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Oblikoslovje v panonski narečni skupini[1]

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V razpravi so predstavljeni oblikospreminjevalni in oblikotvorni vzorci v narečjih panonske narečne skupine v primerjavi s staro cerkveno slovanščino in slovenskim knjižnim jezikom ter s kratko analizo narečnega glasoslovja in naglasnih razmer. Obdelani so narečna sklonila in osebila; vsi trije spoli, zlasti slabo obstojni srednji spol; vsa tri števila, saj je dvojina dobro ohranjena. Nepregibne besedne vrste se med obravnavanimi narečji manj razlikujejo.

The article compares word-formation and morphological patterns of the Pannonian dialect group with those found in Old Church Slavonic and in Standard Slovene. It includes a brief analysis of the dialectal phonological and stress system, discussing the dialectal endings and inflections (the three genders, especially the relatively unstable neuter; and the three numbers, as the dual is well preserved). Non-finite word classes used in the Pannonian dialects investigated, however, show relatively little variation.

Ključne besede: oblikoslovje, oblikotvorje, sklanjatev, stopnjevanje, spregatev, spol, število

Key words: morphology, word-formation, declension, comparison, conjugation, gender, number

0 Po Logar-Riglerjevi *Karti slovenskih narečij* (1993) spadajo v panonski narečno skupino: prekmursko, goričansko (danes slovenskogoriško), prleško in haloško narečje. O teh dialektih so pisali številni dialektologi, tako npr. B. Raič, I. I. Sreznjevski, K. Ozvald, F. Ilešič, A. Pavel, S. Škrabec, V. Oblak, F.

[1] Prispevek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega projekta J6-2238 z naslovom Slovenski jezik v stiku evropskega podonavskega in alpskega prostora, ki ga financira Agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost RS; odgovorni nosilec projekta je red. prof. dr. Marko Jesenšek.

Ramovš, O. Asbóth, V. Novak, A. Vratuša, R. Kolarič, J. Rigler, T. Logar, M. L. Greenberg, F. Mukič, M. Koletnik, B. Rajh, Z. Zorko in drugi.

J. Rigler izvaja panonsko glasoslovje iz osnovnega panonskega sistema dolgih vokalov: í, ú, éi̯, óu̯, é, ó, á, ki zastopajo: í ← ī; éi̯ ← ē̆; e ← ē, ę̄, ə̄; á ← ā; ó ← ǭ; óu̯ ← ō; ú ← ū; ter kratkih vokalov: i, u̇, ẹ, ọ, ə, e, o, a, ki zastopajo: i ← i, í; ę ← ĕ, ḗ; e ← e, è, ę́; a ← a, á; o ← ǫ́, ọ́; ọ ← o, ò; u̇ ← u, ú; ə ← ə, ə̀.

Prekmurščino navadno delimo na goričko, ravensko in dolinsko podnarečje; prleščino na spodnjeprleški, srednjeprleški, zgornjeprleški in kujleški govor; slovenskogoriško narečje na vzhodne in zahodne govore ter haloško na vzhodne, srednje ter zahodne govore.

Slovenska narečja so se v zgodovinskem razvoju najprej razdelila na jugovzhod in severozahod glede razvoja jata, ki se je razvil vzporedno z etimološkim o. V panonski narečni skupini sta se morala jat in dolgi etimološki o zgodaj zožiti in ozki e ter o sta se začela diftongirati v ei̯ in ou̯ kot na vsem jugovzhodnem delu slovenskega narečnega prostora.

V PNS so drugačni razvoji jata na vzhodu in zahodu Haloz ter v prleškem narečju.

Prleški monoftongični vokalizem dialektologi razlagajo različno. F. Ramovš navaja zgodovinske razloge, da je slovansko prebivalstvo nekdanje Kocljeve kneževine pobegnilo pred madžarskimi navali iz panonske pokrajine in si poiskalo zavetje za Dravo in v gozdovih na današnji nemško-štajerski in zahodno-ogrski meji. Po koncu madžarskih vdorov se je začelo naseljevanje od severozahoda, kjer sta se že razvijala ē̆ v ei̯ in ō v ou̯, drugi del pa izza Drave, iz Haloz in hrvaškega Zagorja ter je bil že dokaj kajkavsko niansiran.

J. Rigler in drugi pa oporekajo tej hipotezi, saj prleški monoftongi niso primarni in poenoglašanje diftongov poznajo na prehodih iz enega narečja v drugega tudi drugod. Ker se danes zelo ozka ę in ọ za jat in etimološki o ločita od srednje ozkih ę iz e, ę, ь ter ọ iz nosnega ǫ, kaže, da gre za mlajšo monoftongizacijo.

Naslednje skupne razvojne posebnosti PNS so: nepodaljšanje kratkih akutiranih nezadnjih zlogov. Ti so večinoma ostali kratki do danes. Dolgi polglasnik se je razvil v dolgi e-jevski fonem skupaj z etimološkim e in nazalnim e. Dolgi u se je v izgovoru začel pomikati naprej in se je zaokrožil v ü, sonantni l pa se je prek ou̯ poenoglasil v u (v porabščini še ohranjeni ou̯ v primerih gou̯nčati za današnje gučati dokazuje razvoj sonantnega l prek ou v u). Ohranil se je tudi vokalični r.

Tako nastavimo osnovni panonski dolgi vokalni sistem: í, u̇, ü, éi̯, óu̯, é, ó, á, v kratkem pa se pojavljata ozka ę in ọ ter široka e in o.

Konzonantizem v PNS je manj razčlenjen kot vokalizem. Razvil se je po značilnih slovenskih tendencah. Praslovanski dj v tipu *medja se je razvil v j, kasneje pa se je v prekmurskem goričkem in ravenskem podnarečju vsak j razvil v g, dj, dž, tj, g’, k’, verjetno pod madžarskim vplivom. Pri praslovanskem w je v PNS značilen razvoj v labiodental v, ki v izglasju ali v položaju pred nezvenečim soglasnikom izgubi zven in se izgovarja kot f. Trdi ł na koncu besede ima refleks -o, v prleščini tudi -a; morda pod vplivom štokavskih priseljencev.

Palatalni l', r', n' so se razvijali po splošnih slovenskih tendencah: l' je otrdel, n' pa je vsaj v prekmurščini ohranjen; tu je ohranjena tudi sekundarna palatalizacija tipa vucje. Prehod izglasnega -m v -n je večinoma ohranjen.

V obdobju med 10. in 14. stoletjem se je formirala slovenska individualnost, hkrati pa tudi govori v panonski narečni skupini.

1 Osnovni samoglasniški sestavi v obravnavanih narečjih

1.1 *Prekmurski samoglasniški sestavi*

Goričko podnarečje (tudi Gornji Senik)
Dolgi: i:, ü:, u:; e:i̯, o:u̯; ẹ:, ọ:; a:, r̥:. Kratki naglašeni: i:, ü, u; ẹ, ọ; e; a; r̥.

Števanovci
Dolgi: i:, ü:/ü:i̯, u:; ẹ:, ọ:; ẹ:i̯, ọ:u̯; a:i̯, a:u̯; a:, + r̥. (Ozki ẹ je nastal iz ē, ę̄, ə̄; ozki ọ je položajni iz eu̯ + mˈlọ:, zˈjọ; diftong ẹ:i̯ je nastal iz dolgega i:, ọ:u̯ iz samoglasniškega l̥:, a:i̯ zastopa dolgi jat, a:u̯ je iz dolgega etimološkega o in dolgega nosnega ǫ.)

Ravensko podnarečje
Dolgi: i:/i:i̯, ü:/ü:i̯, u:; ẹ:, ọ:; ẹ:i̯, ọ:u̯; a:, + r̥:.

Dolinsko podnarečje
Dolgi: i:, ü:, u:; i:e; e:i̯, o:u̯; å:, + r̥:. (Dolgi i:e je odraz za dolge ē, ę̄, ə̄; a je pod vplivom prleščine rahlo zaokrožen.)

1.2 Prleško narečje ima osnovni dolgi samoglasniški sestav: i:, ü:, u:; ẹ:, ọ:; ę̣:, ǫ̣:; a:, + r̥:. Refleks za dolgi jat je zelo ozki ę, za etimološki o in za nosni ǫ dolgi, zelo ozki ọ, ozki ę̣: zastopa ē, ę̄, ə̄, ozki ǫ̣: dolgi a, dolgi a pa se govori le položajno, npr. pred -j – mˈla:j. Pri kratko naglašenih samoglasnikih ozki ę zastopa akutirani jat, ozki ọ novoakutirani o, akutirani ǫ in umično naglašeni o, kratki zelo široki e je odraz novoakutiranega e, akutiranega ę, kratkega polglasnika in umično naglašenih e in polglasnika.

1.3 Haloško narečje razpade na tri govore: vzhodni, srednjehaloški in zahodni haloški govori.

Vzhodni haloški govori
Dolgi vokali: i:, ü:, u:; ẹ:, ọ:; e:; a:, + r̥:. Kratki vokali: i:, ü, u; ẹ, ọ; e; å; + r̥. (Dolgi ozki ę zastopa dolgi polglasnik in dolgi jat (podobno kot v kajkavščini); široki e: dolgi nosni ę in dolgi etimološki e; dolgi ozki ọ je odraz dolgega etimološkega o: in dolgega nosnega ǫ:. Kratki ozki e je odraz za akutirani jat, široki e pa za novoakutirani e, umično naglašeni e, novoakutirani polglasnik in

akutirani nosni ę; ozki o zastopa akutirani nosni o̧, novoakutirani o in umično naglašeni o; kratki å je nastal iz akutiranega a.

Srednjehaloški govori (Leskovec)
Dolgi vokali: i:i̯, ü:i̯, u:u̯; ę:; e:i̯, o:u̯; (a:u̯); å:; + r̥:. Kratki vokali: i:, ü, u; ę, o̧; e; å. Visoki vokali se diftongirajo, ozki ę: zastopa ę, ę̄, ə, diftong e:i̯ je odraz za jat, diftong o:u̯ je nastal iz dolgega ō, ō̧, tudi ā (ob n, m), zaokroženi å je odraz za dolgi ā. Kratki ę je redek (za ə), široki kratki e zastopa akutirani polglasnik, akutirani ę in umično naglašeni e, ozki o je nastal iz akutiranih o in o̧ ter umično naglašenega o.

Zahodni haloški govori (Žetale) izgubljajo razlikovanje kolikosti samoglasnikov. Dolgi vokali: i:, ü:, u:; i:e, u:o; ę:, o̧:; e:, o:; a:u̯; a:; + r̥:. Nova diftonga i:e in u:o zastopata akutirani jat, akutirani polglasnik, umično naglašeni e, novo akutirani o, akutirani o̧ in umično naglašeni o. Ozki ę: je odraz za dolge ē, ę̄, ə̄, ozki o̧ za dolgi nosni o̧, široki e je nastal iz dolgega jata, diftong a:u̯ zastopa dolgi etimološki o, široki o je nastal iz dolgega a.

1.4 *Slovenskogoriško narečje*

Zahodni slovenskogoriški govori (Zgornja Ščavnica) imajo samo dolge samoglasnike: i:, ü:, u:; i:e, u:o; ę:, o̧:; ie:/e:; e:i̯, o:u̯; a:; + ər. Diftong i:e zastopa akutirani jat, u:o akutirani in umično naglašeni o, ie: akutirana ę in e, umično naglašeni e, akutirani polglasnik, e:i̯ je odraz dolgega jata, o:u̯ pa dolgega etimološkega o in nosnega o̧, dolgi a pa a-jevske foneme.

Vzhodni slovenskogoriški govori (Črešnjevci) ločijo dolgi in kratki naglašeni vokalni sistem. Dolgi samoglasniki: i:, ü:, u:; ę:, o̧:; e:i̯, o:u̯; a:; + r̥:. Kratki samoglasniki: i:, ü, u; ę, o̧; e; å; + r̥. Dolgi ozki ę: je odraz za dolgi etimološki e, nosni ę in dolgi polglasnik, ozki o̧ je redek, e:i̯ zastopa dolgi jat, o:u̯ dolgi etimološki o in nosni o̧, a je odraz za dolgi a. Kratki ozki e zastopa akutirani jat, ozki o̧ akutirani nosni o̧ in umično naglašeni o, kratki široki e je pogost fonem, saj zastopa akutirani ę, novoakutirani e, kratki polglasnik in umično naglašeni e. Kratki labializirani å je nastal iz akutiranega a tako kot v prekmurskem ravenskem podnarečju.

2 Oblikoslovne katerogije spola, števila, sklonov, oseb in stopnje v PNS

2.1 *Spol*

Praslovanski princip razlikovanja sklanjatev po osnovah se je v historični dobi v glavnem zamenjal s principom razvrstitve po spolu. Indoevropščina je poznala tri spole: moški, ženski in srednji spol. Spol pri samostalnikih razberemo ali iz

pomena – naravni spol – ali s pomočjo jezikovnega sredstva – slovnični spol. Spol je v slovanskih jezikih izražen s končnico kot formalnim, slovničnim sredstvom. Samostalniki moškega in srednjega spola vseh osnov so se osredotočili okrog trdega in mehkega tipa osnov na -o-; samostalniki ženskega spola na -a so ohranili svojo sklanjatev, osnove ženskega spola na -ū in soglasnik so se osredinili okrog osnov na -i. Osnove na -a naravnega moškega spola se v slovenščini lahko sklanjajo po moški osnovi, prav tako hipokoristična imena in deminutivi (zlasti krstna imena in priimki, ki imajo zvezo z zvalnikom osnov na -a – npr. Sinko, Marko). Samostalniki srednjega spola na -o ali -e so v slovenščini razvili svojo sklanjatev in v PNS so sorazmerno dobro ohranjeni, vsaj v ednini, v dvojini in množini se lahko feminizirajo, podaljšani s -t- in -n- se maskulinizirajo, podaljševanje osnov s -s- se je izgubilo.

V PNS je znan pojav t. i. oblik nadspola. V prekmurskem goričkem podnarečju na Gornjem Seniku uporabljajo ženske za 1. in 2. osebo ednine obliko moškega spola (ˈJå ˈsan ˈbẹjo.), prav tako v prleškem narečju v okolici Ormoža in v haloškem narečju na vzhodu (Veliki Vrh).

2.2 *Število*

Indoevropski jeziki razlikujejo tri števila: ednino, dvojino in množino. Dvojina se je v glavnem ohranila le v slovenščini in lužiščini, in to v oblikah za imenovalnik – tožilnik, dajalnik – orodnik. V PNS je dvojina ohranjena v vseh narečjih.

2.3 *Skloni*

Indoevropščina je imela osem sklonov, praslovanščina jih je obdržala, v slovanskem razvoju je ablativ glasovno sovpadel z genitivom, v slovenščini se je vokativ ohranil v Brižinskih spomenikih, osebnih imenih (Tone), sicer pa v posebni intonaciji (ọ́če – ôče) z dolgim cirkumfleksom.

2.4 *Sklanjatve*

1. moška sklanjatev

Vzorec za staro cerkveno slovanščino: ednina – rabъ, raba, rabu, rabъ, rabe, rabě, rabomъ; dvojina – 1., 4., 5. raba, 2., 6. rabu, 3., 7. raboma; množina – 1., 5. rabi, rabъ, rabomъ, raby, raběhъ, raby. Mehka sklanjatev: vrač -ъ, -a, -u, -ь, -i, -emь; -a, -u, -ema; -i, -ъ, -emъ, -e, -ihъ, -i. Današnji slovenski knjižni ustrezniki: korak -ø, -a, -u, -ø, -u, -om; -a, -ov, -oma, -a, -ih, -oma; -i, -ov, -om, -e, -ih, -i.

V panonski narečni skupini so vzorci moških sklanjatev naslednji (PR – prekmursko narečje, P – prleško narečje, SG – slovenskogoriško narečje, H – haloško narečje):

– PR: bˈråt -ø, -a, -i, -a, -i, -on; -a, -of, -oma, -a, -oma, -oma; -i, -of, -on, -e, -aj, -ami.
– P: bˈrat -ø, -a, -i, -a, -i, -on; -a, of, -oma, -a, -oma, -oma; -i, -of, -on, -e, -ix, -i.
– SG: bˈrat -ø, -a, -i, -a, -i, -on; -a, -of, -oma/-ama, -a, -ax, -oma/-ama; -i, -of, -an, -e, -ax, -ami.
– H: bˈrat -ø, -a, -i, -a, -i, -on; -a, -of, -an/-on/-ama, -ax, -ama; -i, -of, -on/-an, -e, -ax, -ami.

Povsod je v dajalniku in mestniku ednine končnica -i, v orodniku ednine -on (tudi za c, j, č, ž, š), v P in PR je v dajalniku, mestniku in orodniku dvojine končnica -oma; v mestniku množine je v PR, SG in H končaj -ah → PR v -aj, v orodniku množine pa -ami; le v P -ih, -i.

Znano je podaljševanje osnove z -je/-ovje v množini: možˈjẹ:, bˈråtje, zoˈbou̯je/zoˈbouvge, kˈmetovje.

Znani so tudi premični, mešani in končniški naglašni tip: ˈjezik/jeˈzika/ˈgezik; ˈvọ:s, voˈza: (v Porabju, v Števanovcih, se pri mešanem naglasnem tipu v dajalniku in mestniku ednine pojavlja refleks za naglašeni jat: sveˈta:i̯); vˈra:k vraˈga, vˈragi, vraˈgo:u̯vdje (PR); ˈpes, pˈså (ˈpesa, ˈpesi/pˈsovi). Le na zahodu Haloz, v Žetalah, se pojavljajo v množini končnice -en, -ex, -emi iz zaimenske sklanjatve. Samostalnik ˈdẹca je v imenovalniku množine moškega spola (ˈDẹca so se šˈpilali.), sicer pa se sklanja po edninski ženski sklanjatvi (Deˈcẹ ni doˈma:.).

1. ženska sklanjatev

Vzorec za staro cerkveno slovanščino

Trda sklanjatev: ednina – žena, ženy, ženě, ženǫ, ženo, ženě, ženojo; dvojina – 1., 4., 5. ženě, 2., 6. ženu, 3., 7. ženama; množina: 1., 4., 5. ženy, ženъ, ženamъ, ženahъ, ženami.

Mehka sklanjatev: ednina – duša, duše, duši, dušǫ, duše, duši, dušejǫ; dvojina – 1., 4., 5. duši, 2., 6. dušu, 3., 7. dušama; množina – 1., 4., 5. duše, dušь, dušamъ, dušahъ, dušami.

Vzorec za slovenski knjižni jezik: žena, -e, -i, -o-, -i, -o; -i, -ø, -ama, -i, -ah, -ama; -e, -ø, -am, -e, -ah, -ami.

V PNS so vzorci:

– PR: ˈra:u̯ž-a, -e, -i, -o, -i, -ov; -i, -i/-ø, -ama, -i, -aj, -ama; -e, -ø/-e, -an, -e, -aj, -ami. Mešani naglasni tip: ˈra:u̯ka, roˈtẹ:, roˈta:i̯, roˈka:u̯, roˈta:i̯, roˈta:u̯v (Števanovci). V dajalniku in mestniku je a:i̯ refleks za dolgi jat. Končniški naglasni tip: ˈmiegla, magˈlẹ:, magˈla:i̯, magˈla:u̯, magˈla:i̯, magˈla:uv (Števanovci).
– P: ˈlip-a, -e, -i, -o, -i, -oj; -i, -ø, -ama, -i, -ax, -ama; -e, -ø, -an, -e, -ax, -ami. Mešani naglasni tip: ˈžena, žeˈnẹ:, ˈženi, žeˈnọ:, ˈženi, z žeˈnọ:j. Tako se sklanja tudi ˈmati, mateˈrẹ:.
– SG: ˈlip-a, -e, -i, -o, -i, -oj; -i, -ø, -oma, -i, -ax, -oma; -e, -ø, -an, -e, -ax, -ami. Mešani naglasni tip je tak kot v prleščini: gˈlåva, glaˈvẹ:.

– H: ˈlip-a, -e, -i, -o, -i, -on; -i, -ø, -ama, -i, -ax, -ama; -e, -ø, -an, -e, -ax, -ami (Žetale: ˈlip-a, -e, -i, -o, -i, -i; množina: ˈlip-e, -ø, -en, -e, -ex, -emi; e je nastal iz jata).

2. ženska sklanjatev

Vzorec za staro cerkveno slovanščino: ednina – kostь, kosti, kosti, kostь, kosti, kosti, kostijǫ; dvojina – 1., 4., 5. kosti, 2., 6. kostiju, 3., 7. kostьma; množina – 1., 4., 5. kosti, kostii, kostьmъ, kostьhъ, kostьmi. Vzorec za slovenski knjižni jezik: nit-ø, -i, -i, -ø, -i, -jo; -i, -i, -ima, -i, -ih, -ima/-ma; i, -i, -im, -i, -ih, -mi. Mešani naglasni tip: kóst, kostí, kósti, kóst, kósti, kostjó; -í, í, -éma, -í, -éh, -éma; -í, -í, -ém, -í, -éh, -mí.

V PNS je sklanjatev samostalnikov ženskega spola brez končnice takale:

– PR: ˈmiš-ø, -i, -i, -ø, -i, -jov; -i, -i, -ama, -i, -ama, -ama; -i, -i, -ån, -i, -aj, -ami. Mešani naglasni tip: ˈno:u̯č, noˈči:, z nočˈjo:u̯v. Po tej sklanjatvi se sklanja ˈkr̥f, kr̥ˈvi:, s kr̥vó:u̯v, pa tudi samostalniki na -ev: ˈtikef, tikvi; ˈcę̆rkef, ˈcę̆rkvi; ˈči:, ˈče:i̯ri; čerˈjo:u̯v.
– P: ˈnit-ø, -i, -i, -ø, -i, -joj; -i, -i, -ma; -i, -i, -im, -i, -ix, -mi; mešani naglasni tip: ˈpę̆č, peˈči:, s pečˈjǫ:j, -i:, -i:, -ę:n, -i:, -ę:x, -ˈmi:.
– SG: ˈmiš-ø, -i, -i, -ø, -i, -jo/-joj; -i, -i, -oma/-ama, -i, -ax, -oma/-ama; -i, -i, -am, -i, -ax, -ami. Kaže se vpliv ženske a-jevske sklanjatve, zlasti v zahodnem delu.
– H: ˈmiš-ø, -i, z mišjon; s kostˈjo:u̯j (vzhod); z ˈmi:ši, s ˈka:u̯sti (zahod; iz -oj); koˈka:u̯šen, koˈka:u̯šex, koˈka:u̯šemi (Žetale).

Samostalniki srednjega spola

Vzorec iz stare cerkvene slovanščine

Trda sklanjatev: ednina – lěto, lěta, lětu, lěto, lěto, lětě, lětom; dvojina – 1., 4., 5. lětě, 2., 6. lětu, 3., 7. lětoma; množina – lěta, lětъ, lětomъ, lěta, lěta, lětěhъ, lěty.

Mehka sklanjatev: ednina – ǫže, ǫža, ǫži, ǫže, ǫže, ǫži, ǫžemь; dvojina – 1., 4., 5. ǫži, 2., 6. ǫžu, 3., 7. ǫžema; množina – 1., 4., 5. ǫža, ǫžь, ǫžemъ, ǫžihъ, ǫži.

Vzorec za slovenski knjižni jezik: let-o, -a, -u, -o, -u, -om; -i, -ø, -oma, -i, -ih, -oma; -a, -ø, -om, -a, -ih, -i.

Prekmurščina: ˈlẹt-o, -a, -i, -o, -i, -on; -i, ˈle:i̯t, ˈlẹtoma, -i, -oma, -oma; ˈle:i̯ta (so biˈle:i̯), -ø, -on, -a, -aj, -ami. Znan je tudi mešani naglasni tip: neˈbo:u̯, neˈba:, ˈnebi. Podaljševanje osnov z -n- in -t- je ohranjeno, izgubilo pa se je podaljševanje s -s-: bˈreme, breˈmẹna; ˈtele, teˈleta; dˈre:i̯vo, dˈre:i̯va. Samostalniki tipa ˈgẹ:tra, pˈlü:ča so ženskega spola.

Zaradi tematskega -a- v množinskih končnicah se je v prekmurščini v imenovalniku množine -a ohranil, veže pa se z ženskimi glagolskimi in pridevniškimi oblikami.

V ednini ohranjajo snovna, skupna in pojmovna imena srednji spol.

V prleščini je srednji spol dobro ohranjen, le v množini se lahko pojavi feminizacija: ˈpr̥sa, -ø, -an, -a, -ax, -ami.

SG: oblike srednjega spola so lahko ohranjene le v ednini: ˈlẹt-o, -a, -i, -o, -i, -on; -i, -ø, -ama/-oma, -ax, -ama/-oma; ˈle:i̯t-e, -ø, -an, -e, -ax, -ami. Mešani

naglasni tip: tesˈto:u̯, tesˈta: je še pogost. Samostalniki, ki podaljšujejo osnove s -t- ali z -n-, prehajajo med samostalnike moškega spola: ˈtele, teˈleta; dv. teˈleta, mn. teˈleti; ˈsẹmen, ˈsemna, ˈsẹmni.

H: na vzhodu in na zahodu je sklanjatev srednjega spola ohranjena v ednini: ˈlẹto, dv. ˈlẹti, mn. ˈle:i̯te; Žetale: ˈli:eto, ˈli:eta; ˈli:eti, ˈle:te, -ø, -en, -e, -ex, -emi.

Pridevniška sklanjatev

V stari cerkveni slovanščini se je razlikovala sklanjatev nedoločnega pridevnika od določnega.

V PNS je ohranjena le sklanjatev po vzorcu določne, pa tudi oblika z -i je prevladala v vseh štirih narečjih; v prleščini in prekmurščini imajo pridevniki na -en še nedoločno obliko: sˈrečen, žˈmeten, ˈbetežen, drugi pa le določno: ˈnisiki, ˈšürki, gˈlọboki.

Sklanjatev določnih pridevnikov v stari cerkveni slovanščini je bila sestavljena: novyi, novoje, novaja – novajego, novyję.

V prekmurščini je sklanjatev prevzeta iz stare trde zaimenske: ta, toga.

Tako je prekmurski sklanjatveni vzorec za moški spol: ˈle:i̯pi, ˈle:i̯poga, ˈle:i̯pomi, 1. ali 2., ˈle:i̯pon, ˈle:i̯pin; ˈle:i̯piva, ˈle:i̯pi, ˈle:i̯pima, ˈle:i̯piva, ˈle:i̯pima, ˈle:i̯pima; ˈle:i̯pi, ˈle:i̯pi, ˈle:i̯pin, ˈle:i̯pe, ˈle:i̯paj, ˈle:i̯pimi. Končni -h v rodilniku dvojine in množine onemi, v mestniku množine je končnica -aj nastala iz -ah po onemitvi končnega -h. Vzorec za ženski spol: ˈle:i̯p -a, -e, -oj, -o, -oj, -of; ˈle:i̯p-ivi, -i, -ima, -ivi, -ima, -ima; ˈle:i̯p-e, -i, -in, -e, -aj, -imi. V dvojini se pritakne v imenovalniku končaj -va/-vi, verjetno iz številnika dva.

V prleščini je sklanjatveni vzorec za moški spol: ˈlẹ:p-i, -ega, -emi, 1. ali 2. -en, -in; -a, -ix, -ima, -a, -ima, -ima; -ix, -im, -e, -ix, -imi; za ženski spol: ˈlẹ:p-a, -oj, -o, -oj, -oj.

V Slovenskih goricah in v Halozah je pridevniška sklanjatev enaka kot v prleščini, le v rodilniku ednine se pojavlja poleg -ega tudi končnica -iga.

Stopnjevanje v PNS je blizu knjižnemu, z obrazili -ši, -ji, -ejši in opisno, presežnik se tvori z naj- ali nar- in obliko primernika: ˈšürši, ˈvọžiši, ˈnarˈšürši, bole gˈlọpki (prekm.).

3 Zaimki v panonski narečni skupini

Za knjižno ‘kdo’, stcsl. kъto, so znane oblike v prekmurščini: šˈtọ, ˈkọga, ˈkọmi, ˈkọga, pˈrikọn, s ˈkọn; v prleščini: šˈtọ:/gˈdọ:; v SG: šˈto/gˈdo:u̯; v Halozah: ˈda:u̯/gˈdo:u̯, ˈku:oga, ˈku:omi (Žetale).

Za knjižno kaj, stcsl. čьto – česo, so znane oblike v prekmurščini: ˈkå, ˈčesa, ˈčemi, ˈkå, pˈričen, s ˈčin; v prleščini: ˈkej, ˈčesa; v SG: ˈkåj/ˈkå; v haloškem narečju: ˈkå, ˈčẹsa.

Vprašalna zaimka sta torej šˈtọ/gˈdo:u̯ in ˈkå/ˈkåj/ˈkej.

Osebni zaimki so v prekmurščini: ˈges/ˈge/ˈjes, meˈnẹ:; prleško: ˈjas/ˈje, ˈmene; v SG: ˈja:s, ˈmie:ne; haloško: ˈjås, ˈmene, z ˈmẹni.

Primeri za prekmurske oblike osebnih zaimkov: ˈgäs/ˈge – meˈnẹ:; ˈti: – teˈbẹ:; ˈun – nˈjega; ˈuna – nˈjẹ:; ˈmüva – ˈmüvi (ž. sp.) – ˈnaja; ˈvüva –ˈvaja; ˈunadva – nˈjiva; ˈmi: – ˈnas; ˈvi: – ˈvas; ˈuni – nˈji:.

Prleške oblike: ˈjas/ˈja – ˈmene; ˈti – ˈtebe; ˈun – ˈjega; ˈuna – ˈjẹ; ˈovo – ˈovega ‘on’; ˈmi: – ˈnọ̆:s; ˈvi: – ˈvọ̆:s; ˈuni – ˈjix; dvojina: ˈmi:ja/ˈmi:je (ž. sp.), ˈnọ̆:j, ˈvi:ja – ˈvọ̆:j; ˈọvidˈvọ̆: – ˈjẹ:dva. Povratni osebni zaimek se ima v orodniku obliko ˈsọboj.

Slovenske gorice: ˈja:s – ˈmie:ne, ˈti: – ˈtie:be; ˈu:n/ˈu:ovi – ˈje:ga, ˈu:na – ˈjẹ:; ˈvi:ja/ˈvi:jadˈva:, ˈmi:ja/ˈmi:jadˈva:, ˈu:ovadˈva: – ˈu:ovixdˈve:i̯x, ˈmi: – ˈnas, ˈvi: – ˈvas, ˈu:ovi – ˈu:ovix.

Haloze: ˈjås – ˈmene – z ˈmeni; ˈti: – ˈtebe – s ˈtebi; ˈu:on – ˈjẹga; ˈu:ona – ˈjẹ – ž ˈjọ:j; ˈmi:ja – ˈno:ji; ˈvi:ja – ˈvo:j; ˈu:ondˈvo:/oˈni:ja.

Za dvojinske oblike so tipične okrajšave za dva: ˈmüva/ˈmi:ja. Za on se uporablja tudi oblika kazalnega zaimka ovi.

Pridevniški zaimki

Svojilni zaimki (prekmurščina): ˈmọj, ˈmọja, ˈmọje, ˈmo:jega; tˈvọj – tˈvọjega; nˈjegof; ˈnåjni, ˈvajni, ˈnåš, ˈvåš, nˈjixof, sˈvọj.

Prleščina: ˈmọj, tˈvọj, ˈjegof, ˈjẹ̆:ni, ˈnajin/ˈnadvin, ˈvajin/ˈvadvin; ˈje:dvin, ˈnjun, ˈnaš, ˈvaš, ˈjixof.

Slovenske gorice: ˈmọj – ˈmọ:jiga; tˈvọj – tˈvọjiga; ˈjegof, ˈjẹ:ni; ˈnaš, ˈvåš, ˈjixof.

Haloze: ˈmu:oj – ˈmu:ojga, tˈvu:oj, ˈjẹ:gof, ˈjẹ:nin, ˈno:jin, ˈvo:jin, od ˈji:ji, ˈnåš, ˈvåš, ˈji:xof (Žetale).

Kazalni, vprašalni, oziralni in poljubnostni zaimki

Prekmurščina: ˈtẹ:, ˈtoga, ˈtomi, 1./2. prˈtọn, sˈtẹ:n; ž. sp.: ˈta:, ˈtọ:j, sˈto:u̯f; ˈtisti, ˈọvi, ˈtåkši; šˈteri, ˈkåkši, ˈništerni ‘nekateri’.

Prleščina: ˈtẹ̆:, ˈta:, ˈtọ: – ˈtoga, ˈtemi, pˈriten, s ˈtẹ:n; ž. sp.: ˈta, ˈte, ˈtọj; v poudarjenem položaju v stavku se uporablja ˈtọti, ˈtọta, ˈtọto; ˈtisti, ˈọvi, ˈtaki, ˈtakši, ˈtẹ̆:ki ‘tolik’; ˈkåkši, ˈkẹ:ri, ˈkerište ‘kateri koli’, ˈkakšište, marsiˈkẹ̆:ri.

Slovenske gorice: ˈtu:oti/ˈtọti, ˈti:sti, ˈu:ovi/ˈu:oni, ˈtåki, ˈtåkši, ˈka:ki, ˈkåkši; ˈkẹ:ri, kˈtẹ:ri, ˈnẹki, ˈnekši, ˈne:i̯kini ‘nekateri’.

Haloze: ˈtu:oti, ˈta:u̯, ˈti:sti, ˈu:oni, ˈto:k, ˈki:eri, ˈko:k, ˈka:u̯vi, čiˈga:u̯ (Žetale).

4 Števniki

Glavni števniki

Prekmurščina: ˈeden/ˈen, ˈenoga, ˈena – ˈenoj; dˈva:, dˈvẹ:j, dˈvöma; tˈrije/tr̥ˈgẹ: – tˈrẹj, šˈti:ri, ˈpẹ:t, ˈšẹ:st, ˈseden, ˈọsen, deˈvẹ:t, deˈsẹ:t, dˈvåjsti, tˈrẹ:sti, šˈtirdeseˈtena, sˈto:u̯, ˈgezero.

Posebni obliki sta za 20 in 30, od 40 naprej se enice zapostavljajo za deseticami.

Podobne oblike se pojavljajo tudi v Slovenskih goricah. V prleščini in v Halozah se po obliki števniki ne ločijo od knjižnih.

Vrstilni števniki so v PNS podobni: ˈpr̥:vi, dˈrü:jgi, tˈrę:či, šˈtörti, ˈpę:ti (Prekmurje), le oblika tˈrę:či iz *tretji je samo prekmurska.

Ločilni števniki v PNS niso znani.

5 Glagol

V PNS so se razvili vsi glagolski oblikotvorni in oblikospreminjevalni vzorci, kakršne poznamo v knjižnem jeziku. Manj pogost je le predpretekli čas in redke so tudi deležijske in deležniške oblike, največ jih je ohranjenih v prekmurščini.

Sedanjiška spregatev

Vzorec iz stcsl. za tematske glagole: nesǫ, neseši, nesetъ; nesevě, neseta, nesete; nesemъ, nesete, nesǫtъ; za atematske glagole: jesmъ, jesi, jestъ; jesvě, jesta, jeste; jesmъ, jeste, sǫtъ.

Slovenski knjižni jezik – tematska spregatev: nes-em, -eš, -e; -va, -ta, -ta; -mo, -te, -jo; atematska spregatev: sem, si, je; sva, sta, sta; smo, ste, so.

Prekmurščina (vsi glagoli se spregajo po tematičnem vzorcu): neˈsę:n, neˈsę:š, neˈsę:; neˈsę:va (m. sp.), neˈsę:ve (ž. sp.), neˈsę:ta, neˈsę:ta; neˈsę:mo, neˈsę:te, neˈsę:jo; ˈsån, ˈsi, ˈje; sˈvå/sˈve, sˈtå, sˈtå; sˈmo, sˈte, so (znane so tudi poudarjene oblike: ˈjeste, ˈjestejo); spregatev glagola biti v prihodnjiku v nenaglašenem položaju: mo, boš, de; va/ve, ta, ta; mo, te, do.

Oblike deležnika na -l glagola biti: ˈbi:u̯, ˈbi:i̯la, biˈlo:u̯, biˈli:, biˈlę:. Oblike z naglašenim osebilom prevladujejo v (stari) 1. glagolski vrsti; ohranjeno je osebilo -va v 1. osebi dvojine za moški spol in -ve za ženski spol. Velelnik ima oblike: ˈnesi, ˈnesiva/ˈnesive, ˈnesimo, ˈnesite; ˈdęlaj – ˈdęlajva.

Nedoločnik se končuje na -ti (nesti) in -čti (pečti). Nedoločniška pripona -no- ← -nǫ- je ohranjena: zˈdignoti. Namenilnik na -t in -čt je ohranjen in se veže s samostalnikom v rodilniku.

Deležnik na -ł ima končaj -o, v dolinskem podnarečju tudi -u: ˈneso/ˈnesu.

V prleščini in v Slovenskih goricah so oblike blizu knjižnim. V 1. osebi dvojine se poleg osebila -va govori tudi -ma; atematični glagoli se spregajo po tematičnem vzorcu: ˈdǫ̑:ta, ˈvę:te, ˈję:te. Nedoločnik se končuje na -ti/-čti, namenilnik na -t/-čt in se veže s predmetom v rodilniku. Deležnik na -ł se praviloma končuje na -a (vpliv priseljencev iz Hrvaške), na vzhodu tudi na -o: ˈnesa/ˈneso.

Haloški govori se od drugih ločujejo po posebnem osebilu -do za 3. osebo množine na vzhodu: ˈnesedo, pˈrosido, ˈdelado (ali po analogiji z atematičnimi glagoli: bodo, vedo, jedo, gredo ali pa gre za hrvaški vpliv). Ohranjena je ena atematična oblika: ˈve:sta : ˈve:ste (Žetale). V Porabju, v vzhodni prleščini in v

vzhodnih Halozah uporabljajo ženske v 1. in 2. osebi ednine glagolske oblike za moški spol: sun ˈdẹlo (ženska).

V vsej PNS se govorijo deležja: stoˈjẹ:, poˈdọ:čki, ˈbi:fši, biˈžečki, leˈžečki, siˈdečki (prekm.) in deležniki: žˈgẹ:č, ˈvroč, noˈsẹ:ča, piˈkẹ:ča ˈro:u̯ža.

6 Prislov

V prislovnih oblikah najdemo veliko arhaičnih osnov, največ v prekmurščini: naˈšerci ‘na široko’, naˈlejci ‘na lahko’, naˈtẹ:nci ‘na tanko’, ˈnindri ‘nekje’, ˈindri ‘drugje’, pr̥ˈle ‘prej’, ˈkelko, ˈtelko, ˈse/ˈesi ‘sem’, otˈkẹ:c ‘od kod’, ˈinda ‘nekoč’, vˈgọjno ‘rano’, gˈnesˈdẹ:n ‘dandanes’, na spˈrọtolge ‘na pomlad’, ˈváči ‘drugače’, ˈtr̥no ‘zelo’, ˈre:i̯san ‘res’, ˈeti ‘tu’.

7 Predlogi

Predlogi bistveno ne odstopajo od knjižnih.

8 Vezniki

Povsod v PNS opravlja ka funkcijo veznika da. Ohranjen je veznik no iz ino ‘in’; ninč ‘niti’, liki ‘ampak’ (prekm.), ováči, ˈvenda, ˈve ‘saj’ (prleščina), ˈnei̯čˈnei̯č.

9 Členki

Členki se po narečjih razlikujejo: ˈgẹli ‘jeli’, ˈvẹj ‘saj’, ˈpa:, ˈba:r ‘samo’, ˈváči, ˈlekar ‘baje’, ˈešče ‘še’ (Prekmurje); pre, kar ne ‘ne’, ˈvi:ena ‘menda’, leki ‘mogoče’ (Slovenske gorice); ˈmorti ‘morda’, ˈve ‘saj’ (prleščina).

10 Medmeti

Medmeti izražajo človekovo razpoloženje, posnemajo naravne šume in gibe, velevajo, prepovedujejo in zapovedujejo. Za vzorec bodo navedeni najpogostejši medmeti v slovenskogoriškem narečju.

Razpoloženjski medmeti: oˈjọ:j, aˈxa:; zvalniki svetopisemskih oseb, zlasti Jezus in Marija: ˈJẹ:žoš, MaˈriːjaMaˈdọ:na, ˈbo:u̯k poˈma:ge, ˈbo:u̯g ne ˈda:j, za ˈbọžjo ˈvọlo.

Zmerjavke in kletvice: ˈsa:tan, xuˈdi:č, vˈra:k, ˈlü:cifer, prekˈlẹ:to, prokˈlẹ:manski ˈta:jfl̥, ˈpọrka maˈdọ:na, jeˈbẹ:nti, ˈpi:ši me v ˈrit.

V prekmurščini je znan še grozilni medmet: Paˈruːnteˈvˈdaːri.

Posnemovalni medmeti posnemajo šume v zvezi s človekom: ˈxa: ˈči:, ˈju:xuˈxu:; v zvezi z živaljo: mˈja:u̯, ˈki:kiriˈki:, ˈmu:, ˈxo:u̯; v zvezi z naravnim okoljem: ˈčǫf, čr̥ˈbu:nk, ˈpi:ka-ˈpǫk.

Z velelnimi medmeti vzpostavljamo stik s človekom ali živaljo. Zvalnice in pozdravi: ˈdu:o̯ber veˈčę:r (Haloze: ˈdǫbro veˈčer); ˈbo:u̯g ˈda:j, zˈbo:u̯gon, ˈbo:u̯k ˈda:j sˈri:ečo; ˈbo:u̯k ˈžie:gne, ˈbo:u̯k ˈlǫ:ne, ˈbo:u̯k de: ˈtå:l sˈvę:tix ˈmeš. Velelnice za žival: sˈtü:ja (desno), ˈxu:op (levo); za konja: ˈvi:st (na levo), ˈdübo (na desno), ˈję: (obstani). Vabni klici za živali: ˈmu:jc ˈmu:jc, ˈpi: ˈpi: ˈpi:.

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MORPHOLOGY OF THE PANNONIAN DIALECTAL

The paper presents the morphology of the Prekmurje, Prlekija, Haloze and Slovenske gorice dialects from synchronic and diachronic perspectives. A brief analysis of their phonology and vocabulary is also included. A comparison of these dialects with Old Church Slavonic and other Slavic languages reveals many similarities in their morphological evolution, while the results show that this took place more slowly in these dialects owing to the centuries-long separation of Prekmurje from the central Slovene region and to the influence of the neighboring Styrian dialects in the west. Nominal declensions are classified according to gender, while the endings may be leveled, and the dual is retained. The Prekmurje dialect preserves neuter gender nouns in the plural, while the -t-, -n- and -s- in other dialects become masculine in the dual, and all other nouns may become feminine in the singular. With the exception of the stress on endings, all stress types in the nominal declension are well preserved. A typical Prekmurje ending of the type nesén is found in Prekmurje verb conjugation. The masculine nominal declension has a dialectal -i- in the dative and in the locative of the singular as well as -e from yat

in the Prekmurje dialect. The instrumental of feminine declensions in these dialects is -o/-oj/-i -on/-ov. The Prekmurje dialect preserves the hard adjective declension and, in verb conjugation, the endings -va and -ve for the 1st person of the dual of masculine and feminine. As for non-finite parts of speech, the most productive are adverbs, particles and interjections, while prepositions and conjunctions (except for ka instead of da) are close to those in the literary language.

Prekmurje Agricultural Terminology in the Dolinsko Region[1]

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V prispevku predstavljamo narečno kmetijsko izrazje za poimenovanje kmečkega orodja, pridelkov, dela na polju in v hlevu v govoru Črenšovcev na Dolinskem v Prekmurju. Gre za raziskavo tematsko zamejenega besedišča, zbranega s terenskimi raziskavami s pomočjo tematskih vprašalnic, slikovnega gradiva in pripovedi informatorjev. Zajeto je staro besedje, ki izginja in ki ga pozna le še najstarejša generacija govorcev, pa tudi sodobno besedje, ki ga je na to področje prinesla sodobna tehnika in ki se ga oprijema mlajša generacija govorcev.

The paper presents the dialectal vocabulary of agricultural items in Črenšovci in the Dolinsko region of Prekmurje, with a focus on agricultural tools, crops, as well as field and stable work. The study is based on a thematically defined vocabulary gathered through fieldwork and with the help of questionnaires, pictures and informants' narratives. It includes archaic vocabulary that is gradually disappearing and is known only to the oldest generation of speakers, as well as the contemporary vocabulary that has been introduced along with the modern technology and is used by the younger generation of speakers.

Ključne besede: dialektologija, panonska narečna skupina, prekmursko narečje, poljedelska terminologija

Key words: dialectology, Pannonian dialect group, Prekmurje dialect, agricultural terminology

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Introduction

New developments and changes in all areas of social life are reflected as a matter of course in the rural environment. Lifestyles are changing rapidly, with repercussions for the vocabulary of each dialect – the form and meaning of words have changed, and certain vocabulary strata are increasingly disappearing. It would be a pity to see them disappear completely. This paper presents the vocabulary of agricultural tools, crops, field labour and stable work, which has been gathered through field work and with the help of questionnaires,[2] pictures and informants' narratives in the Prekmurje village of Črenšovci.

The dialect of Črenšovci, a village first documented in 1322 as *Chremsouc* (Zelko 1982: 26), is classified according to Slovene dialectology as belonging to the Prekmurje Dolinsko region subdialect. This subdialect is spoken in the south of Prekmurje along the Mura River; up the Ledava River and in Porabje, the Goričko subdialect prevails, and from Cankova across Murska Sobota all the way to Filovci and Kobilje, the Prekmurje Ravensko region subdialect is spoken. Zinka Zorko (1998: 42) differentiates these according to elements of recent Prekmurje dialect development: (1) various acoustic realizations for the long and short *a;* in the Goričko and Ravensko subdialect, both short and unstressed *a* are rounded, whereas in the Dolinsko subdialect, the influence of the Prleško dialect results in the rounding of the long *a* into *o*: / *å*; both short stressed and unstressed *a* remain open vowels; (2) development of the final *-l* into *-o* in the Goričko and Ravensko subdialect and into *-u* in the Dolinsko subdialect*;* and (3) pronunciation of the sonorant *j* in the Dolinsko and in the east part of the Ravensko subdialect as *j,* in other parts of the region pronounced as *dj*, *g, k,* or *dž.*[3] Older phonetic and morphological developments remain rather uniform.

Dialectal Agricultural Terminology

Analogous to other fields, dialectal agricultural terminology is dual in nature: on the one hand, it entails specific monosemantic words referring exclusively to objects or activities in the field of agriculture; on the other hand, it is part of general vocabulary, manifesting characteristics of general use and can be semantically or morphologically modified (Cf. Jež 1997: 212).

The dialectal terminology extracted from transcribed texts and complemented by informant interviews is presented in the form of vocabulary entries.[4] The

[2] A Questionnaire for Garden and Orchard by Francka Benedik, A Questionnaire for SLA, a questionnaire developed by Dr. Rada Cossutta on the basis of Q. ALI and ASLEF; the questionnaires were adapted to the Prekmurje economic and cultural profile.

[3] For more information on similarities and differences between the Prekmurje subdialects, see Greenberg (1993: 465–487) and Koletnik (2008: 13–16).

[4] Sample taken from Škofic (2007: 224). For the purpose of this paper, a selection of vocabulary is presented.

structure of a vocabulary entry is as follows: headword in bold font, followed by two vertical separator lines (||) and the phonetic transcription of the dialect expression in the first (basic) and second dictionary form, i.e., nouns and noun phrases in the nominative and genitive singular (plural for plural nouns); verbs in the infinitive followed by the first-person singular present form; adjectives in the corresponding male, female and neutral forms. The lexical category markers m, f, and n denote the grammatical gender of the noun and are also applicable to the subentry headwords with nominal head and adjectival qualifier; perf. and imperf. mark the grammatical aspect of the headword; adj. marks the (relational) adjective that can also occur in pair with a noun head as a subentry of the corresponding lexeme. This is followed by semantic data in italics; if a lexeme is polysemantic, different meanings are categorized by numbers. Illustrative examples follow the colon – a segment from the recorded and transcribed dialectal material that refers to the actual use of a term. The rightwards arrow → in adjectival headwords points to the noun headword; in this case, the adjective is the left-hand qualifier in the subentry headphrase. Some entries also contain a left right arrow ↔ indicating synonyms or lexemes with similar meaning. If the term is borrowed from a foreign language system, the direction of borrowing is traced according to the dictionaries (Bezlaj I–V /1976–2007/, Skok I–III /1971–1973/, Snoj /2003/, Striedter-Temps /1963/) and other reference books marked in square brackets using the leftwards arrow ←.

bel || ˈbe:i̯l̥ -a -o adj. *white* → repa

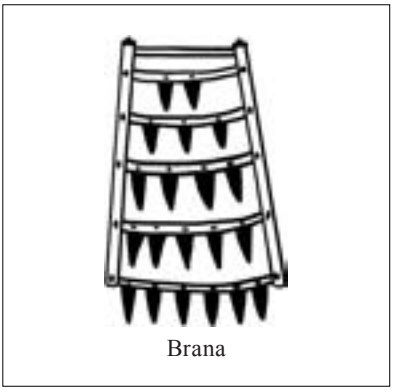
bilje || ˈbiljä -a n *outer layers of the corncob husk leaves*: ˈBiljä jä ukˈro:u̯k vlaˈti:i̯. – A corncob is wrapped in *bilje*.

bint || ˈbint -la m *a winnowing machine:* ˈNẹgda sä mˈla:tilu z ˈbintun, gˈnäs pa mˈla:timu s ˈkọmbaj̃un. – In the past, one used to thresh with a *bint;* today, we thresh with a combine. [← G. *Wind*-][5]

Bint

[5] Drawings: Nika Lopert.

brana || bˈra:na -ä f *a tool with iron teeth for loosening the soil, harrow*: Z bˈra:nuf vˈla:čimu pu ˈǰivaj. – The *brana* is pulled around the field.



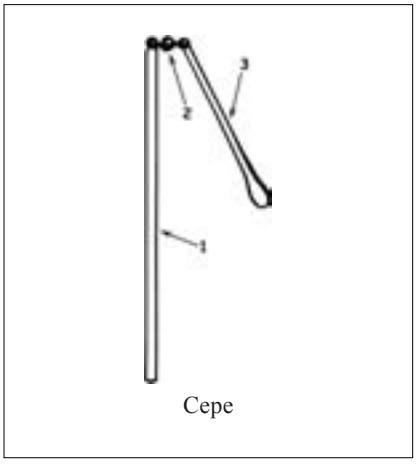
Brana

cepe || ciˈpi:ẹ ˈce:i̯pi̯ f pl. *a flail*: Ciˈpi:ẹ su is tˈre:i̯ faˈlåčkuf: ˈrǫčnik, ˈcępič pa ˈgo:u̯žäf. ˈRǫčnik, ˈtü cäˈpi:ẹ dr̥ˈži:i̯mu. S ˈcępičun mˈla:timu pu glaˈva:j sˈno:u̯pja. ˈGo:u̯žäf jä ˈbi:i̯la z ˈlędra. ˈCǫj jä ˈbü:u̯ zˈvi:ęzani̯ ˈlędr̥ni̯ ˈrämläk. – A *cepe* consists of three parts: *ročnik*, *cepič* and *gožev*. The *ročnik* is used for holding the *cepe*. With *cepič*, we thresh the sheaves. A *gožev* is made of leather and bound with a leather strap.

(1) **ročnik** || ˈrǫčnik -a m *the handle of a flail*

(2) **gožev** || ˈgo:u̯žäf -žvi̯ f *the leather binding between two parts of a flail, taplings*

(3) **cepič** || ˈcępič -a m *the part of the flail used for threshing*



Cepe

Cmer

cmer || cˈmę:i̯r -a m *male inflorescence on the top of the corn (Zea Mays) stalk*: ˈKukr̥ca ˈma: ˈmäklicu ali cˈmę:i̯r. – Corn has *metlica* or *cmer*. [← Hun. *cimer* (Novak 1996: 27)] ↔ *metlica*

cukrnjača || cukr̥ˈǰåča -ä f *white beet*: ˈCukär duˈbi:i̯mu s cukr̥ˈǰåčä. – Sugar is produced from white beet (*cukrnjača*).

čeliti || ˈčälitį̯ -in imperf. *a light threshing of sheaves:* ˈDå sˈnǫp mˈla:timu, ˈtåk kå ž ˈǰin vˈda:rjamu pu ˈädnun sˈto:u̯cį̯, pˈra:vimu, ˈkå ˈčälimu. – When we thresh a sheaf by hitting it against a chair, we say that we *čelimo*.

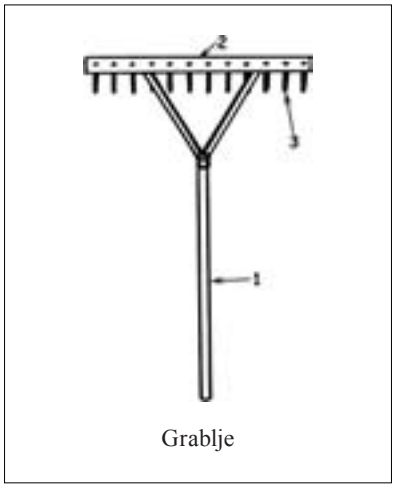
gnojiti || gnuˈjitį̯ gnuˈji:i̯n imperf. *fertilizing*: Šˈčä gˈnäs sä gnuˈji:i̯ z gˈnujun. – Even today, manure is used for fertilizing.

grablje || gˈråblä gˈra:bäu̯ f pl. *rake*: Z gˈra:blamį̯ sä gr̥ˈmådį̯. ˈDe:i̯lį̯ gˈra:bäu̯ su grabˈliščä, čäˈlü:i̯st pa ˈzǫpcį̯. – A *grablje* is used for raking. It consists of *grabljišče, čeljust* and *zobci*.

(1) **grabljišče** || grabˈliščä -a m *handle of the rake*

(2) **čeljust** || čäˈlü:i̯st – i f *the part of the rake where the teeth/tines are attached*

(3) **zobec** || ˈzǫbäc -pca m a *tooth/tine of the rake*



Grablje

grmaditi || gr̥ˈmåditį̯ -in imperf. *using the rake to heap up material*: Z gˈra:blamį̯ se gr̥ˈmådį̯. – A rake is used to heap up material (*grmadi*).

grmalija || gr̥ˈmålija -ä f *a woman using the hay-rake*: Gr̥ˈmålija gr̥ˈmådį̯.

grnjač || gr̥ˈnåč -a m *a man using the hay-rake*: ˈMǫškį̯, ˈdå gr̥ˈmådį̯, jä gr̥ˈnåč. – A man who rakes is called a *grnjač.*

gumno || ˈgümla -ä f *threshing floor*: Zaˈto:u̯ smu sˈno:u̯pjä skˈla:dalį̯ na ˈgümlu, kå je biˈlo:u̯ kˈri:ẹdį̯ za maˈši:i̯n. – Sheaves were gathered on *gumno* until they were ready for threshing.

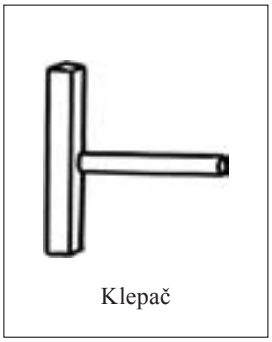
hajdina || (x)ajˈdi:i̯na -ä f *buckwheat:* (X)ajˈdi:i̯na pa zmˈlẹta ˈda: ˈčornu ˈmälu za žˈga:nikä. –The buckwheat flour is used for preparing *žganci* (boiled corn mush, grits). [← OG. *Heiden*]

ječmen || ˈjäčmän jäčˈmẹna m *barley*: ˈJäčmän jä ˈna:jpṛˈli:ẹ zˈrẹlị. – Barley is the first to ripen.

kamen || ˈkåmän -mna m *a stone*

kamen za brusiti koso || ˈkåmän za bˈrü:i̯sitị kuˈso:u̯ *a long oval stone for sharpening the scythe, a whetstone*

Kamen za brusiti koso



Klepač

Ključ

klepač || kläˈpa:č -a m *a peening hammer*: ˈKọsa sä kˈläplä s kläˈpa:čun. – A scythe is hammered with a peening hammer.

ključ || kˈlü:i̯č -a m *a tool for pulling straw from the stack*: Sˈlåmuˈsuˈmi:kalị s kˈlü:i̯čun. – Straw was pulled from the stack with a *ključ*.

kola || ˈko:u̯laˈko:u̯l n pl. *a wooden (farm) cart*: S ˈko:u̯lamị sä vuˈzilu na ˈjïvä. ˈDe:i̯lị ˈko:u̯l su ˈna:rat, ˈtån ˈbü:u̯ poˈta:č ˈgọr, ˈọplin, ˈpuza, ruˈčicä, ˈru:t, sˈfo:u̯ra pa vṛˈti:ẹu̯. Na ˈko:u̯laj su šˈčä träˈbi:ẹ, pˈre:i̯dj̃ä pa ˈza:dj̃ä träˈbi:ẹ. ˈLẹstvicä na ˈko:u̯laj pa su räbṛˈni:i̯cä. –The *kola* (the wooden cart) was used as a means of transport to the fields. The parts of the cart are the *narad*, onto which a wheel (*potač*) is attached, and the *oplen*, *polza, ročice, rud, svora* and *vrtel*. There are also *trebe* on the cart, the front and the rear *trebe*. The small ladders on the cart are called *rebrnice*.

(1) **svora** || sˈfo:u̯ra -ä f *a strong pole connecting the front and back parts of the cart, a perch*

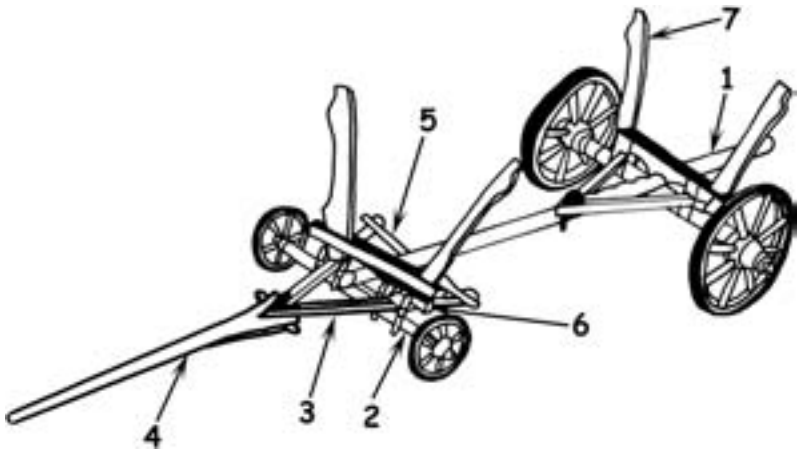
(2) **narad** || ˈna:rat -dị f *a wooden axle of the cart*

(3) **trebe** || träˈbi:ẹ -i:i̯ f pl. *a triangular part of the cart, inserted between the undercarriage and* oplen *and to which the front and rear wheels are attached, frame*

prednje trebe || pˈre:i̯dj̃ä träˈbi:ẹ *a triangular part of the cart inserted between the undercarriage and* oplen *and to which the front wheels are attached, front frame*

zadnje trebe || ˈza:dj̃ä träˈbi:ẹ *a triangular part of the cart inserted between the undercarriage and* oplen *and to which the rear wheels are attached, rear frame*

(4) **rud** || ˈru:t ˈru:da m *a pole on the front part of a cart, by which an animal is harnessed to a vehicle; shaft, a thill* [← Hun. *rud*]



Kola

(5) **polza** || ˈpuza -ä f *part of the front* trabje *(axle) of the cart (where* svora *is placed)*

(6) **oplen** || ˈo̯plin -a m *a diagonal pole on the front and rear part of the cart, to which the* ročice *are affixed ↔ vrtel*

(7) **ročica** || ruˈčica -ä f, pl. ruˈčicä ruˈči:i̯c *a wooden handle attached to the cart*

vrtel || vr̯ˈti:e̯u̯ -la m *the front* oplen ↔ oplen

rebrnica || räbr̯ˈni:i̯ca -ä f, pl. räbr̯ˈni:i̯cä -ø *a ladder-like frame attached to the side of the cart*

kombajn || ˈko̯mbaj̃ -a m *a combine*: ˈKo̯mbaj̃ pa ˈdẹla fˈsä z ˈädnin na ˈj̃iv̩, kuˈsi:i̯ pa mˈla:ti̯. – A combine on the field can mow and thresh simultaneously. [← Stand. ← Eng. *combine*]

kosa || ˈko̯sa kuˈsi:e̯ f **1.** *scythe*: ˈNẹgda sä fˈsä kuˈsi:i̯lu s kuˈso:u̯. ˈDe:i̯li̯ kuˈsi:e̯ su ˈ(x)r̯bät, ˈko̯sa, kuˈsiščä, ˈmüntäu̯, ˈo̯sträc, ˈpi:e̯ta pa ˈri:nčäk. Liˈsäni̯ ˈta:u̯ jä ˈkuˈsiščä, na kuˈsišči̯ pa jä ˈmüntäu̯. – The *kosa* used to be the only tool for cutting grass. The parts of a scythe are the *hrbet, kosa, kosišče, muntelj, ostrec, peta* and *rinček*. The wooden part is called the *kosišče;* attached to the *kosišče,* there is the *muntelj*. **2.** *blade of a scythe*: Žäˈli:e̯zni̯ ˈta:u̯ kuˈsi:e̯ jä ˈtüi̯ ˈko̯sa. – The iron part of the scythe is also called a *kosa*.

