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Yugoslavia, a country with a population of about 20,000,000, has as official languages Macedonian, Slovenian, and Serbo-Croatian. The latter is the cause of much controversy, for while Croatian and Serbian indisputably have a common linguistic base, the political and economic tensions between the two "nationalities" augment disagreement on the different usage of the two dialects and prevent the establishment of a single "standard" for the entire republic. The author concludes that "scholarly work in Serbo-Croatian/Serbian/Croatian linguistics has come to a virtual standstill" and that future contributions will come "from outside the country." (MK)

THOMAS F. MAGNER

**Language and Nationalism  
in Yugoslavia**

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THOMAS F. MAGNER

## *Language and Nationalism in Yugoslavia*

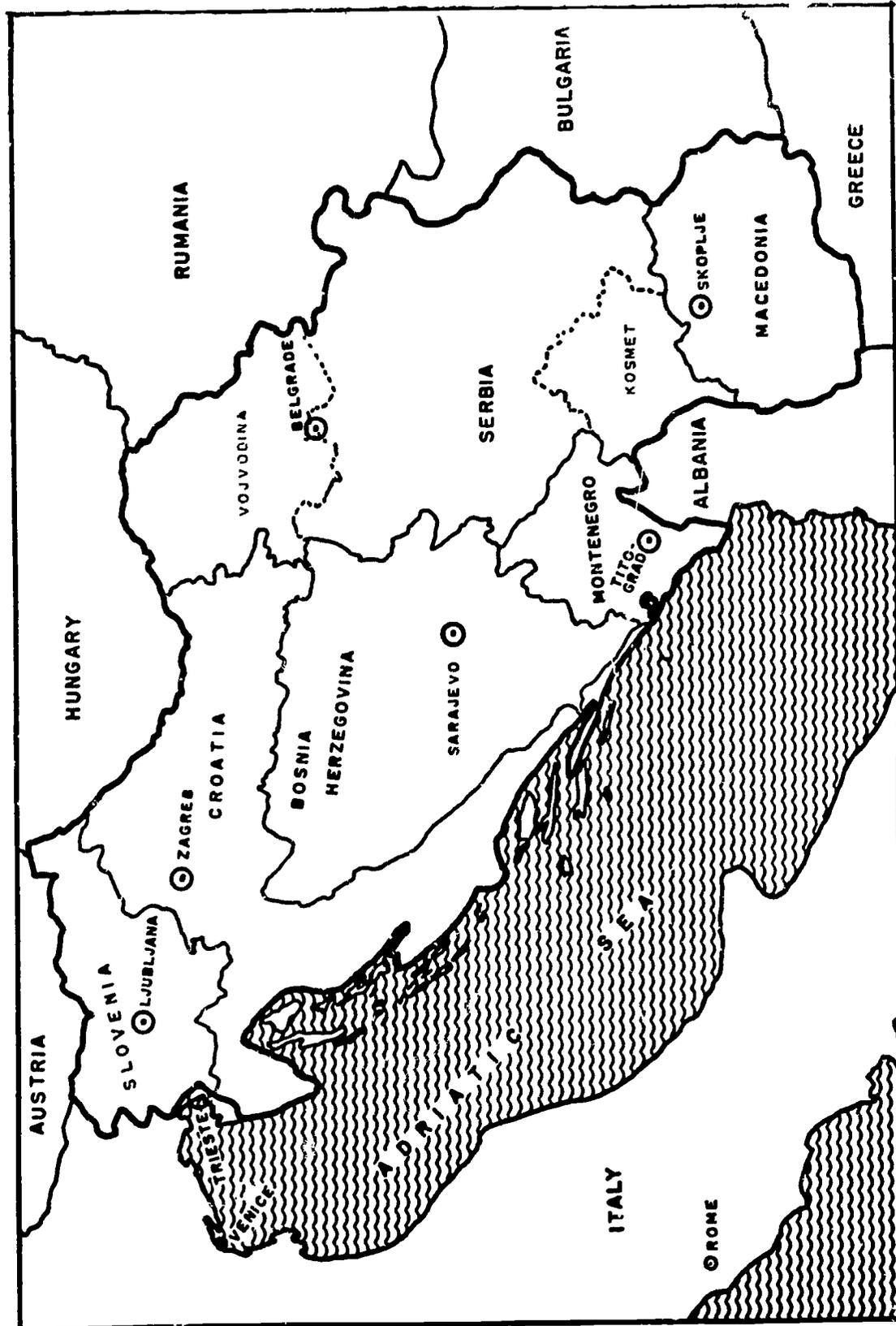
Yugoslavia, a small country with an estimated population for 1966 of 19,756,000,<sup>1</sup> has a rather large number of constituent nationalities. Using the 1961 census figure of 18,549,000 as a base, the statistical handbook lists the following nationalities having over 100,000 members: Serbs — 7,806,000; Croats — 4,294,000; Slovenes — 1,589,000; Macedonians — 1,046,000; Moslems — 973,000; Albanians — 915,000; Montenegrins — 514,000; Hungarians — 504,000; Yugoslavs non-specified — 317,000; and Turks — 183,000. The other nationalities, ranging in numbers from 86,000 (Slovaks) to 1,000 (Austrians) include Slovaks, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Gypsies, Czechs, Italians, Germans, Russians, Vlachs, Poles, Jews, Greeks, and Austrians. Of the larger groups the Albanians or Shiptars are located in their autonomous region of Kosovo-Metohija in southern Serbia and in contiguous areas of Macedonia and Montenegro (see map); the Hungarians are mainly in Vojvodina, an autonomous region of northern Serbia; and the Turks are mainly in Macedonia. The distribution of the other major groups among the six republics of Yugoslavia is shown in the following table.

