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SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPARISON OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ESTONIAN AND HUNGARIAN DIALECT AREAS

Abstract. The article presents a comparative study of the development of Estonian and Hungarian dialect areas. It discusses the influence of language-external factors on the emergence of dialect boundaries. Particular attention is paid to the transitional areas between the core dialect areas. The study analyzes the importance of cultural, administrative, and natural boundaries in the divergence of dialects. It shows that despite differences between the settlement and linguistic histories of Estonia and Hungary, one can observe several similarities in the language-external impact. The authors focus on different types of transitional areas, including the central transitional areas between the main dialect regions, which could have magnified linguistic innovations, and the peripheral border areas, which have contributed to the survival of archaic features.

Keywords. Estonian, Hungarian, dialect geography, historical sociolinguistics, transitional areas.

1. Introduction

The histories of Estonia and Hungary are different, and the emergence of their cultural regions and dialects is in several ways different, too. However, the purpose of this article is to find some comparable areas and to discuss the impact of certain specific historical and cultural conditions on language history (see also the article by Juhász in the present publication). It has been shown for several languages how political boundaries have influenced the emergence of specific linguistic features, and, by contrast, how inclusion in a common political region has contributed to linguistic levelling (Woolhisser 2005). Specific language-external causes may also determine the emergence and nature of linguistic core and transitional areas.

The Estonian language area developed during a long period from various Finnic tribal dialects, whereas the primary dialect boundaries had been fixed already by the end of the first millennium (Rätsep 1989; Grünthal 1998). The Hungarian language area developed rather rapidly slightly more than a thousand years ago as a result of partly documented resettlement. The arrival of the Finnic tribes in Estonia belongs to prehistory. The first reliable data about the administrative division of Estonia come from the Middle Ages;

the Estonian-language written texts are even more recent. The older history of Estonia is based on archaeological findings; the latter have been compared with the scanty written historical data and more recent knowledge of the cultural and dialect regions in order to develop the present understanding of Estonian settlement history and linguistic development (Talve 2004).

Although several prehistoric Hungarian tribes were involved in the occupation of Hungary, the later dialects are apparently not based on the old tribal dialects. More recent language contacts and local innovations have been more important. Although the history of written Hungarian is almost a thousand years old the older texts usually do not enable us to follow early regional differences. The data about them are rather recent and cover the period of a few centuries at best.

Both in Estonia and in Hungary the more closely observable history involves numerous administrative changes and language contacts of different kinds which have left their imprint on the language. An influence of other languages on the emergence of regional linguistic differences can be observed in the peripheral areas of both countries. In the central parts of the linguistic areas, standardization and specific cultural development have played a major part. Also, the long-time influence of the Indo-European languages, such as Latin, German, and Slavonic languages, has been similar. The comparison between Estonian and Hungarian is facilitated by several principal features shared by the two languages, such as a rich phonological system, and agglutinating morphology which enables similar grammatical innovations.

Another important commonality shared by both countries is the influence of the German dialectological tradition on the study and interpretation of regional linguistic differences, which focused on comparative-historical analysis of phonetic features, and was followed by vocabulary-based language geography. We will first discuss the development of dialect boundaries in Estonian and Hungarian and then compare different types of transitional areas.

2. Emergence of Estonian administrative division and language and cultural boundaries

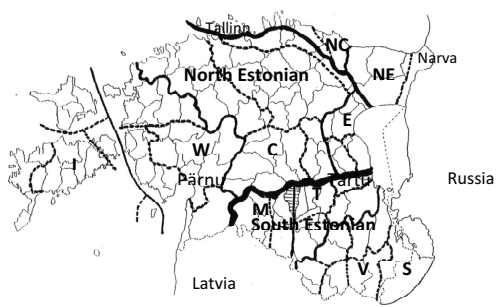
2.1. Emergence of Estonian administrative division in relation to dialect boundaries

Scholars of the history of Finnic languages have claimed that two to five different tribal languages, which had diverged from the earlier Proto-South-Finnic dialect, were spoken in the area of contemporary Estonian. Many scholars have differentiated between the North and South Estonian tribal languages. Additionally, the (North-)Coast Estonian, the North-East Estonian, and the East Estonian dialect are thought to be derived from separate tribal languages (Viitso 2003 : 131–151). Scholars of cultural studies have differentiated between the tribal areas of northern, southern, and western Estonia (Talve 2004 : 9). The earliest known differences between Estonian dialects date back to the first millennium (Rätsep 1989). The prehistoric counties had emerged by the beginning of the second millennium (see Map 1). It is likely that the county boundaries may have marked not only administrative regions but also communication areas, which must have been reflected in more or less similar language use and culture. However, these

counties do not fully overlap with the later dialect areas (see Map 2). The division into counties shows a higher degree of division, that is, the dialect use in the neighbouring counties might have been largely similar.



Map 1. Prehistoric counties in Estonia (according to Mäesalu, Lukas, Laur, Tannberg 1997).



Map 2. Estonian dialect areas (NC — (North-)Coast, NE — North-East; I — Insular; W — West, C — Central, E — East; M — Mulgi, T — Tartu, V — Võru, S — Setu, cf. Pajusalu 1999a, Map 1).

The development of Estonian counties was related to such language-external factors as the need for defence. This is indicated by the fact that larger counties were situated on the borderlands of the country where one had to defend oneself against foreign invaders. Counties which were smaller and possibly militarily weaker were situated in the core of the language area.

At the end of the prehistoric period, Estonia was administratively divided into at least twelve counties (see Map 1). According to the 12th-century sources, the largest counties were in South Estonia — Sakala in the west and Ugandi in the east —, in North Estonia — Rävåla in the west and Virumaa in the east — and in West Estonia, where Saaremaa and Läänemaa counties predominated. Central Estonia consisted of a number of smaller counties, such as Alempois, Nurmekund, and Mõhu.

One might assume that South Estonian dialects were spoken in Sakala and Ugandi; the counties in North and West Estonia were also rather uniform. The county boundaries changed in a number of ways in the Middle Ages and later, when new power centres became more important than the historical boundaries. For example, the later Tartumaa included both some South Estonian areas of the Tartu dialect and some North Estonian areas of the East dialect. Pärnumaa as a new county consisted of the western edge of the South Estonian area and the areas of the central and southern groups of the West dialect of North Estonian.

As early as in the 13th century one could differentiate between some areas that were more closely intertwined — parishes. A parish (*kihelkond*) was formed through a common agreement (i.e. *kihl*). For example, in western Saaremaa there emerged a parish with the same name — Kihelkonna; in Sakala there was Halliste-Karksi prehistoric parish. In Estonia the two-level administrative division developed further during the following centuries. The dialect division of Estonian largely follows this division; dialects are distinguished on the county level while the parish level makes a distinction between sub-dialects of a single dialect (Pajusalu 1999a).

The boundary between the North and South Estonian dialects was cemented by their separation by the state frontier in the second half of the 16th century and at the beginning of the 17th century. At that time North Estonia belonged to the Kingdom of Sweden, and developed the North Estonian ecclesiastical language in accordance with German patterns. South Estonia, on the other hand, was a part of the Polish-Lithuanian state, where the Counter-Reformation of Jesuits laid the foundation of the South Estonian written language and also introduced more direct Latin influences. Also, in the 18th and 19th centuries, when Estonia was part of Tsarist Russia, the administrative and cultural division of Estonia into two areas remained in force. North Estonia belonged to the Estonian province (i.e. *kubernang*), and South Estonia to the Livonian province. Thus, two written languages developed in Estonia side by side. As late as in the second half of the 19th century, during the period of Estonian national awakening, the Northern Estonian written language was adopted in entire Estonia, and the South Estonian written language was marginalized.

