
МАТИЦА СРПСКА
1826

Pavle Ivić

THE SERBIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

Translated by
Randall A. Major

MATICA SRPSKA
Novi Sad
2024

Publication of this issue was supported by
The Provincial Secretariat for Culture, Public Information
and Relations with Religious Communities

CONTENTS

APPROACH TO THE TOPIC

Of the two broad domains of the history of language, one is at the same time the history of the people. That is the external history of language containing what happens *to the language*, while what happens *in the language* is obviously part of its internal history. Dialect branching finds its place in the external history of a language, along with the breakaways and proximations where, more clearly than anywhere else, the fate of a people as an ethnic group is reflected and condensed. Moreover, here is the history of a language in its function as a fundamental tool of culture; most often, both the development of a culture and its language are fixed in the written texts extant from the past. The ambition of this book is to offer the Serbian reader an overview of the external history of our language. One of the two longer texts in the book is dedicated to the ethno-historical element, and the second to the cultural-historical one. In conjunction with those themes, there is also a text about the present state and future of our dialects, the legacy of our ethnic history, and another dedicated to a work that set a standard of our language as an instrument of culture—Vuk Karadžić's *Dictionary of the Serbian Language* (1818). In all of these texts, linguistic data are seen under the magnifying glass of their basis—the history of the people themselves, whether ethnic, political, cultural, social… Only sporadically, for the sake of illustration or the identification of certain external relations, facts will be cited from within the internal history of the language, mostly related to the development of sounds or forms. Internal changes in the areas instrumental in producing a language, that enormous and complex system of signs, have their own special, autonomic conditions arising from the life of that system, but not from the life of society using them. For that reason, such changes are beyond the scope of this book.

The language spoken by the Serbs spreads far beyond the people themselves. As long as it has existed, it has been spoken by people who are not Serbs. In truth, the divisions have not always been like they are today; over time, ethnic and cultural spheres have been created, transformed, or even disintegrated. The one constant in everything has been the existence of one Serb and one Croat nucleus living in the territory of their common language. It is impossible to cleave it according to our present-day divisions, not only because it is, after all, one language, but also because such divisions are not the same as they were historically. Therefore, although the pages of this book will be preoccupied with the language of the Serbian people, great attention will also be given to the fate of other ethnic groups that use this language.

The longing of the author to reach the widest public reading audience has meant the author is truly attempting to make the content understandable to the laypeople, but at the same time, an effort has been made to preserve the seriousness of the scholarly data. Ease of reading has relegated much to the footnotes, but still, because of those readers who want to learn more, there is a short, selective list of more important references related to the topics in hand at the end of each section. Since this book is the first attempt at the genre and since different opinions are also true about every text in it, it is obvious that each text in it has a variety of interpretations. Likewise, certain opinions expressed in the cited publications differ from the understanding of the author of these words.

OUR ETHNIC HISTORY AND OUR LANGUAGE

1

Written historical sources inform us only about the most important of the circumstances under which our Slavic ancestors came to the countries where the Southern Slavs live today. It is known when that settlement took place: in the sixth and seventh centuries, but mainly in the second half of the sixth and the first half of the seventh. It is also known that the Slavs left the area "on the other side of the Carpathians"—in present-day Poland and Ukraine—and that they stayed for a time along the way in present-day Hungary, Romania, and the eastern half of Austria. The causes of the Slavic advance towards the south are mostly clear. This migration was only a part of a huge complex of ethnic movements that shook Europe in the twilight of the ancient era, and which in history are called the great migration of peoples. The causal linking of events in that complex is visible, even when there is no direct historical evidence. It all started when the barbarians on the European borders of the Roman Empire felt that they had a weakened opponent in front of them, unable to prevent them from gaining the wealth accumulated in the sprawling countries of the Empire, and also from settling in the warmer Mediterranean climate. These impulses, which, of course, did not lose their significance, were joined by impulses from the movements already made towards new shifts. Sometimes, the onslaught of one ethnic mass would suppress another, or the emptying of an area would open space for neighbors to invade, or the invaders would take their subordinates to serve them in their new existence, or again, someone's successful conquests and rich plunder would encourage another to follow a similar path. The Slavs were also

drawn into this whirlpool, although much later than their German neighbors. The old habitats of the Slavs were located far from the borders of the Empire, and their social organization, way of life, and the mentality created had not prepared them for great military endeavors. In order to set the Slavs in motion, it was necessary to first relocate and distance most of the peoples who lived between the Slavs and the Roman borders, and even to subdue some of the Slavs and engage other peoples to achieve their goals, most often Asian conquerors, amongst whom history remembers best the Huns and the Avars. It is also known that the Slavs, mostly led by the Avars, coming from Pannonia and Dacia, overcame the Byzantine defenses along the Danube and the Sava and in a few decades spread throughout the Balkan Peninsula, reaching almost all corners of continental Greece and even partially the Aegean islands.

It is not difficult to understand what gave the Slavs superiority over the better equipped and trained Byzantine border guards, the successors of the tradition of Roman legions. The majority of the Byzantine military force was occupied during those decades in the east, where it was necessary to save the empire from the onslaught of powerful Persian emperors. As for the border itself along the northern demarcation of the Balkans, it was long and its defenders were sparsely deployed, which enticed sudden attacks by large groups that would easily break through the border cordon. As soon as the invaders found themselves deep in the Byzantine lands, they would begin looting and demolishing, moving cunningly and avoiding combat with the detachments sent after them. The devastation of the hinterlands isolated the border fortifications, removed sources of supply and possible aid from them, and exposed them to sieges that no fortress along the border managed to withstand, not even in the interior of the Balkan mainland. There was no one left to prevent either the massacres and dispersal of the existing population, or the settlement of newcomers. And the latter were, in terms of lasting outcomes, exclusively Slavs; the few Avars, exhausted in countless battles, disappeared in the fog of history. This was the biggest change in the linguistic map of Europe brought about by the great migration of peoples (because the German conquests in France, Italy and Spain did not in fact significantly shift the Germanic-Romance linguistic border; only in Britain did the German invasion lead to a significant expansion of Germanic territory, at the expense of the Celtic languages).

It is also known that in the European southeast, after a fast-moving Slavic flood tide, a much slower ebb occurred. Once settled on the former Byzantine soil and taking root there, the Slavs (unless conquered by the Bulgarians, relatives of the Avars who had immigrated in the seventh century) became fairly easy prey for the expeditions of Byzantine military leaders who gradually regained many of the lost areas in the Balkans, especially those in the south. Thus, the resident Slavs became Byzantine subjects for the most part. Over the centuries, those in Greece were gradually Graecized under pressure from the superior civilization radiating from Greek coastal cities. The traces of the former territorial occupation of the Slavs are preserved in numerous toponyms (geographical names) in Greece. Even in the Peloponnesus, there are settlements called Βισοχά (Visoka), Γολέμι (Golemi), Καμενίτσα (Kamenica), and the like, names of obviously Slavic origin. However, it is no coincidence that smaller places are always in question: the larger city names never changed from Greek. Slavs in certain parts of Albania also assimilated, turning into Albanians. Even there, the traces of toponyms remained, such as Mrska, Vodica, or Lepenica. The names of the towns Korča and Berat come from Gorica and Belgrad (so, the name Berat is by background the same as Beograd, and Biograd na moru, and Bjelgorod near Kharkiv, and Belgard in the Polish Baltic littoral). But certainly, the largest retreat of Slavs occurred in the areas where the South Slavic area confronted the North Slavic area (i.e., the areas of the Western and Eastern Slavs). In the ninth century, after the Frankish conquest, the colonization of the Germans began in the eastern half of today's Austria. At the end of the same century, the Hungarians nested in Pannonia, a warlike Finno-Ugric people who were originally similar to the Huns or the Avars whose former centers they occupied, but continued quite differently in the late Middle Ages, getting baptized and constituting a strong feudal state where, in the central part of the later centuries, the existing Slavic population adopted the Hungarian language. In neighboring Dacia, today's Romania, an ethnic core of Romance language speakers was imperceptibly forming in the Carpathians, where chronicles mention "Vlachs" as early as the tenth century, but the process of Romanization of the Slavic population lasted long after that. These three ethnic changes led, cumulatively, to the interruption of contact between the Southern and Northern Slavs, which existed until the ninth century along a line from the vicinity of Linz in Austria to the Moldavian plain in eastern Romania. Of course, many Slavic local names are also left behind in the

once Slavic areas. In Austria, we find place names like *Feistritz* (Bistrica), *Rudeneck* (Rudnik), *Leibnitz* (Lipnica), and the city of Graz carries a Slavic name, identical with our town called Gradac. The toponyms of Romania are heavily interspersed with names like *Bistriţa* (Bistrica), *Crasna* (Krasna), Dobra, Lipova, and Lozna. In Hungary, there are both Buda and Pest, then Pécs (Pečuj), Nagykanizsa (Velika Kanjiža), Esztergom (Estergom), Dombóvár, Szolnok, Veszprém, Csongrád, and many other towns carrying names that originate from Slavic (in fact, most often, only a language specialist can interpret such names: the uninformed, for example, will not remember to connect the name Debrecin, Hun. *Debrecen*, with the name of the village Debrc near Obrenovac, Debra in Macedonia and Dabra in Herzegovina, or that the name Csongrad is analyzed as Črn grad, so Crni grad [Black City] is a counterpart to the "White City", Belgrade). After this, we will not be surprised that the Albanian, Romanian, and Hungarian languages are packed with words taken from Slavic. Many such expressions are especially present in the domain of agricultural terminology: the Hungarian word *borozda*, as well as the Romanian *brazdă* and the Albanian *brazhdë*, originate from the Slavic *brazda* [furrow], Hungarian *lapát*, Rum. *lopată*, Alb. *lopatë* are reduced to the Slavic *lopata* [shovel], and Hun. *Répa*, Alb. *Rrep* and Rum. *Rapiţă* in Slavic *repa*, *repica* [turnip]. It is clear that the first contacts with the speakers of these three languages found the Slavs to be experienced farmers with many concepts unknown to their neighbors and more at home with battle skills or cattle breeding. It is also important that these are words common to various branches of Slavdom, i.e., those that were certainly used in the Slavic homeland. This, again, testifies to the relatively high development of agriculture amongst the Slavs in that epoch, as well as to the continuity of agriculture as a skill and occupation during the migration period, from the disintegration of the Proto-Slavic community to settlement in today's South Slavic area. Of course, this does not mean that, if we looked at another branch of vocabulary, we would necessarily get an analogous result. In feudal terminology, the situation is quite different. All three main Slavic names for rulers have a non-Slavic etymology: "czar" and *kralj* [king] are traced to the names of historical figures *Caesar* and *Karl*, and *knez* [prince] to an Old Germanic word from which the German "König" and the English "king" originate. It is not difficult to conclude that the development of the feudal monarchy amongst the Slavs was lagging behind that of their western neighbors.

Our exposition of historical facts has already slipped away from those we know only from written historical documents to those about which language itself also testifies. It emerges that linguistic phenomena are quite often a testament to the history of a people, whether addressing its former distribution, or its contacts with other peoples, or its way of life, economy, and social relations. From this inevitably follows the question: can linguistic data be useful when it comes to other, hitherto untouched problems from the ancient history of the Southern Slavs? Were they a separate group, clearly differentiated from the Western and Eastern Slavs, even before the disintegration of the Proto-Slavic community, or were they separated only by the fact of their migration? Did the Slavs in the interspace, i.e., those in present-day Austria, Hungary, and Romania, belong to a southern, western, or eastern group, or did they, perhaps, constitute some sort of transitional entity? Were there any specific connections between certain parts of the South Slavic masses and the Slavs in the north, and vice versa? By what roads did the Slavs reach today's Slavic south, and by what roads did they move through that area? Were they ethnically unique, or were they already differentiated at that time? If there was differentiation, did it correspond to the one we see nowadays? All of these are topics on which historical sources are silent or, at best, give vague and sparse data, insufficient to arrive at any firm conclusions. Fortunately, the reflection of the history of an ethnic community seen in its language helps to see at least some elements of that darkened image.

Formulated linguistically, the problem of the specificities of the Southern Slavs comes down to the question: Are there linguistic features that would be generally South Slavic and simultaneously only South Slavic, and at the same time of sufficiently ancient origin that we could consider them to be Proto-Slavic dialecticisms? The answer to such a highly nuanced question is complex in itself. First of all, there is the fact that quite a number of features common to all or almost all South Slavic languages can be mentioned, which are alien to all or almost all North Slavic languages. We will list here, without striving to be exhaustive, a few of the most important facts:

– in the Slavic south, we find the initial *ra-* or *la-*, not *ro-*, *lo-*, in words like Serbo-Croatian *ravan* [flat, plain], *lakat* [elbow], Maced. *рамен*, *лакоꙏ̄*, Bug. *равен*, *лакът*, Sloven. *raven*, *lakat* according to Czech *rovny*, *loket*, Polish *równy*, *łokieć*, Russian *ровный*, *локоть*;

– the old nasal vowel *ę* (nasalized *e*, similar in nature to the French word *bien*) developed in most South Slavic dialects into *e* (*meso* [meat] in Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Slovene literary languages, but *мясо* in Russian, *maso* in Czech, *mäso* in Slovak, *mięso* in Polish, etc.);

– in the south, words like SCr. and Mac. *magla*, Bug. *мъ̄ла*, Slovene (*megla*[1]*) preserved a vowel that prevents the formation of the initial consonant group, while such a group was formed in the north: Rus., Ukr. мла*, Polj. *mgla*, Cz. *mhla*, Slov. *hmla*;

– in the south, a vowel is inserted in certain consonant groups at the end of the word (SCr. *tresao*, came from *tresal*, Mac. *тресол*, Bug. *тресъл*, Sloven. *tresəl*, while in the north, such groups are preserved or simplified by subsequent removal of the final consonant (Pol. *trzasł*, Cz. *třásl*, Rus. *тряс*, although Slov. *triasol*);

– in the south, there are ordinary suffixes with the consonant c in the formation of nouns, and in the north with k (SCr *Gradac*, Bul. and Mac. *Gradec*, *Sloven*. Gradec, Cz. *Hradec* and *hradek*, Slov. *Hrádok*, Old Pol. *gródek*, Rus. *городок*; SCr. and Mac. *ribica*, Bul. *рибица* and *рибка*, Rus. *рыбица* and *рыбка*, Pol., Cz., Slo. *Rybka*);

– several case forms had different endings in the south than in the north;[2]

– the conjunction *da* is used in dependent sentences in the south, but not in the north;

– there are not a negligible number of words used in the south, but not in the north (this includes, amongst many others: *gaziti*, *kuća*, *opanak*—to list these words only in their Serbo-Croatian form, noting that the appropriate forms are present in Slovene, Macedonian, and Bulgarian).

It is a different question as to whether all these divergences existed even at the time when the Proto-Slavic language branched out into its dialects, in its cradle north of the Carpathians before the be-

---

[1] The letter *ə* in Slovenian examples indicates a dark vowel, similar to the French *e* in the article *le* for the masculine gender; the vowel in Bulgarian ъ is somewhat more closed.

[2] In question is the instrumental singular of the majority of masculine and neuter nouns, the genitive singular and the nominative and accusative plural of nouns like *duša* [soul] or *zmija* [snake] as well as the nominative singular of the masculine and neuter nouns of the present participle. We will not cite examples here because the phenomena, clearly visible in the language of medieval texts, are obscured by later development.

ginning of the great migrations. Attempting to shed light on this issue confronts us with difficulties that are not to be underestimated. The reason is simple: at the time when the ancient Slavs lived together, not a single word was written down in their language. All testimonies about that language are indirect, and, therefore, often unreliable. In our case, we must rely on data from the oldest written monuments—translations of Cyril and Methodius from the ninth century, preserved in transcripts from around 1000 CE—and purely linguistic arguments arising from the nature of the phenomena in question. The most reliable evidence in this area is negative, that which is provided by the absence of a phenomenon in the oldest texts or the certainty that it could have developed only after a certain other change in language for which we have evidence that it is newer. Under the impact of such arguments, the fate of the nasal *ę* and the development of vowels in initial and final consonant clusters are removed from our list: the Old Slavonic texts testify that the replacement of nasals with other vowels are much newer than the migrations,[1] and the development of vowels in consonant clusters became relevant only with the loss of the semivowel, which we know is not older than the tenth century. With less certainty, we can assume that at least one of the three differences in terms of case endings arose only after the migrations, and as for the relationship *ra-/ro-* or *la-/lo-* at the beginning of the word, the vocal processes that led to such results were still in progress after the settlement of the Southern Slavs, but on the other hand, it is certain that divergences in the development of such forms occurred much earlier. For other phenomena on our list, we have no serious reason to believe that they are newer than the migration to the south, which means that the Southern Slavs in the epoch just before leaving for the south already formed a group with a definite (albeit small) conglomeration of common features. After all, this is not the only line of division that scholarship has been able to discern amongst the Proto-Slavic dialects. The interweaving of such dividing lines was fairly complicated. Amongst other things, there was a significant set of features that united the Southern Slavs with those in the East, both opposing those in the West, and there was a link between the Slavic South and the Czech-Slovak group (the special ties with the Central Slovak dialects will be discussed later). If, therefore,

[1] After all, in the dialects of the South Slavic languages, the transformation of the nasal *ę* into *e* is not nearly as consistently represented anywhere like it is in the literary languages.

we imagine our ancestors in the still unbroken orbit of the Slavic homeland, we will find them there as part of the South Slavic group, already somewhat settled and marked by some specifics, but also involved in the play of multiple relations with various other Proto-Slavic dialects. Only later development, along with the geographical isolation of the Southern Slavs from the Northern, will deepen the uniqueness of the Slavic south, but will also bring a much deeper differentiation amongst the South Slavic dialects themselves.

Answering the question about the linguistic features of the extinct branches of Slavdom that in ancient times filled the areas of Romania, Hungary and eastern Austria, the scholarship is based on evidence preserved in local names on that soil, as well as in Romanian and Hungarian and the Austrian dialects of German. This material, viewed as a source of information on our issue, has many shortcomings. Slavic words are fractured here through non-Slavic pronunciation and grammatical structure, and, thus, inevitably modified, with the irreversible destruction of many nuances of vowels and forms. Nevertheless, it can be said without the risk of exaggeration that the preserved testimonies unanimously speak of the South Slavic character of most of the extinct speech forms. Such a result is concurrent with what one would *a priori* expect as a logical extension: the Slavic population left behind in the regions through which the Southern Slavs passed on the way to the south, certainly had to belong to the South Slavic branch. The only exception is the northeastern part of Romania, which relies heavily on the Ukrainian-speaking area. In addition, in the northern regions of Hungary and Austria (and more or less in other zones in Austria) we find elements of the transition to the Slovak and Czech language types. The analysis of available data, although often ambiguous and controversial, leads us to the conclusion that in those countries (but not in Romania) there was, instead of a sharp boundary, a gradual transition between North Slavic and South Slavic linguistic reality. Such transitions are common and normal in linguistic geography; the current sharp separation is a consequence of the destruction of Slavic dialects in the transition zone and the centuries-old geographical isolation that followed.

Transience, after all, was not just a feature of extinct dialects in the areas in between. Several details in the northern and western Slovene dialects, and even in the Chakavian dialects in Istria and the environs, speak of ancient ties with the Western Slavs. Annals of a few other

phenomena of this kind extend over the entire territory of the Slovene language, as well as over the wider Kajkavian and Chakavian area. We can interpret this state of affairs only with the hypothesis that the zone of transition in ancient times stretched from the Czech lands through today's Austria to today's Slovenia and Croatia, but later events interfered with it, so that parts left in the Slavic south continued to develop exclusively under the South Slavic influence.

Something similar happened with the Central Slovak dialects in which significant features are visible, usually called Yugoslavisms, which, otherwise, do not exist in the Slavic north. These speech forms used to be a wedge into the transition zone to the north, with the territory of today's Hungary as their hinterland. The settlement of the Hungarians, breaking the geographical continuity of the Slavs, determined the later developmental path of these dialects. Of course, the last ten centuries of one-sided evolution were enough to include the original transitional dialects in Slovenia and Croatia in the circle of South Slavic language types, and those in Slovakia in the circle of West Slavic ones. Today, none of them are real transitional forms of speech, but only languages with traces of the foregone transience.

Most recently, research in the Carpathian zone of the Ukrainian-speaking territory has indicated that many words still live in those areas, which are otherwise considered South Slavic particularities. Amongst such words are *bumbar* [bumblebee], *dosta* [enough], *zagrtati* [wrap around], *igrati* [in the sense of "dance"], *kuka* [hook], *naviljak* [hay bale], *našte srce* [heavy heart], *polaznik* [attendee], *slepi miš* [bat], *slepo oko* [blind eye], *smreka* [spruce], *staja* [stable], *tuča* [in the sense of "hail"] , *uštipak* [fritter], *čedo* [child], *čitav* [entire]—of course, all in a vocal form that corresponds to the Ukrainian dialects there. What must have happened is clear: at the time when the ancestors of the Southern Slavs separated from those parts, such words certainly already existed in the Proto-Slavic dialects, so they remained in the areas where migration started towards the Balkans. Other South Slavic features had not yet been formed at that time, so there are none in that area. What is even more interesting, in the remote and archaic Polesia region, which stretches north of there, along the river Pripyat, there are also many of the mentioned words. Recent works by Soviet linguists have unexpectedly opened up unsuspected insights into the traces of our ancestors; further studies will be needed to properly interpret all these clues and to draw all the conclusions they allow.

When it comes to the connection of parts of the Slavic south with the Ukrainian region, we should mention that between the Bulgarian (and Macedonian) language, on the one hand, and the Ukrainian (and, of course, Russian and Belarusian) language, on the other, there are major similarities, especially in terms of consonant softening and semivowel development. But all indications are that these are phenomena that developed only a few centuries after the migration, independently on both sides.

We will add here that the two most important Slavic names of the South Slavic peoples, Serbian and Croatian,[1] are marked by certain ancient ties with the Slavs in the north. The Serbian name has been preserved to this day amongst the Lusatian Sorbs in present-day eastern Germany, near the Czech and Polish borders. However, neither Upper Sorbian nor Lower Sorbian show any specific linguistic similarities with Serbo-Croatian (or its Serbo-Croatian dialects). This means that at the time when the Serbs, in this broader sense of the name, were together, the dialectal differentiation of the Proto-Slavic language had not yet been carried out. After all, there are traces of the Serbian name, in toponymy or in historical sources, also in other places where the Slavs live or have lived. Such remnants of the Serbian presence in antiquity can be found in parts of Poland and amongst the extinct Slavs in today's Germany, then in Greece and Aegean Macedonia, and even in the name of the place called Srb in Lika, which is older than the immigration of Serbs living in that area now. It is quite similar with the name Croatia in various forms (e.g., Chrobatia), which we also find in parts of Poland and Germany, and after all in Czechoslovakia, as well as in Greece. However, nowhere in those countries has the Croatian name been preserved as a living ethnonym (ethnic name) that would be a counterpart to the name of the Lusatian Serbs.

In the work *De adminstrando imperio* (*On the Governance of the Empire*) of the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII "Porphyrogenitus" from the tenth century, there is a legend that Serbs and Croats came from the Transcarpathian region after 626, settling amongst other Slavs already living in the Balkans. Linguistic facts do not confirm this information,

[1] The Bulgarian name was introduced by conquerors of Turkish origin who conquered the Slavs in the eastern Balkans in the seventh century, and then became linguistically Slavicized themselves. The name Slovenci is just a modification of the inherited common name Sloveni, while Macedonia is the preserved ancient name of that country.

at least not as a circumstance of significant ethno-historical significance. In the language of Serbs and Croats, there are no North Slavic features that would set them apart from their South Slavic neighbors. Of course, there are many common Serbo-Croatian particularities, but it cannot be proven that these linguistic features were brought from the north. For the most part, these are obvious innovations from later epochs. As for the directions of the South Slavic advance southwards, we have news from written Byzantine sources which clearly state that the Slavs arrived via Pannonia and Dacia, that is, that they crossed into the Balkans over the Danube and to the east and west of Đerdap. However, there is a lack of direct information about the paths by which the Slavs merged into the Pannonian and Dacian plains and then invaded through those areas; in a similar way, the directions of their movement through the Balkans remain unexplained. Here again, only linguistic data are available to us, embodied in the geographical boundaries of certain linguistic phenomena (such boundaries in dialectology are called isoglosses). But even that material is usable only if it can be shown, at least with a considerable degree of probability, that these are language differences older than the migration. For such chronological assessments, the above-mentioned criteria of the presence of the phenomena in Old Slavonic texts and its internal nature can be used, as well as others: whether isoglosses correspond to possible directions of migratory paths, as well as whether they continue in Slavic linguistic traces in the lands of Austria, Hungary, or Romania, and possibly on the soil of the North Slavic languages themselves.

Researchers are particularly drawn to a large group of apparently ancient isoglosses that run mostly together from the Timok estuary across the eastern foothills along the Serbian-Bulgarian border to Osogovo, then in a wide arc through northeastern Macedonia to Ovce Polje and Skopje, and further south from Tetovo to the Albanian ethnic border around the Shar Mountains. Without going into a detailed enumeration of these phenomena, we will list a few of the most important, symbolizing each with only one pair of examples, taken from the literary languages of Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian, the first illustrating (in principle) the situation west of the line and the second east; SCr. *dan* with the same vowel as *san*: Bug. *ден*, but *сън* with a different vowel, SCr. *ruka*: Bug. *ръка*, SCr. *земља*, Bug. *земя*, SCr. *noć*: Bug. *нощ* (= нощт), SCr. *Međa*: Bug. *Межда*, SCr. *ијеīа*: Bug. *неīо*, SCr. *tresemo*: Bug. *Тресем*, SCr. *tresu*: Bug. *Тресът* (with -т at the end). It is quite certain

that all these differences, according to which today we divide South Slavic dialects into West-South Slavic and East-South Slavic branches, originate from deep antiquity, certainly not less than about a thousand years ago. However, for each of them individually, there is a lack of reliable evidence that would confirm that they are older than the migration. A significant indication is provided by the presence of most of the listed vocal phenomena, at least in rudimentary form, in traces of extinct Slavic dialects in Romania, more precisely, in old Slavic borrowings in Romanian and, most importantly, in Romanian toponymy. It turns out that the changes took place in the East-South Slavic way in most of Romania, and in the West-South Slavic way in the westernmost parts of that country. Observation of the geographical map suggests the impression that linguistic divergences existed at a time when the Slavs were descending in parallel to the south, some through Pannonia and others through Dacia (including the area of the Carpathian port, today's Erdelj) and then broke out on the Byzantine border, one west of Đerdap, and the other east of it, mostly independent of each other because they were separated by the mountains that rise above Đerdap from the north. With their lowland and agricultural habits and skills, the Slavs had every reason to avoid entering high-altitude landscapes. Crossing the Danube in separate formations, the western and eastern branches of the Southern Slavs continued to penetrate to the south through Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia, and today's cluster of isoglosses testifies to the former divide between the two migration avalanches.

This reconstruction of events is enticing with its simple, transparent logic. Still, it turns out that its persuasiveness is much greater at first glance than at the end of a detailed analysis—although it would be an exaggeration to say that such an analysis excludes any possibility that things happened this way. Taking a closer look at the facts, we will find several problematic nodes that our hypothesis does not solve easily. First of all, none of the listed isoglosses is extended onto North Slavic soil. If that were the case, if the situation in the land of Romania and the one in today's South Slavic area were only a projection of the differentiation present amongst the Northern Slavs, our hypothesis would be unequivocally proven. But things are not like that. The possibility remains that divergences whose isoglosses cut across Romania appeared only at the time of the separate advance of the two branches of the Southern Slavs to the south, or even that the Slavs in today's Romania

and today's Bulgaria developed several common features later, in the first centuries after settling in those countries (however, this implies that these changes were already conditioned and prepared by some peculiarities in the current linguistic situation, from which it would follow that these insufficiently precisely perceptible peculiarities are, in fact, the common heritage of the eastern branch of the Southern Slavs in contrast to the western branch which bore a different state of affairs from the original homeland). Slavic elements in the Hungarian language also create a lot of difficulties: the oldest and most important layer of its Slavic loans is dominated by those of the East-South Slavic type, and there are such elements in the toponymy of Hungary (the very name of the city *Pest* [pronounced *Pesht*] corresponds to the Bulgarian form *ѣеѫ* [pronounced *ѣеѫт*], and not the Serbo-Croatian *peć* or Slovene *peč*). This brings confusion to the reconstructed map of migration flows. However, there is reason to assume that the Hungarians had their first significant contacts with the Slavs in the past on Romanian soil and that they took over the Slavic words in the East-South Slavic phonetic form, and then gave such names to some geographical object in a new existence. Of course, all this is not certain, but it cannot be ruled out, nor can the possibility be ruled out that the branches of the eastern branch of the Southern Slavs subsequently descended from the Transylvanian highlands to the plains of central Hungary.

The very geographical position of our isogloss cluster creates some doubts. This cluster does not fully correspond to the direction that would intersect the Danube at Đerdap at right angles. Such a geometrically correct line would pass through the mountains of the Homolje massif to the west of the Timok valley, and then extend to Skopje or Tetovo through the South Morava valley or even west of it. In other words, the existing cluster of isoglosses is placed far east of the expected line and is characterized by a large protrusion to the southeast. On the other hand, these circumstances can somehow be reconciled with our hypothesis. If we accept that the members of the western branch of the Southern Slavs penetrated the valley of the Morava River, then it was logical for them to continue moving through the valleys of the South Morava and Nišava, gradually filling the entire Moravian basin. In that perspective, it does not seem unnatural that they mostly took mountain ranges on the watersheds before the members of the eastern group, and ultimately that they then descended from there to the valleys at the eastern foothills (amongst others, in the Timok and Pčinja valleys). Only,

in such a case, we would probably expect a massive presence of members of the western branch in the Vardar valley, and even south of there, in Greece. If the western Southern Slavs occupied the entire northern edge of Macedonia, including the approaches from the South Moravav-alley and Kosovo, it would be logical for them to continue further south, because the Vardar Valley is easier to enter from there than from the east, via Osogovo or the Bregalnica spring basin. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that members of the eastern branch, passing through the Struma valley towards the Aegean plains around Thessaloniki, advanced from there upstream to the northwest in the Vardar and Strumica valleys, to meet the western influx from the Morava and Kosovo regions. Thus, in our analysis, arguments and counter-arguments agree with each other and dilute each other.

The picture becomes even more complex if we keep in mind that the already listed isoglosses can be added to others whose antiquity is also significant, but for which we know positively that they cannot be older than the settlement of Slavs in the Balkans. Thus, west of our line is spoken (Serbo-Croatian literary) *unuk*, and east of the line (Bulgarian literary) *внук*, W. *crven*: E. *червен*, W. *grad*, *nož*: E. *ґрат*, *нощ* (in pronunciation, although according to the Bulgarian orthography, they are written *ґрад*, *нож*), W. *sve*: E. *все*, W. plural *žene*: E. *жени*, W. plural adjectives *mladi*, *mlade*, *mlada* (= special forms for each gender): E. *млади* for all three genders, W. *pokazaste* (second person plural aorist): E. *pokazahte*, W. *ūоказаūе* (third person plural aorist): E. *pokazaha*. These isoglosses coincide quite precisely with those from the first list, except in the Macedonian lands, where our cluster is already quite scattered, mainly by the deviation of certain isoglosses to the southeast. Of course, the presence of these phenomena only confirms the depth of the ancient ethnic rift between the two branches of the Southern Slavs. But at the same time, it is now clear that the assumption of divergent development *before* immigration is not enough to explain the facts. Obviously, there was a period of such development *after* immigration, which implies that the phenomena from our first list could have occurred in that period (of course, noting that those whose isoglosses extend across Romania are at least a reflection of some older differentiations).

On the other hand, one should not underestimate the significance of the once created dialectal fissure as a factor that determined further events. In our case, certain far newer innovation waves, for example

the loss of the consonant *h* in most Serbian regions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, stopped at the already existing line. It is also natural: different circumstances in already created language systems determine divergent paths of further evolution, and the awareness of the masses about dialectal diversity, which sets a psychological barrier to innovations coming from regions beyond the borders, is certainly not without significance.

Nowhere on South Slavic soil is there such a dense cluster of such old and significant isoglosses as the one we are discussing here. Moreover, there is no such deep linguistic rift in the North Slavic world either, if we exclude the line that separates the Western from the Eastern Slavs (specifically, the Poles and the Slovaks from the Belarusians and Ukrainians). Where did such a large fissure originate, how did it come about? This question is exacerbated in a new way now that we know that the hypothesis of a parallel advance towards the south of two separate groups of Slavs is insufficient. It is necessary to specify what could have caused the centuries-long severance of contact after the arrival in the new homeland, and that is exactly along the given line. Of course, the simplest thing would be to declare the geographical relief responsible, but that would also be the least realistic. There are hills and mountains almost everywhere in the Balkans, even much higher and more impassable than those on the slopes of which our line moves, which, after all, intersects valleys in many places. Political divisions in the past, including the borders between Serbia and Bulgaria, cannot help us. These borders changed too often in the Middle Ages to contribute to the creation of a sharp linguistic boundary in any particular place, and in addition, they were always significantly west of the northern half of our line. Even the greatest expansion of the Nemanjić state or the Despotate did not affect the Timok basin, nor the upper Ponišavlje. But then, how does one explain the strange concentration of isoglosses in a rather unexpected place?

However, let us start from what is confirmed as certain: after the settlement of both branches of the Southern Slavs in the Balkans, there was no closer contact between them for a long time. It would follow that the members of both branches, crossing the Danube west and east of Đerdap, at first covered mostly river valleys and plains, leaving mountainous environments for later expansion, which probably followed only when the Slavic population in the valleys multiplied so much that a population surplus appeared, even when the Slavs were

already sufficiently adapted to the climate and the Balkan way of cattle breeding. Can we conclude from this that the highlands at the crossroads of the two branches of the Southern Slavs stood uninhabited for several centuries? Certainly not. The Slavs did not find the Balkan Peninsula uninhabited, and they could not exterminate the natives completely. The experience not only of those oldest times, but also of many new ones, confirms that in cases of great collective danger, the people become refugees, in one of two ways: either behind the fortress walls, or in inaccessible forests and ravines. On these pages, we should look for the continuity of the existence of our pre-Slavic ancestors, whose share in our biological origin is quite significant, perhaps even greater than the Slavic one.

Reliable historical evidence proves that today's countries of the Serbo-Croatian language in late ancient times were all part of the Latin language zone that covered half of the Roman Empire. The border between the areas of Latin and Greek stretched from the Adriatic Sea in Albania, then south of Skopje and through the surroundings of Kyustendil and Sofia to the Balkan Mountains and further to the Black Sea coast. Of course, Latin was a relatively recent intruder in these countries, but in a few centuries from the Roman conquest to the Slavic invasion, it managed to dispose of the older language layer—the Thracians in the eastern half of Serbia, and the Illyrians in the west. There is no evidence that anywhere the Illyrian or Thracian population in the present Serbo-Croatian regions came into direct contact with the Slavs; therefore, there are no Illyrian or Thracian words that could be said to have been taken directly from one of these languages into Serbo-Croatian (with all this we need to place a certain barrier in relation to Albanians and their language, which will be discussed later). The rapid Romanization of the natives shows the immense prestige of Roman civilization amongst the barbarians in the conquered provinces; if we imagine ourselves in terms of comparison, we will be impressed by the depth of the influence exerted, infinitely more far-reaching than anything recorded later in the times of Turkish or Austrian rule. Of course, the role of colonists who immigrated from various parts of the vast empire should not be underestimated, especially legionnaires deployed on the Danube "*limes*", a fortified and well-occupied border zone.

When the cataclysm of the Slavic invasion endangered the survival of the existing population, one part of it found refuge in fortified

coastal towns, while others retreated to the forests. Scant historical sources do not contain details about the tragedy of such a change of lifestyle, but our imagination can easily help us understand what it meant to leave organized towns and villages, a lifestyle in which they often had their place and literacy, and theaters and plumbing and baths, and try to get used to nomadic shepherding on difficult hills, of course with a return to primitivism and complete illiteracy. But in spite of everything, the descendants of those inhabitants of the forest refuges managed to survive; it is obvious that the beginnings of the Romanian people should be sought in that environment, just as another ethnic group was formed in the cities along the Adriatic coast, linguistically marked by the Dalmatian language (to which this interpretation of ours will return once again).

In fact, the question of the original homeland of the Romanians is one of the controversial problems of historical and linguistic science. It is so clear that Romanians are the descendants of the Romanized population that survived the Slavic invasion, in a region that is not very large, because all the scattered branches of the Romanian ethnic group in relation to other Romanic languages are characterized by very common linguistic features that could arise only in close community. However, it is not entirely certain which area was the cradle of the Romanian people. At first glance, it seems quite logical that it was Romania itself. Such an opinion, after all, also exists in science, especially amongst Romanian researchers. Nevertheless, this view is contradicted by the argument that the Romans ruled Dacia for a relatively short time, about 165 years (106-271 AD), while today's Serbia and Bulgaria spent more than five centuries under Roman rule, which gave a far better opportunity for a more complete Romanization. The inhabitants using the Latin language in the border along the Danube, after the loss of Dacia, had to be especially compact. There is abundant evidence of the existence of numerous Roman cities and fortresses in the area, from Belgrade to Dobrogea. On the other hand, it is unlikely that Dacia was ever thoroughly Romanized, nor that the population of Latin, if it was in it, remained there even after the withdrawal of the legions to the southern side of the Danube in 271. Due to all that, most non-Romanian researchers are inclined to look for the origin of Romanians in the Roman province of Moesia, which included, amongst other things, eastern Serbia and northern Bulgaria. The fact that Romanians really lived in Dacia, not Moesia, is out of the question as a counterargument. Namely,

all the data confirm that the Romanians were initially exclusively nomadic shepherds, extremely mobile and ready to migrate to distant lands. Already in the tenth century, historical sources reveal a large group of Vlachs in present-day Thessaly in Greece, the medieval Raška charters are full of mentions of Vlach cattle breeders, in the sixteenth century, they reached Corfu and Istria, and in the Carpathians, their final branches reached northern Slovakia and southern Poland and northern Moravia. Therefore, it is natural to assume that after the Slavic conquest of the countries south of the Danube, a part of the captured Romans could easily move north across the great river, in other words, there was a rotation between the conquerors nearing the south and the conquered whose path to salvation would lead straight into the area recently abandoned by the conquerors.

In the 1920s, the Dutch Slavist van Wijk came out with the theory that in the early Middle Ages, Serbs were separated from Bulgarians by a belt in which the Romanian population lived. Only later, when the Romanians partly wandered to other parts, and partly succumbed to assimilation, the western and eastern branches of the Southern Slavs came into direct contact. This view is in perfect harmony with the findings of linguistic geography, which, as we have seen, stated (only long after van Wijk) a very strong concentration of isoglosses along the demarcation line between the two large blocks of the South Slavic ethnic group. That is why the linguistic rift is so deep that both sides were shaped separately, and only later, already distinctly differentiated, did they come into geographical contact.

