit.) against that Štefe'. There is one attestation of unaccented *tuga*ʰ used as an indirect object: *jâ sẹ jâdam nâ tuga* 'I am angry with that person'.

4. The special demonstrative pronoun *vẹnî*

This pronoun deserves special attention, since it is probably rare. To my knowledge, the only dialects where it has been found are the Kajkavian dialect of Virje (see Fancev 1907: 378) and certain dialects belonging to the Bilogorje group of Kajkavian.[1]

The pronoun *vẹnî* is used when the speaker wishes to refer to some object, animal or person but has some trouble remembering the right word or name. English equivalents are 'what's his/her name', 'what-d'ye-call-it/him/her'. Very often the pronoun is followed by a short pause, after which the speaker finds the word he/she was looking for. Examples: *na čr̈nẹm vẹnêm* 'on the black what d'ye-call-it' (meant: on the black market), *nê dȍbẹr venî ... lẹvẹgê* 'it isn't good, this ... er ... air', *od otôga vẹnôga* 'of that stuff, what-d'ye-call-it', *vẹnî, käj mu jẹ ïmẹ, tê, tê ... hẹdẹšïnẹc* 'that ... er ... what's his name, that ... er ... man from Hidegség'. From the same root there is also a verb *vẹnôdȉt* 'to what-d'ye-call-it'. I have one attestation of a family name-like formation from the same root: *vẹnïjẹvi Mȁtvikini* 'the what's-their-name, the Matvikins'.[2]

The attested forms of the pronoun *vẹnî* are shown in the table below.

[1] Cf. Lončarić 1986 (n.v., after Ivić 1990: 205n16). It is also not present in *RHSJ* and in Skok 1971-74. If this pronoun can be shown to be unique for a limited area within Kajkavian, it probably provides us with a clue in solving the question of the provenance of the dialect of Hi and Fe. I did not find *vẹnî* or any similar pronoun in the literature on the varieties of Croatian that surround the dialect at its present location. Neither did I attest any such pronoun on my field-work visits to Kópháza and Horvátzsidány, although I deliberately tried to.

[2] Similar verb formations from *ono* (sometimes with a comparable meaning) are described in Skok 1971-74, vol. 2: 557-8.

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TABLE IV.10: the inflexion of *vęnî*

	M	N	F
NSG	*vęnî*		*vęnâ*
GSG	*vęnôga*		
DSG	*vęnômu*		
ASG	= N/G	*vęnô*	*vęnû*
ISG	*vęnêm*		
LSG	*vęnêm*		
NPL	*vęnî*	*vęnê*	
GPL	*vęnî*		
DPL	*vęnîm*		
APL			
IPL			
LPL			

5. *käj/kę̈j, kô, kî* and related pronouns

5.1 The substantival interrogative/relative pronouns *käj/kę̈j* 'what' and *kô/kî* 'who'

The difference between substantival *kô/kî* and adjectival *kî* (see § 5.2) is comparable to the difference between the substantival and adjectival demonstrative pronouns: *-ö-* vs. *-ô-* in the G, D and ASGM.

TABLE IV.11: the inflexion of *käj/kę̈j* and *kô/kî*

N	*käj*[f], *kę̈j*[h]	*kô, kî*
G	*čę̈sa*[hf], *köga*[f]	*köga*
D	*čę̈mu*	*kömu*[hf], *kômu*[f] (1x)
A	= N	*köga*
I	*kêm*[hf], *čêm*[f] (1x)	*kêm*
L	*kêm*	*kêm*

Käj/kę̈j is often heard in the meaning 'something', particularly but not exclusively in conditional sentences, e.g. *nęg rę̈či aku kaj ne razumîš*[f] 'just tell me if there is something you don't understand', *kad zdęnô käj*

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popijęm 'if we drink something cold', *zöpęt si käj brę̈hal* 'again you made up something', *jâ prôham mřvu kęj zìskat si*[h] 'I must earn something'.

The NA form *käj/kę̈j* can also be used to replace an inflected form of a relative pronoun, sometimes including a preposition, e.g. *täbla, kaj smo va šköli pisäli*[f] 'the slate we used to write on at school', *kaj rëžo rüho*[h] '(the tool) they cut clothes with'.

Two interrogative pronouns can be used in combination in sentences like these: *kad njim kô kę̈j zapuvê*[h] 'when somebody tells them something', *kî čę kę̈j* 'people have different wishes (lit. who wants what)'.

5.2 The adjectival interrogative/relative pronoun *kî* 'what (kind of), which, that'

The material does not contain all the possible forms.

TABLE IV.12: the inflexion of *kî*

	M	N	F
NSG	*kî*	*kô*	*kâ*
GSG	*kôga*		
DSG			*kuj*
ASG	*kôga*		
ISG			
LSG	*kêm*		*kûj*
NPL	*kî*	*kê*	
GPL			
DPL			
APL	*kê*		
IPL	*kìmi*		
LPL			

5.3 Related pronouns: *nëkęj/nëkaj, nëkor, nìš, nìkor*, etc.

There are three indefinite pronouns of which only uninflected forms have been attested: NA *nëkęj*[h]*/nëkaj*[f] 'something', NA *käj-to*[f] 'something', N *nëkor*[hf] 'somebody', N *kô-to*[f] (1x) 'somebody'.

Of the negated pronoun NA *nìš* 'nothing' some inflected forms are present in the material: G *nìčęsęra*, D *nìčęmurę* (1x, uncertain). A spe-

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cial form is found in *nô nič* 'to pieces', e.g. *su prȍšlę nô nič* 'they went to pieces'. The pronoun *nȉš* can be found in such sentences as *nę̏b ȉmal nȉš dëla* 'he wouldn't have any work at all'.

Of *nȉkor* 'nobody' we have GASG *nȉkorga*, DSG *nȉkormu*, ILSG *nȉkęm*.

6. Remaining pronouns: *tȁkov*, *têri*, *sôm*, etc.

The qualitative pronouns *kȁkov* 'what kind of', *(o)vȁkov* 'this kind of', *tȁkov* 'that (near) kind of', *(o)nȁkov* 'that (remote) kind of' are inflected as adjectives. Like the possessive pronoun *njęgov* (see § 2) they drop the last stem-vowel *-o-* in all inflected forms. The stem-vowel is occasionally realized long.

The relative/interrogative pronoun *têri* 'which' is inflected as an adjective, e.g. DSGM *têromu*, LSGM *têręm*, DSGF *têruj*, DPL *têrim*. Examples: *têri bȍję znâ, ôn drȕgoga zmȁžę* 'someone who is smarter can trick somebody else', *i jâkę paprȉkę ję̏, i têra nê jâka* 'there is a strong (kind of) pepper and one that isn't strong', *kô znâ têri čę bȍję plȁčat?* 'who knows who will pay better?', *jâ nę̏b znȁla puvȅdat têri bi sę znȁl vȁk s tę̏bum pumȉnat*[h] 'I couldn't tell you who would be able to talk with you like this'.

There is also an indefinite numeral pronoun *têri-to*[hf], which has only singular forms and means 'a couple of, one or two'. The attested forms are: ASGM *têri-to*, ASGN *têro-to*, NSGF *têra-ta*, ASGF *têru-to*. Examples: *fotogrâfę sęm načȉnjil têri-to* 'I made a few photographs', *têru-to znôm* 'I know one or two (viz. songs)'.

The pronoun *sôm* 'self, by him-, her-, itself, alone' has a wholly adjectival inflexion as well: NSGN *sômo*, NSGF *sôma*, GSGM *sômoga*, GPL *sômi*.

7. The numerals

7.1 Inventory and preliminary remarks

The following definite numerals have been attested:

Cardinal	Ordinal
1 *ję̏dęn*	*pȓvi*
2 *dvâ, dvê*	*drȕgi*
3 *trî*	*trëti*[hf]*/trêta*[f] ASGF
4 *štȉri*	*čętȓtoga*[f] GSGN

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5 *pêt*	*pêti*[hf]
6 *šêst*	*šêsta*[f] NSGF
7 *sȅdam*	*sȅdma*[h]/*sêdma*[f] NSGF
8 *ȍsam*	*ȍsmoga*[h] GSGN/ *ôsma*[f] NSGF
9 *dȅvęt*	*dęvȅtuj*[h] DSGN/*dęvêta*[f] NSGF
10 *dȅsęt*	*dęsêta*[hf] NSGF
11 *jedinâjs/-ęjs*[3]	*jędinâjsti*[h]/*jędinâjsta*[f] NSGF
12 *dvanâjs/-ęjs*	etc.
13 *trinâjs/-ęjs*	...
14 *čętęrnâjs*[f]*/-ęjs*	...
15 *pętnâjs/-ęjs*	...
16 *šęsnâjs/-ęjs*	...
17 *sędamnâjs/-ęjs*	...
18 *osamnâjs/-ęjs*	...
19 *dęvętnâjs/-ęjs*	...
20 *dvȅjsęt*[hf]*/dvęjsęt*[hf]*/dvȁjsęt*[f]	*dvajsêti*[f]*/dvęjsȅtoga*[h] GSGN
30 *tridȅsęt*	-
40 *čętęrdȅsęt*	-
50 *pędęsêt*	*pędęsêta*[hf] NSGF
60 *šęzdęsêt*	*šęzdęsêtoga* GSGN
70 *sędamdęsêt*	-
80 *osamdęsêt*	*osamdęsêtoga* GSGN
100 *stô*	-
200 *dvêstô*	-
300 *trîstô*	-
400 *štȉristô*	-
700 *sȅdamstô*	-
900 *dȅvętstô*	-
1.000 *jȅzęro*	-
2.000 *dvê jȅzęrę* (A)	-
3.000 *trî jȅzęrę* (A)	-
10.000 *dȅsęt jezêr*	-

In addition we have: *dvôję*[hf]*/dvȍję*[hf] '2', *trôję* '3', *nȅdęn* 'not one', *vȅs* 'whole, all', *vȅč* 'more', *čüda* 'many, much'.

[3] I assume that the numerals 11-19 (both cardinal and ordinal) can occur with either *-âjs* or *ęjs*, both in Hi and Fe (see also II.3.2.4). For the actually attested forms see the Lexicon.

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As can be seen from the above list, in a number of ordinal numerals the dialects of Hi and Fe tend to differ with respect to the length of the stem-vowel.

In compound numerals, thousands and hundreds are followed by *i*, whereas tens are not, e.g. *stô i pędęsêt* '150', *jȅzero i ȍsamstô* '1.800', *šęzdęsêt dvê* NAF '62', *dvȁjsęt trêtoga* GSGN 'twenty third'.

In such numerals als *dvêstô* and *trîstô* the first stress is more prominent than the second one.

The ordinal numerals are inflected as adjectives.

The cardinal numerals '1' – '12' and the indefinite numerals *nȅdęn*, *vȅs*, *vȅč*, and *čüda* are inflected. The use of inflected forms of the cardinal numerals above 4 and *vȅč* and *čüda* is limited.

Both morphologically and syntactically, the numerals offer a rather chaotic picture.

(1) The number of doublet forms can be considerable (see, for instance, the instrumental of *dvâ/dvê* in § 7.3.1) and the criteria for the choice between them are not always clear.

(2) Inflected forms can almost freely be replaced by uninflected ones. For example, *dvâ/dvê* has a variety of locative forms, but we can also find uninflected *dvâ/dvê* instead of an expected locative.

(3) The agreement and government rules that determine the form of a noun modified by a numeral are applied very freely and it is not always clear what the rules are. See, for example, §§ 7.3.2 and 7.3.3.

It is probable that where the morphology and morphosyntax of the numerals is concerned - as in some other respects - the dialect is in a stage of rapid and drastic simplification, temporarily causing instability and uncertainty in the competence of the speakers. Nevertheless I shall try to describe the situation as it is now as systematically as possible.

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7.2 The numerals *jȩ̈dęn* 'one' and *nȩ̈dęn* 'not one'

TABLE IV.13: the inflexion of *jȩ̈dęn*

	M	N	F
NSG	*jȩ̈dęn, nȩ̈dęn*	*jȩ̈dno*	*jȩ̈dna, nȩ̈dna*
GSG			
DSG	*jȩ̈dnomu*		*jȩ̈dnuj*
ASG	*jȩ̈dęn, jȩ̈dnoga*	*jȩ̈dno*	*jȩ̈dnu, nȩ̈dnu*
ISG	*jȩ̈dnęm*		*jȩ̈dnum*
LSG	*jȩ̈dnęm*		*jȩ̈dnuj, nȩ̈dnuj*
NPL	*jȩ̈dni*		
GPL			
DPL			
APL	*jȩ̈dnę*		
IPL			
LPL	*jȩ̈dna*		

The numeral *jȩ̈dęn* agrees in an adjectival way with the noun it modifies, e.g. *na jȩ̈dnęm kräji* 'on one side', *jȩ̈dnomu mlâdomu* 'to a young man', *z jȩ̈dnum rôkum* 'with one hand'. The negated *nȩ̈dęn* has only been attested in substantival use, e.g. *nȩ̈dna nêma mlêka* 'not a single woman has milk', *nȩ̈dęn nê dȯšęl näjzad'* 'nobody came back'. In one attested instance it is used as a kind of adverb: *tȯ̈ nȩ̈dnu nê ìstina* 'that is not true at all'.

Jȩ̈dęn cannot only mean 'one' but it also can convey a meaning of indefiniteness, comparable to English 'some', 'a couple of', '(a) certain', or the indefinite article 'a', e.g. *va jȩ̈dnę prâznę lȧ̈dicę* 'into a couple of empty chests', *jȩ̈dnuj drüguj* 'to another woman', *va jȩ̈dnęm kȯ̈ši* 'in a basket', *na jȩ̈dna bîruška kôli* 'on a *bîruškę kôla* (certain type of cart)'. The plural of *jȩ̈dęn* can be heard with the meaning 'one' in combination with pluralia tantum and nouns that refer to objects normally occurring in pairs, e.g. *va jȩ̈dna tȯ̈panka smu bîli sï*^{h} 'we all had only one pair of boots'.

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7.3 The numerals *dvâ, dvê, trî, štïri, dvôję* and *trôję*

7.3.1 Inventory of forms

TABLE IV.14: the inflexion of *dvâ, dvê, trî* and *štïri*

	M	NF
N	*dvâ, trî, štïri*	*dvê, trî, štïri*
G	*trïju, štirî*	
D		
A	*dvâ, trî, štïri*	*dvê, trî, štïri*
I	*dvëmi, trïmi, štïrmi*	*dvëmę, dvëju, trïju*
L	*dvëju, dvïju*[f], *trïju, štirî, štirïju*	

7.3.2 Use of the nominative and accusative

If the numerals discussed here are in the nominative, the noun modified by it is in the NPL, if the numeral is in the accusative (same form), the noun is in the APL. Examples: *so dvâ pöpi* 'there are two priests', *za dvâ jûdę* 'for two people', *dvê stârębäbę* 'two old grannies' (subject position), *sîn ïma dvê divïčicę* 'the son has two girls', *dvê vušêsę ïma* 'it has two ears', *sprâvjam säki têdęn dvâ jëzęra* 'I earn two thousand every week', *vôga klêpca väkfi trî jûdi nëmredu zdïgnut kud jâ* 'three men of my size will not be able to lift this hammer', *tö so bîlę trî čêri* 'that were three daughters', *ïmam trî čêri* 'I have three daughters', *stöl ïma štïri nûgle* 'a table has four corners', *smu imäli trî-štïri krävę* 'we had two or three cows', *štïrę kölę ïma* 'it has four wheels'. The noun *dôn* 'day' has the special form *dnï* after these numerals (both in subject and object position). There is one attestation of *dvâ dôni* in object position.

The material contains three exceptions with a GSG: *trî fęrtäja* 'three quarters' (1x, in subject position; there is also one attestation *trî fęrtäję* in object position), *ôn ima dvâ sîna* 'he has two sons' (2x; there is also one attestation of *dvâ sîni* in subject position), *štïri dicê*[h] 'four children' (2x in object position). There is a good chance that the latter exception is not coincidental, but that the collective *dëca* 'children' is different from other nouns in this respect. There is also one attestation with *štïri* + GPL: *štïri jâjec ïma* 'he has four eggs'. This could be due

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to analogy with the higher numerals, which take the GPL after an uninflected form. The LSG form *štirî* also points to such an analogy.

7.3.3 Use of the other forms

The only parts of the paradigm for which inflected forms are more or less widely attested are the instrumental and the locative. The genitive forms are relatively rare: *do štirî* 'till four', *tö je näša mëjka, trïju* 'that is our mother, of the three of us', *ot trïju tovärušì* 'from three friends'. It must be admitted, however, that the number of instances in my material where one would expect a genitive or a dative of *dvâ*, *dvê*, *trî* and *stïri* is small.

Throughout the paradigm (including the instrumental and the locative), inflexion seems not be obligatory. If the numeral occurs in its uninflected form, the noun that it modifies is usually in a form that is identical with the NPL[4] (except when the numeral is in the accusative, see above). Examples: *ud dvâ tuvâruši* 'from two friends', *z dvâ brätì* 'with two brothers', *na dvâ nôvi könji* 'on two new horses', *va sï dvê hïžę* 'in both rooms', *pri dvê jëzęrę* 'approximately two thousand', *ot trî brätì* 'from three brothers', *vu trî sôdi* 'in three barrels', *męt štïri kôti* 'between four corners'. I have only one example of an uninflected numeral followed by an inflected *noun: s trî nôvami könjami* 'with two new horses'

However, there seem to be two contexts in which inflexion is obligatory and in which the choice from the variety of forms offered by the instrumental and the locative is not free.

(1) When the speaker wishes (in the form of an adverbial modifier) to refer to the number of persons a company consists of, the instrumental forms *dvëmi* and *dvëmę* are used, e.g. *këj čętę vî dvëmi pöžęt* 'what will the two of you (men) be able to mow?', *sät čęmo mî dvëmę östat* 'now the two of us (women) will be left alone', *nęk štïrmi mörędu nęk rę̈nut* 'you can only get (it) going with four people'.

(2) The inflected locative forms must be used after the preposition *o* 'at (a certain time)': *o dvëju* 'at two', *o trïju* 'at three', *o štirïju/štirî* 'at four'. Compare *o tûj döbi si tî döšęl* 'you came at that time'.

[4] Because of the considerable syncretism in the plural of the nouns it is in most cases impossible to know with certainty that the forms referred to here are indeed in the nominative.

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The inflected instrumental of *dvâ/dvê* outside the function described in (1) offers a somewhat unsystematic picture. The attested instances are: *z dvèmi kònji* 'with two horses', *męd dvèmi lèti* 'between two summers' (one would expect *dvèmę*), *męd dvëju je tò* 'that is between two things'. There are also two attestations of a feminine instrumental form *?dvëjumi*[f], the length and timbre of the first two vowels is uncertain. There is one instance of an inflected instrumental of *trî*: *s trìmi mlâdi kònji* 'with three young horses'.

The inflected locatives of *dvâ/dvê* and *trî* outside the function described in (2) is *dvëju*[hf]/*dvìju*[f] and *trìju*. The attested instances are: *va dvëju rôka* 'in two hands', *na dvëju krâja* 'on two edges', *vu tî dvìju sôdi* 'in those two barrels', *va dvëju hìži* 'in two houses', *vu tî trìju sôda* 'in those three barrels'.

After inflected instrumental and locative numerals the nouns are in general also inflected[5]. Two examples given above form exceptions to this: *s trìmi mlâdi kònji* 'with three young horses' (*mlâdi* cannot be instrumental) and *va dvëju hìži* 'in two houses' (this is perhaps a mistake of the speaker).

7.3.4 *dvôję* and *trôję*

The collective numerals *dvôje/dvöję* and *trôję* are not frequent (15/5 and 3 attestations, respectively). They were attested only in subject and direct object position. The noun modified by these numerals is either in the NASG (only attested for neuter nouns) or in the NAPL (no examples of nouns for which the NPL and APL are different). There is one exception: *dvôję dęcê*[f] 'two children' (1x, along with *dvôję dêtę* (3x)). The collective numerals are chiefly used

(a) with *dêtę* 'child' (see above), e.g. *kî ìma dvôję ali trôję* 'who has two or three (viz. children)';

(b) when the objects, individuals, etc. that are counted usually occur in pairs or are for some other reason considered a unity, e.g. *dvôję vušêso ìma* 'he has two ears', *dvôje jâjcę* 'two testicles', *dvôję blâgo naprêžu skùpa* 'two animals are put to (the cart) together', *sprävit sêno na dvöję drêvę* 'put the hay on (something consisting of) two pieces of wood';

(c) when the speaker wants to express that the objects, etc. referred to are similar but different, e.g. *dvöję rêči so* 'they are two

[5] Very often one cannot be certain that one has to do with an inflected form (cf. the previous footnote).

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words (for the same thing)', *dvöję vôžę je tö* 'these are two different kinds of carts'.

7.4 The numerals higher than '4', *čüda* and *vę̈č*

TABLE IV.15: the inflexion of '5' – '12', *dvanâjs. čüda* and *vę̈č*

	M	F
N	*pêt, šêst, sę̈dam, ȍsam, dę̈vęt, dę̈sęt*	
G	*ȍsmi, dęsętî, jedinę̂jsti*	
D		
A		
I	*pętìmi, pętêmi, šęstìmi, šęstêmi, sędmìmi, osmìmi, dęsętìmi, čudìmi, čudêmi, vęčêmi*	*čudêmę*
L	*pętî, šęstî, sędmî, osmî/ȍsmi, dęvętî, dęsętî, dvanâjsti*	

By far the most attestations of instrumental forms (including all those in *-êmi* and *-êmę*) and the majority of locative forms have been attested in Fe. The neuter is not represented in the table because no relevant inflected forms have been attested.

The inflected instrumental and locative forms are limited to the specific types of usage mentioned under (1) and (2) in § 7.3.3. Examples: *pętêmi smo bili brȁti* 'we were five brothers', *so jâko čudìmi mrêli* 'many of them died', *tak smo si vęčêmi kupȉli* 'so more of us bought it', *o pętî* 'at five', *o dvanâjsti* at twelve'. There is one attestation with *po* + locative, e.g. *po dvanâjsti.* All three attested genitive forms were preceded by *do* or *od* and referred to the time of the day.

The uninflected forms of the numerals under discussion are followed by the genitive plural. In Fe the usual GPL ending after numerals is *-i* (see III.2.1.2, III.3.1.2, III.5.1.2). Examples: *smu imȁli štȉri ali šêz bȉkuv* 'we had four or six bulls', *bîlu ur vęč mlȉnaruv* 'there were already more millers', *va nę̈jvęč hîš se vȍgerski pomînadu* 'in most houses people speak Hungarian', *čüda jęzêr sȑpuv* 'many thousands of sickles', *zis tȉmi sędamdęsêt pêt jûdi* 'with those 75 people'.[6] There are two clear instances of inflected forms (no GPL) of nouns after uninflected numerals: *va vę̈č bônka* (LPL) 'in more banks', *vu vî pêt stȅkla je vîna* 'in these five glasses there is wine'.

[6] Very often one cannot be certain that one has to do with a GPL (cf. the previous two footnotes).

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7.5 The indefinite numeral *vës* 'whole, all'

TABLE IV.16: the inflexion of *vës*

	M	N	F
NSG	*vës*	*sę̈*	*sä*
GSG	*sęgâ*		*sę̈*
DSG			*süj*
ASG	= N/A	= N	*sü*
ISG	*sêm*		
LSG	*sêm*		
NPL	*sï*		
GPL			
DPL			
APL	*sę̈*		
IPL			
LPL			

Examples: *je bîl vës mökęr* 'he was all wet', *jâ möjin za vës svêt* 'I pray for the whole world', *ot sęgâ svêta* 'from the whole world', *sęgâ hatâra su sköpali* 'they dug (trenches along) the whole border', *zi sêm* 'with everything', *pu sêm svêtu* 'through the whole world', *sä gmę̈jna* 'the whole village', *ot sę̈ krajïnę* 'from the whole region', *süj družïni* 'for the whole family', *sü nôč* 'all night long', *vi čętę sï mrêt va böj* 'you will all die at war', *jâ sę̈ ljûbim* 'I love everybody'. The ASGN can also be used as an adverb with the meaning 'all the time'. The GSGN form *sęgâ* can carry the meaning 'all sorts of things' and occur in subject and object position, e.g. *övdę ję sęgâ* 'you have all sorts of stuff here', *tęr ę mögęl sęgâ dönęs* 'because he could bring everything he wanted', *zęs tręsjâ möręę sę čüda sęgâ lêpoga načïnjit* 'from reed you can make all kinds of beautiful things'.

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CHAPTER V: THE ADJECTIVE

1. Introduction

1.1 Inventory of forms

Five sets of adjectival forms can be distinguished, not all of which can be formed from each adjective:

(1) 5 indefinite forms, three for the singular (IND M, IND F, IND N) and two for the plural (IND PLM, IND PLFN).

(2) An adverb (ADV). With the exception of a few adjectives in *-ski/-skî* and *-čki* (see § 2.2), the adverb is identical with the IND N.

(3) DEF forms for three genders in the singular (M, F, N) and two in the plural (M, FN), which are declined according to case. In the singular, M and N are distinguished only in the nominative and accusative. In the plural, M and FN are distinguished only in the nominative. Consequently, there are 21 DEF forms: NSGM, NSGN, GSGMN, DSGMN, ASGM (=NSGM or GSGMN), ASGN (= NSGN), ISGMN, LSGMN, NSGF, GSGF, DSGF, ASGF, ISGF, LSGF, NPLM, NPLFN, GPL, DPL, APL, IPL, LPL (see table V.3).

(4) 21 comparative and 21 superlative forms, with the same distinctions as the DEF forms (COMP NSGM, NSGN, GSGMN, etc.; SUP NSGM, NSGN, GSGMN, etc.). In addition, the COMP and SUP have an adverb, which is identical to the COMP or SUP NSGN. The COMP forms show the same endings as the DEF ones. Their stem is derived from that of the IND and DEF forms by means of suffixation. The SUP is formed from the COMP by prefixation. The formation of the COMP and SUP is described in § 5.

Although it cannot be proven, there is reason to believe that, as in many Slavic languages, not all adjectives can have IND, COMP and SUP forms. For the following categories of adjectives no clear IND forms and no COMP or SUP forms have been attested:[1]

(i) Derived adjectives with the suffixes *-sk-*, *-ck-*, *-čk-*, *-šk-*, *-j-*, *-nj-* and *-n-*, e.g. *rûski* 'Russian', *majücki* 'little', *Hŏmočki* 'from

[1] As will be shown below (§ 3.2) it is not always possible to tell whether one has to do with an IND or a DEF form.

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Fertőhomok', *moškî* 'male', *divjî* 'wild', *dȍlnji* 'downmost', *stę̑jno*[h] 'bed-', DEF GSGMN *žęlêznoga* 'iron', DEF ISGF *žęlêznum*, DEF GPL *žęlêzni*.[2]

(ii) Ordinal numerals, e.g. *pȑvi* 'first', *drȕgi* 'other, first'.

(iii) The indefinite numeral *sȁki* 'each'.

Possessive adjectives have only DEF forms, of which the NSGM is endingless (see § 2.3). This also holds for the adjectival pronouns *kȁkov* 'what kind of', *vȁkov* 'this kind of' *tȁkov*, *nȁkov* 'that kind of'.

There material contains one indeclinable adjective: *kajčę̑mo*[f], *kęjčę̑mu*[h] 'decent, proper', e.g. *kajčę̑mo člȍvęk si*[f] 'you are a decent person', *kajčę̑mo vȑnję*[f] 'proper cream', *kęjčę̑mu sę dȑž*[h] 'behave decently'.

Passive participles (see VI.2.6) have DEF and IND forms, but no COMP or SUP.

1.2 The labels 'IND' and 'DEF'

The terms "indefinite" and "definite" were chosen for referring to the members of sets (1) and (3) above because they are the terms most commonly used for that purpose in studies on Serbo-Croatian. They should be regarded merely as labels for designating certain forms, without any claim as to semantic appropriateness. In the dialect under description, the opposition between IND and DEF is mainly a matter of syntactic use: the IND forms are used chiefly in predicative position, the DEF forms in attributive position (see also § 3.3).

Adjectival forms are not always labeled for definiteness or indefiniteness. There are three possibilities:

(1) A form is labeled "DEF". If the morphological abbreviation contains a case indication and no indication "COMP" or "SUP", the label "DEF" is redundant and will often be omitted.

(2) A form is labeled "IND".

(3) A form is not labeled for definiteness or indefiniteness. This happens with uninflected N, F, PLM and PLFN forms of which it is not clear whether they are definite or indefinite (see § 3.2).

[2] Such adjectives as *dȕžičęk* 'long', *frȉžęk* 'fresh', *tę̑žęk* 'heavy' are regarded nonderived here.

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2. The endings

2.1 Inventory, examples

As was said in § III.2.1, slashes ("/") are used for separating the unstressed and stressed variant of the same ending, whereas double slashes ("//") separate the "hard" and "soft" variant(s) of the same ending. The "soft" variant is marked "^{p}" (for "palatal").

TABLE V.1: the IND endings

M	F	N	PLM	PLFN
-Ø	*-a*	*-o//-ę^{p}*	*-i*	*-ę*

For three adjectives inflected IND forms have been attested: *po horvâtsku* 'in Croatian', *po Ostrâčku* 'in Austrian (i.e. German)', *po rûsku* 'in Russian'.

TABLE V.2: the ADV endings

-o//-ę^{p}, -i

TABLE V.3: the DEF, COMP and SUP endings

	M	N	F
NSG	*-i/-î*	*-o/-ô//-ę^{p}/-ê^{p}*	*-a/-â*
GSG	*-oga/-ôga//-ęga^{p}*		*-ę/-ê*
DSG	*-omu*		*-uj/-ûj*
ASG	=NSG, =GSG[3]	=NSG	*-u/-û*
ISG	*-ęm/-êm*		*-um/-ûm*
LSG	*-ęm*		*-uj/-ûj*
NPL	*-i/-î*	*-ę/-ê*	
GPL	*-i/-î*		
DPL	*-im/-îm, am, om*		
APL	*-ę/-ê*		
IPL	*-i/-î, -ami/-ômi, -imi*		
LPL	*-i/-î, -a/-â*		

[3] See III.2.1.2.

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Examples:

IND M	*cêl* 'whole', *dȍbęr* 'good', *mâl* 'small', *mȑzęk* 'ugly', *tę̏žęk* 'heavy', *tôst* 'fat';
NSGM	*cêli*, *divjî* 'wild', *drȕgi* 'other', *mâli*, *męrskî*, *pȑvi* 'first', *tęškî*, *tôsti*, *zâdnji* 'last';
NSGN	*cêlo*, *divjê*, *dȍbro/dobrô*, *mâlo*, *męrskô*, *zȁdnję*;
NSGF	*dȍbra/dobrâ*, *drȕga*, *mâla*, *męrskâ*, *pȑva*;
GSGMN	*dobrôga/dȍbroga*, *drȕgoga*, *mâloga*, *pȑvoga*, *tęškô ga*, *zamônjęga* 'commonplace', *zdȍlnjęga* 'bottom-most';
GSGF	*dobrê*, *pȑvę*, *sȁdašnję* 'today's';
DSGMN	*drȕgomu*, *mâlomu*, *sȁkomu* 'each';
DSGF	*drȕguj*, *pȑvuj*, *sȁkuj*;
ASGF	*dȍbru*, *drȕgu*, *Ložnû* TOP, *mâlu*, *zâdnju*;
ISGMN	*drȕgęm*, *mâlęm*, *zȁdnjęm*, *tęškêm*;
ISGF	*mâlum*, *mlâdum* 'young', *tęškûm*, *vražûm* 'devilish';
LSGMN	*dȍbręm*, *drȕgęm*, *mâlęm*, *pȑvęm*, *tę̏škęm*;
LSGF	*cêluj*, *dȍbruj*, *drȕguj mâluj*, *zâdnjuj*;
NPLM	*dobrî*, *drȕgi*, *mâli*, *męrskî*;
NPLFN	*divljê*, *Ložnê*, *mlâdę*, *tęškê*;
GPL	*Ložnî*, *mâli*, *mlâdi*, *divjî*;
APL	*dȍbrę*, *mâlę*, *męrskê*, *mlâdę*;
COMP SUP NSGM	*bȍji* 'better', *dȕži* 'longer', *mônji* 'smaller', *nę̑jtę̏ži*;
COMP SUP NSGN	*bȍję*, *mônję*, *tę̏žę*, *nę̑jbȍję*[h];
COMP NSGF	*mônja*, *dȕža*, *nâjvę̏kča*;
COMP GSGMN	*čęrnȉjęga* 'blacker' *vę̏kčęga* 'larger';
COMP GSGF	*čęrnȉję*;
COMP DSGMN	*blȉžęmu* 'closer';
COMP DSGF	*starjûj/stârjuj* 'older';
COMP ASGF	no instances found in the material;
COMP ISGMN	*stȁrjęm*;
COMP ISGF	*mônjum*;
COMP LSGMN	*vę̏kčęm*;
COMP SUP LSGF	no instances found in the material;
COMP SUP NPLM	*starjî*, *vę̏kči*, *nâjmanji*[f];
COMP NPLFN	*zarônję* 'early', *mlȁję*;
COMP GPL	*stârji*;
COMP APL	*stârję*, *vę̏kčę*;
COMP SUP ADV	*bȍję*, *nę̑j·bȍję*[h], *mônję*, *nâj·mônję*[f] *mȑžę*, *tę̏žę*.

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In the examples above no distinction was made between the accusative masculine and neuter on the one hand and the forms that they are identical with on the other.

No examples have been given for:

(i) the ADV, DPL, IPL and LPL, which will be discussed in the next section;

(ii) the IND F, IND N, IND PLM and IND PLFN. (this will be explained in § 3.2);.

(iii) a number of COMP and SUP forms for which there are no attestations in the material.

2.2 Distribution of alternative endings

ADV

Derived adjectives with the suffixes *-sk-*, *-čk-*, *-šk-* have the ending *-i* (cf. § 1.1 sub (i); no examples in *-cki* found), e.g. *vögęrski* 'Hungarian', *sakurjâčki* 'in all sorts of ways', *nêmški* 'German'. One exception: *siromäško* 'poor' (1x). For the other adjectives, the ADV ending is *-ę* after palatal consonants – e.g. *böję*, *tęžę* – and *-o* everywhere else, e.g. *döbro*, *düžičko*, *friško*, *kësno*, *tęško*, *vïsoko* 'high'.

An irregular zero ending is found in ADV *drügač* from DEF NSGM *drügači* 'different'. We see the same phenomenon in *zarôn* ADV 'early', F *zarôna*, GSGN *zarônoga*.

DEF COMP SUP DPL, IPL, LPL

In principle, the choice between the alternative endings is free. Statistically, however, their distribution is not random. If the adjective modifies a noun, there exists a tendency towards using the same vowel in the ending of the adjective and that of the noun.[4] The same tendency can be observed when the adjective is modified bij a pronoun. A short investigation of the clear examples in my material showed that in 25 out of 36 instances the ending of the adjective contained the same vowel as that of the noun and/or pronoun.[5]

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[4] The reader be remembered that the endings of the nouns sometimes show free variation as well (see for instance III.2.1.2).

[5] In this context the accentuation of the vowel is ignored, e.g. *a*, *ä* and *â* are considered 'the same vowel'. I have one attestation of a similar phenomenon in the NPL: *horvâtski rêči* 'Croatian words'. This is probably a mistake, but nevertheless it points in the same direction as the DPL, IPL and LPL forms discussed here.

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Examples: DPL *drȕgim jûdim* 'other people', *mâlam dȅcam* 'small children', *nim mlâdim* 'those young ones', *ovȁkfam žę̏nam* 'women like that', IPL *s tî nôvami kȍnjami* 'with three new horses', *s trȉmi mlâdi kȍnji* 'with three young horses', *z ovȉmi vêlikami rôkami* 'with these big hands', *s tę̏ški fȉlęži* 'with heavy string bags', LPL *vu čistâ sôda* 'in clean barrels', *na dvâ nôvi kȍnji* 'on two new horses', *va nę̂jdrȁža sę̂loda*^{h} 'in the most expensive hotels', *na krâtki kôli* 'on "short wagons"'. With a stressed ending: *pod Ložnî* 'below Ložne (TOP)'.

If the adjective is used independently, the DPL and IPL have a statistical preference for endings with the vowel ⟨i⟩ (no relevant data for the LPL).

I did not notice any significant difference between Hi and Fe.

2.3 Possessive adjectives

Possessive adjectives have no opposition between IND and DEF forms. They show the DEF endings presented in Table V.3, with the exception of the NSGM, which is endingless.

Possessive adjectives are formed with the suffix *-ov-//-ęv-*^{P}, *-jęv-* or *-in-*.

Most attested possessive adjectives are formed from proper names and nouns that indicate family relationships, but in principle they can be formed from any noun, even if it refers to an inanimate object, e.g. DEF ISGMN *bȉčovęm* 'of the whip', DEF ASGF *čȉzminu* 'of the boot'.

Family names and house names formed with the suffixes mentioned above are inflected as possessive adjectives. A special family name-like formation is NPLM *vęnȉjęvi* 'the what's-their-names' derived from the pronoun *vęnî* NSGM 'what-d'ye-call-it' (see IV.4).

The suffix *-ęv-* is found only after palatal consonants, but after palatal consonants *-ov-* is possible as well. Thus, after a palatal consonant a possessive adjective can have the suffix *-ov-*, *-ęv-* or both, e.g. NSGF *Jêžušęva* 'Jesus's', NSGF *Ćȕćęva*, *Ćȕćova* house name, *kȍnjova* 'horse-', NPLM *Šmȉtęjovi* house name. It is not known whether and to what extent the choice of the suffix is lexicalized. Both *-ov-* and *-ęv-* (preceded by nondistinctive *j*) can be used to form possessive adjectives from masculine first names in *-i*, e.g. NPLM *Jȍklijęvi* 'Jokli's', NSGF *Jȍžijova*, *Jȍžijęva* ''Jože's', NPLM *Kȁrijovi* 'Kari's'.

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Examples:

NSGM	*brätov* 'brother's', *bačïjęv* 'uncle's', *jäpin* 'father's', *Jôndričin* house name, *mäjkin*[f] 'mother's', *Märicin* ''Marica's', *Märkin*, *Märkov* 'Marko's', *sëstrin* 'sister's', *svïnjin* 'pig's';
NASGN	*sosëdjęvo* 'the neighbour's', *mëjkino*[h];
GSGMN	*jäpinoga*, *krühovoga* 'bread', *Märiškinoga* 'Mariška's';
DSGMN	*Krïstušęvu* 'Christ's', *sęstrïnomu*;
ISGMN	*bïčovęm* 'the whip's', *Štêfinęm* 'Štefe's';
LSGMN	*Jöklijęvęm* 'Jokli's', *sosëdjęvęm*;
NSGF	*Jôndričina*, *snęhïna* 'mother-in-law's', *Vërina* 'Vera's';
ASGF	*Ôninu* 'Ann's', *žęninu*;
ISGF	*Fęlëjtęruvuj* house name;
LSGF	*kjüčuvuj* 'key-';
NPLM	*Bäumgartnęrini* FAM, *Bëld'ęšęvi*, *Dömatkovi*, *Grôtini*, *Saböfčęvi*, *Šöjkini* house name;
GPL	*Šmïtęjovi*, *Fläjsinovi*[f] house name;
DPL	*Jöklijęvim*, *Pïštinim* (both house names);
APL	*bïrkinę* 'sheep-';
IPL	*bïrkinami*;
LPL	*Märkini* house name.

The material contains one irregular possessive adjective: DEF NSGM *možovjê* 'the husband's', e.g. *možovjê brät* 'the husband's brother'. This is the only attested form of this adjective.

3. The opposition "IND" vs. "DEF"

3.1 Formal differences between IND and DEF forms

IND and DEF forms can often be formally distinguished from each other by one or more of the following properties:

(1) different endings;
(2) different place of the stress;
(3) different length of the stressed stem-vowel.

In those paradigms that distinguish IND and DEF forms, the ADV is identical with the IND N.

Ad (1) The IND M is endingless, while the DEF NSG M is not. In addition, all declined forms are DEF.

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Ad (2) For a number of adjectives the DEF forms have end-stress while the IND forms have stem-stress, e.g. IND M *dȍbęr*, DEF NPLM *dobrî*. Other adjectives have a stress alternation within the stem, which is always accompanied by a length alternation. The DEF forms of these adjectives has a long stressed vowel in the last stem-syllable, while the IND forms have a short stressed vowel in a non-final stem syllable, e.g. IND M *čę̈męręn* 'pitiful', DEF NSGN *čęmêrno*.
(As a result of the semi-automatic stress retraction from short final syllables (see I.7.2 sub (2)), adjectives with polysyllabic stems can show a stress alternation between the IND M and all other forms, e.g. *bȍgat* 'rich', PLM/DEF GPL *bogȁti*.)

Ad (3) In certain paradigms the stressed stem-vowel is short in the IND forms and long in the DEF ones, e.g. IND M *mȁl* 'small', DEF NSGM *mâli*.

3.2 Problems in determining whether a given form is IND or DEF

There are two factors which make it difficult to distinguish between IND F, N, PLM and PLFN and DEF NSGF, NSGN, NPLM and NPLFN, respectively.

(1) If none of the formal differences mentioned in the preceding section is present, it can be assumed that the IND F, N, PLM and PLFN and the DEF NSGF, NSGN, NPLM and NPLNF are homonymous. Since the syntactic and semantic distinctions between the categories DEF and IND are not clear enough to provide reliable criteria for assigning a given form to one of the two sets, the question must remain unsolved. The labels of the forms in question will be "F" "N" "PLM" "PLFN" (without "DEF" or "IND").

(2) As was pointed out in I.6.3, the dialect displays a tendency towards analogical levelling in paradigms in which one expects an accentual alternation. As a result, in such paradigms one often finds accentual doublets. This also applies to those adjectival paradigms which in the preceding section were presented as having an accentual opposition between DEF and IND forms (e.g. IND M *dȍbęr*, DEF NPLM *dobrî*): many DEF forms have been attested with doublet accentuation, e.g. DEF GSGMN *dobrôga/dȍbroga*. Of these doublets, one member has the accentuation one would expect (*dobrôga*) the other has the accentuation one would expect in the IND forms (*dȍbroga*). Of course, this situation can only be

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established with certainty if the form in question has a distinctive DEF ending, e.g. if it is declined. However, if one attests *dobrâ* and *dȍbra*, one cannot know whether one has attested an accentual doublet DEF NSGF form or one DEF NSGF form and one IND F form. In such cases, the form with the distinctive accentuation (*dobrâ*) will be labelled "DEF NSGF", the other (*dȍ bra*) "F" (see § 1.2).

From (1) and (2) it follows that there are no forms of which we can be confident that they are IND F, N, PLM or PLFN. Therefore everything that is said on the accentuation of IND forms is based exclusively on the IND M and the ADV. The IND M can be distinguished from the DEF NSGM by its being endingless, the ADV can be distinguished from the DEF NSGN by its syntactic use.

3.3 Differences in use between DEF and IND forms

In § 1.2 it was already said that the terms "definite" and "indefinite" were chosen for practical reasons, because they are the traditional labels for the forms in question. In the dialect of Hi and Fe, the difference between DEF and IND forms is mainly one of syntactic use. It is not excluded that a thorough inquiry into the use of all adjectival forms on the tapes would reveal additional semantic oppositions between the DEF and IND forms of individual adjectives, but such an undertaking would be beyond the scope of the present description. On the basis of the information available to us now, we can say the following:

(1) The DEF forms are mainly used attributively and independently. The converse is also true: in attributive position one mostly finds DEF forms. Independent use of an adjective, i.e. without an accompanying substantive noun, even seems restricted to DEF forms.

(2) As far as can be seen from the available material, independently used adjectives have a formal characteristic of their own: for adjectives with doublet accentuation in DEF forms (see § 3.2 sub (2)), only the distinctive DEF accentuation has been attested in independent use.

(3) IND forms are mainly used in predicative position, and conversely, in predicative position IND forms predominate.

By way of illustration I shall present some statistical data and some examples. The reader should be warned, however that

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(i) the statistics is based on a small amount of material;
(ii) it is very well possible that not all the adjectives on which the statistics is based are comparable. The distinction between the categories IND and DEF could be of a complex nature and have different effects on the use of the different adjectives.

I studied the syntactic use of those adjectives in my material which show an accentual distinction between IND and DEF forms. These were the following 24 adjectives (the number of attested forms of each adjective is added between brackets): IND M *bętę̈žęn* 'ill' (10), IND N *čę̈ljęno* 'red' (15), IND M *čïst* 'clean' (15), IND M *dę̈bęl* 'fat' (7), IND F *dȍbęr* 'good' (47), IND M *dȕžičęk* 'long' (24), IND F *glïboka* 'deep' (13), IND N *kïsęlo* 'sour' (3), IND F *lë̈ka* 'light' (9), IND M *lȍčęst* 'malicious' (10), IND M *mäl* 'small' (19), IND F *mę̈ka* 'soft' (3), *mȑzęk* 'dirty' (17), DEF NSGF *mokrâ* 'wet' (3), DEF NSGM *prâvi* 'right' (8), IND M *spȍmętęn* 'clever' (3), IND M *stär* 'old' (33), IND F *šïroka* 'broad' (3), IND M *tvȑd* 'hard' (2), IND M *vę̈lik* 'large' (8), IND M *vïsok* 'high' (10), IND M *zdę̈n* 'cold' (12), DEF NGM *zęlêni* (15).

The total amount of attested forms is 289. For a syntactic comparison between IND and DEF forms, however, only those forms could be used for which the opposition is relevant (i.e. no inflected forms) and which can be identified with certainty as IND or DEF. This narrowed down the number of relevant forms to 115. These forms are either IND M, DEF NSG M or other non-inflected DEF with a distinctive DEF accentuation.

In the tables below many numbers are of necessity approximate. The reason for this is that it is often not possible to decide whether an adjective is being used predicatively, attributively or independently. For instance, the sentence *nê bil dȕžičęk kȍnęc* can be interpreted as 'the thread was not long' (predicative) or 'it was not a long thread' (attributive), *jâ sęm bila mäla* as 'I was small' (predicative) or 'I was a small girl' (independent). Such instances of uncertainty are very common.

TABLE V.4: in which syntactic positions do we find DEF and IND forms?

	predicative	attributive	independent	+
IND (33x)	85-88%	12-15 %	-	100 %
DEF (82x)	9-15 %	61-63 %	22 %	100 %

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TABLE V.5: do we find DEF or IND forms in the various syntactic positions?

	IND	DEF	+
predicative (35-41x)	68-70 %	17-29 %	99 %
attributive (54-56x)	7-11 %	89-93 %	100 %
independent (18x)	-	100 %	100 %

Examples:

predicative IND — *bętëžęn ę bîl* 'he was ill'; *nê čïst* 'he is not right in his head'; *môj môž ę bil döbęr* 'my husband was good';

predicative DEF — *vî nêstę dubrî* 'you are not good';

attributive DEF — *tö bętêžnu prâsę* 'that sick pig'; *čistâ môka* 'pure flour'; *čęž bït čistî hurvât* 'you'll be a pure Croat';

attributive IND — *čïst nêmęc* 'a pure German', *döbęr dęlâč* 'a good worker', *kag düžičęg bïdž ę övu?* lit. 'a how long whip is this?'; there is one example of an attributively used IND M form after a preposition that governs the accusative (here it is normal that ASG = NSG for masculine nouns, see III.2.1.2): *sę pręmënjil nëjzad' na lîp člövęk* 'he changed back into a beautiful man' (Mar [30]);

independent (DEF) — NSGM *tâ mâli* 'that young lad'; NSGN *tô męrskô* 'those weeds', NSGN *to zdęnô ti pôdę na têlo* 'the cold gets into your body'; *zęlêno pôdę dôli* 'the green stuff goes down'; NPLM *su pröšli täkfi męrskî nütęr* 'some of those dirty fellows went in'.

4. Accentuation

4.1 Principles. IND and DEF considered separately

The principles according to which adjectives are assigned to accentuation types (numbered I through IV) are the same as for the other parts of speech (cf. I.6.4):

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I Fixed stem-stress (except for the semi-automatic stress retraction), the stressed vowel is short.[6]
II Fixed stem-stress, the stressed vowel is long.
III No fixed stem-stress: stress on the ending at least in part of the paradigm or doublet stress (whether or not including end-stress).
IV Fixed stem-stress, but there is doublet length.

However, there is one important difference: the IND and DEF forms are considered separately and therefore the label that refers to the accentuation of an adjective is composite. There are three motives for the choice of this labelling system: (1) an adjective can lack IND or DEF forms altogether; (2) the accentuation of IND and DEF forms are often different from one another; the use of combined labels expresses this; (3) the proposed system allows us to work with Roman numerals that have basically the same meaning throughout the book.

The accentual label of an adjective is structured as follows: (i) the accentuation type of the IND forms; (ii) a dash; (iii) the accentuation type of the DEF forms.

Examples:

I – II The IND belongs to type I, the DEF to type II.
Ø – III There are no IND forms (see § 1.1), the DEF forms belong to type III.

Such combinations as I – II and Ø – III will be called "combined accentuation types".

Two more remarks must be made with regard to the assignment of adjectives to accentuation types:

(a) The accentuation of the COMP forms will be disregarded. COMP forms very often have a shortened root vowel or a stressed COMP suffix.
(b) If the accentuation of the DEF forms is different from that of the IND forms, sometimes the DEF forms have a doublet accentuation (see § 3.2 sub (2)) which combines: (i) the distinctive DEF accentuation (e.g. *dobrôga*) and (ii) an accentuation which is identical to that of the IND forms (e.g. *dȍbroga*). In such cases the distinctive DEF accentuation will be considered "the" DEF accentuation.

[6] On the semi-automatic stress retraction see § 3.1 Ad (2) and I.7.2 sub (2).

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(c) I have tried to keep type IV as small as possible. If quantitative alternations or doublet length on the stressed vowel can be explained in terms of accentual analogy between the IND and DEF forms (see sub (b)), I have chosen to do so.

In the following subsections examples will be given of the various combined accentuation types that have been attested.

With respect to the extent of "conclusiveness" of the assignment of an adjective to an accent type, the reader is referred to what was said in that respect in I.5.3.3 and II.2.2.2. Two remarks must be added that are specific for the adjective:

(i) Sometimes for an attested adjective no clear IND and/or DEF forms are available. If an adjective does not belong to one of the sets of adjectives mentioned in § 1.1 (which have no IND forms) it will be assumed that it has both IND and DEF forms.

(ii) If the material contains only DEF forms and forms that are not clearly IND or DEF and there is an accentual opposition between these two sets of forms, it will be supposed that we have to do with DEF and IND forms, respectively.

(iii) If the material contains only IND forms and forms that are not clearly IND or DEF and there is an accentual opposition between these two sets of forms, it will be supposed that we have to do with IND and DEF forms, respectively.

(iv) If there are no indications in the material that the paradigm shows accentual alternations, it will be assumed that it does not.

4.2 Combined accentuation type I – I

Monosyllabic stem

IND M *čȑn* 'black', DEF GSGMN *čȑnoga*, DEF ILSGMN *čȑnęm*; *čvȑst* 'firm', F *čvȑsta*, ADV *čvȑsto*; IND M *pȕn* 'full', DEF ASGN *pȕno* (also indefinite numeral 'much'); DEF NSGM *vę̏li* 'large, great', DEF GSGMN *vę̏loga*, DEF ASGN *vę̏lo*.

No clear IND and/or DEF forms: F *nȉska* 'low'; *skȑbęn* 'worried', PLM *skȑbni*; ADV, N *svȅtlo* 'bright'; F *zrȅla* 'ripe', N *zrȅlo*.

Polysyllabic stem

DEF NSGM *drȕgači* 'different', DEF ASGF *drȕgaču*, ADV *drȕgač*; IND M *siromȁšęk* 'poor', DEF DPL *siromȁškim*, *siromȁškam*.

With semi-automatic stress retraction in the IND M (see the beginning of the preceding section): IND M *gȑbav* 'crooked', DEF GSGMN *gęrbȁvoga*.

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No clear IND and/or DEF forms: IND M *bȍgat* 'rich', PLM *bogȁti*; IND M *gȍtov*, N *gotȍvo*; IND M *hȑďav* 'rusty', F *hȑďava*; IND M *jȅdnak* 'alike', F *jȅdnäka*; N *kolȉko* 'how much', DEF IPL *kolȉkimi*; F *močvȁrna* 'marshy', PLFN *močvȁrnę*; IND M *pȍštęn* 'respectable', ADV *poštę̏no*; IND M *vȅsęl* 'cheerful', F *vȅsęla*.

4.3 Combined accentuation type I – II

Monosyllabic stem

ADV *dȕgo* 'long', DEF NSGM, DEF GPL, PLM *dôgi* (limited use, see Lexicon), IND M *mȁl* 'small', IND N *mȁlo* (also indefinite numeral 'little'), IND F *mȁla*, DEF NSGM *mâli*, DEF ILMN *mâlęm*; ADV *prȁvo* 'right', DEF NSGM *prâvi*, DEF ASGF *prâvu*; IND M *stȁr* 'old', IND F *stȁra*, DEF NSGM *stâri*, DEF DLSGF *stâruj*, DEF IPL *stârimi*.

Polysyllabic stem

The DEF forms almost all have a long stressed vowel in the last stem-syllable: IND M *bętȅžęn* 'sick', DEF NSGN *bętêžno*; IND M *čȅmęręn* 'pitiful', N *čȅmęrno*, F *čȅmęrna*, DEF ASGN *čęmêrno*; IND M *dȕžičęk* 'long', DEF NSGM *dužȉčki*, DEF NPLFN, DEF APL *dužȉčkę*; F *trȕbava*, NSGF *trubâva*, ASGF *trȕbavu*; IND M *vȅlik* 'great', ADV *vȅliko*, DEF NSGM *vêliki*, DEF NSGF *vêlika*, DEF ASGF *vêliku*, DEF LSGF *vêlikuj*;[7] IND M *vȉsok* 'high', F *vȉsoka*, N *vȉsoko*, DEF NSGM *visôki*; IND M *zabȅžljiv/zabęžljȉv*[8] 'forgetful', DEF NSGF *zabęžljȉva*[9], N *zȅlęno* 'green', DEF NSGM, GPL *zęlêni*, DEF NASGN *zęlêno*, DEF GSGMN *zęlênoga*.

With semi-automatic stress retraction in the IND M: IND N *čȑjęno* 'red', DEF NSGM *čęljêni*, DEF GSGMN *čęrjênoga*, DEF ILSGMN *čęrjênęm*; *dȅbęl* 'fat', N *dȅbęlo*, DEF NSGN *dębêlo*; IND M *glȉbok* 'deep', F *glȉboka*, N *glȉboko*, DEF NSGF *glibôka*; F *kȉsęla* 'sour', N *kȉsęlo*, DEF ASGN *kisêlo*; IND M *lȍčęst* 'malicious', DEF NSGF *ločêsta*, DEF NSGN *ločêsto*, DEF GSGMN *ločêstoga*.

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[7] The latter two adjectives occasionally show traces of mutual accentual analogy between the IND and DEF forms, e.g. IND M *dužȉčęk*, *vêlik*, DEF APL *dȕžičkę*, DEF ISGF *vȅlikum*. Such forms, especially IND forms that take their accentuation from the DEF ones, are relatively rare.

[8] This form was attested on several occasions. It is remarkable because of its stressed short final syllable.

[9] The assumption that this form is DEF is based on the accentual contrast with the IND M. It is not entirely certain, however, that the form is DEF.

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4.4 Combined accentuation type I – III

IND M *čïst* 'clean', DEF NSGM *čistî*, ASGF *čistô*, DEF IPL *čistômi*, DEF LPL *čistî*, *čistâ*; IND M *döbęr* 'good', DEF NSGM *dobrî*, DEF GSGMN *dobrôga*[10]; N, ADV *kësno* 'late', DEF GSGMN *kęsnôga*; ADV *lëko*, DEF NPLFN *lękê*[11]; F *mäsna* 'fat', DEF GSGMN *masnôga*; N *mę̈ko* 'soft', DEF ISGMN *mękêm*[12]; IND M *mïzęk* 'dirty', DEF NSGN *męrskô*, DEF NPLFN *męrskê*; IND M *mökęr* 'wet', F *mökra*, DEF NSGF *mokrâ*, ISGMN *mokrêm*; PLM *slätki* 'sweet', DEF ASGN *slatkô*; IND M *tę̈žęk* 'heavy', ADV *tę̈ško*, DEF NSGM *tęškî*, DEF GSGMN *tęškôga*, DEF ISGMN *tęškêm*, DEF ISGF *tęškûm*[13]; N *töplo* 'hot', DEF ASGN *toplô*, DEF GSGMN *toplôga*; N *tvïrdo* 'hard', DEF NSGN *tvęrdô*; IND M *zdę̈n* 'cold', F *zdę̈na*, N *zdę̈no*, DEF NSGF *zdęnâ*, DEF NSGN *zdęnô*.

4.5 Combined accentuation type II – II

IND M *bêl* 'white', DEF GSGMN *bêloga*, DEF GSGF *bêlę*, DEF APL *bêlę*; IND M *blêd* 'pink', F *blêda*, DEF APL *blêdę*; IND M *cêl* 'whole', DEF NSGM *cêli*, DEF LSGF *cêluj*; IND M *drâg* 'expensive', F *drâga*, PLM *drâgi*, DEF ASGF *drâgu*, DEF APL *drâgę*; IND M *lêp*[f], *lîp*[h] 'beautiful', F *lîpa*[h], *lêpa*[f], DEF GSGMN *lêpoga*[f], *lîpoga*[h]; IND M *mlâd* 'young', DEF NSGM *mlâdi*, DEF DSGM *mlâdomu*; F *mrâzna* 'huge', PLFN, DEF APL *mrâznę*, ADV *mrâzno*; IND M *râvęn* 'flat', ADV *râvno*, DEF APL *râvnę*; IND M *spômętęn* 'clever', DEF NSGM *spamêtni*;[14] INDM *sûh* 'dry', N *sûho*, F *sûha*, DEF GSGMN *sûhoga*, DEF APL *sûhę*; INDM *vrôč* 'hot', N *vrôčę*, DEF NSGMN *vrôčęga*.

No clear IND and/or DEF forms: N *dâlko* 'far'; IND M *dôžęn* 'indebted', F *dôžna*, PLM *dôžni*; N *drôbno*, DEF NSGM *drôbni* DEF GSGMN *drôbnoga*; DEF ASGN *duplâsto* 'double', DEF APL *duplâstę*; IND M *glâdęn* 'hungry', ADV *glâdno*, PLM *glâdni*; N, DEF ASGN *gôsto* 'dense', F *gôsta*, DEF APL *gôstę*; IND M *grûbęn* 'rude', ADV/N *grûbno*; F *krâtka*, DEF

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[10] Analogic influence of the IND forms on the DEF forms is common for this adjective, e.g. DEF GSGMN *döbroga*, DEF LSGMN *döbręm*.

[11] Only one end-stressed DEF form has been attested in the fixed combination *lękê kôla* NPL 'certain type of cart', cf. DEF ASGF *lëku* in *lëku nôč* 'good night'.

[12] Analogic influence of the IND forms on the DEF forms is common for this adjective, e.g. DEF ASGN *mëko*, DEF GSGF *mękę*.

[13] Analogic influence of the IND forms on the DEF forms is common for this adjective, e.g. DEF LSGMN *tę̈škęm*, DEF IPL *tę̈ški*.

[14] This adjective (with **ä* > *ô* in such forms as *spômętęn*) originally belonged to combined type I – I.

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NSGM *krâtki*; N *lâdno* 'cool', F *lâdna*; IND M *mlêdęn* 'skinny', F *mlêdna*; F *nâgla* 'steep', ADV *nâglo*; N *nôvo* 'new', PLM *nôvi*, DEF NSGM *nôvi*, DEF APL *nôvę*; N *prêsno* 'raw', DEF GSGMN *prêsnoga*; N *slâsno* 'tasty'; N *strâšno*, F *strâšna*; INDM *tênęk* 'thin', N *tênko*, F *tênka*; INDM *tôp* 'blunt', F *tôpa*; INDM *tôžęn* 'sad', F *tôžna*; IND M *trûdęn*, 'tired', F *trûdna*; F *vôska* 'narrow', DEF LSGF *vôskuj*, N *vôsko*; INDM *vrêdęn* 'worthy', PLM *vrêdni*;[15] N *zlâto* 'golden', DEF GSGMN *zlâtoga*; INDM *žêd'ęn* 'thirsty', F *žêdna*; INDM *žîv* 'alive', DEF NSGM, PLM *žîvi*, F *žîva*; INDM *žôt* 'yellow', N *žôto*.

4.6 Combined accentuation types IV – II and IV – IV

IV – II: IND M *prâzęn/prȁzęn* 'empty', DEF APL *prâznę*; IV – IV INDM *jâk/jȁk* 'strong', PLM *jȁki*, F *jȁka/jâka*, DEF GSGF *jâkę/jȁkę*, ADV *jâko* 'very'.

No clear IND and/or DEF forms: IND M *lâčęn/lȁčęn* 'hungry', PL FN *lȁčnę*;

4.7 Combined accentuation type Ø – I

DEF NSGM *ȁngolski* 'English'; DEF NSGM, ADV *čę̏ski* 'Czech', DEF LSGM *čę̏skęm*; DEF NSGM *dȅnęšnji* 'of to-day', DEF GSGMN *dȅnęšnjoga*; DEF NSGM *dȍljnji* 'bottommost', DEF NPLFN *dȍlnję*; *drȕgi* 'other, second', DEF DSGMN *drȕgomu*; DEF NSGM *hȉžni* 'house-', DEF NSGN *hižno*; DEF NSGM *hȍmočki* 'from Fertőhomok', DEF NSGN *hȍmočko*; DEF NSGM *ję̏zęrski* 'lake-', DEF GSGMN *ję̏zęrskoga*; DEF NSGM *kȍljmofski* 'from Kópháza', DEF DSGMN *kȍljmofskomu*; DEF NSGN *kȍnjsko* 'horse-', DEF NPLFN *kȍnjskę*; DEF NSGF *lȉtęrska* 'of one liter'; DEF NSGM, DEF NPLM *nȅgdašnji* 'of long ago'; *sadašnji* 'of to-day', DEF NSGM *sȁki* 'each', DEF LSGMN *sȁkęm*; DEFNSGM *sę̏lski* 'from a village', DEF ASGF *sę̏lsku*; DEF NSGF *srȅdnja* 'in the middle', DEF LSGF *srȅdnjuj*; DEF NSGM *zgȍrnji* 'topmost', DEF NPLFN *zgȍrnję*; DEF NSGN *žę̏nsko* 'female', DEF GSGF, DEF NPLFN *žę̏nskę*.

4.8 Combined accentuation type Ø – II

DEF LSGMN *anglêskom* 'English'; N *domâčę*, *domâčnję* 'home(-made)', F *domâča*; N *dręvêno* 'wooden', DEF NSGM *dręvêni*; DEF NSGN *hędęšînsko* 'Hidegség', DEF GSGMN *hędęšînskoga*; DEF NSGF *pęklênska*[f] 'hell', ASGF *piklênsku*[h]; DEF NSGN *vȍgęrsko* 'Hungarian', DEF LSGMN

[15] Also IND M *nižvrêdęn* 'lazy', PLFN *nižvrêdnę*.

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vögęrskęm, ADV *vögęrski*; DEF GSGMN *žęlêznoga* 'iron', DEF ISGF *žęlêznum*, DEF GPL *žęlêzni*.

4.9 Combined accentuation type Ø – III

DEF NSGM, DEF GPL, DEF GPL *divjî* 'wild', DEF NPLFN *divljê*, DEF LPL *divjî*, *divjâ*; DEF NSGF *Ložnâ* TOP, DEF ASGF *Ložnû*, DEF LSGF *Ložnûj*, DEF NPLFN *Ložnê*, DEF GPL *Ložnî*; DEF NSGM *moškî* 'male', DEF NSGN *moškô*; DEF NSGM *poljskî* 'of the field'; DEF NSGN *susëtsko* 'neighbour', DEF LSGMN *sôsędskęm*.

4.10 Combined accentuation type Ø – IV

DEF GSGMN *horvâtskoga/horvätskoga* 'Croat'; ADV *nêmški/nëmški* 'German', GSGMN *nêmškoga/nëmškoga*;[16] DEF NSGM *näkov/nâkov* 'such'; *ostrâčkęm/osträčkęm* 'Austrian'; DEF ASGN *rûsko* 'Russian', DEF LSGMN *rüskęm*, DEF GSGMN *sakurjäčkoga/sakurjâčkoga* 'all kinds of'; DEF NSGF *skrâjnja* 'last', DEF LSGF *skräjnjuj*; DEF NSGM *srędïnski/srędînski* 'middle'; DEF NSGM *svînski*, DEF GPL *svïnski*; DEF NSGM *täkov* 'such', DEF GSGMN *täkfoga/tâkfoga*; DEF NSGM *väkov* 'such', DEF APL *väkfę/vâkfę*;[17] DEF NSGM *zâdnji* 'last', DEF ISGMN *zädnjęm*; DEF NSGF *zîmska* 'winter-', DEF LSGF *zïmskuj*.

A number of ordinal numerals belong to this combined accentuation type as well (see § 4.12).

4.11 Combined accentuation type unclear

For a number of adjectives it is not clear to which combined accentuation type they belong:
F *bälogasta*, DEF ASGF *bälogastu/balogästu* 'left'; N *cïfrasto* 'showy', DEF APL *cifrâstę*; ADV *glâsno/gläsno* 'loud'; IND M *grëšęn/grêšęn* 'criminal', DEF NSGM *grêšni*, PLM *grëšni*; N *kęrvâvo/kęrvâvo* 'bloody'; IND M *mlähav* 'weak', F *mlähava*, N *mlähavo*, PLM *mlahävi* (1x); IND M *nör* 'foolish, mad', ADV *nôro*, DEF GSGMN *nöroga*; F *svëta/svêta* 'holy', DEF NSGM *svêti/svëti*, DEF GSGMN *svëtoga*; IND M *zdrâv/zdräv* 'healthy', N *zdrävo*, DEF APL *zdrävę*.

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[16] For this adjective *ê* is far more frequent than *ë*.

[17] Attestations of forms of *näkov*, *täkov* and *väkov* with a long *â* are almost all from the Hi informant Anna Baumgartner. The material contains no forms of *käkov* 'what (kind of)' with a long vowel. This is probably due to coincidence.

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4.12 Ordinal numerals

The numerals *pr̂vi* 'first', *drügi* 'second' and *čętr̂ti* 'fourth' belong to combined accentuation type Ø – I.

The numerals DEF NSGM *pêti* 'fifth', DEF NSGF *šêsta* 'sixth', those between 11 and 19 (in *-nâjst-* and *-nęjst-*) and those in *-dęsêti* belong to type Ø – II.

The remaining ordinal numerals have been attested both long and short. Examples: DEF NSGF *dęsêta*[18] 'tenth', DEF NSFGF *dęvêta*, DEF GSGF *dęvëtuj* 'ninth', DEF NSGM *dvajsêti* 'twentieth', DEF GSGMN *dvęjsëtuga*^{h}; DEF NSGN *ôsmo/ösmo* 'eighth'; DEF NSGF *sêdma/sëdma*; DEF NSGM *trëti*, DEF ASGF *trêtu*. Although the exact data for each numeral is different, the general picture is that in Hi the short vowels prevail and in Fe the long ones.

5. Morphonemic alternations

The most important morphonemic rule is the insertion of a fleeting *-ę-* in the IND M in a considerable number of adjectival paradigms, e.g. DEF NSGM *dobrî* 'good', IND M *döbęr*, F *mlêdna* 'skinny', IND M *mlêdęn* . One adjective has, in addition, an alternation *d'* – *d*: IND M *žêd'ęn* 'thirsty', F *žêdna*.

In the formation of the comparative, the adjective ADV *kësno* 'late' shows an alternation *s* –*š*. In Hi, in addition, it shows an alternation *ë* – *i*: COMP NSGN *kęšnïję*^{f}, *kišnïję*^{h}. On the latter alternation see also I.7.2 sub (e)).

6. Formation of the COMP and SUP

Regular comparatives are formed by adding the suffix <-j-> or *-ïj-/-ij-*.

(1) The suffix <-j-> is often not visible as a separate *j* in the COMP, but merges with the stem-final consonant, resulting in palatalization. Stem-final *-k-* or *-ok-* can be dropped before the suffixation. The stress is on the stem (except in *starjî* 'old'[19]) and the stem-vowel is often shortened.

(2) The suffix *-ïj-/-ij-* is almost always stressed.

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[18] I assume here that there is no difference in accentuation type between *dęvêta* and *dęsêta*.

[19] The forms given this section will not be marked as COMP or SUP, since this would be redundant.

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Many adjectives have doublet COMP forms. The doublet members can differ with respect to the choice of the suffix, the place of the stress and/or the length of the stem-vowel.

The SUP is formed by adding the prefix *näj-*[f]*/nęj-*[hf] to the COMP. In general the SUP prefix has primary stress and the syllable that is stressed in the COMP has secondary stress.[20] The COMP and SUP are inflected in the same way as the positive degree.

The following can be said on the choice of the suffix:

(a) If the stem (or the stem minus *-(o)k-*) ends in a labial, the choice of the suffix cannot be predicted.
The attested forms are: *trubavïja* NSGF 'bragging', *mlahavïji* 'weak', *slabïji* 'weak', *zdrävję* NSGN 'healthy', *glïbję* NSGN 'deep', *näjglïbję* NSGN.

(b) As a rule, if the stem ends in a dental or velar obstruent, the suffix <-j-> is chosen and the dental or velar is often subject to palatalization.
The attested forms are: *dräžę* NSGN ADV 'dear', *nęjdräža* LPL, *düži* long', *düža* NSGF, *dügję* ADV (without the expected palatalization), *göščę* ADV 'dense', *mläji/mlâji* 'young', *mläję* NSGN NPLFN, *mläja* NSGF, *mlâja* NSGF, *mlajïm/mlâjim* DPL, *nâjmläji* NSGM, *siromäši* 'poor'.
With drop of stem-final *-(o)k-*: *blïžęmu* DSGM 'near', *blïža* NSGF, *nęjblïža* NSGF, *däję/dâję* ADV 'far', *frïžę* ADV 'fast', *krâčę* NSGN 'short', *mïžę* ADV 'ugly', *nïžę* NSGN 'low', *tęžę* NSGN ADV 'heavy', *nęjtęži* NSGM, *tfïžę* NSGN 'hard', *tfïja* NSGF, *vïšę* NSGN 'high, big, much', *vïši* NPLM.
Exceptions: *bugatïji* 'rich', *siromašïjęga* GSGM 'poor', *sirumašïja* NSGF, *siromašïji* NPLM (with palatalization of the stem-final consonant).

(c) After other consonants the suffix *-ïj-/-ij-* is chosen. The attested forms are: *čęrnïjęga* GSGN 'black', *čęrnïję* GSGF, *fajnïję* NSGN 'wonderful', *kišnïję*[h]*/kęšnïję*[f] ADV 'later' (see also § 5), *spornïję* ADV 'fast', *tuplïję* NSGN 'hot', *učnïji* 'educated', *vęlïji* 'big' (also IRR *vękči*, see below), *zarônię* NPLFN 'early'.

The adjective *stär* 'old' can form its COMP in two ways: *stäriję* NSGN, *stärija* NSGF, *starïji*, *stäriji* NPLM, *starïji* GPL *starjï* 'old', *stârjęm* ISGM,

[20] The SUP *näjvęč* 'most' has no secondary stress.

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stârja NSGF, *starjûj*, *stârjuj* DSGF, *starjî* NPLM, *stârji* GPL, *starjïm* DPL, *stârję/starjê* APL, *näjstärja* NSGF.

Six adjectives have irregular COMP forms, which are cannot be formed by adding one either of the two suffixes given above to the stem of the positive degree. These adjectives are: *böji* 'good', *böję* NSGN ADV, *nâjboję*, *nę̂jböję* NSGN ADV, *čvr̂žę* ADV 'firm', *lëgję* NSGN ADV 'light', *lëgjęcêno* ADV, *lëpči* 'beautiful', *lëpčę* NSGN, *lëpča* NSGF, *näjlëpčę* NSGN ADV, *nâjlëpšę* 1x ADV, *näjlëpča* NSGF, *mônji* 'small, little', *mônję* NSGN ADV, *mônja* NSGF, *mônjum* ISGF, *nâjmônję* ADV, *vę̈kčî*[21] 'big, much', *vę̈kčę* NSGN APL ADV, *vę̈kčęga* GSGN, *vę̈kčęm* LSGM, *vę̈kči* NPLM, *näjvę̈kči* NSGM, *nâjvę̈kča*, *näjvę̈kča* NSGF, *vę̈č* 'more' ADV, *nę̈jvęč* 'most' ADV.

[21] It is not clear whether the forms *vę̈kči*, etc. belong to the paradigm of *vę̈lik* or to that of *vę̈li*

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CHAPTER VI: THE VERB

1. Introduction

1.1 Inventory of forms

Six sets of simple verbal forms can be distinguished:

(1) an infinitive (INF), e.g. *dëlat* 'do';

(2) six present forms, three for the singular and three for the plural, e.g. PR1SG *dëlam* 'work', PR2SG *dëlaš,* PR3SG *dëla*, PR1PL *dëlamo*, PR2PL *dëlatę*, PR3PL *dëlajo*[f], *dëladu*[h];

(3) two imperative forms, one for the singular and two for the plural: IMPSG, IMP1PL and IMP2PL, e.g. *dëlaj*[f], *hödmo* 'go', *dëlajtę*[f]; *hödmo* is the only attested IMP1PL form;[1]

(4) five l-participles, three for the singular, one for the plural masculine and one for the plural feminine and neuter, e.g. LPM *dëlal*, LPF *dëlala*, LPN *möglo* 'be able', LPPLM *dëlali*, LPPLFN *dëlalę*. The LP cannot be used independently, but occurs solely as a component of one of three analytic forms (see below);

(5) a passive participle (PP) that is inflected as an adjective, e.g. INDM *uplasêran* 'wound'. It has 5 IND and 21 DEF forms, but neither an ADV nor a COMP or SUP (see V.1.1);

(6) a verbal noun (VN) that is inflected according to case, e.g. *igrônję* 'play', ISG *obrâčanjęm* 'turn'. The VN has only singular forms.

Seven verbs have additional simple forms:

(7) seven irregular verbs have special negated PR forms: (i) *bït* 'be', 1SG *nês*, 2SG *nêsi*, 3SG *nê*, 1PL *nêsmo*, 2PL *nêstę*, 3PL *nêso*; (ii) +*id-* 'go', 1SG *nêdęm*; (iii) *ïmat* 'have', 1SG *nêmam*; (iv) *möč* 'be able', PR1SG *nę̈mręm*; (v) *smê* PR3SG 'be allowed', 1SG *nę̈ smim*; (vi) *štët* 'want' 1SG *nę̈šu*, *nę̈šču*, 2SG *nę̈šęš*, 3SG *nę̈šę*, *nę̈ščę*, 1PL *nę̈šęmo*, *nę̈ščęmo*, 2PL *nę̈šętę*, 3PL *nę̈šędu*[h], *nę̈tę*[hf], *nę̈štę*[hf]; (vii) *znät* 'know' 1SG *nę̈znam* (more forms can be found in § 6).

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[1] An analytic IMP with a connotation of insistence can be formed by means of the particles *nö* (2SG) and *nötę* (2PL) + INF. I refer the reader to the Lexicon.

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(8) *bȉt* has a "potential present": 1SG *büdęm*, 2SG *büdęš*, *buš*, 3SG *büdę*, *bu*, 1PL *büdęmo*, 2PL *büdętę*, 3PL *büdęjo*[f], *büdędu*[h], *büdu*[hf].

There are seven sets of analytic verb forms:

(9) the past tense, which consists of the present or negated present of *bȉt* + the LP, e.g. *smö imäli* 'we had';

(10) the pluperfect, which, in addition to the components of the past tense, contains the LP of *bȉt*: *kad su ga žȉduvi ubȉsili bili,...*[h] 'when the Jews had hanged him, ...';

(11) the future tense, which is formed by combining the present or the negated present of *štët* with the infinitive of the main verb, e.g. *češ pôt* 'you will go', *nęšętę môrat* 'you will not have to';

(12) the perfect/potential/final future, which consists of the potential PR of *bȉt* + the LP of the main verb, e.g. *kad büdę sę tȓgalo* 'when the grapes will have been harvested', *ako buš imäla* 'if you will have', *da büdęš znäl* 'in order that you know', *kat su ga žȉduvi ubȉsili bili* 'when the Jews had crucified him' (continues with Christ's resurrection);

(13) the conditional, which is a combination of the particle *bi/b* or (negative) *nęb* + the LP, e.g. *kad bi jâ sad mlâda bȉla* 'if I were young now', *sę nęb znäl täk pomȉnat* 'he wouldn't be able to talk like that';

(14) the past conditional, which is a combination of the particle *bi/b* or (negative) *nęb* + the LP of *bȉt* + the LP of the main verb, e.g. *kad jäpa nęb bȉl mrêl* 'if the father wouldn't have died';

(15) the negated imperative, which consists of the forms *nâj*[f], *nęj*[h] (SG), *nâjtę*[f], *nęjtę*[h] (2PL) + INF, e.g. *nȉš sę nęj böjat*[h] 'don't be afraid of anything'.

This chapter will concentrate on the morphology of the simple verb forms.

As all Slavic languages and dialects, the dialect of Hi and Fe possesses a perfective and an imperfective verbal aspect. Since it is often fairly complicated to decide to which aspect a given verb belongs, I have decided to disregard the aspectual distinction altogether.[2]

[2] In my opinion the alternative, i.e. aspectual labeling based on vague assumptions and/or other dialect descriptions, would not contribute anything to our knowledge of Serbo-Croatian dialects.

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1.2 Stem and endings

All forms of a verbal paradigm are derived from one stem (ST) by adding an ending. In some cases the ST and/or ending are subject to morphonemic changes.[3]

In order to obtain the ST, we must have both the INF and at least one PR form. If the INF ends in *-č* or *-čt(i)* at least one LP form is needed as well (see (3) below).

An INF ends either in:

(1) vowel + *-t(i)*, e.g. *dëlat* 'do', *vërovat* 'believe', *pït* 'drink'. This is the overwhelming majority of the verbs;

(2) *-s*, e.g. *zmęs* 'sweep', *grïs* 'bite', often along with *-st(i)*, e.g. *zrâs*, *râst*, *râsti*[f] 'grow';

(3) *-č*, e.g. *oblêč* 'dress', often along with *-čt(i)*, *rękč*, *rękčt*, *rękčti*[f] 'say'.

Remark: final *-i* in the INF is exclusive for Fe. However, in Fe the INF does not always end in *-i*.

Below we shall see how the ST can be obtained.

Ad (1) If we compare the INF of the verbs given above with the PR, we can see that they belong to three different subgroups.

(a) INF *dëlat*, PRISG *dëlam*. Here we obtain the ST by removing vowel + *t(i)*: the ST is *dël-*. The INF ending is ⟨at(i)⟩, the PRISG ending is ⟨am⟩. The ST of these verbs (not counting prefixes) is always polysyllabic.[4]

Remark: if the INF ends in *-it(i)*, the stem can show morphonemic variation *n* ↔ *nj* or *l* ↔ *lj* ↔ *j* (see § 5.3).

(b) INF *vërovat*, PRISG *vërujęm*. Here we obtain the ST in the same way: by removing vowel + *t(i)*: The ST is *vërov-*. The INF ending is ⟨at(i)⟩, the PRISG ending is ⟨ęm⟩. In part of the paradigm (such as the PR), the ST is subject to a morphonemic change ⟨ov⟩ → ⟨uj⟩. The INF of these verbs always ends in ⟨ovat(i)⟩.

[3] With the label "ST" the primary verbal stem will be designated, i.e. the stem as it is prior to the application of the morphonemic rules. The word "stem" will be used in a somewhat wider sense, i.e. either the ST or an altered form of the ST after the application of one or more morphonemic rules.

[4] On the use of pointed brackets ⟨ ⟩ see I.7.2.

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(c) INF *pï̈t*, PR1SG *pï̈jęm*, INF *čüt* 'hear', PR1SG *čüjęm*. Here we obtain the ST by removing only *t(i)*: the ST is *pï̈-* c.q. *čü-*. The INF ending is ⟨t(i)⟩, the PR1SG ending is ⟨ęm⟩. In part of the paradigm (such as the PR), the ST is subject to a rule that adds ⟨j⟩ before the ending (see § 5.11). The ST of 5 of these verbs (not counting prefixes) is polysyllabic: *z·büdil* LPM 'wake', PR3SG *zbudï̈ję*; *z·gödit* 'hit', PR3SG *zgodï̈ję*; *z·gübit* 'lose', PR2SG *zgubï̈jęš*; *lövit* 'catch', PR3SG *lovï̈ję*, IMP *lovï̈j*; *z·rüšit* 'tear down', PR3SG *zrušï̈ję* (see also remark (iv) in § 1.3).

Ad (2) The ST is obtained by taking a PR form and removing the ending, e.g PR3SG *mętę* 'sweep', ST *męt-*, PR3SG *râstę*, ST *râst-*. The INF ending in both examples is ⟨t(i)⟩, the PR3SG ending is ⟨ę⟩. Underlying ⟨męt-t(i)⟩ and ⟨rast-t(i)⟩ are changed by morphonemic or phonological rule, respectively (see § 5.6 and II.3.3.1). The ST of these verbs ends in a dental consonant (*s*, *z*, *t* or *d*) or *b*.

Ad (3) Here we obtain the ST by taking an LP form and removing the last two phonemes: LPPLM *oblêkli*, ST *oblêk-*, LPM *rękęl*, ST *ręk-*. The INF ending in both examples is assumed to be ⟨t(i)⟩, the LP endings are ⟨l⟩ and ⟨li⟩. Underlying ⟨oblek-t(i)⟩, ⟨ręk-t(i)⟩ and ⟨ręk-l⟩ are changed by morphonemic rule (see §§ 5.6, 5.8 and the note to II.3.3.1). The ST of these verbs ends in a velar consonant.

1.3 Inflexion classes

The regular verbs can be divided into 9 flexion classes according to two or three characteristics:

(1) the first vowel of the INF ending (henceforth also "INF theme vowel") or the absence of such a vowel;
(2) the first vowel of the PR endings except the PR3PL (henceforth also "PR theme vowel");
(3) if necessary: certain morphonemic characteristics.

Accordingly, each flexion class will carry a label consisting of two or three characters. Examples:

(a) class AI has INF theme vowel ⟨a⟩ and PR theme vowel ⟨i⟩;[5]

[5] Instead of 'presents with the theme vowel ⟨a⟩', 'endings with the theme vowel ⟨i⟩', etc. I shall also speak of 'A-presents', 'I-endings', etc.

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(b) class ØE has no INF theme vowel and PR theme vowel ⟨e⟩;

(c) there is a class AE_1 and a class AE_2. The latter has a morphonemic change ⟨ov⟩ → ⟨uj⟩ in part of the paradigm.

Below the inflexion classes will be listed, each with one example:

AA *kühat* 'cook', PR3SG *küha*
AE_1 *pïsat* 'write', PR3SG *pîšę*
AE_2 *kupövat* 'buy', PR3PL *kupüjędu*
AI *glę̈dat* 'look', PR3SG *ględî*
II *hödit* 'walk', PR1PL *hödimo*
OE *potêgnot* 'pull', PR2SG *potêgnęš*
$ØE_1$ *pöpas* 'begin', PR3SG *popädę*, LPM *popäli*
$ØE_2$ *rę̈č* 'say', PR3SG *rę̈čę*, LPM *rę̈kęl*
$ØE_3$ *pït* 'drink', PR1SG *pïjęm*, LPM *pîl*

Remarks:

(i) In class OE, the INF theme vowel is always unstressed. Therefore it appears as *-u-* in Hi (see I.7.6.3 sub (2), II.1.1 sub (4)).

(ii) In addition to the inflexion classes listed above, there are a number of irregular verbs (label: "IRR"). A list of IRR verbs and their forms will be given in § 6).

(iii) $ØE_1$ verbs have a ST in *s*, *z*, *t*, *d* or *b*. $ØE_2$ verbs have a ST in a velar consonant, which is subject to morphonemic changes in several parts of the paradigm, such as the PR. $ØE_3$ verbs have a ST in a vowel. In the PR, *j* is inserted between ST and ending.

(iv) Three verbs combine characteristics of the classes $ØE_3$ and II. These characteristics can occur along with each other in the same forms of the same verbs. The verbs are: *u·drit* 'hit', PR3SG *udrïję*, PR1PL *udrïmo*; *küpit* 'buy', PR3SG *kupïję*, *küpi*; *sköčit* 'jump', PR3SG *sköči*, *skočïję*.

(v) The compounds of *glę̈dat* 'look' combine characteristics of the classes AA and AI: PR3SG *poględî/poglêda*.

(vi) The inflexion classes differ considerably with respect to their number of members. Numerical data can be found in table VI.7 (§ 3).

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2. The endings, including their accentuation when stressed

2.1 General survey of the verbal endings

In TABLE VI.1 a general survey of the endings of the various inflexion classes will be given. The following remarks must be made beforehand:

(1) For reasons of space, only the unstressed variants of the endings are given;

(2) There are a number of differences between Fe and Hi, both phonological and morphological. In the table, the Fe variants are given;

(3) After an ending has been added to a stem, the resulting form can be subject to morphonemic rules. One of the outcomes of the morphonemic rules is that the ⟨t⟩ of the INF ending is not always visible in $\emptyset E_2$ and $\emptyset E_1$ verbs. Therefore the ending ⟨t(i)⟩ is given in morphonemic notation;

(4) Of the IMP, the PP and the VN we shall give only the SG, the INDM and the NSG, respectively.

From the table it can be seen that, apart from the theme vowel, the number of differences in ending between the various inflexion classes is not great.

In §§ 2.2 through 2.7 the endings of the simple verbal forms will be treated in more detail. The number of examples given there is limited. The reader will find more examples of each verb form for each class and accentuation type in § 4.

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TABLE VI.1: general survey of the verbal endings

	AA	AE_1	AE_2	AI	II	OE	$ØE_1$	$ØE_2$	$ØE_3$
INF	*-at(i)*				*-it(i)*	*-ot(i)*	⟨t(i)⟩		
PR1SG	*-am*	*-ęm*		*-im*		*-ęm*			
PR2SG	*-aš*	*-ęš*		*-iš*		*-ęš*			
PR3SG	*-a*	*-ę*		*-i*		*-ę*			
PR1PL	*-amo*	*-ęmo*		*-imo*		*-ęmo*			
PR2PL	*-atę*	*-ętę*		*-itę*		*-ętę*			
PR3PL	*-ajo*	*-ęjo, -o*		*-ijo, -ę*		*-ęjo, -o*			
IMP	*-aj*	*-i/-Ø*	*-j*	*-i/-Ø*					*-j*
LPM	*-al*				*-il*	*-ol*	*-l*		
LPF	*-ala*				*-ila*	*-ola*	*-la*		
LPN	*-alo*				*-ilo*	*-olo*	*-lo*		
LPPLM	*-ali*				*-ili*	*-oli*	*-li*		
LPPLFN	*-alę*				*-ilę*	*-olę*	*-lę*		
PP	*-an*			n.a.	*-ęn*	*-ot*	*-ęn*		*-t*
VN	*-anję*			n.a.	*-ęnję*	n.a.	*-ęnję*		n.a.

