
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 Podlehnik³ 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.

³ 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).⁴

⁴ 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)⁵

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:rusti* (dat. sg.) ‘bone’, *k̄o'sti:i* (gen. sg.).

Figure 4: Central Haloze (long accented)⁶

i:i	ü:i	u:
ɛ:		ɪ:
ä:i	o:u	
a: (a:)		

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

⁶ 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.⁷

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.⁸ This is an example of the dialect spoken in eastern Haloze around the

⁷ The vocalic information on western Haloze comes from Zorko 1993.

⁸ 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.⁹

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

⁹ 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, *dɛ: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, *'ko: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:		o:	r:
	e:		
	a:		

2.8 EXAMPLES (MEJE/LONG ACCENTED)¹⁰

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

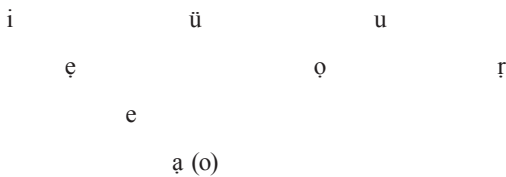
¹⁰ Glosses are given only if the corresponding standard Slovene form has a different meaning or if the correspondence to standard Slovene is not clear.

- mow', ko'si: (3p. sg.), ko'si:lo (lpt. neut. sg.),¹¹ '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:lali 'to produce', bre:k 'hill', na 'bre:gij (loc. masc. sg.), na 'bre:gah (loc. masc. pl.), za'be:leno (adj.) 'peeled', 'me:šali 'to mix', 'de:te (acc. fem. pl.) 'children'
- ← *ǫ: de:n, 'de:vlaš 'to put in', na'de:vlaļi
- 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: blo: (lpt. neut. sg.), ko'ko:š, ko'ko:šij (nom. masc. pl.), 'po:zno (adv.), vo'do: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.), 'do:blij (lpt. masc. pl.) 'to receive', ku'šo:la 'bean', bo:k, o'tro:k (gen. masc. pl.)

¹¹ 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:s̥āt, ro'k̥o: (acc. fem. sg.)
- u: ← *l̥: 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, 'lü:d̥i (nom. masc. pl.), 'v̥ü:ha (nom. fem. sg.) ‘ear’, 'lü: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.), 'f̥ink̥i's̥ta ‘Pentecost’, 'pic̥ek̥i ‘chicks’, ko's̥it̥i, 'sk̥rit̥i, 'hi's̥i (loc. fem. sg.), mir, 'mira (gen. masc. sg.), 'pt̥iček
- ɛ ← *ě 't̥eđen ‘week’, 't̥eđnon (inst. masc. sg.), 'č̥erkef, 'sm̥eła (lpt. fem. sg.), 'm̥ešto, ne'd̥eļu (acc. fem. sg.), 'm̥ešec, 'm̥ešec̥ef (gen. masc. sg.), 'd̥eča

(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’, kaç ‘how’, 'sl̥ama ‘straw’, sla'maj̥ča ‘breadbasket’

o ← *o s̥o (3p. pl.) ‘to be’, 't̥oča

← *o 'o̥bät ‘dinner’, 'ho̥dla (lpt. fem. sg.) ‘to walk’, 'ho̥du (lpt. masc. sg.), 'mo̥tj̥ko (acc. fem. sg.), 'o̥dalj̥ (lpt. masc. sg.) ‘to sell’, ko̥s, 'hoj̥kica ‘pine tree’, 'koj̥e/'kuj̥e (acc. masc. pl.) ‘horses’, 'koj̥ef (gen. masc. pl.), 'vo̥le (acc. masc. pl.) ‘oxen’, 'foj̥tratj̥ ‘feed animals’, no̥r, 'o̥sen ‘eight’, 'vo̥du (acc. fem. sg.), mo̥št, 'poznau (lpt. masc. sg.) ‘to recognize’, 'koze (acc. fem. pl.), kcoj̥ (prep.) ‘along with’

