

George Thomas

The Impact  
of the Illyrian Movement  
on the Croatian Lexicon

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PETER REHDER · JOSEF SCHRENK

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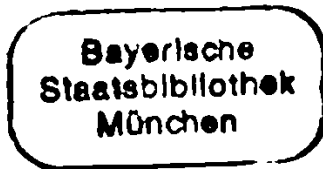
VERLAG OTTO SAGNER  
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GEORGE THOMAS  
THE IMPACT OF THE ILLYRIAN MOVEMENT  
ON THE CROATIAN LEXICON

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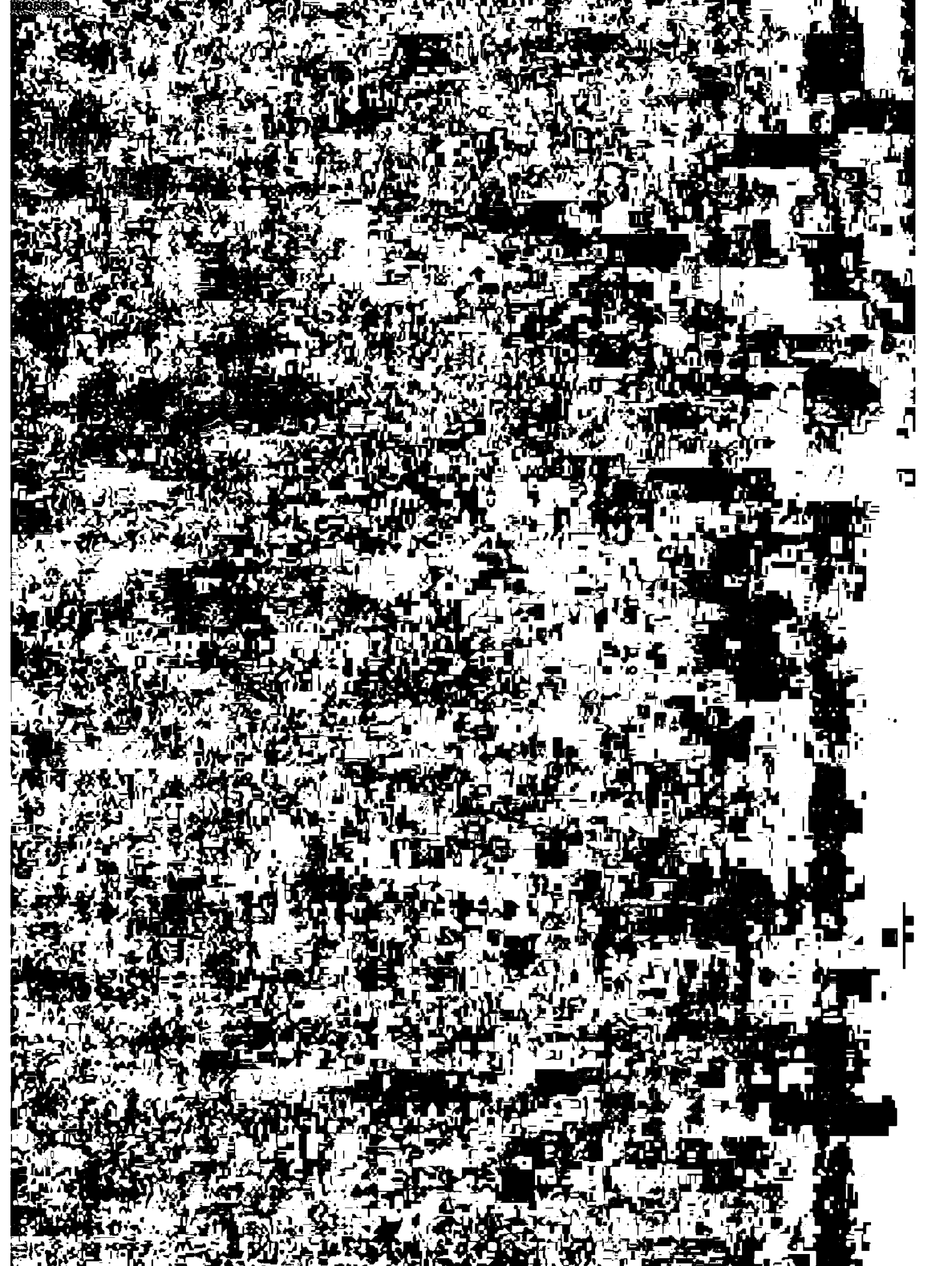


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**FOR MARGARET**



## Preface

My original intention was to write a book on calques in Serbo-Croatian. This was to be part of what I now see as an overly ambitious attempt to compare and contrast the role of calques in Serbo-Croatian with Czech and Slovene. Apart from a very general article on calques as a widespread European phenomenon, the only aspect of this research to be published was a piece on the background to the employment of calques in the early Czech language revival. My work on calques in Serbo-Croatian had been side-tracked into articles on purism and the role of the lexical doublets in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I had also intended writing an article on the central position of calques in the Illyrian period and, as a preparation for this, a condensed survey of the means of lexical enrichment. The alert reader will have noticed the announcement of this proposed article in my paper on purism. Instead I decided to expand the scope of my research and the result is the present volume.

It is a matter of great sadness to me that so little has been done to provide general histories of the Croatian literary language or of the Serbo-Croatian vocabulary. One of the greatest hindrances to work on these topics is the existence of national sensibilities which render discussion of the periods and aspects where the paths of Croatian and Serbian cross fraught with difficulty especially if one wishes to maintain a dispassionate stance. It is my hope that as someone removed from these sensibilities (but no less aware of them) I can provide such a dispassionate account, though I must admit here that my own scholarly interests have led me to be more versed in the Croatian literary tradition than in the Serbian. I have taken great care in my use of the adjectives Croatian, Serbian and Serbo-Croatian in this book. I believe that what I have to say will be of equal interest to readers who conceive of the existence of two literary languages as for those who prefer to see a single literary language with two more or less well defined variants.

The perceptive reader will no doubt recognise the assimilation of the ideas of many scholars, particularly those influenced by the Prague School. Among them I should like to single out Robert Auty, whose work on the development of the Slavonic literary languages, the role of individuals, purism and lexical enrichment has gone a long way to forming my own ideas on these subjects. I know that Robert Auty would not have been entirely in agreement with the use of the terminology of language planning, but in all other respects I have attempted at each phase in this book's development to address problems which I think

he would have raised. As a book on a subject about which he himself thought and wrote a great deal I humbly offer it as a tribute to his memory.

I have had an opportunity to discuss this book with numerous people. To all of them I give sincere thanks. I am also grateful to a number of people (some of them unknown to me) who have read and offered criticisms of earlier draughts. Of them I should like to thank especially Thomas F. Magner, Peter Herrity, D. J. L. Johnson, Milica Krneta, Mila Mitrovic and Robert H. Johnston. All the faults which remain are of course my own responsibility.

I should also like to acknowledge the debt to the libraries where work on this book was carried out: Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University; School of Slavonic and East European Studies Library, University of London; the British Library; the Robarts Library, University of Toronto; the National and University Library in Zagreb; the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the University Library of the Charles University, Prague. To the staffs of all these institutions I tender my sincere thanks.

The research contained in this book has been supported by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Arts Research Board of McMaster University which also covered the publication costs. Help towards the costs of word-processing was kindly provided by the office of the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities of McMaster University. Thanks are also due to Manon Ames and Patricia Goodall of the Humanities Computing Centre for the expert typing and printing of the final draught. Most of the manuscript was written during a Research Leave in 1982-3, generously provided by McMaster University.

The writing of a monograph requires large injections of morale and support both material and spiritual from family, colleagues and friends. To all of them I offer my heartfelt thanks, but will save them their blushes by not naming them individually. There are a number of people with whom this manuscript will always be associated in my own mind – those people with whom I spent glorious days in successive years on the island of Hvar – Lilly, Terry, Ruth, Peter and Hazel. My most heartfelt thanks however go to my good friend Marinko Bibić of Hvar and his family.

Lastly I should like to record my sincere thanks to Kubon & Sagner and the editor Professor Peter Rehder for including this book in the series *Slavistische Beiträge*.

Hamilton, January 1988

George Thomas



<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>		<b>PAGE</b>
Preface		7
Spelling Note		13
Abbreviations		14
 <b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION</b>		
1.0	Opening remarks	15
1.1	The Illyrian Movement	15
1.2	The language situation in Croatia in the early nineteenth century	21
1.3	The formation of the modern Croatian literary language	23
1.4	A brief statement of aims	25
1.5	Previous treatment of this subject	26
1.6	Sources, methodology and scope	34
 <b>CHAPTER 2: THE STATE OF THE CROATIAN VOCABULARY PRIOR TO THE ILLYRIAN MOVEMENT</b>		
2.0	Introduction	41
2.1	The lexicographical tradition	41
2.2	The beginnings of journalism	47
2.3	Early nineteenth-century prose	48
2.3.1	Šime Starčević	48
2.3.2	Janko Drašković	50
2.3.3	Ignjat Alojzije Brlić	55
2.3.4	Ljudevit Gaj	57
2.4	The Richter-Ballmann-Fröhlich Dictionary	59
2.5	Conclusion	61
 <b>CHAPTER 3: THE SOURCES OF LEXICAL ENRICHMENT</b>		
3.0	Introduction	63
3.1	Lexical enrichment from within Serbo-Croatian	64
3.1.1	Earlier literary traditions of Croatian	65
3.1.2	Material from seventeenth and eighteenth-century dictionaries	66

<b>Table of Contents (continued)</b>		<b>Page</b>
<b>3.1.2.1</b>	<b>The resemanticisation of old words</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>3.1.2.2</b>	<b>The revival of old words</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>3.1.2.3</b>	<b>The retention of old words alongside new, closely related forms</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>3.1.2.4</b>	<b>The replacement of old models by new, related forms</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>3.1.2.5</b>	<b>Words taken from Stulli's dictionaries</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>3.1.3</b>	<b>The evolving Serbian literary language</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>3.1.4</b>	<b>Dialects and regional usage</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>3.2</b>	<b>Neologisms</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>3.3</b>	<b>Influences from other Slavonic languages</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>3.3.1</b>	<b>Slovene</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>3.3.2</b>	<b>Czech</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>3.3.2.1</b>	<b>Loanwords</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>3.3.2.2</b>	<b>Calques</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>3.3.2.2.1</b>	<b>Lehnbedeutungen</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>3.3.2.2.2</b>	<b>Lehnübersetzungen</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>3.3.3</b>	<b>Russian</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>3.3.4</b>	<b>Polish</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>3.4</b>	<b>Calques</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>3.4.1</b>	<b>Lehnbedeutungen</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>3.4.2</b>	<b>Lehnübersetzungen</b>	<b>85</b>
<b>3.4.3</b>	<b>Lehnübertragungen</b>	<b>87</b>
<b>3.5</b>	<b>Loanwords and internationalisms</b>	<b>87</b>
<b>3.5.1</b>	<b>Internationalisms</b>	<b>88</b>
<b>3.5.2</b>	<b>Loanwords from a single, indentifiable source</b>	<b>89</b>
<b>3.6</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>89</b>

#### **CHAPTER 4: THE VOCABULARY OF THE ILLYRIAN PERIOD IN ITS FUNCTIONAL ASPECT**

<b>4.0</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>4.1</b>	<b>The role and nature of lexical purism</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>4.1.1</b>	<b>General remarks</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>4.1.2</b>	<b>Lexical purism in the Illyrian period</b>	<b>97</b>

<b>Table of Contents (continued)</b>		<b>Page</b>
<b>4.2</b>	<b>The stabilisation and standardisation of vocabulary</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>4.2.1</b>	<b>General remarks</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>4.2.2</b>	<b>Intentions and stratagems</b>	<b>104</b>
<b>4.2.3</b>	<b>The degree of lexical standardisation in the Illyrian period</b>	<b>107</b>
<b>4.3</b>	<b>The furnishing of terminologies</b>	<b>116</b>
<b>4.4</b>	<b>Word-formation</b>	<b>119</b>
<b>4.4.1</b>	<b>Conformation to word-building laws</b>	<b>119</b>
<b>4.4.2</b>	<b>The formation of derivatives from new lexical items</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>4.4.3</b>	<b>Models of word-building</b>	<b>123</b>
<b>4.5</b>	<b>The role of the individual</b>	<b>126</b>
<b>4.5.1</b>	<b>Attitudes</b>	<b>126</b>
<b>4.5.2</b>	<b>The formulation and implementation of policy</b>	<b>129</b>
<b>4.5.3</b>	<b>Usage</b>	<b>131</b>
 <b>CHAPTER 5: THE AFTERMATH OF THE ILLYRIAN REFORMS</b>		
<b>5.0</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>135</b>
<b>5.1</b>	<b>An overall assessment of the Illyrian reforms</b>	<b>135</b>
<b>5.2</b>	<b>The critical response</b>	<b>138</b>
<b>5.3</b>	<b>The subsequent fate of the lexical items introduced or revived in the Illyrian period</b>	<b>141</b>
<b>5.4</b>	<b>The Serbian dimension</b>	<b>147</b>
 <b>CHAPTER 6: SOME WIDER PERSPECTIVES</b>		
<b>6.0</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>153</b>
<b>6.1</b>	<b>The Illyrian reforms in the context of the overall development of the lexicon of literary Croatian</b>	<b>153</b>
<b>6.1.1</b>	<b>Periodisation</b>	<b>153</b>
<b>6.1.2</b>	<b>Symbolic significance</b>	<b>155</b>
<b>6.2</b>	<b>Lexical reform and the Illyrian Movement</b>	<b>156</b>
<b>6.3</b>	<b>Some Slavonic (and non-Slavonic) parallels and contrasts</b>	<b>159</b>
<b>6.4</b>	<b>Implications for the study of language planning</b>	<b>162</b>

<b>Table of Contents (Continued)</b>	<b>Page</b>
<b>Footnotes to Chapter 1</b>	<b>165</b>
<b>Footnotes to Chapter 2</b>	<b>172</b>
<b>Footnotes to Chapter 3</b>	<b>177</b>
<b>Footnotes to Chapter 4</b>	<b>181</b>
<b>Footnotes to Chapter 5</b>	<b>185</b>
<b>Footnotes to Chapter 6</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>GLOSSARY</b>	<b>189</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>245</b>
<b>1. Primary Sources</b>	<b>245</b>
<b>2. Dictionaries</b>	<b>247</b>
<b>3. Secondary Sources</b>	<b>250</b>
<b>INDEX OF CROATIAN AND SERBIAN WORDS AND PHRASES</b>	<b>273</b>

## Spelling Note

It was my intention when I began this monograph to reproduce all SCr examples with strict adherence to the original spelling. It soon became clear that the multiplicity of orthographic systems encountered in the texts necessitated some compromises if the reader were not to be hopelessly confused. How should one write words whose history spans several orthographic systems (and non-systems!)? The usual solution is to present all material in the modern orthography (or orthographies). This would mean however making up forms which never existed for those words which have not survived. Since this is a book on the Illyrian period I have decided to follow the orthography devised by Ljudevit Gaj in Chapters 2, 3, 4, reverting to the modern ijekavian orthography for Chapters 5 and 6. The differences between these two orthographies are essentially trivial (etymological over phonetic spellings, e.g., *podpis* (Gaj) v. *potpis* (modern); secondary jotation represented by digraphs (Gaj) and by single letters (modern), e.g., *preporodjenje* v. *preporodenje*, *poduzetje* v. *poduzeteće*; the reflexes of CS\*ž represented by ž (Gaj) and e, ije, je (modern); epenthetic *l* absent in secondary jotation in Gaj but now present, e.g., *-slovje* (Gaj) v. *-slovlje* (modern). In the index of SCr words, the main listing will be given under the modern ijekavian spelling. All Cyrillic forms are transliterated according to the International System except that final *jers* are omitted and internal *jers* are retained in the Cyrillic form. All the forms cited from before 1836 have been made to conform to Gaj's orthography. This involves the following substitutions: *j* for *y*; *lj* for *l*, *gl*; *nj* for *n*, *gn*; *s* for *sz*, *ŝ*, *z*; *c* for *z*, *cz*; *č* for *cs*, *ch*; *ć* for *ch*, *cs*, *chj*; *š* for *s*, *ŝ*, *sh*; *z* for *ẓ*, *ż*, *x*, *;*; *dj* for *gy*. Since the Gaj orthography varies in its spelling of syllabic *r* (as *er* or *ar*), I have decided to substitute modern *r* throughout the book. All Primary and Secondary Sources as well as the titles of dictionaries have been given in their original spelling, wherever I have been able to verify it for myself.

## Abbreviations

Note: the key to abbreviated titles of dictionaries and primary sources is given in the Bibliography. The following list contains only the abbreviations of languages cited in the text:

Br	Belorussian
Bulg	Bulgarian
CS	Common Slavonic
ChS	Church Slavonic
Cr	Croatian
Cz	Czech
Dan	Danish
Du	Dutch
Eng	English
Fr	French
G	German
Gr	Greek
Hung	Hungarian
It	Italian
Lat	Latin
Mac	Macedonian
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
Pol	Polish
R	Russian
Rum	Rumanian
S	Serbian
SCr	Serbo-Croatian
Slk	Slovak
Sln	Slovene
Sw	Swedish
Tu	Turkish
Ukr	Ukrainian

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Opening Remarks

One of the most remarkable consequences of that burgeoning of national consciousness which occupies such a central place in the cultural, social and political development of Europe in the nineteenth century is the creation of a large number of new standard languages. Some of them had already enjoyed a long tradition of more or less normalised usage, while others sprang new-born from a peasant vernacular. Whatever their origin, they had in common the ability alongside the more established languages of culture – Italian, French, Spanish, German and English as well as the by now defunct Latin – to serve all the possible public and private communicative needs of a particular populace. Antoine Meillet's *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle*, Paris, 1918, with its plaintive lament for the demise of Latin and the diminished prestige of French, is the first work to register and comprehend the way in which the distribution of the functions of the various standard languages of Europe had altered so drastically within the previous century.

This re-drawing of the linguistic map of Europe placed on these new literary languages functions which necessitated large-scale changes in the structure of the languages themselves, particularly in the lexico-semantic domain. The story of this transition is essentially a narrative about the exploits and iron will of certain individuals and groups of individuals, whose names often rank high in the esteem of their fellow countrymen. In the case of Croatian, the locus of the present discussion, credit for the creation of the literary language belongs without question to a small group of young men under the charismatic leadership of Ljudevit Gaj, which is normally referred to collectively in popular as well as scholarly writing as the Illyrian Movement (*Ilirski pokret*). There follows a brief examination of the chief claims, aspirations, and activities of this group.

### 1.1 The Illyrian Movement

The word "Illyrian" stems of course from the name of the Indo-European settlers after whom the Romans had named their Balkan province. Its name had been revived politically as the name of the unit of Napoleonic administration under Marshal Marmont, which included Dalmatia, Croatia (in the narrow sense), the Military Zone and Slovenia. As a philological

term, "Illyrian" was used by Dobrovský and the generation of scholars after him to cover the languages and literatures of Dalmatia, Serbia and Bulgaria.<sup>1</sup> In the terminology of Ján Kollár, "Illyrian" referred to all the South Slavonic languages and literatures.<sup>2</sup> Among the Croats themselves, the word was synonymous with "Croatian" in the modern sense, appearing for instance in the titles of all the major Croatian dictionaries of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century (including the kajkavian dictionary of Ivan Belostenec). The imprecision caused by these four different uses of "Illyrian" is an inherent feature of the eponymous Movement with its minimalist and maximalist aims (i.e., Croatian and South Slavonic) and the inner tension between its political goals on the one hand and its practical linguistic and cultural aspirations on the other.<sup>3</sup>

The birth of the Illyrian Movement is usually seen in the formation at Graz University in 1828 of an *ilirski klub* for a small group of South Slavonic patriots, which included two of the most important figures of the Illyrian Movement – Ljudevit Gaj and Dimitrija Demeter.<sup>4</sup> This Slavonic patriotism was given a focus the following year by the meeting at Peat between Gaj and the Slovak pastor Ján Kollár, who imbued him with his ideas of Slavonic reciprocity and communicated (with some important differences) Dobrovský's concept of an "Illyrian" dialect of the common Slavonic language. The concept of a supposed cultural and linguistic unity of all the South Slavs began to take root particularly in Zagreb but also to some extent in Slovenia, Serbia and elsewhere in Croatia. Croatian intellectuals took heart from the knowledge that they were not alone in their aspirations for national linguistic and cultural expression. The appearance of a bi-weekly newspaper *Novine Hrvatske* and particularly its weekly literary supplement *Danica*,<sup>5</sup> both published by Gaj,<sup>6</sup> provided a forum for discussion of cultural affairs at home as well as for the dissemination of information about the larger Slav world. The opening in 1838 of reading-rooms in Varaždin, Karlovac and Zagreb provided not only access to books and magazines but also an opportunity for discussion of national topics and for cultivating the Croatian language.<sup>7</sup> The Zagreb reading-room was the fore-runner of the *Matica ilirska* (later *Matica hrvatska*) which began operations in 1842, since when it has co-ordinated the publication of Croatian literature and the propagation of interest in Croatian language and literature.<sup>8</sup>

The founding of the *Matica* symbolises a significant split in the Illyrian Movement. The *Matica* concerned itself purely with literary, linguistic and cultural matters and forbade the discussion of political affairs.<sup>9</sup> Not only was this a wise precaution bearing in mind the



Hungarian authorities' increasing distrust of the political aspirations of the Illyrians (the very next year was to see the imposition of an official ban on the use of the word "Illyrian" except to describe Croatian language and literature)<sup>10</sup> but it was also a reflection of the main interests of the majority of the Illyrians. Indeed, Gaj himself was the only prominent Illyrian to continue to pursue political goals. From this point on, the Illyrian Movement was essentially a cultural manifestation with the propagation of Croatian language and literature as the main focus of its attention.

It is important to remember, particularly in the context of this book, that Croatian cultural nationalism during the period under discussion (1835-1848) cannot be separated from the ideal of pan-Slavonic unity (indeed the Illyrian Movement has been aptly characterised as pan-Slavism in miniature). The one was purely a local manifestation of the other. Nor must it be forgotten that the Illyrians strove to foster a national consciousness which would rise above the provincial particularism which had done so much to slow the development of a national Croatian culture. In other words, for the Illyrians, an appreciation of, and even a delight in, cultural diversity should co-exist with, and indeed be subservient to, the pursuit of that which was universal in the national culture. As so often in the history of European nationalism, it is the language issue which is at the crux of the debate. All the Illyrian language reforms are predicated on the twin assumptions that Croatian national culture must be part of an overall striving by the Slavs for unity and that it must not simply reflect purely local needs. In terms of the Croatian literary language, this meant that any language reforms should facilitate understanding between the Slavonic peoples and at the same time represent those features which were most widespread. As we shall see in the course of this book, these twin principles were adhered to in the lexical field in no less measure than in phonology and morphology.

Identification of the Illyrian Movement with the fate of all the South Slavs, though not openly called into question at the time, was in fact always somewhat limited. There is no evidence to suggest that the Illyrians ever took seriously claims to speak on behalf of the Bulgarians. On the other hand, many Slovenes subscribed to *Danica* and took an active part in the Illyrian Movement. In view of the close genetic ties between Slovene and kajkavian Croatian, the roughly comparable situation of native Slavonic culture in the two regions and the shared legacy of an admittedly short-lived dominion under Napoleonic control, this was understandable enough. The language policy of the Illyrian Movement to foster the Štokavian

dialect (see 1.3 below) on the one hand and the development of a peculiarly Slovene national consciousness, fired in particular by the poetry of Francè Prešeren,<sup>11</sup> on the other drove a wedge between the Slovene and Illyrian causes. While some Slovene intellectuals, notably Stanko Vraz, remained loyal to the Illyrian cause, the majority saw the Illyrians as a threat to the development of a uniquely Slovene national culture. The Illyrians maintained a lively interest in the events in contemporary Serbia but did not become directly involved in the Serbian language argument of the period.<sup>12</sup> About twenty Illyrians (among them Vraz, Trnaki, Babukić, Kukuljević and Vukotinović) contributed articles to Serbian journals,<sup>13</sup> while several Serbs (mostly from the Vojvodina), employing the appellation "Ilir-Serb" or "Ilir iz Srbije", wrote in *Danica*.<sup>14</sup> It should be noted however that most of the Serbs favourably disposed towards Illyrianism were people of lesser importance.<sup>15</sup> The more prominent Serbs, particularly Vuk, were strongly opposed to the development of the Illyrian idea among the Serbs. This opposition was based on a dislike of the word "Illyrian" itself,<sup>16</sup> doubts about the alphabet, growing national feeling and lastly the fact that the Serbs were as yet unready for a single literary language for Serbs and Croats.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, although it can be argued that the Illyrian Movement provided the seed for both "the South Slavonic idea" (and hence the Yugoslav state) and a common Serbo-Croatian literary language, the practical accomplishments of the Illyrians are confined to the field of Croatian culture. Their primary goal was to define themselves nationally *vis-à-vis* Austria/Hungary.<sup>18</sup> In concrete terms, this was to be achieved with the creation of newspapers, printing presses, national education, reading-rooms, libraries, a scientific academy, a university, an academy of music and so on. This activity was to occupy the Illyrians and their successors for much of the remainder of the 19thC. Their success in providing the framework required for the development of a total national culture is self-evident.

Up till now we have looked at the aims and interests of the Illyrians without saying much about the human beings who were the carriers of these ideas. The movement enjoyed widespread support throughout the Croatian lands (though clearly much more so in Croatia proper than in Slavonia and Dalmatia).<sup>19</sup> It particularly caught the imagination of that generation born towards the end of, or just after, the Napoleonic Wars. Many of these young people, in their twenties at the height of interest in Illyrianism, were fired by the ideals of Romanticism. Many of them came from homes where Croatian was not the dominant

language (for more details see 1.3 below); most were members of the lower bourgeoisie, which was finding more and more opportunity for self-expression. The flourishing economic situation also favoured the growth of regional self-confidence. The population of the cities, which had stagnated for a long time, was beginning to increase with the attraction of unparalleled industrial growth.<sup>20</sup> This was particularly true of Zagreb, the principal city of Croatia and the focal point of the Illyrian Movement. Two important sectors of society warmly welcomed the arrival of the Illyrian Movement – women and the clergy. Both of these groups were in a position to affect the sensibilities of the young.<sup>21</sup> At first the Church had been distrustful of the Illyrians (support being more widespread among the junior clergy), but soon the Hierarchy recommended all Church libraries to take Gaj's publications. The clergy were particularly important for the propagation of Illyrian ideas in the smaller centres of population. Aristocratic support for the Illyrians, on the other hand, was slight, despite the activity in the Illyrian cause of Count Janko Drašković of Trakošćan, a man now well into his 60's (for more on him see 2.3.2), who acted as a figure head and elder statesman to the younger Illyrians.

The faces which peer out at us from the famous composite picture of the Illyrians<sup>22</sup> present an impression of unity of purpose. This picture includes all the prominent people active in the Illyrian Movement (57 are portrayed). One figure stands out from all the others both in scholarly treatment of the Illyrian Movement and in the popular imagination – Ljudevit Gaj.<sup>23</sup> Indeed it is quite impossible to imagine Illyrianism without him. He is chiefly remembered for his orthographical reforms, his founding of *Danica* and *Novine* (which entailed not only tireless activity in building up subscriptions but also considerable, dogged, diplomatic skills to overcome government reluctance to grant permission for such a venture), the setting up of a private printing press and the use of his dwellings as a meeting place for the Illyrians. His chief concrete achievements were therefore of the organisational kind. He was quick to perceive the primary practical needs of the Illyrian Movement and set about achieving his goals with tenacity and perseverance often against unlikely odds. Perhaps his greatest contribution however to the Illyrian Movement was that intangible quality, which so many of his contemporaries (among them Kollár and Sreznevskij) noted, of natural leadership. He clearly had that ability to make others believe in his cause and get these same people, often of totally different mentality from his own, to work together for the same cause. He it was who brought the other Illyrians together, even to the point of tempting them away from their homes to fight for the Illyrian cause in Zagreb. He also had the ability of the

true leader of delegating responsibility. This is perhaps best illustrated in the way that *Danica* continued with undiminished strength despite Gaj's increasingly frequent and lengthy absences from Zagreb on diplomatic business. It is ironical that the unity of purpose and sense of mission which he had instilled in the men he had enlisted for the Illyrian cause remained long after Gaj himself had not only soured relations with several of them but had also, by his political involvements, moved to the very periphery of the Illyrian Movement.

No other single figure comes close to matching Gaj in importance.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, several of them made highly significant contributions to the stock of Croatian culture. These include Ivan Mažuranić,<sup>25</sup> the best writer of his age, Stanko Vraz, the most gifted poet and literary theoretician, Vjekoslav Babukić,<sup>26</sup> the grammarian, and Dimitrija Demeter,<sup>27</sup> the founder of Croatian dramaturgy and instigator of Croatian theatrical and musical life. It is interesting that most of them only began to develop their full potential in the 1840's when their achievements were no longer likely to be eclipsed by those of Gaj. Behind them is ranked a solid phalanx of good minor poets, prose writers and dramatists such as Pavel Stooš, Mirko Bogović, Antun Njemčić, Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski, Ljudevit Vukotinović, Dragotin Rakovac, as well as the philologists Bogoslav Šulek and Ivan Trnski. A major poet – Petar Preradović – was also greatly influenced by Illyrianism. The contributions of these men to the development of the Croatian literary language will, I hope, become clearer during the chapters to come.

While there is no difficulty in identifying the beginning of the Illyrian Movement, it is much more problematical to say when it ended or lost its momentum. The ideas of the Illyrians were continued by the so-called Zagreb linguistic circle which profoundly influenced such important linguists as Vatroslav Jagić. Several of the Illyrians continued their activities after 1848 – Demeter, Trnski, Babukić and Šulek. Nevertheless, there is no question that it is the period 1830-1848 which is most closely identified with the Illyrian Movement.

It bears repeating that at the very heart of all this cultural activity was the language question. As Kalenić points out, "Za taj upravo fascinantni plan bez premca u prošlosti ilirci su kreirali i svoju jezičnu politiku ...."<sup>28</sup> Before we can proceed to an examination of this language policy, something needs to be said about the general language situation in Croatia at the beginning of the Illyrian period and in particular about the status of Croatian within it.

## 1.2 The Language Situation in Croatia in the Early Nineteenth Century

As elsewhere in the multi-national Habsburg Empire, the language situation in Croatia in the early 19thC was highly complex. Moreover, the full complexity of the situation, while now probably unrecoverable in all its details, can only be properly understood if we bear in mind not only the sheer number of languages spoken but also their different social functions, not forgetting the existence of widespread bilingualism.

Of the languages spoken in Croatia, Italian (or a dialectal form of it) was the most restricted. It was spoken only on the Dalmatian coast in the larger towns. It is arguable that many native urban speakers of Croatian on the coast were to varying extents bilingual in Italian. With the end of Venetian dominion over Dalmatia, Italian lost many of its social functions and also suffered some loss of prestige.

Latin was widely known throughout Croatia among the educated classes. Its most important functions were clearly in the law and the Church. It is clear however that following the Josephian reforms it was giving way to German as the language of education and scholarship. Sessions of the Croatian *Sabor* were still carried out in Latin.

Hungarian was not widely spoken but enjoyed considerable prestige among the Croatian aristocracy. It is also important to remember that Croatia as part of Hungary was, like Slovakia, subject to a strong wave of Magyarisation in the first half of the 19thC. Indeed, in part, the Illyrian Movement was a reaction to the threat of Magyarisation of Croatian society. It is likely that in towns like Varaždin and Zagreb many intellectuals spoke some Hungarian or had some passive knowledge of the language. (The extent to which this bilingualism affected the development of the Croatian lexicon will be explored in 3.3.2.2 and 3.5.2).

German was not only widely spoken by the Germans living in the cities of civilian Croatia, it was also the language of the army and served as the *lingua franca* for the whole urban population. As easily the most widespread language of Austria/Hungary and the language of the Viennese court German carried with it enormous prestige. It was also the language of the public theatres and of newspapers. In addition it served as the only viable language of intellectual discourse. From this perspective, Zagreb was predominantly a German-speaking city in the early 19thC. The imprint of this German dominance can still be

clearly discerned in the vocabulary of the Zagreb dialect today.<sup>29</sup> Even on the Dalmatian coast, particularly where commercial ties with the German-speaking interior were strong, the impact of the German language was increasing.

Croatian was the sole language spoken throughout the countryside. The principal dialects spoken were kajkavian in Croatia proper, štokavian-ikavian in Slavonia and Lika, štokavian-jekavian in Dubrovnik and čakavian on the Dalmatian coast. As a written language, Croatian existed in three forms – stokavian-ikavian, stokavian-jekavian and kajkavian. It is doubtful whether much was read in any of these written forms at the time. They certainly cannot be regarded as standard languages, nor did they have much prestige outside the dialect areas on which each was based.<sup>30</sup> Croatian had no legal status. It was not the language of the courts, the *sabor*, the Church or newspapers. There was no Croatian theatre. In the cities Croatian was confined to the lower bourgeoisie. The urban dialects were saturated with lexical elements from German inland and from Italian on the coast.

Something of the language situation I have just described can be illustrated from the biographies of the Illyrians themselves. Ivan Mažuranić, who attended *gymnasium* in Rijeka, published his first poem in 1832 in Hungarian. Ljudevit Gaj used German as his normal language at home (his mother was German, his father first generation Croat). Gaj's first work *Die Schlösser bei Krapina* was composed in German. The mother tongue of Demeter was Greek. As Šidak has pointed out, German was "jene Sprache, mittels deren so viele Illyrier, nicht nur in ihrer Jugendzeit, ihre intimsten Gefühle und subtilsten Gedanken ausgedrückt haben".<sup>31</sup> Also worthy of note is that the Illyrians represented several different dialects and literary traditions, from the čakavian Mažuranić brothers, through the kajkavian Gaj to the štokavian Babukić, to say nothing of the Greek Demeter and the Slovenian Vraz. The Illyrians, in sum, were born into a milieu where German, Hungarian and Latin had status and prestige, while written Croatian lacked both these attributes and furthermore laboured under the disadvantage of being split into three separate forms with quite different traditions.

In terms of modern language planning theory, we could describe the situation in Croatia in the early 19thC as "exoglossic",<sup>32</sup> that is to say the official languages were all imported ones. Progress towards an "endoglossic" state was slow and can be said to have been completed only after World War I. In analysing language functions in multi-lingual states,

Cobarrubias makes the useful distinction between “competitive” and “non-competitive” situations.<sup>35</sup> Clearly, a promoted Croatian language would inevitably be involved in competition for status with the established languages. Seen from the perspective of linguistic development, six types of language status can be distinguished according to Heinz Kloss<sup>34</sup>: 1) a fully modernised, mature, standard language, 2) a small-group standard language, which due to the relatively small number of uses has a limited scope of interaction and communication, 3) an archaic standard language unfit for teaching and modern science and technology, 4) a young standard language recently standardised for some specific purpose, 5) an unstandardised, alphabetized language, and 6) a preliterate language. Croatian fits most readily into type 2 of Kloss's classification, but with elements of 5. With respect to a language's juridical status, Cobarrubias distinguishes six possible situations: 1) only national, official language, 2) joint official language, 3) a regional official language, 4) a language promoted by the authorities but without legal status, 5) a tolerated language, and 6) a proscribed language.<sup>35</sup> Within this classification Croatian appears as a tolerated language, though it is worth noting that it was not until 1843 that Croatian was first used (by Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski) in place of Latin in the Croatian *Sabor*.<sup>36</sup>

The language situation which I have described above serves to show what language planning tasks confronted the Illyrians. According to the now classic division of language planning into “status” and “corpus” planning,<sup>37</sup> the Illyrians faced the dual problem of improving the status of Croatian *vis-à-vis* the other written codes used in Croatia and in elaborating a standard language which would enjoy prestige and recognition from all Croats.

### 1.3 The Formation of the Modern Croatian Literary Language

All the evidence suggests that in the 1830's and 1840's (particularly from 1835 to 1843) a dramatic transformation took place in the language situation in Croatia, most markedly in Zagreb itself. In this short time-span, Croatian became the most important language of intellectual discourse. Journalism in Croatian was put on a firm footing; literature of quality was published; grammars and dictionaries were produced; a Croatian theatre and native-language repertoire were established. In terms of Kloss's classification of status, Croatian moved from being “a small group language” with “a limited scope of interaction and communication” (2) to a “fully modernised, mature, standard language” (1). Not until after

1848 did the juridical status of Croatian begin to change. The second half of the century however saw it acquiring ever higher legal status.

This radical transformation in the status of Croatian was the result not only of changing attitudes to the national question in Croatia but also of heightening prestige of the literary language itself. This new prestige was in turn brought about in large measure by the Illyrians' determination to create a written code which would be supra-dialectal, thus avoiding the provincial particularism of the past. On grounds that it was the most widespread and that it was the basis for the much admired language of Dalmatian Renaissance literature, the štokavian dialect was chosen as the base of the new literary language, this in spite of the fact that Babukić alone of the leading figures of the Illyrian Movement was a native speaker of štokavian.<sup>38</sup> From 1836 *Danica* began to switch to štokavian from the earlier kajkavian (ironically Gaj himself was one of the last contributors to *Danica* to move to exclusive use of štokavian). In 1836 too Babukic published the first of his grammatical descriptions of literary Croatian which were to set the seal on what constituted correct usage. In view of his knowledge of štokavian and his keen interest in linguistics, it was natural that Babukic soon became the arbiter and codifier of the morphology of the new literary language. Gaj's orthography with its reliance on diacritic marks modelled on those of Czech replaced the numerous local orthographies based on the spelling conventions of Latin, Hungarian, German and Italian and quickly won universal acceptance. An important feature of this new orthography was the introduction of the grapheme Š to represent the various dialectal pronunciations which had developed from CS \*š. In this way Gaj hoped to transcend the regional differences of the ikavian Slavonians and Dalmatians, the jekavian Bosnians and Ragusans and the ekavians of Croatia proper. This compromise was accepted during the Illyrian period but was later abandoned in favour of the jekavian/ijekavian usage of the East Hercegovinian neo-štokavian dialect.<sup>39</sup>

In short the newly reformed Croatian literary language presented a unified, codified front. The creation of this new literary language has been described by Auty as the "most lasting creation" of the Illyrian Movement.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, more recently, Auty has forced us to recognise that none of the written codes of Croatian before 1836 can be properly regarded as literary languages, and that this Illyrian creation was the beginning of the modern literary language as we know it today.<sup>41</sup> There remained only one essential problem unresolved – the enrichment and standardisation of the vocabulary. The resolution of this problem and its



consequences for the subsequent development of the vocabulary of literary Croatian (and to some extent also Serbian) are the subject-matter of this book.

#### 1.4 A Brief Statement of Aims

According to the Prague School, one of the basic requirements for a literary language is that it should be "polyvalent", i.e., capable of functioning as the vehicle of communication in all possible language situations. For a language to achieve this polyvalency it must clearly possess a vocabulary adequate for the expression of all the realities and abstractions perceived by the speakers of that language. In the case of a revived language this can present particular problems, since it will often be the case that the language in question has lagged behind the world of ideas and material progress. The process by which a language adapts to its new functions is usually carried out in imitation of some other linguistic model. This process has been termed by Henrik Becker *Sprachanschluss*.<sup>42</sup> The lexical developments inherent in this process he calls *Spracherneuerung* (renewal), *Sprachreinigung* (purification), *Sprachbereicherung* (enrichment) and *Sprachnormierung* (codification).

My intention in this book is therefore to set out in broad outlines the means by which this process of *Sprachanschluss* in the Croatian vocabulary was carried out in the 1830's and 1840's and to determine the extent to which the process was completed. The treatment falls naturally into four main parts:

- 1) a characterisation of the Croatian lexical system on the eve of the Illyrian reforms (Chapter 2);
- 2) an examination of the sources and methods of lexical enrichment (Chapter 3);
- 3) a study of the functional aspects of the restructured vocabulary with particular emphasis on purification and standardisation (Chapter 4); and
- 4) an assessment of the overall impact of the changes wrought during the Illyrian period on literary Croatian (and Serbian) (Chapter 5).

In the Conclusion (Chapter 6) I shall attempt to draw together the threads from these previous chapters, demonstrate the role of the Illyrian reforms from the perspective of the lexical history of literary Serbo-Croatian, and finally present some of the theoretical implications of this study.

### 1.5 Previous Treatment of this Subject

The contribution of the Illyrian Movement to the lexical development of literary Croatian has never before been treated as a single subject. It has however formed part of general treatments of the development of the Croatian (Cr) literary language (Jonke 1965 and Vince 1978). It has been dealt with in works on Slovene (Sln) influence on Cr (Breznik 1931), Czech (Cz) and Russian (R) loanwords (Maretić 1892), calques (Rammelmeyer 1975) in Cr and in an article on lexical enrichment in the Slavonic linguistic revivals (Auty 1972). Given the dearth of specific word-histories – an obvious prerequisite for any general statement on lexical development – the discussion by Ilešič (1932) of the search by Slovenes and Croats for words to designate 'university', 'railway', 'station', 'train' is especially welcome. The most illuminating contribution to the subject at hand remains Dukat (1937), a study of the dictionary of Mažuranić and Užarević of 1842. In view of the somewhat disparate nature of the secondary sources I shall review them in chronological rather than in topical sequence.

The first work of major scholarly importance to appear was the treatment of R and Cz loanwords by Tomo Maretić.<sup>43</sup> He immediately points out the difficulty of distinguishing between R and Cz loans or of recognising loanwords as distinct from direct calquing of German (G) models – problems with which modern scholarship still has to wrestle. He notes in any case that many of the Bohemianisms are themselves calqued on G. For our period, he claims that R loans are much less abundant than Cz loans (his source for this period is the dictionary of Mažuranić and Užarević of 1842). From this dictionary he gives the following loans from Cz: *časopis*, *lučba*, *okolnost*, *sveopći*, *upliv*, *zbirka*; and from R: *preimućstvo*, *rasijan*, *savjest*, *zanimljiv*, etc.; *predmet*, *priroda* (first attested in Šulek's dictionary of 1860 according to Maretić) and *narječje* could, he says, be from either source; *prosvjeta* he likens to both R *prosvětenie* and Cz *osveta* without mentioning its predecessor *prosvjećenje* in *Danica*. Several words are undoubtedly older than Maretić would have us believe – *prednost*, *prirodopis*, *uzduh*, *zbornik*. Indeed, herein lies Maretić's principal methodological weakness: apart from the dictionaries, he appears quite ignorant of the chronology of the words in question. Illustrative of this is his complaint about the needless and unjustified introduction of the Cz loanword *upliv* when the better-formed *utjecaj* already existed in Šulek. As we shall see, *upliv* predated *utjecaj* by several decades. Maretić's comment is therefore irrelevant. He also fails to see that a loanword does not necessarily have to be supported by an already existing form in the language. That Maretić makes no mention of the fact that

the parallel form *vpliv* entered Sln at the same time that *upliv* entered Cr and that it has since been fully accepted in that language is also indicative of his methodological shortcomings.

Breznik's study of the influence of Sln dictionaries on Cr lexicography served to fill this particular lacuna.<sup>44</sup> He first lists those words which Mažuranić-Užarević took from Murko: *časopis, dokaz, dopis, krajobraz, napjev, okolnost, slovstvo*; he claims *brzovoz* in Veselić's dictionary of 1853 as Sln in origin; and he further lists those words which he believes Šulek has derived from Janežič's dictionary: *blagostanje, glazba* (first attested in Pohlin with a different meaning), *mudroslovac, mudroslovlje, predstava, sustav, utisak*. While Breznik's work adds details to our picture of Cr lexical enrichment and provides a new and important perspective, it must be pointed out that much of his argumentation is defective. Firstly, he has not used *Sbirka* (a collection of unfamiliar words published as an appendix to *Danica*, see 1.6) or consulted any Cr literature of the period, relying instead on the Academy Dictionary (ARJ), Mažuranić-Užarević (MU), Veselić and Šulek for his dating of Cr words. Most of the words listed above are in fact, as we shall see in Chapter 3, recorded in *Danica* (1835-42). Secondly he succumbs to the *post hoc propter hoc* fallacy in assuming that an earlier dating in a Sln dictionary inevitably points to a Sln loanword. Nevertheless, Breznik's work, strengthened as it is by his knowledge of Cz loanwords, or for that matter of Sln itself as a source of loanwords, not to speak of the possibility of mutual lexical enrichment between Sln and Cr, could no longer be ignored.

The first scholar to demonstrate the need to use primary sources other than dictionaries was Ilešič, who has given us exemplary word-histories for the concepts 'university', 'railway' etc. in Sln and Cr.<sup>45</sup> His work is firmly based on a reading of contemporary Sln and Cr newspapers and weeklies. He demonstrates the instability of the new coinings, how competing synonyms may exist side by side, and the possibility that a new word in Cr may have originated in Slaveno-Serbian (*sveučilište*). Ilešič provided an excellent model for subsequent researchers to follow. Unfortunately, his study has not prompted more of its kind.

The most important single contribution to our subject is Vladoje Dukat's article on the background and sources to the dictionary of Mažuranić and Užarević.<sup>46</sup> He regards MU as the first modern Cr dictionary and an important base for Šulek's of the next decade. He

claims that it has never been given its due because of its exclusion from the sources of ARj. He believes that Ivan Mažuranić's contribution is greater than that of Jakub Užarević and that the former was aided by his brother Antun, the compiler, in Dukat's view, of *Sbirka*. As in his other numerous articles on Cr lexicography, Dukat sets out to show how the dictionary built on its predecessors. In this case however little use seems to have been made of the earlier dictionaries. Only Stulli has provided much material: *naravoslovac* (*Naturforscher*), *petobiće* (*Quintessenz*), *pričoslovlje* (*Mythologie*). According to Dukat, Šulek's note in the preface to his own dictionary that there are no "neugeschmiedete Wörter" in MU should be taken with a pinch of salt, since the material in the old dictionaries would have been inadequate. MU looked first to Cz and R (the latter mostly via Serbian). Sln should also be taken into account, but Dukat points out Breznik's ignorance of *Sbirka* and the Ballmann-Friedrich dictionary (BF) (see 2.4) as possible alternative sources. *Slovstvo*, *uptiv*, *zbirka* are probably taken from BF rather than Murko in Dukat's view, while *casopis*, *dokaz*, *dopis*, *listovnica* and *napjev* could be from *Sbirka* or BF rather than Sln usage. Dukat adds to the list of new words in MU, which are attested in BF or *Sbirka*: *kazalište*, *olovka* (both in *Sbirka*), *slovnica* (in BF). Dukat's work represents therefore a considerable improvement on Maretić and Breznik.

Dukat is the first scholar to demonstrate the importance of *Sbirka* for the study of the enrichment process. He attributes the following to *Sbirka*: *časopis*, *dnevnik*, *dvoboj*, *igrokaz*, *jezikoslovlje*, *kazalište*, *olovka*, *parobrod*, *parokrug*, *parovoz*, *sveučilište*, *tjednik*. He is quick to point out however that MU does not use *Sbirka* uncritically. It rejects a number of kajkavian words as well as some of its new coinings, e.g., *svjetoljub* for *Kosmopolit* (but later restored by Šulek), *ranovrač* (a calque of G. *Wundarzt*).

Dukat provides evidence that he has first-hand knowledge of language usage in *Danica* itself. He notes for instance that, despite its absence from *Sbirka*, *slovstvo* is found in the pages of *Danica*. All the words which Dukat claims as being from BF can similarly be found at an earlier date in *Danica*. Indeed all these words, many of them absent from BF I, are designated in BF II as "D." or "Dan." suggesting that BF II has taken them from *Danica* directly (see 2.4 below). Doubt is to be cast therefore on Dukat's assertion that BF is a source for MU. Like Breznik before him, Dukat has probably fallen into the trap of drawing conclusions about influences on the basis of anteriority alone.

Finally, Dukat examines the coining of new words and the resemanticisation of domestic words in MU. He considers the following as neologisms or words with new meanings: *brodolomlje, cjenik, kišobran, krajopisje, parovoz, sladoled*.

Despite the reservations voiced above, it will be obvious that Dukat has gone a long way towards filling some of the gaps left by his predecessors in this field. Indeed even now his work remains the logical starting point for an investigation of the lexical enrichment of this period. He has not, of course, set himself the task of tackling the problems of studying the restructuring of the Cr vocabulary or assessing the overall contribution of the early revival movement to the Cr word-stock. Nevertheless, his is a critical and reliable account of the relationship of MU to contemporary language usage. It is a credit to his achievement that Zlatko Vince, writing over thirty years later, saw fit to quote Dukat almost *verbatim* in his own treatment of the lexical enrichment of the period.<sup>47</sup>

Ljudevit Jonke, the most prolific post-war writer on the Cr literary language as it developed in the 19thC, has not significantly enriched our knowledge of the period under review. His work tended to concentrate on Šulek and on the fate of literary Cr as part of an evolving SCr standard. Of the Illyrians, Jonke claims:

U izboru rječničkog blaga nisu se ograničavali samo na štokavsko jezično blago, nego su uzimali potrebne riječi i iz kajkavskoga i čakavskoga dijalekta, iz češkog i ruskog jezika, a sami su stvarali mnoge neologizme.<sup>48</sup>

This challenging statement is unfortunately not supported by any discussion or examples.

Jonke's essay on Cz elements in Cr<sup>49</sup> is an interesting overview of the subject. It is enhanced by the fact that he sketches in the sociolinguistic background to the loaning process. Most of the Illyrians knew Cz, read Cz works and some translated poetry and prose. He notes that dictionaries register Cz words long after their normal use in Cr. He identifies three stages of Cz loans in 19thC Cr: 1) the Illyrian stage, 2) words first appearing in Šulek's dictionary of 1860, and 3) (the largest number) in Šulek's dictionary of 1874. The first wave of Bohemianisms, which Jonke attributes to Gaj, Mažuranić and Vraz from about 1836 consists of only a small number of loans. However many of them have been retained to the present day. They have entered MU and Drobnić's dictionary and have been

so well assimilated that many of them are not marked as Cz loans in Šulek's dictionary of 1860. As examples he cites: *časopis, dostljedan, naslov, obrazovati, obzor, okolnost, podneblje, predmet, slog, ustav, zavod, zbirka; lučba*, he notes, despite its continued existence in the 19thC, is no longer part of the literary language. Jonke goes on to list those words which owe their presence in the modern literary language to their inclusion in Šulek's dictionaries. Some of these I have found attested earlier: *bajoslovan, prednost, prirodopis*.

In his essay on Šulek and terminology,<sup>50</sup> Jonke lists further words which have entered the literary language "posredstvom Šulekovih rječnika": *narječje, zvjezdoznanac*. This statement I find meaningless unless it is intended to suggest that, had these words not been included in Šulek's dictionaries, they would not have found their way into ARJ or the dictionary of Broz and Iveković (BI). *Narječje* (does he mean the word for 'dialect', 'adverb' or both?) is attested frequently before Šulek including the grammars of the Illyrian period composed by Vjekoslav Babukić, while *zvjezdoznanac*, as I have remarked elsewhere,<sup>51</sup> enjoys a very long lexicographical tradition, being recorded in the dictionaries of Mikalja, Belostenec, Della Bella, Jambrešić, Jurin, Vitezović, Voltiggi and MU.

Robert Auty's perceptive essay on the process of lexical enrichment in the Slavonic languages<sup>52</sup> pointed out in the development of literary Cr one area which might yield interesting data for the study of this process. Auty, who was much influenced by the ideas of Henrik Becker, was well aware both of the problems of investigating the source of neologisms and of the need to describe the process by which a language chooses from among the possible alternatives for lexical enrichment. He describes a collection of over 100 sheets and scraps of paper dealing with lexical problems among Gaj's manuscripts preserved in the Zagreb University Library (for more details see 1.6 below). They show, according to Auty, the very process of linguistic creation. He suggests that they should be analysed to find out 1) how many of Gaj's words were used before the 1830's, 2) how many of them were used by the Illyrians, and 3) how many of them have survived. The successful completion of this task would in Auty's words "add much to our understanding of the development and stabilization of the Croatian variant of the Serbo-Croatian literary language".

Auty discusses some of the material in detail, demonstrates instances of Gaj's search for a word for 'history' and other learned words, and draws attention to the use of certain suffixes, e.g., *-slovje* to translate *-logia*. On the last point, he suggests that, although it is

probable that Šulek in 1874 was influenced by Cz *-slovi* in his widespread use of this suffix, the possibility of native sources for this word-building element be investigated. This raises an important and hitherto neglected point concerning the possibility of the loaning of suffixes from one language to another beside that of the existence of a native impulse. I shall return to the importance of the *-slovje* element in the enrichment process in 4.4.2.

While clearly limited in scope, Auty's work provides us with the sort of material which is invaluable if we are to find out how the very process of coining was carried out. It is, as he says, of equal importance to find out which alternatives were rejected as to know when their ultimately successful competitors were first used. It is therefore a great pity that, to my knowledge, Auty's pioneering study has not been followed up by a more thoroughgoing analysis. This is all the more lamentable since such an analysis is a *desideratum* for a deeper knowledge of the contributions of individuals and particularly of the linguistic attitudes of the leading figure of the Illyrian Movement. As we shall see in 1.6, little if anything can be confidently stated at the present time about the practice or attitudes to lexical enrichment among the various figures of the period. Auty has stated that:

[W]ithout the deliberate direction, instruction and example of Jungmann, Štúr and Gaj the present-day literary languages of the Czechs, Slovaks and Croats would present to us a very different aspect.<sup>53</sup>

This challenging statement is one that must always be ringing in our ears as we tackle the problems envisaged in the present work.

Of outstanding importance for any study of the modern Cr lexicon is Matthias Rammelmeyer's treatment of calques in SCr.<sup>54</sup> Like all scholars since Unbegaun,<sup>55</sup> Rammelmeyer notes the differing degrees of calquing in the S and Cr standards. He is well aware of the difficulty of properly identifying calques and the problem of other Slavonic languages' having acted as intermediaries in the calquing process. In this connection he rightly regards Cz and R of great importance. He notes that the purism which led to this calquing leaned to a considerable degree on the Cz experience. His careful formulation of the relationship between Cr and Sln also merits study. He notes the large number of parallels in Sln and SCr and ascribes them to a "lebhafter Austausch in beiden Richtungen [der sich] ohne grossen zeitlichen Abstand zwischen Entstehung und Entlehnung des Wortes

vollzog, und zwar wohl stärker vom Serbokroatischen ins Slovenische”(p. 11). However, he does admit that German influence on culture was stronger in Slovenia than in Croatia. One of the reasons for the close development of Cr and Sln was the structural similarity between Sln and kajkavian. However, as Rammelmeyer says, the influence of Sln continued even after Štokavian had been adopted as the base for the new Cr literary standard. This was because the Illyrians considered their language, at least at first, as a viable means of communication for Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Rammelmeyer writes of this:

In der Praxis bedeutete dies, dass der Einfluss des Slovenischen auf die serbo-kroatische Lexik noch solange aufdauern konnte, bis die utopische Konzeption von der gemeinsamen Schriftsprache aller Südslaven mit dem Sieg der Anhänger der *Vukschen* Konzeption einer einheitlichen Schriftsprache für Serben und Kroaten auf neustokavischer Grundlage über die “Illyrier” erst gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts endgültig verlassen wurde. (p. 7)

Rammelmeyer's treatment of possible Cz, R and Sln mediation for specific words is best seen in the excellent word-histories which form the kernel of his book. Reference will often be made to these throughout the present work, since in most cases they present the most detailed information available, far surpassing the entries in ARj or Skok's etymological dictionary. Rammelmeyer has drawn his material from a very wide range of Cr and Sln dictionaries, including for our period such important sources as *Sbirka*. He admits with regret that the covering of all the primary literature, so important for a proper understanding of lexicology, is beyond the efforts of one researcher.

In his account of the chronology of calquing, Rammelmeyer recognises that calques have entered Cr throughout its history, but that the mainstream of G calques have entered Cr from the 30's of the 19thC (i.e., from the Illyrian period) until the German invasion during World War II. It is a pity that this statement, unremarkable in itself, has not been subjected to a more detailed and useful periodisation. Rammelmeyer is aware that literary calques are necessarily the creations of individuals and are often coined *ad hoc* with the result that they often do not win acceptance in the linguistic community without some difficulty, their first registration in a dictionary often being delayed long after their first appearance in prose; for the same reasons some are merely ephemeral. Rammelmeyer notes that calques are particularly popular in languages in periods of rapid lexical enrichment. In conclusion, it can



be said that the more general, theoretical and chronological aspects of Rammelmeyer's study are somewhat inferior to his individual word-histories. It is primarily for the latter therefore that his book retains its usefulness for the present study.

In recent years our knowledge of philological schools and attitudes to the literary language has been vastly enriched by the publication of Zlatko Vince's monumental undertaking *Putovima hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, Zagreb, 1978. Among other things (the book is a veritable source-book for a future history of the Croatian literary language), this invaluable work supplies detailed information on two fundamental questions in the history of the Cr vocabulary – purification and enrichment. No future student of these problems can afford to ignore Vince's painstaking research.

For the Illyrian period, Vince provides a detailed, critical summary of the work of Auty, Breznik, Dukat, Jonke and Maretić reviewed here. His book is a convenient starting point for a discussion of the Illyrian period without, I think it is fair to say, significantly advancing our factual knowledge of that specific period. He brings to the subject however an understanding of the enrichment and standardisation processes. He is aware of the Illyrians' frustrations at the inadequacies of dictionaries in registering new vocabulary. He stresses how important it is to know precisely when words of Cz and R origin for example appear in Cr for the first time.

The main importance of Vince's book for the present work lies in its detailed treatment of literary Cr (and S) before and after the Illyrian period. He provides for instance an excellent, impressively documented survey of lexicography and attempts at language planning before the Illyrian period. Chapter 2 of the present work is heavily indebted to that survey, which rests on his first-hand knowledge of the activity of groups and individuals particularly from the end of the 18thC onwards. Of particular importance for us is his work on *Kraljski Dalmatin* (hereafter KD), which not only provides a more accurate chronology for certain words but more importantly perhaps highlights the problems facing the translator at the beginning of the 19thC in seeking Cr equivalents for foreign words. He also gives examples of the vocabulary of certain innovators in Cr lexicography at the beginning of the 19thC.

His other important contribution for us is his study of the reception, and at times rejection, of Illyrian lexical reforms by the various Cr philological schools of the 19thC. The

degree to which these reforms were accepted outside Zagreb is a theme running through much of his book. The observations made in 5.2 of the present work would not have been possible without the insights and structural framework provided by Vince's acute and detailed analysis of the activities and philosophies of these much-neglected provincial philological schools.

Finally, passing mention should be made of two small articles by István Nyomárkay.<sup>56</sup> The first of these investigates some parallels in the calquing of Cr and Hungarian. Some of these had already been noted by Unbegaun,<sup>57</sup> but Nyomárkay goes a stage further:

Da die ungarische Sprachneuerung und damit die massenhafte Wortbildung um einige Jahrzehnte den ähnlichen kroatischen Bestrebungen vorangingen, ist es möglich, dass auch schon das ungarische Muster bei den Kroaten in der Übersetzung der deutschen Wörter einen gewissen Einfluss ausgeübt hat. (p. 310)

By way of example he points to the “participial” constructions of the type *spavaća košulja* for G *Schlafhemd*, Hung *halóing*. These belong to a time when, he claims, “die kroatisch-ungarischen sprachlichen Beziehungen stärker als der deutsche Einfluss waren”. This interesting thesis clearly needs more detailed treatment before it can be accepted. Nevertheless it deserves careful consideration particularly for the period under review. In the second article, prompted by the publication of Rammelmeyer's book, Nyomárkay seeks to develop his thesis further by pointing out that Cr *igrokaz* is poorly motivated as a calque of G *Schauspiel*, being closer to Hung *játékszín*, cf. too *kazalište* as a calque of Hung *színház*. Nyomárkay's advancement of Hungarian as a source of lexical enrichment and his analysis of the different degrees to which Hung and Cr follow German word-building patterns (Cr is much more reluctant to form compounds, see 4.4) have shed fresh light on the factors affecting the lexical enrichment of Cr in the Illyrian period.

## 1.6 Sources, Methodology and Scope

Briefly stated, the aim of this book is to provide a detailed examination of the lexical reforms of literary Cr in the 30's and early 40's of the 19thC. The justification for choosing this particular period is that it is precisely the time which saw the creation of a modern

renewed literary language. It is marked by four events of primary significance for the revival of the literary language:

- 1) the publication of Gaj's *Kratka Osnova* of 1830 (see 2.3.4);
- 2) the founding of *Danica* in 1835 as principal organ of the Illyrian Movement;
- 3) the introduction from 1836 of the Štokavian dialect as base of the literary language; and
- 4) the appearance in 1842 of MU, the first dictionary to reflect the needs of this modernised language.

The essential element in a modernised language is its ability to serve as the means of communicating general ideas on a variety of cultural subjects. The key words in my study are therefore those which can be designated as the *sine qua non* of educated speech. I shall not be examining in detail the creation of a proper terminology in any particular sphere (some attention to the provision of specialist terminology, particularly in the field of linguistics, is given in 4.3). Rather our attention will be focussed on the following, admittedly rather vaguely defined, areas of vocabulary:

- 1) the names of disciplines, areas of study and their practitioners, e.g., history, geography, astronomy;
- 2) general literary and cultural terms, e.g., literature, poetry, theatre, philosophy;
- 3) the names of institutions, e.g., university, library, railways, republic, archive, art gallery;
- 4) abstract words applicable to most areas of intellectual debate, e.g., influence, development, circumstance, impression, proof, conclusion, subject, concept, theory, expression.

The list given above is meant only to illustrate the general areas where lexical enrichment has been of paramount importance. Since the groups of words under discussion form an open-ended part of the vocabulary, the choice of material precludes any proper quantification of the lexical enrichment process. What at first sight may appear to be a major impediment to a properly verifiable study of enrichment is vindicated by the fact that in assessing the importance of the Illyrian Movement I am concerned not so much with statistical information as with problems of models and patterns as illustrated by key words.<sup>58</sup> All statements based on quantification in this book (and they are certainly not lacking!) should therefore be read with this *caveat* in mind.

As general indicators of the state of the vocabulary before and after our period I have taken BF I and MU. Vuk's dictionaries of 1818 and 1852 will serve for comparison with the lexicon of contemporary literary S (but for their reliability as a guide to S usage, see 3.1.3). I have consulted most of the earlier dictionaries as well as ARj, BI and Šulek (1860 and 1974). In the review of previous contributions to this topic I pointed out the need for a study based not merely on lexicographical entries but also on a proper examination of actual usage. My main source for such usage is *Danica* for the years I to VIII (i.e., from January 10, 1835 to December 24, 1842). Because of the areas of vocabulary which are my concern, I have ignored the poetry published in *Danica* and have concentrated instead on the (non-narrative) prose, including a good measure of translated material. The latter provides an opportunity to see how a writer comes to grips with finding equivalents for foreign terms,<sup>59</sup> while the preference for non-narrative prose is justified in that this is the very genre which a new literary language needs most to develop.<sup>60</sup> The choice of *Danica* as the central primary source is based on the following considerations:

- 1) it is the journal where the Illyrians published much of their work (a number of works published elsewhere were reprinted in *Danica*, e.g., Gaj's orthography and Babukić's grammar);
- 2) all the leading figures of the Illyrian Movement -- Gaj, Babukic, Demeter, Vraz and the Mažuranić brothers (for details, see 4.5.3) -- contributed to the journal to a significant extent;
- 3) it reflects the aesthetic and ideals of precisely that group of individuals whose attitudes form part of our subject of study;
- 4) as a literary and cultural journal, the subject matter lends itself to a study of precisely those lexical items which are the central concern of this book (in this respect the usefulness of *Danica* far surpasses that of its sister publication, the bi-weekly *Ilirske Narodne Novine* (*Novine*) -- an exploratory study of *Novine* (pp. 1-74) did not reveal any essential differences of approach);
- 5) an examination of *Danica* is well within the scope of a single investigator and is rendered still easier by the availability of an excellent reprint edition (Zagreb, 1970) under the editorship of Ivo Frangeš.

Within *Danica* itself there is one source which commands our special attention -- *Sbirka nĕkojih reĕih, koje su ili u gornjoj ili donjoj Ilirii pomanje poznane* (hereafter *Sbirka*), which appears at the end of the bound editions of 1835. It has attracted considerable

scholarly interest, and thus its contents are well represented in most works dealing with the period. *Sbirka* is one of the stratagems used by the Illyrians to help in the process of familiarisation and stabilisation of certain words (see 4.2.2). On the whole, it is a fair reflection of the language of *Danica* itself.

In addition, two manuscript sources merit our attention – Gaj's notes on language and Babukić's personal annotated copy of MU. The contents of Gaj's rough notes have been described in general terms by Robert Auty (see 1.5) but have not yet received a thorough investigation. The sheets of paper are undated and not numbered. This of course raises both problems of identification when quoting from them and difficulties of dating them beyond a broad division into kajkavian and old orthography (i.e., before 1836) and štokavian and reformed orthography (after 1836). All references to these notes will be designated *Gaj's Notes* with an indication of the orthography and where appropriate the context. Of particular interest are gaps in Gaj's lists of words, which strongly suggest the lack of a suitable Cr equivalent in Gaj's active vocabulary. Often these gaps have been filled in later in a different ink, an indication perhaps that Gaj used these scraps as working lists which could be brought up to date later. In addition to supplying information on lexical enrichment and experimentation in the crucial years between *Kratka Osnova* and *Danica* this source is important for determining Gaj's personal role in planning and executing the lexical reforms. I shall return to review its contents therefore in 4.5.

Babukić's personal working copy of MU is preserved in the National and University Library in Zagreb under the signatura R 3396. It is interfoliated and annotated, the notes appearing on almost every page. Several styles of handwriting can be seen – some hurried, others more careful – but it is not possible to date the entries (except where datable literary sources are cited). Dukat notes that Babukić continued to make additions to the dictionary even after the publication of Šulek (1860). He concluded from this that the annotations were more a hobby for Babukić than suggestions for the preparation of a second edition.<sup>61</sup> The notes include additions, corrections, new glosses, some etymologies, documentation, improved cross-referencing and even commentary on the admissibility of certain words. For example, opposite p. 79 for *Begriff* Babukić has: *misao, pomisao (pojam je skovano polag ceskoga pojema, a ponjatje to je rusko)*<sup>62</sup> for *odstraniti* (opp. p. 92) he notes “nevalja, to je ocit germanizam”;<sup>63</sup> for *Phisik (sic)* (opp. p. 281) he suggests *siloslovje* with the note “po češkoi sylozpyt”. In short, the manuscript provides not only valuable information on individual

words but an incomparable opportunity to glimpse the linguistic philosophy of possibly the most important figure in the Cr national revival in the lexical domain. The information available in this source, designated hereafter as MU (Babukić), will be distilled into the description of the individual contribution of Babukić to the lexical reforms of the Illyrian period in 4.5.

Finally I have made use of the two editions of letters written to Gaj (hereafter *Pisma Gaju* I and II)<sup>64</sup> which allow a somewhat better dating for certain words (particularly for the period 1830-5) and provide information on the usage of Gaj's correspondents.

Although the enrichment of Cr is *sui generis*, it should be noted that there are universal problems which confront a language undergoing *Sprachanschluss*. In arriving at a methodology for the present work, I have been influenced by the approaches used to investigate analogous language situations. I shall briefly review some of them and discuss their applicability to the Cr situation.

The most widespread approach to the lexical enrichment of European literary languages is to assess the impact of a series of individuals and to compare their explicit statements on lexical enrichment with their actual practice.<sup>65</sup> However desirable, such an approach is invalidated for Cr by several factors:

- 1) the total absence of explicit, coherent statements about lexical reform;
- 2) the lack of first-hand evidence of individual practice (a problem intensified by the fact that the main source is a periodical with, as I shall demonstrate in 4.4.2, some editorial control over the form articles take);
- 3) the short time-frame which vitiates against the reliability of any conjectures about the coiner of a particular word.

Apart from an assessment of individual practice and attitudes in 4.5, this book will concentrate on the composite role of the Illyrians rather than on personal preferences and achievements.

An alternative is to structure the material along semantic lines.<sup>66</sup> In view of my stated aim that this is a study of the creation of a general abstract and learned vocabulary, this model seems to me to have limited applicability.

Many of the problems and approaches in the study of lexical enrichment are set out in Henrik Becker's pioneering book on *Sprachanschluss* in Cz and Hung.<sup>67</sup> He lays particular stress on the importance of foreign language models, with translation as a vital part of the process.<sup>68</sup> He describes in some detail the practical steps undertaken in the introduction of new words – the use of footnotes, appendices and glosses to explain new words, the importance of key journals in familiarising the public with newly coined words. Becker provides insights not only into the stratagems for language renewal but also the structural changes at work. Both of these concerns are reflected in the present work, and my approach to them is much influenced by Becker's treatment.

Of all the works known to me on the restructuring of a language's lexical system the most successful in my view is another product of the Prague school – Alois Jedlička's treatment of Josef Jungmann's role in the creation of a literary and linguistic terminology in Cz.<sup>69</sup> Despite its apparently limited scope, this book offers a thoroughly workable model for investigating the problem of lexical reform. It opens with a review of lexical developments prior to Jungmann; provides a succinct description of the process of restructuring the lexical system; examines the sources for new words (Slavonic loans, calques, neologisms, resemanticisation, revival of old words) and the linguistic attitudes which determined their use; and proceeds to an overall analysis of Jungmann's contribution to the literary and linguistic terminology of Cz. In short, Jedlička's book provides an excellent model, and any methodological similarities between his and the present work are by no means fortuitous.

Jedlička's book provides not only a methodological framework but also a theoretical model for the present work. His treatment of language revival is a natural outcome of the Prague School's emphasis on the role of structure and function in language. Such an approach has brought intellectual rigour to both lexicology and to the study of literary languages in general. I have attempted in the present work, even when dealing with individual words, to bear in mind the overall structure of the lexicon together with its cultural and social functions.

The advances made in recent years in sociolinguistic theory, particularly in the field of language planning, have greatly influenced the final shape of this book. Indeed, in a sense, this book is the description of a particular language situation, the corpus planning which the situation engendered, and of the impact of this corpus planning on the subsequent

development of the Cr lexicon. Most of the studies of language planning, and this is particularly true of corpus planning, deal with recent or contemporary situations. The present work is intended to shed light on the process of corpus planning in a relatively remote historical period. If this intention is fulfilled, then this book may be seen as a contribution to what Charles Ferguson has identified as one of the problem areas in the state of the art of language planning studies, namely that "studies of language-planning processes have been generally well separated from systematic studies of language change."<sup>70</sup> By taking a concrete example of language change and treating it in terms both of the Prague School theory of literary languages and modern language planning theory I hope to be able to illustrate concretely the connection between the concerns of these different approaches to language study. Finally, given the insecure place of lexicology within linguistics as a discipline, I should like to think that this modest study will provide further proof of the centrality of studies of the lexicon in the overall investigation of a particular language.