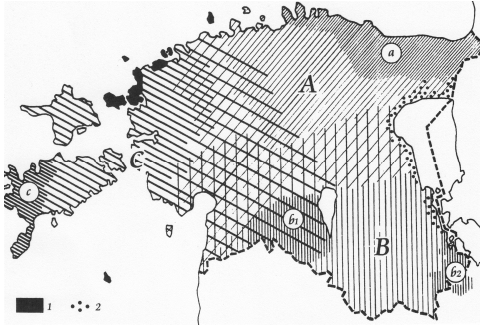
The administrative boundaries of Estonia changed again repeatedly during the past centuries. The Estonian language community in its contemporary form developed only during the past century (see Keevalik, Pajusalu 1995; Hennoste, Keevalik, Pajusalu 1999; Pajusalu 2009). The present administrative division of Estonia came into being at the beginning of the 1990s mainly because the Soviet Estonian districts as larger administrative units were renamed into counties of the newly re-independent Estonia, and the village councils of Soviet Estonia as smaller administrative units became rural municipalities. As in the Soviet Union, where historical linguistic and cultural ties were not regarded as valid arguments in the establishment of districts and village councils, they were likewise largely ignored when the present counties and rural municipalities were set up.

A look at the Estonian dialect map shows that the ten Estonian dialect areas do not coincide with the prehistoric counties or subsequent administrative divisions. The county boundaries violate the boundary between North and South Estonian as well as most other dialect boundaries, with Saaremaa being the only exception (see Map 2).

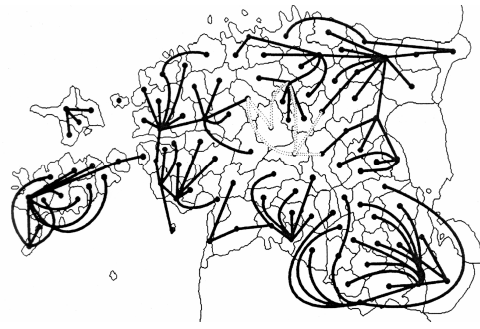
2.2. Cultural and lexical regions in Estonia

The cultural regions of Estonia (see Map 3) emerged by the beginning of the 20th century. On the one hand, they are based on ancient tribal areas, and on the other hand on various contact regions with neighbouring countries and cultures. What is similar between the prehistoric counties and the traditional cultural regions is that on both occasions three largest areas stand out – the Northern Estonian area (A), the Southern Estonian area (B), and the Western Estonian area (C). The cultural core areas are in the periphery of the Estonian linguistic area, and the transitional areas are in the middle.

The regional division of Estonian folk culture is in several respects different from the traditional dialect division of Estonian (cf. Map 2). The central dialect of North Estonian which served as the basis for contemporary Standard Estonian remains in the transitional area between the three principal cultural regions. Also, the entire East dialect of North Estonian is situated in the transitional area between the Northern and Southern



Map 3. Ethnographic regions of Estonia (according to Eesti rahvakultuur 1998).



Map 4. Lexical relationships in the Estonian dialects (Krikmann, Pajusalu 2000).

cultural regions. The Tartu and Võru dialects are not distinguished in the Southern Estonian cultural area. One should bear in mind, however, that the Estonian dialect division, which was established in its modern form by Andrus Saareste (1932), takes into account mostly the spread of phonetic and grammatical phenomena or isophones and isomorphs. Lexical relations in the Estonian linguistic area would provide a somewhat different division (see Map 4). The lexical regions are much more similar to the cultural regions of Estonia.

While the traditional dialect classification of Estonian distinguishes between the dialect groups of North and South Estonian and the North-East and Coast dialects as the third group, the large lexical regions could rather be divided into the North, West, and South Estonian groups. The South Estonian lexical area is larger than the traditional South Estonian dialect area; it reaches the sea in the west and farther north in Viljandimaa, where it overlaps surprisingly precisely with the boundaries of the prehistoric Sakala County. In the east it includes the entire ancient Ugandi and even some other areas. The West Estonian lexical area includes the entire historical Saaremaa and Läänemaa, and also some western areas of the prehistoric counties of Rävåla, Harju, and Alempois. However, all the western lexical centres on the continent are situated on the territory of prehistoric Läänemaa.

The North Estonian lexical area includes the entire historical Virumaa, Järvamaa, and Vaiga, and its periphery in central Estonia reaches the areas of former central Estonian counties. A comparison of this large North Estonian lexical area with the Estonian dialect map shows that it encompasses the entire North-East coastal dialect group and eastern areas of East and Central dialects of North Estonian.

A general analysis of the map of lexical areas shows that the core parishes, from where relations branch into the neighbourhood, are located in the periphery of the linguistic area, in Setu, Vastseliina, and Hargla in South Estonia, in West Saaremaa and on the western coast in West Estonia, in the north-eastern coastal parishes in North Estonia, and in Kodavere in the East dialect area. At the same time the distribution map of the traditional cultural regions shows that secondary cultural innovations emerged in several core parishes, which gave rise to more specific regional characteristics.

2.3. Emergence of dialect boundaries in North-Eastern Estonia

Dialectal variation has been greatest in the largest historical county of Estonia, Virumaa, where the Coast dialect has been spoken in two separate areas in the north-western and north-eastern corners on the coast of the Gulf of Finland. Between these areas, North-East Estonian or Alutaguse dialect has been spoken. Central North Estonian has been the prevailing dialect in the western and central parts of the county.

Several of the isoglosses in Virumaa are in fact the borders of old Finnic sound- and inflectional changes which divide the whole Finnic language area. Among them there are cases where a certain sound sequence or an inflectional affix has undergone in different locations different mutually exclusive changes creating thus a formal innovation divide. Some divides are realized as clear-cut borders even on a geographic map.

1. Changes of *kn. 1. The heteromorphemic cluster *kn in the active past participles *näknüt 'had seen' and *teknüt 'had done' (Saareste 1955, map 80) has undergone the characteristically North Estonian change (1a) *kn > in (näind, teind) in the south-western part of Virumaa and the north-eastern Finnic change (1b) *kn > hn (nänu ~ nähnd ~ nähänd ~ nähend, tehnu ~ tehnd ~ tehend) elsewhere.

2. Changes of *kl. The monomorphemic cluster *kl (Saareste 1955, map 41; Must, Univere 2002 : 28) has undergone the North Estonian change (2a) kl > el (*kakla > kael 'neck') in the western and southern Virumaa and the change (2b) *kl > ul (*kakla > kaul ~ kaula) in the northern part. The latter change is characteristic of the western Finnish dialects.

