Hungarian Loanwords in the Dialect Dictionary of Béltince

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Abstract: On the basis of Pleteršnik's dictionary and dialectal lexical material collected in his native village of Beltince, Franc Novak compiled a dictionary containing about 8,000 entries. His work was later completed and edited by Vilko Novak. This dialectal dictionary includes a significant number of Hungarian loanwords, lexical elements transferred into the Beltince dialect through Hungarian as an intermediary language, as well as loan translations and words based on a Hungarian model. The present paper describes this lexical material, also discussing problems of phonetic and morphological adaptation these transferred elements undergo. The population of the Porabje region in Slovenia has lived in the natural neighbourhood of Hungarians for centuries. The Beltince dictionary yields a linguistic documentation for this coexistence, contributing not only to research in Slovenian dialectology but also Hungarian—Slovenian language contacts.

Keywords: Beltince dialect, Hungarian lexical elements in Slovenian, loanwords, language contacts, phonetic and morphological adaptation

Franc Novak, an autodidact, living as a peasant, who also published literary writings (under the pen-name Marko Dólinec) gathered the word-stock of his native village, Béltince in the Mura district and made a dictionary of about 8000 entries. While working on it he relied on Pleteršnik's dictionary. The word-stock gathered by him was completed and compiled by Vilko Novak and the dialect dictionary was published in Ljubljana, 1985, entitled *Slovar beltinskega prekmurskega govora*. Professional readers mainly appreciate the dialectological and historical value of this dictionary. But this dictionary contains conspicuously many words adapted from German and Hungarian and also words adapted with the help of Hungarian as an intermediary language, a lot of metaphrases and words created on the analogy of Hungarian ones.

Due to its location the Mura district (Prekmurje) has been an ethnical border for centuries so lots of Hungaricisms could get into the word-stock of those dialects in a natural way. I divided into groups the Hungarian lexicological elements adapted by the dialect of Béltince in different historical periods. This way I would like to draw the idiomatic conclusions as well as to emphasize that their quantity cannot be disregarded, either.

First names, personal names: Andráš 'Andrej' (hypocoristic forms: Dráš, Drášček) < Hung. András; Balaž 'Blaž' < Hung. Balázs; Ferenc, Feri 'Franc'

¹ Novak V. 1985. V-VII.

< Hung. Ferenc, Feri; Matjaš 'Matija' < Hung. Mátyás; Pišta, Pištek 'Štefan' < Hung. Pista. These friendly forms with diminutive suffix indicate that the Hungarian basic words have come into usage. In the entry-words Májči 'Matija, Matjaž', Lájči 'Ludvik', Jánuš, Jánči, Jánček 'Janez, Janezek' the dictionary does not refer to the Hungarian origin of these names nor does it indicate the equivalents Matyi, Lajcsi, János, Jancsi. In the case of Órša, Oršálija 'Uršula' it does not refer to the Hungarian form, either.</p>

The names for months andrejšček 'november', miháušček 'szeptember' can be connected with the matter of personal names, though it is only in the first case that the dictionary refers to the fact that it can be derived from the name Andrej (30.11). Latin names for months have become general in Slovene, just like in other Slavic languages and in Hungarian. The Hungarian names for months connected with popular tradition can be justified with data in the 16th century: Boldog asson hava, Beijth elew ho, Beijth masad ho, Sent Giejergh hawa, Pijnkesd hawa, Senth Iuan hawa, Senth Jakab hawa, Kis asson hawa, Senth Mijhal hawa, Mijnd Senth hawa, Senth Andras hawa, Karachon Hawa.²

Ferenc Gregor publishes Czech and Slovak names for months of inner origin that can also be found in a 16th-century, though a bit later, manuscript. It is evident from the list that Slovak follows the Czech names in a smaller part, some names for months can be considered to be of inner origin, but the rest of the popular names for months are based on Hungarian linguistic analogy: Bohemici: Leden, Vunor, Březen, Duben, Mag, Červen, Červenec, Srpen, Zářj, Řigen, Listopad, Prasýnec — Slavonici: Welký Sečen, Malý Sečen, Brezon, Dubon, Mag, Turýči, Sweteho Yána, Sweteho Yakuba, Matky Božég, Sweteho Michala, wssech Swetých, Sweteho Ondrege.³

