

---

**ZORA**

**91**

**Grant H. Lundberg**

Dialect Leveling in Haloze, Slovenia

---

# ZORA

91

**Grant H. Lundberg**

Dialect Leveling in Haloze, Slovenia

Mednarodna knjižna zbirka ZORA

*Uredniki zbirke*

Jožica Čeh Steger, Univerza v Mariboru, SLO

Marko Jesenšek, Univerza v Mariboru, SLO

Bernard Rajh, Univerza v Mariboru, SLO

Marc L. Greenberg, University of Kansas, USA

Alenka Jensterle Doležal, Univerzita Karlova v Praze, CZ

István Lukács, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, H

Emil Tokarz, Akademia Techniczno-Humanistyczna, PL

---

**ZORA**

**91**

**GRANT H. LUNDBERG**

**Dialect Leveling  
in Haloze, Slovenia**

Bielsko-Biała, Budapest, Kansas, Maribor, Praha

2013

---

**ZORA**  
**91**

**Grant H. Lundberg**

Dialect Leveling in Haloze, Slovenia

*Izdala in založila*

Mednarodna založba Oddelka za slovanske jezike in  
književnosti, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Mariboru

*Za založbo*

Marko Jesenšek

*Recenzent*

Marc L. Greenberg, Ph.D., Full Professor

*Slika na naslovnici*

Bogdan Čobal, *Slika*, akril na platno, 1977

*Grafična priprava*

Grafični atelje Visočnik

*Naklada*

300 izvodov

*Tisk*

Tiskarna Koštomaj

CIP – Kataložni zapis o publikaciji  
Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor

811.163.6'282(497.4)Haloze)

LUNDBERG, Grant H.

Dialect leveling in Haloze, Slovenia / Grant  
H. Lundberg. – V Mariboru : Mednarodna založba  
Oddelka za slovanske jezike in književnost, Filozofska  
fakulteta, 2013. – (#Mednarodna knjižna zbirka  
#Zora ; 91)

ISBN 978-961-6930-11-6

COBISS.SI-ID 75376129

---

# Contents

<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION</b> .....	9
1.1 Dialect and Standard .....	9
1.2 Chapter Summary .....	13
<b>CHAPTER 2: HALOZE DIALECTS, MEJE AND BELAVŠEK</b> .....	15
2.1 Haloze Dialect .....	15
2.2 Vocalic System of Eastern Haloze .....	17
2.3 Vocalic System of Central Haloze .....	18
2.4 Vocalic System of Western Haloze .....	19
2.5 Eastern Haloze: Meje .....	19
2.6 Prosody .....	22
2.7 Vocalism .....	23
2.8 Examples (Meje/long accented) .....	23
2.9 Examples (Meje/short accented) .....	25
2.10 Examples (Meje/unaccented) .....	27
2.11 Differences in Eastern Systems .....	28
2.12 Central Haloze: Belavšek .....	30
2.13 Prosody .....	31
2.14 Examples (Belavšek/long accented) .....	33
2.15 Examples (Belavšek/short accented) .....	35
2.16 Examples (Belavšek/unaccented) .....	38
2.17 Morphology of Central Haloze (Belavšek) .....	38
2.18 Examples (Masculine Nominal Declension) .....	39
2.19 Examples (Feminine Nominal Declension I) .....	40
2.20 Examples (Feminine Nominal Declension II) .....	41

---

2.21	Examples (Neuter Nominal Declension)	42
2.22	Examples (Adjective Endings)	44
2.23	Examples (Verbal Endings)	45
2.24	Past Tense	45
2.25	Future Tense	45
2.26	Comments on Morphology	46
2.27	Conclusion: Vocalic Differences between Central and Eastern Haloze	47
<b>CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS</b>		<b>49</b>
3.1	Linguistic History of Haloze	49
3.2	Historical Perspective	50
3.3	Phonological Background	51
3.4	Raising of <i>Jat</i>	54
3.5	Lowering of *ə	56
3.6	Other Vocalic Developments in Eastern Haloze	58
3.7	Summary of Vocalic Developments	60
3.8	History of Haloze	61
3.9	Connections between Historical Events and Vocalic Developments	64
3.10	Recent Dialect Contact	65
3.11	Conclusion	66
<b>CHAPTER 4: DIALECT LEVELING IN HALOZE</b>		<b>69</b>
4.1	Introduction	69
4.2	Leveling	70
4.3	Generational Language Use	72
4.4	Oldest Generation	73
4.5	Middle Generation	74
4.6	Youngest Generation	76
4.7	Survey	78

---

4.8 Usage and Maintenance .....	79
4.9 Influence of Other Varieties of Slovene .....	87
4.10 Dialect Leveling in Haloze .....	95
<b>CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>97</b>
<b>REFERENCES</b> .....	<b>99</b>
<b>APPENDIX 1</b> .....	<b>105</b>
<b>APPENDIX 2</b> .....	<b>107</b>
<b>FIGURES AND MAPS</b> .....	<b>111</b>
<b>INDEX</b> .....	<b>113</b>





---

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 DIALECT AND STANDARD

The interaction among the varieties of the Slovene language might be described as a kind of diglossia. Although, the traditional definition of diglossia does not perfectly fit the Slovene situation, the term does capture an important reality (Greenberg 2006: 14). The Slovene standard language did not arise organically from one dominant dialect but is a construct based on features from various dialects and historical periods. As a result there is significant distance, structurally, lexically and phonetically, between the standard language and the dialects. Almost no one in Slovenia grows up with the standard language as his or her mother tongue.

There are various proposals for the categorization of the varieties of Slovene speech. The best known model, put forward by Toporišič, divides Slovene into literary and non-literary types, the literary standard and the spoken standard language being in the literary group and local and regional dialects being part of the non-literary group (13). In many ways this is not a very helpful categorization because it does not tell us much about the varieties. All varieties are defined based on the standard language. Never the less, it will serve as a beginning point for our discussion.

The standard literary language is the language of educated Slovenes, at least to the level of a secondary education (15). It is generally not a spoken language unless it is read from a prepared text. It is used for official purposes and to reach a national audience. Standard Slovene is most often and correctly used by teachers, professors, writers, journalists and actors (15).

The colloquial standard is a less formal and less strict variant of the written standard. It is spoken and rarely written (16). It is used when the audience is not strictly local or when speaking with an unfamiliar person.

Because of its connection to the literary standard, it can be understood by all Slovenes, although, it does adopt some local features. For example, the colloquial standard is different in Ljubljana than in Maribor (Herrity 1). In general the colloquial standard differs from the literary standard in that it is characterized by phonetic reductions and vowel loss, ‘delati’ > *delat*, ‘je bila’ > *je bla*, ‘rekel’ > *reku*, ‘ključ’ > *kluč*. There is also some simplified morphology and colloquial word choice, ‘jedo’ > *jejo*, reduction of the dual and ‘da’ > *ja* (Toporišič 18).

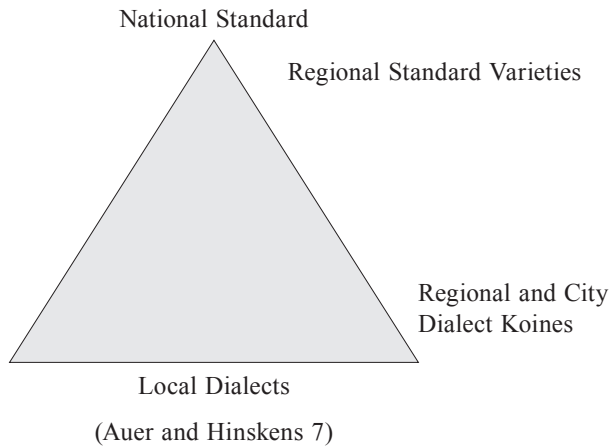
Regional and city dialects are regional koines based on local dialect features. They are used by less educated people or when the audience is local, family and friends. The regional dialects permit, in addition to local dialect features, multiple foreign borrowings, the origin of which mainly depends on the region of the country (21). Finally, local dialects are geographically quite restricted, used almost exclusively in the local village among family and friends and mostly by farmers and agricultural workers (23).

This traditional view is a good place to start a discussion of the interaction between varieties of the Slovene language because it allows us to define distinct categories. Its weakness is that language use does not always fit into these distinct categories. While this model is regularly used in basic descriptions of the Slovene speech territory, researchers often reject or modify it in more detailed discussions because of its distance from actual usage. For example, Smole rejects Toporišič’s division between literary and nonliterary as not very accurate and too focused on the literary standard rather than the language with all its varieties (2004: 322). Smole has recently proposed a division for the varieties of Slovene based on systematic versus non-systematic varieties. She describes Slovene speech varieties between two systematic poles. The natural local dialect, a self-contained linguistic system, being one pole, and the standardized literary language, systematized in the national grammar and authoritative dictionaries, being the other pole. According to Smole, non-systematic variants such as regional or city dialects and the colloquial standard are, to a greater or lesser degree, departures from the systematic varieties (323).

Smole’s model has much to recommend it. Systematic poles and variation from those poles by degrees much more accurately represents language

use. Speakers do not generally switch from one distinct variety to another. They usually alter some aspects of language by degrees based on the social context (Lundberg 2010: 58). One problem with Smole's systematic/non-systematic approach is that the local dialect may not be as systematic as she claims. The modern local dialect may also not be easily understood as a single system. Unless we take a historical perspective or choose the dialect spoken only by the oldest speakers, modern dialects in Slovenia, and probably in most of Europe, are often quite fluid and variegated with clear age and social differentiation. This is complicated by the fact that in some areas of Slovenia the local dialect has been or is being replaced by the regional koine of the area, the colloquial standard or some combination of both (Lundberg 2005b). Auer and Hinskens propose a continuum model, inspired by Chambers and Trudgill, for variation between a standard language and local dialects that is similar to Smole's approach but better represents the variety in local dialects.

**Figure 1:** *Dialect-Standard Continuum*



In figure 1 the standard language and local dialects form the poles of a continuum. The horizontal line represents the relative geographical diversity of local dialects. Intermediate forms arise, which may be more or less demarcated, because of convergence toward the standard language and because of koineization due to the mobility of the population (6). In Slovenia some intermediate varieties, regional dialects, have arisen around major

cities through the process of koineization.<sup>1</sup> In general large cities play an important role in the development of regional dialects (Auer and Hinskens 10). For the Slovene speech territory Toporišič claims at least four regional dialects: Central Slovene, centered around Ljubljana and Kranj; South Styrian, around Celje; North Styrian, around Maribor and Ptuj; Littoral, around Nova Gorica and Koper (21).

Intermediate varieties as well as local dialects are also influenced by dialect leveling. For the local dialects some of this leveling is toward the colloquial standard, but most of it is toward the regional dialects. Dialect leveling toward a regional koine is a common process in contemporary Europe.<sup>2</sup> Smole claims that in Slovenia the range of usage for both the literary standard and the local dialect is diminishing and that the gap is being filled by nonsystematic regional dialects (2009: 558). This claim is supported by my own research on dialect leveling in Haloze, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.

Almost all Slovenes have some competence in a local dialect, and, depending on their education level and other societal factors, they command a greater or lesser degree of the continuum toward the standard language. If a speaker is well educated and fully controls the entire continuum, then the speaker can switch between codes, local dialect, regional dialect and standard language, when the social context demands. If a speaker has less command of the standard language, making him or her unable to fully shift to the standard, or if the speaker is only accommodating his speech in a minor way from a local dialect to a regional koine, then it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify clear distinctions between codes. This is where the notion of a continuum is especially useful. It is also the place where the opinion of an outside observer may differ from that of an informant as to which code is really being used (Werlen 96). What an informant considers to be the colloquial standard may have a variety of regional or dialect features in it. The same can be said of the variety of speech that an informant

---

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of koineization see Kerswill 671 and Auer and di Luzio 5.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of dialect leveling see Auer and Hinskens 14, Kerswill 671 and Trudgill 107.

claims to be local dialect. It may have many features of the regional koine in it. This will also be discussed further in chapter 4.

## 1.2 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In what follows, I will discuss developments in and around the dialect area of Haloze, Slovenia. We will begin the analysis from a descriptive and historical perspective. The phonological description of the dialect and the discussion of the linguistic history of Haloze will be based on the author's dialect recordings and fieldwork. This initial description will be done in order to document the most archaic forms of the dialect and to better understand where Haloze fits among the surrounding dialects and language groups. After this we will analyze Haloze from a contemporary perspective. The discussion of the modern sociolinguistic state of the dialect will be based on extensive interviews as well as several questionnaires conducted in the region within the last two years. This discussion will make use of the continuum model for the interaction between different varieties of the Slovene language described above. It will also be done with the intent of documenting the early stages of dialect leveling in Haloze. This leveling is not primarily toward the colloquial standard. It is largely toward the regional dialect around the city of Ptuj.

In chapter 2, I will give a brief overview of the most archaic form of the dialect still in use, the dialect spoken primarily by the oldest living generation of the Haloze region. I will not give a detailed description of each of the micro dialects. That has been done elsewhere and is not the primary purpose of this book. I will give a basic description of the vocalic systems of the main regions of Haloze and include a more detailed description of two regions as examples. The phonological description included in chapter 2 is of the village dialects of Meje and Belavšek. This micro dialect of Meje is similar to other eastern Haloze village dialects, but this description with examples has not been published in any other venue.

In chapter 3, I will give a brief summary of the phonological history of the region. I will use dialect data from fieldwork to discuss the provenience

of the Haloze dialect systems and to describe the relationship between the Slovene Pannonian and Styrian dialect bases and the Croatian Kajkavian region. Haloze plays an important part in that discussion because of its location at the convergence of these dialect areas and because of the national border on which it sits.

In chapter 4, I will turn to the contemporary situation in Haloze. I will discuss interviews and recent fieldwork as well as present the findings from several questionnaires conducted in Haloze, all of which indicate that, contrary to popular belief, the local dialect is not dying. Large percentages of people of all age groups claim to be proficient speakers of the dialect. It is also undeniable that, when the modern dialect of almost all local speakers is compared to the most archaic forms of the dialect, the dialect is changing. My contention, backed up by the results of surveys, interviews and observations, is that the local village dialect is being leveled toward the dialect of the regional koine.

The regional koine, spoken in and around the city of Ptuj, is based on local dialects and is perceived by speakers as dialect. As the local village dialects are leveled toward the regional koine, speakers continue to think of themselves as local dialect users even though they are speaking a variety of the language closer to the regional dialect than to the micro dialect of their parents and grandparents.

---

## Chapter 2: Haloze Dialects, Meje and Belavšek

### 2.1 HALOZE DIALECT

Haloze is located directly to the south of Ptuj in the eastern Slovene historical province of Styria. The road which connects Ptuj and Zagreb runs through the geographic center of Haloze. Its northern border is defined by the Dravinja and Drava rivers, and on its eastern and southern sides Haloze is delineated by the Slovene-Croatian national frontier. The western extreme of Haloze runs south from Makole along the Jelovški stream to Donačka mountain. At its widest point in the west, Haloze covers about ten kilometers from the Croatian border to the Dravinja. In the east it is only six kilometers wide. From Goričak in the east to Makole in the west it is just over thirty kilometers long.

*Map 1: Haloze within Slovenia*



The hills of Haloze, which are covered with vineyards, are the most distinctive geographic feature of the area, and they grow progressively higher from the northeast to the southwest. This means that in the east there is only a political and national border between Slovenia and Croatia because the hills are small, but in the southwest the line of mountains between Boč, Rogaška mountain and Macelj, all of which are from 700 to 800 meters in elevation, makes up a significant geographic as well as political border between the two countries.

There has never been one major urban center in Haloze. Even today when people of this area travel for employment or shopping they go either to Ptuj, Maribor or some other city outside of Haloze. There are, of course, local centers. In eastern and central Haloze, there are four local centers, one on each river: Zavrč on the Drava, Cirkulane on the Bela (The villages that surround these two make up eastern Haloze.), Leskovec on the Psičina and Podlehnik on the Rogatnica (The villages that surround Leskovec and those to the east of Podlehnik<sup>3</sup> make up central Haloze.). Žetale, also on the Rogatnica, is one of the local centers of western Haloze.

Dialect information from Haloze is especially interesting because until recently the area was relatively isolated, the population had a low level of basic education (Bračič 1967, 1982) and the dialect was considered to be archaic. In addition to the conservative nature of the dialect, Haloze's location makes it interesting. Haloze is on the periphery of the Slovene-speaking world, a position where, typologically, one expects to find archaisms. Haloze is thus potentially a rich area in which to observe and describe linguistic change.

I will not include a detailed dialect description of all of Haloze here. That has been done elsewhere (For detailed dialect descriptions see Kolarič 1964, Zorko 1991, 1993, Lundberg 1999.). I will provide a basic description of the three main sub-dialects and a more detailed description with examples of the micro dialects of Meje, in eastern Haloze and Belavšek in central Haloze.

---

<sup>3</sup> The isoglosses west of Podlehnik and east of Žetale which define the boundary between central and western Haloze cannot be specifically indicated because of lack of any descriptions from this area.



Map 2: Map of Haloze



## 2.2 VOCALIC SYSTEM OF EASTERN HALOZE

The vocalic systems of eastern Haloze make distinctions of word-level prosody in the accented syllable only. This accent is free to fall on any syllable of the word, and its placement is phonemic, *'kɔ:sti* (loc. sg. fem.) ‘bone’, *ko'sti:* (nom. pl. fem.) ‘bone’ (Meje). These systems have not experienced acute relengthening, often called *brata*-lengthening, a process which is common to many Slovene dialects. In this sense they are different from the Styrian dialects to the west and north of Haloze. Finally, the vocalic systems of eastern Haloze are strictly monophthongal, and distinctive quantity has been retained, *brat* ‘brother’, *bra:t* (sup.) ‘to pick’ (Gorenjski Vrh).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> All examples, unless otherwise stated, are from the author’s notes and recordings while in the field.

**Figure 2:** Eastern Haloze (long accented)

i:	ü:	u:
ɛ:	o:	ɪ:
e:		
	a:	

**Figure 3:** Eastern Haloze (short accented)<sup>5</sup>

i	ü	u
ɛ	o	ɪ
e		
	a	

### 2.3 VOCALIC SYSTEM OF CENTRAL HALOZE

Like eastern Haloze, central Haloze has a vocalic system in which word-level prosodic distinctions are realized only in the accented syllable. This system has distinctive quantity, *br̄at* ‘brother’, *br̄at* (sup.) ‘to pick’, although that quantity, still distinctive, carries less functional load in central Haloze because it is almost always accompanied by a quality distinction in the form of a diphthong, *'hit̄ati* ‘to hurry’, *hi'ti:in* ‘I hurry’, *'d̄elati* ‘to work’, *'d̄ä:ilaš* ‘you work’ (Belavšek). The place of the ictus is free, so this is also phonemic in central Haloze, *'k̄o:usti* (dat. sg.) ‘bone’, *k̄o'sti:i* (gen. sg.).

**Figure 4:** Central Haloze (long accented)<sup>6</sup>

i:i	ü:i	u:
ɛ:		ɪ:
ä:i	o:u	
	a: (a:)	

---

<sup>5</sup> The symbol *a* represents a velarized /a/ with slight lip rounding.

<sup>6</sup> The *ä* represents a fronted /a/. The *o* and *ɛ* are lax or lowered vowels.

**Figure 5:** *Central Haloze (short accented)*

i	ü	u
ɛ	o	ɾ
ä ą		

## 2.4 VOCALIC SYSTEM OF WESTERN HALOZE

The vocalic systems of western Haloze are in most respects the same as those found in central Haloze. One important difference is that, as a result of *brata*-lengthening and other developments, all stressed vowels are long, and thus phonemic length distinctions have been lost. This has also produced two new diphthongs, *ie* and *uo*, which resulted from the lengthening of short \**ě* and \**ǣ* (>*ie*) and \**o* and \**ɔ* (>*uo*), respectively.<sup>7</sup>

**Figure 6:** *Western Haloze*

i	ü	u
ie		uo
ɛ		o
e		o
	au	ɾ
a		

## 2.5 EASTERN HALOZE: MEJE

What follows below is a more detailed description of the village dialect of Meje.<sup>8</sup> This is an example of the dialect spoken in eastern Haloze around the

<sup>7</sup> The vocalic information on western Haloze comes from Zorko 1993.

<sup>8</sup> The data for this description come from the author's fieldwork in Slovenia during 1997 and 1998. This form of the dialect is used by the oldest living generation in the village.

local center of Cirkulane. Because strict linguistic divisions do not always fit exactly into any of the traditional definitions of Haloze, it is necessary to define more accurately what is meant by the designation eastern Haloze. This area is part of what, according to geography, has traditionally been called Lower Haloze. In fact, it takes up about half of that geographic region. The division is based on the elevation of the hills, and it is important to the linguistic definition of Haloze in terms of language contact. Upper Haloze has much more restricted contact with speakers from outside of their local dialects because the 800 meter high hills have long formed a significant geographic barrier to contact. The eastern and central parts of Haloze, on the other hand, are much more open to this contact, and, as the phonology of this area will show, the neighboring Croatian dialects have had a significant amount of contact with this part of Haloze. The linguistic area of eastern Haloze also crosses the boundaries of agronomy, another traditional division of this region. Agronomists have usually drawn the line between central and lower Haloze at the Bela river. That does not work as a dialect or linguistic boundary for several reasons. One reason is that the Bela does not act as a barrier to communication. In fact, largely because the village of Cirkulane is located along its path, it is a gathering point. For the purposes of dialect description, the linguistic division between eastern and central Haloze must be drawn along the ridge that separates the Psičina river valley from the Bela. Eastern Haloze includes everything east of this line between the Croatian national border and the Drava and Dravinja rivers. In terms of demographics, eastern Haloze can be defined as the villages that surround the local centers of Zavrč on the Drava river and Cirkulane on the Bela river. These two areas are mentioned specifically here because they are important local gathering points and because they represent two sub-dialects within eastern Haloze. The differences between these two sub-dialects will be discussed in more detail below.<sup>9</sup>

Meje, as mentioned above, represents the form of the eastern Haloze dialect spoken around Cirkulane. It is located about five kilometers south of Cirkulane on the Slovene and Croatian national frontier. Its elevation is 310 meters because it is also on the top of some large hills. In fact, the word

---

<sup>9</sup> For a detailed description of Gorenjski Vrh, a micro dialect that represents those located around Zavrč, see Lundberg 1999.

they use for village is *vrh* which also means ‘hilltop.’ It is situated on the group of hills which are the initial source of the Bela river. The exposed hillsides are covered with vineyards and the remaining land is forest, but very few people make money from wine, and some of the vineyards are left untended because of lack of labor. The population is also falling here. In 1931 there were 116 people in Meje. Now there are fewer than 70.

