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Mark Richard Lauersdorf

The Question of 'Cultural Language' and Interdialectal Norm in 16th Century Slovakia

A Phonological Analysis of 16th Century Slovak Administrative-Legal Texts

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FOREWORD

Die vorliegende Arbeit wurde am 20. April 1995 vom Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures und am 24. April 1995 von der Graduate School der University of Kansas als Dissertation angenommen. An dieser Stelle möchte ich zunächst Herrn Prof. Dr. Peter Rehder für die Aufnahme dieser Dissertation in seine Reihe danken. Ich möchte auch meine Dankbarkeit mehreren Personen gegenüber zum Ausdruck bringen, die mir bei dieser Arbeit behilflich waren und besondere Anerkennung verdienen.

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To my parents, the Rev. Richard and Charlene Lauersdorf, who were convinced that I would never get out of school, I would like to say thanks for the innumerable things that they have done along the way.

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C'est finalement à ma femme, Josée, à qui je dois le plus . . .

März 1996, Lawrence, Kansas, USA — Mark Richard Lauersdorf

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ABBREVIATIONS

Grammatical, geographical and language abbreviations

1st = first person
2nd = second person
3rd = third person
A = accusative case
adj. = adjective
adv. = adverb
anim. = animate
c = central (geographically) (distinguishable from *c.* = *century* by context of discussion)
c. = century (distinguishable from *c* = *central* by context of discussion)
CSlk = Central Slovak dialects
Cz = Czech literary language
D = dative case
dim. = diminutive
du. = dual
e = eastern
ESlk = East Slovak dialects
f. = feminine
Fren = French
fut. = future tense
G = genitive case
Ger = German
I = instrumental case
imp. = imperative
inan. = inanimate
inf. = infinitive
ipv. = imperfective aspect
L = locative case
Lat = Latin
l-part. = l-participle
m. = masculine
MHG = Middle High German
MSlk = Moravian Slovak dialects
N = nominative case
n = northern (distinguishable from *n.* = *neuter* by context of discussion)
n. = neuter (distinguishable from *n* = *northern* by context of discussion)
n-p. = non-past tense
num. = cardinal numeral
O = old (as in *OCz* = *Old Czech*)
OHG = Old High German
PAP = past active participle
past = past tense
pl. = plural
Pol = Polish literary language
poss. = possessive

PPP = past passive participle
PrAP = present active participle
prep. = preposition
pres. = present tense
pron. = pronoun
pv. = perfective aspect
refl. = reflexive
s = southern
Slav = Slavic
Slk = Slovak
sg. = singular
V = vocative case (distinguishable from *V = vowel* by context of discussion)
w = western
WSlav = West Slavic
WSlk = West Slovak dialects

Phonological symbols

< = derives from
> = develops into
<– *or* –> = yields (e.g., in paradigmatic derivation of forms: **uměti* (inf.) –> **uměm* (1st sg. n-p.))
~ = alternates with
[ ] = phonetic transcription
/ / = phonemic transcription
< > = actual graphemic shape (as recorded in text(s))
= word boundary
* = historically reconstructed form
˙ = hardness of preceding consonant (see, however, *ů* below)
ˈ = softness of preceding consonant (including *ŗ'* , *ļ'* – see Chapter III, note 3 for further explanation)
´ = vowel length (see, however, *ć* , *ś* , *ź* , *ʒ́* below)
̣ = syllabicity of consonant (e.g., *ŗ*) (see, however, *ъ̣* , *ь̣* below)
̯ = semivowel portion of a diphthong (e.g., *je̯*) (see, however, *ъ̯* , *ь̯* below)
̨ = nasality of vowel (e.g., *ę*)
V = vowel (distinguishable from *V* = *vocative* by context of discussion)
C = consonant
ъ = "back jer", short higher mid back vowel (< * ŭ) (also: "reduced vowel")
ь = "front jer", short higher mid front vowel (< * ĭ) (also: "reduced vowel")
ъ̣ *or* ь̣ = "strong jer" (developed qualitatively into various vocalic reflexes)
ъ̯ *or* ь̯ = "weak jer" (generally produced a zero reflex, although retained in some environments)
Ø = zero reflex of weak jer
ä = short low front vowel (i.e., fronted [a])
ä́ = long low front vowel (i.e., fronted [á] = long [ä])
ě = "jat' ", Proto-Slavic front vowel whose exact phonetic value is uncertain; this symbol indicates ['e] in contemporary Czech orthography
ů = long high back vowel in contemporary Czech orthography (i.e., [ú])
y = high central (unrounded) vowel in Proto-Slavic and modern Polish; this symbol indicates [i] in contemporary Slovak/Czech orthography
c = voiceless dental affricate
č = voiceless alveopalatal affricate
ć = palatalized voiceless alveolar affricate
j = "jot", voiced palatal semivowel
ł = voiced labiovelar semivowel (i.e., [w])
ř = trilled voiced fricative (essentially trilled [r] and [ž] pronounced together)
š = voiceless alveopalatal fricative
ś = palatalized voiceless alveolar fricative
x = voiceless velar fricative
ž = voiced alveopalatal fricative
ź = palatalized voiced alveolar fricative
ʒ = voiced dental affricate
ʒ́ = voiced alveopalatal affricate
ʒ́ = palatalized voiced alveolar affricate

Abbreviations for dialect divisions cited in this work and correspondences between abbreviations and dialect names/geographical regions[1]

abbreviation	dialect name/geographical region
MSlk = Moravian Slovak	– (includes Kelečský dialect)
sMSlk = southern Moravian Slovak	– Podlužský dialect – southern tip of MSlk
wMSlk = western Moravian Slovak	– Dolský dialect – westernmost region of MSlk
seMSlk = southeastern Moravian Slovak	– Kopaničářsky dialect – south of the towns Uh. Ostroh, Uh. Brod
sWSlk = southern West Slovak	
w-sWSlk = western – southern West Slovak	– Záhorský dialect – westernmost region of sWSlk
c-sWSlk = central – southern West Slovak	– Trnavský dialect – region around the town Trnava
e-sWSlk = eastern – southern West Slovak	– Hlohovský dialect – region around the town Hlohovec
ne-sWSlk = northeastern – southern West Slovak	– Piešťanský dialect – region around the town Piešťany
nWSlk = northern West Slovak	
s-nWSlk = southern – northern West Slovak	– Dolnotrenčiansky dialect – region around the town Trenčín
n-nWSlk = northern – northern West Slovak	– Hornotrenčiansky dialect – region around the town Pov. Bystrica
nCSlk = northern Central Slovak	– Oravský, Turčiansky, Liptovský Hornonitriansky, Tekovský, Zvolenský dialects – the regions of the former political districts: Orava, Turiec, Liptov, Nitra (northern area), Tekov, Zvolen

[1] The dialect divisions and names employed in this investigation (as outlined in this list of abbreviations and on the accompanying map) follow those in Krajčovič 1988. Any departures from Krajčovič 1988 are specifically outlined in the notes to this list of abbreviations. I have not distinguished what Krajčovič terms "border areas" (*pomedzné areály*), but rather have included each of these smaller areas in the larger dialect regions on which they directly border. This does not affect the present study in any way since none of the texts investigated here lie in these border areas. The geographical borders for the dialect divisions (except MSlk) presented in the maps of this study were drawn on the basis of the Slovak dialect map on p. 4 of Štolc, et al. 1968a. The MSlk dialect borders were drawn on the basis of information supplied in Bartoš 1886, Havránek 1934, Trávníček 1926.

sCSlk = southern Central Slovak

w-sCSlk = western – southern Central Slovak[2]	– Hontiansky, Novohradský dialects[2] – the regions of the former political districts: Hont, Novohrad (except eastern area)
c-sCSlk = central – southern Central Slovak[2]	– Ipeľský, Západogemerský dialects[2] – eastern region of the former political district: Novohrad (along the Ipeľ river) and western region of the former political district: Gemer
e-sCSlk = eastern – southern Central Slovak[2]	– Stredogemerský, Východogemerský dialects[2] – central and eastern regions of the former political district: Gemer

wESlk = western East Slovak

s-wESlk = southern – western East Slovak[3]	– (southern areas of) Spišský, Šarišský dialects; and Abovský dialect[3] – southern regions of the former political districts: Spiš, Šariš; the entire region of the former political district: Abov
n-wESlk = northern – western East Slovak[3]	– (northern areas of) Spišský, Šarišský dialects[3] – northern regions of the former political districts: Spiš, Šariš

eESlk = eastern East Slovak	– Zemplínsky, Sotácky, Užský dialects – the regions of the former political districts: Zemplín, Užhorod

[2] A division of the sCSlk dialect area into western, central and eastern regions is a simplification of a rather complex dialect situation. However, according to Krajčovič "The isogloss boundary [of the Hontiansky dialect area] with the neighboring Novohradský dialect area is not sharp" (1988, 261). Thus it is not entirely unjustified to group these dialects together into one (w-sCSlk) region. The same can be maintained for the coupling of the Ipeľský and Západogemerský dialects into a c-sCSlk region, since again Krajčovič states: "The isogloss boundary [of the Západogemerský dialect] with the Ipeľský dialect is not sharp, because several characteristic traits of the Ipeľský dialect, especially in the south, penetrate to the banks of the Rimava river, indeed even beyond them" (1988, 268). The grouping of the Stredogemerský and Východogemerský dialects into an e-sCSlk region is more problematic. It should be stressed here, therefore, that the divisions – w-sCSlk, c-sCSlk, e-sCSlk – cited in this work were chosen on the basis of the phonological traits investigated in this study (not on the basis of the entire sCSlk dialect picture), and at times they represent mere geographical designations and not strict dialectal divisions.

[3] A division of the wESlk dialect area into northern and southern regions is not generally valid in terms of the overall ESlk dialect picture. The abbreviations n-wESlk and s-wESlk are used in this study only as geographical designations in the discussion of the reflexes of long *ó* and long *é*.

Slovak dialect

seMSlk

divisions

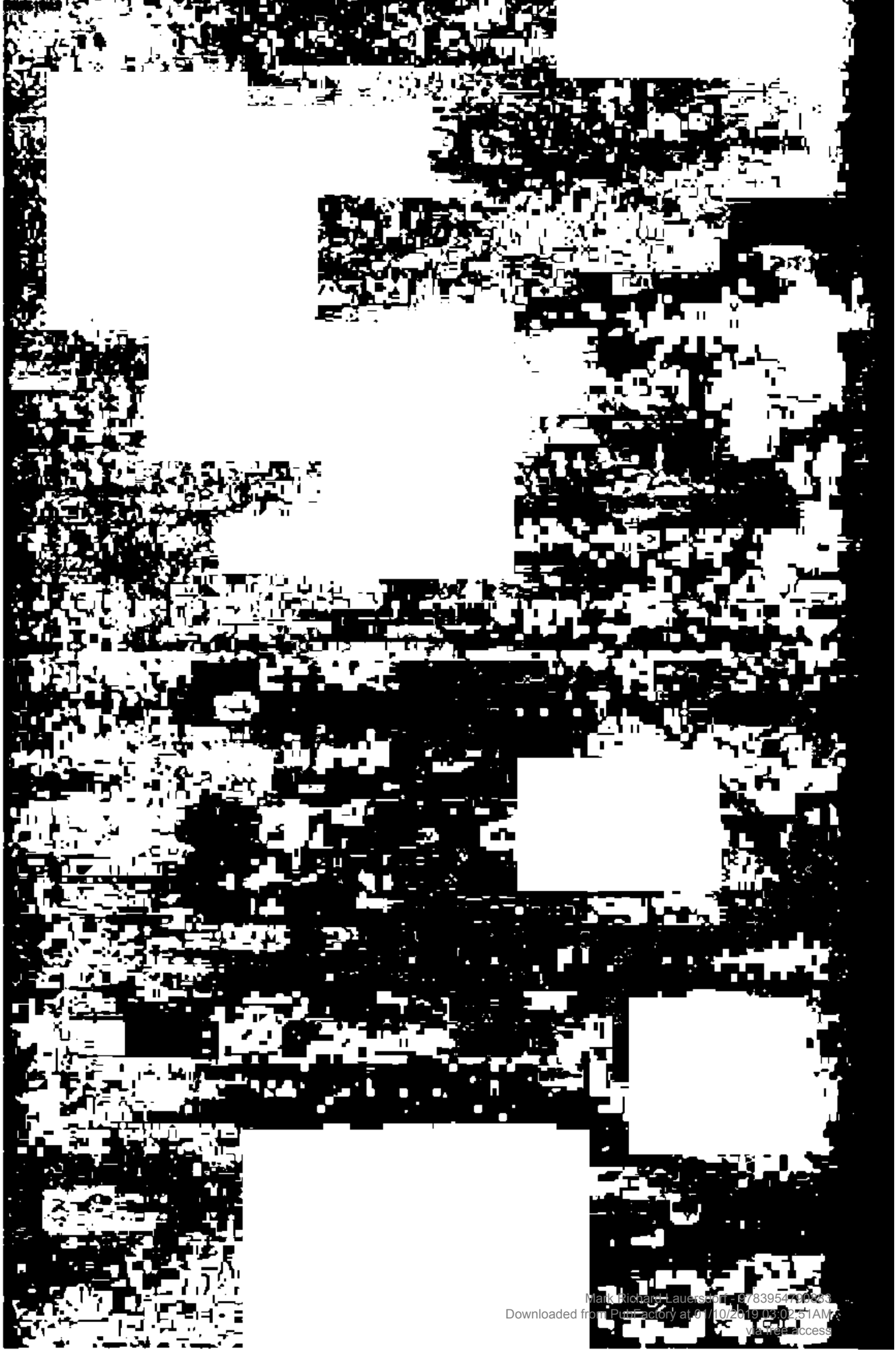
major dialect group – e.g., MORAVIAN SLOVAK

major dialect division – e.g., northern WEST SLOVAK

– – – – regional dialect division employed in the present study – e.g., c-sCSlk

. . . . . individual dialect – e.g., (zemplínsky)

(kopanický) /////// area of mixed and non-Slk dialects (within the borders of modern Slovakia)



CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

It is generally accepted that the present-day Slovak literary language was codified in its basic form in the mid 19th century by the Slovak scholar Ľudovít Štúr (1815-1856)[1]. It is also generally acknowledged that prior to Štúr and his codification, a similar, but unsuccessful, attempt to create a standard Slovak language was made by Anton Bernolák (1762-1813) in the late 18th century[2]. There is not general agreement, however, on the degree or type of standardization, or better, normalization, exhibited by Slovak texts before the codifying efforts of Bernolák, Štúr and their followers. As might be expected, the disagreement on this issue is greater the earlier the time period under consideration. The present study focuses on the 16th century and the degree and type of standardization/normalization exhibited in a corpus of administrative-legal texts written in the Slovak language territory during that period[3].

Essentially two basic models have been proposed in various configurations by scholars investigating the situation in 16th century administrative-legal texts from the Slovak language territory. Some scholars have claimed that 16th century Slovak speakers continued the 14th-15th century practice of using closely related Czech as their means of written interdialectal communication. These scholars hold that during the 16th century the appearance of Slovak features in such Czech texts is essentially random and unsystematic. Others have asserted that the 16th century Slovaks wrote in a language displaying distinct interdialectal Slovak norms. These scholars consider that, although this language was either based on or modeled after the

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[1] Štúr's *Nauka reči slovenskej* (1846) represents the initial description and codification of what is today the standard Slovak literary language. This codification (sometimes referred to in Slovak as *štúrovčina*) was based primarily on the language of the educated class in the Central Slovak dialect region. Less than enthusiastic reactions to Štúr's codification by some of his peers resulted in an agreement in 1851 on several changes (primarily in orthography, phonology and morphology) as proposed by Michal Miloslav Hodža (1811-1870) and codified by Martin Hattala (1821-1903) in his *Grammatica linguae slovenicae collatae cum proxima cognata bohemica* (1850) and *Krátka mluvnica slovenská* (1852). This compromise-codification closely resembles modern literary Slovak in orthography, phonology and morphology and underwent only relatively minor changes in its further development toward the standard language in use today. (See Ďurovič 1980; Pauliny 1983, 175-199; Stankiewicz 1984, 25-32.)

[2] Bernolák's codification (sometimes referred to in Slovak as *bernolákovčina* or *bernoláčtina*) is considered to be based on the language (especially spoken usage) of the educated class in and around Trnava (*not* the local West Slovak Trnava dialect, see especially Pauliny 1983, 163-169). His work was published in several volumes, *Dissertatio philologico-critica de literis slavorum, de divisione illarum, nec non accentibus* (1787); *Linguae slavonicae per regnum hungariae usitatae compendiosa simul, et facili orthographia* (1787); *Grammatica slavica* (1790); *Etymologia vocum slavicarum sistens modum multiplicandi vocabula per derivationem et compositionem* (1791); *Slavicae nomenclaturae diversarum rerum latine, hungarice, et germanice redditae* (1791); and *Slowár Slowenskí, Česko-Laťinsko-Německo-Uherskí* (published after his death, 1825-1827). *Bernolákovčina* was the chosen language of composition of the writer Jur Fándli (Juraj Fándly) (1754-1811) and the poet Ján Hollý (1785-1849). However, due to both socio-historical and linguistic circumstances it failed to gain universal acceptance as the Slovak literary language. (See Ďurovič 1980; Pauliny 1983, 160-174; Stankiewicz 1984, 25-32.)

[3] A full description of the textual corpus for this investigation, including the reasons behind the choice of period (16th century) and text type (administrative-legal texts), is presented in detail in Chapter II of this study.

Czech literary language (alongside Polish in the east), it exhibited consistent use of distinctly Slovak features under the influence of regional Slovak dialect systems.

The major Slovak dialect regions

The Slovak language territory and the major Slovak dialect regions

The Slovak language territory is traditionally divided into four major dialect regions: Moravian Slovak (MSlk), West Slovak (WSlk), Central Slovak (CSlk), East Slovak (ESlk). (See, for example, Cuřín, et al. 1977; Havránek 1934; Krajčovič 1988; Lehr-Spławiński and Stieber 1957; Stanislav, 1967a; Vážný 1934.) There are several points, concerning the relationship of these Slovak dialect regions to the neighboring Slavic languages and to one another, that must be mentioned here as background information for this investigation.

The MSlk dialects form a transition zone between the Czech language territory to the west and the rest of the Slovak language territory to the east. As such, they share phonological traits both with the Czech dialects on their western border, as well as with the Slovak dialects on their eastern border.

As might be expected, the WSlk dialects (particularly the westernmost Záhorský dialect) share several phonological traits with Czech and MSlk to the west. Somewhat unexpectedly however, the WSlk dialects are, in their basic phonological structure, closer to the geographically more distant ESlk dialects than to the immediately neighboring CSlk dialects to the east.

The CSlk dialects have many phonological traits in common with WSlk and ESlk. However, there are a number of phonological traits that clearly distinguish the CSlk dialects from the WSlk and ESlk dialects. Interestingly, many of these divergent traits in CSlk closely

resemble traits of the South Slavic language group.

As mentioned above, the ESk dialects stand phonologically closer to WSlk than to CSlk. However, at the same time it is important to note that the ESlk dialects display a number of phonological traits in common with Pol, which directly borders on the ESlk region in the north[4].

This four-region dialectal arrangement of the Slovak language territory provides the general framework within which the differentiation of the individual Slovak dialects, as well as the development a 16th century standardized/normalized Slovak language form, must be considered.

The sociolinguistic situation in the Slovak lands before 1500

It is often the case that dialect divisions within a language arise along natural geographical boundaries in the territory where the language is spoken. It is also common for artificial political/administrative boundaries to play a role in dialect development. Both types of

[4] The dialect divisions and relationships outlined here have been explained as the result of the early linguistic contacts and early patterns of migration of the Slavic peoples who settled the regions in question.

Regarding the relationship WSlk–ESlk vs. CSlk:

"The East Slovaks are a part of that Czechoslovak [linguistic] group from which the West Slovak and Moravian Slovak dialects were also formed. They arrived in their present-day areas of settlement approximately at the same time as the West Slovaks, only they crossed the Carpathian Mountains by way of the East Slovakian passes and the West Slovaks, along with the Moravians, went by way of the Moravian gate. . . . The ancestors of the Central Slovaks probably penetrated from the south [where they had first settled (see Pauliny 1963, 17-19)] up to Orava, Turiec and Liptov and divided the East Slovaks from the West Slovaks. It is difficult to determine if this happened soon after arrival in the present-day areas of settlement or first after retreat from the Magyar advance in the 10th century. However, it is certain that it was earlier than the 13th century. Thus the East Slovak dialect was divided from its closer West Slovak counterpart and became the neighbor of the less close Central Slovak dialect" (Pauliny 1963, 50-51).

Regarding the divergent features in CSlk and the relationship CSlk–South Slavic:

"[T]hese features [resembling South Slavic] arose in Slovak as a result of South Slavic-Slovak contiguity. . . . some of the so-called South Slavisms in Central Slovak, or at least the basis for them, arose already in the Slavic proto-homeland" (Pauliny 1963, 38). "[I]t is necessary to assume that the ancestors of the Central Slovaks were settled contiguous to the ancestors of the South Slavs already in the proto-homeland and took some linguistic traits from them already there. As regards the positioning of the Central Slovak dialects among the Slovak dialects it is necessary again to assume . . . that the Proto Central Slovaks moved from the proto-homeland first out of all the Slovaks. They probably followed the South Slavs, with whom they were probably neighbors in the proto-homeland, and settled probably between the Tisza and the Danube, south of the present-day Slovak territory and in present-day south Central Slovakia on the lower course of the Ipeľ and Hron rivers. From there they probably then moved to the north into the present-day region of Central Slovakia" (Pauliny 1963, 18).

Regarding the relationship ESlk–Pol:

"Thanks to its marginal geographical position, East Slovak underwent separate development in many features. . . . The contiguity of Polish and Ukrainian [with ESlk] was not without significance for this development, but to speak of Polish influence in the sense of some sort of non-organic interference in connection with some parallel Polish-East Slovak features would not be correct. For example, the loss of quantity, stress on the penultimate, softness of consonants, the change *t', d' > ć, ʒ́* and some other features developed organically in East Slovak, parallel to Polish, but not under Polish influence. Of course, the contiguity of Polish was not without meaning here. For some other features for which the necessary conditions also exhisted in East Slovak, Polish served as a model for concrete resolution" (Pauliny 1963, 51). See also Kotulič 1963 regarding the issues of the relationship ESlk–Pol.

boundaries were relevant in the early formation of the Slovak language and its dialect divisions, but the political/administrative boundaries are more important for the discussion here. With the rise of the Hungarian kingdom in the 10th century, a political border arose between the MSlk dialect region, which came under the control of the Czech kingdom (Bohemia-Moravia within the Holy Roman Empire), and the remaining three Slovak dialect regions, which fell under the rule of the Hungarian kingdom. This political border, separating out the MSlk dialect region while bringing together the rest of the Slovak language territory, caused that "Conditions were also created for convergent linguistic development of all the Slovak linguistic regions [within the Hungarian kingdom, i.e. *not* MSlk] despite dialectal disunity, thus, for example, the West Slovak dialects from that time onward had closer [ties] to the Central Slovak dialects than to the Moravian Slovak dialects, although before the 10th century it was the opposite" (Pauliny 1950, 42).

The role of political/administrative boundaries in Slovak dialect formation was even more significant as regards the differentiation of individual dialects within the West, Central and East Slovak regions. Many of the Slovak dialect divisions within the West, Central and East Slovak regions follow the natural geographical divisions in those parts of the Slovak language territory. However, these same geographical divisions mark the boundaries of many of the internal political districts established for the governing of the Slovak lands within the Hungarian state[5]. In those areas where there are no natural geographical boundaries, but there were internal political/administrative boundaries, the borders of the individual Slovak dialects run roughly along the political borders of those former Hungarian administrative districts. Pauliny states that the political boundaries "left deep traces in the dialectal division of the Slovak region" (1950, 41). Krajčovič in discussing 13th-15h century phonological developments, remarks that "The isoglosses of older traits in many places follow the old political district borders" (1971, 97). Habovštiak (1972) makes the claim (primarily on the basis of lexical data) that even in instances where geographical boundaries coincided with political boundaries, the Slovak dialect divisions were influenced to a greater degree by the political boundaries[6].

The division of the Slovak lands into smaller administrative districts within the Hungarian

[5] Opinions vary on the actual origin of the political divisions of Slovakia within the Hungarian state, however, it is generally agreed that they date from the beginnings of Hungarian rule and that they lasted until the period following World War I. For a synopsis of views on the issue and further references see Habovštiak 1972, esp. 120.

[6] "Not only the borders of the individual administrative districts ran along the region of these mountains and mountain ranges, but also isogloss bundles arose in these same places. In such cases it is difficult to say with certainty which factors were decisive in the emergence of dialectal divisions, i.e., whether the geographical factor was primary, or whether the socio-economical factor is to be given priority. The geographical factor had, however, only secondary importance, that is through the intermediary of the political factor" (Habovštiak 1972, 121). Further, "Mountain ranges and mountains are places where linguistic isoglosses converge primarily because the political border runs along these areas" (Habovštiak 1972, 126).

state was the political status quo for several centuries leading up to the time period in question. According to Pauliny, "One can then say that before the Tartar invasion (1241-1242) the entire present day Slovak territory (within the defense lines and outside the defense lines) was already integrated into the Hungarian state administration" (1983, 50). Only for a brief period at the beginning of the 14th century was there a different arrangement of political administration when the Slovak areas of the Hungarian kingdom came under the rule of regional oligarchs, the most powerful of which were Mátyás Csák, who held most of West and Central Slovakia, and the Omodé family which ruled much of East Slovakia. Because each of the Hungarian administrative districts developed into a politically and economically more or less independent unit, the individual dialects that arose within each of these districts remained somewhat isolated with respect to one another. More importantly, because of this relative independence of the districts there was little opportunity for any one city or region within the Slovak lands to develop into an interregional economic, political, or cultural center whose dialect could quickly rise to the level of a prestige dialect and serve as the basis for the formation of a broader interregional, interdialectal norm (as happened, for example, with the Central Czech dialect around Prague). Thus, as stated by Pauliny, "This [relative independence of districts] brought about the result that the Slovak language, developing within the framework of these districts, for a long time did not display any distinct convergent features, or convergent features in development were for a long time offset by divergences in development. This affected the dialects and the form of the language for the entire society. It is thus possible to explain the slow and uneven formation of the Slovak nationality and people and the late emergence of a literary language form for the entire society" (1983, 48).

During the 15th century, the growing importance of the cities and their wealthy classes and the increasing contact on many levels among the members of the upper classes in the respective administrative districts brought about a greater need for a means of interdialectal written communication that would be more widely accessible than Latin (which was at that time the official language of legal and administrative affairs in the Hungarian kingdom). Because no prestige dialect or other indigenous interdialectal formation that might have served as a nascent Slovak literary language prevailed, the way was left clear for the implementation of the closely related and already highly standardized Czech literary language as a means of written communication among the Slovak upper classes[7].

[7] For a detailed presentation of the socio-historical as well as linguistic variables that played a role in the introduction of Czech as the vehicle of written communication in the Slovak language territory in the 14th-15th centuries see among others: Décsy 1955; Király 1958; Pauliny 1956a, 1966, 1972, 1983 (esp. 76-78); Varsik 1956c, 11-69.

Czech in Slovakia

The early standardization of Czech and its influence at that time beyond the borders of the Czech lands is well-documented. Extant examples of 14th century Czech religious and secular prose and poetry, as well as late 14th century administrative and legal records in Czech, show that the language was in use in most areas of written production in the Czech lands by the start of the 15th century. The period of the Hussite movement, which arose at the beginning of the 15th century around the religious reformer and scholar Jan Hus (1371-1415), was marked by the increased use of Czech in both religious and secular affairs in the Czech lands. According to Auty, "By the time the Hussite wars ended in the 1430's the Czech language was in use in most spheres of national life. . . . When we consider that the relative uniformity of the phonological and morphological structure of the language remained unimpaired, and that its orthography was in the process of consolidation, we can establish the mid-fifteenth century as the period of origin of the Czech literary language as a normalized, polyvalent, nationally recognized idiom" (1980, 169-70)[8].

The influence of this 14th-15th century Czech literary language beyond its borders is clearly evident in early Polish religious manuscripts. Polish scribes often used Czech models as reference sources for their work. To cite only one example, the translators of the earliest complete Polish Bible, the "Queen Zofia Bible" completed in 1455, made use of a Czech translation in their work from a Latin original (see Wydra and Rzepka 1984, 60). The early influence of literary Czech on the development of Polish is also seen in the Polish lexicon, where a substantial number of lexical items, particularly specialized terminology from various cultural spheres, was borrowed from Czech[9].

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[8] In the history of many European languages, the translation of the Bible played a major role in the early development of the literary language. The same is true for the development of literary Czech in the 14th and 15th century Czech lands. The first complete Czech translation of the Bible is dated to the 1380s, and a number of Czech Bible manuscripts were produced during the period around the Hussite movement (see Auty 1980, 166-7; Merell 1956, 7-29). It is interesting to note that what might be considered the first translation of the Bible into Slovak is not accomplished until the mid 18th century when the Camaldolite monks, in their efforts to standardize the language used by the Slovak Catholics, produced the *Swaté Biblia Slowénské aneb Pjsma Swatého Částka I., II.* The earliest extant copy of this translation dates from the years 1756-59 (see Pauliny 1983, 146).

[9] Klemensiewicz concludes that "It is an indisputable fact, which must be kept in mind in the history of the development of the Polish lexicon, that the Polish Middle Ages were subject to the very strong appeal of of Czech culture, literature, and also indeed language. . . . Our workers in the field of the written word had to look to the Czech models, our translators wanted and had to take advantage of already finished Czech translations" (1985a, 134).

Havránek states that "If we take a look at the Bohemisms that already at that time make up the permanent assets of literary Polish, we see that Polish borrowed from Czech above all specialized terms of cultural and civilized life that were necessary for the tasks of a literary language. These are religious and theological as well as other specialized terms (from education, medicine, botany, etc.) . . . . Many legal and administrative terms are of Czech origin . . . . During the Hussite period, Czech military terms arrive . . . " (1963, 295-6).

For an overview of the early influence of Czech on Polish with references to further literature on the topic see Havránek 1963.

Czech also exerted strong linguistic influence in the Slovak language territory at an early stage. Whereas in Poland literary Czech served as a model and supplemental source of lexical material for the nascent Polish literary language, in the Slovak lands the Czech literary language itself served for a time as a means of written expression. Early Czech manuscripts, especially religious writings, were being used and reproduced on a limited basis in the Slovak lands already in the 14th century[10]. By the 15th century Czech began to be used on a broader scale for the production of written documents of many different types, first in West Slovakia and later throughout the Slovak language territory. "Czech began to take root and be used systematically in letters and documents among the landed gentry, the city gentry, the military commanders, the sovereigns and also in the contact of the royal chancellery with addressees in Slovakia" (Pauliny 1983, 77). Administrative and legal records also began to be written in Czech during this time[11].

As stated initially, there are some scholars who consider that this situation persisted into the next century. They assert that Czech was used in a relatively unadulterated form for the writing of documents and correspondence of an administrative and legal nature in the Slovak lands in the 16th century as well. Ľudovít Novák considers that the language of 15th-16th century texts from the Slovak lands reflected the contemporary Czech norm with greater or lesser numbers of

[10] According to Pauliny, "It can be concluded that at least in the West Slovak capitular schools Czech was already in use at the end of the 14th century. Czech was cultivated there in connection with the education of the next generation of priests, precisely so that the priests could use it in their pastoral practice" (1983, 72). He goes on to say that "In the 14th century Czech was only used in monuments of a literary nature in Slovakia: its use was thus limited rather one-sidedly. This limited use of Czech in Slovakia in the 14th century shows that it is not possible to consider Czech as a literary language in Slovakia before the 15th century. As our currently very incomplete knowledge concerning this issue informs us, the fruits of Old Czech literature arrived in Slovakia, they were copied there, that is they were copied by Czechs born in the Czech lands and in Moravia (it is possible that there were also Slovaks among them) who were living in Slovakia, and who thus acquired certain Slovak traits in their language. But evidence, as it seems, shows that in the 14th century Czech did not yet have any more prominent social binding force in Slovakia. It was used within the circles of Czech clergy working in Slovakia, that is those clergy used it within their surroundings, it is also possible that Slovak clergy in West Slovakia used it in their writing, but it was not yet a literary language of the general public" (1983, 72).

[11] The best example of the 15th century use of Czech in administrative and legal record keeping in Slovakia is the Žilina Town Book (*Žilinská mestská kniha*). This town book contains a German edition of the Magdeburg law code from 1378 and entries starting in the late 14th century in German and Latin. The first entry recorded in Czech appears in 1451, and after 1462 the entries are recorded exclusively in Czech. In 1473 a Czech translation of the law code is added to the book, and by 1561, the date of the last entry in the book, the total number of Czech entries is 72. (See Chaloupecký 1934.) The fact that Czech began to be used in town administration and record keeping in the 15th century is usually attributed to the increasing percentage of Slovak inhabitants in the towns, and thus the increasing presence of Slovaks in town governance, during the 15th century (see Doruľa 1984, Varsik 1935a, 1935b, 1956c).

Slovakisms[12]. N. A. Kondrašov holds essentially the same opinion stating that "up until the 18th century the majority of the Slovak monuments maintain a Czech character" (1960, 8)[13]. Branislav Varsik states that his research showed no evidence of conscious "Slovakization" of the literary Czech norm except in the use of specific legal and administrative terminology[14]. More recently Robert Auty expresses the view that the language of texts written in Slovakia before about the 17th century must be considered a form of Czech – that it would be "exaggerated" to consider the language of such texts as Slovak[15].

Cultural Slovak

Such a view concerning the use of literary Czech in 16th century Slovakia is disputed by the majority of those who have worked on the question of the linguistic nature of 16th century Slovak administrative-legal texts. The general assertion of this majority is that already in the 16th century the language attested in many Slovak administrative-legal texts exhibits a relatively stable, linguistically mixed form incorporating the consistent use of Slovak linguistic features alongside features of literary Czech. This linguistically mixed language is considered to have

[12] "When we compare with the analyzed material from the 15th century for example only the Slovakisms from the linguistically analyzed monuments from the second half of the 16th century, town records and upper class documents and letters from Central and East Slovakia, we ascertain an incontestable growth in the number and variety of Slovakisms. Because the knowledge of Czech was actively spread in Slovakia during this period by means of indigenous schools, this increase in the number and variety of Slovakisms can be explained first of all through the greater areal broadening and deeper social penetration of literary Czech into public and private life in Slovakia" (Novák 1938, 219).

[13] In discussing 16th and 17th century writings from the Slovak lands he states: "In the works of many authors, and even in private and official documents, there appear Slovak peculiarities explainable as involuntary mistakes of Slovaks using Czech for writing purposes. These local Slovak phonetic and morphological peculiarities, which penetrated for various reasons into the Czech literary norm on Slovak soil, are called Slovakisms. . . . Thus, in Old Slovak manuscripts, and less often in printed monuments, we find a greater or lesser number of Slovakisms. . . . However, up until the 18th century the majority of the Slovak monuments maintain a Czech character" (Kondrašov 1960, 7-8).

[14] "In the 15th century there were still relatively few people who knew how to write, and the documents that have been preserved from those times were written for the most part only by highly educated people, especially scribes, and for that reason are stylistically and linguistically relatively well-written and contain relatively fewer dialectal traits. But in the 16th century, in the period of the Reformation, the number of those who knew how to read and write greatly increased, and there are many extant documents from the 16th century written in Czech which were already written not only by scribes but also by simple city gentry and landed gentry, indeed such documents even arise in the villages. For that reason it is only obvious that the further [removed], the more dialectal traits penetrate into such documents. . . . However, it is necessary to state that I have not found anywhere a conscious effort to disturb the literary norm and thus to Slovakize the literary language used in Slovakia in the 15th and 16th centuries. Conscious use was made only of several special terms for offices and officials and similar items which had other, different names in Slovakia . . ." (Varsik 1956c, 85).

[15] "Czech texts written in the Slovak dialect-area are found from the fourteenth century, and in the fifteenth century the use of Czech for administrative purposes was fairly widespread in the towns, especially in western Slovakia. In the course of time many Slovak features found their way into the language of the texts. These Slovakisms are often sporadic and haphazard, but some, especially *r* for *ŕ* and *e* for *ě*, are found fairly systematically. However, before about 1600 it would be exaggerated to describe these texts as Slovak: they are aberrant specimens of the Czech literary language" (Auty 1978, 200).

exhibited interdialectal tendencies in its use of specific linguistic features[16]. The term commonly used by scholars for this relatively stable Slovak-Czech interdialectal linguistic form is "Cultural Slovak" (*kultúrna slovenčina*)[17]. There is not complete agreement on whether 16th century Cultural Slovak is the result of Slovak adaptation and reworking ("Slovakizing") of a Czech literary language base or whether it is based on Slovak spoken interdialectal tendencies worked out in written form merely on the model of literary Czech. Indeed, some scholars consider that both processes contributed to the array of Cultural Slovak formations that are extant in the texts[18]. The first view involves the reworking of the literary Czech norm through the relatively consistent penetration of Slovak linguistic features ("Slovakisms") into that norm. It is sometimes claimed that these consistent Slovakisms were consciously introduced into the texts by their authors, but this is by no means a universally held view. Whatever the motivation behind the introduction of Slovak features into the Czech norm, it is held that the presence of these consistent Slovak traits represents a systematic restructuring of the Czech norm, producing a more or less stable "Slovakized Czech" interdialectal norm. The second view is based on the existence of spoken interdialectal forms of Slovak that were the vehicles of oral communication among the Slovak intellectuals of the time. It is held that these spoken interdialectal forms of Slovak formed the linguistic base of written Cultural Slovak, with the syntax and style modeled on the written style of literary Czech. Again, the end result of this process is considered to be a relatively stable, linguistically mixed, Slovak-Czech interdialectal norm.

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[16] See Lehmann 1982 and 1988 for theoretical views on language contact and interaction in the formation of interdialectal language forms during the periods before the development of a standard literary language, and the role of these interdialectal language forms in the development of standard literary languages, especially in the Slavic world.

[17] According to Kondrašov (1969, 37 and 1974, 24), the term "cultural language" was first used by the 19th-20th century Polish linguist Aleksander Brückner to designate the "transitional form between the Polish dialects and literary Polish", and then became consistently employed by another Polish linguist, Kazimierz Nitsch, and his students. I have been unable to locate the reported origin of the term with Brückner. However, its greater acceptance in Polish linguistic circles seems to have arisen from Nitsch's formulation of the term and concept in his 1913 article on the origin and development of literary Polish: "O wzajemnym stosunku gwar ludowych i języka literackiego" (= Nitsch 1954) (cf. Auty 1964, 155; Kondrašov 1967, 215 & 226 note 2; Kotulič 1969, 352 note 25). Karel Horálek is credited with introducing the term into Czech and Slovak linguistic circles (in Horálek 1954), where the Slovak linguist Eugen Pauliny is chiefly responsible for bringing it into common use in the study of Slovak (cf. Kotulič 1969, 352).

The term was originally applied essentially only to spoken language forms but gradually came to be applied to written linguistic manifestations as well, especially through the use of the term by Slovak linguists to refer to the language of early Slovak documents.

[18] Because of the large number of scholars holding to the existence of 16th century Cultural Slovak and because of the quite extensive literature by these scholars on the issue, the specific theories of individual scholars will not be dealt with separately here, but will rather be summarized into several main points. The most prominent among those who hold to the existence of various forms of a relatively stable, lingusitically mixed, interdialectal language in 16th century texts are: Ján Doruľa, Katarína Habovštiaková, Izidor Kotulič, Rudolf Krajčovič, Eugen Pauliny. Most of the major writings from these scholars on the issue of Cultural Slovak are listed in the bibliography of this study.

Many of the scholars who posit a written 16th century Cultural Slovak also state that administrative-legal texts from Slovakia displaying essentially "pure" Czech as well as such texts showing essentially "pure" Slovak occur throughout the 16th century alongside texts exhibiting Cultural Slovak[19]. Instances of 16th century "pure" Czech administrative-legal texts are said to occur especially in the regions of Bratislava and Trnava, where socio-economic ties with the Czech lands were the strongest (see Pauliny 1983, 118). The "pure" Slovak texts are said to occur most often where spoken use was recorded in a manner true to the usage of its speaker (e.g., recorded testimony of witnesses – see Doruľa 1967a, 25). The argument is made, however, that such texts exhibiting "pure" language usage are in the minority (cf. note 19), and that even the "pure" Czech texts often display certain Slovakisms (see Krajčovič 1962, 71-74 and 1978, 185), while the "pure" Slovak texts also frequently show a certain number of Bohemisms (see Doruľa 1967a, 25).

As previously stated, the Cultural Slovak manifested in 16th century administrative-legal texts is considered to show relative stability in form and fairly high consistency in use of specific features. Scholars investigating these texts draw attention to the frequent occurrence of individual linguistic features in the specific texts with which they are working and cite these features as typical for Cultural Slovak. Some have even drawn up lists of the features that they consider characteristic of Cultural Slovak generally and/or in its specific regional variants (see, for example, Doruľa 1967a, 30; Pauliny 1983, 123). However, as cautioned by Doruľa, "These features do not always occur altogether in one text, but together they are characteristic for [the] Czech [used] in Slovakia in administrative-legal documents, giving it an individual character" (1967a, 25-6). Hence, although Cultural Slovak is considered to be marked by a certain relatively stable norm, this norm may not always be present to the same degree in every text in which Cultural Slovak is said to be attested[20].

Cultural Slovak is considered to have existed in regional variants incorporating specific dialectal features of each region in which it was used. Hence, the narrower terms Cultural West

[19] According to Kotulič, "It is true that some preserved texts show that the indigenous cultural language [i.e., an indigenous, interdialectal, purely Slovak linguistic form] as well as borrowed Czech in many instances maintain their own linguistic character, almost completely unmarked or only little marked by the influence of the other cultural language. That is the exception rather than the rule, but it is necessary to assume that alongside that new hybrid and significantly complex linguistic formation, which we know from numerous attested texts and which is the result of the interference of the indigenous cultural language and Czech, both the indigenous cultural language as well as borrowed Czech maintain their independence and continuity for the whole period of their existence and use as cultural linguistic formations of the Slovak nationality" (1968, 144-145). In this regard see also Krajčovič 1962 where he illustrates, with specific examples of texts, the concurrent use of these different written language forms during the 16th century.

[20] Habovštiaková states: "The linguistic character of the writings in Slovakia oscillates between two poles: between Czech in almost its purest form and manifestations written in Slovak (with a tone very close to the local dialect of the author of the text). Between these two extreme poles is found an entire gamut of intermediate forms from Czech mixed with greater or lesser numbers of Slovakisms up to Slovak marked sporadically with only certain Bohemisms" (1972, 128).

Slovak (*kultúrna západoslovenčina*), Cultural Central Slovak (*kultúrna stredoslovenčina*) and Cultural East Slovak (*kultúrna východoslovenčina*) are often used in the scholarly literature on the subject. The dialect features exhibited by these regional variants of Cultural Slovak are considered to have been manifestations of regional interdialectal norm development. Thus, the regional variants of Cultural Slovak are considered to show not only narrow, micro-dialectal features from the specific dialect of the text's author, but also broader, interdialectal features that had currency on a broader regional level[21]. Because of socio-economic conditions in the Hungarian kingdom, Cultural West Slovak and Cultural Central Slovak are considered to have been more developed than Cultural East Slovak in the 16th century[22]. As regards Cultural East Slovak it is also necessary to remember that, because of strong socio-economic ties between the East Slovak regions and Poland in the 16th century, the Polish literary language[23] often filled

[21] "The basic characteristic feature of the pre-literary cultural language of the Slovak nationality is on the one hand its close connection with the Slovak dialects, at the same time however, on the other hand, the effort to rid itself of clear local dialectal traits (for example *cekanie, dzekanie*), and thus to achieve a certain superdialectal validity" (Habovštiaková 1970, 202).

In speaking specifically about Cultural West Slovak Krajčovič states: "From a linguistic point of view, the early phase in the formation of Cultural West Slovak is marked by the broader use of indigenous dialects (more exactly the dialect around Tranava) in written manifestations . . . . But what is more important in the evaluation of the entire development of Cultural West Slovak is the realization that this early phase is simultaneously characterized by an opposing tendency: the tendency to paralyze typical traits of the indigenous dialects by means of such traits as had a superdialectal nature as regards the entire system of the language in use (the dialect around Trnava)" (1964, 172).

[22] "In the 16th and 17th centuries, West Slovakia was relatively the most peaceful region of Slovakia. In connection with this, the conditions were also created here for the rise and development of the formation that we call Cultural West Slovak. Central Slovakia (that is the districts that were not under Turkish control, thus not Gemer, Novohrad, and part of Hont) had intensive solidarity during the period of the anti-Turkish battles. It seems that it was during this period that the basically uniform type of the Central Slovak dialects was fixed in the districts of Turiec (with northern Nitra), Liptov, Zvolen, Tekov, and the western part of Hont. This region as a unit very actively participated in the battles against the Turks in defense of the mining cities. . . . This unity is striking especially in the Zvolen, Tekov, and Hont districts. This Central Slovak dialectal type [created in these unified districts] was the basis for the formation that we call Cultural Central Slovak. . . . The integration of West and Central Slovakia as a whole is clear and relatively strong at this time. The integration of East Slovakia into the Slovak whole in the 16th and 17th centuries was weaker. Numerous factors were at work here. It was significant that between Central and East Slovakia there was the Spiš German barrier in the north and the territory occupied by the Turks in the south. Besides that the East Slovak districts leaned toward Transylvania in questions of power and toward Poland in trade contacts at that time" (Pauliny 1983, 103-4).

"In the 16th and 17th centuries Cultural Slovak also gains validity in East Slovakia. However, as a rule it is strongly marked by local dialect" (Pauliny 1983, 122).

[23] The Polish literary language underwent rapid development during the 16th century in Poland. It became increasingly used in Polish adminstrative-legal documents of all types (diplomatic correspondence, court records, guild records, etc.) Its use in belles-lettres reached such grand proportions that this period is often referred to as the Golden Age of Polish literature. Klemensiewicz summarizes: "We close our survey of the history of Middle Polish with the assertion that its primary essence was the formation of the literary language as a powerful means and co-factor in the multi-sided development of the national culture. . . . The Middle Ages imparted the tendencies, needs and initial achievements of the standardizing and normalizing of a general, superdialectal Polish language. In the 16th century these tendencies intensified and in the relatively short period of several decades yielded excellent results: a literary language suitable and competent in various areas of writing . . ." (1985b, 433). See also Schenker 1980.

the same role in East Slovakia as Czech did in all the Slovak regions. Thus investigators of administrative-legal writing from East Slovakia make claims for the existence of documents written in essentially "pure" Polish (with Slovakisms), a mixed Slovak-Polish and essentially "pure" Slovak (with Polonisms)[24].

The above discussion of the sholarly views on 16th century Cultural Slovak are perhaps best summed up by Pauliny when he states:

> "Cultural Slovak is the relatively fixed linguistic formation that was used first in administrative-legal records, later, but still in the 16th century, also in other genres. Its literary superdialectal starting point , that is the framework, was literary Czech, but its communicative validity in phonology, morphology, and in the lexicon was determined to a significant degree by Slovak. Its primary support from Czech was in the area of syntax. Cultural Slovak did not directly incorporate local Slovak dialects, but rather such a form of Slovak as was in use in superdialectal contact in individual economic or administrative areas. Thus the forms of cultural Slovak were varied according to which area its users belonged to." (1983, 118-119)[25]

The present investigation

It is the question of the existence of such a 16th century Slovak interdialectal linguistic formation in administrative-legal texts that is the focus of this investigation. Most of the previous studies in this area have concentrated on individual texts or groups of texts from specific regions, investigating in detail the nature of the language of these individual texts (cf., for example, West Slovakia: Krajčovič 1961a, 1962; Šimovič 1941; Central Slovakia: A. D. Dubay 1946–48 & D. A. Dubay 1939/1940; Kotulič 1961; Kuchar 1969; Lehotská and Orlovský 1976; Mihál 1936; Novák 1937; Skladaná 1984; Štolc 1951; East Slovakia: Doruľa

[24] Doruľa states: "The data that we have assembled here witness to the fact that Polish was a commonly used language in documents in East Slovakia in the 16th century. We have documents in which only isolated Polonisms are found and Polish texts with Slovakisms" (1966, 73).

"After the study of further accessible archival material from the 16th century it is shown that Polish was commonly used in documents in East Slovakia, that it had an influence on the language of documents with a dialectal linguistic base or documents written entirely in Czech" (1966, 74).

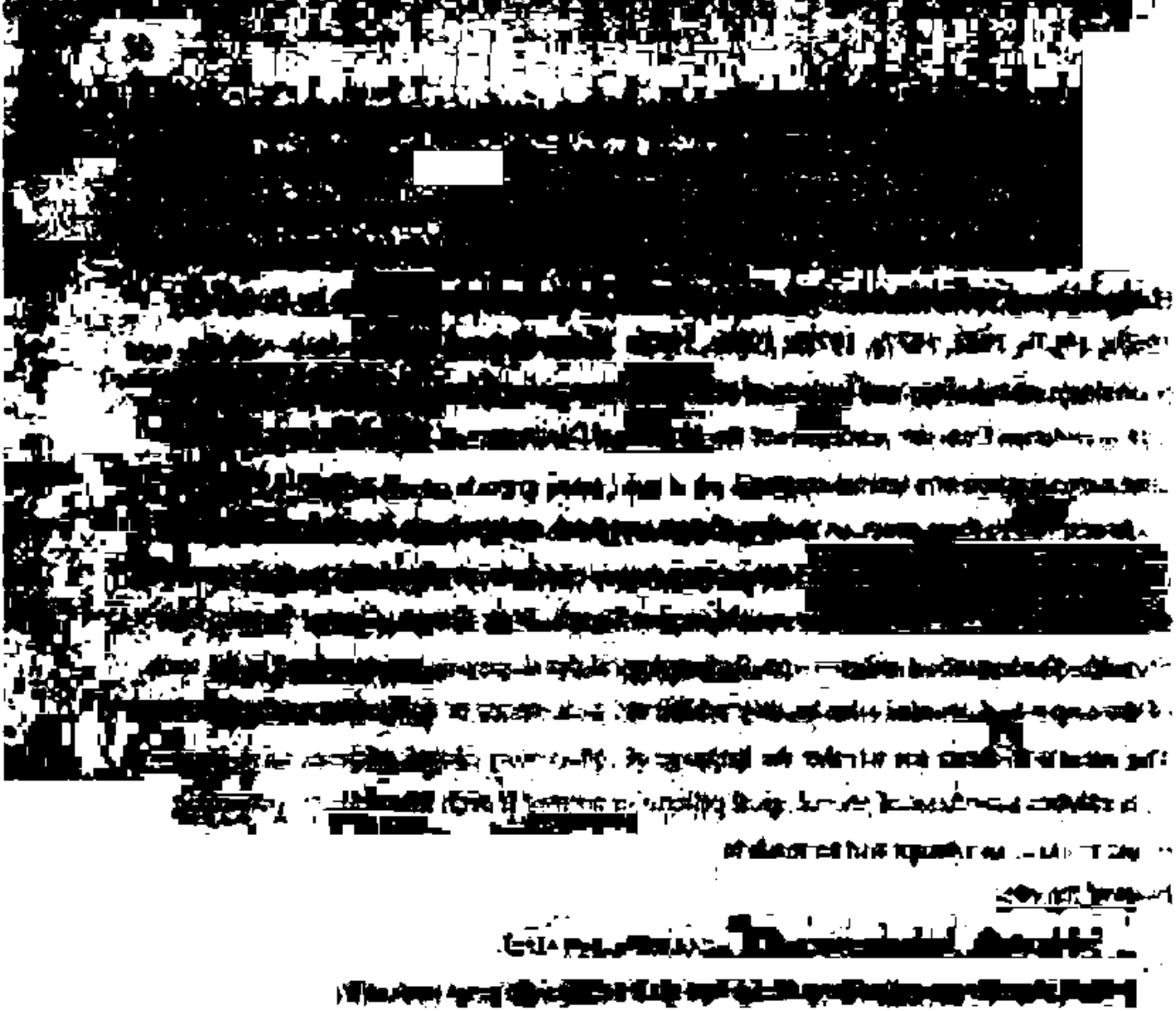
"The influence of Polish, the Polish cultural sphere, appears in the majority of the documents that to this point are known to us from 16th century East Slovakia. . . . It can be said that between literary Polish and the indigenous dialects, both of which were used alongside Czech in documents, there developed a relationship analogous to that which existed between those same dialects and Czech" (1966, 75).

"In summary it can be said that Polish was used in documents from the 16th-18th centuries in a large region of East Slovakia in the same way as Czech was used in all of Slovakia. Its use there was determined in the given socio-historical situation by the same factors as determined the use of Czech. The Slovaks adapted Polish, the same as they did Czech, to the needs of their written contact, although it is true that the extent of the use of Polish in Slovakia is more limited than the extent of the use of Czech" (1977b, 53-4).

[25] See also the short encyclopedic articles on "Cultural Slovak", "Cultural West Slovak", "Cultural Central Slovak", and "Cultural East Slovak" in Krajčovič and Žigo 1994, 87-89, for a concise summary of the concept "Cultural Slovak".

1961a, 1961b, 1966, 1969b; Kotulič 1959a & 1959b). Previous textual studies that have been larger in scope have focused chiefly on the lexicon, less on phonology, morphology and syntax (cf. especially the immense lexical project for the production of the *Historický slovník slovenského jazyka (Historical Dictionary of Slovak)* and articles derived from this project: Habovštiaková 1966, Kuchar 1964, 1974, 1982; as well as a series of works by Doruľa: 1967a, 1967b, 1968, 1977a, 1977b, 1977c, 1982). Habovštiaková (1968a) deals with the phonology, morphology and lexicon of an extensive sample of data, however, she draws this data in isolation from the catalogues of the *Historical Dictionary of Slovak* and not from the direct investigation of a textual corpus.

In contrast to these previous studies, the present work undertakes a detailed phonological investigation of an extensive mid 16th century corpus of administrative-legal texts representing all four major Slovak dialect divisions (Moravian Slovak, West Slovak, Central Slovak, East Slovak). The individual reflexes from 9 phonological developments are examined in the texts of the corpus to determine whether they exhibit any consistency or uniformity in distribution. The intent is to determine whether the language of 16th century Slovak administrative-legal texts exhibits interdialectal phonological patterns or norms. If such interdialectal patterning is found to exist, an attempt will be made to ascertain the geographical scope and the linguistic basis of the attested interdialectal consistency.



CHAPTER II: THE CORPUS

The corpus under investigation in this study is a set of 152 Slavic[1] administrative-legal texts from throughout the Slovak language territory written between the years 1530 and 1590[2].

Geography

For the purposes of this study, the "Slovak language territory" is defined geographically as those regions of the present day Czech and Slovak Republics where, both historically as well as presently, dialects of the Slovak language have been the means of oral communication among the indigenous population. The Slovak dialect regions included in this definition are those that are generally presented in standard historical and dialectological treatments of Czech and Slovak and that were sketched out in Chapter I of this study: Moravian Slovak (moravskoslovenské nárečia), West Slovak (západoslovenské nárečia), Central Slovak (stredoslovenské nárečia), East Slovak (východoslovenské nárečia). The geographical extent of these four regions can be seen again in the map below.

The Slovak language territory and the major Slovak dialect regions

[1] The term "Slavic" is used throughout this description of the corpus to denote texts from the Slovak language territory written in a Slavic language (be it "pure" Cz or Pol, Cz or Pol with Slk features, Slk with Cz or Pol features, or "pure" Slk dialect) as opposed to Latin, German or Hungarian (i.e., the other languages commonly used for written expression during the time period and in the region in question). Since the very purpose of this investigation is to shed light on the nature of the written language of the corpus, the term "Slavic" (instead of "Czech" or "Slovak") was chosen to avoid passing judgment on the linguistic form of the language employed in the texts under investigation.

[2] A complete listing and technical description of the texts is presented in Appendix B at the back of this work.

In the process of selecting the corpus, texts were considered to be "from . . . the Slovak language territory" when their place of origin (composition) as well as their place of destination were both within the geographical area described above. Since place of composition was used as the primary localizing factor for determining the dialect region to which each text belonged, it was also necessary to consider the background of each text's author(s) (to the extent that this was possible). Every attempt was made to choose texts where it was probable that the author's linguistic background represented to some degree the dialect region where the text was composed (e.g., a Slovak writing a text from within his native dialect region; a non-Slovak, or a Slovak from a different region, in residence in a given Slovak region for a significant period of time prior to writing a text). An effort was made to exclude texts where the linguistic background of the author might not have been representative of the region of composition (e.g., a Slovak from one dialect region writing a text from a place of temporary residence within another region; a non-Slovak writing a text from a place of temporary residence in the Slovak territory; a non-Slovak, or a Slovak from a different region, having taken up residence in a given Slovak region only a short time prior to writing a text)[3]. These criteria of place of origin and destination of the text and background of the author are traditionally used as guidelines for selecting Slovak corpora such as the one under investigation here. (See, for example, Macúrek 1958, 215; Novák 1941, 130-31; Pauliny 1983, 79-80; Pranda 1948, 189; 1950, 163; Ratkoš 1953, 168)

Chronology

The specific time period of the mid 16th century was chosen for this study for both socio-historical and linguistic reasons. From the tenth through the fourteenth centuries, Latin was the dominant language of administrative and church affairs in the Hungarian state of which the Slovak lands were a part[4]. Thus before 1400 there is a general lack of Slavic written records from the Slovak language territory. The few complete pre-15th century Slavic manuscripts

[3] Because the present corpus is composed of documents of legal importance, the texts are often officially signed by the author(s) and/or scribe(s) responsible for their production. In cases where the texts are of a more general nature and are not directly signed (e.g., court/city council records, town book entries), there are often separate records indicating the succession of court/city officials responsible for record keeping during any given period. Thus the identity of the author(s)/scribe(s) of the texts in the present corpus is well-documented in most instances, and their background is usually traceable from other historical documentation (in the case of nobility or wealthy landowners – property deeds and family records, in the case of scribes or other educated officials – employment records, records of schooling). The majority of the text editions used in this investigation present not only names but also personal data and historical background of the author(s)/ scribe(s) of the texts, thereby greatly simplifying the task of matching linguistic background of author/scribe to location of production of text.

[4] Latin remained an official language of administration in the Hungarian state until the end of the eighteenth century when Hungarian began to assume a more important role in state affairs (see Pauliny 1958, 40; 1983, 138-9).

extant from the Slovak language territory are generally Czech literary and religious works that were first composed and written in the Czech lands and were then brought into the Slovak territory as finished works and simply copied there[5]. In the 15th century the use of literary Czech (as a means of written communication more widely accessible to Slovak speakers than was Latin) spread in the Slovak language territory, due primarily to an increased presence and interaction of Slovaks at higher (literate) levels of the social/class structure of the Hungarian state and to increased contact on various levels (political, military, religious, economic, cultural) between the Czech and Slovak lands (see especially Pauliny 1983, Varsik 1956c). The number of extant 15th century administrative-legal texts written in Czech in the Slovak language territory is significant[6], however such texts are somewhat restricted geographically, especially as regards the CSlk and ESlk dialect regions[7].

Finally in the early part of the 16th century, several major historical events occurred which caused the use of literary Czech in written communication to increase throughout the Slovak language territory. The arrival of the Turkish armies and the defeat of the Hungarians at the battle of Mohács in 1526 brought Czech soldiers into the Slovak lands for extended periods of time to help stop the advance of the Turkish forces. The Turkish invasion and occupation of all but the northern (Slovak) portions of the Hungarian kingdom led to the annexation of the Slovak lands into the Habsburg Empire. This caused a general weakening of border distinctions between the Czech and Slovak lands and increased contact on all levels between the two areas. Also, the Reformation arrived in the Slovak lands in the first quarter of the 16th century, bringing with it the concept of the appropriateness of native languages in religious worship and church affairs. Literary Czech (already in place as a means of written communication in the Slovak language territory since the early 15th century) was chosen as the linguistic vehicle of the Reformation in the Slovak lands. The Reformation, and thus the

[5] "As our currently very incomplete knowledge concerning this issue informs us, the fruits of Old Czech literature arrived in Slovakia, they were copied there, that is they were copied by Czechs born in the Czech lands and in Moravia (it is possible that there were also Slovaks among them) who were living in Slovakia, and who thus acquired certain Slovak traits in their language. But evidence, as it seems, shows that in the 14th century Czech did not yet have any more prominent social binding force in Slovakia. It was used within the circles of Czech clergy working in Slovakia, that is those clergy used it within their surroundings, it is also possible that Slovak clergy in West Slovakia used it in their writing, but it was not yet a literary language of the general public" (Pauliny 1983, 72).

[6] Pauliny (1983, 87) estimates the number to be approximately 230. See Chaloupecký 1934, 1937 (and corresponding dictionaries: Ryšánek 1954; Vážný 1937); Húščava 1939/1940; Kniezsa, et al. 1952; Novák 1941 for editions of such 15th century administrative-legal texts written in Czech in the Slovak language territory.

[7] "As B. Varsik showed (1956, p. 27 and following), literary Czech first reaches Central and East Slovakia systematically during the period of Ján Jiskra z Brandýsa (1440-1462). He also showed with detailed evidence (op. cit. p. 55) that after Jiskra's departure the use of Czech further developed chiefly in West Slovakia and northern Central Slovakia (Liptov), but before the Reformation the use of literary Czech is more weakly attested in the mining regions of Central Slovakia and in East Slovakia" (Pauliny 1982, 162). See also Varsik 1956c as referred to by Pauliny.

written use of literary Czech, gained ground rapidly in the 1530s throughout the Slovak language territory. The period of the Reformation also saw an increase in the number of schools and hence an increase in literacy in Slovakia, particularly among the middle classes of society[8]. This increase in literacy, coupled with the rise of new socio-economic structures in the Hungarian state that necessitated greater use of written records, brought about increased production of Czech texts toward the middle of the 16th century[9]. These socio-historical events suggest a beginning date around 1530 for the corpus of this investigation[10].