He quotes Konštantín Palkovič according to whom the Slovakian dialects had the Slovak popular names for months even in the 19th century.⁴

The two names for months-created on Hungarian analogy with diminutive suffix-may have been maintained the same way in the dialect of Béltince. We can find only some geographical names in this wordstock, mainly the names of neighbouring villages. But two of them are worth mentioning: $B\acute{e}c$ 'Dunaj' < Hung. $B\acute{e}cs$ and $A\acute{z}ija$ 'Azija' that were adopted with z by Slavic languages, so from the version with \check{z} we can draw the conclusion that Hungarian was the intermediary language or it was directly adopted from Hungarian.

Kinship terms: *báči* 'vsak starejši moški', 'stric' < Hung. *bácsi*; *fačuh* 'nezakonski otrok', as a separate entry in *fotiv* form as well, also with the meaning

² Breviarium ordinis fratrum eremitarum sancti Pauli. Venetii 1540. OSZK RMK III. 329.

³ Calendarium historicum conscriptum a Pavlo Ebero... Vvitebergae... Anno MDLXXXIX, Győri Egyházmegyei Könyvtár, sign. XVIII. 7.44. Cf.: GREGOR F., Novšie údaje k dejinám slovenských názvov mesiacov: Slovenská Reč 1989/4. 215–223.

⁴ PALKOVIČ Konštantín, O slovenských názvoch mesiacov: Jazykovedné štúdie 12. Bratislava 1974. 241–246.

'nezakonski otrok' < Hung. fattyú; nénika 'starejša ženska' < Hung. néni, nénike; šógor 'svak, mož ženine sestre' < Hung. sógor.

Names of trades: *kertéjs* 'vrtnar' < Hung. *kertész; kóčiš* 'kočijaž' < Hung. *kocsis; sabóu* 'krojač' < Hung. *szabó; sakáč* 'kuhar' < Hung. *szakács; tanáčnik* 'svetovalec' < Hung. *tanácsos*.

Names of tools: bálta 'tesarska sekira' < Hung. balta; hám 'konjska oprema za lažji voz' < Hung. hám, lat. chamus; lakat 'žabica, viseča ključavnica' < Hung. lakat, Ital. lucchetto; lanc 'vriga' < Hung. lánc, OHG Lanne; mertük 'merica od žita' < Hung. mérték; táška 'torbica, aktovka' < Hung. táska, Germ. Tasche. In a lot of entry-words—though not steadily—the compiler aims at indicating Hungarian intermediation.

Some examples from culinary: falat 'kos' < Hung. falat (its forms with diminutive suffix: faláček, faláčiček); fanka 'pogačica s nadevom' < Hung. fánk (< MHG fankuch); ficko 'navihanec, močno žganje, ki priteče najprej' < Hung. fickó; gombóc 'cmok' < Hung. gombóc; gulaš 'golaž' < Hung. gulyás; palačinta 'palačinka' < Hung. palacsinta; paprikaš 'dušeno meso v omaki s papriko in smetano' < Hung. paprikás; pörkölt 'masti dušeno meso' < Hung. pörkölt; téj 'čaj' < Germ. Tee, Hung. tea (often pronounced as teja), dödöli 'žganci iz krompirja in pšenične moke' < Hung. dödölle. As we know, dödölle is a typical meal in county Vas, and the word legvár 'marmelada' < Hung. lekvár must have got into the Slovene dialect of the Mura district from this area of the West of Transdanubia—as it is shown by the voiced quality assimilation of g-v in the heart of word that is characteristic of the dialect of county Vas.

Names of pieces of clothes: cipele 'čevlji' < Hung. cipellő (< Middle Latin zipellus); baršun 'žamet' < Hung. bársony; bunda 'kožuh' < Hung. bunda; čizme 'škornji' < Hung. csizma; doláma 'dolman, kratka zimska suknja' < Hung. dolmány, German Dolman; džündž 'biser, ogrlica' < Hung. gyöngy; kapút 'suknjica' < Hung. kaput; karperec 'zapestnica' < Hung. karperec; köpenjek 'vojaški plašč' < Hung. köpönyeg; gumba 'gumb' < Hung. gomb.

