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Jezično planiranje i jezična politika (jezične politike) teme su koje dugi niz godina zaokupljaju svjetske i domaće znanstvenike različitih profila. Svjesni odabiri na jezičnome planu i nastojanja da se oni provedu na društvenoj razini tradicionalno se u sociolingvistici nazivaju *jezično planiranje* (Haugen 1959) – u novije doba u nekih autora i *upravljanje jezikom* (Spolsky 2004, 2009). Često shvaćano kao konkretizacija jezične politike – koja, kao i svaka druga politika ima svoje sudionike, metode (i metodologiju) te određene ciljeve – jezično se planiranje razumijeva kao proces kojim pojedinci ili institucije nastoje utjecati na načine rješavanja jezičnih pitanja. U svojemu određenju jezičnoga planiranja Cooper (1989) naglašava da ga treba promatrati kroz odgovore na pitanja *tko* planira, *za koga*, *kada* i *kako* to čini te naposljetku tko od provedbe planiranja ima koristi. U tumačenju procesa koji dovode do uspostave standardnoga jezika pojam jezičnoga planiranja nadređen je pojmu standardizacije (Peti-Stantić i Langston 2013), odnosno u tradicionalnim se pristupima u sociolingvistici standardizacija smatra jednom od sastavnica jezičnoga planiranja (usp. npr. Ferguson 1968, Cooper 1996, Wright 2004). Kako su svi spomenuti procesi povezani s nizom društveno-jezičnih pojava, Programski i organizacijski odbor Međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa *Perspektive jezičnoga planiranja i jezične politike* preporučio je sudionicima širok popis tema:

Planiranje statusa (definiranje komunikacijskoga prostora i dosega svih idioma u javnoj komunikaciji)

Planiranje korpusa (standardizacija i normiranje jezika)

Institucionalizirano djelovanje na jezik (uloga institucija u razvoju standardnoga jezika te u promicanju i očuvanju jezične kulture)

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II

Prema prijavljenim temama i sažetcima izlaganja vidljivo je da će znanstvenici iz različitih kutova pokušati rasvijetliti mnoga važna pitanja povezana s jezičnom politikom i jezičnim planiranjem. Zastupljene su sociolingvističe teme, primijenjenolingvističe, ali i usko kroatističe teme. Bit će dakle riječi o jezičnoj politici, jezičnome planiranju i standardizaciji, društvenoj dvojezičnosti i višejezičnost, jeziku i identitetu, o interakciji jezika, političke zajednice i društvenih skupina, o tome kako jezik oblikuje politički, društveni i kulturni kontekst u kojemu se razvija, ali i obratno jer je i sam zapravo rezultat toga konteksta. Odabir je jezika, kolikogod se doimao slobodnom odlukom pojedinca, uvijek određen razlozima društvene pokretljivosti, ekonomske prednosti ili grupnoga identiteta. Za planiranje usvajanja jezika važno je i koje mjesto imaju jezici u obrazovnome sustavu, što je posebice važno s jedne strane za očuvanje manjinskih jezika, čemu su također posvećena izlaganja na ovome skupu, a s druge strane za učenje stranih jezika. Naime, u kontekstu je multikulturalnosti veoma važan zadatak i planiranje višejezičnoga obrazovanja jer je ono ključ za očuvanje (jezičnoga) identiteta te učinkovito sredstvo zaštite od asimilacije. U globalizacijskome smislu, u suvremenome je društvu poznavanje više jezika od presudne važnosti za dobivanje kvalitetnijih radnih mjesta i poslova. Republika Hrvatska, kao posljednja primljena članica Europske unije, u svojoj se obrazovnoj politici također treba usmjeriti na suvremenu ulogu i svrhu višejezičnosti u obrazovnome procesu te društvu u cjelini.

S obzirom na složenu povijest standardizacije jezika na južnoslavenskome području te zbog činjenice da je Republika Hrvatska neovisna postala tek u posljednjemu desetljeću 20. stoljeća u sklopu je ovoga međunarodnog skupa organizirana i posebna tema pod nazivom *Četvrt stoljeća samostalnoga razvoja hrvatskoga jezika*. Njezina je uloga dvojaka. Ponajprije, ona je podsjetnik na dugu tradiciju sociolingvističe misli u Hrvatskoj, kojoj je nemjerljive teorijske prinose dala plejada znamenitih hrvatskih jezikoslovaca, a potom je i pokušaj da se na znanstven način progovori o suvremenoj hrvatskoj sociolingvistiкој situaciji te njezinim perspektivama.

Tekstovi u Knjizi sažetaka donose se, prema propozicijama, na dva načina – na hrvatskome i engleskome jeziku ili samo na engleskome jeziku.

Tekstovi su podijeljeni tako da se najprije donose plenarna izlaganja, a nakon toga i sva druga izlaganja abecednim redom prema prezimenima autora. Objavljeni su samo oni autorski tekstovi koji su prošli recenzijski postupak. Napominjemo da je jezična redakcija autorska.

Uredništvo

INTRODUCTION

The international conference CLARC 2016: Perspectives on Language Planning and Policies is co-organized by the Center for Language Research (CLAR) at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (University of Rijeka) and the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics (ICLL). It will be held in Rijeka on 3rd, 4th and 5th June 2016 at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Rijeka.

Language planning and policies are themes that have been in the focus of research, both in Croatia and outside of it, for many years and have attracted the attention of scholars from a variety of disciplines. In sociolinguistics, the conscious linguistic choices made by language planners and efforts undertaken to implement these choices in a society are traditionally referred to as language planning (cf. Haugen 1959). More recently, some authors started using the term language management for the same process (Spolsky 2004, 2009). Just like any other policy-making effort, the process of language planning involves particular participants, methods and a methodology, as well as goals, and can be understood as a process by which individuals or institutions are trying to influence the way in which linguistic choices are made. In his examination of language planning, Cooper (1989) emphasizes that we should consider questions such as *who* is doing the planning, for *whom* the planning is done, *when* and *how* is it done, and, lastly, who is benefitting from the language planning effort. When the processes which lead to the establishment of the standard language are discussed, the concept of language planning is usually viewed as more encompassing than the concept of language standardization (e.g. Peti-Stantić and Langston 2013). In other words, in the traditional approaches to sociolinguistics, standardization is considered one of the components of language planning (cf. Ferguson 1968, Cooper 1996, Wright 2004). Having in mind the complexity of the theme of language planning and policies, the Programming and Organizing Committee has offered for consideration a wide array of topics.

Corpus planning (standardization and normatization of a language)

The role of institutions in the development of a standard language and in the promotion and preservation of linguistic culture

Implementation of language policies

Standard and non-standard language varieties

Attitudes toward the varieties of one's mother tongue

Elements of language policies

Language as an instrument of political (social) control

Language ideology

Language policies and political discourse

The role of the media in the shaping and implementation of language policies

Using language to manipulate others: political rhetoric

Normative language manuals: dictionaries (monolingual, multilingual, general, specialized, etc.), grammar manuals, manuals on orthography

Standardization and re-standardization in orthography, orthoepy, grammar and lexicon

Linguistic purism

Prestige in language

The development of linguistic culture – the issue of language legislation

Linguistic, communicative and pragmatic competence

Spoken and written language (in relation to the norm)

Recent dialectological theories and dialect research within the framework of language planning and policies

The status of urban dialects and urban speech corpora

Minority languages in the context of language planning and policies

Language rights (languages of minority groups and education, languages of minority groups and the media)

Language and identity

Challenges of global communication – linguistic imperialism

The future of linguistic diversity – small and big languages

Researchers participating in the conference will shed light on numerous important questions related to the conference theme. Papers will cover topics in sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, as well as those in Croatian studies. Presenters will discuss language policies, language planning, standardization, societal bilingualism and multilingualism, the relationship between language and identity, the interactions between the language, political community and social groups, how language is used to construct the political, social and cultural realities, but also how it is in turn shaped by the social processes. Language choice, while it may seem to be a voluntary choice of an individual, is always influenced by factors such as social mobility, economic advantage or group identity.

Furthermore, the status of languages in the educational system is closely related to the success of the process of language acquisition. This issue is relevant for the preservation of minority languages, another topic to be examined at the conference, but also for the success of foreign language education. In the context of multiculturalism, bilingual/multilingual education planning is crucial for the preservation of (language) identity and protection from assimilation. In today's globalized world, fluent use of more than one language has great importance in contemporary society as it facilitates access to employment and quality jobs. As the newest member of the European Union, the Republic of Croatia will have to examine in more detail the role and purpose of multilingualism in the society and its role in education.

In view of the complex history of language standardization in the south-Slavic language area and the fact that the Republic of Croatia gained independence only in the last decade of the 20th century, a number of conference presentations will address the theme of *Croatian Language Planning in the Last Quarter Century*. The role of such an inquiry within the scope of this conference is twofold: First, it builds upon a long tradition of sociolinguistic research in Croatia. Second, it is an attempt to speak scientifically about the contemporary Croatian sociolinguistic situation and its prospects.

This Book of Abstracts contains abstracts which are both in Croatian and English and those which are only in English, as requested by the Organizer.

Abstracts of the plenary lectures are given first. They are followed by abstracts provided by other conference participants, in the alphabetical order according to the participants' last names. We would like to emphasize that the abstracts appear in their original form and have not been changed or edited in any way.

Editors

PLENARNA IZLAGANJA
PLENARY LECTURES

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Standardization versus assimilation

This paper is about standardization on the one hand and assimilation/convergence on the other, and the difference between them. First will be given a short overview of recent phenomena in Belgium. Belgium is a language boundary region: Romance vs. Germanic. And so it has been for more than two thousand years. French had, in standardization, for historical reasons, a headstart on Dutch. Germanic regions of Belgium accepted only reluctantly the Dutch standard-language of the Netherlands. But in recent times a new common language shows up, halfway between the (north-oriented) Dutch "classic" standard-language, and native dialects. Does Belgium at last develop its own standard-language? Discussions about standardization have been dominated several decennia by views of Einar Haugen (selection, codification, elaboration and acceptance). Of course his contribution was an important one. But nowadays it lacks considerable aspects of the linked political and national issues. I think standardization is a historical and unique phenomenon, part and parcel of the Renaissance (and nowadays exhausted). It has to be distinguished from sociolinguistic and universal processes of assimilation. Haugen didn't make that distinction, and so he misses a crucial aspect. Assimilation is going on all over the world (and for understandable reasons), and simultaneously there is de-standardization of the "old" European standard-languages.

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Does a spoken standard language exist? A case study of Croatian standard accentuation

Although linguists of the Prague School, who were the first to deal with language standardization from a systematic scientific perspective, explicitly considered spoken usage to be an integral part of the standard language, scholars both in Croatia and abroad have sometimes questioned this idea. For example, Damir Kalogjera in his contribution to a roundtable discussion held at the Matica hrvatska in Zagreb in 2006 correctly noted that the contemporary Croatian standard language, in the form in which it is often narrowly conceived, is realized almost exclusively in formal written usage, while educated spoken usage remains "in limbo"; there is a lack of agreement about whether this spoken variety truly belongs to the standard language or not. In their book *Authority in Language*, James and Lesley Milroy (1985: 26) state that in the strictest sense of the term, there is "no such entity as a spoken standard language." Nonetheless, standard dictionaries and other types of normative handbooks often give information about pronunciation, which is exclusively a feature of spoken language. This paper will examine the standardization of spoken usage from a theoretical and practical perspective, focusing on the prescriptive accentual norm of Croatian as a particularly interesting example, due both to the inherent complexity of this norm itself and to the fact that it differs significantly from the accentuation of many local spoken varieties. Data from radio broadcasts in which speakers are reading from prepared texts will be analyzed to show the extent to which different speakers conform to and diverge from the prescriptive norm, even in a context which should be most conducive to "correct" pronunciation.

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Competence, performance and language policy

If we assume that language is one of complex cognitive faculties in many respects parallel to others such as vision or memory, we have every right to ask what the scientifically-informed language policy should look like today.

By aiming to develop language performance of an individual within the specific language community (at a supra-national, national or sub-national level), I see language as a multidimensional capacity immersed in cognitive and conceptual world of an individual and, by extension of the "same except" principle, language community. When speaking of language policy, the main issue at stake is the status of lexicon and grammar and their mutual interrelation.

Unlike generative grammar, in which the words and rules are set apart, in the theoretical framework of Parallel Architecture there is no strict division between the lexicon and the grammar. Rather, words and standard rules are at the opposite corners of a multidimensional continuum that includes all sorts of mixed items such as idioms and meaningful constructions. Important consequence of this view is that semantics is not necessarily in a one-to-one relation to syntax, but most often in a many-to-many relation, which needs to be stated explicitly.

Using platform of Parallel Architecture as a foundation, I performed informed experimental psycholinguistic research. This is exactly the type of research that can and, I believe should, direct language policy, which should go beyond merely reducing itself to the compliance to the normative rules of grammar.

Therefore I will speak of three rather diverse, yet interconnected phenomena that point to the importance of informed decision-making within the domain of language policy.

Firstly, I solicit the analysis of so-called light verbs in Croatian, which are mostly used in a conversational style, from the normative and psycholinguistic treatment point of view. Secondly, I subject the specific problems of syntax-semantics mismatches to scrutiny. These problems are usually considered as unnatural collocations observed in translation services of EU institutions. Finally, I wrap up by advocating for many individual and social benefits of developing competent and critical speakers and readers by building specific types of world-webs at an early age.

I use all of these different, but interrelated phenomena as an example of the importance of experimental psycholinguistic research with proper theoretical grounding in the sphere of language planning and language policy. As a consequence, such a position should inform language beliefs and explicit language policies in a much more efficient way than normative standard positions that were dominant in Croatia for decades.

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Language planning in Norway: deliberation, decision and legitimization

> "*The planner proposes, but the community disposes.*"
>
> (Haugen 1966: 24)

The question of legitimacy and legitimisation is at the very core of any standardisation project. At the end of the day what really matters is whether people see the standard as a legitimate representation of their "language" and are willing to use it. How such legitimacy is obtained, however, may of course differ in different socio-political contexts and at different points in time. Another question – equally pressing – is whether people want to write their language at all or if they are happy using an exoglossic standard.

400 years of Danish rule of Norway came to an end in 1814. Political independence triggered a profound and enduring language struggle. As was the case in other new nations at the time, Norwegian intellectuals and politicians argued for an endoglossic national written standard – as a proper language was seen a the pivotal expression of national identity and autonomy (e.g. Haugen 1966; Wright 2016). However, they were not able to decide on *one* national standard. Thus, since 1885, two juxtaposed written representations of Norwegian, *Nynorsk* and *Bokmål,* have coexisted as legally equal varieties that all Norwegians are required to learn. Throughout the 20th Century both standards were subject to numerous revisions where the overarching goal was to merge the two standards into a single unified, pan-Norwegian standard by way of mutual convergence (e.g. Jahr 2003; Røyneland 2013). This policy, however, was met with massive resistance by the Norwegian public, and it was finally officially abandoned in 2002.

At the turn of the millennium the Norwegian Language Council initiated an effort aimed at comprehensive orthographic reforms for both Bokmål and Nynorsk. The main political goal of the reforms was to *reduce* optionality within both written norms. Whereas a new norm for Bokmål was approved by the Ministry of Culture in 2005, the Nynorsk reform proposal was rejected – part-

ly due to massive public criticism and resistance. A major criticism was that the proposal did not have sufficient support within the Nynorsk community. Consequently, when a new committee was appointed, the question of legitimacy and broad societal grounding was seen as imperative by the Ministry.

In this paper I will discuss the latest revision of the *Nynorsk* standard, which resulted in a new norm in 2012. A key objective of this language reform was to include social actors from many different societal domains in all stages of the process in order to ensure its democratic legitimacy, and to secure user acceptance of the proposed reforms. It is thus important to ask whether, and to what extent, this intention has actually been realized. In my discussions the concepts deliberation, decision and legitimisation will be central.

IZLAGANJA
PRESENTATIONS

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Zauvijek susjedi – ali i sustanari: hrvatski jezik u kontekstu slovenske jezične politike

Jezična politika EU temelji se na multikulturalnosti i višejezičnosti koja se u obrazovnom sustavu odražava promoviranjem učenja barem dvaju stranih jezika, prije svega engleskoga i francuskoga (kao osnovnih jezika komunikacije EU) te susjednih jezika. S druge strane, naglašava se poštovanje jezičnih prava pripadnika manjina i doseljenika, i to učenjem jezika države primateljice ili očuvanjem njihova prvog ili materinskog jezika. Prihvativši različite europske dokumente (npr. *Rezoluciju o učenju i poučavanju jezika u državama članicama EU-a*, *Europsku povelju o regionalnim ili manjinskim jezicima* itd.) i nacionalne dokumente (npr. *Zakon o osnovnoj školi*, *Rezoluciju o nacionalnom programu za jezičnu politiku 2014–2018.* itd.), Slovenija je prihvatila smjernice europske jezične politike, međutim one često ostaju na papiru, dok je jezična stvarnost, zbog nedostatka financija, volje i sl., sasvim drukčija. U radu se predstavlja slovenska jezična politika na području učenja stranih jezika, jezika manjina i jezika doseljenika, i to na primjeru hrvatskoga jezika koji u Sloveniji ima status ne samo strang jezika nego i (kod dijela populacije) prvoga jezika.

Uzimajući u obzir kontradiktornost između „idealnog" formalno-pravnog okvira i jezične stvarnosti, u prvome dijelu predstavlja se položaj i status hrvatskog jezika u osnovnoškolskom, srednjoškolskom i fakultetskom obrazovnom sustavu te njegova percepcija među učenicima, roditeljima, nastavnicima, ravnateljima i u slovenskom društvu općenito. Što se osnovnoškolske razine tiče, *hrvatski kao izborni predmet* uveden je u devetogodišnju osnovnu školu 2000. godine, i to od 7. do 9. razreda, a od 2014./15. postaje i *neobavezni izborni predmet* od 4. do 6. razreda. Budući da je u konkurenciji s „popularnijim" jezicima, za njega ne postoji interes, npr. 2011./12. hrvatski je odabralo 63 učenika u 7 škola (za usporedbu njemački je iste godine odabralo 11.243 učenika u 310 škola, francuski 1.446 učenika u 93 škole itd.). Za nezainteresiranost postoji niz razloga, od nesustavne brige nadležnih institucija, nedostatka didaktičkih materijala i nedovoljne promocije do posve osobnih razloga, tj. nezainteresiranosti učenika, roditelja, pa i ravnatelja. Iako je bilo riječi o tome da se hrvatski uvede i u slovenske srednje škole (da bi imao odgojno-obrazovnu vertikalu), zasa-

da to nije učinjeno, no ta se tema ponovno aktualizira. Što se fakultetske razine tiče, hrvatski ima dugu tradiciju i predaje se u sklopu *Južnoslavenskih studija* na Odsjeku za slavistiku Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Ljubljani, gdje od 1999./2000. postoji i lektor hrvatskoga jezika, književnosti i kulture kojeg šalje hrvatsko Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta (MZOS). U drugome se dijelu rada predstavlja status hrvatskoga kao prvog jezika u slovenskom obrazovnom sustavu, i to u sklopu dopunske ili fakultativne nastave materinskih jezika i kultura. Izvođenje nastave hrvatskog jezika financira hrvatski MZOS u sklopu hrvatske nastave u inozemstvu. Školske godine 2015./16. nastavu (koju izvodi jedan učitelj) pohađa 70-ak učenika u 6 osnovnih škola (Lendava, Maribor, Ljubljana, Radomlje) te u 2 srednje škole (Lendava, Maribor).

Zaključuje se da slovenska jezična politika načelno podupire učenje hrvatskoga jezika, nažalost bez konkretnih rješenja i dostatne brige nadležnih institucija. Problem je i nedovoljna promocija hrvatskoga kao izbornog predmeta, a s druge strane protuslovlje između želje Hrvata za očuvanjem prvoga jezika i njihove nezainteresiranosti za hrvatsku nastavu, čak i onda kada je ona besplatna.

Ključne riječi: jezična politika EU, slovenska jezična politika, obrazovanje, hrvatski jezik, hrvatski jezik kao strani

Neighbours forever – and housemates, too: Croatian in the context of Slovenian language policy

The language policy of the EU is based on multiculturalism and multilingualism, which is reflected in the education system by promoting the learning of at least two foreign languages, where the emphasis is put on the languages of communication in the EU (English, French and German), and neighbouring languages. At the same time, it is also important to develop cultural sensitivity and the awareness of cultural minorities and immigrants in the society. Having adopted various European documents (e.g. *Resolution on Language Learning and Teaching in EU Countries*, *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*) and national documents (e.g. *Primary Education Act*, *Resolution on the National Programme for Language Policy 2014 – 2018*), Slovenia has accepted the guidelines of the European language policy. However, these are often just a dead letter – the linguistic reality, due to a lack of finances, goodwill etc., is quite different. In this paper we look at Slovenian language policy in the field of learning foreign languages, minority languages and immigrant languages, based on the example of Croatian which in Slovenia is not only a foreign language, but a first language as well (to a part of the population).

Taking into account the contradiction between the "ideal" formal and legal framework and linguistic reality, in the first part of the paper we present the position and status of the Croatian language in primary and secondary school and in higher education, as well as the perception of the Croatian language among students, teachers, principals and the Slovenian society in general. As far as primary schools are concerned, *Croatian as an elective subject* was introduced in the 9-year primary school in 2000, from year 7 to year 9, and in 2014/15 it became an *optional elective subject* from year 4 to year 6. But the fact is that Croatian is competing with more "popular" languages, so there is no interest in it; for example, in 2011/12, 63 students chose Croatian in 7 schools (in contrast, 11243 students in 310 schools chose German, 1446 students in 93 school chose French etc.). There are a number of reasons for the lack of interest, from the unsystematic care of the institutions in charge, lack of didactic materials and insufficient promotion, to quite personal reasons, i.e. the lack of interest among students, parents, and even principals. Although there have been some attempts of introducing Croatian into Slovenian secondary schools (in order to achieve vertical alignment in education), this has not been done so far, but the idea is now gaining attention again. As for the university level, Croatian has had a long tradition and it has been taught as part of the *South Slavic Studies* at the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Ljubljana Faculty of Arts, which since 1999/2000 has a lecturer in Croatian language, literature and culture who is sent by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport (MSES). In the second part of the paper, we look at the status of Croatian as a first language in the Slovenian education system, as part of additional or optional classes in native languages and cultures. These classes are financed by the Croatian MSES as part of Croatian classes abroad. In the 2015/16 school year, there were around 70 students in 6 primary schools (Lendava, Maribor, Ljubljana, Radomlje) and 2 secondary schools (Lendava, Maribor) who attended these classes taught by one teacher.

We conclude that Slovenian language policy, in principle, supports the learning of Croatian, however without real solutions and sufficient care of the institutions in charge. The problem also lies in the insufficient promotion of Croatian as an elective subject. On the other hand, considering Croatian as first language there is a gap between the desire of the Croatian people to preserve their native language and their disinterestedness regarding Croatian classes, even when they are free.

Keywords: language policy of the EU, Slovenian language policy, education, Croatian language, Croatian as a foreign language

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O bilježenju, izgovoru i prihvaćenosti hrvatskih standardnih naglasaka

Hrvatski standardni naglasni sustav detaljno je opisan u velikom broju radova iz područja generativne i strukturalističke lingvistike. Elastična stabilnost kao oznaka standardnoga jezika dopušta da jezična norma bude podložna promjenama. Poznato je da je od hrvatske samostalnosti tiskan znatan broj rječnika i normativnih priručnika hrvatskoga jezika u kojima hrvatski naglasni sustav – kvaliteta i raspodjela naglasaka nisu mijenjani. Istovremeno, napisano je puno radova u kojima se problematizira aktualna akcenatska norma pa se govori o *nedosljednosti normativnih priručnika*, *zanemarenoj jezičnoj uporabi*, *govornom uzusu naobraženih sredina*, *prihvaćenoj normi*, *višem i nižem izgovornom varijetetu* i sl.

Usto dio stručnjaka smatra da hrvatski jezik uopće nema hrvatski izgovorni standard te da bi trebalo definirati standardni hrvatski izgovorni identitet.

Kolebanje vezano uz postojanje hrvatskoga izgovornoga standarda pokazali su izvorni govornici hrvatskoga jezika u istraživanju u kojem su trebali procijeniti pripadaju li tekstovi koje su slušali hrvatskom standardnom izgovoru. Istraživanje je provedeno na populaciji od 60 procjenitelja različite dobi, spola i obrazovanja. Dvoje izvornih govornika tekst je pročitalo standardnim izgovorom bez istaknutih zanaglasnih duljina, standardnim naglascima i proveli su sve asimilacije u tekstu. Čitali su upravo onako kako norma određuje standardni izgovor hrvatskoga jezika. Jedan je izvorni govornik bio kajkavskoga podrijetla, drugi štokavskoga. U tom istraživanju pokazalo se da govornici kojima je hrvatski jezik materinski gotovo ne prepoznaju hrvatski kao J1 već kao J1 izvornih hrvatskih govornika često navode bosanski jezik (ponajviše su to odgovori mlađe populacije). Inače, kao ocjenjivači hrvatski su govornici vrlo strogi. Hrvatska javnost najviše od nastavnika očekuje da govore hrvatskim standardnim izgovorom.

Kako bismo utvrdili postoji li jezična politika kada je u pitanju standardni izgovor, u kolikoj mjeri postoji i gdje se ona provodi, provele smo analize i istraživanja opisa i propisa standardnoga izgovora, izgovora „uzornih" govorni-

ka i stavova učenika prema standardnom izgovoru, čije ćemo rezultate ukratko prikazati.

Prvo će se u izlaganju dati pregled normativnih priručnika i glavnih zaključaka radova na temu hrvatskoga naglasnoga standarda. Zatim će se pokazati rezultati istraživanja naglasne politike hrvatskih govornih medija – HRT-a, RTL-a i Nove TV. Neka sociofonetska istraživanja pokazuju da bi izgovorni standard trebao biti onaj kojim općenito govore visokoobrazovane osobe – liječnici, nastavnici, pravnici, novinari... Zbog toga će se u izlaganju, kao treće, iznijeti rezultati analize naglasaka i tih profesija u javnom medijskom govornom prostoru. Naposljetku će se izložiti i rezultati sociofonetskoga istraživanja o stavu učenika srednjih škola prema izgovoru svojih nastavnika.

Teško je odgovoriti na pitanje što je standard u govorenom jeziku i kako dolazimo do njega. Kako odabrati govornike koji bi bili reprezentativni predstavnici standardnoga govora muči brojne jezikoslovce pa daju prednost uporabnoj normi objašnjavajući da se standardnost jezika ne ocjenjuje po priručnicima, nego po uzusu, jezičnoj uporabi.

Hrvatska naglasna standardna norma trebala bi bilježiti suvremeni izgovor govornika hrvatskoga standardnoga jezika pa bi u rječnicima i priručnicima rijetke naglasne pojavnice u javnom govoru koji teži biti standardni barem trebalo tako i označiti.

Ključne riječi: hrvatski standardni naglasci, hrvatski govorni standard, jezična uporaba

The notation, pronunciation and acceptance of Croatian standard accentuation

Croatian standard accents are researched and described in a number of papers in the field of generative and structuralist linguistics. Elastic stability as designation of standard language allows to standard to be changed. It is known that since Croatian independence it is published a number of dictionaries and normative manuals of Croatian language in which the Croatian system of accents - the quality and distribution of accents are unchanged. At the same time, it is written a lot of papers in which the problems of the current accentuation norm is described such as *inconsistencies of normative manuals, ignoring of language use, speech of educated society as a prestigious, recognizing of standard pronunciation as higher and lower pronunciation variety,* and so on.

Also part of the experts consider that the Croatian language acctualy hasn't got Croatian speech standard and it should be defined the standard Croatian pronunciation identity.

The problem of the Croatian speech standard also exsist at native speakers of the Croatian language. In one study assessors were supposed to assess whether pronuciation they heard belong to Croatian standard pronunciation. The study was conducted on a population of 60 assessors of different ages, gender and education. Two native speakers read the text on the way of contemporary standard norm - with standard accents and without after stress length, they have done all assimilation in the text. They read text exactly as the norm defines. One native speaker was Kajkavian origin, the other Štokavian. In this study it was shown that Croatian people almost do not recognize Croatian as L1 but as L1 of native Croatian speakers often answered that it is Bosnian language (mostly young population). Otherwise, as evaluators Croatian speakers are very strict. The Croatian public expected that teacher's speech should be model of Croatian standard pronunciation.

In this work we would try to answer - whether language policy of Croatian standard speech exsist so we've done a research of Croatian language norm and uses of the speech standard, a research of speech of speakers that could be model of speech standard and research of attitudes of students towards the standard pronunciation, which results will be summarized here.

The first will be the presented an overview of normative manuals and handbooks and main conclusions of the papers about Croatian accentual standards. Then it will be showen the results of the research of speech policy of Croatian media – on HRT, RTL and Nova TV. Some sociophonetic studies shown that articulation standard should be the one which is spoken by highly educated people - doctors, teachers, lawyers, journalists ... Therefore, it will be presented the results of analysis of accents of these professions in the public media. Finally, it will be presented the results of research of the attitude of students to the pronunciation of their teachers.

It is difficult to answer the question what is the standard in spoken language. For many Croatian linguists is problem how to define whose speech is representative standard speech so some of them prefer language use.

However, Croatian accent standard norm should note a contemporary speech of the Croatian standard language so in dictionaries and manuals rare accent examples in a public speech that tends to be the standard, at least, should be marked as rare.

Keywords: Croatian standard accents, Croatian standard speech, language use

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The position of language and discourses of belonging among the Arbanasi of Zadar, Croatia

A bulk of sociolinguistic literature, and in particular different approaches dealing with language maintenance and shift or language revitalization, depart from the idea that there is an inalienable link between language and ethnicity. The most recent study of ethnolinguistic vitality of the Arbanasi community in Zadar (Croatia) reveals, however, a much more intricate relationship between the two. The Arbanasi migrated to Croatia three hundred years ago from Skadar Lake fleeing the Ottoman wars and today their language is spoken by only a few hundred speakers. Most of the members never self-identified as Albanians and have historically (been) identified with both Croatian and Italian ethnic / national identity. The community has also never been monolingual so that complex patterns of hybrid language-identity links have been common since its arrival to the Zadar region. The aim of the paper is to analyse the ways in which Arbanasi identity is constructed by different actors within the community: the speakers of Arbanasi, the semi-speakers and non-speakers as well as the out-groups, all of these 'discourse coalitions' being relevant co-creators of the Arbanasi identity discourse. The study is based on a fieldwork including some elements of the ethnographic approach via participant observation, twenty semi-structured interviews with the members of the Arbanasi community conducted in the course of 2015/2016 and the secondary research of the existing scientific and media documents on the community. The data analysed in the framework of the socio-cultural approach indicate that, as in most communities marked by an extremely high degree of language decline, the gradual but fast language loss has become a fruitful polygon for the proliferation of somewhat contesting discourses of belonging. In addition to the often mentioned role of language, which some members still perceive an authenticity marker enabling only a small number of users to claim the Arbanasi identity, other discourses of belonging concern specific cultural positions regarding origin and territoriality highlighting the community's multiple identification with a strong discount of the territory of origin (present day Albania) and the competing relations be-

tween local Arbanasi, Croatian, and Italian identity. The preliminary results of the research indicate that the competing discourses may be due to the generation gap of the interviewees, but also to the historically diverse family histories resulting in divided political and ideological patterns.

Keywords: language and identity link, language loss, discourse of belonging, Arbanasi, Croatia

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Cognitive linguistics as the basis of linguistic, communicative and pragmatic competence. The case of function words

In this presentation the authors argue that a methodological approach to EFL teaching of function words, which systematically takes into account the most recent cognitive linguistic frameworks and results and relies on the crosslinguistic – in our case Croatian-English – perspective, has a number of advantages over traditional methodological approaches. We illustrate our arguments and try to support our views by exemplifying our position on a select group of English and Croatian demonstratives, prepositions and articles. The theoretical framework tries to marry the traditional and the cognitive linguistic approaches (e.g. Lyons, 1999; Trenkic, 2008; Tyler and Evans, 2003) with the growing body of neurolinguistic evidence (numerous behavioural studies, as well as those employing neuroimaging methods such as ERPs, MEG, fMRI, PET which provide insight into both temporal and spatial aspects of language processing). In the EFL context the shared results stemming out of the three lines (traditional, cognitive linguistic and neurolinguistic) seem to share some elements of the (revisited) Slobin's (1996) 'thinking-for-speaking' hypothesis. We propose that understanding the structure of the NP, more specifically its determiners, entails– (re)conceptualizing aspects of the world relevant for the linguistic expression (in the second language), i.e. aspects of the world but also of the communicative process that are crucial for the purposes of the interlocutors' 'meeting of minds' (see Warglien and Gärdenfors, 2013; Gärdenfors, 2014).

Keywords: function words, cognitive approach, teaching

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Latinski jezični tokovi u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Dalmaciji

Ovim će radom biti dan prikaz izumiranja i oživljavanja latinskoga ranosrednjovjekovnog jezika u gradovima bizantske provincije Dalmacije i na okolnome hrvatskom teritoriju.

Latinski je jezik od svojega samog početka bio dvoslojan: s jedne je strane stajala klasična *urbanitas*, uglađena pa čak i umjetna latinština, a s druge pučki govor nižih slojeva društva – *sermo vulgaris*.

Ta se razlika krajem antike i (ras)padom Zapadnoga Rimskog Carstva stalno povećavala te vulgarni izričaj sve više uzima maha. Nestankom središnje vlasti antičke se škole gramatičara i retora zatvaraju te se smanjuje razina latinske pismenosti.

U prvim stoljećima srednjega vijeka spomenuti se vulgarni govor transformira u novi jezik i počinje poprimati obilježja romanskih jezika s diferencijacijama lokalnoga tipa u izgovoru i leksiku, no tek je početkom IX. st. osviješteno postojanje toga novog jezika (*rustica Romana lingua*). Budući da narod više nije razumio latinski, nastala je potreba za njegovim ponovnim učenjem. Reforme se prvi uhvatio Pipin Mali, a nastavio ju je Karlo Veliki te je karolinška, a potom i gregorijanska reforma dala klasičnom latinskom na Zapadu novi život.

Dalmacija je pak u ranome srednjem vijeku podijeljena na dva jezično i politički odvojena dijela: slavofonu hrvatsku državu i izolirane romanske gradove; stoga je i razvojni put latinskoga jezika u njima različit. U gradovima je posvjedočen vulgarni latinski na kasnoantičkim epigrafičkim spomenicima, a nešto kasnije i suživot latinskoga i romanskog u najranijim zadarskim ispravama te na splitskim kamenim spomenicima. Tu je najčešća značajka otklon u razlikovanju morfoloških padeža, koji se pojavljuje usporedno s pojačanom uporabom sintaktičkih padeža nastalih spajanjem prijedloga s općim romanskim imenskim oblicima.

Očevidno je da je u dalmatinskim gradovima pod bizantskom upravom utjecaj karolinške renesanse bio spor i slab sve do druge polovice XI. st., za razliku od Hrvatske, koja je pod utjecajem franačkih misionara, gdje je broj romanskih elemenata malen. To se posebno očituje na kamenim natpisima i u ispravama hrvatskih narodnih vladara.

Nakon tog vremena primjetan je znatan porast jezičnoga latinskog standarda nauštrb romanskih elemenata u zadarskima i ispravama iz ostalih dalmatinskih gradova, pod utjecajem crkvenih reformi; govorni dalmatoromanski postao je jezik za kućnu uporabu i postupno nestajao pod sve većim pritiskom prestižnijega mletačkog i s druge strane slavenskog/hrvatskog.

Može se zaključiti da su tokovi latinskoga u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Dalmaciji ovisni o više čimbenika. Ponajprije je bitan izvorni jezik govornih zajednica, dalmatski u gradovima i slavenski na hrvatskome teritoriju, a kohabitacijom se i u gradovima počinje sve više koristiti slavenski. Nadalje se utjecajnom pokazala veličina i politička snaga prostora jer su Hrvati bili dovoljno snažni da sačuvaju svoj jezik, a gradovi premaleni da bi se oduprli mletačkome političkom i jezičnom utjecaju. Zbog vjerskog stanja, tj. nepokrštenosti Hrvata ovamo dolaze misionari koji s kršćanstvom šire i latinitet. I na koncu, život latinskoga ovisio je dakako i o političkome utjecaju, franačkom u Hrvatskoj, gdje je utjecaj karolinške reforme vidljiv na spomenicima i u ispravama dvorske kancelarije hrvatskih vladara, a bizantskom u Dalmaciji, do koje i zato slabo dopire karolinška obnova.

Ključne riječi: srednjovjekovni latinski, dalmatoromanski, karolinška reforma

Transformations of the Latin language in early medieval Dalmatia

This paper will give an overview of the extinction and resuscitation of early medieval Latin in the cities of the Byzantine province Dalmatia and in the surrounding Croatian territory.

Latin language has been dual-layered from its very inception: on the one hand there was a classical *urbanitas*, refined and even artificial lingua Latina, and on the other the vernacular of the lower strata – *sermo vulgaris*.

This difference constantly expanded by the end of Antiquity and the dissolution of the Western Roman Empire and the vernacular gradually becomes more widespread. With the termination of the central government ancient schools of grammarians and rhetoricians close down and the level of Latin literacy decreases.

In the first centuries of the Middle Ages the already mentioned vernacular transforms to a new language and starts to adopt the characteristics of Romance languages with the differentiation of local type in pronunciation and vocabulary, but only in the beginning of the 9th century the existence of that new lan-

guage was acknowledged (*rustica Romana lingua*). Since people did not understand Latin any more, there was a growing need for its relearning. Pepin the Short first started the reform, continued by Charlemagne and in this way Carolingian, and then Gregorian reform revitalized classical Latin in the West.

