

LINGUISTIC CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION*

TIBOR H. TÓTH

As it was alluded to in the abstract of my lecture, my research has been focused on Hungarian dialect islands, especially those of the Kiskunság region, an area situated between the rivers Danube and Tisza. I consider myself lucky to have been born and raised in the heart of this region, in Kiskunfélegyháza, which also happens to be a dialect island of the Palots people, who settled there long ago. The scientific investigation of the dialect islands of the Kiskunság and its environs, as well as being difficult, is an interesting and exciting task for the researcher.

In the 18th century, long after the Turkish occupation of Hungary, the Jazygian and Palots people began to migrate to the southern regions of the country. The settlers, however, went far beyond the present borders of our country (see Szabó 1990). As the native dialect settlements are situated sporadically and are considerably diverse, we have to take a great deal of dialectal mingling into consideration, when doing research in this area. The researcher must overcome other difficulties, as well. For example, the researchers must take into account the effect that the special farming structure of settlements had on communication and the migration within the region, which became more and more prevalent. It is, however, exactly these questions which make the research more interesting, for they bring up a host of questions which have yet to be answered. My research, then, will fill a void which presently exists in Hungarian dialectology because, despite previous efforts, linguistic and dialectal research in this area has yet to yield the desired results. Furthermore, the research sites of the *Hungarian Dialect Atlas* (Deme–Imre 1968–1977) are the most incomplete in this region.

Several outstanding linguists, among others, the members of the Alföldkutató Társaság, emphasized the importance of dialectal research on the Great Hungarian Plain, or the *Alföld*, as it is called in Hungarian. By the 20th century, a considerable amount of literature on the research of the Alföld already existed. The need for the investigation and monographic description of the dialect islands has been stressed by Loránd Benkó (1961) and Samu Imre (1971). In addition to this, in 1981, László Deme and József Szabó unsuccessfully submitted their work, a dialect atlas of the Southern Alföld, to competition.

*Előadásként elhangzott az I. nemzetközi nyelvjárási és nyelvföldrajzi kongresszuson 1993. április 27-én (Nyelvjárás és elméleti nyelvészet szekció).

Therefore, for many decades, the community of dialectologists have been awaiting the research of this region. The research work will have to be made urgently because, as we know, dialects are in the state of falling into decay, due to the rapid changes in the lifestyles of people today. First, let me speak briefly about the possible spectrum of the methods of research in this area, as well as about my own methods. Then, let me go on to speak about the work presently in progress or already completed.

I laid the foundations for a regional dialectal atlas of this area. I have collected data and recordings, based on standardized questionnaires, from 18 specific survey points. These recordings comprise rich dialectal material. In a few respects, I have already completed the dialectal research of Kiskunfélegyháza, my native town and a dialect island of the Palots people. I have shown the features of the original dialects which have been preserved up to the present day, the traces of the 250-year-old impact of the new dialectal medium and, furthermore, I have called attention to the existence of a distinct dialectal development. My method was comparative: I put the 1162 questions of the Hungarian Dialect Atlas into the geographical context of Kiskunfélegyháza, and using geolinguistics, I compared the local answers to the material of the settling mother dialects, given in the atlas, and to the previously collected data of the settlements which represent new dialectal surroundings. In this manner, I also added a new survey point in the atlas. My investigations have also been in another direction. With the help of the available recorded sources, I outlined the dialectal changes of my native town, from a phonetic, morphological and lexical point of view. Thus, I was enabled to research some dialectal history as well. A further possible investigation would be to monographically describe and catalogue the dialects of each settlement.

The dialect dictionary of Kiskunfélegyháza will soon be ready. Hopefully, it will be published at the end of next year. While compiling the dictionary I will pay particular attention to the evaluation of the negative/missing data and to the etymology of the dialect words. I will endeavor to complete the dictionary with monographic dialectal description. The lexicon will comprise a great variety of set phrases. While compiling the regional atlas, I will try to complete the comparative material with maps aimed at semantics and phraseological units. Negative/missing data will, necessarily, have to be considered of great importance here as well. Parallel with the regional atlas, some monographic, comparative descriptions will be published on the dialects of the settlements investigated.

The outline of the studies:

1. Constructing the atlas
2. Collecting and publishing texts
3. Editing the dictionary
4. Monographic description
5. Comparative geolinguistical and historical analysis

These might command interest not only for Hungarian dialectology but also for applied linguistics and international comparative linguistical studies as well.