Some plants (bedding plants, medicinal herbs, sweet herbs): baračka 'vrtna cvetlica' from Hung. barát ('monk') that is the adoption of the former Slavic word brat into the Hungarian language; džüdžavnica 'cvetlija' < Hung. gyöngyvirág; džündžibejr 'ingver' (začimba) < Hung. gyömbér; figa 'figa, smokovec, smokovino drevo' < Hung. füge, Germ. Viege; guba 'ježica (želodova)' < Hung. gubacs; jácint 'hijacinta' < Hung. jácint; talog 'zdravilni koren' (helleborus niger) < Hung. tályoggyökér.

Some examples for names of animals: bundaš 'ime psa s kožuhom' < Hung. bundás; bák 'samec pri drobnici' < Hung. bak (< Germ. Bock); birka 'ovca' < Hung. birka; mára 'živina' < Hung. marha < MHG (Bavarian) marchat; oroslán 'lev' < Hung. oroszlán; tigriš 'tiger' < Hung. tigris.

Several lexical elements of Hungarian origin entered the dialect of Béltince from social life and economy; the Hungarian order of institutions also strengthened this tendency.

Words referring to social rank: tróunuš 'tron, prestol' < Hung. trónus (< Latin)—may be included in ecclesiastical terminology; főherceg 'nadvodja' < Hung. főherceg; követ 'poslanec' < Hung. követ; fiškáliš 'advokat, odvetnik' German and Hung. fiskális (< Latin); financ 'financar' < Hung. finánc, bíróuv 'sodnik' < Hung. bíró; béroš 'volar na veleposestvu' < Hung. béres; inaš, ijnaš 'vajenec, strežaj' < Hung. inas; katana 'vojak' < Hung. katona; hajčár 'priganjač, mešetar' < Hung. hajcsár; čibes 'pobalin, baraba' < Hung. csibész; čupora 'skupina, truma' < Hung. csoport.

Other aspects of social life and economy: bál 'veselica' < Germ. Bal, Hung. bál; dereš 'klop za kaznovanje tlačanov' < Hung. deres; golúmbiš 'krogla' < Hung. golyóbis; güléjš 'zborovanje' < Hung. gyűlés; ábécé 'abeceda' Hung. ábécé; árenda 'najem, najemnina' < Hung. árenda; banka 'banka, bankovec' < Germ. Bank < Hung. bank; bánja 'rudnik, bogato ležišče' < Hung. bánya, buktaš 'ponavljalec (v razredu)' < Hung. bukott tanuló; betežnica 'bolnica' < Hung. beteg; álomáš 'železniška postaja' < Hung. állomás; harminca 'mitnica' from Croatian harminca that is the adoption of the Hung. harmincad.

Some examples for the stock of words referring to ecclesiastical life: ajandék 'darilo' < Hung. ajándék; áldov 'daritev, žrtev' < Hung. áldó, apat 'opat' < Hung. apát; apatica 'redovnica' < Hung. apáca, bolvan 'malik' < Hung. bálvány; ešpereš 'dekan' < Hung. esperes (< Germ. Erzpriester); kardinális 'kardinal' < Hung. kardinális, katekizmuš 'katekizem' < Hung. katekizmus; klérikus 'bogoslovec' < Hung. klérikus; pápa 'papež, rimski papa' < Hung. pápa.

Examining the cultural history behind these examples we can see that they may have arisen and entered the dialect of Béltince in various historical eras.

Some abstract nouns: *bája* 'napaka, hiba, pomanjkljivost' < Hung. *baj; sága* 'duh, vonj' < Hung. *szag; sórs* 'usoda' < Hung. *sors; tolvajija* 'tatvina' < Hung. *tolvaj*.

Not only the horizontal stratification but also some stylistical ones of the Hungarian language can be observed in the adoption of certain words: e.g. $s\acute{a}jha$ 'sprijena ženska' < Hung. szajha; $skef\acute{a}ti$ 'skrtačiti, ogoljufati, opehareti', formed from the Hung. kefe, meaning 'becsap' ('cheat'), taknjoš 'smrkavec' < Hung. taknvos.