2.2 The INF endings

All INF endings can be found in table VI.1.

Examples: AA *güslat* 'play the gusle', AE_1 *počęsat* 'comb', AE_2 *vërovat* 'believe', AI *böjat sę* 'be afraid', II *obäbit sę* 'give birth', OE *zdëhnot* 'sigh', $ØE_1$ *zäbos* 'prick', $ØE_2$ *vlêč* 'pull', $ØE_3$ *čüt* 'hear'.

The regular verbs never have a stressed INF ending: verbs with an INF theme vowel always have a ST consisting of one or more syllables, one of which carries the stress. Verbs without an INF theme vowel can have INF forms (mostly monosyllables) in which the vowel preceding the ⟨t⟩ of the ending is stressed, but this stressed vowel belongs to the stem, e.g. *krȁst/krâst* 'steal', *zrâst* 'grow', *pît/pȉt* 'drink', *šȉt/šît* 'sow', *möč* 'be able', *vlêč* 'pull', *tôč* 'hit'. As can be seen from these examples, there are verbs for which the stressed vowel in the INF occurs both short and long. If a prefix is added to such monosyllabic INF forms, the stress is often retracted to the prefix, e.g. *ükras*, *zëšit* (but cf. *potôč*, *oblêč*).

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In Fe the INF has an optional final *-i* (after *-t*, not after *-č*), e.g. *kaštïgati*[f] 'punish', *pomïnat(i)*[f], *pïsat*[f] 'write', *zapïsati*[f] 'write down', *zmad'arâzovati*[f], *mad'arâzovat*[f] 'explain', *rȅč*[f], *rȅčt*[f], *rȅčti*[f] 'say', *spït(i)*[f] 'drink up', *tôžit(i) sę*[f] 'complain'.

In class $\emptyset E_1$ the stem-final consonant becomes *-s-* by morphonemic rule (unless it already was *-s-* or *-z-*), so that the verb form ends in *-st*, in Fe also *-sti*, e.g. *zrâst*[hf], *zrâsti*[f] 'grow'. Of the final combination *-st* the *-t* is optional, e.g. *nȅs(t)* 'carry', *vȑs(t)* 'throw'. See also § 5.5.

In class $\emptyset E_2$ the (velar) stem-final consonant and the ending-initial ⟨t⟩ merge into *-č*. The *-č* is optionally followed by *-t*, in Fe *-čti* is also possible. Example: *rȅč*[hf], *rȅčt*[hf], *rȅčti*[f] 'say'. See also § 5.6.

2.3 The PR endings

TABLE VI.2: the PR endings

	AA	AI II	AE_1 AE_2 OE $\emptyset E_1$ $\emptyset E_2$ $\emptyset E_3$
1SG	*-am/-ôm*	*-im/-îm*	*-ęm*
2SG	*-aš/-âš*	*-iš/-îš*	*-ęš*
3SG	*-a/-â*	*-i/-î*	*-ę*
1PL	*-amo/-ômo*	*-imo/-ïmo*	*-ęmo*
2PL	*-atę*	*-itę/-ïtę*	*-ętę*
3PL Fe	*-ajo/-ȁjo*	*-ijo, -ę/-ę̂, -ïjo*	*-ęjo, -o/-ô*
3PL Hi	*-adu/-ȁdu*	*-idu/-ę̂, -ïdu*	*-ędu/-û*

Examples of A-endings: PR1SG *povêdam* 'tell', *igrôm sę* 'play', PR2SG *povêdaš, štimâš* 'think', PR3SG *povêda, igrâ sę*, PR1PL *kȕhamo* 'cook', *igrômo sę*, PR2PL *dȅlatę* 'do', PR3PL *môrajo*[f], *môradu*[h], *igrȁjo sę*[f], *puščȁdu*[h] 'let'.

Examples of I-endings: PR1SG *mïslim* 'think', *ględîm* 'look', PR2SG *mïsliš, ględîš*, PR3SG *mïsli, ględî*, PR1PL *hȍdimo* 'go', *ględïmo*, PR2PL *mïslitę, bojïtę sę* 'be afraid', PR3PL *kônjijo*[f] 'like to', *kônję*[f], *nȍsijo*[f] 'carry', *nȍsidu*[h], *načinję̂*[hf] 'make', *načinjïdu*[h], *ględę̂*[hf], *poględïjo*[f].

Examples of E-endings: PR1SG *îščęm* 'search', PR2SG *zîščęš*, PR3SG *îščę*, PR1PL *svêžęmo* 'tie', PR2PL *vȑžętę* 'throw', PR3PL *pîšędu*[h] 'write', *pîšo*[f], *pîšęjo*[f], *žęrû*[h] 'eat (of animals)', *žęrô*[f].

In 3PL forms of end-stressed I-presents (AI and II verbs), the monosyllabic ending *-ę̂* is much more common than the disyllabic endings *-ïjo* c.q. *-ïdu*.

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The verb *rȩ̑č* 'say' has a 1SG form *rȩ̑ko*[f], *rȩ̑ku*[h] which is used as a historic present.[6] Whereas this form has been abundantly attested, the material contains no attestations of a "normal" PR1SG form +*rȩ̑čȩm* and only four other attestations of PR forms: 2SG *rȩ̑čȩš* (2x) and 3SG *rȩ̑čȩ* (2x). The reason for this is that the forms *vȩjîm*, *vȩjîš*, *vȩjî*, *vȩjïmo*, *vȩjïtȩ*, *vȩjê̑* (only PR forms) function as a suppletive PR of *rȩ̑č*.

The verb *mrêt* probably has only an INF and a LP. If PR forms are needed, prefixed forms are borrowed: PR1SG *ümrȩm*, etc.

The irregular verb *pôt* has – along with much more frequent *ïdȩm* – a 1SG form *ïdu*[f] (with *-u*, in contradistinction to *rȩ̑ko*[f] above).[7]

As can be seen from the table, the Fe dialect can have a monosyllabic unstressed PR3SG ending in I- and E-presents (*-ȩ* and *-o*). These endings occur along with disyllabic ones for the same verbs. Examples: *žîvȩ*[f], *žîvijo*[f], cf. *žîvidu*[h]; *pîšo*[f], *pîšȩjo*[f] 'write', cf. *pîšȩdu*[h]. I have only one example from Hi, viz. in the II verb *vïdit*[h] 'see': *vïdȩ*[h] (1x), *vïdidu*[h] (cf. INF *vïdȩt*[f], PR3PL *vïdȩ*[f], *vïdijo*[f]; in Fe this is an IRR verb).

Incidentally, PR3PL endings attested in Fe betray Hi influence, e.g. *obäbido*[f] 'give birth', *ümrȩdo*[f] 'die'. The reverse is rare: I have one attestation of *nösiju*[h] 'carry' (Mar [111]).

The reader be reminded that such PR forms as PR3SG *zbudïjȩ* 'wake' (cf. LPM *zbüdil*), PR3SG *udrïjȩ* 'hit' (cf. INF *u·drit*), PR3SG *kupïjȩ* 'buy', cf. INF *küpit* are analyzed in the present study as *zbudïj/ȩ*, *udrïj/ȩ* and *kupïj/ȩ*: the ending is *-ȩ* and the *-j-* is inserted by morphonemic rule (see § 1.2 Ad (1) sub (c), § 1.3 remark (iv) and § 5.11).

2.4 The IMP endings

TABLE VI.3: the IMP endings

	AA	AE_1 AI II $ØE_1$ $ØE_2$	OE	AE_2 $ØE_3$
IMPSG Fe	*-aj/-âj*	*-i*, *-Ø*	*-i*	*-j*
IMPSG Hi	*-ȩj/-ê̑j*	*-i*, *-Ø*	*-i*	*-j*

Examples: AA *dëlaj*[f] 'do', *dëlȩj*[h], *igrâj sȩ*[f], *posid'ê̑j*[h] 'sit a while', AE_1 *pokäš* 'show', *mäži* 'smear', AI *dërš* 'hold', II *hïti* 'throw', $ØE_1$ *grïzi*

[6] One informant gave the Hu PR form *mondok* 'I say' as an equivalent.

[7] It is possible that *rȩ̑ko* derives from an aorist form in **-oh*, whereas *ïdu* is an original present form (in **-ǫ*).

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'bite', *donęs(i)* 'bring', $\emptyset E_2$ *rękči* 'say', OE *obrni* 'turn', *vrš* 'throw', AE_2 *věruj* 'believe', $\emptyset E_3$ *pij* 'drink'.[8]

The IMP2PL has been relatively rarely attested. It is always formed by adding unaccented *-tę* to the IMPSG. Examples: *dělaj*^{f}, *dělajte*^{f}, *posid'ęj*^{h}, *posid'ęjtę*^{h}.

There is one attestation of an IMP1PL form, viz. *hödmo*^{f} from *hödit* 'go', cf. IMPSG *hödi* and IMP2PL *hötę*.

There are two attested example of stressed I-endings, viz. *bižitę* from the AI verb *bižat* 'run' and *kupi* from the $\emptyset E_3$/II verb *küpit* (see § 1.3 sub (iv)).

As can be seen from the table, the AE_1, AI, II, $\emptyset E_1$ and $\emptyset E_2$ verbs have unstressed *-i* or *-Ø*. In most classes the verbs with *-Ø* form a minority. Sometimes *-Ø* can be attested along with *-i* for the same verb. Below I shall describe the situation for each class.

AE_1 The ending *-Ø* has only been attested in *pokäš* 'show'.

AI There are only 4 verbs with an attested IMP, 3 of which have *-Ø*: *bižitę* 'run' (see above), *drž* 'hold', *glęč* (and *poglęč*) 'look' and *möč* 'be silent'. The form *glęč* shows an (irregular) palatalization. For this verb sometimes the irregular IMP form *glę* has been attested.

II The zero ending has been attested for the verbs *-prävit*, *-stävit* and *hödit* 'go': *ręspräv* 'undress', *ostäv* 'leave' (also *ostävi*), 2PL *hödmo*, 1PL *hötę* (cf. SG *hödi*).

$\emptyset E_1$ The ending *-Ø* has been attested for *donęs(i)*, *odvęs* 'bring away' (cf. *zavęzi*).

$\emptyset E_2$ The ending *-Ø* has only been attested in *vrš* 'throw away'.

The AA verb *čękat*^{f}, *čękat*^{h} 'wait' often has an endingless IMP: *čęk*^{hf}, *čęk*^{h}, but also *čękaj*^{f}.

An exeptional form is IMP *püšči*^{h} from *püščat* 'let'.

IMP forms can have their own morphonemic peculiarities (see § 5.10).

There is one (not frequently attested) IMP form *möč* 'be silent' which seems to have no further paradigm. The dialect possesses a semantically and etymologically related adverb *môčę* 'in secret'.

[8] The forms *igrâj sę*^{f} and *posidęj*^{h} given here are the only attested IMP forms with stressed endings

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2.5 The LP endings

TABLE VI.4: the LP endings

	AA AE_1 AE_2	AI II	OE	$\emptyset E_1$ $\emptyset E_2$ $\emptyset E_3$
LPM	*-al/äl*	*-il*	*-ol*	*-l*
LPF	*-ala/-äla*	*-ila/-ïla*	*-ola*	*-la*
LPN	*-alo/-älo*	*-ilo/-ïlo*	*-olo*	*-lo*
LPPLM	*-ali/-äli*	*-ili/-ïli*	*-oli*	*-li*
LPPLFN	*-alę/-älę*	*-ilę/-ïlę*	*-olę*	*-lę*

Before the LPM ending of $\emptyset E_1$ and $\emptyset E_2$ verbs an *ę* is inserted by morphonemic rule (see also § 5.8). However, if the ST ends in *-t* or *-d* ($\emptyset E_1$ only) no *ę* is inserted but stem-final *-d* or *-t* is dropped (see § 5.7). Examples: *ödnęs* 'bring away', LP *odnęsęl*, *odnęsla*; *tôč* 'hit', LP *tôkęl*, *potôkli*. But: *pöpas* 'begin', PRISG *popädęm* (ST in *-d-*), LPM *pöpal*.

There are a number of attestations with a long *â* in the stressed LP endings of the classes AA and AE_1. Examples: *morâli* 'must', *požęrâli* 'eat' (all along with *-ä-*).

2.6 The PP endings

TABLE VI.5: the PP endings

	AA AE_1 AE_2	II $\emptyset E_1$ $\emptyset E_2$	$\emptyset E_3$	OE
PP	*-an-/-ôn-*	*-ęn-/-ęn-*	*-t*	*-ot-/-ôt-*

Examples: AA *zdëlano* 'do', *zakopôn* 'bury', AE_1 *odrëzan* 'cut off', *zapisôno* 'write down', AE_2 *zmašinâzovano* 'thresh', II *hïćęno* 'throw', *posad'ęno* 'plant', $\emptyset E_1$ *nazêbęn* 'catch a cold', $\emptyset E_2$ *ręčęno*, $\emptyset E_3$ *napît* 'get drunk', OE *obrïnoto* 'turn', *smęrznôto* 'freeze'. These examples are all N or INDM.

There is one attestation from an AE_2 verb with the ending *-ęn-*: PPN *polômjęno* 'break' (along with PPGSGN *polômanoga*).

The PP can be formed from transitive verbs or from intransitive verbs with *sę* that express a transition into a certain state, e.g. the forms *zdëlano* and *napît* given above are formed from *zdëlat* 'do' and *näpit sę* 'get drunk', respectively.

Most AI verbs in the material do not meet these requirements; no PP forms have been attested for this class.

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Before *-ęn-/-ę̈n-* morphonemic changes can take place (see §§ 5.4 and 5.9).

In class II we have three irregular PP forms: is IND M *sęrdît/sr̈dit* from *sr̈dit sę* 'become/be angry', F *oprä̈vna* from *oprä̈vit* 'dress' and N *postä̈vno* and PLFN *stä̈vnę* from *(po)stä̈vit* 'put, place'.

For the $ØE_1$ verb *splëst* 'knit' long endings have been attested: *splętêna, zaplętêno,* along with *zaplętèna.* It is possible that the forms with *-ê-* are DEF and that those with *-ë- are* IND, but more material would be needed to be confident about this.

The $ØE_1$ verb *ü̈klas* 'stack' has the unexpected PPN *uklôno* (1x).

2.7 The VN endings

TABLE VI.6: the VN endings

	AA AE_1 AE_2	AI II $ØE_1$ $ØE_2$	OE $ØE_3$
VN	*-anję/-ônję*	*-ęnję*	n.a.

Examples: AA *ü̈fanję* 'hope', *igrônję* 'play', AE_1 *ïskanję* 'search' AE_2 *mašinâzovanję* 'thresh', AI *bëžęnję* 'run', II *tr̈žęnję* 'trade', $ØE_1$ *uklä̈d̈ęnję* 'stack', $ØE_2$ LSG *tö̈čęnji* 'hit'.

Before the ending *-ęnję* the stem can be subject to morphonemic changes (see § 5.9).

3. Division into accentuation types

The verbs can be divided into four accentuation types according to

(1) whether they have fixed stem-stress;
(2) if so, whether the stressed stem-vowel is short or long.

One remark must be made beforehand. In I.6.2 sub (2) it was stated that in polysyllabic forms, stress on a short final syllable is prevented by a semi-automatic stress retraction, e.g. PR3SG *popä̈dę* 'get hold of', LPPLM *popä̈li,* but INF *pö̈pas,* LPM *pö̈pal.* This retraction takes place in all forms but the IMP, e.g. PR3SG *donę̈sę* 'bring', INF *dö̈nęs,* IMP *donę̈s.* In addition, in paradigms containing forms with semi-automatic stress retraction, other forms, by analogy, can show stress retraction as well. Example: *zrušïję sę* PR3SG 'fall down', INF *zrü̈šit,* LPM *zrü̈šil* (with semi-automatic stress retraction), LPF *zrušïla* (with expected place of stress) or *zrü̈šila* (with analogic stress retraction). Below, when verbs will be assigned to accentuation types, the results of the semi-automatic

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stress retraction (*pöpas*, *pöpal* and *dönęs*, etc.) and of stress retraction by analogy to semi-automatic stress retraction (*zrüšila*) will be left out of consideration.

Type I: Fixed stem-stress on a short vowel throughout the paradigm, e.g. *dëlat*, PR *dëlam*, etc., IMP *dëlaj*, LP *dëlal*, etc., PP *zdëlano*, etc.

Type II: Fixed stem-stress on a long vowel throughout the paradigm, e.g. *zdêvat* 'lecture', PR *zdêvam*, *zdêvaš*, etc., LP *zdêval*, *zdêvala*, etc., IMP *zdêvaj*, VN *zdêvanję*.

Type III: End-stress in part of the paradigm, e.g. *glę̈dat* 'look', LP *glę̈dal*, *glę̈dala*, etc., PR *ględîm*, *ględîš*, etc.

Type IV: Fixed stem-stress throughout the paradigm, but accentual alternation or accentual doublets within the stem, e.g. *kürit* 'smoke', LPM *küril*, PR3SG *kûri*, 1PL *kûrimo*.

In most flexion classes all accentuation types are represented. The numerical data will be given in the table below. The table also gives a picture of the share of each inflexion class and accentuation type in the total number of attested verbs (678). Sets of verbs with the same root and inflexion that are related to each other by prefixation are counted as one verb. Since membership of a class or accentuation type cannot always be established with certainty, many of the numbers are approximate.

TABLE VI.7: flexion classes and accentuation types – numerical data

	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	+	%
AA	125	50	11	27	213	33%
AE_1	25	15	5	14	59	9%
AE_2	20	15	2	1	38	6%
AI		-	8	-	8	1%
II	100	30	70	18	218	34%
OE	50	4	3	6	63	10%
$ØE_1$	10	4	2	3	19	3%
$ØE_2$	4	4	2	1	11	2%
$ØE_3$	7	1	-	7	15	2%
+	341	123	103	77	644	
%	53%	19%	16%	12%	100%	

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4. Accentuation types: more information, examples

4.1 Type I

Class AA (± 125 verbs). Examples:
bäčkat 'mess', PR2SG *bäčkaš*, LPN *bäčkalo*;
čękat[f], *čëkat*[h] 'wait', PR1SG *čękam*[f], LPM *čëkal*[h], IMP *čęk*[hf], *čëk*[h];
po·čïvat 'rest', PR3SG *počïva*, LPPLM *počïvali*;
dëlat 'work', PR1SG *dëlam*, PR1PL *dëlamo*, PR3PL *dëladu*[h], *dëlajo*[f], LPF *dëlala*, IMP *dëlaj*[f]/*dëlęj*[h], PPN *zdëlano*;
füčkat 'whistle', PR1SG *füčkam*, LPPLFN *füčkalę*;
gürgat/zagürgat 'roll', PR3PL *pogürgadu*, LPPLM *zagürgali*;
güslat 'play (an instrument)', PR1PL *güslamo*, LPPLM *güslali*;
jähat 'ride', PR3PL *jähadu*, LPM *jähal*;
kühat 'cook', PR3SG *küha*, LPM *sküha*l, IMP *sküha*j;
läjdam PR1SG 'like', LPPLM *läjdali*;
mřkat 'listen', PR3SG *mřka*, LPM *mřkal*, IMP *mřkaj*[f], *mřkęj*[h], VN *mřkanję*;
s·plöbat 'wear oneself out', PR1PL *plöbamo*, LPM *splöbal*, IMP *plöbaj*[f];
pücat 'clean', PR2SG *pücaš*, LPPLFN *pücalę*;
rïvat 'push', PR1PL *rïvamo*, LPM *rïval*;
sënja 'dream' PR3SG, LPF *sënjala*;
po·slüšat 'listen', PR2SG *poslüšaš*, LPM *poslüšal*, IMP *poslüšaj*[f], *poslüšęj*[h];
šïškat 'cut', PR1PL *šïškamo*;
škörvat 'scratch', PR2SG *škörvaš*, PR3PL *škörvadu*;
*zi·šröta*t 'grind', PR3SG *pošröta*, LPPLM *zišröta*li;
üfam sę PR1SG 'hope', VN *üfanję*;
vönjaš PR2SG 'stink', LPN *vönjalo*.

Class AE$_1$ (± 25 verbs). Examples:
barätali LPPLM 'work', PR1PL *baräčęmo*;
brę̈hat 'cough', PR1SG *brę̈šęm*, LPM *brę̈hal*, IMP *brę̈ši*;
dřtat 'shiver', PR2SG *dřščęš*, LPM *dřtali* (also AA, e.g. PR2SG *dřtaš*);
z·dïzat 'raise', PR3SG *zdïžę*, VN *zdïzanję*;
läjat 'bark', PR3SG *läję*;
s·klę̈pat 'sharpen', PR2PL *sklę̈pjętę*, LPPLM *klę̈pali*, PPPLM *sklę̈pani*;
mäzat 'rub', PR3SG *mäžę*, LPM *zmäzal*, IMP *mäži*, VN *zmäzanję*;
pläkat 'cry', PR3SG *pläčę*, LPM *pläkal*;
rëzat 'cut', PR1PL *rëžęmo*, LPM *porëzal*, PPINDM *odrëzan*;

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pö·slat 'send', PR1SG *šëjęm*, PR3PL *pošïjędu*[h], LPM *pöslal*, PPINDM *poslôn*;
sïjat[hf] 'sow', PR3SG *sïję*[f], PR3PL *pusïjędu*[h], LPM *sïjal*[f], LPPLM *sëjali*[h], PPN *posïjano*[f];[9]
smëjat sę 'laugh', PR3SG *smëję*, LPM *smëjal*.

Class AE$_2$ (± 20 verbs). Examples:
mulätovat 'make merry', PR3PL *mulätujo*[f];
prëdikovat 'preach', PR3SG *prëdikuję*, LPM *prëdikoval*;
rädovala sę LPF 'enjoy oneself', LPPLM *rädovali*, PR3SG *räduję*;
sövat[h] 'swear', PR3SG *psüję*[f];
vërovat 'believe', PR3SG *vëruję*, IMP *vëruj*.

Class II (± 100 verbs). Examples:
prę·čęstit sę 'receive Holy Communion', PR3SG *prečęsti*;
čïstit 'clean', PR2SG *ščïstiš*, LPM *ščïstil*, IMP *čïsti*, PPN *ščïščęno*;
čüdit sę 'be surprised', PR3SG *čüdi*, LPPLM *čüdili*;
dvörit 'wait for', PR3PL *dvörijo*[f];
u·gäsit 'turn off', IMP *ugäsi*;
hïtit 'throw', PR2SG *hïtiš*, LPM *hïtil*, IMP *hïti*, PPN *hïćęno*;
s·köpit 'castrate', PR3PL *sköpidu*[h], PPINDM *sköpljęn*;
mïslit 'think', PR1SG *mïslim*, LPM *mïslil*, IMP *mïsli*;
o·prävit 'dress', PR1SG *sprävim*, LPM *sprävil*, IMP *ręspräv*, PPF *oprävna* (see § 5.4);
prösit 'beg', PR1SG *prösim*, LPF *prösila*, IMP *prösi*;
o·stävit 'leave', PR3SG *ostävi*, LPM *ostävil*, IMP *ostäv*, *ostävi*, PPN *stävno*;
tŕsit sę 'wear oneself out', PR1SG *tŕsim*, LPF *tŕsila*;
+*ves-*: *obësit*[f] 'hang', PR3PL *obïsidu*[h], LPPLM *obësili*[f].

Class OE (± 50 verbs). Examples:
za·fŕknol 'curl', PPINDM *zafŕknot*;
gënot sę 'move', PR2SG *gënęš*, LPPLM *gënoli*, PPPLM *gënoti*;
po·klęknot sę 'kneel', PR3SG *poklękne*;
za·klęnot 'lock', PR1SG *zaklęnęm*, PPN *zaklęnoto*;
prę·mïnot 'go by', PR3SG *pręmïnę*, LPN *pręmïnolo*;
za·püknot 'crack', PR1SG *zapüknęm*, LPM *zapüknol*;
na·rękot 'drive', PR2SG *zrękęš*, LPM *narękol*, IMP *narękni*;
rïnot 'pull', PR3PL *rïnęjo*, LPM *rïnol*, IMP *rïni*;
sësnot 'suck', PR3SG *sësnę*, LPM *zęsësnol*;

[9] On the difference between the Fe and Hi forms see Houtzagers 1996: 123 sub (3e).

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s·tȉsnot 'squeeze', PR3SG *stȉsnę*, LPM *stȉsnol*, PPINDM *stȉsnot*;
+*vern-*: *obȑnot* 'turn', PR3SG *obȑnę*, LPM *obȑnol*, IMP *obȑni*, PPM *obȑnoto*.

Class ØE$_1$ (8 verbs)
zä·bos 'prick';
cvȅtę 'flower' PR3SG;
grȅpst 'scratch', PR1SG *pogrȅbęm*;
grȉs 'bite', LPPLM *ogrȉzli*, IMP *grȉzi*;
z·mȅs 'wipe', PR1SG *zmȅtęm*, IMP *zmȅtitę*;
sȅst 'sit down', PR1SG *sȅdęm*, LPF *sȅla*, IMP *sȅdi*;
tȅpst 'churn', LPPLM *stȅpli*;
ȍd·vęs 'bring away', PR3PL *dovȅzędu*, LPM *odvȅzęl*, LPPLM *dovȅzli*, IMP *zavȅzi*, *odvȅs*.

Class ØE$_2$ (4 verbs)
lȅč 'lie down', PR3SG *lȅžę*, LPM *lȅgęl*, IMP *lȅži*;
pȍ·moč/pômoč 'help', PR1SG *pomȍžęm*, LPPLM *pomȍgli*;
zȅ·sęč 'hit', LPPLM *zisȅkli*;
vȑst 'throw', PR3SG *vȑžę*, LPM *vȑgęl*, IMP *vȑs*, PPINDM *vȑžęn*, PPN *vȑžęno*.

Class ØE$_3$ (7 verbs)
ü·bit 'kill', PR3SG *ubȉję*, LPM *übil*, LPF *ubȉla*;
čüt 'hear', PR3SG *čüję*, LPM *čül*;
z·gübit 'lose', PR2SG *zgubȉjęš*, LPM *zgübil*, LPPLM *zgubȉli*;
lȍvit 'catch', PR3SG *lovȉję*, LPPLM *lovȉli*;
ü·mit 'wash', PR3SG *umȉję*, IMP *umȉj*;
z·rüšit 'tear down', PR3SG *zrušȉję*, LPF *zrûšila/zrušȉla*;
siz·üję sę 'take off one's shoes' PR3SG, *obüję*.

4.2 Type II

Class AA (± 50 verbs)
cêpat 'chop', PR3PL *pocêpajo*;
z·dêvat 'scold', PR1SG *zdêvam*, LPPLM *zdêvali*, VN *zdêvanję*;
futêrat sę 'worry', PR1SG *futêram*, LPF *futêrala*;
po·gâd'at sę 'negotiate', PR1PL *pogâd'amo*, LPM *pogâd'al*;
za·jêvat 'sprinkle', PR1SG *zajêvam*, LPPLM *zaljêvali*;
mêšaš PR2SG 'mix', LPM *mêšal*, PPN *zamêšano*;
u·plasêrat^h 'wound', PPINDM *uplasêran*^{h};
po·prôhat 'need', PR1SG *prôham*, LPF *prôhala*;

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špêrat 'feel', PR2SG *špêraš*, LPM *špêral*, IMP *špêraj*[f];
tôncat 'dance', PR3PL *tôncadu*, LPPLM *tôncali*.

Class AE$_1$ (± 15 verbs)
kôhat 'cough', PR1SG *kôšęm*;
kôpat sę 'bathe', PR1PL *kôpjęmo*, LPM *kôpal*;
po·lômat 'break', PR1SG *lômjęm*, LPM *polômal*, PPN *polômjęno*, PPDEFGSGMN *polômanoga*;
šêtat sę 'stroll', PR1SG *šêčęm*;
trôpat 'knock', PR1SG *trôpjęm*, LPM *trôpal*.

Class AE$_2$ (± 15 verbs)
figurâzovat sę 'fool someone', PR2SG *figurâzujęš*;
pęrtlinâzovat 'bundle', PR3SG *pęrtlinâzuję*, LPPLM *pęrtlinâzovali*;
s·probâlovat 'try', LPM *sprobâloval*, IMP *sprobâluj*;
za·zlômęnjovat 'brand', LPM *zazlômęnjoval*, VN *zlômęnjovanję*.

Class II (± 30 verbs)
po·bêjit 'whitewash', PR3SG *bêji*, LPPLM *bêljili*;
za·blôdit sę 'lose one's way',PR3SG *blôdi*, LPM *poblôdil*;
brônjit 'protect', PR3SG *brônji*;
kônjit 'want', PR1SG *kônjim*, PR3PL *kônjijo*[f];
za·mêsit 'knead', PR3SG *mêsi*, LPPLM *mêsili*;
o·rêdit 'arrange', PR1SG *rêdim*, LPM *narêdil*, IMP *rêdi*, PPN *narêd'ęno*;
od·rônjit 'bring up', PR3SG *urônji*, LPPLM *narônjili*;
po·sôdit 'borrow', PR3SG *posôdi*;
tôžit sę 'complain', PR3SG *tôži*;
vadâsit 'hunt', VN *vadâsęnję*.

Class OE (4 verbs)
bûbnęjo PR3PL 'hit';
krênot 'leave';
z·mlêdnol 'grow thin' LPM;
za·môkni IMP 'shut up'.

Class ØE$_1$ (4 verbs)
pâs 'graze', PR3SG *pâsę*, LPF *pâsla*;
râst 'grow', PR3SG *râstę*, LPM *zrâsęl*;
trêsę PR3SG 'shake', LPM *potrêsęl*, LPPLM *trêsli*;
zêbęš sę 'be cold' PR2SG, LPM *nazêbęl*, PPINDM *nazêbęn*.

Class ØE$_2$ (4 verbs)
z·lêžę 'hatch', PR3PL *zlêžędu*[f];

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na·prêč 'put to (horses)', PR3PL *naprêžu*, LPM *naprêgęl*;
do·sêč 'reach', PR3SG *prisêžę*, LPM *posêgęl*, IMP *dosêži*;
vlêč 'pull', PR3SG *vlêčę*, LPM *vlêkęl*, IMP *slêči*.

Class ØE$_3$ (1 verb)
pljût 'swim', PR3SG *pjûję*;
z·rîjędu 'dig out' (one attestation; mark that many verbs of this type – especially with monosyllabic stems – belong to type IV).

4.3 Type III

4.3.1 Further subdivision of type III

The members of type III can be further subdivided according to whether they have end-stress in the PR:

Subtype III/1: no end-stress attested in the PR;
Subtype III/2: end-stress attested in the PR, whether or not along with stem-stress.

TABLE VI.8: flexion classes and subtypes of type III – numerical data

	Type III	Subtype III/1	Subtype III/2
AA	11	7	4
AE$_1$	5	4	1
AE$_2$	2	2	0
AI	8	0	8
II	70	29	41
OE	3	3	0
ØE$_1$	2	1	1
ØE$_2$	2	1	1
ØE$_3$	0	0	0

4.3.2 Subtype III/1 (no end-stress attested in the PR)

It must be kept in mind that nonattestation of end-stress can be accidental, even if all PR forms (MACROFORMs in terms of I.6.3.2) have been attested. Members of subtype III/2 often have stem-stressed as well as end-stressed PR forms. It is very well possible that some of the verbs listed here under subtype III/1 are in fact III/2 verbs for which accidentally only stem-stressed variant PR forms (FORMs in terms of I.6.3.2) have been attested.

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Class AA (7 verbs)

end-stressed LP:

cì̈cala/cicâla LPF 'flow';

môram 'have to', LPM *môral*, LPF *morä̈la*, LPN *morä̈lo*, LPPLM *morä̈li*, LPPLFN *morälę/môralę*;

stä̈rat sę 'worry', PR3SG *stä̈ra*, LPN *starä̈lo*;

end-stressed PP:

po·bä̈lat sę 'become confused' PR3SG *pobä̈la*, LPM *pobä̈lal*, VN *pobä̈lanję*, PPINDM *pobalôn*;

za·kö̈pat 'bury', PR3PL *zakö̈pajo*, LPM *zakö̈pal*, PPINDM *zakopôn*;

u·pï̈tat 'feed', PR1PL *pï̈tamo*, LPPLM *pï̈tali*, PPF *pitôna*;

end-stressed IMP:

po·sï̈d'a PR3PL 'sit a while', IMP *posid'ę̂j*.

Class AE_1 (4 verbs)

end-stressed LP:

po·mä̈gat 'help', PR3SG *pomä̈žęjo*[f], LPPLM *pomagâli*;

end-stressed LP and PP:

z·mę̈tat 'throw', PR3SG *mę̈čę*, LPF *pomętä̈la*, LPPLM *mętä̈li*, *pomę̈tali*, PPN *zmętôno*;

za·pï̈sat 'write', PR3SG *pîšę*, LPF *pisä̈la*, LPPLM *pï̈sali*, PPN *zapï̈sano/spisôno*;

end-stressed PP:

ö̈rat 'plough', PR3SG *ö̈rję*, PR3PL *ö̈rjo*[f], LPF *ö̈rala*, PPN *zorôno*.

Class AE_2 (2 verbs)

end-stressed LP:

bantö̈vat 'bother', PR1SG *bantü̈jęm*, LPPLM *bantö̈vali/bantovä̈li*;

kupö̈vat 'buy', PR3PL *kupü̈jędu*[h], LPPLM *pokupö̈vali*, *kupovä̈li*.

Class II (29 verbs)

end-stressed LP:

dę̈ji[f] PR3SG 'divide', LPPLM *dijï̈li*[h], *dę̈jili*[f]; *razdę̈jit*[f], PR3SG *ręzdę̈ji*[h], LPPLM *razdęjï̈li*[f], *ręzdę̂jili*[h];

dö̈jit 'milk', LPF *dojï̈la*, LPPLM *dojï̈li/dö̈jili*;

gö̈njit 'drive', PR3PL, *gö̈njidu*[h], LPF *gonjï̈la*, LPPLM *gonjï̈li/gö̈njili*;

z·gotö̈vit 'prepare', LPF *zgotö̈vila*, LPN *zgotö̈vilo*, LPPLFN *zgotovï̈lę*;

raz·gü̈jit 'chafe', PR2SG *ogûjiš*, LPPLM *gûlili/gulï̈li*;

hö̈dit 'go', PR1PL *hö̈dimo*, LPM *hö̈dil*, LPPLM *hodï̈li*, LPPLFN *hodï̈lę*, IMPSG *hö̈di*, IMP2PL *hö̈tę*, IMP1PL *hö̈dmo*;

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+*im-*: *otprȋmit*, *prîmit* 'bring', PR3SG *prîmim*, *doprȋmi*, LPPLM *doprȋmili*, *otprimȋli*, IMP *prȋmi*;
jäčit/jâčit 'sing', PR3SG *jâči*, PR3PL *jâčidu*[h], LPF *jačȋla*, LPPLM *jačȋli/jäčili*;
kürit 'smoke', PR3SG *kûri*, PR1PL *kûrimo*, PR3PL *kûrijo*[f], LPN *kurȋlo* LPPLM *kurȋli/kürili*;
s·kusȋli LPPLM 'experience';
ljübit 'love', PR1SG *ljûbim*, LPF *ljûbila/ljübila/ljubȋla*;
mârit 'pay attention', PR3SG *mâri*, LPPLM *marȋli*;
mlätit 'thresh', PR1PL *mlätimo*, LPPLM *mlätili/mlatȋli*;
möjit 'pray', PR1PL *möjimo*, PR3PL *möjidu*[h], LPPLM *mojȋli*, LPPLFN *mojȋlę*;
*u·möril*i , *zmorȋli* LPPLM 'kill', PPN *umöręno*;
müčit 'torment', LPPLFN *mačȋlę* (1x);
nörit sę 'be mad', LPPLM *norȋli*;
nösit 'carry', PR2PL *nösitę*, PR3PL *nösidu*[h], *nosȋli/nösili*;
sęlȋli sę 'settle' LPPLM;
služȋla, *zaslužila* LPF 'serve', LPPLM *služȋli*;
ra·šȋrit 'extend', LPN *ręšȋrilo*, LPPLFN *poširȋlę*, PPN *ręšȋręno*;
sojȋli LPPLM 'salt';
za·trüdit sę 'exhaust oneself', LPM *zatrüdil*, LPPLFN *trudȋlę*;
za·vęrüžit 'fasten', LPPLM *zavęružili*;
vläčit/vlâčit 'harrow', PR3SG *povläči*, LPM *vlâčil*, LPPLM *vlačȋli*;
vözit 'drive', PR3SG *vözi*, LPN *vozȋlo*, LPPLM *vözili*;
žȋvit 'live', PR3SG *žîvi*, LPM *žȋvil*, LPF *žȋvila*, LPPLM *žȋvili/živȋli*;
end-stressed LP and PP:
z·męrȋli LPPLM 'measure', PPN *zmęrę̑no/zmę̑ręno*;
end-stressed PP:
sȓdit sę 'become angry', PR1SG *sȓdim*, PR1PL *sȓdimo*, LPM *zasȓdil*, LPPLM *rasȓdili*, PPINDM *sęrdît/sȓdit*, PPF *sęrdȋta/sȓdita*.

Class OE (3 verbs)
end-stressed LP:
po·têgnot 'pull', PR2SG *potêgnęš*, LPM *potêgnol*, LPPLM *potęgnüli*[h], IMP *potêgni*;
end-stressed PP:
cȓknot 'die', LPN *cȓknolo*, PPN *cęrknôto*;
s·mȓznę sę PR3SG 'freeze', LPN *smȓznolo*, PPN *smęrznôto*.

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Class ØE$_1$ (1 verb)
end-stressed PP:
plę̈st 'knit', PR3SG *plę̈tę*, PR1PL *plę̈tęmo*, PR3PL *splę̈tędu*^{h}, LPPLM *plę̈li*, PPF *splętêna*, *zaplętę̈na*, PPN *zaplętêno*.

Class ØE$_2$ (1 verb)
end-stressed PP:
rę̈č 'say', PR1SG *rę̈ko* (see § 2.3), LPM *rę̈kęl*, LPPLM *rę̈kli*, IMP *rę̈či*, PPN *ręčę̈no*.

4.3.3 More about subtype III/1

In § 4.3.2 the III/1 verbs were listed according to the parts of the paradigm that show end-stress (sometimes along with stem-stress). In the following table the numerical data will be summarized.

TABLE VI.9: subtype III/1 – which forms have end-stress?

	(PR)	LP	PP	LP and PP	IMP
AA	(0)	3	3		1
AE$_1$	(0)	1	1	2	
AE$_2$	(0)	2			
II	(0)	27	1 (→ (2) below	1	
OE	(0)	1	2		
ØE$_1$	(0)	0 (→ (2) below)	1		
ØE$_2$	(0)	0 (→ (2) below)	1		

The only figures that are statistically significant are those representing the attested instances of end-stress for the II verbs.

Remarks:

(1) The only II verb that has an end-stressed PP (but not an end-stressed LP) has an irregular PP ending: *sr̂dit sę* 'become angry', PR1SG *sr̂dim*, PR1PL *sr̂dimo*, LPM *zasr̂dil*, LPPLM *rasr̂dili*, PPINDM *sęrdît/sr̂dit*, PPF *sęrdîta/sr̂dita*;

(2) ØE$_1$ and ØE$_2$ verbs have no theme vowel in the LP. This excludes the possibility of end-stress.

For the majority of verbs the stressed vowel in stem-stressed forms is short. Exceptions are:

jâčit/jâčit 'sing', PR3SG *jâči*, PR3PL *jâčidu*^{h}, LPF *jačîla*, LPPLM *jačîli/jâčili*;

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kürit 'smoke', PR3SG *kûri*, PR1PL *kûrimo*, PR3PL *kûrijo*[f], LPN *kurìlo* LPPLM *kurìli/kürili*;
ljübit 'love', PR1SG *ljûbim*, LPF *ljûbila/ljübila/ljubìla*;
mârit 'pay attention', PR3SG *mâri*, LPPLM *marìli*;
môram 'have to', LPM *môral*, LPF *morȁla*, LPN *morȁlo*, LPPLM *morȁli*, LPPLFN *morȁlę/môralę*;
za·pìsat 'write', PR3SG *pîšę*, LPF *pisȁla*, LPPLM *pìsali*, PPN *zapìsano/spisôno*;
ot·prìmit, *prîmit* 'bring', PR3SG *prîmim*, *doprìmi*, LPPLM *doprìmili*, *ot-primìli*, IMP *prìmi*;
po·têgnot 'pull', PR2SG *potêgnęš*, LPM *potêgnol*, LPPLM *potęgnüli*[h], IMP *potêgni*;
žìvit 'live', PR3SG *žîvi*, LPM *žìvil*, LPF *žìvila*, LPPLM *žìvili/živìli*.

With the exception of *môram* and *po·têgnot* the stressed long vowel is *â*, *î* or *û*.

4.3.4 Subtype III/2 (end-stress in the PR)

For the majority of verbs of this subtype the ending seems to be the "normal" place of the stress. Of course not for all verbs all MACROFORMs (see I.6.3.2) have been attested and, as is usual in the dialect of Hi and Fe, stem-stress often occurs along with end-stress for the same form. Below the members of subtype III/2 will be listed according to whether or not the material contains MACROFORMs with only stem-stressed FORMs and if so, for which BOXes.

Class AA (4 verbs)

end-stress in every attested form, whether or not along with stem-stress (2 verbs):

z·gȍdat sę 'happen', PR3SG *zgodâ*, LPN *zgodȁlo/zgȍdalo*;
püščat 'let', PR1SG *puščôm,* PR3SG *puščâ,* PR3PL *puščȁdu*[h], *puščȁjo*[h], PPN *do·puščôno*.

stem-stressed LP attested, not along with end-stress (1 verb):

ìgrat sę 'play', PR1SG *igrôm*, PR3SG *igrâ*, PR1PL *igrômo*, PR3PL *igrȁjo*[f], *ìgradu*[h], LPPLM *ìgrali*, IMP *igrâj*, VN *igrônję*.

stem-stressed IMP attested, not along with end-stress (1 verb):

prę·štìmaj IMP 'imagine', PR1SG *štimôm*, PR2SG *štimâš*, LPM *štìmal*, IMP *štìmaj*.

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Class AE$_1$ (1 verb)

end-stress in every attested form, whether or not along with stem-stress:

žę̈rat 'eat (of animals)', PR3SG *žę̈rę*, PR3PL *žę̈rędu/žęrô*, LPM *nažę̈ral*, LPF *požęräla*, PPINDM *užęrôn*.

Class AI (8 verbs)

end-stress in every attested form, whether or not along with stem-stress (6 verbs):

bëžat^{f} 'run', PR1SG *bižîm*^{h}, PR2SG *bižîš*^{h}, PR3SG *bižî*^{h}, PR3PL *bęžę̂*^{f}, LPM *bïžal*^{h}, IMP *bižïtę*^{h};

blęjî PR3SG 'bleat', LPM *blęjäla*;

čučî PR3SG 'squat';

dïžat 'hold', PR2SG *dęržîš*, PR3SG *dęržî*, PR1PL *dęržïmo*, PR3PL *dęržę̂*, LPF *dęržäla*, LPPLM *dïžali*;

krïčat 'scream', PR3SG *kričî*, PR1PL *kričïmo*, PR3PL *kričę̂*;

lęžîm PR1SG 'lie', PR2SG *lęžîš*, PR3SG *lęžî*, PR1PL *lęžïmo*, LPF *lęžäla*, LPF *lęžäli/lę̈žali*;

stem-stressed LP attested, not along with end-stress (2 verbs):

böjat sę 'be afraid', PR1SG *bojîm*, PR2SG *bojîš*, PR3SG *bojî*, PR1PL *bojïmo*, PR2PL *bojïtę*, PR3PL *boję̂* LPF *böjala*, LPPLM *böjali*;

glę̈dat 'look', PR1SG *ględîm*, PR2SG *ględîš*, PR3SG *ględî*, PR1PL *ględïmo*, PR3PL *ględę̂*; LPF *glę̈dala*, LPPLM *glę̈dali*, LPPLFN *glę̈dalę*.

Class II (42 verbs)

end-stress in every attested form, whether or not along with stem-stress (36 verbs):

bojî PR3SG 'hurt', PR3PL *boję̂*, LPN *bojïlo*;

cürit 'stream', PR3SG *curî*, LPF *curïla*, LPN *curïlo*;

na·čïnjit 'make', PR1SG *načinjîm*, PR2SG *načinjîš* PR3SG *načinjî*, PR3PL *načinjïdu*^{h}, *načinję̂*^{hf}, LPF *načinjïla/načïnjila*, LPPLM *načinjïli/načïnjili*, PPF *pręnačïnjęna*, PPN *načïnjęno/načinję̈no/načinjêno*;

dušî 'smell' PR3SG;

fajî PR3SG 'be missing', LPPLM *fajïli*;

gęrmî PR3SG 'thunder', LPM *gęrmïlo*;

glušî PR3SG 'sound';

z·görit 'burn', PR3SG *gorî*, PR3PL *gorę̂*, LPM *zgöril*, LPN *zgorïlo*;

govörit 'talk', *guvörim*^{h}*/govorîm*^{f}, *guvöri*^{h}*/govorî*^{f}, *guvöridu*^{h}*/govorę̂*^{f}, LPPLM *govorïli*^{f}, LPPLFN *guvörilę*^{h}, PPN *guvöręnu*^{h};[10]

[10] In the Hi dialect this is a type I verb, in Fe it belongs to type III.

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grustî sę PR3SG (impersonal verb) '(probably:) be reluctant';
kipî PR3SG 'boil', LPF *kipi̇̀la*;
kösit 'mow', PR3SG *kösi/kosî*, PR3PL *kosę̂*, LPN *kösilo*, LPPLM *kosi̇̀li/kösili*;
küpit 'buy', PR3SG *küpi/kupî*, PR3PL *kupę̂*, LPPLM *kupi̇̀li* (this verb combines $ØE_3$ with II characteristics; only the II forms are taken into account here);
od·lętit 'fly away', PR3SG *lętî*, PR3PL *lętę̂*, LPN *lęti̇̀lo*;
męršę̂ sę PR3PL 'mate (of fish)';
na·močîm PR1SG 'moisten', PR3SG *namöči*, PR3PL *zamöčędu*^{h}, LPN *namočï̇̀lo*;
pęrdî PR3SG 'fart';
plätit 'pay', PR2SG *platîš*, PR3PL *plâtidu*^{h}, *platę̂*, LPPLM *plati̇̀li*;
u·präsi sę PR3SG 'bring forth young (of pigs)', PR3PL *prasę̂*;
pötit 'sweat', PR1SG *potîm*, PR3SG *potî*, PR3PL *pötidu*^{h}, LPM *spötil*;
püstit 'let', PR3SG *pustî*, PR3PL *pustę̂*, LPM *püstil*, LPPLM *pusti̇̀li*;
sädit 'plant', PR1SG *sadîm*, PR3SG *sadî/sädi*, PPN *posad'ę̈no*;
sędî PR3SG 'sit', LPM *sę̈dil*, LPPLM *sędi̇̀li*;
sęrbî PR3SG 'itch';
smęrdî PR3SG 'stink';
za·škurî sę PR3SG 'become dark';
šumî, *zašumî* PR3SG (*šumî mu* 'he is drunk'), LPN *zašumi̇̀lo*;
suzî sę PR3SG 'be silent';
o·šüšit 'dry', PR3SG *ošušî*, PR3PL *ošušę̂*;
tr̥pit 'suffer', PR3PL *tęrpę̂*, LPF *tęrpi̇̀la*, LPPLM *tęrpi̇̀li*;
s·töpjit 'heaten', PR1SG *stöpjim*, PR3SG *tuplî*, PR3PL *stöpję*, LPM *stöpjil*, LPF *stopji̇̀la*;
raz·ümit 'understand', PR1SG *razumîm*, PR2SG *razumîš*, PR3SG *razumî*, PR1PL *razumi̇̀mo*, PR2PL *razumi̇̀tę*, PR3PL *razumę̂*, LPF *razumi̇̀la*, LPPLM *razumi̇̀li*;
vę(l)jîm PR1SG 'say', PR2SG *vę(l)jîš*, PR3SG *vę(l)jî*, PR1PL *vę(l)jï̇̀mo*, PR3PL *vęję̂*;
vę̈sęlit sę 'be merry', PR3SG *vęsęlî*, LPPLM *vęsęli̇̀li*;
visî PR3SG 'hang', PR3PL *visę̂*, LPF *vi̇̀sila/visi̇̀la*, LPPLFN *visi̇̀lę*;
vüčit sę 'learn', PR1SG *navučîm*, PR2SG *navučîš*, PR3SG *navučî*, PR3PL *vučę̂*, LPM *navüčil*, LPF *navuči̇̀la/navüčila*, LPPLM *vuči̇̀li/navüčili*, LPPLFN *vuči̇̀lę*;
zvonî PR3SG *zvonę̂*, LPPLM *zvoni̇̀li*;
stem-stressed LP attested, not along with end-stress (1 verb):
grêšit 'sin', PR3SG *zagręšî*, LPM *grêšil*, LPPLM *zagrę̈šili*;

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stem-stressed PP attested, not along with end-stress (2 verbs):
na·rȍdit sę 'be born', PR3SG *narȍdi/narodî*, PR3PL *narodê*, *porȍdidu*^{h}, LPN *narȍdilo*, *zarodȉlo*, PPPLM *rȍjęni*;
o·žę̏njit sę 'marry', PR3SG *ožęnjî*, PR3PL *ožęnjê*, LPM *žę̏njil*, LPPLM *zęnjȉli*, PPINDM *ožę̏njęn*;
stem-stressed VN attested, not along with end-stress (1 verb):
bęrznjîš PR2SG 'hasten', VN *bȑznjenję*;
stem-stressed LP and VN attested, not along with end-stress (1 verb):
hęrnjî PR3SG '(probably:) snore', LPM *zahȑnjil*, VN *hȑnjęnję*.

Class ØE$_1$ (1 verb)
end-stress in every attested form, whether or not along with stem-stress:
dȍ·nęs 'bring', PR1SG *odnę̏sęm*, PR3SG *donę̏sę*, PR1PL *donę̏sęmo*, PR3PL *dunęsû*^{h}*/dunę̏sędu*^{h}, *nę̏sęjo*^{f}.

Class ØE$_2$ (1 verb)
end-stress in every attested form, whether or not along with stem-stress:
pę̏č 'bake', PR1SG *pę̏čęm*, PR3SG *pę̏čę*, PR1PL *pę̏čęmo*, PR3PL *pęčô*^{f}, PPF *pęčę̏na*.

4.3.5 More about subtype III/2

In the following table the numerical data with respect to the attestation of stem-stress will be summarized.

TABLE VI.10: subtype III/2 – how many verbs have forms with stem-stress (not along with end-stress)?

	LP	VN	LP +VN	IMP	PP
AA	1			1	
AE$_1$					
AI	2				
II	1	1	1		2
ØE$_1$					
ØE$_2$					

In forms with stem-stress the stressed vowel is short, with the exception of two II verbs:
grêšit 'sin', PR3SG *zagręšî*, LPM *grêšil*, LPPLM *zagrȅšili*;
plȁtit 'pay', PR2SG *platîš*, PR3PL *plâtidu*^{h}, *platê*, LPPLM *platȉli*.

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4.4 Type IV

AA (26 verbs)
za·bìjat 'hit', PR3SG *zabîja*, LPPLM *pobìjali*;
za·bȁvjat 'amuse', PR2SG *zabâvjaš*;
bìnčat/bînčat 'congratulate', PR1SG *bìnčam*, LPPLM *bìnčali*, VN *bìnčanję*;
do·bìvat/dobîvat 'obtain', LPM *dobìvali*;
čilìngat 'ring', LPM *čilîngal*;
na·čìnjat 'make', PR3SG *načìnja/načînja*, LPPLM *načìnjali*;
pri·dȁjat 'breastfeed', PR3SG *pridâja/pridȁja*;
pro·dȁvat 'sell', PR3SG *prodâva*, LPPLM *prodȁvali/prodâvali*, IMP *prodâvaj*;
dȕrat/dûrat 'last', PR3SG *dûra*, PR1PL *dûramo*, LPN *dȕralo*;
fâji sę PR3SG 'boast', LPM *pofȁjil*;
po·fȁrbat 'paint', PPINDM *pofȁrban*; -
pohȁd'at 'walk', PR3SG *pohâd'a*;
hȁjat 'visit', PR3SG *hâja*;
jȁdat sę 'be angry', PR3SG *jâda*, LPM *jȁdal*;
kȁpat 'dig', PR2SG *okȁpaš*, PR3SG *kâpa*, LPPLM *okȁpali*;
za·klâdat 'load', *sklȁdat*;
s·krìval LPM 'hide', PR3SG *pokrîva*;
mȅnjal LPM 'change', LPPLM *zamênjali*;
po·mìnat sę 'talk', PR1PL *pomìnamo/pomînamo*, LPM *pomìnal*;
u·mìvat 'wash', PR3SG *umîva*, VN *umîvanję*;
pìtat 'ask', PR3SG *pîta*, LPM *pìtal/pîtal*, IMP *pîtaj*;
s·prȁvjat 'prepare', PR1SG *sprâvjam*, PR3SG *sprȁvja*, LPM *sprâvjal*;
po·strȅjat 'shoot', *strêljat*, PR3SG *strêja*, LPPLM *postrȅjali/postrêjali*
z·râvnat 'level', *zarȁvnat*, LPM *narȁvnal*;
po·vêdat/povȅdat 'tell', PR3SG *povêda*, LPM *povêdal/povȅdal*, VN *zapovêdanję*;
+*vr-*: *obrȁčat* 'turn', PR3SG *obrâča*, LPN *obrȁčalo*, VN ISG *obrâčanjęm*.

AE$_1$ (14 verbs)
po·čę̑sat 'comb', PR2SG *počę̑šęš*, PR1PL *počêšęmo*;
fȕzat sę 'slip', PR3SG *fûžę*, LPM *fȕzal*;
gîbat/gìbat 'bend', PR3SG *gîbję*;
ìskat 'look for', PR3SG *îščę*, LPPLM *ìskali*, IMP *ìšči/zîšči*;
po·kȁzat 'show', PR3PL *kȁžędu/kâžędu*, LPM *pokȁzal*, IMP *pokȁš*;
lȁgat 'lie', PR3SG *lâžę/lȁžę*, LPM *lȁgal*, VN *lȁganję*;
lęsîčę sę 'lighten', LPN *lęsìkalo*;
mȁhat 'wave', PR3SG *mâšę*, VN *mȁhanję*;

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pühat 'blow', PR3SG *pûšę*, LPM *pühal*;
po·ščìpali LPPLM 'prick', PR3SG *ščîpję*, PPINDM *poščìpan*;
s·tìpat sę 'wander', PR2SG *stìpjęš*, PR3SG *stîpję*, *potîpję* (also AA: *potìpa*);
s·tìskat 'press', PR3SG *stîščę/stìščę*, LPM *stìskal*;
s·vêzat 'tie', PR1PL *svêžęmo*, LPM *zavêzal*, IMP *zavêži*, PPN *svèzano*, PPPLFN *zavêzanę*;
vü·žgat 'light', PR2SG *vüžgeš*, LPPLM *žgâli*.

II (18 verbs)
brüsit 'sharpen', PR3PL *brûsidu*, LPM *nabrüsil*, IMP *nabrüsi*, VN *brûsęnję*;
po·gäzit 'trample down', *gâzit*, PR3SG *gâzi*, LPF *nagäzila*, LPPLM *pogâzili/pogäzili*;
gnjâvit (lexical meaning unclear), PR3PL *gnjâvidu*[h], *gnävijo*[f], LPPLFN *gnjävilę*;
gospodärit 'rule', PR1PL *gospodârimo*;
za·grâdilę 'fence in', PPPLFN *zagrädęnę*;
jävit sę 'greet', PR3SG *jâvi*, PR3PL *jävidu*, LPPLM *jävili*, IMP *jävi*;
za·kfäčit 'turn on', PR3SG *zakväči*, LPM *zakväčil*, PPINDM *otkvâčęn*, PPPLFN *skväčęnę*;
za·krîviš 'do harm' PR2SG, LPM *zakrìvil*;
prę·krìžit sę 'cross oneself', PR3SG *prękrìži*, *krîži*, PPN *prękrìžęno*;
o·lädit sę 'catch a cold', PR2SG *olädiš*, LPM *olädil*, LPN *olâdilo*;
püzit 'climb', PR3SG *pûzi*, PR3PL *pûzidu*;
po·rüžjit 'hull (e.g. maize)', PR3SG *porûžji*, PR3PL *zrüžję*;
strêjit/strèjit 'shoot', LPLM *strêjili*;
svêtit/svètit 'shine', PR3SG *svêti/svèti*;
vädit sę 'quarrel', PR3SG *vâdi*, PR3PL *vädidu/vâdidu*, *vädę*, LPM *vädil*, LPPLM *vâdili*, VN *vädęnję*;
z·vräčit 'cure', PR3PL *zvrâčę*, LPM *zvräčil*, LPPLM *zvräčili*, VN *zvrâčęnję*;
žèjit 'wish', PR1SG *žêjim*, PR2SG *žèjiš*;
zi·žüjit 'pull out', PR3PL *žûjido*.

OE (4 verbs)
po·čìnot/počînot 'rest', LPF *počînola*, LPPLM *počìnoli*;
z·dîgnot/zdìgnot 'lift', PR3SG *zdîgnę/zdìgnę*, LPPLM *zdìgnoli*, IMP *zdìgni*;
koräknot 'walk', PR2SG *koräknęš*, LPM *korâknol*, IMP *koräkni*;
po·ždrôknot 'swallow', PR2SG *ždröknęš*, LPM *ždröknol*.

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ØE$_1$ (3 verbs)
ü·klas 'stack', PR3PL *uklädęjo*, LPPLM *naklȁli/naklâli*, PPN *uklôno*, VN *uklȁd'ęnję*;
krâst/krȁst 'steal', *ükras*, PR3SG *krȁdę/krâdę*, LPF *ukrȁla*;
pȍ·pas 'take hold of', *spâs* 'fall out', PR3SG *popȁdę*, LPF *popȁla*.

ØE$_2$ (1 verb)
tôč 'hit', PR3SG *tôčę*, LPPLM *tôkęl*, VN LSG *tȍčęnji*.

ØE$_3$ (6 verbs)
brȉt/brît 'shave', PR1SG *brȉjęm*, LPM *pȍdbril*;
z·gnjît 'rot', PR3SG *zgnjîję*, *gnjȉję*;
s·krȉt/skrît 'hide', PR2SG *skrȉjęš*, LPM *skrȉl*, LPN *skrȉlo*, PPN *zakrȉto*;
pît/pȉt 'drink', PR3SG *pîję/pȉję*, LPM *pîl*, *ȍpil*, IMP *napȉj*, PPINDM *napît*;
rût 'roar', PR3SG *rüję*, LPM *rûl*;
šȉt/šît 'sew', PR3SG *zišîję*, LPPLM *prišȉli*.

4.5 Diachronic observations on the accentuation types

In the present section we shall look at the correspondences between the generally accepted CSl accentuation types (a), (b) and (c) and the accentuation types of the verbs in the present-day dialect. In principle, the types (a), (b) and (c) are reflected as follows in the dialect of Hi and Fe:

TABLE VI.11: correspondences between CSl and Hi and Fe accentuation types

CSl type (a)	→ I, e.g. *dëlat*
CSl type (b)	→ III/1, e.g. *nȍsit*, PR2PL *nȍsitę*, LPPLM *nosȉli*
CSl type (c)	→ III/2, e.g. *tȑpit*, PR3PL *tęrpê*, LPPLM *tęrpȉli*

Remarks:

(1) Most of the correspondences found in the table can be understood if one takes into account what was said about the development of the dialect in I.7.2 and I.7.3.

(2) The table gives an idealized representation of the correspondences, from which the actual picture found in the dialect can deviate. I refer the reader to remark (4) in III.2.2.2.

(3) The verbs assigned to type II can be (i) verbs that did not belong to one of the three CSl types, e.g. loans; (ii) verbs with originally a sequence of **a* + nasal consonant in their stem; (iii) CSl (b) verbs for which no end-stressed FORMs have been attest-

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ed; especially if the stem-vowel was originally a long mid vowel, such verbs are liable to be assigned to type II; verbs with an originally long high or low stem-vowel tend to develop alternations or doublets long-short and to end up in type IV (see I.7.2 sub (a)); (iv) verbs that for other reasons do not fit into the picture presented in the table. Categories (iii) and (iv) can principally not been distinguished from each other.

(4) The verbs assigned to type IV can be (i) CSl type (b) verbs for which no end-stressed FORMs have been attested, especially with an originally long high or low stem-vowel (see above); (ii) verbs that for other reasons do not fit into the picture presented in the table.

5. Morphonemic rules

5.1 Class AE_1: palatalizations in the PR and IMP

In those forms that do not have a theme vowel ⟨a⟩ (viz. the PR and IMP), stem-final consonants change as follows:

Change	Example
s → *š*	*zapïsat* 'write down', PR2SG *zapîšęš*, IMP *spïši*;
h → *š*	*brę̈hat* 'cough', PR2SG *brę̈šę*, IMP *brę̈ši*;
t → *č*	*mę̈tat* 'put', PR3SG *mę̈čę*;
t → *šč*	*dr̈tat* 'tremble', PR2SG *dr̈ščęš*;[11]
k → *č*	*lęsïkalo sę* 'lighten' LPN, PR3SG *lęsîčę*;
sk → *šč*	*ïskat* 'look for', PR2SG *zîščęš*, IMP *ïšči*;
z → *ž*	*vêzat* 'tie', IMP *zavêži*; *pokäzat* 'show', IMP *pokäš pokäštę*;
(*d* → *d'*)	unfortunately no relevant forms (e.g. PR forms of *zïdat*) have been attested;
g → *ž*	*läga̧t* 'lie', PR3SG *läžę*;
r → *rj*	*örat* 'plough', PR3SG *örję*;
p → *pj*	*sklę̈pat* 'sharpen', PR2PL *klę̈pjętę*;
b → *bj*	*gïbat* 'bend', PR3SG *gîbję*;
m → *mj*	*polômat* 'break', PR1SG *lômjęm*; *znïmję* PR3SG 'take'.

Stem-final *j* does not change, e.g. *smę̈jat sę* 'laugh', PR3SG *smę̈ję*.

An exception to the rule *g* → *ž* is *vüžgat* 'light', PR2SG *vüžgęš*.

[11] In this example, *-t-* originates from *-ht-*.

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Consonants which are not mentioned above have not been attested in stem-final position.

5.2 Class AE_2: alternation ⟨ova⟩ → ⟨uj⟩ in the PR and IMP

Examples: *bantȍvat* 'bother', PR1SG *bantüjęm*, LPPLM *bantȍvali*; *sprobâlovali* LPPLM 'try', IMP *sprobâluj*; *vërovat* 'believe', PR1SG *vërujęm*, IMP *vëruj*.

5.3 Class II: variation between stem-final *n* and *nj* and stem-final *l*, *lj* and *j* in other forms than the PP

The phenomenon described in this subsection is one of variation, not of alternation. The variants concerned occur in the same forms of the same verbs. The variations are the following:

(1) *n* → *nj*, e.g. *gȍnjit* 'drive', PR3PL *gȍnjidu*, PR1SG *zgȍnili*; *napünit* 'fill', *zapünjit*, PR3PL *napünidu*;
(2) *l* → *lj* or *j*, e.g. *mĩslit* 'think', *mĩsljit*, *mĩsjit*;
(3) *lj* → *j*, e.g. *bêljit* 'whitewash', *pobêjit*, PR3SG *bêji*.

The stem-final consonants in (1) through (3) originate from non-palatalized **n* and **l*. It is not to be expected that similar variation will be found in stems ending in original **nj*, **lj* or **j*, e.g. *dȍjit* 'milk', LPPLM *dojĩli/dȍjili*. This is why the arrows in (1)-(3) point in one direction only.

Statements (1)-(3) above suggest that the situation can be described in terms of clear-cut rules. This, however, is not the case. The variants attested and the relative frequency of each of them in the material is different for the various verbs that meet the conditions for the variations. For example, for the verb *ožę̈njit* 'marry' only one attestation with *-n-* is present in the material (against many with *-nj-*), for *napünjit* 'fill' the material contains two attestations with *-nj-* (against 5 with *-n-*). In general, for those verbs which show variations (1)-(3), the attestations with *nj*, *lj* and *j* are far more numerous than those with *n* and *l*.

Some verbs show stem-final *n* or *l*, but none of the other variants. These verbs are few in number and each of them is represented by a small number of attested forms in the material (especially those with *l*). The verbs are: *zakësnit sę* 'be late', LPM *zakësnil*, LPN *zakësnilo*; *ozdę̈nit sę* 'get cold', LPF *ozdę̈nila*; *splȁznit* 'climb', LPPLM *plȁznili*; *zvonĩ*; *ufülit* 'become blind'; *vęsęlĩ* 'be merry'; *tę̈lit sę* 'calve'; *sęlĩli sę* 'settle' LPPLM.

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Many verbs with a stem-final **n* or **l* have been attested with only *nj*, *lj* or *j*. These verbs are often represented by large numbers of attested forms in the material. Examples: *vę(l)jîm* PR1SG 'say', PR3SG *vę(l)jî* (almost only with *-j-*), *strêljit* 'shoot', *strêjit*, LPM *strêjil*, LPPLM *strêjili*; *kônjim* PR1SG 'like', PR3SG *kônji*.

What we see here is probably a process of palatalization of stem-final *n* and *l* in II verbs which is taking place right now. The process does not have the same speed for all lexemes involved.[12]

5.4 Class II: palatalization of non-palatal stem-final consonants in the PP

In the PP the stem-final consonants change as follows:

Change	Example
s → *š*	PPN *znösęno* from *znösit* 'gather';
t → *ć*	PPN *hïćęno* from *hïtit* 'throw';[13]
st → *šč*	PPN *ščïščęno* from *ščïstit* ''clean';
d → *d'* or *j*	PPINDM *oläd'ęn* from *oläditsę* 'catch a cold'; *j* only in PPPLM *röjęni* from *narödit sę* 'be born';
r → *r*	PPN *govöręno* from *govörit* 'say', PPN *zmëręno* cf. LPPLM *zmęrïli* 'measure';
p → *p(l)j*	PPINDM *sköpljęn* PPPLM *sköpjęni*, cf. PR3PL *sköpę* 'castrate';
n → *nj*	*žęnïli sę* 'marry', PPINDM *ožęnjęn*;
l → *lj/j*	*razdëjit* 'divide', PPPLFN *razdëjęnę*.[14]

The PP of *prävit* and *stävit* (and compounds) is irregular. The attested forms are: PPINDM *oprävęn* PPF *oprävna* 'dress', PPN *stävno* PPPLFN *postävnę* 'put'. These are the only attested PP forms of verbs with a stem-final *v*.

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[12] Similar tendencies have been found in isolated II verbs with stem-final **d* and **ž*: *urêdjit* 'settle' (against many instances with *-d-*), *razrëdjit* 'thin out' (only attested form), *vęnôdjit* 'do what-d'ye-call-it' (no instances with *-d-*), *porüžjit* 'peel' (no instances with *-ž-*).

[13] This is one of the few occurrences of *ć*. In the dialect *-t-* generally alternates with *-č-* (see I.1.2 sub (2)). No other PP forms from II verbs with stem-final *-t-* (not *-st-*) have been attested.

[14] No attestations with *-lj-* and no attestations in which **l* is represented as *l*. This alternation is therefore more or less hypothetical. See also § 5.3.

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Non-palatal consonants which are not mentioned above have not been attested in stem-final position.

5.5 Class ØE$_1$: rise of the INF in *-s(t)*

ØE$_1$ verbs have a stem in *s*, *z*, *t*, *d* or *b*. The stems can be found in any PR form. In the INF the stem-final *t* or *d* change into *s*; after stem-final *b* an *s* is added.[15] As a result, the stem to which the INF ending ⟨t⟩ is added always ends in *s*. Adding of the INF ending is optional. Examples: PR3SG *plętę* 'plait', INF *splęst*; PR1SG *sędęm* 'sit down', INF *sęst*; PR3SG *grębę* 'scratch', INF *grępst*, *pögręps*.

In Fe, if the INF ending is added, it can be extended by *-i*, e.g. *vęrsti*[f] 'throw', *zrâsti*[f] 'grow'.

5.6 Class ØE$_2$: rise of the INF in *-č*

ØE$_2$ verbs have a stem in a velar consonant (no stems in *-h* attested). The stem can be found in the LP. In the INF the stem-final velar merges with the ⟨t⟩ of the ending into *č*. Examples: LPF *rękla* 'say', INF *rękč*; LPPLM *mögli* 'be able', INF *möč*.

In Fe the INF in *č* can be extended by *-t(i)*: *rękčt*, *rękčti*.

There is one verb with a stem-final velar to which the rule does not apply, viz. the LPM *vrgęl* 'put', INF *vrs*, *vrst*, *vrsti*[f].

5.7 Class ØE$_1$: drop of stem-final *t* and *d* in the LP

Stem-final *t* or *d* is dropped in all LP forms. Examples: PR1SG *sędęm* 'sit down', LPM *sęl*, LPPLM *sęli*; PR3SG *plętę* 'tie', LPM *plęl*, LPPLM *plęli*; PR3SG *râstę* 'grow', LPF *râsla*.

5.8 Class ØE$_1$ and ØE$_2$: insertion of *ę* in the LPM after a stem-final consonant

This rule is relevantly ordered after the one described in § 5.7. If the *l* of the LP endings is preceded by a consonant, an *ę* is inserted between stem and ending in the LPM. Examples: PR3SG *râstę* 'grow', LPF *râsla*, LPM *râsęl*; PR2SG *zêbęš* 'be cold', LPM *nazêbęl*; PR3SG *odnęsę* 'bring away', LPM *odnęsęl*; LPF *rękla* 'say', LPM *rękęl*; LPPLM *mögli* 'be able', LPM *mögęl*.

[15] Stem-final *z* automatically changes into *s* before the *t* of the INF ending. Stem-final *b* changes into *p* before *s*.

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5.9 Class ØE$_2$: palatalization of the stem-final velar in the PR, PP and VN

There is only one attested instance of a relevant VN form. The stem-final velars change as follows:

Change	Examples
k → *č*	LPF *vlêkla* 'pull', PR3SG *vlêčę*; LPF *rę̏kla* 'say', PR3SG *rę̏čę*, PPN *ręčę̏no*; *tôč* 'hit', VN LSG *tȍčenji*;
g → *ž*	LPM *vȑgęl* 'put', PR1SG *vȑžęm*, PR3PL *vȑžo*^{f}, PPINDM *vȑžęn*; LPM *lę̏gęl* 'lie down', PR3SG *lę̏žę*.

The verb *rę̏č* has an irregular PR1SG form *rę̏ko*^{f}, *rę̏ku*^{h} which functions as a historic present. About the PR of this verb see § 2.3.

There is one example of palatalization in the VN of a ØE$_1$ verb: *ȕklas* 'stack', VN *ukläd'ęnję*.

5.10 Class ØE$_2$: change of the stem-final velar in the IMP

The number of attested IMP forms is not great. There are three possibilities:

(1) *k* → *č* and *g* → *ž*;
(2) *k* → *c* and *g* → *z*;
(3) *k* and *g* remain unchanged. This possibility has only been attested in the endingless form *vȑg* 'throw away'.

More than one possibility can occur for the same verb. Stem-final *ž* and *z* are devoiced. The attested forms are:

With *k*: IMP *rę̏či*, *rę̏ci* 'say'; IMP *slêči* 'undress';
With *g*: IMP *pomȍži* 'help' ; IMP *dosêži* 'reach'; IMP *vȑš*, *vȑs*, *vȑg* 'throw away'.

5.11 Class ØE$_3$: insertion of *-j-* in the PR

It will not be discussed here whether the inserted *-j-* is distinctive (see II.3.3.5). Examples: *bȉt* 'hit', PR3SG *ubȉję*; *čȕt* 'hear', PR1SG *čȕjęm*.

6. Irregular verbs

There are 33 irregular verbs. The verbs and their relevant forms will be listed below. A few verbs with individual peculiarities have not been included in the list: *ȕdrit*, *kȕpit*, *skȍčit* and the compounds of *glę̏dat*

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(see § 1.3, remark (iv-v)), *rȩč* (see § 2.3), *glȩdat*, *püščat* (see § 2.4), *sr̈dit sȩ* (see § 2.6).

bï̈t 'be', PR1SG *sȩm*, PR2SG *sï̈*, PR3SG *jȩ̈*, *ȩ̈*, PR1PL *smö*, PR2PL *stȩ*, *sû*[h], *sô*[f], LPM *bîl*, LPF *bîla*, LPN *bîlo*, LPPLM *bîli*, LPPLFN *bîlȩ*, IMP *büdi*. Negated PR forms: 1SG *nês*, 2SG *nêsi*, 3SG *nê*, 1PL *nêsmo*, 2PL *nêstȩ*, 3PL *nêso*. 'Potential' present forms: 1SG *büdȩm*, 2SG *büdȩš*, *buš*, 3SG *büdȩ*, *bu*, 1PL *büdȩmo*, 2PL *büdȩtȩ*, 3PL *büdȩjo*[f], *büdȩdu*[h], *büdu*[hf]. See the Lexicon for examples of the usage of the various forms.

brât 'gather', *zabrât*, *zäbrat*, *pöbrat*, *zëbrat*, *zibrât*, PR1SG *pobȩ̈rȩm*, *bȩ̈rȩm*, PR3PL *bȩ̈rȩdu*[h], LPM *pöbral*, *zȩbrâl*[f], *zibrâl*[h], LPPLM *pobrâli*, IMP *pobȩ̈ri*.

za·čêt 'start', LPM *začnêl*, *zašnêl*, LPF *začnêla*, LPN *začêlo*, *počêlo*, LPPLM *začnêli*, *začêli*.

dä̈t 'give', *dât*, *däti*[f], *ü̈dat*, *prödȧt*, PR1SG *dôm*, PR2SG *dâš*, PR3SG *dâ*, *ü̈da/udâ*, *pröda/prodâ*, PR1PL *dômo*, PR3PL *dadû*[h], *dâdu*[h], *dajô*[f], *dâjo*[f], LPM *dâl*, *prödȧl*, LPF *dâla*, *ü̈dala*, *prödȧla*, IMP *dȩ̈j/dȩ̂j*[h], *dä̈j/dâj*[f].

zä·dȩt sȩ 'get entangled', PR3SG *zadȩ̈nȩ*, LPM *zä̈dȩl*, LPPLFN *zadȩ̈lȩ*.

+*id-*: *pôt* 'go', *dôt*, *zȩ̂jt*[h], *zâjt*[f], PR1SG *ï̈dȩm*, *pôdȩm*, *dôdȩm*, *ï̈du* (see also § 2.3), PR2SG *ï̈dȩš*, *pôdȩš*, *dôdȩš*, PR3SG *ï̈dȩ*, *pôdȩ*, *dôdȩ*, PR1PL *idȩ̈mo*, *zâjdȩmo*, PR2PL *idȩ̈tȩ*, *pôdȩtȩ*, PR3PL *idû*[h], *idô*[f], *idȩ̈jo*[f], *pôdȩdu*[h], *pôdo*[f], *pôdȩjo*[f], *dôdȩdu*[h], *dôdo*[f], LPM *ï̈šȩl*, *döšȩl*, *pröšȩl*, *näšȩl*, *zäšȩl*, LPF *ï̈šla*, *döšla*, *pröšla*, *näšla*, LPN *ï̈šlo*, *pröšlo*, *döšlo*, LPPLM *ï̈šli*, *döšli*, *pröšli*, *zäšli*, LPPLFN *döšlȩ*, *pröšlȩ*, IMP *pöj*, *pöjtȩ*, *dôdi*, *dôditȩ*. In Fe, additional LP forms have been attested: LPM *zâjgȩl*, *obäjgȩl*, *näjgȩl*, LPPLM *zâjgli*. Negated PR forms: 1SG *nêdȩm*, 3SG *nêdȩ*, 1PL *nêdȩmo*, 2PL *nêdȩtȩ*, 3PL *nêdȩdu*[h], *nêdo/nêdȩjo*[f].

ï̈mat 'have', PR1SG *ï̈mam*, PR2SG *ï̈maš*, PR3SG *ï̈ma*, PR1PL *imômo*, PR2PL *imätȩ*, PR3PL *imädu*[h], *imäjo*[f], LPM *ï̈mal*, LPF *imäla*, LPN *imälo*, LPPLM *imäli*, LPPLFN *imälȩ*. Negated PR forms: 1SG *nêmam*, PR2 SG *nêmaš*, PR3SG *nêma*, PR1PL *nêmamo*, PR2PL *nêmatȩ*, PR3PL *nêmadu*[h].

nä·jat 'pour out', PR1SG *näjȩm*, PR3SG *zâljȩ* (length and *-l-* uncertain), LPM *näjal*, LPF *näjala*, LPPLM *näjali*.

jês 'eat', *jêst*, *jêsti*[f], PR1SG *jêm*, PR2SG *jêš*, PR3SG *jê*, PR1PL *jêmo*, PR2PL *jêtȩ*, PR3PL *jêdu*, LPM *jël*, *pöjȩl*, LPF *jëla*, LPPLM *jëli*, *pojëli*, *ëli*, IMP *jëč*, *pojëč*, *ëč*, *ëčtȩ*.

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pri·jêt 'accept', *najêt*, LPM *prijêl*.

prö·kjętę 'curse' PPPLFN.

klat 'slaughter', *zäklat*, PR3SG *zakö(l)ję*, PR1PL *zaklädęmo*, PR3PL *zäkladu*^{h}, LPN *klälo*.

möč 'be able', PR1SG *möręm*, PR2SG *möręš*, PR3SG *mörę*, PR1PL *möręmo*, PR2PL *mörętę*, PR3PL *mörejo*^{f}, *mörędu*^{h}, LPM *mögęl*, LPF *mögla*, LPN *möglo*, LPPLM *mögli*, LPPLFN *möglę*; negated PR forms: 1SG *nę̈mręm*, 2SG *nę̈mręš*, 3SG *nę̈mrę*, 1PL *nę̈mręmo*, 2PL *nę̈mrętę*, 3PL *nę̈mrejo*^{f}, *nę̈mrędu*^{h}; the compound *pömoč/pômoč* 'help' is not IRR: PR1SG *pomöžęm*, LPN *pomöglo*, IMP *pomöži*.

mrêt 'die', PR1SG *ümręm*, PR2SG *ümręš*, PR3SG *ümrę*, PR3PL *ümrędo*^{f}, LPM *mrêl*, *ümręl*, *zämręl*, LPPLM *ümręli*, *mrêli*.

plêt 'weed', *splêt*, PR1PL *splïjęmo*, *plîjęmo*.

prât 'wash', *oprât*, PR1SG *pę̈ręm*, PR1PL *pę̈ręmo*, PR3PL *pę̈rędu*^{h}, *opę̈rejo*^{f}, LPF *oprâla*, *prâla*, PPN *oporôno* (sic, 1x).

o·prêt 'open', *zaprêt*, PR1SG *zaprïjęm*, PR1PL *otprïjęmo*, PR3PL *zaprîjejo*^{f}, *zaprïjejo*^{f}, *zaprîjo*^{f}, LPM *zaprêl*, LPF *otprëla*, IMP *zäpri*, PPN *zaprêto*, PPPLFN *otprêtę*.

scât 'piss', *pöscat*, PR3SG *ščïję*.

pö·slat 'send', PR1SG *šę̈jęm*, *šïjęm*, PR3SG *šę̈ję*, *šïję*, PR3PL *pošïjędu*^{h}, LPM *pöslal*, PPINDM *poslôn*.

smê 'be allowed' PR3SG, PR2PL *smêtę*, PR3PL *smêdu*^{h}, LPM *smël*, LPF *smëla*, LPN *smëlo*, LPPLM *smëli*. Negated PR forms: 1SG *nę̈ smim*, 2SG *nę̈ smiš*, 3SG *nę̈ smi*, 1PL *nę̈ smimo*, 3PL *nę̈ smijo*^{f}, *nę̈ smidu*^{h}.

spät 'sleep', PR1SG *spïjęm*, PR3PL *spïjędu*^{h}, IMP *spïtę*, LPPLM *zäspal/zaspâl*, LPF *spâla*, LPPLM *spâli*, LPPLFN *spâlę*, *zäspalę*, PPINDM *zaspôn*.

srât 'shit', *pösrat*, PR1SG *sę̈ręm*, LPF *posrâla*.

stät 'rise', *stât*, *östat*, PR1SG *stônęš*, PR3SG *stônę*, LPM *stäl/stâl*, *prę̈stal*, *östal*, *pöstal*, LPF *ostäla/ostâla*, IMP *stôni*, *ostôni*, PPDEFNSGM *zaostôni*. In the simplex verb and the compounds just given, when the stem-vowel ⟨a⟩ is stressed (in the INF and LP), it is more often short than long. With *dostât* 'get' it is the other way round: the ⟨a⟩ is almost always long. In the INF and LPM it is always stressed and long. The attested forms are: INF *dostât*, PR2SG *dostônęš*, PR1PL *dostônęmo*, PR3PL *dostônęjo*^{f}, LPM *dostâl*, LPF *dostâla/dostäla*, LPN *dostâlo*, LPPLM *dostâli/dostäli*.

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stât 'stand', PR3SG *stojî*, PR1PL *stojïmo*, PR3PL *stojê*, LPM *stâl*, LPN *stâlo*, LPPLM *stâli*, IMP *stôj*.

ra·strêt 'spread out', *nastrêt*, LPPLM *nastrêli*, *rastrêli*.

štât 'read', *prẹ̈štat*, PR1SG *štïjẹm*, *prẹ̈štem*, PR2SG *štïjẹš*, PR3SG *štïjẹ*, *prẹ̈šta*, PR1PL *štïjẹmo*, LPM *štäl*, *prẹ̈štal*, LPF *štâla*, *prẹ̈štala*, LPPLM *štâli*, *prẹ̈štali*, IMP *štï*.

štët 1. 'want', 2. future auxiliary, PR1SG *čü*, PR2SG *čẹ̈š*, PR3SG *čẹ̈*, PR1PL *čẹmo*, PR2PL *čẹ̈tẹ*, PR3PL *čẹ̈du*[h], *čẹjo*[f], *tẹ̈*[hf] (the PR forms are rarely stressed), LPM *štël/štêl*, *ščël*[f], LPF *štëla*, *ščëla*[f], LPN *štëlo*, LPPLM *štëli*. Negated PR forms: 1SG *nẹ̈š(č)u*, 2SG *nẹ̈š(č)ẹš*, 3SG *nẹ̈š(č)ẹ*, 1PL *nẹ̈š(č)ẹmo*, 2PL *nẹ̈š(č)ẹtẹ*, 3PL *nẹ̈šẹdu*, *nẹ̈(š)tẹ*.

po·vêm 'say' PR1SG, *zapovêm*, *povêš*, PR3SG *povê*, IMP *povëč*, *povëčtẹ*.

vïdẹt[f] 'see', PR1SG *vïdim*, PR2SG *vïdiš*, LPM *vïdẹl*[f], LPPLM *vïdẹli*[f]. In the Hi dialect this is not an IRR verb: INF *vïdit*[h], LPM *vïdil*[h], LPPLM *vïdili*[h].

zêt 'take', *znêt*[f], *zêti*[f], PR1SG *zëmẹm*, PR2SG *zëmeš*, *znëmẹš*[f], PR3SG *zëmẹ*, *znëmẹ*, PR1PL *zëmẹmo*, PR3PL *zëmẹdu*[h], *zëmẹjo*[f], *zëmo*[f], LPM *zêl*, *znêl*[f], LPF *zêla*, LPPLM *zêli*, *znêli*, LPPLFN *zêlẹ*, IMP *zëm*, *zẹ̈m*, *zëmtẹ*, *zẹ̈mtẹ*.

znät 'know', PR1SG *zôm*, PR2SG *znâš*, *pöznaš*, PR3SG *znâ*, *pözna*, PR1PL *znômo*, *pöznamo*, PR2PL *znâtẹ*, *pöznatẹ*, PR3PL *znädu*[h]/*znadû*[h], *znäjo*[f]/*znajô*[f]/*znadô*[f], LPM *znäl*, *pöznal*, LPF *znäla*, *pöznala*, LPPLM *znäli*; negated PR forms: 1SG *nẹ̈znam*, 2SG *nẹ̈znaš*, etc.

zvât 'call', PR3SG *zövẹ*, PR3PL *zövẹdu*[h], *zövo*[f], LPM *zvâl*, *pozvâl*, LPPLM *zvâli*, PPINDM *pozvôn*.

žẹ̈t 'mow', *pözẹt*, PR2SG *žẹ̈njẹš*, LPPLM *žẹ̈li*, PPN *požêto*.

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CHAPTER VII: NOTES ON SYNTAX

1. Introductory remarks

The present book concentrates on phonology, morphology and lexicon. However, in the course of my work I made notes of syntactic phenomena that for some or other reason seemed interesting. I think that it would be a waste of information to withhold these from the reader and therefore I shall present them in this chapter. No attempt will be made to be exhaustive or strictly systematic. Many observations will consist merely of one or more representative examples and a very brief comment. More extensive comment would require more material and further study.

The present chapter will also deal will the meaning and use of the prepositions and conjunctions (§§ 3 and 8.1, respectively). I thought that this was more appropriate than to treat every preposition and conjunction separately in the lexicon.

Those interested in the syntax of the dialect can find a considerable amount of raw material in the texts and in the lexicon.

As was announced in I.7.6.3, phonemic units in external sandhi position will be spelled according to the attested phonetic realization. In the forms from Hi, unaccented **o* will appear as *u*.

2. Use of the cases

2.1 Genitive

2.1.1 Object of negated *ïmat* 'have'

Examples: *jâ nêmam mêsa* 'I haven't got any meat', *nêmam kölcov* 'I haven't got any rings', *dùgo nêso imäli âm dęcê* 'they didn't have children for a long time, you know', *nêmatę zę̈mję* 'you haven't got any land', *nêmam vrëmęna* 'I haven't got any time'. The accusative can also be chosen: *čêr nêz jâ imäla* 'I didn't have a daughter', *nêma könję* 'he has no horses', *žę̈nu nêmaš?* 'haven't you got a wife?', *nêmam grêhę* 'I have no sins'. With other negated verbs the accusative is used, e.g. *nę pujêm mêsu* 'I don't eat meat', *pâjinku nę kühamo* 'we don't make liquor'. My material contains one exception to this: *vâkfi si ož blâga nę dęržę̂* 'people like that don't keep livestock yet'.