Despite all the persuasiveness of the hypothesis we have offered, it can only be accepted with some additions and reservations. The first of them would concern the possibility that in the non-Slavic interspace that separated the two groups of Slavs, there were Albanians, and not only Romanians. In fact, the issue of the cradle of the Albanian people has fallen into the tangle of controversial problems of ethnic history of the Balkans, albeit only in recent decades (while the old existence of Romanians has been discussed in our ethnic history and language for a century). Namely, it turned out that the Albanian language was by no means an extension of the old Illyrian language that was spoken in today's Albania (and in most of Yugoslavia) before the Roman conquest. Simply, the features of the Albanian language are in sharp contrast to what is known about ancient Illyrian. In addition, it turned out that in Albanian, all terminology related to the sea and seafaring is secondary, borrowed

from other languages. Even the word for fish is taken from Latin, while the Albanian name of the oar comes from the Slavic for *shovel*. Things could not be like this if the old homeland of the Albanians was near the seashore; in that case, they would have had autochthonous words in the past, at least for such elementary notions inseparable from life on the coast. After all, all other testimonies say that Albanians in the early Middle Ages were shepherds and lived the same way of life and under similar social and civilizational circumstances as Romanians. And that means that, like the Romanians, they were typical continentals. Scientists were also impressed by the fact that there are no definite traces in Albania that ancient toponymy was directly inherited into the Albanian language, without Slavic mediation, while on the other hand there are indications that names like Niš, Štip, Šar, and Ohrid came to Slavs only from Albanian mouths. It is also characteristic that the Romance elements of the Albanian language have many specific links with Romanian, and that in both languages there are many expressions from pastoral terminology that obviously originate from an old pre-Roman Balkan language (of course, we have every reason to assume that in the pre-Roman period in the mountains of the Balkan Peninsula, mostly the same type of sheep breeding was practiced that was recorded in the Middle Ages and which, in some places, lasted nearly until our days). Apparently, the language in which these terms originated was in fact the ancestor of the Albanian language, from which Romanians took terms specifically related to the Balkan style of sheep-breeding (or, perhaps more likely, Romanian ancestors, while receiving Latin, kept from their earlier language those expressions that were closest to their way of life and for which there may not have been good equivalents in Latin). It remains to be seen which language it could be. Today, the prevailing opinion in science is that it is a Thracian language; a certain general similarity between Albanian and Thracian has been proved, whose physiognomy has been reconstructed from rather sparse remains in ancient inscriptions and records. Moreover, some concrete matches in the details were found. That, admittedly, is not much, and it is not even enough to convince us completely, but so far there is no better candidate than the Thracian language. If we keep in mind that the area of that language, apart from today's Bulgaria (and Romania), also covered eastern Serbia, we will be left with the most probable place of the old homeland of Albanians, eastern Serbia, so again the areas in the Middle Ages that composed that transitional area between the two branches of Southern Slavs.

If everything we have assumed here is true, the later development had to combine two or three processes: the gradual emigration of Romanian and Albanian people from the area in question, the penetration of Slavic settlers into the area, namely the western branches, and the assimilation of those who remained (with the exception of the work of Romanians in northeastern Serbia and the work of Albanians in the Metohija region). We are unaware of the historical circumstances that conditioned the members of the western group, and not the eastern ones, to occupy the interspace. It is unlikely that the expansion of the Nemanjić state towards the Southeast was decisive. These are pastoral movements in an even older period, and we have already determined that in the sector from the Danube to the area southwest of Sofia, the position of our isogloss cluster is much farther eastern than the extreme borders of medieval Serbia at the time of its greatest expansion. This, of course, does not exclude the chance that Serbian penetration in the thirteenth century and Serbian rule in the fourteenth century could have played a role in the northern approaches to Macedonia, nor does this mean that there were no other settlers. The name of a village south of Pirot (Ljuberažda) and a group of several toponyms in the Vranje and Prizren regions show traces of East-South Slavic settlement, judging by the archaic formation of these toponyms, a very old date. The language of these places and landscapes today does not stand out from the dialect of the surroundings; it is clear that the West-South Slavic language layer completely prevailed during the later development. In some names of settlements (Dragobužde and Tibužde near Vranje, Pobužje near Skopje), an unusual combination of two South Slavic branches is reflected: the vowel in these examples could be developed only through the West-South Slavic voice development, and the group *žd* (or consonant *ž*) testifies to the development in the East-South Slavic sense. There are no dialects with such combined features today, either on that terrain or elsewhere.

The persuasiveness of the theory about the long retention of the non-Slavic buffer zone between the two branches of the Southern Slavs depends, of course, mostly on how many real traces of the Albanian and Romanian ethnic groups there are in that area. There, three types of testimonies would be of the greatest value: direct mentions of Vlachs or Arbanassis in medieval texts, traces of their languages in toponymy, and finally, such traces in today's dialects. Regarding the first source, we have partial information: many old Serbian charters mention Vlachs

and also the Arbanassis, mostly as mountain cattle breeders with a special social status. These mentions, however, do not cover the whole territory in question, but mostly only its western parts, but we could not expect anything else: we simply do not have charters for other parts of that area. On the other hand, Vlachs and Arbanassis are mentioned in the Middle Ages and in the areas west of the zone in question. For now, there is a lack of studies that would more accurately reveal everything that could be said on the basis of available material about the medieval distribution of these peoples (although, with regard to Albanians, it is clear that the area of their presence in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries could not have been larger, but smaller than today). However, the toponymy of eastern Serbia provides abundant data. Names like Berbatovo, Bukurovac, Bučum, Valuniš, Korbevac, Maržini, Merdželat, Svrljig, Surdulica, Tumba, Džepa and many others are of Romanian origin. So far, no detailed collection and analysis of materials has been done here either, but it is clear that this will be a fruitful task for future researchers. After all, on the Bulgarian side of the border, for example, in the Sofia area, the share of the Romanian element in toponymy is significant, embodied in names such as Banaiz, Banishora, Bov, Vakarel, Gavnos, Pasarel, Ursul. On the other hand, in many parts of our country, especially in the mountains, there are also Romanian traces in toponymy, but nowhere so much as in eastern Serbia (here, of course, it is not about the northeastern corner of Serbia where Vlach is still spoken, but valleys of the South Morava and areas east of there). As for the Albanian elements in toponymy, there are of course many of them in the Kosovo-Metohija area and its immediate neighborhood, but there are no reliable data for areas further east and northeast (except for the already mentioned interpretation of today's voice character of ancient names Niš and Štip). The dialects themselves do not contain many Romanian or Albanian elements in the vocabulary—at least according to what is known so far, because detailed research has not been conducted—but they are full of so-called Balkanisms, structural features not found in Serbo-Croatian, but there are in Romanian, Albanian, Modern Greek, Bulgarian, and Macedonian. These include a drastic reduction in the number of cases, ignorance of infinitives, doubling of personal pronouns (*mene me vidi* [*I can me see*]), comparatives of the type *po mlad* and shortening of all long accents.

At the beginning of this century, Aleksandar Belić, having established a purely Serbian basis of dialects in this area, which he called

Prizren-Timok, explained the Balkanisms in them as a trace of the Romanian substratum. That explanation still seems credible today, with the proviso that the vicinity of the Bulgarian and Macedonian dialects could also have contributed to the same outcome. A novelty in the consideration of this problem was introduced by the relatively recent research of Serbian dialects in Banat along the Romanian border and on Romanian territory itself. It turned out that Balkanisms under the direct influence of the Romanian environment are emerging before our eyes, which increases the probability that the influence of the same language once played the same role in the Prizren-Timok region.

At the end of this digression on the issue of the former non-Slavic belt between the two branches of the Southern Slavs, we can conclude that such a belt probably really existed and that it contributed to the mutual isolation of the two branches. After all, we can now go a step further in summarizing the conclusions of the presentation so far. The questions about the linguistic individuality of the Southern Slavs in the wider Slavic circle and their homogeneity can be answered as follows: even before the displacement of the Proto-Slavic community, the Southern Slavs were a group marked by a moderate number of peculiarities, but it is likely that there were significant differences. These differences were already quite visible in the phase of their advance towards the Balkans, and they significantly increased in the first centuries after the occupation of the new homeland. Amongst the three large groups of Slavic languages, South Slavic has the clearest internal differentiation, followed by West-South Slavic (Czech, Slovak, Upper Lusatian and Lower Lusatian, Polish with Kashubian, and extinct Polapian), and finally the East Slavic group (Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian) more homogeneous than the other two.

It is appropriate to ask the question whether there are other isoglosses, apart from those on the Timok-Osogov-Šara line, which would reflect some old division of the Southern Slavs, possibly brought from the world of the Proto-Slavic dialects. Let us answer immediately: there are no such isoglosses on the territory of the eastern branch of the Southern Slavs (at least not in phonetic and grammatical features, because lexical details cannot be entered due to their huge number which always allows for various connections), but in the western half of the South Slavic area there are several isoglosses of this very nature. We have already had the opportunity to state the connection of certain dialects in Slovenia and Croatia with the Czech language. Specifically,

there are four phenomena: in the most northern Slovene dialects, *dl* is preserved in words like *modlit[i]*, as Czech *modliti*, and different from typical South Slavic *moliti*; in the entire western half of the Slovenian territory, as well as in the Chakavian dialects in Istria, around Rijeka and part of the Kvarner archipelago, the consonant *g* is pronounced as a fricative instead of rasp, which was a transitional stage towards the development of Czech *h* instead of *g*; in some northern and western peripheral Slovenian dialects, and sometimes in Chakavian Istria, the prefix *vi-* instead of *iz-* (*vibrat [i]* as Czech *vybrati*, and even Russian *вы́брть* different from the typical South Slavic *iz[a]ȏrati)* appears; finally, the Slovene forms of the instrumental singular like *roko*, Kajkavian as *rukum* and North Chakavian as *rukun* are related in origin to the corresponding Czech and Polish forms, and different from South Chakavian and Shtokavian (of the type *rukom*). Apart from these facts, in which the connection with the North Slavic orbit is obvious (and could hardly be secondary and accidental in all four examples), several other isoglosses can be mentioned, which seem to be of ancient origin, and could be a projection of the movement of migratory currents at the time of immigration. First of all, there are isoglosses of Slovene-Kajkavian features that separate these language types from the Shtokavian and Chakavian dialects: *orjemo* against shto-chak. *oremo*, *mìsliš* with a long descending accent, and not *mȉslîm* with a short one, *dóbri* with a long ascending accent, not *dȍbrî* with a short one (and here we illustrate each feature with just one example, without entering into scientific definitions of phenomena that are not necessary for an expert here and non-experts would only be burdened). However, it is known that all these phenomena could have finally taken shape two or three centuries after the settlement of the Southern Slavs, which would mean that divergence, if it existed at the time of settlement, was limited to circumstances that later led to different development outcomes. However, there are other Kajkavian-Slovenian peculiarities whose date of origin is obviously newer, so we can speak with certainty about the Kajkavian-Slovenian evolutionary community long after immigration, which opens the possibility to place the mentioned phenomena within that community.

The isoglosses of the voice relations embodied in the examples of *gušćer:gušter* and *meja:međa* are also very important for the history of our language. In both cases, the western situation covers the Slovenian language and Chakavian dialects, as well as the western Kajkavian regions. In addition, the type of border covers some ancient Shtokavian

dialects in Bosnia and Dalmatia, and the type *gušćer* and eastern Kajkavian and most of the Slavonian Shtokavian, as well as somewhat more extensive land on Shtokavian soil. It would be too bold to see in these divisions a reflection of something that existed almost before the crossing of the Slavs across the Drava, because there is no evidence of that, but it is certain that there are traces of very early development. Let us add, after all, a somewhat broader conclusion: around the tenth or eleventh century, we find the West-South Slavic group already distinctly differentiated. On the one hand, there is a large, essentially monolithic complex of eastern and central Shtokavian, and on the other hand, a nuanced gradation in the west that goes through West Shtokavian dialects (also unequal amongst themselves), southern and northern Chakavian, eastern and western Kajkavian, and various types of Slovenian dialects which in the very northwestern corner of the Slovenian area show the most deviations from the Shtokavian state. All this is in natural harmony with the principle of linguistic geography that under normal circumstances linguistic differences tend to be proportional to geographical distance, since that distance is a factor that hinders communication between people, and dialectal differences increase with weakening communication.

2

The establishment of the South Slavic population on the Balkan Peninsula and in the neighboring parts of Central Europe generally normalized the conditions for linguistic differentiation. While the linguistic boundaries created by migration are in fact a consequence of the different origins of settlers in different places, thus reflecting the differences created earlier, in the source areas of migration, in periods of stable settlement dialects diverge for the simple reason that language is constantly changing and is too complex and rich in details so that it can change spontaneously everywhere in the same way. Of course, the mutual contact of the population tends to reduce the differences that arise, but its effect is only partial. With the passage of time, new isoglosses are always created, especially on the lines of weaker contact, which means where geography or history poses obstacles. Linguistic geographers are accustomed to the appearance of dense clusters of isoglosses along impassable mountain ranges, or along centuries-old political or religious borders. On the other hand, the history of language

is full of examples of the formation of relatively uniform dialect areas thanks to the radiation of a strong political, economic, and cultural center on the area that gravitates to it.

We will not dwell on the linguistic differentiation of the Southern Slavs in the first two or three centuries after the immigration. Not only do we know extremely little about linguistic history and about the history of our then illiterate ancestors in that dark epoch, but, as we have seen, it is practically quite difficult to separate the innovations of that time from those brought about during migration. Therefore, we will take the tenth century as the starting point for the exposition that follows—again, of course, only as an approximate landmark. The fact that we can still rely on some general notions of linguistic and other circumstances in the tenth century and around it comes from the fact that we have from that time (albeit very sparse) records of our names in Greek and Latin sources. We know from Old Slavonic literacy a lot about the language situation then in the neighboring Bulgarian and Macedonian areas and on the basis of the Freising manuscripts something about the Slovenian language situation. After all, in the tenth century, the political division of the South Slavic world was already present, which, with certain modifications and passing waves of Byzantine domination, would last until the Turkish invasion.

Since the end of the eighth century, the Frankish conquest had separated most of today's Slovenian lands from the majority of the South Slavic ethnic world. The political border between Slovenia and Croatia has remained in almost the same place until today, with the only significant changes in the twelfth century, when the Slovenian area was expanded by joining Bela Krajina, the belt between Krka and Žumberak mountains, and the area from Ptuj to Ljutomer. On the whole, this is by far the most stable amongst the historical borders that divide the South Slavic countries, and it is quite natural that this barrier is accompanied by a significant cluster of isoglosses. North of the Kupa, on the Croatian side of the border, there are Kajkavian dialects, similar in origin to Slovenian, but today significantly different from them. All indications are that the fundamental affinity of Croatian Kajkavian dialects with Slovene must be older than the establishment of a political barrier, and this suggests that the ancestors of Kajkavians and Slovenes formed one language group at the time of settlement. Circumstances after the settlement, and especially those created by state legal isolation, could not help create a situation in which the Kajkavian region

is intensively associated with Slovenia and at the same time deeply differentiated towards its Stokavian and Chakavian neighbors, despite closer political ties with them. In the zone around the Kupa and further through Gorski Kotar and Istria, the immediate neighbors of the Slovenian dialects are the Chakavians. In Istria itself, the Slovene dialects of the Koper zone are distinctly Slovene, but the dialects around Buzet have a predominantly Slovene basis, as did those in the nearby areas along the lower course of the Mirna River.

The soil on which the Croatian Kajkavian language developed was medieval Slavonia (so-called Pannonian Croatia, in the vernacular *Slovinje*), a political formation that was annexed to Croatia in the tenth century and which, after the Hungarian conquest of Croatia in the early twelfth century, gained a closer connection with Hungary than the one that Croatia had in the narrower sense of the word (the so-called Dalmatian Croatia, *Croats* in the vernacular of the time). With its geographical spread, medieval Slavonia differed from today's. It stretched from the Slovenian border to a line that connected the Sava and the Drava through today's Slavonia (counties further to the east fell directly under the Hungarian crown). After all, the areas south of the Sava, and even south of the Kupa, all the way to the Croatian border on Gvozd, entered Slavonia. The speeches that developed in that area possessed a significant fund of common features, primarily in accentuation and the fate of the vowels, but apparently there were also marginal speech types that transitioned to Shtokavian in the east and Chakavian in the south.

North of the territory of Slavonia, Prekmurje dialects have been preserved on Hungarian soil, which, further away from the Kajkavian innovation hotspots, have remained untouched by their influence, but have also remained largely outside the Slovenian developmental sphere. Those in the subsequently annexed zone east of Ptuj have something more in common with the majority of Slovenian dialects.

The picture presented gives rise to the question of why the Slovene language is considered a special language today, different from Serbo-Croatian, and also why Croatian Kajkavian dialects are then considered Serbo-Croatian. In answering, we must start from the basic fact that the difference between the notion of dialects of the same language and the notion of closely related languages is difficult to grasp, so much so that, in many specific cases, scientists are divided in their evaluations. If it is a situation in less developed social environments, we lack

a clear criterion for assessment. There is a deceptive popular notion that speakers of the same language can understand each other, and speakers of different languages cannot. First of all, comprehensibility is a relative thing, bigger or smaller, and not some absolute category that exists or not. In practice, it also depends on random factors such as the pace of speech, or the topic of conversation, or the intelligence and even the current alertness of the listener. It is further known that speakers of various dialects of certain languages can hardly understand each other (Italians from the south and north, Slovenes from the Littoral and Styria, etc.), while sometimes another language can be understood in one elemental measure (in all wars where they met, Serbian and Russian soldiers managed to communicate, each more or less with their own language). However, in environments of more advanced social development, there are features that enable the avoidance of an approximate-quantitative approach in assessment. These features are national orientation and the use of different literary languages. Both of these factors today clearly separate Slovenes from Croats, so the individuality of the Slovene language cannot be disputed. As far as Croatian Kajkavians are concerned, in national terms, they are the same as other Croats, and they use the same literary language, which gives rise to their dialects being included in Serbo-Croatian. However, if we stayed on the ground of pure dialectology, two other solutions could be found that would be more acceptable than this grouping. Either the Croatian Kajkavians should be included in the same group as the Slovenes, separating them from the Shtokavians and Chakavians, or two special units, the Slovenian and the Croatian Kajkavian, should be separated. Neither of them would be inconsistent with the reality of the Kajkavian dialects, which, starting from the basics mostly common with Slovenian, later innovated partly in a very special way, and partly in combination with one neighbor, and later with another.

The Chakavian region originated on the land of medieval Croatia, which stretched from eastern Istria to the mouth of the Cetina. It is significant that the Chakavian language in a very distinct form affected all the shores of the Kvarner Bay; although the Slovenian hinterland is very close, nowhere did any of its linguistic backwaters reach the Kvarner coast. This is certainly not without significance for the question of the direction of Slavic settlement: it will be that all areas along Kvarner were inhabited from the east, not from the north (Slovenian migration tended towards the Gulf of Trieste and the Soča Valley). In addition,

the relative ease and intensity of maritime communications kept the Kvarner Basin together. Of course, it would be illusory to try to determine more closely the share of each of these two factors. By the way, the dialect situation in Istria itself is quite instructive. The speech in Liburnia around Kastav and Opatija is closest to the general Chakavian linguistic reality. This zone is not only located to the east, but also belonged to Croatia until the eleventh century (then, however, it was separated from it and came under Frankish, then German, and then Austrian supreme power). Speeches west of Učka are still quite definitely Chakavian, but still unequivocally connected with the Slovenian language (primarily in terms of the type of *roka* instead of *ruka*) around Raša and Pazin. When Istria over time was divided into Venetian and German (or Austrian) parts, that area, like Liburnia, remained outside the circle of Venetian rule. However, in the Buzet area, where the Venetians managed to dominate and where the connections with the Gulf of Trieste and the economic and political center of Koper were very intensive, the characteristics of the Slovene-speaking base prevailed for a century.

Along the southern and western coast of Istria, the local descendant of the Latin language, today in science called the Istro-Romance language, has remained to this day in the cities of Rovinj, Vodnjan, and some smaller places. Reliance on Italy was close and immediate, and on the other hand, neither the Croatian nor the Hungarian authorities ever reached those areas (instead, Venice ruled continuously from the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century). Of course, this did not prevent Slavic immigrants from settling near these cities as farmers. From the year 804, we have information about the complaints of the cities against the colonization of the Slavs, which was carried out on their land by the local Frankish duke. It is very probable that the speeches of these settlers, in the meantime erased from the geographical map by new migrations, were an extension of the neighboring speeches of the Buzet or the Pazin zone. Western Istria is, after all, characterized by a strong penetration of the Venetian Italian dialect, primarily along the coast and in urban settlements.

Chakavian dialect development also affected Dalmatian cities (Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, Split), as well as islands off the Chakavian coast, although these cities and islands were often torn away from Croatia. Initially, some of them were under Byzantine rule, and later, they usually fell under Venetian rule. Almost the entire medieval history

of Croatia, both under domestic rulers and later under Hungary, was filled with alternating events around cities and islands, which were often directed by Byzantine or Venetian rule over the sea, special interests of the city patricians and its ethnic segregation in many cases. Namely, in one part of the cities, the autochthonous Romanesque language of Dalmatia, the so-called Dalmatian language, was spoken. This language finally became extinct only at the end of the nineteenth century (although it lived only in the city of Krk for the last few centuries), but in the meantime, it has been replaced by an infiltrated Venetian dialect spoken by many immigrants from Italy or people who were Italianized in place. Of course, to the extent that the Slavic language element managed to penetrate the cities, it was Chakavian, just as all the islands opposite the Croatian mainland became Chakavian.

The Makarska coast between the mouth of the Cetina and the mouth of the Neretva had an unstable political destiny in the Middle Ages, in which periods of independence and belonging to Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia changed. Such a complex history has conditioned a dialectal picture in which Chakavian and Shtokavian elements intertwine. Transitional Chakavian-Shtokavian solutions can also be found in the dialects of the western half of Pelješac and the island of Lastovo. The influence of the Chakavian motherland, which, starting from the Split sector of the coast, covered Brač, Hvar and Korčula, and from there radiated towards Pelješac and Lastovo, and the shtokavian current, which operated by land along Pelješac, and also by sea communications from Dubrovnik to the west intersect, where the political rule of Dubrovnik over Lastovo from 1272 and Pelješac from 1333 undoubtedly played a definite role (until then, after all, Pelješac was under the Nemanjić family rule).

There were certainly many transitional Chakavian-Shtokavian speech types along the Croatian-Bosnian border in the Middle Ages, often shifted by various twists in history. Apparently, more or less each of the isoglosses that separate the Chakavians from the Shtokavians had a special direction, as is normal in linguistic geography (except when special historical or geographical circumstances dictate the concentration of the isogloss). But we know almost nothing about the former mosaic of transitional speeches in this area and it is certain that we will not understand much in the future either. Namely, the migrations that occurred with the Turkish invasion swept away and irreversibly destroyed these old marginal speeches. After all, even in medieval Bosnia

itself, the majority of speech had transitional features at the base, but evolution was dominated by the Shtokavian orientation.

As early as the Middle Ages, Chakavian speeches were distinctly differentiated. In the extreme northwest, in Istria, around Rijeka and Bakar, as well as on the island of Cres, the Ekavian pronunciation developed. In the rest of the Kvarner zone, on the neighboring Zadar islands and in the hinterland of Kvarner, through Lika to Kupa and in the Una valley, there was a combination of Ekavian and Ikavian replacement of the old vowel *jat* (*zvezda* and *belo* on one hand, and *brig* and *mliko* on the other), while the Dalmatian regions were ruled by the Ikavian pronunciation, thus connecting the southeastern part of the Chakavian area with the neighboring western part of the Shtokavian area. In addition, Istrian and Kvarner dialects have preserved a deeply archaic character, with the appearance of very distinct local features that make colorful even the dialectal image of such small areas as the island of Cres or the island of Krk. In contrast, in Dalmatia, the dialects were much more uniform, with the exception of the phenomena in the transition zone to Shtokavian. The most special fate in this region was experienced by the Lastovo dialect, where, certainly not without influence from Dubrovnik, the Jekavian replacement of the *jat* was established.

East of the borders of the Kajkavian and Chakavian areas, on the land that stretched all the way to the border between the western and eastern branches of South Slavdom, Shtokavian dialects were formed. Genetically, these dialects are close to Chakavian and distant from Kajkavian. A significant group of identical traits determined a common starting point for Chakavian and Shtokavian evolution in contrast to the Kajkavian-Slovenian development base. There was no extension of accents in the already mentioned types of *míslim* and *dóbri*. The major changes that affected vocalism took place in the same way in the majority of Chakavian and Shtokavian speeches: the nasal vowel *ǫ* turned into *u* (*ruka*, *put*), the old semivowels produced *a* (*dan*, *san*), and the syllabic *l* passed into semivowel (*žlt*, *vlk* into *žut*, *vuk*). This, of course, does not mean that there were no certain long-inherited differences, both between Chakavian and Shtokavian dialects, and amongst Chakavian dialects themselves (which in general, and especially in its northwestern part, show a lot of ancient connections, mostly lexical, with Kajkavian and, especially, Slovenian language sphere). However, these differences in language structure were modest compared to the fund of common elements—except in one case, in the domain of consonantism,

where the basic Chakavian situation (equating *đ* with *j*, hence the pronunciation of *meja*, *osujen*) predetermined a system with a limited number of affricates, while the Shtokavian state led to the further multiplication of such voices (in addition to *c, č, ć* and *đ, dž* was later found there, and in many speeches was also merged as *dz*). If we keep in mind that, in the early epoch, the evolutionary consequences dictated by the unequal base in relation to *đ* had not yet been derived, and that the isoglosses separating Chakavian from Shtokavian were spaced apart, forming a range rather than a cluster, we will understand that between these two dialects there was no great difference or sharp demarcation in the environment; however, the situation was changed by Shtokavian innovations that began to appear somewhere in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, extending approximately to the Croatian borders, but sometimes beyond them to Dalmatian soil. This is how relationships were created as *vnuk:unuk, pojdem:pođem, vse:sve, črn:crn, pisal:pisao* (here the first example illustrates the older and at the same time Chakavian state, and the second example shows the result of Shtokavian voice change). The enumeration of such differences is impressive in one respect: the language innovation is always on the Shtokavian side. Chakavian speeches as a whole are deeply archaic—or evolutionarily passive, which ultimately means the same thing. There are hardly any specific social Chakavian innovations, i.e., those that would capture the majority of Chakavian speeches without being shared with some of the neighbors. On the other hand, the Shtokavian innovation foundry proved to be one of the most active in the South Slavic area.

The basic political formation in which the Shtokavian dialect type developed was medieval Serbia. In its initial phase, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century and the borders of the Serbian dynasties in the latter epoch, it included not only Raška but also Travunija (approximately from Trebinje to Nikšić), Duklja (later Zeta and even later Montenegro), Zahumlje or Hum (most of Herzegovina) and Bosnia. Cohesion between these areas was not always complete. In addition to the great aspiration for independence, the diplomacy of the Byzantine and Bulgarian emperors came to the fore, and without a doubt the rugged territory of the Dinaric mountains, through which travelers and loaded cattle could only make their way with great effort with long interruptions in winter months. All the more striking is the uniqueness of the described area in the rapid full adoption of each of the Shtokavian innovations listed in the previous paragraph

(with the only exception of the mentioned type of *pođem* in parts of Bosnia). We can, however, wonder if the vast pasture plateaus were, in fact, more of a link than a barrier, providing a very mobile livestock population with an environment for encounters and ways to move forwards. After all, most of our innovations developed in the Nemanjić epoch, when the territory in question was all part of the same state, again with the only exception of Bosnia (which, in 1332, occupied most of Hum). In any case, there is the fact that the Dinaric lands under Nemanjić rule were the source of innovations which, then covering large areas, determined such a distinct physiognomy for the Shtokavian language type.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the replacement of the *jat* also differentiated the Shtokavian dialects. Ekavian pronunciation developed in Raška and Ekavian in Zeta and in the eastern half of Bosnia and Hum, approximately to the rivers Bosna and Neretva. The areas west of these rivers have survived the Ikavian *jat* development along with the Chakavian areas in their neighborhood. These new isoglosses intersected with those of older origin, but of more limited significance for the physiognomy of speech, because they concern the appearance of those present in a much smaller number of words than the replacement of the *jat*. The picture was further complicated by the shift of stress towards the beginning of the word (*òstavi* instead of *ostȁvi, jùnāk* instead of *junâk*) which connected Jekavian and Ikavian dialects in Herzegovina (Hum with Travunija), separating them from Zeta and Bosnian dialects that retained the older stress patterns.

Medieval Bosnia, which was originally part of the Serbian lands, was permanently separated from them in the twelfth century (although in the middle of the thirteenth century, Ban Matija Ninoslav persistently called his subjects "Serbs" in charters). According to their general physiognomy, Bosnian dialects are predominantly Shtokavian but, as we have already pointed out, they also have Chakavian features in their base, which corresponds to the position of Bosnia between Serbian and Croatian areas. In this, after all, Bosnian dialects are very unbalanced: many old isoglosses cross Bosnian soil, so the measure of deviation from the average Shtokavian state is very disbalanced. However, there is something paradoxical in the fact that the later evolution took a decisive direction in the Shtokavian direction: based on the history of Bosnia, which initially belonged to the Serbian lands, and then separated from them, we would expect exactly the opposite development.

North of Bosnia, in today's Slavonia, Shtokavian dialects with features of a peripheral position developed in the Middle Ages, under Hungarian rule. It is not difficult to see in them the lines of transition to the Chakavian or Kajkavian state, as well as the details in which the ancient Slavonian dialects simply lag behind the typical Shtokavian evolution. But overall, we are surprised by the dominance of Stokavian features, in fact more pronounced than in some parts of Bosnia, although the geographical distribution and political and cultural history would suggest just the opposite. The replacement of the *jat*, which probably took place in Slavonia quite late, broke the Slavonian dialects into several parts. In Posavina, we find Ikavian pronunciation, but in many places also semi-Ekavian (with a combination of *dite:djeteta*, depending on whether the vocal cluster was long or short), while Podravina dialects are mostly Ekavian, which brings them closer to Vojvodina (it does not imply that the act of replacing the *jat* was realized in the developmental connection of both speech zones).

Today's Vojvodina, and with it Mačva and partly Šumadija, fell in the Middle Ages under Hungary and not under Raška. It is all the more impressive that a dialect with consistent Shtokavian characteristics developed on that land, even without any sign that would indicate a special status or peripheral position. The replacement of the *jat*, which was late here as well, connected this area with the former Raška countries with the Ekavian pronunciation. However, some details in the replacement of the *jat* in these northern Ekavian dialects speak of their individuality (and autochthony in that northern terrain, because if they were later settlers, their speech would be the same as in the area where they came from). This is why in the north people say *stariji, nisam, [g]di*, instead of *stareji*, *nesam*, *[g]de*, which is usually the case in the southern Ekavian dialects.

East and southeast of the original boundaries of Raška, the South Morava valley and the southeastern parts of the Kosovo and Metohija basin remain. In these areas and even further to the east, all the way to the cluster of isoglosses that separates the western and eastern branches of the Southern Slavs, are the dialects of the Prizren-Timok (Torlak) dialect group.[1] The basis of these dialects is undoubtedly Shtokavian. They survived all the Stokavian innovations of the earliest phase

[1] The districts of this dialect group, which are located in the Bulgarian and Macedonian states and national territories, are usually called Belogračičko-breznički, or Northern Macedonian, dialects.

until about the twelfth century, but their later development left them untouched, or only partially touched them. Thus, there was no replacement of the semivowel (words like *dan*, *san* are still pronounced *dən*, *sən*, with an indefinite vowel similar to the one in the French definite article *le*), and the syllabic *l* (in words like *žlg*, *dlg*) and *l* has been preserved. at the end of the syllable (*nosil, debel*), or they changed in a way different from the ordinary Shtokavian. This separation is a consequence of political isolation, as well as geographical distance from the Shtokavian development centers. It is easily possible that the movements of the speakers of these dialects to the east and southeast also contributed to something, which was discussed in the previous chapter. But even more than these archaisms, today's physiognomy of these speeches is determined by a series of Balkan innovations that we have already mentioned. It is not always clear in which Balkan language any of these phenomena originated, but it is obvious that they were all transmitted from one Balkan language to another. It is very probable, after all, that they mostly originated in the non-Slavic languages of the Balkans and were transferred from there to the Slavic languages. Therefore, these features cannot be interpreted as evidence of some genetic connection between the Prizren-Timok dialects and the Bulgarian and Macedonian languages, regardless of the extent to which they entered these dialects from Romanian or Albanian dialects found and assimilated in place, and to what extent they were taken from Macedonian and Bulgarian neighbors. In any case, these are secondary traits; the primary ones are those listed in the first chapter of this work, whose isoglosses extend along the eastern and southern borders of the Prizren-Timok zone and which so decisively prove the West-South Slavic basis of these speeches. But it is also obvious that certain features of the recent origin represent today real elements of similarity with the Bulgarian and Macedonian languages, giving the character of a certain transience to the speeches in question.[1]

[1] Of these dialects, Serbo-Croatian dialects are those spoken by the Serb population (those on Serbian soil, except for the Dmitrovgrad and Bosilegrad areas), Macedonian dialects are those in Macedonia, and Bulgarian dialects are those spoken by the Bulgarian population (in Bulgaria and Dimitrovgrad and Bosiljgrad regions on the Yugoslav side of the border). Today, it is a well-established practice that these speeches are studied within the dialectology of the appropriate language. It is true, after all, that the share of elements that represent the basis with the majority of Macedonian or the majority of Bulgarian dialects

Sound and morphological isoglosses divided these speeches into three groups in the Middle Ages, which did not break their evolutionary community, confirmed by many later innovations that cover the entire land of this dialect zone. The easternmost group, which today we call Timok-Lužnica, and whose branch on Bulgarian territory is called Belogračič-Breznik, was excluded from the Shtokavian development sphere at the earliest somewhere in the twelfth or thirteenth century. The speeches of this group occupy mountainous areas on both sides of the Serbian-Bulgarian border, from the Bosiljgrad area to near Zaječar (it is probable that in the past they extended further north, towards the mouth of the Timok). Most of the territory of these dialects remained permanently outside the borders of the Serbian state in the Middle Ages, even in the moments of the culmination of its power. Somewhat closer to the Shtokavian speech reality are the speeches that we are used to calling Svrljig-Zaplanj, and with which the basic features, although with a lot of variation in detail, correspond to speeches in the northern Macedonian belt from Tetovo to Kratovo and Kriva Palanka. The territory of these dialects also covered the valley of the southern Morava, as well as the neighboring areas in northern Macedonia. In the Middle Ages, most of these areas came under Nemanjić rule and the Turks conquered them from the Serbian rulers and feudal lords. Finally, the formation is geographically the westernmost and linguistically closest to the average Serbo-Croatian state, developed in the southern part of the Metohija valley and in the southeastern part of Kosovo. These areas did not belong to the original scope of Raška, but they became part of it in the time of Nemanja or Prvovenčani, and geomorphologically, they are open to the northern parts of the same two valleys, to Raška by political affiliation in the tenth century. The separation of these dialects, today called Prizren-South Moravian, from the Shtokavian development sphere falls somewhere in the second half of the fourteenth century or in the early decades of the fifteenth. However, although the gradation of features along the east-west axis is geographically and historically quite understandable in principle, there is something confusing in the dates of separation with which one operates in linguistic science. In fact, these dates assume that the dialects

---

is relatively the largest in dialects in Macedonian or Bulgarian territory; this corresponds to the geographical circumstances and historical connections, as well as the fact that in these zones, compared to the folk dialects, the Macedonian and Bulgarian literary languages stand in the function of the literary language.

went along with those of Raška in the period when their areas did not belong to Raška, and that they took a different path during the period when those areas were an integral part of the Serbian state. Perhaps, we should revise this whole idea and assume that all these dialects stopped participating in everything in the Shtokavian innovations around the twelfth century, but that in the epoch of the political community with the majority of Serbs it was realized, especially in the Prizren-South Moravian dialect type, with some innovation in the Shtokavian direction. At the same time, since the starting point of development was somewhat different, the outcomes of the process were somewhat different from the typical Shtokavian ones. Thus, the Prizren-South Moravian dialects were affected by the change of the vowel *l* at the end of the syllable to a vowel, but that vowel was not *o*, as is usual on Shtokavian soil, but *a* (i.e., *nosija*, *debela*, but not *nosio*, *debeo* from the earlier *nosil, debel*). Similarly, the vocal *l* gave *u*, as is normal in the Shtokavian (*žlt, tlče* became *žut*, *tuče*), but in a few examples, where the vocal *l* was much earlier converted into *lu* (*slunce*, *dlug*, from *slnce*, *dlg*), the *lu* group of course remained, in which the difference according to the typical Shtokavian situation is still preserved. Later, when the political situation changed again, these speeches definitely slipped out of the orbit of Shtokavian development.

South of the border of the Prizren-Timok base, there is an area of Macedonian dialects whose origin is quite decisively East-South Slavic. However, specific phonetic changes led these dialects in a way different from Bulgarian evolution, shaping them in such a way that they later acquired the characteristics of a kind of transition between the East-South Slavic and West-South Slavic language branches. It so happened that on both sides of the old language boundaries, vast areas with transitional characteristics were secondarily created, but of course with a clearly preserved basis that unequivocally belongs to one or the other side.

Somewhere in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Macedonian dialects differentiated according to the Bulgarian process of equalizing the hard semivowel (ъ) with the vowel *o* (*сон* versus the Bulgarian *сън* in the meaning of "*san*" [dream]). In addition, the softening of consonants, which was preserved in most Bulgarian dialects, disappeared in Macedonian, while the old vowel *jat* experienced an Ekavian replacement (admittedly, both of these types also affected Western Bulgarian dialects, which make up a smaller part of Bulgarian dialects). In the

place of the typically East-South Slavic consonant groups *št* and *žd* (in examples such as *нощ*т and *межда*), the sounds *ќ* and *ѓ* appeared (*ноќ*, *меѓа*), very close to the Serbo-Croatian *ć* and *đ*. It so happened that most Macedonian dialects were almost identical in vocal inventory to the majority of Serbian dialects, and markedly different from most Bulgarian dialects. This change of direction in the development of Macedonian is hard to explain without the cultural and language influence from the north in the period when the Nemanjić dynasty spread at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries. Historical documents testify that this change of political power was accompanied by the settlement of Serbian feudal lands to which the manors in Macedonia were divided. The prestige of these powerful people and their courts, certainly full of people also colonized from the Serbian regions, was obviously strong enough to inspire the local population with linguistic prestige. However, Serbian political domination in Macedonia did not last longer than a century. At the end of the fourteenth century, Macedonia was included in the Turkish Empire, in which it would remain for half a millennium. But this did not stop the Serbian influence. In culture, it remained dominant for quite some time, as evidenced by the language of church books transcribed in Macedonia in the later period. This was probably contributed to by the fact that even after the fall of Macedonia under Turkish rule, Serbia continued to live as a Christian state and radiate cultural activity until 1459. When the Patriarchate of Peć was renewed in the sixteenth century, a significant part of Macedonia came under its jurisdiction. Attention is also drawn to data from Turkish censuses in the second half of the fifteenth century that, at that time, various individuals amongst the inhabitants of Prilep bore names such as Uglješa, Oliver, and Ostoja, confirmed by historical sources as the names of Serbian nobles in Macedonia in the fourteenth century. From this, it should obviously be concluded that amongst Macedonian Christians, fashion continued to follow the example provided by the last period of Serbian rule before the Turkish conquest.

The linguistic influence that introduced many features common with the Serbian neighbors was of unequal strength in various parts of Macedonia. This influence was most strongly felt in the northern and northwestern parts, and the further south and east it went, the weaker it was. The zone of its significant influence roughly coincides with the land of today's FR Macedonia. It was weak in the areas of Pirin and Vardar

and in the most remote areas, for example, around Thessaloniki and in the valley of Mesta, it did not even come to the fore.

