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ON THE PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES OF TWO TUROPOLJE SPEECHES

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Abstract

*Two Turopolje speeches by two senior officials of the Turopolje Municipal Assembly spoken on May 6, 1790 were first published by Velimir Deželić in the Vjesnik Kr. Hrvatsko slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskog arkiva for the year 1914. Two Turopolje speeches were written in the Kajkavian Croatian literary language, which is infrequently infiltrated by the phonological features of the Stokavian and Chakavian Croatian literary language. At the phonological level these are: ə reflex > a, *d' reflex > đ, change vs > sv. From the Kajkavian dialectisms that did not enter the Kajkavian Croatian literary language as a whole and throughout its duration, the change o > e stands out.*

Keywords: *Velimir Deželić; Turopolje; Kajkavian literary language; phonology; morphology.*

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Introduction

Two Turopolje speeches by two senior officials of the Turopolje Municipal Assembly spoken on May 6, 1790 were first published by Velimir Deželić in the *Vjesnik Kr. Hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskog arhiva* for the year 1914. The President of the Assembly was Đuro Pogledić and numerous Turopolje noblemen were present. On that occasion, the Assembly was opened by commissar Pogledić with a resolute and ardent speech, and also continued by the vice-commissar. We don't know who was the vice-commissar at the time from the text itself. Deželić said he published them for great interest, but also pointed out their historical value in knowing the views of Croatian noblemen of that time. For historians, speeches which are preserved in the Croatian language at that time deserve the attention of Croatian historians, and especially those interested in the era of Josephine absolutism and the opinion of Croats of that time (Deželić 1914: 303).

I cite examples by the state of the original. I think for the sake of better comprehension of the text it is necessary to make a brief relationship between the grapheme and the phoneme. I don't list all relationships, but only those where the text is difficult to understand. I list the phonemes inside the oblique brackets:

- a) one-graphic relationship: c /k/, s /š, ž/, y /i, j/, z /s, z/, x /ks/;
- b) two-graphic relationship: ch /č, h/, cz /c/, dy /đ/, ff /f/, ll /l/, ly /l/, ny /ń/, ss /s, š/, sz /s, z/, th /t/, tt /t/;
- c) three-graphic relationship: sch /šč/.

The C mark indicates the Commissar's speech and the V mark the Vice-Commissar's speech.

1. Phonological features

Since it is a Kajkavian text, it is a regular $\text{ɔ reflex} > e$. There are a number of examples in the text for the above phenomenon. Here are just a few examples: *dovezda* (V), *keszno* (C), *lehko* (C), *poleg* (V), *preseztna* (C), *szrechen* (C), *vezda* (C, V) etc. Secondary $\text{ɔ} > e$ is also represented, e.g. *szem* (C).

$\text{ɔ reflex} > a$ is confirmed in the noun *dan* and its derivatives, e.g. *dan* (C), *danassni* (C), *danassnyem* (C), *danassnyi* (C). $\text{ɔ reflex} > a$ is a feature of the Stokavian and Chakavian literary languages (Lukežić 2012: 137).

The noun *imet(ela)k* confirms both reflexes in the commissar's speech, e.g. *imetek* (C, V), *imetak* (C).

*Ě reflex > e, which is predominant, is affirmed in the prefix, e.g. *preszvetloga* (C), root, e.g. *decza* (C), *delniki* (C), *letta* (C), *mezto* (C), *tela* (V), *treba* (V), *vredna* (V), and suffix, e.g. *hoteli* (V), *videli* (V), *videti* (C), *siveli* (C, V), *vszeh* (C).

*Ě reflex > i and is affirmed in the prefix of the negative present tense of the verb *to be*, e.g. *niszmo* (V), the root of the verb *tirati*, e.g. *pretirani* (C), and in the suffix, e.g. *predi* (C), *vszih* (C), *vszigda* (V). In the Commissioner's speech, both reflexes are possible in the example *vsěh*.

*Ě reflex > e, e.g. *deszet* (C, V), *jezik* (V), *prijeti* (C), *red* (C), *szedechu* (C).

The syllabic *l* > u, e.g. *dugovanye* (C), *szusze* (C), *subke* (C); *Bratju* (C), *budemo* (C), *dojducha* (V), *Goszpodu* (C), *jessu* (C), *odkuda* (C), *put* (C, V).

The syllabic *r* is regularly referred to as *er*, e.g. *dersanye* (V), *kerv* (C), *pervich* (V), *preterpeli* (C), *szkerbeti* (C), *terplivnoszt* (C).

In the text we find only non-contracted pronoun forms, e.g. *koja* (C, V), *koje* (V), *kojega* (C), *kojem* (C), *kojemi* (C), *koy* (C), *koji* (C, V), *kojih* (C), *koju* (C), *mojega* (C), *nekoji* (C).