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2.1.2 Negated sentences: nonexistence, absence

Examples: *ȍvdę nê krâf* 'there are no cows here', *va vȍgęrskęm nê ustälu žïduvuf* 'there weren't/aren't any Jews left in Hungary', *vęč ga nê* 'he isn't there any more', *nî bilu mašîn* 'there were no machines', *nê žę̈nę kâ bi sę vâk s tȍbum mȍgla puguvȍrit, nê ję* 'there is no woman who could talk with you like this, there isn't', *va hïži nê slȍbud bït püškę* 'a gun is not allowed in the house', *tu nê bilu lâsi nïš* 'there was no hair at all there' (with GPL = NAPL, see III.8). Nominative instead of expected genitive in: *nê mîr* 'there is no peace'.

2.1.3 Positive and interrogative sentences: existence, presence

Examples: *ar Bȍga ję̈, mar i tî znâš da ję̈ ga* 'because God exists, you also know that he exists', *i sȑpa ję* 'there is a sickle, too', *ję̈ täkfoga mäka kaj mî jêmo* 'there is a kind of poppy that we eat', *dë ję käkfuga dëla?* 'where can I find any work?', *sad ję̈ âm täkfi mašîn* 'now you have that kind of machines, you know', *ję bilu va pęjtäba sêna* 'there was hay in the sheds', *ję̈ rîp, čüda* 'there is fish, in large quantities', *pȍ puji ję bîlu zę̈jcuf* 'there were hares in the fields', *kad ę bîlu čęrëšęnj* 'when there were cherries', *tî vërujęš da ję̈ pëkla?* 'do you believe that hell exists?', *ot tȍga ę bîlo pęnêz, nę̈?* 'there was (i.e. you got) money, out of that, didn't you?'. In the following sentence we first have the genitive, then the nominative (with agreement between subject and verb): *na kȍli ję bîlo püzę, (...) ję bîla püza* 'on the wheel there was a *puza*, there was a *puza*'.

2.1.4 Partitiveness

Examples: *ȍn njim ę znäl ëla ȍdnęst* 'he used to bring them food', *čę̈ ïmad dęcê* 'he will have children', *i ȍn ę ïmal dicê* 'he had children, too' *näjal ję tę̈bi va kȍpicu pîva* 'he poured some beer into your mug', *vodê ču dät kȍnjam* 'I'll give the horses some water', *brätam sęm si dâla pęnês* 'I gave my brothers money'.

2.1.5 Verbs governing the genitive

The only two attested instances are: *dëla si îščęm* 'I am looking for work', *sȍmi smu si zïskali svujêga krȍha* 'we earned our own living'.

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2.1.6 Possession

Examples: *drüguga sîna mi žęna i nâ ę s Hęčkura* 'my second son's wife is from Hegykő, too', *tö ję susëda brâzda* 'that is the neighbour's ackre'. For expressing possession, the dative is used more commonly than the genitive (see § 2.2.1). See also § 2.2.1 for a peculiar way of using a possessive pronoun in combination with a possessive adjective.

2.2 Dative

2.2.1 Possession

Examples: *mâlam dëcam töpankę* 'small children's shoes', *sęm jâ Märiški mäma* 'I am Mariška's mother', *tö sęn si brätu čïnjil* 'I did that for my brother', *drüguga sîna mi žęna i nâ ę s Hęčkura* 'my second son's wife is from Hegykő, too', *čirî môžu starjî* 'the parents of my daughter's husband', *krävi glâvu tôm vržęjo nütęr ali völu* 'you put a cow's or an ox's head into it', *tö ję mi starjûj sëstri môš* 'that is my oldest sister's husband', *njëgvuj žęni ję bräd mrêl* 'his wife's brother died', *jäpi brätu sîn* 'the son of his father's brother', *va hïžu męni* 'into my house'.

In the following two sentences the possessive pronoun is used in a manner one would not expect: *mojûj sęstrïnomu môžu* 'to my sister's husband', *möjęga* (stress uncertain) *jäpina sëstra* 'my uncle's sister'.

2.2.2 In contexts were one would have expected *k* + D

Examples: *ïdę stölu* 'he walks toward the table', *tûj sę udnęsę* 'it is brought to her', *pôt pöpu* 'to go to the priest'.

2.2.3 When indicating how long ago something is

Examples: *sad ur ę tömu pędęsêt pêd lê da sęm dufïca* 'I have now been a widow for 55 years', *čüda stô lêd ję ur tömu* 'that is already many centuries ago'.

2.2.4 As object of *vęjîm*, etc. 'call'

Examples: *käk sę vömu vęjî?* 'what is that called?', *vî käk guvöritę kükurici* 'what do you call maize (in your language)?'. Compare the following sentence in half-Hungarian: *hûšnak mêsu vęjïmo* 'hús (Hu for 'meat', dative) we call "meat"'.

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2.2.5 Miscellaneous

mẹ̏ni jẹ döšlu pǐsmu 'a letter came for me', *nẹ̏znam kaj njim ẹ* 'I don't know what is the matter with them', *tömu jẹ könẹdz bîlu* 'that came to an end', *si jẹ vȑgẹl brädi* 'he put it to his chin', *hǐži načǐnji kröva* 'he mends the roof of the house'.

2.3 Accusative

As was said in III.2.1.2, the ASG of masculine class Ia nouns and of masculine pronouns and adjectives is identical with the GSG if the noun is a direct object. Otherwise it is identical with the NSG. Examples with direct object: *döbruga glâsa ǐma* 'he has a good voice', *vǐllanja plâčamo* 'we pay electricity', *kökuš ima krâtkuga rẹ̏pa* 'a chicken has a short tail', *hǐži načǐnji kröva* 'he mends the roof of the house'.

With indirect object: *va Bôg vẹ̏rujẹš, nẹg va Marǐju nẹ* 'you believe in God, only not in Mary', *kad bi jâ pröšla za tfôj jäpu* 'if I should marry your father', *su mi jäpu utprǐmli za vẹnî, za katônuʰ* 'thay sent my father away to become ... er ... you know, a soldier'.

My material contains a few instances of ASG = GSG after a preposition: *za nörca/nöruga dẹ̏ržat/glẹ̏dat* 'take (a person) for a fool', *pröšẹl ẹ za pöpa/suldäta* 'he became a priest/soldier, *su mẹ udnẹ̏sli za suldäta, za katônuʰ* 'they took me away and made me a soldier', *ǐdẹm po döktura* 'I'm going for a doctor'.

There are also examples with unexpected ASG = NSG, most of them with *jẹ̏dẹn* 'one': *tî mẹ̏ni dâl jẹ̏dẹn förint* 'you gave me one forint', *ondẹ so nẹg jẹ̏dẹn krîž vȑgli* 'they only put one cross there', *jâ njẹ̏mu mörẹm jẹ̏dẹn vün hǐtit* 'I can throw one out to him' (in the same context *jẹ̏dnuga* was attested as well), *jẹ̏dẹn stöl su pristrêli* 'they set one more table (meaning of the verb not altogether certain)', *su säkumu dâli jẹ̏dẹn hôdʰ* 'everyone got one "hold" (0.57 hectares)', *tẹr si väg jẹ̏dẹn kômẹn vẹ̏rgẹl va prâvu rôku* 'and he took one stone (like this) in his right hand', *mî bi si mögli bîli zô nẹ pẹ̏nẹzẹ küpit jẹ̏dẹn žǐguli*ᶠ 'we would have been able to buy ourselves a Zhiguli for that kind of money'. Without *jẹ̏dẹn*: *vẹ̏li tanjêr jühẹ jê* 'he eats a large plate of soup', *dẹ̏j mi mîrʰ* 'leave me alone (lit. give me peace)', also *dẹ̏j mi mîraʰ*. In *vẹ̏li tanjêr jühẹ* one can, of course, wonder whether *vẹ̏li tanjêr* is a direct object or a measure.

In such prepositionless temporal expressions as *säki têdẹn* 'each week', *vẹs têdẹn* 'all week', *jẹ̏dnu ûru düžičku* 'for one hour' the ASG is identical with the NSG.

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Sometimes, especially with toponyms, a prepositionless accusative is found instead of expected *va/vu* + accusative, e.g. *pôt Šöpron* 'to go to Sopron', *ję ïšęl tütę Bëč* 'he went here to Vienna'.

2.4 Instrumental

When an instrument or another means is indicated, the instrumental is normally preceded by the preposition *s*, e.g. *z nôžęn sę rëžę* 'you cut with a knife', *z bïčęn zapüknut* 'to crack with a whip'. However, there are a few instances of an unexpected prepositionless instrumental: *ögnjęm*[1] 'with fire', *väkfęn sę plöbamu* 'with that we wear ourselves out'.

2.5 Locative

In contexts where one expects the prepositions *va/vu* or *na* + locative, sometimes a prepositionless locative is found. Examples: *jędnęm mësti* 'at one place', *drügęm mësti* 'at another place' (*na mësti* 'at the same place' also attested). This is particularly common with toponyms, e.g. *Šupröni* 'in Sopron', *Bęči* 'in Vienna' and with names of months, e.g. *Januhâri* 'in January'.

3. The prepositions

3.1 General remarks about prepositions

Some prepositions have been attested both with and without stress, others only without. If both the preposition and the word that follows it have a stressed vowel, the stress on the preposition is usually secondary. Sometimes the stress is retracted from the word following the preposition to the preposition itself. This very often happens with pronouns, e.g. *dö nas* 'before our time', but it can also happen with nouns, e.g. *dö nuči* ''until night'. Some prepositions have both a long and a short stressed variant. The choice between these variants is sometimes clear (e.g. *nä* before nouns and *nâ* before unstressed prepositions), sometimes it is not (e.g. *pö* and *pô*).

The final phoneme of the preposition is very often subject to sandhi rules, e.g. final *ä* and *â* become *ô* before a nasal, final *s* and *z* can be voiced, devoiced or palatalized under influence of the following pho-

[1] The informant tells how the skin of a killed animal is removed. I cannot give the rest of the sentence, because it is not altogether clear.

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neme. The orthography in the examples below will follow the phonetic realization.

The prepositions *męd*, *nad* and *pod* have special stressed forms *mędâ*, *nadâ* and *podâ*, which are used exclusively before unstressed personal and demonstrative pronouns. In the first and third person singular and plural this pronoun begins in *m-*, *n-* or *nj-* (IV.1.2-1.4), so that the final vowel of the preposition is subject to sandhi: *mędô*, *nadô*, *podô*.

3.2 List of prepositions

blîzu + G 'near, close to', e.g. *tâ pêdž ę blîzu tębę* 'that oven is close to you';

dö + G 'till', e.g. *dö nuči* 'until night', *do jûtra ję dëlala* 'she worked till daylight', *dö nas* 'before our time'; between two nouns in the G: *pô ręd ę ïšlu, hïžę do hïžę* 'it went in turns, one house after another';

iz + G 'out of, from', e.g. *iz zęmję* 'out of the earth', *is knjîk* 'from books', *iz gâcija* 'made of acacia wood';

k + D 'to, in the direction of', e.g. *k męni* 'to me', *pöj k vrâgu* 'go to the devil', *šętęmïnja pęč, büďę, k nadëji* 'to bake pastry, you know, for Sunday', *k nöči* 'by night', *onda pôdędu k mäši* 'then they go to mass';

kręz + G 'through, across', e.g. *kręs sęla* 'through the village', *kręz jęzęra* 'across the lake';

męd **1** + I 'between, among (location)', e.g. *męt sębum* 'among ourselves, yourselves, etc.', *męd vôgri žîvimo* 'we live among Hungarians', *męd brêgi* 'between the mountains';

męd **2** + A 'between, among (motion)', e.g. *męd jûdę* 'between the people (direction)', *nêdi mędô nję, ar sę štrâjtajo* 'don't meddle with them, because they are quarreling';

nä **1** + L 'on, to (location)', e.g. *nä tli* 'on the floor', *nä puji* 'in the field', *ur ę vïdid bilu na njêm da sę näpil* 'you could see by his appearance that he had drunk';

nä **2** + A 'on (direction)'; before an unstressed personal or demonstrative pronoun this preposition has the form *nâ*, if it is stressed and followed by a nasal it has the form *nô*; examples: *na öbęd vî kęj imätę* 'what do you have for dinner', *nô njęga* 'on him', *nâ tu ču sę näpit* 'I'll drink on that', *nâ ti brêk* 'on that mountain',

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nä̀ prudęj 'on sale', *nâ vu strônk* 'in that direction', *to vęjê i na jûdę* 'they say that about people as well';

nad + A 'against, towards (with aggressive purposes)', e.g. *ôn ę nad rûsę ïšęl* 'he fought against the Russians', *jâko ję nadô mę/nadâ tę* 'he is very much against me/you', *tęr vrâg nadô nji, nadâ ti Štêfę* 'then the devil walked towards him (menacingly), towards that Štefe (Mar [215])';

ö + L 'at (time of the day)', e.g. *u jędinę̈jsti* 'at eleven', *o sędmî möręš dôt* 'you can come at seven', *o tûj döbi si ti döšęl* 'you came at that time'. This preposition is also found in the combination *ö sębi* 'separately';

obęr + G 'over, above', e.g. *kaj ję obęr hïžę tö ję pöd* 'what is above the room, that is the ceiling', *ubęr glâvę* 'above his head'. This preposition also occurs in toponyms, e.g. *Ubęr Slônski Gôr* TOP. This preposition has also been attested with a secondary accent on the initial vowel (*u-* in Hi), e.g. *Ȍbęr Ložnî*[f] TOP, *Ȕbęr Slônski Gôr*[f], *Ȕbęr Puščâkuf*[f] TOP;

ȍd + G 'from, out of', *ud žęlëza* 'made of iron', *ud nę̈ba* 'from the sky', *si ȍd nas prȍšęl* 'you left us', *ȍd męnę* 'from me';

okol + G 'around, near', e.g. *pôt okol svêta* 'to travel around the world', *okol njïhovę hïžę* 'near their house';

pęlęg/pȍlęg + G 'next to', e.g. *pulęg mę̈nę* 'next to me', *pęlęg môža spât* 'to sleep next to one's husband', *ču pęlęk špȍrhęlta sę̈st tęr ču sę stȍpjit* 'I'll sit down near the cooking-range and warm myself', *polęg njî ję dȑžal* 'he chose their side';

***po* 1** + L 'after', e.g. *pu njêm/nêm/têm* 'after that';

***pȍ* 2** + L 'in, all over', e.g. *starïji su se puvâžali s pę̈ršinęm pu Šuprȍni, pu Bę̈či* 'the old folks/parents drove around in Sopron and Vienna to sell their parsley', *pȍ puji je bîlu zę̈jcuf* 'there were hares in the fields', *(..) dläku pu têli* 'hair all over his body';

***po* 3** + L 'through' *gę̈nuli su sę (...) pu lïpa gôri* 'they went (...) up through the lime-trees', *pu Humȍki ïdę* 'he walks through Homok';

***po* 4** + L 'on, over (body part affected by an action)', e.g. *tä̀g ę ušïknul vrâga pu glâvi (...)* 'he hit the devil so hard on his head (...) (Mar [187])', *začnêl ę ju pumȕcat pu ubräzi* 'he began to caress her face' (Mar [30]);

***po* 5** + L (unclear) 'in (a language/dialect)', e.g. *pu našêm* 'in our dialect', *pu rûsku* 'in Russian'; also *po näšę* 'in our dialect'; it is not clear what forms of the paradigm *rûsku* and *näšę* are;

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***po* 6** + L 'according to, concerning', e.g. *po môži šôgor* 'brother-in-law on the husband's side', *po krvi* '(related) by the blood', *pu ìmęni* 'by name', *mujêmu Bögu pu völji* 'according to my God's will';

***po* 7** + A '(to go) for', e.g. *pu vödu pôt* 'to go for water', *prösęl lìpu pu pęršin, pu mrkfu* 'he went nicely to get parsley and carrots';

***pô* 8** + A in various temporal expressions involving repetition, e.g. *nê lâzno pôt po säki dôn* 'I haven't got the time to go there every day', *pu zîmskę dužîčkę vęčęrę* 'during the long winter evenings', *pô ręd* 'in turn'. This preposition also occurs in such combinations as *pu drugôč* 'for the second time', *pu trętîč* 'for the third time';

***pod* 1** + I 'under (location)', e.g. *put têm drêvęm* 'under that tree', *tęžęk svêd ę êm bîl put Hörtięm* 'life was difficult under Horti', *put stônęm* 'under the house';

***pod* 2** + A 'under (direction)', e.g. *nastrêli smo pod blâgo slômu* 'we spread out straw under the animals', *jâ sęm pudô njęga sę rìnula* 'I shoved under him';

***pöd* 3** + A 'towards (temporal)', e.g. *pöd vęčęr* 'towards the evening';

***pręd* 1** + I 'before (time or location)', e.g. *pręd böjęm* 'before the war', *pręt têm* 'before that', *pręt stârum hìžum* 'in front of the old house';

***pręd* 2** + A 'before (direction)', e.g. *pręt hìžu* 'before the house (direction)', *prędâ sę svêžęmo* 'we tie it before us (of an apron)';

prêk + G 'through', e.g. *prêk tôga prösli* 'we passed through that'; *prêk* is more common as an adverb than as a preposition; when it is used as a preposition, it is more often than not combined with the adverb *prêk*, e.g. *pręk plöta sę prêk oględat* 'to look over the fence', *prig murjâ prìk* 'across the sea'; see also § 3.3;

pręz + G 'without', e.g. *pręz dëla* 'without work', *pręs sęgâ* 'without anything', *pręs söji* 'without salt';

prì/pi + L 'by, near, with', *prì nas* 'in our home/village/country, etc.', *prì vas* 'in your home/village/country, etc.', *pri crîkfi* 'near the church', *küpica va rôki bîla pri zôbi* 'he held the glass in his hand to his mouth', *pi stöli* 'at the table', *pi obëdi* 'at dinner', *pi vrâti* 'at the door', *ję têri pri hìži ustônę* 'some stay and live at (their parents') home (of newly wed people)';

***s/zęs*[f]*/zis*[hf]** (and sandhi variants) + G 'from, out of', e.g. *s tôga žîvidu* 'they live from that', *zis pöja* 'from the land', *zęs köžę* 'made of leather', *zi zęmljê zvìra* 'it pours out of the ground (of spring-water)', *zi sôda* 'out of the barrel', *š njęga* 'from that';

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***s/zęs*[f]*/zis*[hf]** + I 'with', e.g. *z mujêm sînęm* 'with my son', *s kösum* 'with a scythe', *zi sřpum* 'with a sickle', *zi sêm* 'with everything', *zęš njïmi* 'with them', *ziš čônęm* 'by boat';

spruti + D 'compared to'; only one attestation: *spruti nôm* 'compared to us';

***va*[hf]*/vu*[f]*/vâ*[hf]*/vû*[hf] 1** + A 'into', e.g. *va kàvu vřgla* 'she put it into the coffee', *va hïžu mę̀ni* 'into my house', *vû ti mę̀lin* 'into that mill', *vû to vèrujo* 'they believe in that', ; the stressed vowel is sometimes short, e.g. *vù ni stôn* 'into that house', *và vi stôn* 'into this house', *vù ti nôvi nâčin* 'in that new manner';

***va*[hf]*/vu*[f] 2** + L 'in', e.g. *va štàli* 'in the stable', *vu sę̀li* 'in the village'; one attestation where the preposition is stressed: *si mïsli vù sębi* 'he thinks within himself';

***za/zâ* 1** + I 'behind', *za hïžum* 'behind the house', *ję̀dęn ę bil tàkuf töljkav zô męnum* 'one was so fond of me';

***za/zâ* 2** + A 'behind', e.g. *kada sôncę štèlu zâjt za brêgę* 'when the sun was on the verge of disappearing behind the mountains'; also in expressions involving marriage, e.g. *zô njęga ę ščèla pôt* 'she wanted to marry him', *nêsi döšla zô mę* 'you didn't marry me', *nêdęn zâ tę* 'I won't marry you';

***za* 3** + A 'about', e.g. *pomïnamo sę za sę̀* 'we talk about everything, *za dèlu je döšlu* 'the conversation turned to work';

***za/zâ* 4** + A 'for, in favour of', *Bôg ję nam zâ to dâl sêdmoga dôna, da onda nê trêb dèlat* 'God gave us the seventh day so that then we wouldn't have to work', *jâ ču nęg döma möjit, zâ vas* 'I'll only sit at home and pray, for you';

***za/zâ* 5** + A '(in exchange) for, in order to obtain, in the quality of', e.g. *kulïku pinês sęm dâla zô nj* 'how much money I gave for him', *za pïnęzę* 'for money', *zâ vo smo žę̀li dvâ têdnę* 'for that we mowed two weeks', *zêt čęš si ju za žę̀nu* 'you will take her as your wife', *jâ sęn sîm döšla kud za snèhu* 'I came here as a daughter-in-law';

***za* 5** + A 'in (a day/week, etc.), (a day/week, etc.) later', *za trî dnï* 'in three days', *za dę̀sęt lêt* 'ten years from now';

zvùna + G 'outside'; this word was found only once as preposition in my material: *zvùna sę̀la* 'outside the village'.

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3.3 Prepositions used in combination with adverbs

Sometimes when one expects a preposition a combination of a preposition and an adverb is used: *od zȩ̈mlje vùni* 'out of the earth', *na oblȯ̈ki vùni* 'out of the window', *jȩ̈dna pȩjtäba, čïstu pȩleg našê blïzu* 'a shed, quite close to ours', *s Fȩlȩ̈jtȩruvum prïk* 'opposite to Felejterova's house', *s crîkvum prïk* 'opposite to the church'.

3.4 Absence of prepositions

Sometimes an expected preposition is omitted and a prepositionless inflected form occurs. I refer the reader to §§ 2.2.2, 2.3 (last paragraph), 2.4 and 2.5.

4. Use of verb forms

Sometimes an expected PR form of *bït* 'be' (either as copula or auxiliary verb) is omitted. Examples: *nâ vȩ̈la* 'she is big', *to mȯ̈ji starjî govorïli* 'my parents used to say that', *jâ guvurïla njȩ̈mu* 'I said to him', *tȯ̈ tȩ̈šku* 'that is difficult, *mȩ̈ni trî lïtȩrȩ dunȩ̈sȩl* 'he brought me three liters', *tȯ̈ drȯ̈gu* 'that is a different thing', *jâ vȯ̈ zaslȯ̈žila* 'I deserved that', *jâ sîm dȯ̈šla* 'I came here', *tî mȩ̈ni dâl jȩ̈dȩn fȯ̈rint* 'you gave me one forint', *jâ prȯ̈šla crîkfu* 'I went to church', *tȯ̈ bîl grȯ̈f* 'there was a count here'.

The material contains one instance of what could be considered a perfect tense with the auxiliary *ïmat* 'have': *jâ imam otprêto mȩlïna ... tî ïmaš mȩ̈lina otprêto* 'I opened a mill/have an opened mil ... you opened a mill/have an opened mill' (reference is made to the "merils" game, see the Lexicon under *mȩlïnkat*).

5. Agreement

If numerals (indefinite or definite) that govern the GPL are in subject position they take a verbal predicate in the neuter singular, e.g. *ar ȩ̈ bîlo dȯ̈z dȩläčov* 'because there were enough workers', *kulïku mlâdi ȯ̈mrȩ!* 'how many young people die!', *čȯ̈da jȯ̈di jȩ bîlu* 'there were many people', *mȩ̈nȩ ȩ̈ vulïku prȯ̈silu da čȩ mȩ zêt* 'so many asked me and said they would take me (as their wife)', *pêt jȩ nas vâkfi stâri žên* 'there are five of us, such old women as I am myself'.

The SG forms of the collective *dȩ̈ca* 'children' take an attributive modifier in the feminine singular an a verbal complement in the PLFN, e.g. *dȩ̈nȩz-zȯ̈tra budo dȩ̈ca mi vïdȩlȩ* 'today or tomorrow my children

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will see it', *dëca nêsu bîlę va rêdu* 'the children were not all right', *ovâ dëca so sę vučilę* 'these children learned', *stujê sädašnja dëca* 'children cost a lot nowadays', *njëgva dëca ur nę̈ znadu* 'his children don't remember'. My material contains one exception with a PLM L-participle: *nêso döbro tâ dëca pìsali* 'those children didn't write properly'. There is a DPL *dicôm*[h], *dęcôm*[f], *dëcam*[f], which takes PL modifiers, e.g. *vîm dęcôm*[f] 'to these children', *mâlam dëcam töpankę*[f] 'shoes for small children'.

The substantively used adjective *žę̈nsko* 'woman' takes a neuter predicate, e.g. *žę̈nsku pę̈rvę nê kurìlu*[h] 'in former times a woman didn't smoke'.

6. Impersonal and passive sentences

In §§ 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 we have already seen a number of impersonal constructions. In this section I shall give some more examples: *pręs tôga sę nę̈mrę žïvit* 'without that one can't live', *sköru nê bilu sônca vïdit* 'you couldn't almost see the sun' (cf. § 2.1.2), *mę̈ni ję ję vę̈lu vïdit; tę̈bi nę̈* 'on me you can see them (veins) very well, on you you can't'.

In passive sentences with *sę* the logical object is in the nominative (which is different in some varieties of Serbo-Croatian), e.g.*môra sę löjtra vrs* 'we must put up a ladder', *kat sę jê öbęt* 'when you eat lunch', *zę̈mja kat sę zörję, onda sę puvläči* 'when you plough the soil you pull'.

7. Elliptic sentences

There seems to be a considerable freedom to omit (part of) the predicate in contexts in which the interlocutor can easily fill it in. Examples: *vö bîl pütur, vaj, ali mî sïra nę̈* 'that was butter, *vaj* (Hu), but we didn't (make) cheese', *z nôžęn sę krûh* 'with a knife bread (is cut)', *nę̈šę čluvëka* 'it won't (attack) a human being (about wild boars)', *i njû ę slöbut* 'that one, too, you are allowed (to eat) (about fish)', *čü tę po trübi* 'I'm going to (hit) you on the face', *čę naz Bôk* 'God will (punish) us', *tö si slêči, tęr si nö čistô rühu* 'take that off and (put on) clean clothes'.

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8. Conjunctions and compound sentences

8.1 List of conjunctions

a 'and, but', e.g. *pôdę va jędnu hïžu, a tü ję jüs ta Märku stâl* 'he walks into a house, and that was just where that Marko happened to live', *a tâ Märku ględî ga, a vęjî* 'and Marko looks at him and says', *tî si šnędjdęr, a i jâ sęn šnędjder* 'you're a tailor, but I'm a tailor, too'; this conjunction occurs very often as the first word of the sentence in narrative texts, for examples see Mar [passim];

ako 'if', e.g. *aku kô hupädę nütęr čę sę zatöpjit* 'if somebody falls in he will drown', *aku ję dòbru vrêmę* 'if the weather is good';

***äli* 1** 'or', e.g. *drügi dôn ali trëti dôn* 'the second or third day', *ali va lôg, ali näkfu lïpu sinôkušu (...) ali na vödu* 'either into the wood or a beautiful hay-field (...) or to the water';

***äli* 2** 'but', e.g. *möręš dôt, ali znôm da nędšęž östat* 'you can come, but I know you won't stay', *ti vö nêsi vrêdęn da tę jâ punüdim, ali napïj sę* 'you don't deserve my treating you, but drink as much as you want';

alj 'or'; only one attested instance: *alj na kômęni, alj väk ču ga nabrüsit* 'I'll either sharpen it on a stone or just like that';

ar 'for, because', e.g. *jâ ur vędž nę môram möljit, ar jâ nêmam grêhę* 'I don't have to pray any more, for I have no sins', *sat čę mrêt, ar ę ur žôt* 'he'll die soon, because he's already yellow';

***da* 1** 'that', e.g. *mïsjin da čę dôt* 'I think he'll come', *njîm pîšę da nędka mędni büdędu döbri* 'he writes them that they must be good to me', *säd ę čędkal da tę ga zvät* 'now he waited for them to invite him';

***da* 2** '(so) that, in order that', e.g. *pot strëhu sęm stäl da sę nę namôčim* 'I went under the eaves so that I shouldn't get wet', *da büdę znäl* 'in order that he knows';

***da* 3** 'if, if only, may (in wish)', e.g. *rêdž na nę rędčęš* 'don't say a word', in combination with *bi*: *da bi*, *dab*, *dap* , e.g. *da bi tędbę strëla ubïla/dap tę strëla ubïla* '(lit.) may you be killed by lightning', *da bi tędbę sakramędntski vrâg zêl* '(lit.) may the godforsaken devil take you', *dab nôm guspudârstvu bîlu ustälu* 'if only they had left us our estate', *dab njim nędb bili mögli bili na hïžu pömoč ož nędb bili imali hïžu* 'if we hadn't been able to help them to buy a house, they wouldn't have a house';

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dönjęk/dônjęk 1 'so long as', 2 (almost always in combination with *nę*) 'until' e.g. 1 *dönjęk su tê zvêzdę tütę, dönjęg jâ vërujęm* 'as long as those stars are here, I believe' (latter *dönjęk* was an adverb), *dönjęg ję vâk, nęšę mrêt* 'as long as he looks like this he won't die'; 2 *dônjęk sę užęnjil* 'until he married', *jâ ču tę dônjęk häblat dônjęk nę budęš cŕknul* 'I'll hit you so long until you die' (the first *dônjęk* was an adverb);

dövęk/dövjęk same as *dönjęk/dônjęk*, e.g. *dövęk tę nês pöznal, si bil tûji* 'until I knew you, you were a stranger', *dövęg ę si jäčil, döbru vöju ję ïmal* 'as long as he sang, he could keep his spirits up';

i 'and, and/or even'; the most common equivalent for 'and' is *pak* (also *a*, which has a slightly different meaning); *i* is in most cases an adverb with the meaning 'also' or 'even'; the adverb *i* occurs very often in combination with *ož* and *pak*; examples of *i* used as a conjunction: *bîla ję pręnačïnjęna pętkrat i šęstkrat* 'it was rebuilt five times or even six times', *na pêt dôn, na dvâ têdnę i na mësęc dôn* 'for five days, for two weeks or even a month', *su hudïli ut pläcę jûdi (...) pumïnat, hârtat i čüdakrat pït* 'the people came in from the street to chat, play cards and often to drink';

jęli, li 'whether, if'; *jęli* is often used in combination with *da*; examples: *nêso bili gvîšni va njêm da ôn jęli ję žïdov ali nę* 'they weren't certain about him whether he was a Jew or not', *nęznam jęli razumïtę* 'I don't know if you understand', *vrâg ur nê znal da jęli vrâg ali jęli nê vrag* 'the devil didn't know any more if he was a devil or not' (Mar [237]), *môramu ga puględat ję li ję mrêl* 'we must have a look at him and see whether he died'; *li* has only been attested twice, once as a conjunction and once as a particle; both instances are preceded by a PR form of the auxiliary verb for the future tense *štêt*: *kad už jędnûdž dôdęž na Hędęšîn, nęznan ču li bid žîva* 'if you'll come again to Hidegség, I don't know if I'll be still alive', *čęž li dôd uš sîm?* 'will you come here again?';

kad/ka/kada 'when'; when followed by *bi*: 'if', e.g. *ka dêtę spïję* 'when a child is asleep', *kad nâz zaköpadu* 'when they'll bury us', *ka ję tö fŕtik* 'when that is done', *kada ur dügu övu bîlu väk* 'when this had lasted a long time', *kad bi jâ mlâda bîla* 'if I were young', *kęj bi tfoja žęna dëlala z nim drâgim mâlimi kad tî vędž nęp pröšęl dumôm?* 'what would your wife do with those dear children if you wouldn't come home any more?';

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kod 'as', e.g. *už i säd ę mę jübil, kud bäbu* 'even now he still loved me, as an old woman', *kud bi bîli bräti* 'as if they were brothers', *jâ sęm kut tî* 'I am as old as you are', *döbro-döbro ję̈, ali tâg döbro nê kod ę gödina* (about irrigation) 'it's all right, but it isn't as good as rain', *ovî korostâj kod mî* 'the same generation as we';

nęg 'than', *da čę môj sîn pr̈vę mrêd nęk jâ* 'that my son would die before me', *tâ ima vę̈č pômęti nęg vî* 'he has more sense than you', *tö ję dräga kaj je glïbję nęg drügdęr* 'a *draga* is a place that is deeper than elsewhere';

nę̈ka indicates that something is desirable; it can often be translated with 'that', 'let' or 'in order that', e.g. *kô ję tę̈bi rę̈kęl nę̈ka (...) sîm ïdęš tî k mę̈ni?* 'who told you that you should come here to me?', *mę̈nę nïkur nę̈ka nę bantüję* 'let nobody bother me', *nę̈šu jêz da mu pumöžęn na drügęn svêtu* 'I shan't eat in order to help him in the hereafter';

ni/nit 'neither, nor'; only two attestations: *nâs šköli nêsu vüčili hurvâtski nïš, ni va crîkfi nę̈* 'they didn't teach us any Croatian at school, nor in church', *ni čęrjênę, nid blêdę* 'neither red nor pink ones';

pak 'and'; this is the most common word for 'and'; examples: *jâ pag vî* 'me and you', *käpat pag dëlat* 'to dig and work', *tö vïdim, da si jäči pag vęlïji* 'I see that you're stronger and bigger'; in contrastive contexts this conjunction is sometimes not the first word of the clause, e.g. *sïm vr̈žęm papêrnę, sïm pag drôbnę* 'I put the paper money here and the change there', *na vî drêva so čęrëšnję, na tî so jäbukę, na tî pag rüškę* 'in this tree there are cherries, in those grapes and in those pears';

pę̈dig 'but, however, though', e.g. *nę̈mręm pôt, pę̈dig bi möral pôd, ę rę̈kęl döktur*[h] 'I can't go, though I should, the doctor said';

pokidôb 'now that', e.g. *pukidôb si vö učïnjil* 'now that you've done this', *pukidôb ję övu väk* 'now that it is like this';

pötęgzęm 'since', e.g. *pötęgzęm ę téesz nę̈ma nïkur güskę* 'since the kolkhoz was founded nobody has geese any more', *pötęgzęm ovdë stojïmo* 'since we live here';

s têm 'the (better, more, etc.)'; two attestations, one in combination with *ako*, one with *s kêm*: *aku je ṣtäriję s têm ję böję* 'the older, the better', *s kêm ę mônję jûdi s têm ę böję* 'the fewer people, the better';

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tęr 'and; and then', e.g. *tęr ôn tu puklëknę tęr mölji*[h] 'then he kneels down here and prays'.

8.2 Characteristic occurrence of antecedents

The dialect remarkably often has an antecedent for a subordinate clause in cases where in the standard language and in other varieties of Serbo-Croatian one would not expect one.[2] Examples: *šôgur nęk tö vęjî, da njęmu ję ur sęjędno* 'my brother-in-law only says that it doesn't make any difference to him', *tö su mu guvörili, nęka ïdę dumôm* 'they told him to go home', *zâkęj ti męni nêsi rękęl övu, da sę smê i pučïnut?* 'why didn't you tell me that we are also allowed to rest?', *onî nüki ję li znadô tö da onê stârę kolïko so sę zô nję trudïlę pag mučïlę?* 'do these young people know how those old women worked and slaved for their sake?', *tö nês razumïla kęj si mi säd rękęl* 'I didn't understand what you said just now', *tęr ę mę vęk tö pïtal, da jâ kâg govörim* 'and he immediately asked me what I was speaking', *tö ję mu srëča, da mašïnę rädo vïdi* 'it's lucky for him that he likes machines', *zâto ję nörc, ar sę dâ zmäzat* 'he is a fool, because people can easily deceive him', *Bôg ję nam zâto dâl sêdmoga dôna, da onda nê trêb dëlat* 'God gave us a seventh day so that we don't have to work then', *jâ ču ti täg rękč kut sę pumînamu* 'I'll say it the way we speak', *sad ur ę tömu pędęsêt pêd lê da sęm dufïca* '(lit.) it's already fifty years that I'm a widow' (see also § 2.2.3).

There are also examples with characteristic antecedents for other elements than subordinate clauses: *mî täg vęjimu hurvâtski mî: ôkulę* 'in Croatian we say *okule* (glasses)', *onda čęš tî tö rękčti: stôj!* 'then you'll say "stop!"', *täg vönjaš kut tôri*, '(lit.) you stink like polecats', *täk si mïzęk kot svînja* 'you're as dirty as a pig', *vôga klêpca väkfi trî jûdi nęmredu zdïgnut kud jâ* 'three men my size will not be able to lift this hammer'.

Another characteristic construction is the one in which the main clause (with a postponed antecedent) follows the relative clause, e.g. *möju čêr kî ję zêl, ôn ę męni zęt* 'the man who married my daughter is my son-in-law'; *kî nôž ę ... nê öštęr ôn ę tôp* 'a knife that is ... isn't sharp is blunt'.

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[2] This is undoubtedly due to Hungarian influence, e.g. *azt mondja, hogy...* 'he says that...' (*mondja* means 'he says', *hogy* is the conjunction 'that', *azt* is the accusative of *az* 'that, it').

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DIALECT TEXTS

Hidegség: The story of Marko

This story was recorded in 1988. The narrator is Horváth Ferenc, then 68 years of age. The text was published earlier in Houtzagers 1991. There one can find more details and a full translation into German.

Strictly speaking, these are two separate stories:
(a) about Marko, a tailor of Fertőhomok, his wife Vera and a devil who wants to take her away ([1]-[202]);
(b) about the miller's man Štefe who chases away a devil from the mill at Cenk ([203]-[276]).

The narrator concludes by telling something about himself ([277]-[286]).

[1]-[5] Introduction: how the narrator heard the story himself.

[1] Hurvâtska štôrnica. Va štôrnica, va ję tàk stàra ûr, da ud jâku stàruga vrèmęna ję ustàla nô nas, òvdę nâ vę hurvàtę, a nìkur u nę̏ zna va sę̏li nęg jâ sôm. Nô mę ję tàg ustàla, da môj jàpa ję ìmal ję̏dnuga bràta, têri ję šnę̏jdęr bil. [2] Vômu šnę̏jdęru su hudìli ut plàcę jûdi pu zîmskę dužîčkę vę̏čęrę pumìnat, hârtat i čùdakrat pìt, męlìnkat, nurìju fêrat, stôrnicę govòrit. [3] Čùdakrat tàkuv dìm mògęl bìt, da bi bîl mògęl sę nôž zàbuz va dìm, tęr bi bîl òstal va dìmi. A jâ kud mâli dičâk sęm òvu mògęl pôt puslùšat, pak tê stârę bačìję, jûdę, glę̏dat. [4] Hât štôrnicu su puvêdali za vrâg pag za Màrku, a jâ sęn zìval òndęn, tęr sęn tàk puslùšal, tęr vàg ę ustàla nô mę, vàk sęn sę ja òvu navùčil. [5] Aku sę bùdęm mřvu, pâr minût, zàdęl va štôrnici, to mi nòtę prę̏glę̏dat, ar ę jâku dùžička va štôrnica, pag i jâ sęm ur šęzdęsêt òsam lêt stàr, tęr nê sę̏ nô misli čluvèku, zabìję sę.

[6]-[13] The principal characters are introduced: a devil, Marko (a tailor of Fertőhomok) and his beautiful wife Vera.

[6] A tàk sę pupàla vâ štôrnica va sôsędskęm sę̏li,[1] pòldruk kilomę̏tęrę od našêga sę̏la, i tò ję hurvâtsku sę̏lu. Òndę ę žìvil jędęn Màrku, kî ję bil šnę̏jdęr. Ta Màrku ta ę imal jâku lîpu žę̏nu. [7] Tàg lîpu žę̏nu ję ìmal, da na krajìni nê bilu tàkfę žę̏nskę, têra bi sę bîla pęlęg njê mògla vrs. A pag bîl ę jędęn vrâg, têri ję vę̏lig vrâg bîl,[2] sôm ut pèkla puslôn. [8] Tâ ję nègdę òndę pi Bàlatuni, òndęn *Uraiújfaluba*, sę̏l dôli na zę̏mju. Ar òndę mu ję bil bràt, a i ôn ę bîl vrâg. A i ôv bràt ję

[1] Reference is made to Fe.

[2] In this text, the word *vrâg* 'devil' is often used in the metaphorical sense.

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mu jâku lîpu žẹ̑nu ìmal, tâ vrâg. [9] A ôv nâž vrâg, za kôga budę štôrnica, jâku ję jùbil lîpę žẹ̑nskę. Àli hurvàti su bîli vi vrâzi, ut hurvâtskuga kòręna su bîli ròjęni, tęr su hurvâtskę sêla ìskali nęk. [10] I ôf sę mògęl òdnud utstìpat na pêt dôn, na dvâ têdnę, i na mèsęc dôn. Ali sẹ̑ nęk hurvâtskę sêla ję ìskal. Vag ję jędnûdž zàšęl sìm na Hòmuk, dè ję tâ Màrku žìvil. [11] Hât ònda tẹ̑žęk svêd ę bîl, nê bilu pinês, dèla nê bîlu, tẹ̑šku su jûdi žìvili. Tęr i ôv vrâg ę nęg òtu ìmal kęj si ę mògęl ùkras, s tòga ję žìvil. Hât pu Humòki ìdę, to su bili dòbri jûdi va têm sẹ̑li. [12] Pôdę va jẹ̑dnu hìžu, a tù ję jùs ta Màrku stâl. Vò ję ur jâku zdàvnu bilo, čùda stô lêd ję ur tòmu, ali hìža Màrkina i sàd jẹ̑ uš. [13] Bîla ję prẹnačìnjęna pẹ̑tkrat i šẹ̑stkrat, čùdakrad, ali i sàd, ako jẹ̑dna žẹ̑na ìdę tôm, "Dè si bîla?" su ju pìtali, tęr vęjî: "Pi Màrkini." "Kôm ìdęš?" "Màrkinim ìdęm." Tâ hìža i sàd už jẹ̑.

[14]-[31] The devil arrives at Fertőhomok and enters the home of Marko and Vera. He says that he is a tailor, too, and looking for work. The devil and Vera are attracted to each other. The devil reveals his true identity and, to convince Marko and Vera, for a moment exchanges his human shape for a devilish one.

[14] Hât ònda vrâg pôdę nùtęr vû tu hìžu, trẹ̑fi. Zàvdal ę dòbruga dôna, tęr vęjî: "Dèla si îščęm, nẹ̑mrętę mi dad dèla?" A tâ Màrku ględî ga, a vęjî: "Kẹ̑j bi tî znàl dèlat?" [15] Vęjî: "Jâ sęn šnẹ̑jdęr." "Tî si šnẹ̑jdęr?" vęjî Màrku, "hât tò ti ję stôlęc, sẹ̑di ònda. Glẹ̑č" vęjî, "i jâ sęn šnẹ̑jdęr. Àli, hât, tàk stujî dèlu, da i jâ nêmam dèla, nêmadu jûdi pinês. [16] Kàk ču ti dàd dèla?" Tęr vęjî vrâg, da hâd: "Jâ bi mògęl i drùgačę dèlu dèlat." "A kẹ̑j bi znàl ti dèlat?" Vęjî vrâg Màrkuju: "Jâ? Sakurjàčku dèlu, tàkfuga dèla nê, kęj ja nẹ̑b mogęl učìnjit. [17] Pag jâ tulìku mòręm učìnjit, kut tàkfi jûdi tî sędamdęsêt pêt." A Màrku sę začnêl smèjat. "A kẹ̑j tî štimâž" vęjî, "da čęž mẹ̑nę za nòrca glẹ̑dat?" vęjî, "kàg mòręm jâ tò mìslit? [18] Tò vìdim, da si jàči pag vęlìji, da vẹ̑dž moręž nęg jâ, ali da sędamdęsêt štìrkrat vędž nęg jâ, pag drùgi jûdi, tò sę nẹ̑mrę vèruvat. Àli nęk sẹ̑di zô nu. [19] Dònęš ču ti mr̂vu vìna. Na vr̂ti òndęn ìmam jâ šęzdęsêt pêt tr̂suf grôzja, òtu mi mr̂vu vìna dâ." Tęr ę hât Màrku donẹ̑sęl mr̂vu vìna va nèkakvęm plęhênęm lônčički, ònda uš stèkla i bîlu nê. [20] Tęr hât nàjal ję mu, vęji: "Napîj sę," a Màrku ję zakrìknul žẹ̑ni: "Vèra, hòdi, gòsta imômu!" Hâd za pâr minût utprìję vrâta Vèra. [21] Vrâgu jùs kùpica va rôki bîla pri zôbi, štèl sę nàpit. Kad ę tû Vèru pàmęd zêl, ta kùpica mu ustàla pri zôbi, tęr nęg ględî, ględî, ględî. [22] I Vèra ę glẹ̑dala, a pàmęd ę zêla da jâku ju ględî. Hât kada ur dùgu òvu bîlu vàk, tęr Vèra si rìnę rôku, "Jâ sęm šnẹ̑jdęrica" vęjî. [23] Vęjî vrâg: – si dâ rôku – "A jâ sęm pak

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Fȅręnc Dȍlki." Tęr hât su sę spȍznali, had začnêli su sę pumìnat. Àli tû Vèru ję nęg vêkę glȅdal. [24] I vrâg ę ę̂m bil lîp člȍvęk, vakuv visôki, râvęn, mlâd, čęjêni člȍvęk. I Vèri sę vìdil, glȅdala ję ga i Vèra, i Màrku ję pȁmęd zêl, da sę vômu člȕvèku njȅgva žȅna jâku vìdi. [25] Had na tên sę i nê muglu čȕdit, ar had nâ ję bila lîpa, Vèra. Hât, dȍbru ję, zȍpęd nęg za dèlu ję dȍšlu nȅjpęr, da kulìku on mȍrę učìnjit, vędž nęk sędamdęsêt pêd jûdi, tęr su sę začnêli nęk smèjati, Màrku pak Vèra. [26] Hât ȍnda vęjî: "Da čȅtę mȅ zismèjat? Jâ nêz ę̂m tȁkuv člȍvęg" vęjî, "kud vî." Mar vęjî Màrku: "Tȍ vìdim da si vęlìji, jâk, mlât člȍvęk." [27] "Ali nȅ tag" vęjî, "jâ sęm jędęn vrâg." A Vèra sę začnêla jâku smèjat: "A vrâg? Vrâzi su mȑski, nêsu tȁkfi lîpi jûdi kut tî. [28] Nî ìmadu rêpa, pag onda rȍgę, pag dlȁku pu têli, pak kȍnskę nȍgę." Hât, kak su sę zâ vu pumìnali, vrâg ę sę pręmènjil na vrâg. [29] Dustâl ę rȍgę mâlę, rêpa vȅluga, kȍnskę nȍgę, pȍtkuvę, tęr sę stȁl. Vèra zahujìknula, šnȅjdęr sę tȁk pręstrȁšil, kęj ę bilu vìnu va lȍnčički, to ję sę zlèjal. [30] Hât Vèra štèla bìžad vȕn, a nê si mȍgla vrâta utprêt, tȁk sę pręstrȁšila. Hâd vrâg ę vìdil da fȁjęnu, vę̂k sę pręmènjil nȅjzad' na lîp člȍvęk, tęr ę Vèri kurâknul, začnêl ę ju pumȕcat pu ubrȁzi, a nâ ję hujìkala, ję sę jâku bȍjala. [31] Da nȅka sę nę bujî, ôn ę vȁkuv člȍvęk. Nȁ hât, dȍbru ję. Vȍ ję bîlu, tęr su sę vî nęk jâku čȕdili na vêm. Hât, dȁję su sę nęk pumìnali, nȁjali su si, napìli su sę.

[32]-[36] Marko says that there is no work for tailors at the moment. They decide to go to count Széchenyi and offer him their services as mowers.

[32] Tęr vęjî vrâg, had: "Dȅ ję kȁkfuga dèla? Bâr kȁkfu dèlu daj, čęmu pôt." Tęr vęjî Màrku: "Znâš kęj? – Ali kȅj čęmu mi dvèmi mȍdž učìnjit? – Tȕ ję *Széchenyi* grȍf na Cȅnki. [33] Ta ìma mrâznę tȁblę zȑnja, šęnìca, hȑži. Žȅtfa ję, sȁd bi sę mȍglu žęt. Àli mî dvèmi kȅj čęmu pȍžęt?" Ȍnda už nê bîlu mašìnuf, pag i kȍsuv nȅ, nęk s sȑpi su jûdi žȅli. [34] "Tî sę zâtu nȅj" vęjî ta vrâg. Vęjî: tȍ ję njȅgva skȑp. "Mî čęmu pȍd žęt. Tî nęg mȅnę utpȅji." [35] A Vèra sę na vrâti, na kjȕčuvuj škȕji, kȕjcala. Na sę tȁk pręstrȁšila, mȑvu ję bîla už nâ, tęr ę prȍšla. [36] Hâd vî su sę sprȁvili, gènuli su sę, vȕdȅj na Hędęšìn,[3] tęr pu lîpa gôri, dȅ su tê *Széchenyi* grȍfu tȁblę. Hâd mrâznę šęnìcę, mrâznę šęnìcę tȁblę su ȍndęn.

[3] *Hędęšìn* (Hi, where the story-teller lives) is on the way from Fe to Cenk.

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[37]-65] The count has his doubts about the strange duo, but finally employs them. They will be paid in corn: they can take as much as they can carry at a time. They spend several days sharpening sickles, then the devil mows and takes away almost all the count's corn.

[37] Jędnûdž nęg vìdidu: òdnud ud kaštęja, ut Cęnka, na hìntuvi, vòzi sę gròf. Ję dòšęl zȑnja uglêdat, a jûdi ję ur ìmal sędamdęsêt pêt, tî su bili scènjęni žęt. [38] Na tęr hât, vî su ga zustàvili, vęjî vrâg, da: "Mî bi žęli," da "Nò nas najêd na žętfu." No vęjî, ôn ur ìma jûdi sędamdęsêt pêt, ali "Vî čętę už mòdž mędô nję stàt." [39] "Nę" vęjî vrâg, "mî čęmu nęk òsębi žęt." Tęr tâ gròv vak ględî: "Kęj čętę vî dvèmi pòžęt? Dvâ jûdi sę nęmręду pòpaz žęt." "Tî sę zâtu nęj." "Had, dòbru ję, čętę sę pòpas, tęr čętę dèlat." [40] A tęr "Kęj budę vam hât za dèlu plâča?" A vrâg vęjî: "Nôm ę to dòs, kęj si mòręmu òdnęs." Vęjî gròf: "Kàk, kęj si mòrętę òdnęs?" [41] "Hât kad bûdęmu žęli, dvâ snòpę, jâ ču si trî òdnęs, tò ję nôm dòs." Hât tâ gròv nęg mâšę z glâvum: kęj imâ ôn vò, vò s nèkakfimi tòjkami sę stręfil.[4] "Hâd dòbru" vęjî, "čętę sę pòpaž žęt." [42] Òndę bil jędęm mâli lôg, pi Gjęšęv žęlęžnìci.[5] Hâd nàkręj trèti dôn, ur ę sôncę štèlu zęjt na nębi dôli, ìdę gròf puględat, da jęli su sę hât pupàli žęt, kulìku su pužęli. [43] (Ar zȑnję už nê bîlu ònda gôn čìstu zrèlu,[6] kad ę ôn vê jûdę scènjil. Àli tò njim ę rękęl, da nęka sę nęk pupàdędu. "Tî i nàk nętę ... dvèmi kęj tę tî pòžęt? [44] Čę zȑnję dônjęk, šęnìca zazrèjat.") Hâd dôdę, zâjdę tôm, ònda su už nęk sȑpę klępali, trèti dôn! "Kęj vî dèlatę? Vî sad uš trèti dôn už vêkę nęk sȑpę klępjętę, už nêstę žęli nìš!" [45] Vęjî: "A kô čę z vìmi sȑpi žęt?" "Ô" vęjî vrâg, "vô už màlu sȑpuf, uš čę sȑpuv òvdę bìt už jâko čùda jęzêr sȑpuv." "A kô čę s tìmi žęt? Vî nęg dvèmi stę." [46] "Z vìmi tę už i si vrâzi žęt, tî sę nâj zâ tu futêrat." Hâd vęjî: "Čìstitę sę, męni nęšętę ... vi òvdę męnę za nòruga ględat, pòjtę nęk, jâ vàs nę prôham, nęšętę žęt." [47] Hâd gròv ę ję ustàvil, tęr im ę zapuvèdal, da nę smidu žęt. Vęjî vrâg Màrkuju: "Pòj dumôm, ręci Vèri, nęka nan dunęsę jês. [48] A tî, tî sę zâ tu nâj." Òndę ję zašumìlu, ar ę vrâg udlętil nèkam *Szentgotthárd.* Onda donęsęl zòpęd dvęjsęt pêd jęzêr sȑpuf. [49] Tî su ur sklępani bîli. Ar òndę *Szentgotthárdi*, òndę va fabrìki, òndę zòpęd jędęn vrâg bîl, kî ję bîl fabrìki pęjâč. (Ar i òndа su vrâzi pęjali fabrìkę, kut sàd, pa òndа i *pártę* i *téeszę* i sę i òndа tàkfu bîlu). [50] A tulìku sȑpuv ę dunęsęl, tî su bîli ur sklępani. Hâd ìdę

[4] The text on the tape is: *vò nèkakfę tòjkami* (or *tòjka mi*) *sę stręfil*, which must be a mistake.

[5] *GySEV*: Győr-Sopron-Ebenfurt Vasút (the Győr-Sopron-Ebenfurt railway).

[6] *gônc* = Ge. *ganz*. Final *-c* was dropped before *č-*.

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drùgi dôn jûtru tâ gròf zis tìmi sędamdęsêt pêd jûdi. Z vàkfami vêliki rògami ... vòli, nî su ję vòzili, pak su njîm rògi ìšli sìm tôm, na lîvu strônk pag na prâvu strônk.[7] [51] Hât zę̂jdę ôn pr̂vuj tàbli gròf a vìdi: Vò pužêtu! I skùpa ję znòšęnu, i va rękâša ję. Drùga tàbla, i nâ ję pužêta. Idû dàję, i ònu ję pužêtu. I nâ pêta tàbla ję pužêta, sę ur va rękâša va ... va àstaga. [52] Hâd zâjdę tôm žęlęznìci dè su vî dvèmi bîli, vî su òndę sidìli. Hat ôn sę jâku prestràšil. Kę̂j sę sad vò zgòdalu? [53] Čę̂ra ję ôn bil òvdę, kada sôncę štèlu zâjt za brêgę, ònda uš sę̂ zr̂nję stâlu. A dènęz jûtru ur sę̂ ur pužêtu i uklônu ję, va križìčę, pag onda va àstagę. Hâd vęjî îm da: "Kęj sę òvdę sad zgudàlu?" [54] "Tî sę s tîm nę̂j futêrat" vęjî vrâg, "ję ti pužêtu? Si zaduvòjęn?" Hâd vęjî: "Sę̂m, ali vò nę̂znam kak ču si mìslit, kę̂j sę ję òvdę sad zgòdalu." Na vêm si ti nìš nę̂j mìslit." [55] Hâd vęjî: "Ònda nòsitę si kęj sęn van dôžęn, kak smo sę scènjili." Hâd dòbru ję, Màrku si ję zêl dvâ snòpę šęnìcę, put pôzu ję̂dęn snòp, pud balugàstu rôku zòpęd ję̂dęn snòp. [56] A vrâg ję ìmal jędnę vêlikę vìlę, têrę su imàlę tridę̂sęt sę̂dam mę̂tęruf dùžičkę rògę, štìri rògę. Skòčil ę tâ na ję̂dęn šęnìčni àstag, òndę ję bila tômu gròfu sa šęnìca. [57] Štìri ję̂zęru i sę̂damstô križìčuf šęnìcę ę bilu va têm vêlikęn kùpi. Hât tâ vrâg ę tê vêlikę vìlę pòpal, tridę̂sęt sę̂dam mę̂tęruf dùžičkę rògę, [58] stàl ę nô nję, zadèlę su sę va zę̂mji, ònda òžuž dvâkrat pìknul, pròšlę su va zę̂mju, skòči dôli – bùdę vrâg ę ìmal i vrâžu môč – zdìgnę. Tâ sà šęnìca, [59] štìristô jęzêr križìčuf. (Ję̂dęn krìžidž ę prì nas dvę̂jsęt snòpi). Štìristô ję̂zęrukrat dvę̂jsęt snòpi. [60] Tęr ę zdìgnul, ònda už vìlę, kak su va zę̂mju pròšlę, onda tulìku zę̂mję zêlę su gôri vìlę, da ję tàkfa škùja pustàla, da òndę bîlu pùno vudê, vę̂g du gôta vòda. [61] Tęr vęjî Màrkuju tâ vrâg: "No sad idę̂mu." Hâd gènuli su sę nùdę̂j, prìk tęr prìk, ud lîpuf, pu râli, idû a gòspun sę ... tâ gròf sę jâku začnêl plàkat, jâku sę plàkal. [62] Da sàt su mu sù šęnìcu udnę̂sli, on nêma ję̂dnu bètfu šęnìcę. Tâ vrâg ę napìknul sù. Tęr idû, nàkfa râl ę bîla. Vęjî Màrku vrâgu: "A stôj hâd" vęjî, "čęmu sę pučìnud mr̂vu," ar mu ję tę̂šku bîlu, ni dvâ snòpi. [63] A vęjî tâ vrâg, a vęjî: "Kęj" vęjî, "i pučìnut sę smê?" A vęjî: "Nę̂j bit zjàlav" vęjî, "zâkęj sę nę̂p smèlu pučìnut?" [64] A vrâg puslùša, tęr vęjî: "A da bi tę̂bę strèla ubìla! Zâkęj ti mę̂ni nêsi rę̂kęl òvu, da sę smê i pučìnut?" "Hat tî to nêsi znàl?" "Nę hâd" vęjî, kad bi ôn bi znàl! "A zâkęj?" [65] Ôn bi bil i drùguga rękâša napìknul, va kêm ę hr̂ž bîla! "Ijő!" Tâ Màrku sę

[7] *lîvu* 'left' was borrowed from the neighbouring Čakavian dialects, the Hi word would be *bàlugastu*.

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začnêl čùdit. "Hìti" vęjî, "tê dvâ snòpę, to nê trêp, tęr hòdi pęlęg mę̏nę." Vrâg ę udnę̏sęl to zȑnję na Hòmuk.

[66]-[89] With some trouble they succeed in threshing and storing the enormous quantity of corn they acquired.

[66] Hâd ôn dvôr ę tag bil pùn, ondę tulìku zȑnja bîlu, sę nê mòglu gènut ut plàcę, sę nê moglu Màrkinim pôd nùtęr va dvôr. A dòvjęk sęn sad puvèdal, ònda ču kišnìję dàję.[8] [67] Hât, òndę smu nàkręj ... ustàvili, da tâ Màrkin dvôr ję jâku bil pùn zȑnja. Hat òndę tulìku šęnìcę bîlu, da sę nê muglu ut pęjtàbę pôt va stôn nę̏jpęr, nęk čìstu pęlęk stênę ùzbuk sę murâlu tak pôd, da ję zȑnję brùsilu čluvèka. [68] Hâd vęjî Màrku vrâgu: "Tî Fę̏ręnc" vęjî, "kę̏j čęmu sad z uvum šęnìcum?" Òvdę sę nèkęj dèlad murâlu. Hâd vęjî vrâg: "Hat mašinâzuvat sę môra, mlàtit sę môra. [69] Ali dè ję òvdęn mašìnę? Kô ìma mašìnu?" Hâd vęjî Màrku: "Mašìnę ję̏ va sę̏li, môramu ju pôt pròsit, tęr čę̏du ju dât. Àli kô čę ju rę̏nut? Nęk štìrmi mòrędu nęg rę̏nut, a mî smu dvèmi [70] A tulìku zȑnja zismašinâzuvat, už i Sę̏ svęti tę bìt, už nę̏ bu zmašinâzuvanu." Hâd vęjî vrâg Màrkuju: "Ti sę zòpęd zâ vu nę̏j stàrat. Vò ję mòja skrp." [71] Hat pôdędu pròsid mašìnu, lîpu su ju pròsili, dâli su njim. Vò su nèkak tę̏šku dunę̏sli tôm, udzâd' va pęjtàbu, tęr su ju sprubâluvali. Vęjî Màrku, da jâku tę̏šku ìdę. [72] "Tò mi nę̏mręmu dvèmi ubràčat." Had vrâg ę sprubâluval. Tàg ę ju narę̏nul, tû mašìnu sôm, ali ònak, da tâ mašìna ję ìšla, ìšla. [73] I vrâg ę pròšęl, i nùtęr su pròšli Vèri, i nę̏jzad' su dòšli, mašìna už vêkę ìšla. Nò, ònda Màrku vìdil: "Òvdę nę̏ bu fâjęnu, vò čę pôt." Hâd, dòbru ję, pupàli su sę mlàtit. [74] Hâd vrâg ubrâča tû mašìnu, tô zȑnję curî, lîpa, tôsta šęnìca. Hâd Màrkuju sę napùnilu kęj ję ìmal vrèčę, làdicę, humbâri, pag mèricę, had nê bilu vędž mèsta. Kôm čę sad vâ šęnìca pôt? [75] A už nê bilu vìdit, da su sę pupàli mašìnat. Tęr hât vęjî vrâg: "Znâš kęj, Màrku, tu ję̏dna pęjtàba, čìstu pęlęg našê blìzu, va susèdi, tû pęjtàbu sę môra pròsit. [76] Tęr mu sę môra dât šęnìcę, tômu susèdu, lîpu nęka ščìsti tû pęjtàbu, tęr čę tôm šęnìca cùrid nùtęr va ję̏dnuj vêlikuj cêfi. Jâ ču òvdęn ubràčad" vęjî, [77] "a tî čęž nęk tu šęnìcu rêdit, pag vlêč, da budę va pęjtàbi râvnu, da budę mògla stât, ar òvdę čę jâku čùda šęnìcę bìt." Hât pròšli su va sôsęd, pròsili su ga. Tâ ję dopùščal, ta sôsęd. [78] Hâd mlatìli su, mlatìli su, vrâg ę tàg mògęl tu mašìnu narę̏nut, da tàkfuga vètra ję dàvalo, da slôma, pak plèvę, to sę̏ lętìlu udzâd', tôm ję̏ zęru, dè su bilę sinòkušę, vètęr ę to sę̏ tôm udnę̏sęl. [79] (Kad sęm ję̏zęru dunę̏sęl nę̏jpęr: mî imômu òndę ję̏dnu ję̏zęru, têru ję vę̏liku, čùda

[8] Here the narrator is tired and the recording is interrupted.

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vudê ję va njêm, pag onda trî fęrtàja ję ud njȅga ustrâčku. Tômu ję ìmę *Fertő*. [80] Hât nȅznam gvîšnu, znâtę zâ vu jȅzęru vî, ȍndęn va Jugoslâviji).[9] Hat tôm ę nȍsil vètęr tu slômu va sinȍkušę, pak plèvę. [81] Hat vrâg ȇm ę mȍgęl narȅnud mašìnu, ȍnda mȍgęl pôd nùtęr. Ar mu ję Vèra bila nô misli, va glâvi vêkę. Ur ę bil čìstu pubalȍn vû tu Vèru. A i Vèra sę začnêla k njȅmu mȑvu rêdit. [82] A vrâg zêl pômęt. Nȍ had, dȍbru ję. Dôdę nȅjzad'. Ȍpęd ubrâča nęg. Màrku bil va šęnìci. [83] Ję ìmal tàkfę na nȍgi papùčę, nàkfę, da nę bùdę prȍšęl dôli jâku glìbuku va šęnìcu. Tęr ȍndę rêdi tû šęnìcu, tęr u vlêčę. Hâd dȍbru ję. Dèladu, dèladu. Zdìzę sę šęnìca va tûj pęjtàbi. [84] A vrâg ȇm i nučî mȍgęl mlàtit, Màrkuja i bîlu nê. Ȍnda tulìku zȑnja mȍglu tôm šęnìcę nacùrit, da bîlu va pęjtàbi jâku vìsuku. Onda mȍgęl stàt sinȍči, tęr ę mȍgęl pôd nùtęr lęč. [85] A jûtru ję Màrko to môral trî ûrę ûrę narędȁvat, donjęg ę ȍtu mȍgęl urêdit tû šęnìcu, da budę râvnu. Had vęjî sôsęd ȍnda: "A ti Màrku, kęj ču jâ dustâd zâ vu sad, da sęn si pęjtàbu vôm dâl?" [86] Ôn vęjî: "Tî sę nâ tu nȅj, čęmu vrâga izmàzat, pag i dât čę ti." A vęjî: "Kàk sę morę tâ zmàzat?" "Ustàftę nô mę." [87] Tęr kat su mašinâzuvali, Màrku ję jȅdnu dèsku skìnul, ȍndę vùn, ka ję bîlu ud njȅgvuga dvôra strônki. Had nùdȅj ę curìla vùn šęnìca, tôm, susèdu na dvôr. Hât i ȍndę ur jâku čùda šęnìcę bîlu. [88] Tâ ję mȍgęl dôt, tęr ę rȅkęl: "Dȍz ę!", njȅmu vędž nê trêb, njęmu ję dȍz ȍvo, ôn ima jâku čùda, jâku zaduvȍjęn, už i stâd mu nȅmrę nà pud. [89] Hâd, už mu ję nęg pùščal tômu Màrku, tęr ę dèsku vȑgęl nȅjzad', tęr su vrâga vȅlu zmàzali.

[90]-[94] The devil leaves for a few days to visit his brother. On his return he bestows jewelry and precious garments upon Vera.

[90] Hâd dȍbru ję, mašinâzuvalu sę, mašinâzuvanję sę skȍnčalu, tęr vrâg sę lîpu uprâl, kôpal lîpu, sę upràvil, tęr vęjî Màrkuju: "Tî, Màrku." Vęjî: "Kęj ję?" [91] "Jâ si ìdęm bràtu, tôm Uraiújfaluba, ìdęn ga puglȅdat, ar kat sęn ȍdnud dȍšęl, onda nê bil zdràv, bętȅžęn ę bîl. Jâ ga môram pôt puglȅdat." [92] Had vęjî: "Dȍbru, pȍj, a tô zȑnję si pag rêdi" vęjî, "dônjęk jâ dôdęn, kàk tàk." Ali vęjî: "Kôm ču jâ tulìku zȑnja, tȍ sę nȅmrę nìkan spràvit." [93] "Had ȍnda nęka bu va pęjtàbi." Had vrâg ę prȍšęl, puględî si bràta, tęr hâd za trî dni dôdę nȅjzad'. Vèri ję dunȅsęl lîpuga zlâtuga lônčęca na gôt, karìčicu na pȑstę, pag jâku lîpę rùhę. [94] Had Vèra bila tag upràvna kud jȅdna grufîca. Vȍ sę Vèri jâku vìdilu. Nęk kada vrâgu rêb dȍšęl juj va glâvu, pag rȍgi,

[9] Obviously the story-teller thought that the tape was being made for Croats in former Yugoslavia.

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ònda sę jâku pręstrȁšila. Vȍ juj ę bȁčkalu. Drȕgadž bi bîla Mȁrkuja už i zmȁzala, frȉšku.

[95]-[118] Marko and the devil steal the count's piglets. When it comes to sharing out the plunder, Marko outsmarts the devil and gets all the piglets but one.

[95] Hâd dȍbru ję, tęr hât pomînadu sę, tęr vęjî vrâg: "Ti Mȁrku, hat tulȉku krȕha imômu, da vôga mi pȍjęz nę̏mręmu donjęk smu žîvi. [96] Hat sę môra pręskȑbit pęlęg nję̏ga kȁkfuga mêsa. Pôt čęmu si kôm pu sfînję, ali nę̏ pu sfînję, nęk pu nȁkfę kęj ȉma bȍję mêsu, pu mlâdę, pu prȃščičę. Dȅ ję prȃščič čȕda?" [97] Hâd vęjî Mȁrku: "Sat kȁk hat, čęmu sę krȁst pȍpas?" "Ti sę zȃ tu nę̏j" vęjî vrâg, "ti nęg mę̏ni tȍ rȅči, dȅ ję tȁkfi svînj čȕda, pak prȃščič." [98] A vęjî: "Pi grȍfi na Cę̏nki, dȅ smu bili žę̏t. Ȍndę ję jędna mrȃzna ... mrȃznu mȅstu dȅ sę svînję prasę̂, ondę ę pȕnu prȃščič sakurjȁčki." Had vęjî: "Pôt čęmu tôm, tî męnę nęg utpę̏ji." [99] Ali vęji: "Vû kęj čęmu si ję vȑs?" vęji "va vrȅču?" "Vê vrȅčę tȍ nȉš. Lȁdidz dunę̏s, ali pripȑav, ču ję jâ ȍdnęs. Kęj ȉmaš lȁdic, pubȅri ję va susȅdi, pag va plȁci, [100] nę̏j rędž da nȃkęj bȕdędu ti trêb, to nę̏j prępovȅdat, tęr ču ję jâ ȍdnęs tôm nučî." Hat tȁg ę bîlu. Pȕnu lȁdidz ę bîlu ȗr na dvôri, ar ȍnda ur mȅsta bîlu, ar ę zȑnję prȍšlu. [101] Va pęjtȁba bîla pȕna, pag i vrȅčę, zȑnję prȍslu, dvôr ę bil prȁzęn. Na dvôri su bilę tê lȁdicę. Tęr hat prȍšli su, tômu grȍfu, ȍndęn dȅ su bîlę tê sfînję. [102] Hat pôdędu nȕtęr. Budę̏ vrâg, ôn ima tȁkfu vrȃžu môč, kut hât .... kak vęjȉmu da i Bôg mȍrę sę̏ učȉnjit, a i vrâg ę mȍgęl sę̏ učȉnjit. [103] A vrâg ę tȍ učȉnjil, da tî prȃščiči sę už i jȁvili nêsu, kat su ję vlêkli. Hât tôm su ję nusȉli vû tę lȁdicę, vrâg ę ję nȍsil, [104] Mȁrku nę̏ čuda ar nê bil tag jâk. Tęr nęg nȍsili su ję, nȍsili su ję. Kada ur čȕda lȁdidz bîlu pȕnu, tęr pîta Mȁrku vrâga: [105] "Tî Fę̏ręnc, si si tî zazlômanjuval prȃščičę, têrę si tî udnę̏sęl?" Vęji ôn: "Nę̏," ôn si nê zazlômanjuval nȉš. "Onda kȁk čęš znȁt têrę su tfȍję, kę̏j si si tî udnę̏sęl?" [106] Tęr ga pîta vrâg: "A tî si si ję zazlômanjuval?"[10] "Jâ sę̏m" vęji Mȁrku. "A kak?" "A ȍtag da sęm sȁkuj rêpa zafȑknul." Hât, "Dȍbru ję" vęjî vrâg, "ȍnda jâku dȍbru. [107] Ȍnda čędu bȉt tê mȍję, têrim rêp visî, têrim ę râvęn." A Mȁrku ję znȁl, da tȁkfi nê, i da sȁku prȃsę, têru ję zdrȁvu, nȍ ȉma gęrbȁvuga rêpa. [108] Bȕdę̏ tȍ mî znômu, kî zis prȃščiči barȁčęmu, pah na sêmę hȍdimu, pak si dęržȉmu sfînję va stôni. Hâd dȍbru ję, vrâg s tûm vražûm mučûm udnę̏sęl tê prȃščičę na Hȍmuk. [109] Mȁrkuv dvôr ę bil pȕn lȁdic. Tęr vęjî: "Kęj čęmu sad z vulȉku ... svinjômi ȍvdęn? Vȍ sę kȑmit mȍra." Vęji vrâg: "A znȃš kęj? [110] Tȕtę tulȉku šęnȉcę ȉmaš, da tî du smȑti to nę̏šęš puprôhat. Tęr

[10] *zazlômanjuval*: the other informants consistently said *zazlômęnjuvat* (with *-ę-*).

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čęmu ję křmit." A vęjî: "Jâ tulìku křmit nęšču" vęji Màrku. "Onda znâš kęj? [111] Kęj ìmaž ròdbinu, kad ę sàkumu i dęj dęr pętnâjz, dvęjsęd ali pędęsêt, nęka si ję nòsiju. [112] Pak hòdi na sêmę, prìmi ję, tęr prudâvaj, tulìku pinêš čęž ìmat, vędž nęg bànki." Hâd dòbru ję, vò ję bîlu, su sę sę narêdili, dêlili su tê prâščičę. Ględali su ję, têru ìma kàkfuga rêpa. [113] Tęr vrâg ę ję brâl, va jędnę prâznę làdicę vêkę prìk, vâ ima gęrbàvuga rêpa, i vûj ję rêb zafřknut, i tûj ję rêb zafřknut, i tômu prasętu ję rêb zafřknut, i vâ ìma gęrbàvuga rêpa. [114] I dęsêta, i pętnęjsta, i pędęsêta, a i sàka. Ònda vrâg ględî, stônę, a vęji: "Kęj sę sad òvdę zgudàlu?" [115] Ôn sę ję tulìku nadřmal, pag nahìtal, vi prâščidž òndę nučî, da ga skòro vrâg zêl. Pag vęji njęmu had nê dupàla nèdna, kat su sę ręzdêjili. Jędna ję bila nàkfa, têruj ę rêb vìsil, nàkfa zaustàvna, majûcka, bętêžna. [116] Tęr vęjî Màrku: Ôn ę jędnu tàkfu udnęsęl, têruj nê rêpa zafřknul, a tò ję bîla tâ, têruj ję rêb vìsil, tò bętêžnu prâsę. [117] I òdnudzęm ę ustàla tâ rêč va sęli, męd jûdi, męd hurvâtskami sêli, da kat su mògli vìdid nàkfu čęmêrnu prâsę, da vò ję Màrkinu prâsę. Òdnudzęm i sâd uš ję vâ rêč, [118] i sad už u jûdi imàdu va zôbi kad pôdędu na sêmę, tęr vìdidu da vò ję jędnu bętêžnu, jędnu zaustàvnu: "Nâ, tò ję Màrkinu prâsę." I sad uš tò vęję.

[119]-[131] Again the devil is off for a few days and brings back presents for Vera. He admits to Marko that he is in love with her and wants to take her with him.

[119] Hâd dòbru ję, vò ję bîlu sę. Màrku vęji vrâgu: "No sad kęj čę bìt?" A vęji: "Znâš kęj, jâ sad ìdęm dęr na dvâ dnì." Pròšęl ę, ustàvil ę tôga Màrkinuga stôna. "A kôm ìdęš?" [120] Vęji: "Kęj sę ti zâtu? Ìdęm sę mřvu stìpat." Had vû vę hurvâtskę sêla ję znàl ôn pôt, na Ùndu, ònda na Prìsiku, onda tu i va Bùrgęnlandi ję jędęn ... Męniuf, pag i na Kòjmuv ę znàl pôt, pag vû vę hurvâtskę sêla. [121] Dôdę nęjzad', zòpęd ę bîl i dunęsęl pùnu sęgâ, lîpuga rùha, pag zlâtę lônčęcę na gôt, karìčicę. [122] Ar vrâg ę mògęl pôt nùtęr sàkam, i na kjučônki na vrâti, ut tàkfę bòltę, tęr ę mògęl sęgâ dònęs. Had Vèru ję tag upràvil, da tàkfę grufîcę nê bîlu. Ur nê sę smèla upràvid va sęli, [123] ar su jûdi vìdili da kęj ję òvu, da kag ę tâ Vèra upràvna, kud grufîca, kut krajìca. Had Vèri sę vò jâko vìdilu. Hat sę Vèra začnêla stìskat, pag onda rêdit Fęręncu vrâgu. [124] Nęk kad uj ę tò dòšlu nô misli, da ìma kàkfuga rêpa, ònda sę pręstrâšila ud njęga. Ar ud tòga sę uš nęb bila pręstrâšila, aku nęjpęr ìma rêpa. [125] Ali udzâd' on męrskî rêp, pag nî rògi, kak su bîli mřski. Ut tòga sę mògla pręstràšit, ali vrâg ę juj ubęčal, kad ę vìdil da sę jâku pręstrâšila ònda pi stòli, [126] da ôn sę vęč pręd

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njûm nęšę nìgdęr prępmènjit, da njû vęč pręstrȁšit nęščę nìgdęr, dônjęg bùdę žîv. Had Màrku ję pàmęd zêl, da sę Vèra rêdi, pag onda blìži Fęręncu vrâgu. [127] Had vìdil ę vo nę bu dòbru, ôn čę žęnu zgùbit. Z vrâgęn sę kęj dèlad môra? Had zašnêl mu sę mòjit. Vęji: "Tî, tî si vęlig vrâg. Dęj męni mîr zi žęnum, ustàv mi žęnu. Zâkęj ti vò dèlaš s męnum? [128] Jâ sęn ti tuvàruš. Skùpa baràčęmu, skùpa dèlamu. Pak tî mi kônjiš žęnu ùkras pag òdnęs. Ję tulìku žên lîpi, mlâdi, têrę su mlȁję za čùda nęg ę Vèra. Zîšči si, tî si jędęn mlâd, lîp člòvęk." [129] Hâd vęji: "Znâš kęj" vęji vrâg, "jâ sęm Vèru zajùbil jâku. Vèra čę mòja bìt, aku tębę vrâg zèmę i ònda, bâr kęj sę budę zgudàlu." Ali hât "Kȁk čę vo bìt?" [130] "A zâkęj" vęji, "tęr kęj čę juj bìd, aku ju jâ mřvu udnęšęm? Òdnęš ču ju, pukàzat ču juj pèkla, vęlu ču ju stòplit, i ču sim u dònęz nęjzad'. Nęšę mrêt, niš sę nęj bòjat." [131] "Ali vò vag nê dòbru, vò vag nę bu dòbru. Jâ vęč nęšu moč š njum žìvit dȁję."

[132]-[141] They decide to compete for Vera. They are both going to sew a pair of trousers. He who gets the job done first gets Vera. This is the first of several contests. Marko wins every one of them by deceit or bluff.

[132] Hât, "Znâš kęj" vęji vrâg, "sat čęmu sę narêdit. Tî si šnęjdęr, a i jâ sęn šnęjdęr. Kô bu přvę načìnjil lȁčę, zèšil, njęgva čę bid Vèra." Màrku ględî, ględî, sę jâku vęliku zdèhnul, [133] "Nò Vèra, sȁt si tî na rêdu." Had dòbru ję, prevòjila. Pupȁli su sę šìt. Màrku si ję utkìnul nag dęr pędęsêt cęntiuf kônca, tôga ję zafìzil va ìglu. Vrâk si ję mìslil da nę bu môral tulikrâd zafižâvat ìglu: [134] Cêlu kòlu namòtal,[11] va ìglu nùtęr nafìzil. To ję bilu tȁg dùžičku, nèkakuv ȁngolski kônęc, jâku dùžičku. Vęč kilomętęruf, to sę zafìzil. [135] I ja, začnêli su pìkat, Màrku ję pìkal lîpu s tûm ìglum, nê bil dùžičęk kônęc, a vrâgu nê ìšlu, ar vomu sę mòglu sę zafùndat. [136] Hât kęj si ję zmìslil, skòčil na ublòki vùn, tęr ę mògęl do drùguga sęla udbìžat. Pag nęjzad' zòpęd ę pìknul, zòpęd vùn, zòpęd nùtęr, zòpęd nęjzad'. [137] A to sę frìžę, sę frìžę ìšlu – bud'ę vrâg ę vrâg bîl – to ur tȁk frìšku ìšlu ûr, da hât su sę vrâgu lȁčę štèlę zgutòvit. Hât Màrku sę pręstrȁšil. Kęj čę sad bìt? [138] "Nȁ Vèra, nęznam" vęji, "sad kęj čę bìt." (Kada vrâg skòčil vùn tò ję rękęl, had Vèra nê bila òndęn). Ali Vèra ę bîla ur drùgi vrâg, [139] nâ ję ur na vrâtuvuj kjučônki kùjcala, da kô čę přvę lȁčę zèšit. Hâd dòbru ję, kad ę vrâg skòčil vùn, tęr ę udbìžal, a Màrku mu ję škȁrjami udrèzal kônca. [140] Tęr vȁk ję vrâg zôman skȁkal òndęn, jędęn kûs, ôn nê znal da ję kônędz udrèzan. Ôn ę mògęl zapìknut, tęr ę mògęl utskòčit. Hâd dòbru ję, vrâk sę zakèsnil z vêm, òtag da ję Màrku lȁčę přvę zgutòvil.

[11] *namòtal*: one would expect **udmòtal*.

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[141] Vag ę Vèra ustàla Màrkuju. Hât, vrâgu pròšla vòja, da zòpęt nê dòbil Màrkuja.[12]

[142]-[151] Next they are going to crush stones (with their hands).

[142] Ònda ę rę̏kęl: "Znâš kęj" vęji, "sad idę̏mu kàmęnę drùzgat." "Kęj?" vęji Màrku. "Kàmęnę drùzgat." "A kàk?" "Kô bu bòję mògęl kàmęnę zdrùznut, nję̏gva čę bid Vèra." [143] Hâd dòbru ję. Pròšli su. Vrâg ę tàg mògęl kàmęna zdrùznut, ar mu ję òndę dòma kàzal, da ję môka pustàla š nję̏ga, čistâ môka, tàg ę mògęl stìsnud va šàki. [144] A Màrku si ję mìslil, vęji Vèri: "Dę̏j mę̏ni mȉvu turòva va žęp." "A kę̏j vrâzę čęš s turòvęm, kę̏j, kôm idę̏tę?" Vęjî: "Nèkakfę kàmęnę idę̏mu zdrùzgat." "Tęr nâ kęj ę tùruv?" [145] "A vrâga môran zmàzat, ar čę tę̏bę òdnęs." "Tęr kàk čęž ga zmàzat?" pîta Vèra. "A pęlęk kàmęna ču si vrst, rôkę ču stìsnut, tęr čę škràpat, cùrid ud njęga vòda, ali sì rutva." [146] Tęr, a vęji: "Vrâg vo tag nę̏mrę, on ga nęk tag morę zdrùznut, da ję môka ud nję̏ga, jâ ga pag nę̏mręm nìkak. Tęr vàg ga kônjin zmàzat, da budęš ... [147] hat tî had mę̏ni ustàla, ar vrâg tę kônji òdnęz i nàg, znâš." "Znôm" vęji. Ali vęji Vèra: "A jâ nêman turòva." Imàla ję ga, onda ję nâ ur vrâgu vlêkla. [148] Imàla ję turòva. Had vęji: "Jâ sęm vìdil tu turòva." No vęji: "Tàlan uš tulìku ję ga"[13] vęji ònda, "ja ču ti naškòrvat." Had vȓgla mu ję va žęp. Tęr su pròšli. [149] Òndę bilu čùda kàmęnuf, had vrâg ę tò pudrùzgal, tê kàmęnę, onag na môku. A Màrku vęji: "To nìš, glę̏č" vęji. Tęr si ję vàg ję̏dęn kàmęn vȓgęl va prâvu rôku. [150] Òndę ę bîlu ur mȉvu turòva, tęr stìsnę, vag si zdìgnę rôku, prętìsnę, ali ònak, tàkfu môdž ę dâl, ali nę kàzal ę, da ję škràpala vòda ud nję̏ga. [151] Vęji: "Vàg ga nò, vàg ga stìsni." Hat vrâg ględî, hat ôn ga vag nę̏mrę. Zòpęd ę dòbil Màrku vrâga.

Now follow a farting ([152]-[160]), a running ([161]-[164]) and a hammer-throwing [165]-[174] contest.

[152] Jà, kag ę sę Màrku vag jâku stìskal, tęr sę zàbil òd sębę, pod làčę ję pùstil ję̏dnu ut ... ut ... ut kak sę sìluval. Hat tò mu sę svùknulu. [153] Tàkfa vònjba bîla, tęr mu vęji vrâg: "Pòj k vrâgu" vęji, "tàg vònjaš kut tôri" vęji. Had vęji: "Vo ję vàk had dòšlu ję, ur dòbru ję" vęji, "vò čę pôt, vò nìš, vò ję člověčę dèlu" vęji Màrku. [154] A vęji: "Znâš kęj? Pukidôb si vò učìnjil: Sat čęmu pôd va ję̏dnu pęjtàbu, tęr čęmu sprubâluvat, kô znâ vunjęvìję pùščat. No čę bid nję̏gva Vèra."

[12] This is obviously a mistake, since this is only the first time that Marko outsmarts the devil.

[13] *tàlan* 'perhaps' is a spontaneous loan from Hu (*talán*).

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[155] Na hât vęji Màrku: "A sat kę̏j vrâzę, sad ę ur Vèra na vònjbu zäšla?" Sad i z väkfęn čęmu zô nju dèlat?" Pròšli su, dòbru ję. Had vrâg ę tàkfu pùščal va nûj pęjtàbi ... [156] (Vò sę už i nę kę̏rę va štôrnicu vrs, ali vàk sęm jâ čùl, kud nôga Pę̏jrič Žìga bačìja, i mâlu fę̏jfu ję imal ondę, pi našêm šnę̏jdęri, tęr ę ondę puvêdal, [157] jâ sęn kud dičâk puslùšal, ali had i vò ču puvèdat). Tęr hât ta vrâg ę tàkfu pùščal, tàkfa vònjba ję bîla, už i vrâg si ję vag nòsa nafrd'il, [158] tęr ględî, da Màrkuja vònjba udnę̏sla gôri, va pęjtàbi tôm pud urìč, čìstu dè ję tręsjê bilu na kròvi. Vrâg ględî gôri, "Pfû" vęji, a mu ję jâku vònjalu i nję̏mu, vęji: "kę̏j sat tî tu dèlaš?" [159] A vęji: "Znâš kęj? Jâ ču vu škùju òvdę zatfrd'it. Ar kad jâ dôli pôdęn, tęr sę jâ ... tî čęš tùdę̏j vùn udlę̏tit, ali ònak, da tę vędž nìgdęr vìdid nę̏šu." [160] "Ijő" vęji, "ònda sę *inkább* nâj" vęji, "onda sę *inkább* nâj."[14] Had zòpęd ę zmàzal vrâga.