(1) **kosišče** || kuˈsiščä -a m *snath*

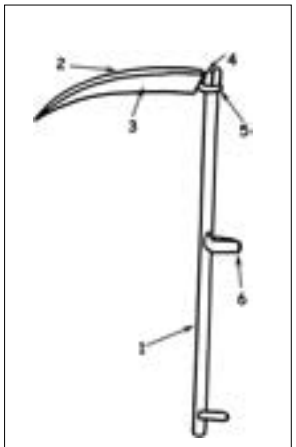
(2) **hrbet** || ˈ(x)r̯bät -pta m *chine*

(3) **ostrec** || ˈo̯sträc -a m *blade*

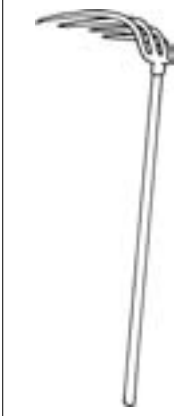
(4) **peta** || ˈpi:ẹta -ä f *heel*

(5) **rinček** || ˈri:nčäk -a m *ring*

(6) **muntelj** || ˈmüntäu̯ -tla m *snaith* [← OHG. *muntil*, south Bav. *Mü(n)tel*]



Kosa


Kramp

Krčenica

kosilnica || kuˈsilnica -ä f *mowing machine:* Kuˈsi:i̯mu s kuˈsilnicuf. ˈNẹgda pa su ˈmọškį̣ fˈsä ˈpẹškį̣ kuˈsi:i̯lį̣. –We mow with a mowing machine. Men used to cut grass manually before.

kositi || kuˈsitį̣ kuˈsi:i̯n imperf. *to cut grass or reap grain:* S kuˈso:u̯f kuˈsi:i̯mu. ˈTo:u̯ ˈdẹlu jä kušäˈj̃i:ẹ. – We cut grass with a scythe. This activity is *košenje*.

kramp || kˈråmp -a m *a tool with three or four tines for unloading and spreading manure:* Kˈråmp jä za ˈdọl kuˈpa:tį̣ gˈnuj s ˈko:u̯l na ˈj̃ivį̣. – A *kramp* is used for unloading manure on the field. [← MHG. *krampe*]

krampek || kˈråmpäk -a m *hoe with a narrow sharpened blade and two tines*: Kˈråmpäk jä za dˈro:u̯gnu uˈka:paj̃ä. – A *krampek* is used for hoeing.

krčenica || ˈkr̥̯čänca -ä f *a tool with a flat blade set at right angles to the handle and used for digging*: ˈKr̥̯čänca, ˈnücalį̣ su ju za ˈvö ˈkọpatį̣ pänuvˈji:ẹ. – *Krčenica;* it was used for pulling out tree stumps.

krumpel || kˈrumpäu̯ -pla m, pl. kˈrumplį̣ -of *potato*: Kˈrumplį̣ zrasˈti:ẹju pud zämˈlo:u̯f. Su gˈla:vna ˈra:na za liˈdi:i̯. – The potato grows underground. It is the main food for people. [← Car. G. *gruntpirn, grumper, krumpir*, Styr. G. *grundbir*]

krumplovica || kˈrumpluvica -ä f *the potato plant*: Kˈrumpluvica gˈli:ẹda ˈvö z zämˈli:ẹ. – The *krumplovica* grows above ground.

kukorica || ˈkukr̥ca -ä f *corn (Zea mays)*: ˈKukr̥co špˈrickamu, ˈkå ˈli:ẹpše rasˈti:ẹ. – Corn is sprayed for better growth. [← Cro. *kukùruz* ← Turk. *kokoroz*]

Kukorica

kukorišče || ˈkukr̥ščä -a n *dry corn husk*: Sˈlåma ˈkukr̥cä pa jä ˈkukr̥ščä. – The dry corn husk is called the *kukorišče*.

lanec || ˈlånc -a m *a chain for binding the cart wheels:* Z ˈlåncun ˈvi:ẹžämu puˈta:čä. – A *lanec* is used for binding the cart wheels. [← MHG. *lanne*]

lesen || liˈsänị -a -u adj. *the attribute of wood, wooden* → razsohe

lucerna || luˈcärna -ä f *lucerne/alfalfa (Medicago sativa)*: Luˈcärna jä ərˈdi:ẹča pa ˈma: ˈdu:u̯gä cˈve:i̯tä. – Lucerne is red and has long flowers. [← G. *Luzerne* ← Fr. *luzerne* ← Lat. *lūcerna*]

lupati || ˈlü:i̯patị -län imperf. *to remove husks from the corncob:* Vlaˈti:i̯ ˈlü:i̯plämu, ˈdọl ˈtr̥gamo ˈbilje. – Husks are peeled; they are pulled off. ↔ dol trgati

mašin || maˈši:i̯n -a m *a threshing machine*: Sˈno:u̯pjä mˈla:timu z maˈši:i̯nun. – Sheaves are threshed by a threshing machine. [← G. *Maschine*, Fr. *machine* ← Lat. *māchina* ← OGr.]

metlica || ˈmäklica -ä f *male inflorescence on the top of the corn (Zea Mays) stalk*: ˈKukr̥ca ˈma: ˈmäklicu ali cˈmẹ:i̯r. – Corn has *metlica* or *cmer*. ↔ cmer

mikati || ˈmikatị ˈmi:i̯čän imperf. **1.** *to pull straw from the stack*: Sˈlåmu su ˈmi:i̯kalị s kˈlü:i̯čun. – Straw was pulled from the stack with a *ključ*. **2.** *to pull*: Zˈrẹlu ˈrẹpu ˈmi:i̯čämu. – Ripe turnips have to be pulled.

mlatec || mˈlåtäc mˈlå(t)ca m *a person threshing*: Šˈtärị mˈla:tị, jä mˈlåtäc, či jij jä ˈväč, pa su mˈlåcị. –A person threshing is a *mlatec*; if there are several, they are called *mlatci*.

mlatev || mˈla:čäf -čvị also -čve f *the process of separating grain from the husk or panicle with a flail, a threshing machine, or a combine*: ˈTo:u̯ ˈdẹlu, ˈkå s ciˈpa:mị mˈla:timu pu glaˈva:j sˈno:u̯pja, sä zuˈvi:ẹ mˈla:čäf. – This activity, threshing the sheaves with flails, is called *mlačev*.

mlatiti || mˈla:titị -in imperf. *to separate grain from the husk or panicle with a flail, a threshing machine, or a combine*: Gˈnäs pa ˈsä mˈla:tị ˈkọmbaǰ, žˈǰä pa mˈla:tị. – Today, both are done by combine, reaping and threshing (*mlatiti*).

mrva || ˈmr̥va -ä f *hay of low quality*: ˈMr̥va jä sˈlåba ˈkr̥ma. – *Mrva* is bad *krma* (mown grass).

nakladalka || naklaˈda:lka -ä f *forage wagon, a hay wain*: Naklaˈda:lka jä maˈši:i̯n, šˈtärị si ˈsa:n nakˈla:da ˈkr̥mu. – A forage wagon is a machine for loading cut grass.

okopati || uˈkọpatị̯ uˈkọpan perf. *hoeing, hilling*: ˈDå ži kˈrumplị̯ ˈma:lu zrasˈti:ẹju, ˈtä jä tṛ̯ˈbe:i̯ uˈkọpatị̯. – When the potatoes are big enough, you have to hoe them.

orač || uˈra:č -a m *ploughman*: Uˈra:č urˈji:ẹ. – A ploughman ploughs.

otava || ˈo:u̯tava -ä f *(dry) second mowing of grass, aftermath hay*: Dṛ̯ˈgo:u̯č kuˈsi:i̯mu ˈo:u̯tavu. – *Otava* is the second-cut hay.

otika || ˈọtika -ä f *a tool for removing soil, weeds, and manure from the plough*: ˈTo:u̯ jä ˈọtika pṛ̯ pˈlügị̯. – This is the *otika* in a plough.

Otika

oves || ˈọväs ˈọfsa m *oats:* ˈỌväs puˈla:gaju ˈkuj̃un. – Horses are fed oats.

plug || pˈlük -ga m *a tool or device for tilling the soil, a plough*: S pˈlügun sä urˈji:ẹ. ˈDe:i̯lị̯ pˈlüga su ˈčṛ̯talu, ˈdäska, pˈlü:i̯žnu žäˈlẹzu, pˈri:i̯lič, ˈru:d pa ˈpi:ẹta. ˈČṛ̯talu jä biˈlo:u̯ za ˈrẹzatị̯ bˈra:zde. – A plough is used for ploughing. The parts of the plough are the *črtalo, deska, plužno železo, prilič, rud* and the *peta*. A *črtalo* is used for drawing the furrows vertically.

(1) **prilič** || pˈri:i̯lič -a m *handle* [← from *priroč*]

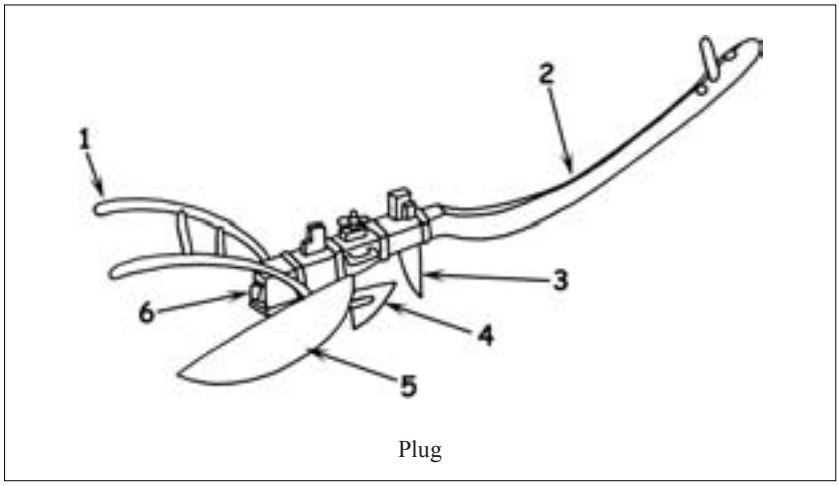
(2) **rud** || ˈru:t ˈru:da m *a pole on the front part of a plough, by which an animal is harnessed to a vehicle; shaft* [← Hun. *rud*]

(3) **črtalo** || ˈčṛ̯talu -a n *knife/coulter*

(4) **železo** || žäˈlẹzu -a n *iron*
plužno železo || pˈlü:i̯žnu žäˈlẹzu *ploughshare*

(5) **deska** || ˈdäska -ä f *mouldboard* [PS. ← Rom.]

(6) **peta** || ˈpi:ẹta -ä f *chisel*



Plug

plužen || pˈlü:i̯žän -žna -u adj. *referring to the plough* → železo

potač || puˈta:č -a m *wheel (of a cart):* Na ˈko:u̯laj pa su ˈtä biˈli:i̯ šˈčä puˈta:či̯, šˈtirjä. ˈDe:i̯li̯ puˈta:ča su plaˈtiščä, ˈšiǰa, šˈpicä, ˈpe:i̯stu, šˈtę:i̯slin pa ˈlü:näk. – There were also wheels on the cart, four of them. Their parts are called the *platišče, šinja, špice, pesto, šteslin* and *lunek*.

(1) **platišče** || plaˈtiščä -a n *felloe*

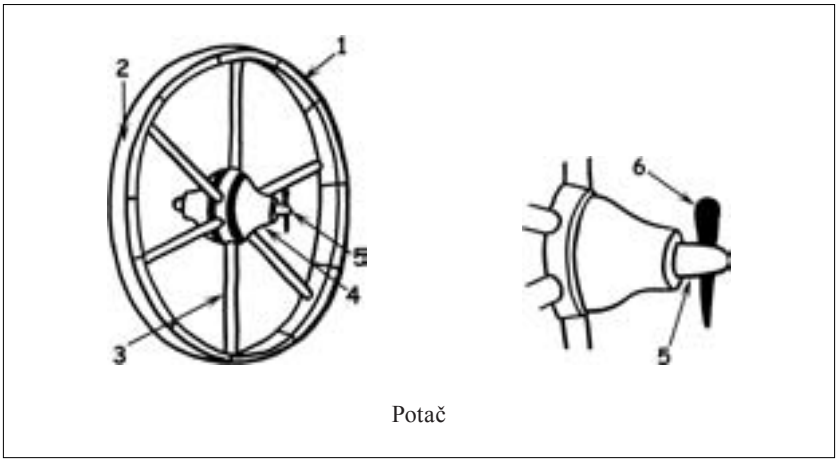
(2) **šinja** || ˈšiǰa -ä f *the steel rim on a felloe* [← G. *Schiene*]

(3) **špica** || šˈpica -ä f *spoke*

(4) **pesto** || ˈpe:i̯stu -a n *hub*

(5) **šteslin** || šˈtę:jslin -a m *the end part of the cart axle (cap) with two inserted nails preventing the wheel from slipping or falling off the axle* [← G. *Stössel*]

(6) **lunek** || ˈlü:näk -a m *a nail in the axle preventing the wheel from slipping or falling off the axle* [← MHG. *lun, lune*]



Potač

povreslo || puvˈre:i̯slu -a n also ˈpo:u̯vrisla -ä f *a furled wisp of straw for making sheaves:* Sˈnọp sä zˈvi:ẹžä s ˈpo:u̯vrisluf. – Sheaves are bound with *povreslo*.

praskač || pˈråskač -a m *plough for hoeing*: ˈKukr̥cu tr̥ˈbe:i̯ mäd ˈrändami̯ pupˈra:skati̯ s pˈråskačun. – Rows in the cornfield have to be hoed with a *praskač*.

prednji || pˈre:i̯dǰi̯ -a -u adj. *the forward part of something* → trebe

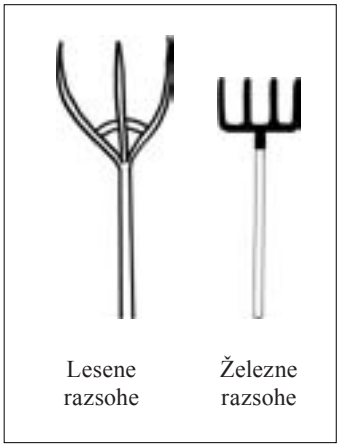
proso || pruˈso:u̯ -a n *millet*: Is pruˈsa: duˈbi:i̯mu pruˈsänu ˈkåšu. – We make porridge from boiled millet.

pšenica || pšäˈnica -ä f *wheat:* Pšäˈnicu säˈmälämu, ˈkå duˈbi:i̯mu ˈbe:i̯lu ˈmälu. – Wheat can be ground into wheat flour.

razsohe || ˈråsujä -ø f pl. *fork*

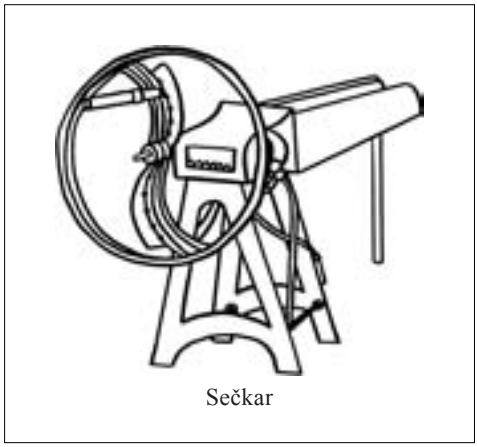
lesene razsohe || liˈsänä ˈråsujä *a long-handled, wooden, three-tine hay fork for lifting or moving hay*

železne razsohe || žäˈlẹznä ˈråsujä *a long-handled, iron, four-tine fork for moving manure*



Lesene razsohe

Železne razsohe



Sečkar

razstava || ˈra:stava -ä f *a cluster of (usually ten) freshly stacked sheaves in a field*: Pruˈsänu sˈno:u̯pjä smu pusˈta:vil̥ v ˈra:stavu. – The sheaves of millet were set into *razstava*.

renda || ˈrända -ä f *a row/line*: ˈKuk̟rco t̟rˈbe:i̯ mäd ˈrändam̥i̯ pupˈra:skat̥i̯ s pˈråskačun. – Rows in the cornfield have to be hoed with *praskač*. [← Hun. *rend* ← S. *red*]

repa || ˈrẹpa -ä f *turnip*

bela repa || ˈbe:i̯la ˈrẹpa *white turnip* (Brassica rapa): ˈBe:i̯lu ˈrẹpu pa puˈla:gamu ˈma:rxi̯. –White turnip is fed to the cattle.

rezač || riˈza:č -a m *strawcutter – a device for manual cutting of grass or straw:* ˈRọčnu su sˈlåmu ˈrẹzali̯ z riˈza:čun. – Straw was manually cut with *rezač*.

rips || ˈrips -a m *rapeseed*: ˈRips pa ˈžu:u̯tu cväˈti:ẹ. ˈRa:da ga ˈje:i̯ ˈma:rxa. – Rapeseed blossoms are yellow. Cattle like to eat it. [← G. *Raps*]

sečkar || ˈsẹčkar -a m *a larger device with a wheel for cutting (maize) straw:* Sˈlåmu, ˈkuk̟šča pa su ˈrẹzali̯ s ˈsẹčkarun. ˈTo:u̯ jä maˈši:i̯n z ˈvälkin puˈta:čun. – Straw and maize straw were cut with a *sečkar*. This is an implement with a large wheel.

sejač || siˈja:č -a m *sower*: Šˈtäri̯ ˈmäčä ˈzr̟:j̃e v zämˈlo:u̯, jä siˈja:č. – A person scattering the seeds over the soil is *sejač*.

sejalnica || ˈsẹjanca -ä f *a round or oval basket for seeds used for sowing*: Is ˈsẹjancä ˈsẹjamu. – We sow from a *sejalnica*.

sejati || ˈsẹjatị̯ -an imperf. *to sow*: ˈDå ˈmäčämu ˈzr̥̄:j̄ä v zämˈlo:u̯, ˈtä pˈra:vimu, ˈkå ˈsẹjamu. – When we scatter seeds over the soil, we say that we are sowing.

silje || ˈsiljä -a n *rye*: ˈŽi:ẹtva jä, ˈdå sä kuˈsi:i̯ ˈsiljä. – At the time of harvest, *silje* is cut. ↔ žito

snop || sˈnọp -a m *a larger wisp of reaped grain or straw, a sheaf:* ˈMọškị̯ su kuˈsi:i̯lị̯, ˈžänskä pa su ˈdẹlalä sˈnọpä. –The men used to cut grass and the women made sheaves.

srp || ˈsr̥̯:p -a also sr̥̯ˈpa: m *a tool with a wooden handle and curved blade for cutting crops, a sickle*: S ˈsr̥̯:pun tˈra:vu bäˈri:ẹmu, ˈkåj ˈse:i̯kamu, ˈnẹgda pa sä ˈtüi̯ ˈžälu ˈsr̥̯:pun. – A sickle is used for clearing grass or cutting; in the past, it was used for harvesting.

Snop

Srp

Stolec
za klepati

stolec || sˈtọläc sˈtọu̯ca m *seat, chair*

stolec za klepati || sˈtọläc za kläˈpåtị̯ *a sharpening-anvil*: ˈGọr na sˈtọu̯cị̯ za kläˈpåtị̯ pa jä ˈbåpka. –The *babka* is part of the sharpening-anvil.

(1) **babka** || ˈbåpka -ä f *the upper part of the sharpening-anvil*: ˈBåpka jä žäˈlẹznị̯ faˈlåčäk na sˈtọu̯cị̯ za kläˈpåtị̯. – A *babka* is the small iron part of the sharpening-anvil.

strnišče || str̥̯ˈniščä -a n *a stubble of short stalks in the field after harvesting*: ˈTån, ˈgẹ jä biˈlo:u̯ puˈžätu ˈžitu, jä str̥̯ˈniščä. – Where *žito* has been cut, stubble remains in the field.

šker || šˈki:ẹr -i̯ f *tool or implement:* Luˈpa:ta pa kˈråmp pa kˈråmpäk fˈküpär, ˈtọmị̯ ˈmi:i̯ pˈra:vimu šˈki:ẹr. – The shovel and mattock and *krampek* altogether are called *šker*. [← OHG. *giskirri*, MHG. *geschirre*]

tikev || ˈtikäf -kvi̯ f *pumpkin*: ˈNa:jpr̥ˈli:e̯ su ˈtikvi̯ zäˈli:e̯nä, ˈtä sä pa puˈmåli̯ ˈzo̯riju pa graˈčüvläju ˈžu:u̯tä. ˈTikvi̯ zrasˈti:e̯ju ˈja:ku ˈdäbälä. – Pumpkins are green at first; when they ripen, they get yellow. They can become very big.

traktor || tˈråktur -a m *a motor vehicle used to pull heavy loads, especially farm implements, a tractor*: Gˈnäsˈdi:e̯n fˈsä urˈji:e̯mu s tˈråkturun. – Today, a tractor is used for soil cultivation. [← G. *Traktor* ← Lat. *tractor*]

trgati || ˈtr̥gati̯ -an imperf. *to pull/tear something off*

trgati dol || ˈdo̯l ˈtr̥gati̯ *to remove husks from the corncob* ↔ lupati

vlačiti || vˈla:čiti̯ -in *loosening the soil with a harrow* (brana): Z bˈra:nuf vˈla:čimu pu ˈǰivaj. – The *brana* is pulled (*vlačiti*) around the field.

vlat || vˈla:t vlaˈti:i̯ f **1.** *corncob with husk leaves:* ˈBiljä je ukˈro:u̯k vlaˈti:i̯. – A corncob is wrapped in *bilje*. **2.** *the upper part of a plant with grain, for example in oats or millet*: Udzˈgo̯ra ˈma: sˈno̯p vlatuvˈji:e̯. – Sheaves have *vlati* on the top.

Vlat

vratnica || vratˈni:i̯ca -ä f *a patch of grass at the edge of a field, where the plough is turned during ploughing:* Na ˈkunci̯ ˈǰivä pa su vratˈni:i̯cä. – At the edge of a field, there are *vratnice*.

zadnji || ˈza:dǰi̯ -a -u adj. *the rear part of something* → trebe

žanjec || žiˈǰäc -a m *harvester*: ˈŽitu je puˈko:u̯su žiˈǰäc s kuˈso:u̯f. – A *žanjec* cuts *žito* with a scythe.

železen || žäˈlęzän -zna -u adj. *made of iron* → razsohe

žetev || ˈži:e̯tva -tvä f *harvest*: ˈŽi:e̯tva jä, ˈdå sä kuˈsi:i̯ ˈsiljä. – At the time of the harvest, the *silje* is cut.

žito || ˈžitu -a *a cultivated plant yielding starchy grain suitable for food (cereal), or its grains; rye:* ˈŽitu pa zrasˈti:e̯ ˈja:ku ˈvisku, zmˈlętu pa ˈda: ˈčornu ˈmälu. ˈŽitu je ˈərš. – *Žito* can grow very high; it can be ground into whole-grain flour. *Žito* means rye. ↔ silje

Vocabulary and its Origin

The compiled material in Črenšovci shows that the dialectal agricultural terminology is still well preserved. The basic (old) dialectal agricultural terminology is Slavic; loanwords are mostly of Germanic origin. The oldest German loanwords in the Prekmurje dialect, e.g., *muntelj* and *šker,* can be traced back to Old High German. Both these words are used only in the dialect. Loanwords from Middle High German and later, borrowed predominantly from Bavarian German, are marked by Standard Slovene as neutral – *kramp,* dialectal – *lunek, rips* or eastern dialectal – *(x)ajdina*; one word is time-bound – *lanec;* the words *krumpel, šinja* and *šteslin* can be found only in the dialect. A large number of loanwords of Romance origin entered the Pannonian vocabulary via the German language, e.g., *lucerna, traktor, mašin* – the first two words qualify as neutral and the third one as colloquial. From Hungarian, the words *rud* and *cmer* are borrowed. This indicates that the influence of Hungarian (being of non-Indo-European origin) was less significant for the Prekmurje dialect than the influence of German.[6]

One loanword entered the dialect from English via Standard Slovene – *kombajn*, another was borrowed from the Turkish language via Croatian – *kukorica*.

Conclusion

The variety of changes in Slovene society and language is reflected in the Prekmurje Dolinsko region vocabulary in the field of agriculture. For centuries, this vocabulary has been developing at the crossroads of the three largest European language areas; consequently, the range of Romance, Germanic and general Slavic elements based on the native Proto-Slavic vocabulary is clearly reflected in the Pannonian dialect. We can observe that Prekmurje dialect expressions in the field of agriculture and other areas related to rural life still constitute a rich native Slavic substratum, as loanwords entail merely 20 % of the vocabulary. Owing to the constantly changing situation (technical innovation, exchange of tools, new farming methods), however, the ancient and even general Slavic terminology related to farming is gradually disappearing from use in the middle generation of speakers and is practically unknown to the younger generation. Recent vocabulary established in accordance with Slovene word-formation rules often adopts the already existing loanwords (e.g., *kombajn*).

By creating an inventory of the existent and gradually disappearing terminology, we seek to prevent it from falling into oblivion and to stimulate a comparison between terminological vocabulary material of various Slovene dialects. This would allow for a demarcation of the individual lexeme areas

[6] Agricultural vocabulary of Slavic origin has been borrowed by Hungarian as well, a phenomenon which can be observed in the following examples: Hun. *kukorica* 'koruza' (corn/maize), *rend* 'red, vrsta (sena)' (row, line of hay), and *ugorka* 'kumara' (pickle).

and their semantic range, as well as contributing to the realization of the idea of creating discrete Slovene dialectal terminology dictionaries.

LANGUAGE ABBREVIATIONS

Eng. – English, Bav. – Bavarian, Fr. – French, OGr. – Old Greek, Cro. – Croatian, Stand. – Standard, Car. – Carinthian, Lat. – Latin, Hun. – Hungarian, G. – German, PS. – Proto-Slavic, S. – Slavic, Rom. – Romance, Slo. – Slovene, MHG. – Middle High German, O. – Old, OHG. – Old High German, Styr. – Styrian, Turk. – Turkish.

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PREKMURSKA DOLINSKA POLJEDELSKA TERMINOLOGIJA

Prispevek obravnava prekmursko dolinsko poimenovalno besedje s področja poljedelske dejavnosti. Gre za strokovno izrazje, ki zaradi spreminjajočega se načina življenja izginja iz aktivnega besednega zaklada govorcev. Prekmurski izrazi za poljedelstvo in vse, kar je povezano s kmečkim življenjem, sicer še tvorijo bogat izvirnoslovanski substrat, vendar pa stara slovanska terminologija pri srednji generaciji govorcev hitro tone v pozabo, mlajša generacija pa je sploh ne pozna več. Stoletja ustaljeno kmetijsko orodje so zamenjali različni stroji in pripomočki, skupaj z njimi pa se prevzemajo tudi poimenovanja zanje.

Besedje tujega izvora v narečni poljedelski terminologiji je zlasti germansko in romansko, kar kaže na to, da je bil stik z neindoevropskim madžarskim jezikom za prekmurščino manj usoden kot nemščina, prek katere so bili v panonsko leksiko največkrat sprejeti tudi romanizmi, čeprav je bilo Prekmurje s Porabjem od 11. stoletja sestavni del ogrskega kraljestva in odtrgano od drugih slovanskih pokrajin.

Besedje stare kmečke delovne šege na Koroškem – steljeraje[1]

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V prispevku v obliki narečnega slovarja predstavljam besedje stare koroške kmečke delovne šege – steljeraje. Izhodišče je DVD-posnetek, ki so ga naredili domačini na kmetiji Golak na Dolgi Brdi pri Prevaljah na Koroškem leta 2007. Koroško mežiško delovno besedje s področja steljeraje je primerjano s koroškim podjunskim.

The article presents the lexis of an old Carinthian working custom *steljeraja* in the form of a dialect dictionary. The lexis is based on a film on DVD made by the locals on the Golak's farm in Dolgo Brdo near the town of Prevalje na Koroškem in 2007. The aim of the article is to juxtapose and compare the two Carinthian dialects based on the old farming procedure *steljeraja*, namely, (1) the Carinthian Mežica dialect (*koroško-mežiško)* and (2) the Carinthian Podjuna dialect (*koroško-podjunsko*).

Ključne besede: kmečko opravilo, steljeraja, koroško narečje, narečni slovarček

Key words: farm chores, *steljeraja*, Carinthian dialect, dialect dictionary

1 Uvod

V prispevku osvetljujem in prikazujem staro koroško opravilo – steljerajo. Posebno pozornost bom namenila predstavitvi tega običaja in njegovi jezikovni podobi.

[1] Prispevek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega projekta J6-2238 z naslovom Slovenski jezik v stiku evropskega podonavskega in alpskega prostora, ki ga financira Agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost RS; odgovorni nosilec projekta je red. prof. dr. Marko Jesenšek.

Kmečka opravila (steljeraja, požigalništvo, gnojvoža, mlatev, košnja, teritev, žetev, nosačija, kožuhanje …) so včasih opravljali ročno in v velikih skupinah, a so jih zaradi napredka mehanizacije začeli opuščati v 60. letih 20. stol.

Leta 2007 so se na kmetiji Golak na Dolgi Brdi pri Prevaljah na Koroškem odločili, da bodo posneli steljerajo. Šego so dokumentirali v modernem videozapisu (DVD). Uporabljali so staro kmečko orodje, se trudili slediti vsem običajem in navadam, ki jih je steljeraja včasih zahtevala. V 67-minutnem filmu je sodelovalo 31 ljudi, posnel in uredil ga je Janko Tomaž, 'narečni' komentar pa je dodal domačin Mitja Šipek.[2]

Komentar sem najprej fonetično zapisala,[3] na podlagi zapisa izdelala narečni slovarček, nato pa sem besede primerjala z do sedaj edinim sistematično zbranim besedjem o steljeraji v diplomskem delu Tine Zagernik.[4] Besede, ki jih avtorica ni zapisala in niso bile omenjene na DVD-filmu, sem preverila na kmetiji Golak na Dolgi Brdi.

2 Predstavitev steljeraje

Steljeraja je bila znana v spodnjem delu Mežiške doline, poznali pa so jo še na Smrekovcu in Uršlji gori. Ko so bila vsa nujna dela opravljena, so morali kmetje v drugi polovici oktobra priskrbeti še steljo za živino. Pripravljali so jo na različne načine: iz vej iglavcev, grabili so listje, želi praprot in mah. Za pomoč so poprosili domačine.

Na kmetiji so imeli že nekaj dni pred opravilom dovolj dela s pripravami (iz mlina so pripeljali vreče moke, iz katere so ženske pekle beli in črni kruh, moški so zaklali ovco). Ko je napočil čas steljeraje, se je po poteh proti kmetiji že navsezgodaj zaslišalo vriskanje in petje. Veljalo je, da so zelo spoštovali tistega, ki je prišel prvi, ga tisti dan ves čas hvalili in slavili vse leto, v nasprotju s tem pa so iz zadnjega brili norca in pravili, da je 'prignal tele'. Steljeraje niso imeli tisti kmetje, ki so steljo sami pripravljali sproti (Oder 1992: 285–286; Ficko 1965: 163). Skupna dela so bila razdeljena v dva dela. V prvem je vsak opravljal določeno delo, zabavnejši del je bil na vrsti na koncu. Pomembno vlogo je imela hrana, zlasti obilna večerja z različnimi in s številnimi jedmi (Oder 1992: 281–282). Pri delu so se uporabljala različna orodja (sekire, krampižlje/kremplje – priprave za plezanje po drevju, lestve ipd.). Konec 19. stoletja so steljo pridobivali s klestenjem vej stoječega iglastega drevesa. To delo so opravljali moški. Nekateri so na tleh 'košutili', sekali koše in čedili tla. Ženske

[2] Rojen 5. 9. 1926 v Šentanelu nad Prevaljami, živi na Prevaljah.

[3] Govor gospoda Šipka že vidno odstopa od narečne osnove. Iz zapisa komentarja je razvidno, da je bil govorec vnaprej pripravljen, saj je moral slediti dogajanju in gibajoči se sliki na filmu, to pa v spontanem govoru skoraj ni mogoče.

[4] Tina Zagernik, 2001, *Besedje koroškega delovnega običaja steljeraja na Strojni*, mentorica dr. Vera Smole, Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za slovanske jezike in književnosti.

so odsekane veje zlagale na kupe, imenovane ‘vlaki’, ki so jih nekateri sproti spravljali domov pod streho, drugi so jih do zime pustili v gozdu in spravili, ko so imeli čas in je bil dober sanenec. Doma so steljo sekali z ‘računom’. V začetku 20. stoletja so način klestenja dreves opuščali in so jih začeli podirati, jim oklestili veje in spravili steljo. Namesto sekanja stelje s sekiro so v času kraljevine SHS začeli uporabljati slamoreznico. Steljo so klestili tako dolgo, dokler gospodar ni ugotovil, da je imajo dovolj za svoje potrebe. Med delom so se pogovarjali, vriskali in peli. Navadno so šele v mraku odšli nazaj na kmetijo (Oder 1992: 285–286; Ficko 1965: 163).

Gospodinja je ob steljeraji napekla vrsto dobrot, ki jih je predpisoval jedilnik: pšenični kruh s sirom in z jabolki, pečene in kuhane štruklje, kuhana mrzla jabolka, pečen močnik, šarkelj (okrašen s svečami in pušeljcem), krompirjevo ali svinjsko juho s kruhom, žgance, jegliče (kuhane na mleku), krompirjev močnik s svinjskim mesom, ovčje meso, štrudelj, krofe, pili so mošt in žganje … Za popotnico so steljerajevci dobili hlebec belega kruha (Kunaver 1999: 59–60). Glavna pojedina je bila zvečer, ko so se umili in zbrali v hiši pri večerji. Prežihov Voranc omenja, da je pri večerji doživel dvajset ‘riht’. Prve so ljudje menda še pojedli, medtem ko so druge puščali. Sama večerja naj bi trajala 4–5 ur (Oder 1992: 286; Ficko 1965: 163).

Po večerji je sledil višek dneva – zabava z različnimi igrami, šalami, plesom na glasbo frajtonarice, petjem, poslušanjem citer … Ena od iger se je imenovala ‘lov na pušeljc’. Hči ali dekla je v hišo na krožniku prinesla majhen šarkelj, okrog njega so bile nataknjene cigare in sveče. Sredi šarklja je bil okrašen pušeljc. Kdo ga je dobil, je bilo odvisno od zmage v igri ‘pipalci’ ali ‘pušeljc loviti’. Med skupino fantov so vrgli smrekov vršič ali kakšen drug predmet. Zmagovalci so za nagrado dobili pozlačene cigare, pušelj ali darilo v denarju, ki je bil vtaknjen v jabolko. Igricam je sledil ples. Igrali so na frajtonarico, bas in klarinet (Oder 1992: 286; Ficko 1965: 164). Izročitev glavnega pušeljca je opisal tudi koroški pisatelj Prežihov Voranc.[5]

Kadar so opravljali steljerajo na dveh kmetijah hkrati, se je zgodilo, da so eni poslali drugim ‘abšajdasnik’, ki je vseboval ostanke hrane in pušeljc iz kopriv. Tega je navadno prinesel našemljen moški. Ker je bila takšna podtaknitev ‘darila’ za kmeta sramota, so skušali ‘abšajdasnika’ vrniti pošiljavcem (Ficko 1965: 164).

[5] Prežihov Voranc, *Steljeraja*, Zbrana dela II, Ljubljana, 1965.

3 Koroška narečna skupina[6]

3.1 *Govor vasi Šentanel*

Šentanel nad Prevaljami je bil naseljen že v času naseljevanja Podjune in Koroške (12. in 13. stoletje). Obstaja domneva, da se je na področju Mežiške doline in Podjune govorilo enotno narečje, a je to zaradi odprtosti doline proti vzhodu vedno bolj podlegalo sosednjim, štajerskim govorom. Jezikovni vplivi so bili šibki predvsem na področju Šentanela, Strojne in v drugih hribovitih predelih, ki ležijo severno od reke Meže. Zaradi geografskega položaja teh krajev je torej govor ohranil tudi podjunske poteze.

Tine Logar uvršča Šentanel nad Prevaljami v koroško narečno skupino – v podjunsko-mežiško narečje (Logar 1975: 65). Za Mikica (1974: 7) je to najvzhodnejši del podjunskega narečja. Ramovš je to narečje imenoval mežiško-koroško narečje s štajerskimi elementi. Govor Šentanela bi lahko torej označili kot prehodni govor med podjunskim in mežiškim narečjem.

3.2 V osnovi ima govor poteze podjunskega narečja (npr. pojavi *a* za ъ, ь v dolgih zlogih, labiovelarizacija *ā* > *ō*, razvoj *l'* > *l*, *ń* > *i̯*, prehod *ł* > *u̯*), na drugi strani pa se ta govor oddaljuje od podjunske osnove in se približuje mežiški (npr. izguba nazalnosti, izguba intonacijskega razlikovanja, določene pozicijske skrajšave vokalov). Glasoslovje tega narečja ne pozna intonacijskih opozicij, vsi naglašeni samoglasniki so padajoče intonirani in govor je doživel vse naglasne pomike. Samoglasniki so samo ustni, nosniki so se raznosnili. Poznajo dolge in kratke, naglašene in nenaglašene samoglasnike. Dolgi so vedno naglašeni, medtem ko so lahko kratki naglašeni ali nenaglašeni. Slednji nastopajo pred naglašenim zlogom ali za njim (Mikic 1974: 7). Kratki naglašeni samoglasniki so možni samo v zadnjih ali edinih besednih zlogih. Njihovo število je v govoru razmeroma veliko, to pa zaradi izvedenega terciarnega naglasnega umika ter nekaterih pozicijskih skrajšav dolgih samoglasnikov.

Nenaglašeni polglasnik je rezultat moderne vokalne redukcije, močne v vokalnem sistemu nenaglašenih samoglasnikov.

Konzonantizem je razmeroma preprost in razvojno ni doživljal večjih sprememb. Največje so prestali palatalni glasovi (npr. *l'* > *l*, *ń* > *i̯*, *n*) in velarni *ł*, ki je na koncu besede in pred *o*, *a*, *u* prešel v *u̯*. Sekundarne palatalizacije velarov ni, redki pa so tudi refleksi za drugo praslovansko palatalizacijo. V soseščini več soglasnikov je prihajalo do asimilacijskih in disimilacijskih pojavov. Pri tem je delovala tendenca k poenostavitvi konzonantnega sistema. Znana sta štekanje in švapanje, *l'* je izgubil palatalnost, za *ń* pa se med samoglasniki govori *j*, sicer *n*.

[6] Več o tem glej pri Benko (2008: 219–234); Logar (1975: 107–108); Greenberg (2002: 27); Mikic (1974); Zorko (1998: 179); Zorko (2009: 33–49).

4 Slovarček besed

Namen prispevka je v obliki slovarčka predstaviti narečno delovno izrazje, povezano s steljerajo. Pri izbiri besedja mi je bilo izhodišče narečno besedilo z DVD-posnetka. V slovar je vključeno besedje, ki se nanaša na predmete ali opravila v zvezi s steljerajo (način dela, spravilo stelje, orodje, hrana, zabava), in besedje, ki sodi v splošni besedni zaklad koroškega narečja. V nadaljevanju razlagam obliko slovarskega sestavka ter predstavljam primerjavo z delom Tine Zagernik in analizo besedja.

4.1 *Sestava slovarskega sestavka*

Poknjižena iztočnica je zapisana krepko. Za dvema navpičnicama sledi fonetična narečna ustreznica v prvi/osnovni in drugi slovarski obliki, njej pa besednovrstna oznaka iztočnice. Samostalniku je dodana rodilniška končnica, tej pa označba spola (m, ž, s), ponekod tudi števila (mn.), pridevnik ima zapisane končnice za ženski in srednji spol, glagol pa končnico za prvo osebo ednine ter označbo za vid (dov., nedov.). Iz ležečega tiska je razvidna pomenska razlaga, ki se v večini primerov opira na SSKJ. Več pomenov je znotraj leksema označenih s krepko zapisanimi številkami. Pomenski razlagi sledi fonetično zapisano ponazarjalno gradivo.

V oglatem oklepaju je za primerom rabe besede navedena razlaga, ki se opira na etimološke slovarje (Bezlajev *Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika* in Snojev *Slovenski etimološki slovar*) in druge priročnike ter slovarje (*Deutsche Lehnwörter im Slovenischen* Hildergard Striedter-Tempsove, *Nemško-slovenski slovar* in *Slovensko-nemški slovar* Janeza Gradišnika, Debenjakov elektronski *Nemško-slovenski slovar*). Če besede v omenjenih slovarjih in priročnikih ni mogoče najti, oglatih oklepajev ne navajam.

Temu delu sledi preverba besede v *Slovarju slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (označba: SSKJ) in v Pleteršnikovem *Slovensko-nemškem slovarju*[7] (označba: Plet.), in sicer je z znakom »+« označeno, da se beseda v slovarju nahaja z istim pomenom kot v narečju, z »–«, da besede v njem sploh ni in z znakom »p–«, da ima beseda v slovarju drugačen pomen kot v narečju.

4.2 *Slovarček*[8]

avbeten || ˈa:u̯betən -tna -tno prid. *neroden* ˈKəkər ˈa:u̯betno zgˈwa:da, pa u̯ˈsẹ ˈtu:ə ne gˈrẹ ˈčri:əs ˈmẹ:je toˈva:rištva. SSKJ– Plet.–

[7] Transliterirana izdaja.

[8] Zaradi prostorske omejitve navajam le 70 besed (44,02 %) od skupaj 159.

avženga || ˈa:u̯žŋga -e ž *kmetija* /…/ poˈsi:əbno na ˈve:čjix pawərˈni:jax pa so ˈmərli za nasˈti:əu̯ posˈkərbet na steleˈra:jax, ˈka:mor so poˈwa:bli ˈtọt soˈse:de. ˈA:na ˈta:kix pawərˈni:j je ˈGọ:lakowa ˈa:u̯žŋga. SSKJ– Plet.–

bart || ˈbart m star. s številnikom ali z izrazom količine *krat* Ta dˈru:go ˈbart pa se poˈmi:rijo dekˈlẹ:te. [izposojeno iz srvnem. *ein vart* ‘enkrat’ (Bezlaj 1976: 12)] SSKJ+ (star.) Plet.+

venčbart || ˈwe:nčˈba:rti prisl. *izraža več ponovitev* ˈCux ˈža:go wˈləčt, ki jo je ˈdọns zaˈmẹ:njawa moˈto:rka, je bˈwọ xuˈdi:čewo ˈtəško ˈdẹ:wo. Pa sta se ˈwe:nčˈba:rti ˈmərwa ˈdẹ:da zaˈmẹ:njat z dˈru:gim dˈwi:əma, da sta se ˈwa:xko ˈma:wo otpoˈči:wa. SSKJ+ Plet.+

birt || ˈbi:rt -a m *gospodar* Mˈwa:di, ˈmo:čni ˈdẹ:di pa so se spˈra:jli nad smˈrẹ:ke, ˈki:re je ˈbi:rt opˈsọ:do na sˈmərt. [nem. der *Hauswirt* ‘gospodar’] SSKJ+ Plet.–

buren || ˈbu:rən -na -no prid. *slab* ˈTam ˈlọ:jtərnik zˈvərnejo, da se ˈma:x zwaˈli: pred ˈnọ:ten, kˈjir ga že ˈča:ka sˈta:ri ˈGa:špər s sˈtẹ:lnico u̯ ˈro:ki. /…/ En ˈca:jt ˈsi:əka, ˈpọl si naˈba:še ˈfa:i̯fo, u̯ˈmi:əs poˈtẹ:ne ˈkak ˈdọ:u̯x poˈži:rək ˈmo:šta al pa pərpoveˈdu:je dogoˈdi:u̯šəne radoˈvẹ:dnim ziˈja:lom, ˈkə so se nabˈra:li oˈku:wo nˈje:ga in se ˈču:dijo, ˈkək da si sˈta:ri ˈGa:špər še ni otˈsẹ:ko ˈpərstou̯, ko ˈtək ˈbu:rno ˈvi:di, če gˈlix ma ˈa:ne sˈta:re cˈvi:karje na ˈnọso. [pslovan. **slăbъ* ‘slaboten, šibak’ (Bezlaj 1995: 252–253)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

ceug || ˈcẹ:ux -xa m *orodje* u̯ˈsak si poˈi:še tapˈra:vi ˈcẹ:ux za ˈdẹ:wo. [nem. das *Werkzeug* ‘orodje’] SSKJ– Plet.–

cug žaga || ˈcux ˈža:ga -e ž *dvoročna žaga z nazobčanim listom za žaganje* ˈPọ sta pa dˈwa: ˈmo:čna ˈdẹ:da ˈcux ˈža:go wˈli:əkwa ˈsəm pa ˈtọ:ta ˈtuj ˈpọu̯ ˈu:re, poˈsi:əbno še, če je bˈwa smˈrẹ:ka ˈtọ:u̯sta. ˈCux ˈža:go wˈləčt, ki jo je ˈdọns zaˈmẹ:njawa moˈto:rka, je bˈwọ xuˈdi:čewo ˈtəško ˈdẹ:wo. Pa sta se ˈwe:nč ˈba:rti ˈmərwa ˈdẹ:da zaˈmẹ:njat z dˈru:gim dˈwi:əma, da sta se ˈwa:xko ˈma:wo otpoˈči:wa. [nem. der Zug *poteg*; nem. die Säge *žaga*; die Zugsäge *dvoročna žaga*] SSKJ– Plet.–

črničevec || čərˈni:čou̯c -u̯ca m *borovničevec* ˈNa:jprej se ˈma:wo potpˈre:jo s šˈta:mpərl̥om taˈbọ:lšega – čərˈni:čou̯ca. SSKJ+ (nar. severovzhodno) Plet.–

delati || ˈdi:əwati ˈdi:əwam nedov. **delati na roke** || ˈdi:əwati na ˈro:ke ˈdi:əwam na ˈro:ke nedov. *opravljati delo na določenem področju s pomočjo rok* u̯ sˈta:rix ˈca:jtix, ˈkọ še ni bˈwọ ˈnẹ ˈcẹ:st pa ne eˈlẹ:ktrike pa ˈtuj kˈmẹ:čke mexaniˈza:cije ˈni:so pozˈna:li, se je na ˈpa:u̯rex deˈwa:wo u̯ˈsẹ na ˈro:ke. SSKJ+ Plet.+

delo || ˈdẹ:wo -a s *delanje, vezano na določeno področje* Med najstaˈrẹ:jšimi xˈwa:pəc ˈGa:špər s sˈvo:jimi ˈọ:semdeseˈti:mi ˈli:ətami poˈča:si kˈra:wla za nˈji:mi, če gˈlix je doˈlọ:čen le za sˈtẹ:lo ˈse:kat, kar je ˈbọl ˈwa:xko ˈdẹ:wo. ˈDẹ:wa bo ˈmẹu̯ za ˈci:əwo ˈzi:mo. SSKJ+ Plet.+

enbart || ˈanˈbart prisl. *izraža, da kaj nima ponovitve* Na ˈanˈbart pa pərleˈti: met pleˈsa:u̯ce ˈbu:ča, naˈfi:lana z ano rečˈjọ, ko ne diˈši:, smərˈdi: pa. SSKJ+ Plet.+

farba || ˈfa:rba -e ž *barva* Koˈrọ:ški ˈmọšt je ˈču:dežna piˈja:ča. ˈMa zˈwa:toroˈme:no ˈfa:rbo in sˈte:če po kˈrọ:fo ko najˈbu:lše ˈvi:no. ˈMa pa ˈču:dežno ˈmu:əč. [nem. die *Farbe*] SSKJ – Plet. +

flaškon || flašˈkọ:n -a m *velika opletena trebušasta steklenica, pletenka* ˈLi:əpe ko deˈvi:ca Maˈri:ja s flašˈkọ:nom ụ̄ ˈro:kex, ˈki:ər ˈnọsta piˈja:čo – koˈrọ:ški ˈmọšt od ˈwa:nskega ˈlẹ:ta, ko je ˈsa:dje obroˈdi:wo. [prevzeto iz nem. *flasche* ‘steklenica’ (Snoj 1997: 127)] SSKJ + (pog.) Plet. –

frišno || fˈri:šno prisl. *veselo* Za ˈta:ke ˈdẹ:wo si na ˈno:ge pr̥ˈwẹ:žejo kˈrẹ:mple, da ˈwa:xko ˈtək ko ˈọpice zˈli:əzejo ˈtọt na ˈvərx smˈrẹ:ke, ˈkir fˈri:šno zaˈju:ckajo. [izposojeno iz srvn. vrisch, nvn. *Frisch* ‘svež’ (Bezlaj 1976)] SSKJ – Plet. +

fura || ˈfu:ra -e ž *prevoz, vožnja* In ˈtək pˈri:de ˈfu:ra sˈrẹ:čno do ˈdu:əma. [prevzeto iz nar. nem. *fuhren*, kar ustreza knjiž. nem. *führen* ‘voditi, peljati’] SSKJ + (nižje pog.) Plet. –

furm || ˈfu:rm -a m *način, metoda* ˈTut na ˈtak ˈfu:rm se na steleˈra:jax spozˈna:jo mˈwa:di ˈlədi /…/ [izposojeno iz bav. avstr. *Furm* (Bezlaj 1976: 133)] SSKJ – Plet. –

furman || ˈfu:rman -a m *kdor vozi, prevaža s konjsko vprego* Zaˈtu:ə ˈfu:rman ụ̂ˈta:kne an ˈkọụ̂ met špˈri:kle ˈza:dnix koˈli:əs, da se ne ˈsu:čejo. [nem. *der Fuhrmann*] SSKJ + (pog.) Plet. –

gospodinja || gospoˈdi:na -e ž **1.** *ženska, ki opravlja ali vodi domača, hišna dela* Gospoˈdi:na pa ˈči:əre ụ̄ kuˈxi:ji pa ˈpərpˈra:ụ̄lajo ˈkọ:što za ˈma:lco pa za iˈži:no. **2.** *gospodarjeva žena* Ko je miˈni:wo ˈpar ˈur ˈdẹ:wa pa ˈtuj ˈka:ka ˈpẹ:səm se je ˈču:wa, se na ˈrọ:bo ˈle:sa pərˈka:že gospoˈdi:na s ˈko:rpom na gˈwa:wi. Ụ̂ ˈko:rpo so naˈdi:əwane ụ̂ˈsẹ ˈso:rte dobˈrọ:te za ˈma:lco – kwoˈba:se, ˈsir pa ˈpa:wr̥ški kˈrux. [izvedeno od *gospodь* s sufiksom *-yni*za *gospod* je najbolj verjetna razlaga iz **gostь-pod-ь* < **ghostipots* (Bezlaj 1976: 164)] SSKJ + Plet. +

holcar || ˈọ:lcar -ja m *drvar, kdor se poklicno ukvarja z napravljanjem drv* Sˈta:ri, isˈku:šeni ˈọ:lcarji so ˈmẹ:li ˈwẹ:i̯ko ˈdẹ:wa, da so smˈrẹ:ko zvˈli:əkl̥i na fˈra:je, da so jo ˈwa:xko oklesˈti:li. [nem. der *Holzhauer*, der *Holzer*] SSKJ – Plet. –

ibržen || ˈi:bəržən -na -no prid. *tisti, ki je odvečen* Če je šˈkọ:da smˈrẹ:ko ˈpọ:dərt, sˈtẹ:le je pa preˈma:wo, je tˈri:əbe zˈle:st na smˈrẹ:ko in odˈse:kat ˈtəste ˈvẹ:je, ˈko so ˈna:jˈbọl̥ ˈi:bəržne. [nem. *überflüssig* ‘odvečen’] SSKJ – Plet. –

ižina || iˈži:na in juˈži:na -e ž *kosilo* Gospoˈdi:na pa ˈči:əre ụ̄ kuˈxi:ji pa ˈpərpˈra:ụ̄lajo ˈkọ:što za ˈma:lco pa za iˈži:no. [pslovan. *južina* je izpeljano iz pslovan. *jugъ*, sloven. *jûg*, ker je bil to prvotno obed, ki so ga jedli opoldne, ko je Sonce najbolj na jugu (Snoj 1997: 206)] SSKJ – Plet. –

kol || ˈkọụ̄ ˈkọ:wa m *dolg, srednje debel, v prerezu navadno okrogel lesen predmet* Zaˈtu:ə ˈfu:rman ụ̂ˈta:kne ˈan ˈkọụ̂ met špˈri:kle ˈza:dnix koˈli:əs, da se ne ˈsu:čejo. [splošnoslovan. (Bezlaj 1982: 54)] SSKJ + Plet. +

konj || ˈkọ:jn -a m *domača žival, ki se goji zlasti zaradi vprege in ježe* ˈDọns, ko ni ˈku:əs ˈna:i̯t ˈwo:lọụ̄, smo pa zapˈrẹ:gli ˈkọ:jna, da se ˈrọ:ba spˈra:ji ˈdu:əmo. [splošnoslovan. (Bezlaj 1982: 62)] SSKJ + Plet. +

kopanje || koˈpa:ne glagolnik od kopati *dobivati, jemati kaj iz zemlje z odstranjevanjem zemeljskega materiala* Beˈsi:əda ˈko:šna ˈmo:rda ni ˈta pˈra:wa, ˈbọl geˈna:u̯ bi ˈrəkli koˈpa:ne ˈma:xa. [splošnoslovan. (Bezlaj 1982: 64)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

kos || ˈku:əs prisl., nav. ekspr., z dajalnikom, v povedni rabi, v zvezi **biti kos** *izraža, da je kdo telesno ali duševno dovolj močen za izvršitev določenega dela* U̯ sˈta:rix ˈca:jtix so u̯ ˈlọ:jtərnik u̯pˈrẹ:gli ˈwo:le. ˈDọns, ko ni ˈku:əs ˈnai̯t ˈwo:lou̯, smo pa zapˈrẹ:gli ˈkọ:jna, da se ˈrọ:ba spˈra:ji ˈdu:əmo. SSKJ+ Plet.+

kosa || ˈko:sa -e ž *orodje z dolgim rezilom in dolgim ročajem za košenje trave* Poˈpọ:u̯dne se je zaˈčẹ:wa ˈko:šna ˈma:xa. /…/ Za ˈta:ko ˈko:šno so naˈrẹ:te poˈsi:əbne ˈko:se, pˈre:ca ˈbọl kˈra:tke ko pa ˈtəste za tˈra:wo. SSKJ+ Plet.+

košnja || ˈko:šna -e ž **košnja maha** || ˈko:šna ˈma:xa -e -a ž *delo, dejavnost, povezana s pospravljanjem maha v gozdu* Poˈpọ:u̯dne se je zaˈčẹ:wa ˈko:šna ˈma:xa. Beˈsẹ:da ˈko:šna ˈmo:rda ni ˈta pˈra:wa, ˈbọl geˈna:u̯ bi ˈrəkl̥i koˈpa:ne ˈma:xa. Za ˈta:ko ˈko:šno so naˈrẹ:te poˈsi:əbne ˈko:se, pˈre:ca ˈbọl kˈra:tke ko pa ˈtəste za tˈra:wo. Koˈsi:jo pa ˈwa:xko le ˈmọčni mˈwa:di ˈdẹ:di, ko ˈmərjo ˈve:det, ˈkək se ˈza:čne. ˈNa:jprej je tˈri:əbi otˈko:pat ˈpərvi ˈkọ:u̯tər ˈma:xa, da ˈpọle ˈkọ:pleš napˈrẹ:i̯ in ˈkọ:u̯tər poˈti:skaš pˈrẹt ˈsẹ:bo. ˈMa:x je ˈtəžek, poˈsi:əbno še po ˈdəžo in je pˈra:va šintaˈri:ja še za mˈwa:de. ˈKọ:u̯tər spˈru:əti naˈla:gajo na ˈlọ:jtərnik. SSKJ+ Plet.+

kovter || ˈkọ:u̯tər -ra m **kovter maha** || ˈkọ:u̯tər ˈma:xa -ra -a m *odeji podobna debelina maha, ki jo je steljerajevec v gozdu potiskal pred sabo* ˈNa:jprej je tˈri:əba otˈko:pat ˈpərvi ˈkọ:u̯tər ˈma:xa, da ˈpọle ˈkọ:pleš napˈrẹ:i̯ in ˈkọ:u̯tər poˈti:skaš pˈrẹt ˈsẹ:bo. ˈMa:x je ˈtəžek, poˈsi:əbno še po ˈdəžo in je pˈra:va šintaˈri:ja še za mˈwa:de. ˈKọ:u̯tər spˈru:əti naˈla:gajo na ˈlọ:jtərnik. [za sloven. oblike je treba izhajati iz srvnem. *kolter*, *kulter* ‘prešita vatirana odeja’ (Bezlaj 1982: 75)] SSKJ+ (nižje pog.) Plet.–

krempelj || kˈrẹ:mpl̥ -a m *krampež – železna priprava z ostrimi konicami za na čevlje, ki služi za plezanje* Za ˈta:ko ˈdẹ:wo si na ˈno:ge pr̥ˈwẹ:žejo kˈrẹ:mple, da ˈwa:xko ˈtək ko ˈọpice zˈli:əzejo ˈtọt na ˈvərx smˈrẹ:ke, ˈkir fˈri:šno zaˈju:ckajo. [izposojeno deloma iz srvnem. *krempl*, demin. h *krampe* ‘krempelj’ (Bezlaj 1982: 88)] SSKJ+ (nar. kor.) Plet.+

lahek || ˈwa:xek -xka -xko prid. *za katerega ni potreben velik trud, spretnost* Med najstaˈrẹ:jšimi xˈwa:pəc ˈGa:špər s sˈvo:jimi ˈọ:semdeseˈti:mi ˈli:ətami poˈča:si kˈra:wla za nˈji:mi, če gˈlix je doˈlọ:čen le za sˈtẹ:lo ˈse:kat, kar je ˈbọl ˈwa:xko ˈdẹ:wo. [splošno slovan. (Bezlaj 1982: 120)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

les || ˈli:əs ˈle:sa m *gozd* ˈPo:le pa ˈbi:ca, za nˈjọ pa u̯ˈsi dˈru:gi, mˈwa:di steleˈra:jou̯ci, gˈrẹ:jo u̯ ˈli:əs. [splošno slovan. *lěsъ* morda iz ide. **lēso-* (Bezlaj 1982: 135)] SSKJ+ (knjiž.) Plet.+

lojtrnik || ˈlọ:jtərnik -a m *voz z lestvi podobno pripravo na straneh* ˈBa:be so sˈtẹ:lo nameˈta:le na ˈlọ:jtərnik, da ga ˈfu:rman odˈpẹ:le ˈdu:əmo. U̯ sˈta:rix ˈca:jtix so u̯ ˈlọ:jtərnik u̯pˈrẹ:gli ˈwo:le. ˈDọns, ko ni ˈku:əs ˈnai̯t ˈwo:lou̯, smo

pa zapˈrẹ:gli ˈkọ:jna, da se ˈrọ:ba spˈra:ji ˈdu:əmo. [izposojeno iz srvnem. *leiter(e)*, srvnem. bav. *lǫiter* (Bezlaj 1982: 148)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

lov || ˈlǫu̯ ˈlọ:va m **lov za pušeljc** || ˈlǫu̯ za ˈpu:šə̯lc ˈlọ:va za ˈpu:šə̯lc m *ljudska igra pri steljeraji* Ta gˈla:u̯ne na ˈko:nco steleˈra:je pa so ˈlu:tske ˈi:gre u̯ˈsẹx ˈsọrt. ˈDọns ˈvəčər je bˈwa ˈpərva ˈlǫu̯ za ˈpu:šə̯lc. [splošno slovan. (Bezlaj 1982: 152); pušeljc – prevzeto iz nepreglašene bav. avstr. oblike *Puschel* ‘šopek’ (Bezlaj 1982: 138)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

mah || ˈma:x -a ž *rastlina brez pravih cvetov in korenin, ki raste na vlažnih, senčnih krajih* Poˈpọ:u̯dne se je zaˈčẹ:wa ˈko:šna ˈma:xa. [splošno slovan. (Bezlaj 1982: 160)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

mošt || ˈmọšt ˈmo:šta m *sladek sok iz mletega, mečkanega grozdja, sadja, jabolčnik* Koˈrọ:ški ˈmọšt je ˈču:dežna piˈja:ča. /…/ ˈMa pa ˈču:dežno ˈmu:əč. Po ˈa:nem ˈli:tro̯ zaˈpo:je ˈtuj ta ˈmu:tasti, ˈkə ˈma ˈmọšt ˈkər ˈnẹ:ki alkoˈhọ:la. Za ˈca:jta sˈta:re ˈA:u̯stro-ˈỌ:grske so ga imenoˈva:li ˈki:nder ˈmọ:xer, po ˈna:še “izdeloˈva:lec otˈru:ək”. Zgodoˈvi:narji tərˈdi:jo, da je zaˈtu:ə na Koˈrọ:škem bˈwọ ˈtẹ:i̯ko neˈza:konskix otˈru:ək, pa ne zaˈtu:ə, kot trˈdi:jo ˈa:ni, da ˈma:jo Koroˈši:ce ˈta:ko naˈwa:do, če ji ˈre:češ “ˈdǫu̯ se u̯ˈsẹ:di”, se pa wˈlẹ:že. [izposojeno iz srvnem. *most* ‘mlado vino, sadjevec’ (Bezlaj 1982: 196)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

nafilan || naˈfi:lan -a -o prid. *napolnjen* Na ˈanˈbart pa pərleˈti: met pleˈsa:u̯ce ˈbu:ča, naˈfi:lana z ano rečˈjọ, ko ne diˈši:, smərˈdi: pa. [nem. *füllen* polniti, napolniti] SSKJ– Plet.–

netiti || ˈni:ətit -im nedov. *delati, povzročati, da nastane ogenj* ˈCi:əwa kuˈxi:ja je diˈša:wa po sˈmo:li, ˈka:dar se je ˈni:ətwo s ˈpa:cl̥ni. SSKJ+ Plet.+

ogenj || ˈọ:jgən -na m *pojav, pri katerem oddaja snov ob spajanju s kisikom svetlobo in toploto* ˈVẹ:je se razˈsi:əka za ˈpa:cl̥ne, ˈko ˈtək ˈləpo goˈri:jo na otˈpərtem ˈọ:jgno pa ˈtǫj u̯ šˈpo:ˈre:rto, ˈtam, kjer so se ˈtəste ˈca:jte že ˈwa:xko pərˈwọ:šli ˈtak ˈlu:ksus. SSKJ+ Plet.+

okleševanje || oklešeˈwa:ne nedov. *oklestiti – s sekiro odstraniti (drevesu) veje* Za oklešeˈwa:ne so bˈlẹ po naˈwa:di doˈlọ:čene ˈba:be pa še ˈkak pasˈti:r. SSKJ– Plet.–

pacelj || ˈpa:cl̥ -na m *dolg, srednje debel, v prerezu navadno okrogel lesen predmet* ˈVẹ:je se razˈsi:əka za ˈpa:cl̥ne, ˈko ˈtək ˈləpo goˈri:jo na otˈpərtem ˈọ:jgno pa ˈtǫj u̯ šˈpo:ˈre:rto, ˈtam, kjer so se ˈtəste ˈca:jte že ˈwa:xko pərˈwọ:šli ˈtak ˈlu:ksus. SSKJ– Plet.–

paver || ˈpa:wər -ra m *kmet* Ụ sˈta:rix ˈca:jtix, ˈkọ ˈše ni bˈwọ ˈnẹ ˈcẹ:st pa ne eˈlẹ:ktrike pa ˈtuj kˈmẹ:čke mexaniˈza:cije ˈni:so pozˈna:li, se je na ˈpa:u̯rex deˈwa:wo u̯ˈsẹ na ˈro:ke. [nem. der Bauer *kmet*] SSKJ+ (nižje pog.) Plet.–

pavernija || pawərˈni:ja -e ž *kmetija* ˈTuj žˈwa:di je bˈwọ ˈwẹ:i̯ko, poˈsi:əbno na ˈvẹ:čjix pawərˈni:jax pa so ˈmərli za nasˈti:əu̯ posˈkərbet na steleˈra:jax, ˈka:mor so poˈwa:bli ˈtọt soˈsẹ:de. SSKJ– Plet.–

pavrški || ˈpa:wr̥ški -a -o prid. *kmečki* Ụ ˈko:rpo so naˈdi:əwane u̯ˈsẹ ˈso:rte dobˈrọ:te za ˈma:lco – kwoˈba:se, ˈsir pa ˈpa:wr̥ški kˈrux. [nem. bäuerisch *kmečki*] SSKJ– Plet.–

ploh || pˈwo:x -a m *debelejši ploščat kos lesa iz podolžno razžaganega debla* ˈDẹ:di pa so ˈde:blo razˈža:gali na pˈwo:xe. [izposojeno iz srvnem. *bloch*, *bloc*, bav. nem. *ploch* ‘Holtzblock’ (Bezlaj 1995: 60)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

pob || ˈpu:əb -a m *fant, deček* ˈNa:jprej se zaˈže:nejo ˈpu:əbi za gˈwa:tko oˈlu:pleno ˈrẹ:po, naˈma:zano z ˈžẹ:fo, da je sˈpọ:u̯ska. [prevzeto iz srvnem. bav. *puobe* (Bezlaj 1995: 65)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

podreti || ˈpọ:dərt -drem dov. *s silo narediti, da kaj pride iz pokončnega položaja na tla* Če je šˈkọ:da smˈrẹ:ko ˈpọ:dərt, sˈtẹ:le je pa preˈma:wo, je tˈri:əbe zˈle:st na smˈrẹ:ko in odˈse:kat ˈtəste ˈvẹ:je, ˈko so ˈna:jˈbọl̥ ˈi:bəržne. SSKJ+ Plet.+

podurhati || poˈdu:rxati -am dov. *hitro oditi, zbežati* ˈTəsti, ki jo ˈvərže med pleˈsa:u̯ce, jo ˈməre ˈxi:tro poˈdu:rxat. SSKJ+ (pog., ekspr.) Plet.–

privezati || pr̥ˈwẹ:zati pr̥ˈwẹ:žem dov. *z vrvjo, trakom, verigo pritrditi* Za ˈta:ko ˈdẹ:wo si na ˈno:ge pr̥ˈwẹ:žejo kˈrẹ:mple, da ˈwa:xko ˈtək ko ˈọ:pice zˈli:əzejo ˈtọt na ˈvərx smˈrẹ:ke, ˈkir fˈri:šno zaˈju:ckajo. SSKJ+ Plet.+

pušeljc || ˈpu:šəlc -a m *šopek* Ta gˈla:u̯ne na ˈko:nco steleˈra:je pa so ˈlu:tske ˈi:gre u̯ˈsẹx ˈsọrt. ˈDọns ˈvəčər je bˈwa ˈpərva ˈlọu̯ za ˈpu:šəlc. [prevzeto iz nepreglašene bav. avstr. oblike *Puschel* ‘šopek’ (Bezlaj 1995: 138)] SSKJ+ (pog.) Plet.+

repa || ˈrẹ:pa -e ž *pripomoček pri igri na zabavi po steljeraji, pri kateri so beli del repe namilili, udeleženci steljeraje pa so jo skušali uloviti* ˈNa:jprej se zaˈže:nejo ˈpu:əbi za gˈwa:tko oˈlu:pleno ˈrẹ:po, naˈma:zano z ˈžẹ:fo, da je sˈpọ:u̯ska. [pslovan. **rěpa* (f.) poleg **rěp'a* (f.) pomensko in formalno ustreza stvnem. *râba* ‘repa’, srvnem. *râbe* < ide. **rēpā* (Bezlaj 1995: 171)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

sklestiti || skˈlẹ:stit -im dov. *s sekiro odstraniti (drevesu) veje* Kar je že na tˈli:əx, se ˈməra ˈwọn skˈlẹ:stit, ˈvẹ:je pa oˈčẹ:dit ˈtək, da se sˈtẹ:la naˈmẹ:če na an ˈkup, ˈvẹ:je pa na dˈru:gi ˈkup, da se u̯ˈsẹ sˈkọp spˈra:ji ˈdu:əmo. SSKJ+ Plet.+

spraviti || spˈra:jt -im dov. *navadno s prizadevanjem narediti, doseči, da kdo ali kaj pride s kakega mesta, na kako mesto* Mˈwa:di, ˈmo:čni ˈdẹ:di pa so spˈra:jli nad smˈrẹ:ke, ˈki:re je ˈbi:rt opˈsọ:do na sˈmərt. SSKJ+ Plet.+

stelerajevec || steleˈra:jou̯c -a m *tisti, ki se udeleži steljeraje* ˈPo:le pa ˈbi:ca, za nˈjọ pa u̯ˈsi dˈru:gi, mˈwa:di steleˈra:jou̯ci, gˈrẹjo u̯ ˈli:əs. SSKJ– Plet.–

stelja || sˈtẹ:la -e ž *kar se uporablja za pripravljanje ležišča domačim živalim* Med najstaˈrẹ:jšimi xˈwa:pəc ˈGa:špər s sˈvo:jimi ˈọ:semdeseˈti:mi ˈli:ətami poˈča:si kˈra:wla za nˈji:mi, če gˈlix je doˈlọ:čen le za sˈtẹ:lo ˈse:kat, kar je ˈbọl ˈwa:xko ˈdẹ:wo. [pslovan. **stèľa* (f.) je nomen actionis < nomen acti ‘kar se nastelje, položi’ (Bezlaj 1995: 316)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

steljeraja || steleˈra:ja -e ž *pripravljanje stelje, navadno s klestenjem smrekovih vej* ˈTuj žˈwa:di je bˈwọ ˈwẹ:i̯ko, poˈsi:əbno na ˈvẹ:čjix pawr̥ˈni:jax pa so ˈmərli za nasˈti:əu̯ posˈkərbet na steleˈra:jax, ˈka:mor so poˈwa:bli ˈtọt soˈsẹ:de. SSKJ+ (nar. koroško) Plet.–

steljnica || sˈtẹ:lnica -e ž *orodje, s katerim se čisti veje in pridobiva steljo* ˈTam ˈlọ:jtərnik zˈvərnejo, da se ˈma:x zwaˈli: pred ˈnọ:ten, kˈjir ga že ˈča:ka sˈta:ri ˈGa:špər s sˈtẹ:lnico ụ̑ ˈro:ki. SSKJ+ (redko) Plet.+

suhlica || soxˈli:ca -e ž *suha veja* Pa ˈpar soxˈli:c bo tˈri:əba ˈdọụ̑ poˈse:kat. [pslovan. *sûchъ*, **sucjā*, *sûcho*pomen ‘siccus’ (*súha*) je splošnoslovan. (Bezlaj 1995: 339)] SSKJ– Plet.p–