## CHAPTER 2: THE STATE OF THE CROATIAN VOCABULARY PRIOR TO THE ILLYRIAN MOVEMENT

### 2.0 Introduction

Any study of the contribution made by the Illyrians to the development of the Cr vocabulary can be undertaken only after a proper assessment of the condition of the language on the eve of the Illyrian period. I shall begin my assessment with a survey of Cr lexicography up to 1810; then I shall describe the efforts made in Zadar to modernise Cr during the Napoleonic Administration (1806-12); and finally I shall analyse the vocabulary of the early 19thC in the writings of Starčević, Drašković, Brlić and Gaj himself. Before proceeding to the conclusions however I shall investigate the first volume (Cr-G) of the Richter-Ballmann-Fröhlich dictionary (BF) of 1839 as a final reflection of the vocabulary of the pre-Illyrian period. In the concluding section I shall attempt to set out in point form the situation of the Cr vocabulary in the early 1830's and identify the tasks confronting the Illyrian reformers.

### 2.1 The lexicographical tradition

Before the Illyrian period, the Cr literary language had enjoyed one of the longest and richest lexicographical traditions in the Slavonic world.<sup>71</sup> It begins with the quinquilingual dictionary compiled in 1595 by Faust Vrančić,<sup>72</sup> continues unbroken throughout the 17th and 18thC and culminates in the ambitious six volumes of Joakim Stulli (Stulić) of 1801, 1806 and 1810.<sup>73</sup> This combined output provides an enormous store of words. Moreover it reflects the usage of all three major literary dialects. We have for instance two kajkavian dictionaries – a modest one by Juraj Habdelić of 1670<sup>74</sup> and the more important (and recently reprinted) work of Ivan Belostenec published posthumously in 1740;<sup>75</sup> cakavian is represented by Vrančić and Mikalja (1649)<sup>76</sup> both of them reflecting in different degrees Štokavian (i.e. Dalmatian and, to some extent, Bosnian usage). Two other major dictionaries – those of Della Bella (in two editions of 1728 and 1785)<sup>77</sup> and Stulli – are based almost exclusively on stokavian. Finally Jambrešić's dictionary<sup>78</sup> is based partly on kajkavian and partly on Štokavian usage.

Not without importance for the subsequent development of the Cr literary language is the fact that the Štokavian element is more strongly represented in the overall output of these dictionaries than that of the other dialects. Indeed, because of the practice of building on the work of their predecessors, lexicographers might easily incorporate in their dictionaries words from another dialect. The role played by these lexicographers in furthering the transportability of a word from dialect to dialect cannot be underestimated. This is particularly true in the area which is our major concern in the present work – abstract vocabulary. Thus Belostenec, whose dictionary is based on kajkavian, made use not only of Habelić but also Vrančić, Mikalja and Della Bella (the last being used after Belostenec's death in the final compilation of the dictionary). This ensured that elements of cakavian and, to an even greater extent, stokavian usage found their way into his dictionary sometimes, though not always, marked “(D.)” for Dalmatian.<sup>79</sup> Even Jambrešić, whose endeavour is generally considered to be the most original and independent of the 18thC dictionaries, inevitably incorporated kajkavian elements into his otherwise predominantly stokavian work as a result of his prolonged teaching stints in kajkavian Zagreb and Varaždin. This transportability of words led to the development of a common Cr lexical tradition, which acted as an important counterbalance to the lexical disparateness caused by the existence of separate literary dialects.

In addition to recording actual usage or accepting words from earlier dictionaries, several of these lexicographers coined words of their own. Important in this respect, though their efforts were rarely crowned with success, were Della Bella, Stulli and especially Jambrešić. Others sought enrichment from other Slavonic languages – Mikalja from Cz and Polish (Pol), Stulli from Pol and R, and Vitezović from Cz.<sup>80</sup>

Another important aspect of all these dictionaries is that they are bi- or poly-lingual, the Academy Dictionary (1880-1976)<sup>81</sup> being the first mono-lingual SCr dictionary. Cr appears first in only Mikalja, Stulli (1806), Voltiggi,<sup>82</sup> Habelić and Belostenec. In all other cases Cr appears as a gloss of Italian (It) or Latin (Lat). It is noteworthy that almost invariably the volume or section of a dictionary where Cr is given first is smaller than where It or Lat appears first. This is because lexicographers were forced to find a Cr equivalent for an It or Lat word. Where no such word existed, either a circumlocutory explanation was given or a calque on the model of the Lat or It word was coined. Thus for ‘alchemist’ we find the following: – Mikalja:3 – tko cini *alkimiu*, *alkimia*, *način za činiti zlato*; Belostenec

l:61 – *mešter ki zlato iz železa ali ostaloga dugovanja napravi*; Stulli (1806) l:66, Della Bella (1785) l:66 – *zlatorvorac*. In the course of the 18thC, the coining of calques and neologisms gains ground on, and finally overtakes, paraphrasing. There is a very rich and much-neglected store of material here for the study of early calquing in Cr.<sup>83</sup>

The orientation of these dictionaries towards Lat and It is not unexpected. Lat, as we have seen (1.2) was in widespread use in all parts of Croatia. Furthermore, many of the dictionaries originated on the Dalmatian coast, where It was widely spoken. The dictionary of Jambrešić (Lat-Cr-G-Hung) has therefore a radically different orientation and purpose from that of all the other major 17th and 18thC dictionaries. Only in Slavonia, freshly liberated from the Turks, did there begin to stir in the late 18thC an orientation towards German, exemplified by the grammars and dictionaries of Reljković and Tadijanović.<sup>84</sup>

The 19thC however saw a significant change in the language situation in Croatia. The Josephian language reforms, implemented only after the return of Croatia (together with areas formerly under Venetian control) to Austro-Hungary after the Napoleonic Wars; the emergence of G as an international language of science and culture; the presence, in increasing numbers, of German speakers in the major cities of Croatia and Slavonia; the shift of the Croatian cultural centre from Dubrovnik to Zagreb; the Austrian military presence in Lika – all these factors brought a transference to G of functions previously carried out by Lat and It (see also 1.2).<sup>85</sup> As a consequence, the Cr lexicon needed to reorientate itself towards G. This reorientation is one of the central aspects of the development of the Cr vocabulary during the Illyrian period, and as such merits our attention in this book. Suffice it here to note that the first major G-Cr or Cr-G dictionary (BF) did not appear until 1839,<sup>86</sup> to be followed in quick succession by those of Mažuranić-Užarević (1842),<sup>87</sup> Drobnić (1846-9),<sup>88</sup> Veselić (1853),<sup>89</sup> and Šulek (1854-60).<sup>90</sup> The inadequacies of Cr *vis-à-vis* G on the eve of the Illyrian Movement are nowhere more manifest than in the first (Cr-G) volume of the Richter-Ballmann-Frohlich (Veselić) dictionary of 1839-40, which I shall investigate more fully in 2.4 below.

The lack of Cr equivalents in these dictionaries is matched by a problem at the other extreme – the abundance of alternatives for the same concept. This superfluity of synonyms arose chiefly as a consequence of two factors – discontinuities in the lexicographical tradition and the predilection for synonyms in 18thC lexicography.

Discontinuity is an inevitable consequence of the geographical, political and cultural disunity of Croatia throughout much of her history (see also 1.1). This is compounded by the existence of three distinct literary codes (see 1.2). Individual choices by lexicographers in filling gaps in the vocabulary also played their part in this discontinuity. An examination of a few key words will reveal the relative forces of tradition and discontinuity at work: – ‘dictionary’

Mikalja (title) – *slovník*;

Habdelić (title) – *dictionar*;

Della Bella (1728): 775 – *slovník* ;

Della Bella (1785): 437 – *slovník, rječnik*;

Belostenec I:1276 – *rečnik, rečnica, slovník* (given as Dalmatian); II:459 – *rečnica* only;

Jambrešić: 404 – *rečna knjiga, slovo-knjiga*;

Reljković (title) – *ričnik*;

Stulli (1801) I:628 – *slovník, rječnik*;

Stulli (1806) (title) – *rječosložje, lexikon*, II:350 – *slovník* , II:283 *rječnik (Lex.r.) (sic)*;

according to ARJ XV:585, Stulli is the only dictionary to list *slovar*;

Voltiggi (title) – *ričoslovník*.

These dictionaries give 8 native words (not counting the three dialectal renderings of *rečnik* etc.) and two loanwords for a single concept. Only *slovník* is used with any consistency and then only in Dalmatia. The compounds given by Stulli and Voltiggi underline the instability of the *reč-* and *slov-* forms caused by the coexistence of the synonyms *riječ* and *slovo* for ‘word’.<sup>91</sup> The compounds given by Jambrešić are clearly slavish calques of G *Wörterbuch*. They demonstrate incidentally his independence of any of the traditions. It cannot be said that in the 1830’s there was any single unified word for ‘dictionary’ in Cr. Even as late as 1839-40 BF has *slovník* (I:327), *rečnica* (I:317), *rečnik*, *ričoslovník* (both II:361). Serbian dictionaries of the late 18th-early 19thC employ mostly *rečnik/riječnik* (notably of course Vuk), but also *slovar*.

‘conscience’

Vrancić: 23 – *sviast*;

Mikalja: 676 – *svist* (but for intelligential!)

Habdelić: 2 – *dušno zpoznanje*;

Della Bella (1728): 218 gives no proper native equivalent, but *konščjencia* appears in the examples;

Della Bella (1785) I:235 – *znanje, svjes*;

Belostenec I:248 – *dušno zpoznanje, zvedanje dušno, vest, svist* (given as Dalmatian); II:526 *svest, dušno zpoznanje*;

Jambrešić: 140 – *zku pznanošt*;

Stulli (1801) I:294 – *sviest, svoeznanje*;

Stulli (1806) II:417 – *svjest*, II:367 *sovjest* (lex.r.);

ARj XIV:738 notes that western writers used also the It loans *kušenca, kušencija*.

There emerges here a somewhat different picture, where an established Dalmatian word (*svijest*) gradually becomes usual elsewhere. Even so, the dictionaries attest to at least 6 domestic words or phrases and 2 loanwords (one from Lat, the other from It). Once again, Jambrešić shows his predilection for calquing and for ignoring other lexicographers. Nevertheless, *svijest* stood ready to do service at the beginning of the Illyrian period, only to meet competition from the S form *savest/savijest* modelled on R *sovest*'.

#### 'geography'

Mikalja: 450 – *ras pisan je zemle*;

Vitezović – *zemljopisje* (cf. ARj XXII:779);

Della Bella (1728): 341 – *kopnopolisje, nauk zemaljskoga sadržanja*;

Della Bella (1785) I:369 – *kopnopolisje*;

Belostenec I:603 – *zemlje izpisanje, znanost zemelskoga držanja, kopnopolisje* (noted as Dalmatian);

Jambrešić: 335 – *izpisavavnje zemelj ali kraljevsvih*;

Jurin: 224<sup>92</sup> – *zemljopisje*;

Stulli (1801) I:622 – *kopnopolisje, kopnoraspisje*;

Stulli (1806) I:339 – *kopnopolisje*.

Apart from the explanatory phrases, only 3 forms are found, of which *kopnopolisje* alone is widespread (at least in Dalmatia). There does not seem to have been any universally accepted word for 'geography' in Cr.

There are similar examples which illustrate the instability and disunity of the Cr vocabulary of the pre-Illyrian period. While there is not space here to provide more examples, for each word treated in the glossary I shall provide a brief "prehistory".

A common feature of European lexicography from the Baroque until well into the 19thC is the predilection for amassing large numbers of synonyms in the belief that such synonymy demonstrates the lexical wealth of a given language.<sup>93</sup> This belief stems from the aesthetic and literary etiquette of the Baroque. In Cr lexicography, this delight in synonyms reaches its zenith in Stulli. A few examples from Stulli (1801) will suffice to demonstrate his use of synonyms: –

'philosophy':

*mudroznanje, mudroljubje, mudroljubstvo, ljubomudrje, ljubomudrost, ljubomudrstvo* (II:306);

'historian': *povjedaoc, zgodopisaoc, povjestnik* (I:652).

'history': *povjest, povjestje, spovjest, povjedanje, skazanje, zgodopisanje, dogodovčtina* (II:652);

The virtues of Stulli's method are that he provides an enormously rich source from which potential Cr equivalents could be culled. The richness of this source was well recognised in the 19thC: ". . . Stulli's Wörterbuch [ist] ein herrlicher Schatz, mitten zwischen Schlamm und Schlacken viel gediegenen Metalls enthaltend."<sup>94</sup> Yet its users were also well aware of its faults. As Šafárik remarks: –

"Stulli's dickes und bändereiches Wörterbuch ist zwar ein reichhaltiges aber durchaus unkritisches Magazin, eine Fundgrube, deren Gebrauch die grösste Vorsicht erfordert, um das Metall von Schlacken zu unterscheiden." (p.113)

Not only are many of Stulli's words uncritically formed but also his compilations provide the writer with an agonising choice and no pointer for seeking the best alternative.<sup>95</sup> Many Cr words have begun their lives on the pages of Stulli's dictionaries, and for this reason the latter are our best source for the vocabulary of the pre-Illyrian period. Nevertheless, no language needs 6 words for the concept 'philosophy' or 10 words for the undifferentiated concepts 'narrative' and 'history'. Indeed such groups of synonyms present an *embarras de richesses* and a hindrance to the stabilisation of the literary language. As a result, one of the most important tasks confronting the Illyrians was to restrict the choice among competing synonyms. The extent to which they were successful in this endeavour is the subject of 4.2.3.

One further point needs to be made before we leave the Cr lexicographical tradition - the problem of lexical purism. In any literary language revival purism invariably plays a key role.<sup>96</sup> The nature of lexical purism in the Illyrian Movement will be dealt with in some detail in 4.1. It should be stressed here that all the dictionaries of the preceding period are essentially puristic. The percentage of loanwords and internationalisms encountered in these dictionaries is very small indeed. This accords very well with the picture gained from the *belles lettres* of the period.<sup>97</sup> Illyrian purism should not be seen therefore as the inauguration of a new phase in Cr purism but rather as the continuation (and perhaps refinement) of a long tradition.

## 2.2 The beginnings of Journalism

Any literary language must be able to deal with the circumstances of everyday life. The emergence of journalistic prose is an important prerequisite for the development of the necessary political and administrative vocabulary. The first attempt to publish a newspaper in Cr was the bilingual (It and Cr) *II Regio Dalmata/Kraglski Dalmatin* (hereafter KD), which appeared in Zadar on a weekly basis from 1806 to 1810.<sup>98</sup> With very few exceptions, the Cr text was a translation, often clumsy and slavish, of the It text.<sup>99</sup> Nevertheless, the translators were forced to render It words and phrases into Cr, often for the first time. Opinions vary about the degree of their success in doing so.<sup>100</sup> All commentators are agreed however that KD is virtually free of loanwords.<sup>101</sup> In most instances, the translators resorted to calques and neologisms, some of them coined contrary to the word-building laws of Scr, e.g. *slatkogovor* 'eloquence', *knjigoskupština* 'academy'. Few of these words had much chance of acceptance into common usage.<sup>102</sup> In addition, there are often competing renditions of a single word, e.g. for It *segretario*: *skrovnik*, *skrovitnik*, *otajnik*; for *circonstanza*: *okolobština*, *okolostanza*, *okolostovka*.

Besides newly coined words, the translators used dictionaries (Belostenec, Della Bella, Jambrešić and particularly the 1801 and 1806 volumes of Stulli).<sup>103</sup> Vince gives lists of words identical with those of Stulli and of words where Stulli has some other word for the same concept.<sup>104</sup> He also provides a detailed list of new words.<sup>105</sup> To reproduce or excerpt those lists here would be otiose. Due reference will be made to them during the discussion of individual words in the glossary.

The translators were working in very difficult conditions. Theirs was the first attempt at journalistic prose; they had insufficient knowledge of Cr vocabulary and word-building laws; they had to work to a strict time constraint; and finally they had to conform to the extreme purism of the age. It is hardly surprising therefore that the creations failed to have any impact on the long- or short-term development of Cr vocabulary. While some of the words they took from Stulli survived into the Illyrian period, e.g. *mudroskupština* 'academy', *mudroznanac* 'philosopher', it does not appear that any of the words appearing for the first time on the pages of KD contributed to the vocabulary of the Illyrian period. This failure to enrich the Cr vocabulary helps to illustrate by contrast the successes of the Illyrians in their attempts at lexical enrichment and stabilisation carried out in their journals. It should also be noted that whereas KD was a translation of It, *Danica*, though also highly derivative of foreign sources, contained mostly translations from G and the Slavonic languages. Finally, we may note, again in contrast with Illyrian practice, the absence of glossaries and textual glosses through which to familiarise the reading public with new or unusual words.

### 2.3 Early nineteenth-century prose

No Cr prose of any significance had developed before the 19thC. Even examples from the early 19thC are rare. Apart from the early works of Gaj himself, only two writers merit our attention – Šime Starčević and Janko Drašković. I shall also review the glossaries of Ignjat Alojzije Brlić whose work was published in German.

#### 2.3.1 Šime Starčević

Šime Starčević was born near Gospić in 1774 and spent all his life in the towns of Lika and the adjacent Adriatic coast, the second half of it in Karlobag, where he died in 1859.<sup>106</sup> In 1812, during the Napoleonic occupation, there appeared two grammars written by Starčević – the first, a grammar of French, the second a grammar of Cr.<sup>107</sup> Both were written in Cr primarily for serving military officers. The Cr grammar, of great interest because of its description of the accentual system,<sup>108</sup> provides us with a set of Cr grammatical and linguistic terms. This includes the parts of speech, moods, tenses, forms of verbs, degrees of comparison of adjectives, phonetic and accentual terms, punctuation and syntax. There is also a smattering of non-linguistic vocabulary. Starčević's word-stock has never been subjected to analysis. Since his grammar is one of the earliest attempts to use Cr linguistic terms, I shall provide here a brief examination of its contents (an asterisk denotes words also used by the Illyrians): –



**(I) parts of speech:**

*ime*\* 'noun', *zaima* 'pronoun', *vrinenoric* 'verb', *dionoric*\* 'participle', *pridstavak* 'preposition', *prinčak* 'adverb', *medjumetak*\* 'interjection', *veznik*\* 'conjunction', *imena samostavna* 'substantives', *imena pridavna* 'adjectives', *brojorič* 'numeral'; pronouns are further divided into: *sobstvena* 'personal', *posvoiva* 'possessive', *kaziteljna* 'demonstrative', *upitiva* 'interrogative' etc.

**(II) phonetic and accentual terms:**

*samoglasnik*\* 'vowel', *skupglasnik*\* 'consonant', *slovka*\* 'syllable', *nadslovka* 'accent mark', *glasomirje* 'prosody'.

**(III) miscellaneous linguistic terms:**

*ričoslovica* 'grammar', *ričoslovník* 'dictionary', *pravopisanje*\* 'orthography', *padanje*\* 'case', *prigibanje* 'conjugation', *izrečenje* 'sentence', *zarezak* 'comma', *piknjorezak* 'semi-colon', *dvojpiknja* 'colon', *piknja* 'full-stop', *zlamenje pitanja* 'question mark', *zlamenje začudjenja* 'exclamation mark'.

**(IV) general words:**

*dogodovština*\* 'history', *mudroznanstvo* 'philosophy', *okolovština*\* 'circumstance', *kopnomirstveni* 'geometric', *učionica* 'school', *prislovje* 'proverb', *krasnoslovje* 'rhetoric', *pridgovor* 'preface'.

The words in these lists can be divided into 4 groups:

**(I) words attested before Stulli and Voltiggi:**

*ime*, *zaima*, *medjumetak*, *slovka*, *pridgovor*, *učionica* (all used in *Danica*) and *izrečenje*, *zarezak*, *piknja*, *kopnomirstveni*.

**(II) words first attested in Stulli or Voltiggi:**

*pridstavak*, *prislovje*, *krasnoslovje*, *ričoslovník*, *dogodovština* (only the last appears in *Danica*).

**(III) new words:**

*dionorič*, *vrinenorič*, *veznik*, *samoglasnik*, *skupglasnik*, *okolovština* (all are used by the Illyrians, though only the last three are common), *samostavna*, *prinčak*, *brojorič*, *ričoslovica*. This list is large enough to suggest that a reassessment of Starčević's impact on the development of Cr vocabulary (particularly linguistic terminology) is in order. The predilection for compounding suggests some German influence. Several of his compound nouns appear to have been calqued on G models, e.g. *brojorič* (*Zahlwort*), *vrinenorič* (*Zeitwort*), *dvojpiknja* (*Doppelpunkt*), *glasomirje* (*Tonmessung*).

(iv) words with new meanings:

*padanje, prigibanje* (both originally verbal nouns becoming specific linguistic terms).

With the single exception of the names of the cases (which are given numerically), Starčević provides a basic vocabulary of standard grammatical and linguistic terms. While he has made use of earlier terms including some from the recent dictionaries of Stulli and Voltiggi, Starčević shows himself to be undismayed by the prospect of creating words for himself, often, it would seem, on foreign (particularly G) models. His use of the words in question is consistent, avoiding Stulli's synonymy.

Of the 42 words or phrases given here 15 are attested in the writings of the Illyrians and 5 have survived to the present day. Of the new words or words with new meanings (a total of 12) 7 are attested in the writings of the Illyrians but only two (*veznik* and *samoglasnik*) have survived to the present day. His success in providing a basic linguistic terminology helps to explain why it was that the Illyrians were able to make greater progress in the terminology of philology than any other (see 4.3). His work is the beginning of a tradition of creating a native linguistic terminology. Many words used by Starčević found their way into later grammars, which suggests that his work was familiar to his successors. In 5.2 we shall return to Starčević to review his attitudes in later life to the Illyrian contributions to lexical enrichment.

### 2.3.2 Janko Drašković

Count Janko Drašković (1770-1856), such an important figure in promoting the Illyrian cause (see 1.1), was one of the first kajkavian writers to switch to stokavian. This can best be seen in his *Dissertatia iliti razgovor* of 1832.<sup>109</sup> Drašković says that the reader should not jump to the conclusion that any strange words in his book are foreign ("inokrajan"), claiming that they are all to be found in old dictionaries. By way of explanation he adds that the language was once "hodniji" than in his own century.<sup>110</sup>

As an aid to his reader, Drašković compiled at the end of the work a glossary entitled *Kratki riechoslovník nekojih u svagdasnjem govorenju neobichnih riechih korenikah za inokrajane*. As an illustration of its contents, Vince lists 29 words without further comment. In the absence of a more detailed description and analysis of its contents, I shall give below an annotated list of some key words in the glossary and comment on a number of words in

the text which escaped inclusion in the glossary (again items used by the Illyrians are marked with an asterisk): –

- blagodariti* – dankbar lohnen, gratificare (a learned word recorded from the 13thC – ARjI:405);
- blagopolučje* – Glückseligkeit, beata abundanta (first in Stulli – ARj I:410, a Russianism);
- bogoštovia\** – Religion (as *bogostovje* in Della Bella and Stulli – ARj I:500);
- čudorednost\** – Moral (Della Bella and Stulli – ARj II:150);
- dogodovština\** – Historia (first in Stulli);
- dubokoumni* – tiefsinnig, magno judicio (first in Stulli – ARj II:847, but with the note “slabo pouzdano”);
- glavnica\** – Capital (Della Bella, Belostenec, Stulli, Vuk – ARj III:180);
- inokrajan* – fremd, exter (Stulli, Vuk (with the note that it is Montenegrin) – ARj III:843);
- izlaz* – Ausfuhr, exportatio (not attested elsewhere in this meaning);
- izreka* – Proposition (Della Bella, Stulli, Voltiggi – ARj IV:293);
- književstvo\** – Litteratura (first attested in 1683 and then in Stulli – ARj V:129);
- milotvornost* – Wohltätigkeit (Della Bella, Stulli (from a kajkavian writer) – ARj VI:697);
- mudrosku pština\** – Hochschule, Academia, Universität (Stulli and KD but in the sense of ‘academy’ only);
- mudroznanje\** – Gelehrsamkeit, eruditio (Della Bella and Stulli – ARj VII:130);
- načelo\** – Grundsatz, principium (recorded in Stulli and in *Danica* as *načalo*, a Russianism introduced by Stulli, see 3.3.3; this is probably the only instance before the middle of the 19thC of the form *načelo* which alone has survived into modern SCr);
- nagloželnost* – Sehnsucht (Della Bella, Stulli, Voltiggi – ARj VII:332);
- namišljenje* – Nachdenken, recogitatio (not otherwise attested in this meaning);
- oblicaj* – Gesicht, form (in this meaning in Voltiggi – ARj VIII:393);
- obzir* – Umsicht (Della Bella etc. – ARj VII:496-7);
- odvietnik\** – Advocatus (from the 15thC and in most major dictionaries – ARj VIII:713-4);
- ogledalo\** – Spiegel, speculum (most major dictionaries from Mikalja on – ARj VIII:745);
- okolišenje* – circulatio (in this meaning recorded only in Vuk and Radojević – ARj VIII:833);
- onudje* – Instrumente, Werkzeug (in all dictionaries except Vuk – ARj IX:177);
- pisnica* – Archiv (only in Della Bella and then meaning ‘chancellery’ – ARj IX:884);
- plemodjela* – Künste, artes liberales (the text also has *plemodjelnik* ‘artist’; a curious word, whose structural and semantic motivation is obscure);

- poljotežanje* – Agriculturae (attested in only one writer from 1871 – ARj X:54; *zemljotežanje* is recorded in Stulli (1801) I:64);
- pomnjenje* – Mittheilung (recorded only in Della Bella and Jambrešić and then with the meaning 'attention, diligence');
- potvrda* – Beweis, proba (in literature from the 17th and 18thC but not in a dictionary before Stulli – ARj XI:228);
- predstolje* – Vorsitz, praesidium (attested only in Budinić (1583), Kanižlić (1780) – ARj XI:503);
- predsudje* – Vorurtheil, praepudicium (this precise form is not attested elsewhere, cf. *predsud*, *predsuda*);
- preobraženje* – Verwandlung, transfiguratio (used in the text in a political sense; attested in 18thC dictionaries – ARj XI:642);
- preosvršenstvo* (presumably for *presovršenstvo*) – Vollkommenheit, perfectio (not attested elsewhere, but cf. *presavršen* in Rajić (1793) – ARj XI:696);
- preporodni* – neugeboren, regenitus (not attested in ARj, cf. the more usual *preporodjen*);
- pritisnica* – Buchdruckerei, Typographia (not attested elsewhere);
- ričoslovník* – Dictionarium (first used by Voltiggi, see too Starcevic above);
- rukotvorenje* – Handarbeit, opoficium (Della Bella and Stulli – ARj XIV: XIV:296);
- samosvoistvo* – Egoismus (not given in ARj. but see ARj XIV:582);
- samosvojac*, *samosvojan* – ARj XIV:582;
- skladnopietje* – Music (sic) (Della Bella and Stulli – ARj SV:237; a semantic extension from 'harmony' to 'music');
- skladnorednost* – Proportion (only in Della Bella and Voltiggi – ARj XV:237);
- slidenje* – Folge, consequentia (in most 18thC dictionaries, – ARj XV:514);
- sostojanje* – Constitution (not recorded elsewhere, clearly a loan);
- stalokom* – Existenz (not attested elsewhere, source unclear);
- svrha* – Erfolg, sequela, effectus (from the 15thC in the west – ARj SVII:391);
- tvrdostoinost* – Standhaftigkeit, constantia (only in Stulli – ARj XIX:71);
- ugožđenje* – conditio, Bedingniss (in the form *ugodjenje* from the 16thC – ARj XIX:330; this form is probably a Russianism; not otherwise attested in this meaning);
- uloženja* – objectum (not attested in this meaning elsewhere – ARj XIX:518; probably a coining by Draskovic; could not *objectum* above be a mistake for *objectio*?);<sup>111</sup>
- umnje* – Begriff (sic), conceptio (not otherwise attested);
- uvjerovanje* – Credit (in Della Bella – ARj XX:185);

*zakonotvorac* – legislator (not otherwise attested until the middle of the 19thC – ARj XXII:34);

The 51 examples given above shed much light on Drašković's contribution to the Cr vocabulary: 31 of them are attested in older dictionaries (of which 9 date from Stulli and 2, from Voltiggi); 3 words are found in earlier writers. If we adjust for double counting, a total of 32 words is attested before Drašković with the same meanings he gives. 11 words appear here for the first time, while 8 have radically new meanings. Thus over one third of the total comprises words which are either newly formed or have new meanings. This does not accord with Drašković's claim, that these words, while perhaps unfamiliar to the reader, are taken from earlier literature. Furthermore, his coinings are often ill-formed and semantically unmotivated. Among them are several Russianisms, some of them without suitable sound-substitutions, though nowhere near to the same extent as we find in Stulli.

With regard to the subsequent fate of these words, it is worth noting that only 7 out of 51 are recorded in *Danica*. This shows a surprising lack of continuity for such a short period and in a writer who was himself to be active later in Illyrian circles. Even more revealing is the fact that none of the new words or new meanings is preserved in *Danica*. In the post-Illyrian phase only two words appearing here for the first time re-emerge – *zakonotvorac*, *poljotežanje*.

Apart from his attempt to write in Štokavian, Drašković is important for the introduction of the stratagem of providing aids to the reader – in this case a glossary of unfamiliar words. This is a stratagem which was to be employed by the Illyrians with their *Sbirka* (for more on this and other stratagems, see 4.2.2).

Not surprisingly perhaps, there is an element of subjectivity in Drašković's choice of words for inclusion in the *riečoslovník*. In addition to containing new words and words with new meanings, the list also gives words attested since the Middle Ages. It might be supposed that many of these words are štokavian or at least "Dalmatian" and thus require a gloss to be comprehensible to the kajkavian reader. To test this supposition I have compared the words in the glossary recorded in dictionaries before Stulli with Belostenec, our best guide to kajkavian usage. Of the 20 words so recorded, 13 are not given in Belostenec (*blagopolučje*, *bogoštovje*, *izreka*, *milotvornost*, *nudroznanje*, *nagloželnost*, *obzir*, *ogledalo*,

*rukotvorenje, skladnopietje, skladnorednost, svrha, uvjerenje* ), 4 are marked as Dalmatian in Belostenec (*blagodariti, čudorednost, odvietnik, orudje*), and only 3 are recorded in Belostenec without comment (*glavnica, sliđenje, preobraženje*). These figures strongly suggest that, in addition to the innovations of Stulli, Voltiggi and himself, Drašković is intent on including in his *riječoslovník* unfamiliar Dalmatian words.

We now turn to a brief examination of some of those words found in the text which escaped inclusion in the glossary: –

*dogodjaj*\* 'event' (according to ARj II:559 attested in the 17thC but not in dictionaries before Vuk; in fact Belostenec I:509 has the phrase *na vsaki dogodjaj*);

*domorodoljubje* 'patriotism' (not attested in ARj);

*mukotrpnost* 'patience' (not attested in ARj, but cf. *mukotrpan* in Stulli);

*nedvojno* 'undoubtedly' (attested in Belostenec and Jambrešić, cf. too Stulli with a note that it is taken from Habelić (ARj VII:831));

*predslovie* 'preface' (attested in Jurin:169, Della Bella (1785) II:222);

*rukopismo* 'manuscript' (attested only in Kašić (1623), cf. ARj XIV:294);

*vojničestvo* 'military zone' (presumably a Russianism, not attested elsewhere; *vojništvo* is attested from the 16thC but in another meaning, cf. ARj XXI:267);

*zakonotvorje* 'law-making' (not attested elsewhere; its nearest equivalent *zakonotvorstvo* dates from Šulek, cf. ARj XXIII:34);

The majority of the words treated here might well have warranted inclusion in the glossary. Several are weakly attested before 1832, some not at all; others are clearly not kajkavian words. Nevertheless, some words traditionally used in kajkavian writings have been rightly omitted, e.g. *dogodjaj, hip, nedvojno*. At this stage it is impossible for us to judge whether a given word has been omitted from the *riječoslovník* deliberately or by an oversight. In any case, the contents of the text do not seriously contradict the conclusions I have reached in my analysis of the *riječoslovník* itself.

In addition to the native words discussed above, the text contains the following loanwords or their derivatives: *dialekt, sistem, fabrika, ekonomia, školovanje*. All of these words (or their base forms in the case of *školovanje*) are attested in *Danica*, even though *sistem* and *fabrika* have come in this century to be regarded by some Cr purists as Serbisms. It should be noted that this is a rather high number of loanwords for a text of this period.

In general it may be said of Drašković, that, while his own neologising is of little importance, his use of stratagems for introducing unfamiliar words, his apparent desire to draw on the resources of kajkavian and štokavian lexical traditions and his moderate use of loanwords point the way forward to the practice of the Illyrians.

### 2.3.3 Ignjat Alojzije Brlić

In the following year, 1833, there appeared the first edition of Brlić's Croatian grammar.<sup>112</sup> Ignjat Alojzije Brlić (1795-1855) began work on the grammar in 1822, finished it in 1827 and sent it to the censors in Buda in 1830.<sup>113</sup> Like the second and third editions, it is written in German and moreover, in contrast with its successors, makes no attempt to render grammatical terms into Cr. Had Starčević's grammar of 1812 been available to him,<sup>114</sup> it is distinctly possible that Brlić would have tried to follow the latter's example. The later editions are interesting to us both for a comparison of their grammatical terminology with that of the Illyrians and for their criticism of Illyrian linguistic attitudes. Brlić was particularly critical of his fellow Slavonian Babukić. I shall return to a discussion of the later editions of Brlić's grammar in 5.2.

Interest in the first edition centres on the G-Cr glossary of common words grouped semantically on pp. 294-315. The contents of this glossary have never before been the subject of scholarly discussion. Because they give us some insight into literary usage in Slavonia on the eve of the Illyrian Movement, I shall select a list of some key words in the glossary for discussion (again an asterisk denotes words used by the Illyrians; it is to be assumed that all words are attested in earlier Cr dictionaries unless otherwise stated):-

Gestirne	– <i>zvyzde</i> ;
Erdbeben	– <i>potres*</i> , <i>trešnja*</i> <i>zemlje</i> ( <i>trešnja</i> is given by Belostenec as Dalmatian)
Woche	– <i>tydan*</i> , <i>nedylja*</i> , <i>danak</i> , <i>sedmica</i> ( <i>danak</i> is not attested in ARj in this meaning);
Augenblick	– <i>oka trenutje*</i> ;
Präsident	– <i>predsydnik</i> (this is the earliest attestation of this word);
Sekretär	– <i>sekretar*</i> ( <i>otajnik</i> ) ( <i>sekretar</i> is attested in literature from the 15thC but appears first in a dictionary in MU:328 not BI as

	given in ARj XIV:808; its only attestation in <i>Danica</i> is in an article written by Vuk (D VII:36);
Fremde	– <i>inostranac</i> ;
Sylbe	– <i>slovka</i> *;
Redensart	– <i>način govorenja</i> ;
Bleistift	– <i>flajbas</i> (MU:105 has <i>plajbas</i> );
Übersetzung	– <i>prevod</i> * (attested in Stulli as <i>privod</i> , cf. Stulli (1806) II:204);
Wissenschaft	– <i>znanje</i> ;
Kunst	– <i>vyština</i>
Gottesgelehrtheit	– <i>bogoslovica, bogoslovia</i> ;
Philosophie	– <i>mudroljubje</i> *, <i>filozofia</i> *;
Redekunst	– <i>krasnoslovje</i> (not attested in ARj, but also in Starčević, see 2.3.2 above);
Sternkunde	– <i>zvyzdoznanstvo</i> *;
Erdbeschreibung	– <i>zemljopis</i> * (this is the earliest attestation of this precise form);
Baukunst	– <i>arkitektura</i> * ( <i>hitrogradjenje, sgradoznanje</i> ) (none of these words is recorded in ARj, but Stulli has <i>hitrograditi</i> and <i>hitrogradnja</i> , cf. ARj III:619);
Musik	– <i>muzika</i> *;
Theolog	– <i>bogoslovac</i> *;
Philosoph	– <i>mudroljubac, filozof</i> *;
Arzt	– <i>lykar</i> *, <i>vrač</i> (in <i>Sbirka</i> only as <i>ranovrac</i> );
Wundarzt	– <i>felčar</i> (not attested in ARj);
Sternseher	– <i>zvyzdoznanac</i> *;
Geometer	– <i>zemljomyrac</i> *;
Musikus	– <i>muzikaš</i> ( <i>Danica</i> has <i>mužikaš</i> );
Buchdrucker	– <i>knjigotystnik, knjigotyskac</i> * (neither word is given in ARj);
Buchhändler	– <i>knjižar</i> ;
Buchbinder	– <i>knjigoveža</i> (first attested here);
Schriftsteller	– <i>knjižnik, pisaoc</i> ;
Kopfweh	– <i>glavobolja</i> *;
Zahnschmerzen	– <i>zubobolja</i> ;
Bibliothek	– <i>knjižarnica</i> ;
Apotheke	– <i>apateka, lykarnica</i> ;



- Vernunft – *um* (*razlog*);  
 Talent – *umodar* (*dar prirodni, talenat*) (only the last is attested in ARj before this date; *umodar* also occurs in *Gaj's Notes*);  
 Verstand – *razum\**;

Brlić also gives the names of the months as used in *Danica* and modern Cr.

Of the 57 words or phrases listed above, 30 are still in use but only 23 are attested in the writings of the Illyrians. In addition to two new loanwords, the list contains 11 new native words, of which 3 (*zemljopis*, *predsjednik*, *knjigoveža*) are still in use. Only one word (*danak*) is given a meaning not attested elsewhere. Of the new native words, only *umodar* is contrary to the spirit of SCr word-formation. Among the words which have not been adopted, several are well-formed and transparent in meaning, e.g. *sgradoznanje*, *knjigotiskac*. Both, it would seem, are calques of German.

Brlić distinguishes himself from Drašković, Starčević and the translators of KD by the lack of fanciful creations. No doubt his reading of Dobrovský's grammar of Cz<sup>115</sup> and Grimm's translation of Vuk's grammar<sup>116</sup> has played its part in advancing his understanding of the word-building mechanisms of SCr. The presence of two key words normally associated with the Illyrians – *predsjednik* and *zemljopis* – helps us to put the Illyrian achievement in a clearer, if somewhat diminished, perspective.

### 2.3.4 Ljudevit Gaj

Ljudevit Gaj (1809-1872), the central figure in the Illyrian Movement, published his first prose works in German.<sup>117</sup> When in 1830, he wrote his short proposal for orthographic reform,<sup>118</sup> he chose to have a bilingual text (G and kajkavian Cr). Although an assessment of Gaj's role in the enrichment of literary Cr belongs properly in 4.5, it is instructive at this point to consider the vocabulary he employs in his first Cr prose work and to compare it with his usage after his ideas on language had become clarified. The pamphlet also pre-dates Gaj's experimentation in word-building and lexical enrichment in the early 30's.<sup>119</sup>

Since the vocabulary of *Kratka Osnova* has (somewhat surprisingly) never before been described, I shall give here a list of key words (an asterisk marks all words used later by the Illyrians; it is to be assumed that all words are attested in earlier Cr dictionaries unless otherwise indicated): –

- časopis*\* – Zeitschrift (this is the earliest attestation);
- domovina*\* – Vaterland;
- izobraženi*\* – gebildet (in this meaning, all references in ARJ IV:277 post-date this; Gaj adds a footnote that the word is used in this meaning by Russians and Serbs and in Church Slavonic);
- izobraženost*\* – Bildung (the word is later glossed by *Cultur*, for which Gaj suggests a further Cr equivalent – *vzdeljanost*, clearly a Bohemianism);
- jezikozvedavec* – Philolog (not attested elsewhere);
- korenoslovje* – Etymologie (*Danica* has the adj, *korenoslovni*; this is the earliest attestation);
- mudroljubni*\* – philosophisch;
- narečje*\* (*dialekt*) – Mundart (this is the earliest attestation of *narječje* in a Cr text in this meaning, but cf. Vuk's *Pismenica* of 1814);
- narodoljublje* – Vaterlandsliebe (not attested in ARJ);
- okolnost*\* – Umstand (the earliest attestation of this word);
- pravopisanje*\* – Orthographie;
- predmet*\* – Gegenstand (earliest attestation in Cr);
- predsud* – Vorurtheil;
- preporod*\* – Wiedergeburt (the earliest attestation in Cr);
- prigospodarni* – ökonomisch (only the verb *gospodariti* is given in ARJ; *Danica* has *gospodarski*);
- rečnikopisec* – Lexikograph (not attested elsewhere);
- samoglasnik*\* – Vokal (first in Starcevic, see 2.3.1);
- skupglasnik*\* – Konsonant (first in Starcevic, see 2.3.1);
- slovstvo*\* (*literatur*) – Literatur (not attested earlier in this meaning);
- svojljubnost* – Patriotismus (not attested in ARJ);
- veznik*\* – Bindewort (first in Starcevic, see 2.3.1);
- zaradostnik* (*dilletant*) – Dilletant (not attested elsewhere).

Apart from the three loanwords provided as glosses, the list contains 23 words, of which 15 are used in *Danica* and 9 are still in use. 13 words are attested here for the first time, of which 5 are also found in *Danica* and are preserved in modern SCr – *časopis*, *izobraženost*, *okolnost*, *predmet*, *preporod*. 3 words appear here with new meanings – *izobraženi*, *narječje*, *slovstvo*. All are in use in *Danica* and only the last has not survived into modern SCr. All of this is a remarkable achievement for a young man of 21 writing his

first piece of published prose in Cr. In addition, it is noteworthy that even the words which have not survived are distinguished by their transparent meanings and their adherence to the word-building rules of SCr, e.g. *rečnikopisec*, *korenoslovje*, *jezikozvedavec*. Only *zaradostnik* and *svojljubnost* are poorly motivated.

The other main point which needs to be made about Gaj's vocabulary is that it marks the first appearance of systematic and critical adaptations of words from another Slavonic language (primarily Cz and possibly also R and Sln). Only one of his Bohemianisms is unmotivated in SCr – *vzdeljanost* (a word which recurs in his *Osnova* of 1832). This new source of words, symptomatic as it is of a change in cultural identification for the Croats, points in the direction which was to be followed by the Illyrian Movement as a whole (see 3.3). Gaj not only derived his ideas for orthographic reform from the Czechs and the Slovaks but also the sources and models for a complete restructuring of the Cr lexical system. In *Kratka Osnova*, written soon after Gaj's crucial first acquaintance with Ján Kollár, we have the first indication of the changes to come.

#### 2.4 The Richter-Ballman-Fröhlich Dictionary

Although published only a year apart, the two volumes of this dictionary are quite different in character. Whereas the second volume (G-Cr) includes words from *Danica* and *Sbirka*, Brlić, and Slovene and Russian dictionaries, the first volume (Cr-G) reflects the vocabulary of Stulli, Voltiggi and Vuk (1818)<sup>120</sup> Volume I is in all its poverty and lack of originality<sup>121</sup> our most eloquent guide to the lexical inadequacies of the pre-Illyrian period. An examination of its contents will give a clearer and better focussed view of the vocabulary of the period than the nature of the evidence produced so far has allowed.

A number of lists will serve to illustrate the nature of the dictionary: –

- (i) words absent from BF I but present in BF II and *Danica*: *bakrorez*, *brzovoz*, *dogodovština*, *dokaz*, *domovina*, *dvoboj*, *dvorana*, *glagol*, *gospodarstvo*, *hodnica*, *igrokaz*, *izraz*, *jezikoslovje*, *liječnik*, *mudroljublje*, *nastroj*, *parobrod*, *parovoz*, *pismohrana*, *priroda*, *ranovrač*, *slovnica*, *tajnik*, *veznik*, *zaima*, *značaj*, *životopis*.
- (ii) words absent from BF I but present in Stulli and *Danica*: *čovjekoljublje*, *ispit*, *izdanje*, *liječnik*, *mudroljublje*, *naravoslovlje*, *pravo pisanje*.
- (iii) concepts for which no Cr equivalent is given in BF I: names of disciplines: ethnography, ethnology, physics, geology, history, chemistry, genealogy, ornithology.

philological terms: etymology, philology, consonant, vowel, style, grammar, edition, dialect, participle, pronoun, conjunction, preposition, terminology, orthography, rhetoric.

public life: periodical, reading-room, newspaper article, daily newspaper, economy, university, factory, institute, industry, undertaking, agriculture, president, republic, lecture, homeland.

the arts: music, opera, art, portrait, harmony, violin.

general cultural concepts: system, prosperity, impression, proof, sympathy, influence, collection, examination, exception, frivolous, experience, element, outlook, direct, boundless, independence, relationship, sensitivity, concept, subject, object, advantage, prejudice, presentation, over-view, rebirth, contradiction, contents, climate, horizon.

The absence of many words in BF I is not only a result of the lack of care taken in culling words from other sources but is also a reflection of the poverty of the Cr literary language on the eve of the Illyrian period. Words have in all probability been omitted not only out of carelessness and ignorance but also because many of them had never had an existence outside the pages of dictionaries.

This assertion is supported by the evidence of *Gaj's Notes* of the early 30's. On several occasions, as I mentioned in 1.6, Gaj drew up lists of G and Lat words in order to set beside them Cr equivalents. In some cases he found a suitable equivalent, even if not always immediately, but in others he failed to do so. There are gaps in Gaj's lists for words for which elsewhere in his manuscripts of the same period Gaj managed to find a suitable Cr word. The gaps therefore give us an indication that many of the words which are provided in the lists may not have come readily to Gaj's mind. Words for which a Cr equivalent is lacking in certain lists include the following: – *aequatio, fundator, fabricator, systema, hypothesis, conditio, corpus, philosophia, historia naturalis, physica, critica, notio, cogitatio, speculaticum, morale, mechanice, ingenium, memoria, Moral, Gefühl, Empfindung, Bewunderung, Phanatismus, Physiologie, Politik, Musik, Statistik, Technologie, Mechanik, Erfinden, Zufahrung, Aestetik, Ideal*. It will be immediately clear that not only does Gaj share BF I's lack of active vocabulary, but that several of the unavailable concepts are common to both sources, e.g. history, physics, system, music.

An examination of BF I is therefore a necessary corrective to any view of the active vocabulary of the period which might otherwise be developed on the basis of the rich lexicographical tradition. Indeed it is against this sombre background that the true

achievements of the Illyrian period must be judged. The dictionary reveals an inadequacy on the part of the Cr lexicon to deal with most aspects of current life. It is no exaggeration to state that intelligent discourse without the everyday concepts itemised above as absent from BF I would be unthinkable.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

I have attempted in the foregoing sections to provide a general characterisation of the status of the Cr vocabulary in the early 1830's on the basis of the lexicographical tradition, journalism and prose. The evidence presents obvious difficulties for developing a general characterisation of this situation. Nevertheless I believe a number of important and incontrovertible conclusions emerge from it: –

- a) a long lexicographical tradition had been marred by dialectal and individual differences which have led to discontinuities in the lexicographical tradition;
- b) there is an unnecessary and damaging abundance of undifferentiated synonyms;
- c) the language suffers from a lack of a unified Cr equivalent for many key concepts;
- d) many words exist solely as dictionary entries rather than having a life in newspapers and prose;
- e) the vocabulary is orientated towards Lat and It rather than G;
- f) there is no systematic use made of other Slavonic languages as a possible source of new words;
- g) there is little impact of S usage on the Cr vocabulary;
- h) a moderate to strong purism is evident in all forms of prose writing and in the dictionaries;
- i) calques predominate over independent neologisms as a source of new words though individual writers and lexicographers occasionally indulge their predilection for coining words against the true spirit of the language;
- j) there is no programme for language renewal and enrichment;
- k) there are some signs in journalism and prose of a desire to bring words to the reader's attention and to seek means for familiarising him with particular words through glosses in the text or separate glossaries;
- l) there are no prose writers with sufficient personal authority to provide models for standardising vocabulary.

By picking out the salient features of the language situation which the Illyrians inherited, we are better able to identify the critical tasks which faced them in their reform of the Cr lexicon:

- a) to limit the choice of competing synonyms;
- b) to find Cr equivalents for many key concepts;
- c) to ensure that new words not remain as fictions on the pages of their journals but that they develop a life of their own in everyday usage;
- d) to initiate a programme for lexical development;
- e) to orientate the Cr vocabulary toward G;
- f) to explore the possibilities of lexical enrichment inherent in the adaptation of words from S usage and from other Slavonic languages;
- g) to re-affirm the need for lexical purism;
- h) to ensure that all new words be coined in accordance with the word-building mechanisms of SCr;
- i) to continue and refine methods for the introduction and popularisation of individual items of vocabulary;
- j) to provide models of good prose by which to promote the standardisation of the new vocabulary;
- k) to begin the formation of specialist terminologies.

The story of the successes and failures on the part of the Illyrian Movement in carrying out these corpus planning tasks is the subject of the next three chapters. Chapter 3 deals with the sources of lexical enrichment (that is tasks b) and f)); Chapter 4 is concerned with the functions of the vocabulary in the Illyrian period (that is tasks a), c), d), e), f), h), i), j), k)); Section 5.1 provides an overall assessment of the progress made in carrying out these tasks; and the remainder of Chapter 5 attempts to measure the impact of this corpus planning on the subsequent development of Cr (and S) vocabulary.

## CHAPTER 3: THE SOURCES OF LEXICAL ENRICHMENT

### 3.0 Introduction

In this chapter I shall discuss in detail the words used in the period under review from the point of view of their origin. I shall be dealing in turn with the use of internal resources, neologisms, Slavonic loans, calques and loanwords. In the conclusion I shall attempt to weigh the relative importance for the various sources, suggesting at the same time some intra- and extra-linguistic reasons why particular kinds of lexical enrichment have been favoured.

This chapter is based on a number of detailed word-histories which have been placed for easy reference in the glossary at the end of the book. Each history begins with the contemporary documentation with context, authorship, and meaning(s) given where appropriate and available. This is followed by a note on similar forms from earlier stages of the language and discussion of the word's subsequent fate. After a brief review of the literature (if any) an explanation of the word's origin is attempted. For each history a list of relevant secondary sources is appended. The argumentation for assigning a word to a particular section below is therefore to be found in the word-histories and the reader is referred to them for details. This procedure allows for a clearer presentation of the outlines of the lexical enrichment process. I am fully aware however that the statements made in this chapter depend for their validity on the reliability of the treatment of the individual words in the glossary.

In this regard a special problem is presented by those words which could arguably be included in several separate sections. For example, there are grounds for treating *časopis* as a calque of G *Zeitschrift*, as a loan from Cz *časopis* or as a word borrowed in the final analysis from Sln *casopis*, where in turn it might be regarded as a calque or a Bohemianism. In this particular case, for reasons expressed in the glossary, I regard *časopis* as a loan from Cz, but every case needs to be treated on its merits. The lists which appear below have been produced in such a way that the dangers inherent in my making a false judgement are minimised. Each section contains a full listing of all likely words, but in 3.6 words whose inclusion in a particular list is open to doubt appear in brackets and are counted separately. Thus *časopis* appears free of brackets only once, but is bracketed in the lists of Sln loans

and calques. This allows for a maximal and a minimal score for each category. The reader may thus use his own judgement to adjust the figures as he sees fit.

### 3.1 Lexical enrichment from within Serbo-Croatian

One of the most important factors in the revival of any language as a literary code is the re-discovery and re-assessment of its own internal lexical resources. These may include not only words themselves but also roots and word-building models from which new words can be formed. For the renewers of Cr the following potential internal resources were available: –

- a) earlier literary traditions of Cr, particularly those of Dalmatia (3.1.1);
- b) the vast material either collected or created by the Cr lexicographers of the 17th and 18thC (3.1.2);
- c) the evolving S literary language (3.1.3);
- d) dialects and regional usage (3.1.4).

It has to be stated at the outset that a thorough analysis of the use made of indigenous material is fraught with practical difficulties. The lack of a reliable, consistent historical dictionary of S or Cr would discourage the most intrepid investigator. Furthermore, despite the centrality of dialectology in Yugoslav linguistics, there is a dearth of dictionaries of a single dialect.<sup>122</sup> It is therefore often impossible to ascertain the geographical limits or the chronology of a particular word. Only the evidence of 17th and 18thC lexicography is readily at our disposal. Even here care must be taken, for, as I pointed out in 2.1 above, many words were simply copied from earlier dictionaries without passing into active use. In addition, none of the specific areas outlined above has been subjected to any kind of systematic analysis.

Apart from problems of ignorance, this section is beset by certain methodological difficulties. Obviously, in purely statistical terms, there is a very high degree of continuity from the vocabulary of earlier stages of S and Cr to Illyrian usage, even in the areas of intellectual vocabulary, which are our main concern. The problem is to identify as far as possible those words which have been consciously revived from previous Cr usage or introduced from the dialects or S usage. An investigation of cases where the Illyrians have limited the choice of competing synonyms inherited from previous usage is carried out in 4.2.3.



### 3.1.1 Earlier literary traditions of Croatian

All three of the principal SCr dialects – *Štokavian, kajkavian and čakavian* – had formed the basis of a literary code prior to the 19thC. The Illyrians had a particularly high regard for the language of the Dalmatian poets of the 16th and 17thC. Indeed the desire to establish a close link with the formerly flourishing literature of Dubrovnik was doubtless one of the factors influencing Gaj's decision to switch from kajkavian to stokavian in *Danica* in 1836. The Illyrians' identification with Renaissance Dalmatia is further symbolised by Gaj's triumphant tour along the Dalmatian coast and by Ivan Mažuranić's decision at the behest of the *Matica Hrvatska* to complete Gundulić's *Osman* (limiting himself in the process to the vocabulary used by Gundulić himself) and in 1844, together with his brother Antun, to compile a dictionary of the work. Dalmatian poets figure prominently in the selections published in *Danica*. *A priori*, therefore, we should expect this clear identification with, and respect for, Dalmatian lyric and narrative poetry to be reflected in the introduction of words current during that period.

That this is not in fact so, at least in the case of abstract vocabulary, is due to the strictly limited functions of Dalmatian literature and in particular to the absence of any significant prose. This was a deterrent to the development of a learned vocabulary. For further discussion of Illyrian attitudes to the vocabulary of Dalmatian literature, see 4.5.1 below. The very lack of Dalmatian words in literary Cr of the Illyrian period prompted Fran Kurelac to advocate the replacement of calques and Slavonic loans by words from Dalmatian literature (see 5.2 below).

The fate of words from kajkavian literary usage is similar. Dukat has observed that even those few words from kajkavian usage which penetrated the first issues of *Danica* came to be replaced.<sup>123</sup>

This lack of words taken from earlier literary sources in the Illyrian language renewal contrasts strongly with the important role played by words revived from medieval and Renaissance usage in the Cz language revival.<sup>124</sup> Dobrovský, for instance, upbraided some irresponsible Cz language renewers for inventing new words when adequate words could be found in older stages of Cz literature.<sup>125</sup> The later Cz language reformers, notably Jungmann, were mindful of this criticism and sought to re-establish old words from literature.

Among the few words revived from earlier Cr usage are *izpit* 'examination' and *bolnica* 'hospital'.

As we have seen in 2.3, a number of words used by the Illyrians were first attested in the early nineteenth century: *dionoršč*, *okolovština*, *samoglasnik*, *skupglasnik*, *veznik*, *vremenoršč* (all from Starčević), *zemljopis*, *predsednik*, *knjigoveža* (from Brlić). The Illyrians also inherited a fair number of native words (mostly calques), which had enjoyed widespread usage in earlier stages of Cr: *čovščnost* 'humanity', *čudovorán* 'miraculous', *dobročinitelj* 'benefactor', *domovina* 'homeland', *glavnica* 'capital', *glavobolja* 'headache', *izdanje/izdavanje* 'edition', *izgovor* 'pronunciation, excuse', *knjižnica* 'library', *lščnik/lščkar* 'physician', *nadahnutje* 'inspiration', *nagnutje* 'tendency', *odvščnik* 'lawyer', *podpis* 'signature', *predsud* 'prejudice', *provištenje* 'foresight', *rščnik/slovník* 'dictionary', *rukopis* 'manuscript', *slovka* 'syllable', *stolštje* 'century', *svščst* 'conscience', *tisuća* 'thousand', *uščionica* 'school', *zločinac* 'evildoer', *znanost* 'science'. All of these words are also well attested in the 17th and 18thC dictionaries.

### 3.1.2 Material from seventeenth and eighteenth-century dictionaries

The list of words which are given immediately above is also a testimony to the rich Cr lexicographical tradition, to which I referred at some length in 2.1. All the major Cr dictionaries were familiar to the Illyrians, and their debt to them is large. Any student of Cr historical lexicology quickly becomes aware that a very large number of words are first attested in Stulli's dictionaries. For this reason it makes sense to treat words first attested in Stulli in a separate sub-section (see 3.1.2.5). The words from earlier dictionaries are classified here according to the following scheme:

- a) the resemanticisation of old words (3.1.2.1);
- b) the revival of old words (3.1.2.2);
- c) the retention of old words alongside new, related forms (3.1.2.3);
- d) the replacement of old models by new, related forms (3.1.2.4).

#### 3.1.2.1 The resemanticisation of old words

Some of the old words given new meanings are: –

*članak* – from 'article' to 'magazine article' possibly under the influence of Cz *článek*;

*gospodarstvo/gospodar/gospodarski* – from 'husbandry etc.' to 'economy etc.', probably in imitation of Cz *hospodářství*, cf. too Sln *gospodarstvo*;

*gusle* – ‘a folk instrument’ received the additional meaning of ‘violin’, cf. too Cz *housle*, Sln *gosli*;

*kazalište* – ‘index, ostensorium’ to ‘theatre’;

*obrtnost* – from ‘diligence’ to ‘industry’ (in both senses of the English word), probably under the influence of Lat *industria*;

*prosvětjenje* – ‘illumination’ to ‘enlightenment’, a semantic change mirrored in most, if not all, of the modern European languages;

*světoljubje* – ‘love of the world’ to ‘cosmopolitanism’;

*umětnost* – ‘science’ to ‘art’.

### 3.1.2.2 The revival of old words

The following appear to be the only clear examples of consciously revived words in Illyrian usage: –

*bolnica* – ‘hospital’, probably prompted by R *bol'nica*;

*podnebjje* – ‘climate’, possibly influenced by Cz *podnebí*, cf. too Sln *podnebjje*;

*predgovor* – ‘preface’, cf. too Sln *predgovor*;

*utok* – ‘influence’, later abandoned in this meaning.

### 3.1.2.3 The retention of old words alongside new, closely related forms

The following words are retained by the Illyrians together with one or more similar forms:

*medjumetak* – ‘interjection’ beside the new *medmetak*;

*pismoštrana* – ‘archive’ as well as the less common *pismohrana* and *pismohraniste*;

*preporodjenje* – ‘rebirth, renaissance’ beside the new and much less common *preporod*, which later came to replace it;

*razvitje* – ‘development’ together with the new *razvitak*;

*slovník* – ‘dictionary’ beside the much more common *slovar*;

*trenutje (oka)* – ‘moment’ beside the new and less common *trenutak*, which has however subsequently replaced it.

As a footnote to this list of words, it is worth recording that in the majority of cases the difference between the old and new forms is the substitution in the new forms of another suffix, e.g. *-je* by *-ak*, *-jenje* by *-ø*. In most of these cases the change of suffix signals a move from a genuine *nomen actionis* to an abstract noun (for more on the

productivity of these suffixes, see 4.4.3). With the exception of *medjumetak* and *slovar* all the new forms introduced in *Danica* have subsequently replaced their older competitors.

### 3.1.2.4 The replacement of old models by new, related forms

The following old words are replaced in *Danica* by newer related forms:

*dvoruica* – 'hall' replaced by *dvorana*;

*igrokazanje* – 'play' has given way to *igrokaz*;

*vodovodje* (and *vodotočje*, *vodovožda*, *vodopeljanje*) – 'aqueduct etc.' replaced by *vodovod*;

*zemljopisje* (and *kopnopisje*) – 'geography' replaced by *zemljopis*.

As in the previous sub-section we may note the change of suffix and in particular the prevalence of the zero suffix in the new words.

### 3.1.2.5 Words taken from Stulli's dictionaries

The culmination of the Cr lexicographical tradition was the publication of Stulli's dictionaries of 1801, 1806 and 1810. Indeed some scholars see Stulli's work as the end of a whole philological period.<sup>126</sup> In addition to material from previous lexicographers, his dictionaries also reflect the vocabulary of earlier Cr writers. More than any other Cr lexicographer he made use of other Slavonic language dictionaries, especially Russian, for which his principal source was Polikarpov's dictionary of 1704.<sup>127</sup> He often simply transliterated R words (usually with the identification mark "Lex.r.") without attempting to adapt the words to correspond to native Cr forms. Despite their uncritical nature (see 2.1), the dictionaries of Stulli were the first to register many words which gained popularity during the Illyrian period. The question which remains is to ascertain how many of these words were not simply dictionary items but rather elements of the living language. Among the words used by the Illyrians and first attested in Stulli are the following:

*čovčkoljubje* 'philanthropy', *dogodovština* 'history', *izkustvo* 'knowledge, experience', *ljubopitnost* 'curiosity', *mudroljubje* 'philosophy', *naravoslovje* 'physics', *odnošenje* 'relationship', *povčst* 'history', *pravopis/pravopisanje* 'orthography', *predlog* 'preposition', *predislovje* 'preface', *proizhodjenje* 'origin', *protivoslovje* 'contradiction', *razmčr* 'proportion', *rodoslovje* 'genealogy', *ukus* 'taste', *vozduh/uzduh* 'air'.

In addition to these words, there is one lexical item of great interest, the first dictionary entry for which is Stulli – *samostan*. This is a strictly štokavian word, attested before Stulli

only in hagiographies (ARj XIV:580). The evidence given in ARj suggests that it was never in popular use. It is possible that *samostan* owes its presence in *Danica* to Stulli.

The fairly large number of key words given above which were taken up by the Illyrians suggests that in the lexical domain at least Slamnig's periodisation of Cr philology and Stulli's place in it is somewhat questionable. It seems to me on the evidence available that in many ways Stulli's work in its content if not in its approach belongs to some extent to a new phase in the development of literary Cr.

### 3.1.3 The evolving Serbian literary language

During the first half of the 19thC, a Serbian literary language was evolving on a populist model as proposed by Vuk Karadžić. The Illyrians were greatly interested by the developments taking place in Serbia and the Vojvodina and were aware of the potentialities for lexical enrichment from this source. In particular, Vuk's dictionary of 1818 was well known to the Illyrians and served as a potential source for new words.<sup>128</sup> As many scholars have pointed out, however, the usefulness of this dictionary as a source of abstract or learned vocabulary is vitiated by the fact that it reflects a strictly vernacular word-stock. As a result, the number of words from S usage in Illyrian writing of the period is much smaller than might have been expected. Indeed, the specifically S words are far outnumbered by those of Slaveno-Serbian origin (many of them ultimately of Russian or, more accurately, Russian Church Slavonic origin).

The words of Serbian or Slaveno-Serbian origin which figure in Illyrian usage include the following:

*glagol* – 'verb' first used by Vuk in his *Pismenica* (1814);<sup>129</sup>

*hudožestvo* – 'art', a word attacked by Demeter as being foreign to the "South Slavonic ear";

*izkustvo* – 'knowledge, experience' first used by Vuk in *Pismenica*;

*krasnorječje* – 'eloquence, rhetoric', recorded from the end of the 18thC;

*ljubopitnost* – 'curiosity';

*narječje* – 'dialect, adverb', first used by Vuk in his *Pismenica*;

*obzor* – 'horizon', attested in *Novine Srbske* of 1835, but the Cr usage may be modelled on Cz *obzor*, itself a loan from R;

*odnoženje* – 'relationship';

*padež* – 'case' (gram.), first used by Vuk in *Pismenica*;  
*predlog* – 'preposition', first used by Vuk in *Pismenica*;  
*predslovje* – 'foreword', first used by Vuk in *Pismenica*;  
*pričastje* – 'participle', first used by Vuk in *Pismenica*;  
*razměr* – 'proportion';  
*savěst* – 'conscience', first used by Obradović;  
*sbornik* – 'collection', but it could also be loan from R direct;  
*slog* – 'style', first used by Vuk in *Pismenica*;  
*sveučilište* – 'university', a Slaveno-Serbian calque of Gr *pandidakterion*;  
*zavedenje* – 'institute';  
*zloupotrēbljenje* – 'misuse, abuse', first attested in Rajić from 1793.

To this list may be added the names of the cases taken by Babukić from Vuk (for more details, see 4.3).

This group of words is united by the fact that they are not from the new folklore-based language of Vuk but from Slaveno-Serbian. It is important to remember that Vuk did not limit himself to vernacular word-stock in his grammatical terminology and in the introduction to his dictionary. It is also noteworthy that all the words of probable Serbian origin in Illyrian usage are, with the single exception of *sveučilište*, ultimately taken from Russian.

### 3.1.4 Dialects and regional usage

In literary language revivals, it is not uncommon for dialectal material to be plundered for the enrichment of the vocabulary. That this was not the case with Cr is explicable on several grounds:

- 1) the Illyrian Movement was the work of an urban-based *bourgeoisie* with few direct links with the countryside;
- 2) the most salient feature of the Zagreb dialect was the presence of Germanisms, which were to be eradicated anyway;
- 3) the Cr language revival, like Cz and Slk but unlike S and Ukrainian (Ukr) did not have a populist base;
- 4) the Cr language revival sought a supra-regional (i.e. supra-dialectal) literary code, which would be free of regionalisms (for more on this, see 1.1 and 1.3); and

5) dialectal material, by its very nature, was unlikely to supply deficiencies felt in the intellectual vocabulary. The last point, which together with the penultimate one was probably decisive, has been emphasized by Robert Auty: —

“[W]e should not forget that the neologisms of the language-reformers of the nineteenth century occur principally in the sphere of abstract vocabulary; they are designed to provide native expression for concepts of intellectual, scientific, political or administrative life with which, generally speaking, the popular dialects had never been concerned.”<sup>130</sup>

The universalist argument is well expressed in a letter from Vraz to Gaj attacking the usefulness of Dalmatian elements in the new literary language: —

“Jednom rěčju, brajko, Dubrovčani ne mogu nam služiti za neomedjašen autoritet, jerbo oni samo pišaše za svoj mali Dubrovnik, a mi imamo pisati za čitavu veliku Illiriu. . .”<sup>131</sup>

The regionalisms which penetrated Illyrian usage are mainly Dalmatianisms which spread throughout the Cr area through literary usage. There are also some instances of regionalisms in *Danica* which clearly reflect the speech of the contributor. Thus *poluostrvo* ‘peninsular’ occurs instead of the usual *poluotok* on only two occasions. The first (D IV:154), in an article on Kotor, is provided with an explanatory gloss (*poluotok*). The second (D VII:59), in a description of Koper, is a translation of a letter from Sreznevskij to Hanka published in Cz in *Časopis českého museum* (IV, 1841). Of the words surveyed by me in *Danica* only two qualify for inclusion in this section: *trenutak* ‘moment’ (probably a popular Štokavian word — it is significant that it is recorded in one of Vuk’s collections of folk poetry) and *samostan* ‘monastery’ (which appears to have begun as a learned word but was widespread in Dalmatia although recorded for the first time only in Stulli’s dictionary).

### 3.2 Neologisms

The term ‘neologism’ is often used in linguistics as a designation for any newly coined word, but in the context of this book the term will have a more limited meaning: a word which has been formed using native elements but without reflecting the structure, or translating the morphemes, of a foreign word. The term as used here corresponds in Werner Betz’s classification to *Lehnschöpfung* (loan creation), which he defines as “die formal unabhängige Neubildung eines Wortes zur Übersetzung eines fremden”.<sup>132</sup>

As I have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>133</sup> such neologisms, while still part of the process of *Sprachanschluss*, are the reflection of a quite different language consciousness from that of Betz's other classes (*Lehnübersetzungen*, *Lehnübertragungen* and *Lehnbedeutungen*) (for more on these classes see particularly 3.4 below). The coining of neologisms represents a more extreme form of purism than calquing or borrowing from related languages.<sup>134</sup> In the description of the nature of Illyrian purism (see 4.1.2 below) the role played by neologisms compared with other types of lexical enrichment will be central to the discussion. The study of neologisms also allows for some revealing comparisons with other language revivals of the nineteenth century.

Neologisms certainly play an important role in the attempts at lexical enrichment carried out by the immediate predecessors of the Illyrians. The large number of independent neologisms in the list of words coined by the translators of KD (see 2.2 above) for instance catches our eye very forcibly. Many of them are totally incomprehensible to the unilingual Cr reader, e.g. *dillorukni* for *fisico*, *knjigomudrie* for *letteratura*, *knjigoskupština* for *accademia*. In Drašković too neologisms are found (see 2.3.2). Gaj's attempts to find Cr equivalents for foreign terms in his notes on language (*Gaj's Notes*) often reveal a predilection for neologisms, e.g. *stvora* for *materia*, *iztočalo* for *elementum*, *mnenljivost* for *Phantasie*, *žalostnica* for *Elegie*, *prezdelek* for *atom*, *teloznanstvo* for *physica*, *govorotnost* for *Redekunst*, *brojoznanje* for *Mathematik*. However even in Gaj's proposal for publishing a newspaper (*Osznova Novin Horvatzkeh . . .*; hereafter: *Osnova*) from 1832 and certainly on the pages of *Danica* itself the coining of such idiosyncratic neologisms is on the whole eschewed.

Examples of neologisms noted in *Danica* are the following: –

*domostroj* 'architect', *dvorana* 'hall', *iztisak* 'copy', *krajobraz* 'map' (the influence of Pol *krajobraz* 'landscape' is unlikely), *pismenica* 'archive', *slikoshrana* 'picture gallery' (formed by analogy with *pismošhrana* 'archive'), *světoljubje* 'cosmopolitanism', *svirka* 'music' (like the later *glazba*, probably based on Cz *hudba*), *značaj* 'character' (though it contains the element *znak*-, which corresponds to Gr *charaktēr* 'stamp, mark', it is unlikely to be a conscious calque of Gr).

The small number of neologisms in the Illyrian word-stock is very striking. It is also noteworthy that only two of them (*značaj* and *dvorana*) have preserved their place in the



literary language and in the case of the former this has been achieved despite the disapproval by Maretić of the word on the basis of its word-formation.