	Serbia	Croatia	Monte- negro	Bosnia and Herzogo- vina	Slovenia	Macedonia
Serbs	5,705,000	625,000	14,000	1,406,000	14,000	43,000
Croats	196,000	3,340,000	11,000	712,000	31,000	4,000
Montenegrins	105,000	7,000	384,000	13,000	1,000	3,000
Moslems	93,000	3,000	31,000	842,000	0	3,000
Yugoslavs non-specified	20,000	16,000	2,000	276,000	3,000	1,000
Slovenes	20,000	39,000	1,000	6,000	1,522,000	1,000
Macedonians	36,000	4,000	1,000	2,000	1,000	1,001,000

The Montenegrins, who have historically considered themselves to be both Montenegrins and Serbs, are now officially classified simply as Montenegrins;<sup>2</sup> their distribution, as shown above, bears out the

1. *Statistički kalendar Jugoslavije 1966* (Belgrade, 1966), pp. 20-25.  
2. Milovan Djilas now feels that there is no such thing as a "separate Montenegrin nationality"; see pp. 420-421 of his latest book, *Njegoš* (New York, 1966).

### Yugoslavia



usual comment that one out of every five Montenegrins is outside the republic while the large number of them in Serbia gives credence to the current jest that Belgrade is now the largest city in Montenegro. The Moslem category in the census is the only one, save that of the Jews, based on a criterion of religion; the census category of "Yugoslav non-specified" is for the most part an escape mechanism for Yugoslavs of Moslem background who do not wish to be so labeled. If one adds the 276,000 "Yugoslav non-specified" in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the 842,000 Moslems in that republic, a new group emerges, one larger than the Macedonians who have their own republic.

Against this multi-national background I plan in this paper to discuss problems of language and nationalism chiefly as they relate to the speakers of Serbo-Croatian, the language which is spoken by some three-fourths of the population. Serbo-Croatian is one of the three major Slavic languages in Yugoslavia, the other two being Slovenian and Macedonian, which are spoken in the republics so named. Serbo-Croatian is then the native language of Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Moslems,<sup>3</sup> and most of the "Yugoslavs non-specified", particularly those in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The foundations of the Serbo-Croatian standard language were laid in the first half of the nineteenth century principally by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787-1864), a Serb, and Ljudevit Gaj (1809-1872), a Croat; Karadžić or Vuk, as he is commonly referred to, made the first important contribution to the codification of Serbo-Croatian with the publication in Vienna of his Serbian dictionary (and grammar) in 1818. As the basis for his description of the grammar and lexicon, Vuk used his own dialect,<sup>4</sup> that of Tršić in

3. It is, of course, possible to be of the Moslem faith and not be a member of the Moslem "nationality", e.g. many Yugoslav Albanians (Shiptars) are Moslem in their religion. Serbs and Croats also refer to Serbian Moslems and Croatian Moslems in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but such references are unsupported by exact data. Given the present census categories a person of the Moslem religion in Bosnia and Herzegovina can define himself as a Serb, a Croat, a Moslem, or a "Yugoslav non-specified", and he can redefine his nationality status at a succeeding census. The movement of some Moslems in Bosnia and Herzegovina from nationality category to nationality category, depending on perceived interests, has earned them the name of *suncokret*, "sunflower", types.

4. Serbo-Croatian dialects are traditionally classified as *štokavian*, *čakavian*, or *kajkavian*, the name deriving from a dialect's choice of form for the interrogative pronoun "what": *što*, *čta*, or *kaj*. Serbo-Croatian dialects can also be distinguished according to their representation of Common Slavic "jat", for example, Com. Sl. *mlěko*, "milk", > S-Cr. *mlijeko* (ijekavian)/*mleko* (ekavian)/*mliko* (ikavian); Com. Sl. *město*, "place", > S-Cr. *mjesto* (ijekavian)/*mesto* (ekavian)/*misto* (ikavian). Vuk's dialect was, then, *štokavian-ijekavian*; modern Serbo-Croatian is *štokavian-ijekavian* in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro, but *štokavian-ekavian* in Serbia. The two alphabets in use, one Cyrillic and one Latin, are mutually convertible; all school-children in the Serbo-Croatian speech area learn both alphabets but, in practice, the use of the Cyrillic alphabet is limited to Serbia and Montenegro.

western Serbia, which represented the more general type of eastern Herzegovina, the home of Vuk's ancestors. Vuk's disciple, Djuro Daničić (1825-1882), helped in refining the grammatical canon and in norming the accentuation.