šarkelj || ˈša:rtəl -tlna m *pecivo iz kvašenega testa z vmešenimi rozinami* In ˈtəsta, ki zˈma:ga, doˈbi: od gospoˈda:rja ˈxi:še ˈša:rtəl, okˈra:šen s ˈcu:kərčki. [prevzeto iz bav. nem. *Schärtel*, *Schärtling* (Bezlaj 2005: 11–12)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

šintarija || šintaˈri:ja -e ž *težko delo* ˈMa:x je ˈtəžek, poˈsi:əbno še po ˈdəžo in je pˈra:va šintaˈri:ja še za mˈwa:de. [nem. die *Schinderei* ‘garanje, muka’ (Bezlaj 2005: 45)] SSKJ– Plet.–

špo(r)hert || šˈpọˈxe:rt -a m *naprava z železno ploščo za kuhanje in ogrevanje* ˈVẹje se rasˈsi:əka za ˈpa:cl̥ne, ˈko ˈtək ˈləpo goˈri:jo na otˈpərtem ˈọ:jgno pa ˈtọj ụ̑ šˈpọˈxe:rto, ˈtam, kjer so se ˈtəste ˈca:jte že ˈwa:xko pərˈwọ:šli ˈtak ˈlu:ksos. [nem. *Sparrherd* ‘štedilnik’ < ‘varčno ognjišče’ iz *sparen* ‘varčevati’ in *Herd* ‘ognjišče’ (Bezlaj 2005: 107)] SSKJ+ Plet.–

štala || šˈta:la -e ž *hlev* In ga je gospoˈda:r, ki je ˈbiụ̑ pˈraụ̑ xuˈdo:bən, enosˈta:ȗ̯no ˈvərgo is šˈta:le, kjer je ˈmẹụ̑ sˈvọ:jo ˈpọ:jstl̥o, ˈtək da še presˈpa:t ni ˈmọụ̑. [morda izposojeno iz srvnem. *stal* (m.), *-lles* ‘prostor za živino, hlev’ zaradi spola južnoslovan. *stâla* je bolj verjetno, da je to rom. izposojenka (Bezlaj 2005: 105)] SSKJ+ (nižje pog.) Plet.+

štamprl || šˈta:mpərl̥ -a m *šilce – prostorninska mera, 0,3 decilitra* ˈNa:jprej se ˈma:wo potpˈre:jo s šˈta:mpərlom taˈbọ:lšega – črˈni:čoȗ̯ca. [izposojeno iz bav. avstr. *Stamperl* ‘kozarec brez ročaja za žganje, liker’ (Bezlaj 2005: 106)] SSKJ+ (nižje pog.) Plet.–

tolst || ˈtọ:ȗ̯st -a -o prid. *debel* ˈPọ sta pa dˈwa: ˈmo:čna ˈdẹ:da ˈcux ža:go wˈli:əkwa ˈsəm pa ˈtọ:ta ˈtuj ˈpọụ̑ ˈu:re, poˈsi:əbno še, če je bˈwa smˈrẹ:ka ˈtọ:ȗ̯sta. [pslovan. *tъ̑lstъ ali *tъ́lstъ (Bezlaj 2005: 195)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

vleči || ụ̑ˈlẹ:či -em nedov. *s silo, usmerjeno proti sebi povzročati premikanje česa za seboj, k sebi* ˈCux ˈža:go ụ̑ˈlə̀ct, ki jo je ˈdọns zaˈmẹ:njawa moˈto:rka, je bˈwọ xuˈdi:čewo ˈtəško ˈdẹ:wo. [pslovan. *vьlk-tí, *velčèšь ‘vleči’ (Bezlaj 2005: 331)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

vodni || ˈwọdni prisl. *dopoldan* ˈWọdni, ko je ˈu:ra ụ̑ ˈtu:rno odˈbi:wa dˈwa:nȃ̯st, se je dˈru:ščina uˈsu:wa pˈrọti ˈdu:əmo na iˈži:no. SSKJ+ Plet.+

vol || ˈwo:ụ̑ ˈwo:wa m *skopljen samec goveda, ki se goji zlasti zaradi vprege in mesa* Ụ̑ sˈta:rix ˈca:jtix so ụ̑ ˈlọ:jtərnik ụ̑pˈrẹ:gli ˈwo:le. [pslovan. *vòlъ povezujejo s pslovan. *velъ‟ ‘velik’ in domneva prvotno ‘velika žival’, *volъ pomeni samo ‘skopljeno moško govedo’ (Bezlaj 2005: 339)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

voz || ˈwu:əs ˈwo:za m *vozilo z navadno štirimi kolesi za prevoz ljudi in tovora, ki ga vleče vprežna žival* Če je teˈrẹ:n sˈtərm, se ˈwa:xko zgoˈdi:, da ˈkọjn ne ˈmọ:re zausˈta:jt ˈtəškega ˈwo:za in bi bˈlẹ potˈri:əbne bˈrẹ:mze, ki jix pa ˈlọ:jtərnik ˈni:ma. Zaˈtu:ə ˈfu:rman ụ̑ˈta:kne ˈan ˈkọụ̑ met špˈri:kle ˈza:dnix koˈli:əs, da se

ne ˈsu:čejo. In ˈtək pˈri:de ˈfu:ra sˈrẹ:čno do ˈdu:əma. [pslovan. **vözъ* < ide. **u̯óg'ho-* je nomen actionis iz korena **u̯eg'h-* 'vesti, peljati, premikati' (Bezlaj 2005: 347)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

vpreči || u̯pˈrẹ:či -žem dov. *pripeti vprežno žival z vprežno opremo k vozu* U̯ sˈta:rix ˈca:jtix so u̯ ˈlọ:jtərnik u̯pˈrẹ:gli ˈwo:le. SSKJ+ Plet.+

zasekati || zaˈsi:əkati zaˈsi:ačem dov. z *udarcem, udarci z ostrim predmetom, narediti zarezo, odprtino v kaj* Smˈrẹ:ke, viˈso:ke ˈtuj dˈwajst ˈmẹ:tro u̯, ni bˈwọ ˈtək ˈwa:xko ˈdọ u̯ ˈpọdr̥t. ˈNa:jprej jo je xˈwa:pəc na ˈe:nem kˈra:jo zaˈsi:əko, da je doˈlọ:čo, na ˈki:ri kˈraj bo ˈpa:dwa. SSKJ+ Plet.+

žajfa || ˈžẹ:fa -e ž *milo* ˈNa:jprej se zaˈže:nejo ˈpu:əbi za gˈwa:tko oˈlu:pleno ˈrẹ:po, naˈma:zano z ˈžẹ:fo, da je sˈpọ:u̯ska. [izposojeno iz zgodnjesrvnem. bav. *žaife* 'milo', *žaifen* 'militi' (Bezlaj 2005: 434)] SSKJ+ (nižje pog.) Plet.+

živad || žˈwa:t -di ž *bitje, ki se hrani z organskimi snovmi, ima čutila in se navadno lahko premika* ˈTuj žˈwa:di je bˈwọ ˈwẹ:i̯ko, poˈsi:əbno na ˈvẹ:čjix pawərˈni:jax pa so ˈmərli za nasˈti:əu̯ posˈkərbet na steleˈra:jax, ˈka:mor so poˈwa:bli ˈtọt soˈsẹ:de. [prvotno verjetno kolektivna tvorba (kot *živâd*) tipa *drhâl*, lat. *animal*, *-ālis* (n.) 'živo bitje' (Bezlaj 2005: 458)] SSKJ+ Plet.+

4.3 *Analiza besedja, zbranega v narečnem slovarčku*

Celoten narečni tematski slovarček o steljeraji vsebuje 159 besed. V prispevku jih je prikazanih le 70.[9] Zbrano besedje lahko glede na izvor razdelimo na neprevzeto in prevzeto besedje. Največ besed je neprevzetih oziroma slovanskega izvora (55 – 34,6 %). Šekli in Toporišič pod neprevzete lekseme uvrščata tudi tiste, ki so tvorjeni iz prevzetih leksemov s pomočjo domačih besedotvornih postopkov (Šekli 2005: 178; Toporišič 1992: 218): *kotel, pavernija*, *pavrški*, *šintarija*. V predstavljenem slovarčku je 41 germanizmov (25,8 %), pet besed (3,2 %) je romanskega izvora. Le-te so bile preko nemščine ali drugih evropskih jezikov sprejete v slovenski knjižni jezik, od tod pa v narečje (Koletnik 2008: 86).

V *SSKJ* najdemo 80,5 % besed (128) z istim pomenom kot v narečju, 17,6 % (28) narečnih besed v njem ni mogoče zaslediti, 1,9 % oziroma 3 besede pa imajo v njem drugačen pomen kot v narečju. V *Slovensko-nemškem slovarju* Maksa Pleteršnika je zapisanih 112 besed (70,4 %), 3 besede (1,9 %) imajo drugačen pomen kot v narečju, 44 besed (27,7 %) pa ne vsebuje.

[9] Podatki, ki jih navajam v nadaljevanju, se navezujejo na celoten slovar.

4.4 *Primerjava z besedjem v diplomskem delu Tine Zagernik*

Zbrano besedje na podlagi DVD-posnetka o steljeraji sem primerjala s koroškim podjunskim besedjem[10] (le-to se na primer od mežiškega narečja loči po razvoju nosnega *ę* in dolgega polglasnika v *a*-jevski fonem ter dolgega *a*-ja v široki *o*), pri čemer sem izhajala iz diplomskega dela Tine Zagernik z naslovom *Besedje koroškega delovnega običaja steljeraja na Strojni*. Avtorica je geselski članek oblikovala na podoben način, le da je pri samostalniku navajala še oblike za imenovalnik ednine in množine, etimološke podatke je navajala le za izposojenke, zapisanost besed je preverjala le po SSKJ.

V diplomskem delu predstavljeni abecedni slovarček vsebuje 123 besed. Primerjava s tu prikazanim gradivom je pokazala, da 66 besed (53,6 %) od 123, predstavljenih v delu Tine Zagernikove, ne najdemo v besedilu, ki je nastalo na podlagi DVD-filma;[11] 138 besed je takšnih, ki jih Zagernikova ne omenja, so pa zapisane v slovarski obliki na podlagi DVD-filma. Če bi združili oba slovarčka, bi dobili narečni slovar o steljeraji z 225 besedami, ki bi jih bilo potrebno preveriti v več krajih na terenu.

V tabeli 1 prikazujem 23 besed, ki jih ni mogoče zaslediti DVD-filmu, so pa zapisane v slovarčku Zagernikove.[12] Njihovo rabo sem preverila na kmetiji Golak na Dolgi Brdi. Navajam samo tiste besede, ki se razlikujejo v fonetičnem zapisu in pomenu.

5 Sklep

Prispevek v obliki narečnega slovarčka predstavlja besedje kmečke delovne šege na Koroškem – steljeraje, ki je bila v preteklosti na tem delu Slovenije močno razširjena. Z zamiranjem le-te izginja tudi v tem prispevku predstavljeno delovno besedje, za katerega je ugotovljeno, da je v večini slovansko. Naloga za prihodnje je izdelava tematsko-slikovnega slovarja koroškega mežiškega in podjunskega narečja in seveda preverjanje zbranih besed o steljeraji na več točkah po terenu.

[10] »Govor Strojne je mešan podjunsko-mežiški vzhodnokoroški govor, ki je izgubil za koroška narečja značilen tonemski naglas na dolgih in kratkih zlogih. Ker se je kratki naglas, v novejšem času tudi dolgi končni (prvotno cirkumflektirani), umaknil na prednaglasne samoglasnike, naprej na *e*, *o* in polglasnik, dolgi cirkumfleks pa se lahko umakne tudi na druge samoglasnike, so nastali kratki samoglasniki tudi sredi besede. Dolgi in kratki naglašeni samoglasniki so tako mogoči v vseh besednih zlogih.« (Zagernik 2001: 9)

[11] Te besede so preverjene na kmetiji Golak na Dolgi Brdi pri Prevaljah.

[12] Zaradi omejenosti prostora besed iz diplomskega dela Tine Zagernik ne navajam v slovarski obliki.

POKNJIŽENA IZTOČNICA (glede na Strojno)	FONETIČNI ZAPIS		POMEN
	ZAGERNIK, STROJNA	GOLAK, DOLGA BRDA	
abšajdezen	ɔpˈše:i̯dezn̥	ˈše:i̯dezən	našemljenec, ki se je potihoma prikradel na kmetijo, kjer so imeli steljerajo, in vrgel v hišo košaro s sramotilnim darilom
bela repa	ˈbẹ:la ˈre:pa	ˈbi:əwa ˈrẹ:pa	kulturna rastlina z velikimi listi ali njen beli podzemeljski in oleseneli del; na steljeraji pripomoček pri igri, pri kateri so repi njen beli del namilili, udeleženci steljeraje pa so jo skušali uloviti
bob	ˈbo:p	ˈbọp	ocvrto pecivo majhne, okrogle oblike, narejeno iz testa za krape ter prelito s kuhanim in sladkanim žganjem
dol klestiti	ˈdou̯ kˈlẹ:stit	ˈdọu̯ okˈlẹ:stit	s sekiro odstranjevati, sekati veje z drevesa
drugič	dˈrəč	dˈru:goˈba:rt	drugič
hren	xˈre:n	xˈre:n, kˈru:xou̯ xˈre:n	jed iz goveje ali ovčje juhe, na kocke narezanega kruha in naribanega svežega hrena
jenica	jəˈni:ca	ˈčọ:li	telica
kačja slina	ˈka:čja sˈli:na	šˈnọps	žganje, alkoholna pijača iz sadnih tropin
kanavška	kaˈna:u̯ška	raˈču:n	mala sekira za odstranjevanje, sekanje iglastih delov z že odsekanih smrekovih vej
kuglica	ˈku:gl̥ca ˈčarne ˈku:gl̥ce mˈli:ačne ˈku:gl̥ce	ˈku:gl̥ca ˈẹ:dove ˈku:gl̥ce mˈli:ačne ˈku:gl̥ce	kroglica drobne kroglice iz ajdove moke in jajca ter kuhane v vodi ali juhi, v kateri se je prej kuhalo svinjsko meso drobne kroglice, narejene iz pšenične moke in jajca ter kuhane v mleku
lisičji raj	liˈsi:čji ˈra:i̯	ˈme:təl ˈta:nc	ples z metlo (ljudska igra pri steljeraji)
mežerli	ˈma:žerl̥i	ˈməžərle	pečena jed iz drobovine in riža
nudelj	ˈnu:dl̥	cˈve:ki	svaljek, cmok
nudeljč	ˈnu:dl̥č	(šˈro:ki) ˈnu:dl̥či	rezanec/izdelek za zakuho iz rezančnega testa v obliki krajših trakov
ovčje meso	ˈou̯čje ˈməso	ˈọu̯čje ˈməso	ovčetina; na steljeraji je bila navada, da so pripravljali jedi iz ovčjega mesa
plahta	pˈwa:xta	Ne poznajo.	kup, kopica smrekovih vej
plasta	pˈwa:sta	Ne poznajo.	plasta/kup, kopica smrekovih vej
račun	raˈču:n	kaˈnọ:u̯ška	priprava za sekanje ali obsekovanje; klestilnik
riža	ˈri:ža	raˈdọ:u̯c	vrsta
sečnja	ˈsẹ:čna	poˈdi:ranje	sečnja
skupaj vlačiti	sˈkọp u̯ˈlačit	ˈkọp ˈwa:čit	vlačiti/ročno spravljati kupe smrekovih vej v gozdu do poti, tako da drsijo po tleh
smrečenka	smreˈčẹ:ŋka	smreˈči:ŋka, ˈkọš, ˈka:pnik	smrečica
ščet	ˈši:ət	Ne poznajo.	ščetka; tudi pripomoček za igro pri steljeraji, katere udeleženci so stali v sklenjenem krogu in ga skrivali ter vsake toliko z njim podrgnili po hrbtu tistega, ki je stal na sredini kroga ter skušal ugotoviti, kdo ga trenutno ima

Tabela 1: Besede iz diplomskega dela Tine Zagernik in preverba njihove rabe na kmetiji Golak na Dolgi Brdi pri Prevaljah

OKRAJŠAVE IZ ETIMOLOŠKIH SLOVARJEV

Okrajšave jezikov so takšne kot v Snoju (2003): avstr. – avstrijsko, bav. – bavarsko, bav. avstr. – bavarsko avstrijsko, ide. – (pra)indoevropsko, lat. – latinsko, nar. – narečno, nem. – nemško, pslovan. – praslovansko, rom. – romansko, slovan. – slovansko, sloven. – slovensko, srvnem. – srednjevisokonemško, stvnem. – starovisokonemško.

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THE LEXIS OF AN OLD FARMING PROCEDURE, STELJERAJA, IN CARINTHIA

The article presents the lexis of an old Carinthian working procedure – steljeraja. The article is based on a DVD-film made by the locals at the Golak farm in Dolgo Brdo near the town of Prevalje in Carinthia. The film features farmers using the old farm tools, trying to follow all the traditions and customs related to steljeraja. In the paper, the Mežica-Carinthian (koroško-mežiško) lexis from the field of steljeraja will be compared to that of Podjuna-Carinthian (koroško-podjunsko). The former includes many words of Slavic origin, while the more recent ones features many lexical items from contact languages, in particular German (Tina Zagernik: Besedje koroškega delovnega običaja steljeraja, Ljubljana, 2001). Finally, similarities and differences between the two dialect groups will be indicated.

Propriale und nichtpropriale Sprachareale: Einheit in der Vielfältigkeit

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Lastno- in občnoimenski areali so odraz jezikovnega delovanja in to je potrebno upoštevati, čeprav med njimi obstajajo razlike (enkratno proti splošno). Prispevek prikazuje, kako lahko odnos med središčem in obrobjem občnoimenskega areala pomaga pri lingvistični analizi negotovih, izoliranih nenaselbinskih lastnih imen (anojkonimov) – gre za pomoč pri ugotavljanju njihovega izvora.

Proprial and non-proprial areals are manifestations of how one language functions. Despite differences between them (unique vs. general), this fact can be mutually made use of. The contribution demonstrates how the relation between the nucleus and the periphery of a non-proprial areal can help in linguistic analysis of uncertain, isolated proper names (anoikonyms) and how it can contribute towards finding their origin.

Ključne besede: dialektologija, onomastika, jezikovni areal, ljudska etimologija

Key words: dialektology, onomastics, linguistic areal, folk etymology

Das Areal: Abgrenzung des Termins

Das Areal als Grundterminus der Areallinguistik wird als eine Begrenzung einer bestimmten Spracherscheinung / bestimmter Spracherscheinungen in deren territorialen Gruppierung / Zuordnung begriffen. Die Existenz einer Arealgrenze und ihr Verlauf erweisen sich dabei als Ergebnis der Wirkung vieler Faktoren, die sich an der Entwicklung der menschlichen Gesellschaft beteiligten: das Sprachareal ist demzufolge eine komplexe linguistische und historische Kategorie.

Das Areal auf der Sprachkarte

Die Existenz der Sprachareale wird, wie bekannt, durch eine Sprachkarte gut bezeugt und illustriert: Hier wird / werden eine Spracherscheinung / mehrere Spracherscheinungen in ihrer geographischen Distribution aufgezeichnet. Stehen mehrere Sprachkarten (im Idealfall ein Sprachatlas) zur Verfügung, kann man den Durchlauf mehrerer Grenzen auf einer synthetisierenden Karte vergleichen und dabei feststellen, ob und wie weit sie sich in einem Bündel überdecken bzw. aufeinander schichten. Je umfangreicher der Komplex von Sprachkarten ist, desto größer ist die Chance, die Existenz der Isoglossenbündel (bzw. Staffeln) zu entdecken. Mit der steigenden Anzahl der Isoglossen im Bündel kann man auf die Existenz einer früheren Grenze in der Kommunikation zwischen zwei angrenzenden Sprachgemeinschaften schließen.

Isoglossenbündel als Repräsentant einer Sprach-/dialektalen Grenze

Die Möglichkeit, so abgegrenzte Areale bzw. Scheiden zu zeigen, hat eine Reihe von dialektalen Atlaswerken ausgenutzt. Erwähnt seien Werke wie der *Atlas der slowakischen Sprache* mit den Isoglossenbündeln auf den sog. „synthetischen Karten" im 1. (Štolc, Buffa, Habovštiak: 1968) und 4. (Habovštiak: 1984) Band, weiters der *Sorbische Sprachatlas* (Faßke, Jentsch, Michalk: 1965–1996) mit den Karten der Staffeln und Bündel in Bänden 1–14 (im 12. und 13. Band treten darüberhinaus spezifische Wabenkarten bei) oder die weißrussische Arbeit *Sprachgeographie und Einteilung der weißrussischen Mundarten* (Avanesov, Atrachovič, Mackevič: 1968, 1969). Die Isoglossenbündel in tschechischen Dialekten werden im *Tschechischen Sprachatlas* (Balhar: 1992–2005), dessen Mitautorin ich bin, vorgestellt, und zwar in seinem 5. Band. Auf 15 Kartenseiten (S. 637–651) werden hier ca. 60 Isoglossenbündel unterschiedlicher Stärke präsentiert. Diese Isoglossenbündel-Karten beruhen auf der Exzerption des ganzen fünfbändigen Atlaswerkes (knapp 1 600 Karten). Es wurde festgestellt, dass sich in jedem Bündel Isoglossen mehrerer Sprachebenen schichten: die der phonologischen, morphologischen sowie lexikalischen.

Es ist zu betonen, dass eine Dialektgrenze nicht nur eine bloße „Dialektscheide" zwischen zwei/mehreren Spracherscheinungen, sondern auch eine Grenze zwischen zweierlei Ausformungen von Sprachbewusstsein ist. Ein Sprachbewusstsein an beiden anliegenden Seiten der Grenze ist dabei weniger stabil, als es im Zentrum (Kern) des Areals der Fall ist. Das äußert sich an den beiden Seiten der Grenzlinie sehr zutreffend, nämlich durch die Existenz von Dubletten (Tripletten). Auf den Isoglossenbündelkarten des *Tschechischen Sprachatlasses* wird diese Instabilität graphisch durch Schraffur dargestellt (**Abb. 1**): Mittels dieser Schraffur wird der parallele Verlauf einzelner Isoglossen vorgeführt; die aufgezeichneten vier Isoglossen dienen hier nur als konkrete Beispiele, vgl. auf der Karte unter 450.5 die lexikalische (*hůlka* x *čagan* 'Stock', *kadlátka* x *trnka* 'Pflaume') und phonologische Opposition (die in diesem Fall u. a. als wichtig

für das gesamtslawische Areal gelten: *vosa* x *osa* ‘Vespe’, *mímu* (< *mému*) x *mojemu* ‘Dativform des Pronomens *mein*’).

Isoglossenbündel als Ausgangspunkt zur Dialektanalyse

In Übereinstimmung mit der Wellentheorie können auf Grund solcher Karten sowohl der Kern und die Peripherie eines Areals als auch Brennpunkte dialektaler Veränderungen festgestellt werden. Gleichfalls kann man Vermutungen über die Herkunft vieler Formen, Formanzien und Ausdrücke anstellen. Als anschauliches Beispiel lassen sich tschechische dialektale Benennungen für Haut auf der gekochten Milch erwähnen (Kloferová 2006): Gerade die exzentrische Stellung der Dialektismen *škrábek*/*škrábka* bzw. *škrbán*/*škrban* an der Peripherie des Areals mit der Majoritätsbezeichnung *škraloup* (dies zu usl. **skora* ‘Rinde, Schale, Haut’: Machek 547 s.v. skora) berechtigt uns, eine Vermutung über die gemeinsame Herkunft aller angeführten Wörter auszusprechen – nämlich über ihre Beziehung zum Wort *škraloup*. Dieses Appellativum kommt heute nämlich einem geläufigen tschechischen Muttersprachler motivisch intransparent vor. Infolgedessen kann man mit der Wirkung der sog. Volksetymologie rechnen. Die angeführten Dialektismen in ihrer heutigen Gestalt sind dann durch Anlehnung an das Verb *škrábat* ‘kratzen’ höchstwahrscheinlich entstanden.

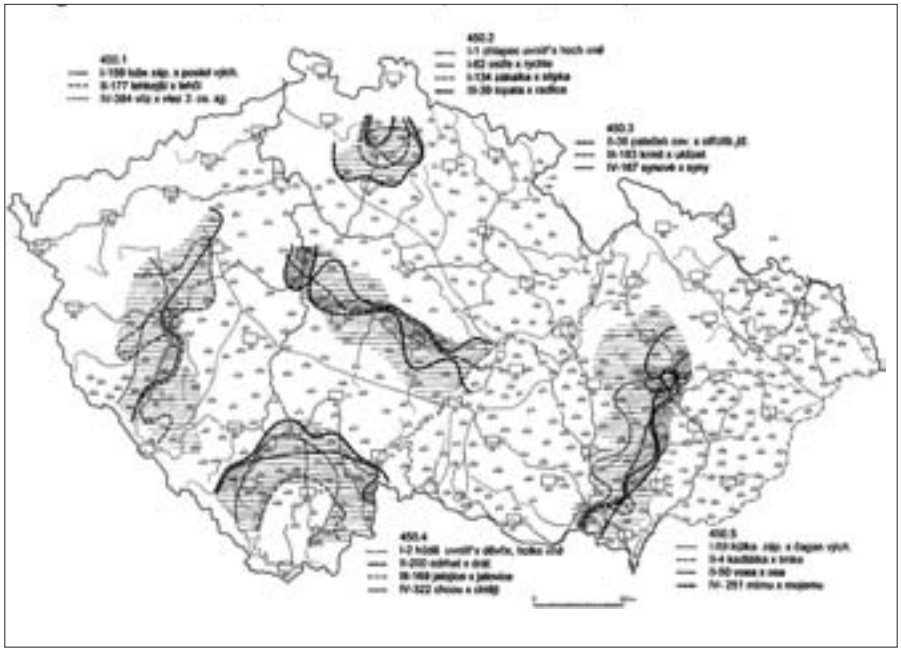

Abb. 1: Isoglossenbündel (*Tschechischer Sprachatlas*, Bd. 5)

Propria auf einer Sprachkarte: onymische Areale

Bisher war die Rede über Areale, die „appellativisch" im weitesten Sinne des Wortes, also nicht „proprial" sind: Ihre Grenze wird sowohl durch lexikalische appellativische Isoglossen, d. h. Isolexe, als auch durch Isomorphe sowie Isophone gebildet. Der lexikalische Wortschatz bezieht jedoch zugleich die propriale Sphäre mit ein. Wie bekannt, können auch Propria auf einer Karte dargestellt werden, und zwar auf der onymischen. Natürlich lassen sich auch propriale/onymische Areale abgrenzen. Beide Kartentypen, die proprialen und nichtproprialen, haben sicher ihre Spezifika (bei ihrer kartographischen Zusammenstellung werden unterschiedliche Methoden der Schilderung des Sprachmaterials verwendet) – mit dieser Problematik möchte ich mich jedoch nicht befassen, sie wurde letzten Endes in vielen Studien ausreichend erforscht.

Mit der Beziehung zwischen den proprialen/onymischen und nichtproprialen Arealen im tschechischen Sprachmilieu befasst sich die tschechische Onomastik seit den 80er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts (besonders Šrámek 1981). Man spricht einerseits von einem onymischen, andererseits von einem dialektalen Areal; meiner Meinung nach ist der Terminus „dialektales Areal" in diesem Zusammenhang nicht allzu passend, weil die Propria einen fixen Bestandteil der Sprache/des Dialekts bilden. Der grundlegende Unterschied zwischen beiden Sphären, der proprialen und der nichtproprialen, besteht im Charakter des Denotats/des zu benennenden Objektes (Einmaligkeit x Allgemeinheit). Dies erweist sich dann in den Methoden der Darstellung auf der Sprachkarte: Eine nichtpropriale Karte kann auf einem Material beruhen, das in einem Netz der ausgewählten Ortschaften gewonnen wurde (ein zu benennendes Denotat/Objekt ist Repräsentant einer Gattung und als solches wird auch seine Bezeichnung als allgemein wahrgenommen/empfunden), während auf einer proprialen/onymischen Karte das gesamte Material geschildert werden muss (ein Proprium, z. B. ein Personenname oder ein Flurname, ist mit einem konkreten onymischen Objekt, d. h. mit einer konkreten Person, mit einem konkreten Feld, mit einer konkreten Wiese etc., in einem konkreten Ort verbunden); vgl. Pleskalová 1981: 167, Harvalík 2004: 37–38.

Appellativisches und onymisches Areal als Ausgangspunkt zur Konfrontation

Onomastische Studien, die sich diesem Problembereich widmen, richten sich besonders auf die Appellative in ihrer geographischen Verbreitung einerseits und auf die Flurnamen, die diese – von ihrer Herkunft her – Appellative als Bestandteil enthalten, andererseits (in der tschechischen Onomastik v.a. Pleskalová, 1981, Harvalík 2004: 48–62), bzw. wird auch die areale Verbreitung der Wortbildungsformanzien einander gegenübergestellt (so vergleicht z. B. Šrámek, 1999: 192 die appellativischen und toponymischen Suffixe *-ště*/*-isko*; usl. Formans **-isk-*). Es zeigt sich, dass die deappellativischen Substantive als

Bestandteil der Flurnamen bisweilen mittels der Flurnamen in einer anderen territorialen Verbreitung auftreten: In dieser toponymischen Funktion können sie ihre ursprüngliche (appellativische) Verbreitung (sei es die größere oder kleinere) bewahren; vgl. Kloferová 2008: 100–101.

Die Schilderung des toponymischen Materials auf einer onymischen Karte wird auch während Arbeiten am *Wörterbuch der Flurnamen in Mähren und Schlesien* appliziert (dieses wird von uns, Dialektologen in Brno, vorbereitet). Einer der Vorgänge, den wir benutzen, ist die Möglichkeit, interaktive anoikonymische Karten zusammenzustellen; solche Karten bieten nämlich manchmal Indizien zur Erläuterung eines konkreten Flurnamens an.

Isoglossenbündel als Ausgangspunkt zur Flurnamenanalyse (anhand des *Wörterbuchs der Flurnamen in Mähren und Schlesien*)

Im Zusammenhang mit den Isoglossenbündeln kann hier jedoch eine weitere Frage gestellt werden: Ist es möglich, diese Bündel, d.h. die Grenzen, die durch jene Bündel bestimmt werden, auch bei der Flurnamenanalyse zu nutzen? Meiner Meinung nach ja. Eine der Möglichkeiten ist die Erläuterung der etymologisch wenig transparenten Flurnamen.

Z. B. repräsentiert das Bündel Nr. 450.5 (**Abb. 1)** eine Scheide, die zu den am stärksten ausgeprägten Arealgrenzen auf dem tschechischen Dialektgebiet gehört, wie sie anhand des Atlasses festgestellt wurden. Man kann das Bündel auch als Argument bei der Erläuterung eines Flurnamens verwenden, wie ich nun zeigen möchte:

a) Flurnamen mit der Basis *bláz(e)n-* (tsch. Appell. *blázen* 'Narr, Verrückte')

In unserem *Wörterbuch der Flurnamen in Mähren und Schlesien* gibt es z. B. Flurnamen, die sich auf die substantivische Basis *blázen* (psl. **blaznъ* 'Narr, Verrückter') beziehen: *Blázen*, *Bláznice* (primär appellativisch 'Irrenanstalt'), *Blázinec* ('Irrenanstalt; Rummel, Wirbel'), *Bláznivec* ('Narr': dies erst zum Adjektivum *bláznivý* 'narrisch' < *blázen*). Mittels dieser Flurnamen werden immer Felder benannt. Bisher wurde ihre Motivierung mit den Menschen, die an den schwierig zu bebauenden/kultivierenden Grundstücken gearbeitet haben, in Zusammenhang gestellt: „Die Menschen wurden hier von ihrer Umgebung für Narren gehalten". Vergleicht man jedoch die onymische Karte der angeführten Flurnamen mit dem erwähnten Isoglossenbündel, so stellt man fest, dass die Flurnamen im Bereich dieses Bündels (und zugleich also im Bereich einer starken Arealgrenze) vorkommen (**Abb. 2**). Nun ist noch eine andere onymische Karte „zu Hilfe zu rufen": Diese Karte wurde im Buch von R. Šrámek, 1999 publiziert. Es geht um eine Karte der Flurnamen und Ortsnamen, die auf die Basis *laz-* (psl. **lazъ* 'ein durch die Rodung des Waldes entstandenes Feld/Grundstück' (Machek, 1968) zurückzuführen sind (Šrámek 1999: 199; **Abb. 3**). Man sieht, dass die erwähnten Flurnamen, die in

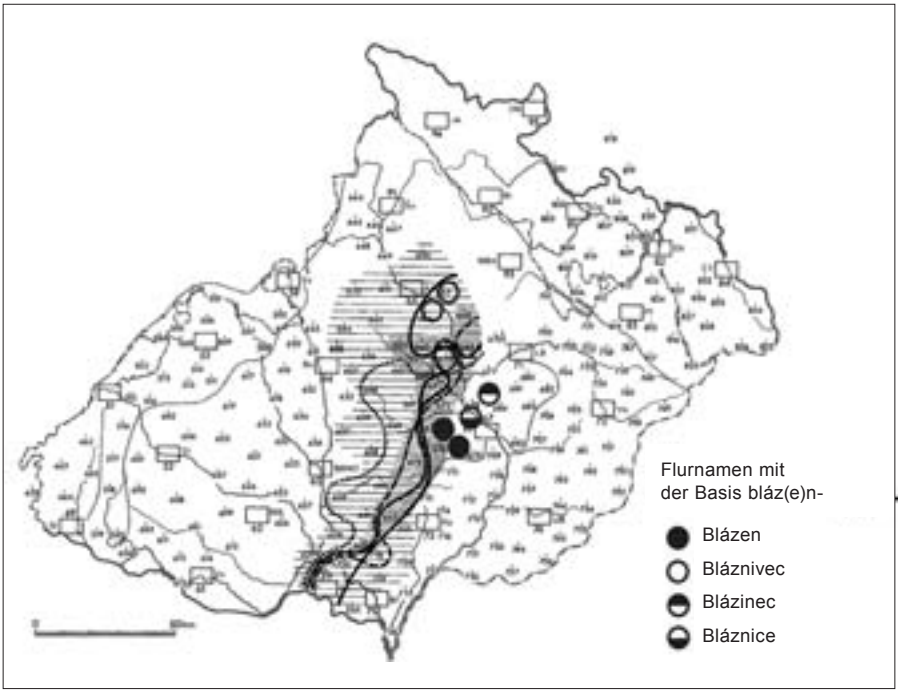

Abb. 2: Isoglossenbündel Nr. 450.5 (*Tschechischer Sprachatlas*, Bd. 5)

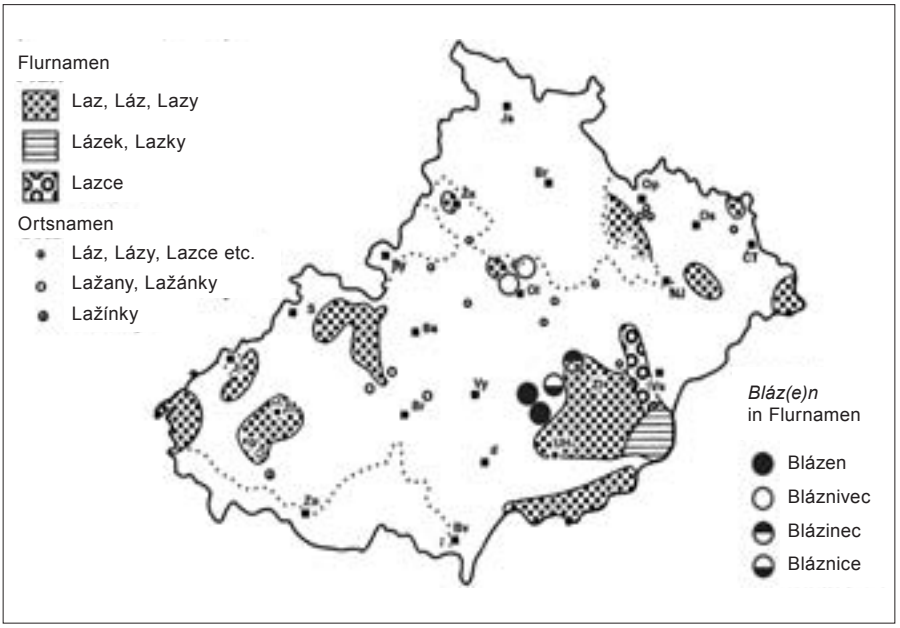

Abb. 3: Laz- (-á-) in Flurnamen und Ortsnamen (Nach Šrámek, 1999)

unserem Wörterbuch mit der Basis *blázen* verbunden werden, bloß am Rande der *laz*-Areale auftreten. Auf Grund dieser Zusammenhänge kann man annehmen, dass den heutigen Flurnamen mit der vermuteten Basis *blázen* eher eine altertümliche Basis *laz-* vorangeht. Die Basis *laz-* gilt jedoch heute für den alltäglichen Sprachgebrauch als unklar, unmotiviert. Gerade diese Isoliertheit hat ermöglicht, die Flurnamen mit *laz-* unter der Mitwirkung der Volksetymologie zur semantischen Gruppe der Wörter mit *bláz-* im Anlaut (*blázen* 'Narr' etc.) zuzuordnen. Diese Erläuterung wird auch durch ein anderes Argument unterstützt: In der Anoikonymie Mährens erscheint das Motiv 'blöd, dumm' überhaupt nicht (z. B. Flurnamen zur Basis *hloupý*, usl. *glupъ*, wie **Hlupák*, **Hlupaňa* etc.).

b) Flurname *Balík* (tsch. Appell. *balík* 'Paket')

Derselbe Vorgang lässt sich höchstwahrscheinlich auch bei der Erläuterung des Flurnamens *Balík* (für eine Weide) applizieren. Die bisherige Erläuterung rechnet mit der Motivierung 'Paket; etwas Eingepacktes, Verschnürrtes und zum Transport Bestimmtes'. Diesen Flurnamen gibt es am Rand eines Areals, das auch durch ein starkes Isoglossenbündel abgegrenzt ist. Gerade in diesem Areal erscheinen jedoch auch Flurnamen *Bál*, *Bala*, *Baly* (Plt.) und *Balinka* – in der Regel handelt es sich von den Namen für Felder: Sie sind mit der Basis *bal-* (vielleicht zum usl. **bala* 'hell, glänzend, strahlend, weiß; ein nasser, sumpfiger Ort') zu verbinden. Die angeführte Basis kommt jedoch im gegenwärtigen appellativischen Wortschatz nicht mehr vor. Gerade das onymische Areal der Flurnamen mit *Bal-* im Anlaut (*Bál*, *Bala* etc.) ermöglicht uns zu vermuten, dass auch der Flurnamen *Balík* (primäre appellativische Bedeutung 'Paket'), der sich am Rand dieses Gebietes befindet, diesem Areal angehört. Unsere neue Erläuterung würde dann keine Übertragung, sondern die Struktur *Bal-ík* voraussetzen – und dadurch auch die Zugehörigkeit zum semantischen Feld 'hell, glänzend, weiß, nass' etc. Man findet auch kaum ein logisches Motiv (das Tertium comparationis) für die Übertragung des Appellativums *balík* 'Paket' auf einen Namen für Weide. Die Undurchsichtigkeit/Intransparenz der Basis im gegenwärtigen appellativischen Wortschatz war ein Nährboden für die Volksetymologie, dank welcher der Flurnamen ins Sprachsystem als transparent und motiviert eingegliedert wurde.

Zum Schluss

Die räumliche Projektion des proprialen und nichtproprialen Materials erlaubt es, Beziehungen zwischen beiden lexikalischen Ebenen, proprialen und nichtproprialen/appellativischen, effektiver zu nutzen. Eine dialektale Grenze, die auf Grund der nichtproprialen Spracherscheinungen geformt wurde, kann für die Erforschung von Erscheinungen proprialen Charakters nützlich sein. Beide Sphären, die propriale sowie die nichtpropriale, sind doch Sphären ei-

nes Sprachsystems, und als soche können sie sich nicht getrennt voneinander entwickeln. Rechnet man mit ihrer gegenseitigen Gebundenheit, so kann man beide Sphären zu ihrem beiderseitigen Nutzen tiefer kennen lernen.

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LASTNO- IN OBČNOIMENSKI JEZIKOVNI AREALI: ENAKOST V RAZLIČNOSTI

Areal označuje celostno lingvistično, etnografsko in zgodovinsko kategorijo, ki jo določamo kot prostor, v katerem se pojavlja/jo določena/e značilnost/i. Področne meje razločimo glede na izoglose ali snope izoglos. Karte v jezikoslovnih atlasih kažejo, da je področna meja ostrejša, če je število skupnih značilnosti večje.

Peti del Češkega lingvističnega atlasa (*Czech Linguistic Atlas*) predstavlja približno 60 takih snopov. Večinoma gre za področja višjega reda, ki so razmejena s snopi izoglos vseh jezikovnih ravni, središče in obrobje danega področja pa je razmejljivo. To dejstvo je pomembno, kadar primerjamo lastno- in občnoimenske areale – področje določenega toponimskega tipa ima vzporednico/utemeljitev na občnoimenskem področju in obratno. Gre za medsebojno koristen odnos, saj ga lahko uporabimo pri jezikoslovni analizi značilnosti, ki jih je sicer težko pojasniti ali pa so izolirane (npr. prikaz v kartah *Atlasa* in v kartah, ki so nastale za slovar moravskih in šlezijskih anojkonimov – *Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms*). Kot primer lahko navedemo prikaz več čeških anojkonimov (npr. imen polj), ki so izvorno očitno metaforični: *Blázen*, *Bláznivec* (primarni apelativ, ki pomeni hkrati ‘blaznež, blazna oseba’) in *Blázinec*, *Bláznice* (primarni apelativ, ki pomeni hkrati ‘norišnico; zmedo’). Anojkonimi so potrjeni na področjih, ki predstavljajo opazne meje med narečji, in na področjih, kjer nastopajo toponimi s korenom *laz-* (skupni slovanski **lazъ* ‘polje ali zemlja, nastala s krčenjem gozda’). Koren *laz-* glede na motivacijo ni več transparenten v sedanjem apelativnem leksikonu. Anojkonimi *Blázen*, *Blázinec* itd., ki vsebujejo ta izoliran koren, so nedvomno rezultati zmotne asociacije besed z apelativi s transparentno osnovo *bláz*(*e*)*n-* ‘blaznež’.

Der Atlas der ungarischen Dialekte in Rumänien steht vor der Vollendung

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Enajsti, zadnji del Atlasa madžarskih narečij v Romuniji (*The Atlas of Hungarian Dialects in Romania – RMNyA*) je pripravljen za tisk. Delo, za katerega so gradivo zbirali v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja, pomembno zaokrožuje madžarsko dialektologijo. RMNyA omogoča podrobnejši opis madžarskih narečij v Romuniji in njihovo pregledno tipologijo. Odpira nove možnosti za sinhrone in diahrone preglede. Sočasno z izdajo je bil RMNyA uvrščen v projekt za digitalizacijo MNyA, rezultat tega pa je integracija dveh velikih atlasov v eno samo elektronsko bazo podatkov. To omogoča nove lingvistične in narečne analize korpusa kot tudi pripravo integriranih map z uporabo računalniške kartografije.

The 11th and last volume of *The Atlas of Hungarian Dialects in Romania (RMNyA)* is ready for publication. The work, the material of which was gathered in the 1950s and 1960s, is suppletory in Hungarian dialectology. The RMNyA enables a more detailed description of the Hungarian dialects in Romania and a comprehensive typology of dialects. It opens new possibilities for synchronic and diachronic examinations. Concurrently with its publication, the RMNyA was included in the project for the digitalisation of the MNyA, as a result of which the two big atlases are integrated into a single electronic database. This enables new corpus linguistical and dialectological analyses as well as the preparation of integrated maps by using the techniques of computer cartography.

Ključne besede: madžarska narečja v Romuniji, jezikovni atlas, geolingvistika, inkorporacija atlasov, digitalizacija

Key words: Hungarian dialects in Romania, linguistic atlas, geolinguistics, incorporation of atlases, digitisation

1 Der 11. und letzte Band des *Atlas der ungarischen Dialekte in Rumänien (RMNyA)* steht vor der Veröffentlichung. Das Werk, dessen Material in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren gesammelt wurde und seit 1995 veröffentlicht wird, schließt eine Lücke in der ungarischen Dialektologie. Mit 136 Forschungspunkten und 3300 Karten ist er eine bedeutende Ergänzung des aus Rumänien stammenden Materials des *Atlas der ungarischen Dialekte (MNyA)*, dessen Sammlung in den 1950er Jahren aus politischen Gründen nicht abgeschlossen werden konnte. Die Budapester Sprachwissenschaftler konnten ihre Erhebungen nur an 22 Sammelpunkten in Siebenbürgen durchführen. Die Veröffentlichung des RMNyA ermöglicht eine detailliertere Beschreibung der ungarischen Dialekte in Rumänien sowie die Erstellung einer umfassenden Dialekttypologie. Es ergeben sich – unter anderem – neue Möglichkeiten für synchrone und diachrone sprachgeografische und siedlungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen des gesamten Sprachraums.

Zeitgleich mit der Veröffentlichung wurde der RMNyA in das Projekt zur Digitalisierung des MNyA einbezogen. Die beiden großen Atlanten sollen zu einer einzigen elektronischen Datenbank verschmelzen – die nach und nach auch durch kleinere regionale Atlanten ergänzt werden soll. Dadurch werden neue korpuslinguistische und dialektologische Analysen möglich, und mithilfe der Computerkartografie können auch synthetisierende Karten erstellt werden. Der RMNyA ist also auch für vergleichende Untersuchungen mit kleineren und größeren Atlanten geeignet. Die sprachliche Grundlage für umfassende Analysen unter Einbeziehung mehrerer Atlanten sind einerseits die mit einheitlichen Stichwörtern versehenen Karten und andererseits die mit unterschiedlichen Stichwörtern versehenen, aber identische dialektologische Phänomene darstellenden Karten der untersuchten Atlanten.

An ausgewählten Forschungspunkten des MNyA und des RMNyA finden auch Untersuchungen zur Gegenwartssprache mit einem aus den gemeinsamen Fragen der beiden Atlanten bestehenden Fragebogen statt. Mit diesen sollen der synchrone Sprachzustand erhoben und außerdem die sprachlichen Veränderungen der letzten 50 Jahre ermittelt werden. An einzelnen Phasen dieser Arbeiten nehmen die Rumänische Akademie der Wissenschaften, die Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften, die Ungarische Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft und die Eötvös-Loránd-Universität Budapest teil.

2 Nach dieser allgemeinen Einführung werden nun einige Einzelheiten vorgestellt. Im ersten Teil des Vortrags geht es um die Sammelarbeit und die Arbeiten im Zusammenhang mit der Veröffentlichung des RMNyA, im zweiten Teil dann um die Verwendung des Werkes und um den Prozess, durch den der Atlas in die modernen sprachgeografischen Forschungen integriert wird.

Das erste wichtige Datum in der Geschichte des Atlasses war das Jahr 1955, als die Klausenburger Abteilung des Sprachwissenschaftlichen Instituts der Rumänischen Akademie der Wissenschaften die sprachgeografische Untersuchung der ungarischen Dialekte Rumäniens in sein Forschungsprogramm aufnahm. Mit der Leitung der Arbeiten wurde Professor Attila T. Szabó, ein

anerkannter Vertreter der siebenbürgischen Sprachwissenschaft, beauftragt. Die Arbeitsgruppe, die hierfür zusammengestellt wurde, wurde jedoch von der politischen Diktatur der Zeit innerhalb weniger Jahre aufgelöst. 1959 war nur noch eine einzige Person, der Forscher László Murádin, mit der Fortsetzung der Sammelarbeit und der Erstellung des Manuskripts des Atlasses befasst. Somit führte er die Arbeiten, für die ursprünglich drei Personen vorgesehen waren, alleine aus – was eine außerordentliche persönliche Leistung war. Von den geplanten 220 Forschungspunkten blieben nur 136 übrig, doch auch diese Anzahl ist proportional repräsentativ für die ungarischen Dialekte in Rumänien. (Zur Vergleichung siehe die Anzahl von Vorschungspunkten: MNyA: 395, RMNyA: 136, und von Karten: MNyA: 1162, RMNyA: 3300 Hier ist anzumerken, dass der Fragebogen für den RMNyA auch die Fragen des MNyA enthält.)

Und all das haben wir der unermüdlichen Sammelarbeit eines einzigen Menschen zu verdanken, der das vielfältige Dialektmaterial außerordentlich präzise und zuverlässig erfasst hat. Die intensive Feldarbeit dauerte von 1957 bis 1967, dann folgte das Ordnen der Daten, das ebenfalls etwa zehn Jahre in Anspruch nahm. Dabei entstand nicht nur eine nach Fragen und Forschungspunkten geordnete Zettelsammlung, sondern auch ein Manuskript mit 1200 Karten. Die Nationalitäten- und Wissenschaftspolitik der Ceauşescu-Ära bedeutete jedoch erneut ungünstige Umstände für die Fortsetzung der Arbeit: An eine Veröffentlichung der Karten, die Rückschlüsse auf die ethnischen Verhältnisse zuließen, war ab der zweiten Hälfte der 1970er Jahre überhaupt nicht zu denken. Deshalb ersann man eine Kompromisslösung: solange die Veröffentlichung der Karten nicht möglich war, sollte eine sprachgeografische Datensammlung entstehen, in der die auf den Zetteln festgehaltenen Daten in der Art eines Wörterbuches, aber in der Reihenfolge des Fragebogens aufgelistet werden sollten. Das entsprechende Manuskript mit einem Umfang von über zweitausend Seiten wurde dann auch innerhalb weniger Jahre erstellt, doch auch dieses konnte nicht veröffentlicht werden.

Dieser Teil des Ordnens der Daten war jedoch nicht vergeblich, da er die spätere Archivierung und Kartografierung, die bereits elektronisch vorgenommen wurde, sehr erleichterte. Doch bis dahin mussten eineinhalb Jahrzehnte der Aussichtslosigkeit vergehen. Die Wende brachten die Regimewechsel in Osteuropa, die zwar die materiellen Umständen für wissenschaftliche Projekte nicht verbesserten, aber die diktatorischen Verhältnisse, die auch in der Wissenschaftspolitik herrschten, zum großen Teil abschafften. Auch diesem Umstand ist es zu verdanken, dass das Manuskript des RMNyA nach Budapest gelangte, wo mittels einer Ausschreibung der Ungarischen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft und durch die Mitwirkung der Forscher der Eötvös-Loránd-Universität die benötigte materielle und fachliche Infrastruktur für die Publikation aufgestellt werden konnte. Die Leitung der 1993 eingerichteten Forschungsgruppe und die redaktionellen Aufgaben des Atlasses übernahm Dezső Juhász.

3 Der erste Band des RMNyA erschien im Jahr 1995, der zehnte verließ im Jahr 2006 die Druckerei. Jeder Band enthält durchschnittlich 300 Karten und

am Ende einen kurzen Wörterbuchteil. Dieser besteht aus Einträgen, zu denen (wegen der großen Übereinstimmung der Daten) keine gesonderten Karten erstellt wurden. Alle Karten wurden nach der Methode der Dateneintragung erstellt, das heißt, bei den einzelnen Forschungspunkten werden die auf die gestellten Fragen erhaltenen Antworten in genauer phonetischer Umschrift angegeben. Außerdem enthalten die lexikalischen und morphologischen Karten vor den einzelnen Wörtern verschiedene Symbole – zum Beispiel Kreise, Vierecke, Dreiecke oder Rhomben –, die die räumliche Verteilung der Wörter darstellen. Der Umstand, dass die Antworten in der Datensammlung des Manuskripts bereits nach lexikologischen und morphologischen Kriterien geordnet waren, hat die Eintragung der grafischen Symbole erheblich erleichtert. (Diese Art der Darstellung der außerordentlich vielfältigen phonetischen Verteilung war in der gedruckten Version des Atlasses nicht möglich.)

Im Vergleich zu den früheren, von Hand gezeichneten Karten hat der Einsatz von Computern nicht nur dazu geführt, dass die Karten schöner und eleganter sind, sondern auch den Ausbau der sprachgeografischen Datenbanken ermöglicht. In den mit dem Textverarbeitungsprogramm Word erstellten Wörterbucheinträgen konnte die phonetische Umschrift mit ihren vielen diakritischen Zeichen sehr gut wiedergegeben werden, für die elektronische Arbeit mit der Dialektphonetik (zum Beispiel verschiedene Suchaufgaben) waren sie jedoch – wie sich später herausstellte – nur eingeschränkt geeignet. Deshalb hat es sich die Arbeitsgemeinschaft an unserer Universität auch zur Aufgabe gemacht, die Daten der mit der traditionellen Technik und der bereits elektronisch erstellten Atlanten in einer Datenbank mit einer einheitlichen Struktur und Technik zusammenzuführen. (Davon wird im zweiten Teil des Vortrags noch die Rede sein.)

4 Und nun zu den wichtigsten formalen Merkmalen der gedruckten Version des RMNyA.

Die Karten werden – anders als beim MNyA – nicht als Einzelblätter in Boxen, sondern zu einem Buch gebunden herausgegeben. Die Karten nehmen jeweils eine linke und eine rechte Seite des Buches ein. So konnte das rechteckige Sammelgebiet auf genormten Seiten des Formats A3 abgebildet werden, ohne die Daten gedrängt darzustellen. In der linken oberen Ecke befindet sich der sogenannte Kopf (die Legende), der folgende Informationen enthält: 1. die laufende Nummer der Karte, 2. das Stichwort, 3. seine Bedeutung auf Rumänisch und Französisch, 4. die Frage des Fragebogens und ihre Nummer sowie 5. Anmerkungen (soweit erforderlich, mit sachlichen oder individuellen dialektologischen Informationen). Die Fragen des Fragebogens können auch durch Zeigen oder durch Zeichnungen ersetzt werden. Die Zeichnungen weniger gängiger Gegenstände sind in der rechten oberen Ecke der Karte abgebildet.

In den phonetischen Karten wurden – wie bereits erwähnt – lediglich die Daten eingetragen, die lexikalischen Karten enthalten auch Symbole. Wenn in einer Karte eine lexikalische Variante überwiegt, wird diese nicht gekennzeichnet, die Nebenformen erhalten jedoch eine grafische Markierung. Wenn

es keine dominante Form gibt, wird jede Variante mit einem Symbol versehen. Varianten, die nur einmal genannt wurden, sind einheitlich mit einem Stern (*) gekennzeichnet. Das Zeichen für eine fehlende lexikalische Einheit ist das Minus (–), Lücken in den gesammelten Daten sind durch leere Stellen markiert. – Das sprachgeografische Wörterbuch folgt dem beschriebenen Aufbau. (Die Stichwörter des Fragebogens wurden in Einzelfällen geändert, und zwar wurden abweichende Formen entweder den Stichwörtern des MNyA oder der Gemeinsprache angeglichen.) Die in den Karten verwendeten grafischen Symbole dienen in den Einträgen der Gliederung; die Reihenfolge der lexikalischen Realisationen entspricht ihrer Häufigkeit. Die durch Symbole getrennten Einheiten bilden auch die Grundlage für die spätere Bestimmung der Verweise. Wenn die Veröffentlichung des RMNyA mit dem 11. Band abgeschlossen ist, möchten wir das integrierte sprachgeografische Wörterbuch oder das detaillierte Wörterverzeichnis der beiden großen Atlanten veröffentlichen oder ins Internet stellen.

5 Für welche Bereiche ist die Veröffentlichung des RMNyA unentbehrlich, und in welchen kann sie zu grundlegend neuen wissenschaftlichen Ergebnissen führen? Hier ist an erster Stelle die Systematisierung der Dialekte, die Dialekttypologie, zu nennen. In der ungarischen Dialektologie gibt es zwar eine umfassende Synthese, die auf dem Material des *Atlas der ungarischen Dialekte* basiert (Samu Imre: *Das System der ungarischen Dialekte der Gegenwart* [A mai magyar nyelvjárások rendszere]. Budapest, 1971), doch diese Monografie enthält gerade zum ungarischen Sprachgebiet in Rumänien lediglich einen skizzenhaften Überblick, da vor dem Abbruch der Arbeiten, wie bereits erwähnt, nur die Daten von 22 Forschungspunkten gesammelt werden konnten. Nach Imres Vorbild soll das noch zu verfassende Werk den Titel *Das System der ungarischen Dialekte in Rumänien* [A romániai magyar nyelvjárások rendszere] tragen. Die Grundlage für die neue Monografie können die Karten sein, die anhand der integrierten Datenbank der beiden Atlanten erstellt werden können. (Die Integration der Atlanten betrifft zum einen konkrete Karten und zum anderen bestimmte phonetische und morphologische Grundphänomene.) Auch Imres Monografie enthält synthetisierende phonetische, phonologische und morphophonologische Karten, diese wurden jedoch noch „manuell", das heißt, durch eine Verarbeitung der Daten von Hand nach der Zettelmethode, erstellt und auch von Hand gezeichnet. Die elektronischen sprachgeografischen Datenbanken sind natürlich als Grundlage nicht nur für die monografische Besprechung der Dialekte als solcher geeignet, sondern auch für die Besprechung einzelner Gruppen von Phänomenen (zum Beispiel phonologischer oder morphologischer Systeme).

Monografisch aufgearbeitet werden können auch die einzelnen Forschungspunkte, denn die mehr als 3300 Karten bieten eine Vielzahl von Beispielen für eine komplexe Besprechung. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdienen die Dialektinseln, die mit ihren Archaismen und Neologismen wahre Fundgruben der Dialektologie und der Sprachgeschichte sind und zudem wertvolle Anhalts-

punkte für die Bevölkerungsbewegungen in den verschiedenen Epochen der ungarischen Siedlungsgeschichte bieten. Mit der Geschichte und der Migration der ethnischen Gruppen der Szekler und der Tschangonen haben sich auch bisher viele Forscher befasst, doch die vergleichenden sprachgeografischen Forschungen können noch zur Klärung zahlreicher Detailfragen beitragen (vergleiche zum Beispiel Juhász 2004b). Da wir für diese Gegenden auch regionale Sprachatlanten haben (siehe zum Beispiel MCsNyA), können integrierte Untersuchungen auch hier im Mittelpunkt stehen. Von der Gegend Mezőség in Siebenbürgen hingegen wurde kein regionaler Atlas erstellt, sodass die diesbezüglichen Daten des RMNyA einer ersten Erschließung gleichkommen.

6 In dem folgenden wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Überblick möchten wir auf einige Publikationen aus der Fachliteratur zu den Dialekten in Siebenbürgen und in der Moldau hinweisen, die in mehr oder weniger engem Bezug zu unserem Atlas stehen.

Im ungarischen Sprachraum wurden Untersuchungen zu den Dialektkarten als Erstes in Bezug auf Siebenbürgen vorgenommen (siehe Szabó T. 1957: 14). Als erstes wichtiges Ergebnis aus der Zeit vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg ist hier der Artikel von Antal Horger von 1905 zu nennen (Horger 1905: 446–454 + Karte). Er stellte anhand seiner fünfjährigen Sammelarbeit, die alle Ortschaften der Ostszekler umfasste, einige phonetische und morphologische Merkmale auf einer einzigen Karte dar. Relativ umfangreiche Daten von fünf ungarischen Forschungspunkten wurden außerdem im *Rumänischen Sprachatlas (Atlasul Linguistic Român 1–2.)* festgehalten. In diesem Atlas wurde auch die erste ungarische sprachgeografische Sammlung veröffentlicht (Bárczi 1955: 18–19).

Als László Murádin vor der Veröffentlichung des ersten Bandes des Atlasses die Liste der Abhandlungen über die Arbeiten zum Atlas und über die Besprechung der Daten im Manuskript zusammenstellte, erhielt er eine Aufstellung mit mehr als sechzig Titeln. Ein Großteil dieser Arbeiten waren Publikationen von Murádin selbst, die in den Klausenburger Mitteilungen zur Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft erschienen waren. Hier können nur einige Titel – ohne die genauen Fundstellen – genannt werden; die detaillierten Angaben enthält das einleitende Kapitel des 1. Bandes (RMNyA 1: 17–18).

