

## **Are dialects still alive?**

### **Selected aspects of children's talk in relation to dialects**

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*The aim of this paper is to introduce the analysis of data collected in field research which focuses mainly on the dialectal elements in spoken discourse of preschool children and also on children's neologisms originating in "kopaničářská nářečí" [Kopanice dialects], the varieties belonging to a group of East-Moravian dialects which are spoken in two Moravian villages. The purpose of the field research was to determine whether the traditional dialect is still a living part of their language. The research is based on contrasting collected answers and data from Český jazykový atlas [Atlas of the Czech Language], edited by Jan Balhar and Pavel Jančák. The results suggested that not only the traditional local dialect is still alive in the region, but that local people also produce new variants of forms. These local neologisms are commonly used, and they seem to have almost replaced the original forms. As this field research focused on the preschool children, the majority of new forms seems to be children's neologisms with dialectal features. Among other things, these children's word formations show how existing patterns in the lexicon are used in the present-day Czech language.*

**Keywords:** *dialect, neologism, children's neologism, field research, morphology, comparison*

### **1. Introduction**

What is the purpose of doing field research on Czech dialects these days? There are plenty of articles discussing Czech dialect levelling (Bělič, 1972: 9–10; Lamprecht et al. 1976: 15) or reflecting on how Czech dialects are disappearing (Chloupek 1971: 12) or can be heard just among the oldest generation in some parts of the Czech Republic. Language changes are an inherent part of every language system, so we should not consider the current stage of Czech dialects to be an unnecessary or uninteresting field where nothing new can arise. In every stage of human history many languages have emerged, changed and even died, but it should be said that this is a completely innate process which only reflects the development of a society. A task of linguists therefore should be not to discuss the adequacy of doing dialectal research, but to *undertake* the research to gather a representative corpus of present-day data. It should not be ignored that whatever feature occurs in a language is there for reason because if its presence was useless, it would not occur in the language anymore.

This paper introduces the results of field research which focused mainly on the dialectal elements in spoken discourse of preschool children. The research was conducted in two Moravian villages, Strání and Starý Hrozenkov, both belonging to an East subgroup of East-Moravian dialects, to kopaničářská nářečí [Kopanice dialects]. The present analysis is mainly based on a comparison of collected answers and data from *Český jazykový atlas* [Atlas of the Czech Language], edited by Jan Balhar and Pavel Jančák. Part 5, moreover, discusses further aspects that were recorded during field research. As this field research was focused on the

preschool generation, some new forms discussed later are children's neologisms with dialectal features that have been not described previously.

## 2. Theoretical background

East-Moravian dialects represent one of four main interdialectal groups of the Czech language. East-Moravian dialects are spread in a wide belt alongside the Czechoslovak border and the isogloss can be delineated among the border between East-Moravian, Middle-Moravian and Silesian dialects is represented by cities Mikulov – Kyjov – Kroměříž (which does not belong to East-Moravian dialects) – Fryšták – Bystrice pod Hostýnem – Lipník nad Bečvou – Velký Újezd – Moravský Beroun – Nový Jičín – Rožnov pod Radhoštěm. Some sources classify the East-Moravian dialects as “a transition between Czech and Slovak dialects”: West-Slovak and East-Moravian dialects show many correspondences, and the isoglosses on the Moravian-Slovak border tend to fluctuate and overlap (Bělič & Křístek 1954: 4). Neither a strict line between East-Moravian and Middle-Moravian nor between East-Moravian and Silesian dialects can be drawn.

There are numerous features that distinguish East-Moravian dialects from other Czech interdialects; East-Moravian dialects were not influenced by historical changes that had influenced other Czech interdialects. In East-Moravian dialects there is neither a vowel change  $a > \check{e}$  (12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century);  $'u > i$  (14<sup>th</sup> century); diphthongisation  $y > ej$ ,  $ú > ou$ , a change of vowel quality  $\acute{e} > \acute{i}$ , nor a sound change of a tautosyllabic group  $aj > ej$  (15<sup>th</sup> century). East-Moravian dialects thus have specific phonetic, morphological and syntactic features, and they differ in vocabulary, too. East-Moravian dialects can be further divided into four subgroups: North (valašská), South (slovácká), West (kelečské and dolská) and East (kopaničářská) dialects. The fact that East-Moravian dialects are not unified, and they are further divided into these subgroups is a natural result of a historical and social context as well as geographical conditions. Each of these subgroups has specific language features that are not found in the remaining three subgroups. Generally speaking, no dialect that covers such a large area can be fully homogeneous (Vašek 1967: 11).