The choice of a mid 16th century corpus is also justified linguistically. Some scholars examining the history of Slovak place the beginnings of written cultural Slovak language forms as early as the 15th century depending on the dialect region in question. However, most of the scholars who have investigated the issue hold the opinion that various regional versions of cultural Slovak are manifested in texts from throughout the Slovak language territory by the second half of the 16th century. (See, for example, Blanár 1964, 123; 1990, 103-104; Doruľa 1967a, 23-24; Kotulič 1968, 147-48; 1969, 367-68; Krajčovič 1962, 80; Krajčovič and Žigo 1994, 87-89; Lifanov 1989, 43 & 47; Pauliny 1983, 118-30.) This view is based on the greater frequency with which Slovak linguistic elements (primarily phonological, morphological and lexical) appear in the Czech texts from this period. It is also based on the assessment that these Slovak elements appear in 16th century texts with greater regularity and in a more structured manner than previously. Thus, a corpus that begins toward the end of the first half of the 16th century and continues into the second half of that century seems linguistically appropriate for an investigation of the early existence of written forms of cultural Slovak.

Corpus size

The general geographical and chronological distribution of the texts chosen for this investigation is shown in the following table[11].

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[8] "[I]n the 16th century, in the period of the Reformation, the number of those who knew how to read and write greatly increased, and there are many extant documents from the 16th century written in Czech which were already written not only by scribes but also by simple city gentry and landed gentry, indeed such documents even arise in the villages" (Varsik 1956c, 85).

[9] "[Native languages] came to the fore above all in that area of life where they represented economic need to the greatest degree – on the estates. And since in the first half of the 16th century the system of great estates arose, writings that were to serve the economic needs of the great estate followed in the middle of the century. Development in the second half of the 16th century transferred these writings from Latin to the native languages" (Fügedi 1955, 203).

[10] For a more complete presentation of the various political, military, religious, economic and cultural factors involved in the changing relationship between the Czech and Slovak lands and the increasing use of Czech in Slovakia during the 14th-16th centuries see among others: Bokes 1943/44, Macúrek 1956, Pauliny 1983, Varsik 1956c.

[11] A more detailed picture of the geographical and chronological distribution of the texts can be found in the tables and maps in Appendix B at the back of this work.

General geographical and chronological distribution of the corpus

	MSlk	WSlk	CSlk	ESlk	Totals
1530-39	12	14	4	2	32
1540-49	11	11	4	0	26
1550-59	0	8	4	6	18
1560-69	0	6	14	4	24
1570-79	0	7	11	5	23
1580-89 (+1590)	0	6	9	10*	25
1500s (uncertain date)	0	0	0	4	4
Totals	23	52	46	31	152

*This figure also includes two texts from the early 1590s (see Appendix B for more specific information).

The upper chronological limit was set based on the availability of texts for the study. The intent in the selection of the texts for the corpus was to have maximal geographical distribution within a minimal time span in the mid 16th century. As can be seen in the table, each dialect region and each decade is reasonably well-represented in the total figures. Apart from the distribution in MSlk where additional texts in the later decades might have presented a more complete picture, the number of texts and their distribution geographically and chronologically in each of the regions provide a statistically adequate corpus for this investigation[12].

Text type

In describing the corpus of the *Historický slovník slovenského jazyka (Historical Dictionary of the Slovak Language)*, the editors define administrative-legal texts as follows: "Documents of a legal nature (charters, articles, testaments, court records, town books, land registers, etc.), documents of an administrative nature (official letters, deeds, inventories, administrative registers, administrative instructions, etc.) and personal correspondence" (Majtán 1991, 17). This definition was followed in assembling the textual corpus of the present investigation. The corpus consists of city council records, court records, town book entries,

[12] The disparities and gaps evident in the distribution of texts from region to region within a given decade and from decade to decade within a given region represent more a lack of material available for this investigation than a historical break in actual production of written texts in any one region during any period under consideration.

statements from witnesses, official administrative correspondence, official oaths, testaments, personal administrative correspondence, personal/family records, and accounting records[13].

Administrative-legal texts were chosen for this investigation in part for purely pragmatic reasons. Such texts represent the most numerous and readily available group of Slavic texts from this territory during the period in question. It would have been impossible to assemble such an extensive corpus of Slavic religious or belletristic texts from the 16th century Slovak language territory. Only administrative-legal texts present a sufficiently wide-ranging geographical distribution of Slavic texts within the narrow time-frame required by this type of investigation.

The choice of administrative-legal texts was also based on the fact that many of the different text types of this genre fulfilled, by their very nature, *interregional* administrative or legal functions. Thus they logically present a possible source of interdialectal linguistic development. In addition, the style and format of many of these administrative-legal text types was relatively fixed (often based on older Czech and Latin models). Thus, if the establishment of an uncodified Slovak interdialectal norm were to occur in early written works from the Slovak language territory, it would be likely that such an uncodified norm would be fixed in an already relatively standardized textual environment such as that presented by administrative-legal writings[14].

Orthography

A phonological study such as this, that relies on a corpus of written texts as its sole source of data, must take into account the orthographic system(s) of the texts. This is especially important if the orthography of the period when the corpus was written was not fully standardized. Such is the case in the Slovak language territory during the 16th century.

When the use of literary Czech spread as a means of written expression in the early 15th century in the Slovak lands, the use of Czech orthography spread along with it. Czech orthographic practices were based on the Latin alphabet, adapted in various ways to represent Czech phonemes for which there were no Latin equivalents. These were chiefly the palatal consonants / č , š , ž , ř / ; and palatalized / ď , ť , ň , ľ , ŕ , ď , ť , ň , ľ , ŕ /. The means of adaptation most common by the 15th century was the use of what is often termed "compound orthography" (*zložkový pravopis*) which employed digraphs to represent the Czech phonemes

[13] For a summary description of the contents of the individual texts, see Appendix B at the back of this work.

[14] For more discussion on the use of such an administrative-legal corpus in this type of linguistic study see: Décsy 1956; Habovštiaková 1968b; Krajčovič 1978; Lifanov 1989; Pauliny 1956b. Usually the argumentation is directly based on the immediate goals of the individual investigation and does not bear upon the overarching aims of the present study.

for which there were no Latin graphemes. Décsy (1953, 354-55) gives the following sketch of the most commonly encountered Czech orthographic symbols for the palatal and palatalized consonants at the beginning of the 15th century (the non-palatal sibilants have been included for comparison):

Early 15th c. Czech graphemes for palatal and palatalized consonants (Décsy 1953)

phoneme	grapheme	phoneme	grapheme
c	cz	d'	di, (dy)
č	cz	t'	ti, (ty)
s	s	n'	ni, (ny)
š	ss	b'	bi, (by)
z	z	p'	pi, (py)
ž	z	m'	mi, (my)
ř	rz	v'	wi, (wy)

The first "diacritic orthography" (*diakritický pravopis*), commonly attributed to Jan Hus in the early 15th century, was designed to replace the use of digraphs in Czech orthography with a system of diacritic markings on certain of the Latin graphemes. This orthographic practice did not spread as a system in the 15th-16th centuries, but it did exert some influence on the existing systems of compound orthography, so that in the course of the 15th century mixed systems developed employing both digraphs and diacritics in various combinations. Gebauer (1871, 254-66) lists the following possible Czech orthographic representations for the palatals at the end of the 15th century (again the non-palatal sibilants have been included for comparison)[15]:

Late 15th c. Czech graphemes for palatal consonants (Gebauer 1871)

phoneme	grapheme
c	c, cz, tz
č	cz, ć
s	s, ſ, (ſs)
š	ſſ, ſ, ſs, ś
z	z
ž	z, ż
ř	rz, ŕ

[15] Gebauer's data is based on a representative corpus of texts and is not intended to be an exhaustive listing of all possible graphemes (see Gebauer 1871, 9-10). It does, however, present a reasonable picture of the variety of possibilities available in the orthographic practice of the period.

This was the orthographic situation that was maintained throughout the 16th century in both the Czech and Slovak lands[16]. Various mixed systems existed using combinations of single, digraphic and diacritic graphemes. For those Czech and Slovak phonemes for which there existed a close Latin equivalent, there was often a one-to-one correspondence between phoneme and grapheme in the Cz/Slk systems. However, for those Czech and Slovak phonemes for which there was no Latin equivalent the situation was less clear. There often existed several graphemes to represent a single phoneme. Inversely, it was often the case that a single grapheme could represent several phonemes (e.g., <cz> = / c / , / č / ; <z> = / z / , / ž /). Authors of texts in the Slovak lands not only had the variety of Czech graphemes at their disposal, but they also borrowed from the other orthographic traditions represented in the Slovak language territory (i.e., German, Hungarian and Polish), thus adding to the lack of standardization inherited with the Czech systems. The situation was further complicated by the fact that there were certain specific Slovak phonemes for which even Czech orthography did not supply a grapheme (e.g., / ä /, / ʒ /). Czambel (1890) illustrates the orthographic situation of the palatals (and non-palatal sibilants) in 16th century documents from the Slovak lands as follows (the most frequently used symbol in Czambel's corpus is listed first in each group followed by the other variants in random order)[17]:

16th c. graphemes for palatal consonants in texts from Slovakia (Czambel 1890)

phoneme	grapheme
c	cz , c
č	cz , cž , č , c
s	s , ss , sz
š	š , ss , s , sz
z	z
ž	z , ž , zi
ʒ	dz
ǯ	dž
ř	rz

[16] "It is not unfounded to suggest that various versions of systems with compound graphemes, i.e. mixed systems, formed during the period preceding the publication of the Kralická Bible, continued to be preserved to a significant degree in the 16th-17th centuries in both the Czech and Slovak lands, especially in hand-written documents" (Décsy 1953, 357).

[17] Like Gebauer (1871), Czambel (1890) derives his data from a limited, representative corpus of texts. Thus his listing of graphemes, like Gebauer's, is not a complete register of all 16th century orthographic possibilities, but only a reasonable representation thereof. It should be noted that Czambel mentions the "Swabian" (*švabach*, a type of Gothic script) style variants of the sibilants: ſ , ſs (= s); ʒ (= z), but does not give specific information regarding the frequency of their use or their use with diacritics or in diagraphs in 16th century Slovak texts. Hence these symbols have not been included in this table.

This is, for the most part, the orthographic picture encountered in the corpus of this investigation[18]. The lack of a standardized orthography and the multiple interpretations possible for a number of graphemes in the 16th century texts of this study might be seen as problematic as regards the accuracy of a phonological investigation. Scholars have warned against an oversimplified or uncritical phonological interpretation of the spellings in early Slovak texts (see especially Porák 1982). A closer look at the orthographic representation of the specific phonological features under investigation here shows that the vacillations in orthography present only minor problems of interpretation in a few instances.

The possibility of representing / ä / as either <a> or <e> could cause difficulty in distinguishing possible instances of *a* > *ä* in CSlk from instances of *a* > *e* in Cz. However, because of the restricted environment (*a* > *ä* / *soft labial*___ in CSlk), there are only four lexical items attested in the CSlk corpus with the environment expected to produce the reflex / ä / , and they show near uniformity of orthography for each lexical item: *devętь* – one form with <a> ; *pamętь* – all 9 forms have <e> ; *pętь* – 12 forms have <e> , 2 forms have <a> ; *svętъjь* – all 9 forms have <a> . Thus, this problem of orthography does not significantly affect the analysis here, especially when it is noted that the attested reflexes for these lexical items are nearly identical to those found in modern Czech. It is necessary to note that the development *a* > *ä* occurred in *all* environments in the Oravský dialect of nCSlk and in e-sCSlk. However, only 7 of the 46 CSlk texts are located in these two areas. Thus any problems in interpretation of <a> and <e> in these few texts can be handled individually.

The use of the grapheme <cz> to indicate / c / , / č / , or / ʒ / might initially cause confusion when investigating the assibilations *d* > *ʒ* /___ *j* ; *d* > *ʒ* /___ *front vowel* ; *t* > *c* /___ *front vowel* . The multiple use of this grapheme does not pose any problems for the present investigation. It is always etymologically/lexically obvious whether voiced / ʒ / or voiceless / c / is being represented. In addition, in instances where it might be necessary to draw the distinction between (Slk) *d* , *t* + *front vowel* > *ʒ* , *c* (dental affricate) and (Pol) *d* , *t* + *front vowel* > *ʑ* , *ć* (palatalized alveolar affricate) , the phonetic make-up of the remainder of the lexical item in which the digraph <cz> occurs or the further use of the digraph in the remainder of the text generally points to the more plausible interpretation.

Problems of a different type arise when factoring in the chronology of orthographic changes. It has generally been observed that orthographic change (even when the orthography is not standardized) lags behind phonological change. Thus, what may appear orthographically to be an instance of a specific phonological reflex may only be the archaic representation of a phone that has already undergone further change. Examples of this would be the Czech

[18] A complete table of the vocalic and consonantal phonemes of Slovak and Czech listing the most common graphemes encountered in the texts of this study is found in Appendix A at the back of this work.

phonological changes *ó > ụó > ú* ; *'é > ję́ > í* ; *ú > aụ > oụ* and their orthographic representations. It is commonly maintained that all three of these phonological developments had been completed in Czech by the end of the 15th century, however investigations of texts from the Czech lands from the 15th and 16th centuries indicate that the Czech orthographical changes <o> –> <uo> –> <u/ů> ; <e> –> <ie> –> <i> ; <u> –> <au/ou> proceeded at a slower pace. Thus, at times it might be difficult to determine whether the spellings <uo> , <ie> , <u> in a 16th century text from the Slovak language territory are simply archaic spellings of the Czech phonemes / ú / , / í / , / oụ / or whether they actually reflect the Slovak phonemes / ụo / , / ję / , / ú / .

Porák (1982, 177-78) maintains that such difficulty in interpreting the phonological value of the grapheme <ie> presents problems in the analysis of texts from the Slovak lands from the first half of the 16th century only. He states that by the second half of the 16th century only the graphemes <ij> , <j> , and <i> are found in Cz texts, allowing for the interpretation of <ie> as "the influence of the indigenous phonological system of the writer"[19]. This indicates that there should be few problems with the interpretation of <ie> in a corpus starting in the mid 16th century, such as the one assembled here. In fact, the earlier texts of the present corpus from the 1530s and 1540s (where, according to Porák, difficulty in orthographic analysis might be anticipated) exhibit proportionally few examples of the possibly ambiguous <ie> grapheme and a predominance of the <i> grapheme. Thus the overall analysis of the phonological development *'é > ję́ > í* in the corpus of this investigation should not be greatly affected by the orthographic ambiguity.

The same is not true for the analysis of *ó > ụó > ú* . In this case, Porák (1982, 182-84) maintains that not only did the grapheme <uo> remain in Czech orthographic use throughout the 16th century, but also <o> is commonly encountered in Czech texts from this period in environments where the final stage of the change *ó > ụó > ú* is expected. Porák's conclusions regarding texts from the Slovak language territory indicate that all three Czech graphemes representing / ú / (<o> , <uo> , <u>) are to be anticipated in the corpus under investigation

[19] "The grapheme *-ie-* in texts of Slovak origin from the first half of the 16th century can scarcely be interpreted as the influence of the indigenous language (as long as, of course, it does not occur in a text with a number of further Slovak traits). . . . The situation is different from the second half of the 16th century and in later periods, when in Czech, in both printed and handwritten documents, we find only the graphemes *-ij-* , *-j-* , or *-i-* (length was never marked) and when the grapheme *-ie-* must be interpreted as the influence of the indigenous phonological system of the writer. Also, in the first half of the 16th century the situation would be different, if the text in question were written by a Slovak writer not in Czech but in his native language; in addition, in such a text other Slovak traits would occur (phonological, morphological, lexical, and often narrowly dialectal traits, possibly also the influence of orthographic systems of other languages)" (Porák 1982, 177).

here[20]. The situation described by Porák for Czech texts toward the middle of the 16th century is seen in the MSlk corpus (which includes texts only from the 1530s and 1540s). The grapheme <o> is chiefly found "in instances when this -o- could correspond to the state [of occurrence of the phoneme / o /] in some Czech dialects, e.g., in the dative plural nominal ending *-om*" (1982, 182), and the grapheme <uo> competes with <u> in all instances. Thus in the MSlk corpus, the three attested graphemes could potentially all represent simply the one phoneme / ú /, and therefore neither <o> nor <uo> can be considered indicative of dialect features present in the MSlk texts of this investigation. Given this situation in the pre-1550 MSlk corpus, a more effective analysis of the phonological change *ó* > *ǫ́* > *ú* in the WSlk, CSlk and ESlk corpora might be obtained by examining only texts from the second half of the 16th century, at which time (according to Porák (1982, 182)) the grapheme <o> was only rarely used to represent / ú /, and the use of the grapheme <uo> to represent / ú / was on the decline in Cz orthographic practice.

The analysis of the phonological development *ú* > *aǫ́* > *oǫ́* and its orthographic representation <u> –> <au/ou> in the corpus of this investigation is slightly less problematic. Porák (1982, 179-81) indicates that the grapheme <au> already prevails over <u> by the mid 16th century in Czech printed documents (with the progress being slightly slower in handwritten documents). His conclusions concerning texts from the Slovak language territory indicate that, as with the interpretation of <ie>, special caution must be exercised in the interpretation of the grapheme <u> only when examining texts from the first half of the 16th century[21]. Since, as noted above, the MSlk corpus in this study consists only of pre-1550 texts, it is there that problems in the interpretation of <u> might be most anticipated. Indeed, the MSlk data show a somewhat random distribution of both graphemes, <u> and <au>, which, according to Porák, may simply reflect vacillation in orthographic practice. On the other

[20] "The grapheme -o- in texts of Slovak origin can thus only with difficulty be interpreted as a Slovak feature in the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century, because it conforms to Czech scribal and printing practice, but -o- in the second half of the 16th century and -uo-, -vo- from the 17th century onward are already specifically Slovak; this is because at that time they already depart from Czech orthographic practice. Also involved here, it seems to me, is the fact that -û- (written and printed also -u-) is rather common and current in a number of texts of Slovak origin, so that it is possible that (somewhat simply stated) this grapheme sometimes is used simply to denote that Slovak phoneme, for which the grapheme ô was created at a much later time" (Porák 1982, 182-83).

[21] "We can scarcely simply posit the forms *wstupení, klobuk, pawuk, tzelu noc, mrznuti, zdwihnuti* as Slovak— over against "Czech" *kausliti* in the above-mentioned dictionary of Gabriel Mizsér from 1538 . . . , because a similar state [i.e., the use of <u> alongside <au> to designate *aǫ/oǫ*] also exists in contemporary printed documents of Czech origin. . . . It would be necessary to evaluate in a similar fashion the state in some documents of Slovak origin from the first half of the 16th century, especially from West Slovakia (as long as, of course, they also show a small number of Slovak traits in other facets). For the second half of the 16th century and for the following periods, however, the occurrence of -u- instead of -au- is evidence of the pronunciation of the writer" (Porák 1982, 179).

hand, the WSlk, CSlk and ESlk corpora all show essentially only the grapheme <u>[22]. Since the use of <u> to represent the final stages of *ú* > *aų* > *oų* was on the decline in Czech texts already by the mid 16th century, it is unlikely that such a high consistency in the use of <u> in these WSlk, CSlk and ESlk texts could be due simply to retention of an archaic orthographic practice (especially in the later texts from 1550 to 1590). Thus, there would appear to be a high level of dialect influence on this feature in these texts, and orthographic ambiguity should not greatly affect the overall analysis of the development *ú* > *aų* > *oų* in the corpus of this investigation (excluding perhaps in MSlk).

[22] The frequency level of the appearance of <au/ou> in each of these three corpora remains around 10% whether considering only pre-1550 texts, only post-1550 texts, or all texts in the corpus.

CHAPTER III: INTRODUCTION TO THE PHONOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

The next series of 5 chapters investigates selected phonological features of the corpus. The investigation concentrates on a number of phonological processes that operated throughout the region or in portions of it, and examines the nature and distribution of the reflexes resulting from these processes. Each of the phonological developments under investigation was chosen based on several criteria: (1) it produced at least two different reflexes (both innovations and archaisms) distributed among the different dialect groups; (2) it had reached its end-stage in Cz, Slk and Pol by the time period in question (the mid 16th century); (3) its reflexes are readily distinguishable in the orthographical practices of the period. The phonological processes investigated in this study are as follows:

Phonological developments investigated in the present study

vocalic:
1) vocalization of strong *ъ* and *ь*
2) development of syllabic *r̥* and *l̥* (and related *CrъC* and *ClъC*)
3) fronting and raising of long and short *á*, *a* / *C'__C'*, *C'__#*
4) fronting of long and short *ú*, *u* / *C'__*
5) diphthongization of long *ó* and *'é*
6) diphthongization of long *ú* / *C'__*

consonantal:
7) assibilation of *d* /__ *j*
8) assibilation of *d*, *t* /__ *ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę* (i.e., all front vowels)
9) palatalization of *r* /__ *ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*, *j* (i.e., all front vowels and *j*)

What follows first are general sketches of the 16th century distribution patterns of the reflexes for each of the phonological processes outlined above. These sketches are based on historical reconstructions and the contemporary dialect picture and are meant to give an idea of the reflexes that might be expected in the 16th century in the geographical areas covered by the corpus. The reflexes are presented for each of the Slovak dialect divisions as well as for literary Czech and literary Polish. Each sketch contains a general discussion of the 16th century reflexes and their distribution patterns, as well as a discussion of the relative diagnostic value of the reflexes for the present investigation. This general discussion is followed by a more detailed table of the reflexes including modern dialectal examples illustrating each of the 16th

century reflexes presented[1]. The discussions and tables present only a generalized outline of the reflexes and their distribution and are not intended as an exhaustive presentation of the historical phonology of Slovak, Czech or Polish. Further details are presented in notes following each table when such additional information is considered necessary for this study. A map illustrating the geographical distribution of the reflexes outlined in the tables also accompanies each sketch. Again, the maps are intended to give only a general picture of the 16th century distribution of reflexes. A more detailed geographical presentation of present-day microdialectal variation is available in Štolc, et al. 1968a, 1968b. The phonological developments are discussed according to a rough relative chronology as well as according to convenience of presentation. It is immediately apparent that a true relative chronological ordering could not be carried out here because each development is considered in all of the regions, and the timing and duration of the processes in some cases differs from region to region.

[1] The sources used to compile the reflex pattern sketches presented here are: Bartoš 1886, 1895, 1906; Bělič 1954; Buffa 1978, 1981; Cuřín, et al. 1977; Dostál 1967; Gebauer 1958, 1960, 1963; Greenberg 1988; Habovštiak 1965; Havránek 1934; Kálal and Kálal 1923; Klemensiewicz, Lehr-Spławiński, Urbańczyk 1981; Komárek 1962; Krajčovič 1961b, 1963, 1975, 1988; Kuraszkiewicz 1981; Lamprecht, Šlosar, Bauer 1986; Lehr-Spławiński and Stieber 1957; Orlovský 1975; Pauliny 1951, 1963, 1990; Ripka 1975; Stanislav 1932, 1967a, 1967b; Stieber 1973; Strutyński 1991; Štolc 1978, 1981; Štolc, et al. 1968a, 1968b; Trávníček 1926; Vážný 1934, 1964. The data for the modern dialect examples are also derived from these sources.

1) vocalization of strong ъ and ь

This section examines the reflexes from the development of strong jers into full vowels. Only the CSlk and ESlk reflexes from ъ , ь show significant differences in vocalic quality from the exclusive *e* reflex found elsewhere. An *o* reflex is present alongside *e* in both CSlk and ESlk, however the distribution of this *o* reflex is not identical for both areas. Differences in the distribution of the *o* reflex within the respective CSlk and ESlk regions also partially delineate nCSlk from sCSlk and wESlk from eESlk. Thus, an *o* reflex attested in the texts of this investigation would be a marked Slk feature – specifically CSlk/ESlk, with narrower regional determination possible depending on the lexical items in which it occurs. CSlk also exhibits a distinctive *a* reflex, the presence of which in a text would clearly indicate CSlk phonological influence. The only other difference among the regions is the retention of softness before *e* < ь in some areas, however this is not relevant for this discussion and will be dealt with in section 9) assibilation of *d* , *t* /__*ě* , *e* , *i* , ь , ę (i.e., all front vowels). The distribution of the reflexes resulting from jer vocalization can be summarized as follows (the left-hand column shows *e*-vowel reflexes, the right-hand column – non-*e* reflexes)[2]:

[2] As mentioned previously, the reflexes listed in the tables, notes and maps of this chapter represent the 16th century stage of phonological development. Further developments that have altered this 16th century distribution are at times mentioned in the tables and notes but are generally not presented. Because only phonological processes that had reached a fairly stable end-stage by the 16th century were chosen for this investigation, the general dialect picture presented by these tables and maps often resembles the general modern Slovak dialect picture. The examples used to illustrate the reflexes are, of course, modern dialect examples. These examples have been given in a phonemic transcription that reflects the underlying morphological structure and therefore does not reflect phonological changes resulting from such processes as word-final devoicing or voice assimilation (e.g., the standard Slk lexeme *ťažký* (N sg. m. adj. 'heavy') is transcribed as *ťažkí* (< *tęžьkъjь*) not! *ťaškí* (with regressive voice assimilation *ž* -> *š* /___*k*).

1) vocalization of strong ъ and ь

area	reflex		commentary	examples
Cz	ъ > e ь > 'e > e		– palatalization lost everywhere before *'e < ь*, including *d', t', n' > d, t, n*	**vъ > ve* [i] **dьnь > den* [ii]
MSlk	ъ > e ь > 'e > e		– palatalization lost everywhere before *'e < ь*, including *d', t', n' > d, t, n* (except seMSlk retains some *d', t', n'*)	**vъ > ve* **dьnь > den* ; (seMSlk: *d'en'*)
WSlk	ъ > e ь > 'e (> e)		– palatalization lost everywhere before *'e < ь*, including *d', t', n', l' > d, t, n, l* in sWSlk; nWSlk retains *ʒ (< d'), c (< t'), n', l'* before *'e < ь*	**vъ > ve* **dьnь > den , ʒen'*
nCSlk	ь > 'e (> e)	ъ > o ъ > a ь > 'a (> a)	– *a, 'a* found generally where potential *V–Ø* alternations would have caused unallowable *C*-clusters	**vъ > vo* **mъxъ , *mъxa > max , maxu* (not **mxu*) [iii] **dьnь > d'en'* **lьnъ , *lьna > l'an , l'anu* (not **l'nu*) [iv]
sCSlk	ь > 'e (> e)	ъ > o	– palatalization lost before *'e ('a) < ь*, except *d', t', n', l'* are retained in both nCSlk and sCSlk	**vъ > vo* **dьnь > d'en'*
ESlk	ъ > e ь > 'e (> e)	(ъ > o) (ь > o)	– palatalization lost before *'e < ь*, except *ʒ (< d'), c (< t'), n', l'* are retained; (*see notes* d *and* e *below for* ъ , ь > *o*)	**vъ > ve , vo* **dьnь > ʒen'*
Pol	ъ > e ь > 'e		– palatalization retained everywhere before *'e < ь* (incl. assibilation *d' > ʒ* and *t' > ć*)	**vъ > ve* **dьnь > ʒen'*

[i] (prep. 'in', 'inside') ; [ii] (N sg. m. 'day') ; [iii] (N,G sg. m. 'moss') ; [iv] (N,G sg. m. 'flax')

notes on distribution and redistribution of ъ , ь reflexes:

a) nCSlk and sCSlk often show the redistribution ъ > *o* > *e* and ь > *e* > *o* as follows:

ъ > o > e /__C' — **olkъtь > lakoť > laket'* (N sg. m. 'elbow')
ь > e > o /__C* (except in c-sCSlk and e-sCSlk) — **ovьsъ > oves > ovos* (N sg. m. 'oats')
also often: ь > e > o / labial___ and /___labial — **sъpravьd-l-ivъjь > spravedlivý > spravodl'ivť* (N sg. m. adj. 'just')
**služьbьnъjь > služebný > služobní* (N sg. m. adj. 'service')

b) sCSlk underwent:

-čьkъ, -šьkъ, -žьkъ > -ček, -šek, -žek > -čok, -šok, -žok — **domъčьkъ > domček > domčok* (N sg. m. dim. 'house')

c) nCSlk and sCSlk have variant reflexes in G pl. f. and n. noun forms (reflexes listed here include both ъ and ь):

area	reflex		commentary	examples
nCSlk:	-VC'jeC	-VC*áC	– this is a reasonable (though highly simplified)	**slivъkъ > sl'ivák* (G pl. f. 'plum')
	(-V́C'eC)	-V́CoC	picture of the general distribution in the	**grušьkъ > hrušjek* (G pl. f. 'pear')
			CSlk regions, there are many variations	**stornъkъ > stránok* (G pl. f. 'page')
			and deviations from area to area and even	**svěčьkъ > svječok* (G pl. f. 'candle')
			from form to form; the sCSlk areas have	*(*jablъčьkъ > jabĺčok* (G pl. n. 'apple'))
sCSlk:		-VCǫoC	a particularly complex distribution	**grušьkъ > hrušǫok* (G pl. f. 'pear')
		-V́CoC		**stornъkъ > stránok* (G pl. f. 'page')

d) ESlk very often has: ъ > o ; ь > o / labial___ and /___labial — **vъnъ > von* (adv. 'out(side)')

e) ESlk also exhibits the following distribution:

wESlk: -ъkъ , -ьkъ > -ek — **pętъkъ > pjatek* (N sg. m. 'Friday') ; **domъčьkъ > domček* (N sg. m. dim. 'house')
eESlk: -ъkъ , -ьkъ > -ok — **pętъkъ > piatok* (N sg. m. 'Friday') ; **domъčьkъ > domčok* (N sg. m. dim. 'house')

N.B. this is also the distribution found in ESlk G pl. f. and n. noun forms:

wESlk: -CeC **děvъkъ > ʒjevek* (G pl. f. 'girl')
eESlk: -CoC **děvъkъ > ʒivok* (G pl. f. 'girl')

1) vocalization of strong *z* and *s*

Note: diagonal shading indicates areas of mixed and non-Sik dialects

2) development of syllabic *r̥* and *l̥* (and related *CrъC* and *ClъC*)

This section examines the reflexes not only from original syllabic *r̥* and *l̥* (< *CъrC* and *CъlC*)[3] but also from the related sequences *CrъC* and *ClъC* (*ъ* = either jer here and in the discussion that follows). The inclusion of the *liquid+jer* sequences in the discussion of the syllabic liquids is necessitated by the interrelation of the two features in their development in certain of the dialect areas. The distribution of these reflexes is the most variegated of any under investigation here and cannot easily be summarized according to larger geographical patterns.

It can be noted that ESlk and Pol, in contradistinction to the other areas, lost syllabic liquids entirely, resolving original *r̥* and *l̥* along with *CrъC* and *ClъC* , into *liquid+vowel* or *vowel+liquid* combinations in all instances (except Pol *rъ̨* , *lъ̨* which produced *non*-syllabic *r* , *ł* , *l*). Hence, a text displaying no instances of syllabic liquids would indicate ESlk or Pol phonological influence, with the quality of the vowels in the *Vr / rV* , *Vl / lV* combinations and certain instances of palatalized liquids at times distinguishing Pol from ESlk. On the other hand, WSlk (except w-sWSlk) and CSlk for the most part retained the original syllabic liquids while reducing the *liquid+jer* sequences to syllabic liquids as well (with substantial *l̥ > (l)u* and *lъ > l̥ > (l)u* in nWSlk). Thus, a text with exclusively syllabic liquids would indicate the influence of the WSlk or CSlk phonological system, with subtle reflex differences in specific phonological environments and instances of *l̥ > (l)u* distinguishing WSlk from CSlk. Finally, Cz, MSlk and w-sWSlk exhibit similarities in the development of *r̥* , *l̥* and *CrъC* , *ClъC* . In these areas, a tendency to retain the original syllabic liquids (with substantial *l̥ > (l)u*), while developing the *liquid+jer* sequences according to normal patterns of jer vocalization and loss (with *lъ̨ > l̥ > (l)u* in MSlk, w-sWSlk), produced a distribution of both *r̥* , *l̥* and *rV* , *lV* reflexes. A text exhibiting both syllabic liquid and *CV* reflexes would require further analysis on the basis of the distribution of the two reflex types in order to determine whether the reflexes follow the pattern of Cz, MSlk or w-sWSlk, or whether they present evidence of two competing phonological systems creating a different or random pattern. Because the detailed patterns are quite complex, the distribution of the reflexes from these developments is first

[3] The syllabic liquids referred to in this study as "original syllabic *r̥* , *l̥* " developed in West Slavic from the Proto-Slavic sequences *CъrC* , *CъlC* (*ъ* = either jer). There is some debate as to whether *r̥* , *l̥* were ever present in the Lekhitic branch of West Slavic (which includes Polish). Some scholars (see, for example, Carlton 1991, 151-52) maintain that the Proto-Slavic sequences *CъrC* , *CъlC* developed directly into *CVrC* , *CVlC* sequences in Lekhitic, without passing through an intermediate *Cr̥C* , *Cl̥C* stage. However, this debate has no bearing on the present discussion, as this study focuses on the 16th century reflexes of the Proto-Slavic sequences *CъrC* , *CъlC* (after the *Cr̥C* , *Cl̥C* stage had undergone further development). Therefore, in keeping with Polish linguistic tradition and for ease of presentation, the syllabic liquid notation *r̥* , *l̥* has been used throughout this work for all etymologies, including Polish. The original Proto-Slavic sequences *jer+liquid* can be reconstructed from the forms cited here by noting the following correspondences in notation: *r̥ < ъr* , *l̥ < ъl* and *r̥' <ьr* , *l̥' < ьl* .

summarized below according to the generalized groupings outlined above (this same generalized pattern is also presented on the reflex maps). The detailed distribution is then laid out in the reflex tables that follow (in the detailed tables, the left-hand column shows syllabic liquid reflexes, the right-hand column – reflexes other than syllabic liquids):

Generalized groupings of reflex patterns for *ŕ, ĺ* (and related *CrC, ChC*)

Cz, MSlk, w-sWSlk	ŕ > ŕ r̥ > rV ; řV (in seMSlk, w-sWSlk only *rV*) r̥ > ŕ ; ř (in seMSlk, w-sWSlk only *ŕ*)
WSlk (not w-sWSlk), CSlk	ŕ > ŕ r̥ > ŕ r̥ > ŕ
ESlk	ŕ > Vr r̥ > rV r̥ > Vr
Pol	ŕ > Vr ; Vž r̥ > rV ; žV r̥ > r ; ž (non-syllabic)

Cz, MSlk, w-sWSlk	ĺ > lu ; u ; ł (in Cz only *lu* ; *ĺ*) l̥ > lV l̥ > lu ; u (MSlk, w-sWSlk) ; ł (Cz)
sWSlk (not w-sWSlk), CSlk	ĺ > ł l̥ > ł l̥ > ł
nWSlk	ĺ > lu ; u ; ł l̥ > lu ; u l̥ > lu ; u
ESlk	ĺ > lV ; Vl l̥ > lV l̥ > lV ; Vl
Pol	ĺ > lV ; Vl ; Vl l̥ > lV ; lV l̥ > l ; l (non-syllabic)

2) development of syllabic *ŗ* and *ļ* (and related *CrъC* and *ClъC*)

a) syllabic *ŗ* (and related *CrъC*)

area	reflex	commentary	examples
Cz	ŗ > ŗ	– except *čŗ- > čer-* ; *žŗ- > žer-* ; *ščŗ- > šťer-*	**kŗkъ > kŗk* [i] **ščŗ'bina > šťerbina* [ii] ; **čŗ'nъjь > černí* [iii]
	rъ > re , ře	– normal jer vocalization	**krъvь > krev* [iv] ; **krьstъ > křest* [v]
	rъ > rØ > ŗ ,(ř)	– normal jer loss > new syllabic *ŗ* (or non-syllabic *ř*)	**krъve > kŗve* [vi] ; **krьsta > křtu* [vii]
MSlk	ŗ > ŗ	– including *čŗ- ; žŗ- ; ščŗ-* ; (except wMSlk has *čŗ- > čer- ; žŗ- > žer- ; ščŗ- > ščer-*)	**kŗkъ > kŗk ; *ščŗ'bina > ščŗbina* (wMSlk: *kŗk* ; but: *ščerbina*)
	rъ > re , (ře)	– normal jer vocalization	**krъvь > krev*
	rъ > rØ > ŗ ,(ř)	– normal jer loss > new *ŗ* , (*ř*)	**krъve > kŗvi*
WSlk	ŗ > ŗ	– except *čŗ- > čer- / čér-* ; (but *žŗ- > žŗ- ; ščŗ- > ščŗ-*)	**kŗkъ > kŗk ; *ščŗ'bina > ščŗbina *čŗ'nъjь > če- , čé- , čje- , čjé- , čírní*
	rъ > ŗ	– reduced to *ŗ* before jer vocalization/loss	**krъvь > kŗv ; *krъve > kŗvi*
w-s:	rъ > re	– normal jer vocalization	**krъvь > krev*
	rъ > rØ > ŗ	– normal jer loss > new syllabic *ŗ*	**krъve > kŗvi*
CSlk	ŗ > ŗ	– except *čŗ- > čer- / čér-* ; (but *žŗ- > žŗ- ; ščŗ- > štŗ-*)	**kŗkъ > kŗk ; *ščŗ'bina > štŗbina *čŗ'nъjь > čjerni*
	rъ > ŗ	– reduced to *ŗ* before jer vocalization/loss	**krъvь > kŗv ; *krъve > kŗvi*

area	reflex		commentary	examples
ESlk		ŗ° > yr > ar		**kŗkъ > kark*
		ŗ' > yr > ar	–/__hard dental	**čŗ'nъjь > čarni*
		ŗ' > ir > er	–/__other	**ščŗ'bina > ščerbina*
		rъ > re , (ro)	– normal jer vocalization	**krъvь > krev* (*see note* c *below*)
	rъ > rØ > ŗ		– normal jer loss > new syllabic ŗ	**krъve > kervi* (*see note* c *below*)
			(new ŗ developed similar to original ŗ)	
Pol		ŗ° > ar		**kŗkъ > kark*
		ŗ' > ar	–/__hard dental	**čŗ'nъjь > čarny*
		ŗ' > ir/iż > 'er/'eż	–/__labial or velar	**ščŗ'bina > ščerbina* ; **vŗ'ba > v'eżba* [viii]
		ŗ' > ir > 'er	–/__other	**sъmŗ'tь > śm'erć* [ix]
		rъ > re , że ;	– normal jer vocalization	**krъvь > krev* ; **krьstъ > xžest*
		rъ > rØ > r , ż	– normal jer loss > non-syllabic *r* , *ż*	**krъve > krvi* ; **krьsta > xżtu*

[i] (N sg. m. 'neck') ; [ii] (N sg. f. 'crack') ; [iii] (N sg. m. adj. 'black') ; [iv] (N sg. m. 'blood') ; [v] (N sg. m. 'baptism')
[vi] (G sg. m. 'blood') ; [vii] (G sg. m. 'baptism') ; [viii] (N sg. f. 'willow') ; [ix] (N sg. f. 'death')

b) syllabic *ļ* (and related *CĹC*)

area	reflex		commentary	examples
Cz		ļ > lu	– any *ļ* except *ļ' / labial*___	**dļgъ > dluh* [i]
	ļ' > ļ		– / labial___	**pļ'nъjь > pļní* [ii]
		lъ > le	– normal jer vocalization	**jablъkъ > jablek* [iii]
	lъ > lØ > ļ		– normal jer loss > new syllabic *ļ*	**jablъko > jabļko* [iv]
MSlk	ļ > ļ *or*	ļ > lu , u	– great regional variation (*see note* a *below*)	**dļgъ > dļh , dluh , duh*
		lъ > le	– normal jer vocalization	**jablъkъ > jablek*
	lъ > lØ > ļ		– normal jer loss > new syllabic *ļ* (new *ļ* developed similar to original *ļ*)	**slъza > sļza* [v] ; **jablъko > jabuko , jabko*
sWSlk w:		ļ > lu (> u)	– any *ļ* except *ļ / labial*___	**dļgъ > dluh , duh*
	ļ > ļ		– / labial___	**pļ'nъjь > pļní*
		lъ > le	– normal jer vocalization	†
	lъ > lØ > ļ		– normal jer loss > new syllabic *ļ* (new *ļ* developed similar to original *ļ*)	**jablъko > jabluko , jabuko*
c, e, ne:	ļ > ļ		– every position	**dļgъ > dļh* ; **pļ'nъjь > pļní*
	lъ > ļ		– reduced to *ļ* before jer vocalization/loss	† ; **jablъko > jabļko*
nWSlk		ļ > lu (> u)	– any *ļ* except *ļ / labial*___	**dļgъ > dluh , duh*
	ļ > ļ		– / labial___	**pļ'nъjь > pļní*
	lъ > ļ		– reduced to *ļ* before jer vocalization/loss (developed similar to original *ļ*)	**jablъkъ > jabúk* ; **jablъko > jabuko*

area	reflex		commentary	examples
CSlk	ļ > l		– but differing regional tendencies in sCSlk	**dļgъ > dļh* ; **pļ'nъjь > pļní*
	lъ > l		– reduced to *ļ* before jer vocalization/loss	**jablъkъ > jabļk* ; **jablъko > jabļko*
ESlk		ļ > lu	– / dental, velar___	**dļgъ > dluh*
		ļ > yl > ol (>ul)	– / labial, č, š, ž___C'	**pļ'nъjь > polni* , *pulni*
		ļ > il > el	– / labial, č, š, ž___C'	**sъpļ'niti > speln'ic* [vi]
		lъ > le , (lo)	– normal jer vocalization	† (*see note* c *below*)
	lъ > lØ > l		– normal jer loss > new syllabic *ļ* (new *ļ* developed similar to original *ļ*)	**jablъko > jabluko* (*see note* c *below*)
Pol		ļ > łu	– / dental___ ; any *ļ*	**dļgъ > długi*
		ļ > eł	– / velar___ ; any *ļ* , but: *kļ' > čeł > čoł*, *gļ' > żeł > żoł*	**kļbь > kiełb* [vii] **kļ'gati > czołgać (się)* [viii]
		ļ' > oł , uł , eł	– / labial___	**pļkъ > pułk* [ix]
		ļ' > eł	– / labial___hard dental	**pļ'nъjь > pełny*
		ļ' > il	– / labial___other	**mļ'čati > milčeć* [x]
		lъ > łe , le	– normal jer vocalization	**jablъkъ > jabłek*
		lъ > lØ > ł , l	– normal jer loss > non-syllabic *ł* , *l*	**jablъko > jabłko*

[i] (N sg. m. 'debt') ; [ii] (N sg. m. adj. 'full') ; [iii] (G pl. n. 'apple') ; [iv] (N sg. n. 'apple') ; [v] (N sg. f. 'tear') ; [vi] (inf. 'to fulfill')
[vii] (N sg. m. 'gudgeon') ; [viii] (inf. 'to crawl') ; [ix] (N sg. m. 'regiment') ; [x] (inf. 'to be silent')

† no clear examples of *ClъC* available for sWSlk and ESlk

notes on distribution and redistribution of *ŗ*, *ļ* (and related *CrъC*, *ClъC*) reflexes:

a) The MSlk regional variations of the reflexes of *ļ* can be delineated roughly as follows:

reflex		commentary
ļ > ļ		– in the region between the towns Vsetín and Uh. Brod
	ļ > lu	– north of the town Vsetín; also all of wMSlk
	ļ > u	– south of the town Uh. Brod

b) c & e-sCSlk have a variegated and somewhat unclear picture for the reflexes of *ļ* (< *ļ* and *ClъC*) (depending on various factors including geographical region, phonological environment and length):

area	reflex	examples
c-sCSlk:	ļ > ļ ; ó , o	**dļgъ > dļh , doh* ; **pļ'nъjь > pļní , póne*
e-sCSlk:	ļ > ļ ; lú , lu ; ol , oų	**dļgъ > dļh , dlúh , dluh* ; **pļ'nъjь > pļní , polni , poųni* (cf. ESlk above)

c) In ESlk when *rъ* (> *rV*) and *rь* (> *rØ* > *ŗ* > *Vr*) occurred alternatingly in paradigms, the resulting forms often underwent analogical leveling in one direction or the other, e.g. **krьstъ, *krьsta > krest, *kŗsta > krest, kerstu > kerst, kerstu* (**krьvь, *krьve* is regionally represented by all three possible combinations: *krev, kervi* ; *krev, krevi* ; *kerv, kervi*)

Similarly, when *lъ* (> *lV*) and *lь* (> *lØ* > *ļ* > *lV / Vl*) occurred alternatingly in paradigms, the resulting forms often underwent analogical leveling in one direction or the other. Thus various reflexes exist for one form depending on the direction of the leveling, e.g., **blьxa > bluxa, blixa, bl'ixa, bolxa* (N sg. f. 'flea'); **slьza > sluza, sleza, sliza, solza, selza* (N sg. f. 'tear') – the alternating form with *lь* is supplied in both instance by the G pl.: **blьxъ* ; **slьzъ* .

2a) development of syllabic ɾ (and related *CrəC*)

ɾb > rV ; ɛV (in scMSlk, w-sWSlk only *rV*)
ɾb > ɾ ; ɛ (in scMSlk, w-sWSlk only ɾ)

Note. diagonal shading indicates areas of mixed and non-Slk dialects

2b) development of syllabic *l* (and related *ChC*)

3) fronting and raising of long and short *á , a / C'__C', C'__#*

This section examines the reflexes from the process of fronting and raising of the low central vowel between soft consonants and in word-final position following a soft consonant. This process was carried out consistently in Cz, but was more restricted in MSlk and w-sWSlk, and is only sporadically present in the remainder of Slk and Pol. The MSlk and w-sWSlk regions appear to be transitional between consistent fronting and raising (*á > í ; a > e*) in Cz and complete lack of it in much of Slk and Pol. wMSlk (closest geographically to Cz) exhibits fronting and raising in almost all environments, while the rest of MSlk shows slightly more restrictions (especially *á , a* in word-final position), and w-sWSlk, although resembling MSlk in most instances of long *á > í*, has almost no fronting and raising of short *a* . Consistent fronting and raising of long *á* is also found in c-sCSlk and e-sCSlk, however there it produced *eį* and *á'* reflexes respectively. Finally, CSlk exhibits short *a > ă (> e) / labial___* and ESlk shows short *a > e* when *a < C'aC'* , *ę* , but in both areas all other environments retained short *a* .

Thus the textual presence of long or short *a* reflexes in palatal environments would be a marking of Slk or Pol phonological influence. Exclusive long and short *a* reflexes would clearly indicate WSlk (except w-sWSlk) or Pol, while the presence of fronted and raised reflexes alongside *a* reflexes would possibly allow for a narrower delineation within the remainder of Slk, depending on the type and distribution of the fronted and raised reflexes. A distribution of the two reflex types that did not reflect that of one of the Slk regions would present evidence of two competing phonological systems creating a different or random pattern. Consistent fronted and raised reflexes from both long *á* and short *a* in all positions would indicate the influence of the Cz phonological system. It should be noted that the diphthongization that occurred with *á > ja* in parts of nWSlk and CSlk (and with certain *a > ja* in specific phonetic environments in other Slk dialects) is not taken into account here, since the central issue in this section is the vocalic quality of the reflexes. The distribution of the reflexes from these developments is listed in the following tables (in both tables, the right-hand column shows the various fronted and raised reflexes):

3) fronting and raising of long and short *á , a / C'__C', C'__#*

a) long *á*

area	reflex		commentary	examples
Cz		á > é > í	– á < á , ę , VjV	**vъzęti > vzít* [i] ; **prьjateljь > přítel* [ii]
MSlk		á > é > í	– á < á , C'ęC' , VjV	**vъzęti > vzít'* ; **prьjateljь > přítel*
	á > á		– á < C'ę#	**sědę(tь) > seďá* [iii]
sWSlk w:		á > é > í	– á < C'ęC' , VjV	**vъzęti > vzít* ; **prьjateljь > přítel*
	á > á		– á < á , C'ę#	**tr'pę(tь) > trpí* [iv]
c, e, ne:	á > á		– á < á , ę , VjV	**vъzęti > vzát* ; **prьjateljь > přátel*
nWSlk s:	á > á		– á < á , ę , VjV	**vъzęti > vzát'* ; **prьjateljь > přát'el*
n:	á > ja		– á < á , ę , VjV	**vъzęti > vzjac* ; **prьjateljь > prjacel*
nCSlk	á > jä (> ja)		– á < á , ę , VjV ; (*for* jä > ja *see note* b *below*)	**vъzęti > vzjat'* ; **prьjateljь > prjat'eľ*
sCSlk w:	á > jä (> ja)		– á < á , ę , VjV ; (*for* jä > ja *see note* b *below*)	**vъzęti > vzjat'* ; **prьjateljь > prjat'eľ*
c:		á > é > ej	– á < á , ę , VjV	**vъzęti > zvejt'i* ; **prьjateljь > prejt'eľ*
e:		á > á´	– á < á , ę , VjV	**vъzęti > vzáť* ; **prьjateljь > práť'eľ*
ESlk	á > a		– á < á , ę , VjV ; length lost in ESlk	**vъzęti > vźac* ; **prьjateljь > pracel'*
Pol	á > ą (> a)		– á < á , VjV ; *ą* (close) > *a* finalized in 18th c.; length lost in Pol	**sъbožьja > zboža* [v]

[i] (inf. 'to take') ; [ii] (N sg. m. 'friend') ; [iii] (3rd pl. n-p. 'to sit') ; [iv] (3rd pl. n-p. 'to bear') ; [v] (N pl. n. 'grain')

b) short *a*

area	reflex		commentary	examples
Cz		a > e	– a < a , ę	**ulica > ulice* [i] ; **devętь > devjet* [ii]
MSlk	a > a		– a < a , C'ę# (except in wMSlk *C'ę# > a > e*)	**ulica > ulica* ; **porsę > prasa* [iii]
		a > e	– a < C'ęC' , (wMSlk also has *C'ę# > a > e*)	**devętь > devjet* ; (wMSlk: *prase*)
sWSlk w:	a > a		– a < a , ę	**ulica > ulica* ; **porsę > prasa*
		(a > e)	– (*a > e* only in some cases of *a < C'ęC'*)	**devętь > devjet*
c, e, ne:	a > a		– a < a , ę	**ulica > ulica* ; **devętь > devat*
nWSlk	a > a		– a < a , ę	**ulica > ul'ica* ; **devętь > d'evat' , zevac*
CSlk	a > a		– a < a , ę , (but not */ labial___*)	**ulica > ul'ica* ; **porsę > prasa*
		a > ă (> e)	– / labial___ ; further *ă > e* is 16th c. onward	**devętь > d'evät' , d'evet'*
ESlk	a > a		– a < C'a# and some ę (often *-ję-*)	**ulica > ul'ica* ; **zajęcь > zajac* [iv]
		a > e	– a < C'aC' , ę , (but some *ę > a*)	**jasenь > jeśen'* [v] ; **devętь > zevec*
Pol	a > a		– a < a	**ulica > ulica*

[i] (N sg. f. 'street') ; [ii] (N num. 'nine') ; [iii] (N sg. n. 'pig') ; [iv] (N sg. m. 'hare') ; [v] (N sg. m. 'ash tree')

notes on distribution and redistribution of *á*, *a* reflexes:

a) Analogical leveling began fairly quickly in paradigms that developed *a – e* alternations as a result of this process. Thus *a –> e* is found in some instances where it would not be expected, and it is not found in some where it would be expected.

b) It is assumed that the change *á > ja̯ä > ja̯* in nCSlk and w-sCSlk was centered in the Tekovský, Hontiansky and Zvolenský dialects in the 15th century and that it then spread to the remaining nCSlk and w-sCSlk dialect regions in the course of the 16th century (see Pauliny 1963, 280). Thus both *ja̯ä* and *ja̯* reflexes are to be anticipated in these regions during the 16th century, with a gradual shift to a *ja̯* reflex majority by the end of the century.

c) In nCSlk, Orava exhibits differing reflexes: á > á´, é , á , ia , a — **vъzęti > vzáť ; vzét ; vzát'*; **prьjateljь > práťeľ ; prát'eľ*

a > ä (in <u>all</u> environments) — **ulica > ul'icā ; *devętь > d'evät' ; *porsę > prasä*

d) e-sCSlk often has *a > ä* (*> e*) in *all* environments: **devętь > d'evät' , d'evet' ; *porsę > prasā , prase ; *zajęcь > zajäc , zajec*

3a) fronting and raising of long *á / C'__C', C'__#*

Note: diagonal shading indicates areas of mixed and non Slk dialects

3b) fronting and raising of short *a / C' __ C', C' __ #*

Note: diagonal shading indicates areas of mixed and non-SB dialects

4) fronting of long and short *ú* , *u* / *C'*__

This section examines the reflexes from the fronting of the long and short high back vowels following a soft consonant. This was primarily a Cz process, although a later separate development produced essentially the same results in c-sCSlk. It also occured on a restricted basis in MSlk, where it is found consistently in A sg. and I sg. soft-stem adj. endings and sporadically in some nominal stems. MSlk again appears to be transitional between Cz with consistent *u* > *i* and most of Slk and Pol with complete lack of this change. w-sWSlk also shows *ú* > *í* in A sg. and I sg. soft-stem adj. endings, but this is considered to be the result of morphological developments and not the results of a phonological process like that in Cz and MSlk (see Pauliny 1963, 247).

Thus a text exhibiting exclusively an *i* reflex would be marked as Cz (or perhaps c-sWSlk), while the presence of *u* reflexes would clearly indicate Slk or Pol phonological influence. A text exhibiting both *u* and *i* would have to be further analyzed on the basis of distribution of the two reflexes to determine whether it reflected MSlk (or possibly w-sWSlk) distributions or other patterns resulting from competing phonological systems. However, a text showing exclusively an *u* reflex would be clearly marked as Slk or Pol. Because long *ú* and short *u* followed similar developments, they are represented in the following table and map by a single symbol " u " for conciseness of presentation. Likewise the single symbol " i " represents both long *í* and short *i* in the table and accompanying map. The distribution of the reflexes from this development is as follows (the right-hand column shows the fronted reflex):

4) fronting of long and short *ú , u / C'__*

area	reflex		commentary	examples
Cz		u > i	– ú *and* u ; (< u , ǫ , VjV)	**plutja > plíce* [i] ; **dušǫ > duši* [ii] **božǫjǫ > božĺ* [iii]
MSlk	u > u		– ú *and* u ; (< u , ǫ , VjV)	**plutja > plúca* ; **dušǫ > dušu*
		u > i	– chiefly ú < VjV in A and I sg. f. soft adj.	**božǫjǫ > božĺ* (*see note* a *below*)
WSlk	u > u		– ú *and* u ; (< u , ǫ , VjV)	**plutja > plúcá , pľúca* ; **dušǫ > dušu* **božǫjǫ > božú , božu* ; *božĺ* (*see note* b *below*)
CSlk	u > u		– ú *and* u ; (< u , ǫ , VjV) everywhere but c-sCSlk	**plutja > pľúca* ; **dušǫ > dušu* **božǫjǫ > božú , božu*
c-s:		u > i	– ú *and* u ; (< u , ǫ , VjV)	**plutja > pľĺca* ; **dušǫ > duši* **božǫjǫ > božĺ*
ESlk	u > u		– ú *and* u ; (< u , ǫ , VjV) ; length lost in ESlk	**plutja > pľuca* ; **mojǫ > moju* [iv] **božǫjǫ > božu*
Pol	u > u		– ú *and* u ; (< u) ; length lost in Pol	**plutja > płuca*

[i] (N pl. n. (f. in Cz) 'lungs') ; [ii] (A sg. f. 'soul') ; [iii] (A sg. f. adj. 'God's') ; [iv] (A sg. f. poss. adj. 'my')

notes on distribution and redistribution of *C'ú/u* reflexes:

a) MSlk has consistent *ú > ĺ* in A sg. and I sg. f. soft-stem adj. endings, but only occasional *ú , u > ĺ , i* elsewhere.

b) w-sWSlk has *ú > ĺ*, but only in the A sg. and I sg. f. soft-stem adj. endings. Pauliny (1963, 247) explains this as primarily a morphological development and not a regular phonological process.

4) fronting of long and short *ú , u / C'___*

Note: diagonal shading indicates areas of mixed and non-Slk dialects

5) diphthongization of long *ó* and *'é*

This section examines the reflexes from the development of the long mid vowels *ó* and *'é* (i.e., *é* following a soft consonant). The two vowels are discussed together here because of the common tendencies in their development in most of the regions. The general process of diphthongization (*ó* > *u̯o* , *'é* > *i̯e*) was carried out in all of the areas in question with the exception of Pol and the *ó* in parts of sWSlk. It is in the further development of the diphthongs that the individual dialect areas became differentiated from one another. The easternmost and westernmost regions (including Cz) underwent monophthongization, while the central dialect areas either retained the diphthongs or change them to *CV* sequences, where the *C* reflects a natural development of the initial semi-vowel of the diphthong: *u̯* > *v* , *i̯* > *j* . The process of monophthongization generally involved raising of the vowel (> *u* , *i*). In those instances where the diphthong developed into a monophthong reflex without raising (> *o* , *e*), the reflex is the result of the absorption of the semi-vowel portion of the diphthong by the preceding consonant (*labial+u̯* , *palatal sonant+i̯*) without a change in the quality of the following vowel.