**Figure 7: Consonants (Meje)**

*Obstruents*

p	t		k
b	d		g
f	s	š	h
	z	ž	
	c	č	

*Resonants*

m	n	
	l	
	r	
v		j (j̃)

The system of consonantal phonemes is basically uniform in the dialects of eastern Haloze. We find the expected Slovene regressive assimilation of voicing and devoicing. All voiced obstruents, including /v/, are voiceless before a following voiceless obstruents and at the end of a word, *bɔ:k* ‘God’, *bɔ:gec* ‘Jesus’, *nɔš* – *nɔže* ‘knife’, *cɛrkef* – *cɛrkvi* ‘church’. Voiceless obstruents are voiced when they are in the position before a voiced obstruent except /v/, *gre:ž du'mɔ:* ‘you go home’, *tvɔj* ‘your’. Eastern Haloze has the development of /nj/ > /j/ but with slightly different results in different areas. In the easternmost dialects /j/ retains a nasal quality, but in Meje and other dialects around Cirkulane it is optionally realized as plain /j/, *'svi:ja* ‘pig’ (Gorenjski Vrh), *'svi:ja* ‘pig’ (Meje). This means that *j̃* is phonemic only

in the extreme east of Haloze. Vocalic /l/ and /ŋ/ appear in Haloze under very restricted conditions. The /l/ is found in several German borrowings, *fro:štikl* ‘breakfast’, *maŋtl* ‘coat’. The /ŋ/ is found where a reduced vowel has been dropped, *osŋdeset* ‘eighteen’, *seŋdeset* ‘seventeen’. The /l/ which comes at the end of the word in the masculine singular past tense of verbs is realized as *o* in Gorenjski Vrh and as *u* in Meje, *reko* ‘he said’ (Gorenjski Vrh), *nesu* ‘he carried’ (Meje). Historically soft /l/ and /n/ have both hardened in eastern Haloze, *ogen* ‘fire’, *kra:l* ‘king’. The development of /m/ > /n/ in final position is found in eastern Haloze, *de:lan* ‘I am working’, *sin* (adv.) ‘toward me’. In eastern Haloze the combination /um/ becomes /hm/, *hmru* ‘he died’.

The cluster /čr/ is retained, *čre:šja* ‘cherry’, *čre:blj* ‘boots’. In word final position following a high front or mid vowel such as /i/ or /ü/, the phoneme /h/ is often realized as /š/, *krüš* ‘bread’, *opšestiš* ‘at six’. In word initial position /ü/ > /vü/, *vüra* ‘hour’, *vü:sta* ‘mouth’. The cluster /šč/ is realized as /š/ in eastern Haloze, *i:šeš* ‘you look’. The cluster /hč/ has become /š/, *niše* ‘no one’. In eastern Haloze the nominal ending for the feminine instrumental singular is *oj* rather than *o*, which is the regular ending found in central and western Haloze, *ro'ko:j* ‘by hand’, *vo'do:j* ‘with water’.

## 2.6 PROSODY

As mentioned above, the vocalic systems of eastern Haloze make all distinctions of word-level prosody in the accented syllable. This accent is free to fall on any syllable of the word, and its placement is phonemic, *kø:sti* (loc. sg. fem.) ‘bone’, *ko'sti:* (nom. pl. fem.) ‘bone’ (Meje). These systems have not experienced acute relengthening, a process which is common to many Slovene dialects. In this sense they are different from the Styrian dialects to the west and north of Haloze. The lack of acute relengthening has produced an environment in which distinctive quantity has been retained, *brat* ‘brother’, *bra:t* (sup.) ‘to pick’ (Gorenjski Vrh).

## 2.7 VOCALISM

The vocalic systems of eastern Haloze are monophthongal. This is a significant point because most of the dialects around them are at least to some extent diphthongal. This is true of central Haloze, Styrian dialects and the Croatian Kajkavian dialects that border Haloze. These systems have eight long and eight short accented vocalic phonemes. In all cases but one the long vocalic phonemes do not differ from their short counterparts in terms of quality. For example, we find the reflex of the CSL. *jat* in long syllables as *ɛ:* and in short syllables as *ɛ*, *brɛ:k* ‘hill’ and *ne'dɛla* ‘Sunday’. The exception to this pattern is the vocalic phoneme *a*. In long syllables it is a low central vowel like the one in the Slovene standard language, *'glarva* ‘head’, but in short syllables it is a low back vowel, *tɔn* ‘over there’. This may be due to influence from the Kajkavian dialect of Bednja where CSL. short *\*a* is realized as *ò*, *bròt* ‘brother’, *zvòti* ‘to call’, *ribo* ‘fish’ (Jedvaj 1956: 284). It might also be noted that although there is clearly a phoneme *r*, in many cases it seems to have lost phonemic quantity. It is often very difficult to tell the difference between long and short. The distinction is clearest in the first syllable of polysyllabic words, for example *'dr:vɔ* and *'hrbet*.

**Figure 8:** *Meje (long accented)*

i:	ü:	u:
ɛ:	ø:	r:
e:		
	a:	

## 2.8 EXAMPLES (MEJE/LONG ACCENTED)<sup>10</sup>

i: ← \*i: vj'čì:t (sup.) ‘to study’, 'di:nar ‘money’, go'ri:ca, go'ri:ce (nom. fem. pl.), v go'ri:cj (loc. fem. sg.), gl'e'di:du (3p. pl.) ‘to watch’, ko'si:t (sup.) ‘to

<sup>10</sup> Glosses are given only if the corresponding standard Slovene form has a different meaning or if the correspondence to standard Slovene is not clear.

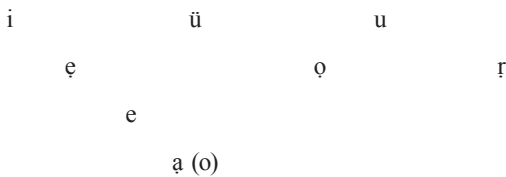
- mow', ko'si: (3p. sg.), ko'si:lo (lpt. neut. sg.),<sup>11</sup> 'svi:jo (acc. fem. sg.) 'pig', 'svi:je (nom./acc. fem. pl.), je'di: (acc. fem. pl) 'dish', pla'ti:jo (3p. pl.) 'to pay', 'vi:no, 'vi:na (gen. neut. sg.), na'ri:baļi (lpt. masc. pl.) 'to grate', 'ji:tij 'to go', li'di: (gen. masc. pl.) 'people'. 'pi:tu (lpt. masc. sg.) 'to ask', na'pi:je (3p. sg.), smr'di: (3p. sg.), bli:, šli:, le'ti:š 'to run', le'ti:jo, 'zi:ma, po'zi:mij, pe'či: (gen. fem. sg.)
- e: ← \*ě: 'sve:ča, 'de:lat (sup.), 'de:lan (2p. sg.), 'de:laju, ve:n (1p. sg.) 'to know', ve:š, 've:mo, ve:, na'mle:lij, 'je:mo (1p. pl.) 'to eat', 'je:du (lpt. masc. sg.), 'pe:nes 'money', ži've:lij, preži've:u (lpt. masc. sg.) 'survive', pre'de:lalij 'to produce', bre:k 'hill', na 'bre:gij (loc. masc. sg.), na 'bre:gah (loc. masc. pl.), za'be:leno (adj.) 'peeled', 'me:šalij 'to mix', 'de:te (acc. fem. pl.) 'children'
- ← \*ǫ: de:n, 'de:vlaš 'to put in', na'de:vlalij
- e: ← \*ę: 'te:ško, pe:t 'five', 'pe:tih (nom. masc. pl.), de'se:t, 'je:du (3p. pl.) 'to go', 'sve:ti (adj.) 'holy', 'je:zik, 'vre:dij (adv.) 'in order', 'ze:be me 'I am cold'
- ← \*e: pe:č, 'če:la 'bee', 'še:stih 'at six', ve'če:r, dva ve'če:ra, ve'če:rju (acc. fem. sg.) 'dinner', 'gle:du (lpt. masc. sg.) 'to watch'
- a: ← \*a: 'za:čiba 'zaseka', 'za:čibe (gen. fem. sg.), na'pra:viš 'to do', 'hra:na 'food', 'hra:nij (loc. fem. sg.), do'ma: (adv.), dva:, 'mla:tilij (lpt. masc. pl.), 'kra:la (gen. masc. sg.), 'spa:la (lpt. fem. sg.), spa:t (sup.), pi'ja:če (acc. fem. sg.), po'ma:gat (sup.) 'to help', po'ma:galij (lpt. masc. pl.), po'štrigla:tij 'to trim', 'la:nij (adv.) 'last year', me'sa: (gen. neut. sg.), na'ma:zeno, bla: (lpt. fem. sg.) 'to be', 'zva:lij (lpt. masc. pl.)
- o: ← \*o: blō: (lpt. neut. sg.), ko'ko:š, ko'ko:šij (nom. masc. pl.), 'po:zno (adv.), vo'dō:j (inst. fem. sg.), ro'ko:j (inst. fem. sg.), me'so:, te'sto:, le'po:, no:č, gnō:j, 'gnō:ja (gen. masc. sg.), 'dō:blij (lpt. masc. pl.) 'to receive', ku'šō:la 'bean', bo:k, o'tro:k (gen. masc. pl.)

<sup>11</sup> In Cirkulane, Meje and Paradiž when speaking in the past tense, women often use the neut. form of the l-participle to refer to themselves.



- ← \*V:l̥ j̥o: (lpt. masc. sg.) ‘to eat’, na'j̥o:, š̥o: (lpt. masc. sg.) ‘to go’
- ← \*ov do'm̥o: (adv.)
- ← \*o: b̥o: (fut., 3p. sg.) ‘to be’, dr'g̥o:č (adv.) ‘again’, na 'r̥o:ke ‘by hand’, 's̥o:sāt, ro'k̥o: (acc. fem. sg.)
- u: ← \*!̥: vu:k, gu:t ‘throat’, 'du:go (adv.)
- ü: ← \*u: na'v̥ü:č̥il̥i (lpt. masc. pl.) ‘to learn’, za'sl̥ü:ž̥il̥i, 'j̥ü:n̥ce (acc. masc. pl.), 'gr̥ü:ška ‘pear’, 'gr̥ü:ške (acc. fem. pl.), 'k̥ü:p̥il̥i, 'l̥ü:d̥i (nom. masc. pl.), 'v̥ü:ha (nom. fem. sg.) ‘ear’, 'l̥ü:š̥il̥i ‘to peel’, 'k̥ü:r̥ja ‘chicken’, 'k̥ü:r̥je (gen. fem. sg.), 'k̥ü:h̥amo (1p. pl.) ‘to cook’, 'k̥ü:h̥ala (lpt. fem. sg.), po's̥ü:š̥il̥i, 'p̥ü:st̥il̥i, 't̥ü:d̥i, 'h̥ü:d̥i (adj. nom. masc. pl.) ‘bad’
- r̥: ← \*r̥: 'dr̥:va (nom. fem. sg.) ‘firewood’, 'dr̥:ve (nom. fem. pl.), 'v̥r̥:h̥ja (nom. fem. sg.) ‘cream’, 'v̥r̥:h̥je (gen. fem. sg.), v̥r̥:h ‘village’, 'kr̥:stef (gen. masc. pl.) ‘baptism’

**Figure 9:** Meje (short accented)



## 2.9 EXAMPLES (MEJE/SHORT ACCENTED)

- i ← \*i ho'dit̥i (hudit̥i) ‘to walk’, 'š̥tikl̥ ‘piece’, 'š̥tikl̥ef (gen. masc. pl.), 'f̥ink̥išta ‘Pentecost’, 'pic̥ek̥i ‘chicks’, ko'sit̥i, 'skrit̥i, 'hiš̥i (loc. fem. sg.), mir, 'mira (gen. masc. sg.), 'pt̥iček
- ɛ ← \*ě 't̥ɛden ‘week’, 't̥ɛdn̥on (inst. masc. sg.), 'č̥erkef, 'sm̥ɛla (lpt. fem. sg.), 'm̥ɛsto, ne'd̥ɛlu (acc. fem. sg.), 'm̥ɛsec, 'm̥ɛsecef (gen. masc. sg.), 'd̥ɛca

(dɛ:ca) ‘children’, 'dɛce (gen. fem. sg.), 'dɛci (dat. fem. sg.), 'çɛsta, 'mɛtj̥ (inf.) ‘to have’, 'rɛpa, 'dɛlatj̥, 'dɛlo, hrɛn

← \*ə 'snɛxa ‘daughter-in-law’, k 'mɛšj̥ (dat. fem. sg.) ‘mass’, pɛs ‘dog’, gnɛs ‘today’, 'kɛku ‘how many’, dɛš ‘rain’

e ← \*ɛ 'svetek ‘holiday’, 'gledatj̥

← \*e 'zele, 'zemla, 'zemle (gen. fem. sg.), 'nesu (lpt. masc. sg.) ‘to carry’, fest ‘hard’, 'neče (3p. sg.) ‘does not want to’, 'nebreš (2p. sg.) ‘cannot’, 'nebreju (3p. pl.), 'eno, 'mela ‘flour’, 'mele (gen. fem. sg.), 'žegne (acc. masc. pl.) ‘blessing’, 'peklj̥, 'seden ‘seven’

← \*ě 'deček ‘young guy’

a ← \*a 'flašo (acc. fem. sg.) ‘jug’, 'čaku (lpt. masc. sg.) ‘to wait’, tan ‘there’, plaç ‘space’, 'j̥aboka (nom. fem. sg.), 'j̥abošnica ‘apple wine’, 'gr̥aba ‘valley’, 'gr̥abu (acc. fem. sg.), 'gr̥abe (gen. fem. sg.), 'd̥atj̥, 'štala ‘barn’, ps̥a (gen. masc. sg.) ‘dog’, po'maɣatj̥, po'maɣu (lpt. masc. sg.), o'datj̥ ‘to sell’, 'kr̥ava, 'kr̥ave (gen. fem. sg.), 'hajzlec ‘bathroom’, kaḵ ‘how’, 'sl̥ama ‘straw’, sla'maj̥ča ‘breadbasket’

o ← \*o s̥o (3p. pl.) ‘to be’, 'toča

← \*o 'ȯbät ‘dinner’, 'hȯdla (lpt. fem. sg.) ‘to walk’, 'hȯdu (lpt. masc. sg.), 'mȯtj̥ko (acc. fem. sg.), 'ȯdalj̥ (lpt. masc. sg.) ‘to sell’, kȯs, 'hȯjkica ‘pine tree’, 'kȯje/'ku̇je (acc. masc. pl.) ‘horses’, 'kȯjef (gen. masc. pl.), 'vȯle (acc. masc. pl.) ‘oxen’, 'fȯjtratj̥ ‘feed animals’, nȯr, 'ȯsen ‘eight’, 'vȯdu (acc. fem. sg.), mȯšt, 'pȯznau (lpt. masc. sg.) ‘to recognize’, 'kȯze (acc. fem. pl.), kcoj (prep.) ‘along with’

u ← \*! 'tukla ‘apple wine’, pun ‘full’, 'gučatj̥ ‘to talk’

ü ← \*u 'pücatj̥ ‘to clean’, 'vüro (acc. fem. sg.) ‘hour’, 'fürkle (nom. fem. pl.) ‘baking fork’, 'püstj̥lj̥, 'püte (acc. fem. pl.) ‘brenta’, kr̥ux, 'kr̥uha (gen. masc. sg.), tü, 'vütro ‘morning’, lük ‘onion’



u ← \*ʋ 'vɔdu (acc. fem. sg.), 'grabu, gle'di:du

← \*ɪ̯ 'nesu (lpt. masc. sg.), 'pi:tu (lpt. masc. sg.)

ɾ ← \*ɾ dr'gɔ:č, štr'na:jst 'fourteen'

## 2.11 DIFFERENCES IN EASTERN SYSTEMS

Though the systems of eastern Haloze are similar, there are important differences as well. Meje, a representative of the dialect used around Cirkulane, differs from Gorenjski Vrh, a representative of the dialect spoken in the extreme east around Zavrč, in at least two ways. The first is found in the results of the process known as the Slovene circumflex advancement. Extreme eastern Haloze, Gorenjski Vrh and other villages around Zavrč, appears to have carried this process of advancement through on a much more limited scale than in the villages of Meje and others around Cirkulane, where the process was more regular like in central Haloze. For example, in Gorenjski Vrh we find 'me:sɔ 'meat', 'čre:vɔ 'gut', 'glɑ:vu (acc. fem. sg.) 'head', 'kokuš but also kɔ'kɔ:ši 'chicken'. These examples show part of the hierarchy of advancement in eastern Haloze. In this area, the place of accent did not advance when the following syllable was open but did, most of the time, when the following syllable was closed.<sup>12</sup> In Meje, on the other hand, we see *me'sɔ:*, *čre'vɔ:*, *glɑ'vɔ:*, as well as *ko'kɔ:š*, indicating that the place of accent advanced in this area in both of these environments much as in the literary language.<sup>13</sup>

The other area in which the vocalic systems of Gorenjski Vrh and Meje differ is in the distribution of several vocalic phonemes and in the area of vowel reduction when the vowel is not under stress. 1) The distribution of fronted *ü*, both long and short, and short *a* is not the same in these dialects. In Meje both of these phonemes are strongly felt and regular in all expected

<sup>12</sup> See Lundberg 1997 for a full discussion of circumflex advancement in Haloze.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of the advancement hierarchy in Slovene and Kajkavian dialects see Greenberg 1992.

positions, in fact stressed velarized *a* is often indistinguishable from an *o*, *na'vü:čīlī* 'they learned', *plac* 'space'. In Gorenjski Vrh, on the other hand the *a* is much less velarized. It only has a hint of rounding. The *ü* is in free variation with its non-fronted counterpart, so that some speakers say *krūx* 'bread' and others say *krux*. This is probably the result of influence from the neighboring Prlekian dialect of Središče where there is no *ü* (Greenberg 1995). It may also be a Kajkavian influence because most Kajkavian dialects have reintroduced a non-fronted /u/. 2) Under stress in both dialects \**!* is realized as *u*, but in unstressed position the reflex is different. In Gorenjski Vrh it is *u*, but in Meje and Cirkulane it is *o*. This is an interesting connection to Kajkavian Međimurje because it is the same situation that Oblak describes there (49). In Meje we find *gu:t* 'throat' and *'jāboka* 'apple'. 3) In unstressed position in Gorenjski Vrh the final /l/ in the masc. sg. form of the l-participle is realized as *o*, but it is realized as *u* in Meje, *'rekō* (GV), *'nesu* (Meje). 4) In both areas the reflex of CSI \**ǫ* in final position when unstressed is *u*, *'grābu* (acc. fem. sg.) 'valley', *'dē:laju* (3p. pl.) 'they work'. 5) In general unstressed /u/ is realized as *i* in both Gorenjski Vrh and Meje. In Gorenjski Vrh that is a rule only in final position, but in Meje it is a rule in all positions, *na 'brē:gi* 'on the hill', *vi'čī:t* (sup.) 'to study'. 6) The reflex of CSI \**ě* when not under stress in Gorenjski Vrh is *i*, *'obīt* 'lunch'. It is realized as *ä* in Meje, *'obät*.

## 2.12 CENTRAL HALOZE: BELAVŠEK

As regards geography, central Haloze is the western part of what has historically been known as Lower Haloze. In linguistic terms, central Haloze can be defined, based on the author's fieldwork, as the dialect spoken west of the ridge that runs between the Bela and the Psičina river valleys and east of the Rogatnica. Podlehnik, located on the Rogatnica, is on the edge of central Haloze because here, in addition to typical central Haloze forms, we find the rising diphthongs that are the result of the lengthening of short internal stressed syllables, *'tuoča* < *\*tǔča* 'hail', *'rieku* < *\*rèklb* 'he said'. These forms are characteristic of western Haloze and of central and southern Styrian dialects. The village of Belavšek near Zgornji Leskovec will be used here as a representative of the central Haloze dialect.

Zgornji Leskovec, the local center of central Haloze, is located about 15 kilometers east of Ptuj in the central part of the valley of the Psičina on the road from Ptuj to Trakoščan. Zg. Leskovec has long been an important gathering point in this part of Haloze. The church here, named for Saint Andrew, was first built in 1545. Before WWII, the village was called Sv. Andraž v Halozah, and many locals still use that name. Compared to the rest of Haloze, Zg. Leskovec is well developed. It has two taverns, two small stores, a school and a fire station.

Belavšek is a very small village located 2 kilometers east of Zg. Leskovec in between the roads Ptuj–Trakoščan and Leskovec–Cirkulane. The homes are built on the top of 300 meter high hills and can be reached by a local dirt road from Leskovec. 16% of the territory of Belavšek is covered by vineyards which are not very productive largely because of a lack of workers to take care of them. 35% of the territory is covered by forests. Much of the open area is used to grow hay and corn for animals and potatoes and grains for people. The local farmers also plant vegetable gardens as well as apple and pear trees, the produce from which only covers their personal needs. The area is relatively poor and has experienced drastic depopulation over the last half century. In 1948 there were over 200 people living in Belavšek, now there are under 100 residents. Until quite recently the poverty and isolation of this area have contributed to the preservation of the dialect in an archaic form.