The purpose of this paper is not to give a full list of dialectal features of East-Moravian dialects, so the following characteristic is selective only. Apart from the features mentioned above, the East-Moravian dialects are characterized by

- a consonant cluster <šč> remained unchanged compared to standard Czech [std. CZ] <št'> (e.g., *klišča*, in std. CZ *klišťe* ‘tick’; *ešče*, std. CZ *ještě* ‘another, still, besides’),
- regressive assimilation in a consonant cluster <sh> > [zh],
- shortening of vowels in originally mono- and disyllabic nouns and verbs (e.g., *mak*, std. CZ *mák*, ‘a poppy’; *dat*, std. CZ *dát*, ‘to give’; *mucha*, std. CZ *moucha*, ‘a fly’; *chtět*, std. CZ *chtít*, ‘to want’),
- lengthening of the vowel <o> before consonants <ň> and <j> (*hóní*, std. CZ *honí*, ‘he chases’ – 3<sup>rd</sup> sg./pl.; *dójí*, std. CZ *dojí*, ‘they milk’ – 3<sup>rd</sup> sg./pl.),
- absence of a prothetic <v->,
- a suffix of instrumental plural <-ama> for all declension paradigms,
- a specific declension of pronouns *můj* ‘my, mine’, *tvůj* ‘your, yours’, *svůj* ‘one’s own’ (*mojeho / mojého, mojemu / mojém(u), moja, mojej / mojěj, mojí...*),

- 1<sup>st</sup> person sg. of the verb *být* ‘to be’ has the form *su* instead of std. CZ form *jsem*,
- last but not least there is a characteristic particle *tož* used as a linker between phrases and sentences.

The research focuses on a subgroup of East-Moravian dialects, the [Kopanice dialects], *kopaničářská nářečí*, specifically. *Kopaničářská nářečí* have several varieties and some of the features defined below do not occur in the whole area. One of the first major Czech dialectologists, František Bartoš (1886: 33–47) lists 13 sub-subgroups of dialects called *různořečí uherskoslovenská*, [Hungarian–Slovak varieties]: *alenskované, radějovské, blatnické, boršické, bystrické, stránské, lipovské, velické, javornické, súchovské, hrozenkovské, březovské, and lhotecké*. According to Bartoš, almost every village had its own dialect. *Kopaničářská nářečí* had been evolving along Slovak dialects for a long time, hence they share some linguistic features with the Slovak language. *Kopaničářská nářečí* are characterized by features such as an absence of consonant <ř> (*rezat*, std. CZ *řezat* ‘to cut’; *trí*, std. CZ *tři* ‘three’); a consonant cluster <\*dj> developed into <dz> (*medzi*, std. CZ *mezi* ‘between’); 1<sup>st</sup> person sg. of the verb *být* ‘to be’ has the form *sem / som* instead of std. CZ *jsem* or East-Moravian variety *su*; ending of instrumental pl. in all paradigms is <-ami/-ámi> (compared to the East-Moravian suffix <-ama>: *rokmi*, std. CZ *roky* ‘years’).

### 3. Data and methodology

Field research took place in kindergartens in two villages, Strání and Starý Hrozenkov, between March 2017 and February 2018. These villages share some features listed below and for these similarities they had been chosen for the purpose of field research. Both villages are located along a borderline between the Czech Republic and Slovakia, hence it is supposed that both of them might have a similar frequency of contact with Slovaks. Also, both are distant from larger towns (the closest town to Strání is Uherský Brod [22 km], to Starý Hrozenkov the closest town is Bojkovice [11 km]). The most salient feature is that both villages are a part of the same dialect area.

The research included 47 subjects, i.e., 22 children from the nursery school in Starý Hrozenkov and 25 in Strání. Considering the age of respondents and the size of their vocabulary,<sup>1</sup> the research focused on the lexicon only and respondents were supposed to give one or two-word answers. It was presumed that the children will be attracted by a picture presentation rather than in questionnaire-based survey and that they will be willing to participate. This assumption has been proved.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, during the first visits, they were too shy and bashful to talk, so the reaction to the pictures was the maximum that could be expected.