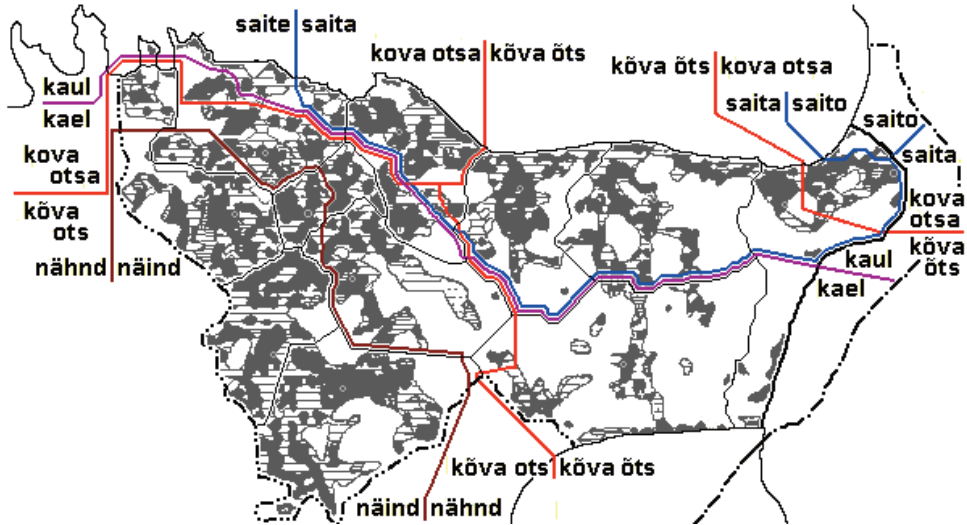
In Virumaa, the area of the change *kl > *el coincides with that of the weakening of geminate stops (*rikkas > *ri^hkas = rikas 'rich (NSg)') on the border of a stressed syllable with a short vowel and an unstressed closed syllable. This development was shared with Votic, Ingrian, Finnish and Karelian. Most members of the last generation of speakers of the dialect had substituted long geminates for single stops in corresponding inflectional paradigms and similar unalternating geminates occur in North-East Estonian.

3. Changes in the second person plural endings. The second person plural endings of verbs has been subject of the change (3a) *e > o/ö (saito 'you got', elätö ~ elato 'you live') in the northern and eastern part of Vaivara Coast dialect and the change (3b) *e > a/ä (saita, elätä ~ elata) elsewhere in Vaivara, in central Coast dialect and in the North-East dialect. The first change is characteristic of Livvi or Aunus Karelian and occurs scattered on borders of East Finnish dialects. The latter change has occurred elsewhere in northeastern Finnic, including Votic, Ingrian, and also in Kodavere Estonian (Kettunen 1940, map 165; Viitso 2008 : 402).

4. Rise of õ. Two types of the rise in the first syllable of the unrounded mid-high back vowel õ from earlier short and long e and from short o, and, rarely, from u, a and ö: (4a) North Estonian type in the western part, and (4b) the so-called Votic type in North-East and East Estonian, other two types being characteristic of South Estonian and Livonian. Alongside some minor details, the vowel o has changed into õ in about 20 more stems in the Votic type than in the North Estonian type (e.g. *kohta > *kõhta > kõht 'place', *oli > õli 'was', *otsa > *õtsa > õts 'end'). The Coast dialect, characteristically, remained untouched by the rise of õ.

On Map 5, which captures the spread of the above-presented changes in this part of Virumaa that was populated by Estonians up to WWII, more densely populated areas are marked with grey, more sparsely populated areas are striped, swamps and forests are marked with white areas. Also, pre-WWII borders between Virumaa and the neighbouring counties and Russia, parish-borders, and innovation divides have been given. After 1944, the area on the eastern bank of the Narva River, earlier populated mainly by Finns, Ingrians and Russians, has belonged to Russia.

On the map the four divides discussed above are illustrated by word pairs whose each member represents a characteristic output of a change, notably *näind* (1a) vs. *nähnd* (1b), *kael* (2a) vs. *kaul* (2b); *saito* (3a) vs. *saita* (3b), *kõva ots* (4a) vs. *kõva õts* (4b). In three cases changes are illustrated with a word pair representing both the input and output of the change, cf. *saite* vs. *saita* (3b), *kova otsa* vs. *kõva ots* (4a), *kova otsa* vs. *kõva õts* (4b).



Map 5. Innovation divides in Virumaa.

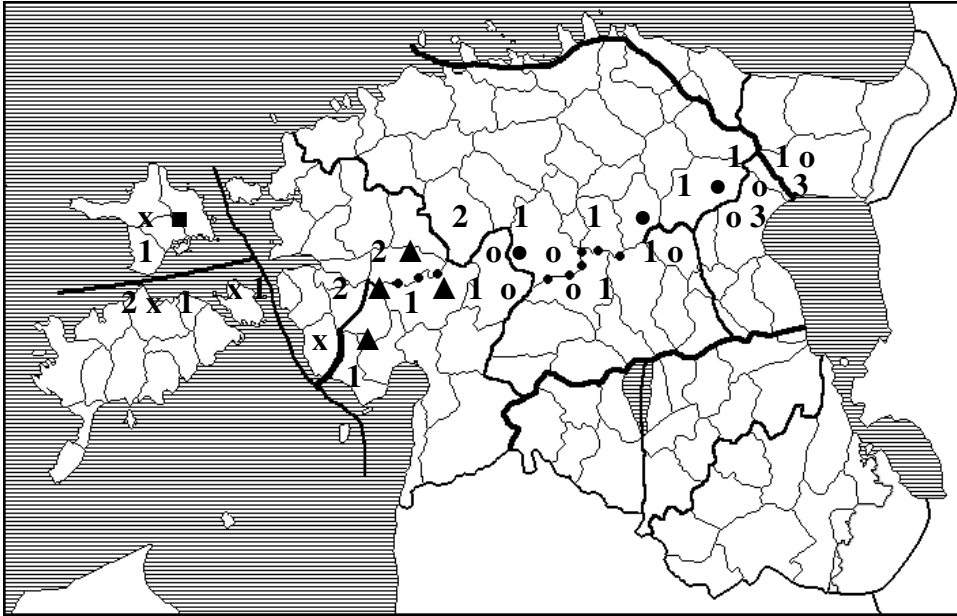
It can be seen on the map that Virumaa, and above all its north-western, central and eastern parts are largely covered with swamplands and forests, which is why the most densely populated areas can be found in the western part of the county on the Pandivere Highland, and in the northern part of the county on the Viru Plateau. Likewise, Virumaa is mostly bordering with swamplands and forests of its neighbouring counties and Ingria; often the borders are marked by rivers. Communication of separate settlement-islands with their neighbours and centres was very difficult for centuries. Virumaa has therefore had several independent centres and the western and eastern parts of the county have in different periods been administratively separated. In the Kingdom of Sween the eastern part belonged to the Province of Ingria (1617–1651), and in the Russian Empire (1783–1917) Narva belonged to the Jamburg County of Saint Petersburg Governorate. The eastern frontier of Virumaa has traditionally been the Narva River that flows through a swampy and sparsely populated plain, and where the best crossing point is within the town of Narva.

In modern times, the dialectal differences in Virumaa can be considered extinct. It is a result of national awakening and consolidation. However, Map 5 allows us to make some hypotheses about the historic development of the Virumaa linguistic area. Most probably the map reflects earlier migrations of Finnic peoples. It is likely that the speakers of the North- and East-Vaivara dialect are the descendants of the last Finnic tribe that crossed the Narva River. Descendants of speakers of East and North-East dialects had crossed the Narva River earlier. The development of the western and central parts of Coast dialect has been influenced by dialects of Finnish due to traditional tight contacts of fishing villages with the Finnish islands. The presence of the Coast dialect in farther inland and some features in Virumaa North Estonian shared by the Coast dialect and Finnish can be explained by the resettlement of the area emptied in the Livonian War (1558–1583) and the Great Northern War (1700–1721) by speakers of a variety of dialects. The settlement of Estonia, Finland and Karelia should be viewed more broadly as a continuous process of retreat of Finnic peoples under the East Slavic expansion during the last millennium.