### 2.13 PROSODY

Like eastern Haloze, central Haloze has a vocalic system in which all distinctions of word-level prosody are realized in the accented syllable and in which the accent is free to fall on any syllable of the word. This system has distinctive quantity, *brat* ‘brother’, *bra:t* (sup.) ‘to pick’, although that quantity, still distinctive, carries less functional load in Belavšek because it is almost always accompanied by a quality distinction, *'hitätì* ‘to hurry’, *hì'ti:in* ‘I hurry’, *'dèlatì* ‘to work’, *'dä:ilaš* ‘you work’ (Belavšek). The only exception to this statement is vocalic *r*. The quality of this phoneme is the same when long and when short, and it is often very difficult to distinguish quantity on internal syllables for this phoneme. The place of the ictus is free, so this is also phonemic in central Haloze, *'kø:ustì* (dat. sg.) ‘bone’, *kø'sti:i* (gen. sg.), although here again the quality distinctions between long and short or unaccented vowels reduce some of the phonemic load carried by this feature.

*Figure 11: Consonants (Belavšek)*

#### *Obstruents*

p	t		k
b	d		g
f	s	š	x
	z	ž	
	c	č	

#### *Resonants*

m	n (ŋ)
	l (l̥)
	r
v	j

As noted by Rigler, as regards the system of consonantal phonemes, Pannonian dialects basically follow regular Slovene tendencies (1986a: 127). This statement is also true of central Haloze. The most prominent consonantal features are discussed below.

As in most Slavic dialects, in Haloze the usually distinctive feature of voicing is neutralized in final position and through regressive assimilation in certain environments. All voiced obstruents, and /v/, are voiceless before following voiceless obstruents and at the end of a word, *bɔ:uk* ‘God’, *’bɔ:ugɛc* ‘Jesus’, *nuš* – *’nužɛ* ‘knife’, *’cɛrkɛf* – *’cɛrkvi* ‘church’. Voiceless obstruents are voiced when they are in the position before a voiced obstruent, except /v/ which does not cause regressive assimilation of voicing, *grɛ:ž du’mu:* ‘you go home’, *tvuj* ‘your’.

The phoneme /x/ is often realized as *š* when it is preceded by a high vowel in word final position, *krüš* ‘bread’, *ɔp ’šästitš* ‘at six’. In central Haloze this same phoneme /x/ is realized intervocalically as a voiceless glottal approximant, *’krüha* (gen. sg.) ‘bread’.

Central Haloze also has several miscellaneous consonantal developments relating to obstruents that should be mentioned here. A palatalized *k*’ can sometimes be heard in the word *’k’ɛdɛn* ‘week’. In central Haloze the combination /um/ becomes *hm*, *hmɾu* ‘he died’. The final *u* is also often truncated in this form, so that the past tense form is *hmɾ*. The cluster /čr/ is retained, *’črä:išja* ‘cherry’, *’črä:ibli* ‘boots’, but the cluster /šč/ is simplified to *š* in Haloze, *’i:išɛš* ‘you look’. A similar development can be seen in the cluster /hč/ which has become *š*, *’nišɛ* ‘no one’.

The resonants of central Haloze have also experienced similar developments to those in other Styrian and Pannonian Slovene dialects. The development /nj/ > *j* is wide spread in this area but with slightly different results in different parts of Haloze. In the central Haloze dialects *j* does not normally retain any trace of the nasal consonant, *’svi:ija* ‘pig’, *’jegɔf* ‘his’ (Belavšek). The development of /m/ > *n* in final position is found in central Haloze, *’dä:ilan* ‘I am working’, *sin* (adv.) ‘toward me’. Vocalic /l/ and /ŋ/ appear in Haloze under very restricted conditions. The /l/ is found in several German borrowings, *’frɔ:uštikl* ‘breakfast’, *’māntl* ‘coat’. The /ŋ/ is found where a



reduced vowel has been dropped, *'ošndeset* 'eighteen', *'sändeset* 'seventeen'. Like in many north-eastern Slovene dialects, historically soft /l/ and /n/ have both hardened in cenral Haloze, *'ogęn* 'fire', *krą:l* 'king'. It might also be noted that the nasal consonants have a strong qualitative influence on the accented vowels that both precede and follow them, *'nuga* 'leg', *'simen* 'seed'.

Finally, the phoneme /v/ has been a part of some, as of yet not exhaustively explained, phonological developments in central Haloze. In at least one word we can see /m/ > v in the position before /n/, *'vnugo* 'much' (also *'fnogo*). In word initial position /ü/ > /vü/, *'vüraq* 'hour', *'vü:ista* 'mouth', and when /v/ came before an accented back *jer*, it failed to merge with *e*, *vün* 'out', *'vüzęn* 'Easter'.

**Figure 12:** *Belavšek (long accented)*

i:i	ü:i	u:
e:		ɤ:
	ä:i	o:u
	a: (a:)	

## 2.14 EXAMPLES (BELAVŠEK/LONG ACCENTED)<sup>14</sup>

i:i ← \*i: *'svi:ija* (nom. fem. sg.) 'pig', *'zi:iima*, *po'zi:iimi*, *zi:it* 'wall', *si:in*, *bli:i* (lpt. masc. pl.) 'to be', *'bi:ila* (lpt. fem. sg.), *'pi:iilī*, *'vi:iino*, *'ci:izra* 'bean', *bi:ik*, *na'pi:ięęn* (1p. sg.), *ro'di:iilī sā*, *'pi:iitati* 'to ask', *'pi:išęęn* (1p. sg.), *pi'sti:iš* 'to allow', *si'ši:iilī* (lpt. masc. pl.) 'to dry', *ko'sti:i* (gen. fem. sg.), *glę'di:iin* (1p. sg.) 'to watch', *go'sti:iija* 'wedding', *lę'ti:iin* (1p. sg.) 'I run', *ži'vi:iin* (1p. sg.), *ži'vi:iimo*

e: ← \*ę: *pę:t*, *i'mę:*, *'glę:dali*, *'pę:tęk*, *pę:st*, *go've:dina*, *'vrę:di* 'okay', *grę:n* (1p. sg.) 'to go', *'grę:mọ*, *'grę:du* (3p. pl.), *'tę:škọ*, *za'pę:stję* 'palm'

<sup>14</sup> Glosses are given only if the corresponding standard Slovene form has a different meaning or if the correspondence to standard Slovene is not clear.

← \*e: jɛ'sɛ:n, vɛ'čɛ:r, sɾ'çɛ:, vɛ'čɛ:rja, pɛ:č, šɛ:st, 'brɛ:skvɑ 'peach' ('breskvɑ)

← \*ə: dɛ:n (dä:in) 'day', vɛ:s 'village', la'kɛ:t 'elbow', 'dɛ:vlaš (2p. sg.) 'to put in', na'dɛ:vlan (1p. sg.), 'mɛ:šnik 'priest'

ä:i ← \*ě: bɛ'sä:ida, cvä:it, 'svä:ičɑ, lä:is 'wood', 'dä:ilat (sup.) 'to work', 'dä:ilaš, ɔ'bä:iljš 'to peel', 'bä:iži (imp.) 'to run', pɔ 'tä:isti (dat. neut. sg.) 'dough', 'prä:idi, 'zvä:izda, pɔ'vä:idamɔ 'to speak', 'pä:inɛs 'money', 'pä:inɛza (gen. masc. sg.), 'črä:iblĭ 'boots', 'bä:ilĭmi (adj. inst. masc. pl.) 'white', 'sä:inčɑ, brä:ik 'hill', 'črä:išja 'cherry', 'vä:isiš 'to hang', vä:in (1p. sg.) 'to know', vä:iš (2p. sg.)

a: ← \*a: gra:t, klɑ:s, 'glɑ:vɑ, na 'glɑ:vu (acc. fem. sg.), 'trɑ:vɑ, spɑ:t (sup.), za'spɑ:li, ka'za:lɛç, vrɑ:t, la:s, dva:, stvɑ:r, hrɑ:st, kra:l, kɔ'la:č 'tort', 'za:čnaju (3p. pl.) 'to begin', zɛ'hɑ:vla sä mi 'to yawn', pɔ'dgɑ:nɑ, 'brɑ:da, 'brɑ:de (gen. fem. sg.), 'za:vɛç

ɔ:u ← \*ɔ: klɔ:up, zɔ:up 'tooth', pɔ:ut 'path', glɑ'vɔ:u (acc. fem. sg.), vɔ'dɔ:u, bɔ:uš (fut., 2p. sg.) 'to be', rɔ:uka 'hand', rɔ'kɔ:u (acc. fem. sg.), ɔ'krɔ:ugli 'circular', na'rɔ:ube (adv.) by mistake', 'sɔ:usɛt 'neighbor', 'vrɔ:uɛç, sɔ:ut 'barrel', 'gɔ:ustɔ 'thick', 'lɔ:uči (3p. sg.) 'to distinguish'

← \*o: blɔ:u (lpt. neut. sg.) 'to be', bɔ:uk 'god', vɔ:us 'wagon', mɛ'sɔ:u 'meat', kɔ:ust 'bone', ku'kɔ:uš 'chicken', 'pɔ:ubralĭ, 'frɔ:uštikl 'breakfast', lɛ'pɔ:u, 'pɔ:uznɔ 'late', ɔ'kɔ:uli, 'gɔ:uleç (adv.) 'naked', 'škɔ:udi (3p. sg.) 'to harm', 'škɔ:udla (lpt. fem. sg.), 'klɔ:uni (3p. sg.) 'to leave to, to give', 'šɔ:ula 'school', nej nɛ 'bɔ:ugaš 'you do not obey', rɔ:uk 'horn', zla'tɔ:u, 'šɔ:ulni 'shoes', 'grɔ:uzdjɛ (nom. neut. sg.) 'grapes', na 'ɔ:uko, 'dɔ:ubu (lpt. masc. sg.) 'to receive' 'dɔ:ubili (lpt. masc. pl.), ɔ'trɔ:uk (gen. masc. pl.) 'child'

← \*a:N 'lɔ:uni 'last year', 'srɔ:um 'shame', brɑ'trɔ:unɛç, pi'jɔ:unɛç, gi'bɔ:unčɑ 'gibanica', 'strɔ:uni (loc. fem. sg.), 'side', rɔ:unɔ 'early'

← V:lɛ sun 'pɔ:u 'I fell', bɔ:un 'šɔ:u 'I will go', sun 'jɔ:u 'I ate'

u: ← \*l̥: vu:k ‘wolf’, du:k ‘debt’, 'žu:ti ‘yellow’, gu:t ‘throat’, 'du:go (adv.) ‘long time’

← \*Nq̥: mu:š ‘husband’

← \*No: nu:s ‘nose’, mu:č ‘strength’, nu:č ‘night’, 'nu:ga ‘foot’, zvu:n ‘bell’, gnu:j ‘manure’

← \*ov# du'mu: (adv.) ‘toward home’

ü:i ← \*u: lü:ič, o'lü:ipək, 'grü:iška ‘pear’, klü:ič, 'plü:ičə ‘lungs’, 'kü:ipil̥i (lpt. masc. pl.), 'kü:ipu (lpt. masc. sg.), 'vü:ista ‘mouth’, 'jü:inci, 'pü:ivali (lpt. masc. pl.) ‘to build’

r: ← \*r̥: 'mr̥:ka ‘kumarica’, v̥r̥:h

**Figure 13:** *Belavšek (short accented)*

i	ü	u
e		o
	ä	a

## 2.15 EXAMPLES (BELAVŠEK/SHORT ACCENTED)

i ← \*i kru'mp̥ir, kru'mp̥ira (gen. masc. sg.), kru'mp̥irə (acc. masc. pl.), s̥ir, 's̥ira (gen. masc. sg.), 'hiša, 'hišu (acc. fem. sg.), 'hišə (gen. fem. sg.), miš, 'miši (gen. fem. sg.), 'cvirən ‘thread’, k̥o'rito ‘trough’, rit, 'ritati ‘to kick’, nič, 'mijə (pron. 1p. masc. dl.), 'vijə (pron. 2p. masc. dl.), 'hitati

← \*əN sin (adv.) ‘toward me’, 'timā ‘darkness’

← \*čN hrin ‘horseradish’, 'simən (nom. neut. sg.) ‘seed’

e ← \*ě 'breza, 'leto, 'repa, 'tjedēn (k'jedēn), 'delatī, 'bežatī, 'gledatī, 'vešitī, 'jēstī, 'česta, 'mešto, 'dēlo, nē'dēla, kō'leno, o'rehe (acc. masc. pl.), 'vremēn (nom. neut. sg.) 'weather', 'dēnš 'to put', 'vedātī, nē'vešta

← \*e (n/a) 'zelē, 'reku (rāku) (lpt. masc. sg.) 'to say'

← \*ə 'meša 'mass', k 'mešan (dat. fem. pl.), peš, 'snexa 'daughter-in-law', 'meḡlo (meḡlu) (nom. neut. sg.), 'deška, gneš 'today', 'veṭer, del 'forward', 'delek 'far', deš 'rain', po 'deži (dat. masc. sg.) 'after the rain'

ä ← \*e 'nämren 'I cannot', 'žäḡen 'blessing', 'žäḡna (gen. masc. sg.), 'näčē (3p. sg.) 'does not want to', kmät, 'sädeḡ 'seven', 'räčēju (3p. pl), 'räkla (lpt. fem. sg.), 'täle 'calf', od 'mänē (pron. 2p. gen. sg.), 'tätä 'aunt', 'žāna, 'näsla (lpt. fem. sg.) 'to carry', 'päčē (3p. sg.) 'to bake', oḡ 'šästih 'at six', 'sästra, 'mätlā, 'čäsēn, än 'one', sä 'everything'

← \*ě 'lätu (lpt. masc. sg.) 'to run'

← \*e na'rätī 'to do', za'čätī 'to begin', 'sräčno, räp, 'jätra

← \*aj krāj, 'jäcē (acc. fem. pl.) 'eggs', 'jäcoḡ (inst. fem. sg.)

a ← \*a po'gača 'potica', naš, taḡ 'there', naḡ (pron. 1p. dat. pl.), brat 'brother', 'brate (acc. masc. pl.), 'bratoḡ (gen. masc. pl.), 'kraḡa, 'kraḡe (acc. fem. pl.), 'jaḡbuka (nom. fem. sg.), 'spatī, 'grāba 'valley', 'grābu (acc. fem. sg.), 'glāžek 'glass', zo'bača 'rake', 'paḡmeṭēn, 'štala 'barn', 'maṭī, 'maṡl 'coat', 'čābeḡ 'nail', 'faṭr 'father', sma (1p. dl.) 'to be', 'začimba 'zaseka'

o ← \*o žē'lodec, so, 'goba, 'koča, 'koči (gen. fem. sg.), 'toča, 'robača 'shirt'

← \*o 'oḡrat 'garden', 'otrok (nom. masc. sg.), 'obät 'lunch', 'okno, 'koza, 'škoda, 'koža (kō:užu), 'hoḡin (1p. sg.), 'hoḡu (lpt. masc. sg.), koš, 'hošta 'woods', škoḡ, 'koša, stol, 'poṭok, 'toṭī 'this'

u ← \*aN kun 'where'

- ← \*oj svuj (poss. pron. nom. masc. sg.), muj (1p. pron. nom. masc. sg.), tvuj (2p. pron. nom. masc. sg.), kuj ‘horse’
- ← \*ə sun (1p. sg.) ‘to be’
- ← \*Nq smu (1p. pl.) ‘to be’
- ← \*oN 'duma ‘at home’, nur ‘fool’, nuš ‘knife’, 'nužɛ (acc. masc. pl.), 'nusin (1p. sg.) ‘to carry’, 'mutika ‘hoe’, 'kunɛ, 'mugli (lpt. masc. pl.) ‘to be able to’, knuf ‘button’
- ← \*uɫ si ɕu ‘did you hear’
- ← \*ɭ pun, 'tukla ‘apple wine’, 'vuna, 'dugo, 'guɕati ‘to speak’
- ü ← \*u 'püta, 'püɛ (acc. fem. pl.), 'püvati ‘to build’, krüş ‘bread’, 'krüxa (gen. masc. sg.), tü, 'žüpa ‘soup’, 'vütrɔ, 'vüra ‘hour’, lük ‘onion’, šürc ‘apron’, fküp ‘together’, 'kühja ‘kitchen’, grünt ‘property’
- ← \*ə vün ‘out’
- ← \*o düɫ ‘down’ (probably analogy to vün)
- ɾ ← \*ɾ 'zɾno, 'hɾbɛt, hmɾ (hmɾu) (lpt. masc. sg.) ‘to die’

**Figure 14:** *Belavšek (unaccented)*

i	u	
ɛ	o	ɾ
ä	a	

## 2.16 EXAMPLES (BELAVŠEK/UNACCENTED)

i ← \*i 'spati, 'delati, k 'meši, 'ględati

← \*u pı'sti:in (1p. sg.), sı'si:it (sup.), 'mešti (dat. neut. sg.), 'bra:igi (loc. masc. sg.) 'hill'

ä ← \*ě 'hitäti, 'qbät

e ← \*ę 'pamęt, glę'di:iš, 'meşę

← \*e ne'dela, ve'čer, 'näsęn

← \*ǣ 'dędęk, žę'lodęc

o ← \*o 'mešto, 'leto, o'rehe, 'delo, vo'do:u

u ← \*o 'meşlu (nom. neut. sg.) 'fog', ku'ko:uš 'hen'

← \*o pō'gaču (acc. fem. sg.), 'kravu (acc. fem. sg.), 'grabu (acc. fem. sg.)

← \*ı 'koşıu (lpt. masc. sg.), po'ko:usu, 'kü:ipu, o'di:išu, 'glę:du, 'kunču

← \*ı 'jabuka (nom. fem. sg.) 'apple'

r ← \*r dı'go:uč, pı'giša (nom. fem. sg.) 'palm', or 'handful'

## 2.17 MORPHOLOGY OF CENTRAL HALOZE (BELAVŠEK)

There is relatively little in print about the structure or development of the Haloze vocalic systems. There is even less available data on the basic grammatical morphology of Haloze dialects. An exhaustive presentation of the grammar structure of a Haloze dialect will have to wait for a future discussion because that goes well beyond the scope of this book, but, in an effort to provide at least some material on a largely undocumented dialect, some

basic elements of the nominal and verbal morphology in central Haloze are given below.<sup>15</sup>

**Figure 15: Masculine Nominal Declension**

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>	<u>dual</u>
N	-∅	-i	-i
G	-a	-oŋ	-oŋ
D	-i	-an	-an
A	-∅	-e	-a
L	-i	-ax	-ax
I	-oŋ	-amī	-ama/amī

## 2.18 EXAMPLES (MASCULINE NOMINAL DECLENSION)

- (sg.) 'brä:ik, 'brä:iga, 'brä:igī, brä:ik, 'brä:igi, 'brä:igoŋ, (pl.) 'brä:igī, 'brä:igoŋ, 'brä:igan, 'brä:ige, 'brä:igax, 'brä:igamī, (dl.) 'brä:igī, 'brä:igoŋ, 'brä:igan, 'brä:iga, 'brä:igax, 'brä:igamī 'hill'
- *si:in* (nom. sg.), 'si:inī (nom. pl.) 'son'
- *zɔ:up* (nom. sg.), 'zɔ:uba (gen. sg.) 'tooth'
- 'sɔ:usɛt, 'sɔ:usɛda (gen. sg.) 'neighbor', but 'jäzīk, jä'zika 'language', 'člɔvāk, člɔvāka, 'person' 'otrɔk, o'trɔ:uka 'child'

<sup>15</sup> For help in collecting this morphological data, I am indebted to Anton Roškar, a school teacher in Zg. Leskovec and a native Haložan. He helped me know what forms to look for, and he allowed me to read his own unpublished description of a neighboring dialect, Velika Varnica. I relied on his grammatical description as a model and his knowledge of the dialect to fill in gaps in my own material.

These last forms illustrate an interesting occurrence in Haloze. Most masculine forms have neutralized any shifting stress within the paradigm, so the ictus is on the same syllable in all cases and numbers. Some forms seem to have retained a remnant of shifting stress in that the nominative singular form has stress on the first syllable and all other forms have stress on the second syllable, *'otrək, o'trə:uka*.

As is clear from the above chart and examples and those that follow, the dual has almost entirely merged with the plural in all nominal declension categories. A relic of the dual can be heard in the speech of some elderly villagers in the accusative and instrumental cases of the masculine declension and in the instrumental of the feminine and neuter declensions. Though it is possible to argue that the dual has been lost as a nominal category, I have listed it here because it is still alive in the speech of both old and young in the pronominal and verbal systems.

**Figure 16:** *Feminine Nominal Declension I*

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>	<u>dual</u>
N	-a	-ə	-ə
G	-ə	-ø	-ø
D	-i	-an	-an
A	-u/ø/ɔ:u	-ə/ɛ:	-ə
L	-i	-ax	-ax
I	-øn/ø:j	-amj	-ama/amj

## 2.19 EXAMPLES (FEMININE NOMINAL DECLENSION I)

- (sg.) *'graba, 'grabe, 'grabi, 'grabu, 'grabi, 'grabon*, (pl.) *'grabe, grap, 'graban, 'grabe, 'grabax, 'grabamj*, (dl.) *'grabe, grap, 'graban, 'grabe, 'grabax, 'grabamj* 'valley'



For most speakers the forms *'maṭi* ‘mother’ and *hčī* ‘daughter’ are replaced by *'mama* and *'hčę:rkę*.

Some Common Slavic neuter nouns follow this feminine pattern of declension, *'jabuka* ‘apple’, *'jäca* ‘egg’, *'vüxa* ‘ear’.

- (sg.) *'rɔ:uka*, *'rɔ:ukę*, *'rɔ:uki*, *rɔ'kɔ:u*, *rɔ:uki*, *rɔ:ukɔn/rɔ'kɔ:u*, (pl.) *'rɔ:ukę*, *rɔ:uk*, *'rɔ:ukan*, *rɔ'kę:*, *'rɔ:ukax*, *rɔ'ka:mj*, (dl.) *'rɔ:ukę*, *rɔ:uk*, *'rɔ:ukan*, *'rɔ:ukę*, *'rɔ:ukax*, *rɔ'ka:ma* ‘arm’

This pattern of shifting ictus is also followed by *'gla:vę* ‘head’, *'vɔdę* ‘water’, and *'nuga* ‘leg’ (This form is sometimes long, *'nu:gę*, probably because of analogy to *'rɔ:uka*.)