[161] Had dòbru ję. Ònda su sę narêdili na têm, da kî kî znâ bòję bìžat. Pròšli su bìžat. A vrâg ę tak znal bìžad, da ga si vrâzi nęb bili luvìli. Vęji Màrku: "To nìš. [162] Glę̏dž" vęji, "jâ ìmam òvu va žę̏pi, jędnuga mâluga ęčêma."[15] (Ję̏dnuga zę̏jca ìmal va žę̏pi). "Vôga luvìj kad ga jâ puščôm." Hâd vęji: "Ču ga jâ lòvid, nęg pùšči ga." [163] Had zę̏jdz jâku znàl bìžat. Pùščal ę ga, tâ sę uslubòdil, tâ zę̏jc, a jâku bìžal, a vrâg za njêm. Nê ga mògęl lòvit. Dôdę nę̏jzad', had. "Nę, nêz ga mògęl lòvid, ôv sę nę̏mrę lòvid" vęji, "tag znâ bìžat, bòję nęg jâ." [164] "A tò už nìš, vo ję nęg môj ęčêm, pak kak znâ bìžat. Hâd aku sę jâ pupàdęm, stupęr jâ kag znôm. Kut strèla, kat sę na nę̏bi ręsìknę, tàk frìšku." I òvdę ę vrâga dòbil.

[165] Hat, ònda su pròšli ... kôm už i? Ur ču sę zàbid ę̂m, ar ę čùda sęgâ bîlu ... Ònda su pròšli klêpcę hìtat. Vrâg ę dunę̏sęl tàkfuga klêpca, da stô i sędamdęsêt pêt kîl bîl tę̏žęk. [166] Tęr Màrku ględî, "Ijő, vôga klêpca vàkfi trî trî jûdi nę̏mrędu zdìgnut kud jâ, kàk ču ga jâ hìtit?" si ję mìslil. "Jâ ču sę nèkęj zmìslit zòpęt." [167] Had vrâg ę hìtil tôga klêpca gôri, tôm va nę̏bu, jûtru vag dę̏vęd ùri ję bîlu. Had ut pôdnę ut trìju ę spàl nę̏jzad' tâ klêpęc. Tęr Màrku pîta: "Dè ję sad tâ klêpęc?" [168] "Ti stôj, nęk čèk tî. Jâku nę bùdi na mîru, čę tâ dôd nę̏jzad', čę hùpaz dôli." Tęr ę bîlu ut pôdnę ut trìju. No tag glìbuku pròšęl va zę̏mju, da nęg bètfu dęržàla bîlu vùni ut tôga klêpca. [169] Tęr vęjî vrâg Màrkuju: "Nu sad ga tî hìti." Had Màrku si mìsli: "Kęj čę sad bìt? Jâ to nę̏mręm, už i pag gènut nę" vęji. Hat Màrkuju dòšlu nô misli, da sę vrâzi jâku buję̂ ut strèlę. [170] A Màrku ję ìmal òndęn Ra-

[14] *inkább* 'rather' is Hu.

[15] *ečêm* 'younger brother' is a spontaneous loan from Hu. (*öcsém*).

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bukèzi, ud Hòmučkuga sęla dęr čętęrdęset kilomętęruf, jędnuga brȁta kuvȁča. [171] Hat tò si ję zmìslil, pupȁdę tô dęržȁlu, kęj ję nęg mřvu bîlu ud zęmję vùni, tęr ględî tôm nùdęj, kùdęj ję tô sęlu, kùdęj sę sôncę stȁję. Vęjî mu vrâg: "Sat kęj ględîš? [172] Hìti tôga klêpca ur jędnûč." "A znâš kęj si mìslim?" A vęji vrâg: "Nęznam hat, to nęznam kęj si tî mìsliš." "A tò si mìslim. Jâ òndę Rabukèzi ìmam jędnuga kuvȁča brȁta, njęmu ču hìtid vôga klêpca. [173] Ôn čę strèlę načìnjit š njęga, da čę sę vrâzę putôč." "Jő" vęji, "nâj ga, ònda ga *inkább* nęj, nęj, nęj ga hìtid, nęj, nęj." [174] Had zòpęd ę dòbil vrâga. Ònda hât, kęj ę bilu dȁję va štôrnici, môran si mìslit.

[175]-[188] The last contest. Who is best at cracking a whip? Instead of cracking his whip, Marko bangs the devil's head with the handle.

[175] Ònda su prȍšli pùcat, kô znâ bȍję z bìčęn zapùknut. Hât, vęjî vrâg Màrkuju: "Tî znâž z bìčęn zapùknut?" "Znôm ęm" vęji, "jâ sęm bîl" vęji, "va třsa. [176] Ȍndę sęm mřkal na grôzję, tęr kat su škôrci bîli, onda sęm mȍgęl z bìčęm pùcat. Jâ pak tòmu razumîm, ali dȍbru." Hâd onda dȍbru. [177] Vrâg ę prȍšęl, dôdę, na jędna bîruška kôli ję duvęzęl bìča, na kôli, tò ę bîlu jędęn vôz bìča. Tȍ tȁkuv bìdž bîl, da kat su ga sklȁli, da ję vìšę bîl bìč, nęg ę Màrku bil vęlik. [178] Hat si ję mìslil: "Kęj vrâzę kag dȕžičęg bìdž ę ȍvu." Vęlu dęržȁlu ìmal iz gâcija, nag dȍz dębęlu, dȕžičku. Tęr vęji vrâg da: "Sad mřkaj, vo ču přvę jâ." "Had nȍ prvę tî" vęji. [179] A vrâg ę to pȍpal tô dęržȁlu. Začnêl ę ubrȁčad ubęr glâvę, ali dȕgu, skȍru pôl ûrę, uš sę nê bìču krȁj gènul. Hât, kad ę ga vęlu narę̀nul, gènul ę sę bìč. [180] Ȍndę va lȕfti skȍru nê bilu sônca vìdit vìdit, onu sę bìdž bîlu, va lȕfti ubęr glâvę vrâgu. Hâd vrâk třgnę nę̀jzad' dęržȁlu, tęr čȅka. [181] Tâ bìč sę zašnêl nę̀jzad' ubrȁčat, hât skȍru za pôl ûrę ję zȁšęl nȁ kręj. Ali tȁkfu ję zapùknul, ali tȁkfu, da ję Màrku skȍru uglȕhnul. Had dȍbru ję, bìdž ę sęl dôli, bîlu vo ję tȁg vìsuku, vìšę nęg ę Màrku bil vìsuk. [182] Tęr vęjî vrâg Màrkuju: "Sad čęš tî." "Had dȍbru ję" vęji Màrku, "sat ču jâ." Màrku si ję tȍ mìslil, da z vêm vrâgęm ôn kęj môra dèlat, ar čę Vèru zgȕbit. [183] Sad ur tulìku krât ję vȁkvu nȅkęj učìnjil, da za Vèru ję bîl ... bîla hât vȁd'a, da zô nu su sę vȁd'ali. Vèru čę zgȕbit. [184] Hâd vęjî vrâgu: "Tî" vęji, "hat aku jâ zapùknęm, tî čęž ęm ufȕlit, pag i uglȕhnut. Tî si môraš ȍči zavêzat pag i vušêsę." Had vrâg ę prę̀stal nâ tu. [185] "Ar tî si jâku zapùknul" mu vęji Màrku, "skȍru sęm jâ uglȕhnul, ali tî čę̀ž, zavêži si vušêsę, pag i ȍči, ar i ufȕlit čęš." Hat tȍ ję bîlu. [186] Màrku ję pȍpal tô dęržȁlu, tęr ę utkfȁčil ȍndę pi bìči dôli, tęr va rôki. Tęr si ję mìslil: "Nȍ" vęji (ôn kęj môra učìnjit, ar čę Vèru

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zgùbit), "jâ muram vrâga sad ùbiti." [187] Mu ję zavêzanę su mu bîlę òkę, nê vìdil. Tâ Màrku sę urêdil, tu dęrzàlu puščâ du zę̏mję. Tàg ę ušìknul vrâga pu glâvi, da ję vrâg skùpa spàl, i vę̏k sę skòčil, tęr ę zakrìknul: [188] "Ijő" vęji, "nę̏j vęč, ar mi už i va glàvi zvunî."

[189]-[202] The devil gives up. He takes his leaves of Vera and receives some compensation for all his presents.

[189] Ònda hât su sę gènuli dumôm. Vrâgu ję jâku glâva vìsila. Bujìlu ję ga jâku, kud ję ga Màrku ùdril ziz bìčuvęm dęržàlęm. Tęr hât kag idû, tęr sę tôži: "Ti Màrku, [190] mę̏nę tàg glâva bujî." "Jà" vęji, "ti si ę̂m jâku vę̏liku hùpal, tęr si sę ùdril va zę̏mju, zâtu bujî glâva. Ali jâku si sę môral ùdrit." Hâd vęji: "Jâku mę glâva bujî." Ìšli su, [191] ìšli su dumôm, hât vrâgu dòšlu nà misli, da hâd nę̏mrę nję̏gva Vèra bìd nìkak. Utpovèdal ę vu sę̏bi ud njê, da hâd vędž u nę̏šę stìskad, i Màrkuja nę, da čę hât krênut krę̂j, pôt čę ut tôga stôna, [192] tęr hât su zàšli dumôm. Drùgi dôn ę Màrku pròšęl nèkam na sèm s tìmi prâščičami, ar ę ji jâku čùda bîlu, tęr ę nê mògęl krmit. Had dòbru ję, vrâg ę sę z Vèrum pumìnal. [193] "Tî, Vèra, jâ vìdim, da tî mòja nę̏mręž bìt, pędik hât jâ sęn tulìku tę̏bi sęgâ dâl, tulìku sęn ti dunę̏sęl, jâku lîpuga rùha, ònda zlâtuga na gôt, na přstę karìčicę, čùda-čùda, [194] pak hât zô nu, tî ur nêsi tàkfa šmęrkàva divìčica, ti ur znâš kag ôv svêt curî, ar i hât i tî si mòręž mìslit, da jędnûdž bi hât vrêdęn bil jâ mřvu tę̏bę hât, [195] ar vò i tî znâž, da kak svêt curî, za vulìku sęgâ, hât, vo nę̏mrę vag nęh pôt, da ču sat pôt, tęr ję̏." Hât, "Nò, nò, nò, nò" vęji Vèra, "znôm jâ sę kak curî svêt, nò, nò." [196] Vęji: "Čę jędnûdž bìt." Vęji vrâg: "Kàda ję jędnûč?" "Hât znâš kęj?" vęji Vèra, "ka budę Màrku pròšęl na sèm, nę bu dòma, nę bu Màrku dòma, na sêmi čę bit, ònda čęž dôt. [197] Ka budęm jâ sôma. Tęr ònda čę sę nèkęj zgòdat. Ar ìstinu ìmaš, vrêdęn si tî mę̏nę hât, *persze* da si." Tęr hâd "Onda jâ vęč nę̏šu dôt. [198] Dôt ču vas puglę̏dat rêtkukrât, kud dòbrę tuvàrušę." Had vò ję vag bîlu. Vò sę zgòdalu, vàk kag ę hât vrâg rę̏kęl, a i Vèra prę̂vòjila. Tęr hât vìditę jûdi: [199] Ud vòga sę tò morę navùčit, da tàkfi jûdi, kî imàdu jâku lîpę žę̏nę, tîm nę̏ka bu nà misli vêkę, da ję mòręду žę̏nę zmàzat. [200] Ar tàkfę žę̏nę, têrę su jâku lîpę, na njî sę sàkumu môžu zadènę òku, tęr hât, jâku čùda ima tàkfi bòjuf, kęj môra hât urêdid, da mòrę ję sę ubàvid had, da nìš nę̏ budę ali [201] ję̏ i tàkfuga, da sę nę̏mrę męntòvat, pag onda nę̏mrę sę uslubòdit. Had vò ję vag, zâ vu nê slòbud už i vę̏č pomìnat, sę̏, ar vò nê čìstu va štôrnicu, ali hat pukidôb ję òvu vàk, [202] kak sęm jâ čùl, ar jâ sęm vu štôrnicu čul i ònda, kat sęm bil sędamnâjz lêt stàr ur. Ar tî jûdi su mogli dôt k nôm,

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tôm šnějdęru, tęr su mògli pìt, pag nurìju fêrat, tęr òndę ję vò ìšlu vêkę.

Here begins the second story (see the introduction to this text).

[203]-[212] The devil shifts his attention to the mill in Cenk. With some colleagues he begins to haunt it. The miller cannot find any working people that stay longer than a few days. Štefe wants to give it a try and stays in the mill at night. He is severely beaten up by the devil and decides to withdraw for the moment.

[203] Hâd dòbru ję. Vrâk ję sę ònda dâl va mělin, va jědęn mělin, sàki věčęr. I tò ję bîlu na Cěnki. Jědęn jâku stâri mělin, něgdašnji. Ònda uš tâ svêt, onda su už bòsurkę, pag vrâzi ìšli pu zěmji. [204] Hâd vrâzi su hudìli vû ti mělin. Tęr hat tâ mělin nučî nê mògęl hâd dèlat, ar bâr kô sę tôn scènjil tômu mlìnaru da čę dèlat, nèdęn nê òstal, ar su ga vrâzi zrěnuli. [205] Had jědęn Štêfę mlìnar, dètič, ìskal si ję dèlu, da hâd něka mu dâ dèla va męlìni, da čę ôn bi dèlal. Hâd vęji: "Ględž" vęji, "jâ bi ti dâl dèla" vęji guspudâr, "ali hât, i nàg něšęž òstat. [206] Ur su sę jâku čudìmi sìm scènjili k męni, a nęg dvâ dni su bîli, pag jědęn dôn, tęr su mògli pôt. Ar sin ti vrâzi hòdidu nučî va mělin, tęr òtut sàkuga zrěnędu, [207] i jâ něsmim pôd va mělin, pędig môj ję mělin." Hâd vęji tâ dètič: "Nò, dòbru ję," tò ję njěgva skrb, vęji. Nęka nęg ôn njěmu dâ, dupustî da budę ôn mògęl dèlat hòdit tu, nęka ga scènji. [208] Hât "Mòręž dôt, ali znôm da něšęž òstat." Hâd dòbru ję, dôdę nôč. Męlìni idû mašìnę, ròštadu, môka curî, jędnûdž ę nęg nèkęj zašumìlu. [209] Uš i utprêlę sę nêsu vrâta, jědęn vrâg ę ònda stùpil, z rògami, z rêpęm, s kònskami pòtkuvami, črnudlàkast. [210] Hât tâ Pìšta, tâ Štêfę sę pręstrâšil. Ali znàl ję, njěga ję vò tàk pàlu, da ję ôn ur čèkal, ar mu ję stâri povèdal, čèv ę mělin. [211] Hât tęr ga vrâg začnêl òndę rìtat, pak pêhat, pak tôč, nęka sę vęk òdvud ščìsti. Da òvdę nêma ìskanję nučî nìkur. Vò ję nęg njěgvu mèstu. Hât Štêfę ję privòjil vrâgu, tęr mu sę mòjil had: "Děj mi mîr," [212] kad ga ję vęlu ur purìtal, pak putôkęl, "nęka si puběręm skùpa hâd rùhu, pak kęj ìmam òvdę, sě mi ję ręšìręnu." "No dòbru, nęk pùběri si ję, ali sìm vędž da dòšęl nę bùdęš vû vi mělin."

[213]-[219] On the next evening Štefe comes back. This time he brings a gusle (a musical instrument) and a few bottles of liquor. He is again ill-treated by the devil and agrees to go away again. While picking up his belongings he pretens to drink from one of the bottles.

[213] Hât drùgi dôn ję tâ dètidž zòpęd nęk pròšęl, vû ti mělin. Znàl ję, da čę vrâg dôt. Tęr hat udněšęl ję si sòbum ôn va trìja stèkla [214]

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nȁkvę jâku dubrê, jâkę pâjinkę, pag jędnę lîpę gùslę, ar si ję jâku lîpu znȁl gùslat, tâ mlìnarski dètič. Hât pròšęl ę. [215] Mę̀lin ę ìšęl, môka curî, jędnûdž nęg zòpęd zašumìlu, vrâg ę òndę stùpil. Tęr vrâg nadô nji, nadâ ti Štêfę. Da "Nês ti čę̀ra rę̀kęl, da sìm vędž dôd nę̀j, da bi tę̀bę strèla ubìla, [216] sad ču tę tȁg zgòstit, da òdvud vęč pôd nę̀šęš." "Hat sad zâkęj, kę̀j ja òvdę dèlam?" Hâd zašnêl ga nęk pêhat, pêhat. Nê sę štêl mârit Štêfę, [217] nê štêl pôt, ali na tulìku, na tulìku, jâku ję bil ur vrâg lòčęst, jâku ga putôkęl, had da ìdę. Hâd dòbru ję, pòbral si ję sę̀ kęj ję ìmal, tęr kada štèl pôt, kat sę sprâvjal, [218] zêl ę ję̀dnu stèklu, tęr si ju vr̀gęl zôbum, tęr dęržî pri zôbi tû stèklu, kut kô pìję. Hâd dòbru ję. Òpęt si bę̀rę tô nję̀gvu, kęj ìma òndęn, tòpankę, pag rùhu, pag onda sȁćura,[16] [219] tęr hâd zòpęt sę nęg napìję. Hât ònda kat sę sprȁvil, tęr vęji vrâgu, hâd vęji: "Sad nę̀šu vędž dôt. Sat sęm prijêl da nę̀šu vędž dôt." Hât nę̀jpęr ę zêl stèklu, tęr zòpęt si ju vr̀žę zôbi, kut kô pìję.

[220]-[226] The devil drinks some liquor, too. He is apparently not acquainted with alcohol, but likes it very much. This creates the right atmosphere for a relaxed conversation.

[220] Vęji vrâg: "A kę̀j tî tò ìmaš? Kęj tî tò pìjęš?" Hâd vęji: "Znâš kęj? Ti vò nêsi vrêdęn, da tę jâ punùdim, ali napìj sę" vęji. [221] Had vrâg ę kùšal, puždròknę trìkrat-štìrkrat, "Pfû" vęji, "vò jâku dòbru, vò jâku dòbru." "Nò nęg napìj sę" vęji. Hat putêgnul ę, putêgnul ę. "Vę̀lu putêgni nęk." [222] Vęji had: "Glę̂dž" vęji, "ur pôl stèkla nê." "Tî sę zâtu nę̂j" vęji, "jâ ìmam uš trî trî stèklę.[17] Onda dę̀j" vęji, "jâ ču sę nȁpit, tęr onda ču pôt." Jȁ, Štêfę si ję zêl stèklu zôbom, ali nê ždròknul, nê puždròknul nęg dr̀žal ę. [223] Vrâga ję zmȁzal da ôn pìję. Hat vrâg ę ìmal ur dòbru vòju. Onda vęjî: "Sad no tî pit." Had nęk pìję, tęr pìję, ònda kišnìję zòpęd: "Napìj sę." Tęr su sę pomìnali. [224] Da zâkęj ôn môra sim dèlat dôd, ję ga pìtal vrâg. [225] Had vęji: "Jâ prôham mr̀vu kęj zìskat si hat, pinêz ę trêb, žìvit sę môra." Had vęji: "Sìn sę nę̀mrę dôt, i nę̀šu tę vędž bȁdnut, nę i potôč, lîpu čęš pôt, tęr budę dòbru." Vęji: "Dę̀j tu stèklu nęka sę napìjęm." Hâd dòbru ję. Vrâg ę putêgnul, [226] ali vę̀lu, hâd ur ę rębę̀ril, nê mògęl stât, ur ę vìdid bilu na njêm, da sę nȁpil. Hâd vęji: "Dę̀j hâd" vęji, "i jâ ču. Sad vò ję drùga stèkla, už ję̀dnu vêkę ìmam."

[16] *sȁćura* 'shopping-bag' is a spontaneous loan from Hu. (*szatyor*).

[17] This is not altogether correct: one of the three bottles is half empty.

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[227]-[231] Štefe plays the gusle and the devil gets very drunk.

[227] A zêl si ję nę̏jpęr ta Štêfę gùslę, tęr ę začnêl si ję rêdit. A vęji: "Tò kę̏j ìmaš?" "No" vęjî Štêfę, "nęk čèk," tęr si ję vȑgęl brȁdi, tęr ę začnêl gùslat, jâku lîpu ję začnêl gùslat. [228] "Hê," vrâgu sę vò jâku vìdilu. "Ê" vęji vò jâku lîpu gluŝî" vęji, "a kô tę̏bę vò navùčil?" "A jâ sęn sę navùčil sôm, ali vę̂g nę̏. [229] Sęm sprubajêval vêkę, tęr sęn sę navùčil." Tęr nęg gùsla, gùsla, jâku mu sę vìdilu. "Ijő" vęji, da jâku lîpu gluŝî. Ònda sę Štêfę nȁpil. [230] Ònda puždròknul pȑvu pâjinku ję ònda puždròknul, ję̏dęn žrk, tęr u dâ vrâgu. "Nò nęg" vęjî, "putêgni vę̏lu. Jâ už ìmam ję̏dnu stèklu." [231] Tęr ę vȁk pukȁzal mu da ôn už ìma ję̏dnu stèklu. A vrâg ę putêgnul, ali vę̏lu. Hât òpil ę sę vę̏lu tâ vrâg. Nê mògęl stât. Už i pomìnat sę ur nê mògęl jâku.

[232]-[252] The devil wants to learn to play the gusle. He now must put his hands into a vise, so that Štefe can clip his nails.

[232] A tâ ję nęg gùslal, tâ Štêfę, tęr vęjî tâ vrâg: "Tî" vęji, "nę̏mręš tî mę̏nę navùčit nâ vu?" Kȁg bi si ôn ràdu znȁl vag gùslat. A vȁkfu on uš čul nìgdęr nê. Kak sę nję̏mu vò vìdi. [233] "Ò" vęji, "vo nę̏mrę sę. Jâ tę̏bę nę̏mręm nâ vu navùčit." "A zâkęj?" Vęji: "Kȁkfę nòftę ìmaš tî krę̏mplinę" vęji, tî nę̏mręš pòpas òvdęn na vî gùsla, [234] tê drôtę, pag onda nę̏mręš tî s tìmi nòfti." Tęr nag ględî, vęji: "Nę̏mręđu sę vî kȁk ..."[18] "Stôj" vęjî Pìšta, "tò ču jâ urêdit, tê nòftę, navùčit ču tę, vag lîpu čęš si znat gùslat kud jâ." [235] "A kę̏j čęš z vìmi krę̏mplinami?" Had vęji: "Znâš kęj? Ìmam jâ ję̏dnu sprâv vomu." Tęr ę vȁk utprêl, tò ję bil šȁtu. "Sìm čęš si vag lîpu skùpa vrs rôkę, tęr ču jâ mȑvu tò stìsnut, [236] tęr ču pòpas škȁrję, pag râšpuja, tęr ču jâ tê nòftę lîpu narêdit, nę̏šę ur bit tùtę nìž nòftuf. Tȁkfę nòftę čęž ìmat kud jâ. Tęr čęš si znȁd gùslat." [237] "Ijê, vò bu jâku dòbru." "A dòbru ję" vęji hat, "onda čèk" vęji, "čęmu sę nȁpit" vęji tâ Štêfę. Had ję vrâga ònak òpil, a vrâg ur nê znal, da ję̏li ję vrâg ali ję̏li nê vrâg.

[238]-[252] Štefe turns on the vise till the blood squirts from the devil's fingers. Then he handles him severely with a hammer. In the end he lets him go and the devil flees, letting behind his little finger in the vise and taking the window-frame with him in his haste.

[238] Vęji: "Sad vrs si skùpa nęg rôkę. Sad si ję vrs" vęji, "to nùtęr. Ka bùdę ur stìsnutu, onda sę jàvi, onda nę̏šu vęč stìsnut." Tęr tôm ę si vȑgęl tê rôkę tâ vrâg. [239] Ti krę̏mplini su tak stâli gôri, ubȑnul ę, ubȑnul ę tô dęržȁlu. To sę stîščę, tâ šȁtu. Jędnûdž ję vrâg ... vęji: "Tî"

[18] *kȁk* must be interpreted as *kȁk-tȁk* 'some way'. The devil is interrupted by Štefe.

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vęji, "nâj vęč" vęji, "ar mę jâku stîščę, ar mę bujî na prsti. [240] Pŕsti mę bujê." Hâd dòbru ję. Tâ Štêfę ję stàl s têm ubrâčanjęm. A tômu šàtuju dęržàlu ję gôri stâlu jùs. Hâd dòbru ję. Ôn ę stàl, òndа pak popàdę, zgòra tô dęržàlu, [241] ubŕnę dvàkrat tôga šàtuja. "Hê," vrâg ę začnêl krìčat, hujìkat, krìčad, rût, a krv mu ję šprìcala, pak cìcala ut tî pŕstuv vùn. "Nà" mu vęjî tâ Štêfę, "sat sì. Sad òdvut pôd nę̀šęš, [242] cŕknut čęž, ubit čù tę." Pupàdę nôga vêlikuga klêpca, nâ, têri ję ud gùmija bîl, klêpęc, sad tò vęjê i *batác*, nę̀znam ję̀li ręzumìtę vî, s kêm tôčędu vê dèskę, [243] dè sę môka skùpa bę̀rę, tęr da bu curìla kat sę zadènę. A s tên klêpcęn ę začnêl tôga vrâga tâ tôč. Ali ònak, pu glàvi, pu ubràzi, pu nòsi. A vrâg ę rûl, krìčal. [244] "Čęž li dôd uš sìm?" ję ga mògęl pìtat. Žvìg, žvìg, žvìg, bùv, bùv, bùv, bùf mu pu glàvi. Ôn vędž nìgdęr, nęk nęg nję̀ga puščâ. "Nę̀šu tę pùščat, òvdę čęš cŕknut, òvdę ču tę ùbit." [245] Hât vę̀lu sę splòbal ta Pìšta va tôčęnji, a vrâg ę rûl, mu ję glâva visìla, ur nê mògęl pùhat, už i rût nê mògęl, mùrpo krìčat. [246] Ònda sę Štêfę napìję, zâdnju stèklu pâjinku načnêl, tęr mu vàk tôm pud nôs dŕžal stèklu vrâgu, tęr mu vęji: "Bì, bi sę nàpil, bì?" Tęr sę smèjal Štêfę. Pòpal ę klêpca, zòpęd ga začnêl gòstit pag bùbat. [247] Hat jâku ję ga putôkęl, tak sę mòjil tâ vrâg, on vędž nìgdęr sìm dôd nę̀ščę, nęka ga puščâ. "Sęn ti rę̀kęl ur, da tę nę̀šu pùščat, jâ ču tę̀bę dônjęk òvdę hàblat, dônjęk nę̀ budęš cŕknul. [248] Nò sad, vo sęn si jâ sad vu glâvu zêl, mę̀ni ję sad lâznu, tî nę̀mręš pôt." Ònda už i gùslat si ję začnêl. Tâ nìž nî rę̀kęl, nęk krìčal ę, sę plàkal. Zòpęt sę ga pòpal gòstit. [249] Hât ònda prę̀stal ę Štêfę nâ tu, da čę ga pùščat. "Hât sìm puslùšaj. Jâ ču tę pùščat. Ali aku už jędnûč sìm dôdęš, ìmam jâ ję̀dnu drùgaču sprâv. [250] Onda ču tę z nûm lòvit, ali ònda tę vęč pùščat nę̀šču, ònda čęž òndęn òstat, i zakòpat ču tę tu na dvôri va zę̀mju." Hât ôn nìgdęr nę̀šę vędž dôt. [251] Hat Štêfę ję tôga šàtuja pùščal mŕvu, pùščal, mŕvu sę puslàbil. Kad ę vrâg špêral, da sę mŕvu puslàbilu, škìnul si ję rôku, [252] ali ònak, už ę bîlu stìsnutu, da mâli prz mu ję òndę òstal va šàtuji. A ta vrâg ę ònak udrumpàtal na ublòki vùn, da rômę ublòkuv ę udnę̀sęl vùn.

[253]-[264] The devil does not show himself in or near the mill any more. Štefe tells the miller about his adventure. He marries the miller's daughter and the mill is transferred to him.

[253] "Hât nò ję̀" vęji ta Štêfę, "vò sęn sad nèkęj učìnjil. Kęj čę sad bìt?" Ję sę už i smèjal, vìdilu mu sę ję, ar mlìnar ję mu rę̀kęl: "Aku budęš tî vrâzę òdvut ščìstil, zrę̀nul ud vôga mujêga mę̀lìna, glę̀č, tò mòja čêr, lìpu čêr ìmam, tâ čę ti bìd žę̀na. [254] I mę̀lin čę bit tfôj, tęr

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tò ču ti sę dàt." Hât Štêfi ję vò nà misli dòšlu. Tęr hât jûtru ìdę guspudâr, tęr pîta Štêfu: "No kę̀j ję?" vęji. "Buďę da bîl vrâg, zòpęd ę bîl, sad ur pu drugôč." [255] A vęji: "Òto kę̀j ę tò sę krf?" "Hâd mlìnar, vrâg vęč sim nę̀šę dôt, nę vèrujęm." "A kę̀j si dèlal?" "A vę̀lu sęn ga napòjil, užę̀ral, nàpil, ònda sęn si gùslal. [256] Tò mu sę tàg vìdilu" vęji, "nęka jâ nję̀ga nâ tu navučîm." Vęji: "Sęm mu rę̀kęl tò sę nę̀mrę, ar ima tàkfę nòftę, ôn nę̀mrę pòpas gùslę, [257] tęr sęm mu rę̀kęl, da ču jâ tê nòftę urêďit, nęka si ję vřžę va šàtu, vag rôkę skùpa. Ur sęm ja mrâznu stìsnul, da nję̀mu ję nęg nak cicâla krf, pak škràpala, òtu ję" vęji, "tâ krf. [258] A z nên klêpcęm sęm pag ga pak tôkęl už i ję̀dnu ûru dùžičku. Kat sęn sę mògęl zapùhat, onda sęn sę mògęl nàpit pâjinkę. Hât ònda sęn ga pùščal nèkak tę̀šku. [259] Ôn vędž nìgdęr sìm nę̀šę dôt. Tag ę udrumpàtal, glę̂dž" vęji, "nôga ublòka, už i rômę ję udnę̀sęl vun." Tęr tâ sę čùdi. "Nà" vęji, "nâ vu sęm jâ jâku ..." [260] (hât kak ču už i ręč hurvâtski, vęji̇̀du *neigeri*, ali vo ję nêmška rêč, hurvâtski už i nę̀znam ręč, ar nâž ję̀zig ę siromàšęg ję̀zik. Ję tàkfi rêči da nę̀mręmu ręč hurvâtski, ar nę̀znamu). [261] Tęr hât dòbru ję, dôdę přvi vę̀čęr, drùgi vę̀čęr, trèti vę̀čęr, vrâga nê. Ònda pêti vę̀čęr, ònda bîlu ur vędž mlìnaruv òndęn, dèlali su, i guspudâr ę dòšęl. [262] Ję̀dęn mèsęc, dvâ mèsęci, trî mèsęci, dèlali su, mę̀lin ę jâku vę̀liku ... had ... krajìnu ìmal. Čùda-čùda jûdi ję ìšlu, vuzìlu zřnja tôm, vę̀lu ję ìšęl mę̀lin. [263] Hât onda vęjî tômu Štêfi: "Hat Štêfę" vęji, "jâ sęn tę̀bi ubę̀čal, da čę mòja čêr bit tfòja žę̀na, pag i mę̀lin budę tfôj, aku vrâzę zrę̀nęž òdvut. [264] Hâd dòšęl ę tâ čàs, čêr mi ję tò, zêt čęš si ju za žę̀nu, prisêč čętę, i mę̀lìna ču nâ tę prępìsat." Hâd dòbru, vò sę vag zgòdalu, bîlu vêliku vęsêję, tęr su tôncali, gùslali, čùda jûdi bîlu.

[265]-[273] On a boat-trip, the newly-weds spot the devil hiding in the reed. The young woman is forced to show the devil a body-part that reminds him of his traumatic experience with the vise. The devil flees and is never seen again.

[265] Hat tòmu ję kònędz bîlu. Drùgi dôn – kud vàkfi mlâdi pôdędu sę mřvu, hât, ali va lôg, ali nàkfu lîpu sinôkušu, mřvu hât šêtat, špacêrat – [266] hat vî su pròšli, ali na vòdu, no ziš ziš čônęm, na čôn. Lîpa vòda bîla, nàkuf tôsti šîj – lètu ję bîlu, zęlêni – ję râsęl. Tìcę su si fùčkalę. Tęr sę ondę lîpu vę̀sladu, s tûm žę̀num mlâdum. [267] Tęr òndę ję vòda nag vôska pustàla, tôm ę rìnul Štêfę čôna nùtęr. Òndę su sę̀li, tęr hat su sę začnêli pumìnat, kud vàkfi mlâdi, mřvu ìgrat, dràgat, kę̀j-kęj. [268] Jędnûdž nęk tâ mlâda žę̀na vęjî: "Ijő Štêfę, glę̂dž" vęji, "ònu ję vrâg" vęji. "Dèn?" vęji. "A òtu na drùgęn strônki, glę̂č. Ònu čučî va šîji." [269] Hât kat sę Štêfę tôm ubřnul, ôn ę vę̀k pòznal vrâga,

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da tò tâ vrâg, têruga ôn zgòstil va męlìni. Ijő, kę̀j čę sad òvdę bìt? [270] "Znâš kęj" vęji tuj mlâduj, "tî sę ubȑni tôm zi zàdnjęm kràjęm, glâvu si pùšči dôli, tęr si zdìgni hàję gôri." A vęji: "Kęj mi puvêdaž" vęji, "kę̀j vo guvòriš, kę̀j čę vo bìt?" [271] "Ali frìšku" vęji, "jâku frìšku." Had nâ nê štèla nâ vu prę̀vòjit, Štêfę ju pòpal, prętìsnę juj glâvu dôli, škòru ję juj ... da męd nògę ju stìsnul, tęr zdìgnę juj hàję, tęr tôm vrâgu râvnu ję ju upȑčil. [272] Vrâg ględî, ględî, tęr nęg ględî, tak sę prę̀stràšil. Hât tò ję štìmal, kę̀j ôn vìdi, da tò ję šàtu. Hat tag ę udrumpàtal, da ònag ę udlę̀til, [273] da ta šîj sę zàgnul du vudê, ud lùfta kag ę udlę̀til vrâg. Hâd òdnudzęm vrâga nìgdęr nê bîlu vęč. A vî mlâdi i sàd už žîvidu, aku nêsu mrêli, i mę̀lin ìdę.

[274]-[276] Epilogue. It was all a story: devils and witches never existed, and if they did they do not exist anymore. Or do they?

[274] Had vò ję štôrnici kònęc. Ali hâd vò nęk štôrnica bîla, vò nê bîlu ìstina, ar vrâzuv nê bîlu, i bòsurkuv nę̀, i sàd i nê, nęk hat to ręčę̀nu. Ję̀ i *ugyan*, ud vôga kòręna ję̀ uš, [275] na Ùndi su dvâ, òndę va hurvâtskęm sę̀li, vag na Prìsiki, i tò ję jędnu hurvâtsku sę̀lu. Jà hât, vędž i nê, ja ìstina, ję̀dęn ję̀ i na Bòjsi. Tò ję tâ, têri ję pȑvuga kòlhosa načìnjil. [276] Had vàk sę skònčala vâ štôrnica. Sad ę kònęc.

[277]-[286] The narrator tells something about himself and takes his leave.

[277] A sàt ču si mȑvu hât i zâ sę ręč. Pâr rêči. Jâ sęm *Horváth* Fę̀ręnc, naròdil sęn sę ję̀zęru dę̀vętstô i dvę̀jsęd ję̀dnu lètu, januhâri usamnę̂jstuga. Ònda sęm dičâg bîl, škòlu sęm hòdil, [278] a jàpa mi ję ìmal mȑvu grûnta. Ònda kišnìję, kat sęm ut škòlę òstal vùn, s tên grûntęn smu dèlali, pumagâli smu jàpi. I jâ, pag ję̀dnu čêr ę ìmal. [279] Ònda hât, tę̀žęk svêd ę ę̂m bil put *Hortięm*. Tęr òndę smu žìvili, tęr smu sę rìvali. Hât dôdę Hìtlęrski bòj, ònda su mę udnę̀sli za suldàta, za katônu, tęr sęm zàšęl vùn, va Rûsku had. [280] Nę va Rûsku čâr, nęg va Lę̀ndęlsku, va Pòlsku, tu va Karpàtę. A òndę sęm pòstal ràn̨jęn, uplasêran na rôku, dòšęl sęn dumôm. Tęr hât smu sę zòpęt pupàli dèlat. [281] Ònda su Rûsi bili òvdę. Hât jâ sęm bil va kòlhosi trî lètę, ònda va kȑčmi ję sę hât nèkęj tàkfu zgòdalu, da sę môral zmènjit kęčmâr. Kô čę bit, kô čę bit? [282] Ònda sęn kęčmâr pòstal. Tu sęm bil kęčmâr sędamnę̂jz lêt. Šęzdęsêt trètuga lèta do usamdęsêtuga lèta, na Bòžič sęm pròšęl na ... na ... kak ču tò ręč, [283] vò zòpęd nę̀znam puvèdat, va *nyugdíj*, had mî vògęrski *nyugdíj* vęjìmu, hurvâtski nę̀znam ręč. Čętę vî zvèdit kę̀j ję tò. Hat òdnudzęm zi žę̀num dòma dèlamu, [284] imômu mȑvu grùnta, tęr vàkfu kęj ję hâd na plôc trêb, vàkfu pę̀r-

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šin, mȑkfa, lùk, cę̏jar, karalâbi, paprȉka, vȁkfęn sę plòbamu, grâ, pak sę sakurjȁčku, z vêm dèlamu kęj mòręmu. [285] Tęr hât, vak smò, i dônjęk sę sad rȉvamu, dônjęg ę nan dupuščônu, da mòręmu žȉvit. A âtręz mi ję: ...[19] [286] Vò mi ję âtręs. Hât sȁt ču sę hât utkȉnud ud vôga *magnója*, dòbru zdrȁvję vam žêjim. Z bôgum.

Fertőhomok: Life in the old days

This text consists of fragments of a recording I made during a session with Margit Hospely (Károlyné), one of my main Fe informants, in July 1988.

I

She interrupts her work in the field to cook for her child and to put to soak the laundry. For the laundry she used ashes and for polishing shoes she used soot from the cooking-gear.

Na trêtu uru sęn zòpęd ot pòja bȉciklija gonjȉla, zòpęt sęm skùhala dętę̏tu. Ȉšla sęm nȁjzadj, kȁj sęm po njêm zêla vùn, męrskê pę̏lęnkę, tò sęn za zdę̏nędc vȑgla va korȉto, tò sęn ti âm nočȉ z rôkum prâla. Pak kad ę od gòdinę ȉšla vòda dôlę, kad ę gòdina curȉla, jâ sęn si vêkę plę̏ha vȑgla ... nò ... kȁk sę mòrę tò vȑs ... ot šporhę̏la sęm zêla kaj ję ... prâh bȉl ... nò ... kȁk sȁd govorȉmo? ... (...)[20] Pę̏pęl, ùdję, tò sęn znȁla vȑz va šajtâr[21], tęr nâ to ję dòšla godȉni ę̂m vòda[22] tùtę na čęrêpi, tò ję ùdję curȉlo dôlę, tęr tò ję ... va têm smo prâli. Nê êm bilo na sȁpun pęnês. Ȁli tòpankę zamȁzat sȁd ję̏, vâla Bògu, ali ònda znâš kȁj smo dèlali? Špòrhęltu smo si hȉtili gôre vęnôga plȁtnija, tęr otôga kòroma sęm zêla, z otêm sęn si dęcôm ož jâ tòpankę ščȉstila da nę̏ budęjo blȁtni tòpanki. Kòroma, kaj ję špòrhęltu ... jûtro sęm znȁla, udję, zdę̏n ę bil špòrhęlt, obȑnola sęm plȁtnija – plȁtni, tȁg vęjimo –, tęr (..)[23] sęm si zêla vòdu, tęr otôga plȁtnija kot sęm vȁg obȑnola, tò sęn si z vòdum zêla dôlę. Tęr ovȁk sęm dęcôm tòpankę ščȉstila.

Question: what is a *platni*?

Kȁj ję òno kòrom, nùtra, ôn čȑni kòrom. Od otôga sęm onda, z

[19] I left out the address.

[20] From *vȑgla* the informant is looking for the word *pę̏pęl* 'ashes'. A few words (indicated by "(...)") were not understandable to me and have been omitted.

[21] Spontaneous loan: Hu *sajtár* 'pail'.

[22] *godȉni ę̂m vòda* 'rain-water' uncertain, perhaps **godȉnja vòda*.

[23] Incomprehensible word.

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vȍdum, z otên sęn si dęcôm tȍpankę ščȉstila, da ako sęm tȍ ščȉ[stila][24] da bȕdęjo mi škȍlu prȍšli dȅca va kajčȅmo ubȕtęji. Nȁ, z otêm smo mi tȍpankę čȉstili, *bizony*[25]. Jâko oš da smo sę nadȅlali. Ali vâla Bȍgu, da smo bȉli zdrȁvi, nęgo jâko čȕda smo dȅlali.

II

How she worked for the kolkhoz (Hu. *téesz*) for twenty years[26]. About her children's education. How hard they used to work.

Ȍnda dȍšęl têjęz nȕtęr, dvȁjsęd lêt sęm onda va têjęsi dȅlala. Onda sęn si dȅcu zvȕčila, si dvâ. Jȅdnoga do *egyetem* ę pa drȕgoga do *főiskola*[27] da je hat hȍdil. Bȕdję, jȅdęn ę dȅvęd lêt hȍdil škȍlu, a drȕga ję pak ... štȉri ... dȅvęt. Nȍ, jȅdęn ę pȁk ȍsam, nȍ, lêt, a ȍsam na Hęčkȕr su hodȉli pak otsȉm[28] so hodȉli. Jâko ę nam ę bȉlo tȅško, ali jâko čȕda smo sę nadȅlali. Zimȉ ję mi mȍš na lȅdi tręsjê žȅl, a lȅti va vȍdi. Od ovôga smo imȁli pęnêz. A kat smo mȉ va têjęz dȍšli nȕtęr, onda so nan dâli *nulla ötven*, *nulla hatvan*, *nulla nyolcvan*[29]. Tȍ ję bȉlo na jȅdęn dôn smo za tridȅsęt fȍrinti dȅlali. Da mȉ smo sę nadȅlali, va têjęsi, nȅ âm sȁd da ję mašȉn. Nek ka smo mȉ na nȍgi – bâr ę kȁg bil tfȍrdo nam mȅkfa pak pȅršin – tȍ smo mȉ sȅ na nȍgi morȁli. Mȅni so mę ... nȍgę nô nič prȍšlę. Kȁj ti štimâš, tolȉko smo ... na hȍdę so nam zmęrȉli. Tȍ, od ... jûtro, od zarônoga do kęsnôga smo vêkę tȍ dȅlali. Ovȉ korostâj[30] kod mȉ, mȉ smo sę jâko ož i nadȅlalę, ovê žȅnę. Sad ur ę sȁkomu lȅgję. A mašȉnę pomȁžęjo.

[24] The part of the word between [ ] was filled in by me.

[25] Hu. *bizony* 'certainly' is sometimes used as an expletive word by my informants.

[26] According to my information, the kolkhozes were founded in 1958. In 1968 the Hi, Fe and Hegykő kolkhozes were united under Hegykő leadership. In 1990 the kolkhoz was dissolved.

[27] *egyetem* means 'university', *főiskola* means 'college'.

[28] *otsȉm* 'from here' is uncertain. It has not been attested elsewhere.

[29] 0.50, 0.60, 0.80. It is not clear what these numbers refer to. If these are amounts in forints per hour, they cannot have earned 30 forint a day (cf. next sentence).

[30] *korostâj* is a spontaneaous loan (Hu. *korozstáj* 'generation').

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III

Question: did the women work harder than the men?

Answer: they did. When her husband came home she still had to cook, wash the laundry and tie her vegetables to bundles for the market. When her husband did his military service, her family helped her and gave her fresh reed to feed her livestock.

Hat käg nę̏? Môži so dȍšli domôm, blâgo so nakr̂mili, môž ę mi lę̏gęl, ar ę va ję̏zęri sę jâko zatrȕdil. Ali jâ sęm si morȁla nočî skȕhat, jâ sęm nočî prâla, jâ sęm ti nočî na plôc hodȉla, s pę̏ršinęm, z mr̂kvum, tȍ sęn si jâ vêzad morȁla. Da bȕdęm i do jûtra mȍgla pôd va têjęz dȅlat.

Question: how much sleep did you get?

Kolȉko sęm spâla? Znâš kaj sęn dȅlala? Ȍvo ję bila kȍmora nam, kat smo si vo načinjȉli. Ȍvdę ę bil ję̏dęn vêliki ȍblok. Jâ sęn ti si ȕrę navlêkla, kat sęm bila tȁkfa trȕdna da sęm ... nêz mȍgla vêzat pę̏ršina. Jâ sęn ti si ȕrę navlêkla – "jâj, sad ur nę̏mręm vȉdit, sat ču si ȕrę navlêč" – tęr onda so mi zvončȉčkalę ȕrę. Jâ sęn si onda vr̂gla ję̏dnu djȕpu, pa onda pokrȍfca, tęr sęn čudakrât tȁk spâla na zę̏mji, da bȕdęm do jûtra mȍgla pôt va têjęs. Tę̏ško ję nam bȉlo, pr̂vę, tę̏ško ję nam bȉlo ȍnda svêt. Ȍnda ȕrę so zvončȉčkalę, jâ sęm tȕtę dȁję vêzala, da bȕdęm imȁla ot tôga pęnês. Kȁj sęm Šȍpron hodȉla, na bȉcikli sęn si ję vr̂gla gȍrę, tęr na alomâš[31] Ebę̏nfurti. Tęr Šȍpron sęn znala pôt prodȁvat tôga pę̏ršina, da sęn si donę̏sla sȍji, cȕkora, môkę, da sęm mȍgla si jâ dȅcu odrȍnjit. Vȁkof svêd ę ȍnda bil. Onda môž ę mi prȍšęl za katônu, onda imȁla sęm va sę̏li brȁta šôgora, pag možovjê̏ šôgor, onî so mę̏ni od ję̏zęra šȉja donę̏sli. Znâš, to kȁj ę tręsjê zimî, a lȅti ję šȉj, tȁk so govȍrili. Jâ sęn si znȁla zêd vȍlę, tęr sęn znȁla pôt tôm na kanâliš[32], ȍndę so mę̏ni znȁli dât šȉja da sęm jâ mȍgla blâgo si nakr̂mit.

Question: what is šij?

Kot trȁva, nęg da ę mlât, tęr tȍ ję blâgo ję požęrâlo, tôga šȉja. Ȕdję, od otôga ję zimjî tręsjê, od otôga vęnôga.

IV

After her husband's military service they still had to work very hard, but there was relative prosperity. The kolkhoz was extended: Hidegség and Hegykő participated in it now, prices were better and they built their own house.

Nȍ onda môž ę mi pag dȍšęl domôm, onda smo pak ȕdję ovu hȉžu

[31] *alomâš* is a sontaneaous loan: Hu. *állomás* 'station'.

[32] *kanâliš* is a spontaneaous loan: Hu. *kanális* 'canal'.

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si začnęli načìnjat. Ar ònda ur, tàk smo bili jàki, onda ur têjęz vęč plà čal. A nê nęg jędno sęlo bîlo, nęg onda so vȑgli Hędęšìncę vû vo sęlo, Hędęsìnęc, Hòmočki pak Hečkùrski.[33] Onda so mȑvo bòję plačàli, pak ur so bîli jûdi spamętnìji, bòję so znàli sę račùnat, kî ję kolìko dèlal. Onda kat sen si ja dècu ràn̂jila[34], onda tàg bilo, sàkomu so zmęrìli vun dêla. I jâ onda budję, jędęn hôd, nò, cukorèpa[35] sęn si zêla okàpat, da sęm jâ na trî ûrę mògla vêkę dôd domôm dècu si nakȑmit. Tê mâli mi ję mȑkal na dècu, Kàrči na *Mártiku*[36]. Ôv sîn mi ję mȑkal nâ vu mâlu, dęvìčicu. Ònda smo ti si mî načìnjili ovôga stâna[37], ar onda nam nêso dâli oš ... nò, nêso nam dâli *kölcsön*-a„[38], nêso nam dâli pęnêz ... načînjamo. Tęr onda smo si jędno ... stâna[39], drùgodž drùgoga stâna, ovâk pomȑvičko smo si mî ovo načinjìli. Od otôga čùda dèla, ar, ùdję ęm, pędršin je jędno lèto bil drâg, drùgo lèto ję bil lèkocêno, ôv pędršin. Tàk, ako ję bil ... dòbru cênu ję ìmal onda smo ràdovali ar vęč pęnês smo imàli. Ali ot têjęsa nęsmo si mògli nìž nę kùpit. Kad ę Hečkùr začnęl pędjat[40] – spamêtni jûdi so bîli, bòję so znàli račùnat, so znàli – onda so nam vęč plačàli. No onda sęn si vêkę, sàko lèto, jędnu hìžu kupìla, ar va jędnuj so mi pìpli spâli, va jędnuj hìži, va drùguj smo mî s dęcôm skùpa spâli, a tù jędnu pìtęrbu smo imàli, sad ur ęm ę[41] pak hìža. Tęr ovâk smo ti vêkę pomȑvo, pomȑvo da smo gôrę dòšli. Ònda smo si kupìli mòtorbicìklija, ònda smo si kupìli tràktora, autôha. Sàd ur smo ur lègję, sad imômo vâla Bògu, ali jâko čùda smo sę nadèlali.

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[33] This sentence ends a bit strange, probably because the informant's tongue tripped over the first word after *Hędęšìnęc*. Like in Àngolski (fragment VIII) a NPLM of an ADJ is used instead of a noun.

[34] "Better dialect" would be *rônjila* (see the foot-note to II.3.2.3).

[35] *cukorèpa* is a spontaneaous loan: Hu. *cukorrépa* 'sugar beet'.

[36] Names of resp. the son and the daughter. The latter name is in italics because of the Hu. vowel *á*.

[37] "Better dialect" would be *stôna* (see the foot-note to II.3.2.3).

[38] Hu. *kölcsön* 'loan'.

[39] *stân* here obviously does not refer to the whole house but to a room.

[40] Reference is made to the moment that Hegykő became part of the same kolkhoz. Hegykő is larger than Hi and Fe and apparently dominated the kolkhoz.

[41] *ur ęm ę* uncertain.

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V

How her children used to help their parents with everything.

Dèca so nam pròšlę, va vêm sęli mi ję sîn, Šopròni mi ję čêr, sàt so nî òsębi, pag i mî smo. Ali mòja dèca, kat so va *gimnázium* hodìli – vàkfa ję bila mâla dęvìčica ur – tâ ję męni mučkušę oprâla, tâ ję męni sę orêdila, dòma, sę mi ję oprâla. I sîn, kad ę va *gimnázium* hòdil, sę lèto je pròšęl tùtę – nęznam jęli razumîš – jargônj, to vêkę ję jargônja ... ôn pèšę ję ga pêhal, nò. Kad ę pag ur vękči bil, ònda ę pròšęl vêkę sprâvjat sêno, žęt. Pak pri mašìni, da ję pròšęl zô mę dèlat, tęr męni so tò ičìga[42] napìsali. Nò, dęčâg ę pròšęl. Siròma kùpil ę si kad ę dijâg[43] bîl, kùpil ę si magnôha, radijôha. A siròma oš kat so zvorìli[44], od osmî, os sęz jàpum – kàj smo dostâli ot têjęsa dvâ hôdę grùnta, jâ ję̀dęn hôd i jàpa – oš ę ponàvęčęr ę vêkę kùkoricu pròšęl okàpat. Kad ę dòšęl domôm vèz ę bil poščìpan, da so ga *szunyog*-i[45], nò, da so ga poščìpali. A tò ję tàg ràdo ôn dèlal, da, bùdę si mògęl kaj-to ot tôga pènęza kùpit. Hât ovâk smo dòšli na tolìko, da smo si ję zvùčili pak kad ... i him smo pomàgali sad va hìžu, i čęrî mi, pag njęmu[46]. Sad ę zâto bòji kî dèla, ję̀ âm ki nę dèla, i tàkfi jûdi ję âm. Ali ôn ìma kî dèla. Nęg ôn nę̀, ki tò čęka da čę mu gòlob va zôbę odlętit, pedig nęšę. Ki dèla on si sad mòrę zìskad dèlo.

VI

How her husband went to mow reed when lake Fertő was frozen over.

Ar môj môž ę fębruhâri, da ję sę rùho nô njęga smr̂znolo, pag ę môral va vodî šîja žęt, ali tręsjê žęt. Tęr so ga znàli dôt, òtud, od-dàlkud od Pęštę, tô tręsjê so znàli kùpit. Tęr ot tôga ję si siròmah člòvęk pènęzę mògęl zìskat, od otôga tręsjâ. Sàdašnję ... mlâdoga va vòdu zimjî zgônjat nùtęr?[47] A nę̀ ęm va gùmi čìžme, nęg dręvôni bòč-

[42] Hu. *egység* 'unit' (here: certain amount of work). The son helped the informant by doing part of the work that she was supposed to do for the kolkhoz.

[43] Spontaneous loan: Hu *diák* 'schoolboy'.

[44] This is not clear to me. Perhaps a mistake for *zvonìli* 'ring'?

[45] Hu. *szunyog* 'mosquito'.

[46] The informant means that the parents saw to it that the children received a good education and could buy or build their own houses.

[47] The informant means that the younger generation would never agree to do this kind of work.

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kuri! Da nę̏ budę onô tręsjê njim čìžmę nô nidž vȑglo. Tęr va sâru ję pag curìla njim vȍda, nȍ. I môž ę mi tȁg obętę̏žal onda, da ję sę olȁdil, ar ę va vȍdi moral žę̏t tręsjê. A pènęzi so bîli trêp, ar ę mu jȁpa zarȏn mrêl, a pętìmi so bîli brȁti, sȅstrę. Njê sę odrȏnjid morȁlo. Onda vȁkov svêd bil. Sȁd ę ... mî tȁg ględìmo da je sȁd bȍji svêd, nęg ȍnda oš, razumîš? Ali sȁdašnji mlâdi, nę̏p sę mȍglo va ję̏zęro je odzgȏnjat va vȍdu zimjî tręsjê žę̏t. A bi tȍ rę̏kli: "*inkább*[48] nę̏šu jês," nę̏? Nȍ. Nê vo ȍtak kod mî, nȁs so nęg na dȅlo navučìli. Nę̏ ȕčit, ali učnìji člȍvęg sad ima vę̏č pômęti, nę̏? Ar nȁs nêso mȍgli vȕčid, ar nêso imȁli starjî jûdi pęnês. Ali sȁd ę̂m ur mlâdi vìdijo, od nȍsa dȁję vìdijo.

VII

When the Russians came, the local people fled from their houses to the lake. The Russians broke a lot of crockery, but didn't molest too many women.

Kat so dȍšli ȍrosi[49] mî smo prȍšli va ję̏zęro. Potȏkli so nam ędìnję pak sę̏. Ali nêso žę̏nę, pâr žên, da so mȑsko prębaratȁli zęš njìmi, têrę so dȍma ostȁlę, ali têrę so va ję̏zęro prȍšlę ... Prȍšli so kręs sę̏la, tęr niž nêso venȏdjili, nęgo vag edìnję so potȏkli.

VIII

She now tells about the Jews who were kept prisoners by the Germans in World War II. They lived under inhuman circumstances in cellars in Hidegség and Ilonamajor (a small settlement between Hidegség and Kiscenk, see Map 2) and were forced to build military fortifications (Hu. *sánc*). During Allied bombings everybody else fled into the woods, but the Jews seemed not to care and stayed where they were. The local people used to secretly give them some food at night.

Žìdovi, ovî so va Hędę̏šìni stâli. Jâko smo ję mìlovali. Ȕdję, tȕtę so šâncę kȍpali. Jêzuš, kolìko žìdovov ę tȕtę bîlo. Tȁk smo ję mìlovali, tȕtę so va zîmi vęnȏdjili, kȍpali tôga šânca. Tęr ę Ȉlonamajor bîlo. Pobrâli so ję sę̏ gȏrę, odnę̏sli so ję. Tȕtę i nužìno[50] mrêlo, pa pajtȁbi so bili zimjî, pa smo sę plȁkat znȁli zô nję, tak so dȑtali, jâko smo ję mìlovali.

Question: how many of them were there?

O, tȍ sę povȅdad nę̏mrę, va pajtȁba so bili, pag va têm Mȁjori, *Ilo-*

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48 Hu. *inkább* 'rather, sooner'.

49 The normal dialect word for 'Russian' is *rûs*. In this text the informant uses the Hu. word *orosz* with Croatian case endings.

50 Perhaps the informant meant to say **množina mrêla*.

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namajorba so bîli, jâko čüda.[51] Kat so Àngoli ìšli tüdāj, ùdję, i ovî nàši so va lôk hodìli, tî sę nìš nêso bòjali. Tî so nęg glę̏dali tê röpülêhę, mi smo sę pag bòjali, da čę nas postrêjat. Čìsto so dòšli tî röpülêhi àngoli. Jêzuš, idę̏jo Àngolski, čęjo naz pobombàzovat! Vêkę smo sę bòja[li][52], tàkva dęvìčica sęm ož nęg bîla. Mî smo znàli vêkę lę̏čt. Rèpu smò kò pali va ję̏zęri. Tęr ovàkfi ... duplâstę vęnê so imàli, nò tàk smo rę̏kli, da – nò kàk ču rę̏č – têlo, duplâsto têlo[53] so imàli. Jêzuš, onda so vôga Pinjârskoga alomâša[54] pobombàzovali, a vî so nęg glę̏dali! Da ję Jôška, Vlàdi mi rę̏kęl: "Vî stę sę skrîli a vî žìdovi siromàhi, ovî so nęk stâli, kot so kòpali va tuj vêlikuj gràbi, tęr so ję nęg glę̏dali. Onî nêso lę̏gli," vęji, "va brâzdu". Ręko: "Čüję̏š, skòro so nam kùpa, rèpno[ga][55] voga kùpa kak so sę obr̀noli[56], tęr onda so voga alomâša pobombàzovali," ręko "tàk smo sę moràlę skrîd, da nam krę̏juti pak kòlo, da naz nê lovìlo". Nò tag nìsko so sę̏li dôlę. Pak vî siromàhi sę nêso bòjali, ovî žìdovi. Kàj so vî skusìli! Onde va prêtejicuj[57] pajtàbi so jâko čudìmi mrêli. Onda ję bîla ję̏dna bàba, onâ njim krùha znàla spę̏č, nò, snęhìna bàba, onâ im znala krùha pę̏č, ali nęk tàkvu dôb ę njim kad dâla, kat so spâli. Ovâ ję va pę̏či si – i jâ ìmam òvdę tàkfu pę̏č – krùha ję znàla spę̏č, tęr im ę znàla dât krùha, da bùdęjo sę najèli, znâš. Da zâto jûdi so ję ę̂m ònak môčę so kr̀mili ovê žìdovę.[58] Ali bùdje kàk hat pak vî so bili mlahàvi, jâko čüda i mrêlo, jâko čüda.

[51] The estimates of my informants of the number of Jewish prisoners in Hidegség vary between 800 and 2000. There were also many of them in the quarries of Fertőrákos.

[52] The last part of the word (between [ ]) was filled in by me.

[53] The informant is explaining that the planes were double-decked.

[54] Reference is made to the railway-station of Pinnye, a village not far from Fe.

[55] Uncertain. The last part of the word (between [ ]) was filled in by me.

[56] The informant probably means that the planes almost touched the heap of beets that they just dug out with their wings when they turned round.

[57] *prêtejicuj* is uncertain and unclear. The informant obviously wants to say 'in the cellar of my *prêtęljica*'.

[58] These were probably acts of heroism, since the Germans could deal very harshly with those who concerned themselves with their prisoners. The brother of one of my Hi informants was shot dead on the spot when he made a remark on the cruel treatment of the Jews.

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IX

Question: when did the Russians come?

Answer: in 1945 on Easter Monday. She was a young girl and had to cook for them. She always kept a knife in her boot because there were rumours that the Russians molested women.

Čętęrdẹ̑sęt pêt, na vùzęmski pȍndęjęk, onda so dȍšli sìm. Jâ sęm bila tȁkfa mlâda dęvìčica, tęr sęn znȁla dôd domôm njim skùhat. Pręštìmaj, ùdję, vȍda ję bîla, kręz jẹ̑zęra smo prȍšli, tęr nęg ovâk va *part*[59] smo si bùnkęrę načinjìli. Vêkę sęm si va čìžminu sâru sęn si nôža znȁla vȑs, a so vêkę tȍ rẹ̑kli da dêklę tę polovìjat. Ręko: "Jâ ču ga vêg ...nȍ, štrȍfit" tȍ sęm rẹ̑kla. Dȍšla sęm domôm tęr sęm znȁla têja njim skùhat, dȍma, sùj družìni.

[59] Hu. *part* 'bank, shore'.

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LEXICON

Structure of the entries

An entry may consist of the following parts:

(1) A main entry form (in boldface) followed by a morphological label (if applicable) and a description of the meaning(s) of the word, in most cases in the form of one or more translations. When the usual "dictionary form" of an inflected word is available, it will be used as main entry: the NSG(M) for nouns and pronouns, the INDM for adjectives, the INF for verbs. In such cases the morphological label will be omitted. Very often, however, another form must be used. If necessary for the alphabetical ordering, a hypothetical form is used as main entry (see below). A set of verbs consisting of (a) a simplex and compounds derived from it, or (b) compounds derived from the same stem for which no simplex exists or is available, is treated as one entry with sub-entries.

(2) The other attested forms of the paradigm, with morphological labels.

(3) Examples of the use of the word, preceded by "◇".

(4) Remarks, preceded by "▷".

(5) A reference, preceded by "→", either to another entry or to a part of main text of the book; sometimes an entry consists of not more than a main entry form and a reference (see, for instance, *ârẹndu*).

More about the morphological labels

Very often different forms of one paradigm are identical. (In terms of I.5.3.2, FORMs belonging to different MACROFORMs can be homonymous). For instance, the ASG of masculine class Ia nouns is identical either to the NSG or to the GSG (see III.2.1.2). In such cases the morphological label used in the lexicon depends on the form(s) that was/were actually attested (the label corresponds to the BOX(es) of the actually attested MACROFORM(s)). For instance, if an ASG of a class Ia masculine word was attested with an ending identical to that of the GSG (direct object), it will be labelled "ASG". If the GSG of the same word was also attested, it will be marked "GASG".

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Use of the signs "|" and "-" in the presentation of inflected forms
The notation *nös|it*, *-iš*, *-idu* is an abbreviation for *nösit*, *nösiš*, *nösidu*. The LPPLM is given as *-ili/nosìli*, which means *nösili/nosìli*. Sometimes the sign "|" is used twice in the same lemma, e.g. *mäh|at* 'wave', VN *-anję*, PR2SG *mâš|ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*. The forms presented in this example are *mähat*, *mähanję*, *mâšęš*, *mâšę*. Sometimes two forms with " |" are given immediately one after another, e.g. *sëm|/sêm|* 'fair', LSG *-i*, APL *-ę*. This means that the LSG and APL forms are *sëmi*, *sêmi* and *sëmę*, *sêmę*, respectively.

Notation
As almost everywhere in the book, the dialect forms will be written in the standard notation, which is very close to the phonemic notation (see I.6.6.1).

Notation of forms showing variation
The dialect shows the following types of variation:
(i) the type NPL *ljûdi-jûdi* 'people' (see II.3.3.3);
(ii) the type *napünit-zapünjit* 'fill', *mìslit-mìsljit-mìsjit* 'think' and *bêljit* 'whitewash', PR3SG *bêji* (see VI.5.3);
(iii) the type *šväja/šťäja* 'seamstress' (see II.3.3.1 (2)).

However, for many forms not all possible variants have been attested and the phonemic make-up of such form can be uncertain. Therefore in all forms that are (possibly or certainly) subject to (i), (ii) or (iii) the notation in the lexicon will follow the phonetic realization(s) found in the actually attested forms.

Notation of forms in sandhi position
In the examples (see (3) above) the standard notation will follow the phonetic realization of the attested forms, which means that in sandhi position the standard notation can differ somewhat more from the phonemic notation than usual.

Distinction of Hi and Fe forms in the lexicon; distinction of unstressed *o* vs. *u* in the notation
(a) In the main entry form and the other attested forms of the paradigm (see (1) and (2) above) Hi and Fe forms will only be distinguished from each other and marked "^{h}" and "^{f}" if there is an attested difference between the Hi and Fe forms other than

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the nondistinction vs. distinction between unstressed *o* and *u* (see I.6.6.3) or if there is reason to expect that such differences exist or can exist. I shall give a few examples.

(i) Phonological: the distinction between low vowels before tautosyllabic *j* (see II.3.2.4).

(ii) Morphological: the GPL of masculine nouns and the PR3PL endings of verbs (see III.2.1.2 and VI.2.3).

(iii) Lexical: *cïgla*[h] vs. *tëgla*[f] 'tile'.

(b) The examples ((3) above) will all be marked according to the village where they were attested. Moreover, in the examples Hi unstressed /u/ will be written *u*, also if it parallells unstressed /o/ in Fe (see I.6.6.2-3).

Hypothetical main entry form

It is often necessary to introduce a hypothetical form as main entry. Two cases must be distinguished:

(i) For many prefixed verbs no simplex is available (or does not even exist). In such cases a hypothetical simplex infinitive (preceded by a dash) is used as main entry. Examples: *-babit* and *-vrnot* have no attested simplex; the infinitive of the verb PRISG *ïdęm* 'go' is *pôč*, therefore the hypothetical form +*-ič* is used as main entry.

(ii) It can happen that for reasons of alphabetization none of the available forms can be used as main entry. In such cases a hypothetical form is introduced, preceded by "+". Examples: +*cep* 'flail': only NPL *cêpi* and APL *cêpę* are available and therefore without the hypothetical form this paradigm would have to be ordered after the verb *cêpat* 'chop'; for +*cvest* 'bloom' only PR forms are available and without the hypothetical form the verb would have to be ordered after the noun *cvêt* 'flower'.

Hypothetical main entry forms are unaccented and no distinction has been made between *ę* and *e*.

Remark on *am and *an

The reader be aware that etymological **am* and **an* are almost invariably reflected as *ôm* and *ôn* (see II.3.2.3). This usually has implications for the alphabetization. In some cases a hypothetical entry form with a cross-reference has been introduced, e.g. +*dan* → *dôn* 'day'.

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Remark on *r̈ and *çr

The reader be reminded that syllabic *r̈* exists only in stressed syllables and that its unstressed alternant in inflexion or derivation is *çr*, e.g. *pr̈vi* 'first' but *pçrvîč* 'for the first time'.

Proper names (PROP)

There are three kinds of proper names: (1) first names, (2) (official) family names and (3) house names. A house name (*hïžno ïmç*) is the name commonly used by the local people to designate the members of a household. Since very many inhabitants of Hi and Fe are related in some way or other, the house names are usually more distinctive than the official family names. House names can be derived from a family name (e.g. *Žübričçvi* NPL), from a nickname, or from the first name or profession of the head of the family, e.g. (*Štêfini* NPL, *Šüjstçruvi* NPL). House names are often structured as follows: if the house name of the family head is X, that of the other members of the household is X + *-in-* or *-ov-/-çv-/-jçv* (the suffix with which the possessive adjective is formed, see V.2.3), e.g. *Jökli* (first name and house name of a family head), *Jöklijçvi* NPL 'Jokli's family'. In the lexicon, the family names and house names will be presented in the form in which they were attested. They often show a mixture of Hungarian and Croatian characteristics (e.g. see *Bëldjçš*).

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A

a 'and, but' ◇ *tûd ględìtę ~ gôri nę̂*^{h} 'you look there but you don't look up'; ~ *tî?*^{h} 'and you?'; *člövęg ìma drôb, ~ svìnja ima čęrêvu*^{h} 'a human being has a belly, but a pig has a paunch'

agûstuši LSG 'August' ▷ the prepositionless LSG of names of months is used as temporal adverbial (→ VII.2.5)

ajandîka ASG 'present, gift' ▷ Hu *ajándék*

äko 'if' ◇ *aku jâ tö nę dôm, onda čę dêtę mrêt*^{h} 'if I don't give that the child will die'; *aku kô hupädę nütęr čę sę zatöpjit*^{h} 'if anybody falls in he will drown' ▷ almost always unstressed → VII.8.1

äli 'or; but' ◇ *drügi dôn ~ trëti dôn*^{h} 'the second or third day'; ~ *mî dvëmi kę̂j čęmo pöžęt?*^{h} 'but how much shall we be able to mow, the two of us?' ▷ almost always unstressed → VII.8.1

alj 'or' ◇ *alj na kômęni, alj näk ču si ga nabrüsit*^{f} 'I'll sharpen it on a stone or like that' ▷ rare

âm^{f} → *ę̂m*

Amęrîk|a 'America', DSG *-i*, ASG *-u*

Amęrikônci NPL 'American'

amęrikônskoga ASGM 'American'

Än|a PROP (Christian name), DSG *-i*, ASG *-u*; → *Ôninu*

ängolski NASGM 'English'

antikrîstuš abusive term ◇ *tî~!*^{f}

aprîli LSG 'April' → *agûstuši*

ar 'for, because' ◇ *jâ ur vędž nę môram möljit, ~ jâ nêmam grêhę*^{h} 'I don't have to pray any more, for I have no sins'; *tî sę bojîž ~ drščęš*^{f} 'you are afraid, because you are trembling' ▷ almost always unstressed → VII.8.1

âręndu → *hâręndu*

ästag| ASG 'stack (of corn)', APL *-ę*, LPL *-a* ▷ Hu *asztag*

âtręs| 'address', ASG *-a*

Äustrij|a 'Austria', GSG *-ę*

autô| ASG 'car', ASG *-ja*, *-ha*, ISG *-hęm*, LSG *-ji* ▷ Hu *autó*

B

bäb|a 'grandmother, old woman', DSG *-i*, GPL *-uv*^{h}

-babit

obäb|it sę 'give birth', PR3PL *-ido*^{f}, LPF *-ila*

-bacat

pobäcaš sę PR2SG meaning unclear ◇ *täk sę pobäcaš kot svînja*^{f} 'you ... like a pig'

bäči/bâči 'uncle', GSG *bačïja*, APL *bačïję* ▷ Hu *bácsi*

bäčk|at 'mess about with; clatter about, make noise; strike', PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *-a*, LPN *-alo* ◇ *nę̂j bäčkat, dęj mîra, čęš*

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pukvärit[h] 'don't mess about with it, leave it alone, you'll ruin it', *käj to bäčkaš?*[f] 'what are you clattering about for?' *tö mę ję bäčkalo*[f] 'that struck me'

bädnjak 'day before Christmas'

bädnot 'touch'

bäj: *nê* ~[f] 'never mind' ▹ Hu *nem baj*

bäkanč| 'boot', NPL *-i*, APL *-ę* ▹ Hu *bakancs*

-balat

pobäl|at sę 'become crazy, become angry', PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *-a*, LPM *-al*, LPN *-alo*, PPINDM *pobalôn*, VN *-anję* ◇ *mr̈vo sę ję pobälal*[f] 'he went a little mad', *tê täg ę sę pobälal vu dëlo, nę̈ zna nä kraj ostävit*[f] 'he's so madly focused on his work, he can't get away from it', *ur ę bil čïstu pubalôn vû tu Vëru*[h] 'he already was really crazy about that Vera', *näz ę tö pobälalo, da ...*[f] 'we were vexed by the fact that ...'

balogästo N 'left', F *bälogasta*, ASGF *balogästu*, *bälogastu* ◇ *na bälugastu rôku*[h] 'to the left' ▹ Hu *balog*

bant|övat 'disturb, cause trouble to', PR1SG *-üjęm*, PR2SG *-üjęš*, PR3SG *-üję*, PR3PL *-üjędu*[h], *-üjo*[f], LPM *-öval*, LPN *-övalo*, LPPLM *-övali* ◇ *jâ nïkurga nę bantüjęm*[h] 'I leave everybody alone', *bantövad Böga*[h] 'blaspheme'

zbantövat 'harm'

bâr 'ever' (in combination with interrogative word) ◇ *bâr kô*[h] 'whoever', *bâr kolïko*[f] 'it doesn't matter how much', *bâr käkfa vëra*[f] 'whichever religion', *bâr kôm pôdę člövęk, sagdêr sę dëlad môra*[f] 'wherever one goes, one will have to work', *kad stâra bäba vïdi si nüka, bâr käj bi učinjïla za nük, nę̈?*[f] 'when an old grandmother sees her grandchild, she would do anything for him, wouldn't she?'

barätali LPPLM 'work, treat', PR1SG *baräčęm*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h] ◇ *z vinögradęm baräčęm*[f] 'I grow grapes', *kî s kêm baräčę*[f] 'everybody has his own work', *jâku mr̈sku baräčędu ziz jûdami*[h] 'they treat the people very badly'

prębaratäli LPPLM ◇ *so mr̈sko* ~ *zęš njïmi*[f] 'they treated them badly'

bâtritę sę PR2PL ◇ *tö sę vî nęk täg bâtritę*[h] '?you just say that for your own comfort'

Baumgärtnęr[h] PROP family name, GPL *Bäumgartneruv*[h]

Bäumgartnęrini[h] NPLM poss ADJ to ***Baumgärtnęr***[h]

-bavit

obäv|it 'fix, get done', LPM *-il* ◇ *obävil ę to dëlo*[f] 'he settled

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that matter'
prębävili LPPLM '?treat badly' ◇ *jâko so zęš njïmi* ~ᶠ '?they treated them very badly'
Bę̈č| NASG TOP 'Vienna', GSG *-a*, LSG *-i* ▹ mark the short root-vowel; in the standard language, in T, N, K and B and in Hu it is long
bêl| 'white', N/ADV/ASGN *-o*, F *-a*, PLFN/GSGF/APL *-ę*, NSGM *-i*, GSGMN *-oga*, LSGN *-ęm*, ASGF *-u*
Bëld'ęšʰ NPLM PROP house name ▹ also *Bëlgjęš*, *Bőld'ęšʰ*, *Bőljęšʰ*
Bëld'ęšęviʰ NPLM PROP house name
Bêliž|ʰ PROP family name, GPL *-uvʰ*
bêlj|***it*** 'whitewash', PR3SG *-i*, *bêji*, LPPLM *-ili* → on *lj* - *j* see VI.5.3
pobêjit 'whitewash'
bęrbüčk|***a*** PR3SG 'grumble, chatter', PR3PL *-adoᶠ*
bęrznj|***îš*** PR2SG 'rush, do something (too) hastily', PR3SG *-î*, VN *bïznjęnję*
Bërtinimʰ DPL PROP house name
bętękšïga GASG 'illness' ▹ Hu *betegség* ◇ *od* ~ *ozdrävitᶠ* 'recover from an illness'
-betežat
obętę̈ž|***al*** LPM 'get ill', LPF *-ala*, LPN *-alo*, LPPLM *-ali* ◇ *tęr ę obętę̈žal tęr ę mrêlᶠ* 'then he got ill and then he died'
bętę̈žęn 'ill', F *bętę̈žna*, NSGF *bętêžna*, NSGN *bętêžno*
bętęžnîk 'sick person', NPL *bętęžnïki*, APL *bętęžnîkę*, *bętęžnïkę*
bêtvę NAPL 'letter', ASG *bëtfu*, GPL *bêtfiᶠ*, LPL *bêtfa* ◇ *po bêtfaᶠ* 'literally' ▹ Hu *betű*
bëžatᶠ 'run', *bïžatʰ*, PR1SG *bižîmᶠ*, PR3SG *bižîʰ*, PR3PL *bęžęêᶠ*, LPM *bïžalʰ*, LPF *bïžalaʰ*, IMP *bižïtęʰ*, VN *bëžęnjęᶠ* ◇ *jâ nïgdęr nêz bïžalaʰ* 'I didn't ever run'
udbižîšʰ PR2SG 'run away', PR3PL *-êᶠ*, LPM *udbïž*|*alʰ*, LPF *-alaʰ*
bi → *bït*; *räd*
bïciglij 'bicycle', GASG *bicïglija*, *bicïklija*, ISG *bicïglijęm*, GPL *bïciglijuvʰ* ▹ Hu *bicikli*
biciklêzovat 'ride a bicycle'
bïč| 'whip', GASG *-a*, DSG *-u*, ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i*
bïčovęm ISGN ADJ to *bïč*
Bidoköviʰ NPL PROP house name
-bijat
zabïjat 'nail down', PR3SG *zabîja*
pobïjali LPPLM 'hit'
bïk|***a*** 'bull', GSGNAPL *-ę*, LSG/NAPL *bikî*, DSG *-i*, ASG *-u*, GPL *-uvʰ*, LPL *-a* ▹ IRR noun → III.8 ◇ *tü sęm imäla blâga, krävę, bikî...*ʰ 'I had livestock here, cows, bulls...'; *na bikî, na krävi jähat, hat tö sę nę̈mręʰ* 'riding a bull or a

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cow, that isn't possible' ▹ Hu *bika*

bȉkica 'bull-calf'

bȉnčat/bȉnčat 'congratulate', PR1SG *bȉnč|am*, LPPLM *-ali*, VN *-anję* ◇ *bȉnčad na Božič*[f] 'go from door to door to wish people a merry Christmas'

-birat

zbȉrali LPPLM 'vote'

zębȉralę LPPLFN 'choose'

bȉrk|a 'sheep', DSG *-i*, GPL *-i*[f], ASG *-u*, NPL *-ę* ▹ is considered Hu, but the informants do not know a Croatian equivalent

bȉrkin|a F poss ADJ to *bȉrka*, ASGF *-u*, APL *-ę*, IPL *-ami*

bȉrov 'mayor; judge', ASG *birȍva* ▹ Hu *bíró*

bȉršlin| 'sausage', ASG *-a*, APL *bȉršinę* ▹ Hu *virsli*

bȉruši[hf] NPL 'employee of the count' ▹ Hu *béres*

bȉruška LPL ◇ *na jȅdna ~ kôli*[h] 'on a ... (certain type of) wagon' → *Sinȍkošę*

-bit

pobȉli LPPLM 'hit'

rȁzbil LPM 'ruin'

ȕbit 'kill', PR3SG *ubȉję*, PR3PL *ubȉjędu*[h], LPM *ȕbil*, LPF *ubȉla*, LPPLM *ubȉli*

zbȉta PPF 'nail together'

zȁbit 'hit, strike', PR3SG *zabȉj|ę*, *-ędu*[h], LPF *zabȉla*, PPPLM *zabȉti* ◇ *oblȍki so z dȅskami zabȉti*[f] 'the windows are boarded up', *da bi tȅbę onâ ognjêna sakramȅntska strȅla zabȉla*[f] curse '(lit.) may the blazing sacramental lightning strike you'

bȉt 'be', PR1SG *sȅm*, PR2SG *sȉ*, PR3SG *jȅ*, *ȅ*, PR1PL *smȍ*, PR2PL *stę*, PR3PL *sû*[h], *sô*[f], LPM *bȉl*, LPF *bȉla*, LPN *bȉlo*, LPPLM *bȉli*, LPPLFN *bȉlę*, IMP *bȕdi*. Negated PR forms: 1SG *nês*, 2SG *nêsi*, 3SG *nê*, 1PL *nêsmo*, 2PL *nêstę*, 3PL *nêso*. "Potential" present forms: 1SG *bȕdęm*, 2SG *bȕdęš*, *buš*, 3SG *bȕdę*, *bu*, 1PL *bȕdęmo*, 2PL *bȕdętę*, 3PL *bȕdęjo*[f], *bȕdędu*[h], *bȕdu*[hf]; conditional particle *bi/b* (all persons, SG and PL), negated *nȅb* ◇ *kȁda čęž bȉd usandęsêt pêt?*[h] 'when will you be 85 years old?' – *Si vȑgęl kȕjsu? – Sȅm*[f] '– Did you put in the peg (into the yoke)? – I did', *jȅ rȉp*[h] 'there is fish', *jȅ kȉ tȍ dȅla*[h] 'there is someone to do that', *kak stę hômišasti*[h] 'how sneaky you are', *nęk sû*[h] 'let them be', *divjê svȉnję sû ȍvdę*[h] 'there are (emphasis) boars here', *kad ę bȉl dȅlat*[h] 'when he had gone working', *ôv ę jȅzęru bȉl, prȍšęl – bȕdę čȕda ę dȅlal – tęr ę vȁg na stȅji lȅžal*[h] 'he had been to the lake, had left – you know, he had worked a lot – and he lay on his bed just

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like that', *jâ ga nês pöznala*[h] 'I didn't recognize him', *nês prẹ̑štala*[f] 'I didn't read it', *täkvẹ jâčkẹ nê*[f] 'there isn't any such song', *nïž njẹ̑mu nê*[f] 'there isn't anything wrong with him', *sät ẹ ti sẹ käva ur zdẹ̑nila, mẹ̑ni sẹ nê*[h] 'now your coffee went cold, mine didn't', *nêso nê täkfẹ döbrẹ kot so övdẹ*[f] 'they definitely aren't as good as they are here', *tî mörẹš sïm vŕst, da nẹ̑ büdẹm mögẹl mẹ̑lina načïnjit*[f] 'now you can put it here, so that I can't make a mill (in mill play)', *aku buž imäla ...*[h] 'if you might have...', *mŕkaj da nẹ büdẹš hüpal*[f] 'take care not to fall', *kad bu ur zîma döšla, onda čẹ dôd mẹ̑gla*[h] 'when winter will have come, the fog will come', *kî jẹ mlât, kad bu stâri čẹ vẹ̑rvat*[h] 'young people will believe it once they'll be old', *kat sẹm prösẹl žẹ̑nu prösit da mi büdẹ žẹ̑na*[f] 'when I went to ask my wife to marry me', *mŕvo, da büdẹ čövẹk špêral*[f] '(about salt in food) just a little, so that one can taste it', *kad büdẹ mi lâzno ču pôt*[f] 'when I'll have time I'll go', *dônjẹg budẹ tâ gränica tütẹ*[f] 'as long as this frontier will be here', *bâr kẹj sẹ budẹ zgudälu*[h] 'whatever may happen', *da büdẹmo sẹ ož vïdẹli*[f] 'I hope we'll meet again', *büdi döbẹr*[f] 'be good', *büdi övdẹ*[f] 'stay here', *jâ ti nẹ̑b znäla puvẹ̑dat*[h] 'I wouldn't be able to tell you', *jâ bi tôm rät pôt*[h] 'I'd like to go there', *kad bi jâ sad mlâda bîla*[h] 'if I would be young now', *jâ p sẹ vučïla bila nêmški*[h] 'I would have learned German', *ti nẹ̑ b razümil övu*[h] 'you wouldn't understand that', *bi mu dâla bila sẹ̑snut*[h] 'you should have breastfeeded him', *bï sẹ näpil*[h] 'would you like to drink something?', *kẹj bi tfoja žẹ̑na dẹ̑lala z nim drâgim mâlimi kad tî vẹdž nẹ̑p prösẹl dumôm?*[h] 'what would your wife do with those dear children if you wouldn't come home any more?', *kad jäpa nẹ̑b bil mrêl*[h] 'if father wouldn't have died', *da p tẹ strẹ̑la ubïla*[f] curse '(lit.) may you be struck by lightning', *mî bi si mögli bîli zô nẹ pẹ̑nẹzẹ küpit jẹ̑dẹn žïguli*[f] (→ VII.2.3) 'we should have been able to buy a Zhiguli for that money', *vî p sẹ bîli mögli nêmški döz navüčit*[h] 'you would have been able to learn reasonable German', *nẹ̑ bi imäli jûdi jês* 'people wouldn't have anything to eat' → VI.1.1 (12-14), VII.2.1.2-3

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dõbil LPM 'outsmart', PR3SG *dobïję*
zãbit sę 'forget', PR1SG *zabïjęm*, PR2SG *zabîjęš*, PR3SG *zabïję*, LPM *zäbil*, LPF *zabïla*, LPN *zabïlo* ◇ *nê mu sę zäbil jävit*[f] 'he didn't forget to pay him a visit'

-bivat
dobïvat/dobîvat 'get, procure; earn', LPM *dobïval*, LPPLM *dobïvali*

blâg|o NASG 'livestock; animals in general', GSG *-a*, DSG *-u*, ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i* ◇ *vęllo si sę nažęral, tî blâgo!*[f] 'you really stuffed yourself, you animal!', *blâgu ję priskrbil krmu*[f] 'he procured food for his livestock'

blãtni PLM 'dirty'

blãt|o 'mud', GSG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i*

blêd| 'pale; pink' N *-o*, F *-a*, APL *-ę*

blęj|ãla LPF 'bleat', PR3SG *-î*

blîzu/blîzu preposition or ADV with G 'close (to), near' ◇ *tâ pêdž ę blîzu tębę*[h] 'that oven is close to you'

blîž|ęmu COMP DSGM 'close, near', NSGF *-a*, SUP NSGF *nębblîža*[h] ▹ no positive degree attested

blîži PR3SG 'approach'

Blîžnja NSGF TOP piece of land, part of *Pâškumi*

blîžnji NSGM 'close' ◇ ~ *rudãk*[h] 'close relative'

blôdili LPPLM 'wander' ◇ *so sü nôdž* ~[f] 'they wandered the whole night'
poblôd|i sę PR3SG 'get crazy', LPM *-il* ◇ *poblôdi sę va glâvi*[f] 'he is getting mad'
zablôd|it 'lose one's way', LPM *-il*

bõčkor| 'shoe', NPL *-i*, APL *-ę* ▹ Hu *bocskor*

bõdunj[h] 'pit' ▹ Hu *bodon(y)*, *bödön(y)*

Bôg NASG 'God', GASG *Bõg|a*, DSG *-u*, ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i*, vocative (used in exclamations) *Bõžę* ◇ *čę Bôg ljûdę kaštïgat*[h] 'God will punish mankind', *dõbęr dôm Bôg dęj*[h] greeting '(lit.) may God give a good day', *Bõga ję*[h] 'God exists', *väla/vâla Bõgu*[h] 'thank God', *vërujęm vu Bôk*[f] 'I believe in God', *onî so z Bõgęm*[f] '(about Jesus and St. Peter) they are with God', *pi Bõgi smo grëšni*[f] 'we are sinful in the face of God'

+***bog***: *z bôgum*[hf] 'good-bye'

bõgat 'rich', NPLM/GPL *bogäti*, COMP NSGM *bogatïji*

bognâr| 'cartwright', DSG *-u* ▹ Hu *bognár*

bõj| NASG 'war', DSG *-u*, ASG *-a* ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i*, GPL *-uv*[h] ◇ *kõnędz bõju*[f] 'the end of the war', *va bõj*[h] 'during the war', *zgubïli bõja*[f] 'they lost the war', *pręd bõjęm*[f] 'before