P h o n e t i k : „Eine Konsonantenveränderung in der Gegend Mezőség“[Egy mezőségi mássalhangzó-változás]; „Der Unterschied zwischen den Phonemen *e* und *ë* und seine Verteilung in den ungarischen Dialekten in Rumänien“ [Az *e/ë* fonémakülönbség megléte és megoszlása a romániai magyar nyelvjárásokban]; „Die Verbreitung des assoziativen *a* in den ungarischen Dialekten in Rumänien“ [Az asszociatív *á*-zás elterjedtsége a romániai magyar nyelvjárásokban]; „Die Verbreitung des Ersetzens durch *í (i)* in Siebenbürgen“ [Az *í (i)*-zés erdélyi elterjedtsége]; „Das Verhältnis zwischen *e* und *ö* im Mezőséger Dialekt“ [Az *e/ö* hangviszony a mezőségi nyelvjárásban]; „Das Ersetzen durch *a* in der Gegend Mezőség“ [A mezőségi *a*-zás]; „Der Wechsel zwischen *ny* und *n* am Ende des Wortstamms in den ungarischen Dialekten in Rumänien“ [A tővégi *ny : n* váltakozás a romániai magyar nyelvjárásokban] usw. – M o r p h e m a t i k :

„Eine Gruppe der Verben mit *v* am Ende des Wortstamms in den ungarischen Dialekten in Rumänien“ [A *v* tövű igék egy csoportja a romániai magyar nyelvjárásokban]; „Die Funktion der Adverbialsuffixe *-ni, -nitt, -nul, -nül* und ihre Verbreitung in Siebenbürgen“ [A *-ni, -nitt, -nul, -nül* határozórag-csoport funkciója és erdélyi elterjedtsége]; „Die Lautform und die Entwicklung des Verbalsuffixes *-ít* in den siebenbürgischen Dialekten“ [Az *-ít* igeképző erdélyi nyelvjárási hangalakja és alakulásmódja]; „Die „suksük“-Sprache in den siebenbürgischen Dialekten“ [A „suksük nyelv“ az erdélyi nyelvjárásokban] usw. – Lexik, Wortsemantik: „Sprachgeografische Daten zum Wortschatz der Wiesenwirtschaft der ungarischen Bauern“ [Nyelvföldrajzi adatok a magyar parasztság rétgazdálkodásának szókincséhez]; „Zu den inneren und arealen Relationen der Bezeichnungen von Gebäuden für die Haustierhaltung“ [Háziállatok tartására szolgáló épületek neveinek belső és területi összefüggéseihez]; „Siebenbürgische Sprachgeografie der Wörter zum Rufen und Verscheuchen von Tieren“ [Állathívogató és -űző szavak erdélyi nyelvföldrajza]; „Die Gliederung des Bedeutungsfeldes und die Dialektisoglossen“ [A jelentésmező tagolása és a nyelvjárási izoglosszák]; „Die Bedeutung von *ellik* [Junge bekommen] und der mit diesem bedeutungsverwandten Wörter“ [Az *ellik* és rokon értelmű társainak jelentésköre]; „Die Gliederung des Bedeutungsfeldes ‘Person, die das Eigentum hütet’ in den ungarischen Dialekten in Rumänien“ [A ‘tulajdont őrző személy’ jelentésmező tagolása a romániai magyar nyelvjárásokban]; usw.

Die lexikalischen und semantischen Untersuchungen bieten sich für interdisziplinäre Studien an, insbesondere für Bezüge zur Ethnografie. Zum Thema Ackerbau und Tierhaltung sind Abhandlungen wie die folgenden zu nennen: „Aus dem Dialektwortschatz für den Wagen und seine Teile“ [A szekér és részeinek nyelvjárási szókincséből]; „Sprachgeografische Daten zum Wortschatz des Ackerbaus mit dem Pflug“ [Nyelvföldrajzi adatok az ekés földművelés szókincséhez]; „Sprachgeografische Daten zum Wortschatz des *kukorica* [Mais]“ [Nyelvföldrajzi adatok a *kukorica* szókincséhez]; „Die Bezeichnungen des Zaunes und seiner Varianten in den ungarischen Dialekten in Siebenbürgen“ [A kerítés és fajtáinak megnevezései az erdélyi magyar nyelvjárásokban]. Von einem erweiterten Blickfeld zeugen Titel wie „Aus dem Dialektwortschatz der Insektennamen“ [A rovarnevek nyelvjárási szókincséből]; „Die siebenbürgische Sprachgeografie der Bezeichnungen für einige Niederwildarten“ [Néhány apróvad neveinek erdélyi nyelvföldrajza] usw.

Nach dem Erscheinen des ersten Bandes begannen auch die an der Veröffentlichung des Atlasses Beteiligten mit der Publikation von Abhandlungen über die Daten. (Wegen des beschränkten Umfangs werden hier statt Titeln nur noch Themenbereiche genannt.)

Dezső Juhász, der Leiter der Arbeitsgruppe, hat die sprachgeschichtlichen, namenkundlichen sowie volkstums- und siedlungsgeschichtlichen Aspekte untersucht: In der Zusammenfassung der Publikationsgeschichte des RMNyA ergänzt er die sprachwissenschaftlichen Analysen durch wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Hintergrundinformationen und zeigt die anhand der Karten des Atlasses gewonnenen sprachlichen und sied-

lungsgeschichtlichen Erkenntnisse auf (Juhász 1997, 2006). Die Bände des Atlasses enthalten eine ganze Reihe von Eigennamen und geografischen Namen, und zwar in ihrer Grundform ebenso wie in flektierter Form. Bei den Personennamen und den Diminutiv- und Koseformen von Personennamen liefert zumeist das familiäre Ortsbestimmungssuffix, bei den Ortsnamen die Formen mit Inessiv- oder Sublativsuffix wichtige Informationen für die Namenkunde (Juhász 1999: 395–400). Die sprachgeografischen Veröffentlichungen können, ja müssen auch für sprachgeschichtliche Forschungen genutzt werden, da die Namen der Ortschaften am Rand des Sprachgebiets zahlreiche Archaismen und Neologismen aufweisen. Die Atlanten enthalten viele Paradigmen der *-ik*-Konjugation, und die entsprechenden Karten zeigen verschiedene Phasen der Entstehung einiger ungarischer Suffixe. In einigen Fällen ermöglichen die Karten die Ergänzung und die Präzisierung sprachgeschichtlicher Feststellungen, so zum Beispiel hinsichtlich der Etymologie des Wortes *hurok* [Schlinge] (Juhász 2000: 209–212).

Auch die Erkenntnisse über die umstrittene Geschichte der Tschangonen und die Herkunft der Nordtschangonen wurden durch den Atlas erweitert (Juhász 2003: 41–46, 2004b: 163–174). Mit weiteren Zusammenhängen befasst sich die Abhandlung „Der Atlas der ungarischen Dialekte in Rumänien als Enzyklopädie der traditionellen Kultur und der Volkssprache in Siebenbürgen“ (Juhász 2004a: 233–237).

Erika Terbe hat die Zusammenhänge zwischen der Wortsemantik und der Sprachgeografie untersucht, beispielsweise anhand der Karten für die Wörter *örvény* ‘Wirbel, Strudel’ und *kényes* ‘empfindlich, heikel’, sowie die Erkenntnisse aus der integrierten Nutzung von Sprachatlanten anhand der Karte für *gyáva* ‘feige’ dargelegt (Terbe 1999, 2003a, 2003b, 2006).

Auch in der Ph.-D.-Dissertation von Andrea Hegedűs geht es um den RMNyA. Sie bespricht in ihrer Arbeit die theoretischen, methodischen und technischen Fragen der – vor allem elektronischen – Integration der ungarischen Dialektatlanten und hat unter Verwendung integrierter Sprachkarten sprachgeografische Analysen für den östlichen Teil des ungarischen Sprachgebietes vorgenommen.

Die Themenwahl der Dissertation weist auf eine besondere Situation hin: Als der *Atlas der ungarischen Dialekte* (MNyA), der den gesamten ungarischen Sprachraum umfasst, erschien, rechneten die Forscher damit, dass dieses hervorragende Quellenwerk in der ungarischen Dialektforschung zum größten Aufschwung aller Zeiten führen würde, diese Hoffnung wurde jedoch nicht beziehungsweise nur zum Teil erfüllt. Die Gründe dafür sind unter anderem, dass 1. die Fachleute, die die Karten interpretieren können, wegen anderweitiger Aufgaben nur wenig Zeit für die Sprachgeografie aufwenden können, 2. in der jüngeren Generation vorerst nur wenige über das interdisziplinäre Wissen verfügen, das erforderlich ist, um die Karten „zum Sprechen zu bringen“, und 3. ein Überblick über die Ansammlung von mehreren Zehntausend oder gar Hunderttausend Daten, die Arbeit mit diesen, ihre Gruppierung usw. heute mit herkömmlichen Mitteln, also ohne den Einsatz von Computern, sehr umständlich ist.

Die Idee, die Atlanten zu integrieren und zu digitalisieren, ist auf folgende Umstände zurückzuführen (Hegedűs 2008; Bodó – Vargha 2008):

1. Obwohl sie in der wissenschaftlichen Forschung jeweils unterschiedlichen Zwecken dienen, ergänzen sich die Großatlanten und die regionalen Atlanten sehr gut.
2. Einige Atlanten sind so schwer oder groß, dass sie sehr umständlich zu handhaben sind.
3. Bei regionalen Atlanten, die von ein und demselben Sammler oder Herausgeber stammen, versteht sich die Integration sozusagen von selbst; siehe zum Beispiel die Atlanten der Arbeitsgemeinschaft an der Universität Klausenburg (Cluj-Napoca) über die Moldauer Tschangonen (MCsNyA) und über die Szekler (noch in Manuskript) oder die regionalen Atlanten von Olga Penavin über die Gegenden des ehemaligen Jugoslawien (insgesamt 6 Atlanten).
4. Die Speicherung und Bearbeitung von mehreren Zehntausend oder Hunderttausend Daten ist heute ohne Computer sehr umständlich.
5. Die Idee der Integration der Atlanten passte auch zu der sprachtechnologischen Entwicklungsarbeit, die seit den 1990er Jahren am Seminar für Ungarische Sprachgeschichte, Soziolinguistik und Dialektologie der Eötvös-Loránd-Universität erfolgt.
6. Die Anregung, ein digitales Dialektwörterbuch (oder mehrere) zu erstellen, hat zur Weiterentwicklung der Idee der Integration der Atlanten geführt.

7 Die Arbeiten zur Veröffentlichung des *Atlas der ungarischen Dialekte in Rumänien* nähern sich dem Ende, damit ergeben sich jedoch auch Möglichkeiten für die nächsten Schritte. Am Seminar für Sprachgeschichte, Soziolinguistik und Dialektologie der Eötvös-Loránd-Universität laufen auch weiterhin geolinguistische Forschungsprojekte über den ungarischen Sprachraum in Rumänien. Eines davon umfasst die Veröffentlichung des letzten Bandes des RMNyA und die Integration der Stichwörter aller elf Bände (im Rahmen einer Ausschreibung der Ungarischen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft; Leiter des Projekts ist Dezső Juhász).

Das Ziel eines anderen Programms unter der Leitung von Katalin Fodor besteht darin, die Dialekte möglichst vieler Ortschaften der Moldauer Tschangonen so umfassend wie möglich zu erfassen, um aus den von Studenten gesammelten Daten ein eigenständiges Korpus zu erstellen. (Näheres zur Sammelarbeit und zum ursprünglichen Konzept siehe in Fodor 2004).

Auch Csanád Bodó hat Forschungen über die Sprachgemeinschaft der Moldauer Tschangonen durchgeführt und betreibt diese auch weiterhin. Dabei verwendet er unter anderem verschiedene Modelle der sprachlichen Sozialisation und der sprachlichen Planung (Bodó 2004, 2007).

Die dem Seminar angegliederte Werkstatt für Geolinguistik hat in den letzten Jahren an mehreren sprachgeografischen Projekten gearbeitet. Im Rahmen eines dieser Projekte wurden die ersten fünf „Bände" der CD-ROM Reihe „Hörbuch der ungarischen Dialekte" (Hajdú et alii 2005–2008) erstellt. Bei einem

anderen wurden der Plan von Lajos Balogh und Gábor Kiss zur Digitalisierung des MNyA weitergeführt (vgl. Balogh – Kiss 1992 und den Internetauftritt der Werkstatt unter http://geolingua.elte.hu), das Material der Kontrollsammlung aufgearbeitet und die theoretischen und methodologischen Grundlagen des Programms Olló (zur Bearbeitung von Daten zur Ortsnamengeschichte) erarbeitet (siehe http://geolingua.elte.hu; vgl. Juhász 2007: 40). Einen weit gefassten Überblick über die sprachwissenschaftlichen Forschungen bezüglich der Tschangonen gibt die Abhandlung von Vilmos Tánczos (siehe Tánczos 2004).

Auf der Grundlage der neuen sprachgeografischen Daten und Forschungen wurde auch mit der regelmäßigen Untersuchung der ungarischen Sprach- und Dialektinseln in Rumänien begonnen – siehe die Antrittsvorlesung von János Péntek an der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Péntek 2005).

Im Jahr 2007 haben unser Seminar und die Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften gemeinsam mit den Planungsarbeiten und dann den Sammelarbeiten für den *Neuen Atlas der ungarischen Dialekte* (*Új magyar nyelvatlasz,* ÚMNyA) begonnen. Im Zuge der longitudinalen Untersuchung wurden bereits an mehreren Forschungspunkten unseres Atlasses Daten erhoben, sodass hoffentlich schon bald mit der Ermittlung des Istzustands und der Veränderungen begonnen werden kann. (Zu den Plänen siehe Kiss 2006).

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ATLAS MADŽARSKIH DIALEKTOV V ROMUNIJI PRED IZIDOM

Enajsti, zadnji del Atlasa madžarskih narečij v Romuniji (*The Atlas of Hungarian Dialects in Romania – RMNyA)* je pripravljen za izid. Prvi del atlasa je izšel leta 1995, deseti leta 2006. Vsak del vsebuje povprečno 300 map in kratek slovar razdelka. Vse karte so zbrane z vnosom podatkov, tj. vsi odgovori, podani v vprašalniku, so prikazani v natančni fonetični transkripciji za vsako raziskovalno točko. Delo, za katero je bilo gradivo zbrano v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja, pomembno zaokrožuje madžarsko dialektologijo. S 136 raziskovalnimi točkami in 3300 mapami predstavlja znatno razširitev gradiva iz Romunije, ki ga vsebuje Atlas madžarskih narečij (*The Atlas of Hungarian Dialects (MNyA)*).

Zbiranje gradiva in sestavljanje rokopisa atlasa je bilo izvedeno v težkih pogojih; od leta 1959 je bilo delo prepuščeno eni sami osebi, raziskovalcu Lászlu Murádinu. Od druge polovice sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja ni bilo nikakršne možnosti za izdajo kart, ki prikazujejo etnično distribucijo v Romuniji. Po spremembi režima v vzhodni Evropi je bilo možno prenesti prvo verzijo rokopisa s podatki za RMNyA v Budimpešto, kjer so bili s pomočjo natečaja, ki ga je razpisalo Madžarsko jezikoslovno društvo v sodelovanju z raziskovalci Univerze Eötvösa Loránda, zagotovljeni pogoji za izdajo. Dezső Juhász je postal vodja raziskovalnega tima, ustanovljenega leta 1993, in urednik atlasa. László Murádin je zbral seznam člankov o delu pri atlasu pred izidom prvega dela; našel je več kot šestdeset enot, med katerimi jih je večino napisal sam. Po izidu prvega dela so tisti, ki so sodelovali pri njegovem urejanju – Dezső Juhász, Erika Terbe and Andrea Hegedűs –, prav tako začeli objavljati članke o njem.

RMNyA omogoča podrobnejši opis madžarskih narečij v Romuniji in njihovo pregledno tipologijo. Odpira nove možnosti za sinhroni in diahroni pregled na področju lingvistične geografije in zgodovine naseljevanja. Sočasno z izidom je bil RMNyA vključen v projekt za digitalizacijo MNyA, rezultat tega pa je, da sta dva velika atlasa integrirana v eno samo elektronsko bazo podatkov. To omogoča nove lingvistične in dialektološke analize korpusa kot tudi pripravo integriranih kart z rabo tehnike računalniške kartografije. RMNyA je primeren tudi za primerjave z manjšimi regionalnimi atlasi.

Na izbranih raziskovalnih točkah MNyA in RMNyA so opravljene raziskave današnjega jezika s pomočjo vprašalnikov, zbranih iz vprašanj za oba atlasa, da bi ugotovili spremembe, ki so se pojavile v preteklih petdesetih letih.

Dvojinske in pluralizirane oblike v slovenskih narečjih

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Dvojina je normirana v slovenskem knjižnem jeziku in se uporablja tudi v veliki večini slovenskih narečij. V knjižni slovenščini je obvezna za vse pregibne besedne vrste, v narečjih pa raba dvojine variira: ponekod jo uporabljajo samo za moški spol, medtem ko se za ženskega uporablja le množina, drugod samo v imenovalniku/tožilniku, medtem ko so se ostali skloni izenačili z množinskimi, spet nekatera narečja jo uporabljajo pri samostalnikih, medtem ko je glagolsko dvojino nadomestila množina. Članek dopolnjujejo statistični podatki rabe dvojinskih oblik samostalnikov in glagolov.

The dual is a mandatory element of Contemporary Standard Slovene and also appears in the majority of Slovene dialects to varying degrees. As we shall see, some dialects are witnessing a gradual disappearance of the dual and its replacement by plural forms. In colloquial Slovene, which is by and large the spoken language of Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, the dual is still used for masculine nouns, while dual forms for feminine nouns have been replaced by the plural. The geographical extent of dual use is presented also statistically (statistics on dual use of noun and verb).

Ključne besede: dvojina, pluralizacija, slovenska narečja, narečno oblikoslovje

Key words: dual, pluralisation, Slovene dialects, dialect morphology

1 Kategorija dvojine

Jeziki po svetu poznajo razlikovanje med določno vrednostjo števila (kot so ednina, množina, dvojina) in nedoločno vrednostjo števila (kot npr. paukal, tj. omejena množina s pomenom ‘malo’, ‘veliko’, ‘vsi, vse’). Pomen množine se spreminja glede na sistem, v katerem se nahaja. Če ima jezik sistem treh števil

in loči med ednino, dvojino in množino (kot npr. slovenščina), potem množina pomeni več kot dva itd.

Dvojina je bila skupna večini starih indoevropskih jezikov, danes pa je v okviru indoevropeistike zanimiva in nekoliko arhaična slovnična kategorija, ohranjena le še v nekaterih slovanskih jezikih: poleg slovenščine še v gornji in dolnji lužiški srbščini ter kašubščini; v ostalih indoevropskih jezikih je dvojino nadomestila množina.

Od treh praslovanskih števil se je torej ravno dvojina izkazala za najmanj stabilno. V večini slovanskih jezikov je dvojina kot kategorija števila izginila, vendar pa so njeni ostanki ponekod še vidni, npr. v današnji hrvaščini ali srbščini pri deležniku na *-l*: *dva čov(j)eka su išla* : *ljudi su išli*. V hrvaščini/srbščini (Unger 1998: 80–81) so stare dvojinske končnice danes ohranjene v vlogi množinskih, npr. stari rodilnik/mestnik dvojine v vlogi rodilnika množine (*nȍgu*, *rùku* …). Dvojinsko obliko imata tudi oba *i*-jevska samostalnika v imenovalniku (*ȍči*, *ùši*),[1] rodilniku (*òčijū*, *ùšijū*) in dajalniku/mestniku/orodniku (*òčima*, *ùšima*) ter obliki *dvâ* in *ȍba*.

Tako kot se živi jeziki spreminjajo, se tudi dvojina pojavlja in izginja; lahko prihaja do zmanjšanja in izgube ali pa do nastanka, obnove oz. ponovne rabe dvojine. Primer novega pojavljanja oz. nastajanja dvojine imamo npr. v bretonščini, jeziku na severozahodu Francije (v Bretanji) z okoli 500.000 govorcev. Čeprav se je v keltskih jezikih dvojina v veliki meri izgubila, ima bretonščina novo, dokaj mlado dvojino. Brez dvoma izhaja iz številnika *daou* 'dva' oz. *div* 'dve', vendar je prava dvojina; obvezna je za samostalnike, ki označujejo dele telesa ali oblačila, ki se pojavljajo v parih, in v primerih, kadar sta pomensko poudarjena dva referenta: *lagad* : ***dau****lagad* 'oko, sam. m. sp., ed. : dv.', *skouarn* : ***div****skouarn* 'uho, sam. ž. sp., ed. : dv.', *dorn* : ***daou****arn* 'roka, sam. m. sp., ed. : dv.', *gar* : ***div****har* 'noga, sam. ž. sp., ed. : dv.' (MacAulay 1992: 416–417).

Čeprav danes dvojina velja v indoevropskem smislu za neke vrste relikt, je po svetu precej razširjena (uporablja jo 205 jezikov): semitski jeziki, zlasti sodobna standardna arabščina, jezikih avstralskih domorodcev itd. Dvojino le pri osebnih in/ali kazalnih zaimkih poznajo nekatera narečja kalifornijskih Indijancev, veliko papuanskih jezikov in mnoge tihooceanske kreolščine. Tudi hebrejščina ima nekaj dvojinskih oblik, in sicer predvsem za dele telesa in stvari, ki tvorijo pare (*jadajim* 'roke', *raglajim* 'noge', *ejnajim* 'oči', *oznajim* 'ušesa', *misparajim* 'škarje').

Glede na omenjeno bi sklepali, da se bo dvojina v slovenščini najbolje in najdlje ohranila ravno pri parnih samostalnikih, vendar ni tako. Nemški jezikoslovec, raziskovalec lužiške srbščine Helmut Fasske (1968) trdi, da se je proces nadomeščanja dvojine z množino začel prav pri parnih samostalnikih, kar velja za vse indoevropske jezike, ki so ohranili dvojino do danes. Razlog za pluralizacijo je verjetno nejezikovni: jasno je, da ima vsak zdrav človek po dva

[1] Drugotni *o*-jevski obliki *oka* in *uha* se uporabljata samo v primeru, ko ne gre za označevanje delov telesa.

parna organa, npr. *noge*, *oči*. Dvojina je tako nujna le za naključne pare, medtem ko je stalni pari ne zahtevajo (*roke*, *ušesa*; *rokavice*, *nogavice*; *starši*, *dvojčki*).

V standardni – knjižni slovenščini je dvojina normirana in tako obvezna za vse pregibne besedne vrste, v narečjih pa raba dvojine variira. Narečja sčasoma doživljala večje sovpadanje dvojinskih oblik z množinskimi, še zlasti v stranskih sklonih in v vseh oblikah ženskega spola, medtem ko je srednji spol v mnogih narečjih sovpadel z moškim (npr. *dva okna* namesto *dve okni*).

Primer knjižne rabe dvojine

2 Monografije o slovenski dvojini

Da je raba dvojine v knjižnem jeziku predpisana v večji meri, kot je živa v nekaterih narečjih, je opazil že Francoz Lucien Tesnière (1893–1954). Ker je kategorija dvojine v sodobnih evropskih jezikih večinoma že izginila, je Tesnière med tremi slovanskimi jeziki, ki še ohranjajo dvojino, izbral slovenščino, ki je bila po njegovem mnenju edini jezik, kjer bi se dalo spremljati izgubljanje dvojine. Slovensko dvojino je predstavil v monografiji (*Les formes du duel en slovène* 'Dvojinske oblike v slovenščini') kot tudi v atlasu (*Atlas linguistique pour servir à l'étude du duel en slovène* 'Lingvistični atlas dvojine v slovenščini'). Obe deli sta izšli v Parizu leta 1925.

Z dvojino v slovanskih jezikih se je ukvarjal srbski jezikoslovec Aleksandar Belić (1876–1960). Njegova razprava *O dvojini u slovenskim jezicima*, objavljena 1932 v Beogradu, zajema splošna in razvojna vprašanja dvojine v slovanskih jezikih, ki so med indoevropskimi jeziki dvojino ohranili v največji meri; v okviru teh seveda tudi v slovenščini. Če je Tesnière dvojino obravnaval z oblikoslovnega vidika, se je Belić tega pojava lotil z vidika skladnje in je v okviru te razlikoval med štirimi različnimi tipi dvojine (prosto, vezano, anaforično in sindetično).[2] Dvojini v slovenščini je posvečeno 7. poglavje, kjer Belić podaja njen zgodovinski razvoj in se pri tem na veliko poslužuje Tesnièrovega gradiva. Belić ugotavlja, da je slovenščina ohranila vse praslovanske kategorije stare dvojine, razen najpomembnejše – proste dvojine (tj. dvojine pri parnih samostalnikih).

[2] V stari cerkveni slovanščini so bile v rabi vse naštete vrste dvojine.

Najnovejši monografiji o dvojini sta delo avtorice tega prispevka. Poleti 2008 je izšla knjiga *The dual in Slovene dialects* v zbirki *Diversitas Linguarum* pri nemški univerzitetni založbi N. Brockmeyer v Bochumu, nekaj mesecev kasneje pa še slovenska različica *Dvojina v slovenskih narečjih* pri založbi ZRC SAZU v Ljubljani. Prostorska razširjenost dvojinskih oz. množinskih oblik je tu prikazana na lingvističnih kartah. Gradivo za karte je bilo zbrano za *Slovenski lingvistični atlas* (SLA), temeljno delo sodobne slovenske nacionalne dialektologije in geolingvistike, ki nastaja v Dialektološki sekciji Inštituta za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU v Ljubljani, kjer je shranjena tudi celotna gradivska zbirka.

Dvojina je v članku obravnavana z oblikoslovnega vidika, saj se v slovenščini kategorija dvojine izraža oblikoslovno – s posebno dvojinsko končnico. Stanje dvojine se v narečjih po besednih vrstah precej razlikuje; ponekod je pluralizacija prodrla bolj, ponekod manj.

3 Dvojinske oblike samostalnikov

3.1 *Dvojinske oblike samostalnikov moškega spola*

V slovenskih narečjih je dvojina najbolj trdna v imenovalniku/tožilniku samostalnikov moškega spola; izjema so skrajne jugozahodne točke kraškega in istrskega narečja ter skrajni jugovzhod dolenjske narečne skupine.

Manj je dvojina ohranjena v stranskih sklonih samostalnikov – v dajalniku/orodniku; strnjeno se ohranja le na zahodu in vzhodu koroške narečne skupine, vzhodnem delu štajerske ter celotni panonski narečni skupini (*dva brata*, *dvema bratoma*), povsod drugje je dvojina v stranskih sklonih pluralizirana (*dva brata* : *dvem bratom*). V praslovanščini sta se trda in mehka moška *o*-jevska sklanjatev dvojine v dajalniku in orodniku ločili (npr. **bratoma* : **mǫžema*). V slovenskem knjižnem jeziku se to razlikovanje še ohranja, medtem ko se je v večini današnjih narečij posplošila končnica -*om*(*a*) ali -*am*(*a*) tako za trde kot mehke osnove.

Rodilnik in mestnik imata dvojinske oblike enake množinskim tako v knjižni slovenščini kot tudi v vseh narečjih (*dveh bratov = treh bratov*; *pri dveh bratih = pri treh bratih*); izjema je nekaj govorov panonske narečne skupine, ki so v mestniku dvojine moškega spola (po analogiji z orodnikom dvojine moškega spola) ohranili dvojinsko končnico -*oma*: *pri bratoma*.

3.2 *Dvojinske oblike samostalnikov ženskega spola*

Dvojinsko obliko imenovalnika/tožilnika *kravi* in dajalnika/orodnika *kravama* ohranjajo le obrobna narečja: narečja koroške narečne skupine, posamezni govori dolenjske in štajerske narečne skupine ter celotna panonska narečna skupina. Posamezni govori koroške in primorske narečne skupine so ohranili

dvojino v imenovalniku/tožilniku, dajalnik in orodnik pa sta že pluralizirana. Na zahodu in v osrednjih narečjih ter v večini štajerskih narečij so samostalniki ženskega spola pluralizirani (*dve krave*, *dvem kravam*).

3.2.1 Vzrok za pluralizacijo ženskih oblik

V praslovanščini sta se trda in mehka ženska sklanjatev (Logar 1996: 319) v dvojini ločili le v imenovalniku, tožilniku in zvalniku (npr. **rybě* : **duši*). V slovenščini je v dvojini samostalnikov ženskega spola prevladala končnica *-i* iz mehke sklanjatve; prav tako se je v množini končnica *-ę*, značilna za mehke osnove, posplošila še na trde. To lahko razlagamo na dva načina: 1. vpliv mehke sklanjatve (rodilnik ednine **rybę* ← **dušę*); 2. vsaj za gorenjsko in dolenjsko narečno skupino ni mogoče izključiti glasoslovnega nastanka narečnega slovenskega *-i* iz praslovanskega nenaglašenega *-ě*.

3.3 ***Dvojinske oblike samostalnikov srednjega spola***

Samostalniki srednjega spola so podvrženi menjavi spola. Prehajanje iz srednjega v moški (maskulinizacija) ali ženski spol (feminizacija) je med drugim odvisna tudi od števila: nekateri samostalniki srednjega spola ohranjajo spol in sklanjatev samo v ednini, medtem ko se v dvojini in množini feminizirajo ali maskulinizirajo. Za obrobna narečja je značilno, da bolje ohranjajo dvojino samostalnikov ženskega spola, prav tako pa tudi bolje ohranjajo kategorijo srednjega spola (so torej po oblikoslovju bližje knjižni slovenščini).

Dvojinsko končnico *-i* (*dve okni*) srednjega spola (kot v knjižni slovenščini) tako ohranjajo narečja na zahodu in na skrajnem severovzhodu, tj. primorska in panonska narečja; v osrednjih narečjih (rovtarskih, gorenjskih, dolenjskih in delu štajerskih) so se samostalniki srednjega spola maskulinizirali (npr. *dva okna*), v vzhodnem delu štajerskih narečij pa feminizirali. Dvojinske oblike srednjega spola so se pluralizirale le v posameznih govorih na meji z Italijo in Hrvaško.

4 Dvojinske oblike glagolov

Glagolska dvojina je v slovenskih narečjih dobro ohranjena – izjema so nekatera jugozahodna primorska narečja (kot posledica vpliva čakavščine in italijanščine) ter južno- in severnobelokranjsko narečje (čakavski in kajkavski vplivi), kjer lahko tudi ob samostalniku v dvojini stoji glagol v množini. Kot posledica nemške kolonizacije se pluralizacija pojavi še v treh točkah baškega podnarečja rovtarske narečne skupine in v točki na meji baškega podnarečja in selškega narečja.

Ohranjeno dvojinsko obliko *-va* (*delava*) za moški in ženski spol imajo severozahodna koroška narečja (ziljsko in del rožanskega narečja), severozahodna primorska narečja (rezijansko in obsoško), del rovtarske narečne skupine (cerkljansko, črnovrško in poljansko narečje) ter večji del gorenjske narečne skupine. Namesto dvojinske končnice *-va* je po križanju te končnice z množinsko *-mo* in/ali edninsko *-m* nastala končnica *-ma* (*delama*, *grema*, *boma*), ki je značilna za celotno štajersko narečno skupino, pa tudi za večji del koroške, del primorske in zahodni del panonske narečne skupine.

Dvojinsko obliko na *-va* (*delava*) za moški spol in razlikovanje dvojinske oblike na *-ve*/*-vi* (*delave*/*delavi*) za ženski spol poznajo nekateri govori osrednjih narečij (tj. severni del notranjskih, nekaj horjulskih in zahodni del dolenjskih) ter narečja na skrajnem severovzhodu: severovzhodni del prleškega in prekmursko narečje. Na novo se je tako razlikovanje pojavilo v mestni govorici Ljubljane in tudi v zapisani pogovorni ljubljanščini; primer:

V nekaterih narečjih se za dva moška uporablja dvojinska oblika (*delava* ali *delama*), ženske dvojinske oblike pa so izgubljene oz. izenačene z množinskimi (*delamo*). Razmerje *-va* : *-mo* pozna nekaj primorskih kraških in notranjskih govorov ter vzhodni del dolenjskega narečja, vzhodnodolenjsko, vzhodnogorenjsko in zagorsko-trboveljsko podnarečje. Razmerje *-ma* : *-mo* je značilno za večino govorov štajerskega posavskega narečja, prodira pa tudi v južne bizeljske in severne vzhodnodolenjske govore. Ločeno od tega področja se nahaja v dolenjskih govorih na širšem ribniškem področju.

4.1 *Primeri slengovske rabe glagolske dvojine*

Mladi z vseh koncev slovenskega jezikovnega ozemlja radi pišejo v slengu, tako v šolskih glasilih kot v raznih (spletnih) dnevnikih.

Primer slenga osrednjega slovenskega prostora (Ljubljana in okolica):

> *danes sva šli s pinx v najino sveto mesto … knjižnico … to je kraj kjer se* ***dobive*** *nekajkrat v tednu in* ***poklepetave*** *… **vzameve** vse CDje in videokasete … **delave** nemir … kakorkoli že … ne **počneve** nič pametnega … no na koncu **odideve** z kupi knjig, videokaset, CDjev, DVDjev … in seveda nama nikoli ni dovolj … in se vedno znova **vrneve** …*[3]

[3] http://www.vijavaja.com/imenik/podrob_dnevnik.php?id=44865&k=90

Primer slenga vzhodnega slovenskega prostora (Murska Sobota in okolica):

Maja se je prebudila … Vrgla se je iz postelje in zakričala: »Ej Monika zbüdi se, ***moreve*** *ite!«*
Po par minutah vožnje se je obema v glavi pojavil velik vprašaj. Pogledali sta iz okna in zagledali hiše, travnike, gozd … »Ki sploh ***sve****?«*
Maja: »Mije ***sve se zgubile****!« Monika jo ubogo pogleda: »Ka pa zej? Ge* ***sve****?«*
Maja: »Kej ***greve*** *domov z 31?«*[4]

4.2 *Primeri rabe glagolske dvojine v sodobnih medijih*

Uporaba glagolske dvojine na spletnih straneh (v elektronski pošti, na raznih forumih, pri pogovorih v spletnih klepetalnicah itd.) lahko kaže tudi na mešanje knjižne in pogovorne rabe. Tako nekateri govorci sprašujejo o pravilni rabi kar jezikoslovce (npr. na spletnem mestu ŠUSS, ki ponuja odgovore na različna jezikovna vprašanja), npr.:

- *V zadregi sem pri naslednjem stavku:* ***'A greva na pivo'*** *ali* ***'A grema na pivo'.*** *Kdaj se uporablja eno in kdaj drugo?*
- *Ali je v pravilni slovenščini možno reči: Midve* ***greve*** *v mesto. Trdim, da ne, medtem ko prijatelji, ki so pred 30 leti dokončali Bežigrajsko gimnazijo, trdijo obratno.*

Nekateri pa vprašanja postavijo na forume (kot npr. forum *Al' prav se piše …?*), kjer na razna jezikovna vprašanja odgovarjajo tudi nejezikoslovci in tako dobijo še bolj pestre, ne pa tudi nujno pravilne odgovore. Primer:

- *Čisto sem zmedena!! Kako se pravilno reče za dvojino, ženski spol??* ***GREVE?*** *ali* ***GREVA NAKUPOVAT??***[5]
- *Jaz-ženska oseba rečem prijateljici: POJDIVA / POJDIVE sedaj! ??? Pa še to: Midve-2 ženski osebi: GREVA / GREVE od tod … ??? HVALA ZA POMOČ!*[6]
- *Sprašujem se, kako so nekateri – v tem primeru nekatere – prišli skozi OŠ in SŠ in celo faks, ko pa govorijo in pišejo: midve greve, midve bove, midve sve počakale ipd. Grozljivka!!!*[7]

In odgovori nejezikoslovcev:

- *to je pogovorno v Prlerkiji in Prekmurju. Tudi ljubljanščina se pojavlja na javnem radiu in televiziji (Karoli, …), pa so vseeno moderatorji leta.*
- *Jaz sem iz Borovnice in tam vse ženske tako govorijo (****midve grevi*** *ipd.).*
- *jst sm notranjka, pa živim v ljubljani pet let, in že celo življenje uporabljam »****midve greve****« pa tut »****vidve greste****«. se mi zdi, da ni nič narobe če je še kaj ženskega spola (nekako ženskega spola).. in ne vse moškega.. se vidi, da so slovnico pisali moški …*
- *Imam prijateljico iz okolice Lenarta in tam govorijo »****midve greve****«.*

[4] http://www.s-ssgtr.ms.edus.si/dokumenti/36/2/2008/EKO_POMLADNI_LIST08_284.pdf
[5] http://med.over.net/forum5/read.php?125,2541464
[6] http://med.over.net/forum5/read.php?125,2543113,2543124
[7] http://med.over.net/forum5/read.php?125,2545545

• *No, to je naročnega izvora in sicer okolica mojih krajev (Ljutomer). Tukaj naši sosedi vedno kadar gresta, uporabljata obliko »**A greme?**«.*

5 Primerjava med samostalniško in glagolsko dvojino

Množina glagolskih oblik pri ženskem spolu v nasprotju z dvojino v moškem spolu prav tako potrjuje, da je pluralizacija bolj prodrla v ženski kot v moški spol (slabljenje dvojinskih oblik pri ženskem spolu zasledimo tako pri glagolih kot pri samostalnikih in pridevnikih). Primer: severni del vzhodnodolenjskih govorov (Šentrupert, SLA 262 – *sina* (m. sp. dv.) : *hčere* (ž. sp. dv. = mn.), *delama*, *delata* (m. sp., 1. + 2. os. dv.) : *delamo*, *delate* (ž. sp., 1. + 2. os. dv. = mn.)). V narečjih, ki poznajo v glagolski dvojini razlikovanje po spolu, je tudi v drugih besednih vrstah dvojina zelo trdna kategorija; tako npr. v severnem delu notranjskega narečja (Ajdovščina, SLA 129 – *delava* : *delavi*; *sinova*, *hčeri*, *okni*).

Nekatera narečja ohranjajo dvojino pri samostalnikih (imenovalnik/tožilnik), pri glagolih pa je dvojino nadomestila množina. Primera:

briško narečje (Kojsko, SLA 86) – *Sa bli* (mn.) *v adni vas dva buyata kmeta* (dv.);

istrsko narečje (Korte, SLA 121) – *se pasejo* (mn.) *dve kravi* (dv.).

Obratno stanje, ko so se samostalniki ženskega spola pluralizirali, pri glagolih pa je dvojina ohranjena, najdemo v zgornje- in srednjesavinjskem narečju. Primer:

srednjesavinjsko narečje (Ložnica pri Žalcu, SLA 324) – *dve krave* (mn.) *se paseta* (dv.).

6 Statistični podatki o dvojini

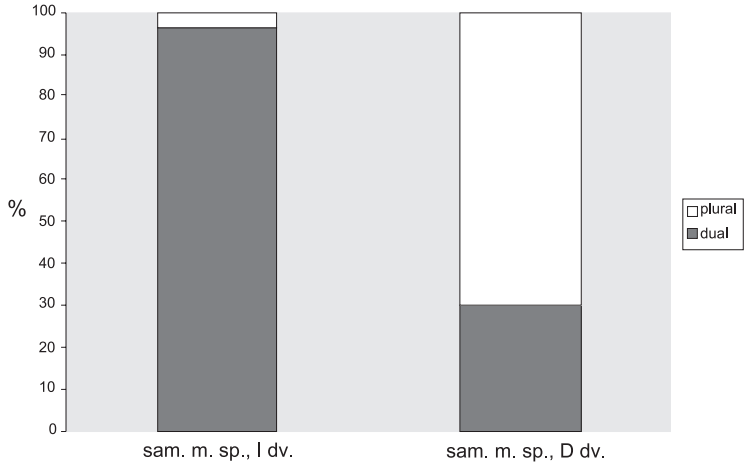
6.1 *Statistični podatki o dvojini samostalnikov*

Samostalnik moškega spola, *o*-deblo, imenovalnik dvojine:

Oblika	**Število**	**Št. primerov**	**%**	**Dvojina %**
brata	dv.	265	96	96
bratje	mn.	10	4	

Samostalnik moškega spola, *o*-deblo, dajalnik dvojine:

Oblika	**Število**	**Št. primerov**	**%**	**Dvojina %**
bratoma	dv.	83	30	30
bratom	mn.	192	70	

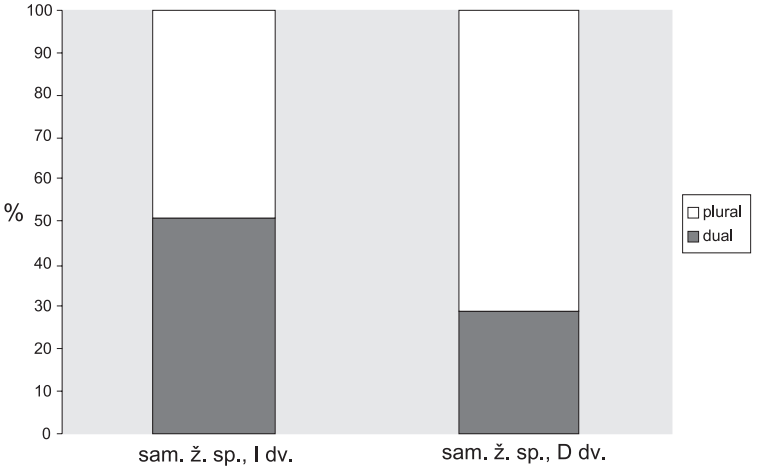


Samostalnik ženskega spola, *a*-deblo, imenovalnik dvojine:

Oblika	**Število**	**Št. primerov**	**%**	**Dvojina %**
kravi	dv.	165,5	51	51
krave	mn.	158,5	49	

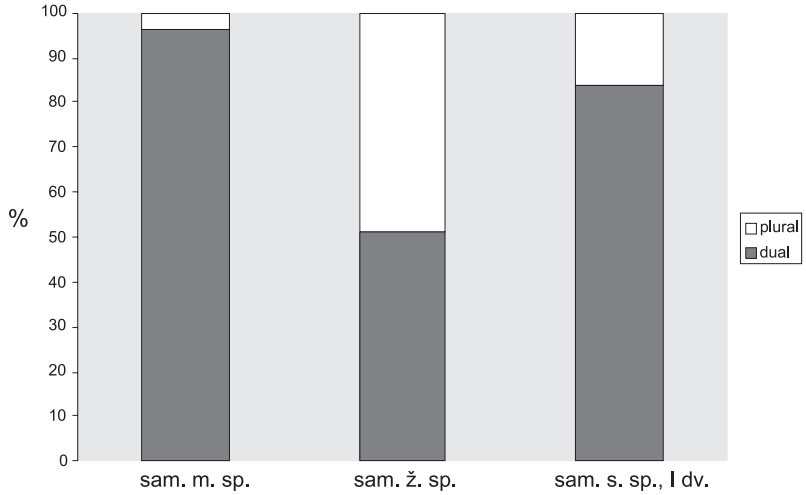
Samostalnik ženskega spola, *a*-deblo, dajalnik dvojine:

Oblika	**Število**	**Št. primerov**	**%**	**Dvojina %**
kravama	dv.	85	29	29
kravam	mn.	210	71	



Samostalnik srednjega spola, *o*-deblo, imenovalnik dvojine:

Oblika	Število	Št. primerov	%	Dvojina %
okni	s./ž. sp. dv.	101	43	84
okna	m. sp. dv.	98	41	
okna	s. sp. mn.	15	6	
okne	ž. sp. mn.	23	10	



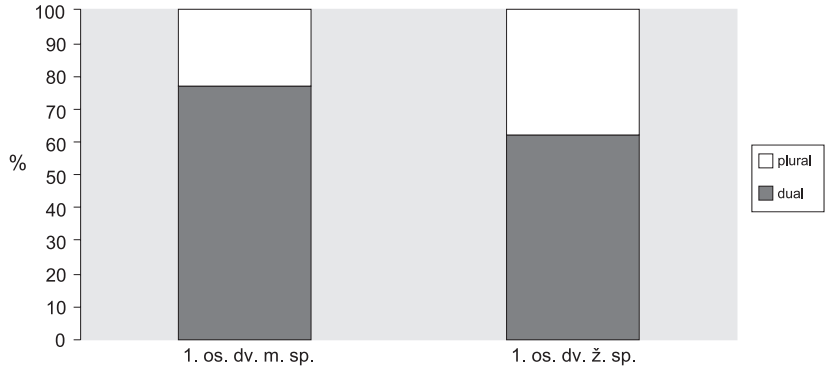
6.2 *Statistični podatki o dvojini glagolov*

Glagol moškega spola, 1. oseba dvojine, sedanjik:

Oblika	Število	Št. primerov	%	Dvojina %
delava	dv.	148	42	77
delama	dv.	118	33	
delamo	mn.	88	23	

Glagol ženskega spola, 1. oseba dvojine, sedanjik:

Oblika	Število	Št. primerov	%	Dvojina %
delava	dv.	132	37	62
delama	dv.	88	25	
delamo	mn.	134	38	

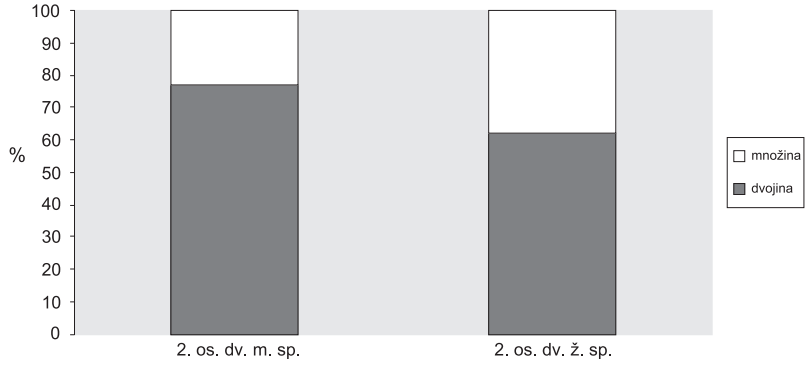


Glagol moškega spola, 2. oseba dvojine, sedanjik:

Oblika	**Število**	**Št. primerov**	**%**	**Dvojina (%)**
delata	dv.	284	80	80
delate	mn.	70	20	

Glagol ženskega spola, 2. oseba dvojine, sedanjik:

Oblika	**Število**	**Št. primerov**	**%**	**Dvojina (%)**
delata	dv.	226	64	64
delate	mn.	128	36	



7 Vzorec izgubljanja dvojine

Dvojina se je izgubljala po etapah, kar je ugotavljal že Tesnière (1925a: 424):
– po sklonih: najprej se izgubi mestnik, sledijo mu rodilnik, dajalnik, orodnik, nazadnje pa imenovalnik oz. tožilnik;

– po spolih: dvojina najprej izgine v ženskem spolu, nato v srednjem in nazadnje v moškem spolu;
– po besednih vrstah: dvojina izgine najprej pri pridevnikih in nato pri kazalnih zaimkih (tj. ujemalnih besednih vrstah), kasneje pa pri samostalnikih, številnikih *dva* in *dve* ter osebnih zaimkih.

8 Sklepne ugotovitve

Narečja poznajo v primerjavi s slovenskim knjižnim jezikom več sovpadanja dvojinskih oblik z množinskimi, še zlasti v stranskih sklonih in v vseh oblikah ženskega spola.

V narečjih je dvojina najbolj trdna pri samostalnikih moškega spola, manj pri samostalnikih srednjega spola, medtem ko so samostalniki ženskega spola najbolj dovzetni za prodiranje množine. Posledično tudi samostalniki srednjega spola, ki so se feminizirali, na videz kažejo manj dvojine kot samostalniki, ki so se maskulinizirali; npr. *dva okna* (m. sp. dv.) : *dve okne* (ž. sp. dv. = mn.).

Na splošno lahko rečemo, da so oblike samostalnikov moškega spola bolje ohranjene kot oblike samostalnikov ženskega spola in tudi bolje ohranjene kot dvojinske glagolske oblike.

Dvojinske oblike nadomeščajo z množinskimi zlasti narečja na jugozahodu in skrajnem jugovzhodu.

Vzroki za pluralizacijo so lahko posledica stika s tujimi, zlasti sosednjimi jeziki, ki dvojine ne poznajo (stik z italijanskim in hrvaškim jezikom: nadiško, briško, kraško in istrsko narečje na jugozahodu in južno- in severnobelokranjsko narečje na jugovzhodu), ali pa so posledica kolonizacije (npr. baški govor v osrednjem prostoru).

Primerjanje sodobnega stanja s Tesnièrovimi podatki kažejo, da se zemljepisni obseg rabe dvojinskih oblik do danes ni bistveno zmanjšal. Dvojina je v večini slovenskih narečij še vedno produktivna in živa kategorija, ki ni zgolj zgodovinski ostanek, ampak skozi čas doživlja spremembe in inovacije tako v oblikah kot v rabi.

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DUAL AND PLURALISED FORMS IN SLOVENE DIALECTS

The linguistic category of the dual has disappeared from almost all Indo-European languages, having largely been subsumed into the plural. The only Indo-European languages in which it has been retained are Slovene, Upper and Lower Sorbian, and Kashubian, but remnants of it can be found in all Slavic languages.
The dual is one of the most interesting areas of difference (and similarity) between the various codes of Slovene. It is a mandatory element of Contemporary Standard Slovene, the language used in literature and in official writings and speech, and also appears in the majority of Slovene dialects to varying degrees. The dual is used for all inflected word types (nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs), in all cases (the genitive and locative plural and dual forms have the same endings) and in all grammatical persons. In colloquial Slovene, which is by and large the spoken language of Ljubljana, the dual is still used for masculine nouns, while dual forms for feminine nouns have been replaced by the plural, i.e. *dva brata* 'two brothers' (masc. du.), *dve sestre* 'two sisters' (fem. du./pl.).

In 2008 two books on *Dual in Slovene Dialects* by the author of this article were published: one in Slovene and one in English. Slovene version has been published in Ljubljana, the English one in Bochum, Germany. The geographical extent of dual use in these two books is presented on linguistic maps which show the geographical distribution of the dual in the dialects of the Slovene language (where or in which dialects a certain form is to be found). The dialect material for dual forms has been collected from the *Slovene Linguistic Atlas* (SLA). On each map, different morphemes are marked with different symbols. Forms are presented in sequence from well preserved to gradually disappearing (gradual replacement with plural forms), pointing out the differences between the dual system employed in Contemporary Standard Slovene and the various forms that appear in Slovene dialects.

Some Slovene dialects are witnessing a gradual disappearance of the dual and its replacement by plural forms. Dual forms have been most consistently preserved in masculine nouns. They are slightly less well-preserved in neuter nouns, mainly in the extreme east but also in the extreme west. Feminine nouns tend most towards pluralisation (*dve hčere* instead of *dve hčeri*). The dual is therefore less well-preserved in neuter nouns than in masculine nouns, but better preserved in neuter nouns than in feminine nouns. The nominal dual is less well-preserved in oblique cases. A considerable number of dialects use dual forms in the nominative/accusative only, with the plural having replaced the dual in all other cases.

Many linguists – Lucien Tesnière among them – have predicted that the dual will sooner or later disappear, or at least become optional, and be replaced by the plural. However, despite the fact that Tesnière's material was collected in the 1920s, comparisons with more recent data show that the geographical extent of dual use has, in the main, not shrunk. As a linguistic category of number, the dual has disappeared completely only in a small area of Slovene linguistic territory (chiefly in the south-west and the extreme south-east), while the Slovene dialects outside these areas have preserved it, albeit to varying degrees. It looks as if the dual will not disappear as rapidly as predicted, if it disappears at all.

Sociolinguistic and Geolinguistic Variation in the Basque language[1]

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V prispevku so predstavljeni prvi rezultati *Socio- in geolingvističnega atlasa baskovskega jezika – EAS*. Raziskovalni projekt je bil predstavljen na 5. konferenci SIDG, ki je bila v Bragi. Predstavljamo nekatere podatke, zbrane na isti lokaciji pri informatorjih različnih generacij (starejša, srednja, mlajša). Raziskujemo jezikovne razlike, ki se pojavljajo med govorci teh generacij, in analiziramo, ali so medgeneracijske razlike enake na vseh lokacijah ali pa se med njimi pojavljajo kakšne posebnosti. Prikazujemo tudi različne tipe geolingvističnih variacij med generacijami.

In this contribution, we show the first results of the "Socio-geolinguistic atlas of the Basque language-EAS". This research project was presented at the Vth Congress of Dialectology and Geolinguistics held in Braga. On the one hand, we present some data collected in the same locality from informants of different generations (the elderly, adults and young people). We examine the linguistic differences that we found among people of these generations and we analyse whether the difference among generations is similar in all localities or not, or whether some of them have peculiar characteristics. On the other hand, we show different types of geolinguistic variation: variation among elderly people, adults or among young people.

Ključne besede: sociolingvistična variacija, geolingvistična variacija, jezikovni korpus, baskovska dialektologija

Key words: sociolinguistic variation, geolinguistic variation, corpus linguistics, Basque dialectology

[1] This project has received financial support from the Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación of the Spanish Government (HUM2007-65094/FILO) for the following three years (2007–2010).

0 Introduction

In spite of the fact that the Basque language has had active production of literature since the 16th century, all of the Basque literature has been written in dialect. During all that time, four literary dialects have been developed. It was in 1968 when the Academy of the Basque Language decided to create a standard Basque language (the 'unified' *batua,* as it is called). The standardisation of the Basque language is very recent being only 40 years old. The usage of standard Basque started with education in the Basque language in the 1970s, first in the *ikastola* ('monolingual Basque education created by private initiative'), later in bilingual public schools and finally in private schools. Media outlets in Basque (public and private channels) were created in the eighties.

With the creation of the standard variety and its use in education, in media, etc. the dialects have, on the one hand, fallen more and more into disuse in formal relationships and businesses. In the last 30–35 years, more than half of the young people have been educated in the Basque standard language (only in Basque, or in Basque and Spanish or French). People older than 40–45 were educated only in Spanish or French, and they did not learn Basque; even if they are Basque speakers they did not learn to write and to read in Basque.

On the other hand, with the growing use of the standard variety there has been an increase of levelling phenomena between dialects and the standard variety. Dialects experience a double situation: a **di**glossic situation and a **dia**glossic one. We say 'diglossic situation' because the use of dialect is looked down on and its use in the media and culture is more or less prohibited or not advised. That is to say, the standard has become the prestigious variety and the dialects have been moved away from the cultural and public life. Moreover, dialects have took shelter in family life, and they are only used in private life. Dialects know also a diaglossic situation, in the sense used by Bellmann (1998: 24); that is to say, "… dialects, as part of the substandard, are getting more or less deprived of their features, especially of their primary ones". There is a large amount of people speaking dialect and standard varieties in different everyday contexts: people who only speak the standard variety, even in the informal contexts such as in familiar conversations, etc., and people who do not speak the standard variety (they are not able to speak it because they have not learned it, but they listen to the standard variety every day on the TV, radio or even in the street). Even in familiar conversations, people use some features of the standard variety, when they are speaking in dialect.

Since the standard variety was created, all dialects have changed and in all of them we can notice cases of levelling, above all among young people, but even among adults, who decided to educate their children in the Basque language, taking active part in the revival of the language.

In this context, with diglossic and diaglossic situations of the language, with the increasing energy of the standard variety and a levelling phenomena spread through the entire territory of the Basque language, it is very important to analyse the sociolinguistic situation from the variationist point of view.

The objective of this paper is to show the first results of our researches about the sociolinguistic variation that is happening nowadays in the Basque language, taking into account only one factor: speaker age. For that, we will study linguistic variation between three generations: the elderly (more than 75 years old), adults (average of 45 years old) and young people (around 25 years old).

1 The Corpus of Oral Dialectal Basque (EDAK)

The data for this paper were gathered in the EDAK corpus. This corpus has been created using data collected in two projects: the first one is called Sociogeolinguistic atlas of the Basque language-EAS, which provides phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical data, and the second one is EDAK, that provides only prosodic data (stress and intonation). Both sets of data form part of the EDAK corpus[2]. This corpus collected data from 100 localities of the Basque Country. In each locality we gathered information of different generations. These two projects have two parts: the geolinguistic part (different generations) and the sociolinguistic one (data collected in 100 localities from the Basque Country). For that, we use only one informant for each generation. We know that the use of only one informant for each locality is usual in geolinguistic, but it is not in sociolinguistic studies. For that, this study has to be considered as the first step in the sociolinguistic way to study the variation in the Basque language.

The sources of this paper are data that come from the EAS project. This project collects data in each locality employing a questionnaire of 201 questions: 120 questions of lexicon (the words to say 'open', 'rust' etc.), 23 questions about noun morphology (all the questions are about flexion morphology), 39 about verb morphology (simple and compound verbs) and 20 about syntax (agreement between the verb and the direct object, etc.)..

This contribution is a compilation of all of the papers that have been published or that have been accepted to be published. We have selected investigations carried out in 8 localities (see Fig. 1): Dima (Aurrekoetxea 2008), Bolibar and Etxebarria (Ezenarro 2008), Otxandio (Ormaetxea 2008), Aramaio (Ormaetxea 2009), Gizaburuaga (Unamuno 2010), Zegama, and Luzaide (Santazilia 2010). There is no other work published about sociolinguistic variation in the Basque language, using EDAK corpus.

These papers constitute the first step of our research. We would like to measure the linguistic variation between generations; this constitutes research in apparent time. We compare three generations: elderly people who do not have any contact with the standard variety, adults who have weak contact and young people who have been educated in the standard variety. Taking into account

[2] For more information about EAS see Aurrekoetxea & Ormaetxea, 2006; for EDAK see Aurrekoetxea / Sánchez / Odriozola, 2009.

that the EDAK corpus has data from 100 localities, the studies discussed here account for 8 % of the total data.

It is also important to take into account the location of the villages where the data reference in this paper was gathered: there are 6 localities belonging to the dialect of Biscay, which is one of the most remote varieties from the standard, one locality belonging to the Guipuscoan dialect, which is one of the closest varieties to the standard, and one situated in the frontier between France and Spain, which shows different sociolinguistic situations (elderly people have more social ties to people of the north part of the territory, belonging to France and the Basse Navarre dialect, whereas young people have more social ties to the south).

We do not show a large amount of data and they will not furnish us with a definitive pattern of the current intergenerational linguistic variation of Basque. But they allow us to see some of the most important tendencies of the present-day sociolinguistic situation that we can find in different parts of the Basque Country.

This contribution is only the first step in analysing the most important sociolinguistic parameters that are influencing variation in the Basque language today.

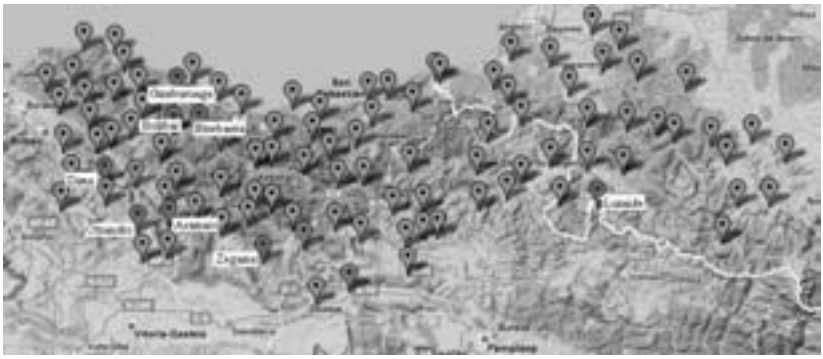

Fig. 1: map of the localities of the EDAK and the localities chosen for this paper

2 Linguistic variation across generations

It is evident that the missing of the specific linguistic features of the base dialect has to do with the levelling phenomena. The Basque language is experiencing this phenomenon nowadays. We understand that the disappearance of features from the base dialect in young people is synonymous of the loss of dialectalism, and it shows the loss of dialectal dynamism. In this context, we will analyse the dialectalism of each locality comparing speakers from three generations. It will be shown that in the sociolinguistic situation of the Basque language we find many cases of dialect levelling. And we will find out which are the linguistic features that have a tendency to change or change easiest among generations.

2.1 *Differences across generations*

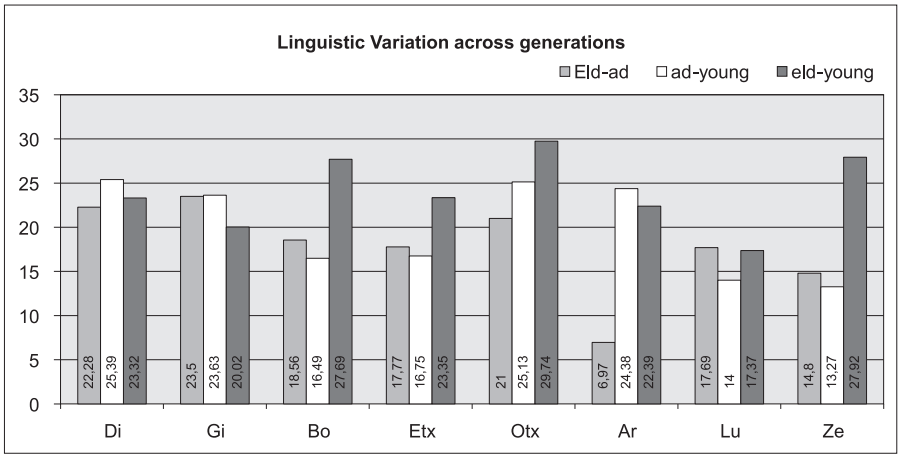

Fig. 2: Variation across generations

This diagram shows many linguistic differences, in percentages: the blue column shows differences between elderly people and adults, the orange column presents differences between adults and young people and the yellow one shows differences between elderly and young people. It takes in all the differences we have found among localities (phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical differences). Therefore, the diagram shows the total difference we have found in the EDAK corpus.

The diagram points out that the linguistic variation is not the same in all localities[3]; each locality has a different pattern.

On the one hand, our first hypothesis was that, on the whole, linguistic variation would increase across generations: that is to say, there should be less variation between elderly people and adults than between elderly and young people. On the other hand, we hypothesized that linguistic difference between elderly people and adults would be greater than between adults and young people.

According to the data, and with regard to the variation between the elderly and adult-young people, our hypothesis has been confirmed. In fact, in only one locality (Luzaide) is the variation between the elderly and young people slightly lower than between the elderly and adults (17,39 % and 17,69 % respectively), whereas in the other localities (Dima, Bolibar, Etxebarria, Otxandio, Aramaio and Zegama) it is greater or far greater: the difference between the two percentages is runs between 13,12 % in Zegama and 1,04 % in Dima.

If we regard the variation between adults and young people, that variation between adults and young people is greater than in the other two generational

[3] The localities are abbreviated as following: Dima (Di), Gizaburuaga (Gi), Bolibar (Bo), Etxebarria (Etx), Otxandio (Otx), Aramaio (Ar), Luzaide (Lu) and Zegama (Ze).

comparisons in Dima and Aramaio; it is lower than the other two comparisons in Bolibar, Etxebarria and Zegama. These data show different patterns: in some of them there is more variation than in others. In some of them there is a critical break between generations; one of the best examples is Zegama: there is a difference of 13,89 % between two older generations (average data from these two generations) and young people. We can speak in similar way about Aramaio (the difference between the elderly, and adult-young people (average data from these two generations) is 16,45 %). These are the most critical breaks between generations. But these differences have distinct characteristics: in the first case it is the young generation which moves away from the older generations, and in the second one it is the elderly generation that moves away from the other two.

In the following subsections we will analyse the differences between two generations at a time:

2.1.1 Elderly people and adults

Analysing thoroughly the figure 3 we can see the differences between two generations better.

We will begin analysing the differences between old people and adult generations.

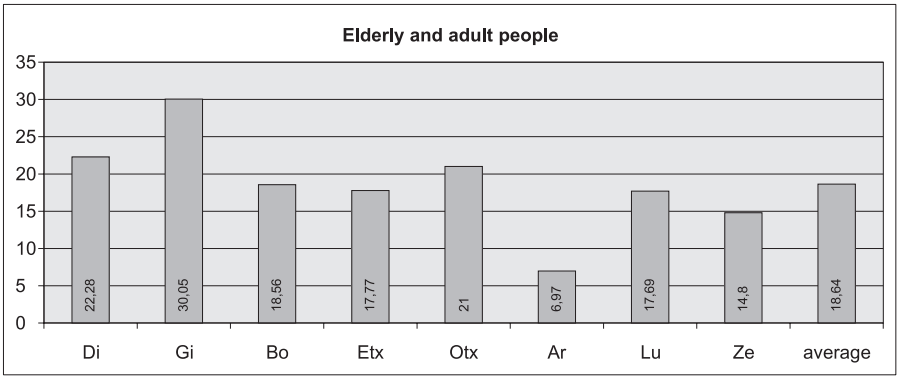

Fig. 3: Percentage of linguistic differences between the elderly and adult people

Although the majority of the scores is situated between 30,05 (Gizaburuaga) and 14,80 (Zegama), there is only one locality that scores outside this range (Aramaio which has the lowest).

We can also see that the first five localities located in the Biscayan dialect (in the West part of the territory of Basque language) have clearer differences than the localities located in the middle (Zegama, in the Guipuscoan dialect and Luzaide, in the Basse navarre dialect). The average of the differences across all localities is 18,64.

