

Duro Blažeka: “Gatherings of the Kajkavian Dialect: Past, Present and Future”

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Abstract

The first part of the paper provides basic information on the genesis, distribution, and division of the Kajkavian dialect. The most typical linguistic features of Kajkavian speech are then presented at the phonological, morphological, and syntactic level. The second part deals with the Kajkavian lexicon, its origin, and the current state of interference from the Croatian standard language (pseudo-analogy and the latest semantic adaptations) and the latest trends in research (Kajkavian dialectal lexicology and the development of different dictionaries). The author concludes that the Kajkavian dialect will survive, but the specificities of certain groups and local speeches with permanently preserved ‘solid parts’ will disappear.

Key words: kajkavian dialect, kajkavian speech, kajkavian idioms, kajkavian literary language, Croatian dialects, Croatian standard language

Introduction

In genetic-linguistic terms, the Croatian language is a system of three dialects: Štokavian, Kajkavian and Čakavian. The names of the Croatian dialects are derived from the archaic form of the interrogative pronoun which read *kъ* and later passed into *čъ*. In Čakavian the semivowel was vocalized and passed into *a* (and there are other combinations: *če, ca, ce, ća, će...*). In Štokavian the pronoun *čъ* connected with *to* produced *čъto* (something similar also occurred in Russian). The semivowel later disappeared, leaving *čto*, which for the sake of simplification became *što* (and other combinations appeared: *šta, šta, što, što...*). In Kajkavian the archaic form of the pronoun *kъ* combined with *jъ*, and the change of the first semivowel to *a* and the loss of the second led to the creation of *kaj* (and other combinations appear: *kej, ke, ka...*).

Today the Kajkavian dialect is spoken north of the Kupa River, in the Zagreb, Varaždin and Bjelovar-Križevci counties, in one part of Gorski Kotar and in Međimurje. The Kajkavian dialect is spoken outside the borders of Croatia in parts of Slovakia (Hrvatski Grob) and Hungary (Pomurje Croats, Umok, Vedešin), or rather where the Kajkavians took refuge during the Ottoman conquests. There are also Kajkavian enclaves in overseas countries; the best known are in Kansas City in USA (its western suburb of Strawberry Hill at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers - mostly originating from Gorski Kotar and arriving at the end of the 19th century), and Mildura in Australia (a winegrowing settlement in inland Australia, the northwestern part of the state of Victoria – mostly originating from the eastern part of lower Međimurje and arriving before World War II). Kajkavian micro-communities from the post-World War II immigrants among the overseas communities are innumerable.¹

Dissemination

Before the Ottoman conquests, the Kajkavian dialect extended to a much larger area than today. The Ottoman conquests caused large migrations of the population to the north and west, and the population which later replaced it was mainly from the area of the Štokavian dialect. It is still

¹ In February 2018, the author visited such Kajkavian micro-communities in Melbourne, Canberra, and Sydney to collect extensive material for this article.

unclear how far the Kajkavian region extended to the east in Slavonia, where it lost most of its territory, and where it borders with old western Štokavian, or rather Šćakavian speech, that is, how far it stretched to the south of the Sava River or the confluence of the Una River into the Sava. Until the 16th century the Kajkavian region in Slavonia assumedly extended beyond the Požega Mountains to Donji Miholjac and Valpovo, where there were a great number of Štokavian-Kajkavian idioms for which it is impossible to say with certainty which system they belonged to (the difference in the continuets of the syllabic and/or posterior nasal, the difference in the reflex Schwa, etc.). There are also many features in common between variants of the Slavonian Štokavian dialect and Kajkavian (individual examples of the transition of the palatal *r' before a vowel into the set *rj*; identical genitives and accusatives for masculine nouns of inanimate meaning, toponyms ending in *-ovci*; the instrumental of means with the preposition *s*; the transition of the intervocalic *-ž-* into *-r-* in the present tense of the verb *moći*; *hruška* and *jalsa* throughout Slavonia instead of *kruška* and *joha*, etc.). The border with the Štokavian region in the south, or rather in the southeast, probably corresponded to the border of Slavonia and Bosnia. That is, it went along the Sava River. In the wider area of the middle course of the Una River was the Kajkavian-Štokavian-Čakavian tri-border point. I have also recently found features characteristic of Kajkavian in some Bosniak language idioms in northwestern Bosnia (Skokovi, Velika Kladuša): the supine, an open *e* similar in sound to that of many Kajkavian idioms, no sibilization in many cases, the old hard endings in the I(nstrumental) sg. for masculine A-declension nouns, the preposition *od* + *G* often in place of possessive adjectives, etc.

As regards the spread in the west and northwest, there is the matter of contact with the Slovenian language and borders in the natural linguistic continuum, which is not easy to determine for the period during the Middle Ages as there was no border at that time between Croatia and Slovenia nor nations in the contemporary sense of the word. For that reason, there were attempts to proclaim the Kajkavian dialect as a part of the Slovenian language, especially in the second half of the 19th century, when it was classified by Slovenian linguists Jernej Kopitar and Franc

Miklošić among the Slovenian dialects.² There were no serious scholarly works on Kajkavian dialect back then. Their thesis was accepted by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and his successor Đuro Daničić, who as the first editor of the great *Dictionary of the Croatian or Serbian language of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts* did not allow Kajkavian words to be entered into the work. This was only corrected in 1963 when the Yugoslav (now Croatian) Academy of Sciences and Arts began working on the *Dictionary of the Croatian Kajkavian literary language* (13 volumes have been published so far - the most recent in 2014). It was not until the 1930s that Aleksandar Belić and Stjepan Ivšić published linguistic works in which Kajkavian was classified among the Croatian dialects. Belić divides Kajkavian according to the reflexes of Proto-Slav(on)ic sounds *t'* and *d'*. He also describes Kajkavian as a mixed dialect, with the Eastern variants originating from Old Šćakavian, the southwestern from Chakavian, and the northwestern from Slovenian. Ivšić, refutes Belić by establishing a basic Kajkavian accentuation of 3 accents, thereby proving that the dialect is not a mixture.³ He found that accentuation was characterized by the existence of metatonic, new (Proto-Slavonic) accents - acute and circumflex in certain grammatical and formation categories. He distinguished Kajkavian idioms into four groups according to accent features: two with the older accent (Zagorje-Međimurje and Lower Sutla River-Žumberak) and two with the younger accent (Turopolje-Posavina and Križevci-Podravina). Conservative variants therefore preserve the older accent system (` , ^ and ~), and innovative variants in many ways demonstrate a departure from that system.

The work of Zvonimir Junković is also important as he irrefutably proved that the Kajkavian dialect belongs to the Pannonian group and the Slovenian dialects to the Alpine, and that Kajkavian genetically belongs to the Croatian language. Moreover, he believes that some of today's Slovene idioms (Prlekija, Prekmurje and some Styrian idioms) have evolved from Kajkavian. These idioms are unaware of the old Slovenian accent changes - the progressive shift of the circumflex, the

² Many Slovenian laymen will still say in 'coffeeshop talks' that Kajkavian is 'distorted Slovenian'. Some even call it '*bezjački*' language.

³ Ivšić (1936).

lengthening of the non-terminal short syllable, and the abolition of the unstressed lengths. The most important criterion for him is that there was no shortening of the Slav(on)ic acute in the Alpine group. Slovenian Prekmurje idioms, as well as other Slovenian Pannonian idioms ('Pannonian base idioms') are affected in vocalism by a phenomenon that is characteristic not only of Kajkavian speech but most of the Croatian language, which means that etymological *e* is identical with the anterior nasal *ɛ*. Pannonian Slovenian idioms did not capture the general Slovenian lengthening of accented non-terminal syllables. There are *o*-type endings (*dobroga, dobromu*, etc.) in the adjective declension of the Prlekija dialect, and the semi-vowel is identical with etymological *e* and the anterior nasal *ɛ*, as in western Međimurje.

There was a linguistic transition in Gorski Kotar in the Middle Ages: Kajkavian-Čakavian-Slovenian. Migrations later separated the Gorski Kotar Kajkavians from the Kajkavian main body. After the situation settled, the population from Slovenia moved in larger numbers than other currents, and so today most of the western Gorski Kotar sub-dialect shows basic Slovenian development. Among the other Gorski Kotar idioms, some show early Slovenian progressive metataxis (*ðko* > *okô*) and others a regressive shift (*okô* > *ôko*). In upper Pokuplje the Kajkavian dialect borders with the Čakavian and Štokavian dialects.

In addition to the extension of the Kajkavian region to the north, there is the question of the relationship between the West Slav(on)ic and South Slav(on)ic languages. That is, there was uninterrupted linguistic continuity before the arrival of the Hungarians in Pannonia, but it is unclear where the boundary between the two linguistic groups was. Popović thought that the Slav(on)ic language in present-day Hungary belonged to the South Slav(on)ic language community.⁴ Today's mid-Slovak dialect has many very important South Slav(on)ic features (the change of *tl, dl* into *t, d*: Cro. stnd. *šilo* / Cro. stnd. *šilo* / Čak. *šidlo*, Cro. stnd. *salo* / Čak. *sadlo*; the transition of *ʒ'* to *z* and not to *dz*, the shortening of accented vowels, the development of secondary vowels in *l*-participle, the use of the suffix *-ovāce* and *ināce* in toponyms according to West Slav(on)ic *-ovice*, etc.). After the interruption of the Slav(on)ic language continuum in Pannonia and the separation of mid-Slovak

⁴ Popović 1960.

speeches from their South Slav(on)ic matrix, these speeches were exposed to the influences of the West Slav(on)ic majority area and further developed in that direction.

From the 16th to the mid-19th century, there was a common literary language in the northwestern part of Croatia, where Zagreb was the main political and cultural center. The more recent professional literature has used more than one name for the linguistic system to which the works of older Kajkavian authors belong (the Kajkavian literary language, the Kajkavian standard language, the Kajkavian literary type, the literary language styled on the Kajkavian base, etc.), and the creators of that language referred to it differently (*horvatski, ilirski, ilirički, ilirijanski*, etc.). The basis of this language was the Zagreb city speech, i.e. the Kajkavian of the educated strata, influenced by contact with speakers of other Kajkavian dialects and the language of non-Kajkavian literary works. The strong influence of the Latin language was especially evident in the syntax.⁵ At all levels of the Kajkavian literary language, there was a choice between different Kajkavian features (eg. *međa / meja*), or inclusion into the Kajkavian literary language, in addition to the more frequent Kajkavian linguistic features and features that are of a non-Kajkavian character (eg. *gde / kade / kadi*, etc.). In her work on the standardization of the Kajkavian literary language, Stolac concludes:

*Such a literary-linguistic superstructure, as a set of linguistic and stylistic features at all levels, testifies to that language as a supra-territorial, suprasocial system, a system by which all communication needs could be met.*⁶

The most important creative names of this period are Juraj Habelić, Ivan Belostenec, Tituš Brezovački, Antun Vramec, Ivan Pergošić, Juraj Mulih, Ana Katarina Frankopan, etc. The second phase of the literary Kajkavian language came in the 20th century in the works of Dragutin Domjanić, Antun Gustav Matoš, Ivan Goran Kovačić, Fran Galović, Nikola Pavić, etc. The most recent, valuable works written in Kajkavian are those of Božica Jelušić, Ernest Fišer, Željko Funda, Božica Brkan,

⁵ Check Šojat (1984-1985): 201-21.

⁶ Stolac (1995): 337.

7. *turopoljski* (Turopolje region) ($\hat{\ } \rightarrow \ \check{\ } ; \grave{\ } = \varrho \neq u$)
8. *vukomeričko-pokupski* [Vukomerec-Pokuplje region] ($\hat{\ } \rightarrow \ \check{\ } ; \grave{\ } = \varrho = u$)
9. *donjolonjski (južnomoslavački)* [Lower Lonjski / Southern Moslavina] ($\hat{\ } \rightarrow \ \check{\ }$)
10. *sjevnomoslavački* [Northern Moslavina region] ($\check{\ } \rightarrow \ \grave{\ } , \hat{\ } = \hat{\ }$)
11. *gornjolonjski* [Upper Lonjski] ($\hat{\ } \rightarrow \ \sim , \grave{\ } = \varrho \neq u$)
12. *glogovničko-bilogorski* [Glogovnik / Bilogora idiom] ($\hat{\ } \rightarrow \ \sim , \grave{\ } = \varrho = u$)
13. (*virovsko*)*podravski* [Virov-Podravina idiom (the fixed position of the accent on the second last syllable)]
14. *goranski (gorskokotarski)* [Goran / Gorski Kotar region] ($\grave{\ } \neq \varrho , \acute{\ } \neq \text{ə}$)
15. *donjosutlanski* [Lower Sutla River] (Čakavian base)

Fundamental features

As there are many Kajkavian phonological systems, most examples related to most Kajkavian dialects will be written in the system corresponding to the monophthonic one with ten units in the stressed position and four in the unstressed one (as is characteristic of many Međimurje and Ludbreg dialects). Deviations from this will occur when the graphics are not important or when the peculiarities of a local speech are emphasized. Such a principle is necessary because of the intention to describe the essence of the problem of the Kajkavian dialect in a short article like this, thus it is not possible to present all its phonetic diversity.