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the war', *vu pr̈vęm bö̈ji*[f] 'in the first World War'

bö̈jat sę 'be afraid', PR1SG *boj|îm*, PR2SG *-îš*, PR3SG *-î*, PR1PL *-ïmo*, PR2PL *-ïtę*, PR3PL *-ę̂*[h], LPM *bö̈jal|*, LPF *-a*, LPPLM *-i* ◇ *jâ sę nę bujîm nïkurga*[h] 'I'm not afraid of anybody', *mî stâri sę nę bujïmu*[h] 'we old people are not afraid', *vî mlâdi sę bujïtę mrêt*[h] 'you young people are afraid to die', *sę jâku bujê ut strëlę*[h] 'they are very afraid of lightning'

boj|î PR3SG 'hurt', PR3PL *-ę̂*[h], LPN *-ïlo*, LPPLFN *-ïlę* ◇ *glâva mę bujî*[h] 'I have a headache', *pr̈sti mę buję̂*[h] 'my fingers hurt', *bujïlu ję ga*[h] 'he was in pain'

Bö̈js|a TOP the village of Balf, GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*, LSG *-i* ◇ *na Bö̈jsu*[f] 'to Balf', *na Bö̈jsi*[hf] 'at Balf'

bojsônkinja 'woman from Balf'

Bö̈kor[f] PROP house name

bö̈lt|a NSGLPL 'shop', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*, LSG *-i* ◇ *vu bö̈ltu*[f] 'to the shop', *va bö̈lta*[h] 'in the shops' ▹ Hu *bolt* ▹ cf. *gö̈mba* vs. Hu *gomb*)

-bombazovat

pobombäzova|t 'bomb', LPPLM *-li*

bôs 'barefoot' ▹ indeclinable ◇ *su bôz bîli*[h] 'they were barefoot', *Märi näša räd̈u ję bôs*[h] 'our Mari likes to be barefoot'

bö̈sork|a 'witch', NAPL *-ę*, GPL *-uv*[h] ▹ Hu *boszorka*

-bost

zabos 'prick'

bö̈žič NASG 'Christmas', ISG *božïčęm* ◇ *pręd božïčęm*[f] 'before Christmas'

bôžji NSGM ADJ to *Bôg*

brâda/bräda 'chin', DSG *bräd̈i*, ASG *bräd̈u/brâdu*, LSG *bräd̈i/brâdi* ▹ for 'beard' *dläkę* or Hu *szakál* is used

+***bran-*** → *bron-*

brât 'take, get, gather, pick (up)', PR1SG *bë̈r|ęm*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h], IMP *-i*, LPM *brâl|*, LPPLM *-i*, LPPLFN *-ę* ◇ *čüda vrâštva bë̈ręm*[h] 'I take a lot of medicine', *bë̈ri si papêra*[f] 'take a piece of paper', *žë̈nę smo brâlę*[f] 'we women picked it up (what was being harvested)'

nabrâl LPM 'gather', PR2SG *nabë̈r|ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*

pö̈brat 'gather, harvest', PR1SG *pobë̈r|ęm*, PR2SG *-ę*, IMP *-i*, LPM *pö̈bral*, LPN *pobrâl|o*, LPPLM *-i*, LPPLFN *-ę* ◇ *su nam zë̈mję pubrâli*[h] 'they took away our land'

zäbrat/zabrât 'obtain; catch', LPM *zäbral*, LPPLM *zabrâli*

zë̈brat[h]***/zibrât***[h] 'select, choose, elect', PR3PL *zibë̈rędu*[h], LPM *zibrâl*[h], *zębrâl*[f], LPPLM *zibrâli*[h], *zębrâli*[f], PPINDM *zębrôn*[h] ◇ *säd ę sę mr̈vičko*

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zębrâl[f] 'now he put on just a little weight'

brät/brât 'brother', GASG *brät|a*, DSG *-u*, ISG *-ęm*, NIPL *-i*, DPL *-om/-am*, APL *-ę*, IPL *-ami* ◇ *njęgvuj žęni ję brät mrêl*[h] 'a brother of his wife died', *dvâ brätę ìma*[f] 'he has two brothers', *čüda sę pomìna za brätę si*[f] 'he talks a lot about his brothers', *mî smo bili pętìmi brätì*[f] 'we were five brothers'

brätov ADJ to *brät*

brâzd|a 'furrow', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*, NPL *-ę*

brę̈-brę̈ interjection (coughing noise)

brêg| NASG 'mountain', GASG *-a*, DSG *-u*, LSG/NIPL *-i*, GPL *-ov*[f], APL *-ę*

Brêgi NPL TOP plot of land

brę̈h|at 'cough; talk nonsense', LPM *-al*, PR1SG *brę̈š|ęm*, PR2SG *-ęš*, IMP *-i* ◇ *nę̈j brę̈hat*[f] 'don't talk nonsense', *zöpęt si käj brę̈hal*[f] 'you talked some nonsense again'

brëskva 'peach', GSG *brëskfę*, NAPL *brëskvę*

brïsal LPM 'wipe (off)'

zbrïsal LPM 'wipe (off)'

brît/brït 'shave', PR1SG *brïj|ęm*, PR2SG *-ęš*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h]

pubrïjędu[h] PR3PL 'shave'

pödbrit 'trim (by shaving)', LPM *pödbril*[f] ◇ *pod nösęm si sę pödbril* 'you trimmed your moustache'

brîtf|a 'pocketknife', ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*

brïznot '?break'

bŕk| NASG 'summit', ASG *-a*, LSG *-i* ◇ *na brêgu bŕki*[f] 'on the top of the mountain'

bröjit 'count'

brôn|ę NAPL 'harrow', ASG *-u*

brônjit 'protect', PR3SG *brôni/brônji*

bründ|at 'grumble, hum', PR3SG *-a*, PR3PL *-ajo*[f]

brûs| 'grinder', GSG *-a*

brüsit 'grind', PR3PL *brûsidu*[h], LPN *brüsilo*, VN *brûsęnję*

nabrüs|it 'grind', LPM *-il*, IMP *-i*

bübat 'hit'

bübork|a ASG 'cucumber', NPL *-i*, APL *-ę*

bubulîc|a[f] variety of plum, NPL *-ę*[f]

-budit

zbüdil LPM 'wake', PR3SG *zbudïję*

büd'ę particle used to ask the interlocutor for confirmation: 'isn't it?, aren't you? etc.' ▷ in Fe *üd'ę* is preferred; Hu *ugye*

bud'ęrâliš 'purse', ASG *bud'ulâriš*, *bud'ulâriša*, LSG *bud'ęrâliši* ▷ Hu *bugyelláris*

büf interjection imitating the sound of a blow

bügn|ot 'hit', PR3SG *-ę*

büh|at flea', NPL *-ę*, GPL *-i*[f]

Bürgęnlandi LSG TOP 'Burgenland'

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büs|a ASG 'bus', LSG *-i* ◇ *na büsi*[hf] 'by bus'
büsn|ot 'bang', PR3PL *-o*[f] ◇ *kat sę dvèmi büsno š čęlęm sküpa*[f] 'when two people bang their foreheads together'
-bušnot
pobüšnot 'bang'
bütast 'stupid'
Büzi LSG TOP village of Fertőboz ◇ *na ~*[f] 'in Fertőboz'

C

-carit
zacäril LPM 'run over' ◇ *mötor ga ~ tęr ę mrêl*[h] 'a motorbike ran him over and he died'
-cedit
pręcèdili LPPLM 'filter'
scèdit sę 'leak out' ◇ *vöda sę mögla cèdit*[f] 'the water would leak out'
cêfi LSG 'tube' ▹ *va jędnuj vêlikuj ~*[h] 'in a large tube'
cęjar| 'celery', GSG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*
cękęr|ęm ISG 'bag', IPL *-ami*
cêl| 'whole', NSGM *-i*, ASGF *-u*, LSGF *-uj*
cên|a 'price', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*
cênili LPPLM 'appreciate'
-cenjit
rascènjili sę LPPLM 'make a deal'
scènj|it 'employ; (~ *sę*) reach an agreement, make a deal' PR3SG *-i*, LPM *-il*, LPPLM *-ili*, PPPLM *-ęni*
Cênka TOP one of two villages '(*Mâla* ~) Kiscenk; (*Vêlika* ~) Nagycenk', GSG *Cęnkę*, ASG *Cênku*, LSG *Cęnki*
cęntijuv[h] GPL 'centimetre'
Cęnzuš| TOP plot of land, NPL *-i*, GPL *uv*[h]
+***cep***: *cêp|i* IPL 'flail', APL *-ę*
cêpat 'cleave, chop'
pocêp|at 'cleave, chop', PR3PL *-ajo* ◇ *s sękìrum pocêpajo*[f] 'they chop it with an axe'
zacêpat (jocularly) 'eat' ◇ *ovâkfę dvâ bìršinę, ož i trî ję znäl zacêpad jędno jûtro*[f] 'he used to eat two, even three of these sausages on the same morning'
cêp|ę PR3PL 'graft', PPPLFN *-jęnę*
cìcala/cicâla LPF 'flow'
cìfrasto N 'multi-coloured, showy, fancy', PLFN *cifrâstę* ▹ Hu *cifra*
cigarętâzovat 'smoke cigarettes' ▹ Hu *cigarettázik*
cìgl|a[h] 'tile', NAPL *-ę*[h] → *tègla*[f]
ciglênuga[h] GSGM 'made of tiles'
cigôn| 'thief', NPL *-i* ◇ *tö ję vęlik cigôn*[h] 'he's a real thief'
cìm|a 'foliage, overground part of e.g. carrot', ASG *-u* ◇ *jâ sęm pęršinovu cìmu vêzala*[f] 'I tied the parsley leaves together'
cimęnta/cìmęnta GSG 'cement'

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cĩmęrman 'carpenter', ▹ Ge *Zimmermann*
cimĩtęr| 'churchyard', LSG *-i*
cônję NPL 'napkin (older type than *pę̈lęnka*
crĩkf|a 'church', GSG *-ę/crĩkvę*, DSG *crĩkvi*, ASG *-u/crĩkvu*, ISG *-um*, LSG *-i/crĩkvi* ◇ *crĩkvi ĩmam kjüča*^{h} 'I have the key of the church'
cr̃kn|ot 'die (of animal)', PR3SG *-ę*, LPM *-ol*, LPN *-olo*, LPPLM *-oli*, LPPLFN *-olę*, PPN *cęrknôto* ◇ *tęr ę prâsę cr̃knolo*^{f} 'and the piglet died'
cũc|ęk/cûcęk 'dog', ASG *-ka*, ISG *-kęm*, LSG/NPL *-ki*, GPL *-ki*^{f}, APL *-kę*
cũka|jo sę^{f} PR3PL 'fuck', VN *-nję*
pocũk|at 'fuck', LPM *-al* ◇ *pocũkal ę ju*^{f} 'he fucked her'
cũkor| NASG 'sugar', GSG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*
cũlo ASG 'knapsack', GSG *-a* ◇ *cũlo si sküpa sfêžę tęr si na hr̃będ zę̈mę*^{f} 'he knots his knapsack together and puts it on his back'
cũrit 'flow, (of rain) fall', PR3SG *cur|î*, LPF *-ĩla*, LPN *-ĩlo* ◇ *käg dügu smu čę̈kali na gödinu tag dügu čę sat cũrit*^{h} 'the rain will fall now for as long as we waited for it'
nacũrit 'flow (up to a certain quantity)'
scũrit 'flow away'

+***cvest***: *cvë̃t|ę* PR3SG 'bloom', PR3PL *-ędu*^{h}
cvêt 'flower'

Č

čâr 'right up to, not until, not before' ◇ ~ *du vê stëzę*^{h} 'right up to this road', ~ *do Sĩplaka*^{f} 'all the way to Fertőszéplak', ~ *fębruhâri ali mârcijuši*^{h} 'not until February or March'
čäs/čâs NASG 'time, moment', GASG *čäsa/čâsa* ◇ *čâz ę prösę̃l*^{f} 'the time had gone by', *dôdę čäs kr̃mit*^{f} 'it is almost time to feed the cattle', *imômu čäsa va ję̈zęru pôt pjût*^{h} 'we have time to go to the lake for a swim', *nâ vi čas*^{h} 'nowadays'
čäv|ęl 'nail', ASG *-la* ◇ *čävla vr̃s*^{h} 'to drive in a nail'
čę̃h 'Czech'
+***čekat*** 'wait' ▹ in Hi. the root vowel is mostly *ë*, sometimes *ę̈*; in Fe the root vowel is always *ę*. For the sake of clarity, the Hi and Fe forms of the simplex will be given separately
čë̃k|at^{h} 'wait', PR1SG *-am*^{h}, PR3SG *-a*^{h}, LPM *-al*^{h}, LPPLM *-ali*^{h}/*čę̈kali*^{h}, IMP *čë̃k*^{h}/*čę̈k*^{h}, *-tę*^{h} ◇ *säd ę čë̃kal da tę̈ ga zvâd, büd'ę*^{h} 'now he waited for them to call him, wasn't

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he?', *čëg na mašînku*[h] 'wait for the machine'
čëk|at[f] 'wait', PR1PL *-amo*[f], IMP *čëk*[f]*/čëkaj*[f] ◇ *čëkad môraš*[f] 'you must wait'
dučëkat sę[h] 'wait for, live to see', *dočëk|at*[f], LPM *-al*[f] ◇ *këj čętę sę vî dučëkat?*[h] 'why should you wait?', *mî sę tȍga nëšęmu dučëkat*[h] 'we shan't live to see that', *čęmo sę ur dočëkad i tôga*[f] 'we shall live to see that, too'
čêlc|i NPL 'bee', APL *-ę*, GPL *-uv*[h]
čëljęno → *čërjęno*
čël|o 'forehead', ISG *-ęm*
čëmęr|ęn 'sad; evoking pity', N *-no*, F *-na*, ASGN *čęmêrno*
čęmęrnjâk 'pitiful person'
čęnâši → *očęnäši*
čëp| 'tap', GASG *-a*, LSG *-i*
čêr| NASG 'daughter', LSG/NAPL *-i*, DSG *čęrî*[f]*/čirî*[h], ISG *čęrûm*[f] ◇ *ïman trî čêri*[f] 'I have three daughters'
čëra 'yesterday'
čërašnji NSGM ADJ to *čëra* ◇ ~ *dôn*[f] 'yesterday (noun)'
čęrêp|a GSG 'roof-tile', NPL *-i*, GPL *-ov*[f], APL *-ę* ◇ *na krȍvi ę čüda čęrêpov*[f] 'there are a lot of tiles on the roof'
čęrëpnja 'lid of a pan' ◇ ~ *ję tȍ kaj sę na lônędz vȑžę kat sę kaj kȕha va lȍnci*[f] 'a lid is what you put on a pan when you cook something in it'
čęrëšnj|a NSG/LPL '(sweet) cherry', ASG *-u*, NAPL *-ę*, GPL *čęrëšęnj*[hf]*/-i*[f], IPL *-ami*
čęrêvo 'paunch, belly (as) of an animal'
+***čęsat***: *čëšęš* PR2SG 'comb'
počë|sat 'comb', PR2SG *-šęš*, PR1PL *počêšęmo* ◇ *lâsi počęsat*[f] 'comb one's hair'
čësk|i ASGM/ADV 'Czech', GSGN *-oga*, ASGN *-o*, LSGN *-ęm* ◇ *ot Čëskoga*[f] 'from Bohemia'
-čestit
pręčëst|it sę 'receive Holy Communion', PR3SG *-i*
čëšę(l)j 'comb', ISG *čëšjęm*
-čet
počêlo LPN 'start'
začêt 'start', LPM *začnêl/zašnêl*, LPF *začnêla*, LPN *začêlo*, *počêlo*, LPPLM *začêli/začnêli* → VI.6
čętęrdësęt 'fourty'
čętęrnâjs[f] 'fourteen'
čętęrnëjstuga[h] GSGN 'fourteenth' ◇ ~ *lëta*[h] 'in 1914'
čętïtęk 'Thursday'
čętïtoga GSGN 'fourth'
čëv|[h] 'whose', NSGN *-o*[h] ▹ Fe see *čïhov*
čïgar|a ASG '?big (root of) vine', NPL *-i*, APL *-ę*
čïhov[f] 'whose', NSGN *-o*[f], NSGF *-a*[f] ▹ Hi see *čëv*
Čilâbę NPL TOP plot of land
čilîngat 'ring', LPM *čilîngal*
činäši → *očęnäši*
činit: *činjîš* PR2SG 'do', LPM *čïnjil*
načïnjit 'make, build', PR1SG

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načinj|îm, PR2SG *-îš*, PR3SG *-î*, PR1PL *-ìmo*, PR3PL *-ę̂*^{hf}/*-ìdu*^{h}, LPM *načìnjil*, LPF *-ìla/načìnjila*, LPPLM *-ìli/načìnjili*, PPN *-ênо*, *načìnjęno* → last form see VI.2.6 ◇ *màslo od mlêka načinję̂*^{f} 'butter is made out of milk', *ka smo si ovu hìžu načìnjili*^{f} 'when we built this house', *nê načìnjęnu vìnu*^{h} 'this wine is not from the shop ▹ sometimes (rarely) *-n-* instead of *-nj-* (not in the PP)

pręnačìnjęna PPF 'rebuild'

učìnj|it 'do', LPM *-il*, PR2SG *učinj|îš*, PR3SG *-î*, PR3PL *-ę̂* ◇ *Bôg mòrę sę̏ učìnjit*^{h} 'God can do everything'

-činjat

načìnj|at 'build, make, mend', PR3SG *-a/načînja*, PR1PL *načînjamo*, PR3PL *-adu*^{h}, *načînjadu*^{h}, *-ajo*^{f}, *načînjajo*^{f}, LPPLM *-ali*

ponačìnjali LPPLM 'build'

začìnj|at 'begin', PR3SG *-a*, LPPLM *-ali*

-činot

počìn|ot/počînot sę/si 'rest', LPM *-ol*, LPPLM *-oli*, LPF *počînola*

čìst| 'clean', N/ADV *-o*, F *-a*, NSGM *čist|î*, NSGF *-â*, ASGN *-ô*, APL *-ê*, IPL *-ômi*, LPL *-î/-â*

čìst|it 'clean', PR3SG *-i*, IMP *-i*, *-itę* ◇ *čìsti sę*^{hf} 'get lost'

ščìst|it 'clean', PR2SG *-iš*, PR3SG *-i*, LPM *-il*, LPF *-ila*, LPPLM *-ili*, PPN *ščìščęno* ◇ *nę̏ka sę vę̂k ȍdvud ščìsti*^{h} 'that he should get lost immediately'

-čivat

počìv|at sę/si 'rest', PR3SG *-a*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali*

čìžm|a NSGLPL 'boot', APL *-ę*, IPL *-ami*

čìžminu ASGF ADJ to *čìžma* ◇ *va ~ šâru*^{f} 'into the shaft of his boot'

člověčę NSGN ADJ to *člȍvęk* ◇ *vȍ ję ~ dȅlu*^{h} 'we're all human'

člȍvęk 'human being', DSG *člověk|u*, ASG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, NIPL *-i*, DPL *-am* ◇ *člȍvęg ima dûšu*^{h} 'people have a soul', *dvâ člověki*^{f} 'two people'

čôn| NASG 'boat', GASG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, LSG/NIPL *-i*

čřjęn|o N 'red', F *-a*, NASGN *čęrjên|o*, NSGM *-i*, GSGN *-oga*, ILSGMN *-ęm*, NSGF *-a*, NPLFN/APL *-ę* ▹ *-rj-* can be replaced by *-lj-* and *-j-*

čřn| 'black', F *-a*, N/ASGN *-o*, PLM/NSGM *-i*, PLFN/APL *-ę*, GSGMN/ASGM *-oga*, ILSGN *-ęm*, ASGF *-u*, COMP GSGN *čęrnìjęga*, COMP GSGF *čęrnìję* ▹ in Fe the root can contain *-ȍr-* (both stressed and unstressed) instead of *-r-*, see II.1.1 (2)

čřv 'worm', NPL *-i*, GPL *-ov*^{f}

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čučĩ PR3SG 'squat'
čüda 'much, many', IPLM *čudìmi*[h], *čudêmi*[f], IPLF *čudêmę*[f] → IV.7.4 ◇ *jâ čüda mȍjim*[h] 'I pray a lot', *ur su sę jâku čudìmi sìm scȅnjili k mę̏ni*[h] 'many already came here in my service'
čudakrât[f]***/čüdakrat***[h] 'often'
čüd|it sę 'be surprised', PR1SG *-im*, PR3SG *-i*, LPPLM *-ili* ◇ *kat sę na kêm čüdi*[f] 'when one is surprised at something'
čü|t[hf] 'hear', INF also *-ti*[f], PR1SG *-jęm*, PR2SG *-jęš*, PR3SG *-ję*, LPM *-l*, LPF *-la*, LPPLM *-li*
čüv|at 'watch over', PR3SG *-a*, LPM *-al* ◇ *ôn ę čüval na vinȍgradę i na pę̏ršin, na sę̏ kaj ę bîlo na pȍji*[f] 'he guarded the grapes, the parsley and everything that was on the field'
čvr̃st| 'strong', N/ADV *-o*, F *-a/čfr̃sta*, COMP ADV *čvr̃žę* ▷ in Fe the root can contain *-ȍr-* instead of *-r̃-* → II.1.1 (2)

Ć

Ćüćęv|a NSGF PROP house name, NSGF *Ćüćova* (→ V.2.3), ASGF *-u*, NPLM *-i* ◇ *grabancijâši so Ćüćęvu pajtȁbu zrušìli*[f] 'the grabancijašes demolished the shed of the Ćućevi' → *grabancijâš*

D

da conjunction 'that, in order that' → VII.8.1
dä̃ 'yes'
-dajat
pridȁjat 'breastfeed, suckle', PR2SG *pridâjaš*, PR3SG *pridâja/pridȁja* ◇ *kad ę dêtę mȁlo, mȁjka pridȁja na pr̃si*[f] 'when a child is small, his mother breastfeeds him'
dâlko ADV 'far (away)', COMP ADV *dȁję* ◇ *jâ vęč nę̏šu moč š njum žìvid dȁję*[h] 'I shan't be able to live with her any more'
+***dan*** → *dôn*
dar[f]***/dęr***[h] 'approximately' ◇ *znâš kęj, jâ sad ìdęm dęr na dvâ dnì*[h] 'you know, I'll be going now for a day or two'
dȁt/dât 'give; let', INF also *dȁti*[f], PR1SG *dôm*, PR2SG *dâš*, PR3SG *dâ*, PR1PL *dômo*, PR3PL *dadû*[h], *dâdu*[h], *dajô*[f], *dâjo*[f], LPM *dâl*, LPF *dâla*, LPPLM *dâli*, IMP *dę̏j*[hf] ◇ *čę vam nâ dȁt kęj prôhatę*[h] 'she will give you what you need', *tâ si zapuvȅdat nę dâ*[h] 'she won't take orders', *zâto ję nȍrc, ar sę dâ zmȁzat*[f] 'he is a fool, because he allows people to deceive him', *na hìžu sęm si nôvę vrâta dâl načìnjit*[f] 'I had a new door made for my house'
prȍd|at 'sell; betray, give

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away', PR3SG *-a*, *prodâ*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali*, LPPLFN *-alę* ◇ *sät čęž mę pröda*t^h^ 'now you'll give me away'

üd|at sę '(of girls) marry', PR3SG *-a*, *udâ*, LPF *üdala* ◇ *üdala sę sim uddrügud*^h^ 'she married into this village from somewhere else'

däv|ali LPPLM 'give', LPN *-alo*, PR1PL *dâv|amo*, PR3PL *-adu*^h^

prodäv|at 'sell', INF also *-ati*^f^, LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali*, *prodâvali*, LPPLFN *-alę*, IMP *prudâvaj*^h^, PR3SG *prodâv|a*, PR3PL *-adu*^h^, *-ajo*^f^

-davit

zadävili LPPLM 'suffocate (tr.)'

dë, kadë, kadën^h^ 'where' ▹ there are rarely attested variants *kädę*^f^ and *dën*^h^ (the place of attestation may be accidental) ◇ *dë si bîla?*^h^ 'where have you been?', *ko sęm jâ kädę, bâr kädę ...*^f^ 'if I am somewhere, anywhere ...', *Amęrïki ali dë*^f^ 'in America or wherever'

dę̈bęl| 'fat', N *-o*, F *-a*, ASGN *dębêlo*, *-o*, GPL *-i* ▹ as can be seen, there is analogic accentual influence of the IND on the DEF forms → V.4.3

dëca^hf^ 'children', GSG *dicê*^h^, *dęcê*^f^, DSG *dicî*^h^, *dęcî*^f^, *dëci*^f^, ASG *dëcu*^hf^, ISG *dicûm*^h^, *dęcûm*^f^, LSG *dëci*^f^, DPL *dicôm*^h^, *dęcôm*^f^, *dëcam*^f^ → on agreement and for examples see VII.5

dęcę̈mbęri LSG 'December' → *agûstuši*

dęčäk*^f^*/dičäk^h^ 'boy', ASG *dęčäk|a*^f^, ISG *-ęm*^f^, NPL *dičäk|i*^h^, GPL *-uv*^h^, DPL *um*^h^, APL *-ę*^h^

dëda 'grandfather'

-dehnot

zdëhno|t 'catch one's breath; sigh', LPM *-l* ◇ *ču mrvo sës, sät ču si zdëhnot*^f^ 'I'll sit down a little and catch my breath', *sę jâku vę̈liku zdëhnul*^h^ 'he drew a very deep sigh'

dëj|i^f^ PR3SG 'divide, share', LPPLM *-ili*^f^, *dijïli*^h^ ▹ there is one attestattion LPPLM *dêlili*^h^

razdëjit*^f^, *ręzdëjit^hf^ 'divide, distribute', PR3SG *ręzdëji*^h^, PR3PL *ręzdëjidu*^h^, LPPLM *razdęjïli*^f^, *ręzdêjili*^h^, PPFN *razdëjęnę*^f^

dêkl|a 'girl, young woman', GSG *-ę*, DSG *-i*, ASG *-u* ◇ *sę̈lski dëtič nę̈šę sę̈lsku dêklu*^h^ 'a boy from the village doesn't want (to marry) a girl who is also from the village'

dêl| 'part', ASG *-a*, NPL *-i*, GPL *-i*^f^, *-uv*^h^, APL *-ę*

dęlâč 'worker', GPL *dęläčov*^f^ ◇ *ar ę bîlo döz dęläčov*^f^ 'because there were enough workers'

dël|at 'work', INF also *-ati*^f^,

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PR1SG *-am*, PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *-a*, PR1PL *-amo*, PR2PL *-atę*, PR3PL *-adu*[h], *-ajo*[f], LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali*, LPPLFN *-alę*, IMP *-ęj*[h], *-aj*[f], *-ajtę*[f]

nadëlalę sę LPPLFN 'work much' ◇ *käj smo sę mî nadëlalę*[f] 'to think of how we (of women) used to toil!'

prędël|at 'cultivate', PR1SG *-am*, LPPLM *-ali*,

zdël|at 'make, prepare; work for a certain length of time', LPM *-al*, PPN *-ano* ◇ *ôn si ösam üri zdëla, onda pak dôdę dumom*[h] 'he works his eight hours, then comes home'

+***delit*** → *dëji*

dël|o NASG 'work; matter, affair', GSG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i*

dënęs 'today' ◇ *ož ę nęšu hïtid, ręko dënęz-zütra budo dëca mi vïdęlę*[f] 'I won't throw them away yet, I said, one of these days my children will see them (and will want to keep them)'

dënęšnj|i NSGM ADJ to *dënęs*, NSGN *-ę*

dęr[h] → *dar*[f]

dęržäl|o NASG 'handle', ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i* ◇ *klêpędz ima dęržälo*[f] 'a hammer has a handle'

dęšęt 'ten', GL *dęšęt|î*, I *-ïmi* ◇ *do dęšętî*[f] 'until ten', *o dęšętî*[f] 'at ten', *säku nadëju smo dęšętïmi na obëdi*[f] 'every Sunday we are ten at dinner'

dęšêta[f] NSGF 'tenth'

dęšętïna 'tithe, ten percent tax'

dësk|a 'board', ASG *-u*, GPL *-ï*[f], APL *-ę*, IPL *-ami* ◇ *oblöki so z dëskami zabïti*[f] 'the windows are boarded up'

-det

zädęt sę 'get stuck', PR3SG *zadënę*, LPM *zädęl*, LPPLFN *zadęlę* ◇ *aku sę büdęm mřvu, pâr minût, zädęl va štôrnici, tö mi nötę pręględat*[h] 'if I get stuck in the story for a few moments, please forgive me' (Mar [5])

dêtę NASG 'child', DSG *dętętu* ◇ *křmit si dêtę*[f] 'to give one's child to eat'

dëtič ''young man, bridegroom', NPL *ditïč|i*[h], APL *-ę*[h] ◇ *stâri dëtič*[h] 'old bachelor'

-devat

zdêv|at 'rebuke, lecture; call names', PR1SG *-am*, PR2SG *-aš*, PR1PL *-amo*, LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali*, INF *-aj*[f], VN *-anję* ◇ *njïm ę zdêval, da zâkęj tag jâku mřsku baräčędu ziz jûdi*[h] 'he called them to account, why they treated the people so very badly', *tö smo njim mî zdêvali* 'that was what we used to hoot at them' ▹ the VN is also used as a separate noun meaning 'abusive nickname, abusive rhyme, etc.'

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dë̄vęt 'nine', LSG *dęvętî* ◇ *u dęvętî*^{h} 'at nine'
dęvêta^{f} NSGF 'ninth'
dęvętnâjs 'nineteen'
dë̄vętstô 'nine hundred' ▹ main stress on *ë̄*
dęvĩčic|a^{f}***/divĩčic|a***^{h} '(little) girl', ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*, NPL *-ę*
dibĩn|a 'depth', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*
-dignot
zdĩgnot/zdĩgnot 'lift, raise (also prices, wages)', PR3SG *zdĩgnę*, *zdĩgn|ę*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, PR3PL *-ędu*^{h}, LPM *-ol*, LPPLM *-oli*, IMP *-i*
dĩhanję 'sigh'
-dihavat
zdihâva sę PR3SG 'sigh'
diklĩnję^{h} NSGN ◇ ~ *ĩmę*^{h} 'maiden name'
dĩm, dĩm| NASG 'smoke', LSG *-i*
dinär|ę 'dinar', GPL *dinäruv*^{h}
dĩnj|u ASG 'melon', APL *-ę*
dĩvjasta F 'wild'
divj|î NSGM/GILPL 'wild', NSGF/LPL *-â*, NPLFN *-ê/divljê* ◇ *divjâ gôska*^{f} 'a wild goose'
-dizat
zdĩz|at 'lift, raise', VN *zdĩzanję*, PR3SG *zdĩž|ę*, PR3PL *-ędu*
+***dlaka***: *dläk|u* ASG 'body-hair; (PL) beard', NAPL *-ę*
dläkast 'hairy'
dlêto 'chisel'
dnö̃| NASG 'bottom', ASG *-ha*, APL *-hę* ◇ *sôd ima dnöha*^{h} 'a barrel has a bottom'
do 'till, until' → for examples see VII.3.1-2
dôb NASG 'time, moment, period', LSG *döbi* ▹ this noun is F ◇ *ovû dôb*^{f} 'nowadays', *o tûj döbi*^{f} 'at that hour', *va stâruj döbi*^{h} 'in the old days'
dõbęr INDM 'good', N/ADV *döbr|o*, F *-a*, PLM *-i*, GSGN *dobrôga*, ASGM *-oga*, ASGN *dobrô*, *-o*, LSGM *-ęm*, NSGF *-â*, GSGF *-ê*, ASGF *-u*, LSGF *-uj*, NPLM *dobrî*, APL *-ę*, COMP NSGM *böji*, ASGN/ADV *böję*, SUP NSGN/ADV *nëjböję*^{h}*/näjböję*^{f} ▹ as can be seen, analogic accentual influence of the IND forms on the DEF ones is common with this ADJ → V.4.4 ◇ *döbruga glâsa ĩma*^{h} 'he has a good voice', *ali vö vag nê döbru, vö vak nę bu döbru*^{h} 'but this is not good, this is not going to turn out right', *hat vrâg ę ur ĩmal döbru vöju*^{h} 'the devil already had become quite merry (from drinking; Mar [223])'
dôg| NASG 'debt', GASG *-a*, LSG *-i* ◇ *nêmamo dôga*^{f} 'we have no debts', *sęm jâ va dôgi*^{h} 'I am in debt'
dôg|i NSGM/NPLM/GPL 'long', ASGM *-oga*, NSG *-o*, ISG *-ęm*, ADV *dügo*, COMP NSGM *düž|i*, NSGF *-a*, ADV *dügję* ▹ as an ADJ in the positive degree, the usual word for 'long' is *düžičęk*; the ADJ *dôgi* is only

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used in fixed combinations; this does not hold for the ADV and the COMP forms ◇ *Dôgę Sinökošę*^{h} NPL TOP (plot of land), *dôgi nôš*^{hf} 'certain (long) kind of knife', *dôgę kôlę*^{h} NPL 'certain type of wagon', *dôgo vôžę*^{f} 'rein that was used on a hay wagon', *dôgi očęnäši*^{f} NPL 'long rosary'

***dogovônj|ę*^{f}*/dugovônj|ę*^{f}** NASG 'economic goods: crop, merchandise, etc.', GSG *-a*

döjit 'milk', LPM *döjil*, LPF *dojïla*, LPPLM *döjili/dojïli* ◇ *onda smo z rôkami dojïli* 'in those days we milked by hand'

döktor| 'doctor', DSG *-u*, ASG *-a*, NPL *-i*, DPL *-om* ◇ *ïdęm pu döktura*^{h} 'I'm going for a doctor', *säd ę pröšęl dökturu*^{h} 'he just went to the doctor'

döktorova NSGF 'the doctor's'

***dôlę*^{f}, *dôli*^{hf}** 'below, down' ◇ *sę̈ ję pröšlo dôlę*^{f} 'everything went downhill'

+***dolec***: *Dôlc|i* NPL TOP (piece of land), APL *-ę*

Dölnję NPLFN/APL TOP plot of land

dölnji NSGM 'downward' ◇ ~ *vętęr*^{h} 'a downward wind' → *Kräj*, *Sinökušę*

Dölnji Kräj TOP street in Hi

+***doljnji:*** *Dölnję (Sinökušę)* TOP NPLFN/APL piece of land

döma 'at home'

domâč|a F 'home (-made)', N *-ę*

domâčnję N 'home (-made)'

***Dömatkuv|*^{h}** PROP house name, NPLM *-i*

***domôm*^{f}, *dumôm*^{hf}** 'home (direction)'

dôn| NASG/GPL 'day', GASG *-a* ▷ there is a special form *dnï*, which is used after the numerals *dvâ*, *trî* and *štïri* ◇ *döbęr dôn*^{hf} '(greeting) good day', *za štïri dnï*^{h} 'within four days', *nęk tëdęn dôn*^{f} 'only a week'

dönjęk/dônjęk 'so long as; until' → for examples see VII.8.1

dös 'enough; rather' ◇ *dös pinês*^{h} 'enough money', *döz ę̈ ti?*^{h} 'have you had enough?', *döz vę̈liku sę̈lu*^{h} 'a rather large village'

dövęk/dövjęk same as *dönjęk/dônjęk* → for examples see VII.8.1

dovïca 'widow'

dôvjęn 'until here' ◇ *tęr ę môj sîn va gräbi, bîl ~ zakupôn*^{h} 'my son lay in a trench, he was buried this high'

dôž|ęn 'in debt', F *-na*, PLM *-ni* ◇ *jâ sęn ga tę̈bi dôžna*^{h} 'I owe it to you'

-dožit

zdöžili sę LPPLM 'borrow money'

drâg| 'dear; expensive', F *-a*, N *-o*, PLM *-i*, ASGF *-u*, APL *-ę*, COMP NSGN/ADV *drä̈žę*, SUP LPL *nę̈jdräžа*^{h}

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drȁg|a 'valley', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i* → *drȕgdę*
drȁg|at sę 'make love', PR3PL *-adu*[h]
drêm|at 'doze', LPM *-al*
drçvên|i NSGM 'wooden', ASGM *-oga*, NSGN *-o*, NPLFN *-ę*
drêv|o NASG 'wood; tree', GSG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i*, NPL *-ę/-a*, GPL *-Ø*[h], LPL *-i/-a*
-drit
ȕdrit 'hit', PR3SG *udrȉję*, PR1PL *udrȉmo*, LPM *ȕdril*, LPF *udrȉla*, LPN *udrȉlo*, LPPLM *udrȉli*
dȑm|at 'toil; (~ *sę*) fight', PR3PL *-ado*[f], LPM *-al* ◇ *nâjtę sę dȑmat*[f] 'stop fighting'
nadȑmal sę LPM 'toil'
drôb ASG 'belly'
drôbn|i NSGM 'fine', ASGM *-oga*, ASGN *-o*, APL *-ę*
drôt| 'thread', ASG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, APL *-ę*
dȑt|at 'tremble', LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali*, PR1SG *dȑščęm*, PR2SG *dȑščęš*, *-aš*, PR3SG *dȑščę*, *-a* ◇ *kad ę kȍmu zȉma, onda dȑta*[f] 'if someone is cold, he trembles'
drȕgač ADV 'differently, in another way', *tȍ sę drȕgadž dȅlad môra*[h] 'that should be done some other way'
drȕgač|i NSGM 'other, different', N/ASGN/GSGF *-ę*, ASGF *-u* ◇ *sȁki kûz ima drȕgačę ȉmę*[h] 'each piece has a different name'

drȕgam 'elsewhere, to another place' ◇ *dumôm ali kôm ~*[h] 'home or to some other place', *nȅščę drȕgam prȍdat nęg onûj fabrȉki*[f] 'he won't sell it to anyone, only to that factory'
drȕgda 'some other time'
drȕgdāj[f] 'elsewhere (location or direction)'
drȕgdę(r) 'somewhere else' ◇ *tȍ ję drȁga kaj ję glȉbję nęg drȕgdęr, jędno glȉbję mȅsto*[f] 'a valley is where it is deeper than some place else, a deeper spot'
drȕg|i NASGM/NPLM 'other; second', GSGN/ASGM *-oga*, DSGM *-omu*, ASGN *-o*, ILSGMN *-ęm*, NSGF *-a*, DLSGF *-uj*, DPL *-im*, IPL *-ami* ◇ *na drȕguj strônki*[f] 'on the other side', *na drȕgęn svêtu*[h] 'in the next world', *va drȕguj sę̏li*[h] 'in the other village (Fertőhomok)'
drugôč: *po ~*[hf] 'another/the other/the second time' ◇ *kęj sę pęrvîdž nę ugudâ, ȍnu sę pu drugôdz môra*[h] 'if something doesn't succeed the first time, you have to do it another time', *zȍpęd ę bîl, sȁd ur pu drugôč*[h] 'he was here again, for the second time now' ▹ once attested without *po*
drȕzgat 'crush'
podrȕzgal LPM 'crush'

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zdrüzgat 'crush'
-druznot
zdrüznot 'crush'
družîn|a 'household', GSG *-ę*, ISG *-um*, GPL *družîn*[f] ◇ *pâr družîn jë oš*[f] 'there still are a couple of families'
dřv|a NAPL 'wood, timber, tree', IPL *-i* ▹ the current word for 'tree' is *drêvo*
dřž|at 'hold, keep; (~ *sę*) behave', LPM *-al*, LPF *dęržäla*, LPPLM *-ali*, IMP *dřž*, PR2SG *dęrž|îš*, PR3SG *-î*, PR1PL *-ïmo*, PR3PL *-ê* ◇ *vâkfi si ož blâga nę dęržê*[f] 'people like that haven't got livestock any more', *kęjčëmu sę dřš*[h] 'behave yourself!'
dügo → *dôgi*
dukât[f] GPL 'forint', *tridësęt jęzêr* ~[f] '30000 forints'
Dunäj|a GSG TOP 'Danube', LSG *-i*
dünjh|u ASG 'eiderdown', APL *-ę*, LPL *-a* ▹ Hu *dunyha*
duplâst|o ASGN 'double', APL *-ę*
dûrat/dürat 'last, hold out', PR3SG *dûra*, PR1PL *dûramo*, LPN *düralo* ◇ *oš čęmo dûrat*[f] 'we will hold out', *vëllo dûra*[f] 'it lasts long'
dûš|a 'soul', ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*, LSG *-i*, GPL *-uv*[h]
-dušat
podüš|at 'sniff', LPM *-al*
-dušit
dušî PR3SG 'smell (itr.)' ◇ *lêpo* ~[f] 'it smells good'
zadüš|it 'suffocate (tr.)', PR3SG *-i*, LPPLM *-ili*
düžič|ęk 'long', F *-ka*, N/ADV *-ko*, PLFN *-kę*, NSGM *dužîčki*, ASGF *-ku*, NPLFN/APL *dužîčkę*, APL *dužîčkę*, *-kę* ▹ as can be seen, there is accentual analogic influence of the IND forms on the DEF ones → V.4.3
dvâ M 'two', FN *dvê*, IM *dvëmi*, IF *dvëmę*, L *dvëju*[hf], *dvïju*[f] → for usage and examples see IV.7.3.2-3
***dväjsęt*[f]*/dvëjsęt*[hf]*/dvëjsęt*[hf]** 'twenty' ◇ *sęm pröda la čętęrdësęt kîl pak smo vïgli dväjsęt stëkli na kompôt*[f] 'I sold 40 kg and we preserved 20 pots for making compote'
dvajsêt|i[f] NSGM 'twentieth', NSGN *-o*[f], GSG *-oga*[f], *dvęjsëtoga*[h]
dvâkrat/dväkrat 'twice'
dvanâjs*[f]*/dvanëjs[h] 'twelve' ◇ *o dvanâjsti*[f] L 'at twelve'
dvêstô 'two hundred' ▹ the first syllable is more prominent
dvôję/dvöję 'two' → for usage and examples see IV.7.3.4
dvôr| NASG 'yard', GSG *-a*, LSG *-i*
dvör|it 'wait for; keep watch over (patient/deceased)', PR3PL *-ijo*[f] ◇ *ga dvörijo k nočî*[f] 'they watch over him for the night', *nëšu jâ tëbę övdę dvörit, nęg ostôni, jâ*

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ïdu[f] 'I won't wait for you here, you stay and I'll go'

D'

d'âr| ASG 'factory', LSG *-i* ▹ Hu *gyár*

d'ŭp|a 'coat', ASG *-u*, *jŭpu*, APL *-ę*

E

ędînję/ędînję NAPL 'plates and dishes' ▹ Hu *edény*

ęm[hf]**, *âm***[f] particle used for emphasis ◇ *to nê ęm zdrăvu*[h] 'that's really not healthy', *nęznam ęm*[h] 'I really don't know', *i tî sę drŭgadž ęm pumïnadu nęg mî*[h] 'they, too, speak totally different from us', *săd ur sę̈ ęm mašïnę*[h] 'now everything is done by machines, you know?', *tö ęm vę̈liku*[h] 'that's really not a small thing', *ali pr̈vę nê âm ovâg bîlo*[f] 'but you mustn't think it was like this in the old days', *tęr smo öndę znăli spât, pri njïhovuj pajtăbi, nę̈ âm vu hïži*[f] 'and there we used to sleep, near their shed, not in the house, mark you!', *i mî čŭda dëlamo âm, Pëtęr, jâko čŭda*[f] 'we, too, really work a lot, Peter, an awful lot' ▹ Hu *ám*

F

Fäbijankovič[f] PROP

fabrïk|i DLSG 'factory', GPL *-i*[f], APL *-ę* ◇ *nę̈ščę drŭgam pröda nęg onûj fabrïki*[f] 'he won't sell it to anyone except to that factory'

fäjęno, fäjęno N 'bad, wrong, amiss', ◇ *nęg ję̈dno ję fäjęno...*[f] 'only one thing is really wrong...', *öv̈dę nę̈ bu fäjęnu, vö čę pôt*[h] 'this won't go wrong, this will turn out all right'

faj|î PR3SG 'be missing', LPPLM *-ïli* ◇ *nëkaj fajî*[f] 'something is missing', *nê bäj ko nê dö̈šęl, nę fajî nam*[f] 'never mind that he didn't come, we shan't miss him'

fäji sę PR3SG 'boast'

pofäji sę PR3SG 'boast', LPM *pofäjil*

zafäjim PRISG 'thank' ◇ ~ *(ti)*[h] 'thank you'

fäjno[f]**, *fę̈jno***[f] N/ADV 'good, nice; big, considerable', F *fę̈jna*[h], PLM *fâjni*[f], GSGF *fâjnę*[f], *fę̈jnę*, COMP NSGN *fęjnïję*[f] ◇ *vïno fâjno dušî*[f] 'the wine smells fine'

fäjta[f]**, *fę̈jta***[hf] 'kind, race, species', NPL *fäjtę*[f], *fę̈jtę*[h] ◇ *mî smo ję̈dna fę̈jta*[h] 'we are of the same kind', *čr̈na fäjta krăvę*[f] 'a black breed of cows'

famïliji LSG 'family'

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fâr|a 'parish', ASG *-u*
fârba LPL 'colour'
-farbat
pofârbat 'paint'
fârnjik|, ***fârnjik*** 'parish-priest', GSG *-a*
fažôna ASG 'bean'
fębruhâri LSG 'February' → *agûstuši*
fę̑jfu[h] ASG 'pipe'
Fęlę̑jtęrka[f] PROP woman belonging to the (Hi) *Fęlę̑jtęruvi* family
Fęlę̑jtęruv|i[h] NPLM PROP house name, ISGF *-um*[h]
fêrat ◇ *nurìju* ~[h] 'play a joke'
Fę̑ręnc| PROP Christian name, DSG *-u*
Fę̑ri| PROP Christian name, GSG *-ja*, ISG *-jęm*
fęrtâj NASG 'quarter', GSG *fęrtäj|a*, APL *-ę* ◇ *fęrtâj lëba*[f] 'a quarter of a loaf', *fęrtâj na štìri*[h] 'a quarter past three', *trî fęrtäję na trî*[h] 'a quarter to three'
figurâz|ovat 'make jokes, play tricks', PR2SG *-ujęš* ▷ Hu *figuráz*
filêruv[h] GPL 'fillér, 1/100 of a forint'
Fîlęš TOP the village of Nikitsch
fîlęž| 'basket', ASG *-a*, LSG *-i* ▷ Hu *füles* 'with a handle'
firhêc 'whiffle-tree (part of a cart)' ▷ Hu *ferhéc*
-fizit
zafîz|il LPM 'put (thread) into a needle', PR3PL *-ę* ◇ *si ję utkìnul nag dęr pędęsêt cę̑ntijuf kônca, tôga ję zafìzil va ïglu*[h] 'he ripped off some fifty centimeters of thread and run it through the needle'
fizön|a 'pheasant', NAPL *-ę*
-fižavat
zafižâvat 'thread (a needle)'
Flăjsinov|oga[f] GSGM PROP house name, GPL *-i*[f]
flangêr|al LPM 'mooch about, air one's heels', LPPLM *-ali* ▷ Hu *flangál*
flöš|a 'bottle', LSG *-i*, APL *-ę* ◇ *va mâluj flöši*[h] 'in a small bottle'
fölišęn 'untruthful'
folišnjâk 'untruthful person'
förint|ov[hf] GPL 'forint', GPL also *-i*[f], *forìntov*[f], APL *-ę* ◇ *za förintę*[h] 'for money'
+***frdit*** → +*tvrdit*
frìško ADV 'fast', COMP ADV *frìžę*
-frkat
zafîka PR3SG 'make a mess of'
-frknot
zafîkn|ol LPM 'curl', PP INDM *-ot*
+***frnjit*** → +*tvrdit*
Frônclin[f] PROP
füčk|at si 'whistle', PR1SG *-am*, PR3SG *-a*, LPPLFN *-alę* ◇ *jâ si vêkę füčkam*[h] 'I always whistle'
fugljâr, fugjâr 'guard who watches over the crops'

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fûl 'blind'
-fulit
ufülit 'become blind'
-fundat
zafünd|at 'entangle', PR3SG *-a*, PPN *-ano* ◇ *drôt sę zafünda*[f] 'the thread gets entangled'
fürdêhi LSG 'bathing establishment' → on *ü* see II.1.3.2
futêrat sę 'worry, bother', PR1SG *-am*, PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *-a*, PR1PL *-amo*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali* ◇ *nâj sę tî zô mę futêrat*[f] 'don't worry about me', *sę nę futêramo š njîm*[f] 'we don't meddle in his business', *jâ sę nę futêram*[h] 'I don't bother', *smo sę ziz blâgęm futêrali*[h] 'we were busy with the livestock'
füz|at 'slip', LPM *-al*, LPN *-alo*, PR2SG *fûž|ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, PR3PL *-o*[f] ◇ *na lę̈di sę möręę füzat*[f] 'on the ice you can slip'

G

gâcija GSG 'acacia'
-gad'at
pogâd'|at sę 'negotiate', PR1PL *-amo*, PR3PL *-ajo*[f], LPM *-al*
Gâj| TOP piece of land with vines and fruit trees, GSG *-a*, NPL *-i*
gârvanj|i NPL 'raven', GPL *-uv*[h]
gâs 'gas'
-gasit
ugâs|it 'switch off', IMP *-i*
-gaševat
ugašêvadu[h] PR3PL 'extinguish (fire)'
gâz|it 'drive through, pass', PR3SG *-i*
pogâz|it 'trample down, crush by driving over something, drive through, pass ', LPPLM *-ili*, *pogâz|ili*, PR3PL *-idu*[h], *-ijo*[f]
gę̈ll|o 'throat', LSG *-i* ▹ two attestations with *-rl-* instead of *-ll-*
gę̈n|ot 'move (tr.); (~ *sę*) move (itr.), leave', PR2SG *-ęš*, LPM *-ol*, LPF *-ola*, LPPLM *-oli*, LPPLFN *-olę* ◇ *sę nê möglu gę̈nut*[h] 'it was impossible to move', *tęr so sę kôla gę̈nolę*[f] 'and the cart moved off', *tâ rêdž ę sę ödnud gę̈nola*[f] 'that word originates from there'
Gę̈rjivi NPLM PROP house name
gęrm|î PR3SG 'thunder', LPN *-ïlo*
gêzęš| 'train', LSG *-i* ◇ *na gêzęši*[f] 'by train' ▹ Hu *gőzös* '(steam) locomotive'
gïbat/gîbat sę 'bend, bend over (intr.), be crooked/lopsided', PR3SG *gîbję*
zgïbat 'bend'
gïngav| 'weak, tender', N *-o*
gïzdav| 'vain', F *-a*, PLM *-i*, PLFN *-ę* ◇ *nâ to smo gïzdavi*[f] 'we're proud of that'
Gïzikinim[h] DPL poss ADJ from

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woman's first name *Gïzika*
glâd| 'hunger', ASG *-a*, LSG *-i*
glâd|ęn 'hungry', PLM *-ni*, ADV *-no*
glâs| 'voice', ASG *-a*
glâsno/glãsno ADV 'loud'
glâv|a/glãva 'head', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*, ISG *-um/glãvum/glavûm*, LSG *-i/glãvi* ◇ *jâko ję njim glãva visïla*[f] 'they were very discouraged', *tö ję mę̈ni vêkę va glãvi pak pręd očïjami*[f] 'this is always present in my mind and before my eyes'
glę̈d|at 'look', LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali*, LPPLFN *-alę*, PR1SG *ględ|îm*, PR2SG *-îš*, PR3SG *-î*, PR1PL *-ïmo*, PR2PL *-ïtę*, PR3PL *-ê*, IMP *glę̈č*, *glę̈*
oglêd|at/oglẽdat sę 'look around; look over (something)', PR3SG *-am*, PR3SG *-a*, *oglęđî*, LPM *oglę̈dal* ◇ *prę̈k plöta sęn sę oglę̈dal*[f] 'I looked over the fence', *ökolo sęn sę oglę̈dal*[f] 'I looked around'
poglę̈d|at 'look', LPM *-al*, PR2SG *poględ|îš*, PR3SG *-î*, *poglêda* (1x), PR3PL *-ê*, *-ïjo*[f], IMP *poglę̈č*, *poglę̈čtę*, *poglę̈č*
prę̈glę̈dat 'excuse, forgive', LPM *-al* ◇ *jâ sę s tę̈bum nę̈šu zâ vo štrę̈jtat, prę̈glę̈dat ču ti*[f] 'I shan't quarrel about this with you, I'll forgive you'
glę̈jn|o N/ADV 'equal, the same', PLM *-i*, PLFN *-ę*, F *-a* ▸ in Hi. also with long *ę̂* ◇ *tö ję glę̈jno*[f] 'that is the same thing', *mî smo glę̈jni*[h] (in specific context) 'we have the same age'
glïbok|o ADV 'deep', F *-a*, NSGF *glibôk|a*, APL *-ę*, COMP NSGN *glïbję*, SUP NSGN *näjglïbję*[f]
glõjfaš sę PR2SG 'scratch one's head' ◇ *käj sę tö ~?*[f] 'what are you scratching your head like that for?'
glûh| 'deaf', F *-a*
-gluhnot
uglũhn|ot 'become deaf', PR3SG *-ę*, LPM *-ol*
gluši PR3SG 'sound'
***gmãjn|a*[f]*/gmę̈jn|a*[h]** 'municipality', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*
Gmônska NSGF → *Sinökoša*
gnjâv|it '?correct, reprimand', PR3PL *-idu*[h], *gnjävijo*[f], LPPLFN *gnjävilę*
gnjêzd|o NASG 'nest', NPL *-a*, APL *-a*, *-ę*
gnjïlo N 'rotten'
-gnjit
gnjïję PR3SG 'rot'
zgnjï|t 'rot', PR3SG *-ę*, *zgnïję*
gnjôj 'manure', AGSG *gnjöja*
-gnjojit
nagnjõj|ili LPPLM 'manure'
ugnjõj|it sę 'fester', PR3SG *-i*, LPN *-ilo*
-gnot
zãgnol sę LPM 'bend'
-godat
ugod|älo sę LPN 'succeed, work out', PR3SG *-â* ◇ *kęj sę pęrvîdž nę ugudâ, önu sę pu*

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drugôdž môra[h] 'if something doesn't succeed the first time it must succeed the second time'

zgȍd|at sę 'happen', LPN *-alo*, *zgodȁlo*, PR3SG *zgodâ* ◇ *kę̏j čę sę pak sȁd zgȍdat, kô čę znȁt?*[h] 'who knows what will happen now?', *aku mu sę kę̏j zgudâ*[h] 'if anything happens to him'

gȍdin|a 'rain', GSG *-ę* ◇ *gȍdina curî*[hf] 'it rains'

-godit

pogȍdit sę 'reach an agreement'

zgȍdit 'hit (a target)'

-godȅvat

zgodȅvali LPPLM 'throw (things) at each other'

gôję NAPL 'stork' ◇ *tȕtę so gôję i nê imȁjo gnjêzdo*[f] 'there are storks here and they have a nest' ▹ Hu *gólya*

gȍl| 'naked', F *-a*, APL *-ę* ◇ *gȍlę žę̏nę kâžędu*[h] '(on television) they show naked women'

gȍlob 'pigeon'

gȍmba 'button' ▹ Hu *gomb* ▹ cf. *bȍlta* vs. Hu *bolt*

gombôc|a ASG 'dumpling', APL *-ę* ◇ *va gombôcę znômo vȑs slȉvu*[f] 'we usually put plums in the dumplings' ▹ Hu *gombóc*

gônc 'entirely' ▹ rare; Ge *ganz*

+***gonit***: *gȍnj|it* 'drive, get/keep moving (cattle, a machine)', PR3PL *-idu*[h], LPF *gonjȉla*, LPM *-ili*, *gonjȉli*, *gȍnjili* ◇ *tȁkfoga mę̏lina kȁj so z rukûm gonjȉli*[f] 'the kind of mill they kept going by hand', *sęm bȉciklija gonjȉla*[f] 'I rode a bicycle'

zgȍnili LPPLM ◇ *kat so vȕn ~ na čȍrdu svînję*[f] 'when they drove out the pigs into the herd'

-gonjat

zgȍnj|at 'chase, drive', PR3PL *-ajo*[f], LPM *-al* ◇ *blâgo ję tolȉko zgȍnjal da ję krâj sprȁvil*[f] 'he drove the animals around so much that they went to pieces'

gȍr 'at all' ◇ ~ *nę̏ zna*[h] 'he doesn't know at all' ▹ rare; Ge *gar*

gȍr|a 'vineyard', ASG *-u*, GPL *gôr* → *Slônski*

gôrę*[f]*/gôri[hf] 'up, above, upstairs' ◇ *gôri vȑs*[h] 'record, tape', *tômu šȁtuju dęržȁlu ję gôri stâlu jȕs*[h] 'the handle of that bench-vice happened to be in upright position'

Gorȉc|a TOP (also PL, also *Mâla* ~ and *Vêlika* ~), ASG *-u*, NPL *-ę*, GPL *Gorîc* ◇ *obęr Pêščankę, tȍ ję bîla pag Gorȉca, ondę imamo brêga, tȍ so bîlę Gorȉcę*[f] 'above Pêščanka, that was Gorica, there we have a mountain, that was Gorice', *Ȍbęr Gorîc* TOP

-gorit: *gorî* PR3SG 'burn', PR3PL

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-ę̂, LPN -ïlo
zgȍr|it 'burn', LPM -*il*, LPN *zgor|ïlo*, PR3PL -*ę̂*
gȍrnj|i NSGM 'upper(most), from above', NPL -*ę* ◇ *gȍrnji vëtęr*[h] 'wind from above' → *Sinȍkuša*
***gȍsk|a*[f]*/gȕsk|a*[h]** 'goose', LSG -*i*, NPL -*ę*, GPL -*uv*[h]
gȍspoda NPL (1x) 'rich/upperclass people', LPL *gospodâ* (1x) ◇ *pi väkfi gospodâ, znâš, têri so imäli čüda zęmjê*[f] 'where those rich folks live, you know, who have lots of land'
gospodâr 'master, owner'
gospodarïca 'mistress, head of household; rich lady'
gospodȁrit 'farm on one's own land', PR1PL *gospodârimo*
gospodârski: ~ *dvôr*[f] 'self-owned farm'
gospodïn 'priest', GASG *gospodïna* ▹ *pȍp* is considered better dialect
gȍspon 'rich gentleman', ISG *gospȍn|ęm*, NPL -*i* ◇ *gospȍni tȍ su hat ki vučę̂, ki nę dëladu va zę̈mlji*[h] '*gosponi* are people who study, who don't work on the land'
+***gost***: ***gȍst|a*** ASG 'guest', APL -*ę*
+***gost***: *gȍst|o* N/ASGN 'dense, thick', F -*a*, PLM -*i*, APL -*ę*, COMP ADV *gȍščę* ◇ *nî su gȍščę nęk smu mî*[h] 'they live more tightly packed than we do'
gȍstit 'beat (up)'
zgȍst|it 'beat (up)', LPM -*il*
gȍt| ASG 'neck', GSG -*a*, LSG -*i*, APL -*ę* ◇ *do gȍta ję dȍz dvȍję dêtę*[f] 'two children are more than enough', *gȍtę rëzat*[f] 'cut throats'
gȍtov 'ready', N *gotȍvo* ◇ *nê čïsto gȍtov, nê čïsto sprävęn*[f] 'it isn't entirely ready, it isn't altogether in order yet'
-gotovit
zgotȍv|it 'make, manufacture, found; (~ *sę*) arise' LPM -*il*, LPF -*ila*, LPN -*ilo*
govę̈din|a 'beef', ASG -*u*
gȍvn|o NASG '(piece of) shit, turd', LSG -*i*, GPL *gȍvęn* ◇ *smo va gȍvni*[f] 'we're in deep trouble', *ïma âm gȍvęn svïnski*[f] 'he is having a pretty thin time'
govȍr|it 'speak, talk, tell; (~ *sę*) speak (a certain language)', PR1SG -*im*[h], *govorîm*[f] PR2SG -*iš*, PR3SG -*i*, *govorî*[f], PR1PL -*imo*[h], PR2PL -*itę*, PR3PL -*idu*[h], -*ę*[f], *govorę̂*[f], *govorïjo*[f], LPM -*il*, LPPLFN -*ilę* ◇ *jâ sę nę guvȍrim*[h] 'I don't speak it (Croatian)', *tî sę tȁg guvȍriš kud jâ*[h] 'you speak just the way I do', *kî sę lîpu guvȍri, š njên sę jâ lîpu guvȍrim*[h] 'if someone talks nice to me, I'll talk nice to him' ▹ mark the preference for end-stress in Fe

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grȁb|a 'trench, ditch, pit', GSG/NAPL *-ę*, ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*, LSG *-i*

grabancijâš|i NPL '(in popular belief) travelling students who have become wizards, raise storms and do other harm', APL *-ę* ▹ in Fe it is believed that on one occasion the Ćüćęvi family suffered severely from the wickedness of the grabancijâši ◇ *Ćüćęvu hïžu so grabancijâši odnęsli*[f] 'the grabancijaši took away the house of the Ćučevi'

grȁb|at 'dig', PR3SG *-a*

grȁbicę NPL DIM to *grȁba*

grȁbit 'take (water from a ditch)'

zgrȁbili LPPLM 'grasp'

grâ(h) 'peas', GSG *grâha*

gratulêram PR1SG 'congratulate'

gȑbav| 'crooked, bent', F *-a*, ADV *-o*, ASGM *gęrbȁvoga*

grêdum ISG 'beam', NPL *-ę*

+***grêh***: ***grê*** 'sin', GASG *grêh|a*, APL *-ę* ◇ *tęr si pȍpu povêž grêhę*[f] 'and you confess your sins to the priest'

grę̏pst 'dig, spade', PR2SG *grę̏b|ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR3PL *-ęjo*[f] ◇ *z mȍtinkum grę̏bę*[f] 'he digs with a hoe'

pȍgręps 'scratch', PR1SG *pogrę̏bęm*

grêšęn/grêšęn 'sinful; criminal', PLM *grêšni*, NSGM *grêšni*

grêš|it 'sin; commit an offense', LPM *-il*

zagrêšil/zagrêš|il 'commit an offense; make a mistake', LPPLM *-ili*, PR3SG *zagręšî*

grêšnik| 'criminal', ASG *-a*

grêz| 'semolina', GSG *-a* ◇ *kȁšu sę mȍrę skȕhad od grêza*[f] 'you can cook porridge from semolina'

grȉs 'bite, gnaw', IMP *grȉzi*, *grȉzitę* ◇ *nę̏j si grȉs pȑsta*[h] 'don't gnaw at your finger'

pogrȉzli LPPLM 'bite to pieces'

gȑm| 'shrub', NPL *-i*

grȍf| 'count', GSG *-a*, DSG *-u*, LSGNPL *-i*, DPL *-om*

grofîc|a 'countess', GSG *-ę*

grȍfskę NPLFN ADJ to *grȍf*

grônic|a 'boundary, frontier', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*

Grôtini NPL PROP house name

grôzlj|ę/grôzj|ę NASG 'grapes', GSG *-a*

grûb|ęn 'rude; ugly', N/ADV *-no*

grûnt 'land', AGSG *grûnt|a*, *grȕnt|a*, DSG *-u*, ISG *-ęm*, NSG *-i*, APL *-ę* ◇ *grȕntu ȉmę*[h] 'the name of the land', *pag onda si glȉboko zȍral tôga mâloga grȕnta*[f] 'then he deeply ploughed that small piece of land'

gȕbit 'lose'

zgȕb|it 'lose', LPM *-il*, LPF *zgub|ȉla*, LPN *-ȉlo*, LPPLM *-ȉli*, PR2SG *-ȉjęš*, PR3PL *-ȉjędu*[h]

gûlili/gulîli LPPLM 'peel'

ogûjiš PR2SG 'chafe' ◇ *si nȍgu porę̏žęš ali ogûjiš*[f] 'you

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cut or chafe your leg'
gürgat 'roll (e.g. an acre with a roller)'
pogürgadu^{h} PR3PL 'roll'
zagürg|at 'roll', LPPLM *-ali*
gürgul|a 'roller', ASG *-u*
güsl|at 'play the gusle', PR3SG *-a*, PR1PL *-amo*, LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali*
güslę APL 'gusle (musical instrument)', IPL *-ami*, LPL *-a*
güščiči NPL 'gosling' ▹ this form was attested in Fe → *gôska*
gvîšn|o ADV/N 'certain', PLM *-i* ◇ *nêso bili gvîšni va njêm da ôn jęli žïdov ali nê*^{f} 'they weren't quite certain whether he was a Jew or not'

H

häblat 'beat (up)'
shäblal LPM 'beat (up)'
-hadat
pohädat 'walk (around)'
häję APL 'clothes'
hajôvi NPL 'ship' ▹ Hu *hajó* ▹ the usual dialect word is *čôn*
hâloga 'weeds, GSG *hälog|ę*, ASG *-u*
häložno N 'full of weeds'
hamišâsti NSGM 'sly, furtive', PLM *hômišasti* ▹ Hu *hamis*
hâręnd|ę GSG 'rent', ASG *-u*
+***harta***: ***hârtu*** ASG 'card'
hârtat/härtat 'play cards'
hasnövat 'use' ▹ considered Hu; Hu *használ*
hât particle, interjection 'so, well, why, now' ▹ abundantly present in Mar
hatâr| NASG 'boundary; terrain, ground, plot of land', GASG *-a* ◇ *nêma täkfuga vęlikuga hatâra*^{h} 'he hasn't got so much land', *sęgâ hatâra su sköpali*^{h} 'they spaded the whole parcel'
hê interjection expressing surprise
Hęčkür ASG TOP the village of Hegykő ◇ *na Hęčkürï*^{hf} 'in Hegykő'
Hęčkürci NPL 'inhabitant of Hegykő'
Hęčkürkinja 'female inhabitant of Hegykő'
hęčkürska NSGF ADJ to *Hęčkür*
Hędęšïn|/Hędęšïn NASG TOP the village of Hidegség, LSG *-i* ▹ after *na* 'in' *Hę-* can be omitted ◇ *na Dęšïn*^{f} 'to Hidegség', *na Dęšïni*^{h} 'in Hidegség'
Hędęšïn|ęc 'inhabitant of Hidegség', NPL *-ci*, APL *-cę*, IPL *-ci/-cami*
Hędęšïnkinję NPL 'female inhabitant of Hidegség'
hędęšïnsk|o NSGN ADJ to *Hędęšïn*, GSGN *-oga*, DSGM *-omu*
hïntov| 'coach, carriage', LSG *-i*
hït|at 'throw', LPM *-al*
nahïtal sę LPM 'have one's fill of throwing'
pohïtala LPF 'throw'

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hĭt|it 'throw, throw away', PR1SG *-im*, PR2SG *-iš*, PR3SG/IMP *-i*, PR3PL *-ijo*[f], LPM *-il*, LPPLM *-ili*, PPN *hĭćęno*

hĭž|a NSG/LPL 'house; room; household, family', GSG/NAPL *-ę*, DLSG *-i*, ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*, GPL *hîž*[hf], *-i*[f], *-uv*[h], IPL *-ami* ◇ *so jûdi va näkfa mâla hĭža stâli*[f] 'people used to live in such small houses', *tö ję hĭži ĭmę*[f] 'that is the nickname of a family', *sę̈ hĭžę počĭstit*[f] 'to clean all rooms'

hĭžicu ASG DIM to *hĭža*

hĭžn|i NSGM ADJ to *hĭža*, NSGN *-o*, NSGF *-a*

+***hlad*** → ***lâd***

hö̆bla 'plane (carpenter's tool)'

hôd| NASG certain unit of area, possibly equal to a Hu *hold* (0,57 hectares), GPL *hodôv*[hf.], *-i*[f] (1x), *-ov*[f] (1x), *hôd*[f] (1x), APL *-ę* ◇ *hôd grünta*[h] 'a *hod* of land', *tridę̈sęd hudôv grünta*[h] 'thirty *hod* of land'

hö̆d|it 'walk, go', PR1SG *-im*, PR1PL *-imo*, PR3PL *-idu*[h], *-ę*[f], LPM *-il*, LPPLM *-ili*, *hodĭli*, LPPLFN *hodĭlę*, IMP *hö̆di*, *hötę*, IMP1PL *hö̆dmo*[f] (attested in a song) ◇ *jâ sęn sę hö̆dil vŭčit Šöprun*[h] 'I went to school to Sopron', *hö̆di jĕč!*[f] 'come on, eat!', *vu têm hö̆dę jûdi dĕlat*[f] 'in those clothes people went to their work'

hö̆kica 'small axe'

hôm 'collar (on horse)', ASG *-a*

Homočôn|ęc 'inhabitant of Fertőhomok', DPL *-com*, APL *-cę*

hö̆močk|i NSG ADJ to *Hö̆mok*, NSGN *-o*, GSGN *-oga*, ISGM *-ęm*, ASGF *-u*

Hö̆mok TOP the village of Fertőhomok, LSG *Homö̆ki* ◇ *na Humö̆ki*[h] 'in Fertőhomok'

Honjâčka[f] NSGF PROP house name

Honjâčkini[f] NPLM PROP house name

horvât| 'Croat', NPL *-i*, *horvätì*, GPL *-ov*[f], APL *horvätę*

horvatĭca 'Croatian woman'

horvâtsk|o NSGN 'Croatian', GSGMN *-oga*, *horvätskoga*, LSGMN *-ęm*, NSGF *-a*, ISGF *horvätskum*, GPL *horvätski*, APL *-ę*, IPL *-ami*, ADV *horvâtski/horvätski*, *po horvâtsku*[f] (1x) 'in Croat'

+***hrana*** → ***rônа***

+***-hranit*** → ***rônjit***

hřbęt NASG 'back', ISG *hřpt|ęm*, LSG *-i*

hřďa 'rust' ◇ *onda ga ~ žę̈rę*[f] 'then it is affected by rust'

-hrďat

zahřďal sę LPM 'rust'

hřďav 'rusty', N *-o*, F *-a*

-hrknot

zahř(k)n|ot 'gasp for breath, rattle in one's throat', LPM *-ol*, LPF *-ola*

+***hrnjit***: *hęrnjî* impersonal verb

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with dative 'gasp for breath, rattle in one's throat', VN *hr̃njęnję* ◇ *hęrnjî mu*[f] 'he gasps for breath'
zahr̃nj|il LPM 'strangle; (impersonal with dative) gasp for breath, rattle in one's throat', LPN *-ilo* ◇ *zahr̃njilo ję mu tęr ę ümręl*[f] 'he rattled and died', *zahr̃njil ę ga*[f] 'he strangled him'
hr̃ž| NASG 'rye', GSG *-i* ◇ *hr̃ž ę vïsuka*[h] 'the rye is high', *s hr̃ži pę̈kli krüha*[h] 'they used to make bread from rye'
hr̃žęna NSGF ADJ to *hr̃ž* ◇ *hr̃žęna môka*[f] 'rye-flour'
hüja|li LPPLM 'make noise (e.g. drunken people', PR3SG *-a*, PR3PL *-ajo*[f]
hujïk|at 'scream', LPF *-ala*
-hujiknot
zahujïknola LPF 'scream'
humbâr| NASG 'granary', LSGNPL *-i* ◇ *va vę̈kčęm humbâri ję bîlo zr̃nję, va mônjęm humbâri ję bila môka*[f] 'in the larger granary we kept wheat, in the smaller one we kept flour' ▷ Hu *hombár*

I

i 'and; and/or even, as well, too' ◇ *tö ję* ~ *va blâgi*[f] 'animals have that, too', *tâ hïža* ~ *säd už ję̈*[h] 'that house still exists'

→ (also for more examples) VI.8.1

-ič

dôt 'come, arrive' INF also *döjt*[hf], *dôti*[f], PR1SG *dôdęm*, PR2SG *dôdęš*, PR3SG *dôdę*, PR3PL *dôdędu*[h], *dôdęjo*[f], *dôdo*[f], LPM *döšęl*, LPF *döšla*, LPN *döšlo*, LPPLM *döšli*, LPPLFN *döšlę*, IMP *dôdi*, *dôditę* ◇ *tî čęž dôd zô mę*[h] 'you'll come to marry me', *kad uj ę tö döšlu nô misli*[h] 'when she thought of that'
nę̂jdędu[h] PR3PL 'find', LPM *näšęl*, *nę̂jgęl*[f], LPF *näšla*
obâjt[f] 'overtake', LPM *obę̂jgęl*[f] ◇ *obę̂jgęl sęm tę*[f] 'I overtook you'
pôt 'go', *pôti*, PR1SG *ïdęm*, *pôdęm*, *ïdu* (→ § 2.3), PR2SG *ïdęš*, *pôdęš*, PR3SG *ïdę*, *pôdę*, PR1PL *idę̈mo*, PR2PL *idę̈tę*, *pôdętę*, PR3PL *idû*[h], *idô*[f], *idę̈jo*[f], *pôdędu*[h], *pôdo*[f], *pôdęjo*[f], LPM *ïšęl*, LPF *ïšla*, LPN *ïšlo*, LPPLM *ïšli*, IMP *pöj*, *pöjtę*. Negated PR: 1SG *nêdęm*, 3SG *nêdę*, 1PL *nêdęmo*, 2PL *nêdętę*, 3PL *nêdędu*[h], *nêdo*[f]/*nêdęjo*[f]. Negated IMP: *nêdi* ◇ *ïdęm pu döktura*[h] 'I'm going for a doctor', *idę̈mu spât*[h] 'we're going to bed', *nêdęn zâ tę*[h] 'I shan't marry you', *i crîkvu nêdędu rädu*[h] 'they don't like to go to church either', *nêdi mędô nję, ar sę štrę̈jtajo*[f]

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'don't interfere (lit. don't go between them), because they are having an argument'
prôt 'leave, go away', LPM *prössęl*, LPF *prössla*, LPN *prösslo*, LPPLM *prössli*, LPPLFN *prösslę* ◇ *ję vün prössla*^{h} 'she went away', *prössęl ę za pöpa*^{f} 'he became a priest'
zêjt^{f} 'reach, go (in connection with a certain boundary or end point); visit occasionally; set (of sun)', PR3SG *zêjdę*^{h}, PR1PL *zâjdęmo*^{h}, LPM *zäšęl*, *zêjgęl*^{f}, LPF *zäšla*, LPPLM *zäšli*, *zêjgli*^{f} ◇ *kôm čę zêjt?*^{h} 'where will it go (the soul after death)?', *ur ę sôncę štëlu zêjt*^{h} 'it was almost sunset already', *sköru za pôl ürę ję zäšęl nä krję*^{h} 'after almost half an hour it reached the end', *sęm zäšęl vün*^{h} 'I went away (on a journey)', *cęsti nä kraj si zêjgęl*^{f} 'you reached the end of the road'
îgl|a/îgla 'needle', ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*
îgra 'play'
îgr|at sę 'play', LPPLM *-ali*, PR1SG *igr|ôm*, PR3SG *-â*, PR1PL *-ômo*, PR3PL *-äjo*, IMP *-âj*^{f}, VN *-ônję*
igrônję ASG 'play; toys'
ijõ/jõ/ijê interjection (expressing surprise)
îm|at 'have', PR1SG *-am*, PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *-a*, PR1PL *im|ômo*, PR2PL *-ätę*, PR3PL *-ädu*^{h}, *-äjo*^{f}, LPM *ïmal*, LPF *-äla*, LPN *-älo*, LPPLM *-äli*, LPPLFN *-älę*. Negated PR: 1SG *nêm|am*, 2SG *-aš*, 3SG *-a*, 1PL *-amo*, 2PL *-atę*, 3PL *-adu*^{h}, *-ajo*^{f} ◇ *imäjo svêta vê mlâdę*^{f} 'those young women have all they desire (lit. own the world)', *tâ nêmal lâsi*^{h} 'he had no hair', *su sę böję imäli*^{h} 'they were better off', *ïma šêz mętęruv*^{h} 'it's six meters long' → (also for more examples) VII.2.1.1
îmę| NASG 'name', GSG *-na*, ISG *-nęm*, LSG *-ni*, NPL *imęnâ*, GPL *imên* ◇ *pu ïmęni*^{h} '(call) by its name', *tömu ję ïmę gnjôj*^{h} 'that is called manure'
intręzêra PR3SG 'interest' ◇ *mę̈nę ~ vö*^{f} 'that interests me'
îsk|at 'look for; (~ *si*) earn, make (money)', LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali*, IMP *ïšči*, VN *-anję*, PR1SG *îšč|ęm*, PR3SG *-ę*
zîsk|at si 'look for; (~ *si*) earn, make (money)', LPPLM *-ali*, IMP *zîšči*, PR2SG *zîšč|ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR3PL *-ęjo*^{f} ◇ *si zîščę pêt jęzęrîc*^{h} 'he earns 5000'
+***isti***: ***îsto*** N 'same' ▹ (1x), the common words are *jędnäko* and *sę̈jędno*

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ȉstin|a 'truth', ASG *-u* ◇ *ȉstinu ȉmaš*[h] 'you're right'
iz 'out of' → VII.3.2

J

jâ 'I', G *mẹ̏nẹ*, D *mẹ̏ni*, *mẹ̏nẹ*, *mi*, A *mẹ̏nẹ*, *mi*, I *mẹ̏num*[h], *mẹ̏nom*[f], L *mẹ̏ni* ◇ *käk ču ga jâ hȉtit?*[h] 'how shall I throw it?', *ȍd mẹnẹ dôdẹ*[f] 'he comes from me', *ôf sîn mi ȉma dvê čêri*[h] 'that son of mine has two daughters', *onî so mẹ̏ni dôžni*[f] 'they owe me money', *tâ mẹ̏nẹ dôdẹ*[h] 'he comes to me', *kad mẹ jẹ jâku čẹ̏mẹrnu*[h] 'when I'm very sad', *nẹ̏mrẹš tî mẹ̏nẹ navȕčit nâ vu?*[h] 'can't you teach me that?', *nâj sẹ tî s mẹ̏nom futêrat*[f], 'don't you meddle with my affairs', *pȍ mẹni šôgor*[f] 'a brother-in-law from my side of the family', *pri mẹ̏ni*[h] 'in my presence; at my place'
jä̃ interjection → for examples of use see Mar [135, 152, 190, 222, 275]
jä̃buk|a 'apple', ASG *-u*, NPL *-ẹ*
-jačat
ojä̃čat 'regain strength'
jä̃čit si/jâčit si 'sing', PR3SG *jâč|i*, PR1PL *-imo*, PR3PL *-ẹ*[f], *-ido*[f], *-ijo*[f], LPF *jačȉla*, LPPLM *jačȉli*, *jäčili*, *jâčili* ◇ *hurvâtski si nẹ̏ znadu jâčit*[h] 'they can't sing in Croatian'
zjâčit si 'sing', LPPLM *zjačȉli*
jâčk|a 'song', ASG *-u*, NAPL *-ẹ*, GPL *-i*[f] ◇ *čȕda lêpi jâčki*[f] 'a lot of beautiful songs'
jačkâri NPL 'singer'
jâd| 'anger', LSG *-i*
jâd|a GSG 'poison', ISG *-ẹm*
jä̃da|t sẹ 'become/be angry', LPM *-al*, NPL *jâd|am*, PR3SG *-a* ◇ *jâ sẹ jâdan nâ tuga*[h] 'I'm angry at him', *njê môž vêkẹ tȍ mẹ̏nẹ jâda s têm*[h] 'her husband always makes me angry with that'
Jä̃gini[f] NPLM PROP house name
jä̃god|a '(straw)berry', NAPL *-ẹ*, GPL *jä̃god*[f], IPL *-ami* ◇ *jẹ̏dẹn rêd jä̃got*[f] 'one row of strawberries
jä̃godovẹ NPLFN ADJ to *jä̃goda* ◇ *jä̃guduvẹ drêva*[h] 'berry-bearing trees'
jä̃h|at 'ride (a horse)', PR3PL *-adu*[h], LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali*
jâj interjection ◇ *jâj, môži, käk stẹ hômišasti*[h] 'you men, how sneaky you are!'
jä̃j|cẹ[f] NASG 'egg', GSG/APL *jâjca*[f], *jẹ̏jca*[hf] GPL *jẹ̏jẹc*[f]/*jẹ̏jẹc*[f] ◇ *vẹ̏dž jẹ̏jẹdz nẹ̏sẹjo*[f] 'they lay more than one egg'
jâk/jä̃k 'strong', F *jâka/jä̃ka*, N *jä̃ko*, PLM *jä̃ki*, GSGF *jä̃kẹ/jâkẹ*, ADV *jâko* (frequent form with meaning 'very'), COMP NSGM *jäči*
Jandrînj|a 'St. Andrew's Day; (at Hi) annual patronal

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festival', ASG *-u*

januhâri LSG 'January' → *agûstuši*

jäp|a 'father', GSG *-ę*, DSG *-i*, ASG *-u*, ISG *-um* ◇ *mujęmu jäpi jäpa*[h] 'my father's father'

jäpin| poss ADJ to *jäpa*, NSGF *-a*, GSGN *-oga*, NPLFN *-ę*

järęb 'hawk'

jär|ęc 'barley', GASG *-ca*

järęm/jâręm 'yoke', GSG *järma/jârma*, ISG *jârmęm*, LSG/NPL *järmi*

jargônj| 'threshing-floor', ASG *-a*, NSG *-i*, GSG *-uv*[h] ▹ Hu *járgány*

-jat

näj|at 'pour, fill (someone's) glass or cup', PR1SG *-ęm*, LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali*

pröjal LPM 'shed' ◇ *kî ę zä nas kŕf pröjal*[h] 'who shed his blood for us' → *-ljet*

zâlję PR3SG 'water' ▹ length and *-l-* uncertain

jäv|it sę 'visit, look (someone) up; say hello; say something', LPM *-il*, LPPLM *-ili*, IMP *-i*, PR3SG *jâvi*, PR3PL *-idu*[h]

jęd|ęn NASG 'one', NASGN *-o*, DSGM *-nomu*, ASGM *-noga*, ISGM/LSGMN *-nęm*, NSGF/LPL *-na*, DLSGF *-nuj*, ASGF *-nu*, ISGF *-num*, NPLM *-ni*, APL *-nę* ◇ *tö jędnumu čüda*[h] 'that is too much for one person', *na jędnęm kräji ali va sręďini*[f] 'on one end or in the middle', *jędni čędu pücat, drügi čę bêljit*[h] 'some will clean up, others will whitewash'

jędinęjs[hf] 'eleven' ◇ *ud jędinâjsti*[h] 'from eleven', *u jędinęjsti*[h] 'at eleven'

jędinęjst|oga[f] GSGN 'eleventh', NSGF *-a*[f]

jędnak 'the same, similar', F *jędnäk|a*, N *-o*, PLM *-i*, PLFN *-ę* ◇ *jędnäka ę zęmja*[h] 'the land is flat'

jędnûč 'once' ◇ *kad už jędnudž dôdęž na Hędęšîn, nęznan ču li bid žîva*[h] 'I don't know if I'll still be alive if you ever come back to Hidegség', *na ~*[f] 'at the same time'

jęli 'whether, if' ◇ *nęznam ~ ręzumïtę*[h] 'I don't know if you understand' → VII.8.1 →*li*

jęl|o/ęl|o NASG 'food', GSG *-a*, ISG *-ęm* ◇ *ôn njim ę znäl ęla ödnęst*[f] 'he used to bring them food'

jęrba PR3SG 'inherit'

-jerbat

pojęrb|at 'spoil, ruin, smash to pieces', PR2SG *-aš*, LPM *-al*

jê|s 'eat', INF also *jêsti*[f], PR1SG *-m*, PR2SG *-š*, PR3SG *-Ø*, PR1PL *-mo*, PR2PL *-tę*, PR3PL *-du*[h], LPM *jë|l*, LPF *-la*, LPPLM *-li/ęli*, IMP *-č/ęč*, *ęčtę* ◇ *na öbęd vî kęj imätę, kęj jêtę?*[h] 'what do you have for dinner, what do you eat?'

näjęs sę 'eat one's fill', LPM *näjęl*, LPPLM *najęli*

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põję|s 'eat', LPM *-l*, LPPLM *pojë|li*, IMP *-č*, PR2SG *pojêš*, PR3SG *pojê*, PR3PL *pojêdu*[h] ◇ *to sę nëmrę põjęs*[h] 'that isn't eatable', *ubëda ję si põjęl*[h] 'he had dinner'

ję̈sęn 'autumn' ◇ *jęsęnî*[f] 'in spring'

-jet

najêt 'take on (workpeople)'

prijê|t 'accept, receive', LPM *-l*

jęzęrîcę APL '1000 forints (amount or note)', GPL *jęzęrîc*

ję̈zęr|o NASG 'lake', ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i*, NPL *-a* ◇ *övdę ję̈zęri, sìm smo hodìli šìja žę̈t*[f] 'here in the lake we used to mow reed'

ję̈zęr|o NASG '1000', APL *-ę*, GPL *jęzêr* ◇ *dadu dę̈sęt jęzêr šìlinguv na mësęc*[h] 'they pay 10.000 shilling a month', *ję̈zęro i ösamstô*[f] '1.800'

ję̈zęrokrat 'a thousand times'

ję̈zęrsk|i ADJ to *ję̈zęro* 'lake', GSGN *-oga*

ję̈zik 'language', ISG *jęzìk|ęm*, LSG *-i*, GPL *-uv*[h] ◇ *na svujêm jęzìki pomîna*[h] 'he speaks in his own language'

Jęzîcę NPL TOP

jêžuševa NSGF poss ADJ 'Jesus's' ◇ *da bi njëga jêžušęva strëla ubìla*[h] '(lit.) may Jezus's lightning kill him'

Jöcijęva[h] NSG poss ADJ ◇ ~ *žę̈na* 'Joci's wife'

Jökli[h]***/Jôkli***[h] PROP first name

Jöklijęv|a[h] NSGF poss ADJ to *Jökli*, NPLM *-i*[h], LSGM *-ęm*[h], NPLM *-i*[h], DPL *-im*[h]

jôm|a 'hole, pit', ASG *-u*

Jôm|a TOP, GSG/NPL *-ę*

Jôndrič[f] PROP house name

Jôndričin|[f] PROP house name, NSGF *-a*[f] ◇ *Jôndričina hìža*[f] 'the house of the Jondričin family'

Jônušęva[h] 'St. John's Day (27/12)'

Jöšk|a[f] PROP first name, DSG *-i* ASG *-u*

jöškędli| 'can of approx. 2 litres with handle', ASG *-ja*

Jöškina[h] NSGF poss ADJ to *Jöška*

Jöžija[f] GSG PROP first name

Jöžijęva[f]***/Jöžijova***[f] NSGF poss ADJ to *Jöži*

jő → *ijő*

jübil → *ljübit*

jûdi → *ljûdi*

Jugoslâvij|a 'Yugoslavia', LSG *-i*

jüh|a/jûha 'soup', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u/jûhu*, ISG *-um* ◇ *pę̈ršina, cę̈jara, lüka, kaj ję va ję̈dnu jühu dös*[f] 'some parsley, celery, onion, enough for one soup'

jûja sę PR3SG 'wobble (e.g. of unstable chair)' → *lülat*

jün|ęc 'young ox', ASG *-ca*, NPL *-ci* ◇ *ako sköpido, önda čę bid jünęc … kęšnìję pag völ*[f] 'when it is castrated it is a *jünęc*, later it becomes a *völ*'

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+***jüpa*** → *düpa*
Jür|a TOP 'Győr', GSG *-ę/Jûrę*, ASG *-u*, LSG *Jûri*
Jûrič[h] PROP
Jûrin[h] PROP
Jurinkověču[h] DSG PROP
jüs 'just, exactly' ◇ *malo zajêvam, jüz da nęg žîvi*[f] 'I don't water it much, just enough to stay alive'
jûtr|o NASG 'morning', GSG *-a*, LSG *-i* ◇ *jûtri*[f] 'in the morning', *dënęz jûtru*[h] 'this morning'

K

k preposition 'to' → VII.2.2.2, VII.3.2
kâd| 'tub', LSG *-i*
kad/käda/ka interrogative, conjunction → VII.8.1; *täda*
kadë → *dë*
käj[f]***/kę̈j***[hf] NA'what', G *čę̈sa*[hf], *köga*[f], D *čę̈mu*, I *kêm*[hf], *čêm*[f] (1x), L *kêm* ◇ *ot köga ję ôf stöl? – od drêva*[f] 'what is that table made of? – of wood', *š čę̈sa čę dät, kad nêma?*[h] 'where should he find something to give, if he doesn't have anything?', *vû kaj so vr̈gli nütęr*[f] 'where they put it in', *kî s kêm baräčę*[f] 'everybody has his own work', → IV.5.1
kajčę̈mo[f]***/kę̈jčę̈mu***[h] ADV and uninflected ADJ 'properly, decently', *kęjčę̈mu sę dr̈š!*[h] 'behave decently!', *kajčę̈mo člövęk si*[f] 'you're a decent person', *va kajčę̈mo obütęji*[f] 'with proper shoes on' ▹ in surrounding dialects, *kaj* can mean 'how, as' (e.g. in my material from Kópháza); *kajčę̈mo* could mean 'the way we want it', cf. French *comme il faut*
käj-to[f] NASG 'something', ◇ *tôžęn sęm, kad mi käj-to nę kröta*[f] 'I'm sad when I don't succeed at something', *da mę̈ni käj-to pomöžę*[f] 'that it helps me a little'
käk 'how, (the same way) as' ◇ *käg nę*[f] 'of course', *käk-tak smö*[h] 'we manage some way or other', *käk da nô mę bründajo*[f] 'as if they grumble at me'
kakaôhęm ISG 'cocoa'
käk|ov 'which, what (kind of)', N/ASGN *-fo*, F *-fa*, PLM *-fi*, GSGN/ASGM *-foga*, LSGF *-vuj*, APL *-fę* ◇ *käkfa mëgla ję dënęs*[h] 'what a fog we have today'
Käläęc[h] PROP probably house name
Kamęnjâč|a TOP, NPL *-ę*, GPL *-Ø* ◇ *öbęr Kamęnjâč*[f] 'above *Kamęnjâčę*' (can also be seen as a separate toponym → *Obęrkamęnjâč*)
Kamęnjâk TOP
Känadi LSG TOP 'Canada'

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käp|a 'cap', ASG *-u*
käpat 'dig', PR3SG *kâpa*
okäp|at 'dig', LPPLM *-ali*, PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *okâpa*, PR3PL *-adu*[h], *-ajo*[f], *-ado*[f]
+***kapat*** 'trickle', PR3SG *käpję*
käpicu ASG DIM to *käpa*
kâpj|a 'drop', ASG *-u*
kapût/kapût 'to pieces' ◇ *ôn ę bîl kapût*[h] 'he was all to pieces'
***Kâri|*[f]*/Käri*[f] PROP first name, GSG *-ja*
karïčic|a 'ring; ring-finger', ASG *-u*, APL *-ę* ◇ *tütę so näšli vögęrskoj krajïci karïčicu*[f] 'there they found the Hungarian queen's ring'
Kärijovi[f] NPLM poss ADJ to *Käri*
+***kaša***: *kâšu* ASG 'mash, porridge'
käšljęš PR2SG 'cough' ▹ more current words are *kôhat* and *brę̈hat*
kaštę̈ja GSG 'castle'
+***kaštiga***: *kaštïgu* ASG 'punishment'
kaštïg|at 'punish', INF also *-ati*[f], PR3SG *-a*, LPPLM *-ali*
kätolikuš 'catholic'
katôn|a 'soldier', ASG *-u* ◇ *önda su mę udnę̈sli za suldäta, za katônu*[h] 'then they made me a soldier and took me away'
käv|a 'coffe', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*
Kavajâčę NPL TOP
käz|at 'show', LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali*, PR3SG *kâž|ę*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h]*/käžędu*[f] (NB: Hi ending)
pokäz|at 'show', LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*, PR3PL *pokäžędu*[h], IMP *pokäš|*, *-tę*
kę̈čk|a 'goat', NPL *-ę*, GPL *-uv*[h] ▹ Hu *kecska*
kę̈čkina NSGF poss ADJ to *kę̈čka* ◇ ~ *bïka*[f] (the informant refers to a he-goat)
kęčmâr 'innkeeper'
kę̈r|at '(mostly with *sę*) belong; (~ *sę*) be fitting', INF also *-ati*[f], PR3SG *-a* ◇ *nę kônjim sę nïkam kę̈rat*[f] 'I don't want to belong anywhere', *kę̈ra sę pôti šôgora poglę̈dat ję̈li ję zdräv*[f] 'someone should look up our brother-in-law and see if he's healthy', *sïm sę oš kę̈ra tö, da ...*[f] 'in this connection it is worth noting that ...'
Kęręstür| TOP village (?Deutschkreuz), GSG *-a*
kęrsnâ: ~ *küma* 'godmother'
kęrščônci NPL 'Christian' ◇ ~ *nę krädo, ~ nïkoga nę bantüjo*[f] 'Christians don't steal and don't bother anybody'
kęrščôniki NPL 'Christian'
kęrvâvo/kęrvâvo N 'blood-stained'
+***kesen***: ***kę̈sno*** N/ADV 'late', GSGN *kęsnôga*, COMP ADV *kęšnïję*[f], *kišnïję*[h] ◇ *do kęsnôga*[f] 'until late'
-kesnit
zakę̈snit sę 'be late', LPM *-il*,

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LPN *-ilo*

Kęvę̑ždi LSG TOP the village of Sopronkövesd ◇ (*na*) ~^{hf} 'in S.'