Of the vowel changes it is worth noting the change *i* > e, e.g. *officere* (V), *revererati* (C); *o* > u, e.g. *kulikeh* (C), *tulika* (C), *tuliko* (C), *veruvanya* (V); *o* > e, e.g. *prelejati* (C), but: *prokletoga* (C). Change *o* > e is Kajkavian dialectism, so it didn't enter the Kajkavian literary language (Šojat 2009: 11).

In the text I find frequent confirmations for losing a vowel in the final syllable of a word, e.g. *kak* (C, V), *prav* (C), *szim* (C), *tak* (C, V), *tam* (C). In the example *pako* (C, V), the final -o is preserved, but there is one example where it is lost: *pak* (V). In the example *podnassat morali* (C), the final -i in the infinitive is lost in the case when it is clearly not a supine.

In the possessive pronoun *nyegvo meszto* (V) is lost *o* of the suffix -ov.

*t` reflex > č (in the letter ch), e.g. *dojducha* (V), *dojduche* (V), *izrechi* (C), *mochi* (C), *plachanyu* (C), *szrechen* (C).

*d` reflex > đ (in letter dy), e.g. *rodyeni* (C), *nahadya* (C), *nahadyam* (C, V), *porodyeni* (C), *potverdyene* (C) or less frequently j, e.g. *nahajam* (V), *ponujati* (C).

*d` reflex > đ is a feature of the Stokavian and Chakavian literary languages (Lukežič 2012: 289).

*st` reflex > šč (in the letter sch), e.g. *puscham* (C), *szloboschina* (C), *szloboschine* (C).

The secondary consonant group *tj* doesn't change into *č*, e.g. *Bratja* (C), *brathya* (V), *Bratju* (C), *chastjum* (C), *jedinosztyum* (V).

The following examples do not perform the metathesis of the voice *j* in consonant group *jt* and *jd* specific to prefixed forms of the verb *iti*, e.g. *dojducha* (V), *dojduche* (V), *dojti* (V).

In most cases the voice *ǰ* did not depalatalize, e.g. *dalye* (V), *dopelyati* (C), *kralya* (C), *kralyi* (C), *kralyu* (C), *lyubav* (V), *nadalye* (C, V), *napravlyena* (V), *nevolye* (C), *Polya* (C), *Polye* (C), *posztavlyene* (V), *zpravlyeni* (C), *veszelya* (C), *zadoblyene* (C), *zemaly* (C), *zemlye* (C, V).

The following examples support the depalatalization of the voice *ǰ*: *marlivozt* (C), *oztavlali* (C), *oztavlena* (C), *zpravlena* (C), *zpravleneh* (C), *zpravleni* (C), *zpravlenu* (C), *sivlenya* (C, V), *sivlenye* (C).

Examples with the suffixes *-ljen* and *-ljat* can have consonant *l* and *ǰ* and their frequency is the equal.

The consonant *ń* is rarely depalatalized, e.g. *danassni* (C), but: *danassnyem* (C), *danassnyi* (C), *davanyu* (C), *dugovanye* (C), *nyegvo* (V), *nyemu* (V), *vezdassnyi* (C), *sivlenya* (C).

The consonant *h* is always kept, e.g. *hoteli* (V), *vszeh* (C), *vszih* (C).

The consonant *l* is regularly kept at the end of a word or syllable, e.g. *delniki* (C), *napravit* (C), *oszlobodil* (C), *zadobil* (C).

Prosthetic *v* is confirmed in the examples: *vuchili* (V), *vuchiniti* (V), *vugertzke* (C), *vugerszkoga* (C, V), *vutrobe* (C).

The old state is kept in the initial consonant group *vs-*, e.g. *vesz* (V), *vsza* (V), *vszaki* (C, V), *vszakojachke* (C), *vszakomu* (C), *vsze* (C), *vszega* (C, V). The younger state is less frequently confirmed, e.g. *szvakoga* (C), *szvakojachke* (C), *szve* (C), *szvi* (C). In the commissar's speech both states are confirmed, while the younger occurrence is not found in the vice-commissar's speech. Usually we think the change *vs* > *sv* is a feature of the Stokavian literary language (Lukežić 2012: 263).

Changes of the *čt* > *št*, *gk* > *hk*, *kk* > *hk*, *mn* > *vn*, *vz* > *z* and *zn* > *zl* are found in the examples: *postenye* (C); *lehko* (C); *subke* (C); *vnoga* (V), *vnogeh* (C, V), *vnogi* (C), *vnogo* (C); *zrok* (V), *zlamenyati* (V).