From phonology

It is very important for speakers of other Croatian dialects to be aware of the minimal phonological pairs between different identical vowels of the o- or e- category in some Kajkavian speeches (*p'ękel* - *p'ekel*; *sv'eti* 'svet' – *sv'ĕti* pres. 3. person sg. of *sv'ĕtiti* 'svijetliti'), *t'ęst* 'test' – *t'ĕst* 'tast', *dr'ęk* 'izmet' – *dr'ĕk* 'the mobile side of a ladder-shaped cart used for transporting corn, hay ...', *b'ok* 'bok' – *B'ok* 'Bog', *st'oni* (N. sg. of *st'on* 'stan') – *st'anĭ* (imp. 2. pers. sg. of *st'ati* 'stati').

The syllabic *ɾ* in many speeches is not removed from the system and appears as a sequential vowel (most often *ę*, less frequently *a*) + *r* (*kęrv* / *karv* 'krv'). In some idioms this phenomenon only occurs in an unstressed position where, instead of *ę* or *a* along with *r*, the

accompanying sound similar to semi-vowel can be pronounced (*kerv'avi* / *kərv'avi* 'krvav').

In some dialects (the Međimurje dialect and most of idioms of the Upper Sutila dialect), the opposition in quantity is lost (in the Međimurje dialect and by modulation). In order to compensate for the distinctive features that exist in idioms where there are contradictions, there was a prephonologization of prosodic suprasegmental features into segmental ones, that is, of vowel quantities into their quality. Therefore, vowel inventories in the stressed position in these idioms have ten to thirteen units. P. Ivić referring to the elimination of quantity in Slav(on)ic languages, which mostly affected the east of the Slav(on)ic north and the east of the Slav(on)ic south and Polish and Lusatian languages, along with certain dialects of Czech, Slovak, Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian, states that this process is accomplished in two ways: either the long vowels were equated with the short ones (as in the Russian language) or significant differences in the tone of the vowels appeared, "at first as concomitant phenomena, and then the burden of contrast shifted to those differences."¹⁰ This phenomenon is called *pochylenie* in Polish.

In some idioms, the transition of open e- and o - vowels into closed ones has been recorded under the influence of nasal consonants (*črl'enj* → *črl'ĕnj*, *ž'ena* → *ž'ĕna*, *s'om* → *s'om* 'sam', *hr'onjti* → *hr'onjti*). The vowel *i* passes before *r* into 'secondary jat' (*i.r* > *e.r*), eg. *kalamp'er* 'krumpir', *pap'er*, *vod'er* 'kravlji rog u kojem kosac nosi vodu za vlaženje brusa', *of'erati* 'udvarati djevojkama', *sek'erati se* 'sekirati se', *toč'er* 'lijevak', *pal'er* 'poslovođa u poljskim i građevinskim radovima', *ofj'c'er*, *šp'anc'erati se* 'šetati se (najčešće besposleno)', *klav'er* 'klavir'. The exceptions are usually in the first syllables: *t'irati* 'tjerati', *m'iren*, *s'irek*, *š'irum* 'širom', *c'irkva*. The sound obstrutors in the final position before the absolute pause switched to their soundless counterparts, eg. *smr'ot* 'smrad', *d'op* 'dob', *l'et* 'led', *Sv'eti* *ž'urč* 'Sveti Juraj', *vr'ok* 'vrag', *gr'ĕs* 'griz', *p'oš* 'puž'.

The phoneme *v* in the distribution can have the properties of both the sonant (before the vowel and after the consonant), and the sound obstructor with the consonant *f* as a silent pair (in all other positions), eg. *r'espraf* 'rasprava', *g'otof*, *k'rf*, *črf*, 'olofka', 'ofca', *l'af* 'lav'. The liquid

¹⁰ Ivić (1991): 156.

l is consistently kept at the ends of words in most idioms. Exceptions are some western speeches whereas part of the suffix which forms the masculine singular of the active past participle turns into a semi-vowel *u* (*b'iu* / *b'io*, *št'eu* / *št'eo*, *kr'au* / *kr'ao*). In some idioms in the vicinity of Varaždin, this morpheme is facultatively read *v* in one-syllable verbs, eg. *b'iv*, *št'ev*, *d'ev*, *č'uv*. In these forms, the *v* is often muted so that *b'if*, *d'ef* and *č'uf* can also be heard. In some idioms immediately adjacent to the Slovenian border, *l* as part of the continuation of the masc. gender sg. a. p. p. becomes *o*, but unlike the Štokavian dialect, it avoids the hiatus (*d'elo*, *fkr'o*, *gl'edo*).

In some idioms, instead of *l* before *u* we find *l̥*, eg. *fl̥'učnuṭi*, *pl̥'uča*, *sḷ'učaj*, *pḷ'uk*, *ḷ'udbrek*, *sḷ'uga*, *ḷ'uka* (personal name), *ḷ'upṭi*, *ḷ'uk* ('onion'), *gḷ'uhṭi*, *pṣḷ'uhnṭi*, *ḷ'ujster*, *ḷ'ubḷenṭa*, *ḷ'uft*, *ḷ'ukna* – 'hole', *ḷṣp'ina*, *žḷ'undra*, *naḷ'uknuṭi se*, *naḷuk'ovati se*, *ḷṣp'ina*, *bḷ'uza*. In the abolition of palatal opposition in liquids some new loanwords are exceptions. In the words *l'uk* ('arrow-pointing weapon') and *l'ud* ('mentally ill'), *l* remains to avoid unnecessary strain on the semantic system (*l'uk* and Nom. pl. of noun *č'ovek*: *ḷ'udi*). Vermeer believes that there has been an increase in low diffuse *u* into *ü* throughout the Kajkavian dialect.¹¹ Lončarić believes that this was only the case in the western peripheral part of the Kajkavian area, which continues into the Slovenian language in the north and southwest (in Međimurje and Gorski Kotar), and that the old value *u* was later restored:

*“This can be deduced from the development behind l̥, where ü was deconstructed into two elements: high (front), which palatalizes the preceding l̥, and low (back) u, and so, today we usually have l̥ju, eg. l̥juk, sl̥juga, but also nutri, bukva. l̥ in many idioms is often lexicalized where it would elsewhere be l, especially in Germanisms. The value ü / ũ in some modern Kajkavian idioms is the result of later developments, except perhaps in Podravina.”*¹²

In many speeches, especially in Germanisms, *l̥* in many idioms is often lexicalized where it would elsewhere be *l*: *p'uḷt*, *c'ofuḷt* (adv.

¹¹ See Vermeer (1983).

¹² Lončarić (1994): 117.

‘immediately’), *š’ilt* ‘obod šešira’, *k’uľku* ‘koliko’, *f’oľc* ‘ždrijeb’, *p’uľš’užalnik*, *š’efľa* ‘zaimača’, *f’eľa* ‘vrsta’, *g’uľaš*, *h’ekľatiľ*, *hr’uľšľaf*, *C’iľa* ‘Cecilija’, *t’oľbla* ‘tabla’, *f’uľatiľ* ‘promašiti’, *šm’irgľatiľ*, *g’uľaš*, *frt’oľ* ‘čtvrť’, *p’iľ* ‘pil’, *šp’igeľ* ‘zrcalo’, *f’iľ* ‘nadjev’, *f’uľ* ‘promašaj’, *č’aveľ* ‘čavao’, *r’ingišp’iľ*, *n’oľst’uľ*, *št’iľ*, *h’oľkeľ*, *k’vart’eľ* ‘unajmljeni stan’, *zah’oľtatiľ* ‘zaustaviti nekoga’ (Prelog).

In the Lower Drava basin, the Međimurje dialect is consistently palatalized before front vowels and in a pronounced and unstressed position, eg. *m’eľin* ‘mlin’, *g’rľica*, *ľ’eč’i si* ‘leći’, *pľ’eča*, *kľ’ešča*, *bec’ikľin*, *uľ’oľi* ‘okolo’, *p’otľi* ‘poslije’, *j’eľen*. In the idiom of Kalnik, palatalization of *l* occurs only before *i* and *e* of *jat* and semivowels. In many Zagorje dialects, dialects along the Slovenian border and many trans-Drava dialects, the basic *l* is replaced by *ľ*, example are words such as *ľ’ud’i* ‘ľjudi’, *kr’oľ* ‘kralj’, *p’ole* ‘polje’, *hm’el* ‘hmelj’, *k’apla* ‘kaplja’, *z’eľmla* ‘zemlja’. *Ń* is unchanged in most eastern Kajkavian speeches, and often becomes the nasal *ĩ* in western ones, less frequently *n*, and in rare cases the nasal and *j* sequence, that is, with independence, phonologization of the palatal element, in the form *j*, and with anticipation *j*, therefore, into the sequence *jn* (*trjne* ‘trnje’, *svijna* ‘svinja’). In many western idioms, the sequence *jn* is disassembled in the initial position by inserting, through metathesis, the next vowel, eg. *ň’eľa* > *j’eňga* (3rd person singular of the pronoun ‘on). Secondary sets of labials with *j* remain unchanged in collective nouns (*snopje*, *grobje*, *grmje*, *zdravje*) and adjectives with ending *-ji*: *divji* ‘divľji’, *babji* ‘babľji’. In some idioms, the vowel *i* is inserted between the labial consonants and the word-forming morpheme *-j-*, eg. *gr’obije*, *g’rmije*, *zdr’avije*, *sn’opije*.

The development of *d’* in the Kajkavian dialect is twofold. In the Eastern speeches, *d’* passes into the palatal affricate *ď* (*m’ež’a*, *ž’ežen*, *br’ež’a*, *s’aže*, *pr’ež’a*, *ven’ož’atiľ*, *p’uľg’ož’atiľ se*, *gl’eč* (imp.), *p’oveč* (imp.), *p’uľn’už’atiľ se*, *p’uľh’ož’atiľ se*, *r’ožen*. The exceptions are the forms *-jš-* in comparatives: *slajši*, *mlajši*, *rajši*). In western idioms, as in the Slovenian language, it is identical with *j*. In some of the Lower Međimurje idioms, both reflexes may coexist in the same word (*pr’eja* / *pr’eđa*, *m’eđa* / *m’eja*). Prosthetic consonants are among the most characteristic features of Kajkavian speech in general. This is an

inherited trait from Old Slav(on)ic where there was a phonotactic rule according to which the word could not begin with some vowels and for that reason *j-* and *v-* were systematically added to Proto-Slav(on)ic words with initial vowels prosthetic consonants (eg. according to Old Lithuanian *esmi* ‘jesam’ we have in Old Slav(on)ic *jesmь* ‘jesam’ and based on Sanskrit *udrā* we have Old Slav(on)ic *vydra* ‘vidra’). In almost all Kajkavian idioms, *v* comes before *u* and *o*, which originates from the old Slav(on)ic posterior nasal (*vura*, *vusnica*, *vože* ‘uže’, *voski* ‘uzak’). There is also a prosthetic *j* before *o* in a large number of idioms, which does not originate from the posterior nasal (*joko* ‘oko’, *jogenj* ‘oganj’, *josa* ‘osa’). There are also individual examples before *a*: *Janica*, *japa* (<hung. *apa*), *japat’ička* ‘apoteka’. There are many examples with prosthetic *h*, eg. *hub’ot* ‘obad’, *h’ambar* ‘ambar’, *hr’oktati*, and in Prelog I have noted one example with prosthetic *g*: *gut’ova* ‘otava’.

The old *stj=skj* produced *šč*, for example: *hr’ošč*, *iščem* (pres. 1st person sing.), *n’ešče / i* ‘netko’, *p’uščati*, *šč’ipati*, *šč’ėne* ‘štene’, *pušč’ina* ‘pustinja’, *prušč’ėne*, *nat’ešče* ‘natašte’, *t’eščiti se* ‘suzdržavati se od jela’, *t’iščati* ‘tištiti’, *kl’ėšče*, *priv’oščiti* ‘priuštiti’, *pišč’enka* ‘mlada kokoš koja još nije počela nositi jaja’, *k’rščen*, *igral’išče*, *bl’ėščati* ‘blještati’, *pr’išč* ‘prišt’, *vušč’enka* ‘preslica’ (weed), *vr’iščati* ‘vrištati’, *krumper’išče* ‘krumpirište’, *m’ošča* ‘mast’, *šč’ap* ‘drvena naprava za obiranje voća’, *šč’uka*, *pl’ošč*, *l’uščiti* ‘skidati ljuske s nečega; skidati komušinu s kukuruza’, *sp’uščati* ‘spuštati’, *tešč’ina* ‘težina u želucu’. Some passive past participles can have the form *-stjen-* and *-ščen-*, eg. *ubr’ostjen / ubr’oščen*, *prep’ustjen / prep’uščen*, *puč’astjen / puč’aščen*, *uwl’ostjen / uwl’oščen*. Forms with *-jen-* are the result of a more recent formation with this morpheme.