Kęznarïčka TOP certain hay-field

kî substantival pronoun 'who' → *kô/kî*

kî NSGM adjectival interrogative/relative pronoun 'what (kind of), which, that', NSGN *kô*, GSGMN/ASGM *kôga*, LSGMN *kêm*, NPLM *kî*, NSGF *kâ*, DSGF *kuj*, LSGF *kûj*, NPLFN/APL *kê*, IPL *kïmi* ◇ *tî, ki su štëli dôt sïm*^{h} 'those who wanted to come here', *mašînkę kê su göra strêljalę*^{h} 'machines that shot in the air', *stëza, na kûj smo sad*^{f} 'the road we are on now', *ot kôga stôna?*^{f} 'from which household?'

kïkav 'hoarse'

kïl|a 'kilogram', GSG *kîlę*, ASG *-u*, GPL *kîl*, APL *-ę* ◇ *ję̑dna kïla brëskfę*^{f} 'one kilogram of peaches'

kilomę̑tęruv^{h} GPL 'kilometre'

kïnč|it 'decorate', PR1PL *-imo*
skïnčit 'decorate', LPM *-il*

-kinot
otkïn|ot 'break off, disengage', PR3SG *-ę*, LPM *-ol*
skïn|ot 'disengage, break loose', LPM *-ol*, LPF *-ola* ◇ *skïnul si ję rôku*^{h} 'he tore his arm free', *skïnula sę ję dôlę*^{h} 'it broke off',
ręskïn|ola^{h} LPF 'tear apart', *-olo*^{f}, LPPLM *raskïnoli*^{f}

kîpi LSG 'photograph'

kip|ïla LPF 'boil, ferment', PR3SG *-î* ◇ *ož nę kipî vîno*^{f} 'the wine is not fermenting yet'

kirajïcu ASG 'queen' → *krajïca*

kirâlj 'king' → *krâj*

kïritov NASG 'saint's day, annual feast of a village, fair'

Kisę̑gi LSG TOP village

+***kisel***: *kïsęl|o* N 'sour', F *-a*, ASGN *kisêlo*

kïsęlkasto N 'sourish'

kïtic|a 'flower', NPL *-ę*, GPL *-Ø*, DPL *am* ◇ *tîn kïtican sę rädujęm*^{h} 'I am glad with these flowers'

-kjet
prökjętę PP PLFN 'curse'

kjüc|at 'clink (glasses)', PR1PL *-amo*

kjücnot 'clink (glasses)'

-kladat
sklädat: ~ *vün*^{f} 'unload'
zaklâdat 'load'

-klanjat
naklänjajo sę PR3PL 'greet'

klâs|a ASG 'ear', NPL *-i*, APL *-ę* ▷ also APL *-i* attested (one occasion, 2x); this is probably an analogy with APL *vlâsi* → III.8 (5-7)

-klast
üklas 'stack', PR3PL *uklädęjo*^{f}, LPPLM *uklälí*, PPN *uklôno*, VN *ukläd'ęnję* ◇ *uklälí va križïčę*^{h} 'we stacked it into *križïčę*'
naklälí LPPLM 'load on a

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waggon', LPM *näklal*
sklälì LPPLM 'take off a waggon'
klä̃|t 'slaughter', LPN *-lo*
zäkla|t 'slaughter', LPPLM *-li*, PR3SG *zaköljȩ/zaköjȩ*, PR1PL *zaklädȩmo*, PR3PL *zäkladu*[h] ◇ *kat sȩ svìnja zaköjȩ*[f] 'when a pig is slaughtered'
-kleknot
poklȩ̃kn|ot 'kneel', PR3SG *-ȩ*, PR1PL *-ȩmo*
-klenot
otklȩ̃notȩ PPFN 'unlock'
zaklȩ̃n|ot 'lock (away), put away', PR1SG *-ȩm*, PR3SG *-ȩ*, PPN *-oto*, PPFN *-otȩ* ◇ *jâ sȩ nȩ zaklȩ̃nȩm*[h] 'I don't lock the door behind me'
klȩ̃p|ali LPPLM 'sharpen, whet', PR2PL *-jȩtȩ*,
sklȩ̃p|at 'sharpen, whet', PR3PL *-jȩdu*[h], LPM *-al*, PPPLM *-ani*
klêp|ȩc 'hammer', GASG *-ca*, ISG *-cȩm*, NPL *-ci*, GPL *-cuv*[h], APL *-cȩ*
klẽščȩ APL 'tongs, pincers'
klĩnci NPL ◇ *Hędȩšĩnci* ~[f] rhyme, meant to abuse the inhabitants of Hi → *žgônci*
kljücnot/kjücnot 'clink (glasses)'
kljûč|/kjûč| 'key', ASG *-a*, *kjüča*, ISG *-ȩm*
+***ključônka*** 'key-hole', LSG *kjučônki* ◇ *nâ jȩ ur na vrâtuvuj kjučônki kujcala*[h] 'she was already peering through the key-hole'
+***kljüčov*** ADJ to *kljûč*, LSGF *kjüčovuj* ◇ *Vèra sȩ na vrâti, na kjüčuvuj škuji, kujcala*[h] 'Vera was spying at the door, at the key-hole'
Klônȩc TOP small road
-klonjit
naklõnj|it sȩ 'greet', PR3PL *-ijo*[f]
poklõnj|it sȩ 'greet', PR2SG *-iš*, PR3SG *-i*, PR3PL *-ijo*[f]
klôp| NASG 'bench, pew', LSG/NPL *-i*
-klopit
sklõpili LPPLM ◇ ~ *skupa*[f] 'put together'
knjĩg|ȩ APL 'book', LPL *-a*, GPL *knjîg* ◇ *va knjïga štäl*[h] 'he read it in books'
kô/kî substantival pronoun 'who', GASG *köga*, DSG *kömu*, *kômu*[f] (1x), ILSG *kêm* ◇ *möju čêr kî jȩ zêl, ôn ȩ mȩ̃ni zȩ̃t*[h] 'he who married my daughter is my son-in-law', *kô jȩ tȩ̃bi rȩ̃kȩl?*[h] 'who told you?', *kad ümrȩ kô*[h] 'if someone dies', *ôn kô dëla*[h] 'he who works', *mälo kô*[f] 'few people', *näjzad' jȩ döšȩl kô?*[f] 'did anyone come back?', *kad ȩ kòmu zìma, onda dr̀ta*[f] 'if someone is cold, he shivers', *pri kêm jȩ*[f] 'the person he is with'
kobasĩc|a 'sausage', APL *-ȩ*
kõc|a 'jacket', LSG *-i*, APL *-ȩ*
kõckȩ NAPL 'cube, lump'
kõčka 'mother hen'

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kod conjunction 'as, like' ◇ *sę täku pumïnadu jüs kud i Köjmufci*[h] 'they speak exactly like the Kópháza people', *kut si rę̈kęl*[h] 'as you said', *jâ sęn sïm döšla kud za snëhu*[h] 'I came here as a daughter-in-law', *tê su vę̈likę kut kökušę*[h] 'they are as big as chickens' → VII.8.1

kô|hat 'cough', PR1SG *-šęm*, PR2SG *-šęš*, PR3SG *-šę*

kôk| 'hip', LSG/NPL *-i*

kökoš| NASG 'chicken', GSG/NAPL *-ę*, LSG *-i*, DPL *-am/kokosôm*

kôl|a/kôlę NAPL PLT 'waggon', GPL *-i*[f]*/-uv*[h], ILPL *-i* ◇ *dôgę kôlę*[h], *tęškê kôla*[f], *lękê kôla*[f] three different types of waggon, a fourth type is found in *na ję̈dna bîruška kôli*[h] 'type of waggon used in agriculture', *näklal na kôla*[f] 'he loaded it on a waggon', *na kôli sę vözit*[f] 'to ride on a waggon'

kolâča ASG 'pastry'

kôlęc 'pole', GPL *kölc|ov*[f], APL *-ę*

kolę̈no 'knee, generation, degree of kinship'

kölhos|a 'kolkhoz', LSG *-i*

kolïk|o NASGN 'how much, how many', NPL *-i*, IPL *-imi* ◇ *za kukïku ję?*[h] 'how much does it cost?', *kulïkimi stę ustäli*[h] 'how many of you were left?'

kolikrât 'how often'

Köljmof/Köjmof NASG TOP the village of Kópháza, LSG *Kojmöfi* ◇ *na Kujmöfi*[h] 'in Kópháza'

köljmofkinja 'female inhabitant of Kópháza'

köljmofsk|i NSGM ADJ to *Köljmof*, DSGM *-omu* ◇ *tö ję pu Köjmufsku*[h] 'that is in the Kópháza dialect'

+***koljmovec***: *köjmofcę* APL 'inhabitant of Kópháza', DPL *kojmöfcom*

kölo ASG 'wheel', DSG *-u*, LSG *-i*, NPL *kôlę/kölę*, APL *kölę*, *kôla*, *kolêsa*, *kolêsę*, LPL *kolêsi* → III.3.2.6 ◇ *käj ję kölu nütri*[f] 'what is inside the wheel', *štïri kolêsa/kölę ïma*[f] 'it has four wheels'

kôm 'where (to)', ◇ ~ *ïdęš*[h] 'where are you going?', *kad ur kôm pôdęš*[h] 'when you're going somewhere'

kömat 'horse collar'

kömbu ASG 'bell-button' ◇ *prętïsnot kömbu*[f] 'to press the button'

kômęn| NASG 'stone', GASG *-a*, LSGNPL *-i*, GPL *-uv*[h], APL *-ę*

komlô| 'hop', ASG *-ha* ▷ Hu *komló*

komör|a 'shed, storage accomodation', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i* ▷ 1x *kömora* attested

komunïštę NPL 'communist'

-končat

skönča|la sę LPF 'end', LPN *-lo*

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Kȍndor[f] PROP ◇ ~ *Fȅrẹnc bâči*[f]

kȍnẹc/kȍnẹc 'end; thread', GSG *kȍnca*, ASG *kȍnca/kȍnca* ▹ there is a statistical relation between meaning and accentuation → III.2.2.6.2

kȍnj| NASG 'horse', DSG *-u*, ASG *-a*, ISG *-ẹm*, LSG/NPL *-i*, GPL *-i*[h]*/-ov*[hf], DPL *-om/-am*, APL *-ẹ*, IPL *-i*, *-ami*, LPL *-a*, *-i* ◇ *ždrêbẹ ẹ bîlu kȍnju mâlu*[h] 'the horse had a little foal', *na kȍnj vȑs*[h] 'to put on the horse', *tȍ so znȁli kȍnjom dâd žẹ̑rat*[f] 'they used to feed that to the horses' ▹ 1x attested *na kȍnji*[f] LPL

kȍnj|a 'kite (bird)', ASG *-u*, NPL *-ẹ* ▹ Hu *kánya*

-konjat

dokȍnjat 'finish'

kȍnj|im PR1SG 'want, feel like', PR2SG *-iš*, PR3SG *-i*, PR1PL *-imo*, PR3PL *-ijo*[f], *-ẹ*[f] ◇ *nẹ kȍnji da bȕdo ga vȉdẹli*[f] 'he doesn't want people to see him', *ož i nẹ kȍnjijo poslȕšat*[f] 'they even don't want to listen'

kȍnjov|a NSGF poss ADJ to *kȍnj*, ASGF *-u* ◇ *kȍnjova sprâv*[f] 'a horse-harness'

kȍnjsko NSGN ADJ to *kȍnj*, APL *-ẹ/kȍnskẹ*, IPL *-ami*

kȍnt|a 'bucket', LSG *-i*, LPL *kȍnta* ▹ Hu *kanta* 'bucket' ◇ *mî smu va kȍnta murȁli nȍsit*[h] 'we had to carry it in cans' → *mlêkova*

kȍntica DIM to *kȍnta*

kontrolêrat 'check'

kȍp|at 'dig', LPPLFN *-alẹ*

okȍp|at 'loosen the soil around, earth (up)', DPL *-a*, LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali* ◇ *vinȍgrada su sat ukȍpali*[h] 'they just earthed up the vines'

zakȍp|at 'bury', PR1PL *-amo*, PR3PL *-adu*[h], *-ajo*[f], LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali*, PP INDM *zakopȍn*

skȍp|at 'dig up', LPM *-al*

kȍp|at sẹ 'bathe, swim', PR1PL *-jẹmo*, LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali*

okȍpjẹ sẹ PR3SG 'bathe'

-kopčit

zakȍpči PR3SG 'connect (e.g. garden hose to tap)' ▹ the usual word is *zakvȁčit*

-kopit

skȍp|idu[h]***/-ẹ***[f]***/-ido***[f] PR3PL 'castrate', PP INDM *-ljẹn*, PP F *-jẹna*, PP PLM *-jẹni* ◇ *skȍpjẹna bȉka*[f] 'a castrated bull'

kopȉt|o 'hoof', NPL *-a*

kȍr|a 'bark', ISG *-um*

kȍrak ◇ *nê mȍgẹl š njȉmi* ~ *dȑžat*[f] 'he couldn't keep up with them'

korȁkn|ot 'walk', PR2SG *-ẹš*, LPM *korâknol*, IMP *-i*

kȍrẹna NASG 'root' ◇ *kȍrẹna pustî*[h] 'it takes root'

korênjẹ 'roots'

-korit

pokȍril sẹ LPM 'give in'

korȉt|o NASG 'trough (for

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kneading dough)', LSG *-i*

kormônj 'government' ▹ Hu *kormány*

körmošav 'sooty' ▹ Hu *kormos* 'sooty'

körom| 'soot', ASG *-a* ▹ Hu *korom* 'soot'

kösa 'braid'

kös|a 'scythe', ISG *-um*, *kosûm*, GPL *-uv*[h]

Kosäč|a TOP plot of land, LSG *-i*, NPL *-ę*

koseřica 'sickle'

kös|it 'mow', INF also *-iti*[f], PR3SG *-i/kosî*, PR3PL *kosę̂*, LPN *-ilo*, LPPLM *-ili/kosìli* ◇ *žę̈nsko nê kösilo*[f] 'women didn't mow', *trävu ali lücęrnu kosî*[f] 'he mows grass or alfalfa'

pokösit 'mow', PR3SG *pokos|î*, PR3PL *-ę̂*

kösošast 'dirty' ▹ Hu *koszos* 'dirty'

+***kost***: *kôs* 'bone', LSG *kösti/kôsti*, NAPL *kösti*

köš| 'basket, hive', LSG *-i*

košär|a LPL 'basket', ISG *-um* ◇ *vu vî tęškâ košära*[f] 'in those heavy baskets'

košärica DIM to *košära*

koščê 'bones'

kôt| 'corner', LSG/IPL *-i* ◇ *tö nęk ostônę męt štìri kôti*[f] 'that must not get any further than ourselves (reference is made to the four corners of the house)' → *nûgęl*

kô-to[f] 'somebody' ◇ *kat kô-to ümręf* if sombody dies'

kovâč 'smith', ASG *kovä̈ča*

kovâčkoga ASGM ADJ to *kovâč*

kovâlnic|a 'forge', LSG *-i*

-kovat

pötkovat ◇ *könja* ~[h] 'shoe a horse'

közę APL 'goat' ▹ 1x, the usual word is *kę̈čka*

köž|a 'skin, leather', GSG *-ę*, ISG *-um* ◇ *od mę̈kę köžę*[f] 'made of soft leather'

krä̈j[hf]***/krâj***[f]***/krę̂j***[h] NASG 'edge, side, region', → GSG *krä̈ja*[f], ISG *krä̈jęm*[h], LSG *krä̈ji*[f], *krâji*[f], *krę̂ji*[h] (unstressed), LPL *krâja*[f] ◇ *zâdnji krä̈j*[h] 'behind (of person); back part of house', *s krä̈ja so bilę̂ kü̈jsę*[f] 'on the sides (of the yoke) were the pegs', *tê täg ę sę pobä̈lal vu dë̈lo, nę̈ zna nä̈ kraj ostä̈vit*[f] 'he's so madly focused on his work, he can't get away from it', *cę̈sti nä̈ kraj si zâjgęl*[f] 'you reached the end of the road', *nä̈ kraj/na krâj spräv̈it*[f] 'bring to the border (of the field)', *na ję̈dnęm krä̈ji ali va sręd̈ìni*[f] 'at one end or in the middle' → II.3.2.4, III.2.2.6.1

krä̈j[hf]***/krâj***[f]***/krę̂j***[h] 'away, on the side, to pieces' ◇ ~ *vr̈s*[h] 'put aside, save', *pö̈j* ~ , *si mi na zâdęvi*[f] 'step aside, you're in my way', *krênut* ~[h] 'leave', *nëkaj mu ję* ~[f] 'he has lost

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something', ~ *pę̈jat*[f] 'mislead', *čr̈nu sę nag môra* ~ *ud bêluga*[h] 'the red (wine) must be kept apart from the white (wine)', *su ga* ~ *sprävili, vögęrskuga svêta*[h] 'they broke it to pieces, the Hungarian empire', *Dölnji Kräj* TOP street in Hi → II.3.2.4

krâj| [f] 'king', GSG *-a*[f] → *kirâlj*

krä̈jali LPPLM 'cut out (clothes)'

krajïc|a 'queen', DSG *-i* → *kirajïcu*

krajïn|a 'region, neighbourhood', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*

krâst/krä̈st 'steal', PR3SG *krädę/krâdę*, PR3PL *krädo*[f]

pokrä̈li LPPLM 'steal'

ükras 'steal', LPF *ukrä|la*, LPPLM *-li*

krä̈st|a 'crust (on wound)', ASG *-u*

krä̈stava F ADJ to *krästa*, PLFN *-ę* ◇ *nję̈mu su nögę krästavę*[h] 'his legs are covered with crusts'

krât ◇ *näjvęč* ~[f] 'more often than not', *tulïku* ~[h] 'so many times'

krâtk|i NSGM/LPL 'short', N *-o*, F *-a*, PLFN *-ę*, ASGM *-oga*, COMP NSGN *krâčę* → *kôla*, *sinökoša*

krä̈v|a 'cow', GSG/NAPL *-ę*, DLSG *-i*, ASG *-u*, GPL *krâv*, *-i*[f], DPL *-am*, IPL *-ami* ◇ *krävi glâvu tôm vr̈žęjo nütęr ali völu*[f] 'they put a cow's or ox's head in', *krävan sę dâ tö žę̈rat*[h] 'they feed this to cows', *už i krävę smu mögli naprêč*[h] 'even cows we used to put to'

kr̈čm|a 'pub', LSG *-i*

Kręjčičęvi[h] GPLPROP

krę̈(l)jut| 'wing', GSG *-a*, NPL *-i*

krę̈mplin|i NPL 'claw', APL *-ę*, IPL *-ami*

krênot 'leave' ◇ *môram* ~[h] 'I must go'

kręz preposition with genitive 'through, across' ◇ *kręz ję̈zęra*[f] 'across the lake', *kręs sę̈la*[f] 'through the village'

krïč|at 'yell', LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali*, PR3SG *krič|î*, PR1PL *-ïmo*, PR3PL *ę̂*

-kriknot

zakrïknol LPM 'call, yell'

-krit

skrît/skrï|t 'cover; hide', PR2SG *-ęš*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h], LPM *-l*, LPN *-lo*, LPPLM *-li/skrîli*, PPN/ASGN *-to* ◇ *va küču so sę skrïli*[f] 'they hid in the house'

zakrï|ta PPF 'close', PPN *-to*

-krivat

pokrïvali LPPLM 'cover', PR3SG *pokrîva* ◇ *käj kröva pokrîva, tö so čęrêpi*[f] 'what the roof is covered with, those are tiles'

skrïval LPM 'hide'

-krivit

zakrïv|il LPM 'do something wrong; harm somebody', PR2SG *zakrîviš*, PR3SG *-i* ◇ *tî*

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vę̈čkrat kaj zakrîviš[f] 'you often do something wrong', *tî si mę̈ni vę̈čkrat zakrïvil*[f] 'you've done me harm more than once'

krîž| NASG 'cross', ASG *-a/krïža*, APL *-ę*, LPL *krïži*

krïžič '20 sheaves of grain, staccked in a particular way', GPL *križïč|uv*[h], APL *-ę*

-križit

prękrïž|it 'connect crosswise; (~ *sę*) 'cross oneself', PR3SG *-i*, LPM *-il*, LPF *-ila*, LPPLM *-ili*, PPN *-ęno*

krm̈|a 'fodder', ASG *-u*

krm̈|it 'feed', PR1SG *-im*, PR3SG *-i*, PR3PL *-idu*[h], *-ę*[f], LPPLM *-ili* ◇ *sât kę̈j krm̈idu vûj dicî?*[h] 'what do they give those children to eat nowadays?'

nakrm̈|it 'feed', LPPLM *-ili*

-krojit

skrȍjit 'cut out (clothes)'

krômp| 'pick-axe', APL *-ę*

krôp|i NSGM 'round', F *-a* ▹ 1 attestation of N *okrôpo* (uncertain)

krȍt|a 'succeed', LPN *-alo* ◇ *nê mi krȍtalo*[f] 'I didn't succeed in doing it'

krȍv| 'roof', ASG *-a*, LSG *-i*

krpat 'mend'

krpicę APL kind of food

krst ASG 'christening'

-krstit

pokrst|it 'christen', PR2PL *-itę*

prękrstit 'convert (to Christianity)'

krščęniki NPL 'Christian'

krû(h)/krȕh| NASG 'bread', GASG *-a*, GPL *-uv*[h], *-i*[f], APL *-ę* ◇ *sômi smu si zïskali svujêga krȕha*[h] 'we earned our living ourselves', *da nam ję bîlo dȍz na lȅto dôn na krûh*[f] 'so that we had enough for a year to make bread of', *pȍj pu krȕh*[h] 'go and get bread'

krȕmp(l)in| 'potatoe', ASG *-a*, NPL *-i*, GPL *krûmplinov*[f], APL *-ę/krûmpinę*, IPL *-ami*, LPL *-a*

krȕmplinovu ASGF ◇ *krȕmplinovu jȕhu*[f] 'potatoe soup'

krv| NASG 'blood', LSG *-i* ▹ feminine

kȕč|a 'small hut in the field, e.g. for sheltering from the rain', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*, GPL *kûč*, APL *-ę*

kȕčicu ASG 'small house'

kȕdę̄j[f]***/kȕdāj***[h] 'which way, in which direction (interrogative and relative)' ◇ *nudę̄j, kudę̄j ję tô sę̈lu*[h] 'in the direction of the village'

kȕh|at 'cook', PR3SG *-a*, PR1PL *-amo*, LPPLFN *-alę*

skȕh|at 'cook, boil, distil (spirit)', INF also *-ati*[f], LPPLFN *-alę*, PR3SG *-a*, PR1PL *-amo*, PR3PL *-adu*[h], LPM *-al*, IMP *-aj*[f]

kȕjcala LPF 'peer', VN *-anję*

nakȕjcat 'peer' ◇ *va oblȍki ču sę ~*[f] 'I'll spy at the window'

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kȕjs|a 'peg that prevents the ox from squeezing its neck out of the yoke', ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*, NPL *-ę* ▹ at one occasion I attested *kȕjsca*, ASG *kȕjscu*

kȕkoric|a 'maize', GSG *-ę*, DSG *-i*, ASG *-u* ◇ *čüda kȕkoricę su jëli, nêsu mögli spât*[f] 'they had eaten a lot of maize and couldn't sleep'

kȕm/kûm 'godfather', NPL *kûmi*

kȕm|a 'godmother', NPL *-ę*

kumstvô '?family, relatives'

kȕp| 'heap', LSG *-i*

kȕpic|a 'drinking-glass', ASG *-u*

kȕp|it 'buy', PR3SG *-i/kupïję/kupî*, PR1PL *-imo/kupïjęmo*, PR2PL *kupïjętę*, PR3PL *kupïjędu*[h]*/kupê*, LPM *-il*, LPPLM *kupïli*, IMP *kupï* → IV.1.3 (iv)

kupônj 'trough'

kup|ȍvat 'buy', PR3PL *-ȕjędu*[h], LPPLM *-ȍvali*

pokupȍvali LPPLM 'buy'

kȕręc 'prick'

kȕr|it 'smoke, light (an oven)', LPM *-il*, LPN *kurïlo*, LPPLM *-ili/kurïli*, PR3SG *kûr|i*, PR1PL *-imo*, PR3PL *-ijo*[f]

nakȕrit 'light (an oven)'

zakȕr|it 'light (an oven); heaten', LPM *-il* ◇ *ču njim zakȕrit*[f] 'I'll get even with them'

kûs| 'piece', APL *-ę*

kusïč|ęk 'small piece', NPL *-ki/kusîčki*, APL *-kę/kusîčkę*

-kusit

skusïli/skȕsili LPPLM 'experience, pass through'

kȕš|at 'eat; taste', LPM *-al* ◇ *da büdęjo ïmali kȕšat*[f] 'in order that they have something to eat'

pokȕš|at 'eat; taste', LPM *-al*

kȕšnot 'kiss'

kûtadu sę[f] PR3PL '?fuck'

+***kvača***: *kvȁču* ASG 'button (of tape-recorder)'

-kvačit

otkfȁčil LPM 'undo; turn off (e.g. a radio)', PP INDM *otkfȁčęn*

skvȁčęnę PP PLFN 'connect'

zakvȁč|it/zakfȁč|it 'turn on (e.g. radio), connect (e.g. garden hose to tap), PR3SG *-i*, LPM *-il* ◇ *sęn ti zakvȁčil jędno*[f] 'I gave you a box on the ears'

kvadrât| 'square meter', ASG *-a*, GPL *-uv*[h], *kvadrȁti*[h]

kvȁra/kfȁra ◇ *sęn ti kvȁra dëlal*[f] 'I harmed you'

-kvarit

pokfȁr|it 'damage, spoil', PR2SG *-iš*, LPM *-il*, LPF *-ila* ◇ *ręku aku ga pukfȁriš jâ ču tę putôč*[h] 'I said: if you ruin it I'll thrash you'

+***kvâs***: *kfâs* 'yeast'

L

lȁbušk|a '(low) pan', ASG

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-u/lâbušku, LSG *-i*, NPL *-ę*

lǟčę NAPL 'trousers'

lǟčęn/lâčęn 'hungry', PLFN *lǟčnę*

lâd NASG 'shade', GSG *-a* ◇ *va lâd, pod drêvo*[f] 'into the shade, under a tree'

+***ladęn***: *lâdn|o* N 'cool', F *-a* ◇ *lëti ję bilu lâdnu*[h] 'it was cool this summer'

lǟdic|a 'plank box, used for transport of e.g. vegetables to the market', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*, NAPL *-ę*, GPL *-Ø*[h]

-ladit

olǟd|it 'cool; (~ *sę*) catch a cold', PR2SG *-iš*, LPM *-il*, LPN *olâdilo*, PP INDM *olǟd'ęn*

lǟg|at 'lie, tell lies', LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*, VN *-anję* ('lie'), PR2SG *lǟžęš/lâžęš*, PR3SG *lǟžę/lâžę*

lǟjat 'bark'

lǟkęt 'elbow'

lǟloka 'part of the face (jaw?)'

lârmu ASG ◇ ~ *načïnjajo*[f] 'they make noise'

lâs|i NALPL 'hair', GPL *-i*[h], IPL *-imi* ◇ *rêtkę lâsi ïma*[h] 'he has thin hair' → III.8

lasîčę sę → *lęsîčę sę*

lâstovic|a 'swallow', NPL *-ę*

latę̄jnski[h] NSGM 'Latin'

lâzn|o NASG, GSG *-a* (1x) ◇ *nêmam lâznu*[h] 'I haven't got time', *nê lâzno pôt po säki dôn*[f] 'we haven't got the time to go there every day', *kad bü̈dę mi lâzno*[f] 'when I'll have time', *nêmadu nïž lâzna*[h] 'they haven't got any time'

lâž 'lie' ▹ feminine noun

lë̄b| 'loaf', GSG *-a*, LSG *-i*, GPL *-uv*[h] ◇ *ję̈dęn lë̄p krüha*[h] 'one loaf of bread', *pôl lëba*[f] 'half a loaf'

lę̄|č 'lie down', INF also *-čt*[f], PR3SG *-žę*, PR1PL *-žęmo*, LPM *-gęl*, LPF *-gla*, LPPLM *-gli*, IMP *-ži* ◇ *mr̈vu ję lę̈gęl*[h] 'he took a short nap'

zlę̂ž|ę PR3SG 'hatch', PR3PL *-ędu*[h], *-o*[f] ◇ *dvâ, trî mâlę gôję si zlêžo*[f] 'they hatch two or three stork chicks', *kat sę zlêžędu*[h] 'when they hatch (itr.)'

lêč|a 'lentil', NPL *-ę*

lêd NASG 'ice', GSG *lę̈da*, LSG *lę̈di/lêdi*

-ledit

zalë̄d'ęno PPN 'freeze over'

-lejat

zlë̄jal[h] LPM 'spill; pour', PR3PL *zlïjo*[f]

lę̄jd|am PR1SG 'like', PR3SG *-ę*, PR3PL *-ajo*[f] ◇ *jâ tę nę lę̈jdam*[f] 'I don't like you', *käj nę razumî, tö i nę lę̈jda*[f] 'he doesn't care much about something he doesn't understand'

lë̄k|o N/ADV 'light; easy', F *-a*, ASGF *-u*, NPLFN *lękê*, COMP ADV/NSGN *lëgję* ◇ *lëku nôč*[f] 'goodnight' → *kôla*

lë̄kocêno N 'cheap', COMP ADV *lę̈gję̈cên|o*, COMP NSGM *-i*

lêp|[f]/lïp|[h] 'beautiful, nice', F *-a*,

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N/ADV *-o*, PLM *-i*, PLFN *-ę*, GSGN/ASGM *-oga*, LSGN *-ęm*, ASGF *-u*, GPL *-i*, APL *-ę*, COMP NSGM *lëpč|i*[hf], NSGF *-a*, NASGN/APL *-ę*, SUP ADV/NSGN *näjlëpč|ę*[f], NSGF *-a*[f] ◇ *lîpu tïhu dëlęj*[h] 'please work nice and quietly', *divöjka ima lîpuga ubräza*[h] 'the girl has a beautiful face', *na lêpęm mësti stojê*[f] 'they live on a beautiful spot'

-lepit

pręlëpi sę PR3SG 'stick to (itr.)'

zalëpit sę 'stick to (itr.)', LPM *-il*

lës|a 'gate', ASG *-u*

***łęsîčę sę*[h]*/lasîčę sę*[f]** PR3SG 'lighten', LPM *łęsïkalo*[h] ▹ also PR3SG *rasïčę sę*[h], LPN *ręsïkalo sę*[f]

+***łęsiknot***: *ręsïknę sę*[h]*/rasïknę sę*[h] 'lighten'

łęt|î PR3SG 'fly', PR3PL *-ê*, LPM *-ïlo*[h]

dołętî PR3SG 'arrive (flying)'

odlęt|it[h] 'fly away', LPM *-il*[h]

lët|o NASG 'summer, year', GSG/LPL *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, LSG/IPL -i, GPL *lêt*[hf]*/lëti*[f] (1x), APL *-ę/-a* ◇ *čętęrnêjstuga lëta*[h] 'in 1914', *osamdęsêd lêt stär*[f] '18 years old', *jâ sęm bîla tridęšęt štïri lëtę stära*[h] 'I was 34 years old', *onê lëtę*[f] 'in those years', *prę dvëmi lëti*[h] 'two years ago'

lëtos 'this year' ◇ *mälo dugovônja čę zrâsti* ~[f] 'we'll have a bad crop this year'

łęvęgê| 'air', GSG *-ha/-ja* ◇ *łęvęgêja nę dostônęš*[f] ◇ 'you can't breathe' ▹ Hu *levegő*

łęž|al LPM 'lie', LPF *łęžäla*, LPPLM *-ali/łęžäli*, PR1SG *łęž|îm*, PR2SG *-îš*, PR3SG *-î*, PR1PL *-ïmo*,

li → VII.8.1, → *jëli*

lïlasta F 'lilac'

lîp|uv[h] GPL 'lime tree', LPL *-a* ▹ this word occurs twice in Mar; other informants rejected it and said they used the Hu word *hársfa* instead

lïščę 'leaves'

lïtęr| 'litre', GPL *-i*[f], APL *-ę* ◇ *dvêstô pędęsêt lïtęri*[f] '250 litres'

lïtęrska NSGF ◇ ~ *flöša*[h] 'one-litre bottle'

Livîri LSG TOP part of Sopron

-ljet

zaljêt 'water' → *-jat*

-ljevat

pojêvam PR1SG 'water'

zaljêv|ali LPPLM 'water', PR3SG *-a*, PR1SG *zajêv|am*, PR2SG *-aš*, PR1PL *-amo* ◇ *böbunj, ötkut sę zaljêva*[h] 'a pit from which the fields are watered'

ljübit 'love', PR1SG *ljûb|im/jûbim*, PR3SG *-i*, PR3PL *-idu*[h], LPM *-il/jübil*, LPF *-ila/ljübila/ljubïla*, LPPLM *-ili/ljübili*

zajübil LPM 'fall in love with'

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ljûd|i/jûd|i NGLPL 'people', DPL *-im*, *judêm*^{h}, *jûdam*, APL *-ę*, IPL *-i/-imi/-ami/judêmi*^{h} ◇ *męd jûdi*^{h} 'among people', *s kêm ę mônję jûdi s têm ę böję*^{f} 'the less people there are the better' ▹ the forms with *j-* are far more frequent than those with *lj-*

lõčęst| 'bad', N *-o*, PLM *-i*, GSGN *ločêst|oga*, ASGN *-o*, NSGF *-a*, NPLFN *-ę*, APL *lõčęstę* ◇ *ločêstę hïžę so bîlę*^{f} 'the houses were in bad condition', *čüda ločêstoga*^{f} 'much evil'

lôg| NASG 'wood', GSG *-a*, LSG *-i*

Lôg| TOP, NPL *-i*^{h} ◇ *Vêliki Lôg*^{f}, *Mâli Lôg*^{h}, *Dužîčki Lôg*^{f} (all TOP)

lõj 'pig fat'

lõjtra 'ladder', ASG *-u* ◇ *môra sę lõjtra vrs*^{h} 'we should put a ladder against it'

-lômat

lômjęm PR1SG 'break'

polôm|at 'break', PR3SG *-ję*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, PR3PL *-ędu*^{h}, LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali*, PPN *-jęno*, GSGN *-anoga* ◇ *kôz mu sę pulômala*^{h} 'he broke a bone', *ovo ti ję tâg jâko, vo nïgdę sę polômad nęščę*^{f} 'that's so strong, it'll never break'

lônčęc| 'necklace', GSG *-a*, APL *-ę*

lõnčičę APL DIM to *lõnęc*

lončïčka GSG 'jar', LSG *lônčički*

lõn|ęc/lôn|ęc 'pan', LSG *-ci* → *čęrëpnja*

lôn|ęc 'chain', ISG *-ęm*

lôni 'last year'

lônsk|u N 'last year's', F *-a* ◇ *lônsku lëtu*^{h} 'last summer'

lopät|a 'shovel' ISG *-um*, APL *-ę*

lopätiščę 'handle of a *lopäta*'

lôska/lõska ◇ ~ *stëza*^{f} 'wood-path'

-lovijat

polovïj|at 'catch', LPPLM *-ali*

lõvit 'catch', PR3SG *lov|ïję*, PR3PL *-ïję du*^{h}, LPF *-ïla*, LPPLM *-ïli*, IMP *-ïj* ◇ *da tę nę luvïję mašînka*^{h} 'that you're not run over by a car', *nęsrëča ję ga luvïla*^{h} 'he was struck by misfortune'

lõz|a 'wood', LSG *-i*, APL *-ę*

-ložit

nalõžit 'make (a fire)' ◇ *va pęči ču ögnja ~, da nę budę zïma*^{f} 'I'll make a fire in the oven, so that we shan't be cold'

razlõžili LPPLM '?explain'

Ložnâ TOP, ASG *-û*, LSG *-ûj*, NPL *-ê*, GIPL *-î* ◇ *Öbęr Ložnî*^{f} TOP, *Pod Ložnî*^{f} TOP

lücęrnu ASG 'alfalfa' ▹ also NSG *rucrna* attested; it is not clear which initial consonant and which stress is correct

Lücifęr| PROP 'Lucifer', ISG *-ęm*

Lücini^{f} NPLM PROP house name

-lučit

odlüč|ila LPF 'isolate,

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separate', LPPLM *-ili*

lŭft|a GSG 'air, sky', LSG *-i* ▹ attested in Mar; *lęvęgê* is generally considered the "correct" dialectal word

lŭk|/lûk 'onion', GASG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*

lŭl|at 'rock', PR1SG *-am*, VN *-anję* ◇ *dêtę lŭlat*[f] 'to rock a child' → *jûja*

zalŭl|at 'rock', PR3SG *-a*, LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali* ◇ *va zïpki sęn ga zalŭlal*[f] 'I rocked him in a cradle'

M

mäčęva ◇ ~ *mę̈jka*[h] 'stepmother'

mäčk|a/mâčka 'cat', LSG *-i*, DPL *mâčkam*

mad'arâzovat 'explain' ▹ Hu *magyaráz*

zmad'arâzovati[f] 'explain'

-magat

pomä|gat 'help', PR3PL *-žęjo*[f], LPPLM *pomagâli* ▹ on *-âli* → VI.2.5

mäh|at 'wave', VN *-anję*, PR2SG *mâš|ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR1PL *-ęmo*

***mäjk|a*[f]*/mę̈jk|a*[hf]** 'mother', GSG/NPL *-ę*, DSG *-i*, ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*

***mäjkin|*[f]*/mę̈jkin|*[hf]** NASGM poss ADJ to *mäjka/mę̈jka*, NSGF *-a*, ASGF *-u* ◇ *na mäjkin dôn*[f] 'for Mother's Day', *mę̈jkina bäba*[h] 'mother's grandmother'

mäjstęrę[f] APL 'craftsman'

mäjtęra[f] GSG 'mortar' ◇ *čüda ję morala Märika nösit* ~[f] 'Marika had to carry lots of mortar'

majücki NSGM 'tiny', F *majûcka*, GSGM *majûckoga*

mâjuši LSG 'May' → *agûstuši*

mâk 'poppy', GSG *mäk|a*, ISG *-ęm*

mäl| INDM 'small, little', F *-a*, N *-o*, NASGM *mâl|i*, NASGN *-o*, DSGM *-omu*, ASGM *-oga*, ILSGM *-ęm*, NSGF *-a*, ASGF *-u*, ISGF *-um*, LSGF *-uj*, NPLM/GPL *-i*, NPLFN/APL *-ę*, DPL *-im/-am*, IPL *-imi/-ami*, LPL *-a*, COMP NASGM *mônj|i*, NSGN/ADV *-ę*, NSGF *-a*, ISGF *-um*, SUP ADV *näjmônję*[f] ▹ the N *mälo* is also numeral and ADV '(a) little'; it has also been attested with a long vowel: *mâlo* ◇ *va mâlęm varöši*[f] 'in a small town', *tômu mâlumu*[h] 'to that child', *nô mâlu čïnu*[h] 'that small black thing', *va mâluj flöši*[h] 'in a small bottle', *s tûm mâlum mę̈tlicum*[h] 'with that small broom', *so jûdi va näkfa mâla hïža stâli*[f] 'people lived in such small houses', *mônję vrêdni*[h] 'of less value'

mäma 'mother (-in-law)'

mämka 'mother (-in-law)'

mar particle used for implying that the hearer already knows, understands and/or agrees with what the speaker

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is saying ◇ ~ *si vȉdil*[h] 'well, you saw it yourself, didn't you?', ~ *sęn ti pukäzala*[h] 'I already showed you, you remember?', *sęgâ ję,* ~ *vȉdiš*[f] 'we have everything, but you can see that yourself', *tȍga nę prôhamo,* ~ *nê šęnȉcę*[h] '(about threshing-floor) we don't need that, but then we haven't got any wheat, have we now?'

mârcijuš| 'March', LSG *-i* → *agûstuši*

Märgit| PROP first name, DSG *-i*

Märicin poss ADJ to first name Marica, NSGF *Marȉcina* ◇ *Märicin sîn*[h] 'Marica's son'

Marȉjęv ◇ ~ *dôn*[f] 'St. Mary's Day'

Märika PROP Christian name

Märišk|i DSG PROP Christian name, ISG *-um*

Märiškinuga[h] GSGM poss ADJ to *Märiška* ◇ ~ *brȁta žę̏na*[h] 'the wife of Mariška's brother'

mâr|it (sę) 'obey, pay attention', PR1SG *-im*, PR3SG *-i*, PR3PL *-idu*[h], LPPLM *marȉli* ◇ *jâ nę mârim, têro-to nęg zę̏m si*[f] 'I don't care, just take one'

Märkin| poss ADJ to *Märko*, NSGF *-a*, NSGN *-o*, ASGM *-oga*, LSGF *-uj* ◇ *va Märkinuj hȉži*[f] 'in Marko's house', *Märkino prâsę*[f] 'tiny, thin pig' → Mar [117-118]

Märkin|i LPL PROP house name, DPL *-im* → Mar [13]

Märko| NASG PROP, GASG *-ja*, DSG *-ju* ▷ abundantly attested in Mar

Märkuv[h] (1x) poss ADJ to *Märko* ◇ ~ *dvôr*[h] 'Marko's yard'

Märvičęvi[h] NPLM PROP

mâs| NASG 'fat', GLSG *-ti*, ISG *mâščum/maščȕm*[f] ◇ *čȕda mâsti jêš*[f] 'you eat a lot of fat'

+***masęn***: *mȁsno* N 'fat', F *-a*, GSGM *masnôga*

mâsl|o/mȁsl|o 'butter' NASG, ISG *-ęm* ◇ *mȁslo od mlêka načinję̂*[f] 'butter is made out of milk'

masnȉca '?pastry, made of apples'

mȁš|a 'mass', DSG *-i* ◇ *onda pôdędu k mȁši*[h] 'then they go to mass'

mašȉn|a 'machine', ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*, NAPL *-ę*, GPL *-uv*[h]*/mašȉn*[hf], DPL *-am*, IPL *-ami* ◇ *sad ję âm tȁkfi mašȉn*[f] 'now you have machines like that, you know?', *ôv mašȉnam ję pęrvâč*[f] 'he is in charge of the machines'

mašȉnk|a NSGLPL 'machine; car', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*, NAPL *-ę*

mȁšnę NPLFN ◇ *knjȉgę* ~[h] 'missals'

mȁtęrna ◇ ~ *svȉnja*[h] 'sow'

mȁtęrnica 'female animal'

Mȁtvikini[h] NPL house name

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măzat 'rub, smear, grease', PR2SG *mäž|ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, IMP *-i*
izmăzat 'deceive' (1x)
namăzat: PR3SG 'grease', PR3SG *namäžę*
zmăz|at 'deceive, cheat on', PR3SG *zmäžę*, LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali*, VN *-anję* → *nörc*
zamăzat 'grease'
męd preposition with I or A, sometimes stressed and sometimes extended to *mędô* → VII.3.1-3.2 ◇ *męd nômi*[f] 'among us', *męd dřvi*[f] 'between the trees', *męd jûdę pôt*[f] 'to go among the people'
mêd 'honey', GASG *mêda/mę̏da*
mę̏dvęd 'bear', GSG *mędvę̏da*
mę̏gla 'fog'
męhûr/męhŭr| 'bladder', ASG *-a*, APL *-ę* ▹ also attested in Hi with pretonic *-ę-*
mę̏k|o N 'soft', F *-a*, ASGN *-o*, ISGM *mękêm*, GSGF *-ę* ◇ *kat sę z mękêm zamŭčkaš*[f] 'if you dirty yourself with something soft', *od mę̏kę kožę*[f] 'made of soft leather'
mę̏lin NASG 'mill', GASG *męlìn|a*, LSG *-i*, GPL *-ov*[f] ◇ *męlìna zmę̏tat*[f] 'make a mill (in game: row of three stones → *męlìnkat*)'
męlìnk|at 'winnow; play merils (Ge Mühlespiel)', VN *-anję* → *mę̏lin*
Mę̏niuf[h] TOP the village Kroatisch Minihof
mę̏njal LPM 'switch' ◇ *jâ sę nę̏b mę̏njal žę̏num*[f] (*z žę̏num*) 'I wouldn't like to change places with a woman'
zamę̏njali LPPLM 'change'
-menjit
prę̏mę̏nj|it 'switch, change', INF also *-iti*[f], LPM *-il*
zmę̏nj|it 'switch, change' INF also *-iti*[f]
zamę̏njit 'switch, change'
męntöv|at 'save, help to escape (from); (~ *sę*) escape from', LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala* ◇ *jâ sęm tę̏bę męntöval*[f] 'I saved you from trouble', *ot töga ču sę męntövat*[f] 'I'll take care not to get into this' ▹ Hu *mentő* 'life-saving'
mę̏ra 'certain unit of weight'
męrhŭnci NPL 'ant'
mę̏ric|a 'basket for approx. 25 kg. of grains of wheat', NPL *-ę*
-merit
namęrìli[f] LPPLM 'assign' ◇ *tolìko so mu ~*[f] 'they assigned him that portion'
razmęrìli LPPLM 'divide'
zmęrìli[f] LPPLM 'measure', PPN *zmęrę̏no*[f], *zmę̏ręno*[f]
męršê sę PR3PL 'spawn (of fish); crowd around an attractive person of the opposite sex'
męrtfôga ASGM 'dead'
męrtvâci NPL 'dead person'
męsarìci LSG 'butcher's'
mę̏sęc| NASG 'month', DSG *-u*,

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LSGNPL *-i*, GPL *męsêc*[f], *misêc*[h], *mësęcuv*[f], APL *-ę* ◇ *säki mësęc*[h] 'each month', *dadu dęsęt šïlinguv na mësęc*[h] 'they give 10 shillings a month'

mês|it 'knead; make (bread)', PR3SG *-i*, LPPLM *-ili*

zamês|it 'knead; make (bread)', INF also *-iti*

mêsna NSGF ADJ to *mêso*

mês|o NASG 'meat', GSG *-a*, LSG *-i* ◇ *nę pujêm mêsu*[h] 'I don't eat meat'

-mest

mę̈t|ęm 'sweep', PR3SG *-ę*

zmę̈s 'sweep (away)', PR1SG *zmę̈t|ęm*, IMP *-itę* → *mę̈tla*

mëst|o NASG 'place, spot', GSGNPL *-a*, LSG *-i*, GPL *-i*[f]

mëš|aš PR2SG 'mix', PR1PL *-amo*, PR3PL *-ajo*, LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali*

zmêšan|o PPN 'mix', PPPLM *-i*

zamëš|adu[h] PR3PL 'mix', PPN *-ano*

pomêšani PP PLM 'mix'

męštrïju ASG 'craft'

mę̈tat 'put', PR3SG *mę̈č|ę*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h], *-o*[f], *-ęjo*[f], LPPLM *męẗali* ◇ *rëči na mësto mę̈tat*[h] 'understand, interpret', *cïglę mę̈čę*[h] 'he lays bricks', *si gnjêzdę mę̈čęjo*[f] 'they build nests', *tö smo ož vêkę nęg na hïžu męẗali*[f] 'we always put that aside for (buying) a house'

pomę̈t|at 'put, put together' LPF *pomęẗala*, LPPLM *-ali/pomęẗali*

razmę̈tat*[f]*/rę̈zmę̈tati[f] 'take down (house); break open; make a mess of' *razmę̈čę*[f] LPPLM *razmę̈tali*[h], PPF *razmętôn|a*[f], PP PLFN *-ę* ◇ *hïža ję razmętôna*[f] 'the house has been taken down', *kęj ję bîlu zaprêtu, grônica, tö su sę̈ razmęẗali*[h] 'what was closed, the border, they broke all that open'

zmę̈tat LPPLM *zmęt|äli*, PPN *-ôno*

mę̈tęr| 'metre', GSG *-a*, GPL *-ov*[hf], *-i*[f], APL *-ę* ◇ *smo vêkę dostâli hat pêd mę̈tęrof šęnïcę*[f] 'we always got five metres of wheat'

mę̈tl|a 'broom', ISG *-um* ◇ *zâg nę̈mręš tê zvêzdę zmę̈s? pöj ę zmę̈ (zmęst) ziz mę̈tlum*[h] 'why can't you sweep down the stars? go and sweep them down with a broom'

mę̈tlicum ISG DIM to *mę̈tla*

mî 'we', GA *nâs*, *nas*, D *nôm*, *nam*, I *nômi*, L *nas* ◇ *mî imômu öndę ję̈dnu ję̈zęru*[h] 'we have a lake there', *si öd nas pröšęl*[f] 'you left our place', *sę̈ nam ę zgurïlu*[h] 'we lost everything in the fire', *k nôm döšęl*[f] 'he came to us', *nö nas najêt na žę̈tfu*[h] 'hire us for mowing', *s nômi*[f] 'with us', *prï nas*[hf] 'in our presence, family, house,

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village, country, etc.'

mĩlovali ◇ *smo jẹ* ~[f] 'we felt sorry for them'

-minat

pomĩn|at sẹ 'talk, speak', INF also *-ati*[f], LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali*, LPPLFN *-alẹ*, PR1SG *pomînam*, PR2SG *pomînaš*, PR3SG *-a*, PR1PL *-amo/pomînamo*, PR3PL *-ajo*[f], *-adu*[h], *pomînadu*[h] ◇ *sẹ pumĩna hurvâtski*[h] 'he speaks Croatian', *pomĩnamo sẹ za sẹ̏*[f] 'we talk about everything'

-minot

prẹmĩn|ot 'go by; be lost', PR3SG *-ẹ*, LPN *-olo* ◇ *vâ hĩža čẹ prẹmĩnut*[h] 'this house will be lost', *kad zîma prẹmĩnẹ*[h] 'when winter is over', *tö sẹ̏ prẹmĩnulu*[h] 'that's all over'

minût[h] GPL 'minute'

mîr| NASG 'peace', GASG *-a*, LSG *-u* ◇ *däj mi mîra*[f] 'leave me in peace', *tî jâku nẹ büdi na mîru*[h] 'don't feel too much at ease' → on the LSG see III.2.1.2

mîrnẹ PLFN 'quiet'

misli ◇ *nô* ~ *mi nê*[h] 'I don't think about it', *kẹšnĩjẹ mi jẹ döšlo nô* ~[f] 'it occurred to me later'

mĩsl|it/mĩslj|it/mĩsj|it si 'think', PR1SG *-im*, PR2SG *-iš*, PR3SG *-i*, PR2PL *-itẹ*, PR3PL *-ẹ*[f], LPM *-il*, LPF *-ila*, LPPLM *-ili*, IMP *-i* ◇ *mĩslji si!*[h] 'just imagine!' ***prẹmĩsj|it si*** 'imagine', IMP *-i* ◇ *prẹmĩsji si!*[h] 'just imagine!' ***zmĩsl|it/zmĩslj|it si*** 'think of, think up', LPM *-il* ◇ *kẹ̏j čẹš si uš zmĩsljit*[h] 'what will you think of now?'

mĩš 'mouse'

Mĩškicini[f] NPL house name

Mĩškini[h] NPL house name

-mit

ümit sẹ 'wash oneself', PR3SG *um|ĩjẹ*, IMP *-ĩj* ◇ *pöj umĩj sẹ*[f] 'go wash yourself', *ümid nĩgdẹr*[h] 'they could never wash themselves'

-mivat

um|ĩvat sẹ 'wash oneself', PR3SG *-îva*, VN *-îvanjẹ*

mlâd| 'young', F *-a*, NSGM/PLM/GILPL *-i*, PLFN/APL *-ẹ*, DSGM *-omu*, DSGF *-uj*, ISGF *-um*, DPL *-om/-im*, COMP NSGM *mläj|i*, *mlâj|i*, NSGF *-a*, NPLM *mlajĩ*, NPLFN *-ẹ*, DPL *-im/mlajĩm*, SUP NSGM *nâjmläji*[f] ◇ *tî si uš mlât člövẹk*[h] 'you're still a young man', *kulĩku mlâdi ümrẹ!*[h] 'how many young people die!', *smr̂d ljûbi nẹg mlâdẹ*[h] 'death only likes the young', *imäjo svêta vê mlâdẹ*[f] 'those young women can do all they want (lit. have the world)', *ovâ jẹ mläja nẹk sẹm jâ*[f] 'she's younger than I am', *čẹ nam mlajĩm böjẹ bĩt*[f] 'the next generations will have a better life'

mladĩn|a 'young people', GSG

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-ę/mladînę, ASG *-u*, ISG *-um* ◇ *mladînę nê*[h] 'there are no young people'

mlähav 'weak; exhausted', N *-o*, F *-a*, PLM *mlahävi*, COMP NSGM *mlahavìji*

Mlâkf|a TOP marshy hay-field in Hi, LSG *-i*

mlät|it 'thresh', PR1PL *-imo*, LPF *-ila*, LPPLM *-ili/mlatìli*
umlät|it 'thresh', LPPLM *-ili*
zmlätili/zmlatìli 'thresh'

mlěčn|a F ADJ to *mlêko*, ASGF *-u*

mlêd|ęn 'skinny', F *-na*
-mlednot
zmlêdnol LPM 'grow thin'

mlêk|o 'milk', ISG *-ęm* ◇ *küpil sęm si krävu – käkfu, s mlêkęm ali stę̏lnu?*[f] 'I bought a cow. – what kind of cow, with milk or with young?'

mlêkova ADJ to *mlêko* ◇ ~ *könta*[f] 'a milk-bucket'

mlînar| 'miller', DSG *-u*, GPL *-ov*[h]

mlînarski NSGM ADJ to *mlînar*

môč NASG 'strength, power', GSG *möči*, ISG *močûm* ◇ *môdž ę juj pröšla*[f] 'she hadn't got any strength any more'

möč 'be able; (with past tense) used to', PR1SG *mör|ęm*, PR2SG *-ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, PR2PL *-ętę*, PR3PL *-ęjo*[f], *-ędu*[h], LPM *mög|ęl*, LPF *-la*, LPN *-lo*, LPPLM *-li*, LPPLFN *-lę*; negated PR forms: 1SG *nę̏mr|ęm*, 2SG *-ęš*, 3SG *-ę*, 1PL *-ęmo*, 2PL *-ętę*, 3PL *-ęjo*[f], *-o*[f], *-ędu*[h] ◇ *onî sad nę̏štę möč pôd lëti na morjê*[f] 'now they won't be able to go to the sea-side in the summer', *tö sę nę̏mrę*[h] 'that is not possible', *mörę bid da sę ję stâl*[f] 'maybe he got up', *mę̏ni ję mögęl rę̏č...*[h] 'he used to say to me...', *jâ smëjat sęn sę mögla*[h] 'I used to laugh', *tö sę nę̏b möglo*[f] 'that wasn't possible' ▷ *mrę* was attested once without negation: *i täk sę mrę govörit*[f] 'you can say that, too'; there is one attestation of unstressed *muglu* in *sę nê muglu*[h] 'it wasn't possible'

põmoč[hf] 'help', INF also *pômoč(ti)*[f], PR1SG *pomö|žęm*, PR3SG *-žę*, PR3PL *-žędu*[h], LPN *-glo*, LPPLM *-gli*, IMP *-ži* ◇ *dab njim nę̏b bili mögli bili na hìžu põmoč ož nę̏b bili imali hìžu*[f] 'if we hadn't been able to help them buy their house they wouldn't have a house yet', *šìkalo bi sę pôt pômoč tômu čovëku*[f] 'it would be becoming to go and help that man'

möč IMP 'be silent' → VI.2.4; *môčę*; *zamôkni*

môčę ADV 'in secret' → VI.2.4 ◇ *jûdi so ję âm môčę krmili ovê žìdovę*[f] 'people used to give those Jews food on the sly' → *möč*, *zamôkni*

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-močit
namoč|îm PR1SG 'make wet', PR3SG *namöči*, LPN *-ïlo* → *strëha*
zamöčçdu[h] PR3PL 'make wet'
močvärn|o N 'marshy', F *-a*, PLFN *-ę*
môdęr 'serious'
môj NASGM 'my', GSGM *moj|êga*, DSGM *-êmu*, ISGM *-êm*, DLSGF *-ûj/möjuj*, ISGF *-ûm*, NSGF *möj|a*, NSGN/GSGF/NPLFN/APL *-ę*, LSGN *-ęm*, ASGF *-u*, NPLM/GPL *-i* ◇ *môj sîn*[h] 'my son', *ud vôga mujêga mę̈lina*[h] 'from this mill of mine', *möję snęhê dëda*[f] 'my daughter-in-law's grandfather', *mujêmu jäpi jäpa*[h] 'my father's father', *va môj stôn*[h] 'into my house', *z mujûn dicûm*[h] 'with my children', *va möjęm dëli*[f] 'in my work', *va möjuj küči*[h] 'in my house'
môk|a 'meal, flour', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*
mök|ęr 'wet', F *-ra*, N *-ro*, NSGF *mokr|â*, ISGN *-êm* ◇ *z vôžęm, mokrêm vôžęm*[f] 'with a rope, a wet rope'
-moknot
zamôkni ◇ ~ *nâj povëdat*[f] 'hold your tongue, don't say anything' → *möč, môčę*
mölj|it/möj|it 'pray; (~ *sę* with D) beseech', PR1SG *-im*, PR3SG *-i*, PR1PL *-imo*, PR2PL *-itę*, PR3PL *-idu*[h], *-ido*[f], *-ę*[f], LPM *-il*, LPF *moj|ïla/molj|ïla*, LPPLM *-ïli*, LPPLFN *-ïlę* ◇ *jâko ti sę möjim*[f] 'I beg you' → on *lj-j* see VI.5.3
môr|am PR1SG 'have to', PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *-a*, PR1PL *-amo*, PR3PL *-adu*[h], *-ajo*[f], LPM *-al*, LPF *mor|äla*, LPN *-älo/môralo*, LPPLM *-äli*, LPPLFN *-älę/môralę* ◇ *môram pôt*[h] 'I must go', *nę dęržîš sę tak kot sę môra*[f] 'you don't behave the way you should'
-morit
umör|il LPM 'kill, liquidate', LPPLM *-ili*, PPN *-ęno*
zmorïli LPPLM 'kill, liquidate'
mor|jê 'sea', GSG *-jâ*, LSG *-jî/-î* → on LSG *morî* see III.3.3. (2)
mošk|î NSGM 'male, masculine, man's, men's', NSGF *-â*, NASGN *-ô*, NPLFN *-ê* ◇ *moškî*[f]*/moškô*[hf] (independently used) 'man', *muškâ sfïnja*[h] 'boar', *muškô rühu*[h] 'men's clothes'
-motat
namötal LPM 'wind off'
zamötat 'wrap'
mötink|a 'hoe', ISG *-um*, APL *-ę*
mötinkiščę NASG 'shaft of a hoe'
mötor|a ASG 'engine', ISG *-ęm*, NPL *-i*
môž 'man, husband', DSG *-u*, ASG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, LSGNPL *-i*, DPL *-om*, APL *-ę* ◇ *dvâ môžę zgubïla*[h] 'she lost two

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husbands', *po môži šôgor*[f] 'brother-in-law (husband's brother)'

možovjê uninflected poss ADJ to *môž* ◇ *tö je môž, a tö je možovjê brät*[f] 'that's her husband, and that's her husband's brother' → V.2.3, last paragraph

mrâzn|a F 'huge, tremendous', N/ADV *-o*, PLFN/APL *-ę* ◇ *mrâzno so lîpę bîlę*[f] 'they were tremendously beautiful'

mrê|t 'die', LPM *-l*, LPF *-la*, LPN *ümręlo*, LPPLM *-li/ümręli*, PR1SG *ümr|ęm*, PR2SG *-ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR3PL *-ędo*[f] ▷ the simplex probably has only an INF and a LP; for the PR, *ümręm*, etc. are used ***zämręl*** LPM 'die', LPN *-lo*

mřhav '?dirty, unpleasant'

mřk|at 'listen; look out; (~ *na*) look after', PR3SG *-a*, LPM *-al*, IMP *-ęj*[h], *-ęjtę*[h], *-aj*[f], VN *-anję* ◇ *mřkęj!*[h] 'listen!, wait!', *mřkaj da nę budęš hüpal*[f] 'look out, don't fall', *mřkaj da sat tę dôt grabancijâši*[f] 'look out, the *grabancijaši* are coming'

mřkf|a 'carrot', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*

mřvičko ADV or indefinite numeral 'a little bit' ◇ *zęm si ~, böję čęš pîvo möč pît*[f] 'take a little bit, your beer will go down better'

mřvo ADV or indefinite numeral 'a bit' ◇ *~ môra ojäčat*[f] 'he must regain his strength a little'

mřzęk 'dirty', F *mřsk|a*, N/ADV *-o*, PLM *-i*, NSGM *męrsk|î*, NSGF *-â*, NPLM *-î*, APL *-ê*, COMP ADV *mřžę* ◇ *mřsku vrêmę*[h] 'dirty weather', *täk si mřzęk kot svînja*[f] 'you're as dirty as a pig', *mřžę znajo vögęrski psövat*[f] 'in Hungarian they can swear more coarsely (sc. than in Croatian)'

-mrznot

smřzn|ę sę PR3SG 'freeze', PR3PL *-ęjo*[f], LPN *-olo*, PPASGF *smęrznôtu* ◇ *da je rüho nô njęga smřznolo*[f] '(so cold) that his clothes froze on him'

-mucat

pomücat 'caress'

mücit 'torment; (~ *sę*) work oneself to death)', LPPLFN *-ïlę* (1x)

-mučkat

zamüčkaš PR2SG 'make dirty'

müčkuš|ę[f] APL 'dirty dishes', GPL *-ov*[f] ▷ Hu *mocskos* 'dirty'

müčkušasti PLM 'dirty' ◇ *~ ędînji*[f] 'dirty dishes'

müh|a 'fly', ASG *-u*, NAPL *-ę*

mük|a 'torment', ISG *-um* ◇ *z mükun zîskat*[h] 'to earn with great trouble'

mulät|ovat 'have a party', PR3PL *-ujo*[f]

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mustäči 'moustache', APL *mustâčę*

N

na preposition with A 'on, (direction)' or L 'on, to (location)' ▹ this preposition can also have the form *nä*, *nâ* or *nô* → VII.3.1-2 ◇ *nä vęrt*[h] 'to the garden', *nô mę*[h] 'on me', *jâ sę jâdan nâ tuga*[h] 'I'm angry at him', *nęka pîšę nô nję hïžu*[h] 'that he'd transfer the house to them', *nä kręji Cę̈nzušut*[h] 'next to Cenzuši', *mr̈kaj nô nju*[f] 'look after her', *dväkrat ę ïmal nä sębi ju*[f] 'he had it on twice (of garment)', *nô nič pröšlę*[f] 'they went to pieces', *nä stol*[f]*/na stöl*[f] 'on the table', *käj znôm nô njęga ločêsto*[f] 'the bad things I know about him', *nâ kęj büdędu ti trêb?*[h] 'what will you need them for?'

nä interjection (sometimes *nâ*) 'well, now then' ◇ *nęg nâ, nęg nâ!*[h] 'go ahead!', *nä, ręku, tâ ję nöra*[h] 'well, I said, she's a fool' ▹ very often combined with *tęr* to *nä tęr* or *nâ tęr*

näčin ◇ *vü ti nôvi* ~[h] 'in that new manner'

nad preposition with A 'against, towards (with aggressive purposes) ▹ this preposition can also have the form *nadâ* or *nadô* → VII.3.1-2

nadëj|a 'Sunday', DSG *-i*, ASG *-u*, APL *-ę* ◇ *šętęmïnja pę̈č, büd̈ę, k nadëji*[f] 'to bake pastry, you know, for Sunday', *säku nadëju smo dęsętïmi na obëdi*[f] 'each Sunday there are ten of us at dinner'

+***nagel***: *nâgl|a* F 'steep', ADV *-o* 'suddenly' ◇ *tęr ę sad nâglo mrêla*[f] 'and now she suddenly died'

nägiš reinforcing particle 'really, certainly, I bet, etc.' ◇ *dënęs* ~ *nêsi jël uš tuplô*[h] 'I bet you haven't had a hot meal yet today', *onda nägiž döbro znâš*[f] 'then you now it only too well', *dôt cę? – gvîšno, ar sęm mu sę jâ nägiž jävil*[f] 'will he come? – certainly, for I specially called on him' ▹ this particle could originate from a combination of *näk* + Hu *is* on the analogy of Hu *nagyon is* and/or *ugyis*; synonym: *i näk*

nâj[hf]***/nę̂j***[hf] particle: is combined with an INF to form a negated IMP 2SG → VI.1.1 (15) ◇ ~ *to dëlat*[f] 'don't do that', ~ *sim sę̈st*, ~ *bid övdę, pöj sę ümit*[f] 'don't sit down here, you shouldn't be here, go wash yourself', ~ *si grïs pr̈sta*[h] 'don't bite your finger', ~ *Böga bantövat*[h] 'don't

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swear', ~ *bęrbüčkat tolïko*[f] 'don't chatter so much', ~ *sę tôžiti*[f] 'stop complaining', ~ *brębhat*[f] 'don't talk nonsense', ~ *lägat*[f] 'don't lie', *męni* ~[f] '(in specific context) don't fill my glass'

nâjtę[hf]***/nębjtę***[hf] particle for forming the negated IMP 2PL ◇ ~ *guvörit*[h] 'don't talk', ~ *sę dïrmat*[f] 'don't fight', *tö* ~[h] 'don't do that'

najgëri[f] NSGM 'curious, interested' ▹ I do not know whether this ADJ is inflected ◇ ~ *sęm da jębli ję to ïstina*[f] 'I am curious if that's true', *nês* ~ *na käj vęjîš*[f] 'I'm not interested in what you say' ▹ Ge *neugierig* 'curious'

nãjpęr[f]***/nębjpęr***[hf] ADV 'first; the first time; again; ahead, forward; in front' ◇ *tębknika ję döšla* ~[f] 'technology made progress', *sę nê muglu ut pęjtäbę pôt va stôn nębjpęr*[h] 'you couldn't make your way from the barn into the house', *nębjpęr ę zêl stëklu*[h] 'he produced (brought out) a bottle'

nãjvęč[f]***/nębjvęč***[hf] 'mostly, most of the time; chiefly'

nãjvęčkrat[f] 'mostly'

nãjzad'[*f]***/nębjzad'***[*hf] ADV 'back' ◇ ~ *nęznan čüda guvörit*[h] 'I can't answer very much (about foreign language)', *nębjzad' su döšli*[h] 'they came back'

nãk ADV 'like that; (*i* ~) certainly' ◇ *tęr öndę ję vöda nag vôska pustäla*[h] 'and there the water became that narrow', *i näg nębšęž östat*[h] 'I'm certain you won't stay' ▹ *i näk* cf. *nägiš*

nãkov NSGM adjectival pronoun 'such a, like that', NASGN/ADV *näkv|o*, *näkf|o*, ISGMN *-ęm*, NSGF *-a*, GSGF/APL *-ę*, ASGF *-u*, LPL *-i/-a* ◇ *so jûdi va näkfa mâla hïža stâli*[f] 'people lived in small houses like that' ▹ the Hi informant AB sometimes realized the root-vowel as long

nãkręj[h] ADV, preposition 'at the end (of)' ◇ ~ *trëti dôn*[h] 'at the end of the third day'

naprïk[h] ADV → *prêk* ◇ *naprïk, prig murjâ prïk*[h] 'to the other side, over the sea'

nâręd|ęn 'slender', F *-na*

nasêča F 'pregnant, with young'

nâš 'our', NSGN/APL *näšę*, GSGMN/ASGM *naš|êga*, LSGMN *-êm*, DSGM *näšęmu*, NSGF/LPL *näša*, GSGF *-ê*, DLSGF *näšuj*, ASGF *näšu*, NPLM *näši*, DPL *-îm*, (special form) *po näšę*[f]*/pu näšę*[h] 'in our dialect' ◇ *nâž jębzik*[h] 'our language', *du našê gränicę*[h] 'to our border', *va näšu hïžu*[h] 'into our house', *va crîkfi näšuj*[h] 'in our church', *na našêm jęzïki*[h]*/pu našêm*[h] 'in

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our language', *uvîm našîm nükum*[h] 'to those grandchildren of ours', *va näša pïnęza*[h] 'in our money'

nätla ADV 'on the floor, downstairs (direction)' ◇ *vïgęl sęm ę nätla*[f] 'I threw them on the floor'

nätli ADV 'on the floor, downstairs (location)', *nätli ję*[f] 'he is downstairs'

nävęčęr 'in the evening'

nazadnjîč 'at last; lately'

nę̈ 'no; not' ◇ *jâ vàs nę prôham*[h] 'I don't need you', *vęji ôn "nę̈"*[h] 'he says "no"'

nê NAPL personal and demonstrative pronoun PL FN ◇ personal: *vïšnję, nê kišnïję zrëjadu*[h] 'sour cherries, they ripen later', *zâdž ę nę̈mręđu zmę̈z dôli*[h] 'why can't people just wipe them from the sky (refers to the stars)?'; demonstrative: *nê sę̈lę*[h] 'those villages', *zô nę pënęzę*[f] 'for that money'

nę̈b|o NASG 'sky, heaven', GSG *-a*, LSG *-i* ◇ *na nę̈bi su zvêzdę*[h] 'there are stars in the sky'

nëd|ęn NSGM 'not one', NSGF *-na*, ASGF *-nu*, LSGF *-nuj*, ADV *-no* ◇ *to nëdno nê ïstina*[h] 'that isn't true at all' → IV.7.2

nęg '(ADV) only; (conjunction) than'; but (Ge *sondern*) ◇ *tî nęk puslüšęj*[h] 'you just listen', *vê böję razumïmu, Humučôncę, nęk Köjmufcę*[h] 'we understand them, the Fertőhomok people, better than the Kópháza people', *mïvu pïvę, pôl ûrę, nęk si tî döšęl*[h] 'a little – half an hour – before you came', *tâ ima vę̈č pômęti nęg vî*[f] 'he has more common sense than you', *nęg näveččęr smo döma*[f] 'we won't be home till evening' → VII.8.1 ▷ in the sense 'but' the word was twice attested as *nę̈go*

nëgda 'at any time; in former days ◇ *smo ~ žę̈li*[f] 'in the old days we used to mow'

nëgdašnji NSGM/NPLM ADJ to *nëgda* ◇ *~ jûdi*[f] 'people that lived long ago'

nëgdę 'somewhere, anywhere'

nę̈ka conjunction 'that, in order that, etc.' ◇ *njîm pîšę, da ~ mę̈ni büdęđu döbri*[h] 'he writes them and asks them to be good to be', *rę̈či ~ nę kričê, ~ spïję*[h] 'tell them not to shout, so that he can sleep' → VII.8.1

***nëkaj*[f]*/nëkęj*[h]** NASG 'something' ◇ *~ si ję kùpil*[f] 'he bought something', *kad tî mę̈ni bi ~ puvëdal*[h] 'if you would tell me something' ▷ no inflected forms attested

nëkak 'somehow, in one way or another' ◇ *ki ję döbęr, njëga ti Bôk ~ kaštïga*[h] 'good

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people are in one way or another punished by God', *öndę ję nëkag drügač*[f] 'it's somehow different there'

nëkakov NSGM 'some (or other)', ASGF *nëkakv|u*, *nëkakf|u*, LSGM *-ęm*, NSGF *-a*, APL *-ę* ◇ *va nëkakvęm plęhênęm lôncički*[h] 'in a kind of tin can'

nëkam 'somewhere (direction)'

nëkor 'someone' ◇ *ję ~ mrêl*[f] 'someone died'

nękrîvno ADV 'innocent'

nêm|ęc 'German', NIPL *-ci*, GPL *-cov*[f], DPL *-com*

nêmšk|i ASGM/GIPL/ADV 'German; (neuter, independently used) Germany', GSGN *-oga*, LSGN *-ęm*, NSGF *-a* ◇ *vu Nêmškęm*[f] 'in Germany'

nę̈rast 'boar'

nesrëč|a 'misfortune', GSG *-ę* ◇ *nęsrëča ję ga luvïla*[h] 'he was struck by misfortune'

nę̈s|(t)[h] 'lay (eggs); bring', PR3PL *-ęjo*[f], LPPLFN *-lę* ◇ *smo nę̈slę Šöpron pröda*[f] 'we brought it to Sopron to sell it', *vę̈dž jäjędz nę̈sęjo*[f] 'they lay more eggs'

dönęs 'bring, fetch', PR3SG *donę̈s|ę*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h], *dunęsû*[h], LPM *-ęl*, LPF *-la*, LPPLM *-li*, IMP *-Ø*, *-i*, *-tę* ◇ *ču si dönęs*[h] 'I'll go and fetch it', *čę ti Käri dönęs pokäzat*[f] 'Kari will bring it and show it to you', *donę̈s to vêdro nütęr*[f] 'bring that bucket inside'

ödnęs 'bring/take away', PR1SG *odnę̈s|ęm*, LPM *-ęl*, LPF *-la*, LPPLM *-li*, IMP *-Ø*, *-i* ◇ *pöj odnę̈z näjzad*[f] 'go bring it back'

ni/nit 'nor' ◇ *nâs šköli nêsu vüčili hurvâtski, nïš, ni va crîkfï nę̈*[h] 'we weren't taught Croatian at school, nothing, nor in church', *ni čęrjênę, nid blêdę*[f] 'neither red nor pink ones'

nïgdęr[h]***/nïgdar***[f] 'never' ◇ *ja ~ nę ględîm*[h] 'I never watch', *... i nadëju nę̈ i ~ nę̈*[h] '... nor on Sunday nor at any time'

nigdêr 'nowhere'

nïkak 'not at all, by no means' ◇ *nę̈mrę nję̈gva Vëra bïd ~*[h] 'Vera can't be his, not by any means'

nïkam 'nowhere (direction)' ◇ *nêdi ~*[f] 'don't go anywhere', *nę kônjim sę nïkam kę̈rat*[f] 'I don't want to belong anywhere'

-niknot

znïknę PR3SG 'sprout, shoot up' ◇ *kat prętïsnę onda pr̈vę ~*[h] 'if you press it, it will sprout sooner'

nïkor| 'nobody', GASG *-ga*, DSG *-mu*, ILSG *nïkęm* ◇ *nê pri nïkęm*[f] 'he isn't with anybody', *z nïkęn spât*[h] 'not

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to sleep with anybody', *nê nïkorga*[f] 'there isn't anybody', *vâ rôka už nïkurmu nê žïtka zêla*[h] 'this hand hasn't taken anybody's life yet'

nïš NASG 'nothing', GSG *nïčęsęra*[hf], DSG *nïčęmurę*[f] (1x, uncertain), ASG (after *nô*) *nič*, (rarely) *niš* ◇ *sad vę̈dž nê nïš*[h] 'there isn't anything left now', *nêmamu nïš*[h] 'we don't have anything', *so pröšlę nô nič*[f] 'they went to pieces', *nê bilo nïčęsęra*[f] 'there wasn't anything', *nę̈b ïmal nïž dë̈la*[f] 'he wouldn't have anything to do', *jâ tö nïž nę vë̈rujęm*[h] 'I don't believe a word of it'

nit → *ni*

+***nizek***: *nïska* F 'low', COMP NSGN *nïžę*

nižvrêd|ęn 'lazy', PLFN *-nę*

nję̈g|ov NSGM 'his', NASGN *-vo*, GSGM *-voga*, DSGM *-vomu*, NSGF *-va*, DSGF *-vuj*, LPL *-vi* ◇ *nję̈guv jäpa*[h] 'his father', *ud nję̈gvuga dvôra strônki*[h] 'from the direction of his yard', *nję̈gvuj žę̈ni ję brä̈d mrêl*[h] 'his wife's brother died', *na nję̈gvi pë̈nęzi*[f] 'at his expense'

njïhov|o NSGN 'their', NSGF *-a*, GSGF *-ę*

njugdïj|a GASG '(retiring) pension', LSG *-i* ◇ *jâ tolïko njugdïja va trïju lë̈ta sköro dostônęm*[f] 'that is as much as my pension over almost three years' ▷ Hu *nyugdíj*

nö (2SG), ***nötę*** (2PL) particle: in combination with an INF it has an adhortative meaning, similar to that of the IMP2SG and 2PL, respectively, but with a slight connotation of insistence; without an INF it has either an adhortative meaning ('go ahead', 'carry on', 'do as you please', etc.) or it is an interjection meaning 'well, now then' ◇ *nö jêz mïvu*[h] 'please eat something', *nö si zêd, i sadë̂ jë̈č*[h] 'please take some and also have some fruit', *nötę ga nêmški navüčit*[h] 'do teach him German', *mi nötę pręglë̈dat*[h] 'forgive me', *tö si slêči, tęr si nö čistô rühu*[h] 'take that off and put on clean clothes', *vä̈g ga nö*[h] '(squeeze) it the way (I did)' (in the latter two examples the INF was omitted since the action desired from the hearer could be inferred from the context) → VI.2.4

nôč NASG 'night', GSG *dö noči* 'until night', DLSG *nöči/nočî* ▷ prepositionless LSG *nočî* is often used as a temporal adverbial 'at night' ◇ *nôdž ę kat spïjęmu*[h] 'the night is when we sleep' → *lë̈ko*

nög|a 'leg', ISG *nogûm*, LSG *-i*, NAPL *-ę*, DPL *nogôm*, IPL

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-ami/nogômi, LPL *-a/nogâ* ◇ *nę̏mrę si na nogâ stât*[f] '(of drunken person) he can't keep on his feet'

nȍr| 'foolish, stupid', F *-a*, PLM *-i*, ADV *nôro*, ASGM *-oga*, NASGN *-o/nôro*, → V.4.11

nȍrc| 'fool, stupid person', ASG *-a* ◇ *zâto ję nȍrc, ar sę dâ zmäzat*[f] 'he's stupid, because you can fool him', *onda so spamêtni jûdi za nȍrca dȑžali sę̏lskę jûdę*[f] 'in those days educated people used to take peasants for fools'

norȉj|***a*** 'joke(s), joking, fun', ASG *-u* ◇ *norȉju smo träjbali*[f] 'we had fun', *nurȉju fêrat*[h] 'have fun, make jokes', *za norȉju*[f] 'for fun'

nȍrit sę 'be foolish; make fun', LPPLM *norȉli* ◇ *nâj sę nȍrit*[f] 'don't be foolish'

znorȉli LPPLM ◇ *so sę kȍnji ~*[f] 'the horses ran wild'

nȍs|/***nôs*** NASG 'nose', GSG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i* ▹ *nôs* 1x, *nȍs* 5x ◇ *od nȍsa däję vȉdijo*[f] 'they can see past the end of their noses'

nȍs|***it*** 'carry, bring', PR2SG *-iš*, PR3PL *-idu*[h], *-ijo*[f], LPM *-il*, LPF *nosȉla*, LPPLM *-ili/nosȉli*, IMP *-i*, *-itę* ◇ *ȍnda nȍsitę si kęj sęn van dôžęn*[h] 'then take what I owe you' → *nasêča*

znȍsim PR1SG 'clear away', PPN *znȍšęno*

+***nov***: ***nôv***|***i*** ASGM/PLM 'new', NASGN *-o*, GSGN *-oga*, ISGN *-ęm*, ASGF *-u*, LSGF *-uj*, APL *-ę*, IPL *-i/-ami*, LPL *-a/-i* ◇ *nôvo lȅto*[hf] 'New Year', *z nôvuga*[h] 'anew, once more', *z nôvęm dȅlum*[h] 'with new work', *sad ur vu nôva hȉža tȍ vędž nê*[f] 'nowadays in those new houses it isn't like that any more'

novę̏mbęri LSG 'November' → *agûstuši*

nȍvęt 'nail', GPL *nȍft*|*uv*[h], APL *-ę*, IPL *-i*

-novit

ponȍvili LPPLM ◇ *nî su si punȍvili ȉmę*[h] 'they changed their name'

nôž| 'knife', GASG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, APL *-ę* ◇ *z nôžęn sę rȅžę*[h] 'with a knife you cut', *nabrüsil sęn si nôža*[f] 'I sharpened my knife' → *dôgi*

nu interjection 'come on' ▹ 1x

nȕdāj[f]/***nȕdę̄j***[h] 'there, in that direction; that way, along that road', *träktor sę nê mȍgęl nudâj vȍzit*[f] 'the tractor couldn't get past there', *Sičȏnskę su nudę̂j*[h] 'the Sičonske are that way'