In the year 1850 Vuk and Daničić, representing the Serbs, signed a *Književni dogovor*, "Literary Agreement," in Vienna along with the representatives of the Croats, Dimitrije Demeter, Ivan Kukuljević and Ivan Mažuranić. The substance of the agreement was that the Croats and Serbs would both use the same dialect of Serbo-Croatian, specifically Vuk's dialect, as the basis for a common standard language. The Croats of the Illyrian movement, led by Gaj, had already in 1836 abandoned their kajkavian dialect in favor of štokavian, which was the more wide-spread dialect in the Serbo-Croatian speech area; by this new agreement the Croats and the Serbs were simply agreeing to select one of the štokavian dialects, namely ijekavian rather than ekavian or ikavian. The decision of the Illyrian Croats to jettison kajkavian(-ekavian), a literary language with some 300 years of tradition, and then to select štokavian(-ijekavian) was idealistic and, as it turned out, unrealistic, characteristic attributes for the romantic nationalist movements of that time.

Though Croatian and Serbian followed similar paths of development, the differences in the cultural and political settings of the Croats and Serbs (Yugoslavia has been a nation only since 1918) brought about differences in terminology and language usage; one of the most striking divergences (as viewed against the 1850 agreement) was the abandonment by the Serbs of the ijekavian model of their great folk-hero, Vuk Karadžić, in favor of the ekavian usage native to eastern and northern Serbia. In 1954, slightly more than a hundred years after the signing of the "Literary Agreement", representatives of the Croats, Serbs, and Montenegrins met in Novi Sad and signed a similar agreement<sup>5</sup> which affirmed that the "spoken language of Serbs, Croats, and Montenegrins is one language" with a uniform literary standard developed in Belgrade and Zagreb. The Novi Sad agreement further declared that the standard language has two equally acceptable pronunciations, ijekavian and ekavian, and that the language may be represented either in *latinica*, the Latin alphabet developed by the Croats, or in *ćirilica*, the Cyrillic system perfected by Vuk. Serbs and Croats, the agreement continued, should learn both alphabets while, for some reason, the Montenegrins were not included in this injunction. One irony now institutionalized by this agreement is the fact that Croatian Zagreb,

5. Details of this agreement will be found on pp. 7 ff. in *Pravopis hrvatskosrpskoga književnog jezika s pravopisnim rječnikom* (Zagreb and Novi Sad, 1960).

located in ekavian territory,<sup>6</sup> is the legal heir to Vuk's ijekavian dialect. A concrete result of the Novi Sad agreement was the preparation of a common *pravopis*,<sup>7</sup> an orthographic dictionary, which appeared in 1960 in two versions, *latinica* and *ćirilica*; it contains over 800 pages of standardized spellings and accentuations.

Though the Novi Sad agreement brought about a needed normalization of many minor points of language usage, it was essentially a status quo agreement and failed to deal with matters of language policy which have assumed greater importance as Serbs and Croats began to "jockey for position" in the more liberal Yugoslavia of the 1960's. The first major outburst of language controversy took place at Sarajevo in September 1965 at the Fifth Congress of Yugoslav Slavists. There, the discussion about norms of the Serbo-Croatian language, stemming from the principal paper of Professor Milka Ivić<sup>8</sup> of the University of Novi Sad, developed into a heated controversy which continues to this day. Mrs. Ivić's paper was evidently not meant to be a controversial one; it seems rather to be a common-sense appeal for an updating of the "grammatical canon" of Serbo-Croatian, first by effecting a thorough description of actual usage, then by prescription or selection of viable norms. She pointed out that the language description of the past century is no longer pertinent and, in addition, that the language usage of the illiterate peasant can no longer serve as a model since today the language prestige belongs to the educated city-dweller. In this *aggiornamento* of Serbo-Croatian, account should be taken not only of literary models but also of the language of the press, television, and film. Although this last point seems reasonable enough to a western linguist, it was not well received by the principal Croatian representative, Professor Ljudevit Jonke, who contended that the best writers (whom he specified) should be the models.<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Ivić further pointed out that "our linguistic reality today is this: there exist two basic variants of that which is commonly called the literary language...; one variant is spoken chiefly in the eastern half of the Serbo-Croatian language territory (where the largest cultural center is Belgrade), while the other is spoken chiefly in the western half (with Zagreb as the main center)." This term "variant" (*varijanta*) has held the spotlight ever since, and I shall return to it. Mrs. Ivić also pointed

6. A detailed account of the language situation in Zagreb will be found in my monograph, *A Zagreb Kajkavian Dialect*, Penn. State Studies No. 18, 112 pp., 1966.

7. The title of the *latinica* edition is given in footnote 5 above; the *ćirilica* edition has the title, here given, in *latinica*, *Pravopis srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika s pravopisnim rečnikom*.

8. "Problem norme u književnom jeziku." The paper was published in *Jezik* (Zagreb), No. 1, 1965, pp. 1-8.