The sequence of *rj* in place of the Proto-Slav(on)ic palatal *r’* is confirmed in the following nouns: *m’orje*, *v’ėterjek* ‘sprava za odvajanje pljeve te loše pšenice i kukuruza’, *več’erja*, *žg’orjavica* ‘žgaravica’, *žerj’ofka* ‘žeravica’; in the passive participle of the 4th type formed with the *-en-* morpheme, eg. *pukv’orjeni*, *vm’orjeni*, *udm’orjeni*, *nat’ovarjeni*, *zav’arjeni*, *zak’urjeni*, *zacm’orjeni*, *prev’arjeni*, *zaž’orjeni* ‘zažaren’, *nadud’erjeni* ‘ohol’, *natuv’arjen*, *pup’orjen* ‘poparen’, *rasp’orjen* ‘rasparan’; in verbs of the 5th type with *-rjati* in all forms, eg. *dug’orjati* ‘dogorijevati’, *zaguv’orjati*, *n’adv’orjati* ‘dvoriti’, *nav’orjati* ‘nagovarati

nekoga na nešto loše', *pretv'orjati se*, *putv'orjati* 'tajno nekoga optuživati', *uč'ěrjati se* 'obrecati se', *zam'ěrjati se* 'zamjerati se'; in the present and imperative of the verb *ur'ati* and *hmr'ětj*: 'orjem, hm'erjem (pres.); 'orji, hm'erji (imp.). There is no *rj* in the declension of nouns ending in *r* (as in Slovenian): *kalamp'ěra*, *pap'ěra*, *guspuđ'ora* (G sg.). In Kajkavian idioms along the Hungarian border and among Pomurje Croats, dissimilation of liquid consonants is frequent with many examples in both directions: $r > l$ and $l > r$. This phenomenon is extremely common in the Hungarian language.¹³

The change $r > l$ I in the following examples: : *pr'iluč* 'drška', *luguž'or* 'pletena torba od rogoza', *kalamp'ěr* 'krumpir', *Katal'ěne* 'blagdan svete Katarine', *kvar't'ěl* 'podstanarstvo' (od 'kvar'tir'), *suh'olje* 'suh drvo za potpalu' (od 'suharak'), *lum'or* 'ormar' (Podturen, Belica, Sivica), *nahel'aj* 'nahero', *n'ostuļ* 'nastor za stoku' (Orehovica, Prelog) / *n'ostil* (Podturen); *lev'orver* 'revolver', *c'ofuļt* 'odmah' (Prelog, Goričan, Orehovica - od njemačkog **so fort**), *vel'ěstyuvañe* 'noćno bdjenje nad mrtvacom' (od mađ. 'virraszt'). The change $l > r$ I in the following examples: *šjn'ěr* 'šinjel' (Prelog, Donja Dubrava, Draškovec), *fariñgastj* 'koji ima neki tjelesni nedostatak' (Lopatinec - in most other speeches *fal iñgastj*, *presn'ivj* 'pljesnjiv' (Putjane, Nedelišće). For Germanisms of the 'das Rohr' model, I noted both transitions: *l'or* (Belica) and *r'ol* (Strigova, Sveti Martin) 'cijev za odvod dima iz peći u dimnjak'. In most of the Kajkavian dialects it is *r'or*.

From morphology

The supine is preserved as a grammatical category. It occurs with imperfective verbs after the verb of motion, and it always differs from infinitives in that there is no final *-i*, and in some verbs also by alternation of the base or by changing the place of stress (*Moram delati* // *Idem delat*, *Moram spati*. // *Idem spot*; *Moram se vuč'iti*. // *Idem se v'učit*). This Old Slav(on)ic grammatical category is still preserved in the Slav(on)ic and Lusatian-Serbian languages. There are only six grammatical cases,

¹³ "Die Konsonanten *r* und *l* wechseln untereinander im Ungarischen ziemlich oft. Es gibte einige wörter, in denen ohne sichtlichen äußeren Anlaß das eine für das andere eintritt. So *űird dt. Panzer* im Ungarischen zu *páncél*, lat. *Catharina* zu *Katalin*, aber auch umgekehrt, aus. lat. *Elizabeth* *űird* *Erzsebet*.", Hadrovics (1985): 51

as there is no particular form for the vocative. *'Isus, B'ok, k'aj se pr'ipetiļu?* 'Isuse, Bože, što se dogodilo?', *J'ežuš Mar'ija! J'ežuš Kr'istuš!* In some idioms the forms *K'atu, M'aru! B'oru! M'ily!* are recorded in an address intended to be as kind as possible.

The grammatical category of the dual has disappeared. In some speeches, the remainder of the dual is a morpheme *-e* in construction with numbers 2, 3, and 4 in the NA of nouns of the neuter gender (according to the *jat* with the ending *f* the NAV of the Dual-Slav(on)ic nonpalatal base), eg. *u'bedv'ĕ k'ul'ene, tr'i s'ĕle, št'irij m'este*. The remnant of duality is also the form *'oči* congruous with *'oku*. There is only a short plural: *b'ogi, m'osti, vr'ogi, č'iki* 'opušci', *p'oži, v'oki, d'uhj*. In masculine gender nouns there is a contrast between the living and inanimate the use of prepositions (*D'eņj t'ŏ na k'oňa. i D'eņj t'ŏ na st'olec.*) This phenomenon is called Slavonism. These distinct forms are not found without prepositions (*K'upjł sam s'j k'oňa. i K'upjł sam s'j st'olca.*). In the Međimurje dialect, morphological categories are expressed by vowel alteration as well as suffixes, eg.

inf. <i>nat'akati</i>	<i>j'ęti</i>
pres. <i>nat'očem</i>	<i>j'ĕm</i>
imp. <i>nat'ači</i>	<i>j'eč</i>
a. p. p. <i>nat'akal, nat'okala, nat'akalu</i>	<i>j'el, j'ĕla, j'elų</i>
pl. <i>nat'akali, nat'akale, nat'akala</i>	<i>j'eli</i>
p. p. p. <i>nat'očan</i>	
sup. <i>nat'akat</i>	<i>j'ĕst</i>

In some nouns the alternation occurs only in L sg., eg. N *šp'ajs, l'agef, dr'ač, kr'aj, v'oda, p'ostelja* L *v šp'oju, v l'ogvu, v dr'oču, v kr'oju, vu v'odi, v p'ostelj.*

In some nouns, alternation only occurs in G pl, eg. N *kr'ava, b'aba, ž'aba, g'ače* G pl *kr'of, b'op, ž'op, g'oč*. The vowels in positive and comparative adjectival forms may vary, eg. *gl'adek – gl'otki, b'ogat – bug'oți, sl'adek – sl'otki, p'ijan – pij'oņi, r'at – r'ojši, sl'adek – sl'ojši, ml'ođi – ml'ajši*. In most Kajkavian idioms, the difference between the definite and indefinite forms of adjectives is neutralized, that is, in the Nominative sg. m. g. the definite form is always used. The exceptions are adjectives that have fleeting *e* (*bet'žen* 'bolestan', *l'ačen* 'gladan', *tr'uden* 'umoran'). In oblique cases, the forms of the former definite adjective are always used.

Adverbs ending in vowels often take an optional mobile consonant, eg. *d'oma / d'omaj, sk'upa / sk'upaj, v'unj / v'unjk, d'ostj / d'ostjk, sk'oru / sk'orum, č'ista / č'istam*.

From syntax

Atonic words, or word forms, can either be only proclitic or proclitic/enclitic. The only proclitics are atonic conjunctions and prepositions, and the enclitics/proclitics may be verbal forms or pronouns. These verbal forms may arbitrarily go before or after the tonic word: *Vidim ga. / Ga vidim; Došel je. / Je došel; Vidli se bomo. / Bomo se vidli*. Interrogative sentences transferring the verb to the beginning of the sentence are formed without the adverb "li", eg. *Je 'on d'ošel?, Vidiš?, 'Očeš t'ò napr'ajti?*. The infinitives of reflexive verbs may also go at the end of a sentence. And it has a slight stylistic feature, for example: *T'i bȳ št'el s'am 'igrati se*.

The use of the ethical dative, especially the reflexive pronoun *s'ębe*, for example: *P'unu t'oga vam je n'opak v m'ojȳ h'iȳ; P'oječ sȳ n'ekaj!, Prd'ęhni sȳ t'ò cv'ętje!, Sp'ij sȳ v'odu!, Zasl'uȳil sam sȳ n'ekaj, 'Idem sȳ br'ata puȳgl'ędati*. The instrumental of means regularly takes the preposition *z*, for example: *M'øše s pap'ęriȳma*. The preposition *z* also takes indirect objects in the instrumental, eg. *B'ovȳ se s š'ahum*. The widespread syntagm *za* + infinitive, for example: *T'i sȳ d'ober za vuč'iti se; T'ò je za bnur'ęti*. A syntactic *calque* is also used: *za p'itiȳ, za j'ęstiȳ, eg. T'ò je v'oda za p'itiȳ; T'ò je finuȳ za j'ęstiȳ*.

The particles *j'ęga* and *n'ęga* are used to confirm the existence or non-existence of someone or something and are followed by a noun in the genitive, eg. *J'ęga kr'uha; N'ęga p'unu l'udi*. *J'ęje* is used to confirm a fact, eg. *J'ęje z'išel hrm'øk!, J'ęje c'uk d'ošel!* These forms always go at the beginning of a sentence. Substantivization is a common occurrence, for example, *M'rtef bȳ se zb'udȳl., D'ošel je st'orȳ d'imu., Ml'odȳ su d'ęnes za n'išt; B'ędast tȳ m'ore v'ęč' z'l'a napr'ajti n'ek sp'ameten*. The German-language *calque* 'ohne dass' has also been confirmed, for example, *D'išel je b'ez da je 'ikaj napr'aj*. The connection between *k'aj* and *za* is also confirmed, for example, *Kaj je t'ò za d'ęčka? Kaj je t'ò za p'osel?* There are several reflexive verbs that do not have this feature in the standard language, for example, *Kr'ave se p'øseȳ; Tr'ęba se puȳkl'ęknuȳti v c'irkvi; K'aj se pl'øčeš? Vučȳm se c'ęle dn'eve; S'ęjte se!*

Vocabulary

In addition to lexemes that can be found in every organic Slav(on)ic idiom, there are a large number of lexemes in Kajkavian dialects that are found anywhere else in the Slav(on)ic world¹⁴: a) foreign words from the surrounding languages that only entered Kajkavian; b) new creations, compounds and derivatives formed from Old Slav(on)ic material that can be found in a very limited area, even in a single local dialect; c) Old Slav(on)ic lexemes that have only been preserved in Kajkavian (archaisms).¹⁵ In all Kajkavian idioms, there are many diminutives / hypocoristics for all sorts of words. It is often difficult to determine the boundary between these two formative categories, that is, whether it means diminishing in size / quantity / intensity or preciousness / affection. These forms are often used to express tenderness or family affection, and especially when addressing children. Any diminutive can be hypocoristic, but not the other way around. Pure hypocoristics can be animal names, eg. **c'icek** HYP. < m'aček; **č'učika** DIM. HYP. < č'uča; **p'ajcek** HYP. < sv'ina. Hypocoristics have also been noted in some adverbs: **m'ačkenw** / **m'ačkw** HYP. < m'alū. ★ P'oječ m'ačkenū; **naglav'ęc** HYP. < nagl'ofce. ★ D'ęte je naglav'ęc p'alū z p'osteļe.

¹⁴ Etymological dictionaries of individual Slav(on)ic languages are mostly limited to the modern standard language, omitting historical and dialectal material where the most interesting data are often preserved. This is especially pronounced in the Croatian language, whose dialects differ not only in phonetic and grammatical features, but also in lexicon, both to those not inherited in the form of loanwords from neighboring languages, and to the reflections of Proto-Slav(on)ic lexemes which are often confirmed only in one or two of the three Croatian dialects. Unlike the Štokavian and Čakavian material to which more attention was paid, the lexicon of Croatian Kajkavian dialects is marginally represented in the existing etymological dictionaries of the Croatian language. Articles by the Polish Slavist Wiesław Boryś (1982; 1986) are dedicated to the Kajkavian legacy lexicon, in which the author offers an etymological review of selected Kajkavianisms such as *nuće* 'obojci', *lap* 'komad platna', *zden* 'hladan', *hlud* 'motka', *drbati* 'dirati', *nedoležen* 'nespretan' and *skolek* 'daščica'. Thus, the topic of Proto-Slav(on)ic heritage in Kajkavian has only just begun. The development of dialectology and dialect lexicography in recent times has made it possible to find hitherto unknown reflections of Proto-Slav(on)ic lexemes in Kajkavian and to establish isolexes that connect Kajkavian and Slav(on)ic dialects with West Slav(on)ic languages, Krmpotić (2015): 57-58.