2.4. Influence of the boundary between Estonian and Livonian provinces on the Estonian dialects

In Estonian history the partition of the country into two provinces — Estonia and Livonia — was of great significance (Schmidt 1993). This division was first established in the 17th century when Estonia was part of the Kingdom of Sweden. Estonia included Virumaa, Järvamaa, Harjumaa, and Läänemaa (together with Hiiumaa); Livonia comprised Saaremaa, Pärnumaa, Viljandimaa, Tartumaa, and Võrumaa. Thus, Livonia included all the historical areas of South Estonian but additionally also the southern areas of North Estonian dialects. This division of Estonia into two parts was valid through centuries until Estonia gained its independence in 1918 (Pajusalu, Hennoste, Niit, Päll, Viikberg 2009 : 67–68).

The border between Estonia and Livonia was determined administratively without directly considering the cultural and linguistic boundaries of the Estonian linguistic area; it was unmotivated in linguistic terms (see Map 6). It is only between Vändra and Rapla, and between Vändra and Türi that it coincided with the boundary between the West and Central dialect. The same is true of the border between Laiuse and Simuna, and Torma and Simuna, where the border coincided with the boundary between the Central and East dialect. In the eastern periphery the border was also close to the boundary between the East and North-East dialect (see Map 2). However, in the course of time certain new linguistic differences emerged which followed the provincial border. A good example from the western border area is the genitive plural forms of the first and second persons, which in the Estonian part were fixed with the double-marked plural, e.g. *meite* 'our' and *teite* 'your (pl.)', but in the Livonian part of West Estonian with the *de*-marked forms, e.g. *mede* and *tede*, or the distinction in the partitive pronominal forms of the first person *mind* 'me' and *minuda* in the eastern periphery (see Map 6). Over 15 isoglosses follow the provincial border only on its western and eastern edges; about 10–15 isoglosses can be observed on the boundary between the East and Central



Map 6. Strength of the provincial border and some pronominal forms near the border (— more than 15 isoglosses; — 10–15 isoglosses; •••• less than 10 isoglosses; 1 — *mind* 'me', 2 — *mend*, 3 — *minuda*; o — *meie* 'our', • — *me*, ■ — *mei*, x — *meite*, ▲ — *mede*).

dialects. Elsewhere, the number of isoglosses is fewer than 10, which is less than 10% of the studied 120 central isoglosses. Thus, the boundary is much weaker than the boundary between South Estonian dialects (see Pajusalu 1999b, also for the method used).

The boundary between the Estonian and the Livonian parts of the western dialect laid the foundation for the separation of the northern group of West Estonian from the rest of the western dialect area (see Pajusalu, Hennoste, Niit, Päll, Viikberg 2009 : 139). In the area of the Central dialect the boundary became stronger between northern Viljandimaa and northern Tartumaa and the other areas of the Central dialect (cf. Pajusalu, Hennoste, Niit, Päll, Viikberg 2009 : 144–147). Nevertheless, the provincial border that was in place for three centuries did not change the main dialect division of Estonian, but only brought about the emergence or increase of secondary features. It is likely that the principal dialects may have developed as early as by the 16th century. However, the North Estonian part of Livonia became the so-called central periphery (the term stands for a centrally located transitional area that bears the characteristics of a linguistic periphery). This region played an important role in the formation of common Estonian in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century (cf. Pajusalu 1997).

2.5. Transitional areas of the Estonian dialects

In Estonia the cultural core areas emerged mostly in those regions where there had been large counties almost a millennium ago, such as Virumaa in North Estonia, Ugandi in South Estonia, and Saaremaa and Läänemaa

in West Estonia. On the one hand, the cultural areas developed on the basis of ancient tribal differences and, on the other hand, different cultural contacts and external relations. South Estonia experienced more influences from the Balts and the Slavs, West Estonia from the Scandinavians, and North Estonia from Finland. However, the traditional Estonian dialect division also reflects some common features of levelling which emerged as a result of innovations in the old transitional areas, as in central Estonia and the eastern part of North Estonia.

Geographically central transitional areas deserve special attention in several respects because of their significance in the integration of the linguistic area and the emergence of a standard. These areas could be defined as the central periphery, which is also characterized by the unifying role of the linguistic area. This unifying role is manifested in the intermediation of certain conservative features, e.g. long mid-high monophthongs such as Central and Standard Estonian *teed* 'ways' vs. North Estonian *tied* and South Estonian *tiid*, and innovative features, e.g. *vat*-marked quotative forms, such as *tulevat* 'said to come', which originated from the northern border dialects of South Estonian. Several features of the central periphery acted as the source of analogical changes that optimized the language structure (see Pajusalu 1997). Such areas do not correspond to the traditional conservative definition of linguistic periphery because these central transitional areas are situated between various dialect areas, and enable the innovative spread of influences into different directions.

A closer look at the transitional areas between the core areas of the Estonian dialects enables us to distinguish at least four types:

a. Transitional areas that emerged around administrative centres. It is noticeable that almost all the major Estonian towns are situated in the transitional areas between the dialects, either directly in the centre or on the border of a transitional area. The development of Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, is an especially noteworthy example. People came to Tallinn from various places, and its influence was far-reaching. During the prehistoric period Tallinn was the centre of Rävåla County. However, later this county disappeared, and the language spoken by the Estonians in the capital — the previous coastal dialect — was replaced by the Central North Estonian vernacular. Both Tallinn and the greater part of ancient Rävåla remained culturally and linguistically in the transitional zone between North and West Estonia. On the other hand, Tallinn contributed to the convergence of these areas.

Tartu, the second largest town in Estonia, is situated on the boundary of the linguistic and cultural area of North and South Estonia. Tartu County, which emerged only during the past few centuries, unites both the South Estonian areas of the Tartu dialect and the North Estonian areas of the Eastern and the Central dialects. Also, the other major Estonian towns Pärnu and Narva developed in similar transitional areas. Narva emerged on the north-eastern border of the Estonian linguistic area, which witnessed integration of speakers of Estonian and speakers of such small eastern Finnic languages as Votic, Ingrian, and Ingrian Finnish. Pärnu emerged historically on the settlement border between Estonian and Livonian (Sutrop, Pajusalu 2009) as well as on the cultural and lexical border between West and South Estonia. Pärnu became the centre of one of the newest Estonian counties — Pärnu County. Also, the town of Pärnu played an important

role in the development of Estonian-language journalism and the standard language in the 19th century.

b. Transitional areas that are related to population changes in a large region. They have emerged as a result of repopulation, and new settlement. Examples of this kind include, on the one hand, northern Tartumaa and, on the other hand, South-West Estonia — the southern part of Pärnumaa. Historically northern Tartumaa with its eastern dialect belonged to Vaiga County which has also been associated with prehistoric Votic settlement. Southern Pärnumaa, however, was a historical contact area with the Livonians. Vernaculars of these areas include several features characteristic of transitional area, starting with a higher degree of variation in morphology. At the same time both areas reveal a number of characteristic features that became typical of the North Estonian standard language (cf. Pajusalu 1997).

c. Intermedial transitional areas, where there was no major change in settlement but rather the communication centres changed and communication took place in two directions with different core areas. This was the case in northern Viljandimaa and northern Tartumaa in Central Estonia, on the territory of the historical Nurmekund, Mõhu, and other small prehistoric counties. These areas did not witness the emergence of any permanent linguistic and cultural identity, but they have nevertheless played an important role in the development of common Estonian, and share the largest proportion of common features with contemporary Standard Estonian (cf. Pajusalu 2003 : 233).

d. Transitional areas caused by natural conditions. This type of transitional areas is the best-known one and is commonly associated with the concept of linguistic periphery. The emergence of these peripheries can be explained by such natural conditions as sparsely populated swamps and big forests. However, even such areas need not necessarily be linguistically isolated and conservative. For example, northern Pärnumaa in West Estonia or Alutaguse in North-East Estonia are the home of some linguistic innovations, and under certain conditions these areas may play an integrative role. These areas are sometimes situated in central parts of the country while transitional areas in their direct linguistic and cultural sense may represent ancient agricultural lands.