Thus there are three basic reflex types that might serve to differentiate among the dialect influences in the texts under investigation: 1) monophthong, raised *u* , *i* ; 2) monophthong, non-raised *o* , *e* , (also *a* in Pol) ; 3) diphthong and *CV* sequences *u̯o* , *vo* , *i̯e* , *je* . (The diphthong and *CV* reflexes are grouped together for the purposes of textual analysis because of difficulties in interpretation due to 16th century orthographic practices where both / u / and / v / could be represented by < u , v , w >, and both / i / and / j / could be represented by < i , y , j > .) The presence of *u* and *i* reflexes in a text would indicate phonological influence from the western or eastern regions: *u* = Cz, MSlk (except seMSlk), w-sWSlk, n-wESlk, eESlk, Pol; *i* = Cz, MSlk (except seMSlk), w-, c-, e-sWSlk, n-wESlk, eESlk. Diphthong and *CV* reflexes attested from *ó* and *'é* (a marked Slk feature) would indicate phonological influence from the central regions: *u̯o* , *vo* = seMSlk, nWSlk, CSlk, s-wESlk; *i̯e* , *je* = seMSlk, ne-sWSlk, nWSlk, CSlk, s-wESlk. The non-raised, monophthong *o* and *e* reflexes have geographically more restricted distributions. Attestation of these reflexes in a text would help to determine more narrowly the source of phonological influence within the west/east and central regions, depending on the phonological environments in which they were attested. Presence of the monophthong *a* reflex would clearly indicate Pol (or possibly marginal e-sCSlk) influence. The distribution of the reflexes from these developments is listed in the following tables (in both tables, the left-hand column shows diphthong, *CV*, or monophthong non-raised reflexes (non-*u* , -*i*), the right-hand column shows monophthong raised reflexes (*u* , *i*):

5) diphthongization of long *ó* and *'é*

a) long *ó*

area		reflex	commentary	examples
Cz		ó > u̯ó > ú		**konjь* > *kún'* [i] ; **stolъ* > *stúl* [ii]
MSlk		ó > u̯ó > ú		**konjь* > *kún'* ; **stolъ* > *stúl*
	se:	ó > ó, u̯ó, vó	– variation within the region	**konjь* > *kón'* , *ku̯ón'* , *kvón'*
sWSlk	w:	ó > u̯ó > ú	– *u̯ó* > *ú* still in progress in 16th c.?	**konjь* > *kún'* ; **stolъ* > *stúl* , *stúu̯*
	c, e, ne:	ó > ó		**konjь* > *kón* ; **stolъ* > *stól*
nWSlk	s:	ó > u̯ó > vó, (u̯ó)	– any *ó* except *ó / labial*___	**konjь* > *kvón* ; **stolъ* > *stvól*
		ó > u̯ó > ó	– / labial___	**mojь* > *mój* [iii]
	n:	ó > u̯ó > u̯o		**konjь* > *ku̯on'* ; **stolъ* > *stu̯ol*
CSlk		ó > u̯o		**konjь* > *ku̯on'* ; **stolъ* > *stu̯ol*
ESlk	s-w:	ó > u̯o > vo, (u̯o)	– any *ó* except *ó / labial*___	**konjь* > *kvon'* ; **stolъ* > *stvol*
		ó > u̯o > o	– / labial___ ; length lost in ESlk	**mojь* > *moj*
	n-w, e:	ó > u̯o > u	– *u̯o* > *u* still in progress in 16th c.?	**konjь* > *kun'* ; **stolъ* > *stul*
Pol		ó > ǫ (> u)	– *ǫ* (close) > *u* starts in 16th c., finalized in 18th c.; length lost in Polish	**stolъ* > *stul* ; **mojь* > *muj*

[i] (N sg. m. 'horse') ; [ii] (N sg. m. 'table') ; [iii] (N sg. m. adj. 'my')

b) long *'é*

area		reflex		commentary	examples
Cz			'é > i̯é > í	– 'é < ě́ , 'á , VjV , (but: *'é > é / l__C*)	**věra > víra* [i] ; **xlěbъ > xléb* [ii]
MSlk			'é > i̯é > í	– 'é < ě́ , 'á , VjV , (but: *'é > é / l__* , except wMSlk)	**věra > víra* ; **xlěbъ > xléb* (wMSlk: *xlíb*)
	se:	'é > i̯e, i̯é, j́é		– 'é < ě́ , 'á , VjV ; variation within region	**xlěbъ > xl̯eb , xl̯éb , xlj́éb*
sWSlk	w:		'é > i̯é > í	– 'é < ě́ , 'á , VjV , (but: *'é > é / l__*)	**věra > víra* ; **xlěbъ > xléb*
	c:		'é > i̯é > í	– 'é < ě́ , VjV , (but: *'é > é / l__*)	**věra > víra* ; **xlěbъ > xléb*
	e:		'é > i̯é > í	– 'é < ě́ , VjV ; *i̯é > í* still in progress in 16th-cent. w-, c-, e-sWSlk?	**věra > víra* ; **xlěbъ > xlíb*
	ne:	'é > i̯é > jé , j́é		– 'é < ě́ , VjV, (but: *'é > é / Cr__ , Cl__*)	**věra > vjéra* ; **xlěbъ > xléb*
nWSlk	s:	'é > i̯é > jé , j́é		– 'é < ě́ , VjV	**věra > vjéra* ; **xlěbъ > xlj́éb*
	n:	'é > i̯é > i̯e		– 'é < ě́ , VjV	**věra > vi̯era* ; **xlěbъ > xl'i̯eb*
CSlk		'é > i̯e		– 'é < ě́ , VjV , (*see note* d *below*)	**věra > vi̯era* ; **xlěbъ > xl'i̯eb*
ESlk	s-w:	'é > i̯e > je, j́e 'é > i̯e > e		– 'é < ě́ , VjV ; any *'é* except *'é / n' , l' , r'* __ – / n', l', r'__ ; length lost in ESlk	**věra > vjera , vi̯era* **xlěbъ > xl'eb*
	n-w, e:		'é > i̯e > i	– 'é < ě́ , VjV ; *i̯e > i* still in progress in 16th c.?	**věra > vira* ; **xlěbъ > xl'ib*
Pol		'é > ę (> e)		– 'é < ě́ , VjV ; any *'é* except *'é /__ hard dental*; *ę* (close) > *e* finalized in 19th c.	**xlěbъ > xleb*
		'é > a		– /__ hard dental ; length lost in Polish	**věra > v'ara*

[i] (N sg. f. 'faith') ; [ii] (N sg. m. 'bread')

notes on distribution and redistribution of *ó*, *'é* reflexes:

a) It is possible that the final stages of development, *o̯ó > ú* ; *e̯é > í* in sWSlk and *o̯o > u* ; *e̯e > i* in n-wESlk, eESlk, might still have been in progress during the 16th century (see Pauliny 1963, 242-7 & 262-7).

b) In sCSlk: parts of c-sCSlk retain: ó — **konjь > kón'* ; **stolъ > stól* ; **mojь > mój*
é — **věra > véra* ; **xlěbъ > xl'éb*

parts of e-sCSlk have: ó > o̯o > o̯a , va (> a / labial___) — **konjь > ku̯an, kvan*; **stolъ > stu̯al, stval*; **mojь > maj*
'é > e̯e > i̯a , ja — **věra > vi̯ara , vjara* ; **xlěbъ > xli̯ab*

c) In ESlk, many areas of s-wESlk show: ó > o (in <u>all</u> positions) — **konjь > kon'* ; **stolъ > stol* ; **mojь > moj*
'é > e (in <u>all</u> positions) — **věra > vera* ; **xlěbъ > xl'eb*

d) *'é* from contraction of *-ьje* in the N/A sg. of neuter nouns of the *-(ь)jo* declension followed the expected phonological developments in Cz, MSlk, WSlk, Pol:

**sъdorvьje > zdraví* (Cz) ('health'); **pьsanьje > psání* (MSlk) ('letter'); **sъbožьje > zbožje , zbožié* (seMSlk) ('grain')

**sъdorvьje > zdraví* (w-, c-, e-sWSlk); *zdravi̯é* (ne-sWSlk; s-nWSlk); *zdravi̯e* (n-nWSlk); *zdrov'e* (Pol) ('health')

In ESlk, the phonological development of *'é < -ьje* differs slightly from the expected development in that it does not produce an *i* reflex in n-wESlk and eESlk, but rather shows an *je/e* reflex throughout all of ESlk:

**sъdorvьje > zdravi̯e , zdrave* ('health')

In CSlk, the phonological continuation of the *-ьje* ending was replaced fairly early by an entirely new ending *'á* . This ending underwent the development *'á > -i̯a* in most of CSlk, with some of the same regional differences as seen in the development of other instances of *'á* . Scholarly opinions vary on the exact origin of this *'á* ending (cf. Pauliny 1990, 77-9):

**sъdorvьje –> zdravi̯a* (most of CSlk); *zdravá´ , zdravé* (Orava in nCSlk); *zdravei̯* (c-sCSlk); *zdravá´* (e-sCSlk) ('health')

5a) diphthongization of long *ó*

ó > vó , u̯ó ; ó
(short uo , u̯o , o in ESlk)

ó > ú (short u in
ESlk, Pol)

Note: diagonal shading indicates areas of mixed and non-Slk dialects

5b) diphthongization of long 'é

: diagonal shading indicates areas of mixed and non-5b dialects

6) diphthongization of long *ú / C'___*

This section examines the reflexes from the diphthongization of the long high back vowel following a hard consonant (cf. fronting of this vowel following a soft consonant described in section 4 above). Also included here are instances of the long high back vowel in word-initial position. This was primarily a Cz process, but did occur in the westernmost portion of MSlk as well. The occurrence of *ú > oų (> ú)* in the wMSlk area again illustrates the position of wMSlk as a transitional dialect between the Cz dialects with *oų* to the west and the Slk dialects with *u* to the east (cf. especially section 3) fronting and raising of long and short *á , a / C'___C', C'___#* , also section 4) fronting of long and short *ú , u / C'___* regarding the transitional nature of the MSlk dialect region). Hence, an *oų* reflex attested in the texts of this investigation would clearly indicate Cz (or possibly wMSlk) phonological influence, while an *u* reflex would be a clear marker of Slk or Pol influence.

Because this phonological process did not result in a distribution of several different reflexes among the various Slk dialect regions, its inclusion in this study was not based on its value as a means of determining the extent of regional phonological influence in the formation of interdialectal norms. It has been included here because of the clean isogloss that it draws between Cz and Slk (except wMSlk). Such a clean division allows for the determination of the degree of Slk versus Cz phonological influence present in the texts under investigation. In addition, because there is a single reflex for all of the Slk regions, the relative degree of Slk influence in the texts can be measured comparatively from region to region. The fact that the Pol reflex is identical to the Slk reflex should have little effect on this analysis since the instances of Pol *ú > u* are limited to the original oral vowel **ú* , and the majority of the attested instances of *ú* in the texts derive from the original nasal vowel **ǫ* (which in Pol developed further as a nasal vowel). The distribution of the reflexes from this development can be summarized as follows (the right-hand column shows the diphthong reflexes):

6) diphthongization of long *ú / C___**

area	reflex	commentary	examples
Cz	ú > aų > oų	– ú < ú , ǫ́ , VjV	**kupilъ > koųpil* [i] ; **mǫka > moųka* [ii] **dobrojǫ > dobroų* [iii]
MSlk w:	ú > aų > oų (> ú)	– ú < ú , ǫ́ , VjV ; regional variation	**kupilъ > kúpíl* ; **mǫka > moųka , múka* **starojǫ > staroų* [iv]
	ú > ú	– ú < ú , ǫ́ , VjV ; everywhere but wMSlk	**kupi(tь) > kúpí* [v] ; **mǫka > múka* **dobrojǫ > dobrú*
WSlk	ú > ú	– ú < ú , ǫ́ , VjV	**kupilъ > kúpil , kúpių* ; **mǫka > múka* **dobrojǫ > dobrú*
CSlk	ú > ú	– ú < ú , ǫ́ , VjV	**kupilъ > kúpių , kúpil* ; **mǫka > múka* (**dobrojǫ > dobroų , see note* c *below*)
ESlk	ú > ú > u	– ú < ú , ǫ́ , VjV ; length lost in ESlk	**kupilъ > kupil , kupių* ; **sǫsědъ > sušed , sušid* [vi] **dobrojǫ > dobru*
Pol	ú > ú > u	– ú < ú ; length lost in Pol	**kupilъ > kupił*

[i] (m. sg. l-part. 'to buy') ; [ii] (N sg. f. 'flour') ; [iii] (I sg. f. adj. 'good') ; [iv] (I sg. f. adj. 'old') ; [v] (3rd sg. n-p. 'to buy')
[vi] (N sg. m. 'neighbor')

notes on distribution and redistribution of *C˚ú* reflexes:

a) The modern Cz literary language, as a rule, shows no diphthongization of long *ú* in word-initial position (although such word-initial diphthongization of long *ú* is present dialectally). Komárek (1962, 166) attributes this lack of diphthongization in the literary language to the influence of identical forms with short *u-* that frequently co-existed alongside the forms in long *ú-* : *údolí / udolí* ; *úterý / uterý* ; *únor / unor* ; *ústa / usta* ; etc.

b) In the regions of wMSlk that show *oų̯* (< *ú* , *ǫ́*) there are also some instances of *ó* > *ų̯ó* > *ú* > *aų̯* > *oų̯* :

**vozъ* > **vóz* > **vų̯óz* > **vúz* > **vaų̯z* > *voų̯z* (N sg. m. 'wagon, cart')

c) In CSlk, the ending *-ojǫ* in the I sg. of feminine nouns, pronouns and adjectives followed a development separate from Cz and the rest of Slk. According to Pauliny (1963, 97-100; 1990, 64) and Vážný (1964, 114) the development of these I sg. f. forms in CSlk was as follows: **dobrojǫ* > **dobroju* > *dobrou* > *dobroų̯* – i.e., first denasalization, then loss of jot (but no contraction); while in Cz and the rest of Slk the development was: **dobrojǫ* > **dobrǫ́* > *dobrú* (> *dobroų̯* (Cz & wMSlk)) – i.e., loss of jot (with contraction), then denasalization. Thus, in CSlk there never was a long *ú* in this position. Instead there existed from early on an original *oų̯* desinence (not! *oų̯* < *aų̯* < *ú*). In much of e-sCSlk, this *oų̯* underwent the same further development as *oų̯* from other sources: **dobrojǫ* > *dobroų̯* > *dobró* .

6) diphthongization of long *ú / C°*___

ú > ú (short + n Elik. Pol)

ú > oy

ú > ú ; oy

Note: diagonal shading indicates area of mixed and non-Elk dialects

7) assibilation of *d /__ j*

This section examines the reflexes from the Proto-Slavic "jot palatalization" of the voiced dental stop. This process produced two reflexes, the fricative *z* and the affricate *ʒ*, in the regions under investigation. The isogloss dividing these two reflexes runs roughly along the border separating MSlk and WSlk, although the line is not sharp since sMSlk and seMSlk exhibit some instances of *ʒ* alongside the majority reflex *z*, while w-sWSlk shows instances of *z* alongside the more frequent *ʒ*.

Thus, a text exhibiting exclusively a *z* reflex would be marked as Cz or MSlk (except sMSlk and seMSlk), while the presence of *ʒ* reflexes would clearly indicate other Slk or Pol phonological influence. A text exhibiting both *z* and *ʒ* would require further analysis on the basis of the distribution of the two reflexes to determine whether it reflected sMSlk, seMSlk, or w-sWSlk distributions or other patterns resulting from competing phonological systems. However, a text showing exclusively a *ʒ* reflex would be clearly marked as Slk (except sMSlk, seMSlk, w-sWSlk) or Pol. The distribution of the reflexes from this development is listed below (the left-hand column shows the affricate reflex, the right-hand column – the fricative reflex):

7) assibilation of *d* /___ *j*

area		reflex		commentary	examples
Cz			dj > ʒ > z		**medji* > *mezi* [i] ; **govędjьjь* > *hovjezí* [ii]
MSlk		(dj > ʒ)	dj > ʒ > z	– *dj* > *ʒ* in isolated forms in s & seMSlk	**medja* > *meza* [iii] ; **govędjьjь* > *hovjezí* (seMSlk: *meʒa* ; *hovaʒí*)
WSlk	w-s:	dj > ʒ *or*	dj > ʒ > z	– regional variation (*see note* a *below*)	**medji* > *meʒí* ; *mezi* **govędjьjь* > *hovjaʒí* ; *hovjazí* , *hovjezí*
		dj > ʒ		– everywhere but w-sWSlk	**medji* > *meʒi* ; **govędjьjь* > *hovaʒí*
CSlk		dj > ʒ			**medji* > *meʒi* ; **govędjьjь* > *hoväʒí*, *hoveʒí*
ESlk		dj > ʒ			**medji* > *meʒi* ; **govędjьjь* > *hoveʒi*
Pol		dj > ʒ			**medji* > *mʼęʒy*

[i] (prep. 'between') ; [ii] (N sg. m. adj. 'beef, bovine') ; [iii] (N sg. f. 'balk, boundary')

notes on distribution and redistribution of *dj* reflexes:

a) The development *dj* > *ʒ* > *z* occurs in the western regions of w-sWSlk along the border with MSlk. There is not a sharp boundary dividing the instances of the two reflexes (*z* ; *ʒ*) in w-sWSlk, since different lexical items exhibit different geographical distributions of *z* vs. *ʒ* . (For example, *mezi* occurs in a more restricted area of w-sWSlk than *hovjazí*/*hovjezí* (Krajčovič 1963, map 6).)

b) The form *meʒi* appears quite prominently in portions of ESlk (particularly in eESlk).

7) assibilation of *d* /__ *j*

dj > 3 : 2

Note: diagonal shading indicates areas of mixed and non-Slk dialects

8) assibilation of *d*, *t*/__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę* (i.e., all front vowels)

This section examines the reflexes resulting from the effects of front vowels on preceding dental stops (both voiced and unvoiced). In some of the regions, two different reflexes arose in complementary distribution conditioned by the specific front vowel(s) involved in the process. In other regions all front vowels produced the same reflex. Hence the pattern of distribution of these reflexes is rather uneven and cannot easily be described in terms of larger geographical groupings of individual regions[4].

It can be noted that nWSlk, ESlk and Pol show consistent assibilation before all front vowels, though differing in the final phonetic nature of the reflexes (dental affricates *ʒ*, *c* in nWSlk and ESlk vs. palatalized alveolar affricates *ʑ*, *ć* in Pol). Thus a text showing exclusively assibilated reflexes before all front vowels would be clearly marked as nWSlk, ESlk or Pol, with the difference in the phonetic nature of the affricates (in so far as this is discernible in the textual orthography) distinguishing the Slk dialects from Pol. On the other hand, Cz, MSlk, e-sWSlk and CSlk exhibit no assibilated reflexes before any front vowel. Hence, a text displaying no instances of assibilation would indicate the influence of the Cz, MSlk, e-sWSlk or CSlk phonological systems. The remaining sWSlk dialect areas show two patterns of complementary distribution of both assibilated and non-assibilated reflexes, with neither area showing assibilation before *e* or *ь*. A text exhibiting both assibilated and non-assibilated reflexes would require further analysis on the basis of the distribution of the two reflexes in order to determine whether the reflexes follow the complementary pattern of w-, c-, or ne-sWSlk, or whether they present evidence of two competing phonological systems creating a different or random pattern. The distribution of the reflexes from the development of the sequence *d*, *t+front vowel* is listed below. Because of the similarities in their development in each of the regions, *d* and *t* have been included together in a single table (the left-hand column shows non-assibilated reflexes, the right-hand column – assibilated reflexes):

[4] Although the palatalized reflexes *dʲ*, *tʲ* have been listed in the reflex table following this discussion, the issue of the softness of *d* and *t* in this environment will not be addressed here, the only concern of this section being the presence or absence of assibilation. The softness of consonants was not consistently marked in the texts of this period. It would therefore be difficult to determine accurately the extent to which the presence or absence of softness in any given text was due to phonological changes or simply to inadequacies of orthography.

8) assibilation of *d*, *t*/__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę* (i.e., all front vowels)

a) *d*/__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę* and b) *t*/__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*

area	reflex	commentary	examples
Cz	d > d' ; t > t'	–/__ě, i, ę (> e)	*děti > d'et'i [i] ; *tężькъjь > t'ežkí [ii]
	d > d ; t > t	–/__e, ь, ę (> a)	*jьdete > (j)dete [iii] ; *dьnь > den [iv]
			*tęgati > tahat [v]
MSlk	d > ʒ ; t > c	–/__ě, i, ę (> e); assibilation reversed	*děti > d'et'i ; *tężько > t'ežko [vi]
	–>ʒ > d' ; c > t'	in the 15-16th c. on the Cz model	
	d > d ; t > t	–/__e, ь, ę (> a)	*jьdete > idete ; *dьnь > den ; *tęgati > táhat
sWSlk w:	d > ʒ ; t > c	–/__ě, i, ę	*děti > ʒeci ; *tężькъjь > cažkí , (čažkí)
	d > d ; t > t	–/__e, ь	*jьdete > idete ; *dьnь > den
c, ne:	d > ʒ ; t > c	–/__ě, i	*děti > ʒeci
	d > d ; t > t	–/__e, ь, ę	*jьdete > idete ; *dьnь > den
			*tężькъjь > tažkí
e:	d > d ; t > t	–/__ě, i, e, ь, ę	*děti > deti ; *jьdete > idete
			*dьnь > den ; *tężькъjь > tažkí
nWSlk	d > ʒ ; t > c	–/__ě, i, e, ь, ę	*děti > ʒeci ; *jьdete > iʒece
			*dьnь > ʒen' ; *tężькъjь > cažkí , (čažkí)
CSlk	d > d' ; t > t'	–/__ě, i, e, ь, ę (except /__*x*C)	*děti > d'et'i ; *jьdete > id'et'e
			*dьnь > d'en' ; *tężькъjь > t'ažkí
	d > d ; t > t	–/__*x*C	*tьma > tma [vii]

area	reflex	commentary	examples
ESlk	d > ʒ ; t > c	–/__ě , i , e , ь , ę	*děti > ʒeci ; *jьdete > iʒece *dьnь > ʒen' ; *tęžьkъjь > cežki , (čežki)
Pol	d > ʑ ; t > ć	–/__ě , i , e , ь , ę	*děti > ʑeći ; *jьdete > iʑeće *dьnь > ʑeń ; *tęžьkъjь > ćężki

[i] (N pl. n. 'children') ; [ii] (N sg. m. adj. 'heavy') ; [iii] (2nd pl. n-p. 'to go') ; [iv] (N sg. m. 'day') ; [v] (inf. 'to pull')
[vi] (adv. 'hard, with difficulty') ; [vii] (N sg. f. 'darkness')

notes on distribution and redistribution of *d', t'* reflexes:

a) MSlk often exhibits: d > d' ; t > t' /__ь — **kostь > kost'* (N sg. f. 'bone')

seMSlk shows regional: d > d' ; t > t' /__e , ь — **jьdete > id'et'e ; dьnь > d'en'*

b) In a small area of w-sWSlk around the town Skalica and in a larger area of s-nWSlk around the town Trenčín there was consistent reversal of assibilation: *ʒ > d'* ; *c > t'* (also some hard *d* ; *t* around Trenčín)

Skalica: **děti > ʒeci > d'et'i* ; **tę > ca > t'a* (A sg. pron. 'you')
Trenčín: **děti > ʒeci > d'et'i* ; **jьdete > iʒece > id'et'e* ; **dьnь > ʒeń > d'en'* ; **tęžьkъjь > cažkí > t'ažkí*

c) In e-sCSlk: some areas show consistent hard reflexes — **děti > deti* ; **jьdete > idete* ; **dьnь > den* ; **tęžьkъjь > tážkí*

some areas have: d > ʒ ; t > č /__i — **děti > deči* ; **dědina > dežina* (N sg. f. 'village')
č also developed consistently in these areas from: word-final *-t'* — **platiti > plačič* (inf. 'to pay')
word-final *-st'* — **radostь > radošč* (N sg. f. 'joy')
C-cluster *-št'-* — **sъčęstьnъjь* (> *št'astní*) > *ščasní*
(N sg. m. adj. 'happy')

8a) assibilation of *d* /__ *ě, i, e, ɛ, ę* (i.e., all front vowels)

Note: diagonal shading indicates areas of mixed and non-Silk dialects

9) palatalization of *r*/__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*, *j* (i.e., all front vowels and *j*)

This section examines the reflexes from the softening of *r* when followed by a front vowel or jot. Cz and MSlk (except seMSlk) in the west, along with Pol in the east, show a palatal consonant *ř* (> *ž* in Pol) in this position, while the seMSlk, WSlk, CSlk and ESlk dialect areas exhibit a hardened *r* as the reflex. Thus, a palatal *ř* / *ž* reflex attested in the texts of this investigation would clearly indicate Cz, MSlk or Pol phonological influence, while a hard *r* reflex would be a clear marker of WSlk, CSlk, or ESlk influence. The distribution of the reflexes from this palatalization process is as follows (the right-hand column shows the softened reflexes):

9) palatalization of *r*/__*é*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*, *j* (i.e., all front vowels and *j*)

area	reflex	commentary	examples
Cz	r > r' > ř		(**berza* >) **brěza* > *bříza* [i] **remenь* > *řemen* [ii]
MSlk	r > r' > ř		**brěza* > *březa* ; **remenь* > *řemen'*
se:	r > r' > r		**brěza* > *breza* ; **remenь* > *remen'*
WSlk	r > r' > r		**brězina* > *brezina* [iii] ; **remenь* > *remen'*
CSlk	r > r' > r		**brězina* > *brezina* ; **remenь* > *remen'*
ESlk	r > r' > r		**brězina* > *brežina* **remenь* > *remen'*, *remin'*
Pol	r > r' > ř (> ž)	– *ř* > *ž* starts in 14th c., finalized in 17th c.	**brěza* > *bžoza* ; **remenь* > *žem'en'*

[i] (N sg. f. 'birch tree') ; [ii] (N sg. m. 'strap') ; [iii] (N sg. f. 'birch grove')

notes on distribution and redistribution of *r'* reflexes:

– Cz and MSlk show *r* > *r'* > *r* in the sequence *r*$\underset{\smile}{}$+*hard dental*, *c* , *č* , *n'*, *š* : **starьcь* > *stařec* but **starьca* > *starce* (Cz)

Similarly Pol shows *r* > *r'* > *r* in the sequence *r*$\underset{\smile}{}$+*c* , *ł* , *l* , *n* , *n'*, *s* : **starьcь* > *stażec* but **starьca* > *starca*
(N sg. m. 'old man') (G sg. m. 'old man')

9) palatalization of *r* /__ *ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*, *j* (i.e., all front vowels and *j*)

Note: diagonal shading indicates areas of mixed and non-Slk dialects

As the purpose of this study is to attempt to determine whether distinct patterns of regionally varied interdialectal norm development can be discerned in the written language of 16th century Slovakia, the analysis of the phonological data will be presented within the framework of the major dialect regions of MSlk, WSlk, CSlk and ESlk. The entire set of 9 phonological processes will be investigated for each major dialect region before moving on to the next region. This type of incremental geographical analysis of the entire set of features should reveal any developing interdialectal norms more accurately than a feature by feature analysis of the entire Slk territory. By investigating the entire set of processes for a single region, any similarities in the reflexes of the individual texts will first become apparent in a smaller, regional context. It will be possible to determine the extent of individual or regional dialect influence on the phonology of the texts and the degree to which these individual or regional dialect influences are responsible for any consistent reflex patterning detected in the texts. (For example, is there evidence for the development of a smaller sWSlk interdialectal norm, or for a larger WSlk norm? To which dialect influences does the sWSlk or WSlk interdialectal norm owe its consistent phonological patterns?) Then the regional patterns of reflexes can be compared for possible interregional consistency. As the texts are analyzed in successively larger dialect groupings, from individual to regional to interregional, it will become possible to determine the scope of consistency in usage. If instances of interregional consistency are found, it should also be possible to determine to which regional interdialectal norm the interregional pattern can be ascribed (For example, is there evidence for the use of a WSlk interdialectal norm in the CSlk region?). The analysis will begin with the MSlk texts and will continue in a west –> east geographical order through WSlk, CSlk and ESlk.

CHAPTER IV: INVESTIGATION OF THE MORAVIAN SLOVAK CORPUS

Analysis of the textual data

1) vocalization of strong ъ and ь (103 forms (ъ and ь together))

The analysis in this section considers jer vocalization in roots, prefixes and suffixes, but does not take into account nominal desinences[1]. Analogical leveling and paradigmatic shifts often obscured the original distribution of jer reflexes in such desinences, thus rendering them ambiguous for the purposes of tracing phonological development.

The data collected for this development show, with only one deviation, the expected developments of *ъ > e* and *ь > 'e > e* .

Examples: (< ъ) <nadepsany>[2] , <patek>, <przede>
(< ь) <den>, <konecz>, <spravedlivie>

The one deviation is the preposition *kъ > ku* , which is found in this form three times throughout the MSlk territory. However, *kъ > ku* occurred throughout the entire area of this investigation and exists to this day in the standard Slk, Cz and Pol literary languages. It therefore has no bearing on this investigation.

2) development of syllabic *r̥* and *l̥* (and related *CrъC* and *ClъC*)

(76 *r*-forms, 22 *l*-forms)

a) syllabic *r̥* (and related *CrъC*)

The textually attested reflexes of syllabic *r̥* , *CrъC* exhibit almost complete agreement with the expected MSlk patterns of *r̥ > r̥* and *rъ > re* , *rъ > rØ > r̥* .

Examples: (< *r̥*) <cztvrtek>, <drzeti>, <nayprv>, <smrti>, <svrchu>
(< *rъ*) <opatrnym>, <opatrnoste[m]>, <oppatrny> (The only instances of *CrъC* available in the MSlk texts are forms from **opatrьn-* .)

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[1] Nominal desinences that included strong jers are the following (cited in their Proto-Slavic forms based on Klemensiewicz, Lehr-Spławiński, Urbańczyk 1981, 266-311; Pauliny 1990, 28-32; Vážný 1964, 21-95):

I sg. m. & n. of all stem classes (except *a/ja*-stems): *-ъmь / -ьmь*
D & L pl. m. & f. *i*-stems: *-ьmъ* (D) and *-ьхъ* (L)
D & L pl. m., f. & n. *C*-stems: *-ьmъ* (D) and *-ьхъ* (L)

[2] Complete grammatical, lexical, etymological and referential information for each of the textual examples cited in this and the following three chapters can be found in the "Index of cited forms" and the "Glossary" at the back of this work. It should be noted that the examples throughout this work are cited exactly as they appear in the text editions that were used for this investigation (see Appendix B for the secondary source of each of the texts of the corpus). It should also be noted here that personal names (both given names and surnames, and their derivatives) and city names (and their derivatives) were not included among the data collected for this investigation.

There are only two exceptions to the expected reflexes: <teprova> (< *-*pŗv*-) (Uh. Brod 1531); <czyrkvy> (< **cŗ'k*-) (Veselí n. Mor. 1549a) (however, the contemporary Slk and Cz forms are also *cirkev / církev*).

b) syllabic *ļ* (and related *ClъC*)

The development of *ļ* is expected to produce a regionally varied distribution of *ļ* , *lu* , *u* reflexes in MSlk, but the pattern attested in the texts is consistent for the entire territory and is more like that expected for Cz than for MSlk. As in Cz, the reflexes here show:

ļ' > ļ / labial___:

Examples: <naplnite>, <plnu>

ļ > lu elsewhere:

Examples: <dluh>, <dluzen>, <mluviti>, <nadluze>, <smluva>

The only clear example of *ClъC* in this section follows the development expected for both Cz and MSlk *Clъ̨C > Cļ̨C* : <dobromysl[n]e> (Veselí n. Mor. 1549b).

3) fronting and raising of long and short *á* , *a* / *C'__C', C'__#*
(112 long *á*-forms, 129 short *a*-forms)

a) long *á*

In the investigation of the textual reflexes in this section, long *á* from contraction in soft-stem adjectival desinences is not considered[3]. The influence of morphological and paradigmatic factors on the development of adjectival paradigms usually affected the expected phonological development to such a degree that the discussion of the development of such desinences is better left to morphological analysis. Such is the case here.

The most common sources of long *á* in the MSlk texts are:

a) contraction in the G sg., N pl. and A pl. endings of neuter nouns in **-ьje* , e.g., **sъdorvьja* (same form for all three cases)

b) contraction of **-ьja-* in certain noun and verb stems, e.g., **prъjateljь* , **prъjati*

c) long *ę́* in certain stems, e.g., **pěnędzь* , **vętje*

d) long *ę́* in PrAP forms of *i*-stem verbs (and deverbal adj's. based on PrAP forms), e.g., **prosęci* (N sg. f. PrAP), **prosęce* (N pl. m. PrAP)

Long *á* in a soft environment is expected to produce a fronted and raised reflex *á > é > í* in all instances in MSlk, except for word-final *ę́ > á > á* .

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[3] *á* from contraction occurred in the following soft-stem adj. desinences (examples are cited in their non-contracted Proto-Slavic forms based on Klemensiewicz, Lehr-Spławiński, Urbańczyk 1981, 327-8; Pauliny 1990, 117; Vážný 1964, 112-5):

N sg. f.	*pěšaja*	(= 'walking, foot-')
N/A pl. n.	*pěšaja*	

The textually attested reflexes for the neuter noun forms ending in **-ьja*, are in agreement with those expected for MSlk. They illustrate without exception the narrowing and raising **-ьja > -á > -é > -í*. The single slight deviation appears to illustrate the intermediate stage with *-é*, which is not surprising since the spelling <ie> in this position was in use until the mid 16th century in Cz orthography.

Examples: <poručeni> (G sg.), <psany> (G sg.), <Zdravy> (G sg.)
except: <Zdravye> (G sg.) (Uh. Brod 1547)

The data for word-internal **-ьja-* consist entirely of forms derived from the root **prьja-*.

Gebauer asserts (1963, 99-100) that in the suffix of the noun **prьjateljь* the *l* is soft only in the singular (< **-tel-j-*), while in the plural it is hard (< **-tel-*). Further, it is proposed (see, for example, Lamprecht, Šlosar, Bauer 1986, 60) that in Cz dispalatalization of *C'* occurred in the combination *C'eC** where *C** was a hard dental. Hence in the singular form of the suffix (<**-tel-j-*) the *t* would remain soft because of the soft *l* following the *e*, while in the plural form (< **-tel-*) the *t* would become hard because of the following hard *l*. Therefore the fronting and raising **ьja > á > é > í* would be expected in Cz only in those forms that preserved the softness of the *t* – i.e., all forms of the singular, those forms of the plural that had endings beginning with a softening vowel (N/V and L), derivatives (which according to Gebauer, loc. cit., always had soft **-tel'-*).

Contrary to the developments outlined above, the data from the texts consistently exhibit the development **prьja- > pře-* in all plural forms of the noun **prьjateljь* (no instances of the sg. are attested) and in the various derivations from this stem such as **prьjateljьstvo/-ьstvije* and **prьjateljьskъjь*.

Examples: <przatele> (N pl.), <przatele> (V pl.), <przatel> (G pl.),
<przatelom> (D pl.), <przately> (I pl.), <przatelstvi>, <przatelsky>

The infinitive **prьjati* and the pl. form of its l-part. **prьjali* constitute another source of possible **-ьja- > á > é > í* in the root **prьja-*. There are no examples in the texts of the infinitive, but all examples of the pl. l-part., like the examples for **prьjateljь*, show an *a* reflex.

Examples: <przalj>, <przaly>

It should be noted here that Cz, through analogical leveling, reordered the distribution of *a* and *i* in the forms from the root **prьja-*, so that the present-day standard paradigms show an

a reflex: 1) in all pl. and some derived forms of **prьjatel-* ; 2) in the infinitive and all past tense forms of **prьjati* . The attested textual distribution described above follows this reordered distribution almost completely.

The reflexes deriving from long *ę́* in stems exhibit without exception the expected fronting and raising *ę́ > á > é > í* .

Examples: <narzyzenymi>, <penize> (A pl.), <vicz>, <vicze>, <vzyti>

Likewise, the *i*-stem PrAP forms (and deverbal adj's. derived from them) with long *ę́* all contain the fronted and raised reflex.

Examples: <chticze>, <naleźiczy>, <przistaupicz>

b) short *a*

Unlike the textual reflexes of long *á* , which do not present a completely uniform picture, the reflexes of short *a* in the texts exhibit the fronting and raising process *a > e* with only five exceptions. However, this is not what is anticipated for the MSlk dialectal region, where *a > a* is the expected development and only non-word-final *ę* is expected to develop *ę > a > e* (with some divergence in wMSlk showing word-final *ę > a > e*). The consistent *e* reflex found here is more reminiscent of Cz.

Examples: (< *ę*) <Kniez>, <maje> (PrAP), <pamiet>, <Poczeti>, <se> (refl. pron.), <urzednika>, <znaje> (PrAP)

except: <svatey> (Brumov-Bylnice1539); <svatem> (Břeclav 1539); <svattem> (Veselí n. Mor. 1549a)

Examples: (< *a*) <drzeti>, <krale> (G sg. m.), <peczeth>, <rychtarze> (G sg. m.), <slysseti>

except: <miessczane> (Valaš. Meziříčí 1541); <Miessczane> (Velká n. Vel. 1548)

It is interesting to note that there are also textual examples of an *e* reflex where it is not supported by the phonological environment in Slk or Cz (i.e., in forms with *C'__C**). Cz paradigms that contained alternating hard *C'__C** ~ soft *C'__C'* environments, and thus alternating *a ~ e* as a result of the *a > e* process, often underwent analogical leveling in favor of one or the other of the alternating reflexes. The attested examples with the unwarranted *e* reflex are most likely due to such analogical leveling causing *a –> e* , since in most cases other forms related to the exceptional forms do support the *e* reflex (i.e., forms with *C'__C'*).

Examples: <nenależelo> (cf. *náležěli*), <slyssela> (cf. *slyšěli*)
(the form in parenthesis indicates an OCz form with *a* > *e* in the soft *C'__C'* environment that could have served as a possible basis for analogical *a* –> *e* in the hard *C'__C** form attested in the texts)

With this in mind, it is also possible to explain all five textual exceptions that exhibit *a* despite the soft *C'__C'* environment as instances of analogical leveling in the other direction: *e* –> *a* . For example, of the forms of the adjective **svętъjь* , only those forms whose desinence begins with a softening (front) vowel would have the necessary soft *C'__C'* environment to support *ę* > *a* > *e* – i.e., only D/L sg. f., L sg. m./n., N pl. m. anim. The other forms would show an unchanged *a* reflex due to a hard *C'__C** environment. In the instance of the textual forms, <svatey> (L sg. f.), <svatem> (L sg. m.), <svattem> (L sg. m.), the leveling was in favor of the unchanged *a* reflex. Interestingly, all such instances of possible analogical leveling seen in the texts (both *a* –> *e* and *e* –> *a*) are identical to the patterns found in modern Cz.

4) fronting of long and short *ú* , *u* / *C'__* (72 forms (*ú* and *u* together))

In the MSlk texts, the forms containing the sequences *C'ú* and *C'u* show without exception the development *u* > *i* . However, this development is expected only for Cz and c-sCSlk, not for MSlk where the expected reflexes are *ú* and *u* , with only the A and I sg. f. soft-stem adj. desinences (and occasional other instances) showing *u* > *i* .

Examples: <ji> (A sg. f. pron.), <jiz>, <lepssy> (A sg. f. adj.), <lidy>, <majicz> (PrAP), <nemaji> (3rd pl. n-p.), <Psani> (D sg. n.), <praczujycz> (PrAP), <rychtarzy> (D sg. m.), <slibil> <spravedlnosti> (I sg. f.)

Note that in the PrAP form <praczujycz> the *u* in the sequence <-czuj-> also falls under the conditions for the change *u* > *i* . Such was the case for all verbs with n-p. stems in *-C'uj-* . Forms containing the change *-C'uj-* > *-C'ij-* are attested in Cz in the 14th and early 15th centuries, but they later gave way in favor of the original sequence with *u* as found in the example <praczujycz> quoted above (see Gebauer 1963, 274). There are no instances of this development *-C'uj-* > *-C'ij-* in n-p. verbal stems in the entire Slk corpus.

5) diphthongization of long *ó* and *'é* (35 *ó*-forms, 57 *'é*-forms)

a) long *ó*

As in the section on strong jer development, in this section nominal desinences are not considered in the analysis of instances of long *ó*[4]. Again, analogical leveling and paradigmatic shifts obscured the original distribution of reflexes in these desinences, thus rendering them ambiguous for the purposes of tracing phonological development.

The reflexes of long *ó* in MSlk are expected to exhibit diphthongization and raising *ó* > *u̯ó* > *ú*, everywhere but in seMSlk. The seMSlk region is expected to show variation among three reflexes, *ó*, *u̯ó*, *vó*. The textual examples are fairly evenly divided between *uo* and *u* reflexes with 16 (46%) showing an *uo* reflex, and 18 (51%) showing an *u* reflex. Both the forms in *uo* and the forms in *u* are fairly evenly distributed throughout the MSlk territory. There is only 1 form in the texts that exhibits an *o* reflex.

Examples: (> *uo*) <Buoh>, <muoy>, <muozte>, <vuole>, <zuostali>
(> *u*) <Buh>, <muj>, <dopomuziete>, <vule>, <pozustal>
(> *o*) <doviernosti> (Uh. Brod 1530)

As stated in the section in Chapter II on orthography, there is a problem of ambiguity in 16th century Cz orthographic practices regarding the representation of the reflexes of long *ó*. Although the development *ó* > *u̯ó* > *ú* was completed in Cz by the end of the 15th century, the spellings <o> and <uo> were in use alongside <u> in Cz orthography until well into the 16th century. Thus, <o> could represent both *ó* and *ú*, and <uo> could represent both *u̯ó* and *ú*, in addition to <u> = *ú* in texts from this period. This problem of ambiguity is especially acute in the MSlk corpus, since the MSlk texts are all from the first half of the 16th century when the orthographic instability was greatest. It is therefore difficult to ascertain whether the distribution of reflexes from long *ó* outlined here is a reflection of dialectal variation in the phonology of the MSlk texts, or merely a reflection of random variation in the orthography of the texts. The <uo> grapheme is present in nearly 50% of the forms, and only a close orthographic analysis of each individual text would provide some (limited) insight into the phonological value of the individual instances of this grapheme.

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[4] Nominal desinences that included long *ó* are the following (cited in their Proto-Slavic forms based on Klemensiewicz, Lehr-Spławiński, Urbańczyk 1981, 226-7, 266-311; Pauliny 1990, 28-32; Vážný 1964, 21-95):

I sg. m. & n. *o*-stems: *-omь*
D pl. m. & n. *o*-stems: *-omъ*
G pl. m. *u*-stems (later generalized to other m. stems): *-ovъ*

(Also of note here as a nominal form containing long *ó* is the N sg. m. poss. adj. form: *-ovъ*)

b) long *'é*

As in the section on long *á*, in this section adjectival desinences that originally contained long *'é* from contraction are not considered. This includes *'é* from contraction in both the hard-stem and soft-stem adjectival declension classes[5]. Again, the influence of morphological and paradigmatic factors on the development of the adjectival paradigms affected the expected phonological development to such a degree that the discussion of the development of these desinences is better left to morphological analysis.

The most prevalent sources of *'é* in the MSlk texts are:

a) contraction in the N/A sg., D pl. endings of neuter nouns in **-ьje*, **-ьstvije*, e.g., **sъdorvьje* (N/A sg.), **sъdorvьjemъ* (D pl.)

b) long *ě́* in nominal and infinitival stems, e.g., **dělo*, **jьměti*, **město*, **věra*

c) long *ě́* in the n-p. stems of several verbs, e.g., **věmь* (<– **věděti*), **uměⁿ* (<– **uměti*)

Diphthongization and subsequent monophthongization and raising are expected from long *'é* in most of MSlk. The development *'é > i̯é > í* is expected in all instances, with the exception of *'é > é / l___* (wMSlk exhibits *'é > i̯é > í* everywhere including *'é / l___*). Only seMSlk retains the diphthong stage in various forms (*i̯e*, *i̯é*, *jé*).

The reflexes found in the neuter noun forms in **-ьje*, **-ьstvije* correspond completely to the development *'é > i̯é > í*.

Examples: <poruczenstvi> (N sg.), <psani> (A sg.), <zdravy> (A sg.)

The textual examples of long *ě́* in nominal and verbal (inf. and n-p.) stems show only 3 exceptions to the raised monophthong reflex.

Examples: <dyla>, <mistie>, <miti>, <neodpirali>, <nevime>, <rozdylu>, <vyminek>, <virzu>, <vyte>, <zny>

except: <viery> (Břeclav 1539); <vye> (2x) (Uh. Brod 1547)

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[5] *'é* from contraction occurred in the following hard-stem and soft-stem adj. desinences (examples are cited in their non-contracted Proto-Slavic forms based on Klemensiewicz, Lehr-Spławiński, Urbańczyk 1981, 327-8; Pauliny 1990, 117; Vážný 1964, 112-5):

hard stem:	L sg. m.	*dobrějemь*	(= 'good')
	D/L sg. f.	*dobrěji*	
	L sg. n.	*dobrějemь*	
soft stem:	L sg. m.	*pěšijemь*	(= 'walking, foot-')
	A pl. m.	*pěšějě*	
	G sg. f.	*pěšějě*	
	N/A pl. f.	*pěšějě*	
	N/A sg. n.	*pěšeje*	
	L sg. n.	*pěšijemь*	

As discussed in the section in Chapter II on orthography, Cz orthographic practices were conservative in the representation of the reflexes from this phonological development in texts from the first half of the 16th century. The grapheme <ie> was still in use at the beginning of the 16th century (alongside <i>) despite the completion of the phonological change *'é > ję́ > í* in Cz before the end of the 15th century. Thus it would be possible to interpret <ie> either as an archaic representation of *i* or as an accurate representation of *ję* in the MSlk corpus under investigation here (which includes only pre-1550 texts). The possible ambiguity of the grapheme <ie> does not play a crucial role in this portion of the study, however, since the attested MSlk forms show with only three exceptions the unambiguous symbols <i> , <y> .

6) diphthongization of long *ú* / *C__** (183 forms)

The diphthongization process *ú > au̯ > ou̯* (with further *ou̯ > ú* in certain areas) is only expected in wMSlk, while the remainder of the territory is expected to retain the original *ú* . The textual data show both an *au* and an *u* reflex. The data from wMSlk (the town Kroměříž) and from the towns nearest wMSlk (Uh. Hradiště and Uh. Ostroh) do exhibit a majority of the diphthong reflex expected for the region – out of 44 forms, 31 (70%) contain the *au* reflex. Elsewhere, the distribution is more strongly in favor of the *u* reflex with two-thirds (93) of the 139 forms showing this non-diphthongized reflex. In fact, of the 17 texts outside the wMSlk region, there are six that contain only forms in *u* . In general, there is no completely clear pattern to the distribution of the reflexes, although there seems to be a grammatical bias toward forms in *u* for A sg. and I sg. f. adj's. and I sg. f. nouns (only eight forms (15%) out of 54 contain a diphthong).

Examples: (> *u*) <budu-li>, <ma[n]zielku> (I sg. f.), <mudrzy>, <neysu>, <slussnu> (A sg. f. adj.), <svu> (I sg. f. adj.), <utery>, <vezmucz> (PrAP)

(> *au*) <cztaucz> (PrAP), <maudrzy>, <nemohau>, <radau> (I sg. f.), <slussnau> (A sg. f. adj.), <sau>, <sauseda>, <autery>

It is again necessary to consider the Cz orthographic practices of the 16th century when analyzing the reflexes of long *ú* as recorded in the MSlk corpus. As mentioned in the section in Chapter II on orthography, the change *ú > au̯ > ou̯* was completed in Cz by the end of the 15th century, but the grapheme <au> did not prevail over <u> in the representation of *au̯/ou̯* until the middle of the 16th century. Thus the grapheme <u> could denote both *ú* and *au̯/ou̯* in texts from the first half of the century. This issue is especially important for the MSlk corpus, since all the MSlk texts are pre-1550. Therefore it is difficult to ascertain whether the MSlk textual distribution of reflexes from long *ú* , as outlined here, is a reflection of dialectal

variation in the phonology of the texts, or merely a reflection of random variation in the orthography of the texts. In the extreme case, all instances of <u> in the texts could actually represent *aų/oų*, however, only a close orthographic analysis of each individual text would provide some (limited) insight into the phonological value of the individual instances of <u>.

7) assibilation of *d*/__*j* (10 forms)

The MSlk data for this feature are quite limited, however, they do present a fairly wide-spread geographical and chronological distribution with forms from Strážnice 1532, Uh. Brod 1540b, Uh. Ostroh 1533, Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 and Veselí n. Mor. 1549b.

MSlk is expected to exhibit *dj* > *z* throughout the entire territory, with isolated instances of *dj* > *ʒ* in seMSlk and sMSlk. Unfortunately there are no forms containing *dj* attested in the texts from seMSlk and sMSlk, hence the distribution picture furnished by the textual evidence is somewhat incomplete. The attested textual forms show exclusively *dj* > *z* as expected for the geographical regions in which they occur.

Examples: <mezy>, <narzyzenymi>, <nesnazy>, <przirozena>, <urozeny>

8) assibilation of *d*, *t*/__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę* (i.e., all front vowels) (89 *d*-forms, 361 *t*-forms)

a) *d*/__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę* and b) *t*/__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*

As discussed in the initial summary table of expected reflexes from this phonological process, the assibilated reflexes *ʒ*, *c* were present for a time in MSlk, but were later reanalyzed according to the Cz model, reverting back to non-assibilated *d'*, *t'* by the 16th century. This is the state that is found in the texts. There are no textual examples of *d* > *ʒ* or *t* > *c*.

Examples: (< *d*) <viedieti> (-*dě*-), <przihodila> (-*di*-), <budethe> (-*de*-), <den> (-*dь*-), <lidmi> (-*dь*-), <vdiecznе> (-*dę*-)

Examples: (< *t*) <miestie> (-*tě*- ; L sg. n.), <dopustiti> (-*ti*-), <przatele> (-*te*-), <svatostmi> (-*tь*-), <tiezky[m]> (-*tę*-)

The issue of the softness of *d* and *t* in this environment will not be addressed here, the only concern of this section being the presence or absence of assibilation. The softness of consonants was not consistently marked in the texts of this period. It would therefore be difficult to determine accurately the extent to which the presence or absence of softness in any given text was due to phonological changes or simply to inadequacies of orthography.

9) palatalization of *r*/__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ъ*, *ę*, *j* (i.e., all front vowels and *j*) (266 forms)

The change *r* > *r'* > *ř* is expected for the entire MSlk region with the exception of seMSlk, where *r* > *r'* > *r* is the expected development. In the texts, the data show a *ř* reflex consistently, even in the seMSlk texts.

Examples: <dobrze> (*-rě-* ; adv.), <maudrzy> (*-ri-* ; V pl. m. anim. adj.), <neberzeme> (*-re-*), <porzadek> (*-rę-*), <stvorzeny> (*-rj-*)

There is only one example where a *ř* reflex is expected but is not present: <nahore> (Valaš. Meziříčí 1541).

When examining Slk texts from this period, it is not uncommon to find a *ř* reflex in environments where it was phonologically unjustified or had already been removed by analogy (in Cz and/or Pol). This is more common in the other regions (as will be shown later), and is only attested once in the MSlk texts: <virzu> (A sg. f.) (Rožnov p. Radh. 1535).

Summary analysis of the attested MSlk reflex patterns

1) vocalization of strong *ъ* and *ь*

The reflex *e* is expected everywhere in MSlk and that is what is found in the texts. Because a uniform reflex is expected for the entire territory and that is what is attested, this feature would appear to reflect the natural development of a MSlk phonological norm. Since the expected Cz reflex is also *e*, it is also possible that the textual distribution reflects the Cz norm.

2) development of syllabic *r̥* and *l̥* (and related *CrъC* and *ClъC*)

a) syllabic *r̥* (and related *CrъC*)

The textually attested reflexes of *r̥* and *CrъC* exhibit the uniform distribution expected everywhere in MSlk. Again, since a consistent reflex pattern is expected for the entire territory and that pattern is attested in the texts, this feature would seem to indicate the natural development of a MSlk norm. The expected Cz reflexes are identical to those expected for MSlk (for the forms attested in the texts). Thus the textual distribution may also indicate the presence of the Cz norm.

b) syllabic *l̥* (and related *ClъC*)

The distribution pattern of reflexes from *l̥* and *ClъC* is expected to be regionally varied, however, the reflexes attested in the texts present a uniform picture for all of MSlk along the model of the complementary distribution expected in Cz. This would seem to indicate the presence of the Cz norm in the MSlk texts.

3) fronting and raising of long and short *á , a / C'__C', C'__#*

a) long *á*

For long *á* , complementary distribution of *í* and *á* reflexes is expected throughout the entire MSlk territory. A complementary distribution of *i* and *a* is attested in the texts, but not the same one as anticipated. It is unlikely that the phonologically restricted *á* reflex that developed naturally in MSlk spread to other environments to create the the attested distribution. This attested distribution appears to reflect the distribution attained in the Cz norm after analogical leveling reordered the original reflexes.

b) short *a*

For short *a* , a pattern of complementary distribution of *a* and *e* reflexes is expected throughout the MSlk territory (with slight variation in wMSlk). What is attested, however, is a consistent *e* reflex everywhere. This could indicate that the *e* reflex spread to all positions in the entire territory. However, since a single *e* reflex is the expected development for Cz, it could also indicate the presence of the Cz norm.

4) fronting of long and short *ú , u / C'___*

This development is expected to produce a consistent *u* reflex throughout the MSlk territory (with an *i* reflex appearing only in two desinences and occasional isolated forms). The textual data present a consistent reflex throughout, but it is an *i* reflex as expected for Cz. This would seem to indicate the presence of the Cz norm.

5) diphthongization of long *ó* and *'é*

a) long *ó*

Long *ó* is expected to produce *ú* consistently throughout MSlk except in seMSlk where several reflexes are expected. The attested examples present *uo* and *u* reflexes throughout the entire territory. There is no apparent geographical, chronological or grammatical pattern. Unfortunately, orthographic considerations call into question the validity of the analysis of this particular feature in the MSlk corpus, and the results are therefore of limited diagnostic value.

b) long *'é*

Long *'é* is expected to produce a nearly consistent *í* reflex everywhere except seMSlk, where variation is expected between *je , jé , je* . The textual data show consistent *i* reflexes everywhere including seMSlk. This could indicate that the more prevalent *i* reflex spread to become the standard for the entire territory. However, the expected Cz reflex is also *í* . Therefore it is also possible that the textual distribution reflects the presence of the Cz norm.

6) diphthongization of long *ú / C*___*

Regional variation between *ú* and *ou̯* reflexes is expected in MSlk. The texts exhibit this regional distribution to a limited degree, but for the most part the distribution of the two reflexes

appears to be random. An argument can be made for semi-consistent grammatical patterning, but the data do not consistently support this. Unfortunately, orthographic ambiguity casts doubt on the validity of the analysis of this particular feature in the MSlk corpus, and the results are therefore of limited diagnostic value.

7) assibilation of *d* /___ *j*

The expected regional distribution of *ʒ* and *z* reflexes appears to be reflected in the textual data, although the lack of examples from the regions where the *ʒ* reflex is expected renders the data inconclusive in this regard. The consistent *z* reflex presented in the texts could represent the natural development of a MSlk norm. However, it could also represent the presence of the Cz norm where a uniform *z* reflex is expected.

8) assibilation of *d* , *t* /___ *ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę* (i.e., all front vowels)

a) *d* /___ *ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę*

A non-assibilated *d* reflex is expected throughout MSlk, and that is what is attested in the texts. Since a uniform reflex is expected for the entire territory and that reflex is attested in the texts, this feature seems to show the natural development of a MSlk norm. The expected Cz reflexes are identical to those in MSlk. Thus the textual distribution may also indicate the presence of the Cz norm.

b) *t* /___ *ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę*

A non-assibilated *t* reflex is expected and also attested throughout the MSlk territory. Again, since a uniform reflex is expected for the entire territory and that reflex is attested in the texts, this feature appears to show the natural development of a MSlk norm. The expected Cz reflexes are again identical to those in MSlk. Thus the textual distribution may also indicate the presence of the Cz norm.

9) palatalization of *r* /___ *ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę* , *j* (i.e., all front vowels and *j*)

Regional variation between *ř* and *r* reflexes is expected, but the attested textual reflexes show a uniform *ř* throughout the MSlk territory. This could indicate that the more prevalent *ř* reflex spread to become the standard for the entire territory. However, it is also possible that the textual distribution reflects the presence of the Cz norm, since the expected Cz reflex is also *ř* .

The nine short analysis sections above have been summarized in tabular form below.

Synopsis of reflex patterns in the Moravian Slovak corpus

attested reflex pattern: phonological feature:	follows uniform interdialectal Cz pattern	follows uniform interdialectal Pol pattern	follows other (non-Cz, non-Pol) uniform interdialectal pattern	follows regional MSlk dialectal patterns	follows other regional dialectal patterns	no clearly discernible pattern(s)
1) ъ/ь	X		X - MSlk*			
2a) ŕ	X		X - MSlk*			
2b) ĺ	X					
3a) á	X					
3b) a	X		(X - MSlk)†			
4) C'ú/u	X					
5a) ó **						X
5b) 'é	X		(X - MSlk)†			
6) C*ú **			(X - grammatical pattern)	(X)		X
7) dj	X		(X - MSlk)†	(X)		
8a) d'	X		X - MSlk*			
8b) t'	X		X - MSlk*			
9) r'	X		(X - MSlk)†			

* MSlk development naturally created a uniform pattern; † possible leveling within MSlk to create a uniform pattern; ( ) possible alternative to X
** certain factors considerably limit the diagnostic value of this particular feature in the MSlk corpus (see text)

As can be seen in the table, there is definite evidence for a developing interdialectal phonological norm in the texts from the MSlk territory. However, there is also limited evidence against it.

For the 11 phonological features that exhibit a consistent pattern of reflexes throughout the territory, the question is to what that consistency should be ascribed. The reflex patterns of *ъ/ь* , *ŕ* , *d'* , *t'* could have been produced by the natural MSlk development, or the patterns for each of these four features could have come from Cz. The reflexes of *a* , *'é* , *r'* show uniform distributions that could have arisen by internal leveling within MSlk. Again, however, these distributions could be the result of the external influence of Cz. The reflexes of *dj* seem to fall into the same category, but cannot be placed there with complete surety because of insufficient geographical scope of evidence. The reflexes of *dj* do, however, show a uniform distribution. Finally, the reflexes of *ĺ* , *á* , *C'ú/u* appear to show complete dominance of the Cz norm over the regional MSlk variations.

There is also evidence against a developing interdialectal phonological norm in the MSlk texts. This evidence is seen in the reflexes of *ó* , *C*ú* . The reflexes of *ó* , *C*ú* do not show any clearly discernible patterns, however *C*ú* may show redistribution on a grammatical basis. It should be remembered, however, that the reflexes of both *ó* and *C*ú* provide questionable data in the MSlk corpus due to orthographic inconsistencies in their representation.

Thus, of the 11 features that show consistent interdialectal reflex patterns, all 11 can be explained by reference to the Cz model, and anywhere from 4 to 8 can be explained by reference to the MSlk model (depending on the degree of certainty). There are only 2 phonological features that do not exhibit clear, uniform reflex patterns for the entire MSlk territory, and their diagnostic value is limited due primarily to orthographic considerations.

CHAPTER V: INVESTIGATION OF THE WEST SLOVAK CORPUS

Analysis of the textual data

1) vocalization of strong ъ and ь (316 forms (ъ and ь together))

As in the MSlk chapter and for the reasons presented there, this WSlk analysis examines the vocalization of jers in roots, prefixes and suffixes, but not in nominal desinences.

The WSlk textual data for this development show the expected *ъ > e* and *ь > 'e (> e)* reflexes, with only nine exceptions.

Examples: (< ъ) <cztwrtek>, <predewssymi>, <ve>
(< ь) <den>, <otecz>, <sluzebnikom>

Of the nine exceptions, five are instances of the form *ku < kъ* which, as stated in the MSlk chapter, has no bearing on this investigation since it occurred throughout the entire area and exists to this day in the standard Slk, Cz and Pol literary languages. It is interesting to note, however, that unlike the MSlk corpus, the WSlk texts do show examples of the expected *kъ > ke* as well. The only other exceptions to the expected development are four forms of a single lexeme with two different suffixes, one illustrating *ъ > o* , the other *ь > o* .

Examples: (< ъ) <statok> (< **statъkъ*) (Dobrá Voda 1538a and Trnava 1577a)
(< ь) <statczoky> (< **statъčьky*) (Chtelnica 1531 (2x))

The expected *ъ > e* form, <statek> , is found elsewhere in the texts and even occurs in the same text groups as <statok> (Dobrá Voda 1538a; Trnava 1577b, e). Moreover, Hlohovec 1550 contains the form <statczeku> with the expected *ь > 'e > e* development in this suffix.

2) development of syllabic *r* and *l* (and related *CrъC* and *ClъC*)

(127 *r*-forms, 57 *l*-forms)

a) syllabic *r* (and related *CrъC*)

In most of WSlk the phonological development of both *r̥* and *CrъC* is expected to produce a single *r̥* reflex everywhere except in the sequence *čr̥- > čer-* . The w-sWSlk region differs slightly, where the sequence *CrъC* is expected to develop according to normal jer development for the region, i.e., *rъ > re* ; *rь > rØ > r̥* . However, since there are no examples in the texts of the sequence with the strong jer (*CrьC*), the data should show exclusively the *r̥ / čer* complementary distribution. The textual examples reflect this expected development with only three exceptions.

Examples: (< *ŗ*) <cžerveny> (< **čŗ'v-*), <cztwrty>, <krczmy>, <potvrdyla>, <prve>, <trch>, <zwrchupsany>

(< *rъ*) <oppatrnemu>, <oppatrnostmi>, <wopatrny> (The only instances of *CrъC* available in the WSlk texts are forms from **opatrĵn-* .)

except: <sstuertek> (Senica 1539); <oppaternim> (Čachtice 1544); <teprova> (Pov. Bystrica 1547)

It should be noted that one of the two alternate reflexes represented here (*-ro-*) is also found in the exceptions in the MSlk texts.

b) syllabic *ļ* (and related *ClъC*)

There are unfortunately no examples of the sequence *ClъC* in the texts from the WSlk territory. In considering only the expected reflexes of *ļ*, it is possible to divide the WSlk territory into two regions: 1) w-sWSlk and nWSlk should exhibit the distribution *ļ* > *ļ* / *labials*__ ; *ļ* > *lu* (> *u*) *elsewhere* ; 2) the remainder of sWSlk is expected to show *ļ* > *ļ* in all environments. The entire set of textual data appear to support the complementary distribution expected for the w-sWSlk and nWSlk regions, the exceptions being forms from the root **mļv-* . Despite the preceding labial in this root, the *ļ* shows consistent development to *lu* in the textual examples. This is not surprising, however, since this root is not productive in Slk and all forms containing it are presumed to have been borrowed from Cz, where *ļ* > *lu* in this environment is the anticipated development.

Examples: (*ļ* > *ļ*) <vplnost>, <wyplnil>, <wlczy>, <zuplna>

(*ļ* > *lu*) <dluh>, <dluheho>, <dluzien> (The only instances of *ļ* > *lu* available in the texts are forms from **dļg-* and **dļ'g-* .)

(**mļv-*) <mluviti>, <od-mluuati>, <rozmluveny>, <smluva>

3) fronting and raising of long and short *á* , *a* / *C'*__*C'*, *C'*__*#*
(147 long *á*-forms, 283 short *a*-forms)

a) long *á*

For the same reasons discussed in the MSlk chapter, *á* from contraction in soft-stem adjectival desinences is not considered here. Thus, as in the MSlk chapter, the most common sources of long *á* in the WSlk texts are:

a) contraction in the G sg., N pl. and A pl. endings of neuter nouns in **-ьje* , e.g., **sъdorvьja* (same form for all three cases)

b) contraction of **-ьja-* in certain noun and verb stems, e.g., **prьjateljь* , **prьjati*

c) long *ę́* in certain stems, e.g., **pę̌nędzь* , **vętje*

d) long *ę́* in PrAP forms of *i*-stem verbs (and deverbal adj's. based on PrAP forms), e.g., **prosęći* (N sg. f. PrAP), **prosęće* (N pl. m. PrAP)

The expected reflex of long *á* is long *á* (*ja* in n-nWSlk) in all regions of WSlk, except w-sWSlk where a pattern of complementary distribution of the reflexes *á* and *í* is anticipated (*á*, *C'ę#* > *á* > *á*; but *VjV*, *C'ęC'* > *á* > *é* > *í*).

The attested neuter noun forms with *-á* < *-ьja* exhibit without exception a raised *i* reflex, even though this is only expected for the w-sWSlk region.

Examples: <Pozdraveny> (G sg.), <sstiesty> (G sg.), <sviedomi> (N pl.), <wyplnieni> (G sg.)

The textual examples with word-internal *-ьja-* again consist entirely of various forms from the root **prьja-*.

As discussed in the MSlk chapter, the various declensional and derivative forms from the stem **prьjatel-* are originally expected to exhibit the following distribution of reflexes in Cz: 1) *í* in the sg. as well as N/V pl. of **prьjateljь* and in all derived forms such as **prьjateljьstvo/-ьstvije* and **prьjateljьskъjь*, 2) *á* in the remaining pl. forms of **prьjateljь*. The expected distribution in w-sWSlk is essentially the same as in Cz, but the rest of the WSlk territory should show only an *á* (*ja*) reflex in all forms.

What is attested in the texts does not clearly reflect either of these possible distributions. Two thirds (38) of the 58 attested forms show an *a* reflex regardless of environment (as would be expected for most of WSlk).

Examples: <przatele> (V pl.), <przatelom> (D pl.), <przatelska>

However, another one quarter (15) of the examples exhibit an *i* reflex, again regardless of environment.

Examples: <przytele> (V pl.), <przitelom> (D pl.), <prytely> (G pl.)

The remainder (5) of the examples show still other reflexes.

Examples: <przieteli> (V sg.), <przejitele> (V pl.), <pryjitele> (G sg.)

In one text *a* and *i* reflexes exist side by side: <przatele> – <przytele> (both V pl.) (Trnava 1541), however, most of the individual texts show consistency in the use of a single reflex for all forms of **prьjatel-*. Individual towns also appear to show consistency in the use of a single reflex through time, but those towns exhibiting the less attested *i* reflex do not form any type of geographical/regional pattern within the entire territory. There does not appear to be any chronological pattern to the distribution, although the smaller number of texts after 1550

makes this difficult to ascertain accurately.