¹⁵ Wiesław Boryś calls archaisms those Kajkavian lexemes that are not found in other dialects of the Croatian or Serbian language area but are in other Slav(on)ic languages (1982): 70-71.

p'olz'utreka adv. HYP. < *p'olz'utra*, *p'olz'utri* 'prekosutra' The noun *mama* has two hypocoristics, one of which is masculine (*m'amijka*, *m'amek*). *M'amijka* is 'grandmother' in many idioms. The noun *star'ica* has the hypocoristic *st'orka*. Many adjectives and verbs also have hypocoristics, eg. *dr'oben* - *dr'obničkij*, *m'alij* - *m'aličkij*, *v'oziť se* - *vuz'ičkati se*, *skr'ivati se* - *skrjv'očkati se*. In many Kajkavian idioms, the characters of diminutives are confirmed, i.e. more than one diminutive suffix is common (*k'uhnjica* - *k'uhnjičica*, *st'orkajca* - *st'orčička*, *gr'edjca* - *gr'edjčica*, *grunt'ič* - *grunt'iček*, *k'acijca* - *kač'ička*).

Germanisms

There are large number of Germanisms in Kajkavian idioms. These are mostly borrowings from Austrian and South Bavarian dialects and have come from numerous contacts with German immigrants. The first German colonization in northern Croatia began in the 13th century, after the Tatars ravaged these areas. The Hungarian King Bela IV invited Germans to inhabit them and gave them special rights. The arrival of German craftsmen was very important. Thanks to them complete technical terminologies were formed in most trades. These are for the most part still used today. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the more educated people in Zagreb, Varaždin and Osijek mostly communicated in German. It is logical that the semantic fields of Germanisms from rural local idioms differ from those of larger cities.

I will present the most important semantic fields covered by Germanisms in rural local idioms, based on the corpus of the Međimurje dialect.

- plants: *fl'onec* 'biljka za rasad' (**Pflanze**), *h'imper* 'malina (samo ona koja se umjetno uzgaja u vrtu pa je zato puno deblja od prirodne maline)' (**Himbeere**), *l'orbek* 'lovor' (**Lorbeer**), *petr'ožul* 'peršin' (**Petersel**), *prep'elcati* 'presaditi sadnice' (**pelzen**) (PO), *p'ušpañ* 'šimšir, zelenika' (**Buchsbaum**)

- holidays and customs: *f'ašnek* 'poklade' (**Fasching**), *kl'encnerjca* 'djevojčica koja je u svadbenoj povorci išla za mladenkom' (**Kranzfräulein**), *kr'ispan* 'božićno drveće' (**Christus + Baum**), *p'uška* 'grančica koja se nosi na Cvjetnicu u crkvu' (PO) (**Busch**)

- eating and drinking: type of food, food preparation, meals, food supplements, utensils: *b'uh(ftljin* 'napuhnjača' (**Buchtel**). *c'ukyr* '1.

šećer 2. bombon' (**Zucker**), *cv'ibuk* 'dvopek' (**Zwieback**), *ęscajk* 'pribor za jelo' (**Eßzeug**), *f'ońek* 'uštupak' (Kotoriba) (**Pfannkuchen**), *r'ibeš* 'trenica' (**reiben**), *p'ocunga* 'rasol od octa, vode i češnjaka u koji se stavlja nasoljeno meso prije sušenja ili kuhanja' (**beizen**), *šm'orlĩņi* 'jaja s brašnom i mlijekom' (Sveti Martin) (**schmoren** 'polagano peći', 'pržiti'), *šn'ita* 'kriška kruha ili kolača', *špr'icer* 'vino pomiješano sa sodom' (**spritzen**), *št'anglĩn* 'vrsta dizanog kolača u obliku prutića' (**Stange**), *št'erce* 'kukuruzno brašno popareno vrelom vodom' (**Sterz**), *t'ęh* 'čaj' (**Tee**), *t'emfatĩ* 'pirjati' (**dämpfen**), *tr'ahtar* 'lijevak' (**Trichter**), *žm'ah* 'okus' (**Geschmack**), *ž'emļa* (**Semmel**)

- human traits: mental traits, physical traits, derogatory names: *c'artavi* (**zärteln**), *f'alĩčen* 's tjelesnim ili psihičkim nedostatkom' (**fehlen**), *h'aklĩk* 'osjetljiv, probirljiv' (**heikel**), *harlek'in* (**Harlekin**)¹⁶, *hamr'il* 'jača osoba niže inteligencije' (**Hammel**), *k'ęk* 'ponosit, uznosit (pejor.)' (**keck**), *k'ušten* 'spretan za posao' (**Kunst**), *l'ajfar* 'mladić koji se skiće po krčmama' (**schleifen**), *l'ampeš* 'brbljavac' (**Lampe**), *n'ori* 'lud' (**Narr**), *p'ańkret* 'vanbračno dijete; klippan' (**Bankart**), *pič'ajzlĩn* 'sitničav čovjek' (**Filzlaus**), *preš'ikńeni* 'gizdav' (PO) (**schick**), *p'ukļavec* 'grbavac' (**Buckel**), *š'ajtravec* 'čovjek koji ima noge u obliku slova o' (**Scheit**), *šl'ank* 'mršav' (**schlang**), *šm'qjhlati se* 'ulagivati se' (**scmeicheln**), *š'oc* 'ljubavnik' (**Schatz**), *šp'ajsen* 'neugodan na riječima' (**Spaise**), *špiclĩn* 'šminker' (Sv. Martin) (**spitzen**), *šp'ičĩti se* 'praviti se važan' (**spitzen**), *šp'uravi* 'izbirljiv' (Nedelišće) (**spüren**), *št'aten* 'hirovit' (**stattlich**), *š'uft* 'obješenjak, propalica' (**Shuft**), *tr'otlĩn* 'nespretnjaković' (**Trottel**), *tručl'ivi* 'inatljiv' (**trotzen**), *t'umpasti* 'glup' (**tump**), *v'andravec* 'lualica' (**wandern**), *zĩher'qš* 'onaj koji ide na sigurno' (**sicher**), *žm'ukļeš* 'škrtica' (**schmuggel**)

- medicine: *ferb'ant* 'zavoj' (**Verband**), *fl'ajšter* (**Pflaster**) 'ljepljivi ovoj za rane', *šv'icati* 'znojiti se – u bolesti' (**Schweis**), *recip'is* 'liječnički recept' (**Rezepisse**)

- clothes: clothing, footwear, fashion accessories, fabrics, finishing: *b'iksatĩ* 'laštiti cipele' (**wichsen**). *c'iferšļus* 'patentni zatvarač' (**ziehen + Verschluss**), *f'qlda* 'nabor na odjevnom predmetu' (**Falte**), *f'ęrtuf* 'pregača' (**Vortuch**), *h'ozentr'ęgerĩ* 'naramenice' (**Hosenträger**), *k'angar* 'tkanina od češljane vune' (**Kammgarn**), *kr'aglĩn* 'okovratnik'

¹⁶ This noun is also used by old people who have no knowledge of theatology.

(**Kragen**), *l'ajbek* 'prsluk' (**Leibchen**), *m'ašljin* 'traka koja svezana u petlju služi kao ukras na odjeći' (**Masche**), *nah'ezdek* 'bez stavljanja ruku u rukav – kod oblačenja kaputa (PO) – *nah'endek* (PR) (**Hand**), *š'iļt* 'obod šešira' (**Schild**), *šl'afruk* 'kućna haljina' (**Schlaf + Rock**), *šl'ic* 'prorez na hlačama' (**Schlitz**), *š'os* 'suknja' (**Schoß**), *špič'ok* 'vrsta šiljatih cipela' (**Spitze**), *šp'ilh'oze* 'hlače s naramenicama' (D. Vidovec) (**spielen + Hose**), *št'ucljīn* 'čarapa koja pokriva listove na nozi' (**Stutzen**), *štr'ufp'antljīn* 'podvezica' (**Strumpfband**), *š'urc* 'prostija pregača' (**Schurz**), *žn'īeratij* 'vezati cipele' (**schnüren**)

- business and trade: *c'ēh* 'račun' (**Zeche**), *f'al* 'jeftin' (**feil**), *c'ubak* 'više nego po dogovoru' *T'o tj d'om na c'ubak*. (PO) (**Zubau** 'dogradnja'), *št'ant* 'improvizirano prodajno mjesto na tržnici' (**Stand**)

- housing: parts of the house, furniture and objects in the house: *filjunga* 'okvir unutar vratiju oko kojega dolazi prozor' (**Füllung**), *gal'ender* 'naslon na balkonu ili stubištu' (**Geländer**), *g'ańk* 'hodnik' (**Gang**), *ļ'uftenek* 'zračnik u kuhinji' (**Luft**), *r'ušt* 'drvena konstrukcija krova' (**Gerüst**), *šp'ajs* 'ostava, smočnica' (**Spaise**), *šp'igel* 'zrcalo' (**Spiegel**)

- technical terms related to various trades: *br'ēnzatij* 'kočiti' (**bremsen**), *cv'ek* 'postolarski klinac' (**Zwecke**), *dr'oksatij* 'tokariti' (**drechseln**), *f'elšatij* 'zanositi se u stranu' (**fälschen**), *fl'ah* 'vodoravna površina' (**Fläche**), *gl'ihatij* 'izravnati' (**gleichen, glich, geglichen**), *gr'ušt* 'građevinska skela' (**Gerüst**), *g'us* 'odljevak' (**Guß**), *kl'inga* 'oštrica' (**Klinge**), *ļetva* 'uska dugačka daska' (**Latte**), *l'oker* 'klimav, labav' (**locker**), *l'otatij* 'lemiti' (**löten**), *n'ēft* 'zakovica' (**Niete**), *p'antlin* 'metalna naprava o koju se vješaju vrata; šarka, zglobnik' (**Bandel**), *p'enzljīn* 'veći soboslikarski kist' (**Pinsel**), *r'odlin* 'željezna kolica u skladištima' (**Rodeln**, *šv'osatij* 'variti' (**schweissen**), *š'olatij* 'postavljati oplatu od dasaka' (**schalen**), *šm'irgljīn* 'papir premazan smirkovim prahom' (**Schmirgel**), *šn'ajc'ajk* 'sprava za izrezivanje navoja' (**schneiden + Zeug**), *šp'affjīln* 'mala lopatica za struganje žbuke' (**Spachtel**), *špr'ajc* 'podupirač' (**Spreize**), *špr'ic* 'završni sloj na fasadi koji se stavljao na sjevernu stranu kuće' (**spritzen**), *špr'ih* 'sačma' (**Sprüh**), *šr'otati* 'krupno mljeti kukuruz' (**schroten**), *št'imati* 'dupsti dljetom, obijati zid' (**stemmen**), *št'ońga* 'metalna poluga' (**Stange**), *št'emajzlin* 'dljeto' (**Stemmeisen**), *št'ēp* 'prošav' (**Steppstich**), *št'iļ* 'držak' (**Stiel**), *š'uber* 'poluga za regulaciju dovoda zraka u štednjak'

(**Schuber**), *šv'os-apar'at* 'aparatus za zavarivanje' (**schweissen**), *t'iplin* 'učvrstnica' (**Dippel**), *udštekatij* 'izvaditi utikač iz utičnice' (**stecken**), 'v'ekerica 'budilica' (**wecker**), *v'inkljin* 'pravi kut' (**winkel**), *v'eksljin* 'skretnica' (**wechsel**), *v'oser-v'oga* 'libela' (**wasserwaage**), *tr'iger* 'nosač na biciklu' (**Träger**), *zac'ojhatij* 'označiti olovkom kako bi se znalo gdje piliti ili bušiti – o stolaru' (**zeichnen**), *zgl'ihatij* 'izravnati neku površinu' (**gleichen, glich, gegliechen**), *ž'oga* 'pila' (**Säge**), *žl'ajdernjica* 'debeli žica' (bav. austr. **Schleuder**), *žv'inga* 'vezna greda neke drvene konstrukcije' (**Zwinge**)