### 3.3 Influences from other Slavonic languages

As we saw in 1.1, the Illyrian Movement was in essence a local manifestation of a general pan-Slavonic movement, fuelled by the ideas of Herder and best expressed in the writings of Ján Kollár. Not only did the Slavs come to realise for the first time the importance of their links in custom and language with other Slav peoples, but, especially within Austro-Hungary, each individual people began to understand that mutual cooperation with its fellow Slavs offered the best chance of expressing its own national identity. In terms of lexical enrichment, this meant that the vocabulary of other Slavonic languages stood ready to fulfil the needs of each newly emerging literary language. Loans from Slavonic languages also offered a highly acceptable alternative to those foreign words which had inundated languages subjected to foreign influences. The purism of the Illyrian period (as we shall see in 4.1.2) was not at all opposed to the adoption of Slavonic loans. To some extent this was aided by the terminology of the day, in which individual languages were envisaged as “dialects” of a single “Slavonic language”.

In the Illyrian period, Slavonic loans underwent sound-substitutions to accommodate them to differences in language characteristics as developed from Common Slavonic. For example, Cz loans with the prefix *sou-* (from CS \**sq-*) became *su-* in Cr and *so-* in Sin. In other words, the Slavonic languages were linked to each other by a series of umbilical cords through Common Slavonic. A subconscious knowledge of the relationship between the two Slavonic languages concerned and the common parent language is implicit in the form in which words were coined.

This Illyrian practice marks a significant departure from earlier Cr procedure, where Slavonic loans were often simply transliterated, e.g. R *vozduch* > Cr *vozduh* in Stulli, whereas the Illyrian loan *uzduh* (based on Cz *vzduch*, itself a loan from R *vozduch*) reflects the regular development of CS \**vъz-*. The rejection of loans without substitutions is clearly seen in Illyrian practice. Moreover, the following passage written by Demeter (under the pseudonym “Sincerus”) in *Danica* in 1840 demonstrates that the Illyrians were well aware of the need to “Croatianise” loans from other Slavonic languages: –

“Pak ipak još uvijek u mnogih knjigah čitati moramo jugoslavjanskomu uhu sasvim neprilične zvukove i formacije kao: *neželi, poneže, dondeže, obače, hudožestvo, toržestvo, otečestvo, mzdovanie, krovoprolivanie, vo pros, vozbuždenie, vostorg, dražajši, ne polebimi* i tim slične rusisme.”<sup>135</sup>

In a sense then, words taken from other Slavonic languages but adapted “to the South Slavonic ear” were not regarded as loanwords at all but impulses for Cr to discover the hidden and undeveloped resources which it shared with all the other Slavonic languages.

It is axiomatic in Kollár's doctrine of Slavonic reciprocity that in principle any of the Slavonic languages could serve as sources for the enrichment of Cr. In practice, however, because of the prestige of, or familiarity with, certain languages, the contribution of the individual languages to Cr varied enormously. The factors which determined the degree of influence are discussed in the separate sub-sections below.

A further complication in presenting Slavonic loans in Cr is that many of the words in question are migratory.<sup>136</sup> Thus R and Pol loans may first have been domesticated in Cz and only passed to Cr through a Cz filter. Another migratory pattern intersects with this in that R loans in S are often subsequently passed to Cr. Following the progress of such migrations is rendered especially difficult by the very sound-substitutions to which I have just referred, since the latter serve to obliterate the features by which the source of a given word could be traced. In the context of this book, however, our primary interest is in the enrichment process itself rather than the ultimate source for a given word, and therefore such migratory words are treated here, as far as identification permits, under the language which transmitted them to Cr.

The study of Slavonic loans in Cr is relevant not only for gaining a true picture of the development of the Cr lexicon in the 19thC but also for an understanding of the convergence of the Slavonic literary languages during this period.<sup>137</sup> The availability of ready models in related languages obviated the need to resort to native neologisms, which is such a salient feature of contemporary Hungarian, which lacked this source of lexical enrichment.<sup>138</sup> Auty believes that “the wider Slavonic connexions of many of the new words” mitigated to some

extent the effect of purism in Cr and the other Slavonic literary languages (for more discussion of this important point, see 4.1.2).

### 3.3.1 Slovene

Sln occupies a unique position *vis-à-vis* Cr in that it underwent enrichment in conjunction with Cr and was consequently not only a source for lexical enrichment but was itself a recipient of vocabulary which had earlier become current in Cr. The relationship is further complicated by the fact that, in the early stages of the Illyrian Movement particularly, Sln and Cr were regarded as a single language. Moreover, kajkavian, in which the first issues of *Danica* were written, is genetically very close to Sln. Both Sln and Cr were subject to Cz influences and sought to replace Germanisms by calques and neologisms. Given that the sound-structure of the two languages is fairly close and that the word-building potentialities are virtually identical, it is very difficult, and often impossible, to identify Sln loans in Cr or *vice versa* and to differentiate between words which have entered Cr via Sln from those which have come direct from Cz or R. Similarly, how are we to tell whether a calque or neologism was first formed in one area or the other? Only in the most exceptional cases can extralinguistic factors or evidence in particular texts be produced to prove that the use of the word in one area predates that in another. Such evidence has been produced by Ilesić to show for instance that, since the building of railway stations proceeded earlier in Slovenia than in Croatia, *kolodvor* is probably a Sln loan in Cr.<sup>139</sup> Even a comparison of dates of attestation of a given word does not necessarily allow us to assume the direction of the loan. This is particularly hazardous if the dating stems from dictionary evidence alone. Yet, as we saw in 1.5, this is precisely what Breznik has done in trying to demonstrate that words registered in Murko's dictionary of 1833<sup>140</sup> before their attestation in Cr must be Sln loans. In view of all this, it is perhaps not surprising that no serious attempt has been made to investigate the mutual enrichment of Cr and Sln during this crucial period of their development.

In the absence of any specialist study of this problem, I offer some cautious statements about the inter-relationships between Cr and Sln vocabulary of the period. All available evidence suggests that Sln was heavily influenced by Cz at the very beginning of the 19thC, at a time when links between Cr and Cz were virtually non-existent.<sup>141</sup> Large numbers of words passed into Sln from Cz during this period. Vodnik's dictionary of 1813 incorporates many words from Dobrovský's dictionary of 1801.<sup>142</sup> Most of these Bohemianisms in Sln

were available to Cr language renewers in the 1830's, mostly through Murko's dictionary, which was certainly known to Gaj at an early date.<sup>143</sup> Despite its earlier start, the enrichment and standardisation of Sln vocabulary belongs to a somewhat later date than that of Cr. Thus Sln borrowed a large number of Cr words, many of them registered for the first time in Janežič's dictionary of 1850-1.<sup>144</sup> However, it is possible that many of the Illyrian creations in Cr were current in Sln at the same time. Words were free to pass back and forth between Ljubljana and Zagreb, since Sln and Cr were completely open to enrichment from each other. Indeed, to try to seek out the Cr element in Sln and *vice versa* in the 1830's would be to distort the realities of the situation, for the most interesting aspect of Cr and Sln at this period is the high degree of inter-penetrability and common development of the two languages and the resultant convergence of their lexical systems.

Only one Sln word (*slovstvo* 'literature') appears to have found its way into Cr. The other words for which Sln might be the intermediary are included in the following list of words from our sample which are recorded in Murko before their attestation in Cr: –

*dokaz* 'proof', *glagol* 'verb', *lahkomislen* 'frivolous' (cf. Cr *lahkomislan*), *predlog* 'preposition', *predmet* 'subject', *prednost* 'preference, precedence, advantage', *pregled* 'survey', *priroda* 'nature', *soglasnik* 'consonant' (cf. Cr *suglasnik*), *vodopad* 'waterfall', *vodovod* 'aqueduct etc.', *vtisk* 'impression' (cf. Cr *utisak*).

Finally, we turn to a list of words common to Sln and Cr, attested in *Danica* and Janežič but absent from Murko. It can be assumed reasonably safely that the words in this list are borrowings from Cr: –

*bajesloven* 'mythological' (cf. Cr *bajoslovan*), *blagostanje* 'welfare, prosperity', *bolnica* 'hospital', *čitalnica* 'reading-room' (cf. Cr *čitaonica*), *dvoboj* 'duel', *izraz* 'expression', *jezikoslovje* 'linguistics, philology', *olovka* 'pencil', *parobrod* 'steam-ship', *parovoz* 'steam-train', *pravopis* 'orthography', *samostan* 'monastery', *slovnica* 'grammar', *uzor* 'model', *vpliv* 'influence' (cf. Cr *upliv*), *zemljepis* 'geography' (cf. Cr *zemljopis*), *značaj* 'character', *železnica* 'railway' (cf. Cr *željeznica*).

It is ironical that several of these probable Cr loans in Sln have been better preserved in Sln than in Cr.

### 3.3.2 Czech

Of all the Slavonic languages, Cz undoubtedly had the greatest influence on the vocabulary of the newly emerging Cr literary language. This is hardly surprising, for Kollár

and Šafárik were the idols of the Illyrian Movement. Though both Slovaks, they wrote in Cz and favoured the use of Cz by Slovaks. They were responsible for keeping the ideas of Slavdom in the minds of the Illyrians. Gaj's meeting with Kollár when a law student in Pest in 1830 was probably the birth of the Illyrian idea (see 1.1). It was from Kollár's hands too that he received the Cz grammar which no doubt prompted Gaj in his *Kratka Osnova* of later that year to employ Bohemianisms (see 2.3.4).

As fellow citizens of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Illyrians were able to obtain Prague and Pest newspapers and journals in Zagreb without difficulty. *Danica* itself contains numerous translations taken from *Krok*, *Květy*, *Časopis českého museum* etc. All of the Illyrians read Cz without difficulty of course, and most of them translated Cz works into their native language. In addition, much of the Illyrian awareness of events in Poland and Russia was filtered through Cz sources.<sup>145</sup>

Of great importance too was the fact that the Cz intelligentsia had itself just experienced a great national rebirth with its concomitant modernisation of learned vocabulary. Coincidentally, this modernisation of vocabulary was to attain its fullest reflection in the very years in which *Danica* was modernising literary Cr with the publication of Jungmann's five-volume Cz-G dictionary of 1835-39).<sup>146</sup> As a result of its own modernisation and enrichment, Cz could provide Cr (as well as Sln) with excellent examples of newly created words. This meant that an Illyrian who sought a Slavonic word to replace Lat, G or other loans needed to look no further than the models already created by the Cz language renewers, particularly the circle around Josef Jungmann.

The availability of Cz as a source of lexical enrichment for Cr was felicitous in the extreme. With the minimum of effort a whole series of words stood ready to do service for Cr. Furthermore, Cr benefitted from the fact that, at the time when it was ready to adopt words from Cz, the latter had already been through a fairly lengthy period of experimentation. Early experimental and idiosyncratic neologising and slavish imitation of G models had, in the face of Dobrovský's trenchant and well-justified criticism, given way to a more cautious and systematic exploration of the internal possibilities for lexical enrichment.<sup>147</sup>

Not only did it provide loanwords and models for calquing from its own resources but Cz also served as an intermediary between Cr on the one hand and Pol and R on the other. The Cz influences on Cr can be divided into 2 sections: (i) *loanwords* (3.3.2.1) and (ii) *calques* (3.3.2.2). A division between loanwords and calques where the contact is one between closely related languages can never be neat and simple.<sup>148</sup> I have classified here under loanwords those words of Cz origin which Cr borrowed and adapted to its sound-system by a series of regular sound-substitutions. The calques are made up of *Lehnbedeutungen* (semantic calques) and words which have undergone more radical transformation in their passage from Cz to Cr. Despite a small number of borderline cases, the classification has the merit of identifying some of the word-building models Cz provided. Indeed, it can be stated that the Cr debt to Cz consists not only in a catalogue of individual words but, and perhaps more importantly, a number of models for further enrichment of Cr. We shall return to a discussion of these and other word-building models in 4.4.3.

(All the Cz forms cited below have been verified in Jungmann unless otherwise stated; the spelling is that usual for Cz of the period except for the following replacements: *f* for *j*, *v* for *w*, *ou* for *au*, *j* for *g*).

### 3.3.2.1 Loanwords

As I mentioned above, many of the words from Cz are subject to a fairly regular set of sound-substitutions in Cr. Apart from vowel lengths and tones, the reinstatement of vowels mutated by *Česká přehláska*, and the palatalisation of dentals, the sound-substitutions evident in Cz loanwords may be summarised in the following table: –

<u>CS</u>	<u>Czech</u>	<u>Croatian</u>
*g	h	g
*r	r or ř	r
*ž	e, je, 'e or í (orthographically: e, ě or í)	je or ije (orthographically: ě)
*b and *b̂	e	a
*bje	í	je
*o	o or ů	o
*u and *ô	u or ou	u
*y	y (orthographically)	i
*v (initially)	v	u

The words in question comprise the following: –

- bajoslovje/bajoslovan* – ‘mythology, mythological’, from Cz *bájesloví/bájeslovný*;  
*časopis* – ‘journal’, from Cz *časopis*;  
*dokaz* – ‘proof’, a calque of G *Beweis* possibly via Cz *důkaz*;  
*hudba* – ‘music’ from Cz *hudba*;  
*hladnokrvan* – ‘cold-blooded’, a calque of G *kaltblütig* via Cz *chladnokrevný* or R *chladnokrovnyj*;  
*lahkomisten* – ‘frivolous’, a calque of G *leichtsinnig* probably via Cz *lehkomyslný* rather than R *legkomyslennyj*;  
*lučba* – ‘chemistry’, from Cz *lučba*;  
*narěčje* – ‘dialect’, from R *narečie* of Cz *nářečí*;  
*narodopis* – ‘ethnography’, a calque of Lat *ethnographia*, possibly via Cz *národopis*;  
*nastroj* – ‘instrument’, from Cz *nástroj*;  
*nezavisan/nezavisnost* – ‘independent/independence’, a calque of G *Unabhängigkeit* or a loan from Cz *nezávislý/nezávislost*;  
*obzor* – ‘horizon’, from R or Cz *obzor*;  
*okolnost* – ‘circumstance’, from Cz *okolnost*;  
*olovka* – ‘pencil’, a calque of G *Bleistift*, via Cz *olůvko/olůvek*;  
*podmet* – ‘subject’ (gram.), a calque of Lat *subjectum* via Cz *podměť*;  
*podnebjje* – ‘climate’ an old word revived possibly under the influence of Cz *podnebí*;  
*pravnik* – ‘lawyer’, from Cz *pravník*;  
*pravopis* – ‘orthography’, a calque of G *Rechtschreibung*, Lat *orthographia* via Cz *pravopis*;  
*predmet* – ‘subject, object’, a calque of Lat *objectum* via R *predmet* or more probably Cz *předmět*;  
*prednost* – ‘preference, precedence, advantage’ from Cz *přednost*, which itself calques G *Vorrang, Vorteil, Vorzug*;  
*predstava* – ‘presentation’, a loan from Cz *představa*;  
*predstavljjenje* – ‘presentation’, from Cz *predstavení* or more likely R *predstavjenje*, both calqued on G *Vorstellung*;  
*pregled* – ‘survey’ from Cz *přehled*, calqued on G *Überblick. Übersicht*;  
*priroda* – ‘nature’, via Cz *příroda* or via S usage from R *priroda*;  
*prislov* – ‘adverb’, possibly based on Cz *příslovo, příslovce*;  
*sbirka* – ‘collection’, from Cz *sbírka*;  
*slog* – ‘style’, from R *slog* or Cz *sloh*;

*sustav(a)* – ‘system’, from Cz *soustav(a)*;

*ukus* – ‘taste’, from R *vkus* possibly via Cz *vkus*;

*upliv* – ‘influence’, from Cz *vplyv*, itself loaned from Pol *wpływ*, a calque of G *Einfluss*, Lat *influentia*;

*ustav(je)* – ‘institute’, from Cz *ústav*;

*uzduh* – ‘air’, from Cz *vzduch*;

*vidokruh* – ‘horizon’, from Cz *vidokruh*, itself calqued on G *Gesichtskreis*;

*vodopad* – ‘waterfall’, from Cz *vodopád* or R *vodopad*;

*vodovod* – ‘aqueduct etc.’, from Cz of R *vodovod*;

*zeljeznica* – ‘railway’, from Cz *železnice*, itself calqued on G *Eisenbahn*.

### 3.3.2.2 Calques

The words calqued on Cz models can be further subdivided into semantic calques (*Lehnbedeutungen*) and loan translations (*Lehnübersetzungen*).

#### 3.3.2.2.1 Lehnbedeutungen

The following words appear to have changed their meanings on the model of their Czech equivalents: –

*žlanak* – ‘magazine article’, an extension of the word’s meaning on the basis of Cz *žlánek*;  
*gos podarstvo/gos podar/gos podarski* – ‘economy, economist, economic’, in imitation of Cz *hospodářství* etc.;

*uzor* – ‘ideal’ based on Cz *vzor*, itself modelled probably on Pol *wzór*.

#### 3.3.2.2.2 Lehnübersetzungen

The following words directly translate Cz models: –

*iznimika* – ‘exception’, a calque of Cz *výjimka*;

*izraz* – ‘expression’, a calque of Cz *výraz*;

*nazivoslovje* – ‘terminology’, a calque of Cz *názvosloví*;

*tjednik* – ‘weekly newspaper’, based on Cz *týdeník*;

*vesela igra* – ‘comedy’, though attested in a Serbian writer of the late 18thC, it is probably a calque of Cz *veselá hra*;

*zanimivost/zanimiv* – ‘interest, interesting’, based on Cz *zajímavost, zajímavý*;

*zemljopis* – ‘geography’, probably based on Cz *zeměpis*;

*žalostna igra* – ‘tragedy’, a calque of *trichlá* (or *smutná*) *hra* in Cz.



### 3.3.3 Russian

After Cz, R has contributed more than any other Slavonic language to the lexical enrichment of Cr in the Illyrian period. Some of the loans have come direct, others via Cz only or Pol and Cz. Of the direct loans most are attested in S or Serbian Church Slavonic (Slaveno-Serbian etc.) before their occurrence in Cr. This latter group forms an important part of the S influence on Cr of the period (see 3.1.3). Knowledge of R was not on the same level as that of Cz among the Illyrians. Nevertheless, *Danica* features translations of R by Babukić and others; Gaj travelled to Russia in 1840; and in 1841 Zagreb and the Dalmatian coast were visited by I. I. Sreznevskij, the great Russian historical lexicographer. Many R words are registered in Stulli's dictionary and some have entered literary Cr from that source (see 3.1.2.5).<sup>149</sup>

The degree of sound-substitution varies to a considerable extent in Cr loans from R. Most of the sound-substitutions are however self-evident and require no explanation. The R lexical influence consists, in the main, of words which are themselves calqued on western (i.e. Lat, G and French (Fr)) models. There is no clear evidence for Cr having in turn calqued words from R (this in itself is indicative of a lesser familiarity with the language when compared for example with Cz), so that our material is made up entirely of the following loanwords: –

- bolnica* – 'hospital', from R *bol'nica*, cf. too Cz *bolnice*;
- glagol* – 'verb', from R *glagol*;
- hudožestvo* – 'art', from R *chudozestvo*;
- izkustvo* – 'knowledge, experience', from R *iskusstvo*;
- krasnorječje* – 'rhetoric', from R *krasnorecie*;
- lahkomislen* – 'frivolous', from Cz *lehkomyslny* or R *legkomyslennyj*;
- ljubopitnost* – 'curiosity', from R *ljubopytnost*;
- načalo* – 'principle', from R *načalo*;
- narječje* – 'dialect', from R *narečie* or Cz *nářečŕ*;
- neposredstven* etc. – 'direct', from R *neposredstvennyj*, possibly via Sln;
- nezavisim* – 'independent', from R *nezavisimyj* or Cz *nezávisimŕ*;
- obzor* – 'horizon', from R or Cz *obzor*;
- odnošenje* – 'relationship', from R *otnošenje*;
- padež* – 'case' (gram.), from R *padež*;
- ponjatje* – 'concept', from R *ponjatie*;

*predislovje* – ‘preface’, from R *predislovie*;  
*predlog I* – ‘preposition’, probably from R *predlog*;  
*predlog II* – ‘proposition’, from R *predlog*;  
*predmet* – ‘subject’, from R *predmet* or Cz *predmet*;  
*predstavljenje* – ‘presentation’, from R *predstavlenie* or Cz *predstaveni*;  
*priroda* – ‘nature’, from R *priroda* but probably via Cz *příroda*;  
*proizhodjenje* – ‘source, origin’, from R *proischozdenie*;  
*protivorečje* – ‘contradiction’, from R *protivorečie*;  
*protivoslovje* – ‘contradiction’, from R *protivoslovie*;  
*razměr* – ‘proportion’, probably from R *razmer* rather than Cz *rozměr*;  
*rudokopje* – ‘mining’, based on R *rudokop*;  
*savest* – ‘conscience’, from R *sovest*;  
*sbornik* – ‘collection’, probably a direct loan from R *sbornik*;  
*točan/točnost* – ‘exact(ness)’, from R *točnyj/točnost*;  
*ukus* – ‘taste’, from R *vkus* but probably via Cz *vkus*;  
*uzduh* – ‘air’, from R *vozduch* but almost certainly via Cz *vzduch*;  
*vodopad* – ‘waterfall’, from Cz *vodopad* or R *vodopad*;  
*vodovod* – ‘aqueduct’, from R or Cz *vodovod*;  
*zavedenje* – ‘institute’, from R *zavedenie*;  
*zavod* – ‘institute’, the form is based on R *zavod* or Cz *závod*;  
*zloupotřebjenje* – ‘misuse, abuse’, from R *zloupotreblenie*.

### 3.3.4 Polish

Although Pol provided Cz with a large number of words in the early 19thC,<sup>150</sup> there is little if any direct Pol influence discernible in the vocabulary of Cr. This is to be explained by the relative lack of information about events in Poland and the lack of good personal contacts with Pol linguists.<sup>151</sup> Pol did not have the same sort of prestige that Cz and R enjoyed in the Slavonic world of the 1830's. Some of the material in *Danica* is translated from Pol, but more often Pol material is reported from Cz sources. So, too in vocabulary: Pol influences on Cr are filtered through Cz.

The following Polonisms transmitted to Cr by Cz have been noted in our sample: –

*izraz* (cf. Pol *wyraz*), *podmet* (cf. Pol *podmiot*), *predmet* (cf. Pol *przedmiot*), *upliv* (cf. Pol *wpływ*), *uzor* (cf. Pol *wzór*), *vidokrug* (cf. Pol *widokreśl*).

There is one further word in our material which could be of Pol origin – *krajobraz* ‘map’. On balance however I agree with Dukat<sup>152</sup> that this is an independent neologism and not a loan from Pol *krajobraz* (which has a different meaning and is not attested in Linde),<sup>153</sup> as suggested by Maretic.<sup>154</sup>

### 3.4 Calques

In all the Slavonic language revivals, calques of internationalisms and Germanisms played a highly significant role. They enabled each newly emerging language to find a prompt equivalent for a foreign word while using domestic word-building elements.<sup>155</sup> Even a cursory glance at the work of the Cr lexicographers of the 17th and 18thC will reveal how widespread was the practice of translating Latin, Italian and German words element by element. Calquing was also prevalent among the Cr writers of all periods.<sup>156</sup> It is no surprise therefore that calques are also prominent in *Danica*. Moreover, because translated material constitutes such a high proportion of the work in *Danica*, calques are found in abundance. It has often been observed that language situations involving a great deal of rapid translation work tend to engender large-scale calquing. Many of the calques will be *ad hoc* creations, often formed contrary to the word-building laws of the language in question and just as quickly disappearing, but some may survive to play an important part in the language, the foreign impulse for their formation now concealed. In *Danica*, creators of calques, as so often with other new words, provide glosses. In the case of calques however these glosses have a double purpose – to familiarise the reading public with new words *and* to lay bare the motivation for the form of the calque by giving its model alongside.

Following Werner Betz,<sup>157</sup> calques may be defined as “alle Einflüsse einer Sprache auf eine andere, die sich nicht auf die Laute, sondern auf Bildung und Bedeutung erstrecken”. For our purposes here we may ignore phraseological and syntactic calques and concentrate instead on lexical ones. Betz divides lexical calques into 4 main types: –

- (i) *Lehnbedeutungen* (or semantic calques), where an already existing word is given a fresh meaning in imitation of a foreign model;
- (ii) *Lehnübersetzungen* (or loan translations), examples of “die genaue Glied-für-Glied Übersetzung des Vorbildes”;
- (iii) *Lehnübertragungen* (or loan renditions), freer partial translations of a foreign model;
- (iv) *Lehnschöpfungen* (or loan creations), which manifest “die formal abhängige Neubildung eines Wortes zur Übersetzung eines fremden”.

Despite the fact that *Lehnschöpfungen* contribute to the general *Sprachanschluss* in providing a language with words created in imitation of the lexico-semantic system of a model language, they should be distinguished from the other lexical calques on formal grounds and because there lies behind their creation a completely different attitude to lexical enrichment. For these reasons I have decided to treat *Lehnschöpfungen* separately as neologisms in 3.2.

I also exclude from treatment here words adapted or translated from other Slavonic languages (see 3.3). A number of words, often treated as calques in Cr, should in my view be more accurately described not as calques of foreign models but as borrowings from other Slavonic languages, the true locus of the calquing process. Thus I prefer to treat *časopis* in Cr as a loan from Cz *časopis* rather than as a calque of G *Zeitschrift* (especially since the translation of G *Zeitschrift* as *časopis* in Cr is unjustified by the meaning of the element *čas-*). To do otherwise distorts in my view the overall picture of the relative contributions made by Slavonic loans on the one hand and calques on the other to the enrichment process. This in turn has repercussions when we come to assess the attitudes and achievements of the Illyrian language reformers.

### 3.4.1 Lehnbedeutungen

In the writings of the Illyrians the change of meaning in the following words may be ascribed to the influence of a foreign model: –

*članak* – ‘magazine article’, under the influence of Cz, itself based on Lat *articulum*, G *Artikel*;

*dionik* – ‘participle’, based on Lat *participium*;

*gos podar/gos podarstvo/gos podarski* – ‘economist, economy, economic’ under the influence of Cz *hospodář* etc., a change of meaning derived from G *Wirtschaft* etc.

*gusle* – ‘violin’, like Cz *housle* and Sin *gosli* in imitation of It *violina*, G *Violine*, *Geige*;

*izobražen(ost)* – ‘cultured, culture’, modeled on G *ausbilden*, (*Aus*)*bildung*;

*kazalište* – ‘theatre’ based on G *Schaubühne* or Hung *színház*;

*obrtnost* – ‘industry’, modelled on Lat *industria*;

*povĕst* – ‘history’, based on G *Geschichte* and Lat *historia*;

*prosvĕtjenje* – ‘enlightenment’, based on the international calque represented for example by G *Aufklärung*;

*ta jnik* – ‘secretary –’, based on Lat *secretarius*;

### 3.4.2 Lehnübersetzungen

*bajoslovje/bajoslovan* – ‘mythological, mythology’, based on Lat *mythologia* probably on the model of Cz *bájeslovi* etc.;

*bakrorěž* – ‘copper etching’, a calque of G *Kupferstich*;

*blagostanje* – ‘welfare, prosperity’ based on G *Wohlstand*;

*brzovoz* – ‘express train’, a calque of G *Eilwagen*;

*časopis* – ‘journal, periodical’, a calque of G *Zeitschrift* via Cz *casopis*;

*čovjekoljubje* – ‘philanthropy’, a calque of Gr *philanthropia*;

*dogodovština* – ‘history’, a calque of G *Geschichte*;

*dokaz* – ‘proof’, a loan from Cz *dukaz* or a calque of G *Beweis*;

*dvoboj* – ‘duel’, a calque of G *Zweikampf*, possibly via Cz *dvouboj*;

*dvobja* etc. – ‘doubt’, based on Lat *dubium*, *ambiguitas* or G *Zweifel*;

*hladnokrvan* – ‘cold-blooded’, a calque of G *kaltblütig* possibly via Cz *chladnokrevný* or R *chladnokrovnyj*;

*igrokaz* – ‘play’, a calque of G *Schauspiel*, possibly via Hung *játékszin*;

*iznimka* – ‘exception’, a calque of G *Ausnahme*, Lat *exceptio* probably via Cz *výjímka*;

*izrazoslovje* – ‘phraseology’, a calque of *phraseologia*;

*jezikoslovje* – ‘philology, linguistics’, a calque of G *Sprachforschung*, *Sprachkunde*;

*jezikospitatelj* – ‘philologist, linguist’, based on G *Sprachforscher*, cf. Cz *jazykozpytec*;

*jezikoznanstvo* – ‘philology, linguistics’, another calque of G *Sprachkunde*, *Sprachwissenschaft*;

*kamenorěžac* – ‘stonemason’, a calque of G *Steinmesser*, *Steinschneider*;

*kiporěžac* – ‘sculptor’, a calque of G *Bildhauer*;

*knjigopis* – ‘bibliography’, a calque of Lat *bibliographia*;

*lahkomislen* – ‘frivolous’, a calque of G *leichtsinnig* via R or Cz;

*lahkouman* – ‘frivolous’, a calque of G *leichtsinnig* via R;

*mudroljubje* – ‘philosophy’, a calque of Gr *philosophia*;

*narodopis* – ‘ethnography’, calqued on Lat *ethnographia* via Cz;

*narodoslovje* – ‘ethnology’, calqued on Lat *ethnologia*;

*narodoznanac* – ‘ethnologist’, possibly a calque of G *Völkerkündiger*;

*nazivoslovje* – ‘terminology’, a calque of Lat *terminologia* via Cz;

*ne posredstven* etc. – ‘direct’, a calque of G *unmittelbar* via R;

*ne preglediv* etc. – ‘boundless’, a calque of G *unübersehbar*;

*neraznježen* – ‘unspoilt (of children)’ calqued on G *unverzärtelt*;

- nezavisan* – ‘independent’, a calque of G *unabhängig* via Cz;
- nezavisim* – ‘independent’, a calque of G *unabhängig* via R;
- oduhovljenje* – ‘enthusiasm’, a calque of G *Begeisterung*;
- osmerougao* – ‘octangle’, a calque of Lat *octangulum*;
- parokrug* – ‘atmosphere’, a calque of G *Dunstkreis*, Gr-Lat *atmosphera*;
- parobrod* – ‘steamship’, a calque of G *Dampfschiff*;
- parovoz* – ‘steam train, locomotive’, calqued on G *Dampfwagen*, *Dampfzug*;
- podmet* – ‘subject’ (gram.), calqued on Lat *subjectum* via Cz;
- poduzetje* – ‘undertaking’, a calque of G *Unternehmen*;
- poljodělski/poljodělsvo/poljodělac* – ‘agricultural, agriculture, agriculturalist’, a calque of G *Feldarbeit* etc., Lat *agricultura*;
- pravopis* – ‘orthography’, calqued on G *Rechtschreibung*, Lat *orthographia* via Cz;
- predlog I* – ‘preposition’ (gram.), a calque of Lat *prae positio* via R;
- predlog II* – ‘proposition’, a calque of Lat *propositio* via R;
- prednašanje* – ‘lecture’, calqued on G *Vortrag*;
- predsjednik* – ‘president’, a calque of G *Vorsitzender*, Lat *praesidens*;
- predstava/predstavljenje* – ‘presentation’, calques of G *Vorstellung* via R or Cz;
- preduzetje* – ‘undertaking’, a hybrid calque based on G *Unternehmen* and R *predprijetie*;
- pregled* – ‘survey’, a calque of G *Übersicht*, *Überblick* via Cz;
- prislov* – ‘adverb’ (gram.), a calque of Lat *adverbium* via Cz;
- pticoslovje* – ‘ornithology’, calqued on Lat *ornithologia* or G *Vogelkunde*;
- ranovrač* – ‘surgeon’, calqued on G *Wundarzt*;
- raztresen* – ‘distracted’, a calque of G *zerstreut*, Fr *distract*;
- razvitje/razvitak* – ‘development’, a calque of G *Entwicklung*;
- rěčotvorstvo* – ‘word-formation’, based on G *Wortbildung*;
- rěčoslovje* – ‘etymology’, based on G *Wortforschung*, *Wortkunde*;
- sadržaj* – ‘contents’, a calque of Lat *contens*, It *contenuto*, G *Gehalt*;
- samoslov* – ‘monologue’, a calque of Gr-Lat *monologus*;
- slovnica* – ‘grammar’, a calque of Gr-Lat *grammatica*;
- suglasnik* – ‘consonant’, a calqued on G *Mitlaut(er)* or Lat *consonans*;
- sveobći* – ‘general’, a calque of of G *allgemein* possibly via Cz or R;
- utisak* – ‘impression’, a calque of *Eindruck*, Lat *impressio*;
- utok* – ‘Einfluss’ a calque of G *Eingluss*, Lat *influentia*;
- uzklik* – ‘exclamation, interjection’ (gram.), calqued on G *Aufruf*;

*vesela igra* – ‘comedy’, calqued on G *Lustspiel*, via Cz;  
*vidokrug* – ‘horizon’, a calque of G *Gesichtskreis* via Cz and Pol;  
*vodopad* – ‘waterfall’, a calque of G *Wasserfall* via Cz or R;  
*vodovod* – ‘aqueduct etc.’, a calque of G *Wasserleitung*, Lat *aquae ductus* via Cz or R;  
*zemljopis* – ‘geography’, a calque of Lat *geographia* via Cz;  
*zemljoslóvje* – ‘geology’, a calque of Gr-Lat *geologia*;  
*zubofekarsvo* – ‘dentistry’, based on G *Zahnarzt*;  
*zveroslóvje* – ‘zoology’, a calque of G *Tierkunde*;  
*žalostna igra* – ‘tragedy’, a calque of G *Trauerspiel* via Cz;  
*železna cesta* etc. – ‘railway’, calques of G *Eisenbahn*;  
*životo pis* – ‘biography’, calqued on G *Lebensbeschreibung*, Lat *biographia*.

### 3.4.3 Lehnübertragungen

The following deserve attention in this category: –

*žitaonica* – ‘reading-room’, based on G *Lesesaal*;  
*hodnik/hodnica* – ‘corridor’, based on G *Gang*;  
*olovka* – ‘pencil’, based on G *Bleistift* possibly via Cz;  
*prednik* – ‘predecessor’, based on G *Vorgänger, Vorläufer*;  
*prednost* – ‘advantage, preference, precedence’, based on G *Vorteil, Vorrang, Vorzug* via Cz  
*přednost*;  
*trenutak* – ‘moment’, calqued on G *Augenblick*, Lat *momentum*;  
*željeznica* – ‘railway’, based on G *Eisenbahn* via Cz.

### 3.5 Loanwords and Internationalisms

Because of the undoubtedly greater interest which attaches to the use of native and Slavonic elements in the enrichment process, the role of western loanwords and internationalisms has been virtually ignored. Yet the use of loanwords, particularly international ones, is an undeniably important feature of the process of *Sprachanschluss*. One of the reasons why internationalisms have not been given due attention is that their presence is taken for granted. However, as we shall see in 4.1.2, the presence of internationalisms at this period sheds a great deal of light on the nature of lexical purism among the Illyrians. A proper documentation of loanwords is an obvious prerequisite for a study of the functional relationship between native and borrowed vocabulary.

In the abstract and intellectual vocabularies of all the languages of Europe internationalisms, mostly of course Graeco-Latinisms, played an enormous role.<sup>158</sup> This has been the case even in those languages in which lexical purism has been particularly vigorous. Nearly all the internationalisms for which the Illyrians sought Slavonic or native replacements are themselves well represented in *Danica*. Indeed, if we are to judge by the frequency of their appearance as glosses of unfamiliar new coinings, it would appear that the Cr public had no difficulty deciphering their meaning.

A number of difficulties confront the would-be student of western loans in Cr. Only G loanwords have been studied at all systematically.<sup>159</sup> The Cr dictionaries of the 17th and 18thC are highly puristic, omitting loanwords which we can safely assume to have been current at the time. Many internationalisms which have been thoroughly assimilated into both Cr and S are not even registered in ARJ; and many of them are not documented before Šulek (1874). Thus it is often very difficult to assemble sufficient documentation to establish with any degree of conviction the history and date of adoption of a given foreign word in the Cr literary language.

For these reasons, the material for this section has not been subjected to the same kind of rigorous analysis as the other words in our sample and furthermore is not treated in the glossary. The lists given below are certainly representative of Illyrian usage of loanwords and internationalisms but do not attempt to do the problem full justice. This section is divided into internationalisms (3.5.1) and loanwords from a single, identifiable source (3.5.2). They are further sub-divided into (i) words recorded before *Danica*, (ii) words recorded first in *Danica*, (iii) words for which no native equivalent is registered in *Danica*, and (iv) words only recorded as an explanatory gloss. All variant spellings are given together with the number of examples (if less than 10).

### 3.5.1 Internationalisms

(i) words recorded before *Danica*:

*alkimista* (1), *fabrika*, *fizika* (2), *historia/istoricki*, *filosofia*, *komedia*, *leksikograf* (2), *muzika/mužika/muzički*, *paper*, *retorika* (4), *tragedia*.

(ii) words recorded first in *Danica*:

*antikvar* (1), *arheolog/arkeologički* (2), *arkitekt(ura)* (2), *arkiv* (1), *biblioteka*, *biograf(ia)* (4), *botanik/botanički* (2), *dialekt* (1), *dialog* (1), *drama* (2), *ekonom*, *elegički* (3), *energia* (1).



*estetik/estetički* (2), *etimologia/etimologički/etimologijski* (4), *etnografija/etnografički* (4), *filolog(ia)/filologički*, *galeria* (2), *genealogia* (2), *geografija* (6), *geologia*, *harmonia/harmonički* (6), *horizont* (8), *industria*, *institut/institut*, *interesantan* (1), *karakter* (8), *kemia* (3), *literatura/literarni*, *meteorologija* (1), *ortografija* (4), *paleografija* (2), *republika* (5), *sentimentalnost* (2), *sistem(a)*, *statistika/štatistika* (3), *teolog(ički)* (3), *violina* (5), *zoologia* (1).

(iii) words for which no native equivalent is registered in *Danica*:

*arkitektura*, *botanički* (*travoznanac* in a gloss only), *dialog*, *fizika*, *geologia* (*zenljoslovje* in a gloss only), *sentimentalnost* (*čutlivost* in a gloss only).

(iv) words in a gloss only:

*kosmopolit*, *mapa*, *mitologija*, *stil*.

### 3.5.2 Loanwords from a single, identifiable source

(i) words recorded before *Danica*:

*krumpir* (2) from the G dialectal form *Krumbeer*.

(ii) words recorded first in *Danica*:

*krtola* (1) from G *Kartoffel*.

### 3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have reviewed the possible sources for the enrichment of literary Cr during the Illyrian period. I have limited my examination to those words actually recorded during the period 1835-42. I have not as yet attempted to unravel the relations between synonyms and competing forms. That exercise belongs more properly in 4.2.3.

For many words, especially those derived from other Slavonic languages, it has not been possible to ascertain the immediate source of each particular word in Cr unequivocally. Mindful of this shortcoming and the *caveats* issued in 1.6 about the nature of statistical evidence contained in this book, I would like to present some conclusions about the relative importance of the various means of lexical enrichment for this period. The material is presented in the form of lists (for the use of brackets and methods of counting, see 3.0), proceeding from the most popular sources of lexical enrichment to the least popular.

1) *Calques* – 65 + (26):

(a) *Lehnübersetzungen* – 52 + (22):

(*bajoslovje/bajaslovan*), *bakrorěz*, *blagostanje*, *brzovoz*, (*časopis*), *čovėkoljubje*, *dogodovština*, *dokaz*, *dvoboj*, *dvojba*, *hladnokrvan*, *igrokaz*, (*iznimka*), *izrazoslovje*, *jezikoslovje*, *jezikospitatelj*, *jezikoznanstvo*, *kamenorěz*, *kiporěz*, *knjigopis*, (*lahkomislen*), (*lahkouman*), *nudroljubje*, *narodopis*, *narodoslovje*, *narodoznanac*, (*nazivoslovje*), (*neposredstven*), *nepreglediv*, *neraznježen*, (*nezavisan*), (*nezavisim*), *oduhovljenje*, *osmerougao*, *parobrod*, *parokrug*, *parovoz*, (*podmet*), *poduzetje*, *poljodělski/poljodělstvo/poljodělac*, (*pravopis*), (*predlog I and II*), *prednašanje*, *predsědnik*, (*predstava*), (*predstavljenje*), *preduzetje*, (*pregled*), (*prislov*), *pticoslovje*, *ranovrač*, *raztresen*, *razvičik*, *rězioslovje*, *rěziorvorstvo*, *sadržaj*, *samoslov*, *slovnica*, *suglasnik*, *sveobci*, *utisak*, *utok*, *uzklik*, (*vesela igra*), (*vidokrug*), (*vodopad*), (*vodovod*), (*zemljopis*), *zemljioslovje*, *zubolėkarstvo*, *zvěroslovje*, (*žalostna igra*), *železna cesta*, *životopis*.

(b) *Lehnbedeutungen* – 8 + (2): (*clanak*), *dionik*, (*gospodarstvo*), *gusle*, *izobrazenost*, *kazaliste*, *obrtnost*, *povest*, *prosvetjenje*, *tajnik*.

(c) *Lehnübertragungen* – 5 + (2): *čitaonica*, *hodnik/hodnica*, *olovka*, *prednik*, (*prednost*), *trenutak*, (*željeznica*).

The evidence of calques given here shows that loan translations in the narrow sense far outnumber semantic calques and looser renderings of foreign models. This reflects the well-developed sense of analogy with foreign models which figures so prominently in the lexical enrichment of Cz by Jungmann and his contemporaries.<sup>160</sup> As we shall see in 4.1.2., the popularity of calques over both Slavonic loans and neologisms allows us to define more accurately the precise nature of the purism of the Illyrian language revival. Furthermore, the preponderance of *Lehnübersetzungen* over *Lehnübertragungen* again provides a clue to the nature of this purism. Nyomárkay has noted that Cr shows an unwillingness, especially when compared with Hung, to form compounds on the model of G.<sup>161</sup> The extent to which the material presented here suggests a readiness to reflect faithfully G compound models prompts an examination of whether the Illyrians have chosen to disregard the word-building constraints of SCr. This point will be pursued in 4.4.1.

The models for the calques of the Illyrian period are illuminating: of the *Lehnübersetzungen*, 30 + (10) are from G, 12 + (3) are from Lat, 10 + (7) are from either G or Lat, while 1 may be based on Hung; of the *Lehnbedeutungen*, 2 + (1) are from G, 2 + (1) are international; of the *Lehnübertragungen*, 2 + (3) are from G, 1 is from Lat or G, 1 is international.

The combined figures for all calques are:

from G - 34 + (14), from Lat - 14 + (4), from G or Lat - 13 + (7), international - 3, from Hung - 0 + (2).

The clear preponderance of calques from G over all the other sources speaks eloquently of the clear orientation of the Illyrian movement towards G (see 2.1, 2.6). It reinforces the importance of G models for the period, which is implicit in the research of Rammelmeyer.<sup>162</sup> The conclusion that one may draw from this is that it is ultimately to G that Cr looked in its attempt to adopt an equivalent for some international concept. The role of G is particularly evident in the names of institutions, means of travel, commerce, industry, and manufacture. In conclusion, the evidence of the prominence of G models presented here supports in a specific way my general claim,<sup>163</sup> that it is precisely through G that the languages of eastern and northern Europe gained their *Anschluss* to the European *Sprachbund*.

2) Influences from other Slavonic languages – 60 + (14):

(a) Czech – 37 + (10):

(i) loanwords – 26 + (10):

*bajoslovje/bajoslovan, časopis, (dokaz), gudba, (hladnokrvan), lahkomislen, lužba, narčje, (narodopis), nastroj, nezavisan/nezavisnost, (obzor), okolnost, (olovka), podmet, (podnebje), pravnik, pravopis, predmet, prednost, predstava, (predstavljenje), pregled, priroda, prislov, sbirka, (slog), sustav(a), (ukus), upliv, ustav(je), uzduh, vidokrug, vodopad, (vodovod), željznica.*

(ii) calques – 11 + (0): *žlanak, gospodarstvo, uzor (Lehnbedeutungen); iznimika, izraz, nazivoslovje, tjednik, vesela igra, zanimiv(ost), zemljopis, žalostna igra (Lehnübersetzungen).*

(b) Russian – 22 + (16):

*bolnica, (glagol), (hladnokrvan), hudozestvo, (izkustvo), (krasnorčje), (lahkomislen), lahkouman, ljubopitnost, načalo, (narčje), neposredstven, nezavisim, (obzor), odnošenje, (padež), ponjatje, (predlog I), predlog II, (predmet), predislovje, predstavljene, (priroda), proizvodjenje, protivorčje, protivoslovje, razmiš, rudokopje, (savest), sbornik, (slog), točan/točnost, ukus, (uzduh), (vodopad), vodovod, zavedenje, (zavod), (zloupotrebljenje).*

(c) Slovene – 1 + (12):

*(dokaz), (glagol), (lahkomislen), (predlog I), (predmet), (prednost), (pregled), (priroda), slovstvo, (suglasnik), (utisak), vodopad, (vodovod).*

(d) Polish – 0 + (7):

*(izraz), (podmet), (predmet), (upliv), (uzor), (vidokrug).*

These loans reflect the contemporary trend to assimilate Slavonic loans to the Cr language. R and Cz provide the source for nearly all of them. Pol loans are entirely indirect, mostly being via Cz. Sln may have passed several words from Cz and calques of G to Cr. All those Cz loans which have not come via Sln (i.e. the majority) are direct influences on Cr. Of the R loans, almost half are probably from S usage. Not only as an intermediary for Pol and R words but as a source of words calqued on Lat and G, Cz is one of the most fruitful single sources of new words in Cr of the Illyrian period. More importantly, many of these Cz words were central concepts in the intellectual life of the early 19thC. There is no question that the core intellectual vocabulary of Cr (and even S, see 5.4) would have a quite different appearance today were it not for this Cz influence. Not to be underestimated either is the role of R. If we were to add to the figures above those Russian words which first appear in Stulli and later came to be accepted during the Illyrian period we should see that the R contribution is also fairly substantial. Surprising perhaps is the number of R words which appear to have entered Cr usage independently of S. A cautionary note, however, should be sounded here since it is quite conceivable that R loans in S of the period have not been recorded in the dictionaries or have escaped the attention of scholars of S usage.

### 3) Loanwords and internationalisms – 45:

Only one of these words is not an internationalism. A mere 6 internationalisms appear in *Danica* without a native equivalent being attested. This suggests that the Illyrians were not ill-disposed to the use of internationalisms alongside native words. This is eloquent testimony to the rather restrained nature of Illyrian purism. The absence of Hung and G words in *Danica* (though it is worth noting that the form of some of the internationalisms, e.g. *statistika*, *mužika*, suggests G or Hung transmission) is attributable to the hardly surprising purism directed against intrusions from these two languages. That G words were known to the Cr readers of the time is confirmed by the frequency with which they are used to supply a gloss to a newly proposed calque or a neologism (Hung glosses though present are very much less frequent). Again the use of these words of foreign origin provides us with clues to the nature of Cr purism, to which we shall return in 4.1.2.

### 4) lexical enrichment from within SCr – 21 + (21):

#### (a) words from S usage – 11 + (8):

*glagol*, (*hudožestvo*), *izkustvo*, *krasnorječje*, (*ljubopitnost*), (*narječje*), (*obzor*), (*odnoženje*), *padež*, *predlog I*, *predslovje*, *pricastje*, (*razmjer*), *savjest*, (*sbornik*), *slog*, *sveučilište*, (*zavedenje*), *zloupotrbljenje*.

(b) words revived from earlier forms of Cr – 4:

*izpit, podnebye, predgovor, utok.*

(c) new forms of old words – 4 + (6):

*(dvorana), (igrokaz), medmetak, pismohrana, preporod, (razvitak), slovar, (trenutak), (vodovod), (zemljopis).*

(d) words with new meanings – 1 + (6):

*(članak), (gospodarstvo), (gusle), (kazalište), (obrotnost), (prosvjetjenje), (svjetoljublje), umjetnost.*

(e) words from dialects and regionalisms - 1 + (1):

*samostan, (trenutak).*

To these should be added the 17 words appearing first in Stulli and which became stabilised in *Danica* (they consist almost entirely of calques and Russianisms). As we have seen, Cr of the Illyrian period continued to draw on a large number of abstract or learned words in use from the Renaissance onwards. In general, however, it is remarkable how little the Illyrians dug into the literary tradition or the dialects for new words. In this respect the Illyrian movement was considerably at variance with the lexical enrichment process in contemporary Hung and Cz.<sup>164</sup> It is also important to note that S served as a source of R and Russian Church Slavonic words rather than native SCr elements. Noteworthy too is the fact that in the main it was learned S usage (with its component of ChS forms) which provided a source of enrichment for Cr rather than the newly evolving folk-based literary language of Vuk. Even the words taken directly from Vuk's usage comprise exclusively Slaveno-Serbian forms rather than items taken from the S vernacular.

5) Neologisms – 9:

*domostroji, dvorana, iztisač, krajobraz, slikošrana, svjetoljublje, svirka, značaj.*

The small number of genuine neologisms contrasts with the lexical enrichment programme of the other literary language revivals of the 18th and 19thC. The small role played by independent neologisms again provides clues for an understanding of Illyrian purism (see 4.1.2). The lack of neologisms also contrasts strongly with the more prominent use of neologisms later in the century. The lack of neologisms in *Danica*, especially when compared with unpublished sources like *Gaj's Notes*, reflects something of Illyrian language planning, which concentrated on resuscitation and codification of the literary language as primary goals rather than on experimentation for its own sake (for more on this, see 5.1).

The detailed classification in this chapter of approximately 200 key words attested in the Illyrian period reveals that almost two thirds of all new words comprise calques and Slavonic loans (in roughly equal measures). Internal resources and neologisms do not figure prominently. Even taken together they do not outnumber the internationalisms on view. These figures allow for some general characterisation of Illyrian purism and for an assessment of the Illyrian language planning endeavour in general as motivated by a highly developed sense of practical reality. The next chapter takes up the discussion of these attitudes and the function of the renewed lexicon in greater detail.

## **CHAPTER 4: THE VOCABULARY OF THE ILLYRIAN PERIOD IN ITS FUNCTIONAL ASPECT**

### **4.0 Introduction**

In 2.5 I identified the corpus planning tasks which faced the Illyrian reformers in the mid-1830's. Chapter 3 dealt in detail with the sources of lexical enrichment. It is now time to turn our attention to the achievements of the Illyrians in carrying out the other tasks. How successful were they at keeping the vocabulary free from foreign elements? To what extent was the vocabulary standardised and stabilised during the Illyrian period? What stratagems were employed for the introduction of unfamiliar words to the reading public and what was the measure of their success? How well did the reformed vocabulary serve the needs of the intellectual community, especially in the realm of specialist terminology? Did the new words conform to the word-building laws of SCr? Did a regular set of word-building mechanisms emerge? And finally what was the role of the individual within the Illyrian Movement?

Only when armed with satisfactory answers to these questions can we hope to attempt a proper assessment of the Illyrians' impact on the Cr language of their time. From the very outset, however, a cautionary note must be sounded, for this is the first time that any attempt has been made to answer (or indeed to pose) these particular questions. It is to be hoped that the lack of scholarly literature on the subject at hand will not seriously detract from conclusions reached solely on the basis of my own, admittedly selective, data.

### **4.1 The role and nature of lexical purism**

#### **4.1.1 General remarks**

Purism in language may be defined as the manifestation of a desire on the part of a language community (or the elite to whom responsibility for the language has been delegated) to preserve the language from, or rid it of, supposedly foreign elements. It may also be taken to describe the exclusion from a literary language of elements from another literary code, regional dialects or sociolects of the same language. Purism is attributable to a complex combination of psychological, social and aesthetic factors. Paramount among these is national consciousness and the aversion it may engender towards elements of a foreign culture. It is hardly surprising that such aversion is most keenly felt when the literary

language is perceived as threatened from without or when national consciousness is being raised by a national cultural revival movement. Henrik Becker is quite correct in identifying purism as one of the main elements in any language revival.<sup>165</sup>

The degree of aversion towards foreign elements will vary from language to language. Purism should not therefore be seen as an absolute but as a phenomenon varying in intensity. Indeed it is possible to characterise purism according to the degree of intensity of the desire to remove foreign elements from the language. Furthermore, the degree of aversion felt towards elements from various individual sources may vary from source to source. Indeed it is not rare for the aversion to be directed at elements from one source while elements from other sources are condoned. This has led Paul Wexler to employ the terms *openness* and *closure* to describe the attitude of a given language to elements from a specific source.<sup>166</sup>

It is not uncommon in treatises on purism for a given instance of purism to be described as “extreme” or “moderate” with no attempt made to define what precisely is meant by these words. This is particularly unfortunate on those, alas by no means rare, occasions when purism itself is being subjected to value judgements rather than to factual description. To replace this imprecision, I should like to suggest a framework for identifying the intensity of lexical purism. It is predicated on the observation that the lexical enrichment of literary languages from particular sources is not fortuitous but proceeds from the linguistic consciousness of the community involved. In other words, it is posited that there is a direct correlation between the nature of lexical purism and the sources of lexical enrichment. As indicative of the ascending degree of intensity of lexical purism I would propose the following sources of lexical enrichment:<sup>167</sup>

- 1) loanwords from single, identifiable sources
- 2) internationalisms
- 3) calques:
  - (a) *Lehnübersetzungen*
  - (b) *Lehnbedeutungen*
  - (c) *Lehnübertragungen*
- 4) loans from related languages:
  - (a) without substitutions
  - (b) with sound substitutions
- 5) independent neologisms



6) words from internal resources:

- (a) words revived
- (b) words with new meanings
- (c) words with new forms
- (d) words from other literary codes of the same language
- (e) dialectal and regional material.

In my view the relative weighting for each of the categories listed here provides a guide to the type of lexical purism. A yet more reliable guide emerges from such an analysis if the nature of the synonymic relationships is examined and if the eradication or supplanting of particular words is taken into consideration. The framework suggested here has the advantage that it not only provides a characterisation of the nature of purism of a particular language at a specific time but also opens up the possibility for a comparison of purism from one language to another, and, within a single literary language, of one period with another.

From this general discussion of the nature and role of lexical purism I now turn to the specifics of Cr during the Illyrian period.

#### 4.1.2 Lexical purism in the Illyrian period

As we observed in 2.1, the Illyrians were heirs to a long tradition of purism both in lexicography and in all written forms of Cr. This purism was directed not only against those languages with which Cr came into close contact (It, G, Hung, Tu) but also the medium for international scholarship (Lat). Calques (mostly *Lehnübersetzungen* and *Lehnbedeutungen*) were preferred over all other forms of lexical enrichment. This contrasts strongly with Cz, which underwent intense periods of purism (in the 14th and 15thC and again in the late 17th, 18th and 19thC), when neologisms predominated over calques, but with a long and crucial period during the Renaissance and early Baroque (including Komenský), when the literary language was open to internationalisms and even loanwords. The result of the Cr puristic tradition was that it was fully accepted among writers that the language of literature should be free of foreign elements, irrespective of the inundation of the vernacular by loanwords. The Illyrians had merely to continue this tradition by ensuring that their enrichment of the Cr lexicon did not introduce new foreign elements. They did not face the problem, as in other language revivals, of eradicating loanwords and replacing them with native equivalents. Furthermore, the fact that the Cr literary language had long resorted to the expedient of

calquing provided the Illyrians with a ready model for the creation of new lexical items in imitation of foreign words.

The early 19thC, however, saw a shift in the nature of Cr lexical purism. In Stulli's dictionaries, KD, and the works of Starčević and Drašković, neologisms, formed independently of any foreign model, often opaque in meaning and frequently formed contrary to the word-building laws of SCr, began to figure prominently beside the previously favoured calques. This neologising, usually experimental in character, is also found in *Gaj's Notes*, e.g. *stvora* for *materia*, *oštrosudje* for *Kritik*, *delarnica* for *Fabrik*, *umoslovje/ umomislitje/ umomišlenstvo* for *Logik*, *žalostnica* for *Elegie*, *dusenstvo* for *Psychologie*, *umodarje* for *Talent*, *objetek* for *Periode*, *govorotvornost* for *Redekunst*. It is instructive for our knowledge of the Illyrian Movement in general and of Gaj's role in particular that none of these experiments found their way into the published prose of the period, though there are some traces in Gaj's *Osnova* of 1833, in which he announces his intention to publish *Danica* and provides a brief prospectus of its contents, e.g. *dogodjaštvno* 'history', *casovnica* 'periodical', *stalstven* 'statistical'; cf. too *naprvostavak*, *oštrosipitan*, *zviraljšče*, *krasodelo* whose meanings are unclear.

It is not uncommon for literary language revivals to be marked by a public debate about purism. Such is the case of Cz with Dobrovský at the end of the 18thC involved in a long polemic with the purists over the advisability of purifying the language and the means selected for this purification.<sup>168</sup> This debate continued in one form or another until the victory over the purists by the Prague Linguistic Circle in the 1930's. The Illyrian period is not marked by such a debate, possibly because of general agreement about the need to preserve the tradition of moderate purism of earlier Cr writing. The purist-antipurist debate does not begin in earnest before the 1920's with the publication of Tomo Maretić's *Jezični Savjetnik*.<sup>169</sup> It continues in one form or another up to the present day.<sup>170</sup>

It is usual too for purists to set out a programme for replacing foreign elements. Thus for German, J. H. von Campe sets out in detail the ways in which native elements can act as replacements for foreign material in his *Wörterbuch zur Erklärung und Verdeutschung der unserer Sprache aufgedrungenen fremden Ausdrücke*, Braunschweig, 1813, and for Czech Jungmann in his *Slovesnost* of 1845 gives as possible ways of enriching the vocabulary the use of dialect words, loans from other Slavonic languages and calques.<sup>171</sup> No such

statements about the means of purification are to be found in Illyrian sources, not even in MU or the editions of Babukić's grammar.

In the absence of statements about purism and the means of purification in Cr of the Illyrian period, my investigation of Illyrian purism must of necessity proceed from an analysis of Illyrian practice.

In 3.6 I presented some figures for the relative importance of the various sources of lexical enrichment. If these figures are reorganised according to the scheme proposed in 4.1.1 for identifying the nature of lexical purism, we arrive at the following (for the sake of clarity the figures in brackets have been omitted): –

- 1) loanwords – 1
- 2) internationalisms – 44
- 3) calques – 65 (+ 11 from Cz)
  - (a) *Lehnübersetzungen* – 52 (+ 8 from Cz)
  - (b) *Lehnbedeutungen* – 8 (+ 3 from Cz)
  - (c) *Lehnübertragungen* – 5
- 4) Slavonic loans – 60 (– 11 calques from Cz)
  - (a) without sound substitutions – 4 (all from R)
  - (b) with sound substitutions – 56
- 5) Independent neologisms – 9
- 6) Words from internal resources – 21
  - (a) words revived – 4
  - (b) words with new meanings – 1
  - (c) words with new forms – 4
  - (d) words from S – 11
  - (e) dialectalisms and regionalisms – 1.

I shall take each of the categories in turn and then make some general comments on the figures given. The virtual absence of foreign loans is indicative of a thoroughgoing purism directed against them. The Germanisms of Zagreb, the Italianisms of the Dalmatian coast and the Turkisms of the inland areas were all denied entry into literary usage although they continue to flourish in local speech. This purism towards loanwords has two important repercussions for modern Cr in contradistinction to S: –

- 1) loanwords are relatively rare in literary Cr;
- 2) loanwords are associated in Cr with lower styles of speech, e.g. *paradajz* is colloquial in Cr but standard in S.

The presence of a large number of internationalisms (mostly Graeco-Latinisms) shows remarkable tolerance on the part of the Illyrians. There is little doubt that the attitude towards internationalisms among the Illyrians differed markedly from that towards loanwords from a single, identifiable source. Yet of this number only 6 are attested without a corresponding "native" synonym appearing also in *Danica*. This means that internationalisms were tolerated as alternatives to native terms but not usually to the total exclusion of the native word. Indeed, it is quite common for the internationalism and the native word to exist side by side as total synonyms. This situation has continued into the modern literary language, e.g. *zemljopis/ geografija, glazba/ muzika, povijest/ historija*. Internationalisms are also accepted in MU. In some cases (e.g. *alegoria, tragedia, komedia*) the internationalism stands alone; in others the internationalism is given before the native word (e.g. *teatar, alkimista, etimologia, sekretar*) or after it (e.g. *attestat, leksik, kanal*). For fuller treatment of the synonymy involving internationalisms, see 4.2.3. This tolerant treatment of internationalisms in MU contrasts strongly with the practice of Šulek (1860), which frequently omits internationalisms or relegates them to a position behind the native word(s). Of the 6 new internationalisms appearing in *Danica* without a native synonym 3 are glossed by calques (perhaps the glosses are a means for tentatively suggesting an adequate native replacement, cf. 4.2.2). It is interesting to note that Cr has failed to find an adequate native replacement for these 6 internationalisms. Finally, as I observed in 3.5, the introduction of internationalisms into a literary language is an important but often forgotten part of the process of *Sprachanschluss*, since they provide a link to the world of international scholarship. No doubt this was an important factor in moderating Cr purism towards internationalisms.

That calques represent foreign influence in a covert form has been generally recognised by language purists. Only in extreme cases, however, has their eradication been proposed on puristic grounds, and then usually by purists of a populist persuasion. More commonly, the coining of calques is regarded as a form of purism in transforming foreign elements into words composed of native word-building elements. Even such a thoroughgoing purist as J.H. von Campe recognised them as "ein Bereicherungsmittel . . . welches alle Völker von jeher

fur ein erlaubtes und nöthiges gehalten haben".<sup>172</sup> Indeed, calques are the perfect tools for the process of *Sprachanschluss* in preserving the meaning and/or form of the foreign element but in an external form which the moderate purist can live with.<sup>173</sup> The figures for lexical enrichment in the Illyrian period demonstrate incontrovertibly the predominant position of calques. Both *Gaj's Notes* and MU (Babukić) support the thesis that calques were regarded by the Illyrians as the most obvious way of nationalising the vocabulary. Two further virtues of calques are demonstrated by the Cr situation: their transparency of meaning and the speed of their creation. In other words, large numbers of words could be coined quickly and introduced easily to the Cr public. Among the various types of calques the relative insignificance of the *Lehnübertragungen* is again indicative of the moderation of Illyrian purism since they demonstrate a freer imitation of the foreign model. *Lehnbedeutungen* are intimately linked with the resemanticisation of existing words in the vocabulary. Their role is relatively insignificant in Cr of this period. *Lehnübersetzungen* on the other hand are the single most popular source of lexical enrichment in the Illyrian period.

Together with calques, Slavonic loans make up almost two thirds of the total of new words recorded in our material (and 125 (i.e. 80%) of the 155 "native" Cr words). Cr has therefore looked to other Slavonic languages as sources of lexical enrichment. This is in keeping with other Slavonic language revivals (e.g. Bulgarian from Russian; Czech, Ukrainian and Belorussian from Russian and Polish; Slovak from Czech; Slovene from Croatian, Russian and Czech). In some of these cases the attitude to these Slavonic influences was ambivalent and, at times, frankly hostile.<sup>174</sup> The Illyrian period coincided with the idea of Slav reciprocity, and in any case Cr was not threatened by any other Slavonic language. Consequently, there are no ambivalent feelings about such enrichment for Cr, provided that such loans are "Croatianised". The figures show that in almost all cases sound-substitutions were carried out. The greater influence of Cz compared with R (and some way behind Pol and Sln) reflects the close contact with that language and the fact that the Cz experience was in many ways the inspiration for the Illyrian revival of Cr. It is not a reflection of any variation in Cr's openness to enrichment from the individual Slavonic languages.

A predilection for neologisms is a salient feature of many European language revivals (e.g. German, Icelandic, the *nynorsk* (or *landsmål*) form of Norwegian, Romanian, Greek, Czech, Hungarian, Finnish). In as much as they are not modelled on the morphology of foreign words and are formed entirely from native elements, often involving a high degree

of ingenuity, these neologisms reflect the independent and creative spirit of the process of *Sprachanschluss*. That neologisms do not figure at all prominently among the new lexical items of the early Illyrian period surely convinces us of the moderate nature of Illyrian purism. Two problems surround neologisms:

- 1) they are often idiosyncratically formed;
- 2) their lack of clear semantic motivation may lead to a lack of comprehension and therefore non-acceptance on the part of the language community as a whole.

The Illyrians appear to have preferred calques and Slavonic loans over neologisms even though the former reflect greater moderation in purism. In all probability this was on grounds of practicality and expediency – calques and Slavonic loans would be more easily comprehensible and would avoid the often wilful and fanciful idiosyncracies of the individual neologist. If this is so, it sheds light on an important aspect of the Illyrian language renewal movement as a whole – its essentially pragmatic and undogmatic nature.

The attitude towards native resources reflects not so much the intensity of lexical purism as other complexities of its nature. For instance, the revival of old words and the provision of new meanings for old words is characteristic of literary languages where renewal was based on a conscious revival of the spirit of an earlier golden age, while a search for material from dialects is a feature of a folkloric (or ethnographic)<sup>175</sup> type of purism. Even allowing for the fact that I have possibly underestimated the extent of the conscious revival of old words, it remains incontrovertible that, compared with many other language revivals, the Illyrians made little use of elements from internal resources.<sup>176</sup> The absence of dialectal material reflects the fact that the Cr language renewal was not folklore-based but was rather an attempt to provide a unified literary language, which, though based on Štokavian, would serve as a medium of intellectual discourse for speakers of all dialects. It sought, therefore, a vocabulary which was supra-dialectal. This contrasts strongly with the language policy of Vuk towards the Serbian standard.

The lack of a revived wordstock was dictated by the poverty of earlier Cr prose rather than any reluctance to use such material. Words which had become stabilised in earlier centuries were certainly widely employed by the Illyrians. Finally, the small number of words from S does not appear to reflect any degree of closure to enrichment from that source but rather the fact that S was equally impoverished in its vocabulary, and Cr had little to gain

from the new folklore-based literary language of Vuk, which was evolving at the same time as literary Cr. In this connection it is notable that apart from the linguistic terms, those words which did come from S usage almost without exception came not from Vuk's circle but from Slaveno-Serbian.

These observations about the attitudes to each of the means of lexical enrichment taken in turn lead to several inescapable conclusions about the nature of Illyrian purism: –

- 1) the language is closed to loanwords from single identifiable languages of a different language family or only distantly related;
- 2) internationalisms are tolerated as marginal alternatives to native words;
- 3) the language prefers calques and Slavonic loanwords over neologisms, this being a reflection of the essentially pragmatic and moderate nature of Illyrian purism;
- 4) the clear preference for *Lehnübersetzungen* over *Lehnübertragungen* demonstrates the Illyrians' willingness to accept words directly modelled on foreign words;
- 5) almost all Slavonic loanwords undergo sound-substitutions;
- 6) the lack of dialectal material reflects the non-folkloric nature of Illyrian purism;
- 7) Illyrian purism may be generally characterised as extensive but moderate in its means; it is never allowed to interfere with the carrying out of other language planning tasks such as lexical enrichment or standardisation.

## 4.2 The stabilisation and standardisation of vocabulary

### 4.2.1 General remarks

An essential factor of *Sprachanschluss* is the standardisation of the literary language. This concerns primarily the codification of morphological, phonological and syntactic norms. The need for standardisation of the vocabulary is often just as pressing. This comprises essentially the two tasks, already identified in 2.5 as confronting the Illyrians:

- 1) choosing between competing synonyms
- 2) popularising new items of vocabulary.

This section will discuss the Illyrians' intentions in this regard, examine some of the stratagems employed and assess the degree of success achieved in carrying out the above tasks.

#### 4.2.2 Intentions and stratagems

There is no clear enunciation in the writings of the Illyrians of their methods and aims in the field of lexical standardisation, but there are indications that they understood that prose demanded a more precise use of vocabulary than poetry. Such precision could be achieved only by assigning strict meanings to particular words and by eliminating large numbers of words with the same or similar meanings. In his essay on the “Illyrian” literary language (D IX:6) Demeter writes that from the diversity of forms in different dialects “samo jedan i to najshodnii sadržati trēba, ako hoćemo imati u našem jeziku čvrsta i točna naimenovanja za sve moguće potankosti učenih predmetah”.<sup>177</sup> Some will complain, he writes, that this will deprive our language of its variety and will render it stiff and dull. To such people Demeter has a ready reply: –

“Nauka je gola kao istina, kojoj ona služi, bez svakoga izvanjskoga ureca; tako mora dakle biti i jezik, kojim ona govori, jednostavan, istinit, dubok i razumljiv; a ne dražestan, obmanljiv”.<sup>178</sup>

The language of prose, he continues, “nezna ništa o sinonimih (jednoznačujućih rečih), nego daje svakomu ponjatju čvrsto opredeljeno naimenovanje, koje se nijednom drugom, baš ni srodnom ponjatjem, dati nesme”.<sup>179</sup>

Even here though there is no clear enunciation of their specific intentions in this regard or the means by which they hoped to achieve this lexical standardisation. As so often with the Illyrians, we must content ourselves with an examination of their practice.

The best means for demonstrating one's choice from a group of synonyms is to use one word consistently in one's prose writing. Standardisation can best be effected however by the practice of dictionaries, those into one's language being of greater importance at the beginning of a language renewal movement in influencing the uncertain writer about which word to choose. The G-Cr dictionary of Mažuranić and Užarević of 1842 was therefore enormously important in this respect. It is probably the first dictionary of Cr which seeks to restrict the choice of synonyms. It breaks with the tradition of piling up as many synonyms as possible. A comparison of almost any entry in MU with the corresponding item in Stulli is convincing proof of this. It is also the first dictionary which does not slavishly base itself on earlier lexicographers. Furthermore, it contains very few words not attested in



actual contemporary usage, i.e. it does not resort to the fanciful creation of new lexical items. While not yet a prescriptive dictionary in the modern sense, MU provides a reliable guide to the writer on choice of vocabulary.

MU is equally important for the provision of a *nihil obstat* to those words used in *Danica* and elsewhere. As we shall see below (4.2.3), MU sometimes rejects (or at least fails to register) some words used by the Illyrians. In all, it is perhaps the most significant artifact of the lexical impact of the Illyrian movement, its curious absence from the sources of ARj notwithstanding.