9. Jonke, "Problem norme u hrvatskosrpskom jeziku," *Jezik*, No. 1, 1965, pp. 12-13.

to the need of examining the accentual situation in Serbo-Croatian and assessing the present-day reality.<sup>10</sup>

A non-Yugoslav linguist reading the reports of the Sarajevo meeting and subsequent polemical articles<sup>11</sup> about the Serbo-Croatian "variants" soon realizes that more is involved here than simple language description. What is mirrored in these Lilliputian charges and countercharges are significant changes in the Yugoslav political system: running parallel to the present government policy of economic decentralization is a powerful tendency toward political decentralization, toward regional and national autonomy. The consequent nationality tensions have been noted and deplored in the Yugoslav press but in such general terms (for example, "Good Communists should be decisively against both unitarism and separatism") that no real airing of the problems has yet taken place. But language and language variants provide a safe cover for making points for or against a nationality, and in this game of variants the chief players are the Serbs and the Croats, with the Slovenes, Macedonians, and other nationalities watching (and learning) from the sidelines.

In the present controversy the principal figures are university professors: Mihailo Stevanović at the University of Belgrade, Jovan Vuković at the University of Sarajevo, and Ljudevit Jonke at the University of Zagreb. Active in the present language squabble but without a university base is Professor Djordje Rašović;<sup>12</sup> what claim to public attention he has comes from the fact that at the Sarajevo meeting he was elected president of the organization of Yugoslav Slavists. The husband-and-wife team, Professors Pavle and Milka Ivić, at the University of Novi Sad and Professor Dalibor Brozović at the Zadar extension of the University of Zagreb are potentially important figures in the over-all language controversy since they are undoubtedly the most talented Slavists in the country. Talent is actually in short supply in Yugoslavia: since the recent death of Professor Aleksandar Belić of Belgrade, the departure of Professor Josip Hamm from Zagreb for the Slavic chair at the University of Vienna, and the retirement of Professor Mate Hraste of Zagreb, there is now the curious situation that linguistic competence in the Slavic field is on the academic periphery, for example, the Ivić's at Novi Sad and Brozović at Zadar.

10. Ivić, *ibid.*, p. 7. For a report of a current investigation of Serbo-Croatian accents see L. Matejka, "Generative and Recognitory Aspects in Phonology," *Phonologie der Gegenwart*, edit. by Josef Hamm (Wien, 1967), pp. 242-253.

11. Much of this material will be found in issues 1 through 5, 1965-66, of the Zagreb journal *Jezik*. Also pertinent are two articles by Jonke in *Telegram*, a Zagreb weekly for the "intelligentsia," dated Oct. 22, 1965 and Dec. 24, 1965. Also relevant is Brozović's column in *Telegram* for June 17, 1966.

12. For his views see *Politika*, a Belgrade daily, for Oct. 24, 1965, and *Telegram* for March 25, 1966.

Of the major figures the Serbs Stevanović and Vuković are sound scholars working in an older linguistic tradition; Stevanović, for example, recently published Part I of a Serbo-Croatian grammar<sup>13</sup> which would have been relevant a generation ago. Jonke, the paladin of the Croats, is primarily a popular essayist on the history of Serbo-Croatian and a translator from Czech; his recent book<sup>14</sup> is a collection of such essays plus his newspaper articles about language usage. In Yugoslavia articles of the "keep your language pure" type are written by professors and command a wide audience. Those familiar with the European scene will realize how much power the principal professor can have at a Yugoslav university. Jonke, for example, is not only a full professor at the University of Zagreb but he is also the chief editor of the language journal *Jezič*, an editor of the journal *Slovo*, a member of the Yugoslav Academy, the director of the Academy's Language Institute, and, until recently, a party member. In any grouping of university centers the power would be with the Serbs (Belgrade, Novi Sad, Sarajevo), since the Croats have only Zagreb (Zadar is an extension).

The Slovenes and Macedonians, though not participating in the Serb-Croat language controversy, obviously profit from such divisions between their big neighbors. The Slovenes have a highly-developed survival code which has enabled them over the centuries to exist as a cohesive nation amidst larger and more flamboyant neighbors; they have their own intra-mural language controversies but without a divisive nationality issue. The modern Macedonian standard language is a post-war creation (the *pravopis* appeared in 1945) and is still being developed. Both the Slovenes and Macedonians have developed a ritual complaint to the effect that the Serbs and Croats do not learn their languages. Typical is Dr. Josip Vidmar, the president of the Slovenian Academy, who has said that "Every Yugoslav citizen should at least try... to understand the Slovenian language as we Slovenes understand Serbo-Croatian and even some Macedonian."<sup>15</sup> Actually, it is doubtful that many Slovenes know Serbo-Croatian; certainly Slovene officials and the Slovene "intelligentsia" know Serbo-Croatian but otherwise a knowledge of Serbo-Croatian is not widespread in Slovenia; e.g., a foreign traveler in Slovenia will find German more useful than Serbo-Croatian. There is, however, no doubt whatsoever that very few Serbs or Croats know Slovenian or Macedonian or even have the slightest interest in learning them. Given the situation in Yugoslavia where a person could hardly consider himself educated and certainly could not expect to advance in life without a knowledge of at least

13. *Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik* (Belgrade, 1960).

14. *Književni jezik u teoriji i praksi*. 2nd. ed. (Zagreb, 1965).