2.1.2 Adults and young people

If we take the adult and young generations, the differences are also greater in the localities located in the West than in the localities in the East (Zegama).

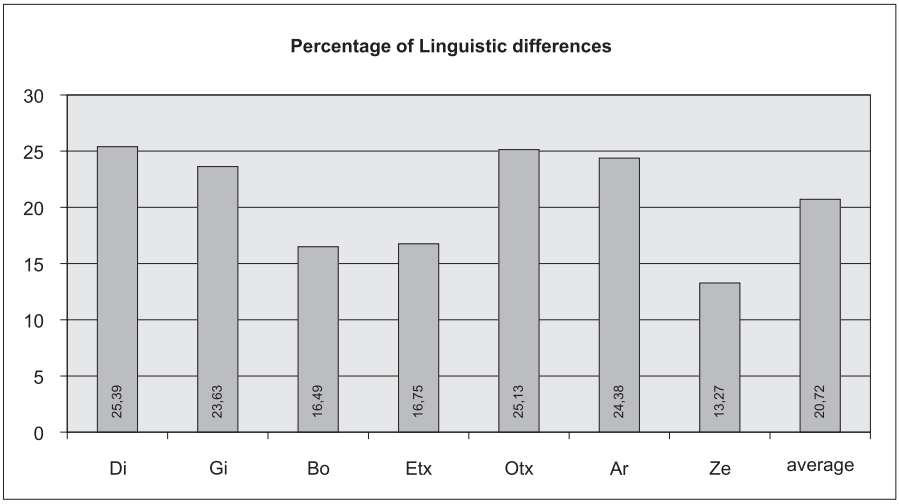

Fig. 4: Percentage of the linguistic differences between adults and young people

On the whole, the differences between adults and young people are a bit bigger (20,72 %) than between the elderly and adult generations (18,64 %).

2.1.3 Elderly people and young people

If we take the elderly and the young generation, obviously the differences get bigger, but they are not the sum of the differences of elderly-adult and adult-young generations.

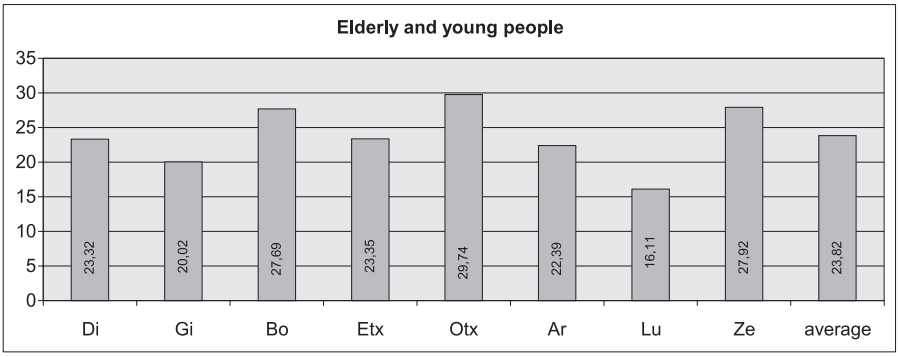

Fig. 5: Linguistic differences between elderly and young people

All differences are over 16,11 % and the average is situated at 23,82 %.

At this moment we must emphasize the importance of the coexistence of different linguistic features in the linguistic system of any locality. We can hear in lexic, for instance, in Zegama that old people say *erruki* for 'pity or compasion', adults say *erruki* and *pena*, and young people say only *pena*. Or in Bolibar old people say *junio* and *bagill* for 'Jun', adults say *junio*, and young people *junixo* and *ekañe*. In this case, the autochthonous form *bagill* has disappeared, adults use the loan form *junio* and young people use two forms: *junio* and the standard form *ekañe*, learned in school.

Although it is very interesting we will not mention here the variation across other linguistic parameters that has been taken into account in the figures. In other words, we will not show which parameter has more variation (noun morphology, verb morphology, syntax or lexicon).

2.2 *Diatopic variation among generations*

2.2.1 Diatopic variation among the elderly people

If we analyse the diatopic variation among the elderly people and the young generation (that is to say, the diatopic variation of two generations), we will have different pictures: we will have four diagrams for each generation, (one for each linguistic field: lexicon, noun morphology, verb morphology and syntax).

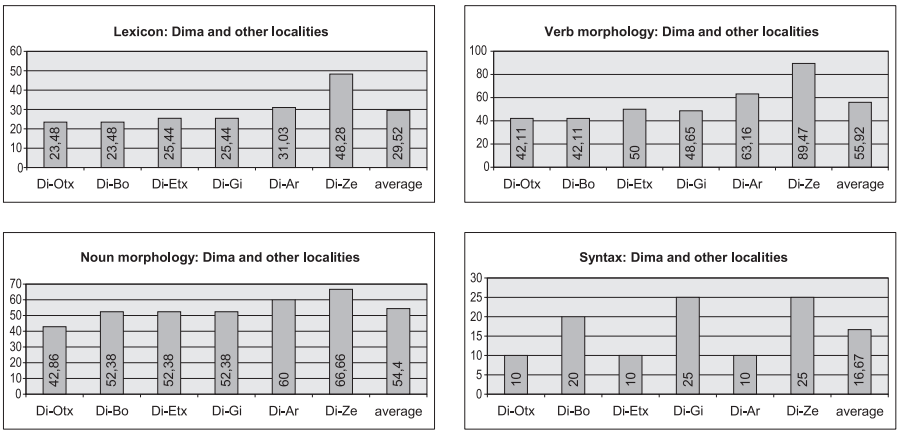

Fig. 6: Relationship between Dima and other localities in the elderly generation[4]

[4] Di-Otx (between Dima and Otxandio), Di-Bo (Dima and Bolibar), Di-Etx (Dima and Etxebarri), Di-Gi (Dima and Gizaburuaga), Di-Ar (Dima and Aramaio), Di-Ze (Dima and Zegama).

In the elderly generation the linguistic variation between Dima and the other localities is located between 10 % (Dima and Otxandio, Dima and Etxebarri, and Dima-Aramaio, all of them in syntax), and 89,47 % (between Dima and Zegama in verb morphology).

The graphics show, it is obvious, that Dima has a closer relationship with localities located in the same dialect than with localities situated in different dialects (Zegama).

The linguistic parameter that shows the most significant difference is verb morphology (55,92 %) followed by noun morphology (54,44 %), and the least is syntax (16,67 %). The lexical difference is situated at 29,52 %.

2.2.2 Diatopic variation in the young generation

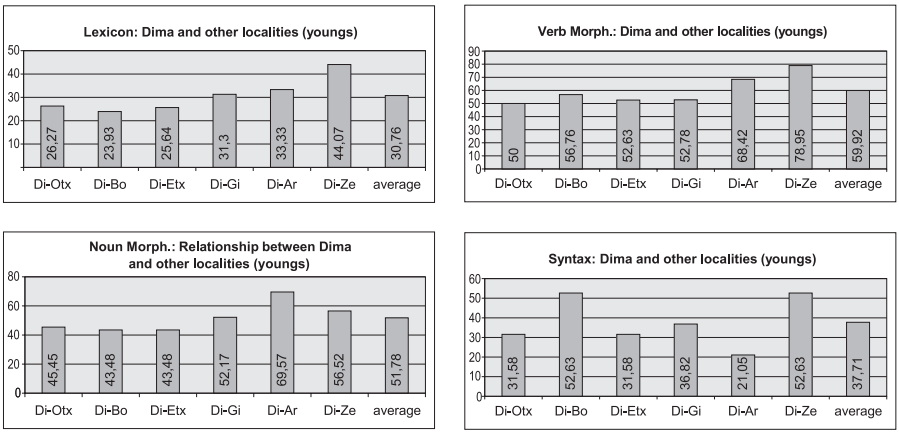

Fig. 7: Relationship between Dima and other localities in the young generation

In the young generation, the linguistic variation between Dima and the other localities is located between 21,05 % (Dima and Aramaio in syntax parameter), and 78,95 % (between Dima and Zegama in verb morphology). In both cases — elderly and young people— the least difference is situated in syntax parameter (between Dima and Aramaio, even if it is not the nearest locality, but located in the same dialect), and we find the highest difference in verb morphology (between Dima and Zegama).

On the whole, the graphics of the young generation show also that Dima has a closer relationship with localities located in the same dialect than with localities situated in different dialects (Zegama), except in noun morphology, in which Aramaio has more differences than Zegama; and in syntax, in which Bolibar has the same difference as Zegama.

The linguistic parameter that shows the greatest difference is verb morphology (it shows 59,92 %) followed by noun morphology (51,78 %), and the least, in this case, is the lexical difference (30,76 %). The syntax difference is 37,72 %.

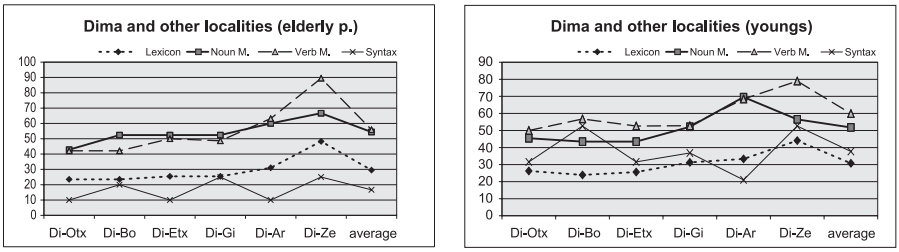

Fig. 8: Relationship between Dima and other localities (the elderly and the young)

Looking at both graphics (Fig. 8), we can see the linguistic differences among different localities better, taking into account data from both generations. The greatest difference is produced between Dima and Zegama (except Dima and Aramaio in noun morphology, and Dima and Bolibar in syntax, in the young generation). And fewest linguistic differences are located between Dima and Otxandio among elder people, and between Dima and Etxebarria in the young generation.

It is the syntax parameter that shows the most irregular variation. The other parameters show a lineal differentiation, growing from Otxandio to Zegama in two generations (except for verb morphology in young generation).

The following picture shows the linguistic differences between elderly and young generations from the diatopic point of view (Fig. 9). We have obtained it summarizing the averages of fig. 6 and 7.

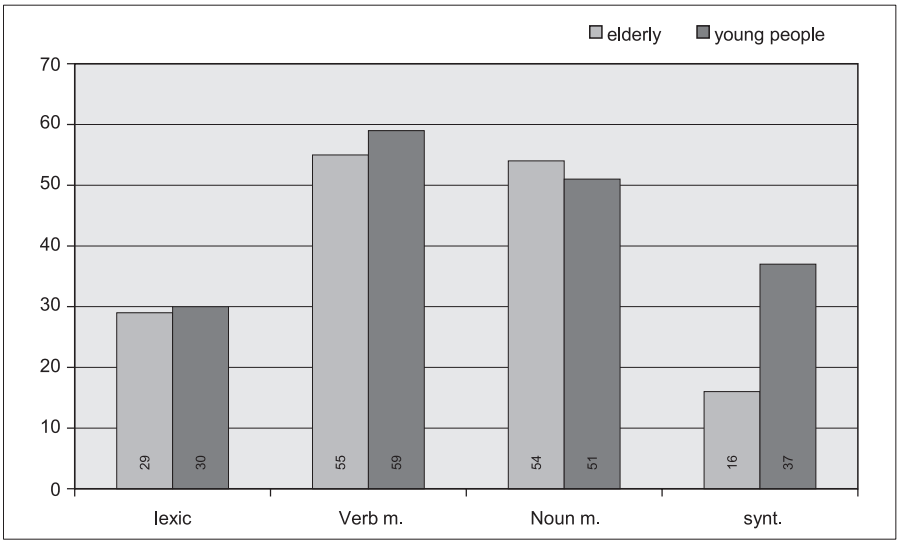

Fig. 9: Diatopic differences among generations

As we can see, it is the verb morphology that shows greatest linguistic difference between Dima and other localities analysed, both among the elderly

(55 %) and among young people (59 %). The noun morphology shows also great differences (54 % in the elderly and 51 % in young people). The least linguistic difference is produced by syntax parameter (16 % in the elderly and 37 % in young people).

2.3 *Diatopic differences between generations*

Considering all the differences among all the localities, and comparing the elderly generation with young people, we will find the following differences (Fig. 10):

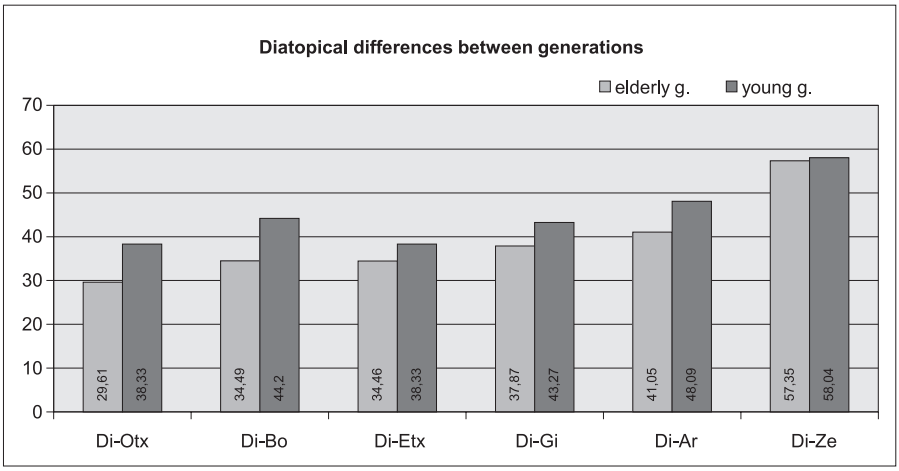

Fig. 10: Diatopical differences between generations taking into account all features

We find greater linguistic differences between young people than between elderly people in all the relationships between Dima and other localities, using all the linguistic parameters.

We supposed that the difference between young people would be lower than the difference between old people.

According to these data, we can determine the percentage of dialect levelling that occurs in these localities: young generation uses more standard features than adults and the elderly people. But these standard features are not the same in all localities; each one takes different features. For instance, in Etxebarri young people say *udazken* (standard) and elderly people *udagoen* (becoming to base dialect); however in Bolibar young people use *junio*, but not *ekain* (standard).

3 Conclusions

We have shown the linguistic differences found between Dima and other localities situated both in the same dialect (Gizaburuaga, Bolibar, Etxebarri, Otxandio and Aramaio) and in different dialects (Zegama and Luzaide), using data from EDAK corpus.

On the one hand, and with regard to the linguistic differences among the elderly and adults, the scores are situated between 23,50 and 14,80. These scores are higher in the West part than in the middle part. And if we regard to the differences between adults and young people, they are also greater in the localities located in the West than in the localities in the middle (Zegama and Luzaide). The localities in the West have dialects that differ more from the standard varieties. Consequently, we have to say that if the differences between the standard and the dialect are big, the differences among generations are bigger.

On the other hand, and taking into account the pattern of the variation, in our data we have not found any pattern of sociolinguistic variation between generations: in some localities there is a break between the elderly and the adults, in others between the adults and the young people. However, we can see that verb and noun morphology produce more variation than lexicon and syntax, according to data of EDAK corpus.

And finally, is we compare Dima locality with the others we can see that the linguistic differences are bigger in the young generation than in the elderly, using all the linguistic parameters.

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SOCIO- IN GEOLINGVISTIČNA VARIACIJA BASKOVSKEGA JEZIKA

Raziskovalni projekt *Socio- in geolingvistični atlas baskovskega jezika – EAS* zbira podatke različnih generacij na 100 lokacijah baskovskega jezikovnega področja. Delo se je pričelo leta 2007 in bo končano 2010 – prikazuje podatke z različnih lokacij, primerja podatke različnih generacij.

Čeprav je bil baskovski jezik standardiziran šele pred kratkim, njegova raba zelo hitro narašča, tako da se danes že večina Baskov izobražuje v standardnem (baskovskem knjižnem) jeziku. Projekt raziskuje diglosična in diaglosična razmerja med baskovskim in španskim jezikom ter med narečji in normo, hkrati pa pripravlja korpus EDAK (Korpus baskovskih ustnih in dialektoloških inačic), ki oblikoslovne, skladenjske in besedne informacije prejema od projekta EAS, prozodične informacije pa nastajajo v projektu EDAK.

V članku predstavljamo podatke z osmih lokacij in analiziramo jezikovne variacije generacij iste lokacije, diatopične variacije med generacijami (med starejšo in mlajšo generacijo) ter narečno izenačevanje.

Podatki kažejo, da je jezikovna variacija med starejšo in srednjo generacijo večja kot med srednjo in mlajšo generacijo. Glede na diatopično medgeneracijsko različico je več jezikovnih razlik med mladimi kot med starejšimi, in sicer v vseh odnosih med področjem Dima in drugimi analiziranimi lokacijami.

S-shaped Curve of Phonological Standardization – Six Surveys in the Tsuruoka and Yamazoe Areas

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Prispevek obravnava hitrost jezikovnih sprememb. Jezikovne spremembe zaznamo kot otipljiv družbeni pojav, vendar se pri tem pojavlja teoretično vprašanje razlikovanja med realnim oz. dejanskim in navideznim časom. Opazovanje jezikovnih sprememb zahteva večkratno ponovitev raziskave, prav japonska dialektologija pa se s tem še posebno natančno ukvarja – pri tem krivulja navideznega časa ustreza krivulji realnega časa, in sicer je za jezikovno spremembo potrebnih skoraj dvesto let.

This paper is concerned with the speed of linguistic change. If social variation is a reflection of linguistic change, the scene of the linguistic change can be caught in action as a palpable phenomenon. However there is one theoretical question, the distinction of "real time" and "apparent time". In order to observe linguistic change repeated surveying is necessary. The tradition of Japanese dialectology provides us with several examples of repetitive surveys. The conclusion of the analysis is as follows. The curve of apparent-time change corresponds to that of real-time change. The total number of years necessary for a linguistic change to be completed is nearly 200 years.

Ključne besede: realni in navidezni čas, standardizacija, S-krivulja, hitrost difuzije

Key words: real time and apparent time, standardization, S-curve, speed of diffusion

0 Introduction

This paper is concerned with the speed of linguistic change. First, the theoretical background of this paper will be discussed. This study is intended as a development of the field of computational dialectology, and is also a cornerstone of sociolinguistics. The starting point of this kind of research is William Labov's treatment of social stratification as one aspect of linguistic change in progress. If social variation is a reflection of linguistic change, the scene of the linguistic change can be grasped or caught in action as a palpable phenomenon. The speed of the linguistic change can also be inspected on the spot or observed at the scene.

However there is one theoretical question which has been pointed out by Labov, that is, the distinction of "*real time*" and "*apparent time*" (Labov 1972). The investigation of age differences makes use of apparent time, but apparent time is not a simple and direct reflection of linguistic change. In order to observe linguistic change repeated surveying is necessary. The tradition of Japanese dialectology luckily provides us with several examples of repetitive surveys, the representative one being the three surveys of Tsuruoka City and the three surveys of one of its outlying areas, Yamazoe.

The study of phonological standardization was widely conducted after the Second World War in Japan. One noteworthy investigation was a field survey which was carried out in 1950 in Tsuruoka City, in the northern part of Japan (see Figure 8). The results were so clear that two consecutive surveys were conducted,[1] one about 20 years later and the other about 40 years later (Yoneda 1997). When the main results of these three surveys were brought together, linguistic change was found to form an S-curve, as is shown in Fig 1. The process of standardization discussed here is just the reversal of decline of dialect.[2]

[1] Approximately from 400 to 600 Samples (informants, consultants) were selected randomly for the three field surveys in 1950, 1971 and 1991. Field workers are trained linguists and dialectologists. Items investigated are shown below in approximate Hepburn Romanization System in the order of "standard Japanese / Tsuruoka dialect".
Phonology (31 items): Velarization 1: kayobi/kwayobi, suika/suikwa; Velarization 2: hebi/febi, hyaku/fyaku, hige/fige; Palatalization: zeimusho/jeimusho, senaka/shenaka, ase/ashe; Voicing: matsu/mazu, kaki/kagi, kutsu/kuzu, hato/hado, hata/hada, hachi/hazi, kuchi/kuzi, neko/nego; Nasalization: obi/onbi, mado/mando, suzu/sunzu; Centralization 1: kitsune/kizune, karasu/karasi, sumi/simi, chizu/chizi; Centralization 2: shima/sima, uchiwa/uziwa, chiji/chizi, karashi/karasi; i and e: entotsu/intotsu, eki/iki, ito/eto, iki/eki. **Pitch accent** (5 items): neko, hata, senaka, karasu, uchiwa.

[2] Answers in standard pronunciation were given 1 point, and in dialectal pronunciation, 0 point. Average ratio was calculated for the informants dividing the total by 31 (phonology) and 5 (pitch accent).

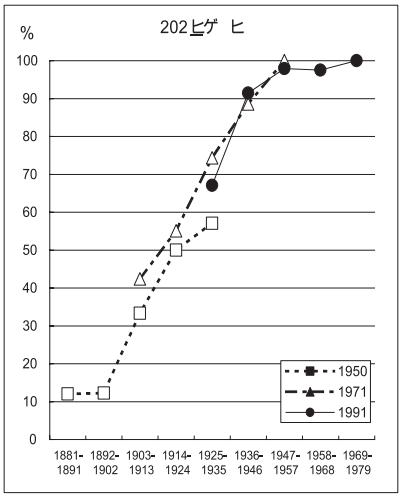


Figure 1. Ratio of standard pronunciation [hi] for "hige" (beard) in three surveys of Tsuruoka showing a typical S-curve over one century

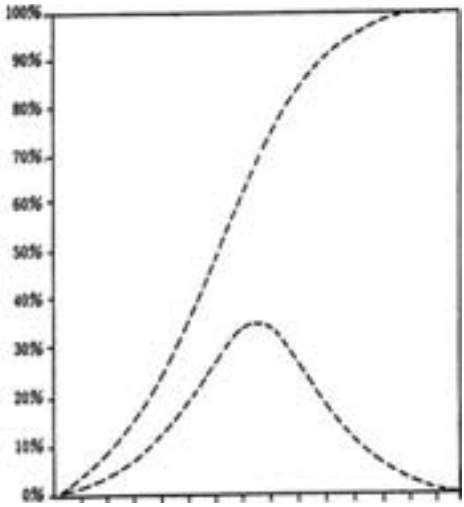


Figure 2. S-shaped curve as a model of diffusion

1 Background

The S-curve is often observed in the process of diffusion and spread of various phenomena. There are various theoretical bases for the hypothesis of the S-curve, and several calculating formulae. As is shown in Figure 2, it is often assumed as the accumulation curve of normal distribution in statistics.

2 Material: Three surveys in Tsuruoka

Figure 3 shows the aggregate results of the three Tsuruoka surveys.[3] Three surveys of the phonetic items compose the upper half of the S-curve, and the three surveys of accent compose the first lower half of the S-curve.

[3] The informants are divided into five generations (eleven years apart) by their birth year in order to more exactly calculate real time linguistic changes. They are also plotted by their birth year in Fig 3. Upper three lines represent phonological phenomena, and lower three lines, phonological phenomena,

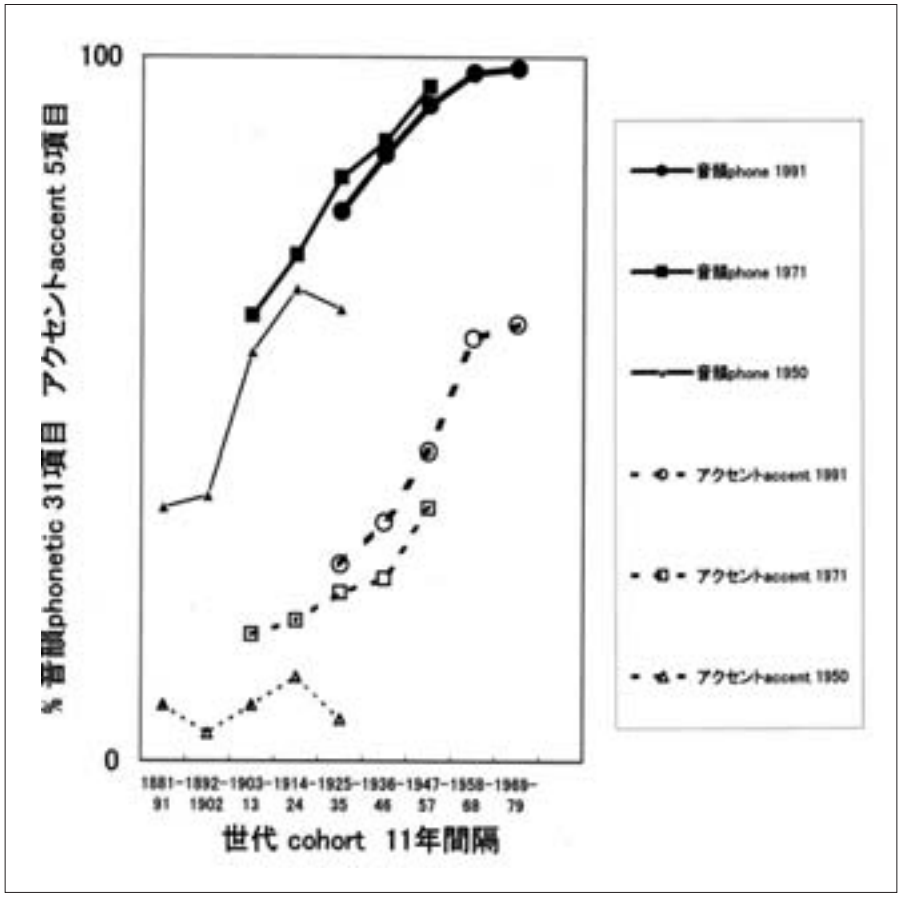
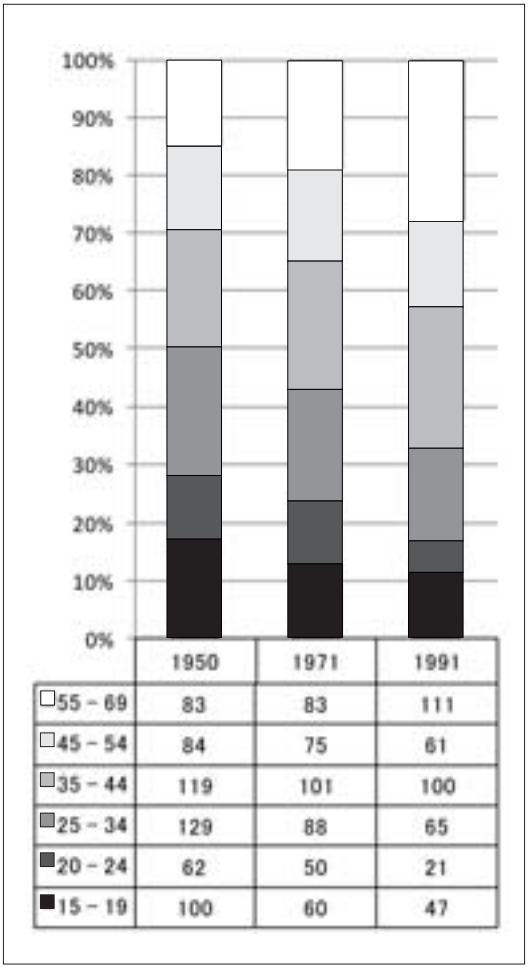


Figure 3. The phonetic items and accent of three surveys
in Tsuruoka according to age group

3 Application of a mean value to the Tsuruoka data

3.1 *Social survey and age-linguistics*

Inoue (1997) applied the absolute age movement method making use of the actual year of birth of informants (or cohort). The numerical values of standardization of the phonetic items and accent of the three surveys were moved on the graph by observation on a trial and error principle based on the hypothesis that accent composes the first (lower) half and the phonetic items composes the second (upper) half of the S-curve. Afterwards, a technique for more accurate graphing was felt indispensable. If it were possible to locate the curves by some appropriate numerical value, the connected curves of accent and the phonetic items could be arranged in succession to form an S-curve.



	1950	1971	1991
55 – 69	83	83	111
45 – 54	84	75	61
35 – 44	119	101	100
25 – 34	129	88	65
20 – 24	62	50	21
15 – 19	100	60	47

Figure 4: Ratio of informants according to age group of three surveys of Tsuruoka

First of all, the use of the average score of the whole group of informants in each of the surveys was considered. However, there were some problems. The mean values of the entire sample were different depending on the time of the survey, as is shown in Figure 4. In this graph, the ratio of informants of the three surveys in Tsuruoka city is shown according to age group. In the first survey, the numerical values of young informants greatly influenced the mean, because the number of older informants was low. In the third survey, the influence of the numerical values of the older informants was stronger because the number of younger informants was low and the number of older informants was high. Appropriate measures of dealing with age in linguistics are necessary in such a situation in order to advance academic sociolinguistic research.

3.2 *Average of age group mean values*

As the ratio of young people differs depending upon when the survey was carried out, a new concept of "the average of mean value" was examined as follows. It is basic knowledge of statistics that "the average of the mean values of age groups" does not represent the whole picture. Therefore, it is necessary to calculate the total mean value of an entire resident group. "Mode value" and "median" (not a mean value) are sometimes used according to the data, and the "moving average method" is sometimes used. However to look at the data of social surveys, a newer concept is necessary (Inoue et al. 2009).

In a sociolinguistic investigation which makes use of age differences as a cue to *apparent* time linguistic change, it is necessary to consider the value of each age group equally. In other words each age group should be treated and weighted so that they are equal in weight, as it would be inappropriate for them to be weighted according to the age group composition of the whole population of the region at the time of the survey.

This idea of weighting each age group as equal is actually the same thing as "average of the mean value".[4]

3.3 *Application of mean value method*

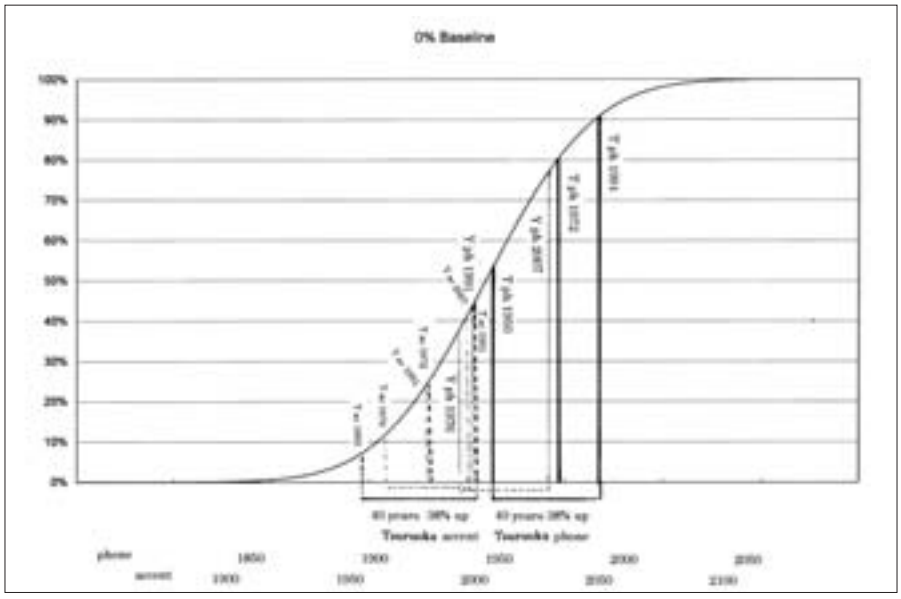


Figure 5. S-curve of three surveys of Tsuruoka and Yamazoe: mean values of the phonetic items and accent

[4] The common sense of statistics is thus overturned. It is, so as to say, a Copernicus conversion, or Columbus's egg. This idea is the substance of this paper.

Ideally, the numerical value of each age group at the time of survey should form a part of the S-curve. In that case, the averages of the mean values of each age group would appropriately represent the usage pattern of the community. According to this concept the results of various surveys of actual conditions would be represented by one numerical value of an average, and this average would not be influenced by variations in the number of informants in any age group.

3.4 *Explanation of graphing*

In Figure 5, the average of the mean values of each age group was plotted on a theoretical S-curve. The position of each survey was located at the corresponding value position on the S-curve as this technique aims at correspondence with the mean values of the age group. In order to make the correspondence with the year of survey easily understood, perpendicular lines using different shapes and thickness were drawn from the S-curve to the bottom line. The phonetic items are shown by solid lines and pitch accent is shown by dotted lines. Tsuruoka is shown with heavy lines and Yamazoe is shown with thin lines. Yamazoe will not be explained here because of the length limit. In this graph, the year of the survey was the main clue. This method allows us to see how the mean values have moved on the S-curve over the 40 actual years of the three surveys (or **real time**). The result as a whole conformed to the theoretical S-curve very well.

3.5 *Results of the three successive surveys*

The time intervals on the graph of Figure 5 correspond closely with numerical values for the phonetic items and accent of the three surveys in Tsuruoka. The rise of almost 38% for both the phonetic items and accent was observed over the 40 years from the first survey to the third survey of Tsuruoka. The length in years on the horizontal axis corresponds with the 38% rise for phonetic items and accent. This result shows that the technique of arranging the results of the three surveys on the theoretical S-curve by simple mean values was appropriate. Language standardization seems to have advanced at the rate of 1% a year on average over the 40 years.

The number of years necessary for a linguistic change can be calculated from the above results. The years of the Tsuruoka surveys for the phonetic items and accent are respectively shown beside the perpendicular lines of the graph. As this S-curve is an accumulation curve of normal distribution, it shows a change from an infinite smallness to 100%. When the increase and decrease of 40 years in Tsuruoka are moved on the S-curve and extended, then, 1% becomes 99% in a time length of a little less than 200 years.

4 Pasting the Tsuruoka data to the S-curve

The above-mentioned attempt can be developed further as shown in Figure 6. It is possible to test whether the age differences of the three surveys fit the theoretical S-curve. We have only to paste the actual graphs of Figure 3 (adjusted to the same ratio as Figure 5) to the theoretical S-curve of Figure 5. A graph with smoothing technique was applied so that a more appropriate result is performed by the S-curve. It was presumed from Figure 3 that the results for the phonetic items and accent would respectively conform to the S-curve. The data was divided into two; the phonetic items and accent, and they were pasted together on Figure 5. Actually values for the phonetic items and accent pasted on Figure 5 were based on mean values. As can be seen, they fitted beautifully.

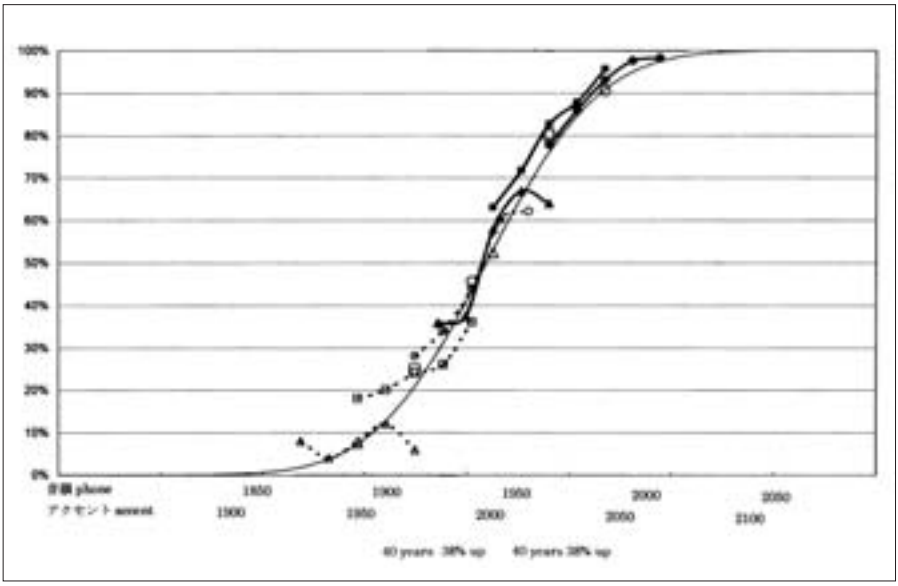


Figure 6. Mean values of the phonetic items and accent:
age groups of three surveys in Tsuruoka

In Figure 6, the phonetic items are shown by the solid lines and accent by the dotted lines. The three surveys are indicated differently: the first survey by triangles, the second by rectangles and the third by circles. The result shown in Figure 6 of pasting the phonetic items and accent by mean values of the three surveys in Tsuruoka showed the beautiful pattern of an S-curve, by the rhythm of slow – quick – quick – slow. Some age curves became similar to a part of the S-curve, and they became easier to interpret. On the whole, age difference is great at the center of the graph which reveals quick change. Age difference is small in value at the far left side of the graph and the far right. Change is slow at the positions of extremely high (more than 80%) or low (less than 20%) usage rates.

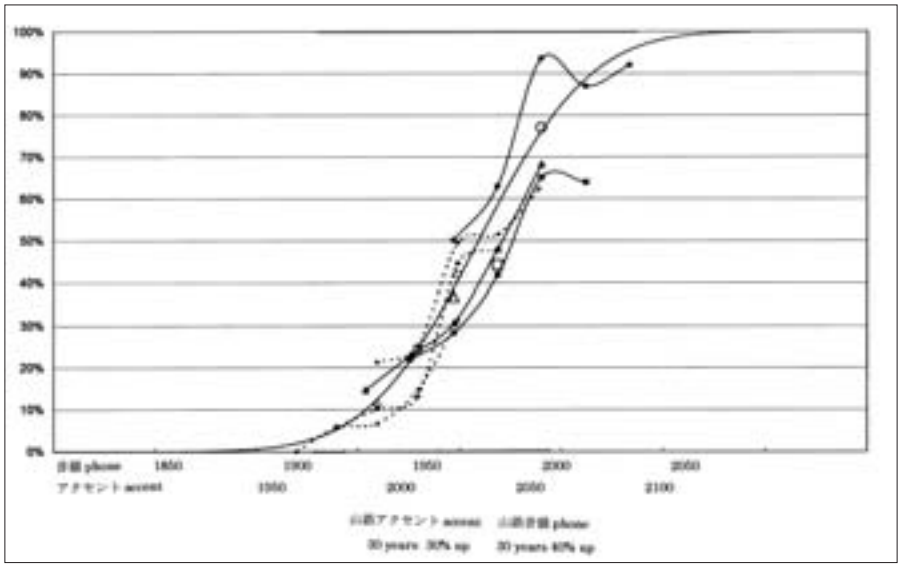


Figure 7. Mean values of the phonetic items and accent: age groups of three surveys in Yamazoe slow at the positions of extremely low (less than 20%) or high (more than 80%) usage rates.

5 Analysis of the Yamazoe Data

Comparing the Tsuruoka results with the results of another survey would allow us to look at geographical or *geolinguistic* dimensions. To look at geographical diffusion over forty years, data of a similar survey of the Yamazoe area on the outskirts of Tsuruoka City was used.

Figure 8. Map of Tsuruoka and Yamazoe

The corresponding graph of the Yamazoe surveys is shown in Figure 7. Though a minute analysis of the Yamazoe data was omitted here, a difference of 20 to 30 years for language standardization was observed between Tsuruoka and Yamazoe.[5] This means a difference of about 20 to 30 years of diffusion speed when the same generation is compared. The distance between Tsuruoka city and the Yamazoe area is about four kilometers as is shown in Figure 8. The speed of language change seen here was very different from the tendency of "a speed of one kilometer a year" of nationwide dialect diffusion (Inoue 2003), which was advocated on the basis of many linguistic changes in progress using the technique of glottograms or age-area graphs (Inoue forthcoming). This may be because of differences due to the regional character of the midsize cities and farm villages. There are considerable differences between the cities and the farm villages, not only in language but also in folkloristic customs, and in contrast, there are a lot of common features among the farm villages in that part of the plains. Differences in the occupations of residents might also have influenced language use. Social and geographical differences in honorifics have also been pointed out in the previous studies (Inoue 1989). The difference in the phonetic items is also great.

6 Discussion

It was thus confirmed that the idea of the S-curve could be applied to the three surveys of Tsuruoka and the three surveys of Yamazoe. The tendency that the age curves generally conform to the S-curve was made use of to draw graphs. The S-curve was applied to the 40 year time-span of the three surveys, and the number of years necessary for phonological change was speculated. A little less than 200 years was calculated as being necessary from the beginning to the end of a change towards language standardization.

This is an aggregate numerical value of the synthesis of a lot of changes, and an individual change might proceed faster. For instance, as the graph in Figure 1 shows, the dialectal pronunciation of [Φige] (beard) of Tsuruoka was completely replaced by the standard pronunciation of [hige] within three generations (or in about one century). This tendency of language change became clearer when the age differences of the three surveys were connected to the year of birth of the informants. The time needed for change differs greatly between individual words, and if other words and phenomena were included together, the time needed for change may be longer.

[5] It is because the curves of Yamazoe survey 20 or 30 years later show similar acquisition patterns to Tsuruoka survey.

7 Conclusion

The analysis above has shown that when the S-curve model of linguistic change was applied to the data, the curve of *apparent time* change corresponded to that of *real time* change, and that the total number of years necessary for a linguistic change is more than 100 years and nearly 200 years. The collection of concrete survey data is important in order to see the actual situation of dialects. We should not however stop at mere collection of data. We should proceed further to reach a more profound theory of dialect or language change. When actual age differences are observed by field surveys, the tendencies can be applied using the theoretical pattern of the S-curve, like in Figure 5. Then, we can guess or presume the magnitude, time, and necessary years of the change. It may be possible to apply this conclusion to other languages. By collating this tendency with studies dealing with age differences in language usage in other parts of the world, a more general theory on the speed of change may be accomplished.[6]

The study of dialectology is domestic if only the differences or variations within one language are investigated. However, the methodology, technique and general theory of dialectology can be applied to any language, and are thus universal. This International Congress is a wonderful place for the exchange of ideas, for us to learn from and stimulate each other. I am sure that the development of dialectology in the 21st century will become more fruitful owing to this international congress.[7]

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[6] Some related topics could not be discussed here because of shortage of time. All the English papers by me are now open to the public through the internet. If you use yahoo or Google, please search using key words like, "Fumio Inoue, dialect (sociolinguistics, papers)".

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S-KRIVULJA FONOLOŠKE STANDARDIZACIJE – ŠEST RAZISKAV NA PODROČJIH TSURUOKA IN YAMAZOE

Široko zastavljena študija fonološke standardizacije na Japonskem se izvaja že od druge svetovne vojne, zelo natančno predvsem v mestu Tsuruoka in njegovih predmestjih (Yuamazoe) – za vsako lokacijo so bile izvedene in teoretično obdelane tri raziskave. Raziskava kaže, da jezikovne spremembe oblikujejo krivuljo S-oblike. Kadar uporabimo teoretično krivuljo, ki temelji na tej zamisli, lahko izračunamo število let, potrebnih za jezikovno spremembo. V skladu s predhodnimi študijami je od začetka do konca jezikovne spremembe potrebnih več kot sto let. Tokrat je bilo pridobljenih več podatkov, uporabljene pa so bile tudi novejše tehnike izračuna za preverjanje rezultatov prejšnjih študij.

Rezultati kažejo, da posamezna krivulja razlike v letih sovpada s teoretično oblikovanimi grafi S-oblike in da je potrebnih skoraj dvesto let, da se zgodijo temeljne jezikovne spremembe.

A new sociolinguistic taxonomy, ‘cookbook’, and immigrant communities

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Članek obravnava sociolingvistično taksonomijo, imenovano ‘kuharska knjiga’, ki je bila izvedena na podlagi njenega dobesednega pomena in njene rabe v laboratoriju. ‘Kuharska knjiga’ poskuša hkrati kategorizirati govorca na mikro- in družbo na makroravni. To nam omogoča podajanje natančnejšega sociolingvističnega opisa dane skupnosti. Za prikaz, kako lahko ‘kuharska knjiga’ pojasni jezikovne variacije, sta predstavljena primera dveh študij – študija novega mesta in študija diaspore.

This paper proposes a sociolinguistic taxonomy, called ‘cookbook,’ which aims to account for highly diverse communities. The definition of this ‘cookbook’ was derived based on its literal meaning, its usage in laboratory situations. ‘Cookbook’ aims to categorise both the speaker at a micro level and society at a macro level at the same time. This will enable us to render more accurate sociolinguistic descriptions in a given community. As examples, two case studies (new town study and diaspora study) are introduced to show how ‘cookbook’ can explain the attested linguistic variation.

Ključne besede: ‘kuharska knjiga’, sociolingvistična taksonomija, jezikovna variacija, japonščina, novo mesto, diaspora

Key words: ‘cookbook’, sociolinguistic taxonomy, language variation, Japanese, new town, diaspora

0 Introduction

Urbanisation and an increase in demographic movement have established a number of highly diverse societies around the world. Different from traditional methodology, which focuses on, so-called, NORM (Non-mobile, Old,

Rural Men), urban dialectological and sociolinguistic surveys are expected to improve their research methodologies, which should pay enough attention to linguistic and sociolinguistic variation. It goes without saying that a number of urban dialectological studies were active in 1980s and early 1990s. However, as more attention was paid to struggle with language variation in the urban areas, sociolinguistic studies were faced with the limitation of their research methodology. As a result, since the late 1990s, less attention has been paid to the study of this particular facet of sociolinguistics although in reality there are plenty of potential research topics in urban societies.

This paper, under these situations, proposes a sociolinguistic taxonomy, called 'cookbook.' 'Cookbook' deals with the social meaning of social variables of a speaker, and also with the structure of society at the same time.

This paper consists of the four sections. First section offers an overview of the research methodology both in traditional dialectology and in urban dialectology/sociolinguistics, which is followed by the definition of 'cookbook' in the second section. The third section will examine two communities as case studies to measure to what extent this method can explain the linguistic phenomena attested there. The final section will serve as a summary of this paper.

1 Research methods in traditional and urban dialectology/ sociolinguistics

This section briefly reviews research methodologies in traditional and urban dialectology. Traditionally, one goal in dialectology is to construct the path of language change by obtaining data from a speaker who is thought to have the most traditional or oldest dialect system. A comparison of the data is then made with the previous findings. Dialectologists, based on their findings, examine the dynamism of language change. Therefore, a target of the dialectologist under this tradition, as mentioned earlier, is the speaker who is old, non-mobile, rural men.

Since Trudgill and Chambers (1980), the scope of dialectology became much wider. As indicated in the terminology, 'urban dialectology,' urban dialectological as well as sociolinguistic studies examine possible social variables; female speakers along with male speakers, young informants along with old informants; middle- and working-classes along with non-social-class division. New perspectives, at the same time, were proposed, including social networks, inter-ethnic situations, and so forth (Milroy 1980, Rickford 1999, etc.). All of this enabled us to construct 'sociolinguistic' approaches in the end.

Since the 1990s, however, this type of methodology seems to show its limitations in the sense that sociolinguistic studies especially in urban areas become difficult as their composition becomes further complicated. The reality is that most of the current sociolinguistic studies in urban areas only deal with some social variables (and their combinations). With a close look at those studies, some questions occur. In what way do sociolinguists deal with the language

variation in highly diverse community? How do they assure accountability for the given phenomena? Existing research methodologies need improvements in order to observe the on-going linguistic changes in a number of societies with differing characters.

2 'Cookbook' and its definition

In order to struggle with these situations in contemporary urban society from sociolinguistic perspectives, this paper introduces a sociolinguistic taxonomy, called 'cookbook.' This 'cookbook' aims to define speakers and their society in order to render more accurate sociolinguistic descriptions of the target community. It follows that it can be posited as an attempt to establish a linguistic and social typology, or in other words, 'sociolinguistic typology.' This typology enables us to grasp and even estimate the sociolinguistic outcomes of the linguistic change in relation to the nature of the contact or any social constraints upon linguistic variation. In this way, 'cookbook,' is expected to make a contribution to sociolinguistic typology.

The term, 'cookbook,' is not a completely new term in science. In fact, it is used rather often in the natural sciences. Therefore, this section deals firstly with a literal meaning of the term 'cookbook' and secondly with a definition from the natural sciences.

2.1 *Literal meaning of 'cookbook'*

First and foremost, it is necessary to explain a literal meaning of 'cookbook,' in order to render its full definition as a sociolinguistic term. When considering a literal meaning of the term 'cookbook', most readers would assume that 'cookbook' simply refers to a collection of all the 'recipes' for certain kinds of dishes. When you decide to try a new meal, one of the things that you would do first is to consult a 'cookbook' in order to obtain information on what kinds of ingredients are required, and how much of each.

Let us take a look at one example here. You feel like cooking a Japanese dish, *sushi*. Unless you are native Japanese or have Japanese friends or know someone who has been in Japan, you need to get a 'cookbook' and read through its contents. Figure 1 is an example of the ingredients of California rolls from a Japanese cookbook.

Following the instructions in the cookbook, it is possible to cook sushi for any kind of situation. A 'cookbook' is therefore designed for anyone with any kind of background.

Figure 1 Ingredients of Japanese dish, *sushi*, in a 'cookbook' (Donald 2003, 34–35)

2.2 *'Cookbook' in the natural sciences*

Needless to say, a literal meaning of the term 'cookbook' is, as shown in the Figure 1, clear enough for anyone to understand. On the other hand, this term is also used in other fields, especially in laboratory situations in the natural sciences.

'Cookbook' in these situations refers to a set of information on all the 'trials and errors' of experiments to make new products. In laboratory situations, a number of lists would exist, each of which consists of the possible combinations of the ingredients/components with differing proportions. It also contains information on the outcomes of each combination through experimentation.

This type of experimentation can be better explained through examples from the products in our daily lives. One example is that of blended whisky. So-called 'blenders' conduct a series of experiments to measure the taste of the whisky by 'blending' some kinds of wheat. The individual performance of the blenders determines which types of wheat are blended to make a new brand. It is highly possible to assume that each blender has his or her own 'cookbook.'

In the same way, 'cookbooks' can be found in other laboratory situations as well. Specialists in medicine, computers, instruments, machinery, chemicals, brewing, radiology, and other fields gather their research activities and record them in their 'cookbooks.'

2.3 *Definition of 'cookbook' as a sociolinguistic taxonomy*

Based upon what was mentioned in the previous sections, this section defines 'cookbook' in sociolinguistics. What is common in the usage of 'cookbook' in its literal meaning and as a term used at laboratory situations is that 'cookbook' is a list of ingredients for a dish or a composite of all 'ingredients' for the experiments. 'Cookbook' in sociolinguistics refers to the realisation of the speaker at a micro level and that of the society at a macro level. At the same time it refers to the interactions between the realisations of each level. In the same way as cookbook shows the components of the specific dishes or those of the experiments, 'cookbook' in a sociolinguistic sense categorises and defines both speaker and society. The rest of this section will explain what is meant by the setting speaker at micro level on the one hand and society at macro level on the other hand.

2.3.1 'Cookbook' at a micro level: speaker

At a micro level, cookbook can designate the realisation of a speaker as a basic unit of a society. Generally speaking, categorisations of the speaker in accordance with his/her social variables can be made in numerous ways. A composite of those social variables will create one speaker, which can be drawn in Figure 2.

Figure 2 consists of possible social variables which compose a speaker. The entity of the speaker itself includes all possible social variables whose social meanings and social assessments differ from one another.

Figure 2 Composite of social variables in a speaker

Most sociolinguistic studies aim or focus on one or a few of a speaker's social variables. Needless to say, it indicates that they did not examine other variables of the speaker for their analyses. A possible explanation would be that sociolinguists treat social meanings of the social variables of all inform-

ants in the same way, and do not recognise the inter-personal differences in the meaning of each social variable. Another possible explanation would be that sociolinguists simply believe that they should only raise some 'basic' social variables such as age, sex, that totally misses the important fact that speaker's entity is realised with a combination of social variables whose social value differs in varying extents from one person to another.

'Cookbook', on the other hand, treats all possible social variables, and combines them for the analyses. The reason is clear; their social meanings would have a lot to do with the explanation of linguistic variation. When studying language variation within society, especially in urban or migrants' societies, this importance becomes vital.

2.3.2 'Cookbook' at a macro level: society

Along with the designation of the speaker at a micro level, 'cookbook' focuses on the society at a macro level. Different from the 'speaker' as in the previous section, the categorisation of the society in sociolinguistics has not yet been fully made.

Most studies, in reality, address one society, and categorise it into a certain type of society, such as large city, local city, town, village, and so on. Even if they look into several societies as their fields, their categorisation is not well-organised. It is rather normal in sociolinguistic study or dialectological study that two societies are raised as fields of study. The problem is that most sociolinguistic studies regard the social structure of the society as the same in any iteration of the society.

The structure of the society itself can be described in Figure 3. As shown in Figure 3, a number of factors do exist as components of the society. The social meanings of each factor show differences in their nature.

Figure 3 Composite of factors in the structure of society

What should be emphasized here is that the social meaning of each component does differ from each other. Furthermore, each society has its own components, which make it different from other societies. In other words, if sociolinguists attempt to make comparisons with more than one community, they need to know more detailed knowledge of the differences in the components.

In order to struggle with these situations, 'cookbook' does aim to show much more accurate description and categorisation of the societies. This would enable us to decide the social meanings of the difference between two communities.

3 Scope of the 'cookbook'

This section, based on the definition made in the previous sections, attempts to show what 'cookbook' in a sociolinguistic sense can do with the speaker, society, and linguistic behaviour. As stated earlier, the specific content of the cookbook will be illustrated to show how the cookbook is compiled of a list of social variable for both the individual speaker and the society. Cases studies in this section are (1) New Town Study (Asahi 2006a, etc.) and (2) diaspora study (Asahi 2006b, 2009a, 2009b, forthcoming, etc.). This section first illustrates categorisations based on the 'cookbook' for the society. Second, this section categorises and looks into the speaker in each society with relevant linguistic data.

3.1 *Categorisation of the communities*

What 'cookbook' should first do at the beginning of the study is classify the community based on the peculiarities of its social components. This section renders an overview of how this categorisation is created with two types of communities.

Table 1 is a summary of this categorisation of the two studies. In New Town Study, two neighbouring societies were studied. The social components differ in great extent from each other. One major difference is that Seishin New Town is a new, highly mobile, urban community about 30 years old, whilst Hazetani-cho is an old, traditional, non-mobile, agriculture-based, and rural community more than 100 years old.

Diaspora study, on the other hand, addresses one society, which arose at the beginning of the twentieth century. Sakhalin Island is more diverse in a sociolinguistic sense since this island has received a number of migrants of numerous linguistic backgrounds.

Table 1 describe the features of the two communities. What is more, the same scale would provide us with an opportunity to decide to what extent each community shares its social components.

Table 1 Categories of the two communities

	(1) New Town Study		(2) Diaspora Study
	Seishin New Town	Hazetani cho	Sakhalin
Population	c.60,000	c.2,000	c.2,000
Major Industry	Service industry, Specialist, Teachers	Agriculture	Agriculture, Manufactory, Service Industry
History	1980-present	1900-present	1905-present
Social Mobility	High	Low	Low
Community design	Yes	No	Yes
Age Distribution	0–50	0–80	50–80
Major Dialect	Western Japan	Kobe dialect	Northern Japan

3.2 *Categorisation of the speaker*

What 'cookbook' should do is classify the speakers in the same way as it did with the society. Classification of communication enables sociolinguists to know what kind of the community that they are going to work with. Based on this categorisation, 'cookbook' makes further categories based on the speakers. Table 2 is a summary of the classification of the speakers.

Table 2 Classification of the speakers in two studies

	(1) New Town Study						(2) Diaspora Study		
	Seishin New Town			Hazetani-cho			Sakhalin		
	Speaker I	Speaker II	Speaker III	Speaker I	Speaker II	Speaker III	Speaker I	Speaker II	Speaker III
Age	51	50	44	40	38	39	83	83	77
Gender	Female	Female	Female	Female	Female	Female	Male	Male	Female
Ethniciy	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Uilta
Occupation	House-wife	House-wife	House-wife	House-wife	House-wife	House-wife	Retired	Retired	Retired
Hometown	Kobe	Kobe	Kobe	Hazetani-cho	Hazetani-cho	Hazetani-cho	Shisuka	Shisuka	Shisuka
Social Mobility	Low	High	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low

Breakdown of the speakers in two societies are shown in Table 2. This table seems not to be so different from the breakdowns in other studies. However, what should be emphasised here is the COMBINATION with the classification of the society.

Table 2 shows that, in New Town Study, the sociolinguistic backgrounds of the speakers in two communities are almost the same although the type of the community differs from each other. Diaspora study also shows that the sociolinguistic history of each speaker can be traced when the linguistic analyses are to be conducted.

The next section will illustrate to what extent this combination can explain the differences observed in linguistic behaviour.

3.3 *Cookbook and linguistic behaviour*

This section gives an example from the Seishin New Town Study to show that the 'cookbook's' combination of speaker and society would help us understand the linguistic variation observed in the study.

In Seishin New Town Study, spontaneous speeches were collected from New Town residents on the one hand, and from Hazetani-cho residents on the other. According to the classification of the community, the two communities were different in nature; New town as an urban, community and Hazetani-cho as a rural community. Speaker's classification, however, did not show much difference.

The linguistic variable examined here is verb negation in Japanese. Generally speaking, in standard Japanese, *-nai/-nakatta* (for non-past and past forms respectively) are used by affixing them to the verb stems.

(1)	*aruk-anai* walk-NEG	*kak-anai* write-NEG
(2)	*aruk-anaka-tta* walk-NEG-PST	*kak-ana-tta* write-NEG-PST

In Kobe dialect (or Hazetani-cho dialect), a different affix would be used: -n/-nkatta, *-hen/-henkatta* (for non-past and past forms respectively), and *–nanda* (for a past form).

(3)	*aruk-an/-ahen* walk-NEG	*kak-an/-ahen* write-NEG
(4)	*aruk-anka-tta/-ahenka-tta/-ananda* walk-NEG-PST	*kak-anka-tta/-ahenka-tta/-henanda* write-NEG-PST

The number of the occurrences in spontaneous speech was counted for each variant. The percentage of each variant was calculated to make comparisons. Figure 4 is a result of the use of this verb negation.

Figure 4 shows that the use of the variants in the two communities is different from each other. Although their dialectal backgrounds show such a great similarity, the choice of the variant and its amount of the use differs greatly in Seishin New Town and Hazetani-cho.

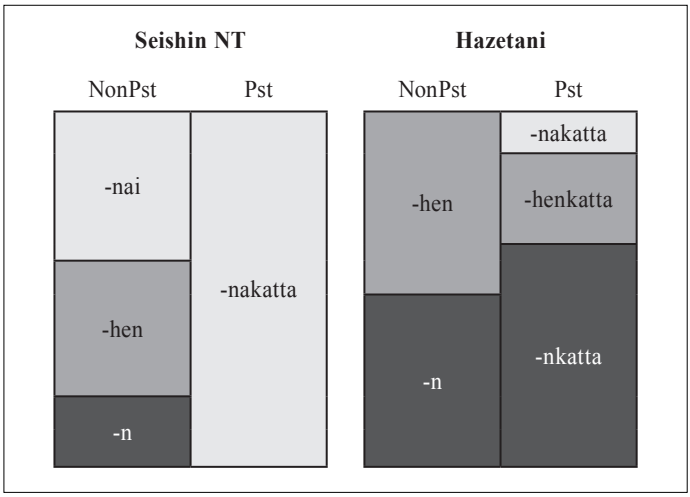

Figure 4 Percentage of each variant in the verb negation

This kind of difference can be attributed to the difference in the nature of the community. By examining this data with 'cookbook', the differences obtained from the data shown in Figure 4 can be designated to the difference of the social component of the society. New Town is an 'urban' community with a number of migrants from other places of Japan. Hazetani-cho is a 'rural' and 'traditional' community with a simple social structure.

4 Conclusions

This paper looked into a literal meaning of the term 'cookbook,' and a meaning used in laboratory situations. Based on these findings, this paper made a definition of the term 'cookbook' as a sociolinguistic taxonomy. Two speech societies and nine speakers were presented as an example of cookbook categorisations. Linguistic analysis of the New Town study showed that careful categorisation based on the 'cookbook' can determine which social component contributed to the different linguistic behaviours.

There are a number of things to be pursued. Other categorisations of both communities and speakers would be needed in order to stress the importance of this method. In fact, it is necessary to keep tracking of various combinations of the social variables so as to draw an overview of the sociolinguistic variation. Secondly, cross-social categorisations are also expected; social structure is more or less culture-specific. In this sense, attempts should be made to determine in what way sociolinguists need to upgrade the cookbook when societies of specific countries are to be studied.

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NOVA SOCIOLINGVISTIČNA TAKSONOMIJA – 'KUHARSKA KNJIGA' IN EMIGRANTSKE SKUPNOSTI

'Kuharska knjiga' pomensko združuje seznam sestavin za različne jedi; izvorno se uporablja v kuharski terminologiji, preneseno pa tudi v laboratorijih, in sicer za preverjanje številnih kombinacij elementov za merjenje stopnje njihovega učinkovanja – 'kuharska knjiga' se v tem pomenu nanaša na zbirko informacij o »poskusih in napakah« pri izvedbi eksperimenta.

Razprava poudarja prednosti uporabe »metode kuharske knjige« v dialektologiji, še zlasti pri študijah dialektološke transplantacije. Razprava izhaja iz dveh narečij, to sta karafutsko in hokaidsko narečje. Karafutsko narečje je nastalo na ruskem otoku Sahalinu, kamor so bila »presajena« številna japonska narečja, predvsem iz Hokkaida. Hokaidsko narečje je nastalo z narečnim stikom z emigranti celinske Japonske, zato lahko karafutsko narečje imenujemo »koine iz koine«. Razprava se osredotoča na naglasni vzorec kot spremenljivko – ugotavlja, kako metodologija 'kuharske knjige' pojasnjuje jezikovno spremembo v dveh narečjih.

Making paradigms of verbs and adjectives using a dialect corpus

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Razprava predstavlja izdelavo narečnega slovarja Tokunoshime (otočje Amami, Japonska), ki nastaja na podlagi narečnega korpusa. Analiza korpusnega gradiva in pogovorov z informanti omogoča oblikovanje glagolskih in pridevniških paradigem, ki bodo uvrščene v multimedijski narečni slovar. Stavki v korpusu so bili razdeljeni v sklope, na podlagi katerih so bili ugotovljeni glagoli, ti pa so bili razvrščeni v sezname – šlo je za ugotavljanje spregatvenih vzorcev. Vse spregane oblike so bile pregledane glede na oblike, ki jim sledijo, nato pa je bila na podlagi distribucije spregana oblika izbrana za geslo. V japonščini pripadajo glagoli in pridevniki isti sintaktični kategoriji (pridevniki spreminjajo svoje oblike tako kot glagoli). Enak postopek je bil ponovljen tudi pri pridevnikih – poiskani so bili vzorci in paradigme pridevniškega pregibanja.

The author has been involved in the making of a dialect dictionary of Tokunoshima, Amami, Japan, using a dialect corpus. The analysis of the dialect corpus and face-to-face interviews were combined to obtain the paradigms of verbs and adjectives to be included in the multimedia dialect dictionary. Sentences in the corpus were cut into phrases and verbs were identified and sorted into lists of verbs. The lists were examined to find patterns of verb conjugation. All conjugated forms were examined regarding succeeding forms, and, based on the distribution, a conjugated form was chosen as an entry. In Japanese, verbs and adjectives belong to the same syntactic category and adjectives change their forms as verbs do. Thus the same procedure was repeated concerning adjectives, and patterns and paradigms of adjective inflection were found.

Ključne besede: narečni korpusi, morfologija, paradigme, glagoli, pridevniki

Key words: dialect corpus, morphology, paradigms, verbs, adjectives

0 Introduction: Making a dialect dictionary using a dialect corpus

We have been making a multimedia dialect dictionary of Tokunoshima which is located in Amami, Japan. We reported the progress of our research at the fourth and fifth International Society for Dialectology and Geolinguistics congress (Sawaki, Fukushima, and Nakajima 2003, 2006, Sawaki, Nakajima, and Fukushima 2006). This is the third presentation about the research and herein the author describes her own part of the research concerning morphological analysis of the dialect, which is necessary for inclusion of the paradigms of verbs and adjectives into the dictionary. In order to obtain the paradigms, the analysis of the dialect corpus and face-to-face interviews were combined.

1 Data & Method

1.1 *Dialect corpus as basic data*

We used a dialect corpus as basic data to make a dictionary. The corpus is called *The Two Thousand Sentences of the Tokunoshima Dialect*. This is a free translation based on the Japanese version of *Le livre des deux milles phrases* by Henri Frei. Our co-researcher Takahiro Okamura, a native speaking dialectologist made the text data of two thousand sentences expressing everyday life in Tokunoshima. They were made into a dialect corpus.