Rhotacism (intervocal *ž* > *r*) is found in the examples: *ar* (C, V), *more* (C, V), *morem* (C), *nigdar* (C), *ter* (V), *vre* (C, V).

The negative form of the verb *moći* preserves the vowel *o*, e.g. *ne morem* (C).

The second palatalization is not carried out, e.g. *delniki* (C), *sziromaki* (C).

2. Morphological features

In the singular locative of masculine and neuter nouns, the younger suffix *-u* is confirmed, e.g. *vu vekssem broju* (C), *vu danassnyem zpravischu* (C), *vu Lettu* (C), *po plachanyu* (C), *vu ztalissu* (C), *vu kotaru* (C), *vu poslussanyu* (C). In the singular instrumental of masculine palatal nouns the suffix *-em* is preserved, e.g. *. z korbachem* (C).

The short plural is regularly kept, e.g. *dvori* (C), *broje* (C), *szude* (C). In the plural genitive of masculine nouns, the suffix *-ov/-ev* is confirmed, e.g. *poszlov* (C), *kvarterov i forspanov* (C), *notariussev* (V). In the plural genitive of neuter nouns, the old suffix *-o* is kept, e.g. *Lett* (C, V), *letth* (V), *vremen* (C). In the plural dative of masculine nouns, the suffix *-om* is confirmed, e.g. *szoldatom* (C), *assessorom* (C), *vice assessorom* (C). In the plural locative of masculine nouns, the suffixes *-ehl/-ih* are confirmed, e.g. *po izteh kotrigeh* (C), *vu vszeh nasseh obchinzkeh poszlih* (C). In the plural instrumental of masculine nouns, the suffix *-i* is confirmed, e.g. *z vekssemi ztrosski* (C), *vugerskemi kralyi* (C), *z numerussi* (V), *kervavemi sztrosski* (V), *nyeinemi officeri* (V). An interesting example is *pred 11 meszczmimi* (C) where, unless it is a typo, the *-mi* suffix is reduplicated.

All feminine nouns have the same suffix in the singular dative and locative, e.g. *Goszpode* (C), *bratje* (C); *vu ove vmnosine y velikoche* (C), *po Goszpode* (V), *po szvoje szamovolnye volye* (V). The singular vocative has the suffix *-a*, e.g. *p. bratja* (C), *draga bratja* (V). The singular instrumental has the suffix *-um*, e.g. *. rukum* (C, V), *dikum* (C), *obchinum* (V). In the nouns of the former *i*-bases in the singular vocative and instrumental, the suffixes *-o* and *-jum* are confirmed, e.g. *o salozt* (C); *chastjum* (C), *chaztyum* (C), *z jedinosztyum* (V).

In the plural genitive of feminine nouns, the suffix *-o* is kept, e.g. *neszrech* (C), *neprilik* (C), *krivicz* (C), *zemaly* (C), *his* (C), *ran* (C), *pravicz* (V). Only two examples confirm the suffix *-ih*, e.g. *executiuh* (C), *k nyemu sztrankih szpadajucheh* (V). The nouns of the former *i*-bases have the same suffix, e.g. *rechih* (C), *krepoztiuh* (C). In the plural locative the suffix *-ah* is kept, e.g. *po praviczah* (V). In the plural instrumental, the suffix *-ami* is preserved, e.g. *hisami* (C), *neprilikami* (C).

The noun “oči” preserves the form of the dual, e.g. *I pred ochima* (C).

The personal pronoun for the 1st person singular is kept in example *menum* (C). The 1st person plural preserves the old state, e.g. *D nam* (C, V), *L vu nasz* (V), *I nami* (V).

The personal pronoun for the 3rd person singular feminine is kept in example *nyu* (C). The personal pronoun for the 3rd person plural is confirmed in example *je* (V).

The reflexive pronoun “se” is confirmed in example *szebi* (C).

The interrogative pronoun for the inanimate is solely *kaj*, as are its derivatives, e.g. *kaj* (C), *nikaj* (C). The genitive form is confirmed as *česa: zbog chesza* (C).

It should be noted that the interrogative pronouns *koji* and *koteri* are confirmed in parallel. Examples: *koy/koji* (C, V), *nekoji* (C), *nekoteri* (C), *koja* (C, V), *koje* (C, V), *kojega* (C), *koju* (C), *kojem* (C), *kojih* (C), *kojemi* (C).