15. *Vjesnik* (a Zagreb daily), Feb. 6, 1966, p. 6.

one western language (usually more), it is not surprising that Yugoslavs tend to ignore other languages in their own country.

In March, 1966, a bizarre event took place, an event which exacerbated Serb-Croat relations to an unprecedented degree. There appeared in Belgrade bookstores a newly published dictionary of the Serbo-Croatian language, *Rečnik srpskohrvatskog jezika*, by Dr. Miloš S. Moskovljević. Beautifully printed, this one-volume dictionary seemed to fulfill an obvious need in a country where there is no modern dictionary of the major language. Seventy-six copies were sold before the publishers, *Nolit* and *Tehnička knjiga*, were informed that the nature of some entries made their handsome book a veritable package of dynamite. By court order all the remaining issues of the original printing of 5,000 were delivered to the nearest furnace while the responsible publishers were punished.<sup>16</sup>

What had Dr. Moskovljević, an elderly Serb, wrought with his 1,000-page dictionary? For one thing he had no entry for *Hrvat*, "Croat",<sup>17</sup> while *Srbin*, "Serb", and related words (e.g., *srbovati*, "to act like a real Serb") were well represented. *Slovenac*, "Slovene", was defined as a "member of the northwestern branch of Yugoslavs"; *Crnogorac*, "Montenegrin", was identified as a "resident of Montenegro." Moskovljević evidently had no designs on the Macedonians for he identifies them as a separate nationality. *Amerikanac* appears but no *Rus*, only *Rusofil* and *Rusofob*. Next to his omission of *Hrvat*, Moskovljević's greatest error in the eyes of the authorities lay in his definition of *četnik* and *partizan*. A *četnik* was defined as an irregular soldier who fought "a) during the Balkan war for freedom from the Turks, b) during the Second World War against the Partisans," a definition which puts the Turks and the Partisans in a parallel classification and which ignores the official mythology about the Partisans. A *partizan* was defined as "1) a participant in a guerilla struggle, 2) a person who blindly follows the interests of his political party." The definition of *republika* as a "government whose head, the president, is selected for a definite term of years" was hardly tactful in a country which has "elected" its president for life.

Moskovljević even scores some points in punctuation rules. Thus the exclamation mark is demonstrated in the example "Long live the king!"; capitalization is illustrated in these two examples: "Oh God, I turn to Thee," and "Comrade Tito, we swear to Thee that we will not swerve from Thy path." Commas are not needed in such

16. All, but with a Balkan correction factor! It is safe to assume that a hundred or so additional copies (like my own) escaped the fire. Newspaper accounts of this incident will be found in *Vjesnik* for March 19, 1966 and March 26, 1966, and in *Borba* for March 25, 1966.

17. Actually he does mention the Croats on p. 1011 where he notes that they are prone to use "provincialisms."

suggestive examples as "President of the Republic Tito went away to Egypt." Except for the whimsical examples mentioned, the dictionary is, by traditional standards, an excellent work. Unfortunately for Dr. Moskovljević, these are not the times of a Doctor Johnson who could, for example, define oats as a food eaten by horses in England and by people in Scotland and not worry about reprisals. Nor would Dr. Johnson's self-mocking definition of a lexicographer as a "harmless drudge" have been accepted in Yugoslavia even before the Moskovljević incident; lexicography there is such a serious business, full of implications for language purity and nationality feelings, that very few dictionaries are actually produced. One final word in fairness to Dr. Moskovljević: in the introduction he had himself mentioned the possibility of omissions and inexactitudes which could be corrected in a second edition "if", he adds somewhat prophetically, "there will be one."<sup>18</sup>

Croatian national feeling was dramatically exhibited at the end of March, 1966, when the 130th anniversary of the Croatian Illyrian movement was celebrated in Zagreb. It was the first 130th anniversary celebration of anything in this writer's experience but the local nationalist feeling was such that the oddity of the time span seemed to bother no one. The main speaker was Miroslav Križža, foremost of the older generation of Croatian writers; he was able to deliver a long talk on the Illyrian movement without once mentioning Ljudevit Gaj, the charismatic leader of the Illyrian group; again no one seemed to notice. A latter-day Ljudevit, Professor Ljudevit Jonke, contributed a matter-of-fact talk on orthographic problems of that time; what was significant was that his talk was preceded and followed by thunderous applause. Jonke, in his role as defender of the Croatian variant, has become a heroic figure to Zagreb Croats. In a situation replete with ironies, the sharpest irony of all was that the Illyrians with their pan-South Slavic ideals were now being commemorated by Croatian nationalists.

The surface issue of the present Serb-Croat controversy is the matter of the two variants of Serbo-Croatian. There are at least two variants though some innocents, unaware of the nationality issues at stake, have suggested the existence of more, to wit, a Vojvodinian variant, a Bosnia-Herzegovinian variant, a Montenegrin variant. In what do the two major variants vary? The staff of the Yugoslav Academy's Language Institute (director is Jonke) claim the following distinctions:<sup>19</sup>

- a) many lexical differences, e.g. *kruh* (western/Croatian) - *hleb*

18. *Ibid.*, p. vii.

19. *Jezik 5* (1966), pp. 132-133. In this listing of examples the first member of each pair will be the western or Croatian form, the second the eastern or Serbian form.