3

The epoch of Turkish conquest brought important changes to our countries not only politically, but also ethnically. A long and complex cycle of migrations had begun, displacing huge masses of the population. The motives for these migrations were varied, but the root, deepest cause had always been the same: severe, tragic human suffering. It urged people to seek survival by leaving their homeland, or it inspired their vengeful determination to fight against the empire with weapons and to do so by moving to the lands from where the fight could be fought.

Judging by the effects, the Ottoman military campaigns and the way of governing were something completely different from the wars between Christian rulers, that is, from their rule. Even before the Turks, there were wars and devastation and changes of government and bad administration, but it was not noticed that, because of that, the people changed their habitats in large numbers. It would be said that the world then believed that all masters are more or less equal and that fleeing from one to the other would not make real sense. After all, this did not seem to be common even at the very beginning of the Turkish era. The history of the late fourteenth century has not recorded anything about this and the cases we know of from the first half of the fifteenth century concern more individual ruling families than larger masses of the population. But in the period that followed, migration became ever more common. The ways of Turkish border warfare along the borders became more and more cruel to the population, and life under Turkish rule became increasingly painful. Over time, the Turks developed a tactic of conquest reminiscent of the former invasions of the Avars and Slavs on Byzantine soil. Turkish border commanders used armed expeditions to the interior of the Christian neighbor's territory, looting, taking away slaves, killing and burning, but most often avoiding fighting with stronger enemy detachments. The rest of the population in the devastated areas would disperse in panic and the border fortresses would remain lonely in a desolate land, deprived of sources of supply in the area and unnecessarily pushed out, without strategic purpose, having nothing more to defend. That would force the Christian ruler to retreat to a new defensive line and on it the game would start all over again.

It is not difficult to imagine the consequences of such events on the ethnic image of the affected areas. There was no trace of the old population in entire regions. Its surviving remains were scattered over distant lands and foreign lands; hence, today, there are dialects preserved only in the diaspora, while some others have disappeared there as well. The counterbalance to this was the colonization of the devastated swath of refugees from the areas that were already under the Turks. Already in the second half of the fifteenth century, the defense of the southern Hungarian border was largely in the hands of the defecting Serbian rulers, to whom the Hungarian rulers generously distributed estates where Serbs from the conquered lands settled in masses. And when, after the Mohács catastrophe in 1526, the Habsburg state inherited Turkey from Hungary as its closest neighbor and main enemy, Austrian commanders continued the practice of enticing Christian Turkish subjects, mostly Serbs, and gradually established an effective defense along the border of fighters that hated the Turks with an irreconcilable hatred. Later, this took shape in the Military Frontier, which by the whim of history (or perhaps the legitimacy of geopolitics) found itself in the eighteenth century, mostly along the same line as the Byzantine Limes in defense of the Avar-Slavic invasion twelve centuries earlier—with the only difference being that the attacks came from the south, not the north. In the Uskok episode on the Venetian territory around Zadar, and also on the Austrian one in Senj, the phenomenon of border defense composed of defecting Christians experienced more spontaneous and less regulated forms of existence, but the effect was essentially the same.

The circumstances under which Christians lived in Turkey often did give rise to emigration. The situation in the Ottoman Empire was only initially bearable; soon, with constant religious pressure, high taxes accumulated, which was accompanied by the ruthless taking of children to the janissaries and the suffering of the population in the areas where the sultan's hordes passed, going to or returning from the war. As the situation in the empire began to deteriorate, the lawlessness and arbitrariness of individual Turks became more and more common. Christians could no longer be safe from kidnapping, rape, and even murder. There were frequent cases of someone killing a Turk in self-defense or revenge; the only way out for such a killer was to escape somewhere far away. Overwhelmed by hardships, the so-called Rayah rejoiced with desperate hope in every war of the Turks with the Christian states and, whenever the opportunity arose, joined the Christian army

or even raised uprisings without waiting for that army to arrive. And if the fortunes of war turned against the Christians, the processions of refugees would rush out of Turkey to escape revenge. There were places for them in Austrian or Venetian territory every time. There were enough deserted lands, whether due to wars or disease, and the newcomers showed a willingness to do what was most important to the Viennese and Venetian rulers: to shed blood defending the borders with Turkey. In any case, the newcomers did not squeeze out the already existing inhabitants, but only filled in the population gaps. This specifically means, for example, that Serbs in Croatia did not steal land from the previous population. Certainly due to the feudal social system that did not give the serfs weapons in their hands, that population could not withstand the Turkish invasions and moved to safer areas. The incoming Serbs took the risk of suffering; becoming professional soldiers, they became the armed protection of Croatia and the Habsburg monarchy as a whole. In return, they were exempted from feudal obligations, which inspired antagonism not so much amongst the remaining Croatian peasants who continued to stand in the same relationship with their masters, but amongst those lords who could not help regretting that so much land had slipped from under their rule with so many people on it.

The Turks themselves often relocated the population for their own reasons, most often to the "military border", along the borders of Christian states. They also needed to accommodate people in these desolate areas who would cultivate the land by paying taxes and feeding the army. Sometimes, Christians would join the Turkish military service; mentions of such warriors, called Martolos, are not uncommon in historical sources, but many of the refugees to the Christian side were recruited. When the Turkish Empire later began to lose territory, every such event was accompanied by the exodus of Muslims.

During the nineteenth century, from the first uprising onwards, the liberation of Serbia was an attractive goal for the settlement of Serbs from regions still under Turkish control. A good part of the population of Serbia in its pre-Kumanovo borders originates from such migrations.

Apart from migrations motivated by circumstances that can be called political in a broad sense of the word, there were also movements imposed by economic causes. From the poor mountainous regions, the population flowed towards the fertile valleys and plains, which made the traditional semi-nomadic way of life of the Balkan cattle breeders very mobile. It is not easy today to judge why the demographic growth

was usually fast in the highlands. It is difficult to say today how much the cause was better health as a consequence of a healthier climate and water, and how much relative shelter from the misfortunes that decimated the plains. But it is not difficult to understand that in the lowlands, once full of undried swamps, and at the same time poor in good water, the people suffered much more and they fled because of looting and devastation. It was especially difficult to survive on the main strategic routes, along the great roads where the imperial armies usually moved. And in the Dinaric mountains, where grazing is so dependent on rain, barren years must have been full of horrors in times when there was no one to help the hungry—at a time when there were no potatoes or corn, those crops brought to Europe from America, which today make it easier for mountain dwellers to cope with drought. After a spring drought, the shepherds would go downhill with the last sheep, forced to come to terms with the fact that, in the new environment, there will be more hard physical work, more diseases and more taxes and Turkish oppression. And it is no wonder that such movements continued, in altered forms but essentially the same, even in the twentieth century, embodied in the colonization of Vojvodina after the First, and then after the Second World War. This gives us reason to ask whether there were no similar movements in the Middle Ages, even before the Turkish invasion. Admittedly, historical sources are silent about this, but the nature of these migrations is such that we would not expect them to be mentioned in written sources of the kind we have for that period, while from the folk stories we can be sure they would disappear over so many centuries. On the other hand, the causes of economic migration existed at least in part before the Turks.

The basic direction of migration for political reasons was, quite understandably, identical with the direction of the spread of Turkish power: from the south and southeast to the north and northwest. In the Dinaric areas, this meant moving along mountain ranges, for example, from Herzegovina to Lika. In sharp contrast to this, migrations dictated by economic circumstances usually took the shortest route from the ridge to the lowlands, i.e., directly to the ridges. The Dinaric Mountains served as a huge source of migration with a general direction from southwest to northeast—from Montenegro to Šumadija, from Herzegovina to Podrinje, from Lika to Slavonia or Bačka, and the like. Movements from the Dinaric Mountains' peaks to the Adriatic coast were much smaller. It is a smaller area and, more importantly, there is very

little fertile soil capable of accommodating settlers. After all, it is sometimes not easy to distinguish whether the direction of migration was for economic reasons or for political ones: the latter have many times aspired to coastal areas, most often unaffected by the Turkish government.

The forms in which migrations took place varied from the organized movement of large populations, usually under the leadership of the clergy, to the isolated relocations of one individual or one family. The ethnic image of our countries has been changed the most by these small migrations, accumulating over time. Usually, the first immigrant family, which would serve as a forerunner or scout, would gradually be followed by others. During the entire duration of the process of such relocation of people, there was no loss of contact between those who had already moved and those who were still living in their old homeland. Stage migrations were frequent: many times, it was noticed that a family moved in one generation, for example, from Herzegovina to the Užice region, and in a further generation to Kolubara or Tamnava, and from there back to Srem. In this way, the contrasts in the climate and in the way of life that faced the migrants with painful problems were gradually overcome. We have little direct information about such misfortunes in the past centuries, but we can judge them with certainty from what we know about the difficulties of adapting colonists in Vojvodina in the twentieth century, in modern conditions that are much more favorable than in the past, when there were no organized efforts to help the settlers. The most difficult troubles in the earlier centuries were certainly those related to learning agricultural jobs and those that came from diseases that were ruthless towards vulnerable newcomers.

The scholarly knowledge about our migration is quite substantial. For countries that were under Austrian rule we usually have archival data, although often only about the fact of settling in a certain place at a certain time, and not about the origin of immigrants. Historical sources also say a lot about the areas under Venetian rule. For other regions, we draw most information from the folk tradition about the origin of each family. The beginning of the twentieth century found this tradition very much alive in most of Serbia and in the Dinaric regions, especially the southern ones. The data of that tradition, as a rule credible, have been preserved by numerous discussions on the origin of the population of certain areas, written on the basis of field work and published most often in the Serbian Ethnographic Collection. In addition, the origin of immigrants is evidenced by their dialect—albeit in a general way

that ignores the details of individual families and which fixes the origin of migration only approximately, but on the other hand, within these frameworks reliably and, most importantly, inevitably in each case, unlike archival documents and folklore, which, on many occasions, fail as sources of information. When it comes to isolated smaller groups of old settlers, dialect is often the only support for our conclusion, not only in terms of the region where the migration originated, but also in terms of the era when it took place.

Migration movements have displaced more than half of the Serbo-Croatian-speaking population. However, they did not affect all parts equally or in the same way. In some regions, mostly peripheral, old-timers predominate; these are mostly areas that provided a significant number of emigrants, but sometimes, this is not the case. In other areas, newcomers are in the large or vast majority. There are even whole landscapes without any preserved indigenous families. Usually, emigrants came from such areas and again in other places, e.g., in the diaspora, they appear as newcomers (although we can assume that the old population was completely exterminated in some places, but it is very difficult to determine for any area; add that the former population in some areas in the north of today's language was not Slavic but Hungarian, so that its further movement does not belong to the subject of research of our science).

There are the fewest immigrants in the far east and far northwest: in the Timok-Lužnik dialect on the Bulgarian border and in the areas once called Banska (or Civil or Provincial) Croatia (between the western edge of the former Military Border and the Slovenian border). The Dalmatian islands occupy a transitional position: the number of newcomers is considerable, but the ancients still predominate. Elsewhere throughout our language area, immigrants dominate. Thus, the percentage of natives is quite low in the whole of western, northern, central and southern Serbia, while the percentage of Serbs in western Bosnia and Croatia is zero. However, in the interior of a huge area of settlement, one ethnic formation stands out with relatively greater stability. These are Muslims.

Certain regions have played the role of a constant source of migration in history. It is significant that these were all highlands. The most active amongst them was the belt of the highest Dinaric mountains on the watershed between the Adriatic and Danube basins: from the area west of Sarajevo through the Herzegovinian areas and the Montenegrin Hills, all the way to Prokletije. Migration hotspots along the

southern and eastern borders of Serbia, around massifs such as Shara, Stara Planina, and Suva Planina, also had a large share.

Jovan Cvijić, who is most significant in the study of the migrations of the Serbian population, categorized the migrations, or more precisely the moved population, into several "currents" depending on the source of migration.

Cvijić considers the Dinaric to be the most important current, the most widespread in the affected land. Today, the population of Dinaric origin meets, in addition to the Dinaric areas—Montenegro, Herzegovina, Bosnia, mainland Dalmatia, Istria, and Croatia south of the Kupa—and largely more than half of Serbia, Srem, Bačka, Baranja, Slavonia and parts of Croatia immediately west from the Slavonian border. However, this classification operates with a too large, bulky unit. Not all settlers from the Dinaric areas have the same ethnic characteristics or the same dialect, and they are not even of the same faith, which means that today, they do not belong to the same nation. In addition, in the Dinaric countries themselves (which occupy almost half of the territory of our language) there is a clear distinction between people originating from various Dinaric regions; sometimes some Dinars confront each other in relation to old people and newcomers, and sometimes they are two groups of newcomers unequal in many ways. Apparently, it is more expedient to divide the Dinaric "current" into several formations, still large, whose starting zones are arranged along the Dinaric ridge.

The most northwestern of the larger migrations can be called South Croatian. From the area around the Una and west from there to the Kupa and the Adriatic Sea in the sector south of Vinodol, then from the Dalmatian mainland from Velebit to the Cetina, the population of the Catholic faith and the Chakavian dialect emigrated. Shoots of this current appeared in many parts of Istria, on the island of Krk, in various places in Kajkavian northern Croatia, and even further north, in Slovenian countries, in the easternmost parts of present-day Austria and neighboring Hungary and Czechoslovakia—everywhere on land that belonged to the Habsburg Monarchy. The source area of this current belonged to the same monarchy (i.e., the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom that it inherited after the Battle of Mohács in 1526), but during the sixteenth century, it was partly annexed and partly devastated by the Turks, which caused migrations. Thus, that area remained for the most part without the Chakavian population, which was replaced by Shtokavian settlers.

From western Herzegovina with the nearby end of Dalmatia (the Makarska littoral) and neighboring Bosnian regions flowed a stream of Catholics and partly Muslims, Shtokavian Ikavians, spreading throughout the rest of mainland Dalmatia, Lika, and in some places in western Bosnia, and one distant outgrowth even in northern Bačka and the Danube region of central Hungary.

The most powerful migratory current originates from eastern Herzegovina, i.e., from old Hum east of the Neretva and from the Trebinje area. Herzegovina should be understood within its historical borders, those of the time of Duke Stjepan, who was crowned in Mileševa in 1448 as "Herzeg [Duke] of St. Sava" and after whom Herzegovina was named. His state included, in addition to present-day Herzegovina, the northwestern half of the republic of Montenegro, as well as the southwestern corner of Serbia with the Mileševo Monastery. The settlement of Serbs in Croatia and northern Dalmatia came mainly from the Bosnian Krajina, an area that served as a staging point on the way to the northwest and west.

From the land of Zeta, which means from Montenegro without its easternmost parts and the so-called Montenegrin Herzegovinians who belonged to Montenegro only in 1878 or 1912, the bearers of the Zeta dialect emigrated (also Shtokavian Jekavian, but different from Herzegovinian) to the Lim Valley and spread to many parts of Serbia, melding mostly into the population of a different dialect.

All migratory currents whose origins are outside the Dinaric zone originated from Serbia (i.e., to a lesser extent from nearby regions in Albania, Macedonia, and Bulgaria), spread exclusively the Orthodox population of the Ekavian dialect and flooded various parts of Serbia again. We will distinguish three currents here: Kosovo-Metohija, Vardar-South Morava and Shopska.

The Kosovo-Metohija current carried the Shtokavian Ekavian dialect of old Raška to the north and northeast. From its origins in the northern belt of the Metohija and Kosovo valleys and in the neighboring mountainous areas, this current spread along Kopaonik on both sides, across the West Morava into the Šumadija region and the valley of the Morava River , as well as further northeast, to Timok and Đerdap.

The Vardar-South Morava current left the region on both sides of the Serbian-Macedonian border: from the Prizren region, from southeastern Kosovo and the nearby hills and plateaus, from the Skopska Crna Gora mountains and from the Macedonian regions south of there.

The dialect of the settlers was predominantly Prizren, with which the northern Macedonian dialects of the Prizren-Timok base mingled, and in some places, the west Macedonian or central Macedonian dialects. Here, too, the basic direction of movement was to the north and north-east. Reaching the South Moravian valley, this current filled it and even overflowed, in places along the Morava and eastern Šumadija.

The main area of the Shopska migration current consists of mountainous areas on both sides of the Serbian-Bulgarian border, from the Zaječar area all the way to Osogovo. Immigrants from there are found scattered in the valleys of the South and Great Morava, in the eastern Šumadija and around Belgrade, in the area of the Timok estuary on both sides of the border, and further east in the neighboring parts of the Danube plain in Bulgaria.

In many parts, especially in Serbia, migratory currents have mixed abundantly. Šumadija shows the most diverse composition of the population. It is, in a way, a synthesis of all ethnic branches of Serbia. Here we find Dinars of both types, Herzegovinian and Zeta, but they are strongly represented, primarily in eastern Šumadija, and the Kosovo-Metohija, Vardar-South Morava, and Shopska currents. In addition to all that, there are also traces of the natives, especially visibly present in the dialect. As for Vojvodina, it is ethnically a continuation of northern Serbia, of course, if speaking about the Serb population. There are mostly the same components, but almost everywhere completely immersed in one base transferred from northern Serbia, i.e., originated in Vojvodina itself, more precisely in those parts of it that had a Slavic population even before the Turkish invasion.

The predominance of the old dialect, despite the percentage predominance of immigrant families in many regions, raises the question of how it could have happened that the minority imposed its characteristics on the majority. The answer is complex, because the reasons are many and deep. The main advantage for the natives is the prestige that comes from better adaptation to the environment, more successful business, often owning better land (because newcomers are left with uncultivated land until their arrival) and living in better buildings (because they are newer, in addition to lack of funds and experiences, often forced to build their homes quickly in order to have some kind of roof over their heads). In the unequal psychological relationship that is being created, the ancients become a role model in everything, even in language. In addition, the found population are always compact,

while the newcomers are in many places of various origins, so that the influence of their various groups is drawn in different directions or even suppressed. Finally, very often, settlers come successively and are successively assimilated. Therefore, families from the old group of immigrants, already adjusted, act in the sense of assimilating a new wave of newcomers. Of course, every time a certain trace of a stratum is preserved in the speech, weaker or stronger, but most often insufficient to overcome the tenacious weft of the native language. In order for the settlement dialect to be maintained in the new terrain, it is necessary for the old population to disappear completely or almost completely—or for the difference in religion to be prevented on the way to the mutual permeation of the two populations. In the past of our countries, the contact between diverse neighbors was usually weak, mixed marriages were only exceptional, and the language and other features were kept as an emblem of ethnic identity. However, it usually happened that long-term neighborliness resulted in some linguistic influence. The Bunjevci in Bačka preserved their Ikavian pronunciation and most other features brought from the old homeland, but they took over the pronunciation of certain vowels and consonants from the Bačka Serbs. There were more subtle vocal phenomena that eluded the consciousness of dialect speakers. So, they slip unnoticed through the psychological filters of defending the specifics of their group.

Under the impact of migration, the geographical map of naked dialects has been drastically redesigned. Amongst the inherited dialects, almost none remained untouched by territorial changes: some gained in the field, some lost, most often gaining offspring in settlement enclaves in distant lands, and some dialect types were completely wiped off the face of the earth.

The Kajkavian area was narrowed in the east and south in favor of the Shtokavian area, while in the southwest, it was reduced by the penetration of Chakavian immigrants. In addition, it was penetrated by scattered groups of Shtokavian settlements in the eastern parts and Chakavian ones in the southwest and west. A long belt of Chakavian villages, whose speech was later strongly Kajkavian, was imprinted along the Slovenian border in the areas west of Zagreb.

During the migration, the Chakavian territory was reduced to less than half of its former area. Its mainland area is fragmented into unconnected and mostly small parts, some of which are distributed along the coast, and others in the interior of the mainland in Lika, Gorski Kotar,

and Prokuplje (although the speeches along the Dalmatian coast and those in Lika have absorbed many Shtokavian features). Only on the islands did the Chakavian area remain almost completely undiminished; only in five or six small villages scattered on various islands did the Shtokavian settlers nest. On the other hand, again, the Chakavian population from the mainland scattered, dodging in front of the Turks, in the direction of the north. We have already mentioned Chakavian settlements on Kajkavian soil. There are two types of these Chakavian speakers: one is pure Ikavian, and the other is Ikavian-Ekavian. North of there, Chakavians dispersed in small groups in many parts of Slovenia, but they were assimilated almost everywhere. However, the majority of Chakavian refugees were received in areas farther north, those on the Austrian-Hungarian border. Along the southern sector of that border, from the vicinity of Szombathely to the northeastern wedge of today's Slovenian territory, Chakavian Ikavians settled, with some Shtokavian features, probably originating from areas not far from the lower Una. In the northern region, again on both sides of the Austrian-Hungarian border, and even in Slovakia around Bratislava and Moravia south of Brno, Chakavians with the Ikavian-Ekavian dialect settled, certainly from the area south of the Kupa, towards the Una and towards Lika. The later fate of these remote linguistic oases was determined by the fact that the settlers did not group into a compact, closed territory, but, since there was no large uninhabited land, they occupied free pieces of land in a wide area, intermingling amongst the settlements with the existing population where the language was most often German or Hungarian. In this way, each individual Croatian settlement had natives in the immediate vicinity who were already, as such, in a position of economic supremacy and social prestige; in addition, under Austrian rule, both Hungarian and German were in a favorable position as the languages of the ruling peoples. These circumstances opened wide possibilities for the assimilation of the Croatian population, a large part of which is pure Ikavian and the other, Ikavian-Ekavian, took on Hungarian or German (or, in the vicinity of Bratislava, Slovak). However, to this day, several dozen villages remain in those areas where the Chakavian language has not been extinguished (although, in some places, it is threatened with imminent extinction).

A part of the Chakavian population affected by migration settled in regions that were Chakavian before. Ikavian-Ekavian immigrants from Lika and the Velebit regions occupied two parts of Istria, in the

territory then under Austria, and the southwestern part of the island of Krk, while in the northeastern part indigenous languages remained, also Ikavian-Ekavian Chakavian, but with quite different properties. In all three places—on Krk and in both Istrian zones—along with the Chakavian settlers, there were also Vlach shepherds who mostly stayed in Istria, but disappeared on Krk. Furthermore, Ikavian-Ekavian Chakavians of similar origin settled in the village of Draga, east of Rijeka, while the Grobnik area north of Rijeka was also taken up by Ikavian-Ekavian colonists from a region on the Croatian coast. Finally, western and southern Istria, if it did not remain Romanic, was filled with Ikavian immigrants, with the purely Chakavian dialect in Buština, and with various nuances of the Chakavian-Shtokavian transition in the southern parts, with the proviso that this second type of speech was consolidated in several villages on the Ćićarija plateau in the far north of Istria.

The original place of such dialects was certainly in the hinterland of the Dalmatian coast, somewhere beyond Biokovo and around the river Ljetina. Before the onslaught of the Turks, this population rushed to the area under Venetian rule around Zadar, Šibenik, and Split (here there are places with some times traces of this dialect type, mixed with indigenous local Chakavian dialects). But as constant Turkish incursions made it impossible to survive in those regions, the refugees had to go even further. They were transported by Venetian ships to parts of Istria under Venetian rule; there, they were colonized in a land ravaged by epidemics. In this way, the Venetian authorities solved two problems: they relieved the overpopulated Dalmatian coast and, at the same time, restored the economy in the depopulated Istrian areas.

Along the entire length of the Chakavian-Shtokavian border, with the only exception of Pelješac and the surroundings of the Cetina estuary, migrations wiped out the old borderland, transitional languages. Their places were taken by speech forms created in the depths of the Shtokavian area, with distinctly Shtokavian features. This made the borderline between Chakavian and Shtokavian extremely clear. It has remained essentially the same to this day, although the occasional dialect mixture and subsequent influences on one side or the other have created secondary combinations of Chakavian and Shtokavian features.

Catholic Shtokavian Ikavians from western Herzegovina and the neighboring Makarska littoral occupied many areas on the mainland of central and northern Dalmatia, around Velebit and in Lika, mostly

in the west, all the way to Gorski Kotar. We have already mentioned that several villages on the Dalmatian islands acquired the Shtokavian dialect; in all but one of these cases, it is this Ikavian dialect. Part of the relocated Ikavians in Lika and Velebit, originally from the Herzegovinian areas west of the Neretva, are called Bunjevci. In the seventeenth century, in two different episodes, groups of Bunjevac settlers moved from Lika and Velebit habitats to northern and northwestern Bačka, in the vicinity of Subotica, Baja, and Sombor, where Bunjevci and their Ikavian have been preserved to this day. Further north, in Hungary along the Danube, Bunjevac settlers also appeared in several places, but in the meantime, they were Hungarianized in some places.

In three villages in the province of Molise in southern Italy, emigrants still live with the Ikavian dialect, mostly Shtokavian but with many Chakavian elements. This speech, which originates from the Makarska littoral or from its vicinity, is in many ways related to the Istrian Ikavian dialects. In the past, after all, in southern Italy, in various places, there were many villages inhabited by people of our language who were then assimilated over the centuries into the Italian milieu. It is quite an important fact that, in addition to refugees from the era of the Turkish conquest, there were also older settlers from the fourteenth century and even from the end of the thirteenth century. The reasons for these age-old overseas migrations remain completely unexplained.

Catholics and Muslims of the Ikavian dialect came from the area west of the river Bosna and from the middle course of the Neretva they spattered the regions with settlements further towards the west of Bosnian Krajina, mixing there with the indigenous Ikavian population and penetrating the many Jekavian speakers, mostly Serbian settlers whose arrival significantly reduced the area of Ikavian speech in the former exclusively Ikavian western Bosnia.

The penetration of the East Herzegovinian migratory movement into the confluence area of the Sava and Drava rivers significantly narrowed the area of the Slavonian dialect. Immigrant dialects cut off the Slavonian dialect from its former western neighbor, the Croatian Kajkavian language, and at the same time broke the geographical continuity between the Slavonian dialects in Posavina and those in Podravina. At the same time, groups of Slavonian speakers moved to the north, albeit only to nearby areas. Slavonian-speaking settlements appeared in various places in Baranja, both in Yugoslav territory and in Hungary,

then along the Danube in western Bačka and, somewhat further north, between Baja and Kalocsa, where a very special speech is spoken in the villages of Dusnok and Bacsin, obviously of North Slavonian origin, but with certain features that are no longer present in Slavonia itself.

The area of East Bosnian Jekavian dialects received many East Herzegovinian Serb settlers who settled in various parts of eastern Bosnia, breaking the territorial compactness of the East Bosnian dialect and at the same time influencing the vernaculars of that dialect. Of course, there were also emigrations from eastern Bosnia. Somewhere in western Bosnia and Croatia we find Muslims or Catholics of the Jekavian language similar to the East Bosnian language. However, only detailed examinations of these speeches (whose description we lack so far) will enable more accurate conclusions to be drawn about their origin. On the other hand, for the Catholic settlers around Pecs in northern Baranja, on Hungarian territory, we know for sure that they come from northeastern Bosnia. This is shown by their speech, and the name Bosniaks by which they identify themselves is in line with this conclusion.

Of these dialects of ours, East Herzegovinian Jekavian experienced the strongest expansion in the epoch of migration. Its members, Serbs from the former Hum and Travunija, flooded western Bosnia, in whose current population they make up the vast majority (except in its southern corner, around Livno and Bugojno, where the dominance of Ikavian remained intact). This great ethnic formation continues across the border of today's Republic of Croatia. It covers a large part of the mainland of northern Dalmatia, erupting into sea bays near Šibenik and at the mouth of the Zrmanja. Further north, in the eastern part of Lika, Serbs are in the majority, while in western Lika, Croats, Chakavian natives of Ikavian-Ekavian pronunciation and Shtokavian Ikavian immigrants predominate. The East Herzegovinian language predominates in Kordun and Banija (there is also a Croatian population that received that speech from their Serbian neighbors). The most distant offshoots of the East Herzegovinian dialect are in Gorski Kotar (villages Tuk, Srpske Moravice, and Gomirje), in Prokuplje on the land of Bela Kranjska (villages Bojanci and Marindol), and in Žumberak west of Zagreb (a large number of smaller villages that were subsumed in the seventeenth century). As we have already mentioned, Serbian settlers also crossed the Sava. The most significant group of their settlements, in the area from Okučani to Podravska Slatina, today separates Kajkavian dialects from ancient Slavonian ones. Further east in

Slavonia, the strongest groups of Serbian settlements are located around the Papuk mountain and on the Osijek polje (where a significant number of Hungarians lived in the pre-Turkish epoch, then replaced by Serbs and Croats). The narrow Jekavian belt connects Papuk and Osječko polje, winding between the Podravina and Posavina dialects of the Slavonian dialect. Here, too, there are quite a number of Croats amongst the Jekavians. If it is not about the Catholicized descendants of the Orthodox, it is the people who, under the influence of Serbs in the neighborhood, received their dialect (for Jekavian vernaculars amongst Croats in FR Croatia, except those on the Dubrovnik coast, the general rule is that there is something secondary: either the Jekavian dialect, or Catholicism, was subsequently accepted, or, on rare occasions, the dialect was found in Croatia by subsequent immigration from Bosnia). In Baranja, Serb settlements with an East-Herzegovinian dialect are grouped mainly in the south of the Yugoslav part of the area. However, there are several villages on the Hungarian side of the border where such speech is preserved; so says the Serbian part of the population in the city of Mohács. Even further north, in the county of Tolna, only one Serbian village has survived to this day, Medina, whose language is also East Herzegovinian. Historical sources show that in the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were many Serbian settlements in that area, which in the meantime disappeared, partly by moving to the south, to areas where our population is more compact. Thus, in the area west of the Danube in Hungary, we are not able to precisely mark the former border between the Jekavian dialect, which spread from the south, and the Ekavian dialect, which prevailed in the northern regions, around Budapest and west of there.

In eastern Bosnia, the influx of East Herzegovinian settlers has created a current complex dialect picture: Orthodox mostly speak East Herzegovinian Jekavian, while Muslims and Catholics (where they exist), as well as a minority of Orthodox, use the old East Bosnian Jekavian dialect, usually significantly altered by the newcomers' language.

In western Serbia, the East Herzegovina wave covered a wide area from today's Bosnian and Montenegrin border to the line Loznica—Valjevo Mountains—Rudnik—Kraljevo—Studenica region—Sjenica—Brodarevo. We don't know anything about the old dialects of that area, and it is difficult to determine how much the border between the two *jat* replacements has really been shifted. After the liberation of Serbia, under the influence of the school, administration and general

prestige of the Ekavian literary language, the process of Ekavization of speech took place in those parts. Today, in those areas, the majority of the rural population speaks an unstable, swaying mixture of two dialects in which the share of Jekavian forms depends to a large extent on the interlocutor and the situation (in a close family circle, Jekavian is the most alive). After all, the Jekavian settlers, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, flooded the vast area further to the northeast: Mačva, the Valjevo region, parts of Šumadija, especially the western ones, and to some extent Vojvodina. However, their speech did not take place there, but only to some extent influenced the physiognomy of the found Ekavian speeches.

The area of the Zeta speech also acted as a very lively migration hotspot. The main direction of movement was to the northeast. However, the concrete effect of territorial expansion remained quite limited. We can assume with high probability that this dialect, Jekavian but with archaic accentuation and a lot of colorful features, was only introduced by migration to the parts of Polimlje around Bijelo Polje and in the area of the upper Ibar, west of Kosovska Mitrovica. Today, the Zeta dialect is also spoken in the upper part of the Lim valley, but it is difficult to say whether the speech there was significantly different before the arrival of numerous Zeta settlers. In the area from Lim near Bijelo Polje to the Pešter plateau and the Sjenica region all the way to the Ibar near Novi Pazar, we find a belt of combined Ijekavian-Ekavian speech (*dijete*, but *deteta*). We have plenty of reason to assume that during migration this swath somewhat shifted to the northeast. It is certain, however, that this combination of Jekavian and Ekavian pronunciation cannot be the result of a recent mixture, but must have originated in the Middle Ages.

In many parts of Serbia, a significant part of the population comes from the land of the Zeta dialect, but only in a few places is that dialect preserved to this day, in one village or a small group of villages. There are such phenomena where entire villages were colonized by Montenegrins in the nineteenth century, as in the upper part of Toplica and in Petrovo Selo on Miroč. To this day, a small settlement of Montenegrins in Peroj near Pula in Istria has survived outside of Serbia, protected from assimilation by religious differences from its surroundings.

The northern Ekavian dialect, which today is usually called the Šumadija-Vojvodina dialect and which is marked by the presence of some Ikavian form, expanded during migrations far to the north. Until

the end of the sixteenth century, the period of its expansion lasted, mainly at the expense of the Hungarian population, which fled from many parts during the mountain devastation or immediately after the Turkish conquest. Later, the so-called Great Migration of Serbs in 1690 strengthened the Serbian population, especially in northern Hungary. The northern border of the compact Serbian Ekavian population ran from Baja to Subotica, then south and east of Szeged to Moriš, crossing the river and encompassing a strong group of Serb settlements north of it, then from Arad to the south along a line east of Timisoara and Vršac. Further north, the most numerous Serbian settlements were grouped around Buda and Pest (these cities themselves had a sizeable percentage of Serbs). The westernmost outgrowths of this branch of the Serbian people were in the cities of Komarno, Győr and Ston Beograd (Székesfehérvár), while Eger pushed out to the east.

Today, there is very little left of the Serbian diaspora in the north. Since Austria took over most of the Hungarian lands from the Turks at the end of the seventeenth century, the Serbian population has been in constant decline. The last major blow was dealt to it by the discharging of a large part of the Serbian minority in Hungary to Yugoslavia after the First World War. Even in such once famous Serb centers as Szentendre north of Buda, the number of Serbs is now minimal—but still enough to establish that the dialect is Šumadija-Vojvodina, albeit with strong admixtures of the East Herzegovinian dialect that pushed west of the Danube. As a rural population, Serbs have survived in only a few places, of which only Lovro on the Danube island of Csepel still has a distinct Serb majority. In the city of Ston Beograd, the last generation of people who remember their native Serbian dialect has reached old age and is extinct, while in Eger, Győr, and Komarno, our language has already disappeared, as well as in Srpski Kovin on the Csepel-sziget which was already in the fifteenth century inhabited by people from Banatski Kovin.

The Serbian language—that is, the Serbs themselves—has mostly disappeared from Pomorišje. Only in a few villages, located on both sides of today's Hungarian-Romanian border, the remains of the Serbian population have been preserved. From that area (the "Pomorišje Military Border" in the first half of the eighteenth century), as well as from northeastern Bačka ("Potiska Military Border"), the majority of Serbs emigrated in the sixth decade of the eighteenth century during the abolition of the military border in those parts to Banat; others,

under the leadership of their officers and even generals who transferred to the Russian service, went to what was then Southern Russia (today's Ukraine). Two rather vast territories of Serbian border guards were formed there: Novaja Serbija, South of the Dnieper (between that river, the Tjasmin, and the Bug) and Slavjanoserbija south of Donetsk, from Bakhmut to the Luhan. In both places, the Serb population quickly succumbed to ethnic and linguistic assimilation; we do not even have a single written remnant of the Serbian dialects there. In the areas along the Moriš and Tisa from which the Serbs emigrated, there are Hungarians who have a strong majority there today. After all, in the neighboring areas in northern and northwestern Bačka, the Serbian population was significantly thinned in 1598 by migrating to land that was under Austrian rule, even in today's Slovakia, where every trace of immigrants was then lost. This created space for the later immigration of Bunjevci. Thus, two military migrations to distant lands, in the service of foreign emperors, swept back the northern border of the Serbian ethnic area to the sectors of present-day Vojvodina. However, the area was further constrained by colonization by the Austrian government in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the dual aim of increasing the economic and tax potential of the territory, which was rarely inhabited by Serbs, leaving much of the country uncultivated and breaking compactness of unreliable Orthodox population on the sensitive southern border. This is how Germans, Hungarians, Slovaks, Ruthenians settled, and to a lesser extent Czechs, French (who merged into Germans), and Spaniards (who disappeared completely). However, two groups of immigrants were linguistically assimilated and today belong to the Šumadija-Vojvodina dialect: Croats in central and eastern Srem (and partly those in Banat) and Catholic Albanians in Nikinci and Hrtkovci in Srem who are now Croats by nationality. It is interesting that the Kajkavian language of Croatian settlers is kept in Keča in Banat on the Romanian side of the border: for Croats living in small groups in several villages in Yugoslav Banat, there is no reliable data to show that their Kajkavian language has survived to this day. Finally, when it comes to immigration to Vojvodina, it should be added that the Romanian population from the mountainous eastern Banat came to some places of flat Banat, which is a typical migration for economic reasons, and that Serbs themselves immigrated during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as fugitives during various riots and wars in Serbia, or in search of a more fertile land, coming from the Lika or

Slavonian regions. However, this could not prevent the constant decrease in the percentage of the Serbian population, which lasted until the First World War. Vojvodina has become an ethnic mosaic in which none of the peoples present occupy an uninterrupted geographical area. The immigration of colonists, mostly Serbs Jekavci, in the first years after 1918, marked a new turning point in the development of the ethnic situation in Vojvodina, and at the same time made the picture of Serbo-Croatian dialects in Vojvodina much more complex (if one discounts the immigrants of the twentieth century, Vojvodina shows a normal, organic dialect situation, with gradual transitions between types, so that the linguistic distance between two places is more or less proportional to their geographical distance, while for example German, Hungarian, and Slovak dialects vary drastically from village to village, depending on the origin of the settlers in each place). After the Second World War, the German population was replaced mainly by colonists of the Serbo-Croatian language, who brought to Vojvodina a colorful mosaic of dialects, mostly Jekavian. Examining the fate of these colonial dialects, and especially their transformation under the influence of the Vojvodina dialect, is one of the major tasks of our dialectology that has not yet been completed.

It is not at all a simple question about how much the territory of the Serbo-Croatian language in today's Vojvodina really expanded during the Turkish conquests, in other words, where its northern border was before the migrations. The exact answer to this question has yet to be determined. So far, it can be said that there were certainly Slavs and Hungarians on the territory of Vojvodina before the migration, probably mixed, with the fact that the Slavic population was more in the south than in the north. The expansion of that population in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with a strong influx of immigrants from Serbia, meant the transformation of ethnically mixed areas into compact Serbian and at the same time further expansion of the Serbian ethnic sphere to the north. We know almost nothing directly about the dialect of the Slavic natives of Vojvodina, since there are no documents in our language from the pre-migration period, and Slavic local and personal names in documents in Hungarian or Latin have not been linguistically studied. However, based on the current state of affairs, it can be concluded that the dialects north of the Sava and the Danube developed similarly to those in Mačva and Šumadija. On the other hand, we have one indication that there may have been features that

were later erased by dialectal levelling as a result of migration. Local names such as Buđanovci and Dobanovci in Srem suggest that, in ancient times, personal names such as Buđan or Doban were used, which have no trace elsewhere. Historical sources confirm the presence of such local names from the fifteenth century, and the toponym Golubinci with its composition speaks of even deeper antiquity (derived from the possessive adjective Golubin, as it was in Old Slavonic, and not Golubov, as is usually the case in our language for many centuries). Such geographical names are also the most reliable proof that our language was spoken on Vojvodina's soil even before migrations.