**Figure 17: Feminine Nominal Declension II**

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>	<u>dual</u>
N	-ø	-i	-i
G	-i	-i	-i
D	-i	-an	-an
A	-ø	-i	-i
L	-i	-ax	-ax
I	-jɔn/jɔ:j	-amj	-ama/amj

## 2.20 EXAMPLES (FEMININE NOMINAL DECLENSION II)

- (sg.) *kɔ'kɔ:uš*, *kɔ'kɔ:ušj*, *kɔ'kɔ:ušj*, *kɔ'kɔ:uš*, *kɔ'kɔ:ušj*, *kɔ'kɔ:ušjɔn*, (pl.) *kɔ'kɔ:ušj*, *kɔ'kɔ:ušj*, *kɔ'kɔ:ušan*, *kɔ'kɔ:ušj*, *kɔ'kɔ:ušax*, *kɔ'kɔ:ušamj*, (dl.) *kɔ'kɔ:ušj*, *kɔ'kɔ:ušj*, *kɔ'kɔ:ušan*, *kɔ'kɔ:ušj*, *kɔ'kɔ:ušax*, *kɔ'kɔ:ušama* ‘chicken’

In Haloze, *'cerkef* ‘church’ follows this same pattern except that in the gen. pl. and dual the form is the same as the nom. sg.

A slight variation on this pattern is found in the following forms: (sg.) *kɔ:ust*, *kɔ'sti:i*, *'kɔ:usti*, *kɔ:ust*, *'kɔ:usti*, *kɔ'stjɔ:j*, (pl.) *kɔ'sti:i*, *'kɔ:usti*, *kɔ'stä:in*, *kɔ'sti:i*, *kɔ'stä:ix*, *kɔ'stmi:i*, (dl.) *kɔ'sti:i*, *'kɔ:usti*, *kɔ'stä:in*, *kɔ'sti:i*, *kɔ'stä:ix*, *kɔ'stmi:i* ‘bone’ (pl) *la'se:*, *'la:sj*, *la'sä:in*, *la'se:*, *la'sä:ix*, *la'smi:i* ‘hair’

**Figure 18:** Neuter Nominal Declension

	singular	plural	dual
N	-ɔ	-i	-i
G	-a	-ø	-ø
D	-i	-an	-an
A	-ɔ	-i	-i
L	-i	-ax	-ax
I	-ɔn	-amj	-ama/amj

## 2.21 EXAMPLES (NEUTER NOMINAL DECLENSION)

- (sg.) *'leɔ*, *'leɔa*, *'leɔi*, *'leɔɔ*, *'leɔi*, *'leɔn*, (pl.) *'leɔi*, *lä:it*, *'leɔan*, *'leɔi*, *'leɔax*, *'leɔamj*, (dl.) *'leɔi*, *lä:it*, *'leɔan*, *'leɔi*, *'leɔax*, *'leɔamj* ‘year’
- *'simɛn* ‘seed’ (This is the form for sg. except gen. sg., *si'mɛna*.) The plural has the stem with stress on the second syllable in all cases, *si'mɛni* (nom. pl.).
- *'täɭ* ‘calf’, *tɛ'leɔa* (gen. sg.) The neuter stem in *t* is preserved, but the stem in *s* is not, *nɛ'bɔ:u*, *nɛ'ba:* ‘sky’

**Figure 19:** *First Person Personal Pronouns*

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>	<u>dual</u>
N	jəs /jə	mi	'mija (masc.) 'mije (fem.)
G	'mäņ / mę	nəs	'näji
D	'mäni / mi	nən	'näma
A	'mäņ / mę	nəs	'näji
L	'mäni	nəs / 'prinas	'näma
I	mę'noj / 'męnon	'nämi	'näma

**Figure 20:** *Second Person Personal Pronouns*

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>	<u>dual</u>
N	ti	vi	'vija (masc.) 'vije (fem.)
G	'täb / tę	vəs	'väji
D	'täbi / ti	vəm	'väma
A	'täb / tę	vəs	'väji
L	'täbi	vəs / 'privas	'väma
I	'tə:ubon	'vämi	'väma

**Figure 21:** *Third Person Personal Pronouns*

	<u>singular</u>			<u>plural</u>	<u>dual</u>
N	un	'una	u'nɔ:u	'unɨ / u'ni	u'nija (masc.) u'nijɛ
G	'jega	je	'jega (ga)	jih	'jiji
D	'jemɨ	jɔj	'jemɨ (mu)	jin	'jima
A	'jega	je	'jega (ga)	jih	'jiji
L	jen	jɔj	jen	jih	'jima
I	jin	jɔj	jin	'jimɨ	'jima

**Figure 22:** *Adjective Endings*

	<u>singular</u>			<u>plural</u>	<u>dual</u>
N	-ɨ	-a	-ɔ	-ɨ (masc.) ɛ	-a (masc.) ɛ
G	-ɛga	-ɛ	-ɛga	-ix	-ix
D	-ɛmɨ	-ɨ	-ɛmɨ	-in	-in
A	-ɨ/ega	-u/ɔ	-ɔ	-ɛ	-a (masc.) ɛ
L	-ɛn	-ɨ	-ɛn	-ix	-ix
I	-in	-ɔn	-in	-imɨ	-imɨ

## 2.22 EXAMPLES (ADJECTIVE ENDINGS)

- (masc. sg.) 'bä:ilɨ 'white', 'bä:ilega, 'bä:ilemɨ, 'bä:ilega, 'bä:ilɛn, 'bä:ilɨn, (masc. pl.) 'bä:ilɨ, 'bä:ilix, 'bä:ilɨn, 'bä:ile, 'bä:ilix, 'bä:ilimɨ

The personal possessive pronouns are as follows: (sg.) *'muji*, *'svuji*, *'tvuji*, *'jegof*, *'je:jni*, (dual) *'najini*, *'vajini*, *'jijini*, (pl.) *naš*, *váš*, *'jixof*.

**Figure 23: Verbal Endings**

	1	2	3
<b>sg.</b>	-n	-š	-ø
<b>dual</b>	-ma	-ta	-ta
<b>pl.</b>	-mø	-te	-dø / jø

### 2.23 EXAMPLES (VERBAL ENDINGS)

- *'ględati: glę'di:in*, *glę'di:iš*, *glę'di:i*, *glę'di:ima*, *glę'di:ita*, *glę'di:ita*, *glę'di:imø*, *glę'di:ite*, *glę'di:ido* ‘to look’

### 2.24 PAST TENSE

- (sg.) *sun 'dä:ilu*, *si 'dä:ilu*, *je 'dä:ilu*, *je 'dä:ilala*, *je 'dä:ilalø*, (dl.) *sma 'dä:ilala (le)*, *sta 'dä:ilala (le)*, (pl.) *smu 'dä:ilalì (le)*, *stę 'dä:ilalì (le)*, *sø 'dä:ilalì (le)*

### 2.25 FUTURE TENSE

- (sg.) *bø:un 'dä:ilu*, *bø:uš 'dä:ilu*, *bø:u 'dä:ilu* (*'dä:ilala*, *'dä:ilalø*), (dl.) *bø:uma 'dä:ilala (le)*, *bø:uta 'dä:ilala (le)*, (pl.) *bø:umø 'dä:ilalì (le)*, *bø:ute 'dä:ilalì (le)*, *bø:udø 'dä:ilalì (le)*

As regards the past tense of the verb, women refer to themselves and are referred to using the masculine forms.

Common Slavic \*nǫ verbs are realized as *na* when unstressed and *nǫ:u* when stressed.

- *ǫ'br:nati* 'turn', *ǫ'br:nɛn* 'I turn', *ǫ'br:nali* 'they turned', *zvr'nǫ:uti* 'turn over'

## 2.26 COMMENTS ON MORPHOLOGY

There are several interesting things that have taken place in the nominal declension patterns that are worth mentioning. There is a tendency to simplify some of the differences between paradigms. I will mention four developments here. (1) While the dual is preserved in pronouns and verbal conjugation, and is still robust in these categories, for example, *'mija* (masc. dual) 'we two', in nominal morphology it is almost completely lost. The dual has merged with the plural in each declension pattern. (2) In the plural the masculine declension has almost totally merged with the feminine declension I. The only forms that are different are the masculine nominative plural and genative plural. The neuter declension has also nearly merged with feminine I. Only the neuter nominative and accusative plural forms are distinct from feminine plural. (3) In the singular, the feminine I and masculine have almost merged because unstressed *u > i*, making the locative and dative forms for both genders the same. That makes the instrumental, locative and dative forms the same for both genders. If the feminine form has stress on the ending, the instrumental form is *ǫ:j* rather than *ǫn*. (4) Masculine nouns have tended to generalize the stem of the nominative singular as the stem for all cases and numbers. For example, *brä:ik* 'hill' is the reflex of Common Slavic circumflex, so the genitive singular should have the accent on the ending, but it does not. The nominative singular stress has been generalized for all cases. There are some forms that indicate that this may be a recent development. For example, *zǫ:up* 'tooth' has two possibilities for genitive singular, *'zǫ:uba*, the expected form, and *'zǫba*, which may indicate that the accent was only recently retracted from the ending. There are several other masculine stems that have preserved shifting stress within the paradigm, *'člǫväk* 'person', *člǫ'veka* (gen. sg.). The fem. declensions do not show this tendency to generalize away the shifting stress in

the paradigm. There are many feminine nouns of both the first and second declensions which have preserved some form of the Common Slavic pattern of accent shift, for example, *r̥o:uka* (nom. sg.) ‘hand’, *r̥o'k̥o:u* (acc. sg.). This is, of course not the exact Common Slavic pattern, but it shows what it was because these forms have been through later Slovene developments without neutralizing distinctions within the paradigm.

One of the interesting morphological developments that connects central Haloze to other Pannonian dialects is the forms of the Common Slavic *\*n̥o* verbs. All Slovene dialects, except Resija and Prekmurje, which have the expected reflex of *\*n̥o*, have *ni* for this Common Slavic form (see Andersen 1999: 50). This research shows that Haloze also has the expected reflex of *\*n̥o* when under stress, *zvr'n̥o:uti*, and, probably by analogy, the form *na* when unstressed, *o'br:naļi*. This also connects Haloze to some Kajkavian dialects which have *na* for this type of verb in both stressed and unstressed position, *st̥isnati*, *vrn̥ati* (Rožić 1894: 71–2).

## 2.27 CONCLUSION: VOCALIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CENTRAL AND EASTERN HALOZE

In many ways the vocalic systems of eastern and central Haloze seem quite similar. Both systems have the same number of short and long phonemes. Both have only two heights of *e*-like vowels with an asymmetry in the back of the vocalic system. This is striking in contrast to the western Haloze system of vocalic phonemes which has three height distinctions in *e*-like vowels, *b'rie:za* ‘birch’, *pe:t* ‘five’ and *z've:zda* ‘star’, and a basically symmetrical system.

The important difference between eastern and central Haloze appears when one examines the historical source of each of the phonemes. There are important differences in the way that the Common Slavic phonemes combined to form these two different systems, and it is somewhat problematic to derive both vocalic systems from the same Slovene dialect base.

The starting point for the processes which resulted in the vocalic system of Belavšek appears to be Rigler's Common Pannonian system (1963: 43), based on the Common Slavic mergers which that system presupposes,  $e:i < *ě$ ;  $e < *e, *ę, *ə$ .

The mergers that are the most interesting here are those in the front of the vowel system. There was a merger of the reflexes of long  $*e, *ę$  and  $*ə$ . This can be seen in the contemporary dialects of central Haloze. Long  $*e, *ę$  and  $*ə$  all give  $ę:$ . In Rigler's Pannonian system the long  $*ě$  is a falling-sonority diphthong, and in Belavšek today the reflex of the circumflexed *jat* is  $ä:i$ . The back of the vocalic system also reflects processes common to Pannonian dialects. The reflexes of long  $*o$  and  $*ǫ$  merged in  $o:u$ , and  $*ʎ$  replaced  $*u$ , which had fronted.

The vocalic systems of Gorenjski Vrh and Meje differ from central Haloze in several important ways. Across the entire area of eastern Haloze the reflexes of Common Slavic long  $*ě$  and long  $*ə$  have merged. They have combined into a vowel distinct from the other *e*-like vowels. In Meje long  $*ě$  and  $*ə$  give  $ę:$ , and long  $*ę$  and  $*e$  have merged in  $e$ . This is significant because if we are to assume the same provenience for the vocalic systems of eastern and central Haloze, in other words a Pannonian provenience, we must assume that at an early stage in eastern Haloze the reflexes of the Common Slavic  $*e, *ę$  and  $*ə$  merged, all of which had a reflex distinct from  $*ě$ , then, in eastern Haloze, the reflexes of  $*ə$  diverged from these and merged with  $*ě$ . That is not possible based on the uniformity of these mergers in the modern dialects. Based on the merger of the reflexes of the  $*ə$  and the  $*ě$  it may be more accurate to derive the vocalic system of eastern Haloze from a Kajkavian base or, perhaps more accurately stated, from a Common Slovene base (north of the Sava) under early and intense pressure from Kajkavian. This question will be addressed fully in the following chapter.



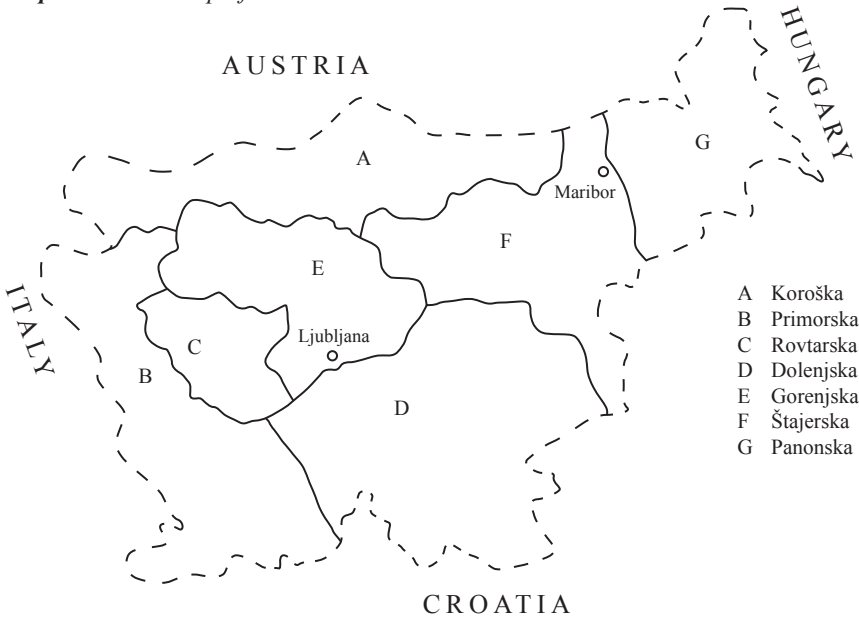
---

# Chapter 3: Historical Developments

## 3.1 LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF HALOZE

The Slovene dialect area of Haloze, which is located to the southeast of Ptuj along the present Slovene-Croatian national border, is essentially part of the Pannonian Slovene dialect base (See map 3 below.), yet my own fieldwork in the area documents an unexpected phonological development in Haloze that connects it to an ancient Kajkavian Croatian vocalic merger (Lundberg 1999).

*Map 3: Dialect Map of Slovenia*



This chapter will provide an explanation for this unusual occurrence using a synthesis of available historical data and dialect information. This

analysis will also provide insights on the historical development of the ethnic, linguistic and political border between Slovenia and Croatia as well as comment on the complexity of deciphering dialect data on and around national borders, where dialect material and ideological concerns are often intertwined.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.2 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Most Slavists agree that the Slavs who would much later be known as the Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes and Croatians entered the Pannonian plain and the alpine region just north of the Adriatic in the mid sixth century. They may have arrived in the Carpathian basin with some preexisting dialect divisions (See Ramovš 1933 and Andersen 1999.), but little is known about early linguistic distinctions among the Western South Slavs. It is true that the earliest kingdoms among these Slavs united parts of the Alpine and Pannonian regions.<sup>17</sup> Samo's seventh-century kingdom united Bohemian and Alpine Slavs (Kos 1955: 77), and the ninth-century Pannonian kingdoms of Pribina, Kocel and Greater Moravia also included these groups (Kos 1955: 116, Guldescu 98). We know that the area, which is today northeastern Slovenia, was part of these Pannonian kingdoms because both Prince Pribina and Prince Kocel had connections to Ptuj (Kos 1969: 83). There is also linguistic evidence that during the Late Common Slavic period Slovene, Kajkavian and central Slovak dialects formed an innovating dialect area (Greenberg 2000: 41).

With the Carolingian defeat of the Avars at the end of the eighth century, the area around the confluence of the Drava, the Mura and the Dravinja, the area that would later be known as Haloze, became part of a border

---

<sup>16</sup> Much of the content of this chapter was originally published as an article in *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* in 2005 under the title "Phonological Results of an Ancient Border Shift: Vocalic Mergers in Northeastern Slovenia."

<sup>17</sup> In referring to these early Slavic peoples as Alpine and Pannonian, I am only indicating the geographic regions of settlement, i.e., the eastern Alps and the Pannonian plains. In this chapter these terms do not refer to hypothetical proto-ethnic groups.

region. This was confirmed at the beginning of the ninth century when Charlemagne made the Drava the border between the Salzburg and the Aquileian patriarchates. With the arrival of the Magyars in the early tenth century and the establishment of the Hungarian nation in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, this area became a disputed border region between the areas controlled by Germanic, Hungarian and Croatian feudal lords. This dispute continued over the course of nearly five centuries.

Although this border, which in its approximate form later became the Slovene-Croatian national border, was unstable and permeable from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, it seems to have had a defining effect on dialect development. It is regularly stated that dialects on the Slovene side of the border exhibit Slovene developments, while dialects on the Croatian side exhibit Croatian phonological developments (Lončarić 156). This does not hold true for the Slovene dialect of Haloze. The village dialects of northeastern Haloze have a vocalic merger of the reflexes of the Common Slavic *jat* and *jers*<sup>18</sup> (Lundberg 1999). This is considered a defining Kajkavian Croatian development (Ivić 57, Vermeer 1983: 440).

What is the source of this “Kajkavian” development in a Pannonian Slovene dialect? Is it the result of an old unity between the dialects of northeastern Haloze and the Kajkavian dialect base, or is it a relatively recent development that arose from intense contact with Kajkavian speakers in the last few hundred years? Both could be possible because of the ancient instability of this border region and because of the movement of people within the Western South Slavic area in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

### 3.3 PHONOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Identifying the genetic relationships that Haloze shares with the dialects that surround it has not proved an easy task for scholars in this field. The two best known and most influential Slovene linguistic scholars, Ramovš and Rigler, offered contradicting opinions on the matter. Ramovš included

---

<sup>18</sup> See figure 26 below.

Haloze in the Pannonian group (1935: 170), but Rigler said it would fit more naturally into the Styrian dialect base (1986a: 117). Part of the difficulty is that all Haloze dialects do not have uniform phonological developments. Another problem is that until recently very little was known about Haloze.<sup>19</sup>

It might be helpful here to trace the development of the vocalic system of Haloze from the vocalic system of Late Common Slavic. The innovations and processes of development in this system will begin to define the genetic relationships that exist between Haloze and the Styrian, Pannonian and Kajkavian dialects with which it shares a border.

**Figure 24:** Late Common Slavic Vowel System

i		y		u
	e	ь	ь	o
				ǫ + ǣ, !
ę	ä(ě)	a		

**Figure 25:** Belavšek Vowel System (Central Haloze)<sup>20</sup>

(*i, *y>)	i/i:i	ü/ü:i	(<*u)	u/u:	(<*!)
(*e, *ə, *ę>)	e/ę:			ǫ	(<*ǫ, *ǫ̇) ǣ/ǣ:
	(*ě>)	ä/ä:i	ǫ:u		(<*o, *ȯ)
	(*a>)	a/ą: (a:)			

(The *ä* represents a fronted /a/, and the *ą* represents a rounded /a/. The *ǫ* and *ę* are lax or lowered vowels.)

<sup>19</sup> For a full discussion see Kolarič 1964, Zorko 1993 and Lundberg 1999.

<sup>20</sup> For this discussion of dialect provenience, we will consider western Haloze, specifically Žetale, to be represented by the dialects of central Haloze. Žetale appears to have developed from the same dialect base, although it also has features in common with neighboring central Styrian dialects (Zorko 1998).

**Figure 26:** *Gorenski Vrh (Eastern Haloze)*

(*i, *y>)	i/i:	ü/ü: (<*u)	u/u: (<*!)
(*ě, *ǣ>)	ě/ě:	o/ɔ: (<*o, *ǫ)	ř/ř:
(*e, *ę>)	e/e:		
	(*a>)	a: (ǣ)	

Figure 24 is a representation of the Late Common Slavic vocalic system. It is clear that there are many developments that take place before it becomes the systems shown in figures 25 and 26, which are the contemporary vocalic systems in central and eastern Haloze. Among the earliest changes are the mergers of \*i and \*y into \*i and of \*b and \*b into \*ǣ. These innovations set up a system from which all Slovene dialects can be derived. The vocalic system depicted in figure 27 is based on Greenberg’s reconstruction (2000: 113).

**Figure 27:** *Common Slovene Vowel System (10<sup>th</sup> Century)*

i/i:		u/u:	
e/e:	ǣ/ǣ:	o/o:	ɔ/ɔ:
ě/ě:	ǣ̃/ǣ̃:	ǣ̃/ǣ̃:	

Greenberg’s reconstruction is different from previous interpretations in that he posits a velarized reflex of Common Slavic \*a in the tenth century for the dialects of the Slovene and Kajkavian speech territories. Greenberg also posits that the first major vocalic development to differentiate this region is the loss of the velarization of \*a south of the Sava river. This isogloss separates northeastern Slovene and Kajkavian dialects from southwestern Slovene dialects. Greenberg’s work solves several difficult problems in earlier reconstructions, and it defines the early developments that differentiate Slovene dialects north and south of the Sava river as well as Kajkavian dialects by positing different relative chronologies of the raising of the Common Slavic *jat* (ǣ), the lowering of the reflex of the *jers* (ǣ) and the loss or retention of velarization of \*a (ǣ̃).