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<sup>1</sup> The subjects were 4.5–6 years old, so it was possible to obtain reliable data. Attempts with younger children had also been made, but they had been unsuccessful. This is related to the linguistic competences at this age; Bytešniková (2007: 78), among others, states that a typical 4-year old child has about a 1,500-word vocabulary, 5-year old child a 2000-word vocabulary and a 6-year old child about 2,500–3000-word vocabulary. Children below this age were too shy to participate in the research and unable to recognise the objects included in the analysis.

<sup>2</sup> A different research method would have required more time spent in each kindergarten to become acquainted with children prior to the research itself; this was not possible due to the fact that each visit of a researcher in the kindergarten would have disturbed a normal daily schedule.

Material for field research was chosen from a database of CJA, *Český jazykový atlas* [Atlas of the Czech Language], in field research 100 items<sup>3</sup> were included for the main quantitative analysis. For the major part of research, 88 items were chosen from a lexical part of the CJA database, the remaining 12 words were chosen from a morphological part. This ratio was made for purpose as it was supposed that a lexeme comparison will be the most effective method regarding the age of respondents and time limits. The choice of lexemes followed several criteria: first, and most importantly, the items had to be recognizable for young respondents, which required a careful selection of illustrative pictures. Second, a range of items was to cover different fields of interest. The respondents were asked to name the items which were presented in a PowerPoint presentation in the form of photographs or drawings.<sup>4</sup> In some cases the explorer tried to cause the reaction by non-verbal means, i.e., by pointing at objects present in the room (e.g., a wood batten, a ladle), pointing at particular parts of the body (an ankle, a nail) or using body language and facial expressions (e.g., to frown, to cradle [a baby]). Considering the age of respondents, the chosen lexemes were divided into four presentations. To maintain respondents' motivation to complete the whole task, children were given various kinds of awards. In total, all respondents successfully finished all tasks. The goal of the research was unknown to these respondents at first, and it was explained to them at the end of the project. The respondents' answers were noted down into paper forms containing four columns: the CJA dictionary entry, the expressions expected and recorded in Strání and Starý Hrozenkov, the expressions used in a wider region, and a blank slot for other answers.

One of the crucial benefits of doing research with respondents of children's age is that they do not have doubts about giving a so-called *proper answer*; they focus on correct recognition of a chosen item and not on the form of word used for the act of naming. Respondents of this age are not influenced by thoughts such as *an inappropriate answer* when speaking with an explorer, i.e., an unfamiliar person, or by a pressure to use the standard variety of the Czech language as they have not entered the primary schools yet.<sup>5</sup> For these reasons the time for a reply was not restricted, and hence field research respected individual needs of every single respondent. The only criterion was to answer one whole presentation after which each respondent had the opportunity to continue in research, or to take a break and to finish the next part after a while.

On the other hand, field research has shown some difficulties for analysis proper, too. From the total amount of responses only 71.85 per cent were used for the final analysis. There were several reasons for not to include some of the answers: the most frequent one was giving an incorrect name of a presented object (e.g., instead of a std. CZ variant or a dialectal variant of a lexeme *vlčí mák* 'wild poppy' respondents used names such as *růže* 'rose', *tulipán* 'tulip' etc.). Another reason was the use of a diminutive form which could not be classified as dialectal (e.g., *slepička* is not recorded by CJA, so this variety does not allow to decide whether the respondent would use a non-diminutive dialectal variety *slépka*, or whether they would use a std. CZ form *slepice* 'hen').<sup>6</sup> The final results also did not contain the answers in which a

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<sup>3</sup> See the Appendix for the full list.

<sup>4</sup> For examples of the pictures see Appendix.