1.2 *Tokunoshima Dialect*

The Japanese language is classified into two major dialect groups. One is the Mainland dialects and the other is the Ryuku dialects. The Tokunoshima dialect belongs to the Amami dialect, a sub-group of the Ryukyu dialects. The dialect has fewer and fewer speakers, so we need to make a dialect dictionary to keep a record of the dialect and help maintain it.

The following symbols are used in the transcript. When compiling the dialect corpus, we used only letters we could input using the keyboard.

1. Central Vowels: Capitalized ex. ï > I, ë > E
2. Glottalized Consonants: Capitalized ex. k’ > K, t’ > T
3. Glottal Stop: ’
4. Syllabic Nasal: N

1.3 *Method*

Japanese is an agglutinative language, so a word in Japanese is a linear sequence of distinct morphemes, each of which has lexical or grammatical meaning.

Independent forms such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, or adverbs are followed by dependent forms such as particles or suffixes (auxiliaries). Here is an example.

watasi-wa		*ik-anakat-ta.*
Pronoun+Particle		**Verb+Aux1+Aux2**
"I" + topic		"go" + negative + past
	"I didn't go."	

Because of this characteristic, verbs and adjectives change their forms according to succeeding forms. In Indo-European languages, the inflection of adjectives is called declension as that of nouns. In Japanese, however, verbs and adjectives belong to the same syntactic category and adjectives change their forms as verbs do. For example, adjective stems can be followed by suffixes meaning "past". Thus the author does not call the inflection of Japanese adjectives declension in this paper.

In order to obtain paradigms, sentences in the dialect corpus are cut into phrases, and they are sorted into alphabetical order. Then the list of independent forms plus dependent forms in a row is obtained. In the case of nouns, we can obtain a list of nouns with succeeding particles. In the case of verbs, we can get a list of verb stems with succeeding suffixes. Here are examples of a verb meaning "eat". The verb has verb stems such as *kam-* the basic verb stem and *kad-* the euphonic verb stem. They are followed by auxiliaries meaning "negative" or "past" etc.

"eat"		
kam-		basic verb stem
kad-		euphonic verb stem
kamaN	"don't eat"	basic verb stem + negative
kamada:tI	"didn't eat"	basic verb stem + negative + past
ka:dI	"ate"	euphonic verb stem + past

2 Three steps to obtain the paradigms

2.1 *Obtaining patterns of verb conjugation*

There are three steps to obtaining paradigms. On the first step, basic patterns of verb conjugation were obtained as follows. First, sentences in the corpus were cut into phrases. Verbs were identified and sorted into a list of verbs. Interviews were conducted to make lists of basic conjugated forms of all verbs used in the corpus. The number of the verbs obtained was close to 500. The lists were examined to find patterns of verb conjugation. Verbs were classified based on the patterns.

As a result, three patterns of verb conjugation were obtained.

Pattern I: Regular Conjugation I (Consonant-Ending Verb Stem type)
'asIb-: Standard Japanese *asobu* "play"
'asIbjui, 'asIbi:, 'asIbaN, 'asI:dI
(Basic, Preceding predicate, Negative, Past, respectively)
[made up of verb stems: *'asIbj-/'asIb-/'asId-*]

Pattern II: Regular Conjugation II (Vowel-Ending Verb Stem type)
'wI:-: Standard Japanese *okiru* "get up"
'wI:jui, 'wI:, 'wI:raN, 'wI:tI
[made up of verb stems: *'wI:j-/'wI:-/'wI:t-*]

Pattern III: Irregular Conjugation
s-: Standard Japanese *suru* "do"
sjui, sI:, sjaN, sjI:
[made up of verb stems: *sj-*/ *s-*/ *sj-*]

2.2 *Obtaining more detailed paradigms of verb conjugation*

The second step is to make more detailed paradigms of verb conjugation. In order to decide entry forms for the dictionary, all conjugated forms of the verbs were examined regarding the succeeding forms. There are two basic forms as possible entry forms: *-jui* and *-juN* (Ex. *'asIbjui*, *'asIbjuN*, "play"). Another basic form, *-ju:/ju*, was added through the research. Based on the distribution**,** a conjugated form, specifically the *-jui* form, was chosen as the entry form. The *-jui* form can be used without succeeding forms while both the *-juN* form and the *-ju:/ju* form are always used with succeeding forms.

Verb basic forms

-jui *jamjui* "hurt"
Can be used without succeeding forms.
Or are followed by forms such as *ja:*, *jo:*, *sjarE:,* etc.

-juN *sjuNda:* "do"
Always followed by other forms such as *da:*, *cjI, do:*, *ga*, *du(ka)*, *kja*, *gadaN,* etc.

-ju:/ju *cIkju:mI* "[Do you] touch?"
Always followed by other forms such as *mI*, *sI*, *wa:,* etc.

In this way, more detailed paradigms of verb conjugation were obtained.

2.3 *Obtaining patterns and paradigms of adjective inflection*

The third step is to obtain patterns and paradigms of adjective inflection. The same procedure was repeated concerning adjectives, and patterns and paradigms of adjective inflection were found.

The following illustrates three patterns of adjective inflection.

Pattern I: Regular Inflection I
naga:ha- Standard Japanese *nagai* "long"
naga:hai, naga:ku, naga:hatI
(Basic, Preceding predicate, Past, respectively)
[made up of adjective stems: *naga:ha-*/ *naga:k-*/ *naga:hat-*]

Pattern II: Regular Inflection II
wassja- Standard Japanese *warui* "bad"
wassjai, wassjaku, wassjatI
[made up of adjective stems: *wassja-*/ *wassjak-*/ *wassjat-*]

Pattern III: Irregular Inflection
nI- Standard Japanese *nai* "not exist"
nIN, nI:, nI:da:tI
[made up of adjective stems: *nI-*/ *nI-*/ *nI:da:t-*]

Adjectives also have similar suffixes parallel to verb forms. There are *hai-*, *haN-*, and *ha:/ha-* forms (Ex. *naga:hai* / *naga:haN* / *naga:ha* "long"). The distribution is almost the same as with the verbs, so the *-hai* form was similarly chosen as the entry form. The *-hai* form can be used without succeeding forms. But the *-haN* form can be used without succeeding forms when the sentence has the causative meaning while the *-ha:/ha* form is always used with succeeding forms. Thus the distinction of usage applies to not only verbs but also other categories.

Adjective basic forms

-hai *Ma:hai* "delicious"
Can be used without succeeding forms.
Or are followed by forms such as *ja:, jo:, sjarE:,* etc.

-haN *'iba:haN* " [because it is] narrow"
Can be used without succeeding forms when the sentence has the causative meaning.
Or are followed by forms such as *da:, cjI, do:, ga, du(ka), kja, gadaN,* etc.

-ha:/ha *juta:hamI* "[Is it] good?"
Always followed by any other forms such as *mI, sI, wa:,* etc.

3 Conclusion

As a conclusion, inflectional patterns and paradigms of verbs and adjectives of the Tokunoshima dialect were obtained using a dialect corpus. They were included in the multimedia DVD dictionary of the Tokunoshima dialect (T. Okamura et al. 2009).

The following tables are part of the results of the analysis. Figure 1 is the list of four basic conjugated forms of all the verbs used in the *Two Thousand Sentences of the Tokunoshima Dialect*. Figure 2 is a detailed paradigm of main verbs.

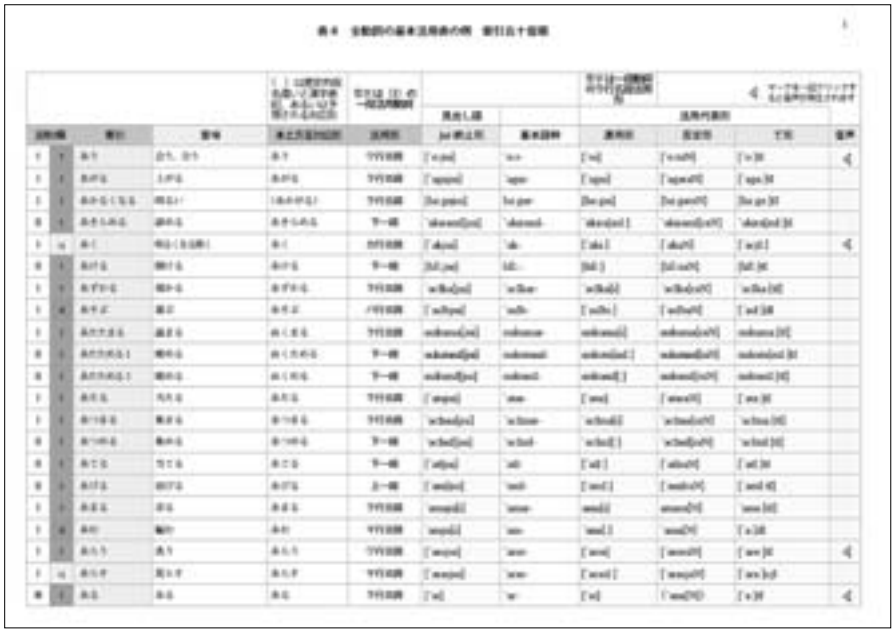

Figure 1. List of four basic conjugated forms of all the verbs in the *Two Thousand Sentences of the Tokunoshima Dialect*

マークを一回クリックすると音声が再生されます

表2A　徳之島浅間方言における動詞活用形の生成
活用類型 (1)　子音語幹

			1 規則 -i 食べる	1 規則 -i 遊ぶ	1 規則 -u 行く
			kamjun	'asɪbjun	'ikjun
		基本語幹	kam-	asɪb-	'ik-
		融合語幹	kamj-	'asɪbj-	'ikj-
		目使語幹	kad-	'asɪd-	'itj-
融合語幹	[子音語幹]	意味 [接続]	kamj-	'asɪbj-	'ikj-
終止形	-un	～る [言い切り、+ja (なら) ja (よ) ga母 (だろう)]	kamju[ɯ]	['asɪbjuɯ]	['ikjuɯ]
終止形	-uN-	～る [+da (よ) ej (って) do (ぞ) ga (か) gI (よ) kI (らしい)]	kamju[Nda]	['asɪbjuNda:]	['ikjuNda:]
連体形	-uN	名詞が後続	kamju[N]	['asɪbjuN]	['ikjuN]
禁止形 1	-uNna	～るな	kamjuN[na]	['asɪbjuN]na	['ikjuN]na
終止形	-u:	～る [+ssI (のか) sI (の、ものの、こと) wa (だぜ)]	kamju:[mI]	['asɪbju:]mI	['ikju:]mI
終止形	-u	～る [+mIN (まい) ba:ki (べき) ssI (ように) baka (～したて)]	kamjumI[ ] kamju:[N]ka	['asɪbjumI[ ] ['asɪbju:]naka	['ikjumI[ ] ['ikju:]naka
係結形	-u:ru	nuga (どうして) や du (ぞ) に対する結び	kamju:[ru]	['asɪbju:]ru	['ikju:]ru
基本語幹	[母音語幹]	意味 [接続]	kam-	asɪb-	'ik-
連用形	-i	～る [言い切り、+助詞、動詞 (補助動詞)]	kami[ ]	['asɪbi]	['iki]
禁止形 2	-iNna	～るな	kamiN[na]	['asɪbiN]na	['ikiN]na
否定形	-aN	～ない	kama[N]	['asɪbaN]	['kaN]
否定過去形 1	-adatI	～なかった [言い切り、+助詞]	kamada [tI]	['asɪbada:]tI	['kada:]tI
否定過去形 2	-adatuN	～なかった [+助詞]	kamada[tuN]	['asɪbadatuN]	['kadatuN]
使役形	-asjun*	～させる	kamasju[ɯ]*	['asɪbasjuɯ]*	['kasjuɯ]*
受身・可能形	-ajun*	～られる	kamaju[ɯ]*	['asɪbajuɯ]* (可能)	['kajuɯ]*
意向形	-o	～よう	kamo[ ]	['asɪbo:]	['ko:]
直接命令形	-o:	～ろ	kamo[:]	['asɪbo:]	['ko:]
間接命令形	-i	～ろ (と)	ka:[mI]	['asɪ:]mI	['ki:]
丁寧形	-i jun*	～ます	kami jun*	['asɪbi:]jun*	['kaɕuɯ]*
目使語幹	[母音語幹]	意味 [接続]	kad-	'asɪd-	'itj-
テ形	-I	～て	ka:[dI]	['asɪ:]dI	['itj:]
過去形 1	-I	～た [言い切り、+助詞]	ka:[dI]	['asɪ:]dI	['itj:]
過去形 2	-aN	～た [+助詞]	kada[N]	['asɪdaN]	['itjaN]
タリ形	-a	～たり	kada[i]	['asɪdai]	['itjai]
条件形	-Ba	～たば	ka:[dI]ba	['asɪ:]dIba	['itj:]ba
テイル形	-ta*	～ている	ka:[dai]*	'asɪdai[i]*	'itjai[i]*

Figure 2. Detailed paradigm of main verbs in the Tokunoshima dialect

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OBLIKOVANJE GLAGOLSKIH IN PRIDEVNIŠKIH PARADIGEM OB UPORABI NAREČNEGA KORPUSA

Narečni slovar Tokunoshime (otočje Amami, Japonska) je nastajal s pomočjo narečnega korpusa. Ta je bil, nadgrajen s pogovori z informanti, vir za morfološki oris narečja Tokunoshime. Paradigme glagolov in pridevnikov, ki so bili uvrščeni v multimedijski narečni slovar, so bile določene glede na: (1) Stavki iz korpusnega gradiva so bili razdeljeni v sklope; glagoli so bili identificirani in razvrščeni v sezname; opravljeni so bili pogovori, da bi lahko ugotovili seznam osnovnih pregibnih oblik vseh uporabljenih glagolov; seznami so bili pregledani in ugotovljeni so bili vzorci glagolske pregibnosti; na osnovi teh vzorcev so bili glagoli razvrščeni. (2) Pred odločitvijo o vključitvi so bile pregledane vse pregibne glagolske oblike glede na oblike, ki jim sledijo; na osnovi porazdelitve je bila pregibna oblika izbrana za geslo. (3) Enak postopek je bil uporabljen tudi pri pridevnikih; poiskani so bili vzorci pridevniškega pregibanja (gl. M. Sawaki, C. Fukushima in Y. Nakajima. 2003. »Dialect Corpus as a Resource for Dialect Dictionary« At 4th ICDG. M. Sawaki, Y. Nakajima, and C. Fukushima. 2006. »Making Multimedia Dialect Dictionary as a Database with Indexes and Cross-references« At 5th ICDG).

Computerisation of a corpus of personal correspondence spanning the 19th and 20th centuries: the study of linguistic variation

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Članek predstavlja vsebino in tehnične vire CD-ROM-a *Epistolari d'Antoni M. Alcover (1880–1931)* (Korespondenca Antonija M. Alcoverja), objavljenega leta 2008, ki vsebuje celoten prepis osebne korespondence majorškega dialektologa iz obdobja od leta 1880 do leta 1931. Prikazuje, kako lahko računalniški program pomaga pri študiju jezikovnih variacij 3.529.159 besed iz korpusa korespondence. Med mnogimi drugimi lastnostmi posebno pozornost posvečamo narečnim značilnostim in jezikovni interferenci med katalonščino in kastiljščino na začetku 20. stoletja.

The article presents the contents and the technical resources of the CD-ROM "Epistolari d'Antoni M. Alcover (1880–1931)" [Antoni M. Alcover's correspondence], published in 2008, which contains the complete transcription of the Majorcan dialectologist's personal correspondence between 1880 and 1931. It shows how the computer program can help to study the linguistic variation throughout the 3,529,159 words of the corpus of correspondence. Among many other features, we pay special attention to the presence of dialect features and to the linguistic interference between Catalan and Castilian at the beginning of the 20th century.

Ključne besede: jezikovni korpus, računalniško podprto besedilno upravljanje, narečna variacija, jezikovna interferenca

Key words: Linguistic corpus, computer-based text management, dialect variation, linguistic interference

1 Introduction

The CD-ROM "Epistolari d'Antoni M. Alcover (1880–1931)" [Antoni M. Alcover's correspondence], published in 2008, contains the complete transcription of the Majorcan dialectologist's personal correspondence between 1880 and 1931. Alcover kept 16,005 documents, including letters, postcards, visiting cards and other written materials, 638 of which were written by Alcover himself (drafts, copies or letters that he perhaps never intended to send). The computer program classifies the materials in two ways: according to the letters' authors, and according to the localities from where they were sent. The materials – written in Catalan, Castilian, German, French, Italian, Latin, and Esperanto – not only give a new vision of the life of the dialectologist, his environment, and the culture, politics and society of the end of the nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth, but also provide rich information about the Catalan language of this period.

The presentation is organised as follows. Section 2 describes the correspondence and section 3 outlines the process of computerisation. The information obtained from this process is explained in section 4. Section 5 includes a small sample of letters in different languages, and section 6 shows the possible applications of the correspondence concerning the study of dialects. Finally, the concluding section provides a summary of the results and offers some suggestions for future research.

2 The correspondence

Before his death, the dialectologist Antoni M. Alcover (Manacor 1860 – Palma 1932)[1] stored his correspondence in 36 wooden boxes. In some cases, he himself wrote the descriptions on the envelopes or folders containing letters from the same author. Other envelopes were later annotated by others (cf. Perea 2009).

The boxes numbered from 1 to 17 include letters, in chronological order, dated between 1882 and 1928. However, some of them were not correctly classified and, in fact, the time interval spans the years 1877 to 1935. In general, these letters were written by members of Alcover's family or other local correspondents of little political, cultural or religious consequence. However, some letters from prominent figures have been found that should have appeared in other boxes. The relative disorder may have been produced by mistakes in the classification or by the consultations made over the years.

The second group of boxes (from 21 to 27) contains letters that are classified not chronologically but alphabetically, by the name of the correspondent. In general, with few variations, the description included in each box is "Cartes

[1] For information on Alcover's life and his contributions to dialectology, see Moll (1962, 1983), Massot (1985), Janer Manila (1996), and Perea (2001, 2005, 2006).

a Mn. Alcover que ofereixen especial importancia" [Letters to Father Alcover of special importance].

The third group of boxes (from 46 to 54) contain letters from correspondents considered "personages il·lustres" [illustrious figures] which are also ordered alphabetically.

Box 77 [A-22] includes letters from Alcover's youth, sent to his family and to his uncle, the priest Pere Josep Alcover. Most of these letters are written in the form of poems.[2] This box also contains documents dating from the end of the 19th century, which the dialectologist exchanged with Miquel Binimelis, attorney and alderman of the Town hall of Palma, on the subject of Carlism.[3]

The description of the content of box 132 is: "Collaboradors de l'Obra del Diccionari" [contributors to the Dictionary].[4] In fact, the box contains not only letters from the contributors, but texts from other correspondents whose letters also appear in other boxes [Bernhard Schädel, Leo Spitzer, Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke or even letters by Alcover himself written to different addressees].

Moreover, several boxes containing other materials have also been reviewed. The following ones include misplaced letters: 31 [70 letters], 33 [6], 61 [3], 63 [8], 76 [18], 77 [193], 79 [72], 80 [6], and 83 [3]. These documents provide complementary information.

3 The process of computerisation: methodological aspects

3.1 *The database*

The first stage in the computerisation process involved the scanning and transcription of the letters. Once transcribed, checked and compared with the original ones, the letters were entered into an *ad hoc* database for classification (Figure 1).

Figure 1 shows the screen used to classify the documents. The information required was related with the name of the author – including, whenever possible, a brief biographical description – the number of the box and the document, the language used, the type (letters, postcards, visiting cards, etc.), the description written on the envelope or folder, the size, the possible problems that the letter might present (i. e., when the date, the author or the addressee were unknown). Other information was also recorded, for instance the special characteristics of the document, the existence of a scanned reproduction when the letter contained drawings or was difficult to read (especially German letters written in Gothic script), or the indication of the edition of a document

[2] Janer Manila (1996) refers to these texts.

[3] Only a photocopy is preserved; the original letters are missing. The letters were published by Benàssar & Fullana (1993).

[4] That is to say: The *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (DCVB), now on line: http://dcvb.iecat.net/. See Perea (2004).

when it had already been published. The transcription of the document was then included in the database (Figure 2).

Figure 1. The screen used to enter the letters into the database.

Figure 2. Screen showing a transcribed document. This figure corresponds to a letter from the Italian philologist Pier Enea Guarnerio.

Figure 2 shows the transcription of a letter. This document includes three types of marks in order to obtain a complete indexation: anthroponyms (8.451;[5] in fuchsia), toponyms (2.071; in blue), and key words (920; in green).

[5] The numbers given here indicate the number of entries of each index.

3.2 *Making searches*

The program included on the CD-ROM comprises a search screen. The letters are classified alphabetically by author (Figure 3) or by point of origin (Figure 4). The name of each author or place is followed by a figure in brackets which shows the number of letters related to these items.

Figure 3. Classification according to authors' name. The example corresponds to the chronology of letters sent by the German linguist Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke.

Figure 4. Classification according to point of origin.
The figure shows the place names beginning with the letter P appears.
In blue, the chronology of letters sent from Paris is shown.

In figure 3, each label in blue corresponds to a letter of the correspondence (14 documents) that Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke sent to Alcover. On the right there are two documents without dispatch date. The document may be accessed by clicking on each label. Figure 5 shows the transcription of the letter written on 20 November 1920. The left-hand column shows information related to the document and the author.

Figure 5. The transcription of a letter from Meyer-Lübke.

In the upper part of the screen of Figure 3, in orange, four labels classify the total amount of correspondence: 1. *Correspondents → A. M. Alcover* (the set of authors who sent letters to the dialectologist); 2. *A. M. Alcover → Correspondents* (the set of authors who received letters from Alcover; 638 letters have been preserved); 3. *Other correspondents* (the authors of 390 letters which were not addressed to Alcover but which were in his possession); 4. Other addressees (the 171 addressees who received letters from authors other than Alcover; i.e., the opposite of 3).

3.3 *Further searches*

More complex searches applying different criteria are also possible: by author, date, point of origin, subject, language, box, anthroponyms, toponyms, key words, etc. (Figure 6). Moreover, by searching for both free words and sequences a range of linguistic studies, such as lexis, morphology, syntax, etc. can be carried out (see § 5).

Figure 6. Searching according to different criteria – in this case, according to key words.

4 Other information obtained from the correspondence

The complete computerisation of the correspondence has yielded a great deal of information regarding its contents. We know the names of the authors, their jobs, and the number of men and women or institutions that sent letters. We also know when the letters were received, the number of different types of documents, and the languages used. This information would have remained inaccessible without computerisation.

4.1 *Correspondents*

The 16,005 documents were written by 3,178 different correspondents. Moreover, 638 texts belonging to Alcover have been preserved. Some difficulties were encountered with the identification of the authors: there are 124 unsigned documents or with illegible signatures; in the case of 15 authors we know the first name, but not the surname; four letters are anonymous, and other documents are signed with pseudonyms or only with initials.

4.2 Correspondents' professions

Either by studying the authors' biographies, or through references in the letters, we have been able to identify the professions of the some of Alcover's correspondents. However, there are 563 whose professions remain unknown. Those

identified cover a total of 213 different jobs. The largest proportion are priests (905 members – 35% of the total); we also find writers, attorneys, secretaries, politicians, doctors, presidents and directors of various institutions, mayors, historians, philologists and linguists, journalists, managers, booksellers, teachers, military men, landowners, pharmacists, architects, librarians, publishers, printers, and traders.

4.3 *Sex*

Of the correspondents and addressees, 2,927 are men and 200 women. Fifty-one are groups, such as societies, institutions, companies, etc.

4.4 *Time span*

The letters cover a period of 50 years (from 1880 to 1931). However, four documents do not correspond to this time span: one written in 1877, and the remaining three were sent after Alcover's death, in 1932, 1934, and 1935.

Although we have been able to deduce the dates of some undated documents, 400 letters remain undated.

Figures 7–10 show the number of letters received each year. Figure 7 includes two tables (from 1880 to 1900 and from 1901 to 1931). The division of Figures 8–10 highlights, on the one hand, the increase in the correspondence from 1897 onwards and, on the other hand, the progressive decrease from 1926 to Alcover's death.

Years	Number of documents
1880	4
1881	16
1882	17
1883	11
1884	20
1885	11
1886	56
1887	18
1888	35
1889	32
1890	70
1891	82
1892	30

Years	Number of documents
1893	35
1894	33
1895	43
1896	71
1897	110
1898	210
1899	272
1900	425
1901	392
1902	508
1903	521
1904	504
1905	727

Years	Number of documents
1906	1019
1907	602
1908	654
1909	567
1910	480
1911	649
1912	412
1913	363
1914	301
1915	424
1916	391
1917	366
1918	404

Years	Number of documents
1919	542
1920	503
1921	392
1922	399
1923	290
1924	185
1925	179
1926	230
1927	160
1928	188
1929	194
1930	162
1931	92

Figure 7. Number of documents received each year by Alcover (1880–1931).

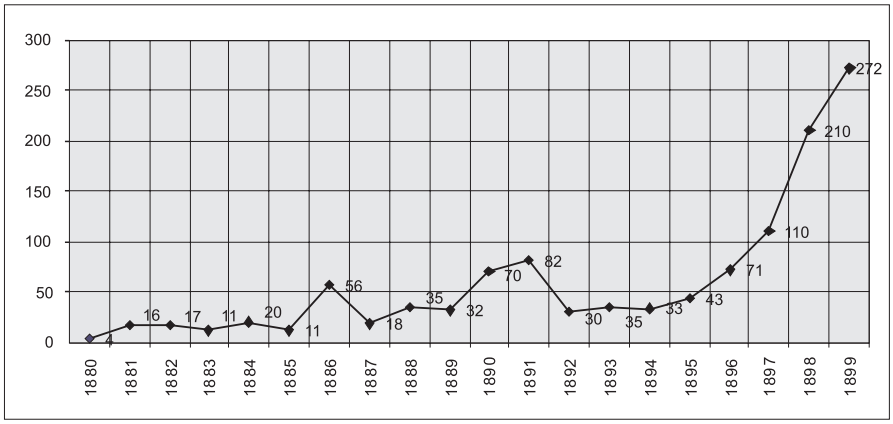

Figure 8. Number of documents received between 1880 and 1899.

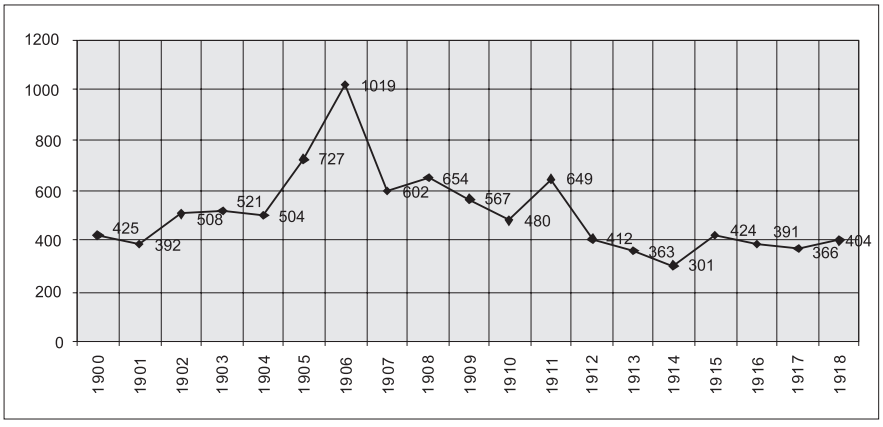

Figure 9. Number of documents received between 1900 and 1918.

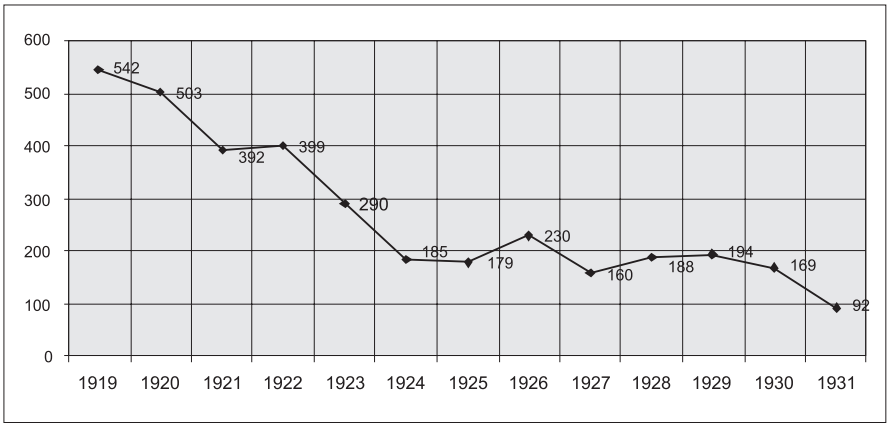

Figure 10. Number of documents received between 1919 and 1931.

Broadly speaking figures 8–10 each represent one of the three major periods in Alcover's life:

a) The years before his appointment as Majorca vicar general (1898). From 1880 to 1896 he received fewer than a hundred letters a year. The correspondents, during this period of his youth, were friends (Joan Guiraud, Josep Miralles, Francesc Casesnoves, Bartomeu Singala, Pere Orlandis, Miquel Costa, Mateu Rotger, Martí Llobera, and Andreu Pont Llodrà), seminary companions or teachers (Tomàs Forteza or Marià Aguiló). Alcover's interests in the cultural life of the period are reflected by his contacts with several Majorcan writers (Pere d'A. Peña, Miquel dels S. Oliver, Estanislau de K. Aguiló, and Antoni Frates). The first examples of reactionary and Carlist ideologies appear in his correspondence with Miquel Binimelis, the priest Fèlix Sardà i Salvany and the director of the Catholic journal *El Siglo Futuro*.

There is an increasing (though not systematic) progression in the number of letters received. The culminating moments are 1886 (when Alcover became a priest), 1890, 1891, and 1896. Many letters come from his Jesuit brother, Miquel, and, from 1886 onwards, from his farmer brother, Pere-Josep, who was Alcover's most assiduous correspondent over his lifetime (with a total of 659 letters). In 1897 the number of letters received increased when Alcover started the publication of his *Aplech de Rondaies* (Folk-tales) and was even higher in 1898.

b) Alcover's years in the public eye (1899–1920). From 1899 the number of letters received continues to increase, until the celebration of the First International Congress of the Catalan Language (1906). From 1900 to 1905, the average number of letters received is approximately 500 every year, with a peak in 1905 (727), because of the preparation of the congress. Throughout this period, letters from the contributors to the Dictionary (DCVB)[6] are the most numerous. There are also large numbers of letters from Alcover's family, especially during his frequent philological excursions, and there are letters of an ecclesiastical character, due to the post of vicar general which he held until 1916.

c) His last years, which can be divided into two periods: from 1921 to 1926 and from 1927 to 1931. From 1921, the letters received annually do not exceed the figure of 400. Thematically, letters of a political nature responding to Alcover's requests for funding in order to continue the Dictionary (DCVB) predominate. There are also a small number of letters from correspondents. This is the period of Alcover's correspondence with foreign dialectologists and philologists (Louis Gauchat, Jacob Jud, Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, Leo Spitzer, H. Willy Paulyn, Gerhard Rohlfs, and Maurice Grammont) as a consequence of the publication of the first fascicle of the Dictionary.

As Alcover neared death, the number of letters he received decreased even further, falling to only 92 in 1931. Significantly it was his pupil Francesc de

[6] See footnote 4.

B. Moll who kept up most of the correspondence with contributors such as the linguists Alfons Par and Josep Calveras.

4.5 *Points of origin*

The 16,005 documents of the correspondence were sent from 721 localities. However, the point of origin is not specified in 360 letters, and cannot be deduced with certainty.

The places from which the highest number of documents were sent are: Palma de Majorca (3,382),[7] Barcelona (2,369), Manacor (1,650) [Majorca], Madrid (793), Son Crespí Vell (238) [Majorca], Valencia (238), Pollença (221) [Majorca], Halle (190) [Germany], Tortosa (190) [Catalonia], Vic (163) [Catalonia], Sóller (136) [Majorca], Ciutadella (129) [Menorca], Ibiza (129), la Torre Nova (129) [Catalonia], Perpiñán (127) [France], Tarragona (116) [Catalonia], Terrassa (102) [Catalonia], and Gerona (100) [Catalonia].

The distribution of the letters according to area is as follows, in descending order: Balearic Islands [7,406 documents from 134 localities]; Catalonia [4,605 doc. from 233 loc.]; Castile [865 doc. from 18 loc.]; Valencia [568 doc. from 45 loc.]; Germany [485 doc. from 44 loc.]; Italy [231 doc. from 29 loc.]; North Catalonia [176 doc. from 14 loc.]; France [163 doc. from 25 loc.]; Aragon [153 doc. from 13 loc.]; Andalusia [77 doc. from 13 loc.]; Switzerland [60 doc. from 10 loc.]; Argentina [53 doc. from 14 loc.]; Navarre and the Basque Country [33 doc. from 8 loc.]; Belgium [23 doc. from 7 loc.]; Cantabria [19 doc. from 6 loc.]; Cuba [19 doc. from 4 loc.]; Finland [16 doc. from 2 loc.]; Sardinia [14 doc. from 4 loc.]; Austria [13 doc. from 2 loc.]; England [11 doc. from 7 loc.]; Colombia [8 doc. from 1 loc.]; Galicia [6 doc. from 3 loc.]; United States [5 doc. from 2 loc.]; Czech Republic [5 doc. from 1 loc.]; The Philippines [5 doc. from 4 loc.],[8] etc.

4.6 *Typology of the documents*

The correspondence has been classified as follows: letters (11,151), postcards (2,246), visiting cards (993), B.L.M. cards ("Besa la mà") (259), telegrams (158), circular letters (121), notes (117), receipts (71), greeting cards (64), invitation cards ("Saluda") (63), announcements of birth, marriage or of change of residence (47), invoices (38), announcements of death (31), reports (4), and certificates (1).

[7] In the program, the name of several places has been transcribed in brackets; these symbols indicate that, though the point of origin does not appear in the document, it can be deduced.

[8] We do not include areas with fewer than 5 documents. This information appears in the CD-ROM.

Other documents have been classified according to the following rubrics: articles (23), index cards (5), speeches (5), word lists (2), and sermons (2). Materials that do not fit into the rubrics indicated are included under the generic name of "other documents" (87).

4.7 *Languages used in the correspondence*

The documents are written for the most part in Catalan (10,177) and in Spanish (4,363). German is the third language (399), followed by Italian (136) and English (48). A very small number of letters were written in Latin (26), in Occitan (14), in Esperanto (2), and in Galician (2).

Other letters are written using two languages: Spanish/Catalan (46), Catalan/Latin (14), German/Catalan (8), German/French (6), French/Catalan (4), German/Spanish (2), English/Spanish (2), Italian/Catalan (2), Catalan/Esperanto (1), Italian/German (1), Italian/French (1), and Latin/French (1).

4.8 *Topics of the letters*

When possible, the main topic (or topics) in the letters is indicated, with relation, in all cases, to Alcover's biography. When available, the description appearing on the envelope containing the letters on the same subject has been used; i.e., the letters received on the occasion of the death of Alcover's mother or the tribute paid to the Majorcan poet Joan Alcover, although documents from other boxes dealing with these topics were also added. In addition, 127 concepts have been defined to indicate the main topic(s) of the letters.

The most frequent topics refer to contributions to the Dictionary (1,599) and to subscriptions to the Dictionary's Bulletin (1,330).

Other numerically prominent[9] topics are: expressions of gratitude (735), philological excursions (623), the Congress of the Catalan Language (595), studies of the Catalan language (506), requests for information (494), requests for subsidies for the dictionary (417), recommendations (324), congratulations (284), illnesses (269), requests or offers (222), the attempt on Alcover's life (201), subscription to the dictionary (201), linguistic questions (198), folk-tales (195), conflicts with the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (195), political questions (174), Alcover's birthday (170), scholars (143), appointments (142), edition of Ramon Llull's works (134), administrative questions (125), requests for favours (107), opinions about the language in general (99),[10] etc.

[9] Detailed information concerning all described paragraphs is included in the CD-ROM.

[10] For example, contributors' letters that include linguistic information.

4.9 *Other information*

The computer program also includes a list of materials that were unrelated to the correspondence but were found in amongst the letters: notifications of death, programs of cultural activities, announcements, invitations, religious sheets, religious prints, and other documents.

The letters have been faithfully transcribed. In cases of incomprehensibility or ambiguity, punctuation has been added. Lexical solutions have been placed in brackets in cases of erroneous spelling ("ynemed delene [Magdalena]"). In a few cases, some abbreviations have been clarified. The documents have hardly been modified at all; only major writing errors or typing mistakes have been corrected.

5 Different samples of correspondence

As examples, we include transcriptions of three letters written in English, Italian, and French. The first was written by the philologist E. F. E. Suddard, who was working in the Centro de Estudios Históricos at that time.

[Suddard]
[Contestada 23 setembre 1924]

Centro de Estudios Históricos,
Almagro, 26,
Madrid, Sept. 3rd 1924

Dear Mossèn Alcover,

It is a very long time since I had the honour of hearing from you. I was for some time in Barcelona, and have now been in Madrid for several months. I do not expect to stay here much longer, so that if you care to write me, it would be safer to answer soon; especially in view of the distance and consequently slow communication between here and Palma.

If there is anything I can do for you in Madrid, I shall be most happy to serve you.

In Barcelona I saw Barnils, and several times went to his Institute at Vallvidrera, where he now has a nice laboratory.

I was told your subvention was renewed last year, and hope the same may be the case this year.

As for myself, I have no definite plans for the present, but except to remain in Spain, although not in Madrid, this winter.

I should be glad to know how the Dictionary is progressing, and to have new of yourself and you health.

Believe me; with kind remembrances,
Very respectfully yours,

E. F. E. Suddard

The second letter was written by Italian philologist Pier Enea Guarneiro. This letter is an example of the frequent discussions on linguistic questions that Alcover engaged in with foreign linguists.

[Postcard]
[Contestada 7 mars]

Milano, Donizetti 20
26-II-07

Illustre signore ed amico,

Un mio collega dell' Università desidererebbe sapere se nell' onomastica catalana, o solo majorchina, si abbia un nome di parentela, come "dalceri" o "dalcerto" o "dalcesto" o qualche cosa di simile. Si tratta di un nome che si trova in un' antica carta majorchina e non si riesce a decifrare.
Se Ella può sappermi dire qualche cosa, Le ne sarò molto grato.
Distratto da diverse cure, sia cui la morte del Maestro G. I. Ascoli, il gran glottologo, ho dovuto trascurare le cose catalane, ma presto le riprenderò. Saluto cordiale

P. E. Guarnerio

Al Sr. D. Antoni M. Alcover
Vicari general de Mallorca
Palma de Mallorca
Serra, 13
(Spagna)

Finally, the third letter was written by the dialectologist Jacob Jud and is a sample of the importance and influence abroad of Alcover's linguistic work.

[Postcard]
[Jud]
[Contestada 12 janer 1910]

Zurich 12 XII 10

Très honoré Monsieur,

Permettez-moi de vous remercier sincèrement de l'envoi de "Bolletí del Diccionari de la llengua catalana" que j'ai parcouru en partie déjà avec le plus vif intérêt. Tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'oeuvre magnifique que vous avez entreprise avec tant de courage désirent ardemment le succès de la grand' oeuvre qui renouvellera la lexicographie catalane si imparfaitement connue aux romanistes. M. Griera qui poursuit ses études avec tant de désintéressement ici à Zurich, vous enverra le "montant" du prix du Bulletin que je lui remettrai l'un de ces jours.
Recevez, Monsieur, mes respects dévoués

J. Jud

Monsieur
Rev. Sr. Antoni Alcover
Serra 13
Palma de Mallorca
Espagne

6 The correspondence and the study of dialects

We stated at the beginning that the computer program makes it possible to conduct complex searches according to different criteria: author, date, point of origin, topic, language, or the use of anthroponyms, toponyms or keyword indexes. It is also possible to search for both free words and sequences inside the documents; this feature is particularly useful for carrying out linguistic studies of vocabulary, morphology, syntax, etc.[11]

6.1 *The study of verb morphology*

An example of the possibilities of searching for dialectal forms is found in the appearance of verb forms including a velar extension. Thus, the search for verb endings in "iga" refers us to the documents written by the priest from Ibiza Vicent Serra i Orvai or by the linguist Josep Calveras, whose letters include examples of this sort of ending: the subjunctives *càntiga* (Standard Catalan: *canti* 'I sing'), *estímiga* (St. Cat.: *estimi* 'I love'), *tàpiga* (St. Cat.: *tapi* 'I cover'), *adòbiga* (St. Cat.: *adobi* 'I mend'), *furàdiga* (St. Cat.: *foradi* 'I pierce'), *màtiga* (St. Cat.: *mati* 'I kill') [Figure 11].

Figure 11. The results of a linguistic search in one of the letters in the corpus.

[11] About other linguistic studies based on a corpus of correspondence, see Pallander-Collin (1999).

6.2 *Language contact*

Because most of the letters were written before the spelling reform promoted by the Catalan grammarian Pompeu Fabra at the beginning of the 20th century, several samples of natural language and non-normative writing are found. The linguistic interference between Catalan and Spanish in letters written in Catalan is very frequent. Here we have selected a number of words borrowed from Spanish, such as: *sust* or *susto* (Standard Catalan: *espant*; Spanish: *susto* 'fright'), *aconteixement* (St. Cat.: *esdeveniment*; Sp.: *acontecimiento* 'event'), *enfermetat* (St. Cat.: *malaltia*; Sp.: *enfermedad* 'illness'), *assunto* (St. Cat.: *assumpte*; Sp.: *asunto* 'matter'), *barato* (St. Cat.: *barat*; Span.: *barato* 'cheap'), *fallo* (St. Cat.: *fallada*; Sp.: *fallo* 'failure'), *enterro* (St. Cat.: *enterrament*; Sp.: *entierro* 'burial'), *recado* (St. Cat.: *encàrrec*; Sp.: *recado* 'message'), *plas* or *plaç* (St. Cat.: *termini*; Sp.: *plazo* 'term'), *lograr* (St. Cat.: *aconseguir*; Sp.: *lograr* 'to manage'), *inverosímil* (St. Cat.: *inversemblant*; Sp.: *inverosímil* 'improbable'), *despedida* (St. Cat.: *comiat*; Sp.: *despedida* 'farewell'), *tonteria* (St. Cat.: *beneiteria*; Sp.: *tontería* 'silly thing'). Their quantitative incidence can be checked in the documents.

In addition, if we search for the corresponding words in Standard Catalan in the documents, *espant*, *malaltia*, *barat*, *enterrament*, *encàrrec*, *termini*, *aconseguir*, and *comiat* appear, but *esdeveniment*, *fallada*, *inversemblant*, *assumpte* or *beneiteria* do not. This distinction shows the relatively recent appearance of new standard vocabulary with no tradition in the history of the Catalan language.

7 Conclusions

This paper describes the method used to computerise Alcover's correspondence, offering a small sample of its possible linguistic applications and demonstrating its intrinsic and extrinsic value in questions of history, politics, culture, literature, language, and biography. The computer program facilitates the preservation of the materials, and makes it possible to associate them with the letters that Alcover may have written, providing complete textual information and giving a full picture of the personality and works of the Majorcan dialectologist. The linguistic and dialectological study of the 16,005 letters is still to be undertaken. Finally, we are confident that the methodology used in the classification and analysis of the letters can be easily applied to documents of similar characteristics.

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DIGITALIZACIJA KORPUSA OSEBNE KORESPONDENCE IZ OBDOBJA 19. IN 20. STOLETJA: ŠTUDIJA JEZIKOVNIH VARIACIJ

CD-ROM *Epistolari d'Antoni M. Alcover (1880–1931)*, objavljen leta 2008, vsebuje celotno osebno korespondenco majorškega dialektologa Alcoverja iz obdobja od leta 1880 do leta 1931. Alcover je hranil 16.005 dokumentov, vključujoč pisma, razglednice, vizitke in druga pisna gradiva, od katerih jih je 638 napisal sam (osnutki, izvodi pisem, ki jih najbrž nikoli ni nameraval poslati). Računalniški program gradivo razvršča na dva načina: (1) glede na avtorja pisma in (2) glede na lokacijo, kamor so bila poslana. Gradiva, napisana v katalonščini, kastiljščini, nemščini, francoščini, italijanščini, latinščini

in esperantu, ne le, da nudijo nov pogled na dialektologovo življenje, njegovo okolje in kulturo, politiko ter družbo s konca devetnajstega in prve tretjine dvajsetega stoletja, temveč ponujajo tudi bogate informacije o katalonskem jeziku tistega časa. Članek predstavlja vsebino tehničnih virov CD-ROM-a in kaže, kako lahko računalniški program pomaga znanstveniku pri študiju lingvističnih variant 3.529.159 besed iz korpusa korespondence. Med drugim je posebna pozornost posvečena jezikovnim interferencam med katalonščino in kastiljščino z začetka 20. stoletja.

On the decay, preservation and restoration of imported Portuguese Christian missionary vocabulary in the Kyushu district of Japan since the 16th century[1]

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Prispevek predstavlja zgodovino razkroja, ohranjanja in obnove prevzetega portugalskega misijonarskega krščanskega besedja v okrožju Kyushu na Japonskem, in sicer od 16. stoletja naprej. (1) Raba skoraj vseh besed je upadla; (2) deli besed se uporabljajo kot splošni samostalniki z diskriminatornim pomenom; (3) nekateri ljudje še vedno poskušajo ohraniti te besede v nasprotju z vodstvom katoliških duhovnikov; (4) deli teh besed so se nedavno začeli uporabljati kot imena nekaterih alkoholnih pijač in sladkarij. V okrožju Kyushu raba teh besed ponovno narašča, zato lahko govorimo o obnovi besedja, prevzetega od portugalskih krščanskih misijonarjev.

The aim of this paper is to elucidate the history of the decay, preservation and restoration of imported Portuguese Christian missionary vocabulary in the Kyushu district of Japan since the 16th century. In conclusion, the following can be pointed out: 1) almost all words have generally decayed. 2) parts of the words are used as general nouns with discriminatory meaning. 3) Some people still try to preserve these words against the guidance of Catholic priests. 4) Recently,

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parts of the words have started to be used as the names of some alcoholic drinks and sweets. Thus, in this district, the number of people who use these words has been increasing again. This is the restoration of imported Portuguese Christian missionary vocabulary.

Ključne besede: razkroj, ohranjanje, obnova, japonsko okrožje Kyushu, geolingvistika

Key words: decay, preservation, restoration, Kyushu district of Japan, Geolinguistics

1 The history of the acceptance Christianity in Japan between the 16th and 19th centuries.

In 1549, Francisco de Xavier disembarked at Kagoshima. Xavier was a Jesuit monk. This was the opening of Christian missionary work in Japan. After this, Christianity was enthusiastically accepted all over Japan. Some of the feudal loads in the provinces of Kyushu district came to believe in Christianity. The Society of Jesus actively propagated Christianity, and the majority of the missionaries were Portuguese. Therefore, a large vocabulary of Portuguese words entered Japanese. Examples of such are the words 'padre' (father), 'Christão' (Christian), 'contas' (Rosary), 'gentio' (pagan), etc.

For almost 100 years prior to Xavier's arrival, Japan had been in a state of almost continual warfare as rival regional lords, or *daimyo*, fought for power. The second half of the 16th Century, however, saw the beginning of the reunification of Japan under three powerful lords. The first, Nobunaga Oda (1534–1582) achieved a substantialce expansion of the territory under his control in central and eastern Japan. His successor, one of Nobunaga's generals, Hideyoshi Toyotomi (1537–1598) further extended his power into the west of Japan establishing his authority across much of what is now modern Japan. Hideyoshi Toyotomi was in turn succeeded by Ieyasu Tokugawa (1542–1616) consolidated power, was appointed *shogun* and established a dynasty that would rule the entire archipelago until 1868.

Nobunaga Oda recognized the Christian missionary work. However, in 1587 Hideyoshi Toyotomi declared that Christianity was "a pernicious doctrine" and made a law named <伴天連追放令> (Edict expelling missionaries) to deport Christian missionaries. After this, Christian missionaries and believers were publicly subjected to persecution and oppression. Many missionaries were executed. The last missionary in Japan was executed in 1644. Thereafter there was no missionary presence in Japan for about 220 years in Japan.

From Nishioka (1964), we can perceive the fact that there were a considerable number of Christians throughout the country in 1693 (Christianity was accepted widely in Japan). Between 1587 and 1873, Christianity was regarded

as an evil religion, so that cruel suppression and persecution were ordered.[2] In addition, the government forced people year after year to stomp on the images of Jesus and Mary with their feet to demonstrate that one was not a Christian. If a person was found out to be a Christian, he or she was severely punished or executed.

As the consequence of such policies of the government, Christianity in Japan suffered a devastating blow, resulting in the virtual extermination of Christianity up until 1873 when Christian missionaries and the Christian belief were again permitted. However in the Kyushu district, there were people who secretly held their beliefs in the absence of missionaries. They are known as KAKURE KIRISHITAN (Hidden Christians).

2 Christian missionary work using the Japanese language after 1873 in Japan

In 1868, the period of Tokugawa's (*Tokugawa-ke's*) rule of Japan ended and rule by a new government (*Meiji-Seifu*) was inaugurated. In 1873, the Meiji Government once again permitted Christian missionaries and the Christian belief. Since that event, the number of Christian has continued to increase gradually up to the present. Christian missionaries in the 16th century conducted their propagation activities using much Portuguese vocabulary. In contrast, the mainstream of missionary work today is done through the use of Japanese. The Portuguese words still in use today are only a few including /iezusu kirisuto/ and /maria/. Those used in the 16th century are translated into Japanese for practical use, e.g., 'padre' into /siNpu/ (Father), 'cruz' into /zjuRzika/ (Cross), 'oratio' into /inori/ (Prayer), and so on.

3 Decay of imported Portuguese Christian missionary vocabulary

Because Christianity was prohibited for a long period and Christians suffered severe persecution, Christianity in Japan experienced an annihilative condition for over two centuries. Consequently, much imported Portuguese Christian missionary vocabulary accepted in the 16th century has declined to the brink of extinction. From the linguistic map in Ogawa (2007a), we can perceive the fact that the Virgin Mary is not known in southeastern Kyushu. On the other hand, Mary is known also to non-Christian people in the Nagasaki district and /santa maria/ which is an old word used since the 16th century is used by a small number of people living in the island area but is about to vanish. Words like /deusu/ (God), /orasjo/ (prayer), /paraiso/ (paradise), etc., are in a similar trend.

[2] The government prohibited Christianity because it considered "Christian propagators harbored colonialist ambitions and attempted to invade Japan" (Suuden et al. 1608–1655).

In the same manner, although the terms 'inferno' (hell), 'contrição' (contrition), 'confissão' (confession), etc. were used in a variety of literature printed and published in the 16th century in Japan, today there is no one who uses these terms according to a survey conducted by the author.

The Portuguese missionaries and the merchant that often accompanied them also introduced many new words to Japan that were not related to religion. Many of these words are still in common usage. For example the Japanese word for bread /pan/ <パン> derived from the Portuguese 'pão', the word /kaQpa/ <合羽> is used to describe a raincoat from Portuguese 'capa' and the Japanese word /zjuban/ <襦袢> which refers to the garment worn under a woman's kimono is derived from the Old Portuguese word 'jibão'. Interestingly, pumpkins were first imported into Japan in the middle of the 16 century from Southeast Asia by Portuguese trading vessels. Pumpkins were called 'Cambodia abóbora' (Cambodian Melon) in Portuguese of the day. The dialect forms of pumpkin used about 50 years ago (survey conducted in 1957–1964) are shown in Kokuritsukokugokenkyujo (1970). From the linguistic map, we can perceive the fact that the object and nomenclature were simultaneously imported into Japan and known as /kabotja/, /boRbura/ and so on, up to the present. It is clear that pumpkin has been accepted all over Kyushu district and the Portuguese terms 'Cambodia' and 'abóbora' also have continuously been used up until the present. This fact contrasts sharply with the near extinction of the imported Portuguese Christian missionary vocabulary.

4 Preservation of imported Portuguese Christian missionary vocabulary

4.1 *Imported Portuguese Christian missionary vocabulary as general nouns having discriminatory meaning.*

Parts of imported Portuguese Christian missionary vocabulary are used as general nouns with discriminatory meaning. For example, 'amen,' 'gentio,' 'padre.'

amen
'amen' is the utterance frequently made in Catholic prayers. Please see Fig. 1. "●" indicates /aRmeN/ used to mean Catholic. As shown in Fig. 1, "●" has wide distribution throughout the Nagasaki area. Mainly Buddhists use 'amen' in this connotation. In addition, a sense of discrimination against Catholics by Buddhists is contained in that figure of speech. For instance, there is an expression /aRmeN soRmeN hijasoRmeN/ teasing Catholics. /soRmeN/ and /hijasoRmeN/ are the names of food.

gentio
'gentio' was introduced by missionaries to designate people who not Christian. It was used mainly by Christian. However, please see Fig. 2. You'll notice that in the Nagasaki area, Buddhist children used this word as a term "making fun of Christian children" in two points. As shown in Fig. 2, 'gentio' in its original meaning had been used by many Christians in Nagasaki Prefecture (however, Christians native to the areas where 'gentio' was in use stated, "Today, nobody uses this word. It's an antiquated term.").

padre

'padre' is the term meaning priest or father. 'padre' was written in Japanese Kanji as <伴天連>. It is pronounced /batereN/. From the linguistic map in Ogawa (2007b), we can perceive the fact that /batereN/ is used as a term having several meanings such as – father, sister, Catholic believer, foreigner, eccentric, tomboy, and stylish person. In this manner, a variety of meanings were created from /batereN/. These are used even today. The process of the changes in meaning will be the subject of future consideration.

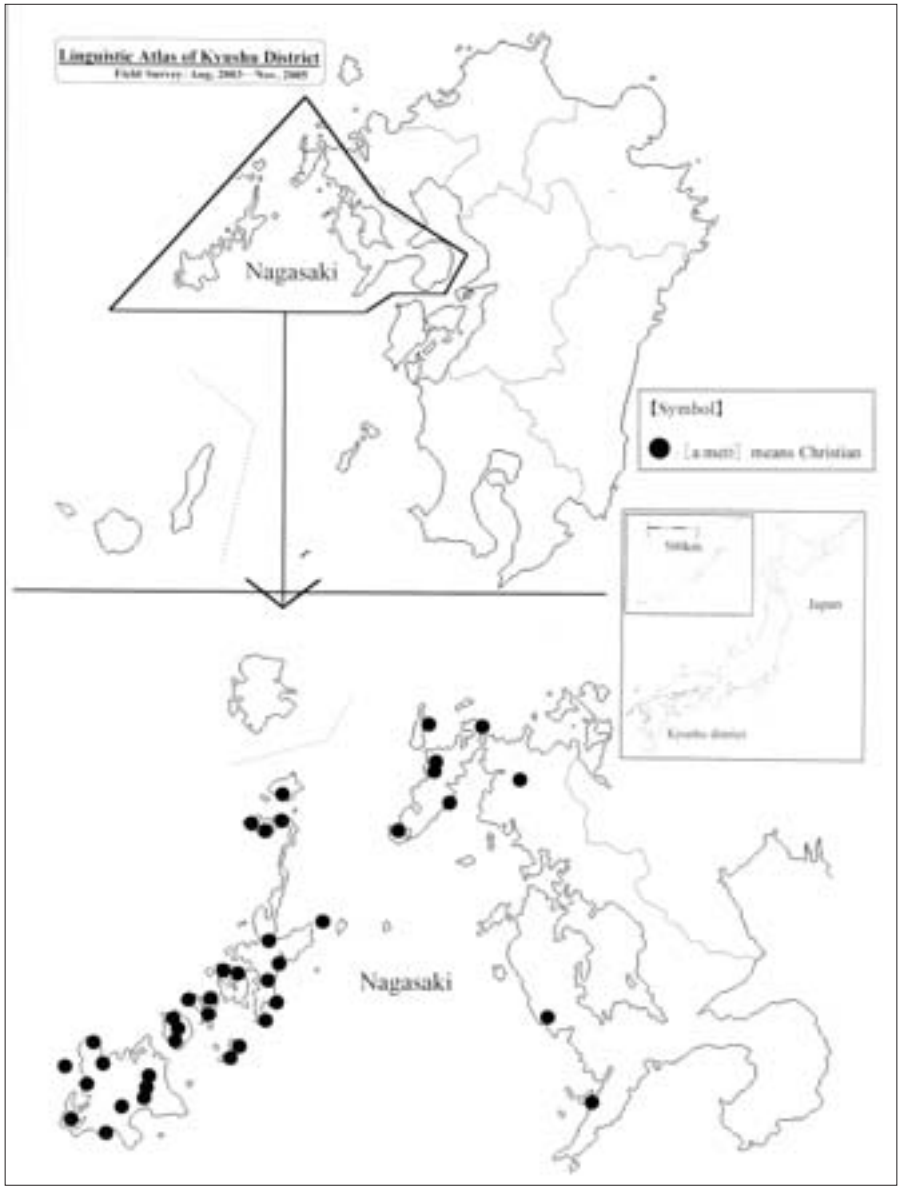

Fig. 1. Christian (Amen)

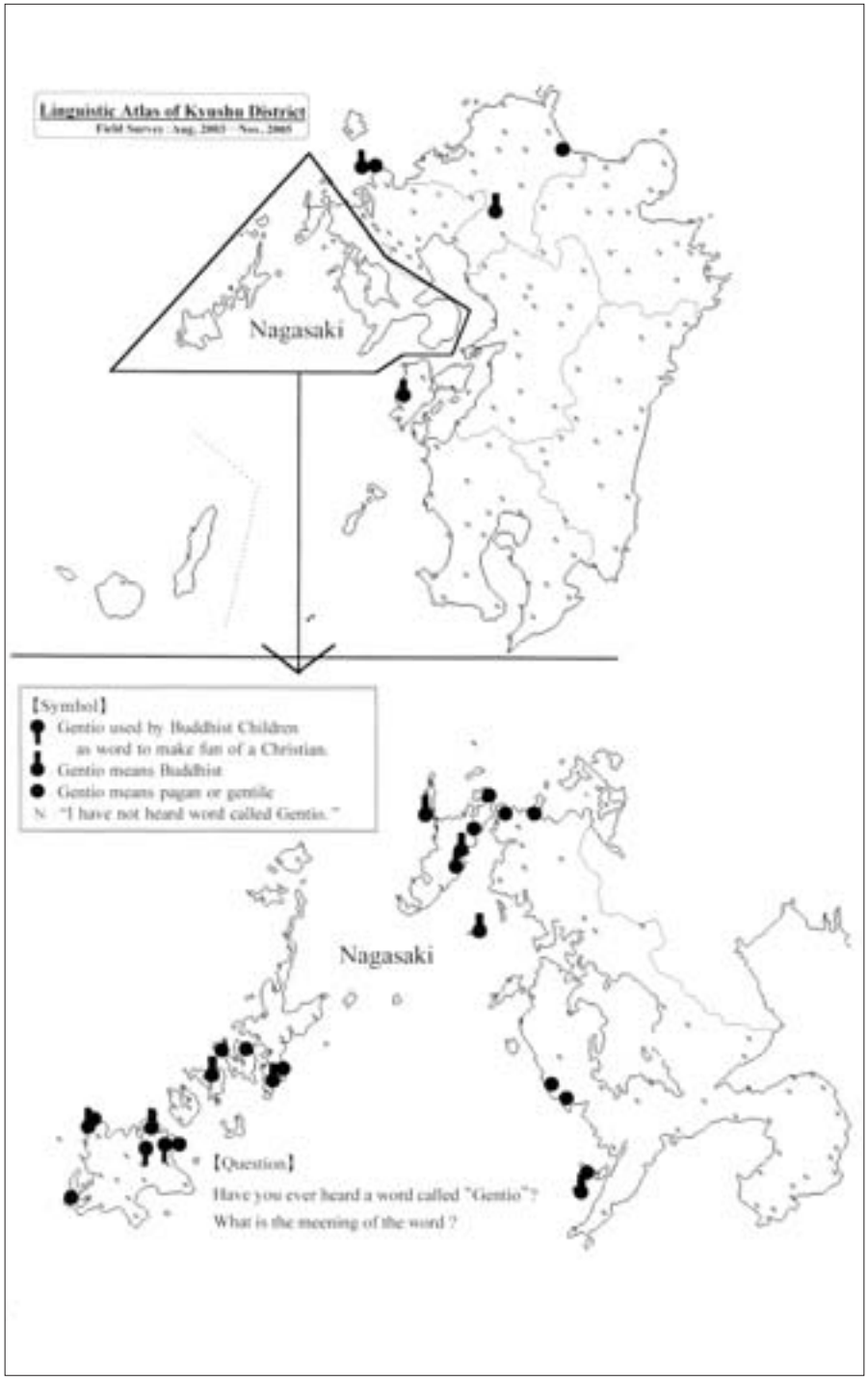

Fig. 2. Pagan, Gentile

4.2 *Contas or Rosary?*[3]

As mentioned in 3, almost all Christian vocabulary is on the verge of extermination. However, 'contas' (Rosary) has had strong life force and survived up to the present. Catholic churches of Japan specify /rozario/ as the official designation and have conducted missionary work using this word since 1873 up to the present. Consequently, those who used 'contas' have come to use /rozario/ instead of 'contas'. Nevertheless, a Catholic of Amakusa area declared the following: 'Contas' is a tool and a word handed down from our ancestors. Although priest recommended calling it /rozario/, I should like to honor the word inherited from our ancestors. I will continue to use 'contas'.

Up to the present, the idea "People in rural areas will accept new words introduced from urban areas unsophisticatedly because urban vocabulary carries the prestige of urban culture" has been generally accepted in the circles of dialectological research in Japan. Of course, studies and reports have been presented thus far concerning the fact that people in rural areas have mastered the standard language thanks to well-developed mass communications centered around TV, radio, (and most recently Internet) enabling them to change their manner of speech to suite the occasion depending on the scene of the conversation (official or private), party of conversation (family of stranger), etc. However, the person who declared to me "I will continue to use contas" will avoid using the standard term /rozario/ knowingly out of strong determination of her own. In addition, she declared to refuse to abide by the Catholic Father's guidance: "Rosary would be more normative expression," etc., despite the fact that she herself is an enthusiastic Catholic.

In the Amakusa area where she lives, Catholic belief has endured in secrecy in total absence of missionaries from 1644 when the missionaries were subjected to deportation through 1873 when Christian missionary work and belief were again permitted. In other words, it is the area where KAKURE KIRISHITAN was present. Furthermore, it is said that the belief of KAKURE KIRISHITAN underwent a modification and turned into a folk belief due to the absence of missionary for over 200 years. In the mean time, the rosary itself became the object of belief in the process of handing down, from generation to generation, the rosary given by a missionary in the 16th century; and it is known that in some places the rosary was called /okoNtatusama/ and worshipped as a god or an idol. /o/ and /sama/ in /okoNtatusama/ are the polite honorific expression of Japanese.

That is, in the Amakusa area where she lives, 'contas' is not merely a tool used for prayer but an important device and word that narrate the history of hardships over 200 years. Looking once again at her explanation, she stated

[3] Ogawa (2010) discussed in detail the history of reception of 'contas' and 'rosario' in the Kyushu District of Japan after the 16th Century.