First of all, I will consider the following questions: How does the unique system of detached farms affect the spread of dialectal phenomena? What possibilities do we have to reconstruct the originating dialect after a great migration in population and after quite a long period of time? How do dialects become mixed? What types and typological points of view should be taken into consideration when dialect islands are studied? Can Hungarian dialects disclose substrata from different periods, etc? From these questions I would like to expound upon two in some detail:

1. The Interaction of Dialects, Typological Questions

The latest studies of the dialect islands were made by Szabó (1990). The author used the research points of the *Hungarian Dialect Atlas* carrying out field research as well. He presented three aspects of the typology of dialect islands: religion, the type of dialect and the mixed homogeneous aspect. He claims that other aspects are irrelevant to classifying these islands, for example, the ones mentioned in German dialectal literature (see Kuhn 1934). My experiences, however, show that a lot more factors should be taken into consideration when classifying the many kinds of dialect islands of the Southern Alföld (The Great Hungarian Plain), regarding the changes of the dialect islands in new surroundings or the interaction of several emissive dialects in new surroundings. Here, we should state that aside from the three aspects recognized by József Szabó, the following facts are indispensable: the time of settling (a more recent settlement strongly preserves the settlers' dialects); the size and type of the settlement (a bigger and more autonomous island preserves linguistic features better); the surroundings of the settlement (getting into a similar dialectal media, more features can be preserved for a longer time than getting wedged into an absolutely different dialectal area); the location of a settlement inside a country (migration shows an attraction to a certain district, hence, the changing of the dialect strongly depends on it); the occupation, customs, social mode of life of the

population (this affects the changes of dialects in several ways, e.g. openness favors mingling, etc.) In the case of mixed-type dialects, we must not omit from our attention the proportion of settlers to each other.

The dialect islands that I investigated are of the Palots-Jazygian type. They create islands in the *ő*-dialect¹ of the southern area.

The term **dialect island** can be used when several dialects of similar types are settled in the same place. Each of these rather large islands, consist of more or less definable local dialects. Nevertheless, these local dialects are closer to each other than to the dialectal type of the broader surroundings. In this sense, it is possible for us to speak of islands and island groups. In the southern Alföld region, several of the aforementioned island groups can be found. Referring to dialectal mingling or integration, let me add that we often come across stationary multi-membered islands. The term **multi-membered**, contrary to **mingling**, indicates that, in the major part of the settlements being surveyed, we are unable to locate any synchronous uniform vernacular: the language of the population shows not only differences of an idiolectal level but also differences of dialectical type.

The islands within the island groups are separated from each other by sharp tracemarkers. By **tracemarkers**, I mean the features which can be used to identify local dialects both synchronically and diachronically. While investigating the dialect of each settlement, we can find many examples of how strongly the different dialects preserved their heritage, despite constant interaction with each other. For example, it is typical that, among the different districts, boundaries or even the streets of a settlement, there are some marked differences (in vocabulary, morphology and pronunciation) which have yet to be dissolved.

These facts made it necessary for the common term in Hungarian dialectology, **local dialect** (a unified dialect of a settlement), to be used more precisely, that is, in a more limited manner. At this point, we should mention the question of the definability of dialectal types, as it pertains to mixed or multi-layer dialects. From the synchronic point of view, there is no reason why we shouldn't define the multi-layer dialectal formulas with a matrix composed of different dialectal features. Within this, we would be able to create sub-types, in accordance with the realization that the given features are either characteristic of each speaker or not. In the former case we are referring to a mixed and in the latter,

¹In *ő*-dialects standard /e/-s that go back to earlier /e/-s are realised as /õ/-s.

a multi-layer dialectal formula. As we can accept the opinion that a language island/dialect island is not only the subject of linguistic analysis, we should also pay attention to the manifestations which come with linguistic separability. That is, we should pay attention to the deliberate emphasizing of separation (for example: Jazygian ethnic consciousness, the mocking songs which poke fun at neighboring dialects, the informants stressing dialectal differences, etc.). Such dissimilative phenomena are very frequent in the settlements that I investigated.

Finally, let me consider the question of substratum. As my experiences show, certain dialectal features, when mixed with dialects of a conflicting tendency, become stronger. From this, a conclusion could be drawn that, for example, phonetic changes and tendencies are mainly induced by other dialects and languages. For example, in Üllés, a village in the environs of Szeged, extreme labialization is probably the result of the interaction of the labial Szeged and the illabial Palots dialects.

2. On Some Phonetic Features and the Question of Substratum

During my investigation, I noticed some phonetic features which have been neglected in traditional dialectal descriptions (though some rare indications of these features can be found). These phonetic features are habitual responses at the base of articulation and appear systematically on the recordings made at the research sites. Hence, it can be stated that they are spread throughout the population and are not defects of speech.