3. Emergence of Hungarian administrative division and linguistic and cultural boundaries

3.1. Problems of dialect classification before the Conquest and during the early Árpád era

The Hungarian dialect area has not been associated with a single territory with stable linguistic boundaries. The Hungarian language has changed during its independent history of 2,500–3,000 years from a Siberian language into a central European one (Benkő 1997 : 164–165; Fodor 2009 : 24–29). Thus, the Hungarian dialect area witnessed a shift from the slopes of the Urals to the Carpathian Basin. A few fragments/parts of ancient Hungarian tribes (Jenő, Gyarmat) remained in their ancient eastern European homeland, Magna Hungaria (Fodor 2009 : 40–46). As there are no historical records, there is no evidence about the dialect division (Magna Hungaria, Levédia, and Eteköz regions) of the Hungarian-speaking tribes

during the period of migration. However, it is likely that the conquering population consisting of the tribal federation of seven Hungarian tribes and Kabars (originally speakers of a Turkic language) may have displayed outstanding dialect unity in the final years of the 9th century (Benkő 1997 : 174). Nevertheless, one could speak with some reservation about tribal dialects also during an earlier period between the 6th and the 9th centuries (cf. Benkő 1957 : 66; 1997 : 174–175). Because of the lifestyle of ancient Hungarians their integrative tendencies were at least as strong as the differences between them.

Ancient-Hungarian adopted large numbers of loanwords from various languages such as Indo-Iranian (*tehén*, *tej*, *nemez*, *tíz*), Turkic (*tenger* 'sea', *ír* 'to write'), *sárga* 'yellow', *szőlő* 'grapes'), and eastern Slavonic (*lengyel* 'Polish', *halom* 'hill', *görög* 'Greek'). The Iranian and Turkish loanwords are normally subdivided into several layers (cf. e.g. Ligeti 1986; Tóth 1997). These words are evenly distributed in all the later Hungarian dialects in phonetically similar forms with the exception of some minor and probably recent phonological differences, which once again refer to a low degree of differentiation in Ancient-Hungarian. It could be explained by high mobility of the nomadic society of animal herders and only limited farming. Constant migration towards the West, which continued for centuries, at least from the 5th to the 9th centuries, contributed further to mobility. An interesting piece of evidence about the relative unity of ancient dialect areas comes from the travel diaries of a Dominican friar Julianus to the East in 1235–1236 to those Hungarians that had remained there. He found Hungarians who had remained in the East in the areas of contemporary Bashkiria and Tatarstan. The place name Magna Hungaria, which has taken root in the cultural history of Hungary, originated in this region, and Julianus could freely communicate with the local people. The eastern Hungarians could remember well that some of their people had once migrated westwards (Fodor 2009 : 40–42).

The settlement areas of the tribes in the Hungary of the 10th-century did not cause any dialect differences because during this period the central power of the Prince of Hungary began to prevail, which marginalized the other power centres. It is highly questionable whether one can at all speak about compact tribal areas (Györffy 1997 : 230). The tribes are referred to only in the earliest Hungarian place names, which mostly date back to the 10th century (Györffy 1997 : 224–228). These place names were not anymore closely linked with the real tribal areas. One has to take into account that these place names could only provide evidence of the differentiating function of place names (Kiss 1997 : 179); in other words, the groups that happened to settle down in a foreign environment identified themselves by such names. No place names were formed from the tribal names after the end of the 11th century.

During the 10th century Hungarian society preserved its mobility. The Hungarians made numerous forays to Western European countries. These forays continued for over fifty years. Also, country-internal resettlement contributed to mobility. The scale of social mobility is characterized by two legal facts: Saint Stephen I (reigned 1000–1038) decreed in his second legal code, which was prepared in 1030–1038, that throughout the country a church should be built for each ten villages. However, even several decades later a law was needed to ban large-scale migrations "may they not go far

from the church” (Font 2009 : 57). The noted integrative force slowed down the emergence of dialect differences, which is characteristic of sedentary human groups in feudal society.

Saint Stephen I laid the foundation of the administrative division of Hungary by establishing bishoprics and counties. A bishopric was a larger unit than a county. Large counties were situated on the eastern and southern edges of the kingdom; in the middle there were several smaller counties (e.g. Fejér, Visegrád, and Esztergom) which were also major political centres. The largest ‘border counties’ were surrounded by a wide defence zone called *gyepű* that was narrowest in the North-West.



Map 7. Place names associated with tribal names in the Carpathian Basin (according to Török 1982).

In the 11th century, Latin and Greek documents, such as foundation charters, legal codes, etc were written in the royal chancellery and in monasteries. The number of extant texts from the Árpád era (1000–1301) is small, and their usage does not reveal any major dialect differences. They definitely reveal some phonological variants and also some dialect words, but it is impossible to localize any special features. The royal chancellery standardized language usage, especially on the phonological level, which does not naturally imply the existence of a standard language in the modern sense. The documented variants often occur in the same text simply as variants. For example, *i* and *ü* alternated word-finally already in a book by Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos who mentions Hungarian tribal names in about 948: *Μεγέρη* (*Megyeri*), *Κουρτουγερμάτου* (*Kürtügyermatu*); *i* ~ *e* and *i* ~ *ü* (~ *ö*-) alternated in the initial syllable, thus 1199: *Scimed* ~ HB. (1195) *zumtuchel*; 1138: *Beregheg* ~ 1193: *cueshyg* ~ 1206: *tarnouhuge* (in the examples the vowels in question are highlighted in bold in the words *szem* ‘eye’ and *hegy* ‘hill; mountain’; Benkő 1957 : 73; TESz 2 : 82–83).

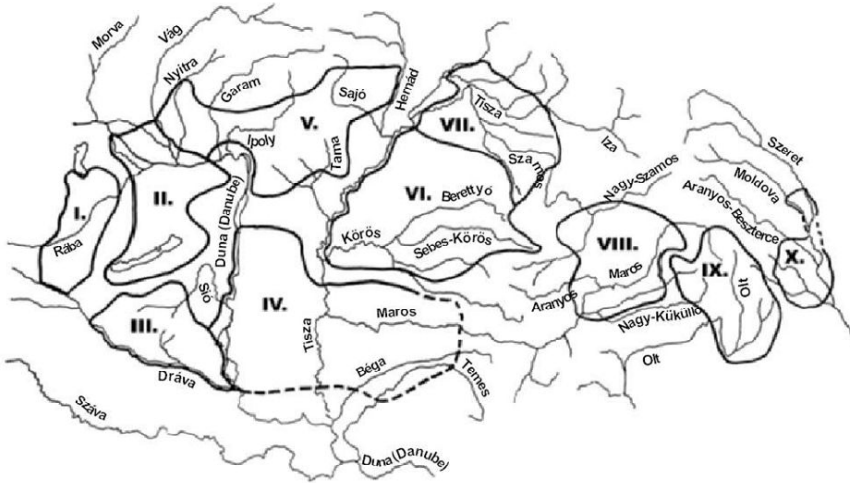
The boundaries of the administrative division, which has been stable for centuries, usually do not coincide with the more recent dialect boundaries, cf. the map of Hungarian counties in the 19th century (Map 8), and the map of core areas and transitional zones by Juhász (Map 9), which reflects most of the dialect situation of this period. The linguistic and administrative boundaries tend to coincide when they also act as natural boundaries. Unlike in the Estonian case, the county boundaries used to be power regions at first. However, when we compare the county map with the map of later dialect areas, we can see a similarity with the Estonian situation in that the administrative division shows a higher degree of classification. Thus, the dialect usage of neighbouring counties could have been very similar at times.