Some examples for double adoption of words (some Slavic loan-words have re-entered the dialect of Béltince): $ak\acute{o}uv$ 'vedro, mera za sode' < Hung. $ak\acute{o}$; ba- $r\acute{a}t$ 'redovnik, spodnji snop pod križem' < Hung. $bar\acute{a}t$; renda 'red, vrsta' < Hung. rend.⁵ In connection of the examples shown there can arise some phonetic and morphologic problems. From researches on loan.words we know-referring to the Hungarian and Slavic languages-that Slavic languages substitute the Hungarian vocals $\ddot{\mathbf{u}}$, $\ddot{\mathbf{u}}$, $\ddot{\mathbf{o}}$ for different ones (that are close to these ones) in their own vowel systems. The dialect of Béltince has the vocal $\ddot{\mathbf{u}}$, and from this fact it does

⁵ Kniezsa I. 1974. 61, 80, 461.

⁶ Hadrovics L. 1989. 35; Gregor F. 1982. 164–172; Nyomárkay I. 1989. 304–313.

not only emerge that this dialect can adopt all the words containing this labial without any difficulty but in some cases it can also adopt $\ddot{\mathbf{o}}$ with $\ddot{\mathbf{u}}$ as above: džündž, džündžavnica, džüdžibėjr. The adoption of **ö**, **ő** is very much varied: similarly to other Slavic languages the $\ddot{\mathbf{o}}$ in the inside of words can be substituted not only for **ü** but also for **i**: gingav 'šibek, slaboten, mlahav' Hung, gvönge. Some words partly keep the vocal **ö**, partly adopt it with **e** and **o**: köpenjek, örok 'večno, trajno' (< Hung. örök), öročen 'trajen, večen'. Some adoptions keep the vocal ö, e.g. követ, pörkölt, dödölli. The toponym Béltince and some words formed from it Böltinci 'Beltinci', Böltinčar 'Beltinčar' ('prebivalec'), böltinski 'beltinski' refer to the fact that the vocal $\ddot{\mathbf{o}}$ is not unfamiliar with the vowel system of this dialect. We can find examples for this in other words as well: lejkovören 'lahkoveren', hiszékeny ('credulous'), töršček, lučnik (rastlina) törščekovo cvetje—a botanical term, vö 'ven, iz', 'ki, kifelé' ('out, out of') an adverb, also existing as a verbal prefix and the prefixes of several derived words (cf. p. 122– 124). It can also be found in some words adopted from German in which cases the original words contain u, e, a vocals: börkle 'burklje' < Germ. furkel (< Latin furcula), bötati se 'tekmovati, stavljati' (tudi betati se) < Germ. wetten; völcin 'mlinski valj, valjčni mlin' < Germ. Walzmühle.

The word-ending long vocal ő can be substituted with i or e: šarvédi 'blatnik' < Hung. sárvédő; cipele cp. cipellő, but the vocal ő can remain when in the inside of words: főherceg of győ (sic!), that is an interjection used for to flick horses. But the long vocal ő is substituted with a short vocal: čös 'poljski čuvaj'. The adoption of the vocals \mathbf{o} , $\mathbf{\acute{o}}$ shows a similar variety. The Slovene vowel system also has the vocal \mathbf{o} , and the substitution of the \mathbf{o} in the words adopted from Hungarian with a or u refers to the fact that they articulate the two o vowels in different ways: váraš 'mesto' < Hung. város, Váraš 'stari naziv za Túrnišče v Prekmurju', 'Turnišče' ('the old name of the town Túrnišče'; Szentgotthárd is called the same way by the Slovenes living in Hungary), varašánec 'meščan', polgár'; varašánka 'branjevka, prekupčevalka s semenjem, prebivalka Turnišča' ('a trader woman from Turnišče'), baršun 'bársony', čupora 'csoport', čuntásti 'koščen' < Hung. csontos. The long vocal ó (in the inside and at the end of words) are substituted for **óu**, **óv**, **óuv**, **ov**: *kóudiš* 'berač' < Hung. *koldus* and its derivatives, tróunuš 'tron, prestol' < Hung. trónus; okóuruš 'kor' < Hung. kórus; sabóu 'krojač' < Hung. szabó; akóuv 'vedro, mera za sode' < Hung. akó; áldov 'daritev žrtev' < Hung. áldó; hajóuv 'ladja, parnik' < Hung. hajó; hintóuv 'kočija' < Hung. hintó. In a word-ending position the vocal ó can be substituted for a or e: bága 'usedlina, troska v pipi, žvečilni tobak' < Hung. bagó; žačka 'torba, vrečica' < Hung. zacskó, ficko 'navihanec, močno žganje, ki priteče najprej' < Hung. fickó.