- (eastern/Serbian), "bread", *vlak* - *voz*, "train", *nogomet* - *fudbal*, "soccer";
- b) phonetic differences of the type *dijete* - *dete*, "child", *djevojka* - *devojka*, "girl", *duhan* - *duvan*, "tobacco", *sretan* - *srećan*, "happy";
  - c) accentual differences, e.g. *bòrimo se* - *bcrímo se*, "we fight" (a most appropriate example);
  - d) differences in word formation, e.g., *sudac* - *sudija*, "judge", *konkurirati* - *konkurisati*, "to compete";
  - e) syntactic differences, e.g., *sutra ću ti javiti* - *sutra ću da ti javim*, "I'll let you know tomorrow."

In an earlier article Professor Hraste had mentioned similar categories of differences and had also included some gender differences, e.g., *porez* - *poreza*, "tax", *sistem* - *sistema*, "system".<sup>20</sup>

Such lists of differences are quite familiar to foreign linguists who have at various times and without much success tried to describe putative differences in Croatian and Serbian speech. The main limitation on a list such as the one above is that it is valid only in reference to the official usage of Belgrade (the eastern variant) and Zagreb (the western center). The *dijete-dete*, *djevojka-devojka* differences simply reflect the distribution of the ijekavian-ekavian sub-dialects and thus lose their significance in Bosnia and Herzegovina where ijekavian forms (*dijete*, *djevojka*) are used by Serb and Croat alike. The other differences, especially the lexical ones, are real enough though in number they seem rather minor when compared to the differences between British and American English. The importance, however, of such differences does not depend on their number or variety but rather on sociological and political factors which may at a given time invest the differences with extra-linguistic significance. Even if the differences between the western and eastern variants of Serbo-Croatian were reduced to one, say western *vlak* and eastern *voz*, "train", a Croat receiving a train ticket which had *voz* stamped on it could still, at least in today's situation, feel aggrieved. Today the existing differences are being carefully nurtured and reinforced; for example, the daily newspaper *Borba* which originates in Belgrade in, quite naturally, the eastern variant appears the same day in Zagreb carefully "translated" into the western variant. To illustrate this process I have selected an innocuous item about bakeries in Subotica (northern Serbia); it appeared as a letter to the editor and was evidently written as it was printed in the Belgrade *Borba* on Dec. 16, 1965. Both

20. *Jezik 1* (1965), p. 18. A significant difference is the fact that the Serbs (in Serbia) maintain the phonemes *ć* and *č*, *dj* and *dž*, while the Croats have, for the most part, only *ć* and *dž*. However, so much prestige is attached to these distinctions, even if they exist only in the textbooks, that no Croat would 'surrender' *dj* and *ć* just to claim another Croat-Serb difference.

versions, the eastern original and the western "translation" of the same date in the Zagreb edition appear below with differences italicized; one difference not reproduced here is that of the alphabet, i.e., the eastern version originally appeared in Cyrillic.

*Belgrade version*

Opet žalbe na  
kvalitet hleba  
u Subotici

Druže uredniče,  
U Subotici pored *fabrike*  
hleba "Jedinstvo", koja se  
nalazi u sastavu mlinskog  
*preduzeća*, postoji veći  
broj manjih privatnih *pekara*  
koje daju prilično dobar  
*kvalitet hleba* i već odavno,  
prema oceni potrošača, *uspješno*  
*konkurišu* "Jedinstvu".

O tome je bilo govora na  
raznim sastancima društveno-  
političkih organizacija.  
Predstavnici mlinskog *preduzeća*  
ističu da *fabrika* ima mnogo  
teškoća, dotrajale *mašine*  
koje su u upotrebi više od  
50 godina i da je jedini izlaz  
u izgradnji novih pogona i  
*nabavki* novih *mašina*. Privatni  
pekari se pak dovijaju i u  
ovim novim *uslovima* samo da  
bi *osigurali* što bolji *kvalitet*  
*hleba*. Istina, često se  
stavljaju prigovori na  
*kvalitet hleba* iz nekih privatnih  
*pekara*, pa i pored toga *pekara*  
"Jedinstvo" je u *senci*  
privatnih pekara.

JOSIP POPOVIĆ

*Zagreb version*

Opet žalbe na  
kvalitetu kruha  
u Subotici

Druže uredniče,  
U Subotici pored *tvornice*  
*kruha* "Jedinstvo", koja se  
nalazi u sastavu mlinskog  
*poduzeća*, postoji veći  
broj manjih privatnih *pekarnica*  
koje daju priličan *kvalitetan*  
*kruh* i već odavno,  
prema ocjeni potrošača, *uspješno*  
*konkuriraju* "Jedinstvu".

O tome je bilo govora na  
raznim sastancima društveno-  
političkih organizacija.  
Predstavnici mlinskog *poduzeća*  
ističu da *tvornica* ima mnogo  
teškoća, dotrajale *strojeve*  
koji su u upotrebi više od  
50 godina i da je jedini izlaz  
u izgradnji novih pogona i  
u *nabavi* novih *strojeva*. Privatni  
pekari se pak dovijaju i u  
ovim novim *uvjetima* samo da  
bi *osigurali* što bolju *kvalitetu*  
*kruha*. Istina, često se  
stavljaju prigovori na  
*kvalitetu kruha* iz nekih privatnih  
*pekarnica*, pa i pored toga  
"Jedinstvo" je u *sjeni*  
privatnih.