The most widespread means for introducing new items of vocabulary in *Danica* is the provision of glosses in the form of explanatory words in brackets, footnotes or joining the new word and the gloss by *ili* or *iliti* in the text itself. The glosses comprise foreign words or morphologically and phonologically assimilated loanwords. In those cases where the new word appears after *ili* or in brackets, we can assume that it is being suggested more tentatively. This assumption is confirmed by the high correlation between incidences of such glosses and the subsequent disappearance of such words or their appearance on subsequent occasions with the loanword now in brackets. In addition to explaining new words to the reading public, glosses also show which foreign word the new native word is meant to replace. Thus they are an important factor in the modelling process which is so fundamental to *Sprachanschluss*. Their provision is a common enough device in language revivals of the period<sup>180</sup> but their most consistent use in Cr is in *Danica*. Barac notes that glosses are even given in the private letters of Trnski (they also figure in Babukić's letters reprinted in Smičiklas) and the text (though presumably not the performance!) of Vukotinić's plays.<sup>181</sup>

There is no clear general evidence about who was responsible for the glosses. Yet an estimate of editorial responsibility for their use is essential if we are to see them as indicators of a centrally guided planning policy. Some circumstantial evidence is available to show that on specific occasions both writer and editor could supply the glosses. For example, the text of Babukić's grammar of 1836 has precisely the same use of glosses in the separately published version as in that printed in *Danica*, while there are clear indications that texts submitted by Serbs have been supplied with editorial glosses to make individual words comprehensible to the Cr public. More compelling however is the emergence of a pattern for their use. 68 of the words in our sample (i.e. 44% of the "native" words) are

supplied with a gloss of which 62 have a gloss on their first appearance (45 of these only once). On the whole, subsequent glosses are concentrated early in a word's career in *Danica*. This overall pattern of glosses supports the proposition that their provision is primarily an editorial responsibility. This editorial intervention is a feature of the whole 8 year period, encompassing the times when Antun Mažuranić (1835-6), Rakovac (1836-7), Babukić (1838-40) and Šulek (1841-2) were Gaj's principal collaborators in editing *Danica*.

Another popular stratagem of language revivals is to provide bilingual texts. With the important exception of Gaj's *Kratka Osnova* however bilingual texts were not used by the Illyrians to any significant extent.

Yet another method for introducing new words is the provision of a special glossary of unfamiliar words, a device, as we have seen, already applied to good effect by Drašković and Brič. Of primary importance in this respect is *Sbirka*, which provides a list of unfamiliar words taking up 22 pages of double columns and is published as an appendix to D I. 35 of the words treated in the Glossary appear in *Sbirka* and only one of them (*ranovrač*) is not attested elsewhere. The success of the glosses and *Sbirka* together in introducing new vocabulary to the public can be measured by the fact that of 88 words introduced in this way (i.e. 57% of our "native" material) only 4 fail to be attested again – *ranovrač*, *domostroj*, *slikoshrana*, *zvěroslovje*.

Finally, it is not uncommon in language revivals for individual new words to be highlighted by discussion of their appropriateness in contemporary journals, correspondence, introduction to books and even in dictionary entries. Apart from the odd comment in MU (Babukić), the sources are totally silent on the candidacy of individual words. This contrasts markedly with the often detailed (and impassioned) treatment found in Cz literary sources and in the annotations to Cz dictionaries (cf. particularly those of Jungmann, Palkovič and Dobrovský)<sup>182</sup> and even the occasional laconic comment in Murko's Sln dictionary of 1833. Explicit comment on new words and their conformation to the word-building laws of SCr is not found until Babukić's grammar of 1854.

### 4.2.3 The degree of lexical standardisation in the Illyrian period

The first problem to be tackled is the treatment in the Illyrian period of already existing synonyms. I have examined a selection of words where a high degree of synonymy had been noted. For the 21 concepts examined a total of 98 synonyms had been collected from previous dictionaries and prose. Of this number only 36 are found in *Danica*. At first sight this suggests a considerable reduction of synonyms. However, the figures are distorted by the inclusion of forms attested in only one source before *Danica*. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that many of the forms which are standard in *Danica* had begun to predominate over the other synonyms before 1835, e.g. *bogoslovje*, *dogodovstina*, *knjižnica*, *nadahnutje*, *nagnutje*, *okolovština*, *pravopisanje*, *prevod*, *svěst*. The only words which are reduced to a single form in *Danica* are *covecnost* 'humanity', *izvanredan* 'extraordinary', *slonova kost* 'ivory'. On the other end of the scale, *Danica* still has *skladnoglasje/ blagoglasje/ lěpoglasje/ skladnoglasnost* for 'harmony', *predvaroš/ predgradje/ predgrad/ predměstje* for 'suburb'.

Bearing in mind the small number of concepts involved, the continued high degree of synonymy, the distortion in the figures based on earlier *hapax legomena* and not least the probability that many of the words were already to some extent standardised, we are forced to admit that on balance little pruning of the already existing vocabulary took place as a result of Illyrian intervention.

There is little indication of the use of *Sbirka* or glosses in *Danica* (and certainly not MU, which displays a less standardised choice of vocabulary than the usage in *Danica* itself) to promote the standardisation of earlier lexical items. Of the synonyms examined, the only ones to be represented by a single member in *Sbirka* are *dogodovština*, *knjižnica*, *okolovština*, *prevod*, *svěst*, *tisuća*. With the exception of *tisuća*, for which the old loanword *hiljada* is also found, these are the predominant forms in *Danica*. Most of these words, as we have seen above, were already establishing themselves as the dominant synonym before the Illyrian period.

An investigation of the synonyms themselves and the stratagems for standardisation reveals that the reductions achieved were the result of eschewing the more fanciful creations and consolidating the already pre-eminent position of certain synonyms rather than because of a planned programme of standardisation on the part of the Illyrians. The lack of even an

implicit programme for codification and the evidence of little pruning of already existing vocabulary strongly suggest that codification of this vocabulary was not a high priority among the language planning tasks undertaken by the Illyrians. Moreover, it is noteworthy that many of these old synonyms (even where their number was reduced) were soon in competition with the newly coined words, to which we now turn our attention.

There is little point in going to the trouble of coining new words for a literary language unless some effort is made to ensure their continued use. I shall be concerned here with examining the continued use of the new words of the Illyrian period, their competition with other words (old, new or loaned) and their status as items of a standardised lexical system.

A number of "native" words newly created or revived in the 30's and early 40's are used without competition in *Danica*. Of these, 4 (*glagolj*, *kamenorezac*, *prednik*, *vodovod*) replace older words, while the following closed lacunae in the lexical system: –

*blagostanje*, *bolnica*, *brzovoz*, *časopis*, *čitaonica*, *članak*, *dvoboj*, *hladnokrvan*, *hodnik/hodnica*, *iznimka*, *izpit*, *izraz*, *iztisak*, *knjigopis*, *ljubopitnost*, *nastroj*, *odnošenje*, *olovka*, *oštrouman*, *parobrod*, *parokrug*, *parovoz*, *podnebje*, *ponjatje*, *predlog I and II*, *predmet*, *prednost*, *predsjednik*, *pregled*, *priroda*, *proizvod*, *prosvjetjenje*, *razmjer*, *raztresen*, *rudokopje*, *sadržaj*, *samoglasnik*, *slog 'style'*, *spomenik*, *sveučilište*, *tjednik*, *točno*, *ukus*, *umjetnost*, *uzor*, *vodopad*, *zanimanje/zanimljiv*, *zlopotrebljenje*.

All of the other nouns compete in *Danica* with other new words, old words, internationalisms or combinations thereof. In 18 cases a single native word is attested together with an internationalism: –

*dvorana (sala, žala)*, *gospodarstvo (ekonomija)*, *gusle (violina)*, *igrokaz (drama)*, *izobraženost (kultura)*, *krajobraz (mapa, karta, atlas, čartica)*, *lučba (kemia)*, *narječje (dialekt)*, *narodopis (etnografija)*, *nazivoslovje (terminologija)*, *obrotnost (industrija)*, *rodoslovje (genealogija)*, *samoslov (monolog)*, *samoštan (manastir, namastir, monastir)*, *slikoštrana (galeria)*, *slovnica (gramatika)*, *sustav(a) (sistem(a))*, *zemljopis (geografija)*, *značaj (karakter)*.

The kind of synonymy demonstrated here is, as noted in 4.1.2, tolerated by Illyrian purism and indeed persists into the present day in both variants of SCr. With the single exception of *slikoštrana*, the "native" synonym is well attested in *Danica*, sometimes indeed rather better than the internationalism.

There are also 18 instances in the sample, where an inter-nationalism co-exists with two or more native words: –

*arkiv* (*pismenica, pismohrana, pismoshrana*), *etimologia* (*koržnoslovje, rěčoslovje*), *filologia* (*jezikoslovje, jezikožnanstvo*, cf. too *jezikospitatelj* for the usual *jezikoslovac*), *filosofia* (*mudroljubje, mudrožnanje*, cf. too *mudrac* for *mudroljubac*), *historia* (*dogodovština, pověst*, cf. too for *historik, povestnik, dogodopisac, dogodospitatej, dogodoslovnik*, and for *historički, dogodoslovni, dogodopisni, pověstni*), *horizont* (*vidokrug, obzor*), *institut, inštitut* (*ustav(je), zavedenje*), *komedia* (*vesela igra, směšna igra*), *literatura* (*knjižestvo, knjiženstvo, slovesnost, slovstvo, pismenstvo*, but *književnost* attested already in Stulli is notably absent from *Danica*, BF and MU, while *književnik* and *književni* are well attested beside *knjižnicar* (*sic*) and *slovstveni, literarni, literaturni, pismeni* respectively), *mitologia* (*bajoslovje, basnoslovje*), *muzika mužika* (*gudba, svirka*), *ortografija* (*pravopis, pravopisanje*), *retorika* (*krasnorečje, krasnorečnost, govorničtvo*), *teatar* (*kazalište, pozorište*), *tragedia* (*žalostna igra, žalostni igrokaz, žalostno pozorište*).

Among these synonym groups, 4 types of competition may be identified: –

- 1) the internationalism alone is stabilised (*historički, literatura, muzika, tragedia*);
- 2) the internationalism and one “native” word are stabilised (*filologia/ jezikoslovje, filosofia/ mudroljubje, historia/ dogodovština, horizont/ vidokrug, institut/ ustav, teatar/ kazalište*);
- 3) one “native” synonym predominates (*igrokaz, pravopis, vesela igra*);
- 4) no one single synonym predominates.

I have identified 24 synonym groups involving only “native” words, of which 15 concern solely newly created words: –

*bakrorěz/ medorěz, dnevnik/ danik, lahkomišljen/ lahkomislen/ lahkouman, nepreglediv/ neprevidan, nezavisan/ nezavisim, poljodělstvo/ zemljodělstvo, dokaz/ dokazateljstvo, predavanje/ prednašanje, preduzetje/ poduzetje/ podprijetje, predstava/ predstavljene, samostalan/ samostojan, rěčosložje/ rěčotvorstvo, sbirka/ sbornik, gvozdena kolomia/ željezna kolomia/ željezna cesta/ gvozdeni drum/ željeznica, medmetak/ iskriknik/ uzklik, pričastje/ dionik.*

In some of these groups one synonym clearly predominates (*dnevnik, lahkouman, nezavisan, dokaz, poduzetje, samostalan, sbirka*). All 15 of these synonym groups have their genesis in the selection of a different foreign model (usually R, Cz or a caique).

6 groups display competition between old and new words: –

*rječnik/ slovník/ slovar, nadahnutje/ oduhovljenje, skupglasnik/ suglasnik, preporodjenje/ preporod, razvitje/ razvitak, trenutje/ trenutak* (for more on the last 3, see 3.1.2.3). *razvitak* and *trenutak* show signs of predominating over, and eventually ousting, their older rivals, but in none other of the cases were the older words ousted during this period, though *preporod* and *suglasnik* were to do so later.

In the following 3 groups there is competition between 2 or more new words and an old word (old words given first): –

*utok/ upliv/ vlijanje, okolovština/ okolnost/ obstojeateljstvo, protivorječje/ protivoslovje/ protuslovje/ protislovje.*

Of these, *okolnost* and *upliv* are clearly stabilised in Illyrian usage.

I have presented here then a sketch of the relationships between the various items of new vocabulary in the early Illyrian period. In assessing the synonymic relations we should always bear in mind not only the number of examples of a given word compared with its competitors but also the dynamics of this struggle, since, remarkably, even in so short a time-frame, we are able to perceive the obsolescence of some words and the increasing popularity of others.

Indeed, it is possible to identify 112 out of 200 words (including internationalisms) (i.e. 56%) as stabilised in the period 1835-42. If we exclude internationalisms, then 86 out of 155 (i.e. 55%) had gained popularity in Illyrian usage by the end of 1842. To have such a high percentage of words established in this way is not the least of the Illyrian movement's achievements in its intervention in the development of literary Cr.

I shall now attempt to determine how far the new vocabulary of Cr can be said to have been standardised by the end of our period. Such an examination can only be approximate at best because of the lack of any proper mechanisms for measuring the degree of standardisation. While MU no doubt served *faute de mieux* as a standard dictionary for the Illyrians, there is no sense in which it can be regarded as a totally accurate reflection of contemporary usage or as a paragon of what such usage should be. Nevertheless, in that MU is much less uncritical than any of its predecessors, the presence of a given word in MU can be taken as a sign of positive endorsement. In this respect, MU differs from BF II, which

often registers poorly formed and misbegotten words introduced in *Danica*. I shall therefore carry out an examination of the degree of standardisation by comparing the usage of *Danica* with the entries of MU.

Of the approximately 155 "native" words treated in Chapter 3, 70 (i.e. 45%) are not registered in MU. This very high percentage confirms the suspicion voiced in 1.6 that the impact of the Illyrians on the vocabulary of literary Cr cannot be studied on the basis of MU alone. Nevertheless, it also prompts us to examine carefully the status of those words omitted from MU. Of these 70 words, 28 (40%) are attested in BF II. In these cases, therefore, the absence of a word in MU cannot be due to the usual problem that dictionaries tend to lag behind current usage. 23 of these words are attested in *Danica* at least twice and some of them are so well established that by 1842 they had ousted all native competitors (e.g. *gusle*, *obrotnost*, *samostalan*, *ustav*, *vidokrug*). The 6 *hapax legomena* in *Danica* which BF has recorded have been probably disdained by MU as still-births: *nestředstven*, *ranovrač*, *hudožestvo*, *brzovoz*, *predstava*, *zloupotrěbljenje* (the last three to be revived later). Of the 42 words registered in neither MU nor in BF II, 21 are recorded in *Danica* only once. For the most part they fall into 2 groups:

- 1) still-births (*domostroji*, *slikošrana*, *svirka*, *dionik*, *zubolěkarstvo*, *zvěroslovje*);
- 2) new and as yet unestablished words (*izkustvo*, *knjigopis*, *narodoznanac*, *neraznježen*, *preporod*, *predlog*, *prednašanje*, *prednik*, *uzklik*, *zemljoslavlje*, *željeznica*).

Of the better established words absent from MU and BF II, several became popular only in 1840-2 (*blagostanje*, *kiporězac*, *narodopis*, *poljodělstvo*, *pověst*, *razvitak*, *trenutak*, *zavedenje*), while others suffered probably from competition with yet better established synonyms. Finally, several of the words absent from MU have been added in Babukić's personal copy (*blagostanje*, *obrotnost*, *predlog*, *prednašanje*, *poljodělstvo*, *zloupotrěbljenje*, *željeznica*). Rather than repairing oversights by MU, Babukić is probably registering these coinings of the Illyrian period, which had not in 1842 become established in literary usage.

In view of the high degree of synonymy exhibited in *Danica*, we should not be surprised that of 85 "native" words from the sample, which are registered in MU, only 23 (27%) are listed as the only Cr equivalents: –

*bolnica*, *časopis*, *glagolj*, *gospodarstvo*, *gvozdna cesta*, *nezavisan*, *oštrouman*, *parobrod*, *podmet*, *predlog* 'preposition', *predmet*, *predsědnik*, *proizvod*, *pticoslovje*, *razměra*, *rěčotvorac*,

*rodoslovje, sadržaj, samoglasnik, suglasnik, tjednik, točnost*. It is instructive that 13 of these words are also recorded in *Danica* without native or foreign competition: –

*bolnica, časopis, oštrouman, parobrod, predlog, predmet, predsjednik, proizvod, razmjera, sadržaj, samoglasnik, tjednik, točnost*.

A feature of MU is the large number of loanwords registered as alternatives to "native" words. In this sample, 29 loanwords are registered in this way, of which the following 21 occupy first place: –

*adverbij, arhiv, duel, eksamen, etimologija, filologija, filozofija, ganak, gramatika, idea, ideal, jurista, karakter, kemia, klima, komedija, literatura, ortografija, sekretar, sala, teatar*.

In addition to the 23 words registered in MU without opposition, there are 32 instances where the new word is competing with only one other word (19 of them loanwords): –

*članak, dokaz, danik/ dnevnik, kamenorězac, krajobraz, padež, parovoz, poduzetje, rudokopje, samoslov, ukus, vodopad* (all with another native synonym), *dogodovština, dvorana, igra vesela, izpit, jezikoslovje, kazalište, lučba, mudroljubje, narječje, olovka, podnebjje, pravnik, prislov, rječoslovje, slovnica, sveučilište, tajnik, uzor, značaj* (with loanwords).

Of these words 10 appear in *Danica* exclusively, 3 with one native synonym and 7 with an internationalism. If we now take together the 55 words registered in MU alone or with a single synonym, we find that 40 of them are attested in *Danica* too under similar conditions.

The remainder of our sample are recorded in MU in groups of 3 to 7 synonyms. 11 of these 26 groups contain at least one loanword. The following native words are registered in first place: –

*bakrorěz, izobraženje, igrokaz, okolnost, predstavljjenje, pregled, protivoslovje, upliv, vodovod*.

The following appear after a loanword: –

*pismoštrana, pravopis, dvoboj, hodnica*.

The remainder appear as follows: –

*slovstvo* (3rd of 3), *zanimivost* (4th of 4), *parokrug* (3rd of 3), *ponjatje* (4th of 5), *samostan* (3rd of 3), *umjetnost* (2nd of 3), *utok* (2nd of 3), *sbirka* (2nd of 3), *izraz* (2nd of 7), *odnošenje* (3rd of 7), *protivurječje* (2nd of 3), *izobraženost* (2nd of 3), *prosvjetjenje* (2nd of 3), *ljubopitnost* (3rd of 3).



Taking these figures for MU and comparing them with the information in *Danica* summarised above, we can now begin to assess the degree of standardisation of individual lexical items in the early Illyrian period. I shall present my findings in the form of lists with loanwords and internationalisms being treated separately at the end.

1) words obsolete or showing signs of obsolescence in 1842 (16):

*dionik, domostroji, hudožestvo, jezikospitatelj, jezikoznanstvo, lahkomislen, nesrēdstven, nezavisim, oduhovljenje, predstava, proizvodjenje, ranovraē, slikoshrana, svirka 'music', zuboēkarstvo, zveroslovje.*

2) words standardised and predominating over all "native" synonyms by 1842 (83):

*bajoslovje, bolnica, časopis, čitaonica, članak, dogodovština, dokaz, dvoboj, dvorana, glagolj, gospodarstvo, gusle, hladnokrvan, hodnik/ hodnica, igrokaz, iznimka, izobraženost, izpit, izraz, iztisak, jezikoslovje, kazalište, knjigopis, krajobraz, lahkouman, lučba, mudroljubje, narēčje, narodopis, nazivoslovje, obrtnost, odnošenje, okolnost, olovka, oštrouman, parobrod, parokrug, parovoz, podnebjje, poduzetje, ponjatje, pravopis, predlog (in both meanings), prednost, predstavljenje, pregled, priroda, prislov, proizvod, prosvētjenje, pticosovje, razniēr(a), raztresen, razvitak, rēcoslovje, rudokopje, sadržaj, samoglasnik, samoslov, samostalan, samostan, sbirka, slog, slovnica, spomenik, sustav(a), sveučilište, tajnik, tjednik, točnost, trenutak, ukus, umētnost, upliv, ustav, uzor, vidokrug, vodopad, vodovod, zemljopis, značaj, životopis.*

3) words well established but facing opposition in 1842 (9):

*bakrorēz, dnevnik, kamenorēzac, padež, pravnik, predavanje, protivorēčje/ protivoslovje, slovstvo.*

4) words poorly established by 1842 (16):

*basnoslovje, danik, gudba, krasnorēcje/ krasnorēčnost, medorēz, nepreglediv/ neprevidan, obstojateljstvo, obzor, slovar, smēšna igra, svirka, vlijanje, zavedenje, žalostna igra.*

5) new words awaiting standardisation in 1842 (16):

*blagostanje, brzovoz, izkustvo, kipurēzac, ljubopitnost, narodoznanac, nastroj, neraznjēžen, poljodēlstvo, povēst, predavanje, prednašanje, prednik, suglasnik, zloupotrēbljenje, željeznica.*

The remaining words not listed here are difficult to classify, but come closest to the first and fourth categories; their absence above does not distort the proportions to any serious extent.

Of the 140 words listed above, 92 (66%) have become well established during the period under review, while only 32 (23%) have either disappeared or failed to become established at

all. In general terms this can be described as a successful stabilisation of the new vocabulary, particularly in view of the very short time-frame. It will be interesting to see how the words in these various classes fare in the subsequent development of literary Cr (see 5.3).

The fact remains however that, despite their best endeavours, the Illyrians failed to find a stable Cr equivalent for several key concepts: literature, archive, gallery, novel, literary, man of letters, historical, historian, academy, dictionary, tragedy, rhetoric, aesthetics, ethics, morals, mathematics, statistics.

The search for Cr equivalents for these concepts lay in the future if the language was not to rely, as it so often did in the Illyrian period, on internationalisms. This brings me to say something of the role of internationalisms during this period. We have already seen (in 3.5.1) that of the 44 internationalisms attested in *Danica* 6 are recorded without any 'native' Cr equivalent. This high profile is also reflected, as we have seen, in MU. We cannot ignore the fact that important new "native" words appear frequently in MU after an internationalism, while in some cases an internationalism alone is offered. These internationalisms figure in MU and *Danica* particularly where a native equivalent is not established.

On the whole it can be stated with conviction that there is on balance very little competition between new words in *Danica* and MU. This reflects the fact that, although the coining of words is ultimately the work of an individual and not a committee, their use is marked by a strong communality of endeavour. I shall return to the role of the individual and the cohesiveness of the Illyrian movement in 4.5.

Before leaving lexical standardisation, I should like to say something about the standardisation of meanings. Some words were created by the Illyrians with more than one distinct meaning, e.g. *predlog* 'proposition' and 'preposition', while in other cases a new meaning was added, e.g. *narčje* formerly only 'adverb' but now also 'dialect'. Such polysemy is not necessarily an obstacle to the standardisation of a language's lexico-semantic system, but confusion can be caused by the promotion of new words with several distinct meanings. On the whole the Illyrians managed to avoid creating such words, which are

counter-productive for the stabilisation of the language. The following are the most notable examples: –

*izgovor*

This word continued in Illyrian usage to have the meanings 'excuse' and 'pronunciation', supported presumably by the fact that the word was calqued on both G *Aussprache* 'pronunciation' and *Ausrede* 'excuse'.

*predavanje*

This word is recorded in *Danica* with the meanings 'lecture' and 'tradition'. In the Illyrian period *prednasanje* takes over the meaning of 'lecture' (*predavanje* not returning in this meaning until Sulek (1860)), while in the meaning of 'tradition' *predavanje* is to be replaced later by *predaja*, first recorded in this meaning in Pavlinović (1876), cf. ARj XI:466.

*rodoslovje*

This word means 'genealogy' in D 1:75 and elsewhere, but 'ethnography' in D V:95 (Maretić is still complaining about the "misuse" of *rodoslovje* for *narodoslovje* in his grammar of 1899).

*naravoslovje*

This word is attested in *Danica* variously with the meanings 'morals' and 'physics'.

*ljeposlovje/ krasnoslovje etc.*

This group of words presents a particularly confused picture in the early 19thC: *leposlovje* is given in MU:41 for 'aesthetics', while *ljeposlovnost* in Stulli (1806) II:386 is given for 'rhetoric, eloquence' in addition to *krasnoslovje*; in D IV:70 on the other hand we have *krasnoslovan* *iliti estetički*; *Gaj's Notes* have *krasovedan* for 'aesthetic'. In view of this perhaps it is not surprising that neither the Illyrian period nor the subsequent development of literary Cr saw the emergence of a stable native word for either of these concepts with the result that the internationalisms have filled the gap.

To sum up this section, there is a clear indication that the Illyrians took considerable trouble to popularise their new words and to prevent any outbreak of anarchy in the creation of superfluous competition. They appear to have been less active in restricting the numbers of already existing synonyms. The problems of polysemy have been generally avoided. A large number of words (native and foreign) were not only introduced but also successfully habilitated in the reformed literary language. Einar Haugen has stated that "As long as a small, elite group has a monopoly in education, it is relatively simple to implement a given norm."<sup>183</sup> Nevertheless, the success of the Illyrians in stabilising the vocabulary in this way

remains one of the more remarkable achievements in their shaping of the lexical development of literary Cr.

#### 4.3 The furnishing of terminologies

So far in this study we have deliberately blinkered our vision in order to concentrate on those words which are central to intellectual discourse, rather than spread our gaze to the various specialist terminologies. The provision of terminologies is however the highest expression of the polyvalency of a given literary language and as such commands our attention if we are to view the impact of the Illyrian Movement on the Cr lexicon in its proper perspective. Indeed, I have identified the lack of specialist terminologies as a serious weakness of the Cr literary language on the eve of the Illyrian period and their provision as one of the language planning tasks which the Movement faced.

While there are no explicit references in Illyrian sources of this period to the need for terminology, inferences can be drawn from marginal comments and the existence in *Gaj's Notes* of collections of specialist terms to show that the Illyrians were well aware of the enormity of the task. Apart from the provision of a thoroughly workable linguistic and philological terminology (chiefly it would seem through the endeavours of Vjekoslav Babukić), this task was not seriously undertaken during the Illyrian period. Indeed, the first serious attempt to provide a dictionary of terms is Šulek's of 1874, although a quite remarkable tri-lingual (S, Cr, Sln) dictionary of legal and political terminology was produced in 1853. The first modern detailed terminological dictionary of a particular discipline is the modestly entitled *Prinosi za hrvatski pravno-povjestni rječnik* (Zagreb, 1908-22) by V. Mažuranić, the son and nephew respectively of two of the most prominent of the Illyrians Ivan Mažuranić and Dimitrija Demeter. Before attempting to explain the reasons for the lack of terminologies in the Illyrian period and assessing the impact of this lack on the subsequent development of Cr vocabulary in general, I shall turn briefly to the contributions of Gaj and Babukić to several areas of specialist vocabulary.

*Gaj's Notes* deal in the main with the following problems: general vocabulary lists, trials of various orthographic systems, sets of Slavonic cognates, groups of related words, attempts at word-building, declensions and conjugations, groups of words classified by suffix, groups of synonyms for various kinds of human emotion, and most often attempts at specialist terminologies. Some of them are very short and incomplete; few run to more than

a page. Among the subjects treated are: the names of relationships and consanguinity, parts of the body, birds' names, musical terms, legal and military terms, and philosophical terms. The last, entitled *Okus horvatskoga rečoslovja (terminologii) mudroljubnoga navlastito krasovednoga*, contains the words *bitost*, *sobstvo*, *sobstvenost*, *vustroj* 'organon' *vustrojštje* 'organismus', *vutvornost* 'Gestaltungsvermögen'. The words in the list are of less interest than two words in the title – *rečoslovje* and *krasovedan*, the latter clearly based on Cz *krasověda* 'aesthetics'. Neither word was used with these meanings subsequently, though *rečoslovje* does appear as 'etymology'. Elsewhere Gaj attempts to come to grips with some other philosophical terms: *sobstvo* 'Wesen', *istočalo* 'Elementum', *začetek* 'Fundamentum', *bitje* 'Seyn', *sobstvenost* 'substantia, Wesenheit', *bivstvenost* 'essentia', *stvara* 'materia', *predstavak* or *predovržek* 'obiectum', *podvrtje* or *podmetje* 'subiectum', *osoba* 'persona'. For a legal student, Gaj paid scant attention to legal terms: *svedožba* 'evidence' and some words with the root *prav-*. In short, these jottings do not appear to presage a determined effort to supply the language with specialist terms.

Linguistics and philology are arguably (with the possible exception of Christian theology, which does not in any case figure prominently in Illyrian writings) the only disciplines which were provided with any kind of specialist terminology before the Illyrian period. Since language and literature were among the principal interests of most of the Illyrians, it is not surprising that this traditional vocabulary should have been built on. Yet, as we have seen in 4.2.3, the Illyrians failed to find a standardised native word for any of the following concepts: novel, literature, literary, man of letters, author, rhetoric and many others besides. If we are to examine a discipline to see the efforts at creating a terminology then only linguistics offers us much scope.<sup>184</sup>

The Illyrian period inherited the following linguistic terms, most of which though quite recent appear to have been well established by the time of Gaj's *Kratka Osnova*: –

*ime* 'noun', *zaima* 'pronoun', *međumetak* 'interjection', *veznik* 'conjunction', *samoglasnik* 'vowel', *skupglasnik* 'consonant', *slovka* 'syllable', *pravopisanje* 'orthography', *padanje* 'case'.

It rejected several words current in the early 19thC: –

*nadslovka* 'accent', *glasomišnje* 'prosody', *predstavak* 'preposition', *priričak* 'adverb', *vremenorječ* 'verb', *dionorječ* 'participle' (the last two are used, interestingly, by Babukić to explain his newly suggested coinings).

Babukić's grammar of 1836 presented a large range of new vocabulary and can possibly be regarded as the single most radical reform of Cr linguistic terminology: –

*slovnica* 'grammar', *pravopis* 'orthography', *padež* 'case', *slovničar* 'grammarian', *glagolj* 'verb', *predlog* 'preposition', *suglasnik* 'consonant', *proizvodjeni reči* 'derivatives', *sklonjenje* 'declension', *pričastje* 'participle', *naglasak* 'accent', *strane govorenja* 'parts of speech', *prislov* 'adverb', *medmetak* 'interjection', *jezikoslovje* 'philology', *dokončanje* 'ending', *ime samostavno* 'substantive', *ime pridano* 'adjective', *sprezanje* 'conjunction', *izkričnik* 'exclamation mark', *ime brojno* 'numeral', *imeniteljni* 'nominative', *roditeljni* 'genitive', *dateljni* 'dative', *tužiteljni* 'accusative' *zvateljni* 'vocative', *skazateljni* (later also *mžstelni*) 'locative', *tvoriteljni* (also later *onudeljni* and *družtveni*) 'instrumental' (the third name is calqued on an alternative Lat appellation *sociativus*), *častica* (should be *čestica*) 'particle'.

This terminology is preserved in Babukić's 1839 grammar (as an introduction to BF in German). Some further phonetic terms are added: –

*ustni suglasnik* 'labial', *jezični* 'lingual', *zubni* 'dental', *zumboreći* 'sibilants', *grlački* 'gutturals', i.e. *velars*.

From usage in Danica the following items can be added: –

*nazivoslovje* 'terminology', *izraz* 'phrase' (replacing *način govorenja* calqued on G *Redensart*), *izrazoslovje* 'phraseology', *rečoslovje/ korēnoslovje* 'etymology', *narēčje* 'dialect' and 'adverb', *slovar* 'dictionary', *rečoslozje* 'word-formation'.

Apart from the important term 'syntax', Illyrian usage is weak in some syntactical descriptions, e.g. sentence, clause (and subtypes), prosodic terms and names for the parts of verbs. There is also some uncertainty: *skladanje* and *sklanjanje* (*sklonjenje*) for 'declension', *suglasnik* and *skupglasnik* 'consonant', *medmetak* (*medjumetak*) and *uzklik* 'exclamation', *slovar/ rečnik/ slovník* 'dictionary'.

A measure of the Illyrians' success in creating a new terminology of linguistics is its use by Brlić, who was highly critical of Babukić's grammar. In the 1850 edition of his grammar, Brlić uses *glagolj*, *pričastje*, *predlog*, *pridavno ime*, *brojno ime*, *padež*, *skladanje*, *prislov*, while to many other terms stabilised in Illyrian usage he gives only Lat or G names.<sup>185</sup>

Many of the shortcomings of the earlier Illyrian linguistic terminology are overcome in Babukić's thorough revision and expansion of his grammar (1854), where syntax and

word-formation are dealt with in detail for the first time. Nevertheless Babukić retains a very high proportion of the terms he had used in his earlier grammars.

After this brief description of Illyrian linguistic terminology, I should like now to address the fundamental question why the Illyrians failed to produce other terminologies. The creation of terminology is the response to a need felt by specialists for vocabulary with which to deal with the complexities of their particular discipline. Invariably, it requires cooperation between the specialist and the linguist. The creation of specialist terminology by Jungmann for Cz, documented in the pages of *Krok* and *Časopis českého museum* and described by Jungmann in the introduction to his dictionary is a classic example of how such cooperation can work. The Illyrian period, however, did not yet have an infrastructure of education in science and the arts in the native language. The development of this educational infrastructure, largely the result of the efforts of the Illyrians themselves, was to come only later, and with the growth of native language education came the provision of the necessary terminology. That the first fields to be dealt with were political and legal terminology was of course dictated by the new political realities following the events of 1848.

It is still recognised that one of the fundamental problems in language planning confronting SCr-speaking Yugoslavia (if not indeed the whole country) is the standardisation of terminology. Of course the problem lies mostly in the confrontation of often conflicting S and Cr terminologies. Nevertheless, the situation cannot have been helped by the fact that so many of the terminological dictionaries were not created until the interwar years of the 20thC.

#### 4.4 Word-formation

In this section I shall examine briefly the words from the sample to determine to what extent they conform to the word-building laws of SCr, how far they are fitted for further derivation, and whether they provided models for further lexical enrichment.

##### 4.4.1 Conformation to word-building laws

It is a great danger in language revivals that the often very rapid enrichment process engenders words which contravene the natural word-building laws of a language. The danger lies in the fact that either such words will be rejected or, if accepted, will run into criticism from some quarter with a resultant lowering of prestige of the word in question and in

mistrust of the person and/or circle coining the word. In either case, the word is an obstacle to that stability which is such a central goal of all language revivals. The dangers of creating poorly formed words are considerably magnified if the rapid expansion of vocabulary precedes a proper description of the word-building laws. This is precisely the case of the Cr language revival which proceeded without the benefit of such guidance, the first formal description of word-building mechanisms being in a section of Babukić's grammar of 1854.

We should not however assume that the Illyrians were unaware of the inherent dangers of the situation or that no help was available to them. Firstly, *Gaj's Notes* show us clearly that he was working through problems of word-formation albeit in an amateurish fashion. We have examples of words listed by derivational suffix, groups of related words arranged so as to reveal their roots and suffixes. Secondly, Cz, the model for the Illyrian renewal of Cr, was following the rules laid down by Dobrovský in his grammar and his *Bildsamkeit*.<sup>186</sup> As we have seen in 2.3.3, Brić cited Dobrovský in the introduction of his grammar. There can be little doubt that the Illyrians too made good use of Dobrovský. Finally, of course, an understanding of the word-building laws is part of that unconscious knowledge which the native speaker of a given language carries around with him, providing him with an "inner ear" to judge the "rightness" of a particular formation. The objection can and should be made that the subconscious knowledge of a native speaker may be considerably affected by his knowledge of the structures of other languages. The fact that all the leading figures in the Illyrian movement were multilingual should alert us to the possible dangers.

Particularly prone to poor formation are fanciful neologisms and those *Lehnübersetzungen* in which the word-building possibilities of the model language differ from those of the receiving language, as clearly those of G do from Cr. *Lehnübertragungen* on the other hand allow a freer rendering of the foreign model. As a rule, words borrowed from closely related languages conform to the word-building laws of the receiving language without difficulty because closely related languages generally share the same word-building mechanisms.

I shall examine here all the newly coined words in our sample which consist of more than one word-building morpheme, excluding all words which were revived or given new meanings by the Illyrians. The majority of the coinings of the Illyrian period conform to the



word-building laws of SCr. They demonstrate compounding and suffixation. Some of the words borrowed from other Slavonic languages are not fully analysable in Cr with respect to their structure despite their structure in R and Cz, e.g. *obstoјateljstvo*, *hudožestvo*, *prednik*, *ponjatje*, *vlijanje* where only the suffixes *-stvo*, *-nik*, *-tje*, *-nje* correspond to Cr word-building morphemes. Only two words in our sample from Danica clearly contravene the word-building rules of SCr: *ranovrač*, *zubolčkarstvo*. Their formation cannot be motivated in SCr and is a slavish imitation of G. The compounding of adjective + noun in words like *brzovoz* is also based on a structure in G rather than a native one. Similar compounding of noun + noun is demonstrated in *parobrod*, *parokrug*, *parovoz*. Of these, *parobrod* and *parovoz* have continued to provoke criticism, many preferring *parni brod* or *parni voz* (just as *brzovoz* should be replaced by *brzi voz*). Indeed, it is noticeable that the Illyrians have avoided similar compounding by employing a simplex, e.g. *tjednik*, *željeznica*, or an adjective + noun phrase, e.g. *železna cesta*, *vesela igra*. Despite efforts to justify forms like *parovoz* as motivated by native word formation, it seems to me more likely that such forms are a reflection of foreign influence. "Gledano u tom svjetlu", writes Eugenija Barić, "postaje sada jasnije zašto su hrvatski i srpski lingvisti žestoko osuđivali mnoge imeničke složenice. . . ."187 One word which escaped censure is *časopis* (at least until Maretić (1924)), which fits uneasily into any analogy with *zemljopis*, *rukopis* or *pravopis*. Compounds of this kind are however of some antiquity in the Slavonic languages, cf. *ljetopis*. Again, though, the motivation for *časopis* is in G via Cz, which has other examples of a similar kind, e.g. *časoslovo* 'verb' for G *Zeitwort*, cf. *vremenorič* in Starčević. It is interesting to note that the unmotivated words *zubolčkarstvo* and *ranovrač* disappeared immediately from use. A similar fate befell the Slavonic loans *obstoјateljstvo*, *hudožestvo*, *vlijanje* though the similarly unmotivated *ponjatje* continued to flourish.

The large number of words which are motivated in their formation in the Illyrian period is a result to some extent of the predominant use of Slavonic loanwords as a source of lexical enrichment. Nevertheless, one should not ignore another factor – the highly responsible and practical nature of the Illyrians' attitude to lexical enrichment. The place for experimentation in word-formation is in note-books not on the printed page. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in *Gaj's Notes*, which contain forms unmotivated by the word-building laws of SCr, e.g. *dogodopovest*, *stvora* etc. These speculative forms are significantly absent from Gaj's published work. Even so, most of Gaj's neologisms, while not accepted, do at least have the virtue of conforming to SCr word-building laws, e.g.

*oštrosudje* 'criticism', *govorotvornost* 'rhetoric', *umnomislitje* 'logic', *brojznanje* 'mathematics'.

#### 4.4.2 The formation of derivatives from new lexical items

For the sake of simplification, the lexical material in this book has been presented under a single head word, although in many cases the vocabulary has been enriched by groups of words derived from one member of the group, e.g. *gospodar/ gospodarški/ gospodarstvo*, *zemljopis/ zemljopisan/ zemljopisac*. This secondary derivation is a very important element in the lexical enrichment process. The potential usefulness of a noun like *dogodovščina* 'history' is considerably reduced by its inability to spawn forms for 'historian', 'historical'. Indeed its very demise may in part be explained by its unsuitability for further derivation, cf. on the other hand *povijest, povjestan, povjesnik*, which lend themselves better for use as a whole group of words. Similarly it is impossible to form an adjective from verbal noun forms like *preporodjenje* whereas *preporodni* can be derived from *preporod* without difficulty. So naturally do some of these derivatives evolve from the head word that their use is taken for granted. There are several lexemes in our sample where the derivative is better (and sometimes earlier) attested than the head word, e.g. *prirodni* before *priroda*, *zemljopisan* before *zemljopis*.

The following patterns of derivation emerge: –

- 1) nouns formed from adjectives by the addition of *-ost* (*zavisnost, samostalnost, točnost, izobraženost, lahkkoumnost*);
- 2) adjectives formed from nouns by use of the *-n* suffix and deletion of final *-a, -o, -je* and palatalisation of velars (all words in *-slovje* to *-slovan, kazališni, krajobrazni*, all words in *-pis* to *-pisan, predložni, mudroljubni, prirodni, sveučilišni, pověstni*);
- 3) adjectives formed from nouns by adding the *-en* suffix (*gudben, slovstven*);
- 4) *nomina agentis* formed by the addition of *-ac* suffix (all words in *-slovje* to *slovac*, all words in *-pis* to *pisac, mudroljubac*).
- 5) *nomina agentis* formed by the addition of *-nik, -ničar* (*pověstnik, gudbenik, slovničar, knjižničar, dnevničar*).

Certain potential derivatives are not recorded in *Danica* but are attested from later sources. Of more significance is the number of words for which derivatives would be desirable for the expressive capabilities of the literary language but which by their

composition do not lend themselves readily to derivation. Among these we may count the following: –

*dogodovština, igrokaz*, all words in *-enje, ponjatje, vlijanje, vesela igra, žalostna igra*. In 5.3. I shall examine whether there is any correlation between the inability of such words to form derivatives and their disappearance from literary usage.

#### 4.4.3 Models of word-building

Just as Oliver Rackham has proposed a set of features by which we can recognise “planned” and “ancient” landscapes,<sup>188</sup> it is possible to distinguish those literary languages which have been subject to large-scale conscious intervention from those which have evolved gradually. Prominent among the features of highly planned languages is the logicity and homogeneity of word-building. This is achieved by the rigorous and consistent employment of a fairly limited set of word-building models. No careful observer of the abstract vocabulary of Cr could fail to notice this logicity and homogeneity. There can be surely little doubt that the genesis of this patterning lies in the Illyrian period even though it did not reach its furthest ramifications until the end of the 19thC. I shall examine here the productive models of the Illyrian period, discuss their origin and suggest the aptitude of each for further use.

Many of the nouns in the sample consist of either a prefix + deverbative or noun + *o* + deverbative, e.g. *izraz, vodopad*. The usual formants for such deverbatives in the Slavonic languages are *\*-nbje, \*-tbje* (and much less frequently *\*-bje*). Only the first two are represented in *Danica* (the third is found in *Gaj's Notes*, e.g. *podmetje, predmetje*), e.g. *zloupotrēbljenje, odnoženje, predstavljene, preporodjenje, predavanje, prednašanje, zavedenje, poduzetje, preduzetje, razvitje* (I exclude *ponjatje* and *vlijanje* since they are not motivated by a Cr verb). In the 18thC dictionaries the forms in *\*-nbje* are extraordinarily common, usually as calques of Lat deverbatives in *-atio, -tio*. Alongside the suffix *\*-nbje* there also appear forms with the zero deverbative suffix, e.g. *uvedenje* and *uvod*. This much rarer suffix is activated in the Illyrian period, e.g. *dokaz, izpit, izraz, iztisak, podmet, predmet, pregled, preporod, proizvod, upliv, vodopad, vodovod*. It is clear that we have instances where earlier competing forms have resulted in the victory of the zero suffix form, e.g. *uvod, prevod*, where a new Illyrian form with zero suffix replaces an older form with *\*bje* or *-nbje*, e.g. *vodovod*, or where a new form is introduced in *Danica* alongside a form with a suffix in *\*-nbje*, e.g. *preporod*. It is also remarkable that several forms in *\*-nbje* in *Danica* are subsequently replaced by forms in zero or *-a*, e.g. *zloupotrēba, prosvēta, zavod* (and

*predstava* recorded only once in *Danica*), cf. too the replacement of *\*-nbje* in *predaja* for *predavanje* and *odnošaj* for *odnošenje*. All of this information leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Illyrians favoured the zero suffix over the longer forms and that this trend continued throughout the 19thC. The reason for the popularity of the zero suffix should not only be sought in its brevity but also in a subtle semantic change which accompanies it. Forms in *\*-nbje* are essentially verbal nouns denoting the action of the verb in question. The zero suffix however establishes the noun's independence of the verb and in many instances leads either to the word's concretisation or elevation to the status of a concept.<sup>189</sup>

The replacement of *razvitje* and *trenutje* by *razvitak* and *trenutak* respectively also serves to sever them from the verbs from which both are ultimately derived, with the result that *razvitak* became an essential concept, while *trenutak* (now free of *oka*, itself a constant reminder that *trenutje* was a deverbative) could become an independent noun. It is instructive in this regard that when *iznimka* was replaced by *izuzetak* that the *-ak* suffix was favoured over the deverbative *\*-(t)bje*. In the sample in this book *poduzetje* and *preduzetje* (now spelled *poduzeće* and *preduzeće*) alone preserve the deverbative suffix. One wonders whether this explains the uneasiness sometimes expressed about *poduzeće*. Is it also possible that the preservation of the deverbative suffix in this word is a reflection of a similar state of affairs in G *Unternehmen* (cf. too English *undertaking*), whereas *izuzetak* corresponds to *Ausnahme*?

I noted above that *odnošenje* was later to be replaced by *odnošaj* (first attested in MU (Babukić)). There is also some indication of the popularity of *-jaj* as a deverbative suffix in the Illyrian period, e.g. *dogodjaj* 'event' (from which Gaj experimented to form *dogodjajštvo*, *dogojajštje* for 'history'), *sadržaj* based on R *soderžanie* (from which *soderžanje* attested in Gaj's Notes for 'proportion'), *značaj* 'character'.

Univerbisation or the compression into one word of the semantic content of a phrase is a feature of most modern literary languages. German, with its seemingly limitless ability to form compound nouns, has gone further than any other European language in preserving all the lexical elements of the underlying phrase intact. Since German was the model for the language renewals of central Europe in the 19thC, each language was to face the problem of rendering compound nouns into the language without violating the native word-building laws along the way. As we have seen, there were some casualties for Cr, but on the whole the

language suffered very little damage. As in Cz, this was achieved either by rendering the G compound as an adjective + noun phrase or by replacing the second nominal element in G by a suffix, e.g. for G *Lesesaal* was coined *čitaonica*.<sup>190</sup> This was of course by no means a new use of such suffixes (cf. *spavaonica*, *ložnica*, *pivnica*, *knjižnica* etc.), but there is no question that it gained in popularity in the Illyrian period and is still employed today (though not to the same extent as in Cz). Here are some examples from our material from *Danica* (which includes several words derived from Cz): –

*bolnica*, *čitaonica*, *hodnik* / *hodnica*, *dnevnik*, *pravnik*, *slovar*, *željeznica*, *prednik*, *prednost*.

Such forms run the risk of ambiguity; in this sample this is true only of *dnevnik* (which renders both *Tageblatt* and *Tagebuch*), *bolnica* 'hospital' and female equivalent of *bolnik*, and *prednost* which serves for *Vorteil*, *Vorrang*, *Vorzug*.

Without question, however, the patterning which is seen in forming words with the elements *-pis*, *-pisac*, *pisan* and *-slovje*, *-slovac*, *-slovan* overshadows all else. It is surely no coincidence that a similar patterning is seen in Cz, Sln and Slk. In the Illyrian period, *-pis* takes over from the earlier widespread *-pisje* and *-pisanje* probably but not necessarily in imitation of Cz *-pis*. It was free to do so after Cr had given up the use of *-pis* as the agent of the action. The importance of the *-pis* suffix lies in its role in rendering Graeco-Latin *-graphia*. Before the Illyrian period, the only word with consistent use of *-pis* is *rukopis* 'manuscript', a word coined in Old Church Slavonic with equivalents in all modern Slavonic languages. The key word, I believe, in providing the impulse for coining words in *-pis* is *pravopis*, given the fact that orthographic reform was so central to the overall Illyrian programme, but the first modern word to be recorded with *-pis* is *zemljopis* in Brlić (1833). Words with *-slovje* (modern SCr *-slovlje*) are even more widespread in Illyrian usage than words with *-pis*. Again the use of the suffix goes back to Old Church Slavonic and is represented in all Slavonic languages. It is attested in Cr ChSl from the 13thC (cf. *bogoslovje*) but it is not widely used until Stulli's dictionary, where many R words from Polikarpov are registered with this suffix. More widespread in the 18thC dictionaries was the suffix *-slovstvo* (*bogoslovje* for example is attested only in Jambrešić: 984 before Stulli – not first in Stulli as stated by ARj I:498 – while *bogoslovstvo* is registered in all the 18thC dictionaries). The activation of this suffix belongs without question to the Illyrian period. A once marginal suffix came to be used with great consistency to render Graeco-Latin *-logia*. A number of factors helped in its introduction: the availability of R and Cz models, the continued existence of the suffix from the Middle Ages in Cr literature and its aptness as a

rendering of *-logia*. Of these, I believe, the stabilisation of its use already in Cz was the decisive factor for literary Cr. It figures widely in *Gaj's Notes* and his *Kratka Osnova* of 1830 at the very time when the Cz example was uppermost in Gaj's mind. If anything, the suffix was to enjoy greater popularity in Cr than Cz, cf. Cr *jezikoslovlje* beside Cz *jazykozpyt*. The popularity of both these suffixes was no doubt aided by the ease with which derivatives in *-ac* and *-an* could be formed from them. The coining of words with *-slovje* and *-pis* reached its zenith with Šulek (1874), subsiding somewhat thereafter with several words being replaced by internationalisms in *-logija* and *-grafija* (see 5.3). A picture of the two suffixes in the modern literary language can be gained by examining Matešić.<sup>191</sup>

#### 4.5 The role of the individual

I have thus far treated the reforms of the 1830's and 1840's as the achievement of a collective endeavour. Indeed, the information presented about the standardisation of vocabulary and about the emergence of patterns of word-building suggests a remarkable unity of purpose among the various participants in the Illyrian movement. We should not, however, forget that in all but the most sophisticated instances of language planning (and then usually only in the creation of specialist terminology) the coining and popularisation of specific lexical items is, in the last analysis, the work not of a committee but of an individual. In this section I shall attempt, despite the obstacles enumerated in 1.6, to investigate the role of individuals in lexical reform.

While the parts played by the leading figures in the Illyrian movement are generally well known, the extent of individual involvement in lexical reform is not. Answers are sought to three main questions:

- 1) What were the individual attitudes to lexical reform?
- 2) Who was responsible for formulating and/ or implementing language policy decisions?
- 3) Who was responsible for the coining or introduction of specific new words?

##### 4.5.1 Attitudes

There is no shortage of debate in the Illyrian period about such major problems as the choice of dialectal base, orthographic reform, codification of morphological norms and the status of Cr *vis-à-vis* the other languages used in Croatia. Yet there are very few explicit statements by individuals on the lexicon. Noteworthy are the views of Demeter, discussed in detail by Barac.<sup>192</sup> We need to ask ourselves however whether we have grounds for

accepting them as the consensus of contemporary thought or whether it is simply that the opinions of others have not come down to us.

Antun Barac, for instance, claims that the Illyrians were split over the issue of whether lexical reform should start from scratch or should build on the foundation of Dalmatian literature. He presents only Demeter's position (D IX:1-2, 5-8, 9-11) that there should be no coined words in poetry (a reference, according to Barac, to Stanko Vraz), that the language of prose requires precision and a lack of synonyms, and that the literature of the Dalmatian period being written mostly in verse could not provide the vocabulary for intellectual discourse. Ivan Pederin has noted that the vocabulary of Illyrian poetry is essentially identical with that of the Dalmatian poets of the Renaissance.<sup>193</sup> In many cases, as in Mažuranić's imitation of Gundulić's *Osman*, this was deliberate.<sup>194</sup> Are we to conclude from this that Mažuranić and the other poets were fundamentally opposed to new vocabulary in prose? This was clearly not so as reference to a prose contribution by Ivan Mažuranić (D II:179-180, 181-2) chosen at random will demonstrate. It contains such elements of the reformed vocabulary as *značaj*, *okolnost*, *oštroumnost*, *dogodovština*, *užasan*, *zvjezdoslovac*, *prisućnost*. Indeed, there is every reason to suggest that Demeter was giving lucid expression to ideas about the vocabulary of Dalmatian literature commonly held by the Illyrians as a whole. There is also nothing to suggest that Demeter's views that dialects were an unpromising source for new vocabulary and that R loanwords should be adapted if they were to be employed in Cr were not shared by his contemporaries.

Vraz also took exception to Gaj's excessive use of Russianisms in *Danica*, which is (i.e. should be) a "mjerilo od napredovanja domorodstva".<sup>195</sup> He suggested instead folk speech. Vraz was also opposed to the over-use of elements from the Dubrovnik language, as we saw in 3.1.1.<sup>196</sup>

We cannot really take seriously the following comments made by Drašković on the 2nd of June, 1842 at the meeting of the Čitaonica in Zagreb:

"Nama nije potrebe da svaki dan na hiljade novih riječih kujemo i izmišljamo, kao što to drugdje biva jer imamo bogati izvor riječih i izrazah u naših narodnih pjesmah, pripovjedakah, bajkah i posloviceh i u naših štampanih knjigah i rukopisah".<sup>197</sup>

Not only is the statement palpably untrue but it expresses one of the most favoured Romantic *topoi*. Nevertheless it does warn us that some of the Illyrians felt some uneasiness about the swiftness of pace shown by their friends' lexical reforms.

The danger brought about by the paucity of evidence on individual attitudes is an over-reliance on *a priori* reasoning. Thus we are told by Murray-Despalatović that Demeter must have been influenced by the renewal of the Greek lexicon which had just taken place.<sup>198</sup> Clearly Demeter was born into a family which was well informed on, and active in, Greek affairs, but what is the direct evidence that the fate of the Greek language influenced his thinking on Cr?

The lack of debate and comment on lexical matters contrasts not only with the vigorous polemics which surrounded the other aspects of Illyrian language reform but also with the situation in other language revivals of the 19thC. It is tempting, despite the dangers inherent in arguing *ex silentio*, to suggest that this lack of debate on the development of the lexicon betokens a general consensus on what was required. That there should be such a consensus is not altogether surprising. The Illyrians were a small, closely knit group of individuals, bound by personal friendships and centred on the charismatic figure of Ljudevit Gaj. If we exclude Janko Drašković, the elder statesman of the group, the principal figures have a great many things in common: –

- 1) they all belong to the generation born towards the end of or just after the Napoleonic Wars – Gaj (1809), Vraz (1810), Demeter (1811), Babukić (1812), Vukotinić (1813), Ivan Mažuranić (1814), Kukuljević and Šulek (1816), Trnaki (1819);
- 2) they were all of petit bourgeois or bourgeois birth (Gaj soon gave up the pretension of using *von/od* in his signature);
- 3) they belonged to the laity;
- 4) they were all nationalistic in wanting to raise Cr national consciousness but all shared in a wider cosmopolitan appreciation of European culture;
- 5) they were all essentially Romantics in their aesthetic creed.

All these factors far outweighed differences of dialect, education, career specialisation, place of birth and nationality of the household. Given the impetus provided by Gaj in the Movement during the middle years of the 1830's, the general agreement of purpose on the need for, and the methods for achieving, lexical reform followed naturally from the shared background of the individual reformers.



#### 4.5.2 The formulation and implementation of policy

There are no statements about the formulation of policy for lexical reform in the early Illyrian period.<sup>199</sup> It is my contention that such a policy was the result of a consensus among the Illyrians themselves. There is no question, however, that some individuals within the group were in a better position than others to influence this consensus and to implement its policies. In this sub-section I shall examine the activities of the individuals concerned.

The compilers of the dictionaries and glossaries of the period are generally accepted as being Antun Mažuranić of *Sbirka*, Rudolf Fröhlich of BF II, Ivan Mažuranić (with the assistance of Antun Mažuranić and Jakob Užarević) of MU. Incidentally, the suspicion that Babukić played a significant role in the compilation of MU is confirmed by the existence in MU (Babukić) of proof-sheets for the first 8 pages of MU corrected in Babukić's own hand. A comparison with the published copy reveals that all Babukić's suggested corrections and additions were incorporated in the final version.

Most of the leading figures of the Illyrian movement contributed material to the first 8 years of *Danica*. The index of authors compiled in the appendix to the reprint edition (pp. 47-80) reveals the following as the most prolific contributors:

Babukić, Blažek, Demeter, Drašković, Gaj, Jukić, Kukuljević-Sakcinski, Marjanović, Ivan Mažuranić, Mihanović, Nēmčić, Petranović, Rakovac, Rukavina, Rummy, Stojanović, Stoos, Šimagović, Topalović, Tordinac, Trnski, Vraz, Vukotinović.

Gaj was the official editor throughout the 15 years of *Danica's* publication. His political and business affairs and his extensive travels left him little time to see to the everyday chores of editing *Danica* however. His personal involvement in such *minutiae* appears to have fallen away considerably after the first few years, just as did the number of his own contributions, reduced in the later years to his annual appeals for the renewal of subscriptions. The years 1835-42 saw his early concern for language and literature give way more and more to an interest in more overtly political problems.

The editorial work on *Danica* (and *Novine*) was consequently left increasingly to Gaj's editorial assistants, who not only contributed much of the material (often anonymously), but also undertook most of the translation work (a particularly daunting task for those involved in publishing the bi-weekly *Novine*). It is also my contention that these editorial assistants

were responsible for the glosses in *Danica* (see 4.2.2). In short, these were the very people in a position to influence the lexical usage of those years most. They were Antun Mažuranić (1835-6), Rakovac (1836-7), Babukić (1838-40), Šulek (1841-6) and Demeter (1846-9).

A further post in which influence over language usage could be exercised was the position of secretary to the *žitaonica*, especially the reading club in Zagreb, whose secretary from its inception was Babukić. The *žitaonica* in Zagreb functioned independently of *Danica* and reflected in the main literary and philological interests.

If we now take together the names of lexicographers, contributors and editors to *Danica* and holders of influential positions, we have a group of 26 people to whom the creation of a reformed vocabulary of Cr could be attributed: Babukić, Blažek, Demeter, Drašković, Fröhlich, Gaj, Jukić, Kukuljević-Sakcinski, Marjanović, Ivan and Antun Mažuranić, Mihanović, Němčić, Petranović, Šulek, Topalović, Tordinac, Trnski, Užarević, Vraz, Vukotinović.

Of the men on this list some are unlikely to have influenced the vocabulary to any significant extent in this period. Blažek, Marjanović, Němčić, Stoos, Topalović, Tordinac, Trnski and Vukotinović were primarily poets; Šulek's literary career was only just beginning in 1842; Drašković was basically a figurehead; Užarević's contribution to MU was not significant; Fröhlich's lexicographical work was largely imitative; Jukić, Mihanović, Petranović, Rukavina, Rummy, Stojanović and Šimagović were only peripherally involved in the Illyrian movement. The remaining 8 individuals form the core group of those responsible for shaping the lexicon of the period. Even within this group however the opportunities for action appear to differ widely.

Apart from his editorial work, Rakovac contributed only poetry to *Danica*. Antun Mažuranić does not appear to have played much of a role between his work on *Sbirka* and his collaboration on MU. Kukuljević-Sakcinski's contributions date mainly from 1841, while those of Demeter begin to be common only in 1840 in a whole series of articles on music and the theatre. Similarly, Stanko Vraz's first major prose contributions to *Danica* do not predate 1841; most of the material by him before that is in the form of poetry or short notices. Gaj's main contributions to *Danica* are from the first 3 years. Ivan Mažuranić contributed little prose until 1841; his contribution to MU is of course of paramount importance.

Of all the Illyrians, Babukić was in the best position to influence the lexical development of literary Cr during this period. The only native Štokavian speaker apart from Užarević among the leaders of the Illyrian movement, the codifier of the morphological norms of the new literary language, the only person in the group with an abiding interest in linguistics, the longest-serving editorial assistant on *Danica*, one of the leading contributors throughout the period of original and translated material to *Danica*, and secretary to the *citaonica* in Zagreb, Babukić combined the expertise, prestige, authority, inclination and practical skills to carry out the enrichment and modernisation of the vocabulary.

From this, I believe, emerges a clearer picture of the individual contributions to lexical reform:

- 1) an early (partly experimental) phase dominated by Gaj, which saw the orientation towards Cz and a realisation of the need for lexical enrichment on a large scale, and the evolution of certain word-building models (1827-34);
- 2) a second phase still dominated by Gaj but now supported by Antun Mažuranić and Babukić, which saw a greater degree of caution, a renunciation of earlier experimentation, the use of stratagems like *Sbirka* and glosses to familiarise the public with new vocabulary, and the introduction of much new vocabulary from other Slavonic languages and calques (1835-6);
- 3) a third phase of consolidation, reduction of synonyms and some enrichment with greater awareness of the constraints of word-formation, dominated by Babukić (1836-40);
- 4) a fourth phase marked by the greater involvement of Demeter, Kukuljević-Sakcinski and Vraz in enrichment and standardisation and the publication of MU which was the result of the cooperation of the Mažuranić brothers, Uzarević and Babukić (1840-2);
- 5) Following 1842, Šulek and Demeter take over the most active language planning roles.

All of these phases played an important part in the creation of a modern Cr vocabulary. Of crucial importance were the early experimental work of Gaj and his impetus towards modernisation and the steady influence of Babukić in the first 6 years of *Danica*.

#### 4.5.3 Usage

It is impossible to identify with certainty who was responsible for coining or popularising a particular word in the Illyrian period. There are no personal attributions in philological discussions or dictionary entries, in striking contrast with the situation in Cz (cf. for example Jungmann's dictionary). MU (Babukić) provides the first documentary evidence

on the identity of the coiner of individual words. Our only guide is the evidence provided by unpublished and published texts whose authorship is known. We can never be certain of course that the earliest attestation of a word in our sources is indeed proof of introduction. Similarly, while it is possible to undertake a statistical analysis of individual usage in *Danica*, such an analysis could not take into account anonymous contributions and would not allow us to make statements about the popularisation of a given word by a particular individual.

It is very difficult to identify words popularised by one author, but we might tentatively suggest that Babukić popularised *izraz* and Gaj, *obrotnost*. Where there is competition between synonyms in *Danica*, a pattern of individual usage rarely emerges. If we analyse the use of the words for 'literature' in D I-V for example, we find the following: –

*literatura*: Gaj, Demeter, Babukić, Vraz, Romy, Trnski;

*slovstvo*: Gaj, Ožegović;

*pismenstvo*: A. Mažuranić, Babukić, Romy;

*slovesnost*: Gaj, Babukić;

*knjižestvo*: Gaj, Demeter, Trnski;

or by author: –

Gaj: *literatura, slovstvo, slovesnost, knjižestvo*;

Babukić: *literatura, pismenstvo, slovesnost*;

Demeter: *literatura, knjižestvo*;

Romy: *literatura, pismenstvo*;

Trnski: *literatura, knjižestvo*.

Thus only the loanword is common in individual usage while *knjižestvo*, represented in 3 authors, is the best represented of the "native" words.

This picture is further complicated by the need to include frequency of use and to plot the usage over time. All of this strongly suggests that the synonymy found in this period is not the result of competition between words proposed or championed by one individual and those by another. Indeed, it is a feature of usage in *Danica* that competing synonyms often appear in the same text.

Despite the unreliability of the evidence, I shall now propose a number of words which might be attributed to given individuals on the basis of first or early use. Where such first

use is in private papers, the argument for assigning them to an individual are somewhat strengthened: –

1) Babukić (18):

*blagostanje, glagolj, lahkoumnost, odnošenje, oštroumnost, padež, predlog 'preposition', prednažanje, pregled, pričastje, pricoslovje, rečoslovje, suglasnik, sustav, svetoljubje, uzklik, vesela igra, zveroslovje.*

Demeter (1):

*utisak.*

2) Gaj (27):

*časopis, gospodarstvo, gudba, jezikoslovje, kazalište, korēnoslovje, lučba, narēčje, narodoslovje, nazivoslovje, nezavisim, okolnost, poljodēlstvo, ponjatje, pravopis, predmet, preporod, rodoslovje, slovstvo, spomenik, sveobći, umētnost, ustavje, vazduh, sbirka, zemljioslovje, značaj.*

3) Kukuljević-Sakcinski (1):

*hodnik.*

4) A. Mažuranić (13):

*lahkomišljen, nezavisnost, olovka, parobrod, parovoz, podmet, podnebjje, predstava, priroda, ranovrač, tjednik, ukus, utok.*

5) I. Mazuranić (1):

*zavod.*

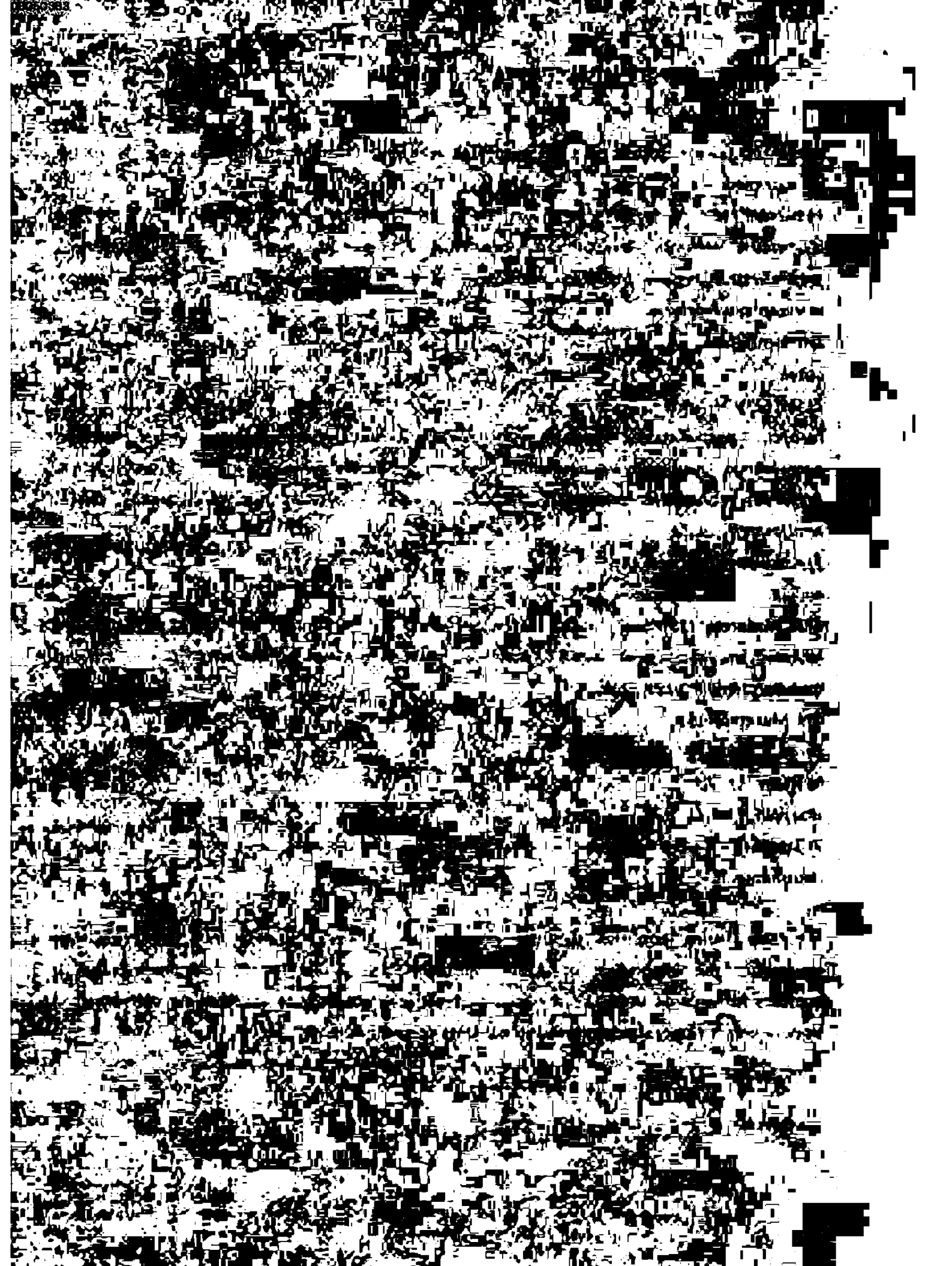
6) Romy (1):

*zloupotrēbljenje.*

7) Trnski (2):

*slikoshrana, hodnica.*

This listing confirms the pre-eminence of Gaj and Babukić but almost certainly exaggerates the importance of Antun Mažuranić. It is also worth remembering that it accounts for only 64 (41%) of the sample of native words. Clearly much more work needs to be done before firmer statements about individual usage can be made.



## CHAPTER 5: THE AFTERMATH OF THE ILLYRIAN REFORMS

### 5.0 Introduction

In this chapter I shall attempt first an overall assessment of the changes wrought in the lexical system during the Illyrian period as well as of the nature and success of Illyrian language planning. Next I shall turn to a survey of the critical responses by other philological schools to the Illyrian lexical reforms. The third section plots the fate of individual words in the subsequent development of literary Cr. Finally, I shall discuss the problem of the inter-relationships between the Cr and S standards and in particular the role of the new vocabulary of the Illyrian period in S as compared with Cr.

### 5.1 An overall assessment of the Illyrian reforms

In 2.5 I attempted in point form both to characterise the state of the Cr literary lexicon prior to the Illyrian period and to identify the corpus planning tasks which faced the Illyrians as a consequence. I shall now try to assess the Illyrians' achievements in carrying out these tasks and in so doing offer a brief characterisation of the intellectual vocabulary which the Illyrians left as a legacy to later generations. Once again the observations are presented in point form: –

- a) Dialectal and individual differences have been rejected in favour of establishing a tradition of usage.
- b) The language has been substantially enriched, particularly in the area of general intellectual vocabulary. In Chapter 3 I provided a detailed documentation for the introduction by the Illyrians of 200 words (155 of them composed of native Slavonic elements). Some gaps, as yet filled only by internationalisms, still exist for Cr equivalents to key international terms.
- c) As well as filling gaps in the lexical system, some of the new words replace instances where formerly there had been a damaging and unnecessary abundance of undifferentiated synonyms.
- d) The new words introduced by the Illyrians are not simply dictionary entries but are imbued with life from constant use in journalistic prose. In contradistinction to its predecessors, MU eschews the fanciful creation of words for their own sake and attempts instead to reflect contemporary usage.

e) No explicit programme for lexical development has been initiated, though Illyrian practice provides a firm guideline for the future systematic development of the lexicon. A clear pattern of word-formation emerges, which provides an excellent model for further lexical enrichment.

f) The restructured Cr lexical system is now orientated much more towards G than towards Lat and It as formerly.

g) For the first time, systematic use has been made of Slavonic models for enriching Cr. The crucial role has been played by Cz, which offers opportunities for further such enrichment in the future. Slavonic loans have been generally adapted so that their forms are internally motivated in Cr. This presupposes both a desire on the part of the Illyrians for loanwords to look as "Croatianised" as possible and also some considerable understanding of the genetic relationships between the Slavonic languages. Only some R loans borrowed via S remain unadapted.

h) Words, mostly ultimately of R origin, have been taken from S usage. Vuk Karadžić's new ethnographic approach to the S language has had little impact on Cr vocabulary.

i) The long Cr tradition of moderate purism continues if anything in a somewhat muted form. Illyrian purism is characterised by a predilection for Slavonic loans and calques (specifically *Lehnübersetzungen*). There is a clear break with the more idiosyncratic neologising of the early 19thC, which was prompted in part by a more extreme strain of purism. Even internationalisms are tolerated as occasional replacements for native synonyms.

j) In the main, the new words conform to the word-building laws of SCr. Some of the unmotivated forms quickly disappear from use.

k) Considerable advances have been made in standardising and stabilising the new vocabulary. This has been achieved by good example and by the use of certain stratagems (glosses, glossaries etc.). Much less effort has been expended on pruning and standardising existing synonym groups.

l) Little progress has yet been made in furnishing specialist terminologies with the possible exception of the fields of linguistics and philology. This is a reflection not so much of any unwillingness on the part of the Illyrians to provide such terminologies as of the fact that the social and educational infrastructure necessary for their formation is not yet in evidence.