Dalmatia was, however, divided into two linguistically and politically separate parts in the early Middle Ages: Slavophonic Croatian state and isolated Byzantine cities; that is why the development of Latin was different in them. We find in cities the existence of vulgar Latin in epigraphic monuments of the late Antiquity, and somewhat later the coexistence of Latin and Romance in the earliest documents from Zadar and in the stone monuments from Split. The most common characteristic is the deviation in differentiating morphological cases, which appears simultaneously with the use of syntactic cases originating from adding prepositions to the general Romance nominal forms.

The influence of Carolingian Renaissance in Dalmatian cities under Byzantine administration was obviously slow and weak until the latter half of the 11th century. It was different in Croatia, influenced by the Frankish monks, where Romance features are rarely found. This is particularly evident on stone inscriptions and in documents of Croatian national rulers.

After that period a substantial increase of the Latin linguistic standard at the expense of Romance features is evident in documents from Zadar and other Dalmatian cities, influenced by the church reforms; Dalmato-Romance has become a language for everyday use and gradually disappeared under growing pressure of the more prestigious Venetian and, on the other hand, Slavic/Croatian.

In conclusion, transformations of Latin in early medieval Dalmatia depended on several factors. Firstly, there is the importance of the native speech of language communities, Dalmatian in cities and Slavic in Croatian territory. Moreover, due to cohabitation, Slavic is increasingly used in cities. Secondly, the influential factor is the size and political strength of the region because Croats were strong enough to preserve their language, and cities were too small to withstand Venetian political and linguistic influence. Due to the religious conditions (Croats were not baptized), missionaries came to this region and spread Latinity along with Christianity. Finally, the existence of Latin certainly depended on the political influence, Frankian in Croatia, where the influence of the Carolingian reform was evident in monuments and in documents of Croatian rulers, and Byzantine in Dalmatia, where the Carolingian reform is consequently less present.

Keywords: medieval Latin, Dalmato-Romance, Carolingian Renaissance

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Izazovi provedbe politike višejezičnosti u Hrvatskoj

U suvremenome društvu poznavanje dvaju ili više jezika za potrebe privatne, javne i profesionalne komunikacije sve više dobiva na važnosti. Posljedica je to globalizacijskih i integracijskih procesa unutar kojih osobe različitoga jezičnog i kulturološkog podrijetla dolaze u kontakt (v. Aronin i Singleton 2012). Višejezičnost se stoga danas smatra jednom od temeljnih vještina, koja pojedincu donosi brojne komunikacijske, kulturološke, ekonomske, pa čak i kognitivne prednosti (v. Bialystok 2011, Wei 2000). U skladu s time Europska unija ističe višejezičnost kao jedan od prioriteta vlastite i nacionalnih jezičnih politika zemalja članica (v. Vijeće Europe 2008). Usto, promiče se uporaba manjinskih i regionalnih jezika u govoru i pismu te javnome i privatnome životu (v. Vijeće Europe 1992). U hrvatskome je kontekstu također prepoznata važnost očuvanja jezične raznolikosti i poticanja višejezičnosti kao jedne od temeljnih vrednota europskoga društva (v. npr. Ustavni zakon o pravima nacionalnih manjina 2002, Nacionalni okvirni kurikulum 2011). Međutim, implementacija se takve jezične politike suočava s nizom poteškoća (v. Gorter i Cenoz 2012).

S ciljem utvrđivanja problema koji se tiču provedbe politike višejezičnosti u hrvatskome kontekstu i mogućih načina njihova rješavanja proveli smo istraživanje u tri faze. U prvoj je fazi održana skupna diskusija s 26 sudionika, predstavnika manjinskih udruga te ustanova na području odgoja i obrazovanja, kulture i zdravstva, odnosno onih društvenih domena koje izravno i neizravno oblikuju jezičnu politiku. Svrha je diskusije bila steći uvid u probleme i izazove vezane uz višejezičnost s kojima se predstavnici udruga i ustanova svakodnevno susreću. U drugome smo dijelu putem elektroničke pošte pozvali sudionike diskusije da pošalju prijedloge mjera koje bi trebalo poduzeti kako bi se uočeni problemi riješili. U posljednjoj su fazi provede-

ni individualni polustrukturirani intervjui s ciljem elaboriranja rezultata dobivenih u prethodnim etapama istraživanja i produbljivanja spoznaja.

Analiza rezultata pokazala je da su najveći problemi uočeni u odgoju i obrazovanju, pri čemu se posebno ističu nedovoljna podrška učenicima koji ne govore hrvatski jezik ili ga nedovoljno znaju te njihovim roditeljima i nastavnicima, zapostavljenost zavičajnih idioma učenika i podređen status drugih stranih jezika u odnosu na engleski. Zamijećen je i nedostatak kulturno-umjetničkih sadržaja i literature na manjinskim jezicima i dijalektima hrvatskoga jezika, nedostatno razvijena svijest roditelja o važnosti i načinima poticanja višejezičnosti te nedovoljna educiranost odgajatelja, učitelja i zdravstvenih djelatnika za rad s višejezičnom djecom i djecom koja ne vladaju dominantnim jezikom okoline. Kao neke od najvažnijih mjera koje je potrebno poduzeti da bi se navedeni problemi riješili ispitanici ističu kurikularnu reformu u smjeru usklađivanja nastave hrvatskoga i stranih jezika te veću zastupljenost sadržaja vezanih uz poučavanje hrvatskoga kao stranoga jezika u sklopu studija hrvatskoga jezika i stručnih usavršavanja nastavnika. Od ključne je važnosti i upoznavanje javnosti sa znanstvenim spoznajama o višejezičnosti, ulaganje većih napora u uspješnu integraciju pripadnika manjinskih zajednica u većinsko društvo te provođenje projekata kojima bi se promicala uporaba manjinskih jezika i dijalekata u privatnome i javnome životu.

Ključne riječi: jezična politika, višejezičnost, Hrvatska

The challenges of the implementation of the policy of multilingualism in Croatia

Due to globalization and integration processes, which bring people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds into contact, the ability to use two or more languages for private, public and professional communication is becoming essential in contemporary society (see Aronin & Singleton 2012). Multilingualism is therefore considered to be a basic skill, which brings numerous communicative, cultural, economic and even cognitive advantages to an individual (see Bialystok 2011, Wei 2000). Accordingly, the European Union considers multilingualism as one of the priorities of its own and national language policies of its member states (see Council of Europe 2008). Moreover, it promotes the use of minority and regional languages in public and private life (see Council of Europe 1992). Croatia also recognizes the

importance of preserving linguistic diversity and fostering multilingualism as one of the fundamental values of European society (see, e.g., *Ustavni zakon o pravima nacionalnih manjina* 2002, *Nacionalni okvirni kurikulum* 2011). However, the implementation of this kind of language policy faces numerous challenges (see Gorter & Cenoz 2012).

In order to identify the problems related to the implementation of the policy of multilingualism in Croatia and ways in which they can be addressed, we have conducted a three-stage study. The first stage involved a focus group discussion with 26 participants, representatives of minority associations and institutions from education, childcare, culture and healthcare sectors, which directly and indirectly shape language policy. The purpose of the discussion was to gain insight into the problems and challenges related to multilingualism that the representatives often encounter. In the second part we invited the participants in the discussion via e-mail to suggest measures that should be taken to tackle the problems that had been identified. In the final stage we conducted individual semi-structured interviews to gain a deeper insight into the experiences and views of selected participants.

The results indicate that the most severe problems are found in education and childcare, in particular insufficient support for students who have not (fully) mastered Croatian, their teachers and parents, neglect of students' vernaculars and the subordinate status of other foreign languages with respect to English. Scarcity of cultural content and literature in minority languages and Croatian dialects, lack of parental awareness of the importance of multilingualism and ways in which it can be fostered, and inadequate training of teachers and health professionals who work with multilingual children and children who have not mastered the majority language are also pointed out. As some of the most important measures the participants suggest a curricular reform of primary and secondary education aimed at the harmonisation of Croatian and foreign language teaching, and more attention devoted to the teaching of Croatian as a foreign language in the formal education and professional development of Croatian language teachers. Dissemination of research findings about multilingualism to the general public, more successful integration of minority communities into mainstream society and the running of projects to promote the use of minority languages and Croatian dialects in private and public life are also seen as crucial.

Keywords: language policy, multilingualism, Croatia

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English for specific purposes and the construction of engineering students' identity

In today's globalised world, university engineering programmes need to educate global engineering students that will be able to cope with new globalised workmarkets. The changed socio-economic contexts have urged a need for defining global engineering, i.e. learning behaviours, processes and methods that could cater for the requirements of the global environment. To meet the current requirements, engineers, besides developing core technical knowledge and skills, need to be competent in foreign languages, namely technical English.

This paper addresses identity-related phenomena in the context of English for Specific Purposes (ESP). Students are viewed as members of a specific social community - foreign language classroom. Learning taking place in the ESP classroom could enable students not only to acquire foreign language skills and knowledge but to connect with significant worlds beyond their immediate social context. By encouraging students to orientate towards the imagined communities of global engineers, ESP classes might have a direct impact on students' current identities. Identity being subject to development and change and not a fixed state, such educational practices could expand the range of students' identities.

A survey was conducted among the students of mechanical engineering at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering and Naval Architecture in Zagreb with the aim of gaining insights into their identity as well as finding out which factors the students perceive as relevant in the construction of the identity of global engineers. The relationship between the students' identity perceptions and their learning achievements was also analysed. The data was collected using a questionnaire, distributed and completed in class. Since the ways learners construct and change their identities have clear implications for teachers, the findings were used to formulate recommendations for effective teaching practices.

Keywords: engineering students, identity construction, English for Specific Purposes, ESP classes

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Standardiziranje imena stranih zemljopisnih objekata u hrvatskome jeziku

Za strane zemljopisne objekte u načelu upotrebljavamo strano, tj. izvorno ime, ili hrvatskomu jeziku prilagođeno ime ili hrvatsko ime za određeni objekt, tj. egzonim. Kako je preporuka skupine stručnjaka koja se bavi zemljopisnim imenima pri UN-u (UNGEGN) da se ograniči upotreba egzonima te da se ne stvaraju novi od 1972., pojavila se potreba da se definira koja imena jesu egzonimi, popiše ih se te se odredi način na koji se mogu standardizirati ona imena čiji se likovi nesustavno upotrebljavaju u pojedinome jeziku.

U referatu će se na temelju jezičnih priručnika i građe iz relevantnih zemljopisnih vrela, ponajviše atlasa, u posljednjih stotinjak godina prikazati dosadašnja praksa udomaćivanja imena, tj. svojevrsnoga standardiziranja imena stranih zemljopisnih objekata u RH prije i nakon prvih rezolucija UNGEGN-a o egzonimima. Prikazat će se standardizacijsko stanje u drugih slavenskih naroda (Slovenci, Poljaci) te će se iznijeti trenutni zahtjevi koje je nužno provesti kako bismo u standardizaciji tih zemljopisnih imena sačuvali hrvatsku jezičnu baštinu.

Ključne riječi: standardizacija, imena stranih zemljopisnih objekata, egzonimi, UNGEGN

Standardization of names of foreign geographical objects in Croatian language

For foreign geographical objects we generally use a foreign, in other words, original names, or names adjusted to Croatian standard. The third option presents a possibility of use of Croatian names or exonyms (Croatian forms of a certain names), for a specific foreign geographical object. Since the recommendation of *United Nation Group of Experts on Geographical Names* (*UNGEGN*)

is to confine the use of exonyms, with the general tendency not to introduce new exonyms (after 1972), a requisite has emerged for a new treatment of exonyms. It involves a new attempt at definition of exonyms, an effort to make an inventory of exonyms, definition of models of standardization of those names whose characters are unsystematically used in certain language.

The paper will show the contemporary practice concerning the adaptation of names, i.e. a form of the standardization of foreign objects in Croatia, before and after the first UNGEGN resolutions on exonyms. This will be achieved through the analysis of linguistic handbooks and material from relevant geographical sources, mostly gazetteers and atlases, published during the previous century. Finally, the paper will indicate the state of standardization in other Slavic languages (Polish, Slovenian). It will also display current requirements that should be carried out in order to preserve Croatian language heritage in the process of standardization of those geographical names.

Keywords: standardization, exonym, names of foreign geographical objects, UNGEGN

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Uloga pučkih pjesama i njihova jezika u konstrukciji identiteta zajednice

Radom će se analizirati i pokazati u kojoj mjeri i na koji način jezik pučkih pjesama sudjeluje u konstrukciji i/ili učvršćivanju identiteta zajednice kojoj su pučke pjesme namijenjene. Pri tome će se obuhvatiti nekoliko značajnih pučkih pjesnika s otoka Paga i kroz analizu jezika njihovih pjesama utvrditi njihova identitetska uloga u zajednici. Pučki su književni tekstovi usmjereni na zajednicu unutar koje nastaju, iz nje crpe sadržaje koje obrađuju te se ostvaruju u međuodnosu sa svojim recipijentima te zajednice. Iz toga se međuodnosa pučkih književnih tekstova i njihovih recipijenata mogu izdvojiti izvanknjiževne funkcije pučkih pjesama koje su dominantne njihovim estetskim funkcijama. Izvanknjiževne funkcije pučkih književnih tekstova ostvaruju se kroz njihovu ulogu u zajednici. Ta se uloga ispunjava i u čuvanju, stvaranju i prenošenju kolektivnoga pamćenja zajednice, a analizirat će se unutar teorijskoga okvira kulture sjećanja i pamćenja kao i, s njome usko povezana, njihova uloga u tvorbi i učvršćivanju identiteta zajednice. Ovim će se radom analizirati načini kojima pučke pjesme čuvaju, stvaraju i prenose kolektivna sjećanja zajednice obrađujući važne osobe i događaje za samu zajednicu, a pri tome će se pokazati kako svojim osobitim jezikom čuvaju i specifičan jezik zajednice kao odraz njezina tradicionalnoga identiteta. Pučki se autori često koriste intencionalnim komunikacijskim djelovanjem nastojeći ostvariti neposrednu i razumljivu komunikaciju sa svojim recipijentima, stoga odabiru karakterističan jezik zajednice, onaj koji im je blizak. Paške su pučke pjesme često pisane specifičnim lokalnim jezikom i narječjem zajednice kojoj su upućeni. Obraćajući im se na njihovom intimnom, zajedničkom, lokalnom jeziku, pučki autori svoje recipijente potiču na ponovno otkrivanje pripadnosti određenoj zajednici. Prepoznavanjem zastarjelih, lokalnih dijalektalnih naziva recipijenti pučke pjesme dijele zajedničku prošlost, odnosno sjećanja na nju te ponovno otkrivaju i/ili grade svoj tradicionalni identitet.

Važna uloga pučkih književnih ostvarenja, a posebice pučkih pjesama, zbog mnemotehničkih svojstava njihove strukture, jest pohranjivanje i prenošenje kolektivnoga pamćenja zajednice čijim prihvaćanjem zajednica potvrđuje i učvršćuje svoj identitet kojim se prezentira i razlikuje naspram drugih

zajednica. Veliku ulogu u tome procesu identifikacije ima i jezik, koji se treti-ra kao jedna od najvažnijih komponenti koje određuju pojam etnicitet, a on je i *emocionalni agens* za okupljanje na etničkoj osnovi te sredstvo integracije. Upravo taj emotivan osjećaj pripadnosti, jezikom svojih pjesama, paški pučki autori nastoje potaknuti kod svojih recipijenata. Kao pripadnik različitih gru-pa, pojedinac, radi lakše interakcije s drugim članovima grupe, traži zajednič-ka obilježja, a upravo je jezik najznačajnije obilježje kulturnih razlika, a time i identiteta grupe. Zastarjele čakavske nazive unutar paških pučkih pjesama zajednica prepoznaje i prihvaća potvrđujući te izgrađujući njima vlastiti identi-tet. Jezik pučkih pjesama tako postaje čimbenikom očuvanja kulturnoga na-slijeđa zajednice, a time i njezina identiteta, a kulturni se identitet ne temelji na individualnosti, već na kolektivu i njegovoj posebnosti naspram drugih, posebice kad je riječ o nižim kulturama, odnosno pučkim, čiji su dio i pučke pjesme koje ih odražavaju. Rad donosi izabrani dio pučkih pjesama nastalih tije-kom 20. stoljeća na otoku Pagu kada je pučko stvaralaštvo bilo najproduktiv-nije te imalo najveći broj recipijenata.

Ključne riječi: jezik pučke pjesme, kolektivno pamćenje, kolektivni identitet

The role of folk songs and their language in the construction of the community's identity

This paper will analyzed and show how much and in what way lan-guage of folk songs participates in the construction and/or strengthening the identity of the community to which folk songs are intended. In doing so, pa-per will cover several significant folk poet from the island of Pag and through the analysis of the language of their songs determine their identity role in the community. Folk literary texts are directed to the community in which they arise. Out of it they draw contents which they process. The folk songs realized in a mutual relationship with their recipients and the community. From that in-terrelationship between folk literary texts and their recipients can be extract-ed extraliterary functions of folk songs that are dominant their aesthetic func-tion. Extraliterary function of folk literary texts are are realized through its role in the community. This role fulfills and in the preservation, creation and trans-mission of collective memory boards, which will be analyzed within the the-oretical framework of culture of remembrance and, with it closely related, the role of folk texts in the creation and strengthening of community identity. This paper will analyze the ways in which folk songs preserve, create and transmit

the collective memory of the community by processing the important persons and events for the the community itself. Also will be shown how their particular language preserve the specific language of the community as a reflection of its traditional identity. Folk authors often use intentional communication activities to the attainment of immediate and understandable communication with their recipients, therefore choosing a distinctive language community, one that is close to them. Pag's folk songs are often written with specific local speech and dialect of the community to which were instructed. Addressing them in their intimate, shared, local language, folk authors encourage their recipients to the rediscovery of belonging to a particular community. By recognizing obsolete, the local dialect words recipients of folk songs share a common past, and memories of her and rediscover and/or build their traditional identity.

The important role of popular literary works, especially folk songs, because of mnemonic properties of their structure, is storing and transmitting the collective memory of the community. By accepting that memory, community confirms and reinforces its identity by which is presented and differs from the other communities. A huge role in this process of identification has a language, which is treated as one of the most important components that define the notion of ethnicity. He is an emotional agent to assemble on an ethnic basis the a means for integration. It is precisely that emotional sense of belonging that the folk authors of Pag seek to encourage in their recipients whith the language of their songs. As a member of various groups, individual, in order to facilitate interaction with other members of the group, looking for common features, and it is the language which is the most important feature of cultural differences, and and therefore the identity of the group. Outdated words inside of island folk songs community recognizes and accepts affirming and building up their own identity. Language of folk songs becomes a factor of preserving the cultural heritage of the community, and therefore the its identity. Cultural identity is not based on the individual, but on the community and its uniqueness compared to other, especially when it comes to low or folk culture, whose part are also the folk songs that reflect them. The work brings selected part of folk songs created during the 20th century on the the island of Pag when the popular creation was the most productive and had the highest number of recipients.

Keywords: language of folk songs, collective memory, collective identity

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Jezično planiranje u odnosu na malu jezičnu zajednicu (primjer italofone jezične zajednice u zapadnoj Slavoniji)

Sad već dosta daleke 1992. godine Michael Krauss je napisao da jezik može biti siguran u svoju budućnost, tj. da neće izumrijeti, ukoliko ga govori barem sto tisuća govornika. Ta se tvrdnja, međutim, i nije baš potvrdila, budući da je povijest nekih jezika pokazala (i dokazala) da je stvarna situacija ipak drugačija i da ne treba pretjerivati s uopćavanjem. Naime, nekoliko godina nakon toga autori Nettle i Romaine (2001) pokazali su da je broj stanovnika osjetljiv parametar te da postoje jezici sa stotinjak tisuća govornika koji nisu ugroženi, kao i oni kojima niti milijun govornika ne osigurava sigurnu budućnost.

Postoje, dakle, i drugi faktori, osim broja stanovnika zbog kojih neki jezik možemo smatrati ugroženim, kao što su, primjerice, politički, gospodarski, kulturološki, demografski, psiholingvistički i još mnogi drugi razlozi.

Italofona jezična zajednica smještena u zapadnoj Slavoniji, poglavito na području općina Pakrac, Lipik i Kutina jedna je od takvih visoko ugroženih jezičnih sredina. Kao što je poznato iz nekih dosada objavljenih radova (Deželjin 2015a, 2015b, 2015c), spomenuta se jezična zajednica razlikuje od talijanskih jezičnih zajednica smještenih na jadranskoj obali, posebno na Kvarneru i u Istri, ponajprije zato jer je povijest njezina postojanja na spomenutim prostorima znatno kraća: prvi doseljenici stigli su u današnje krajeve krajem devetnaestoga stoljeća. Osim toga, od trenutka dolaska u novu zemlju, ovu je imigrantsku zajednicu karakterizirala njezina izoliranost od matice zemlje, a danas je njezino postojanje poznato čak i malom broju stručnjaka, talijanista.

Na temelju dosada prikupljenih podataka na terenu, za ovu je prigodu relevantan podatak da su informanti, pripadnici ove jezične zajednice, potvrdili svoj pozitivan stav prema većinskom jeziku u okruženju, odnosno cijeloj kroatofonoj zajednici koja, na temelju Zakona o zaštiti manjinskih jezičnih zajednica koji postoji, skrbi za sve manjinske zajednice u Republici Hrvatskoj. Istodobno, na temelju dostupnih podataka, razvidno je da i Republika Italija, kao matična zemlja, brine o cijeloj talijanskoj manjini na području naše domovine. Unatoč toga, ova manjinska jezična zajednica, prilično mala već u početku, toliko je sužena da joj prijeti izumiranje.

Namjera je ovoga rada rasvijetliti razloge zbog kojih italofone zajednice u zapadnoj Slavoniji, za razliku od ostalih na teritoriju RH, postaju ugrožene. Polazimo, naime, od pretpostavke da unutar postojećih zakonskih akata i institucionalnih djelatnosti postoje nedovoljno iskorišteni elementi vezani za planiranje jezičnoga prenošenja koji mogu donekle usporiti proces nestanka ove jezične enklave, odnosno koji joj mogu pomoći da očuva što je moguće bolje svoj kulturni identitet.

Ključne riječi: italofona enklava, ugrožena jezična zajednica, planiranje jezičnoga prenošenja

Acquisition planning in regard to a small linguistic community (example of an Italian enclave in western Slavonia)

Almost a quarter of a century ago, in 1992, Michael Kraus affirmed that a language should not fear for its future, i. e. won't be extinguished, if it is spoken by at least 100.000 speakers. However, this statement failed to be reliable, since the history of some languages showed (and confirmed) that reality is much different and that every generalization can be dangerous. As matter of fact, several years later, Nettle and Romain (2001) showed that a number of speakers can be a rather delicate parameter since there were languages spoken by hardly 100.000 people that were not endangered as well as those whose future was insecure and even at risk despite a million of its speakers.

Apart from a number of speakers, there are, as it is presumed, other factors that can threaten a certain language, such as, for instance, politics, economy, culture, demography, psycholinguistics, and so on.

The Italian communities situated in western Slavonia, and in particular on the territory of three small towns, Lipik, Kutina, and Pakrac, represent one of those highly endangered linguistic enclaves. I have spoken of these communities on several occasions (Deželjin 2015a, 2015b, 2015c), so that it is well known that this Italian speaking enclave differs from other Italian speaking communities found on the Adriatic coast, but mostly in Istria and in the Kvarner gulf, because of its history on Croatian territory: it is much shorter since the first settlers arrived towards the end of the nineteenth century. In addition, from the moment of their arrival in a new country, those immigrants remained completely isolated from their homeland, so that a number of scholars, experts in Italian linguistics familiar with the existence of their descendants, is very limited.

On this occasion I would like to discuss one particular piece of information that pops out of the so far collected data in research outdoor. It concerns my respondents' language attitude. According to the answers in Questionnaires, they have confirmed their positive attitude toward Croatian, majority language that surrounds them, as well as to the entire Croatian speaking community, which, thanks to the Law on minority languages protection, has got duty to protect all minority languages on its territory. At the same, relying on information that I have got, Italy, as the homeland, takes care of the entire Italian minority in Croatia. Nevertheless, the Italian speaking community in continental Croatia, rather small at the very beginning some 150 years ago, has been furtherly so reduced that it faces the inevitable disappearance.

This paper aims to detect reasons that endanger the Italian speaking communities in western Slavonia, since other Italian communities in Croatia do not face the same situation. I start from the assumption that within the existing legal acts and institutionalised activities there have been recesses concerning acquisition planning, unexploited so far, that could slow down the process of vanishing of this Italian enclave, or that could help it to preserve its cultural identity.

Keywords: Italian speaking enclave, endangered linguistic community, acquisition planning

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The new Slovene normative guide: orthographic categories and the growing dictionary

The paper will present the formation of the new Slovene orthographic guide, the linguistic and methodological difficulties and the formation phases of the new handbook.

In Slovene linguistics, the second half of the 20th century was marked by two factors which shaped the lexicographical presentation of normative facts to Slovene speakers. (1) Due to the lack of a monolingual descriptive and stylistic dictionary, this task was carried out by orthographic dictionaries, thereby expanding their informative quality to the level of semantic interpretation, stylistic marking and lexis evaluation. (2) In the last decade of the 20th century, the orthographic dictionary production was characterized by noticeable material leaning of the Slovene orthographic guide *Slovenski pravopis* 2001 (hereinafter SP 2001) on the previously prepared and issued standard Slovene language dictionary *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (hereinafter SSKJ) but with a deviation on the level of grammatical information. Namely, the Toporišič Slovene grammar was also published in this time period, resulting in a completely new presentation of certain language system information in the dictionary.

The problem with this orthographic dictionary is that, in terms of informative quality, it is actually grammar copied into a dictionary. It does not fulfil the basic task of a dictionary, which is to supplement the orthographic rules with additional material.

The design of the **new orthographic dictionary** will take into account the particular needs of the language user, changed social circumstances and new linguistic facts. The dictionary will be formed simultaneously with the new descriptive dictionary, so its specialization will be distinctly orthographic. The informative quality plans for the orthographic dictionary (titled *Slovar pravopisnih težav*, 2014–; hereinafter SPT) are based on the belief that it should focus only on normative dilemmas, as it is being formed in parallel with orthographic rules, namely in the stages described below.

1. The appropriateness of each orthographic rule and its dictionary presentation in SP 2001 is verified by systematic review of user language problems on the Institute's language counselling website (Jezikovna svetovalnica <http://is-jfr.zrc-sazu.si/sl/svetovalnica#v>). It has been in operation since 2012 and includes a database of more than 1,200 questions and answers.

2. The rule is adjusted to facts indicated by empirical and other research of the material. The adjustment requires the forming of suitable wording, which reflects three different rule types: (a) general rule, (b) specificity, (c) stylistic guidance.

3. Illustrative rule examples are chosen from sufficiently diverse material (in addition to the Gigafida corpus, encyclopaedias and lexicons are used for proper name issues).

4. An expanded set of glossary examples is prepared for each rule.

Internally differentiated groups are formed, e.g. for historical personal names:

- Names with ordinal numbers as last name (*Henrik Osmi*, *Ludvik Štirinajsti*),

- Names with personality traits in postpositive adjectives or nouns as last name (*Karel Veliki*, *Ivan Grozni*, *Friderik Rdečebradec*),

- Names with geographically motivated last name (*Ljudevit Posavski*, *Hema Krška*, *Nikolaj Kuzanski*) and so on.

In the online version of the SPT it is possible to review lexical revisions linked to the rule.

5. The preparation of paper edition and online dictionary solutions

Dictionary entries are edited by means of the lexicographic tool iLex. The dictionary provides universal data (about the orthography, pronunciation, stress, inflection, parts of speech, frequency of corpus occurrence, formation of verb forms and of possessive and definite adjectives). Specific orthographic dictionary data include:

(A) Information on the semantic classification or identification of words;

(B) Orthographic notations (demonym, toponym, symbol, acronym, compound, etc.);

(C) Examples that explain the special text position of a word or the specific syntactic role or position;

(D) Examples that explain punctuation.

6. The argumentation of dictionary solutions and their normative validity

At the stage of presenting the initial dictionary solutions we also decided to include in the dictionary the possible normative changes. In the online version of the SPT, each dictionary entry has an added inventory of content solutions which can be found in a special online database of orthographic problems (*Pravopisne kategorije: Problemski sklopi Slovarja pravopisnih težav* < http://www.fran.si/spt-kategorije>).

Keywords: Slovene normative guide, dictionary, orthographic rules

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Manjinski jezici: nastavni izazovi i motivacija za učenje

U radu je predstavljen razvoj nastave manjinskih jezika i njihovo učenje u nekadašnjim jugoslavenskim republikama, polazeći od primjera slovenskoga jezika. Razmatraju se različiti utjecaji na sadašnji status manjinskih jezika, način na koji Slovenija osigurava institucionalnu potporu učenju slovenskoga jezika izvan Slovenije te se razmatra pitanje kako je slovenski jezik u suvremeno doba tretiran kao akademski „revitaliziran" jezik u novouspostavljenim državama. Jezici iz nekadašnje zajedničke države, koji su imali ustavom zajamčenu ravnopravnost, dobili su status manjinskoga jezika ili stranoga jezika. To se dogodilo sa slovenskim jezikom i slovenskim narodom koji se našao izvan granica svoje države i čiji su pripadnici neočekivano postali iseljenici. Uz to kontakti sa Slovenijom su slabjeli, a generacije slovenskih iseljenika postale su sve udaljenije od svoje matične države i kulturnih korijena. U radu su analizirani društveni i ekonomski čimbenici koji doprinose većem zanimanju za studij slovenskoga jezika u okviru manjinske, ali i većinske skupine u nekadašnjim jugoslavenskim republikama. U suvremenoj Europi, u kojoj se koncept multinacionalnosti, multikulturalnosti i višejezičnosti neprekidno povezuje s pojmom ljudskih prava, novostvorene države moraju staviti te koncepte u prvi plan. Jedan je od načina za to uređivanje statusa i same kategorije manjinskih skupina te poštivanje manjinskih prava – a najvažnija su na polju edukacije i jezične upotrebe, što se prepoznaje kao jedan od ključnih elemenata nacionalnoga identiteta svakoga naroda. Provedena istraživanja pokazuju da se manjinski jezik većinom uči u ranom djetinjstvu, uče ga djeca iz mješovitih brakova ili djeca čiji roditelji potječu iz manjinskih skupina. U drugom se dijelu rada predstavlja status slovenskoga jezika na sveučilišnoj razini u državama koje su nastale nakon raspada Jugoslavije. Za studij slovenskoga jezika najviše se zanimaju studenti koji već znaju dva ili tri strana jezika i/ili oni koji studiraju neki od slavenskih jezika. Porast motivacije za učenje slovenskoga jezika najuočljiviji je kod odraslih, koje s obzirom na njihove interese možemo razvrstati u dvije skupine: jednu skupinu čine oni koji uče slovenski s namjerom preseljenja u Sloveniju i pronalaska zaposlenja ondje, a drugu skupinu čine prevoditelji. Iako su u jednom razdoblju mladi pripadnici slovenske manjine doživljavali slovenski jezik i slovensku kulturu kao nešto strano, postali su svjesni važnosti poznavanja

slovenskoga jezika i slovenske kulture kao nečega što im daje prednost na tržištu rada. Ta znanja, kao i kontakt sa slovenskim korijenima imaju važnu ulogu kod mladih koji odlučuju o budućem studiju ili zaposlenju. Motivacija za učenje se ne smanjuje – naprotiv, ona s godinama raste.

Ključne riječi: manjinski jezici, slovenski jezik, motivacija za učenje

Minority languages: teaching challenges and learning motivation

This paper outlines the development of minority language teaching and learning in former Yugoslav republics in the case of Slovene language, discusses the influences which contributed to its present status, presents the aspects in which Slovenia provides her institutional support and illustrates the manner in which Slovene can nowadays be considered as an academically "revitalized" language in newly formed countries. The fact is that the languages of the former mutual state, that had once been constitutionally guaranteed equal rights, were transformed into minority languages or foreign languages. This happened to the Slovene language, and to all Slovenian people who found themselves outside the territorially-political state borders, and hence unexpectedly became emigrants. Gradually, connections and ties with Slovenia started to fade, and generations of Slovene emigrants became more and more distant from their homeland and their cultural roots. In addition, the paper also analyzes and compares social and economic factors contributing to higher motivation for studying the Slovene language displayed by members of both minority and non-minority communities in former Yugoslav republics. In modern Europe, in which the concepts of multinationalism, multiculturalism and multilingualism are being constantly advocated in line with the respect for human rights, newly formed countries must strive to set these concepts as priorities. One of the ways is regulatory acknowledgement of the category of national minorities and the respect of minority rights – the most significant of them being those in the field of education and language use, which are recognized as some of the key tokens of national identity of each nation. The analysis reveals that the minority language is being learned as early as childhood, by children coming from mixed marriages or by children whose parents are the members of minority nation. The second part of this paper treats the status of Slovene language at the university level in the former Yugoslav republics. The students who are most interested in learning the Slovene language are those who are already fluent in two or three world languages, and/or those who study one of the Slavic languages. The in-

crease in motivation for studying the Slovene language is particularly present in adult learners, who can be divided into two groups, according to their personal interests: the ones who learn the language in order to move to Slovenia and find employment there, and translators/interpreters. Even though they previously perceived Slovenia and the Slovene language as something foreign, the young descendants of Slovenian emigrants are now gradually becoming aware of the significance of Slovene language learning and the knowledge of Slovene culture and its values, which they recognize as important assets for increasing personal competitiveness on the labor market. The knowledge of the Slovene language and culture, as well as the contact with peers of Slovene origin have an important role in young people deciding on their future studies or their future job. Learning motivation never stops; moreover, it grows over the years.

Keywords: minority languages, Slovene language, learning motivation

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Jezična politika u praksi (na primjeru jezika radnika i omladine u Istri u socijalizmu)

Poznato je da je razdoblje između završetka Drugoga svjetskoga rata i Domovinskoga rata donijelo mnoge promjene u jeziku te će se ovim radom pokušati uvidjeti odjeci velikih „događaja" o toj temi u praksi. Za početak je svakako nezaobilazna *Anketa o jezičnim i pravopisnim pitanjima* iz 1953. godine, zatim *Novosadski dogovor* 1954. godine, nadalje izlazak *Pravopisa hrvatskosrpskoga književnog jezika* 1960. godine, poznatijega pod nazivom Novosadski pravopis koji će, kao službeni, zamijeniti *Pravopis hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* Dragutina Boranića, i na kraju *Deklaracija o nazivu i položaju hrvatskoga književnog jezika* iz 1967. godine, koja je kao svojevrsna kruna simbol suprotstavljanja jugoslavenskoj unitarističkoj politici krajem šezdesetih godina. Nakon toga preokreta značajne su i jezične posebnosti *hrvatskoga proljeća*, posebice *Hrvatski pravopis* Stjepana Babića, Božidara Finke i Milana Moguša, odmah uništen 1971., ali i pretiskan u Londonu 1972. godine. Nadalje, proučit će se i drugi normativni priručnici i razne publikacije značajne za vrijeme istraživanoga razdoblja.

U radu će se istražiti konkretne primjene jezične politike i njezinih smjernica u socijalizmu u glasilima koja izlaze u Puli od pedesetih do devedesetih godina dvadesetoga stoljeća. Analizirat će se mjesečnik puljskoga brodogradilišta *Uljanik*, koji je s prekidima izlazio od pedesetih do devedesetih godina, te *omladinski* list *Istarski borac*, koji je, također s prekidima, izlazio od pedesetih do kraja sedamdesetih godina, odnosno do 1979. godine. S jedne strane, radnici su, kao nositelji socijalističkoga društva često bili uključeni u aktivnosti vezane za kulturu, dok je, s druge strane, *omladina* ukazivala na opstojnost toga razdoblja pa se odabir ovih dvaju listova činio logičnim. List *Uljanik* prvenstveno je važan za značaj samoga brodogradilišta koje je prehranjivalo velik broj obitelji s ovoga područja, a omladinski list *Istarski borac* iznjedrio je mnoge značajne kulturne i javne istarske djelatnike, među kojima neki još i danas djeluju.

Istraživanje će se provesti na dva načina. Prvi se od njih odnosi na sadržajnu analizu članaka s ciljem da uvidimo koliko se o jezičnim pitanjima raspravljalo u radničkome okruženju, ali i kod omladine. Drugi se odnosi na detaljnu analizu jezika te obuhvaća pravopisne, morfološke, sintaktičke, tvorbene, leksičke i stilske značajke koje će se usporediti s normativnim rješenjima istraživanoga razdoblja. S obzirom na to da tekstovi ovakvoga tipa pripadaju novinarskome funkcionalnome stilu te da njegove odlike znaju biti vrlo podložne utjecaju političkoga iskaza, može se pretpostaviti da će rezultati istraživanja ukazati na to da se novinarski stil sve manje razlikuje od političkoga, osobito na leksičkoj razini. Usporedbom će se moći ukazati i na sličnosti, odnosno razlike vezane za dob autora, njihovo zanimanje i ulogu u tadašnjem društvu. Na kraju će se pokušati zaključiti može li se govoriti o određenome tipu jezične politike razdoblja socijalizma u Istri, s naglaskom na Pulu, ili je jezična politika toga razdoblja i istraživanoga korpusa bila isključivo vezana za pojedina glasila.

Ključne riječi: hrvatski jezik u 20. stoljeću, jezična i pravopisna analiza, Istra

Language policy in practice (the example of the language of Istrian working people and youth during the socialist period)

It is well known that the period between the end of the World War II and the Croatian War for Independence brought many changes in the language. This paper will attempt to define the repercussions of the great 'events' related to this subject, in practice. To start with, the *Anketa o jezičnim i pravopisnim pitanjima* (Questionnaire on the questions of language and orthography) from 1953 cannot be ignored, then the *Novosadski dogovor* (Novi Sad Agreement) of 1954, the publication of the *Pravopis hrvatskosrpskoga književnog jezika* (Orthography of Croato-Serbian literary language) in 1960, better known under the title of „Novosadski pravopis" (Novi Sad Orthography), which would, as an official one, replace the *Pravopis hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (Orthography of the Croatian or Serbian language) by Dragutin Boranić, and finally, the *Deklaracija o nazivu i položaju hrvatskoga književnog jezika* (Declaration on the name and status of the Croatian literary language) from the year 1967, which acts as a crown symbol of the resistance to the Yugoslav unitarist policy of the end of 1960's. Following this shift, the language aspects of the *Hrvatsko proljeće* were significant, especially the *Hrvatski pravopis* (Croatian Orthography) by Stjepan Babić, Božidar Finka, Milan Moguš, immediately destroyed in 1971 but re-printed in London in

1972. Furthermore, other normative manuals will be studied, as well as various publications which were important in the period in question.