I would like to single out the following specific forms of adjective-pronoun non-palatal declension - dative and locative singular of feminine noun with the suffix *-e*: *y oztale bratje* (C), *vu oblaszti one* (V); instrumental singular of masculine noun with the suffix *-em*: *z tem* (C), *y spotom vsakojachkem* (C); instrumental singular of feminine noun with *-um*: *pod ovum comeskum mojum chastjum* (C), *szilnum y tolvayzkum rukum* (C), *szilnum rukum* (V), *med obchinum plemenitum* (V); genitive and locative plural with the suffix *-eh*¹: *kulikeh neszrech* (C), *zbog kojeh vnogeh drugeh ran* (C), *drugeh poszlov* (C), *od preseztneh saloztneh vremen* (C), *pravicz orzachkeh* (V), *vnogeh lethh* (V), *vu vszeh nasseh obchinzkeh poszlih* (C), *po izteh kotrige* (C), *po praviczah orzachkeh* (V); plural instrumental with the suffix *-emi*: *z kojemi* (C), *z vekssemi ztrosski* (C), *z nassemi kervavemi sztrosski* (V), *y nassemi officeri* (V). The plural suffixes *-im*, *-imi* are never confirmed.

The specific forms of adjective-pronoun palatal declension are – locative singular of feminine noun with the suffix *-e*, e.g. *po szvoje szamovolnye volye* (V); instrumental singular of feminine noun with *-um*, e.g. *mojum chastjum* (C); genitive and locative plural with the suffix *-eh*, e.g. *zemaly nasseh* (C), *nasseh his* (C), *zbog kojeh* (C), *poszlov nasseh* (C), *poleg nasseh pravicz* (V), *sztrankih szpadajucheh* (V), *vu kojeh* (C), *vu vszeh nasseh obchinzkeh poszlih* (C), *po nekojeh* (V); plural instrumental with the suffix *-emi*: *z kojemi* (C), *z vekssemi ztrosski* (C), *z nassemi kervavemi sztrosski* (V), *y nassemi officeri* (V). The plural suffixes *-ih*, *-im*, *-imi* are never confirmed.

The comparative forms are well represented. They are formed by the suffixes *-eši* and *-ši*, e.g. *vekssem* (C), *vekssega* (C), *vekssemi* (C), *jaksseh* (C), *bogatessh* (C), *neprilichnessi* (V). Superlatives are formed by adding the word *naj* to the comparative form: *najvrednessa* (C), *najneszrechnessu* (V), *najvekssa* (V).

The perfective present tense of the verb to *be* is represented in the examples: *bude* (V); *budemo* (V). The imperfective present tense of the verb to *be* is confirmed by

¹ The same author uses the suffix *-oj* with the feminine nouns of the former *i*-bases: *po szvojoj szamovolynoszt*.

the following forms: *sem*, *je*, *jesmo* (*smo*), *jesu* (*su*), e.g. *szem* (C), *je* (C), *jeszmo* (V), *szmo* (C, V), *jessu* (C), *szu* (C). The verb „moći“ is confirmed by the forms: *morem* (C), *more* (C, V).

The aorist and imperfect were not confirmed, and the pluperfect was confirmed only in the commissar's speech: *dosli szmo bili*.

The future second is confirmed with a non-contracted form, e.g. *szkerbel bude* (V).

The conditional in the 1st person singular has the form *bi*, e.g. *imal bi* (C).

The active participle (present tense) in equal proportions conserves and loses the ending *-i*, e.g. *petlajuch* (C), *rekuch* (C), *setajuchi* (C), *imajuchi* (C).

Declension forms are confirmed by examples *szedechu* (C), *szpadajuchech* (V), *dojduche* (V), *dojducha* (V).

Conclusion

Two Turopolje speeches were written in the Kajkavian Croatian literary language, which is infrequently infiltrated by the phonological features of the Stokavian and Chakavian literary languages. At the phonological level these are: *ə* reflex > *a*, **d`* reflex > *d`*, change *vs* > *sv*. From the Kajkavian dialectisms that did not enter the Kajkavian literary language as a whole and throughout its duration, the change *o* > *e* stands out.

O FONOLOŠKIM I MORFOLOŠKIM OSOBITOSTIMA DVAJU TUROPOLJSKIH GOVORA

Sažetak

Dva turopoljska govora dvojice visokih dužnosnika Skupštine turopoljske općine, izrečena 6. svibnja 1790., prvi je objavio Velimir Deželić u Vjesniku Kr. Hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskog arkiva za godinu 1914. Dva turopoljska govora pisana su kajkavskim hrvatskim knji-

*ževnim jezikom koji je vrlo rijetko obogaćen fonološkim osobitostima štokavskoga i čakavskoga hrvatskoga književnog jezika. Na fonološkoj razini to su: refleks šva > a, refleks *d' > đ, promjena vs > sv. Od kajkavskih dijalektizama koji nisu ušli u kajkavski hrvatski književni jezik u cjelini, ni u čitavu njegovu trajanju, izdvaja se promjena o > e.*

Ključne riječi: *Velimir Deželić; Turopolje; kajkavski hrvatski književni jezik; fonologija; morfologija.*