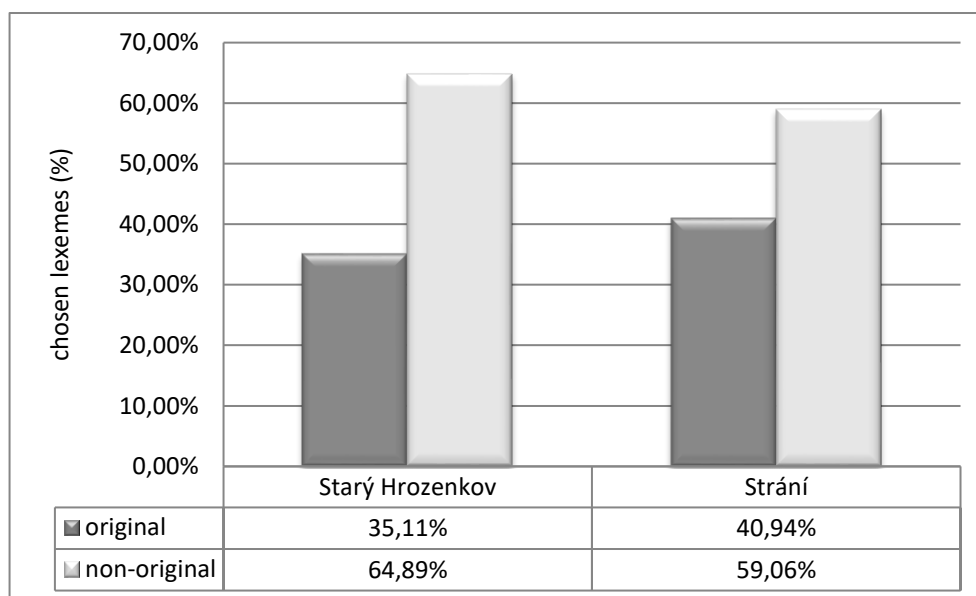
<sup>5</sup> Hence it is supposed that children chose the expressions that are widely used both among other children and in their families.

<sup>6</sup> Note that in some cases a diminutive form allows to decide whether the respondent had used a dialectal equivalent or a std. CZ form. A standard Czech lexeme *šle* has the regional varieties *šle*, *šráky*, *(k)šandy*, etc., a diminutive form *šráčky*, therefore, can be classified undoubtedly as a variety derived from *šráky*.

hyperonym was used instead of an expected hyponym (e.g., *dřevo* ‘wood’ instead of the expression *prkno* ‘batten’). Other difficulties arise from inability to form a singular form from plural one – even though for children the singular form is a primary form to use (Pačesová 1979: 57–60); despite the fact that an ability to differentiate consciously between singular and plural forms is acquired at the age of three (Watts 1944: 45–46), in some cases respondents were not able to use a singular, e.g., for *nehty* (pl.) ‘fingernails’ – *nehet* (sg.) ‘fingernail’. The uncountable nouns used instead of countable nouns could not be included, either. This was the case of, e.g., a countable noun *kamének* ‘a small stone’ (*kamínek* in std. CZ) which some respondents replaced by uncountable *kamení* ‘stone’. The last reason for omitting an answer was incorrect articulation of phonemes in the regional varieties, in most cases caused by dyslalia. (Speech Production Disorders: Articulation Disorders – Dyslalia. 2017), e.g., the dialectal variant *střešně* (třešně in std. CZ) ‘cherries’, pronounced as e.g., [tʃɛjɲɛ], [ʃɛjɲɛ] etc.

#### 4. Results

From the total number of 2,972 responses, 71.85% were used in the analysis, i.e., 1,316 answers from Starý Hrozenkov and 1,656 answers from Strání. Figure 1 shows the current distribution of dialectal elements in both villages contrasted to the data of CJA. In Starý Hrozenkov active usage of dialectal elements by young children is about 35.11%, in Strání the ratio is even higher, the original dialectal elements occurred in 40.94% of answers.



However, the actual number of dialectal elements might be different. As it will be illustrated on examples in the analysis, new dialectal varieties are commonly used in these areas and at the same time they are considered being *non-original* (names which were recorded by CJA and also recorded in the present research were labeled as *original*, dialectal, another answers were labeled as *non-original*. Non-original answers were both std. CZ variants and forms with dialectal features not recorded by CJA in the region). The original dialect has thus changed

Figure 1: Results of field research in Strání and Starý Hrozenkov

over the years and definitely since the last field research presented in CJA. Nevertheless, as this field research has proven, the territorial dialect is still alive in these regions despite its inner changes. New forms of words do occur in both Starý Hrozenkov and Strání. In Starý Hrozenkov, there is a new name for *pomlázka* ‘plaited osier stick for whipping girls on Easter Monday’: the form commonly used nowadays is *koribáč* instead of the original expression *korbáč*. In Strání, there is a completely new name for *nudle* ‘noodles’: instead of the lexeme *lokše* the major lexeme is *šišky*, and *pomlázka* is mostly called *mrskáč* instead of *mrškačka*. This research used the entries of CJA as a primary source, and the answers that were not recorded in CJA were marked as non-original. To establish the exact ratio of dialectal elements, another research should be done in these areas.