This paper will study concrete examples of the language policy and its guidelines in the socialist period in printed media published in Pula from the 1950's to the 1990's. The analysed publications include: the monthly journal of the Pula shipyard *Uljanik*, which was published intermittently from the 1950's to the end of the 1990's, and the youth magazine *Istarski borac*, published, also intermittently, from the 1950's to the end of the seventies, more precisely to the year 1979. As bearers of the socialist society, working people were often involved in culture-related activities, whilst the youth represented the stability of this period, so our decision to analyse these two magazines seemed a logical choice. The importance of the *Uljanik* relates before all to the importance of the shipyard itself, which sustained a large number of local families, and the youth magazine *Istarski borac* produced numerous significant cultural and public workers, some of which are still active today.

The research will be carried out in two manners. The first refers to the content analysis of articles intended to provide information on the extent of the involvement of working people and youth in language related issues. The other one represents a detailed analysis of their language and involves the orthographical, morphological, syntactic, word- formational, lexical and stylistical features which will be compared to the normative solutions of the given period. Since the texts of this type belong to the journalistic register and that its traits are often subject to the influence of the political language, it can be inferred that the results of this research will highlight peculiar characteristics of the socialist period in the two publications for the Pula area, as well as the whole of Istria, especially on the level of orthography and lexicon. The comparison will enable us to show the similarities and differences, related to the authors' age, their occupation, or even their role in the society of the time. Finally, an attempt will be made to conclude whether we can talk here about a particular type of language policy of the socialist period in Istria with the emphasis on Pula, or the language policy of the period and the studied corpus was related exlusively to particular printed media.

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Identitet i jezik u pismima riječkih intelektualaca (1960. – 1980.)

U ovom će se radu analizirati pisma riječkih intelektualaca, kao što su Osvaldo Ramous, Antonio Widmar, Enrico Morovich, iz kojih proizlazi njihov odnos prema identitetu, određen prvenstveno jedinstvenom okolinom u kojoj su odrasli i stekli svoje obrazovanje. Riječka specifičnost na početku 20. stoljeća je multikulturalnost grada s dugom tradicijom višejezičnosti, koji u samo nekoliko desetljeća mijenja pet puta politički ustroj.

Prije spomenuti autori izražavaju navedenu multikulturalnost na različite načine. Kod Widmara se to iščitava u njegovoj kozmopolitskoj kulturnoj i književnoj aktivnosti u raznim krajevima Europe i svijeta. Mladenačke dane provodi u riječkim kulturnim krugovima, ali počinje vrlo brzo širiti svoje svjetonazore pa odlazi iz Rijeke i nastavlja svoj rad u Mađarskoj, a potom u Japanu i u Italiji. Enrico Morovich 1950. godine odlazi u Italiju i nastanjuje se, nakon nekog vremena, u Genovi gdje nastavlja svoju književnu djelatnost, za koju kaže da se ne bi nikada razvila da se nije rodio upravo u Rijeci. Ramous, za razliku od mnogih intelektualaca s kojima surađuje, nakon 2. svjetskog rata ostaje u Rijeci te nastavlja borbu za promicanje talijanske kulture u bivšoj Jugoslaviji i jugoslavenske kulture u Italiji.

Iz njihovih međusobnih pisama, kao i iz korespondencije s drugim ondašnjim piscima, novinarima i izdavačima, proizlaze zanimljive teme, kao što su pozicija pisca u novonastaloj političkoj sredini i općenito veza između raznih kultura s kojima su dolazili u odnos u njihovim književnim aktivnostima i u svakodnevnom životu. Što se konkretno tiče Ramousa, sredina u kojoj je radio često mu, zbog političkih razloga, nije bila sklona pa se u pismima jasno iščitava nezadovoljstvo jer mu često nije bilo omogućeno raditi i objavljivati na jeziku kojim se izražavao, tj. talijanskom. Iz gore spomenutih pisama proizlaze i zanimljiva filozofska razmišljanja o jeziku kao univerzalnom mediju koji svakako pridonosi komunikaciji, ali ne oblikuje ljudski život, odnosno ljudsku intimu te ne mijenja srž čovjekovog bivanja.

U ovom će se radu izložiti apstraktna (filozofska i jezična) i konkretna (povijesno-politička) razmišljanja koja se iščitavaju iz pisama gore spomenutih intelektualaca i koja kao temelj imaju poistovjećivanje identiteta sa složenim jezičnim, političkim i kulturnim ambijentom. Cilj ovog rada je analiza kompleksnih pitanja koja proizlaze iz multikulturnog identiteta riječkih pisaca koji su se služili talijanskim jezikom u godinama bitnih političkih, jezičnih i kulturnih promjena – u Rijeci, ali i u cijeloj Europi – te pokušavali definirati srž vlastitog identiteta.

Ključne riječi: riječki kulturni krug, talijanski jezik, multikulturni identitet

Identity and language in the letters of Rijeka's intellectuals (1960-1980)

This paper will analyze the letters of intellectuals from Rijeka, such as Osvaldo Ramous, Antonio Widmar, Enrico Morovich, which demonstrate their relationship to identity, determined primarily by the unique environment in which they grew up and gained their education. The specificity of Rijeka at the beginning of the 20th century is the multiculturalism of a city that has a long tradition of multilingualism and in just a few decades changes five times the political system.

These authors express their multiculturalism in different ways. In Widmar it is articulated in his cosmopolitan cultural and literary activities in various parts of Europe and the world. He spends his youth in cultural circles of Rijeka, but very quickly he begins to spread his points of view and leaves Rijeka continuing his work in Hungary and then in Japan and in Italy. Enrico Morovich goes to Italy in 1950 and settles down after a while in Genoa, where he continues his literary activity, which he said would never developed if he was not born in Rijeka. Ramous, unlike many other intellectuals he cooperates with, after the Second World War remains in Rijeka and continues to fight for the promotion of Italian culture in the former Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav culture in Italy.

From their mutual letters, and letters to other writers, journalists and publishers, derive interesting topics, such as the position of the writer in the new political environment and the general connections between various cultures with which they relate in their literary activities and in everyday life. As to Ramous, the environment in which he worked was often not inclined towards him for political reasons, and in his letters, he clearly expressed discontent because he was often not allowed to work and publish in the language he used, i.e. Ital-

ian. From the above-mentioned letters arise some interesting philosophical reflections on language as a universal medium, which certainly contributes to communication, but it does not shape the human inner life and does not change the essence of human existence.

This paper will present the abstract (philosophical and linguistic) and practical (historical and political) considerations which can be read from the letters of the aforementioned intellectuals and which are based on the identification of the identity with a complex linguistic, political and cultural environment. The aim of this study is to analyze the complex issues arising from the multicultural identity of Rijeka's writers who used Italian in the years of important political, linguistic and cultural changes - in Rijeka, but also in the whole Europe - and were trying to define the core of their identity.

Keywords: cultural circles in Rijeka, Italian language, multicultural identity

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Purizam u bugarskome književnom jeziku

U ovom će radu biti riječi o jezičnom purizmu u Bugarskoj. Prvo će se definirati pojam jezični purizam koji u većini slučajeva predstavlja obvezatan element jezične situacije svakoga europskog književnog jezika. Poznata je činjenica da su nacionalni pokreti slavenskih naroda u preporodnom razdoblju lingvocentrični. U radu će se s pomoću povijesne metode i metode deskripcije dati kratak povijesni osvrt na jezični purizam u Bugarskoj, s naglaskom na njegovoj ulozi tijekom razdoblja bugarskoga preporoda i prvih godina 20. stoljeća kada je puristički pokret pojačan. Cilj bugarske jezične politike u tom razdoblju jest osloboditi se stranoga kulturnog utjecaja (pretežno grčkog) i uspostaviti kao jedini službeni jezik u školama bugarski jezik, što zahtjeva aktivaciju normativne djelatnosti, skrb o jeziku i njegovoj leksičkoj čistoći.

Rad ima za cilj prikazati purističke stavove – njihov karakter i njihov utjecaj na različite dijelove bugarskoga društva. Jezične su rasprave bile privilegija inteligencije i zbog toga je rad usmjeren na proučavanje stavova dviju najvećih društvenih skupina – u prvoj su znanstvenici, umjetnici, novinari, a u drugoj političari. Bit će analizirana djelatnost vodećih predstavnika bugarskoga jezičnog purizma u promatranome razdoblju poput Ivana Bogorova, Aleksandra Teodorov-Balana i dr. i reakcije koje njihovi prijedlozi izazivaju u društvu. U radu će se pratiti i daljnji razvoj jezičnoga purizma, njegova obilježja, indikatori, manifestacije i njihova recepcija danas da bi se došlo do zaključka da je veći broj publikacija u bugarskim novinama i časopisima proklamativnoga karaktera te da nisu usmjereni protiv stranih riječi i strukture u cjelini, nego imaju kritički stav prema jezičnim sredstvima u kojima postoji svjestan osjećaj stranosti, uglavnom na leksičkoj razini, te prema individualnim novotvorenicama, bez obzira na njihova autora.

Ključne riječi: jezična situacija, purizam, književni jezik

Purism in the Bulgarian literary language

The paper discusses the lingustic purism in Bulgaria. First, it will be defined the concept of linguistic purism which presents in most of the cases an obligatory element of the linguistic situation of every European literary language. It is a well-known fact that the Slavs national revival movements are linguocentric. Based on both historical and descriptive methods the paper will give a brief historical overview of linguistic purism in Bulgaria, with an emphasis on its role during the period of the Bulgarian Revival and the early years of the 20th century when the purist movement gets intensified. The goal of the Bulgarian language policy in this period is to free the language of foreign cultural influences (mainly Greek) and to establish as the only official language in schools Bulgarian language, which requires activation of normative activities, taking care of the language and its lexical purity.

The goal of the papaer is to present the purist attitudes – their character and their impact on different segments of the Bulgarian society. Discussions on language have been the privilege of intellectual elites – this is the reason why the paper emphasizes on the attitudes of the two largest social groups – the first one includes scientists, artists, journalists, and the second one – politicians. There will be marked the activity of leading purists in this period such as Ivan Bogorov, Aleksandar Teodorov-Balan and others, there will be marked the society reactions to their proposals. The paper will also try to describe the linguistic purism - its indicators, manifestations and reception nowadays in order to reach the conclusion that most of the publications in Bulgarian newspapers and magazines have proclamative character and they are not directly against foreign words and structures, but are critical to the linguistic resources which have a conscious feeling of strangeness, mostly on lexical level, and critical to the individual neologisms, regardless of their authors.

Keywords: linguistic situation, purism, literary language

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Pejorative expressions in Slovene

This paper is based on the most extensive dialect material from the whole of the Slovene linguistic territory gathered for the *Slovenian Linguistic Atlas* (SLA), supplemented with data from the author's own fieldwork (2010–2015). The first volume of the SLA was published in 2011 and contains questions from the semantic field of the 'human body, illness and family'; the second volume will be published in 2016 and contains questions from the semantic field of 'rural material and cultural heritage', i.e. nouns and verbs that designate places and items in farmhouses, outbuildings and farm work.

Taboo words (or forbidden words) are culturally and/or religiously defined and have several variants (even more so in dialects) because their use has always been limited, mostly by speakers themselves (self-censorship). Therefore, dialect expressions for male and female sexual organs (not included in SLA I) are very rich and diverse. We find 41 different lexemes for 'penis', 35 different lexemes for 'vulva/vagina' and 10 lexemes for the general word 'genitals/sexual organ'. The material shows that most dialects and sub-dialects do not have a general expression for genitalia, but only expressions for specific male and female genitalia. For 'behind, posterior' we find 14 dialect expressions.

Beside words that describe sexuality, parts of the body related to sex or secretion (especially the genital-urinary tract) and bodily functions a huge diversion can be found among pejorative words (negative names, insults, rude words, teasers), too. For example, dialect material for neutral meaning 'house' is much less diverse than material for 'bad (small/little) house', where we can find over 80 different lexemes. Slightly less (over 30) different lexemes are used for 'toilet' or 'bathroom'.

This paper gives an overview of selected dialect words from the semantic fields 'human body' (sexual organs), 'family' (blood relations) and '(farm) house', systematically collected for SLA. The lexicon connected with sexual organs is considered taboo and therefore contains a large variety and diversity of lexemes; by contrast, the lexicon for other parts of the body is rather uniform. A selection of lexemes from the semantic fields 'house' shows different

degrees of variability: from most uniform (e.g. 'window'), to more variable (e.g. 'stairs'), to most diverse (e.g. 'toilet' or 'bad (small/little) house').

These lexemes were chosen to show the diversity of Slovene dialect material. The richness and variety of the lexemes are also the result of the extreme diversity of Slovene dialects, which has arisen for historical and geographical reasons, as well as of the influence of neighbouring languages, both related (Croatian) and unrelated (Italian, Friulian, German, Hungarian). This means that some lexemes have ten or more different word forms (even ignoring the huge variety of different phonetic variants).

Keywords: Slovene language and dialects, lexicon, words for 'human body' and '(farm)house', pejorative words, taboo expressions

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Hrvatski – mali jezik kao ini

Promicanje jezične raznolikosti i učenja jezika jedna je od temeljnih težnji obrazovnih programa Europske unije i važan dio njezine jezične politike. Višejezičnost pruža mogućnosti za ostvarenje boljih životnih mogućnosti te pridonosi boljem međukulturalnom dijalogu. U europskomu je kontekstu hrvatski jedan od malih jezika, politički priznat kao jedan od službenih jezika Unije, no njegova budućnost ne ovisi samo o službenomu statusu na tomu velikom komunikacijskom prostoru, već u prvome redu o jezičnoj zajednici kojoj pripada. Mali jezik ne znači ujedno i manje vrijedan jezik. Neravnopravnost – nadređen i podređen položaj pojedinih jezika – svakako utječe na ugroženost malih jezika. Promicanje hrvatskoga jezika i kulture jedna je od smjernica hrvatske jezične politike koju slijedi i Sveučilište u Rijeci – svojom Strategijom, programima i institucijama. Jedna od njih je i Riječka kroatistička škola, centar za učenje hrvatskoga kao stranoga jezika koji djeluje pri Odsjeku za kroatistiku na Filozofskome fakultetu. Temeljni je cilj njezinih programa, kao i znanstvene, nastavne i stručne djelatnosti, promicanje hrvatskoga jezika i kulture u međunarodnome okviru. Na taj način djeluje i u skladu s ekolingvistikom, u prvome redu sociolingvističkom, a ovim se radom želi pružiti i potvrda tomu. U tu je svrhu provedeno i istraživanje među polaznicima Programa RKŠ-a, s težištem na njihovoj percepciji hrvatskoga jezika i motivaciji za njegovo učenje.

Ključne riječi: hrvatski jezik, mali jezik, promicanje hrvatskoga jezika i kulture

Croatian – a minor language as a second

One of the basic tendencies and important parts of European Union's educational programmes and language policies is promoting linguistic diversity and language learning. Multilingualism provides more possibilities for achieving better abilities in life and contributes to better international dialogue. In the European context, Croatian language is a minor one, politically recognized as one of the official languages of the European Union. However, its future does not

depend only on the official status among the great communicational area, but foremost on the linguistic community it belongs to. A minor language does not mean a less worthy one. Inequality – the superior and subordinate position of certain languages – does indeed influence the vulnerability of minor languages. The promotion of Croatian language and culture is one of the guidelines of Croatian linguistic policies which is followed by the University of Rijeka in its Strategies, programmes and institutions. One of them is Rijeka School of Croatian Studies, a centre for learning Croatian as a foreign language, taking place at the Department of Croatian Language at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. The basic goal of its programme as a scientific, teaching and professional activity is promoting Croatian language and culture in an international frame. That way, it works in accordance with ecolinguistics, mainly with sociolinguistics, which this work is seeking to confirm. For that purpose, a research among attendees of the Rijeka School of Croatian Studies was carried out, focusing on their perception of Croatian language and motivation for studying it.

Keywords: Croatian language, minor language, promoting Croatian language and culture

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Prvi rječnik sa standardnoga hrvatskoga jezika na lokalni govor: standardnojezično-splitski (priručni) rječnik

Potreba za rječnicima sa standardnoga jezika na neki dijalekt očita je jer mlade generacije slabo poznaju svoj lokalni govor, a naročito ne poznaju njegov leksik. Cilj je ovoga izlaganja metodološke prirode. Njime se želi ukazati na probleme (a i pružena rješenja) koji se javljaju u stvaranju jednoga takvog rječnika.

Ovom prigodom ukazujem na one probleme koji su problematičniji u rječniku (priručnog karaktera). U slučaju standardnojezično-splitskog, neki od njih su sljedeći: 1. Treba li unositi u rječnik sve ikavizme (npr. *cijena – cina*), kao i uobičajene čakavske fonološke promjene (npr. *lj >j* **koljeno – kolino**; *h > j* **buha – buja**; *h > 0* **hodanje – odanje**). 2. U splitskom govoru imamo različite riječi za jednu standardnu riječ, npr. **brbljati** kojoj najbolje odgovara splitska riječ *čakulat*. No u splitskom postoje razne riječi za razne vrste brbljanja, npr. *laprdat* (pogrdno), *bucat* (figurativno), *balit* (fig.), *uzbalit se* (fig.), *mažinat* (fig.), *pizdit* (sleng). 3. Kad dijalektalna riječ ima višestruka značenja treba li ih navoditi pod zasebnim natuknicama. Tako, naprimjer, splitska riječ *vižita* ima tri značenja a. *posjet*, b. *pregled kod liječnika*, c. *pretraga*. 4. Mnoge riječi mogu u standardnoj natuknici biti navedene samo u obliku pojašnjenja (objašnjenja ili fraze) kao npr. *dobra ali lijena osoba – bonanjente*; *roba u rasutom stanju – rinfuza*; *male bijele kobasice za juhu – luganige*. Sve navedeno (a i puno više toga) upućuje na to da se od čitatelja očekuje izvjesna inventivnost ili domišljatost, tj. očekuje se da i sam promisli o mogućim sinonimima i objašnjenjima na hrvatskom standardnom jeziku kad traži splitski ekvivalent. 5. Poseban problem predstavljaju naglasci. Dio istraživača u splitskome bilježe tzv. *dvostruki akcent*, dio istraživača ne. Splitski govor danas ima 5 akcenata (kratkosilazni, dugosilazni, akut te dva nova: kratkouzlazni te dugouzlazni). Staro je akcenatsko mjesto dijelom sačuvano, no prisutna je tendencija prelaska akuta u dugosilazni naglasak, posebno na zadnjem slogu. Koji naglasak staviti na npr. na riječ **bokun**? Bokũn, bokûn ili bòkun ili možda bòkũn?

Ključne riječi: rječnik, standardni jezik, dijalekt, natuknice, naglasak

First dictionary from standard Croatian to a local idiom – from standard language to the dialect/vernacular of the city of Split

The need for dictionaries from the standard Croatian to some of its dialects is more than obvious and pressing since the young generation knows its local vernacular very poorly. The knowledge of dialectal words is particularly weak. The aim of this presentation is methodological in nature. The author tries to point out problems (and offer some solutions) which are present in the creation of such a dictionary.

For this occasion, the author indicates concrete problems for the dictionary of standard Croatian to Spliti vernacular: Some of them are: **1**. Should one include all the ikavian forms (i.e. *cijena – cina 'price'*) or **2.** all the words with usual Čakavian phonological changes (i.e. *lj >j koljeno – kolino 'knee'*; *h > j buha – buja 'flea'*; *h > 0 hodanje – odanje 'walking'*). **3**. In Split vernacular there are different words for one standard entry. For example for *brbljati 'to chat'* the best equavelent in the dialect is *čakulat*. But in Split vernacular there are separate words for different kind of chat, i.e. *laprdat* (derogatory), *bucat* (figurative), *balit* (fig.), *uzbalit se* (fig.) *mažinat* (fig.), *pizdit* (sleng). **4.** When dialectal word has more than one meaning should one include it under different entries? For example Split word *vižita* has three meanings: a. *posjet 'visit'*, b. *pregled kod liječnika 'doctor's examination'*, and c. *pretraga 'search'*. **5.** Many words can be stated only as explanations or phrases in standard language, for example: *dobra ali lijena osoba ('good but lazy person') - bonanjente*; **5.** *roba u rasutom stanju ('goods in bulk') - rinfuza*; *male bijele kobasice za juhu ('small white sausages cooked for soup') – luganige*. Some of the mentioned examples (and many more) indicate that the reader of such dictionary is supposed to show some inventiveness and ingenuity, i.e. she should think of possible synomyms and explanations when looking for Split equivalent to the standard Croatian entry. **6.** Last, but far from the least, is the problem of accentuation. Some linguists use double accents (**bòkūn** 'piece'), others are opposed to it. Split vernacular has five accents (short falling **indìric** 'address', long falling (**bokûn** 'piece'), acute (**bokū̄n**) and two new ones: short rising (**bòkun**) and long rising (**bacívat** 'to throw'). The old place of accent is party preserved but there is, for one, a tendency of the acute to change into long falling especially in the last syllable. So, for example, where to put the accent in the already mentioned word **bokun**? **Bokū̄n, bokûn, bòkun** or perhaps **bòkūn?**

Keywords: dictionary, standard language, dialect, lexical entries, accent

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Jezično planiranje od pozitivizma prema interdisciplinarnosti

Slabljenje latinskoga i propisi da ga u službenoj upotrebi zamijeni vernakular, i to određeni varijetet vernakulara (u Francuskoj *kraljev jezik* u 16. stoljeću, drugdje jezik glavnih gradova), može se smatrati početkom jezičnog planiranja i politike u Zapadnoj Europi. Ideje nacionalizma koje zahvaćaju Europu u 19. stoljeću dovode do stvaranja pokreta za samoodređenje te obrazovane elite koje dijele slične dijalekte i kulture traže teritorijalnu bazu, čime se može tumačiti nastanak države-nacije. U tim procesima pokazalo se bitnim izgraditi nacionalni jezik koji će doprinijeti unutarnjoj koheziji i razlikovnosti prema vani te poduprijeti pravo na nezavisnost. Standardiziranje jezika u Europi po sličnoj shemi pružilo je podlogu jednoj grupi lingvista strukturalističkog nagnuća (Kloss, Haugen, Fishman, Ferguson, Das Gupta) da razviju modele standardizacije pod nazivom jezičnog planiranja u kojima se javljaju pojmovi kao što su *planiranje statusa*, *planiranje korpusa*, *implementacija*, *diglosija*, *Ausbau* i sl.

U jezičnom planiranju i jezičnoj politici (JPP) kao akademskoj disciplini naziru se stanovita razdoblja. Rano razdoblje u šezdesetim godinama na temelju postojećih opisa i modela motivirano je uvjerenjem istraživača da (Haugenov) pojam planiranja označuje praktičnu primjenu lingvističkih znanja (akumuliranih iz strukturalističke lingvistike) u pripremi „normativne ortografije, gramatike i rječnika kao vodiča piscima i govornicima u nehomogenoj govornoj zajednici", pri čemu se priznaje iskorak iz neutralne deskriptivne lingvistike „u područje gdje se mora prosuđivati o izboru između prisutnih jezičnih oblika" (Haugen 1959: 8). Ova faza JPP odiše optimizmom i uvjerenjem u ideološku neutralnost pa se nudi kao racionalan i sustavan model u rješavanju jezičnih problema novonastalih država nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata (npr. Indija, Izrael, Indonezija). U kasnijem razdoblju znanstvenici koji se bave JPP-om počinju propitivati ovaj deskriptivni model postajući svjesni njegovih potencijalno negativnih i ograničavajućih učinaka. Razmatraju se etički problemi planiranja statusa, pristup *jedan jezik – jedna nacija* (npr. Indija, Tajland, Nepal), moguće stvaranje ili podržavanje raznih oblika društvene nejednakosti itd. Tri skupa teorijskih pojmova koja se uključuju u razmatranja su *ideologija*, *jezična ekologija* i *agentivnost*, čime se odjeljuje raniji pozitivistički i „tehnički" pristup od ovoga post-strukturalističkoga interdisciplinarnog pristupa. Cilj je izla-

ganja podrobnije prikazati interdisciplinarni pristup JPP-u i pokušati primijeniti njegove uvide na neke radove o jezičnom planiranju u Hrvatskoj, a koji su motivirani ranijom fazom.

Ključne riječi: jezično planiranje i jezična politika, neutralnost, interdisciplinarnost, identitet

Language planning from positivism towards interdisciplinary research

Decisions by authorities to drop Latin and introduce particular varieties of the vernacular in official use (*the King's language* in 16th-century France; elsewhere, the vernaculars of major cities) may be considered as the inception of language planning in Europe. The ideas of nationalism that spread across Europe, especially in the 19th century, motivated the educated elites sharing similar dialects and culture to demand a territorial base, which may be considered the foundation of nation states. In the process, national languages were created to contribute to the internal cohesion of the territory and to its distinction from outside groups. The standardisation of languages in Europe along similar principles underpins the models of standardisation developed by a number of structural linguists in the 1960s and 1970s (Kloss, Haugen, Fishman, Ferguson, Das Gupta, etc.) under the label of language planning, introducing the concepts of *status planning*, *corpus planning*, *implementation*, *diglossia*, *Ausbau,* etc.

In *language planning and language policy* (LPP) as an academic discipline, several phases could be discerned. In the early days, on the basis of the above-mentioned models, the task of language planning was understood as the practical application of linguistic knowledge, that is, "the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community." Admittedly, this means "proceeding beyond descriptive linguistics into an area where judgement must be exercised in the form of choices among available linguistic forms" (Haugen 1959: 8). This phase was characterised by "the sense of optimism and ideological neutrality" (Hornberger 2011: 26) and was offered as a model for the solution of the linguistic problems encountered by the newly-formed nations after the Second World War (Israel, India, Indonesia, etc.). In the present phase, LPP researchers have shown awareness of potential negative effects and inherent limitations in the application of the early LPP model: ethical problems of status planning, the *one nation – one language* approach, social inequality, etc.,

are critically considered. The theoretical basis of research has been expanded, and concepts such as *language ecology*, *ideology,* and *agency* – which separate the early positivist approach from the post-structural interdisciplinary research – have been introduced. The aim of this paper is to look at the above-mentioned elements of interdisciplinary research in some detail and see whether this approach may be applied to some Croatian works on language planning in the sense of the earlier phase.

Keywords: language planning and policy (LPP), neutrality, interdisciplinary research, identity

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Language usage and language-in-education planning for the bilingual Greek-Orthodox schools in today's Istanbul

The once prosperous Istanbul's Greek-Orthodox community has confronted itself with a considerable decline in its members numbers since the end of the Greek-Turkish war (1922) for reasons that are chiefly associated with the tension in the bilateral relationships between Greece and Turkey (cf. Alexandris 1983). Although the specific (bilingual) minority educational structures in Istanbul for Greek-Orthodox students, seemed to be on the brink of collapse due to the lack of studentship, the Greek-orthodox schools (and community) since '90s have been "reinforced" by migrants from the southern East Turkish province of Hatay where traditionally a Greek-Orthodox Arab-speaking community (the so-called *Rûm*) lived, having the city of Antiochia (Antakya) –the seat of a Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate- as its cultural centre. This arrangement has been plausible thanks to the tradition of the "Millet" system of dividing the various ethno-religious groups in the Ottoman Empire in the basis of religion rather than language (Myhill 2006: 23).

The paper examines the complex linguistic situation observed at the Greek-orthodox schools nowadays in Istanbul, reminiscent of the Ottoman past where language did not necessarily define identity (cf. Balta and Ölmez 2011). Four, at least, linguistic varieties (Istanbul's Greek, official Greek, Turkish, Arabic) interplay with each other with regard to different contexts (lesson, game, interaction with the professors, parents etc.). After presenting the language repertoire of the students, the analysis highlights inconsistencies and failures of the language-in-education planning in different areas, as curriculum, personnel, or material (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997, Spolsky 2009), given that (i) these bilingual schools operate under a dichotomous division of hours and subjects be-

tween Greek and Turkish, and (ii) for a significant number of students, Greek is not their mother tongue, as it would be expected. Recent attempts to teach Greek language as second/foreign language, including elements consistent with the traditions and the culture of the Greek-Orthodox community of Istanbul, are also presented, with a special emphasis in the attitudes of teachers as well as of the community toward language-in-education policy and planning. Finally the benefits of the adoption of a "language-across-the-curriculum" approach (Halliday & Hasan 1989), in order to improve students' competence in Greek through the teaching of Science, Maths and Biology (taught in Greek), are investigated.

Keywords: language-in-education policy and planning, Greek-Orthodox community, identity

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Srpski kao manjinski jezik u Republici Hrvatskoj

Raspadom SFR Jugoslavije te ustavnim proglašavanjem hrvatskog kao službenog jezika u Republici Hrvatskoj 1990. godine, srpski dobiva novi status jezika nacionalne manjine. U uvodnom dijelu rada prikazuje se formalno-pravni položaj koji srpski jezik i ćirilično pismo imaju danas u RH, kao i njihov status te privatna i javna upotreba među Srbima u Hrvatskoj. Središnji dio rada posvećen je obrazovanju na srpskom jeziku u Hrvatskoj – njegovim modelima te praktičnim poteškoćama provođenja manjinskog obrazovanja na srpskom kao teritorijalnom (manjinskom) ili neteritorijalnom jeziku (modeli A i C). Na koncu se raspravlja o pojmu *jezik Srba u Hrvatskoj* te problemima nastalim promjenom političke situacije, koja je rezultirala napuštanjem prijašnje *Abstand* jezične autonomije (u okviru koje su pripadnici jezične zajednice znali što je njihov jezik i s punom ga sviješću razlikovali od drugih jezika) te uvođenjem novog *Ausbau* principa jezične autonomije, koji se razvija i izgrađuje planski.

Ključne riječi: srpski jezik, Srbi u Hrvatskoj, jezično planiranje

Serbian language as a minority language in the Republic of Croatia

The breakdown of the Socialist federal republic of Yugoslavia and the proclamation of the Croatian language as the official language of the newborn Republic of Croatia have granted the Serbian language a status of a minority language. The introductory part of this paper presents the formal-judiciary position of the Serbian language and the Cyrillic script within the context of Croatia today, as well as their public usage and status within the Serbian population in Croatia. Next, the central part of the paper focuses on education in the Serbian language in Croatia – explaining the minority educational models currently in use and the practical difficulties in their ap-

plication. Finally, the term Language of Serbs in Croatia is discussed; identifying problems that occurred with the change of the political situation resulting in the abandonment of the previous *Abstand* language autonomy principle (within which the members of the language community knew what their language was and at the same time consciously differentiated it from other languages) and the appearance of the new *Ausbau* language autonomy principle, which is based on language planning.

Keywords: Serbian language, Serbs in Croatia, language planning

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Applying EALTA guidelines as baseline: the case of YDS in Turkey

Within the scope of educational testing and assessment, setting standards and creating guidelines as a code of practice provide more prolific and sustainable outcomes. In this sense, internationally accepted and regionally accredited principles are suggested for standardization in language testing and assessment practices. Herein, ILTA guidelines for practice proposed by International Language Testing Association (2007), ALTE code of practice by Association of Language Testers in Europe (1994), JLTA code of good testing practices by Japanese Language Testing Association (2002) and EALTA guidelines for good practice by European Association for Language Testing and Assessment (2006) can be cited. Amidst them, the EALTA guidelines have been adopted to 'frame a validity study' (Alderson, 2010: 63) for language testing and assessment practices. In this sense, due to the abundance of guidelines and principles, it is expected to see myriad of practices to be well-implemented and documented. However, documentation on aforementioned practical cases is rare with a few empirical studies conducted (Alderson & Banerjee, 2008; Alderson; 2010; De Jong & Zheng, 2011). Accordingly, in this paper, a practical case study on YDS (foreign language exam in Turkey) is applied regarding the EALTA guidelines with a special concern on the development of tests in national and/or institutional testing units or centers. It is, therefore, aimed to tackle the question whether YDS adheres the principles purported by EALTA with its probable high-stake consequences. Correlatively, YDS has been checked against seven main concerns defined by the EALTA guidelines, namely (a) test purpose and specification; (b) test design and item writing; (c) quality control and test analyses; (d) test administration; (e) review; (f) washback; and (g) linkage to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, by means of validation study. In this respect, to answer the subheadings listed, specific examples for each section have been observed with documents to confirm them. Exploiting the EALTA guidelines as the checklist items, the data have been analyzed qualitatively as a result of a review process. Answers for the questions

defined by the guidelines have been summarized for each section in detail. As a result, YDS has mushroomed two-way alternates: first, it is reviewed in terms of recognition by the internationally set standards; second, it is reviewed in terms of current applications for the enhancement of a large-scale language test. Moreover, the deficiencies in test development process blossom the need for standardization in language testing and assessment practices in Turkey, directing the path towards the enhancement of the current one in quality, or the development of a new internationally recognized language test, abiding by the principles of accountability, appropriateness and transparency to verify the qualification of the ongoing assessment system. Thus, the results have indicated that taking the EALTA guidelines in the course of the test development process as baseline promotes value-added language testing and assessment practices in essence.

Keywords: EALTA guidelines, YDS, language testing

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Terminološko planiranje i normiranje temeljnoga hrvatskoga glazbenog nazivlja

Terminološko planiranje i terminološko normiranje, kao neodvojive sastavnice komunikacijskoga i jezičnoga planiranja u procesu standardizacije kojega jezika, aktivnosti su kojima se svjesno i sustavno razvija jezik struke u skladu s komunikacijskim potrebama u određenim predmetnim područjima. Terminološka politika koja bi jasno definirala te aktivnosti u Hrvatskoj još je uglavnom samo implicitno sadržana u jezičnoj politici, koja također nije službeno opisana te primjena koje se mijenjala ovisno o društvenopolitičkim uvjetima i stavovima relevantnih jezikoslovnih institucija.

Terminološko planiranje kao sveobuhvatan proces i dio organizirane terminološke djelatnosti tek je od 2007. godine i pokretanja programa *Izgradnja hrvatskoga strukovnoga nazivlja* (STRUNA) Hrvatske zaklade za znanost (HRZZ) djelomice zamijenio dotadašnje terminološko normiranje kao uglavnom usputnu djelatnost izrade terminoloških rječnika pojedinih struka. S obzirom na nepostojanje eksplicitnih smjernica odgovarajućega tijela zaduženoga za terminološko planiranje, iznimno je važno naći pravu mjeru u normiranju i oblikovanju nazivlja, što je u većini projekata koji su bili dijelom Strune uspješno provedeno. Kada je riječ o rješavanju ključnih terminoloških dvojbi u jeziku pojedine struke, odgovor treba tražiti i u stavovima vodećih autoriteta, ali i u stvarnoj jezičnoj uporabi stručnjaka i svih korisnika nazivlja koje se definira.

U tom su smislu aktivnosti pokrenute u okviru istraživačkoga projekta Conmusterm – *Problemi temeljnoga suvremenoga glazbenog nazivlja u Hrvatskoj* (HRZZ) prikladan spoj poštivanja jezične tradicije i muzikološkoga naslijeđa te uzimanja u obzir suvremene uporabe i potreba na temelju kojih se predlaže normirano temeljno glazbeno nazivlje koje bi zadovoljilo funkcionalne kriterije struke, ali i bilo u skladu sa suvremenom jezičnom normom. Na potrebu normiranja glazbenoga nazivlja u hrvatskoj je glazbenoj povijesti nekoliko puta skretana pozornost (Kuhač 1875 i 1890, Cipra 1943, Zlatić 1952, Gligo 1992),

no suvremeni su odjeci ipak djelomice uspješni. Bavljenje glazbom jedno je od rijetkih područja specijaliziranoga znanja koje uz usvajanje specifičnih znanja i vještina iziskuje od svojih sudionika i ovladavanje posebnim metajezikom, štoviše i posebnim znakovnim sustavom. Uzme li se u obzir činjenica da se učenje glazbe započinje već od rane dobi, osobito je važno imati precizno, nedvosmisleno i sustavno opisano nazivlje kojim se imenuju temeljni glazbeni pojmovi kroz cijelu vertikalu glazbenoga obrazovanja.

U radu se najprije prikazuje nekoliko pokušaja pokretanja normiranja hrvatskoga glazbenoga nazivlja i analizira se njihova uspješnost na temelju predloženih naziva koji su se zadržali u suvremenoj uporabi. Također se daje prikaz ključnih terminoloških dvojbi na primjerima uporabe potvrđene u stručnoj pedagoškoj literaturi te u nastavnim planovima i programima za osnovno i srednjoškolsko glazbeno obrazovanje. Osobita će se pozornost posvetiti specifičnostima metajezika glazbe poput dijakronijske polisemije i opiranja dijela strukovnoga nazivlja asimilaciji, kod kojih je potrebno odstupiti od općeprihvaćenih terminoloških načela. Potom će se na temelju analize provedene ankete nastavnika glazbenih škola i pretraživanja suvremenih korpusa hrvatskoga jezika utvrditi status i čestota tih upitnih naziva, čime će se vrednovati njihova uporaba među stručnjacima, ali i u općejezičnoj uporabi. Povezivanjem rezultata znanstvenih istraživanja s potrebama i stavovima predmetnih stručnjaka te primjenom suvremene jezične i terminološke norme ostvaruju se ciljevi ispravno primijenjena terminološkog planiranja, a tako normirano nazivlje zadovoljava potrebe većine svojih korisnika.