The situation which I have just described is the result of the intervention of a small group of like-minded individuals led by Ljudevit Gaj. An attempt was made in 4.5 to identify the individual contributions to this intervention. More striking however in my view is the



unanimity of the group with respect to the overall policies pursued. Chapters 3 and 4 have dealt in some detail with these policies and their implementation. I shall now proceed to a general characterisation of the intervention itself.

Although the intervention was clearly a conscious and premeditated act, the Illyrians did not formulate in any explicit way their goals with respect to planning the lexical development of literary Cr. Clearly, one reason for this silence is the essentially non-controversial nature of their aims. The Illyrians proceeded from a general consensus on how the language needed restructuring. The lack of explicit comment also points to one very important aspect of Illyrian language planning – its pragmatism and freedom from excessive theorising. This pragmatism also helps to explain the moderation of Illyrian purism, especially when compared with contemporary Cz or Hung. The Illyrians adopted the most expedient methods of lexical enrichment available to them – calquing and adapting the resources of other Slavonic languages. This contrasts with the more resourceful use of domestic material in Cz and especially with the adventurousness of the Hungarian language reformers. Expediency also appears to have determined the preference for comprehensible calques, and even internationalisms, over opaque neologisms. More transparent word-forms lead to quicker acceptance by the general public. The interests of purism are therefore sacrificed in favour of practical expediency. The Illyrians also failed to produce a theory of the word-building mechanisms of SCr, unlike Cz, which benefitted enormously from the structure provided by Dobrovský's *Bildsamkeit*. Yet despite this lack of a theoretical framework the Illyrians on the whole produced new words which conformed to the word-building constraints of SCr.

If the achievement of the Illyrian language planners lacks the theoretical base of the Cz language renewal or the adventurousness and resourcefulness of the Hungarian inventions, it is impossible to ignore the speed with which a new vocabulary was not only created but also in a large measure stabilised as a result of the efforts made by the Illyrian movement. A complete restructuring of the intellectual vocabulary took place in the space of little over a single decade. No doubt the speed of this restructuring was made possible by the availability of the Bohemian model, but it would be foolish to ignore the pragmatism of the Illyrian Movement as a whole and the communality of outlook and endeavour which characterise it. The reforming activities of the Illyrian movement were impelled by Gaj's own example in the first half of the 30's and then kept on a fairly tight rein by the efforts of Babukić in the

latter half of the decade. The remainder of this chapter examines the continuation of the Illyrian legacy.

## 5.2 The critical response

The Illyrian movement was essentially Zagreb-based. Its reforms of the orthography, its choice of dialectal base and its codification of morphological norms was sufficiently radical to be virtually certain to provoke criticism from other philological schools and individuals operating from different conceptions of how literary Cr should behave.<sup>200</sup> Though less violent than the response to other aspects of the Illyrian reforms, there was criticism too of the new tendencies in the lexicon. I shall examine here the substance of these criticisms and attempt to assess their importance for the continued acceptance of Illyrian words in the Cr literary language.

The general criticism of the Illyrian reforms which is voiced in the Zadar periodical *Zora Dalmatinska* is that the new literary language is not folk-based and is too much influenced by G.<sup>201</sup> United in this criticism are Šime Starčević, Ignjat Alojzije Brlić, Ante Kuzmanić and Božidar Petranović. Starčević in particular was opposed to the linguistic novelties introduced by the Illyrians, primarily because they were out of tune with peasant speech. Moreover, he suggested that all the new writers were attempting to be understood by themselves alone. In an article entitled "Dalmatinci na oprezull" (*Glasnik Dalmatinski*, 24 October, 1849), Starčević described the Illyrian language as a "smies iz Ilirskoga, Pems-koga, Poljskoga, Ruskoga i Staroslovljenskoga jezika kao da pravi Ilirski iliti Hrvatski jezik u živućim govorim Štajerskom, Kranjskom i čistom Hrvatskom, iliti Bosanskom i Dalmatinskom neima potribnoga gradiva za pravi nauk i književnost".<sup>202</sup> He was particularly critical of Zagreb writers for their use of Russianisms. As Vince points out,<sup>203</sup> Starčević's contention that the dialects could serve as an adequate source for the enrichment of the literary lexicon was an illusion and stemmed from a misunderstanding of the new roles thrust upon literary Cr. Nevertheless, the rejection of the "Slavonicisation" of the Cr vocabulary was shared by Kuzmanić, who referred to the language of Zagreb as "rusko-češko-slavenosrbski".<sup>204</sup> To some extent, the dislike of Russian and Slaveno-Serbian elements was an expression of a sincerely felt Roman Catholicism.

These criticisms, however much they betray an incomprehension of the new roles of the literary language and a distaste for the novelties of the Zagreb upstarts, demonstrate how

the Illyrian lexical reforms were perceived from outside. They clearly saw the creation of a vocabulary which was essentially urban, German-orientated, and whose most visible source of new words was the adaptation of Slavonic loanwords as the main thrust of the Illyrian reforms. However much their criticisms of these reforms may be dismissed as out-dated or ill-founded, there is no denying the accuracy of their perceptions of the changes being wrought during the Illyrian period.

Brlić, who appears to have shared the views of the Zadar circle, alone offers us the opportunity of discovering whether his distaste for the Illyrian innovations is reflected in his own usage. The 1850 edition of his grammar does not attempt to employ Cr linguistic terminology at all extensively. As we saw in 4.3 however, when he does use Cr terms he does not shy away from using some of Babukić's inventions, e.g. *glagolj*, *pričastje*, *predlog*, *padež*, *prislov*, especially when Vuk also uses them.

The criticisms voiced in publications emanating from Zadar in the 1840's had little lasting effect on the development of the vocabulary of literary Cr. Not only did they fail to prevent the continued use of the new lexical items in Zadar or elsewhere but neither did they evoke any serious attempts to find more palatable replacements for these Illyrian contributions. Indeed a recognition of the inadequacies of the dialects as a source of new vocabulary came to Petranović in the early 1850's when he was engaged in the search for native legal terms.<sup>205</sup> Illyrian coinings figure prominently in the legal terminologies which appeared in *Pravdonoša* (Zadar, 1851-2), e.g. *dvoboj*, *okolnost*, *prednost*, *tajnik*.<sup>206</sup> Petranović also accepted Illyrian coinings for Jur.pol.term (1853), for the Serbian component of which he bears primary responsibility (see 5.4).

The Rijeka philological school was dominated by the complex and often contradictory figure of Fran Kurelac. His linguistic attitudes, best seen in his writings after 1860, reflect a predilection for native archaisms and unusual, and often outmoded, Slavonic words. He was naturally opposed to the words introduced by the Illyrians as reflecting G models or as being loans from the modern Slavonic languages. His purism was of an extreme, archaising nature, although, contradictorily, he did favour certain of his own neologisms – *prvice* 'elements', *vatreni* 'enthusiast', *gvozdernica* 'railway', *kolostaj* 'station'.<sup>207</sup> The combined effect of his use of long-forgotten native words and neologisms gives his writing an arcane and opaque quality, with the true meanings of many words totally incomprehensible to the contemporary

readet. His private papers, retained in the *Arhiv JAZU* (XV/F-7, p.9),<sup>208</sup> contain a list of 'Schlechte Barbarismen', which includes several of the words treated in the present work: – *čitaonica, dogodovština, dvorana, igrokaz, kazalište, načelo, okolnost, predstavljanje, poljodjelac, ustav, zbirka*.

Elsewhere however he appears to approve of *samoslovac* and *samostan*. He further claims that there is no place in Cr for *parobrod* and *značaj* (suggesting as replacements *paroplov* and *čovjek tvrde vjere* (*sic*)). In Zagreb, Kurelac's ideas were countered by Adolf Veber Tkalčević, who defended several words criticised by Kurelac including *parobrod* and *značaj*. Yet Kurelac was admired and followed not only by other Rijeka writers but also by later writers on barbarisms – Rožić, Andrić and especially the very influential Tomo Maretić.<sup>209</sup> Furthermore, Kurelac's disapproval of certain words led to their exclusion from the dictionary of Broz-Iveković (see also 5.3 below), e.g. *čitaonica, kazalište, načelo, parobrod, poljodjelac, predstavljene* (in addition to *okolnost* and *značaj* which are listed only marginally in BI).

Kurelac's response differs from the earlier Zadar response in two ways. Firstly, it deals with specific words and attempts to replace them by others, and secondly, it affected later linguistic attitudes. Even so, all the words in the sample which were subjected to criticism by Kurelac have survived to the modern day except *dogodovština* (in the sense of 'history') and *predstavljene* (each replaced by other Illyrian words after the early Illyrian period), while none of Kurelac's suggested alternatives, except the well established *ratarstvo* 'agriculture', found favour subsequently.

In Zagreb itself the policies of the Illyrian movement continued and developed throughout the 40's, 50's, 60's, and 70's mainly because of the activities of Šulek, Demeter, Trnski and Veber Tkalčević. Towards the end of the 70's however we witness a change of orientation in the Zagreb school, in which Vuk's and Daničić's views on the literary language begin to dominate. A much more critical attitude towards the liberties being taken with the word-building laws of SCr and a dislike for words which do not have their roots in popular usage is in evidence. The practical result of this turning away from the achievements of the Illyrian period can best be seen in the treatment of Illyrian words in the dictionary of Broz-Iveković, to which I shall return in some detail in 5.3. The leading theoretician of this so-called Vukovian school in Zagreb was Tomo Maretić, whose views, expressed in his grammars (first edition:1899)<sup>210</sup> and his *Jezični Savjetnik* of 1924, shaped Croatian perceptions about language right up to the Second World War and beyond.

In his grammar of 1899, Maretić approves several words popularised during the Illyrian period, e.g. *književnost*, *pjesništvo*, *sveučilište*, especially since they replace foreign words (p. 682). Not all the words from Cz and R are well formed, he says, and he insists that all Slavonic loans be adapted to the sound pattern of SCr, e.g. Cz *vzor* to *uzor*, but he allows *točka*, *točan* (for *tačan* etc.) since the borrowers of the word could not know the precise etymology (p. 683). He also approves of several Illyrian neologisms – *dvoboj*, *umjetnost*, *značaj* (p. 686), but he suggests replacing *iznimka* by *izuzetak* and *upliv* by *utjecaj*, advice which has not been accepted by the literary language. Several words he rejects because they are too slavish imitations of foreign models, e.g. *sveopći* calqued on G *allgemein* or Cz *všeobecný*, better to use *opći*, *općeni* “jer narod to veli” (p. 696). Popular usage of *ratarstvo* makes *poljodjelstvo* unnecessary (p. 693). The absence of popular usage of *predstava* presents a problem for Maretić, but he is saved by the fact that Vuk uses the verb *predstaviti* thus providing the *imprimatur* for *predstava* (p. 687). Finally, he prefers, for reasons unstated, *pothvat* over *poduzeće* (p. 693).

More words are treated in his *Jezični Savjetnik*.<sup>211</sup> Among those of which Maretić disapproves are *časopis*, *upliv*, *značaj* and *bajoslovan*. He also considers *vodopad* and *samoslan* unnecessary and prefers other native words for *blagostanje*, *igrokaz*, *iznimka*, *protuslovlje*, *nidokop*, *slovnica*, *vidokrug*. He mentions several other words from our sample either with approval or without explicit comment: *dnevnik* (as ‘newspaper’ but not ‘diary’), *dvoboj*, *dvorana*, *glagol*, *izraz*, *obzor*, *okolost*, *olovka*, *padež*, *parobrod*, *predmet*, *prednost*, *predstava*, *-slovlje* and *-slovac* as word-building elements, *sustav*, *utisak*, *uzduh*, *zavisnost*, *zbirka*.

### 5.3 The subsequent fate of the lexical items introduced in the Illyrian period

An important measure of the impact of the Illyrian movement on the lexical development of Cr is the extent to which the new items retained their currency in the literary language. In this section I shall follow up the subsequent use of these new items in several dictionaries to the present day.

As representative of the later stages of the Illyrian movement I shall take Šulek (1860 and 1874).<sup>212</sup> Our source for usage at the turn of the century is Broz-Iveković (BI) of 1901,<sup>213</sup> a product of the Vukovian school in Zagreb and the dictionary which has most influenced Cr literary usage in this century. For the present day I shall base myself on the

dictionary of the two Maticas (RMH/RMS), complete in 6 volumes in the Novi Sad edition but abandoned in Zagreb following violent criticism with only 2 volumes (A-K) completed.<sup>214</sup> This dictionary was envisaged as a standardised dictionary for use in all SCr-speaking areas. Only in the rarest instances does it distinguish Cr (W) from S (E) usage. In the absence of a dictionary of standard Cr usage, it is not easy to identify what precisely constitutes the lexical standard in Cr. I shall reserve comment on the complex and disputed interrelationship between the modern Cr and S lexical inventories until section 5.4.

Standing like a colossus astride all these dictionaries is the 23 volume Academy dictionary (ARj). It is essentially an encyclopedic and historical dictionary rather than an attempt to reflect or prescribe standard usage. At the time of the publication of BI only 4 volumes were complete. The importance of ARj for the standardisation of the modern lexicon was therefore strictly limited. This is an important consideration to bear in mind, precisely because ARj is arguably weakest in its reflection of the vocabulary of the Illyrian period. BF and MU are both absent from its list of sources, so that Illyrian words are given in ARj only if they are also recorded in Serbian usage or Šulek (1860 or 1874) (and in the latter case not even then in the early volumes). From our material, the following words which we may presume to have been current at the time of its compilation are absent from ARj: –

*bajoslovlje, bakrorez, blagostanje, bolnica, časopis, čitaonica, dionik, dokaz, dvoboj, gusle, igrokaz, izobraženost, nastroj, pričastje.*

The concentration of words near the beginning of the alphabet in this list is a reflection of the greater attention paid to words in Šulek in the later volumes of ARj.

Of the words treated in Chapter 3, the following are not attested in the later dictionaries (or appear in ARj simply as historicisms): –

*dogodovština* (in the sense of 'history'), *domostroj, gudba, hudožestvo, izrazoslovlje, jezikospitatelj, jezikoznanstvo, kamenorjezac, kiporjezac, korenoslovlje, lučba, naravoslovlje, nezavisim, oduhovljenje, pismenica, predislovlje, prednašanje, prosvjećenje, ranovrač, ridokoplje, samoslov, slikoshrana, svirka* (in the sense of 'music'), *ustav, utok, zavedenje, zvjeroslovlje, zuboljekarstvo, željezna cesta* (and parallel phrases).

Thus about 19% of the native words in our sample failed to outlive the early Illyrian period. About 30% of these I have already identified as obsolete or obsolescent in 1842 (see 4.2.3). Of the others, some (e.g. *gudba, svirka, pismenica, predislovlje, prednašanje*) faced

competition from other synonyms, while others were to be replaced by a simplex (e.g. *kipar* for *kiporjezac*.) or a shorter form (e.g. *prosvjeta* for *prosvjećenje*).

Almost all of the remaining 81% of the words in our sample are recorded in Šulek (1860 or 1874) and as a consequence find their way into the later volumes of ARj. In other words, despite the reforms and considerable new vocabulary introduced by Šulek, there is a very high degree of continuity of words coined in the early Illyrian period into the Movement's later stages. This continuity of Illyrian usage helps to explain why so many of the words in our sample have managed to survive to the present day (see below). Some of the modifications of early Illyrian usage made by Šulek are worthy of our attention: *odnošaj* is introduced beside *odnošenje*; *mudroslovlje* replaces *mudroljublje*; *zavod* replaced *zavedenje*, *glazba* replaces *gudba*. It should be noted that most of these innovations (the popularity of certain suffixes, e.g. the zero deverbative suffix, the use of *-slovlje*) continue trends begun in the early Illyrian period. Important too in Šulek's treatment of the coinings of the early Illyrian period is the diminished role of lexical purism. Not only are some new words spurned entirely in favour of internationalisms but others are reduced to secondary importance by being relegated to a position behind loanwords in the individual entries. A comparison of the entries for 1860 with their equivalents for 1874 reveals, contrary to popular opinion, that this moderating trend in Šulek's purism continues.

The introduction to BI states that the dictionary is based on Vuk and Daničić, though not exclusively (among its other sources is Stulli, but not MU or Šulek). It represents then a total break with the Illyrian lexicographical tradition, which had culminated in the work of Šulek. Not only is it orientated towards S usage but it is also based on an ethnographic conception of the literary language. Not surprisingly therefore many words emanating from the Illyrian period are absent from BI. Of our sample, 62 words out of the 81% which outlived the early Illyrian period are absent from BI: –

*bajoslovlje, bakrorez, blagostanje, časopis, čitaonica, dionik, dvoboj, gospodarstvo, igrokaz, istisak, iznimka, izraz, jezikoslovlje, kazalište, knjigopis, ljubopitnost, narodopis, narodoslovlje, nastroj, nazivoslovlje, nezavisnost, obrtnost, obzor, olovka, parobrod, parokrug, parovoz/parovlak, pismohrana, pjenežnica, podmet, podneblje, poduzeće, poljodjelstvo, ponjače, prednik, prednost, predstava/predstavljenje, pričastje, prislov, protivorječje, protislovlje etc., pticoslovlje, rastresen, rodoslovlje, slovar, suglasnik, sustav, sveopći, sveučilište, tjednik, točan, upliv, usklik, uzor, vidokrug, vodopad, vodovod, zloupotrebljenje, životopis.*

In addition to this list, a number of words are only registered marginally: –

*okolnost, priroda, sadržaj, tajnik, značaj.*

In other words less than half the words surviving the early Illyrian period are registered in BI. By a strange irony, the roughly contemporary S dictionary of Popović (2nd ed.: 1895), which also claims to be based on the language of Vuk and Daničić, contains a large number of words omitted by BI: –

*bakrorez, blagostanje, časopis, čitaonica, dvoboj, gospodarstvo, izraz, jezikoslovlje, knjigopis, ljubopitnost, nastroj, nazivoslovlje, nezavisnost, obrtnost, obzor, olovka, parobrod, parokrug, parovoz, pismohrana, pjenežnica, podmet, podneblje, poduzeće, poljodjelstvo, ponjače, prednik, prednost, predstava, suglasnik, sustav, sveopći, tjednik, točan, upliv, usklik, uzor, vidokrug, vodopad, vodovod, zloupotreba, životopis.*

We are faced then with a situation where a S dictionary registers 70% of the Cr words omitted by a contemporary Cr dictionary. Some of these words were used by both codes in the 1830's, but there is no question that we are dealing here with an extraordinary reversal. Popović has taken up Illyrian words (most of them probably already enjoying widespread use among Serbs and Croats) which BI has either deliberately omitted or failed to register out of carelessness. A contemporary critic of BI, Vatroslav Jagić, who is careful to protect himself against the charge that he is critical only of the omission of Cr words, sees the crux of the problem in a too rigid interpretation of the Vukovian philosophy. By limiting itself to words that have the Vuk or Daničić *imprimatur* the dictionary presents “den Eindruck eines veralteten, den gegenwärtigen Bedürfnissen wenig entsprechenden Unternehmens” (p. 529). I shall now examine the consequences of this situation for the further use of Illyrian vocabulary in the 20thC.

While on the Serbian side Popović's dictionary (though republished in 1926) was superseded by the Ristić-Kangrga dictionary of 1928 and 1936 (also interestingly a bilingual G-S dictionary), no Cr dictionary appeared to replace BI. On the face of it therefore those words omitted from BI were likely to be lost for ever or at the very least consigned to a strange state of limbo. Compare for instance the situation of *sveučiliste* in widespread use among Croats and appearing in the name of a national institution but absent from the only standard dictionary of Cr available. This cannot fail to have caused some uncertainty about the exact status of such words in the literary language. Indeed it would not be at all surprising to find that many of these words had not survived into the post-World War II era.



In fact however – and this is a salutary reminder for those who would exaggerate the importance of dictionaries in standardising usage – an examination of the dictionary of the 2 Maticas, the only dictionary, despite its faults, to attempt to capture modern literary usage in both variants, reveals a quite different picture. 38 of the 62 words noted as absent from BI are restored in RMH/RMS. This high percentage serves both to underline the artificiality of BI's lexical stock and to reveal the non-linear character of the development of modern Cr lexicography.

Of all the native words treated by me in Chapter 3, 87 are given in RMH/RMS as in normal use in the modern standard language (variants not distinguished): –

*bakrorez, blagostanje, bolnica, časopis, čitaonica, članak, čovjekoljublje, dnevnik, dokaz, dvoboj, dvorana, glagol, gospodarstvo, gusle, hladnokrvan, hodnik, igrokaz, iskustvo, ispit, izdanje, iznimka, izobraženost, izraz, izvanredan, jezikoslovlje, kazalište, lakomišljen, lakouman, načelo, narječje, nezavisan, okolnost, olovka, oštrouman, padež, parobrod, parovoz, podmet, podneblje, poduzeće, povijest, pravnik, pravopis, predavanje, predmet, prednost, predsjednik, predstava, pregled, preporod, prijedlog (in both meanings), priroda, proizvod, protivorječje, protuslovlje etc., rastresen, razmjer, razvitak, rodoslovlje, sadržaj, samostalan, samostan, spomenik, suglasnik, sustav, sveopći, sveučilište, tajnik, tjednik, točan, trenutak, ukus, umjetnost, upliv, utisak, usklik, uzduh, uzor, vodopad, vodovod, zanimljiv, zbirka, zemljopis, značaj, željeznica, životopis.*

A further 7 words are registered as archaic or unusual: –

*bajoslovlje, narodopis, nastroj, odnošenje, pjenežnica, ponjače, prislov.*

In addition to these archaisms, prominent in the list of the casualties among the words which survived the Illyrian period are the following: –

*knjigopis, ljubopitnost, nazivoslovlje, obrtnost, obzor, parokrug, prednik, pticoslovlje, svjetoljublje, ustav, vidokrug* (all of which appear in either Popović or BI). The remaining casualties are words not registered beyond Šulek's dictionaries, e.g. *dionik, krajobraz, krasnorječje, medorez, nesredstven, pričastje, rečoslovlje, vesela igra, zemljioslovlje, žalostna igra.*

It is interesting to take these archaisms and obsolete words and see what sort of words replaced them and when: –

a) words replaced by loanwords (19):

*knjigopis* (bibliografija), *nazivoslovlje* (terminologija), *obrotnost* (industrija), *obzor/vidokrug* (horizont), *parokrug* (atmosfera), *pticoslovlje* (ornitologija), *svjetoljublje* (kosmopolitizam), *krajobraz* (karta), *krasnorječje* (retorika), *pričastje/dionik* (particip), *rječoslovlje* (etimologija), *vesela igra* (komedija), *zemljioslovlje* (geologja), *žalostna igra* (tragedija), *bajoslovlje* (mitologija), *narodopis* (etnografija), *nastroj* (instrument).

This large number of instances of an internationalism taking over from a sometimes quite well entrenched "native" word demonstrates the importance of the role played by internationalisms in 20thC discourse. In some respects the greater popularity of internationalisms and loanwords in S usage of the 19thC may have influenced their expanded use in Cr. However it should be borne in mind that a retreat from purism is an international feature in the development of modern literary languages (cf. for example Cz and G). In other words, the expanded use of internationalisms in Cr is a reflection of a universal trend in the whole European *Sprachbund*. Within this context it is worth noting that a large number of the examples above concern the replacement of words with the once popular "native" suffixes *-slovlje* and *-pis* (see 4.4.3) by words with the international suffixes *-logija* and *-grafija*.

b) words replaced by Illyrian competitors (4):

*lahkomišljen* (*lahkouman*, now spelled *lakouman*), *nesredstven* (*neposredan*: first in MU), *medorez* (*bakrorez*), *ustav* (*zavod*: first in MU).

c) words replaced by later native coinings (4):

*ljubopitnost* (*radoznalost*), *prednik* (*prethodnik*), *ponjače* (*pojam*) *prislov* (*prilog*).

Of these replacements, *pojam* (a loan from Cz) is first found in the 1850's, while the others date from the latter half of the 19thC and are almost certainly of S origin.

In general the words which were most prone to disappearance were those that were poorly motivated and those where competition between several synonyms opened the way to the easy acceptance of the loanword. A typical example of this is the stabilisation of *arkiv*. There are however some counter-examples, of which the most interesting is the case of the word for 'literature'. In 4.5.3 we saw that of the many synonyms used in *Danica* the one which was used by the greatest number of individual writers was *literatura*. One might have expected *literatura* as a consequence to become the stabilised word, but it was not to be. *književnost*, a form already motivated in the Illyrian period, came to the rescue. A similar

case is the rise in the later stages of the Illyrian movement of *glazba* alongside the stabilised *muzika*, which appeared to have routed the competition of *svirka* and *gudba*.

Of the original sample of about 155 "native" words introduced by the Illyrians, 56% have survived to the modern day. If we exclude those which failed to proceed beyond the early Illyrian period we find that as many as 70% have been retained. There is no question that this high rate of retention (especially high when we remember that the Illyrian Movement marks the very inception of the modern literary language) demonstrates something of the long-term impact of the Illyrian reforms on the development of the Cr vocabulary. Since so many of these words remain key words in the literary language (and often despite their absence in influential dictionaries and strictures against their use by influential grammarians), there is no question that the early Illyrian period has had far-reaching consequences for the form which the intellectual vocabulary takes today.

#### 5.4 The Serbian dimension

I have concentrated throughout this book on the Illyrians' impact on the development of Cr specifically. It is now time, however, to broaden the terms of reference somewhat to say something of the way in which the complex inter-relationship of S and Cr impinges on the subject at hand.

The interpretation of this inter-relationship is a matter of controversy particularly with regard to the status of Cr and S as separate literary languages or as variants of a single SCr literary language. In as much as the broad outlines of the inter-relationship are well-known and since the subject matter of this book does not seriously affect the debate about the literary language one way or the other, it is not my intention here to enter into a discursive treatment. Rather I shall limit myself to the examination of several concrete problems within the inter-relationship: –

- 1) the question of mutual influences during the Illyrian period;
- 2) the spread of words introduced by the Illyrians to S usage in the post-Illyrian period;
- 3) the identification of a common Illyrian word-stock in modern S and Cr;
- 4) the identification of words which have remained confined to Cr usage or have crossed over to exclusive S usage.

In 3.1.3 I identified the words taken from S by the Illyrians: –

*iskustvo, krasnorječje, ljubopitnost, obzor, odnošenje, padež, razmjer, savjest, sveučilište, zavedenje, zloupotrebljenje.*

To these may be added the following words which were probably in use in contemporary S: –  
*hudožestvo, ponjače, priroda, proishođenje, trenutak.*

It is likely that some of these words became stabilised in Cr before entering or re-entering S. This is particularly true of those words attested before the Illyrian period only in the work of Obradović or his contemporaries, e.g. *priroda*. One notable word in these lists – *sveučilište* – took root quickly during the Illyrian period in Cr usage while giving way in S usage to the loanword *univerzitet*, a situation which has continued until the present day.

The 1852 edition of Vuk's dictionary does not include any of the new Illyrian words. The first opportunity for Illyrian coinings to appear in a listing of S words is the *Juridisch-politische Terminologie für die slawischen Sprachen Oesterreichs (deutsch-kroatische, serbische und slovenische Ausgabe)* (Vienna, 1853). Primary responsibility for the S list lay with Božidar Petranović. The introduction, written by Demeter, states that, in the event that no native word was available, a word would be sought in another Slavonic language, whose root would be comprehensible to Yugoslavs and which could be adapted according to the spirit of the "jugoslavenski" language. Failing that, he writes, "hvatali smo se novoskovanih riječi uvedenih već u hrvatski poslovni slog, no prije nego što smo ih primili izpitivali smo ih točno, da li su načinjene po duhu našega jezika".<sup>216</sup> Of the words treated in the present work the following are listed as suggested S forms: –

*časopis, dnevnik, dokaz, dvoboj, ispit, iznimka, jezikoslovlje, lakoumstvo, načelo, narječje, orbrtnost, okolnost, parobrod, podmet, predvanje, predgovor, predmet, prednost, predsjednik, prijedlog 'proposition, proposal', preduzeće, proizvod, rodoslovje, sadržaj, samostalnost, tajnik, umjetnost, upliv, vodopad, vodovod, željeznica.*

In addition to these 31 items, *priroda, ponjače* and *sveučilište* mentioned already above are also listed here. As the examples show, the listing goes far beyond the confines of legal and political terminology. Nevertheless, we should not expect all the words in the sample to be listed. A guide to words which were specifically rejected for S usage is provided by those Illyrian words which appear in the Cr listing but not in the S one: –

*dogodovština, dvojbja, gospodarstvo, poduzeće, samostan, sustava.*

Jur.pol.term (1853) marks then the first step on the path of integrating Illyrian words into normal S usage (and, in the wider context, of integrating the two lexical systems). Many of the Illyrian words appearing here for the first time as S listings have been retained in literary S until the present day. Notable among them is *preduzeće*, which in the modern language is confined to S usage.

If the terminological dictionary of 1853 marks the beginning of the "Croatianisation" of literary S, then the acceptance of Illyrian words reaches its apogee in the dictionary of Popović (2nd ed.: 1895).<sup>217</sup> Popović writes in the introduction that for technical expressions he most had in mind those words in use in Serbian philological schools but that he has not ignored Cr terms although "izostavio sam dosta i od reči, koje su skovane u zagrebačkoj školi i uvukle su se u književnost, one, sa većinom svojih druga, moraće izčeznuti iz književnog jezika, kao što uvidavniji hrvatski pisci i nastoje, da u duh srpskog jezika što bolje proniknu".<sup>218</sup> It seems from this that Popović is prepared on principle to accept Cr words into his dictionary but is on his guard against recent creations. This impression is reinforced when we read what he says further of Croatians: –

"Osim tehničkih i drugih reči, koje skoro svaki od njih sa groznom virtuznošću fabrikuje, uvukli su oni u jezik i nebrojene reči iz češkog jezika, ne obziruci se na to, da među svima slovenskim jezicima, od kojih bi nam u potrebi valjalo reči uzajmljivati, na poslednjem mestu baš češki jezik stoji, kao jezik koji nam je ponajdalji".

It is probable that Popović is not referring to the early Illyrian use of Bohemianisms but to the second wave which flooded into Šulek's dictionaries. Nevertheless, we would expect a very cautious use of Cr neologisms and particularly words of Cz origin. Yet the evidence of the dictionary itself presents a quite different picture. Indeed, as I pointed out in 5.3, Popović registers many words omitted from a roughly contemporary Cr dictionary – BI. The following list of 80 words includes almost all the words which survived the Illyrian period in Croatia: – *bakrorez, blagostanje, bolnica, časopis, čitaonica, čovjekoljublje, dnevnik, dokaz, dvoboj, dvorana, glagol, gospodarstvo, hednik, iskustvo, ispit, izdanje, izobraženje* (but not *izobraženost*), *izvanredan, jezikoslovlje, knjigopis, lakouman, ljubopitnost, načelo, nastroj, nezavisnost, obzor, okolnost, olovka, oštrouman, padež, parobrod, parokrug, parovoz, pismohrana, podmet, podneblje, poduzeće, povijest, pravnik, pravopis, predavanje, predmet, prednik, prednost, predsjednik, predstava, preduzeće, pregled, prijedlog* (in both meanings), *priroda, proizvod, pticoslovlje, razmjer, razvitak, rodoslovlje, samostalnost, samostan,*

*spomenik, suglasnik, sustav, sveopći, tajnik, tjednik, točan, trenutak, ukus, umjetnost, upliv, ustav, utisak, uzor, vidokrug, vodopad, vodovod, zanimljiv, zbirka, zemljopis, željeznica, životopis.*

Among the prominent omissions from Popović are several important survivals from the Illyrian period:

*igrokaz, kazalište, preporod, sveučilište*, all of which, with the exception of *preporod*, were already associated exclusively with Cr usage. Even so the list contains such obviously Western words as *tjednik* and *samostan*.

Finally, we turn our attention to the situation in the modern literary language. One of the features which distinguish the two codes of SCr is the existence of a group of words whose use is favoured by, or confined to, one or other of the variants. The range of possible synonymic relations which result has been summarised elsewhere.<sup>220</sup> Because of the inconsistencies of the dictionaries, the refusal of RMH/RMS to identify variant-marking, and because of the very fact that Cr and S do not operate in practice as codes totally closed to influence from each other, it is often very difficult, and occasionally impossible (even for the native speaker), to ascertain whether or not a given word is variant-marked.<sup>221</sup> Furthermore, the situation is complicated by the need to take into consideration language usage in Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>222</sup> Nevertheless, I shall attempt to investigate the variant-markedness of those 85 words which I have identified in 5.3 on the basis of RMH/RMS as still part of modern SCr literary usage.

The first, and in my view most important, fact which emerges is that 84% of the Illyrian words surviving to the present day are used without variant-marking, though it is probable that within that number a few words are more widespread in Cr than S usage. The remaining 16% may be classified as follows: –

(i) words confined to S:

*preduzeće, utisak.*

It is important to remember that both of these words began life in a Cr context and entered S usage only subsequently. Their Cr equivalents *poduzete* and *dojam* replaced the Illyrian coinings in the middle of the 19thC.

(ii) words confined to Cr:

*igrokaz, kazalište, poduzeće, povijest, samostan, sustav, sveučilište, tajnik, tjednik, točan, uzduh.*

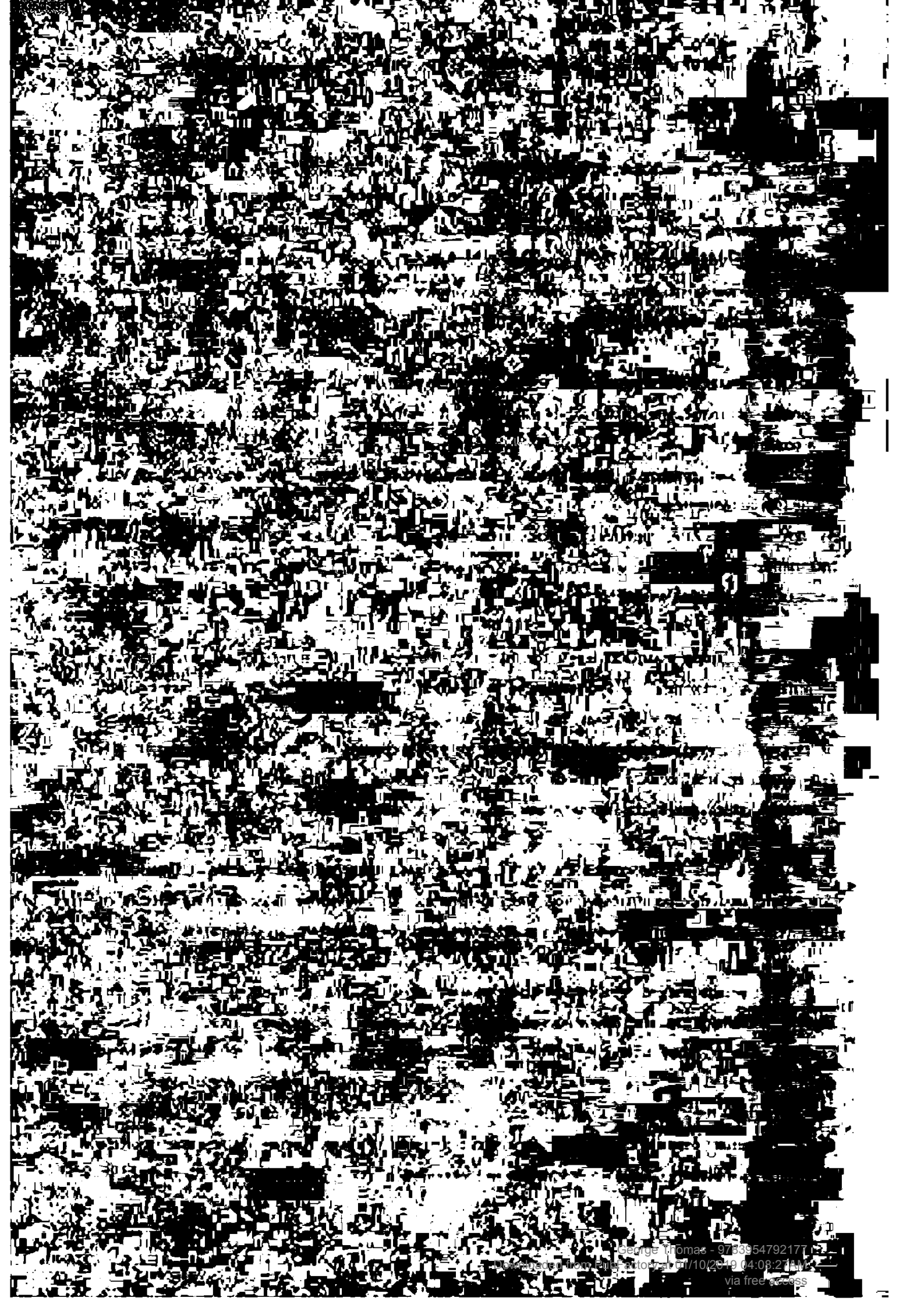
Of these words, we have seen several excluded already in Popović (*igrokaz, kazalište, sveučilište*) or Jur.pol.term (1853) (*poduzeće, samostan, sustav*). *samostan* and *tjednik* have always been words of limited geographical distribution, while *točan* and *uzduh* correspond to *tacan* and *vazduh*, which betray differences in the adaptation of Slavonic models.

Of the two sets of variant-marked words, we should note the following: –

- 1) *preduzeće, utisak, sveučilište* all began life in the other code than that to which they are now confined;
- 2) *poduzeće* and *preduzeće*, which form a variant-marked synonymic pair, are both creations of the Illyrian movement;
- 3) *igrokaz, kazalište, povijest, sustav, sveučilište, tajnik* all have as their S equivalents internationalisms (*drama, teatar* (but also *pozorište*), *istorija, sistem, univerzitet, sekretar*), some of which are also used in Cr.<sup>223</sup>

On the purely statistical level, the fact that 84% of the surviving Illyrian words can be identified as belonging to the common word-stock of both variants is truly remarkable, especially when we consider that the Illyrian Movement is a phenomenon of the development of the Cr literary language alone. That the long-term impact of the Illyrian Movement was felt more or less equally in both codes is attributable in the main to the centripetal tendencies which mark the development of the two codes in the latter half of the 19thC. This lexical convergence is marked by the adoption by S of words well-established in Cr usage and by the abandonment by Cr of certain less-established lexical items in favour of commonly used internationalisms and some S words. The potential differentiating effects of the Illyrian movement on the two literary codes have thereby been substantially diminished.

The variant-marked synonyms which do result from the differential impact of the Illyrian Movement on the lexical development of SCr cannot be ignored however. Though small in number, they constitute some of the most prominent of the words which serve to distinguish S and Cr usage, and as such, they are invested with a symbolic importance which far outweighs their statistical significance. As long as Cr and S display a sensitivity to these particular lexical items, the differential impact of the Illyrian Movement on the vocabularies of literary Cr and S will continue to be keenly felt.





## CHAPTER 6: SOME WIDER PERSPECTIVES

### 6.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to look at the Illyrian impact from four different vantage points in order to provide some wider perspectives for the material discussed in the earlier chapters. I shall look first at the Illyrian period within the context of the overall development of the lexicon of literary Cr. Next I shall review the lexical reforms as part of the Illyrian Movement's overall activity. Then I shall cast a side-ways glance at the parallel developments in the other Slavonic (and to a more limited extent non-Slavonic) literary languages of Central and Eastern Europe. Finally I shall turn to a number of theoretical questions about the study of language planning which the material of this book raises.

### 6.1 The Illyrian reforms in the context of the overall development of the lexicon of literary Croatian

The absence of both a systematic scholarly history of the Cr literary language and a general history of the S and/or Cr lexicon has enormous negative consequences for the study of the Cr literary lexicon. The present book was conceived with the purpose of shedding light on one specific period in the development of literary Cr in the realisation that a start must be made somewhere and in the hope that others would begin to tackle other problems and other periods. I now take this opportunity to assess the significance of the Illyrian period for the overall study of the literary lexicon. I shall pay particular attention to two aspects – periodisation and symbolic significance.

#### 6.1.1 Periodisation

The period prior to the 19thC falls in my view into 3 general phases: –

- 1) Medieval (with its large component of ChS abstract, learned and religious words);
- 2) Renaissance (with large numbers of calques of humanistic key words of Latin and Italian);
- 3) Baroque (with an increasing tendency for independent neologisms, regional differentiation, and words calqued on G). The Baroque phase, in which the approach to lexical reform is unsystematic and amateurish, culminates in the 1806 edition of Stulli's dictionary but can still be perceived, albeit in retreat, in the 19thC, e.g. KD, Starčević, Drašković, Gaj in his early *Notes*, BF and Kurelac.

The Baroque phase is followed in many literary languages by an Enlightenment phase (with a critical approach to neologising, the importance of analogy, recognition of “classical” models). In the Slavonic literary languages one thinks of the role of Dobrovsky and Palkovic for Cz, Bernolák for Slk, Linde for Pol, Vodnik for Sln, and the Russian Academy dictionaries of the late 18thC for R. With the possible exception of Reljković, the Enlightenment phase is crucially absent in the development of the Cr literary lexicon.

As I indicated in 3.1.2.5, Stulli's dictionaries mark not only the culmination of the Baroque but also the first systematic, though still uncritical, use of material from other Slavonic languages. Stulli is the first Cr lexicographer to list words taken from S usage and to register large numbers of words (from various sources) which have subsequently been retained in good measure in the literary language. The promise of this new phase was not fulfilled in the following 2 decades. This era, often described by historians as “the post-Napoleonic depression”, is also a regressive one for the Cr vocabulary. The works of figures like Đurkovečki, Domin and Šporer do not provide the Cr lexicon with large numbers of usable new material.<sup>224</sup> Not until Bričić and Gaj at the end of the 20's do we finally see a return to a more astute use of S forms, calques and Slavonic loans. Indeed this is a prelude to the flurry of new words which were the direct consequence of the early Illyrian Movement.

The Illyrian period (which in the lexical sphere covers the years 1830-1875) may be further subdivided into the following phases: –

- 1) 1830-5: an experimental and preparatory phase, dominated by Gaj;
- 2) 1835-42: a phase of widespread and rapid enrichment of a disciplined and responsible kind, presided over by Gaj, Babukić, and Mažuranić brothers, culminating in the publication of MU;
- 3) 1842-48: a phase of consolidation, theorising and defence against provincial opposition, in which Vraz, Demeter, Trnski and Babukić were most active;
- 4) 1848-60: an organisational phase, which saw the beginnings of Cr vocabulary asserting itself alongside S and Sln, the beginning of a search for new terminology (particularly in the political and legal sphere), a return to wholesale borrowing from Cz (but much less so from R), the first description of Cr word-formation, culminating in the most comprehensive and modern dictionary yet of literary Cr – Šulek (1860). The principal actors in this period are Demeter, Babukić, Trnski, and Šulek.

5) 1860-75: a final disintegrating phase, marked by a more systematic search for new terminology, a less radical approach to purism involving a return to internationalisms, and dominated by Veber Tkalčević, Trnski and Šulek.

The final phase is also marked by the increasing influence of the Vukovian school of philology in Zagreb, especially prevalent in the writings of Duro Daničić, whose work in the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art (and in particular his launching of the large-scale Academy Dictionary) was fundamental for the subsequent development of the Cr lexicon. This entailed criticism of the Illyrian reforms, a Serbification of the Cr lexical idiom, an abandonment of many Illyrian coinings and a major re-orientation of Cr vocabulary in line with a “folkloric” concept of a literary language. With some minor variations, this new approach to the lexicon of literary Cr lasted until World War II and beyond.

#### 6.1.2 Symbolic significance

The end of the Illyrian period marks the culmination of the utilisation of internal lexical resources for literary Cr, which by then possessed already a workable, general vocabulary for most disciplines and was consequently capable of serving as a flexible and expressive medium for wide-ranging intellectual discourse. The word-stock was built up from the long written tradition of Cr and the products of the radical lexical reforms of the Illyrian period itself. This Illyrian component in the modern literary language is one of the major factors differentiating Cr from S usage. The abstract and intellectual vocabulary of 1875 bears little resemblance to that of 1825. For this major re-orientation and restructuring of the Cr vocabulary the Illyrian Movement bears primary responsibility.

The early phase of the Illyrian Movement, upon which this book has largely concentrated, is important not so much for the sheer volume of newly created vocabulary (though I think it is still impressive enough) as for the impetus and example it gave to later active participants in the Illyrian Movement. Even as late as the inter-war period of the 20thC such an influential figure as Miroslav Krleža could note that the Illyrian word-stock represented for Cr writers “neposredne plastičke žive slike, sastavni dio našeg jezičkog urbaniranog načina izražavanja. . .”<sup>225</sup>

Despite the detailed periodisation of the Illyrian Movement's involvement in lexical reform offered in 6.1.1, it must be stressed that there is a recognisable continuity and

homogeneity about the approaches to the lexical problems facing the Illyrian language planners throughout the almost half-century of its existence.

Of all the phases of the Illyrian Movement the years 1830-48 were clearly the most important for setting the tone of subsequent developments of the vocabulary. Indeed I would contend that in many respects (one thinks of the importance of calques, Slavonic loans and Serbianisms, moderate purism, stabilisation of newly introduced words, a preference for well formed new words) this period was perhaps the most crucial of any period in the history of the Cr lexicon.

When we speak therefore of the Illyrians as the creators of the modern Cr literary language, we should have in mind not only the fact that the Illyrians settled the orthographical question and the problem of a dialectal base but also that they set the course for the direction which the new intellectual vocabulary of the literary language would be taking. That this new course was set in such a short period (between 1835 and 1842 it would appear) only serves to enhance our appreciation of the impact of the Illyrians on the vocabulary of their native tongue.

## 6.2 Lexical reform and the Illyrian Movement

Nobody seriously doubts the centrality of the language question in the overall programme of the Illyrians, but to gauge by the space given to discussion of language problems in general works one might conclude that the amount of attention given to language matters by the Movement as a whole and by its individual practioners was pretty minimal. This is principally because most of the writing on the Illyrian Movement has approached the subject from a literary perspective. It is my hope that the detailed material contained in this book will go some way to providing a corrective to this inadequate treatment of lexical and other linguistic reforms.

A remarkable feature of the Illyrian Movement, given the scale of its programme, was its ability to provide practical solutions to smaller problems. In the lexical sphere these included the sources for new words, strategies for introducing and stabilising new items of vocabulary, purism, conformity to word-building laws. The success of the Illyrians in dealing with all these problems stems in the main from such unexciting but invaluable qualities as discipline, moderation, ability to compromise, caution, and, not least, attention to detail. The

Illyrians were generally unreceptive to suggestions involving grandiose schemes. Thus nothing came of Šporer's suggestion in 1839 to set up an Academy of Linguistics to oversee the new vocabulary. The Illyrians preferred to lead by example rather than legislate language usage.

A number of the words appearing in our sample are key words in the Illyrian Movement: *narječje* (which serves to remind people of the "Illyrian" dialect being but part of a universal "Slavonic language"); *preporod* (a word which was to become synonymous with the Illyrian Movement and which by employing the zero suffix is separated from its verbal origins and gains thereby in concretisation of meaning); *čitaonica*, *kazalište* (both concrete manifestations of the Illyrians' need for identifiable national institutions); *svetoljubje* (the Illyrians prided themselves on their cosmopolitanism and their lack of narrow provincialism). Most of the new words of the Illyrian period however do not reflect anything specifically "Illyrian" but rather provide a link with the conceptual world of Europe generally.

Several aspects of the *Weltanschauung* of the Illyrian Movement are reflected in the choice of new words for the literary language: –

- 1) The retention of words from Dalmatian writing but the sparse evidence for the conscious revival of older words suggests a respect for, and a desire to retain a link with, the glories of the Dalmatian past but with the recognition that the Illyrian Movement needs to address a rather larger and culturally more diverse audience.
- 2) The lack of dialectalisms and the search for the "supra-dialectal" fits well with the Illyrian opposition to narrow particularism.
- 3) Their readiness to accept words from the Orthodox Serbs shows a lack of sectarianism in the Illyrian outlook.
- 4) The large number of Slavonic loans is evidence of the pan-Slavism which is such an important constituent of Illyrianism.
- 5) That calques are more popular even than Slavonicisms reminds us of the cosmopolitanism of the Illyrians. They felt the need to translate into their own idiom the elements of the conceptual apparatus of the wider world. This cosmopolitanism is further reflected in the Illyrians' widespread use of internationalisms.
- 6) Finally, the important fact that the new vocabulary implies the intellectualisation of the Cr lexicon reminds us of the essentially modern-thinking, bourgeois and urban nature of Illyrianism. The espousal towards the end of the century of Vukovian ethnographism in the approach to the vocabulary was, in my view, not only regressive in itself but engendered a

conflict in the minds of Croatian intellectuals which in many respects remains unresolved to this day.

When we come to look at the human-beings who espoused Illyrianism, we are struck by their remarkable unity of purpose and communality of outlook, presumably because they were able to suppress some of their individualism in a common cause in which they all believed so fervently. A similarity of social background, a common Romantic frame of mind, the sense of belonging to the generation entirely educated in a Habsburg Empire slowly recovering from the Napoleonic Wars were the fuel which needed only Gaj's charisma to set it alight. It was of enormous importance for the lexical reform of Cr that this surge of energy be channelled into a cooperative effort rather than be dissipated in individualistic word-making.

The very smallness of the group of individuals actively involved in Illyrianism undoubtedly had a positive influence on the unity of approach to the problems of lexical reform. In 4.5.2 and 4.5.3 I attempted to isolate the individual contributions of the Illyrians to the implementation of policy and to the introduction of particular words. For the period 1835-42, Gaj, Babukić and the Mažuranić brothers stand out as by far the most influential in the lexical sphere. In future works on Gaj and Ivan Mažuranić this aspect of their lives needs more recognition. No work of scholarly significance has ever been written on Babukić.<sup>226</sup> The only account of his life was written quickly the year after he died. A modern scholarly biography of this important figure is essential not only for the history of the Cr literary language but also for the study of Illyrianism. As the coiner of new words, the introducer of Vuk's linguistic terminology, the translator of many key Czech texts (including Kollár's seminal work on Slav reciprocity), the only Illyrian interested in linguistics in any formal way, and the only person with sufficient understanding of the word-building constraints of SCr, to say nothing of his organisational activities on *Danica* and in the *žitaonica*, Babukić is probably the single most important figure in the restructuring of the Cr lexicon in the early Illyrian period. If the present book does no more than prompt a re-appraisal of this vital figure it will have served a useful purpose.

With the exception of Babukić, the Illyrians were largely ignorant of linguistics. Their approach to lexical reform was therefore essentially pragmatic in nature. In some respects, this diletantism was a positive virtue, since it precluded endless theoretical debate and allowed the Illyrians to concern themselves with more practical solutions to lexical problems.

The lack of any theoretical foundation for Illyrian lexical reform, even on the part of Babukic, the one person remotely qualified to do so, strikes us very forcibly. The question whether this lack of theoretical foundation and essential dilletantism is reflected in other aspects of the Illyrians' endeavours, or is limited to the lexical domain, I am content to leave for investigators with more comprehensive knowledge of Illyrianism to answer.

### 6.3 Some Slavonic (and non-Slavonic) parallels and contrasts

From the very outset I have attempted to view the facts of the Cr vocabulary within the context of general European linguistic developments. In this section I shall discuss the Illyrian reforms as part of the convergence of the lexico-semantic systems of the European languages and seek to demonstrate general points of comparison and contrast in the linguistic attitudes, theoretical perceptions and practical accomplishments of other European language renewers.

The intellectualisation of Cr was not an isolated event but only one in a series of such events affecting all the European languages which were elevated to the status of a polyvalent literary language. I have argued elsewhere,<sup>227</sup> that this intellectualisation was achieved as a result of a major re-orientation of the lexico-semantic systems of the languages in question towards German. The re-orientation of Cr to G has been a recurrent theme in this book, whether we have been discussing calques, word-formation or Slavonic loans. The Illyrian reforms have in other words an impact on Cr which is paralleled, even if only in a covert way, in the lexico-semantic systems of most of the other European literary languages.

The parallelisms which exist among the Slavonic languages are not only covert but may be clearly seen on the surface of the lexicon. This is largely because the structural similarities of the Slavonic languages lead to similar results when they come to calque foreign models and because of the widespread practice of borrowing from other Slavonic languages. The borrowing of words from one Slavonic language to another was based not only on practical considerations but was also promoted by the idea, first expressed by Kollár, that it would lead to greater mutual comprehensibility of the Slavonic languages and to a rapprochement of their lexical systems. It should be remembered that the early Panславists had in prospect a distant misty vision of a single language for all Slavs. Since the Illyrians clearly shared these views, it is interesting to consider to what extent the Illyrian lexical reforms may have furthered the rapprochement of the Slavonic languages.

If we take the three best established Slavonic written languages of the 19thC – Pol, R and Cz, we find that only 6 of our sample of 155 words are shared by these three languages and Cr of the Illyrian period. However, if we compare Cr with R and Cz only, we find that there are 15 common lexical items. If we also bear in mind the large number of words (about 60) which Cr of the period borrowed from Cz and R combined, it is clear that the Cr lexicon formed a potential bridge between these two languages. The most remarkable correlation with other Slavonic languages is found when we compare Cr with Cz, Slk and Sln (59, 57 and 82 respectively). Furthermore, as many as 49 lexical items are common to all four languages. It is, therefore, indisputable that the Illyrian reforms were a very important factor in furthering the surface rapprochement of the lexical systems of the 4 literary languages of Austro-Hungary. The key role in this rapprochement was the Cz model for the other 3 lexicons,<sup>228</sup> but the Illyrians' willingness to borrow so extensively from Cz and provide in turn a stock of words which could be used by Sln too was of great importance. The high correlation with Sln is chiefly the result of Cr influence on Sln. Indeed, there are grounds for suggesting that the Illyrian Movement had almost as much long-term impact on Sln as it did on Cr. It is ironic that Sln, which was not subjected to the same Vukovian pressures as Cr, has managed to retain several items of the Illyrian vocabulary rather better than Cr. It is particularly noticeable that there are a number of instances where Sln continues to use an Illyrian word where Cr now uses an internationalism exclusively.

To sum up the position of the Illyrian vocabulary with respect to the other Slavonic languages, three important conclusions emerge:

- 1) Cr stands at a point where the spheres of R and Cz lexical influence intersect;
- 2) As a result of the Illyrian reforms, Cr shares a significant part of its intellectual vocabulary with the other three Slavonic literary languages of Austro-Hungary.
- 3) The Illyrian reforms were not a significant factor in furthering a rapprochement of vocabularies of the principal established Slavonic literary languages.

The sociolinguistic situation in each of the European languages undergoing *Sprachanschluss* in the 19thC determined to a considerable extent the attitudes of the people responsible for reforming and restructuring the lexical system. I shall present the comparisons and contrasts with Cr attitudes in point form: –



1) *Purism* plays a roughly comparable role in Cr as in Sln, Cz and Slk in the 19thC; Hung purism is much more radical in its methods and more thoroughgoing in its extent; Br, Ukr and S purism is of an ethnographic variety.

2) *The attitude of Cr to other Slavonic languages* again parallels the openness to enrichment from other languages in Cz, Sln, Slk; Br and Ukr show varying degrees of openness and closure to enrichment from Pol and R; Bulg shows readiness to borrow from R; Hung is isolated in not being able to use other Slavonic languages for enrichment and its links with its Finno-Ugric cousins are still too tenuous for them to act as a reliable source of new vocabulary, to say nothing of the state of development of the languages themselves; Rumanian of course did have models in It, French and Lat on which to build new material.

3) *Dialects* were not considered a fruitful source for new words in Cr; this is also largely true of Cz, Sln, Slk and Rumanian, but contrasts strongly with S, Br, Ukr and Hung attitudes.

4) The Illyrians have not attempted to any great extent to revive words from past Cr literature; this is shared with Sln, Slk, S, Ukr, Br (in the last three cases rejecting a past with an admixture of Church Slavonic elements); Cz alone has sought enrichment from this source, this largely because earlier stages of Cz writing had already done much of the spade-work in the search for lexical material.

5) The Illyrian attitude to creating *neologisms* has been cautious; this contrasts very strongly with Cz and particularly Hung experience; most of the other languages generally share the Illyrian caution in this respect, though some individual Br and Ukr neologisers showed individual flair.

Einar Haugen has stated that a proper prerequisite for language planning is a theoretical knowledge of the language in question.<sup>229</sup> We have seen that the Illyrians were not professional linguists nor indeed had much theoretical interest in language as such. This contrasts strongly with the situation in Cz and Hung but is mirrored in many of the other language revivals. In the lexical domain, the dangers inherent in planning without the necessary theoretical preparation are much less than in other fields. The Illyrians appear to have had an intuitive knowledge of word-building laws and even of the genetic relations between the individual Slavonic languages. The lack of theoretical perceptions is also felt in the absence of proper public debate of the issues involved in lexical reform, such as characterises the situation in several other language revivals, e.g. Cz, Hung, Ukr. At no time did the Illyrians develop a programme for lexical enrichment as outlined by Jungmann;

nor do we see the use of journals organising competitions involving the search for particular native words.

When we turn to the practical accomplishments of the Illyrians in the lexical sphere, then we see the Illyrian reforms in a better light. The process of *Sprachanschluss* in most of the European languages surveyed continued throughout the 19thC and in most cases did not follow the straight and steady course which characterises the Cr development. Nor can any language point to such a speedy and successful transformation. In part, this is attributable to the fact that the Illyrian reforms were in many respects conducted on the coat-tails of the Cz language renewal. Nevertheless there is a strong suggestion that the very lack of theoretical perceptions and programmatic framework left the way clear for the rapid and quickly stabilised transformation of the Cr vocabulary.

#### 6.4 Implications for the study of language planning

Throughout this book I have described the Illyrian impact on the Cr lexicon in terms usually associated with the study of language planning. This has allowed in my view a more rigorous appraisal of the language situation on the eve of the Illyrian reforms and of the tasks which the Illyrians faced. That the Illyrian intervention in the development of literary Cr was both crucial and premeditated can surely not be in doubt. The question remains however whether one can legitimately describe the Illyrian reforms as an example of language planning.

If we ask ourselves whether the Illyrians had worked out in their minds a detailed plan for the reform of the Cr vocabulary then the answer must surely be no. They certainly had implicit guidelines for the selection of new words; they were also clearly aware of the need for stratagems to ensure the codification of the vocabulary; but there is no evidence to suggest that they were following an elaborated model in carrying out the lexical reforms. However, the elaboration of an overall plan is not a prominent feature of language planning if we are to judge by recent literature on the subject.<sup>230</sup>

If we take Haugen's now classic division of language planning into 4 areas of activity: 1) norm selection, 2) codification, 3) implementation of function, 4) elaboration of function, then it is clear that what we have described in Chapters 3 and 4 fits rather neatly into this framework.<sup>231</sup> Furthermore, the Illyrians possessed two characteristics which Fishman has

praised in language planners – the ability to compromise and an awareness of the “tremendously complicated socio-cultural-political sensitivities” which the lexicon evokes.<sup>232</sup> In Fishman's view these qualities provide a necessary antidote to the excessive rationalisation which often besets language planners. Indeed it can be argued that the Illyrians' lack of linguistic training may in the circumstances have contributed in no small way to the success of their reforms. Another contributory factor was communality of interest of the reformers. The Illyrian reforms were essentially effected by consensus rather than the result of a codification imposed from above. The common ideology not only united the Illyrians socially and intellectually but also provided the very impulse for the reforms both of the status and the corpus of Cr. It is arguable therefore on this evidence that the process of language planning is likely to be efficacious not so much because it is well grounded in linguistic theory as when it is prompted by overall aesthetic considerations which stem in turn from an attractive ideology.

This book has essentially dealt with corpus planning. Kloss's distinction between status and corpus planning retains its validity as far as the present work is concerned. Nevertheless, the widely held view of the interdependence of the two types of planning is also supported by the material of this book. It is the very act of status planning – the change of social, cultural, educational and intellectual functions – which forced the Illyrians to embark on a programme of lexical reform. Without the change in status any lexical reforms would have been unmotivated. Conversely, the language could only change its status, increase its prestige and fulfil its new functions by enrichment and standardisation of its lexical corpus.

A major methodological problem with which this book has sought to wrestle is how to infer Illyrian theories and attitudes to lexical reform from the most meagre explicit evidence. The degree of success in doing so I must leave for others to evaluate. I hope in any case to have suggested in this book ways in which the ideas of language planners, unrecoverable in any explicit sense to the modern investigator, can be inferred from a close analysis of their practice and by an extrapolation of their ideas in associated disciplines.

Finally, this book gives concrete proof of the effects of language planning on language change, both in the short and the long term. Only the study of a relatively remote period allows for a proper consideration of the long-term effects of language planning. If this book

encourages others either to study similar relationships between language planning and language change in older stages of languages or to look at the development of literary languages from the perspective of language planning then at least one of its goals will have been achieved.

## Footnotes to Chapter 1

<sup>1</sup>Dobrovský divided the Slavonic “language” into 5 “dialects”: Russian, Czech, Polish, Croatian and Illyrian. In “Croatian” he included kajkavian and Slovene, see Josef Dobrovský, *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur*, Prague, 1792, 22; in the 1818 edition, Croatian and Slovene are listed separately (p. 32). For the inclusion of Bulgarian in Dobrovský’s classification, see further Henry R. Cooper Jr., ‘Kopitar and the Beginning of Bulgarian Studies’, *Papers in Slavic Philology*, 2, 1982, 55-65, especially 57.

<sup>2</sup>Ján Kollár, ‘O literárni vzájemnosti mezi kměny a nářečimi slavskými’, *Hronka*, 1, 1836, sv. 2, 39-53), translated into Croatian by Babukić and published in *Danica* II:114-6, 117-120, 122-3; Auty supposes that Kollár had in mind Štokavian, see Robert Auty, ‘Ján Kollár, 1793-1852’, *Slavonic and East European Review*, 31, 1952, 74-91, 88; for more on the relationship of “Illyrian” and Kollár, see Josef Heidenreich-Dolanský, ‘Kollár a “nářečí illyrské”’ in *Slovanská vzájemnost 1836-1936*, Prague, 1938, 96-125.

<sup>3</sup>Brozović sees the differences more in terms of an opposition of tactics and strategy, see Dalibor Brozović, ‘Hrvatski jezik, njegovo mjesto unutar južnoslavenskih i drugih slavenskih jezika, njegove povijesne mijene kao jezika hrvatske književnosti’ in A. Flaker and K. Pranjić (eds.), *Hrvatska književnost u evropskom kontekstu*, Zagreb, 1978, 60.

<sup>4</sup>Jaška Ravlić, ‘Povijest Matice Hrvatske’ in *Matica Hrvatska 1842-1962* Zagreb, 1963, 12; for overall assessments of the Illyrian Movement, see Đuro Šurmin, *Hrvatski preporod*, Zagreb, 1903; Antun Barac, *Književnost ilirizma*, Zagreb, 1954; Josef Šidak, “Der Illyrismus - Ideen und Probleme” in L. Holotfk (ed.), *L'udovít Štúr und die slawische Wechselseitigkeit*, Bratislava, 1969, 61-89; Ivo Frangeš, ‘Evropski romantizam i hrvatski narodni preporod’ in his *Studije i eseji*, Zagreb, 1967, 7-28; V. Kalenić, ‘Jezični koncept ilirizma’, *Književnost i jezik*, 27, 1980, 1-12.

<sup>5</sup>For the full titles and a discussion of their importance, see 1.6 below.

<sup>6</sup>See Josip Horvat, *Provijest novinstva Hrvatske 1771-1939*, Zagreb, 1962 and *Ljudevit Gaj: njegov život, njegovo doba*, Zagreb, 1975.

<sup>7</sup>Ravlić (1963), 18.

<sup>8</sup>Ravlić (1963), *passim*; for more information on the role of the *Maticas* in general, see Peter Herrity, 'The Role of the Matica and Similar Societies in the Development of the Slavonic Literary Languages', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 51, 1973, 368-386.

<sup>9</sup>Elinor Murray-Despalatović, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement*, New York and London, 1975.

<sup>10</sup>Ravlić (1963), 30, 41; while the ban dates from 1843, the relaxation to allow use of "Illyrian" as a literary term was not made until the following year.

<sup>11</sup>A recent assessment of Prešeren's role in the development of Slovene cultural nationalism is provided by Henry R. Cooper Jr., *France Prešeren*, Boston, 1981, see particularly 40-59.

<sup>12</sup>For the fullest treatment of the inter-relations of the Serbs and the Illyrians, see Ivan Mamuzić, 'Ilirizam i Srbi', *Rad JAZU*, 247, 1933, 1-91.

<sup>13</sup>Mamuzić (1933), 21.

<sup>14</sup>Mamuzić (1933), 49-50.

<sup>15</sup>Mamuzić (1933), 52-67.

<sup>16</sup>Mamuzić (1933), 68-88; Vuk's dislike of the term 'Illyrian' was shared by his mentor Kopitar, see Cooper (1982), 58.

<sup>17</sup>Mamuzić (1933), 79-88.

<sup>18</sup>Kalenić (1980), 3.

<sup>19</sup>Šidak (1969), 78.

<sup>20</sup>Šidak (1969), 69-70; see too Ivan Pederin, 'Hrvatski jezik na početku industrijskog doba', *Zadarska revija*, 20, 1971, 340-351.

<sup>21</sup>Šidak (1969), 71.

<sup>22</sup>The picture is reproduced for example in Zlatko Vince, *Putovima hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, Zagreb, 1978, 213.

<sup>23</sup>In the composite picture itself, the portraits of Gaj and Drašković are centrally placed and dominate the others in sheer size; for two recent biographies of Gaj, see Horvat (1975) and Murray-Despalatović (1975); for Gaj's role in shaping literary Croatian, see Zlatko Vince, 'Ljudevit Gaj i hrvatski književni jezik' *Jezik*, 20, 1972-3, 1-11; Ljudevit Jonke, 'Ljudevit Gaj zum 100. Todestag', *Die Welt der Slaven*, 21, 1977, 63-70; Dalibor Brozović, 'O ulozi Ljudevita Gaja u završnoj etapi hrvatske jezične unifikacije', *Radovi instituta za hrvatsku povijest*, 3, 1975, 35-63.

<sup>24</sup>A handy point of reference for the outstanding figures of the Illyrian Movement is the sequence of short pen-sketches in Barac (1954).

<sup>25</sup>See Antun Barac, *Mažuranić*, Zagreb, 1945.

<sup>26</sup>See Tomo Smičiklas, *Život i djela Vjekoslava Babukića*, Zagreb, 1876.

<sup>27</sup>See Jaška Ravlić (ed.), *Dimitrija Demeter. Mirko Bogović*, Zagreb, 1968.

<sup>28</sup>Kalenić (1980), 3: "For that truly fascinating and unprecedented plan the Illyrians created their own language policy".

<sup>29</sup>See Thomas F. Magner, *A Zagreb Kajkavian Dialect*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1966.

<sup>30</sup>This is clearly the view of Robert Auty, 'Literary Language and Literary Dialect in Medieval and Early Modern Slavonic Literatures' *Slavonic and East European Review*, 56, 1978, 198.

<sup>31</sup>Sidak (1969), 71.

<sup>32</sup>Heinz Kloss, 'Notes concerning a Language-Nation Typology' in Joshua A. Fishman, Charles A. Ferguson, J. Das Gupta (eds.), *Language Problems of Developing Nations*, New York, 1968, 71-77.

<sup>33</sup>Juan Cobarrubias, 'Ethical Issues in Status Planning' in Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (eds.), *Progress in Language Planning*, Berlin/New York/Amsterdam, 1983, 50.

<sup>34</sup>Kloss (1968), 77-8.

<sup>35</sup>Cobarrubias (1983), 44.

<sup>36</sup>Ravlić (1963), 31.

<sup>37</sup>The distinction was first made by Heinz Kloss, *Research Possibilities on Group Bilingualism: A Report*, Quebec, 1969; an assessment of its usefulness may be found in Joan Rubin, 'Evaluating Status Planning: What has the Past Decade Accomplished?' in Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (eds.), *Progress in Language Planning*, Berlin/New York/Amsterdam, 1983, 340-1.

<sup>38</sup>Sidak (1969), 74.

<sup>39</sup>For an excellent summary of the Illyrian language reforms, see Zlatko Vince, 'O nekim pitanjima hrvatskoga književnog jezika u doba ilirizma', *Forum*, 28, 1974, 261-300.

<sup>40</sup>Robert Auty, 'The Linguistic Revival among the Slavs of the Austrian Empire, 1780-1850: the Role of Individuals in the Codification and Acceptance of New Literary Languages', *Modern Language Review*, 53, 1958, 401.

<sup>41</sup>Auty (1978a), 198-9; for a different view, see Brozović (1978) and 'O početku hrvatskog jezičnog standarda' in his *Standardni jezik*, Zagreb, 1970, 127-158, especially 134.



<sup>42</sup>Henrik Becker, *Zwei Sprachanschlüsse*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1948, *passim*; an alternative term was coined by Heinz Kloss to describe a language which has undergone this process – *Ausbausprache*, see Heinz Kloss, *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen von 1800 bis 1950*, Munich, 1952, 17.

<sup>43</sup>Tomo Maretić, 'Ruske i češke riječi u književnom hrvatskom jeziku', *Rad JAZU*, 108, 1892, 68-98.

<sup>44</sup>Anton Breznik, 'Vpliv slovenskih slovarjev na srbskohrvatske', *Časopis za slovenski jezik, književnost in zgodovino*, 8, 1931, 16-67.

<sup>45</sup>Francè Ilešić [= Ilešić], 'Iz istorije naših reči, I. Univerzitet (sveučilište, vseučilišče, univerza); II. kolodvor' *Južnoslovenski filolog*, 12, 1933, 147-186.

<sup>46</sup>Vladoje Dukat, 'Rječnik Mažuranića i Užarevića', *Rad JAZU*, 257, 1937, 83-132.

<sup>47</sup>Vince (1974), 291-296.

<sup>48</sup>Ljudevit Jonke, 'Jezična problematika u vrijeme hrvatskoga preporoda' *Kolo*, 124, 1966, 239: "In their choice of lexical stock they did not limit themselves to Štokavian word-stock alone but took necessary words from the kajkavian and čakavian dialects too, from Cz and R and they coined themselves many neologisms."