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

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

← *vъ vün (adv.) ‘out’, ‘vüzen ‘Easter’

ř ← *ř ‘křma ‘hay’, hmř (lpt. masc. sg.) ‘to die’, ‘hrptř (loc. masc. sg.) ‘back’

Figure 10: Meje (unaccented)

i		u		
	e		o	ř
	ä		a	

2.10 EXAMPLES (MEJE/UNACCENTED)

i ← *i po'zi:mī, 'dāti, ko'ko:ši, go'ri:ci, k 'meši, 'dō:bli, 'spāti

← *u vř'či:t (sup.) ‘to study’, př'sti:š, na 'hrptř, po 'męsti, na 'brę:gi

ä ← *ě 'ōbāt, 'sō:sāt

e ← *ę gle'di:š, 'mešec, 'ra:zred, me'sō:

← *e pe'či:, de've:t, ne'dęla, ve'če:r

← *ǝ 'vüzen, 'svetek, 'deček

← *o 'kojef, 'kř:stef, 'štikřef

a ← *a po'ma:galī, na 'brę:gah, 'štāla, za'bę:lenu

o ← *o 'mořiko, o'třō:k, o'dāti, do'mō:

← *ř 'řāboka, řābošņica, go'či:n (1p. sg.) ‘to talk’

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

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

ɾ ← *ɾ dr'gõ: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:sõ 'meat', 'čre:võ 'gut', 'gla:vu (acc. fem. sg.) 'head', 'kokuš but also kõ'kõ:šij '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.¹² In Meje, on the other hand, we see me'sõ:, čre'võ:, gla'võ:, as well as ko'kõ:š, indicating that the place of accent advanced in this area in both of these environments much as in the literary language.¹³

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

¹² See Lundberg 1997 for a full discussion of circumflex advancement in Haloze.

¹³ 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', *vī'či: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, *'kɔ:ustì* (dat. sg.) ‘bone’, *kɔ'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 ’šästiš* ‘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:		ɪ:
ä:i	o:u	
a: (a:)		

2.14 EXAMPLES (BELAVŠEK/LONG ACCENTED)¹⁴

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:iili*, *'vi:iino*, *'ci:izra* 'bean', *bi:ik*, *na'pi:ięęn* (lp. sg.), *ro'di:iili sä*, *'pi:itati* 'to ask', *'pi:išęn* (lp. sg.), *pi'sti:iš* 'to allow', *si'si:iili* (lpt. masc. pl.) 'to dry', *ko'sti:i* (gen. fem. sg.), *glę'di:iin* (lp. sg.) 'to watch', *go'sti:iija* 'wedding', *le'ti:iin* (lp. sg.) 'I run', *ži'vi:iin* (lp. sg.), *ži'vi:iimo*

e: ← *ę: *pe:t*, *i'mę:*, *'glę:dali*, *'pe:tęk*, *pe:st*, *go've:diņa*, *'vrę:di* 'okay', *gre:n* (lp. sg.) 'to go', *'gre:mọ*, *'gre:du* (3p. pl.), *'te:škọ*, *za'pe:stje* 'palm'

¹⁴ 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:vlaʃ (2p. sg.) 'to put in', na'dɛ:vlan (1p. sg.), 'mɛ:ʃnik 'priest'