The dialect of Béltince adopts the vocal é as the diphthong éj in several cases, but in some other cases there is a short vocal e instead of é: kertéjs 'vrtnar' < Hung. kertész; güléjš 'zborovanje' < Hung. gyűlés; filéjr 'vinar' < Hung. fillér; čibes 'pobalin, baraba' < Hung. csibész; vitez 'vitez, junak' < Hung. vitéz,

but the original long vocal can remain the same: *nénika* 'starejša ženska' < Hung. *néni; rés* 'delež poljskega delavca v žitu' < Hung. *rész; résar* 'poljski delavec na veleposestvu' < Hung. *részes; rétaš* 'povalnik, zavitek' < Hung. *rétes*.

The equivalent of the Hungarian labials **a** and **á** is the illabial **a**—or corresponding with the terms of accents—the long vocal **á**, but in some cases there is an **o** vocal instead of the Hungarian **a**: *bólvan* 'malik' < Hung. *bálvány*, *bolvánstvo* 'malikovanje', *fotiv* 'nezakonski otrok' < Hung. *fattyú*. There are some examples for the fact that the vocals **i**, **í** are substituted for **e**, **é**: *verostüvanje* 'bdenje čuvanje mrliča' < Hung. *virrasztás; verostüvati* 'bdeti' Hung. *virraszt; hér* 'sloves, dober glas' < Hung. *hír; hérešen* 'sloveč, slaven, na glasu' < Hung. *híres; ténta* 'črnilo' < Hung. *tinta*.

Of the consonants the adoption of gy, ny, ty has to be paid attention to. The phonetic form of the word varmeja "županija, komitat" Hungarian vármegye allows us to draw the conclusion that this belongs to the oldest stratum of adoptions. In fact the word megye is of Slavic origin in the Hungarian language and the parallel Southern Slav form was kept as suffix in this compound word of recent date. In other adopted words the consonant gy is substituted for dž, g or gj: džündž 'biser, ogrlica' < Hung. gyöngy, džündžavnica 'šmarnica (cvetlica)' < Hung. gyöngyvirág; džündžibéjr 'ingver (začimba)' < Hung. gyömbér; gingav 'šibek slaboten' < Hung. gyönge; güjléš 'zborovanje' < Hung. gyűlés; tárgjoláš 'zapuščinska razprava' < Hung. tárgyalás. The interjection győ has kept the original consonant. The equivalent of ny can either be nj or n: bánja 'rudnik, bogato ležišče' < Hung. bánya, köpenjek 'vojaški plašč' < Hung. köpönyeg; günja 'odeja, koc' < Hung. gúnya; taknjoš 'smrkavec' < Hung. taknyos; kormanj 'krmilo (pri kolesu), vlada' < Hung. kormány; baršun 'žamet' < Hung. bársony; dohan 'tobak' < Hung. dohány, dohánoš 'tobakar, kadilec' < Hung. dohányos, šáfran 'žefran' < Germ. Safran, considering the long vocal we cannot preclude the possibility of Hungarian influence, though the compiler of the dictionary does not refer to it. Instead of the consonant ty there can be t, ti or č: fótiv 'nezakonski otrok' < Hung. fattyú; Matjaž 'Matija' < Hung. Mátyás; Majči 'Matija, Matjaž' < Hung. Matyi; fačuh 'nezakonski otrok' < Hung. fattyú.

I would mention only some of the morphological problems. In Slavic languages it is not a rare phenomenon that they adopt Hungarian words in indirect case (not in nominative case) that has a singular nominative function in the concrete Slavic language. We can quote examples for this from the dialect of Béltince: biciklin 'kolo, bicikel' < Hung. bicikli; hajdúk 'birič' < Hung. hajdú; házba 'velika hiža, stavba' < Hung. ház; baja 'napaka, hiba, pomanjkljivost' Hung. baj; saga 'duh, vonj' < Hung. szag.