### 3.4 RAISING OF *JAT*

As is clear from figure 27, the low front vowel \**ǣ*, which is believed to be the realization of the Common Slavic (CSl) *jat* (\**ě*), is lower than the \**e*. This is significant because in most contemporary Slovene and other Western South Slavic dialects the reflex of *jat* is higher than the reflex of the \**e*. This means that, at some point in the development of the Slovene language, *jat* had to have raised. This development is not unique to Slovene. The raising of *jat* is considered to be a Late Common Slavic process. What is of interest is the way this innovation occurred in Slovene and neighboring Kajkavian dialects.

The interaction between the raising of *jat* and other phonemes in the Slovene vocalic system has been explained in several different ways. Rigler believed that the process of the raising of *jat* began in the southeast of the Slovene speech territory and moved toward the northwest, reaching some areas only very late (1963: 31). In terms of dialect geography, this fits very well with two other developments. The first is the raising of *jat* in the dialects of Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian (BCS). This also happened very early, and the fact that these dialects are located to the south and east of the Slovene speech territory connects this process in both areas.

The second area in which Rigler's explanation of the raising of *jat* fits nicely with another development is the loss of the CSl nasals in Slovene. This process began around the eleventh century and gradually spread to most Slovene dialects by around the thirteenth century, but there are some indications that the process may have been even slower than that in some regions. There are several dialects in the northwest of the Slovene speech territory, the Carinthian dialect of Kneža and possibly some local dialects around Gorica, where nasality may persist to this day (Greenberg 2000: 118, Vermeer 1982). Rigler indicates that the retention of nasality in the northwest caused *jat* to stay low longer. *Jat* raised in the southeast because nasality was lost early in that part of the speech territory. This also fits with evidence from other Slavic dialects. The reflex of the CSl *jat* is still low in languages like Polish where nasality was not lost. The explanation might be that the CSl front nasal and *jat* were originally both low front vowels. When the nasal feature was lost, to avoid merger with the front nasal, *jat* raised.

Vermeer disagrees with Rigler's idea that *jat* raised later in the northwest than it did in the southeast largely because of the development of the CSI long \**o*, which also raised in Slovene (1982: 99). Rigler explains the raising of long \**o* as a reaction to the raising of *jat* in the southeast. Long \**o* became the long back counterpart of the new high *jat*. The problem is that in the northwest \**o* also raised but without the motivation of *jat* to pull it up, then later, according to Rigler, *jat* raised to become the front counterpart to the long \**o* (1963: 32).

It is possible to explain the development of the long \**o* in the northwest even without the motivation of the raising of *jat*. It may be that the long \**o* raised to emphasize the difference between long and short \**o*. The question is, why would the long *jat* be the front vowel to raise as the front counterpart of the long \**o*. According to Vermeer, if the long \**o* raised to emphasize the difference between the short and long variant of this phoneme, then the long \**e* would be the most likely front counterpart to the long \**o* (100).

Vermeer mentions another problem with Rigler's explanation of the raising of *jat* in the northwest in connection with *brata*-lengthening, the relengthening of internal short acutes in Slovene. If things happened as Rigler said they did, in other words if long \**o* "pulled up" long *jat*, then *brata*-lengthening should have produced a new long low counterpart for short *jat* (100). This is not what happened. The new long *jat* merged with the original long *jat*. Both of these problems are solved if we posit an early, meaning Late Common Slavic, raising of *jat* in both the southeast and the northwest. Greenberg agrees with this notion and posits this development as one that began in the Slovene northwest and moved south and east, reaching Kajkavian only after the reflex of the CSI *jers* had merged with *jat* (2000: 123). This is significant for the dialects of Haloze because they are located on the eastern periphery of the Slovene speech territory. The raising of *jat* reached Haloze later than other Slovene dialects and appears to have been only partially implemented in central Haloze, where the long reflex of *jat* is still a low front vowel, (ä:i).

### 3.5 LOWERING OF \*ǣ

The next significant Western South Slavic vocalic development is the lowering of the reflex of the Common Slavic \*ǣ, including the vocalic mergers that took place as a result. In Slovene dialects south of the Sava river that did not retain a velarized reflex of \*a, the long reflex of \*ǣ merged with \*a. In Slovene dialects north of the Sava and in Kajkavian dialects, where a velarized reflex of \*a was retained, \*ǣ merged with an *e*-like vowel. A good example of this is the simplification of the front of the vowel system in the Styrian and Pannonian dialects of Slovene.

One of the key innovations that defines the difference between a Styrian system and a Pannonian system is how these phonemes simplified. First in short syllables and later in long, Styrian dialects merged *ei* (<\*ě) and *e* (<\*e) and Pannonian dialects merged *e* (<\*e) and *ɛ* (<\*ǣ). Finally the *jer*, which became an *e*-like vowel in the northeast of the Slovene speech territory, merged in Styrian dialects with *ɛ*, which was the reflex of \*ǣ, and in Pannonian dialects the *jer* merged with the reflexes of the \*e and \*ǣ (Rigler 1963: 59). These mergers are old, the development of \*ǣ > e took place around the 13th century, because they took place before *brata*-lengthening in Styrian dialects (Rigler 1986a: 124). This means that as a general rule, in Pannonian dialects, the reflex of the CS1 *jat* is distinct from the reflexes of \*e, \*ǣ and \*ǣ, which have all merged. The resulting Pannonian Slovene system is listed in figure 28 below.

**Figure 28:** *Common Pannonian Vowel System* (Rigler 1963: 45)

i/i:	ü/ü:
ɛ/e:i	o/o:u
e/e:	ǣ      o/o:
	a/a:



A glance back at the vowel chart from central Haloze (figure 25) will show that this area has undergone the mergers and vocalic developments that are characteristic of Pannonian dialects. (*pe:t*, ‘five’ < \**ę*, *pe:č*, ‘oven’ < \**e*, *de:n*, ‘day’ < \**ǎ*, but *z'va:izda*, ‘star’ < \**ě*)

The vocalic systems of eastern Haloze (figure 26) are different from those of central Haloze in several important ways. The most striking divergence is the fact that all over the east of Haloze the reflexes of CSI long \**ě* and long \**ǎ* have merged, and they have combined in a vowel distinct from the other *e*-like vowels. In Gorenjski Vrh long \**ě* and \**ǎ* give *e:*, and the reflexes of long \**ę* and \**e* have merged in *e:* (*pe:t*, ‘five’ < \**ę*, *pe:č*, ‘oven’ < \**e*, but *de:n*, ‘day’ < \**ǎ*, *z'vę:zda*, ‘star’ < \**ě*). This is significant because if we are to assume the same provenience for the vocalic systems of eastern and central Haloze, in other words a Pannonian Slovene provenience, we must assume that at an early stage in eastern Haloze the reflexes of the CSI \**e*, \**ę* and \**ǎ* merged, all of which had a reflex distinct from \**ě*, but later \**ǎ* diverged from these and merged with \**ě*. This is impossible because once two distinct vocalic phonemes have merged there is no way to reestablish their original distributions. The fact that only the reflexes of the CSI *jers* merged with the reflexes of *jat* while the reflexes of \**e* and \**ę* never do indicates that in eastern Haloze, unlike in other Pannonian dialects, such as central and western Haloze, the \**ǎ* never merged with \**e* and \**ę* but merged with the reflex of \**ě* instead.

A much simpler model for these mergers can be found in neighboring Kajkavian dialects, which also underwent the raising of \**ě* and the lowering of \**ǎ*. In Kajkavian dialects, like Slovene dialects north of the Sava, the velarized reflex of \**a* prevented the merger of \**ǎ* and \**a*, but Kajkavian is different from Slovene dialects north of the Sava in that *jat* raised later in Kajkavian, so that the new low reflex of \**ǎ* merged with \**ě* before it raised. This merger of the reflexes of the long *jat* and the long *jer* is seen as a basic feature of Kajkavian dialects (Ivič 1968). With that in mind, it is much less problematic to derive the vocalic system of eastern Haloze from a Common Kajkavian base like the one purposed by Vermeer in his 1983 discussion of the development of the Kajkavian vocalic system (456). This system represents a stage after the long reflexes of the *jat* and *jers* merged and raised.

**Figure 29:** Common Kajkavain Vowel System

i/i:	ü/ü:	u/u: (<ǫ, and later /)	
ɛ/i:e	ə	o/u:o (ö/ǫ:u)	r/r:
	e/e:	a/a:	

### 3.6 OTHER VOCALIC DEVELOPMENTS IN EASTERN HALOZE

The back and middle of the vowel system of eastern Haloze is somewhat more complicated in terms of a Kajkavian provenience. One area in which eastern Haloze seems to be different from most Kajkavian dialects is as regards the reflexes of CSI *\*l̥* and *\*ǫ*. Most Kajkavian dialects have merged these two vocalic phonemes in a vowel distinct from the reflex of *\*o*, although certainly not all Kajkavian dialects are the same in this respect. For example, in Bednja, a well-known Kajkavian dialect near the Slovene border, the reflex of long *\*l̥* and *\*ǫ* is *o:u*, *vo:uk* ‘wolf’, *mo:už* ‘husband’, but the reflex of long *\*o* is *y:e*, *ny:es* ‘nose’ (Jedvaj 1956: 289).<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, western Medimurje has the development *\*l̥ > u*, while the reflexes of *\*ǫ* and *\*o* have merged in *o:u*, *po:ut* ‘path’, *mo:ruka* ‘flour’ (Oblak 1896: 47). Eastern Haloze, like central Haloze and the rest of the Pannonian Slovene dialects, has *u* for *\*l̥*. This is not necessarily a problem for deriving eastern Haloze from a Kajkavian base because, according to Vermeer (1979b: 175), the Kajkavian development *\*l̥ > ǫ* may be a later development after an earlier stage of *\*l̥ > u*, such as is found in Pannonian and Styrian dialects. This variety of reflexes in the back of the vocalic system is an indication that several of the developments involved, such as loss of nasality and loss of vocalic /l/, were concluded relatively late in the development of Western South Slavic.

<sup>21</sup> For an additional discussion of Bednja see Vermeer 1979a.

The arguments for the claim that, in Kajkavian dialects, *\*l* first became *u* then later merged with *o* rest largely on dialect geography. The development of *\*l* > *u* takes place over a large portion of the South Slavic territory. It is found in Pannonian Slovene and most of Čakavian and Štokavian. If Kajkavian never experienced this development, then we must assume that for some reason Kajkavian was excluded from a process that took place all around it. On the other hand, if Kajkavian is included, we can connect a large portion of the South Slavic area with this innovation.

Another area in which contemporary eastern Haloze does not seem to be the same as many Kajkavian dialects is the development *\*u* > *ü*. This development is regular in Haloze except in the extreme east around Zavrč, where it is being replaced by *u*, perhaps because of influence from Prlekian or contemporary Kajkavian dialects which do not have *ü*. In any case, it is a recent innovation because it has only been partially implemented. The areal innovation *\*u* > *ü* took place in Pannonian Slovene, southeast Styrian, Dolenjsko and southern Primorsko, as well as in northern Čakavian and in the Posavian dialects of Slavonian Štokavian. It probably also took place in Kajkavian. Again this idea is based on dialect geography because this innovation occurs today on the periphery of Kajkavian, in the northwest (Bednja), northeast (Kloštar) and south (Mraclin). This typical pattern in dialect geography indicates that the reflexes found on the edges of the speech area are the most archaic, making the reintroduction of non-fronted /u/ a much later innovation. This would also explain why eastern Haloze has retained most of the original distribution of *ü* even though it has a Kajkavian base because the Kajkavian replacement of non-fronted /u/ probably took place as a result of a heavy increase of non-Kajkavian speakers into Kajkavian territory in the 1500's (Vermeer 1979b: 176). That would have been after eastern Haloze began to converge with the Pannonian dialects of Slovene. This points to the notion that the development of *\*u* > *ü* was relatively early in the processes which shaped Western South Slavic because it is mostly uniform over a large territory and because it had to happen before the loss of nasality and the loss of vocalic /l/ because, in those dialects where it occurred, there was no merger of the reflexes of *\*o* or *\*l*.

### 3.7 SUMMARY OF VOCALIC DEVELOPMENTS

According to this scenario, in the tenth century northeastern Slovene and Kajkavian dialects were characterized by a velarized reflex of *\*a*, which prevented the merger of *\*ǝ* and *\*a*, so in these dialects *\*ǝ* merged with an *e*-like vowel. The raising of *jat* moved across this area from the Slovene northwest to the southeast. In the Slovene dialects north of the Sava, *jat* raised before *\*ǝ* lowered, so *\*ǝ* merged with *\*e*. In eastern Haloze and in Kajkavian dialects, *jat* raised later, so that by the time *\*ǝ* lowered, *jat* was still low, and they merged. This means that eastern Haloze developed in contact with Kajkavian dialects long enough to experience the merger of *jat* and the strong *jers*. Greenberg dates the development of the isogloss of the merger of the *jers* and *jat* in Kajkavian as opposed to the merger of the *jers* with *\*e* and the front nasal in neighboring Slovene dialects between the tenth and twelfth centuries (2000: 65). Eastern Haloze also experienced the fronting of *\*u*, which was also an early development. The other historical processes in northeast Slovene and Kajkavian dialects, which complete the development of the back of the vocalic systems, are later. Eastern Haloze and most Kajkavian dialects do have the development *\*! > u* in common, but, by the time that nasality was lost, eastern Haloze had begun to converge with Pannonian Slovene, so there was never a merger of the reflexes of *\*!* and *\*ǝ* in eastern Haloze. Eastern Haloze, as well as the Međimurje Kajkavian dialects did not innovate *\*! > u > ǝ*. The back nasal in Haloze merged with the reflex of *\*o*.

One point that remains to be explained is the existence of the monophthongs *ɛ* and *ɔ* in an area where some sort of diphthong is expected. Eastern Slovene has *e:i* and *o:u* and much of Kajkavian has *ie:* and *uo:*. If we posit a Kajkavian base for the dialects of eastern Haloze, then the monophthongs attested today probably developed from diphthongs with rising sonority like those found in many Kajkavian dialects today.

These monophthongal reflexes may have developed as speakers of eastern Haloze came into close contact with speakers of Styrian and Pannonian Slovene dialects where the diphthongs *e:i* and *o:u* would have appeared in contrast to the forms used by speakers of eastern Haloze. There is little

direct evidence for this explanation,<sup>22</sup> but there are other examples of this very thing happening. This is perhaps much like the monophthongization of *e:i* and *o:u* in the near-by Slovene dialect of Središče which is also on the Slovene-Croatian frontier, *s're:da* 'Wednesday', *mō:ž* 'husband' (see Greenberg 1995). Additionally, Tine Logar claims that this is the process by which we get the monophthong *ɛ:* and *ɔ:* in Gorenjsko dialects (1996: 27). The monophthongs represent a compromise between dialects with opposing reflexes for one CSI phoneme. This may be a process of accommodation in which speakers of different dialects, when they are in regular contact, accommodate their speech to the speech of the other.

It is significant to note that in dialect contact, accommodation takes place only for the most salient features, those that are perceived to be the most radically different phonetically. Finally, the accommodated feature is often not the same as the original form because speakers reduce perceived differences, they do not imitate slavishly (Trudgill 1986: 58). This explanation fits well with the situation in eastern Haloze.

The problem with this accommodation explanation for this particular circumstance is that it generally works in a way in which the lower prestige variant or dialect accommodates to the higher prestige dialect. I have made the assumption that as eastern Haloze began to converge with Slovene dialects and as the national and ecclesiastical borders brought Haloze back into the realm of Ptuj and Slovene lands that the prestige variants would be those dialects spoken in Pannonian Slovene areas. Unfortunately, there is no demographic information for eastern Haloze in the feudal period.

### 3.8 HISTORY OF HALOZE

The developments in the phonological systems of northeastern Haloze that connect this area with early Kajkavian developments fit in well with what

---

<sup>22</sup> In her 1991 article on eastern Haloze, Zorko lists the form *vi:išeš*, meaning 'higher', which is formed from the suffix *ejši*. In the form listed, *ej* has been simplified to *e* (63). This might serve as a clue to the monophthongization of other diphthongs. Its usefulness is limited because the vowel discussed does not carry the word accent.

is known about the early history of the region. Most of this information is based on the history of larger towns and fortresses in the region, such as Ptuj and Borl because there is almost no information about Haloze specifically.

The picture of Haloze in the early feudal period is quite dark. Most of the information that helps to define which church and state centers had control over these lands is indirect. One such piece of information is Charlemagne's declaration in the year 811 that the Drava would be the dividing line between the Salzburg and the Aquileian Patriarchates. This made Haloze the eastern boundary of the Aquileian Patriarch's control. Charlemagne's confirmation of a decision made at a synod in 796 resulted from intense missionary competition between missionaries from Salzburg and Aquileia (Schenker 23). It is also known that in the very early feudal period the lands to Haloze were under the control of Ptuj, a town that in the mid-ninth century was poised to become an important trading center (Kos 1969: 83).

The situation in which Ptuj and the lands of Haloze were part of western state and ecclesiastic control did not last long. This is due to the fact that the Magyars arrived in Pannonia at the beginning of the tenth century. They devastated Greater Moravia and destroyed Ptuj along with all feudal and ecclesiastical organization of the time (Kos 1969: 83), and by 907 they had crushed the Ostmark of the Germanic Holy Roman Empire (Burghardt 60). Europe was exposed to fifty years of extensive Magyar raiding that threatened all but the extreme reaches of the continent (61).

The Magyars first occupied eastern Haloze in the early tenth century, but it would be another hundred years before Hungary settled into the role of a nation state with clear boundaries (Burghardt 64). The fifty years of Magyar raids into Europe in the early tenth century created a power vacuum that severed the earlier ecclesiastical and feudal ties of eastern Haloze to the west from Aquileia, Salzburg and Ptuj. After this important event, we have almost no information from Haloze for nearly three hundred years.

There is some information about Ptuj. According to Kos, in 982 the Magyars were driven back, and a border was formed where the Dravinja flows into the Drava (1969: 83). This puts Ptuj back in the control of the Salzburg Archdiocese and leaves Haloze in Hungarian hands, where it would remain

for three hundred years. Sometime during this gap in information the castle Ankenstein was built. This is the center from which most of eastern and central Haloze were ruled. Ankenstein was originally a Hungarian fortress (Pirchegger 15). This castle and the lands of Haloze were still held by the Hungarians in 1137. In this year Konrad I, the Archbishop of Salzburg, decided to rebuild the fortress at Ptuj to guard the eastern border of this realm. Ptuj had long been in ruins, and the road and crossing of the Drava were not safe because Ankenstein belonged to the Hungarians (Pirchegger 4). We next read the name Ankynstain, the castle appears with several different spellings, and its Hungarian name, Borlyn, in connection with a battle against the Hungarians to retake this land in 1291 (von Zahn 10).

The modern Slavic name for the castle is Borl. The Hungarian name appears in several different forms in the earliest records, Borlyn 1291, Bornel 1335 and Bornyl 1337 (von Zahn 10).<sup>23</sup> The Hungarians did lose control of the lands of Ankenstein when Frederick of Ptuj reclaimed the Ormož region on Easter 1200. At the same time the castle Tranbek, located near the present day village of Dravinjski Vrh, which is on the western edge of Haloze, took back the lands of eastern Haloze and probably the castle Borl (Bračič 1967: 57).

From the mid thirteenth century on most of eastern and part of central Haloze was controlled from Borl, which, because of its location on the border, had complete feudal independence from Salzburg and Hungary. The Hungarians made many attempts to regain this territory well into the fourteenth century because they believed that it was a part of Hungary (Pirchegger 15). Nevertheless, after about 1260, Borl and Haloze began to move closer to Štajersko (Kos 1969: 88), and the Slovene state and ethnic borders developed along the boundaries of this feudal domain. This area fell under Hungarian control one more time near the end of the fifteenth century.

---

<sup>23</sup> Bračič cites the last form and says that it has some connection to a river crossing (56). This form could also have something to do with wine. The modern Hungarian word *bornal* means ‘with wine.’ This is interesting because Haloze has been a wine producing area since Roman times. On the other hand, it seems more likely that the first mentioned form is the original because the modern Slovene name for the castle is Borl.

The records of this castle would be invaluable for the study of the early history of Haloze. Unfortunately, some time after 1927, all of the land registers of the castle Borl disappeared, so that almost nothing is known about the demographics of eastern Haloze during the feudal period. It is also not clear what the boundaries of church government were during the time of Hungarian control of this region. Pirchegger argues that the organization of ecclesiastical government in Haloze points to Hungarian origin (15). It is known that at least the villages around the northeastern center of Zavrč were under the control of the Zagreb diocese until at least 1545 (Bračič 62). Late in the eleventh century the regions under the ecclesiastical control of Zagreb were added to the Hungarian Archbishopric of Kalocsa, which was established in 1006 (Burghardt 68).

### **3.9 CONNECTIONS BETWEEN HISTORICAL EVENTS AND VOCALIC DEVELOPMENTS**

For three to five hundred years the economic, political and ecclesiastical center of gravity for the lands of northeastern Haloze was to the east in places like Zagreb and Varaždin. Varaždin is especially important for the early history of this area because it was an important center of commerce. It was recognized as a royal town already in the early twelfth century. This town is also important to a discussion of linguistic influences in Haloze because the language of Varaždin in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was Kajkavian (Guldescu 209). This is the very time period during which all of the major phonological developments discussed above took place, e. g., loss of nasality, lowering of \*ǫ, merger of \*ě and \*ǫ, and raising of \*ě. The historical border shift, which incorporated part of Haloze into Hungary, provides a plausible explanation for the fact that the dialects of eastern Haloze exhibit an ancient vocalic merger that took place only in dialects east of that national border.



### 3.10 RECENT DIALECT CONTACT

The historical and linguistic data from this area make a convincing argument that the merger of \**ě* and \**ǝ* in eastern Haloze is an ancient development. On the other hand, the very fact that Haloze is located on a longstanding national border means that it is susceptible to dialect contact through the movement of people, i. e., immigration from Croatian lands into Haloze. There is no documentation that this took place, but Bračič speculates that there may have been a substantial immigration into Haloze from the central Bednja river valley in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (89). We do not know if this took place in Haloze, so it may be helpful to compare the developments in Haloze to those in other Slovene border dialects where recent Kajkavian influence is more clearly documented. The Prlekian village dialect of Središče is an interesting example.