Juhász divides the Hungarian dialect space into the following ten dialect regions (Juhász 2001 : 262–316): I. Western-Transdanubian area, II. Middle-Transdanubian and Kisalföld area, III. Southern-Transdanubian area, IV. Southern-Alföld area, V. Palóc area, VI. Tisza–Körös area, VII. North-Eastern area, VIII. Mezőség area, IX. Székely area, X. Moldva Csángó area. The transitional areas on the map are those that remain between the boundaries of core dialect areas.

By comparison with an earlier classification by Kálmán (1966), the southern group and the Transylvanian group have been divided, which is fully justified in the case of Mezőség (VIII) and Székely (IX). At the same time, there are no strong isogloss bundles between areas VI and VII, or between III and IV, which explains the absence of transitional areas between them. The other parts of the dialect map reveal a rather similar distance from each other (as regards the size of isogloss bundles). However, one has to bear in mind that the mutual distance between the Hungarian dialects is nevertheless shorter than, for example, between Estonian, Finnish, or German dialects. The only dialect area where people might encounter difficulty in understanding other dialects, especially in the field of vocabulary, is the Csángó area (X). This is due to the isolation of the entire region and close contacts with the Romanian language (see 3.2. and 3.3. for a detailed



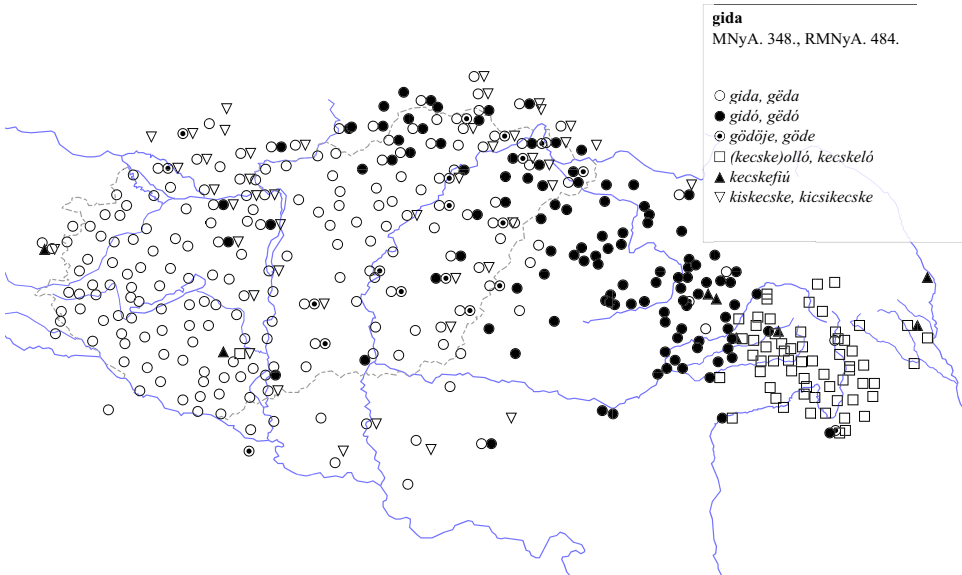
Map 8. Administrative division of Hungary in 1886 (lazarus.elte.hu).



Map 9. Contemporary Hungarian dialect areas with transitional areas (Juhász 2001).

account and 3.4. for the typology of transitional areas). The Southern-Alföld area (V) together with a transitional area reaches far northwards, which divides the linguistic area with an arch into three parts. On this basis, one could speak with some reservation about the Western dialects (I, II), the Palóc dialect (V), the Southern (III, IV) and the Eastern dialects (VI–X). However, consistent differentiation between eight or ten areas is more accurate (I, II, III–IV, V, VI–VII, VIII, IX, X).

The distribution map of the words *gidó/olló/göde/kiskecske* 'goat kid' shows that there is an extensive transitional area between the so-called Western and Eastern dialects. The data for the word *kiskecske* reveal, too, that transitional areas can be observed from the vicinity of Pozsony to the Southern lowland.



Map 10. Collated distribution map of the word *gida* 'goat kid' (Juhász 2012).

At the time of the conquest the Hungarians had probably several words meaning 'goat kid' (also within the same dialect). In the Hungarian dialect area the variants with the most extensive distribution were *gid-* ~ *göd-* ~ *göd-* together with the derivative suffixes *-a* ~ *-ó* ~ *-u*, ~ *-e*, while *gida* became the most common one. It is the only form in some places in Pannonia. In the central area of the country, in particular in the vicinity of the Tisza river, *i* changed into *ë* (*gëda*), which also influenced the *gidó* variant. In the North-Eastern dialect in the Palóc areas the derivative suffix developed some historical allomorphs, such as *-ó*, later also *-ú* > *-u* (*gidó*, *gidu*). Through the valleys of the Tisza and Szamos rivers *gidó* spread eastwards into Transylvania, where *kecskefi*, *kecskefiú* lit. 'goat son' were the most common variants during the Old Hungarian period. During the Middle Hungarian period *gidó* became predominant in the Mezőség dialect area. However, a further spread of the word eastwards was hindered by the dialect word *olló*, which is of Székely Turkic origin. There emerged a transitional area between the two countries where both lexemes were used: (*kecske*)*gidó*, (*kecske*)*olló*. The dictionary "Erdélyi magyar szótörténeti tár" enables us to observe rather well the spatial and temporal variation of these two words in the eastern dialects in the 16th–19th centuries (see Vargha 2012). The easternmost dialect area Moldva emerged as a result of migration. New settlers from the Mezőség and Székely areas went there, which is above all reflected in the vocabulary. The earlier settlers from Mezőség moved to the banks of the Szeret River in the 14th century, and they used the lexeme *kecskefiú* (Northern and Southern Csángós). In more recent times people in Székely counties introduced the word *kecskeolló* to the Southern Moldva areas. This is how a transitional area developed, which is similar to Transylvania, and where both lexemes are used (for a more detailed account see Juhász 2012).

3.2. Emergence of Hungarian dialect boundaries: language-external factors

3.2.1. Wars and large-scale migrations

Among the early Árpád era migrations the most important ones were always related to the defence of the country or its borders. Below only four major migration waves will be mentioned:

a. A Hungarian drive to the East in the 10th century. After the end of the military campaigns large groups of people sought land in Transylvania. At the end of the 10th century a large part of the contemporary Mezőség was settled by Hungarians (Map 8, VIII Mezőség dialect area).

b. In the 11th century the Székely — men who were free from serfdom — came mostly from Mezőség to guard the south-western borders. They arrived in this region (map 3, IX Székely dialect area) and also brought place names with them. For this reason, there are many villages in this region with similar names as Mezőség villages, e.g. *Mezőbodon*—*Hagymásbodon*, *Magyarszovát*—*Szováta*, *Nagyikland*—*Ikland* (Balás 1988 : 49). This migration continued in waves for almost two hundred years.

c. Turkic-speaking peoples and others reached the areas of the Kingdom of Hungary in several waves: the Pechenegs (*besenyők*) (10th–11th centuries), the Cumanians (*kunok*), and the Alanians (*jászok*) (13th century). The last

group arrived in the central part of the Hungarian dialect area, a large lowland that was characterised by local bilingualism until the Middle Hungarian period before the Hungarianization. It was necessary to invite the Cumanians to Hungary after the Mongol invasion (1241–1242) when almost the entire kingdom had perished and general human losses were disastrous.

d. In the 14th century there was a large-scale migration mostly from Mezőség over the Carpathians to carry out border-guarding tasks. This is how to this day the largest Hungarian linguistic enclave came into existence – the dialect area of Moldva Hungarians or Csángós (Map 3, X dialect area). In more recent times, or in the opinion of some researchers from the very beginning, people also migrated there from the Székely dialect area (cf. Tánzos 1997 : 371–374; Language Use, Attitudes, Strategies 2012).