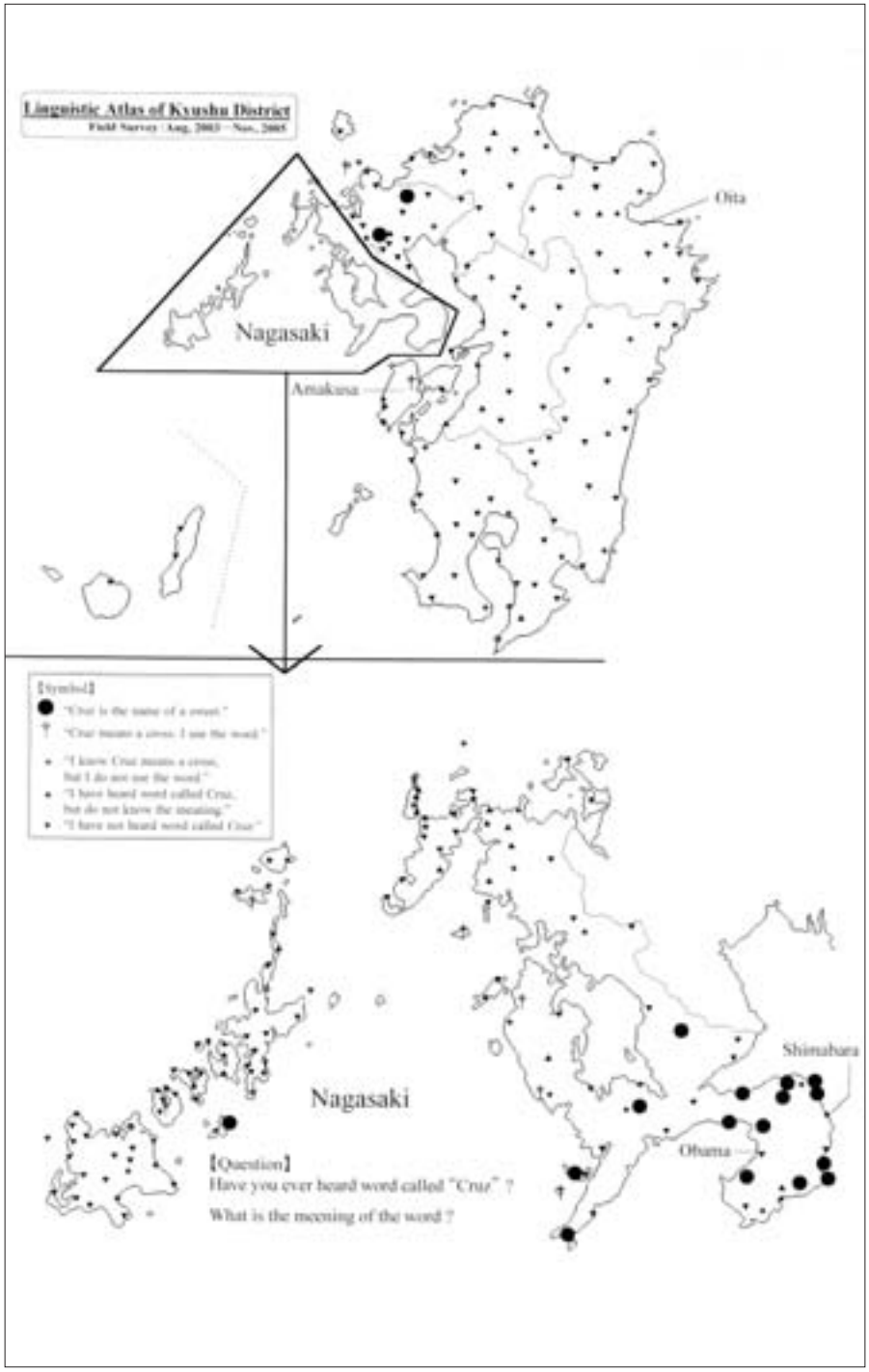
Linguistic Atlas of Kyushu District
Field Survey : Aug. 2003 – Nov., 2005
Nagasaki
Amakusa
Oita
[Symbol]
"Cruz is the name of a street."
"Cruz means a cross. I see the word."
"I know Cruz means a cross, but I do not see the word."
"I have heard word called Cruz, but do not know the meaning."
"I have not heard word called Cruz."
Nagasaki
Shimabara
Obama
[Question]
Have you ever heard word called "Cruz" ?
What is the meening of the word ?

Fig. 3. Cross

clearly that "I'd like to cherish the word inherited from our ancestor. I will continue to use 'contas'."[4]

5 Restoration of Christian vocabulary

As mentioned in 3, many Christian vocabulary items have already become extinct or are on the verge of extinction. Several words discussed in 4 alone are today used in limited areas. However, it is hardly possible to conclude that these words will be handed down through generations. On the other hand, lately an interesting incident related to Christian vocabulary was discovered in the Kyushu district. Recently, parts of the imported Portuguese Christian missionary vocabulary have started to be used as the names of some alcoholic drinks and sweets. Thus, in this district, the number of people who use imported Portuguese Christian missionary vocabulary has been increasing again.

Please see Photo. 1. A cake named /kurusu/ is shown on Photo. 1. As shown, this cake has a crisscross pattern and has 'cruz' written in Portuguese. And, this cake was packaged in the box which also has a label 'cruz' in Portuguese. A number of crisscross patterns are also printed on it. In addition, the box was wrapped up with the wrapping paper on which sisters and Portuguese merchants of the circa 16th century are depicted. Please see Fig. 3. "●" indicates persons who know the cake named /kurusu/. This cake was developed in 1964. The cake is manufactured in Obama. In short, the Christian vocabulary item 'cruz' was restored in Obama in 1964 and a new propagation started centered on the confectionary factory.

There are similar examples to this. Shown in Photo. 2 is an alcoholic drink named /bateren/. The alcoholic drink was developed in Shimabara in 1973. As in the case of 'cruz', Portuguese merchants of circa the 16th century are depicted. Both 'cruz' and 'padre' are words deeply involved with Christian belief. However, the persons who developed these products were not Christian. They gave their products impressive names in an attempt to get tourists visiting Nagasaki to buy them. It was not their intention to preserve the imported Portuguese Christian missionary vocabulary. To sell products well means that the product is excellent. In addition, the name of the product should be attractive and well-sounding. The developers of the cake 'cruz' and the alcoholic drink 'padre' gave attention to the fact that Nagasaki Prefecture has an international port open to overseas trade[5] and that Christianity is popular there.

In Nagasaki Prefecture, there are many Portuguese words and products developed in relation to Portuguese merchants of the 16th century. Kumamoto

[4] Ogawa (2006) reported the existence of the people who are not going to accept an urban new word /teNgoku/ (heaven) because they want to use old words /gokuraku/ or /zjoRdo/. This is similar situation.

[5] Puccini's opera "*Madama Butterfly*" is the story of a Japanese woman who kept waiting at the port of Nagasaki for her husband in the service of the American Navy.

Photo. 1. Cruz

Photo. 2. Padre

Photo. 3. Namban taruto

Photo. 4. Xavier

Prefecture in the neighboring area has similar merchandise. Shown in Photo. 3 is the cake named /nambantaruto/ developed in Amakusa. This product also has illustration of the Portuguese merchant of circa the 16th century.

Shown in Photo. 4 is the cake named /zabieru/. A cross is depicted also on this cake. The product was developed in Ooita Prefecture in 2001. This was named after Francisco de Xavier[6] who visited Japan in 1549 and conducted full-fledged Christian missionary work for the first time in Japan. Xavier stayed in this region over an extended period devoting himself to his missionary activities.

As mentioned above, some of the imported Portuguese Christian missionary vocabulary items are reawakening through their utilization in the names of cakes and alcoholic drinks. Recently, the image of the KIRISHITAN, if not their values and beliefs, is being effectively utilized in commercialism and tourism[7].

6 Conclusion

Each word has a unique history of its own. Imported Portuguese Christian missionary vocabulary is not an exception. There are words which have already become extinct for example 'inferno' (hell), 'contrição' (contrition), 'confissão' (confession), and those on the verge of extinction such as 'Santa Maria' (Virgin Mary), 'Deus' (God), 'oratio' (prayer), 'paraiso' (paradise). On another front the word 'contas' (rosary) has been continuously used. Others such as 'padre' (father) and 'amen' (the utterance frequently made in Catholic prayers) are used with connotations modified from original meanings. And, there are still other words such as 'cruz' (cross) and 'padre' (father) that have been reawakened only recently.

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[6] He is the most famous foreign missionary in Japan.

[7] Presently such activities are positively promoted in an effort to inscribe a number of Catholic churches dotting the Nagasaki Prefecture on the list of World Heritage sites. This is to praise the ancestors who maintained their beliefs for a long period with toil and tears against persecution and oppression. What is more, designating the churches as World Heritage sites is expected to attract many more tourists to Nagasaki. The situation is interpreted as "Churches, as the symbol of persecution and oppression, are about to be utilized as material for commercialization;" which is considered a phenomenon similar to the cases where 'cruz' and 'padre' were used as trade names.

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O RAZKROJU, OHRANJANJU IN OBNOVI KRŠČANSKEGA BESEDJA V JAPONSKEM OKROŽJU KYUSHU OD 16. STOLETJA

Gre za predstavitev zgodovine razkroja, ohranjanja in obnove besedja, ki so ga portugalski krščanski misijonarji od 16. stoletja širili v okrožje Kyushu na Japonskem. Širjenje krščanstva se je začelo sredi 16. stoletja, pri tem pa je bila zelo aktivna Družba Jezusova. Večina misijonarjev je bila Portugalcev, zato je bilo v japonščino prevzetih veliko portugalskih besed, npr. *padre* 'oče', *Christão* 'kristjan', *contas* 'rožni venec', *gentio* 'pogan'. Avtor je raziskal 300 točk v okrožju Kyushu na Japonskem in izdelal lingvistični atlas. Vsaka beseda ima svojo enkratno, lastno zgodovino. Besede, prevzete od portugalskih krščanskih misijonarjev, niso nikakršna izjema. Interpretacija atlasa ponuja sledeče ugotovitve: nekatere besede se ne uporabljajo več, na primer *inferno* 'pekel', *contrição* 'kes', *confissão* 'izpoved', druge so izjemno redke, kot npr. *Santa Maria* 'Devica Marija', *Deus* 'Bog', *oratio* 'molitev', *paraiso* 'paradiž'; beseda *contas* 'rožni venec' se uporablja neprekinjeno. Nekatere besede, npr. *padre* 'oče' in *amen* (izraz, pogosto uporabljen v katoliških molitvah), se uporabljajo s spremenjenimi konotacijami glede na izvorni pomen. Besede, kot npr. *cruz* 'križ' in *padre* 'oče', so ponovno pogostejše v rabi šele v zadnjem času.

Portugalski misijonarji in trgovci, ki so jih pogosto spremljali, so v japonščino uvedli tudi mnoge druge besede, ki niso bile povezane z religijo, in mnoge med njimi so še vedno v splošni rabi. To dejstvo je v ostrem nasprotju s skoraj izginulim besedjem, ki so ga uvedli portugalski krščanski misijonarji.

The Meaning Function of the Case Particle *ʃi* in the Tsuken Island Dialect of Japanese Considered from the Perspective of Collocative Relations[1]

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Članek predstavlja členek *ʃi* v narečju otoka Tsuken (Okinawa, Japonska), ki ima podobno funkcijo kot predlog *to* v angleščini. Domnevno gre za ustreznik členkov *ni* ali *e* v knjižni japonščini, vendar njegov izvor ni povsem jasen. *ʃi* nima le funkcije *ni* ali *e*, temveč tudi eno izmed funkcij *made* knjižne japonščine. Zdi se, da se je *ʃi* razvil v narečju otoka Tsuken.

This paper describes the case particle *ʃi* in the Tsuken Island dialect of Okinawa, Japan. This particle has a similar function to the preposition *to* in the English language. It is thought that *ʃi* is equivalent to case particles *ni* or *e* in the Japanese standard language, but its origin is not clear. *ʃi* has not only the function of *ni* or *e*, but also one of the functions of Standard Japanese *made*. It seems that *ʃi* developed in the Tsuken Island dialect.

Ključne besede: narečje otoka Tsuken, členek, kolokativni odnosi, naštevanje

Key words: Tsuken Island dialect, case particles, collocative relations, enumeration

[1] I very much appreciate Dr. Wayne P. Lawrence's (The University of Auckland) assistance in translating my paper.

1 About Tsuken Island

Tsuken Island lies about 5 km southeast of the Yokatsu peninsula which is located on the east coast side of the central part of the main island of Okinawa. The island is 8 km in circumference and it has an area of 1.75 km^2. Geographically, Tsuken Island is located in the southern district of the main island of Okinawa. However, the Tsuken Island dialect is close to the dialects of northern Okinawa and it is now established that it belongs to the northern Okinawan dialect group.

Most of the islanders make a living from fishing and agriculture. In particular, the cultivation of carrots is popular and Tsuken Island is also called "Carrot Island". The sea is blue and clear and the beach is excellent. Visitors are increasing every year, but on the other hand the population is decreasing. The island was serviced by 10–11 round trips per day until 3 years ago, but the service has now been reduced to 5 round trips per day. The younger generation (under forty) who have grown up on the island can understand the dialect, but cannot use it. Such a severe situation may accelerate the extinction of the dialect. The Tsuken Island dialect is a so-called "Endangered Language".

2 The function of the Tsuken Island dialect case particle *ʃi*

The case particle *ʃi*[2] interacts with the movement feature of verbs and marks nouns for direction of the destination or direction of movement. It has a semantic function similar to the English preposition *to* or the Standard Japanese case particle *e*. The following example sentences are taken from natural conversations.[3]

1) NaΦa=ʃi nʑu-taɒ. (of→I)[4]
   Place name=ALL go out- PST
   (When I was young,) I was in Naha.

2) inagu tɕu=nu ja:=ʃi he꞉ku ika-n=ɾo. (of→I)
   woman person=GEN house=ALL early go- NGT=SFP
   A woman doesn't go to others' houses early (on New Year's Day).

There are many other verbs in the Tsuken Island dialect, for example those meaning 'come', 'return', 'visit', which are used with the case particle *ʃi*.

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[2] Case particles which express direction and which are cognate with *ʃi* are found in the dialects of northern Okinawa. They differ from dialect to dialect, being attested as [ʧi], [kaʧi], [haʧi], and the like. I do not know whether the cognate particles in these other dialects are used in the same correlative relation to forms equivalent to *kara* as Tsuken Island dialect has.

[3] All Tsuken Island data in this paper has been collected by the author in the course of her investigations into the dialect of Tsuken Island from 2002 to 2009. The examples in this paper have been taken from natural conversations.

[4] This shows who said the utterance and to whom. The abbreviations stand for the following: of: old woman / om: old man / mf: middle-aged woman / mm: middle-aged man.

3 The function of the Tsuken Island dialect case particle *kara* (ablative)

The case particle *kara*[5] has the semantic function of indicating the starting point of time and location. Its semantic function is similar to the English preposition *from*. Additionally, *kara* has the function of marking the instrumental and locative case, but these functions will not be described here. For the moment we shall focus on the function which indicates a starting point.

3.1 The temporal function of the case particle *kara*

First, I will give examples of the function of the case particle *kara* which indicates a temporal starting point as follows.

3) nama=kara ikuru (mf→of)
Now=ABL go.ADN
I will go now.

4) raiɕuː=kara saɲi makuru=muɒ=jaː=na. (of→of)
next week=ABL seed sow =ϕ=SFP=Q
You are going to sow the seeds from next week, aren't you?

As shown above, the time that the action and the act are begun is indicated by the case particle *kara*. With this function, the case particle *kara* can be combined with various types of verb in the Tsuken Island dialect.

3.2 The locational function of the case particle *kara*

Next, I give examples of the case particle *kara* which indicates a locational starting point.

5) oːjama=kara ɕi-saɒ=jo. (of→of)
Place name=ABL come-PST=SFP
She came from Oyama.

6) uma=kara massugu nʑi-ne sansaro-gwaː=ga aː=mun=na.
here=ABL straight go-CVB. CND three forked road-DIM=NOM COP=ϕ= Q
(of→of)
There is a three-forked road when going straight ahead from here, isn't there?

[5] There is a similar case particle *kara* in the standard language, but the range of functions is not identical. Both the standard language and the Tsuken Island dialect particles have the function of the marker of beginning. However whereas *kara* also functions to indicate instrument and the location of movement in the Tsuken Island dialect, the standard language *kara* does not have these functions.

The case particle *kara* functions to indicate the locational starting point of movement in the Tsuken Island dialect.

4 The function of the Tsuken Island dialect case particle *mari*

The case particle *mari*[6] has the semantic function of indicating the end point or limit of time and location. It has a semantic function similar to the English prepositions *to* and *until*.

4.1 The temporal function of the case particle *mari*

First, I will give examples of the function of the case particle *mari* which indicates a temporal end point or limit as follows.

7) joʑi=maɾi aɕiɾi-kisu-n=ɾo. (om→of)
NUM=LMT play-PRF-NPST=SFP
She has played until four o'clock.

8) ɲiʑuːgo=maɾi=ja naː naΦa. (of→I)
NUM=LMT=EMP DSC Place name
I was in Naha until 25 years old.

In the Tsuken Island dialect the case particle *mari* indicates the temporal end point of a continuing action or state.

4.2 The locative-indicating function of the case particle *mari*

Next, I will give examples of the function of the case particle *mari* which indicates a locational end point or limit as follows.

9) jaːmi je nakanomatɕi=maɾi attɕa-ku-m=ba. (of→om)
second person DSC Place name=LMT walk-HBT-NPST=Q
Do you walk to Nakanomachi?

10) ukibaɾu-gwaː=maɾi ɲdʑu-n=tɕuɒ=jo. (of→of)
Place name-DIM=LMT go-NPST=HS=SFP
I heard that he will go to Ukibaru Island.

The case particle *mari* functions to indicate the locational arrival point of movement. In addition, it seems that it conveys a feeling of marvel or surprise. For example, in sentence 9) there is a feeling of surprise regarding walking

[6] The standard language has the cognate case particle *made* which has virtually the same function as Tsuken Island dialect *mari*.

to Nakanomachi. The speaker is surprised because the addressee had walked such a long distance.

5 The collocation of *kara* and *ʃi*, and *kara* and *mari*

Collocations of *kara* and *ʃi*, and *kara* and *mari*[7] are used in the Tsuken Island dialect. These have a similar function to that of the prepositions *from* and *to* in English. When these collocations are considered, it is noted that the former cannot be used in a temporal sense. Let us look at some examples.

5.1 The collocation of locational *kara* and *ʃi*

First, I will give examples of the collocation of *kara* and *ʃi*. This expression N=*kara* N=*ʃi* is used when indicating a range in space. It is not used to indicate time.

11) penna=kara uma=ɕi iku-tam=baːjo jamagusuku=ɕi=ɾu. (of→of)
Place name=ABL here=ALL go-PST=SFP Place name=ALL=EMP
I went from Henna to Yamagusuku.

12) peːbaɾa=kaɾa uma=ɕi idoːɕi-kiɕi=kaɾa gozuːgokanen=naɾu. (of→I)
Place name=ABL here=ALL move-PRF= after NUM= pass
55 years have passed since I moved to Tsuken Island from Haebaru.

5.2 The collocation of temporal and locational *kara* and *mari*

Next, I will give examples of the collocation of *kara* and *mari*. The expression N=*kara* N=*mari* is used when showing a range in either space or time. In example 13) it functions to indicate location, and in 14) it indicates time.

13) i-ʨai ki-sai heːbaɾa=kaɾa kiŋwam=maɾi. (of→of)
go-ITER come-ITER Place name=ABL Place name =ALL
I went back and forth from Haebaru to Kin Bay.

14) jozi=kaɾa gozi=maɾi=ja-gutu=jo juːban=nu
NUM=ABL NUM=LMT=COP-CVB.CSL=IJP supper =TOP
nuːkui ʤumbi-ɕiː=kaɾa. (of→of)
variously make-PRF=CVB.CND
Because the meeting was from 4:00 to 5:00, after I made supper, I went out.

[7] These collocations exist both in the Tsuken Island dialect and in Standard Japanese. The case particles *kara* and *ʃi* are used as markers to indicate enumeration in the Tsuken Island dialect, but the collocation of *kara* and *ni* or *e* in Standard Japanese lacks this function.

Judging from the above, we can conclude the following. The form N=*kara* N=*ʃi* is mainly used in combination with verbs of movement. This is probably due to the influence of the case-marking particle *ʃi*. On the other hand, the form N=*kara* N=*mari* focuses on the range of time or location.

6 The enumeration function of *tu*, *tuka* and N=*kara* N=*ʃi*

In the Tsuken Island dialect the case particles *kara* and *ʃi* are used as markers which indicate enumeration. To be specific, *kara* is the marker of beginning, and *ʃi* is the marker of ending. In addition to this, the case particles *tu* and *tuka* also function to indicate enumeration. I will describe the features of these particles in the following two subsections.

6.1 The function of the particle *tu*

First, let us look at examples where the case particle *tu* is used.

15) tɕoːnan=tu ʑinan=tu ɾokunan=tu ukinaː. (of→of)
Eldest son=EQL second son=EQL sixth son=EQL Place name
The eldest son, the second son, and the sixth son are in Okinawa

16) je saː=tu kwaːɕi-gwaː=tu kati-iki=be. (of→of)
INTJ tea=EQL sweets-DIM=EQL eat-go=SFP
Hey, have tea and sweets.

17) kinuː=nu bentoː=ŋka=ja tui=nu karaage=tu
yesterday=GEN box lunch=DAT=TOP chicken=GEN deep fry=EQL
juː=nu Φurai=tu=ga itɕu-tan=ɾo. (mf→I)
fish=GEN fried food=EQL=NOM put-PST=SFP.
In yesterday's box lunch, there was fried chicken and fish.

Example 15) can be interpreted as saying that, of six brothers, three live in Okinawa. In other words all the brothers who live in Okinawa are enumerated. Next, in example 16) tea and sweets are enumerated. These two things are regarded as a set. Finally, in example 17) fried chicken and fried fish are enumerated. It is thought that other side dishes might have been in the lunch box, but two dishes were picked out as representative. The case particle *tu* has three enumeration indicating functions. One is exhaustive enumeration, another is partial enumeration, and the third is listing as a set.[8]

[8] The standard language has cognate *to* and *toka* too, with virtually the same functions as the Tsuken Island dialect forms.

6.2 The function of the particle *tuka*

Next, let us look at examples which use the case particle *tuka*.

18) nama meron=tuka suika=tuka tsuku-tu-n=ro. (mf→I)
now melon=EQL watermelon=EQL grow-PROG-NPST=SFP
Now I am growing melons and watermelons.

19) ɕima=nʑ=je: (< nʑi=ja) irabutɕa=tuka
island=LOC=TOP knobsnout parrotfish=EQL
kamasa:=ga ʑiko tu-raru-n=ro. (mf→I)
barracuda=NOM many fish-POT-NPST=SFP
On the island, we can catch a lot of knobsnout parrotfish and barracuda.

The function of the case particle *tuka* resembles that of the case particle *tu* as used in example 17). In example 18), the melon and watermelon are enumerated, but the speaker is also growing other farm produce. In example 18), the knobsnout parrotfish and barracuda are enumerated. However, other fish can be caught around Tsuken Island. The case particle *tuka* has the function of partial enumeration.

6.3 The function of the collocation N=*kara* N=*ʃi*

Finally, let us look at examples where the expression N=*kara* N=*ʃi* is used.

20) hanako=kara mata jo:ko=ɕi=jo ta…
NAME=EQL.BEG and NAME=EQL.END=IJP FIL
taro:=nu panaɕi kika-n-taɲ=tɕi=jo. (om→of)
NAME=GEM talk hear-NGT-PST=HS=SFP
I heard that neither Hanako nor Yoko heard Taro's story.

21) makiko:=kara ju:ko=ɕi kunu=ja:=ɲʑi suda-ti. (of→I)
NAME=EQL.BEG NAME=EQL.END DEM=hause=LOC grow up-CVB.PST
Makiko through to Yuko grew up in this house.

22) saɲe:=kara junioŋ=kara seikjo:=ɕi ikui=ga
NAME=EQL NAME=EQL NAME=EQL.END go=but
unu=mise=nakante muru urikire=jam=ba:jo. (mf→of)
DEM=shops-APPR all sellout=COP=SFP
I went to Sanei, Union, and Seikyo. But in these shops, all the bean-jam buns were sold out.

The expression N=*kara* N=*ʃi* enumerates the entire range of items in the Tsuken Island dialect. The case particle *ʃi* is closely related to movement verbs. Because of this, the form functions to show the direction of movement or the place where someone has moved to. The particles *kara* and *ʃi* in the expression N=*kara* N=*ʃi* connect one place to another, creating a continuous line. It is thought that the *ʃi in this construction* is connected with *ʃi* showing arrival point.

In Standard Japanese N=*kara* N=made is used as a form of enumeration that looks like N=*kara* N=*ʃi*, but the the usage is not identical. For example, when saying "Taro=*kara* Hanako=*made*", there must be at least one other person in addition to Taro and Hanako (contrast Tsuken Island example 20)). It is thought that it is connected with expression N=*kara* N=made showing a range.

The persons who have been enumerated in examples 20) and 21) are sisters. Hanako and Yoko are two sisters and these two persons are enumerated. That is to say it is an exhaustive enumeration. In the other example, Makiko and Yuko are two of five siblings. The other three persons are not enumerated. Makiko is the oldest, and Yuko is the youngest sibling, and the siblings have been enumerated in order of the age. Actually, the sisters in example 20) have not been enumerated randomly but have also been enumerated in order of age. A time-line can be imagined. In example 22), the shops which the speaker went around are mentioned. They are likely to be enumerated in the order of having been visited, though it is not possible to conclude this for certain. It is thought that "beginning" and "ending" are indicated in this expression N=*kara* N=*ʃi*.

7 Conclusion

The characteristics of the case particle *ʃi* or the expression N=*kara* N=*ʃi* of the Tsuken Island dialect can be described as follows.

The case particle *ʃi* interacts with the movement feature of verbs and assigns to nouns the function of indicating the direction of the destination of movement.

There is a collocation of *kara* and *ʃi*. The expression N=*kara* N=*ʃi* is strongly connected with verbs of movement. Because of that, the form functions to show the direction of movement or the place where someone has moved to. The expression N=*kara* N=*ʃi* cannot indicate time. The case particle *ʃi* has the function of indicating direction or arrival point, but does not indicate limit. On the other hand, there is also a collocation of *kara* and *mari*, and the expression N=*kara* N=*mari* can indicate location or time. *mari* functions to indicate an arrival point or limit.

The case particles *tu* and *tuka*, and the expression N=*kara* N=*ʃi*, function as indicators of enumeration. When looking at the function of *tu* in detail, we see it has three functions. One is exhaustive enumeration, another is partial enumeration, and the third is enumeration as a set. *tuka* has the function of partial enumeration. N=*kara* N=*ʃi* invokes the image of a line, and does not enumerate at random but according to a certain order.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABL – ablative; ALL – allative; ADN – adnominal; APPR – approximative; COP – copula; CVB.CND – converb condition; CVB.CSL – converb causal;

CVB.PST – converb past; DAT – dative; DEM – demonstrative;
DIM – diminutive; DSC – discourse marker; EMP – emphatic; EQL – equalis;
EQL.BEG – equalis (beginning marker); EQL.END – equalis (ending marker);
FIL – filler; GEN – genitive; HBT – habitual; HS – hearsay; IJP – interjectional particle;
INTJ – interjection; ITER – iterative; LMT – limitative; LOC – locative;
N – noun; NGT – negation, negative; NOM – nominative; NPST – non-past;
NUM – numeral; POT – potential; PRF – perfect; PROG – progressive;
PST – past; Q – question particle/marker; SFP – sentence final particle;
TOP – topic; V – verb; ϕ – null substantive

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POMENSKA FUNKCIJA ČLENKA *ʃi* V JAPONSKEM NAREČJU OTOKA TSUKEN V LUČI KOLOKATIVNIH ODNOSOV

V članku je predstavljen členek za označitev sklona *ʃi*, ki ima podobno funkcijo kot predlog *to* v angleščini. Zasledimo ga v japonskem narečju otoka Tsuken (Okinawa). V članku so predstavljene naslednje štiri točke: (1) *ʃi* je povezan z lastnostjo gibanja pri glagolih, samostalnikom pa pripisuje funkcijo smeri gibanja; (2) obstaja korelacija med *kara* in *ʃi*, ki je podobna korelaciji med angleškima predlogoma *from* in *to*; (3) *kara* in *ʃi* se uporabljata kot označevalca naštevanja: *kara* je označevalec začetka in *ʃi* je označevalec konca; v knjižni japonščini se kot označevalec konca uporablja *made*;

(4) *ʃi* ima tudi pomen *made*; v japonskem knjižnem jeziku se *made* 'dokler' uporablja kot označevalec konca časa, toda *ʃi* nima te funkcije, temveč samostalnikom pripisuje funkcijo točke prihoda. Domnevno je *ʃi* ustreznik sklonskemu členku *ni* ali *e* v knjižni japonščini, vendar njegov izvor ni povsem jasen. *ʃi* nima le funkcije *ni* ali *e,* temveč tudi funkcijo *made*. Zdi se, da se je *ʃi* razvil v narečju otoka Tsuken.

Theoretical and Interpretative Approaches to the Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms[1]

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Slovar moravskih in šlezijskih anojkonimov, sestavljen v tradicionalni natisnjeni in digitalni obliki, je vzporednica *Slovarju imen manjših čeških krajev* (*Dictionary of Minor Place Names in Bohemia*). Predstavlja (1) enkratno gradivo (pokriva 96 % ozemlja) in (2) teoretični in metodološki koncept češke onomastične šole. Slovar ponuja analizo gradiva in razlago imen, sestavljenih iz mnogih narečnih oblik.

The *Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms*, compiled in both a traditional "paper" and a digital form as a parallel to the *Dictionary of Minor Place Names in Bohemia,* has two priorities: 1. unique material (covering 96 % of the territory), 2. theoretical and methodological conception that represents the Czech onomastic school. The *Dictionary* aims to provide both a material analysis and an interpretation of names comprising many dialectal forms.

Ključne besede: slovar, anojkonim (ime manjšega kraja), onomastika, narečje, jezikovna karta

Key words: dictionary, anoikonym (minor place name), onomastics, dialect, language map

The present article aims to introduce the new (digital) project of the *Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms* (*Minor Place Names*) which is being compiled at the Department of Dialectology of the Institute of the Czech Language of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Brno (as a parallel to the

[1] This paper has been compiled on the basis of a grant by the Czech Science Foundation, No 405/08/0703 *Slovník pomístních jmen na Moravě a ve Slezsku II (teoretické a interpretační aspekty).*

Dictionary of Minor Place Names in Bohemia (Matúšová, 2005), compiled at the Department of Onomastics of the same institute in Prague).

To clarify the situation, it should briefly be mentioned here that historically, the Czech Republic is composed of three territories – Čechy (Bohemia), Morava (Moravia) and the Czech part of Slezsko (Silesia). At present, it is divided into 14 newly created regions, the historical tradition is, nevertheless, still alive and finds reflection also in the project of the *Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms*. The capital of the Czech Republic and of historic Bohemia is Prague, the centre of the territory called Moravia is Brno. From a linguistic point of view it is significant that the regions of Moravia and Silesia still show great dialectal differentiation and that the territorial dialects there have been well preserved. The situation in Bohemia is rather different: the dialects were levelled and they have only been preserved at the outskirts of the region. This situation, naturally, finds reflection in the language form of anoikonyms.

Historical territories in the contemporary Czech Republic[2]

Čechy (Bohemia)

Morava (Moravia)

Slezsko (Silesia)

The work on the *Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms* began in 2005, after the completion of the most important Czech dialectological project – the five-volume *Český jazykový atlas* [Czech Linguistic Atlas] (1992–2005; the sixth volume entitled *Dodatky* [Supplements] is at the printers) providing

[2] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moravia [2009-08-31]

nearly 1,600 language maps and commentaries which give a complete picture of the geolinguistic differentiation of the Czech language.[3]

To compile the *Dictionary*, we received financial support from the Czech Science Foundation. The decision to process the Moravian and Silesian anoikonymic material was, nevertheless, influenced by a multitude of factual reasons as well. The most important are the following four:

(1) The fact that the current collection of Moravian and Silesian anoikonymic material is relatively complete. It comprises almost a quarter of a million (nearly 225 000) records from almost 96 % of the territory under investigation. The material was collected in three ways: correspondence inquiry (the main source)[4], direct field work, diploma and doctoral theses[5]. The survey work in Moravia and Silesia was carried out mainly in 1965–1989 as an integral part of the nation-wide inquiry, and it is one of the largest projects of Czech (as well as Slavic) onomastics. It aimed at acquiring a complete list of anoikonyms from the cadastre of each village in those parts of Moravia and Silesia that were permanently inhabited by those of Czech nationality. (In the area of Český Těšín, near the Polish border, also of Polish nationality.) Villages recording former prevalence of inhabitants of German nationality[6] were not included, nor were localities newly settled after 1945. The material is stored on paper filing cards and is located at the Brno Department of Dialectology.

(2) The fact, that a parallel dictionary for the region of Bohemia is being published by our colleagues in Prague: *Slovník pomístních jmen v Čechách* [Dictionary of Minor Place Names in Bohemia] (J. Matúšová (ed.): (*A*) 2005, (*B–Bau*) 2006, (*Bav–Bíd*) 2007, (*Bíg–Bož*) 2008).

[3] The first three volumes deal with lexis, the fourth volume with morphology, and the fifth volume with phonology and syntax. The *Supplements* will also include two CDs of audio recordings of dialect speech (one for Bohemia, one for Moravia and Silesia) and their transcriptions as well as a fairly complete bibliography of Czech dialectology starting from 1968. Dialectological literature published before this year can be found in the monograph by Jaromír Bělič, 1972: *Nástin české dialektologie* [Outline of Czech Dialectology]. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.

[4] Field work was carried out under the head of Místopisná komise ČSAV and was initiated by Vladimír Šmilauer. Concerning the beginning of this project cf. František Matějek (1965): K počátkům výzkumu pomístních jmen na Moravě [On the beginnings of anoikonymic research in Moravia]. *Zpravodaj místopisné komise ČSAV* 6. 218–219.

[5] More than two hundred diploma theses were written. Their aim was the systematic investigation of the rapidly changing anoikonymy in the villages as well as research into the new ways of denomination, arising in dialects. Concerning the metodology of diploma theses cf. Rudolf Šrámek (1974): Metodický návod k výstavbě diplomové nebo seminární práce z onomastiky [Methodical instructions on the construction of diploma or seminar onomastic work]. *Zpravodaj místopisné komise ČSAV* 14. 202–211.

[6] The data were based on the *Statistický lexicon obcí v zemi Moravskoslezské* [Statistic Lexicon of Villages in the Moravian-Silesian Land] (1935). Praha: Orbis and on Ladislav Hosák and Rudolf Šrámek (1970, 1980).

(3) The fact that a project of an anoikonymic dictionary is also being prepared in neighbouring Slovakia; for comparative studies the Moravian-Silesian gap would undoubtedly have been quite noticeable.

(4) The idea of compiling a dictionary of anoikonyms was also influenced by the elaborate theoretical and methodological conceptions of the Czech onomastic school (e.g. Milan Harvalík, Ivan Lutterer, Libuše Olivová-Nezbedová, Jana Pleskalová, Rudolf Šrámek, Pavel Trost).[7] Czech onomastics has lexicographically processed material both in the sphere of place names (e.g. Profous and Svoboda 1947–1960; Hosák and Šrámek 1970–1980), and in the sphere of anthroponyms (e.g. Beneš 1962, Svoboda 1964, Moldanová 1983, Knappová 1989, Pleskalová 1998, Komárek 2000); at present, it is necessary to process the third sphere of names, i.e. the names of uninhabited objects. In Czech onomastics, in accordance with the terminology approved by the Terminological Committee of the International Council of Slavic Onomastic Science (*Osnoven sistem i terminologija na slovenskata onomastika*, 1983) they are called anoikonyms, and their core is represented by what in different onomastic schools has been referred to as minor place names, field names, Flurnamen, microtoponyms, etc. In the *Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms*, the names of uninhabited objects, i.e. the names of fields, meadows and forests, hills and mountains, waters (rivers, brooks, ponds) and communications, are processed. The *Dictionary*, however, also comprises the names of solitary trees, stones, rocks, (stone) crosses and other points used for orientation as well as the names of local parts, isolated houses and hamlets. Though these are inhabited, they often assume the original anoikonym, e.g. *Vinohrady* 'vineyards', *Háj* 'grove/forest'.

It is Rudolf Šrámek and Jana Pleskalová, who deserve the main credit for collecting of the material as well as its sorting and lexicographic advance preparation (e.g. Šrámek 1995a: 158–181; 1995b: 230–242; 2001: 126–140). The creation of the onomastic theory found reflection in the interpretation of anoikonymic material, especially in the works by J. Pleskalová and in her description of the Moravian and Silesian anoikonymic material from the structural and relational point of view (Pleskalová 1992; also other literature can be found there). Rudolf Šrámek and Jana Pleskalová are the authors of the *Heslář ke Slovníku pomístních jmen na Moravě a ve Slezsku* [Inventory of Headwords of the Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms] (1993, in manuscript).

We have already mentioned that one of the reasons for compiling the *Dictionary* was the fact that the *Dictionary of Minor Place Names in Bohemia* is being published in Prague. This article cannot explain in detail why there are two anoikonymic dictionaries being compiled on the relatively small territory of the Czech Republic. In short, this is due to the following reasons: differences in conceptions of the two projects, the differences in the time when they started; the fact that the Czech material has been stored in Prague while the

[7] For information on the achievements of Czech onomastics see Rudolf Šrámek, 2007.

Moravian and Silesian material has been stored in Brno; development of the digital technology and possibilities of its use. Progress in digital technique and technology enables us to use digitization not only as an instrument to store (register) the language material but also (owing to an original programme invented specially for our *Dictionary*) to create – in addition to the classical "paper" dictionary – a parallel interactive digital one (cf. the paper of L. Čižmárová elsewhere in this volume).

The *Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms* aims to introduce the complex anoikonymic material from the (eastern) half of the territory of the Czech Republic in a broad and many-sided view and in this way to mediate the *synchronic* systemic picture of Moravian and Silesian anoikonymy from the middle of the 20th century. As for its age, the material is quite heterogenous as it comprises anoikonyms dating back to pre-Slavic period (for instance, the name of the river *Morava*, which gave name to the whole region) through the Middle-Ages (e.g. *Čarodějka*, 'sorceress', a hill in Kunín, known from witch-hunting in the Middle Ages and dating back to 1583) to anoikonyms that arose quite recently (e.g. *Drůbežárna* 'poultry farm', denominating mainly buildings and mostly dating to the 1950s, or *Bam*, which in fact is the abbreviation for the railway line in Russia called "Bajkalsko-amurská magistrála" [Baikal-Amur Mainline] which was finished in 1980s; it is an ironic name created by local workers, denominating a wide road in the forest used for the transportation of stone from a nearby quarry.

It should be emphasized that the onomastic interpretation of the anoikonyms is not limited to etymology or word formation; the *Dictionary* aims to give both the material analysis and the interpretation of names, i.e. to describe the names, their origin, and structural formation, as well as their motivation, and relation to objects, and to give their geographic (and frequency) distribution. In this way, it represents a new type of anoikonymic dictionary. Special attention is given to the problem of numerous dialectal forms of names, which – together with the need to reflect the profound dialectal specification of the Moravian and Silesian anoikonymic material but not to impede its perception at the same time – opens the question of a proper degree of lemmatization. Should, for instance, the Moravian dialectal form *Na Vávrové skalce* [on Vávra's little rock] (with the adjectival inflection of the possessive adjective) or the common (in eastern parts of Moravian dialects unused, but in our material – perhaps as a result of a desire to seem formal or educated – registered) form *Na Vávrový skalce*, both corresponding to the standard and codified (but unused) form *Na Vávrově skalce* (with the name form of the possessive adjective) be registered? There must be a compromise as it is impossible to register all the dialectal forms and nuances. And the further toward the standard form we go, the more the anoikonym looses its original character. Application of the principle of lemmatization and standardization on all levels would cause the loss of a substantial part of information of the anoikonym's actual form, especially in indirect cases, because in these cases, the nominative as the basic noun form of a headword is not often easy to reconstruct. The material, unfortunately, does not reflect the

local dialect authentically; though the informants were asked and instructed to do so: numerous anoikonyms were deliberately „standardized“, however, they often stopped halfway, e.g. *U spálenyho boka* (with the dialectal change *u>o* realized only in the noun *buk* ‘oak’, not within the preposition *u*).

It is important to note that the material was collected just in time: because of collectivization and distinctive changes in both agriculture and village life in general, many anoikonyms are no longer used, many disappeared, and the young generation does not use them because they do not need them. Our material therefore is of historical value as well: it is an important source of regional history. Above others, it bears witness, for instance, to the a) conditions of former settlement (e.g. the anoikonym *Na Ždírku* denominates a place in the forest that arose as a result of burning activity; in the wooded regions the new colonists had to “vyžďářit”, ‘burn out’, the forest and cultivate the land; names with this root are typical for the western parts of Moravia; the anoikonym *Losky* denominates property gained by “losování” ‘drawing lots’, i.e. in a lottery; the name *Famílie/Famelie* indicates the property that – after the abolition of the churches’ and other large landholders’ farms at the end of the 18th century – was divided among certain families to hereditary rent; b) the legal situation and property ownership (e.g. the anoikonym *Společnica* informs us of the existence of a community property farmed in common, *Panský les* reveals that the holder of the denominated object (forest) was a lord, the anoikonyms *Pospíšilů les* / *Doležilů les* / *Kuběnků les* / *Navrátilů les* give us a sequence of the owners of the same forest in the village of Bohdíkov SU, i.e. *Pospíšil*, *Doležil*/*Doležel*, *Kuběnka*, *Navrátil*); c) historical and local events (e.g. *Napoleonova lípa* ‘Napoleon’s linden tree’ denominates a linden tree, under which – according to the folk narration – Napoleon Bonaparte, the Austrian emperor František I and the Russian tsar Alexander met and signed the armistice after the battle of Austerlitz in 1805), etc.

Many anoikonyms give testimony to the existence of villages now extinct, e.g. objects called *Babín* (field, forest, meadow) in the Žďár region bear the name of the extict village Babín (vanished in the 15th century). As we can see, the knowledge of the extinct village can live for centuries and its name can be transferred to more objects.

In particular, the anoikonyms help with research into the history of our mother tongue, with etymological explanations and with the study of interlanguage contacts. The anoikonyms are recorded in the speech of the respective region, primarily in the spoken form. They preserve mainly features typical for the dialect of the given region, cf., for instance, the Moravian and Silesian dialectal forms of anoikonyms with the roots *-dub-*/*-doub-*: *U dubu*, *U dobo, O doba, O dobu, Ho dobo, Ho dubo*, … all ‘near an oak’; *Doubky, Dóbke, Dúbky, Dúbka, Dymbky*, all ‘oaks’; forms with the characteristic soft “Moravian” inflection (*Frankova sušírňa*, *Na barvírni*, *V lesi*); the dialectal form of possessive adjectives in *-ůj* (corresponding to the standard language suffix *-ův*), typical especially for the southern half of Moravia: *Babušíkůj kopeček*

'Babušík's little hill', *Sókupuj háječek* 'Soukup's grove'; the suffix *-ovice*, used to denominate property (especially isolated farms and houses) and derived from the names of the owners: *Bednařovice*, *Bendovice*, …; this suffix is typical for the region of eastern Silesia, etc. The anoikonyms also register phenomena that are untypical for the dialects in Moravia and Silesia, e.g. the formation of possessive adjectives by suffix *-ův*, *-ova*, *-ovo*, derived from names (or even appellatives) of adjectival origin (this type does not occur in the standard language): the anoikonym *Hlásnovo pole* 'Hlásný's field' denominates a field that used to belong to the local watchman (*hlásný* 'watchman'); the type spreads from the dialects in eastern Bohemia to the dialects in western Moravia[8]). The anoikonyms also typically provide knowledge of the old lexis, they preserve words that mostly are not used any more, or words that have vanished, e.g. in the names *Debřa/Debřice*, … (*debř* 'elongated valley'), *Zbel/Gbel/Kbel/Bel*, … (referring to the Old Czech *stbel* 'well').

The territory of Moravia and Silesia has always been an area of close contact of different ethnic groups and languages. Especially the language, social and cultural contact with the German border regions found reflection in numerous anoikonyms of German origin, mostly adapted to Czech, e.g. *Na Bambizi* (< *Baumwiese* 'meadow with trees'), *Bandehýbl* (< *bei dem Hügel* 'near the little hill'), *Cindolína* (< *Zündholzlehne* < *Zündholz* 'kindling wood, match', Lehne 'slope'), *Birla* (< maybe *Bürlein* 'burden, difficulty'; name for a field in a slope, with a gritty, stony soil that might have been infertile or difficult to cultivate), etc. In accordance with the conception of our dictionary, within the so-called summary entries not only the Czech but also the German roots (stems, bases, etymons) will be listed, e.g. *acker(l)-*, *acht(el)-*, *-bach-/-pach-*, *-baum-, -berg-/-berk-/-perk-*, *breit-*, *-brenn-/-brannt-/-brand-*, *burg-/-burk-/-purg-/-purk*, *-dorf-*, *eich*(*el*), *-eis-*, *end*(*e*)*-*, *-engel-*, *-erb-*, *-feld-*, …, *-schule-*, giving brief etymological, onomastic and dialectal information and registering the headwords under which the respective anoikonyms are listed. Also other language contacts can be traced in our material, e.g. contact with Polish (cf. the name *Grobla* for 'dike' and the local part, registered only from the region of Karviná near the Polish border; dialectal word *grobla* 'dike, jetty') or Slovak (cf. *Falatky*, field in the Uherský Brod district; Slovak dial. *falatok* 'piece of land'; through Slovak from Hungarian, or *Haferník*, hill in the Frýdek-Místek district; dial. *hafera*[9] 'blueberry', through Slovak from Romanian[10]). A special layer is then represented by anoikonyms reflecting the appellatives that came to Moravia and Silesia as a result of the so-called Carpathian (Wallachian) colonization, e.g. *Grúň* (usually a forest, hill; dial. *grúň*[11] 'slope, hill-side,

[8] Olivová–Nezbedová, 1993 and Cuřín, 1964.

[9] Concerning the geographical distribution of the appellative cf. *Czech Linguistic Atlas 2* (1997, 232–233).

[10] See Machek, 1971.

[11] Concerning the geographical distribution of the appellative cf. *Czech Linguistic Atlas 2* (1997, 303, 478).

hill'), *Grapa/Drapa/Zdrapa* (mostly a hill, forest, field; dial. *grapa*[12] 'ravine, steep slope'), *Brynzička* (glade in the Zlín district; from *brynza* 'sheep cheese').

From the estimated number of 225,000 items almost half of the material (100,000) has already been digitized. At the same time, the first part of the *Dictionary* has been compiled. From the estimated number of nearly 30,000–33,000 entries, more than 6,000 have been completed. An integral part of the entries will be (digital) maps showing the geographical distribution and frequency of the anoikonyms represented by the respective headwords.

I would like to conclude my paper with just a brief demonstration of the aforementioned theoretical and methodological guidelines using the example of two entries: ALPY and BALKÁN. (The index numbers mean the frequency.)

ALPY plt.

1+2 I a *Alpy* field Domašov BO

3 The anoikonym arose through the process of transformation of the name of the mountain range *Alpy* [the Alps]. It is used as a figurative name for a field with "numerous gaps and lowlands created during the floods". For similar motivation cf. KARPATY, HIMALÁJE etc.

IPJČ[13] *Alpy pl.*

BALKÁN$_{11}$ m.

1 I a *B-n*$_7$ **b** *Na B-ně*$_4$

2 a field$_4$, local part$_2$, hill, forest **b** forrest$_2$, pub, fields

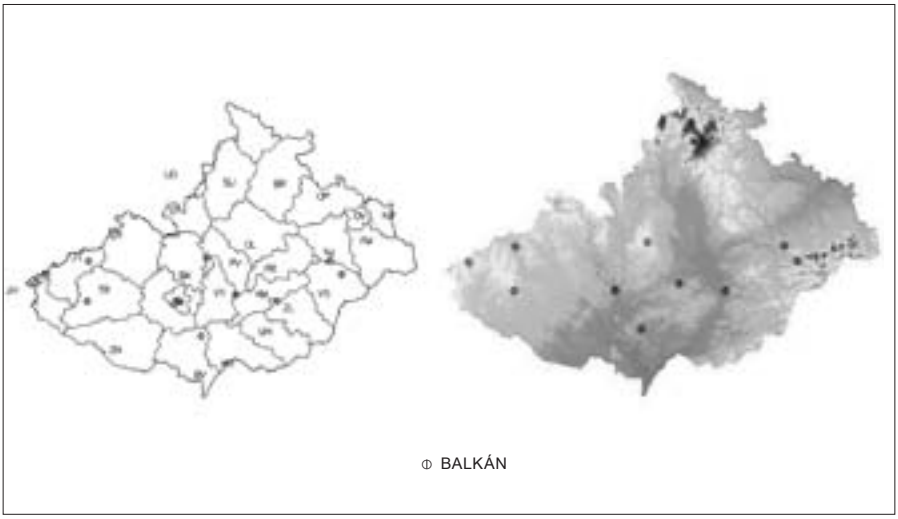
3 The anoikonym *Balkán* arose as a metaphoric name on the basis of various connections with the Balkan peninsula. The anoikonyms mostly come from the period of the Balkan wars (1912–1913) or shortly thereafter. They were partly motivated by these wars: "the stone was blasted-off there" (forest and field at Luka nad Jihlavou JI), "it looked there like during the war in the Balkans" (field at Tylovice VS), partly by the remoteness/distance (the objects were usually located at the end of the cadastre, e.g. the local part at Hodslavice NJ: "the name arose during the first Balkan war in 1912 and indicates a row of houses on the Upper End in the direction to the fields"), possibly the by the form of the landscape (the hill at Dětkovice VY). – Similar motives are manifested also in prepositional names (only with the preposition *na* [on]). The anoikonym *Na Balkáně* in Jundrov BM indicates a former pub (perhaps on the basis of the noisy atmosphere); the fields at Horní Dubenky JI, situated in a hilly terrain, got their name in 1918, because their owner "spent Word War I as a soldier in the Balkans". For some of these motivations, especially the distance, cf. AMERIKA, AFRIKA, ČÍNA, KOREA etc.

The anoikonyms are sporadically registered all over the region of Moravia.

IPJČ

[12] Concerning the geographical distribution of the appellative cf. *Czech Linguistic Atlas 2* (1997, 301, 306).

[13] The abbreviation is used for the Index pomístních jmen v Čechách [Inventory of Anoikonyms in Bohemia] and indicates that the headword has been registered there.



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TEORETIČNI IN INTERPRETATIVNI PRISTOPI V SLOVARJU MORAVSKIH IN ŠLEZIJSKIH ANOJKONIMOV

Članek predstavlja projekt *Slovar moravskih in šlezijskih anojkonimov* (imen manjših krajev) (*Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms* (*Minor Place Names*)); anojkonime je zbral Oddelek za dialektologijo inštituta češke akademije znanosti v Brnu, in sicer kot vzporednico *Slovarju imen manjših čeških krajev* (2005–). Projekt spoštuje tradicijo delitve Republike Češke na tri zgodovinska ozemlja, Češka (Bohemia), Moravska (Moravia) in češki del Šlezije (Silesia), ter veliko razliko med moravskimi in šlezijskimi narečji.

Slovar se pripravlja v tradicionalni in digitalni obliki. Ima dve izhodišči: (1) enkratno, relativno popolno gradivo (skoraj 225.000 posnetkov s skoraj 96 % raziskanega ozemlja); (2) teoretični in metodološki koncept, ki predstavlja češko onomastično šolo. Slovar želi razkriti raznolikost anojkonimov (njihovo strukturo, zvezo z objektom, geografsko distribucijo, motivacijo v procesu imenovanja) – gre za nov tip anojkonimnega slovarja. Posebna pozornost je namenjena številnim narečnim oblikam anojkonimov, kar odpira predvsem vprašanje ustrezne lematizacije.

Na Moravskem in v Šleziji so se v zgodovini vedno prepletali jezikovni vplivi različnih etničnih skupin. V gradivu so navedeni zlasti anojkonimi nemškega izvora, npr. *Na Bambizi* (< *Baumwiese*), *Bandehýbl* (< *bei dem Hügel*), zaslediti pa je mogoče tudi druge stike, npr. s poljščino (*Grobla*) ali slovaščino (*Falatky*, preko slovaščine iz madžarščine; *Haferník*, preko slovaščine iz romunščine). Posebno plast predstavljajo anojkonimi, ki so rezultat t. i. karpatske (Wallachian) kolonizacije, npr. *Grúň*, *Grapa*/*Drapa*/*Zdrapa*, *Brynzička* itd.

Digitalizirana je bila že skoraj polovica od približno 225.000 enot, hkrati je bil zbran prvi del slovarja. Izdelanih je bilo več kot 6.000 od približno 33.000 vseh gesel.

Processing Methodology and Dialectological Aspects of the *Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms* (*Minor Place Names*)

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Članek predstavlja postopek, ki so ga uporabili jezikoslovci iz Brna, ki pripravljajo Slovar moravskih in šlezijskih anojkonimov (*Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms*), in sicer pripravo skupnih vnosov, ki jih uvajajo abstraktne iztočnice. Rezultat bo multifunkcionalni interaktivni digitalni slovar. Gradivo je večinoma posneto v narečju, zato mora biti avtor izkušen dialektolog. Računalniški program omogoča izdelavo kart, ki omogočajo primerjavo z dialektološkimi kartami v Češkem lingvističnem atlasu (*Czech Linguistic Atlas*).

This paper presents the routines used by Brno linguists working on the *Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms* (preparing collective entries introduced by abstract headwords). The output will be primarily a multifunctional interactive digital dictionary. Since most of the material has been recorded in dialect form, the authors must be experienced in dialectology. The computer program offers the possibility to generate maps enabling comparison with dialectological maps of the *Czech Linguistic Atlas*.

Ključne besede: anojkonimi (imena manjših krajev), slovar, interaktivni digitalni slovar, leksikografija, onomastika, dialektologija

Key words: anoikonyms (minor place names), dictionary, interactive digital dictionary, lexicography, onomastics, dialectology

This contribution expands the discussion of *The Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms*, conceived in the shape of an alphabetical inventory not of individual minor place names but of collective entries introduced by abstract headwords. The paper is focused on the methodology, on the routines used by Brno linguists working on the *Dictionary,* and on presenting dialectological aspects of the work.

The decision was made to produce not only a traditional "paper" dictionary which could only be used in a very restricted way in comparison to a digital format; primarily though, a multifunctional interactive digital dictionary should appear that would enable searching for and grouping the data stored in the database according to various criteria and demands, as well as providing material for further work with them. The decision was therefore taken that the material stored on traditional paper filing cards in Brno would be processed digitally. Concurrently the basis for a traditional, paper version of the *Dictionary* is occurring which is, however, seen as only one of the future outputs of the digital database of minor place names. The digital dictionary should be published on a portable medium (CD, DVD), possibly also on-line on an interactive web page. Linguists as well as interested persons from the public will then be able to search for various details of information stored in the system.[1]

First of all it is necessary to digitize *all* the collected material, in contrast to the traditional version of a dictionary that could be conceived and published in sections in alphabetical order[2].

Both versions of the *Dictionary*, the traditional as well as the digital, have text parts. This part will be the main component of the traditional version of the *Dictionary*. By contrast, in the digital version it will serve only as the basis for searching for further information. The text part of the Dictionary is presented as an alphabetical inventory of collective entries introduced by abstract headwords, where an entry is given for each word that occurs in the corpus of the gathered anoikonyms.

Most entries are the so-called common or basic entries containing a one-word headword, the enumeration of respective anoikonyms, and the explanatory part. Besides these entries, the dictionary contains multiple entries, cross-reference entries and summary entries. Multiple entries are variants of common entries: two or more words (differing in the word stem or suffix, in a changing vowel or consonant, or possibly in grammatical gender) are integrated into one entry

[1] The server portion of the system has been programmed in the Ruby language by means of the framework Ruby on Rails. As a depository site for the data, the relational database PostgreSQL has been used. The client portion has been constructed in the languages JavaScript and XUL while using the Mozilla program. The formats based on the markup languages XML and RDF have been used as the language for data exchange between the client and server portions of the system.

[2] This is the case of the Prague onomastic working group which has already published five fascicles of the *Dictionary of Minor Place Names in Bohemia* since 2005: the letter A and a part of B (Olivová-Nezbedová and Malenínská 2000; Matúšová (ed.) 2005; Matúšová (ed.) 2006; Matúšová (ed.) 2007; Matúšová (ed.) 2008; Matúšová (ed.) 2009). The Prague group indeed transformed the anoikonymic material from Bohemia into a digital format. However since they began working on their dictionary ten years earlier than the Brno workgroup did, they did not have such digitization possibilities as contemporary developments in computer science offer. Therefore they only stored their data in a common database which serves their internal needs while working on the traditional dictionary.

under one multi-word headword and are treated together as one. Cross-reference entries do not contain any documentary material or explanation. They only refer to cognate basic entries or to the words that are in the second or further position in multiple entries (e.g., BRABEC refers to the multiple entry VRABEC / BRABEC). Finally, summary entries represent summaries of word roots or stems of some groups of basic entries; they contain brief etymological, dialectal, onomastic and geographic explanations.[3]

At this point, it is necessary to mention the fact that the processing of the *Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms* is a genuinely interdisciplinary work. As a dictionary, it should follow the rules of lexicographic principles (e.g. Čermák and Blatná 1995); as a work processing proper nouns, it should follow the rules of onomastic theory (e.g. Šrámek 1999, Harvalík 2004); and since most of the material has been recorded as part of its dialect background, in dialect forms, the authors of the *Dictionary* must be experienced in dialectology, as they are, because they are authors of the *Czech Linguistic Atlas* (*CLA*; 1992–). Moravia and Silesia are regions considerably diversified in dialects, and not very rarely a situation occurs that in order to "decipher" a certain anoikonym, to identify the proper grammatical case of a noun in the prepositional anoikonym or to construct the corresponding headword, it is necessary to consult the *CLA* or other dialectological resources, especially the *Archive of Folk Speech*[4], and regional dialectal dictionaries. Otherwise we would hardly be able to identify e. g. the meaning and grammatical structure of the anoikonym *U Četyňoŕy*,

[3] The introduction of summary entries was one of the reasons why the Brno workgroup could not start gradual publishing of the *Dictionary* and keep up that way with the Prague group. The summary entries present i.a. a list of all basic entries, which cross-refer to any given summary entry. For example, in the entry -bran-/-brán-, there probably will be cross-references to the basic entries BRÁNA, NADBRANČÍ, NADBRANÍ, OBRANA, PODBRANČÍ, PŘEDBRANÍ, ZÁBRAŇ, ZÁBRANA, ZABRÁNA, ZÁBRANČÍ, ZÁBRANEK, ZÁBRANÍ, ZÁBRANICE, ZÁBRANKA. Many of these entries have prefix headwords; these occur mostly from the end of the alphabet, therefore they have not been dealt with yet. In the preliminary concept of a given summary entry, headwords are only being taken from the *Inventory of Headwords of the Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms* (Šrámek and Pleskalová, 1993). This *Inventory* was compiled nearly 20 years ago in view of the then planned concept of the dictionary. For our workgroup, which is creating the *Dictionary* according to quite a different conception, it can serve only as auxiliary, additive material that needs to be complemented continuously. On that account, the final form of the summary entry mentioned can be made as late as the final digitizing of all filing cards of the basic entries, to which this summary entry will then cross-refer. (The Prague group works with an inventory of headwords as well; it is called *Index of Lexical Units of the Anoikonyms in Bohemia* (Olivová-Nezbedová and Matúšová 1991) and it was published internally by the Institute of the Czech Language in 1991. The *Index* was compiled shortly before the start of work on the *Dictionary of Minor Place Names in Bohemia* which therefore corresponds with the then accepted conception of that work.)

[4] *Archive of Folk Speech*, inventory of approx. one million paper filing cards registering dialect expressions, deposited in Brno.

recorded in East Silesia. We find in the literature that *četyna* means 'fir-needles', *četyňoř* is a 'man living in a forest' or, in transferred meaning, a 'man of coarse manners'. In this anoikonym indicating a local area, it is a nickname of local inhabitants, the anoikonym itself is composed of a presposition *u* expressing position and the dialectal form of gen. pl. of the name *Četyňoř*; in literal translation it means 'at the place where people of coarse manners live' (the heardword is ČETYŇÁŘ – a construct dismissing the dialectal vowel change á > *o*). Another example: the anoikonym *Adamove*, denominating a field and recorded in Silesia, is identified as a local dialectal form of a substantivized possessive adjective, neuter sg., which is in fact a dialectal composed adjectival form with shortened *-é*. The literal meaning is 'a thing belonging to Adam', in literary Czech *Adamovo*. Nevertheless, when recorded in Central Moravia, this anoikonym is identified as a dialect form (with the change *y* > *e*) of *Adamovy*, which is a pl. noun derived from the personal name *Adam* by the suffix *-ovy*, that has only a historic connection with the above mentioned possessive adjective. The headword in the first case is ADAM, in the second case ADAMOVY. Sometimes a problem occurs when two different developmental lines result in the same form. E. g. the anoikonym *Na Dobšech*, when recorded in South Moravia, can reflect either the local morphological form of the loc. pl. of the personal name *Dobeš*, than it would mean 'at the place belonging to the Dobeš family', or the loc. form of the nom. *Dobše*, which is a regularly formed non-personal pl. anoikonym (parallel e. g. with the pair *Adamík – Adamíky*). In all other places, it could be only the second case. In the first case, the headword is DOBEŠ, in the second case DOBŠE.

So far, we have only digitized filing cards filed under the letters *A–H*; however, since one digital card is made for each word of the anoikonym recorded on one filing card, the whole corpus of anoikonyms is digitized simultaneously. Thus, the anoikonym *U vérové bódy* 'near the owl's shack' will be recorded on three digital cards: for the entries U, VÝR and BOUDA.

The digitization begins with the transfer of the paper filing card onto the digital card(s). (See Fig. 1.)

Into the uppermost box, the headword in capitals is written, for example the entry BOUDA 'shack'. The respective anoikonym is recorded in triple format: the top line represents the so-called standardized form – the form grammatically and phonologically corresponding to the literary language, the middle line represents the form reflecting the dialect grammatical form, and the bottom line shows a slightly simplified authentic record, reflecting also dialect phonology. Example: *U výrovy boudy* / *U výrovej boudy* / *U vérové bóde*.

Then there are several boxes to fill in that serve among others as a program function which is able to automatically arrange the anoikonyms in the first, i. e. material paragraph of the entry according to some predefined criteria. First is the box for the so-called "code" expressing the basic syntactic structure of the anoikonym by means of a combination of two or three letters. With slight

modification, this categorization was adopted from the Prague onomastic group.[5] In the box just under the headword, there is an indication whether

Figure 1: Digital card (empty):

the word corresponding with the headword is the part of a superordinate or subordinate denominating relation.[6] Then there is a box with the so-called "group". The respective word is qualified according to in what forms the word expresses possessiveness.[7] And finally, there is a box recording the so-called

[5] The first letter of the code can be **a** or **b**: **a** means a non-prepositional name and **b** a prepositional one. The other letter can be **a**, **b**, **c**, **d**, or **e** according to whether the name identified is a one-word name or a two-word name with a concordant attribute, a multi-word name without the conjunction *a* 'and', another multi-word name with the conjunction *a* or a two-word name with a non-concordant attribute. A plural anoikonym is marked with the letter **p**, which is attached as the third sign of the code. So, for example, the code of the anoikonym *Bouchálek* is **aa**; *V Bouňovci* ('in Bouňovec') **ba**; *Výrova bouda* ('an owl's shack') **ab**; *U výrovy boudy* ('near the owl's shack') **bb**; and *Hory nad boudami* ('mountains above the shacks') **acp**.

[6] In a subordinate relation a word or prepositional phrase stands in the function of non-concordant attribute of a name which represents the superordinate relation, e.g., in the anoikonym *U výrovy boudy*, the word *bouda* on the digital card with the headword BOUDA stands in a superordinate denominating relation, but in the anoikonym *Hory nad boudami*, the word *bouda* stands in the subordinate relation.

[7] The words are qualified by the Roman numerals **I**, **II** or **III**. Most words belong to the group **I**, which is negative in expressing possessiveness. Groups **II** and **III** relate only to persons, and on exception also to animals. Also, the names of persons in anoikonyms can be negative in expressing possessiveness, e.g., *Novák* – a surname functioning as

motivation in the right-hand section of the digital card, which creates a sequence of anoikonyms of the same structure and similar or logically linked motivation of the adjective in nominal entries, as well as of the nouns in adjectival entries.[8]

A digital card contains yet more information. The upper right section records word class, grammatical categories and the origin (from an appellative, from a proper name: personal name, place name, minor place name or other name) of that part of the anoikonym which corresponds with the headword. This data will not be reflected in the entry of the traditional version of the *Dictionary*. Nevertheless they will enable a search for respective categories in the digital *Dictionary*, as well as for further data characterizing the object. Further boxes on the card are used to record the locality, the type of the named object and a possible folk explanation of the name. Down on the right hand side of the card, one finds a box for the so-called "relation model"[9] (See Fig. 2).

anoikonym (a name of a field after its owner). Group **II** contains words which express possessiveness with the genitive form of nominal or adjectival personal names, e.g., *Nováka Josefa louka* ('the Josef Novák's meadow'), *Za Nováků lesem* ('behind the Novák's meadow'), *Nad Novotného polem* ('above the Novotný's field'). Group **III** comprises the names which express possessiveness by a possessive adjective, e.g., *Za Novákovou jámou* ('behind the Novák's pit').