In many ways Središče is very similar to eastern Haloze. It is located almost directly on the Slovene-Croatian border. This region was also conquered by the Hungarians in the early tenth century, and the feudal control of Ptuj was not reasserted here until the early thirteenth century. One important difference from Haloze is that the region around Središče seems to have been empty and depopulated when Fridrik of Ptuj regained control here (Bračič 57). It was not uncommon for the Hungarians to depopulate an area of thirty to a hundred miles as a border region. This served as protection against medieval armies that required a local population for support during an attack (Burghardt 66). It is also true that there was a major repopulation of the Ormož / Središče area from Pannonian Slovene regions after the end of the twelfth century (Kos 1969: 88).

Although most dialects of eastern Slovenia felt some influence from Kajkavian Croatian between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, especially from the Kajkavian literary language, Središče, surrounded as it is by Kajkavian, experienced significant pressure (Rigler 1986b: 77). This influence was especially strong after the beginning of the eighteenth century when the literary language in this area was clearly Kajkavian.

Even though the Kajkavian influence in Središče is significant, the spoken dialect of the region, as described by Ozvald and later Greenberg, is clearly

Pannonian Slovene. This dialect does not have the merger of the reflexes of the Common Slavic *jat* and the *jers*. It has a monophthongal realization of CSI *jat*. This is likely a later development, perhaps as a result of heavy contact with Kajkavian speakers in whose dialect the reflex of *jat* had rising as opposed to falling sonority. A similar explanation could be given for the monophthongal reflex found in eastern Haloze. Greenberg claims that Središče has early Pannonian Slovene phonological developments and later developments that connect this dialect to an eastern Slovene and Kajkavian areal (1995: 100).

The example of Središče is instructive because this area clearly had intense Kajkavian influence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This influence did not cause the dialect to adopt the phonemic inventory of Kajkavian. The merger of *jat* and *jers* is not attested. On the other hand, this influence probably did cause the monophthongization of some diphthongs and some other vocalic shifts like a non-fronted reflex of CSI *\*u* or lengthening and raising of short mid-vowels before nasals (Greenberg 1995: 100). Eastern Haloze also has several developments that appear to be the result of later contact with Kajkavian, monophthongization of reflex of *jat* and perhaps intonation patterns on stressed syllables (rising but not distinctive) (Lundberg 2001) and non-fronted reflex of *\*u* in area around Zavrč.

### 3.11 CONCLUSION

It is interesting to find a Slovene dialect on the Slovene-Croatian border that exhibits characteristics usually considered to belong to Kajkavian Croatian dialects. The merger of the long reflexes of the CSI *jat* and *jers* in the Pannonian Slovene dialect of Haloze is unusual. This chapter argues that both the linguistic and historical data presented here indicate that the merger of the *jat* and *jers* must have happened during the tenth to the thirteenth century control of this area by Hungary and Croatia. Dialect data show that all the major developments discussed in this paper, lowering of the reflex of the *jers*, merger of *jat* with the reflex of the *jers* or the reflex of *\*a* or *\*e*, and loss of nasality, happened between the tenth and fourteenth centuries. Historical data show that during this crucial time period much of Haloze

was separated from other Slovene dialects by the creation of the Hungarian nation, which also included the Kajkavian speech territory. This border shift provides a working explanation for the fact that eastern Haloze, alone among Slovene dialects, has merged the long reflexes of the *jat* and *jers*.

One of the difficulties of dialect work on a national border is the role sometimes played by ideological concerns. Some linguists view isoglosses and vocalic developments as signifiers of national identity. This may be part of the reason that no scholar has yet attempted a detailed analysis of this merger in Haloze.<sup>24</sup> This discussion reinforces the argument that the ancient relationship between the dialects of the Slovene and Kajkavian speech territories is one of a dialect continuum. Developments like \*ě raising and \*ǝ lowering moved across this continuum, originating in different regions. The relative chronology of these developments is what differentiates the dialects of this area. Clearly, movements of armies and medieval borders also played a role in determining how quickly some developments moved across the continuum.

---

<sup>24</sup> It may also be that no one has attempted an analysis of the merger of the *jat* and *jers* in Haloze because Haloze is an obscure dialect and the discussed merger has only been recently described.



---

# Chapter 4: Dialect Leveling in Haloze

## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

As is evident from the earlier chapters of this book, a significant amount of dialect research has focused on the most archaic forms of the dialects being studied. This emphasis on archaic forms has significant value for diachronic questions and has been a major aim of European dialectology for some time. If a dialectologist must seek out the most “authentic” dialect speakers in a community, the obvious conclusion is that many archaic features are being lost and that the dialect is changing. In fact, it is often pointed out that many dialects are dying (Wolfram). This might be said about the dialects of Haloze as well.

There is significant variation in contemporary dialect usage in Haloze. As was noted in chapter 2, the oldest living generation speaks a quite archaic form of the dialect. Many young people, as well as speakers from other generations, also continue to speak a local variant of the language. This version of the dialect clearly differs from the standard language, yet it also differs from that spoken by the oldest generation. Despite the obvious generational variation in modern dialect usage, almost all of these people consider themselves to be dialect speakers. This is not only true in Haloze. The overwhelming majority of Slovenes from all regions of the country claim to speak dialect. In a recent study including over 500 respondents from all across the country, 84% of Slovenes claimed to speak dialect at home, and over 80% claimed to be fluent dialect speakers (Lundberg 2010). Even higher percentages in Haloze claim to be dialect speakers.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> In 2009 I conducted a similar survey in the Haloze villages of Zavrč, Cirkulane, Leskovec and Podlehnik. 239 valid responses were collected. 97% of respondents claimed to speak dialect at home, and 92% claimed to be fluent in the local dialect, meaning they could understand and express themselves without difficulty. When asked if dialect was important to their identity, 81% said that it was very important,

The results of the surveys cited above and in the preceding footnote seem to run counter to tendencies toward linguistic standardization and claims of dialect death. It is my contention that the lack of uniformity in modern dialects at the same time that most speakers claim to speak the dialect is the result of local dialect leveling toward a regional koine. Lack of uniformity in a dialect community has been associated with dialect leveling (Auer and di Luzio 7). In Haloze most of the leveling is toward the regional koine spoken in and around Ptuj rather than toward the standard language spoken in Central Slovenia. The fact that the regional koine is composed of dialect forms and is considered a regional dialect helps to explain why so many Slovenes claim to be fluent dialect speakers, even as linguists record dialect attrition and variation. Local speakers do continue to speak with dialect forms, but the dialect is becoming more a variant of the regional dialect than the original village dialect. I will support this claim by describing the dialect situation in Haloze based on more than a decade of fieldwork in the area and extensive interviews with dialect speakers from different generations. I will also review the results of a recent survey on dialect use and dialect and language contact, which was conducted in Haloze during 2010 and 2011.

#### 4.2 LEVELING

The recent rapid growth in geographical mobility along with access to mass media and universal education has put dialect and other language varieties in contact at a level never seen before (Auer and Hinskens 4). This leads to standardization, koineization and, of particular interest for our present discussion, regional dialect leveling. Regional dialect leveling is a decrease in the variation across a dialect region leading to homogenization of the speech of an area. Kerswill has described this process in parts of Italy where new regional varieties have emerged centered around a local town or city (671). A similar development has been described in western Slovenia

---

17% said it was somewhat important and only 2% said dialect was not important to their identity. I would like to thank Andrew Perkins, a former student, for helping me compile and organize the 2009 survey. See appendix 2 for the full survey.

by Kenda-Jež. A regional koine has emerged in and around Cerklje that is closer to the local dialects than to the standard language and which exerts pressure on the surrounding dialects (68).

Regional dialect leveling seems to develop according to processes like those described for Accommodation Theory (Giles, Taylor and Bourhis). Trudgill uses a modified version of Giles' theory to explain how leveling takes place, first short term and then, possibly, long term. According to Trudgill, some linguistic features, indicators, are not subject to modification in contact situations. Others, he calls them markers, are higher in a speaker's consciousness. The increased awareness of these markers allows speakers to modify them based on the social context and the speaker's desire to be understood (10). Trudgill identifies several factors that make a feature a marker, therefore more salient and likely to be modified in contact situations. 1) The feature is stigmatized, often because it does not match the orthography. 2) It is involved in current linguistic change. 3) The feature is phonetically radically different. 4) The feature is involved in the maintenance of a phonetic contrast (11). The desire to be understood plays a significant role in determining which features are subject to modification, but modification is variable. Different speakers have different rates of accommodation (22). Lexical accommodation usually occurs first, before phonological, because lexical differences are highly salient and can lead to obvious intelligibility problems (25).

In regional dialect leveling, like in Trudgill's modification of Accommodation Theory, more marked forms, having a more restricted geographical distribution, are more likely to be lost or modified (Auer and Hinskens 14). The dialects of an area become more homogenous as they accommodate to a regional koine. The most salient lexical and phonological features of the local dialect are modified in the direction of the regional dialect. As in other parts of Europe, this is likely happening all over Slovenia. As I noted above, it is occurring in Cerklje, and it is taking place in the micro dialects of Haloze. The Haloze dialect is being leveled toward the regional dialect of the nearest large town, Ptuj. See map 1 in chapter 2 for the relative location of Ptuj and Haloze.

### 4.3 GENERATIONAL LANGUAGE USE

Until recently traditional local dialects in much of Europe were relatively mono-stylistic (Auer and Hinskens 11). This is no longer the case in some parts of the Slovene speech area. In Haloze there is a great deal of variation among speakers of different generations and based on other social factors. This variation is not simply based on the influence of the standard language. Regional dialects have an influence as well. Contemporary dialect speakers are different than they used to be. They have exposure to and varying degrees of proficiency in several varieties of the language. Notwithstanding this variation in the dialect, an overwhelming majority of people from Haloze claim to be proficient dialect speakers.<sup>26</sup>

The state of the modern rural dialect makes traditional methods of dialectology insufficient (Auer and di Luzio 6). Finding archaic forms is still an important role of descriptive dialectology, but that alone is an incomplete description of the modern dialect. If a description only includes the speech of the oldest informants, it implies that all other variations are not “pure” dialect and, therefore, signs of dialect death. This approach misses much of the reality of modern dialect speech.

Having earlier described the most archaic forms of the dialect area of Haloze using traditional methods, I will now attempt to describe the variation in modern usage with a combination of approaches including sociolinguistic, descriptive and perceptual dialectology. What follows immediately is an anecdotal account of the language and dialect usage of three living generations in Haloze.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> See surveys cited at the beginning of the paper.

<sup>27</sup> During the first few days of my initial visit to Haloze I met a family that came to be some of my best dialect informants. The family lives in two homes on a hill-top farm and vineyard in Belavšek, which is located several miles from the main road that runs from Ptuj through Zgornji Leskovec to Trakoščan in Croatia. The family contains members from each of the three generations that I will discuss. The oldest generation is the grandparents. They are both in their early 80s. Their son, his wife and several of his siblings are the middle generation. They are in their late 30s and 40s. The youngest generation is made up of several grandchildren. The oldest is in his early 20s. This family is a focal point of the description that



#### 4.4 OLDEST GENERATION

There have been local schools in several of the villages of Haloze for over 200 years. The schools in Cirkulane (Prašički 179) and Zgroni Leskovec (Srđinšek 6) were founded in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. At the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the official language of these schools was German, although, the language of instruction was mostly Slovene (Srđinšek 9). By 1918 Slovene was acknowledged as the language of instruction throughout Slovenia (Ciperle 125). With the exception of the occupation during World War II, when schools in Haloze were staffed with German teachers and all instruction was in German (Srđinšek 15), all living residents of Haloze have had some schooling in the Slovene standard language. The oldest living generation went to school in the 30s, 40s and 50s, when the amount and type of elementary education was different from today, especially in isolated rural areas, but the language of their education was Slovene. Many of this generation only went to school until age 14 or 15 and had no schooling outside of the local village or beyond elementary school. Until very recently Haloze was one of the most isolated and underdeveloped regions of Slovenia. Even as late as 1999 some regularly inhabited homes in central Haloze were without electricity; some still got their drinking water from springs because they had no running water in their homes.<sup>28</sup> Only about half of the villages had phone lines. Much of the farm work was still done by hand from cutting and hauling hay to pressing grapes for wine.

The basic level of education for this group was low. Details from western Haloze illustrate this point very well. In 1961 more than 17% of adults had less than four grades of school, and in some villages the number was higher than 40%. Even more striking is the fact that only 7% of adults had completed the entire block of elementary school education. Even as late as 1971 only 34% of adults in western Haloze had finished a basic elementary school education (Bračič 1982: 129–30).

---

follows, but the discussion of dialect and language use in Haloze will also include the experiences from other families in all parts of the region.

<sup>28</sup> When I first met the family mentioned in the footnote above, they collected rain water for bathing and for the animals in cisterns, and they carried water in buckets from a spring below their home for drinking and cooking. This was not unusual in the remoter parts of Haloze at that time.

We may take the grandmother of the family mentioned above as an example of a member of her generation. She was born in central Haloze in 1930. She attended elementary school until she was 15 in Podlehnik. Two years of her education were in German because of the occupation, so she only received six years of formal education in Slovene. At 15 she left school to work on the farm because she was needed at home. Another woman of this generation, who now lives near Cirkulane, was born in 1923 and went to school through the 6<sup>th</sup> grade in Cirkulane. At around the age of 13 she dropped out of school to work on the farm. She was married at 18 and spent her entire life in rural Haloze. Even now she rarely leaves the local village. She has not even been as far as Ptuj in two years.

There are, of course, members of this generation who are better educated and have lived outside of the dialect area. They are more comfortable switching between dialect and the standard language, but they are the exception. Most of the older generation only has the local dialect available to them. They do not significantly change the way they speak based on the social situation because they are largely monolingual as regards varieties of Slovene. They are aware that some dialect words will be hard to understand, and they claim to pick words more carefully when speaking to someone from outside of the dialect, but they do not change their pronunciation. Some members of this older generation have remarked that certain members of the dialect community are changing the way they speak. One woman in her 90s said that the local priest and some others in the village are starting to sound like people from the flat lands surrounding the hills of Haloze.<sup>29</sup>

#### 4.5 MIDDLE GENERATION

Representatives of the middle generation were born in the 60s, 70s and early 80s. Most of them still live on small farms with a few animals, pigs, cows, chickens, a vineyard and vegetable garden, but the farm only helps

---

<sup>29</sup> She lives near Cirkulane in eastern Haloze. This woman indicated that people are starting to sound like *poljanci*, which comes from the word for field or plain. In Haloze *poljanci* are people from the flat areas surrounding the hills of Haloze. It is also used to refer to the dialect speakers around Ptuj.

with subsistence. They do not make a living from agriculture. Even though Haloze is well known as a wine-producing area, few people are able to sell their grapes and even fewer sell wine. There is a small amount of farm tourism, mostly around Cirkulane, but generally local farmers produce wine for themselves and their families.

This generation generally has more exposure to formal education than their parents had. For example, the elementary school in Cirkulane was expanded to eight grades in 1957 (Prašički 179). Almost all of this generation has completed at least the 8<sup>th</sup> grade of a primary education, and many have some secondary education. This is usually made up of three to four years at a vocational school in Ptuj or Maribor. Even if they do not have an educational experience outside of the dialect area, at least one member of every family works outside of the dialect area, usually in Ptuj, Kidričevo or Maribor, some as far away as Celje. Many people of this generation are married to someone from outside of the dialect area, so their children have a mixed dialect influence at home.

Compared to their parents, the middle generation from Haloze has more exposure to the standard language as well as significantly more interaction with surrounding dialects, especially varieties spoken in and around Ptuj. These influences can be seen in the far more significant levels of variation in the dialect of the middle generation. Some members of this generation maintain a quite archaic variant of the dialect. For example, one female informant from central Haloze,<sup>30</sup> who was born near Leskovec in 1969 and works at home on the farm in close contact with her mother and father-in-law, speaks very much like the older generation. She never changes her basic pronunciation. Members of the village think of her as an authentic or old-fashioned dialect speaker. She is different from the older generation in that she is more aware of the differences between her dialect and the regional variant of Ptuj. She avoids dialect terms when she thinks they will not be understood. For example, she tries to avoid dialect words when she goes to the doctor or a government office. Beyond that minor accommodation, she does not alter her language. Others of this middle generation, at varying rates, have simply lost some of the more salient pronunciation features of

---

<sup>30</sup> She is part of the family from Belavšek.

the dialect such as a diphthongal pronunciation of vowels or a prothetic *v* before *u*.<sup>31</sup> They still maintain the basic dialect pronunciation without some of the most striking local features. The most interesting point is that there is a lack of uniformity in the dialect speech of this generation.

#### 4.6 YOUNGEST GENERATION

This generation is defined here as those born in or after the middle of the 1980s. Like the middle generation in Haloze, it is a smaller group than previous populations because people have been leaving the area since the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Bračič 1967: 212). For example, the elementary school in Zgornji Leskovec had 435 students during the 1946–47 school year but only had 111 during the 2003–04 school year (Srđinšek 19). The long-term trend toward depopulation may be changing. Some local teachers have mentioned a rise in the number of children who will be entering school in the next few years. In 2010 the elementary school in Leskovec had to combine the first and second grades because they only had three first graders and six second graders. In 2011 they had ten students in the first grade.

This generation was (is being) raised by parents with competence in several varieties of the Slovene language. One of those parents may have been born outside of the dialect area and almost certainly works outside of the dialect area every day. They have regular access through TV and radio to the standard language and colloquial varieties from central Slovenia. The educational situation is also different from that of their parents. In 1999 Slovenia began switching from an eight-year to a nine-year system of elementary education. Children began entering school at age six rather than seven, so that they attended for nine years (Štraus 188). Schools in Haloze adopted the nine-year system in 2000 (Prašički 179). Local school teachers in Leskovec have indicated that almost all students go on to some form of secondary education. They have the options of four years at a college-prep high school or three or four years at a vocational school. All education after ninth grade must be completed outside of Haloze, usually in Ptuj.

---

<sup>31</sup> I will provide more details of the changes in pronunciation later in the chapter.

If this generation finds work after finishing compulsory education, not an easy thing to do, the work is almost certainly not in Haloze. There is very little work in the region. Each village has an inn or two and a small store. A few young people find limited work at home in the dialect area, but the rest leave the village to find work. Many move to surrounding towns. Some live at home in the dialect area and travel into Ptuj or Maribor to work. This generation has regular contact with the regional dialect of Slovene spoken in and around Ptuj. They usually still speak with a recognizable Haloze accent, but they do not use or often even remember and recognize archaic dialect terms. They avoid the most salient dialect features so as to be better understood. They equate dialect with slang<sup>32</sup> and the regional koine and speak the same way at school in Ptuj as they do at home. They do not need to alter much in their speech in order to be understood by other students because their dialect is becoming more like the regional dialect. They often claim to speak štajersko<sup>33</sup> when asked about their dialect.

The preceding brief description of dialect and language usage is partially anecdotal, but it is based on over a decade of observations and extensive interviews with dialect speakers from all across Haloze. It does not replace descriptive phonological analysis, but it helps to explain why traditional methods of dialectology are not sufficient in many modern dialects. A description of the speech of a small number of the most archaic dialect speakers misses most of the variation that is an undeniable part of the modern dialect area. It is an oversimplification to explain the rest as a result of the spread of the standard language. The detailing of the way three generations use dialect and interact with other varieties of the language helps to explain why there is significant variation in the dialect and what the source of that variation may be, i.e., leveling toward the regional dialect around Ptuj. In what follows we will attempt to further clarify the contemporary dialect situation in Haloze by discussing the results of a survey on dialect use and attitudes among people of the local area.

---

<sup>32</sup> Skubic also claims that younger speakers, under 25, identify more with slang than with the rural dialect (298).

<sup>33</sup> This is the large dialect base that covers much of eastern Slovenia as well as Maribor and Ptuj. See map 3 in chapter 3.

#### 4.7 SURVEY

During 2010 and 2011 a study on language use and attitudes toward the local dialect, surrounding regional dialects and the standard language was conducted in Haloze, Slovenia.<sup>34</sup> This type of survey is an important tool in the attempt to understand a modern dialect with a significant amount of variation in speech. Speakers' perceptions can play a role in language change (Preston 1999: xxiv). The findings of this survey illustrate the way locals think their dialect is changing and which varieties of the Slovene language exert the most influence on the local dialect. This information also gives us insights into the future of the dialect.

The questionnaire was administered during the summer of 2010.<sup>35</sup> The sample is made up of 300 responses. Of the respondents 84% were born in Haloze. 67% were female, and 33% were male. The ages of the respondents ranged from 15 to 73, and the mean age was 40. For the purposes of this analysis age groups were divided as follows: 15–30, 31–40, 41–50, 51–73. Questionnaires were collected in four villages and their surrounding communities, Zavrč (18%), Cirkulane (34%), Leskovec (19%), Podlehnik (29%).<sup>36</sup> Of the respondents 34% had an educational background that included completion of a vocational high school or less; 59% had attended no more than a college-prep high school; 7% had some form of post-secondary education.

The survey is composed of nine questions. Six of the questions deal with the informants' attitudes about dialect use and its future. These six questions will be the foundation of the initial part of the following discussion. The remaining three questions in the survey deal with the perceived influence

---

<sup>34</sup> The contents of this chapter were developed under a grant from the Department of Education. However, those contents do not necessarily represent the policy of the Department of Education, and you should not assume endorsement by the Federal Government. The original data collection and analysis in 2010 were funded by a research grant from the College of Humanities of Brigham Young University. Follow up interviews in 2011 were performed with funding from the Department of Education administered by the Center for the Study of Europe at Brigham Young University.

<sup>35</sup> The data were organized and analyzed using PASW Statistics 18.

<sup>36</sup> See map 2 in chapter 2.

of surrounding dialects or other varieties of Slovene on the local dialect. These contact and influence questions will be discussed last. The entire questionnaire can be found in appendix 1.