Allow me to present some of the most significant items: 1. In intervocalic positions, the length of consonants are reduced to be half-long or short (e.g. *kellelt* 'had to' is [kölöt̪] with a short [l] as opposed to standard [kelēt̪], *vízzel* 'with water' is [vīz̪] instead of [vīz̪el], etc.). 2. Especially with affricates and fricatives, I often experienced energetic, stressed articulation (e.g. *megezek* 'I eat' is [mögöšök] instead of [megesek], *tanácsra* 'on advice/to council' and *megcsinált* 'did' are with [č̪] instead of [č̪̌]). 3. In words with /d/ and /z/ sometimes a weak affricate sound can be heard of an interdental nature, somewhere between [d] and [ð] (e.g. *idő* 'time/weather' [id̪ō̪] instead of [idō̪], *ad* 'gives' [ād̪] instead of [ád], *búza* 'wheat' [būd̪â] instead of [büzâ], etc.). 4. Guttural sounds are extremely common that is sounds are produced in the throat (e.g. *paraszat—csinál—addig* [p̪ar̪áz̪at̪ č̪in̪âl̪ âd̪iç̪], etc.). 5. Another parallel phenomenon is secondary labialization. Basically, these are guttural sounds, produced through velar articulation (e.g. *délig* 'till noon' [dēliç̪], *kicsi* 'little' [kiç̪i], *igen* 'yes' [iç̪en], *két* 'two' [kēt̪], etc.)

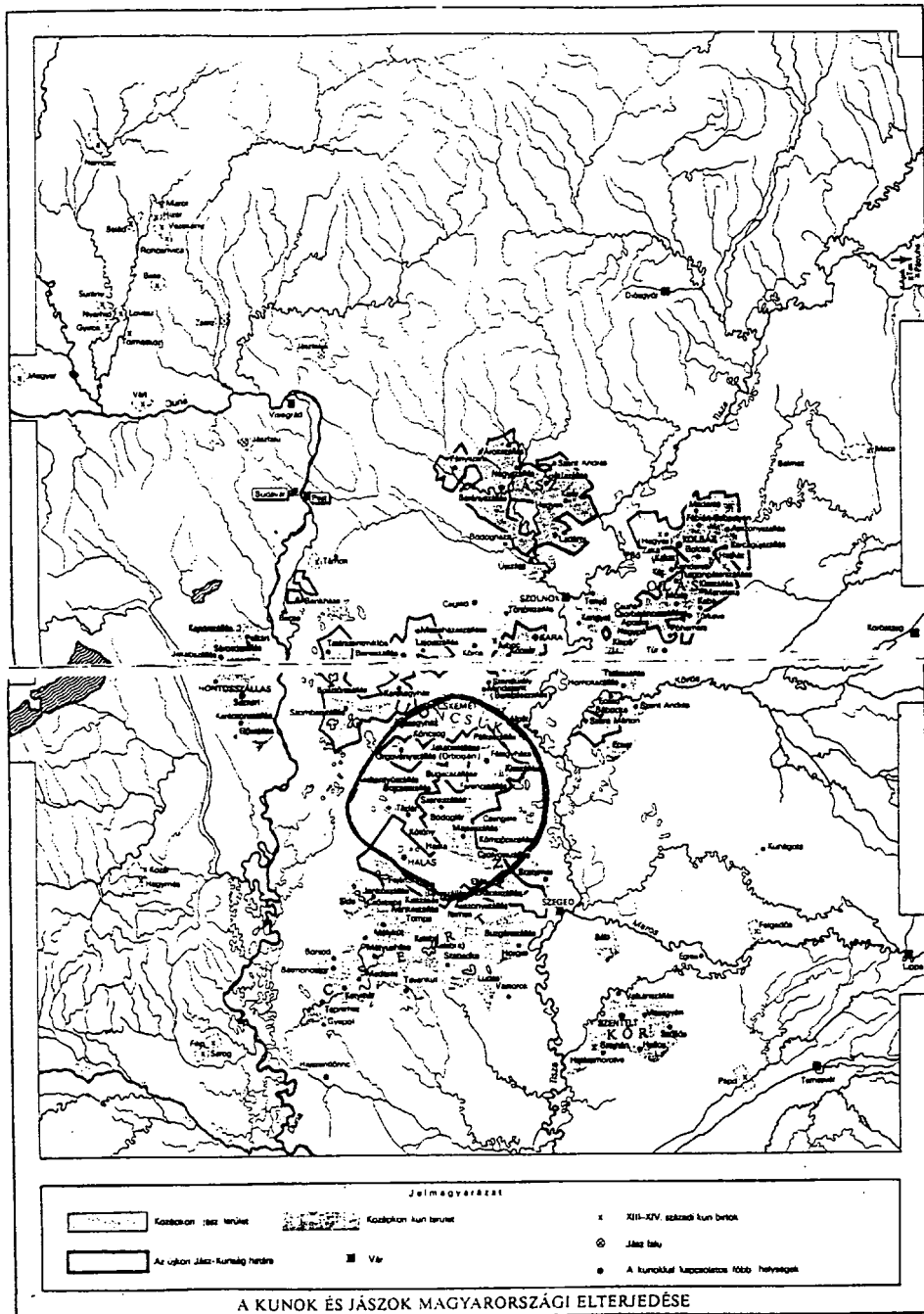
Apart from variants articulated in a backward position, primarily, the variants of the phoneme /l/ should be mentioned from the sound specific features. In Jazygian islands, a very frequent articulation of the phoneme /l/ can be studied. This can be characterized and made perceptible by adding a semivocal, reduced /shwa/ vowel (it is important to note that this phenomenon has yet to be recorded).