Ključne riječi: terminološko planiranje, terminologija, glazbeno nazivlje

Terminology planning and standardization of basic Croatian musical terminology

As two integral components of communication and language planning within a language standardization process, terminology planning and terminology standardization are the activities applied to consciously and systematically develop a particular language for special purposes (LSP) in accordance with the communicational needs of the subject field. The terminology policy that clearly defines these activities is in Croatia still only implicitly a part of the language policy, which is also not formulated, and the implementation of which has changed depending on the historical and political conditions and the attitude of relevant linguistic institutions.

Terminology planning as a comprehensive process and part of an organized terminology activity has only begun to be implemented with the beginning of the program the *Development of Special Field Terminology* (STRUNA) of the Croatian Science Foundation (HRZZ), in which form it has replaced the previous terminology standardization activities largely manifested as the development of terminological dictionaries of various special fields. Considering the nonexistence of explicit guidelines carried out by a relevant terminology standardization body, it is especially important to appropriately define and standardize terminology. When solving terminological issues in any LSP, the solutions presented must be based both on the opinion of leading experts and authorities, and on the actual language use among domain experts and other users of the terminology defined.

The activities within the research project *Conmusterm – Problems of basic contemporary musical terminology in Croatia* (HRZZ) take into account the linguistic tradition and musicology heritage as well as contemporary usage and user needs. Based on this, a standardized basic musical terminology that meets the functional criteria of the special field and is in accordance with the contemporary language norm is suggested. The need for a standardized musical terminology has been addressed several times in the Croatian musical history (Kuhač 1875 and 1890, Cipra 1943, Zlatić 1952, Gligo 1992), with only partial success. Music is one of the few specialized knowledge domains that requires its users to master a special metalanguage along with specific knowledge and skills. Since learning music starts at a very early age, it is especially important to have a precise, unambiguous and systematically defined terminology throughout the whole musical education.

The paper first discusses several attempts to standardize the Croatian musical terminology, analyzing how successful they proved to be on the basis of the suggested terms still in use today. The paper also shows the key terminological issues using the examples of usage confirmed in expert pedagogical literature and in curricula for primary and secondary music education. Special attention is paid to the specific features of the metalanguage of music, such as diachronic polysemy and the resistance of a part of the terminology to assimilation, where it is necessary to abandon the generally accepted terminological principles. Then, on the basis of an analysis of a conducted survey among the teachers in music schools and the analysis of the contemporary corpora of the Croatian language, the status and frequency of these questionable terms is determined. This, in turn, enables the verification of their use both among experts and in a more general use. By combining the results of scientific research with the needs and attitudes of subject matter experts, and by applying contemporary

linguistic and terminological standards, the goals of the properly applied terminological planning are achieved, while the terminology normed in this way fulfils the needs of most of its users.

Keywords: terminology planning, terminology, musical terminology

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Stereotipi i predrasude o kajkavcima u kontekstu imagološkog pristupa novijoj hrvatskoj prozi

U radu se detektiraju dominantni društveni stereotipi i predrasude vezani uz govornike kajkavskoga narječja hrvatskoga jezika s obzirom na različite aspekte čovjeka i njegova života – intelektualni, emotivni, socijalni, kulturni, ekonomski, religijski, politički, rodni, moralni, seksualni, jezični i druge. Potvrđeni društveni stereotipi i predrasude ispituju se imagološkim pristupom u nekima od najznačajnijih djela novije kajkavske proze – počevši od kajkavskih tekstova Antuna Gustava Matoša i Miroslava Krleže, preko proza Slavka Kolara, Zvonimira Majdaka, Mladena Kerstnera, Pere Budaka, Stjepana Draganića i Hrvoja Hitreca, do najmlađe generacije kajkavskih autora poput Miroslava Gakića, Denisa Peričića i Kristiana Novaka. Analizom likova kajkavaca te načina njihova prikazivanja i funkcioniranja u konkretnom književnom tekstu, utvrđuje se status određenog stereotipa u okviru književnog diskursa, tj. pokazuje se koliko književnost posreduje u formiranju i/ili učvršćivanju društvenih stereotipa, odnosno, s druge strane, u kojoj se mjeri pojedini stereotipi njome ruše i/ili prevladavaju. Analitički pristup reprezentativnim tekstovima novije hrvatske prozne književnosti s obzirom na imagološki aspekt ujedno ima za cilj doći do uvida o statusu pojedinog stereotipa vezanog uz regionalnu i dijalektalnu pripadnost u kronološkoj perspektivi. Točnije, nastoji se pokazati mijenja li se u hrvatskoj književnosti tretman dominantnih stereotipa uvjetovanih regionalnom i dijalektalnom komponentom u razdoblju od početka 20. stoljeća do danas, i u kojem smjeru.

Ključne riječi: kajkavci, stereotipi i predrasude, novija hrvatska proza

Stereotypes and prejudices about kaj-dialect speakers via imagology approach to contemporary Croatian prose

The paper detects an describes the dominant social stereotypes and prejudices related to speakers of Croatian language kaj-dialect, with respect to var-

ious aspects of man and his life - intellectual, emotional, social, cultural, economic, religious, political, gender, moral, sexual, linguistic, and others. The confirmed social stereotypes and prejudices are tested through imagology approach to some of the most important works of contemporary prose (from the beginning of the 20th century to the present days) in kaj-dialect – starting from authors Antun Gustav Matoš and Miroslav Krleža, continuing in the prose of others like Slavko Kolar, Zvonimir Majdak, Mladen Kerstner, Pero Budak, Stjepan Draganić and Hrvoje Hitrec, on to the youngest generation of authors in kaj dialect, like Miroslav Gakić, Denis Peričić and Kristian Novak. The analysis of kaj-speaking fictional characters, how they appear and function in a specific literary text, determines the status of certain stereotypes within the literary discourse, i.e. shows on one hand how the literature mediates in the formation and/or strengthening of social stereotypes; on the other hand, the extent to which certain stereotypes it destroys and/ or prevails. The analytical approach to case study texts of contemporary Croatian prose with regard to imagology aspect also aims to approach information about the status of a certain stereotype related to a region and a dialect in chronological perspective. Specifically, it tries to show the changes in the Croatian literature, in terms of treatment of the dominant stereotypes conditioned by their respective regional and dialectal component, from early 20th century to the present day, and in what direction these changes go.

Keywords: kaj-dialect speakers, stereotypes and prejudices, contemporary Croatian prose

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Utjecaj interneta na standardizaciju srpskoga jezika

Jeziku interneta u posljednje se vrijeme pridaje znatna pozornost u lingvističkim istraživanjima. U tom kontekstu rad se bavi nekim značajkama suvremenoga srpskog jezika na internetu, odnosno utjecajem interneta na srpski jezik. U radu se razmatra utjecaj interneta na proces standardizacije suvremenoga srpskog jezika.

Pobornici purističkih teorija smatraju da većina riječi i izraza koji su ušli u srpski jezik putem interneta ne mogu biti prihvaćeni u standardnome jeziku. Prema njihovu mišljenju, to je sloj koji zagađuje srpski standardni jezik. Oni koji se zauzimaju za ponešto otvoreniji pristup, smatraju da i takve jezične jedinice mogu biti ravnopravan sloj srpskoga standardnog jezika.

Rad se, prije svega, usmjerava na analizu postupka skraćivanja riječi i izraza te na nove riječi kojima je izvor internet. U kontekstu purizma i otvorenosti procjenjuje se mogući status nekih rezultata skraćivanja te novih riječi. U radu se također razmatraju i neka opća pitanja mogućeg utjecaja interneta na srpski: pozitivan/negativan kontekst interneta, internet kao sredstvo dominacije engleskoga te internet u kontekstu koncepta suvremene pismenosti.

Ključne riječi: standardizacija, srpski jezik, internet

Influence of the Internet on the standardization of Serbian

The language of the Internet has a very important place in the contemporary linguistic research. In that context, the paper discusses some characteristics of Serbian on the Internet, and influence of the Internet on the Serbian language. The core question is how does the Internet influence the standard variety of Serbian.

Those who represent puristic approaches consider that most of the new words and espressions from the Internet cannnot be accepted as a part of the standard. According to them, these words are a layer that pollutes Serbian. On the other hand, there are people who support a more open approach. They think

that these words and expressions can be an equally important layer of the standard variety.

Considering characteristics of Serbian on the Internet, the use of abbreviations and new words is in the focus. In the context of purism and a more open approach, we consider a possible status of some abbreviations and new words. The paper discusses some general questions of possible influence of the Internet on the Serbian language: positive/negative influence of the Internet on Serbian; the Internet as a mean of the domination of English; and the Internet in the context of the contemporary literacy.

Keywords: standardization, Serbian, Internet

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Semantička tvorba u osječkom gradskom govoru

Učinkovita svakodnevna komunikacija i potreba članova svake govorne zajednice da jezičnim izražajnim sredstvima afirmira svoj identitet te i na taj način potvrdi svoju pripadnost određenom prostoru ili društvenoj grupi najistaknutiji su poticaji za nastanak gradskih govora. Prožimanje regionalnih, odnosno dijalektnih obilježja s elementima standardnoga jezika, pod utjecajem društvenih čimbenika u uvjetima snažne urbanizacije, rezultira nastankom govora u kojima se potiskuju manje prestižne osobine organskih idioma te ih zamjenjuju inovativne. Prilagodba jezika potrebama urbane kulture, odnosno sposobnost jezika da prati promjene u društvenom životu govorne zajednice koja se njime koristi najčešće podrazumijeva otvaranje prema utjecajima prestižnih stranih jezika te aktiviranje vlastitih izražajnih mogućnosti što pridonosi brzini i lakoći komunikacije. U takvim okolnostima nastaju govori koje obilježuju leksička plodnost i inovativnost, semantička ekspresivnost, metaforičnost i asocijativnost te ludičko poigravanje značenjem.

Nesporno je kako se leksičko blago u hrvatskom jeziku najčešće proširuje formalnom tvorbom (izvođenjem i slaganjem), no s druge strane daleko više imaginacije pokazuje se pri dodavanju novih značenja već postojećim leksičkim jedinicama, odnosno „starim" riječima koje, zbog svoje neupadljivosti na formalnoj razini, često ostaju u drugom planu. Rječnik kao najfleksibilniji dio jezika, a posebno njegov semantički sloj, spremno odgovara na svaku promjenu u ljudskim aktivnostima u bilo kojoj životnoj sferi. Imajući to u vidu, u ovome radu posebna će se pozornost posvetiti upravo semantičkim pomacima bez promjene izraza, odnosno bez intervencija u morfološkom sastavu leksema tipičnih za osječki gradski govor.

U tu svrhu bit će provedeno istraživanje na 100 ispitanika. U ispunjavanju upitnika sudjelovat će isključivo stanovnici koji žive od rođenja u Osijeku te su svrstani u dvije dobne skupine s istim brojem ispitanika i to: 50 ispitanika u dobi od 15 do 25 te 50 ispitanika u dobi od 35 do 45 godina. U istraživanje će biti uključeni ispitanici različitog društvenog i ekonomskog položaja te obrazovanja, a posebna će pozornost biti posvećena ravnomjernoj zastupljenosti obaju

spolova te dobi govornika koji su svrstani u dvije dobne skupine između kojih je u prosjeku 20 godina razlike. Pretpostavka je da će se tako jasnije pokazati tendencije u semantičkoj tvorbi te otkriti leksik koji se mijenja od onog koji je postojan značenjem i uporabom. Od ispitanika će se zahtijevati da navedu kako neformalno imenuju pojmove iz svakodnevice u sljedećim značenjskim poljima: predmeti u svakodnevnoj uporabi (npr. *cigla* – 'mobitel'), zanimanje (*kondor* – 'kontrolor'), međuljudski odnosi i ponašanje (*papuča* – 'osoba koja vrijeme provodi uglavnom s partnerom'; *odlijepiti* – 'biti ljut'; *ruganje* – 'druženje popraćeno opijanjem') te karakterne osobine i izgled ljudi (*specijalac* – 'neinteligentna osoba'; *oči* –'ženske grudi').

Interpretacija ima za cilj pokazati koji mehanizmi prevladavaju pri semantičkim pomacima te postoji li dobna razlika u njihovoj primjeni. Također, govori se i o učincima semantičke tvorbe te koliko ona pridonosi ekonomičnosti, gipkosti i ekspresivnosti svakodnevnog izražavanja izvanjezičnih iskustava govornika urbane osječke sredine.

Ključne riječi: osječki gradski govor, semantička tvorba, semantička ekspresivnost

Semantic formation in Osijek city speech

Efficient everyday communication and the need of members of every speech community to use linguistic means of expression to affirm their identity and thus confirm their belonging to a certain area or social group represent the most prominent incentives for the birth of city speech. These are urban idioms which originate as a consequence of a spill-over and intertwining of linguistic phenomena with non-linguistic ones, resulting from a sudden growth in size and role of cities in contemporary society. The interspersing of regional, i.e. dialectal characteristics with elements of standard language under the influence of social factors in the conditions of strong urbanization, results in the birth of a speech which features a suppression of less prestigious characteristics of organic idioms and their replacement by innovative ones. The adaptation of language to the needs of urban culture, i.e. the ability of language to keep pace with changes in the social life of a speech community which uses it, most frequently involves its opening towards the influences of prestigious foreign languages and the activation of its own expressive possibilities, which contributes to the speed and ease of communication. Such circumstances produce speeches characterized by lexical productivity and innovativeness, semantic expressiveness, metaphoricity and associativeness, as well as a ludic play with meaning.

Although the lexical stock of the Croatian language is unquestionably most frequently expanded by formal word formation, far more ingenuity is shown in the case of adding new meanings to existing lexical units, i.e. 'old' words, which, are often overlooked, due to their inconspicuousness on the formal level. The lexicon, as the most flexible part of language, especially its semantic layer, readily answers to any change in human activities in any sphere of life. Having this in mind, this paper will pay special attention to semantic shifts involving no change in expression, i.e. no interventions into the morphological composition of lexemes typical of the Osijek city speech.

To this end, a survey will be conducted on 100 subjects. The survey will include only those native inhabitants who have lived in Osijek since birth. These are divided into two age groups with an equal number of subjects: 50 subjects aged 15–25 and 50 subjects aged 35–45. The study will include subjects of different social and economic status and education. Special attention will be paid to including an equal ratio of subjects of both genders and age of speakers, who are classified into two age groups divided by 20 years in average. It is assumed that this will more clearly show tendencies in semantic formation, and flesh out the vocabulary which changes from that which is constant in meaning and use. The subjects will be asked to say how they informally refer to everyday terms from the following semantic fields: everyday objects (e.g. *cigla* ('brick') for cell phone), occupation (*kondor* ('condor') for ticket inspector, interpersonal relations and behavior (*papuča* ('slipper') 'a person who spends most of his/her time with the partner'; *odlijepiti* ('to remove a sticker/ adhesive from somewhere; to unglue') for ' to get angry'; *ruganje* ('mocking') for 'socializing which involves getting drunk', as well as people's character traits and appearance (*specijalac* (a special person) for an unintelligent person), *oči* ('eyes') for female breasts.

The interpretation of results aims to illustrate mechanisms which dominate in semantic shifts and test whether there is difference in age in their use. Furthermore, the effects of semantic formation are also discussed, as is the extent to which it contributes to the economy, flexibility and expressiveness with which speakers of the Osijek urban community express their extralinguistic experiences on a daily basis.

Keywords: Osijek city speech, semantic formation, semantic expressiveness

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Standardisation patterns in the southern varieties of peninsular Spanish

The standard variety of peninsular Spanish prescribes two different plural forms of address, depending on the degree of politeness. *Ustedes* must be used in formal contexts whereas *vosotros* is employed in informal ones. However, the most western area of the southern region of Andalusia has eliminated *vosotros* by levelling in *ustedes* any pronominal form of address in plural. In order to find the actual and current extension together with the social, geographic and pragmatic factors that condition this phenomenon, I have carried out fieldwork across western Andalusia and I have interviewed approximately 250 speakers, based on various social and geographic profiles: gender, age, educational background, size of the population of the municipality and geographic location within Andalusia. The data were collected thanks to an innovative methodology designed not to prime the informants and it consisted in having the surveyed dub a series of sitcom scenes in which a person addressed a group of people in different contexts. The spontaneous examples (over 4,500) that the speakers produced have enabled me to apply a statistical analysis that has provided the update of what was known about this phenomenon as well as about real factors that intervene in the maintenance of the vernacular particularity or the adoption of the standard alternative. The results show that, although there is a large amount of informants that are still characterised by the stigmatised phenomenon, plenty of them tend to adopt the standard pattern and they start distinguishing between *vosotros* and *ustedes* as the norm obliges. In addition, this tendency is mainly led by middle-aged women from urban environments and with a high educational background.

Keywords: peninsular Spanish, standardisation, forms of address

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Narodni govori: stanje idioma i istraživanja, državna politika – najvažniji zadaci

Najveći problemi u Hrvatskoj u vezi s jezikom bili su pravopis i dijelom normiranje leksika, dakle ne toliko znanstveni nego kulturni i politički. Bilo je nesnalaženja, politikanstva, simplifikacije. Najveći jezikoznanstveni problem (uz druga važna pitanja) odnosi se na narodne govore.

Za hrvatski jezik i jezike manjina u Hrvatskoj još nisu u potpunosti obavljena fundamentalna istraživanja, kako bi se dobila temeljna slika raznolikosti u jeziku, hrvatskoga kontinuuma. Još uvijek u nekim krajevima, dijelovima jezika, narječja i dijalekata nalazimo pojave koje nisu nigdje registrirane, a veoma su specifične za razvoj narječja, jezika u cjelini pa i u slavenskim jezicima uopće.

Osnovna slika jezika utvrđuje se istraživanjima po načelima lingvističke geografije – po ravnomjernoj mreži točaka, odabranih mjesnih govora. Ciljanim jedinstvenim upitnikom istražuju se fonološke, gramatičke osobine, ograničeno opseg rječničkoga blaga, a rezultati se opisuju i prikazuju na kartama. Većina europskih naroda i zemalja ta su istraživanja obavili – Francuzi i Nijemci krajem 19. stoljeća, Rumunji pred II. svjetski rat, Slovaci i Mađari nakon njega, Makedonija do 2005. Za hrvatski jezik, kao ni za srpski, jedine slavenske jezike, još uvijek nisu istraženi predviđeni punktovi – to je najvažniji zadatak hrvatskoga jezikoslovlja i filologije – jedan od najvažnijih zadataka hrvatske znanosti i kulture.

Istraživanje hrvatskih narodnih govora počinje rano; među prvim zvučnim zapisima jezika na svijetu uopće nalaze se hrvatska narječja (početak 20. st.) Narodni govori u Hrvatskoj intenzivnije se istražuju nakon 1945. godine. Godine 1996. planira se intenzivno geolingvističko istraživanje u IHJJ-u (*Hrvatski jezični atlas*: govori u Hrvatskoj, hrvatski govori u BiH i dijaspori). Istraživanja nisu završena zbog financiranja, osim čakavskih punktova (uz pomoć Austrije za gradišćanske govore). Ostala je petina kajkavskih te trećina štokavskih (sva u Vojvodini i Crnoj Gori), a većina su Hrvata štokavci. Posebno je to važno za hrvatski jezik zbog tronarječne osnove hrvatskoga književnog jezika.

Istraživanja su deklarativno bila prioritet. Taj važan nacionalni zadatak nadasve je hitan; narodni govori nestaju: a) tokom vremena se mijenjaju; b) mi-

gracije (zadnje Domovinski rat); c) nemjerljive civilizacijske promjene u 20 st., mnogostruko povećane – masovno obrazovanje, agresija javnih medija, urbanizacija; d) nestaju i mjesta u kojima su se govorili.

Novi model financiranja znanstvenoga rada daje mogućnosti da se fundamentalna jezikoslovna istraživanja adekvatno financiraju i završe u realno vrijeme.

Navode se druga važna istraživanja hrvatskoga jezika – zemljopisno, po idiomima i razinama, te plan, što će se kvalitetno obaviti kada se završe fundamentalna istraživanja (npr. „urbana dijalektologija", koja je stekla samostalnost između dijalektologije i sociolingvistike).

Ne postoje nove dijalektološke „teorije", samo tehnologije, koje bi što prije trebalo primijeniti. Ni naši eminentni jezikoslovci, pa čak ni dijalektolozi, ne shvaćaju bit dijalektnoga fenomena (koji je davno prikazao De Saussure, krajem 19. st.) i što su prioriteti, a što su vodeće europske znanosti obavile u 19. st.

Ključne riječi: narodni govori, lingvistička geografija, *Hrvatski jezični atlas*

Vernaculars: the state of idioms and research, the state policy – tasks of utmost importance

The greatest language-related problems in Croatia were orthography and, partly, standardisation of the lexis, which were less of scientific problems and more of cultural and political ones. There was confusion, political games, simplification. The greatest linguistic problem (alongside other important issues) refers to vernaculars.

The Croatian language and minority languages in Croatia have not yet been fully subjected to fundamental research, which would provide a basic picture of the language diversity and the Croatian language continuum. Still, in some regions, parts of the language, groups of dialects and dialects we find phenomena that have not been registered at all, and are yet very specific to the development of the groups of dialects, language as a whole, and Slavic languages, in general.

The basic picture of the language is obtained through research on the principles of linguistic geography – alongside a balanced network of points, i.e. selected local dialects. A tailor-made, unique questionnaire is used to investigate the phonological and grammatical features and the limited scope of vocabulary, whereas the results are described and shown on generated maps. Most European nations and states have already done this type of research - the French and Germans in the 19th century, Romanians before the Second World War, Slovaks and Hungarians after the Second World War, Macedonia until 2005. The

Croatian language and the Serbian language are the only Slavic languages in which the above-mentioned points have not been explored yet – this is a task of utmost importance for Croatian linguistics and philology - one of the most important tasks of Croatian science and culture.

The research on Croatian vernaculars started early; the Croatian groups of dialects were among the first audio recorded languages in the world (early 20th century). Vernaculars in Croatia were more thoroughly investigated after 1945. In 1996, there were plans to conduct intensive geolinguistic research in the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics (*Croatian Linguistic Atlas*: vernaculars in Croatia, Croatian vernaculars in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the diaspora). The research was not completed due to insufficient funding, with the exception of the *Čakavian* points (which was done with the assistance of Austria for the Burgenland vernaculars). The rest is made up of one fifth of the *Kajkavian* and one third of the *Štokavian* points (all in Vojvodina and Montenegro), and the majority of Croats are *Štokavian* speakers. This is especially important for the Croatian language because of its threefold dialect base.

Research was a declarative priority. This important national task is, above all, extremely urgent; vernaculars disappear: a) with time they are changing; b) are affected by migrations (the last being during the Croatian War of Independence); c) immeasurable civilizational changes in the 20th century, increased manifold – mass education, public media aggression and urbanization; d) even places where these vernaculars were spoken disappear.

The new model of funding research work gives opportunities for adequate funding and timely completion of fundamental linguistic research.

Other important research studies on the Croatian language are presented – geographically, by idioms and levels, as well as a plan to take steps upon the completion of the fundamental research (e.g. "urban dialectology", which achieved independence both from dialectology and sociolinguistics).

There are no new dialectal "theories", only technologies that should be applied as soon as possible. Neither our eminent linguists nor dialectologists realize the essence of the dialect phenomenon (which was illustrated by De Saussure long time ago, in the late 19th century) and identify the priorities, which the leading European scientific thought grasped in the 19th century.

Keywords: vernaculars*,* linguistic geography, *Croatian Linguistic Atlas*

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Suvremeni amaterski zapisi dubrovačkoga vokabulara – na korist ili na štetu valjanu dokumentiranju toga govora?

Jezični je opis dubrovačkoga govora temom niza monografija (Lovrić Jović 2014, 2015; Rešetar 1933, 1936, 1941 itd.), ali za potpun opis toga idioma nužno je izraditi njegov znanstveno utemeljen rječnik, i to u skladu s najrecentnijim leksikografskim praksama. Nažalost, takva rječnika (u hrvatskome izdanju) još nema. Rad propituje mogu li mnogobrojni suvremeni amaterski rječnici-glosari odmoći ili pomoći u ostvarenju takva leksikografskoga pothvata.

Treba uzeti u obzir i mogućnost obuke izvornih govornika da iznimnu motivaciju i ljubav prema vlastitu idiomu zaodjenu u leksikografski pouzdano ruho.

Ključne riječi: dubrovački govor, leksikografska praksa, govornici, amaterizam

Modern amateur recordings of the vocabulary of Dubrovnik – useful or harmful to the scientific recording of this dialect?

Linguistic descriptions of the dialect of Dubrovnik has been the theme of a series of monographs (Lovrić Jović 2014, 2015; Rešetar 1933, 1936, 1941, etc.), however a complete description of this idiom requires the creation of a scientifically-based dictionary in accordance with the most recent lexicographic practice. Unfortunately, such a dictionary (published in Croatia) does not exist. This paper researches whether numerous modern amateur dictionary-glossaries can hinder or assist in this manner of lexicographic undertaking.

The possibility of training native speakers to turn their exceptional motivation and love for their own idiom into lexicographically reliable work should also be taken into account.

Keywords: dialect of Dubrovnik, lexicographic practice, speakers, amateurism

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Koliko studenata, toliko muzike: mali jezici na slobodnom tržištu

Prošle je godine Amsterdamsko sveučilište (UvA) proživljavalo tešku krizu izazvanu studentskim prosvjedima protiv uvođenja novog nastavnog plana i reorganizacije studija u humanističkim i društvenim znanostima. Izravni povod bio je prijedlog o ukinuću studija stranih jezika s malim brojem upisanih studenata. Prosvjedima su se pridružili mnogi nastavnici, znanstveni novaci i istraživači, što je potaklo rasprave u medijima i zahtjeve za demokratizaciju uprave i transparentnu financijsku strukturu.

Nažalost, prosvjedi još nisu urodili plodom, ali su iznijeli u javnost neke suvremene trendove u odnosu društva prema studiju stranih jezika i ostalih 'neprofitabilnih' predmeta te pokazali da se ti trendovi ne odnose samo na nizozemsko društvo, već da se uklapaju u svjetske društvene i ekonomske smjernice.

U svom izlaganju pokazat ću da se studiju stranih jezika u službenim jezičnim politikama nekih europskih država pristupa iz perspektive neoliberalnih načela što potvrđuje i uporaba odgovarajućeg žargona. Proizvod se mora prilagoditi potrošaču, što znači da se kurikulum treba prilagoditi potencijalnom studentu. Istraživanje tržišta je pokazalo da student želi nastavu na engleskom jeziku, da nazivi predmeta moraju biti poticajni te da ponuda mora biti dovoljno raznolika, jer studenti u načelu teže multidisciplinarnim studijima. U skladu s politikom slobodnog tržišta sveučilište je dobilo poduzetničku ulogu pa se tako sâmo brine o svojim nekretninama, a velikim dijelom i o prihodima. Ono mora poslovati uz dobit kako bi opravdalo svoje postojanje. Zato se neisplativi sektori poslovanja (studiji s malim brojem studenata) spajaju s profitabilnim sektorima ili se restrukturiraju, a u najgorem slučaju ukidaju. Da bi se smanjili troškovi, pribjegava se novim, nedovoljno istraženim metodama i tehnologijama, a pri zapošljavanju se daje prednost privremenom radnom odnosu.

Slabosti i posljedice takvog pristupa su, između ostalog, nestajanje nekih studija, smanjenje znanstvene razine, ovisnost o broju studenata, prednost 'širine' nad 'dubinom' te nemotivirano nastavno osoblje.

Razlog toj promjeni u pristupu studiju malih jezika može se, s jedne strane, tražiti u općem slabljenju interesa za strane jezike, što zbog širenja engleskog i jačanja njegova statusa, što zbog globalnog pomicanja intelektualnog fo-

kusa s humanističkih na egzaktne znanosti. S druge strane, trenutačno prevladavajuća neoliberalna načela nesumnjivo su važan čimbenik u masovnim reorganizacijama sveučilišne strukture pri kojima se humanističke znanosti redovito zapostavljaju.

Ključne riječi: mali jezici, sveučilišni studiji, isplativost, slobodno tržište, neoliberalizam

You get what you pay for: small languages on the free market

Last year, the University of Amsterdam (UvA) experienced a severe crisis caused by student protests against the introduction of a new curriculum and the reorganization of studies in the humanities and social sciences. The direct cause for these protests had been a proposal for renewal by the governors, which was itself caused by dwindling numbers of students enrolling in the studies of foreign languages. Protests were joined by many teachers, PhD-students and researchers and they sparked a debate in the media and provoked demands for the democratization of governance and for a transparent financial structure.

Unfortunately, the protests have not yet borne fruit, but they did make the general public aware of some modern trends in society regarding foreign language studies and other 'non-profit' subjects, and showed that these trends are relevant not only to Dutch society, but also apply to global social and economic guidelines.

In my presentation, I will show how the official neoliberal language policies of certain European countries have dealt with foreign language studies which is reflected in the use of specific jargon. A product must be adapted to the consumer, which means that a curriculum should be adapted to the potential student. Market research has shown that students want classes in English, that the names of the courses must be an incentive and that what is on offer must be sufficiently diversified, as students are essentially looking for multidisciplinary studies. In line with free-market policies, the university has become an entrepreneur and as such has to take care of its estate, as well as procure considerable revenue. It must make a profit in order to justify its existence. Therefore unprofitable sectors (studies with a small number of students) should be joined to profitable sectors, restructured or even scrapped. In order to reduce costs, new, unexplored methods and technologies are considered and new policy dictates the preference of temporary employment. The disadvantages and consequences of this approach are, among others: the disappearance of some studies, a se-

verely reduced scientific level, dependence on the number of students, the precedence of 'width' over 'depth' and an unmotivated teaching staff.

The need for change in the approach to foreign language studies, especially of smaller languages, may be caused by a general weakening of interest in foreign languages, perhaps caused either by the spread and ever strengthening status of English, or by the general global trend of moving the intellectual focus away from the humanities to the exact sciences. Moreover, the currently prevailing neoliberal principles are undoubtedly an important factor in the massive reorganization of the university structure in which the humanities are regularly neglected.

Keywords: small languages, academic studies, profitability, free market, neoliberalism

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Slavonski dijalekt u teoriji i praksi danas

Uvidom u radove kojima je tema slavonski dijalekt – bilo da su oni znanstvene naravi ili rezultat rada amatera zaljubljenika u domaću riječ – uočava se kako se u posljednje vrijeme kao jedan od temeljnih zaključaka navodi sljedeće: govori slavonskoga dijalekta izumiru, sve je manje izvornih govornika, a one koji govore dijalektom prate stereotipi o njihovu govoru kao govoru neukih, neobrazovanih ili kao manje vrijedan govor. Kada je riječ o znanstvenim radovima, dva se problema javljaju: prvi se tiče analiziranoga područja slavonskoga dijalekta (zastupljen je u najvećoj mjeri posavski poddijalekt, potom podravski, dok je najmanje istraživanja baranjskih govora te govora požeškoga kraja), a drugi se odnosi na rezultate terenskih istraživanja slavonskoga dijalekta jer se u njima najviše prostora posvećuje fonologiji, morfologiji i leksiku; u većini je dijalektoloških opisa sintaktička razina najmanje zastupljena, pri čemu cjeloviti rad o sintaksi slavonskoga dijalekta uopće ne postoji.

Uvriježena pretpostavka da svi štokavci govore standardnim jezikom samim time što su štokavci svakako pridonosi statusu štokavskoga narječja, a onda i slavonskoga dijalekta, pa se ono zanemaruje i daje mu se manja pozornost u nastavi dijalektologije u osnovnoj i srednjoj školi u odnosu na ostala dva narječja. Problem se potencijalno krije u obrazovanju nastavnika jer se na studiju razredne nastave vrlo malo pozornosti posvećuje hrvatskoj dijalektologiji, a oni koji se školuju za profesore hrvatskoga jezika uče, uz ostalo, i o dijalektologiji, međutim u nastavi hrvatskoga jezika i u osnovnoškolskim i u srednjoškolskim udžbenicima vrlo se malo obrađuju narječja, dijalekti i uopće kulturno stvaralaštvo na organskome idiomu, pa i ono što nauče, nemaju priliku prenijeti na svoje učenike.

U posljednje je vrijeme sve više aktivnosti kojima se popularizira slavonski dijalekt, međutim uspoređujući broj tih aktivnosti s brojem istih ili sličnih događaja na, primjerice, kajkavskom govornom području, može se primijetiti kako je slavonski dijalekt i na taj način zanemaren.

Autorice će se, stoga, kako bi se dobio potpun uvid u suvremeno stanje slavonskoga dijalekta i stav prema slavonskom dijalektu, u ovome radu pozabaviti problematikom statusa toga idioma na početku 21. stoljeća, u posljednjih 15 godina (2000. – 2015.), s obzirom na teoriju i praksu. Teorijom će tako, između ostaloga, biti obuhvaćena bibliografija radova kojima je tema slavonski dijalekt (znanstveni i popularno-znanstveni radovi, knjige, članci, završni, diplomski i doktorski radovi, skupovi i dr.), a praksom analiza aktivnosti kojima se poučava o slavonskom dijalektu i kojima se on promiče u svoj svojoj punini (ciklus predavanja *Na satu s Maticom hrvatskom*, radijske i televizijske emisije, projektni dani u školama i dr.).

Pri oblikovanju stava o slavonskome dijalektu (i svim drugim hrvatskim idiomima), a posebno prenoseći ga mlađim naraštajima, valja imati na umu raznolikost hrvatskih regionalnih i mjesnih govora te znanstvenom gledištu pridružiti i sociolingvistički, kulturološki, a onda i identitetski – samo na taj način zavičajni jezik možemo smatrati sastavnim dijelom nacionalnoga i regionalnoga identiteta te ga u tom smislu valjano vrednovati i čuvati.

Ključne riječi: slavonski dijalekt, stav, 21. stoljeće

Slavonian dialect in theory and praxis today

Gaining insight into works with the subject of Slavonian dialect – whether they are scientific or a result of works of amateur lovers of the domestic word – one notices that one of the basic conclusions lately is stated as follows: the languages of the Slavonian dialect are dying out, the number of native speakers is decreasing, and the dialect of the ones who speak it is being stereotyped as uneducated or rural. When dealing with scientific works, two problems emerge: the first one concerns the analysed area of the Slavonian dialect (the sub-dialect of Posavina is the most widespread, followed by the sub-dialect of Podravina, whereas the least dialect research has been conducted in Baranja and Požega), and the second concerns the results of field research of the Slavonian dialect, because they are mostly devoted to phonology, morphology and lexicon, in most dialect descriptions the syntactic level is the least represented, and there is no complete work about the syntax of the Slavonian dialect at all.

The ingrained assumption that all Štokavian speakers use the standard language only because they are Štokavian surely contributes to the status of the Štokavian vernacular, as well as of the Slavonian dialect, which is consequently being neglected and is given less attention in teaching dialectology in elementa-

ry and secondary school in comparison to Kajkavian and Čakavian vernacular. The problem potentially lies in the education of teachers because the school of general class teaching shows only little importance for the Croatian dialectology and the ones who are educated to become Croatian teachers learn, among other, also about dialectology. However, in Croatian language teaching and in elementary and secondary school books little is taught about vernaculars, dialects and the cultural creation in mother dialects, so that the teachers don't have the opportunity to pass on their knowledge to their students.

Lately, there are more and more activities that popularize the Slavonian dialect. However, when the number of those activities is compared to the number of the same or similar activities in, for example, Kajkavian dialect, it is easy to notice that the Slavonian dialect is being neglected in this regard as well.

Therefore, in order to gain a complete insight into the present state of the Slavonian dialect and the popular attitude towards it, the authors of this paper will deal with the problem of the status of that idiom in 21st century, the last 15 years (2000 – 2015), with regard to theory and praxis. The theory will encompass, among other, the bibliography of works with the subject of the Slavonian dialect (scientific and popular-scientific papers, books, articles, final, graduation and doctorate papers, conferences etc.), whereas the praxis analyses the activities which teach about the Slavonian dialect and the activities through which this dialect is being promoted in every respect (the lecture cycle *Na satu s Maticom hrvatskom*, radio and television shows, project work in schools etc.).

While shaping the attitude towards the Slavonian dialect (and all other Croatian idioms), and especially when passing it on to younger generations, one should keep in mind the diversity of Croatian regional and local vernaculars, and add the socio-linguistic, cultural, and identity point of view to the scientific – only so can the native mother tongue be considered a part of national and regional identity and in that sense be appropriately appreciated and guarded.

Keywords: Slavonian dialect, attitude, 21st century

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Kodifikacija hrvatske naglasne norme (ili kako naši priručnici govore)

Govoreni neutralni tip standardnoga jezika danas još nije jedinstvenim kodeksom poduprt pa je svako opisivanje osuđeno na probiranje ortoepskih podataka iz postojećih normativnih priručnika te na osluškivanje (tek pretpostavljenih) komunikacijski kompetentnih govornika. Kompetentan govornik bio bi onaj koji zna što želi reći, kako i kada to reći. U komunikacijskome kanalu njegov sugovornik, kompetentan slušatelj, zna što je kultura slušanja, s lakoćom procesira govor i ima stav o govornoj izvedbi. U takvoj idealnoj komunikacijskoj situaciji zaustavljamo se na tome KAKO (iz)reći, i još uže, kako naglasiti. Dakako da imamo u vidu da govor koji je ortoepski korektan ne donosi i veću količinu obavijesti u svim okolnostima, no budući da kreira stav slušatelja, modificira se ondje gdje nije ili čak jest identičan slušateljevu kodu. Situacijski ili komunikacijski kompetentni govornici prilagođavaju svoj izraz i situaciji i slušatelju (uklopna je motivacija vrlo snažna), pri čemu normativna korektnost nije presudna (katkad stvara i buku u komunikacijskome kanalu). U takvoj definiciji normativna korektnost postaje orijentir (što je i jedna od funkcija standarda), zadanoj se normi (kodeksu) primičemo ili od nje odmičemo. Oprimjerenje takve zadane normativne korektnosti pronalazimo u normativnim priručnicima koji nude i naglasnih podataka. Dvojbene ćemo tipološke primjere izdvojiti te „ozvučiti" nekoliko suvremenih normativnih priručnika. Anketom među jezikoslovcima propitat ćemo neutralnost ostvaraja (na skali od 1 do 5), temeljenih na podatcima iz normativnih priručnika, jer je naglasak u hrvatskome jeziku zasigurno dominantno jezično sredstvo koje izaziva kreiranje stavova.