ä:i ← *ě: bɛ'sä:ida, cvä:it, 'svä:ičɑ, lä:is 'wood', 'dä:ilat (sup.) 'to work', 'dä:ilaʃ, 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:uʃ (fut., 2p. sg.) 'to be', rɔ:ukɑ '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:uʃ 'chicken', 'pɔ:ubralĭ, 'frɔ:uʃtikl '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:ugaʃ '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:lɔ 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, 'jestī, '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', 'žägen 'blessing', 'žägnä (gen. masc. sg.), 'näčē (3p. sg.) 'does not want to', kmät, 'sädeṅ 'seven', 'räčēju (3p. pl), 'räkla (lpt. fem. sg.), 'täle 'calf', od 'mäneṅ (pron. 2p. gen. sg.), 'tätä 'aunt', 'žäna, 'näsla (lpt. fem. sg.) 'to carry', 'päčē (3p. sg.) 'to bake', oṗ 'šästih 'at six', 'sästra, 'mätlä, 'čäseṅ, än 'one', sä 'everything'
- ← *ě 'lätu (lpt. masc. sg.) 'to run'
- ← *ę na'rätī 'to do', za'čätī 'to begin', 'sräčno, räp, 'jätra
- ← *aj kräj, 'jäce (acc. fem. pl.) 'eggs', 'jäcoṅ (inst. fem. sg.)
- a ← *a pō'gača 'potica', naš, taṅ 'there', naṅ (pron. 1p. dat. pl.), brät 'brother', 'bräte (acc. masc. pl.), 'brätōf (gen. masc. pl.), 'kraṗa, 'kraṗē (acc. fem. pl.), 'jäbuka (nom. fem. sg.), 'spatī, 'grāba 'valley', 'grābu (acc. fem. sg.), 'gläžek 'glass', zō'bača 'rake', 'pamēteṅ, 'štala 'barn', 'matī, 'mantl 'coat', 'čabēl 'nail', 'fätr 'father', sma (1p. dl.) 'to be', 'začimbä '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', škof, '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’, krüš ‘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)

ĩ ← *ĩ 'spati, 'delati, k 'meši, 'glđati

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

ä ← *ě 'hitati, 'obät

ę ← *ę 'pamęt, glę'di:iš, 'mešęc

← *e ne'dela, ve'ęer, 'näsęn

← *ǣ 'dędek, žę'lodęc

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

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

← *o po'gaču (acc. fem. sg.), 'kraġu (acc. fem. sg.), 'grabu (acc. fem. sg.)

← *ı 'košiu (1pt. masc. sg.), po'ko:usu, 'kü:ipu, o'di:išu, 'glę:du, 'kunču

← *ı 'jabuka (nom. fem. sg.) 'apple'

ř ← *ř dř'go:uč, př'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.¹⁵

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'

¹⁵ 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/o/ø:u	-ə/ə:	-ə
L	-i	-ax	-ax
I	-øn/o:j	-amj	-ama/amj

2.19 EXAMPLES (FEMININE NOMINAL DECLENSION I)

- (sg.) *'grāba*, *'grābə*, *'grābī*, *'grābu*, *'grābī*, *'grābøn*, (pl.) *'grābə*, *grāp*, *'grāban*, *'grābə*, *'grābax*, *'grābamj*, (dl.) *'grābə*, *grāp*, *'grāban*, *'grābə*, *'grābax*, *'grābamj* ‘valley’

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

Some Common Slavic neuter nouns follow this feminine pattern of declension, *'jabuka* ‘apple’, *'jāca* ‘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:vą* ‘head’, *'vɔdą* ‘water’, and *'nuga* ‘leg’ (This form is sometimes long, *'nu:ga*, 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	jaš / ja	mi	'mija (masc.) 'mije (fem.)
G	'mäņ / me	naš	'naji
D	'mäni / mi	nan	'nama
A	'mäņ / me	naš	'naji
L	'mäni	naš / 'prinas	'nama
I	me'noj / 'meņon	'nami	'nama

Figure 20: Second Person Personal Pronouns

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>	<u>dual</u>
N	ti	vi	'vija (masc.) 'vije (fem.)
G	'täbe / te	vaš	'vaji
D	'täbi / ti	vam	'vama
A	'täbe / te	vaš	'vaji
L	'täbi	vaš / 'privas	'vama
I	'tə:ubon	'vami	'vama

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
sg.	-n	-š	-ø
dual	-ma	-ta	-ta
pl.	-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:ilali (le), stę 'dä:ilali (le), sø 'dä:ilali (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:ilali (le), bø:ute 'dä:ilali (le), bø:udø 'dä:ilali (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 $*ʌ$ 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.