JOSIP POPOVIĆ

TRANSLATION. Again complaints about the quality of bread in Subotica. Comrade editor: In Subotica besides the bread factory "Unity" which is part of the milling combine there is a number of small private bakeries which give a rather good quality of bread and which for some time now, in the opinion of consumers, compete

successfully with "Unity". This has been discussed at various meetings of socio-political organizations. Representatives of the milling combine emphasize the fact that the factory has many difficulties, [for example,] worn-out machines which have been in use for over 50 years, and that the only solution is in building new production units and acquiring new machines. Private bakers will be able to manage in these new conditions only if they can guarantee an even better quality of bread. Actually complaints are often made about the quality of bread from some private bakeries but even at that "Unity" is in the shadow of the private bakeries. JOSIP POPOVIĆ

A few changes which appear in the Zagreb version do not represent basic differences but reflect rather stylistic preferences of the "translator", e.g., the elimination of redundant nouns in the last sentence. If the Belgrade version above had appeared in the Zagreb paper and if the Zagreb version above had been printed in Belgrade, the readers in both cities would not have had the slightest difficulty in reading and understanding Mr. Popović's report on the bread situation in Subotica. If the same letter had been picked up by the daily *Oslobodjenje* of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it would have appeared in *latinica* with ijekavian forms (e.g., *ocjeni*) but with the Belgrade lexical variants (e.g., *fabrika*). Bosnia and Herzegovina is the "swing" republic, composed as it is of Serbs, Croats, Moslems and "Yugoslavs non-specified." It is true, as the Croats assert, that the eastern lexical forms are squeezing out the western in the B-H press though the Croats do not suggest any feasible method for making lexical choices in such a mixed situation.

The desire of the Croats to maintain and reinforce the western variant strikes Serbs as parochial and potentially separatist, while Croats view Serbian efforts to spread their eastern variant as arrogant and "unitarist." In this battle of the variants the Serbs outnumber the Croats but the Croats are better organized and quicker to spring to the verbal ramparts. In this sensitive situation it is unfortunate that Belgrade is the capital of the country since Serbs and Croats alike regard it as a Serbian city. Since it is the capital and the seat of various government bodies and agencies,<sup>21</sup> it has great influence in spreading eastern lexical forms and ekavian

21. Laws and official acts are carefully "translated" into the eastern and western variants, but forms and documents at the bureaucratic level tend to be in the eastern variant. How the use of the eastern variant can affect Croats can be seen in the Yugoslav name for the Fulbright Commission which is located in Belgrade; its designation in Serbo-Croatian is *Jugoslovensko-američka komisija za Fulbrajtove programe*. This eastern rendition of the Commission's name annoys Croat applicants who may insist upon writing to the *Jugoslavensko-američka komisija za Fulbrajtove programe*. This lexical doublet, *jugoslovenski* (eastern) / *jugoslavenski* (western), is a predictable trouble-maker; trouble is usually avoided by substituting the genitive singular of the noun, i.e., *Jugoslavije*, "of Yugoslavia", which happily for both sides is the common form.

forms throughout the country. The Yugoslav army, which receives all Yugoslav males for a definite term of training, is also a strong force in popularizing ekavian and eastern lexical forms. The Serbs could well complain, though they evidently have not yet noticed it, about the decline in the use of *ćirilica*, the Cyrillic alphabet; all telephone books in Yugoslavia are in *latinica*, the Latin alphabet; the army uses *latinica* exclusively; all names of products which might be exported are in *latinica*; even the neon signs in Serbian cities are in *latinica*.

Tensions in the language controversy reached fever pitch in mid-March of 1967 with the publication in Zagreb newspapers of an extraordinary document called "A Declaration about the Name and Position of the Croatian Literary Language."<sup>22</sup> Signed by representatives of 18 Croatian literary and academic organizations, the Declaration makes two proposals: that Croatian be officially designated to be a separate "literary language," and that only this "Croatian literary language" be used in official dealings with the Croatian population. Included as officials or members of the organizations which adopted this Declaration are some of the most outstanding Croatian writers, e.g., Dobriša Cesarić, Vjekoslav Kaleb, Gustav Krklec, Miroslav Krleža, Dragutin Tadijanović, and several prominent university professors, e.g., Ljudevit Jonke, Miroslav Brandt, Ivo Frangeš, Dalibor Brozović. The two important points of this Declaration read as follows:

1) [It is absolutely necessary] to confirm by means of a constitutional provision the clear and unambiguous parity and equality of the four literary languages: Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian.

To this end Article 131 of the Yugoslav Constitution must be changed to read as follows: Federal laws and other general acts of federal organs are to be proclaimed in the authentic texts of the four literary languages (Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Macedonian) of the peoples of Yugoslavia. In official communication organs of the Federation are obliged to respect the principle of equality for all the languages of the peoples of Yugoslavia....