-nudit

ponȕdim PR1SG 'wait upon'

nûg|***ęl*** NASG 'corner', LSGNPL *-li*, APL *-lę/nüglę* ◇ *nâ vi nûgęl*[f] 'to that corner', *stȍl ȉma štȉri nûglę*[f] 'a table has four corners' → *kôt*

nȕk| NASG 'grandson,

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grandchild', DSG *-u*, NPL *-i*, GPL *-uv*^{h}, DPL *-om/-am*, APL *-ę* ◇ *štïri nükę ïmam*^{f} 'I have four grandchildren'

nükica 'granddaughter'

nüla 'zero'

nümęru ASG ◇ *trâjba* ~^{f} 'he dials a number'

nütęr 'inside (direction)' ◇ *dunę̈sęmu* ~^{h} 'we bring it in'

nütri^{h} 'inside (location)'

O

o preposition with L 'at' (time of the day) and in the combination *ö sębi*^{hf} 'separately' ◇ *u jędinę̂jsti*^{h} 'at eleven', *o šęstî*^{f} 'at six'

obę̈čal LPM 'promise'

öbęd NASG 'dinner, midday meal', GSG *obëd|a*, LSG *-i* ◇ *si jël si ubëda?*^{h} 'have you had dinner?'

obëdvamo PR1PL 'have dinner' ***naobę̈dvęj***^{h} ◇ *sat sę nęg* ~^{h} 'now have as much dinner as you want'

obęr preposition with G 'above' ◇ *obęr zę̈mję*^{f} 'above the ground', *ubęr glâvę*^{h} 'above his head', *ubęr njî*^{h} 'above them' → VII.3.2 ▹ the preposition occurs frequently with toponyms; it is not always possible to distinguish between (a) cases where *obęr* 'above' is a "free" preposition used before a toponym, e.g. *obęr Pę̂ščankę, tö ję bîla pag Gorïca*^{f} 'the place above Peščanka we used to call Gorica' and (b) cases where *obęr* + toponym is itself a toponym, e.g. *zgöra Obęrgâjov*^{f} 'above Obergaji'; example of an unclear case: *idę̈mu ubęr Slônski Gor*^{h} means either 'we go farther up than Slonske Gore' or 'we go to Ober Slonski Gor'; moreover, in (b)-type cases and in the unclear cases described above it can also be a problem with which form of the paradigm we have to do and what the N form of the toponym is (if it is a toponym), e.g. does a form **Obęrgâji* exist or is the NPL *Obęrgâjov*?; the present author has resigned himself to a certain degree of uncertainty on this matter and has not tried to go to the bottom of things in each individual case

Obęrgâj| TOP, GPL *-ov*^{f}

Obęrkamęnjâč TOP

öbęrvę NPL 'eyebrow'

öblak| 'cloud', NPL *-i*, GPL *-uv*^{h}

öblok 'window', DSG *oblök|u*, ASG *-a*, LSGNPL *-i*, GPL *-uv*^{h}, APL *-ę* ◇ *sę̈ oblökę počïstit*^{f} 'clean all the windows'

öbraz 'face', ASG *obräz|a*, LSG *-i* ◇ *divöjka ima lîpuga ubräza*^{h}

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'the girl has a pretty face'

öbrus 'table-cloth', ASGLPL *obrüsa* ◇ *vřz obrüsa na stöl*[f] 'put the tablecloth on the table'

obütęja GSG 'foot-wear' (1x)

očęnäši[f]**, *čęnâši***[f]**, *činäši***[f] NPL 'rosary', APL *učinäšę*[h] ◇ *dôgi očęnäši*[f] 'long rosary (in which none of the prayers is omitted)' ▷ always PL, except one attestation of NSG *dôgi činâš*

öd preposition with G 'from, out of' ◇ *ud žęnę*[h] 'from his wife', *od dęcê nęmrę jâko*[f] 'she hasn't got much opportunity because of the children', *öd nas*[hf] 'from us', *öd męnę*[f] 'from me' → VII.3.2

oddâlkud 'from afar' ◇ *tęr so ga znäli ... dôt ... ötud oddâlkud ot Pęštę tô tręsjê so znäli küpit*[f] 'then they used to come from there, from afar, from Budapest, to buy that reed' → II.3.3.1 (4)

oddömud 'from home; out of the house' ◇ *čïsti sę, pöj uddömud*[h] 'get lost, get outof my house' → II.3.3.1 (4)

oddrügud 'from somewhere else' ◇ *nî sę mřsku pumïnadu hurvâtski, čüda mřžę nęg mî; nî su uddrügud*[h] '(jokingly about the origin of the Fe people) they speak horrible Croatian, much worse than we; they are from some other place' → II.3.3.1 (4)

ödnud 'from there, from that' ◇ *tâ rêdž ę sę ~ gënola*[f] 'that's where that word comes from', ~ *smu živïli*[h] 'that's what we lived by (that were our means of existence)'

ödnudzęm 'since then' ◇ *i ~ ę ustäla tâ rêč va sęli*[h] 'and from then on this word has kept on being used in the village'

ödvud 'from here'

odvünud 'from abroad'

odzâd' '(from) behind, at the back' ◇ *vö su nëkak tęšku dunęsli tôm udzâd' va pęjtäbu*[h] 'with some trouble they brought it there from behind into the barn' ▷ 1x

odzâd'ud 'behind' ▷ 1x

odzdôl 'from below, underneath' ◇ *udzdôl ę pläfta, a udzgôr ę dünjha*[h] 'underneath you have the sheet, on top the blanket'

odzgôr 'from above, on the top' → *odzdôl*

ög|ęnj NASG 'fire', ASG *-nja*, ISG *-njęm* ◇ *va pęči ču ögnja nalözit, da nę budę zïma*[f] 'I'll make a fire in the oven, so that we shan't be cold'

ognêna F → *zäbit*

ök|o NASG 'eye', LSG *-i*, NAPL *-ę/öči*, IPL *-ami/očïjami* ◇ *tö ję męni vêkę va glävi pak pręd očïjami*[f] 'I always have it in my head and before my eyes'

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okol prep. with G 'around' ◇ *pôt okol svêta*[f] 'travel round the world'

ȍkolo ADV 'around' ▷ also *na* ~ ◇ ~ *sẹn sẹ oglẹ̈dal*[f] 'I looked around me'

oktôbẹri LSG 'October' → *agûstuši*

ôkulẹ NAPL 'glasses'

oltâr | 'altar', ISG *-ẹm*

oltârnji NSGM ADJ to *oltâr*

ôn there is a personal pronoun *ôn* 'he' and an adjectival demonstrative pronoun *ôn/(o)nî/nâ* NSGM 'that'; on the paradigms and the demarcation problems between them → IV.1.4 and IV.3.2; on the special forms of prepositions before pronouns → VII.3.1 ◇ personal pronoun: *jẹ škräpala vȍda ud njẹ̈ga*[h] 'water poured from it (refers to *kômẹn* 'stone')', *sad ga vẹdž nê*[h] 'now he isn't there any more', *k njẹ̈mu*[h] 'to him', *sẹm rẹ̈kla i mẹ̈jki mu*[h] 'I also told his mother', *jẹ̈dẹn pr̈s mu vâk stujî*[h] 'one of his fingers stands like this', *su ga putȍkli*[h] 'they beat him up', *zô njẹga*[h] 'for him', *kulȉku pinês sẹm dâla zô nj*[h] 'how much money I spent on him', *kulȉku sẹ mȍrẹ nô nji kȕpit*[h] 'how much can you buy for it? (refers to masculine word)', *š njêm*[h] 'with him', *na njêm*[h] 'on him'; demonstrative pronoun: *ôn môš*[h] 'that man', *kud nôga Pẹ̈jrič Žiga bačȉja*[h] 'with that uncle Žiga' *pupȁdẹ nôga vêlikuga klêpca, nâ, têri jẹ ud gȕmija bîl*[h] 'he takes that big hammer, the rubber one', *z nên klêpcẹm*[h] 'with that hammer'

(o)nâ there is a personal pronoun *(o)nâ* 'she' and an adjectival demonstrative pronoun *nâ* NSGF 'that'; on the paradigms and the demarcation problems between them → IV.1.4 and IV.3.2; on the special forms of prepositions before pronouns → VII.3.1 ◇ personal pronoun: *nê jẹ*[h] 'she isn't there', *ud njê*[h] 'from her', *žȉtka jẹ juj zêl*[h] 'he took her life', *njûj sẹm rẹ̈kla*[h] 'I told her', *säki dôm pẹ̈rẹmo ju*[f] 'we wash it every day', *mr̈kaj nô nju*[f] 'look after her', *sẹm u znêl*[f] 'I took her with me', *š njûm*[hf] 'with her', *na njûj čẹmu si sr̈dit*[h] 'we'll be angry with her'; demonstrative pronoun: *nẹ̈ščẹ drȕgam prȍdat nẹg onûj fabrȉki*[f] 'he won't sell it to anybody else, only to that factory', *onû mašȉnu*[f] 'that machine (ASG), *va nûj vȍdi*[f] 'in that water'

ȍnak 'that way, like that' → *näk*

onȁkov 1x → *nȁkov*

ȍnda 'then, afterwards'

ȍndẹ(n)/ȍndẹ(n)/ondẽ 'there' ◇

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ondë ję i vęč[f] 'there you have more of them', *mî smo ti stâli ôndę zdöla*[f] 'we lived down there'

+***one*** → *nê*

(o)nî there is a personal pronoun *(o)nî* 'they' and an adjectival demonstrative pronoun *nî* NPLM 'those'; on the paradigms and the demarcation problems between them → IV.1.4 and IV.3.2; on the special forms of prepositions before pronouns → VII.3.1 ◇ personal pronoun: *su ti övo nî načïnjali*[f] 'they made this', *polęg njî*[f] 'next to them', *jë i dös*[h] 'there are enough of them', *tö nim ę guspudâr*[h] 'that is their master', *nîn stâri*[h] 'their parents', *si nô nję mïsjim*[f] 'I think of them', *jâ sęm ę rônjila*[h] 'I brought them up', *ziš njïmi*[f] 'with them', *pri njî*[f] 'at their place'; demonstrative pronoun: *nî rögi*[h] 'those horns', *nim mlâdim*[h] 'to those young people', *zô nę pënęzę*[f] 'for that money'

Ôninu ◇ *na* ~[h] 'on St. Anne's Day'

öno/nö/nô there is a personal pronoun *nö* 'it', an adjectival demonstrative pronoun *öno/nö/nô/onô* NSGN 'that' and a substantival demonstrative pronoun *öno/nö*; on the paradigms and the demarcation problems between them → IV.1.4 and IV.3.1-2; on the special forms of prepositions before pronouns → VII.3.1 ◇ personal pronoun: *säku prâsę, têru ję zdrävu, nö ïma gęrbävuga rêpa*[h] 'every healthy pig has a curled tail', *trî fęrtäja ję ud njëga ustrâčku*[h] 'three quarters of it is Austrian (reference is made to a lake (*jëzęru*)), *zbudïję sę dêtę, sęn si ję zêla*[f] 'the child awoke and I took it up', *jâ sęm ę spîl*[h] 'I drank it (refers to wine)', *va njêm*[h] 'in it'; demonstrative pronoun: *nô blâgu*[h] 'that cattle', *nê rädu dëlala, zô nu ę stô lêt živïla*[h] 'she didn't like to work, that's why she lived a hundred years'

opęrêrali LPPLM 'operate'

öpęt 'again' ▷ 2x, the usual word is *zöpęt*

öprav 'garment'

ör|at 'plough', PR1SG *-jęm*, PR3SG *-ję*, PR3PL *-jo*[f], LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali*, LPPLFN *-ę*

zör|at 'plough', PR1SG *-jęm*, PR3SG *-ję*, LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali*, PPN *zorôno*

öręlj[h]***/öręj***[hf]***/örę***[h]***/öri***[f]***/örij***[f] 'walnut', ASG *orïja*[f], NIPL *orïji*, GPL *orîs*[f]*/orïjov*[f]*/urëjuv*[h] ▷ IRR noun → III.8

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+***orič*** → *urïčʰ/urîčʰ*
orsâg 'country', GASG *orsäg|a*, LSG *-i*, APL *-ę* ◇ *orsäga pę̈jaliᶠ* 'they ruled the country' ▹ Hu *ország*
ôs 'axle', LSG *ösi*
ȍsam 'eight', GL *ösmi*, L *osmî* ◇ *mî smu bîli usmïmiʰ* 'there were eight of us', *ot pêt do ösmiᶠ* 'from five to eight'
osamdęsêt '80'
osamdęsêtoga GSGN 'eightieth'
osamnâjs/osamnę̈js 'eighteen'
osamnę̈jstoga GSGN 'eighteenth'
ȍsamstô '800'
ȍsębi 'apart, separately'
ȍsmoᶠ NSGN 'eighth'. GSGN ***ȍsmogaʰ***, NSGF *ôsmaᶠ*
ostâj 'class', GPL *ostäjiᶠ* ◇ *smo üdę̈ nęk šêz ostäji hodïliᶠ* 'we only passed through six classes, you know?'
Ostrâčk|o 'Austria', GSG *-oga*, LSG *-ęm/Ostrâčkęm* ▹ special form: *po ustrâčkuʰ* 'in German' (the common word for this language is *nêmški*)
Ostrîc|i noun NPL 'Austrian', GPL *-ovʰ*
ostrîčku ◇ *po ~ʰ* → *po ostrâčku*
ȍšč|a 'host (eucharistic bread)', ASG *-u*
ȍštęr 'sharp'
ȍtak 'so, that way'
ȍtkud 'from where'
ȍtljęk 'from where' ◇ *~ stę rudjïnję?ʰ* 'where does your family live?' ▹ 1x
otsȁkud 'from everywhere'
ȍtud 'from there'
ôv NSGM, NSGF *(o)vâ*, NSGN *vô* adjectival demonstrative pronoun; there is also a (neuter) substantival demonstrative pronoun *ȍvo/vȍ*; on the paradigms and the demarcation problems between them → IV.3.1-2; on the special forms of prepositions before pronouns → VII.3.1 ◇ *kę̈j ję ôf stfȍrilʰ* 'what He created', *ôf sînʰ* 'that son', *ovâ zîmaᶠ* 'this winter', *vâ stâra bäbaʰ* 'this old granny', *a sad ovôga nêᶠ* 'now we haven't got that any more', *od ovê strônkiᶠ* 'from this side', *ïmam jâ ję̈dnu sprâv vȍmuʰ* 'I have a tool for this', *vômu mâlumuʰ* 'to that child', *vûj žę̈ni môšʰ* 'this woman's husband', *vû vi mę̈linʰ* 'into this mill', *vû vo sę̈loᶠ* 'into this village', *ovû dôpᶠ* 'nowadays', *pręd ovêmᶠ* 'before this', *z ovûm čęrûmᶠ* 'with this daughter', *vu vêm vêlikęm varȍšiᶠ* 'in this big city', *va vûj plȁciᶠ* 'on this street', *ovî hečkȕrciᶠ* 'these people from Hegykő', *ovê hïžęᶠ* 'these houses', *ud vîʰ* 'from these people', *ovîm guvȍrimʰ* 'I tell these people', *nęg ovê kȍsti imȁjoᶠ* 'they have only these bones', *vê säki dôn mȍljinʰ* 'these I pray every day', *z vïmi tȍržamiʰ*

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'with these stalks', *va vî sëla*[h] 'in these villages'

ȍvak 'so, in this way' ◇ *ȍvag ę böję*[f] 'it is better this way' → *väk* ▷ also *ovâk*

ovȁkvo NSGN 'such, like this', NPLFN *ovȁkf|ę*, DPL *-am* ◇ *žȁbę pag ovȁkvo žę̈rę*[f] 'he eats frogs and that kind of things' → see *väkov*

ȍvdę(n)/ovdẽ 'here' → II.3.1.2 (2)

ovȕdẽj → ***vȕdẽj***

ȍž (almost always unstressed) 'still' ◇ *onda oš Pȉšti nê bil prȉ nas*[f] 'at that time Pišti wasn't with us yet', *už ję̈dęn*[h] 'another one', *ȍš ču*[h] 'I want more', *ož i dvâ*[f] 'no less than two', *kȁk sę už hurvâtski môra tȍmu rę̈č!*[h] 'what is that in Croatian again?', *ȍnda už i güslat si ję začnêl*[h] 'then he even began to play'

ȍžož reinforcement of *ȍž* ◇ *ȍnda ȍžuž dvâkrat pȉknul*[h] 'then he pricked another two times', *ȍžuž däję*[h] 'even farther away'

P

-pad'at

popȁd'|ali LPPLM 'take hold of', PR3SG *-a* ◇ *ję̈dęn za drügoga so sę popȁd'ali*[f] 'they caught hold of one another' → *popad'älo*

spȁd'|ali 'fall', PR3SG *-ajo*[f]

-pajat

napȁjali LPPLM ◇ *so blâgo ~*[f] 'they watered the cattle'

pâjink|ę GSG 'brandy, liquor', ASG *-u* ◇ *pâjinku nę kühamo*[f] 'we don't distill liquor'

-pajit

zapâjit 'set afire'

***pajtȁb|a*[f]*/pęjtȁb|a*[h]** NSGLPL 'shed, barn', GSGNPL *-ę*, ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*, LSG *-i* ▷ Hu *pajta*

+***pajtabni***: *pę̈jtȁbnę*[h] APL ◇ *~ lȅscę*[h] 'barn door'

pak 'and; then' ◇ *tâ, pag ȏnda nâ*[h] 'she and then she', *sȅstrę pag brȁti su mi tȁg zarȏn mrêli*[h] 'my sisters and brothers died so early', *môž ę mi pag dȍšęl domôm*[f] → VII.8.1

pȁlęc 'thumb'

pȁlic|a 'little stick', ISG *-um*

Pȁlijęm ISG PROP

pȁluv|i NPL 'beam (e.g. in ceiling)', APL *-ę*

pamȕka ASG 'cotton'

pâp|a 'pope', LSG *-i* ◇ *pi pâpi*[f] 'when the pope was here'

papêr|a GASG 'paper', LSG *-i* ◇ *su dâli papêra sȁkuj hȉžu vȕn*[f] 'they handed out a document to each household', *bę̈ri si papêra*[f] 'take a piece of paper'

papêrn|i NSGM ADJ to *papêra*, APL *-ę*

pȁpka 'father (-in-law)'

paprȉk|a 'sweet pepper', ASG *-u*,

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APL *-ę*

papüč|i 'house shoe', APL *-ę*

pâr| NASG 'pair; couple', GPL *-i*[f]*/-ov*[f] ◇ *jędęn pâr kònji*[h] 'one pair of horses', *za pâr minût*[h] 'a couple of minutes later', *pâr rêči*[h] 'a few words'

paradäjzink|ę*[f]*/paradějzink|ę APL 'tomato', GPL *-Ø*

pärkęt|ę NPL 'floor-board', GPL *-uv*[h]

partïk|a 'on the market: parcel, lot (of goods being sold by a farmer); yield, crop', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u* ◇ *čüda partïkę*[h] 'a large quantity of goods', *kolïko partïkę im ę zrâslo?*[f] 'how was their crop?'

pâs 'belt'

-past

pä|dę PR3SG '?fall out, happen/turn out to be', LPN *-lo* ◇ *käg naz lěgję pädę*[h] '(about the dialect: we say it) the way it happens to be easiest for us', *njěga ję vö tak pälu, da ję ôn ur čěkal*[h] 'it happened to be the case that he already expected it'

dopä|dę PR3SG 'happen (to someone); fall to a person's share; turn up (somewhere)', LPN *-lo* ◇ *vrâg znâ kôm ę dupälu*[h] 'the devil knows where it will be found again', *njěmu had nê dupäla nědna*[h] 'he didn't get even one'

hüpas 'fall', PR3SG *hupä|dę*, PR3PL *-dędu*[h], LPM *hüpal*, LPF *-la*, LPN *-lo* ◇ *mřkaj da nę̈ budęš hüpal*[f] 'look out, don't fall'

pöpas 'take hold of, touch; (~ *sę*) start', PR1SG *popä|dęm*, PR3SG *-dę*, PR3PL *-dędu*[h], *-do*, LPM *pöpal*, LPF *-la*, LPPLM *-li*, IMP *-di* ◇ *jâ b sę bil möral přvę pöpas*[h] 'I should have started earlier', *mę̈nę už jędęn dětič uš ... už i tü nê pöpal*[h] 'no boy had touched me, not even there'

spâs 'fall', PR3SG *spä|dę*, LPM *-l*, LPN *-lo*, LPPLM *-li*

Pâškum| NSG TOP, GSG *-a*, NPL *-i*, APL *-ę*

päuk| 'spider', NPL *-i*

päv|at 'build', PR3SG *-a*, LPM *-al*

Pävęčęvi[h] NPLM PROP ?house name

Pävlum[h] ISG PROP

Pävlina[h] NSGF poss ADJ

pažôn| 'beans', ASG *-a*

pę̈|č 'bake, fry', PR1SG *-čęm*, PR3SG *-čę*, PR1PL *-čęmo*, PR3PL *pęčô*[f], LPF *-kla*, LPPLM *-kli*

spę̈|č 'bake, fry; heat', PR1PL *-čęmo*, LPF *-kla*, PPF *spęčę̈na*

pêč| NASG 'oven', LSGNPL *pę̈či*, NPL also *-i* ▷ this is a brick oven for baking bread; an oven in a furnace is called *šitê*

pędęsêt 'fifty'

pędęsêt|a NSGF 'fiftieth' *-a*, LSG *-ęm*

pę̈dig 'but, however, though' ◇

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nę̈mręm pôt, ~ bi mö̈ral pôd, ę rę̈kęl dö̈ktur[h] 'I can't go, though I should, the doctor said so' ▹ Hu *pedig*

pêh|at 'hit, kick', LPM *-al*
popêhali LPPLM 'hit, kick'

pęjâč 'chief, boss'

pę̈j|at 'lead, bring; rule; drive (car)', PR3SG *-o*[f], LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali* ◇ *krä̈j pę̈jat*[f] 'pull someone's leg', *su mę pę̈jali*[h] 'they showed me round'
dopę̈jal LPM 'bring'
otpę̈j|at 'bring (away)', IMP *-i* ◇ *pôt čęmu tôm, tî męnę nęg utpę̈ji*[h] 'we'll go there, just show me the way'

pę̈k|ęl NASG 'hell', GASG *-la*, ISG *-lęm*, LSG *-li*

+***pęklênski*** ADJ to *pę̈kęl*, NSGF *piklênska*[h], ASGF *pęklênsku*[h] (with unexpected *-ę-*, see Houtzagers 1996: 120), LSGF *pęklênskuj*[f] ◇ *pö̈j va piklênsku dibïnu*[h] 'go to hell'

Pęklênska[h]***/Piklênska***[h] ***Vülica*** TOP

pęlęg[hf]***/polęg***[h] prep. with G 'next to' ◇ *prö̈šęl ę pulęg mę̈nę*[h] 'he walked at my side' ▹ one attestation with stress: *pö̈lęk tö̈ga*[h] 'apart from that' → VII.3.2

pę̈lęnk|a 'napkin', NAPL *-ę* ◇ *pę̈lęnkę sęm oprâla*[f] 'I washed napkins', *męrskê pę̈lęnkę*[f] 'dirty napkins' → *cônję*

pę̈nęz[f] ASG '(mostly PL) money', GSG *pę̈nęza*[f], NPL *pïnęzi*[h], *pę̈nęzi*[f], GPL *pinêz*[h], *pęnêz*[f] APL *pïnęzę*[h], *pę̈nęzę*[f], IPL *pęnêzi*[f], *pę̈nęzi*[f], LPL *pïnęza*[h], *pę̈nęzi*[f] ◇ *so prôhali pę̈nęza*[f] 'they needed money', *ïšli za pę̈nęz*[f] 'we went there for money', *i sîm ę čü̈da pęnês trêb bîlo*[f] 'for that, too, much money was needed', *pinêš čęž ïmat*[h] 'you'll have money', *tö̈ sę prępla̤tit s pęnêzi nę̈mrę*[f] 'you can't compensate that with money'

Pęnjê ASG TOP possibly the village of Pinnye

pę̈pęl| 'ashes', ASG *-a*

pęrdî PR3SG 'fart'

Pę̈rçsnję TOP

pêrj|ę 'feathers', GSG *-a*

pę̈r|o NASG 'feather, pen', APL *-a* ◇ *lîpę pę̈ra ïma*[h] 'it has beautiful feathers'

pę̈ršin| NASG 'parsley', GASG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, APL *-ę* → *čü̈vat*

pę̈ršinadu[h] PR3PL 'grow parsley'

pę̈ršinovu ASGF poss ADJ to *pę̈ršin* → *cïma*

pęrtlinâz|ovat 'make a bundle', PR3SG *-uję*, LPPLM *-ovali*

pęrvâč 'chief, boss', NPL *pęrvä̈či*

pęrvîč ADV 'first, for the first time, in the first place'

pês|ęk 'sand', GSG *-ka* ◇ *vä̈kfuga pêska su si va stę̈kli dunę̈sli*[h] 'they brought sand like this home in a bottle'

Pêščank|a TOP sandy parcel of

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land in Fe, ASG *-u*, NPL *-ę*
pẽšę 'by foot'
Pę̃št|ę GSG TOP Budapest, ASG *-u* ◇ *ję prõšla Pę̃štu*[f] 'she went to Budapest'
pêt 'five', I *pętêmi*[f]*/pętïmi*[f], LSG *pętî* ◇ *mî smo bili pętìmi bräti*[f] 'we were five brothers', *u pętî*[h] 'at five'
pêta 'heel'
pêtęk NASG ◇ *säki* ~[h] 'each Friday'
pêt|i NSGM 'fifth', LSGM *-ęm*, NSGF *-a*, LSGF *-uj* ◇ *na pêtuj täbli*[f] 'on the fifth *täbla*'
pę̃tkrat 'five times'
pętnâjs[hf]***/pętnę̂js***[h] 'fifteen'
pętnâjstoga[f] GSGN, NSGF *pętnę̂jsta*[h]
Pę̃tru[h] DSG PROP first name
pêvęc 'cock', NPL *pêfci*
pęvnïc|a 'cellar', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*
pẽvnot ◇ *ali ču tę vũn* ~[f] 'I'll kick you out'
pfû interjection → Mar [158, 221]
pîjk|a 'tap (on wine-barrel)', DSG *-i*, ASG *-u*
pïkat 'prick, stick', LPM *-al* ◇ *pïkad z nôžęm*[f] 'prick with a knife'
pïkn|ol LPM 'prick, stitch', LPF *-ola*
napïknol LPM 'prick'
zapïknot 'stitch'
pïla GSG 'drink, beverage' ◇ *ovdę ję jẽla, pïla*[f] 'there is food and drink here'
pïnda 'cunt'
-pindat
popïndat 'copulate' ▹ this word is not considered rude
pïpl|ę 'chick', NPL *-i*
pïplič|i NPL DIM to *pïplę*, APL *-ę* ◇ *ïma mâlę pïpličę*[h] 'it has small chicks'
pïs|at 'write', LPM *-al*, LPF *pisäla*, LPPLM *-ali*, VN LSG *-anji*, PR3SG *pîš|ę/pïšę*, PR1PL *pïšęmo*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h]*/-(ęj)o*[f]
napïsano PP N 'write'
prępïsat 'transfer (property)'
spïsat 'write (down), register', IMP *spïši*, LPM *spïsal*, PP N *spisôno*, F *spïsana*
zapïs|at 'write down', INF also *-ati*[f], PR2SG *zapîš|ęš*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h], PP N *zapisôno/zapïsano*
pïsm|o ASG 'letter', LSG *-i*, NPL *-a*, NAPL *-ę*, GPL *-uv*[h]
Pïšta[h] PROP first name
Pïštiju[h] DSG PROP first name
Pïštinim[h] DPL poss ADJ to *Pïšta*
pït/pît 'drink', PR1SG *pïj|ęm*, PR2SG *-ęš*, PR3SG *-ę/pîję*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h], LPM *pîl|*, LPF *-a*, LPPLM *-i*, IMP *pïj* ◇ *däj mi pît*[f] 'give me something to drink'
näpit sę 'drink one's fill; have a drink; (without *sę*) make drunk', PR1SG *napïj|ęm*, PR3SG *-ę*, LPM *näpil*, LPPLM *napïli*, IMP *napïj*, PP INDM *napît*, NSGM *napîti* ◇ *säki ję napît*[f] 'everyone is drunk', *nâ tu ču sę näpit*[h] 'I'll drink to that', *sę näpit pâjinkę*[h] 'have

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one's fill of brandy'
opïjędu[h] PR3PL 'make drunk; (~ *sę*) get drunk', LPM *öpil*;
spït 'drink', INF also *spïti*[f], LPM *spîl|*, LPPLM *-i* ◇ *jâ vo nę̈mręn spït*[h] 'I can't drink that'
pït|at 'ask', LPM *-al/pîtal*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali/pîtali*, PR1SG *pît|am*, PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *-a*, IMP *-aj*[f]*/-ęj*[h]
pït|amo PR1PL 'fatten, feed', LPPLM *-ali*, PP F *pitôna*
upït|at 'fatten', LPPLM *-ali* ◇ *tâ sę mörę upïtat tęr zäklat*[h] 'you can fatten and slaughter it'
pïtęrba[h]***/pïtarba***[f] 'kitchen', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*
pîv|o NASG 'beer', GSG *-a*, LSG *-i*
pïzd|a 'cunt; bum (of woman)', ASG *-u* ◇ *käkfu vêliku pïzdu ïma*[f] 'what a fat bum she has' ▹ this word is considered rude
pjûča NPL 'lung'
plä̈c|ę GSGNPL 'street', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*, LPL *-a* ◇ *va vî nôva plä̈ca*[f] 'in these new streets', *jûdę na plä̈cu pušïjędu*[h] 'they turn people into the street'
plä̈cnę APL ◇ *na ~ vrâta*[f] 'on the street door'
plâč|a 'wages', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u* ◇ *mälo njim ę plâčę*[f] 'they have smaal wages'
plä̈č|at 'pay', LPM *-al*, LPPLM *plačäli*, PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *plâč|a*, PR3PL *-adu*[h]*/-ajo*[f]
plä̈fta 'sheet' → *odzdôl*
plä̈k|at sę 'cry', LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali*, PR3SG *plä̈čę*
napläkala sę 'cry'
-plaserat
uplasêr|at[h] 'injure', PP INDM *-an* ▹ cf. Ge *blessieren*
plä̈tit 'pay', PR2SG *platîš*, PR3SG *plä̈ti*, PR3PL *plâtidu*[h], *platę̂*[f], *plä̈tijo*[f], LPPLM *platïli* ◇ *Bôk ti plä̈ti*[h] 'thank you'
prępläti̇t 'raise (money), compensate' → *pę̈nęz*
splä̈til LPM ◇ *ôn ïma dôga, ki si nê ~ dôga*[f] 'someone is in debt if he hasn't payed his debts'
plä̈tni| 'oventop', ASG *-ja* ▹ Hu *platni*
plâv|o N, F *-a*, ISGM *-ęm*, APL *-ę* ◇ *plâvę öči ïmaš*[f] 'you have blue eyes'
plä̈znili LPPLM '?climb'
splä̈znit 'climb' ◇ *nêsmo mögli gôrę ~ nïš*[f] 'we couldn't climb up at all'
plę̈| 'tin(-plate)', ASG *-ha*, APL *-hę* → II.3.3.4
plęhênęm LSGM ADJ to *plę̈*
plę̈|s 'plait, knot', PR3SG *-ęt*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, LPPLM *plę̈li*
splę̈|st 'plait, knot', PR3SG *-tę*, PR1PL *-tęmo*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h], LPM *-l*, PPF *splętêna*
zaplę̈li LPPLM 'plait around', PPN *zaplęt|êno*, PPF *-ę̈na*
plêt 'weed', PR1PL *plîjęmo* ◇ *hälugu plêt*[h] 'to weed weeds'

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splêt 'weed', PR1PL *splïjęmo*
plëvę NAPL 'chaff' ◇ *täkfi so kot ~*[f] '(of money) it is like chaff'
p(l)jût 'swim', PR3SG *pjûję*
plõb|a sę PR3SG 'toil, wear oneself out', PR1PL *-amo*, PR3PL *-adu*[h], IMP *-aj*[f]
splõb|at sę 'toil, wear oneself out', LPM *-al*, IMP *-aj*[f]
plôc| NASG 'market', GSG *-a*, LSG *-i*
plõt| 'fence, enclosure', GSG *-a*, GPL *-ov*[f] ◇ *pręk plõta sęn sę oględal*[f] 'I looked over the fence'
plüg/plûg 'plough', ASG *plüga*, NPL *plûgi*, APL *plügę*
plündrę NPL 'trousers' ▷ Hu *plundra* 'trunk-breeches'
po prep with A or L; many different meanings → VII.3.2
pod prep with A or I 'under; towards (temporal)' → VII.3.2
Podgâj|a ASG TOP, NPL *-i*
pôdnę ◇ *na ~*[hf]*/ot ~*[f]*/ut ~*[h] 'in the afternoon'
põj|ę NASG 'field, land', GSG *-a*, LSG *-i* ◇ *zis põja*[h] 'from the field', *nä poji*[f]*/nä puji*[h]*/pö puji*[h] 'in/on the field, on the land'
-pojit
napõj|il 'water (cattle, etc.), give to drink', LPPLM *-ili* ◇ *napõjili smo blâgo*[f] 'we watered the cattle'
pokidôb conjunction 'now that' ◇ *pukidôb si vö učïnjil...*[h] 'now that you have done this...' → *dôb*
pokrivälo 'cover, lid'
pokrõfca ASG 'blanket'
pôl indeclinable 'half' ◇ *za pôl ûrę*[h] 'after half an hour', *mî smo pôl vôgri*[h] 'we are half Hungarians', *ur pôl stëkla nê*[h] 'there isn't even half a bottle left'
põldrug| 'one and a half', ASGF *-u* ◇ *põldruk kilomętęrę od našêga sęla*[h] 'one and a half kilometre from our village', *põldrugu ûru sę möręm ödvęs Pęšt*[f] 'in an hour and a half I can drive to Budapest'
polëko ADV 'slowly' → *lëko*
pôlïtęrska NSGF ◇ *~ flöša*[h] 'half-liter bottle'
põljnik 'agricultural labourer'
poljskî NSGM ◇ *~ zäjc*[f] 'field hare'
pôlkilskę NPLFN 'containing half a kilo'
polovïc|a 'half', LSG *-i*
Põlsko ASG 'Poland'
pômęt| ASG 'understanding, intellect', GSG *-i* ◇ *tâ ima vęč pômęti nęg vî*[h] 'he is cleverer than you are', *pômęd ę zêl*[h] 'he noticed'
pômęt|im GSG 'remember', PR2SG *-iš*
pomřvo 'little by little' ◇ *čęmu pumřvu pôt sï pud zęmju*[h] 'little by little we'll all end up below ground' ▷ also *pomřvičko*[f]
põndejęk NASG 'Monday' ◇ *na*

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Vüzęmski ~[f] 'on Easter Monday'

põp| 'parish-priest', ISG *-u*, ASG *-a*, LSGNIPL *-i*, GPL *-ov*[f] ◇ *prõšęl ę za põpa*[f] 'he became a priest' → VII.2.3

popad'ãlo 'handle' → *pad'at*

pôr| 'farmer who is better-off than average and who can afford to employ farm-hands', NPL *-i*, GPL *-ov*[f], DPL *-om*, APL *-ę* ▹ opposed to *žęljêr*

põrciję APL ◇ ~ *plăčat*[h] 'pay taxes' ▹ Hu *porcijó*

pôręd ADV 'in turn, by turns; in the right order' ◇ *pôręd ę ïšlu, hïžę du hïzę*[h] 'they took turns, one household after the other', *nêsmo pôręd ïšli*[f] 'we didn't do it in the right order' → *rêd*

pôrski NSGM ADJ to *pôr*

posïję[hf] GSGNPL 'chaff'

poslędnjîč[f]***/puslidnjîč***[h] ◇ *na* ~[hf] 'at last; lastly'

poslïdnj|a[h] NSGF 'last', GSGM *-ęga*[f], ASGN *-ę*[f]

põst| 'fast, Lent', GSG *-a*

põstit sę 'fast'

põštęn 'decent', ADV *poštę̃no* ◇ *puštę̃nu sę dŕš*[h] 'behave decently'

poštęnjî/poštęnî LSG 'respect', *va poštęnî dŕžat*[f] 'to respect' → III.3.3 (2)

pôt 'sweat'

pôt(j)ęg(zęm) conjunction 'since, as long as' and ADV 'since then' ◇ *pôtjęk smu mî sküpa*[h] 'since then we are together', *pôtęk sęm žîv*[f] 'as long as I live', *pôtęgzęm ę téez nę̃ma nïkur güskę*[h] 'since the kolkhoz started nobody has geese any more', *pôtjęgzęm ovdë stojïmo*[f] 'since then we live here'

+***poten***: *pôtni* PL 'sweaty'

potïho ADV 'little by little'

pôtit sę 'sweat', PR1SG *potîm*, PR3SG *potî*, PR3PL *pôtidu*[h]

spôtil sę LPM 'sweat'

pôtkov|a 'hoof', ASG *-u*, NPL *-ę*, IPL *-ami*

+***Potkrižnę***: *Putkrîžnę Stëzę*[h] NPL TOP

pôtplat 'sole; foot-print', ASG *potplăta* ◇ *mar ę mu vïdit putplăta kag ę ïšęl*[h] 'you see, his foot-prints show how he went'

Potstãręc TOP, NPL *Potstârci*

pôzu ◇ *pot* ~[h]*/pot pôzum*[f] '(put/hold something) under one's arm'

pôzutri ADV 'day after tomorrow'

prâ(h) 'dust', GSG *prâh|a*, LSG *-i* → II.3.3.4

prâsę NASG 'pigling', DSG *prasę̃tu*

prasïca 'sow'

+***prasit***: *prasę̂ sę* PR3PL 'cast pigs'

uprãsi sę PR3SG 'cast pigs'

prâščič|ę DIM to *prâsę*, NPL *-i*, GPL *-Ø*, APL *-a*, IPL *-i/-ami* ◇ *kat na sëm pôdęmo tęr onda*

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kat si kô prâščičę kûpi[f] 'when we go to the fair and you buy a pigling'

prâšęn 'dusty'

prâš|im PR1SG 'make dusty', PR3SG *-iš*

prât 'wash', PR1SG *pę̈r|ęm*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h], LPF *prâla*

oprât 'wash', PR3SG *opę̈rę*, PR3PL *opę̈rędjo*[f], LPF *oprâla*, PP N *oporôno* (sic, 1x) ◇ *ču si obräza oprât*[f] 'I'll wash my face'

prätęš| 'garment', ASG *-a*, GPL *-ov*[f]

prâv|i NSG/NPLM 'right (not left); right (not wrong); just, righteous; suitable, appropriate', NSGF *-a*, NSGN *-o*, ASGF *-u*, ADV *prävo* ◇ *prävu činjîš*[h] 'you're doing the right thing', *na prâvu rôku*[h] 'to the right', *tò su prâvi hurvàti*[h] 'those are real Croats', *prâva rêč*[h] 'the right word', *nêso bîli prâvi jûdi*[f] 'they weren't good people'

pravïc|a 'truth', ASG *-u* ◇ *nę povêda pravïcu*[f] 'he doesn't tell the truth'

pravïčęn 'telling the truth'

-pravit

oprâv|it 'dress', PR1PL *-imo*, LPM *-il*, PPINDM *-ęn*, PPF *-na* ◇ *tênko si oprävęn*[f] 'you're too thinly dressed'

prędoprâvi sę PR3SG 'change clothes'

pripräv IMP 'prepare'

rędspräv|it/raspräv̈it 'undress', PR3SG *-i*, IMP *-Ø*

spräv|it 'do, get done; prepare; put; dress', PR1SG *-im*, PR3SG *-i*, PR1PL *-imo*, PR3PL *-idu*[h], LPM *-il*, LPPLM *-ili* ◇ *spräv̈i skùpa*[f] 'he puts together', *tò sę nę̈mrę nïkan spräv̈it*[h] 'there's no place to put it'

-pravljat

oprâvjat 'clothe'

spräv(l)jat 'clothe, dress; prepare', PR3SG *spräv̈jam*, PR3SG *spräv̈ja*, LPM *spräv̈jal* ◇ *spräv̈ja skùpa*[f] 'he puts together', *spräv̈jam säki têdęn dvê ję̈zęra*[f] 'a make 2.000 a week'

prâz|ęn/prâzęn 'empty', N *-no*, PLM *-ni*, APL *-nę*

-praznit

spräznilo sę LPN 'become empty'

-pražit

spräžido[f] PR3PL '?fry' ◇ *môku ~ va ję̈dnęm lönci, na ögnji ~*[f] 'they .... the floor in a pan, they ... it on a fire'

-prčit

upr̈č|il[h] LPM 'stick out, show', IMP *-i* ◇ *rït mu si upr̈či*[h] 'show him your bum (show him that you don't care)'; for another example → Mar [271]

prębäba 'great-grandmother'

-preč

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naprê|č 'yoke (a draft animal)', PR3PL *-žo*[f], LPM *-gęl*
sprêgli LPPLM ◇ *krȁvę vȕn* ~[f] 'they unyoked the cows'
pręd prep. with A 'before (direction)', *pręd jûdę smês stât*[f] 'you're not afraid to stand up (and speak) before people', *prędâ sę si ga svêžę člövęk ali žę̏na*[f] 'a man or woman puts it on (an apron)' → VII.3.3.1-2
pręd prep. with I 'before (time or location)', *pręd rûsi*[h] 'before the Russians', *pręd dvèmi lëti*[h] 'two years ago'
pręděda 'great-grandfather'
***prêk*[f]*/prȉk*[h]** ADV 'over, through, opposite, too' ▹ often used in combination with the preposition *pręk*[hf]*/prik*[h] → VII.3.2-3 ◇ *prêg ȍdnęs*[f] 'to bring over', *nę pustę̂ prêk*[f] 'they don't let people through (over the border)', *prêk sę oprȁvit*[f] 'to change clothes', *prȉk stat na drȕgi ję̏zik*[h] 'to switch to another language', *s crȉkvum prȉk*[h] 'opposite the church', *tômu-tu prȉk sirumȁhu*[h] 'to someone too pathetic'
***pręk*[hf]*/prȉk*[h]** prep. with G ▹ less frequently used than the ADV *prêk*[f]*/prȉk*[h] → VII.3.2-3
prękorę̏dno[hf] ADV 'extraordinarily'
prę̏nȕki NPL 'great-grandchild'
prêsn|o N 'raw', F *-a*, GSGM *-oga*
Prę̏stęk TOP village
prȅš|a 'press', ASG *-u*
prȅšamo PR1PL 'press'
sprȅšat 'press'
-pret
otprê|t 'open', LPM *-l*, LPPLFN *-lę*, PPF *-ta*, PPPLFN *-tę*, PR2SG *otprȉj|ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR1PL *-ęmo* ◇ *za pâr minût utprȉję vrâta Vȅra*[h] 'a few minutes later Vera opens the door'
potprêt 'prop, support'
rasprêt 'open' ◇ *vȍ sę mȍra* ~ *tęr na gôd vȑs*[f] '(about horse-collar) this must be opened and put on the neck'
zaprê|t 'close', LPM *-l*, PPN *-to*, PPF *-ta*, PR1SG *zaprȉj|ęm*, PR2SG *-ęš*, PR3SG *-ęš*, PR3PL *zaprȋjo*[f], *zaprȋjęjo*[f], *zaprȉjęjo*, IMP *zȁpri* ◇ *zaprȉję si nȍsa*[f] 'he pinches his nose', *zȁpri si zôbę*[h]/(or rude̋r) *trȕbę*[f] 'shut up'
prêtę(l)j| 'father-in-law of one's son/daughter', NPL *-i*
prêtę(l)jic|a 'mother-in-law of one's son/daughter', ASG *-u*
prętőlȉćę/protolȉćę NASG 'spring' → II.1.2 (2)
prę̏vęč 'too' ◇ *prę̏vędž ę vrȍčę*[f] 'it's too hot'
pręz prep. with G 'without', *pręz družȉnę*[f] 'without one's family' → VII.3.2
pri/pi prep. with L 'by, near,

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with', for examples → VII.3.2
prilīku ◇ *na* ~^{f} 'for instance'
prîm|it 'bring, take (away)' PR1SG *-im*, PR1PL *-imo*, PR3PL *-idu*^{h}, *-ę*^{f}, *prǐmę*^{f}, LPPLM *prǐmili*, IMP *-i*, *prǐmi* ◇ *prîmim vǔn*^{h} 'I clear away', kórház, *kôm bętężnîkę prîmidu*^{h} 'the hospital, where they take sick people', *tǒ prǐmę vu d'âr*^{f} 'they take that to the factory'
doprǐm|i PR3SG 'bring', PR1PL *-imo*, LPM *-il*, LPPLM *-ili* ◇ *tǒ smu si duprǐmili dumôm*^{h} 'we brought that home', *sîm su mę̈ni duprǐmili jûdę*^{h} ' they brought people here, to me'
otprǐm|it 'bring away, take away', INF also *-iti*^{f}, PR3SG *-i*, LPM *-il*, LPPLM *-ili* ◇ *utprǐmili va mę̈lin*^{h} 'they brought it to the mill'
prǐsig|a 'wedding', ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*
Prǐsik|u ASG TOP village, LSG *-i*
pr̆n|ot 'fart', PR3SG *-ę*
-probajevat
sprobajêval LPM 'try' ▷ 1x
-probalovat
sprobâl|ovat 'try, experience, go through', LPM *-oval*, LPPLM *-ovali*, IMP *-uj*
prodaj^{f} ◇ *nä* ~^{f}/*nä prudęj*^{h} 'for sale'
prôh|at 'need', PR1SG *-am*, PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *-a*, PR1PL *-amo*, PR3PL *-adu*^{h}, LPF *-ala*, LPN *-alo* ◇ *jâ nę prôhan dǒktura*^{h} 'I don't need a doctor', *gǒdinu bi prôhalo*^{f} 'we could use some rain'
poprôhat 'need'
protolǐćę → *prętolǐćę*
prǒs|it 'ask for (an object one wants to have or borrow); (~ *si*) ask charity', PR1SG *-im*, PR3PL *-idu*^{h}, LPM *-il*, LPF *-ila*, LPPLM *-ili*, IMP *-i* ◇ *drâgu ję, čǔda prǒsidu*^{h} 'it's expensive, they ask a lot of money', *sirǒma si môra ud bugätuga prǒsit*^{h} 'a poor man must ask charity from a rich man', *dǒšęl ę ję̈dęn mę̈nę prǒsit, da čę mę̈nę zêt*^{h} 'one came to ask me in marriage'
pr̆si NGALPL 'breast' ◇ *na* ~ *vlêčę*^{f} 'it pulls with its breast (of horse)', *sę zatǒpil do* ~^{f} 'it sunk breast-deep' → III.8 (5-7)
pr̆st| 'finger', ASG *-a*, NLPL *-i*, GPL *-uv*^{h}, APL *-ę* ◇ *mâli pr̆st*^{h} 'little finger', *nêj si grǐs pr̆sta*^{h} 'don't bite your finger'
pr̆tlin| ASG 'small branch; bundle of small branches', NPL *-i*, APL *-ę*, IPL *-ami* ◇ *va pr̆tlin zmę̈čęmu*^{h} 'we tie it together into a bundle'
pr̆vę 'sooner, earlier' ◇ ~ *nęk su rûsi dǒšli*^{h} 'before the Russians came', *da čę môj sîn* ~ *nęk jâ*^{h} 'that my son would die before me'
pr̆v|i 'first', GSGN/ASGM *-oga*, LSG *-ęm*, NSGF *-a*, GSGF *-ę*,

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DSGF *-uj*, ASGF *-u* ◇ *ôn ę mę̈ni ot pr̈vę rôkę rôd*[f] 'he is a first degree relative of mine', *vu pr̈vęm böji*[f] 'during the First World War', *pr̈vuga*[h] 'on the first of the month'

+***psovat***: PR3SG *psüję* 'swear' → *sövat*

püc|at 'polish, clean (up)', PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *-a*, LPPLFN *-alę* ◇ *vïgnja püca*[f] 'he sweeps the chimney', *hïžu pücat*[h] 'to clean up the house'

spücat 'polish' ◇ *čïzmę* ~[f] 'shine one's shoes'

pud|âr 'guard who chases the birds from the acres', GASG *-ära*

püh|at 'blow (of wind)', LPM *-al*, PR3SG *pûšę*

zapühat sę 'take a breathing-spell'

-puknot

ręspüknolo LPN ◇ *ję mu sę̈ ręspüknulu*[h] '(about accident) he broke everything'

spükn|ot 'break to pieces', LPF *-ola*

zapükn|ot 'cause to crack (e.g. a whip', PR1SG *-ęm*, LPM *-ol*

pün| 'full', N *-o*, F *-a*, PLM *-i*, PLFN *-ę* ◇ *smo püni dëla*[f] 'we're up to our necks with work'

+***punet***: *pünti* NPL 'point'

pünic|a 'mother-in-law', ISG *-um*

-punit

napün|it 'fill', PR3PL *-idu*[h], LPM *-il*, LPN *-ilo*

zapün(j)it 'beat up' ◇ *aku už ję̈dnu rêdž mę̈ni rę̈čęž jâ ču tę zapünit*[h] 'if you say one more word to me I'll thrash you'

püno 'much' ◇ *ïmam* ~ *dëla zütra*[f] 'I have a lot of work tomorrow'

püstit 'let (go)', PR3SG *pustî*, PR3PL *pustę̂*, LPM *püstil*, LPPLM *pustïli* ◇ *köręna pustî*[h] 'it strikes root'

dopüstit 'allow', PR3SG *dopustî*, LPPLM *dopustïli*

Puščâk| TOP, NPL *-i*, GPL *-uv*[h] ◇ *Ubęr Puščâkuv*[h] TOP

püšč|at 'let (go); tap, draw (e.g. wine from a barrel); fart', LPM *-al*, PR1SG *puščôm*, PR3SG *-a/puščâ*, PR3PL *puščädu*[h]/*puščäjo*[f], IMP *püšči* (→ VI.2.4) ◇ *püšča dôli*[f] 'it slopes', *nêsmo sę mögli pogödit ar nê püščal*[f] 'we didn't come to a deal for he didn't lower the price', *čę̈pa vr̈žo nütęr tęr vïno puščäjo*[f] 'they put the tap in and draw wine'

dopušč|â PR3SG 'allow', PR3PL *-ädu*[h], LPPLM *-äli*, PPN *-ôno* ◇ *njïm ę svę̈ dupuščônu*[h] 'they are allowed everything'

püšk|a 'rifle', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*, ISG *-ami*, IPL *-ami* ◇ *va hïži nê slöbud bït püškę*[h] 'you aren't allowed to have a gun

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in your house'

pütor| 'butter', GASG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*

pütr|a '?osier-bottle for wine', LSG *-i*, NPL *-ę*

püvnęš 'blow (one's nose)' ***spüvn|ęm*** PR1SG 'blow (one's nose)', PR3SG *-ę* ◇ *spüvnę si nösa*[f] 'he blows his nose'

püz|a 'snail; certain part of a wheel', ASG *-u*, NPL *-ę*, GPL *pûz* ◇ *tulïku pûz ję vêkę na krümpina*[h] 'there are always so many snails on the potatoes'

püzit 'crawl', PR3SG *pûz|i*, PR3PL *-idu*[h] ◇ *kad ož nę̈ zna hödid onda pûzi*[f] '(about child) when it cant't walk yet it crawls'

R

râbęc 'sparrow', APL *räpcę*

Rabukëzi[h] LSG TOP Rábaköz

räc|a 'duck', GSGAPL *-ę*, GPL *râc*

räč|i sę PR3SG 'taste good', PR3PL *-ijo*[f] ◇ *räči mu sę*[f] 'he enjoys it (i.e. the food)'

račünat 'calculate, count'

räd indeclinable ▹ combines with *bi/b* and the INF ◇ *jâ bi tôm rät pôt*[h] '(female informant) I'd like to go there', *tö bi tî räd, büd'ę, puględat*[h] 'you'd like to see that, wouldn't you?', *ôn nę̈b rad vërvat*[h] 'he didn't want to believe it', *nę̈b rad vërvad uvî mlâdi*[h] 'those young people don't like to believe (us older people)'

radijô| 'radio', GASG *-ha*, LSG *-hi*

rädo ADV, combines with present or past tense, sometimes with the conditional ◇ *Märi näša rädu ję bôs*[h] 'our Mari likes to go barefoot', *i crîkvu nêdędu rädu*[h] 'they don't like to go to church, either', *nês rädu vö dëlala*[h] 'I didn't like to do that', *jâ rädu tö vïdim*[h] 'I like that', *jâ sęn ga täg rädu vïdila*[h] 'I liked him so much', *nę̈b rädu vïdila*[h] 'I shouldn't like that'

räd|ovali sę 'be glad', LPF *-ovala*, PR1SG *-ujęm*, PR3SG *-uję*, PR3PL *-ujęjo* ◇ *tîn kïtican sę rädujęm*[h] 'those flowers make me happy'

rakâš → *rękâš*

râl 'acre', LSG *-i* 'ploughed field' ◇ *tö ję möja râl*[f] 'that is my field'

ränjęn 'wounded' ▹ d? → II.3.2.3

rasïčę, rasïknę → *lęsîčę*

Räsipovič[f] PROP family name

râs|t 'grow (up)', PR3SG *-ę*, LPM *-ęl*, LPF *-la*, LPPLM *-li*, LPPLFN *-lę* ◇ *kat smu mî râsli*[h] 'when we grew up'

zrâs| 'grow (up), grow together', INF also *-ti*[f], PR3SG *-tę*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h], *-to*[f], LPM

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-ęl, LPF *-la*, LPPLM *-li* ◇ *mälo dogovônja čę zrâsti lëtos*[f] 'we'll have a bad harvest this year', *vędž mu nêsu zrâsli*[f] 'he didn't grow hair any more'

râškvuj/râšpuj| 'file', GASG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*

râškvujit 'sharpen'

zrâškvujit 'sharpen'

râv|ęn 'even, smooth', F *-a*, N *-o*, PLM *-i*, PLFN *-ę*, ADV *-o* ◇ *râvnu pôd dumôm*[h] 'to go straight home'

-ravnat

narâvn|al LPM 'even, level', LPPLM *-ali*

zarâvnat 'even, level'

rębẹ̈r|it 'be uncertain on one's legs (when drunk)', PR3SG *-i*, LPM *-il*

rẹ̈bro 'rib'

rêč| NASG 'word', GSGNGAPL *-i*, ISG *rêčum*[f]*/ręčûm*[f]*/ričûm*[f], IPL *ręčêmi*[f]*/rêči* ◇ *čüda mad'ârski rêči*[f] 'a lot of Hungarian words'

rẹ̈|č 'say', INF also *-t*[hf], *-ti*[f], PR2SG *-čęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, historical PR1SG *-ko*[f], *-ku*[h], LPM *-kęl*, LPF *-kla*, LPPLM *-kli*, IMP *-či*, *-ci*, PPN *ręčẹ̈no* ◇ *a rẹ̈ku čẹ̈ra "a dë je vînu, nö mi näjad vû tu flöšu"*[h] 'I said yesterday "where is the wine, pour me some in that bottle"', *rẹ̈ku "z bôgum, pöj"*[h] 'I said "goodbye, go now"', *rẹ̈ko "nêdo jâ nïkam"*[f] 'I said "I'm not going anywhere"' ▹ this verb has a suppletive PR: 1SG *vęjîm*, etc.; the given PR forms are rare; about the PR and historic PR → VI.2.3

rêd| NASG 'row; queue, turn', LSG *-u*, GPL *-i*[f], APL *-ę* ◇ *dëca nêsu bîlę va rêdu*[h] 'the children weren't all right', *nê bilu va rêdu nëkęj*[h] 'something was wrong', *sat si tî na rêdu*[h] 'now it's your turn', *po rêdu*[f] 'in turn' ▹ about the LSG → III.2.1.2 → *pôręd*

+***redek***: N *rêtk|o*, APL *-ę* ◇ *rêtkę lâsi ïma*[h] 'he has thin hair'

rêd|it 'arrange, put in order; give orders; tune (an instrument); (~ *sę* + D) ?become fond of', PR1SG *-im*, PR3SG *-i*, IMP *-i*

narêd|it 'arrange, put in order; (~ *sę*) reach an agreement', PR2SG *-iš*, LPM *-il*, LPPLM *-ili*, IMP *-i*, PPN *narêd'ęno* ◇ *kô ę tö sẹ̈ vä̈g narêdil jâ nẹ̈znam*[h] 'I don't know who arranged all that this way'

orêd|it 'arrange, put in order; dispose of', LPM *-il*, LPF *-ila* ◇ *tî môraš käj orêdit*[f] 'you must do something about it', *nẹ̈mręš sôm orêdit*[f] 'you can't fix it by yourself', *urêdil ę ję*[h] 'he disposed of them'

***rękâš*[h]*/rakâš*[f]** ASG 'pile, stack',

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ASG also *rękäša*^{h}, LPL *rękäša*^{h}/*rękâša*^{h} ▹ Hu *rakás*

rę̈męn| 'belt', GSG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i* ◇ *z rę̈męnęm svëzanu*^{h} 'fastened with a belt'

ręndêr| 'policeman', NPL *-i* ▹ Hu *rendőr*

rę̈n|ot 'push, drive (on)', PR3SG *-ę* ◇ *kat könję kô rę̈nę*^{h} 'when somebody drives horses'

narę̈n|ot 'push, drive (on), jerk', PR3SG *-ę*, LPM *-ol*, IMP *-i*

zrę̈n|ot 'drive; chase, drive away', PR2SG *-ęš*, PR3PL *-ędu*^{h}, LPM *-ol*, LPPLM *-oli* ◇ *zrę̈not nütęr*^{f} 'drive (cattle) inside', *nëdęn nê östal, ar su ga vrâzi zrę̈nuli*^{h} 'not one of them stayed, for the devils chased them away'

rêp| 'tail', GASG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*

rë̈p|a 'beet', ASG *-u*

rë̈pnica 'place where beets were kept: hole in the ground, covered with wood and reed'

rępülê 'airplane', APL *röpülêhę*

ręsïkalo, ręsïknę → *lęsîčę*

rêtkokrât 'incidentally' ▹ 1x

rêvęc 'part of the yoke (between the draft animals)'

rë̈zanc|i NPL 'noodle', APL *-ę*

rë̈|zat 'cut', PR1SG *-žęm*, PR3SG *-žę*, PR3PL *-žo*^{f} ◇ *gôtę rë̈zat*^{h} 'to cut throats'

narë̈zat 'cut'

odrë̈|zat 'cut off', PR3SG *-žę*, LPM *-zal*, PPINDM *-zan*

porë̈|žęmo PR1PL 'cut', LPM *-zal*, LPPLM *-zali* ◇ *na vâkfę kusïčkę purë̈zęmu*^{h} 'we cut it into small pieces like this'

prę̈rë̈zali LPPLM 'cut through'

rïb|a 'fish', GPL *rîb*, IPL *-ami*

ribâr 'fisherman', NPL *ribäri*

rïbat 'fish'

rïj 'certain tool for digging', ASG *rïlj|a*, IPL *-ami* ◇ *imädu mötinkę pag rïlja*^{h} 'they have hoes and a *rilj*'

rïn|ot 'push, shove, pull', PR3SG *-ę*, PR3PL *-ęjo*^{f}, LPM *-ol*, IMP *-i* ◇ *vu* villany *rïnęjo nütęr*^{f} 'they plug it into the power-point', *tôm ę Štêfę rïnul čôna nütęr*^{h} 'Štefe pushed his boat that way', *pot stäju rïnot*^{f} 'to shove under the bed'

rït| NASG 'behind, bum', LSG *-i* ◇ *ču tę pu rïti*^{h} 'I'll thrash your bum'

+***rit: zrîjęm*** PR1SG 'dig out'

rïtat 'kick'

porïtal LPM 'kick'

rivajïc|a 'certain tool for gathering together just mowed reed', ISG *-um*

rïv|at 'push, pull; (~ *sę*) toil (one's way through life)', PR3SG *-a*, PR1PL *-amo*, LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali*

porïv|al LPM 'pull', PR3PL *-adu*^{h}

rôbęc 'cloth' → *rôpčęc*

robotïli LPPLM ◇ *kat so jûdi ovo ~ tû sôj*^{f} 'when the

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people slaved to get that salt out of the ground'

rôd ◇ *ovâk smo mî rôt*[f] 'that is how we are related', *ôn ę mę̏ni ot pȑvę rôkę rôd*[h] 'he is a first degree relative of mine'

rödbin|a 'family', ASG *-u* → *rod'ïnja*

rödil LPM 'bring forth; (~ *sę*) be born', PR3SG *rodî*, PPM *röjęni* ◇ *tâ zę̏mja čüda rodî*[f] 'that soil is very fertile'

narödit sę 'be born', PR3SG *narödi/narod|î*, PR3PL *-ê*, LPM *narød|il*, LPN *-ilo*

purödidu[h] PR3PL 'give birth to'

rod'âk| 'relative', DSG *-u*, NPL *-i/rod'äki*, DPL *-om*, APL *rod'äkę*, LPL *rodäka* ◇ *blïžnji rud'âk*[h] 'a close relative', *pi rod'äka*[f] 'with (in the presence of) relatives'

rod'akïnj|a '(female) relative', NPL *-ę* ◇ *rod'akïnję smo*[f] 'we're relatives'

rod'ïnj|a 'family', DSG *-i* → *rödbina*

rög| 'horn', NPL *-i*, APL *-ę*, IPL *-ami*

rogöž|a 'kind of blanket, plaited out of bulrush', ASG *-u*

rôk|a NSGLPL 'hand', GSGNAPL *-ę*, DLSG *-i*, LSG *rokî*[f], ISG *-um*, *rukûm*[h], *rokôm*[f], IPL *-ami* ◇ *z ję̏dnum rôkum šarabüjęmo*[f] 'we weed with one hand', *onda smo z rôkami dojïli*[f] 'then we milked by hand', *na prâvu rôku*[f] 'to the right'

Rökop[f] PROP family name

Rökopjęv poss ADJ to *Rökop*

Rökopovi NPLM probably poss ADJ to *Rökob*

rômamo PR1PL 'clear away'

urômj|ęm[h] PR1SG 'clear', PR3SG *-ę* ◇ *kat kô stôna urômję*[h] 'if someone clears his house'

zrômam PR1SG ◇ *zrômam vün*[h] 'I clear it away'

rômę NAPL 'window-frame'

rômęn| 'shoulder', LSG *-i*

rompätali LPPLM 'smash' ◇ *su čęrêpi* ~ *dôlę*[h] 'the roof-tiles smashed to the ground'

dorompät|alo LPN 'smash to the ground', PR3SG *-a* ◇ *durumpäta nâglu*[h] 'it smashes to the ground very hard'

odrompätal 'leave with a lot of noise'

rôna 'wound'

rôna 'food'

röndʼa: *röndʼę* NPL 'old rag' ▷ Hu *rongy*

rôndʼavi PLM ◇ *glâdni smu bîli, pag rôndʼavi: va ję̏dna töpanka smu bîli sï*[h] 'we were hungry and ragged, all of us had only sandals on our feet'

rônj|it 'raise (children), rear (animals)', PR3PL *-idu*[h], LPF *-ila*

narônjili LPPLM 'rear

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(animals)'
odrônj|it 'raise (children), rear (animals)', LPM *-il*
rôpčęca ASG 'handkerchief'
rõsu ASG 'dew'
roštâlujęš PR2SG 'sieve' ▹ Hu *rostál*
rõšt|at 'knock (e.g. on door), thump (e.g. of machines)', PR3SG *-a*, PR1PL *-amo*, PR3PL *-adu*^{h}, LPM *-al*
-rovat
zrõvali LPPLM ◇ ~ *toga tùrma vùn*^{h} 'they excavated that tower'
rôža 'rose'
Rôžin|^{f} house name, NSGF *-a*, NPLM *-i*, DPL *-im*
rucĩna → *lùcęrna*
rũdo 'pole (on wagon), axle'
rũgljasto N 'curly'
rũgljat 'curl'
rũh|o NASG 'clothes (coll.), garment, piece of cloth', GSG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i*, APL *-ę* ◇ *žę̃nsku rũhu, muškô rũhu*^{h} 'women's clothes, men's clothes', *stę̃jnu rũhu*^{h} 'bed-spread', *obìsi tô rũhu*^{h} 'hang up those clothes'
rumôni NPL 'Rumanian',
rûs| 'Russian', ASG *-a*, NIPL *-i*, GPL *-ov*^{f}, DPL *-om*, APL *-ę*, IPL *-ami*
$^{+}$***ruski*** ◇ *pu rûsku*^{h}*/pu rûskęm*^{h} (1x) 'in Russian', *va Rùskęm*^{f} 'in Russia', *nę rãdu vučę̂ rùski*^{h} 'they don't like learning Russian'
rušĩli sę LPPLM 'fall down'
zrũšit 'demolish, cause to fall down', PR3SG *zrušĩję*, LPF *-ila/zrušĩla*, LPN *-ilo/zrušĩlo*, LPPLM *zrũšili* ◇ *ôndę sę zrũšila tęr ę mrêla*^{h} 'there she fell down and died'
rũšk|a 'pear', NPL *-ę* ▹ one informant said ASG *rũškvu*, APL *rũškvę*
rû|t 'howl', LPM *-l*, PR3SG *rùj|ę*, PR3PL *-ędu*^{h}
-ružjit
odrũžję PR3PL 'peel (maize)'
porũžjit 'peel (maize)', PR3SG *porûžj|i*, PR1PL *-imo*
zrũžj|it 'peel (maize)', PR3PL *-ę*

S

s/zęs^{f}***/zis***^{hf} (and sandhi variants) prep with G 'from, out of' ◇ *zi Šuprõna*^{h} 'from Sopron', *zęs tręsjâ*^{f} 'made of reed' → VII.3.2
s/zęs^{f}***/zis***^{hf} (and sandhi variants) prep with I 'with' ◇ *z rukûm*^{h} 'by hand', *z mašĩnum*^{h} 'by machinery', *s cùkoręm*^{f} 'with sugar' → VII.3.2
Sabõfčęvi^{h} NPL PROP house name, derived from the Hungarian name Szabó
sãd 'now'
sãdašnji NPLM 'present-day', LSG *-ęm*, GSGF *-ę*
sãd|it 'plant', PR1SG *sadîm*,

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PR3SG *-i*, *sadî*, LPM *-il*
posäd|it(i)[f] 'plant', PR3SG *-i*, *posadî*, PPN *posad'ęno*
sad'|ê NASG 'fruit', GSG *-â*, ISG *-êm*, LSG *-î*
sagdêr 'everywhere' ◇ ~ *sę vâdidu*[h] 'they fight everywhere', *ut* ~[h] 'from everywhere'
säkam 'everywhere (direction)'
säk|i NASGM 'each, every', DSGM *-omu*, ASGM *-oga*, ILSGM *-ęm*, NASGN *-o*, NSGF *-a*, DLSGF *-uj*, ASGF *-u* ◇ *säku lëtu*[h] 'each year', *säki mësęc*[h] 'each month', *va säkęn nûgli*[h] 'in every corner'
sakorjâčk|oga/sakorjäčk|oga GSGMN 'all sorts of, of all sorts', NASGN *-o*, NGPLM *-i* ◇ *jâku čüda sakurjâčkuga zvirjâ*[h] 'very many of all kinds of animals'
sakramę̈ntsk|i NSGM 'sacramental', NSGF *-a* → *zäbit* → *vrâg*
säkudęj[h]***/säkudāj***[f]***/sakudâj***[f] 'everywhere (location or direction)' ◇ *nêmški sakudâj znäjo*[f] 'German is spoken everywhere', *säkudāj ïdę*[f] 'he goes everywhere'
säp|a 'breeze, draught; breath, air needed to breathe' GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u* ◇ *nêma säpę*[h] 'he can't breathe'
säpun ASG 'soap' ▹ 1x
sâru ASG 'leg (of boot)' ▹ Hu *szár*
scalïna 'urine, piss'
scât 'urinate, piss', PR3SG *ščïję* ◇ *vû nję ščïję pak sę̈rę dêtę*[h] '(about napkins) children piss and shit in them' ▹ there are no synonyms and the word is not considered particularly vulgar
pöscat 'urinate, piss'
sębę G personal pronoun referring to the subject of the clause, DSG *sę̈bi*, *si*, ASG *sę̈bę*, *sę*, ISG *sę̈bum*, *söbum*, LSG *sę̈bi* ◇ *öt sębę sę ję zvräčil*[f] 'he got better all by himself', *jâ si čëkan tôga sîna*[h] 'I'm waiting for that son of mine', *nâ si ję pröšla küpit vâkfu čŕnu*[h] 'she went to buy herself black clothes like these', *krüha si z nôžęm odrëžę*[f] 'he cuts his bread with a knife', *mę̈t sębum*[hf] 'among our-, your-, themselves', *prędâ sę si ga svêžę čövęk ali žę̈na; tö ję zästor*[f] 'a man or woman ties it on (lit. in front of him/herself); that is an apron', *si mïsli vü sębi*[f] '(lit.) he thought in himself'
-sęč
zësęč 'cut open, beat up', LPPLM *zisëkli*[h] ◇ *zę̈mju zäbit, zësęč*[f] 'to hit on the ground and cut it open'
-sęč
dosê|č 'reach', IMP *-ži* ◇ *drêvu ję vïsuku, nę̈mręmu*

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dusêč[h] 'the tree is too high, we can't reach it'

-sęč

prisê|č 'marry', PR3SG *-žę*, LPPLM *-gli*

Sêč|ęn TOP village, GSG *-na*, LSG *-ni* ◇ *zi Sêčna*[h] 'from Sečęn' → *Sičônsku*

sëčkal LPM 'cut to pieces'

posëčkadu[h] PR3PL 'cut to pieces'

sêda F 'grey-headed'

sę̈dam 'seven', I *sędm|ìmi*, L *-î* ◇ *o sędmî mörężž dôt*[f] 'you can come at seven'

sędamdęsêt 'seventy'

sędamnâjs[hf]***/sędamnę̂js*** 'seventeen'

sę̈damstô 'seven hundred'

sëdil[h] LPM 'sit', LPPLM *sędìli*[f]*/sidìli*[h], PR3SG *sędî*[f], PR3PL *sidę̂*[h]

sę̈dl|o 'saddle', APL *-a*

sëdma[h]***/sêdm|a***[f] 'seventh', NSGN *-o*[f], GSG *-oga*[f]

+***sëjat***: *sìjat*[hf] 'sow', PR3SG *-ę*[f], PR1PL *-ęmu*[h], PR3PL *-o*[f], LPM *-al*[f], LPPLM *-ali*[hf], *sëjali*[h] ▷ in Hi the root-vowel can be *ë*

posìj|at[hf] 'sow', PR1PL *-ęmo*[f], PR3PL *-o*[f], *pusëjędu*[h], LPPLM *-ali*[hf], *pusëjali*[h], PPN *-ano*[f] ▷ in Hi the root-vowel can be *ë*

sę̈jędno 'the same' ◇ *tę̈bi ję sę̈jędnu?*[h] 'doesn't it make any difference to you?'

+***sękìra***: *sikìr|a* 'axe', ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*, Fe also *sękìrum* ◇ *s sękìrum pocêpajo*[f] 'they cleave it with an axe'

sę̈l|o/sę̈l|a 'village', GSG *-a*, ASG *-o*, LSG *-i*, NAPL *-ę/-a/sêla*, GPL *sêl/sêluv*[h], IPL *sêli*, LPL *sę̈la/sêli* ▷ masculine or feminine noun → III.8 (3-4)) ◇ *va drüguj sę̈li*[f] 'in the other village', *va vêm sę̈li*[h]*/vu vêm sę̈li*[f] 'in this village'

sę̈lsk|i NSGM/NPLM ADJ to *sę̈lo/sę̈la*, ASGF *u*, APL *-ę* ◇ *sę̈lski dëtič nę̈šę sę̈lsku dêklu*[h] 'a boy from the village doesn't want a girl from the village'

sëm|/sêm| NASG 'fair, cattle-market', LSG *-i*, APL *-ę*

sëmę| 'seed', GSG *-na*

sënj|a PR3SG 'dream', LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*

sên|o NASG 'hay', GSG *-a*, LSG *-i*

sęrbî PR3SG 'itch' ◇ *tę ~*[f] 'you're itching'

sęrcälo 'mirror'

sęrdìk '?skimmed milk'

sę̈sc|i 'teen, nipple', APL *-ę*

sę̈sn|ot 'suck', PR3SG *-ę* ◇ *ôndę smo njim dâli sësnot*[f] 'there we breastfeeded them'

zęsësnol[f] 'suck up (a certain quantity)', PR3SG *zisësę*[h] ◇ *dönjęk to nę̈ budęš zęsësnol*[f] 'until you've sucked up this'

sę̈|st 'sit down; (~ *sę*) settle down (of a liquid)', PR1SG *-dęm*, PR3SG *-dę*, PR1PL *-dęmo*, PR3PL *-do*[f], LPM *-l*, LPF *-la*, LPPLM *-li*, IMP *-di*, *-ditę* ◇ *ču mrvo sęs, sät ču si*

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zdëhnot[f] 'I'll sit down for a while and catch breath', *sęrdȉg ovȁk sę sȅdę od mlêka*[f] '(lit.) the skimmed milk settles down like this from the milk', *nęk sȅdi zô nu*[h] 'don't bother, let's leave it at that'

posȅdę sę PR3SG 'settle down (of a liquid)', LPN *posȅlo* ◇ *kad ę sę mȉvo ur posȅlo*[f] 'when it has already settled down a little'

sȅstr|ę GSGNAPL 'sister', DLSG *-i*, ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*, DPL *-am/sęstrôm*, IPL *-ami* ▹ on historical grounds one would expect the root-vowel to be *ȅ* instead of *ë*

sęstrȉc|a DIM to *sȅstra*, ASG *-u*, APL *-ę*

sȅstrin NSGM poss ADJ to *sȅstra*, DSGM *sęstrȉnomu*

Sȅsvęti 'All Saints' ◇ *už i ~ tę bit*[h] (lit. even if it were All Saints) 'whatever you/he/etc. may do (it won't help you/him/etc.)'

sętȅmbęr 'September'

sfȕsko N 'slippery' ◇ *tȁg ę ~ da sę nȅmrę pôt*[f] 'it's so slippery that we can't go'

-sičę → *lęsȉčę sę*

Sičônsk|u[h] ASGF ADJ to *Sêčęn*, NPL *-ę*[h] → *Sêčęn*

-sid'at

posȉd'a PR3SG 'sit', PR3PL *-adu*[h], IMP *pusid'êj(tę)*[h]

-sigat

prisȉg|at (sę) 'marry', LPF *-ala*

-sikne: *lęsȉknot*

sȉm 'here (direction), hither' ◇ *kî sę ję ~ ožȅnil*[f] 'who married someone from this village'

sîn| 'son', DSG *-u*, ISG *-ęm*, NPL *-i*, DPL *-om*, APL *-ę*

sinȍči 'at night' ▹ this word does not have to refer to a particular night

sinȍkoš|a[f] 'hay-field', ASG *-u*[h], NAPL *-ę*[hf], GPL *-uv*[h]

Sinȍkošę NPL TOP ◇ *Bȉruškę Sinȍkušę*[h] NPL TOP, *Pôrska Sinȍkoša*[f] NSG TOP, *Gmônska Sinȍkoša*[f] TOP, *Gȍrnję Sinȍkušę*[h] NPL TOP, *Dȍlnję (Sinȍkušę)*[h] TOP piece of land

sinȍkošino NSGN ◇ *~ ȉmę*[f] 'the name of a hay-field'

-sipat

posȉpali LPPLM 'scatter'

Sȉplaka GSG TOP village of Fertőszéplak

sȉpn|ot 'scatter, pour', LPPLM *-oli* ◇ *zȉrnję sȉpnoli od vrȅčę nȕtęr*[f] 'we poured the grains in from the sack'

sirȍma 'poor person', NIPL *siromȁhi* ▹ this noun is often used attributively as if it were an ADJ with the meaning 'poor, pitiful' ◇ *sirȍma vȍl*[h] 'the poor ox', *s tȉmi sirumȁhi jûdi*[h] 'with those poor people'

siromȁš|ęk 'poor', LSGN *-ęm*, NSGF *-a*, NPLM *-i*, DPL

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-im/-am, ADV *-o*, COMP NSGN *siromašïj|ę*, ASGM *-ęga*, NSGF *-a*, NPLM *-i* ◇ *sirumäšęk svêd ę bil onda*[h] 'the world was poor then'

sïrot|a 'poor thing', ASG *-u*, NPL *-ę* ▹ M or F ◇ *sïruta mâli*[h] 'poor little thing (refers to a mouse)'

sïrotva 'whey'

sïto 'sieve'

skäkal LPM 'jump'

skälami IPL 'cliff'

sköč|it 'jump, (~ *sę*) jump up, bounce', PR2SG *-iš*, PR3SG *-i*, *skočïję*, LPM *-il*, LPF *-ila/skočïla* → VI.1.3 (iv)

skörо 'almost' ▹ 2x *škörु*[h]

skrâdnj|ę NSGN 'last', LSG *-uj* ◇ *va skrâdnjuj hiži*[f] 'in the last house (i.e. of the street)' ▹ the *-d-* is sometimes weakly articulated and I am not certain that it is always there → II.2.2.3

skřb| 'worry, concern', NGPL *-i* ◇ *tö ję njęgva skřb*[h] 'that is his concern', *čüda skřbi ïma*[h] 'he has lots of worries'

skřb|ęn 'worried', NPLM *-ni*

skřb|it (si) 'worry', PR3SG *-i*

pręskřbit[h] 'procure'

priskřbil[f] 'procure' ◇ *blâgu ję ~ mêsa*[f] 'he procured fodder for the livestock'

skrôz 'continuously, all the time'

sküpa 'together' ◇ *ju svêžęmu ~*[h] 'we tie it together'

släb|i PLM 'weak', ADV *-o*, COMP NSGM *slabïji* ◇ *släbu smu*[h] 'we are not doing well'

-slabit

posläbil LPM 'make weak, loosen', LPN *-ilo*

+***sladęk***: *slätki* PLM 'sweet', ASGN *slatkô*

slanïn|a 'lard, bacon', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*

slâsno N 'sweet, tasty'

+***slat*** 'send', PR1SG *šëj|ęm*, *šïj|ęm*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h] → VI.6 ▹ the root-vowel can be *ë* or *ï*, both in Hi and Fe, which is in contrast with the overall tendency given in Houtzagers 1996: 123 sub (3e)

pösl|at 'send', LPM *-al*, PP INDM *poslôn*, PR3PL *pošïjo*[f], *pušïjędu*[h]

slêp 'blind'

-slepit

oslêpila LPF 'become blind'

slïši (sę) PR3SG 'belong' ◇ *tôm ~*[f]*/~ sę tôm*[f] 'he belongs there', *k njûj slïši*[f] 'she is responsible for it' ▹ there is one attestation *slüši* → *šïka*, *kę̈rat*

slïv|a 'plum', ASG *-u*, NPL *-ę*

slivino NSGN ADJ to *slïva* ◇ *slïvinu drêvu*[h] 'plum-tree'

slöbod ◇ *nê slöbod*[hf] 'it is not allowed', *säd ę sę̈ slöbod*[f] 'everything is allowed nowadays'

slöbodęn 'free', PLM *slobödni*

-slobodit

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oslobȍd|it 'free, deliver', LPM *-il*

slôm|a 'straw', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*, ISG *-um* ◇ *slômum smo vêzali*[f] 'we tied it together with straw'

slômna NSGF ADJ to *slôma*

Slônsk|a NSGF, GPL *-i* ◇ *Slônska Gȍra*[h] TOP, *Ubęr Slônski Gôr*[h] TOP

slȍž|ęn 'diligent, laborious', PLM *-ni*

-sluhnot

poslȕhn|ot 'listen', LPPLM *-oli*

slȕšęj[h] IMP 'listen'

poslȕšat 'listen', PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *-a*, LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali*, IMP *-ęj*[h]/*-aj*[f] ◇ *poslȕšal ę nô mę*[f] 'he listened to me (i.e. followed my advice)'

služ|ïla LPF 'serve', LPPLM *-ïli*

zaslužïla LPF 'deserve'

smëj|at (sę)/smïj|at (sę) 'laugh', PR3SG *-ę*, LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali* ◇ *sę mę̈ni smëję*[h]/*sę smïję nô męnę*[f] 'he's laughing at me', ▹ the root-vowel is predominantly *ë* in Hi and *ï* in Fe (see Houtzagers 1996: 123 sub (3e))

zismëjat[h]***/zęsmïjat***[f] 'laugh at (in scorn)' ◇ *čę̈tę mę zismëjat?*[h] 'are you laughing at me?'

smęrdî PR3SG 'stink'

+***smet*** 'be allowed; (rarely) dare', PR1SG *nę̈ smim*, PR2SG *smêš*, *nę̈ smiš*, PR3SG *smê*, *nę̈ smi*, PR1PL *smêmo*, *nę̈ smimo*, PR2PL *smêtę*, PR3PL *smêdu*[h], *nę̈ smidu*[h], *nę̈ smijo*[f], LPM *smë|l*, LPF *-la*, LPN *-lo*, LPPLM *-li* ◇ *tȍ sę nę̈b bilo smëlo*[f] 'that shouldn't be allowed', *tȍ sę nęg bȁbi smê rę̈č*[h] 'you can say that to an old woman only', *sïm nê smël dôt, mę̈ni, ar ga bujïlu*[h] 'he didn't dare to come here to me, for he was afraid'

smętjïvo N ◇ ~ *zïnję*[f] 'dirty grain (i.e. not cleaned from chaff)' ▹ on *tj* → II.1.2

smętljê/smętjê NASG 'dirt'

smït| 'death', GSG *-i*

snêg 'snow'

snëha 'daughter-in-law', GSG *snęhê*[f], DSG *snęhî*[f] ◇ *möję snęhê dëda*[f] 'my daughter-in-law's grandfather'

snęhïna[f] probably poss ADJ to *snëha* ◇ ~ *bȁba*[f] '?my daughter-in-law's grandmother'

snȍp| 'sheaf', ASG *-a*, NPL *-i*, GPL *-ov*[hf], APL *-ę*

sobȍt|a 'Saturday', ASG *-u* ◇ *sȁku sobȍtu*[f] 'each Saturday'

sôd| NASG 'barrel', LSGNPL *-i*, APL *-ę*, LPL *-i/-a* ◇ *vu trî sôdi*[f] 'in three barrels', *vu čistâ sôda*[f] 'in clean barrels'

-sodit

posôd|it 'borrow (from), lend (to)', PR3SG *-i*

+***sod'evat***: *pusud'êv|adu*[h] PR3PL 'borrow', LPPLM *-ali*[h]

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sôj NASG 'salt', GSG *söj|i*, ISG *-ęm* → *robotïli*

sojïli LPPLM 'salt'

soldäta ASG 'soldier' ◇ *prösęl za suldäta*^{h} 'he became a soldier' → VII.2.3

sôm| 'self, by him-, her, itself, alone', NSGN *-o*, GSGM *-oga*, NSGF *-a*, NPLM *-i* ◇ *sôma dôdę zi zę̈mlję*^{h} 'it comes out of the ground by itself', *ot sômoga Homöka*^{f} 'from Fe itself'

+***Sombatej***: ***Sumbätęj***^{h} ASG TOP the town of Szombathely

sôncę^{h}***/sönce***^{f} NASG 'sun', GSG *sônca*^{h}, LSG *sönci*^{f}

sônčęn|a^{h} F 'sunny', GSGF *-ę*^{h}, GSGN *-uga*^{h}

sôsęd NASG 'neighbour', GSG *susëd|a*^{h}, DSG *-u*^{h}, LSGNPL *-i*^{hf}, APL *-ę*^{h} ◇ *va susëdi*^{hf} 'next door' (cf. Hu *a szomszédban*) ▹ there is one attested form with an unstressed initial syllable from Fe: the vowel in this syllable is *u*

sosëdjęv|o^{hf} ASGN ADJ to *sôsęd*, LSGN *susëdjęvęm*^{h} ▹ with *lj* instead of *dj*: ASGF *susëljęvu*^{h} ◇ *va susëdjęvęn sę̈li*^{h} 'in the neighbouring village' ▹ there is one attested form with an unstressed initial syllable from Fe: the vowel in this syllable is *o*

sôsętskęm LSGN 'neighbouring' ▹ also *susëtsko*^{h} ASGN attested

söva 'owl'

sövat 'curse' → +*psövat*

spâ|t 'sleep', LPM *-l*, LPF *-la*, LPPLM *-li*, LPPLFN *-ę*, PR3SG *spïj|ęm*, PR2SG *-ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR3PL *-ędu*^{h}, IMP *spïtę* ◇ *su nam dâli mëstu spât*^{h} 'they gave us a place to sleep'

zäspa|l/zaspâl LPM 'fall asleep', LPPLFN *-lę*, PPINDM *zaspôn* 'sleepy'

spômętęn 'clever, educated', NSGM/NPLM *spamêtni*, COMP NPLM *spamętnïji* → *nörc*

sprâv NASG 'harness; tool', LSGNPL *-i* ◇ *könjova sprâv*^{f} 'horse-harness'

sprövod 'funeral'

srât 'shit', PR1SG *sę̈r|ęm*, PR3SG *-ę* ▹ used with or without *sę* ◇ *nę̈šu s tę̈bum šträtjtat, sę̈ręm ti na glâvu*^{h} 'I shan't argue with you, drop dead!'

pösrat sę 'shit', PR1SG *posę̈ręm*, LPF *posrâla* ▹ used with or without *sę*

sr̈c|ę NASG 'heart', GSG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, NPL *-i* → III.3.1.3 ◇ *ot sr̈ca*^{f} 'whole-heartedly'

sr̈d|it sę 'be angry', PR1SG *-im*, PR1PL *-imo*, PR3PL *-ijo*^{f}, PPIMDM *-it/sęrdît*, PPF *-a/sęrdïta* ◇ *sę sr̈dim nô njęga*^{f} 'I'm angry with him'

srëča 'luck, happiness' ◇ *tö ję mu ~ da mašïnę räado vïdi*^{f} 'he's lucky that he likes machines'

srêd|a 'Wednesday', ASG *-u*

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+***sredina***: *srędȉn|u/srędȉn|u* 'middle', LSG *-i* ◇ *na jȅdnęm krȁji ali va srędȉni*[f] 'on one end or in the middle'

srędȉnsk|i/srędȉnsk|i 'middle', LSGF *-uj* ◇ *smo va srędȉnskuj stȅzi*[f] 'we adopted a middle course'

Srȅdnj|a TOP, NPL *-ę*

srȅdnj|i NPLM 'middle', ASGF *-u*, LSG *-uj*

Srȅdnji Gâj TOP

srôma GSG 'shame' ◇ *nêma srôma*[f] 'he has no shame' ▹ the informants regarded *srôn* and *srôma* as "different words"

srôn ◇ *mȅnę nê ~*[f] 'I'm not ashamed', *nê tę ~?*[h] 'shame on you!'

sȑp| 'sickle', GSG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, GPL *-uv*[h], APL *-ę*, IPL *-i*

Sȑpskęm LSG ◇ *va ~*[h] 'in Serbia'

stȁr| 'old', F *-a*, NSGM/NPLM *stâr|i*, NASGN *-o*, GSGM *stȁroga*, ISGM *-ęm*, NSGF *-a*, DLSGF *-uj*, ISGF *-um*, NPLFN/GAPL *-ę*, DPL *-am*, COMP NSGM *starjî*, NSGN *stȁriję*, NSGF *stȁrija*, NPLM *starȉji*, GPL *stȁriji*, *starȉji*, ISGM *stârjęm*, NSGF *stârja*, DSGF *starjûj*, *stârjuj*, NPLM *starjî*, GPL *stârji*, DPL *starjȉm*, APL *stârję*, *starjê*, SUP NSGF *nȁjstȁrja* ▹ with respect to suffix and stress the COMP can be formed in different ways → V.6 ▹ *starȉji* and *starjî* also means 'parents' ◇ *tȍ ję mi starjûj sȅstri môš*[f] 'that's my older sister's husband', *jâ sęm bîla dęvętnȇjs lêt stȁra*[h] 'I was nineteen years old'

stȁr|at sę 'bother, worry', PR3SG *-a*, LPN *starȁlo* ◇ *nâj sę stȁrat*[f] 'don't worry'

postȁra PR3SG 'grow older'

Stârci NPL TOP

Starȉn|a TOP, LSG *-i*

stȁt/stât '(mostly ~ *sę*) rise, stand up, go and stand somewhere; (~ *sę*) happen; stop', PR1SG *stônęš*, PR3SG *stônę*, PR1PL *stônęmo*, LPM *stȁl/stâl*, LPF *stȁla*, LPPLM *stȁli*, LPN *stâlo*, IMP *stôni* → VI.6 ◇ *prȉk stat na drȕgi jȅzik*[h] 'to switch to another language', *kȁda sę jûtru stônęš*[h] 'when do you get up in the morning?', *stônę pêt kîl zȉnja va jȅdęn žȕmpor*[f] 'one *žumpor* can hold five kilograms of grain', *stȁl ę nô nję*[h] 'he went and stood on them', *mȑkaj kaj sę tȕ stâlo*[f] 'listen what happened', *ję stȁl s têm ubrâčanjęm*[h] 'he stopped turning'

dostât 'get', PR2SG *dostônęš*, PR1PL *dostônęmo*, PR3PL *dostônęjo*[f], LPM *dostâl*, LPF *dostâla/dostȁla*, LPN *dostâlo*, LPPLM *dostâli/dostȁli* ◇ *dostônęš jês*[f] 'you get something to eat' → VI.6

ȍstat 'stay, remain, be left',

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INF also *östati*[f], LPM *östal*, LPF *ostäla/ostâla*, LPN *ostälo/ostâlo*, LPPLM *ostäli/ostâli*, LPPLFN *ostälę/ostâlę*, PR3SG *ostônę*, PR3PL *ostôno*[f], IMP *ostôni* ◇ *nôm ę mälu ustälu*[h] 'little was left for us', *ostôni döma*[f] 'stay home' → VI.6

pöstat 'become' LPM *pöstal*, LPF *postäla*, PR3SG *postônę* ◇ *ję postäla dębęla*[f] 'she grew fat', → VI.6

prębstal LPM 'stop' ◇ *prębstal ę nâ tu*[h] 'he agreed on that' → VI.6

zaöstal 'stay behind', LPF *zaostäla*, PPDEFNSGM *zaostôni* ◇ *drügę so zrâslę lêpo, tâ ję zaostäla*[f] 'the others grew as they should, but she stayed behind' → VI.6

stât 'stand; live; cost', PR3SG *stojî*, PR1PL *stojïmo*, PR3PL *stoję̂*, LPM *stâl*, LPN *stâlo*, LPPLM *stâli*, IMP *stôj* ◇ *tö nę stojî nïš*[f] 'that doesn't cost anything', *mî smo ti stâli ôndę zdöla*[f] 'we lived down here', *stôj!*[hf] 'wait!', *ti döbro stojî*[f] 'it looks well on you' → VI.6

+***stavit***

stävno PP N 'place'

ostäv|it 'leave, leave behind; let down', PR3SG *-i*, PR2PL *-itę*, LPM *-il*, LPPLM *-ili*, IMP *-Ø*, *ostäftę*

postävnę PP PLFN 'put, place'

zustäv|it 'stop (tr.)', LPPLM *-ili*

stębj|a 'bed', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*, NAPL *-ę* ◇ *na stębji ę bîl sębdam lêt*[f] 'he lay in bed for seven years'

stębjno NSGN ◇ *stębjnu rühu*[h] 'bedspread'

+***steklen***: *stiklêna*[h] NSGF 'glass', NPLFN *-ę*

stëklo 'glass (material); (also feminine noun *stëkla*) bottle, glass jar', GSG *-a*, ASG *-o*, *-u*, ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i*, GPL *-i*[f], APL *-ę*, LPL *-a* → III.8 (3-4)

stębln|a NSGF 'in calf', ASGF *-u* ◇ *küpil sęn si krävu – käkfu, z mlêkęm ali stębnu?*[f] 'I bought a cow – what kind of cow, a milch-cow or one in calf?'

stên|a 'wall', GSGAPL *-ę*, ASG *-u*

stëz|a 'road', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*

stëzic|a DIM to *stëza*, LSG *-i*

stô '(one) hundred'

stöl| NASG 'table', DSG *-u*, ASG *-a*, LSG *-i* ◇ *pi stöli*[hf] 'at the table', *säki sębdę stölu*[f] 'everybody sits down at the table', *vïz obrüsa nä stol*[f] 'to put a cloth on the table'

stôl|ęc 'chair', GSG *-ca*

stölovi ◇ ~ *öbrus*[f] 'table-cloth'

stôn| NASG 'house, residence', GASG *-a*, ISG *-ę*, LSG *-i* ◇ *tî ïdęš vün zi stôna*[h] 'you go out of your house'

stônję NASG 'house, residence'

stöpęr 'just imagine, just wait

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and see' ◇ *stupęr jâ kak znôm*[h] 'just wait and see how good I am at it'

strâha GASG 'fear' ◇ ~ *ïma*[f] 'he is afraid'

stranskî NPLM 'not from the village' ▷ 1x

+***strašen***: *strâšn|o* N 'terrible', F *-a* ◇ *tö ti ję strâšnu*[h] 'that is terrible'

-strašit

p(r)ęsträ̈š|it 'scare; (~ *sę*) be scared', LPM *-il*, LPF *-ila*

strëh|a 'eaves', ASG *-u* ◇ *pot strëhu sęm stâl da sę nę namočîm*[f] 'I got under the eaves so as not to become wet'

strël|a 'lightning', GSGAPL *-ę* → *Jêžušęva*

strê(l)j|at 'shoot', PR3SG *-a*, LPPLM *-ali* ◇ *strêja na zäjcę*[f] 'he shoots at hares'

postrê(l)j|at 'shoot (dead)', LPPLM *-ali*

strê(l)j|it 'shoot', PR3PL *-idu*[h], LPM *-il*, LPPLM *-ili*

-stret

nastrê|t 'spread (out)', LPPLM *-li* ◇ *pod blâgo slômu nastrêt*[f] 'to spread out straw under the cattle'

rastrê|t 'spread out (for drying)', LPPLM *-li*

strônk| NASG 'side', GLSG/NPL *-i* ◇ *sônčęna strônk*[h] 'the sunny side', *nâ vu strônk*[f] 'to that side', *na drüguj strônki*[f] 'on the other side'

stûnj/stünja ◇ *za* ~[f] 'free (of charge)'

stüpil LPM ◇ *jëdęn vrâg ę ònda* ~[h] 'then suddenly a devil appeared'

sûh 'dry; skinny', N/ASGN *-o*, GSGM *-oga*, F *-a*, APL *-ę*

+***sü̈šit*** → *šušę̂*

sü̈z|a 'tear', GPL *-i*[f]

suzî sę PR3SG 'shed tears'

svêč|a 'candle', ISG *-um*, NPL *-ę*

svëčnjak| '?candle-holder', LSGNPL *-i* ▷ 1x *svęčnjâk*[f]

svëdęr 'firing-pin'

svêt|/sfêt NASG 'world', GASG *-a*, DSG *-u*, LSG *-u/-i* → III.2.1.2 ◇ *kolïko ję sęgâ na svêtu, nę̈?*[f] 'you have all kinds of everything in this world, haven't you?', *na drügęn svêtu*[h] 'in the hereafter', *po sêm svêti*[f]*/pu sêm svêtu*[h] 'all over the world', *ot sęgâ sfêta*[f] 'from the whole world'

svêt|ęk NASG 'holyday; celebration', GASG *-ka*, NPL *-ki*, APL *-kę* ▷ also *sf-*, root-vowel also *ê* ◇ *svëtka dr̈žat*[f] 'observe a holiday', *läčę na svêtęk*[h] 'one's Sunday trousers' → *svitäčno*

svët|ęl 'light', N *-lo* ◇ *säd ę svëtlu ar ę jûtru*[h] 'it's light now, for it's morning' ▷ also *sf-*

svët|i/sfêti NSGM 'holy', ASGM *-oga*, F *-a/svêta*, DSGF *-uj* → *Sę̈svęti* ◇ *svëta Marïja mę̈jka*[h]

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exclamation '(lit.) holy mother Mary'

svętĩlo 'light (wick in glass with oil)'

svẽt|it/svêt|it 'shine (e.g. shoes); shine (of sun); give light', PR3SG *-i*

-svetit

posvẽt|it 'consecrate (with holy water)', PR3SG *-i*

svidõčidu[h] PR3PL 'witness'

svĩnci NPL PLT 'pigpen'

svĩnj|a/svînj|a NSGLPL 'pig', GSGNAPL *-ę*, ASG *-u*, GPL *svînj*[h], DPL *svinj|ôm*, IPL *-ômi* ▹ also with *sf-* ◇ *tî svĩnja!*[h] 'you pig!', *divljê sfĩnję*[h] 'wild boars'

svinjarĩju ASG 'dirty trick'

svĩnjica DIM to *svĩnja*

svĩnjin poss ADJ to *svĩnja* ◇ ~ *jäpa*[h] (the inf. explains the word *nę̃rast* 'boar') '(lit.) pig's father'

svĩnsk|i/svînsk|i ADJ to *svĩnja* ◇ *svînski męhûr*[h] 'pig's-bladder'

svitãčno[h] N 'holyday-' ▹ d?