These migrations were mostly Hungarian eastward migrations (*a, b, d*), which contributed to the emergence of the Eastern dialects. However, the migration described under point *c* was aimed at resettlement of lowland Hungary, partly before and partly after the Mongol invasion, and the new settlers were, in fact, Turkic-speaking peoples from the East, who gradually adopted the Hungarian language.

The 18th century witnessed once again a large-scale resettlement. As a consequence of the Turkish invasion (the Ottoman Empire) in 1526–1686, the Kingdom of Hungary was divided into three parts. The southern and the central part of Hungary were constantly and fully under the Turkish control. Upper Hungary (language area V and the northern part of the Palóc area, as well as the Slovak-speaking counties in the north of the kingdom) and, depending on the military situation, some North-Eastern Hungarian counties still belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary (the Slovaks called themselves Slavs during this period). An independent Principality of Hungary was established in Transylvania.

Fundamental political changes brought about a new cultural border. The Hungarian intellectuals fled from the lowland area to the northern counties and Transylvania. The large central and southern areas were deserted in several places, especially in the extensive lowland areas. The latter had been transitional areas already during the Árpád era because of several migration waves; now the linguistic situation became even more complicated. The areas that had been deserted by Hungarians were settled by foreigners and Hungarian-speaking new settlers: Germans from Bavaria, Slovaks from North Hungary, Serbs and Romanians from across the border from the South and East. Many Hungarians came from Palóc, but also from Pannonia (first and foremost from areas I and II), and to a lesser extent from the Eastern counties.

The dialect mixing of the central part of Hungary and the emergence of new linguistic enclaves can be closely observed on the basis of several linguistic shifts. The resettlement of the Palóc in the southern and south-eastern direction as far as the Dorozsma–Csanádpalota line resulted in typical Palóc dialect words in the lowland, e.g. *héhő* 'wool carder', *pampuska* 'doughnut'. The frequent use of *ö* instead of *ě* and *e*, which was earlier characteristic of only the north-western part of the Southern dialect area (Hung. *ö-zés*), spread northwards along the south bank of the Danube as far as the Island of Csepel, and even westwards across the Danube (e.g.

gyerök, mögöszök pro *gyerék, mēgēsžék* ~ *gyerek* 'kid', *megeszek* 'I will eat'). This is how the Páty and Sukoró linguistic enclaves came into existence. They are in fact the only ones with such a phonological trait in Northern Pannonia (Szabó 1990). Thus, an extensive area emerged in the middle of the Hungarian dialect area (reaching as far as the southern border), which developed into a central periphery in several respects because of its natural conditions and the previously mentioned social and linguistic factors (in earlier times it was a transitional area because many innovations in the centres started to spread from this area in the form of ripples; however, now the dialect area changed into a typical mixed area; cf. also Benkő 1957 : 84–85; Juhász 2001 : 262–316).

3.2.2. Some other language-external factors

Regionally and during certain periods of time, religion and the church played an important role in the development of Hungarian dialect areas. On the one hand, speakers of the Eastern dialects (dialect areas IX and X) were the easternmost representatives of western Christianity (the Roman Catholic Church). For a long time, for Moldva Csángós (dialect area X) the Hungarian language and the Roman Catholic Church denoted two important notions, which distinguished them from the surrounding Romanians. Nowadays, the situation has dramatically changed because for centuries the Papal State did not permit masses in Hungarian for the Csángós and Hungarian-speaking priests (an account of relations between the Csángó church language and the dialect use can be found in Tánzos 1997; Language Use, Attitudes, Strategies 2012). Also, collectors of material for dialect atlases often noticed that the language use of the Catholics in a village could differ from that of the Protestants, especially with regard to vocabulary (Szabó 1990 : 51). Grammars and a complete translation of the Bible, which were published in the 16th century, played a major role in the spread of Protestantism mostly in the North-Eastern part of the country that had witnessed less devastation by the Turks. Thus, the North-Eastern dialect had an important role in the development of the standard (or unified) Hungarian written language.

3.3. Emergence of Hungarian dialect boundaries: linguistic factors

3.3.1. Language contacts

The conquerors found Slavs in the Hungarian area, and probably also Slavized Turkic-speaking ethnic groups (the problem of the Avars). Until now there is no answer to the question how extensive was Slavic-Hungarian and Hungarian-Slavic bilingualism in the core areas of the Kingdom of St Stephen I. We do not know exactly how bilingualism might have influenced the emergence of core and transitional areas.

The contacts between the Hungarian Palóc-Slavs (Slovaks) and the Moldva Csángós and the other Eastern dialects and the Romanians are much better described. The Palóc (V) area became phonologically distinct from the others also because of the Slavonic contact, e.g. *gyió* ~ *dió* 'walnut', *mēnnyi* ~ *mēnni* 'to go', while the Slovak dialects have many lexical Hungar-

ianisms, e.g. *bantovať* 'to hurt somebody', *oldomáš* 'toast (drink)', *sersám* 'tool', *reselou* 'rasper', *telčír* 'funnel'; *lampaš* 'lantern', *vilaň* 'electricity'; *kalap* 'hat' *čičma* 'boots'. Vowel length in Slovak is not that clearly related to word stress as, for example, in Russian and Polish. It seems that the Slavonic-style phonological layer in the Palóc dialect might be explained by a substratum while the large number of Hungarian loanwords in Slovak dialects seems to indicate the existence of a superstratum. However, it is apparent that in some areas villages could have been bilingual for a longer time, as is the case in southern Slovakia even nowadays.

From a sociocultural aspect, the role of the Germans in Hungary is also very important: in the centres of power, the German language had been present from the dynastic relationship of St Stephen I to Charles IV, the last Habsburg king of Hungary. Thus there was a continuous Hungarian-German bilingualism in higher social classes in language core areas and presumably also in central transitional areas. From the end of the Turkish occupation in Hungary (1686), especially after Rákóczi's War of Independence (1703–1711), the Habsburg dynasty adopted a policy of strong Germanisation in Hungary. A significant part of the citizens of Pozsony, Buda and Pest was German in the 18th–19th centuries. Thus, there were strong German–Hungarian linguistic contacts in the intellectual life of the capitals until the 20th century (cf. e.g. Németek Budapesten 1998; Gerstner 1979).

3.3.2. Core and peripheral areas and the impact of the standard on dialect usage

Literary initiatives and regional languages started to act early as a unifying force in the Hungarian language space. The first comprehensive grammar (1539, János (Johannes) Sylvester) and a complete translation of the Bible (1590) were published in the North-Eastern dialect area in the 16th century. An earlier comprehensive translation of the Bible originated from Szerémség County in southern Hungary which was the core area of the *ö*-dialects. There, Hungarian-language culture had been interrupted by the Turkish invasions and the area had remained without any Hungarians.