The textual examples of the adj. **prьjaznivъjь* and the noun **prьjaznь* show only various stages of fronting and raising with no examples of an *a* reflex.

Examples: <przieznivy>, <przyzniveho>, <przyznivy>; <Przizen>, <Pryzen>

It is interesting that the two instances of the *ie* reflex in the adj. are found in Ilava where the one instance of <przieteli> (discussed above) is also found. This reflex appears to illustrate the intermediate stage of the development *á* > *é* > *í*, which is not surprising since the spelling <ie> in this position was in use until the mid 16th century in Cz orthography.

Finally, the attested instances of the pl. l-part. **prьjali* (<– **prьjati*) exhibit chiefly forms with an *a* reflex, with only one exception in 12 examples.

Examples: <pryali>, <przali>
except: <przily> (Hlohovec 1545b)

The attested reflexes deriving from long *ę́* in stems exhibit the fronting and raising *ę́* > *á* > *é* > *í*. The only three slight deviations again appear to illustrate the intermediate stage with *é*.

Examples: <knyze>, <Neywjce>, <peniz> (A sg.), <penize> (A pl.),
<wziti>, <zryzeny>
except: <penňeze> (A pl.), <penneze> (N pl.) (both: Senica 1530);
<viecze> (Smolenice 1537)

Likewise, the examples of *i*-stem PrAP forms (and deverbal adj's. derived from them) with long *ę́* all contain the fronted and raised reflex.

Examples: <chodycz>, <chticz>, <lezyczy>, <navraticz>, <prawycze>, <prosyce>

There is an additional related source of long *ę́* in the texts in the 3rd pl. n-p. of *i*-stem verbs. The one textual example of this also exhibits a fronted and raised *i* reflex: <p[ro]sy> (Vrbové 1550a).

b) short *a*

With the exception of some instances of *ę* > *a* > *e* in w-sWSlk, the expected reflex for short *a* everywhere in WSlk is short *a*. Although there are many examples of an *a* reflex in the texts, the majority of the attested forms show an *e* reflex.

Examples: (> *e*) <dewet>, <dnie> (G sg. m.), <kniez>, <obyczey>, <otcze> (G sg. m.), <peczet>, <se> (refl. pron.), <slysseti>, <trycet>

While the *a* reflexes found in the texts can be interpreted as the normal WSlk development, they can, for the most part, also be explained according to Cz development where analogical leveling realigned the expected reflexes – i.e., *a* reflexes were reintroduced into forms in *C'__C** (that had undergone *a* > *e*) by analogy to similar forms in *C'__C** (that did not develop *a* > *e*).

Examples: <prisazni> (cf. *přísaha*); <svatem> (cf. *svatý*); <vyslissali>, <vyslyssavsse> (cf. *vyslyšal, vyslyšav*); <wzaly>, <vzavsse> (cf. *vzal, vzav*); <sstiastnie> (cf. *šťastný*)
(the form in parenthesis indicates an OCz form with *a* > *a* in the hard *C'__C** environment that could have served as a possible basis for analogical *e* –> *a* in the soft *C'__C'* form attested in the texts)

There are textual examples with the *a* reflex that cannot easily be explained in this manner, but such examples are few (8) and are randomly distributed throughout the territory.

Examples: <dwaczat>, <obyczay>, <ocza> (G sg. m.), <sa> (refl. pron.)

As in the MSlk texts, in the WSlk texts there are also examples of an *e* reflex where it is not supported by the phonological environment in Slk or Cz (i.e., in forms with *C'__C**). Cz paradigms that contained alternating hard *C'__C** ~ soft *C'__C'* environments, and thus alternating *a* ~ *e* as a result of the *a* > *e* process, often underwent analogical leveling in favor of the *a*, as was suggested above. The forms with the unwarranted *e* reflex are most likely also due to such Cz analogical leveling, this time based on related forms supporting the *e* reflex (i.e., forms with *C'__C'*).

Examples: <bezel> (cf. *běžěli*), <pr(i)drzen> (cf. *držěti*), <slissel> (cf. *slyšěli*)
(the form in parenthesis indicates an OCz form with *a* > *e* in the soft *C'__C'* environment that could have served as a possible basis for analogical *a* –> *e* in the hard *C'__C** form attested in the texts)

In general, the patterns of development and analogy seen in the texts are reminiscent of the Cz patterns. Only the 8 *a* forms not explainable by analogy and 6 of the *a* forms that might be explained by analogy fall outside the developments expected and attested in Cz.

4) fronting of long and short *ú*, *u* / *C'*__ (262 forms (*ú* and *u* together))

The WSlk data are expected to show a uniform *u* reflex throughout the territory, with the exception of *ú* > *í* in the A and I sg. f. soft-stem adj. desinences in w-sWSlk. The textual examples, however, exhibit almost complete uniformity of an *i* reflex. There are only 10 exceptions showing an *u* reflex scattered randomly throughout the entire area. The exceptions do not appear to present any particular geographical, chronological, grammatical, or phonological pattern.

Examples: (> *i*) <chczy> (1st sg. n-p.), <dussy> (I sg. f.), <ji> (A sg. f. pron.) <jiz>, <kniezy> (D sg. m.), <lepssy> (A sg. f. adj.), <lydi>, <maji> (3rd pl. n-p.), <nassi> (I sg. f. adj.), <ffogtstwj> (D sg. n.), <rychtarzy> (V sg. m.), <slibil>, <vuoly> (A sg. f.), <ziadajicze> (PrAP)

(> *u*) <dnu> (D sg. m.), <gu> (A sg. f. pron.), <kozuch>, <za-slubil>, <prikazu> (1st sg. n-p.)

5) diphthongization of long *ó* and *'é* (84 *ó*-forms, 169 *'é*-forms)

a) long *ó*

As discussed in the MSlk section on long *ó*, nominal desinences are not considered in the analysis of this phonological development.

The expected distribution of the reflexes of long *ó* in WSlk is regionally varied. In w-sWSlk the diphthong *u̯ó* was monophthongized and raised to *ú*, while in the remainder of sWSlk the monophthong *ó* remains. In nWSlk the diphthong *u̯ó* was either changed to a *CV* sequence *vó* (sometimes *u̯ó*) (s-nWSlk), or shortened to *u̯o* (n-nWSlk). What is seen in the texts is a mixture of these possibilities, but not according to the expected regional distribution outlined above.

Textually attested WSlk reflexes of long *ó*

	o-forms	*uo*-forms	*u*-forms	total forms
w-sWSlk	0	9 (75%)	3 (25%)	12
other sWSlk	6 (20.5%)	19 (65.5%)	4 (14%)	29
nWSlk	8 (18.5%)	24 (56%)	11 (25.5%)	43
all WSlk	14 (17%)	52 (62%)	18 (21%)	84

As can be seen in the table, there is a predominance of *uo*-forms in the texts from each of the three WSlk regions (but with considerable exceptions in each region). Interestingly, in nWSlk where such *uo*-forms might be anticipated, the percentage of such forms is lower than

in each of the other two regions. As a whole, the WSlk corpus shows a dominant *uo* reflex, but the total number of forms exhibiting the *o* and *u* reflexes is too large to be ignored. There is no clear geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological patterning of the reflexes in any of the regions or in the territory as a whole.

Examples: (> *o*) <dom>, <ko[n]>, <możess>, <roznycz>, <svoj>, <vobecz>, <wole>

(> *uo*) <Buoh>, <buotky>, <duom>, <muoy>, <muoze>, <nepuojdu>, <puol>, <pozuostal>, <ruoznicze>, <spuosobem>, <stuol>, <vuole>

(> *u*) <Buh>, <dúm>, <mug>, <nemuźem>, <pozustal>, <spusobem>, <swuy>

It is necessary to take into account here that the final stage of development in w-sWSlk may still have been in progress during part of the 16th century. According to Pauliny: "the narrowing *ō* > *ú* could have occurred in this region possibly in the 15–16th century" (1963, 247). This may help to explain the predominance of *u̯o*-forms to *u*-forms in the w-sWSlk region, but it does little to clear up the mixed reflex picture in the other regions.

As stated in the section in Chapter II on orthography, Cz orthographic practices of the 16th century present difficulties for the phonological interpretation of the graphemes used to represent the reflexes of long *ó*. Although the development *ó* > *u̯ó* > *ú* was completed in Cz by the end of the 15th century, the spellings <o> and <uo> were in use alongside <u> in Cz orthography until well into the 16th century. Thus, <o> could represent both *ó* and *ú*, and <uo> could represent both *u̯ó* and *ú*, in addition to <u> = *ú* in texts from this period. The problem is especially acute in the first half of the 16th century when this orthographic instability was greatest. It was suggested in the section in Chapter II on orthography that examining only post-1550 texts might reduce the effects of this orthographic inconsistency on the phonological analysis. As can be seen in the following table, limiting the corpus to only post-1550 texts does not significantly alter the relative distribution of the reflexes. Only w-sWSlk experiences a larger shift from <uo> dominance to a fairly even ratio of <uo> to <u>, which would seem to support the possibility that the final development to *u* was still in progress during the 16th century in this region.

Textually attested WSlk reflexes of long *ó* – 1550-90 texts only

	o-forms	*uo*-forms	*u*-forms	total forms
w-sWSlk	0	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	5
other sWSlk	0	6 (86%)	1 (14%)	7
nWSlk	6 (21%)	13 (45%)	10 (34%)	29
all WSlk	6 (15%)	21 (51%)	14 (34%)	41

After imposing this temporal restriction to reduce the effects of orthographic ambiguity on the phonological analysis, essentially the same result is obtained as before. There is no clear geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological patterning of the reflexes of long *ó* in any of the regions or in the territory as a whole.

b) long *'é*

As in the MSlk chapter and for the reasons presented there, in this section *'é* from contraction in adjectival desinences is not considered. This includes *'é* from contraction in both the hard-stem and soft-stem adjectival declension classes.

The most prevalent sources of *'é* in the WSlk texts are:

a) contraction in the N/A sg., D pl. endings of neuter nouns in **-ьje* , **-ьstvije* , e.g., **sъdorvьje* (N/A sg.), **sъdorvьjemъ* (D pl.)

b) long *ě́* in nominal and infinitival stems, e.g., **dělo* , **jьměti* , **město* , **věra*

c) long *ě́* in the n-p. stems of several verbs, e.g., **věmь* (<– **věděti*), **uměⁿ* (<– **uměti*)

The expected reflex pattern of long *'é* can be divided into three regions. All of sWSlk, except ne-sWSlk, shows the monophthongization and raising of the diphthong (*i̯é* > *í*). ne-sWSlk along with s-nWSlk reduces the diphthong to a *CV* sequence (*i̯é* > *j́é* , sometimes *i̯é*). Finally n-nWSlk preserves but shortens the diphthong (*i̯é* > *i̯e*).

The reflexes found in the contracted neuter noun forms in the texts correspond completely to the *'é* > *i̯é* > *í* development (even though this is only expected in the sWSlk region).

Examples: <ffogtowstwj> (A sg.), <psani> (N sg.), <swedomy> (N sg.)

The picture is a little less clear for the examples of long *ě́* in nominal and verbal (inf. and n-p.) stems. Of the 88 forms containing *ě́* , 14 show an *e* reflex and 74 show an *i* reflex. Significantly, 13 of the 14 *e* reflexes occur in the ne-sWSlk and nWSlk texts where *'é* > *i̯é* > *j́é* , *i̯é* , *i̯e* is the anticipated development. However there are also 50 *i* (< *ě́*) forms in the ne-sWSlk and nWSlk regions, so there is no indication of regional patterning of the *e* reflex here. On the other hand, in the rest of the sWSlk region, where the development *'é* > *i̯é* > *í* is expected, the ratio is 1 *e* reflex to 24 *i* reflexes. Thus the expected regional reflex, *i* , appears to have been retained here. In general both reflexes occur in essentially all attested environments.

Examples: (> *e*) <byerati>, <dewka>, <mieti>, <neumyeme>, <newie>, <pribehel>, <vieru>, <viete>

(> *i*) <bileho>, <divka>, <djtky>, <dyl>, <jmyti>, <mistu>, <nevim>, <viry>, <vybirali>, <Wskrisseny>

Pauliny notes that "the narrowing *ě* > *í* . . . could have occurred in this region possibly in the 15–16th century" (1963, 247). Thus the final development to *í* might still have been in progress during part of the 16th century. This possiblity does not effect the analysis of the data here, however, since the attested examples from w-, c-, e-sWSlk, where *é* > *jé* > *í* is expected, show with only one exception the final *í* reflex.

As discussed in the section in Chapter II on orthography, conservative Cz orthographic practices continued the use of the grapheme <ie> during the first half of the 16th century (alongside <i>) despite the completion of the phonological change *'é* > *jé* > *í* in Cz before the end of the 15th century. Thus it would be possible to interpret <ie> as either an archaic representation of *i* or as an accurate representation of *je* in the early texts of the WSlk corpus under investigation here. This possible ambiguity of the grapheme <ie> does not play a crucial role in this portion of the study. Only 14 of the 169 attested *'é* forms show the <ie> grapheme, of which only 6 occur before 1550 (when interpretation of <ie> might be problematic). The remainder of the textual forms exhibit the unambiguous symbols <i> , <y> , <j> .

6) diphthongization of long *ú* / *C*"___ (405 forms)

The WSlk data are expected to show a consistent non-diphthongized *u* reflex throughout the entire territory, and the majority of the textual forms are in agreement with this.

Examples: <budu>, <czestu> (I sg. f.), <dobru> (I sg. f. adj.), <jducze> (PrAP), <kupyl>, <mnu> (I sg. pron.), <mudrzy>, <odpoczynuti>, <plnu> (A sg. f. adj.), <prystupyl>, <służyl>, <su>, <sused>

There is, however, a significant number of forms that show a diphthongized reflex *au/ou* . Although the 44 exceptions show no apparent grammatical or phonological distribution pattern, all but two of them occur in three specific lexical forms[1].

Examples: (adj. stem **mądr-*) <Maudrym>, <maudrzy>
(noun stem **sąsěd-*) <spolusausedy>, <sausedske>, <sausedom>
(3rd pl. pres. **sątь*) <jsau>, <sau>

It must be pointed out, however, that non-diphthongized versions of these same forms at times occur alongside these diphthongized exceptions in the same text. Moreover, the examples

[1] The spelling of these three lexical items may represent what Porák refers to as "graphical Czechisms": "I believe that a detailed analysis of some texts could achieve some further, finer perceptions. Thus, in the letters of Štefan z Dechtic to the city council of Trnava from 1538 (B. Varsík, p. 198 and following) *faufed, faufedíke* is consistently written, although elsewhere -u- permeates, e.g., *dwu zlatych, pod pryfahu*, otherwise -au- appears superfluously by scribal reverse analogy — *porauczil.* It is possible that -au- is more consistently retained in some words and acts as a type of graphical Czechism" (1982, 180).

of **mǫdr-* , **sǫsěd-* , and **sǫtь* with the *u* reflex far outnumber the examples with the *au/ou* reflex when considering the entire corpus from the WSlk territory. There is perhaps a tendency toward a geographical distribution pattern here since 14 of the *au/ou* forms appear in w-sWSlk texts and 22 of them are in the ne-sWSlk region. However, these forms do not constitute a majority in either of the regions, and only in Dobrá Voda are they in the majority in texts from a single town.

Again it is necessary to consider 16th century Cz orthographic practices when analyzing the textual reflexes of long *ú* in the WSlk corpus. As mentioned in the section in Chapter II on orthography, the change *ú* > *aů* > *oů* was completed in Cz by the end of the 15th century, but the grapheme <au> did not prevail over <u> in the representation of *aů/oů* until the middle of the 16th century. Thus the grapheme <u> could denote both *ú* and *aů/oů* in texts from the first half of the century. This issue is not crucial in the analysis of the WSlk texts, however, since they exhibit almost exclusively the <u> grapheme, whether considering texts before 1550 (90% *u*-forms), texts from 1550 onward (88% *u*-forms), or the entire corpus (89% *u*-forms). The forms in <u> that occur from 1550 onward can generally be interpreted as representing *ú* ; and since the use of <u> was on the decline in Czech texts already toward the middle of the 16th century, it is unlikely that such a high consistency in the use of <u> in the WSlk texts of the 1530s and 1540s would be due simply to retention of a fading archaic orthographic practice.

7) assibilation of *d* /__ *j* (76 forms)

The reflex *ʒ* is expected everywhere in the WSlk territory, with the exception of regional instances of *dj* > *ʒ* > *z* in w-sWSlk. What is found in the texts is exactly the opposite picture showing consistent use of a z reflex everywhere, with only one exception exhibiting *dj* > *ʒ* .

Examples: <czyze[m]u>, <mezy>, <neznazy>, <przysuzujeme>, <uchaza>, <urozeny>, <utvrzeni>

except: <meczy> (=[meʒi]) (Hlohovec 1550)

8) assibilation of *d* , *t* /__ *ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę* (i.e., all front vowels) (358 *d*-forms, 721 *t*-forms)

a) *d* /__ *ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę*

The development of the sequence *d+front vowel* is expected to produce the assibilated *ʒ* reflex essentially everywhere in nWSlk, the non-assibilated *d* reflex in e-sWSlk, and differing patterns of complementary distribution of *ʒ* and *d* in w-sWSlk, c-sWSlk and ne-sWSlk (refer to the *d'* , *t'* reflex table for exact distribution). The textual data exhibit, with only one exception, a non-assibilated *d* in all regions of the WSlk territory.

Examples: <dewka> (*-dě-*), <potvrdili> (*-di-*), <bude> (*-de-*), <den> (*-dь-*), <lidmi> (*-dь-*), <diekuje[m]e> (*-dę-*)

except: <potwrzyl> (Rajec 1553)

b) *t* /__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*

The sequence *t+front vowel* is expected to produce reflex patterns identical to the patterns for *d+front vowel* : assibilated *c* essentially everywhere in nWSlk, non-assibilated *t* in e-sWSlk, and differing complementary distributions of *c* and *t* in w-sWSlk, c-sWSlk and ne-sWSlk (refer to the *d'* , *t'* reflex table for exact distribution). The data from the texts show almost exclusively a non-assibilated *t* in all regions of the WSlk territory.

Examples: <chteli> (*-tě-*), <platiti> (*-ti-*), <przitele> (*-te-*), <otecz> (*-tь-*), <detmi> (*-tь-*), <nieobtiežovali> (*-tę-*)

There are 15 exceptions that do exhibit the *c* reflex. Several of the exceptions appear to be random: <chczely> (Pov. Bystrica 1547), <chczel> (2x) (Rajec 1553). However, the remainder of the exceptional forms occur in specific groupings. Chtelnica 1531 exhibits consistent *t* > *c* /__*ě*, *i* as expected for the region.

Examples: <chczeli>, <dosczi> (2x), <kratkosczi>, <milosczi>

The group Trnava 1565, 1577, 1580 contains the remainder of the exceptions, although assibilation is not completely consistent in these texts.

Examples: <dieczy> (Trnava 1565b)
<zaplacil>, <scel>, <uracila>, <uiplacit> (Trnava 1577b, d)
<chczel> (2x) (Trnava 1580a, b)

As stated in the MSlk chapter, the issue of the softness of *d* and *t* in this environment will not be addressed here, the only concern of this section being the presence or absence of assibilation. The softness of consonants was not consistently marked in the texts of this period. It would therefore be difficult to determine accurately the extent to which the presence or absence of softness in any given text was due to phonological changes or simply to inadequacies of orthography.

9) palatalization of *r* /__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*, *j* (i.e., all front vowels and *j*) (581 forms)

The expected development for all of WSlk is *r* > *r'* > *ř* , however, the picture presented by the textual data is mixed, showing both hard *r* and soft *ř* reflexes.

Examples: (> *r*) <dobre> (*-rě-* ; adv.), <prisahu> (*-ri-*), <matere> (*-re-* ; G sg. f.), <vnuter> (*-rь-*), <poriadkami> (*-rę-*), <hospodar> (*-rj-*)

(> *ř*) <nahorze> (*-rě-*), <vierzyti> (*-ri-*), <rzekli> (*-re-*), <rzka> (*-rь-*), <urzadu> (*-rę-*), <masarz> (*-rj-*)

Out of 52 texts, 17 contain exclusively or almost exclusively an *r* reflex (*r*-only texts), 26 contain exclusively or almost exclusively a *ř* reflex (*ř*-only texts), and 9 contain a mixture of both reflexes (mixed texts). There is a slight tendency toward a geographical distribution of the reflexes. All of the texts (8) from the w-sWSlk area are *ř*-only texts. This is the area that is the closest geographically to the MSlk and Cz territories where the *ř* reflex is expected. Otherwise, the *r*-only texts, the *ř*-only texts, and the mixed texts appear to be randomly located throughout the rest of the WSlk territory. There is a tendency toward a chronological distribution in the regions outside of w-sWSlk. There is only one *r*-only text in the period 1530 – 1550, and there are no *ř*-only texts after 1550. In those towns that have texts of two or three types (*r*-only, *ř*-only, mixed), the chronological progression is with only one exception (Čachtice): *ř*-only texts –> mixed texts –> *r*-only texts. Within the individual mixed texts, the two reflexes generally appear to be randomly distributed.

It was already noted in the MSlk chapter that when examining Slk texts from this period, it is not uncommon to find a *ř* reflex in environments where it was phonologically unjustified or had already been removed by analogy (in Cz and/or Pol). There are 46 such forms in the WSlk corpus.

Examples: <brzatrom>, <dobrze> (A sg. n. adj.), <dobrzeho> (G sg. n. adj.), <Mudrzy[m]> (D pl. m. adj.), <Rzichtarz>, <rzaczili>, <uterzy>

It is interesting to note that such forms occur in only two of the three text types, *ř*-only texts (25 forms) and mixed texts (21 forms).

Summary analysis of the attested WSlk reflex patterns

1) vocalization of strong *ъ* and *ь*

The reflex *e* is expected everywhere in WSlk and that is what is found in the texts. Since a uniform reflex is expected for the entire territory and that is what is attested, this feature seems to reflect the natural development of a WSlk phonological norm. The expected Cz reflex is also *e*, therefore it is also possible that the textual distribution reflects the presence of the Cz norm.

2) development of syllabic *ŗ* and *ļ* (and related *CrъC* and *ClъC*)

a) syllabic *ŗ* (and related *CrъC*)

The textually attested reflexes of *ŗ* and *CrъC* (strong *rъ* is not attested) exhibit the complementary distribution expected everywhere in WSlk. Since a consistent reflex pattern is expected for the entire territory (for *ŗ* and *CrъC*) and that pattern is reflected in the texts, this feature seems to show the natural development of a WSlk norm. The forms found in the texts also agree with the expected Cz pattern (since forms that could potentially show differences between the WSlk and Cz patterns are not attested). Thus the attested distribution could also indicate the presence of the Cz norm.

b) syllabic *ļ* (and related *ClъC*)

The distribution pattern of reflexes of syllabic *ļ* (*ClъC* is not attested) is expected to be regionally varied, however, the reflexes attested in the texts present a uniform picture for all of WSlk, similar to the complementary distribution expected for w-sWSlk and nWSlk. This could indicate that the reflexes from those regions spread to the rest of the territory. However, the attested forms are also in complete agreement with the expected Cz reflex pattern. This could indicate the presence of the Cz norm in the WSlk texts.

3) fronting and raising of long and short *á*, *a* / *C'__C'*, *C'__#*

a) long *á*

For long *á*, a long *á* / *ja* reflex is expected everywhere in WSlk, with the exception of w-sWSlk where complementary distribution of *í* and *á* reflexes is expected. Excluding the forms of **prьjatel-*, a fixed distribution of *i* and *a* reflexes is attested in the texts, but not the same one as anticipated for w-sWSlk. The attested distribution follows the distribution attained in the Cz norm after analogical leveling reordered the original reflexes. The forms of **prьjatel-* (considered both alone and with the other forms) present no apparent geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological pattern of distribution. However, since a single stem is involved here, this inconsistency is regarded as a peculiarity of the individual lexical items derived from this particular stem and is therefore not considered significant for the results of this investigation.

b) short *a*

For short *a*, the expected reflex is short *a*, with the exception of isolated instances of *ę* > *a* > *e* in w-sWSlk. What is attested, however, is a distribution of *a* and *e* reflexes throughout the territory. Analogical leveling, common in Cz paradigms that contained *a* ~ *e* alternations as a result of this process, can account to a great degree for the distribution attested in the texts (although there are some attested forms that cannot be explained in this way). The general patterns of development and analogical leveling in the texts would seem to indicate the presence of the Cz norm.

4) fronting of long and short *ú , u / C'___*

This development is expected to produce a consistent **u** reflex throughout the WSlk territory, with the exception of *ú > í* in the A and I sg. f. soft-stem adj. desinences in w-sWSlk. The textual data do present a nearly consistent reflex throughout, but it is an *i* reflex. This would seem to indicate the presence of the Cz norm (where a consistent *i* reflex is expected), since it is unlikely that the geographically and grammatically restricted *i* reflex expected in w-sWSlk would spread to all other forms and regions in the WSlk territory.

5) diphthongization of long *ó* and *'é*

a) long *ó*

Long *ó* is expected to produce regionally varied reflexes *ó , vó* (*u̯ó*) , *u̯o* in WSlk. The various regional reflexes are attested, but not according to the anticipated regional distribution. There is little evidence for patterning of any type in the distribution of the reflexes.

b) long *'é*

Long *'é* is expected to exhibit regionally varied reflexes *í , jé , i̯é , i̯e* , however, the textual data show a nearly consistent *i* reflex everywhere in WSlk regardless of region. This could indicate that the *i* reflex spread from the regions where it developed naturally to become the standard for the entire territory. However, the expected Cz reflex is also *í*. Therefore it is also possible that the textual distribution reflects the presence of the Cz norm.

6) diphthongization of long *ú / C*___*

The reflex *ú* is expected everywhere in WSlk and that is essentially what is found in the texts. The exceptions to the *u* reflex appear to present a certain geographical distribution, but they do not appear to represent a differing standard in the areas where they are grouped. The general pattern would seem to indicate the natural development of a WSlk norm.

7) assibilation of *d /___ j*

This development is expected to produce a consistent *ʒ* reflex throughout the WSlk territory, with the exception of regional instances of *dj > ʒ > z* in w-sWSlk. What the textual data present is a nearly consistent *z* reflex throughout. It is unlikely that this would represent an expansion of the instances of *z* from w-sWSlk to the rest of the territory. It would seem instead to indicate the presence of the Cz norm, where consistent *dj > z* is expected.

8) assibilation of *d , t /___ě , i , e , ь , ę* (i.e., all front vowels)

a) *d /___ě , i , e , ь , ę*

The development of the sequence *d+front vowel* is expected to exhibit regional variation in both the type of the reflex (*d , ʒ*) and the scope of the process. The textual data, however, show a nearly consistent non-assibilated *d* reflex throughout the WSlk territory. This could indicate that the *d* reflex spread from the WSlk regions and forms where it occurred naturally to those

regions and forms that originally had the *ʒ* reflex. However, the expected Cz reflex is non-assibilated *d* in all positions. Therefore it is also possible that the textual distribution reflects the presence of the Cz norm.

b) *t* /___ *ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę*

The development of the sequence *t+front vowel* is expected to show the same regional variation in type of reflex (*t* , *c*) and scope of process as the development of *d+front vowel* . However, the texts again exhibit a nearly consistent non-assibilated *t* reflex. While this could indicate the spread of the *t* reflex that occurred naturally in some WSlk regions and forms, it is also possible that the texts reflect the presence of the Cz norm, since the expected Cz reflex is non-assibilated *t* everywhere.

9) palatalization of *r* /___ *ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę* , *j* (i.e., all front vowels and *j*)

A uniform *r* reflex is expected for all of WSlk, but the attested textual forms show a distribution of *r* and *ř* reflexes throughout the WSlk territory. There is a geographical concentration of the *ř* reflex in w-sWSlk, but the general distribution for all of WSlk presents no apparent geographical, grammatical or phonological patterning. There is a possible chronological pattern to the distribution, with the earlier texts exhibiting a clear majority of *ř* forms and later texts appearing to show a progressive shift toward more *r* forms.

The nine short analysis sections above have again been summarized in tabular form below.

Synopsis of reflex patterns in the West Slovak corpus

attested reflex pattern: phonological feature:	follows uniform interdialectal Cz pattern	follows uniform interdialectal Pol pattern	follows other (non-Cz, non-Pol) uniform interdialectal pattern	follows regional WSlk dialectal patterns	follows other regional dialectal patterns	no clearly discernible pattern(s)
1) ъ/ь	X		X - WSlk*			
2a) ŗ	X		X - WSlk*			
2b) ļ	X		(X - WSlk)†			
3a) á	X (without **prьjatel-*)					
3b) a	X					
4) C'ú/u	X					
5a) ó						X
5b) 'é	X		(X - WSlk)†			
6) C*ú			X - WSlk*			
7) dj	X					
8a) d'	X		(X - WSlk)†			
8b) t'	X		(X - WSlk)†			
9) r'			(X - WSlk)* (chronological shift to this?)			X (chrono. shift?)

* WSlk development naturally created a uniform pattern; † possible leveling within WSlk to create a uniform pattern; ( ) possible alternative to X

As can be seen in the table, there is evidence for a developing interdialectal phonological norm in the texts from the WSlk territory, however there is also evidence against it.

For those features that exhibit a consistent pattern of reflexes throughout the territory, the question is to what that consistency should be ascribed. The consistency in the reflexes of ъ/ь , *r̥* could simply be attributed to the natural WSlk development. However, the patterns exhibited by both features could also have come from Cz. The reflexes of *ĺ* , *'é* , *d'* , *t'* show uniform distributions that could have arisen by internal leveling within WSlk. Again, however, these distributions could be the result of the external influence of Cz. The reflexes of *a* , *C'ú/u* , *dj* appear to show complete dominance of the Cz norm over the regional WSlk patterns. The reflexes of *á* also seem to display the Cz norm when forms from the stem **prьjatel-* are excluded (the excluded forms show no discernible patterning). The reflex pattern of *C'ú* is the only one that could be considered as the clear result of the natural development of WSlk.

As in MSlk, in WSlk there are two features that do not show consistent reflex patterns, and therefore provide evidence against a developing interdialectal phonological norm. The reflexes of *ó* do not show any clear patterns of any type. The reflexes of *r'* do not show any clearly discernible patterns, but may exhibit a trend toward consistency along the expected natural WSlk development in the later texts.

Thus, of the 11 features that show consistent interdialectal reflex patterns (including the reflexes from *á* here), 10 can be explained by reference to the Cz model, and anywhere from 3 to 7 can be explained by reference to the WSlk model (depending on the degree of certainty). This leaves 2 phonological features that do not exhibit clear, uniform reflex patterns for the entire WSlk territory.

CHAPTER VI: INVESTIGATION OF THE CENTRAL SLOVAK CORPUS

Analysis of the textual data

1) vocalization of strong ъ and ь (292 forms (ъ and ь together))

Based on the reasoning presented in the MSlk chapter, the CSlk analysis of this process considers only jers in roots, prefixes and suffixes, and not jers in nominal desinences.

Jer vocalization is expected to produce a wide range of reflexes in CSlk, including *o* , *e* , *a* , *á* , *uo* , *je* (refer to the ъ , ь reflex table for exact distribution). The forms attested in the texts show only four instances of an *a* reflex: <lukan> (4x) (G pl. n.) (Kremnica 1569 (3x) and Kaľamenová 1571), and only 20 random instances of an *o* reflex.

Examples: (< ъ) <messtok>, <nadowsseczko>, <statok>, <sstwertok>, <vhol>, <wo>, <začžynok>, <zamok>
(< ь) <súdobney>, <sprawodlywu>

The remainder of the forms exhibit an *e* reflex.

Examples: (< ъ) <czwrtek>, <mesteczku>, <patek>, <podepsanych>, <predesslich>, <statek>, <we>, <wen>
(< ь) <den>, <luczek> (G pl. f.), <otecz>, <Sluzebnyk>, <sprawedliwost>, <sluzeb> (G pl. f.)

There are also examples of *kъ* > *ku* as seen in MSlk and WSlk. It is interesting to note, however, that the instances of *kъ* > *ke* are far more numerous in CSlk than in WSlk (comprising roughly one fourth of the attested examples of *kъ*), even though the expected development here would be *kъ* > *ko* .

2) development of syllabic *r̥* and *l̥* (and related *CrъC* and *ClъC*)
(204 *r*-forms, 79 *l*-forms)

a) syllabic *r̥* (and related *CrъC*)

In CSlk the phonological development of both *r̥* and *CrъC* is expected to produce a single *r̥* reflex everywhere except in the sequence *čr̥-* > *čer-* . The majority of the attested forms reflect this complementary distribution.

Examples: (< *r̥*) <cžierney> (< **čr̥'n-*), <czerwenych> (< **čr̥'v-*), <čtwrte>, <držal>, <hrdlo>, <krmil>, <prwe>, <potwrdili>, <smrty>, <srdcze>, <teprw>, <trhu>, <trpel>, <wrchu>
(< *rъ*) <drwa>, <opatrneho>, <opatrnostem>, <pokrwnych>, <wopatrny>

There are 26 exceptions, 22 of which are concentrated in five texts from only three towns: Partiz. Ľupča 1551 & 1559, Dol. Štubňa 1566, Jelšava 1567b & 1572. Of these five texts, only Partiz. Ľupča 1551 contains exclusively exceptional forms, the other four texts exhibit forms containing the expected reflex alongside the exceptional forms. For each of the 26 exceptions, there are attested counter-examples where the same root exhibits the expected development. Thus, there does not seem to be any geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological pattern in the distribution of these exceptions. It should be noted that of the alternate reflexes represented here, the sequences *-ir-* , *-ro-* are also found in the exceptions in the MSlk texts and the sequences *-ro-* , *-er-* are found in the WSlk texts. The CSlk texts have added the *-ri-* reflex to this group.

Examples: <czwiert>, <derzety>, <podtwerdzenie>, <priw>, <sstwertok>, <teprov>, <werchu>, <wyrchu>, <zwerchu>, <zwrichu>

b) syllabic *ļ* (and related *ClъC*)

The development of both *ļ* and *ClъC* is expected to produce a single *ļ* reflex in nCSlk. In sCSlk *ļ* from both the sequence *ClъC* and original *ļ* is expected to produce a number of reflexes varying according to dialect region and phonological environment – w-sCSlk: *ļ* ; c-sCSlk: *ļ* , *ó* , *o* ; e-sCSlk: *ļ* , *lú* , *lu* , *ol* , *oų* . The are unfortunately no clear textual examples of *ClъC* in this CSlk section, and the reflexes of *ļ* attested in the texts show a pattern more like that expected for Cz. As in Cz, the reflexes here show:

ļ' > l / labials__:

Examples: <mlczet>, <uplne>, <vplneho>, <zuplnu>

ļ > lu elsewhere:

Examples: <dluh>, <dluhy>, <dlužen>, <dluznikow>, <domluwa>, <mluwil>, <prodluhowany>, <zmluva>

The one slight deviation from this reflex pattern, differing not in the nature of the reflex, but in the quality of the vowel, is found sporadically in the root **mļv-* . There are nine instances of this root with an *o* vowel rather than the expected *u* .

Examples: <mlovy>, <mlowil>, <primlowu>, <rozmlowime>

These exceptions do not occur in any specific geographical or chronological pattern.

3) fronting and raising of long and short *á , a / C'__C', C'__#*
(109 long *á*-forms, 312 short *a*-forms)

a) long *á*

For the same reasons discussed in the MSlk chapter, *á* from contraction in soft-stem adjectival desinences is not considered here. Thus, as in the MSlk and WSlk chapters, the most common sources of long *á* in the CSlk texts are:

a) contraction in the G sg., N pl. and A pl. endings of neuter nouns in **-ьje* , e.g., **sъdorvьja* (same form for all three cases)

b) contraction of **-ьja-* in certain noun and verb stems, e.g., **prьjateljь* , **prьjati*

c) long *ę́* in certain stems, e.g., **pěnędzь* , **vętje*

d) long *ę́* in PrAP forms of *i*-stem verbs (and deverbal adj's. based on PrAP forms), e.g., **prosęci* (N sg. f. PrAP), **prosęce* (N pl. m. PrAP)

In nCSlk the expected development of long *á* is *á > já > ja* , everywhere except Orava where various reflexes (*á´* , *é* , *á* , *ia* , *a*) are expected. In sCSlk the expected reflexes are regionally varied with *á > já > ja* in w-sCSlk, *á > é > ei* in c-sCSlk, and *á > á´* in e-sCSlk. As was noted in the introductory reflex table for long *á* , the change *á > já > ja* was still in progress throughout the 16th century in nCSlk and w-sCSlk. Thus the appearance of both *já* reflexes and *ja* reflexes is to be expected in texts from these areas, especially in the earlier decades of the century.

The textual examples of neuter noun forms ending in **-ьja* exhibit, with only two exceptions, a fronted and raised *í* reflex.

Examples: <pozdraweny> (G sg.), <psany> (G sg.), <swedomy> (N pl.), <sstiesti> (G sg.), <údolj> (G sg.), <zdravi> (G sg.)
except: <meskane> (G sg.) (Jelšava 1567a); <roskazane> (G sg.) (Jelšava 1572)

The exceptional *e* reflex may indicate the development *á > á´* expected for the Jelšava (e-sCSlk) region, since <e> was one possible graphemic representation of the Slk phonemes /ä/ , /á´/ in 16th century orthographic practice. It may also show the intermediate stage *já* of the nCSlk/w-sCSlk development. A third possible explanation for these forms is that they illustrate the intermediate stage of the c-sCSlk development *á > é > ei* , expected just to the west of the Jelšava region. Finally they might also reflect the intermediate stage of the expected Cz development *á > é > í* . This would not be surprising since the spelling <ie> in this position was in use until the mid 16th century in Cz orthography.

The textual examples with word-internal **-ьja-* again consist almost entirely of various forms derived from the root **prьja-* .

As discussed in the MSlk chapter, the various declensional and derivative forms from the stem **prьjatel-* are originally expected to exhibit the following distribution of reflexes in Cz: 1) *í* in the sg. as well as N/V pl. of **prьjateljь* and in all derived forms such as **prьjateljьstvo/-ьstvije* and **prьjateljьskъjь*, 2) *á* in the remaining pl. forms of **prьjateljь*. In CSlk this division of forms is not relevant and all forms of **prьjatel-* are expected to show *prja-* (*prjä-*), *prej-*, *prá-*, depending upon the dialect region.

What is attested in the texts is a seemingly random mixture of forms in *a* and forms in *i*. Of the 24 attested forms of **prьjatel-*, 9 exhibit an *a* reflex, while 15 show an *i* reflex. There is no apparent geographical pattern since both reflexes occur throughout the area and at times side by side in the same text. There is also no apparent chronological distribution of the competing forms. Both reflexes occur in essentially all attested positions, so there is no grammatical or phonological pattern either.

Examples: (> *a*) <pratelow> (G pl.), <przatelom> (D pl.), <przately> (A pl.), <przatele> (V pl.), <wpratelstwy>, <pratelsky>

(> *i*) <pritelow> (G pl.), <przitelom> (D pl.), <prytely> (A pl.), <przitele> (N pl.), <prytel> (N sg.), <prittelsky>

The four attestations of the adj. **prьjaznivъjь* and the noun **prьjaznь* show only various stages of fronting and raising, with no examples of an *a* reflex.

Examples: <przieznive>, <przíznywe>, <przíznywim>; <Pryzen>

The only textual example of the pl. l-part. **prьjali* (<– **prьjati*) shows an *e* reflex: <preli> (Kláštor p. Zniev. 1531).

Finally, there are two forms from the verb **lьjati* attested in the texts, one showing an *e* reflex, the other an *a* reflex: <nalieli> (pl. l-part.) (Partiz. Ľupča 1568); <naliawssy> (N pl. m. PAP) (Partiz. Ľupča 1571).

Again, the three *e* reflexes (< *-ьja-*) cited above may indicate the intermediate nCSlk/w-sCSlk *ja* reflex, since the development *á* > *jä* > *ja* was still in progress at this time. However, they again may also reflect the intermediate stage of Cz development with *é* (recalling that the spelling <ie> in this position was in use until the mid 16th century in Cz orthography).

The attested reflexes deriving from long *ę́* in stems also exhibit a fronted and raised *í* reflex. The only form that deviates slightly again appears to illustrate either the nCSlk/w-sCSlk intermediate *jä* stage, or the Cz intermediate stage with *é*.

Examples: <mesicze>, <penize> (A pl.), <stiznosty>, <wycze>
except: <steznost> (Mošovce 1567)

Likewise, the attested *i*-stem PrAP forms (and deverbal adj's. derived from them) with long *ę́* all exhibit the fronted and raised reflex.

Examples: <chticze>, <leżiczyh>, <mluwicz>, <nehledice>, <prawycze>

There is an additional related source of long *ę́* in the texts in the 3rd pl. n-p. of *i*-stem verbs. The only textual example of this also exhibits a fronted and raised *i* reflex: <sedzy> (Orav. Zámok 1574).

b) short *a*

A complementary distribution of the reflexes *a* and *ä* is expected for short *a* everywhere in the CSlk territory (with exclusive *ä* found only marginally in the Oravský dialect in nCSlk and in e-sCSlk). Since there was no grapheme in 16th century orthography to render / ä /, this phoneme was sometimes spelled <a>, sometimes <e>. There are only four lexical items attested with the environment expected to produce the reflex *ä* (i.e., *labial*___), and they show near uniformity of reflex for each item: **devętь* – one form with *a*; **pamętь* – all 13 forms have *e*; **pętь* – 12 forms have *e*, 2 forms have *a*; **svętъjь* – all 9 forms have *a*. Thus this problem of orthography should not affect the analysis here. It should be noted that the attested reflexes for these lexical items are essentially identical to those found in modern Cz.

The textual data show a mixture of *a* and *e* reflexes. Although there are many examples of the *a* reflex in the texts, the majority of the attested forms show the *e* reflex.

Examples: (> *e*) <dekugy>, <desedt>, <dne> (G sg. m.), <mlczet>, <obyczejem>, <przisežny>, <richtarze> (G sg. m.), <se> (refl. pron.), <teletie>, <tie> (G sg. pron.), <Tiessko>, <zet>

While the *a* reflexes found in the texts can be interpreted as the normal CSlk development, they can, for the most part, also be explained according to Cz development where analogical leveling realigned the expected reflexes – i.e., *a* reflexes were reintroduced into forms in *C'*___*C'* (that had undergone *a* > *e*) by analogy to similar forms in *C'*___*C** (that did not develop *a* > *e*).

Examples: <czasse> (cf. *čas*); <krestane> (cf. *krestian*); <przysazny> (cf. *přísaha*); <swatem>, <Swatey> (cf. *svatý*); <wzali>, <wzawssy> (cf. *vzal*, *vzav*); <Vrzadnyka> (cf. *úřad*)
(the form in parenthesis indicates an OCz form with *a* > *a* in the hard *C'*___*C** environment that could have served as a possible basis for analogical *e* –> *a* in the soft *C'*___*C'* form attested in the texts)

There are textual examples with the *a* reflex that cannot easily be explained in this manner, but such examples are few (14) and are randomly distributed throughout the territory.

Examples: <dewat>, <muža> (G sg. m.), <obyczagem>, <pyatom> (D num.!), <sa> (refl. pron.)

As in the MSlk and WSlk texts, in the CSlk corpus there are also examples of an *e* reflex where it is not supported by the phonological environment in Slk or Cz (i.e., in forms with *C'__C**). Cz paradigms that contained alternating hard *C'__C** ~ soft *C'__C'* environments, and thus alternating *a* ~ *e* as a result of the *a* > *e* process, often underwent analogical leveling in favor of the *a*, as was suggested above. The forms with the unwarranted *e* reflex are most likely also due to such Cz analogical leveling, this time based on related forms supporting the *e* reflex (i.e., forms with *C'__C'*).

Examples: <pusstel> (cf. *púštěli*), <drzell> (cf. *držěli*), <slissel> (cf. *slyšěli*) (the form in parenthesis indicates an OCz form with *a* > *e* in the soft *C'__C'* environment that could have served as a possible basis for analogical *a* –> *e* in the hard *C'__C** form attested in the texts)

In general, the patterns of development and analogy seen in the texts are reminiscent of the Cz patterns. Only the 14 *a* forms not explainable by analogy and 9 of the *a* forms that might be explained by analogy fall outside the developments expected and attested in Cz.

4) fronting of long and short *ú*, *u* / *C'__* (217 forms (*ú* and *u* together))

Regional variation is expected in CSlk for the reflexes of long and short *u*. The data from nCSlk and most of sCSlk are expected to show a consistent *u* reflex throughout the region, while an *i* reflex is expected everywhere in c-sCSlk. The textual examples, however, exhibit a relatively uniform *i* reflex for the entire CSlk territory with only 31 exceptions scattered randomly throughout. The exceptions exhibit both an *u* reflex and an *ou* reflex (including one instance of *au*). An *ou̯* reflex is the expected reflex in the CSlk I sg. desinence of hard-stem f. adj's. and nouns. According to Pauliny (1990, 68, 132, 172) this hard-stem desinence was borrowed into the soft-stem declensions in CSlk already by the 13th century. The 11 attested *ou* reflexes are, in fact, restricted to I sg. f. adj's., nouns and pron's. However, there are also textual examples of I sg. f. adj's. and nouns with the *i* reflex, as well as I sg. f. nouns with the *u* reflex, so there is no grammatical patterning here. The 20 attested *u* reflexes do not appear to present any particular geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological pattern.

Examples: (> *i*) <dekugy> (1st sg. n-p.), <gy> (A sg. f. pron.), <gyz>, <lidem>, <nedely> (A sg. f.), <nemagy> (3rd pl. n-p.), <obecnj> (I sg. f. adj.), <oczy> (D sg. m.), <peczety> (I sg. f.), <prislibil>, <vžiwany> (D sg. n.), <vassy> (A sg. f. adj.), <znagicze> (PrAP)

(> *u*) <konczu> (D sg. m.), <ludy>, <nassu> (A sg. f. adj.), <nedelu> (A sg. f.), <paniu> (I sg. f.), <wyhledawagu> (3rd. pl. n-p.), <yuss>

(> *ou*) <menssow>, <nasszau> (I sg. f. adj's.); <nou> (I sg. f. pron.); <peczetow>, <piwniczow>, <vecov> (I sg. f. nouns)

5) diphthongization of long *ó* and *'é* (152 *ó*-forms, 130 *'é*-forms)

a) long *ó*

As discussed in the MSlk section on long *ó*, nominal desinences are not considered in the analysis of this phonological development.

The development of long *ó* is expected to produce a consistent diphthong reflex *u̯o* in the entire nCSlk region and portions of sCSlk. Various diphthong and monophthong reflexes (*u̯a* , *va* , *a* , *ó*) are expected for certain areas of c-sCSlk and e-sCSlk. What is attested in the texts, however, is a mixture of the same three reflexes found in the MSlk and WSlk texts: *o* , *uo* , *u* . As in the WSlk texts, the *uo* reflex, attested in 85 (56%) of the textual examples, is the dominant reflex here. This would seem to indicate partial agreement with the expected pattern for the region, although the percentage of these *uo* reflexes is fairly low. The remaining 44% of the textual forms is divided almost evenly between the *o* and *u* reflexes – 35 (23%) of the examples contain the *o* reflex, and 32 (21%) of the forms show the *u* reflex. There is no discernible geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological distribution pattern for any of the three reflexes.

Examples: (> *o*) <dom>, <pol>, <swoy>, <wobecz>, <zostathy>

(> *uo*) <buoh>, <duom>, <duowot>, <muozeme>, <puol>, <spuosob>, <swuog>, <wuobecz>, <wuole>, <zuostat>

(> *u*) <buh>, <dům>, <duchotku>, <muž>, <pul>, <spusobem>, <wulj>, <zustati>

As stated in the section in Chapter II on orthography, a certain amount of orthographic inconsistency is to be expected in the representation of the reflexes from long *ó* in texts from the 16th century. The development *ó* > *u̯ó* > *ú* was completed in Cz by the end of the 15th century, but the spellings <o> and <uo> were in use alongside <u> in Cz orthography until well into the 16th century. Thus, <o> could represent both *ó* and *ú*, and <uo> could

represent both *ǫ́* and *ú* , in addition to <u> = *ú* in texts from this period. The problem is especially acute in texts from the first half of the 16th century when this orthographic instability was greatest. It was suggested in the section in Chapter II on orthography that examining only post-1550 texts might reduce the effects of this orthographic inconsistency on the phonological analysis. As can be seen below, limiting the corpus to only post-1550 texts changes the overall percentages of reflex distribution very little.

Textually attested CSlk reflexes of long *ó* – 1550-90 texts only

o-forms	*ǫ*-forms	*u*-forms	total forms
29 (25%)	56 (48%)	31 (27%)	116

This temporal limitation imposed to reduce the effects of orthographic ambiguity on the phonological analysis produces essentially the same result as originally obtained. The textual forms containing original long *ó* show fairly strong percentages of all three reflexes. There is no discernible geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological distribution pattern for any of the three reflexes.

b) long *'é*

For the reasons presented in the MSlk chapter, in this section once again *'é* from contraction in adjectival desinences is not considered. This includes *'é* from contraction in both the hard-stem and soft-stem adjectival declension classes.

The most prevalent sources of *'é* in the CSlk texts are:

a) contraction in the N/A sg., D pl. endings of neuter nouns in **-ьje* , **-ьstvije* , e.g., **sъdorvьje* (N/A sg.), **sъdorvьjemъ* (D pl.)

b) long *ě́* in nominal and infinitival stems, e.g., **dělo* , **jьměti* , **město* , **věra*

c) long *ě́* in the n-p. stems of several verbs, e.g., **věmь* (<– **věděti*), **umě(m)* (<– **uměti*)

Similar to long *ó* , long *'é* is expected to produce a consistent diphthong reflex *je* in the entire nCSlk region and portions of sCSlk, while various diphthong and monophthong reflexes (*ja* , *ja* , *é*) are expected for certain areas of c-sCSlk and e-sCSlk. It is necessary to remember here that the N/A sg. n. forms in **-ьje* did not develop as expected in CSlk. As mentioned in the reflex table for long *'é* , the phonological continuation of the **-ьje* ending was replaced fairly early by an entirely new ending *-'á* in CSlk. This ending underwent the development *-'á* > *-ja* in most of CSlk, with some of the same regional differences as seen in the development of other instances of *'á* .

With the foregoing in mind, it is interesting to note that the neuter noun forms in **-ьje* , **-ьstvije* exhibit a nearly consistent raised *i* reflex, with only three exceptions.

Examples: <kupeny> (A sg.), <przedani> (N sg.), <svedomi> (A sg.)
except: <podtwerdzenie> (A sg.) (Jelšava 1567b); <wyznanie> (N sg.), <podtwerdzenie> (A sg.) (Jelšava 1572)

Interestingly, the three exceptions all occur in the Jelšava texts in e-sCSlk and all exhibit a *ie* reflex. The exceptional *ie* reflex may indicate the further development *-'á > -á´* expected for the e-sCSlk region, since <e> was one possible graphemic representation of the Slk phonemes / ä / , / á´/ in 16th century orthographic practice. The three *ie* forms may also reflect the intermediate nCSlk/w-sCSlk *ja̯* reflex, since the development *'á > ja̯ā > ja* was still in progress at this time. However, they may also reflect the intermediate stage of Cz development *'é > ja̯é > í* (recalling that the spelling <ie> in this position was in use until the mid 16th century in Cz orthography).

Nominal and verbal (inf. and n-p.) stems with long *é́* show a mixture of the reflexes *e* and *i* in the texts. Of the 84 forms containing long *é́*, 57 show an *e* reflex and 25 show an *i* reflex (2 forms contain an *a* reflex). It is interesting to note that this is essentially the opposite of the distribution of these two reflexes in this environment in the WSlk texts, where the *i* reflex was dominant over the *e* reflex. There does not seem to be any geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological patterning in the distribution of either of these reflexes in CSlk. Three of the texts contain exclusively the *i* reflex: Dol. Štubňa 1567, Kaľamenová 1571, Orav. Zámok 1574, while 16 texts exhibit only the *e* reflex. However, there are several texts that contain both reflexes.

Examples: <wie[m]> – <newy[m]> (Žarnovica 1548)
<sienow> – <syny> (Partiz. Ľupča 1588b)

In general both reflexes occur in essentially all attested environments.

Examples: (> *i*) <dyl>, <dytky>, <dywky>, <miste>, <myti>, <nerozdilnu>, <vite>, <zminku>
(> *e*) <dietky>, <dievka>, <meru>, <mesto>, <mieti>, <nesmie>, <newiette>, <strielal>, <vieru>, <zmienku>, <žriedlo>

As discussed in the section in Chapter II on orthography, conservative Czech orthographic practices continued the use of the grapheme <ie> during the first half of the 16th century (alongside <i>) despite the completion of the phonological change *'é > ja̯é > í* in Cz before the end of the 15th century. This allows for two possible interpretations of the grapheme <ie> in the earliest (pre-1550) texts of the CSlk corpus under investigation here: as an archaic representation of *i* , or as an accurate representation of *ja̯e* . This possible ambiguity of the

grapheme <ie> does not play a crucial role in this portion of the study, however, since the CSlk forms attested before 1550 show only 9 instances of <ie>. The majority of the forms in <ie> occur from 1550 onward when they can generally be interpreted as representing *je*.

6) diphthongization of long *ú / C°___* (355 forms (422 with I sg. f. forms))

In contrast to the analyses of long *ú / C°___* in the preceding two chapters (and in the following ESlk chapter), the analysis here will not take into account I sg. f. noun, pron. and adj. forms. According to Pauliny (1963, 97-100; 1990, 64) and Vážný (1964, 114) the development of these I sg. f. forms in CSlk was as follows: **ženojǫ > *ženoju > ženou* (i.e., first denasalization, then loss of jot (but no contraction)); while in the rest of Slk the development followed a different course: **ženojǫ > *ženǫ́ > ženú* (i.e., loss of jot (with contraction), then denasalization). Thus, in CSlk there never was a long *ú* in this position. Instead there existed from early on an original *ou* desinence (not! *oų < aų < ú*), hence the exclusion of the I sg. f. noun, pron. and adj. forms from consideration in this section. Unfortunately, the attested examples of the I sg. f. nouns, pron's. and adj's. only partially support this. Of the 67 textual examples of these I sg. f. forms, 37 (55%) exhibit an *au/ou* desinence, but 30 (45%) show an *u* desinence.

Examples: (> *ou*) <kurwow>, <manzelkow>, <prisahow>, <sebow>
(> *u*) <manzelku>, <ruku>, <svatu>, <vieru>

Nevertheless, these I sg. f. forms do account for 37 (61%) of the 61 total forms in *au/ou* in the CSlk texts, so their exclusion from the analysis has a definite impact on the overall picture of the distribution of the reflexes of long *ú / C°___* in the CSlk territory.

Long *ú* in a hard environment is expected to produce a long *ú* reflex throughout the entire CSlk territory, however both *u* and *au/ou* reflexes are attested in the texts. The exclusion of the I sg. f. forms leaves a definite majority of forms with the *u* reflex in the texts.

Examples: <beru> (3rd pl. n-p.), <gduczim> (PrAP), <jsu>, <kupeny>, <kteru> (A sg. f. adj.), <mudry>, <poruczam>, <postupyl>, <sudcy>, <sused>, <urednjka>, <wladnuti>, <zobu> (G)

Only 24 of the attested non-I sg. f. forms exhibit the diphthong reflex. The distribution of these 24 exceptions does not seem to form any geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological pattern. They occur throughout the territory and in essentially all attested positions.

Examples: <gsaucz> (PrAP), <kaupyl>, <kterauss> (A sg. f. adj.), <obou> (G), <sau>, <sausedom>, <auterzy>

Cz orthographic practices of the early 16th century again play a role when analyzing the reflexes of long *ú* in this CSlk corpus. As mentioned in the section in Chapter II on orthography, the change *ú* > *aų* > *oų* was completed in Cz by the end of the 15th century, but the grapheme <au> did not prevail over <u> in the representation of *aų/oų* until the middle of the 16th century. Thus the grapheme <u> could denote both *ú* and *aų/oų* in texts from the first half of the century. This is not a critical issue in the analysis of the CSlk texts, however, since they exhibit almost exclusively the <u> grapheme, whether considering texts before 1550 (97% *u*-forms), texts from 1550 onward (92% *u*-forms), or the entire corpus (93% *u*-forms). The forms in <u> that occur from 1550 onward can generally be interpreted as representing *ú* ; and since the use of <u> was on the decline in Czech texts already toward the middle of the 16th century, it is unlikely that such a high consistency in the use of <u> in the CSlk texts of the 1530s and 1540s would be due simply to rentention of a fading archaic orthographic practice.

7) assibilation of *d* /__ *j* (54 forms)

The sequence *d+j* is expected to develop into *ʒ* everywhere in the CSlk territory. The textual data show both a *ʒ* and a *z* reflex, with the *z* reflex exhibited in a majority (exactly two-thirds) of the attested forms. There does not appear to be any geographical, chronological or grammatical distribution pattern for either of the reflexes. They both occur throughout the territory. Some texts show consistent use of only one reflex, while other texts have a mixture of both. Both reflexes appear in essentially all attested positions.

Examples: (> *z*) <mezy>, <Narozeni>, <nesnaze>, <potwrzeny>, <vrozeny>, <vsazen>

(> *ʒ*) <medzy>, <Naroczeny>, <posadzeny>, <podtwerdzenie>, <przichaczegycz>, <vrodzeny>

8) assibilation of *d* , *t* /__*ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę* (i.e., all front vowels) (340 *d*-forms, 630 *t*-forms)

a) *d* /__*ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę*

The sequence *d+front vowel* is expected to produce a non-assibilated *d'* (or *d*) reflex everywhere in CSlk, except in some areas of e-sCSlk where one environment produces *ʒ*. The textual examples show a non-assibilated *d* reflex with only three exceptions, all of which occur in the same nCSlk text.

Examples: <dety> (*-dě-*), <swobodyl> (*-di-*), <naydethe> (*-de-*), <den> (*-dь-*), <lidmi> (*-dь-*), <dekugy> (*-dę-*)

***except*:** <dzyll>, <dzylw>, <sedzy> (3rd pl. n-p. < **sědę(tь)*) (Orav. Zámok 1574)

b) *t*/__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*

The sequence *t+front vowel* is also expected to produce a non-assibilated *t'* (or *t*) reflex everywhere in CSlk, again with the exception of some areas of e-sCSlk where some environments produce *č*. The textual examples again exhibit almost exclusively a non-assibilated *t* reflex.

Examples: <tele> (*-tě-*), <swetili> (*-ti-*), <ste> (*-te-*), <otecz> (*-tь-*), <petczethmy> (*-tь-*), <ztiezowany> (*-tę-*)

There are six exceptions illustrating assibilation, however they are restricted to only two regions.

Examples: <oblicznoscziv>, <ssecz>, <poczcziwem> (Ružomberok 1555a, b)
<nedopuszczietty> (< *-št-*), <chcel>, <nechceli> (Jelšava 1567a, b)

It is interesting to note that the form <oblicznoscziv> is not a Slk or Cz form, but rather an OPol form where the change *t* > *ć* is expected. Also, it is precisely e-sCSlk, where Jelšava is located, that is expected to show the change *-št-* > *-šč-* , seen here in the form <nedopuszczietty> .

As stated in the MSlk and WSlk chapters, the issue of the softness of *d* and *t* in this environment will not be addressed here, as the only concern of this section is the presence or absence of assibilation. The softness of consonants was not consistently marked in the texts of this period. It would therefore be difficult to determine accurately the extent to which the presence or absence of softness in any given text was due to phonological changes or simply to inadequacies of orthography.

9) palatalization of *r*/__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*, *j* (i.e., all front vowels and *j*) (529 forms)

In CSlk, a hard *r* reflex is expected to develop everywhere from the sequence *r+front vowel, j*. The textual data present a mixed picture showing both hard *r* and palatal *ř* reflexes.

Examples: (> *r*) <stredu> (*-rě-*), <pristwpil> (*-ri-*), <reczenem> (*-re-*), <urednjka> (*-rę-*), <hospodar> (*-rj-*)
(> *ř*) <potrzebie> (*-rě-*), <trziczet> (*-ri-*), <berze> (*-re-*), <Vrzadnyka> (*-rę-*)

Of the 46 total texts, 26 contain exclusively or almost exclusively the *r* reflex (*r*-only texts), 8 contain exclusively or almost exclusively the *ř* reflex (*ř*-only texts), and 12 contain a mixture of both reflexes (mixed texts). These numbers contrast sharply with those found in

WSlk where the *ř*-only texts were almost as numerous as the other two types combined. There does not seem to be any geographical or chronological distribution of the few *ř*-only texts in CSlk. Nor does there seem to be any general grammatical or phonological distribution of the two reflexes when they occur together in mixed texts. In fact, different reflexes often occur in different examples of the same lexical item in a single text.

Examples: <Richtar> – <Richtarz> (Sklabiňa 1564)
<prjsažný> – <přísažný> (Veličná 1584)

As was noted in the previous chapters, in the texts from this period it is not uncommon to find a *ř* reflex in environments where it was phonologically unjustified or had already been removed by analogy (in Cz and/or Pol). There are 20 such forms in the CSlk corpus.

Examples: <auterzy>, <bratrza> (G sg. m.), <dobrzeho> (G sg. n. adj.),
<kterza> (N sg. f. adj.), <Mudrzim> (D pl. m. adj.), <Rzchtarzy>

As in WSlk, in CSlk such forms occur in only two of the three text types, *ř*-only texts (16 forms) and mixed texts (4 forms).