In the epoch of migrations, the area of recent accentuation (*òstavi*, *jùnāk*) explosively expanded and included, amongst other things, most of the northern Ekavian dialects, thus uniting them with the East Herzegovinian dialect and the dialects of Bosnian, Lika, and Dalmatian Ikavians. The empire of recent accentuation spread from Dubrovnik and Makarska to Moriš, and from Studenica to Vrginmost. However, in eastern Šumadija and southeastern Banat we find speeches today where, along with the northern type of Ekavian, i.e., combined with certain Ikavisms, older accents are preserved, such as *ostàvi* or *junâk*. Several isolated settlement groups originate from this dialect belt. In the depths of Romanian Banat, east of Timisoara, there is a group of Serbian settlements called Banat Montenegro, and nearby is the village of Rekas with a similar dialect, but a Catholic population. The old vowel *jat* in these speeches is not replaced by some other vowel value and is kept as a voice between *e* and *i* (so for example in the words *mlьko* or *dьca*). This is, after all, the case with the speech of Gallipoli Serbs, who emigrated from the Morava River valley somewhere in the sixteenth or seventeenth century and spent several centuries in the vicinity of Gallipoli in Turkey to opt for Serbia in the twentieth century, after the Balkan wars. After a long odyssey in and after the First World War, they finally settled in Pehčevo, Macedonia, where younger generations are now abandoning their ancestral language, replacing it with the local Macedonian dialect.

The Kosovo-Metohija migration current carried the Shtokavian Ekavian dialect from parts of old Raška with a predominantly archaic accent. This dialect, which we now call the Kosovo-Resava dialect, stretches in a long strip of irregular shape diagonally across the territory of Serbia. It covers the slopes of Kopaonik and the valleys east of it, all the way to Prokuplje, the right bank of the Ibar from Kosovska

Mitrovica to Kraljevo, the valley of the West Morava from Kraljevo to Stalać, the southeastern corner of Šumadija, the valley along the Morava River and areas further east, to Zaječar and Negotin. Such is the speech of the Banat Gorge, a region north of the Danube on today's Romanian territory. In the north, in Šumadija and around the mouth of the Morava, the Kosovo-Resava dialect is in contact with the mentioned dialects of the northern Ekavian type, but with an older accent. That border is gradual, all in a slight transition, because the speeches further north have been somewhat changed under the impulses brought by the immigrants of the Kosovo-Metohija current, who are not few in number there. Geographically completely detached from the native dialect, there is the Kosovo-Resava dialect in the small village of Czobánko north of Buda, transferred there in Čarnojević's migration at the end of the seventeenth century.

The medieval dialect of the Prizren region and southeastern Kosovo, which had the "most western" features amongst the dialects of the Prizren-Timok group, spread by migrating to the South Morava valley, thereby displacing its former language. Another, the Albanian, which partly occupied the places left by the Serbs themselves, and partly pressured their displacement, achieved a numerical advantage over the Serb population that remained there and the movement of the Albanian population in the direction of the northeast, fitting into the general picture of economically motivated migrations of highlanders to tamer areas.

The old dialect of the South Morava valley, pushed towards the east, remained in the hilly areas just east of that valley. This explains the unusual, elongated shape of the area of that dialect, which is called Svrljig-Zaplanj today in science.

The easternmost dialect of the Prizren-Timok group, the Timok-Lužnica group, probably lost some ground in the north during the migration. There is reason to assume that it was also spoken in the middle course of the Timok, around Zaječar, and perhaps even further north, in the areas where the speeches of Kosovo-Metohija settlers are located today, if the Romanian dialects have not been consolidated. On the other hand, several emigrant groups come from the Timok-Lužnice dialect. These are the Karaševci, otherwise called Krašovani, in several villages near Rešica in the Romanian Banat, then the inhabitants of the village of Svinjice on the Romanian side of the Danube in Đerdap, and the inhabitants of Novo selo near Vidin in Bulgaria. Unlike the other two groups, the people of Karaševo are Catholics and in their speech

the voice of *jat* remained unchanged. All three types of speech agree with each other in many ways and are rich in archaic features, which is especially true for the language of Karašev and Svinjice. They probably originate from the former northernmost corner of the area of this dialect on Timok, and the epoch of their relocation is probably the fifteenth century, or maybe even the end of the fourteenth century, when the Turks conquered the Timok basin. In the Danube plain in Bulgaria, there are other settlements with the Timok-Lužnik dialect (that is, the Belogračič-Breznik dialect, as Bulgarian dialectologists call dialects of that type on the Bulgarian side of the border). Near the confluence of the river Cibra and the Danube, there is even a group of about twelve villages with this kind of speech. This is a relatively recent economically motivated emigration from the area on the slopes of the Stara Planina.

By changing the concrete picture of the dialectal division of our language, the migrations also changed the very way in which it was divided into dialects. Before the migration, this method corresponded to the most widespread model in the languages of the world: the linguistic landscape of our language was in gradual transitions from one dialect situation to another, in the tangle of intertwined isoglosses there were no excessively sharp boundaries between dialect types, and the territories of those types were anything but uniform. As a result of migration, wide areas with a more or less uniform dialect appeared on the map, inhabited from the same migratory hotspot, and on each line of contact of such areas many and many isoglosses were compressed into a dense cluster because speeches on both sides of the boundaries have not developed as neighbors since ancient times, but were only subsequently mechanically put in contact. By destroying the existing transitions between dialects, migrations have in some places created new, albeit inorganic ones. With the intersecting of the population, mixed dialects emerged in some places, except that many speeches received deposits from another dialect environment.

The migrations have made the history of our language quite remarkable; thus, they imposed on our linguists tasks that are not common in the study of most other languages. It turned out that the reconstruction of the pre-migratory dialect picture of our countries requires a lot of diligent effort in collecting data—from today's dialects spoken on the site of former ones, from emigrant speeches full of archaisms long gone in the old homeland, from medieval texts, from toponymy—and

meticulous, delicate analysis. The results so far, on the basis of which the layout of the medieval dialects in this paper is sketched, are only authoritative and cannot pretend to be complete. We know almost nothing about the characteristics and distribution of the former transitional Chakavian-Shtokavian, Chakavian-Kajkavian and Kajkavian-Shtokavian dialects. It is not clear to us where the original border between the Jekavian and Ekavian pronunciations lay in western Serbia and Sandžak, and we have a very superficial idea of the former dialects of northeastern Serbia, in the quadrangle Morava—Danube—Timok—Crna Reka (as well as the Slavic migration and the Roman population in that area, since both today's Vlachs and today's Serbs live there predominantly). Certainly, some of these problems will be clarified at least to some extent by future research, which does not mean that one should absolutely trust in the omnipotence of science: traces of many facts have failed and our attempt to revive a vanished dialect world can only be partially successful.

Transforming ethnic circumstances in the countries of our language, migrations have largely determined their further cultural and political history. They amalgamized the population and leveled the speech. The appearance of a huge area with mostly uniform New Stokavian Jekavian and Ekavian dialects created the basis for a literary language very close to the population in the vast area from Bjelovar, Karlovac, and Zadar to Vršac, Kraljevo, and Boka Kotorska. By spreading the Croatian name amongst the Kajkavians in the former Slavonia, the migrations contributed to the fact that those with the Chakavians from medieval ("Dalmatian") Croatia merged into one nation, which would include the Shtokavian Catholics. The migration upheavals scattered the ethnic composition of Bosnia and Herzegovina, prevented the formation of a unique ethnic type in that area and directed its development towards today's triple national breakdown. The boundaries of the densely Serb populated area were narrowed during migrations in the south, Metohija and Kosovo, but expanded in the north to former Hungarian lands, another predominantly Serb territory, the one in the northwest, which includes Serbs in Bosnian Krajina and neighboring parts of Croatia with Dalmatia and Slavonia, and in which today, after all population losses, over a million and a half Serbs live. There is hardly any Serbian any geographical continuity between those regions and the main body of Serbian speakers; in between, in central Bosnia there is a belt in which Muslims predominate over a weaker share of Catholics

and Orthodox. In addition, in the very northwestern Serbian ethnic territory, there are many enclaves, Muslim and Croat on Bosnian soil, and only Croat on Croatian soil. Opportunities in the northwest did not allow the creation of a Serbian territorial political formation in the area—while southeastern Serbs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries acquired two states, Montenegro and Serbia—but set Serbian national politics complex tasks that led to the First World War and Yugoslavia. At the same time, Croatian national politics faced complex problems. The presence of northwestern Serbs, who erupted in uninterrupted mass on the sea bays in the Zadar and Šibenik regions, and who reached close to the Slovenian border on the Kupa and the Hungarian border on the Drava, shattered the compactness of Croatian ethnic territory forced all political entities in Croata to position themselves in relation to the Serbs. This was done in one way or another, depending on the epoch and the movement in a wide range of solutions whose extreme poles are integration-oriented Yugoslavia and the Ustasha genocide. In the gap between the two nations in formation, which due to their linguistic connection and territorial intertwining did not always know whether they were one or two, there were also Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, geographically scattered amongst Orthodox and Catholics. Overcoming the anachronistic Turkish orientation, they oscillated for some time between Serbs, Croats, Yugoslavs and being something other, only to move more definitely towards confirming their individuality only when it became clear that the Croats and Serbs could not merge and that religious differentiation had finally turned into a question of nation.

Finally, we need to say a few more words about Muslims as an ethnic group. At the beginning of this chapter, we emphasized that their existence is one of the consequences of Turkish rule. They appeared soon after the Ottoman conquest of our countries. In Bosnia and Herzegovina in particular, Islamization spread rapidly and affected a large part of the population, including aristocratic families. At the same time, almost silently, the Bogomils disappeared, mostly by converting to Islam. While they existed, the Bogomils were certainly not an ethnic formation in the same way that Muslims are today. The medieval history of Bosnia, where changing faiths under the pressure of circumstances was a frequent occurrence, did not provide an opportunity to strengthen Bogomilism as a permanent attribute of the population, and social and cultural differences towards Catholics and Orthodox were

not too deep. The population of Bosnia at that time was certainly more ethnically uniform than it is now, although there must have been inequalities between Bosniaks ("Bosnians", as they were called at the time) from the old core of Bosnia and the inhabitants of the annexed territories during the Bosnian expansion. After the migration movements under the Turks all that has been replaced by a tripartite division in which Muslims have the most prominent place. The huge difference in legal status and in the emotional relationship towards the state created a gap between them and the rest of the population. In addition, they excitedly embraced the rich oriental civilization, while the others in the crowded area continued vegetating on the impoverished remnants of the domestic cultural heritage.

The passage of time also brought linguistic differentiation between Muslims and their Orthodox and Catholic neighbors. These are exclusively secondary phenomena, subsequently grafted onto a different system of basic dialectal relations. Namely, Islamization has taken root in many dialects and in the social and spiritual community of our Muslims there are bearers of various types of speech that are used by Orthodox or Catholics. It was only later that a situation was created in which almost all Muslims, regardless of which dialect they speak, possess several common linguistic features. Of course, they have a relatively high percentage of words taken from Middle Eastern languages (so-called Turkisms, although many of them originate ultimately from Arabic or Persian). But that can't surprise us, we wouldn't expect a different situation. It is much more striking that almost all Muslims keep the consonant *h* (*haljina, uho, snaha*), otherwise the majority of Shtokavians omit or replace that voice with *v* or *j*: *aljina*, *uvo*, *snaja*) and that they do not distinguish *č* from ć, nor *dž* from *đ* (*ćisto, hođa*). At first glance, such pronunciation features have nothing in common with Islam. But only at first glance. In fact, the language habits of our Muslims were influenced by the vocal system of Turkish and Arabic, in the case of *h* supporting the conservation of the inherited state, and in the case of *č* and ć, and *dž* and *đ* destroying a subtle sound distinction that is neither Turkish nor Arabic. The paths that this action took are clear, at least in general terms.

The average Muslim, wherever he is in the world, is exposed to the Arabic language in worship on a daily basis, and every educated Muslim—until the breakthrough of secular education in recent times—has experienced detailed and rote learning of the Qur'an and of Arabic

with it. This was not enough for our people to master some sound distinctions that are not present in our language, such as the differences between three consonants of type "*h*" in Arabic, but it was enough to support the preservation of the sound already found in the language, so much so that the action of the Arab model coincided with the action of the Turkish model, which also has the sound *h*, and that due to the disappearance of the pronunciation of *h* amongst the Rayah, the presence of *h* has become a symbol of Islam. Such distinctions are born proudly especially amongst those who dominate and are proud of that domination. The same moments favored the spread of non-distinction between *č* and *ć*, when the distinction had already been destroyed in the speech of some individuals. If we look for the environments where this kind of change could have started, we will find them on two sides: amongst the people of the native language in a native language environment, and amongst our people in a foreign environment. Sultan's officials, administrators, and other powerful people, who came to Bosnia from remote areas of the empire, could not master the distinction between *č* and *ć*, foreign to their native languages, and generally unusual and rare in the languages of the world. Even today, this distinction usually remains inaccessible to foreigners who are learning Serbo-Croatian, and even to our people from areas where there is no such distinction (including Muslims), when these people speak a literary language. In Turkish-ruled Bosnia, such an excuse must have enjoyed prestige because of the prestige of those who spoke so. Many bureaucratic families remained permanently in Bosnia, integrating into the environment of Muslims of our language, but at the same time continuing to act in this language. Another situation from which the indistinguishability of/between *č* and *ć* could have arisen was staying outside the homeland: in the sultan's army, in which our Muslims served so often, and in Constantinople, where the sons of the richest and most respectable Bosniaks were educated. A few years of living outside the circle in which the mother tongue is spoken is usually enough to start speaking with a foreign "accent"; once launched, this excuse spread on the wings of fashion, encouraged by the ambition of an individual not to speak less elegantly than another, and the ambition of the collective to confirm their difference from the Rayah by speaking differently, dressing differently, and having different customs, lifestyles, habits, and conceptions. Finding its roots in the bey's houses, the new pronunciation penetrated further amongst the bureaucratic officials, and then went out of the cities and

towns to the countryside. Today in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Sandžak only in the most remote rural areas there are Muslim speeches in which *č* differs from *ć*.

With the Turkish conquest and the beginning of great migrations, chronologically, another major event in the ethnic history of our countries is associated: the disappearance of the Vlach population from the Serbian mountains. There is no doubt that even before the Turks, the Vlachs gradually became linguistically Serbianized, but the arrival of the Turks brought the process to a quick end. The Turkish legal system did not provide the kind of social isolation of the Vlachs that existed before, and migrations set the Vlachs together with the rest of the common folk, and maybe even more, since the Vlachs were the most mobile due to their pastoral lifestyle. In the mixture created by the Romanian language, a trace is lost everywhere except in the extreme northwest: on Velebit, on the island of Krk, in Istria, even around Trieste. The Vlachs arrived in Croatia starting from the fourteenth century, wandering along the Dinaric ridges in search of grazing, and later in an effort to escape the Turks. During the following centuries, these Vlachs, already largely Catholicized, became linguistically Croat, with the only exception of those in two Istrian villages that are today valuable to linguists as the last preserved reserve of the once numerous western branch of the Romanian language tree. The disappearance of ethnic Vlachs in most parts of our region enabled the name Vlach (or *vlach*) to gain new meanings. In many places, shepherds began to be called by that name, especially those with a special collective legal status. Of course, these shepherds really were for the most part descendants of the Vlachs. In Croatia, where the Serb settlers who appeared there in the sixteenth century were mostly cattle breeders, the name Vlach was passed on to the Serbs. Geographical names, especially the names of mountains, such as Durmitor, Visitor, or Romanija, remind us of the former presence of Vlachs in many parts of our country.

Although it happened at the end of the fifteenth century, the quiet disappearance of the Dubrovnik Romance (Dalmatian) dialect is not causally related to the Turkish conquest or the beginning of great migrations. Centuries of infiltration of Slavs from the surrounding area gradually strengthened the presence of the Serbo-Croatian language in the walls of Dubrovnik, first mostly amongst the common people, and then more and more amongst the nobility. Constantly refreshed by the influx of newcomers, the Slavic element proved to be stronger than

the autochthonous Romance, which could not be reinforced from anywhere (although the people of Dubrovnik at that time usually knew Italian, but it is a language very different from the local Dalmatian language). The fact that the proud patricians of Dubrovnik did not leave a single text in history in their own language is a bit devastating. In fact, they never wrote in that language: administration, correspondence, and scholarship were traditionally done in Latin and Italian, except that Serbo-Croatian also appeared in correspondence early on. The Dubrovnik dialect of our language is a branch of the East Herzegovinian dialect of its immediate surroundings. Formed at a time when the Dubrovnik area belonged to the Serbian state, this type of language nevertheless acquired a somewhat special character by adopting Catholic church (and to some extent cultural) vocabulary and accepting certain secondary innovations that spread from Chakavian regions through maritime communications.

We already had the opportunity to state that Dalmatian Romance was preserved in the city of Krk until the end of the nineteenth century, and that in the meantime, the Venetian dialect of the Italian language spread, favored by Venetian and later Austrian rule in many of our coastal areas, above all in urban settlements from Istria through Rijeka and the Kvarner islands to Dalmatia. Later events—the rise of Croatian national consciousness from the end of the nineteenth century, the outcome of the First and especially the Second World War and the emigration of a large part of the Italians—turned evolution in the opposite direction. Nevertheless, traces of the Romance presence are clearly visible in almost all Serbo-Croatian dialects along the Adriatic coast from Istria to Bar. Many borrowed words were joined by changes in the language structure itself, made under the influence of Romance models. The list of these phenomena, usually called Dalmatianisms, includes features known practically everywhere along the Adriatic, such as the pronunciation of the final *-m* as *-n* (*vidin*, *sa sestron*) and scattered phenomena here and there, as substituting *lj* with *j* (*jut*, *boje*= *bolje*) and not distinguishing *č*, *ž*, *š* from *c*, *z*, *s* (*cisto*, *sluzis*). On the Adriatic islands, the transformation of Slavic dialects under Romanesque influence was strongest. The vocal *r* has also disappeared in many places, and *parst* instead of *prst* is spoken, and long vowels are often turned into diphthongs (*piet, ruog* instead of *pet, rog* (horn), and even *Moate* or *Muate* instead of *Mate*). The effect of the Romance rules on the vocal structure of words is also reflected in the dropping of the

final *-l* in the forms like *pisa* from *pisal*, and *bi* from *bil*. It so happened that the Chakavian dialect area, in addition to the old transverse division that mainly opposed the northwestern parts to the southeast, also acquired a new, longitudinal one in which the most intensively Romanized island (and partly Istrian) dialects are gradually differentiated according to slightly changed coastal dialects in the interior of the continent, spared from the Romance structural influence.

The ways in which Romance entered coastal dialects were varied. At the very beginning of the history of these speeches is the Slavicization of the found Romance everywhere except in a few cities, and then the gradual assimilation of these remains over many centuries. Ethnic assimilation is always a strong channel of linguistic influence. It introduces into the circle of people who speak one language a population whose mother tongue is another; that population inevitably introduces the characteristics of the mother tongue into the newly accepted population—as it happens, according to the experience of all of us, even when people learn a foreign language, despite the efforts of teachers not to be so. But while some Romance speakers merged with Slavs, others remained there and were often reinforced by immigration and Italianization under Venetian and then Austrian rule. Everyday contact with these Romance speakers, who often enjoyed the prestige of the more powerful, richer, or more cultured, provided countless opportunities to adopt their linguistic features—from Romance names of individual subjects that were part of the civilization of their time to their Serbo-Croatian pronunciation. The maritime life which took our seafarers to Venetian galleys and Italian ports, and in general to ports throughout the Mediterranean area, where Italian has been the language of communication between nations for centuries, had a similar effect.

Apart from the changes inspired by external influences in the Muslim circle and in the Adriatic belt, there were other major innovations that have affected Serbo-Croatian dialects during the last few centuries. All these innovation processes have one thing in common: they did not cover the entire area of our language (the last change that covered the whole area took place around the fifteenth century; it was the disappearance of duality, a special grammatical form that marked two objects or beings, unlike a plural which in such a case denotes more than two units). We have already mentioned some of these autochthonous linguistic newspapers; here we will list three more, important at the same time in terms of the language system and the affected territory.

In groups composed of consonants and the *j* sound; the so-called new *jotovanje* took place (*prutje* became *pruće*, *robje* turned into *roblje*) almost everywhere in the Shtokavian area and much less in the Kajkavian and Chakavian areas. In the dative, instrumental, and plural locative, instead of the old forms like *ženam* (dat.), *ženami* (instr.) and *ženah* (loc.), the same forms appeared for all these three cases (*ženama* in most Shtokavian dialects, *ženam* in one area in the west of the Shtokavian area and in the part of the Chakavian dialects). Finally, the old forms of the imperfect (*činjah*, *govoraše*) have disappeared from use in the northwestern half of our language area. They are no longer present in the Kajkavian dialects, or in the vast majority of Chakavian dialects, or in the entire northern belt of the Shtokavian dialect, as well as in some Shtokavian dialects in the west. The aorist also followed the imperfect, albeit in a much narrower area, which is limited to Kajkavian and Chakavian dialects and some Shtokavian dialects in the west. The dialectal image thus created reached the twentieth century and with it conflict with modern developments that endanger dialects at their very roots.

MOST IMPORTANT REFERENCES[1]

A. GENERAL WORKS

Barić, Henrik: *Lingvističke studije.* Sarajevo 1954.

Беличъ, А. И.: *Діалектологическая карта сербскаго языка.* С.-Петербургъ 1906.

Белић, Александар: *О српским или хрватским дијалектима.* Глас Српске краљевске академије 78, Београд 1908.

Belić, A., M. Stevanović, M. Hraste: *Jezik srpskohrvatski (hrvatskosrpski).* I. *Narodni jezik i njegovi dijalekti.* Enciklopedija Jugoslavije (Zagreb) 4, 1960.

Бернщейн, С. Б. и други: *Карпатский диалектологический атлас.* Москва 1966.

Birnbaum, Henrik: *Balkanslavisch und Südslavisch.* Zeitschrift für Balkanologie 3, 1965.

Bratanić, Branimir: *Uz problem doseljenja južnih Slavena.* Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu 1, 1951.

Brozović, Dalibor: *Dijalekatska slika hrvatskosrpskoga jezičnog prostora.* Radovi Filozofskog fakultetu u Zadru, Razdio lingvističko-filološki 5, Zadar 1970.

Brozović, Dalibor: *Doseljenje Slavena i njihovi dodiri sa starosjediocima u svijetlu lingvističkih istraživanja.* Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Posebna izdanja XII, Sarajevo 1969.

Brozović, Dalibor: *O jednom problemu naše historijske dijalektologije. Stara ikavsko-ijekavska granica.* Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku Matice srpske, IV—V. Novi Sad 1961—62.

Brozović, Dalibor: *O problemu ijekavskošćakavskog (istočnobosanskog) dijalekta.* Hrvatski dijalektološki zbornik 2, Zagreb 1966.

Brozović, Dalibor: *O rekonstrukciji predmigracionog mozaika hrvatskosrpskih dijalekata.* Filologija 4, Zagreb 1963.

Vasmer, Max: *Die Slaven in Griechenland.* Berlin 1941.

Видоески, Божо: *Македонските дијалекти во светлината на лингвистичката географија.* Македонски јазик XIII—XIV/1—*2,* Скопје 1961—62.

van Wijk, N.: *Les langues slaves. De l'unité à la pluralité*[2]. 's-Gravenhage 1956.

van Wijk, N.: *Taalkundige en historiese gegevens betreffende de oudste betrekkingen tussen Serven en Bulgaren.* Mededelingen der Koninklijke

[1] The bibliographical lists at the end of individual texts and chapters in this book were compiled selectively; much longer enumeration would be required for them to be exhaustive. In several cases certain works have been entered of narrow interest because they contain data explicitly mentioned in this book.

In order to keep the lists shorter, each work is mentioned in them only once even though a significant number of those works contain articles that are important for this book.

akademie van wetenschappen. Afdeeling letterkunde, deel 55, serie A, № 3, Amsterdam 1923.
Георгиев, Владимир: *Тракийският език.* София 1957.
Grafenauer, Bogo: *Die ethnische Gliederung und geschichtliche Rolle der westlichen Südslaven im Mittelalter.* Ljubljana 1966.
Grafenauer, Bogo: *Prilog kritici izvještaja Konstantina Porfirogeneta o doseljenju Hrvata.* Historijski zbornik 5, Zagreb 1952.
Дуриданов, Иван: *Нови данни от топонимията за изчезнало румънско население в Софийско.* Езиковедско-етнографски изследвания в памет на академик Стоян Романски. София 1960.
Ердељановић, Јован: *Етнолошка грађа о Шумадинцима.* Београд 1951.
Ердељановић, Јован: *О пореклу Буњеваца,* Београд 1930.
Zajceva, Svetlana: *Specifična slovenska leksika u savremenim čakavskim govorima.* Prilozi proučavanju jezika 3, Novi Sad 1967.
Ivić, Pavle: *Die* serbokroatischen *Dialekte. I: Allgemeines und Die štokavische Dialektgruppe*. 's-Gravenhage 1958.
Ивић, Павле: *Дијалектологија српскохрватског језика. Увод и штокавско наречје.* Нови Сад 1956.
Ивић, Павле: *Значај лингвистичке географије за упоредно и историско проучавање јужнословенских језика и њиховог односа према осталим словенским језицима.* Јужнословенски филолог *22,* Београд 1958.
Ivić, Pavle: *Les balkanismes naissants dans les parlers serbes du Banat*. Cercetări de lingvistică III, Supliment, Bucureşti 1958.
Ivić, Pavle: *O klasifikaciji srpskohrvatskih dijalekata*. Književnost i jezik X, sv. 1, Beograd 1963.
Ивић, Павле: *О неким проблемима наше историске дијалектологије.* Јужнослов. Филолог 21, 1955—56.
Ивић, Павле: *Српскохрватска дијалектологија у најновијем периоду.* Књижевност и језик IX, св. 1, 1962.
Ivić, Pavle: *Über den spezifischen Charakter der mundartlichen Ausgliederung des serbokroatischen Sprachgebietes,* Orbis VIII, fasc. 1, Louvain 1958.
Ivšić, Stjepan: *Jezik Hrvata kajkavaca.* Ljetopis Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 48, Zagreb 1936.
Историја народа Југославије I—II. Београд 1953, 1960.
Jagić, Vatroslav: *Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte der südslavischen Sprachen.* Archiv für slav. Philologie 17, 1895. (Prevod: *Jedno poglavlje iz povijesti južnoslavenskih jezika, Izabrani kraći spisi Vatroslava Jagića.* Zagreb 1948).
Јанкулов, Борислав: *Преглед колонизације Војводине у XVIII и XIX веку.* Нови Сад 1961.
Jireček, Konstantin: *Die Romanen in den Städten Dalmatiens wahrend des Mittelalters.* Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil., hist. Klasse 48, 49, Wien 1902—4.

Јиречек, Константин: *Историја Срба,* I—II, 2. изд., Београд 1952.
Конески, Блаже: *Историја македонскоī језика.* Београд 1965.
Lemerle, Paul: *Invasions et migrations dans les Balkans depuis la fin de l'époque romane jusq'au VIIIe siècle.* Revue historique 211, 1954.
Manojlović, Svetozar: *Glavne etape u razvoju hrvatskosrpskog jezika*. Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdio lingvističko-filološki, 4, Zadar 1968.
Marguliés, A.: *Historische Grundlagen der südslavischen Sprachgliederung.* Archiv für slavische Philologie 40, 1926.
Melich, János: *A honfoglaláskori Magyarország.* Budapest 1929.
Miklosich, Franz: *Über die Wanderung der Rumunen in den Dalmatinischen Alpen und den Karpaten.* Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. CI. 30, Wien 1880.
Milčetić, Ivan: *Hrvatske naseobine u Moravskoj, Donjoj Austriji i zapadnoj Ugarskoj.* Zagreb 1898.
Moór, E.: *Zur Geschichte südslavischer Völkerschaften im Karpatenbecken*. Studia slavica 8. Budapest 1962.
Насеља и порекло становништва (серија књига). Издаје Српска академија наука и уметности.
Острогорски, Георгије: *Историја Византије.* Београд.
Pavičić, Stjepan: Podrijetlo *hrvatskih i srpskih naselja i govora u Slavoniji*. Zagreb 1953.
Pavičić, Stjepan: *Seobe i naselja u Lici*. Zagreb 1962.
Павловић, Миливој: *О становништву и говору Јања и околине*. Српски дијалектолошки зборник 3, 1927.
Э. Петрович: *Географическое распределение славянских топонимов на территории Румынии. Romanoslavica* IX, Bucureşti 1963.
Petrovici, Emil: *Западнојужнословенска имена места у Малој Влашкој.* Анали Филозофског факултета у Београду 5, 1965.
Pomianowska, Wanda: *Zróżnicowanie gwar południowosłowiańskich w świetle faktów słowotwórczych* . Wroclaw — Warszawa — Kraków 1970.
Поповић, д. Ј.: *Срби у Војводини* I—III. Нови Сад 1957—63.
Popović, Ivan: *Geschichte der serbokroatischen Sprache.* Wiesbaden 1960.
Popović, Ivan: *Die Einwanderung der Slaven in das oströmische Reich im Lichte der Sprachforschung.* Zeitschrift für Slawistik 4, Berlin 1959.
Popović, Ivan: *Zur Urgeschichte der Serben in Pannonien. Eine Dialektuntersuchung.* Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie 27, 1958.
Поповић, Иван: *Историја српскохрватскоī језика.* Нови Сад 1955.
Rešetar, Milan: *Die čakavština und deren einstige und jetzige Grenzen.* Archiv für slavische Philologie 13, Berlin 1890—91.
Rosetti, A.: *Istoria limbii române*[4]. I—III, Bucureşti 1964.
Rospond, Stanisław: *Południowosłowiańskie miejscowe z sufiksem *-itj-* Kraków 1937.
Sandfeld, K.: *Linguistique balkanique, problèmes et résultats*, Paris 1930.

Селищев, А. М.: *Полоī и еīо болīарское население.* София 1929.
Селищев, А. М.: *Славянское население Албании.* София 1931.
Skok, Petar: *Dolazak Slavena na Mediteran.* Split 1934.
Skok, Petar: *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima. I—II,* Zagreb 1950.
Stanislav, Jan: *Slovenský juh v stredoveku. I—II.* Turčiansk Sv. Martin 1948.
Стойков, Стойко: *Бълīарска диалекīолоīиа, 2* изд., София 1968.
Тапкова-Заимова, В.: *Нашесīвия и еīнически ūромени на Балканиīе.* София 1966.
Tentor, Mate: *Leksička slaganja creskoga narječja i slovenskoga jezika protiv Vukova jezika.* Razprave Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti I, Ljubljana 1950.
Тодоров, Цветан: *Населениеīо между Тимок, Искър и Сīара-ūланина.* Списание на БАН 60, 1937.
Толстой, Н. И. и други: *Лексика Полесья.* Москва 1968.
Томић, Јован: *Насеље у млеīачкој Далмацији 1409—1797.* Први део, Ниш 1915.
Филиповић, Миленко: *Галиūољски Срби.* Београд 1946.
Hauptmann, Lj.: *Seoba Hrvata i Srba.* Jugoslovenski istoriski časopis 3, Beograd 1937.
Hraste, Mate: *Bibliografija radova iz dijalektologije, antroponimije, toponimije i hidronimije na području hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika.* Hrvatski dijalektološki zbornik I, Zagreb 1956.
Цвијић, Јован: *Балканско ūолуосīрво и јужнословенске земље* I—II. Београд 1922, 1931.
Цвијић, Јован: *Меīанасīазичка креīања, њихови узроци и ūоследице.* Београд 1922.
Цоневъ, Б.: История *на бълīарския език* I—III, София 1919—1937.
Šišić, Ferdo: *Hrvatska povijest I—III*, Zagreb 1906—1913.

B. ON INDIVIDUAL DIALECTS

Барјактаревић, Данило: *Бихорски īовор.* Зборник Филозофског факултета у Приштини 3, 1966.
Барјактаревић, Данило: *Новоūазарско-сјенички īовори.* Српски дијалектолошки зборник 16, Београд 1966.
Белић, Александар: *Дијалекīи исīочне и јужне Србије.* Београд 1905.
Беличъ, А. И.: *Замѣīки ūо чакавскимъ īоворамъ.* С.-Петербургъ 1910.
Бошковић, Радослав: *Рефлекси īруūа TJ, DJ, TbJ, DbJ, STJ, ZDJ, SKJ, ZGJ (SK', ZG') у дијалекīима јужне и јуīозаūадне Исīре.* Јужнословенски филолог 27/1—2, Београд 1966—67.
Brabec, Ivan: *Govor podunavskih Hrvata u Austriji.* Hrv. dijal. Zbornik 2, Zagreb 1966.
Vasilev, Christo: *Die heutige čakavische Schriftsprache der Burgenland-Kroaten.* Frankfurter Abhandlungen zur Slavistik 8, 1966.

Vážný, Václav: *O chorvatském kajkavském nářeči Horvatského Gróbu.* У књизи: A. Václavík: *Podunajská dedina v Československu.* Bratislava 1925.
Vážný, Václav: *Čakavské nářeči v slovenském Podunají.* Sborník Filosofické fakulty University Komenského v Bratislavě V/47, 1927.
Вујовић, Лука: *Мрковићки дијалекат.* Српски дијалектолошки зборник 18, 1969.
Елезовић, Глиша: *Речник косовско-метохискоī дијалекта.* Српски дијалектолошки зборник 4, 1932, 6, 1935.
Ивић, Павле: *Једна досад непозната īрупа штокавских īовора: īовори с незамењеним јатом.* Годишњак Филозофског факултета у Новом Саду 1, 1956.
Ивић, Павле: *О īовору Галипољских Срба*. Београд 1957.
Ivić, Pavle: *O srpskom govoru u selu Lovri*. Studia slavica 12, Budapest 1966.
Ivić, Pavle: *Prilog rekonstukciji predmigracione dijalekatske slike srpskohrvatske jezičke oblasti*. Зборник за филологију и лингвистику 4—5, Нови Сад 1961—62.
Ivšić, Stjepan: *Današńi posavski govor.* Rad JAZU 196 i 197, 1913.
Jedvaj, Josip: *Bednjanski govor.* Hrv. dijal. Zbornik 1, 1956.
Јовић, Душан: *Трстенички īовор.* Срп. дијал. Зборник 17, 1968.
Jurišić, Blaž: *Rječnik govora otoka Vrgade I*, Zagreb 1966.
Małecki, Mieczysław: *Przegląd slowiańskich gwar Istrji,* Kraków 1930.
Милетић, Бранко: *Црмнички īовор.* Срп. дијал. Зборник 9, 1940.
Neweklowsky, Gerhard: *Akcenatski sistemi čakavskih govora u Gradišću*. Зборник за филологију и лингвистику XIII/l, 1970.
Neweklowsky, Gerhard: *Zur kroatischen Mundart von Weingraben in Burgenland.* Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch 14, 1967—8.
Николић, Берислав: *Мачвански īовор.* Српски дијал. зборник 16, 1966.
Николић, Берислав: *Сремски īовор.* Срп. дијал. зборник 14, 1964.
Николић, Берислав: *Тршићки īовор.* Срп. дијал. зборник 17, 1968.
Павловић, Миливој: *Говор Јањева.* Нови Сад 1970.
Павловић, Миливој: *Говор Сретечке Жупе*. Срп. дијал. Зборник 8, 1939.
Пецо, Асим: *Говор источне Херцеīовине*. Срп, дијал. зборник 14, 1964.
Пецо, Асим, и Бранко Милановић: *Ресавски īовор.* Срп. дијал. Зборник 17, 1968.
Петровић, Драгољуб: *Прилоī īознавању муслиманских īовора зайадне Босне.* Годишњак Филозофског факултета у Новом Саду XIII/1, 1970.
Petrovici, Emil: *Graiul Caraşovenilor.* Bucureşti 1935.
Пешикан, Митар: *Староцрноīорски средњокатунски и љешански īовори.* Срп. диј. Эборник 15, 1965.
Поповић, Иван: *Говор Госпођинаца у светлости бачких īовора као целине.* Београд 1968. Поповић, Иван: *О бачким буњевачким īоворима.* Зборник Матице српске за књижевност и језик 1, Нови Сад 1954.
Popović, Milko: *Žumberački dijalekat.* Zagreb 1938.

Rešetar, Milan: *Der štokavische Dialekt*. Wien 1907.
Rešetar, Milan: *Die serbokroatischen Kolonien Süditaliens,* Wien 1911.
Ribarić, Josip: *Razmještaj južnoslovenskih dijalekata na poluotoku Istri*. Срп. дијал. Зборник 9, 1940.
Rožić, Vatroslav: *Kajkavački dijalekat u Prigorju*. Rad JAZU 115, 116, 118, Zagreb 1893—94.
Sekereš, Stjepan: *Klasifikacija slavonskih govora*. Зборник за филологију и лингвистику 10, 1967. Skok, Petar: *Novi prilozi proučavanju govora žumberačkih čakavaca (prvi dio).* Hrv. dijal. zbornik I, 1956.
Стевановић, Михаило: *Ђаковачки ӣовор*. Срп. дијал. зборник 11, 1950.
Стевановић, Михаило: *Ист҃очноцрноӣорски дијалекаӣ҃*. Јужнословенски филолог 13, 1933—34. Стевовић. Игрутин: *Шумадијски ӣовор у Гружи*. Срп. дијал. зборник 13, 1969.
Тодоровъ, Цветанъ: *Северозадниӣ҃е бълӣарски ӣовори*. София 1936.
Tornow, S.: *Die Herkunft der kroatischen Vlahen des südlichen Burgenlandes*. Berlin 1971.
Hraste, Mate: *O štokavskim govorima na Hvaru i Braču*. Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu 1, 1951.
Hraste, Mate: *Čakavski dijatekat ostrva Hvara*. Јужнословенски филолог 14, 1935.
Hraste, Mate, Josip Hamm i Petar Guberina: *Govor otoka Suska*. Hrv. dijal. zbornik 1, 1956.

OUR DIALECTS AND THE MODERN AGE

If we look for the place of dialects among social phenomena, we will find that dialects are similar in nature to phenomena such as national costumes, national dishes, or national architecture. Language has one important feature in common with these phenomena: that it is useful. It is that in the most literal sense, because it is a social tool, and it is even the most important, the most universal, the most frequently used tool that is available to human society, and to each individual person in particular. In the same way, the tools and buildings that people build, their clothes, and their food are all tools in a somewhat broader sense of the word. Dialects are like national architecture, national dishes and drinks, national clothing and national furniture, and the fact that there are variations everywhere, primarily territorial, in something that is essentially a tool, but those variations are largely independent of the nature of the appearances of those things as tools. They developed spontaneously, by differentiation that had a regional or ethnic character, appearing and experienced as a feature of a given ethnicity, that makes one from a utilitarian point of view an *unnecessary* variety in something that is very *necessary* from the same point of view. In addition, this variation is also *arbitrary*: there is no deeper reason why *dođosmo* is spoken around Čačak, and *dođomo* around Kruševac, and not the other way around. In this respect, variation in language is relatively the purest case. The peculiarities of folk architecture in each region are, however, largely determined by the climate, as well as by the material at hand. The fact that the houses are mostly wooden in forest regions, and stone in rugged ones, can hardly be qualified as a folklore variation, but that is why it is obviously present when wooden cabins are decorated in one way in one wooded area, and in another completely different way. In the same way, national

cuisine depends to a considerable extent on economic geography, on what kind of livestock and crops are grown in a given area, just as clothing is determined to a high degree by the climate and available materials — all of which does not erase the fact that differences in national cuisine and costumes cannot be reduced to the exclusive influence of such factors. However, dialect variation is relatively little affected by local circumstances, although a few things can be mentioned in this area as well. Thus, in shepherding regions we will find a lot of words for types or colors of sheep, in agricultural regions there will be many more terms related to various agricultural cultures, tools and jobs, in the coastal areas there will be a rich vocabulary of fishing and seafaring, etc. But these are all small, marginal details compared to the truth that the majority of dialectal differences are pure ethnic variation, unmotivated by material or social circumstances. Let's add, after all, that there are other areas where this type of variation plays an important role. These are various types of folklore: folk songs and stories, folk dances, customs, and beliefs. Of course, all these phenomena perform a certain social function (without which they would not exist), but, unlike language, architecture, clothing and food, they cannot be qualified as useful in the material sense of the word.