- hair styling: *bl'ojhatij* 'svijetliti kosu' (**bleichen**), *kufert'alu* 'pletence na zatiljku isprepletene na poseban način i učvršćene ukosnicama' (**Kopf**), *nabr'ematij* 'vrućim škarama napraviti uvojke' (**brennen**), *š'uraf* 'nepočesljan' (**Schur** 'striženje ovaca') (St. Martin), *v'ikler* 'naprava od lima ili plastike i gume za pravljenje kovrča' (**wickler**), *štr'igatij* 'šišati' (pej.) (**strigeln**)

- exclamations/shouts: *c'ofult* 'uzvik tjeranja u komunikaciji s djecom' (**sofort**), *cyr'ik* 'uzvik u značenju natrag' (**zurick**)

- entertainment: music, card games, pub, football: *adut'eratij* 'bacati adute s ciljem da izađu iz igre oni aduti koji su kod protivnika' (**aduttieren**), *ęncatij se* (**ein**), *fuč* 'crta u igri bacanja kamenom'¹⁷ (*Kam'ena m'oraš h'itij pr'ek fuča.*) (**futsch** interj. 'propalo, ode') (Goričan), *ful* 'promašaj' (**Fehl**), *h'erc* 'srce u kartanju' (**Herz**), *j'unfer* 'gol dobiven kroz noge; prolazak lopte između nogu' (**Jungfer**), *l'amfer* 'lovac u šahu' (**Läufer**), *r'ingišp'il* 'vrtuljak' (**Ringenspiel**), *r'unda* 'narudžba pića za cijelo društvo' (**Runde**), *šp'ilatij se* 'igrati se jednostavnih igara na sreću, npr. pismo-glava', *št'opatij* (**stopfen**) 'zaustavljati loptu', *št'op* 'sposobnost zaustavljanja lopte' (**stopfen**) (*D'obruęa št'opa ima.*); *št'opljin* (**stopfen**) 'čepić na kopačci', *št'uclijij* (**Stutzen**) 'štitić za listove na nozi nogometišta', *t'oncatij* 'plesati' (**tanzen**), *v'iža* 'arija' (srvnem. **wise**), *trumb'ienta* 'truba' (**Trompete**), *žv'egla* 'frula' (**Schwegel**)

- occupations: *h'antlar* 'pokućarac' (**handeln**), *m'olar* 'soboslikar' (**Maler**), *k'oršmit* 'veterinar' (**Kurschmied**), *p'ek* 'pekar' (**Bäcker**), *p'intar* 'bačvar' (**Binder**), *puļic'aj* (**Polizei**), *s'otler* 'sedlar' (**Sattler**), *šl'osar* 'bravar' (**Schlosser**), *št'olv'ortar* 'konjušar' (štala + **wärter**),

¹⁷ The phrase *b'itij zv'um fuča* 'biti izvan događaja' was also recorded.

štr'ĕkar 'radnik na pruzi' (**Strecke**), *t'išlar* 'stolar' (**Tischler**), *tr'ajbar* 'gonič stoke' (**Treiber**), *v'urm'uhar* 'urar' (**Uhrmacher**).

In more urban Kajkavian idioms, such as that of old Zagreb, Varaždin, Križevci, Karlovac, Osijek, etc. there are an even greater number of Germanisms, many of which have suppressed the already existing Slav(on)ic words, eg. *šprehati* 'govoriti' (**sprechen**), *ašnbeher* 'pepeljara' (**Aschenbecher**), *taubek* 'golub' (**Taube**), *fruštuk* 'doručak' (**Frühstück**), *beamter* 'službenik' (**Beamte**), *klangovati* 'naricati' (**klagen**), *henkar* 'krvnik' (**Henker**), *galge* 'vješala' (**Galgen**). Neki su vezani i za društveno ophođenje viših slojeva društva: *kistijant* (< **küss die Hand**), *pitšen* (< **bitte schön**), *haptak* < (**habt Acht**), *bubikopf* 'kratka ženska frizura sa šiškama' (**Bubi + Kopf**), *eklhafte* 'odvratna' (**ekelhaft**), *flajš mašina* 'stroj za mljevenje mesa', *gebis* 'zubalo' (**Gebuss**)¹⁸, *herclih* 'srdačno' (**herzlich**).

Hungarisms

There are not as many Hungarisms as there are Germanisms because the Croatian and Hungarian languages are both genetically and typologically very distant and attempts at Hungarianization of the population (which was strongest in Međimurje) have never produced significant results. In rural local idioms, the number of Hungarisms is far greater than in urban Kajkavian idioms. I will present the most important semantic fields covered by Hungarisms in the local dialects of Međimurje, where they are by far the most numerous, because Međimurje was part of Hungary for a long time and was only permanently annexed to Croatia as a part of Yugoslavia in 1945.

- plants: *pižma* (**pézsma**) 'kadulja', *g'acijuš* (**agáci**) 'bagrem', *hiťv'olen* (**hivtelen; hitvány** 'sramotan, nečastan; jadan') 'slabo razvijen, bolestan
- o plodu neke biljke' – suženje značenja.
- disease and human conditions: *b'ĕtek* 'bolest', *bet'ĕžen* 'bolestan', *betežn'ica* 'bolesnica', *betežn'ik* 'bolesnik', *betež'uvatj* 'bolovati' (sve od **beteg** 'bolestan'), *g'ingaf* (**gyöngé** 'slab, osjetljiv, nježan') 'teturav u hodu zbog iscrpljenosti od bolesti', *gymb'oc* (**gombóc** 'valjušak') 'čir na stražnjici koji se dobije uslijed lošeg držanja higijene; posebice je to bilo

¹⁸ In rural dialects the *zubalo* would simply be *z'qby* as pluralia tantum: *D'ny sy z'qbe v č'ašw*.

prije kad su ljudi često umjesto toaletnog papira upotrebljavali okomke od kukuruza – derogacija; *heřovati* (**henyél** ‘jenjavati, prestajati’) ‘jenjavati, prestajati – o fizičkoj boli’ – suženje značenja, *hıtv’olen* (**hivtelen; hitvány** ‘sramotan, nečastan; jadan’) ‘slabo razvijen, bolestan, i to od rođenja’ (v. biljke), *k’ehļa* (**keh** ‘kašalj’) ‘guša’, *k’ehļavec / k’ehļafka* (**keh** ‘kašalj’) ‘čovjek / žena koji boluje od guše’, *mar’oden* (**marodi** ‘boležljiv’)¹⁹ ‘iscrpljen od bolesti’, *p’ēlda* (**pēlda** ‘primjer; simbol; slika; kip’) ‘netko tko izgleda bolesno i iscrpljeno’, *v’eteš* (**vetés** ‘sjetva; usjev’) ‘ovulacija’ – proširenje značenja, *zbe’ēzati* (**beteg** ‘bolestan’) ‘oboljeti’

- numbers: *j’ezeru* (**ezer**) ‘tisuća’

- cart/car parts: *dr’ēk* ‘stranica kola’ (**derék**, stariji oblik **drék** ‘struk; stranica kola’)

- bearing/posture: *nažež’eren* (**gyönyöru** ‘radostan; živahan, junačan’) ‘žustar’, *nažež’eriti se* (**gyönyöru** ‘radostan; živahan, junačan’) ‘tijelom zauzeti prkosan stav’

- tobacco: *b’aga* (**bagó**) ‘duhan za žvakanje’, *ket’ēš* (**kötés** ‘zavežljaj; pletivo’) ‘mjera za duhan’

- speech: *ber’onduvati* (**bolond** ‘lud, budalast’) ‘ludo, besmisleno govoriti’; ‘govoriti bez stanke tako da nitko drugi ne može doći do riječi’ – smanjenje pejorativnosti, *čal’oren* (**csalárd** ‘varljiv’) ‘šutljiv, ali oštrog jezika kad progovori - o ženama’ – suženje značenja, *m(e)rg’otati*²⁰ (**morog**) ‘gundati, mrmljati; režati’

- food: *b’oci* (**gombóc** ‘valjušak’) ‘krpice od tijesta koje se stavljaju u juhu’, *čig’ēr* (**csiger** ‘loše vino’) ‘ocat napravljen od vina’, *fal’at* (**falat** ‘komad’), ‘komad nečeg jestivog’ – suženje značenja, *fal’atati* (**falat**) ‘komadati – o nečem jestivom’ – suženje značenja, *g’uļaş* (**gulyás** ‘tipično mađarsko jelo od govedine i krumpira koje su obično konzumirali čuvari stada’) ‘jelo od komadića mesa u umaku’, *gumb’oci* (**gombóc** ‘valjušak’) ‘okruglice od griza koje se stavljaju u juhu’ (v. bolest i ljudska stanja), *jes’ēnec* (**eszencia** ‘srž, bit; ekstrakt’) ‘vrsta jakog octa’, *t’uruš* (**túró** ‘svježi sir’) ‘sušeni sir s paprikom’

¹⁹ “Ung. *marodi* ‘krank’, *unpäslich* (seit 1706) aus dt. *marode* ‘müde, erschöpft’”, Hadrovics (1985): 352.

²⁰ “Ung. *morog*, *Prät. morgott* ‘murren, murmeln, brummen’, seit etwa 1372 belegt, *lautnachahmenden Ursprungs. Die lautgruppe -org- zeugt im Skr. für fremde Herkunft; bei morogatt ist ung. Herkunft ebenfalls klar.*” Hadrovics (1985): 367.

- play and fun: *b'oba* (**baba** 'dojenče; lutka') 'lutka', *č'igyš* (**csiga** 'kotur na zdencu') 'zvrk', *k'orčule* (**korcsolya**) 'klizaljke', *l'abyda* (**labda**) 'lopta'
- names: *Bal'oš* (**Balász**), *Ilka* (**Ilike**), *Jandr'oš* (**András**), *K'orči* / *K'aryl* (**Károly**), *Mih'ol* (**Mihály**), *Ž'ofa* (**Zsófia**)
- institutions: *ovuda* (**óvoda**) 'dječji vrtić'
- irony: *č'ēga* (**csiga** 'kotur na zdencu') 'nešto što je tako loše napravljeno da će se odmah srušiti'
- character traits: *čal'oren* (**csalárd** 'varljiv') 'podmukao i prijetvoran' (v. govor)
- house/home: *b'olta* (**bolta** 'svod; dućan') 'svod od opeke'
- relationships: *ald'uvatj* (**áld** 'žrtvovati') 'oprostiti nekome dug', , *b'otruviti* (**bátorit**) 'bodriti, hrabriti', *k'etuš* (**kettős** 'suradnik, drug') 'suradnik' (v. ponašanje – negativni oblici), *ket'ušiti se* (**kettős** 'suradnik; drug') – 'suradivati' (v. ponašanje – negativni oblici), *pajd'oš* (**pajtás** 'prijatelj') 'prijatelj'; 'drug, kolega (bez dublje intimne povezanosti)' – suženje značenja
- smell: *v'eteš* **vetés** 'sjetva; usjev') 'miris po vlazi u neprozračenoj prostoriji' (v. bolest i ljudska stanja)
- money: *jezer'ača* (**ezer** 'tisuća') 'novčanica od tisuću jedinica'
- clothes and shoes: *b'očkuri* (**bocskor** 'opanak') 'stare iznošene cipele koje su oblače isključivo za polje ili blato', *g'omp* (**gomb**) 'dugme', *kep'ēiek* (**köppönyeg**) 'vojnički plašt', *s'ora* (**szár** 'dugački, ravno stojeći dio raznih predmeta, biljki, odjeće...') 'gornji dio čizme'
- pejorative names for people: *b'itanga* (**bitang**), *č'oklavec* / *č'oklafka* (**csonk** 'ostatak nečeg živog što je nasilno odstranjeno; batrljak') 'nespretn čovjek / žena'; *dr'oteš* (**drótos**) 'čovjek niske inteligencije', *ž'enžeš* / *ž'enžika* (**gyöngy** 'biser') 'niski čovjek / žena', *f'ačuk* (**fattyú** 'bastard; vanbračno dijete') 'vanbračno dijete', *feres'ēga* (***falš** + Hung. sufiks **ság**) 'žena koja se smiješno ponaša – na granici maloumnosti', *fjšk'arijuš* (**fiskárius** 'odvjetnik') 'odvjetnik'; 'čovjek koji se razmeće učenošću' - derogacija, *kan'os* (**kanász** 'svinjar') 'krajnje siromašna i zaostala osoba' – derogacija, *t'olvaj* (**tolvaj** 'razbojnik, otimač') 'šaljivdžija i obješenjak' – poboljšanje značenja