## 5. Analysis

Field research focused on hundred lexemes chosen from the database of CJA and tested their actual usage by young children in two Moravian villages. For the purpose of this article the findings will be demonstrated by selected examples. These lexemes illustrate repetitive features identified in the field research i.e., creation of words non-existent in std. Czech and also unrecorded in dialectal dictionaries, historical development of dialectal lexemes, influence of Slovak language, and increased usage of diminutives.

As for a lexeme *pomlázka* ‘plaited osier stick for whipping girls on Easter Monday’, CJA lists various regional words. In the area of East-Moravian dialects there are three main expressions for *pomlázka*: *žila* × *korbáč* × *tatar*. A form detected by CJA in Starý Hrozenkov is *korbáč*, in Strání it is *mrškačka*. However, the most recent findings (Table 1) show crucial differences from CJA. In Starý Hrozenkov, the most frequent name is *koribáč* (84.21%) instead of *korbáč* (0%). At first it seemed that it is too difficult to pronounce the consonant cluster <rb> for children at the age of 4.5–6, so they simplify the pronunciation by inserting the vowel <i>. However, as it was proven afterwards,<sup>7</sup> the form with a <rib> sequence, *koribáč*, is widespread in this region and used by speakers of all ages. In Strání the original name *mrškačka* (5.88%) seems to be replaced by *mrskáč* (70.58%). The present-day form indicates that the word has undergone a change in gender from feminine to masculine by adding a derivational suffix <-k-a>. In spite of this change, the tendency to use the dialectal forms prevails over the standard Czech form *pomlázka* in both villages (84.21% in Starý Hrozenkov, 82.35% in Strání).

Table 1: Names detected for the lexeme *pomlázka* ‘plaited osier stick for whipping girls on Easter Monday’

Detected names	Starý Hrozenkov	Strání
<i>pomlázka</i>	1	3
<i>koribáč</i>	16	0

<sup>7</sup> In the time when the field research was conducted, a journalist Karolína Peřestá made a radio report for Český rozhlas about traditional Easter traditions in Starý Hrozenkov (Peřestá, Karolína. 2018. Holky samy skáčou do vody. Poslechněte si, jak vyrazili na šibáky za děvčaty kluci z Kopaničáru. (<https://zlin.rozhlas.cz/holky-samy-skacou-do-vody-poslechnete-si-jak-vyrazili-na-sibaky-za-devcaty-kluci-7152950#volume>) (Accessed 2020-01-16)).

<i>karabáč</i>	0	1
<i>mrskáč</i>	2	12
<i>mrskáčka</i>	0	1

Another example of a dialectal language change can be illustrated with the word *světluška* ‘firefly’ (*Phausis splendidula*). There are two lexical motivations for naming the firefly in the Czech dialects. Either the name refers to the period in which fireflies are the most active, i.e., around Saint John’s night (24th June), or arises from the bug’s ability to produce light. The expected forms in Starý Hrozenkov were *svatojánská muška*, *svatojáncký brouček*; in Strání it was a form *svatojánka*. In case of this lexeme, the list of answers (Table 2) showed a high ability to produce new forms by using the suffix <-k-a> as one of the most productive suffixes in the Czech language. The majority of respondents used a std. CZ expression *světluška* (72.22% in Starý Hrozenkov, 85% in Strání). Remaining responses, mostly children’s neologisms, clearly show a second type of motivation, the bug’s ability to produce light. All answers – *svatojánská muška*, *lucernička* (diminutive from *lucerna* ‘lantern’), *svítící brouček* ‘luminary bug’, *svítička* and *svítilka* – show this kind of lexical motivation. Names *svítící brouček*, *svítička* and *svítilka* are all derived from the root or base word <svit-> / <svět->. Neither *svítička* or *svítilka* exist in the standard Czech language but were created spontaneously by a very frequent word-formation processes in Czech, i.e., derived from the root <svit-> / <svět-> with the suffixes <-l-k-(a)> and <-č-k-(a)>.