Summary analysis of the attested CSlk reflex patterns

1) vocalization of strong *ъ* and *ь*

A variety of reflexes is expected from the vocalization of the jers in CSlk, however, the texts show a highly consistent *e* reflex with relatively limited exceptions. It is unlikely that this represents the generalizing of the *e* reflex expected indigenously in certain environments. It is more probable that the distribution reflects the presence of the Cz norm, where the *e* reflex is expected in all forms.

2) development of syllabic *r̥* and *l̥* (and related *CrъC* and *ClъC*)

a) syllabic *r̥* (and related *CrъC*)

For *r̥* and *CrъC*, the textual data reflect the expected complementary distribution of *r̥* and *čer-* reflexes, with a relatively small number of exceptions. Since a complementary distribution is expected for the entire territory and that is what is attested, this feature would seem to indicate the natural development of a CSlk norm. It is also possible that the textual distribution shows the presence of the Cz norm, since forms that could potentially show differences between the expected CSlk and Cz patterns are only minimally attested. However, the three such differentiating forms that are attested all show the expected CSlk reflex and not the expected Cz reflex.

b) syllabic *ļ* (and related *ClъC*)

For *ļ* and *ClъC*, the distribution pattern of the reflexes is expected to be regionally varied. However, the reflexes attested in the texts present a nearly uniform picture for all of CSlk similar to the complementary distribution expected in Cz. This would seem to indicate the presence of the Cz norm in the CSlk texts.

3) fronting and raising of long and short *á* , *a* / *C'__C'*, *C'__#*

a) long *á*

The reflexes from the development of long *á* are expected to be regionally varied. However, if the forms of **prьjatel-* are excluded, a fairly consistent *i* reflex is attested in the texts. This attested distribution seems to indicate the presence of the Cz norm. Even the forms of **prьjatel-* , which present no discernible geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological pattern of reflex distribution, exhibit a two-thirds majority of the *i* reflex. As noted in the WSlk chapter, the inconsistency in the forms of **prьjatel-* is regarded as a peculiarity of the individual lexical items derived from this one particular stem. This inconsistency is therefore not considered significant for the results of this investigation.

b) short *a*

The development of short *a* is expected to produce a complementary distribution of *a* and *ā* reflexes (with exclusive *ä* found only marginally in the Oravský dialect in nCSlk and in e-sCSlk). The texts show a mixture of *a* and *e* reflexes, and not according to the expected complementary distribution. Analogical leveling, common in Cz paradigms that exhibited *a* ~ *e* alternations as a result of this process, can account to a great degree for the distribution attested in the texts (although there are some attested forms that cannot be explained in this way). In general, the patterns of development and analogy seen in the texts would seem to indicate the presence of the Cz norm.

4) fronting of long and short *ú* , *u* / *C'___*

Consistent reflexes are expected for CSlk according to the following dialect divisions: c-sCSlk = *i* ; nCSlk, w-sCSlk, e-sCSlk = *u* . The textual examples, however, exhibit a relatively uniform *i* reflex for the entire CSlk territory. It is unlikely that this indicates the spread of the geographically restricted c-sCSlk reflex to include the entire remainder of the CSlk region. However, the expected Cz reflex is also *i* . Thus it is more probable that the textual distribution reflects the presence of the Cz norm.

5) diphthongization of long *ó* and *'é*

a) long *ó*

Long *ó* is expected to produce a consistent *u̯o* reflex for much of the CSlk territory, with variation in portions of the sCSlk region. The texts show the reflexes *o* , *uo* , *u* , with little evidence of consistent patterning in the distribution of any of the three attested reflexes.

b) long *'é*

Long *'é*, following a pattern nearly identical to long *ó*, is expected to produce a consistent *je* reflex for much of the CSlk territory, with variation in portions of the sCSlk region. The textual data show a fairly even ratio of *e* and *i* reflexes with no apparent geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological patterning.

6) diphthongization of long *ú / C*•__

For this process the expected CSlk reflex is long *ú*. Excluding the I sg. f. noun, adj. and pron. forms which present a special problem in CSlk, the data show an *u* reflex with only minor exceptions. Since a uniform reflex is expected for the entire territory and that is what is attested, this feature appears to reflect the natural development of a CSlk norm.

7) assibilation of *d* /__ *j*

The reflex *ʒ* is expected everywhere in CSlk, but the attested examples show the reflexes *ʒ* and *z*. While *z* appears in a two-thirds majority of the attested forms, neither *ʒ* nor *z* exhibits a pattern of any type in its textual distribution.

8) assibilation of *d*, *t* /__ *ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę* (i.e., all front vowels)

a) *d* /__ *ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*

For the sequence *d+front vowel*, a non-assibilated *d* reflex is expected everywhere in CSlk, with the exception of a small region of restricted *ʒ́* in sCSlk. The attested examples show almost exclusively a non-assibilated reflex. This could indicate that the CSlk majority *d* reflex spread to the regionally and phonologically restricted instances of the *ʒ́* reflex. However, the expected Cz reflex is also non-assibilated *d*. Therefore it is also possible that the textual distribution reflects the presence of the Cz norm. This is supported by the fact that the forms in sCSlk which could potentially have the *ʒ́* reflex show not only a *d* reflex but also an otherwise Cz phonological shape.

b) *t* /__ *ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*

For the sequence *t+front vowel*, a non-assibilated *t* reflex is expected everywhere, again with the exception of a small region in sCSlk with restricted *č*. The texts show a non-assibilated reflex with very few exceptions. While this could indicate the spread of the majority *t* reflex, it is also possible that the texts again reflect the presence of the Cz norm, since the expected Cz reflex is also non-assibilated *t*.

9) palatalization of *r* /__ *ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*, *j* (i.e., all front vowels and *j*)

The expected reflex from this process is a consistent hard *r* throughout the CSlk territory. A clear majority of the forms exhibit this hard *r* reflex, but there is also a significant number of forms showing a *ř* reflex. There does not seem to be any geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological patterning to the distribution of either the *r* or the *ř* reflex.

The nine short analysis sections above have again been summarized in tabular form below.

Synopsis of reflex patterns in the Central Slovak corpus

attested reflex pattern: phonological feature:	follows uniform interdialectal Cz pattern	follows uniform interdialectal Pol pattern	follows other (non-Cz, non-Pol) uniform interdialectal pattern	follows regional CSlk dialectal patterns	follows other regional dialectal patterns	no clearly discernible pattern(s)
1) ъ/ь	X					
2a) ŕ	X		X - CSlk*			
2b) ĺ	X					
3a) á	X (without **prĺjatel-*)					
3b) a	X					
4) C'ú/u	X					
5a) ó						X
5b) 'é						X
6) C*ú			X - CSlk*			
7) dj						X
8a) d'	X		(X - CSlk)†			
8b) t'	X		(X - CSlk)†			
9) r'						X

* CSlk development naturally created a uniform pattern; † possible leveling within CSlk to create a uniform pattern; ( ) possible alternative to X

As in the MSlk and WSlk chapters, the table here shows evidence for a developing interdialectal phonological norm in the texts from the CSlk territory. However, here there is also fairly strong evidence against it, in that there are four CSlk features that do not seem to show consistent interdialectal patterns of any type. The different reflexes of *ó* , *'é* , *dj* , *r'* appear to be randomly distributed throughout the CSlk territory.

For those features that do exhibit a consistent pattern of reflexes throughout the territory, the question is again to what that consistency should be ascribed. The reflexes of *ŕ* appear to show a naturally developed CSlk pattern, however, the attested pattern could also have come from Cz. The reflexes of *d'* , *t'* show distributions that could have arisen by internal leveling within CSlk. Again, however, these patterns could be the result of the external influence of Cz. The distributions displayed by the reflexes of *ъ/ь* , *ł* , *a* , *C'ú/u* appear to show complete dominance of the Cz norm over the expected CSlk reflexes. The reflexes of *á* also seem to display the Cz norm when forms from the stem **prьjatel-* are excluded (the excluded forms show no discernible patterning). Only the pattern exhibited by the reflexes of *C"ú* might be considered as the clear result of the natural development of CSlk.

Thus, of the 9 features that show consistent interdialectal reflex patterns (including the reflexes from *á* here), 8 can be explained by reference to the Cz model, and anywhere from 2 to 4 can be explained by reference to the CSlk model (depending on the degree of certainty). This still leaves 4 phonological features that do not exhibit clear, uniform reflex patterns for the entire CSlk territory.

CHAPTER VII: INVESTIGATION OF THE EAST SLOVAK CORPUS

Analysis of the textual data

1) vocalization of strong ъ and ь (142 forms (ъ and ь together))

Based on the reasons discussed in the MSlk chapter, only jers in roots, prefixes and suffixes are examined in this section. Jers in nominal desinences are excluded from the analysis here.

Jer vocalization in ESlk is expected to produce two phonologically conditioned and regionally distributed reflexes, *e* and *o* (refer to the ъ , ь reflex table for exact distribution). The textual data reflect a nearly exclusive *e* reflex in all positions everywhere in the ESlk territory. The only exceptions are nine examples of **kъ > ku* (there are also four examples of expected **kъ > ke*), and the form: <stwartok> (Lomné 1572).

Examples: (< ъ) <cztwrtek>, <posel>, <statek>, <vpadek>, <wedle>, <wen>
(< ь) <czest>, <dluzen>, <Otecz>, <sluzebnikowy>

2) development of syllabic *r* and *l* (and related *CrъC* and *ChъC*)

(34 *r*-forms, 33 *l*-forms)

a) syllabic *r* (and related *CrъC*)

The ESlk development of *r* is expected to produce a rather complex pattern of reflexes in complementary distribution, based on hardness and softness of the syllabic liquid as well as the phonological environment in which it developed (refer to the *r* , *l* reflex table for exact distribution). The sequence *CrъC* is initially expected to show normal ESlk development of the jers, with the resulting *rV* and *rØ* (> *r*) reflexes undergoing further changes according to the pattern of original *r* and paradigmatic analogy. The expected final result of these processes is the complete absence of syllabic *r* from the phonological inventory of ESlk. The textual examples do not show this, however, since 10 of the 34 attested forms exhibit a syllabic *r* .

Examples: (< *r*) <cztwrtek>, <drzel>, <prwsse>, <smrti> (2x), <tztwrte>
(< *r*ъ) <Oppatrnim>, <Opatrny>, <opatrny(m)>, <zethrffacz>

These forms with syllabic *r* do not appear to show any type of phonological patterning and derive from both original *r* and *CrъC*. They do not show any type of geographical or chronological distribution either, since they occur in 6 of the 16 texts that show *r* and *CrъC*, and they span the entire territory and four decades.

The remaining 24 attested forms all exhibit the specific *Vr / rV* reflexes expected for ESlk.

Examples: (< *ŗ*) <czarny>, <czerwne>, <czwarthy>, <derzeny>, <karmnych>, <naiperwei>, <pirwy>, <pocyerpyel>, <szmiercziam>, <stwartok>, <zarno>

(< *rъ*) <opaternemu>, <Oppaternim>

b) syllabic *ļ* (and related *ClъC*)

Like syllabic *ŗ*, syllabic *ļ* is expected to show a rather complex set of reflexes in complementary distribution, based on the hardness and softness of the *ļ* and on the phonological environment in which it developed (refer to the *ŗ*, *ļ* reflex table for exact distribution). The sequence *ClъC* is expected to show initial jer development, with the resulting *lV*, *lØ* (> *ł*) reflexes developing further according to the pattern of original *ļ* and paradigmatic analogy. The final result of these expected developments is again the absence of the syllabic liquid from the ESlk phonological inventory. The textual data demonstrate this expected lack of syllabic *ļ* with only one exception. There are unfortunately no examples of *ClъC* in the ESlk corpus. All 33 textual examples are instances of original *ļ*, and they occur in only four roots.

Examples: (**dļg*- = 'debt') <dlustwo>, <dlvgow>, <dluzen>, <dluhy>, <dluhu>

(**dļ'g*- = 'long') <dluhe>, <dlugie>, <przedlvzone>, <prodluzowany>, <dluchye>

(**mļv*-) <rosmluuity>, <prymlowu>

(**pļ'n*-) <vpelnim>, <zupelna>

except: (**pļ'n*-) <vplnu> (Lomné 1572)

All except the forms of **mļv*- (and the exception <vplnu>) follow the expected ESlk development concerning the quality of the vocalic element accompanying the liquid. As already noted in the WSlk chapter, the root **mļv*- is not productive in Slk, however if it were, the expected ESlk result would resemble the OPol *mołw*- . The forms of **mļv*- attested here, as well as all the other textual examples (with the exception of the forms <vpelnim>, <zupelna>), resemble the results expected for Cz.

3) fronting and raising of long and short *á*, *a* / *C'__C'*, *C'__#*

(86 long *á*-forms, 165 short *a*-forms)

a) long *á*

For the same reasons discussed in the MSlk chapter, *á* from contraction in soft-stem adjectival desinences is not considered here. Thus, as in the previous chapters, the most common sources of long *á* in the ESlk texts are:

a) contraction in the G sg., N pl. and A pl. endings of neuter nouns in **-ьje* , e.g., **sъdorvьja* (same form for all three cases)

b) contraction of **-ьja-* in certain noun and verb stems, e.g., **prьjateljь* , **prьjati*

c) long *ę́* in certain stems, e.g., **pěnędzь* , **vętje*

In ESlk long *á* is expected to produce a consistent *a* reflex throughout the territory.

The textual examples of neuter nouns ending in **-ьja* show both an *a* reflex and a fronted and raised *i* reflex. The *i* reflex occurs in 20 of the forms, while the *a* reflex occurs in 13. Although the use of either reflex is consistent within a single text, neither reflex shows any larger geographical or chronological pattern of distribution. All attested instances are G sg. forms with the exception of one N pl. form.

Examples: (> *i*) <odkladany>, <swedomy> (N pl.), <sstesty>, <zdrawi>
(> *a*) <myenya>, <stestia>, <wiedzenia>, <zboza>, <zdrawia>

As in the previous chapters, in the ESlk texts the instances of word-internal **-ьja-* consist entirely of various forms derived from the root **prьja-* .

As discussed in the MSlk chapter, the various declensional and derivative forms from the stem **prьjatel-* are originally expected to exhibit the following distribution of reflexes in Cz: 1) *í* in the sg. as well as N/V pl. of **prьjateljь* and in all derived forms such as **prьjateljьstvo/-ьstvije* and **prьjateljьskъjь* , 2) *á* in the remaining pl. forms of **prьjateljь*. In ESlk this division of the forms of **prьjatel-* is not relevant and all forms are expected to show the reflex *pra-* . It should also be noted that in Pol the development of this root did not follow the usual Pol tendency toward contraction, hence the modern Pol forms with the reflex *pžyja-* .

What is attested in the texts are examples of each of the reflexes described above: *i* , *a* , *ija* . Of the 27 forms of **prьjatel-* found in the texts, 11 exhibit the *i* reflex, 11 the *ija* reflex, and 5 the *a* reflex. The 5 examples of the *a* reflex occur in only two texts (Lomné 1572 and Poľanovce 1584), and therefore represent no particular geographical pattern of reflex distribution. The use of either the *ija* or the *i* reflex is consistent in individual texts (only Plaveč 1583 contains examples of both reflexes). However, there are various instances of inconsistency among several texts from a single town, so there does not appear to be any geographical patterning of these reflexes either. There is no sign of a chronological distribution; and all three reflexes occur in essentially all attested positions, so there is also no apparent grammatical or phonological distribution.

Examples: (> *i*) <prytelowy> (D sg.), <prytele> (N pl.), <prytelom> (D pl.), <prytelsku>, <przitelstwa>

(> *ija*) <przіyacziel> (N sg.), <przyiaczielia> (G sg.), <przyaczyelovy> (D sg.), <prziiaczielie> (N pl.), <prziyaczielstwie>

(> *a*) <pratele> (G sg.), <praczele> (N pl.) (2x), <praczelow> (D! pl.), <praczelskey>

The forms of the adj. **prьjaznivъjь* and the noun **prьjaznь* present a more stable picture. The one attested instance of the adj. contains the fronted and raised *i* reflex: <pryznywym> (Slov. Ves 1591), while all 6 examples of the noun exhibit the *ija* reflex.

Examples: <neprÿiasznÿ>, <prziiazny>, <przyazny> (2x), <przyiaszny>, <prÿiasnÿ>

There are no examples in the ESlk texts of noun or adj. forms of **prьja-* with the *a* reflex.

There is only one instance of the pl. l-part. and it shows the *a* reflex: <praly> (Slov. Ves 1591).

The attested instances of long *ę́* in stems also show both *i* and *a* reflexes. In addition, there are several examples of vowel reflexes marked for nasality (signaling the expected Pol reflex). The 5 forms exhibiting *i* are all from the noun, **pę̃ndzь*, however this noun also occurs in the texts with the *a* reflex. Interestingly, of the 5 attested examples of the *i* reflex, 4 occur in texts from the westernmost regions of ESlk, while of the 5 total instances of the *a* reflex, 3 occur in the easternmost and southernmost ESlk texts under investigation. The forms showing nasality all occur in a single text (Bartošovce 1554) and therefore do not represent a generally occuring reflex. Moreover, several forms with the *a* reflex occur alongside the *ą* forms in this same text.

Examples: (> *i*) <penyze> (A pl.), <penize> (A pl.)

(> *a*) <mesyacu>, <peniaze> (A pl.), <viaczey>, <wzat>

(> *ą*) <vyączey>, <vziącz>

There are no examples in the ESlk texts of what was previously labeled source d) long *ę́* in PrAP forms of *i*-stem verbs (and deverbal adj's. based on PrAP forms), e.g., **prosęci* (N sg. f. PrAP), **prosęce* (N pl. m. PrAP). It should be noted, however, that the related instance of *ę́* in the 3rd pl. n-p. of *i*-stem verbs is attested four times in the ESlk texts, three showing an *a* reflex, one showing a nasal.

Examples: (> *a*) <powedza>, <vydadza> (Krás. Lúka 1557); <dadza> (Hertník 1565)

(> *ą*) <vydzą> (Bartošovce 1554)

b) short *a*

Short *a* is expected to produce *e* and *a* reflexes in complementary distribution (*C'aC'*, most *ę* > *a* > *e*; but *C'a#*, some *ę* > *a* > *a*) everywhere in ESlk. Both *e* and *a* reflexes are present in the texts, and they follow with relatively few exceptions the expected distribution. There are also instances of vowel reflexes marked for nasality (from original **ę*, with 3 exceptions). Five of the 11 examples of the nasal reflex occur in the same text as the nasal examples found in the long *á* discussion above (Bartošovce 1554), and can therefore be discounted as a peculiarity of that text. The other 6 examples are restricted to three random texts, and therefore do not present any particular geographical or chronological pattern of distribution.

Examples: <więznia> (2x), <więzniem> (Brezovica n. Tor. 1564)
<czięskoscz>, <Sczęsczya> (Hertník 1565)
<peczent> (Bardejov 1586) (< **pečatь* — non-original nasalization in this example undoubtedly reflects Pol influence, Pol = *pieczęć*)

The majority of the textual examples contain an *e* reflex. The forms exhibiting this *e* reflex follow almost completely the expected ESlk distribution, deriving from instances of *ę* and *C'aC'*.

Examples: <czeskey>, <diekwgy>, <derzeny>, <dessecz>, <dewecz>, <Jalowtze> (N sg. n.), <mie> (G sg. pron.), <obyczegem>, <piecz>, <pyeczecz>, <prisieznyk>, <sie> (refl. pron.), <slyssely>, <sstesty>, <wrednykow>, <zribe> (N sg. n.)

There are only 7 exceptional cases of *e* < *C'a#*.

Examples: <dne> (G sg. m.), <Nasse>, <nasse> (2x) (N sg. f. adj.), <pratele> (G sg. m.), <krale> (2x) (G sg. m.)

The 34 attested forms with an *a* reflex also generally follow the expected ESlk distribution since they represent almost exclusively instances of *C'a#*.

Examples: <dnia> (G sg. m.), <ffararza> (A sg. m.), <koncza> (G sg. m.), <konia> (A sg. m.), <wassa> (N sg. f. adj.)

There are only 8 exceptional cases of *a* < *ę*, *C'aC'*.

Examples: <cziaskosczy>, <obyczay>, <slissati>, <Swatem>, <wzali>, <wzaly> <zyatowy>, <zyemyanye>

4) fronting of long and short *ú , u / C'___* (116 forms (*ú* and *u* together))

A uniform *u* reflex is expected from this development everywhere in the ESlk territory. The textual data present both *u* and *i* reflexes, as well as limited examples of a nasal vowel reflex. As in the discussions of long *á* and short *a* above, in this section a large percentage of the nasal reflexes (5 of 13) come from the text Bartošovce 1554, and can thus be eliminated as peculiarities of that specific text. The other 8 come from four areas and do not form any type of pattern.

Examples: <zadayąc> (PrAP) (Krás. Lúka 1558)
<chczą> (2x), <przyrzykayą>, <sprawuią sie> (all 3rd pl. n-p.) (Brezovica n. Tor. 1564)
<maya> (3rd pl. n-p.) (Hertník 1565)
<myeskayaczemv>, <vyznavayacz> (PrAP's) (Dubovica 16th c. a, b)

The *u* and *i* reflexes both occur throughout the entire ESlk territory and are often found side by side in a single text. Hence there is no apparent geographical or chronological distribution of either of the reflexes. Both *u* and *i* occur in essentially all attested positions, so there does not appear to be any grammatical or phonological pattern of distribution either. The *u* reflex appears in a 51% majority of the forms.

Examples: (> *u*) <tzudzemu>, <chczv> (1st sg. n-p.), <hunyu> (A sg. f.), <gu> (A sg. f. pron.), <Jutro>, <iuz>, <ludze>, <nassu> (A sg. f. adj.), <nezadayu> (3rd pl. n-p.), <niu> (1 sg. f. pron.), <Priaczelu> (D sg. m.), <slyvb>, <zalugucz se> (PrAP)

(> *i*) <chczy> (1st sg. n-p.), <giz>, <lydze>, <nassy> (A sg. f. adj.), <nyediely> (A sg. f.), <pregicz> (PrAP), <przitely> (D sg. m.), <slibugem>, <zadagj> (3rd pl. n-p.)

5) diphthongization of long *ó* and *'é* (87 *ó*-forms, 50 *'é*-forms)

a) long *ó*

As discussed in the MSlk section on long *ó* , nominal desinences are not considered in the analysis of this phonological development.

The ESlk development of long *ó* is expected to produce a variety of reflexes (*o* , *vo* (*u̯o*) , *u*), varying according to region and at times according to phonological environment (refer to the *ó* , *'é* reflex table for exact distribution). Each of the expected reflexes is attested in the corpus, however not according to the expected distribution. Unlike the previous two chapters (WSlk and CSlk) that showed a majority of *uo* reflexes, the ESlk corpus exhibits a majority of

textual forms with an *o* reflex (47 forms = 54%). The other two reflexes are nearly evenly represented. There are 18 forms (21%) with an *uo* reflex and 22 forms (25%) with an *u* reflex. All three reflexes occur throughout the ESlk territory with no apparent geographical or chronological patterning. Each of the reflexes occurs in essentially all attested forms, so there is also no evidence of grammatical or phonological patterning.

Examples: (> *o*) <bog>, <dom>, <kon>, <moy>, <mozies>, <poydv>, <pol>, <sposob>, <wobecz>, <wole>, <zostal>

(> *uo*) <Buoh>, <duom>, <muoy>, <nemuoze>, <nepuoyde>, <spuosobem>, <wuole>, <wuos>

(> *u*) <buch>, <kuin>, <mvy>, <pul>, <spusobe[m]>, <wuly>, <pozustal>

It is necessary to take into account here that the final stage of the development *ó* > *u̯o* > *u* in n-wESlk and eESlk may still have been in progress during the 16th century. Pauliny states that "Forms with the further developmental stage *u̯o* > *u* are attested from the 16th century onward . . . . The evidence shows that the change *u̯o* > *u* took place in the 16th century" (1963, 263). However, while this would help to explain the nearly equal numbers of *u̯o* and *u* reflexes present in the texts from the n-wESlk and eESlk regions, it does not account for the large numbers of *o* reflexes also present in these texts.

As dicussed in the section in Chapter II on orthography, multiple graphemes were available in early 16th century Cz orthography for the representation of the reflexes of long *ó*. Although the development *ó* > *u̯ó* > *ú* was completed in Cz by the end of the 15th century, the spellings <o> and <uo> were in use alongside <u> in Cz orthography until well into the 16th century. Thus, <o> could represent both *ó* and *ú*, and <uo> could represent both *u̯ó* and *ú*, in addition to <u> = *ú* in texts from this period. The problem is especially acute in the first half of the 16th century when this orthographic instability was greatest.. It was suggested in the section in Chapter II on orthography that examining only post-1550 texts might reduce the effects of this orthographic inconsistency on the phonological analysis. However, limiting the corpus to only post-1550 texts has almost no affect on the overall percentages of reflex distribution.

Textually attested ESlk reflexes of long *ó* – 1550-90 texts only

o-forms	*uo*-forms	*u*-forms	total forms
44 (54.5%)	18 (22%)	19 (23.5%)	81

This temporal restriction imposed to reduce the effects of orthographic ambiguity on the

phonological analysis of the reflexes of long *ó* causes essentially no change in the result already obtained. All three reflexes occur throughout the ESlk territory with no apparent geographical or chronological patterning. Each of the reflexes occurs in essentially all attested forms, so there is also no evidence of grammatical or phonological patterning[1].

b) long *'é*

For the reasons presented in the MSlk chapter, in this section once again *'é* from contraction in adjectival desinences is not considered. This includes *'é* from contraction in both the hard-stem and soft-stem adjectival declension classes.

The most prevalent sources of *'é* in the ESlk texts are:

a) contraction in the N/A sg., D pl. endings of neuter nouns in **-ьje* , **-ьstvije* , e.g., **sъdorvьje* (N/A sg.), **sъdorvьjemъ* (D pl.)

b) long *ě́* in nominal and infinitival stems, e.g., **dělo* , **jьměti* , **město* , **věra*

c) long *ě́* in the n-p. stems of several verbs, e.g., **věmь* (<– **vědět*), **umě(m)* (<– **uměti*)

The reflexes from long *'é* are expected to pattern essentially the same as the reflexes from long *ó* , with the same phonological types of reflexes (*e* , *je* (*je*) , *i*) occuring in the same geographical and phonological distributions (refer to the *ó* , *'é* reflex table for exact distribution). Again each of the expected reflexes is attested, however not according to the expected distribution.

The neuter noun forms in **-ьje* , **-ьstvije* show a nearly even ratio between forms with an *i* reflex (7) and forms with an *e* reflex (10). Such a distribution is unexpected since the general ESlk development of *'é* from the suffix **-ьje* , unlike the development of *'é* from *ě́* , is expected to yield only *je / e* reflexes (see note d in the *ó* , *'é* reflex table). Both *i* and *e* reflexes appear throughout the ESlk territory, however individual texts are generally consistent in the use of a single reflex. There does not appear to be any geographical, chronological or grammatical pattern of distribution for either reflex.

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[1] Sixteenth century Polish orthographic practices should also be considered in the analysis of especially ESlk documents, and may shed some light on the apparent random distribution of *o* , *ǫo* , *u* reflexes in this section. Although the phonological development of long *ó* produced *ó* > *ǫ* > *u* in Polish, the orthographic representation has remained to this day a form of the grapheme < o > (modern Polish orthography uses < ó >, e.g., **mojь* > *muj* = <mój>). Sixteenth century Polish treatises on orthography used < o > , < ó > , < ǫ > (with other slight variations) to represent the close / ǫ / phoneme (phonetically somewhere between *o* and *u* , and in some cases already approaching *u* in the 16th century, depending on the dialect). Therefore the large number of *o* reflexes attested in the ESlk texts may simply reflect 16th century Polish orthography and thus be ambiguous regarding the actual phonetic value of the vowel they represent. One argument against such an interpretation involving Polish orthography is the fact that there is not a single attestation of the Polish diacritic graphemes < ó > or < ǫ > in any of the texts under investigation. Moreover, despite the recommendations in the orthographic treatises, it is not uncommon to find also the grapheme < u > used to represent this same / ǫ / in 16th century Polish texts (see Stieber 1973, 95). See Urbańczyk and Olesch 1983 for a discussion of 16th century Polish orthographic practices and reprint editions of original 16th century Polish orthographic treatises.

Examples: (> *i*) <opitowany> (A sg.), <pozdraweny> (A sg.), <swedomy> (A sg.), znany (A sg.)

(> *e*) <skonczenie> (N sg.), <naczynye> (A sg.), <sscescye> (A sg.), <zdrawye> (A sg.), <znanie> (A sg.)

Nominal and verbal (inf. and n-p.) stems with long *ě́* also show a mixture of the reflexes *i* and *e*. The *e* reflexes are in the majority in these forms, but there is also a significant number of examples with the *i* reflex. Both reflexes occur throughout the territory and in essentially all attested positions, however there is generally consistent use of a single reflex in individual texts. Again there is no discernible distribution pattern of any type.

Examples: (> *i*) <mysto>, <mity>, <niewyczie>, <porozumy(m)>, <przyrzykaya>, <wiru>, <zabyrati>, <zribe>

(> *e*) <mety>, <myeste>, <rozvmie>, <wierne>, <zamiessena>

It is interesting to note that there are also four random instances of an *a* reflex in these forms that contained an original long *ě́*: <dzyathkamy> (Bartošovce 1554), <wiare> (Brezovica n. Tor. 1564), <biale> (Brezovica n. Tor. 1567), <math> (Makovica 1579b). The verb <math> can be ascribed to Slk developments, while the other three forms undoubtedly illustrate Pol influence.

Pauliny states that the final development of *'ě́ > je > i* was still in progress in the n-wESlk and eESlk regions in the 16th century: "The first attestations of the change *ie > i* are from the 16th century" (1963, 265), and "The change . . . *je > i* took place in the 16th century" (1963, 267). This would explain the occurrence of both *e* and *i* reflexes in the n-wESlk and eESlk texts. However, it might be expected that the progress of this change in the course of the 16th century would be reflected by a greater number of *i* reflexes in the later texts. Such is not the case, in fact the ratio of *e* to *i* reflexes (from original *ě́* only, since **-ьje* is not expected to yield an *i* reflex) remains relatively stable in the n-wESlk and eESlk texts throughout the period under investigation.

Ratio of *e* to *i* reflexes (< *ě́*) in n-wESlk and eESlk texts

period			
1530-59	8	6	4
1560-79	9	5	3
1580-92	9	7	2

As discussed in the section in Chapter II on orthography, early 16th century Cz orthographic practices were conservative in the representation of the reflexes from this

phonological development. The grapheme <ie> was still in use at the beginning of the 16th century (alongside <i>) despite the completion of the phonological change *'é > ję́ > í* in Cz before the end of the 15th century. Thus, instances of the grapheme <ie> in texts before 1550 could be interpreted either as an archaic representation of *i* or as an accurate representation of *ję* . The possible ambiguity of the grapheme <ie> does not play a crucial role in this portion of the study, however, since there are only two pre-1550 texts in the ESlk corpus, neither of which contains an instance of <ie> .

6) diphthongization of long *ú / C"___* (150 forms)

This development is expected to produce a single *u* reflex throughout all of ESlk, and that is essentially what is attested in the texts. There are only 11 exceptions exhibiting an *au/ou* diphthong reflex, that are scattered randomly throughout the territory.

Examples: (> *u*) <budu> (3rd pl. fut.), <celu> (A sg. f. adj.), <cztuczi> (PrAP), <drogv> (I sg. f.), <kupyl>, <mnv> (I sg. pron.), <mudrosc>, <poruczam>, <predstupil>, <pritisnut>, <služiti>, <sobu> (I refl. pron.), <sw>, <svssiedom>, <welyku> (I sg. f. adj.)

(> *au/ou*) <prisahau> (I sg. f.), <przystaupili>, <sebow> (I refl. pron.), <sau>, <swau> (A sg. f. adj.), <tobow> (I sg. pron.)

As has been seen elsewhere in ESlk, for this feature there are also examples of a nasal reflex in the texts. Again, a large percentage of these examples (5 of 12) come from the text Bartošovce 1554 and can be treated as a peculiarity of that text. The other 7 examples occur in a single lexeme and one PrAP form in only three areas and therefore cannot be regarded as a general phenomenon.

Examples: <szą̨siedzi> (Brezovica n. Tor. 1564); <sąsiadt> (Brezovica n. Tor. 1567)
<sansziadowy>, <szansiadouy> (Plaveč 1587)
<sasyady>, <sasyadam> (Dubovica 16th c. a);
<bedaczemy> (Dubovica 16th c. b)

Once more it is necessary to consider 16th century Cz orthographic practices when analyzing the textual reflexes of long *ú* in the ESlk corpus. As mentioned in the section in Chapter II on orthography, the change *ú > aų́ > oų́* was completed in Cz by the end of the 15th century, but the grapheme <au> did not prevail over <u> in the representation of *aų́/oų́* until the middle of the 16th century. Thus the grapheme <u> could denote both *ú* and *aų́/oų́* in texts from the first half of the century. This issue is not crucial in the analysis of the ESlk texts, however, since they exhibit almost exclusively the <u> grapheme whether considering

texts before 1550 (86% *u*-forms), texts from 1550 onward (93% *u*-forms), or the entire corpus (93% *u*-forms). The forms in <u> that occur from 1550 onward can generally be interpreted as representing *u* ; and there are only two ESlk texts from before 1550 that account for only seven examples of *C'ú* (with one *ou* reflex).

7) assibilation of *d* /__ *j* (17 forms)

The ESlk data for this feature are somewhat limited, however they do present a reasonable geographical and chronological distribution. The expected reflex for all of ESlk is *ʒ*. Twelve of the 17 attested forms exhibit a *ʒ* reflex, but the other five textual examples show a *z* reflex. There is no discernible geographical, chronological or grammatical pattern in the distribution of the reflexes.

Examples: (> *ʒ*) <medzi>, <tzudzemu>, <Urodzonym>
(> *z*) <mezy>, <Urozenym>

8) assibilation of *d* , *t* /__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę* (i.e., all front vowels) (140 *d*-forms, 420 *t*-forms)

a) *d* /__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*

An assibilated reflex (*ʒ*) is expected from the sequence *d+front vowel* everywhere in ESlk. An almost even ratio of assibilated and non-assibilated reflexes is found in the texts. Both reflexes are found throughout the territory and in essentially all attested positions, hence there does not seem to be any type of distributional patterning of either *ʒ* or *z* .

Examples: (> *d*) <wedel> (*-dě-*), <chodil> (*-di-*), <dewecz> (*-de-*),
<dein> (*-dь-*), <diekwgy> (*-dę-*)
(> *ʒ*) <wiedziec> (*-dě-*), <niechodzil> (*-di-*), <dzewec> (*-de-*),
<dzen> (*-dь-*), <Lyvdzmy> (*-dь-*), <vydadza> (*-dę-* ; 3rd pl. n-p.)

b) *t* /__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*

An assibilated reflex (*c*) is expected from the sequence *t+front vowel* everywhere in ESlk. Again an almost even ratio of assibilated and non-assibilated reflexes is found in the texts. As with *d+front vowel* , both reflexes from *t+front vowel* are found throughout the territory and in essentially all attested positions. There does not appear to be any geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological pattern for the distribution of either reflex.

Examples: (> *t*) <myeste> (*-tě-* ; L sg. n.), <wiplatyl> (*-ti-*), <prytele> (*-te-*),
<Otecz> (*-tь-*), <ssest> (*-tь-*), <obteznosty> (*-tę-*)
(> *c*) <liscie> (*-tě-* ; L sg. m.), <zaplaczyl> (*-ti-*), <praczele> (*-te-*),
<ssesc> (*-tь-*), <czeskey> (*-tę-*)

As stated in each discussion of *d* , *t+front vowel* , the issue of consonantal softness in this environment will not be addressed here, the only concern of this section being the presence or absence of assibilation. The softness of consonants was not consistently marked in the texts of this period. It would therefore be difficult to determine accurately the extent to which the presence or absence of softness in any given text was due to phonological changes or simply to inadequacies of orthography.

9) palatalization of *r*/__*ě*, *i*, *e*, *ь*, *ę*, *j* (i.e., all front vowels and *j*) (320 forms)

This process is expected to produce a hard *r* reflex everywhere in the ESlk territory, however the textual data show a mixture of hard *r* and soft *ř* reflexes.

Examples: (> *r*) <potrebu> (*-rě-*), <priczini> (*-ri-*), <pohrebu> (*-re-*), <poradtkom> (*-rę-*), <pisar> (*-rj-*)
(> *ř*) <dobrze> (*-rě-* ; adv.), <przyssel> (*-ri-*), <sffagrze> (*-re-* ; V sg. m.), <pissarz> (*-rj-*)

The individual texts generally contain only one of the two reflexes. Seventeen of the texts contain exclusively, or almost exclusively the *r* reflex (*r*-only texts), while 11 of them contain exclusively, or almost exclusively the *ř* reflex (*ř*-only texts). Only three texts contain both *r* and *ř* reflexes (mixed texts). All but one of the *ř*-only texts are located in four towns in n-wESlk: Brezovica n. Tor., Dubovica, Plaveč, Krás. Lúka. The towns Brezovica n. Tor., Dubovica and Plaveč exhibit consistent *ř* in all texts, while Krás. Lúka has one *ř*-only text and two *r*-only texts. This could indicate a possible geographical distribution pattern for the *ř* reflex. Otherwise, there is no indication of a chronological, grammatical or phonological distribution pattern for either of the reflexes.

As in the previous chapters, in the ESlk texts there are instances of a *ř* reflex in environments where it was phonologically unjustified or had already been removed by analogy (in Cz and/or Pol). There are 13 such forms here that occur in only three texts (Plaveč 1532a, Plaveč 1532b, Rožkovany 1575). The two texts from Plaveč are *ř*-only texts while the text from Rožkovany is an *r*-only text.

Examples: <brzater>, <dobrze> (A sg. n. adj.), <kterzeho> (G sg. m. adj.), <starze> (A pl. m. adj.), <werzne>, <wirzoszwmiel>

Summary analysis of the attested ESlk reflex patterns

1) vocalization of strong ъ and ь

The vocalization of the jers in ESlk is expected to produce a regionally and phonologically conditioned distribution of *e* and *o* reflexes, however the texts exhibit a nearly consistent *e* reflex throughout the territory. This could indicate that the *e* reflex spread from the ESlk regions and forms where it occured naturally to those regions and forms that originally contained the *o* reflex. However, in both Cz and Pol a single *e* reflex is expected from the vocalization of both jers. Therefore the attested distribution could also reflect either the Cz or the Pol norm.

2) development of syllabic *r̥* and *l̥* (and related *CrъC* and *ClъC*)

a) syllabic *r̥* (and related *CrъC*)

In ESlk, *r̥* and *CrъC* are expected to produce several different reflexes in complementary distribution, with all the expected reflexes exhibiting the common feature of a vocalic element accompanying the liquid. The texts exhibit a seemingly random mixture of syllabic *r̥* and *Vr* reflexes that does not appear to follow any pattern of distribution.

b) syllabic *l̥* (and related *ClъC*)

In ESlk, *l̥* and *ClъC* are also expected to produce several different reflexes in complementary distribution, again always with the common feature of a vocalic element accompanying the liquid. Nearly all the attested forms, except those from the borrowed root **mlv-* , reflect the expected ESlk developments. This could indicate the natural development of an ESlk phonological norm. It could also indicate the presence of the Pol norm which coincides with ESlk for the attested forms (minus the borrowed root **mlv-*). However the textual data, including the root **mlv-* not covered by the ESlk or Pol developments, also follow the expected Cz pattern. Therefore it is also possible that the textual distribution reflects the presence of the Cz norm.

3) fronting and raising of long and short *á* , *a* / *C'__C'*, *C'__#*

a) long *á*

Long *á* is expected to develop consistently into an *a* reflex in ESlk. The texts show a mixture of *a* , *i* , *ija* reflexes with a slight majority of the attested forms containing the *i* reflex. The *ija* reflex occurs only in the root **prьja-* , but there is otherwise no discernible geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological distribution pattern for any of the three reflexes.

b) short *a*

Short *a* is expected to develop a pattern of complementary distribution of *a* and *e* reflexes for the entire ESlk territory, and that is essentially what is attested in the texts. Since a

consistent pattern of complementary distribution is expected for the entire territory and that is what is attested, this feature appears to reflect the natural development of an ESlk norm.

4) fronting of long and short *ú , u / C'___*

A uniform *u* reflex is expected everywhere in the ESlk territory from this development. The texts show both an *u* and an *i* reflex distributed throughout the territory without any apparent geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological pattern.

5) diphthongization of long *ó* and *'é*

a) long *ó*

Long *ó* is expected to produce regionally varied reflexes in ESlk. The various regional reflexes are attested, but not according to the anticipated distribution. The attested distribution shows no apparent pattern of any type.

b) long *'é*

Long *'é* is also expected to produce regionally varied reflexes in ESlk. Again these various regional reflexes are attested, but not according to the anticipated distribution. The distribution seen in the texts exhibits no discernible geographical, chronological, grammatical or phonological patterning of the reflexes.

6) diphthongization of long *ú / C'___*

An *u* reflex is expected throughout ESlk, and that is essentially what is attested in the texts. Since the uniform reflex that was expected for the entire territory is attested in the texts, this would appear to indicate the natural development of an ESlk norm. However, the expected Pol reflex is also *u* , therefore the textual distribution may also reflect the presence of the Pol norm.

7) assibilation of *d /___ j*

The *ʒ* reflex expected everywhere in the ESlk territory is exhibited by the majority of the textual examples, however there is also a fair number of forms that exhibit a *z* reflex. There does not seem to be any geographical, chronological or grammatical distribution pattern for either the *ʒ* or the *z* reflex.

8) assibilation of *d , t /___ě , i , e , ь , ę* (i.e., all front vowels)

a) *d /___ě , i , e , ь , ę*

A consistent assibilated reflex is expected from the development of *d+front vowel* everywhere in ESlk. However, both assibilated and non-assibilated reflexes occur with nearly equal frequency in the texts. Neither reflex appears to follow any specific distribution pattern.

b) *t /___ě , i , e , ь , ę*

A consistent assibilated reflex is also expected from the development of *t+front vowel* everywhere in ESlk. Again, both assibilated and non-assibilated forms occur in almost equal numbers in the texts and there is no discernible pattern of distribution of any type for either reflex.

9) palatalization of *r* /___*ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę* , *j* (i.e., all front vowels and *j*)

A hard *r* is the expected ESlk reflex from *r* in a softening environment, however the texts exhibit both hard *r* and soft *ř* reflexes. Aside from a possible geographical grouping of a large portion of the *ř* reflexes, there does not seem to be any patterning of any type in the distribution of either the *r* or the *ř* reflex.

The nine short analysis sections above have again been summarized in tabular form below.

Synopsis of reflex patterns in the East Slovak corpus

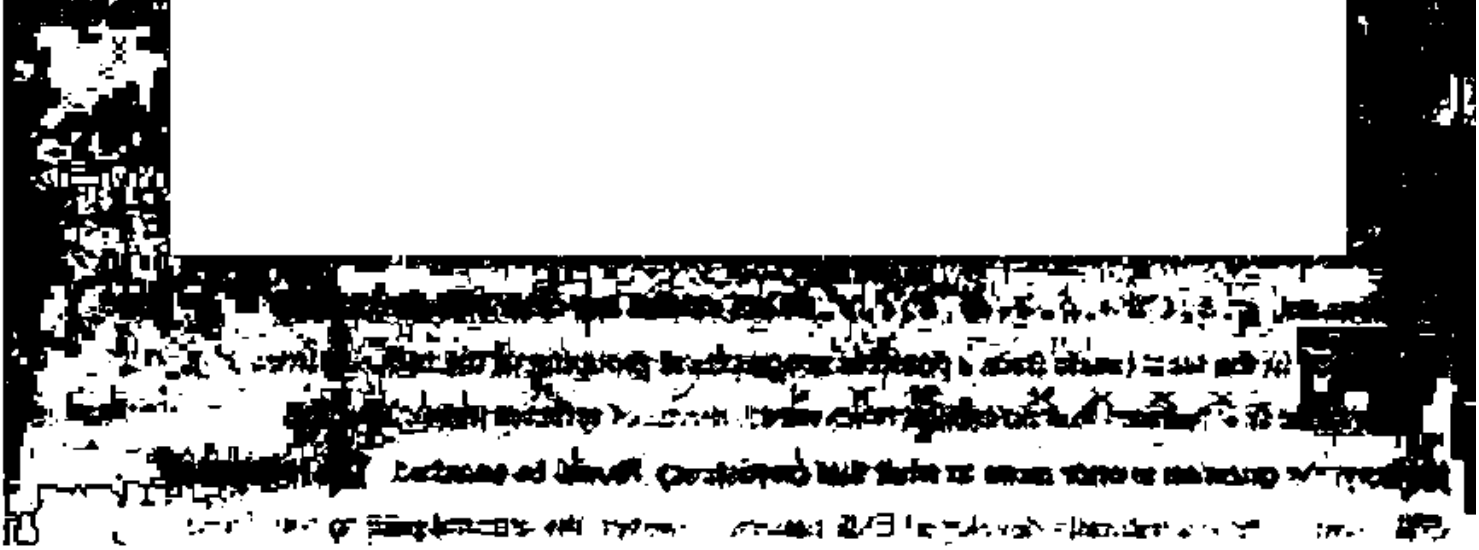
attested reflex pattern: phonological feature:	follows uniform interdialectal Cz pattern	follows uniform interdialectal Pol pattern	follows other (non-Cz, non-Pol) uniform interdialectal pattern	follows regional ESlk dialectal patterns	follows other regional dialectal patterns	no clearly discernible pattern(s)
1) ъ/ь	X	X	(X - ESlk)†			
2a) r						X
2b) l	X	X (without *m/v-)	X - ESlk* (without *m/v-)			
3a) á						X
3b) a			X - ESlk*			
4) C'ú/u						X
5a) ó						X
5b) 'é						X
6) C'ú		X	X - ESlk*			
7) dj						X
8a) d'						X
8b) t'						X
9) r'					(X)	X

* ESlk development naturally created a uniform pattern; † possible leveling within ESlk to create a uniform pattern; ( ) possible alternative to X

Unlike the tables in the MSlk, WSlk and CSlk chapters which showed some evidence for a developing interdialectal phonological norm in the texts from those dialect regions, the table here shows fairly strong evidence against such development in the ESlk texts. The reflexes of nine features, *ŕ* , *á* , *C'ú/u* , *ó* , *'é* , *dj* , *d'*, *t'*, *r'*, do not exhibit any clear patterns in their distribution in the texts (aside from a possible geographical grouping of the reflexes from *r'*).

For those few features that do exhibit consistent patterns of reflexes throughout the territory, the question is once more to what that consistency should be ascribed. The reflexes of *C'ú* seem to show a naturally developed ESlk pattern, however, the attested pattern could also have come from Pol. The same is true of the reflexes of *ĺ*, however the situation is complicated here by the fact that the attested distribution reflects not only the expected ESlk and Pol patterns, but also the expected pattern for Cz. The reflexes of ъ/ь show a distribution that could have arisen by internal leveling within ESlk. Again, however, this distribution could be the result of the external influence of either Pol or Cz. Only the pattern exhibited by the reflexes of *a* might be considered as the clear result of the natural development of ESlk.

Thus, of the 4 features that show consistent interdialectal reflex patterns, all 4 can be explained by reference to the ESlk model, but 3 can also be explained by reference to the Pol model. In addition, 2 of the 4 consistent patterns can be explained according to the Cz model. However, there remain 9 phonological features that do not exhibit clear, uniform reflex patterns for the entire ESlk territory.



CHAPTER VIII: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The goals of this study, as stated in the introductory chapter, were: (1) to determine whether the language of 16th century Slovak administrative-legal texts exhibits consistent interdialectal phonological patterns or norms, and (2) to ascertain the geographical scope and the linguistic basis of the interdialectal consistency, if such interdialectal patterning is attested in the texts. Because the claim has been made that interdialectal Cultural Slovak is manifested in 16th century texts in regional variants, the textual data of this study were analyzed within the framework of the four major dialect divisions of Slovak: Moravian Slovak, West Slovak, Central Slovak and East Slovak. This regional approach, considering the data in incrementally larger geographical/dialectal areas, permitted a relatively straightforward assessment of the areal scope and linguistic source of any noted consistency in the phonological reflexes. Moreover, it enabled a comparative assessment of the relative degree of reflex consistency and a comparison of the possible sources of this consistency from region to region. The results of the individual regional analyses will first be reviewed here. This review will be followed by a comparative assessment of the phonological picture in the texts of the four major dialect regions, dealing with the questions of the areal scope and linguistic source of any interdialectal phonological consistency attested in the texts.

Review of the individual regional analyses

Moravian Slovak

In the texts from the MSlk region, 11 of the 13 investigated features exhibit an interdialectal consistency in distribution. There are two features (*ó* , *C˙ú*) that show no discernible patterns or consistency, however, specifically these two features were determined to be of limited diagnostic value primarily because of certain orthographic considerations. Thus, the investigation of the MSlk corpus involves only 11 reliable features, of which all 11 (100%) exhibit consistent interdialectal patterns in the texts. All 11 (100%) of these consistent features could be ascribed to the Cz phonological norm, while maximally 8 (73%) could be considered the possible result of the development of an indigenous MSlk interdialectal norm.

West Slovak

In the WSlk corpus, 11 of the 13 investigated features (85%) show an interdialectal consistency in distribution. Of these consistent features in the WSlk texts, 10 (91%) could be ascribed to the Cz phonological norm, while maximally 7 (64%) could be considered the possible result of the development of an indigenous WSlk interdialectal norm. There are 2 features in the WSlk corpus that do not show any discernible patterns in their distributions (one of which, however, does show signs of development toward a consistent distribution).

Central Slovak

The analysis of the CSlk corpus reveals that 9 of the 13 investigated features (69%) show consistent interdialectal patterns of distribution. Of these consistent features in the CSlk texts, 8 (89%) could be ascribed to the Cz phonological norm, while maximally 4 (44%) could be considered the possible result of the development of an indigenous CSlk interdialectal norm. There are also 4 features that do not show consistent patterns in the CSlk corpus.

East Slovak

In the ESlk texts only 4 of the 13 investigated features (31%) show consistent interdialectal patterns of distribution. Of these consistent features in the ESlk corpus, 2 (50%) could be ascribed to the Cz phonological norm, while 3 (75%) could be ascribed to the Pol norm. All 4 (100%) could be considered the possible result of the development of an indigenous ESlk interdialectal norm. However, the majority of the features (9 of 13) do not show consistent patterns in the ESlk corpus.

The individual regional analyses have been summarized in the following table:

Summary of individual regional analyses

Slk dialect region	total investigated features	consistent interdialectal patterns	consistency follows Cz norm	consistency follows Slk norm	consistency follows Pol norm
MSlk	11	11	11	8	—
WSlk	13	11	10	7	—
CSlk	13	9	8	4	—
ESlk	13	4	2	4	3

Comparison of the individual regional analyses

Several observations arise from a comparison of the distribution pictures presented in the corpora of the four major dialect regions as described above. The first observation is that the percentage of investigated features exhibiting consistent interdialectal reflex patterns in the texts gradually declines the farther removed the Slk dialect region is from the Cz language territory (i.e., west –> east). Thus MSlk has the highest percentage of features showing consistent patterns and ESlk the lowest. A second observation is that, although the percentage of those consistent interdialectal patterns that can be ascribed to the Cz norm also gradually declines from west to east, this gives a somewhat false impression, since in all instances the Cz norm can account for all but one or two of the consistent patterns (it is simply a matter that the total number of consistent patterns steadily declines, thus altering the percentage). Moreover, if Pol is taken into consideration in the ESlk picture, then non-Slk norms can account for all but one

of the consistent interdialectal patterns in each of the regional corpora, except in MSlk, where the Cz norm can account for all of the consistent patterns. In fact, 3 consistent patterns in MSlk, 4 consistent patterns in WSlk, and 5 consistent patterns in CSlk (but none in ESlk) can be accounted for only by the Cz norm and cannot be attributed to any sort of indigenous Slk norm development. Inversely, although some of the patterns accounted for by Cz (or Pol) can also be accounted for by a Slk norm, none of the consistent interdialectal reflex patterns in MSlk, and only one consistent reflex pattern in WSlk, CSlk and ESlk can be unequivocally ascribed exclusively to the development of an indigenous Slk interdialectal norm.

These observations allow for an initial hypothesis that a large percentage of the consistent interdialectal patterning found in the texts is due in some part to the influence of the literary Cz norm (along with Pol in ESlk). According to such an interpretation, the inconsistent distribution of reflexes attested for some features could be the result of incomplete knowledge of the Cz (or Pol) norm on the part of the scribes/authors, allowing for greater linguistic interference from the indigenous Slk linguistic system of the scribes/authors[1].

This interpretation of the data is reinforced by certain historical facts. As was observed above, the percentage of phonological features exhibiting consistent interdialectal distribution patterns in the texts decreases the farther removed the Slk dialect region is from the Cz language territory (west –> east). In this connection it is important to note historically that: (a) the Moravian Slovak territory had long been under the political administration of the Czech state (Bohemia-Moravia); (b) until the mid 15th century, Cz texts are attested only as far east as West Slovakia; (c) only from the mid 15th century onward does the use of Cz increase in the remainder of the Slovak language territory and then only unevenly[2]. Thus the contact of the Slovaks with literary Cz during this period was weaker the farther removed the Slk dialect region was from the Cz language territory. This progressively weaker contact with the literary Cz norm from west to east parallels the noted decrease from west to east in the percentage of features that exhibit a consistent distribution pattern. This parallel nature of the historical facts concerning the use of literary Cz would seem to support the initial interpretation, based solely on the data of this investigation, that the influence of the Cz literary language norm is largely responsible for the phonological uniformity attested in the texts.

[1] This is the most common reasoning given for the penetration of "Slovakisms" into Czech texts and is alluded to in much of the literature on this issue. See, for example, Varsik 1956c, 85-86 for elaboration on this reasoning.

[2] As summarized by Pauliny: "As B. Varsik showed (1956, p. 27 and following), literary Czech first reaches Central and East Slovakia systematically during the period of Ján Jiskra z Brandýsa (1440-1462). He also showed with detailed evidence (op. cit. p. 55) that after Jiskra's departure the use of Czech further developed chiefly in West Slovakia and northern Central Slovakia (Liptov), but before the Reformation the use of literary Czech is more weakly attested in the mining regions of Central Slovakia and in East Slovakia. This shows that literary Czech . . . penetrated into Slovakia in the 15th and early 16th centuries with an uneven effect of the factors that supported its spread" (1982, 162). See also Varsik 1956c as referred to by Pauliny.

It was stated above that none of the consistent interdialectal reflex patterns attested in the MSlk corpus, and only one consistent reflex pattern in the WSlk, CSlk and ESlk corpora, could be unequivocally ascribed to the natural formation of an indigenous Slk interdialectal norm. This means that for WSlk, CSlk and ESlk there is only one phonological feature in each regional corpus whose consistent interdialectal pattern can be accounted for exclusively by phonological development in the Slk region in question, and cannot be accounted for by Cz (or Pol) phonological development. However, a review of the data shows that there is an additional number of features in each set of texts (including MSlk) whose consistent interdialectal distribution could also be ascribed to an indigenous Slk norm, but not exclusively, since the attested consistency could also reflect the literary Cz (or Pol) norm. The reason for this (as noted in each of the individual regional chapters) is that, depending on the phonological process and the region in question, the expected 16th century reflex patterns for literary Cz (or Pol) and a given Slk dialect region are at times partially or even completely identical. For example, Cz *ъ > e , ь > e* vs. WSlk *ъ > e , ь > e* represents a case of complete identity of the expected reflex patterns for Cz and WSlk. Thus, the attestation of consistent *e* reflexes in the WSlk corpus could be ascribed to either linguistic system with equal validity. Cz *ъ > e , ь > e* vs. ESlk *ъ > e , (o) , ь > e , (o)* is a case of partial identity of the expected reflex patterns for Cz and ESlk. The attestation of consistent *e* reflexes in the ESlk corpus could thus be considered as an indication of the Cz norm, or as a generalizing to all environments of the *e* reflex found in the majority of environments in the ESlk dialectal patterns. Partial identity of expected reflex patterns also occurs in instances where there is complete identity between Cz and certain individual Slk dialects of a region, but not between Cz and the entire Slk dialect region, for example: Cz *'é > jé > í* vs. w-, c-, e-sWSlk *'é > jé > í* but ne-sWSlk, nWSlk *'é > jé > jé , jé , je* . In this type of partial identity of expected reflex patterns between Cz and WSlk, the attestation of a consistent *í* reflex in the WSlk texts could reflect the influence of the literary Cz norm, or it could indicate the spread of the expected w-, c-, e-sWSlk *í* reflex to the ne-sWSlk and nWSlk areas where *jé , jé , je* reflexes are expected.

Thus in instances where identical reflex patterns are expected in literary Cz (or Pol) and part or all of a Slk dialect region, it is not entirely possible to determine whether a consistent interdialectal reflex pattern attested in the texts from the region is due to the Cz (or Pol) or Slk phonological system. Some scholars maintain that certain features show consistent patterns of distribution (i.e., show an interdialectal norm) in the Slk texts precisely because identical reflexes were present to one degree or another in both the literary Cz norm and the indigenous

Slk phonological system[3]. According to such a view, consistent distribution patterns showing an interdialectal norm could be expected to occur in the texts for those phonological developments that show at least partial if not total identity of reflex patterns between literary Cz and the Slk dialect(s) in question, whereas inconsistent distribution patterns showing no interdialectal norm in the texts would be most likely to occur in cases where the Cz reflexes were not mutually supported by identical reflexes in Slk. These observations again lead to the interpretation that the consistent patterning present to various degrees in the corpora from the four Slk dialect regions is due in some part to the influence of the literary Cz norm (along with Pol in ESlk).

Thus it has been shown that there are certain phonological features in each Slk dialect region that exhibit consistent distribution patterns, and that the consistency of these patterns seems to have some basis or support in the Cz phonological system. However, it has also been shown that the number of features exhibiting consistent patterns varies from region to region – specifically that the percentage of consistent patterns decreases the farther removed the region is from the Cz language territory. This brings the discussion to the question of whether there is strong enough phonological evidence to posit cultural language formation in any of the individual Slk dialect regions or in the Slk language territory as a whole. The arguments for and against Cultural Slovak in each of the regional variants will be presented first, followed by a discussion on the validity of the concept of a general Cultural Slovak for the entire Slk language territory.

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[3] "The influence of Czech on the cultural language of the Slovak nationality was exerted in phonology through the fact that preference was given precisely to those elements known not only in the Slovak dialects (often only in the dialects of West Slovakia or in other dialects otherwise locally limited) but known also in Czech. But precisely because of this backdrop of the Slovak dialects these elements were considered as Slovak elements, or as bookish elements, typical for the written language. Here, for example, it is a question of forms with the phonological change *ie* > *í* (*zdravÍ*, *víra*) or with the reflex of Common Slavic *ъ* > *e* (*statek*, *dobytek*)" (Habovštiaková 1972, 129). See also Habovštiaková 1968a & 1970.

"In the 16th century a certain system begins to appear in connection with the use of these traits [i.e., Slovak traits in texts]. However, this system is generalized very slowly and unclearly. The scribal and in general the linguistic usage which stabilized in Trnava was decisive for southern West Slovakia. Characteristic of this usage was that, of the Czech linguistic traits that were retained, the most firmly retained were those that were commensurate with the [dialectal phonological] state in southern West Slovakia (for example the narrowing *ie* > *í* : *míra* , *bílý*), rather often – especially in fixed formulas – forms with *prehláska*, *ā* > *e* , *u* > *i* , were retained. One can also consider as influence of the Czech language the fact that obvious dialectal traits, for example the change *ť* , *ď* > *c* , *dz* , did not penetrate as a system into the written records" (Pauliny 1983, 123).

"Often Czech played the role of a distinctive filter in the formation of the norm of the 'West Slovak cultural interdialect' and 'helped select' the linguistic forms from among the rather large number of West Slovak and even Central Slovak elements . . ." (Lifanov 1989, 44).

Regional cultural language formation

Moravian Slovak

Slk dialect region	total investigated features	consistent interdialectal patterns	consistency follows Cz norm	consistency follows Slk norm	consistency follows Pol norm
MSlk	11	11	11	8	—

It is clear that the corpus of texts from the MSlk region exhibits an interdialectal phonological norm for the features investigated in this study. All 11 of the features that can be considered reliable show consistent interdialectal patterns of distribution in the texts under investigation. Because many of the phonological developments under investigation produced either partially or completely identical reflexes for both Cz and MSlk, it is difficult to determine to which linguistic system the attested textual interdialectal consistency should be ascribed. It is necessary to remember, however, that all 11 consistent patterns can be ascribed to the literary Cz norm, while only 8 can be accounted for by MSlk. Moreover, 3 of the 11 consistent patterns (27%) can only be accounted for by the literary Cz norm, while there are no consistent patterns that can be exclusively ascribed to MSlk developments. Thus, it seems likely that the attested interdialectal phonological norm of the texts is, in fact, Czech. This conclusion is supported by the historical fact that the MSlk territory had long been under Cz political control (Bohemia-Moravia).

West Slovak

Slk dialect region	total investigated features	consistent interdialectal patterns	consistency follows Cz norm	consistency follows Slk norm	consistency follows Pol norm
WSlk	13	11	10	7	—

It is clear that the corpus of texts from the WSlk region exhibits an interdialectal phonological norm for the features investigated in this study. The percentage of features exhibiting consistent patterns in the WSlk corpus (11/13 = 85%) is lower than in the MSlk corpus. However, of the two features that do not show consistent interdialectal distribution in the WSlk texts, one (*r* /__*ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę* , *j*) shows signs of development toward a consistent distribution, which would raise the percentage of consistent features to a statistically convincing 12/13 = 92%. As in MSlk, in WSlk many of the phonological developments under investigation produced reflexes either partially or completely identical to the reflexes produced in Cz. Thus it is again difficult to determine to which linguistic system the attested textual interdialectal consistency should be ascribed. In the case of WSlk it is important to note that, although there are 4 consistent patterns that can only be ascribed to the Cz norm, there is also one consistent pattern that can only be the result of indigenous Slk dialectal development

(two, if the feature *r /__ě , i , e , ъ , ę , j* can, in fact, be shown to be developing a consistent distribution). Thus, the interdialectal phonological norm attested in the WSlk corpus exhibits a mixed base of Cz phonology and WSlk phonology. This mixed interdialectal phonological norm could be called a type of Cultural West Slovak.