- deceased: *c'intur* (**cintorom**) 'groblje', *vel'ęstuvatı* (**virraszt, verraszt** 'bdjeti; stražariti') 'bdjeti uz mrtvaca' (v. ponašanje – negativni oblici)
- behavior (negative forms): *hal'osıti* (**halászat** 'ribariti') 'krasti voće u tuđim vrtovima', *ket'uš* (**kettős** 'suradnik; drug') 'ortak; ljubavnik' – derogacija, *ket'ušiti se* (**kettős** 'suradnik; drug') 'suradivati u nekom sumnjivom poslu; održavati zabranjenu ljubavnu vezu' – derogacija, *l'opuf* (**lopó**) 'lopov', *vel'ęstuvatı* (**virraszt, verraszt** 'bdjeti; stražariti') 'negdje se predugo zadržavati' – derogacija
- superstition: *k'uta* (**kutya** 'pas') 'izmišljeno strašilo kojim se plaše djeca', *p'ęldıvatı* (**pęlda** 'primjer; simbol; slika; kip') 'raditi nešto opasno što će vrlo vjerojatno uroditi lošim posljedicama'
- *č'iga* (**csiga**) 'kotur na zdencu', *č'ipka* (**csipke**) 'čipka', *h'ęč* (**hegy** 'šiljak, vrh; gora, brdo') 'krčenica', *h'okıš / fokıš* (**fokos** 'sjekira; češagija; razmetljivac; vrsta čekića; palica starješine na svadbi') 'grubo obrađeni duguljasti komad drva za pomoć u hodanju koji imaju siromašni ljudi koji si ne mogu kupiti pravi štap za hodanje' - derogacija, *kl'orıš* (**kláris**) 'ogrlica', *k'opča* (**kapocs**) 'kopča', *t'ok* (**tok** 'futrola') 'futrola'; 'pernica za školu' – suženje značenja, *t'okıca* (**tok** 'futrola') 'futrola', *tıč'ęr* (**tölcsér**) 'lijevak'
- surnames: *Heged'uš* (**Hegedüs**), *Mar'odi* (**Marudi**), *Sab'ol* (**Szábó**)
- transport: *kıč'ija* (**kocsi** 'kola') 'kočija', *kıčij'os* (**kocsi** 'kola') 'kočijaš', *kıč'ika* (**kocsi** 'kola') 'kolica u kojoj majke voze najmanju djecu'
- nature: *f'orguf* (**forgó**) 'vir'
- kinship names: *j'apa* (**apa** 'otac') 'otac', *japıca* (**apa** 'otac') 'djed'
- technical terms: *c'ines* (**szín** 'boja') 'debela olovka u boji koju koriste stolari', *f'urek* (**furkó**) 'trupac', *kıpec* (**kép** 'slika; lice; obraz; vid') 'fotografija', *kırm'on / krm'on* (**kormány** 'kormilo, upravljač; vlada') 'volan'; 'upravljač bicikla' – suženje značenja, *kırm'onıti / krm'onıti* (**kormány** 'kormilo, upravljač; vlada') 'upravljati biciklom', *na'ęš* 'u obliku karike'
- body parts: *č'okeł* (**csáklya** 'čaklja') 'prst'; 'prst' (u pejorativnim iskazima), *č'onta* (**csont** 'kost') 'kost'; 'životinjska kost'

- cloth: *saga* (**szag** ‘vonj’) ‘tkanina koja je uslijed duge upotrebe toliko istrošena da se kroz nju vidi’²¹
- toponyms: *P’erlak* ‘Prelog’ (top.) (**Perlak**), *Š’imek* (**Sümeg**) ‘mjesto u Mađarskoj na Balatonu’
- the market/trade: *ajendek* (**ajándék** ‘dar, poklon’) ‘nagrada koja se daje nekome za pruženu pomoć u nekom poslu iako on nije tražio ništa’, *nar’oduš* (**ráadás**) – prilog koji se javlja samo u frazemu *dub’itij nar’oduš* ‘prilikom kupovine veće količine nečeg dobiti nešto badava’, *p’ijac* (**piac**) ‘tržnica’
- exclamations in interpersonal communication: *J’ezuš Kr’istuš!* (**Jézus Krisztus**), *t’eremt’ete* (**teremtette**) ‘uzvik blagog neodobravanja’
- fun and customs: *h’adnač* (**hadnagy** ‘poručnik’) ‘sudionik svatova koji poslije ponoći pleše ples *z’eje* kojim se provjerava da mladenka nije hroma’ – derogacija, *h’okuš / fokušš*²² (**fokos** ‘sjekira; češagija; razmetljivac; vrsta čekića; palica starješine na svadbi’) ‘palica starješine na svadbi’ (v. predmeti za svakodnevnu uporabu), *mej’arijuš* (**május** ‘svibanj’) ‘noćna zabava u šumi koja se organizirala u svibnju’, *Mijkl’oševy* (**Miklós**) ‘dan Svetog Nikole – u kontekstu običaja šibanja djece na taj dan’ – derogacija značenja, *Sv’eti Mijkl’oš* (**Miklós**) ‘Sveti Nikola – u kontekstu darivanja djece’, *šereg* (**sereg**) ‘svadbena povorka’
- occupations and human activities: *h’adnač* (**hadnagy** ‘poručnik’), *j’apatića* (**apáca**) ‘časna sestra’ (pej.), *kan’os* (**kanász**) ‘svinjar’ (v. ponašanja – negativni oblici), *k’iš b’iryf* (**kis biró** ‘činovnik nižeg ranga’) ‘seoski bubnjar’, *p’ek* (**pék** ‘pekar’) ‘pekar’, *p’ekuvica* (**pék** ‘pekar’) ‘pekarica’, *pleb’omuš* (**plébános** ‘župnik’) ‘svećenik’ *vad’os* (**vadász**) ‘lovac’
- animals: *c’ukan* (**cuki** - uzvik u značenju ‘na stranu’) ‘hipokoristični naziv za svinju’, *c’ukij* (**cuki** - uzvik u značenju ‘na stranu’) ‘uzvik za dozivanje svinja’, *č’ali* (**csálé** ‘ukoso, nakrivo’) ‘uzvik kojim se konjima i kravama naređuje da zaokrenu desno kad vuku kola’, *č’opur* (**csoport** ‘grupa, gomila’) ‘skupina životinja’, *g’ec* (**geci**) ‘sperma’, *h’eš* (**hess**)

²¹ The unusual shift in meaning was probably due to the fact that unpleasant odors spread more easily through worn-out and extremely worn-out clothing. For Pomurje Croats, this noun has the same meaning as the Hungarian model: *Imaš s’ogy*. ‘Smrdiš.’; *H’udy s’ogy ima t’o m’esu*. ‘To meso ima loš miris.’

²² The change *f > x* is frequent in Goričan and Prelog, eg. *l’exkij / l’efkij*, *m’exkij / m’efkij*, *žm’ehkij / žm’efkij*, *ž’oxkij / ž’ofkij*.

‘uzvik za tjeranje kokoši’, *h’oluf* (**háló** ‘mreža’) ‘mjesto u štali gdje se nanosi sijeno, a tek se onda po potrebi stavlja u jaslje’, *h’ujš* (**hús** ‘meso’) ‘uzvik za tjeranje svinja’, *keč’iga* (**kecsege**) ‘kečiga’, *kurta* (**kurta** ‘kratak’) ‘pas kratka repa’, *k’urtastı* (**kurta** ‘kratak’) ‘osobina onog koji ima kratak rep’, *l’iby*, *l’iby* (**liba** ‘guska’) ‘uzvik za dozivanje pataka i gusaka’; *š’orga* (**sárga** ‘žut’) ‘ime koje se obično nadijeva kravama crvenkaste boje koja naginje žutoj’, *t’ekyt* (**tetü**) ‘vrsta uši koja napada kokoši’.

Old Kajkavian vocabulary in contemporary local idioms is experiencing different semantic adaptations in order to survive alongside equivalents from the Croatian standard language. The survival of this vocabulary is also endangered by the fact that many aspects of the former way of life are disappearing. On the example of Germanisms and Hungarianisms, I will show how the old Kajkavian vocabulary is fighting for survival in the contemporary context. There are seven types of modern semantic adaptations by which the old lexicon seeks to survive and retain its functionality.

Derogation with narrowing of meaning

Geschäft: *š’eft*, *š’eftati*, *š’eftar*, *š’eftarka* - In older respondents, the meanings of these replicas are related to trade without negative connotations. In the case of younger respondents, the meanings have significantly derogated, and they are moving in the direction of gaining benefits in suspicious and infamous jobs: *N’išči s t’obum n’a m’el p’osla ‘ak n’ema š’efta*. ‘Nitko neće s tobom imati posla ako nema korist.’ *S’am gled’i k’ak bi š’eftal*. ‘Samo gleda kako bi stekao materijalnu korist.’ In the case of younger respondents, the meanings have significantly derogated, and they are moving in the direction of gaining benefits in suspicious and infamous jobs. The noun *b’ota* (**bot** ‘štap, batina’) in older respondents means ‘svaki duži okrugli komad drveta, bez obzira je li obrađen ili slučajno nađen u prirodi’. In younger respondents, this Hungarianism narrowed its meaning to ‘duži okrugli neobrađeni komad drveta slučajno nađen u prirodi’. The noun *št’ap* is used for a longer, round, processed piece of wood. Older people would say *H’oda z b’otum*. ‘Hoda sa štapom.’; *Z b’otum na r’it dyb’iš!* ‘Batinom ćeš dobiti po

stražnjici!', and younger people *H'oda s št'apum; S št'apum te pu r'iti na! uplem!* The respondents do not use the noun *batina*.

Derogation with extension of meaning

Jungfrau: *j'unfer* - In the football terminology of village boys, the meaning of this noun has expanded from the noun 'djevac' (*on ti je du kr'aja živ'ota b'il j'unfer.*) and 'djevičnjak' (*Sk'inu! j' je junfera.*) na 'gol dobiven kroz noge': *G'olman je d'obil j'unfera; Nap'eđal mu je j'unfera.*

- *č'iga (csiga)* 'kotur na zdencu'; *č'ēga* 'nešto tako loše napravljeno da će se odmah srušiti' The pejorization of the *č'iga* was accomplished by change *i* > 'ē.²³ This new form is confirmed in the phrase *č'ēge d'ēla* 'ironični komentar nekome tko slaže nešto za što je vidljivo da će se srušiti - uludo gubiti vrijeme'. This phrase is also used by younger respondents.

Derogation without narrowing and extending meaning

werkstatt: *v'ēstet* - The noun *v'ēstet* is no longer used for a real workshop, but for an inconspicuous corner of the household where tools are being kept and minor repairs are performed (PO). **Speck:** *šp'ēk / šp'ēh* - *Slanina* has still not suppressed the Germanism *šp'ēk*, but pejorization is evident in the optional form *šp'ēh* with the consonant *h* in place of *k*. Respondents only use this form when mockingly saying that someone is very fat: *K'akvuga šp'ēha 'ima t'ō ž'ēna*. When it comes to food, only the form with *k* is confirmed: *T'ē šp'ēk je j'ōku finij za j'ēstij*. The optional replacement of *k* with *h* probably occurred due to the amplification of the onomatopoeic oscillation.

- *j'apatīca (apáca* 'časna sestra') - In a positive and neutral context, an adjective referring to a noun will be used: *č'asna*. The Hungarism *j'apatīca* is exclusively used today in a negative context: *D'išla je med j'apatīce*. 'Otišla je u samostan' (the respondent reacted negatively to a specific example); *Drži se k'aj j'apatīca*. (a phrase meaning 'pravi se poštena, a nije'), *V'ēč i j'apatīce v'oziju 'auta*. (automobili se ispitaniku čine nečim neprikladnim za povučeni život redovnica).

²³ In the speech of Goričans, there are several other pairs of similar lexemes that differ in phonemes and *i* / 'III: *v'inec* 'pogrebni vijenac' / *v'III nec* 'ukrasni vijenac u sve druge svrhe osim pogrebne'; *t'iraty* 'tjerati' / *t'III rjaty* 'utjerivati dugove'.

Amelioration with the extension of meaning

Fremde²⁴: *fr'ent, fr'entatiĵ, fr'entar, fr'entarica* from (Fremde) - The meaning of these replicas is related to the wandering and vagabonding of people from the fringes of society. Younger respondents only use it in the context of school: 'neopravdano izostajati s nastave' (*Fr'entaliĵ smu s št'rtuga s'ata*. 'Pobjegli smo s četvrtog sata.'). The noun *fr'ent* is also used in an almost negligible negative sense: *Iti vu fr'ent*, for example, does not mean wandering aimlessly but simply going to neighbor's place for coffee.