Table 2: Names detected for the lexeme *světluška* ‘firefly’ (*Phausis splendidula* L.)

Detected names	Starý Hrozenkov	Strání
<i>světluška</i>	13	17
<i>svatojánská muška</i>	0	1
<i>lucernička</i>	1	0
<i>svítící brouček</i>	1	0
<i>svítička</i>	1	0
<i>svítilka</i>	0	1
<i>včelka</i>	1	0
<i>kobylka</i>	1	0
<i>mucha</i>	0	1

New forms that might have been created during the research are varieties of a lexeme *chrastítko* ‘rattle’ (Table 3). CJA records multiple varieties, and these names differ semantically, morphologically and phonetically. In East-Moravian dialects, the traditional form for the rattle is a feminine derived from the root <hrk-> with a suffix <-vka>, <-á-vka>. A std. CZ neuter *chrastítko* is, on the other hand, recorded even in some cities in Moravia, and the research proved that it has been slowly entering some villages, too (13.33% in Starý Hrozenkov, 9.52% in Strání). Evidences of a traditional dialectal form were detected both in Starý Hrozenkov (6.66%) and Strání (28.57%), in some cases these have undergone a change in the grammatical gender or the derivational suffix, for example *hrkačka* (4.76% in Strání), *hrkátka* (6.66% in Starý Hrozenkov). However, the majority of respondents used the hyperonym *hračky* ‘toys’ (60% in Starý Hrozenkov, 47.61% in Strání). Other answers such as *třepátka* or *sypátka* might show the attempts to form a name using the visual or other sensory stimuli.

Table 3: Names detected for the lexeme *chrastítko* ‘rattle’

Detected names	Starý Hrozenkov	Strání
<i>hrkávka</i>	1	6
<i>hrkačka</i>	0	1
<i>hrkátko</i>	1	0
<i>chrastítko</i>	2	2
<i>třepátko</i>	0	1
<i>sypátko</i>	0	1
<i>sítka</i>	1	0
<i>hračky (pro miminka)</i>	7	10
<i>hračička (pro miminko)</i>	2	0
<i>kulička</i>	1	0

The fourth lexeme which deserved a commentary is *nudle* ‘noodles’. In a wide dialectal belt between the Czech Republic and Slovakia, a variety *lokše* is the most common expression. According to CJA the traditional name for noodles in Strání is *lokše*, however in Starý Hrozenkov there is another name *řezance*. The present research, nevertheless, indicated that respondents do not use traditional names for noodles anymore (Table 4). In Starý Hrozenkov, the expression *nudle*, which is also a std. CZ form for noodles, was the most frequently used word (73.68%). In Strání this name occurred as well, but only a minority of respondents used it (20.83%). Another lexeme (and one variety of this lexeme) which is not listed in CJA was captured in Strání: evidently, *šišky* and *šíše* (70.83% and 8.33%) are not the neologisms produced by young respondents, but widespread expressions for noodles. It was not expected to hear these two varieties because the lexeme *šišky* has a different denotation in this area. CJA defines *šiška* as a name for a ‘Czech’ dumpling, ‘a boiled roll of dough (= flour and water mixed together) eaten with meat’. The lexeme *šiška* is widespread in the eastern part of Moravia and the meaning depicted by CJA goes back to Middle Ages (Balhar & Jančák, CJA 1: 210). The meaning in Strání had thus changed over the years, the dialectal word *šišky* has not disappeared from the language of the youngest generation and it is the most frequently used word for noodles there. As both villages are located along a Slovak border, an influence from the Slovak language is noteworthy in this context. Some respondents in Starý Hrozenkov used also a word *slíže* (5.26%) which is according to Slovníkový portál Jazykovedného ústavu Ľ. Štúra SAV a regional word for a kind of pasta in Slovak.<sup>8</sup>

Table 4: Names detected for the lexeme *nudle* ‘noodles’

Detected names	Starý Hrozenkov	Strání
<i>nudle</i>	14	5
<i>nudličky</i>	3	0
<i>lokše</i>	1	0
<i>šišky</i>	0	17
<i>šíše</i>	0	2
<i>slíže</i>	1	0

<sup>8</sup> JÚEŠ: headword *slíž*.