Of these enumerated domains, which are also fields of variation, both in time and in geographical space, language shows the highest measure of stability. Changes in language are slow, usually imperceptible to the observer, so that he is almost tempted to compare them with the development of animal and plant species (which would be unjustified, however, because language evolution is incomparably faster). Appearances in the field of clothing or architecture are far more susceptible to deep changes than language, primarily because they are exposed to the whims of fashion and the effect of technical innovation. Language is an extraordinarily complex and delicate system—infinitely more complex and delicate than any other complex of givens in human society—composed of an enormous number of diverse elements, which makes the effect of a change in one particular element actually quite limited. In addition, language, as an abstract system, is located above each individual, and while over handicrafts, as material goods, their producer has the power to shape them according to his taste or according to the wishes of the customer; language, as a rule, remains protected from the interventions of individuals. After all, each attempt to intervene in language in a more far-reaching way conflicts with the social

function of language, i.e. with the meaning of its existence. It is there for the sake of communication, and that is why it must be understandable, and that means established, as people already know it (that is why there is so little left as a permanent gain for language from the linguistic innovations of our poets, even gifted ones, from Sima Milutinović through Laza Kostić, to Momčilo Nastasijević and Oskar Davičo). Big advances in language are possible only in exceptional cases when, under the pressure of deep social conditions, one language system is replaced by another, for example when folk languages are abandoned and a literary language is accepted, or when a second language is adopted during the assimilation of a people.

Dialectal variation, we noted, is not useful (although, perhaps, it makes the world more colorful, in the same sense as the variety of architecture or clothing). From a utilitarian point of view, as much as the language itself is necessary, it is also superfluous to say *prozor* in some places, and *penđer* or *oblok* in others, or that the third person plural of the present verb *nositi* in various regions reads *nose*, *nosa*, *nosida*, *nosija*, *noseju*, *nosiv*, etc. Even in a certain sense territorial variations in language are socially harmful. When people from different regions come into contact, it makes it harder for them to get along. In a primitive society, which is alien to both literacy and long-distance travel as a mass practice, this event hardly has any significance. It is rare that a traveler from a distant region appears, and on those rare occasions it is known that he is an traveller from far away and people make the corresponding extraordinary effort to somehow come to an agreement with him. However, in modern times, when people are so playfully mobile and when publishing activity and mass communication media simultaneously address audiences in many regions, dialect diversity turns into an objective nuisance. Such circumstances naturally give birth to a unification tendency that leads to the generalization of the literary language instead of territorial dialects. Today, many aspects of life are battling against dialects, the effect of which is hard for anyone to escape even in rural areas, those traditional bearers of dialects in their purest form. There is no longer only school, service in the army, socializing with the authorities and reading, which all spread the elements of the literary language, even when reading is limited to the agricultural calendar or weekly illustrated magazines. Radio and television made their way into the peasant's life, introducing the clearly spoken word in the literary language into most rural homes on a daily

basis. And at the same time, there are more and more such homes where their own children, educated in the city or employed there, use urban speech when they visit their relatives on vacation or at the weekend, or when they return home from work in the evening. The channels through which the influence of the literary language penetrates are numerous and powerful, and there are serious reasons for a person to open himself to that influence. Not knowing the literary language means, to a large extent, being a second-class citizen, bearing the mark of backwardness, and often not being able to understand much of what needs to be understood. Even vanity drives people to pursue the prestige of the town — in speech as well as in clothes and many other things. Most of our rural environments have already passed through that break in collective psychology where the blade of ridicule, that ferocious regulator of human behavior, turns. The phase of ridiculing individuals who use urban words to "play the lord" was replaced by the phase of mocking those who remain "simple" and speak "peasant" and "wrong" language. After all, in parallel with the dialectal variation, the national clothing, national architecture and furniture also come under the influence of the changed times. They are attacked by the demands of industrial or at least more economical production, as well as city fashion, which the new conditions of communication and transportation put within the reach of rural residents as well.

The process of replacing folk dialects with literary language is not a simple process, just as the language system is not simple either. That system contains several tens of thousands of elements that are mastered by every speaker of a given language. In order to move from native speech to a literary language, it is necessary to adopt changes that involve many of those elements (though not all, because this would mean moving to a completely different language). Some of those elements are not even easy to grasp. It is relatively easy to learn that instead of *astal* one should say *sto*, but it is much more difficult to master the syntax of our literary language, and it is almost impossible to master its accents if it was not learned in childhood. The acquisition of the literary language appears as the sum of an inexhaustible multitude of special, usually minor tasks that each individual copes with on his own. No two individuals will achieve exactly the same results. Some will master more and others less of the differences between the two language systems. And even if the number of differences mastered were equal in some case, the lists of those differences will not be the same

because there will be details on both sides that the other side has not mastered. This is how individual variation in speech is created in all rural areas. In that variation, after all, there is another variable that concerns the ability to distinguish literary language from dialect. There are individuals who mix the literary language and the dialect, unaware of which element belongs to which of those systems, just as there are others who have learned the literary language quite well, but retain a feeling for the vernacular, distinguishing one from the other. They are usually intellectually stronger individuals. When they want, they express themselves in a more or less acceptable literary language, and when they want to, they can also speak in dialect, without the most tainted elements of the literary language. Such individuals, therefore, have a much wider range of active command of the language. They are in a way bilingual, unlike the first ones who, in the final analysis, are not even monolingual because they do not really know either the literary language or their vernacular. And yet, almost every inhabitant of the rural environment has a certain measure of ability to adapt his expressions to the interlocutor and when the occasion arises, move along the vernacular-literary language axis. In addition, of course, the share of those two components will largely depend on the social class, generation, education and biography of the individual.

The gradual shedding of dialects presents dialectologists with new tasks. It is no longer easy to find representatives of pure folk speech. The reports of researchers increasingly mention the efforts made to find a person old enough, preferably illiterate or at least unaccustomed to daily reading and who, moreover, has not traveled much — and at the same time who is lively in spirit (capable of understanding questions), not shy from contact with strangers, that she is physically strong enough to withstand a long interrogation and that, above all, who has good teeth (without which there is no clear articulation or good pronunciation records). And when you start working with the interviewee, it usually turns out that they mix elements of literary language into their speech and that it is difficult to find a way to turn him away from that. Communicating with a stranger from the city is precisely the situation in which the peasant, by habit and reflex, will try to distance himself as much as possible from the native speech, reserved for communication with people from his social environment. Thus, the dialectologist is forced to treat the recorded material selectively, leaving out details that obviously come from the literary language (although this

is not always so obvious, which requires delicate analysis, and often checking and collecting additional material). Without such methods, it is impossible to establish an image of an authentic vernacular that has grown on the soil itself. However, a new problem arises here: should dialectology pay attention exclusively to that speech, which today few people use in its pure form, or should the study include the real, socially relevant language situation in the countryside? Research in this other direction has just begun around the world, and not so much has been done in our country. There are good reasons for the reluctance of dialectologists to tackle these problems. In the speech of rural areas, only two points are fixed: the autochthonous vernacular and the imported literary language. In between is a chaotic mixture of the two, with capricious variation from one individual to the next, and vacillation from one occasion to the next in each individual. It is neither simple nor precise to describe such a situation in one person, let alone to encompass the entire situation in a village, and it is especially difficult not to be overwhelmed by the mass of details, to see in them some broader, socially significant regularity. If this is possible in principle, there is a lack of an elaborated methodology for such research. Added to this is the danger that the results of the efforts will be trivial, that, for example, after a preliminary examination of many peasants and extensive statistical calculations, it "turns out" that the share of elements from the literary language is generally proportional to the education or reading of the speaker — which, of course, is known in advance. All this, however, does not exclude the possibility of better designed undertakings, such as would determine exactly to what extent the literary language is spreading in the field from one generation to the next, or what are the differences between certain regions in terms of the extent to which the literary language has penetrated, etc. In addition, there remains a purely linguistic dimension of the problem: the question of which features of the vernacular are the first to succumb to the onslaught of the literary language, and which persist more regularly. The greatest resistance is usually shown by certain phenomena of *non-distinction* of units in the language system. In regions where *č* is not distinguished from *ć*, or the ascending accent from descending, such a condition will be maintained in the literary language if people have learned it. On the other hand, the arrangement of the existing units will undergo adjustments. Where in the dialect there are the forms *šćap* and *gušćer*, it will be easy to introduce *štap* and *gušter* instead of them,

because the consonant group *št* is normally present in speech in words like *šta* or *pošten*, so its use in new examples does not create difficulties. In dialects where the accentuation is archaic, instead of an accent of the type of *ostàvi*, it will appear in the pronunciation of *ȍstavi*, with the accent moved in an effort to reproduce the literary form of *òstavi*, but with a short descending accent (̏) and there is a place in the dialect for a literary short ascending (̀) which is foreign to the dialect.

The adoption of a literary language does not mean that dialectal variation disappears without a trace. Its remnants are visible in the regional differences that are manifested in the poor use of the literary language, the most common successor of the dialects in the environments from which they were displaced. It is a literary language with an impoverished syntax, often with a changed or at least faded, colorless accent and without those qualities of flexibility and refinement that normally elevate the literary language above common speech. The way in which the literary language is damaged, in which it is refracted through the linguistic feeling of the former speakers of the dialect varies from region to region, and in that variation the language expert can detect reflections of the dialectal background. In our circumstances, dialectal variation grows, moreover, into regional versions of the literary language, often called varieties. Admittedly, only a small part of the differences in this domain comes down to dialectics projected into the literary language, while the majority of the inconsistencies concern civilizational and professional terminology and other elements of the literary language that are not present at all in the vernacular.

When it comes to the collision of the modern era with inherited dialects, one cannot avoid, as a very special case, the appearance of the persistent preservation of autochthonous languages, albeit somewhat adapted, in certain environments. As a rule, these are urban environments and those in which the native language is viewed with pride because of its tradition. In the area of the Serbo-Croatian language, there are two cities, Zagreb and Dubrovnik, where this relationship reigns supreme. The people of Zagreb use the Kajkavian language as a normal medium of communication at home and on the street; the Kajkavian language is mastered by immigrants from the Shtokavian and Chakavian regions there, or at least their children. Not being able to use Kajkavian speech on certain occasions is considered a bit of a proof of inferiority, a visible sign that one does not come from the nation's capital. Otherwise, Zagreb's circumstances fit into the broader framework of

the Central European situation: in many German-speaking cities, the local dialect has more or less the same status as Kajkavian in Zagreb, and in Slovenia and the Czech Republic, the literary language is not the medium of everyday colloquial expression of educated people. In Ljubljana and in Prague, in the home and on the street, the master is "conversational language", the product of an ancient cross between the local dialect and the literary language. As for Dubrovnik, a city in love with its past, nurturing the native language there is part of the relationship to its past. Intellectuals from Dubrovnik , even when they are far from their hometown, with their speech they draw attention to the fact that they are from Dubrovnik, rightly feeling that they gain by doing so. In both Zagreb and Dubrovnik, somewhere in the roots of the attitude towards the native dialect is the awareness that that dialect was literary language, an instrument of culture and literary creation, long before the literary language that is used now was created and which is in a certain sense an intruder in their surroundings.

To this day, there are no established urban "social" dialects that would distinguish the "lower" social classes, primarily the working class, and sometimes the so-called middle class. The phenomenon is widespread in Anglo-Saxon countries and is increasingly becoming a major dimension of dialect variation in the thoroughly urbanized and industrialized societies of England and the United States of America. Linguistic habits are transformed there into a manifestation of social status. Serving the dialect of the poorer class disqualifies the individual in the eyes of the more affluent, but even an eventual attempt to imitate the speech of the upper class is often met with condemnation in the circle of the socially subordinated, indignant at any transgression of solidarity. Solving the problems imposed by this kind of differentiation, deepened in America by the presence of distinct linguistic peculiarities of the black population, appears as an important national task in which linguistics is invited to engage. In America, in recent years, the study of the social stratification of urban speech has become a central topic of dialectologists, a bit of a fashion statement among scientists, and certainly a bestseller if it comes to receiving financial support from a foundation for dialectological work. A completely new methodology of such research was developed, with the application of the methods of contemporary sociology. The achieved scientific results are very large. In our country, there are no such studies to this day — partly because social differentiation in language has much shallower

roots and a shorter reach than territorial ones, and partly because our dialectologists, if they are familiar with the latest American achievements, have not yet tried to apply them to speech. our cities still have problems worthy of attention. These languages, we all know, are full of mixture, just as the population of our cities is mixed, where the foreigners usually outnumber those who were born in the city itself. But how does this mixture crystallize, which linguistic traits gain ground in it, which are generalized, and which disappear again? To what extent does the literary language win, and to what extent are some phenomena that are foreign to it adopted during the dialectical leveling? Are there more noticeable differences in these processes among social strata which, after all, are not alien to our reality? At what speed do citizens who came to it as adults get involved in the linguistic image of a city? What happens to their children, do they still keep some traces of their parents' origins, or are they assimilated without a trace? Answers to such questions await our dialectologists in the future.

A special kind of dialect of a social group, using something called "šatrovački", which is an argot and flourishes in the cities. It is used by two types of social circles: criminals and young people, usually schoolchildren or students. For the former, it is usually said that speaking a "secret" language serves to they hide their affairs and intentions from the uninitiated, and for others it is known to be coquetry, a sign of belonging to a group, a "tribe", a sweet casualness embodied in expressions that could not be used on a more official occasion. It differs in that its features are exclusively lexical (*lova* — money, *čilager* — an older man, or an adult in general, *keva* — mother, *siati* — to have), while the grammatical material and voice composition do not deviate from that of normal speech: there are no specific endings in cases or verb forms, there are no different sounds or differences in the vocal composition of otherwise the same words, all of which occur regularly in the ordinary type of dialects. Admittedly, this excludes "languages" based on the shuffling of sounds, like English pig-Latin: *madre* — drema, *durpan* ~ pandur, but this is again a kind of dependence on the initial language system. Argot, therefore, is not an independent type of language medium, it is always parasitic on some other type of expression that is considered normal language in a given society. It is, after all, related to the circumstances under which the argot lives: it is the only type of dialect that is regularly spoken only by people who normally also use another expressive system ("normal" language). Besides,

argot changes much faster than other language systems: it is exposed to the vagaries of fashion, without the charm of novelty it would become boring, and the young, somewhat cynical connoisseurs let their imagination run free, always finding new "stunts" with which to impress their society. It is understood that slang has many variants, spread across generations and geographically, even within the same city at the same time. Usually, each group of people who hang out closely, if slang is used, has its own expression, incomprehensible to others. After all, this is how new expressions are seasoned; their further path leads to contagious success or a quiet death in the circle where they originated.

From the point of view of the relationship between literature and its language, one phenomenon attracts attention, much more present in our western regions than in the eastern ones. It is the use of dialect instead of literary language in literature itself, primarily in poetry. Among the Croats non-Shtokavians, literary creation in vernaculars has a beautiful multi-decade gradation. Among the achievements there are also poetic products worthy of serious attention, such as Domjanić's or Krleža's Kajkavian poems, or Nazor's, Balotina's, Ljubimčev's, Franićević's Chakavian poems. For people whose mother tongue is Kajkavian or Chakavian, the literary language based on Shtokavian, that of Tršić, appears to be a task that needs to be mastered, at school or on the path of life's ascent, and not as something authentically their own. And when that task is mastered to the end, even when it comes to intellectuals who express themselves brilliantly in literary language, there remains in the soul an intimate place reserved for the dialect, associated with the homeland, the birthplace, impressions from childhood, piety towards parents, and remains the need to discuss these topics in such a language. What is the most intimate is difficult to express in a different way with the most intimate means of expression, those that are anchored in the consciousness in the earliest years of life. In Serbian literature, however, such a linguistic split in the author's personality is not common, primarily because the average deviation of the Shtokavian vernacular from the literary language is in fact quite limited, so that the literary language is not perceived as a language medium significantly different from the speech of the native region. However, such a statement also requires some hedging, without which its accuracy would remain only global. Among the dialects spoken by Serbs, one, Prizren-Timok, is significantly different from the literary language, and it is no wonder that this type of dialect entered literature,

first with Stevan Sremac, whose *Ivkova slava* owes its atmosphere primarily to the juicy Niš idiom of his heroes, and then with Borisav Stanković, who elevated Vranje speech to a poetic quality that breaks through from folklore into the broader realms of literature. In later Serbian literature, however, this direction remains without followers, as it mostly remained half-folkloric, the stories of Stjepan Mitrov Ljubiša and Marko Miljanov, which sprang from the soil, told in the strong Jekavian speeches of Paštrović, i.e., Kuč. Only very recently, in Bećković's cycle *Reče mi jedan čoek*, once again a speech of the Zeta dialect, served as a means of literary expression, this time a poetic one, in which elements that are otherwise diverse and difficult to combine merge together — except when it comes to the Montenegrin mentality and tradition: ornate eloquence, humor and a primordial, native strength. Bećković's use of dialect is perfectly thought out; it is the only adequate language tool in his text, capable of carrying and delivering the writer's message.

The process of replacing dialects with a literary language has affected more or less all civilized environments today, but the unique precedent of ancient Greece has not yet been repeated in any language area, where in the Hellenistic epic the so-called *koine*, "common Greek", in fact the literary language of the general Greek culture, completely supplanted almost all territorial dialects (with the single exception of Laconia, the region around Sparta, where a dialect that is a direct descendant of ancient Laconian still lives, while all other modern Greek dialects developed from Koine). Thinking about this, we remain amazed at the prestige of the literary language, strong enough to introduce that language into every home, in virtually all Greek-speaking communities scattered far and wide across the Mediterranean, in the then imperfect travel and educational conditions. Despite all the radio broadcasting and television, compulsory general education and millions of tons of printed paper, this in our period was achieved only in limited segments of certain language areas, of which the most important is probably the belt around Paris where the vernacular languages, replaced by literary French, fell into oblivion. But if we go further, at a hundred or two hundred kilometers from Paris, we will leave the zone of immediate radiation of the capital and we will meet with living folk dialects. In Germany you don't have to go far from Berlin to hear Plattdeutsch, just as in Russia Middle Russian is spoken as far as Moscow itself, and just as in England London is surrounded by various southern English regional

dialects, while in the city itself broad sections of the population use the city dialect, "Cockney". And in the villages closest to Belgrade, for example in Žarkovo or in Batajnica, we can find speakers of mostly well-preserved local dialects. The situation is no different around Zagreb, Novi Sad, Sarajevo or any other urban center in Yugoslavia. In other words, the process of eradicating the rural dialect has not yet been completed anywhere.

If we ask ourselves how we should approach the events unfolding in front of us, the basic answer is that they are independent of us, that we cannot stop them, just as we cannot speed them up or slow them down to a significant extent. To the question of whether we should regret the decline or degradation of spontaneous, vivid folk languages and their replacement by an impoverished version of the literary language, we must answer with the explanation that such regret would be superfluous. It is powerless to prevent the process, and on the other hand, that process nevertheless contributes to democratization and the wider reach of culture and the spiritual unification of the people, and at the same time removes the mark of backwardness, non-adherence to society, which rests on those who do not know the literary language. Just as we have to come to terms with the fact that our folk costumes are disappearing under the onslaught of fashion, and just as we accept the fact that ancient folk architecture is being replaced by clumsy, but actually more spacious and healthy square houses without style, so we must remain calm observers. of the process of changing dialects with the literary language. This does not mean, however, that there are no related tasks that are obligatory in our linguistics or educational system.

It is the duty of our linguistic science to record and describe all territorial dialects in time, before the dialects die out, and even before the disappearance of some of their features. That enormous wealth of phenomena deserves to be saved from irreversible disappearance in the fog of oblivion.

Dialects are an irreplaceable document of language history; remnants of an older state in various domains of language structure are present in practically all languages, while other features of the archaic language system can be reconstructed by comparing the situation in various dialects that have innovated in different ways. The testimony of dialects on linguistic typology is also valuable. Incomparably more numerous than literary languages, dialects in the world represent the most comprehensive reservoir of data on what kinds of phenomena can

exist in a language, and in what combinations, under what conditions. Serbo-Croatian shows a far wider range of variation than any other European language. From one of our dialects to another, the number of cases varies drastically (and with it the entire character of the declension), then the number of verb forms, the inventory of vowels and consonants, and especially accentuation. In terms of accent systems, there are perhaps more diverse structural solutions in our dialects than in all other European languages and dialects taken together. This, of course, is not our merit, but it increases the obligation of our linguists to save data about our speeches for world science. Dialects are also documents of people's history. The history that can be read from them is not the history of individuals, but the history of masses, and is not the chronicle of years, but the history of centuries. The importance of the testimony of dialects increases in proportion to the time distance. When it comes to periods and regions for which we have sufficiently abundant written sources, language analysis provides only new confirmations and perhaps some supplementary facts. But going deeper into the past, we come across epochs poorer in texts and the price of evidence of dialects grows more and more. When it comes to prehistory, we are often guided by linguistic facts more than anything else. After all, in our country, the tragic circumstances of the Turkish rule made many episodes much closer to the past to be in one sense prehistory — if that word really means "an epoch whose events were not synchronously recorded by the written hand". Among us, for example, many economic processes and significant population movements were not immortalized by the written word — because that written word was not around.

The history of a population that uses one language type means primarily two things: the history of ethnicity and the history of society.

The degree of individuality of one ethnic group, its kinship and differences with others are reflected in the language relationship towards the neighbors. Linguistic facts can be stratified through analysis, so that they enable conclusions for each period separately. In this field, language has great advantages over other ethnic characteristics, first of all over folklore, which rarely allows one to delve into the chronology of succession, and which, after all, is much easier to transplant or subsequently transform.

Not only the age-old tribal ties, but also a long life within the borders of a political entity inevitably leaves traces in the speech. And

as far as migration flows and the origin of the population are concerned, the dialect is one of the most eloquent sources of information, except that it is a source that speaks even when everything else fails. On a good dialectological map, one can follow the movement of immigrant streams in the same way that one can see the advance of armies on war maps.

The history of society is inevitably reflected in dialects because language is a system of signs used to denote concepts. Terms that do not exist in a human community are not represented in the vocabulary of its dialect. New concepts enter society with its development, and the words that mark them keep pace with them. It is often not possible to directly determine the way in which certain concepts (and this means things, institutions, customs, understandings) entered an environment many centuries ago. But it is almost always possible to establish the origin of words: they are either borrowed (of course, it does not matter from which language or from which dialect and which developmental stage of that language), or they are built from native linguistic means (in one way or another, which often indicates the way to arrive at the concept itself). Thus, the dialects contain information about old cultural contacts, about external incentives in the development of production, social relations, civilization and spiritual life — or about the spontaneity of that development. Based on the character of the borrowed words, conclusions can be drawn about which neighbor exerted the strongest influence in the field of agriculture, which in animal husbandry, and which again in various crafts. Our dialects provide countless illustrations for all this, and new studies are constantly bringing to light previously unknown, sometimes even unsuspected truths.

The perspective of the disappearance of dialects obliges our linguists to be efficient and speedy. What is not found in mathematics or chemistry today will be found tomorrow, but not in dialectology. This puts a great responsibility on the social community, which is responsible for financing the work on dialect atlases, dictionaries and monographs, as well as material support for expanding the number of people working on our dialectology.

The task of our educational system is to teach the literary language to the coming generations as fully as possible in areas where dialect is traditionally spoken. Even there, the school would have to train students to use a literary language that will not be damaged or degraded, nor will it be colored by the presence of an incompletely erased dialectal background. Our age opens up a possibility unknown

to its predecessors: tape recorder and headphone technology, along with well-thought-out exercise programs and well-trained teachers, would help students absorb the melody of the literary language and systematically get rid of weaknesses in pronunciation and even those in syntax. In addition, all the problems that regional speech peculiarities create when mastering the literary language must be thoroughly studied. We can see these problems, which are inevitably different in our dialect zone, by comparing students' language errors with dialectology data. Based on such observations, special exercises for each area and special instructions for teachers should be developed. Such sharpened efforts of the school system, directed each time to what really needs to be mastered in a given region, would be infinitely more successful than brandishing a blunt, unadapted tool that is the same everywhere regardless of needs. In all of this we are still somewhere around the beginning. The tasks before us are big and not simple. We also lack knowledge about dialects in many regions, and an elaborate methodology for observing student errors and applying those results in setting up an exercise program, and teaching staff fully qualified to implement that program. However, this does not mean that the tasks are unsolvable, nor even that their execution would be too expensive. It is much more a matter of not noticing the problem and lack of initiative. This is where our linguists could be of valuable use. By helping many people, and even entire layers of society, to master the literary language more easily and perfectly, linguistic science would confirm its active participation in the life of the community.

THE DESTINY OF OUR LANGUAGE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF CULTURE

I. FROM THE BEGINNING TO VUK'S TIMES

Literacy in the territory of our language did not begin in our language. This phenomenon is not accidental, nor is it an exception in the European or world cultural circle. Stepping from one nation to another, civilization initially appears in unadapted forms. People who transplant literacy from one ethnic group to another know, of course, the language of that other environment and it is easier for them to write in that language because it does not require effort to adjust, and also provides a wider circle of potential readers (at first there were not even those who would be literate and would not know the language from whose environment literacy came). This is joined by the prestige of a superior civilization, and often the political power that accompanies it. When it comes to the Middle Ages, we should not forget that at that time the main force in literacy was the church, and it used a very limited number of sacred languages. At the time when the Slavs descended on the Balkans, Europe was—if it was literate—divided into two spheres, one with Latin literacy and the one with Greek. And the dividing line between these spheres went right across our borders, continuing in the new period the old border between the western and eastern Roman Empire (and an even older division between the two main cultural zones of late antiquity, Latin and Greek), and preceding the future division of Christianity into western and the eastern church, divisions whose fatal consequences have not escaped us even in the twentieth century. It so happened that our people started writing in Latin and Greek more than in their own language. Only, that literacy was anything but mass. Judging by the few traces that have been preserved, and concluding on

what the circumstances allowed or imposed, it could be said that these were individual cases of performing official or priestly duty in areas where the presence of Byzantine political power was real and not fiction, where Christianity began to affect the Slavs. There couldn't have been many of them. The settlement of the Slavs interrupted the continuity of civilization throughout the Balkan Peninsula; only certain peripheral zones along the seashores were spared. Wide territorial areas were returned from the era of literacy to the era of illiteracy, and it took a long time—even two to three centuries—for the process of re-adoption of the alphabet to begin with a lively momentum. From the sixth to the ninth century, almost all conceivable circumstances stood in the way of this process. Between the Slavs and their literate neighbors there were barriers of language, social order, religion and the whole physiognomy of culture. There were no Slavic states, no Slavic Christian church, no samples of literacy in the Slavic language. However, the ninth century changed all these circumstances. Slovene states were formed on various sides and in them the beginnings of feudalism (apart from the ruling elite in the already present and very strong Bulgarian state), and one main political move—which did not originate from the Balkan Slavs—created Slavic Christianity and Slavic literacy. It was the mission of Cyril and Methodius, two learned Thessalonians who, by order of the Byzantine Emperor Michael, went to Moravia (in present-day Czechoslovakia) in 863 to preach Christianity in the Slavic language and thus set up a barrier for the invasion of Christianity into German lands, where the use of Latin paved the way for the spread of political power of the Byzantine enemies, the Franks. In order to carry out their task, the two missionaries had to translate the basic church books into Slavic. Their excellent knowledge of the Macedonian dialect around Thessaloniki served them there. They wrote their translations in the alphabet they compiled themselves, which we call Glagolitic today. In Moravia and neighboring Pannonia itself, their work was ultimately unsuccessful. The centers of Frankish political power were too close, and Byzantium too far. But in the period that followed, their students scattered throughout the South Slavic countries, from the Croatian coast to Bulgaria. The actual effect of the mission of the two Thessalonians was quite different from the plans of Emperor Michael. It was in the Slavic areas near Byzantium, or even within its borders, that Christianity with Slavic worship and Slavic literacy took root. The language of translation of Cyril and Methodius, which we call Old Church

Slavonic today, became another great sacral and literary language of medieval (and even later) Europe. We don't really know anything definite about the very act of accepting the Old Slavonic language among Serbs; that act remained lost in the darkness of ancient times and it is not known exactly when or how it took place.

Soon another alphabet appeared next to the Glagolitic alphabet, the one that now bears the name Cyrillic. It is essentially the then ceremonial Greek alphabet adapted to the needs of the Slavic language by adding letters for sounds that are not in Greek (for consonants such as *č*, *ž*, *š*, etc. and vowels such as "*jat*" [ѣ], "semi-vowels" [ъ and ь] or "jeri" [ы]]). Cyrillic is infinitely more practical than Glagolitic (although both equally adequately reflect the phonetic structure of the then Slavic language), and for two reasons: the draft is much simpler, and the letters are mostly identical to Greek, which gave the Cyrillic alphabet the character and role of a bridge to the rich Greek culture, which is why it was a stronger partner in rivalry with the Glagolitic alphabet. This is about the Slavic south, as the remnants of its use were preserved for some time in the Czech Republic, but both areas were far from the most lively centers of Slavic literacy, and in which Glagolitic did not confront Cyrillic or with Greek culture, but with Latin and Latin worship, which was the only one recognized in the whole vast area of the Western Christian church. Glagolitic owes its survival in Croatian regions to two historical circumstances. The fact that it could take root there in spite of the strict norms of the Roman church can be explained only by the fact that in the ninth century a large part of the Kvarner area was under the direct political rule of Byzantium. On the other hand, the Glagolitic alphabet could withstand the onslaught of the Cyrillic alphabet only because, remaining in the Catholic sphere, it escaped the process of generalizing the Cyrillic alphabet in all Orthodox countries with Slavic worship.

The emergence of the Old Slavic literary language dealt a blow to the situation in which the Slavs, whenever any of them had the opportunity to resort to written expression, had to address other people's languages, alphabets and cultures. Thanks to the scholarship and talent of the two Thessalonian brothers who successfully grafted the expressive achievements of the Greek literary language on the Slavic language element, which had been refined for more than two millennia, the Slavic literary language medium had a rich vocabulary and flexible enough syntax, which did not lag behind the level of its time. This created the first

condition for Slavic culture to really rise to that height. However, in areas far from the Thessaloniki area, for example in the Serbo-Croatian language area, the predominance of the literary language on a domestic basis was to some extent—but only slightly—diminished by the fact that another Slavic dialect provided the basis for the Old Slavonic language. Today, of course, the Macedonian dialect of the Thessaloniki region is very different from the average Serbo-Croatian dialect, but in the ninth century this difference was less than the average deviation of today's Serbo-Croatian dialect from our literary language. Only in later history, along with the growing divergence among the South Slavic dialects, did the Old Slavic literary language in our region begin to become less *its own* and increasingly difficult to understand. However, this was mitigated by adapting that language to the speaking backgrounds in which it lived. In its original version, the language preserved a very complex Proto-Slavic vocal system. Later development started to simplify that system. In each Slavic dialect, individual vocals were equated with individual others. Thus, in Old Serbo-Croatian, the difference between hard and soft semivowel was lost, while the former nasal vowels were transformed (in the vast majority of dialects) into *e* or *u*. In an environment where the distinction between two sounds was no longer in the linguistic sense, that distinction could not be maintained in the Old Slavonic language either. Thus, for example, the Serbian, Bulgarian and Russian pronunciations of the Old Slavonic language appeared. This pronunciation was soon reflected in writing, most often in the way that the letter signs for voices that disappeared from the pronunciation and fell out of use. From the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, Bulgarian, Russian, Serbo-Croatian and other redactions (or "recensions") of the Old Slavonic language appeared with very clear features. During the following centuries, the Church Slavonic language was the basic tool of the culture of the Orthodox Slavic peoples and to some extent the Croats (and also the Romanians who received the Slavic liturgy with Orthodoxy, from which later emerged the special Romanian recension of the Church Slavonic language).

Among the oldest Slavic linguistic monuments which, with more or less certainty, are presumed to have originated on the soil of our language, we find two church readings transcribed in Glagolitic at the end of the tenth century or in the first half of the eleventh century: Mary's Gospel (probably from Serbian areas) and Kločev Glagoljaš (from Croatian Chakavian regions). These are texts that have been transcribed

often and on many pages, and only certain linguistic details suggest that the transcripts before us were made on our land. The situation with inscriptions in stone is different: their localization usually cannot be questioned. From Serbia we have the Cyrillic Temnić inscription listing the names of saints of the eleventh century, and from Croatia the Glagolitic Baška tablet from the island of Krk written at the end of the same century, and in whose text there are already some features of our language. Then there are other inscriptions, including the Cyrillic inscription of the Trebinje prefect Grda, the Blagaj inscription, the inscription of Kulin ban from the vicinity of Visoko, Miroslav's inscription from Bijelo Polje and the inscription in the Benedictine monastery in Povlja on Brač, all from the twelfth century, mostly from its second half. After all, transcripts of church books have been preserved from the same century, which are unequivocally related to the ambience of our language. There are Croatian Glagolitic Kukuljević's missal, then Gršković's and Mihanović's passage of the Acts of the Apostles, both Glagolitic but according to the Orthodox rite, so that they testify to the former use of Glagolitic among Serbs (after all, from later centuries, up to the fifteenth, we have evidence that knowledge of the Glagolitic alphabet lived in Serbian areas: either there is a word or passage written in Glagolitic in a Cyrillic book, or the gaps in the older Glagolitic book are supplemented by Cyrillic). Furthermore, the gospel written for Miroslav, the prince of Hum, the brother of Stefan Nemanja, is famous for its magnificent beauty.

The fate of the Church Slavonic language among Serbs and Croats was not the same. In the Serbian environment, that language was a tool and a stronghold of the Orthodox Church, behind which stood a powerful state organization. As long as that organization existed, there were funds and opportunities for educating cadres who spoke the Church Slavonic language well, and also for faithfully copying old church books, just as, according to the medieval understanding, texts based on faith had to be rewritten—since deviating from the word of the Lord would open the door to heresy. Judging by the large number of compositions written by Serbs in Church Slavonic or translated from Greek into that language, it is clear to us that the circle of people who could easily express themselves in that language was wide. Like Latin in Catholic countries in the same epoch, it was not a dead language, but a living, active tool of the culture of its time. In addition, the circumstances in the Serbian state gave impetus to the creation of a very

rich original literature in the Church Slavonic language. Its most striking works celebrate, in one way or another, the rulers and dynasty in general, or Serbian church dignitaries and the exploits of Serbian saints. When tragic times came, there were places in that literature for admiring the Kosovo sacrifice and lamenting over the downfall of Serbia. As well as generous investment from the royal treasury in the construction and decoration of precious monasteries, and as royal grants to which these monasteries are often given, all of Serbian literature testifies to the strong connection between church and feudal state—a connection that certainly had various aspects, but for art it was certainly gracious. On the other hand, in the crowded area of Istria and the northwestern part of former Dalmatian Croatia, Glagolitic-using priests (*glagoljaši*) acted quietly, among the people, without the support of the official church or state apparatus, sometimes persecuted and at best suffered. With modest means and without schools hardly could they systematically and under the guidance of competent professors master the Church Slavonic language. Hence, in the Glagolitic environment, elements from the vernacular began to enter the language widely. Contrary to the petrification of the Serbo-Slavic language in the east (including Bosnia), the development of that language here was very dynamic. Deep changes under the influence of the Chakavian folk dialect took place even in the language of liturgical texts, which were otherwise the strongest stronghold of rigorous linguistic conservatism. At the same time, there was no more extensive literary creation here in the Church Slavonic language. On the one hand, there were certainly not many people who would be able to compose new texts on it, and on the other hand, there were no conditions for the emergence of ceremonial and rhetorical literature that would be important as the church's ideological support to the state people. Unlike the Orthodox Church in medieval Serbia, the Glagolitic Church was not an official church even in the Croatian state while it existed, much less in the Hungarian, Venetian and Austrian states. In addition, the Serbian church was autocephalous and therefore nationally oriented, which was not the case in the Catholic Church at that time.

Although there were no major changes in the Church Slavonic language among the Serbs after the twelfth century, there was an evolution in the way it was written. At the very beginning of the thirteenth century, the orthography was reformed. In fact, it was arranged and codified so that it best suited the Serbian edition of the Church Slavonic

language. Until that time, the Serbianization of the pronunciation of that language was reflected in writing in a spontaneous way, and now that writing was made more rational. We have every reason to believe that this job could not have been done without the knowledge and approval of Sava Nemanjić, and it is even natural to assume that the initiative came from him. This far-sighted statesman who was destined to steer the development of the Serbian state, church and culture in the direction that determined so many later outcomes, even in recent history, was the progenitor of a literature, and the writing down of the literary language could not have escaped his attention. The performed intervention somewhat brought Serbo-Slavic orthography closer to the ideal of optimal written reflection of the spoken word. The oldest Glagolitic alphabet and the Cyrillic alphabet were close to that ideal, but later sound changes removed the pronunciation of writing. The reform in Sava's epoch reduced that distance, but later development generally did not continue in the same direction, until the nineteenth century, when Vuk's orthography revolution achieved an almost complete correlation between spoken and written words. In the meantime, another rearrangement of the orthography in the Church Slavonic language among the Serbs was noticed. Konstantin Filozof, a learned writer who moved from already conquered Bulgaria to Stefan Lazarević's Serbia, also conveyed his enthusiasm for restoring orthography to the old, most authentic models, those in Greek and ancient Slavic literacy. This enthusiasm, which inspired the orthography reform of the Bulgarian Patriarch Jeftimije, stemmed from conservatism so natural in Church circles whose task was to preserve the faith exactly as it was bequeathed to the Gospel and other ancient writings written under divine inspiration. At a time when books were transcribed by hand, the inevitable accumulation of small textual differences in the chain of transcripts over the centuries must have worried the people in charge of guarding the purity of the faith. Such motives may seem unusual to some today, but we should not lose sight of the fact that heresies and schisms often arose from misunderstandings about a single passage, or even a single word in the holy books. However, the desire of Konstantin Filozof to restore the texts to their original form did not help him to cope with the history of language and orthography every time. At that time, there was simply no science about that, and Konstantin often ran after illusions in his interventions. Thus, his reform, which was not progressive by inspiration and which greatly complicated

the orthography, did not achieve the goal of returning to the old. Nevertheless, the transcripts from the "Resava school" are characterized by standardized orthography and a high degree of general orderliness and reliability. The prestige of Serbian literacy was enormous at the time. Among the circumstances that determined this direction of influence is, after all, the fact that among the Orthodox Balkan Slavs, Serbs preserved their freedom for the longest time before the Turkish invasion, so until 1459 there was a period in which Serbia radiated an unquenched and even very alive cultural activity. The last decade of the fifteenth century, which was also the last decade of the existence of an unconquered medieval Serbian state (Zeta), bequeathed to the future the work of printing Serbian books. The Octoichus of 1493-94 started a tradition that continued during the first two thirds of the sixteenth century, the founding of printing houses in various Serbian regions, mostly small and short-lived, followed by the Montenegrin Božidar Vuković and his son Vicenco who worked in Venice, after which several more Serbian editions appeared in the same city by 1638. Only church books were printed (although there was one primer in 1597), of course in the Serbo-Slavic language, but all this still testifies to the remains of a high cultural level, as well as the hunger of the Serbian church for books. As for the influence on Bulgarians and Macedonians, it becomes even clearer if we keep in mind that the Bulgarian and Macedonian churches were under the rule of Greek Phanariot bishops, while the Serbian church managed to preserve itself from Greek domination, especially after the Patriarchate of Peć was restored in 1557, which enabled a wider and more systematic work on Slavic literacy in the Serbian church. After all, some Macedonian and western Bulgarian regions were within the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Peć.