Počesto se navodi da odstupanja od naglasne norme u određenim komunikacijskim situacijama čine govornu izvedbu čak idealnom pa ostaje svakako otvorenim i nužnim prozboriti o restandardizaciji hrvatske ortoepske norme koja se privija uzusu u opisivim kategorijama. Lojalnost govornoj zajednici kao sociološko-lingvistički fenomen snažno utječe na jezičnu (ne)akomodaciju, što izvrsno oslikava opiranje prestižu standardne norme. Govornik koji svjesno čini odmake od standardne inačice (označene tzv. višim stilom) lingvistički je divergentan (do trenutka restandardizacije), ali je psiho-sociološki konvergentan. Dolazimo do zaključka da se kompetentni govornici svjesno odmiču od zami-

šljenoga ideala standardnoga izgovora, tj. svjesno mu se i ne primiču kad god žele biti komunikacijski kompetentni. Ideal više nije model, jer ni kodeks i norma nisu ujednačeni. Problem s hrvatskim jezikom je i u tome što idealan govor još nije dokraja opisan, a problem s naglasnom normom dodatno je i u tome što (ne)poželjne naglasne ostvaraje zamagljuje boja glasa, izgovor vokala, intonacija, interpretacija i sl.

Cilj je dakle izlaganja propitati poželjnost naglasnih ostvaraja koje kodeks donosi, pretakanjem naglašenih riječi iz suvremenih (napose rječničkih) priručnika u govornu izvedbu. Usporedbom s uzusom dosegnut ćemo koja su mjerila prevagnula u leksikografskome naglašivanju – jezična ili izvanjezična. Primjerima rečenica, naglašenih prema suvremenim normativnim priručnicima, koji u sebi kriju tipološke razlike, pokazat ćemo kako „govore" naši suvremeni priručnici, propitat ćemo jesu li stilski neutralni ili su obilježeni te dokučiti koliko je planiranje korpusa na primjeru hrvatske naglasne norme uspješno, u kojoj je fazi i je li to planiranje zapravo „neplanirano".

Ključne riječi: naglasna norma, kodifikacija, uzus

Codification of the Croatian accentual norm (or how our manuals "talk")

A neutral spoken type of the Standard language has not yet been supported by a unique code so every description is reduced to picking through orthoepic data in extant normative manuals and listening to communicationally (supposedly) competent speakers. A competent speaker would be the one that knows what (s)he wants to say, and how and when to say it. The other party in the communicational channel, a competent listener, knows what culture of listening is, processes the speech with ease and has a stance to its performance. In such an ideal communicational situation we stop at the point of HOW to say or, more precisely, how to accentuate. Surely we bear in mind that orthoepically correct speech does not bring a larger amount of information in all circumstances, but since it creates the attitude of the listener, it is modified wherever it is not (or even where it is) identical to the listener's code. Situationally or communicationally competent speakers accomodate their expression to the situation and the listener (inclusional motivation is powerful), whereby normative correctness is not crucial (and sometimes even creates noise in the communicational channel). In such a definition, normative correctness becomes an orientational point (which actually is one of the functions of the standard), we either ap-

proach or depart from the defined norm (code). An example of this type of defined normative correctness is found in normative manuals, which also offer much accentual information. We will isolate the dubious typological examples and „audio" a number of contemporary normative manuals. By means of questionnaires filled in by linguists we will evaluate the neutrality of enunciation (on a scale from 1 to 5), based on the data from normative manuals, because in the Croatian language the accent is surely a dominant linguistic means causing the creation of attitudes.

It has been frequently stated that departure from the accentual norm in certain communicational situations even render the speech performance ideal and it definitely remains an open and necessary question to address the restandardisation of the Croatian orthoepical norm which adheres to the usage in the describable cathegories. Loyalty to the speech community as a socio-linguistic phenomenon influences strongly the language (non-)accommodation, which is excellently illustrated by the resistence to the prestige of the standard norm. A speaker who consciously departs from the standard variety (marked by the so-called higher style) is linguistically divergent (to the moment of restandardisation) but psycho-sociologically convergent. This leads to the conclusion that competent speakers consciously depart from the imaginary ideal standard pronunciation (ie. they consciously do not approach it) whenever they desire to be communicationally competent. The ideal is no longer the model, because the code and the norm are not harmonised. Another problem with the Croatian language is the fact that an ideal pronunciation has not yet been described, and an additional problem with the accentual norm is the obscuring of the (un)desired accentual realisations by the timbre, vowel pronounciation, intonation, interpretation etc.

The aim of this presentation is, therefore, the evaluation of the accentual realisations offered by the code, by transposing accented words from modern manuals (esp. dictionaries) into the speech performance. Comparing it with the usage, we will understand which rules have dominated in the lexicographical accentuation – the linguistic or extra-linguistic ones. Using sample sentences, accentuated according to modern normative manuals, which contain mutual typological differences, we will show how our modern manuals „talk", evaluate their stylistical neutrality/markedness, and ascertain the how successful the corpus planning is, taken into account the Croatian accentual norm, in which phase it is, and whether this planning may actually be „unplanned".

Keywords: accent norm, codification, usage

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Uloga pravopisnih priručnika u standardizaciji pravogovornoga plana: stara metodološka pitanja i novi izazovi

Činjenica da je svaka veća društvenopolitička promjena u hrvatskoj prošlosti popraćena objavom (novoga) pravopisnoga priručnika rezultirala je ne samo relativno bogatim nizom pravopisnih knjiga nego i posljedičnom mogućnosti da se metodološki postupci primijenjeni u pravopisnim knjigama iz različitih razdoblja razmotre s obzirom na jezične i društvene okolnosti u kojima su ti priručnici nastajali. U području metodologije izrade pravopisnoga priručnika postavljala su se mnogobrojna pitanja, koja je ugrubo moguće svesti na ove zajedničke nazivnike: dosezi pravopisnih ingerencija i dosljednost pravopisnih rješenja. Pravopisne su knjige naime vrlo često, u većoj ili manjoj mjeri, prelazile granice svoje mjerodavnosti i ulazile u različita druga područja, osobito ona koja u određenome trenutku nisu bila na zadovoljavajući način ili pak uopće obuhvaćena drugim priručnicima. K tome kroz čitavo se 20. stoljeće uspješnost pojedinoga rješenja uobičajilo mjeriti načelom dosljednosti kao jedinim lingvistički utemeljenim kriterijem – te stoga i najvišim metodološkim dosegom, tj. idealom kojem treba težiti svaka (dobra) pravopisna knjiga, a nejednoznačnost pravila smatrala se nedorađenošću. I jedan i drugi kriterij hrvatske su pravopisne knjige od zadnjega desetljeća 20. stoljeća otvoreno zaobilazile donoseći neka rješenja koja se tiču standardizacije (restandardizacije?) dijelova pravogovorne norme. U radu se provodi analiza svih pravopisnih priručnika objavljenih u posljednjih četvrt stoljeća i promatra se kako se u njima pristupa pravogovornim temama. Osobito su pritom zanimljive dvije pravopisne knjige koje su datumom nastanka vezane i uz doba prije državnoga osamostaljenja Hrvatske i uz doba nakon proglašenja neovisnosti: *Hrvatski pravopis* S. Babića, B. Finke i M. Moguša (izdanje iz 1971. godine i zatim niz priručnika koji izlaze od 1990.) te *Pravopisni priručnik* V. Anića i J. Silića (izdanja iz 1986., 1987. i 2001.). Razmatra se je li u hrvats-

kim pravopisnim knjigama redefiniran odnos pravopisa i pravogovora te kako se u njima odražavaju ortoepski izbori jezične zajednice. Utoliko je moguće reći da se radi o starim metodološkim pitanjima i novim izazovima pred kojima se našla hrvatska pravopisna norma u posljednjih četvrt stoljeća. Ili obrnuto, zahtjev prema kojem pravopis treba odražavati činjenicu da govor prethodi pisanju stari je izazov, no metodološka su pitanja s kojima se pritom pravopisna knjiga suočava posve nova.

Ključne riječi: pravopis, pravogovor, standardizacija

The role of orthography books in the standardization of orthoepy: the old methodological questions and the new challenges

The fact that every noteworthy socio-political change in Croatia's history was accompanied by the publication of a (new) orthography book has resulted not just in a relatively rich collection of orthography manuals, but also in the possibility of re-evaluation of the methodological practices presented in them. In the field of methodology numerous questions arose, which can roughly be reduced to: the extent of the competence of the orthography book and the consistency of orthographic solutions. The orthography books were often, to a lesser or greater degree, moved past the borders of their competence and into various different fields of norm, especially those that were at that particular moment not optimally, or not at all, covered by other manuals. What's more, throughout the entire 20th century the quality of a given solution was mostly measured by the principle of consistency as the only linguistically sound criterion – and therefore also the highest methodological achievement, or the ideal that was supposed to be sought after by every (good) orthography book (while the opposite was considered to signal an incomplete work). Both these criteria were predominantly and conspicuously avoided by the Croatian orthography books in the last decade of the 20th century, in favour of some other solutions that have to do with standardization (restandardization?) of the parts of the orthoepic norm. In this paper the analysis of all orthography books published in the last quarter of a century is conducted, and what is specifically observed is the way in which the themes relating to orthoepy are handled. In this process, two orthographic books are of special interest, and these books are, through their release dates, connected to the periods both before and after Croatia's gaining of independence: *Hrvatski pravopis* by S. Babić, B. Finka and M. Moguš (edition

from the year 1971 and also a series of books published by 1990), and *Pravo-pisni priručnik* by V. Anić and J. Silić (editions from the years 1986, 1987 and 2001). We analyze whether the relationship between orthography and orthoepy was redefined in these books, and how various orthoepic choices of the linguistic community are reflected in them. Therefore, it can be said that we speak about old methodological questions and new challenges faced by the Croatian orthographic norm in the last quarter of a century. Or, conversely, the condition by which orthography must reflect the fact that speech precedes writing is an old challenge, but the methodological questions that an orthography book faces in the process are completely new.

Keywords: orthography, orthoepy, standardization

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Language and construction of identities in post-Soviet states in the discourse on national language policy

The report considers interaction of language and collective identity in post-Soviet states, which introduced changes in status and functions of Russian and national languages after gaining independence. Report objective*:* to demonstrate explicit and implicit interaction of language and identities in chosen discourse practice.

The problem is described within multidisciplinary approach to identity with emphasis on language and ideology correlation in sociolinguistic theory (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Edwards 2009; Fishman 1999; Kulyk 2013, Szporluk 2009; Kuzio 2009; Ciscel 2005; Bystrytskyi (ed.) 2015, etc). Supporting data: language laws, the Constitutions, political parties' platforms, political leaders' speeches, opinion polls, media narratives, interviews, writers' publications, social networks, etc.

These text genres expose historical, cultural and political content of discourse on language policy explaining that: a) the Russian language and culture make the basis for forming Russian identity for people from all republics of the Russian Federation, whereas national languages and cultures are meant to form national identities; nonetheless, this process is inefficient; b) the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian languages develop their functions as official languages and means of national unity in the Baltic States; c) the interaction of *Russian and Belarusian* is being realized, although the role of Belarusian is declarative in Belarus; d) opposition of *Russian and Moldavian* was in the core of military confrontation between Russia and Moldova in 1991 and led to creation of unrecognized Transdniestrian Moldavian Republic. In other post-Soviet states national languages received a new legal status and started to create new communication practices promoting establishment of Uzbek, Kazakh, Turkmen and other types of identity.

In Ukraine, Ukrainian and Russian are involved in formation of Ukrainian, national, European, regional, party, political, historical, Soviet, Russian, religious and other collective identities. The development of European and civic identities has significantly accelerated, which is proved by the Revolution of Dignity (2013-2014), when the Ukrainian society rose in defense of European

values. The areas with Soviet and Russian identity suffered aggression on behalf of Russia. Overall, the formation of Ukrainian civic identity is accelerating: it shifts from ethnic and cultural identities towards supra-national identity for uniting all state parts and understanding it as a homeland for people speaking different languages. This process was fostered by de-communization laws (2015), which released Ukraine from Soviet ideological names.

The practice of constructing collective identities in the discourse on national language policy reveals different roles of language through ideology of states and development of communicative / symbolic functions of Russian and national languages. Interaction of languages and identities plays a role of political factor in independent states. In international relations it is a ground for Russia's geopolitical decisions (Transdniestrian conflict, annexation of Ukrainian and Georgian territories and military intervention into Eastern Ukraine).

Other levels of analyzing discourse on language policy: cognitive, linguistic and semiotic – elicit ways of its realization and expose implicit and explicit interaction of language, power, identity and public opinion**,** which is essential for forming new aspects of sociolinguistic theory.

Keywords: language, politics, collective identity

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Analiza udžbenika talijanskog kao materinskog jezika u uporabi u školama talijanske nacionalne manjine u Republici Hrvatskoj

Udžbenici se u školama još uvijek koriste kao glavna didaktička sredstva u procesu oblikovanja i realizacije nastavnog plana i programa pa su stoga njihova struktura te, naposljetku, kvaliteta i praktična primjena znanja koje žele prenijeti učenicima od iznimne važnosti u procesu učenja jezika. Ne čudi, stoga, postojanje posebnog *Zakona o udžbenicima za osnovnu i srednju školu*, koji propisuje i regulira postupak odabira i uporabe tih (i ostalih) neophodnih nastavnih pomagala, te *Udžbeničkog standarda*, kojim se propisuju pedagoški, psihološki, didaktičko-metodički, etički, jezični, likovno-grafički te tehnički zahtjevi i standardi za izradu udžbenika. Gore navedeni *Zakon* definira udžbenike kao nastavna sredstva koja služe učenicima „kao jedan od izvora znanja za ostvarivanje odgojno-obrazovnih ciljeva utvrđenih nacionalnim i predmetnim kurikulumom". Udžbenici najčešće predstavljaju neku vrstu posrednika u nastavnoj komunikaciji između nastavnika i učenika budući da u velikoj mjeri određuju sadržaje učenja, kao i načine na koje će ti sadržaji biti predstavljeni i približeni učenicima. Njihova je važnost još veća u procesima poučavanja/učenja materinskog jezika koji je manjinski na nekom području, kao što je to, npr. talijanski u Hrvatskome primorju i Istri. Naime, u tim se slučajevima dotični jezik ne koristi u većini svakodnevnih komunikacijskih aktivnosti, izuzevši obiteljsko okruženje i institucije manjinske nacionalne zajednice, pa školski udžbenici često predstavljaju zamjenu za razne vrste i aspekte jezične komunikacije.

U Hrvatskoj su se znanstvenici donekle intenzivnije počeli baviti analizom školskih udžbenika tek osamdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća (v. Poljak 1980, Malić 1986), a najveći broj istraživanja provedenih na tom polju odnosi se na poučavanje povijesti te hrvatskoga jezika. Analizi nastavnih materijala na stranim i/ili manjinskim jezicima posvećeno je veoma malo radova, a većinom se radi o analizama koje se ne dotiču poučavanja samog stranog/manjinskog jezika. Stoga će se u ovom radu iznijeti rezultati istraživanja provedenoga na udž-

benicima talijanskog (kao materinskog jezika) koji su u uporabi u školama talijanske nacionalne manjine u Republici Hrvatskoj. Analizirat će se sadržajno te formalno oblikovanje tekstova i zadataka, njihova usklađenost sa smjernicama koje je Vijeće Europe iznijelo u Zajedničkom europskom referentnom okviru za jezike, njihova suvremenost, odnosno primjenjivost u praksi, a na primjeru nekoliko izdvojenih tekstova iznijet će se pregled književnih te općenito kulturnih sadržaja ponuđenih učenicima na usvajanje. Cilj promišljanja o dobivenim rezultatima, kvantitativnog i kvalitativnog tipa, bit će ukazivanje na pozitivne karakteristike udžbenika koji su trenutačno u primjeni, ali i na one koje bi eventualno bilo potrebno poboljšati kako bi se olakšao i pospješio sam proces učenja, tj. kako bi se u konačnici došlo do što boljih rezultata u jezičnoj kompetenciji učenika.

Ključne riječi: talijanski jezik, udžbenici, talijanska nacionalna manjina

Analysis of textbooks of Italian as mother tongue in use in schools of the Italian national minority in Croatia

The textbooks are still used in schools as primary teaching aid in the process of shaping and realization of the teaching curriculum, and for that reason, their structure and, finally, their quality and practical application of knowledge they want to transmit to students have great importance in the process of language learning. Therefore, the existence of a special *Act on Textbooks for Primary and Secondary Schools*, which prescribes and regulates the selection process and the use of these (and other) indispensable teaching aids, and of the *Textbook standard*, which prescribes the pedagogical, psychological, didactic-methodological, ethical, linguistic, visual graphical and technical requirements and standards for the development of textbooks does not surprise at all. The above-mentioned *Act* defines textbooks as teaching aids that serve to students "as one of the sources of knowledge for the achievement of educational objectives established by the national and subject curriculum". The textbooks usually represent some kind of intermediary in the didactic communication between teacher and students since they generally determine the contents of learning and the ways in which those contents will be presented and brought closer to students. Their importance is even greater in the processes of mother tongue teaching/learning in an area in which it is a minority language, such as, for example, in the case of Italian in Croatian Littoral and Istria. In fact, in those cases the language in question is not being used in most of the everyday communication activities, except in the family environment and in the institutions of the

minority national communities, therefore the school textbooks often represent a replacement for many different types and aspects of language communication.

Not until the eighties last century, scientists in Croatia begun to analyze school textbooks rather intensively (see Poljak, 1980; Malić, 1986), and the majority of the researches in that field refer to history and Croatian language teaching. There is a limited number of works dedicated to the analysis of teaching materials in foreign and/or minority languages, and they are mostly not dedicated to the foreign/minority language teaching. Therefore, this paper will bring the results of a research conducted on the textbooks of Italian language (as mother tongue) that are in use in schools of the Italian national minority in Croatia. Content and the formal layout of texts and exercises, their conformity with the guidelines that the Council of Europe presented in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, their recentness and their applicability in practice, will be analyzed and an overview of the literary and general cultural contents that are offered to students will be outlined on the example of several selected texts. The aim of the reflection on the obtained quantitative and qualitative results is to point out on the positive characteristics of the textbooks currently in use, but also on those that need to be improved in order to facilitate and improve the learning process itself, i.e. in order to ultimately achieve the best possible results in the students' language competency.

Keywords: Italian language, textbooks, Italian national minority

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Uz-prefixed verb form in Croatian as an issue of socio-historical linguistics: between prescriptivism and language usage

This paper treats the special verb form prefixed with *uz*-, recurrently observed in the pre-20th century Croatian grammars, as an issue of social-historical linguistics, and discusses the way in which the prescriptivism and real language usage were interrelated in the standardization process in Croatia.

In the pre-20th century Croatia, where the language politics as a decision-making process on language carried out by authorized entities hardly existed, individual grammarians acted as managers of "language politics". Grammarians in such situations often selected desirable variants on their own decision, and forms and rules appearing in their grammars sometimes look to be, from the viewpoint of the modern linguists, artificial, or "pseudo-rules". A primary example of such cases may be the special verb form prefixed with *uz*-, recurrently found in old Croatian grammars.

The verb prefix *uz*- (<*vъz-) in Croatian expresses spacial relations of upward motion, motion in the opposite direction, and inchoative and other telic meaning. Along with these, another function has been ascribed to *uz*-: to form functional equivalent of the second future, denoting the event related to another event expressed in the matrix clause that has a future reference. This *uz*-prefixed form is often regarded as a feature of the early Vukovians' grammar, as it appeared in Vuk Karadžić's grammar as a compositional part of the verb conjugation. However, the *uz*-prefixed verb form was found also in the pre-19th century Croatian grammars, written by those grammarians, such as Relković, Šitović, and Mikalja, and the appearance of this form in these grammars needs another explanation.

After examining those grammatical descriptions in which *uz*-prefixed form was treated as a part of the verb conjugation, this paper points out that the form in question presented in the old Croatian grammars was a reflection of the real language usage of the linguistic community of which those grammarians were members, and grammars containing the form in issue were, indeed, prescriptive, but written in an attempt to reconcile the prescriptivism with the real language usage.

It is necessary to mention that this seemingly idiosyncratic Croatian form is, in fact, not idiosyncratic, as in old Czech the *vz*-prefixed verb form, which is obviously the allied formation with Croatian *uz*-prefixed form, could convey the future tense meaning. These two phenomena can be associated with the function of Slavic prefix **vъz*- to denote the ingressive meaning. Considering that the ingressive aktionsart can easily be transferred to the future meaning, it can be said that the emergence of *uz*-prefixed form in a structure requiring a futurate form was cognitively motivated.

This report examines also the disappearance of *uz*-prefixed in the contemporary Croatian in reference to the establishment of the second future in the grammatical system of standard Croatian.

Keywords: standardization, uz-prefixed form, the pre-20th century grammarians

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„Bridal predznak", „popularni sweater" i „fluidni baloner": pomodan jezik u svijetu mode

U zadnjih smo 20-ak godina svjedoci popularizacije i širenja zapadnjačke, mahom anglosaksonske kulture zbog čega engleski jezik sve više poprima razmjere globalnoga jezika. Engleski jezik tako postaje prestižan jezični kod koji posredstvom medija vrši sve veći utjecaj na manje jezike, među kojima je i hrvatski. Tako danas, unatoč nastojanjima brojnih hrvatskih lingvista, svjedočimo rastućoj prisutnosti engleskih riječi i konstrukcija u svim funkcionalnim stilovima hrvatskoga jezika (usp. npr. Mihaljević 1999, Drljača 2006, Opačić 2007, Brdar 2010).

Dominacija globalnih jezika, ponajviše engleskoga, u svijetu mode jedna je od potvrda njegova međunarodnoga karaktera. Stoga valja očekivati da je jezik mode podložan stranim utjecajima. Prihvatimo li krilaticu da „biti moderan zapravo znači biti ispred mode" (Butor i sur. 2015), ne čudi da su kreativnost i brze mijene u modnom svijetu vidljive i u jeziku kojim govorimo o modi. Lopriore i Furiassi (2015) takav jezik drže „vrlo kreativnim i raznolikim", a svoj zaključak temelje na činjenici da jezik mode predstavlja jedinstven spoj tehničkog modnog žargona, općeg leksika i posuđenica.

Zanimljivo je razmotriti istaknutu ulogu koju *modni mediji* imaju u promoviranju modnih proizvoda i jezika kojim ih opisuju. Iako je modna industrija ponajprije usmjerena široj publici, ona istovremeno teži jedinstvenosti i individualnosti. Prihvaćanjem iznimno složenoga i isprepletenoga jezika mode koji nije nužno razumljiv široj javnosti, mediji uspijevaju održati ravnotežu između dostupnoga i prestižnoga, a pritom upravo jezik često doprinosi očuvanju prestiža.

Cilj je ovoga rada analizirati utjecaj engleskoga jezika na hrvatsko modno nazivlje. Pritom će se analizirati jezik četiriju hrvatskih najpoznatijih modnih portala, *Buro 24/7*, *Extravagant*, *Fashion.hr*, *Cromoda*. Najveći je utjecaj potvrđen na leksičkoj te nešto manji na morfosintaktičkoj i semantičkoj razini. U radu se tako razlikuje nekoliko kategorija koje svjedoče o utjecaju en-

gleskoga jezika: tuđice (*street style; buyer; statement item*); pseudoposuđenice (*boho styling*); doslovne prevedenice (*stroga poslovna odijela*); poluprevedenice (*maxi ogrtač, pre-fall kolekcija, street style zvijezda, statusna torba*), semantički kalk (**izbaciti** *novu kolekciju,* **lansirati** *u modele*), sintaktički kalk (*Zigman kišobran*), novotvorenice (*furkini*). U izlaganju se daje pregled suvremene hrvatske jezikoslovne gramatičke, leksikografske i savjetničke literature o utvrđenim jezičnim značajkama.

Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju na nekoliko mogućih razloga posuđivanja iz engleskoga jezika: stalna izloženost engleskom jeziku u medijima, jezična ekonomija, popunjavanje leksičke praznine, engleske riječi i izrazi nude potpuniji opis negoli domaća riječ, engleske riječi imaju bolji kolokacijski potencijal negoli domaća riječ. Također, autori razmatraju mogućnost da uporaba engleskoga jezika proizlazi iz estetskih razloga te da se njime postiže osjećaj prestiža.

Mogući smjerovi daljnjeg istraživanja koje autori predlažu uključuju ispitivanje razumljivosti jezika koji se upotrebljava na hrvatskim modnim portalima kao i daljnju analizu govornoga jezika hrvatskoga svijeta mode.

Ključne riječi: jezični dodiri, hrvatski jezik, engleski jezik, modni mediji, modno nazivlje

"Bridal predznak", "popularni sweater" and "fluidni baloner": language trends in the world of fashion

In the past twenty years, we have witnessed the popularisation and expansion of westernised, primarily Anglo-Saxon cultures, which has led to the establishment of English as a global language. English has, thus, grown to be a prestigious linguistic code that continues to exert influence on many languages, and, despite occasional efforts to the contrary, the Croatian language seems to have welcomed English influences in particular usage domains (Mihaljević 1999; Drljača 2006; Opačić 2007; Brdar 2010).

As the largely international character of the fashion world mirrors the widespread presence of global languages such as English, it is reasonable to expect its jargon to be susceptible to international influences. Following the proposition by Butor et al. (2015) that "being fashionable in fact means to be ahead of fashion", it is unsurprising that the creativity and the rapid developments in the world of fashion are also reflected in the language that is used to speak about fashion. Lopriore and Furiassi (2015) describe such language as "very creative and diversified", representing a unique blend of technical fashion jargon, general language and foreign borrowings.

It is interesting to consider the prominent role of fashion media in promoting both the fashion products and the accompanying language. Although fashion industry essentially is user-oriented, it simultaneously strives for uniqueness and individuality. By adopting an intertwined "fashion speech" that may not be readily comprehensible to the general public, the fashion media walk the fine line between the attainable and the elite, possibly using language as a tool for gatekeeping the air of exclusivity.

The aim of this paper is to explore the permeability of the Croatian language in the domain of fashion and discuss the possible reasons for the use of English or English-like linguistic interventions in this field. Articles retrieved from four major Croatian fashion web portals (*Buro24/7, Extravagant, Fashion.hr* and *Cromoda*) formed a corpus that was analysed in terms of lexico-semantic and morphosyntactic language contact. Salient influences have been found in the use of foreign words (*street style; buyer; statement item*); pseudo-loans (*boho styling*); loan translation proper (*stroga poslovna odijela*); hybrid compounds (*maxi ogrtač, pre-fall kolekcija, street style zvijezda, statusna torba*), semantic loans (**izbaciti** *novu kolekciju,* **lansirati** *u modele*), syntactic loans (*Zigman kišobran*), and language creations (*furkini*). The established categories are further examined in relation to contemporary lexicographic, grammatical and consultative literature, and possible motivation for the use of English in the Croatian language of fashion is discussed.

In addition to reasons such as the persistent exposure to English in the media, the preservation of language economy, the existence of lexical need in Croatian, and the possibility that English offers more accurate descriptions and has better collocation potential, the authors also consider that using English may stem from the phenomenon of aesthetic resonance and may reflect a taste for prestige or snobbery.

The potential directions for further research include a study on the comprehensibility of the language used on Croatian fashion web portals, as well as an analysis of the spoken language of the Croatian fashion world.

Keywords: language in contact, Croatian language, English language, fashion media, fashion terminology

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The ideology of bourgeois nationalism of the fifties of the 20th century and its reflections on language planning in the development of the Slovak literary language

The development of the Slovak standard language in its modern history (the 20th century) is accompanied with polemics and fluctuations between purist and assimilation efforts conditioned by language planning in the range of particular political ideology. The efforts are primarily focused on Czech language influence on the Slovak and they are manifested in alternation of an acceptance and support of the Czech influence on one hand and the prescriptive delimitation of the Slovak language on the other hand.

The paper focuses on the period of the 50s and 60s of the 20th century – the period characterised by two opposite approaches:

1) a conscious and politically supported assimilation of Slovak and Czech motivated by still lingering ideology of Stalin's cult of personality and socialist struggle against the so called bourgeois nationalism

2) a rise of purist approaches and efforts to protect Slovak standard language from Czech interferences in the nascent freedom of speech, political liberalization and decentralization of the „golden sixties" (culminating in the so called Prague spring and interrupted by the invasion of the Warsaw Pact troops in 1968).

A corpus planning discourse of this period reflects the interconnection of political and language ideologies and it represents an exclusive source for sociolinguistics and pragma linguistics investigation. The paper is a part of widely composed research project *Slovenčina v kontexte viacjazyčných spoločenstiev na Slovensku* (The Slovak language in the Context of Multilingual Communities in Slovakia) realised since 2013 by a team of philologists of the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University in Bratislava.

Keywords: Slovak standard language, language ideology, language assimilation, purism

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Coping with difficulties of language maintenance and shift: language policy and planning in the Bosnian Muslim immigrant families in Germany

For most of the immigrants, who without deliberate institutional commit-ment and support try to pass down their heritage languages to their children, the family is considered to be the primary unit of language policy formation and planning. The family is, as recognized by Joshua Fishman, "the most common and inescapable basis of mother tongue transmission, bonding, use and sta-bilization" (1991: 94) and it plays a critical role in the maintenance of immi-grant and ethnic minority languages (Schwarz 2010). As a result, family lan-guage policy emerged, as a new field of inquiry, providing "an integrated over-view of research on how languages are managed, learned and negotiated with-in families" (King et al. 2008: 907). Relying on Spolsky's model (2004, 2009, 2012), which divides language policy in the family domain, into three compo-nents: language ideology, language practice, and language management, this paper reports on the family language policy and planning in three Bosnian Mus-lim Immigrant families in Stuttgart, Germany. The paper is set out to reveal lan-guage practices, ideologies and beliefs that these families stick to in order to preserve their heritage language and avoid language shift in the families. The parents belong to the first generation of Bosnian Muslims immigrants in Ger-many and they are all members of a larger extended family. The study deals with the ways in which the issue of heritage language preservation is perceived and approached and how family language policy has been negotiated among the family members. The paper attempts to uncover what strategies parents em-ploy in order to transmit their heritage language to their children, their attitudes to heritage language, and the importance of the wider socio-economic, educa-tional, religious and cultural contexts in which these families live for the trans-mission, preservation and positive attitude towards the heritage language. The paper also shows the importance of social networks for the heritage language maintenance and transmission and investigates the interrelationship between the motivation to preserve the heritage language in the family and religious and eth-nic identity and nationalism. The data are collected through ethnographic re-search, semi-structured interviews and observations. The interviews are record-

ed and transcribed. Given the lack of studies that deal with Bosnian immigrants in Germany, this paper is one of the first attempts to investigate the sociolinguistic reality of Bosnian immigrants in Germany. Some preliminary results suggest that Bosnian Muslim immigrant families cope well with the challenges of heritage language transmission in the families and that some of the main motivations behind heritage language transmission stem from parents 'perception that there is a direct connection between language and identity, and especially ethnic and religious identity, as well as the belief that communication in the heritage language creates a stronger emotional bond between family members. The results also imply that Muslim religious education in the heritage language is of critical importance for the parents, as they believe that in such a way they can transfer religious values and behaviours to their children. Also, language policy and planning is influenced by different context in which these families live, and to a large extent it is not carefully planned and successfully implemented. The process of language planning and policy is rather flexible and inherent to parents' own identity and world views.

Keywords: family language policy and planning, heritage language, social networks, language maintenance and language shift, Bosnian Muslim immigrants in Germany

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Izazovi globalne komunikacije – jezično planiranje i internet

O jezičnom planiranju uglavnom se govorilo u smislu planiranja statusa jezika i njegova korpusa (Kloss 1969, Radovanović 2004), što se dopunjava i planiranjem usvajanja jednog jezika, tzv. edukacijskim planiranjem (Kaplan–Baldouf 1997, Wright 2011). Međutim, spomenute se faze jezičnog planiranja danas moraju proširiti i dopuniti. Osim korpusa, statusa i obrazovanja, planiranje jezika u nekoj zajednici mora obuhvatiti i kompetencijski i komunikativni (Pupovac 2015) te funkcionalni aspekt (Cooper 1996), što znači da jezično planiranje mora obuhvatiti i područje jezične kulture i rezultate pragmatičkih i stilističkih istraživanja.

Tehnološka revolucija u razvoju komunikacije (internet) i procesi globalizacije proizveli su određene učinke na pojedinačne jezike (Ivić 2007), kao i na njihovo planiranje i jezičnu politiku. S obzirom na slabljenje nacionalnih jezičnih politika, a jezičnog planiranja bez jezične politike nema, postavlja se pitanje kako se baviti jezičnim planiranjem u doba globalizacije. Odgovor leži u tome da se, budući da globalizacija isključuje nacionalne specifičnosti, pa se ne može govoriti o zajedničkim ciljevima ili predmetu, ipak može govoriti o zajedničkim sredstvima u tim objema domenama. Internet kao sredstvo globalizacije može biti uspješno sredstvo u području jezičnog planiranja, kao najbrži i najdostupniji, i horizontalno (geografski) i vertikalno (socijalno), način komunikacije, to jest prenošenja informacije.

Cilj je izlaganja predstaviti na koje sve načine na internetu sudjeluju lingvisti kao kodifikatori, nastavnici, novinari, administratori i svi drugi koji (u nekom trenutku) imaju ulogu edukatora, ali i „obični" govornici te korisnici interneta – realizatori. Također, bit će dani prijedlozi kako internet može poslužiti kao sredstvo u jezičnom planiranju na razini korpusa (standardiziranje gramatike i rječnika jednog jezika) te na razini statusa (položaj u odnosu na druge jezike), ali i na razinama edukacije, kompetencije i funkcije. Rezultati istraživanja, prije svega situacije u Srbiji, bit će uspoređeni sa situacijom u zemljama zapadnoga Balkana, u ostalim slavenskim zemljama, kao i sa stanjem u zapadnoeuropskim zemljama.

Prednosti upotrebe interneta u tome su što je on jeftin komunikacijski resurs, svima dostupan, a široko primjenjivan, veoma korišten, a neiscrpan, pri-

tom dostupan svakome pojedinačno i u svakom trenutku, bez obzira na udaljenost i količinu, odnosno veličinu informacijskog sadržaja. Samoorganiziranjem ili institucionalnim organiziranjem stručnjaka za jezik, oblikovanjem kiberprostora posebne namjene, u obliku jezičnih platformi, mrežnih stranica na kojima bi se našli različiti jezični sadržaji, od elektroničkih baza, korpusa, rječnika, pravopisa i knjiga, do audiopriručnika i videopriručnika, znanstvenih članaka, videokonferencija i izlaganja moglo bi se mnogo pomoći u planiranju jezika, kako u statusu nekog jezika tako i u korpusu, normiranjem onoga što je ostalo nestandardizirano, te vrednovanjem, dopunjavanjem i revidiranjem postojeće norme. S druge strane, doprinos takvih platformi u obrazovanju može biti nemjerljiv. U vremenu kada se govori o konceptu cjeloživotnog učenja, kada se i u institucionalnom obrazovnom procesu izlazi iz okvira učionice i postojećih nastavnih sredstava u virtualne prostore i alate, internet jedini pruža odgovor takvim izazovima. U izlaganju će biti predstavljen jedan projekt koji može poslužiti kao koristan alat za suočavanje s izazovima suvremene komunikacije i učinkovito sredstvo u jezičnom planiranju.

Ključne riječi: jezično planiranje, internet, jezična kultura

Challenges of global communication – language planning and the Internet

Language planning is mostly associated with the planning of language status and language corpus (Kloss 1969; Radovanovic 2004), along with language acquisition planning, or educational planning (Kaplan-Baldouf 1997; Wright 2011). However, those language planning phases must be widened. Apart from corpus, status and education, in language planning within a certain community competency, communicational (Pupovac 2015) and functional (Cooper 1996) aspect must be included, which actually means that language planning also assume language culture as well as the results of pragmatic and stylistic expression.

The impact of technological revolution on communicational development (the Internet), along with the globalisation processes is evident in certain languages (Ivic 2007) as well as in language planning and language politics. Concerning the fact that national language politics are in decline, and language planning is closely connected with language politics, it is very important to find the way to deal with language planning in time of globalisation. The answer can be found in the fact that, since globalisation excludes national features thus dis-

abling us to contemplate about common aim or subject, common means in both domains still exist. The Internet as a globalisation medium can be successfully used in the language planning field, as the fastest and the most available, horizontal (geographical) as well as vertical (social), way of communication.

This study is intended to present all different ways linguists can contribute to the Internet as codificators, teachers, journalists, administrators and educators, as well as "regular users" of language and the Internet - realisators. Additionally, the suggestions how the Internet can be used as an influence on language planning, firstly on corpus level (standardisation of the grammar and lexicon of a language), then on the status level (language status compared to other languages) and, finally, on educational, competency and functional level will also be shown. The results will be compared with the results from other West Balkan countries, other Sloven countries and West European countries.

The benefits of the Internet are: firstly, it is cheap resource of communication and available to everyone. It is widely used, prone to exploitation immensely regardless of physical distance, quantity or capacity of information package. Either self-organization or institutional organisation of language experts, as well as specially formed cyberspace, such as language platforms, websites, electronic bases, corpus, dictionaries, online books of writing rules, audio or video specialised books, scientific articles, video conferences and presentations could be hugely helpful in language planning, language status and corpora by normating the remaining nonstandardised material and revising the existing material. On the other hand, the contribution of those platforms could be immeasurable implemented on education. This is the time of lifetime educational concept, even the institutionalised educational process is shifted from conventional to virtual, and the Internet is definitely the sole solution. The study will also present a project which can serve as a very useful tool in confrontation with contemporary communication challenges as well as an efficient means in language planning.