The last two lexemes to be analyzed are *kachna* ‘duck’ (Table 5) and *kachňátko* ‘duckling’ (Table 6). The main dialectal difference given in CJA involves the change in a stem consonant, i.e., <kač-> vs. <kach-> which CJA qualifies as the lexical difference. Both <kač-> and <kach-> words are geographically widespread; in Moravia, Silesia and East Bohemia the root <kač-> prevails, in the remaining part of Bohemia the root <kach-> is used most commonly. The research suggests that the original name with the stem <kač-> is still the most frequently used expression for both duck (95% in Starý Hrozenkov, 79.16% in Strání) and duckling (85% in Starý Hrozenkov, 80% in Strání); however, the other variant emerges as well: 5% in Starý Hrozenkov and 20.83% in Strání for duck, 15% in Starý Hrozenkov and 20% in Strání for duckling. When two lexemes were analyzed in the field research, the contrast in using the unmarked form *kachna* and the diminutive *kačenka* illustrated an important aspect of children’s talk. Diminutives play an important role in the language system of children (Pačesová 1979: 62–65), they are used actively, or even overused by children in particular situations. Asking young respondents to name a duck and a duckling showed their tendency to use diminutive forms for objects which they regard as something having positive attributes, e.g., to be small, pleasant, cute or nice (Pačesová 1979: 43). The respondents first saw the picture of the duck and used the diminutive form *kačenka* (20.45% pct.). The lexeme *kachňátko* is, in fact, a diminutive on its own (the unmarked form being *kachně*), but to stress the smallness or cuteness some respondents have modified the expression by adding an adjective *small*; the same modifier was added to the lexeme for the duck, i.e., [*malé kachňátko*]<sub>NP</sub> or [*malá kačenka*]<sub>NP</sub>.

Table 5: Names detected for the lexeme *kachna* ‘duck’

Detected names	Starý Hrozenkov	Strání
<i>kachna</i>	1	5
<i>kačena</i>	10	18
<i>kačenka</i>	8	1
<i>kačka / kačica</i>	1	0

Table 6: Names detected for the lexeme *kachňátko* ‘duckling’

Detected names	Starý Hrozenkov	Strání
<i>kachňátko</i>	2	2
<i>malé kachňátko</i>	1	0
<i>kachnička</i>	0	3
<i>káčátko</i>	11	13
<i>kačička</i>	1	0
<i>kačeňátko</i>	0	1
<i>kačenka</i>	4	5
<i>malá kačenka</i>	1	1

This feature of adding an adjective and hence modifying the whole noun phrase has occurred also in pair of lexemes for pig (Table 7) and piglet (Table 8).

Table 7: Names detected for the lexeme *vepř* ‘pig’

Detected names	Starý Hrozenkov	Strání
<i>prase</i>	10	16
<i>prasa</i>	2	0
<i>prasátko</i>	8	9
<i>prasnice</i>	1	0
<i>čuně</i>	1	0

Table 8: Names detected for the lexeme *sele* ‘piglet’

Detected names	Starý Hrozenkov	Strání
<i>prasátko</i>	8	14
<i>malé prasátko</i>	10	7
<i>menší prasátko</i>	1	0
<i>prasátečko</i>	0	1
<i>selátko</i>	2	0
<i>malinké čuňátko</i>	1	0
<i>jehňátko</i>	0	2
<i>gustíček maličký</i>	0	1

## 6. Conclusion

The aim of this field research was to determine the dialectal elements in spoken discourse of preschool children in two Moravian villages, in Strání and Starý Hrozenkov. These villages both belong to an East subgroup of East-Moravian dialects, to *kopaničářská nářečí* [Kopanice dialect]. The purpose of the research was to obtain a reliable amount of answers to do a relevant comparison with data from *Český jazykový atlas* [Atlas of the Czech Language], and to show how the local dialect is being changed. In the villages, the field research was realized in cooperation with two kindergartens and 47 children in total (22 in Starý Hrozenkov and 25 in Strání) participated. It was confirmed that the dialect is still present in preschoolers’ discourse, in Starý Hrozenkov active usage of dialectal elements by young children is about 35.11%, in Strání the ratio is even higher, the original dialectal elements occurred in 40.94% of answers. Collected data shows a substantial part of lexemes has been preserved in the region since the last vast study published in the atlas of Czech dialects. In some cases, however, new expressions with dialectal features were recorded which are either children’s neologism or more recent varieties used commonly. Field research has proven that to do research on Czech dialects is still a meaningful project and we should pay more attention to the dialectal changes in the Czech language not only for the possible purposes of the future generations of linguists, but also for the fact that the spoken discourse actually might differ from dictionaries and dialectal monographies a lot.