#### 4.8 USAGE AND MAINTENANCE

The first part of the survey focuses on dialect usage. We wanted to know who speaks dialect and how well they claim to know the dialect. We were also interested in informants' attitudes about their dialect and its maintenance. The full questions on this topic and a discussion of results follow below.

*Figure 30: Command of Local Dialect*

My command of my local dialects is:		<u>Good</u>	<u>Adequate</u>	<u>Weak</u>	<u>Zero</u>
Overall:		87	11	1	1
By Gender:	male	85	13	0	2
	female	87	11	2	0
By Age:	15–30	93	7	0	0
	31–40	88	10	2	0
	41–50	86	12	0	2
	51–73	85	15	0	0
By Education:	voc	87	13	0	0
	coll prep	87	10	2	1
	post sec	69	26	5	0
By Region:	Zavrč	87	13	0	0
	Cirkulane	87	10	1	2
	Leskovec	83	15	2	0
	Podlehnik	89	9	2	0
By Birth:	in Haloze	91	8	1	0
	not in H	65	31	2	2

This first question is about perceived proficiency in the local dialect. In the survey the possible answers were accompanied by a short explanation in parentheses: good (speak and understand), adequate (understand and can make myself understood), weak (only understand), zero. Based on these explanations, 87% of respondents claimed to have full proficiency in the local dialect. If we combine those who claimed full proficiency with those who claimed adequate, which means they understand and can communicate, nearly 100% of respondents claim to use the local dialect. There was no statistically significant difference based on gender, age, education level or region of residence. People from Haloze answered uniformly across these divisions. The responses from those with post-secondary education seem different: 69, 26, 5, 0. Fewer respondents in this category claimed to have full command of the dialect, and more claimed passive knowledge. These differences were likely not statistically significant because the group was so small compared to the other education categories. There was clear statistical significance based on region of birth (chi-square .000). Those born outside of Haloze claimed about the same level of proficiency in the local dialect as those with post-secondary education.

It is worth noting that 63% of respondents claimed that the youth of the region do speak the local dialect most of the time.<sup>37</sup> This is a relatively high number considering the prevalent stereotype that the younger generation is abandoning the dialect. Of course, that means that nearly 40% claimed that the youth do not primarily speak the dialect. Of those under 30 only 50% claimed that the youth of Haloze speak the dialect. People answered this question uniformly across most demographic categories. There were statistically significant differences in the four regions of Haloze (chi-square .022). Zavrč was high with 80% of respondents claiming that the youth spoke primarily in the dialect, and Podlehnik was low with 54% responding that the youth spoke dialect.

---

<sup>37</sup> Zemljak Jontes and Pulko have also recently reported regular dialect use among young people.



**Figure 31:** *Dialect Usage among Youth*

Do youth from Haloze primarily speak in the local dialect?		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Overall:		63	37
By Gender:	male	61	39
	female	64	36
By Age:	15–30	50	50
	31–40	61	39
	41–50	63	37
	51–73	69	31
By Education:	voc	66	34
	coll prep	59	41
	post sec	68	32
By Region:	Zavrč	80	20
	Cirkulane	63	37
	Leskovec	63	37
	Podlehnik	54	46
By Birth:	in Haloze	63	37
	not in H	63	37

Half of the respondents to this survey think that the local dialect is dying in Haloze. The percentages are higher for older and more educated people. 68% of those over 50 and 58% of those with some post-secondary education think the local dialect is dying. As with the last question discussed, here the differences between the regions of Haloze were statistically significant (chi-square .001). It is interesting that only 26% of those from Zavrč claimed

the dialect is dying. This is another instance in which Zavrč appears to be more conservative than other regions of Haloze as regards dialect usage. We will discuss these regional differences in more detail later in the chapter.

**Figure 32:** *Future of the Dialect*

Is your local dialect dying?		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Overall:		50	50
By Gender:	male	55	45
	female	48	52
By Age:	15–30	43	57
	31–40	49	51
	41–50	56	44
	51–73	68	32
By Education:	voc	44	56
	coll prep	54	46
	post sec	58	42
By Region:	Zavrč	26	74
	Cirkulane	60	40
	Leskovec	57	43
	Podlehnik	49	51
By Birth:	in Haloze	49	51
	not in H	56	44

For the next three questions, respondents were asked to rank the dialect of Haloze on a scale from 1 to 7, 1 being the most negative and 7 being the most positive, for beauty and comprehensibility.

**Figure 33:** Respondents' Aesthetic Judgments of Haloze Dialect

The Haloze dialect is ugly-beautiful 1 2 3 4 5 6 7.		Mean
Overall:		5.69
By Gender:	male	4.46
	female	5.79
By Age:	15–30	6.10
	31–40	5.57
	41–50	5.42
	51–73	5.68
By Education:	voc	5.68
	coll prep	5.66
	post sec	5.63
By Region:	Zavrč	5.66
	(high) Cirkulane	6.21 (Turkey, 2 from 3: .000, 2 from 4: .001)
	(low) Leskovec	5.17
	(low) Podlehnik	5.48 (ANOVA .000)
By Birth:	in Haloze	5.81
	not in H	5.00 (ANOVA .000)

The overall mean for this question of 5.69 shows a positive view of the dialect on a scale from 1 to 7. It is not surprising that people rate their own dialect highly on a question like this. Other studies of Slovene dialects have shown that, when asked which dialect region is the most beautiful, people general indicate their own dialect as the most beautiful (Lundberg 2007: 103).<sup>38</sup> Nonetheless, the mean for Haloze is relatively high. In 2007 the author asked nearly 500 Slovenes to rate their own dialect for beauty on a scale from 1 to 7.<sup>39</sup> The results follow below.

*Figure 34: Dialect Beauty*

---

Primorsko	6.7
Gorenjsko	5.83
Štajersko	5.44
Prekmursko	5.39
Dolenjsko	5.2
Ljubljansko	4.83

---

Dialect speakers from Haloze rate their own dialect positively compared to other dialect speakers in Slovenia. There appears to be a small gender difference. Women rated the dialect as more beautiful than men. This is interesting given the stereotype that women, especially older women, tend to be more archaic dialect speakers than men.

One-way analysis of variance and post-hoc Turkey tests were performed on each of the demographic categories listed in figure 33 to determine if the means differed in a statistically significant way. The differences by region of residence are significant (ANOVA .000). Cirkulane indicated a particularly positive aesthetic view of the local dialect, and Podlehnik and Leskovec had a significantly lower view of the beauty of the dialect spoken

---

<sup>38</sup> In the study cited above, Slovenes found primorščina to be the most beautiful and ljubljansščina to be the ugliest.

<sup>39</sup> This question was a part of the survey cited above in Lundberg 2007, but these particular results were not published as part of that article.

there. It is not surprising that those born in Haloze had a significantly more positive view of the beauty of the dialect than those born outside of Haloze (ANOVA .000). This corresponds with the point made earlier about people rating their native dialect as the most beautiful.

*Figure 35: Outsiders' View of Haloze*

A person not from Haloze probably thinks that the Haloze dialect is ugly-beautiful		Mean
1 2 3 4 5 6 7.		
Overall:		3.86
By Gender:	male	3.93
	female	3.83
By Age:	15–30	4.17
	31–40	3.55
	41–50	3.96
	51–73	3.87
By Education:	voc	3.67
	coll prep	4.02
	post sec	3.26
By Region:	(low) Zavrč	3.23 (Turkey, 1 from 2: .002)
	(high) Cirkulane	4.30 (ANOVA .002)
	Leskovec	3.61
	Podlehnik	3.92
By Birth:	in Haloze	3.88
	not in H	3.72

The overall mean for this question is much lower, 3.86. This likely reflects the way Haloze dialect speakers think they are viewed by outsiders. It is not clear from this question that respondents think that their dialect is considered ugly by outsiders. There have been correlations made in other studies between aesthetic judgments and intelligibility (van Bezooijen 2002: 15). Positive aesthetic judgments are correlated with intelligibility and low aesthetic judgments with lower levels of comprehensibility. Essentially we are asking about intelligibility rather than beauty with this type of question. There is a statistically significant result in the answers by region of residence (ANOVA .002). Cirkulane again had the highest aesthetic opinion of the local dialect for this question.

Figure 36 below represents a different approach to the same kind of information. The answers to this question are similar to those of the last. This provides further evidence of the connection between aesthetic judgments and judgments of intelligibility. In the 2007 survey cited above the author asked Slovenes from across all of Slovenia to rate dialects for comprehensibility on a scale from 1 to 7. The results follow: Štajersko 5.7, Ljubljansko 5.68, Gorenjsko 5.32, Dolenjsko 4.97, Primorsko 4.7, Koroško 4.11, Prekmursko 2.68 (105). The question in the earlier survey is not exactly the same as the current question. In the earlier survey people were asked to rate their own and other dialects rather than being asked to put themselves in the place of outsiders to make an intelligibility judgment. Nonetheless, the comparison is interesting as a point of reference. People from Haloze believe their dialect is difficult for outsiders to understand. They believe that they must alter their speech to be understood.

It stands out that respondents from Zavrč believed their dialect to be significantly more difficult to understand. Only 26% of those from Zavrč claimed the dialect is dying. This is also the group that claimed the highest percentage of youth, 80%, who primarily speak the dialect. This appears to be a group more devoted to dialect maintenance.

**Figure 36: Outsiders' View of Comprehensibility**

A person not from Haloze probably thinks that the Haloze dialect is incomprehensible-comprehensible		Mean
1 2 3 4 5 6 7.		
Overall:		3.87
By Gender:	male	3.68
	female	3.96
By Age:	15–30	4.00
	31–40	3.76
	41–50	3.78
	51–73	3.61
By Education:	voc	3.80
	coll prep	3.88
	post sec	3.61
By Region:	(low) Zavrč	3.45 (Turkey, 1 from 4: .027)
	Cirkulane	3.85
	Leskovec	3.62
	(high) Podlehnik	4.30 (ANOVA .024)
By Birth:	in Haloze	3.92
	not in H	3.63

#### 4.9 INFLUENCE OF OTHER VARIETIES OF SLOVENE

The second part of our discussion of the survey will focus on the remaining three questions. They deal with respondents' attitudes toward surrounding dialects and other more distant varieties of Slovene. They also tell us which varieties of Slovene have the most direct influence on the local dialect.

**Figure 37: Most Beautiful Slovene**

Where in Slovenia is the most beautiful Slovene spoken?		<u>Lj</u>	<u>CS</u>	<u>Ptuj</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Celje</u>
Overall:		6	15	33	26	20
By Gender:	male	7	15	30	22	26
	female	6	15	34	28	17
By Age:	15–30	7	17	33	23	20
	31–40	4	10	38	28	20
	41–50	0	24	31	29	16
	51–73	22	20	17	12	29 (.001)
By Education:	voc	7	12	29	24	28
	coll prep	6	16	31	30	17
	post sec	0	21	42	11	26
By Region:	Zavrč	6	9	42	28	15
	Cirkulane	6	14	34	19	27
	Leskovec	10	19	18	32	21
	Podlehnik	5	15	36	30	14
By Birth:	in Haloze	6	15	33	28	18
	not in H	10	13	30	19	28

For this first question about the place where the most beautiful Slovene is spoken, the answers were: in Ljubljana, in Central Slovenia, in Ptuj and its surroundings, in Maribor and its surroundings, in Celje and its surroundings. Overall ordering by this group of Haloze residents and dialect



speakers is interesting. 33% said that the most beautiful Slovene is spoken in and around Ptuj. For these respondents that could include their own dialect. It is surprising to find Ptuj at that top of a list of dialects considered to be beautiful. It is unlikely that people from outside of this area would consider the dialect spoken in and around Ptuj as beautiful. This judgment most likely represents a judgment of intelligibility and similarity to the respondents' own speech. It is not surprising to see Maribor, 26%, near the top as the city is commonly connected to the northeastern variant of the colloquial standard language. Celje, 20%, along with Central Slovenia, 15%, is widely considered a model of good Slovene (Lundberg 2010: 52). Ljubljana, 6%, has been rated low in aesthetic judgments in other surveys.<sup>40</sup> There is a statistically significant difference in the answer to this question when categorized by age. Only the oldest respondents, those over 50, did not rank Ptuj first (chi-square .001). For this group the highest areas are all in the center of the country: Celje 29%, Ljubljana 22%, Central Slovenia 20%, Ptuj 17%, Maribor 12%. We will return to this point later.

The next question is about the amount of contact speakers have with other varieties of Slovene. The possible answers to this question were the same as those for the previous question except that Ljubljana was replaced by the colloquial standard language, defined as the way people speak on TV.

The overall results are clear. 71% of respondents said that they had the most contact with the dialect spoken in and around Ptuj. It is interesting that the literary standard is in second place with 14% followed by Maribor, 8%, Central Slovene, 6%, Celje, 1%. In all categories Ptuj was in first position, but respondents over 40 claimed significantly more contact with the literary standard and the variety of Slovene spoken in Central Slovenia (chi-square .007). That may help explain why older respondents to the question about the most beautiful Slovene thought the varieties of Slovene spoken the center of the country were more beautiful. They have more contact and familiarity with those varieties of the language.

---

<sup>40</sup> In two previous surveys of Slovenes from across the entire country respondents rated Pannonian (or Prekmurje) and the speech of Ljubljana as the ugliest varieties of Slovene (Lundberg 2007 and Lundberg 2010).

**Figure 38:** *Contact with Varieties of Slovene*

Besides your local dialect, with what variety of Slovene do you have the most contact?		<u>Lit</u>	<u>CS</u>	<u>Ptuj</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Celje</u>
Overall:		14	6	71	8	1
By Gender:	male	13	10	66	12	0
	female	15	5	72	6	2
By Age:	15–30	7	0	77	13	3
	31–40	8	3	82	7	0
	41–50	20	14	58	6	2
	51–73	20	10	58	7	5 (.007)
By Education:	voc	12	4	77	6	1
	coll prep	16	7	66	9	2
	post sec	16	5	68	11	0
By Region:	Zavrč	11	6	81	2	0
	Cirkulane	16	8	65	10	1
	Leskovec	14	12	63	7	4
	Podlehnik	14	1	75	9	1
By Birth:	in Haloze	14	6	73	5	2
	not in H	17	7	55	21	0 (.004)

The final question in this section is a follow up to a question about the future of the local dialect. People were asked if the local dialect were dying. If they answered that it was, they were asked what variety of the Slovene

language was replacing it. The possible answers were the same as for the question about contact with other dialects.

**Figure 39: Dialect Attrition**

What variety of Slovene is replacing the local dialect?		<u>Lit</u>	<u>CS</u>	<u>Ptuj</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Celje</u>
Overall:		17	13	62	5	3
By Gender:	male	18	17	52	8	5
	female	16	11	67	3	3
By Age:	15–30	0	14	72	14	0
	31–40	16	5	70	3	6
	41–50	23	16	52	6	3
	51–73	24	13	50	10	3
By Education:	voc	23	9	60	6	2
	coll prep	15	15	66	3	1
	post sec	17	16	50	17	0
By Region:	Zavrč	12	23	65	0	0
	Cirkulane	17	15	56	8	4
	Leskovec	23	8	54	10	5
	Podlehnik	15	8	75	0	2
By Birth:	in Haloze	16	11	63	6	4
	not in H	21	21	54	4	0

There were no statistically significant differences between any to the categories. The overall ranking is very similar to the ordering for the question about the dialect with which people have the most contact (figure 38). For this question respondents said that the dialect spoken in and around Ptuj, 62%, is replacing the local dialect. Ptuj was followed by the literary standard, 17%, Central Slovene, 13%, Maribor, 5%, and Celje, 3%.

People from Haloze claim high levels of command of the local dialect with 87% of respondents to this survey claiming to both speak and understand the dialect. The number goes up to 98% if we include those who claim adequate command of the dialect. They also have a relatively positive aesthetic judgment of the local dialect. When asked to indicate if the dialect were ugly or beautiful on a scale from 1 to 7, respondents averaged 5.69. In Cirkulane respondents averaged 6.21. It is also striking that 63% of respondents claimed that youth from Haloze speak primarily in the local dialect. In Zavrč 80% claimed that the youth speak primarily in the local dialect. 50% of those under 30 claimed that the younger generation primarily speaks dialect.

Not all of the attitudes expressed in the results of this survey are positive for dialect maintenance. Half of all respondents to this questionnaire said that the local dialect is dying. Increases in age and education level seem to make a person more likely to think that the dialect is dying. When people from Haloze were asked to indicate how they are viewed by outsiders, they judged the dialect to be much lower in terms of beauty, 3.86, and comprehensibility, 3.87. They see their dialect as strange and difficult to understand for outsiders. They believe that they need to modify their speech in order for others to understand them.

In the first footnote of this chapter, a 2009 survey of 239 Haloze-dialect speakers was mentioned. As part of that survey on dialect attitudes and usage, people were asked to indicate if and how much they change the way they speak based on social contexts. See figure 40 below.

**Figure 40:** *Dialect and Social Context*

In the following situations, on a scale from 1 to 7, do you speak in dialect or in the literary language, for example, the way they speak on the TV news? (1) would be most like the local dialect, and (7) would be most like the literary language.

At home	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
At work	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
With friends	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
Shopping	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
On the street or transport	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
At the doctor	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
Athletic event	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
At the theater or a concert	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
At a movie	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
At school or university	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
At a community gathering	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
In Government offices	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
At Church	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
On the internet	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
If I travel to Ljubljana	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
Outside my home area	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language
Formal presentation	Local dialect	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	Literary language

Figure 41 displays the results to this question. The social contexts are listed in order of usage from most like the local dialect to most like the standard language.

*Figure 41: Order from Local to Public*

<u>Context</u>	<u>Mean</u>
home	1.98
friends	2.34
sports	3.44
local gathering	4.1
internet	4.14
not local	4.43
movie	4.52
shopping	4.59
church	4.62
work	4.73
public transport	4.83
theater	5.29
ljubljana	5.3
school	5.68
doctor	5.77
gov. office	5.92
speech	6.21

It is interesting that outside of interactions at home and with friends almost everything that people from Haloze do requires them to speak in a way that is closer to the literary standard than the local dialect. They see a large gap between their local dialect and the standard language. This is a larger gap than other dialect speakers have reported between their local dialect and the standard language, with the possible exception of dialect speakers from Prekmurje (Lundberg 2010: 56).

In this same 2009 survey of Haloze-dialect speakers, people were asked, if they did change the way they spoke based on a social context, what did they change and why. 66% said that they changed pronunciation features, and 71% said that they changed the words they used. When asked why they changed the way they spoke, they gave a variety of answers. Some said that dialect was not suitable or polite in some circumstances. Some changed out of embarrassment or because the dialect did not sound cultured. Some said that they simply did not know some words in dialect. One answer was repeated more than any other. 69% of respondents claimed that they changed the way they spoke in some social contexts in order to be understood. They believe that outsiders cannot understand their dialect, and figure 41 above shows that they change in small ways locally and in larger ways in other contexts. This tendency to change the way one speaks in order to be understood matches well with the attitudes toward other varieties of Slovene discussed earlier. When asked what variety of Slovene is the most beautiful (Ptuj 33%), with what variety of Slovene do you have the most contact (Ptuj 71%) and what variety of Slovene is replacing the local dialect (Ptuj 62%), Ptuj was the top choice for Haloze dialect speakers. This is additional support for the claim that the local Haloze dialect is being leveled toward the regional speech of Ptuj.

#### **4.10 DIALECT LEVELING IN HALOZE**

As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, loss of marked or salient features and significant stylistic variation in the dialect are signs of dialect leveling. My own descriptive fieldwork over the course of more than a decade indicates that both of these are widespread in Haloze. The leveling of sa-

lient features in Haloze includes the abandoning of exclusive lexical items (*zɔ'bačə* for *grablje* 'rake') and grammatical structures such as male verb agreement for females (*bɔ:un šɔ:u* for *bom šla* 'I will go') and local forms of the dual (*mija sma* for *midva sva* 'we two will...'). Younger people and also those with regular contact with other dialects often do not use some of the most striking pronunciation features such as diphthongal pronunciation of vowels (*z'vä:izdə* for *z've:zdə* 'star' and *'dɔ:ubili* for *'dɔ:bili* 'received'), fronted *u* (*krüş* for *kruh* 'bread') and epenthetic *v* before *u* (*'vürə* for *'ura* 'hour'). All of these are archaic features, but they are used or not used by individuals based on social factors like education level, profession and contact with people from outside of the dialect region. These things point to dialect leveling.<sup>41</sup>

Dialect is valued in Slovenia as an important part of local identity, but it is not easily defined as a uniform code because speakers have such varied exposure to and proficiency in different varieties of the language. The type and number of archaisms and innovations in the speech of individuals may vary. One of the reasons that people claim high dialect use, even as many distinctive local features are being leveled, may be that people identify the regional koine and the partially-leveled local dialect as one and the same. The non-linguist may not clearly differentiate between the local and the regional dialect, especially if they are growing more alike. It is almost always difficult to draw distinct lines between closely related varieties of a language (Werlen 96). It is also true that there is significant variation in the level of awareness of the standard language and other varieties among non-linguists (Priestly 25). This may help to explain why people claim to be speaking dialect even though they have accommodated in significant ways to the regional dialect forms.

---

<sup>41</sup> Additional research is needed to document the rate of leveling of different types of features in Slovene dialects. This would likely be a fruitful direction for inquiry in dialects across the Slovene speech territory.



---

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

Very few Slovenes grow up with the literary language as their mother tongue. Some form of dialect or the colloquial standard is spoken at home. Still, all but the oldest and most isolated Slovenes, including the middle and younger generations in Haloze, have at least a basic competence in the standard language. Depending on their education level and other societal factors, they command a greater or lesser degree of the continuum from dialect toward the standard language. If a speaker is well educated and fully controls the entire continuum, then the speaker can switch between codes, local dialect, regional dialect and standard language, when the social context demands. Although this is theoretically true, many well educated speakers, especially those who no longer live in the dialect area, have lost much of their active proficiency in the local dialect. These speakers may only be able to partially shift back to the local dialect, using local expressions and some local pronunciation. If a speaker has less command of the standard language, making him or her unable to fully shift to the standard, then it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify clear distinctions between codes. The speaker may claim to be speaking the standard language while using a mix of dialect, colloquial and standard forms.