Keywords: language planning, the Internet, language culture

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Analysis of gender-fair language in sport and exercise

Gender-sensitive language, *gender-neutral language, gender-inclusive language, gender-free language* and *gender-fair language* are terms used in English to refer to the usage of tactful and respectful selection of vocabulary devoid of unfounded, unfair and discriminatory reference to women in contrast with men. Sport as a global social phenomenon strives for effort, excellence, fair play, solidarity and respect for all, and tries, among other things connected with these principles, to implement gender-fair policy throughout its domains, language included. The aim of this research was to analyse, both diachronically and synchronically, the usage of gender-fair language in competitive sport as well as in science, i.e. scientific articles addressing sport-related topics.

To realize the aim of research, several relevant sources were inspected. As for competitive sport, the research developed in two directions. Firstly, the Olympic Charter and some other documents published by the International Olympic Committee were scrutinized to identify examples of gender-fair vocabulary both with respect to diachrony and synchrony of their usage. To be able to gain insight into the usage of vocabulary when referring to male and female athletes, texts of the Olympic Charter (the name is generally used in reference to all the editions) were analysed from its first edition in the English language, besides French, published in 1930 up to the latest edition published in 2015. Secondly, several other documents published either by the International Olympic Committee or by other international sports organisations and governing bodies of sport (e.g. International Handball Federation – IHF, International Association of Athletics Federations – IAAF) were investigated to find out whether they abide by the principle of using gender-fair language. Further, names of sporting events and terms designating a person or persons (e.g. *two-man bob*, *two-man men*) participating in a sporting event in any way were explored. As regards scientific inquiry, to analyse the policy of abiding by the same principle, i.e. by the principle of using non-discriminatory language in scholarly writing, some publications that stand out in terms of their relevance regarding publication style, e.g. *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (American Psychological Association, 6th edition, 2010), as well as several highly rated journals that publish articles whose topics are sport-

related were selected. Web of Science, an example of a relevant and a highly valued database in which a multitude of scientific publications – sport-related in terms of their topic as well – are indexed, was searched to look into word choice used to talk about women and men in sport.

The analysis has shown that special attention is paid to using gender-fair language both in competitive sport and in scientific writing. Although evidence revealed that in some cases gender-fair language is either inconsistently used or better solutions should be sought, sport is indisputably a domain which strives to follow a policy aimed at developing equal opportunities for women and men – using gender-fair language being one of the ways to corroborate this endeavour.

Keywords: sport, language, gender-fair

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„Volim svoju kunu držati na oku!": jezični identitet i reklama (na primjeru frazema, poslovica i izreka)

Suvremena promišljanja o odnosu jezika i identiteta kreću se u dva, ne nužno opozitna, pravca: jedno, koje nasljeđuje romantičarske teorije nacije, i prema kojemu je jezik „glavno sredstvo nacionalne integracije i nacionalne diferencijacije" (Grbić 1998: 183–184), i drugo, prema kojem jezik nije, odnosno ne mora biti trajno obilježje neke (etničke/nacionalne) zajednice. Naime, određene situacije (npr. migracije, etnodemografska neravnoteža unutar ograničenoga zemljopisnog prostora, geografska ekspanzija, gospodarska neravnoteža itd.) dovode do toga da „zajednica napušta svoj jezik čime dakle napušta jedan element iz svoga kulturnog repertoara i zamjenjuje ga nekim drugim, ali pritom ne gubi ni etnički/nacionalni niti kulturni identitet (nešto što sama smatra svojim 'izvornim, prvobitnim identitetom')" (Grbić 2004: 238).

Ključnu ulogu u tom procesu danas ima globalizacija, koju karakterizira istodobno djelovanje gospodarskih, političkih, ekoloških, kulturnih i komunikacijskih čimbenika koje nadilaze granice nacionalnih država (Milardović 2002).

U tom smislu, važnu ulogu u oblikovanju (jezičnoga, kulturnoga, etničkoga/nacionalnoga) identiteta ima jezik popularne kulture, čiji je ogledan primjer upravo jezik reklama. Dapače, upravo se kulturi pripisuje najveća uloga kada se govori o ponašanju potrošača (Kotler 1994).

Reklama je, „u skladu s tehnološkim i znanstvenim inovacijama ljudskoga društva, postala jedan od intenzivnih komunikacijskih kodova koji se otvaraju u stalnoj interakciji između pojedinca i svijeta" (Gjuran-Coha – Pavlović 2009: 42), pri čemu će komunikacija biti uspješnija ako potrošač u tom jeziku vidi elemente s kojima se može poistovjetiti, ako vidi poznate slike i/ili (jezične, ali i uopće kulturne) obrasce. Upravo je to razlog zašto jezik reklama mora biti „utemeljen na razgradnji i preradi kulturnoga naslijeđa: poznatih navoda iz književnosti, religije, mitologije; izjava poznatih osoba; poslovica; aforizama; krilatica i svakodnevnih jezičnih obrazaca" (Kuna – Kostanjevac 2011: 208).

U radu se analizira značenje, funkcija, motivacija i podrijetlo frazema, poslovica i izreka u hrvatskim reklamama nastalim u posljednjem desetljeću. Po-

lazeći od činjenice da frazemi, poslovice i izreke na specifičan način odražavaju i ilustriraju tip mišljenja, odnos prema stvarnosti, povijesne reminiscencije, vezu s okolnim svijetom i još mnogo toga karakterističnoga za jednu jezičnu zajednicu (Menac 2007) te su nedvojbeno pokazatelj i jezične tradicije i nadgradnje, promatra se njihova uloga u suvremenim hrvatskim reklamnim porukama kako iz perspektive reklamne strategije, tako i s polazišta njihova prinosa u reflektiranju hrvatskoga jezičnoga (kulturnoga, etničkoga/nacionalnoga) identiteta. Dapače, i dosadašnja su istraživanja pokazala da su se „poslovice uspješno uključile u ostvarivanje temeljnih ciljeva reklamnoga teksta, sklonoga prerađivanju kulturnoga naslijeđa” (Stolac – Vlastelić 2014: 39). Frazemima, poslovicama i izrekama potvrđenima u reklamama utvrđuje se podrijetlo na temelju čega se dijele u dvije skupine, nacionalne i internacionalne. Prikupljena je građa pokazala da frazem, poslovica i izreka koja se pojavljuje u reklami može biti nacionalnoga ili internacionalnoga podrijetla cijelim svojim izrazom ili na internacionalnost odnosno nacionalnost može upućivati samo jednom svojom sastavnicom ili sintagmom (npr. *Volim svoju **kunu** držati na oku*.).

Ključne riječi: jezični identitet, frazemi, jezik reklama

"Volim svoju kunu držati na oku!” – linguistic identity and advertising (on the example of phrasemes, proverbs and sayings)

Contemporary contemplation of the relationship between language and identity is divided into two not necessarily opposite movements. In one, which inherited romanticist theories of nations, language is considered to be "the primary means of national integration and national differentiation" (Grbić, 1998: 183-184), while according to the other, language is not, or does not have to be, a permanent feature of an ethnical or national community. In fact, specific circumstances such as migration, demographic imbalance within a limited geographical area, geographic expansion, economic imbalance, etc. result in "a community abandoning their language, which means abandoning an element of its culture and replacing it with another, but simultaneously not losing either its ethnical or national, or its cultural identity (something considered to be its authentic, original identity) (Grbić, 2004: 238).

Globalisation, characterised by the simultaneous effects of economic, political, ecological, cultural and communicational factors going beyond the boundaries between countries (Milardović, 2002), plays a key role in this process.

Based on that, the language of popular culture plays an important role in the shaping of the linguistic, cultural and ethnical/national identity and it is exactly advertising which is its most representative example. In fact, when it comes to consumer behaviour, culture is considered to have the greatest impact (Kotler, 1994).

Advertising, "keeping up with the technological and scientific innovations of human society, has become one of the more intensive communication codes occurring in the constant interaction between individuals and the world" (Gjuran-Coha – Pavlović, 2009: 42), and the communication is more successful the more the consumer recognizes elements they can identify with in that language, e.g. seeing familiar images or patterns, both linguistic and cultural in general. That is precisely the reason why the language of advertising needs to be "based on the deconstruction and adaptation of cultural heritage – famous citations from literature, religion and mythology, statements by public figures, proverbs, aphorisms, slogans, and everyday linguistic patterns" (Kuna – Kostanjevac, 2011: 208).

This paper analyses the meaning, function, motivation and origin of phrasemes, proverbs and sayings in Croatian advertisements created in the last decade. Based on the fact that phrasemes, proverbs and sayings in a specific way reflect and illustrate a way of thinking, historical reminiscing, the connection with the surrounding world and many other things characteristic for a linguistic community (Menac, 2007), and are undoubtedly indicators of linguistic tradition and expansion, their role in contemporary Croatian advertisements is explored from the perspective of advertising strategy, as well as from the perspective of their contribution in reflecting the Croatian linguistic (cultural, ethnic/national) identity. In fact, former research has shown that "proverbs have been successfully integrated into achieving the goals of advertising texts which tend to adapt cultural heritage" (Stolac – Vlastelić, 2014: 39). The origin of phrasemes, proverbs and sayings verified in advertisements is determined and they are separate into two categories, national or international, based on it. The accumulated corpus has shown that a phraseme, proverb or saying which appears in an advertisement can be of national or international origin in its entirety, or just a part of it, such as a single element or syntagm, can also point to its origin (e.g. Volim svoju **kunu** držati na oku.).

Keywords: linguistic identity, phrasemes, advertising language

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Codification as a linguistic and social phenomenon

Language standardization is usually described as selection, codification, implementation and elaboration of a language norm (cf. Haugen 1966). The standardization processes same as the cultivation of the standard language obviously presuppose the activity of an actor considered able to conduct such operations on the field of language. Nowadays, linguists or linguistic institutions are usually believed to be the legitimate language regulators (Ammon, 2003) and especially language codexes, such as prescriptive dictionaries and grammars, are difficult to be thought of without the activity and authority of linguists.

The standardization process and the cultivation of the standard language are organized language management activities (Nekvapil, 2009) dealing with language variety that contributes to collective identity of communities (Hroch, 2009) and social capital of individuals (Bourdieu, 1982). In the context of social and political relevance associated with the standard language (Deumert – Vandebussche, 2003) also some of the products of linguistic expertise gain high relevance for the everyday social practice. For example language codexes, along with their practical purposes, may in certain contexts become national manifestos or political declarations. The symbolic dimension of codification can impact the reception of language codexes among their users but also the codification process itself.

The purpose of this paper is to address the questions what social relevance is codification granted in different social contexts and how these contexts shape respective codification processes. The paper is based on the comparison of codification initiatives embedded in different linguistic, social, political and cultural contexts:

the so-called standardization of Bosnian language associated with establishment of Bosna and Hercegovina as independent political entity;

the release of Czech Ortography Manual and its immediate amendment in 1993;

the campaign for Turkification of scientific terminology during the 20th and in 21st century.

Analysed data were gathered during field research conducted in Bosna and Hercegovina, the Czech Republic and Turkey and consist mainly of language codexes and other prescriptive materials, language policy documents, samples of related media discourses, and interviews with linguists involved in above mentioned codification initiatives.

Keywords: standard language, codification, social relevance

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Svijet je sve luđi – oslovljavanje u suvremenom razgovornom nizozemskom jeziku

Za nizozemski jezik se kaže da je najveći mali jezik. Ima oko 23 milijuna govornika kojima je on materinski jezik od kojih je 16 milijuna govornika samo u Nizozemskoj. U nizozemskom jeziku postoje tri varijeteta: nizozemski nizozemski, belgijski nizozemski i surinamski nizozemski.

Oslovljavanje u nizozemskom jeziku već je bilo predmetom istraživanja, međutim ta su istraživanja uglavnom starijeg datuma. Najpoznatiji rad na ovu temu je disertacija Nizozemke J.A.M. Vermaas (2002) u kojoj je dala pregled promjena u oslovljavanju u nizozemskom jeziku od 13. do 20. stoljeća, s posebnim naglaskom na nizozemskom nizozemskom jezičnom varijetetu te na razdoblju kraja 20. stoljeća. Promjene u oslovljavanju u njezinom radu stavljene su u kontekst društvenih promjena, a svaki istraživani čimbenik okarakteriziran je horizontalnom linijom solidarnosti i vertikalnom linijom statusa, prema teoriji Browna i Gilmana (1960). Ono što je Vermaas (2002) svojim istraživanjem uvela u terminologiju nizozemskog jezika jest treća dimenzija u oslovljavanju, odnosno formalnost/službenost. Ta dimenzija nije izravno povezana uz odnose među ljudima, već uz njihovu razgovornu situaciju.

Ispitanici u ovom radu nizozemski su gledatelji televizijske emisije *De Wereld Draait Door* (DWDD) koji emisiju prate uglavnom duži niz godina. Anketom, provedenom 2015. godine, istražuju se njihovi stavovi o oslovljavanju u *De Wereld Draait Door* (DWDD), jer je komunikacija u toj emisiji slična spontanom svakodnevnom razgovoru.

De Wereld Draait Door (DWDD) je dinamična razgovorna emisija koja se zadnjih 10 godina emitira na nizozemskoj televiziji i ima preko 1,8 milijuna gledatelja. Prikazuje se svakim radnim danom, a u jednoj emisiji ugošćuje veći broj gostiju raznovrsnih profila. Emisija je specifična po svojem formatu, jer ima tzv. *infotainment* karakter, odnosno hibridna je verzija razgovorne emisije jer obrađuje informativne i zabavne teme uz dodatni glazbeni program.

Na temelju pilot-ankete opisane u ovom radu želi se istražiti stvarno ponašanje ispitanika, izvornih govornika nizozemskog nizozemskog varijeteta u situacijama koje zahtijevaju oslovljavanje, te njihov subjektivni stav o normama

koje određuju uporabu različitih formi oslovljavanja. U pitanjima za utvrđivanje jezičnog ponašanja ispitanika traži se da se ispitanik uživi u određenu situaciju i iskaže vlastito ponašanje, odnosno reakciju. Subjektivni stav ispitanici izražavaju odgovorima na pitanja koja se odnose na emisiju *De Wereld Draait Door* (DWDD). U rezultatima se očekuje određeno odstupanje u oslovljavanju između stvarnog ponašanja ispitanika u odnosu na njihov subjektivni stav.

Ključne riječi: nizozemski jezik, oslovljavanje, *De Wereld Draait Door* (DWDD)

The world is going crazy – forms of address in the contemporary colloquial Dutch language

It has been said that the Dutch language is the biggest small language. Around 23 million speakers declare Dutch as a mother tongue, out of which 16 million are in the Netherlands. Dutch consists of three language varieties: Dutch, Belgian and Surinamese.

Forms of address in the Dutch language have already been researched, but those previous publications are mostly outdated. The most prominent publication concerning this subject is a doctoral dissertation of J.A.M. Vermaas (2002). In her research she gave an overview of how the forms of address have changed from the thirteenth to the twentieth century. Her emphasis was on the Dutch language used in the Netherlands with special attention given to the second part of the twentieth century. The changes in the forms of address are placed into the context of social changes and each factor in the research is characterised by the horizontal dimension of solidarity and the vertical dimension of status, following the theory of Brown & Gilman (1960). With her research Vermaas (2002) introduced a new term to the Dutch language terminology, the third dimension in the forms of address – formality. This dimension is not directly connected to the relations between people, but the situation that they find themselves in.

Respondents in this paper are Dutch viewers of the television show *De Wereld Draait Door* (DWDD) who have been following these shows for a longer period of time (couple of years). The survey (conducted in 2015) aimed to test the respondents about their opinion on ways of addressing in *De Wereld Draait Door* (DWDD), the show whose communication is similar to the spontaneous everyday conversation.

De Wereld Draait Door (DWDD) is a dynamic talk show that has been broadcasted on the Dutch television every workday for the last 10 years and has more than 1,8 million viewers. Guests coming to the show have different per-

sonal and professional backgrounds. They are invited according to the topics of interest of the show and each episode has a multitude of guests. The show has a unique format because of its so-called *infotainment* form which combines information with entertainment.

The research done, as explained in this paper, has been based on the pilot survey and analysis, obtained by the given answers of respondents, their true language behaviour (as native speakers of the Dutch variety spoken in the Netherlands) in the situations where addressing is needed. The subject of this research is also their subjective opinion on the norms that determine usage of different forms of address. In the questions testing the language behaviour, it is expected that the respondent becomes a part of the presented situation and shows his/her true reaction. Respondents are expressing their subjective opinion by answering the questions connected exclusively to the television talk show *De Wereld Draait Door* (DWDD). It is expected that the results will show a certain deviation in addressing of respondents in two different situations; one expressing their real behaviour and the other being a result of their subjective attitude.

Keywords: Dutch language, addressing in the colloquial language, *De Wereld Draait Door* (DWDD)

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A handicap on stage: recasting Singlish "in sickness and in health"

Singaporeans are a small, young, multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual - one would be tempted to say, *superdiverse* - nation living in an economically developed   country that has been built over the last fifty years since Singapore was created as an independent state. Forging the national identity and managing a tolerant   atmosphere for interethnic cohabitation have been among the key preoccupations of the government. The government has predicated those tasks on an elaborate, clearly   articulated and energetic language policy. According to that policy, however, the only locally spoken variety which could be considered the best candidate for an inclusive,   sociolinguistically relevant, constituent (and emblem) of a "Singaporean national identity", the variety that indexes Singaporeanness more than any other - Singlish   (Singapore Colloquial English) - has been usually deemed unfit for those tasks. Official discourses have constructed Singlish as an antonym of progress. Hegemonic   language ideologies and policies have often targeted it as if its complete eradication and replacement with "good English" were a prerequisite for an even faster and   stronger economic development and growth. So far, there have been only two notable exceptions to this systematic marginalization of Singlish.

The first documented situation when official media discourse had in fact embraced Singlish as a variety in which to spread its message in a health campaign, took place   during the SARS pandemic in 2003. Interestingly, it was not only Singlish that was "recast" in this role, but so were the non-Mandarin Chinese varieties (such as Hokkien,   Hakka, Hainanese, Teochew, Cantonese, etc.) that are natively spoken in the city-state (now mostly among Chinese Singaporeans of older generations) but are usually   disqualified as "dialects" and banned from the public sphere. The second exception to the continuous official shunning of Singlish, is the topic of this paper.

Over the years, the government's insistence on educating Singaporeans away from Singlish has backfired in a way. Not only is Singlish alive and kicking as a spoken   variety, it is increasingly being written. There have been several countermovements and acts of sociocultural resistance (amateur lexicographic projects, translations and   adaptations of texts written in English into

Singlish, vernacular writing in Singlish, etc.) aimed at discursive revaluation and reconfiguration of Singlish as an identity marker of/for all Singaporeans. In 2015, during the preparations for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Singapore's independence, these pro-Singlish trends have gained a new momentum among the ordinary citizens and Singlish enthusiasts, as well as among various businesses. As for the government, not only did it start to use it sporadically on social media, it also included it among the officially recognized and promoted "Icons of Singapore". And during the National Parade on August 9, 2015, once labelled "a handicap", Singlish was on stage.

Having failed to eradicate it and having realized its strong indexicality of Singaporeanness, the government is now, so it seems, endorsing and appropriating Singlish to a certain extent for the second time in the country's short history. I compare these two episodes, highlighting their similarities and, more importantly, differences. I argue that, by adopting this apparent strategy "if you can't beat them, join them", the government is now redefining its language policy toward Singlish so as to assign what it deems to be a more appropriate and tolerable *role* for it, serving two main sets of purposes – economic (market-driven) and ideological (befitting the larger discursive nation-building project). I focus on this recent (and to an extent ongoing) exploitation of Singlish and contextualize my discussion with reference to previous studies of the Singapore language policy and controversies surrounding Singlish. I build on my research on the enregisterment, iconization and commodification of Singlish and its occasional transformation into a marketable *linguocultural object*. The data are comprised of video clips, texts and "Singlish objects" that have been in circulation. I argue that, in most cases, it is not Singlish as a variety that is being revalorized; rather, it is certain "chunks" of Singlish, its particular features, such as discourse particles, that are being utilized metonymically in a process that aims to engineer a new, desired, acceptable and bounded indexicality of Singlish through its iconization and commodification.

Keywords: Singlish (Singapore Colloquial English), commodification, enregisterment, iconization, Singaporean national identity

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O problematici odnosa i istraživanja norme i uzusa na primjeru paronima

U ovome se izlaganju govori o problematici odnosa i istraživanja norme i uzusa na temelju odabranih paronima. Paronimi su riječi koje su slične i imaju istu tvorbenu osnovu, ali se razlikuju značenjem. Primjerice, to su *broj* i *brojka*, *čitak* i *čitljiv* ili *strana* i *stranica*. U uvodnome se dijelu dotičemo definicije paronima, odnosno mogućih kriterija koje slične riječi trebaju ispuniti kako bi se smatrale paronimima. Potom se okrećemo uočenomu problemu da uzus poprilično odskače od norme kada su u pitanju paronimi. Norma, definirana hrvatskim jednojezičnim rječnicima, jezičnim savjetnicima i gramatikama, jasno razlikuje značenja određenih sličnih riječi te ih tako čini paronimima. S druge strane, čini se da govornici neke paronime ne upotrebljavaju u značenjima opisanima u rječnicima, iz čega proizlazi da o određenim sličnim riječima u uzusu možemo govoriti više kao o sinonimima negoli paronimima. U izlaganju se stoga daje pregled statusa odabranih paronima u suvremenim hrvatskim jednojezičnim rječnicima, savjetnicima i gramatikama, što se potom uspoređuje s njihovim statusom u uzusu primjenom testa među odraslim govornicima. Osmišljavanje metodologije istraživanja otvorilo je niz pitanja. Iako se za potrebe istraživanja smatra se da je norma sadržana u rječnicima, jezičnim savjetnicima i gramatikama, nameće se dvojba o normativnosti hrvatskih jednojezičnih rječnika. Dotičemo se stoga hrvatske leksikografske prakse i promišljamo sadašnjost i budućnost normativnih izvora. Vezano uz to, a neodvojivo od promišljanja norme, jest i pitanje na čemu bi se trebala temeljiti norma: na uporabi, na leksikografskim rješenjima ili na jezikoslovnim rješenjima? Ako je uporaba, odnosno uzus, čimbenik koji trebamo uzeti u obzir pri stvaranju norme, nameće se pitanje što čini uzus. Naime, ako želimo istražiti uporabu određene riječi ili fraze, je li dovoljno osloniti se na postojeće elektroničke korpuse, Hrvatsku jezičnu riznicu i Hrvatski nacionalni korpus, koji se uglavnom temelje na novinama i književnim djelima? Ili do bolje slike o uzusu možemo doći pretražujući uz pomoć tražilice tekstove na portalima i rasprave na forumima? Razmatramo i mogućnost istraživanja uzusa anketiranjem nasumce odabranih odraslih osoba – metodu koja je primijenjena u našemu istraživanju. U završetku izlaganja donosimo prepo-

ruke vezane uz istraživanje i definiranje paronima te neke smjernice normativnoga djelovanja u Hrvatskoj.

Ključne riječi: paronimi, definiranje norme, istraživanje uzusa

Paronyms as the basis for a discussion of the relation between norm and use and research-related issues

The aim of this presentation is to look at selected paronyms in order to explore the issue of the relation between the norm and use, as well as research-related problems. Paronyms are words that are similar and have the same root, but they have different meaning. For example, *broj* and *brojka*, *čitak* and *čitljiv*, or *strana* and *stranica*. In the first part of the paper, we look at the definition of what a paronym is, and the criteria that need to be fulfilled for similar words to be considered paronyms. We then turn to the problem where the use seems to be quite different from the norm when paronyms are concerned. The norm, defined by Croatian monolingual dictionaries, handbooks on language use, and grammar handbooks, differentiates the meanings of certain similar words, treating them thus as paronyms. On the other hand, it seems that language users do not use certain paronyms in meanings defined in dictionaries. For that reason, it seems that in use some similar words are more like synonyms than paronyms. In the presentation, we give an overview of the status of selected paronyms in contemporary Croatian monolingual dictionaries, handbooks on language use, and grammar handbooks, and we compare these to their status in use by administering a test to a group of adult speakers. Research design has opened up a number of issues. Even though for the needs of this research, we understand that dictionaries, handbooks on language use, and grammar handbooks define the norm, there is doubt that Croatian monolingual dictionaries are actually normative. Therefore, we touch upon Croatian lexicography and consider the present and the future of normative sources. Related to this issue, and inseparable from thinking about the norm, is the question on what should the norm be based on: use, lexicographers' choices, or linguists' solutions? If use is a factor that needs to be taken into account when designing the norm, the question that arises is – what is use? If we want to explore the use of a certain word or expression, do we rely on the existing electronic corpuses, the Croatian Language Repository and Croatian National Corpus, which are based mostly on newspapers and literary work? Or can we get a better idea of what the use is by searching Internet portals and forums using a search engine? We also consider the possibilities of researching use by administering

a questionnaire to randomly chosen adults – a method that we applied in our research. At the end of the presentation, we offer recommendations related to researching and defining paronyms and we offer guidelines for normative action in Croatia.

Keywords: paronyms, defining norm, researching use

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Višejezičnost u hrvatskoj inojezičnoj politici

U ovome se izlaganju istražuje odnos hrvatske jezične politike prema stranim jezicima u obrazovnome sustavu, odnosno hrvatska inojezična politika. Ta je politika u prvome redu zacrtana *Deklaracijom o znanju* (2004), *Planom razvoja sustava odgoja i obrazovanja 2005. – 2010.* (2005), *Strateškim planom Ministarstva znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta RH za razdoblje 2012. – 2014.* (2012) i *Strategijom obrazovanja, znanosti i tehnologije* (2014). U navedenim je dokumentima istaknuta važnost učenja stranih jezika, a analizom *Nacionalnoga okvirnog kurikuluma za predškolski odgoj i obrazovanje te opće obvezno i srednjoškolsko obrazovanje* (NOK, 2010) i postojećih nastavnih planova i programa, koji eksplicitno ili implicitno definiraju mjesto stranih jezika u osnovnoj i srednjoj školi, stvaramo konkretnu sliku hrvatske jezične politike prema stranim jezicima u osnovnoj i srednjoj školi. Naprimjer, *Nastavni plan i program za osnovnu školu* (2006) definira inojezičnu politiku utoliko što donosi plan i program samo za određen broj stranih jezika te propisivanjem koliko nastavnih sati pripada stranome jeziku u kojemu razredu, i to s obzirom na to je li riječ o obveznome ili izbornome predmetu. NOK (2010) pak donosi načelne smjernice za nastavnu praksu stranih jezika u vidu četiriju vještina, slušanja, govorenja, čitanja i pisanja uz koje je izdvojeno i međukulturno djelovanje. Sintetizirajući različite obrazovne dokumente kao jedna od temeljnih odrednica domaće inojezične politike ističe se višejezičnost. Time se hrvatska inojezična politika smješta u kontekst europske jezične politike njegovanja višejezičnosti, a koja je zacrtana u dokumentima poput *Europske kulturne konvencije* (1954), *Europske povelje o regionalnim ili manjinskim jezicima* (1992) i *Zajedničkoga europskog okvira za jezike* (ZEROJ, 2005). Stoga je glavni cilj ovoga izlaganja analiza hrvatske inojezične politike upravo s as-

pekta višejezičnosti. S tog aspekta analiziramo i podatke Državnoga zavoda za statistiku Republike Hrvatske u posljednjih 10 godina kako bismo utvrdili zastupljenost (i popularnost) stranih jezika u hrvatskim školama i redoslijed njihova učenja (od prvoga razreda kao obveznoga i od četvrtoga razreda kao izbornoga predmeta). Uključenost stranih jezika u hrvatski obrazovni sustav također uspoređujemo s prisutnošću stranih jezika u kurikulima odabranih europskih zemalja smještajući na taj način domaću suvremenu politiku višejezičnosti u europski okvir.

Na temelju provedenih analiza postavlja se pitanje istinske višejezičnosti u hrvatskome obrazovnom sustavu. Naime, školske se godine 2003./2004. u Hrvatskoj pristupa uvođenju obveznoga prvoga strang jezika na početku osnovne škole, odnosno izbornoga drugoga strang jezika u četvrti razred osnovne škole što predstavlja konkretizaciju politike višejezičnosti. No, iz analiziranih je podataka jasno kako je postojeća inojezična politika otvorila put predominaciji engleskoga jezika čime se propustila prilika uvođenja višejezičnosti u osnovnoškolsko obrazovanje, a koje predstavlja osnovu za daljnje srednjoškolsko obrazovanje, te se tako bitno udaljilo od promicanja višejezičnosti kao jedne od ključnih odrednica europske jezične politike. Kod uvođenja stranoga jezika na početku obrazovanja u znanstvenim se krugovima držalo da je riječ o ishitrenome ulasku u velik poduhvat bez jasnih kratkoročnih i dugoročnih razvojnih ciljeva. Može se ustvrditi kako ni s vremenskim odmakom od desetak godina ne postoji jasna inojezična politika kao podloga za izradu odgovarajućih kurikula pa je pitanje politike višejezičnosti i dalje aktualno. U zaključku izlaganja donose se smjernice za daljnje oblikovanje hrvatske inojezične politike u vidu poticanja višejezičnosti.

Ključne riječi: hrvatska inojezična politika, višejezičnost, strani jezik u osnovnoj i srednjoj školi

Plurilingualism in Croatian foreign language policy

The focus of this presentation is the attitude of Croatian language policy towards foreign languages in the education system, which we call the Croatian foreign language policy. The policy is outlined primarily in the *Declaration of Knowledge* (2004), *Education System Development Plan 2005 – 2010* (2005), *Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports for the 2012 – 2014 Period* (2012), and the *Strategy for Education, Science and Technology* (2014). These documents highlight the importance of learning foreign languages. By analysing the *National Curriculum Framework*

for Pre-school Education and General Compulsory and Secondary Education (NCF, 2010) and the current curricula, which define the place of foreign languages in primary and secondary school explicitly or implicitly, we gain insight into Croatian language policy regarding foreign languages in primary and secondary school. For example, the *Primary School Curriculum* (2006) defines foreign language policy by including a selected number of foreign languages and by prescribing the number of teaching hours per year, depending on whether the foreign language is a core or an elective subject. On the other hand, NCF (2010) offers general guidelines for teaching foreign languages in terms of the four skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), including intercultural interaction. What emerges from all of these documents is plurilingualism as one of the main goals of national foreign language policy. Thus, Croatian foreign language policy can be regarded in the context of European language policy of promoting plurilingualism, which is outlined in documents such as the *European Cultural Convention* (1954), *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (1992), and the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR, 2006). Therefore, the main aim of this presentation is to analyse Croatian foreign language policy from the aspect of plurilingualism. With this in mind, we analyse data from the Croatian Bureau of Statistics from the last ten years to establish the representation (and popularity) of foreign languages in Croatian schools, as well as their order of study (as a core subject from year 1 and as an elective subject from year 4). We also compare the inclusion of foreign languages in the Croatian education system with the inclusion of foreign languages in the curricula of selected European countries to place the contemporary Croatian policy of plurilingualism in the European framework.

Based on the analyses, we question plurilingualism in the Croatian education system. In 2003, foreign language was introduced as a core subject from year 1 of primary school and as an elective subject from year 4, putting thus plurilingualism into practice. However, as the data shows, Croatian foreign language policy has opened the way to the dominance of the English language, missing thus an opportunity to implement plurilingualism into primary education, which is a basis for further secondary education. In that way, it moved away from promoting plurilingualism as one of the main goals of European language policy. When foreign language was introduced from year 1, researchers saw it as a rash decision, without clear short-term and long-term development goals. We can establish that ten years later there still is no specific foreign language policy that would be the basis for developing appropriate curricula, so the issue of plurilingualism remains a current one. In the conclusion of

the presentation, we offer guidelines for developing Croatian foreign language policy in view of embracing plurilingualism.

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Standardization of the semantic domain(s) description using ontological and constructivist approach

As argued by the cognitive linguistic theories (Langacker 2008), language is a symbolic tool that enables human representation and the categorization of the world. This implies that language(s) conveys the knowledge about the world, but also models our representation of the world (Casasanto 2016). This paper addresses the possibility to map out:

a) the ontological hierarchy of the lexical categories within specific knowledge domain(s), and

b) the semantic properties of linguistic constructions used to construe the meanings of specific domain(s) within some corpora.

The main aim of this multidimensional mapping is to articulate the standard procedures for differentiating the semantic properties established by linguistic constructions from the ontological referential meanings established by patterns of mereological, topological and morphological categorization of the things in the world. In other words, we want to formalize the distinctive properties of creative processes that language as an instrument of cognizing adds to the representation of the knowledge. This is important because these dynamic creative processes are the cognitive foundation of the usage based creation of standard idiomatic expressions, cross linguistic variation and semantic meaning shift.

In a methodological sense, we are trying to establish a model of figurative language description that could be used as a standard for building language technologies and applications that dynamically, interactively and multidimensionally describe standard linguistic usage and knowledge base of specific semantic domain(s).

In the ontological description of the lexical referential meaning we are guided by the hierarchical approach that combines the epistemological framework of embodied epistemology, and ontological description of lexical concepts theoretically founded on the emergence principles, particularly John Searle's distinct epistemic and ontological senses of objective/subjective domains (Searle 2008). This approach leads to the distinction of three emergent superdomains named "matter", "psychological" and "sociological". The concepts with-

in these superdomains are hierarchically organized on the principles of proto-
typical categorization with mappings of mereological, topological and morpho-
logical properties that are partly described in the WordNet database relations.

The semantic properties of linguistic constructions are formalized from
the qualitative and quantitative description of the grammatical relations: N+V,
V+N, Adj+N, extracted from the queries performed on the large corpuses, such
as of Croatian (hrWac) and English (enTenTen). This layer mapps semantic re-
lations that can be seen as a distinctively linguistic construal of the knowledge.
Some of these constructions clearly follow the ontological referential patterns
of domain conceptualization (ex. eng. to feel$_V$ love$_N$ hr. 'osjećati$_V$ ljubav$_N$').
However, some of these constructions violate semantic rules established by the
referential relations within the ontological domain of constituent lexemes (ex.
eng. to give$_V$ love$_N$ hr. 'dati$_V$ ljubav$_N$'; to make$_V$ love$_N$ hr. 'voditi$_V$ ljubav$_N$') and
establish new types of conceptualization processes that enrich the semantical
and pragmatical dimensions of the categorical knowledge. It is argued that se-
mantic violations in these constructions function as triggers for metaphoric pro-
cessing. In this sense, formalizing semantic interconnectivity (Indurkhya 1992)
of these conceptualizations is necessary for the understanding of figurative lan-
guage and creation of (cross)cultural metaphor repositories (ihjj.hr/metafore/
metanet-hr, https://metanet.icsi.berkeley.edu/metanet).

In this article we will demonstrate the results of these mixed qualitative and
quantitative methods of describing knowledge and standard linguistic usage
obtained by tools for data mining (Sketchengine), questionnaires (GRID, Fon-
taine et al. 2013), ontological formalization of domains (Protege) and visuali-
zation of semantic description (D3) on the example of 10 emotions: disgust, an-
ger, fear, surprise, joy, pride, love, guilt, shame sadness in English (enTenTen
corpus) and Croatian (hrWac corpus, GRID questionnaire).

Keywords: language technologies, standardization, figurative language

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Croatian personal names with Latin origin and their translated-into-Croatian equivalents

The research object of the present text is masculine and feminine Croatian personal names, derived from an appellative, Latin by origin, and masculine and feminine Croatian personal names that represent translated equivalents of the previous ones. The main aim is their full list to be presented and their initial meaning as well, both the Latin and the Croatian.

As a main source of information for excerpting the researched anthroponyms is used

Rječnik osobnih imena by Mate Šimundić (1988), and the internet sites http://www.behindthename.com and http://www.kurufin.narod.ru/, as well. There can be found all the necessary information about the researched anthroponyms – ethymology, forms, derivational process, etc.

The researched anthroponyms are divided into four major groups according to: 1) the meaning of the appellative (i. e. thematic classification or if the appellative is used to name plant, animal, bird, etc.); 2) the function of the name to protect the new-born or to wish him/ her good fortune, used in the old folk tradition; 3) the type of the basic word (i. e. if the researched anthroponym is derived directly from an appellative or via another anthroponym (Roman mythological, gentile name, cognomen or Neolatin name); 4) their canonization.

All of the personal names, derived from a Latin appellative, included in that very research are part of the modern anthroponymicon, but their initial meaning is not that clear for common people nowadays, and it not that clear the link between the personal names, divided into the researched two groups according to the origin of the basic appellative, i. e. if it is Latin or a Croatian one. That is why it is very interesting that basic appellative to be shown.

The extralinguistic information about canonization is also important. That is one of the possible reasons why some Roman mythological, gentile names, cognomens and Neolatin anthroponyms continue to be alive and well-spread, but their function now as saints' names is somehow different and their initial meaning and usage is faded or forgotten, too.

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Today, there can be observed a very popular manner parents to choose for their newborn child the so called international names in order the child not to have problems in the future if he/ she want to change the country of living. That fashion is valid not only for Croatian but for all Europeans. And, of course, most of those so called international names are Latin by origin. But do parents know what is the initial meaning of a given personal name and that there is probably forgotten but for sure more familiar Croatian equivalent of the same anthroponym? That very paper will help to be found out.