The field research itself also indicated some methodological aspects that should be considered in the future, e.g., reduction of diminutives that disallow to decide whether the answer is

dialectal or not, elimination of generalized answers in situations where hyperonyms are used, inclusion of more similar objects to decide whether the respondent does not know the object at all or is just misled.

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## Abbreviations

std. CZ = the standard form of Czech language

CJA = Český jazykový atlas [Atlas of the Czech Language]

## Appendix

### A List of lexemes used for the analysis

*chlapec*, ‘boy’

*děvče*, ‘girl’

*tatínek*, ‘father’

*maminka*, ‘mother’

*dědeček*, ‘grand-father’

*babička*, ‘grand-mother’

*milý, milá*, ‘boyfriend, girlfriend’

*hezká*, ‘nice’

*dopis*, ‘letter’

*dvojčata*, ‘twins’

*chovat (dítě)*, ‘to cradle’ (a baby)

*šidítko*, ‘pacifier, dummy’

*chrastítko*, ‘rattle’

*míč*, ‘ball’

*koulovat se*, ‘to snowball’

*cop*, ‘braid’

*mračit se*, ‘to frown’

*břicho*, ‘belly’

*nehet*, ‘fingernail’

*kotník*, ‘ankle’

*hůl*, ‘stick’

*boule*, ‘(head) bump’

*hubený*, ‘thin’

*kalhoty*, ‘trousers’

*uzel*, ‘knot’

*šle*, ‘suspenders, braces’

*nůžky*, ‘scissors’  
*bota*, ‘boot’  
*nudle*, ‘noodles’  
*knedlík*, ‘dumpling’  
*okurka*, ‘cucumber’  
*škvarek*, ‘cracklings’  
*hrníček*, ‘mug’  
*poklička*, ‘lid’  
*sběračka*, ‘ladle’  
*lžíce*, ‘spoon’  
*vařečka*, ‘stirring spoon’  
*květináč*, ‘flowerpot’  
*židle*, ‘chair’  
*postel*, ‘bed’  
*peřina*, ‘duvet’  
*polštář*, ‘pillow’  
*kouř*, ‘smoke’  
*kominík*, ‘chimney sweeper’  
*koště*, ‘broom’  
*vesnice*, ‘village’  
*prkno*, ‘wood batten’  
*sud*, ‘cask’  
*třešně*, ‘cherries’  
*švestka*, ‘plum’  
*slupka*, ‘fruit peel’  
*dýně*, ‘summer squash’  
*rajské jablíčko*, ‘tomato’  
*krtek*, ‘mole’  
*brouci*, ‘bugs’  
*světluška*, ‘firefly’  
*slunéčko sedmítečné*, ‘ladybird’  
*pavouk*, ‘spider’  
*dešťovka*, ‘earthworm’  
*ještěrka*, ‘lizard’  
*les*, ‘forest’  
*větev*, ‘branch’  
*keř*, ‘bush’  
*jedlá houba*, ‘edible mushroom’  
*borůvka*, ‘blueberry’  
*ostružina*, ‘blackberry’  
*vlčí mák*, ‘wild poppy’  
*pampeliška*, ‘dandelion’  
*kamínek*, ‘little stone’  
*kaluž*, ‘puddle’  
*slunce*, ‘sun’  
*rampouch*, ‘icicle’

*pomlázka*, 'plaited osier stick for whipping girls on easter monday'  
*rozinka*, 'raisin'  
*křížaly*, 'dried fruit, dried apple'  
*pole*, 'field'  
*brambor*, 'potato'  
*kukuřice*, 'corn, maize'  
*trakař*, 'wooden wheelbarrow'  
*vepř*, 'pig'  
*sele*, 'piglet'  
*psík*, 'dog/doggie'  
*slepice*, 'hen'  
*vejce*, 'egg'  
*housátko*, 'gosling'  
*kachna*, 'duck'  
*kachňátko*, 'duckling'  
*krocan, krůta*, 'turkey (cock, hen)'

B Examples of pictures used for the purposes of the analysis



Picture 2: edible mushroom



Picture 4: ball

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