Central Slovak

Slk dialect region	total investigated features	consistent interdialectal patterns	consistency follows Cz norm	consistency follows Slk norm	consistency follows Pol norm
CSlk	13	9	8	4	—

It is not entirely clear whether the corpus of texts from the CSlk region exhibits an interdialectal phonological norm for the features investigated in this study. Viewed statistically, the evidence is not completely convincing, since only 9 of the 13 investigated features (69%) exhibit consistent interdialectal distribution patterns in the CSlk corpus. In considering the 9 consistent patterns, it is important to note that, although there are 5 consistent patterns that can only be ascribed to the Cz norm, there is also one consistent pattern that can only be the result of indigenous Slk dialectal development (two, if the feature *ę , CrъC* is viewed as distinctly CSlk on the basis of only three forms distinguishing the CSlk dialect pattern from the Cz norm). Thus, although the attested evidence for a CSlk interdialectal phonological norm is weak, there is a base of interdialectal phonological consistency in the CSlk texts that seems to exhibit a mixture of Cz phonology and CSlk phonology. Based on this CSlk evidence and a comparison with the seemingly similar but more advanced state in WSlk, it can be concluded that there is a nascent Cultural Central Slovak exhibited in the CSlk corpus of this investigation, developing on a mixed base of Cz phonology and CSlk phonology.

East Slovak

Slk dialect region	total investigated features	consistent interdialectal patterns	consistency follows Cz norm	consistency follows Slk norm	consistency follows Pol norm
ESlk	13	4	2	4	3

It is clear that the corpus of texts from the ESlk region does not exhibit an interdialectal phonological norm for the features investigated in this study. The number of consistent interdialectal distribution patterns exhibited in the ESlk texts is so low (4/13 = 31%) that it does not seem as though there is even a base of phonological consistency that might be considered indicative of a nascent or developing Cultural East Slovak. In contrast to the other three regions, where there was a fair number of consistent patterns that could only be attributed to the Cz norm, in ESlk none of the 4 consistent patterns can be ascribed exclusively to either Cz or Pol (it will be remembered that Pol played the same role in ESlk as Cz did in the entire Slk

territory). On the other hand, there is one consistent interdialectal pattern that can only be the result of indigenous Slk dialectal development. However, because there are 9 features that do not show consistent interdialectal distribution patterns in the ESlk corpus, the evidence does not even support the existence of a nascent Cultural East Slovak in the present corpus.

Thus, based on the 16th century textual data, it appears that the MSlk corpus shows the Cz norm, the WSlk corpus shows a fairly clear interdialectal phonological norm (on a mixed base of Cz and Slk features), the CSlk corpus shows a developing interdialectal phonological norm (on a mixed base of Cz and Slk features), and the ESlk corpus shows no interdialectal phonological norm development.

These interpretations, derived solely from the present phonological investigation, are consistent with the historical facts. Moravian Slovakia had long been under the political administration of the Czech state (Bohemia-Moravia), where literary Cz had already served as a language of official writing for several centuries. With the invasion of the Turks and the political realignment after the annexation of Slovakia into the Habsburg Empire at the beginning of the 16th century, West Slovakia was relatively more stable than were Central or East Slovakia throughout the 16th century. This relatively high degree of stability in the West Slovak region was advantageous for social, political and economic integration, and thus for creating the sociolinguistic conditions that would further the formation and development of an interdialectal language form. The lesser degrees of stability in Central and especially East Slovakia caused generally slower progress toward integration there. This slowed the creation of sociolinguistic conditions that would have been more favorable for interdialectal linguistic development in those regions[4].

[4] "In the 16th and 17th centuries, West Slovakia was relatively the most peaceful region of Slovakia. In connection with this, the conditions were also created here for the rise and development of the formation that we call Cultural West Slovak. Central Slovakia (that is the districts that were not under Turkish control, thus not Gemer, Novohrad, and part of Hont) had intensive solidarity during the period of the anti-Turkish battles. It seems that it was during this period that the basically uniform type of the Central Slovak dialects was fixed in the districts of Turiec (with northern Nitra), Liptov, Zvolen, Tekov, and the western part of Hont. This region as a unit very actively participated in the battles against the Turks in defense of the mining cities. . . . This unity is striking especially in the Zvolen, Tekov, and Hont districts. This Central Slovak dialectal type [created in these unified districts] was the basis for the formation that we call Cultural Central Slovak. . . . The integration of West and Central Slovakia as a whole is clear and relatively strong at this time. The integration of East Slovakia into the Slovak whole in the 16th and 17th centuries was weaker. Numerous factors were at work here. It was significant that between Central and East Slovakia there was the Spiš German barrier in the north and the territory occupied by the Turks in the south. Besides that the East Slovak districts leaned toward Transylvania in questions of power and toward Poland in trade contacts at that time" (Pauliny 1983, 103-4).

"After the invasion of the Turks in Lower Hungary in the 16th century and in view of the numerous class insurrections in the 17th century, the relatively most peaceful part of Slovakia was in West Slovakia. For this reason, in the 16th-18th centuries Cultural West Slovak spread the most" (Pauliny 1980, 20).

Interregional cultural language formation

This leaves the question of whether there is evidence in the texts of this investigation for the existence of a general interdialectal phonological norm valid for most or all of the Slk language territory in the 16th century. The MSlk region will henceforth be left out of the discussion, as it has been determined with a fair degree of certainty that the norm attested in the texts from Moravian Slovakia is the Cz norm. As has been seen, the number of phonological features exhibiting consistent patterns, and thus also the specific individual features exhibiting such patterns, differ from region to region in the remaining three Slovak dialect regions (WSlk, CSlk, ESlk). This fact does not nullify the possibility of an interdialectal phonological norm that had validity for a larger, interregional portion of the 16th century Slk language territory. As has been discussed, Cultural Slovak is considered to have existed in regional variants, which implies variation in both the relative degree of the norm and the specific phonological make-up of the norm from region to region. The question then is whether there is a smaller set of core phonological features that exhibit consistent distribution of the same reflexes in the texts throughout the Slk language territory, and that as such can be considered representative of an *interregional* Cultural Slovak norm in the 16th century.

The following sections will examine each of the phonological features of this investigation individually across the entire Slk language territory (excluding MSlk as noted above) to determine whether there is a smaller set of these features that show invariant interregional consistency of reflexes and can be considered the core of a general Cultural Slovak. The patterning of the individual features across the three dialect regions will be examined first, followed by an assessment of which features might be considered core features of a general Cultural Slovak, based on their interregional patterns.

1) vocalization of strong ъ and ь

The textually attested forms containing reflexes from vocalized jers show the same consistent reflex pattern (ъ > *e* ; ь > *e*) in each of the three Slk dialect regions under consideration.

2a) development of syllabic *r̥* (and related *CrъC*)

The textually attested forms containing reflexes from syllabic *r̥* (and *CrъC*) show the same consistent pattern of reflexes (*r̥* > *r̥* ; *čr̥-* > *čer-* ; *CrъC* > *Cr̥C*) in WSlk and CSlk, but show no discernible consistency of reflexes in ESlk.

2b) development of syllabic *l̥* (and related *ClъC*)

The textually attested forms containing reflexes from syllabic *l̥* (and *ClъC*) show the same consistent pattern of reflexes (*l̥'* > *l̥* / *labials*___ ; *l̥* > *lu* in all other textually attested environments) in each of the three Slk dialect regions under consideration.

3a) fronting and raising of long *á / C'__C', C'__#*

The textually attested forms containing reflexes from long *á* in a soft environment show essentially the same consistent pattern of reflexes (*á* > *í*) in WSlk and CSlk[5], but show no discernible consistency of reflexes in ESlk.

3b) fronting and raising of short *a / C'__C', C'__#*

The textually attested forms containing reflexes from short *a* in a soft environment show essentially the same consistent pattern of reflexes (*a* > *e/a*) in WSlk and CSlk. The forms with original short *a* in the ESlk corpus also show a fairly consistent patterning of reflexes (*a* > *e/a*), but the distribution attested in ESlk differs from the distribution attested in the other two regions.

4) fronting of long and short *ú , u / C'__*

The textually attested forms containing reflexes from long and short *u* in a soft environment show the same consistent pattern of reflexes (*u* > *i*) in WSlk and CSlk, but show no discernible consistency of reflexes in ESlk.

5a) diphthongization of long *ó*

The textually attested forms containing reflexes from long *ó* do not show any consistent patterning of reflexes in any of the three Slk regions under consideration.

5b) diphthongization of long *'é*

The textually attested forms containing reflexes from long *'é* show a consistent pattern of reflexes (*'é* > *í*) only in WSlk. There is no discernible consistency of reflexes in the CSlk[6] and ESlk corpora.

6) diphthongization of long *ú / C*__*

The textually attested forms containing reflexes from long *u* in a hard environment show the same consistent reflex pattern (*u* > *u*) in each of the three Slk dialect regions under consideration.

7) assibilation of *d /__ j*

The textually attested forms containing reflexes from the sequence *d+j* show a consistent pattern of reflexes (*dj* > *z*) only in WSlk. There is no discernible consistency of reflexes in the CSlk and ESlk corpora.

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[5] It should be remembered that the attested forms from the stem **prьjatel-* do not show the consistency of reflexes exhibited by the other forms with original long *á* in the texts. Since a single stem is involved here, the inconsistency in the forms of **prьjatel-* is regarded as a peculiarity of the individual lexical items derived from this one particular stem. This inconsistency is therefore not considered significant for the results of this investigation.

[6] It is interesting to note that there is consistency in the CSlk corpus in the development *'é* > *í* in the specific instances of *'é* from contraction in the N/A sg., D pl. endings of neuter nouns in **-ьje* , **-ьstvije* , e.g. **sъdorvьje* (N/A sg.) > *zdraví* . However, the other instances of *'é* in the CSlk corpus do not show this same consistency, hence the feature as a whole is not considered to show norm development here.

8a) assibilation of *d* /___*ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę* (i.e., all front vowels)

The textually attested forms containing reflexes from the sequence *d+front vowel* show the same consistent pattern of reflexes (*d* > *d*) in WSlk and CSlk, but show no discernible consistency of reflexes in ESlk.

8b) assibilation of *t* /___*ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę* (i.e., all front vowels)

The textually attested forms containing reflexes from the sequence *t+front vowel* show the same consistent pattern of reflexes (*t* > *t*) in WSlk and CSlk, but show no discernible consistency of reflexes in ESlk.

9) palatalization of *r* /___*ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę* , *j* (i.e., all front vowels and *j*)

The textually attested forms containing reflexes from the sequence *r+front vowel, j* do not show any consistent patterning of reflexes in any of the three Slk regions under consideration. The WSlk corpus does show a tendency toward a consistent pattern of reflexes (*r* > *r*) if only forms from the second half of the century are considered.

The results of the examination of the individual features across the WSlk, CSlk and ESlk regions have been summarized in the table below. An "X" in the column of a dialect region indicates that the feature in question shows a consistent interdialectal pattern in that dialect region. It is to be understood that, where multiple dialect regions are marked for consistency of a single feature, the consistent reflex pattern of that feature is identical in each of the regions marked (with the single exception of short *a* in ESlk).

Geographical scope of consistent interdialectal reflex patterns in the corpus

		WSlk	CSlk	ESlk
1)	ъ/ь	X	X	X
2a)	ŗ	X	X	
2b)	ļ	X	X	X
3a)	á	X	X	
3b)	a	X	X	X*
4)	C'ú/u	X	X	
5a)	ó			
5b)	'é	X		
6)	C"ú	X	X	X
7)	dj	X		
8a)	d'	X	X	
8b)	t'	X	X	
9)	r'	(X)		

* the consistent distribution of reflexes in ESlk does not follow the same pattern as the consistent distribution attested in WSlk and CSlk

( ) possible but inconclusive evidence for a consistent distribution of reflexes for this particular feature

The question posed at the beginning of this section was whether there was a smaller set of these features that showed invariant interregional consistency of reflexes and could be considered the core of a general Cultural Slovak phonological norm. As can be seen in the table, there are three features (*ъ/ь* , *ĺ* , *C'ú*) that show identical consistency in their reflex patterns throughout the entire Slk language territory under consideration here (recalling that MSlk was not considered here since it was determined that the MSlk corpus exhibits the Cz norm). Thus there seems to be a small set of 3 invariant core features with validity in the entire Slk language territory that could be considered the base of an interregional Cultural Slovak phonological norm. A fourth feature (*a*) also shows consistency of reflexes in all three dialect regions, however the patterns of distribution are not identical in each of the regions. This feature might illustrate the regional variation claimed to be characteristic of Cultural Slovak. At this point, however, the evidence from the ESlk corpus ceases to support a proposed general Cultural Slovak phonological norm, since the four features just discussed are the only four features that exhibit interdialectal consistency of reflex distribution in the ESlk texts. It should be remembered here that the individual regional assessment of cultural language formation in the ESlk dialect region determined that the ESlk textual evidence did not support the existence of a regional cultural language form in East Slovakia.

Considering only the WSlk and CSlk material, there are further features that show consistent interdialectal patterning of identical reflexes in both regions. In fact, all 9 features that show consistent reflex patterns in CSlk (*ъ/ь* , *ŕ* , *ĺ* , *á* , *a* , *C'ú/u* , *C'ú* , *d'* , *ť*) also show those same patterns in WSlk. Thus for the larger combined area of WSlk and CSlk there appears to be a fairly substantial set of invariant core features representing an interregional Cultural Slovak phonological norm. Of this set of 9 features, 8 (89%) could be ascribed to the Cz phonological norm, while maximally 6 (67%) could be considered the possible result of the development of an indigenous W/CSlk interdialectal norm (of which only 1 could unequivocally be ascribed to the development of an indigenous W/CSlk norm). This leads back to the question concerning the interaction of the Cz norm and the Slk dialects in the selection of the phonological features that constituted this interregional (W/CSlk) Cultural Slovak norm.

Interaction of the literary Cz norm and the Slk dialects in the formation of Cultural Slovak

According to the view of some scholars discussed previously, the selection of the phonological features of Cultural Slovak was based partly on mutual support between reflexes that were identical in both the Cz norm and at least part of a Slk dialect region. Regional variation in Cultural Slovak could then be explained, in part, by the fact that each Slk dialect region had different phonological reflexes (and hence a different number of reflexes) that

coincided with and supported identical reflexes in the Cz norm[7]. According to the same view, an invariant core feature of Cultural Slovak exhibiting consistent distribution of the same reflex(es) on an interregional basis could then be expected to arise when phonological development produced a similar reflex pattern in *each* of the Slk dialect regions that coincided with and supported the Cz norm in *each* region.

It is true that 10 of the 11 consistent interdialectal reflex patterns attested in the WSlk texts could arguably have arisen because the Cz patterns that they exhibit were mutually supported by identical reflexes in the WSlk dialects. There is either complete identity or strong partial identity of the expected reflex patterns in Cz and the WSlk dialects from the following 6 developments: 1) the vocalization of the strong jers; 2a) & 2b) development of syllabic *r̥* and *l̥* (at least for the attested environments); 5b) diphthongization of long *'é*; 8a & 8b) assibilation of *d* , *t* before front vowels. However, this interpretation of mutual support is highly unlikely in the other 4 instances because of the marginal status (geographically and/or phonologically) of the specific WSlk reflexes that would have been the supporting partners for the corresponding Cz reflexes in those instances. For the 4 processes: 3a & 3b) fronting and raising of long and short *á* , *a* in a soft environment; 4) fronting of long and short *ú* , *u* in a soft environment; 7) assibilation of *d* before *j* , identity of reflexes is expected only between Cz and the w-sWSlk dialect area, and even then the distribution of the identical reflexes is limited within w-sWSlk. It is difficult to support the view that a reflex (or reflexes) that existed in limited environments in only one WSlk dialect area had a sufficiently strong position in the linguistic structure of the entire WSlk dialect region to act as a base of

[7] This view could be used to explain the apparently more advanced state of cultural language formation in the WSlk texts (vis-à-vis the CSlk texts) that was noted here in the section on "Regional cultural language formation". The WSlk dialects stand linguistically closer to Cz than the CSlk dialects and would thus have had more 16th century phonological reflexes that coincided with and supported identical Cz reflexes than did the CSlk dialects. Hence, according to this view, the WSlk texts would be expected to exhibit more consistent features that were due to mutual support between literary Cz and WSlk dialect reflexes. In speaking about the formation of the language used in written documents in Slovakia after the 15th century Habovštiaková states: "In this process of a broader use of Slovak in Slovak documents an important role was played by West Slovakia, in which there were important economic and cultural centers and which stood, also from a linguistic aspect, the closest to Czech. And precisely for this reason, in connection with the development of indigenous Slovak, more accurately West Slovak, written means, thus in connection with the creation of so-called Cultural West Slovak, the model of Czech came to be used. It is true that the use of those traits, in which Slovak (or a part of the Slovak dialects) 'coincided' with Czech, was different in the individual regional variants of the cultural language. It was not a question here of a fixed set of traits and the consistent application of those traits" (Habovštiaková 1977, 119).

support for the adoption of a specific feature into a region-wide interdialectal norm[8]. Moreover, there is a counter-example to this view to be found in process 5a) diphthongization of long *ó*, where there is again identity of expected reflexes only between Cz and the w-sWSlk dialect area, but no clear WSlk interdialectal pattern based on the identical Cz/w-sWSlk reflex is attested in the texts. The remaining consistent reflex pattern in the texts is from the process: 6) diphthongization of long *ú* (in a hard environment). The expected reflexes from this phonological development are not at all identical between Cz and WSlk, however, a consistent reflex pattern is attested in the WSlk corpus, based on the WSlk dialectal reflex. The same is true for the process: 9) palatalization of *r* before front vowels and *j*, if it is considered that the later texts of the corpus exhibit a tendency toward consistent patterning of reflexes. In this case again there is no identity of expected reflexes between Cz and WSlk, however, there is a tendency toward a consistent reflex pattern attested in the WSlk texts, based on the WSlk dialectal reflex.

In the CSlk corpus, 7 of the 9 consistent reflex patterns attested in the texts could arguably have arisen because the Cz patterns that they exhibit were mutually supported by identical reflexes in the CSlk dialects. There is either complete identity or strong partial identity of the expected reflex patterns in Cz and the CSlk dialects from the following 3 developments: 2a) development of syllabic *r̥* (at least for the attested environments); 8a & 8b) assibilation of *d*, *t* before front vowels. Again, this interpretation of mutual support is highly unlikely in the other 4 instances because of the marginal status (geographically and/or phonologically) of the specific CSlk reflexes that would have been the supporting partners for the corresponding Cz reflexes in those instances. For the 4 processes: 1) the vocalization of the strong jers; 2b) development of syllabic *l̥* (at least for the attested environments); 3b) fronting and raising of short *a* in a soft environment; 4) fronting of long and short *ú*, *u* in a soft environment, the expected CSlk support for the Cz pattern is restricted either to limited phonological environments in all of CSlk or to limited CSlk dialect areas. The remaining two consistent patterns in the texts: 3a) fronting and raising of long *á* in a soft environment; 6) diphthongization of long *ú* (in a hard environment), illustrate instances where consistent patterns are attested in the CSlk corpus despite the fact that the expected reflexes from these phonological developments are not at all identical between Cz and CSlk. In the case of the process: 3a) fronting and raising of long *á* in a soft environment, the consistent pattern

[8] Although Habovštiaková makes claims for exactly this when she states: "The rich layer of bookish traits in the cultural language of the Slovak nationality is made up of those endings and forms . . . that found broader use in the cultural language of the Slovak nationality . . . especially because in these cases there were common points of contact between the West Slovak (*often only marginal West Slovak* [emphasis added]) dialectal forms and Czech" (1970, 208). As an example at the level of derivational morphology she states: "We can explain the prevalence of the shape *prodať* over *predať* in administrative-legal monuments as the result of Slovak linguistic support, i.e. the occurrence of the shape *prodať* in the Záhorský dialects [w-sWSlk]" (1968a, 238).

attested in the texts follows the Cz norm, while in the case of the process: 6) diphthongization of long *ú* (in a hard environment), the attested consistency is based on the CSlk dialectal reflex. Finally, it is interesting to note that the 4 processes that do not show consistent reflex patterns in the CSlk corpus: 5a & 5b) diphthongization of long *ó* , *'é* ; 7) assibilation of *d* before *j* ; 9) palatalization of *r* before front vowels and *j* , are all cases where the reflexes from these phonological developments are not at all identical between Cz and CSlk.

The above discussion of the mutual support between the literary Cz norm and the WSlk and CSlk dialects has been summarized in the table below. The first column indicates whether the WSlk reflex pattern supported the Cz norm for the given feature (S = strong support, W = weak support), while the second column shows whether the given feature exhibits consistent interdialectal distribution of reflexes in the WSlk texts. The third column indicates whether the CSlk reflex pattern supported the Cz norm for the given feature (S = strong support, W = weak support), while the fourth column shows whether the given feature exhibits consistent interdialectal distribution of reflexes in the CSlk texts. The fifth column indicates whether the given feature shows interregional WSlk-CSlk consistency of reflex distribution in the texts of the present investigation (= the 9 W/CSlk cultural language core features).

Mutual support of reflexes in the literary Cz norm and the Slk dialects

		WSlk reflexes support Cz	attested WSlk consistency	CSlk reflexes support Cz	attested CSlk consistency	WSlk-CSlk consistency
1)	ъ/ь	S	X	W	X	X
2a)	ŗ	S	X	S	X	X
2b)	ļ	S	X	W	X	X
3a)	á	W	X		X	X
3b)	a	W	X	W	X	X
4)	C'ú/u	W	X	W	X	X
5a)	ó	W				
5b)	'é	S	X			
6)	C'ú		X		X	X (Slk)
7)	dj	W	X			
8a)	d'	S	X	S	X	X
8b)	t'	S	X	S	X	X
9)	r'		(X)			

This allows for several observations:

A) The features of the literary Cz norm that were strongly supported in at least one of the Slk dialect regions, while also being supported (strongly or weakly) in the other, seem to have

been retained in the formation of consistent W/CSlk interregional phonological patterns in 16th century administrative-legal texts – cf. 1) ъ/ь , 2a) *ŕ* , 2b) *ĺ* , 8a) *d'* , 8b) *t'*.

B) Even features of the literary Cz norm that were only weakly supported in both Slk dialect regions seem to have been retained in the formation of consistent W/CSlk interregional phonological patterns in 16th century administrative-legal texts – cf. 3b) *a* , 4) *C'ú/u*

C) The fact that a feature of the literary Cz norm was supported (strongly or weakly) in only one Slk dialect region was apparently not a guarantee for the formation of consistent W/CSlk interregional phonological patterns in 16th century administrative-legal texts – cf. 3a) *á* with consistent W/CSlk interregional patterning vs. 5a) *ó* , 5b) *'é* , 7) *dj* with no W/CSlk interregional consistency of reflex patterns (although *'é* , *dj* do show interdialectal consistency in the WSlk texts – perhaps an illustration of regional variation in the W/CSlk cultural language norm).

D) Certain indigenous Slk consistent interdialectal patterns that arose naturally from phonological development seem to have been retained (regardless of the corresponding Cz development) in the formation of consistent W/CSlk interregional phonological patterns in 16th century administrative-legal texts – cf. 6) *C*ú* . The development *ú* > *ú* / *C*___* occurred in all three Slk dialect regions (*ú* > *u* in ESlk where vocalic length was lost). This expected *u* reflex is consistently attested in the texts from all three regions (even ESlk). The expected Cz reflex *ou̯* does not seem to have been influential here[9].

E) However, the fact that an indigenous Slk consistent interdialectal pattern arose naturally from phonological development was apparently not a guarantee for the formation of a consistent W/CSlk interregional phonological pattern in 16th century administrative-legal texts – cf. 9) *r'* . The development *r* > *r* /___*ě* , *i* , *e* , *ь* , *ę* , *j* occurred in all three Slk dialect regions. However, this expected *r* reflex is not consistently attested in the texts (with a possible late tendency toward consistency in the WSlk corpus), despite the consistent development in the dialects of all three regions. The expected Cz reflex *ř* seems to have had broader influence here.

[9] Although Lifanov claims that the Cz *ou̯* reflex does not even enter into consideration here and that the *u* reflex present in the texts actually represents the older (pre- *ú* > *ou̯*) Cz norm: "It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that the Czech literary language that was distributed in Slovakia and entered into contact with the Slovak dialects differed from the Czech literary language that was in use in the Czech lands and Moravia. As is known, the Czech literary language penetrated into Slovakia and became used as one of the written languages already in the 14th century. Here it appeared in a sort of preserved state. Strictly Czech innovations of a later period penetrated with great difficulty or did not penetrate at all into the Czech literary language in the Slovak territory . . . . Thus, here the Czech diphthong *-ou*, which appears sporadically in strictly Czech monuments already in the first third of the 15th century, is almost not present. In Czech monuments of the Slovak redaction forms with the non-diphthongized *-ú* are represented" (Lifanov 1989, 45).

This view seems unlikely, since there was constant (and increasing) contact on many levels between the Czech and Slovak lands throughout the period in question (see Macúrek 1956, Varsik 1956c). It is improbable, considering the substantial level of Czech-Slovak contact, that older 14th century features would have been "preserved" in the Czech language that was in use during the 16th century in the Slovak territory.

Thus, it does appear that the mutual support of identical Slk dialect and literary Cz reflexes from a phonological development may have been a contributing factor toward the consistent distribution of a given feature in the W/CSlk cultural language attested in the texts, however, it was not a decisive factor nor was it an obligatory factor.

The varying degrees of identity between the Slk and Cz reflex patterns from each of the phonological developments allow for certain interpretations regarding the linguistic source of the various consistent features attested in the texts. For the consistent features where the correspondence was strong between the reflexes of the Cz norm and the Slk dialects, the two linguistic systems appear to have mutually supported each other, making it difficult to attribute the consistency in the texts exclusively to only one of the two systems. However, for the consistent features where the correspondence between reflexes of the Cz norm and the Slk dialects was weak or nonexistent, it is reasonably clear that the Cz norm was maintained (except in one instance) in the texts of this investigation regardless of the Slk dialect reflexes. For one of the consistent features where the correspondence between reflexes of the Cz norm and the Slk dialects was nonexistent, it is clear that a consistent interdialectal Slk pattern was maintained in the texts regardless of the reflexes of the literary Cz norm.

It is difficult to make any generalizations regarding the 4 features that do not show consistent W/CSlk interregional reflex patterns in the texts. Three of these features do have mutual support of reflexes between Cz and WSlk, but only two of those three exhibit interdialectal consistency of distribution in the WSlk texts. As stated earlier, these two features that show interdialectal consistency in the WSlk texts but not in the CSlk texts might be regarded as cases of regional variation between the WSlk and CSlk variants of the W/CSlk cultural language. The fourth feature that does not show consistent W/CSlk interregional reflex patterns in the texts does not have mutual support of reflexes between Cz and Slk, but it does have the natural development of an interdialectally consistent reflex throughout the Slk territory. Nevertheless, there is only a tendency toward consistent interdialectal distribution for this feature in the later texts of the WSlk corpus. Thus, there is no obvious factor that would seem to contribute to the inconsistent distribution of reflexes for these 4 features in the texts. In fact, it should be noted that for each of these 4 features that does not exhibit a consistent interdialectal reflex pattern in both the WSlk and CSlk texts, there is a feature with a similar reflex situation (Slk<–>Cz and within Slk) that does exhibit consistent interdialectal, interregional patterning: *ó , 'é , dj* vs. *á ; r'* vs. *C*ú* .

Conclusions of this study and recommendations for further research

In answer to the questions posed in the introductory chapter and repeated at the beginning of this concluding chapter regarding the existence, scope and basis of an interdialectal phonological norm in 16th century Slovak administrative-legal texts, the following can be stated:

(1) The language of the investigated 16th century administrative-legal corpus appears to exhibit an interdialectal phonological norm for the West Slovak and Central Slovak dialect regions – i.e., there appears to be a written interdialectal Cultural Slovak phonological norm with interregional validity attested in the West Slovak and Central Slovak texts. This norm appears to be more developed and stable in the West Slovak region than in the Central Slovak region – perhaps illustrating West Slovak/Central Slovak regional variation in the Cultural Slovak norm. The texts from the Moravian Slovak region appear to make use of the written literary Czech phonological norm, while the texts from the East Slovak region do not show consistent interdialectal distribution of reflexes for the majority of the investigated phonological developments.

(2) The interdialectal, interregional phonological norm attested for the West Slovak and Central Slovak regions seems to exhibit a mixed base of Czech phonology and Slovak phonology. The exact degree to which each language system is responsible for the phonological structure of the attested norm is uncertain, although it is reasonably clear that the literary Czech norm played a substantial role in the formation of a majority of the consistent distribution patterns attested in the texts.

(3) Additional research remains to be done on the question of cultural language and interdialectal norm in 16th century Slovakia. There is a need for further work on the phonology of 16th century Slovak texts, especially as regards the connection between individual lexical items and their phonological shape. This link is often mentioned in studies on the issue of Cultural Slovak but, to my knowledge, it has not been pursued on a larger scale. An in-depth phonological study examining the distribution of reflexes as they occur in groups of related lexical items from individual stems (as was partially done here for the examples of **prьjatel-*) should yield an even more refined picture of the interrelation of the literary Czech norm and the Slovak dialects in written Cultural Slovak phonology than was presented in this work. As was the case for phonology, the research that has been done on the morphology of 16th century Slovak texts has essentially been restricted to studies involving individual texts or groups of texts from specific regions. A study similar to this one, but concentrating on morphological features of the texts, would provide an additional, morphological perspective to the general picture of the linguistic structure of 16th century Slovak texts. While it is clear that there is

additional work to be done, it is hoped that the present study has contributed to the clarification of the issue of 16th century Cultural Slovak, and that it will be a beneficial tool for future research in this area.

APPENDIX A: TABLE OF ORTHOGRAPHIC EQUIVALENCES

This appendix presents a listing of those graphemes most commonly used in the texts of this study to represent the phonemes of Slovak and Czech. It is not intended to be a complete register of the all the graphemes found in the corpus under investigation. The consonant sounds are grouped according to place and manner of articulation, with the sibilants together in a separate group at the end. The most common orthographic variant(s) of each phoneme is presented first followed by the other variants in random order.

	phoneme	grapheme
vocalic:	a	a
	ä	a, e
	e	e
	i	i, y, j
	o	o
	u	u, v, w
	ja	ia, ya
	je	ie, ye
	ju	no clear examples in corpus
	uo	uo
	ou	au, ou, ov, ow
	r̥	r
	l̥	l

Notes on vowel orthography

1) Vocalic length is generally not indicated with consistency in texts from this period. In the present corpus it is occasionally marked by diacritics over the vowel symbols, e.g. <é> , <ů> . There are also isolated instances of double vowel symbols denoting long vowels in the texts of this study, e.g. <ee> = / é / .

2) There are some instances of nasal vowel marking in the texts of this study from the ESlk region. The most common nasal vowel representation in these texts is the grapheme still used in modern Polish orthography: <ą> . In some cases in these texts, nasal vowels are also indicated by the digraph <an> .

	phoneme	grapheme
consonantal:	b	b
	p	p
	m	m
	v	v, w, u
	f	f, ph
	d	d
	t	t, th
	n	n
	l	l
	r	r
	j	g, y, j, i
	g	g
	k	k, c
	h	h, ch
	x	ch, h
	c	cz, c, tz
	č	cz, cž, č
	s	s, ss, sz
	š	ss, s, sz
	z	z
	ž	z, ž, ż, zi
	ʒ	dz, cz
	ǯ	dž
	ř	rz, ř

Notes on consonant orthography

1) In texts from this period, softness is not marked with consistency on / b' , p' , m' , v' , f' , d' , t' , n' / , and is almost never marked on / l' / . In the present corpus, softness is occasionally marked by digraphs, e.g. <di> , <dy> ; <ti> , <ty> ; etc. It is also marked diacritically in some instances in the texts of this study, e.g. <ď> , <dě> .

2) In 16th century texts, consonant graphemes are often written double for no apparent phonological reason, e.g. <radde> = *rade* ('to the council' D sg. f.). This is encountered frequently in the corpus under investigation.

APPENDIX B: TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CORPUS

The presentation of the texts in the tables below is according to the dialect regions: MSlk – WSlk – CSlk – ESlk. The WSlk, CSlk and ESlk regions are subdivided according to the major internal divisions: sWSlk–nWSlk, nCSlk–sCSlk, wESlk–eESlk. Within each subdivision, the texts are listed in alphabetical order according to place of composition (Slk/Cz alphabetical order is used, hence *ä* follows *a* and *ô* follows *o*; *ch* is listed after *h*; and *č* comes after *c*, *š* after *s*, *ž* after *z* and *ř* after *r*).

The first column of each table gives the date of composition for each text. It should be noted here that although the scope of this investigation generally includes only texts from the period 1530-1590, two ESlk texts written shortly after 1590, as well as four ESlk texts of uncertain chronology in the 1500s (marked simply "16th c." throughout this work), were included in the investigation because of a general lack of available texts from the period for that region.

Following the date of composition is a general description of the document. Included in this description are the type of text (letter, town book entry, etc.), the author(s) and recipient(s) of the text, and in the case of town book entries or city/court records the general content of the document, as far as any of this information is known.

The third column of each table shows the sources of the textual editions used in this investigation. All of the editions of the texts used in this investigation come from secondary sources (journal articles, monographs and text collections). While some were published as true diplomatic editions of the original manuscripts, many were published using various systems of transliteration and/or transcription. Only those transliterated/transcribed editions accompanied by a full description of the transliteration/transcription system employed were considered in the selection of the corpus. The final corpus consists then of texts in diplomatic editions and texts in those transliterated/transcribed editions where the system of transliteration/transcription does not obscure the original orthographic representation of the specific phonological features under investigation here. The abbreviations used in the column of secondary sources designate the following:

Dejiny III = Stanislav 1957. (#XXX refers to the number assigned to the specific text in the Stanislav 1957 section "Staré slovenské jazykové pamiatky: b) Súvislé texty, listy a zápisy"; p.XXX refers to the page number of the specific text in Stanislav 1957)

Doruľa 61 = Doruľa 1961b. (#XXX refers to the number assigned to the specific text in Doruľa 1961b)

Doruľa 66 = Doruľa 1966. (p.XXX refers to the page number of the specific text in Doruľa 1966)

Doruľa 69 = Doruľa 1969b. (#XXX refers to the number assigned to the specific text in Doruľa 1969b)

Dubay = Dubay, Dezider A. 1939/1940. (p.XXX refers to the page number of the specific text in Dubay, Dezider A. 1939/1940)

JŠ = *Jazykovedné štúdie* VI. 1961. (p.XXX refers to the page number of the specific text in *Jazykovedné štúdie* VI. 1961)

Jelšava = Lehotská and Orlovský 1976. (#XXX refers to the number assigned to the specific text in Lehotská and Orlovský 1976)

Kotulič = Kotulič 1959b.

Mihál = Mihál 1936.

Novák = Novák 1937.

Stanislav = Stanislav 1948. (#XXX refers to the number assigned to the specific text in Stanislav 1948)

Šimovič = Šimovič 1941. (#XXX refers to the number assigned to the specific text in Šimovič 1941)

Štolc = Štolc 1951. (#XXX refers to the number assigned to the specific text in Štolc 1951)

Varsik = Varsik 1956c. (#XXX refers to the number assigned to the specific text in Varsik 1956c)

The fourth column of each table gives the length of each text as it is found in the edition used for this study. The formatting and size of typeface employed in the secondary sources is fairly uniform, hence a listing of the number of lines in each text gives a reasonably accurate picture of the relative size of each text. The texts vary in length from 4 lines to 100 lines, with an average length of approximately 22 lines. The WSlk text Považská Bystrica 1576 extends to 373 lines, but only the first 100 lines were considered in the investigation since they were deemed highly representative of the remainder of the text. Limiting this text to the first 100 lines also kept it within the range represented by the other texts, thus avoiding distortion of the data that might have occurred through an imbalance of certain forms caused by the consideration of a text of disproportionate size. Broken down by dialect region, the size of the corpus is as follows:

Overview of corpus size by region

	total lines	total texts	lines/text
MSlk:	454	23	20
WSlk:	1211	52	23
CSlk:	1150	46	25
ESlk:	569	31	18
Total:	3384	152	22

The numbers in the final column of each table indicate the location of the place of composition of each text on the maps used throughout this work. The numbers are arranged on the map from west to east, i.e., following the order: MSlk–>sWSlk–>nWSlk–>nCSlk–> sCSlk–>wESlk–>eESlk.

After each of the four regional tables there is a chronological listing of the texts covered in the table. These listings provide a chronological overview for each dialect region of the number of texts and their locations according to decade.

Following the entire set of tables is a set of maps illustrating the geographical distribution of the texts. The first map shows the distribution of the entire set of texts used in this investigation. The following maps give the geographical distribution of the texts according to decade. Each of these maps covers one decade and shows only those towns that are represented by a text (or texts) written in that decade. The maps are arranged in increasing chronological order with the last map illustrating the four ESlk texts of uncertain date in the 16th century.

MORAVIAN SLOVAK CORPUS

date of composition	description of document	secondary source of text	number of lines in text	location on map
Brumov-Bylnice				
1539	letter from the Brumov city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #109	20	5
Břeclav				
1539	letter from Bartolomej zo Žerotína a na Břeclavi to the Trnava city council	Varsik #108	12	12
Klášter Smilheim (at Vizovice)				
1540	letter from Smil Kuna st. z Kunštátu a na Kláštere Smilheime to the Trnava city council	Varsik #120	16	4
Kroměříž				
1539	letter from the Kroměříž city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #105	21	3
1542	record of the Kroměříž city council containing testimony of witnesses	Varsik #136	16	3
Rožnov pod Radhoštěm				
1535	letter from Bernard Bravanský, estate manager in Rožnov and Vsetín, to the Trnava city council	Varsik #76	19	2
Strážnice				
1532	letter from Ján zo Žerotína a na Strážnici to the Trnava city council	Varsik #61	16	11
Uherské Hradiště				
1538a	letter from the Uherské Hradiště city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #98	11	7
1538b	letter from the Uherské Hradiště city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #101	9	7

date of composition	description of document	secondary source of text	number of lines in text	location on map
Uherský Brod				
1530	letter from the Uherský Brod city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #51	18	6
1531	letter from the Uherský Brod city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #56	35	6
1536	record of the Uherský Brod city council testifying to a business transaction	Varsik #82	21	6
1538	letter from the Uherský Brod city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #93	13	6
1540a	letter from the Uherský Brod city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #115	13	6
1540b	letter from the Uherský Brod city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #118	13	6
1547	letter from the Uherský Brod city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #218	36	6
Uherský Ostroh (formerly Ostrov)				
1533	letter from Ján z Kunovíc a na Uherskom Brode to the Trnava city council	Varsik #64	33	8
1540	letter from Ján z Kunovíc a na Uherskom Brode to the Trnava city council	Varsik #116	13	8
Valašské Meziříčí				
1541	record of the Valašské Meziříčí city council concerning a nuptial agreement	Varsik #132	34	1
Velká nad Veličkou				
1548	letter from Ján zo Žerotína a na Strážnici to the Trnava city council	Varsik #221	17	10
Veselí nad Moravou				
1540	letter from Hynek Bílik z Kornic a na Veselí to the Trnava city council	Varsik #117	12	9
1549a	letter from Hynek Bílik z Kornic a na Veselí to the Trnava city council	Varsik #226	25	9
1549b	letter from Hynek Bílik z Kornic a na Veselí to the Trnava city council	Varsik #228	31	9

Chronological listing of MSlk texts

decade	# of texts	location of texts
1530-39	12	Brumov-Bylnice; Břeclav; Kroměříž; Rožnov p. Radh.; Strážnice; Uh. Hradiště (2x); Uh. Brod (4x); Uh. Ostroh
1540-49	11	Klášter Smilheim; Kroměříž; Uh. Brod (3x); Uh. Ostroh; Valaš. Meziříčí; Velká n. Vel.; Veselí n. Mor. (3x)

TOTAL = 23

WEST SLOVAK CORPUS

date of composition	description of document	secondary source of text	number of lines in text	location on map
Southern West Slovak				
Beckov				
1535	record of the Beckov city council concerning the examination of a witness	Varsik #69	32	24
Čachtice				
1544	letter from the Čachtice city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #178	12	22
1550	letter from the Čachtice city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #239	14	22
Dobrá Voda				
1538a	letter from Štefan z Dechtíc and Michal zo Senji, officials in Dobrá Voda, to the Trnava city council	Varsik #97	23	20
1538b	letter from Štefan z Dechtíc and Michal zo Senji, officials in Dobrá Voda, to the Trnava city council	Varsik #100	39	20
Dolný Lopašov				
1546	letter from the Dolný Lopašov city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #213	15	19
Hlohovec				
1532	letter from the Hlohovec city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #59	15	17
1545a	letter from the Hlohovec city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #197	19	17
1545b	letter from the Hlohovec city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #198	15	17
1550	letter from the Hlohovec city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #252	15	17
Chtelnica				
1531	letter from the Chtelnica city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #57	21	18

date of composition	description of document	secondary source of text	number of lines in text	location on map
Nové Mesto nad Váhom				
1534	letter from the Nové Mesto nad Váhom city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #268	20	23
1546	letter from the Nové Mesto nad Váhom city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #207	23	23
1550	letter from the Nové Mesto nad Váhom city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #254	18	23
Senica				
1530	letter from the Senica city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #48	17	14
1537	letter from the Senica city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #90	17	14
1539	letter from the Senica city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #107a	11	14
Skalica				
1536	letter from the Skalica city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #79	37	13
1543a	letter from the Skalica city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #156	12	13
1543b	letter from the Skalica city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #157	32	13
1550	letter from the Skalica city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #245	19	13
1590	Skalica town book entry concerning property ownership	Šimovič #1	16	13
Smolenice				
1537	letter from the Smolenice city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #87	21	15
Trnava				
1536	record of the Trnava city council concerning distribution of a deceased man's property	Varsik #77	39	16
1541	letter from the Trnava city council to the Kovarce city council	Varsik #121	16	16
1550	letter from the Trnava city council to 3 Trnava citizens in Vienna	Varsik #243	30	16
1565a	Trnava town book entry concerning vineyard ownership	JŠ p.47 (#1)	7	16
1565b	Trnava town book entry concerning vineyard ownership	JŠ p.47 (#2)	10	16

date of composition	description of document	secondary source of text	number of lines in text	location on map
Trnava (cont.)				
1565c	Trnava town book entry concerning vineyard ownership	JŠ p.48 (#1)	6	16
1565d	Trnava town book entry concerning vineyard ownership	JŠ p.48 (#2)	6	16
1565e	Trnava town book entry concerning vineyard ownership	JŠ p.48 (#3)	5	16
1577a	Trnava town book entry concerning vineyard ownership	JŠ p.55	7	16
1577b	Trnava town book entry concerning vineyard ownership	JŠ p.56 (#1)	8	16
1577c	Trnava town book entry concerning vineyard ownership	JŠ p.56 (#2)	4	16
1577d	Trnava town book entry concerning vineyard ownership	JŠ p.56 (#3)	5	16
1577e	Trnava town book entry concerning vineyard ownership	JŠ p.56 (#4)	8	16
1580a	Trnava town book entry concerning vineyard ownership	JŠ p.59 (#1)	8	16
1580b	Trnava town book entry concerning vineyard ownership	JŠ p.59 (#2)	10	16
Vrbové				
1550a	letter from the Vrbové city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #247	15	21
1550b	letter from the Vrbové city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #256	19	21

date of composition	description of document	secondary source of text	number of lines in text	location on map
Northern West Slovak				
Bytča				
1580	record of the Thurzo family, owners of the Bytča domain, containing testimony of witnesses	JŠ p.211	26	29
Ilava				
1534	letter from Anton Kováč and František Kis, captains at Ilava castle, to Pavol Petrovci a na Košatci	Varsik #269	17	26
1542	letter from the Ilava city council to Father Ondrej, Slovak minister in Trnava	Varsik #139	18	26
Považská Bystrica				
1547	letter from Rafael z Podmanína a na Bystrici to the Trnava city council	Varsik #216	23	27
1562	record of the Balass family, landowners around Pov. Bystrica, containing testimony of witnesses	JŠ p.199	28	27
1576	record of the Balass family, landowners around Pov. Bystrica, containing testimony of witnesses	JŠ p.200	100	27
Rajec				
1553	record of the Rajec city council testifying to a business transaction	JŠ p.216	65	28
1586	record of the Rajec city council testifying to a business transaction	JŠ p.215	47	28
Trenčín				
1532	letter from the Trenčín city council to Žigmund Korlátský z Branča a na Korláte	Varsik #266	24	25
1549	letter from the Trenčín city council to the Trnava city council	Varsik #230	100	25
1577	record of the Trenčín district court testifying to a legal matter	JŠ p.247	7	25
1584	record of the Trenčín district court containing testimony of criminals	JŠ p.252	90	25

Chronological listing of WSlk texts

decade	# of texts	location of texts
1530-39	14	sWSlk: Beckov; Dobrá Voda (2x); Hlohovec; Chtelnica; N. Mesto n. Váh.; Senica (3x); Skalica; Smolenice; Trnava nWSlk: Ilava; Trenčín
1540-49	11	sWSlk: Čachtice; Dol. Lopašov; Hlohovec (2x); N. Mesto n. Váh.; Skalica (2x); Trnava nWSlk: Ilava; Pov. Bystrica; Trenčín
1550-59	8	sWSlk: Čachtice; Hlohovec; N. Mesto n. Váh.; Skalica; Trnava; Vrbové (2x) nWSlk: Rajec
1560-69	6	sWSlk: Trnava (5x) nWSlk: Pov. Bystrica
1570-79	7	sWSlk: Trnava (5x) nWSlk: Pov. Bystrica; Trenčín
1580-89 (+1590)	6	sWSlk: Skalica; Trnava (2x) nWSlk: Bytča; Rajec; Trenčín

TOTAL = 52

CENTRAL SLOVAK CORPUS

date of composition	description of document	secondary source of text	number of lines in text	location on map
Northern Central Slovak				
Dolná (formerly Stará) Štubňa				
1566	letter from Matej Holeš, independent farmer in Stará Štubňa, to the Kremnica magistrate	Dubay p.321 (#1)	17	42
1567	letter from Matej Holeš, independent farmer in Stará Štubňa, to the Kremnica magistrate	Dubay p.322	10	42
Hôra				
1578	record of a Liptov district official registering a complaint of Peter Pongrác z Sv. Mikuláša	Dejiny III #40	31	33
Kaľamenová				
1571	accounting record of Martin and Mikuláš Rakovský, local landowners	JŠ p.242	31	41
1575	letter from Martin Rakovský to Albert Rakovský (local landowners)	JŠ p.245	10	41
Kláštor pod Znievom				
1531	letter from the Kláštor pod Znievom city council to the Trenčín city council	Varsik #264	19	39
Kremnica				
1569	letter from the Kremnica city council to several citizens of Mošovce	Dubay p.319	25	44
Martin (formerly Turčiansky Svätý Martin)				
1540	record of the Martin city council testifying to a business transaction	Varsik #112	23	36
1561	Martin town book entry containing a last will and testament	Dejiny III p.194	19	36

date of composition	description of document	secondary source of text	number of lines in text	location on map
Mošovce				
1567	letter from the Mošovce city council to the Kremnica city council	Dubay p.337	31	40
1568	letter from the Mošovce city council to the Kremnica city council	Dubay p.337	19	40
1569	letter from the Mošovce city council to the Kremnica city council	Dubay p.338	26	40
1578	Mošovce town book entry testifying to a business transaction	Dejiny III p.196	29	40
Necpaly				
1565	letter from František Just z Necpál to the Kremnica city council	Dubay p.331	18	38
Oravský Zámok				
1574	record of Orava district officials concerning complaints of Peter Luther z Valaskej Dubovej	Novák	78	30
Partizánska (formerly Nemecká) Ľupča				
1538	Nemecká Ľupča town book entry concerning property ownership	JŠ p.136	15	34
1540	Nemecká Ľupča town book entry concerning property ownership	JŠ p.138	34	34
1551	Nemecká Ľupča town book entry concerning property ownership	JŠ p.140	24	34
1559	Nemecká Ľupča town book entry concerning property ownership	JŠ p.143	25	34
1562	Nemecká Ľupča town book entry concerning property ownership	JŠ p.144	32	34
1568	Nemecká Ľupča town book entry concerning property ownership	JŠ p.147	29	34
1571	Nemecká Ľupča town book entry concerning an inheritance agreement	JŠ p.148	36	34
1578a	Nemecká Ľupča town book entry concerning an inheritance agreement	JŠ p.150	56	34
1578b	Nemecká Ľupča town book entry concerning an inheritance agreement	JŠ p.151	29	34
1582	Nemecká Ľupča town book entry containing testimony of witnesses	JŠ p.168	92	34
1588a	Nemecká Ľupča town book entry concerning property ownership	JŠ p.155 (#1)	16	34
1588b	Nemecká Ľupča town book entry concerning property ownership	JŠ p.155 (#2)	27	34

date of composition	description of document	secondary source of text	number of lines in text	location on map
Ružomberok				
1531a	Ružomberok town book entry concerning property ownership	Dejiny III p.190 (#1)	5	35
1531b	Ružomberok town book entry concerning a business transaction	Dejiny III p.190 (#2)	5	35
1555a	Ružomberok town book entry concerning an inheritance agreement	Dejiny III p.190	10	35
1555b	Ružomberok town book entry concerning property ownership	Dejiny III p.191	9	35
1585a	Ružomberok town book entry concerning property ownership	Dejiny III p.191	8	35
1585b	Ružomberok town book entry concerning property ownership	Dejiny III p.192	5	35
1585c	Ružomberok town book entry concerning property ownership	Dejiny III p.193	12	35
1586	Ružomberok town book entry concerning property ownership	Dejiny III p.193	8	35
Sklabiňa				
1564	letter from Ján Revay, owner of the Sklabiňa domain, to the Kremnica city council	Dubay p.345	28	37
1579	letter from František Revay, owner of the Sklabiňa domain, to Martin Rakovský, local landowner	JŠ p.247	24	37
Slovenská Ľupča				
1589	Slovenská Ľupča town book entry containing court proceedings on a theft	Mihál	80	43
Veličná				
1584	record of the Veličná city council confirming a business transaction	JŠ p.214	21	31
Veľké Pole				
1547	letter from the Veľké Pole city council to the Banská Štiavnica city council	JŠ p.265	18	45
Vyšný Kubín				
1568	record of Vyšný Kubín concerning thefts	Dejiny III #34	20	32
Žarnovica				
1548	letter from the Žarnovica city council to the Banská Štiavnica city council	JŠ p.265	22	46

date of composition	description of document	secondary source of text	number of lines in text	location on map
Southern Central Slovak				
Jelšava				
1567a	Jelšava town book entry containing the promise of a released prisoner	Jelšava #6	19	47
1567b	Jelšava town book entry concerning property ownership	Jelšava #8	25	47
1572	Jelšava town book entry testifying to a business transaction	Jelšava #17	16	47
1576-7	Jelšava town book entry concerning property ownership	Jelšava #24	14	47

Chronological listing of CSlk texts

decade	# of texts	location of texts
1530-39	4	nCSlk: Kláštor p. Zniev.; Partiz. Ľupča; Ružomerok (2x) sCSlk:
1540-49	4	nCSlk: Martin; Partiz. Ľupča; Veľ. Pole; Žarnovica sCSlk:
1550-59	4	nCSlk: Partiz. Ľupča (2x); Ružomberok (2x) sCSlk:
1560-69	14	nCSlk: Dol. Štubňa (2x); Kremnica; Martin; Mošovce (3x); Necpaly; Partiz. Ľupča (2x); Sklabiňa; Vyš. Kubín sCSlk: Jelšava (2x)
1570-79	11	nCSlk: Hôra; Kaľamenová (2x); Mošovce; Orav. Zámok; Partiz. Ľupča (3x); Sklabiňa sCSlk: Jelšava (2x)
1580-89 (+1590)	9	nCSlk: Partiz. Ľupča (3x); Ružomberok (4x); Slov. Ľupča; Veličná sCSlk:

TOTAL = 46

EAST SLOVAK CORPUS

date of composition	description of document	secondary source of text	number of lines in text	location on map
Western East Slovak				
Arnutovce				
16th c.	last will and testament of Jurko z Arnutoviec	Kotulič	30	53
Bardejov				
1585	record of Bardejov concerning a business transaction	Doruľa 61 #8	10	59
1586	record of Bardejov concerning a business transaction	Doruľa 66 p.57	9	59
Bartošovce				
1554	letter from Krištof Zad, citizen of Bardejov, to the Bardejov magistrate	Doruľa 66 p.55	58	61
Brezovica nad Torysou				
1564	letter from Juřík and István Berzeviczy, local landowners, to the Levoča city council	Doruľa 69 #5	37	51
1567	letter from Martin Berzeviczy, local landowner, to the Bardejov city council	Doruľa 66 p.66	22	51
Dubovica				
16th c. a	letter from Krištof Dubay, local landowner, to the Levoča city council	Doruľa 69 #6	11	56
16th c. b	record of the Dubovica city council concerning a business transaction	Doruľa 69 #7	7	56
Hertník				
1565	letter from Demetrius, estate manager in Hertník, to a certain "pan Stanislav"	Doruľa 66 p.65	9	60
Chmeľov				
1577	letter from Juraj Šemšej to the Bardejov magistrate	JŠ p.179	15	62

date of composition	description of document	secondary source of text	number of lines in text	location on map
Kračunovce				
1580	letter from the Kračunovce elder to the Bardejov magistrate	JŠ p.180	20	63
Krásna Lúka (formerly Šenviz)				
1556	letter from Ladislav Horváth, local landowner, to the Bardejov magistrate	Doruľa 61 #4	11	50
1557	letter from Ladislav Horváth, local landowner, to the Levoča city council	Doruľa 69 #1	14	50
1558	letter from Ladislav Horváth, local landowner, to Sebastián (Krupek?) in Levoča	Doruľa 69 #2	13	50
Levoča				
1552	magistrates' oath of loyalty to the city of Levoča	Stanislav #12	11	52
1569	record of the Levoča city council concerning property ownership	Dubay p.332	11	52
16th c.	guards' oath of loyalty to the city of Levoča	Štolc #2	4	52
(Hrad) Makovica (at Zborov)				
1579a	letter from Kundrat, official at Makovica, to the Bardejov magistrate	Doruľa 66 p.66	13	58
1579b	letter from František Hoszútóthy, official at Makovica, to the Bardejov magistrate	Doruľa 61 #7	11	58
Plaveč				
1532a	letter from Barnabáš Horváth to Ján Horváth in Bardejov (local landowners)	Doruľa 61 #1	21	49
1532b	letter from Barnabáš Horváth, local landowner, to the Bardejov city council	Doruľa 61 #2	24	49
1556	letter from Ladislav Horváth, local landowner, to the Bardejov city council	Doruľa 61 #3	11	49
1583	letter from Juraj Horváth, local landowner, to Grigier Tribli in Levoča	Doruľa 69 #3	23	49
1587	letter from Juraj Horváth, local landowner, to Jurík Dubovický, neighboring landowner	Doruľa 66 p.66	14	49
Poľanovce				
1584	letter from Krištof Sednický, local landowner, to all surrounding neighbors	JŠ p.181	20	55

date of composition	description of document	secondary source of text	number of lines in text	location on map
Rožkovany (formerly **Roškoviany**)				
1575	letter from Kalman Roškovenský to the Bardejov magistrate	Doruľa 61 #6	19	57
Slovenská Ves				
1591	letter from V. Švabovský, J. Matiašovský and S. Kolačkovský to the Bardejov city council	Doruľa 61 #9	24	48
Spišská Kapitula				
1592	letter from Ján Batyz, manager of the episcopal estate in Spiš. Kapitula, to the Levoča magistrate	Dejiny III #42	25	54
Šemša				
1580	letter from Ladislav Šemšegy to the Bardejov magistrate	JŠ p.181	22	66
Eastern East Slovak				
Hlinné				
1585	record of the Hlinné city council containing an account of a trial	JŠ p.183	14	65
Lomné				
1572	letter from the Lomné city council to the Bardejov city council	Doruľa 61 #5	36	64

Chronological listing of ESlk texts

decade	# of texts	location of texts
1530-39	2	wESlk: Plaveč (2x) eESlk:
1540-49	0	
1550-59	6	wESlk: Bartošovce; Krás. Lúka (3x); Levoča; Plaveč eESlk:
1560-69	4	wESlk: Brezovica n. Tor. (2x); Hertník; Levoča eESlk:
1570-79	5	wESlk: Chmeľov; Makovica (2x); Rožkovany eESlk: Lomné
1580-89 (+1590)	8	wESlk: Bardejov (2x); Kračunovce; Plaveč (2x); Poľanovce; Šemša eESlk: Hlinné
early 1590s	2	wESlk: Slov. Ves; Spiš. Kapitula eESlk:
1500s (uncertain date)	4	wESlk: Arnutovce; Dubovica (2x); Levoča eESlk:

TOTAL = 31

Geographical distribution

of texts: Entire corpus

1. Valašské Meziříčí
2. Rožnov pod Radhoštěm
3. Kroměříž
4. Klášter Strulheim
5. Brumov-Bylnice
6. Uherský Brod
7. Uherské Hradiště
8. Uherský Ostroh
9. Veselí nad Moravou
10. Velká nad Veličkou
11. Strážnice
12. Břeclav
13. Skalica
14. Senica
15. Smolenice
16. Trnava
17. Hlohovec
18. Chtelnica
19. Dolný Lopašov
20. Dobrá Voda
21. Vrbové
22. Čachtice
23. Nové Mesto nad Váhom
24. Beckov
25. Trenčín
26. Ilava
27. Považská Bystrica
28. Rajec
29. Bytča
30. Oravský Zámok
31. Veličná
32. Vyšný Kubín
33. Hôra
34. Partizánska Ľupča
35. Ružomberok
36. Martin
37. Sklabiňa
38. Necpaly
39. Kláštor pod Znievom
40. Mošovce
41. Kalamenová
42. Dolná Štubňa
43. Slovenská Ľupča
44. Kremnica
45. Veľké Pole
46. Žamovica
47. Jelšava
48. Slovenská Ves
49. Plaveč
50. Krásna Lúka
51. Brezovica nad Torysou
52. Levoča
53. Arnutovce
54. Spišská Kapitula
55. Poľanovce
56. Dubovica
57. Rožkovany
58. (Hrad) Makovica
59. Bardejov
60. Hertník
61. Bartošovce
62. Chmeľov
63. Kračúnovce
64. Lomné
65. Hlinné
66. Šemša

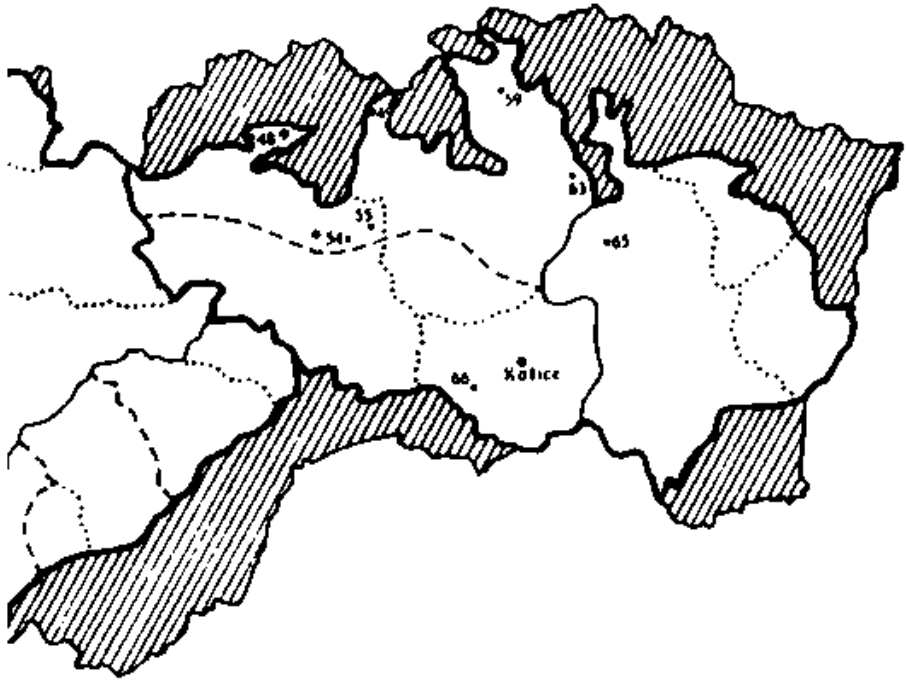
Distribution of texts: 1530-1539

Distribution of texts: 1540-1549

Distribution of texts: 1560-1569

Distribution of texts: 1570-1579

Distribution of texts: 1580-1589 (+1590)



* these two texts are from the early 1590s: 48 = 1591 ; 54 = 1592

Distribution of texts: 1500s (uncertain date)

GLOSSARY

This glossary presents the modern Slk and Cz forms (i.e., the phonological/etymological continuations) of the 16th century lexical items cited in Chapters IV-VII of this investigation. The forms listed here therefore provide both a modern phonological reference as well as a type of standardized spelling for the numerous variants encountered in the 16th century texts. The meanings assigned to the lexical items in this glossary are those that pertain in the 16th century texts under investigation. Thus, due to semantic changes in the lexica of Slk and Cz over the past four centuries, the English definitions listed here are not necessarily the most common definitions for the given modern Slk or Cz words, indeed standard contemporary dictionaries of Slk and Cz list some of the definitions cited here as archaic or dialectal by modern standard usage. Also, because of divirgent tendencies in the individual development of the Slk and Cz lexica, this is in no way an accurate listing of modern Slk<–>Cz lexical equivalences. The individual Slk and Cz forms listed here were chosen solely on the basis of their phonological/ etymological relation to the attested 16th century forms.