The linguistic situation in Slovenia generally and in Haloze specifically fits well with a model for the varieties of Slovene in which the standard language and local dialects form the poles of a continuum. Intermediate forms arise because of convergence toward the standard language and because of koineization based on dialect contact. Intermediate varieties as well as local dialects are also influenced by dialect leveling. For the local dialects some of this leveling is toward the colloquial standard, but most of it is toward the regional dialects. This appears to be the case in the village dialects of Haloze.

A comparison between the most archaic forms of the Haloze dialect and the modern situation strengthens the case for leveling in the region. From a historical perspective, we have seen that the dialect spoken primarily by the oldest residents is different from that of other generations. The main difference is one of quantity rather than quality. Individual speakers at varying rates have abandoned some of the most salient Haloze dialect features while maintaining others, especially basic pronunciation. There is a lack of uniformity in usage in the modern dialect.

Even though there is variation in usage in the modern Haloze dialect, residents claim high levels of proficiency in the local dialect. 87% of respondents to the survey discussed in chapter 4 claimed to both speak and understand the dialect. The number goes up to 98% if we include those who claimed adequate command of the dialect. Locals also have a relatively positive aesthetic judgment of their dialect. When asked to indicate if the dialect were ugly or beautiful on a scale from 1 to 7, respondents averaged 5.69. It is also striking that 63% of respondents claimed that the youth from Haloze speak primarily in the local dialect. The dialect of Haloze is spoken regularly and valued highly. It is not on the verge of dying off, but it is changing. The variation in usage among all generations is an indication of this.

One of the main ways that the Haloze dialect is changing is that it is being leveled toward the regional Styrian dialect, generally, and the dialect of Ptuj, specifically. When asked what variety of Slovene is the most beautiful (Ptuj 33%), with what variety of Slovene do you have the most contact (Ptuj 71%) and what variety of Slovene is replacing the local dialect (Ptuj 62%), the regional dialect used in and around Ptuj was the top choice for Haloze dialect speakers. These survey findings along with the observations on language use and dialect contact reported on in chapter 4 are strong evidence for the claim that the local Haloze dialect is being leveled toward the regional speech of Ptuj. This new leveled Haloze dialect is not identical to that spoken by someone from a village in other dialect areas near Ptuj. It still has some distinct features and can be identified as haloško, but it is less differentiated than the speech of previous generations.

---

## References

Henning ANDERSEN, 1999: The Western South Slavic Contrast Sn. sah-ni-ti // SC. sah-nu-ti. *Slovenski jezik – Slovene Linguistic Studies* 2, 47–62.

Peter AUER and Aldo DI LUZIO, 1988: *Variation and Convergence: Studies in Social Dialectology*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Peter AUER and Frans HINSKENS, 1996: The Convergence and Divergence of Dialects in Europe. *Sociolinguistica* 10, 1–30.

Vladimir BRAČIČ, 1967: *Vinorodne Haloze*. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

–, 1982: *Gozdnate Haloze*. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

Andrew F. BURGHARDT, 1962: *Borderland: A Historical and Geographical Study of Burgenland, Austria*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

J. K. CHAMBERS, and Peter TRUDGILL, 1980: *Dialectology*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Jože CIPERLE and Andrej VOVKO, 1987: *Šolstvo na Slovenskem skozi stoletja*. Ljubljana: Slovenski šolski muzej.

H. GILES, D. TAYLOR and R. BOURHIS, 1973: Toward a Theory of Interpersonal Accommodation through Speech: Some Canadian Data. *Language in Society* 2, 177–92.

Marc L. GREENBERG, 1992: Circumflex Advancement in Prekmurje and Beyond. *Journal of the Society for Slovene Studies* 14/1, 69–91.

–, 1995: Archaisms and Innovations in the Dialect of Sredisce (Southeastern Prlekija, Slovenia). *Proceedings of the 9th Biennial Conference on Balkan and South Slavic Linguistics, Literature and Folklore (Indiana Slavic Studies 7)*, 91–102.

–, 2000: *A Historical Phonology of the Slovene Language*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter.

–, 2006: *A Short Reference Grammar of Standard Slovene*. SEELRC Reference Grammar Network. Duke University / University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill: SEELRC.

Stanko GULDESCU, 1964: *History of Medieval Croatia*. The Hague: Mouton and Co.

Peter HERRITY, 2000: *Slovene: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London: Routledge.

Pavle IVIĆ, 1968: Procesi rasterećenja vokalskog sistema u kajkavskim govorima. *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku* 11, 57–68.

Josip JEDVAJ, 1956: Bednjanski govor. *Hrvatski dijalektološki zbornik* 1, 279–330.

Karmen KENDA-JEŽ, 2002: *Cerkljansko narečje: Teoretični model dialektološkega raziskovanja na zgledu besedišča in glasoslovja*. Doc. diss., University of Ljubljana.

Paul KERSWILL, 2002: Koineization and Accommodation. *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Ed. J. K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill and Natalie Schilling-Estes. Oxford: Blackwell. 669–702.

Rudolf KOLARIČ, 1964: Haloški govor. *Prace filologiczne* 18/2, 395–401.

Miklos KONTRA, 2002: Where is the ‘Most Beautiful’ and the ‘Ugliest’ Hungarian Spoken? *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology, Volume 2*. Ed. Daniel Long and Denis Preston. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Benjamins. 205–18.

Milko KOS, 1955: *Zgodovina Slovencev od naselitve do petnajstega stoletja*. Ljubljana.

– –, 1969: “Meja proti Ogrski in Hrvatski v štajerskem Podravju.” *Poetovio-Ptuj 69–1969: Zbornik razprav ob tisočdevetstoletnici*. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

Tine LOGAR, 1996: *Dialektološke in jezikovnozgodovinske razprave*. Ljubljana: Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša.

Mijo LONČARIĆ, 1996: *Kajkavsko narječje*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

Grant H. LUNDBERG, 1997: Circumflex Advancement in Haloze. *Slovene Studies* 19/1–2, 41–62.

– –, 1999: Preliminary Report on Dialectological Fieldwork in Haloze, Slovenia. *Slovenski jezik / Slovene Linguistic Studies* 2, 91–108.

– –, 2001: “Loss of Tonemic Oppositions in Eastern Haloze, Slovenia: An Instrumental Study.” *Balkanistica* 14, 83–100.

– –, 2005a: “Phonological Results of an Ancient Border Shift: Vocalic Mergers in Northeastern Slovenia.” *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 13, 119–35.

–, 2005b: Dialect Divergence on the Slovene-Croatian National Border. *Balkanistica* 18, 71–84.

–, 2007: Perceptual Dialectology and the Future of Slovene Dialects. *Slovenski jezik – Slovene Linguistic Studies* 6, 97–109.

–, 2010: Dialect Usage in Slovenia. *Slovene Studies* 32/1–2, 43–66.

Vatroslav OBLAK, 1896: Nešto o megjumurskom narječju. *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih slavena* 1, 44–62.

Hans PIRCHEGGER, 1951: Die Herren von Pettau. *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 42, 3–36.

Martin PRAŠIČKI et al., 2005: *Cirkulane: svet Belanov*. Cirkulane, Slovenia: Halo.

Tom PRIESTLY, 1999: On Derivational Productivity in Slovene with Notes on Lexical Frequency and Awareness of the Norm. *Slovenski jezik – Slovene Linguistic Studies* 2, 3–32.

Denis PRESTON, 1999: Introduction. *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology, Volume I*. Ed. Denis Preston. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Benjamins. xxiii–xl.

Fran RAMOVIŠ, 1933: Poznámka k slovenským a juhoslovanským jazykovým stykom. *Ríša Vel'komoravská: sborník vedeckých prác*. Ed. J. Stanislav. Prague, Bratislava. 441–52.

–, 1935: *Historična gramatika slovenskega jezika*, VII: *Dialekti*. Ljubljana.

Jakob RIGLER, 1963: Pregled osnovnih razvojnih etap v slovenskem vokalizmu. *Slavistična revija* 14, 25–78.

–, 1967: Pripombe k pregledu osnovnih razvojnih etap v slovenskem vokalizmu. *Slavistična revija* 15, 129–52.

–, 1975: O zgodovini klasificiranja slovenskih dialektov. *Slavistična revija* 23/1, 27–40.

–, 1986a: Smeri glasovnega razvoja v panonskih govorih. *Razprave o slovenskem jeziku*. Ed. Franc Jakopin. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica. 116–28.

–, 1986b: Jezikovnokulturna orientacija Štajercev v starejših obdobjih. *Razprave o slovenskem jeziku*. Ed. Franc Jakopin. Ljubljana: Slovenska matica. 65–94.

Alexander M. SCHENKER, 1995: *The Dawn of Slavic*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Andrej SKUBIC, 2006: Odnos do slovenskih družbenih govoric pri različnih družbenih skupinah. *Slavistična revija* (posebna številka), 295–307.

SMOLE, Vera. 2004: Nekaj resnic in zmot o narečjih v Sloveniji danas. *Obdobja* 22, 321–30.

– –, 2009: Pomen in vloga (slovenskih) narečij danes. *Obdobja* 26, 557–63.

Marjana SRDINŠEK, 2004: *Šola Leskovec skozi čas*. Rače, Slovenia: Grafis.

Mojca ŠTRAUS, 2005: International Comparisons of Student Achievement as Indicators for Educational Policy in Slovenia. *Prospects* 35/2, 187–98.

Jože TOPORIŠIČ, 2000: *Slovenska slovnica*. Maribor: Založba Obzorja.

Peter TRUDGILL, 1986: *Dialects in Contact*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Renee VAN BEZOOIJEN, 2002: Aesthetic Evaluations of Dutch: Comparisons across Dialects, Accents and Languages. *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology, Volume 2*. Ed. Daniel Long and Denis Preston. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Benjamins. 13–30.

Willem R. VERMEER, 1979a: Innovations in the Kajkavian Dialect of Bednja. *Dutch Contributions to the Eighth International Congress of Slavists. Zagreb, Ljubljana, 1978*. Ed. Jan M. Meier. Lisse: Peter de Ridder. 347–81.

– –, 1979b: Proto-Slavonic \*u in Kajkavian. *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku Matice srpske* 22/1, 171–7.

– –, 1982: Raising of \*ě and Loss of the Nasal Feature in Slovene. *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku Matice srpske* 25/1, 97–120.

– –, 1983: The Rise and Fall of the Kajkavian Vowel System. *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics* 3, 439–77.

Iwar WERLEN, 1988: Swiss German Dialects and Swiss Standard High German. *Variation and Convergence: Studies in Social Dialectology*. Ed. Peter Auer and Aldo di Luzio. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 94–124.

Walt WOLFRAM, 2002: Language Death and Dying. *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Ed. J. K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill and Natalie Schilling-Estes. Oxford: Blackwell. 764–87.

Joseph von ZAHN, 1893: *Ortsnamenbuch der Steiermark im Mittelalter*. Wien.

Zinka ZORKO, 1991: Vzhodni haloški govori. *Nemzetközi szlavisztikai napok* 4, 51–69.

– –, 1993: Daljšanje akuta v severovzhodnih slovenskih narečjih. *Slavistična revija* 41/1, 193–207.

– –, 1995: *Narečna podoba dravske doline*. Maribor: Kulturni forum.

– –, 1998: *Haloško narečje in druge dialektološke študije*. (Zora 6). Maribor: Slavistično društvo.

Melita ZEMLJAK JONTES and Simona PULKO. 2011: Govorica mladostnikov v šoli – narečna ali nenarečna? *Globinska moč besede : red. prof. dr. Martini Orožen ob 80-letnici*. Ed. Marko Jesenšek. (Zora 80). Maribor: Mednarodna založba Oddelka za slovanske jezike in književnosti, Filozofska fakulteta. 407–420.





---

# Appendix 1

Z anketo želimo predvsem ugotoviti, kakšen odnos imajo ljudje v Halozah do krajevnega narečja. Anketa je anonimna in z njo zbrani podatki bodo uporabljeni izključno v raziskovalne namene. Za sodelovanje se vam avtor že vnaprej lepo zahvaljuje.

1. Svoje krajevno narečje obvladam:
  - dobro (govorim in razumem)
  - zadostno (razumem in se za silo sporazumevam)
  - slabo (samo razumem)
  - nič
  
2. Ali haloška mladina večinoma govori v narečju?  da  ne
  
3. Kje v Sloveniji po vašem mnenju govorijo najlepšo slovenščino?
  - v Ljubljani
  - v osrednji Sloveniji
  - na Ptuj in okolici
  - v Mariboru in okolici
  - v Celju in okolici
  
4. Poleg vašega krajevnega narečja, s katero vrsto slovenskega jezika ste najpogosteje v stiku?
  - s knjižnim pogovornim (kot govorijo na televiziji)
  - s pogovornim jezikom osrednje Slovenije
  - s pogovornim jezikom Ptuja in okolice
  - s pogovornim jezikom Maribora in okolice
  - s pogovornim jezikom Celja in okolice
  - drugo (pojasnite) \_\_\_\_\_

V točkah 5, 6 in 7 ocenite z 1 do 7 vaš odnos do izjave. Npr. pri nasprotju grdo–lepo 1 pomeni najgrše, 7 pa najlepše.

5. Haloško narečje je

grdo – lepo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Človek, ki ni iz Haloz, najbrž misli, da je haloško narečje

grdo – lepo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. Človek, ki ni iz Haloz, najbrž misli, da je haloško narečje

nerazumljivo – razumljivo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Ali vaše krajevno narečje izumira?  da  ne

9. Če ste na zadnje vprašanje odgovorili z *da*, katera vrsta jezika nadomešča narečje?

- knjižni pogovorni (kot govorijo na televiziji)
- pogovorni jezik osrednje Slovenije
- pogovorni jezik Ptuja in okolice
- pogovorni jezik Maribora in okolice
- pogovorni jezik Celja in okolice
- drugo (pojasnite) \_\_\_\_\_

10. Spol:  m  ž

11. Starost:

12. Vaša stopnja izobrazbe:  OŠ-PŠ  SŠ-Viš. Š  Vis. Š-Podipl

13. Kje ste se rodili?  v Halozah  drugje (Kje?\_\_\_\_\_)

14. Kje zdaj živite?  v Halozah  drugje (Kje?\_\_\_\_\_)

---

# Appendix 2

## VPRAŠALNIK

### Raba narečja in odnos do narečja

Pričujoča anketa ima dvojni namen. Prvič, z njo želimo ugotoviti, kakšen odnos imajo ljudje v Sloveniji do krajevnih in pokrajinskih narečij. Drugič, pokazala naj bi, v kakšnih okoliščinah ljudje uporabljajo narečje in kdaj ter do kakšne mere skušajo uporabljati knjižni jezik. Anketa je anonimna in z njo zbrani podatki bodo uporabljeni izključno v raziskovalne namene. Za sodelovanje se vam avtor že vnaprej lepo zahvaljuje.

1. Ali govorite doma v narečju?  da  ne
2. Če ste na prvo vprašanje odgovorili z *ne*, kako govorite doma?
3. Svoje krajevno narečje obvladam:
  - dobro (govorim in razumem.)
  - zadostno (razumem in se za silo sporazumevam)
  - slabo (samo razumem)
  - nič
4. Ali vas skrbi prihodnost vašega krajevnega narečja?  da  ne
5. Za mojo pokrajinsko pripadnost je narečje:
  - zelo pomembno.
  - malo pomembno.
  - nepomembno.

6. Označite z vrednostmi od 1 do 7, ali v navedenih položajih govorite bolj v narečju ali bolj v knjižnem jeziku, tj. bolj po domače ali bolj kot govorijo na televiziji. (1) pomeni najbolj v narečju, (7) pa najbolj v knjižnem jeziku. (Obkrožite.)

doma	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
v službi	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
s prijatelji	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
pri nakupovanju	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
na cesti ali v javnih prevoznih sredstvih	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
pri zdravniku	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
na športnih tekmah	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
v gledališču ali na koncertu	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
v kinu	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
v šoli ali na fakulteti	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
na zboru krajanov	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
v krajevnih/državnih uradih	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
v cerkvi	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
na spletu	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
če grem v Ljubljano	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
izven domačega kraja	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik
pri javnem nastopanju	krajevno narečje	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	knjižni jezik

7. V položajih, ko ne govorite v narečju, kaj spremenite v svojem jeziku? (Označite vse ustrezne odgovore.)

izgovarjavo     besede     drugo (pojasnite)

8. V položajih, ko ne govorite v narečju, zakaj ne uporabljate narečja?

9. Spol:                       m                       ž

10. Starost:

11. Vaša stopnja izobrazbe:                       OŠ-PŠ                       SŠ-Viš. Š                       Vis. Š-Podipl

12. Stopnja izobrazbe vaših staršev:     OŠ-PŠ     SŠ-Viš. Š     Vis. Š-Podip

13. V kateri pokrajini ali kraju ste se rodili?

14. V kateri pokrajini ali kraju zdaj živite?



---

# Figures and maps

Figure 1: Dialect-Standard Continuum . . . . .	11
Figure 2: Eastern Haloze (long accented) . . . . .	18
Figure 3: Eastern Haloze (short accented) . . . . .	18
Figure 4: Central Haloze (long accented) . . . . .	18
Figure 5: Central Haloze (short accented) . . . . .	19
Figure 6: Western Haloze . . . . .	19
Figure 7: Consonants (Meje) . . . . .	21
Figure 8: Meje (long accented) . . . . .	23
Figure 9: Meje (short accented) . . . . .	25
Figure 10: Meje (unaccented) . . . . .	27
Figure 11: Consonants (Belavšek) . . . . .	31
Figure 12: Belavšek (long accented) . . . . .	33
Figure 13: Belavšek (short accented) . . . . .	35
Figure 14: Belavšek (unaccented) . . . . .	37
Figure 15: Masculine Nominal Declension . . . . .	39
Figure 16: Feminine Nominal Declension I . . . . .	40
Figure 17: Feminine Nominal Declension II . . . . .	41
Figure 18: Neuter Nominal Declension . . . . .	42
Figure 19: First Person Personal Pronouns . . . . .	43
Figure 20: Second Person Personal Pronouns . . . . .	43
Figure 21: Third Person Personal Pronouns . . . . .	44
Figure 22: Adjective Endings . . . . .	44
Figure 23: Verbal Endings . . . . .	45
Figure 24: Late Common Slavic Vowel System . . . . .	52
Figure 25: Belavšek Vowel System (Central Haloze) . . . . .	52

Figure 26: Gorenski Vrh (Eastern Haloze) . . . . .	53
Figure 27: Common Slovene Vowel System (10 <sup>th</sup> Century) . . . . .	53
Figure 28: Common Pannonian Vowel System (Rigler 1963: 45) . . . . .	56
Figure 29: Common Kajkavain Vowel System . . . . .	58
Figure 30: Command of Local Dialect . . . . .	79
Figure 31: Dialect Usage among Youth . . . . .	81
Figure 32: Future of the Dialect . . . . .	82
Figure 33: Respondents' Aesthetic Judgments of Haloze Dialect . . . . .	83
Figure 34: Dialect Beauty . . . . .	84
Figure 35: Outsiders' View of Haloze . . . . .	85
Figure 36: Outsiders' View of Comprehensibility . . . . .	87
Figure 37: Most Beautiful Slovene . . . . .	88
Figure 38: Contact with Varieties of Slovene . . . . .	90
Figure 39: Dialect Attrition . . . . .	91
Figure 40: Dialect and Social Context . . . . .	93
Figure 41: Order from Local to Public . . . . .	94
Map 1: Haloze within Slovenia . . . . .	15
Map 2: Map of Haloze . . . . .	17
Map 3: Dialect Map of Slovenia . . . . .	49



---

# Index

## A

Andersen, Henning 47, 50, 99  
Auer, Peter 11, 12, 70, 71, 72, 99

## B

Bourhis, Richard 71, 99  
Bračić, Vladimir 16, 63, 64, 65,  
73, 76, 99  
Burghardt, Andrew F. 62, 64,  
65, 99

## C

Chambers, J. K. 11, 99  
Ciperle, Jože 73, 99

## D

di Luzio, Aldo 12, 70, 72, 99

## G

Giles, H. 71, 99  
Greenberg, Marc L. 9, 28, 29,  
50, 53, 54, 55, 60, 61, 65,  
66, 99  
Guldescu, Stanko 50, 64, 100

## H

Herrity, Peter 10, 100  
Hinskens, Frans 11, 12, 70, 71,  
72, 99

## I

Ivić, Pavle 51, 100

## J

Jedvaj, Josip 23, 58, 100

## K

Kenda-Jež, Karmen 71, 100  
Kerswill, Paul 12, 70, 100  
Kolarič, Rudolf 16, 52, 100  
Kontra, Miklos 100  
Kos, Milko 50, 62, 63, 65, 100

## L

Logar, Tine 61, 100  
Lončarić, Mijo 51, 100  
Lundberg, Grant H. 11, 16, 20,  
28, 49, 51, 52, 66, 69, 84, 89,  
95, 100, 101

## O

Oblak, Vatroslav 29, 58, 101

## P

Pirchegger, Hans 63, 64, 101

Prašički, Martin 73, 75, 76, 101

Preston, Denis 78, 101

Priestly, Tom 96, 101

Pulko, Simona 80, 103

## R

Ramovš, Fran 50, 51, 101

Rigler, Jakob 32, 48, 51, 52, 54,  
55, 56, 65, 101

## S

Schenker, Alexander M. 62, 102

Skubic, Andrej 77, 102

Smole, Vera 10, 11, 12, 102

Srdinšek, Marjana 73, 76, 102

## Š

Štraus, Mojca 76, 102

## T

Taylor, D. 71, 99

Toporišič, Jože 9, 10, 12, 102

Trudgill, Peter 11, 12, 61, 71, 99,  
102

## V

Van Bezooijen, Renee 86, 102

Vermeer, Willem R. 51, 54, 55,  
57, 58, 59, 102

Vovko, Andrej 99

## W

Werlen, Iwar 12, 96, 102

Wolfram, Walt 69, 102

## Z

Zahn, Joseph von 63, 103

Zemljak Jontes, Melita 80, 103

Zorko, Zinka 16, 19, 52, 61, 103