Keywords: Croatian anthroponyms, appellative, Latin

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The democratic language policy of plurilingual code-switching: a comparative study across minority communities

The lack of adequate democratic language policies in Italy is significantly witnessed by the fact that the Italian Parliament has still not ratified the country's adherence to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, undersigned in the year 2000 (cf. Coluzzi 2007). Institutional ineffectiveness is also found at regional levels, where the linguistic complexity of historical and new-immigrant minority communities is still not fully acknowledged. This gap has driven, for example, the Italian Linguistic Society to draft the Seven Theses for the Promotion of Democratic Language Policies (2013). The present paper is theoretically framed by the second thesis which emphasizes the importance of considering each natural-historical language in all of its components of variation and variability, regardless of the presence of a standard variety. One specific component of variation and variability which deserves closer attention is the phenomenon of plurilingual code-switching occurring within both established and new minority communities. The broad aim of the current study is thus to investigate the language practice of plurilingual code-switching and related beliefs through the lens of minority community members as a bottom-up approach to the promotion of democratic language policies. It therefore assumes that language practices and language beliefs are two key components of the language policy of a speech community (Spolsky 2004). Hence, capturing members' attitudes can provide insights into the practice of plurilingual code-switching as attitudes evaluate "some degree of favor or disfavour" (Eagly & Chaiken 1993: 1), and are the result of intrinsic individual acceptability judgments (MacSwan 1999, 2013), which are affected by community language beliefs. An empirical investigation was conducted across the Albanian, Occitan and Philipino minority communities in the southern Italian region of Calabria to address two research questions: 1. what are the attitudes of minorities towards their plurilingual code-switching? 2. what kind of acceptability patterns of plurilingual code-switching do informants show? Surveys were conducted adopting a sampling method to gather quantitative and

qualitative data from informants belonging to one of the three communities (*N*=124). Informants were required to express their attitudes towards plurilingual code-switching, besides rating the acceptability of their code-switched production (output) and that of others (input) on graded scales. In this way, the investigation can be seen as a contribution to fostering democratic language policies as it focuses on plurilingual code-switching across standard and non-standard varieties, thus moving beyond traditional studies limited to bilingual code-switching (Auer 1984; Grosjean 2008). While majority Calabrians are commonly bilingual (Standard Italian-Calabrian dialect), only minority community members are *de facto* (neo)plurilingual. Italian is the only standard variety in contact with the two non-standard varieties of Arbëreshë and Occitan as autochthonous codes officially protected since 1999, and with the two standard varieties of Philipino and English. Moreover, the study seeks to overcome the traditional dichotomy between "acceptable or grammatical vs. unacceptable or ungrammatical" utterances at grassroots level. Although results from a comparative analysis generally highlight positive attitudes towards plurilingual code-switching, in-depth analysis revealed noticeable differences in the range of practices and beliefs which shape the policies of the single communities.

Keywords: plurilingual code-switching, language policies, attitudes and acceptability

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O prijeglasu u nestandardnom hrvatskom: primjer (jednosložnih) imenica muškog roda na završno *s*

Prijeglas je tradicionalno gledano glasovna promjena pri kojoj se glasovi *o e* asimiliraju u *e u* u dodiru s palatalima. Prijeglas se javlja u fleksiji i tvorbi imenica, glagola i pridjeva. U novijim opisima u opis prijeglasa uključuju se i smjena jata u *i* ispred *j, a, e, o* (Marković 2013: 91). Osim pred palatalima prijeglas se javlja relativno sustavno i iza glasa *c* te poprilično nesustavno iza glasa *r* te skupova *št žd* (*cf.* Barić *et al.* 2005: §155–158, Raguž 1997: §26–29, Marković 2013: 91–99).

Prijeglas se, međutim, ne provodi uvijek dosljedno, osobito kod imenica. Najizrazitiji su primjer brojne posuđenice te disimilacija u I. jd. jednosložnih imenica s korijenskim *e*. S druge strane, prijeglas se često provodi i iza nepalatalnih glasova, gdje se prema definiciji ne očekuje. Naime, uz već spomenuto *c* i *r*, prijeglas se u nestandardnome jeziku javlja i iza glasova *s t z*. Marković prijeglas iza glasova *s t z* naziva 'naknadno palataliziranje' (2013: 99) te ga ukratko opisuje uz komentar o njegovoj normativnoj neprihvatljivosti iako navodi da se on javlja i u razgovornome i u pisanome jeziku.

Budući da je 'naknadno palataliziranje' slabo opisana morfofonološka pojava svojstvena ponajprije nestandardnom jeziku, ona je pogodna za ispitivanje razlika između propisanog (tj. norme) i stvarne uporabe. Taj smo tip prijeglasa odlučili zbog njihove relativne brojnosti prvo opisati na građi imenica muškog roda sa završnim *s*. Uzimajući u obzir i inače zabilježene velike nesustavnosti u provođenju prijeglasa u hrvatskome jeziku, ovo će se istraživanje obaviti s pomoću građe prikupljene iz korpusa *hrWac* 2.0. U tome su korpusu sadržani brojni tekstovi koji pripadaju nestandardnom internetskom jeziku, zbog čega će naše istraživanje biti u mogućnosti opisati ovu pojavu neovisno o njezinoj potvrđenosti ili raširenosti u standardnome jeziku.

Iz dosad dostupnih primjera dade se zaključiti da je riječ većinom o imenicama s neživim referentima te je stoga odlučeno da će se istraživanje ponajprije temeljiti na opisu prijeglasa u oblicima kod kojih je najprisutniji, u I. jd. i u množini s proširkom *-ov-*, dok se tek u manjoj mjeri može dati osvrt na problematiku prijeglasa u V. jd. i u tvorbi posvojnih pridjeva na *-ov-*.

Sukladno već rečenom, za potrebe rada iz korpusa su izvučeni svi oblici koje završavaju na -*sem* ili sadrže množinsko -*sev*-. Iz tako prikupljene građe preliminarnim je pregledom izdvojeno nekoliko problema. Prvo, prijeglas je vrlo čest s množinskim proširkom -*ov*-, ali osjetno rjeđi s nastavkom -*om*. Dakle, prijeglas iza *s* postoji redovito samo kod jednosložnih imenica te one stoga čine većinu građe. Nadalje, prijeglasom su zahvaćene redovito strane imenice (*busevi* uz *busovi*), a domaće u manjem broju (**glasevi*, ali *trsevi* uz običnije *trsovi*). Ti će se, ali i drugi, faktori kvantitativno prikazati kako bi se odredila eventualna pravila i tendencije te će se ponuditi moguća objašnjenja ove pojave. Za imenice koje se javljaju frekventno provest će se k tome usporedba u frekvenciji oblika s prijeglasom i bez njega. Opis prijeglasa kod imenica na *s* pomoći će u kasnijem opisu prijeglasa kod imenica na *t* i *z*.

Ključne riječi: nestandardni hrvatski, prijeglas, morfofonologija

Vowel mutation with (monosyllabic) masculine nouns ending in *s* in substandard Croatian

Traditionally speaking, vowel mutation is a sound change in which the vowels *o e* are assimilated into *e u* when in contact with a palatal consonant. It occurs in the inflection and formation of nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Other than with palatal consonants, vowel mutation has been shown to occur relatively systematically after the sound *c* as well as less systematically after *r* and the *št*, *žd* consonant clusters (*cf.* Barić *et al.* 2005: §155–158, Raguž 1997: §26–29, Marković 2013: 91–99).

Vowel mutation, however, does not always occur in a consistent manner, especially not with nouns. The most distinct examples are numerous loan words and dissimilation in the instrumental singular of monosyllabic containing the vowel *e*. Vowel mutation often occurs after non-palatal sounds as well, despite the definition pointing to the contrary. To be precise, vowel mutation in substandard language occurs after the voices *s t z*, along with the aforementioned *c* and *r*. Marković calls the vowel mutation following *s t z* "subsequent palatalization" (2013: 99). He briefly describes the phenomenon noting that, although normatively unacceptable, it occurs in both colloquial and written language.

Given that "subsequent palatalization" is a fairly underdescribed morphophonological phenomenon and characteristic primarily of substandard language, it is useful for testing the differences between prescribed and ac-

tual language usage. We chose to describe this particular type of vowel mutation regarding nouns ending in -*s* since they appear quite frequently. Taking into account the unsystematic behavior of vowel mutation in Croatian, this study will be based on the sources collected from the *hrWac 2.0* corpus. The corpus contains numerous texts featuring substandard Croatian, which is why this study would be able to describe the phenomenon regardless of whether its presence has been confirmed or how widespread it is in standard language.

The investigation will focus on instrumental singular forms and plural forms with the suffix -*ov*-, since it is where occur most instances of vowel mutation with nouns ending in -*s*. For the purposes of the study, all forms ending in -*sem* or containing the -*sev*- sequence were retrieved from the corpus and then culled by hand in order to get the clear instances of noun featuring vowel mutation.

Several problems have been identified from the preliminary analysis of the collected evidence. Firstly, vowel mutation often occurs in the plural additional suffix -*ov*-, but it occurs far less frequently in the instrumental singular -*om*. Thus, vowel mutation after *s* is found regularly only in monosyllabic nouns, which are consequently most frequent in our sample. Secondly, foreign nouns (*busevi* 'buses') are often covered by vowel mutation, whereas native nouns are covered to a lesser extent (*glasevi 'voices', however *trsevi* with the more common *trsovi* 'vines'). Finally, these and other factors will be quantitatively presented in order to discern possible rules and tendencies, and possible explanations of this phenomenon will be offered. Describing vowel mutation with nouns ending in -*s* will aid further descriptions of vowel mutation with nouns ending in *t* and *z*.

Keywords: substandard Croatian, vowel mutation, morphophonology

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Language planning of a planned language: the case of Esperanto

This paper investigates the prospect of international planned languages in the field of language planning. It consists of two parts: the first part discusses the exclusion of international planned languages from the language planning field and the second part deals with the analysis of the most prominent international planned language Esperanto through the prism of language planning. In particular, international planned languages (also known as *artificial* and *constructed languages*) have been invented for centuries, but the field of language planning has for some reason largely ignored them (cf. Tonkin 2015: 194), even though one can find many similarities concerning stages of language planning in international and ethnic planned languages. The author suggests that one of the reasons behind their omission from the language planning field might lie in the fact that the terms *artificial* and *constructed languages* are still used for international planned languages, carrying a negative undertone and stressing the inherent superiority of ethnic languages. Another reason behind the exclusion of international planned languages from the language planning field lies in the still omnipresent notion of their linguistic inferiority supported by both laymen and linguists. As a result, the author pleads for the usage of the term *international planned language* instead of *artificial* and *constructed*, emphasising at the same time the importance of the inclusion of international planned languages in the language planning field and their serious scientific treatment. In order to portray the vast field of international planned languages, the author analyses the most widespread international planned language Esperanto invented in 1887 by dr L.L. Zamenhof through primarily Haugen's (1966; 1990) four stages of language planning (selection, codification, implementation, and elaboration), highlighting the many similarities, but also differences in comparison to other planned languages.

Keywords: language planning, planned languages, interlinguistics, esperantology, Esperanto

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A storm in a teacup? The French Academy, language policy and normativity

In the preface to his famous *A Dictionary of the English Language*, Johnson writes: "To enchain syllables, and to lash the wind, are equally the undertakings of pride, unwilling to measure its desires by its strength." This idea, and the folly these metaphors convey, can still be felt amongst Anglophones, as shown by the sardonic undertones in some English language press covering the French spelling debate of February 2016, concerning the reform of some circumflexes, dashes between elements of compound words, plural formation and doubling of some consonants. In France, reactions to the "reformed" spellings being taught from September 2016, ranging from the general public to the Minister of Education and the Perpetual Secretary of the *Académie française* (French Academy), show that misunderstandings, simplifications, falsehoods and political rhetoric have all been proffered on numerous levels of debate about how to spell some 2000 words.

This communication will clarify the context of the spelling debate by contrasting three major positions taken by the unique institution that is the *Académie française*. The first of these positions is exemplified in the *Académie* publishing its own dictionary, which includes the note that "neither of the two spellings can be considered incorrect" and that the "reformed spellings" should be put to the test of usage, rather than imposed.

The second position relates to the issue of the use of gendered titles in French. This was illustrated in 2014 when a member of the French National Assembly was fined for addressing the female President of the Assembly as *Madame le Président* (Madame President) but persisting in using the masculine definite article *le* - rather than using the feminine form *la* - and not adding an *-e* to *Président* to create a feminine noun, and retorting that he was merely "Applying the rules of the French Academy", which indeed distinguish between a function and the gender of the person carrying out the function. The *Académie*'s position on this matter thus contrasts with the abovementioned view on orthography.

The third position considered will be an important aspect of the French Government's long- standing linguistic policy, which has received little atten-

tion, and in which the *Académie* plays an important role. This policy seeks to support and enrich the French language by creating French technical vocabulary. Rather than using authoritarian means to eradicate the use of English in France, this policy seeks to ensure that French speakers are able to use French in scientific and technical discourse, rather than being required to use a foreign tongue to fully participate in specialized discourse. This discussion also provides examples of the *Académie*'s considerations (e.g. style, grammar, comprehensibility, normativity…) in its recommendation of technical vocabulary.

This communication thus argues that the modern *Académie française* walks a nuanced line between the extremes of prescriptivism and descriptivism.

Keywords: French language, normativity, language policy

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Velik nesklad oko opisa *malih* vrsta riječi – prilozi i prijedlozi u hrvatskoj normativnoj literaturi

U radu se uspoređuju neujednačenosti opisa priloga i prijedloga u suvremenoj hrvatskoj normativnoj literaturi te utvrđuju razlozi pojave nesklada. Istraživanje na kojem se rad temelji podijeljeno je u dva dijela: u prvom se pozornost posvećuje neujednačenostima u gramatikama, rječnicima i jezičnim savjetnicima pri opisu prijedloga, odnosno priloga kao vrste riječi: uspoređuju se različita etimološka tumačenja (npr. prijedlog *nakon* određuje se i kao primarni i kao složeni prijedlog), različiti značenjski opisi (npr. priloga *odjednom* kao vremenskoga i/ili načinskog priloga upućuje na problem promatranja priloga kao kontekstualno neuvjetovanih jedinica), normativne preporuke (npr. prilozi *ponovno* i *ponovo* različito se normativno određuju, a postoje i brojni jezični savjeti o uporabi prijedloga), pripadnost prijedloga određenomu padežu (npr. *prema* kao dativni i/ili lokativni prijedlog). U drugom se dijelu pozornost posvećuje međusobnom odnosu priloga i prijedloga, odnosno razlikovanju tih dviju vrsta riječi i neujednačenostima u normativnoj literaturi pri njihovu opisu. Nesklad se normativnih opisa uočava osobito pri rječničkim određenjima vrste riječi poprijedloženih instrumentala, koji se u različitim rječnicima hrvatskoga jezika određuju kao prilozi, kao prijedlozi ili se pak ne navode u posebnoj natuknici. Uz dio se takvih riječi u istom rječniku pri upućivanju nalaze različita određenja, a u nekim se rječnicima različito određuje vrsta riječi antonimnih prijedloga koji se navode uz istu odrednicu (npr. <u>početkom stoljeća</u> i <u>krajem stoljeća</u>; *početkom* se opisuje kao prilog, a *krajem* kao prijedlog). U radu se istražuje i gramatički opis riječi *prije, poslije, blizu, bliže, niže, više, oko* i *okolo* koje, ovisno o rečeničnom kontekstu, mogu pripadati dvjema vrstama riječi – prilozima i prijedlozima. Na kraju se rada ističu i neujednačeni opisi pri razlikovanju priloga od drugih *malih* vrsta riječi na morfološkoj ili drugim razinama – veznika, čestica, modifikatora, konektora, modalnih riječi. Istraživanje pokazuje kako pri određivanju pripadnosti pojedine riječi kojoj od skupina *malih* vrsta riječi u obzir treba uzeti različite kriterije.

Ključne riječi: prijedlozi, prilozi, normativna literatura

Great disharmony in the description of *minor* parts of speech – prepositions and adverbs in Croatian normative literature

The aim of this paper is to show the lack of uniformity in the description of prepositions and adverbs in contemporary Croatian normative literature and to determine the grounds for such erratic descriptions. The research on which the paper is based has been divided into two parts. In the first part, attention has been paid to the discrepancies in grammar books, dictionaries and language manuals in the description of prepositions and adverbials as parts of speech: this part contains comparisons of different etymological interpretations (e.g. the preposition *nakon* is defined as both primary and compound preposition), of different descriptions of meanings (e.g. the description of the adverb *odjednom* as adverb of time and/or adverb of manner indicates the problem of observing adverbs as contextually unconditioned units), of normative recommendations (e.g. adverbs *ponovno* and *ponovo* are differently normatively determined, and there are numerous pieces of language advice about the use of adverbs) and of the appurtenance of a preposition to a particular case (e.g. the preposition *prema* as dative and/or locative preposition). The second part of the paper deals with the mutual relation between adverbs and prepositions, i.e. with distinguishing these two parts of speech and the lack of uniformity in their description in normative literature. The disharmony of normative descriptions can be observed especially in dictionaries and their determination of the part of speech of prepositionalized instrumentals: different dictionaries of the Croatian language determine these words as adverbs, as prepositions or they do not list them as separate entries at all. For some of these words one and the same dictionary gives different determinations, and some dictionaries give different determinations of the part of speech in case of antonymous prepositions listed with the same determinant (e.g. in the entry *početkom stoljeća / krajem stoljeća* the word *početkom* is determined as an adverb and the word *krajem* as a preposition). The paper also analyses the grammatical description of the words *prije, poslije, blizu, bliže, niže, više, oko* and *okolo* which, depending on the context of the sentence, can belong to two parts of speech – adverbs and prepositions. In its final part the paper also emphasises disharmonious descriptions in discerning adverbs from other *minor* parts of speech (conjunctions, particles, modifiers, connectors, modal words) at the morphological or other levels. The research shows that various criteria must be considered in determining of the appurtenance of a particular word to one of the *minor* parts of speech.

Keywords: prepositions, adverbs, normative literature

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Language and citizenship policies in EU Member States

The aim of the paper is to examine the language policies of EU Member States, specifically the policies concerning the process of asylum approval and naturalization. While language policies of all EU member states will be looked into, the study concentrates on language policies and the national variations in the interconnectedness between language and citizenship with a special focus on Croatia and Germany. According to Extramiana and van Avermaet (2011:5), "(l)anguage is central to many of the challenges posed by migration, especially integration and the maintenance of social cohesion." With that in mind, language teaching and testing have a central role in the integration of migrants into host societies (Little 2008). The migrant crisis that has been straining the relationships between EU Member States and cast a shadow on the ideals of a community of Europeans has been an incentive for changes in language and immigration policies of EU countries. The trend of raising the requirements for the acquisition of citizenship such as long waiting periods, higher fees and the inclusion of citizenship tests only proves that "citizenship is the most important marker of an immigrant's full and equal membership in a national society" (Banulescu-Bogdan 2012) and that these procedures are seen as a guarantee of better integration of immigrants in their host society. The paper examines these recent trends and analyses the dominant ideologies behind the different conceptualisations of the relationship between language and citizenship.

Keywords: language policy, citizenship, immigration

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O nekim vrstama uporabe aorista u suvremenome hrvatskom jeziku (na primjerima pismenog i usmenog govora)

Od slavenskih jezika, hrvatski jezik (zajedno s bugarskim, srpskim, bosanskim) ima isti inventar promjenjivih glagolskih oblika kao i staroslavenski jezik – kako proste/sintetičke tako i složene/analitičke glagolske oblike. Na taj način, hrvatski se jezik nalazi u sredini između južnoslavenskih jezika, u kojima se razvio složen sustav, koji je sklon suprotstaviti oblike za izravnu i neizravnu naraciju, i sjevernih slavenskih jezika (poljski, češki, slovački, ruski, ukrajinski), u kojima su uklonjeni prosti preteritni oblici (aorist, imperfekt). U suvremenome hrvatskom jeziku imperfekt je izbačen, ali se aorist nastavlja koristiti u suvremenome pismenom i usmenom govoru, unatoč tomu što uvjeti pod kojima se javlja nisu jasno određeni (konkretizirani) u gramatikama ili priručnicima.

U ovome ćemo radu pregledati vrste uporabe aorista u suvremenome hrvatskom jeziku, kako u pismenom (književnost i publicistički stil, dakle, uporaba aorista u naraciji, uporaba aorista uz glagole govorenja i kretanja, transpozitivna (modalna) uporaba aorista), pa i u izrekama i poslovicama (koje razmatramo kao posebnu grupu jer smatramo da one ne pripadaju niti prvoj niti drugoj grupi, već predstavljaju poseban oblik za izražavanje.

Hipoteza, za koju se zalažemo, je, da se aorist, unatoč ekonomičnosti u izražavanju i rijetkoj uporabi u suvremenome hrvatskom jeziku, zadržao kako u usmenom tako i u pismenom govoru, iako u manjoj mjeri, zbog specifičnih učinaka koje se postižu njegovom uporabom. Međutim, u današnje vrijeme ne nalazi svaka vrsta uporabe primjenu u obje vrste govora, zbog čega je naš cilj istaknuti koja je njegova uporaba uobičajena za određenu vrstu govora, i kakva je njezina frekvencija. Primjeri, koje prilažemo kao potvrdu naše hipoteze, ekscerpirani su iz suvremene književnosti, tiska i usmenoga govora.

U sklopu našeg istraživanja dolazimo do nekoliko zaključaka za koje nikako ne bismo mogli reći da su konačni i definitivni, jer o statusu aorista u suvremenome hrvatskom jeziku i dalje će se raspravljati, s obzirom na središnji položaj tog prostog preterita u odnosu na njegov status u bugarskom i makedonskom jeziku, u kojima je on osnovno vrijeme. Usprkos tome što je njegova uporaba u suvremenome hrvatskom jeziku manje frekventna, smatramo da ne

možemo govoriti o njegovoj marginalizaciji (kakav je slučaj s imperfektom). Modalna (dakle transpozitivna) uporaba aorista u suvremenome hrvatskom jeziku, kao i njegova uporaba u kombinaciji s glagolima govora i kretanja, svojstvena je kako pisanom, tako i usmenom govoru. Treba napomenuti da se aorist, ostvarujući vrlo značajne učinke na govornom iskazu (kao što su pravovremenost, relevantnost, iznenadnost, iznenađenje, pozitivni ili negativni odgovor na specifičan događaj), još uvijek uspijeva sačuvati u suvremenome hrvatskom jeziku, o čemu svjedoči prikupljena i analizirana u ovom radu građa.

Ključne riječi: hrvatski jezik, aorist, prosti preteriti

Specific usage of aorist in cintemporary Croatian (over examples of written and spoken texts)

Among the Slavonic languages, in Croatian (like in Bulgarian, Serbian, and Bosnian) are observed the same conjugation (changeable) verb forms as those in Old Bulgarian, both the simple/ synthetic, and complex/ analytical ones. There is not such a complex verb system in Croatian like in the other South-Slavonic languages, where the direct and indirect speech (direct and indirect narrative) are usually opposed to one another, but it is not so simple like that in North-Slavonic languages (Polish, Czech, Slovakian, Russian, and Ukrainian), where simple preterists (aorist and imperfect) are not used any more. In contemporary Croatian imperfect forms are rarely observed, but aorist is still used in both written and spoken texts, though in it is done in phrases, strictly fixed according to the rules, written in grammars and textbooks.

In present research a revision over the usage of aorist in contemporary Croatian written and spoken texts, representatives of different genres, is done.

The main hypothesis that we use as a basis is that aorist, despite of its economy in expression and rare frequency, and specific effects caused by it, is saved in both written and spoken form of communication. Today it is not possible aorist forms to be observed in every kind of texts, and that is the aim of the research – which kind of usage is typical for a given way of communication and what is its frequency. Examples, given as a prove to verify that the hypothesis is correct, are excerpted from modern fiction, periodical press, and texts in spoken form.

As a result of our research, a few conclusions may be made. They are not final and absolutely complete because of the very fact that the status of the aorist in Croatian, as well as in Serbian language, is going to be discussed even

more in future. That is caused by the somehow medial position of that simple preterist compared to the role of the same grammatical unit in Bulgarian and Macedonian language, where it is one of the basic tenses. Despite its rare use in contemporary Croatian, we could not speak for its marginalisation (something valid for the imperfectum). The transpositive usage of the aorist in contemporary Croatian, as well as its combination with verbs denoting speaking and motion, is typical not only for the written for of the language, but for the everyday speech, too.

Keywords: Croatian, aorist, simple preterists

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Dalit politics' newly born goddess English/ex-colonial master's language in India: the politicization of pro-English stand

This paper would discuss about unique approach of Dalit politics towards English language [Dalits are ex-untouchables (untouchables in Hindu societal order which is based on Varna system)] by exploring its ideological nexus with the language in post-1990s India (era of Liberalization, Globalization). The Indian state in its nation building process adopted the values of modern nation state and in the process made English as a dominant official language of the state. However, non-Dalit political ideologies (left, right and socialist) hesitate or deliberately refuse to project English as a positive-factor in political sphere. But the Dalit politics takes pro-English stand in its presence of post-1990s, Project English as a positive factor (Goddess) in political sphere to achieve its political agenda. In this juncture understating this unique phenomenon becomes efficient tool to segregate and understand Indian political groups based on their view on English language. Using the literature on Dalit or non-Dalit ideologies this paper explores about different political groups' ideological standpoint on English and argues that the ultimate objective of Dalit political ideology that accessing opportunities of societal life should be equal and free from any birth based discrimination alone could serve as the basis to understand this unique phenomenon. In doing so, the paper addresses two sets of interrelated questions: what factors pull non-Dalit political ideologies away from taking pro- English stand in Indian political sphere, and why the same factors could not materialize with Dalit political ideology. The paper answers these questions through an empirical study on Dalits political groups of Tamil Nadu region, Selection of Tamil Nadu is pertinent to this research inference, because its language politics was remarkable for two features 1) the views of pro-English stand in the political sphere of post colonial India. 2) Linguistic nationalism. Here the empirical study analyzes the various political views of, how English language is projected by Dalit political parties and activists of Tamil Nadu in the larger context of Tamil Nadu politics. In this juncture based on result of empirical study the paper argue that the mentioned objective of Dalit political ideology is entirely different from that of non-Dalit political ideologies and the difference leads the

concept of Dalit empowerment to engage with English. Next, the paper analyzes character of English in India through the literature on sociolinguistic perspective of English in India and argues that in pre-1990s India English had a neutral character which helped to linguistically diversified Indian people in accessing opportunities of state without any ethnic discrimination. But in post-1990s India English secured once more a neutral character which helps people in accessing opportunities of social life without any birth-based discrimination. The unification of these two characters only led Dalit political ideology to post its pro-English stand in political sphere.

Keywords: Dalit, pro-English stand, India, language politics

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O položaju manjinskoga jezika „odozdo" i „odozgo" na primjeru gradišćanskohrvatskoga jezika u Slovačkoj

Jezična politika i planiranje kao vrlo kompleksan proces sastoji se od nekoliko faza koje uključuju planiranje oblika na svim jezičnim razinama, planiranje imena jezika i statusa jezika, implementaciju, odnosno osiguravanje prihvaćenosti planiranih oblika i pojedinih odluka. Sama jezična politika provodi se na razinama od međunarodnih i vladinih institucija preko lokalnih tijela do odluka o jeziku koje donose sami pojedinci. U višejezičnim sredinama pitanja jezične politike postaju znatno kompleksnijima i moglo bi se reći i osjetljivijima. Upravo u takvim sredinama dva i/ili više jezika u neposrednom su kontaktu i često naizmjeničnoj upotrebi čime se i domene njihove upotrebe uvelike ograničavaju. Dijelom su upotreba jednoga i drugoga (i trećih) jezika ograničene upravo samim statusom svakoga od jezika u dodiru, ali i različitim zakonskim odlukama.

U europskom kontekstu odnosi među pojedinim jezicima, te posebno položaj, status, ali i sama upotreba manjinskih jezika regulirani su raznim zakonima, poveljama i sl. dokumentima, npr. neke zemlje u Ustavu navode određena prava pojedinih jezika ili npr. poput Slovačke imaju Zakon o državnom jeziku, zatim su tu Europska povelja o regionalnim ili manjinskim jezicima, Okvirna konvencija za zaštitu nacionalnih manjina i sl.

No, svakako je važno istaknuti da se upotreba (u određenim situacijama i zaštita pojedinih jezika) ne regulira isključivo zakonskim aktima i dokumentima, već je ona pod snažnim utjecajem lokalnih i pojedinačnih praksi, jezičnih stavova i ideologija same zajednice (Spolsky 2009, Nekvapil 2012). Stoga jezične politike i jezični menadžment trebaju uključivati i propitivanje statusa i upotrebe jezika na razini zajednice i razini pojedinca što se ne može odvojiti od propitivanja stavova i ideja koje upravo lokalne zajednice imaju o svakom od jezika kojim se služe.

Propitivanje stavova i ideja koje o jeziku, ali i njegovoj upotrebi, statusu i položaju u zajednici imaju sami govornici, odnosno emska, insajderska, perspektiva čini važan dio istraživanja koje predstavljamo ovdje. Naime, cilj je našega istraživanja analizirati status i položaj hrvatskoga jezika u Slovačkoj, kako u samoj gradišćanskohrvatskoj zajednici tako i na široj lokalnoj i nacionalnoj razini. Jednim dijelom nam je želja utvrditi odgovara li doista jezičnopolitička praksa stvarnome stanju, tj. potvrđuju li iskustva, stavovi i percepcije naših ispitanika, pripadnika gradišćanskohrvatske zajednice u Slovačkoj, službenu politiku institucija, ali i istražiti jezičnopolitičke prakse same gradišćanskohrvatske zajednice u okolici Bratislave koje mogu pridonijeti (ali naravno i odmoći ovisno o tome kakve su im prakse) ne samo položaju hrvatskoga jezika već uvelike i njegovoj vitalnosti u navedenoj zajednici. Kako bismo dobili uvid u jezične prakse proveli smo polustrukturirane dubinske intervjue s pripadnicima gradišćanskohrvatske zajednice u Slovačkoj i ovdje predstavljamo analizu (i pokušaj interpretacije) stavova i mišljenja samih pojedinaca, njihovih iskustava i praksi u upotrebi gradišćanskohrvatskoga kao manjinskoga jezika. Vjerujemo da nam upravo zbog svoje prirode ovakvo dijelom etnografsko istraživanje koje uključuje emsku perspektivu koja pak podrazumijeva prihvaćanje tumačenja praksi i ponašanja samih ispitanika može dati dublji uvid ne samo u položaj hrvatskoga jezika u Slovačkoj, već i pomoći propitati određene utjecaje jezičnih politika na manjinsku zajednicu.

Ključne riječi: jezična politika, gradišćanskohrvatski jezik, Slovačka

On language status from the bottom-up and top-down on the example of Burgenland-Croatian in Slovakia

Language policy and language planning is a very complex process that comprises several phases, including planning of form at all linguistic levels, name and status planning of a language, implementation, i.e. ensuring the acceptability of planned forms and particular decisions. Language policy is conducted at various levels, from international and governmental institutions through local governmental bodies to the individuals who are making decisions regarding language usage. In multilingual environments language policy issues become much more complex and more sensitive. In such environments two and/or more languages are in a direct contact and are often used alternately, making the domains of their usage very restricted. The usage of the first and the second (and other) languages is partially restricted both by the status of a particular language in contact itself and various legal decisions.

In the European context the relationship between particular languages, especially the position, status and the usage of minority languages are regulated by various laws, treaties and similar documents. For example, some countries define different rights of certain languages in their Constitution or by special language laws like Slovakia, but there is also the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, etc.

It should be pointed out that the language usage is not regulated exclusively by legal acts and documents; it is rather under the strong influence of local and individual practices, language attitudes and ideologies of the community in question. (Spolsky, 2009; Nekvapil, 2012) Language policies and language management should therefore include an examination of language status and language usage in a community and on an individual level.

The examination of attitudes and ideas about language and its usage, status and position in the community of the speakers, i.e. emic or insider perspective, is an important part of our research. Our main goal is to study the status of Croatian in Slovakia, both in the Burgenland-Croatian community and at a wider local and national level. On the one hand, we want to detect whether the language and political practice is in accordance with the real situation, i.e. whether the experience, attitudes and perceptions of our informants confirm the official institutional policy. On the other hand, we want to explore the aforementioned practice of the Burgenland-Croatian community around Bratislava that might help (but that might also have a negative influence on) the status and vitality of Croatian in this community. In order to gain an insight in language practices we conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with members of the Burgenland-Croatian community in Slovakia. We present the analysis (and a possible interpretation) of attitudes and opinions of individuals, their experience and practice(s) when using Burgenland-Croatian as a minority language. This partially ethnographical research might help us to obtain a deeper insight into the position of Croatian in Slovakia and investigate certain influences of language policies on the minority community.

Keywords: language policy, Burgenland-Croatian, Slovakia

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„*Ulaz* nije *ulazak*, a *red* nije *redak*": telementacija fiksiranim kodom i druge jezične ideologije hrvatskog preskriptivizma

Profesionalno i laičko jezično savjetodavljenje (Pranjković 2010) posve je proširena i normalizirana praksa koja u Hrvatskoj i u drugim zemljama stvara i održava stanje shizoglosije (Haugen 1962) i jezične samomržnje (Giles i Niedzielski 1999). Teorijski opis standardnog dijalekta i savjeti koji se desetljećima promoviraju kao navodno znanstveni, objektivni i neutralni zapravo su (a) manifestacija pojedinih *jezičnih ideologija* (naizgled zdravorazumskih stavova i vjerovanja o jeziku i jezicima; Kroskrity 2004, Blommaert 2005) i (b) rezultat zanemarivanja znanstvenih objašnjenja jezičnih pojava. Ovaj se rad bavi analizom profesionalnih jezičnih savjeta u hrvatskim jezičnim savjetnicima te na nacionalnoj televiziji i radiju. Savjeti se podvrgavaju (1) kritičkoj analizi diskursa i ideologija (Fairclough 2015, Verschueren 2012, van Dijk 2015) i (2) lingvističkoj analizi preskribirane i proskribirane jezične građe. Rezultati ukazuju na prisutnost znatnog broja jezičnih ideologija vezanih za odnos standardnog dijalekta s nestandardnima te na velik broj neznanstvenih analiza jezičnih struktura. Profesionalne jezične ideologije u hrvatskoj javnoj sferi uključuju (1) ideologiju standardnog jezika (Milroy 2001), (2) ideologiju stalne upotrebe standardnog dijalekta, (3) ideologiju razdvojenih kodova, (4) ideologiju purizma, (5) etimološku zabludu, (6) ideologiju razdvojenih doslovnih i metaforičkih značenja, (7) ideologiju nevidljivih dijalekata, (8) ideologiju suvišnih riječi i značenja, (9) ideologiju nulte redundancije, (10) ideologiju češkog i klasičnih jezika (grčki i latinski) te (11) ideologiju telementacije fiksiranim kodom (Harris 2003).

Drugim riječima, hrvatski se jezik prikazuje kao statičan i izjednačava sa standardnim dijalektom, čija se stalna upotreba zagovara bez obzira na kontekst. Hrvatski se prikazuje kao kao teorijski i praktično razdvojen od drugih jezika, a purizam se promovira kao znanstveno utemeljen pogled. Etimološka i (percipirano) starija značenja smatraju se boljima od (percipirano) novijih, a metaforička proširenja doslovnih značenja navode se kao nepravilna. Dijalek-

ti bliski standardnom ne percipiraju se kao dijalekti nego kao iskrivljene, nelegitimne verzije standarda, a drugi nestandardni dijalekti smatraju se validnima ukoliko se ne koriste u javnoj sferi. Svakodnevni leksički elementi i značenja percipiraju se kao psiholingvističko opterećenje, a uobičajena jezična redundancija smatra se realnim komunikacijskim problemom. Jezična građa koja potječe iz češkog, grčkog i latinskog doživljava se kao manja ili beznačajna prijetnja ili čak kao poželjna, za razliku od građe iz engleskog i drugih jezika. Potpuno normirano uparivanje oblika i njihovih značenja smatra se potrebnim radi sprečavanja komunikacijskog kaosa, pri čemu se sasvim zanemaruju inferencijske sposobnosti svakog govornika svakog prirodnog jezika. Ponudit će se i klasifikacija kritiziranih nestandardnih elemenata po različitim kriterijima. Svi navedeni rezultati pokazuju da način na koji profesionalni preskriptivisti široj javnosti prikazuju jezičnu problematiku uvelike pogoduje promoviranju neznanstvenih pogleda, nerazlikovanju jezičnih činjenica od jezičnih stavova te održanju shizoglosije, kolektivne jezične nesigurnosti i jezične samomržnje. Budući da zanemarivanje rezultata općelingvističkih, sociolingvističkih i kognitivnolingvističkih istraživanja ne može voditi održivom jezičnom planiranju, smatramo da je potrebna racionalnija debata o hrvatskom standardnom i nestandardnom jeziku, imajući na umu znanstvene spoznaje o jeziku te osvješćujući vlastite i tuđe ideološke pozicije i stavove.

Ključne riječi: hrvatski standardni dijalekt, jezične ideologije, preskriptivizam

"An *entrance* is not an *entry* and a *row* is not a *line*": telementation by a fixed code and other language ideologies of Croatian prescriptivism

Excessive professional and amateur language prescriptivism (*savjetodavljenje*, Pranjković 2010) is a widespread and normalized practice which creates and maintains a state of schizoglossia (Haugen 1962) and linguistic self-hatred (Giles and Niedzielski 1999) in Croatia and in other countries. The theoretical description of the standard dialect and usage advice which for decades have been promoted as allegedly scholarly, objective and neutral are in fact (a) manifestations of various *language ideologies* (seemingly commonsensical attitudes and beliefs about language and languages; Kroskrity 2004, Blommaert 2005) and (b) a result of ignoring scholarly explanations of language phenomena. This paper analyses professional usage advice in Croatian usage guides as well as on national television and radio. The advice is subjected to (1) a critical analysis of discourse and ideologies (Fairclough 2015, Verschueren 2012, van Dijk 2015) and (2) a lin-

guistic analysis of prescribed and proscribed language elements. The results indicate the presence of a considerable number of language ideologies regarding the relation between the standard and non-standard dialects, and a large number of non-scholarly analyses of linguistic structures. Professional language ideologies in the Croatian public sphere include (1) the ideology of the standard language (Milroy 2001), (2) the ideology of constant standard dialect use, (3) the ideology of discrete codes, (4) the ideology of purism, (5) the etymological fallacy, (6) the ideology of discrete literal and metaphorical meanings, (7) the ideology of invisible dialects, (8) the ideology of excessive words and meanings, (9) the ideology of zero redundancy, (10) the ideology of Czech and classical languages (Greek and Latin), and (11) the ideology of telementation by a fixed code (Harris 2003).