Similarly to the Serbian and Croatian languages, the dialect of Béltince adjusts the adjectival forms with -av, -asti, -(č)ki of he Hungarian adoptions to

⁷ Kniezsa I. 1974. I. 337.

⁸ Gregor F. 1985. 171–188.

the corresponding conjugational paradigm: gingav 'šibek, slaboten' < Hung. gyönge; čonklavi 'kruljav' < Hung. csonka; čuntásti 'koščen' < Hung. csontos, oršácki 'državni' < Hung. ország; bátriven 'srčen' < Hung. bátor; öročen.9 The Hungarian basic word often gets verbal suffixes -ati, -üvati, -iti: cifrati 'krasiti, lišpati' < Hung. cifráz (German zieren), bantüvati 'žaliti' < Hung. bánt: betegűvati 'bolehati, hirati' < Hung. betegeskedik; engedüvati 'dovoliti, priznati, oprostiti, spregledati' < Hung. enged; čaplariti 'točiti v najeti gostilni' < Hung. csaplároskodik. We have to mention the many verbs with prefixes dol-, dol (p. 27), gor-, gor (p. 36), krej-, krej (p.49), notri-, notri (p. 62), préjk-, préjk (p. 81), vküp-, vküp (p. 120-121), vö-, vö (p. 122-124) and constructions of adverb + verb, in which cases we may suppose both Hungarian and German influence. The parallels of these types can be found in the dialects of kaj and the Croatian dialects in Burgenland. 10 The dictionary publishes only the German origin Muss, muss sein with the modal verbs mus, musaj 'primoran, prisilno', but it does not publish the Hungarian form muszáj that corresponds with the form in the dialect of Béltince both in phonetic form and in meaning. The Hungarian postposition féle appears in hybrids that can be compound words—in which it is second part—or collocations: desétféle 'desetvrsten' < Hung. tízféle; stóuféle 'stovrsten' < Hung. százféle, vse féle 'razne vrste, različen' < Hung. mindenféle. The forms stoféle and jezerféle are known in the Slovene everyday language as well.¹¹ We cannot find the form *jezerféle* in the dialect dictionary of Béltince. But it publishes the numeral ezer ('thousand') in the forms jézero 'tisoč, (jezero)', jézerka 'tisočak', the latter one is published as a parallel with jüri 'tisočak'. The Slovakian language also adopted the Hungarian numeral ezer with a protetical j-, jezer, jazer or in adjectival forms jezerný, jazerný of the same meaning as in Slovene. Ján Dorul'a mentions lots of examples for this from Middle and Eastern Slovakian regions from 17–18th century archivalia. 12 This numeral may have entered the Slovene dialects and everyday language the same way.

The dialect of Béltince adopted the modifier $b\acute{a}r$ 'vsaj' < Hung. $b\acute{a}r$ as well, we can mention a parallel phenomenon in Slovak.¹³

Among morphological phenomena we must finally mention some calling words to livestock that exist in the dialect of Béltince with the same word form and meaning as in Hungarian: $\check{c}\acute{a}$, $\check{c}\acute{a}li$ 'klic za priganjanje goveje živine' < Hung. $cs\acute{a}$, $cs\acute{a}li$; $gy\~{o}$ (sic!) 'za priganjanje konj' < Hung. $gy\~{o}$; $h\acute{o}$, $h\acute{o}uk$, $h\acute{o}p$ 'tako priganjajo govejo živino na levo' < Hung. $h\acute{o}$ —but the editor gives the Hungarian origin only with the word $gy\~{o}$.

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<sup>9</sup> Hadrovics L. 1989. 36.
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¹⁰ Hadrovics L. 1989. 36–37, 1974. 183–187.

¹¹ Based on the verbal message (1994) of M. Orožen.

 $^{^{12}}$ Doru
ĽA J. Z histórie slovensko-maďarských jazykových vzťahov: Slovenská re
č $38\ (1973)$ č. 3–4. 172–190.

¹³ Gregor F. 1989. 179.

I suppose that the loan-words of Hungarian origin in the dialect dictionary of Béltince are worth analyzing even more deeply-considering the characteristics and principles of this Slovene dialect of the Mura region. As a first step it would deserve to make clear which lexical units can be considered to be of Hungarian origin without doubt or to all probability, and it would also be very much informative to identify the words formed on Hungarian analogy.

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