<sup>49</sup>Ljudevit Jonke, 'Češki jezični elementi u hrvatskosrpskom književnom jeziku' *Radovi Zavoda za slavensku filologiju*, 5, 1963, 35-46.

<sup>50</sup>Ljudevit Jonke, *Književni jezik u teoriji i praksi*, Zagreb, 1965, 137-150.

<sup>51</sup>George Thomas, 'The Origin and Nature of Purism in the Croatian Variant of Serbo-Croatian', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 20, 1978, 408.

<sup>52</sup>Robert Auty, 'Sources and Methods of Lexical Enrichment in the Slavonic Language-Revivals of the Early Nineteenth Century' in Dean S. Worth (ed.), *The Slavic Word*, Los Angeles, 1972, 41-56.

<sup>53</sup>Auty (1972), 51.

<sup>54</sup>Matthias Rammelmeyer, *Die deutschen Lehnübersetzungen im Serbokroatischen*, Frankfurt am Main, 1975.

<sup>55</sup>Boris O. Unbegaun, 'Le Calque dans les langues slaves' *Révue des Études Slaves* 12, 1932, 19-51.

<sup>56</sup>Istvan Nyomárkay, 'Deutsche Lehnübersetzungen im Kroatischen und im Ungarischen', *Studia slavica academiae scientiarum hungaricae*, 22, 1976, 301-310; 'Igrokaz od Schauspiel?' *Jezik*, 29, 1982-3, 89-91.

<sup>57</sup>Unbegaun (1932), 23-29.

<sup>58</sup>For the importance of key words, see recently Raymond Williams, *Keywords: a Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, London, 1976.

<sup>59</sup>The importance of translation work in language-revivals is stressed by Becker (1948), 62.

<sup>60</sup>This point is convincingly made by Kloss (1952), 28-31.

<sup>61</sup>Dukat (1937), 128-130.

<sup>62</sup>"*pojам* is coined on Cz *pojem*, while *ponjatje* is Russian".

<sup>63</sup>"Bad, it is an obvious Germanism".

<sup>64</sup>V. Deželić (ed.), *Pisma pisana Dru Ljudevitu Gaju i neki njegovi sastavci*, Zagreb, 1909; J. Horvath and J. Ravlić (eds.), *Pisma Ljudevitu Gaju*, Zagreb, 1956.

<sup>65</sup>See for example Eric A. Blackall, *The Emergence of German as a Literary Language 1700-1755*, Cambridge, 1959; Gertha Hüttl-Worth, *Die Bereicherung des russischen*

*Wortschatzes im XVIII. Jahrhundert*, Vienna, 1956; Elizabeth Close, *The Development of Modern Rumanian: Linguistic Theory and Practice in Muntenia 1821-1838*, Oxford, 1974.

<sup>66</sup>See Arnold B. McMillin, *The Vocabulary of the Byelorussian Literary Language in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1973.

<sup>67</sup>Becker (1948).

<sup>68</sup>Becker (1948), 62.

<sup>69</sup>Alois Jedlička, *Josef Jungmann a obrozená terminologie literárně vědná a lingvistická*, Prague, 1948.

<sup>70</sup>Charles A. Ferguson, 'Language Planning and Language Change' in J. Cobarrubias and J.A. Fishman (eds.), *Progress in Language Planning*, Berlin/New York/Amsterdam, 1983, 32.

## Footnotes to Chapter 2

<sup>71</sup>For general accounts of Cr lexicography, see Stjepan Musulin, 'Hrvatska i srpska leksikografija', *Filologija*, 2, 1959, 41-63; Valentin Putanec, 'Leksikografija kod Hrvata, Srba i Crnogoraca' in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 5, 1962, 503ff.; Vince (1978c), 60-72.

<sup>72</sup>Faust Vrančić, *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae linguarum*, Venice, 1595; a reprint edition with an introduction by Lj. Jonke was published as *Rječnik pet najuglednijih evropskih jezika*, Zagreb, 1971; see also Vladoje Dukat, 'Rječnik Fausta Vrančića,' *Rad JAZU*, 231, 1925, 102-136.

<sup>73</sup>Joakim Stulli, *Lexicon Latino-Italico-Illyricum . . .*, 2 vols., Buda, 1801; *Rjecoslozje . . .*, 2 vols., Dubrovnik, 1806; *Vocabulario italiano-ilirico-latino . . .*, 2 vols., Dubrovnik, 1810; literature on Stulli's dictionaries is sparse, but for a perceptive and critical assessment see Pavel Josef Šafárik, *Geschichte der illirischen und kroatischen Literatur*, Prague, 1865, 113-4.

<sup>74</sup>Juraj Habeljić, *Dictionarium Croatico-Latinum. Dictionar ili rechi szlovenske svexega vkup zebrane . . .*, Graz, 1670; see also Vladoje Dukat, 'Prikozi k biografiji Jurja Habeljića', *Grada JAZU*, 7, 1912, 95-100.

<sup>75</sup>Ivan Belostenec, *Gazophylacium seu latino-illyricorum onomatum aerarium . . .* (Zagreb, 1740), 2 vols.; see also Vladoje Dukat, 'Izvori Belostenčeva "Gazophylacium latino-illyricum"', *Rad JAZU*, 235, 1928, 1-25; the reprint edition of Belostenec (published in Zagreb, 1973) contains an excellent article on the 'Leksikografski rad Ivana Belostenca' (II, iii-xliii) by Josip Vončina, which lists further literature.

<sup>76</sup>Jakob Mikalja, *Blago jezika slovinskoga illi slovník u komu izgovaraju se rjecsi slovinske latinski i diacski*, Laureti, 1649.

<sup>77</sup>Ardelio Della Bella, *Dizionario italiano-latino-illirico*, 1st ed.: Venice, 1728; 2nd ed.: Dubrovnik, 1785; see too Vladoje Dukat, 'Dubrovačko izdanje Della Bellina "Dizionario"' *Rad JAZU*, 237, 1929.

<sup>78</sup>Andrija Jambrešić, *Lexicon latinum interpretatione illyrica, germanica et hungarica locuples*, Zagreb, 1942; see also Vladoje Dukat, 'Jambrešićev "Lexicon latinum"', *Rad JAZU*, 162, 1905, 192-234.

<sup>79</sup>The problem of the designation of "D." in Belostenec is unresolved, F. Fancev, 'O postanju iliričko-latinskog dijela Belostenčeva rječnika' *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, 3, 1923, 150-165, believes they were added in the 18thC by Orlović, while László Hadrovics, *Zur Geschichte der einheitlichen kroatischen Schriftsprache*, Budapest/Leipzig, 1942, 36-42, sees them as Belostenec's own work; for further discussion of this problem see Vončina, viii-x in the Zagreb reprint edition (see footnote 75).

<sup>80</sup>Pavel Vitezović, *Lexicon Latino-Illyricum*, Zagreb, 1708; for further information, see Tomo Matić, 'Vitezovićev "Lexicon latino-illyricum"', *Rad JAZU*, 303, 1955, 5-49.

<sup>81</sup>*Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, 23 vols., Zagreb, 1880-1976; the final volume contains a detailed history of the dictionary's compilation; for a recent assessment, see Thomas F. Magner, 'The Yugoslav Academy Dictionary: an Appreciation', *Filologija*, 8, 1978, 201-6.

<sup>82</sup>Giuseppe Voltiggi, *Ricsoslovník illiriskoga, italianskoga i nimacskoga jezika . . .*, Vienna, 1803; see also V. Dukat, 'Volčićev "Ričoslovník"', *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, 9, 1929, 19-31.

<sup>83</sup>For calques in general, see Rammelmeyer (1975); for early calquing, see Mirko Deanović, 'Osservazioni sulle origine dei calchi linguistici', *Archivum Romanicum*, 18, 1935, 129-142 and George Thomas, 'The Calque - an International Trend in the Lexical Development of the Literary Languages of Eighteenth-Century Europe', *Germano-Slavica*, 6, 1975, 21-41, 30-1.

<sup>84</sup>Blaž Tadijanović, *Svasta po malo ili kratko sloxenyne immenah i ricsah u illyrski i nyemacski jezik*, Magdeburg, 1761; Matija Antun Reljković, *Nimacsko-iliricko-nimacski ricsnik*, 2 vols., Vienna, 1796; for a discussion of these and other works of the period, see Vince (1978c), 69-71.

<sup>85</sup>Pederin (1971), 346, 350-1.

<sup>86</sup>A.M. Richter and A.J. Ballmann, *Ilirsko-nemacski i nemacsko-ilirski rukoslovník . . .*, Vienna, 1839-40; the second vol. was prepared by Rudolf Fröhlich (Veselić), see Vince (1978), 247-9; for a discussion of the dictionary, see Vladoje Dukat, 'Richter-Ballmann-Fröhlichov rječnik', *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, 13, 1933, 1-11.

<sup>87</sup>Ivan Mažuranić and Jakub Užarević, *Němačko-ilirski slovar*, Zagreb, 1842; see also Dukat (1937), 83-132.

<sup>88</sup>Josip Drobnić, *Ilirsko-němačko-talianski mali rěčnik*, Vienna, 1846-9.

<sup>89</sup>Rudolf Fröhlich-Veselić, *Handwörterbuch der illirischen und deutschen Sprache*, 2 vols., Vienna, 1853-4.

<sup>90</sup>Bogoslav Šulek, *Deutsch-kroatisches Wörterbuch*, Zagreb, 1854-60.

<sup>91</sup>In modern SCr, *slovo* no longer has this meaning, see RMS V:862.

<sup>92</sup>Marko Kosor, 'Zaboravljeni trojezični rječnici Josipa Jurina', *Rad JAZU*, 303, 1955, 119-210; see too his 'Izvori, pravopis i jezik Jurinovih rječnika', *Rad JAZU*, 315, 1957, 77-231.

<sup>93</sup>There is ample evidence of this phenomenon in all the European literary languages. The subject has not been properly treated for its implications for Cr lexicography, though the synonymy of Stulli's dictionaries has been treated in some detail by Sreten Živković, 'Ruske riječi u Stullijevu rječniku' *Južnoslovenski filolog*, 22, 1957-8, 241-264.

<sup>94</sup>Šafárik (1865), 114.

<sup>95</sup>Živković (1957-8).

<sup>96</sup>Becker (1948), 66.

<sup>97</sup>Mirko Deanović, 'O urbanom karakteru Dubrovačkog leksika', *Forum*, 14, 1967, 397-403; Jukka Hyrkkänen, *Der lexikalische Einfluss des Italienischen auf das Kroatische des 16. Jahrhunderts (Die italienischen Lehnwörter im Sprachgebrauch der dalmatinischen Kroaten im Licht der kroatischen Renaissance-Literatur)*, Helsinki, 1973, 609-615.

<sup>98</sup>Vince (1978c), 100-114.

<sup>99</sup>Vince (1978c), 101.

<sup>100</sup>For discussion and further literature, see Vince (1978c), 102.

<sup>101</sup>Vince (1978c), 106.

<sup>102</sup>Vince (1978c), 106.

<sup>103</sup>As Vince (1978c), 110 points out, the as yet unpublished 1810 dictionary with It given first would naturally have been much more useful.

<sup>104</sup>Vince (1978c), 110-1.

<sup>105</sup>Vince (1978c), 106-110.

<sup>106</sup>Vince (1978c), 116-7.

<sup>107</sup>*Mozin Nova ricsoslovicza ilirisko franceska* (Trieste, 1812); *Nova ricsoslovica iliriska . . .* (Trieste, 1812).

<sup>108</sup>Vince (1978c), 121-7.

<sup>109</sup>*Dissertatia iliti razgovor darovan gospodi poklisarom zakonskim i buduchjem zakonotvorzem kraljevinah nasih . . .*, Karlovac, 1832.

<sup>110</sup>Vince (1978c), 210.

<sup>111</sup>For an example of similar confusion of the two models in Cz, see George Thomas, 'The Role of Calques in the Early Czech Language Revival', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 56, 1978, 497.

<sup>112</sup>*Grammatik der illirischen Sprache . . . für Teusche*, Pest, 1833; later editions are from 1842 and 1850, both published in Zagreb.

<sup>113</sup>Vince (1978c), 151; for a detailed treatment of Brlić, see Robert Auty, 'The linguistic work of Ignjat Alojzije Brlić', *Filologija*, 3, 1962, 5-22); see too Stepan Ivšić, 'Akcentat u gramatici Ignjata Alojzije Brlića', *Rad JAZU*, 194, 1912, 61ff.

<sup>114</sup>Vince (1978c), 152 lists Starčević as one of Brlić's sources, but a closer reading would have told Vince that it was not available to Brlić at the time of writing.

<sup>115</sup>Josef Dobrovský, *Ausführliches Lehrgebäude der Böhmischen Sprache zur gründlichen Erlernung derselben für Deutsche, zur vollkommenem Erkenntniss für Böhmen*, Prague, 1809.

<sup>116</sup>For more information on the collaboration of Vuk and Grimm, see Vera Bojić, *Jacob Grimm und Vuk Karadžić: Ein Vergleich ihrer Sprachauffassungen und ihre Zusammenarbeit auf dem Gebiet der serbischen Grammatik*, Munich, 1977.

<sup>117</sup>For a bibliography of Gaj's publications, see Horvat (1975), 347-350.

<sup>118</sup>*Kratka osnova horvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisafta poleg mudroľubneh narodneh i prigospodarneh temeljov*, Buda, 1830; an attractive and clear reprint of this pamphlet was published in Zagreb in 1983.

<sup>119</sup>Auty (1972), 48-51.

<sup>120</sup>Dukat (1933).

<sup>121</sup>Vince (1978c), 247.



## Footnotes to Chapter 3

<sup>122</sup>The only prominent examples which come to mind are: Gliša Elezović, *Rečnik kosovsko-metohiskog dijalekta*, Belgrade, 1932. Mate Hraste, Petar Šimunović and Reinhold Olesch, *Čakavisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, Vol. 1, Cologne/Vienna, 1979.

<sup>123</sup>Dukat (1937), 104.

<sup>124</sup>Jedlička (1948), 7-13, 37-43.

<sup>125</sup>Thomas (1978a), 491-6.

<sup>126</sup>Ivan Slamnig, 'Hrvatska književnost osamnaestoga stoljeća, njezini stilovi, veze i uloga u stvaranju nacionalnog jedinstva' in: A Flaker and K. Pranjić (eds.), *Hrvatska književnost u evropskom kontekstu*, Zagreb, 1978, 279-287.

<sup>127</sup>Fedor Polikarpov, *Dictionarium trilingue hoc est dictionum Slavonicarum, Grecarum et Latinarum thesaurus*, Moscow, 1704.

<sup>128</sup>For the relationship of Vuk to the Illyrian Movement, see Viktor Novak, *Vuk i Hrvati*, Belgrade, 1967, Mirodrag Živančević, 'Vukovi prijatelji Ilirci' in Viktor Novak (ed.), *Vukov Zbornik*, Belgrade, 1966, 231-258; for editions of Vuk's dictionary, see Vuk S. Karadžić, *Srpski rječnik istolkovan njemačkim i latinskim riječma*, Vienna, 1818 (reprinted under the editorship of Pavle Ivić as Vol 2 of the *Sabrana Dela Vuka Karadžića*, Belgrade, 1965; the second edition appeared as: Vuk S. Karadžić, *Srpski rječnik istumačen njemačkijem i latinskijem riječima*, Vienna, 1852 (reprinted: Belgrade, 1977).

<sup>129</sup>Vuk's *Pismenica* has been reprinted in: *Sabrana Dela Vuka Karadžića*, 12, Belgrade, 1965, 23-121; I am indebted to Peter Herrity for bringing Vuk's use of these words to my attention; to the words treated here should be added the word *matica* which has gained acceptance not only in Cr but in most of the other modern Slavonic literary languages (see 1.1).

<sup>130</sup>Auty (1972), 54.

<sup>131</sup>*Pisma Gaju*, 1:323 (a letter dated 30 June 1839): "In a word, brother, the Ragusans cannot serve for us as an unlimited authority, since they were only writing for their little Dubrovnik, while we have to write for the whole of great Illyria . . ."

<sup>132</sup>Werner Betz, 'Die Lehnbildungen und der abendländische Sprachenausgleich', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 67, 1944, 275-302.

<sup>133</sup>Thomas (1978a), 482.

<sup>134</sup>See my forthcoming paper 'Towards A Typology of Lexical Purism in the Slav Literary Languages'.

<sup>135</sup>D VI:167: "However all the time we still have to read in many books sounds and forms quite foreign to the South Slavonic ear such as . . . and similar Russianisms".

<sup>136</sup>For more information on migratory loans in Slavonic, see my paper 'Problems in the Study of Migratory Loanwords in the Slavonic Languages', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, XXVII, 1985, 307-325.

<sup>137</sup>This convergence is most fully treated in: Robert Auty, 'Community and Divergence in the History of the Slavonic Languages', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 42, 1964, 257-273).

<sup>138</sup>Robert Auty, 'Pannonian Parallels and Divergences: Thoughts on the History of the Croatian and Hungarian Literary Languages', *Filologija*, VIII, 1978, 33-4.

<sup>139</sup>Ilešić (1933), 177-186.

<sup>140</sup>Anton Janež Murko, *Slovensko-nemški in Nemsko-slovenski kakor se slovenshina govori na Shtajerskim, Koroshkim, Krajskim in v sahodnih straneh na Vogerskim*, Graz, 1933; Breznik (1931).

<sup>141</sup>For more information on this period, see Breznik (1931) and F. Kidrič, *Dobrovský in slovenski preporod*, Ljubljana, 1930.

<sup>142</sup>Valentin Vodnik, *Deutsch-Windisch-Lateinisches Wörterbuch*, Ljubljana, 1813.

<sup>143</sup>Kollár mentions the dictionary in a letter to Gaj dated 9 March 1932, see *Pisma Gaju*, I.

<sup>144</sup>A. Janežič, *Popolni ročni slovar slovenskega in nemškega jezika*, 2 vols., Klagenfurt, 1850. The remarks here about the interaction between Slovene and Croatian are condensed from my forthcoming paper 'The Slavization of the Slovene and Croatian Lexicons: Problems in their Interrelationship in the Nineteenth Century'.

<sup>145</sup>For a good general account of Illyrian contacts with the Czechs and Slovaks (despite the misleading title) at this time, see Václav Záček (ed.), *Češi a jihoslované v minulosti: od nejstarších dob do roku 1918*, Prague, 1975, 240-2, 255-277.

<sup>146</sup>Josef Jakub Jungmann, *Slovník česko-německý*, 5 vols., Prague, 1935-9.

<sup>147</sup>See Thomas (1978a), which gives further literature.

<sup>148</sup>For a discussion of this problem, see Thomas (1985), 323-4; the only published work which confronts this clearly crucial question is Gerald Stone, 'Lexical Contacts between closely Related Systems (Slavonic Languages)' in Heinz Schuster-Šewc (ed.), *Slawische Wortstudien*, Bautzen, 1972, 101-6.

<sup>149</sup>See Živković (1957-8).

<sup>150</sup>See Marijan Szykowski, *Polská účast v českém národním obrození*, Vol. I, Prague, 1931, Vol. II, 1935, Vol. III, 1946); Tereza Z. Orłoš, *Zapozyczenia polskie w słowniku Jungmanna*, Wrocław, 1967.

<sup>151</sup>For Illyrian-Polish contacts, see Živančević (1978), 333-7.

<sup>152</sup>Dukat (1937), 104.

<sup>153</sup>Samuel Bogumił Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego* (Warsaw, 1807-14), 4 vols.

<sup>154</sup>Tomo Maretić, *Hrvatski ili srpski savjetnik* (Zagreb, 1924), 44.

<sup>155</sup>For more details on calques, see Thomas (1975).

<sup>156</sup>See particularly Deanović (1935).

<sup>157</sup>Betz (1944), 295. I propose to retain the German terms untranslated because they are the only ones widely used in a systematic fashion. The English terms suggested by Einar Haugen in 'The analysis of linguistic borrowing', *Language*, 26, 1950, 210-231 have not won widespread approval nor do they provide such a neat and workable classification as Betz's terms.

<sup>158</sup>For an excellent account of internationalisms, see V.V. Akulenko, 'Voprosy izučenija leksičeskich internacionalizmov i processov ich obrazovanija' in *Voprosy social'noj lingvistiki*, Leningrad, 1969, 65-89 and his *Voprosy internacionalizacii slovarnogo sostava*, Char'kov, 1972.

<sup>159</sup>Hildegard Striedter-Temps, *Deutsche Lehnwörter im Serbokroatischen*, Berlin, 1953; Eduard Schneeweis, *Die deutschen Lehnwörter im Serbokroatischen in kulturgeschichtlicher Sicht*, Berlin, 1960.

<sup>160</sup>See Thomas (1978a), 494-5.

<sup>161</sup>Nyomárkay (1976), particularly 304.

<sup>162</sup>Rammelmeyer (1975).

<sup>163</sup>Thomas (1975).

<sup>164</sup>See Becker (1948).

## Footnotes to Chapter 4

165 Becker (1948), 66.

166 Paul Wexler, *Purism and Language: A Study in Modern Ukrainian and Belorussian Nationalism (1840-1967)*, Bloomington, 1974, 11-15.

167 This table is meant only as a general guide. In an individual language situation it might require modification where, for instance, purism was directed solely towards one source to the total exclusion of all others. A more detailed treatment of this problem will be the subject of Thomas (forthcoming, a).

168 Thomas (1978a), *passim*.

169 Tomo Maretić, *Hrvatski ili srpski jezični savjetnik za sve koji žele dobro govoriti i pisati književnim jezikom našim*, Zagreb, 1924.

170 Thomas (1978b), *passim*; see too Radoslav Katičić, 'O purizmu', *Jezik*, 21, 1973-4, 84-90; and Zlatko Vince, 'I jezična čistoća i funkcionalnost (Ravnoteža između zahtjeva za jezičnom čistoćom i pravilnošću te raznolikih funkcionalnih potreba književnog jezika)', *Jezik*, 27, 1979-80, 65-79.

171 Josef Jungmann, *Slowesnost*, Prague, 1845, 22-24.

172 Campe, in the introductory remarks.

173 Thomas (1975), 23.

174 Auty (1973), 340; Wexler (1974), *passim*, for hostility to R and Pol in Ukr and Br.

175 Wexler (1974), cf. particularly 114-7.

176 Compare the picture painted for Cz and Hung by Becker (1948), *passim*.

177 "Only one and that the most useful must be retained, if we wish to have in our language strong and precise names for all possible nuances of learned subjects".

178 "Science is as bare as the truth which it serves without any external ornamentation; therefore so must also be the language in which it speaks – simple, truthful, deep and comprehensible; and not rich or illusionary".

179 ". . . knows nothing of synonyms, but gives to each concept a strong, defined meaning, which may not be given to any other especially not a related concept".

180 Becker (1948), 84.

181 Barac (1938), 80.

182 Thomas (1978a), *passim*.

183 Einar Haugen, 'The Implementation of Corpus Planning: Theory and Practice' in Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (eds.), *Progress in Language Planning*, Berlin/New York/Amsterdam, 1983, 272.

184 For a general picture of the role of the Illyrian Movement in the creation of SCr linguistic terminology, see Tomo Maretić, 'Pregled srpskohrvatske gramatičke terminologije XVII, XVIII i XIX vijeka', *Rad JAZU*, 243, 1932, 24-61.

185 It should also not be forgotten that Brlić was a good friend of Vuk and may have taken some of these words direct from the latter's *Pismenica*.

186 Josef Dobrovský, *Die Bildsamkeit der Slawischen Sprache, an der Bildung der Substantive und Adjective in der Böhmischen Sprache dargestellt*, Prague, 1799.

187Eugenija Barić, *Imeničke složenice neprefiksarne i nesufiksarne tvorbe*, Zagreb, 1980, 38. "Seen in that light it now becomes clearer why Cr and S linguists fiercely condemned many nominal compounds".

188Oliver Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape*, London, 1976, *passim*.

189For the importance of the zero suffix in Cr word-formation, see Robert Zett, 'O problematici složenica tipa 'nogomet'', *Jezik*, 16, 1968-9, 103-110 and Rammelmeyer (1975), 52-8.

190As noted by Nyomárkay (1976), 303, this constitutes one of the fundamental differences between Cr and Hung in their calquing of G.

191Josip Matešić, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch des Serbokroatischen*, Wiesbaden, 1965.

192Barac (1938), *passim*.

193Pederin (1971), 347.

194Milorad Živančević, 'Hrvatski narodni preporod i nacionalni književni pokreti u Evropi' in A. Flaker and K. Pranjić (eds.), *Hrvatska književnost u evropskom kontekstu*, Zagreb, 1978, 313-340, 315 points out both the local and archaic character of Mažuranić's language, but it is clear that he is talking about the latter's poetry.

195"A measure of the progress of patriotism", quoted by Živancević (1978), 328.

196Ravlić (1963), 23-4.

197"We have no need of every day coining and thinking up thousands of new words as is the habit elsewhere (i.e. Germany - G.T.), since we have a rich source of words and expressions in our folk songs, tales, fables and proverbs and in our printed books and manuscripts", quoted in Ravlić (1963), 26.

198Murray-Despalatović (1975), 44.

<sup>199</sup>A rare exception is contained in a letter from Šporer to Gaj dated 25 February, 1839 (cf. *Pisma Gaju*, I:204), in which a dislike of compounds such as *pravopis* is expressed, and which suggests (presumably as a safe-guard to Illyrian neologising) the setting up of an “Akademie der Sprachforschung” or “mudroskupnost za razsvicsenje jezika” to regulate language innovation. This eminently sensible (but probably negatively motivated) suggestion seems to have been politely ignored by the Illyrian leadership.



## Footnotes to Chapter 5

<sup>200</sup>For an excellent account of these philological schools, see Vince (1978c), 317ff.

<sup>201</sup>Vince (1978c), 317-370 gives an overall picture of the role of *Zora Dalmatinska*.

<sup>202</sup>“A mixture of Illyrian, Czech, Polish, Russian and Old Church Slavonic as if the real Illyrian or Croatian language in the living dialects of Styria, Carniola and Croatia proper, or Bosnia and Dalmatia does not have the necessary building-material for true science and literature.”

<sup>203</sup>Vince (1978c), 397-401.

<sup>204</sup>Vince (1978c), 377.

<sup>205</sup>Vince (1978c), 385, 389.

<sup>206</sup>Vince (1978c), 386-8.

<sup>207</sup>Vince (1978c), 428-9.

<sup>208</sup>Vince (1978c), 435.

<sup>209</sup>Vince (1978c), 439-443.

<sup>210</sup>Tomo Maretić, *Gramatika i stilistika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga književnog jezika*, Zagreb, 1899.

<sup>211</sup>Maretić (1924), *passim*.

<sup>212</sup>Bogoslav Šulek, *Němacko-hrvatski rěčnik*, Zagreb, 1860, and *Hrvatsko-njemačko-talijanski rječnik znanstvenoga nazivlja*, Zagreb, 1874.

213 Ivan Broz and France Iveković, *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika*, 2 vols., Zagreb, 1901.

214 *Rječnik hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, 2 vols. (A-F,G-K), Zagreb, 1967 (hereafter RMH); *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*, 6 vols., Novi Sad, 1967-76 (hereafter RMS).

215 Vatroslav Jagić, 'Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika', *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 23, 1902, 522-9, 24, 1903, 230-242.

216 "We have taken newly coined words already introduced into Cr usage, but before accepting them we have examined them precisely to see whether they are formed according to the spirit of our language".

217 Đorđe Popović, *Rečnik srpskoga i nemačkoga jezika*, 2 vols., Pančevo, 1895.

218 "I have left out enough of the words which were coined by the Zagreb School and have been introduced into literature; they, with the majority of their comrades, will have to disappear from the literary language, as the more knowledgeable Cr writers strive to enter as much as possible into the spirit of the S language".

219 "Apart from the technical and other words which almost everyone of them manufactures with terrible virtuosity, they have introduced into the language also innumerable words from Cz, without taking into account the fact that of all the Slavonic languages, from which we might have needed to borrow words, Cz is in last place as the language which is furthest from us."

220 See Thomas (1982), 33-4.

221 See Thomas (1978b), 410-3.

222 See Thomas (1982), *passim*.

223 See Thomas (1978b), 417-9.

## Footnotes to Chapter 6

<sup>224</sup>Durkovečki Josip, *Jezichnica horvatsko-slavinska za hasen Slavincev i potrebochu ostaleh stranskoga jezika narodov*, Zagreb, 1826; Domin Imbrih, *Predznanya pravicz szamoszvojneh vugerskeh*, Zagreb, 1818, *Dogodoszpisz pravicz szamoszvojneh vugerzkeh*, Zagreb, 1819; Juraj Matija Šporer, *Almanah ilirski*, Zagreb, 1823. Admittedly, all these works deserve more detailed study than they have recieved so far.

<sup>225</sup>Quoted by Kalenić (1980), 6: "direct, plastic, living pictures, a constituent part of our linguistic, urbanised means of expression . . ."

<sup>226</sup>The bibliography accompanying the article on Babukić in *Leksikon pisaca Jugoslavije*, Belgrade, 1972, Vol. 1 cites only general accounts of Illyrianism and short notices since Smičiklas's informative but now quite outdated biography.

<sup>227</sup>Thomas (1975), *passim*.

<sup>228</sup>For the general background to Cz as a model for the other Slavonic literary languages, see Dalibor Brozović 'Česki standardni jezik kao etalon u doba slavenskih narodnih preporoda' in Alois Jedlička and Vladimír Barnet (eds.), *Slovanské spisovné jazyky v době obrození*, Prague, 1974, 39-48.

<sup>229</sup>Einar Haugen, *Language Conflict and Language Planning: the Case of Modern Norwegian*, Cambridge, Mass., 1966, 3.

<sup>230</sup>There is no mention of it in the most recent general volume available to me Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (eds.), *Progress in Language Planning*, Berlin/New York/Amsterdam, 1983, which contains papers by nearly all the leading theoreticians of language planning.

<sup>231</sup>Einar Haugen, 'Linguistics and Language Planning' in William Bright (ed.), *Sociolinguistics*, The Hague, 1966, 50-71.

<sup>232</sup>Joshua A. Fishman, 'Modelling Rationales in Corpus Planning: Modernity and Tradition in Images of the Good Corpus' in Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (eds.), *Progress in Language Planning*, Berlin/New York/Amsterdam, 1983, 107-117, especially 108.

## GLOSSARY

*bajoslovje/bajoslovan* – ‘mythology/mythological’

D V:88 with the gloss *Mythologie*, VII:83 with the gloss *mythologii* (loc. sing.) (both instances are translations from Cz); the adjectival form is attested in D VII:101, 192; also in Babukić (1854) and Šulek (1860); otherwise not attested in contemporary dictionaries. *bajoslovje*, which replaces an earlier (R?) loan *basnoslovje* (cf. Stulli (180-6) II:10 with the note “lex.r.”), cannot be a native Cr formation since *baje* ‘story’ is so weakly attested in Cr (see ARj I:157), whereas *basna* is much more widespread. Cz *bájesloví/ bájeslovní* is the obvious source not only on phonological and semantic grounds but also because *bajoslovje* occurs in translations from Cz on its first two appearances. The provision of glosses and the absence of the word in contemporary dictionaries confirm it as an Illyrian coining. It should therefore no longer be considered one of the first, not the second wave of Bohemianisms introduced by Šulek as suggested by Jonke. In its subsequent history this word met competition from the loanword *mitologija*. It is interesting to note that Maretić prefers the loanword to the poorly motivated *bajoslovlje*. Although the adjective is attested in Filipović, Drvodelić and RMH, the noun is absent in all dictionaries except RMH where it is denoted as archaic.

Lit: Maretić (1924), 2; Jonke (1965), 158, 163; Šulek (1860):938, (1874):631; Drvodelić:10, 286; Filipović:645; RMH I:122.

*bakrorěž* – ‘copper etching’

D III:188 with the gloss *Kupferstich*, V:56 as *bakrorěžanje*, V:171, VII:139, VIII:86, 176; also Marjanović to Gaj 30.VI.36 (cf. *Pisma Gaju*, I:124); also MU: 239 and BF II:196 (but not BF I); also attested in *Sbirka*, 1 but the reader is referred to *medorez* for the main listing. An Illyrian coining, this word has survived into modern SCr. Like Sln *bakrorez* (not attested in Murko) it is a calque of G *Kupferstich*.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 148; RMH I:125.

*blagostanje* – ‘welfare, prosperity’

D VI:115, VII:22, 134 and Gaj's *Proglas* to D VIII; also Broz to Gaj 24. VI.39 (cf. *Pisma Gaju*, II:74); MU: 442 has *dobrostanje* for *Wohlstand*, but Babukić in his copy (p.441) prefers *blagostanje*. Jonke, 78 considers it a loan from Cz, but the absence of the corresponding

word in Jungmann makes this claim very doubtful. Breznik (1931), 37 suggests Sln as the immediate source of the Cr word. Again the absence of the word in Murko II:807 (he has *dober stan, dobro stanje, blagost*) makes this extremely unlikely. Thus there is no need to assume with Breznik that Šulek has taken this word from Janežič. Indeed there is good reason to suppose that the word entered Sln from Cr usage. The evidence clearly indicates that this is an Illyrian creation but from as late as 1839, which explains its absence from MU and BF II, where a form *blagostojanje*, an obvious Russianism, is recorded. It could be that *blagostanje* is based on the R form, as suggested by Maretić, though it is more likely that it is a direct calque of G *Wohlstand*. The word, despite its absence from ARj, has been retained in modern SCr.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 150; RMH I:205; Maretić (1924), 4.

#### *bolnica* – ‘hospital’

This word is recorded in S ChS from the 13thC but does not appear in a S dictionary before Daničić. In Cr writing it is found only once in a Dalmatian translation of an Italian hagiography of 1708. It also appears in Stulli (1806) I:55 with the note “Lex.r.”. In *Sbirka*, 2 and D IV:141; also BF II: with the note “Dan.” (but not in BF I, where *bolnica* is only given as the f. equivalent of *bolnik* ‘ill person’), MU: 235. The evidence for the word’s existence before the 1830’s does not suggest that it was more than a bookish word confined to monasteries. Stulli, for instance, has clearly taken the word straight from Polikarpov’s dictionary and not from any Cr usage. The absence of the word from 17th and 18thC dictionaries and Vuk (1818) strengthens this impression. The note in BF II and the absence of this meaning in BF I are clear indications that this is a new Illyrian coining, independent of any of the previous instances. Decisive in this regard is its presence in *Sbirka*. The source of the new word is probably R *bol’nica*, which is also the source of Cz *bolnice*, a competitor for some time with the older *nemocnice* (cf. Jungmann I:161). *bolnica* entered Sln at the same time as Cr. Murko I:455 demonstrates his uncertainty about his suggested Sln equivalents by prefacing them with “etwa”. In addition to *bolnišče, bolnišnica*, Murko gives *bolnica* but preceded by the note “russ.”. Läg Reid suggests not only R as the source but Cr as intermediary. Lit.: Arj I:531; Skok I:184; Läg Reid, 63, 90, 122.

#### *brzovoz* – ‘express train’

D III:32 with the gloss *Eilwagen* (in an article on the USA); also BF II:105 with the note “D.”. Rammelmeyer, 155 cites an example in a letter written by Preradović in 1847. The

strict variant-marked synonymy of *voz* (S) and *vlak* (Cr) belongs to a much later period in the history of literary SCr. Forms like *brzovoz* were to give way later to a preference for phrases, e.g. *brzi voz*, *brzi vlak*. *brzovoz* is a calque of G *Eilwagen*. There is no need to accept Breznik's claim that the Croats took the word from Sln usage (where it is not attested until Janežič).

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 155; Ilešić, 172, Breznik (1931), 30.

### *časopis* – 'journal'

First attested in Gaj's *Kratka Osnova*, then in *Sbirka*, 2, D I:294 (with the gloss *Zeitschrift*, and in the *Proglas* to 1835 for *Danica* in the form *časopiši*, then very frequently in D as *časopis*; also Babukić (1836) and (1854), BF II:375 (but not BF I), MU: 448. *časopis* is also recorded in Murko I:819, II:747, which has led Breznik to consider Sln as an intermediary. This suggestion is not accepted by Dukat, Unbegaun and Rammelmeyer. The use of the word by Gaj in 1830 predates Murko, and therefore an independent loan from Cz in Cr and Sln is more likely. The absence of the word in BF I, the presence in *Sbirka* and the provision of a gloss on its first appearance in *Danica* point to an Illyrian word. It is unlikely that it is a calque of G *Zeitschrift*; rather it is a loan from Cz *časopis*, itself a calque of G. Maretić dislikes this word preferring *ročnik* but realises it is too late to try to pry it out of normal usage. It is one of the Illyrian words which has continued in use to the present day. It has also entered S usage (although absent in ARj and Vuk) probably via Jur. pol. term (1853): 656.

Lit.: Breznik (1931), 23; Dukat (1937), 104, 108, 109; Maretić (1924), 6; Rammelmeyer, 161; Jonke (1965), 157; Šulek (1860), 1608; Unbegaun, 33; RMH I:373; RMS VI:846.

### *čitaonica* – 'reading room'

D IV:121-2, thereafter very frequently, cf too Vakanović to Gaj 15.V.38 and Nemčić to Gaj 9.VII.39 (cf. *Pisma Gaju*, I: 276, 141); not attested in contemporary dictionaries until Veselić (1853) and Šulek (1860). *čitalnica* in Sln is first attested in 1847 but is generally considered to be a loan from Cr. The first attestation of *čitaonica* in *Danica* concerns the founding in August, 1838 of the reading room in Zagreb (following those in Karlovac and Varaždin) with Babukić as secretary. This new reading room, the fore-runner of the *Matica Hrvatska*, was to be an important institution in the Illyrian cultural development. The word *čitaonica* signified both the reading room itself and the reading club associated with it (*društvo*

*čitanja*) and is therefore a key word in the Illyrian enrichment of Cr. It survives in both variants of SCr despite its absence from ARj. It is a calque of G *Lesesaal*.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 163.

*članak* – 'magazine article'

In this meaning, D V:88 with a gloss *articulus*, 185, Gaj's *Proglas* to D VI; also Babukić (1854), 201 with the gloss *articulus*, MU:40. The word is recorded from the 16thC and in Vuk and BF with other meanings. *članjak* is recorded (apparently with the more restricted meaning) in KD (cf. Vince (1978), 106). The extension of meaning seen in the example from *Danica* could be internally motivated or a reflection of Cz *článek*, itself modelled on G *Artikel*. The provision of glosses in the examples above strongly suggests that the Illyrians were aware that they were providing the word with a new meaning. This new meaning is found in both variants of the modern literary language.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 163; ARj II:54; Šulek (1860): 93; RMS VI:889; RMH I:407.

*čovjekoljubje* – 'philanthropy'

*Sbirka*, 3 for *philantropia*, *Menschenliebe*, D II:192, V:141 (often), VIII:12 *čovjekoljubiv*, VIII:87 *čovjekoljubac*; also in BF II:213 for *Menschenliebe*. The word is also attested in Stulli (1806) I:94. According to ARj II:76, the word is found already in texts of the 13th to the 15thC. It is found later in Šulek (1860): 902 and has been retained in the literary language. Clearly this is a word calqued in OCS on Gr *philantropia*. Its absence in Cr texts and dictionaries between the 15thC and Stulll suggests that it was either revived or recoinced, this time on the basis of the internationalism or G *Menschenliebe*. Whichever of the interpretations we favour, responsibility for the appearance of the word in modern Cr rests with the Illyrians.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 163.

*dionik* – 'participle'

In D VI:206 *dionici* (participii, Mittelwörter); *dionik* appears in a letter from Babukić to Franikić of 1833 (cited in Smičiklas, 59); not recorded in contemporary dictionaries, although a related form *dionoršč* is given elsewhere. Otherwise recorded only in the meaning 'participant'. *dionik* appears to be an ephemeral calque coined by Babukić on Lat *participium*.

Lit.: ARj II:410.



*dnevnik* – ‘journal, diary’

*Sbirka*, 3 (in both meanings), D III:187, IV:113, 128, V:153, VI:44, 55, 96, VII:151, 208, Gaj's *Proglas* to D VII (all with the meaning ‘daily newspaper’; in this meaning a form *danik* is also attested once – D V:156); D VI:41 (as ‘diary’); also MU:356 *danik*, *dvnevnik* for *Tageblatt*, BF I:83 and BF II:293. Contemporary Sln also has *dnevnik*, cf. Murko I:659, II:141 for *Tagebuch*. *dnevnik* is not a new word but is already registered in the 18thC, cf. Della Bella and Stulli (1806) I:118; *danik* is recorded before the Illyrian period only in Stulli (1806) I:10. *Danik* now has lost these meanings, but *dnevnik* is retained in both variants in both meanings. This is an example of a word which has been taken up by the Illyrians from previous usage and by their efforts has become fully established in the literary language. Lit.: ARj II:474, 267; Dukat (1937); 104; RMH I:512.

*dogodovština* – ‘history’

Gaj's *Proglas* to D I *dogodovština*, *Sbirka*, 3 for *historia*, *Geschichte*, then D I:15, 87, II:69, 191, 194 thereafter very frequently; it is the best attested word for ‘history’ in *Danica*; in Babukić (1836):59 with the gloss *historia*, BF II:147 (but not BF I), MU:188; first recorded in Stulli (1806) I:126. The word has not survived into modern SCr in this meaning, being replaced by *povijest*, from which derivatives might be more easily formed (see 3.4.1). The word is used by Starčević in 1812 and Drašković (1832) and should therefore be looked on as a word revived by the Illyrians. Like Sln *zgodovina* and Cz *dějiny* it calques G *Geschichte*, cf. *geschehen* ‘to happen’. There is nothing about the word's history or form to support Rammelmeyer's contention that *dogodovština* sounds Sln or kajkavian. In modern Cr it has the meaning ‘adventure, experience, event’.

Lit.: ARj II:565; Rammelmeyer, 170; RMH I:526.

*dokaz* – ‘proof’

*Sbirka*, 3, for *proba*, *Beweis*, D IV:24, 81, 167, thereafter frequently; also in Babukić (1836):1, MU:98. BF II:77 (but not BF I). The word is attested in Murko I:184, which prompts Breznik to suggest a loan from Sln *dokaz* (itself taken from Dobrovský) as the source of the Cr word. All evidence points in any case to a word introduced to Cr by the Illyrians and for which they are responsible for stabilising in Cr usage and extending to S usage (it is first attested as a S form in Jur.pol.term (1853):92). The word continues to flourish in both variants of modern literary SCr despite its surprising absence from ARj. The source of *dokaz* in SCr is as a calque of G *Beweis*, Lat *demonstratio*, but whether Sln *dokaz* and Cz

*důkaz* have acted as intermediaries is hard to say. On balance one would have to favour a loan from Cz via, or parallel with, Sln *dokaz*. It is interesting to note in parenthesis that a *hapax legomenon*, *dokazateljstvo*, in D VIII:199 is also clearly modelled on another Slavonic language – in this case of course R *dokazateljstvo*.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 170; Breznik (1931), 22; Dukat (1937), 108-9; Skok II:69.

#### *domostroji* – ‘architect’

In D VI:60 *arkitekt* ili *domostroji*; not apparently attested elsewhere, though Stulli (1806) I:132 has *domostroitelj* in the sense of ‘administrator’. An isolated, timidly suggested and immediately abandoned attempt to find a Cr equivalent for ‘architect, architecture’, concepts for which Cr has consistently employed a loanword.

#### *dvoboj* – ‘duel’

*Sbirka*, 4 for *duellum*, *Zweikampf*, D III:136; also MU: 465, BF II:387 (but not BF I). The word is attested in Stulli (1806) I:158 but with the meaning ‘two-toned’. The word also entered S usage, being cited as a S form for the first time in *Jur.pol.term* (1853):137. It continued to be used in both variants concretely and figuratively. All the evidence points to a new coining by the Illyrians. The ultimate source is a calque of G *Zweikampf*, possibly via Cz *dvouboj*, cf. Jungmann I:516. The absence of the word in Murko I:843, who gives only the R loan *poedinok*, suggests that the word did not enter Cr via Sln. Indeed it seems probable that Cr has influenced Sln in this instance.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 177; Dukat (1937), 104, Maretić (1924), 21.

#### *dvojba* etc. – ‘doubt’

D IV:52 *dvojna* f., 99, 139, V:20, VI:166, VII:62 *dvojba*, V:170 *dvojben*, VIII:143, VI:112 *dvojmba*, VII:90 *zdvojmbena* f.; also Babukić (1836), 12 *dvojmba*, Babukić (1854), 328 *dvojben*, Vuk (1852):113 *dvojba* with the note that it is Western, Stulli I:159 *dvojna*, but not attested in MU and BF. According to ARj II:929, *dvojba* is attested in Kanižlić from 1759 and Tomiković from 1797, while the adj. *dvojan* has this meaning from the 16thC. In *Jur.pol.term* (1853):682 *dvojba* is given as Cr only alongside S *sumnja*. The two words continue to exist side by side in modern SCr. While *dvojba* dominates in *Danica*, it cannot be said that the form is stabilised by Illyrian usage. This impression is strengthened by the word’s absence in contemporary dictionaries. Nor can the introduction of the word be

attributed to the Illyrians. It is calqued (possibly first in popular usage) on Lat *ambiguitas*, *dubium* or G *Zweifel*.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 178; Skok I:463.

*dvorana* – 'hall'

In D IV:19 with the gloss *sala*, thereafter in the same article *sala* and *dvorana* are used interchangeably, D IV:51, VII:92; also MU:301 and BF II:250 (but not BF I). The word is not attested in this form before *Danica*; in this meaning it replaces *dvornica*. All the evidence (a gloss on its first appearance, the absence in BF I contrasted with the presence in BF II and MU) points to an Illyrian coining. It is highly interesting that this is the only example in our material of a native suffix *-nica* being replaced by an element of Turkish (ultimately Persian) origin cf. Persian *hane*). It is probably however that the Illyrians thought of it as a native suffix (the first to suspect its Turkish origin being Maretić). This provides incidentally additional proof of how pervasive the Turkish influence was even in the Croatian lands. *dvorana* has been preserved in both variants of the modern literary language.

Lit.: ARj II:942, 947; Skok I:466, Maretić (1924), 21.

*glagol(j)* – 'verb'

D II:42 *glagolj* = Babukić (1836), III:31 *glagol* (with the gloss *vrēmenorēč*), thereafter quite frequently as *glagolj*, usually with a gloss; also MU:449, BF II:375 with the note "Dan." (but not in BF I). The word is also attested in contemporary Sln, cf. Murko I:819 (with the note "russ. und nach Vodn." and II:68 (with an asterisk, i.e. marked as a new word). *glagol* is used by Vuk in his *Pismenica* and this is the probable source for Babukić, who has clearly introduced the word to Cr. Nevertheless the fact that Babukić consistently uses the form *glagolj*, of which Vuk has stated "Mnogi pisci krivo upotrebljavaju", should be noted especially since it appears to betray a distance between Babukić and his model. It should also be recalled that Cz *hlahol* (also in the last analysis from RChS) was at this time gaining ground over the calque *časoslovo*. The word *glagol* (but not *glagolj*) has been preserved in both variants of the modern literary language.

Lit.: ARj III:146; Maretić (1924), 22, (1932), 20-1, 41.

*gospodarstvo/gospodar/gospodarski* – 'economy, economist, economic'

*gospodarstvo* is attested in other meanings from the 17thC and from 18thC in the sense of 'husbandry, estate management'. In the sense of 'economy' it is first attested in Gaj's

*Osnova* and D VII:134; also D IV:86 *ekonom* iliti *gospodar*, VII:68 *gospodarski*; also *gospodarstvo* in Vakanović to Gaj 15.IV,39 (cf. *Pisma Gaju*, I:277); also BF II:369 (with other meanings in BF I) and MU:440. ARj gives the first attestation of the word with the new meaning in Šulek (1874). In fact, the new meaning is found in Šulek (1860):1583, and in *Jur.pol.term* (1853):647 for Sln and Cr (S has *ekonomia*). All of the references in RMH/RMS to this set of words in this sense predate 1927, from which we should conclude that it had yielded the field to the loanword *ekonomija* etc. I remarked in 2.3.4 that Gaj was responsible for introducing *prigospodaran* in *Kratka Osnova* of 1830. He also uses *gospodarstvo* for *Oekonomie* in one of his lists in his linguistic notes, written in the old orthography and therefore predating 1836. The change of meaning of the word is clearly attributable to the early 1830's and probably to Gaj himself. While it is possible that the new meaning is a natural extension of the old meanings, a foreign impulse is much more likely. *gospodarstvo* could, therefore, be a semantic calque of G *Wirtschaft* probably via Cz *hospodářství*.

Lit.: ARj III:306; RMH II:85; RMS I:539; Skok III:593.

#### *gudba* – 'music'

D I:15 *gudbum* (musikum) (instr. sing.), VII:89, 90, 91 (in a translation from Cz), also *gudbeni* in D VIII:40; also BF II:220 (but not BF I). In *Gaj's Notes* we have the following forms in a list in the unreformed orthography: *godba* (*Musik*), *godeti* (*musizieren*), *godec* (*Musikant*). No accepted or widespread word for 'music' is attested from the pre-Illyrian period. Gaj in his notes has *skladnoglasje* which together with *skladnopjetje* had developed the meaning of 'music'. A loan from Cz *hudba* is the most likely source of *gudba*, a word neither favoured by MU nor retained by the literary language, though it is attested in ARj III:494 in a much more limited meaning of 'violin playing'. The forms with *god-* in *Gaj's Notes* manifest the widespread kajkavian reflex of CS *Q* and need not be taken as indications of Sln influence, especially bearing in mind the absence of this lexeme in Murko. *Gudba* may well have provided the impulse for the later Illyrian word *glazba*, which continues into modern Cr (but not S) usage.

#### *gusle* – 'violin'

D IV:63, VII:195, VIII:23 (in all these examples the context makes clear that the word is used to designate the concert violin and not a folk instrument); also in BF II:345. Previously the word had applied to South Slav folk instruments. This resemanticisation is found too in Sln

*gosli* and Cz *housle*, all in imitation of It *violina*, G *Violine*, *Geige*. In Šulek (1860) the word is used for 'violin, viola, cello' without distinction. The new specific meaning is not recorded in ARj III:508 but is preserved in the modern literary language.

Lit.: RMS I:601; Murko I:759, II:77.

*hladnokrvan* – 'cold-blooded'

D IV:147, VII:200; also Vraz to Gaj II.3.38 (cf. *Pisma Gaju*, I:318); not recorded in contemporary dictionaries, but cf. *mrzlokrven* in Murko I:437, and *mrznokrvni* in BF II:183. According to ARj III:626, it is first attested in Šulek (1860):735, since when it has entered into the usage of both variants of literary SCr. Despite the paucity of examples, there is little doubt that this is an Illyrian coining, based on G *kaltblütig*, which itself is one of a series of international calques. Similar forms exist in most of the Slavonic languages, but there does not seem to be much reason to suppose that the Cr word was modelled on, say, Cz *chladnokrevný* or R *chladnokrovnyj*.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 186.

*hodnik/hodnica* – 'corridor'

*Sbirka*, 5 *hodnica* (*gank*) for *ambitus*, *Gang*, V:151 *hodnica*, VII:54 *hodnik*, VII:119 *hodnica* with the gloss *Gallerie*; also MU:178 and BF II:138 have *hodnica*. According to ARj III:645, *hodnica* is first attested in Šulek (1860), while *hodnik* is first recorded in Daničić (1870?) and Šulek (1874). In modern SCr *hodnik* has replaced *hodnica* in both variants, probably at the end of the 19thC. Both *hodnik* and *hodnica* were coined to replace the G loanwords *gank*, *ganak*, *ganjak*, *ganjk* (attested in Belostenec) and *kong*, *konk* (in S and for which Bošković, 40 prefers *hodnik* as late as 1935). As we can verify above, *hodnica* is the usual word in *Danica* with *hodnik* attested just once. Both words are undoubtedly Illyrian coinings, calqued on G *Gang*.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 186; Striedter-Temps (1958), 128; Herrity (1978).

*hudožestvo* – 'art'

D V:II with the gloss *umjetnost* (in a reference to a Cyrillic journal), VI:167 (in a list of Russianisms which offend the "South Slavonic" ear in an article written by Demeter); also BF II:195. The first example in *Danica* suggests that the word was confined to S (for which a Cr gloss needed to be provided). The second example is an attack on the vocabulary of Serbian writers (ironically one of them is J.S. Popović, the author of the first example).

*hudožestvo* should therefore be regarded as a loan from R *chudožestvo*, which while possibly accepted for a time in S usage was rejected by the Illyrians.

*igrokaz* – ‘play’

*Sbirka*, 5 for *comoedia in genere*, *Theaterstück*, D I:15, III:180, IV:149, 208, VI:12, 104, VII:16 and thereafter frequently; also letter by Kukuljević to Gaj dated 25.1.36 (*Pisma Gaju*, I:117; and Rakovec to Gaj, 1.5.31 (*Pisma Gaju*, I:170); also MU:308, BF II:255 (but not BF I). On this evidence it would be safe to conclude that *igrokaz* is a new coining by the Illyrians. In a recent article, however, Nyomárkay cites an instance of the word on a theatre poster of 1802. In any case *igrokaz* replaced an older form *igrokazanje* (attested in Jambrešić: 982). Despite its absence in ARj, *igrokaz* has been continuously in use in Cr since 1835 despite the opposition of Maretić. There is no question that its popularity in Cr is attributable to the Illyrians. Until recently, the word had been explained as an inverted calque of G *Schauspiel* (cf. Rammelmeyer, 188). Nyomárkay, however, draws attention to the difficulties of such a derivation: *schau-* means ‘look’ not ‘show’, *spiel-* means ‘igrati se, svirati, glumiti, njihati, lepršati’. Surely though it has to be admitted that *igra* means much the same as G *Spiel* and that G *Schau* is the act of looking as well as something looked at. Nyomárkay does not mention the fact that inverted calques are a rare phenomenon or the existence of other analogous forms in Cr, e.g. *igropjev* (a calque of *Singspiel* in Šulek (1874):409 and *pjevokaz* (presumably modelled on *igrokaz*) in Šulek (1869):989. He suggests that an important potential source has been neglected: Hungarian. Nyomárkay proposes as the model of *igrokaz* Hung *játékszín* (attested from the end of the 18thC but now archaic), where *szín* means ‘mjesto, prostorija za kazališnu igru’ and besides that “predstavu”. In his opinion the Cr words *igrokaz* and *kazalište* correspond exactly to Hung *játékszín* and *színház* respectively rather than to any G models. If Nyomárkay is right, then these words are instances of words calqued on Hung models, themselves presumably derived from G *Schauspiel*, *Schauplatz*. Interesting as his thesis is, it opens up several further questions: 1. Is *igrokaz* a deliberate calque of a literary word or did it arise in the kajkavian vernacular as a result of bilingualism? 2. What is the connection between *igrokaz* and the earlier form *igrokazanje*, of which Nyomárkay makes no mention? On the last point, it should be mentioned that the productivity of the zero deverbative suffix is a salient feature of the productive word-building models of the 19thC (see 4.4.3). These Hung, G and Cr parallels still require some more detailed study before we can pronounce on them with greater precision. In any case it is still surely incontrovertible that the Illyrians popularised this word. What remains

in question is whether the word was coined by them, as now seems less likely, or taken by them from the Zagreb vernacular, where the influence of G or Hung or both may have provided the impulse for its formation. It should not be discounted that Jambrešić is registering an early form of such a vernacular coining with his *igrokazanje*.

Lit.: Nyomárkay (1982), 89-91; Rammelmeyer, 188, Dukat (1937), 104, Maretić (1924), 28.

*izkustvo* – ‘knowledge, experience’

D VIII:8 (in reference to the visit of Sreznevskij). Unfortunately, the context does not allow us to establish the word's exact meaning: “S punim se pravom nadati možemo, da će on (Sreznevskij – G.T.) prostranim svojim znanjem i *izkustvom*, kako na katedri (in Char'kov – G.T.) tako u literaturi ne samo Rusom, nu i čelomu Slavjanstvu od koriste biti”. An earlier instance of *izkustvo* with the gloss *experientia* in *Novine*, p.8 (1835) confirms the meaning however. The word is recorded already in Obradović, and the first Cr attestation is in Stulli, where it is marked as “lex.r.” Clearly it is a loan from R *iskustvo* ‘art’ through S usage. It is not otherwise recorded in our materials and should therefore be regarded as an occasional loan. Recorded in *Jur.pol.term* (1853):179 and Šulek (1874), *iskustvo* as it is now spelled is established in both variants of modern SCr as the usual word for ‘experience’.

Lit.: ARj III:908-9; RMH II:269; Läg Reid, 93.

*iznimka* – ‘exception’

D I:250 (=150) with the gloss *Ausnahme* (in an article adapted from Šafárik), IV:60 in an article by Gaj), V:160, VII:12, 76, VIII:31, 203 also V:68 spelled *izněmka* (there also two instances of *iznimak* masc.); also Babukić (1836), 24, BF II:66 (spelled *izněmka*), MU:61 but not BF I. This is the best attested of several words for ‘exception’ in contemporary sources, all of them calqued ultimately on G *Ausnahme*, Lat *exceptio* (*izjam*, *izjatje* in MU, *izključenje* (clearly a loan from R), *iznetak* in BF II, *isjemiki*, *isvsetik*, *isvsetje* in Murko I:119). In *Danica*, however, *iznimka* is used consistently. Although the word has survived into the modern literary language, it is now confined to the Cr variant, having been replaced otherwise by *izuzetak*, a word preferred by Maretić, a much more recent coining, first attested, according to ARj IV:308, in a S source of 1894. The closest available model for *iznimka* is Cz *všjímka* (coined by Václav Pohl, cf. Thomas (1978a), 485-6), *všjem*, *všmínka* (cf. a similar substitution of *-nim* for *-jím* in *zanimljiv(ost)* below).

Lit.: Arj IV:269; Rammelmeyer, 196, 197; RMH II:372, 291; *Jur.pol.term* (1853):49, Maretić (1924), 34.

*izobražen(ost)* – ‘cultured, culture’

*Sbirka*, 6 *izobražen* for *excultus*, *ausgebildet*, D I:68 *izobražen*, VI:60 *kulture* iliti *izobraženost*, VII:42, 46 *izobraženje* (glossed in a footnote as *coltura* (It)), 55 *izobražen*, VIII:150 *izobraženje*; also *izobraženje* with the gloss *Ausbildung* in a letter of 1833 by Babukić to Franikić (cited by Smičiklas, 60); both *izobražen* and *izobraženost* are recorded in Gaj's *Kratka Osnova* of 1830 with the new meaning (see 2.3.4); BF II:52 *izobraženost*, *izobraženje* (but not BF I), MU:54 *izobraženje*, *izobraženost*. *izobražen(ost)* survives into modern SCr. This group of words is modelled on G *ausbilden*, (*Aus*)*bildung*.

Lit.: ARJ IV:276; RMH II:375; Rammelmeyer, 196.

*izraz* – ‘expression’

D II:183 with the gloss *Ausdruck*, IV:100 *izrazan* (adj.), V:2, 144, VI:116; also BF II:53 (but not BF I), MU:55. A new word *izrazoslovje* ‘phraseology’ is also attested twice in *Danica* (for documentation and discussion, see below). A gloss on its first appearance, and the absence of the word in BF I both point to a new Illyrian coining. Clearly the new word became quickly accepted. No doubt MU was registering usage rather than taking the word from BF as claimed by Dukat (1937), 112. Despite its absence from BI (noted by Jonke (1965), 150) it has found its way into both variants of the modern literary language. It is first attested as a S form in *Jur.pol.term* (1853):45. In view of the fact that the word copies the meanings of G *Ausdruck* and Lat *expressio* it should not be seen as a native word but as a calque of the international models. Closest in form to Cr is Cz *výraz* (itself from Pol *wyraz*), which should be preferred to R *vyraženie* as the probable immediate model for *izraz*. The Cr word is in turn the probable source of Sln *izraz*, not attested until Janežič in 1850. Lit.: ARJ IV:289; Rammelmeyer (1975), 197, Jedlička, 52, Orloš, 61.

*izrazoslovje* – ‘phraseology’

D VII:188, IX: both with the gloss *frazologia*. This is a calque of the internationalism *phraseologia* employing the new word *izraz*. The word has not survived into modern SCr.

*iztisak* – ‘copy’

D IV:26, V:160 both with *exemplar* as the gloss; also Topalović to Gaj, 10.1.39 (cf. *Pisma Gaju* I.239); of contemporary dictionaries only in BF II:121. According to ARJ IV:46, it is a neologism first found in 1853. The absence in BF I and presence in BF II as well as the provision of glosses (the first as a German word, the second as a morphologically adapted



loanword) point to an Illyrian coining. The first element *iz-* reflects *ex-* in *Exemplar*, cf. *izpit* where *iz-* reflects *ex-* in *examinatio*, while *-tisak* is independent of any foreign source. This lack of motivation perhaps explains why the word has been replaced in the modern literary language by *primjerak*.

*izpit* – ‘examination’

D VI:84 with the gloss *examen*; also MU:159 and BF II:239 (but not BF I). An earlier meaning is given in Stulli (1806) I:234: in the meaning of modern *ispitanje*. According to ARj III:925 the word was ChS and never popular; it has acquired the present meaning recently. The first element calques Lat *ex-* but the remainder of the word is internally motivated. Undoubtedly the word in its new meaning has been introduced and stabilised by the Illyrians.

*izvanredan* – ‘extraordinary’

D IV: 152 as a gloss of *estraordinario* IV:198, V:190 thereafter frequently; also MU:65 but not BF I or II, Šulek (1860):150. According to ARj IV:322, this word is attested in 18thC writers. The earliest dictionary to register it is Stulli (1801) where a large number of suggested equivalents is given). It is an open question whether the Illyrians introduced this word. It is incontrovertible however that the Illyrians stabilised its usage and promoted it above the several competitors registered still in BF I and II and MU as a calque of Lat ‘*extraordinarius*, G. *ausserordentlich*.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 198; Thomas, 1975.

*jezikoslovje* – ‘philology, linguistics’

*Sbirka*, 7 for *philologia*, *Sprachforschung*, D I:15, 42, II:69, VII:41 and thereafter frequently (also common are *jezikoslovan* ‘philological’ and *jezikoslovac* ‘philologist’; also MU:339, BF II:236, 280 (but not BF I). The adj. form is given in *Jur.pol.term* (1853):459 as both S and Cr. The whole group of words continues in use in modern SCr. Clearly a creation of the Illyrian period, *jezikoslovje* (now *-slovlje*), is calqued on G *Sprachforschung*, *Sprachkunde*. Lit.: ARj IV:646; Rammelmeyer (1975), 201; Dukat (1937), 104.

*jezikospitatelj* – ‘philologist, linguist’

D VII:59, VII:116 (in an explanatory footnote by Babukić to a letter by Stanko Vraz); not given in contemporary dictionaries. This is another attempt to render G *Sprachforscher*, cf.

Cz *jazykozpytec*. For the *-telj* suffix in Cr and its equivalents in other Slavonic languages, see Keipert (1977), *passim*.

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*jezikoznanstvo* – ‘philology, linguistics’

Only D VIII:14; not listed in contemporary dictionaries. This form is revived by Šulek (1874) but is now archaic. Another calque of *Sprachkunde* etc.

Lit.: ARj IV:647; RMH II:458.

*kamenorēzac* – ‘stonemason’

D VI:95, cf. also *kamenorēz* in D VIII:54; also MU:345. This word has been retained in literary SCr despite its absence from ARj. Clearly a calque of G *Steinmesser*, *Steinschneider*.

*kazalište* – ‘theatre’

Gaj's Proglas to D I, D I:15, *Sbirka*, 7 for *Bühne* (*pozorište* is given for *Schaubühne*, *Schauplatz*), IV:42, 43, 192, 139, 14, V:36 (with a gloss *teatar*), 53, 55, and numerous times thereafter; also BF II:296 (but not BF I, which has only *gledalište*, MU:358; in *Gaj's Notes* on separate occasions (all in the old orthography): *gledalište* for *Bühne*; *kazalište* (preceded by *igro-* crossed out) for *Theater*, *igralište* for *Bühne* (replacing *kazište* crossed out) for *Theater*, and *gledalisce* for *Schauplatz*. *kazalište* itself is recorded in earlier dictionaries in the sense of ‘index’ or ‘ostensorium’. Skok II:69-70 claims that the word was used by authors in the 17th and 18thC already in the meaning of ‘theatre’ and that the word in this meaning is not a neologism of recent date but comes also from the original meaning of ‘monstrare’. The forms *skazalište* (Jambrešić: 984) and *prikazalište* (Della Bella (1728):724) are used in the sense of ‘theatre’. *kazalište* continues in this meaning to the present day but is confined to the Cr variant. There can be no doubt that the Illyrians were responsible for popularising this word and stabilising its use and meaning in literary Cr. It is recorded more often in *Danica* than any of its competitors (*teatar*, *gledalište*, *pozorište*), combined, taking over from *gledalište*, the most widespread word in pre-Illyrian sources, and becoming together with the loanword *teatar* the standard word. The presence of *kazalište* in *Sbirka* and its absence in BF I suggest that it should be considered a new or unfamiliar word. The source of the word is more difficult to determine. Skok's contention would suggest that this is an indigenous extension of the original meaning of *kazalište*, but if this is so, surely it must be conceded that the sudden and frequent use of the word in its new meaning does not speak for a gradual, natural semantic development. We should have expected the usually

hospitable 17th and 18thC dictionaries to have registered it if it was at all widespread in this meaning. What is the relationship with the forms cited in the 18thC dictionaries with the prefixes *s-* and *pri-*?

The theory which seems to me to best fit the facts cited above is as follows: –

1. *kazalište* is not a new coining but an extension in meaning of the word attested in earlier Cr texts;
2. this new meaning was already present in two early forms with prefixes;
3. the synonym *gledalište* provides a model for the resemanticisation of *kazalište* and for its structural motivation;
4. Gaj, searching for a Cr equivalent coined *igrokazalište* (in line with the already existing *igrokazanje* and *igrokaz* 'play'), but then, realising the redundancy of the element *igro-*, he struck it out;
5. the semantic motivation is provided by Gr *theatron* (and Lat *theatrum*, G *Schauplatz*, *Schaubühne* etc.);
6. all these factors have come together to create this new word, the introduction of which is on the available evidence the responsibility of Gaj himself.

The replacement of the well-established *gledalište* is curious. Cr did not lack a word for 'theatre', so why create a new one? The reason is possibly to be sought in the modelling of the *-kaz-* element on G *Schau* (cf. *igrokaz* and *Schauspiel*) possibly also Hung *szűn* (cf. Nyomárkay (1982)). This would then be another indication of the restructuring of the Cr vocabulary along G (and possibly also Hung) lines and away from Lat.

Lit.: Skok II:69-70; ARj XI:944, IV:909; Stulli (1806) I:76, II:126; Benson, 364, 208.

#### *krajobraz* – 'map'

In *Sbirka*, 8 for *mappa*, *Landkarte*; D I:242 (=142), 191 with the gloss *mapa*, then III:188 glossed by *Landkarten*, then VI:41, VIII:76 without a gloss; also BF II:197 as *krajobraz* (but not BF I) and MU:241. An analogous form is found in contemporary Sln – *zemljeobraz* preceded by the note "etwa nach Vodnik" in Murko I:464. Both Sln and Cr words are an attempt to render G *Landkarte*, but neither part of the Cr word accurately calques the G compound. Maretić has suggested a loan from Pol, but Dukat correctly points out that this is unlikely in view of the meaning of the word in Pol ('landscape'). Moreover, the absence of the word in Linde speaks against a loan from Pol. It seems more likely therefore that this is an independent neologism, coined, as the evidence above clearly shows, during the

early Illyrian period. The word has not survived into the modern literary language, being replaced by the loanword *karta*.

Lit.: Dukat, 109; Maretić (1924), 44; ARj V:447.

*kiporžzac* – ‘sculptor’

D IV:188, VI:8; not recorded elsewhere. *Gaj's Notes* (old orthography) have *kipodubec* for *Bildhauer* and *kipar* for *Bildner* (a form otherwise unattested until Šulek (1874)). Both *kipar* and *kiporžzac* are retained in the modern literary language. Perhaps *kiporžzac* is a calque of G *Bildhauer*.

Lit.: Jonke (1953), 150; ARj V:1.

*knjigopis* – ‘bibliography’

In D III:116 with the gloss *bibliografija*. According to Arj V:125, this is a modern word, first attested in Sulek (1860). It has since yielded to the internationalism *bibliografija*. It is calqued on Lat *bibliographia*. This is an example of the productivity of the *-pis* element in calquing *-graphia* (see 4.4.3).

*krasnorječje* – ‘rhetoric’

D I:268 (=168) *krasnorječje* (in a translation from Šiškov), V:80 *krasnorječnost*, VII:63 *krasnorječni*; of contemporary dictionaries only BF II:244 *krasnorječje*; in addition to the loanword *retorika*, MU has *govorništvo*, a form also recorded in D VII:140; Babukić suggests *blagorječje*, *blagorječnost* in MU (Babukić), while *Gaj's Notes* have *govorotvornost*. Nor was there a shortage of words in the earlier stages of Cr: *krasnoslovje*, *ljeposlovje*, *ljeposlovka* (all in Stulli). In addition there is considerable confusion caused by using the same or similar words for ‘rhetoric’ and ‘aesthetics’. *krasnorječje* is first attested in Cr in Stulli (1806) I:351 with the note “lex.r.”. It is probably therefore a loan from R *krasnorječie*, taken from S usage, where it is attested already at the end of the 18thC. In modern SCr the usual word for ‘rhetoric’ is *retorika* or *govorništvo*.

Lit.: ARj V:468.

*lahkomislen* – ‘frivolous’

In *Sbirka*, 8 *lahkomišljen*, D IV:164, 91 *lahkomislen*, V:95 *lakomišljen*; also in BF II:202. Like its synonym *lahkouman*, it is ultimately calqued on G *leichtsinnig*. Maretić does not consider it to be from R *legkomyslennyj* or G *leichtsinnig* but from Cz *lehkomyslný*, attested since

Veleslavin. None of our examples helps to identify the immediate source of the word. While *lahkouman*, can be identified as a R loan (see 3.3.3), *lahkonislen* is more probably from Cz, as too Sln *lahkomišljen* (cf. Murko I:473). Both *lahkouman* and *lahkomislen* survive into modern SCr.

Lit.: ARj V:888; Maretić (1892), 73; Rammelmeyer, 214; Šulek (1860): 473, 844; RMS III:159, 161.