Svĩtkini[h] NPLM PROP house name

svõję/sfõję ASGN/GSGF reflexive poss pronoun, NSGF *-a*, ASGM *svoj|êga*, LSGM *-êm* → IV.2 ◇ *mäčęva mę̃jka büd'ę nę ljûbi tãg dêtę kut sfõja mę̃jka*[h] 'a stepmother doesn't love a child as much as the child's own mother does', *ot svõję mõči*[f] 'on one's own strength', *na svujêm jęzĩki*[h] 'in one's own language'

Š

Šãgijęv PROP family or house name

šãki LSG 'fist'

šalamĩję NAPL PLT 'certain musical instument, probably an accordion'

šarabũj|a[f]***/šęrębũj|a***[h] ASG 'weeder, Dutch hoe', ISG *-ęm*, NPL *-ę* ▹ Hu *saraboló*

šarabũjamo[f] PR1PL 'hoe, scuffle' ▹ Hu *sarabol*

šãtu| NASG 'vise', DSG *-ju*, ASG *-ja*, LSG *-ji* ▹ Hu *satu*

ščĩpję PR3SG 'sting'

poščĩp|ali LPPLM 'sting', PPINDM *-an*

šęnĩc|a 'wheat', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*, LSG *-i*

šęnĩčni NSGM ADJ to *šęnĩca*, NSGF *šę̃nična* ◇ *šę̃nična môka*[f] 'wheat flour'

šês 'six', I *šęstĩmi*[f]*/šęstêmi*[f], L *šęstî* ◇ *o šęstî*[h] 'at six' → IV.7.4

šęsnãjs/šęsnę̃js 'sixteen'

šêst|a[f] NSGF 'sixth', LSGM *-ęm*[f]

šę̃stkrat/šêskrat 'six times'

šêtat sę 'take a walk', PR1SG *šêčęm*

pošêtat sę 'take a walk'

šętęmĩnja[f] GASG 'pastry' ▹ 1x NSG *šitęmînj*[h]; Hu *sütemény*

šęzdęsêt 'sixty'

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šęzdęsêt|oga GSGN 'sixtieth', LSGN *-ęm*
šfangüj|a 'behind', ASG *-u* ◇ *käkfu vêliku šfangüju ïma*[f] 'wat a big behind she has'
šfïznęš PR2SG 'lash, whip'
šïb|ę GSG 'osier (used for basketry)', LSG *-i*
šïbnum ISGF ADJ to *šïba* ◇ ~ *körum*[h] 'with osier bark'
šïcajo[f] PR3PL 'pour'
pošïc|at '?', LPPLM *-ali*
šïj| NASG 'reed that is still green (in summer)', GASG *-a*, LSG *-i* ◇ *na čôni sęm bîl po šïj*[f] 'I went to mow reed by boat' ▹ 1x *lj* instead of *j*
šïk|a sę 'suit (in various senses)', LPN *-alo* ◇ *mę̈ni sę vo rüho šïka*[f] 'these clothes look well on me', *šïkalo bi sę pôt pômoč tômu čovę̈ku*[f] 'you ought to go and help that man' → *kę̈rat, slïši*
-šiknot
ošïknol LPM 'beat (up)', LPPLM *-oli*
šïlinguv[h] GPL 'shilling'
-šimfat
zašïmfat 'mock'
-širit
poširïlę LPPLFN ◇ *so sę dë̈ca* ~[f] 'the children all went different ways'
rašïrit[f] 'widen, spread; (~ *sę*) get loose', LPN *ręšïrilo*, PPN *ręšïręno*
šïroka F 'broad, wide'
šiškâr 'hairdresser'
šïšk|at 'cut, trim (hair)', PR3SG *-a*, PR1PL *-amo*
pošïškat 'cut, trim (hair)'
šït/šït 'sew', PR3SG *šïję*, LPF *šïla*
prišïli LPPLM 'sew on'
zäšit 'sew'
zę̈šit 'sew', PR3SG *zišïję*[h], LPM *zę̈šil*
šitê| 'cooking-range, oven', LSG *-hi* ▹ Hu *sütő*
škadâr| 'hay-shed', LSG *-i*
škärj|ę NAPL PLT 'scissors', IPL *-ami*
škęrjäk|a[f] ASG *-u*[f], APL *-ę*[f] ▹ *škęljäka*[h] NSG ◇ *slômna škęrjäka*[f] 'a straw hat'
škö̈da 'a pity'
škö̈l|a 'school', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*
škörci/škôrci 'starling'
škörv|at 'scratch', PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *-a* ◇ *kad ïmaš vûši onda sę škörvaš*[f] 'when you have lice you scratch yourself'
naškörvat 'scratch together a certain quantity' → Mar [148]
poškörvadu[h] PR3PL 'scratch'
škräbja 'tin', LPL *škrâbja*
škräp|at 'drip', LPF *-ala*
škrïcę APL 'certain object made of textile' ▹ Tornow 1989: 333 gives *škrìc* 'Männerrock'
škrïnj|a 'container for grain', NPL *-ę*
škü̈j|a 'hole', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*, NAPL *-ę*
škü̈(l)jic|a DIM to *škü̈ja*, LSG *-i*, NPL *-ę*

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+***škur***: *škûro* N 'dark, obscure', F *-a*, APL *-ę* ◇ *ar ę škûra nôč*[h] 'because it is a dark night'

škurĩni LSG ◇ *va ~ so sę böjali*[f] 'they were afraid in the dark'

-škurit

zaškurî PR3SG ◇ *kat sę ~ nävęčęr*[h] 'when it becomes dark at night'

šlängęm ISG '(garden-)hose'

šmęrkäva F ◇ *~ divĩčica*[h] '(lit.) snotty girl (i.e half-grown, inexperienced girl)'

šmęrkônęc 'greenhorn, weakling'

Šmĩtęjuv|a[h] NSGF PROP house name, NPLM/GPL *-i*

šmöl|ęn 'good, tasty', N *-no*

šmĩkęj 'snot' ◇ *kad ödvut püvnęš vün övo ję ~*[f] 'when you blow your nose you get snot'

šmügjali LPPLM 'smuggle'

šnę̃jdęr|[h] 'tailor', DSG *-u*[h], LSG *-i*[h]

šnę̃jdęrica[h] 'tailor's wife'

šôgor| 'brother-in-law', GASG *-a*, APL *-ę*

Šôgorovi[f] NPL PROP house name

Šöjkin|i[f] NPL PROP house name, DPL *-im*

Šöpron NASG TOP town of Sopron, LSG *Šopröni* ◇ *smo nęślę Šöpron pröda*t[f] 'we brought it to Sopron to sell it'

šöpronęc 'inhabitant of Sopron', NPL *šopröncі*

šöpronski NSGM ADJ to *Šopron*

špacêrat 'have a walk'

špäral LPM 'save (money)'

špârg|a '(piece of) string', ASG *-u* ▹ Hu *spárga*

špękulêr|at 'speculate', PR1SG *-am*

špêr|at 'feel, perceive', PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *-a*, PR3PL *-adu*[h], LPM *-al*, IMP *-aj*[f] ◇ *käk sę špêraš?*[f] 'how do you feel?', *kad zîmu špêra*[f] 'when it feels that winter is at hand'

špičästo N 'pointed', PLM *špičâst|i*, APL *-ę*

špĩk|u 'point; spire (of a tower)', APL *-ę*

špitâj| 'hospital, LSG *-i/špitâli*

špörhęlt| 'cooking-range', GASG *-a*, DSG *-u*, LSG *-i* ◇ *ču pęlęk špörhęlta sę̃st tęr ču sę stöpjit*[f] 'I'll go and sit near the cooking-range and warm myself' ▹ also GSG *šporhę̃la* attested

špötali LPPLM 'mock'

šprĩc|a 'water-hose', ASG *-u* ◇ *pöjtę pu šprĩcu z vudûm*[h] 'go and fetch the water-hose'

šprĩc|at 'water', NPL *-am*, PR3PL *-ajo*[f], LPF *-ala*

pošprĩc|amo PR1PL 'water', PR3PL *-adu*[h]

Šrę̃jkini[h] NPLM PROP house name

šrötajo PR3PL 'grind'

pošröta PR3SG 'digest' ◇ *käj jëlo ~*[f] '(about the stomach) the thing that digests the

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food'
zišrõt|at^{h} 'grind', PR1PL *-amu*^{h}, LPPLM *-ali*^{h}
štãl|a 'stable', LSG *-i*
štât 'read', PR1SG *štïj|ęm*, PR2SG *-ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, LPM *štäl*, LPPLM *štâli* → VI.6
prę̃št|at 'read', PR1SG *-ęm*, PR3SG *-a*, LPM *-al*, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali* → VI.6
Štẽfanjęva/Štẽfanjova 'certain saint's day, probably 26/12'
Štêf|ę PROP, DSG *-i*, ASG *-ę/-u* → III.6
Štêfin|i^{hf} NPLM PROP house name, ISGM *-ęm*, DPL *-im*
štęrtîč ◇ *pu* ~^{h} 'for the fourth time'
štẽt 1. 'want', 2. future auxiliary, PR1SG *čü*, PR2SG *čę̃š*, PR3SG *čę̃*, PR1PL *čę̃mo*, PR2PL *čę̃tę*, PR3PL *čę̃du*^{h}, *čęjo*^{f}, *tę̃*^{hf} (the PR forms are rarely stressed), LPM *štël/štêl*, *ščël*^{f}, LPF *štëla*, *ščëla*^{f}, LPN *štëlo*, LPPLM *štëli*. Negated PR forms: 1SG *nę̃š(č)u*, 2SG *nę̃š(č)ęš*, 3SG *nę̃š(č)ę*, 1PL *nę̃š(č)ęmo*, 2PL *nę̃š(č)ętę*, 3PL *nę̃šędu*, *nę̃(š)tę* ◇ *zô njęga ę ščëla pôt*^{f} 'she wanted to marry him', *onî sad nę̃štę möč pôd lëti na morjê*^{f} 'now they won't be able to go to the sea in summer', *tî mlâdi tę sę üčit*^{f} 'those young people will learn', *täkfi tî ur nę̃tę tö ręzümit*^{h} 'people like these won't understand that any more', *ako ču štët*^{f} 'if I'll feel like it'
štï 'stitch', LSGNPL *-hi*, GPL *-hov*^{f} → III.3.3.4
štïg|ę NPL PLT 'stairs', LPL *-a* ◇ *ïdęš na štïga gôrę*^{f} 'you go up the stairs'
štïmal LPM 'think', PR1SG *štim|ôm*, PR2SG *-âš* ◇ *a kę̃j tî štimâž, vęjî, da čęž mę̃nę za nörca glę̃dat?*^{h} 'what do you think, he said, you think you can treat me like a fool?'
p(r)ęštïmaj^{f} IMP 'imagine'
štïri NA 'four', G *štirî*, IM *štïrmi*, L *štirî*, *štirïju* ◇ *štïri nükę ïmam*^{f} 'I have four grandchildren', *do štirî*^{f} 'until four', *o štirî*^{f} 'at four', *nę̃k štïrmi mörędu nęg rę̃nut*^{h} 'you need four men to push it' → IV.7.3
štïristô 'fourhundred'
štïrkrat 'four times'
štôrnica 'story', DLSG *-i*, ASG *-u*, NAPL *-ę*, IPL *-ami*
štrę̃jf|a^{f} 'in stable: wooden bar or bord that separates the animals from each other', ASG *-u*^{f}
štrę̃js|u^{h} 'street', LSG *-i* ◇ *vû štrę̃jsu skrôs*^{h} 'this whole street'
štrę̃jt|at^{h} 'argue', PR3PL *-ajo*^{f}, LPM *-al*^{f} ◇ *nês s tę̃bum šträ̃jtal*^{f} 'I didn't argue with you'
štrïgulu^{f} ASG 'small stripe, tallying mark'

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štrĩk|at 'knit', VN *-anję*
štrõfit 'stab'
štrông|a 'trace (between horse harness and whiffle-tree)', ASG *-u*
štrĩt|a NSGF 'fourth', LSGF *-uj*
štũk '(when counting) piece, head (of cattle)', GPL *-i*^{hf}, APL *-ę*
šũjstęr 'shoe-maker'
Šũjstęruvi NPLM PROP house name
šumî PR3SG 'buzz, hum; (impersonal with dative, e.g. *šumî mu*^{h}) be numb (esp. when drunk), be stunned (e.g. by witchcraft)' ◇ *va jędnęm ušêsi mi šumî*^{f} 'I have a buzz in one ear'
zašumĩlo LPN '(impersonal with dative) be numb (esp. when drunk), be stunned (e.g. by witchcraft)' ◇ *jędnûdž nęg zöpęd zašumìlu, vrâg ę öndę stüpil*^{h} 'suddenly he again didn't know what was happening to him and all at once a devil appeared' (Mar [215])
Šũnjijęvi NPLM PROP house name
šupĩtl(j)in 'child's bed on wheels that can be shoved under another bed by day', ASG *-a* ▹ probably from a DIM of Ge *Schubbett*
šušę̃ PR3PL 'dry' ▹ 1x, itr. without *sę*
ošũšit 'dry', PR3SG *ošuš|î*, LPN *-ìlo*, LPPLM *-ìli* ▹ also itr. without *sę*
švâbi NPL 'German (in this context reference is made to inhabitants of Balf)'

T

tâ^{h}, ***tê***^{f} NSGM, NSGF *tâ*, NSGN *tô* adjectival demonstrative pronoun; there is also a (neuter) substantival demonstrative pronoun *tö*; on the paradigms and the demarcation problems between them → IV.3.1-2; on the special forms of prepositions before pronouns → VII.3.1 ◇ *tâ nę̃ zna nìš*^{h} 'that man doesn't know anything', *tê môš*^{f} 'that man',*tâ kâ ję vün pröšla*^{h} 'the woman that went away', *s tê gräbę*^{h} 'from that trench', *od otôga trę̃sjâ*^{f} 'from that reed', *ot tê rêči*^{h} 'from that word', *tûj sę udnę̃sę*^{h} 'they bring it to her', *vû ti mę̃lin*^{h} 'into that mill', *nötę nam na ârendu dät tû zę̃mju*^{f} 'please rent us that land', *z otêm*^{f} 'with that', *s tûm mâlum mę̃tlicum*^{h} 'with that small broom', *po têm*^{f} 'after that', *na têm mësti*^{f} 'on that spot', *pöj pu tûj stëzi*^{h} 'go along that road', *tî su pröšli*^{h} 'those people went away', *vî*

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stę kut su tê kökušę[h] 'you are like (just as stupid as) those chickens', *ot tî ljûdi*[f] 'from those people', *tîn kìtican sę rädujęm*[h] 'I am pleased with those flowers', *s tìmi jûdimi*[f] 'with those people', *vu tî trî sôdi*[f] 'in those three barrels'

täbl|a 'slate; tablet (e.g. for inscription); large flat piece of farm-land, esp. for grain', DLSG *-i*, ASG *-u*, NAPL *-ę* ◇ *täbla ję tö kaj na stênu vřžo tęr pîšo*[f] 'a tablet is what they put on the wall and write on it', *dę̈sęt hôdi vę̈lika täbla šęnìcę*[f] 'a ten *hod* large wheat-field (ca. 5 hectares)' → *hôd*

Täbl|a TOP one of several large pieces of farm-land (numbered *Přva* ~, *Drüga* ~, etc.) formerly belonging to the Széchenyi family, NPL *-ę*

täda ◇ *käda* ~[h] 'once, in former times'

tajīk|a GSG 'area, region', LSG *-i* ◇ *hömočko sę̈lo ję näjlę̈pčę na vûj tajìki*[f] 'Fertőhomok is the most beautiful village in this region' ▹ Hu *tájék*

täk 'so, in that way' ◇ *jâ sę täg bujîm*[h] 'I'm so afraid'

-takat

potäkal LPM '?' ◇ *tôga kröva na Gorìcu ję vę̈tęr* ~[f] '?the wind blew that roof all the way to Gorica'

täkov NSGM 'such a, like that', NASG/ADV *täkf|o/täkv|o* GSGMN/ASGM *-oga*, NSGF *-a*, GSGF *-ę*, ASGF *-u*, ISGF *-um*, NGPLM *-i*, NPLFN/APL *-ę*, IPL *-imi* ▹ *-kv-* is rare; the Hi informant AB often realized a long root-vowel in other forms than the NSGM (i.e. in forms with *-kv-/-kf-*) ◇ *nę̈mrę bit člövęk täkof kod blâgo*[f] 'a human being can't be like an animal', *täkvę jâčkę nê*[f] 'there isn't any such song', *täkfi tî ur nę̈tę tö rezümit*[h] 'people like that won't understand that any more'

talīčkat 'transport in a wheel-barrow'

-taličkazovat

staličkâzovat 'bring away in a wheel-barrow'

talīčkę NAPL PLT 'wheel-barrow'

tanitô| 'teacher', NPL *-hi* ▹ Hu *tanító*

tanjêr| 'plate', LSGNPL *-i* ◇ *vę̈li tanjêr jühę jê*[f] 'he eats a large plate of soup'

tâst 'father-in-law'

tâškę APL 'bag', IPL *täškami*

têdęn/tèdęn 'week', LSG *tèdni*, GPL *tidnôv*[h], APL *têdnę/tèdnę* ▹ root-vowel *ë* restricted to Fe, *ê* to Hi, both with one exception

tę̈gl|a[f] 'tile', GSG *-ę*[f], IPL *-ami*[f] → *cìgla*[h]

-teglat

potêglamo PR1PL 'iron'

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-tegnot
potêgn|ot 'pull; take a pull (at a glass)', PR2SG *-ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, LPM *-ol*, LPPLM *putęgnüli*[h], IMP *-i*

têja ASG 'tea'

têjęs| NASG 'kolkhoz', LSG *-i* ◇ *kô ję vu têjęsi dëlal*[f] 'who worked in the kolkhoz' ▹ Hu *téesz*

tę̈lę 'calf' ▹ no other forms attested

+***telec***: *têlc|ov*[f] GPL 'calf', APL *-ę*

tęlïc|a 'young cow (from one year of age)', GSGAPL *-ę*, GPL *-uv*[h]

tę̈lit sę 'calve'

têl|o NASG 'body', GSG *-a*, LSG *-i*

tên|ęk 'thin, skinny', N/ASGN *-ko*, F *-ka*, PLFN *-kę*

tę̈pst 'churn'
stę̈pst 'churn', LPPLM *stę̈pli* ◇ *mî smo ti znäli tô mäslo vak stę̈pst*[f] 'we used to make butter (by churning) like that'

tęr 'and; and then' ◇ *ubëda ję si pöjęl* ~ *ę rę̈kęl "sad mi nê döbru", mr̈vu ję lę̈gęl* ~ *ę mrêl*[h] 'he ate his meal and then he said "I don't feel well", he laid down a little and died', ~ *ôn tu puklę̈knę* ~ *mölji*[h] 'then he kneels down here and prays'

têr|i NSGM/NPLM relative or interrogative pronoun 'which, what', NASGN *-o*, DSGM *-omu*, ASGM *-oga*, LSGM *-ęm*, NSGF *-a*, DLSGF *-uj*, ISGF *-um*, NPLFN/APL *-ę*, DPL *-im* ◇ *drêva, têrę su znütra prâznę*[f] 'trees that are hollow', *pi väkfi gospodâ, znâš, têri so imäli čüda zęmjê*[f] 'where those rich people live, you know, who have lots of land' → IV.6

têri-to NASGM 'a couple of, one or two', ASGN *têro-to*, NSGF *têra-ta*, ASGF *têru-to* ◇ *nęk têra-ta družïna ję...*[h] 'there are only one or two households...'

têruč 'sometimes' ◇ *mę̈ni žę̈na* ~ *govöri...*[f] 'sometimes my wife says to me...'

têsto NASG 'dough'

tę̈t|a 'aunt', NPL *-ę*

tę̈žęk 'heavy; difficult', N/ADV *tę̈šk|o*, F *-a*, PLFN *-ę*, NSGM *tęšk|î*, ASGM *-ôga*, ISGM *-êm*, LSGN *tę̈škęm*, ISGF *-ûm*, NPLFN *-ê*, IPL *-î/tę̈ški*, LPL *-â*, COMP NSGN/ADV *tę̈žę*, SUP NSGM *nę̈jtę̈ži*[h] ◇ *vögęrski ję̈zig ę nę̈jtę̈ži na svêtu*[h] 'Hungarian is the most difficult language in the world'

têžl|a 'chain connecting the yoke with the plough', ASG *-u*

tî 'you', G *tę̈bę, tębę*, D *tę̈bi, ti*, A *tę̈bę, tę*, I *tę̈bum*[h], *tę̈bom*[f], L *tę̈bi, tębi* ▹ D *ti* is also frequently used as a particle

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making an appeal to the listener's interest and emotional involvement in what is being said, e.g. *jâ ti nę̏mręn spât*[h] 'I can't sleep, you know?' ◇ *kę̏j bi tî znȁl dȅlat?*[h] 'what work would you be able to do?', *ȍt tębę*[f] 'from you', *jâ sęn tę̏bi ubę̏čal*[h] 'I promised you', *žę̏na kȁg ę ti stȁra?*[f] 'how old is your wife?', *jâ tę nę prôham*[h] 'I don't need you', *s tę̏bum*[h] 'with you', *pri tę̏bi*[f] 'at your place' → IV.1.2

tȉc|a NSGLPL 'bird', NPL *-ę*

tȉčicę NPL DIM to *tȉca*

tȉho ADV 'silently, softly, quietly'

tȉknot ◇ *nę̑j sę vu nję tȉknut*[h] 'don't interfere with them'

-tipat

otstȉpat sę 'make a trip'

potȉp|at 'throw away', PR3SG *-a/potîpję*

stȉpat sę 'wander, roam about, do what one wants', PR2SG *stȉpję̑š*, PR3SG *stîpję*

-tiskat

stȉsk|at 'press, squeeze; embrace', PR3SG *stȉščę/stîščę*, LPM *-al*

-tisnot

prętȉsn|ot 'press; force; ring (a bell)', PR3SG *-ę*, LPM *-ol*

stȉsn|ot 'press, squeeze', PR3SG *-ę*, PR3PL *-o*[f], LPM *-ol*, LPPLM *-oli*, IMP *-i*, PPINDM *-ot*, PPN *-oto*

tistijâš 'army officer' ▷ Hu *tiszt* 'officer'

tišlêr 'carpenter'

tlȍ NASG 'floor, ground', LSG *tlȍhi*, IRR forms: *nȁ tli* 'on the floor/ground, on the ground floor (location)', *nȁ tla* 'on the floor/ground (direction)' ◇ *kôm ču ję vȑs? – nȁ tla*[f] 'where shall I put them? – on the floor'

tôbęr ASG 'seasonal work, work as a day-labourer' ◇ *pôt na ~*[f] 'go and work as a day-labourer'

tô|č 'hit; (~ *sę*) fight', PR3SG *-čę*, PR3PL *-čo*[f], *-čędu*[h], LPM *-kęl*, VN LSG *tȍčęnji*

potô|č 'hit, beat to death/to pieces', PR3SG *-čę*, LPM *-kęl*, LPPLM *-kli*

tȍčka 'just now, a moment ago' ◇ *kot sęn ti ~ govȍril*[f] 'as I told you just now'

tolȉko 'so much, so many' ▷ one attestation of an inflected form: *s tolȉkami hȉžami*[h] 'with so many houses'

***tolȉkrat*[f]*/tulikrât*[h]** 'so many times'

tȍljk 'stupid, crazy'

tȍ(l)jkav| 'stupid, crazy', PLM *-i* ◇ *ję̏dęn ę bil tȁkuf tȍljkav zô mę̏num*[h] 'one was so madly fond of me'

tôm 'there (direction)' ◇ *kô sę ožę̏nil ~*[f] 'who married someone over there', *kad bi tî tôm prȍšęl*[h] 'if you went

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there' ▷ 1x *utôm*[h]

tônc|at 'dance', PR3PL *-adu*[h], LPM *-al*, LPPLM *-ali*

tôp| 'blunt', F *-a*

tȍpanjęk '?light shoe, sandal', ASG *tȍpank|a*, NIPL *-i*, APL *-ę*, LPL *-a*

+***topel***: *tȍplo* N 'warm, hot', NASGN *toplô*, ASGM *toplôga*, COMP NSGN *toplïję* ◇ *si jël tuplô?*[h] 'did you have a hot meal?'

-topit

zatȍp|it sę 'drown, sink', PR3SG *-i*, LPM *-il* ◇ *sę zatȍpil do pr̃si*[f] 'he went down breast-deep'

toplî/topjî sę PR3SG 'get warm, warm oneself' → VI.5.3

stȍpl|it/stȍpj|it 'heat', PR3SG *-i*, PR3PL *-ę*, LPM *-il*, LPF *stopjïla* ▷ stem-final *j* is far more frequent than *l*; *lj* is also attested → VI.5.3 ◇ *jëlo stȍpjit na ȍgnji*[f] 'to heat food on a fire'

+***tor***: *tôri* NPL 'polecat' ◇ *tȁg vȍnjaš kut* ~[h] 'you stink to high heaven'

tȍrba NSGLPL 'bag'

tȍrk 'Thuesday'

tȍrž|a 'stalk (of maize)', GSG *-ę*, IPL *-ami* ▷ Hu *torzsa*

tôst| 'fat', F *-a*, NSGM *-i*

+***tovaruš*** → *tuvâruš*

tôž|ęn 'sad', F *-na*, PLM *-ni* ◇ *kô ję dôžęn ôn ę tôžęn*[f] '(lit.) he who has debts is sad'

tôž|it sę 'complain', INF also *-iti*, PR3SG *-i*, PR1PL *-imo*

***trȁjb|at*[f]*/trę̏jb|at*[f]** 'drive (e.g. cattle)', PR3SG *-a*, LPPLM *-ali*, VN *-anję* ◇ *trȁjba nȕmęru*[f] 'he dials a number', *norïju smo trę̏jbali*[f] 'we fooled/played tricks'

strȁjbat[f] 'chase away'

trȁv|a/trâv|a 'grass', ASG *-u* ◇ *trȁvu ali lucr̃nu kosî*[f] 'he mows grass or alfalfa'

tr̃buh| NASG 'belly', GASG *tęrbȕha*

trêb ◇ *tȍ nê* ~ *nôm*[h] 'we don't need that', *Bôg ę nam zâ to dâl sêdmoga dôna, da onda nê* ~ *dëlat*[f] 'God gave us a seventh day so that we shouldn't have to work then'

-trebovat

potrȅbuj|ęš PR2SG 'need; demand', PR3SG *-ę*, PR2PL *-ętę*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h]

trę̏fil LPM 'meet'

strę̏f|it '(~ *sę s*) meet', LPM *-il*, LPPLM *-ili*

tręs(l)j|ê NASG 'reed', GSG *-â*, ISG *-êm*, LSG *-î* ◇ *sȁ gmę̏jna ję bîla s tręsjâ*[h] 'the whole village was made of reed (i.e. had thatched roofs)'

+***trest***: *três|ęš* PR2SG 'stir, shake, cause to tremble', PR3SG *-ę*, LPPLM *-li* ◇ *s têm drêvęm so to trêsli*[f] 'they stirred that with that piece of wood', *zïma mę trêsę*[h] 'I shiver with cold'

potrêsęl LPM ◇ *nês tę* ~[f] '?I

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didn't hurt you'

tręstĩna 'reed stem, cane', ISG *-um*

trẽti NASGM 'third', NSGN *-o*, GSGN *-oga/trêtoga*, DSGM *-omu*, NSGF *-a/trêta*, GSGF *-ę*, ASGF *trêtu*, LSGF *trêtuj* ▹ the attestations with a long stemvowel are all from Fe, those with a short one are almost all from Hi

trętĩč ◇ *po* ~ 'for the third time'

tr̃g|at 'harvest (grapes)', PR3SG *-a*, PR3PL *-adu*[h], LPN *-alo*

tr̃gnę PR3SG 'pull'

trĩ NA 'three', G/IFN/L *trìju*, IM *trìmi* ◇ *jâ tolìko njugdìja va trìju lëta skörо dostônęm*[f] 'that amount of money is almost three years of pension for me', *o trìju*[hf] 'at three', *so bîli vêkę trìmi, štìrmi*[f] 'there were always three or four of them' → IV.7.3

tridẽsęt 'thirty'

trĩkrat 'three times'

trinâjs[hf]***/trinẽjs***[hf] 'thirteen'

trîstô 'three hundred'

trôję 'three' → IV.7.3.4

trôp|at 'knock (esp. at a door)', PR1SG *-jęm*, PR3SG *-ję*, LPM *-al* ◇ *nêsi mę čül, trôpal sęn ti*[f] 'didn't you hear me, I knocked at your door'

potrôpję PR3SG 'knock' ◇ *mi putrôpję ublöka*[h] 'he knocks at my window'

trõšili LPPLM 'spend'

tr̃p|it 'suffer', LPM *-il*, PR3PL *tęrp|ẽ*, LPF *ìla*, LPPLM *-ìli*

tr̃s|i LSGNPL 'vine', GPL *-uv*[h], LPL *-a* ◇ *na tr̃si ję skrôz grôzlja*[h] 'there are always grapes on the vine'

tr̃s|it sę 'toil, slave', PR1SG *-im*, PR3SG *-i*, PR1PL *-imo*, LPF *-ila*

+***truba***: *trüb|i* LSG 'mouth of animal; (rude) mouth of people, face', APL *-ę* ▹ often PL with SG meaning ◇ *čü tę po trübi*[f] '(rude) I'll hit you in the face', *zäpri si trübę*[hf] 'shut up' ▹ it is also possible that *trübi* is LPL and that the word is a PLT (cf. *zôbi*)

trũb|at 'talk rubbish, say nasty things', PR2SG *-aš*, LPPLFN *-alę* ◇ *nẽj trübat*[h] 'stop talking nonsense'

trũbava/trubãva F 'inclined to talk rubbish', ASGF *trübavu*, COMP NSGF *trubavìja*

+***trubęc***: *trüpci* LSG 'beak'

trûd|ęn 'tired', F *-na*, PLM *-ni*, PLFN *-nę*

trudĩlę sę LPPLFN 'work hard, slave'

zatrũd|it sę 'work hard, slave', LPM *-il* ◇ *tęr smo jâko sę znälę zatrüdit*[f] 'and we used to work very hard'

tr̃žęc 'merchant'

tr̃ž|it 'trade, sell (esp. on the market)', PR3PL *-idu*[h], VN *-ęnję* ◇ *tr̃žęnję ę tö: kô partìku kupìję tęr u dräžę pröda*[f] 'trading is buying merchandise and selling it for

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more money'

tü 'here'

Tubônj[f] TOP

tučêr 'funnel', ASG *töčêra* ▹ Hu *tölcsér*

tüd 'here (location or direction)' ◇ *tüd ględîtę*[h] 'you look here', *tüt su bîli*[h] 'they were here'

tüdāj[f]***/tudâj***[f]***/tüdędj***[h]***/tudędj***[h] 'there (direction); that way, past that point, along that road, etc.' ◇ *tä vöda, tä ję tüdędj curïla*[h] 'that water flew past there'

tûg|a 'grief', ASG *-u*

tûj|i 'strange; other people's', F *-a*

+***Turek***: *Türk|i* NPL 'Turk', GPL *-uv*[h]

tür|ęm 'tower', ASG *-ma*, LSG *-mi*

türob|ęn 'sad', F *-na*

türov 'curd', GASG *turöv|a*, ISG *-ęm* ▹ Hu *túró*

tütę 'here' ▹ 1x *tütęn*[h]

tuvâruš|[hf]***/tuvärušl***[hf] 'friend', NPL *-i*, GPL *-uv*[h]*/-i*[f], APL *-ę*, IPL *-ami* ▹ one attestation with pretonic *-o-* from Fe

tuvâruškę NPL '(woman) friend'

-tvarjat

stfärjali LPPLM 'do (harm)' ◇ *käj so ondë* ~[f] 'what mischief they did here'

tvôj/tfôj NASGM 'your', NSGN/NPLFN *tföj|ę*, DSGM *tfojêmu*, NSGF *-a*, DSGF *tfojûj*, ASGF *-u* ◇ *tfujêmu jäpi*[h] 'to your father', *tfujûj žęni*[h] 'to your wife', *kad bi jâ pröšla za tfôj jäpu*[h] 'if I would marry your father'

tvörd|[f] 'hard', N *tfrdo*[h], *tfördo*[f], NSGN *tvördô*[f], F *tförda*[f], COMP NSGN *tfržę*[h], NSGF *tförja*[f] → II.1.1 (2), II.3.3.1 (2)

-tvrdit

nafrd'il LPM 'pinch (one's nose)', PR1SG *nafrnjim*, PR3SG *nafrnji* ◇ *ôn si nafrnji nösa*[h] 'he pinches his nose'

zatfrd'it 'stop up' ◇ jâ *ču vu šküju övdę* ~[h] 'I'll stop up this hole here'

-tvrdnot

otvördnolo sę[f] LPN 'become hard', PR3SG *utvrnę sę*[h] → II.1.1 (2)

U

+***učęn***: *učnïji* COMP NSGM ◇ ~ *člövęk*[f] 'a more educated person'

+***üčit*** → *vüčit*

üd'ę[f] → *büd'ę*[h]

üf|am sę PR1SG 'hope', PR1PL *-amo*, LPM *-al*, VN *-anję*

-umit

razümit/ręzümit 'understand', PR1SG *razum|îm*, PR2SG *-îš*, PR3SG *-î*, PR1PL *-ïmo*, PR2PL *-ïtę*, PR3PL *-ę̂*[hf]*/-ïdu*[h], LPM *razümil*, LPF *-ïla*, LPPLM *-ïli*, IMP *razümi* ▹ *rę-* is less frequent than *ra-*; it can in

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principle occur in any form in both villages

Ǔnda TOP the village of Und, GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*, LSG *-i*

ǔndan|ęc 'inhabitant of Und', NPL *-ci*

ur 'already' ◇ *sät čę mrêt, ar ę ur žôt*^{h} 'he will die soon now, because he's already yellow'

ûr|a 'hour; (PL) clock', GSGNAPL *-ę*, GPL *ûri*^{h}*/üri*^{h}

urǐč| ^{h}***/urîč***^{h} NASG 'the highest part of a house: under the ridge, where the roof-beams are', GSG *-a*^{h}, ISG *-ęm*^{h} ◇ *kadën su grêdę, tęr tömu vęjê urǐč, na pödi*^{h} 'where the beams are, that place you call *urǐč*, in the loft', *tö smu si sę mögli pud urîdž ubǐsit*^{h} 'all that we used to hang up under the ridge' ▹ my Fe informants seemed not to know the word; the origin of the word is not clear to me

ǔsnic|a 'lip', NPL *-ę*

Ǔša 'USA', ASG *-u* ▹ colloquial Hu *Usa*

-ut

obǔjęmo PR1PL 'put on (footwear)' ◇ *si papǔčę* ~^{h} 'we put on slippers'

sizǔję PR3SG 'take off (footwear)'

uz ◇ ~ *nâs*^{h} 'next to us' ▹ 1x

ǔzbok ADV 'on the side, sideward'

V

va^{hf}***/vu***^{f}***/vû***^{hf}***/vâ***^{hf} prep. with L or A 'in; into' → VII.3.2

vadâs|it 'hunt', VN *-ęnję* ▹ Hu *vadászik*

vǎd|it sę 'argue, fight', PR3SG *vâdi/-i*, PR3PL *vâdidu*^{h}*/-idu*^{h}*/-ę*^{f}, LPM *-il*, LPPLM *vâdili*, VN *-ęnję* ◇ *sagdêr sę vâdidu*^{h} 'people fight everywhere'

svǎdi sę PR3SG 'argue'

vǎd'a 'fight; bet, match'

vǎd'|at 'argue; bet, compete', PR3SG *-a*, LPPLM *-ali*

vǎk 'so, in this way' ▹ the Hi informant AB often realized a long root-vowel → *ǒvak*, *täkov*, *väkov* ◇ *tî sę täk pumǐnadu a mî* ~^{h} 'they talk like that and we talk like this'

vǎkov NASG 'such, like this', GSGMN/ASGM *väkf|oga*, ASGN/ADV *-o*, ISGMN *-ęm*, NSGF *-a*, NPLM/GLPL *-i*, APL *-ę*, IPL *-imi/-ami* ◇ *lôni nê bili väkfo vrôčę*^{f} 'it wasn't this hot last year', *za väkfę kut stę vî*^{h} 'for such people as you are' ▹ sometimes *-kv-* instead of *-kf-*; the Hi informant AB often realized a long root-vowel in other forms than the NSGM (i.e. in forms with *-kv-/-kf-*) → *ovä̈kvo* → II.3.3.1 (2)

vâla ◇ ~ *Bögu*^{hf} 'thank God'

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vȁpn|o NASG 'chalk', GSG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*

vâroš NASG 'town, city', GSG *varȍš|a*, LSG *-i*

vârošku ASGF ◇ *na vârušku hȉžu*[h] 'to the city hall'

vȁš|a NSGF 'your', LSGF *-uj*, GSGM *vašêga*

-važat

povâžali sę LPPLM 'drive about'

vę̏č 1. (indefinite numeral) 'more'; 2. ADV '(~ *nę*) not any more' → IV.7.1, IV.7.4, I *vęčêmi*[f] ◇ *tak smo si vęčêmi kupȉli*[f] 'so we bought it with a couple of people', *kat tî vę̏dž nê prȍšęl dumôm*[h] 'if you wouldn't go home any more', *vę̏dž vrêdni*[h] 'worth more', *ondë ję i vę̏č*[f] 'there are more of them there', *vęt sę nê jȁvil*[h] 'he didn't show up any more' → *nȁjvęč*

vę̏čęr| NASG 'evening', APL *-ę* ◇ *pȍd vęčęr*[f] 'towards the evening'

vęčę̏r|a 'supper', ASG *-u*, LSG *-i* ◇ *vęčę̏ru jêtę*[h] 'you have supper'

vęčę̏r|a PR3SG 'have supper', PR1PL *-amo*

vęčêrnj|a 'vespers', ISG *-um*, LSG *-i* ◇ *pi vęčêrnji sęm bȉla*[f] 'I went to vespers'

vę̏čkrat 'more than once' ◇ *tî si mę̏nę ~ zakrȉvil*[f] 'you offended me more than once'

-vedat

otpovȅd|at '(~ *ot*) persuade out of something; abandon, waive', LPM *-al*

povȅdat/povêdat 'tell', INF also *-ati*[f], PR1SG *povêd|am*, PR2SG *-aš*, PR3SG *-a*, LPM *-al/povȅdal*, LPF *povȅdala*, LPPLM *-ali/povȅdali*

prępovȅd|at 'betray', LPM *-al*

spovȅdat sę 'confess (to a priest)'

zapovȅdat 'be in charge, give orders', LPM *zapovêdal/zapovȅdal*, LPF *zapovȅdala*, VN *zapovêdanję*

-vedit

zvȅd|it 'inquire', PPN *-jęno*

vêdro NASG 'bucket'

vȅjalo[h] 'winnow', LPM *vȉjali*[f]

zvȉj|at[hf] 'winnow', LPN *-alo*[h], LPPLM *zvȅjali*[h]

vę̂k 'immediately; in a moment; a moment ago' ◇ ~ *bi môrala dât, onda bi dȍšlu mlêku*[h] 'she should have breastfed the child immediately, then the milk would have come'

vêkę 'always'

vę̏l|i/vę̏ll|i NASGM 'big', ASGM *-oga*, ASGN *-o*, NSGF *-a*, COMP NSGM *vęlȉji* → on *-ll-* see II.3.3.1, last paragraph → on the realization of *-ę-* see II.2.1.1, last paragraph → *vę̏l(l)o* → for the COMP see *vę̏lik*

vę̏lik| 'big, large', NSGM *vêliki/-i*, N *-o*, NASGN/ADV *vêliko*, GSGM *vêlikoga/-oga*,

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ILSGM *vêlikęm*, F *-a*, NSGF *vêlika*, ASGF *-u/vêliku*, ISGF *-um*, LSGF *-uj/vêlikuj*, PLM/GPL *-i*, PLFN *-ę*, NPLFN/APL *vêlikę*, IPL *vêlikami/vêliki*, COMP NSGM/NPLM *vę̈kč|i*, GSGN *-ęga*, ASGN/APL/ADV *-ę*, LSGM *-ęm*, SUP NSGM *näjvę̈kč|i*, *nę̈jvę̈kč|i*, NSGF *-a*

vęlikâči NPL 'important person'

vę(l)j|îm PR1SG 'say', PR2SG *-îš*, PR3SG *-î*, PR1PL *-ïmo*, PR2PL *-ïtę*, PR3PL *-ę̂*[hf]/*-ïdu*[h] ◇ *käk sę vömu vęjî?*[h] 'what is that called?' ▹ realizations with *-j-* are far more frequent than realizations with *-lj-*; these forms are used as suppletive PR to the verb *rę̈č* → VI.2.3

vę̈lo/vę̈llo 'very much, very strongly' ◇ *su ga vę̈lu pubïli*[h] 'they beat him up very badly' → on *-ll-* see II.3.3.1, last paragraph → on the realization of *-ę-* see II.2.1.1, last paragraph → *zavęrüžit*

vęndïgę APL 'guest' ▹ Hu *vendég*

vên|ęc 'wreath', ASG *-ca*, GPL *-cuv*[h]

vęn|î NASGM/NPLM/GPL special demonstrative pronoun 'what-d'ye call-it/him/her, what's-his/her name', GSGN/ASGM *-ôga*, DSGM *-ômu*, ASGN *-ô*, ILSGMN *-êm*, NSGF *-â*, ASGF *-û*, NPLFN *-ê*, DPL *-îm* → on the meaning see further IV.4 ◇ *už i ud vęnôga ... Japônskuga*[h] 'even from what-d'ye-call-it ... Japan', *nê döbęr vęnî ... lęvęgê*[f] 'the what-d'ye-call-it isn't good ... the air I mean'

vęnïjęvi NPLM ◇ ~ *Mätvikini*[h] 'the what's-their-names, the Matvikins' → IV.4

vęnôd'|it 'do what-d'ye-call-it', INF also *-iti*[f], PR1SG *-im*, PR3SG *-i*, PR3PL *-idu*[h], *-ę*[f], *-ijo*[f], LPM *-il*, LPF *-ila*, LPPLM *-ili*, LPPLFN *-ilę* ◇ *äkna ga vęnôd'ila*[h] 'a mine did what-d'ye-call-it to him (i.e. wounded him)', *dë so tê žïdovę vęnôd'ili?*[f] '(about Auschwitz) where did they do all those things to those Jews?'

povęnôd'it ◇ *smên vas puvęnôd'it ... pïtat čä?*[h] (last word is nondialectal) 'can I ... er ... ask you something?'

zvęnôd'ęno PPN (refers to the making of furniture)

zavęnôd'il LPM 'do what-d'ye-call-it'

vë̈r|a 'belief, faith, trust', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u*

Vë̈r|a PROP Christian name, DSG *-i*, ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*

+***veren***: *vë̈rni* NSGM 'pious'

Vë̈rina NSGF ◇ ~ *mäjka*[f] 'Vera's mother'

vë̈rovat 'believe', PR1SG *vë̈ruj|ęm*, PR2SG *-ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, PR2PL *-ętę*,

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PR3PL *-ędu*^{h}, *-o*^{f}, IMP *-Ø* ▹ 2 attestations of INF *vërvat*^{h} ◇ *va Bôg vërujęš?*^{h} 'do you believe in God?', *męni nę vërujędu*^{h} 'they don't believe you', *ki ję mlât, kad bu stâri čę vërvat*^{h} 'young people will believe it when they're old'

Vëruška PROP DIM from *Vëra*

-veružit

zavęrüž|it 'fasten', LPPLM *-ili* ◇ *vęlo čęmo zavęrüžit, da sę nę̈ budę ręskïnolo*^{f} 'we'll fasten it tightly so that it won't come loose'

vës NASGM indefinite numeral 'whole, all', NSGN/GSGF/APL *sę̈*, GSGMN/ASGM *sęgâ*, NSGF *sä*, DSGF *süj*, ASGF *sü*, ILSGMN *sêm*, NPLM *sï* → for examples see IV.7.5

vę̈sęl| INDM 'merry, gay', N *-o*, F *-a*

vęsê(l)ji LSG 'wedding', NASG *vęsêj|ę*

+***vesit***: *obësit*^{f} 'hang up, hang out', PR3PL *ubïsidu*^{h}, LPM *ubïsil*^{h}, LPPLM *obësili*^{f}, *ubïsili*^{h}, IMP *ubïsi*^{h} ◇ *ubïsi tô rühu*^{h} 'hang out that laundry'

vę̈sladu^{h} PR3PL 'row'

Vę̈sprim TOP the town of Veszprém

-vest

dovę̈z|ędu^{h} PR3PL 'bring', LPM *-ęl*, LPPLM *-li*

ödvęs 'bring away', LPM *odvęz|ęl*, LPPLM *-li*, IMP *-Ø* ◇ *pöldrug ûru sę möręm ödvęs Pęšt*^{f} 'I can drive to Budapest in an hour and a half'

zavę̈zi IMP ◇ ~ *sę mędô nję*^{f} 'creep between them'

-vet

pov|êm 'say, tell, announce', PR2SG *-êš*, PR3SG *-ê*, IMP *povëč*, *povëčtę* ◇ *tęr si pöpu povêž grêhę*^{f} 'and you confess your sins to the priest'

zapovêm PR1SG '(+D) order'

vët|ęr 'wind', ASG *-ra*, LSG *-ri*

vêz|at 'tie', INF also *-ati*^{f}

povê|zalo LPN 'tie', LPPLM *-zali*, PR1PL *-žęmo*

svêz|at 'tie', INF also *-ati*^{f}, LPF *-ala*, LPPLM *-ali*, PR1PL *svêž|ęmo*, PR3PL *-ędu*^{h}/*-o*^{f}, PP *svëzano* ▹ also *sf-*

zavêz|at 'tie', PPPLFN *-anę*, IMP *zavêži*

vî pers. pron. 'you (PL)', D *vôm*, *vam*, AL *vas*, I *vômi* ◇ *ču vam jâ pömuč*^{h} 'I'll help you', *tö ję zâ vas*^{h} 'that is for you', *s vômi*^{f}*/s fômi*^{f} 'with you', *prï vas*^{hf} 'in your country/village/home/etc.'

vïd|ęt(i)^{f}, ***vïd|it***^{h} '(see; (~ *sę*) please', PR1SG *-im*, PR2SG *-iš*, PR3SG *-i*, PR2PL *-itę*, PR3PL *-ę*^{f}, *-ijo*^{f}, *-idu*^{h}, LPM *-il*^{h}, *-ęl*^{f}, LPF *-ila*^{h}, *-ęla*^{f}, LPN *-ilo*^{h}, *-ęlo*^{f}, LPPLM *-ili*^{h}, *-ęli*^{f}, LPPLFN *-ęlę*^{f} ◇ *nê vïdid nïš*^{h} 'there is nothing to see', *nę vïdin tö râdu*^{h} 'I don't like

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that', *nę vȉdiž mi sę*[f] 'I don't like you'
vȉdra 'otter'
vidrȉc|a[h] 'small bucket', ASG *-u*[h]
vȉg|ęnj NASG 'chimney', ASG *-nja*, LSG *-nji*, APL *-nję*
vignjâr 'chimney-sweeper'
vijâlnic|a 'winnowing-mill', ASG *-u*, NPL *-ę*
vȉkat 'yell' ▹ 1x
vȉlę NAPL PLT 'pitchfork'
vȉlicę NPL PLT 'fork'
vȉliščę NASG 'handle of a pitchfork'
vȉmę 'udder'
vȉn|o/vîn|o NASG 'wine', GSG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i*
vinȍgrad| 'vineyard', GASG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, LSGNPL *-i*, APL *-ę*
vînska NSGF ◇ ~ *kumȍra*[h] 'wine-cellar'
-virat
zvȉra PR3SG ◇ *zi zęmljê* ~[h] '(about well) it rises from the earth'
vȉsil[hf] LPM 'hang', LPF *vȉsila*[h]*/visȉla*[hf], LPPLFN *visȉlę*[f], PR3SG *visî*, PR3PL *visę̂*
vȉsok INDM 'high', F *vȉsoka*, N/ADV *vȉsoko*, NSGM *visôki*, ASGN *visôko*, COMP NSGN *vȉšę*, NPLM *vȉši*
vȉšk|a 'witch', NPL *-ę*
vȉšnj|a '(sour) cherry', NAPL *-ę*
vlȁč|it 'harrow', LPM *-il*, LPPLM *vlačȉli*
vläga 'moisture'
+***vlasi*** → *lâsi*
Vlȁšič[f] PROP family name
vlȁžna F 'moist'
vlêč| 'pull, drag', INF also *-ti*[f], PR3SG *-ę*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h], LPM *vlêk|ęl*, LPF *-la*, LPN *-lo*, LPPLM *-li*, LPPLFN *-lę*
navlêč| 'wind up (clock), pull over (e.g. a bedspread over a bed)', PR1PL *-ęmo*, LPF *navlêkla*
oblêč 'put on (clothes)', LPPLM *oblêkli* ◇ *ȉdę si kę̏j ublêč*[h] 'he's off to put something on'
povlêč|ęm PR1SG 'pull', PR3PL *-ęjo*[f] ◇ *lâsi njim puvlêčęm*[h] 'I pull their hair'
slêč| 'take off (clothes)', IMP *-i* ◇ *tô si pak slêči*[h] 'now take off that one'
zvlêč 'pull apart', LPPLM *zvlêkli* ◇ *zvlêč na pȍrciję*[f] 'to divide into portions'
vȍd|a 'water', GSG *vodê*, ASG *-u*, ISG *-um/vodûm*, LSG *-i/vodȉ*, NAPL *-ę*, IPL *-ami* → III.5.2.5
vôg|ęr 'Hungarian', NIPL *-ri*, GPL *-rov*[f] ◇ *męd vôgri žȉvimo*[h] 'we live among Hungarians'
vȍgęrsk|o NSGN 'Hungarian; (neuter forms, substantival use) Hungary', GSGN *-oga*, ILSGN *-ęm*, DSGF *-uj*, ADV *-i* ◇ *vu vȍgęrskęm*[f] 'in Hungary', *čüda mêšamu vȍgęrskuga*[h] 'we mix a lot of Hungarian (into our Croatian)', *vȍgęrski*[hf]*/po*

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vögęrski[hf] 'in Hungarian'

+***vogrica***: *vugrïcę*[h] NPL 'Hungarian woman'

võj|a '(good) mood, desire to do something', GSG *-ę*, ASG *-u* ◇ *döbru võju imâjo*[f] 'they're in the mood'

-vojit

pręvõj|it '(~ *na* + A) approve of, assent to', LPF *-ila* ▷ 1x *privöjil*[h]

võjni DLSG 'war' ◇ ~ *könęc*[h] 'the end of the war'

võjska ASG 'beeswax'

võl| 'ox', GASG/LPL *-a*, NIPL *-i*, GPL *-ov*[f], APL *-ę*

volïko 'so much/many' ◇ *z vulïku svinjômi*[h] 'with so many pigs'

võnj|aš PR2SG 'stink', PR3SG *-a*, LPN *-alo* → +*tôr*

võnjb|a 'bad smell', ASG *-u*

vonjęvïję COMP ADV 'stinking'

vônkuš|[h] 'cushion', NPL *-i*[h], APL *-ę*[h] ▷ Hu *vánkos*

vônkušnica[h] 'pillow-case'

vôz 'waggon-load'

+***vozęk***: *vôsk|o* N 'narrow', F *-a*, PLFN *-ę*, LSGF *-uj* ◇ *po vôskuj stëzici*[f] 'on a small road'

võz|it 'drive, bring; draw (a waggon, etc.); (~ *sę*) ride', PR3SG *-i*, LPM *-il*, LPN *vozïlo*, LPPLM *-ili*

vôž|ę NASG 'rope, string; rein', GSG *-a*, ISG *-ęm*, LSG *-i* ◇ *dôgo vôžę*[f] certain type of rein, used on a haywaggon, *z vôžęm zavęrüžili vęlo*[f] 'we fastened it tightly with string', *püzit gôri na vôži*[f] 'climb up a rope'

+***vräčat***: *obräč|at* 'turn (around/over)', LPN *-alo*, LPPLM *-ali*, PR3SG *obrâč|a*, PR3PL *-ajo*[f], VN ISG *-anjęm*

vräčit 'cure', PR3SG *vrâči* ◇ *säd mu döktur tö vrâči*[h] 'now the doctor cures him of that'

zvräč|it 'cure', LPM *-il*, LPPLM *-ili*, PR3PL *zvrâč|ę*, VN *-ęnję* ◇ *nê bil pi döktori, öt sębę ję sę zvräčil*[f] 'he didn't go to a doctor, he got better just like that'

vrâg| NASG 'devil', GASG *-a*, DSG *-u*, ISG *-ęm*, NPL *vrâz|i*, GPL *-uv*[h], APL *-ę* ◇ *da bi tębę sakramęntski vrâg zêl*[f] '(lit.) the sacramental devil take you', *pöj k frâgu*[h] 'go to the devil', *si vrâzi znadô*[f] 'I'm hanged if I know', *bogäti kot sï vrâzi*[f] 'fabulously rich', *kęj vrâzę čęš?*[h] 'what the devil do you want?', *kęj vrâzę so dëlali?*[h] 'what the hell did they do?'

vragolïj|a[f], ***vragulïj|a***[hf] 'stupidity, practical joke', ASG *-u* ◇ *käj vragulïju dëlaš?*[f] 'what are you doing now, you stupid?'

vrâštv|o 'medicine', GSGAPL *-a*

vrât|a NAPL PLT 'door', LPL *-i* ◇ *vu vrâti*[f] 'in the doorway'

vrâtuvuj[h] LSGF ADJ to *vrâta* ◇ *nâ ję ur na vrâtuvuj kjučônki*

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kȕjcala[h] 'she was already eavesdropping at the keyhole of the door'

vrâžu ASGF ADJ to *vrâg*, ISGF *vražûm*

vȑba 'willow'

vrȅč|a NSGLPL 'sack', ASG *-u*, NAPL *-ę*

vrêd|ęn 'worth (while)', N *-no*, PLM *-ni* ◇ *nêsi vrêdęn tôga*[f] 'you aren't worth that', *vrêdni su tȍga kȅj imȁdu*[h] 'they deserved everything they have'

vrêmę 'time; weather', GSG *vrȅmęn|a*, LSG *-i* ◇ *va sȁdašnjęm vrȅmęni*[h] 'nowadays'

vȑnję NASG 'cream' ◇ *zdȍla ję sęrdȉg, zgȍra ję* ~[f] 'below you have the skim, on top you have the cream'

-vrnot

obȑn|ot 'turn (around), turn upside down, turn over', PR3SG *-ę*, LPM *-ol*, LPF *-ola*, LPN *-olo*, IMP *-i*, PPN *-oto* ◇ *prêg obȑnoto*[f] 'translated', *ali obȑnoto*[f] 'or the other way round'

prȩobȑn|ot 'change; translate', LPM *-ol*

prȩvȑnot 'compensate by a service in return'

vrôč| 'hot', N *-ę*, GSGN *-ęga* ◇ *ję mu vrôčę bîlu*[h] 'he was hot'

vrôčat sę 'become hot' ◇ *pȉj, aš cę sę* ~[h] 'drink it before it gets hot'

vročȉni[f] LSG 'heat'

vȑ|s(t) 'put, throw', INF also *-sti*[f], PR1SG *-žęm*, PR2SG *-žęš*, PR3SG *-žę*, PR2PL *-žętę*, PR3PL *-žędu*[h], *-žęjo*[f], LPM *-gęl*, LPF *-gla*, LPN *-glo*, LPPLM *-gli*, IMP *-s*, *-g*, *-š*, *-štę*, PPINDM *-žęn*, PPN *-žęno*, PPPLM *-žęni* ◇ *sȉm vȑžęm papêrnę, sȉm pag drôbnę*[f] 'here I put the paper money, here the coins', *svȉnja sę vȑžę va gȍvno*[f] 'a pig throws itself into the shit', *va kȁvu vȑgla*[f] 'I put it into the coffee', *sȉm vȑk tridȅsęd jęzêr*[f] 'quickly give me 3.000 forint', *sad vȑš kôm čȅš*[f] 'now put it wherever you want', *vȑz obrȕsa na stȍl*[f] 'put a cloth on the table'

vȑt| NASG 'garden, yard', LSGNPL *-i*, APL *-ę*, LPL *-a* ◇ *prȍšli su nȁ vęrt*[h] 'they went to the garden'

-vrtat

zvȑtat 'bore, drill'

vȑtęno 'spindle'

Vȑti NPL TOP

vȕč|it 'teach; (~ *sę*) learn', LPM *-il*, LPF *-ila/vučȉla*, LPN *vučȉlo*, LPPLM *-ili/vučȉli*, LPPLFN *vučȉlę*, PR2SG *vuč|îš*, PR3SG *-î*, PR1PL *-ȉmo*, PR3PL *-ê* ◇ *nâs škȍli nêsu vȕčili hurvâtski, nȉš, nȉ va crîkfi nȅ*[h] 'they didn't teach us Croatian, neither in school nor in church'

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navüč|it ‘ teach; (~ *sę*) learn’, LPM *-il*, LPF *-ila*, LPPLM *-ili*, PR1SG *navuč|îm*, PR2SG *-îš*, PR3SG *-î*

zvüč|it ‘educate, give an education’, LPF *-ila*, LPPLM *-ili*, PP PLM *-ęni*

vüdę̄j[h] ‘here (direction); this way, past this point, along this road, etc.’ ◇ *gënuli su sę,vüdę̄j na Hędęšïn...*[h] ‘they set off and went this way, to Hidegség...’

vüdnę ‘by day’

vuglênję NASG ‘coals’ ◇ *vŕz na ögęnj* ~[f] ‘put (IMP) some coals on the fire’

vüjn|a ‘?aunt’, NPL *-ę*

-vuknot

svükn|ot ‘pull out; (~ *sę*) leak, escape’, LPM *-ol*, LPN *-olo*

Vülica TOP place in Hi ◇ *Piklênska* ~[h] TOP

vün ‘away, out’ ◇ *zę̄męmo* ~[f] ‘we take it out’, *vögęrski böję dôdę* ~ *nęk horvätski*[f] ‘(about a song) it sounds better in Hungarian than in Croatian’

vüni[h] ‘outside’ ◇ *ję bil vüni ukäpat*[h] ‘he was outside digging’

vûš ‘louse’, GAPL *vüš|i*, IPL *-imi*

vušês|o NASG ‘ear’, LSG *-i*, NPL *-ę/-a*, APL *-ę*

+***vušiv***: *vušïvi* PLM ‘full of lice’

vušïvęc ‘one who is full of lice’

-vušivit

zavušïv|ilo ‘get covered with lice’, LPPLM *-ili*

vüzęm ‘Easter’

vüzęmski ASGM ◇ *na* ~ *pöndęję̄k*[f] ‘on Easter Monday’

Z

za preposition with A or I ◇ *zâ to*[hf] ‘therefore’, *zô no*[hf] ‘therefore’, *zâ vo*[hf] ‘for this’ → VII.3.1-3.2

zabę̄ž(l)jiv/zabęžïv ‘forgetful; inclined to speak before one thinks’, F *zabęžljîva*

zâdęvi LSG ◇ *pöj krâj, si mi na* ~[f] ‘step aside, you’re in my way’

zâdnj|i NASGM ‘last; hindmost’, NSGN *zädnję*, ISGM *zädnjęm*, NSGF *-a*, ASGF *-u*, LSGF *-uj* ◇ *tî sę ubŕni tôm zi zädnjęm kräjęm*[h] ‘turn that way with your behind’

zadnjîč ‘for the last time’

zadovöjęn ‘satisfied’

zäjc|[f]***/zę̄jc|***[h] ‘hare’, ASG *-a*, NPL *-i*, GPL *-uv*[h], APL *-ę*

zâk same as *zâkaj/zâkęj* ▸ 2x

zâkaj[f]***/zâkęj***[h] ‘why’

zäkolęčnjak ‘pin on an axle that prevents a wheel from coming loose; small man’

zamônj|i NSGM ‘trivial, of little importance’ NASGN *-ę*, GSGN *-ęga* ◇ *käj tolïko zamônjęga povêdaš?*[f] ‘what are you telling all those trivialities

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for?' → *zôman*

zarâščęn| 'grown over; hairy', F *-a*

zarôn ADV 'early', F *-a*, GSGN *-oga*, COMP NPLFN *-iję* ◇ *mę̑jka ję nję̑mu zarôn mrêla*[h] 'his mother died young', *od zarônoga*[f] 'from early morning'

zâručn(j)a 'fiancée, bride'

zârukę ◇ *sęm u jâ prösil na ~*[f] 'I proposed to her' ▹ also *zâručę* attested

zȁstor 'belt or apron for tools', GASG *zastöra* ◇ *prędâ sę si ga svêžę člövęk ali žę̑na: tö ję zȁstor*[f] 'a man or woman puts it on (lit. ties it before him/her): that's a *zastor*'

zâto 'therefore' → *za*

zaustȁvn|o N 'backward, retarded', F *-a*

zȁvdal LPM ◇ *~ ę döbruga dôna*[h] 'he said how d'you do' ▹ this word occurs once in a text (Mar [14]) but is not recognized by the other informants

zdâvno/zdȁvno 'long ago' ◇ *tö ję ur zdâvnu bîlu*[h] 'that's already long ago'

zdę̑la 'dish'

zdę̑n| 'cold', N *-o*, F *-a*, NASGN *zdęnô*, NSGF *zdęnâ* ◇ *i zdęnô mu nę kônjim dât*[f] 'I don't like to give him cold food either'

zdę̑nęc ASG ◇ *męrskê pę̑lęnkę, tö sęm za zdę̑nedz vr̥gla va korìto*[f] 'I put the dirty napkins to soak in a trough'

-zdenit

ozdę̑n|it sę 'get cold', LPF *-ila* ◇ *kȁva čę sę ti sȁt pag uzdę̑nit*[h] 'your coffee will get cold now'

zdȍla 'below, underneath'

Zdȍlnję NPLFN TOP

zdȍlnj|i NSGM 'bottommost', GSGMN *-ęga*

zdȍlud 'from below'

zdȍmud 'from home'

zdrȁv|/zdrâv 'healthy', N *-o*, F *-a*, PLM *-i*, APL *-ę*, COMP NSGN *-ję*

-zdravit

ozdrȁv|it 'recover', PR2SG *-iš*, LPN *-ilo* ◇ *od bętękšìga ozdrȁvit*[f] 'to recover from an illness'

zdrȁvję/zdrâvję ASG 'health' ◇ *na ~*[hf] 'to your health, cheers'

zę̑ba certain bird

Zȅčkini[f] NPLM PROP house name

zêj|ę certain vegetable, GSG *-a*

+***zelen***: *zę̑lęno* N 'green', NSGM/GPL *zęlên|i*, NASGN *zęlêno*, GSGMN *-oga*, NSGF *-a* → V.4.3

zęlęnìka ASG certain vegetable

Zę̑mję NPL ◇ *Čr̥nę ~* TOP

Zęmjìcę NPL TOP

zę̑m(l)|ja NSGLPL 'earth, ground, (parcel of) land', GSG *-ę/zęm(l)jê*, DLSG *-i*, ASG *-u*, ISG *zęmjûm*, NAPL *zę̑m(l)ję*, GPL *-uv*[h]*/-i*[f], IPL *zęmjômi* ◇

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tridësęd hôd zęmjê[f] '30 *hold* of land', *na näša zęmja dëlajo*[f] 'they work on our farm-lands'

+***zêpst***: *zêbęš sę* PR2SG 'be cold'
nazêb|ę sę PR2SG 'catch a cold', LPM *-ęl*, PP *-ęn*

zęt| 'son-in-law', DSG *-u*

zêt/znêt 'take, take to wife, pick up', INF also *zêti*[f], PR1SG *z(n)ęm|ęm*, PR2SG *-ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h], *-ęjo*[f], *-o*[f], LPM *z(n)êl|*, LPF *-a*, LPPLM *-i*, LPPLFN *-ę*, IMP *zęm*, *zęmtę* ◇ *cülo si sküpa sfêžę, tęr si na hrbęd znęmę*[f] 'a knapsack is tied together and put on the back', *kî sę rädu vìdę nęka sę zęmędu*[h] 'let those marry that love each other', *zęm si oš*[f] 'have some more', *nìkor sę nê smël zô nję zêt*[f] 'nobody dared to stand up for them', *znêli gôri*[h] 'they recorded it'

zglâsa ADV 'loudly'

zgöra ADV 'above, on top'

Zgörnję NPLFN/APL TOP

zgörnji NSGM 'topmost'

zìba sę PR3SG 'rock (intr.)'

zidâr| 'mason', NPL *-i*

zìdat 'lay (bricks)'
zizìdat ◇ *cìglę lìpu zmętat tęr onda sküpa* ~[h] 'to set the bricks properly and plaster them together'

zìma/zîma 'winter', ASG *zîmu* ▹ *zîmi/zimî* (without preposition) 'in/during winter'; 2x attested as *zimjî*

+***zimat***: *zìmję* PR3SG ◇ ~ *gôri*[h] 'he records (on tape)' ▹ 1x

-zimit
nazìm|iš sę PR2SG 'catch cold', LPM *-il*

zîmna F 'cold'

zîmsk|a NSGF ADJ to *zìma/zîma*, NSGN *-o*, LSGF *-uj*, APL *-ę*

zìpk|a 'cradle', LSG *-i* ◇ *va zìpki sęn ga zalülal*[f] 'I rocked him in a cradle'

zìv|at 'gape (at)', PR3SG *-a*, LPM *-al*

zjälav 'stupid, crazy'

zlamênku ASG 'mark' ▹ 1x

zlât|o N 'golden', GSGN/ASGM *-oga*, APL *-ę*

zlëka ADV 'easily, comfortably, without toil' ◇ *säki bi nęg žìvil*[f] 'everybody would like to lead an easy life'

zlö ADV and noun ◇ *ki so sę* ~ *vučìli*[f] 'who didn't learn their lessons properly', *säd* ~ *si dëlal*[f] 'now you did a bad job', *zlö pöjęst*[f] 'swallow the wrong way'

+***zločest*** → *löčęst*

zlômęnjovanję VN 'mark, make a mark on'
zazlômęnj|ovat 'mark, make a mark on', LPM *-oval*

znät 'know; be able; have the habit of', INF also *znât*, *znäti*[f], PR1SG *znôm*, PR2SG *znâ|š*, PR3SG *-Ø*, PR1PL *znômo*, PR2PL *-tę*, PR3PL *znädu*[h], *znadû*[h], *znäjo*[f],

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znadô[f], LPM *znä|l*, LPF *-la*, LPPLM *-li*, negated PR: 1SG *nęzna|m*, 2SG *-š*, 3SG *-Ø*, 1PL *-mo*, 3PL *-du*[h] ◇ *mî si znômu skühat döbru jühu*[h] 'we can make a good soup', *nê čüda bäbuf kê znadû hurvâtski*[h] 'there aren't many old woman who know Croatian', *si vrâzi znadô*[f] 'goodness knows', *tö znäjo rę̈č*[f] 'they usually say that', *kurìta ję kadë su krüha znäli pę̈č*[h] 'in troughs they used to bake bread'

pözna|š PR2SG 'know, recognize', PR3SG *-Ø*, PR1PL *-mo*, PR2PL *-tę*, LPM *-l*, LPF *-la* ◇ *jâ ga nês pöznala*[h] 'I didn't recognize him'

spöznali 'get acquainted'

znöva 'anew, once more'

znütra ADV 'inside' ◇ *drêva, têrę su znütra prâznę*[f] 'hollow trees'

zôb 'oats'

zôb 'tooth', NPL *-i*

zôb|i NLPL PLT 'mouth', DPL *-om*, APL *-ę* ◇ *zäpri si zôbę*[h] 'shut up', *po trübi čęž dostât, po zôbi*[f] 'you'll get hit in your face', *si ju vr̈gęl zôbum*[h] 'he put it to his mouth (of glass)'

zöbit 'peck' ◇ *môra sę dât kokošôm ~*[f] 'you must feed it to the chickens'

zôman 'in vain' ◇ *dëcu čę̈tę na pläci ~ pìtat da* Véghelyi *dë stujî*[h] 'the children in the street won't be able to tell you where Véghelyi lives' → *zamônji*

zöpęt 'again'

zöri LSG ◇ *jûtru ~*[h] 'early in the morning', *o zorî*[f] 'early in the morning'

zrâk| 'shadow', ASG *-a*

***zrëja*[h]*/zrïja*[f]** PR3SG 'ripen', PR3PL *zrëjadu*[h]

zazrëjat 'ripen'

zrël|o N 'ripe', F *-a*

zrnj|ę NASG 'corn, grain', GSG *-a*

zütra 'tomorrow'

zvât 'call', PR3SG *zöv|ę*, PR3PL *-ędu*[h], *-o*[f], LPM *zvâl*, LPPLM *zvâli* ◇ *sę täg zę̈mję zövo käkfa ję zę̈mja bîla*[f] 'places are called according to what kind of place it was'

pozvâl LPM 'invite', PPINDM *pozvôn*

zvę̈kčęga 'mainly' ▷ 1x *zvę̈kčoga*[f]

zvêzd|a 'star', NPL *-ę/zvëzdę*

zvirjâ[h] GSG ◇ *jâku čüda sakurjâčkuga ~*[h] 'lots of all kinds of animals'

zvirjônęk 'brook'

zvizdïcę[h] NPL DIM to *zvêzda*

zvôn| NASG 'church-bell', NPL *-i*

zvončïčkalę LPPLFN ◇ *su mi ~ ûrę*[f] 'my clock struck'

zvon|î PR3SG 'ring', PR3PL *-ę̂*, LPPLM *-ïli* ◇ *mi už i va glävi zvunî*[h] '(lit.) it is ringing inside my head (of drunken person)'

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zvũna prep and ADV 'outside', ◇ *zvũna sẹ̈la*[f] 'outside the village'
zvũnud 'from outside'

Ž

žãbẹ APL 'frog'
žandãrẹ APL 'policeman' ▹ 1x
žârko N 'hot'
ždrẽbẹ NASG 'foal'
ždrõkn|ol LPM 'swallow', PR2SG *-ẹš*
požrdõkn|ol LPM 'take a draught', PR3SG *-ẹ*
žẹ̃bẹš| 'apron with two pockets', NPL *-i* ▹ Hu *zsẹbẹs* 'pocketed'
žêd'ẹn 'thirsty', F *žêdn|a*, PLM *-i*
žẹ̃j|it 'wish', PR1SG *žêjim*, PR2SG *-iš*, PR1PL *-imo*, PR3PL *-ẹ*[f]*/-ẹjo*[f]
Žẹlârija TOP ▹ or *Žẹlârja*?
žẹlêr/žẹjêr 'small farmer', NPL *žẹ(l)jêri*, DPL *žẹjêrom* ▹ Hu *zsellér* (local Hu dialect *zsöllér*); opposed to *pôr*
+***železen***: *žẹlêzn|oga* GSGM 'iron', ASGF *-u*, ISGF *-um*, PLM/GPL *-i*
žẹlẹzni̇ci DLSG 'railway station'
žẹlẽz|o NASG '(piece of) iron', GSG *-a*, NAPL *-ẹ* ◇ *žẹlẽzẹ tôkli*[h] 'they forged horseshoes'
žẹljêrkinja 'female belonging to the class of *zeljêri*' → *žẹlêr*
žẹlũdẹca ASG 'stomach'
žẹ̃n|a 'woman, wife', GSG/NAPL *-ẹ*, DLSG *-i*, ASG *-u*, ISG *-um*, GPL *žên*, DPL *-am*, IPL *-ami/žẹnômi*
žẹ̃nin| poss ADJ to *žẹ̃na*, NPLM *-i*, ASGF *-u* ◇ *žẹ̃ninu sẹ̈stru zêl*[f] 'he married his wife's sister'
žẹnjẹ̃ sẹ PR3PL 'marry', LPM *žẹ̃njil*, LPPLM *žẹnji̇̃li* ▹ 1x *žẹni̇̃li*
ožẹ̃njit sẹ 'marry', PR3SG *ožẹnj|î*, PR3PL *-ê*, LPM *ožẹ̃nj|il*, PP INDM *-ẹn*
žẹ̃nsk|o NASGN 'female', ISGN *-ẹm*, GSGF/NPLFN/APL *-ẹ* ▹ both N and F forms can be used substantivally with the meaning 'woman' ◇ *žẹ̃nsku pr̃vẹ nê kuri̇̃lu*[h] 'in the old days a woman didn't smoke', *na krajï̃ni nê bilu tãkfẹ žẹ̃nskẹ*[h] 'there wasn't any woman like that in the neighbourhood'
žẹ̃p| NASG 'pocket', LSG *-i* ▹ 1x *žẹ̃b* with [b] before a pause, probably a spontaneous loan from Hu (*zseb*)
žẹ̃r|at 'eat (of animals or, rude, of people); drink (rude)', PR2SG *-ẹš*, PR3SG *-ẹ*, PR1PL *-ẹmo*, PR3PL *žẹrû*[h], *-ẹdu*[h], *žẹrô*[f], *-ẹjo*[f], LPM *-al*, LPPLM *žẹrâli*
nažẹ̃ral sẹ 'get drunk (rude)', PPNSGM *nažẹrôni*
požẹ̃rẹdu[h] 'eat (of animals or, rude, of people)', LPF *požẹrâ|la*, LPN *-lo*, LPPLM *-li*

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užę̈ral LPM 'get (a person) drunk (rude); (~ *sę*) get drunk (rude)', PPINDM *užęrôn|*, NSGM *-i*

žęrnjâk| 'greedy person', NPL *-i*

žę̈t 'mow', PR2SG *žę̈nj|ęš*, PR3SG *-ę*, PR1PL *-ęmo*, PR3PL *-o*[f], LPM *žę̈l|*, LPF *-a*, LPPLM *-i*

põžęt 'mow', PR2SG *požę̈nj|ęš*, PR3PL *-ęduʰ*, LPPLM *požę̈li*, PPN *požêt|o*, F *-a*

žę̈tf|a 'mowing, harvest', ASG *-u*

žgâli LPPLM 'burn'

põžg|ali LPPLM 'burn, scorch', PR3SG *-ę*

vũžg|at 'burn, set fire to', PR2SG *-ęš*, LPM *-al*, IMP *-aj*

žgônc|i NPL 'kind of cake that woman used to bake on Saturdays; consists of flour, potatoe and fat', APL *-ę* ◇ *homočônci žgônci, žäbę si kühajo va lönci*[f] rhyme, used by Hi children to tease Fe children '(lit.) the Fe people (are) *žgonci*, they cook frogs in a pan' → *klïnci*

Žïdi NPL 'Jew' ▹ the usual word is *Žïdov*

Žïdov| 'Jew', DSG *-u*, NPL *-i*, GPL *-uvʰ* ◇ *sę Žïduvi jâku buję̂ ut Ärabufʰ* 'the Jews are very afraid of the Arabs'

Žïga PROP

žïl|a 'vein', ASG *-u*, NAPL *-ę*

žïtęk/žîtęk NASG 'life', GASG *žîtka*

žîv| 'alive', F *-a*, N *-o*, PLM *-i*

žïvit 'live', PR1SG *žîv|im*, PR2SG *-iš*, PR3SG *-i*, PR1PL *-imo*, PR3PL *-ę*[f], *-ijo*[f], *-iduʰ*, LPM *žïv|il*, LPF *-ila*, LPPLM *-ili/živïli*

prężïv|it 'survive', PR3SG *prężîvi*, LPM *-il*, LPPLM *-ili*

živônj| 'bandit', NPL *-i* ▹ Hu *zsivány*

žję̈ba 'marsh'

žję̈bast|o N 'marshy', F *-a*

žl(j)ïca 'spoon'

žljïčica DIM to *žljïca*

žnjôra 'clothes-line'

žôt| 'yellow', N *-o*, APL *-ę*

žïk 'draught'

Žübričʰ PROP family name

Žübričęviʰ NPLM PROP house name

žûjidu sę PR3PL 'fight, pull at each other's clothes'

zižûjit 'pull out'

žümpor 'basket or bag plaited from straw and bark', ASG *žumpör|a*, LSGNPL *-i*, APL *-ę*

žvïg interjection (imitation of hitting or lashing sound)

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