The sociolinguistic factors in the language usage of major cultural centres and peripheries can be closely studied starting from the period of Middle Hungarian (traditionally 1526–1772). This period is well represented by texts which also recorded spoken language, e.g. court transcripts. Sometimes it was done more accurately, but other times with the wish to correct the "pronunciation errors" in the testimonies. Let us illustrate the issue of language choice with the transcripts of a witch trial. This trial was held in 1619 in the North-Western part of Upper Hungary in the village of Szilincs and the nearby town of Nagyszombat (slightly to the North-West of dialect area II; by now it has become Slovakized). When studying the relative variables in the language of witnesses from the same village (83 texts), Szentgyörgyi showed that microanalysis of the sociolinguistic factors could provide a clear picture even if the distribution of the phenomena might seem chaotic at first sight. The participants of the trial included witnesses and a court reporter from the village of Szilincs (*ö*-dialect, *-ról/-ról*, *-ból/-ból*, *-túl/-túl* variants), notaries from Nagyszombat (*i*-dialect, *-rúl/-rúl*, *-bul/-bül*, *-túl/-túl* variants), and prosecutors-notaries from Pozsony (they,

however, used *-ról/-ról*, *-ból/-ból*, *-tól/-től* variants). The study by Szentgyörgyi (2007) showed that the court reporter had recorded everything in the way it had been spoken. Also, the notaries from Nagyszombat, who represented another sub-dialect area, recorded all the testimonies in the way the village people had spoken, but they deliberately used their own sub-dialect, and in other documents of this trial variables they used variants that are characteristic of the *í*-dialect. On the other hand, the court officials who were from Pozsony, the capital of Hungary of the time, recorded everything in accordance with the standard language and avoided dialect features (see Szentgyörgyi 2007).

3.4. Transitional areas of the Hungarian dialects

The Hungarian transitional areas developed in several ways. Below we will mention the most important types and causes that contributed to the emergence of the transitional areas. The causes may be combined with one another which is why the Hungarian dialect area has few transitional areas that arose because of a single factor.

a. Central transitional areas. The cultural core areas emerged in the vicinity of major cultural centres, mostly in the vicinity of previous and modern capitals. Because of the multilateral contacts they are linguistically central transitional areas, which played a major role in the integration of the language area and the emergence of a (local) standard. Four such areas could be identified with a high degree of certainty: (a) the central transitional area of the capital between areas II, V, and IV (Esztergom, the capital from the 960s to 1256, Buda from 1256 to 1536, the royal summer capital Visegrád in the Middle Ages, Pest-Buda, later Budapest since 1848); (b) the vicinity of Pozsony within the previous area II (Pozsony, the capital of Hungary from 1536 to 1848, nowadays Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia). One has to bear in mind that during the Middle Hungarian period Pozsony still remained in the linguistically central area (see also the sociolinguistic analysis of the witch trial); (c) the vicinity of Kolozsvár between areas VI and VIII (for several centuries Kolozsvár was a major cultural centre of Transylvania, but is nowadays the central town of Transylvania); (d) the vicinity of Sárospatak between areas V, VI, and VII. Also, the print shops of the Reformation period were situated in this region, e.g. in Sárospatak, Gönc and elsewhere.

b. The transitional areas that emerged as a result of extensive migration. The largest transitional areas emerged as a result of resettlement and new settlement. They reshaped the linguistic situation in lowland Hungary and partly in Transylvania. The large transitional areas between areas II, III, IV, V, VI, and VII developed partly by way of migration waves that followed the Turkish invasions (see also 3.2.1.). Different Hungarian dialects and different languages became mixed in lowland Hungary already as a result of the migrations of the Árpád era. The proportion of Romanians between areas VI, VII, and VIII tripled during the past three centuries and thus, the language contacts between Transylvanian Hungarian and Romanian dialects became increasingly close.

c. The transitional areas caused by natural conditions. Such linguistic peripheries between the dialects are rather few in number. Probably the

most classical natural transitional area is the swampy area of nomadic herders on the banks of the Tisza River. In fact, the external boundaries of the Hungarian linguistic space are partly natural transitional areas. Clear-cut boundaries are often absent, and transition from one central European language to another occurs in several areas in the form of bilingual villages. Generally, there are few sharply defined natural boundaries in this region. One of the most important ones is the Danube, which is very wide from Csallóköz to the mouth of the Garam, which partly explains the absence of a transitional area between areas V and II.

d. The sparsely populated transitional areas between the different centres have also emerged mostly because of natural conditions. For this reason, they could be regarded as combined variants of the natural transitional area, which was characteristic of the previously mentioned area of the nomadic herders of lowland Hungary on the banks of the Tisza River until the first half of the 19th century. There were no associations with major centres, but the people were the so-called free roamers. Therefore, it is difficult to determine any directions of communication.

4. Comparative conclusion concerning the emergence of Estonian and Hungarian dialect areas

The development of the Estonian and Hungarian language areas is different with regard to many preconditions. There are differences in natural and climatic conditions, the way these countries were settled, traditional lifestyles, and political conditions. The Estonian language area emerged on the heritage territory of the Finnic peoples, and its main dialects correspond to the ancient Finnic tribal languages. Also, the important historical administrative borders, which once separated the Estonian territory, such as the border between Estonia and Livonia, had an influence on the development of the dialect boundaries. The Hungarian dialect area, which began to emerge after conquest at the end of the first millennium, does not reflect the former tribal boundaries. In Hungary, the dialect boundaries were established only after nomadic herders had become sedentary farmers, whereas the new power centres and language contact played an important role. Nevertheless, the dialect maps of the two countries reveal several apparent similarities, among which is a similar emergence of the transitional areas and their subsequent importance in the integration of the language area.

The dialect maps of both Estonia and Hungary show that the transitional areas are situated not only in the periphery of the language area but also in the centre. In the case of both countries one can speak about central peripheries as a type of transitional area between the historical dialect centres. It is justified to divide transitional areas into several types, where the most important ones with regard to the development of standard languages are the ones that emerged in the vicinity of settlements and cultural centres. The so-called mixed dialect areas are situated in key locations for the development of the country near the capitals and other major centres. Also, in both countries the transitional areas that developed as a result of major settlement changes play a major role. Additionally, there are types of transitional areas that were formed by the intersection of cultural and linguistic influences from various directions, and natural conditions.

Both in Estonia and Hungary one can observe the social dynamics of previous centuries, which has integrated the political, cultural, and linguistic division of the society. This situation cannot be adequately described by the notions of linguistic core and periphery as they are used in traditional dialectology. Both countries witnessed the emergence of central peripheries, which play a major role in the integration of dialect areas. On the other hand, there are peripheral centres, which have become marginal with regard to general linguistic developments. The above treatment provides grounds for sociolinguistic dialectology, at least in the case of these two countries, to analyze more thoroughly the innovative and integrative role of various transitional areas between the historical core areas of dialects.

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**СОЦИОЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОЕ СОПОСТАВЛЕНИЕ ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ
ДИАЛЕКТНЫХ АРЕАЛОВ В ЭСТОНИИ И ВЕНГРИИ**

В статье сравниваются образование и изменения диалектных ареалов в Эстонии и Венгрии. Рассматривается влияние экстралингвистических факторов на диалектные границы, причем особое внимание уделяется междиалектным переходным зонам. Прослеживается значимость культурных, административных и природных факторов в отделении и объединении диалектов. Указывается, что несмотря на различия в истории заселения Эстонии и Венгрии и связанные с этим расхождения в образовании диалектов, обнаруживаются определенные сходства во влияниях экстралингвистических факторов. В обеих странах на развитие языков существенное влияние оказали переходные зоны между ареалами центральных диалектов, которые можно интерпретировать как периферии центральных. Они ведут себя как усилители языковых изменений и играют заметную роль в интегрировании диалектов.