#### *lahkouman* – ‘frivolous’

D IV:3 *lahkoumnost*, VI:55, VII:120, VIII:31 *lahkoumno*; not attested in contemporary dictionaries. *lahkouman*, *lahkoumnost*, *lahkoumstvo* are all added in MU (Babukić): 246-7. The word is given in Jur.pol.term (1853):323 as *lahkoumstvo* (Cr) and *lagkoumstvo* (S). *lahkouman/lahkoumnost* exist side by side with *lahkomislen* and *lahkomišljen* in the modern literary language. An Illyrian creation, *lahkouman* seems to have become established in the literary language only later. It appears to be a loan from R *legkoumnyj* (now obsolete), itself a calque of G *leichtsinnig*.

Lit.: ARj V:890; RMS III:161; Rammelmeyer, 214.

#### *ljubopitnost* – ‘curiosity’

D I:44, VI:16; also in MU:269. This word is already recorded in Stulli (1806) I:391 with the note “lex.r.”. The forms *ljubopitan* and *ljubopitstvo* are both recorded in S writers from the end of the 18thC, e.g. Obradović. This word belongs therefore to that group of Russianisms (cf. R *ljubopytnost'*, *ljubopytstvo* etc.) which have entered Cr usage from S.

Lit.: ARj VI:301-2.

#### *lučba* – ‘chemistry’

Gaj's *Osnova*, D VI:152 with the gloss *kemia* in a reference to Kollár; in MU:118 and, according to Jonke (1965), 157, common till the end of the 19thC. Gaj in his notes can find no Cr equivalent for ‘chemistry’. With Jonke, we should regard *lučba* as a loan from Cz *lucba*, where it is a neologism. In the modern literary language it has been replaced by the loanword *kemija* (Cr), *hemija* (S).

#### *medjumetak* – ‘interjection’

Very frequent in D together with *medmetak* (recorded in the writings of Babukić, cf. D II:42); *medjumetak* is given in MU:222 and BF I:226, while BF II:180 and 387 dutifully repeats

*medmetak*. *medjumetak*, a calque of Lat *interjectio*, is recorded in Della Bella (1728):413, Stulli (1801) I:766. Babukić later abandoned *medmetak* in the later editions of his grammar in favour of *medjumetak* and *uzklik*, itself first attested in D and ultimately to replace both *medjumetak* and *medmetak*. It is conceivable that *medmetak* is based on Sln *medmet*, a form recorded in Murko I:430 with the note “nach Vodnik”.

Lit.: ARj VI:579.

#### *mudroljubje* – ‘philosophy’

D II:122 (in a translation from Kollár by Gaj), III:193, IV:32, V:203, 194, VI:34, 54 thereafter frequently; also V:122 *mudroljubni*; also BF II:236 (but not BF I), MU:280; in Stulli (1806) I:391 and I:451 we encounter both *mudroljubje* and *ljubomudrje*; *mudroljubje* and *mudroljubni* are also attested in *Gaj's Notes* and in his *Kratka Osnova*; also in a letter from Babukić to Franikić of 1832 (cited in Smičiklas, 56): *mudroljubie*. Apart from circumlocutions, the form usually given in 17th and 18thC lexicographers is *mudroznanje*, *mudroznanac* etc. (still found in KD) (see Vince (1978), 107) and, together with *mudroslovje*, approved by Babukić (1854), 346-7. *mudroljubje* is attested frequently in *Danica*, in competition with the common internationalism *filosofia* etc. and 2 instances of *mudroznanje*. Clearly the word is not an Illyrian coining, but there is no question that responsibility for its stabilisation as the native word for ‘philosophy’ before its replacement by *mudroslovlje* later in the century rests with the Illyrians and in particular Gaj himself. A parallel form *modroljubje* (modelled on Cr?) is attested in contemporary Sln (cf. Murko I:538). In modern SCr *mudroljubje* and *mudroslovlje* are archaic, having yielded to the internationalism. *mudroljubje* is calqued on Gr *philosophia*, probably via R *ljubomudrie* with inversion of the elements, cf. too Cz *libomudřecví*, *mudrolibost* (Jungmann II:513, 317).

Lit.: ARj VII:130, 127, VI:301; RMS III:454.

#### *načalo* – ‘principle’

D II:192 *načalah* gen. pl. with the gloss *principium*, IV:73 *nacal* nom. sing.; also in BF II:112 as *načale* (?) for Element. Stulli (1806) II:41 and I:458 has both *načalo* and *počelo*. *Gaj's Notes* further suggest *začetek*. The modern form *načelo* is recorded for both S and Cr in *Jur.pol.term* (1853):396. The forms recorded in *Danica* are without sound-substitutions, which suggests that they may have been taken straight from Stulli. Unfamiliarity with the word is also demonstrated by the masc. gender, presumably by back-formation from an oblique case

form. Clearly it is a loan from R *načalo*. There is nothing to indicate that *načelo* owes its presence in both variants of literary SCr to the Illyrian movement.

Lit.: ARj VII:224.

#### *narječje* – 'dialect'

Gaj's *Kratka Osnova, Osnova, Sbirka*, 10, D VI:44, 54, VII:4; also Babukić (1836) and (1854), BF II:220 (but not BF I), MU:262. According to ARj VII:586, *narječje* (modern spelling: *narječje*) 'dialect' is first attested in Šulek (1860), but in fact the word is used already in Vuk's *Pismenica* of 1814. *narječje* 'adverb' is first attested in Stulli. The source of the word in both meanings appears to be R *narečie*. While the Illyrians almost certainly took the word for 'adverb' from R via S usage, the case of the word for 'dialect' is not quite so clear. While it is quite probable that Babukić would have taken a form used by Vuk, we have to note that this is a word used by the Illyrians earlier in the 1830's than Babukić's grammar. If this is a word introduced in Cr usage by Gaj (as seems likely), there is every reason to think that he had before him the model of Cz *narečie* (itself of course a recent loan from R), especially since this was such a key term in the vocabulary of developing Pan Slavism, the leading theoretician of which was Kollár, whom Gaj had only just met when he wrote his *Kratka Osnova*.

Lit.: Skok III:121; Jonke (1965), 138; Murko I:503; Jungmann II:608; Maretić (1932), 49.

#### *narodopis* – 'ethnography'

D VIII:180, VIII:206 as an adj.; also Babukić (1854) as an adj. with the gloss *ethnografijski*; not attested in any contemporary dictionary (first in Šulek (1874) according to ARj VII:592). It is considered archaic in modern literary SCr. The evidence here shows it to be an Illyrian creation, calqued on Lat *ethnographia*, possible after Cz *národopis*

Lit.: RMS III:614.

#### *narodoslovje* – 'ethnology'

D II:69 (by Gaj), VIII:115, 158, 159 (as an adj.); not listed in contemporary dictionaries. Possibly a coining by Gaj, this word is calqued on Lat *ethnologia*.

#### *narodoznanac* – 'ethnologist'

D VIII:75 with the gloss *ethnograf* (sic); not recorded in contemporary dictionaries (first, according to ARj VII:592, in Šulek (1874)). Our evidence shows the word to be a coining

from the early Illyrian period. In view of the existence of competing forms with *-pisac* and *-slovac* (see above), with which there is an overlap of meaning and which calque internationalisms, *narodoznanac* may well be a calque of G *Völkerkundiger*. The related form *narodoznanstvo* is one of the words recorded in Šulek (1874) but not taken up by BI and has become obsolete in modern SCr.

Lit.: RMS III:614.

*nastroj* – ‘instrument’

D I:16 *musikalnoga nastrojja* (*musikal-instrumenta*), III:192 (again as a musical instrument); also BF II:180 with the note “Dan.” (but not BF I). Gaj on two separate occasions in his notes uses *orudjelje* and *orudje* for *Instrument* and *Werkzeug*, but in a list of musical terms he uses *nastroj* for *Instrument*. This list is written in *kajkavian* and is in the old orthography. Clearly *nastroj* is an Illyrian word, possibly introduced by Gaj himself. It is probably a loan from Cz *nástroj* (attested since Veleslavin). The word is not given in ARj but has survived into the modern language, albeit as a rarity.

Lit.: Jungmann II:625; RMS III:632.

*nazivoslovje* – ‘terminology’

D I:290 (=190), III:183 both with the gloss *terminologia* (the latter an article by Šafárik); also Babukic (1854), xi as a gloss of *terminologia*; *Gaj's Notes* (in the new orthography) have *recoslovje* with the gloss *terminologia*. The word *nazivoslovje* presupposes the existence of *naziv* in the sense of ‘(technical) term’, though I have not come across it in *Danica*. While *naziv* has been retained in both variants of SCr, *nazivoslovje* (not attested in ARj) has not survived. It is noticeably absent in Šulek (1874), indeed surprisingly so in view of the fact that Šafárik, whose dictionary served as the model for Šulek's terminological dictionary, uses the Cz equivalent *názvosloví* in its very title. Clearly *nazivoslovje* is an Illyrian creation and as such could be a calque of the internationalism or (more likely) of Cz *názvosloví*, a word created by Jungmann's circle.

*neposredstven* etc. – ‘direct’

D VI:176; *nesredstven* occurs in Sbirka, IO and BF II:317; *neposredan* (first in Stulli) in MU:384. Of these competing forms only *neposredan* has survived. The form in *Danica* appears to be a loan from R *neposredstvennyj*. An analogous situation is found in Sln, where



*neposredstven* is attested in Murko I:239 but has been replaced subsequently by *neposreden*.  
Lit.: ARj VIII:7; Rammelmeyer, 231; Stulli (1806) I:555; Läg Reid, 98.

*nepreglediv* etc. – ‘boundless’

D VI:175 *nepreglediv*, D IV:42, 147 *neprevidan*; of these words none is represented in contemporary dictionaries, but cf. *neprevidljiv* in BF II:321. Not only do these forms demonstrate a lack of stability but none of them has succeeded since in establishing itself. Modern SCr has *nepregledan*, probably based on Cz *neřehledný* and first attested, according to ARj VIII:22, in Šulek (1860). All these forms are ultimately calqued on G *unübersehbar*, which has served as the model for most of the modern European languages (cf. Thomas (1975), 40-41).

*neraznježen* – ‘unspoilt (as of children)’

D II:76 with the gloss *unverzaertelt*; *raznježiti* is not attested in a dictionary before Šulek (1860):1494. *neraznježen* is not sufficiently well documented to allow much more than the suggestion that it is calqued on G *unverzärtelt*.

Lit.: ARj XIII:686; Rammelmeyer, 273.

*nezavisan/nezavisnost* – ‘independent/independence’

*Sbirka*, 10 *nezavisnost*, D V:89, 102, VI:126, VII:22, 98 etc. as both noun and adjective; also BF II:310 *nezavisnost* with the note “Dan.” (but not BF I), MU:377 *nezavisan*. Clearly introduced in *Danica*, it could be calqued on G *Unabhängig(keit)* or more likely is a direct loan from Cz *nezávislý/nezávislost*. It is present in both S and Cr variants of modern SCr. Absent in Vuk, the words are first registered as S forms in Jur.pol.term (1853):523.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 311; ARj VIII:149; RMS III:685.

*nezavisim* – ‘independent’

D I:75; much more common and alone attested in the contemporary dictionaries is *nezavisan* (see 3.3.2.1). *nezavisim*, on the other hand, is an ephemeral word, loaned from Cz *nezávisimý* or more probably R *nezávisimyj*.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 311.

*obrtnost* – ‘industry’

D III:69, Gaj's *Proglas* to D V, V:52, VII:117 all with the gloss *industria*, V:185 (by Gaj), Gaj's *Proglas* to D VI, VI:140, VII:102, 134, 144, Gaj's *Proglas* to D VIII: also in BF II:179 with the note "Dan." (BF I:267 lists the word with the meaning 'Geschwindigkeit'). According to ARj VIII:473, all examples prior to Šulek refer to 'diligence' (but note Jur.pol.term (1853):285). The word has yielded to *industrija*. The change of meaning from BF I to BF II, the provision of glosses on the first two occasions and even thereafter suggest that this is a new meaning introduced by the Illyrians, being particularly popular with Gaj himself. The new meaning of the word is modelled on Lat *industria*.

Lit.: RMS III:887.

#### *obzor* – 'horizon'

D IV:119 na *obzoru* iliti horizontu; also in MU:219 for *Horizont*, 189 for *Gesichtskreis*.

This word could be a loan from Cz or R *obzor*, in the latter case possibly via S, where the word is attested in *Novine Srbske* (1835).

Lit.: ARj VIII:500; Maretić (1824), 74.

#### *odnošenje* – 'relationship'

D V:110 with the glosses *correlatio*, *Verhältnis* (in a translation from G by Babukić), VI:114, 162, VIII:56, 81, 120, 158, 196; also Babukić (1854), 4, MU:99, Jur.pol.term (1853). The word is first recorded in Stulli (1806) I:645 with the note "lex.r.". According to ARj VIII:642, it is also found in *Novine Srbske* for 1835 even though it is registered in Vuk (1852):446 with the meaning 'Wegtragen, asportatio'. The word has not survived into modern SCr, having been replaced by *odnos* and *odnošaj*, the latter first attested together with *odnošenje* in Šulek (1860). With the substitution of *od-* for R *ot-* this is clearly a loan from R *otnošenje* in SCr. This is supported not only by the evidence of Stulli but by the addition of the note "russ." to *odnošenje*, which Babukić suggests for *Verhältnis* in his personal copy of MU (opposite p. 398). Elsewhere, MU (Babukić) :99 adds *odnošaj* for *Beziehung*. Thus while modern *odnošaj* is probably of Cr origin (for more on the word-building models involved, see 4.4.3), the earlier *odnošenje*, on which it is based, has probably entered Cr usage from S.

#### *oduhovljenje* – 'enthusiasm'

D V:192 with the glosses *etragadtatás*, *Begeisterung*, III:16; elsewhere in *Danica* in the related meaning of 'inspiration' appears *nadahnutje*, a word attested already in Della Bella (1728):410. In Šulek (1860) we encounter for the first time *oduhovljenje* for 'inspiration'.

According to ARj VIII:693, *oduhoviti*, the verb from which *oduhovljenje* is formed is attested in only one example from the late 18thC. Furthermore, a form *duhovjenje* is attested in Budinić (1582). *oduhovljenje* is poorly attested and does not correspond exactly to any form in another Slavonic language. It should, therefore, be regarded as a calque of G *Begeisterung*.

*okolnost* – 'circumstance'

D I:35, 83 (by Gaj), *Sbirka*, 11, then very frequently in D II-VIII; *Kratka Osnova, Gaj's Notes* (old orthography); also Vraz to Gaj 25.X.35 (cf. *Pisma Gaju*, I:310); in BF II:309 (but not BF I) and MU:376. It is also registered in contemporary Sln (cf. Murko I:698). Presumably on the basis of the attestation in Murko, Breznik considers *okolnost* a Sln loan in Cr. In view of the earlier attestation in *Kratka Osnova* however there is no need to consider Sln as intermediary. This word probably belongs to the group of words for which Gaj is personally responsible (see 4.5.3). Clearly it is loaned from Cz *okolnost*, itself an abbreviation of the earlier *okolostojčnost*. There is no shortage of earlier Cr attempts to calque G *Umstand/Umständlichkeit* or Lat *circumstantia*: *okolisenje, obstoateljstvo, okolica, okolstanje, okoltina, okolišvo, obstojanje, okolostatak, okolovina* etc. In *Danica* these have been discarded in favour of *okolnost* and *okolovština*. *okolnost* has been retained in Cr and has also entered S usage, being registered first as a S form in Jur.pol.term (1853): 523.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 238; Dukat (1937), 109; Breznik (1931), 76; Jambrešić: 109; Della Bella (1785) I:211; Stulli (1801) I:229, (1806) I:672,4; Belostenec II:311; Mikalja:365; Skok II:127; Jonke (1965), 157, 160; Šulek (1860):1415, (1874):155; Maretić (1924), 77.

*olovka* – 'pencil'

*Sbirka*, 11, D V:139; also Trnski to Gaj 27.VII.39 (cf. *Pisma Gaju*, I:271); also MU:105. It is also attested in *Gaj's Notes* in the new orthography. It is a calque of G *Bleistift*, possibly via Cz *olůvko*. A replacement for the loanword *plajvas*, *olovka* has not only been retained in Cr but has also entered S usage.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 238; Dukat (1937), 104, 117; ARj VIII:896.

*osmerougao* – 'octangle'

D IV:21 with the gloss *octangulum*; the adj. *osmerouglat* is attested in MU:20 and Šulek (1860). It is a calque of Lat *octangulum*, which failed to replace *osmerokut* (already in Stulli (1806) I:707).

Lit.: ARj IX:228.

*oštrouman/oštroumnost* – 'perspicacious, sharp-witted'

*oštrouman*: *Sbirka*: 12, D I:126, IV:82, V:48, 80, 201 thereafter frequently *oštroumnost*: D IV:11, 18, VI:195, 207, VII:71; also MU: 307, and BF II:255 (with the note D.) but not BF I; Babukić adds the word in his copy of MU (p. 184) for *geistreich*. The adjective is also given by Stulli (1806) I:702. According to ARj IX:336-7 a form *oštrouman* is recorded in Vuk, while *oštroumnost* is found in a single 18thC literary source from the end of the 18thC. It is also reported in the manuscript dictionary of Jurin. As with other items appearing in Stulli it is not quite clear whether the Illyrians have coined the word anew or have taken over from earlier usage. The presence in Vuk however suggests strongly that the word was widespread outside Illyrian usage, in which case the Illyrians have been instrumental in its stabilisation. This lexeme is one in a series of international calques of G *scharfsinnig*.

Lit.: Thomas (1975), Kosor (1955), 191.

*padež* – 'case' (gram.)

D II:43 = Babukić (1836) (the names of the individual cases are based on Puchmayer's *Lehrgebäude der russischen Sprache*), IV:60 with the gloss *casus* (by Gaj in a reply to a correspondent from Vukovar who had used *padanje* in his letter); also BF II:113 for *Endung* (*in der Grammatik*) (but not BF I), MU:147. The word is also attested in Stulli (1806) II:3 but not in a grammatical sense. In S usage *padež* is found for grammatical case in Vuk's *Pismenica* and in his *Danica* of 1826. Clearly the source of the word is R *padež*, but the evidence points to the fact that Babukic introduced it into Cr usage from Vuk's example. The word continued to flourish in both variants.

Lit.: ARj IX:556. RMS IV:301, Maretić (1924), 84, (1932), 20-1, 53.

*parobrod* – 'steamship'

*Sbirka*, 12, D III:32 with the gloss *Dampfschiff*, D IV:138, V:194, VI:175, VII:116, VIII:19 and Gaj's *Proglas* to D VII; also in MU:122, BF II:94 with the note 'D.' (but not in BF I); Babukić (1854), 346-7 considers it well-formed. Clearly the word is an Illyrian creation. It is attested for both S and Cr in *Jur.pol.term* (1853):124 and has survived to the present day in both variants, despite being dismissed by Vuk in favour of the loanword *damšić* (see Belić (1936), 164). The source of the word is not Cz *parolod* (as suggested by Dukat) but as a direct calque of G *Dampfschiff*.

Lit.: ARj IX:655; Rammelmeyer, 245; Dukat (1937), III; Maretić (1924), 85.

*parokrug* – ‘atmosphere’

*Sbirka*, 12; also BF II:45, 101 (but not BF I) for *Atmosphäre* and *Dunstkreis*, MU:41 for *Atmosphäre* only (for *Dunstkreis* MU:130 has *atmosfera* and *dahokrug*). According to ARj IX:657, *parokrug* is first attested in Šulek (1860) and is calqued on G *Dunstkreis*. Clearly, though not attested in *Danica*, it belongs to the early Illyrian period and is calqued on *Dunstkreis*, itself based on the Graeco-Latin *atmosfera*. It has been replaced in the literary language by *atmosfera*.

*parovoz* – ‘steam train, locomotive’

*Sbirka*, 12; also MU:122, BF II:94 with the note “D.” (but not BF I). Though not attested in *Danica* itself, this is clearly an Illyrian creation. Like *brzovoz*, it is now obsolete having given way to adj. + noun phrases with *voz* (S) and *vlak* (Cr). It is a calque of G *Dampfwagen*, *Dampfzug*.

Lit.: Dukat (1937), 118; Ilešić, 172.

*pismenica* – ‘archive’

In D IV:3 with the gloss *archiv*; the word reappears in the late 19thC in the meaning of ‘grammar’, a meaning used by Vuk in 1818; BF II:43 has *pisnica* (also used by Drašković, see 2.3.2 above) and *listovnica* (cf. too MU:39). In addition to *pismenica*, D also gives *pismohrana*, *pismošhrana*, *pismohranište*. The motivation for each of these forms is clear enough, but the inevitable result of such varied attempts is confusion and instability. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that none of them, not even the long-established *pismošhrana*, has survived. Noteworthy in this connection is the fact that MU:39 lists *arkiv* before the native-based forms. *pismohrana* is the only word to continue in use into the latter half of the 19thC.

Lit.: ARj IX:880, 883-4, BF I:287, II:43, Stulli (1806) II:24.

*podmet* – ‘subject’ (gram.)

*Sbirka*, 13; also BF II:292 (but not BF I) with the note “Dan.”, MU:354. On two separate occasions *Gaj's Notes* give *podmetje* (both in the old orthography). *podmet* is a grammatical term, also recorded in Popović and Šulek (cf. ARj X:268), *Jur.pol.term* (1853):492 and attested as a modern equivalent of *subjek(a)t*. Clearly an Illyrian creation, it is probably a

loan from Cz *podmět*, itself a calque of Lat *subjectum* via Pol *podmiot* and coined by Marek. The forms used by Gaj (which parallel *predmetje* for 'object') are in all probability his own attempts to calque Lat *subjectum*.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 247; Jungmann III:180; RMS IV:562, Orloš, 60.

*podnebjje* – 'climate'

*Sbirka*, 13 for *Klima*, V:94, VII:72, 114 (all with glosses); also in BF II:188 (but not BF I) with the note "Dan.", MU:231. It is attested in Della Bella, Belostenc in the same meaning and in Stulli (1806) II:50 for *baldacchina, umbella*. *podnebjje* is also found in Sln of the same period. Maretić claims it is a modern loan from Cz *podnebí*, but ARj rightly sees it as an older word. Its appearance in Sln of the Illyrian period and the change of meaning from BF I (for *Firmament*) to BF II with its specific mention of D lend weight to the assumption that *podnebjje* (later *podneblje*) is the revival, possibly under the influence of Cz *podnebí*, of an older word. That the word is not part of normal usage before the Illyrians is indicated by the presence of explanatory glosses in D.

Lit.: ARj X:278, Maretić (1924), 90.

*poduzetje* – 'undertaking'

D IV:120, 122, 178, 191, thereafter frequently; also MU:387. It is not therefore a word coined by Sulek as claimed by ARj X:342 but a creation of the early Illyrian period. It competes in *Danica* with *preduzetje* (see below), which, *pace* Rammelmeyer, seems to have been created a year earlier. In *Jur.pol.term* (1853):536 *poduzeće* is given as Cr only and *preduzeće* as S only, a state of affairs which persists to the present day. Maretić prefers *podhvat* to *poduzeće*. *poduzeće* (as it is now spelled) is a calque of G *Unternehmen*, itself modelled on Eng *enterprise* or Fr *entreprise*.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 248, 260; Jonke (1965), 150; Unbegaun, 25; Maretić (1924), 89.

*poljodžliski/poljodžljsvo/poljodžlac* – 'agricultural, agriculture, agriculturalist'

Gaj's *Osnova*, D VI:140, VII:134 *poljodžljsvo*, 52 *poljodžliski*; not attested in contemporary dictionaries, but, according to ARj X:640-1, it is attested already in Reljković. The group of words is parallel to the older groups of calques with the first element *zemljo-*. It is not clear whether the credit for its presence in the literary language is attributable to the efforts of the Illyrians. It is calqued on G *Feldarbeit* etc.

Lit.: RMS IV:670; Rammelmeyer, 251.

*ponjatje* – 'concept'

D II:72 with the glosses *conceptus*, *Begriff*, III:169 with the gloss *Begriff*, V:144, 167, VI:188 with the gloss *conceptus*, *Begriff* on its first appearance in the article, but thereafter without a gloss, VII:92, 120, VIII:26 (often), VIII:78 (in a letter from Sreznevskij to Hanka in which he criticises it as a Russian loan contrary to the spirit of the "Serbian" language); also Nemčić to Gaj 25.IX.39 in *Pisma Gaju*, I:143; also BF II:66 (but not BF I), MU:79. It is also attested in *Gaj's Notes* (written in the old orthography), though on another sheet he also suggests *vuumetje*, *vjetje*. In *Jur.pol.term* (1853):66 *ponjatie* is given as a S form only, while *pojам* (a new word from Cz *pojem*, which belongs to a later stage of the Illyrian movement, being attested in Babukić (1854), 1) is suggested for both S and Cr. Babukić in his copy of MU (p. 79) notes that *pojам* is from Cz while *ponjatje* is from R. *pojам* has subsequently replaced *ponjatje* (later *ponjace*) as the usual word in both variants of the modern literary language. *ponjatje*, a form which is quite unmotivated in SCr, is clearly a loan from R *ponjatie*. Whether it entered Cr from S usage must remain an open question.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 249; ARj X:472, 769.

*pověst* – 'history'

D II:59 *povestnik* (in a translation of Kollár by Gaj), II:191 *pověst*, also *pověstno* (*historički*), II:188 D IV:99 *pověstnici* (nom. p.), V:46 ditto (by Gaj), V:54 ditto; also Babukić (1854):2 *pověsnica*; not attested in BF, but in MU:188, where with a clear distinction of meaning between 'Geschichte von Staaten' and 'Geschichte = Erzählung', *pověst* is given only with the latter meaning. By the time of Šulek (1874) the new meaning has become well-established in Cr. It remains as a synonym to (*h*)*istorija* but is confined to the Cr variant. There is no shortage of forms semantically calqued on Lat *historia* in Cr dictionaries of the 17th and 18thC. *povijest* itself is first recorded among 9 equivalents (*povjestnik* as the last of three) in Stulli (1801) I:652. Nevertheless, the absence of an established word for 'history' in Cr was keenly felt by the Illyrians. *Gaj's Notes* in one list written in the old orthography gives no Cr equivalent for *historia naturalis* and for *historicum*. On another occasion (also in the old orthography) Gaj gives *dogodopovest*, *dogodospis* for *Historie* and *dogodjajstvo*, *dogodjajstje* for *Geschichte*. Like the other words in this particular list, the Cr forms given are highly speculative. Clearly Gaj is attempting in *dogodopovest* a double calque of G *Geschichte*. The redundancy will lead naturally to *povest* alone. *povest* is not particularly well attested in *Danica* when compared with *istorija* and *dogodovština*. Of these two though the first had the disadvantage of being a loanword, the second that it did not readily yield

to derivation, e.g. only once is an adjective *dogodovršni* attested, while for 'historian' we have *dogodopisac*, *dogodoslovac* etc., whereas *povijest* naturally yields *povijesni*, *povjesnik/povjesničar*. There is every indication that the Illyrians are responsible for introducing this new meaning to the Cr public, but its stabilisation in the literary language belongs to a somewhat later period. Clearly the extension of the word's meaning is based on Lat *historia*, G *Geschichte*.

Lit.: ARj XI:263; Šulek (1860):566, (1874):83; Thomas (1978b), 412, 418, 419.

#### *pravnik* – 'lawyer'

D III:116 *pravnikah (juristah)* (gen.pl.), IV:204 *ibid.*, V:98, 104,51 VI:64 *pravnik*, V:2 *pravničke (juridičke)*; also in MU:225. According to ARj, it is not attested until Jur.pol.term (1853) and Šulek (1860). It has survived into modern SCr (both variants) as 'legal expert' and 'law student'. Besides *pravnik*, *Danica* also has *pravdoznanac* and *zakonoznanac* for 'legal expert'. *pravnik* is absent in BF and is clearly a new word introduced by the Illyrians. A loan from Cz *prawnik* seems the most likely source.

Lit.: ARj XI:412; RMS IV:843.

#### *pravopis* – 'orthography'

Gaj's *Proglas* to D I, v, D I:19, 38, II:107, 194, then frequently in D IV-VIII; often occurs with *krivopis* used jokingly as its antonym; also letter from Marjanović of 30.VI.36, cf. *Pisma Gaju* I, 124; in a letter from Šporer of 25.XI.39 Gaj is advised against such compounds, cf. *Pisma Gaju*, I:204; also Babukić (1836) and (1854), MU:291, BF II:224 (but not BF I). Strictly speaking, *pravopis* is first attested in Stulli (1801) II:226 with 5 other synonyms and in Stulli (1806) II:130 together with *pravopisanje*, *pravopisje*. In his *Kratka Osnova* Gaj uses *pravopisanje* throughout. This also seems the usual form in contemporary Sin (cf. Murko I:554, II:416) and S (cf. Vuk's *Pismenica*). In D I:19 (an article by Topalović) *pravopisanje* and *pravopis* are used side by side, but in Gaj's rejoinder (D I:38) *pravopis* is used both in the title and thereafter consistently in the text itself. It is Gaj himself who is responsible for replacing *pravopisanje* by *pravopis* between 1830 and 1835. It is highly unlikely that Gaj would have consulted Stulli and chosen one of the many synonyms given there (and especially one not taken up by any of Stulli's successors). Much more probable is a new loan from Cz *pravopis*, an independent calque of G *Rechtschreibung* or Lat *orthographia* and attested in Cz from the beginning of the 19thC. Despite the equivocation of MU, which continues to list *pravopis*, *pravopisanje*, *pravopisje*, it is *pravopis* which is predominant in *Danica* and



thereafter. The word has continued in use and has also entered S via Vuk (1852) and Daničić. It is also a key word for providing a model for other words calqued on *-graphia* (for discussion, see 4.4.3).

Lit.: Skok II:663; Šulek (1860):991, 1068; ARj XI:413; Thomas (1978a), 497.

#### *predgovor* – 'preface'

D III:145 then frequently in addition to *predislovje*; also in MU:418 and BF II:349 and BF I:301 (but the uncharacteristic ikavian spelling in BF I suggests that it is taken directly from a previous dictionary). Gaj in his notes (written in the old orthography) suggests *predslovje* for *Vorwort* and *predgovor* for *Vorrede*. According to ARj, this has never been a popular word, but rather the creation of literateurs on the model of Lat *praefatio* and more recently G *Vorrede*, *Vorwort*. It is attested in almost all the Cr dictionaries (but not in Vuk). It is difficult to tell from the evidence whether *predgovor* enjoyed widespread usage outside dictionaries before the Illyrians. The evidence of Gaj's manuscripts shows how keen is his desire that the Cr lexicon correspond exactly as possible to G. The contemporary adoption of *predgovor* in Sln also suggests that on balance Cr *predgovor* should be viewed as a word consciously revived by the Illyrians.

Lit.: ARj XI:476; Murko I:767; Rammelmeyer, 258.

#### *predslovje* – 'preface'

D III:118, IV:61, 115, VII:69, 73; also Broz to Gaj, 24.VI.39 (cf. *Pisma Gaju*, II:75); also Babukić (1836), v; the contemporary dictionaries have *predgovor* (see above); in *Gaj's Notes* we twice find *predslovje*, a form attested as *predslovje* or *pridslovje* in Della Bella (1785) II:222 and Jurin: 169. *predislovje* is first attested in Stulli (1806) II:132 with the note "lex.r." The presence of *-i* between *d* and *s* is conclusive proof that this is newly coined word. Clearly it is a loan from R *predislovie*, which has failed to oust *predgovor*. There was no need for Cr to have *predgovor* and *predislovje*, as the evidence of Gaj's notes seems to suggest, simply on the basis that G had both *Vorwort* and *Vorrede*.

#### *predlog I* – 'preposition'

D II:42 = Babukić (1836) with the glosses *praepositio*, *Vorwort*; also Babukić (1854), 6, MU:420. It is attested in Stulli (1801) II:355 as one of 4 synonyms for 'preposition', but in Stulli (1806) II:132 only with the meaning of *predlog II* (*pridstavak* alone is given for 'preposition', cf. II:148). This suggests that the presence of *predlog* in Stulli is no proof of

his active role in promoting the use of the word in Cr. In contemporary Sln the word is attested in Murko I:770, II:421, who took it from Vodnik. The introduction of this grammatical term in Cr is clearly the work of Babukić, who has almost certainly taken it from Vuk's *Pismenica*, where it is a loan from R, itself a calque of Lat *praepositio*. The word continues in use in both modern variants of the literary language. It is interesting to note in passing that Babukic appears to have no compunction about using *predlog* in both senses.

Lit.: ARj XI:923; Maretić (1932), 20-1, 23.

#### *predlog* II – 'proposition'

D IV:147, VI:148; not attested in this meaning in contemporary dictionaries, though Babukić suggests *predlog* for *Entwurf* in his copy of MU (p. 149). It is listed as a Cr and S word for G *Vorschlag* in Jur.pol.term (1853):616. As *pr(ij)edlog* it survives into modern SCr. Since the word is listed in Stulli (1806) II:132 as a Russianism, it seems likely that R *predlog* is the immediate source of this word rather than a calque of Lat *propositio*. This is probably a word that the Illyrians took from Stulli.

Lit.: ARj XI:923.

#### *predmet* – 'object'

Gaj's *Osnova*, *Sbirka*, 14 with the spelling *predmet*, D I:88 then very frequently in D IV-VIII; also Topalović to Gaj, 12.XI.36 (cf. *Pisma Gaju*, I:238); also Babukić (1836) and (1854), MU:354, BF II:142 with the note "Dan." (but not BF I). *Gaj's Notes* demonstrate experimentation with several other possibilities (*predstavek*, *predvržek*, *predmetje*). The first two of these forms are based on forms current in Cz at the turn of the century, while *predmetje* (like *podmetje* above) appears to be an attempt by Gaj to calque Lat *objectum*. All the available evidence suggests that *predmet* was first introduced in *Danica*, though it should be recorded that Murko I:361 tentatively suggests the word for contemporary Sln, citing Vodnik as his authority. A loan from Cz *předmět*, recorded since the end of the 18thC and probably loaned from Pol *przedmiot* or R *predmet*, is the most probable source for the Cr (and Sln) word. *predmet* is now common in both S and Cr, being first registered as a S word in Jur.pol.term (1853):231.

Lit.: ARj XI:483; Thomas (1978a), 497; Lägheid, 46, 78, 116; Maretić (1924), 103; Orloš, 55.

*prednašanje* – 'lecture'

D VI:50 (in an article translated from *Kvčry* by Babukić); not attested in contemporary dictionaries, although Babukić suggests it in his personal copy of MU (p. 420). Also attested once in this meaning in *Danica* and in MU and BF II is *predavanje*, the form which has survived to the present day. *prednašanje* could well be a word used only by Babukić. It is calqued on G *Vortrag*, possibly under the influence of Cz *přednáška*.

*prednik* – 'predecessor'

D III:194 with the gloss *praedecessor*, not recorded in contemporary dictionaries. According to ARj XI:485, the earliest attestation is in Petranović of Zadar in 1862. In the modern literary language it is considered archaic for *prethodnik*, *predšasnik*. There is no reason to suppose that *prednik* has been influenced by Cz *předník*, which has a quite different meaning, rather it is a direct calque of G *Vorgänger*, *Vorläufer*.

Lit.: RMS IV:908.

*prednost* – 'preference, precedence, advantage'

*Sbirka*, I4, D I:267 with the gloss *Vorzug*, then in D II, IV, V, VII; also in Babukić (1854), 443; BF II:349, 350 for *Vorrang* and *Vorzug*, but not in MU. The word is attested in Murko I:770, II:421. We should therefore view this as a contemporary loan in both Cr and Sln from Cz *přednost*, itself a calque (*Lehnübertragung*) of G *Vorteil*, *Vorzug*, *Vorrang*. *prednost* is in use in both variants of SCr, being registered as a S word for the first time in Jur.polterm (1853): 615, 621.

Lit.: ARj XI:485; Rammelmeyer, 258; Maretić (1924), 103.

*predsjednik* – 'president'

D IV:178, V:152, VI:157, VII:21, 24, 116, 160 (the last example in a parallel text corresponding to It *presidente*); also MU:419. It is also recorded in contemporary Sln (cf. Murko I:423). As we saw in 2.3.3, this word is first recorded in Cr in the glossary appended to Brlić's grammar of 1833. It therefore predates a little the true Illyrian period. It replaced a R loan, *predsedatelj* (attested in Stulli and BF II:349). The word is recorded for S and Cr in Jur.polterm (1853):395 and survives in both variants to the present day. It is calqued, independently of R *predsedatelj* or Cz *předseda*, on G *Vorsitzender* or Lat *praesidens*.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 259; ARj XI:438.

*predstava* – ‘presentation’

*Sbirka*, 14; also in BF II:350 with the note “D.” (but not in BF I). It is probably a loan from Cz *představa*. This word was to develop the important meaning of ‘idea’ in both variants of SCr. There is no evidence that the word was used in that sense in the early Illyrian period (this sense probably dates from Šulek). *predstava* has not become established during the early Illyrian period, where *predstavljenje* predominates (see below and 3.3.3).

Lit.: ARj XI:500; Rammelmeyer, 259; Šulek (1860):1520.

*predstavljenje* – ‘presentation’

D V:131, 167, VI:94 (always in the sense of theatrical presentation); also MU:442. The word is recorded in Stulli (1806) II:132 as a Russianism for Lat *propositio* and It *preposizione* and II:148 as *pridstavljanje* for It *esibizione*, *preposizione*, *dimonstrazione*. The Illyrian usage could be a continuation of Stulli or more probably a new loan from Cz *představení* or R *predstavlenie*.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 259; ARj XI:500.

*preduzetje* – ‘undertaking’

D III:19, IV:42, VI:54, VII:30, 74, 174, VIII:20; not recorded in contemporary dictionaries. *preduzetje* is recorded a year earlier than *poduzetje* in *Danica* but thereafter less frequently. In Jur.pol.term (1853):536 it is listed as an exclusively S form in spite of its early attestation in Cr. It cannot be based on *poduzetje* as suggested by Rammelmeyer. It appears to be based on two models – R *predpriятие* and G *Unternehmen*. This is a rare instance of an Illyrian coining which has been retained in S but not in Cr (cf. also *utisak*).

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 248, 260; ARj X:342-3; Unbegaun, 25.

*pregled* – ‘survey’

D III:34, V:101, VI:42, 76, V:71; also Babukić (1836) and (1854), MU: 371, BF II:306 (but not BF I). The word is also attested in contemporary Sln (cf. Murko II:682). The earliest attestation in ARj XI:515 is Vuk's *Danica* for 1827. Strangely, however, the word is not registered in Vuk's dictionaries, which have only *pregledanje*. This word appears to have entered Sln, S and Cr usage at about the same time. The probable source is Cz *přehled*, itself calqued on G *Überblick*, *Übersicht*.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 261.

*preporodjenje* – ‘rebirth, renaissance’

D V:146, 186, Proglas to D VI, VI:110, 131, 193, 198, 202, VII:86, 87,152, 215; the newer form *preporod* (first used by Gaj) is encountered only once in D VII:57, see also MU:436. *preporodjenje*, found in Della Bella, Belostenec, Jambrešić, Habelić and Stulli, is clearly calqued on Lat *regeneratio, renascentia, G Wiedergeburt*. In the subsequent lexical development of Cr *preporod* replaced *preporodjenje*.

*pričastje* – ‘participle’

D II:42 with the glosses *Mittelwort, participium* (Babukić's grammar); also MU:261 and BF II:218 but not BF I. This word is first attested in Stulli (1806) II:140 with the note “Lex.r.” This is a word favoured by Babukić, whose 1854 grammar gives greater prominence to *dionoršč*. It did not take root. Clearly of R. origin, the word was either taken by Babukić from Stulli or more likely from Russian direct.

*priroda* – ‘nature’

*Sbirka*, 14, D IV:9 (as an adjective), 38, IV:47, 52 as *prirodopis* (glossed as *historia naturalis*); also BF II:225 *prirod* (with the note “Dan.”), *priroda*; the word is not attested in BF I or MU, which, like Gaj's *Notes*, employ *narav*. According to Lāgreid 104, 120, *priroda* is first attested in a Sln text from 1832 as a replacement of the loanword *natura*, cf. too Murko II:514. The note in BF II and its presence in *Sbirka* suggests an Illyrian coining, but in fact ARj XII:121 records its use not only in Stulli (1806) II:185 but also Obradović's fables published in 1788. However the word is absent from Vuk's dictionaries. The evidence presented here is open to several interpretations: 1) it has entered Cr from S usage, where it is loaned from R; Sln has borrowed the word from Cr; 2) the source of the word is R via S but the popularisation of the word in Cr and Sln is due to the presence of a Cz model; 3) the word has entered Sln and Cr at the same time from Cz *příroda* as a new loan independent of the older loans from R. Of these 3 interpretations the second seems to me the most satisfactory. The need to find a word for ‘nature’ was a pressing one (Cz itself had fulfilled this need by adapting R *priroda*), especially since the only available Cr word *narav* was so overworked that *naravoslovje* is recorded in Illyrian usage with the meanings ‘ethics’ and ‘physics’. *priroda* remains in use in both variants of modern SCr. The story of its introduction demonstrates the complexity of the inter-relationships between the various Slavonic literary codes of the early 19thC.

*prislov* – ‘adverb’

D II:42 glossed as *Adverbium*, Nebenwort (in an article by Babukić); also MU:21 and Sulek (1860):44. The form *prislovje* is attested in Stulli and Starčević with the meaning ‘proverb’ (see 2.3.1). *prislov* is clearly a newly created word attributable to Babukić. It was probably intended as a replacement for the functionally overloaded *narecje* (‘dialect’ and ‘adverb’). Despite the inexplicable strangeness of its termination and gender, the word appears to be a loan from Cz *príslovo*, *príslovce* itself coined by Václav Rosa and presumably calqued on Lat *adverbium* or G *Nebenwort*. *prislov* is now considered archaic in SCr.

Lit.: Maretić (1932), 24, 61; ARj XII:135; Jedlička, 41; RMS V:101.

*proizhodjenje* – ‘source, origin’

D IV:114 (in an article from R about Šafárik); also in Stulli (1806) II:113 for *marciare*, *processio*, and, according to ARj XII:315, in Popović, but also in Budinić (1538). The verb *proishoditi* is also attested in Stulli and S writers from the end of the 18thC. *proizhodjenje* in *Danica* is apparently an ephemeral borrowing from R *proischozdenie*, possibly via S usage with the expected SCr substitution of dj for R ChS žd. The absence of a settled word for ‘source, origin, cause’ in Illyrian usage is striking. BF, for instance, lists *iztočaj*, *početak*, *načale*, *izvor*, *uzrok*, *pričina*, while *poreklo* but not *podrijetlo* is attested in D VII:47.

*proizvod* – ‘product’

D I:75 (with a gloss *Produkte pl.*), V:170, VII:51 (with *prodotto* in a footnote), VII:55, VII:76, 114; also MU:285 but not in BF. An earlier form *proizvedenje* is attested in Stulli (1806) II:214; this is clearly a loan from R. The new form which is clearly a creation of the Illyrian period shows the predilection for the zero deverbative suffix, and should be seen as an internally motivated neologism. According to BI, the word is also used by Vuk in this meaning; Vuk also uses the word as a grammatical term in his *Danica*. *proizvod* is not given in Vuk’s dictionaries and appears as a S listing first in *Jur.pol.term* (1853):400. Registered in both Popović and BI, the word continues to the present day in both variants of the literary language.

Lit.: ARj XII:317; RMS V:169-70.

*prosvjetjenje* – ‘enlightenment’

D IV:6, 32, 51, V:186, VI:16, 205, VII:59 and commonly thereafter; also Martić to Gaj 17.1.41, cf. *Pisma Gaju*, I:126; also MU:45 for *Aufklärung*. According to ARj XII:437, *prosvjetenje* is

found in ChS documents of the 13th and 14thC. Its new meaning stems from the Enlightenment, where a calque on the basis of the 'light' metaphor became international, cf. G *Aufklärung*, Dan *oplysning*, Du *verlichting*, Hung *felvilágosítás* (cf. Thomas (1975), 40-41). In Cr the word is found in the 18thC dictionaries in the sense of 'illumination'. *prosvětjenje* has not survived into modern SCr but has given way to *prosvjeta*, a hybrid form based on *prosvětjenje* itself and Cz *osvěta* (cf. modern Cz *osvěcenství*). The evidence for the development of the figurative meaning for *prosvetjenje* suggests that it is a semantically motivated by the international calque.

*protivorječje* – 'contradiction'

D I:94 with the gloss *contradictio*, *Sbirka*, 15, D VIII:159, Gaj's *Proglas* to D IX; also MU:436 as *protivurječje*, BF II:365 with the note "Dan." (but not BF I). The presence of the word in *Sbirka*, the provision of a gloss on its first appearance in *Danica*, its absence in Stulli and BF I, the note in BF II together provide strong evidence for considering this an Illyrian coining. Clearly its source is R *protivorečie*. It has survived as *protivurječje* alongside *protivorječje*, *proturječje*, *protuslovlje*.

Lit.: RMS V:239, 240, 245, 246; ARj XII:456; Maretić (1924), 117.

*protivoslovje* – 'contradiction'

D VI:83, VII:212; also as *protusloviti* in VIII:159, as *protislovje* in VIII:96; in MU:436 as *protivuslovje*. *protivoslovje* is attested in Stulli (1806) II:225 with the note "lex.r.". ARj gives no early examples of any of these nouns, e.g. *protivoslovlje* in Popović, *protuslovlje* in Šulek (1860), *protivuslovlje* in Jur.pol.term (1853), i.e. not even the example from Stulli cited above. The verb *protivosloviti* is attested already in Obradović at the end of the 18thC. The entry in Stulli of *protivoslovje* gives no gloss but refers to *prikoslovje* for the main entry. This suggests that Stulli is merely registering a dictionary word (taken from a Russian dictionary at that). The model for *protivoslovje* in *Danica* is now archaic R *protivoslovie*. The forms with *proti-*, *protu*, *protivu-* show a degree of independence from the R model. For the subsequent fate of these forms, see under *protivorecje* above.

Lit.: ARj XII:451, 457, 464; Maretić (1934), 117.

*pticoslovje* – 'ornithology'

D V:108 as a gloss of *ornitologia*; also MU:414 for *Vogelkunde*. The word is thus recorded 35 years before the first attestation given by ARj X:592 – Šulek (1974). Clearly its introduction

belongs to the early Illyrian period. It demonstrates too the productivity of the element *-slovje* in Illyrian practice (see 4.4.3). It is a calque of Graeco-Lat *ornithologia* or G *Vogelkunde*. *pticoslovje* has given way in modern SCr to the loanword *ornitologija*.

*ranovrač* – ‘surgeon’

*Sbirka*, 15; also BF II:90. As pointed out by Dukat (1937), 104, the word was rejected by MU (but not, interestingly, by the more slavish BF). This ephemeral coining, which may not have existed outside the imaginings of lexicographers, is a transparent calque of G *Wundarzt*. There were clearly several attempts to find a native equivalent for ‘surgeon’, e.g. *ranar(nik)* in MU:118, cf. too *ranocelnik* in Murko I:811, 214, II:466, but to no avail.

*razměr* – ‘proportion’

D IV:21 with the gloss *proporciju* (acc. sing.); also Stulli (1806) II:260 as *razmjer*, MU:285 *razměra*. This word is neither well attested nor morphologically stabilised in Illyrian practice. Since it is also recorded in contemporary S practice (*Novine Srbske* of 1835) we should conclude that this is a loan from R *razmer* (via S usage) rather than a loan from Cz *rozměr*, itself modelled on R. *razměr(a)* lives on in both variants of the modern literary language.

Lit.: ARj XIII:668; Jedlicka, 53; RMS V:379.

*raztresen* – ‘distracted’

D I:287 (=187), VI:43, VII:24; not attested in contemporary dictionaries; first recorded in Veselic (1853) and Sulek (1860), but now appears in literary SCr as *rastresen*. Clearly, despite its absence from contemporary dictionaries, this word owes its introduction to the Illyrian Movement. The 18thC dictionaries show numerous attempts to render this concept in Cr – *razvućen*, *razpršan*, *razmaknut*, *razpokezan*, *rastavljen*, *radnižen* (all in Stulli), *raznesen* (in Belostenec), *razpršćan* (in Della Bella). *raztresen* is calqued on G *zerstreut*, which has provided a model for most of the European languages to render Fr *distrain*, a key word in the literature of the late 18thC.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 271; Skok III:497; ARj XIII:314; Thomas (1975), 40-1.

*razvitje/razvitak* – ‘development’

*razvitje* is recorded in earlier dictionaries (see 3.1.2.3). In D *razvitje* occurs first in D IV:182, *razvitak* in D III:169, thereafter both are attested but with *razvitje* being twice as



common as *razvitak* although the latter becomes predominant in D VII and VIII; also MU: 150 *razvitje*, BF I:317 *razvitje* (but not BF II); *razvitak* is not recorded in a dictionary until Šulek (1860):410 when *razvoj* also makes its first appearance. Of all the words *razvitak* is the most widespread in the modern literary language. Its introduction appears to be the work of the Illyrian Movement, but it is probably Šulek (1860) which was responsible for its stabilisation in the literary language. The source of all these words is G *Entwicklung*, with or without the support of Sln *razvitje*, *razvitek*.

Lit.: ARj XIII:756, 760; Rammelmeyer, 273.

#### *rěčoslovje* – ‘etymology’

D V:108 *rěčoslovnom* (*etymologičnom*) (loc. sing.), VII:100; also MU: 443, Babukic (1854), ix with the gloss *korenoslovno*, 4 with the gloss *Wortlehre*. *rěčoslovje* (sic) appears in Stulli (1806) II:283 as ‘dictionary’. Though *rěčoslovje* is registered in Šulek (1860):441 it has disappeared in Šulek (1874), making way for the exclusive use of the loanword *etimologija*. It has not survived into modern SCr. There is no question that *rěčoslovje* is an Illyrian coining, calqued on G *Wortforschung*, *Wortkunde*, *Wortlehre*, with the *-slovje* suffix possibly also reflecting *-logia* of Lat *etymologia*.

#### *rěčotvorstvo* – ‘word-formation’

D V:95; also MU:443 *rěčotvorac* for *Wortmacher*. An occasional word, possibly calqued on G *Wortbildung*.

#### *rodoslovje* – ‘genealogy’

D I:75 with the gloss *genealogia* and thereafter frequently in this meaning, D V:95 *rodoslovnom* (*etnografičkom*), Gaj's *Notes* (old orthography) for *Genealogie*. The word is, as Skok claims, a calque of *genealogia*. The word is however much older even than Stulli, who notes that it is found in a glagolitic breviary. It is not however impossible that the Illyrians have deliberately revived the word. In modern SCr, it co-exists with *genealogija*.

Lit.: Skok III:152, ARj XIV:111, Šulek (1860), 557, Stulli (1801) I:619, (1806) II:285, Benson, 121, 557, Filipović, 414, Drvodelić, 672.

#### *rudokopje* – ‘mining’

D VI:55; also MU:87. Other forms recorded at the time are *rudarstvo* in MU, *rudarija*, *rudovanje* in BF II:70, *rudarstvo* being attested already in Belostenec. A form *rudokopnja* is

used in contemporary S; *rukokop* from R *rudokop'* is attested later in Šulek (1874). *rudokopje* must also be secondarily derived from this Russian form. The older *rudarstvo* has been retained in the literary language rather than the Illyrian coining.

Lit.: ARj XIV:229, 235; RMS V:571.

#### *sadržaj* – 'contents'

D VI:44, VII:68, 151; also MU:222. It is recorded as a S and Cr form in Jur.pol.term (1853) and has been preserved in both variants until the present day. All the evidence points to *sadržaj* as an Illyrian creation, probably calqued on Lat *contens*, It *contenuto*, G *Gehalt*. It replaces a form *sadržanje*, attested since the 15thC but not with the meaning 'contents' before Stulli (1806) II:295 (a form *soderxanje* is attested in *Gaj's Notes* for *proportio*, *Verhältnis*). The form in Stulli may have been influenced by R *soderžanie*. The replacement of the deverbative suffix *-anje* by *-aj* is typical of the concretisation of verbal nouns during the Illyrian period (see 4.4.3).

#### *samoglasnik* – 'vowel'

D I:40 thereafter frequently including Babukić (1836), also *Gaj's Notes* (in the old orthography); also MU:330 and BF II:273 but not BF I. The same word is recorded in Murko I:615 and 500 (in the latter case its newness is signalled by an asterisk). Like Cz *samohláska* (later replaced by *hlaska*), the word is a calque of G *Selbstlaut(er)*. All this information would lead one to opt for an Illyrian coining, were it not for the fact that the word is recorded already in Starčević (see 2.3.1), its probable coiner. The Illyrians were responsible for popularising the word.

Lit: ARj XIV:570, Rammelmeyer, 275.

#### *samoslov* – 'monologue'

D VI:182 with the gloss *monolog* (in a translation from *Květy*), VII:12 also with a gloss; MU:261 (BF I:320 has *samogovor*); a form *samoslovac* 'a person who talks to himself' is attested in Stulli (1806) II:300. *samoslov* has not survived despite its presence in MU and the provision of glosses in *Danica*, giving way to the internationalism *monolog*. *samoslov* appears to be calqued on the internationalism with *samo-* reflecting *mono-*, cf. *samostan* from Lat *monasterium*, or the first element of G *Selbstgespräch*, of which *samogovor* is a patent calque.

*samostalan/samostalnost* – 'independent'

*samostalnost*: *Sbirka*: 16 for *independantia*, *Selbständigkeit*, I:77, VI:137 (article by Babukić),  
*samostalan*: D I:75, VII:10, 11 thereafter frequently; also Murko II:501 *samostalen*, BF II:273  
 but not BF I or MU. This calque of G *Selbständig(keit)* – one of a series in the literary  
 languages of northern Europe – is a learned creation. It replaced several competitors and  
 became quickly stabilised in Cr and thereafter S usage (recorded in Vuk (1852), 664. As  
 Rammelmeyer points out, Maretić's contention that this word arose in the folk language and  
 not as a calque is wide of the mark.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 276, Thomas (1975).

*samostan* – 'monastery'

D IV:6 with the gloss *monastir*, thereafter it is attested several times with or without a  
 gloss; also BF II:189, but absent from BF I and MU. As noted in 3.1.2.5, the evidence in ARJ  
 XIV:580 suggests that this is originally a learned word, confined to the Dalmatian coast. Its  
 first inclusion in a dictionary dates only from Stulli (1806) II:300. Maretić takes the word as  
 a coining by Stulli (on what grounds?). In *Danica*, the word is not used in specifically  
 Dalmatian contexts, from which we may assume that the Illyrians are accepting the word for  
 supra-dialectal Cr literary usage, but with the need to provide an explanatory gloss on its  
 first appearance. *samostan* is a calque of Gr *monastérion* and may have entered Illyrian  
 usage either direct from Dalmatia or via Stulli's dictionary. In either case, it provided the  
 Illyrians with a welcome native alternative to the loan words *monastir*, *manastir*, *namastir*,  
*kloštar*. It survives in the modern literary language as a Cr variant-marked synonym of S  
*manastir*, despite Maretić's adverse comments that the language can do without *samostan*  
 (even though it is admittedly well formed) since the people (of both Churches) have always  
 used *manastir*.

Lit.: Maretić (1924), 128; RMS V:633.

*savěst* – 'conscience'

D V:155, VI:84, VII:87. The word is first attested in S writers from the end of the 18thC,  
 e.g. Obradović. A form without sound-substitution and clearly taken direct from R is  
 attested in Stulli (1806) II:367 as *soviest*. *savěst* is clearly taken from Serbian Church  
 Slavonic (in its turn from R *sovest'*). Much more widely attested in this meaning in *Danica*  
 is *svěst*, a form which is attested (with different reflexes of CS ř) in Vrančić, Mikalja, Della

Bella, Stulli etc. In both variants of the modern literary language *savest/savjest* is used for 'conscience', while *svest/svijest* means 'consciousness'.

Lit.: ARj SVII:260, XIV:738; RMS V:600, 675.

*sbirka* – 'collection'

Gaj's *Proglas* to D I, vii, D I:270 (=170) with the gloss *collectio*; *Sbirka*, in the title and 16, then often in D VI-VII; also MU:303, BF II:251 with the note "Dan." (but not BF I). The provision of a gloss in *Danica* on its first appearance, its presence amusingly not only in the title but also the contents of *Sbirka*, the note in BF II and its absence in BF I all lend support to Jonke's assertion that this word was introduced by Gaj's circle. In point of fact though the word is recorded in Stulli (1806) II:645 with the note "Syl.", signifying that it is taken from Veleslavín's polyglot dictionary of 1598. Undoubtedly, however, we should regard this word as a completely new borrowing from Cz *zbirka*, cf. too *sbirka* in Murko II:622. As *zbirka* the word continues in use until the present day.

Lit.: Jonke (1965), 157; Dukat (1937), 110; ARj XXII:655.

*sbornik* – 'collection'

D VII:147 (in a translation from R). The word is also current in contemporary S usage (*Novine Srbske* for 1835)cf. ARj XXII:674. The Illyrian usage is an isolated borrowing from R *sbornik*, possibly, though not necessarily in view of the example in *Danica*, via S. The word reappears in Cr in Šulek (1874), where it is identified as a Cz loan. We must surmise that this reappearance is quite unconnected with the instance in *Danica*.

*slikoshrana* – 'picture gallery'

Only in D V:151 glossed as *galeria od slikah*. A newly coined word, not attested elsewhere, probably formed by analogy with *pismošhrana*. In modern SCr the loanword *galerija* is used in this meaning.

*slog* – 'style'

D IV:116, VII:62 with a gloss *stil* in both instances (the second is a translation from Cz by Babukić); also BF II:292. This word is documented from the 16th and 17thC, but in this meaning is used for the first time by Vuk in his *Pismenica*. From there it has been introduced into Cr usage by the Illyrians. The word has also taken root in Sln. It remains in use in both variants of literary SCr. For both Sln and Cr the source is ultimately R *slog*

(or possibly Cz *sloh*) but in the case of Cr Serbian usage has almost certainly served as the intermediary.

Lit.: Jonke (1965), 177; ARj XV:356-7; Lågreid (1973), 86-7; Maretić (1932), 20-1, 67.

*slovar* – 'dictionary'

D II:60, 119 (with gloss *rečnik*, in a translation of Kollár by Gaj), III:195 (in an article on Stulli), VI:54, VII:58 (together with the derivative *slovarnik*); also MU:443 (as the first of three synonyms and in the title); recorded first in Stulli II:349 but only for cross-reference; given in ARj XV:585 as obsolete for modern (*sic*) *slovník*. In *Danica slovar* is much less common than *slovník* and *rečnik*. The source of this word in Cr is not easy to pin-point, since some contemporary Cz, Slk (notably the posthumous dictionary of Bernolák), Sln (notably Janežič) as well, of course, as the R dictionaries employed this word in their titles. It is interesting that of these languages only R and Sln have retained this particular word.

*slovnica* – 'grammar'

D I:15 with the gloss *gramatiku* (acc. sing.), I:71 with the gloss *grammatica*, I:70, IV:11 *slovnícom* illi *gramatikom* (instr. sing.), IV:72 *slovnice* illi *gramatike* (gen. sing.), V:2, V:62 both with glosses, also VII:64; also in a letter by Babukić to Franikić of 1833 (cited in Smitičkaš, 61) also with a gloss and Smodek to Gaj 13.XI.32 (cf. *Pisma Gaju*, I:174) Babukić (1854), v and in the title; also MU:196, BF II:155 (but not BF I). The word is not attested in contemporary Sln although *slovnica* entered Sln subsequently and has remained in the literary language as the standard word for 'grammar'. With the single exception of the once attested *govorništvo* (D III:193), this is the only native word for 'grammar' attested in *Danica*. It is difficult not to associate it with Babukić, who not only used it in both his grammars but appears to have been one of the first users of the word in his letters. It is noteworthy that the word is accompanied so often by a gloss. This is to be explained by the opaqueness of its semantic motivation to Babukić's contemporaries. In particular it needed to be distinguished from *slovstvo*, attested in Stulli (1806) II:350, in the meaning of 'grammar', which had the meaning in *Danica* of 'literature'. *slovnica* bears a structural resemblance to Cz *mluvnice* 'grammar' and S *pismenica* but is also an accurate calque of the internationalism (cf. Graeco-Lat *grammatica*, where the first element has the meaning 'letter' as *slov-* of *slovnica*. *slovnica* forms the derivatives *slovníčar* 'grammarian', *slovníčki* 'grammatical' (both attested in *Danica*). All the evidence supports an Illyrian coining, since the word considerably predates the first evidence cited in ARj XV:596 of 1876 from Pavlinović of

Zadar. It is also probable that Babukić himself is responsible for coining the word. *slovnica* has not survived into contemporary literary usage though it remained in use throughout much of the 19thC. It has yielded to the internationalism, for which Maretić had expressed a preference.

Lit.: Maretić (1924), 136.

*slovník* – 'dictionary'

D III:135 (in a translation from Šafárik), V:20, 108, VI:84; also in BF I:327. Earlier documented in Della Bella, Stulli and elsewhere cf. ARj XV:596, *slovník* is much less common in D than *rečnik*, cf. too the new word *slovar*. There is no reason to accept Cz or Pol influence for this word in Illyrian usage.

*slovstvo* – 'literature'

D IV:51 *slovstva* oli literature (gen. sing.), *slovstvenoga*, 60 *slovstva* (gen. sing.)(Gaj), 81, 100, 43, 98; also Rakovec to Gaj 28.XI.30, 20.XII.31 in *Pisma Gaju*, 1.165, 6; also MU:249, BF II:204 (but not BF I); *slovstvo* appears in Stulli (1806) II:350 with the meaning 'grammar'. *slovstvo* is one of several synonyms for 'literature' in *Danica* and is clearly independent of *slovstvo* in Stulli. Sln is the only other Slavonic language where this form and meaning are recorded. According to Breznik, *slovstvo* is first attested in Murko. We may therefore assume the word to be a borrowing from Sln in Cr. The basis of the word in Sln (and Cr) appears to be as a calque of Lat *literatura*, cf. Cz *slovesnost*, R *slovesnost*'. In the modern language *slovstvo*, which had dominated over a large number of synonyms, has given way to another creation of the 19thC – *književnost*.

*spomenik* – 'monument'

D I:83 with a glos *monument*; VI:55, VII:54, VIII:16; also MU:124. According to ARj XVI:53 it is first attested in *Novine Srpske* (1834) and Vuk's *Danica*. As in other Slavonic languages (e.g. Ukr, Bulg and Sln), this is a newly formed word. It is not clear where it originates or what model was. It seems to have arisen in S and Cr more or less contemporaneously.

*suglasnik* – 'consonant'

D II:39 (= Babukić (1836)), IV:109, V:144, VIII:135; also MU:259, BF II:217 (but not BF I), Babukić (1854), 5 with the glosses *consonans*, *Mitlaut*; *soglasnik* is attested in Murko I:497, suggesting that it was introduced into Sln by Vodnik in 1813. Also attested in *Danica* is an older form *skupglasnik* (used by Starčević, see 2.3.1, and Gaj in his *Kratka Osnova* and his

linguistic notes). *suglasnik* alone has survived into modern SCr. The evidence supports the contention that this is an Illyrian coining, possibly the work of Babukić himself. It is interesting to note however that in his personal copy of MU (p.120) Babukić suggests a new word *poluglasnik* (calqued on G *Halbvokal?*). Clearly, *skupglasnik* and *suglasnik* are in competition in *Danica*, Babukić's grammar and MU achieved the stabilisation of *suglasnik*, even though *skupglasnik* was still being used in *Danica* by Demeter as late as 1843. The Cr word has been formed independently of Cz *souhláska*, *spoluhláska* and R *soglasnyj* etc. but may have been influenced by Sln *soglasnik*. In any case, the Sln and Cr words are likely to be based on G *Mitlaut(er)* rather than Lat *consonans* because of the parallelism with *Selbstlaut(er)* providing the model for *samoglasnik* 'vowel'.

Lit.: ARj XVI:908; Rammelmeyer, 275, 283.

#### *sustav(a)* – 'system'

D IV:182 *sustava* (*systema*) (nom sing.), V:115 (in a translation from G by Babukić), VI:207 *sustava* (*sistema*) (gen. sing.); also Babukić(1854), 2 *sustava* f. (*systema*) and BF II:293 *sustav* with the note "Dan." (but not in BF I). In his Notes Gaj fails to find a Cr equivalent for Lat *systema*. The word is retained with f. gender in Jur.pol.term (1853):495, but like its synonym, the loanword *sistem*, it has settled into m. gender in modern Cr (as in Šulek (1860) and (1874)). Its labile gender may be explained by the existence of two forms in Cz – *soustav* and *soustava*, though in modern Cz, ironically, the gender has stabilised in the opposite direction. *sustav* is exclusive to Cr usage as a synonym of *sistem* (both S and Cr).

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 284; ARj XVII:62-3; Maretić (1924), 148.

#### *sveobći* – 'general'

D V:187, VII:103, VIII:39, 154 and Gaj's *Proglas* to D VI and D IX; a form *sveobćenit* is also recorded: D V:186 (by Gaj), VII:183; of contemporary dictionaries only BF II:26 as one of 11 possible renderings of G *allgemein*, while MU:22 has only *obćenit* and *obćinski*. Another form *sveobćen* is attested in Stulli (1806) II:411 with a note to the effect that it is taken from Veleslavín's Cz dictionary of 1598. *sveopći* (Cr) and *sveopšti* (S) are preserved in the modern literary language. *sveobći* is a creation of the Illyrian period but its stabilisation in the literary language appears to be a much later event. A calque of G *allgemein*, probably independently of Cz *všeobecný* and R *vseobščij*.

Lit.: ARj XVII:411; Rammelmeyer, 285; Zett (1970), 302; Maretić (1892), 96, (1924), 149.

*sveučilište* 'university'

D I:44 *vseuchilische*, II:123, III:163 (with a gloss *universitas*), *sveučilište*, D III *sveučilišni* (and commonly thereafter) IV:69 *sveučilište* (thereafter stabilised in this form), *Sbirka*: 18 for *universitas*, *Universität*, *Gaj's Notes* (in the old orthography) as *vseuchilische*; also BF II:316 (but not BF I), Murko I:705, MU:384. The kajkavian form appears in the name of the printer on the title page of *Gaj's Kratka Osnova*: the Buda University Press. The presence in *Sbirka*, the absence in BF I, the provision of glosses suggest that the word was deliberately introduced by the Illyrians. It belongs to the earliest of the Illyrian words as its presence in *Gaj's Notes*, *Kratka Osnova* testifies. The change of spelling reflects the move from kajkavian to stokavian not the influence of Sln. The word appears to have arisen in Cr and Sln simultaneously. Illesic and Fancey have convincingly shown that the word is found much earlier in Slaveno-Serbian, where it calques Gr *panepistémion*. Because of the Buda connection, it seems safe to posit a loan from Slaveno-Serbian in Cr. According to ARj XVII:235 (a volume published in 1959-62), this word is not attested until Jur.pol.term (1853). Despite its S origin, the word is now confined to exclusive Cr usage.

Lit.: RMS V:687; Benson: 633; Drvodelić: 730; Filipović: 1090; Ilešić (1933); Fancev (1932).

*světoljubje* – 'cosmopolitanism'

D V:141 with the glosses *cosmopolitismus*, *Weltbürgersinn*, also *světoljub* (*kosmopolit*), 172 with a gloss, VIII:205 with a gloss, *Gaj's Proglas* to D IX *světoljuban*; also BF with the note "Dan." *svjetoljublje* (but not *svjetoljub*) is recorded in ARj XVII:353. It is also attested in Stulli (1806) II:419 with the meaning "amore del mondo, del secolo; rerum humanarum amor". Clearly the meaning of the word in the Illyrian period is a new one, even if we do accept Stulli as its formal source. The Illyrian meaning is not strictly motivated by its form. This perhaps explains why it is almost always accompanied by a gloss in *Danica*, since otherwise its meaning would not be altogether clear. Its absence from MU and MU (Babukić) is perhaps indicative of some reservation about its use. Although *svetoljub* appears in Drobnic, 398 for *Cosmopolit*, it did not survive much longer in this meaning and has given way to the internationalism.

*svirka* – 'music'

Recorded only once with this meaning: D VIII:40 *svirku* (*gudbu*, *muziku*) (acc. sing.). In ARj VII:316 it appears in the more limited meaning of 'sviranje' and is retained in both variants as '(manner of) playing on an instrument'. Clearly formed from *svirati* 'to play a



musical instrument', perhaps this neologism provided the motivation for the later *glasba* (modern *glazba*), first attested in Babukić (1854). In its turn *svirka* may have been formed by analogy with *gudba*.

*tajnik* – 'secretary'

In D it is frequent, where apart from one instance of *sekretar ili pisar* (used by Vuk, cf. D VII:36) and *tajni bilježnik (sekretar)* (cf. D I:75) it is the only recorded form. In this meaning it is first recorded in Della Bella (1785) II:315 (but not Della Bella (1728)); Stulli (1806) II:423, also in KD (see Vince (1978), 102-4). Clearly this word is much older than the Illyrian period but it is likely that its stabilisation in Cr is the result of the endeavours of the Illyrians. Indicative of this is the fact that MU has only *tajnik* whereas BF II:273 has *tajnik, potajnik, otajnik* and BF I attests the word only with the meaning 'der verschwiegene Mensch'. Another form *tajemnik*, a direct loan from Cz, is attested in a letter from Vraz to Gaj, cf. *Pisma Gaju*, I:318. *tajnik* is a semantic calque of Lat *secretarius*. Although recorded as a S form in Jur.pol.term (1853): 456, *tajnik* has been retained in modern literary SCr only in the Cr variant.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 287; Skok III:434; ARj SVIII:14; Thomas (1978b), 408, 418.

*tjednik* – 'weekly newspaper'

*Sbirka*, 19, D III:187, 191, IV:96; also VI:56 *tjedanik* with the gloss *Wochenblatt*, VII:215 *tjedni list*; also MU:440. A word based on the specifically Cr (kajkavian?) word *tjedan* 'week', it has been retained in literary Cr until the present day, cf. S *nedeljni list*. Clearly *tjednik* is an Illyrian coining. While *tjedni list*, like *nedeljni list* (given as both Cr and S in Jur.pol.term (1853):649) is a calque of G *Wochenblatt*, *tjednik* seems to be more closely modelled on Cz *týdenník* (first attested according to Jungmann V:685, in Palkovič's dictionary of 1820).

Lit.: Dukat (1937), 104.

*točan/točnost* – 'exact/exactness'

D VII:92, 206 *točnost*, I:75 *točno* with the gloss *pünktlich*; also MU:286. Stulli (1806) II:422 has *tačan* ("lex.r."). Despite the paucity of examples it is safe to conclude that the Illyrians were responsible for the introduction of the word, which is taken from R *točnyj/točnost*. *točan/tačan* are variant-marked synonyms in modern literary SCr, cf. Cr *točan*, S *tačan*.