- *hĭtv'ĝlen (hivtelen; hitvány* 'sraman, neĉastan; jadan')²⁵ – Hadrovics says that this adjective is only recorded in the Croatian language by Pergošić, in the sense of moral corruption (*na steguvanje i pokaranje hudih diel hitválnih ljudi* Perg 21), and this meaning is also confirmed in the idioms of Pomurje Croats. Older respondents from Goričan did not confirm usage in the context of moral depravity but only poor physical development in humans, animals, and plants (*Hĭtv'ĝlna d'eĉa su se skr'ivala v h'iĵi*. 'Bolesna su se djeca sakrivala u kući.' – Misli se na djecu s osobitim potrebama od rođenja; 'Ak je t'eĉe b'ily hĭtv'ĝlnu, pr'odalĵ smu ga. 'Ako je tele bilo bolesno od rođenja, prodali smo ga. '; 'Ak su se n'e'p'ubr'ale zl'atice, kalamp'ĉer je b'iy hĭtv'ĝlen. 'Ako se nisu pokupile krumpirove zlatice, krumpir je bio vrlo sitan.'). For younger respondents, this adjective is limited to agricultural contexts.

Amelioration without narrowing and expanding the meaning

sofort: *c'ofuĵt* (PR) / *c'afuĵt* (PO, ŠT) - This form of command is also only used today to communicate with children, i. e. to gently push or hasten them in a manner that resembles babbling: *C'ofuĵt d'imu! D'ost se se iĝr'alij*. 'Odmah idite kući! Dosta se igrali!' In the past, this form of command was used for stricter orders as well as communication with children.

²⁴ "The appropriate noun *Fremde*, *sravnj. vrem(e)de* meant 'udaljenost, razdvojenost, neprijateljstvo; tuđa zemlja' **R. fremt** (putovanje mladoga, tek izučenoga kalfe u druga mjesta da bi stekao iskustva i prakse)" Piškorec (2001: 239).

²⁵ "Entweder ung. *hivtelen* 'untreu', *Wie is Kadlec deutet, oder hitvány* 1. 'mager, schwächlich, schlecht, erbärmlich, fehlbar'; 2. 'böse, niederträchtig'. wegen Mangels an anderen Belegen beide Deutungen unsicher" Hadrovics 1985: 265.

- *ber'onduyati* (**bolond** 'lud, budalast') - This verb is derived from the Hungarian adjective and noun *bolond*, which is of Slav(on)ic origin.²⁶ Younger respondents use it to mean 'govoriti bez stanke' (*St'olnu je ber'onduyala ka sam n'ĕ m'ogla d'ojti du r'ĕĉi.*). This constitutes a decrease in pejorativeness from the verb's meanings in Hungarian and the confirmed usage of older respondents, which describe the madness and meaninglessness of what is being said. Secondary *r* as an enhancer of onomatopoeia also exists in this verb in Prelog, while in the middle subdialect (eg. Podturen, Vratišinec) there is a more common form that preserves the root from the Hungarian language: *buj'onduyati*.

- *šč'apiti* (**csap** 'udariti') - In older respondents *šč'apiti* and *vudr'iti* are synonyms (*M'orau si fejest šč'apiti pu dr'ĕvi ka se rask'olila.*). In younger respondents the verb *šč'apiti* still means 'udariti', but very mildly, and in a more humorous context (*Šč'apila sam ga pu r'okj duk me št'eu p'etati.* 'Udarila sam ga po ruci kad me htio dirati. '; *Šč'apiju ih je kleh'oiĉum duk su ga s'rdili.* 'Udarilo ih je štapom kad su ga ljutili.'). For hitting 'seriously' the verb *vudr'iti* is used.

Narrowing of meaning without derogation or amelioration

Schweis: *šv'ic, šv'icati, zašv'icati, prešv'icati* - Replicas from the **Schweis** model have narrowed their meaning to sweating due to illness: *Šv'ic me pr'ijal i 'unda je vruĉ'ina p'ola.* 'Kad sam se oznojio, temperatura je pala. '; *Idi v p'osteļu ka zašv'icaš.* 'Idi u krevet da se preznojiš. ' *D'obru šv'icam pak mi v'ĕ b'ō b'ōle.* 'Dobro se znojim pa će mi sada biti bolje. ' For the meaning of sweat from hard work or heat, the Croatian lexeme *zn'oj* suppressed the Germanism *šv'ic*: *S'ĕ me zn'oj t'ira k'ak fejest d'ĕlam.* 'Obljeva me znoj od naporna rada'. The oldest respondents do not use the verb to sweat but the phrase *b'iti m'oker. V'ēs sam m'oker k'ak fejest d'ĕlam.* 'Sav sam mokar od naporna posla. '

-*heĭ'ovati* (**henyél** 'jenjavati') – The meaning of the verb 'jenjavati,' which was once used in all contexts (*Sn'ĕk hen'ovle; P'osle r'ata je b'iu v'elĉi gl'ot, a 'unda je pum'alij 'ipak heĭoval.*'), was narrowed to the

²⁶ "Ung. *bolond* 'verrückt, närrisch, Narr'; -; als substantiv 'Narr', seit etwa 1372 belegt, als Adjektiv 'närrisch, unvernünftig' seit 1381. *Slawisches Lehnwort < blpd.*" Hadrovics (1985): 152-53.

abatement of only physical pain: *Z'op pum'alij hej'ovle*. 'Zubobolja polako prestaje.'; *Gl'ova hej'ovle*. 'Prestaje glavobolja.'

Extension of meaning without derogation or amelioration

fest: *f'ejst* - The German adjective and adverb was adapted in MD also like an adjective and adverb. The meaning of the indeclinable adjective expanded from 'čvrst, tvrd' to 'poželjan' (*F'ejst p'ucu ima.*), 'privlačan' (*T'op je f'ejst ž'ena.*), 'jače tjelesne građe' (*Pr'ëveč sij f'ejst. M'oral bi zmrš'aveti.* 'Predebeo si. Morao bi smršavjeti.') i 'kvalitetan' (*F'ejst sij je 'alta k'upil.*). The meaning of the replica, which is an adverb, extended to 'mnogo': *F'ejst se vuč'i. F'ejst sl'uži.* 'Mnogo zarađuje.'

-h'oluf (háló 'mreža') - In the idiom of the Goričans, *h'oluf* is the place in the barn where hay is kept before being placed, if necessary, in a manger: *Dn'esi s'ĕnu f h'oluf. Kr'ave su l'očne.* 'Odnesi sijeno u spremnik. Krave su gladne.' In Serdahelj, the meaning from the Hungarian language is confirmed: *Z v'elkim h'olufum hal'osi r'ibe.* 'S velikom mrežom lovi ribe.' There is large number of indeclinable adjectives borrowed from the German language. These are all mostly unadapted replicas, eg. 'ajnc 'a 'savršeno; savršen' (**eins**), *d'uplit* 'dvostruk' (*D'uplit p'eneze je zasl'užil.*) (**doppelt**), *f'al* 'jeftin' (*F'al c'ipele sam sij k'upila..*) (**feil**), *f'ejst* 'čvrst; naočit' (*F'ejst ž'enu ima; F'ejst d'ĕla.*) (**fest**), *gl'ot* 'jednobožno; bez šara' (*Pl'otnu je na gl'ot.*) (**glatt**), *gl'at* 'ravan – o kosi' (*Ima gl'at l'osi.*) (**glatt**), *k'ek* 'ponosit, uznosit (pejor.)' (**keck**), *n'ajgerik* 'radoznao' (**neu + gierig**), *pas'ent* 'pogodan, što dobro pristaje' (**passend**) (*Na n'oj je s'ĕ b'ilij pas'ent.*), *šl'ank* 'mršav' (**schlang**), *z'ither* 'siguran' (**sicher**). The replica *h'aklik* (**heikel**) was also unadapted, although the ending from the model was replaced by another ending of German origin.

Pseudoanalogonymy²⁷

Contemporary research into pseudo-analogonymy ('false friends') between Kajkavian local dialects, and between individual Kajkavian

²⁷ In most European languages, the term 'false friends' is common, while the term 'pseudoanalogonymy' is used by German linguists Karlheinz Hengst and Daniel Bunčić. In this paper, I use both names because I believe that both are necessary for precise expression in scientific discourse: I call the phenomenon pseudoanalogonymy, and the examples "false friends."

dialects and the Croatian standard language, is also important.²⁸ This phenomenon in Croatian linguistics has so far been investigated in several short papers where it is exemplified in pairs with one word from the Croatian standard language and another from another standard language, most often in the context of translation errors.

The application of the results of such research (especially small dictionaries of ‘false friends’) within the Croatian language is also valuable in Croatian language teaching as there are numerous interferences in the colloquial language, of which the following stand out: a) between standard language and local speech b) between standard language and interdialects c) between different local dialects. In such interferences, situations constantly arise where a misunderstanding is possible, especially where a poor connoisseur of a system thinks that in translation from one system to another it is always sufficient to make only a phonological and morphological adaptation. Such a poor connoisseur of a language system mistakenly generalizes this partial equivalence as equivalence on all or most levels. There are many misunderstandings in daily communication among speakers of most Kajkavian local dialects, especially the less educated whose knowledge of the standard language is not particularly good.

Since such research involves large number of diverse phonological systems, it is quite understandable that before such research a list of compromises should be made in which it would be defined what differences between the two systems compared can be ignored, and that similar words be classified as ‘false friends.’ The main criterion in determining the compromise in most cases are phonological and morphological adjustments which, when translating from their local dialect to standard, work or are quite realistically assumed to be working by speakers of a Kajkavian local dialect.

The appearance of pairs of ‘false friends’ occurred for the following reasons:

a) One of the pairs gained another meaning in the dialect through semantic adaptation, eg.

²⁸ This research was initiated by the author of this text, while the methodology and some results were presented in Blažeka (2012; 2014).

b'ogati *impf.* *slušati*. ★ D'ęca sų b'ogala 'oca i m'ater. D'ęlala sų s'ę k'aj sų ijm řud'itelj r'ęklj. ud m'aluga sų ijh pri'v'oučalj na d'ęlų. //

b'ogati *impf.* *brinuti se o kome*. ★ Št'õ vas b'õ b'õgal duk bųte st'õri!

b) One of the pairs is a loanword from non-Slav(on)ic languages that coincides phonologically with another word, eg. *p'ucati* (Gmn. putzen) does not mean 1. 'kršiti se, lomiti se' 2. 'gađati iz vatrenog oružja' 3. 'udarati loptom' but 'čistiti'; *b'õba* (Hung. **baba** 'lutka') does not mean 1. 'stara žena' 2. 'očeva ili materina majka' but 'lutka'; *j'ęzerų* (Hung. **ezer**) does not mean 'prirodna ili umjetna udolina na kopnu u kojoj je voda stajaćica bez veze s morem' but 'tisuća'.

c) Both pairs are borrowed from non-Slav(on)ic languages, and one of the pair has a special semantic adaptation, eg. *inkviž'itur* does not mean 'član inkvizicijskog suda' but 'policijski istražitelj', *p'õstųr* does not mean 'protestantski župnik' but 'čuvar vinograda'.

P'uška is not a firearm or a hunting weapon in the Upper Međimurje dialects but a small bouquet of flowers carried to church on Palm Sunday. (*Na Cvetn'icų n'esemy p'uškų na pųsv'ečaće, a duk d'ęmų d'imų, se prekr'ižimų i h'itimų jų na kr'of.*)

d) A pair from Kajkavian has or had 'true friends' in other languages, often Slav(on)ic ones, but their counterparts in the standard language do not have them, eg. *d'ęlų* does not mean 'rezultat ili proizvod rada' but 'posao (ali ne kao stalno zanimanje)'; *k'õzati* does not mean 'izraziti riječima' but 'pokazivati'; *nar'ugati se* does not mean 'izvrgnuti ruglu' but 'nabrati se, zgužvati se – o tkanini'.

e) The similarity was due to different phonological changes that occurred at different stages of the development of individual idioms (loss and transition of phonemes, obtaining a prosthesis, abolition of contrariety between *č* and *ć*, different reflexes of individual vowels, consonants, and consonant groups from the Proto-Slav(on)ic, eg. *gran'at* 'granata' – *grānāt* 'mineral tamnocrvene boje', *j'užina* 'užina' – *jūžina* 'jugovina'; *per'ika* 'vrsta korova' – *pērika* 'umjetna kosa', *v'uča* 'ujak' – *vūča* 'vučenje, tegljenje', *gr'õja* 'ograda' – *grāja* 'izmiješani glasovi i povici veće skupine ljudi', *m'odri* 'mudar' – *mõdar* 'koji je boje vedrog neba', *kl'opka* 'klupko' – *klõpka* 'stupica, zamka', *v'õščiti* 'hlepeti za nečim' – *võštiti* 'premazivati voskom'). ***l'išta*** (Serdahelj) 'popis' (*Na l'ištj mį je nap'isanų k'aj m'õram k'upiti.*) // ***l'išta*** (Prelog) 'daska ispod prozora' (*Na l'ištj 'imam dv'ę v'aze.*) ***m:ajga*** (Gola) 'grane zabodene u zemlju

koje označuju granicu dopuštene ispaše stoke' (*Vid:iš da je zapič'ena m:ajga, t:u ne sm:ješ na p'ašu.*) // **m'ojga** 'majsko drvo' (*Za P'rvij m'aj su nav'čk d'elj m'ojgu i fl'ašu n'o'ny.*)

f) By transphonemization of the *a-*, *e-* and *o-*vowels according to the pattern of the standard language, the word from the Kajkavian local idiom became similar to a word in the standard, eg. *m'omjca* is not hypocoristic for 'mama' but 'nesvjestica, obamrlost'; *st'ęčj* does not mean 'vlastitim radom privrijediti' but 'izaći tekući', *k'oštati* does not mean 1. 'imati trgovačku cijenu' 2. 'imati troškove, štetu, loše posljedice' but 'probati'.