In other words, the Croatian language is portrayed as static and is equated with the standard dialect, whose constant use is promoted regardless of the context. Croatian is depicted as theoretically and practically separated from other languages while purism is promoted as a scholarly view. Etymological and (perceived) older meanings are considered better than (perceived) newer ones, and metaphorical extensions of literal meanings are listed as incorrect. Dialects close to the standard are not perceived as dialects but as corrupted, illegitimate versions of the standard, and other non-standard dialects are regarded as valid as long as they are not used in the public sphere. Everyday lexical elements and meanings are considered to be a psycholinguistic burden while normal linguistic redundancy is thought of as a real communication problem. Language elements which derive from Czech, Greek and Latin are perceived as a lesser or insignificant threat, or even as desirable, unlike elements from English and other languages. A fully standardized pairing of forms and their meanings is considered necessary in order to prevent communicative chaos, entirely ignoring the inferential abilities of every speaker of every natural language. The paper will also give a classification of criticised non-standard elements according to various criteria. All of these results show that the manner in which professional prescriptivists present linguistic issues to the general public strongly favours a promotion of unscholarly views, a conflation of linguistic facts and language attitudes, and the maintenance of schizoglossia, collective language anxiety and linguistic self-hatred. Since ignoring the results of general linguistic, sociolinguistic and cognitive linguistic research cannot lead to sustainable language planning, we argue that a more rational debate on standard and non-standard Croatian is needed, bearing in mind scholarly knowledge about language and becoming aware of one's own and others' ideological positions and attitudes.

Keywords: standard Croatian, language ideologies, prescriptivism

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Pravopisna pismenost kao metodološka smjernica za pravopisno normiranje

U radu se raspravlja o vezi i utjecaju pravopisne pismenosti na pravopisno normiranje. Iako se normativna struka vrlo oprezno koristi ishodima kvantitativnih mjerenja pri donošenju mišljenja o budućoj jezičnoj normi, za najosjetljivije i najistaknutije pravopisne teme provode se ciljana anketna istraživanja kao što je ono koje se tiče triju najraspravljanijih pravopisnih opreka u hrvatskome jeziku: pisanja pokrivenoga *r*, pisanja dentala pred afrikatom te sastavljenoga ili rastavljenoga pisanja niječnice i pomoćnoga glagola *biti*.

Ispitana je pravopisna pismenost na 41 promatranome primjeru kod 650 studenata tehničkoga smjera tijekom pet uzastopnih akademskih godina te je uspostavljena kategorizacija pravopisne spornosti u šest razreda koja je pomogla kao metodološka smjernica za uspostavljanje pravopisne norme *Hrvatskoga pravopisa* Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje.

Ključne riječi: hrvatski pravopis, pravopisna pismenost, norma hrvatskoga jezika

Orthographic literacy as methodological guideline for orthographic standardization

The paper discusses the relation and the influence of orthographic literacy upon orthographic standardization. Although the language normative professionals are very careful when using the results of quantitative measurements for adopting opinions on the future language standard, for the most sensitive and eminent orthographic topics targeted surveys are conducted, such as the one on three of the most discussed orthographic controversies in Croatian: writing of the "covered *r*", writing of dentals in front of affricate, and the separate or compound spelling of the negative form and the auxiliary verb *biti* (*to be*).

The orthographic literacy was tested using 41 monitored examples with 650 students of technological studies during five consecutive academic years. The categorization of orthographic disputability into six classes was established, which was used as a methodological guideline for establishing the orthographic standard of *Hrvatski pravopis* (*Croatian orthography*) of the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics.

Keywords: Croatian orthography, orthographic literacy, Croatian language standard

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Manipulacija semantičkim nijansama leksema *reforma*

U radu se pristupa jeziku politike sa sociolingvističkoga i semantičkoga polazišta. Na korpusu sakupljenome u hrvatskim novinama i na mrežnim portalima u predizbornome vremenu 2015. godine te u korpusu sakupljenome u postizbornome vremenu u prvim mjesecima 2016. godine razmatraju se promjene u značenju leksema *reforma*.

Leksem *reforma* je za dio stranaka u predizbornim nastupima bio središnji pojam te zauzimao krajnju semantičku poziciju 'radikalna reorganizacija', koja se tijekom samo nekoliko mjeseci u postizbornom vremenu premjestila na drugi kraj značenjskoga dijapazona 'promjena'.

Političari iz drugih stranaka nisu na početku u predizbornim nastupima rabili leksem *reforma* s relevantnom čestotnosti, ali se tijekom kampanje čestotnost značajno podigla. Značenje je bilo u rasponu od 'značajne promjene' preko 'važne promjene' do 'potrebne promjene'.

Manipulacija se jasno vidi u visokoj čestotnosti uporabe i isticanju leksema *reforma* kao središnje teme izborne borbe i obećanja izbornoj bazi za nadolazeće „bolje sutra" budu li izabrani. Prihvaćanjem teme reforme kao značajne i druge političke opcije razvijaju manipulacijske strategije.

Manipulacijske se strategije iščitavaju iz razlike u značenjima i mjestu u političkom diskursu.

Provedena je anketa među studentima na Sveučilištu u Rijeci, Sveučilištu u Zadru i Sveučilištu u Splitu vezana uz značenje leksema *reforma* i u izlaganju se iznose rezultati ankete.

U izlaganju se iznose i pokazatelji manipulacije drugim leksemima (npr. *koalicija/suradnja*) te neke novotvorbe (*mostoliki*). Neizbježne su asocijacije na orvelijansku lingvistiku (Hodge – Flower 1979).

Metodološka načela primijenjena u istraživanju uključuju elemente filoloških, sociolingvističkih, psiholingvističkih i pragmalingvističkih pristupa, s naglaskom na semantičkome. Značenjske nijanse tumače se kao manipulacijska strategija u okviru političkoga diskursa.

Teorijski se pristup oslanja na hrvatsku (Škiljan 1988, 2000), slavensku (Požgaj Hadži ed. 2013, Kryzan-Stanojević ed. 2013, Gjurkova 2014, Odaloš

2015) i svjetsku (Shapiro 1981, Chomsky 1988, Gastil 1992) literaturu o jeziku politike te temeljnu literaturu iz područja semantike.

Ključne riječi: manipulacija, jezik politike, reforma

Manipulation of the semantic nuances of the lexeme *reforma*

This paper approaches the language of politics from a sociolinguistic and semantic viewpoint. The changes in the meaning of the word *reforma* (reform) are observed based on the corpus accumulated from Croatian newspapers and Internet portals during the pre-election period in 2015 and the post-election period of early 2016.

The lexeme *reforma* was the core word used by parties in pre-election public appearances, and assumed the extreme semantic position of "radical reorganisation". Over the course of just a few months, in the post-election period, its meaning moved to the other side of the semantic spectrum "change".

Politicians from other parties did not use the lexeme *reforma* in their pre-election appearances with any relevant frequency, but throughout the campaign the frequency significantly increased. The meaning ranged from "significant changes" over "important changes" to "necessary changes".

The manipulation is obvious in the high usage frequency and emphasis on the lexeme *reforma* as the central theme of the election campaign, as well as the promise of a "better future" if elected, made to the electoral base. By accepting the topic of reforms as important, other political options develop manipulation strategies as well.

Manipulation strategies can be recognised from the differences in meaning and position in political discourse.

Students of the Universities of Rijeka, Zadar and Split were polled on the meaning of the lexeme *reforma* and the results are discussed in the presentation.

The presentation also displays the indicators of the manipulation of other lexemes, e.g. *koalicija* or *suradnja* (coalition or cooperation), and some neologisms (*mostoliki*). Associations with Orwellian linguistics are inevitable. (Hodge – Flower, 1979).

The methodological principles applied in the research include elements of philological, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and pragmalinguistic approaches with the main focus being on the semantical approach. The nuances in meaning are interpreted as manipulation strategy within the scope of political discourse.

The theoretical approach is based on Croatian (Škiljan, 1988, 2000), Slavic (Požgaj Hadži, ed. 2013, Kryzan-Stanojević, ed. 2013, Gjurkova, 2014, Odaloš, 2015) and world (Shapiro, 1981, Chomsky, 1988, Gastil, 1992) literature on the language of politics, and on the core literature on semantics.

Keywords: manipulation, language of politics, reform

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Odnos prema standardu u poučavanju hrvatskoga kao prvoga jezika kao posredan rezultat hrvatske jezične politike

Državna jezična politika ogleda se u mnogim područjima, između ostaloga i u školskim programima te u jezičnoj nastavi u školama, prije svega u nastavi prvoga jezika. U prethodnim radovima o utjecaju jezične politike na poučavanje prvoga jezika Kalogjera (1965, 2012), Petrc (2015) te Haţegan i Udier (2016) osvrnuli su se na štetnost rigidnog pristupa standardnom varijetetu u školskom obrazovanju, kao i na štetnost stigmatizacije nestandardnih varijeteta. U ovom radu analizira se utjecaj jezične politike na poučavanje *jezične varijantnosti* u sklopu školskoga predmeta *Hrvatski jezik* u osnovnim i srednjim školama u Hrvatskoj. Varijantnost je jedno od temeljnih svojstava jezika na svim njegovim razinama – upravo s pomoću svoje imanentne varijantnosti jezik (definiran kao ukupnost varijetetâ) ostvaruje brojne društvene funkcije. Varijantnost stoga treba uključiti u poučavanje hrvatskoga jezika, čak i kada se radi o standardnom varijetetu, koji ima posebno istaknutu ulogu i status u zapadnim društvima te koji se tradicionalno shvaća kao nevarijantni, potpuno i binarno propisani varijetet (*pravilno*/*nepravilno*) (Bartsch 1985, Škiljan 1988, Dittmar 1997, Milroy i Milroy 2012). Do sada su provedena istraživanja varijantnosti u poučavanju hrvatskoga kao *inoga* jezika (Udier i Gulešić Machata 2011a, 2011b), a varijantnost u poučavanju hrvatskoga kao *prvoga* jezika (ili kao *drugoga dijalekta*, Siegel 2010) još je uvijek nedovoljno istražena.

Istraživanje koje će biti prikazano u ovom izlaganju provedeno je s namjerom da se ustanovi (a) trenutačno mjesto jezične varijantnosti u poučavanju hrvatskoga jezika, (b) pristup gramatičkih opisa varijantnosti te (c) odnos prema standardnom varijetetu u nastavi školskoga predmeta *Hrvatski jezik*. Budući da je poučavanje hrvatskoga jezika uglavnom utemeljeno na objavljenim i odobrenim udžbenicima, provedena je analiza gramatičkih opisa te odnosa prema varijantnosti i prema standardnom varijetetu u udžbenicima za predmet *Hrvatski jezik* u osnovnim i srednjim školama izdanih u posljednjih pet godina: Bagić, Katalinić, Motik, Rimac Jurinović, Sušac (2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013e, 2013f), Bagić, Jurić Stanković, Šimić, Šodan (2013a, 2013b), Bišćan, Dresto,

Miloloža (2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d, 2014e, 2014f, 2014g, 2014h), Čubrić (2003, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d), Družijančić Hajdarević, Lovrenčić Rojc, Lugarić, Lugomer (2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d), Družijančić Hajdarević, Lugarić, Romić, Sykora-Nagy (2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d), Dujmović Markusi, Bogdanović, Mlačić-Brakus (2014a, 2014b), Dujmović Markusi, Pavić-Pezer (2014a, 2014b, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013d), Franić-Glamuzina, Grbaš Jakšić, Matijaščić, Peić, Randić Đorđević, Žic, Motik, Sušac, Katalinić, Rimac Jurinović, Haukka (2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013d, 2013e, 2013f), Kajganić, Močnik, Bogdanović (2009a, 2009b, 2009c), Močnik, Bogdanović (2009a, 2009b), Motik, Sušac, Katalinić, Rimac Jurinović, Haukka (2013, 2013b, 2013c), Jurić Stanković, Šimić, Šodan, Haukka (2013a, 2013b), Jurić Stanković, Šimić, Šodan (2013), Kovač, Bežen, Jukić (2014a, 2014b), Kovač, Jukić (2014a, 2014b, 2014c), Kovač, Jukić, Bašić (2014), Kovač, Jukić, Juričev-Dumpavlov (2014a, 2014b), Kurtak (2009a, 2009b), Rihtarić, Marijačić, Levak (2014a, 2014b), Rihtarić, Marijačić, Ružić (2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d), Rihtarić, Marijačić (2014a, 2014b) and Zrinjanin (2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2003d, 2008a, 2008b). Rezultati pokazuju koliko je varijantnost hrvatskoga jezika zastupljena i na koji je način obrađena u udžbenicima. Također omogućuju iščitavanje implicitnog stava prema varijantnosti i pravilnosti u hrvatskome jeziku, a posredno pokazuju i utjecaj hrvatske jezične politike od devedesetih godina prošloga stoljeća do danas na poučavanje predmeta *Hrvatski jezik*.

Ključne riječi: poučavanje hrvatskog jezika, udžbenici hrvatskog jezika, jezična varijantnost i pravilnost

Attitudes towards the standard in teaching Croatian as L1 as an indirect result of Croatia's language policy and planning

A national language policy is reflected in various domains, including school curricula and language teaching in schools, primarily in first language teaching. In previous work on the influence of language policy and planning on first language teaching Kalogjera (1965, 2012), Petrc (2015), and Haţegan and Udier (2016) addressed the harmful effect of a rigid approach to the standard variety in school education, as well as the harmful effect of stigmatizing non-standard varieties. This paper analyses the influence of language policy and planning on teaching *language variability* within the school subject *Hrvatski jezik* [Croatian language] in Croatia's primary and secondary schools. Variability is

one of the basic properties of language at all its levels – it is through its inherent variability that language (defined as a totality of varieties) performs various social functions. Variability should therefore be included in Croatian language teaching, even when dealing with the standard variety, which has an especially prominent role and status in Western societies and which has traditionally been understood as the invariable, fully and binarily codified variety (*correct/incorrect*) (Bartsch 1985, Škiljan 1988, Dittmar 1997, Milroy and Milroy 2012). So far research has been conducted on variability in teaching Croatian as a *second* language (Udier and Gulešić Machata 2011a, 2011b) while variability in teaching Croatian as a *first* language (or as a *second dialect*, Siegel 2010) is still underexplored.

The research which will be presented in this paper has been carried out in order to determine (a) the current place of language variability in Croatian language teaching, (b) the approach in grammatical descriptions of variability, and (c) attitudes towards the standard variety in teaching the school subject *Hrvatski jezik*. Since Croatian language teaching is mostly based on published and approved textbooks, an analysis has been carried out of the grammatical descriptions and the attitudes towards variability and the standard variety in textbooks for the subject *Hrvatski jezik* in primary and secondary schools published in the last five years: Bagić, Katalinić, Motik, Rimac Jurinović, Sušac (2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013e, 2013f), Bagić, Jurić Stanković, Šimić, Šodan (2013a, 2013b), Bišćan, Dresto, Miloloža (2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d, 2014e, 2014f, 2014g, 2014h), Čubrić (2003, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d), Družijančić Hajdarević, Lovrenčić Rojc, Lugarić, Lugomer (2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d), Družijančić Hajdarević, Lugarić, Romić, Sykora-Nagy (2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d), Dujmović Markusi, Bogdanović, Mlačić-Brakus (2014a, 2014b), Dujmović Markusi, Pavić-Pezer (2014a, 2014b, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013d), Franić-Glamuzina, Grbaš Jakšić, Matijaščić, Peić, Randić Đorđević, Žic, Motik, Sušac, Katalinić, Rimac Jurinović, Haukka (2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013d, 2013e, 2013f), Kajganić, Močnik, Bogdanović (2009a, 2009b, 2009c), Močnik, Bogdanović (2009a, 2009b), Motik, Sušac, Katalinić, Rimac Jurinović, Haukka (2013, 2013b, 2013c), Jurić Stanković, Šimić, Šodan, Haukka (2013a, 2013b), Jurić Stanković, Šimić, Šodan (2013), Kovač, Bežen, Jukić (2014a, 2014b), Kovač, Jukić (2014a, 2014b, 2014c), Kovač, Jukić, Bašić (2014), Kovač, Jukić, Juričev-Dumpavlov (2014a, 2014b), Kurtak (2009a, 2009b), Rihtarić, Marijačić, Levak (2014a, 2014b), Rihtarić, Marijačić, Ružić (2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d), Rihtarić, Marijačić (2014a, 2014b) and Zrinjanin (2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2003d, 2008a, 2008b). The results show the extent to which variability of Croatian is present in textbooks and the manner in which it is present-

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Naglasci u govoru jezikoslovaca kroatista

Naglasna norma hrvatskoga standardnog jezika izaziva stalne i velike prijepore u jezikoslovnim krugovima i u javnosti što govori o njezinoj neustaljenosti i nestabilnosti. Implementacija standarda odvija se ponajprije u obrazovnom procesu, iako ne i samo u njemu. Mediji, javni istupi i pedagoška praksa prilike su u kojima se treba ostvarivati općeobvezatni tip standardnoga jezika. Iako bi nastavnici trebali biti model prema kojem učenici oblikuju svoje govorne i jezične kompetencije, rezultati pedagoških i lingvističkih istraživanja govore o neučinkovitosti institucionalnog učenja hrvatskoga jezika u školi, o zanemarivanju ortoepskih vježbi i usmenoga izražavanja te pokazuju da neki učitelji ni sami nisu usvojili naglasni i glasovni sustav hrvatskoga jezika, pa da zato i ne rade s učenicima na razvijanju pravogovorne norme (Težak 1996, Pavličević-Franić 2005, Martinović i Pudić 2013). Uzor bi trebali biti i medijski govornici te govornici koji javno istupaju, ali ni oni to često nisu (Jonke 1956, Škavić 1994, Škarić i Varošanec-Škarić 1996, Delaš 2003). Profesionalnim, modelskim govornicima pripadaju i jezikoslovci kroatisti. Kao osobe koje se profesionalno bave jezikoslovljem i kao govornici hrvatskoga standardnoga jezika, upravo bi oni trebali biti najuzorniji govornici. Njihov je zadatak i poziv ne samo normu učiniti stabilnom, nego je i primjenjivati pa su istodobno i donositelji i nositelji hrvatskoga standardnoga izgovora. U ovom će se radu istražiti pridržavaju li se jezikoslovci kroatisti kodificirane akcentuacije, uživa li hrvatska kodificirana prozodija prestižnost među hrvatskim jezikoslovcima. Metodologija kojom se služimo jest analiza govorenoga korpusa koji obuhvaća snimke jezičnih savjeta 32 hrvatska jezikoslovca kroatista emitirane od rujna 2015. do veljače 2016. godine u Obrazovnom programu Prvoga programa Hrvatskoga radija u emisiji *Govorimo hrvatski.* Zbog utjecaja rečenične intonacije na ton riječi, istraživat će se samo naglasni ostvaraji na remama, u silaznim intonacijskim jezgrama jer se samo u njima u potpunosti mogu ostvariti naglasci riječi (Škarić 1999). Startni su jezici analiziranih hrvatskih jezikoslovaca različiti i to je čujno u njihovim naglasnim ostvarajima. U radu smo ih podijelili u dvije skupine (Pletikos Olof, Vlašić Duić i Martinović 2016): one koji pripadaju novoštokavskom idiomu i imaju visinski ili tonsko-dinamički, četvero-

naglasni sustavu s kračinama i zanaglasnim dužinama te one koji dolaze iz varijeteta u kojem je naglasni sustav udarni ili dinamički i u kojem se razlikuju dugi i kratki naglašeni slogovi, ali bez tonske razlike i zanaglasne dužine. Specifičnost je udarnoga naglasnoga sustava mjesto naglaska koje često odudara od mjesta naglaska u standardnome jeziku, dok opreka po trajanju može i ne mora postojati. Iako se jezikoslovci koji dolaze iz nenovoštokavskih krajeva trude ostvarivati četveronaglasni sustav s kračinama i zanaglasnim dužinama, ipak nerijetko ostvaruju udarne naglaske te se potvrđuje da na primjenu naglasne norme utječe razlika startnoga idioma i standardnoga, tj. da je organski prozodijski temelj i kod jezikoslovaca vrlo otporan. U analizi rezultata pokušat ćemo odgovoriti na pitanja: što odstupanja od naglasne norme govore o samoj normi i očekujemo li od jezikoslovaca kroatista previše.

Ključne riječi: jezikoslovci kroatisti, naglasna norma, modelski govornici

Lexical accents in the speech of linguist Croatists

The accent norm of the Croatian standard language provokes great and continual dispute among both linguists and the general public, which indicates the instability of the norm. The implementation of the standard language is mainly realized in the educational process, though not only there. The media, public appearances and the educational process are the situations where the normative standard is expected. Although teachers should be the models on which students form their speech and language competencies, the results of teaching and linguistic research show the ineffectiveness of institutional learning of the Croatian language at school. Orthoepic exercise and oral expression is neglected because some teachers themselves have not mastered the system of lexical accents of the Croatian language, so they don't work with students on the orthoepic norm (Težak, 1996; Pavličević-Franić, 2005; Martinović i Pudić, 2013). Media speakers and others who speak in public should also be role models, but usually they are not (Jonke, 1956; Škavić, 1994; Škarić i Varošanec-Škarić, 1996; Delaš, 2003). A particular group of potential role models is that of Croatists who are also linguists. Because they are professionally engaged in linguistics and are also speakers of the Croatian standard language they should be the most exemplary speakers. Their mission and their vocation is to make the norm stable, but also to apply it, therefore they are at the same time makers and bearers of the Croatian standard pronunciation. This paper will explore whether linguist Croatists adhere to codified accentuation, and whether codified Croatian prosody has prestige among them. The methodology that we use in this paper

is the analysis of the speech corpus that includes the commentaries of 32 Croatian linguists broadcast from September 2015 to February 2016 on Croatian Radio in the educational program *We speak Croatian*. Because of an interplay between lexical tone and sentence intonation, we will investigate only lexical accents in the most distinctive part of the intonational phrase in Croatian (the `focus'), more precisely in falling focus, because lexical accents can be fully realized only in them (Škarić, 1999). The native idioms of the analyzed Croatian linguists are different and it is perceptible in their accentual achievements. We divided them in two groups (Pletikos Olof, Vlašić Duić and Martinović, 2016): those whose Neoštokavian dialect contains four types of lexical accents that are traditionally called long-falling, long-rising, short-falling and short-rising accents, as well as long and short post-accentual length (the pitch-accent group), and those whose native idiom has the stress-accent system with long and short accented syllables, but without differences in tone and without the post-accentual length. Although the linguists from non-Neoštokavian dialect try to realize four types of lexical accents with long and short post-accentual length, they still generate stress-accents. The difference between the native idioms and standard language strongly affects the implementation of the standard accent, ie. the native prosodic base is very resistant even for linguists. We will try to answer the questions: what can identified deviations from the accent norm tell us about the norm itself, and do we expect too much from linguist Croatists?

Keywords: linguist Croatists, accent norm, model speakers

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Linguistic-ideological guide through Slovak social structures

The author deals with the linguistic reflection of social structures (power), thereby an impact of language on power structures (Wodak 2007).

We consider language ideologies an efficient explanatory tool of the relation between language and power (Fairclough, Wodak, van Leeuwen) and an ideological background of language policy. The aim of the presentation is to provide a guide of Slovak language ideologies as were (and are) articulated by various discourses.

The paper deals with the linkage of the Slovak language and Slovak nation as is articulated by the institutional discourse (as the one balancing between the discourse of public administration and political kind of discourse), political and laic (non-expert) discourse.

There is an Act on Slovak language in Slovak legislation and hence a very need to define language expressly. It has appeared as a strict language scheme which consists of terms like language regularities, language rules, literally „the laws of language".The aim of the paper is to provide an insight into the language management based on the content analyses of the key documents. The authors focus also on the conflict of regulations (with a diverse legal force) and the real language practice. We seek to point to particular problematic moments in the legal "care" of the official or majority language, i.e. the state language as used in the Slovak legal discourse. The article is to contribute to the polemic on the non/compatibility of professional and legal concepts (norm, disposition, codification).

For instance, in effort to demark the correct expressions from the wrong ones and then, in addition, to justify sanctions for violation of the Law on the „state language" (literal translation of the term official language), the simple model and norms are needed. Institutions work with the concept definition of language, based on a very specific ideology „systemism". Language is considered as a structure of clearly decidable grammar and lexical rules, even the language practice is contrary in numerous cases.

The author does an analysis on this official language ideology and compares it to the conceptualizations of language run by different discourses represent-

ing unofficial language ideologies (there have been two other researches made which provide an interesting illustration of different views on language – questionnaires and political speeches analysis). She asks how different schemes of language are related to specific needs of their authors.

Keywords: language ideology, language policy, language conceptualization

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Leksička struktura suvremenoga zadarskog govora

Suvremeni govor grada Zadra čini mješavina interdijalekata dvaju narječja, štokavskoga i čakavskoga, za svaki dijalekt po jedan interdijalekt, srednjoča-kavski, južnočakavski te zapadni bosanskoherecegovački i istočnohercegovač-ki (Lisac 1999). Stoga je sinkronijska situacija urbanog govora grada Zadra kao takvog rezultat utjecaja novoštokavštine iz zaleđa, čakavske ikavice južnih idi-oma na obali te standardnoga jezika.

Grad je Zadar kroz povijest trpio česte promjene vlasti i migracije koje su se onda odrazile i na sam govor grada, ili su se donosili novi govori ili bi se potvr-đivali stari. Prvi hrvatski idiomi u Zadru i okolici pripadali su čakavskom nar-ječju, odnosno dijalektima koji će tek postati (Brozović 1975/76: 52). Na otoci-ma pored Zadra proteže se ikavsko-ekavski srednjočakavski dijalekt, te na po-jasu uz more južnočakavski ikavski dijalekt, koji u tim oblicima žive još od 13. stoljeća. Stalnim prodorom Mlečana i prije 1409. godine mletački idiom done-sen je u Zadar, koji je, iako obojen kolonijalnim crtama, bio zapravo govor gra-da Venecije. No nakon najezde Turaka većina se Varošana preselila u Stanove, time su bili bliži svojim poljima, te tako održali 'izvornu' čakavštinu ovog po-dručja. Ujedno su to i početci velikih štokavskih migracija, izazvanih osmanlij-skom invazijom, koje na zadarsko područje dolaze kao predstavnici dvaju no-voštokavskih štakavskih dijalekata, od kojih su prvo došli ikavci (južni ili za-padnohercegovački tip s *-l* > *-a*, primjerice *bija*, *doša*), te zauzeli predio bliže moru, a zatim slijede ijekavci (istočnohercegovački tip) i naseljavaju predio do njih (Brozović 1975/76: 53). Lisac potvrđuje kako (1996: 521) štokavci ikavci jako utječu prvenstveno na čakavske kopnene govore, naime jasno je vidljivo i u današnjem govoru stapanje tih dvaju elemenata, starosjedilačkoga i došljač-koga. Tijekom 20 st. često se je mijenjala jezična slika, osobito nakon II. svjet-skog rata kad grad biva porušen i opustošen čime se znatno mijenja njegova de-mografska struktura. Standardni jezik, obrazovanje, mediji i novi jezični mo-deli i prestiži sve više utječu na vrlo raznolike lokalne i individualne hrvatske govore. Iako je i dalje prisutna varijanta općedalmatinskog razgovornog jezika pogotovo u izrazima (*uvatiti tufinu*, *falija san*, itd), novoštokavski iz zaleđa, te standardni obrazovni modeli utječu na govornike koji se sve više približavaju standardnim jezičnim modelima (Marković 2012: 318).

Na fonološkoj razini govorimo o elementima tih dijalekata očituju se prije svega u naglasnim posebnostima. Naime, lokalni naglasni varijeteti uključuju štokavsku i čakavsku akcentuaciju. Iako je akcentuacija uglavnom novoštokavska, među nekim se riječima, i to uglavnom romanizmima, bilježe i čakavska naglasna mjesta, npr.: *kušîn*, *lancûn*, *šugamân* u odnosu na mjesto siline u standardnom jeziku, npr.: *kùšīn*, *làncūn*, *šugàman* itd. Prisutnost dijalekata najvidljivija je u tvorbi glagolskih oblika, od ishodišnoga infinitivnog oblika do glagolskih oblika za tvorbu budućih glagolskih vremena. Naime, infinitivi su uglavnom krnji: *ûnit*, *sìtit*, *varit* 'kuhati'. Međutim, nerijetko se bilježe i primjeri *čèšļati*, *bràti*, *ìstrēsti.*

Aktualna je jezična slika uvelike povezana sa sociolingvističkim razlozima stoga se čini vrijednim spomenuti kako neformalna komunikacija utječe na slobodu govora, a urbani govor grada Zadra povezan je sa svakodnevnim migracijama stanovnika, s obližnjih otoka ili iz zaleđa. Unatoč navedenim migracijama, valja naglasiti kako štokavski varijetet ima prestiž u odnosu na čakavski, a onda gradski govor u odnosu na onaj iz zaleđa. Osim toga danas je urbani govor grada pod utjecajem medija i novijih jezičnih modela. Stoga će se u radu, osim spomenutih fonoloških i morfoloških karakteristika staviti naglasak na prisutnosti leksičkih elemenata obaju dijalekata koji ulaze u suvremeni govor grada Zadra.

Ključne riječi: leksik, štokavski varijetet, čakavski varijetet, urbani govor

Lexical structure of modern Zadar speech

Modern speech of the town of Zadar is a mixture of interdialects of two dialects, and each of these two dialects is composed of one interdialect – middle Čakavian, southern Čakavian, as well as western Bosnian and Herzegovinian and eastern Herzegovian (Lisac, 1999). Therefore, the synchronic situation of Zadar urban speech as such is the result of the influence of Neo-Štokavian dialect from the hinterland, Čakavian Ikavian southern idioms used in the coastal area, and standard language.

Throughout history, the town of Zadar experienced many administration changes and migrations, which had a profound impact on the urban speech – either new speeches were introduced or the old ones were confirmed. The first Croatian idioms in Zadar and its surroundings belonged to Čakavian dialect, i.e. to the dialects that would form only later (Brozović, 1975/76:52). Zadar Islands are characterized by Ikavian-Ekavian middle Čakavian dialect, while in

the coastal area the population uses southern Čakavian Ikavian dialect, all of which have existed in these areas since the 13th century. Even before 1409, the Venetian idiom had occurred in Zadar due through constant Venetian invasions, and although the colonial influence was present in that idiom, it was actually the speech used in the town of Venice. However, after the Turkish invasion, most of the population that lived in Varoš moved to Stanove so that they could be closer to their fields, thus keeping the "original" Čakavian dialect characteristic of this area. This was also the beginning of great Štokavian migrations caused by Ottoman invasion, which included the representatives of two Neo-Štokavian dialects. The first ones to come were those using Ikavian variant (southern or western Herzegovinian type with *-l > -a*, for example, *bija*, *doša*) who settled in the areas located near the sea. They were then followed by those using Ijekavian variant (eastern Herzegovinian type), who settled in the vicinity of the former (Brozović, 1975/76:53). Lisac (1996:521) confirms that those who used Štokavian Ikavian variant had a significant influence on primarily Čakavian mainland speech, and it is clearly visible in present-day speech, which is a combination of two elements – native speech and the newcomers' speech. Throughout the 20th century, the linguistic image changed constantly, particularly after the Second World War, when the town was devastated and the population structure changed. Various local and individual Croatian speeches have been influenced increasingly by the standard language, education, media, new linguistic models and prestige. Although the general Dalmatian informal speech is still present, especially in different phrases (such as, *uvatiti tufinu*, *falija san* etc.), the Neo-Štokavian speech from the hinterland and standard educational models influence the speakers, whose speech is increasingly closer to standard linguistic models (Marković, 2012:318).

On phonological level, the elements of the above-mentioned dialect are reflected primarily in accentual features. Namely, local accentual varieties include Štokavian and Čakavian accentuation. Although the accentuation is mostly Neo-Štokavian, there are words, mostly of Roman origin, that are pronounced with Čakavian accentuation, such as *kušîn*, *lancûn*, *šugamân*, which would in standard language be pronounced as kùšīn, làncūn, šugàman etc. Presence of dialects is the most clearly visible in forming the verb forms, from the infinitive form to the verb forms used in future tenses. Namely, the infinitive forms are mostly incomplete (*ûnit, sìtit, varit /*meaning *kuhati/*). However, there are often other forms such as *čèšļati*, *bràti*, *ìstrēsti*.

Contemporary linguistic image is closely related to sociolinguistic reasons, so it is important to mention that informal communication influences the choice

of speech, and Zadar urban speech is connected to daily commuting of the population from the islands and the hinterland. Regardless of the influence of the commuting, the Štokavian variety is more prestigious in comparison to the Čakavian one, as well as the urban speech in comparison to the speech used in the hinterland, which is also based on Štokavian dialect. Moreover, the urban speech in Zadar has been influenced by media and new linguistic models. In accordance with the aforesaid, this paper will not only address phonological and morphological features, but also the presence of lexical elements of both dialects that form the modern speech in Zadar.

Keywords: lexicon, Štokavian variety, Čakavian variety, urban speech

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Who's to decide?: Insider and outsider conceptions of identity of the Vlashki/Zheyanski speakers

The Vlashki/Zheyanski language (ISO 639-3: ruo; Istro-Romanian) is a severely endangered language spoken in two small enclave areas on the Istrian peninsula in Croatia. The communities are in the final stages of a gradual language shift to Croatian.

Based on information obtained by sociolinguistic questionnaires and the analysis of oral history narratives and focus group conversations, this paper discusses the multiple identities negotiated and embraced by the community members living in the multiethnic and multilingual border region of Istria. It then contrasts them with the more simplistic, primordialist and nationalist conceptions of their identity espoused by the outsiders.

Vlashki/Zheyanski speakers commonly express affiliation with one or more national identities – Croatian and/or Italian – in combination with Istrian regional identity, all similarly shared with their Croatian-speaking neighbors. At the same time, they stress the importance of their affiliation to the villages, in which Vlashki/Zheyanski plays a critical symbolic role. Istria has changed political hands four times in just the last one hundred years and its inhabitants' identity is often fluid and layered, standing in contrast to other areas of Croatia, as well as the wider Balkan region, where more nationalist attitudes prevail.

We discuss the case of Romanian politicians, as well as linguists, who strive to provide these communities with an unequivocal national label – Romanian. This attitude is reflected in the Romanian government's policies and attitudes toward the language and its speakers as well as in longstanding political pressures on the community. While the community members are largely aware of the fact that they speak a language with historical ties to modern Romanian, they have a clear sense of historical and cultural difference between themselves and Romanians and do not consider themselves members of a minority or a diaspora associated with a kin nation. In fact, there is a history of resistance in the community to nationalizing labels and minoritizing actions taken by these outsiders. This longstanding misconception of the group's identity and/or disregard for their identity choices seems to have had a role in the community's lan-

guage shift to Croatian. The irritation and embarrassment of resisting the imposition of a national identity they do not associate with has had the effect to distance many community members, in particular, the young generation, from their linguistic heritage and the associated distinctive identity as well.

Keywords: Istro-Romanian, insider/outsider conceptions of identity, multiple identities, nationalism

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„Stolova noga" ili o kategoriji živosti u novijim priručnicima hrvatskoga jezika

Ovaj rad donosi pregled te primjere ograničenja koje semantička kategorija živosti nameće gramatičkim opisima hrvatskog standardnog jezika. Predmet analize su jezični priručnici objavljeni od 1986. godine naovamo. Težište je na gramatikama standardnoga hrvatskoga jezika.

Prema jezičnim razinama na koje se usmjeruje rad je podijeljen na dvije cjeline.

U prvom se dijelu donosi pregled i opis imenica koje priručnici u po-glavljima posvećenim morfologiji opisuju obilježjem [+ živo]. Većinom je riječ o poznatim i ustaljenim ograničenjima vezanim uz njihovu uporabu. Od posebnog su interesa za rad imenička kategorija padeža (*tko* spram *što*) te glagolska lica (prvo spram trećega). Pri analizi se tvorbe riječi rad usmjera-va na pridjeve izvedene od imenica označenih obilježjem [+ živo], odnosno [– živo].

U drugom se dijelu donosi pregled sintaktičkih konstrukcija u kojima živost ima ključnu ulogu. U oba je dijela posebna pažnja poklonjena terminološ-kim nedosljednostima pri opisu obilježja i nositelja obilježja promatrane kate-gorije u odabranim priručnicima.

Ključne riječi: kategorija živosti, semantička obilježja, gramatički opis

"Table's leg" or: about the category of animacy in recent Croatian linguistic handbooks

This paper presents an overview as well as examples of restrictions which the semantic category of animacy imposes on grammatical descriptions of standard Croatian language. Subjects of analysis are lingustic handbooks pub-lished since 1986; focus is on grammars of standard Croatian language.

The paper is divided in two parts, each correspoding to the lingustic level used in analysis.

Part one brings forth an overview followed by description of nouns which are described as [+ living] in chapters of handbooks devoted to morphology. Most of the restrictions noted are well known and commonly found. The paper takes special interest in the nominal category of case (*who* vs. *what*) and verbal category of person (first person vs. third person). When analysing word formation the paper focuses on adjectives derived from nouns marked as [+ living] and [- living].

Part two represents an overview of syntactic constructions strongly marked by animacy. Both parts of paper take special interest in terminogical inconsistencies used when describing features and carriers of features of category analysed in selected handbooks.

Keywords: category of animacy, semantic features, grammatic description