Lit.: ARj XVIII:419, 424.

*trenutak* – 'moment'

D IV:202 (by an "Ilir-Serb" from Pest), VII:79, 204, VII:1. It is not as common as *trenutje* in *Danica*, nor is it attested in the contemporary dictionaries, but the evidence suggests that it is beginning to compete strongly with *trenutje* (a form recorded in all the 17th and 18thC dictionaries) by the early 1840's. Its first attestation in a dictionary is in Šulek (1860):122. Though absent from his dictionaries, *trenutak* is recorded twice in Vuk's collections of folk poetry (once without *oka*). This suggests that this word is an older well-established štokavian dialect word which penetrates Cr literary usage during the Illyrian period. It is now widespread in both literary variants. There is no question that it is the Illyrian period which was responsible for its stabilisation in Cr usage. It is interesting to note that the change from the transparent deverbative suffix *-tje* to *-tak* and the univerbisation involved in dropping of the dependent genitive *oka* have helped to distance it from its deverbative origins (see 4.4.3). It is calqued on Lat *momentum*, G *Augenblick* etc.

Lit.: RMS VI:276; ARj XVIII:598.

*ukus* – 'taste'

*Sbirka*, 20, D II:12 *vkus* with the gloss *Geschmack*, thereafter *ukus* very frequently throughout *Danica*; also in MU:189, BF II:148 *vkus* (but not BF I). Murko I:373 prefaces his *vkus* with "eig." suggesting some uncertainty. Stulli (1806) II:482 has the form *ukus*, but merely refers there to *okus* (I:679). Dukat says of this word that MU has taken it from *Sbirka* and BF giving it a Cr face. In fact, of course, the change from *v-* to *u-* is not a "Croatianisation" but a symptom of the change-over from kajkavian to štokavian in 1836 (with BF slavishly reflecting the spelling of *Sbirka*). The weakness of the attestation in Stulli does not suggest he is the person responsible for its introduction in Cr. The influence of Sln where the word is attested in Vodnik and Jarnik (1822), who has taken the word from Dobrovský, should not be discounted. All the evidence points to a coining during the Illyrian period. The absence of early examples from S usage strengthens the claim that this is a loan from Cz *vkus*, itself a loan from R *vkus* and first attested in Jungmann's *Slowesnost* of 1820 (p. 20). The early evidence from Sln suggests however that it was the probable intermediary for the word. Cr usage appears to have introduced the word to S writers and in modern SCr it is common to both variants.

Lit.: ARj XIX:482; Dukat (1937), 112; Lågreid, 85; Jedlička, 52.

*umětnost* – 'art'

Gaj's *Osnova*, D I:16, I:270 (*recte* 170) (both with a gloss *Kunst*), *Sbirk*, 19 for *Kunst*, thereafter quite frequently without a gloss; also in BF II:195 (but not BF I) and MU:238. The word is attested in the older dictionaries in the meaning of 'science'. The early glosses in D show that the Illyrians were attempting to introduce a new meaning. Gaj in his manuscripts experiments with the forms *vmeteljnost*. The similar (and contemporary) forms in Sln (*vmetnost*) and Cz (*umení*) are probably, like *umětnost*, modelled on G *Kunst*. In G, *Kunde* and *Kunst* overlapped in meaning in the 18thC and not until the 19thC did they finally go their separate ways as 'science' and 'art' respectively. It is preserved in modern SCr as *um(j)etnost*.

Lit.: ARj XIX:601-2; Rammelmeyer, 294; Murko I:460.

*upliv* – 'influence'

D I:250 (= 150) with the gloss *Einfluss* (in an article by Šafárik), then frequently in D III-VIII without glosses; *Sbirka*, 19, 20 has the main entry under *utok* while under *upliv* there is only a cross-reference to *utok*; in D IV:195 (a piece written by an "Ilir iz Srbije") *utok* appears in the text with a gloss (by the editor?) *upliv*; also MU:138, BF II:106 with the note "Dan." (but not BF I). All the evidence above confirms *upliv* as a new Illyrian coining. Dukat considers the word to have been taken by MU from BF. The note in BF II, however, specifically points to *Danica*. There is no reason not to suppose that MU took the word direct from *Danica*. *vpliv* in Sln is not recorded in Murko, so that there is a possibility that Sln *vpliv* is a later loan from Cr. Maretić dislikes the word because it is badly formed. He suggests that *upliv* should not have been introduced since *utjecaj* existed already. In fact, *utjecaj* was not coined until much later, first appearing in Šulek (1860), some 35 years after the introduction of *upliv* | *upliv* is a loan from Cz *vplyv* (a word later replaced by *vliv* because of opposition to it). The ultimate source is Pol *wpływ*, which has given similar words in Ukr and Br, and is a calque of G *Einfluss* or Lat *influentia*. *upliv* survives into modern SCr (it is first registered as a S form in 1853) though it is much less common than its synonyms *uticaj* (S) and *utjecaj* (Cr). Indeed should we conclude from the fact that only one of the eight examples in RMS is post-war that the word has a somewhat old-fashioned ring?

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 295; Dukat (1937), 110; ARj XIX:709; Maretić (1892), 76, 97 and (1924), 165; RMS VI:545; Jur.pol.term (1853):149.

*ustav(je)* – ‘institute’

D II:131, III:50, 175 *ustavje* all glossed with *institut*, IV:144 *ustav*, V:99 *zavedenje* with the gloss *ustav*, IV:72 *ustav* (*institut*), V:158, VI:20, VII:59 *ustav*; also Augustinović to Gaj 27.V.38 (cf. *Pisma Gaju*, II:25); also BF II:40 *ustavje* for *Anstalt* (but not BF I). The word is not attested in MU, which among 6 possibilities has for the first time *zavod* in this meaning. By 1853 *zavod* had taken over from *ustav(je)*. Clearly *ustav(je)* is a new word of the Illyrian period, but just as clearly it failed to take root. This is demonstrated by the number of occasions in which it is supplied with a gloss and by its total absence in MU, which as a rule reflects usage in *Danica*. The instability of the word is also reflected in the existence of two competing forms. It is presumably a loan from Cz *ústav*.

Lit.: Jur.pol.term (1853):288; MU:35.

*utisak* – ‘impression’

D VII:20, 194, 216, 154; also BF II:106 *utisk* (but not BF I); *vtis(k)* is also attested in contemporary Sln (cf. Murko I:263); *utisak* is used in a non-figurative sense in Šulek (1860):368 and has completely disappeared in Šulek (1874). According to ARj XX:102-3, *utisak* is not used in a dictionary figuratively until Bl. In Cr usage *utisak* has now been replaced by *dojam* (from Cz *dojem* and first attested in Šulek (1860)); *utisak* is strictly confined to the S variant in the modern literary language. It is ironical that a word, coined by the Illyrian circle in Zagreb, should be viewed in our century as an example of the threat of Serbification of Cr. Clearly though the word never really took root in Cr usage. Like Sln *vtisek*, it is a calque of G *Eindruck*, one of a whole series of calques in the languages of Europe modelled on Lat *impressio*.

Lit.: Rammelmeyer, 296; Thomas (1975), 40-41, (1978b), 418; Maretić(1924), 168.

*utok* – ‘influence’

*Sbirka*, 20, D IV:195 with the gloss *upliv* (in an article written by an “Ilir iz Srbije”). Otherwise, *utok* is confined in D to the “flowing of one river into another, confluence” (a meaning attested frequently in D); also BF II:106 (but not BF I), MU:138, but by Šulek (1860):369 it has lost its figurative meaning. The word is not given in the meaning of ‘influence’ in ARj, but with the form *vtok* is given for *infuentia* in Jambrešić:419. *utok* is one of three attempts during the early Illyrian period to render G *Einfluss*. It is interesting to note that in *Sbirka* the main entry is given under *utok*, while under *upliv* only a cross-reference to *utok* is given. Nevertheless the presence of the word only once in *Danica*

in this meaning and at that in an article written by a Serb and glossed by the usual contemporary Cr word for 'influence' suggests very strongly that it may never have been current in Illyrian usage. Apparently a direct calque of G *Einfluss* or Lat *influentia*, which is to be found in almost all modern European languages.

Lit.: ARj XX:107; Rammelmeyer (1975), 296; Thomas (1975), 40-1.

*uzduh* – 'air'

D II:116 with the gloss *zrak* (in a translation from Kollár), IV:8 as a gloss to *zrak* (in a translation from Cz by Babukić); only in BF II:206 of contemporary dictionaries, though Stulli (1806) II:532 lists it from "brev.glag." Also recorded in *Danica* are *vozduh* (once only) and *zrak* (very commonly from D IV onwards). This is an instance of new Illyrian word failing to take root and usurp the functions of a word (*zrak*) attested since Mikalja. The impulse to introduce *uzduh* could have been either a desire to provide Cr with a parallel to those in Cz and R, remembering that Cz had similarly produced *vzduch* (coined by Jungmann himself) on the model of R *vozduch*, or because of the polysemy of *zrak* in Cr ('air' and 'ray of light'). *uzduh* is recorded in Šulek and as late as 1936 (see RMS VI:457). In normal Cr usage, *zrak* is a variant-marked synonym corresponding to S *vazduh*.

Lit.: Jonke (1965), 198; ARj XX:309, XXI:337, 642; MU:251; Thomas (1978b), 418.

*uzklik* – 'exclamation, interjection' (gram.)

D VI:107; also Babukic (1836), 46 with the gloss *interjectio*, Babukić (1854), 340 *uzklici* ili *umětci* ili *medjumetci* (*interjectiones*, *Empfindungswörter*); MU:62; Babukic (1836), 59 also uses *izkriknik*. As we saw in 3.1.2.3, *Danica* also has *medmetak* and the older *medjumetak* (calqued on Lat *interjectio*). In Babukic's grammars we see these words being used by side. *uzklik* found its way into both dictionaries of Šulek, and now spelled *usklik* is the usual word in modern literary SCr. It appears to be a calque on G *Aufruf*, an alternative to *Ausruf*, the model for Cz *vykřikník* and Babukić's *izkriknik*. The \*vz- prefix which becomes *uz-* in Cr is found in an analogous R word *vosklicanie* 'exclamation'.

Lit.: ARj XIX:864; RMH II:241; Rammelmeyer, 295.

*uzor* – 'ideal'

D VI:207, VII:93 in both cases with the gloss *ideal* (the second instance is a translation from Cz); also MU:221, to which Babukić added in his copy: *Idealismus* – *uzorstvo*, *Idealistik* – *uzornost*. According to ARj XX:391 *uzor* is not attested in this meaning before Šulek (1860).

That the Illyrians were faced with the lack of a suitable word for this important concept is demonstrated by the fact that in his *Notes* (in kajkavian and old orthography, i.e. before 1836) Gaj fails to provide a Cr term for G *Ideal* in a list of suggested Cr equivalents for G words. The semantic extension seen in our examples from *Danica*, whose introduction is aided by a gloss, is doubtless modelled on Cz *vzor*, itself probably based on Pol *wzór*, cf. *Orłos*, 15, 94. This word has been retained and is common in both variants of modern SCr.

*vesela igra* – 'comedy'

D V:36, VI:104, 112, 167, 168, 174, 182, VII:51, 52, 55 (alongside *směšna igra*), 101, 110, VII:24, 44, 147, 164; also MU:251 for *Lustspiel*, Šulek (1860):872. This phrase, possibly coined anew by the Illyrians, is first attested in the writings of the Serb E. Janković in the 1780's. It has failed to take root and replace the loanword *komedija*. It is probably modelled on Cz *veselá hra*, attested since Veleslavín (1598) and by the time of Jungmann's dictionary beginning to oust Rosa's neologism *veselohra*, to which Dobrovský had taken such exception. Lit.: Thomas (1978a), 496; Herrity, pers. com.

*vidokrug* – 'horizon'

D III:39, 71, IV:6, 42, VII:107, 144 with a gloss *horizont* in examples 1, 2 and 5; also BF II:149, 177 with the note "Dan." (but not BF I), not attested in MU, which has only *horizon(t)* and *obzor*. The examples in *Danica* attest to the word's being used with concrete and figurative meaning as in modern SCr, where it occurs in both variants alongside *vidik* and *horizont*. It is a calque of G *Gesichtskreis* according to Maretić, who prefers to it *obzor*, and Rammelmeyer, who suggests Cz *vidokruh* as a possible intermediary. It is interesting that the word has been accepted into the literary language despite its rejection by MU. Presumably though its presence in Šulek (1860) assured its continued use. The provision of glosses in *Danica*, the note in BF II, the absence in BF I are all clear indications that this is an Illyrian creation. As in a number of other instances we see that BF II is a more faithful reflection of usage in *Danica* than is MU. Put in other words, MU stands at some critical distance from the new coinings of *Danica*. Should we conclude from Babukic's failure to add *vidokrug* in his personal copy of MU that he disapproved of the word? There seems little reason not to accept *vidokrug* as a loan from Cz *vidokruh*, a word borrowed from Pol *widokręg* and to which, interestingly, Dobrovský had earlier taken exception (cf. Jungmann V:98).

Lit.: Maretić (1924), 174; Rammelmeyer, 301; ARj XX:837; *Orłos*, 75.

*vodopad* – ‘waterfall’

D IV:187, V:151; also MU:425 and in contemporary Sln (cf. Murko II:778). This is clearly a new word, which is retained in S and Cr. Its first use in S is in *Jur.pol.term* (1853):631. This was and remains a literary word in contradistinction to the popular *slap* which Maretić prefers presumably for that very reason. The creation of the word by the Illyrians gives some important clues to their attitudes to purism in that a native word is rejected in favour of a coining, based on a foreign model. The impulse to create the word appears to come from a need to “intellectualise” the language and bring it into line with foreign literary codes. It could be a loan from Cz *vodopád* (cf. modern Cz *vodospád*) or R *vodopad* (first attested in Deržavin's poem of that name). Both R and Cz words are calqued on G *Wasserfall*.

Lit.: ARj XXI:245; Rammelmeyer, 306, RMS I:407; Lågreid, 109; Maretić (1924), 178.

*vodovod* – ‘aqueduct, channel, canal’

D III:32 with the gloss *kanal*, IV:21 (in a description of the famous Roman aqueduct between Solin and Split), then in D V-VII; also MU:425, BF II:354 (but not BF I). The word replaces several earlier words – *vodotočje*, *vodovodje*, *vodovošda* (see 3.1.2.4). Contemporary Sln also has *vodovod* (cf. Murko II:778), according to Lågreid from R. The word is retained in modern SCr with the meaning ‘aqueduct, water-supply, plumbing’ in both variants. Clearly it is a new word from the Illyrian period, the immediate source for which is Cz or R *vodovod*, themselves calqued on Lat *aquaeductus*, G *Wasserleitung*. This is another instance of an Illyrian word with a zero deverbative suffix (see 4.4.3).

Lit.: Dukat (1937), 111; Rammelmeyer, 307; RMS I:406; Skok III:580; Filipović:42; Benson:736; Drvodelić:858; *Jur.pol.term* (1853):631.

*zanimiv/zanimivost* – ‘interesting/interest’

Both are common in D V and thereafter; *zanimivost* is also attested in MU:222. In a slightly different phonetic guise (given in both Babukić's additions to MU, and Šulek (1860) as *zanimljiv(ost)*), this word is retained in both variants of the modern literary language though its use appears more widespread in Cr. The evidence suggests that this is an Illyrian creation, probably modelled on Cz *zajímavý/zajímavost*.

Lit.: ARj XXII:202; Thomas (1978b), 418.

*zavedenje* – 'institute'

D V:99 with the gloss *ustav*, VII:106, 144 with the gloss *institut*; not attested in contemporary dictionaries in this meaning. It is also used in contemporary S writing (by Vuk in his correspondence and in *Novine Srbske* in 1835 cf. ARj XXII:541). In *Jur.pol.term* (1853):26 *zavedeně* is given only as a S form, while *zavod* (first attested in MU) is cited for both S and Cr. *zavod* and *zavedenje* occur side by side in Šulek, after which *zavod* alone remains in use. The evidence suggests that *zavedenje* is a loan from R *zavedenie* probably via S usage.

*zavod* – 'institute'

This word is not attested in *Danica*, but occurs as the last of 6 possibilities for *Anstalt* in MU:35; in *Gaj's Notes* it appears as an equivalent of G *Fabrik* (on a sheet written in the old orthography). As indicated above, *zavod* has gradually replaced the earlier *zavedenje* in both S and Cr usage. *ustav* is the usual form in *Danica*, and the meagre evidence of *zavod* should not be taken as an indication that the Illyrians were responsible for stabilising this word in Cr usage. Gaj's word is surely a loan from Cz *závod* or less likely R *zavod*. The modern meaning seems to have been taken from *zavedenje* above.

Lit.: ARj XXII:589; Maretić (1924), 186.

*zemljopis* – 'geography'

Gaj's *Osnova*, D I:138, II:116 (a translation from Kollár) and thereafter frequently, and as an adj.; also Babukić (1854), vii *geografijsko iliti zemljopisno*, 36; BF I:364, II:116, but note that MU has only *zemljopisje*. The first use of *zemljopis* is not however in Illyrian circles but in the work of Brlić (see 2.3.3). That it is not an entirely new word is suggested by its absence from *Sbirka* and its presence in BF I. Nevertheless its constant use in *Danica* must have contributed to the fact that it is well established in Šulek (1860): 559 and thereafter not only in Cr but also S usage down to the present day. A form *zemljopis* is attested as 'geographer' in Jambrešić: 335, while the adj. *zemljopisan* is, according to ARj, datable to Vitezović. Attempts to calque Lat *geographia* led to a considerable variety of forms in earlier Cr dictionaries: *kopnopisje*, *zemljopisje*, *kopnoraspisje*; *Gaj's Notes* suggest *zemljopisje* and *zemljenstvo*. If *zemljopis* is attributable to Brlić, as seems probable especially if we remember that his grammar of 1833 was actually composed in the late 1820's, then it could well be modelled on Cz *zeměpis*, apparently coined by Dobrovský, whose grammar was one of



Brlić's sources. *zemljopis* is of great importance in the popularisation of the suffix *-pis* to reflect the common word-building element *-graphia* (see 4.4.3).

Lit.: ARj XXII:779; Rammelmeyer, 312; Thomas (1978a), 498.

#### *zemljoslóvje* – 'geology'

Gaj's *Osnova*, D V:108 as a gloss of *geologija*. According to ARj XXII:779, it is first attested in Šulek (1860). This word, which has not survived, is an unsuccessful attempt to suggest an equivalent for *geologija*. It is a transparent calque of the internationalism.

#### *zloupotrěbljenje* – 'misuse, abuse'

D VI:16; not in contemporary dictionaries (MU:258 has *zloporaba*, though Babukić adds *zloupotrěbljenje* in his personal copy). The related forms *zloupotrebiti* and *zloupotrebiteljan* are both recorded in Stulli (1806) II:662. According to ARj XXIII:3, *zloupotrěbljenje* is attested in S usage from the 1790's (e.g. Rajić 1793). It is used in Jur.pol.term (1853):347, but gives way to *zloupotreba*, the form still in use today cf. RMS II:319. Clearly the source is R *zloupotreblenie*, entering Cr via S usage, cf. Rammelmeyer, 314.

ARj XXIII:3; RMS II:319; Rammelmeyer, 314.

#### *značaj* – 'charakter'

Gaj's *Osnova* with the gloss *karakter*, D I:138 with the gloss *karakter* (in a quotation from Dositej Obradović), V:191 as a gloss to *karakter*, VI:83, 188 with a gloss, VII:46 with *It carattere* as an explanation in a footnote, VII:119, VIII:31 without a gloss, VII:123 with a gloss; also Rakovac to Gaj I.V.31 and Martić to Gaj 17.I.41 (cf. *Pisma Gaju*, I:128, 170); also in BF II:90 with the note "Dan." (but not in BF I) and MU:118; Murko I:214 has only the loanword *karakter*. Gaj gives *znacaj* in a list of words with the root *zna-* (*znak*, *znamenje* etc.) in his *Notes* (in the new orthography, i.e. after 1836). According to ARj XXIII:37, *znacaj* is a recent creation. Maretić considers *značaj* badly formed and prefers the loanword *karakter*. *Značaj* is derived from *znak* + *jaj* (see Skok III:658), thus reflecting the original meaning of Gr *charaktér* ('stamp, mark'), but it is doubtful whether this connection was in the minds of its creators in Cr; rather it should be seen as an independent neologism. The repeated use of glosses in *Danica* demonstrates the doggedness of the Illyrians in trying to introduce a word to their reading public. The reward for such perseverance is that the word has survived in modern Cr (but not in S, where, as also to some extent in Cr, it means

'significance' and is a synonym of *značenje*) as a synonym of *karakter* (Cr) and *harakter* (S).  
Lit.: RMS II:327, ARj XXIII:37, Maretić (1924), 188.

*zubolčkarstvo* – 'dentistry'

D III:19 (in a reference to Joseph Fox, Professor of dentistry at Guy's Hospital, London); both MU:447 and BF II:373 have *zubni lčkar* (a form now confined to S); MU also has *zubnik* (a form given for both S and Cr in *Jur.pol.term* (1853):653); the modern Cr word *zubar* is first attested in Šulek (1860). All these words calque G *Zahnarzt* etc.

*zvēroslovje* – 'zoology'

D V:108 as a gloss of *zoologia*; parallel forms are found elsewhere: *živoslovje* in MU454, *živoslovje* in *Gaj's Notes* (written in the old orthography and in this case the word has been added later in a different ink, suggesting that Gaj had no ready equivalent for 'zoology' and that *živoslovje* is an artificial creation). All these forms are unsuccessful attempts to calque Lat *zoologia*, G *Tierkunde*.

*žalostna igra* – 'tragedy'

D III:188, V:55, VII:55; Šulek (1860):1375 but not (1874):1179, which has *žalostna gluma*. There had been earlier attempts to calque G *Trauerspiel*: *žalostno igrokazanje* in Jambrešić: 982 and *žalosno prikazanje* in Della Bella (1728):739. *žalostna igra* faced stiff competition from the internationalism *tragedija* (both in *Danica* and throughout the 19thC) as well as other contemporary attempts to provide a calque: *žalostni igrokaz*, *pečalni igrokaz* (both in BF II:300), cf. too *žalostno pozorište* in D VI:68. Indicative of the phrase's precarious status is its absence from both BF and MU, in contrast with the better attested *vesela igra* (see above). It appears to be a calque of Cz *smutná* (or *truchlá*) *hra*, whose history parallels that of *veselá hra*.

*železna cesta* etc. – 'railway'

As shown by Ilešić, there are numerous attempts on the pages of *Danica* to render G *Eisenbahn*: D III:32 *gvozdena (železna) kolomija* with the gloss *Eisenbahn*, V:113, VII:86, 208 *gvozdena kolomija*, VI:162 *željezna kolomija*, VII:208 *gvozdeni drum*; also MU:145 *gvozdena cesta*, BF II:111 *gvozdena kolomija*, *železna kolomija*. There is no indication of any stabilisation towards any one of these phrases in the early Illyrian period. None of these

forms has survived, giving way to *Željeznica* also recorded in *Danica*. They are all calques of G *Eisenbahn*, one of a series of international calques in the languages of Europe.

Lit.: Ilesic, 177, 180; Thomas (1975), 33.

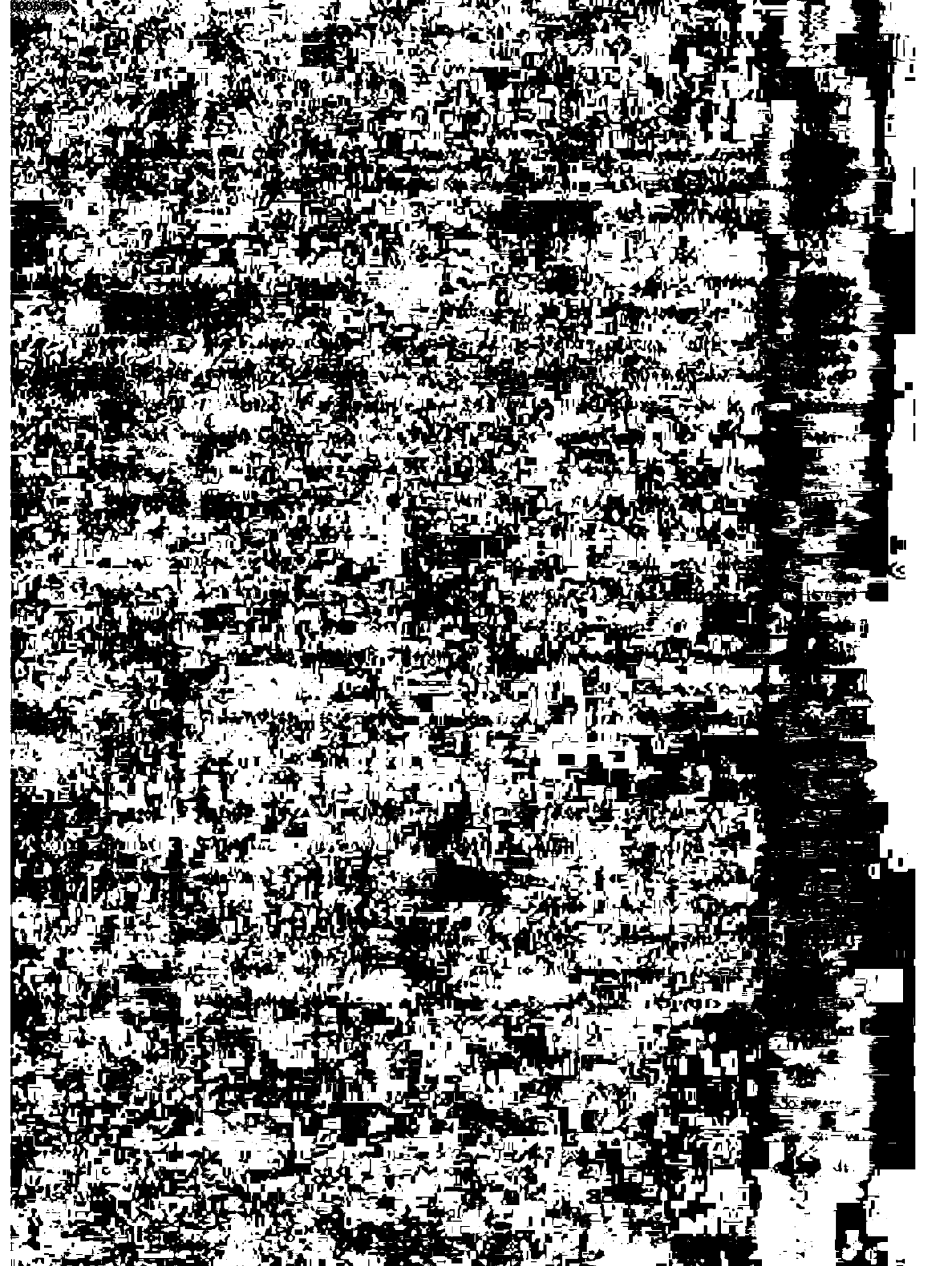
#### *željeznica* – ‘railway’

D VI:175 only; not registered in any of the contemporary dictionaries. Its first appearance in a vocabulary list is in *Jur.pol.term* (1853): 163, where it is given for both S and Cr (but not Sln, which has *Železna cesta*). Babukić suggests *Željeznica* instead of *gvozdена cesta* in his personal copy of MU. As we shall see in 3.4.2 this is one of many attempts in *Danica* to render ‘railway’ in Cr. The others – *Železna cesta*, *gvozdена cesta*, *gvozdена kolomija*, *Železna kolomija* – are all calques of G *Eisenbahn*. Although created in the Illyrian period, *Željeznica* cannot be said to have been stabilised in Cr by the Illyrian Movement. Nevertheless, the word is not recorded in Sln until 1850 in Janezic and even he, as also later Wolf, has *Železna cesta* alongside. The replacement of a two word phrase by one word is typical of the universion of the Slavonic languages of the period (see 4.4.3). Doubtless though the impulse for *Željeznica* is Cz *Železnice*, first recorded in 1835 and replacing an earlier *Železna draha*. As *Željeznica* (Cr) and *Železnica* (S) the word has become stabilised in the modern literary language.

Lit.: ARj XXIII:309-10; Ilesić (1933), 177, 180; Rammelmeyer (1975), 317; RMS II:24.

#### *životopis* – ‘biography’

D II:63, III:116, IV:100, 198, VI:156, 188, VII:16, 66, 182, 200 *životopis*, VII:188 *životopisne*, VII:160 *životopisi iliti biografie*, VIII:14 *životopis* in a footnote to G *Biografie* in the text also Nemčić to Gaj 25.IX.39 in *Pisma Gaju*, I:143; also BF II:200, but MU:102 has *životopisje*. According to ARj XXIII:447, *životopis* is first attested in a S text of 1867 and in Šulek (1874). The evidence presented here 100 shows incontrovertibly that it is a creation of the early Illyrian period, indeed achieving stability by the end of the period. It is clearly calqued on Lat *biographia*, G *Lebensbeschreibung* and survives into both variants of modern literary SCr.



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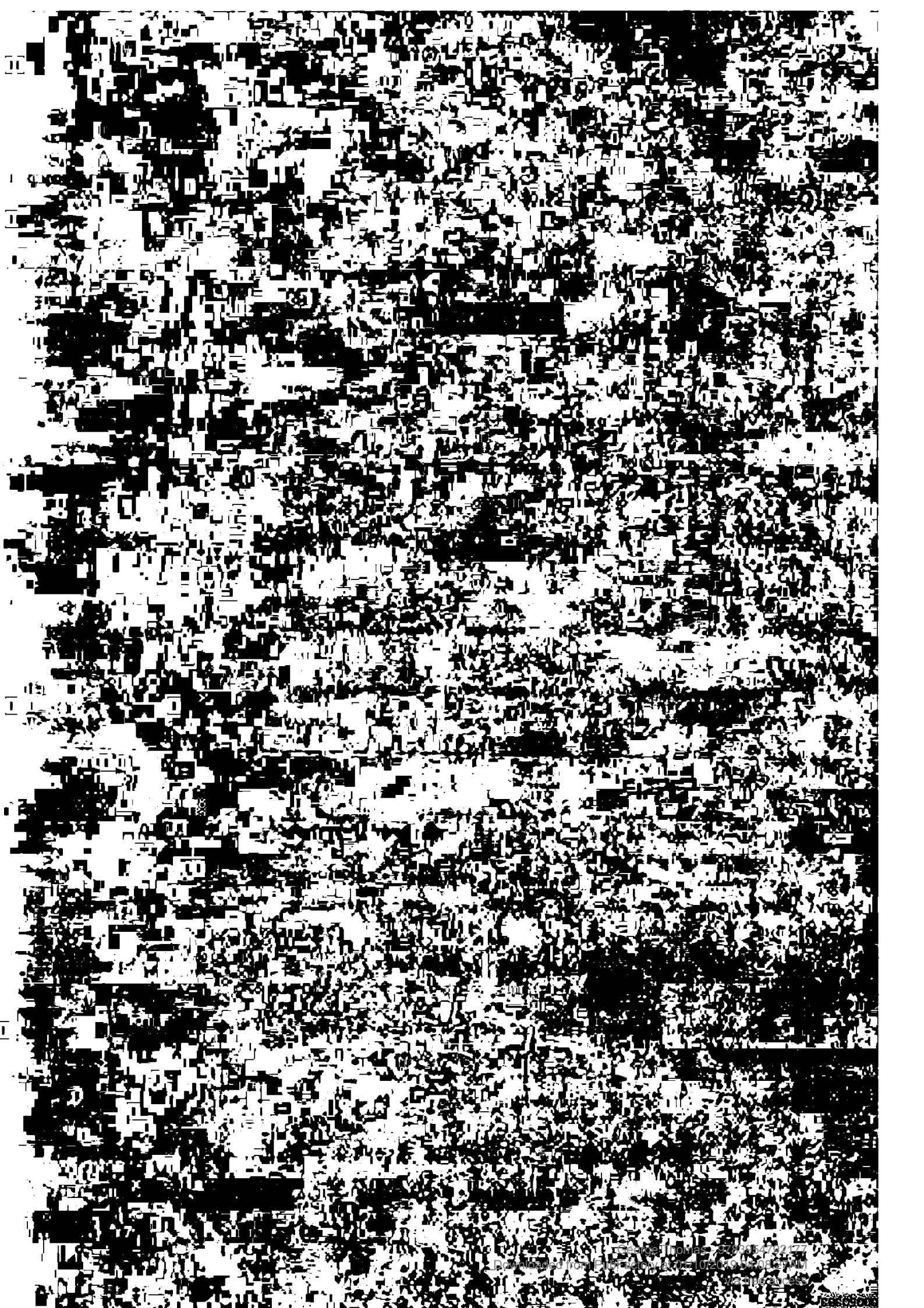
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## INDEX OF CROATIAN AND SERBIAN WORDS AND PHRASES

(Words treated in the glossary are given in capital letters)

adverbij 112  
 alegori(j)a 100  
 alkimi(j)a 42, 100  
 alkimista 88  
 antikvar 88  
 apateka 57  
 arheolog 88  
 arkeologički 88  
 arhitekt 88  
 arhitektura 56, 88, 89  
 arkiv 88, 109, 112  
 atlas 108  
 atmosfera 146  
 attestat 100

ekonomija, see ekonomija

BAJOSLOV(L)JE 79, 85, 91, 109, 113, 142, 143, 145, 146  
 BAJOSLOVAN 30, 76, 78, 85, 89, 91, 141  
 BAKROREZ 59, 85, 89, 109, 112, 113, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 149  
 besnoslov(l)je 109, 113  
 bibliografi(j)a 145  
 biblioteka 88  
 biograf 88  
 biografija 88  
 bitje 117  
 bitost 116  
 bivstvenost 117  
 blagodariti 50, 53  
 blagoglasje 107  
 blagopoluđeje 50, 53  
 bogoslovac 56  
 bogoslovija, see bogoslov(e)je  
 bogoslov(l)je 107, 125  
 bogoslovica 56  
 bogoslovstvo 56, 125  
 BLAGOSTANJE 27, 76, 85, 89, 108, 113, 132, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 149  
 blagostojanje, see BLAGOSTANJE  
 bogoštovia 51  
 bogoštovje 53  
 BOLNICA 66, 67, 76, 81, 91, 108, 111, 113, 124, 125, 142, 145, 149  
 bolnik 125  
 botanički 88, 89  
 botanika 88  
 brodolomlje 29  
 brojorič 48, 49  
 brojoznanje 72, 121  
 brzi vlak 121

brzi voz 121  
BRZOVOZ 27, 59, 85, 89, 108, 111, 113, 121

cjenik 30

čartica 109  
ČASOPIS 26, 27, 28, 30, 58, 59, 63, 78, 84, 85, 89, 91, 108, 111, 113, 121, 133, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149  
časovnica 98  
častica, see čestica  
čestica 118  
ČITAONICA 76, 87, 90, 108, 112, 124, 140, 142, 143, 144, 149, 156  
ČLANAK 66, 80, 84, 90, 91, 93, 108, 112, 113, 145  
čovječnost 66, 107  
čovjek tvrde vjere 140  
čovjekoljubac, see COV(J)EKOLJUB(L)JE  
čovjekoljubiv, see COV(J)EKOLJUB(L)JE  
ČOV(J)EKOLJUB(L)JE 60, 68, 85, 89, 145, 149  
čudotvoran 66

čudorednost 51, 53  
čutl(j)ivost 89

dahokrug, see PAROKPUG  
damšić, see PAROBROD  
danak 55, 57  
danik 109, 112, 113  
dar prirodni 56  
dateljni 118  
delarnica 98  
dialekt 54, 58, 88, 108  
dialog 88, 89  
dictionar 44  
dielnik, see DIONIK  
dilletant 58  
dillorukni 72  
DIONIK 84, 90, 109, 111, 112, 142, 143, 145, 146  
dionorič (dionorčč) 48, 49, 66, 117  
dnevničar 122  
DNEVNIK 28, 109, 112, 113, 124, 125, 141, 145, 148, 149  
dobročinitelj 66  
dobrostanje, see BLAGOSTANJE  
dogodjaj 54, 124  
dogodjajstvo 98, 124  
dogodjajštje 124  
dogodopisac 109  
dogodopisni 109  
dogodopovest 121  
dogodoslovac  
dogodoslovni 109  
dogodoslovník 109  
dogodospisatelj 109

dogodovčina 46  
 DOGODOVŠTINA 49, 51, 59, 68, 85, 89, 107, 109, 112, 113, 122, 125, 140, 142, 148  
 dojam 150  
 DOKAZ 27, 28, 59, 76, 78, 85, 89, 91, 109, 112, 113, 123, 142, 145, 148, 149  
 dokazateljstvo 109  
 dokončanje 117  
 domorodoljubje 54  
 DOMOSTROJ 72, 93, 106, 111, 112, 142  
 domovina 58, 59, 66  
 dondeže 73  
 dopis 27  
 dosljedan 30  
 drama 88, 108, 151  
 dražajsi 74  
 društveni 118  
 dubokouman 51  
 duel 112  
 duhovjenje, *see* ODUHOVLJENJE  
 dušenstvo 98  
 dušno zpoznanje 44, 45  
 DVOBOJ 28, 59, 76, 85, 89, 108, 112, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149  
 DVOJBA 85, 89, 148  
 dvojbena, *see* DVOJBA  
 dvojmbe, *see* DVOJBA  
 dvojmbe, *see* DVOJBA  
 dvojna, *see* DVOJBA  
 dvojpiknja 49  
 DVORANA 59, 68, 72, 93, 108, 112, 140, 141, 145, 149  
 dvornica 68

ekonom 88  
 ekonomija 54, 108  
 eksamen, *see* ISPIT  
 elegički 88  
 energija 88  
 estetički 88, 115  
 estitika 88  
 etnograf, *see* NARODOPIS  
 etnografijski, *see* NARODOPIS  
 etimologija 88, 100, 109, 112, 146  
 etimologički 88  
 etimologijski 88  
 etnografija 88, 108, 146  
 etnografički 88

fabrika 54, 88  
 feker 56  
 filologija 88, 109, 112  
 filologički 88  
 filosof 56  
 filofija 56, 88, 109, 112  
 filozof, *see* filosof

filozofia, see filosofi(j)a

fizika 88, 89

flajbas 56

galeri(j)a 88, 108

ganak 112

gank, see HODNIK

ganjak, see HODNIK

ganjk, see HODNIK

genealogi(j)a 88, 108

geografi(j)a 88, 100, 108

geologi(j)a 88, 89, 146

GLAGOL(J) 59, 69, 76, 81, 91, 92, 108, 111, 117, 118, 132, 139, 141, 145, 149

glasomirje 49, 117

glavnica 51, 53, 66

glavobolja 56, 66

glazba 27, 72, 100, 143, 146

gledalište (gledališče)

godba, see GUDBA

godec, see GUDBA

godeti, see GUDBA

GOSPODAR 66, 80, 84, 121

gospodariti 58

GOSPODARSKI 58, 66, 80, 84, 121

GOSPODARSTVO 59, 66, 80, 84, 90, 91, 93, 108, 111, 121, 134, 143, 144, 145, 146, 149

govorništvo 109

govorotvornost 72, 98, 121

gramatika 108, 112

grlački 118

GUDBA 79, 91, 109, 113, 133, 142, 143, 146

gudben 122

gudbenik 122

GUSLE 67, 84, 90, 93, 108, 111, 142, 145

gvozdna cesta 111

gvozdna kolomi(j)a 109

gvozdeni drum 109

gvozdница 139

harmoni(j)a 88

harmonički 88

hemija, see KEMIA

hiljada 107

hip 54

histori(j)a 88, 100, 109

historički 109

historik 109

hitrograditi 56

hitrogradjenje 56

hitrogradnja 56

HLADNOKRVAN 79, 85, 89, 91, 108, 145

HODNICA/HODNIK 59, 87, 90, 108, 112, 124, 133, 145, 149

horizon(t) 88, 109, 145

HUDOŽESTVO 69, 73, 81, 91, 92, 111, 112, 120, 121, 142, 147

idea 112

ideal 112

igralište

IGROKAZ 28, 59, 68, 85, 89, 93, 108, 109, 112, 122, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 149, 150, 151

igrokazanje 68

igropjev, see IGROKAZ

ime 48, 49, 117

ime samostavno 48, 49, 117

ime pridavno 48, 117, 118

ime brojno 117, 118

imeniteljni 117

industri(j)a 88, 108, 145

inokrajan 51

inostranac 56

institut 88, 109

instrument 146

inštitut 88, 109

interesantan 88

iskriknik 109, 117

ISKUSTVO 68, 69, 81, 91, 92, 111, 113, 145, 147, 149

ISPIT 60, 66, 92, 108, 112, 113, 123, 145, 148, 149

istočalo 72, 116

istorički 88

istori(j)a 151

izdanje 60, 66, 145, 149

izdavanje 66

izgovor 66, 114

izjam, see IZNIMKA

izjatje, see IZNIMKA

izključnje, see IZNIMKA

izkustvo, see ISKUSTVO

izlaz 51

iznēmka, see IZNIMKA

iznētak, see IZNIMKA

iznimak, see IZNIMKA

IZNIMKA 80, 85, 89, 91, 108, 113, 124, 141, 143, 145, 148

IZOBRAŽEN(OST) 58, 59, 84, 90, 108, 112, 113, 122, 142, 145, 149

izobraženje 112, 149

izpit, see ispit

IZRAZ 59, 76, 80, 82, 91, 108, 112, 113, 118, 123, 132, 141, 144, 145

izrazan, see IZRAZ

IZRAZOSLOV(L)JE 85, 89, 118, 142

izrečenje 49

izreka 51, 53

IZTISAK 72, 93, 108, 113, 123, 143

iztočalo, see istočalo

izuzetak 124, 141

IZVANREDAN 107, 145, 149

jezični 118  
 jezikoslovac 109  
 jezikoslovan, see JEZIKOSLOV(L)JE  
 JEZIKOSLOV(L)JE 28, 59, 76, 85, 89, 109, 112, 113, 117, 125, 133, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149  
 JEZIKOSPITATELJ 85, 89, 109, 112, 142  
 JEZIKOZNA NSTVO 85, 89, 109, 112, 142  
 jezikozvedavec 58, 59  
 jurista 112

**KAMENOR(J)EZAC** 85, 89, 113, 142  
 kanal 100  
 karakter 88, 108, 112  
 karta 108, 146  
 kazališni 122  
**KAZALIŠTE** 28, 34, 67, 84, 90, 93, 109, 112, 113, 133, 140, 143, 145, 149, 150, 151, 156  
 kazitelj 49  
 kemi(j)a 88, 108, 112  
 kipar 142  
 kipodubec, see KIRPOR(J)EZAC  
**KIPOR(J)EZAC** 85, 89, 113, 142  
 kišobran 29  
 klima, see PODNEB(L)JE  
 kloštar, see SAMOSTAN  
 knjigomudrie 72  
**KNJIGOPIS** 85, 89, 108, 111, 113, 143, 144, 145, 149  
 knjigoskupština 47, 72  
 knjigotyskac 56, 57  
 knjigotystnik 56  
 knjigiveža 56, 57, 66  
 knjižar 56  
 knjižarnica 56  
 knjiženstvo 109  
 knjižestvo 109, 132  
 književni 109  
 književnik 109  
 književnost 109, 141, 146  
 književstvo 51  
 knjižnica 66, 107, 124  
 knjižničar 109, 122  
 knjižnik 56  
 kolodvor 75  
 kolostaj 138  
 komedi(j)a 88, 100, 109, 112, 146  
 kong, see HODNIK  
 konk, see HODNIK  
 konsjencia 44  
 kopnomirstveni 49  
 kopnopsisje 45, 68  
 kopnoraspisje 45  
 korenoslovje 58, 59, 109, 118, 133, 142  
 korenoslovni 58  
 kosmopolit 89

kosmopolitizam 146  
 KRAJOBRAZ 83, 93, 108, 112, 113, 145, 146  
 krajobrazni 122  
 krajo(o)braz 27, 72  
 krajopisje 29  
 KRASNORĚČJE 69, 81, 91, 92, 109, 113, 145, 146, 147  
 krasnorĚčnost 109, 113  
 krasnoslovan 115  
 krasnoslovje 49, 56, 115  
 krasodelo 98  
 krasorĚčni, see KRASNORĚČJE  
 krasovedan 115, 116  
 krivopis, see PARAVOPIS  
 krovoprolivanje 72  
 krtola 89  
 krumpir 89  
 kultura 108  
 kušenca 45  
 kušencija 45

la(h)komislan  
 LA(H)KOMISLEN 76, 79, 81, 85, 89, 91, 109, 112, 133, 145, 146  
 lakomšljen, see LA(h)KOMISLEN  
 LA(H)KOUMAN 85, 89, 91, 109, 113, 145, 146, 149  
 la(h)koumnost 122, 132  
 la(h)koumstvo 147  
 leksik 100  
 leksikograf 88  
 lepoglasje 107  
 l(j)eposlovje 115  
 l(j)eposlovnost 115  
 lexikon 44  
 l(ij)Ěčnik 60, 66  
 listovnica 28  
 literarni 89, 109  
 literatur 58  
 literatura 89, 109, 112, 132, 146  
 ložnica 124  
 LUČBA 26, 30, 79, 91, 108, 112, 113, 133, 142  
 lykar, see ljekar  
 lykarnica, see ljekarnica

ljekar 56, 66  
 ljekarnica 56  
 ljetopis 121  
 ljubomudrje 46  
 ljubomudrost 46  
 ljubomudrstvo 46  
 ljubopitan, see LJUBOPITNOST  
 LJUBOPITNOST 68, 69, 81, 91, 92, 108, 112, 113, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 149  
 ljubopitstvo, see LJUBOPITNOST

manastir 108  
 mapa 89, 108  
 medmetak, see MEDJUMETAK  
 medorčez 109, 113, 145, 146  
 MEDJUMETAK 48, 49, 67, 68, 93, 109, 117, 118  
 mesteljni 118  
 milotvornost 51, 53  
 misao 37  
 mitologi(j)a 89, 109, 146  
 mnenljivost 72  
 monastir 108  
 monolog 108  
 mrznokrvan, see HLADNOKRVAN  
 mudrac 109  
 mudroljubac 56, 109, 122  
 MUDROLJUB(L)JE 46, 56, 59, 60, 68, 85, 89, 109, 112, 113, 143  
 mudroljubni 58, 122  
 mudroljubstvo 46  
 mudroskupština 48, 51  
 mudroslovac 27  
 mudroslov(l)je 27, 143  
 mudroznanac, see mudroznanje  
 mudroznanje 46, 51, 53, 109  
 mudroznanstvo 49  
 mukotrpnost 54  
 muzički 88  
 muzika 56, 88, 100, 109  
 muzikaš 56  
 mužika 88, 92, 109  
 mužikaš  
 mzdovanje 73

nacalo, see NACELO  
 NACELO 51, 81, 91, 140, 145, 148, 149  
 nacin govorenja 56, 118  
 nadahnutje 66, 107, 109  
 nadslovka 49, 117  
 naglasak 117  
 nagloželjnost 51, 53  
 nagnutje 66, 107  
 namastir 108  
 namišljenje 51  
 napjev 27, 28  
 naprvostavak 98  
 naravoslovac 28  
 naravoslov(l)je 60, 68, 115, 142  
 NAR(J)EČJE 26, 30, 58, 59, 69, 79, 81, 91, 92, 108, 112, 113, 114, 118, 133, 145, 148, 156  
 narodoljublje 58  
 NARODOPIS 79, 85, 89, 91, 108, 113, 143, 145, 146  
 NARODOSLOV(L)JE 85, 89, 115, 135, 143  
 NARODOZNANAC 89, 111, 113



narodoznanstvo, see NARODOSLOV(L)JE

naslov 30

NASTROJ 59, 79, 91, 108, 113, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 149

NAZIVOSLOV(L)JE 80, 89, 91, 108, 113, 118, 133, 143, 144, 145

nedvoino 54

nedylja, see ned(j)elja

ned(j)elja 55

ned(j)eljni list

nepolebimi 74

neposredan 146

NEPOSREDSTVEN 81, 85, 89, 91

nepregledan, see NEPOSREDSTVEN

NEPREGLEDIV 85, 90, 109, 113

NEPREVIDAN 109, 113

NERAZNJEŽEN 85, 90, 111, 113

nesredstven 111, 112, 145, 146

NEZAVISAN 79, 85, 90, 91, 109, 111, 145

NEZAVISIM 81, 85, 90, 91, 109, 112, 133, 142

NEZAVISNOST 79, 91, 133, 143, 144, 149

neželi 73

obače 73

objetek 98

oblicaj 51

obrazovati 30

OBRTNOST 67, 84, 90, 93, 108, 111, 113, 132, 143, 144, 145, 148

obstojanje, see OKOLNOST

obstojateljstvo 110, 113, 120, 121

obzir 51

OBZOR 80, 69, 79, 81, 91, 92, 109, 113, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 149

odnos, see ODNOŠENJE

odnošaj 123, 124, 143

ODNOŠENJE 68, 69, 81, 91, 92, 108, 112, 113, 123, 124, 132, 143, 145, 146

odstraniti 37

oduhoviti, see ODUHOVLJENJE

ODUHOVLJENJE 85, 90, 109, 112, 142

oduševljenje, see ODUHOVLJENJE

odvjetnik 51, 53, 66

ogledalo 51, 53

okolčina, see OKOLNOST

okolica, see OKOLNOST

okolščenje 51

okolštvo, see OKOLNOST

OKOLNOST 26, 27, 30, 58, 59, 79, 91, 110, 112, 113, 127, 133, 139, 140, 141, 143, 145, 148, 149

okolobština 47

okolostanza 47

okolostatak, see OKOLNOST

okolostovka 47

okolovina, see OKOLNOST

okolovština 59, 66, 107, 110

OLOVKA 28, 76, 79, 87, 90, 91, 108, 112, 113, 133, 141, 143, 144, 145, 149

općeni 141

opći 141  
 ornitologija 145  
 ortografi(j)a 89, 109, 112  
 orudje 51, 53  
 orudjelje, see NASTROJ  
 orudjeljni 118  
 osmerokut, see OSMEROUGAO  
 OSMEROUGAO 88, 90  
 osmerouglat, see OSMEROUGAO  
 osoba 117  
 oštrospitan 98  
 oštrosudje 98, 121  
 OŠTROUMAN 108, 111, 113, 127, 132, 145, 149  
 otajnik 47, 55  
 otečestvo 73

padanje 49, 117  
 PADEŽ 69, 81, 91, 92, 112, 113, 117, 118, 132, 139, 141, 145, 146, 149  
 paleografi(j)a 89  
 papir 88  
 paradajz 100  
 parni brod 121  
 parni voz 121  
 PAROBROD 28, 59, 76, 86, 90, 108, 111, 113, 121, 133, 141, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149  
 PAROKRUG 28, 86, 90, 108, 112, 113, 121, 143, 144, 145, 149  
 paroplov 140  
 parovlak 143  
 PAROVOZ 28, 29, 59, 76, 86, 90, 108, 112, 113, 121 133, 143, 144, 145, 149  
 particip 146  
 petobiće 28  
 piknja 49  
 piknjorezak 49  
 pisaoc 56  
 pismeni 109  
 PISMENICA 72, 109, 142  
 pismenstvo 109, 132  
 pismohrana 59, 67, 93, 109, 143, 144, 149  
 pismohranište 67  
 pismohrana 67, 72, 109, 112  
 pisnica 51  
 pivnica 124  
 pjenčnica 143, 144, 145  
 pjesništvo 141  
 pjevokaz, see IGROKAZ  
 plajbas 56  
 plajvas, see OLOVKA  
 plemodjela 51  
 počelo, see NAČELO  
 početak, see NAČELO  
 podhvat, see pothvat  
 PODMET 79, 82, 86, 90, 91, 111, 123, 133, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149  
 podmetje 117, 123

**PODNEB(L)JE** 80, 67, 79, 91, 92, 108, 112, 113, 133, 143, 144, 145, 149  
 podpis, see potpis  
 podprijetje 109  
**PODUZETJE (PODUZEĆE)** 13, 86, 90, 109, 112, 113, 123, 124, 141, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149, 150, 151  
 podvrtje 117  
 pojam 37, 146  
 pojedinok, see DVOBOJ  
 poluglasnik, see SUGLASNUK  
 poluostrvo 71  
 poluotok 71  
**POLJODELAC** 86, 90, 140  
**POLJODELSKI** 86, 90  
**POLJODELSTVO** 86, 90, 109, 113, 133, 141, 143, 144  
 poljotežanje 51, 53  
 pomisao 37  
 pomnjenje 51  
 poneže 73  
**PONJATJE (PONJAĆE)** 37, 81, 91, 108, 112, 113, 120, 121, 122, 123, 133, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148  
 posvoiv 49  
 potajnik, see TAJNIK  
 pothvat 141  
 potpis 14, 66  
 potres 55  
 potvrda 51  
 poveznica, see POV(IJ)EST  
**POV(IJ)EST** 46, 68, 84, 90, 99, 109, 113, 122, 145, 149, 150, 151  
 povjedanje 46  
 povjedaoc 46  
 povjest, see POV(IJ)EST  
 povjestje 46  
 povjestni 109, 122  
 povjes(t)nik 46, 109, 122  
 pozorište 109, 151  
 pravdoznanac, see PRAVNIK  
 pravnički, see PRAVNIK  
**PRAVNIK** 79, 91  
**PRAVOPIS** 68, 76, 79, 86, 90, 91, 109, 112, 113, 117, 121, 125, 133, 149  
 pravopisanje 49, 58, 60, 68, 107, 109, 117  
 pravopisje, see PRAVOPIS  
 predaja 115, 123  
 predavanje 109, 113, 114, 123, 145, 148, 149  
**PREDGOVOR** 49, 67, 92, 148  
 predgrad(je) 107  
**PREDISLOV(L)JE** 68, 81, 91, 92, 142  
**PR(IJ)EDLOG** 68, 70, 76, 81, 86, 90, 91, 92, 108, 111, 113, 114, 117, 118, 132, 139, 145, 148, 149  
 pr(ij)edložni 122  
 predmetje 107  
**PREDMET** 26, 80, 58, 59, 76, 79, 82, 91, 108, 111, 123, 133, 141, 145, 148, 149  
 predmetje 123  
**PREDNAŠANJE** 86, 90, 109, 111, 113, 114, 123, 132, 142  
**PREDNIK** 87, 90, 108, 111, 113, 120, 124, 143, 144, 145, 146, 149  
**PREDNOST** 26, 30, 76, 79, 87, 90, 91, 108, 113, 124, 125, 139, 141, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149

predovržek 117  
 predsedatelj, see PREDSEDNIK  
 PREDSEDNIK 55, 67, 66, 86, 90, 108, 111, 145, 148, 149  
 predslavje 54, 70  
 PREDSTAVA 27, 79, 86, 90, 91, 109, 111, 112, 123, 133, 141, 143, 144, 145, 149  
 predstavak 117  
 predstavek 117  
 predstaviti 141  
 PREDSTAVLJENJE 79, 82, 86, 90, 91, 109, 112, 113, 123, 140, 143  
 predstole 52  
 predsud(a) 52, 58, 66  
 predsudje 52  
 predsudnik, see predsednik  
 predstasnik, see PREDNIK  
 PREDUZETJE (PREDUZEĆE) 86, 90, 109, 123, 124, 148, 149, 150, 151  
 predvaroš 107  
 PREGLED 76, 79, 86, 90, 91, 108, 112, 113, 123, 132, 145, 149  
 pregledanje, see PREGLED  
 preimućstvo 26  
 preobraženje 52, 53  
 presavršeno, see presavršen  
 preporod 58, 59, 67, 93, 109, 110, 111, 122, 123, 133, 145, 150, 156  
 preporodan 52, 122  
 preporodjen 52  
 PREPORODJENJE 13, 67, 109, 122, 123  
 presavršen 52  
 presavršeno 52  
 prethodnik 145  
 prevod 56, 107, 123  
 prezdelek 72  
 pričastje 70, 92, 109, 117, 118, 132, 139, 142, 143, 145, 146  
 pričoslovlje 28  
 pridavan 118  
 pridgovor, see predgovor  
 pridstavak 48, 49  
 prigibanje 49  
 prigospodaran 58  
 prikazaliste, see KAZALISTE  
 prilog 146  
 primjerak, 234 IZTISAK  
 priročak 58, 49, 117  
 PRIRODA 26, 59, 76, 79, 82, 91, 108, 113, 122, 133, 143, 145, 147, 148, 149  
 prirodni 122  
 prirodopis 26, 30  
 PRISLOV 79, 86, 90, 91, 112, 113, 117, 118, 139, 143, 145, 146  
 prislovje 49  
 prisućnost 127  
 pritisnica 52  
 proishoditi, see PROIZHODJENJE  
 PROIZHODJENJE 68, 82, 91, 112, 147  
 PROIZVOD 108, 111, 113, 123, 145, 148, 149  
 proizvođeni reči 117

**PROSV(J)EĆENJE (PROSV(J)ETJENJE) 26, 67, 84, 90, 93, 108, 112, 113, 142**

prosv(j)eta 26, 123, 142

protislov(l)je 110, 143

**PROTIVOR(J)EČJE 82, 91, 110, 113, 143, 145**

protivosloviti, see **PROTIVOSLOV(L)JE**

**PROTIVOSLOV(L)JE 68, 82, 91, 110, 112, 113, 143, 145**

protivur(j)ječje 112

protuslov(l)je 110, 141, 145

proviđenje 66

prvice 139

**PTICOSLOV(L)JE 86, 90, 111, 113, 132, 143, 145, 149**

radoznanost 146

ranar(nik), see **RANOVRAČ**

**RANOVRAČ 28, 56, 59, 86, 90, 106, 111, 112, 120, 121, 133, 142**

rasijan 26

raspisanje zemlje 45

**RASTRESEN 86, 90, 108, 113, 143, 145**

ratarstvo 140, 141

radružen, see **RASTRESEN**

razlog 56

razmaknut, see **RASTRESEN**

**RAZM(J)ER(A) 68, 70, 82, 91, 92, 108, 111, 113, 145, 146, 149**

raznesen, see **RASTRESEN**

raznjeziti, see **RASTRESEN**

razpokezan, see **RASTRESEN**

razpraan, see **RASTRESEN**

razpričan, see **RASTRESEN**

raztresen, see **RASTRESEN**

razum 56

**RAZVITAK 67, 86, 90, 93, 109, 113, 124, 145, 149**

**RAZVITJE 67, 86, 109, 123, 124**

razvoj, see **RAZVITAK**

razvučen, see **RASTRESEN**

rečna knjiga 44

rečnica 44

rečnik, see **rječnik**

rečnikopisec 58, 59

**REČOSLOV(L)JE 86, 90, 109, 112, 113, 116, 118, 132, 145, 146**

rečoslovan, see **R(J)EČOSLOV(L)JE**

rečosložje 109, 118

rečotvorac, see **REČOTVORSTVO**

**REČOTVORSTVO 86, 90, 109**

republika 89

retorika 109, 146

ričnik, see **rječnik**

ričoslovica 49

ričoslovník 44, 49

riečoslovník

riječ 44

rječnik 44, 66, 109, 118

rječoslovník 52  
 rječoslozje 44  
 roditeljni 117  
 rodoslov(l)je 68, 108, 115, 133, 143, 145, 148, 149  
 rudarija, see RUDOKOP(L)JE  
 rudarstvo, see RUDOKOP(L)JE  
 RUDOKOP(L)JE 82, 91, 108, 112, 113, 142  
 rudokop 141  
 rudokopnja, see RUDOKOP(L)JE  
 rudovanje, see RUDOKOP(L)JE  
 rukopis 66, 121, 125  
 rukopismo 54  
 rukotvorenje 52, 53

SADRŽAJ 86, 90, 108, 111, 113, 124, 143, 145, 148  
 sala 108, 112  
 SAMOGLASNIK 49, 50, 58, 66, 108, 111, 113, 117  
 samogovor  
 SAMOSLOV 86, 90, 108, 112, 113, 140, 142  
 samoslovac, see SAMOSLOV  
 samostalan 109, 111, 113, 145  
 samostalnost 122, 148, 149  
 SAMOSTAN 68, 71, 76, 93, 108, 112, 113, 140, 141, 145, 148, 149, 150  
 samostavan 58, 49  
 samostojan 109  
 samosvoistvo 52  
 samosvojac 52  
 samosvojan 52  
 SAV(J)EST 26, 45, 70, 82, 91, 92, 147  
 sbirka, see ZBIRKA  
 sbornik, see ZBORNI  
 sedmica 55  
 sekretar 55, 100, 112, 151  
 sentimentalnost 89  
 sgradoznanje 56, 57  
 siloslovlje 37  
 sistem(a) 54, 89, 108, 151  
 skazališće, see KAZALIŠTE  
 skazanje 46  
 skazateljní 118  
 skladanje 118  
 skladnoglasje 107  
 skladnoglasnost 107  
 skladnopietje 52, 53  
 skladnorednost 52, 53  
 sklanjanje 118  
 sklonjenje 117, 118  
 skrovitnik 47  
 skrovnik 47  
 skupglasnik 49, 58, 66, 109, 117, 118  
 skupznanost 45  
 sladoled 29

slap, see VODOPAD  
 slatkogovor 47  
 slidenje 53, 53  
 SLIKOSHRANA 72, 93, 106, 108, 111, 112, 133, 142  
 SLOG 30, 70, 70, 91, 92, 108, 113  
 slonova kost 107  
 SLOVAR 44, 67, 68, 93, 109, 113, 118, 124, 143  
 slovarnik, see SLOVAR  
 slovesnost 109, 132  
 slovka 49, 56, 66, 117  
 SLOVNICA 28, 59, 76, 86, 90, 108, 112, 113, 117, 141  
 slovničar 117, 122  
 slovnički, see SLOVNIK  
 SLOVNIK 44, 66, 67, 109, 118  
 slovo 44  
 slovo-knjiga 44  
 slovstveni 109, 122  
 SLOVSTVO 28, 19, 49, 7-, 02, 11-, 112, 113, 132, 133  
 smešna igra 11-. 113  
 sobstvo 116  
 sobstven, see sopstven  
 sobstvenost 116, 117  
 sodržanje 124  
 sopstven 49  
 sotojanje 52  
 sovjest, see SAV(J)EST  
 spavača košulja 34  
 spavaonica 124  
 SPOMENIK 108, 113, 133, 145, 149  
 spovjest 46  
 sprezanje 117  
 stalokom 52  
 stalstven 98  
 statistika 89  
 stil 89  
 stolje 66  
 strane govorenja 118  
 stvora 72, 98, 117, 121  
 subjekat  
 SUGLASNIK 76, 86, 90, 91, 109, 110, 111, 113, 117, 118, 132, 143, 144, 145, 149  
 sumnja, see DVOJBA  
 SUSTAV(A) 27, 79, 91, 108, 113, 132, 141, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149, 150, 151  
 svedočba 117  
 sveobćen, see SVEOPĆI  
 sveobćenit, see SVEOPĆI  
 sveobci, see SVEOPĆI  
 sveopći 26, 86, 90, 133, 141, 143, 144, 145, 149  
 sveopšti, see SVEOPĆI  
 sveučilišni 122  
 sveučilište 27, 28, 70, 92, 108, 112, 113, 141, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 150, 151  
 sv(ij)est 44, 45, 66, 107  
 svirati, see SVIRKA

SVIRKA 72, 93, 109, 111, 112, 113, 142, 146  
 sv(j)etoljub 28  
 sv(j)etoljuban, see SU(J)ETOLJUB(L)JE  
 SV(J)ETOLJUB(L)JE 67, 72, 93, 132, 145, 156  
 svoeznanje 45  
 svojljubnost 58, 59  
 svrha 52, 53

šala 108  
 školovanje 54  
 štatistika 89, 92

tačan 141, 150  
 tajni bilježnik ili pisac. see TAJNIK  
 TAJNIK 59, 84, 90, 112, 113, 139, 143, 145, 148, 149, 150, 151  
 talenat 56  
 teatar 100, 109, 112, 151  
 teloznanstvo 72  
 teolog 89  
 teologički 89  
 terminologi(j)a 108, 145  
 tisuća 66, 107  
 tjedan 55  
 tjedni list, see JJEDNIK  
 TJEDNIK 28, 80, 91, 108, 111, 113, 121, 133, 143, 144, 145, 149, 150  
 TOČAN 82, 91, 108, 141, 143, 144, 145, 149, 150  
 točka 141  
 TOČNOST 91, 111, 113, 122  
 toržestvo 73  
 tragedi(j)a 88, 100, 109, 146  
 travoznanac 89  
 tren, see TRENUTAK  
 TRENUTAK 67, 71, 87, 90, 93, 109, 110, 113, 124, 145, 147, 149  
 trenutje oka 55, 67, 109, 124  
 trešnja (zemlje) 56  
 tužiteljni 118  
 tvoriteljni 118  
 tvrdostoinost 52  
 tydan, see tjedan

učionica 49, 66  
 ugoždjenje 52  
 UKUS 68, 79, 82, 91, 108, 112, 113, 133, 145, 149  
 uložnja 52  
 um 56  
 UM(J)ETNOST 67, 93, 108, 112, 113, 133, 141, 145, 148, 149  
 umnje 52  
 umodar 57, 58  
 umodarje 98  
 umomislitje 98, 121  
 umomišlenstvo 98  
 umoslovje 98



univerzitet 151  
 upitiv 49  
 UPLIV 26, 27, 28, 76, 79, 82, 91, 110, 112, 113, 123, 141, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149  
 USKLIK 86, 90, 109, 111, 118, 132, 143, 144, 145  
 USTAV(JE) 30, 80, 91, 109, 111, 113, 133, 140, 142, 145, 146, 149  
 ustni suglasnik 118  
 uticaj  
 UTISAK 27, 76, 86, 90, 91, 132, 141, 149, 150, 151  
 utjecaj 26, 141  
 UTOK 67, 86, 90, 92, 110, 112, 133, 142  
 uvedenje 123  
 uvod 123  
 uvjerovanje 52, 53  
 UZDUH 68, 73, 80, 82, 91, 141, 145, 150  
 uzklik, see USKLIK  
 UZOR 76, 80, 82, 91, 108, 112, 113, 141, 143, 144, 145, 149  
 uzornost, see UZOR  
 uzorstvo, see UZOR  
 užasan 127

vatreni 139  
 vazduh 150  
 VESELA IGRA 80, 86, 90, 91, 109, 112, 121, 12, 132, 145, 146  
 veznik 48, 49, 50, 58, 59, 66, 112  
 VIDOKRUG 80, 82, 86, 90, 91, 109, 111, 113, 141, 143, 144, 145, 149  
 violina 89, 108  
 vlijanje 110, 113, 120, 121, 122, 123  
 vmeteljnost  
 VODOPAD 76, 80, 82, 86, 90, 91, 108, 112, 113, 123, 141, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149  
 vodopeljanje 68  
 vodotočje 68  
 VODOVOD 68, 76, 80, 82, 87, 90, 91, 93, 108, 112, 113, 123, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149  
 vodovodje 68  
 vodovožda 68  
 vojničestvo 54  
 vojništvo  
 vopros 73  
 vostorg 74  
 voz  
 возбуđenje 73  
 vozduh 68, 73, 133  
 vrač 56  
 vrimenorič 48, 49, 66, 112, 121  
 vustroj 116  
 vustrojštje 116  
 vutok, see UTOK  
 vutvornost 116  
 vyština 56  
 vzdeljanost 58, 59

začetek 116  
 zaima 58, 49, 59, 117

zakonotvorac 52, 53  
 zakonotvorje 54  
 zakonotvorstvo, see PRAVNIK  
 zakonoznanac, see PRAVNIK  
 zanimanje 108  
 ZANIM(LJ)IV(OST) 26, 80, 91, 108, 112, 145, 149  
 zaradostnik 58, 59  
 zarezak 49  
 ZAVEDENJE 70, 82, 91, 92, 109, 113, 123, 142, 143, 147  
 zavisnost 122, 141  
 ZAVOD 30, 82, 91, 123, 133, 143, 146  
 ZBIRKA 26, 28, 30, 79, 91, 109, 112, 113, 133, 140, 141, 145, 149  
 ZBORNIK 70, 82, 91, 92, 109  
 zemljodelstvo 109  
 zemljomyrac 56  
 ZEMLJOPIS 45, 56, 57, 66, 68, 76, 80, 87, 90, 91, 93, 100, 108, 113, 121, 122, 125, 145, 149  
 zemljopisac 121  
 zemljopisan 121, 122  
 zemljopisje, see ZEMLJOPIS  
 ZEMLJOSLOV(L)JE 87, 89, 90, 111, 133, 145, 146  
 zemljotežanje, see POLJODELJSTVO  
 zgodopisanje 46  
 zgodopisaoc 46  
 zkupznanost  
 zlamenje pitanja 49  
 zlamenje začudjenja 49  
 zlatotvorac 43  
 zločinac 66  
 zloupotreba 123, 144  
 zloupotrebiteljan  
 zloupotrebiti  
 ZLOUPOTREBLJENJE 70, 82, 91, 92, 108, 111, 113, 123, 133, 143, 146  
 ZNAČAJ 59, 72, 76, 93, 108, 112, 113, 124, 127, 133, 140, 141, 143, 145  
 značenje, see ZNAČAJ  
 znanje 45, 56  
 znanost 66  
 zoologi(j)a 89  
 zrak. see UZDUH  
 zubar, see ZUBOL(J)EKARSTVO  
 zubni 118  
 zubni lekar, see ZUBOL(J)EKARSTVO  
 zubnik, see ZUBOL(J)EKARSTVO  
 zubobolja 56  
 ZUBOL(J)EKARSTVO 87, 90, 111, 112, 120, 121, 142  
 zumboreći 118  
 zvateljni 118  
 zvedanje dušno 45  
 ZVEROSLOV(L)JE 87, 90, 106, 111, 112, 132, 142  
 zvirališče 98  
 zvjezdoslovac 127  
 zvjezdoznanac 30, 56  
 zvjezdoznanstvo 56

zvyzdoznanac, see ZVJEZDOZNANAC  
zvyzdoznanstvo, see ZVJEZDOZNANSTVO  
zvyzde 55

žalosno prikazanje, SEE ŽALOSTNA IGRA  
žalostna gluma, see ŽALOSTNA IGRA  
ZALOSTNA IGRA 80, 87, 90, 91, 109, 113, 122, 145, 146  
žalostni igrokaz 109  
žalostno igrokazanje, see ŽALOSTNA IGRA  
žalostno pozorište 109  
žalostnica 72, 98  
ŽEL(J)EZNA CESTA 87, 90, 109, 121, 142  
žel(j)ezna kolomija 109  
ŽEL(J)EZNICA 76, 80, 87, 90, 91, 109, 111, 113, 121, 124, 145, 148, 149  
ŽIVOTOPIS 59, 87, 90, 113, 143 144, 145, 149