The present constitutional provision concerning the "Serbo-Croatian, that is, the Croatian-Serbian language" (*o srpskohrvatskom odnosno hrvatskosrpskom jeziku*) makes possible by its imprecision an actual interpretation that these two parallel names are synonyms and [thus is] not the basis for the equality of both the Croatian and Serbian languages, [an equality] in relation to each other as well as in relation to the languages of the other Yugoslav peoples. That such [an interpretation] is indeed a reality is shown by numerous examples, among which the latest is the recent "Conclusions

22. *Deklaracija o nazivu i položaju hrvatskog književnog jezika*. For the complete text see *Telegram*, March 17, 1967, p. 1; also *Vjesnik*, March 19, 1967, p. 5.

of the Fifth Congress of Composers of Yugoslavia." These Conclusions have been published in parallel texts in Serbian, Slovenian and Macedonian as though there were simply no Croatian literary language or as though it were identical with the Serbian literary language.

The undersigned institutions and organizations consider that in such instances the Croatian people have not been represented and that they have been placed in an unequal position. Such a practice can in no way be justified by what is otherwise an indisputable scientific fact, namely, that the Croatian and Serbian literary languages have a common linguistic base (*da hrvatski i srpski književni jezik imaju zajedničku lingvističku osnovu.*).

2) In accordance with the foregoing demands and explanations it is necessary to guarantee the consistent usage of the Croatian literary language in schools, in newspapers, in public and political life, on the radio and television, whenever the Croatian population is affected, and [it is necessary] that civil servants, teachers and officials, regardless of their place of origin, use in their official functions the literary language of the area in which they are working.

The publication of the Declaration evoked the expected explosions throughout the country and in short order the movers of the Declaration were being roundly denounced by Communist party officials and by President Tito himself. Some of the signers, including the Croatian cult hero Jonke, were expelled from the Party, an action which in former days would have made the one expelled an "unperson" but which today might even enhance the lustre of the person expelled.<sup>23</sup>

If one accepts the premise that the designation of a dialect as a "language" can be a political rather than a linguistic decision, then the first proposal of the Declaration could be accepted as a neat official solution of the language controversy. However, it is the second proposal which would be most difficult to implement since, as the population table presented above shows, all the republics are mixed as to nationality constituencies; e.g., about 15% of Croatia's population consists of Serbs. If officials and teachers are constrained to use the "Serbian literary language" for Serbs and the "Croatian literary language" for Croats, how can they possibly function in the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina with its 1,406,000 Serbs, 712,000 Croats, 842,000 Moslems and 276,000 "Yugoslavs

23. For accounts of official reaction see *Vjesnik*, April 2, 1967, and *Slobodna Dalmacija*, April 3, 1967, p. 6. A group of Serbian writers prepared a "Proposal for Consideration" ("*Predlog za razmišljanje*") which was published in *Borba* on April 2, 1967. This "Proposal" advocated the acceptance of the demands of the Croatian "Declaration" but went a step further in asking that the Serbian minority in Croatia and the Croatian minority in Serbia be granted the right to use their respective languages and alphabets. This "Proposal" was also denounced officially.

non-specified"? These nationalities are mixed in all possible combinations in this sprawling republic.

The situation is a deeply troubled one and practical questions in this instance are superfluous, since the language issue serves as a surrogate for a constellation of economic and political tensions between the Croats and the Serbs. These tensions will continue to agitate Yugoslavs for the foreseeable future, particularly during the remaining years of the aging Tito, since both the Croats and the Serbs want to meet the post-Tito uncertainty with as much regional strength as possible. Meanwhile, as the battle of language variants and "languages" rages, scholarly work in Serbo-Croatian/Serbian/Croatian linguistics has come to a virtual standstill though the tasks are many: realistic descriptions of city usage should be completed; normalizing grammars and dictionaries remain to be written; and, at the most practical level, the attention of language specialists should be turned to the major problem of illiteracy (25% of the entire Yugoslav population is illiterate and the percentage is increasing!).<sup>24</sup> For the future, however, if contributions are to be made to Serbo-Croatian/Serbian/Croatian linguistics, they will undoubtedly come, as did the works of Vuk Karadžić, from outside the country.<sup>25</sup>

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24. See "Illiteracy on the Increase," *Vjesnik*, June 22, 1966, p. 1. According to Mardešić and Dugački (*Geografski atlas Jugoslavije* [Zagreb, 1961], map 13a) Yugoslavia as a whole has a 25% rate of illiteracy; the rate of illiteracy is only about 3% in Slovenia but about 40% in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

25. Yugoslav linguists attending the April, 1966, meeting of the Croatian Philological Society in Zagreb were startled and dismayed when they were shown the first number of a reverse alphabet dictionary of Serbo-Croatian published by Harrassowitz in West Germany; the compiler of this valuable work (*Rückläufiges Wörterbuch des Serbokroatischen* [Wiesbaden, 1965]) is Josip Matešić, formerly an instructor at the University of Zagreb. For press accounts see *Vjesnik* for April 9, 1966, and *Večernji list* (a daily tabloid in Zagreb) for April 23, 1966.