[8] Thus, a list of combinations of the three first letters of the alphabet and sequence numbers has been created. The list of motivations is based on the paper *Třídění pomístních jmen* [Classification of Anoikonyms] by Vladimír Šmilauer (Šmilauer 1960, 1972). His classification was slightly modified to comply with the needs of our *Dictionary*. The motivation of concordant attributes is marked with **A** or **B** as the first sign: **A** denotes absence of possessiveness and **B** its presence. The **A** motivation is further divided into "general qualities and relations": **A1–A25**; "processes, actions and results of processes": **A26**; "Earth": **A27–A57**; e.g. the "location" has the indication **A3** and all anoikonyms with this motivation are sequenced in the material paragraph of the entry in alphabetical order: *Dolní/Horní*$_2$*/Spodní b-da* ('lower/upper/bottom shack'); or the "colour" has motivation **A19** and respective attributes are again sequenced: *Černá/Stříbrná/Zelená b-da* ('black/silver/green shack'). The **B** motivation is further divided into **B1**: "plus person: appellatives" (*U cikánové/kovářové/pastýřové b-dy* 'near the gypsy's/smith'/herd's shack'); **B2**: "plus person: proper names" (*U Cyrilové/Čipkové/Divišové/Dvořáčkové/Fičákové b-dy* 'near Cyril's/Čipek's/Diviš'/ Dvořáček's/Fičák's shack'); **B3**: "minus person: appellatives" (*U kocourové /medvědí/psí/vlčí/výrové*$_5$ *b-dy* 'near the tom-cat's/bear's/dog's/wolf's/owl's shack'), **B4**: "minus person: proper names" (*Alíkova bouda* 'Alík's shack'; Alík is a dog). – Noun motivations in the anoikonyms with respective codes are marked **C** + sequence number **1–71**, again after Šmilauer. So in adjectival entries, the nouns in the material paragraph are again logically sequenced because of the symbol of motivation. Thus, when the motivation "water" has the symbol **C35**, all substantives with this motivation in the entry BÍLÝ 'white' are automatically sequenced in alphabetical order: *U bílé studánky/studně/vody* ('near the white spring/well/water'); or the motivation "profane buildings and their parts" has the symbol **C63** and the corresponding part of the material listing looks like this: *Bílé domky/mostky/sloupky* ('white little houses/small bridges/columns').

[9] The category "relation model" was used by Jana Pleskalová in her monography *Tvoření pomístních jmen na Moravě a ve Slezsku* [Formation of Anoikonyms in Moravia and

The process of conveying the information from the filing cards into the database requires a great deal of time. However, there is a great benefit in doing it: The first and second paragraphs of the entry are created automatically. In entries of up to five anoikonyms, the first paragraph shows the respective anoikonyms in the shape listed in the box "record" on the digital card, i. e., in their real form, together with types of objects and locality. In entries containing more then five anoikonyms, the forms notregistering the phonological variants, i.e., forms listed in the second box, are sequenced, so that their joint frequency can be presented. This is marked by subscripts after the names.

Figure 2: Digital card (filled in):

When all anoikonyms belonging to a certain entry are stored in the database, it is time to formulate the third, explanatory paragraph. This is the main part of the work on the entry, as the first two paragraphs are processed automatically. In this paragraph, the word-formative, syntactic, onomastic, dialectal and geographic characteristics of respective anoikonyms are summarized and possibly references to summary entries and to the literature are mentioned. This occurs regularly with the *Index of Lexical Units of the Anoikonyms in Bohemia*, *Místní jména na Moravě a ve Slezsku* [Moravian and Silesian Place Names] by Ladislav Hosák and Rudolf Šrámek (Hosák and Šrámek 1970, 1980), *Místní jména v Čechách* [Bohemian Place Names] by Antonín Profous and Jan

Silesia] (Pleskalová 1992; her categorization is based on the conclusions by Rudolf Šrámek, see Šrámek, 1972): A "position", B "directly expressed type of the object", C "qualities", and D "possessiveness and relation to a person". According to this classification, the anoikonym *Bouda* is B and *U Boudy* ('near the shack') is A.

Svoboda (Profous, Svoboda 1947–1960), where necessary *Český jazykový atlas* [Czech Linguistic Atlas] (CLA 1992–), *Vlastivěda moravská* [Moravian Homeland Study] (1897–), etymological dictionaries by Václav Machek (Machek 1968), Josef Holub and František Kopečný (Holub and Kopečný 1952), Jiří Rejzek (Rejzek 2001) or Stefan Michael Newerkla (Newerkla 2004) and also with references to summary entries. Here in the explanatory part it is possible to provide a dialect comparison of the appellative and anoikonymic material.

Individual types of entries, in their preliminary form, look as follows for example:

Basic entry (up to five anoikonyms):

BOUDNISKO$_3$, n.
1+2 I a *Búdnisko* field Medlovice UH; *Bódniska* field Roštín KM (Divoky), *Bódniska* field Zdounky KM (Těšánky)
3 The anoikonym *B*. is derived from the noun *bouda* with the suffix *-nisko* or from the adj. *boudný* with the suffix *-isko* (possibly it could arise from a multi-word phrase – **boudné pole*, **místo s boudami* – 'field, place with shacks'). In Medlovice UH "narrow strips of fields where some shacks used to be", in Divoky and Těšánky (both KM) n. pl. – "once pastures where shacks used to be for herds to spend the night in" (the ground lies between both villages). See BOUDA, adj. *boudný* see also BOUDNÝ, BOUDŇÁK. Anoikonyms were recorded in a small area west from Zlín.
See **-boud-/-bud-**

Basic entry (more than five anoikonyms):

BOUDA$_{184}$ f.
1 I a *B-da*$_3$; *B-dy*$_{11}$; *Vrchní*$_2$ *b-da*, *Černá/Stříbrná/Zelená b-da*, *Nová/Stará*$_2$ *b-da*, *Kamenná /Senná*$_2$*/Zděná b-da*, *Raškovská/Rohelská b-da*, *Pytlácká b-da*, *Cyrilova/Fuchsova /Gřipkova /Hanzlova/Hraběnčina/Janečkova /Muchova /Strakova /Valouchova/Zuzákova b-da*, *Husí/Psí/ Sviňská b-da*; *Dolní/Horní*$_2$*/Spodní b-dy*, *Staré b-dy*, *Panské b-dy*; *B-da v luku* **b** *Na b-dě*$_5$, *Pod b-dou*$_6$, *U b-dy*$_{32}$, *Za b-dou*$_5$; *Na b-dách*$_3$, *Na B-dech*, *Pod b-dama*$_2$, *Pod b-dy*, *V b-dech*; *K liščí b-dě*, *Ku financové b-dě*, *Pod kamennou b-dou*, *Pod Bučkovou/Matoušovou b-dou*, *U Dvořáčkovy b-dy*, *U dolní*$_3$ *b-dy*, *U bílé/černé/zelené b-dy*, *U staré*$_5$ *b-dy*; *U Starých b-d*; *U shořelej/spálené/spálenej b-dy*, *U březové /kamenné*$_3$*/voštinové /senné/slaměné b-dy*, *U daskabátské/hoštýnské/jedelské/rohelské*$_3$ *b-dy*, *U Cikánkové/kovářové /panáčkové/pastýřové/pytlácké/ruské/žebrácké b-dy*, *U Cyrilové/Čipkové/Divišové/Dvořáčkové/Fičákové/Halíkové/ Hubalovej/Chramostov/Jónové/Kopečkové/Plachové/Prokšové/Sajtlové/Skřivánkové/Slavíkové/Škrobánkovej/Švestkové/Tylové/Vašíkové/Žalmanové b-dy*, *U kocourové/medvědí/psí/vlčí /výrové*$_5$ *b-dy*, *U hradiskej b-dy*, *Ve staré b-dě*, *Za horní*$_2$ *b-dou*; *U b-dy v Uhliskách* ♦ **a** *Díl pod b-dama*$_2$, *Louka u b-dy*, *Lubná u b-dy*; *Čtvrtě od b-dy*, *Hory nad b-dama*, *Kukle pod b-dou* **b** *Nad slatinou u b-dy*, *Za lesem k b-dě*
2 a forest$_9$, field$_6$, shack$_6$, building$_4$, cabin$_4$, inn$_4$, wine-vault$_3$, bridge, clearing, garden, log cabin, mines, place, spot height (a marked point usually on top of a hill), vineyard **b** forest$_{63}$, field$_{43}$, local part$_7$, place$_7$, meadow$_5$, pasture$_4$, ground$_3$, hill$_3$, virgate$_3$, road$_2$, alley, allotment, clearings, place in the forest, valley, vineyard ♦ **a** field$_4$, hills, meadow, vineyard **b** field, ground
3 Included anoikonyms are related to the noun *bouda;* as an anoikonym, it usually indicates smaller, not permanently inhabited, solitary buildings (the names occur regularly

in the sg. form), generally serving as orientation point in the landscape or forest. It binds with attributes, derived most often from the owner or inhabitant(s) (*Cyrilova* / *Fuchsova bouda* 'Cyril's / Fuchsa's shack', *Hraběnčina bouda* 'the Countess' shack', *U ruské boudy* 'near the Russian shack' – "a shack used to be here in which Russian prisoners of war dwelled who worked in the forest"); after the village or town in the direction or in the area of which they are situated (*U dalskabátské* / *holštýnské boudy* 'near the Dalskabáty / Holštýn shack'); after the colour (*U bílé boudy* 'near the white shack', *Stříbrná bouda* 'silver shack'); after a location – *Horní* / *Dolní bouda* 'upper / lower shack'); in reference to age (*Nová* / *Stará bouda* 'new / old shack'); after the building material used (*Kamenná bouda* 'stone shack', *U slaměné boudy* 'near the straw shack') or after the material kept in it (*Senná bouda* 'hay shack'); after animals (*U psí* / *vlčí boudy* 'near the dog's / wolf's shack') or birds (*Husí* / *Výrova bouda* 'goose / owl's shack'); after a local event (*U spálené boudy* 'near the burned shack'). The names of adjacent allotments often survive even if the object perished (it is often the case with local parts).

The word *bouda* can rarely be found as the name of an inn (*Muchova bouda* 'Mucha's shack' near Brno, *Psí bouda* 'dog's shack' in Frenštát NJ, *Vrchní bouda* 'upper shack' in Tovéř OL).

Sometimes, the lexeme *boudy* pl. has a specific meaning: around Hodonín, it denotes contemporary or former wine cellars: *Búdy* 'shacks' in Josefov, Mutěnice, Milotice, *Na búdách* 'on the shacks' in Louka; in these names, the lexeme *bouda* actually means the brick room in front of the proper wine cellar, which then gave the name to the entire place; *Panské boudy* 'manor shacks' is the name for mines named after wooden entrance covers which sheltered each mine against bad weather; mines belonged to local aristocracy.

In the genitive pl. of the noun *bouda*, no shortening of the stem vowel occurs (*U boud*, *U starých boud*, see CLA 4, 221).

Anoikonyms related to the word *bouda* were recorded above all in the southern half of Moravia, with the greatest concentration around Brno, Kyjov and further in the surroundings of Zábřeh and Litovel; a lesser density of these names appears in Silesia, in Walachia and in the northern part of the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands (these anoikonyms are not typical for higher lying areas). – IPJČ; HŠ 1, 101 *Bouda Člunovská*. Viz **-boud-/-bud-**

Cross-reference entry:

BUDKA see **BOUDKA // BUDKA**

Multiple entry:

BOUDKA$_{13}$ // **BUDKA**$_{9}$ f.

1 I a *Boudky*$_{2}$, *Budky*; *Výrova boudka* **b** *Pod boudkou*, *Při budce*, *U boudky*$_{3}$, *U budky*$_{2}$, *V boudce*; *U Boudek*, *V boudkách*$_{2}$; *U dolní budky*, *U kamenné boudky*, *U kamenné*$_{3}$ *budky*, *U Výrové boudky* ♦ **a** *Smušky při budce*

2 a cabin, farm, field, forest **b** forest$_{8}$, field$_{3}$, place$_{3}$, allotment, pastures, stone quarry ♦ **a** field

3 Included anoikonyms are related to the diminutive form of *bouda*. It occurs in anoikonyms denoting creaky or ramshackle shacks or allotments in their neighbourhood. The anoikonym *Boudky* 'small shacks' / *U boudek* 'near the small shacks' in Velké Němčice BV refers to a farmstead. The anoikonym *Výrova boudka* 'an owl's shack'/ *U Výrovy boudky* 'near the owl's shack' (Blažovice BO) names "a shack in which hunters held an owl as a lure". See also BOUDA. In the form *bouda*, the change of quantity in the stem does not occur, contrary to the dim. *budka* – see CLA 5, maps 161–165. The shortened form that occurs with diminution undoubtedly occurs only in two anoikonyms in South Moravia (*U kamenné budky* 'near the small stone shack' Buchlovice UH, *Smušky při*

budce, Kuželov HO); in other anoikonyms containing the word *budka* in Silesia it is not certain whether the creation of a shortened form did not occur recently during the dropping of the quantitative opposition in Silesian dialects.
The names containing the form *boudka* were recorded approximately in a north-to-south strip of land in the middle of Moravia, with the greatest concentration west of Brno; *budka* occurs farther to the east: rarely in the Slovak region, more often in Silesian dialects. – IPJČ; HŠ 1, 101 *Boudky*. Viz **-boud-/-bud-**

Summary entry:

- **boud-/-bud-**
- To this stem belong the lexemes *bouda* 'shack'and *budova* 'building' (and derivatives), though it is not certain how far and if ever they are etymologically related. According to Machek, both words are of Slavic origin (from *budovati* 'build'); however, there are other opinions: the word *bouda* can be (Holub-Kopečný), probably is (Rejzek) or definitely is (Newerkla) taken from German (Middle High German *buode* 'a cabin, a great tent').
- Dialect forms: *-boud-*, *bód-*, *-búd-*, *-bud-*
- Frequently occurring in the whole area.
- BOUDA, BOUDECKO, BOUDECKÝ, BOUDKA/BUDKA, BOUDŇÁK, BOUDNĚ, BOUDNICE, BOUDNISKO, BOUDNÝ, BOUDOVÝ, BUDEL, BUDKA, BUDKOVCOVÝ, BUDKOVEC, BUDNÍ, BUDOŠ, BUDOVA, BUDOVAŇA, BUDOVNÍK, BUDUNEK /BUDYNEK

Important components of the entries are maps. Their image and the possibilities of working with them are presently being intensively refined. In the traditional version of the *Dictionary*, some entries will be supplemented by schematic maps. For such maps, it will be possible to choose from various kinds of map backgrounds (district borders, without district capitals or with them, network of roads, network of waterways, vertical model, etc.), into which symbols are projected on places where respective anoikonyms were recorded. In the future, it will be possible to combine more entries in one map as is already possible with multiple entries, e. g., BOUDKA // BUDKA (see Fig. 3).

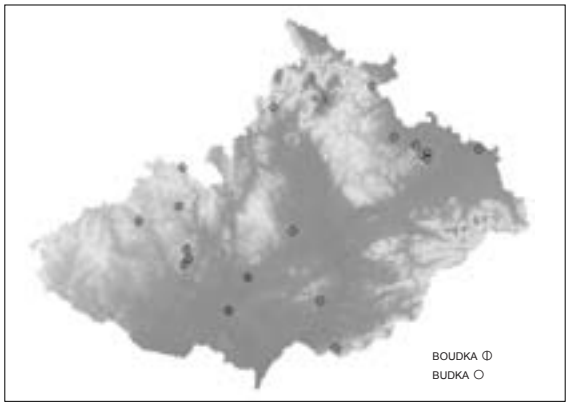

Figure 3: Schematic map – vertical model of the multiple entry BOUDKA // BUDKA

Thus, one can compare the territorial distribution and frequency of occurrence of more sets of anoikonyms.

Naturally, the users of the digital version of the *Dictionary* will be able to work with the maps, to study maps for entries according to their own selection, to choose any map features; a click on a symbol will show all data for the respective anoikonym that had been put on the digital card and it will be possible to search these data according to set criteria. The on-line version will enable projecting the anoikonymic material into Google maps with all the possibilities that Google offers, i.e., with any approximation, with satellite or air photo. During such an operation, any symbol will show the data from the digital card (See Fig. 4).

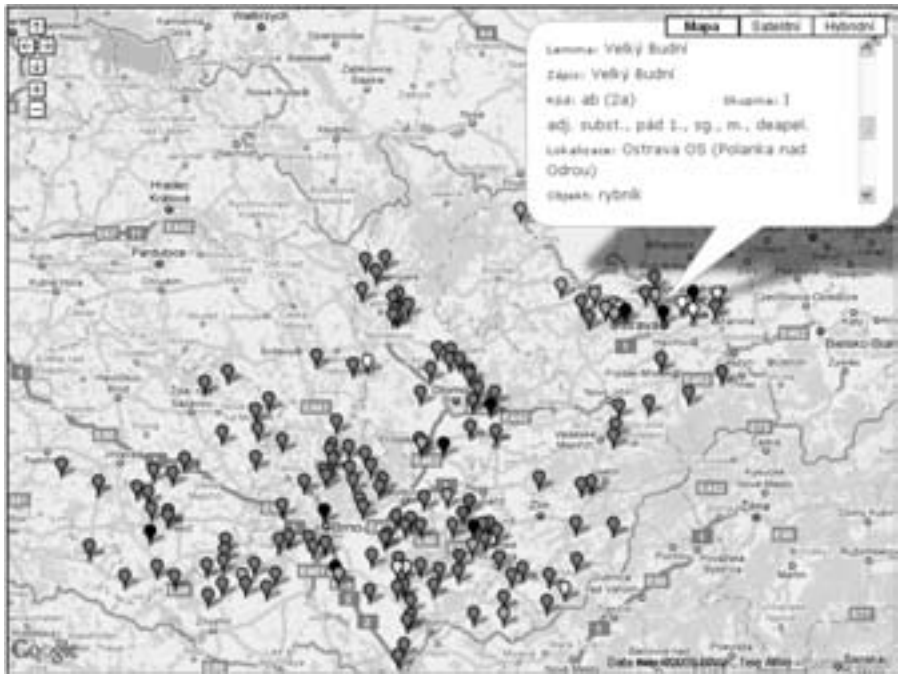

Figure 4: Google map – summary entry -boud-/-bud-:

And last but not least, these maps – the digital ones as well as those in the paper version – enable comparison with existing dialectological maps depicting geographical distribution of appellatives and presented in the *Czech Linguistic Atlas*.

Let's hope that this work will turn into an important enterprise, not only within Czech onomastics.[10]

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OBDELAVA METODOLOŠKIH IN DIALEKTOLOŠKIH POGLEDOV NA SLOVAR MORAVSKIH IN ŠLEZIJSKIH ANOJKONIMOV (IMENA MANJŠIH KRAJEV)

Članek predstavlja postopek, ki so ga uporabili jezikoslovci iz Brna pri pripravi Slovarja moravskih in šlezijskih anojkonimov (*Dictionary of Moravian and Silesian Anoikonyms*); slovar je zasnovan kot abecedni inventar posamičnih anojkonimov in skupnih gesel.
Rezultati bodo predstavljeni v tradicionalnem slovarju v knjižni obliki in v multifunkcionalni interaktivni digitalni različici, ki bo ponujala veliko možnosti za iskanje želene informacije in prikaz na kartah. Zbrano gradivo je bilo postopoma vstavljeno v digitalno bazo podatkov programa, ki avtomatično ustvarja primarno obliko gesla. Glavna naloga avtorjev je, da oblikujejo razlagalni del vsakega gesla, povezanega z vprašanji besedotvorja, skladnje, dialektologije, etimologije, onomastike in geografije, ki se nanašajo na vključena imena.
Izdelava slovarja je interdisciplinarno delo – kot slovar sledi leksikografskim načelom; kot delo, ki obdeluje lastnoimenske samostalnike, sledi pravilom onomastične teorije. Avtorji slovarja so izkušeni dialektologi.
Dobro ohranjena narečja v regiji povzročajo nekatere težave, npr. kako reflektirati realno obliko anojkonima v slovarju skupnih gesel. Poznavanje narečij pogosto pomaga pri »dešifriranju« danega imena in pri določanju njegove geneze ter motivacije. Računalniški program ponuja tudi možnost generiranja kart (na različnih ozadjih), ki dopuščajo primerjavo z obstoječimi dialektološkimi kartami, ki slikajo zemljepisno porazdelitev apelativov in so predstavljene v Češkem lingvističnem atlasu (*Czech Linguistic Atlas*).

Dialect materials in the Estonian Etymological Dictionary[1]

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Članek predstavlja estonsko dialektološko gradivo, ki ga je zbral Inštitut za estonski jezik in bo objavljeno v *Estonskem etimološkem slovarju*.
V seznam iztočnic slovarja bo vključeno omejeno število narečnih besed – narečni podatki bodo pomembni tudi za etimologizacijo. V primeru avtohtonih besed in starejših izposojenk so pomembne arhaične fonetične poteze, ki so preživele v narečju; v primeru novejših izposojenk kažejo narečne variante različno stopnjo prilagajanja. Včasih lahko arealna distribucija besede dokaže dragoceno izvorno iztočnico. Etimologizacija lahko temelji tudi na narečnem pomenu besede. Posebno skupino sestavljajo narečne besede, prevzete v knjižno rabo na drugačen način kot strokovno izrazje.

This article is about how Estonian dialect materials are represented in the Estonian Etymological Dictionary being compiled at the Institute of the Estonian Language.
A limited number of dialect words will be included in the headword list of the dictionary. Dialect data may be vital for etymologization as well. In the case of genuine words and older loanwords, the archaic phonological traits that have survived in dialects are essential; in the case of more recent loanwords, the dialectal variants show different degrees of adaptation. Sometimes the areal distribution of a word may prove a valuable cue to its original background. Etymologization may also be based on the dialectal meaning of a word. A specific group consists of dialect words adopted into standard usage in a different sense as technical terms.

Ključne besede: etimološki slovar, estonski jezik, estonska narečja, zgodovinska fonologija, prevzemanje besed, prostorska distribucija besed, jezikovno načrtovanje

Key words: etymological dictionary, Estonian language and dialects, historical phonology, adaptation of loanwords, areal distribution of words, language planning

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The Estonian Etymological Dictionary has been a project of the Institute of the Estonian Language since 2003. Preliminary work started in the 1970s already. This is not the first attempt. There are two etymological dictionaries of Estonian available: 1) Julius Mägiste's *Estnisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1982–1983, 2. edition 2000; 12 volumes, 4106 pp.; EEW), and 2) Alo Raun's *Eesti keele etümoloogiline teatmik /Etymological reference book of Estonian/* (1982, 2. edition 2000; 222 pp.), both compiled by the authors in exile (they left Estonia during the Second World War) and published abroad. As Mägiste's dictionary is actually a manuscript, published as a facsimile after minor editing (it remained unfinished by the author due to his death) and Raun's dictionary is extremely laconic – just one line per each headword (stem), the need for a new and modern dictionary has been obvious.

Due to the urgent necessity for the dictionary it was decided to start from a short and not too detailed version tailored for a general public. The next step involved concrete decisions on the material to be included. Omitting a thorough survey of the compilation principles worked out for the new dictionary at our Institute, this article will concentrate on how dialect material will be represented in it. The examples presented here will not contain whole dictionary entries as in a shortened form they will much better illustrate what is essential for this article. The example entries are translated into English; the metalanguage of the dictionary is naturally Estonian.

In the dictionary in question dialect material is encountered in 1) headword selection as well as in 2) etymologization.

1 Headword selection

The headword list of our etymological dictionary (over 6000 stem words) is based on the word stems contained in *Eesti õigekeelsussõnaraamat ÕS 2006 /Estonian Orthographical Dictionary/*. Obviously, most of the stems represent standard Estonian, but some dialect words can also be found there, e.g. *kaarel* 'cloudberry', a word spread in the western and central dialect of the North Estonian dialect group (VMS 1: 146), *nugris* 'active, enterprising', known in the same dialects (VMS 2: 104), *raand* '(wooden) pail', known in the insular and western dialect of the North Estonian dialect group (VMS 2: 298) etc. In addition, the etymological dictionary handles such stems that in standard language occur in compound words only, but are known as separate words in dialect use, e.g. the adjective *raag* 'underdone; half-ripe' occurs only in the compound noun *raagnahk* 'alum-tanned leather, greased after drying' in standard Estonian, whereas in the North-Eastern Coastal dialect group and in the central dialect of the North Estonian dialect group it is known as a word in its own right (VMS 2: 297).

2 Etymologization

In etymologization we have to do with dialectal variants, geographic distribution and dialectal meanings.

2.1 *Dialectal variants*

Dialectal variants are placed in a separate part of an entry. The general idea is to present only those variants that are essential for the etymology, while all possible variants are taken care of in a dialect dictionary.

In the case of genuine words[2] and older loanwords[3] one may have to consider the regular phonological specifics of certain dialects. The Estonian language is divided into at least two dialect groups: North Estonian and South Estonian, while sometimes the North-Eastern Coastal dialect group is pointed out as a third (Pajusalu 2003: 231, 239–260). The literary standard is based on the central dialect of North Estonian. The phonology of the South Estonian dialect group differs considerably from that of the North Estonian one. On the one hand it has retained some old features lacking in North Estonian, on the other hand it bears traces of some sound changes that cannot be found in any other Finnic language (Viitso 2003: 143–144). Some very archaic traits have also survived in the North-Eastern Coastal dialect group. Thus, in many cases South Estonian or North-Eastern Coastal variants can be used to confirm an etymology or to refer the reader to some other important circumstance. Therefore the genuine stems and older loanword stems are provided with their South Estonian or North-Eastern Coastal dialect variant, if the variant has certain phonological traits.

Example 1

kaevama ‘to dig’
In dialects: South Estonian *kaibma, kaivma*, North-Eastern Coastal *kaivama*
Cognate equivalents:
Livonian *kouvõ* ‘dig; gore, push with horns’
Vote *kaivaa* ‘dig; hollow out; gore, push with horns; tear out; tear off’
Finnish *kaivaa* ‘dig; grub; hollow out, furrow; bury’
Ingrian *kaivaa* ‘dig; hollow out; drag out (e.g. a horse); remove, take out’
Olonets Karelian *kaivua* ‘dig, grub; hollow out’
Lude *kaivada* ‘dig; bore, hole’
Veps *kaida, kẹida* ‘dig, grub; take out’
Sami *goaivut* ‘scoop; dig, scrape (snow)’
Erzya *kajams* ‘throw; hit; put; pour; take off (clothes); give birth prematurely’
Moksha *kajams* ‘throw, sow; hit; pour; take off (clothes)’
Mari *kuaš* ‘shovel; row’

[2] I.e. the native Uralic or Finnic words.

[3] I.e. the loanwords which have etymological equivalents in other Uralic resp. Finnic languages – the Indo-European, Indo-Aryan, Baltic, Germanic and Slavic loanwords.

Udmurt *kwjanį* ‘throw; leave; expel, fire, overthrow’
Komi *kojnį* ‘scoop, pour out; fill up, slop’
? Hungarian *hajít* ‘throw’
A genuine Finno-Ugric stem.

The South Estonian and North-Eastern Coastal dialects have retained the original diphthong *ai* in the first syllable, still manifested in cognate languages. (In standard Estonian *ai* > *ae*.) The dialectal variants are from EMS 2: 489. The etymology is based on SKES 1: 144, EEW 2: 642, SSA 1: 279, Raun 1982: 26, Häkkinen 2004: 323.

Example 2

nael ‘nail (fastener)’
In dialects: South Estonian *nagõl, nakl*, North-Eastern Coastal *naul(a)*
< Proto-Germanic **naglan-* → German *nagel* ‘nail; fingernail’
Cognate equivalents:
Livonian *na’ggõl* ‘nail’
Votic *nagla* ‘nail; peg; cotter, chock’
Finnish *naula* ‘nail; peg; cotter, chock’
Ingrian *naagla* ‘nail; cotter, chock’
Olonets Karelian *nuaglu* ‘nail; cotter, chock’
Lude *nagl(ę)* ‘nail; peg; cotter, chock’
Veps *nagl* ‘nail; stake; cotter, chock’

As we can see, South Estonian has retained the original stop found in the donor language and still in most of the cognate languages. The dialectal variants are from VMS 2: 72, 80; Iva 2002: 260). The etymology is based on SKES 2: 369, EEW 5: 1654–1655, SSA 2: 209, Raun 1982: 100, Häkkinen 2004: 775.

Example 3

kahv ‘a bag net attached to a long pole for catching crayfish and fish’
In dialects: (part of) South Estonian *kauh*
< Baltic **kauša* → Lithuanian *kaušas* ‘large dipper; wooden drinking vessel’, Latvian *kauss* ‘cup; goblet; dipper’
Cognate languages:
Votic *kavi* ‘dipper’
Finnish *kauha* ‘ladle; dipper; piggin’
Ingrian *kaavi* ‘ladle; dipper, liquid scoop’
Olonets Karelian *kawhu* ‘dipper, liquid scoop’
Lude *kauh* ‘dipper, liquid scoop; bag net for scooping fish’
Veps *kauh, kouh* ‘dipper, liquid scoop’

Julius Mägiste suggested Estonian *kahv* as metathetical (*kahva-* ← **kauha-*), belonging, etymologically, with the above-mentioned Baltic word loaned to Finnic languages, although he did not mention the South Estonian variant *kauh* (EEW 2: 654). The metathesis of *h* after a diphthong is regular in the rest of the Estonian dialects. The form *kauh,* surviving in a very narrow strip of the South Estonian dialect area (EMS 2: 532), proves that Mägiste was right. The

Baltic etymology of Finnic **kauha* resp. Finnish *kauha* is based on SKES 1: 172, SSA 1: 330, Häkkinen 2004: 381; in none of them is the Estonian *kahv* handled as a possible equivalent of that stem.

Irregular stem variation in dialects is important, first and foremost, for more recent loans,[4] showing different degrees of adaptation. A dialect word may actually be closer to the source than the standard variant. Therefore in the dictionary more recent loans are provided with dialect variants.

Example 4

kapsas 'cabbage'
In dialects: *kapust(as), kapst(ass), kapus, kaapsus, kaapsas*
< Russian *kapústa*

The dialectal variants are from EMS 2: 712, 715, 717; the etymology is based on EEW 3: 700; Raun 1982: 31; Must 2000: 79–80; Blokland 2005: 143–144.

Example 5

kartul 'potato'
In dialects: *kartuhvel, karduhbel, kardulas, kardules, kardulis, kardul, kartles, tuhlis, tuhl(i), tohris, toh(v)el, tih(v)el*
< German *Kartoffel*

The dialectal variants are from EMS 2: 768, 771, 772 and VMS 2: 553; the etymology is based on EEW 3: 719.

2.2 *Geographic distribution*

The geographic distribution of a word may be another important aspect in etymologization. Some Estonian loanwords come from mutually closely related languages. For instance, there are loans from different Germanic languages such as Low German, (High) German and Swedish; in addition to these, loans from a German dialect spoken once in Estonia and Latvia (Baltic German) and from a Swedish dialect, once spoken by the Swedish population of the islands and the coast of Estonia (Estonian Swedish), are treated as separate loanword groups. Moreover, the possible donor languages have been borrowing from each other. Finnish, for example, has a lot of Swedish loans and so some originally Swedish words may have reached Estonian via Finnish, not directly from Swedish. In cases like these, dialectal (areal) distribution may be an important or even the only criterion to decide the source of borrowing. If the dialectal distribution of a word is etymologically important, it is discussed in the commentary to the entry.

[4] I.e. loans from Low German, (High) German, Russian, Swedish, Latvian and Finnish.

Example 6

traksid ‘braces’
← Baltic German *tragsen* ‘brace, strap’
or
← Swedish (dialectal) *dragsa, drakksu* ‘tug’
As the word is known all over the Estonian territory the Baltic German version looks more likely.

The word is etymologized as a Swedish loan in SKES 3: 726, EEW 10: 3261, SSA 3: 44; the Baltic German etymology is preferred by Paul Ariste (1933: 11–12) and repeated in Raun 1982: 181.

Example 7

risla ‘dunlin (a coastal bird), *Calidris*’
← Finnish (dialectal) *risla* ‘black guillemot, *Cepphus grylle*’
or
← Swedish *grissla* ‘guillemot, *Uria*’

Finnish *risla* is a Swedish loan (← *grissla*). As *risla* is a word form characteristic only of the Estonian North-Eastern Coastal dialect group and of some Finnish dialects spoken on the coast of the Gulf of Finland it is likely that *risla* has been borrowed from Finnish dialects rather than directly from Swedish.

The Swedish etymology is given for the word in SKES 3: 811–812, while a loan from Finnish is supposed in EEW 8: 2500–2501; this should be preferred, moreover as the same word is borrowed into Estonian from Estonian Swedish dialects in the form *krüüsel* ‘*Cepphus grylle*’ (EEW 3: 1010).

2.3 *Dialectal meanings*

In many cases word meaning differs widely between standard and dialect use. In the standard language a dialect word may come into use in some peripheral meaning; also, its meaning may change over time either spontaneously or due to language planning. In the early decades of the 20th century, standard Estonian vocabulary was consciously enriched with dialect material. Many dialect words were adopted into use to refer to concepts felt to be lacking proper designation in the standard language, while their meanings were handled rather liberally in terms of enlargement or even change. A number of dialect words were used to build up scientific terminology in Estonian. Dialect stems, in a changed meaning, have been adopted into the standard language later as well. Such stems can be etymologized only on the basis of their dialectal meaning – hence the dire necessity to represent dialectal senses for quite a number of words. Word definitions, together with the relevant dialectal meanings are, in general, given at the head of the entry.

Example 8

nugima ‘to live on/in an organism as a parasite, to parasitize; (in dialect) to attend weddings uninvited’
← Estonian Swedish *snwg* ‘to beg, to sponge off others’
The dialect word is adopted into the standard language, in a changed meaning as a biological term.

The etymology of the stem is based on EEW 6: 1736, Raun 1982: 105.

Example 9

tävi- (first component in compound words) ‘inflatable, to be filled up with gas or liquid’
Cognate equivalents:
Livonian *tä'u(v), tä'ugõz* ‘lung’
Votic *tävü* id.
Finnish (dialect) *tävy, täy, täty* id.
Veps *t'ävu* id.
Erzya *t'ev'el'av* id.
Moksha *t'evlav* id.
Udmurt *ţi* id.
Komi *ţi* id.
Nenets *t'īwāk* id.
Enets *t'īji* id.
Nganasan *t'ieind'a* id.
Selkup *tū̄mäktä* id.
Kamassian *tu* id.
(The Erzya, Moksha, Nenets, Enets and Nganasan equivalents contain derivational affixes; the Selkup equivalent is a compound word.)
A Uralic stem, preserved in dialects in the forms *täü*, *tähi, tähü, täht* ‘lung; spleen’. The stem (in the form *tävi* of older records) was adopted into standard Estonian in the 1970s, giving it a new meaning. The verb *tävima* ‘to inflate or pump up, to fill with gas or liquid’ has been derived from the same stem.

This is a special case, because the stem is adopted into standard language in the form *tävi*, which, although registered in Wiedemann 1893, seems to be an artificially restored North Estonian shape, actually not found in dialects (Saari 1987: 53–55). The etymology of the stem is based on SKES 5: 1486, EEW 11: 3464, Raun 1982: 189, SSA 3: 358.

The presented overview suggests that the inclusion of dialect material in the Estonian Etymological Dictionary is undoubtedly necessary for two reasons: firstly, there is a number of dialect words, the etymology of which cannot be omitted, secondly, dialect material (dialectal phonetic variants (2.1), areal distribution of words (2.2) and dialectal meanings (2.3)) give a valuable complementary information for the etymologization.

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DIALEKTOLOŠKO GRADIVO V ESTONSKEM ETIMOLOŠKEM SLOVARJU

Seznam besed za *Estonski etimološki slovar* (*Estonian Etymological Dictionary*), ki ga je zbral Inštitut za estonski jezik, temelji na izvorih besed, vsebovanih v *Eesti õigekeelsussõnaraamat/Estonian Orthographical Dictionary* (2006). Očitno večina besed izvorno pripada knjižni estonščini, vendar pa je za etimološki slovar pomembno tudi narečno gradivo. (1) V slovar bo vključeno omejeno število narečnih besed, ki jih najdemo v ortološkem slovarju, in tudi tistih korenskih besed, ki se v knjižni rabi pojavljajo le v zloženkah. (2) V nekaterih primerih so lahko narečni podatki (narečne inačice, geografska distribucija in narečni pomeni) ključni za etimologizacijo. (2.1) Knjižni standard estonščine temelji na severnoestonskem narečju. V primeru izvornih korenskih besed in starejših izposojenk lahko nekatere fonetične poteze, preživele v južnoestonskem narečju in v obalnih narečjih, uporabimo za potrditev etimologije. Zato so ti koreni opremljeni s svojo južnoestonsko ali obalno narečno inačico, npr. *nael* 'noht' (< proto-germansko **naglan-*) : južnoestonsko *nagõl, nakl*, obalno *naul(a).* Novejše izposojenke so opremljene z nepravilnimi narečnimi inačicami in tako kažejo različne stopnje adaptacije. Narečna beseda je lahko dejansko bližje izvoru kot knjižna ustreznica, npr. samostalnik *kapsas* 'zelje' < rus. *kapústa*, ki ima narečne inačice *kapust(as), kapst(ass).* (2.2) Včasih lahko arealna distribucija besede dokaže dragoceno izvorno iztočnico. Npr. za besedo *traksid* 'braces' so domnevali, da ima izvor bodisi v švedskih narečjih (< *dragsa, drakksu* 'tug') ali v baltsko-germanskem narečju (< *tragsen* 'brace, strap/zatega, trak'), glede na to, da je beseda baltsko-germanska inačica. (2.3) Etimologizacija lahko temelji tudi na narečnem pomenu besede. Posebna skupina je sestavljena iz narečnih besed, v knjižno rabo prevzetih z drugačnim pomenom (npr.: izvorno je sodobni biološki izraz *nugima* 'parazitirati' pomenil 'priti na poroko nepovabljen'; koren je bil izposojen iz estonsko-švedskega *snωg* 'beračiti, izžemati drugega').

Porabskoslovensko *óvca* ‘osa’. Praslovanska sinonima **(v)osva* : **(v)osa* v slovenščini

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V porabskoslovenskem *óvca* ‘osa’ se ohranja psl. leksem **(v)osva* ‘osa’, ki je bil sinonimen in soroden s psl. **(v)osa* > sln. *ósa*.

In a Slovene dialect *óvca* ‘wasp’ (Porabje) the PSlav. **(v)osva* ‘idem’ is preserved. This Proto-Slavic word was homonymous with and related to the PSlav. **(v)osa* > Sln. *ósa*.

Ključne besede: slovenska leksika, porabsko narečje, etimologija, balto-slovanske paralele

Key words: Slovene lexicon, Slovene dialect of Porabje, etymology, Balto-Slavic parallels

1 Splošnoslovensko *ósa* in porabskoslovensko *óvca*

V knjižni slovenščini se tako kot v večini slovenskih narečij za pojem osa uporablja refleks splošnoslovanskega poimenovanja indoevropske dediščine. Beseda *ósa* ima namreč svoje ožje sorodnike v večini slovanskih jezikov, širši, kot so lit. *vapsà* ‘osa, brencelj’, lat. *vespa* ‘osa’, nvn. *Wespe* ‘isto’ (tudi *Wepse*), stvn. *wefsa, wafsa*, pa kažejo na izvor iz praindoevropske besede **u̯obhseH$_2$*,[1] na podlagi katere se zaradi glagolskega korena **u̯ebh-* ‘tkati’, ki ga potrjuje na primer stvn. *weban* ‘tkati, plesti’, sklepa, da je bila osa s to besedo označena po svoji značilnosti, da tako kot nekateri drugi insekti tke, plete, ko ustvarja pasti

[1] Ob ajevskem samostalniku litovščina pozna tudi ojevskega *vãpsas* ‘osa’. Sporadično se v slovanskem svetu prav tako najde samostalnik moškega spola **osъ*, sln. *of*, tudi *ueʃ* (Jarnik), *òʃ* (m.) (Murko), hrv., srb. *ôs* (m.), g. *-a* (ARj: 9, 183), dl. *wos*, g. *-a* ‘osa’ (Schuster-Šewc: 1663), stč. *vos*, g. *-a* (MSS: 268).

(npr. pajek, prim. sti. *ū́rṇā-vábhi-* (m.) 'pajek' < *'tkalec volne') ali pa gnezda, podobna tkaninam oz. pleteninam. Ker je osišče prava tkalska mojstrovina, sta tak poimenovalni princip in izvajanje iz praide. oblike **u̯obh-seH$_2$* za omenjena poimenovanja za oso kljub dvomom nekaterih[2] sprejemljiva, kar za slovansko poimenovanje pomeni, da je medglasni *-s-* nastal po poenostavitvi iz *-ps-* in da je vzglasni **v-*, ki je dobro ohranjen še v baltskih jezikih, prim. ob lit. *vapsà* tudi let. *vapsene* 'osa',[3] izpadel, kot ponazarjajo slovanski vokalno vzglasni primeri, prim. sln. *ósa*, hrv. *òsa*, čak. *osȁ*, mak. *оса*, blg. *оса̀*, r. *оса́*, ukr. *оса́*, br. *оса́*. Ker pa izpada vzglasnega predvokalnega **v-* ni mogoče utemeljiti z delovanjem sistemskega fonetičnega razvoja, se pogosto citira Meilletova domneva (Meillet 1895: 333), da je v praslovanščini izpadel pod vplivom pridevnika **ostrъ* (Vasmer: III, 156; Skok: II, 568; Bezlaj: II, 255 idr.): **vosá* → **osá*.

Toda v Porabsko-knjižnoslovensko-madžarskem slovarju iz leta 2005 naletimo na zanimiv narečni sinonim, ko avtor Francek Mukič sporoča, da sta v porabskem narečju, ki spada h goričkemu prekmurskemu narečju panonske narečne skupine, besedi za ovco in oso enakozvočni in se glasita *óvca* (Mukič 2005: 245). Ker je izvor porabskega *óvca* 'ovis' jasen, saj je refleks splošnoslovanskega poimenovanja **ovьcā́* indoevropske dediščine **H$_2$e̯u̯i-kéH$_2$* = sti. *avikā́-* (f.) 'ovca', se postavlja vprašanje, od kod v porabskem narečju *óvca* v pomenu 'osa'. Ker med obema živalima ni mogoče ugotavljati skupnih značilnosti, ni verjetno, da bi bila ta ozko narečna homonimija posledica pomenskega razvoja in zato rezultat prenosa poimenovanja za ovco na poimenovanje za oso. Mnenje, da je poimenovanjima skupno le, da sta zoonima, se potrdi takoj, ko se na vprašanje nastanka homonimije vključi širše slovensko, kaj šele slovansko in baltsko gradivo. Tako preverjanje namreč pokaže, da je homonimija *óvca* 'ovca' : *óvca* 'osa' posledica fonetičnega razvoja, da je mlada in da je do nje verjetno prišlo šele v porabskem mikrosistemu.

2 Prekmursko *óvca* : *ófca* : *ófsa*

Vpogled v gradivo za SLA razkriva, da je bila pomensko enaka, fonetično pa minimalno različna beseda z razvojem predsoglasniškega *v* > *f* zabeležena v porabskem Gornjem Seniku kot *ő̯fca*, pl. *ő̯fce*, znotraj slovenske državne meje pa tudi v goričkoprekmurskih Markovcih *ő̯fca*, Gornjih Petrovcih *ő̯fca*, pl. *ofcə̑*, Šalovcih *ˈo̯:fca* in Križevcih *ȍfca*, pl. *ofcə̏i̯*, Ob vseh teh petih edninskih oblikah, ki so – gledano z razvojne perspektive – identične Mukičevi *óvca* 'os', pa je bila v najbolj zahodni goričkoprekmurski narečni točki, tj. v Gradu, ob spošnoslovenskem *ő̯sa* = knjiž. *ósa* < psl. **osā́*, zabeležena tudi oblika *ő̯fsa*, pl. *ofsə̑*, g. pl. *ő̯fsi*.

[2] Npr. v Kluge (1995: 887), kjer se trdi, da osa niti ne tke in niti umetelno ne gradi.

[3] Sekundarno tudi let. *lapsene*.

V vseh omenjenih narečnih točkah pa za pomen 'ovca' ni bil zabeležen refleks splošnoslovenskega samostalnika *óvca* < psl. **ovьcā́*, ampak ovci pravijo *ˈbi:rka*. Ker Mukič za Porabje omenja rabo obeh, tj. *óvca* in *bírka*, je bil v Markovcih, Gornjih Petrovcih, Šalovcih, Križevcih in Gradu refleks psl. **ovьcā́* iz rabe verjetno izpodrinjen prav zaradi homonimije s poimenovanjem za oso.

V Gradu zabeleženo *o̯fsa* 'osa' kaže, da je afrikata *c* v prekmurskih refleksih tipa *óvca* 'osa' in *ófca* 'isto' v neposrednem stiku z *v* nastala iz spiranta *s*. Primerljive fonetične razvoje zaradi ojačanja artikulacije dveh neposrednih pripornikov srečamo tudi drugod na slovenskem območju. Tako se za sln. *svẹ́der* < **sv(r)ědrъ* v narečjih najdejo tudi fonetične variante z vzglasjem *cv-*.[4] Omenjene narečne besede *óvca* (→ *ófca*) in *ófsa* so zato združljive v prvotno slovensko **óvsa*, ki se je pred akcentskim umikom glasila **ovsà* in bila od splošnoslovenske *ósa* < psl. **osā́* različna le v fonemu **-v-*.

3 Prekmursko *ófsa* in psl. **osvā́*

Ramovš prekmurskih besed za oso tipa *óvca* in *ófca* ni poznal, vedel pa je za prekmursko *o̯fsa* in o njej v Ramovš 1924: 158[5] zapisal:

> »Prek. [tj. prekmursko, op. M. F.] *o̯fsa* (poleg *o̯sa*) kaže na **ovsa*; skupina *-vs-* bi lahko nastala tudi iz *-ps-* in tako bi v tej obliki mogli videti še prvotno slovansko **opsa* (prim. lit. *vapsà*, stvn. *wafsa*), ki se je že v psl. običajno asimiliralo v *osa*; tako misli Rešetar, Štok. Dial. 152, ko navaja iz črnogorskih govorov v Prčanju in Djurićih *ōvsä, ovsä*. Jaz ne bi oblike *ovsa* navezoval na neko psl. dial **opsa*, marveč menim, da je *osà* po substantivih s sufiksom *-va* preobraženo v *osvà* (*osva* najdemo v češ., mlr. in belor. narečjih), to pa je po metatezi prešlo v *ovsä*.«

Ramovš je na tem mestu ob omembi drugega slovanskega gradiva (ob **ovsa* tudi **osva*) sln. narečno *ovsa* iz prvotnejšega slov. **osvā́* razložil s premetom *sv* → *vs* in pokazal, da varianta **osvā́* ne predstavlja morebitnega arhaičnega fonetičnega ostanka pred poenostavitvijo zgodnjega psl. **vopsā́* v **osā́*, kot je domneval Rešetar 1907: 152, ampak naj bi se izhodno psl. **osā́* pod vplivom samostalniških parov tipa **vьrsta* : **vьrstva* preoblikovalo v psl. **osvā́*.

Ramovševa razlaga je kljub častitljivi starosti v temeljnih točkah še vedno sprejemljiva, zato preseneča, da nanjo ni bil pozoren nihče,[6] čeprav se enako vprašanje, ki ga odpira prekmursko *o̯fsa*, postavlja tudi v nekaterih drugih slovanskih jezikih in tudi v litovščini, ki ima ob narečnem *vapsà* 'osa, brencelj' tudi v knjižni jezik sprejeto varianto *vapsvà*. Ta se od slovanskih tipa **osvā́*

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[4] Prim. npr. *cvîdar* 'sveder' (Žiče; SLA), *cˈvė:dər* 'isto' (Spodnje Kraše; Weiss 2001: 337). O pojavu Ramovš 1924: 292.

[5] Pri Ramovšu 1924: 158, navedene variante *ovsä* Rešetar 1907: 152, ne omenja, ampak je na istem mestu ob *ōvsä* 'osa' zapisana *ȍvsa* 'isto'. Obe varianti povzema Skok: II, 568: *ōvsä* 'osa' (Prčanj), *ȍvsa* 'isto' (Đurići).

[6] Upoštevana ni bila niti v ESSJ.

razlikuje le v vzglasnem *v-*. Paralelnost **osā̋* : **osvā̋* in lit. *vapsà* : *vapsvà* pa nakazuje, da je vzglasni **v-* v **osvā̋* lahko izpadel po disimilaciji: psl. ***vosvā̋* → **osvā̋*, nato pa je novonastalo **osvā̋* lahko vplivalo na izgubo istega vzglasnega konzonanta v **vosā̋* → **osā̋*. Vzrok za vokalno vzglasje psl. **osā̋* je torej lahko fonetične in ne analoške narave, kot je menil Meillet 1895: 333.

Ne poznavajoč Ramovševo razlago, je Skok: II, 568, brez navedbe Rešetarjeve razlage črnogorsko *ōvsȁ* ‘osa’ (Prčanj) in *ȍvsa* ‘isto’ (Đurići) neprepričljivo pojasnil, da različica predstavlja preoblikovano prvotno hrv. *òsa* oz. hrv. nar. *osȁ* pod vplivom it. *vespa* ‘osa’. Vasmer: III, 156, pa rusko varianto *osvá* ‘osa’, tudi *ósva* ‘isto’ (SRNG: 23, 353, 354) ob br. *osvá* ‘osa’ le omenja. Bolj pozoren je bil Suprun v beloruskem etimološkem slovarju, ki je br. *asvá* ‘osa’, tudi *ósva* ‘isto’ in *vósva* (ŽS: 81)[7] povezal z r. *osvá* in lit. *vapsvà* ter se pridružil Fraenklovi razlagi, da so variante z izglasjem *-va* stare (ÈSBM: I, 160; Fraenkel 1953: 102, 104; Fraenkel 1962–1965: 1196 s.). Nasprotno pa slovanska narečna in etimološka literatura, ki mi je na razpolago, Ramovševe navedbe, da bi bilo gradivo, ki kaže na psl. variantno razmerje **osā̋* : **osvā̋* (tudi lit. *vapsà* : *vapsvà*), znano tudi v češčini in ukrajinščini (Ramovš 1924: 158), ne potrjuje.

4 Psl. **osvā̋* in hrvaško *osòvljī* ‘osji’ ter slovensko *osovni* ‘osji’ (Gutsmann)

V širšem slovanskem in baltoslovanskem kontekstu je Ramovševo izvajanje prekmurskega *o̯fsa* iz **osvā̋* nedvomno bolj prepričljivo kot pa Skokova razlaga črnogor. *ōvsȁ* in *ȍvsa*, zato je verjetno, da so tudi črnogorske oblike nastale po enakem premetu iz **osvā́*. Potrdilo, da je premet **osvā̋* → **ovsā́* v slovenskih in črnogorskih oblikah verjetno paralelen in da je vsaj ožje južnoslovansko območje še poznalo varianto **osvā́*, se namreč še ohranja v pridevnikih.

Iz slovarja Vuka Karadžića Skok: II, 568, omenja hrv. pridevnik *osòvljī* ‘Wespen-’, za katerega pa meni, da vsebuje »dva sufiksa *-ov* + *-j*« in da je bil tvorjen iz hrv. *òsa*. Če bi Skok poznal slov. razmerje **osā̋* : **osvā̋*, bi na podlagi besedotvornega razmerja med hrv. samostalniki tipa *cȓkva* (f.) ‘cerkev’ in pridevniki tipa *cȓkōvnī* (adj.) ‘cerkven’, čak. *cerkovnī/crikovnī*[8] v svojo razlago verjetno podvomil. Pridevniška pripona **-jь*, ki je znana npr. tudi v sln. *sinọ̑vlji* (adj.) ‘sinov, sinovski’ in hrv. *sȉnovljī* ‘isto’ < **synov’ь(-jь)* = **synov-jь(-jь)*[9], se je na samostalniško osnovo **osov-* iz **osvā̋* namreč lahko pritaknila po vzorcu hrv. *cȓkva* → *cȓkōvnī* < **cьrkov-ьnъ(jь)*:

****osvā̋* → **osov-* + **-jь(-jь)* → hrv. *osòvljī***

[7] V viru je navedena še kopica variantnih poimenovanj za oso.

[8] Od tod *cȓkovina* ‘cerkveno posestvo, cerkvena zemlja’ in *crkòvnjāk* ‘cerkveni človek’.

[9] Pridevnik **synov’ь* < **suH-neu̯-* + **-i̯o-* je od širše znanega sinonimnega **synovъ* < **suH-neu̯-o-* različen le zaradi različnega pridevniškega sufiksa, tj. praide. adjektivizirajočega **-i̯o-* in **-o-*.

Primerljiv pridevnik s samostalniško osnovo **osov-* k **osvā́* je znan tudi v slovenščini. V Gutsmannovem slovarju iz 18. stoletja so med pridevniki k samostalniku *oſa* 'Wepſe' omenjeni *oſen* pa tudi *oſouni* in *oſvoni*: *oſvoni mieh* 'Wepſenneſt, oſenu gniesdu, oſeniſhe, oſinak' in *oſvuni* v zvezi *oſvuni pik/pikez* 'Wepſenſtich'.

Pridevnik *oſen* [osen] je bil tvorjen iz *oſa* [osa], toda *oſouni* [osovni] je tipološko enak pridevniku *cerkǫ́ven*, f. *-vna*, pri Gutsmannu *zirkoun* 'Kirchen-', in zato lahko izpeljan iz sln. narečnega samostalnika **ósva*, še preden je iz njega po premetu nastalo **óvsa* 'osa'.

Gutsmannova zapisa *oſvoni* in *oſvuni* v pomenu 'osji' sta bolj problematična, ker ne ustrezata niti izpeljavi tipa *cerkǫ́ven*, f. *-vna* niti tipa *cerkvę̑n*, f. *-a*. Ker sta v Gutsmannovem slovarju zabeleženi obe omenjeni izpeljavi, pri čemer je v njegovem gradivu tip *cerkǫ́ven* bolj pogost (*zirkouni rop* 'Kirchenraub') od tipa *cerkvę̑n* (npr. *zirkvena tatvina* 'Kirchenraub'), je možno, da Gutsmannova zapisa *oſvuni/oſvoni* 'osji' ohranjata podatek, da sta bili tudi iz sln. narečnega **ósva* tvorjeni obe pridevniški varianti, tj. **osoven* < **osov-ьnъ* in **osven* < **osv-enъ* (prim. br. *osvjánka* 'osa' (ŽS: 81) < **osv-ęn-ъka*). Zapisa *oſvoni* in *oſvuni* pa lahko odražata pridevnik, ki je nastal po križanju med obema tipoma:

oſouni* + **osveni* = *oſvuni

Pri razlagi Gutsmannovih zapisov *oſvuni/oſvoni* bi sicer lahko tudi domnevali, da morda odražata fonetični refleks pridevnika na *-ьnъ*, tj. **osvьnъ(jь)*, vendar se ta možnost zdi manj verjetna iz fonetičnih razlogov.

Kakor koli že, v Gutsmannovem pridevniku *oſouni* 'osji' < **osov-ьnъ(jь)* in enakopomenskem hrvaškem *osòvljī* je torej skupna osnova **osov-* samostalniška, pridevniški priponi **-ьnъ* in **-jь* pa sinonimni.

4.1 Pridevniške variante tipa **cьrkovьnъ* : **cьrkъvenъ* ← **cьrky*, g. **cьrkъve*

Pridevniške variante sln. tipa *cerkov-ni* : *cerkv-eni* oziroma hrv. tipa *cr̀kōv-nī* : *cr̀kv-enī* lahko pričakujemo pri refleksih praslovanskih pridevnikov ženskega spola na **-y*, za katere vemo, da so prehajali v ajevsko deklinacijo, npr.:

**cьrky*, g. **cьrkъve* 'cerkev'→ **cьrkъva*;
**buky*, g. **bukъve* 'bukev' → **bukъva*;
**smoky*, g. **smokъve* 'smokva' → **smokъva*;
**svekry*, g. **svekrъve* 'moževa mati' → **svekrъva*;
**žьrny*, **žьrnъve* 'mlinski kamen' → **žьrnъva* …

Ne glede na to, ali so bili pridevniki izpeljani iz prvotnejših samostalnikov tipa **cьrky*, g. **cьrkъve* (ali iz posplošenih akuzativov tipa **cьrkъvь* = sln. *cę́rkev*, g. *-kve*) ali iz mlajših tipa **cьrkъva*, se upravičeno pričakuje, da bo pri izpeljavi nastopala historično upravičena samostalniška predloga na **-v-*, tj. **cьrkъv-*, **bukъv-*, **smokъv-* itd. Tvorba pridevnikov iz samostalniške osnove na **-ov-*, tj. **cьrkov-*, **bukov-*, **smokov-* itd., je zato glede na prvi tip mlajša.

Nastala je namreč lahko šele, ko so se ob akuzativih tipa *svekrъvь* < **-uu̯-m̥* < **-u·-m̥*[10] < **-uH-m̥* začeli tvoriti novi s polnostopenjskim *-ov-*,[11] npr. akz. *ljubovь* v Zografskem kodeksu, Asemanijevem evangeliju, Sinajskem evhologiju in Glagoliti Clozianus. Sledi takih akuzativov se verjetno ohranjajo tudi v onomastičnem gradivu, prim. stsrb. *Žrьnovь*, slš. *Žarnov* = madž. *Zsarnó*[12] k psl. **žьrny*, **žьrnъve* 'mlinski kamen', predstavljajo pa neologistične oblike, ki so pri osnovah na **-y/ъv-* lahko nastale zaradi homonimnega izglasja *-y* z nazalnimi osnovami tipa *kamy*, kar je povzročilo, da se je polnostopenjskost sufiksa v akz. sg. s tipa *kamenь* začela prenašati tudi v akuzative osnov na **-y/ъv-*:

**-y* : **-(m)enь* = **-y* : **-ъvь* → **-ovь*
kamy* : **kamenь* = **l'uby* : **l'ubъvь* → ****l'ubovь*

Prav ti akuzativi so verjetno sprožili, da so ob pridevnikih s samostalniško osnovo tipa **cьrkъv-*, npr. **cьrkъv-enъ* > sln. *cerkvẹ̑n*, f. *-a*, tudi **cьrkъv-ьnъ* v č. *cirkevní*, p. *cerkiewny*, sln. toponimih tipa *Cerkno* (< **cьrkъvьno*), *Cerknica* (< **cьrkъvьnica*), začeli nastajati novi s samostalniško osnovo tipa **cьrkov-*, npr. a) s pripono **-ьnъ* **cьrkov-ьnъ* = sln. *cerkǫ́ven*, f. *-vna* 'cerkven', hrv. *cr̀kōvnī*; b) s pripono **-ъ*[13] **smokov-ъ* = hrv. čak. *smȍkov*, f. *smokȍva*, n. *smokȍvo* 'smokvin' (Šimunović 2006: 534).

Novonastalo razmerje med starejšo samostalniško osnovo tipa **cьrkъv-* in mlajšo tipa **cьrkov-* se odraža tudi pri drugih izpeljavah, npr. samostalniških, prim. hrv. *brèskvīk* (m.) 'breskov sadovnjak' < **breskъv-ikъ*, toda hrv. mtpn. *Smokòvīk* < **smokov-ikъ*, ob sln. tpn. *Crklje* (pl.) ← **Cьrkъv'ane* tudi tpn. *Cirkuláne* (pl.) < **Cьrkov'ane*.[14] Izpeljava iz novih osnov tipa **cьrkov-* je povzročila nastajanje pridevnikov tipa **bukovъ* < **bukov-ъ*, na podlagi razmerij tipa **synovъ* (adj.) : **synъ* (m.) pa so zato začeli nastajati tudi novi nominativi tipa **bukъ* 'bukev'.

4.2 Pridevnika *osòvljī* 'osji' (črnogor.) in *osovni* 'isto' (sln.) in psl. **osvā́*

Ob pridevnikih *osòvljī* 'osji' (črnogor.) in *osovni* 'isto' (sln.) samostalniške predloge tipa **cьrky* niti tipa **cьrkъva* niso potrjene. To pa pomeni, da v okviru besedne družine **osvā́* 'osa' samostalniška osnova **osov-* ni pričakovana. Nastala je zato lahko le kot posledica analoškega vzorca, ker je bil refleks psl. **osvā́* v času izpada polglasnikov v šibki poziciji interpretiran kot samostalnik tipa **cьrkъva* in se je zato na podlagi mladih parov tipa **cьrkъva* : **cьrkov-ьnъ*

[10] Pika med vokaličnima fonemoma nakazuje zev, ki je nastal po izpadu laringala.

[11] Na tako tvorbo je opozoril Rozwadowski (1914–1915: 14s).

[12] Loma 2002 toponime izvaja iz pridevnikov.

[13] Nanjo kaže tudi pridevnik **synovъ* s samostalniško osnovo **synov-*, prim. **synъ*, g. **synu*, toda nom. pl. **synov-i*.

[14] Na hrvaški strani temu prekmurskemu toponimu ustreza kajk. tpn. *Cirkovljan*, kar predstavlja g. pl. (Torkar 2007: 488) k nom. pl. **Cьrkov'ane*.

tvorila samostalniška osnova **osov-*, iz katere sta bila tvorjena pridevnika na **-jь* (*osòvljī*) in **-ьnъ* (*osovni*).

5 Sklep

V praslovanščini sta obstajali dve korensko sorodni poimenovanji za oso s paralelama v lit. *vapsà* in *vapsvà*. V izhodiščnem psl. sinonimnem razmerju **vosā́* : **vosvā́* 'vespa' je v členu **vosvā́* delovala disimilacija *v* : *v* → *ø* : *v*, zato je novonastali člen **osvā́* (←**vosvā́*) lahko vplival na izgubo vzglasnega konzonantna tudi v **vosā́* → **osā́*. Medtem ko je oblika **osā́* predominirala v večini slovanskih jezikov, se je refleks **osvā́* ohranil še v ruščini in beloruščini, na južnoslovanskem prostoru pa je bil podvržen premetu (črnogor. *ōvsà*, *òvsa*, sln. *ófsa*, *ófca, óvca*), še prej pa sta bila v času po izpadu polglasnikov v šibki poziciji po analogiji na podlagi razmerij osnov tipa **cьrkъv-* : **cьrkov-* iz refleksa psl. **osvā́* tvorjena pridevnika, ki se ohranjata le v sln. *osovni* 'osji' (Gutsmann) in hrv. *osòvljī* 'isto'.

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SLOVENE DIALECTAL *ÓVCA* 'WASP' (PORABJE). PROTO-SLAVIC SYNOMYMS **(V)OSVA* : **(V)OSA* IN SLOVENE

In Proto-Slavic there were two related words with the meaning 'wasp' with parallels in Lith. *vapsà* 'wasp' and *vapsvà* 'idem'. In the original Proto-Slavic synonymous relation **vosā* 'wasp' : **vosvā* 'idem' the dissimilation *v* : *v* → *ø* : *v* in the form **vosvā* took place (i.e. **vosvā* → **osvā*) and the new word **osvā* influenced **vosā*, which therefore lost

its initial consonant *v-*, i.e. **vosā́* → **osā́*. While the form **osā́* prevailed in most Slavic languages, the form **osvā́* survived not only in Russian and Belarusian, but also in the South-Slavic area, where metathesis took place: PSlav. **osvā́* → **ovsä̀*, cf. Montenegrin *ōvsä̀*, *ȍvsa*, Slovene *ófsa*, *ófca, óvca*. But previously – before the metathesis – after the jer-loss in weak positions by analogy on the pattern of relations of the type **сьrkъv-* : **сьrkov-* the adjectives from South-Slavic **osvä̀* were formed, that are maintained only in Sln. *osovni* 'wasp's' (Gutsmann) < **osov-ьnъ-jь* 'wasp's' and Croat. *osòvljī* 'idem' < **osov-jь-jь*.

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