g) Different words from two comparable systems are formed through the same creative means that have different meanings, eg. *prev'idetj* does not mean 'propustiti zbog nedovoljne pažnje' but 'uvidjeti'; *pij'onka* is not 'zabava na kojoj se opija' but 'žena koja se opija'.

h) One pair is of onomatopoeic origin and coincides with a word from another system, eg. *t'utkatj* in Mursko Središće does not mean 'lijepiti posebnim ljepilom dobivenim od životinja' but 'piti iz boce (pej.)'. In Prelog the verb *cvuk'otati* has the common meaning (*Dv'č v'ure sam cvuk'otal na z'imj.*), but in Mursko Središće it unexpectedly means 'cvrkutati' (*Na dr'ęvj l'ępy cvuk'očęju ft'ičj.*). I have noted several interesting instances of enantiosemy between pairs. The meaning of these in some idioms (not the whole dialect!) went in opposite directions: *lag'ođen* 'nekvalitetan' (Kotoriba, Mursko Središće) (*H'itj fkr'aj t'o lag'odny kыр'uzu.*) – *lagodan* 'koji se odvija bez poteškoća' *sp'ornu* 'brzo' (Cirkovljan, Štrigova) (*V'iš k'ak sp'ornu d'čla. j t'i bj t'ak m'oral.*) – *spôrno* 'na sporan način, dvojbeno'

The next two examples are partial enantiosemy because both meanings coexist in the same speech: the 'normal' and the opposite. *z r'oke* 'pogodno' (*M'om p'em puđl'ędatj m'amjcy. T'o mj je r'on z r'oke đuk p'em v štac'un.*) – *z roke* 'nepogodno' (*Z r'oke mj je d'ęnes d'ojtj k t'ej. P'unu p'osla 'imam.*) (Sveti Đurđ) *od kr'aja* 'od početka' (*K'opaj ud kr'aja. 'Kopaj od početka.'*; *M'om je ud kr'aja b'il n'ori.* 'Odmah od početka bio je lud.') – *otkraja* 'od kraja' (recorded in most of the Kajkavian dialect).

The semantic gender pair *m'oček* – *m'očka* is interesting. This refers to *felis catus*, 'a domesticated beast from a subfamily of real cats that is kept in the house for hunting mice or as a pet.' While *mačka* is the

sexually unmarked of the pair in the standard language, and *mačak* a sexually mature, adult male, it is the other way around in most Kajkavian dialects: *m'oček* is the term for a sexually unmarked animal, and *m'očka* is a sexually mature, adult female (*M'očki jī h'odaju pu kuhinji i n'ikaj jī ne sm'eta*. 'Mačke joj hodaju po kuhinji i to joj ništa ne smeta. '; *P'ok m'očka 'ima ml'ode*. 'Opet mačka ima mlade.'). Therefore, *m'oček* and *mačka* are 'false friends'.

The future of research on the Kajkavian lexicon

When we talk about Kajkavian lexicography, we should first mention the *Rječnik hrvatskoga kajkavskoga književnog jezika* (RHKKJ), which deals with and presents the linguistic wealth of the Kajkavian literary language, which was the common literary language of the northwestern part of Croatia from the 16th to the middle of the 19th century, with Zagreb as the main political and cultural centre. The idea of making RHKKJ dates back to the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts of the 1930s, because the selection of material for the Academy's Large Dictionary included Štokavian and Čakavian written sources but not Kajkavian ones. The project is currently being carried out by the Institute of the Croatian Language and Linguistics. Fourteen volumes have been published so far (the most recent one ends with an entry for SEĽANEC). Kajkavian lexicography has been experiencing a renaissance over the last fifteen years. There are many amateurs who spend their whole lives collecting vocabulary. They leave their data's processing to linguists and publish the work jointly.²⁹ Fewer and fewer amateurs publish their material in a simple *word-meaning* format. The ideal situation is when an experienced scholar publishes a dictionary of his native local language.³⁰

²⁹Apart from this dictionary, Večenaj & Lončarić (1997); Belović & Blažek (2009); Blažeka, Nyomárkay, Rác (2009); Maresić & Miholek (2011) are also good examples of such cooperation. Blažeka & Rob (2014). Lipljin's *Rječnik varaždinskoga kajkavskog govora* (Lipljin 2002) also falls into this category because Mijo Lončarić provided great professional assistance in the development of this valuable dictionary, although he is not listed as a co-author professional assistance in the development of this valuable dictionary, although he is not listed as a co-author.

³⁰ Blažeka (2018).

There is a large number or body of completely original words in each idiom characterized by a different formation, special phonological feature or special nuance of meaning in related words in territorially and linguistically close idioms. Creating a complete scientific dictionary of a local idiom is a large and time-consuming task often associated with very real difficulties, such as finding funding to publish. Even when the resources to publish are found, the subsequent sale of the book is also difficult, for apart from the narrow scholarly and academic community the only potential ‘consumers’ are speakers of that local dialect, and most villages today are made up of elderly households. Therefore, in cases when a more extensive scientific dictionary of a local dialect has already been published, and more material has been collected from a relatively similar local idiom, a dictionary of differences, omitting those words that do not differ in any relevant way from identical words in the ‘main’ dictionary, would be more appropriate. In Blažeka 2013 I proposed a methodology for researching such lexical differences between individual local idioms.

a) Counterparts are formed by different creative means.

glāž’or m staklar. ★ D’ęca sų pųt’rla gl’aš z l’optųm. M’oram ‘itų glāž’orų. M’oram ‘itų glāž’orų. // **gl’ajžek m**
‘orel m orao. // ‘orlųn m

b) A phonological change has occurred in one word of the pair: the loss, transition, metathesis, or appearance of a secondary phoneme. // In the second word there is no vocal change, loss, or transition of phonemes as in the first word, or the same phonological change did not occur as in the first.

c’ęler m celer. // **z’ęler m**

f’ahman m JARG. stručnjak. ★ ‘On je pr’ovų f’ahman za str’ujų. // **f’akman m**

c) The counterparts are lexemes that are onomatopaeic with the same meaning but a different mode of expression.

šk’rmļatų impf. glasno mrviti hranu. ★ N’ęj t’ak šk’rmļatų zųbm’i! // **ž’qumbati impf.**

šl’ojdratų impf. teškom mukom probijati se kroz šljunak - o kotaču.

★ Kųt’oč šl’ojdra v š’udrų. // **žl’ojdratų impf.**

d) One lexeme is used in one local idiom and another in another local idiom but with the same meaning.

bat'iga *f* *klatno na zvonu*. ★ Bat'iga f'ejst t'očē. // **c'amel** *m* ★ Zd'igni c'amle na v'urj. Du kr'aja su sp'ušč'enj. Nav'inj v'uru.

f'erije *f pl. t. školski praznici*. ★ D'a vam p'očnu f'erije? // **ž'omen** *m* ★ D'ejca se f'est vesel'iju ž'omenu , 'unda se pu c'ēle dn'eve mor'eju įgr'atj.

e) The counterparts are in a relationship of partial or complete pseudoanalogonymy, that is, they are “false friends”.

k'urta *f onaj koji je bez repa - u* □ b'itj hm'oni k'aj k'urta // **k'urta** *f seoska zabava*. ★ Več'er na f'ašenk se 'išlj K'ašekj na k'urtu. Pl'esalu se du p'oul n'očj, a unda je p'očela k'ur'izma.

It would therefore be easier to follow the spreading and prevalence of various linguistic phenomena in the field of semantics and word formation, and not just the well-known linguistic isoglosses that mainly relate to phonology. I believe that this method will spread among younger dialectologists for these are the last moments for such research given the declining numbers of ideal respondents from the pre-information age.

The current situation and perspectives

Most descriptions of Kajkavian idioms still cited in the dialectological literature as a synchronic fact will very quickly become linguistic diachrony. There are fewer and fewer native speakers who would fully confirm the described situation, and there would soon be none left to survey. Even twenty years ago, when I started researching Kajkavian local dialects intensively, it was hard to find reliable respondents according to the criteria of scientific dialectology. Most respondents show signs of the process of speech erosion cited by Hagège, loss of essential differences that make up the most specific aspects of phonology, strong reduction of variations between forms, loss of recessive features; reduction of stylistic registers; forgetting procedures to intensify meaning, permanent fluctuation from phoneme to phoneme, from form to form; negotiated address, absence of transmission, etc.³¹ Respondents are largely unaware of these changes and are mostly still

³¹ Hagège (2005): 85-93.

convinced that they speak the original Kajkavian rather than an interdialect in which most of the specific features of their local dialects are reduced. What is encouraging about Kajkavian dialects is the fact that respondents have significantly reduced the association of Kajkavian with peasant life and the past, and so the process of losing prestige to the standard language has been halted. This is because there are almost no more farmers living and making a living the old-fashioned way, and so there is no danger of anyone being identified with them. I remember that boys in my twenties as a rule would switch to the standard language in conversations with 'city girls' to leave the best impression possible. Today, this tendency is significantly weaker.

There will be no ideal respondents in the foreseeable future according to the criteria of scientific dialectology. Dialectologists will then have to switch to intensive research into the colloquial language of respondents of different age and social groups in different speech situations.³² Dialectology will very soon have to replace the genetic-linguistic approach to local speech with a sociolinguistic approach. The 'solid parts' of the speech of most of today's speakers of the Kajkavian dialect are mainly those features that are common to most of the speeches. The influence of the standard language can be seen in many aspects (realization of phonemes - loss of openness, closedness and diphthongization; the return of consonants *lj* and *nj* in consonant inventories; the loss of prosthetic consonants; the muting of consonants at the ends of words; the loss of the sequence *rj* in the place of the Proto-Slav(on)ic palatal *ṛ*; the loss of suffix diversity for DLI plurals in noun declensions and standard language syncretism; the supine is increasingly equated with the infinitive, the formula for expressing respect with 3rd p. pl. is lost in favour of 2nd p. pl.; the possessive adjective is much better attested than the preposition *od* with the possessive genitive, etc. Language traits that are characteristic of their speech only, or groups of speech, are resolutely sacrificed by young people. One of the oldest such

³² One of my forthcoming studies will be dedicated to the Kajkavian language of Croatian emigrants in Melbourne, Sydney, and Canberra. These are interesting individual mixtures of English, Kajkavian and the Croatian standard language. It is clear that such depictions cannot be made by the methodology of classical dialectological research, and the results of such research should not be highlighted as being part of any solid system.

adaptations is the transition of *-u* to *-l* as a suffix for masculine active past participles. Back in the 1990s, I encountered speakers of many Kajkavian idioms who remembered that suffix, but today it has almost without exception been replaced by *-l*. Such an interdialect has a very high degree of communicativeness and will be maintained for a long time to come. And there is a great possibility in such an idiom for combining different means of expression from local idioms with elements of the standard language. This, therefore, provides a wide range of expressive means of communication. Unlike younger speakers who combine elements of Kajkavian local dialects and standard language for the sake of expressiveness, older speakers for this purpose mix elements of older and younger speech in Kajkavian local dialects, especially with respect to vocabulary. I strongly believe that final result of these processes will not be the ‘death’ of the Kajkavian dialect, however, but rather the disappearance of specific features of individual groups and local dialects with permanently preserved ‘solid parts’.³³

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³³ I wrote about this in detail in Blažeka (2008) on the example of the Međimurje interdialect.

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Sažetak

U prvom dijelu rada daju se temeljni podatci o genezi, rasprostiranju i podjeli kajkavskog narječja. Nakon toga se prikazuju najtipičnije jezične osobine kajkavskih govora na fonološkoj, morfološkoj i sintaktičkoj razini. Drugi dio rada govori o kajkavskom leksiku, njegovu podrijetlu i suvremenom stanju u interferenciji s hrvatskim standardnim jezikom (pseudoanalogonimija, najnovije semantičke adaptacije) te najnovijim trendovima u njegovu istraživanju (kajkavska dijalektna leksilologija, izrada razlikovnih rječnika). Zaključuje se da kajkavsko narječje neće doživjeti svoj nestanak, već će nestati specifičnosti pojedinih skupina i mjesnih govora s trajno očuvanim „čvrstim dijelovima”.