From these articulation characteristics, we might deduce the fact that a substratum effect comes from different ages, from the impact of other languages and from assimilation. The definitive solution, however, is made extremely difficult by the many kinds of migration, not to speak of the different layers of the past within each dialect. Therefore, instead of a final solution, I will only endeavor to outline some questions and assumptions. Consonant shortening must be the result of a Slavonic influence. The area investigated was populated by the migrants from the Felvidék (an area of Upper Northern Hungary), thus Slavonic and German influence must be taken into account there. My opinion is supported by József Szabó's fieldwork in Yugoslavia. He also experienced this shortening, contributing it to the influence of the Southern Slavonic languages (see Bozóki – Szabó 1994). The special articulation of fricatives and affricates with a compensatory vowel shortening is, in part, possibly due to Slavonic influences, if we consider the consonant clusters and the articulation of the *ml* [š] sounds. Some variants of the phoneme /l/ could also have Slovakian roots.

On the other hand, strong velar articulation in the throat, together with labiality, or the phenomenon of transitory affricate between [d] and [ð], perhaps /l/ in Jazygian areas, etc. might direct attention to the question of a Cumanian – Jazygian (or Romy) substratum. Studying Kipchak – Ottoman-Turkish dialects, we can see some similar sound correspondences, and also find quite a few examples of velar articulation (sporadic Kipchak *d* > *z* changes, Chuvash – Ottoman velar [j], cf. *kicsi* 'small' [kij̥çij̥], *ocsú* 'tailings' [oç̥`ũ] and velar [k̥] instead of [k] in the dialects I investigated).

From the evidence of place names, eg. *Baltaszállás* > *Balotaszállás* or *Majossaszállás* > *Majaszállás*, phonetic changes can have a connection with the articulation variants of /l/ and /š/ ~ /s/ already mentioned.

In closing, I wish to point out the fact that further comparative and general approaches (applying international results, intensive research work of the dialects of peoples mixed with each other, as well as further studies of Hungarian dialects) will be indispensable. It can be proved that most linguistic changes are attributed to linguistic



From Györfly 1990: 300–301

The area I investigated

interactions. An interdisciplinary research program (consisting of a combined knowledge of ethnography, linguistics and history) is needed to study this region, the Southern Alföld. Only in this way can we explore all the scientific lessons of this area, so special and unique even on an international scale. Only in this way can anything ever be brought to the surface from the past of this Hungarian area, with a complex past, many times stricken by the storms of fate.

Thank you for your respectful attention.

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NÉPESSÉGMOZGÁSOK NYELVI KÖVETKEZMÉNYEI

(Vizsgálatok a Duna–Tisza köze déli részének nyelvjárási körében)

H. TÓTH TIBOR

Dolgozatomban azokról az eredményekről, illetve kérdésekről szólok, amelyek a Duna–Tisza köze déli területein fekvő nyelvjárásszigetek népnyelvének vizsgálata során születtek, merültek föl. Különböző korokban történt betelepülések nyelvi maradványait vizsgálom, és a nyelvjárási keveredés néhány kérdését. A kutatások hozzájárulnak a migrációvizsgálatok részkérdéseinek megválaszolásához is.

Néhány hangsajátosságot is bemutatok, mely a magyar nyelvjárási szakirodalomban alig vagy egyáltalán nem kerül elő. A valószínűsíthető különböző szubsztrátumhatások (pl. jász, kun vagy szlovák) tanulságosak lehetnek az általános nyelvészet, illetőleg a külföldi kutatás számára is.