This glossary is therefore to be understood as a dictionary of the assembled 16th century corpus with the headwords rendered by their modern Slk and Cz phonological/etymological equivalents. It is intended to be used in conjunction with the "Index of cited forms" to provide complete grammatical, lexical and etymological information for the examples cited in Chapters IV-VII of this investigation. The major sources used to compile the information included in the glossary entries are the following:

1) general lexicographical works: Gašparíková and Kamiš 1983; Havránek 1989; Peciar 1959-68; Poldauf 1990; Stanisławski 1986; Szymczak 1978-81; Vilikovská and Vilikovský 1983

2) etymological and historical works: Brückner 1989; Fasmer 1964-73; Klemensiewicz, Lehr-Spławiński, Urbańczyk 1981 (esp. 197-254); Kluge 1975; Kopečný, et al. 1981; Lamprecht, Šlosar, Bauer 1986 (esp. 255-95); Machek 1971; Majtán 1991– ; Reczek 1968; Sławski 19??– ; Stanislav 1967b; Šimek 1981

The glossary is organized according to Slk/Cz alphabetical order (like English alphabetical order, except *ä* follows *a* and *ô* follows *o* ; *ch* is listed after *h* ; and *č* comes after *c* , *š* after *s* , *ž* after *z* and *ř* after *r*). Unless otherwise indicated (see symbols and abbreviations below), the first item in each listing is the modern Slk form. The modern Cz form is listed second, followed by the English definition in italics. Finally, the Proto-Slavic form (or other source form) from which the entry derives is listed in square brackets. It should be noted that separate entries for items with the prefix *ne-* (denoting negation) are not given

here, but rather the corresponding positive, non-prefixed form is given (unless the *ne-* form exists as an independent lexical item in standard dictionaries, in which case it is given in this glossary).

The following symbols and abbreviations appear in conjunction with the *headwords* in the glossary:

[ ]	=	form exists in modern Slk/Cz but does not have, or no longer has, the 16th century meaning given here
†	=	archaic form that is no longer present in the modern Slk/Cz lexicon
(?)	=	existance of form not completely certain
(Slk only)	=	corresponding form does not exist in archaic or modern Cz
(Cz only)	=	corresponding form does not exist in archaic or modern Slk
(Pol only)	=	corresponding form exists in neither Slk nor Cz, but is found in Polish

B

†bierať / †bírat (?) — *to take* [< *bě̋rati]

bežať / běžet — *to run* [< *běžati]

biely / bílý — *white* [< *bělъjь]

Boh / Bůh — *God* [< *bogъ]

bôtka / botka — *boot* [bota (< *Fren* botte) + -ka (< *-ъka)]

brat / bratr — *brother* [< *bratrъ]

brať / brát — *to take* [< *bьrati]

byť / být — *to be (also used as auxiliary in paraphrastic past and future)* [< *byti]

C

celý / celý — *whole, entire* [< *cělъjь]

cesta / cesta — *road* [< *cěsta]

cirkev / církev — *church* [< *original oblique stem* *cŗ'kъvь (*A sg.*) (*N sg.* = *cŗ'ky)]

cudzí / cizí — *foreign, strange* [< *tjudjьjь]

Č

čas / čas — *time* [< *časъ]

†červen / červen — *June* [< *čŗ'vjenъ]

červený / červený — *red* [< *čŗ'vjenъjь]

česť / čest — *honor* [< *čьstь]

čierny / černý — *black* [< *čŗ'nъjь]

čítať / čítat — *to read* [< *čitati]

D

ďakovať / děkovat — *to thank* [< *WSlav* *dękъ- (< *MHG* danc / denke) + *Slav* *-ovati]

dať / dát — *to give* [< *dati]

deň / den — *day* [< *dьnь]

desať / deset — *ten* [< *desętь]

deti / děti — *children* [< *děti]

deväť / devět — *nine* [< *devętь]

diel / díl — *portion, part* [< *dělъ]

dielo / dílo — *business, affair* [< *dělo]

dietky / dítky — *children* [< *dětъky]

dievka / dívka — *girl; daughter* [< *děvъka]

dlh / dluh — *debt* [< *dl̥gъ]

dlhý / dlouhý — *long* [< *dl̥'gъjь]

dlžník / dlužník — *debtor* [< *dl̥žьnikъ]

dlžný / dlužný — *indebted* [< *dl̥žьnъjь]

†dlžstvo / †dlužství (?) — *debt* [< *dl̥žьstvo / *dl̥žьstvije]

dobromyseľný / dobromyslný — *kind-hearted* [< *dobromyslьnъjь]

dobrý / dobrý — *good* [< *dobrъjь]

dom / dům — *house, building* [< *domъ]

†domlúvať / domlouvat — *to scold, reproach* [< *dom|vati]

dopomôcť / dopomoci — *to help out* [< *dopomogti]

dopustiť / dopustit — *to allow, permit* [< *dopustiti]

dopúšťať / dopouštět — *to allow, permit* [< *dopustjati]

dosť / dost(i) — *enough, sufficiently* [< *do syti (*G sg.*) <– *sytъ]

dôchodok / důchodek — *revenue* [< *doxodъkъ]

dôvernosť / důvěrnost — *confidence* [< *dověrьnostь]

dôvod / důvod — *proof* [< *dovodъ]

[dráha] / dráha — *road, way* [< *dorga]

drvo / drvo — *wood* [< *original pl. stem* *drъv- + *-o (*sg. stem* = *derv-)]

[držanie] / [držení] — *holding, possession, property* [< *dr̥'žanьje]

držať / držet — *to hold, keep* [< *dr̥'žati]

duša / duše — *soul* [< *duša]

dvadsať / dvacet — *twenty* [< *dъva deseti]

F

farár / farář — *clergyman* [< *MHG* pfarrœre]

fojt(ov)stvo / fojtství — *office or land holdings of a magistrate* (= fojt / fojt) [< *Ger* Vogt / Voit + *Slav* *-(ov)ьstvo / *-ьstvije]

H

hľadieť / hledět — *to regard; contemplate* [< *ględěti]

hore / nahoře — *above* [< *(na) gorě (*L sg.*) <– *gora]

hospodár / hospodář — *landlord* [< *gospodarjь]

hrdlo / hrdlo — *throat, neck* [< *grdlo]

huňa / houně — *thick wool fabric, thick wool blanket* [< *gunja]

CH

chcieť / chtít — *to want* [< *xotěti]

chodiť / chodit — *to go; come* [< *xoditi]

I

imanie / jmění — *possessions, property* [< *jьměnьje]

ísť / jít — *to go; come* [< *idti / *iti]

J

ja / já — *I* [< *jazъ]

jalovča / jalůvče — *heifer* [< *jalovъčę]

jutro / jitro — *measure of area (used for land)* [< *jutro < *jurt(o) < *MHG* jūchert]

†už (*now* už) / již — *already* [< *juže]

K

kňaz / kněz — *clergyman* [< *kъnędzь]

knieža / kníže — *prince* [< *kъnęžę]

koniec / konec — *end* [< *konьcь]

kožuch / kožich — *fur coat* [< *kožuxъ]

kôň / kůň — *horse* [< *konjь]

kráľ / král — *king* [< *korljь]

krátkosť / krátkost — *shortness, brevity* [< *kortъkostь]

krčma / krčma — *inn, tavern* [< *krčьma]

kresťan / křesťan — *Christian* [(< *OHG* krist(j)āni) < *Lat* christiānus]

kŕmiť / krmit — *to feed* [< *kŕmiti]

kŕmny / krmný — *fattening, to be fattened* [< *kŕmьnъjь]

ktorý / který — *which* [< *kъtorъjь / *kъterъjь]

ku / ku — *to, toward* [< *kъ]

kúpenie / koupení — *buying, purchase* [< *kupjenьje]

kúpiť / koupit — *to buy* [< *kupiti]

kurva / kurva — *whore, harlot* [< *kurъva]

L

lepší / lepší — *better* [< *oblique stem* *lěpjьš- + *-ьjь (*N sg. m. stem* = *lěpjь-)]

ležať / ležet — *to lie, be lying* [< *ležati]

list / list — *letter* [< *listъ]

lúčka / loučka — *diminutive of* lúka / louka *(= field, meadow)* [< *lǫčьka]

ľudia / lidé — *people* [< *ljudьje]

lukno / lukno — *measure of volume (often for grain)* [< *lǫkъno]

M

manželka / manželka — *wife* [< *malženka < *maldožen- (*see Machek 1971, 351*)]

mať $_1$ / máti — *mother* [< *mati]

mať $_2$ / mít — *to have* [< *jьměti]

mäsiar / masař — *butcher* [< *męsarjь]

medzi / mezi — *between* [< *medji]

menší / menší — *smaller* [< *oblique stem* *mьnjьš- + *-ьjь (*N sg. m. stem* =*mьnjь-)]

mesiac / měsíc — *month* [< *měsęcь]

mestečko / městečko — *diminutive of* mesto / město *(= town, city)* [< *městъčьko]

meškanie / meškání — *delay, hesitation* [< *mьžьkanьje *or* *měškanьje (*see* meškať)]

meškať / meškat — *to live, dwell* [< *mьžьkati *or* *měšati *with* -k- *extension*]

mešťan / měšťan — *citizen* [< *original pl. stem* *městjan- (*sg. stem* *městjanin-)]

meštek (Slk only) — *diminutive of* mešec / měšec *(= sack)* [< *měšьtъkъ]

miera / míra — *measure, amount* [< *měra]

miesto $_1$ / místo — *place* [< *město]

miesto $_2$ / místo — *instead of* [< *město]

milosť / milost — *grace* [< *milostь]

mlčať / mlčet — *to be silent* [< *mļ'čati]

†mluviť / mluvit — *to speak, talk, say* [< *mļviti]

môcť / moci — *to be able* [< *mogti]

môj / můj — *my* [< *mojь]

múdrosť / moudrost — *wisdom* [< *mǫdrostь]

múdry / moudrý — *wise* [< *mǫdrъjь]

muž / muž — *man; husband* [< *mǫžь]

N

náčinie / náčiní — *utensils, instruments* [< *načinьje]

†nadluze / nadlouze — *for a long time* [< *na dl̨'gě (*L sg.*) <– *dl̨'gъ]

nadovšetko / nadevšecko — *above all* [< *nadъ vьšačьsko]

nadpísať / nadepsat — *to write above* [< *nadъpisati / *nadъpьsati]

najprv(ej) / nejprv(e) — *first* [< *najpr̨'vje-j / *najpr̨'vje]

nájsť / najít — *to find* [< *naidti / *naiti]

najviac(ej) / nejvíc(e) — *most* [< *najvętje-j / *najvętje]

náležať / náležet — *to belong* [< *naležati]

naliať / nalít — *to pour* [< *nalьjati]

naplniť / naplnit — *to fill* [< *napl̨'niti]

nariadiť / nařídit — *to command, order* [< *narędіti]

narodenie / narození — *birth* [< *narodjenьje]

náš / náš — *our* [< *našь]

navrátiť / navrátit — *to return* [< *navortiti]

nedeľa / neděle — *Sunday* [< *nedělja]

nepriazeň / nepřízeň — *disfavor, ill-will, unfriendliness* [< *ne-prьjaznь]

nerozdielny / nerozdílný — *inseparable; undivided* [< *ne-orzdělьnъjь]

nesnádza / nesnáze — *difficulty* [< *ne-snadja]

O

oba, obe / oba, obě — *both* [< *oba , *obě]

obecný / obecní — *municipal, town* [< obec (< *obьjь) + -ný/-ní (< *-ьnъjь /*-ьnjьjь)]

obličnosť (OPol only) — *presence, attendence* [< *obličьnostь]

obťažnosť / obtížnost — *difficulty* [< *obtęžьnostь]

obťažovať / obtěžovat — *to bother, inconvenience* [< *obtęžovati]

obyčaj / obyčej — *custom* [< *obyčajь]

odkladanie / odkládání — *delay* [< *otkladanьje]

†odmlúvať (?) / odmlouvat — *to talk back, contest* [< *otml̨vati]

odpierať / odpírat — *to refuse, decline* [< *otpěrati]

odpočinúť / odpočinout — *to rest, relax* [< *otpočinǫti]

ona / ona — *she* [< *ona]

opatrnosť / opatrnost — *circumspection* [< *opatrьnostь]

opatrný / opatrný — *circumspect* [< *opatrьnъjь]

opytovanie (Slk only) — *questioning* [< *opytovanьje]

otec / otec — *father* [< *otьcь]

P

pamäť / paměť — *memory* [< *pamętь]

pani / paní — *(good) lady; wife* [< *panьji]

päť / pět — *five* [< *pętь]

pečať / pečeť — *seal* [< *pečatь]

peniaz / peníz — *coin* [< *pěnędzь]

peniaze / peníze — *money* [< *original A pl.* *pěnędze (*N pl.* = *pěnędzi)]

piatok / pátek — *Friday* [< *pętъkъ]

[písanie] / psaní — *letter* [< *pisanьje / *pьsanьje]

pisár / písař — *scribe* [< *pisarjь]

pivnica / pivnice — *beerhouse* [< *pivьnica]

platiť / platit — *to pay* [< *platiti]

plný / plný — *full, complete* [< *pļ'nъjь]

poctivý / poctivý — *honest, upright* [< *počьstivъjь]

počatie / početí — *conception* [< *počętьje]

podpísať / podepsat — *to write below* [< *podъpisati / *podъpьsati]

†podtvrdenie (?) / †podtvrzení — *confirmation, authentication* [< *podъtvŗ'djenьje]

pohreb / pohřeb — *burial* [< *pogrebъ]

pokrvný / pokrevní — *related* [< *pokrъvьnъjь]

pol / půl — *half* [< *polъ]

poriadok / pořádek — *order, organization, arrangement; routine* [< *porędъkъ]

porozumieť / porozumět — *to come to know, understand* [< *po-orzuměti]

porúčať / poroučet — *to command* [< *porǫčati]

poručenie / poručení — *last will, testament* [< *porǫčenьje]

poručenstvo / poručenství — *trusteeship* [< *porǫčьnьstvo / *porǫčьnьstvije]

posadiť / posadit — *to seat, place* [< *posaditi]

posol / posel — *messenger* [< *posъlъ]

postúpiť / postoupit — *to yield, surrender* [< *postǫpiti]

potreba / potřeba — *need; demand* [< *poterba]

potrpieť / potrpět — *to endure, bear* [< *potŗ'pěti]

potvrdenie / potvrzení — *confirmation, authentication* [< *potvŗ'djenьje]

potvrdiť / potvrdit — *to confirm* [< *potvŗ'diti]

povedať / pověděť — *to say, tell* [< *pověďati (*Cz inf. and Slk, Cz n-p. influenced by* *věděti)]

pozdravenie / pozdravení — *greeting* [< *posъdorvjenьje]

pozůstat (Cz only) — *to remain, be left* [< *po + *zostati (*see* zostať *below*)]

pôjsť / pôjdu (1st sg. n-p.) — *to go, leave* [< *poidti / *pojьdǫ]

pracovať / pracovat — *to work, perform a function* [< praca (< *portja) + *-ovati]

pravit (Cz only) — *to say* [< *praviti]

predanie / prodání — *selling, sale* [< *perdanьje / *prodanьje]

predĺžiť / prodloužit — *to prolong, extend* [< *perdļ'žiti / *prodļ'žiti]

predlžovanie / prodlužování — *prolongation, extension* [< *perdļ'žovanьje / *prodļ'žovanьje]

predo / přede — *before* [< *perdъ]

predošlý / předešlý — *foregoing, previous* [< *perdъšьdlъjь]

predovšetkým / především — *above all* [< *perdъ vъšačьskyjimь / *perdъ vъšěmь]

predstúpiť / předstoupit — *to come forward, appear* [< *perdъstǫpiti]

priať / přát — *to wish (someone) the joy of* [< *prъjati]

priateľ / přítel — *friend* [< *prъjateljь]

priateľský / přátelský — *friendly* [< *prъjateljьskъjь]

priateľstvo / přátelství — *friendship* [< *prъjateljьstvo / *prъjateljьstvije]

priazeň / přízeň — *favor, good-will, friendship* [< *prъjaznь]

priaznivý / příznivý — *favorable, friendly* [< *prъjaznivъjь]

pribiehať / přibíhat — *to come running* [< *priběgati]

príčina / příčina — *cause, reason* [< *pričina]

pridržať / přidržet — *to hold* [< *pridļ'žati]

prichádzať / přicházet — *to arrive, come* [< *prixadjati]

prichodiť / †přichodit — *to arrive, come* [< *prixoditi]

prikázať / přikázat — *to order, assign* [< *prikazati]

prímluva / přímluva — *intercession* [< *prim|va]

[pririekať] / přiříkat — *to promise, vow* [< *prirěkati]

prirodzený / přirozený — *natural* [< *prirodjenъjь]

prísaha / přísaha — *oath* [< *prisęga]

prísažník / [přísežník] — *councilor* [< *prisęžьnikъ]

prísažný / [přísežný] — *councilor* [< *prisęžьnъjь]

prisľúbiť / přislíbit — *to vow, promise* [<*prisъljubiti)]

prísť / přijít — *to come, arrive* [< *priidti / *priiti]

pristúpiť / přistoupit — *to approach, appear before* [< *pristǫpiti]

prisudzovať / přisuzovat — *to adjudge, adjudicate* [< *prisǫdjovati]

pritisnúť / přitisknout — *to press, apply, print* [< *pritisknǫti]

†prodluhování (Cz only) — *prolongation, extension* [< *pro- + *dļ'g- + *-ovanьje]

prosiť / prosit — *to ask, request* [< *prositi]

prv(ej) / prv(e) — *before, earlier* [< *pr̥'vje-j / *pr̥'vje]

prvšie (Slk only) — *before, earlier* [< *oblique stem* *pr̥'vjьš- + *-eje (*N sg. m. stem* = *pr̥'vjь-)]

prvý / prvý — *first* [< *pr̥'vъjь]

púšťať / pouštět — *to release, let go* [< *pustjati]

R

ráčiť / ráčit — *to deign, be pleased to* [< *račiti]

rada / rada — *advice, counsel; council* [< *rada]

riecť / říct — *to say, tell* [< *rekti]

richtár / rychtář — *magistrate* [< *MHG* rihtāri]

rozdiel / rozdíl — *difference; divergence* [< *orzdělъ]

rozkázanie / rozkázání — *order, command* [< *orzkazanьje]

†rozmluvenie (?) / rozmluvení — *conversation, discussion* [< *orzm|vjenьje]

†rozmluviť (?) / rozmluvit — *to converse, discuss* [< *orzm|viti]

rozumieť / rozumět — *to understand, know* [< *orzuměti]

rôznica / různice — *dispute, quarrel* [< *orzьnica]

ruka / ruka — *hand* [< *rǫka]

S

sa / se — *oneself* [< *sę]

sedieť / sedět — *to sit, be sitting* [< *sěděti]

sieň / síň — *hall, room* [< *sěnь]

skončenie / skončení — *end* [< *sъkonьčenьje]

slobodiť / svobodit — *to free, release* [< *svoboditi (*Slk* -l- *by dissimilation*: v_b > l_b)]

sľub / slib — *promise* [< *sъljubъ]

sľúbiť / slíbit — *to promise* [< *sъljubiti]

sľubovať / slibovat — *to promise* [< *sъljubovati]

slušný / slušný — *decent, proper* [< *slušьnъjь]

služba / služba — *service* [< *služьba]

slúžiť / sloužit — *to serve* [< *služiti]

služobník / služebník — *servant* [< *služьbьnikъ]

slyšať / slyšet — *to hear* [< *slyšati]

smieť / smět — *to dare* [< *sъměti]

smrť / smrt — *death* [< *sъmr̥'tь]

†spolusused (?) / spolusoused — *fellow citizen* [< spolu (< *sъ polu (*G sg.*) <– *polъ) + *sǫsědъ]

spôsob / způsob — *way, manner* [< *sъ- + *posobъ (< *po sobě *L sg. refl. pron.*)]

spravedlnosť / spravedlnost — *right, privilege; justice* [< *sъpravьd-l-ьnostь]

spravodlivosť / spravedlivost — *right, privilege; justice* [< *sъpravьd-l-ivostь]

spravodlivý / spravedlivý — *fair, just* [< *sъpravьd-l-ivъjь]

spravovať sa / spravovat se — *to conform, comply* [< *sъpravovati sę]

srdce / srdce — *heart* [< *sr̥'dьce]

starý / starý — *old* [< *starъjь]

statček / stateček — *diminutive of* statok / statek [< *statъčьkъ]

statok / statek — *property, goods* [< *statъkъ]

sťažnosť / stížnost — *complaint, grievance* [< *sъtęžьnostь]

sťažovanie / stěžování — *complaining* [< *sъtęžovanьje]

stôl / stůl — *table* [< *stolъ]

streda / středa — *Wednesday* [< *serda]

strieľať / střílet — *to shoot* [< *střěljati]

stvorenie / stvoření — *creature* [< *sъtvorjenьje]

sudca / soudce — *judge, justice* [< *sǫdьca]

súdobný / sudební — *judicial* [< *sǫdьbьnъjь / *sǫdьbьnjьjь)]

sused / soused — *neighbor (male)* [< *sǫsědъ]

suseda / souseda — *neighbor (female)* [< *sǫsěda]

susedský / sousedský — *neighborly* [< *sǫsědьskъjь]

svätiť / světit — *to celebrate* [< *svętiti]

svätý / svatý — *holy* [< *svętъjь]

[svedomie] / [svědomí] — *witness; testimony* [< *sъvědomьje]

sviatosť / svátost — *sacrament* [< *svętostь]

svoj / svůj — *one's own* [< *svojь]

svrchupsaný (Cz only) — *above-mentioned* [< svrxu (< *sъ vr̥'xu (*G sg.*) <– *vr̥'xъ) + *pьsanъjь]

Š

šesť / šest — *six* [< *šestь]

šťastie / štěstí — *happiness, good fortune* [< *sъčęstьje]

šťastný / šťastný — *happy, fortunate* [< *sъčęstьnъjь]

štvrť / čtvrt — *one fourth* [< *čьtvr̥'tь]

štvrtok / čtvrtek — *Thursday* [< *čьtvr̥'tъkъ]

štvrtý / čtvrtý — *fourth* [< *čьtvr̥'tъjь]

švagor / švagr — *brother-in-law* [< *Ger* Schwager]

T

ťažkosť / těžkost — *difficulty, trouble* [< *tęžьkostь]

ťažký / těžký — *heavy; severe* [< *tęžьkъjь]

teľa / tele — *calf* [< *telę]

telo / tělo — *body* [< *tělo]

teprv (Cz only) — *only, not until* [< te- (*of unsure origin*) + *pŗ'vъ]

trh / trh — *market* [< *tŗgъ]

tridsať / třicet — *thirty* [< *tri desęti]

trpieť / trpět — *to endure* [< *tŗ'pěti]

ty / ty — *you (sg.)* [< *ty]

U

údolie / údolí — *valley* [< *ǫdolьje]

uhol / úhel — *corner* [< *ǫgъlъ]

uchádzať / ucházet — *to run away, flee* [< *uxadjati]

umieť / umět — *to know how* [< *uměti]

úpadok / úpadek — *decline* [< *upadъkъ]

úplnosť / úplnost — *entirety, totality* [< *upļ'n- (< *vъ pļ'ně (*L sg.*) <– *pļ'nъ) + *-ostь]

úplný / úplný — *entire, complete* [< *upļ'n- (< *vъ pļ'ně (*L sg.*) <– *pļ'nъ) + *-ъjь]

úrad / úřad — *office, bureau* [< *urędъ (< *vъ rędě (*L sg.*) <– *rędъ) (?)]

úradník / úředník — *official* [< *uręd- (< *vъ rędě (*L sg.*) <– *rędъ) (?) + *-ьnikъ]

urodzený / urozený — *noble* [< *urodjenъjь]

utorok / úterý — *Tuesday* [< *ǫtorъkъ / *ǫterъjь *or* *vъtorъkъ / *vъterъjь]

utvrdenie / utvrzení — *confirmation, authentication* [< *utvŗ'djenьje]

užívanie / užívání — *use* [< *uživanьje]

V

váš / váš — *your (pl.)* [< *vašь]

väzeň / vězeň — *prisoner* [< *vęzьnjь]

vďačný / vděčný — *grateful; gratifying; worthy of gratitude*
[< *WSlav* *vděč- (< *vъ dęk- < *MHG* danc / denke) + *Slav* *-ьnъjь]

vec / věc — *thing, item; affair, issue* [< *vekть *or* věkть]

vedenie / vědění — *knowledge* [< *věděnьje]

vedieť / vědět — *to know* [< věděti]

vedľa / vedle — *according to, conforming with* [< *vъ dьlji (*L sg.*) <– *dьlja]

veľký / vel(i)ký — *great* [< *velikъjь]

veriť / věřit — *to believe* [< *věriti]

verný / věrný — *true, faithful* [< *věrьnъjь]

viac(ej) / víc(e) — *more* [< *vętje-j / *vętje]

vidieť / vidět — *to see* [< *viděti]

viera / víra — *belief, faith* [< *věra]

vládnuť / vládnout — *to rule, govern* [< *voldnǫti]

vĺčí / vlčí — *wolf's* [< *vl̥'čьjь]

vnutor / vnitř — *inside* [< *vъn ǫtrь]

vo / ve — *in; on* [< *vъ]

von / ven — *out, outside* [< *vъnъ]

voz / vůz — *wagon, cart* [< *vozъ]

vôbec / vůbec — *in general* [< *vъ obьjь (*A sg.*) <– obьjь]

vôľa / vůle — *will, desire* [< *volja]

vrátiť / vrátit — *to return* [< *vortiti]

vrch / vrch — *top* [< *vr̥'xъ]

vsadiť / vsadit — *to put (into), place (into)* [< *vъsaditi]

vyberať / vybírat — *to collect* [< *vyběrati]

vydať / vydat — *to give out, yield, produce* [< *vydati]

vyhľadávať / vyhledávat — *to look out for, look after* [< *vyględavati]

výmienka / výminka — *stipulation, condition* [< *vyměnъka]

vyplatiť / vyplatit — *to pay up* [< *vyplatiti]

vyplnenie / vyplnění — *completion* [< *vyp|'njenьje]

vyplniť / vyplnit — *to complete* [< *vyp|'niti]

vyrozumieť / vyrozumět — *to conclude, gather* [< *vy-orzuměti]

vyslyšať / vyslyšet — *to hear (out)* [< *vyslyšati]

vyznanie / vyznání — *declaration, statement* [< *vyznanьje]

vyznávať / vyznávat — *to declare, confess* [< *vyznavati]

vziať / vzít — *to take* [< *vъzęti]

vzkriesenie / vzkříšení — *resurrection* [< *vъzkrěšjenьje]

Z

zaberať / zabírat — *to seize* [< *zaběrati]

záčinok (Slk only) — *a section of a barn* [< *začinъkъ]

zamiesiť / zamísit — *to mix* [< *zaměsiti]

zámok / zámek — *castle* [< *zamъkъ]

zaplatiť / zaplatit — *to pay* [< *zaplatiti]

zasľúbiť / zaslíbit — *to promise* [< *zasъljubiti]

zať / zeť — *son-in-law* [< *zętь]

zbožie / [zboží] — *grain* [< *sъbožьje]

zdravie / zdraví — *health* [< *sъdorvьje]

zeman / zeman — *squire* [< *original pl. stem* *zemjan- (*sg. stem* = *zemjanin-)]

zmienka / zmínka — *reference, allusion* [< *vъzměnъka]

zmluva / smlouva — *contract* [< *sъmļva]

znanie / znání — *knowledge* [< *znanьje]

znať / znát — *to know* [< *znati]

znieť / znít — *to say; sound* [< *zvьněti]

zostať / zůstat — *to stay, remain* [< z- (< *sъ- *or* *jьz-) + ostati (< *obstati)]

zotrvať / setrvat — *persevere, persist* [< *sъtrъvati]

[zriadenie] / zřízení — *ruling, decree, ordinance* [< *zrędjenьje (*z- < *sъ- *or* *jьz-)]

zrno / zrno — *grain* [< *zɼ'no]

zúplna / zúplna — *entirely* [< z- (< *sъ- *or* *jьz-) + úplna (*G sg.?*) (<– úpln- (*see* úplný))]

†zúplný (Slk and Cz ?) — *entire, complete* [< z- (< *sъ- *or* *jьz-) + úplný (*see* úplný)]

zvrchu / svrchu — *above* [< *sъ vɼ'xu (*G sg.*) <– *vɼ'xъ]

Ž

žalovať sa / žalovat (si) — *to complain* [< *žalovati sę]

žiadať / žádat — *to request, demand* [< *žędati]

žriebä / hříbě — *foal* [< *žerbę]

žriedlo / zřídlo — *spring, source, well* [< *žerdlo]

INDEX OF CITED FORMS

This index provides grammatical and referential information for the 16th century forms cited in Chapters IV-VII of the present work. The forms are listed here in Slk/Cz alphabetical order with the following conditions. Because of inconsistencies in the use of graphemes in 16th century Slk/Cz orthographic practice, no attempt is made here to interpret the 16th century digraphs for the sake of alphabetical ordering. Thus, although the spelling *cz* in <czest> clearly indicates *č* (modern Slk: *česť*), the form <czest> is listed here according to *cz* rather than *č*. This holds true as well for the digraph *ch*, which is listed according to the strict linear order of the graphemes *c-h*, rather than in the position following *h* as is customary in Slk/Cz dictionary practice. For example, in the listing of the forms of *trh*, the form <trch> precedes the form <trhu>; and the forms of *chcieť / chtíť* spelled with *ch* (e.g., <chcel>) are listed under *c* and not after *h*. Each variant spelling of an lexical item is given its own entry, but identically spelled forms are listed together under one entry with the differing grammatical or referential information for each form listed separately under the single headword.

The grammatical and referential information for each cited form is provided in the following fashion. A complete grammatical description is given first. It should be noted that the case, number, and gender information provided for the PrAP and PAP forms is based on grammatical function and not morphological shape. Fluctuation in the use of desinences, along with the adjectival use of these participles, allowed for the possibility of several different endings for many of the participle forms during this period. The italicized word in parentheses following the grammatical information refers to the headword in the "Glossary" under which modern Slk and Cz equivalents as well as an English translation and the etymology of the form can be found. The second set of information is a reference to the location of the cited form in the 16th century corpus. The place and date of composition of the text are given first, followed by the line and word number of the cited form within the indicated text. The line and word numbers refer to the exact location of the cited forms in the textual editions used for this study. The information on textual editions can be obtained from Appendix B: "Technical description of the corpus". Finally, a reference is given to the location where the form is cited in the body of this study. All such references are to Chapters IV-VII of this work and give the dialect division and phonological feature section where the form is cited. As an example, the first entry in this index is to be read as follows:

autery — A sg. n. (*utorok*); Kroměříž 1542 (16/2); MSlk C'ú

Grammar info.: accusative singular neuter (noun); glossary listing: *utorok*

Corpus info.: Kroměříž 1542 (= Varsik #136); line 16, word 2

Citation info.: Moravian Slovak chapter; section: diphthongization of long *ú / C'__*

A

autery — A sg. n. (*utorok*); Kroměříž 1542 (16/2); MSlk C'ú

auterzy — A sg. n. (*utorok*); Partiz. Ľupča 1571 (5/4); CSlk C'ú; CSlk r'

B

bedaczemy — I pl. m. PrAP (*byť*); Dubovica 16th c. b (1/9); ESlk C'ú

beru — 3rd pl. n-p. (*brať*); Mošovce 1567 (27/3); CSlk C'ú

berze — 3rd sg. n-p. (*brať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1571 (16/2); CSlk r'

bezel — sg. m. l-part. (*bežať*); Bytča 1580 (18/6); WSlk a

běžěli — pl. l-part. (*bežať*); WSlk a

biale — A pl. f. adj. (*biely*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1567 (11/8); ESlk 'é

bileho — G sg. n. adj. (*biely*); Skalica 1543b (14/12); WSlk 'é

bog — N sg. m. (*Boh*); Bartošovce 1554 (34/3); ESlk ó

bratrza — G sg. m. (*brat*); Partiz. Ľupča 1540 (8/3); CSlk r'

brzater — N sg. m. (*brat*); Plaveč 1532b (8/5); ESlk r'

brzatrom — I sg. m. (*brat*); Rajec 1553 (24/2); WSlk r'

buch — N sg. m. (*Boh*); Plaveč 1532b (17/5); ESlk ó

bude — 3rd sg. fut. (*byť*); Beckov 1535 (2/4); WSlk d'

budethe — 2nd pl. fut. (*byť*); Uh. Brod 1547 (29/8); MSlk d'

budu — 3rd pl. fut. (*byť*); Pov. Bystrica 1547 (17/3); WSlk C'ú
Levoča 16th c. (3/12); ESlk C'ú

budu-li — 3rd pl. fut. (*byť*); Velká n. Vel. 1548 (10/3); MSlk C'ú

Buh — N sg. m. (*Boh*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (19/5); MSlk ó
Čachtice 1544 (8/3); WSlk ó

buh — N sg. m. (*Boh*); Veličná 1584 (11/3); CSlk ó

Buoh — N sg. m. (*Boh*); Rožnov p. Radh. 1535 (14/10); MSlk ó
N. Mesto n. Váh. 1546 (9/8); WSlk ó
Levoča 16th c. (4/8); ESlk ó

buoh — N sg. m. (*Boh*); Veľ. Pole 1547 (13/6); CSlk ó

buotky — A pl. f. (*bôtka*); Trenčín 1584 (57/1); WSlk ó

byerati — inf. (*bierať*); Pov. Bystrica 1576 (67/2); WSlk 'é

C

celu — A sg. f. adj. (*celý*); Spiš. Kapitula 1592 (6/1); ESlk C'ú

chcel — sg. m. l-part. (*chcieť*); Jelšava 1567b (15/5); CSlk t'

chczą — 3rd pl. n-p. (*chcieť*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1564 (24/4, 28/7); ESlk C'ú/u

chczel — sg. m. l-part. (*chcieť*); Rajec 1553 (58/3, 59/11); WSlk t'
Trnava 1580a (7/9); WSlk t'
Trnava 1580b (8/6); WSlk t'

chczeli — pl. l-part. (*chcieť*); Chtelnica 1531 (7/10); WSlk t'

chczely — pl. l-part. (*chcieť*); Pov. Bystrica 1547 (13/10); WSlk t'

chczv — 1st sg. n-p. (*chcieť*); Bartošovce 1554 (55/15); ESlk C'ú/u

chczy — 1st sg. n-p. (*chcieť*); Dobrá Voda 1538b (13/9); WSlk C'ú/u
Krás. Lúka 1556 (4/11); ESlk C'ú/u

chodil — sg. m. l-part. (*chodiť*); Rožkovany 1575 (9/8); ESlk d'

chodycz — N sg. m. PrAP (*chodiť*); Pov. Bystrica 1547 (6/12); WSlk á

chteli — pl. l-part. (*chcieť*); Pov. Bystrica 1576 (66/12); WSlk t'

chticz — N sg. m. PrAP (*chcieť*); Skalica 1543b (19/12); WSlk á

chticze — N sg. m. PrAP (*chcieť*); Partiz. Ľupča 1540 (22/5); CSlk á
N pl. m. PrAP (*chcieť*); Uh. Ostroh 1533 (21/1); MSlk á

czarny — N sg. m. adj. (*čierny*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1567 (11/3); ESlk ŗ

czasse — L sg. m. (*čas*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (36/12); CSlk a

czerwenych — G pl. m. adj. (*červený*); Partiz. Ľupča 1562 (11/12); CSlk ŗ

czerwne — G sg. m. (*červen*); Levoča 1569 (10/3); ESlk ŗ

czeskey — L sg. f. adj. (*ťažký*); Krás. Lúka 1556 (4/7); ESlk a; ESlk t'

czest — A sg. f. (*česť*); Lomné 1572 (14/10); ESlk ъ/ь

czestu — I sg. f. (*cesta*); Bytča 1580 (13/10); WSlk C'ú

cziaskosczy — A pl. f. (*ťažkosť*); Bartošovce 1554 (26/9); ESlk a

czięskoscz — N sg. f. (*ťažkosť*); Hertník 1565 (3/5); ESlk a

cztaucz — N sg. m. PrAP (*čítať*); Kroměříž 1542 (2/5); MSlk C'ú

cztuczi — N pl. m. PrAP (*čítať*); Lomné 1572 (3/1); ESlk C'ú

cztvrtek — A sg. m. (*štvrtok*); Veľká n. Vel. 1548 (4/6); MSlk ŗ

cztwrtek — A sg. m. (*štvrtok*); Bytča 1580 (1/5); WSlk ъ/ь
Spiš. Kapitula 1592 (21/9); ESlk ъ/ь; ESlk ŗ

cztwrty — N sg. m. adj. (*štvrtý*); Trenčín 1584 (22/10); WSlk ŗ

czwarthy — N sg. m. adj. (*štvrtý*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1564 (16/1); ESlk ŗ

czwiert — A sg. f. (*štvrť*); Partiz. Ľupča 1551 (7/12); CSlk ŗ

czwrtek — A sg. m. (*štvrtok*); Veľ. Pole 1547 (14/3); CSlk ъ/ь

czyrkvy — G sg. f. (*cirkev*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549a (12/4); MSlk ŗ

czyze[m]u — D sg. m. adj. (*cudzí*); Rajec 1553 (58/12); WSlk dj

cžierney — G sg. f. adj. (*čierny*); Partiz. Ľupča 1588b (18/9); CSlk ŗ

czerveny — A sg. m. adj. (*červený*); Trenčín 1549 (43/7); WSlk ŗ

Č

čas — N sg. m. (*čas*); CSlk a

čtwrte — L sg. f. adj. (*štvrtý*); Veličná 1584 (1/13); CSlk ŗ

D

dadza — 3rd pl. n-p. (*dať*); Hertník 1565 (5/15); ESlk á

dein — A sg. m. (*deň*); Plaveč 1532a (4/4); ESlk d'

dekugy — 1st sg. n-p. (*ďakovať*); Jelšava 1567a (7/5); CSlk a; CSlk C'ú/u; CSlk d'

den — A sg. m. (*deň*); Rožnov p. Radh. 1535 (15/5); MSlk ъ/ь
Klášter Smilheim 1540 (5/3); MSlk d'
N. Mesto n. Váh. 1550 (13/7); WSlk ъ/ь
Trenčín 1549 (28/5); WSlk d'
Ružomberok 1555a (4/5); CSlk ъ/ь; CSlk d'

derzeny — L sg. n. (*držanie*); Krás. Lúka 1557 (4/8); ESlk ŗ; ESlk a

derzety — inf. (*držať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1551 (8/2); CSlk ŗ

desedt — A num. (*desať*); Kaľamenová 1571 (7/2); CSlk a

dessecz — A num. (*desať*); Bardejov 1586 (3/12); ESlk a

detmi — I pl. n. (*deti*); Rajec 1553 (55/14); WSlk t'

dety — G pl. n. (*deti*); Partiz. Ľupča 1551 (13/10); CSlk d'

dewat — A num. (*deväť*); Kremnica 1569 (5/3); CSlk a

dewecz — A num. (*deväť*); Bardejov 1586 (3/10); ESlk a; ESlk d'

dewet — A num. (*deväť*); Trenčín 1584 (37/3); WSlk a

dewka — N sg. f. (*dievka*); Bytča 1580 (8/6); WSlk 'é; WSlk d'

dieczy — G pl. n. (*deti*); Trnava 1565b (2/3); WSlk t'

diekuje[m]e — 1st pl. n-p. (*ďakovať*); N. Mesto n. Váh. 1546 (16/2); WSlk d'

diekwgy — 1st sg. n-p. (*ďakovať*); Plaveč 1532b (4/1); ESlk a; ESlk d'

dietky — N pl. f. (*dietky*); Ružomberok 1586 (5/9); CSlk 'é

dievka — N sg. f. (*dievka*); Ružomberok 1531a (2/3); CSlk 'é

divka — N sg. f. (*dievka*); Trenčín 1549 (76/3); WSlk 'é

djtky — N pl. f. (*dietky*); Rajec 1586 (35/12); WSlk 'é

dluchye — A pl. m. adj. (*dlhý*); Chmeľov 1577 (2/2); ESlk ļ

dlugie — A pl. m. adj. (*dlhý*); Plaveč 1583 (2/6); ESlk ļ

dluh — N sg. m. (*dlh*); N. Mesto n. Váh. 1534 (11/1); WSlk ļ

A sg. m. (*dlh*); Uh. Brod 1536 (5/2); MSlk ļ
Martin 1540 (6/5); CSlk ļ

dluhe — A pl. m. adj. (*dlhý*); Makovica 1579b (2/9); ESlk ļ

dluheho — G sg. n. adj. (*dlhý*); Senica 1537 (3/5); WSlk ļ

dluhu — G sg. m. (*dlh*); Šemša 1580 (4/5); ESlk ¦

dluhy — N pl. m. (*dlh*); Arnutovce 16th c. (19/3); ESlk ¦

A pl. m. (*dlh*); Partiz. Ľupča 1540 (11/6); CSlk ¦

dlustwo — N sg. n. (*dlžstvo*); Rožkovany 1575 (6/2); ESlk ¦

dluzen — N sg. m. adj. (*dlžný*); Uh. Brod 1538 (4/1); MSlk ¦
Chmeľov 1577 (4/8); ESlk ъ/ь
Arnutovce 16th c. (12/2); ESlk ¦

dluzien — N sg. m. adj. (*dlžný*); Hlohovec 1532 (5/10); WSlk ¦

dluznikow — G pl. m. (*dlžník*); Partiz. Ľupča 1568 (10/9); CSlk ¦

dlužen — N sg. m. adj. (*dlžný*); Partiz. Ľupča 1540 (10/6); CSlk ¦

dlvgow — G pl. m. (*dlh*); Bartošovce 1554 (17/4); ESlk ¦

dne — G sg. m. (*deň*); Veličná 1584 (1/4); CSlk a
Levoča 1569 (10/2); ESlk a

dnia — G sg. m. (*deň*); Poľanovce 1584 (9/7); ESlk a

dnie — G sg. m. (*deň*); N. Mesto n. Váh. 1534 (11/10); WSlk a

dnu — D sg. m. (*deň*); Chtelnica 1531 (9/5); WSlk C'ú/u

dobre — adv. (*dobrý*); Dobrá Voda 1538b (16/1); WSlk r'

dobromysl[n]e — adv. (*dobromyseľný*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549b (20/12); MSlk ¦

dobru — I sg. f. adj. (*dobrý*); Beckov 1535 (11/4); WSlk C'ú

dobrze — A sg. n. adj. (*dobrý*); Vrbové 1550b (1/10); WSlk r'
Plaveč 1532b (4/6); ESlk r'

adv. (*dobrý*); Uh. Brod 1531 (10/10); MSlk r'
Plaveč 1532b (3/3); ESlk r'

dobrzeho — G sg. n. adj. (*dobrý*); Smolenice 1537 (1/7); WSlk r'
Mošovce 1567 (3/12); CSlk r'

dom — A sg. m. (*dom*); Rajec 1586 (26/3); WSlk ó
Hôra 1578 (19/3); CSlk ó
Bartošovce 1554 (19/3); ESlk ó

domluwa — 3rd sg. n-p. (*domlúvať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (43/12); CSlk ¦

dopomuziete — 2nd pl. n-p. (*dopomôcť*); Břeclav 1539 (6/3); MSlk ó

dopustiti — inf. (*dopustiť*); Kroměříž 1539 (8/1); MSlk t'

dosczi — adv. (*dosť*); Chtelnica 1531 (7/12, 17/5); WSlk t'

dovierności — G sg. f. (*dôvernosť*); Uh. Brod 1530 (12/6); MSlk ó

drogv — I sg. f. (*dráha*); Bartošovce 1554 (18/10); ESlk C"ú

drwa — A pl. n. (*drvo*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (44/6); CSlk ŗ

drzel — sg. m. l-part. (*držať*); Levoča 1569 (8/1); ESlk ŗ

drzell — sg. m. l-part. (*držať*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (39/3); CSlk a

drzeti — inf. (*držať*); Uh. Brod 1547 (13/5); MSlk ŗ; MSlk a

držal — sg. m. l-part. (*držať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (11/6); CSlk ŗ

držĕli — pl. l-part. (*držať*); CSlk a

držĕti — inf. (*držať*); WSlk a

duchotku — G pl. m. (*dôchodok*); Kaľamenová 1571 (4/3); CSlk ó

dúm — A sg. m. (*dom*); Rajec 1586 (35/4); WSlk ó

duom — N sg. m. (*dom*); Jelšava 1576-7 (2/6); CSlk ó

A sg. m. (*dom*); Trnava 1536 (22/1); WSlk ó
Levoča 1569 (7/2); ESlk ó

duowot — A sg. m. (*dôvod*); Partiz. Ľupča 1571 (33/11); CSlk ó

dům — A sg. m. (*dom*); Ružomberok 1585b (2/2); CSlk ó

dussy — I sg. f. (*duša*); Pov. Bystrica 1562 (4/7); WSlk C'ú/u

dwaczat — A num. (*dvadsať*); Trnava 1577e (4/8); WSlk a

dyl — N sg. m. (*diel*); Partiz. Ľupča 1588b (14/9); CSlk 'é

A sg. m. (*diel*); Rajec 1553 (27/9); WSlk 'é

dyla — G sg. n. (*dielo*); Brumov-Bylnice 1539 (9/8); MSlk 'é

dytky — N pl. f. (*dietky*); Partiz. Ľupča 1562 (24/12); CSlk 'é

dywky — G sg. f. (*dievka*); Partiz. Ľupča 1568 (9/1); CSlk 'é

dzen — A sg. m. (*deň*); Bardejov 1586 (5/9); ESlk d'

dzewec — A num. (*deväť*); Šemša 1580 (11/3); ESlk d'

dzyathkamy — I pl. f. (*dietky*); Bartošovce 1554 (34/11); ESlk 'é

dzyll — A sg. m. (*diel*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (21/2); CSlk d'

dzylw — G sg. m. (*diel*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (38/7); CSlk d'

F

ffararza — A sg. m. (*farár*); Bartošovce 1554 (31/10); ESlk a

ffogtowstwj — A sg. n. (*fojt(ov)stvo*); Rajec 1586 (10/8); WSlk 'é

ffogtstwj — D sg. n. (*fojt(ov)stvo*); Rajec 1586 (23/13); WSlk C'ú/u

G

gduczim — D pl. m. PrAP (*ísť*); Mošovce 1568 (10/6); CSlk C'ú

giz — adv. (*už*); Makovica 1579a (3/13); ESlk C'ú/u

gsaucz — N pl. m. PrAP (*byť*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (32/4); CSlk C'ú

gu — A sg. f. pron. (*ona*); Trnava 1577a (7/2); WSlk C'ú/u
Poľanovce 1584 (4/16); ESlk C'ú/u

gy — A sg. f. pron. (*ona*); Ružomberok 1585a (5/9); CSlk C'ú/u

gyz — adv. (*už*); Partiz. Ľupča 1538 (13/2); CSlk C'ú/u

H

hospodar — N sg. m. (*hospodár*); Pov. Bystrica 1562 (3/3); WSlk r'
Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (72/9); CSlk r'

hrdlo — A sg. n. (*hrdlo*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (68/14); CSlk ŗ

hunyu — A sg. f. (*huňa*); Kračunovce 1580 (6/11); ESlk C'ú/u

I

iuz — adv. (*už*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1567 (7/6); ESlk C'ú/u

J

Jalowtze — N sg. n. (*jalovča*); Arnutovce 16th c. (3/13); ESlk a

jducze — N sg. f. PrAP (*ísť*); Trenčín 1549 (53/9); WSlk C'ú

ji — A sg. f. pron. (*ona*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (14/3); MSlk C'ú/u
Beckov 1535 (10/7); WSlk C'ú/u

jiz — adv. (*už*); Klášter Smilheim 1540 (7/6); MSlk C'ú/u
Ilava 1542 (6/9); WSlk C'ú/u

jmyti — inf. (mat'_2); N. Mesto n. Váh. 1546 (13/10); WSlk 'é

jsau — 3rd pl. pres. (*byť*); Trnava 1550 (3/5); WSlk C'ú

jsu — 3rd pl. pres. (*byť*); Martin 1540 (2/6); CSlk C'ú

Jutro — A sg. n. (*jutro*); Arnutovce 16th c. (20/4); ESlk C'ú/u

K

karmnych — G pl. f. adj. (*krmny*); Arnutovce 16th c. (29/3); ESlk ŗ

kaupyl — sg. m. l-part. (*kúpiť*); Partiz. Ľupča 1538 (7/7); CSlk C'ú

ke — prep. (*ku*); Pov. Bystrica 1562 (11/12); WSlk ъ/ь
Kaľamenová 1571 (20/4); CSlk ъ/ь
Plaveč 1532a (2/2); ESlk ъ/ь

kniez — N sg. m. (*kňaz*); Skalica 1550 (6/4); WSlk a

Kniez — N sg. m. (*kňaz*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549b (3/5); MSlk a

kniezy — D sg. m. (*kňaz*); Ilava 1542 (17/3); WSlk C'ú/u

knyze — N sg. m. (*knieža*); Trenčín 1584 (24/5); WSlk á

ko[n] — N sg. m. (*kôň*); Dol. Lopašov 1546 (4/3); WSlk ó

kon — N sg. m. (*kôň*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1567 (11/1); ESlk ó

koncza — G sg. m. (*koniec*); Poľanovce 1584 (9/13); ESlk a

konczu — D sg. m. (*koniec*); Partiz. Ľupča 1578b (18/1); CSlk C'ú/u

konecz — A sg. m. (*koniec*); Uh. Brod 1530 (3/9); MSlk ъ/ь

konia — A sg. m. (*kôň*); Šemša 1580 (6/2); ESlk a

kozuch — A sg. m. (*kožuch*); Trenčín 1584 (67/8); WSlk C'ú/u

krale — G sg. m. (*kráľ*); Uh. Ostroh 1533 (16/1); MSlk a
Plaveč 1532b (14/8, 19/2); ESlk a

kratkosczi — G sg. f. (*krátkosť*); Chtelnica 1531 (11/13); WSlk t'

krczmy — A pl. f. (*krčma*); Trenčín 1584 (33/11); WSlk ŗ

krestane — N pl. m. (*kresťan*); Mošovce 1569 (16/3); CSlk a

krestian — N sg. m. (*kresťan*); CSlk a

krmil — sg. m. l-part. (*kŕmiť*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (17/5); CSlk ŗ

kterauss — A sg. f. adj. (*ktorý*); Ružomberok 1555b (8/7); CSlk C'ú

kteru — A sg. f. adj. (*ktorý*); Veličná 1584 (2/4); CSlk C'ú

kterza — N sg. f. adj. (*ktorý*); Partiz. Ľupča 1571 (25/9); CSlk r'

kterzeho — G sg. m. adj. (*ktorý*); Plaveč 1532a (10/1); ESlk r'

ku — prep. (*ku*); Uh. Hradiště 1538a (6/9); MSlk ъ/ь
Trenčín 1549 (20/10); WSlk ъ/ь
Partiz. Ľupča 1559 (11/12); CSlk ъ/ь
Bardejov 1586 (5/1); ESlk ъ/ь

kuin — N sg. m. (*kôň*); Plaveč 1532a (10/4); ESlk ó

kupeny — A sg. n. (*kúpenie*); Ružomberok 1585a (7/6); CSlk 'é; CSlk C'ú

kupyl — sg. m. l-part. (*kúpiť*); Trnava 1565b (1/8); WSlk C'ú
Šemša 1580 (5/12); ESlk C'ú

kurwow — I sg. f. (*kurva*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (8/10); CSlk C'ú

L

lepssy — A sg. f. adj. (*lepší*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (32/5); MSlk C'ú/u
Čachtice 1550 (9/5); WSlk C'ú/u

lezyczy — N sg. m. PrAP (*ležať*); Skalica 1590 (7/9); WSlk á

ležiczyh — A pl. f! PrAP (*ležať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (89/10); CSlk á

lidem — D pl. m. (*ľudia*); Partiz. Ľupča 1540 (10/9); CSlk C'ú/u

lidmi — I pl. m. (*ľudia*); Uh. Ostroh 1540 (4/6); MSlk d'
Skalica 1536 (14/5); WSlk d'
Partiz. Ľupča 1540 (29/3); CSlk d'

lidy — G pl m. (*ľudia*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549b (13/6); MSlk C'ú/u

liscie — L sg. m. (*list*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1567 (14/5); ESlk t'

luczek — G pl. f. (*lúčka*); Vyš. Kubín 1568 (8/11); CSlk ъ/ь

ludy — A pl. m. (*ľudia*); Partiz. Ľupča 1578b (15/4); CSlk C'ú/u

ludze — N pl. m. (*ľudia*); Chmeľov 1577 (8/5); ESlk C'ú/u

lukan — G pl. n. (*lukno*); Kremnica 1569 (4/5, 6/11); CSlk ъ/ь
Kaľamenová 1571 (29/10); CSlk ъ/ь

Lukan — G pl. n. (*lukno*); Kremnica 1569 (8/13); CSlk ъ/ь

lydi — G pl. m. (*ľudia*); Smolenice 1537 (12/5); WSlk C'ú/u

lydze — N pl. m. (*ľudia*); Krás. Lúka 1557 (2/10); ESlk C'ú/u

Lyvdzmy — I pl. m. (*ľudia*); Bartošovce 1554 (6/15); ESlk d'

M

maje — N sg. m. PrAP (*mať*$_2$); Uh. Brod 1531 (11/3); MSlk a

maji — 3rd pl. n-p. (*mať*$_2$); Trnava 1536 (33/7); WSlk C'ú/u

majicz — N sg. m. PrAP (*mať*$_2$); Uh. Brod 1531 (27/4); MSlk C'ú/u

manzelkow — I sg. f. (*manželka*); Partiz. Ľupča 1571 (18/16); CSlk C"ú

manzelku — I sg. f. (*manželka*); Partiz. Ľupča 1562 (6/14); CSlk C"ú

ma[n]zielku — I sg. f. (*manželka*); Břeclav 1539 (3/9); MSlk C"ú

masarz — N sg. m. (*mäsiar*); Skalica 1536 (28/2); WSlk r'

matere — G sg. f. (*mať*$_1$); Pov. Bystrica 1576 (45/5); WSlk r'

math — inf. (*mať*$_2$); Makovica 1579b (6/10); ESlk 'é

Maudrym — D pl. m. adj. (*múdry*); Skalica 1550 (18/1); WSlk C"ú

maudrzy — V pl. m. anim. adj. (*múdry*); Uh. Hradiště 1538a (1/4); MSlk C"ú
Uh. Brod 1540a (1/4); MSlk r'
Skalica 1543b (1/6); WSlk C"ú

maya — 3rd pl. n-p. (*mať*$_2$); Hertník 1565 (3/14); ESlk C'ú/u

meczy — prep. (*medzi*); Hlohovec 1550 (5/11); WSlk dj

medzi — prep. (*medzi*); Kračunovce 1580 (4/1); ESlk dj

medzy — prep. (*medzi*); Partiz. Ľupča 1562 (11/3); CSlk dj

menssow — I sg. f. adj. (*menší*); Partiz. Ľupča 1588b (16/10); CSlk C'ú/u

meru — A sg. f. (*miera*); Kremnica 1569 (9/10); CSlk 'é

mesicze — G sg. m. (*mesiac*); Partiz. Ľupča 1571 (4/10); CSlk á

meskane — G sg. n. (*meškanie*); Jelšava 1567a (14/8); CSlk á

messtok — A sg. m. (*meštek*); Slov. Ľupča 1589 (42/7); CSlk ъ/ь

mesteczku — L sg. n. (*mestečko*); Kláštor p. Zniev. 1531 (14/9); CSlk ъ/ь

mesto — prep. (*miesto*$_2$); Partiz. Ľupča 1562 (30/11); CSlk 'é

mesyacu — G sg. m. (*mesiac*); Chmeľov 1577 (12/5); ESlk á

mety — inf. (*mať*$_2$); Slov. Ves 1591 (15/3); ESlk 'é

mezy — prep. (*medzi*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (7/9); MSlk dj
Trenčín 1532 (4/9); WSlk dj
Orav. Zámok 1574 (20/8); CSlk dj
Chmeľov 1577 (6/8); ESlk dj

mie — G sg. pron. (*ja*); Plaveč 1583 (4/3); ESlk a

miessczane — N pl. m. (*mešťan*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (28/9); MSlk a

Miessczane — V pl. m. (*meſťan*); Velká n. Vel. 1548 (1/10); MSlk a

miestie — L sg. n. (*miesto*$_1$); Velká n. Vel. 1548 (8/7); MSlk t'

mieti — inf. (*maťʼ*$_2$); N. Mesto n. Váh. 1550 (13/2); WSlk 'é
Martin 1540 (22/6); CSlk 'é

miloſczi — G sg. f. (*miloſť*); Chtelnica 1531 (3/2); WSlk t'

miſte — L sg. n. (*miesto*$_1$); Vyš. Kubín 1568 (4/10); CSlk 'é

miſtie — L sg. n. (*miesto*$_1$); Kroměříž 1542 (8/4); MSlk 'é

miſtu — D sg. n. (*miesto*$_1$); Skalica 1536 (13/12); WSlk 'é

miti — inf. (*maťʼ*$_2$); Uh. Ostroh 1540 (7/11); MSlk 'é

mity — inf. (*maťʼ*$_2$); Plaveč 1532b (19/8); ESlk 'é

mlczet — inf. (*mlčať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (44/13); CSlk ļ; CSlk a

mlovy — 3rd sg. n-p. (*mluviť*); Slov. Ľupča 1589 (19/2); CSlk ļ

mlowil — sg. m. l-part. (*mluviť*); Partiz. Ľupča 1559 (12/8); CSlk ļ

mluviti — inf. (*mluviť*); Rožnov p. Radh. 1535 (11/9); MSlk ļ
Trenčín 1549 (38/13); WSlk ļ

mluwicz — N sg. f. PrAP (*mluviť*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (46/3); CSlk á

mluwil — sg. m. l-part. (*mluviť*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (22/11); CSlk ļ

mnu — I sg. pron. (*ja*); Trenčín 1577 (6/4); WSlk C*ú

mnv — I sg. pron. (*ja*); Bartošovce 1554 (53/6); ESlk C*ú

moy — N sg. m. adj. (*môj*); Plaveč 1532b (8/6); ESlk ó

mozies — 2nd sg. n-p. (*môcť*); Plaveč 1532a (6/8); ESlk ó

możess — 2nd sg. n-p. (*môcť*); Trenčín 1549 (81/10); WSlk ó

mudroſc — N sg. f. (*múdroſť*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1567 (5/4); ESlk C*ú

mudry — N pl. m. anim adj. (*múdry*); Žarnovica 1548 (1/6); CSlk C*ú

Mudrzim — D pl. m. adj. (*múdry*); Mošovce 1567 (1/1); CSlk r'

mudrzy — V pl. m. anim. adj. (*múdry*); Uh. Brod 1530 (1/4); MSlk C*ú
Trenčín 1549 (1/4); WSlk C*ú

Mudrzy[m] — D pl. m. adj. (*múdry*); Dol. Lopašov 1546 (13/1); WSlk r'

mug — N sg. m. adj. (*môj*); Rajec 1586 (24/13); WSlk ó

muj — N sg. m. adj. (*môj*); Břeclav 1539 (3/6); MSlk ó

muoy — N sg. m. adj. (*môj*); Strážnice 1532 (3/4); MSlk ó
Pov. Bystrica 1547 (2/7); WSlk ó
Rožkovany 1575 (4/12); ESlk ó

muoze — 3rd sg. n-p. (*môcť*); Pov. Bystrica 1576 (47/9); WSlk ó

muozeme — 1st pl. n-p. (*môcť*); Kláštor p. Zniev. 1531 (13/3); CSlk ó

muozte — 2nd pl. n-p. (*môcť*); Uh. Ostroh 1533 (27/6); MSlk ó

muž — 3rd sg. n-p. (*môcť*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (31/11); CSlk ó

muža — G sg. m. (*muž*); Partiz. Ľupča 1559 (15/4); CSlk a

mvy — N sg. m. adj. (*môj*); Krás. Lúka 1556 (6/1); ESlk ó

myenya — G sg. n. (*imanie*); Bartošovce 1554 (4/14); ESlk á

myeskayaczemv — D sg. m. PrAP (*meškať*); Dubovica 16th c. a (11/3); ESlk C'ú/u

myeste — L sg. n. (*miesto*$_1$); Poľanovce 1584 (11/9); ESlk 'é; ESlk t'

mysto — A sg. n. (*miesto*$_1$); Slov. Ves 1591 (15/6); ESlk 'é

myti — inf. (*mať*$_2$); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (29/7); CSlk 'é

N

naczynye — A sg. n. (*náčinie*); Plaveč 1556 (4/5); ESlk 'é

nadepsany — N sg. m. PPP (*nadpísať*); Val. Meziříčí 1541 (9/3); MSlk ъ/ь

nadluze — adv. (*nadluze*); Rožnov p. Radh. 1535 (14/11); MSlk ļ

nadowsseczko — adv. (*nadovšetko*); Mošovce 1568 (9/4); CSlk ъ/ь

nahore — adv. (*hore*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (34/7); MSlk r'

nahorze — adv. (*hore*); Beckov 1535 (6/6); WSlk r'

naiperwei — adv. (*najprv(ej)*); Šemša 1580 (6/11); ESlk ŗ

należiczy — A pl. f. PrAP (*náležať*); Uh. Brod 1547 (5/11); MSlk á

náležěli — pl. l-part. (*náležať*); MSlk a

naliawssy — N pl. m. PAP (*naliať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1571 (35/6); CSlk á

nalieli — pl. l-part. (*naliať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1568 (28/6); CSlk á

naplnite — 2nd pl. n-p. (*naplniť*); Velká n. Vel. 1548 (12/8); MSlk ļ

Naroczeny — G sg. n. (*narodenie*); Mošovce 1578 (1/4); CSlk dj

Narozeni — G sg. n. (*narodenie*); Partiz. Ľupča 1540 (1/4); CSlk dj

narzyzenymi — I pl. f. PPP (*nariadiť*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549b (5/1); MSlk á; MSlk dj