While Serbian books played an important role as models for its neighbors, in the Serbian environment itself, in the epoch of Turkish rule, the Resava orthography gradually gave way to a spontaneous, increasingly simplified treatment of orthographic problems with which the Serbo-Slavic language met in the eighteenth century. In this so-called Serbianized orthography, along with the increasingly widespread Ekavian replacement of *jat*, there is a consistent replacement of the semivowel with *a*, even in cases where the semivowel was not pronounced in spoken language, such as *vasaki* instead of *vьsaki* after the vernacular *svaki* (such a church pronunciation we owe to the appearance of forms like *sabor*, *savest*, *savetovati* as opposed to the forms of *zbor*,

svest, *svetovati*, based on development in living vernacular). This evolution, in fact, brought to an end the principle on which the Serbian recension was formed: that instead of every Old Slavic letter for which there was no voice in our language, a letter should be used for the voice that replaced that missing souond.

In addition to orthography, letter forms also evolved. Today, paleographers can roughly determine the epoch in which an old text was written (or transcribed) based on the draft of the letter. The evolution of letters in the so-called *ustav*, the alphabet used for ceremonial texts, was the slowest while it was the most dynamic in shorthand. In addition, over time, the circle of application of the *ustav* became narrower and narrower, while shorthand conquered the field. There was, of course, some regional variation in the letter.

The Glagolitic orthography of the Croats also underwent a gradual transformation that distanced it from the archaic Old Slavic model. However, there were no deliberate, systematic interventions—until the seventeenth century, when the language itself was reformed in the church Glagolitic books. At that time, Rafael Levaković, on the order of the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, introduced numerous Russisms into that language, in order to bring Glagolitic texts closer to the Cyrillic Russian church books and thus facilitate the unification that the Catholic Church carried out in Ukraine. This artificial Russification, which was deepened in the eighteenth century by Matija Karaman, removed the Croatian Glagolitic book at the same time from its own tradition and the national language of the Croats, and influenced the further decline of Glagolitic among the Croats. In the latter period, it was slowly extinguished, until the end of the nineteenth century, when a certain renaissance occurred, stimulated by the awakened interest in Slavic science. By order of Rome, Dragutin Parčić then published a new version of the basic liturgical books, this time in the renewed Croatian edition of the Church Slavonic language. Finally, in 1927, in a new edition of the Glagolitic Missal prepared by the Czech Slavicist Josef Weiss, the Glagolitic alphabet itself was replaced by Latin. This practically meant the death of the Glagolitic alphabet in church use. Church Slavonic worship is still practiced today in many Catholic churches on the coast from Istria to central Dalmatia, but Glagolitic texts are read from Latin books.

Quite naturally, the form of Glagolitic letters also evolved over time. Unlike the original Old Slavic "round" Glagolitic alphabet, its letters

in Croatia took on characteristic angular forms. The first printing of Glagoljica took place earlier than Cyrillic, as early as 1483, and in the period immediately after there were a few Glagolitic printers, though even fewer than the Cyrillic ones among the Serbs.

We will conclude the presentation on the Church Slavonic language in our countries by noting that the texts in that language still provide some information about the history of the Serbo-Croatian language. For us, there are drastic deviations and changes that reflect the features of our language that the scribe introduced, usually inadvertently, by mistake, following his linguistic sense. Such data are of particular value with regard to older epochs of language development, which are scarce in monuments in the vernacular itself. Thus, for example. the well-known Miroslav's Gospel from the end of the twelfth century is valuable as a source of information about certain innovations in our dialects. Later texts can be traced to the appearance of Ekavian pronunciation in Raška and Ikavian pronunciation in Bosnia. Croatian Glagolitic monuments, due to the wider penetration of elements of the vernacular into Church Slavonic, provide even more material. It is important, after all, that we often find very useful information in texts written in a completely foreign language, most often Latin or Greek, where our names, geographical or personal, are mentioned. Usually, according to the form of these names, one can conclude about certain voice changes in Serbo-Croatian.

Of course, the most information about the history of our language is provided by monuments in that language. We have received such texts written from 1189 onwards in Cyrillic (then the famous charter of the Bosnian Ban Kulin on friendship and trade with the people of Dubrovnik was written), and from the first half of the fourteenth century in Glagolitic and Latin. With their content and purpose, these texts differ from the Church Slavonic ones and are classified into two large groups: business and literary (the latter are often accompanied by certain religious readings that are not liturgical in nature, such as pious stories, moral teachings, prayers and sermons). Although many such texts have been preserved, especially in the western parts, we can say with certainty that there were many more in the past, but they were destroyed over time, especially in the eastern parts. The restless and often unhappy history of our people, especially in the Turkish period, created countless opportunities to destroy archives and libraries where books or manuscripts were kept. The destruction was not only caused

by historical demolition and fires—in recent times also the largest and most decisive destruction, on April 6, 1941, when the richest collection of medieval Serbian manuscripts burned down with the Belgrade National Library as a result of bombing. For an archive to fail, it was enough for its owner to flee from the oppressors, or to die or perish without an heir, or for the family to become impoverished and fall into illiteracy. This particularly affected the writings of a secular character in the areas ruled by the Turks. Literally no private archives have been preserved there—because no Christian aristocratic family was allowed to persist. That these nobles corresponded with each other we know from the preserved letters that were sent to Dubrovnik, one part of which escaped ruin because Dubrovnik was spared from the Turkish conquest. We also know that the hiding places of family valuables must have contained royal charters defining the boundaries of the manors and the rights of the lords: a considerable number of similar documents on monastic properties have been preserved because the church the of the Hilandar treasury was spared. Remains or echoes of medieval knightly literature have been preserved, more or less by chance, and it is known that such entertaining literature was gladly read all over Europe in aristocratic circles (as it is known that literacy was very widespread among medieval Serbian nobility). With this in mind, it will be clear to us how vast the mass of irretrievably lost cultural treasure is. The basis on which we are reconstructing the picture of our Middle Ages today is only a tiny portion of what existed which, if history had been less ruthless, would have reached us for the most part.

The official documents we have mentioned are most often legal or commercial. There are a lot of different texts, from interstate treaties on the alliance and the imperial codes, all the way down to someone's receipts about paid money or returned pledges, and the correspondence between traders who agree on a deal. There a wide range of literary compositions, prose and poetry. Among the genres that first appear in writing, we will find medieval semi-historical and knightly novels—about the Trojan War, Alexander the Great, Varlaam and Joasaph—apocrypha and other more or less pious stories full of noble miracles, as well as prayers from the folk prayer books. Over time, that literature grew in breadth and branched out, which does not mean that serious literary qualities should always be attributed to its works. The historian of language is in a fortunate position here: the text may be banal and uninventive, without spirit or even plagiarism, it is as faithful a document

of the language of its epoch as the most brilliant work of a great writer. Of course, however, language scholars usually pay more attention to the products of prominent writers (when there are such writers in the epoch that interests them), due to the cultural and historical significance of the topic and the influence that prominent authors have had on others. Of course, translated literature also comes to the attention of language historians. With the exception of traces of the language of the original, most often noticeable in a word or trade, translations illustrate the linguistic features of their time.

With the passage of time, not only did the absolute number of texts in the vernacular grow, but so did their share in the total written legacy of the epoch. The vernacular took over one area of use from Church Slavonic to another, pushing its rival towards its last redoubt, the liturgical function. It would not be justified to look for in this only the effect of a slight decline in the role of the church in society, from the deep Middle Ages onwards. There is another cause, purely linguistic in nature. With each step of its development, the Serbo-Croatian language became more and more distant from the ancient patterns of Cyril and Methodius; in this way, the Church Slavonic language slipped deeper and deeper into incomprehensibility and became less and less close to people. At the same time, those who nurtured it often gave it the characteristics of a ceremonial, artificial language, detached from everyday life. Finally, one of the causes of the tide of texts in the domestic language is the fact that the language suppressed Romance in areas where Church Slavonic had never been used.

The difference between the more conservative Orthodox East and the more dynamic Catholic West can be seen in the pace of the penetration of the vernacular into literature. It is quite easy to explain this inequality. We have already said that in the west there was no official church behind the Church Slavonic language; there were even vast regions with exclusively Latin worship that remained untouched by the use of Church Slavonic. In addition, secular literature of Renaissance inspiration flourished in the West since the end of the fifteenth century, at a time when the last medieval Serbian state was burning down under pressure from the Turks and thus obstructing all literacy among Serbs outside the church walls.

The distinction between texts in the church and those in the vernacular is not very sharp. The two linguistic media were not so crucially different that they could not be confused. In some compositions

in the church language, such as chronicles, the careful reader will find in some places the words and forms of our language. There are even more Church Slavonic elements in many texts otherwise written in Serbo-Croatian. There is almost no medieval charter whose language would remain purely popular at the beginning and end of the text, where the tone is raised, where God's name is solemnly invoked and where the legitimacy of the monarch is determined. The document by which Emperor Stefan Uroš in 1357 confirmed the privileges to the people of Dubrovnik begins with the words (it is filled with archaisms): "By the unspeakable mercy and philanthropy of the bishop of my sweet Christ, by the favor and mercy and his all-merciful favor He poured out on my kingdom and on the first holy Orthodox emperors, also the grace of his most holy spirit and on the kingdom he showed me as if he poured out on his holy disciples and the apostles said to them, Go to the whole world, preach the glory of my divinity, according to his all-praising grace."[1] From the middle of the text, however we find passages such as: "And if my empire quarrels with the people of Dubrovnik, because the people of Dubrovnik are turning about in the land of my empire, let them be set a deadline of 6 months, that they can set off freely without any constraint and march, and that the empire be at war with the city."[2] Of course, this is not our language today, but it is the Serbo-Croatian language of the fourteenth century, in a stylization that sounds unusual, especially because the emperor, according to the protocol of the time, constantly calls himself "my empire". In the parts of the charters that deal with specifics and where the business tone prevails, the language had to be vernacular, if only to make the text clear. Serious legal obligations were assumed in it, and the wording had to be such that it was well understood by both the giver and receiver of the obligations and everyone who later got the document in their hands, and that none of them could declare that the provision of the charter was incomprehensible to him or that it meant something other. Of course,

[1] „Po neizrečenomu milosrdiju i človekoljubiju vladiki mojego sladkago mi Hrista, po izvoleniju i milosti i vsemilostivnomu jego prizreniju ježe na carstvu mi i na prvih svetih pravoslavnih car, takožde i blagodet presvetago svojego duha i na carstve mi pokaza jakože izlija na svetije svoje učeniki i apostoli rek im idete vь vsu vselenuju propovedite slavu mojego božvstva po vsehvalimej jego milosti."

[2] „I ako se carstvo mi svadi s Dubrovnikom, što se obretaju Dubrovčane po zemlji carstva mi, da im se postavi rok za 6 mesec, da se isprate svobodno bez vsake zabave i da pohode, a z gradom da se ratuje carstvo mi."

on such occasions the Church Slavonic language, full of unfathomable mystery for the uninitiated, was less suitable than the folk language which was equally well known to everyone and before which no one had any complexes.

With the writing in the Slavic language, be it vernacular or church, from the beginning it was obligatory to use one of the two Slavic alphabets. As early as the end of the twelfth century, both alphabets were firmly anchored, each in its own geographical area. The core of the Glagolitic domain was around the Kvarner Bay. The island of Krk, Istria and the Croatian coast from Rijeka to Senj are the richest in old Glagolitic documents. In the southeast, the farthest shoots of the Glagolitic alphabet reached the Zadar region and Knin, in the east to Krbava and Bihać, and in the northeast the most prominent position was Ozalj na Kupi—with such spacious borders largely the result of subsequent expansion from the original hearth. As for the Cyrillic alphabet, its territory included all the countries that ever fell under the Serbian state in the early Middle Ages. This means that the whole of Bosnia wrote in Cyrillic (in its borders then, which was significantly smaller in the west and north than it is today) and the coast all the way to the lower reaches of the Cetina. After all, the use of the Cyrillic alphabet exceeded that limit early on, temporarily covering the island of Brač in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Bosnian conquest of most of mainland Dalmatia at the end of the fourteenth century gave a new impetus to the spread of Cyrillic on that side. We have a Cyrillic document from the year 1410 from the Split prayer book, and three decades later the statute of the Principality of Poljica written in Cyrillic between the confluence of the Cetina and Split was written. In the fifteenth century, Cyrillic documents were issued by the princes of Cetina and Klis. Later migrations expanded the Cyrillic alphabet, together with the people who used it, much further to the northwest, just as the Glagolitic alphabet then sporadically reached the northern parts of Croatia. But until the sixteenth century, the area north of the Kupa-Sava-Danube line, and to a large extent directly south of the Sava and Danube, remained largely untouched by Slavic writing. It was ruled by the Hungarian state administration with its own Latin documentation, and the Catholic Church in those areas knew only Latin as the official language. However, in the fifteenth century, the Orthodox Church with refugees from Serbia entered the area of today's Vojvodina (from the previous presence of the Orthodox Church, if it was somewhere in Vojvodina, no written remains have been preserved).

The traditional areas of Cyrillic and Glagolitic did not directly touch. Between them stood a "no man's land" whose spread is easiest to specify when it comes to the sector of the Adriatic coast: it covered areas from Zadar to the Split area. In fact, "no man's land" was the Latinic Empire—albeit in combination with Latin or in Italian. This belt also served as a bulwark that isolated the Glagolitic alphabet from the expansion of Cyrillic writing. Of course, we will not be surprised that the beginnings of combining Latin with Serbo-Croatian language were recorded right here, in these parts and in their immediate neighborhood. The oldest preserved Croatian Latin manuscripts are considered to be the *Order and Law of the Dominican Sisters* (Zadar, 1345) and the *Šibenik Prayer* (a monument undated, but certainly from the fourteenth century). Until the second half of the fifteenth century, there were few such texts, but then they multiplied rapidly and firmly conquered the coast from Zadar to Dubrovnik. It was in this area and at that time that new Renaissance literature gained momentum; Latin is the only alphabet in which it would be written. In the vicinity of Dubrovnik and Split, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, village priests and notaries still wrote in Cyrillic, but writers like Menčetić or Marulić would not use it. In the sixteenth century, the Latin alphabet made a leap, detaching itself from the Adriatic coast. Mostly independent of the already achieved achievements in the coast, and under the influence of other foreign models, the Kajkavian region was becoming a new focus of Latinic literacy in the Serbo-Croatian language. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Latinic texts appeared throughout the then Croatian territory, before which the Cyrillic alphabet and the Glagolitic alphabet abruptly gave way, because just before that those documents were diffusely spread by migrations across Croatian lands. In the following period, the Glagolitic alphabet would be confined again in its northern coastal homeland (and the Latin alphabet would gradually infiltrate it), while the Cyrillic alphabet would remain the only Serbian alphabet on Croatian soil.

By adopting the Latin alphabet, the Croats did what was historically the only logical thing. Politically and culturally, they were a branch of the Catholic West and facing the Turkish invasion they became more and more close to it. Those Croatian lands not conquered by the Turks were divided between the Viennese and Venetian authorities, and the superior Italian, German and Hungarian models were expressed in civilization and art. All roads led to the Latin alphabet. After all, what

happened was not, strictly speaking, the adoption of Latin as a new alphabet. It had been there before, only it was written in other languages. The change was that, when the time came to start writing in the local language, the existing alphabet was used for that service as well. However, it must be admitted that it did not suit such a purpose well. It lacked signs for many of our consonants. "History of Croatian Orthography in Latin Letters"—the title of a book by the famous philologist Maretić—is full of tensions over how to mark the sounds *c, š, ž, č, dž, ć, đ, lj* and *nj*. Similar troubles were faced by other Slavic—and European—peoples who wrote in Latin. This was to coincide with the task of marking a relatively limited inventory of letters with significantly more different sounds, usually by combining letters, so Italians use *sc* (or *sci*), French *ch*, English *sh*, Germans *sch*, Swedes *sj*, and Poles *sz* to denote consonant *š* (however, Hungarians write *š* only as *s*, but *s* is denoted by *sz*). An alternative solution is offered by the use of diacritical marks, which supplement the letters, as in Czech *š*, French *ç* or German *ö*. When the balance between sounds and letters is disturbed, it happens, especially as a result of voice changes during language development, that different signs begin to be used for the same sound (such as French *ai, ei, è, et*, etc. in the sound of spoken *e*, or English *f*, *ph*, *gh* in the sound of *f*) or, worst of all, to denote different voices in the same way, so that in writing some distinction that exists in the language remains unaccounted for vowels, like in the English words *put* and *but*, and different sounds in the same graphic form, like *this, thin* and *Thomas*. All this, of course, was in Latin, which was written in Serbo-Croatian. Thus, the consonant *š* was marked by various writers, in various regions and epochs, in over twenty different ways. Very often the writing in the same text was inconsistent. A typical case is the Chakavian manuscript of *Life of St. Jerome* from the sixteenth century, where the voice *j* is written with here with *g*, there with *gi*, here with *i*, there with *u,* then with *yi*; on the other hand, the letter *s* in the same text appears as—again without a system—consonants *s, š, z* and *ž*, provided that each of these consonants is used in some other way as well. The use of diacritics in our Latin alphabet was not frequent until the nineteenth century, but it was also not unknown. Thus in the same *Life of St. Jerome* also appears the letter *ç*, albeit in a dual function: it should be read in some places as *č*, and others as *c*.

The ways in which the Serbo-Croatian Latinic alphabet tried to overcome the difficulties around the excessive number of consonants

in our voice system were mostly not invented on our soil. The Italian graphic practice was transplanted into our Latin alphabet in the coastal areas and the Hungarian one in the northern areas—in accordance with the geographical distribution of the predominant influence of the two neighboring cultures. The takeover was so much easier that the consonant repertoire of the two languages mostly coincided with the repertoire of Serbo-Croatian. Thus, the disorder that has ruled in our native Latinic for centuries was a reflection of the disorder in other people's writing systems, but further developed on our land, complicated by combining elements taken from both sources and innovations created in our country. Of course, there were individuals who tried to rationalize Serbo-Croatian Latinic—such as Šime Budinić in the late sixteenth century, Rajmund Džamanjić in the seventeenth century and Pavao Riter Vitezović in the early eighteenth century—but their initiatives did not resonate, so the confusion remained to wait Gaj's reform in the 1830s.

The history of the Serbo-Croatian language as a language of literacy, if we follow it from the preserved monuments, shows it all divided into cycles, most often clearly delineated by moments such as epoch, geographical localization, alphabet, dialect and the religion of those who wrote. Perhaps no other language of culture has such a heterogeneous past. One can usually see or at least see the basic thread that connects all monuments, from the oldest to the most recent, with a single evolutionary line. Where this is largely non-existent, where the historical reality is more complex—as in the case of Italian or German, where regional (and political) fragmentation has played a major role—this complexity is still much less visible than in our territories. Nowhere in Europe have so many different civilizations and religions clashed on the land of one language, and nowhere has the dichotomy been accompanied by the writing of the same language in several completely different alphabets.

Chronologically, the first, and at the same time the most important, source of data on the history of language, is the cycle of Cyrillic and Shtokavian monuments from the period that begins in the last decades of the twelfth century and lasts until about the second half of the fifteenth century. Territorially, this cycle covers all areas that were ever part of the medieval Serbian state, and the city of Dubrovnik, which, although located on the coast of that state, did not belong to it at any time.

The richest collection of documents from this cycle has been preserved by the Dubrovnik Archive. The majority of these texts were

published in 1858 by the Slovenian Viennese professor Franz Miklošič in the collection of *Monumenta serbica* and, in the second part, by the Dubrovnik lord Medo Pucić in 1858 and 1862 (that is in the volume from 1862, *Spomenici srpski*). Additional material was published by Prague professor Konstantin Jireček in 1892, again under the title *Spomenici srpski*, and later all these texts were collected in the edition of the Belgrade scholar Ljubomir Stojanović's *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* (1929 and 1934). The oldest date on the text written in our language is recorded on the famous charter of the Bosnian Ban Kulin from 1189, by which he guarantees friendship and free trade to the people of Dubrovnik. Immediately after this document, there are three charters of Stefan Prvovenčani and two charters issued to the citizens of Dubrovnik by the Grand Duke of Hum. Thus, three basic types of writings from this group were determined: these are documents that define Dubrovnik's relations with the rulers of Bosnia and Serbia and with the feudal lords of certain regions, mostly all closer to Dubrovnik. The total number of such writings is not far from a thousand, and in Stojanović's collection, their texts take up about a thousand printed pages. Some documents were sent to Dubrovnik and preserved either in the original or in the transcripts of the Dubrovnik chancellors, while others were sent from Dubrovnik, so the concept of small copies has been preserved. The special "Serbian office" of the Republic in Dubrovnik dealt with this matter, while the Dubrovnik administration used Latin and Italian.

In the earliest documents, those from the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, the language is very archaic and uniform; the differentiation among the Shtokavian dialects was still vague at the time. Kulin's charter from 1189 was written in such a way that in almost every Shtokavian speech of that time, its text would have read the same (or the difference would have been minimal). I quote the text as it was pronounced in Kulin's time, without touching the jat (ѣ) and the semivowel (ь), which were then special sounds in the vowel system; "U ime oca i sina i svetoga duha. Ja ban bosьnski Kulin prisezaju [= kunem se] tebѣ, kneže Krvašu, i vsѣm graćam Dubrovčam [= svim građanima Dubrovčanima] pravi prijatelj biti vam od se [= od sad] i do vѣka i prav goj [= mir] držati s vami i pravu vѣru do kola [= dokle] sьm živ. Vsi Dubrovčane kire [= koji] hode po mojemu vladaniju grgujuće, gdѣ si kto hoće krѣvati [= kretati], gdѣ si kto mine [= ili ko prođe], pravov vѣrov [= pravom verom] i pravim srcem držati je [= ih] bez vsakoje zledi, razvѣ [= osim] što mi kto da svojev voljov poklon, i da im ne bude

od mojih čьstnikov [= carinika] sile, i do kolѣ u mene budu, dati im sьvѣt i pomoć, kakore i sebѣ [= kao i sebi], kolikore moge, bez vsega zloga primisla. Tako mi bože pomagaj i sije [= ovo] sveto Jevanđelije. Ja Radoje dijak banj [= banov] pisah siju knjigu poveljov banjov [= po banovoj naredbi] od rožьstva Hrstova tisuća i sto i osьmdeset i devet dьN, mѣseca avgusta u dvadeseti i deveti, usvѣčenije glave Jovana krstitelja." The oldest innovations are a given here, but not those that will give Shtokavian its modern character, and especially not those that will tear Shtokavian speeches apart. However, over time, the language changed visibly. At the end of the fourteenth century, semivowels began to be replaced with *a* (instead of *dьnь* the writing *danь* appears; this is the fate of the first semivowel in this word because the second one has not been pronounced since the eleventh century and served as a orthography sign, *l* at the end of the syllable it turns into *dao* instead of the old *dalb*), syllabically pronounced *l* becomes *u*, *uo* or *o* (older *vьlkь*, pronounced *vlk*, corresponds to the newer *vɤkь*, *vɤok* or *vokь*), and during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it penetrated and its replacement of *jat*, ekavska, ikavska and jekavska (*lѣto* becomes *leto* in Raška texts, *lito* in most Bosnian and part of Hum, and *lieto* in Dubrovnik and partly Hum and Bosnian documents). In Dubrovnik, after all, the sign *ѣ* is written inconsistently even while the vocal *jat* itself was pronounced as a voice of a special nature, between *e* and *i*. This is how *leto* was written in Dubrovnik since the thirteenth century, followed by *lito* writing and only at the end as *lieto*. Only the latter corresponded exactly to the actual pronunciation, the one that appeared when the vowel *ѣ* developed in the Jekavian way, while writing with *e* or *i* was just an imperfect attempt to mark a special voice with the letter for one of the vowels closest to it. This happened because the scribes of the Dubrovnik Cyrillic office, who lacked complete certainty in the use of signs such as *ѣ* or *ь* as given by the continuity of tradition in the Orthodox Church environment, could not use the sign *ѣ* where it would belong. Hence, instead of *ѣ*, they used letters that do not accurately depict the phonetic reality, but at least were well known to them, especially since the corresponding letters also exist in Latin. This clerical uncertainty later confused some researchers who explained *i* as some kind of Ikavian pronunciation, not realizing that writing *e* was in contrast, despite the fact that there was no Ekavian pronunciation, and that the hesitation between *e* and *i* cannot be explained only by the fact that neither was uttered, but the sound that was something between the two.

From the end of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century, the first features of the Kosovo-Resava dialect appeared in Raška's monuments, such as *nesi*, *s tuđem trgom* or *navolje* (instead of *nisi*, *s tuđim trgom*, *na volji*). This also occurs in the areas that belong to the Prizren-South Moravian dialect. That dialect, while it still had all the cases in its declension (which it does not have today), shared the development of declension forms with the Kosovo-Resava dialect. Otherwise, the value of charters as a source of information on the development of local dialects is quite limited. The language charters included many components: the language of the ruler's birthplace and later places of his life, the native dialect of the scribe, the dialect of the area where the court was located (then quite mobile), the spoken reality of the court environment in which the speech characteristics of people from various areas had an influence, the linguistic features of the possible earlier document on the basis of which the charter was issued, the somewhat established usage of the written language, and perhaps a few more. Today, we often do not even know the name of the composer, let alone his biography, just as the share of each of the listed components in the language of each individual charter cannot be known. That is why the charters tell much more about the history of the language as a whole, or the history of large dialect formations, than about the events in the micro-environments of local dialects. In our case, there is one major exception: Dubrovnik. Dubrovnik was a small world in itself, in which all the mentioned components most often merged into the same reality: the speech of the city itself.

We have already had the opportunity to state that the documents from the Dubrovnik archives are only accidentally preserved excerpts from a once much greater treasury that has almost completely collapsed elsewhere. In the field of relations between Serbia and other coastal cities, it is known only indirectly, according to Latin transcripts from the seventeenth century, about the lost charters of Stefan Nemanja and King Vladislav to the citizens of Split in the meantime. At the time of those rulers, the border of the Serbian state stood not far from Split, on the river Cetina, and the documents speak of friendship and alliance. A contract from the fourteenth century has been preserved from somewhere, by which Dobroslav Karasov's daughter sells a house with land in Prizren near the emperor's garden to Mana, Draginča's brother, for eight liters of silver. But these are rare exceptions, as a rule the fact is that medieval Serbian documents that were not sent to Dubrovnik or

monasteries, or were not laws, disappeared without a trace. Bosnian heritage is somewhat better, however, because some documents have been preserved in archives in Hungary, Italy or the Littoral. Bosnia's western geographical position played a fortunate role here, conditioning its correspondence with more western countries that the Turks did not conquer. In addition, the Bosnian and Herzegovinian regions have tombstone inscriptions on the *stećak* tombstones, numerous but regularly short—stone does not tolerate the cutting of long expositions!—and somewhat stereotyped. On the other hand, a large number of government grants to monasteries remained from Serbia. When founding endowments, the rulers gave them generously, and their heirs confirmed their possessions or even added new ones. Of course, the monasteries had every reason to carefully keep such property documents. Thus, we have the documents given to Hilandar, Studenica, Žiča (the famous Žička Charter still stands on the wall of the entrance to the monastery where it was written in the tenth century), Gračanica, Dečani and many other endowments. There are many elements of the Church Slavonic language in these texts, but in all of them the core information is found in passages in the vernacular, where donated lands, villages and often people are listed in detail. In a similar way, specifics were formulated in the vernacular in the code of Tsar Dušan and in the mining code from the beginning of the fifteenth century, these secular legal codes that were obviously created on Serbian soil. In contrast, monastic types, as well as various translated Byzantine legal compositions, were given in Church Slavonic. It will not surprise us that the church writings were in the church language—that language was used in the church so consistently that even all the inscriptions on the frescoes were written on it, without any exception. And in fact, it is not unusual that the translations, which were obviously performed by church people and which are largely from the domain of church legislation, are also in Church Slavonic. Of all these legal texts, the most commonly copied were *Dušan's Code* (which seems to have been a favorite of monks for several centuries; the oldest transcript we have dates back to the end of the fourteenth century, but most of it is from Turkish times) and the *krmčija* (an ecclesiastical canon whose viability did not cease with the arrival of the Turks.)

Although in the medieval Orthodox environment Serbo-Slavic was the language of the majority of fiction, not only church but also secular, and even such works as the very popular and often transcribed

translation of the knightly novel about Alexander the Great—there are still such writings in the vernacular. A beautiful sample of that literature is given by the manuscript of a translated novel about the Trojan War, probably written at the beginning of the fifteenth century somewhere in the southern parts of Serbia. Just as government documents and codes reveal to us the elaborated terminology of legal concepts and social relations in general, this novel opens an insight into the rich vocabulary of medieval civilization in a noble environment. In their entirety, the medieval manuscripts show our then literary language as a powerful and branched instrument of a developed society—especially if we look at it in the sum of its two branches, vernacular and Church Slavonic expression, which were functionally complementary. What is left of the manuscript, even after all the losses, is enough to inform us about the words concerning the knight's equipment, and those concerning the stars, and construction terminology, and the names of the functions of the various helpers who accompanied the lord on the hunt, and so many other areas of the lexicon. A special charm in reading the charter is the enumeration of many tens and hundreds of names of villages, hamlets, hills, slopes, streams, meadows and fields. Recent studies have identified many of these names in today's toponymy, and at the same time determined on a geographical map the extent of the former monastic estates.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, with the collapse of the Christian states in the Dubrovnik hinterland, the correspondence of the Republic of Dubrovnik with the Serbian and Bosnian nobles slowly faded away. Their place is taken by correspondence with Turkish sultans, dignitaries and border commanders. Such correspondence will continue in later centuries as one of the late outgrowths of medieval Cyrillic literacy. Another such offshoot was the diplomatic correspondence in our language in Southeast Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Rulers and powerful Turkish, Romanian and Hungarian people sent each other letters written in Cyrillic and Serbo-Croatian. And this is one departure under the impression of an abnormal development line, even an inversion of the course of history. What we might expect as a modest start comes after the results that represent the crown of a steep climb.

We are all the more impressed by the work in the Turkish period on a book written in the Church Slavonic language, of course in the surroundings of the Orthodox Church, which was then the only bearer

of literacy. It's not just about the huge amount of work done to reproduce texts—in the initial period mostly by printing, and then exclusively by hand copying (again an inversion of historical development!). However, this work has something to impress us with, because not only the liturgical books, necessary for the functioning of the church, were copied, but also almost everything that the previous epoch left. Diligent copyists were driven by a true love of the literary heritage when, in times of scarcity and uncertainty, they struggled to procure expensive paper and stationery and sat down at a desk to rewrite something they could be without. Yet much more significant than this is the original creation of Serbian writers of the time, centered around national themes ranging from desperate records of Turkish devastation and zealously kept chronicles of historical events, to church services dedicated to Serbian saints. This is where the tradition of primarily political literature continues, whose founder continued to be Saint Sava. Only, while writers used to equate the interests of the people, the state and the ruling dynasty, now, when the state and the dynasty no longer existed, the fate of the Serbian people remained the only thing, and the reminder of the old glory served to awaken hope and prepare for struggle. Surrounded by barriers, even more spiritual than physical, from everything that happened in another world, from humanistic and renaissance innovations onwards, this literature was deeply medieval in terms of ideological horizons, and at the same time, surprisingly, quite well adapted to the epic. And linguistically, these writings remained archaic: they did not, at least not consciously, deviate in any way from the inherited physiognomy of the Serbo-Slavic language. However, it must be added that we know almost nothing concrete about their linguistic features, as well as the language of the original works of Serbo-Slavic written literature from the time before the Turks, for the simple reason that the necessary studies have not been performed. It remains for future researchers to determine the real characteristics of the language that has been the main medium and instrument of Serbian culture for centuries, to see in what details it deviated from the Cyril and Methodius canon, what was the active mastery of that language among our ancient writers, their lexical fund, what syntactic means of expression they were able to use, and in which details their Serbian linguistic feeling may be reflected.

The second great cycle of early monuments of the history of our language is the one determined by the angular Croatian Glagolitic alphabet, and geographically concentrated around the northern coast and

its hinterland, to cover the Šibenik islands and the neighboring coast in the sixteenth century. The dialect used is Chakavian, most often Ikavian-Ekavian, in Istria and the nearest areas Ekavian, and in northern Dalmatia Ikavian, according to the normal replacement of the *jat* in the dialects themselves. Compared to the corresponding old Cyrillic cycle, this group of manuscripts in the vernacular has a wider thematic scope. It also touches on the sphere of religious literature for which the Church Slavonic language was reserved in the Orthodox world, and besides that there is a richer fiction—partly because the share of Church Slavonic texts here was much smaller, and partly because there was no Turkish devastation, disastrous, as we have seen, especially for writings of secular content. Preserved legal documents from this cycle begin in 1309. Here, of course, there are no royal charters—the use of Glagolitic or the Serbo-Croatian language would not be expected in the offices of Hungarian kings, Venetian doges and Habsburg emperors—and the central place belongs to court documents. Instead of state laws, we find municipal statutes, the oldest of which is the one from Novi Vinodol (1288), preserved in later transcripts. Rich linguistic material is provided by the fourteenth century *Istrian Demarcation*, also known from a later transcript, where the areas of feudal lords in Istria are delimited in detail. The works of fiction in this cycle are based on stories from religious mythology, prose about knightly deeds and poetic products, often in a form inspired by oral poetry. There is also some instructive reading, from moral instructions to Lucidar, that compendium of the available knowledge and ideas about the world and the foundations of faith. The proportion of translated material in all this is very high; there was little original literary creation. In its late phase, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Glagolitic, gradually suppressed by Croatian Latinic literacy and literature, was increasingly limited to church books and petty local administration, embodied in notarial protocols and registers of births, marriages and deaths. Of course, such documents, if the name and origin of the one who wrote them are known, reveal the past of local dialects.

In the fourteenth century, Chakavian Latinic literacy entered the scene, at first with reckless steps, reduced to pious compositions, biblical lectionaries and church rules, but from the second half of the fifteenth century it suddenly burst into a flood, like the flood spread by the Renaissance. In Split, Zadar and Hvar, writers of serious culture Marulić, Zoranić, Lucić and Hektorović achieved a smooth artistic

versification, relying on role models on the other side of the Adriatic, but also on the already created expressive fund of domestic oral poetry, folk and, perhaps even more, from aristocratic castles. The writers of that time did not hide their interest in folk poetry and some of them indebted us with records of folk songs, the oldest of which are from the middle of the sixteenth century. Among the songs recorded by Hektorović in his *Fishing and Fisherman's Complaints*, there are also those that surpass the borders of Chakavian Dalmatia in their content and language. Apart from the mention of singing "in the Serbian way", there are also personalities and localities from the eastern countries of our language, and even linguistic details that point to the east. Differences in religion were not an obstacle, and it seems that the prototypes of these poems were part of an extensive repertoire of poems that had to be written in the fifteenth century in the Danube region on the border with the Turks. Contemporary Dalmatian singers possessed the same unencumbered prejudice shown by medieval people who transplanted without restraint works and motifs from Serbian literature into Croatian or vice versa, and later folk singers who celebrated heroes without asking whether they were Catholics or Orthodox. This openness is present in the choices of writers of Chakavian Ikavian literature, not only Dalmatian but very often Illyrian and Slovene, and often explicitly Croatian, among others by authors such as Marulić, Zoranić or Baraković.

Apart from artistic poetry, which has been on the decline since the middle of the sixteenth century, the cycle of texts written in Latinic from Dalmatia contains many other materials, a large part of which is similar in content to the Glagolitic circle. The differences in favor of the Latinic cycle are reduced to the presence of some genres that came with the new times, greater development and openness to the world. Among other fruits, this openness will be brought by the first printed dictionary of our language, *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae Unguarum: Latinae, Italicae, Germanicae, Dalmaticae et Hungaricae* by Faust Vrančić from Šibenik, published in 1595, and later by Mikalja's second dictionary from the Blago language, Blago 1649-51 (the compiler of the dictionary was a native of a later extinct settlement of people of our language on the Gargano Peninsula in Italy). On the other hand, there are extensive domains of use that in the zone of Latin literacy in Dalmatia remained closed to the Slavic language (vernacular as well as ecclesiastic). Apart from worship, that exclusive dominion of the Latin language, the Italian administration, was under Venetian rule, and finally

science. Latin will dominate all learning for a long time, in our countries perhaps more completely than elsewhere, because science is addressed to a circle of people narrow in terms of expertise but wide geographically—and the geographical ambience of our Adriatic coast could provide only a small audience. Consistent Latin orientation of learned people from the field of our language is one of the first consequences of the current problems of our culture—the weak bearing of the language whose readership is narrow.

Along with Glagolitic and Latinic, Cyrillic has long preserved its place in the literacy of the Čakavians along the Adriatic coast. In the first half of the fifteenth century, the statute of the autonomous principality of Poljica near Split, written in Cyrillic, was compiled, in which the alphabet then lived until the eighteenth century in local administration and correspondence. The rise of the Cyrillic alphabet in the northern parts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was short-lived, but it managed to include some of the top Croatian nobles, including Nikola Zrinski and several members of the Keglević family, as evidenced by their preserved letters and signatures.

In the vicinity of Dubrovnik, the Cyrillic alphabet was mostly used by the Catholic clergy, writing, of course, in the Stokavian Jekavian dialect of East Herzegovinian origin. In addition to letters and notarial deeds, several extensive compositions remained from this cycle, such as evangelical lectionaries, a prayer book printed in 1512 "in Serbian script and language" and a collection of pious readings, the *Libro for Many Reasons* from 1520. On the land of the Dubrovnik Republic, Cyrillic was a legacy from earlier times. All the surroundings of Dubrovnik except the tiny belt around the city belonged to the Nemanjić state in its time and the city ruled it only subsequently and gradually, through ransoms and gifts on various occasions. After all, in Dubrovnik itself, Cyrillic began to be written in our language about two centuries earlier than in Latin. In fact, until the fifteenth century that writing was the only correspondence with the Serbian and Bosnian surroundings. In 1421, one landowner noted in Cyrillic the first verses in our language originating from that city, but this is only a sign that it had not yet been established as a practice in writing in that language among the people of Dubrovnik. Soon after, such a practice would become a reality and thousands of verses would be written in our language in Dubrovnik, but in Latinic. Nevertheless, even later, there was a circle of people among the people of Dubrovnik who gladly used Cyrillic, often called

the Serbian alphabet there. The Dubrovnik Archive contains the remains of Cyrillic correspondence between individual merchants, as a rule those who have lived in Serbian regions for a long time, where small Lubrovac merchant settlements lived and worked in various cities for many centuries, since non-monastic times. In 1567, a man from Dubrovnik, Marinus Nikolai, copied a prayer book from the Latin original in Cyrillic in Belgrade, turning the Chakavian-Kajkavian dialect of that text into his Dubrovnik Shtokavian dialect. Somewhat earlier, in 1552, in Belgrade, with the care of Trajan Gundulić from Dubrovnik, a Cyrillic Four Gospels were printed for the needs of the Orthodox Church.