Nasse — N sg. f. adj. (*naš*); Lomné 1572 (23/6); ESlk a

nasse — N sg. f. adj. (*náš*); Lomné 1572 (11/6); ESlk a
Slov. Ves 1591 (15/5); ESlk a

nassi — I sg. f. adj. (*náš*); Rajec 1586 (4/8); WSlk C'ú/u

nassu — A sg. f. adj. (*náš*); Partiz. Ľupča 1562 (8/2); CSlk C'ú/u
Lomné 1572 (6/8); ESlk C'ú/u

nassy — A sg. f. adj. (*náš*); Lomné 1572 (7/7); ESlk C'ú/u

nasszau — I sg. f. adj. (*náš*); Ružomberok 1555a (9/9); CSlk C'ú/u

navraticz — N pl. m. PrAP (*navrátiť*); Skalica 1536 (8/14); WSlk á

naydethe — 2nd pl. n-p. (*nájsť*); Sklabiňa 1579 (10/11); CSlk d'

nayprv — adv. (*najprv(ej)*); Kláštor Smilheim 1540 (5/6); MSlk ŗ

neberzeme — 1st pl. n-p. (*brať*); Uh. Brod 1538 (8/10); MSlk r'

nechceli — pl. l-part. (*chcieť*); Jelšava 1567b (19/8); CSlk t'

nedelu — A sg. f. (*nedeľa*); Ružomberok 1555b (4/6); CSlk C'ú/u

nedely — A sg. f. (*nedeľa*); Partiz. Ľupča 1578a (50/3); CSlk C'ú/u

nedopuszczietty — inf. (*dopúšťať*); Jelšava 1567a (12/12); CSlk t'

nehledice — N pl. m. PrAP (*hľadieť*); Slov. Ľupča 1589 (27/1); CSlk á

nemagy — 3rd pl. n-p. ($mať_2$); Partiz. Ľupča 1562 (25/7); CSlk C'ú/u

nemaji — 3rd pl. n-p. ($mať_2$); Stražnice 1532 (6/2); MSlk C'ú/u

nemohau — 3rd pl. n-p. (*môcť*); Uh. Ostroh 1533 (7/11); MSlk C'ú

nemuoze — 3rd sg. n-p. (*môcť*); Slov. Ves 1591 (5/5); ESlk ó

nemużem — 1st pl. n-p. (*môcť*); Skalica 1550 (11/8); WSlk ó

nenależelo — sg. n. l-part. (*náležať*); Uh. Ostroh 1540 (3/6); MSlk a

neodpirali — pl. l-part. (*odpierať*); Uh. Brod 1531 (7/4); MSlk 'é

neprÿiasznÿ — G sg. f. (*nepriazeň*); Levoča 1552 (6/9); ESlk á

nepuojdu — 1st sg. n-p. (*pôjsť*); Trenčín 1549 (27/1); WSlk ó

nepuoyde — 3rd sg. n-p. (*pôjsť*); Makovica 1579b (5/13); ESlk ó

nerozdilnu — I sg. f. (*nerozdielny*); Partiz. Ľupča 1568 (26/3); CSlk 'é

nesmie — 3rd sg. n-p. (*smieť*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (30/7); CSlk 'é

nesnaze — A pl. f. (*nesnádza*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (71/7); CSlk dj

nesnazy — G pl. f. (*nesnádza*); Strážnice 1532 (11/9); MSlk dj

neumyeme — 1st pl. n-p. (*umieť*); Ilava 1534 (4/5); WSlk 'é

nevim — 1st sg. n-p. (*vedieť*); Trenčín 1549 (40/9); WSlk 'é

nevime — 1st pl. n-p. (*vedieť*); Kroměříž 1539 (12/4); MSlk 'é

newie — 3rd sg. n-p. (*vedieť*); Trenčín 1584 (45/10); WSlk 'é

newiette — 2nd pl. n-p. (*vedieť*); Dol. Štubňa 1566 (10/1); CSlk 'é

newy[m] — 1st sg. n-p. (*vedieť*); Žarnovica 1548 (7/6); CSlk 'é

neysu — 3rd pl. pres. (*byť*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549a (4/10); MSlk C'ú

Neywjce — adv. (*najviac(ej)*); Rajec 1586 (16/6); WSlk á

nezadayu — 3rd pl. n-p. (*žiadať*); Spiš. Kapitula 1592 (16/5); ESlk C'ú/u

neznazy — A pl. f. (*nesnádza*); N. Mesto n. Váh. 1534 (14/4); WSlk dj

niechodził — sg. m. l-part. (*chodiť*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1567 (10/15); ESlk d'

nieobtiežovali — pl. l-part. (*obťažovať*); Ilava 1542 (5/10); WSlk t'

niewyczie — 2nd pl. n-p. (*vedieť*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1564 (5/5); ESlk 'é

niu — I sg. f. pron. (*ona*); Poľanovce 1584 (5/11); ESlk C'ú/u

nou — I sg. f. pron. (*ona*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (59/14); CSlk C'ú/u

nyediely — A sg. f. (*nedeľa*); Krás. Lúka 1557 (11/4); ESlk C'ú/u

O

obecnj — I sg. f. adj. (*obecný*); Veličná 1584 (6/3); CSlk C'ú/u

oblicznoscziv — I sg. f. (*oblicznosť*); Ružomberok 1555a (9/8); CSlk t'

obou — G num. (*oba, obe*); Jelšava 1567b (19/4); CSlk C'ú

obteznosty — G sg. f. (*obťažnosť*); Slov. Ves 1591 (12/6); ESlk t'

obyczagem — I sg. m. (*obyčaj*); Jelšava 1576-7 (5/12); CSlk a

obyczay — N sg. m. (*obyčaj*); Ilava 1534 (9/12); WSlk a
Krás. Lúka 1557 (8/6); ESlk a

obyczegem — I sg. m. (*obyčaj*); Levoča 1569 (6/3); ESlk a

obyczejem — I sg. m. (*obyčaj*); Kláštor p. Zniev. 1531 (6/5); CSlk a

obyczey — N sg. m. (*obyčaj*); Pov. Bystrica 1547 (5/3); WSlk a

ocza — G sg. m. (*otec*); Pov. Bystrica 1576 (45/8); WSlk a

oczy — D sg. m. (*otec*); Partiz. Ľupča 1559 (11/13); CSlk C'ú/u

odkladany — G sg. n. (*odkladanie*); Rožkovany 1575 (13/2); ESlk á

od-mluuati — inf. (*odmlúvať*); Trnava 1577b (7/1); WSlk ļ

odpoczynuti — inf. (*odpočinúť*); Trenčín 1549 (40/4); WSlk C'ú

opaternemu — D sg. m. adj. (*opatrný*); Šemša 1580 (21/3); ESlk ŗ

opatrneho — G sg. m. adj. (*opatrný*); Hôra 1578 (7/5); CSlk ŗ

opatrnoste[m] — D pl. f. (*opatrnosť*); Uh. Brod 1531 (29/6); MSlk ŗ

opatrnostem — D pl. f. (*opatrnosť*); Veľ. Pole 1547 (2/3); CSlk ŗ

Opatrny — V pl. m. anim. adj. (*opatrný*); Slov. Ves 1591 (1/3); ESlk ŗ

opatrnym — D pl. m. adj. (*opatrný*); Uh. Ostroh 1533 (32/3); MSlk ŗ

opatrny(m) — D pl. m. adj. (*opatrný*); Slov. Ves 1591 (23/3); ESlk ŗ

opitowany — A sg. n. (*opytovanie*); Slov. Ves 1591 (8/13); ESlk ˙é

oppaternim — D pl. m. adj. (*opatrný*); Čachtice 1544 (11/3); WSlk ŗ

Oppaternim — D pl. m. adj. (*opatrný*); Lomné 1572 (35/3); ESlk ŗ

oppatrnemu — D sg. m. adj. (*opatrný*); Vrbové 1550b (18/3); WSlk ŗ

Oppatrnim — D pl. m. adj. (*opatrný*); Lomné 1572 (2/6); ESlk ŗ

oppatrnostmi — I pl. f. (*opatrnosť*); Skalica 1543a (5/10); WSlk ŗ

oppatrny — V pl. m. anim. adj. (*opatrný*); Rožnov p. Radh. 1535 (1/6); MSlk ŗ

otcze — G sg. m. (*otec*); Skalica 1543b (7/8); WSlk a

Otecz — N sg. m. (*otec*); Lomné 1572 (19/11); ESlk ъ/ь; ESlk t'

otecz — N sg. m. (*otec*); Skalica 1543b (8/10); WSlk ъ/ь
Skalica 1590 (6/1); WSlk t'
Partiz. Ľupča 1559 (13/1); CSlk ъ/ь; CSlk t'

P

pamiet — A sg. f. (*pamäť*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (32/6); MSlk a

paniu — I sg. f. (*pani*); Partiz. Ľupča 1562 (28/11); CSlk C'ú/u

patek — A sg. m. (*piatok*); Val. Mezižíčí 1541 (1/7); MSlk ъ/ь
Kláštor p. Zniev. 1531 (15/4); CSlk ъ/ь

peczent — A sg. f. (*pečať*); Bardejov 1586 (5/6); ESlk a

peczet — A sg. f. (*pečať*); Čachtice 1550 (9/7); WSlk a

peczeth — A sg. f. (*pečať*); Kroměříž 1542 (14/9); MSlk a

peczetow — I sg. f. (*pečať*); Jelšava 1567b (18/11); CSlk C'ú/u

peczety — I sg. f. (*pečať*); Kláštor p. Zniev. 1531 (4/5); CSlk C'ú/u

peniaze — A pl. m. (*peniaze*); Šemša 1580 (16/1); ESlk á

peniz — A sg. m. (*peniaz*); Rajec 1586 (28/1); WSlk á

penize — A pl. m. (*peniaze*); Uh. Brod 1540b (6/4); MSlk á
Trnava 1536 (33/6); WSlk á
Veličná 1584 (12/11); CSlk á
Levoča 1569 (6/10); ESlk á

penneze — N pl. m. (*peniaze*); Senica 1530 (13/5); WSlk á

penňeze — A pl. m. (*peniaze*); Senica 1530 (6/4); WSlk á

penyze — A pl. m. (*peniaze*); Bardejov 1585 (7/1); ESlk á

petczethmy — I pl. f. (*pečať*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (74/8); CSlk t'

piecz — A num. (*päť*); Hlinné 1585 (6/3); ESlk a

pirwy — A sg. m. adj. (*prvý*); Plaveč 1583 (16/10); ESlk ŗ

pisar — N sg. m. (*pisár*); Plaveč 1532a (5/9); ESlk r'

pissarz — N sg. m. (*pisár*); Bartošovce 1554 (19/9); ESlk r'

piwniczow — I sg. f. (*pivnica*); Partiz. Ľupča 1588b (16/9); CSlk C'ú/u

platiti — inf. (*platiť*); Skalica 1590 (13/6); WSlk t'

plnu — A sg. f. adj. (*plný*); Uh. Brod 1536 (16/4); MSlk ļ
Skalica 1543b (5/3); WSlk C"ú

pocyerpyel — sg. m. l-part. (*potrpieť*); Chmeľov 1577 (10/3); ESlk ŗ

poczcziwem — I sg. m. adj. (*poctivý*); Ružomberok 1555b (9/4); CSlk t'

Poczeti — G sg. n. (*počatie*); Rožnov p. Radh. 1535 (15/6); MSlk a

podepsanych — G pl. m. PPP (*podpísať*); Martin 1561 (3/11); CSlk ъ/ь

podtwerdzenie — A sg. n. (*podtvrdenie*); Jelšava 1567b (17/6); CSlk ŗ; CSlk 'é
Jelšava 1572 (13/7); CSlk 'é; CSlk dj

pohrebu — G sg. m. (*pohreb*); Arnutovce 16th c. (10/3); ESlk r'

pokrwnych — A pl. m. adj. (*pokrvný*); Partiz. Ľupča 1578b (17/1); CSlk ŗ

pol — A (*pol*); Hôra 1578 (15/9); CSlk ó
Spiš. Kapitula 1592 (5/10); ESlk ó

poradtkom — I sg. m. (*poriadok*); Levoča 1569 (7/9); ESlk r'

poriadkami — I pl. m. (*poriadok*); Rajec 1586 (29/2); WSlk r'

porozumy(m) — 1st sg. n-p. (*porozumieť*); Plaveč 1532b (17/11); ESlk 'é

poruczam — 1st sg. n-p. (*porúčať*); Dol. Štubňa 1566 (15/4); CSlk C°ú
Plaveč 1583 (19/4); ESlk C°ú

poruczenstvi — N sg. n. (*poručenstvo*); Uh. Brod 1530 (7/3); MSlk 'é

poručeni — G sg. n. (*poručenie*); Uh. Brod 1530 (11/9); MSlk á

porzadek — N sg. m. (*poriadok*); Uh. Brod 1538 (6/9); MSlk r'

posadzeny — N pl. m. PPP (*posadiť*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (13/6); CSlk dj

posel — N sg. m. (*posol*); Krás. Lúka 1556 (6/2); ESlk ъ/ь

postupyl — sg. m. l-part. (*postúpiť*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (21/7); CSlk C°ú

potrebu — A sg. f. (*potreba*); Spiš. Kapitula 1592 (20/6); ESlk r'

potrzebie — D sg. f. (*potreba*); Kremnica 1569 (3/2); CSlk r'

potvrdili — pl. l-part. (*potvrdiť*); Beckov 1535 (6/8); WSlk d'

potvrdyla — sg. f. l-part. (*potvrdiť*); Trnava 1536 (11/7); WSlk ŗ

potwrdili — pl. l-part. (*potvrdiť*); Partiz. Ľupča 1588b (26/5); CSlk ŗ

potwrzeny — A sg. n. (*potvrdenie*); Partiz. Ľupča 1578b (28/6); CSlk dj

potwrzyl — sg. m. l-part. (*potvrdiť*); Rajec 1553 (18/12); WSlk d'

powedza — 3rd pl. n-p. (*povedať*); Krás. Lúka 1557 (9/7); ESlk á

poydv — 1st sg. n-p. (*pôjsť*); Bartošovce 1554 (47/16); ESlk ó

Pozdraveny — G sg. n. (*pozdravenie*); Dol. Lopašov 1546 (1/10); WSlk á

pozdraweny — G sg. n. (*pozdravenie*); Mošovce 1568 (3/5); CSlk á
A sg. n. (*pozdravenie*); Kračunovce 1580 (1/3); ESlk 'é

pozuostal — sg. m. l-part. (*pozůstat*); Skalica 1536 (18/2); WSlk ó

pozustal — sg. m. l-part. (*pozůstat*); Strážnice 1532 (4/7); MSlk ó
Skalica 1550 (4/8); WSlk ó
Arnutovce 16th c. (1/4); ESlk ó

praczele — N pl. m. (*priateľ*); Lomné 1572 (34/4); ESlk á; ESlk t'
Poľanovce 1584 (8/7); ESlk á

praczelow — D! pl. m. (*priateľ*); Poľanovce 1584 (8/4); ESlk á

praczelskey — A! sg. f. adj. (*priateľský*); Poľanovce 1584 (5/14); ESlk á

praczujycz — N sg. m. PrAP (*pracovať*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549a (11/3); MSlk C'ú/u (3x)

praly — pl. l-part. (*priať*); Slov. Ves 1591 (3/8); ESlk á

pratele — G sg. m. (*priateľ*); Lomné 1572 (15/6); ESlk á; ESlk a

pratelow — G pl. m. (*priateľ*); Ružomberok 1585a (7/4); CSlk á

pratelsky — adv. (*priateľský*); Mošovce 1569 (8/7); CSlk á

prawycze — N pl. m. PrAP (*pravit*); Pov. Bystrica 1576 (8/15); WSlk á
Partiz. Ľupča 1562 (30/4); CSlk á

predesslich — L pl. m. adj. (*predošlý*); Mošovce 1567 (7/3); CSlk ъ/ь

predewssymi — adv. (*predovšetkým*); Rajec 1553 (8/9); WSlk ъ/ь

predstupil — sg. m. l-part. (*predstúpiť*); Lomné 1572 (6/6); ESlk C"ú

pregicz — N sg. m. PrAP (*priať*); Makovica 1579a (1/13); ESlk C'ú/u

preli — pl. l-part. (*priať*); Kláštor p. Zniev. 1531 (1/7); CSlk á

Priaczelu — D sg. m. (*priateľ*); Makovica 1579b (10/8); ESlk C'ú/u

pribehel — sg. m. l-part. (*pribiehať*); Bytča 1580 (20/3); WSlk 'é

priczini — G sg. f. (*príčina*); Makovica 1579a (7/9); ESlk r'

pr(i)drzen — N sg. m. PPP (*pridržať*); Hlohovec 1545a (8/5); WSlk a

prikazu — 1st sg. n-p. (*prikázať*); Dobrá Voda 1538b (37/1); WSlk C'ú/u

primlowu — A sg. f. (*prímluva*); Mošovce 1568 (5/11); CSlk ļ

prisahau — I sg. f. (*prísaha*); Kračunovce 1580 (11/12); ESlk C"ú

prisahow — I sg. f. (*prísaha*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (15/5); CSlk C"ú

prisahu — I sg. f. (*prísaha*); Bytča 1580 (9/11); WSlk r'

prisazni — N sg. m. (*prísažný*); Trenčín 1577 (2/5); WSlk a

prisiecznyk — N sg. m. (*prísažník*); Kračunovce 1580 (15/1); ESlk a

prislibil — sg. m. l-part. (*prisľúbiť*); Jelšava 1567b (12/1); CSlk C'ú/u

pristwpil — sg. m. l-part. (*pristúpiť*); Ružomberok 1531a (1/2); CSlk r'

pritelow — G pl. m. (*priateľ*); Partiz. Ľupča 1568 (9/6); CSlk á

pritisnut — inf. (*pritisnúť*); Lomné 1572 (31/4); ESlk C"ú

prittelsky — adv. (*priateľský*); Dol. Štubňa 1566 (12/1); CSlk á

priw — adv. (*prv(ej)*); Dol. Štubňa 1566 (9/11); CSlk ŗ

prjsažný — N sg. m. (*prísažný*); Veličná 1584 (3/10); CSlk r'

prodluhowany — G sg. n. (*prodlužování*); Jelšava 1567a (15/1); CSlk ļ

prodluzowany — G sg. n. (*predlžovanie*); Rožkovany 1575 (13/4); ESlk ļ

p[ro]sy — 3rd pl. n-p. (*prosiť*); Vrbové 1550a (4/5); WSlk á

prosyce — N sg. m. PrAP (*prosiť*); Rajec 1586 (3/14); WSlk á

prve — adv. (*prv(ej)*); Dobrá Voda 1538b (20/5); WSlk ŗ

prwe — adv. (*prv(ej)*); Martin 1561 (12/6); CSlk ŗ

prwsse — adv. (*prvšie*); Levoča 1569 (6/9); ESlk ŗ

pryali — pl. l-part. (*priať*); Trnava 1565a (1/8); WSlk á

prÿiasnÿ — G sg. f. (*priazeň*); Levoča 1552 (6/6); ESlk á

pryjitele — G sg. m. (*priateľ*); Dobrá Voda 1538a (14/9); WSlk á

prymlowu — A sg. f. (*prímluva*); Rožkovany 1575 (5/4); ESlk ļ

prystupyl — sg. m. l-part. (*pristúpiť*); Rajec 1553 (3/7); WSlk C'ú

prytel — N sg. m. (*priateľ*); Martin 1561 (12/15); CSlk á

prytele — N pl. m. (*priateľ*); Slov. Ves 1591 (5/9); ESlk á; ESlk t'

prytelom — D pl. m. (*priateľ*); Slov. Ves 1591 (24/4); ESlk á

prytelowy — D. sg. m. (*priateľ*); Krás. Lúka 1556 (11/3); ESlk á

prytelsku — A sg. f. adj. (*priateľský*); Slov. Ves 1591 (11/11); ESlk á

prytely — G pl. m. (*priateľ*); Trnava 1580a (4/4); WSlk á

A pl. m. (*priateľ*); Partiz. Ľupča 1578a (27/12); CSlk á

Pryzen — A sg. f. (*priazeň*); Dobrá Voda 1538b (1/1); WSlk á
Žarnovica 1548 (1/1); CSlk á

pryznywym — D pl. m. adj. (*priaznivý*); Slov. Ves 1591 (24/6); ESlk á

przali — pl. l-part. (*priať*); Trenčín 1532 (3/7); WSlk á

przalj — pl. l-part. (*priať*); Uh. Brod 1538 (2/7); MSlk á

przaly — pl. l-part. (*priať*); Brumov-Bylnice 1539 (3/1); MSlk á

przatel — G pl. m. (*priateľ*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (18/2); MSlk á

przatele — N pl. m. (*priateľ*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (16/9); MSlk á

V pl. m. (*priateľ*); Uh. Hradiště 1538a (1/8); MSlk á
Kroměříž 1539 (2/5); MSlk t'
Skalica 1536 (1/7); WSlk á
Trnava 1541 (1/2); WSlk á
Necpaly 1565 (3/5); CSlk á

przatelom — D pl. m. (*priateľ*); Kroměříž 1539 (21/7); MSlk á
Senica 1537 (17/5); WSlk á
Mošovce 1567 (2/2); CSlk á

przatelska — N sg. f. adj. (*priateľský*); Skalica 1536 (15/1); WSlk á

przatelsky — adv. (*priateľský*); Rožnov p. Radh. 1535 (8/10); MSlk á

przatelstvi — A sg. n. (*priateľstvo*); Uh. Hradiště 1538b (3/7); MSlk á

przately — A pl. m. (*priateľ*); Partiz. Ľupča 1538 (13/9); CSlk á

I pl. m. (*priateľ*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (7/4); MSlk á

przedani — N sg. n. (*predanie*); Partiz. Ľupča 1540 (5/3); CSlk 'é

przede — prep. (*predo*); Uh. Brod 1536 (2/3); MSlk ъ/ь

przedlvzone — A pl. m. PPP (*predĺžiť*); Dubovica 16th c. a (1/7); ESlk ł

przejitele — V pl. m. (*priateľ*); Dobrá Voda 1538a (1/9); WSlk á

przichaczegycz — N pl. m. PrAP (*prichádzať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1540 (10/11); CSlk dj

przieteli — V sg. m. (*priateľ*); Ilava 1542 (1/5); WSlk á (2x)

przieznive — adv. (*priaznivý*); Necpaly 1565 (11/7); CSlk á

przieznivy — V sg. m. adj. (*priaznivý*); Ilava 1534 (1/9); WSlk á

przihodila — sg. f. l-part. (*prichodiť*); Břeclav 1539 (7/7); MSlk d'

przíiaczielie — N pl. m. (*priateľ*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1564 (32/4); ESlk á

przíiazny — L sg. f. (*priazeň*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1564 (30/1); ESlk á

przíly — pl. l-part. (*priať*); Hlohovec 1545b (1/8); WSlk á

przirozena — N sg. f. adj. (*prirodzený*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549b (15/1); MSlk dj

przisežny — N pl. m. (*prísažný*); Partiz. Ľupča 1538 (1/8); CSlk a

przistaupicz — N sg. m. PrAP (*pristúpiť*); Uh. Brod 1547 (3/4); MSlk á

przitele — N pl. m. (*priateľ*); Jelšava 1572 (7/2); CSlk á

V pl. m. (*priateľ*); Pov. Bystrica 1547 (1/5); WSlk t'

przitelom — D pl. m. (*priateľ*); Pov. Bystrica 1547 (23/3); WSlk á
Mošovce 1569 (2/2); CSlk á

przitelstwa — G sg. n. (*priateľstvo*); Plaveč 1532a (12/14); ESlk á

przitely — D sg. m. (*priateľ*); Plaveč 1583 (22/8); ESlk C'ú/u

przíyacziel — N sg. m. (*priateľ*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1567 (19/4); ESlk á

przíyaczielstwie — L sg. n. (*priateľstvo*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1564 (30/4); ESlk á

Przizen — A sg. f. (*priazeň*); Chtelnica 1531 (1/1); WSlk á

przíznywe — adv. (*priaznivý*); Mošovce 1569 (8/9); CSlk á

przíznywim — D pl. m. adj. (*priaznivý*); Mošovce 1569 (2/6); CSlk á

przyaczyelovy — D sg. m. (*priateľ*); Bartošovce 1554 (48/8); ESlk á

przyazny — D/L sg. f. (*priazeň*); Kr. Lúka 1558 (9/12); ESlk á
Dubovica 16th c. a (7/3); ESlk á

przyiaczielia — G sg. m. (*priateľ*); Plaveč 1587 (6/12); ESlk á

przyiaszny — D/L sg. f. (*priazeň*); Plaveč 1583 (18/14); ESlk á

przyrzykaya — 3rd pl. n-p. (*pririekať*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1564 (27/7); ESlk C'ú/u; ESlk 'é

przysazny — N sg. m. (*prísažný*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (3/6); CSlk a

przyssel — sg. m. l-part. (*prísť*); Poľanovce 1584 (1/11); ESlk r'

przystaupili — pl. l-part. (*pristúpiť*); Levoča 1569 (2/5); ESlk C'ú

przysuzujeme — 1st pl. n-p. (*prisudzovať*); Trnava 1536 (38/5); WSlk dj

przytele — V pl. m. (*priateľ*); Trnava 1541 (7/3); WSlk á (2x)

przyzniveho — G sg. m. adj. (*priaznivý*); Trenčín 1532 (16/5); WSlk á

przyznivy — V sg. m. adj. (*priaznivý*); Trenčín 1532 (1/7); WSlk á

přísaha — N sg. f. (*prísaha*); WSlk a; CSlk a

přísažný — N sg. m. (*prísažný*); Veličná 1584 (4/3); CSlk r'

psani — N sg. n. (*písanie*); Trenčín 1549 (2/12); WSlk 'é

A sg. n. (*písanie*); Rožnov p. Radh. 1535 (3/4); MSlk 'é

Psani — D sg. n. (*písanie*); Uh. Brod 1531 (2/3); MSlk C'ú/u

psany — G sg. n. (*písanie*); Klášter Smilheim 1540 (2/7); MSlk á
Sklabiňa 1579 (3/5); CSlk á

pul — N (*pol*); Arnutovce 16th c. (7/6); ESlk ó

A (*pol*); Kaľamenová 1571 (9/2); CSlk ó

puol — G (*pol*); Partiz. Ľupča 1571 (17/1); CSlk ó

A (*pol*); Trenčín 1584 (27/10); WSlk ó

pusstel — sg. m. l-part. (*púšťať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1578a (24/6); CSlk a

púštěli — pl. l-part. (*púšťať*); CSlk a

pyatom — D num.! (*päť*); Partiz. Ľupča 1578b (22/2); CSlk a

pyeczecz — A sg. f. (*pečať*); Dubovica 16th c. b (7/5); ESlk a

R

radau — I sg. f. (*rada*); Uh. Ostroh 1533 (28/2); MSlk C'ú

reczenem — L sg. n. PPP (*riecť*); Hôra 1578 (8/9); CSlk r'

Richtar — N sg. m. (*richtár*); Sklabiňa 1564 (23/11); CSlk r'

Richtarz — N sg. m. (*richtár*); Sklabiňa 1564 (17/2); CSlk r'

richtarze — G sg. m. (*richtár*); Partiz. Ľupča 1540 (1/10); CSlk a

roskazane — G sg. n. (*rozkázanie*); Jelšava 1572 (13/9); CSlk á

rosmluuity — inf. (*rozmluviť*); Plaveč 1532a (4/15); ESlk ĺ

rozdylu — G sg. m. (*rozdiel*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549b (9/2); MSlk 'é

rozmlowime — 1st pl. n-p. (*rozmluviť*); Sklabiňa 1579 (17/12); CSlk ĺ

rozmluveny — A sg. n. (*rozmluvenie*); Trenčín 1549 (22/1); WSlk ĺ

roznycz — G pl. f. (*rôznica*); Rajec 1553 (63/3); WSlk ó

rozvmie — 3rd sg. n-p. (*rozumieť*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1567 (10/1); ESlk 'é

ruku — I sg. f. (*ruka*); Kaľamenová 1571 (13/4); CSlk C'ú

ruoznicze — G sg. f. (*rôznica*); Trenčín 1532 (4/6); WSlk ó

rychtarze — G sg. m. (*richtár*); Kroměříž 1539 (8/10); MSlk a

rychtarzy — D sg. m. (*richtár*); Uh. Brod 1530 (17/6); MSlk C'ú/u

V sg. m. (*richtár*); N. Mesto n. Váh. 1550 (1/6); WSlk C'ú/u

rzaczili — pl. l-part. (*ráčiť*); N. Mesto n. Váh. 1546 (8/5); WSlk r'

Rzchtarzy — D sg. m. (*richtár*); Mošovce 1568 (1/6); CSlk r'

rzekli — pl. l-part. (*riecť*); Chtelnica 1531 (15/10); WSlk r'

Rzichtarz — N sg. m. (*richtár*); Hlohovec 1545a (16/1); WSlk r'

rzka — N sg. m. PrAP (*riecť*); Trenčín 1549 (80/12); WSlk r'

S

sa — A refl. pron. (*sa*); Rajec 1586 (42/10); WSlk a
Sklabiňa 1564 (10/12); CSlk a

sansziadowy — D sg. m. (*sused*); Plaveč 1587 (1/9); ESlk C˙ú

sasyadam — D pl. m. (*sused*); Dubovica 16th c. a (2/10); ESlk C˙ú

sasyady — I pl. m. (*sused*); Dubovica 16th c. a (2/3); ESlk C˙ú

sau — 3rd pl. pres. (*byť*); Uh. Brod 1538 (5/5); MSlk C˙ú
Dobrá Voda 1538b (14/5); WSlk C˙ú
Slov. Ľupča 1589 (59/8); CSlk C˙ú
Lomné 1572 (22/9); ESlk C˙ú

sauseda — N sg. f. (*suseda*); Uh. Brod 1530 (2/5); MSlk C˙ú

sausedom — I sg. m. (*sused*); Jelšava 1567b (21/9); CSlk C˙ú
D pl. m. (*sused*); Skalica 1550 (19/5); WSlk C˙ú

sausedske — adv. (*susedský*); Dobrá Voda 1538b (21/2); WSlk C˙ú

sąsiadt — N sg. m. (*sused*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1567 (19/6); ESlk C˙ú

scel — sg. m. l-part. (*chcieť*); Trnava 1577b (6/11); WSlk t'

Sczęsczya — G sg. m. (*šťastie*); Hertník 1565 (1/1); ESlk a

se — A refl. pron. (*sa*); Uh. Ostroh 1540 (2/4); MSlk a
Bytča 1580 (10/2); WSlk a
Partiz. Ľupča 1568 (24/6); CSlk a

sebow — I refl. pron. (*sa*); Partiz. Ľupča 1588a (16/4); CSlk C˙ú
Lomné 1572 (25/2); ESlk C˙ú

sedzy — 3rd pl. n-p. (*sedieť*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (68/9); CSlk á; CSlk d'

sffagrze — V sg. m. (*švagor*); Bartošovce 1554 (1/6); ESlk r'

sie — A refl. pron. (*sa*); Plaveč 1556 (7/7); ESlk a

sienow — I sg. f. (*sieň*); Partiz. Ľupča 1588b (17/8); CSlk 'é

skonczenie — N sg. n. (*skončenie*); Plaveč 1583 (6/6); ESlk 'é

slibił — sg. m. l-part. (*sľúbiť*); Uh. Hradiště 1538a (4/5); MSlk C'ú/u
Trnava 1541 (4/11); WSlk C'ú/u

slibugem — 1st sg. n-p. (*sľubovať*); Plaveč 1532a (15/8); ESlk C'ú/u

slissati — inf. (*slyšať*); Lomné 1572 (3/2); ESlk a

slissel — sg. m. l-part. (*slyšať*); Pov. Bystrica 1576 (9/14); WSlk a
Slov. Ľupča 1589 (44/13); CSlk a

slussnau — A sg. f. adj. (*slušný*); Uh. Brod 1547 (12/8); MSlk C˙ú

slussnu — A sg. f. adj. (*slušný*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549a (20/1); MSlk C˙ú

sluzeb — G pl. f. (*služba*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (26/6); CSlk ъ/ь

sluzebnikom — I sg. m. (*služobník*); Pov. Bystrica 1576 (23/6); WSlk ъ/ь

sluzebnikowy — D sg. m. (*služobník*); Plaveč 1532a (21/3); ESlk ъ/ь

Sluzebnyk — N sg. m. (*služobník*); Sklabiňa 1564 (26/12); CSlk ъ/ь

služiti — inf. (*slúžiť*); Levoča 16th c. (3/8); ESlk C*ú

služyl — sg. m. l-part. (*slúžiť*); Trenčín 1584 (42/3); WSlk C*ú

slyssela — sg. f. l-part. (*slyšať*); Uh. Brod 1530 (5/3); MSlk a

slyssely — pl. l-part. (*slyšať*); Hlinné 1585 (10/13); ESlk a

slysseti — inf. (*slyšať*); Uh. Brod 1536 (2/10); MSlk a
Rajec 1586 (6/10); WSlk a

slyšěli — pl. l-part. (*slyšať*); MSlk a; WSlk a; CSlk a

slyvb — A sg. m. (*sľub*); Bartošovce 1554 (24/12); ESlk C'ú/u

smluva — N sg. f. (*zmluva*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (6/2); MSlk ļ
Skalica 1536 (14/12); WSlk ļ

smrti — G sg. f. (*smrť*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549b (14/11); MSlk ŗ

L sg. f. (*smrť*); Lomné 1572 (20/7, 24/8); ESlk ŗ

smrty — L sg. f. (*smrť*); Partiz. Ľupča 1559 (17/13); CSlk ŗ

sobu — I refl. pron. (*sa*); Chmeľov 1577 (6/9); ESlk C*ú

spolusausedy — I pl. m. (*spolusused*); Rajec 1553 (8/10); WSlk C*ú

sposob — A sg. m. (*spôsob*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1567 (4/5); ESlk ó

spravedlivie — adv. (*spravodlivý*); Uh. Brod 1538 (9/8); MSlk ъ/ь

spravedlnosti — I sg. f. (*spravedlnosť*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (14/1); MSlk C'ú/u

sprawedliwost — A sg. f. (*spravodlivosť*); Mošovce 1569 (9/6); CSlk ъ/ь

sprawodlywu — A sg. f. adj. (*spravodlivý*); Partiz. Ľupča 1578b (12/9); CSlk ъ/ь

sprawuią sie — 3rd pl. n-p. (*spravovať sa*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1564 (27/3); ESlk C'ú/u

spuosob — A sg. m. (*spôsob*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (40/10); CSlk ó

spuosobem — I sg. m. (*spôsob*); Trenčín 1584 (40/14); WSlk ó
Makovica 1579a (6/8); ESlk ó

spusobe[m] — I sg. m. (*spôsob*); Arnutovce 16th c. (3/1); ESlk ó

spusobem — I sg. m. (*spôsob*); Trnava 1580a (7/3); WSlk ó
Partiz. Ľupča 1559 (16/4); CSlk ó

srdcze — G sg. n. (*srdce*); Sklabiňa 1579 (7/1); CSlk ŗ

sscescye — A sg. n. (*šťastie*); Chmeľov 1577 (1/2); ESlk 'é

ssecz — A num. (*šesť*); Ružomberok 1555b (7/12); CSlk t'

ssesc — A num. (*šesť*); Kračunovce 1580 (16/11); ESlk t'

ssest — A num. (*šesť*); Šemša 1580 (6/7); ESlk t'

sstesty — G sg. n. (*šťastie*); Lomné 1572 (3/6); ESlk á; ESlk a

sstiastnie — adv. (*šťastný*); Trnava 1550 (21/10); WSlk a

sstiesti — G sg. n. (*šťastie*); Kaľamenová 1575 (1/2); CSlk á

sstiesty — G sg. n. (*šťastie*); Trnava 1550 (1/2); WSlk á

sstuertek — A sg. m. (*štvrtok*); Senica 1539 (8/6); WSlk ŕ

sstwertok — A sg. m. (*štvrtok*); Dol. Štubňa 1566 (2/5); CSlk ъ/ь; CSlk ŕ

starze — A pl. m. adj. (*starý*); Plaveč 1532a (11/8); ESlk r'

statczeku — G sg. m. (*statček*); Hlohovec 1550 (5/4); WSlk ъ/ь

statczoky — A pl. m. (*statček*); Chtelnica 1531 (5/1); WSlk ъ/ь
Chtelnica 1531 (6/9); WSlk ъ/ь

statek — N sg. m. (*statok*); Plaveč 1587 (3/14); ESlk ъ/ь

A sg. m. (*statok*); Skalica 1536 (5/6); WSlk ъ/ь
Dobrá Voda 1538a (5/3, 13/8, 15/1); WSlk ъ/ь
Trnava 1577b (5/3); WSlk ъ/ь
Trnava 1577e (7/9); WSlk ъ/ь
Partiz. Ľupča 1538 (11/10); CSlk ъ/ь

statok — N sg. m. (*statok*); Dobrá Voda 1538a (11/10); WSlk ъ/ь
Partiz. Ľupča 1571 (29/4); CSlk ъ/ь

A sg. m. (*statok*); Trnava 1577a (6/12); WSlk ъ/ь

ste — 2nd pl. pres. (*byť*); Sklabiňa 1579 (4/2); CSlk t'

stestia — G sg. n. (*šťastie*); Makovica 1579a (1/14); ESlk á

steznost — A sg. f. (*sťažnosť*); Mošovce 1567 (6/4); CSlk á

stiznosty — I sg. f. (*sťažnosť*); Mošovce 1567 (7/5); CSlk á

stredu — A sg. f. (*streda*); Veličná 1584 (1/11); CSlk r'

strielal — sg. m. l-part. (*strieľať*); Hôra 1578 (18/4); CSlk 'é

stuol — A sg. m. (*stôl*); Beckov 1535 (25/8); WSlk ó

stvorzeny — D sg. n. (*stvorenie*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549b (14/10); MSlk r'

stwartok — A sg. m. (*štvrtok*); Lomné 1572 (32/6); ESlk ъ/ь; ESlk ŕ

su — 3rd pl. pres. (*byť*); Bytča 1580 (9/9); WSlk C*ú

sudcy — N pl. m. (*sudca*); Ružomberok 1586 (2/6); CSlk C*ú

súdobney — G sg. f. adj. (*súdobný*); Hôra 1578 (2/6); CSlk ъ/ь

sused — N sg. m. (*sused'*); Hlohovec 1545a (6/8); WSlk C*ú
Kláštor p. Zniev. 1531 (2/11); CSlk C*ú

svatem — L sg. m. adj. (*svätý*); Břeclav 1539 (9/1); MSlk a
Dol. Lopašov 1546 (9/10); WSlk a

svatey — L sg. f. adj. (*svätý*); Brumov-Bylnice 1539 (11/12); MSlk a

svatostmi — I pl. f. (*sviatosť*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549b (4/9); MSlk t'

svattem — L sg. m. adj. (*svätý*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549a (22/6); MSlk a

svatu — I sg. f. adj. (*svätý*); Kláštor p. Zniev. 1531 (15/6); CSlk C*ú

svatý — N sg. m. adj. (*svätý*); WSlk a; CSlk a

svedomi — A sg. n. (*svedomie*); Kláštor p. Zniev. 1531 (10/8); CSlk 'é

sviedomi — N pl. n. (*svedomie*); Trnava 1536 (14/2); WSlk á

svoj — A sg. m. adj. (*svoj*); Dobrá Voda 1538a (13/7); WSlk ó

svrchu — adv. (*zvrchu*); Uh. Brod 1536 (14/6); MSlk ŕ

svssiedom — D pl. m. (*sused*); Krás. Lúka 1557 (2/2); ESlk C*ú

svu — I sg. f. adj. (*svoj*); Břeclav 1539 (3/10); MSlk C*ú

sw — 3rd pl. pres. (*byť*); Plaveč 1532b (8/3); ESlk C*ú

Swatem — L sg. m. adj. (*svätý*); Lomné 1572 (32/8); ESlk a

swatem — L sg. m. adj. (*svätý*); Hôra 1578 (5/10); CSlk a

Swatey — L sg. f. adj. (*svätý*); Hôra 1578 (20/8); CSlk a

swau — A sg. f. adj. (*svoj*); Plaveč 1583 (1/2); ESlk C*ú

swedomy — N sg. n. (*svedomie*); Pov. Bystrica 1562 (1/10); WSlk 'é
A sg. n. (*svedomie*); Lomné 1572 (5/7); ESlk 'é
N pl. n. (*svedomie*); Žarnovica 1548 (17/7); CSlk á
Šemša 1580 (13/9); ESlk á

swetili — pl. l-part. (*svätiť*); Veličná 1584 (2/6); CSlk t'

swobodyl — sg. m. l-part. (*slobodiť*); Partiz. Ľupča 1538 (11/13); CSlk d'

swoy — A sg. m. adj. (*svoj*); Partiz. Ľupča 1540 (18/11); CSlk ó

swuog — A sg. m. adj. (*svoj*); Partiz. Ľupča 1551 (7/5); CSlk ó

swuy — A sg. m. adj. (*svoj*); Rajec 1553 (25/8); WSlk ó

syny — N sg. f. (?) (*sieň*); Partiz. Ľupča 1588b (16/3); CSlk 'é

szansiadouy — D sg. m. (*sused*); Plaveč 1587 (13/8); ESlk C*ú

szą̨siedzi — N pl. m. (*sused*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1564 (32/6); ESlk C*ú

szmiercziam — I sg. f. (*smrť*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1567 (16/3); ESlk ŕ

Š

šťastný — N sg. m. adj. (*šťastný*); WSlk a

T

tele — L sg. n. (*telo*); Martin 1561 (5/11); CSlk t'

teletie — G sg. n. (*teľa*); Hôra 1578 (15/10); CSlk a

teprov — adv. (*teprv*); Martin 1540 (11/10); CSlk ŕ

teprova — adv. (*teprv*); Uh. Brod 1531 (4/2); MSlk ŕ
Pov. Bystrica 1547 (13/5); WSlk ŕ

teprw — adv. (*teprv*); Martin 1561 (15/5); CSlk ŕ

tie — G sg. pron. (*ty*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (44/9); CSlk a

Tiessko — adv. (*ťažký*); Kaľamenová 1575 (4/12); CSlk a

tiezky[m] — I sg. n. adj. (*ťažký*); Uh. Brod 1547 (26/12); MSlk t'

tobow — I sg. pron. (*ty*); Plaveč 1532a (4/12); ESlk C"ú

trch — A sg. m. (*trh*); Bytča 1580 (10/12); WSlk ŗ

trhu — L sg. m. (*trh*); Mošovce 1567 (18/2); CSlk ŗ

trpel — sg. m. l-part. (*trpieť*); Slov. Ľupča 1589 (20/6); CSlk ŗ

trycet — A num. (*tridsať*); Trnava 1580b (4/10); WSlk a

trziczet — A num. (*tridsať*); Kaľamenová 1571 (8/12); CSlk r'

tztwrte — N sg. n. adj. (*štvrtý*); Arnutovce 16th c. (3/6); ESlk ŗ

tzudzemu — D sg. m. adj. (*cudzí*); Levoča 1552 (5/5); ESlk C'ú/u; ESlk dj

U

uchaza — 3rd sg. n-p. (*uchádzať*); Bytča 1580 (16/1); WSlk dj

údolj — G sg. n. (*údolie*); Veličná 1584 (12/4); CSlk á

uiplacit — inf. (*vyplatiť*); Trnava 1577d (3/6); WSlk t'

uplne — adv. (*úplný*); Slov. Ľupča 1589 (61/4); CSlk ļ

uracila — sg. f. l-part. (*vrátiť*); Trnava 1577d (2/14); WSlk t'

urednjka — G sg. m. (*úradník*); Veličná 1584 (7/2); CSlk C"ú; CSlk r'

Urodzonym — D pl. m. adj. (*urodzený*); Plaveč 1556 (10/1); ESlk dj

urozeny — N sg. m. adj. (*urodzený*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (24/3); MSlk dj
Ilava 1534 (1/6); WSlk dj

Urozenym — D pl. m. adj. (*urodzený*); Poľanovce 1584 (19/1); ESlk dj

urzadu — G sg. m. (*úrad*); Čachtice 1550 (4/3); WSlk r'

urzednika — G sg. m. (*úradník*); Brumov-Bylnice 1539 (13/6); MSlk a

úřad — N sg. m. (*úrad*); CSlk a

utery — A sg. n. (*utorok*); Uh. Brod 1538 (10/3); MSlk C"ú

uterzy — A sg. n. (*utorok*); Hlohovec 1545b (12/2); WSlk r'

utvrzeni — A sg. n. (*utvrdenie*); Beckov 1535 (29/12); WSlk dj

V

vassy — A sg. f. adj. (*váš*); Martin 1540 (21/8); CSlk C'ú/u

vdieczne — A sg. n. adj. (*vďačný*); Uh. Brod 1531 (22/15); MSlk d'

ve — prep. (*vo*); N. Mesto n. Váh. 1546 (17/10); WSlk ъ/ь

vecov — I sg. f. (*vec*); Slov. Ľupča 1589 (60/11); CSlk C'ú/u

vezmucz — N sg. m. PrAP (*vziať*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549b (15/7); MSlk C"ú

vhol — N sg. m. (*uhol*); Partiz. Ľupča 1588b (18/8); CSlk ъ/ь

viaczey — adv. (*viac(ej)*); Bartošovce 1554 (2/10); ESlk á

vicz — adv. (*viac(ej)*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (17/2); MSlk á

vicze — adv. (*viac(ej)*); Rožnov p. Radh. 1535 (11/8); MSlk á

viecze — adv. (*viac(ej)*); Smolenice 1537 (14/8); WSlk á

viedieti — inf. (*vedieť*); Brumov-Bylnice 1539 (7/3); MSlk d'

vieru — I sg. f. (*viera*); Beckov 1535 (11/5); WSlk 'é
Martin 1540 (8/7); CSlk 'é; CSlk C*ú

viery — G sg. f. (*viera*); Břeclav 1539 (8/1); MSlk 'é

vierzyti — inf. (*veriť*); Skalica 1543a (6/5); WSlk r'

viete — 2nd pl. n-p. (*vedieť*); Ilava 1542 (7/5); WSlk 'é

viry — G sg. f. (*viera*); N. Mesto n. Váh. 1534 (4/10); WSlk 'é

virzu — A sg. f. (*viera*); Rožnov p. Radh. 1535 (12/15); MSlk 'é; MSlk r'

vite — 2nd pl. n-p. (*vedieť*); Dol. Štubňa 1567 (7/3); CSlk 'é

vnuter — adv. (*vnutor*); Dobrá Voda 1538b (36/2); WSlk r'

vobecz — adv. (*vôbec*); Beckov 1535 (1/2); WSlk ó

vpadek — A sg. m. (*úpadok*); Bartošovce 1554 (4/12); ESlk ъ/ь

vpelnim — I sg. n. adj. (*úplný*); Lomné 1572 (14/1); ESlk ļ (2x)

vplneho — G sg. n. adj. (*úplný*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (45/7); CSlk ļ

vplnost — A sg. f. (*úplnosť*); Rajec 1553 (13/12); WSlk ļ

vplnu — A sg. f. adj. (*úplný*); Lomné 1572 (6/9); ESlk ļ

vrodzeny — N sg. m. adj. (*urodzený*); Ružomberok 1585c (11/1); CSlk dj

vrozeny — N sg. m. adj. (*urodzený*); Partiz. Ľupča 1562 (6/4); CSlk dj

Vrzadnyka — G sg. m. (*úradník*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (33/7); CSlk a
A sg. m. (*úradník*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (11/1); CSlk r'

vsazen — N sg. m. PPP (*vsadiť*); Martin 1540 (6/3); CSlk dj

vule — G sg. f. (*vôľa*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549b (10/1); MSlk ó

vuole — N sg. f. (*vôľa*); Senica 1530 (12/9); WSlk ó
G sg. f. (*vôľa*); Uh. Brod 1547 (20/7); MSlk ó

vuoly — A sg. f. (*vôľa*); Senica 1530 (5/4); WSlk C'ú/u

vyączey — adv. (*viac(ej)*); Bartošovce 1554 (9/1); ESlk á

vybirali — pl. l-part. (*vyberať*); Skalica 1550 (10/14); WSlk 'é

vydadza — 3rd pl. n-p. (*vydať*); Krás. Lúka 1557 (9/1); ESlk á, ESlk d'

vydzą — 3rd pl. n-p. (*vidieť*); Bartošovce 1554 (7/2); ESlk á

vye — 3rd sg. n-p. (*vedieť*); Uh. Brod 1547 (9/11, 20/2); MSlk 'é

vyminek — G pl. f. (*výmienka*); Valaš. Meziříčí 1541 (21/10); MSlk 'é

vyslissali — pl. l-part. (*vyslyšať*); Beckov 1535 (5/9); WSlk a

vyslyssavsse — N pl. m. PAP (*vyslyšať*); Beckov 1535 (5/11); WSlk a

vyslyšal — sg. m. l-part. (*vyslyšať*); WSlk a

vyslyšav — N sg. m. PAP (*vyslyšať*); WSlk a

vyte — 2nd pl. n-p. (*vedieť*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549b (5/6); MSlk 'é

vyznavayacz — N pl. m. PrAP (*vyznávať*); Dubovica 16th c. b (4/2); ESlk C'ú/u

vzal — sg. m. l-part. (*vziať*); WSlk a; CSlk a

vzav — N sg. m. PAP (*vziať*); WSlk a; CSlk a

vzavsse — N sg. f. PAP (*vziať*); Beckov 1535 (22/3); WSlk a

vziącz — inf. (*vziať*); Bartošovce 1554 (18/3); ESlk á

vzyti — inf. (*vziať*); Uh. Ostroh 1533 (15/3); MSlk á

vžiwany — D sg. n. (*užívanie*); Partiz. Ľupča 1588b (13/3); CSlk C'ú/u

W

wassa — N sg. f. adj. (*váš*); Spiš. Kapitula 1592 (8/7); ESlk a

we — prep. (*vo*); Veľ. Pole 1547 (14/2); CSlk ъ/ь

wedel — sg. m. l-part. (*vedieť*); Makovica 1579b (8/7); ESlk d'

wedle — prep. (*vedľa*); Rožkovany 1575 (11/5); ESlk ъ/ь

welyku — I sg. f. adj. (*veľký*); Slov. Ves 1591 (5/16); ESlk C"ú

wen — adv. (*von*); Žarnovica 1548 (7/3); CSlk ъ/ь
Slov. Ves 1591 (13/3); ESlk ъ/ь

werchu — G sg. m. (*vrch*); Ružomberok 1555b (9/6); CSlk ŗ

werzne — adv. (*verný*); Rožkovany 1575 (3/7); ESlk r'

wiare — A sg. f. (*viera*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1564 (26/2); ESlk 'é

wiedzenia — G sg. n. (*vedenie*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1564 (8/3); ESlk á

wiedziec — inf. (*vedieť*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1567 (5/7); ESlk d'

wie[m] — 1st sg. n-p. (*vedieť*); Žarnovica 1548 (6/11); CSlk 'é

wieme — 1st pl. n-p. (*vedieť*); Makovica 1579a (8/7); ESlk 'é

więznia — A sg. m (*väzeň*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1564 (11/1, 24/8); ESlk a

więzniem — I sg. m. (*väzeň*); Brezovica n. Tor. 1564 (28/2); ESlk a

wiplatyl — sg. m. l-part. (*vyplatiť*); Kračunovce 1580 (5/10); ESlk t'

wiru — A sg. f. (*viera*); Lomné 1572 (14/7); ESlk 'é

wirzoszwmiel — sg. m. l-part. (*vyrozumieť*); Plaveč 1532b (3/5); ESlk r'

wladnuti — inf. (*vládnuť*); Partiz. Ľupča 1562 (27/13); CSlk C"ú

wlczy — A sg. m. adj. (*vlčí*); Trenčín 1584 (67/7); WSlk ļ

wo — prep. (*vo*); Partiz. Ľupča 1588b (21/7); CSlk ъ/ь

wobecz — adv. (*vôbec*); Ružomberok 1555b (5/4); CSlk ó
Lomné 1572 (2/2); ESlk ó

wole — G sg. f. (*vôľa*); Pov. Bystrica 1576 (25/10); WSlk ó
Makovica 1579a (4/18); ESlk ó

wopatrny — N sg. m. adj. (*opatrný*); Rajec 1553 (4/2); WSlk ŗ

V pl. m. anim. adj. (*opatrný*); Žarnovica 1548 (1/8); CSlk ŗ

wpratelstwy — L sg. n. (*priateľstvo*); Mošovce 1567 (25/1); CSlk á

wrchu — G sg. m. (*vrch*); Ružomberok 1555a (9/5); CSlk ŗ

wrednykow — G pl. m. (*úradník*); Poľanovce 1584 (12/13); ESlk a

Wskrisseny — L sg. n. (*vzkriesenie*); Trenčín 1577 (1/6); WSlk 'é

wulj — A sg. f. (*vôľa*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (54/7); CSlk ó

wuly — A sg. f. (*vôľa*); Levoča 1569 (3/2); ESlk ó

wuobecz — adv. (*vôbec*); Kremnica 1569 (2/3); CSlk ó

wuole — G sg. f. (*vôľa*); Partiz. Ľupča 1540 (16/4); CSlk ó
Lomné 1572 (10/7); ESlk ó

wuos — N sg. m. (*voz*); Spiš. Kapitula 1592 (10/7); ESlk ó

wycze — adv. (*viac(ej)*); Orav. Zámok 1574 (63/3); CSlk á

wyhledawagu — 3rd pl. n-p. (*vyhľadávať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1578b (13/5); CSlk C'ú/u

wyplnieni — G sg. n. (*vyplnenie*); Skalica 1590 (14/10); WSlk á

wyplnil — sg. m. l-part. (*vyplniť*); Skalica 1590 (10/1); WSlk ł

wyrchu — L sg. m. (*vrch*); Partiz. Ľupča 1551 (21/10); CSlk ŗ

wyznanie — N sg. n. (*vyznanie*); Jelšava 1572 (12/11); CSlk 'é

wzali — pl. l-part. (*vziať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1562 (29/9); CSlk a
Lomné 1572 (25/13); ESlk a

wzaly — pl. l-part. (*vziať*); Trenčín 1584 (19/6); WSlk a
Lomné 1572 (8/5); ESlk a

wzat — inf. (*vziať*); Lomné 1572 (25/3); ESlk á

wzawssy — N sg. m. PAP (*vziať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1582 (88/11); CSlk a

wziti — inf. (*vziať*); Trenčín 1577 (4/10); WSlk á

Y

yuss — adv. (*už*); Ružomberok 1555a (6/9); CSlk C'ú/u

Z

zabyrati — inf. (*zaberať*); Bardejov 1585 (9/4); ESlk 'é

začžynok — N sg. m. (*záčinok*); Partiz. Ľupča 1588b (23/2); CSlk ъ/ь

zadagj — 3rd pl. n-p. (*žiadať*); Makovica 1579b (4/1); ESlk C'ú/u

zadayąc — N sg. m. PrAP (*žiadať*); Krás. Lúka 1558 (3/10); ESlk C'ú/u

zalugucz se — N sg. m. PrAP (*žalovať sa*); Poľanovce 1584 (2/10); ESlk C'ú/u

zamiessena — N sg. f. PPP (*zamiesiť*); Lomné 1572 (29/8); ESlk 'é

zamok — A sg. m. (*zámok*); Sklabiňa 1579 (11/8); CSlk ъ/ь

zaplacil — sg. m. l-part. (*zaplatiť*); Trnava 1577b (4/6); WSlk t'

zaplaczyl — sg. m. l-part. (*zaplatiť*); Hlinné 1585 (4/8); ESlk t'

zarno — A sg. n. (*zrno*); Hlinné 1585 (9/4); ESlk ŗ

za-slubil — sg. m. l-part. (*zasľúbiť*); Trnava 1565c (3/15); WSlk C'ú/u

zboza — G sg. n. (*zbožie*); Hlinné 1585 (8/3); ESlk á

zdravi — G sg. n. (*zdravie*); Kláštor p. Zniev. 1531 (1/10); CSlk á

Zdravy — G sg. n. (*zdravie*); Kroměříž 1539 (2/8); MSlk á

zdravy — A sg. n. (*zdravie*); Kroměříž 1539 (13/5); MSlk 'é

Zdravye — G sg. n. (*zdravie*); Uh. Brod 1547 (2/1); MSlk á

zdrawi — G sg. n. (*zdravie*); Krás. Lúka 1556 (1/3); ESlk á

zdrawia — G sg. n. (*zdravie*); Makovica 1579a (1/15); ESlk á

zdrawye — A sg. n. (*zdravie*); Chmeľov 1577 (1/4); ESlk 'é

zet — N sg. m. (*zať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1538 (5/9); CSlk a

zethrffacz — inf. (*zotrvať*); Hertník 1565 (5/6); ESlk ŗ

ziadajicze — N sg. m. PrAP (*žiadať*); Hlohovec 1532 (3/7); WSlk C'ú/u

zmienku — A sg. f. (*zmienka*); Partiz. Ľupča 1540 (30/7); CSlk 'é

zminku — A sg. f. (*zmienka*); Mošovce 1568 (5/8); CSlk 'é

zmluva — N sg. f. (*zmluva*); Mošovce 1578 (4/11); CSlk ļ

znagicze — N pl. m. PrAP (*znať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1538 (9/4); CSlk C'ú/u

znaje — N sg. m. PrAP (*znať*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549a (19/9); MSlk a

znanie — A sg. n. (*znanie*); Makovica 1579b (7/5); ESlk 'é

znany — A sg. n. (*znanie*); Makovica 1579b (5/6); ESlk 'é

zny — 3rd sg. n-p. (*znieť*); Veselí n. Mor. 1549b (7/4); MSlk 'é

zobu — G num. (*oba, obe*); Mošovce 1578 (22/1); CSlk C'ú

zostal — sg. m. l-part. (*zostať*); Bartošovce 1554 (16/3); ESlk ó

zostathy — inf. (*zostať*); Sklabiňa 1579 (6/1); CSlk ó

zribe — N sg. n. (*žriebä*); Arnutovce 16th c. (3/7); ESlk a; ESlk 'é

zryzeny — A sg. n. (*zriadenie*); Rajec 1553 (12/12); WSlk á

ztiezowany — G sg. n. (*sťažovanie*); Partiz. Ľupča 1568 (26/9); CSlk t'

zuostali — pl. l-part. (*zostať*); Uh. Ostroh 1533 (18/14); MSlk ó

zuostat — inf. (*zostať*); Partiz. Ľupča 1578a (45/7); CSlk ó

zupelna — N. sg. f? adj. (*zúplný*); Plaveč 1556 (6/5); ESlk ļ (2x)

zuplna — adv. (*zúplna*); Rajec 1553 (19/12); WSlk ļ

zuplnu — A sg. f. adj. (*zúplný*); Partiz. Ľupča 1588a (7/2); CSlk ł

zustati — inf. (*zostať*); Mošovce 1578 (21/1); CSlk ó

zwerchu — adv. (*zvrchu*); Jelšava 1572 (15/5); CSlk ŗ

zwrchupsany — N pl. m. PPP (*svrchupsaný*); Pov. Bystrica 1576 (30/15); WSlk ŗ

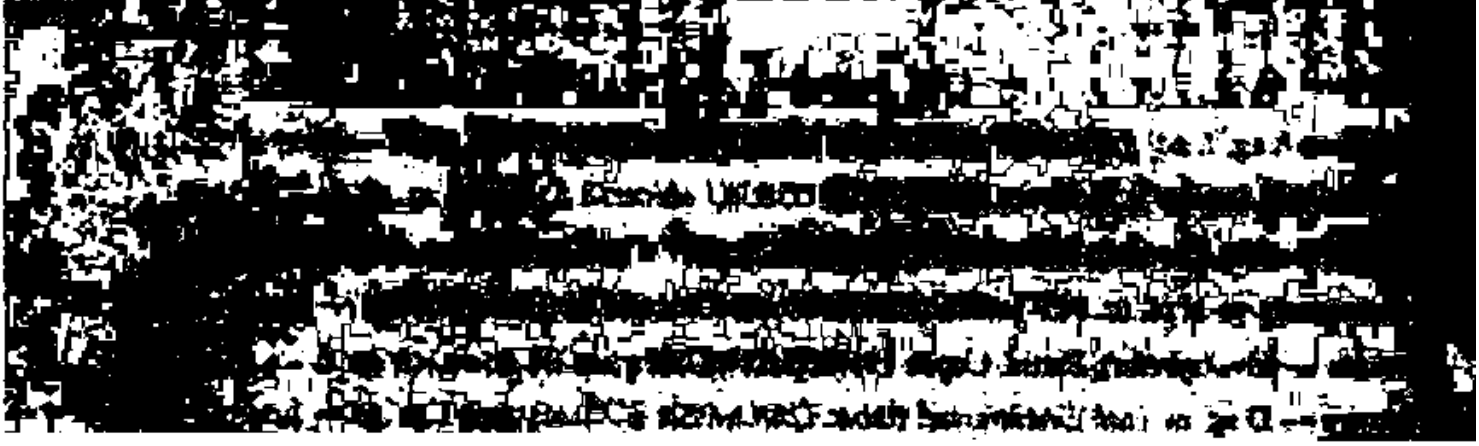
zwrichu — adv. (*zvrchu*); Partiz. Ľupča 1559 (23/11); CSlk ŗ

zyatowy — D sg. m. (*zať*); Arnutovce 16th c. (26/1); ESlk a

zyemyanye — N pl. m. (*zeman*); Bartošovce 1554 (22/10); ESlk a

Ž

žriedlo — N sg. n. (*žriedlo*); Partiz. Ľupča 1588b (16/5); CSlk 'é



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