As early as around 1400, Latinic appeared on the Dubrovnik land as a script for transcribing religious texts in the local dialect. But it was not until the end of the fifteenth century that Serbo-Croatian became the language in which texts were written normally and even quite often, and not only on special occasions. This change is not only a consequence of the changed spirit of the time, which opened the door to fiction in the vernacular, but also the consequence of the completed ethnic transformation of Dubrovnik. Immediately before that, the local Romance dialect died out there, whose last stronghold was in patrician families, that is, precisely in the environment from which the new Renaissance literature was supposed to originate. Under the given circumstances—the Renaissance, partly Romance roots, belonging to the Mediterranean Catholic spiritual sphere and the miserable state in which the Turkish rule plunged the Cyrillic area in the hinterland of Dubrovnik—Latinic was destined to become the alphabet of this new literature. The cycle of Dubrovnik Latinic texts is one of the most extensive, and at the same time the most culturally and historically significant, in the written heritage in the Serbo-Croatian language. This cycle is also dominated by fiction, with verses written by many, many nobles and more educated citizens—some guided by inspiration and talent, and others by fashion. If we add religious readings intended for the public, private letters, small administrative documents from the field, records and even collections of folk songs and various notes, the circle of Dubrovnik texts in the Serbo-Croatian language will be mostly closed. State administration and scholarship remained the domain of Italian and Latin. However, when it comes to the fruits of learning, two printed dictionaries should be mentioned, with the observation that they bear strikingly late dates: the works of Belin from 1728 and Stulijev from 1801, 1806 and 1810 (handwritten dictionaries existed, however, also from much earlier time).

At the very beginning, the language of Dubrovnik literature appears to be divided: while prose is faithful to the Jekavian Shtokavian language, in poetry the Chakavian language of Ikavian pronunciation mixes with and intertwines with this dialect. With the passage of time, it became more and more prevalent in the verses, and in the seventeenth century it finally remained only on the scene, the Shtokavian Jekavian dialect, which is still spoken in Dubrovnik. Among the scholars who wrote about this in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there were those who believed that the Dubrovnik dialect was initially mixed, or that it had a Chakavian substratum. However, they never managed to show where the Chakavians came from in Dubrovnik, when the border of the Chakavian area is about seventy kilometers west, on the Pelješac peninsula, and there is no historical evidence for the immigration of a larger group of people from Chakavian areas. Also, this hypothesis is powerless in the face of the fact that Chakavisms and Ikavisms do not exist in prose literature, not even in private letters, but only in poetic forms. Both charters and letters originating from the Dubrovnik Serbian office in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries bear in their language unambiguous features of the Shtokavian dialect with local Dubrovnik features, from which it is clear that the scribes really wrote in the local dialect, not the dialect of those to whom these documents were intended. Dubrovnik dialecticisms are also expressed in the linguistic changes by Dubrovnik scribes to transcripts of charters obtained from Bosnia or Serbia. But even here there is never a turn to Chakavian; even small Chakavian features in Bosnian pages were lost during this rewriting. It remains for us, therefore, to accept the understanding that Chakavian was never spoken in Dubrovnik. Milan Rešetar, the most competent scholar of the linguistic (and cultural) past of Dubrovnik, and, after all, a citizen of Dubrovnik, gave a convincing argumentation of that understanding. For those who approach the problem without prejudice, it was solved by Rešetar's works posthumously published in 1951 and 1952.

Dubrovnik originated as a Romance city, but it could not live without contact with the Slavic surroundings. Its speech gradually infiltrated Dubrovnik and finally took over. The Dubrovnik dialect is, therefore, the dialect around the city—Shtokavian, Jekavian, originated on the soil that belonged to Serbia for centuries until it became Dubrovnik. Such a speech was adopted by former Romance aristocratic families. They listened to it from the people in the city and from the servants and nannies in the house. But when the time came to create poetry in the

Slavic language—the tradition of the Jekavian environment of the city was not enough as a model. Of course, there was folk poetry, but its contents and its expressive fund could not satisfy all the needs of aristocratic, noble, urban poetry, just as the nobles could not be impressed by the rustic ambience from which the poetry originated. Patterns were found on the other side: in Venetian Dalmatia, there was a nobility of our language in whose palaces poetry sung to the aristocracy was sung in the past. Along with metrical usages and an arsenal of established epithets and stylistic figures, the poetic language was transplanted. A certain linguistic difference can contribute to the effect of poetry by separating it from the expressive reality of everyday life; if that difference is associated with a prestigious social group, it makes the verses sound more elegant. Later, when Dubrovnik progressed further, in poetry and much more, the need for role models disappeared. And the former role model itself turned into a poor cousin: literature also went downhill in Venetian Dalmatia, devastated by Turkish looting campaigns and the fiscal policy of the Venetian Republic. Thus, Dubrovnik poets of later periods turned exclusively to the language of their hometown. Let us add here that under the pen of these poets, the Serbo-Croatian language became for the first time a sophisticated tool of a diverse and elegant poetry.

Non-dialectical and anachronistic disputes broke out in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries over whether the language of Dubrovnik literature was Serbian or Croatian, and whether that literature was Serbian or Croatian at all. Starting from purely linguistic criteria, Rešetar at the end of his life, as a summary of his knowledge, offered the conclusion that Serbian and Croatian should not be separated because they are one, but "whoever separates Serbian from Croatian must admit that Dubrovnik was always Serbian in terms of language" (Yearbook SKA Book 50, 1940, p. 189) This may, of course, be true of the dialectal basis of the language (although there are details of a smaller linguistic rank that link the language to more Western Shtokavian or Chakavian dialects), but there are many commitments among the people of Dubrovnik during the period of the Republic. These commitments, embodied in the most commonly used language names, were twofold: one narrow, Dubrovnik, often colored by the pride felt by the citizens of a free small republic surrounded by a non-free world, and the other, much wider, Illyrian and Slovene, which both coincided with the borders of the Serbo-Croatian language or even exceeded those borders.

In that language is a place for the Kosovo and Krbava battles at the same time, for the Croatian bans and for Đurađ Smederevac, about whom his descendants Ljubdrag and Sunčanica sing in the most famous Dubrovnik epic, Gundulić's Osman. For the famous Dubrovnik historian Mavro Orbin, who dedicates his main work to the "Kingdom of the Slavs" (*Il regno degli Slavi*), that kingdom will be embodied primarily in the medieval Serbian state. That this enjoyment of things Serbian was not just literary or artificial is seen in the folk songs that were recorded in Dubrovnik and its surroundings at that time, in which we encounter Prince Lazar and Princess Milica, Miloš Kobilović and Vuk Branković, brothers Ugovići, Strahinja Banović, Marko Kraljević, despot Vuk and many other acquaintances from Karadžić's much later collections. It would be unjustified to declare old Dubrovnik citizens Serbs for this, just as four or five mentions of the Croatian language in Dubrovnik or Dubrovnik itself in the circle of Croatian cities, exclusively among poets, do not make them Croats, and on special occasions, such as a courtesy from Croatian countries or the title of a printed book that may provide a wider audience, or a poetic tirade in which a comparison of Ubrovac with Croatian actually aims to highlight the advantages of Dubrovnik. The small number of such places in proportion to the huge volume of Dubrovnik's literary heritage contrasts sharply with the high frequency of unequivocal statements about Croatia by writers from Croatia itself, such as Petar Zrinski, Krsto Frankopan or Pavao Riter Vitezović. There are, after all, examples where Dubrovnik authors mention Croats, but in a way that clearly shows that they do not include the people of Dubrovnik. We should not overestimate the presence of a considerable number of cases in which the people of Dubrovnik, from the end of the fifteenth century until the beginning of the eighteenth, called their language Serbian (*lingua serviana*), most often in official documents, when documents in Italian or Latin mention the Serbo-Croatian vernacular of Dubrovnik. It remains for future researchers to clarify the genesis of this practice. Maybe the patricians of Dubrovnik, Romance by language, once called the Serbian Slavic dialect of the city environment (and one part of the city's population) Serbian, because that environment belonged to the Serbian state? Or maybe only the population in the area, while it was still politically Serbian, used to call its language that way? It is clear in any case that the people of Dubrovnik from the time of the Republic did not feel like Serbs or Croats. Dubrovnik never belonged to the Serbian state, although its border stood several

miles from it for centuries, just as it was never part of Croatia until 1939 (from whose borders, after all, it was far away). The situation is completely different today when the people of Dubrovnik are part of the Croatian nation, which gives that nation the right to consider Dubrovnik literature as its heritage, but it does not destroy the breadth with which that literature marked itself as a common good of the entire Serbo-Croatian language community.

A very exceptional cycle of documents of the Serbo-Croatian linguistic past consists of a large group of books printed in Germany in the 1560s and 1570s, mainly in Urach near Tübingen, by a group of Protestant emigrants from Yugoslav countries. These books, printed in Glagolitic, Latinic and Cyrillic, in the vernacular and church language, are connected in their entirety precisely because they were published within a few years from that workshop in a distant country and contain Protestant religious texts, from Bible translations to polemical compositions. The language of most of these publications is a mixture of dialects from the northern, Glagolitic half of the Chakavian area, where Stjepan Konzul, Antun Dalmatin and other translators into our language came from a small group of enthusiasts whose work failed to convert South Slavs to Protestantism, but they enriched the cultural heritage of our countries by one particular episode. In their writings, after all, there is a deliberate mixing of dialects and even a parallel placement of synonyms in an effort to make books understandable in as wide an area as possible. Two of the editions printed in Cyrillic bear in the title that they are in the Serbian language, but their linguistic features do not confirm that. Other translations, including a part of the Cyrillic ones, are clearly said to be Croatian, which is obviously true. In some of the texts, especially the Cyrillic ones, there is a strong share of Church Slavonic elements in one hybrid Ikavian-Ekavian Serbo-Croatian redaction. It is known that two dissidents from the ranks of the Orthodox clergy, who were in the group of Protestant propagandists, also worked on these publications.

In order for literacy in the native language to conquer the Kajkavian region, it was necessary, one would say, for the Hungarian kingdom to collapse on Mohács, for the remnants of Croatia to be inherited by the Habsburgs, and for refugees to pour in from the southern regions, among whom many were quite literate. From the second half of the sixteenth century until the triumph of Illyrianism in the nineteenth century, there was an era of literary production in the Kajkavian dialect,

which at first would be regularly called the Slavic language, and from the seventh decade of the seventeenth century Croatian as well, as they were until then Kajkavian, named it exclusively as the Chakavian dialect. Apart from fiction, which would not reach the refinement of the coastal poets or the strength of Držić's comedy, there would also be a lot of obligatory prayer books, private correspondence and documents of the local administration, as well as some handwritten folk songbooks, as well as Pergošić's translation of a Hungarian a legal writer, published in 1574, Vramčev's *Chronicle* from 1578, and three printed dictionaries, the oldest of which was published in 1670, as well as some grammatical parts, admittedly of late date. Of course, here too, the treatises of learned people would mostly be composed in Latin, which (along with German) would come into the nineteenth century as the official language of state government.

Our exposition has reached the time when the literacy of the Catholics of the Serbo-Croatian language was divided into three parts: in the alphabet into Latin, Glagolitic and Cyrillic, and in the dialect into Shtokavian, Chakavian and Kajkavian. We will understand the implications of this combined fragmentation if we keep in mind that these are completely different alphabets that under the circumstances a small number of those who used Latin also knew Glagolitic or Cyrillic, that the linguistic inconsistencies are by no means trivial, that the environment is not large in its entirety, and that the layer of literate people remained thin. In such circumstances, what was created in one cultural circle could not be sufficiently used in others. In recent times, a lot has been written about the connections between these circles, and examples have been found in which one of the writers from one circle mentioned this or that person from another circle. But the very fact that it is being written about today, that such cases should have been sought and pointed out, testifies that the basic reality was mutual separation. After all, the fact that one of the spiritually strongest and most informed people in an environment knew about someone outside that environment does not mean that the general public knew about him, and especially not that they read him despite language and alphabetic problems; nor does it mean that a certain insight into the achievements of the other side was enough to use the experiences of the other side and integrate them into the funds of their own potential, primarily in the sphere of expressive possibilities. As a rule, what is created from value in a literature is present in it in an active way. In that sense, the literary

production of the cultural circles in question is certainly not united in one literature. Different combinations of two partners behave very unequally here. The reciprocity was obviously the closest and most fruitful between the Dalmatian Chakavian circle and Dubrovnik. On the other hand, for example, the contacts between Dubrovnik and Kajkavian writers hardly existed. Under such conditions, it is inevitable that the achieved results will often go unnoticed, because in the small environment where they were achieved, there was no one who could accept them, and elsewhere they remained unknown or the language barrier prevented them from being used. Of course, such circumstances are unfavorable for the flow of ideas, and especially for the enrichment of literary language. A review of the historical dictionary of the Yugoslav Academy shows that there were many unresolved beginnings in the field of filling the lexical fund, how it often occurred that a necessary word was coined and launched in print, and was met with silence.

The main victim of the unfortunate literary-linguistic division was prose, in the broad sense of the term. Of course, in all these small partial literatures there are still a lot of God-loving folk readings around which the Catholic Church took care of compiling, publishing and disseminating, especially after the wave of the Counter-Reformation came at the end of the sixteenth century. But there was no serious, original, creative prose that would capture human problems and events in human society in a more modern way, there was no (or hardly any) literature of scientific, professional, and even business or legal purvue—not to mention how long, in fact until the nineteenth century, real literary prose of lasting value was missing. One should not think that the immature environment is to blame for all this. It is certain, of course, that in the countries of our language the times were much less favorable than, for example, in France, Italy or Spain, but what our compatriots wrote in Latin and Italian shows that there were authentic erudites, serious thinkers and talented scientists. We will list from a long list of respectable names here, for the sake of illustration, from the sixteenth century: historian Alojzije Crijević from Dubrovnik, Bosniak theologian Juraj Dragišić and one of the luminaries of the Protestant movement, the Istrian Matija Vlačić, from the turn of the sixteenth to seventeenth century the Dubrovnik historian Mavr Orbin and Pag grammarian Bartol Kašić, Ivan Lucić from Trogir, from the eighteenth century the Zagreb chronicler Adam Baltazar Krčelić and the world-famous philosopher, physicist and astronomer Ruđer Bošković from Dubrovnik.

We have already mentioned that they resorted to Latin (or Italian), certainly sometimes because the circle of readers in their own language was too small. However, it should be added that the circle of domestic readers was limited to a much narrower, native dialect, possibly still associated with a particular alphabet. Our scholar could count on people from other backgrounds in our language to understand him better in Latin than if he wrote in his dialect, especially if he used Glagolitic or Cyrillic. Moreover, to make the paradox bigger, he may have thought that scholars in his area—the ones he writes about—would understand his thought more accurately if he used lexically rich and refined Latin than if he translated his ideas into an insufficiently trained native dialect. Of course, these are not the only factors that conditioned the cosmopolitan orientation of our Latinists—not only their writing in Latin, but also their frequent departure to foreign countries and integration into other cultures. This is where the universalist spirit of the Catholic Church (whose clergy mostly included the people in question) came to the fore, and widespread, albeit less and less regular, practice of Latin writing elsewhere in the West, and the general underdevelopment of the environment that did not always provide optimal working conditions in the homeland. But we can be sure that the poor state of the domestic literary language also played a role.

Poetry, at least in Dubrovnik and Dalmatia, suffered much less from the disunity of the literary language than prose. The poetic lexicon—and especially the lexicon of the kind of poetry that was nurtured on the Adriatic coast in the period from the Renaissance to Baroque—was far narrower than the lexicon of prose writings that potentially include all branches of human activity and thinking. The vocabulary required in the verses was already largely developed thanks to folk songs (especially oral songs sung among feudal lords) and pious writings that so persistently dealt with psychological and moral categories. The artistic poetry of the Renaissance period actually accepted and enriched this existing fund of expression. Also, the lack of appropriate words for many terms did not decisively interfere in the writing of drama. The language of drama was in fact an everyday, living spoken language. Marin Držić and Tito Brezovački knew that and it can be seen in their works.

Among the intellectuals in the age of the regional fragmentation of the literary language, there were those who, at least in part, understood the difficult consequences of such a situation. It would be said that this kind of insight was most often obtained by people who dealt with language,

grammarians and lexicographers. The already mentioned Bartol Kašić, although born in a Chakavian area, was the first to express his belief that the best dialect is Bosnian Shtokavian. Jakov Mikalja was of the same opinion. Later, at least from a distance, similar views appeared with Pavao Riter Vitezović, the Kajkavian lexicographer Belostenac and some other authors. Statements in this direction were most often accompanied by the introduction of Shtokavian elements into the works of such authors (that is, Chakavian elements in the case of a Kajkavian author). However, this does not mean that any of them changed their dialect thoroughly in writing, and especially it does not mean that under their influence, in some literary-linguistic circles, their own dialect was abandoned and others were adopted. The times were not yet ripe for that. Regionalism in literature was only an expression of general political, social and cultural division. Until the nineteenth century, there was no social force from which a serious initiative for unification could originate. After all, no one had the power to impose their dialect on others or the will to give up their own for the benefit of others. In this way, the regionalization of the literary language was deepened.

In Croatia under Austrian rule, in addition to Kajkavian, there was also the Chakavian literary language with the Ikavian-Ekavian pronunciation, as with most Glagolitic writers, but now appearing in the Latin alphabet. In the sixteenth century, in documents and letters from the Kupa basin and the areas south of it, the Latin alphabet coexisted with the Glagolitic alphabet and, in some places, the Cyrillic alphabet. Soon after, the Latin alphabet was left alone on the scene. In the second half of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, Petar Zrinjski, Franjo Krsto Frankopan and Pavao Riter Vitezović also used it. By the way, the language of these three was not without Kajkavian, and in some cases Shtokavian admixtures. Then this cycle ends: there were very few Chakavian speakers on Austrian soil outside the Glagolitic area.

Here we will mention Juraj Križanić, an enthusiast fascinated by Catholicism and the Pan-Slavic idea, who pretended in Russia to be a Serb even though he was a Croat from Prokuplje, and who wrote his works in Cyrillic in Siberian exile in a mixture of native Chakavian dialect and the Russian literary language full of Church Slavonic elements.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the literature of Boka Catholics of Slavic origin in the local dialect of the Ijekavian Zeta dialect, written in Latinic, was sometimes not without the influence of

the language of Dubrovnik literature, which Boka writers took as a model. The texts that emerged from this writing effort—mostly verses and chronicle prose—are still awaiting a more thorough linguistic-historical study. The same is true for the manuscript collections of folk songs left behind by unknown but not very few Boka writers. As in old records from other coastal areas, all the way to Zadar, a large part of the songs here are composed in *Bugarštica*, long verse songs which later disappeared from the living repertoire of our folk poetry. Among the Bugarštica poems, there are many whose archaic language harmonizes with the original feudal atmosphere of the Middle Ages, better preserved than in decameter poetry, and with themes from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—about Prince Marko, Kosovo, Serbian despots and Hungarian heroes who fought together with them.

The Austrian conquest of Slavonia (in the current sense of the geographical name which in the deep past meant the Kajkavian lands) at the end of the seventeenth century created the conditions for the appearance of another provincial literary language, Slavonian Ikavian. The other two substitutions of the *jat* in the dialects of the Slavonian dialect, Ekavian and Ikavian-Ekavian, did not come to the fore in the Slavonian literature of the eighteenth century, although among its writers there were people born in places with such dialects. In addition to a large number of compositions of religious, didactic or polemical content, this cycle also included the printed grammar of Matija Antun Reljković. As a rule, the ethnic consciousness of the writers in this circle remained regionally limited: they were only Slavonians.

In the great war against the Turks at the end of the seventeenth century, Venice expanded the borders of its possessions by capturing extensive land on the Dalmatian mainland, but until then its territory was reduced mainly to a narrow coastal strip from the Zadar region to the hinterlands of Split. The new citizens of the Republic of St. Mark were Shtokavians, mostly Catholics and Ikavians. In the literary field, the result of this territorial change was the emergence of the Dalmatian Shtokavian Ikavian as a new literary dialect. The writers of this circle, such as Filip Grabovac and Andrija Kačić Miošić, were people born in the countryside, and their writings, often directly inspired by folk poetry. They brought new tones and linguistic freshness to the literature. In one respect, however, they do not stand out from their predecessors in Dalmatia: in addition to the Dalmatian, there is a "Slovenian" consciousness (which dominates, for example, in Kačić), and in the works

of a good number of authors (Grabovac among others) Croatian as well. On the eve of the emergence of this new wave of Dalmatian literature, Chakavian Ikavian literature was silenced, whose hearths, Dalmatian cities, were exposed to Italian cultural influence and even partial linguistic Italianization. They introduced into their language Shtokavian features, and sometimes even Jekavian pronunciation, after the example of the people of Dubrovnik whose reputation in literature stood high at the time, Andreja Vitaljić and Petar Kanavelović from Korčula—and especially the latter, who wrote in the language of Dubrovnik more than that of Korčula.

The verses of Andrija Kačić Miošić, which so often glorified the Serbian past, using the Serbs' beloved decameter, in a completely understandable Shtokavian dialect, played a role in the history of Serbian culture and even literary language. Kačić's example encouraged Dositej to start writing in the folk language, and Vuk Karadžić did not hide the merit that the reading of *Pleasant Conversation* had for his decision to publish his first collection of folk songs. We see the same kind of reciprocity between Dubrovnik literature and the Serbian literature to come. Only a year after Gundulić's *Osman*, which sings nostalgically about the glory of Serbian history, was first published in Dubrovnik, the Cyrillic edition of that song appeared in Buda. Of the learned prose, the Serbs were most influenced by Orbin's book on the medieval Serbian state, which was used by Count Đurađ Branković in writing his *Chronicles* at the end of the seventeenth century, and Jovan Rajić did the same at the end of the eighteenth century in his *History*. As early as 1722, Sava Vladisavljević published a translation of Orbin from Italian into Church Slavonic. After all, the Serbs were the first to publish medieval Dubrovnik documents on the vernacular: as early as 1840 in Belgrade, *Serbian monuments* by Pavle Karano-Tvrtković came out according to inscriptions made in the Dubrovnik archives by the local Orthodox parish priest Đorđe Nikolajević. The cultural heritage of the Littoral fit easily into the development of Serbian culture, which is actually a natural consequence of the fact that the Serbian past was so abundantly present in those events.

More recently, the view has been expressed (Dalibor Brozović) that the "Croatian language standard" does not begin with the Illyrians or Croatian Vukovar, but with Slavonian and Dalmatian writers of the eighteenth century, such as Reljković or Kačić Miošić, whose language is close to today's literary language. "Croatian" should be understood in

a broad sense because most of the writers in question did not feel like Croats and applied that name to the inhabitants of certain other areas who themselves had Croatian consciousness and their own, different, type of literary language. However, those who expand the meaning of the word "Croatian" start from the fact that the ethnic formations to which these writers belonged later blended into the Croatian nation, just as further outgrowths of literature in their regions became part of Croatian literature. However, the weakness of the prominent Zadar linguist's understanding of the standard of language lies in the idea of that standard, the same (his word) from the eighteenth century to the present day. First of all, the closeness of language types that Brozović sees is in fact very relative, he quotes skillfully selected passages, for example from Reljković, which illustrate this closeness, but using the same selection technique, fragments that speak in the opposite sense can be selected. Among other things, he published a booklet of *Slavonske libarice sa lipim molitvami i naukom krstjanskim nakitite* in which in the title of seven words (except *s* and *i*) we find six striking differences from the contemporary standard language (the word *libarice*, Ikavian pronunciation, suffixes *imi* and *ami*, unchanged group *stj*, patient adjective *nakitite* instead of *nakićene*). In addition to these differences, we will find in Reljković and the writers of his circle and many others, among which forms such as *ognjišće* instead of *ognjište*, *pojdem* instead of *pođem*, *robje* instead of *roblje*, genitive plural as *lit*, *Turak* (= *leta*, *Turaka*), dative plural as *sestram*, locative plurals as *na konji[h]*, infinitives in *-t* (*kazat*), verb forms with *ni* instead of *nu* (*metnio*), etc. And finally—not to prolong the enumeration, which could include much more—the accentuation of Slavonian writers, which corresponds to today's speeches of their homeland and which Reljković *explicitly* referred to, is very different from today's literature, so different in the Shtokavian sphere there is none greater (and there is hardly any difference in the whole accentologically unusually colorful climate of the Serbo-Croatian language). More important than all this is that the language of an author like Kačić or Reljković does not correspond to the definition of standard language offered by Brozović himself (in the book *Standardni jezik*, Zagreb 1970, published by Matica hrvatska, pp. 127-128): "It is important for the definition of standard language that it is an autonomous form of language, always standardized and functionally polyvalent, which arises when an ethnic or national formation, joining an international civilization, begins to use its idiom, which until

then functioned only for the needs of ethnic civilization." The language of these authors is not "autonomous" (Brozović means independence from the features of vernaculars) because it represents raw material from folk dialects transposed into the medium of verse, which is eloquently testified by Brozović's own examples ("Deliju je porodila majka / U Kozici, selu malenomu, / po imenu Tepčević Ivana, / od starine roda junačkoga, / koji s Radom u četu iđaše / često turske glave odsipaše: / on bijaše roda Ravlijića, / a desnice Marka Kraljevića.") The language of these writers is not "standardized", not only because it did not adhere to some written norms, which did not exist then, but also because there are major linguistic differences between individual writers within the Slavonian or Dalmatian group (not to mention the differences between the two groups). Maretić's studies on the language of Slavonian and Dalmatian writers resulted in inequalities among writers from the same cycle concerning many linguistic features. Almost everything that Maretić mentions registers variation and oscillation. There is no consistency even in the language of the same author. Furthermore, this language was not "functionally polyvalent": it did not have the opportunity to branch out in many areas of life, it was not the language of science, expertise, economy, public administration—all these domains were almost completely filled by the combination of Latin and Italian in Dalmatia. Finally, Latinic poetry is unequivocally in folk style and inspiration certainly does not mark a leap from "ethnic" civilization to "international".

Before we leave the topic of dialects in Latin alphabet writings of Serbo-Croatian Catholics in the period of regional literature, we note that literacy lived also in the north of Bačka in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and even partially in the twentieth century. There was even a small literature of very popular character on the Bunjevci Ikavian dialect, that in Burgenland (which until the First World War belonged to Hungary, and since then Austria) has existed for two or three centuries and to this day has not been extinguished. Literature was written in the local Chakavian-Ikavian-Ekavian dialect and in the period of "provincial literature", there were some writers whose origin and language did not fit into any of the listed cycles, because they wrote in their speeches, Istrian Ikavian, Lika, those from the interior of Hungary, and perhaps others.

The use of the Cyrillic alphabet provides a specific place for the literature that the Bosnian Franciscans nurtured in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, performing their spiritual duty. The earliest and

most famous author of this literature, Matija Divković from the beginning of the seventeenth century, wrote Jekavian in accordance with his native East Bosnian language. Most other writers had an Ikavian pronunciation, pure or with noticeable Jekavian admixtures, which corresponds to the west Bosnian origin of these writers. The Cyrillic writings of the Bosnian friars are only a continuation of the medieval tradition of that region. However, Latin editions appeared in the seventeenth century, and the Cyrillic alphabet gradually disappeared in the eighteenth century: what is more common in the Catholic Church prevailed, in which the Cyrillic alphabet will remain the exclusive symbol of the Orthodox.

In some areas there is a custom that the Cyrillic alphabet in Bosnia (which is joined by the one in Primorje) is distinguished by the name Bosančica or "Bosnian-Croatian Cyrillic alphabet". In fact that is a kind of Sebian Cyrillic cursive writing introduced by Tvrtko I from Serbia into part of Bosnia, and then the neighboring part of Dalmatia, which had a somewhat special development in those parts. There are also certain forms of certain letters that are not found in other areas. The variation within this circle was intense, both due to the dynamic pace of the change of alphabet and due to significant regional differences: the coastal zone was increasingly separated from the Bosnian one. Moreover, the most striking features that are considered by the uninitiated (and even by some authors) as important characteristics of this circle, such as the letter *d* with one arm up and one down, square *s* and a sideways *b*, are by no means a Bosnian Dalmatian specialty, but simply a feature of the cursive of that time. The same forms of letters were used by Orthodox Serbs in Serbia and elsewhere. Divković created a completely secondary and superficial difference when he molded letters for his books in Venice according to the draft of the cursive Cyrillic alphabet, while in Cyrillic printing houses the letters of the constitutional form were used. This really creates a somewhat different visual impression. That this difference should not be taken too seriously is testified by the words of Divković himself, who called his letters Serbian, although he considered himself a Bosniak, not a Serb or a Croat (this Bosniak orientation is typical for this circle of writers as a whole, and fits in with the old Catholic immigrants of the East Bosnian dialect in the vicinity of Pécs in Hungary call themselves). The habit of the people of Dubrovnik to call Cyrillic in their environment the Serbian alphabet renders the same sense, as did the famous doublet of Matija

Angun Reljković, who reminded his Slavonians: "Your elders knew Serbian, and they wrote Serbian." This is also true of the Cyrillic which in the seventeenth century had penetrated from Bosnia to Slavonia, to be replaced by Latinic in the eighteenth century). In all these cases, it was the Cyrillic that in recent times been qualified as "Bosnian-Croatian". Even more characteristic is the fact that the book *Ispovjedaonik* by Fr. Stjepan Matijević from Tuzla, printed in Rome in 1630, under the auspices of the Catholic Church in constitutional (*ustav*) Cyrillic letters, those that were otherwise used for Uniate editions intended for Little Russian readers, and which were also quite similar to the letters in the Serbian printed books of the time. It is obvious that neither Matijević nor those who stood behind him made a difference between Bosnian and ordinary Cyrillic.

For a long time, until the beginning of the twentieth century, Cyrillic thrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina in bey's houses, where it usually served as an internal alphabet, for use at home and among friends, and where the name old Serbia was recorded for it. The letters of Turkish elders in the Bosnian and Herzegovinian region sent to neighbors, commanders or nobles on the Christian side of the border were most often written in Cyrillic. However, in literature, Muslims, if they did not write Turkish or Arabic but their own language, used the Arabic script. The originator of this small literature was, in the first half of the seventeenth century, Muhamed Hevaji Uskufi from the Tuzla area, known as the author of the Serbo-Croatian-Turkish dictionary usually called "Poturšahidi" and several poems, most often mentioning *Ilahi be zebanu Srb* (ode in Serbian) and *Jerai da vetu iman be zebani Srb* (call to faith in the Serbian language), inspired by Muslim religiosity and even the desire to accept the true faith among Bosnian Christians. Another prominent figure in this cycle, whose continuity dates back to the nineteenth century, was Hasan Kaimija from Sarajevo from the second half of the seventeenth century.

Turning again to Cyrillic literacy among Orthodox Christians, we will first touch on two cycles, texts that originate from the great medieval Cyrillic cycle and in fact prolong its life into more recent times. However, they are mentioned here especially because the geographical circumstances enabled the preservation of more documents in the vernacular than in Serbia, which was oppressed by the Turks. These are two boundary areas at opposite ends of the vast territory of the former Patriarchate of Peć: the areas in the southwest, closer to the Adriatic, and those in the far north, in the lands of the Habsburg Empire.

Preserved documents from Paštrovići, on today's Montenegrin coast, began in the sixteenth century and most of them ran into the next two centuries. At one time, Paštrovići was, like Poljići, a rather closed small world in a corner sandwiched between the sea and the hills, with some political autonomy and their own legal institutions. We owe the most to the legal life of that world, documents that escaped ruin because they were outside the immediate Turkish homeland. Similar material from Old Montenegro, again starting from the sixteenth century, has been preserved in Cetinje. Various archives, mostly Dubrovnik, Kotor and Cetinje, contain letters sent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the Dubrovnik and Venetian authorities or Cetinje bishops from people from Herzegovina, Montenegro or nearby areas, including monks and priests, tribal chiefs and even Turkish viziers. The poems of Bishop Vasilije Petrović from the middle of the eighteenth century were also written in the predominantly vernacular language (he was otherwise the author of the *History of Montenegro* in which Russian and Church Slavonic elements intersect, along with many Serbs). Also, the vernacular dominates in the epistles of Bishop Peter I and in some other texts from the pre-Njegoš era.

Recently, Vojislav Nikčević presented (in the Zagreb journal *Jezik*) the understanding according to which the continuity in the use of the vernacular in literature from the twelfth to the nineteenth century would be a Montenegrin feature sharply opposed to what was happening among Serbs. This thesis is based on methodologically unsustainable conclusions, often even on ignorance of elementary facts and gross errors. Nikčević does not seem to understand that in the entire area of the Serbian Orthodox Church, for many centuries, two expressive media coexisted, the Church Slavonic and the Serbo-Croatian language, distributed according to function. In the domain of obligatory use of the church language, it was not neglected in Montenegro either. Nikčević could find many examples of that in the book from which he drew material (the anthology *Prednjegoševsko dob*a, Titograd 1963). In addition to liturgical texts, inscriptions in stone and records and conversations in books, there are also the *Law* of Ivan Crnojević and songs by Vasilije Petrović. Other compositions contain a mixture of Church Slavonic and vernacular. Such are the epistles of Bishop Danilo, the excerpt from "The Book for Montenegrins—the Venetian Senate" by Vasilija Petrović and the epistle of Peter I to Kamenari. The elements of the Church Slavonic language could be used by Njegoš himself, when

the subject demanded it. In this, the Ekavian regions did not lag behind Zeta, on the contrary, there is nothing from the medieval Zeta that would be a counterpart to *Dušan's Code*, and the oldest Raška charters in the vernacular are two centuries older than the oldest Zeta ones. There is no Jekavian equivalent of the Ekavian story of the Trojan War. Serbian and the letters of individuals have not been preserved for obvious reasons (which does not mean that they did not exist), but from the beginning of the eighteenth century in Buda, Szentandre and other archives there are thousands of acts and letters. That this was not a feature of the Serbs from Upper Hungary is shown by the Belgrade writings from the period of Austrian rule in northern Serbia from 1717 to 1739. After all, such letters and official documents are not literature, and Nikčević does not help when he cites them as proof of the use of the vernacular in literature. And when it comes to literature, the Serbian eighteenth century on Austrian soil will have Venclović and Rajić's sermons and *Merchants* by Emanuel Janković and many other works in the vernacular, despite the penetration of the Russian edition of the Church Language. In connection with this penetration, one should notice one geographical relation whose true meaning escaped Nikčević. The Russo-Slavic language really spread from the north, from the Karlovci metropolitanate, which among the Serbs in the eighteenth century was the only one with a more or less developed school system, and which also invited Russian teachers. From the strongholds of Vojvodina, a new version of the church language slowly penetrated to the south, gradually overcoming the inertia of inherited language practice, which was helped by the ignorance of the clergy in the southern regions. In Serbia, Vuk still had the opportunity to listen to priests who used language forms from the Serbian redaction, and in Montenegro, even Njegoš, when he needed Church Slavonic expressions, composed forms from two redactions, roughly the same as in Vojvodina half a century earlier. In accordance with this, in the southern Serbian dialects, among the words taken from Church Slavonic, the majority are those in the Serbo-Slavic phonetic form, while in Vojvodina there are more such loans in the Russo-Slavic spirit. In addition, in Vojvodina, where a numerous, powerful and educated Orthodox hierarchy was formed in the eighteenth century, an extensive church administration was created, in whose language the Russian-Slavic component was strong. Furthermore, there was a fashion, not always free from affectation, to bring some of that language into living speech. All this began to affect liberated Serbia in its first decades,

certainly not without the participation of Vojvodinian Serbs who moved there to the civil service, to regulate education and the government apparatus. In poorer and more archaic Montenegro, where there was less bureaucracy, schools and printed books, such novelties did not manage to be imposed before the victory of the vernacular changed the situation in Vojvodina and the Principality of Serbia. But the first hints were there: Peter I and Njegoš readily and skillfully used Church Slavonic forms in their writings, and the first Montenegrin textbooks written by Dimitrije Milaković on Njegoš' orders in the 1830s were brought to Montenegrin schools, including vernacular and Church Slavonic in the language of the Russian redaction. In the meantime, even before Vuk's appearance, in Vojvodina and Serbia, that language practically disappeared from the literary scene, where only Slavic-Serbian and folk languages remained. Nikčević failed to understand all this; that is why his theses, which in the meantime were convincingly refuted by Aleksandar Mladenović, remained only as a testimony to what happens when one wants to push through an essentially political conception to the detriment of scientific truth.

When, after the Battle of Mohács in 1526, southern Hungary also fell to the Turks, the prospects for Serbian culture to build a new homeland there and continue to live a normal life also failed. Some conditions for that were met in the decades that preceded it. Most of the Serbian rulers were among the many refugees, and there was no shortage of people. It is known that many books were transcribed at that time. However, very little is known about the writings that were composed at that time. However, from the end of the fifteenth century, the will of Duke Miloš Belmužević remained in the Ekavian dialect, in which Kosovo-Resava features predominate. The Turkish conquest cut off the paths of the newly started development in the northern parts, but even under the Turks, as much work as possible was done, mainly on copying the existing books, of course only in the church and, as a rule, in the Serbo-Slavic language. However, a diligent search of the texts of the chronicles, various collections and short notes in the books would bring to the surface sporadic examples of this or that feature of the vernacular. That language even dominates in one document that cannot fully claim to belong to the literacy of the north, although it is directly related to it. In the Pećuj cadaster from 1660 and 1666, the monks from Pećuj recorded the results of their collection of donations in almost one hundred and seventy Banat villages. We owe the written names of those

villages and many of their inhabitants to their work, together with notes on the gifts they gave. For the history of the Serbian population in Banat, this material is so valuable because it is an epoch before the migration in 1690.

Approximately from the same time (from 1659) there are records on the first pages of the protocol of the Serbian church community in Komarno near the Danube in today's Slovakia, where Serbs found themselves as *šajkaš* warriors in Austrian service. The protocol itself, which covers the period up to 1777, is in fact a book of income and expenses, with occasional notes on changes of church community officials—which is enough to see the main features of the northern Ekavian (Šumadija-Vojvodina) dialect and that which is especially important, starting from the moment preceding the migration under Čarnojević. Bearing in mind that the Komarnians moved from the Vojvodina region where they fought against the Turks with their gangs on the Danube in the service of Hungarian kings, we get the middle of the sixteenth century as the date of the Komarno Protocol's testimony to the existence and physiognomy of the Šumadija-Vojvodina dialect.

When Austria conquered most of Hungary at the end of the seventeenth century and when a new wave of Serbs merged into the Buda area in the great migration of 1690, the cities of Buda, Pest and Szentendre became the places where Serbian was mostly written. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the archives of church communities, numerous letters, censuses, business and legal documents have been preserved, all in the vernacular, but often in Latin or German words and sometimes in bulky, clumsy sentences that clearly mimic the style of Austrian documents and administration. During the Austrian rule over northern Serbia from 1717 to 1739, this was joined by similar Belgrade writings (the oldest written monument of the Serbian presence in Belgrade is a Serbo-Slavic inscription retrieved by archeologists from the time of despot Stefan Lazarević on a stone fragment of the portal of the former cathedral at Kalemegdan). From the early decades of the eighteenth century, there are various letters and border reports from the land of Srem. In a letter sent in 1709 from Šarengrad to Srem by Prince Mojsije Rašković, we read the Jekavian forms that the prince brought from Stari Vlach, from where his family fled. Many Jekavian documents from Slavonia from the first half of the eighteenth century remain (from the northwestern branch of Serbia, some Jekavian written documents from much earlier times have been preserved; so around

1530, Duke Pilip wrote a message to Croatian Ban Petar Keglević in Kostajnica, and the bishop of Vretani, Vasilije Petrović, and the abbot of Marčani, Kiril Nikšić, issued a permit to several people in 1646 to plant vineyards on church land).

We are overwhelmed with rich material from the second quarter of the eighteenth century by the works of Gavril Stefanović Venclović, a preacher from Győr and Komarno and a gifted and tireless writer. However, the writings in the vernacular are only a small excerpt from his hitherto mostly unpublished translation and authorial opus. But even that excerpt is in fact voluminous and is so much more valuable for a language historian that Venclović's rich vocabulary, full of unfading colors, deviates from the modern one with subtle differences:

... zimnu tugu smeće sa sebe
svaka proniklica zemljana!
Sva tvar prozelenjuje, te pupča i goji se.
Vidimo crnu zemlju
gde se s razlikom travom
iznova preodeva;
sadovi, voćke se rascvetavaju,
drvlje buja, vode se kročaju.
Životinja se razigrava novu travu nacyku;
svašto se nabolje prelaže i ponavlja se hubavo.

We have reason to regret that many of Venclović's words are not in our literary language today.

Patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević and monks Grigorije Račanin and Jerotej Račanin compiled the first Serbian travelogues at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century (Grigorije's was later lost; only one of the transcripts was known from him). The thread of their narration is quite definitely the vernacular, but whenever they needed it, and often otherwise, they would reach for the Church Slavonic expression or form.

Sometime around 1720, the Erlangen Collection, the most comprehensive collection of our folk songs before Vuk, was written and it was accidentally found in a German library in 1913. That strange document, whose discovery came in its time as an unexpected gift to the history of our folk poetry, contains over 200 poems recorded in shorthand Cyrillic by an unknown scribe in an unknown place. The poems are diverse in content and language, including Ekavian, Jekavian and

Ikavian, and there is even something in Kajkavian and Bulgarian. Probably the recorder listened to them somewhere in the Military Border from soldiers from various parts. Judging by the linguistic mistakes he made, the recorder was German. This, however, almost does not detract from the value of this collection as a monument of the history of language. This value is much more limited by the fact that these are many dialects, none of which are exactly localized, and which are intertwined and mixed in the singing of folk songs, especially if it is a military environment. Thus, this collection, in which so many dialects are represented, still teaches little about the history of any particular dialect.

The beginning of the eighteenth century saw Serbian literature in the Serbo-Slavic language, which still ruled firmly in everything related to church rites, but also in products of learning where the language of "ordinary" people would be considered inappropriate, except that it would often be powerless to mark. According to the old tradition (and much more due to the impossibility of printing), this literature remained in manuscripts, but, breaking with inherited usages, it sometimes stepped into new topics and different approaches. Count Đorđe Branković spent two years of his service in Vienna and Heb, writing nearly three thousand pages of his *Chronicle*, the first historiographical work among Serbs done with a scientific apparatus, although not with real scientific criticism. The unfortunate count, who spent his life outside of Serbian lands, struggled with expression. His Serbo-Slavic is not without errors and the intricate style does not allow easy comprehension of the text. It is said (Boris Unbegaun) that this is due to the disadvantage of the language itself. However, with this language Gavrilo Stefanović Venclović came out much better. Among the autographs of that well-read theologian, orator and poet were many works in the Serbo-Slavic language, such as his author and many more that he copied from the originals written in the Russian redaction, turning the language into the Serbian redaction. Although the introduction of the Russian redaction among Serbs had already begun in his time, he continued as before, as if there were no innovations. His Church Slavonic language, free from grammatical and lexical Serbisms, was mature enough to express both thought and poetic ascent. Venclović's writings are the swan song of the Serbian variant of the Church Slavonic language, but also in one sense its culmination. Among the authors who created in such a language, he is not only the last in time but also the most modern

in spirit. Only with his work did Serbo-Slavic literature finally take over from the Middle Ages. Venclović belongs to the Europe of his time, i.e., the baroque. He was destined to spend a century without a name in literature, and yet he tirelessly piled up manuscripts as if he was aware that it would have to attract attention someday. However, that attention, when it finally came, from philologists in the nineteenth century, was very one-sided and only recently has it begun to be understood, primarily thanks to one man (Milorad Pavić) that Venclović has serious value beyond language. But his language, which has been talked about more often and about which there is an old, school-made study (by Vladan Jovanović), is still waiting to be studied with dignity as a range and as a major last step on a path that has not continued.

The change of variants of the Church Slavonic language around 1730 represents one of the three biggest turns in the history of the literary language among Serbs. At home, only two other acts had the same or even greater significance. These are the foundation of literacy on the Cyril and Methodius dialect instead of the domestic one, somewhere at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, and the final break with the Cyril and Methodius language and the return to the native language in Vuk's time. There was, however, another event: the transition from the classical, canonical Cyril and Methodius language to the Serbian redaction in the twelfth century (perhaps to some extent even earlier). But it happened quietly, gradually and not as a turn but an outgrowth. However, the change of redactions in the eighteenth century is something else, the Serbian and Russian redactions do not derive organically from each other and one had to be eradicated in order to make room for the other.

There are many similarities between this act and the one that created Cyril and Methodius literacy: just as the Byzantine emperor Mihailo once sent Cyril and Methodius to Moravia to preach the faith of Christ and resist the Germans at the request of the Moravian prince Rastislav, so was the request of Metropolitan Mojsije Petrović to the Russian Tsar Peter the Great to bring the Russian teacher Maxim Suvorov in 1725 to Sremski Karlovci to teach Serbian youth, but also to train the Serbian church to fight pressure from Vienna. This similarity is not only external, and even less accidental. Both times it is about the resistance of the leaders of the outlying parts of the Slavic world to the German expansion behind which Rome stood, and about the attempt to call on the help of powerful eastern emperors. In both cases, the church

language served as a tool of struggle, and it is ultimately the same, only in two different versions. It is not difficult to understand the motives of the Metropolitan. Above all, he was afraid of the humiliation that the Catholic Church and the Viennese court were seriously trying to implement at the time, and from which the Orthodox population was wary of seeing in it the most terrible misfortune and shame. In the previous century unification had achieved certain successes among Serbs in Croatia and resistance to unification brought many sufferings to the Orthodox clergy. In order to fight against this danger, an educated clergy was needed and there was none. There were no schools for priests or teachers ready to teach in such schools. Books were also missing, especially textbooks, and the Austrian government did not allow the establishment of a printing house for Serbs until 1770, hoping that it would be easier to break the Orthodox Church if it did not have its own books. That account turned out to be ill-conceived: everything Vienna did pushed the Serbs into the arms of Russia. Russia was able to give books and teachers, as well as consolation and encouragement in the fight for Orthodoxy. And when books and teachers arrived, a different Church Slavonic language came with them. The Russian version of that language, often called the Russian Slavonic language, was created at about the same time as Serbian and in a similar way, but at the beginning of the eighteenth century, not much was known about this and the Serbs, receiving the language of the Russian church books, believed that it was the original Old Slavic. That is how the language was embedded where it was most important, in the center of the school system. Everyone who graduated from the schools taught by Maksim Suvorov and later Emanuil Kozachinski and his collaborators brought out the knowledge of the Russo-Slavic language from those schools and later passed it on to those who learned from them. That language penetrated all the more easily because it was associated with Russian books, and with Mother Russia in general, and with the legacy of better education, and it was supported by the authority of the high church authorities. The news spread without visible resistance. All liturgical church publications from that time until today would be in Russo-Slavic. That language would immediately penetrate world literature. This is how Žefarović's *Stematografija* was written, as well as the Tronoški genealogy, compiled somewhere around the middle of the century and transcribed by hand. Admittedly, both texts are not entirely free from Serbianisms that got involved to indicate some concept of recent times for which

Russo-Slavic lacked a word, or they slipped in because the compiler's knowledge of the Russo-Slavic language was still incomplete.

The Serbian pronunciation of the Russian-Slavic language is characterized by jekavism: the letter *ѣ* is pronounced as *je* (*djelo*, *vjeruju*), and in the combination of *jat* with *l* or *n* we get the groups *lje* and *nje* (*ljeto*, *čestnjejši*). This phenomenon may seem incomprehensible to us because it occurred in the Serbian Ekavian environment, and it cannot be explained by the influence of the normal Russian pronunciation, which is also Ekavian (that is, Russians pronounce *jat* the same as *e*). Only recently has the opportunity opened up to circumvent this illogicality: research by Soviet scientist B. A. Uspenski brought to light the fact that until the eighteenth century, in the Russian Orthodox Church, there was a pronunciation of the Church Slavonic language in which the consonants in front of *e* did not soften, and those in front of *jat* did. Uspenski even showed that such a pronunciation has been maintained to this day in the liturgy by members of the "Old Believers" sect. The Serbian pronunciation of the Russo-Slavic language is an adaptation of just such a pronunciation: in front of *e* the consonant is marked as hard, and in combination with a *jat* as soft, so that the sound *j* is introduced. Such an utterance usage gave rise to the letter *ѣ* appearing in the Serbian pre-Vuk orthography as a sign for *je*, or for *es* by softening the previous consonant: *oružѣ*, *znanѣ*.

At the time when the Serbs took over the Russo-Slavic language from the Russians, it was already suppressed in secular literature in Russia and was maintained as the language of the church. However, in the Russian literary language itself, there were many elements introduced from the church. The share of these elements, which increased the vocabulary and created a wider field for stylistic variation, was not constant. In this regard, the Russian literary language was divided into several so-called styles, the use of which depended on the content of the text and the audience for which it was intended. In essence, all this was profoundly different from the circumstances that prevailed among Serbs during the Serbo-Slavic language, and which were embodied in Venclović's strict distinction and non-mixing of two expressive media, Serbo-Slavic and folk. In such a practice, a legacy from the Middle Ages continued, common to most European countries: Latin in its geographical area and Church Slavonic in its language of church, erudition, thought and serious literature, intended for a narrow social circle, and in writings for the general public a language that was the only one accessible to such

a readership. Under such circumstances, the Church Slavonic language, as well as Latin, and as Sanskrit, Hebrew and classical Arabic in their environments, was in principle petrified, not subject to change, closed to innovations that would come from the vernacular. In eighteenth century Russia, society was already sufficiently developed for such a mold to be completely too narrow. When the Serbs accepted the Russo-Slavic language for the needs of the church, the Russian literary language of that time entered their serious secular literature in its "high" style, rich in Church Slavonic elements. This language dominated primarily in historical works: in Pavle Julinac's book *Kratkom vvedeniju v istoriju proishoždenija slavenoesrbskago naroda* (1765), in Orfelin's book *Žitije i slavnije djela gosudarja imneratora Petra Velikago* (1772), in Rajić's *Istoriji raznih slavenskih narodov* (1794-5). Here, people also include *Istorija o Černoj* Gori by Bishop Vasilije Petrović (1754). In these works there are Church Slavonic elements, in others less, and in most there are some Serbisms. After all, the possibility is not ruled out that historians have adjusted the language of their works according to the Russian reader, on whom the editions of those works have relied heavily.

The adoption of the Russo-Slavic language did not break the tradition of writing in the vernacular when it suited the subject. The most prominent writers of the epoch, such as Orfelin or Rajić, would write some of their works in that language. The vernacular predominated in Orfelin's *Experienced Cellarman*, a vineyard manual as the title suggests, and Rajić sang his song "Battle of the Dragon with an Eagle" about a current event in the vernacular. Like Venclović, he composed his sermons in the vernacular, in accordance with the church's principle that sermons in the interest of their effect must be completely understandable to the listeners. On the instructions of the Austrian authorities, Rajić also printed his catechism for primary schools in the vernacular. From the year 1783, Dositej Obradović began to publish his writings, being the first to come forward with the programmatic position that literature in general should be written in the vernacular. A rationalist with distinct enlightenment aspirations, Dositej advocated for the democratization of literary language so that literature could serve the people as usefully as possible. However, his efforts to write in the vernacular himself were only incomplete. Monasticism in his youth, extensive reading in Church Slavonic and Russian, long and frequent stays on the side where there were more opportunities to read than personal contact with compatriots—all this made Dositej unable to get

rid of Church Slavonic in his language. And he did not even try to get rid of it to the end: he used and accumulated Church Slavonic expressions for the terms that were missing from the lexical fund of our language. Dositej was not left without a follower; some of them, such as Jovan Muškatirović and Emanuil Janković, were able to write in a vernacular language purer than Dositej's.

On the whole, the vernacular of Serbian literature in the eighteenth century is the Šumadija-Vojvodina dialect with most of its present features. There are differences between individual writers that do not go far. From today's internal differentiation of Vojvodina's dialects (Srem, Banat, Bačka), something can be noticed here, but it would be an exaggeration to claim that one local language is reflected in the language of each writer, for example that of his homeland. This is partly due to the biographies of writers who so often lived in different places and absorbed various linguistic features, and partly due to their tendency to elevate the literary language by gathering in it what is best in folk dialects and existing tradition. After all, the dialects of Vojvodina themselves have evolved in the meantime. Today's differences between them were certainly not all present two centuries ago.

Oral poetry sung in the small-town environment and preserved in many manuscript songbooks also tells us a lot about the dialects of Vojvodina at that time. The language of these texts often sounds very popular; there is much more ease in it than elegance. We will not learn everything we would like to know about the differences between the local dialects of that time. Folk songs generally avoid local linguistic features that are annoying when the song is found in another area. This leveling must have been particularly strong in civic poetry, whose products were distributed frequently from one city to another, with fashionable successes throughout the fairly well-integrated Serbian civic environment in Hungary and, perhaps most importantly, in writing in songbooks.

From the very beginning of the eighteenth century, we come across examples of mixing folk and church language in certain literary texts. So did Jerotej Račanin, but then Orfelin, in whose *Experienced Cellarman* the number of Church Slavonic elements was unnecessarily high, and we saw that this happened to Dositej himself. We have seen, after all, that there were similar phenomena in earlier centuries. They are inevitable when two languages of related origin are used in literacy in one environment, i.e., one that contains many common elements. Likewise, if the literary language of an environment deviates

significantly from its living speech, it is constantly exposed to the danger of infiltrating the features of that speech. In our specific case, there were difficulties that stood in the way of writing in pure church language, but also those that bothered to consistently write in the vernacular. It is not easy to master all the details of the Church Slavonic language, in the phonetic structure of words, in case and verb forms, in vocabulary, in sentence constructions. Of course, the laity were in a more difficult position than the members of the clergy, who put their daily work in direct and intense contact with the original patterns of Church Slavonic texts. Hence, the penetration of the secular into literature would move things out of the balance in which they stood centuries before. At a time when most of the active writers were non-clergy, the rule of Church Slavonic in literature had to come to an end, among Serbs as well as among Russians, and after all, as Latin in Western Europe was suppressed as the language of learning when it was found predominantly in the hands of the laity. However, it was not easy to start writing in our eighteenth century in good vernacular without the admixture of the church language. The trouble was not only created by the greater lexical richness of the church language, which easily expressed abstract notions in front of which the vernacular stood helpless. This obstacle can be overcome—and is normally overcome in such circumstances—by taking the necessary words from the church into the literary language on a national basis. The much greater difficulty stemmed from the fact that the school taught the students the church language and that the existing books were only exceptionally in pure Serbian. When whole environments were created in cities, especially among intellectuals, in whom the linguistic sense was disturbed by schooling and reading, and when at that time of pronounced social inequalities the prestige of nobility raised such linguistic feeling above that of "simplicity", it became impossible for most writers to start writing at once as this simplicity speaks, all of which led to the creation of a mixed literary language, one that would be called Slavo-Serbian. The path to this had been prepared by the transfer of the Russian literary language scene in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. If elements of Russian could be mixed with Church Slavonic, then why not Serbian ones as well? In the waning decades of the century, this became inevitable. The reasons for allowing Russian to predominate then began to pale remarkably. A Serbian civil society had already been built for whom Orthodoxy was not an exclusive or basic preoccupation—just as it was

no longer so among Russian intellectuals, nobles and citizens. Instead of going to distant Russia, people began to turn their eyes to the Austrian government, which seriously threatened, before the end of Maria Theresa's reign and under Joseph II, to enlighten and economically empower their peoples, and even in the Joseph era, to limit the power of the Catholic Church. Austrian policy towards Serbs also became wiser. In 1770, the printing of Serbian books was finally allowed, and under Joseph II, the immediate danger of unification disappeared. All this was a current reality of life for Serbs, while Russia, still dear, remained somewhere far away, absent in everyday life. There were no more obstacles to the education of young Serbian intellectuals at universities in German countries. Among enlightened Serbs, it began to be noticed that Western literature did not lag behind Russian and even surpassed it, and Dositej publicly introduced the topic of the meaninglessness of monasticism and excessive power of the church into Serbian society, which undermined the position of the Church Slavonic language as such. The state of mind was characterized by a report submitted in 1782 by Teodor Janković Mirijevski, a respected, and respected by the Austrian authorities, inspector general of Serbian schools in Austria, to the Emperor Joseph II on the issue of the alphabet and language for Serbian schools. He vigorously engaged in the defense of the Cyrillic alphabet, which the emperor's decree tried to limit to ecclesiastical use, and then explained the difference between the three languages, ecclesiastical, civil and popular. He illustrated this difference with comparative examples for all three languages. He gave the well-known biblical sentence in these three versions:

a) church dialect: Blaženi jeste, jegda ponosjat Vam i izženut i rekut vsjak zol glagol na vi lžušte mene radi.

b) civil language: Blaženi jeste kogda vas goniti i na vas hulu i vjsako zlo mene radi ložno govoriti budu.

c) popular language: Blaženi ste vi, koje budu mene radi gonili i na vas hulu i svako zlo lažno govorili.

Mirijevski, of course, proposed a civic language, which by its characteristics occupied a central position. Only his differentia recalled the "styles", high, medium and low, which existed in the Russian language and about which Lomonosov wrote several decades earlier.

The Austrian authorities adopted Mirijevski's views on both Cyrillic and the civil language, as did the Serbian intelligentsia in Hungary and historical evolution itself.

The end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century was a period of domination of the civil, Slavic-Serbian language. In that complex mixture, in addition to Russo-Slavic and Serbian elements, there were still real Russianisms. Unlike Russian literary language, in which the mixture managed to crystallize over several centuries of gradual development, Slavic-Serbian fluctuated with many inequalities between one writer and another, between one work and another, even from one sentence to another. Slavonic is a language whose grammar cannot be written. In principle, everything that exists in at least two other languages, Serbo-Croatian and Russo-Slavic, was possible in it, and possibly even in the third, Russian. Instead of grammar, an adequate way of presenting the reality of this language is a statistical cross-section (for which Aleksandar Mladenović gave the model) where the share of various components in terms of each sound relationship and grammatical form is determined for each writer and each essay. The variegation was further increased by the remains of Serbo-Slavic forms in some writers, among others in the most learned expert of Russo-Slavic, Jovan Rajić. There were also hybrid forms, such as *tergovci*, that did not correspond to the state in any of the original languages.

At first glance, it might seem that many advantages were gained in the Slavic-Serbian language. Its lexical fund was the sum of the lexicons of two or three languages, which would mean that its expressive power was proportional to that. It had at its disposal words for terms from Serbian civic and rural everyday life, but also a branched Church Slavonic abstract vocabulary, nourished for centuries and elaborated by treating theological issues based on the system of meanings determined by Latin and Greek vocabulary, a loan for the notions of modern civilization and enriched by the already constituted terminology of administration, social order and many sciences. Such a mixed language was, of course, open to other influences. It widely included words and crafts from the German language that Austrian Serbs had the opportunity to listen to every day, and which in Austria was the prestigious language of the dominant and at the same time the most culturally and economically strongest people. The German language itself was then full of French borrowings; Serbo-Slavic absorbed them *en masse*, as well as the Latinisms used by the Austrian administration. This kind of language conglomerate lived in the works of many writers, especially in journalism. On the pages of the *Slavenoserpiski Vjedomosti*, published in Vienna by Stefan Novaković from 1792 to 1794, we can follow

the linguistic variation from one article to another with the constantly changing relationship between the elements belonging to various original languages.

It is not difficult to understand why such a tower of Babel of many languages merged into one was a very bad instrument of expression, despite all its lexical richness, present and potential. The parallelism of expressions of the same meaning that come from different languages created a constant dilemma when writing. Should I take the Serbian word or Church Slavonic, or maybe Russian, or even one of the fashionable Western foreigners? There was no objective criterion for selection, it all depended on the writer's "taste/sensibility". Never in the Serbian environment had there been so much linguistic uncertainty as then and we were never so far from clear standards of stylistic beauty, or even precise expression. The word *palec* in Russian and Russo-Slavic means *finger* in general, and *palec* in Serbo-Croatian, or often *palec* in Slavonic-Serbian, means a particular finger. (In older Serbo-Croatian and in dialects there is still the word *čast* in such the sense of "part"; from it are derived from *čestice*, *učešće*, etc.). Instead of *često* in Russian it is said *часто*. Our adjective *čudan* corresponds to the Russian *дивный*, while the Russian *чудный*, means roughly the same as our *divan*. How to deal with this intricacy, how to choose a word that will be clear to the reader? Obviously, it is best to re-style the context to see the meaning of the word, or even avoid such words at all. Only, here the richness of vocabulary in practice turned into impoverishment. But that was not the biggest trouble. In order to master this language properly, it was necessary to know well, in addition to Serbo-Croatian, also Church Slavonic and Russian, and to a lesser extent German and Latin. Who can learn all that, even in those times that did not abound in language learning manuals? Who could have hoped that, if he had learned everything himself, his reader would always have the same knowledge and understand everything well? Something had to be done, and quickly, to unburden and sort out the language, to determine what belongs to it and what does not. But again, there were no criteria, just as there were no people who would clearly see the problem or an authority whose word would be obeyed. With this kind of luggage we entered the nineteenth century. However, it was already clear that pure Church Slavonic, and especially Russian literary language, had no future for Serbs. In addition, the civil society was more and more numerous, filling from wider national strata, the number of literate people grew, abolishing the

conditions for the existence of the exclusive language of the privileged, and the social power of the church slightly weakened. The conditions for the appearance of the vernacular had matured.

II. FROM VUK TO TODAY[1]

The peoples of the Serbo-Croatian language area met the nineteenth century with almost all crucial issues of their survival unresolved. The poverty of the underdeveloped economy was joined by deep cultural backwardness, the embryonic level of modern social structures and the lack of political independence. In such cases, the unresolved problems of literary language were only one of the evils, certainly not the biggest, but not the most insignificant, because that literary language, which did not often even exist, was supposed to become a medium in which the future culture would live, to be a lever of progress for the society in its infancy. The extent to which actions that would strive for revival could reach the depths of social strata or the breadth of the territorial space depended on what that basic instrument would be.

What was found around the year 1800 as a literary language in the Serbo-Croatian climate can only be tentatively called by that name, as is often a bit euphemistic and the application of the term "literature" to the works of our writers of that time. In fact, it was not a single literary language, but a group of different types of languages in written use, with a wide range of variations quite different in two basic environments, Orthodox and Catholic (Muslims, geographically trapped between Orthodox and Catholic Christians and intermingled with them, entered the orbit of modern development only much later, when the cessation of Turkish rule finally transferred them from centuries of cultural orientation exclusively to the Orient).

In the cultural circle of the Orthodox, the greatest problems with the language arose from diglossia—the use of two functionally differentiated language types in the same social community. It coexisted with the vernacular, primarily in written use, and with insufficiently clear demarcation, Slavo-Serbian, which was again a mixture without

[1] This chapter presents a somewhat revised and updated text of the article *Our language and its peoples from Vuk to the present day* in the Honorary Issue of Zora, Mostar 1968/69.

a fixed form. Diglossia was not only our problem, it complicated the relations in the culture of more or less all Orthodox European nations. Among Romanians, where the gap between the vernacular and Church Slavonic was by far the greatest, the duality was the first to be removed: the Romanian language supplanted Church Slavonic, even in the church itself, as early as the seventeenth century. Among the Russians, the parallelism of Church Slavonic and folk elements, represented to varying degrees in the "higher" and "lower" style of literary language, led, through the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth, to a gradual fusion and crystallization of the present literary language elements. Essentially the same results were given by the evolution of the Bulgarians. Among the Greeks, a "purified" archaic language was constituted as the poles of opposition, with the ambition of fidelity to ancient Greek and a "folk" literary language, based on modern dialects; this confrontation has remained unresolved to this day, pressuring modern Greek culture with unnecessary burdens. All this long-lasting crucifixion of the literary languages of the Orthodox European nations is in fact part of the difficult heritage of the Middle Ages, which in the historically belated European East had good conditions to withstand time for centuries. Behind the medieval principle of duality between one "sacred" and "learned" language of church and science, sometimes administration, and domestic "vernacular" speech, there were certain social relations: "higher" language was primarily a stronghold of the clergy, a barrier that determined its superiority over the uninitiated. The Romano-Germanic West also, much earlier, overcame such a phase, until Latin was finally suppressed, that is, in Catholic countries reduced to a function in the church itself. After all, in the emancipation from Latin various countries followed different paths. In Hungary—so again in the eastern half of Europe—Latin also lived on in the nineteenth century in the service of administrative language.

The troubles among Catholics in the Serbo-Croatian language area were quite different from those among the Orthodox. The problems here stemmed from the territorial fragmentation of the literary language, as well as the literature itself. There was one Kajkavian literature, one Slavonian, one Bačka Bunjevac, one Dalmatian, one Dubrovnik and so on. And each of these small literary productions, intended primarily for the audience of the native region, had its own type of literary language. The anxiety of the ambience on which those so-called provincial literatures relied in the second half of the eighteenth century condemned

them to be truly provincial in every sense of the word, even the worst. All this was intertwined with the absence of a common national consciousness in the vicious circles of mutual condition giving. A large part of the Catholics of our language was, admittedly, covered by the Croatian name and Croatian consciousness, but further east remained a wide area, from Bačka, Baranja and Slavonia, through large parts of Bosnia to the Dubrovnik coast, where the Christian orientation was usually only regional—Bunjevac, Shokac, Slavonia, Bosniak, Dubrovnik.

There was no disunity of this kind among the Orthodox. Although geographically scattered as much as Catholics, they were aware that the Serbs, nourished during the most difficult centuries of history by the Peć Patriarchate, and the national church organization in which it lived, transformed but did not relegate, a non-monastic political tradition. The Catholic Church did not play this role until the nineteenth century. That church, with a strong centralist structure and oriented internationally, did not have a special organization for Catholics of the Serbo-Croatian language, or even an archdiocesan unit that would include them all. Believers were divided under the jurisdiction of various archdioceses whose centers were not always in our region. After all, Catholics also lacked the intensely present tradition of former independence (the Dubrovnik exception here only magnifies the character and scope of the phenomena in question).

The first half of the nineteenth century was able to respond to the imperatives of history in our country as well. On one side, an assault on diglossia began, and on the other, an offensive against fragmentation. Large forces were used to fight against major evils. There are few historical parallels from other linguistic environments for such thorough conscious interventions in the language as in our country in the time of Vuk Karadžić and the Illyrians.

Vuk's great endeavor reflected, in addition to striving to affirm the Serbian national individuality, a social clash. Fidelity to tradition was defended by church dignitaries, Austrian nobles and Serbian rulers and in the opposite camp were, gradually gathering, the undimmed spirit of the first uprising, the rich folkloric poetry of the Serbian peasant, the citizenry with its needs and, admittedly, the last chronologically, but with a decisive role in the history of the conflict, the intellectual youth. Vuk's battles were ultimately part of the European struggle of the recently swollen new forces of democratization against clericalism. It could not have ended otherwise than with the triumph of the language of human

everyday life over its "noble" rival. Even independently of Vuk, even in the circles of his angry opponents, Vuk's victory brought a brighter and more vivid expression, but also certain sacrifices in terms of the power to use words to describe all concepts, primarily abstract ones, mastered by the educated Serb at the time. It happened that Vuk himself had to introduce, in the translation of the New Testament and elsewhere, some Church Slavonic expressions that had previously been excluded from his literary language.

The Illyrian movement, which originated in Zagreb about two decades after the beginning of Vuk's struggle, had a completely different character, national and political. Zagreb's problems were different. The Croatian national cause was doubly endangered there, at the same time by Germanization and Hungarianization. The Viennese centralist bureaucracy and Hungarian feudal magnates fought for supremacy over northwestern Croatia, the so-called Provincial. In the cities, and even in Zagreb itself, a large part of the population spoke German; the expansion of that language was contributed not only by its enormous social prestige, but also by the presence of many immigrant families of craftsmen and merchants of German descent. And the nobility, whose political position was still significant despite the setback, relied on the Hungarian aristocracy to defend their interests and even passed a law on the mandatory introduction of the Hungarian language in schools. The circumstances were such that Latin, as an official language, was considered a kind of shield of the Croatian nation—still better Latin than one of the languages of two dangerous neighbors. And on the other hand, despite all the adversities, great chances opened up. Zagreb progressed economically and culturally rapidly, along with the formation of citizenship and the beginnings of civic intelligence. With the gradual decline of the influence of the territorial nobility and the strengthening of the administration, the importance of Zagreb as a political center grew. Its fortunate geographical position also provided good conditions for that. It is not a coincidence that the modern capitals of Croatia, Serbia and Bulgaria developed near the northwestern borders of each of these countries, right at the points where the Western Europe-Constantinople highway enters them.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, many conditions were created for the expansion of Zagreb's role as a center. Its increasingly wealthy merchant class needed a wider market, while the dynamic young intelligentsia was interested in a wider sphere of cultural exposure. But

the reach of Zagreb's political power at the time was limited. The Military Frontier was excluded from its rule, it had no authority over Dalmatia and Istria, even the Slavonian provincial counties had a special status and closer ties with Hungary. All these border barriers had to be overcome, first by establishing cultural unity, since neither the Viennese court nor the Hungarian nobles allowed direct political unification. However, the Kajkavian speech of Zagreb, which closed its cultural influence in the cramped space of the Provincial in the northwest of Croatia, was an obstacle. This speech, full of dialectal peculiarities, was barely understandable to people outside the area and it is no wonder that Croatian Kajkavian literature stagnated, with a narrow human base both in terms of audience and potential writers, and suppressed on its own soil by Latin, German and Hungarian, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. If anything great was to be created, it was necessary to abandon, as soon as possible, that language with its low bearing capacity and that literature of weak expressiveness. It was the only way to resist the threat and seize the opportunity at the same time. This truth was well understood by patriotic Croatian intellectuals in the 1830s.

In 1832, the young lawyer Ivan Derkos came up with a proposal for a common literary language of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, based on a mixture of dialects, and in the same year Count Janko Drašković published his famous manifesto with an elaborate political, economic and cultural program. As its goal, he described the unification of the then fragmented "Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia", including the Military Frontier, and in the future the annexation of Bosnia and Slovenian lands. Drašković saw significant tools in this struggle in the strengthening economic potential and cultural unification of Illyrian Slavs with a common literature and the Shtokavian literary language. The awareness of the need to abandon Kajkavian in literature matured irresistibly and almost overnight, and when Ljudevit Gaj switched to Shtokavian in his Danica in 1836, it was a definite act of breaking with the centuries-old tradition. The resistance was weak in comparison with the one provoked by Vuk among the Serbs, certainly because there were no serious social forces in Croatia whose interests would be endangered by Gaj's innovation. And the Illyrian movement itself did not have that plebeian note which impressed, and often frightened, the the fearless people from Tršić in their efforts.

When Krleža laments today over the sacrifice made by Zagreb by renouncing the use of the native Kajkavian language in literature,

it is not difficult to find understanding for his nostalgia for the native Kajkavian and native Kajkavian poetry, but it is also easy to understand that leaving the Kajkavian literary language was the strongest political move that urban Zagreb ever made. Without that move, its cultural, as well as political and economic reach would have remained shorter.

With the Kajkavian literary language, the revival movement left, albeit temporarily, the Croatian name, replacing it with Illyrian, of literary origin and indefinite concept, precisely because it was widely understood and accepted. From the beginning of 1836, *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska* became *Danica ilirska*. That name change "did not come from Gaj's self-indulging wishes. It was, on the contrary, the inevitable result of that development process in which, above all, provincial fragmentation and sensitivity had to be overcome. This basic precondition for the establishment of a modern nation could not be achieved by imposing one provincial name, dialect and orthography on all others" (J. Šidak, *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* 3, Zagreb 1958, p. 418).

The idea of the ultimate coverage of the Illyrian literary language and Illyrian consciousness was initially vague among those in the movement. Maximalist dreams included all South Slavs, even Bulgarians. In that epoch, when romantic young nationalisms looked far into the distance, when the unification of Italy and the unification of Germany matured before the eyes of Europe, and when pan-Slavic thought began to crystallize, the ideal of the Great Illyria was "between Shkodra, Varna and Villach." However, the reality of unification with the Bulgarians remained declarative and platonic. Circumstances did not allow for contact to be made with them, and there was no effort from the Bulgarian side, so that the establishment of an Illyrian literary language and national awareness was not possible. As for the Slovenes, the Illyrians took them very seriously, especially since to the originators of Illyrianism, native Kajkavian speakers, the Slovene language did not seem distant at all. Vraz's episode was the most significant in this sense, but not the only one. By leaving Kajkavian, the individuality of the Slovene literary language was finally and irrevocably strengthened through Prešeren's verses, which were at the same time a living proof of the literary potential of that language and a great legacy too precious to be abandoned. Thus, the Illyrians were left to reduce their unification actions to the gathering of areas that use the Serbo-Croatian language. But the Illyrians did not really have much luck with the Serbs either, at least not in terms of national integration. Isolated by the religious barrier,

which the attempts at unification made only more insurmountable, the Serbs had already constituted themselves culturally and politically. In that lobby, there was already a fairly variegated new Serbian literature, the Matica srpska, the strong political organization of the Karlovci Metropolitanate, and the liberated Serbian state. Gathering around that piece of freedom as a national ideal was much more natural than the orientation towards one center distant both geographically and by religion and mentality, and which, moreover, was not politically emancipated enough from Austria to be attractive. Only from the lack of understanding of history can originate the understanding that the Serbs did not decide to merge with the Illyrians at that time. According to the natural logic of things, the Illyrian approach to the Serbs had to be limited to the linguistic community and to shaping the idea of brotherhood without identification. Thus, the Catholics of the Serbo-Croatian language remained the subject and object of gathering into one nation.

The transition to Shtokavian and the adoption of the Illyrian name removed the main barriers that could stand between Zagreb and those Serbo-Croatian speaking Catholics who did not have a Croatian orientation. Awareness of national unity began to spread rapidly. When the Illyrian name was later abandoned and the Croatian one re-embraced, the area covered by that name was already much larger. The process continued through the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, in some places until the interwar era. There were places such as Dubrovnik where the determination began in the nineteenth century and ended in the twentieth, while in some other areas, such as Bačka Bunjevac, the process is even entirely the work of our century (of course, the statement about the recent date of determination is not disputed by the authenticity of the fact of determination). The Catholic Church, which acquired the national character during the nineteenth century, often acted as the bearer of the national idea. Patriotic parishioners expanded the Croatian name to such distant places as Catholic enclaves in eastern Kosovo where the South Moravian dialect was spoken or Crasovani in the depths of the Romanian Banat whose speech has a Timok basis.

The declaration of a person's nationality based on religion in these territories as, at least for European conceptions, was unique in history. In other confessionally divided linguistic environments, such as German, Hungarian or Albanian, the primary measure of national affiliation was language. Today's Serbs and Croats in general are an interesting

phenomenon from the point of view of the theory of the nation. Not only a special language, but also a territorial separation is missing from the important features of the nation, since in many parts Croats and Serbs live intermingled, which implies economic intertwining as well as an essentially common type of culture in such regions. The Yugoslav climate, after all, provides textbook examples of the range of variation in terms of the content of the notion of nation. (It is high time, let's say by the way, that we all understand that in this respect life is infinitely more elastic and dialectical than the scholastic search for concepts, and that for example the Croat-Serb relationship is not quite equivalent to the German-French relationship, or even the one between Poles and Russians. And in general, if we understand that everything that bears the name of the nation does not necessarily have the same attributes, we will get rid of the burden that drives us to invent such attributes by force.)

In the middle of the last century, the understanding was expressed that Serbs and Croats should be distinguished by language, and not by religion. In 1849, Vuk Karadžić himself published a well-known article *All the Serbs Wherever They Are*, claiming that only Chakavians (that is, Kajkavians) were Croats, while all Shtokavians were in fact Serbs, although they did not feel that way in relation to "Roman and Turkish law", nor did the Croats. This view was based on a romantic understanding of language as the foundation of the nation, a bit on the breadth of the view of this witty articulation that approached the brothers of "all three laws" with sincere love, somewhat reserved, from the position of an educated European referring to "our division of the people as it is today," but certainly to the ardent desire for there to be as many as Serbs possible. The article caused dissatisfaction among the Croats and it was often used then and later as an argument against Vuk, ignoring the fact that it was written at a time when things were far less known than later, and when things were much different than later. There was no bitterness however in the response Vuk gave to Bogoslav Šulek which was a warning that the dialect cannot be a criterion because there is evidence that the former Croatian name was used in some places among the Shtokavian Catholics. On the other hand, Šulek himself realistically acknowledged "that Slavonians do not call their language Croatian, but Slavonian or Šokac". Neither side cared where the border between the brothers would be established. A common language does not always have to be a bridge between two nations. Under certain conditions, it even exacerbates the problem of demarcation. But Vuk

and the Illyrians believed that such a problem did not erase good will. Both sides were too wise not to realize how much these two peoples were directed at each other and needed each other.

Vuk was not on the right path, looking for a measure in the language for distinguishing Serbs from Croats. The Illyrian movement, with its masterful move of accepting the Shtokavian dialect as the Croatian literary language, ruled out such division in advance. Thus, confession remained the only criterion, no matter how much it seemed to Vuk that "foreigners will laugh at it" (as he said in his answer to Šulek, allowing the possibility of such a historical outcome). Christian churches that lived in the same place and speak the same language had melded their religious division with the national one, but such backwardness was really there, accompanied by those not at all Christian antagonisms that instilled in people of the centuries-old rivalry of Christ's churches. In many areas of conflict, there was no division except in folklore, no culture other than that carried by the church. And what is now called literature was so often reduced to pious books for the people. Parsons or monks were almost everywhere the only authority whose voice was heard. Only in one place was national commitment also a source of hesitation. It was Dubrovnik, a city whose rich historical heritage is at the same time so specifically its own and so broadly Slavic that it did not allow itself to be simply incorporated into Croatian or Serbian history, which gave rise to intellectuals, who there really were, to evaluate differently the affiliation of the people of Dubrovnik in the new conditions. The bitter struggle of the two currents in the walls of the small coastal town ended with the population leaning towards the side where the other Catholics stood.

The act of adopting the vernacular as the literary language of the Serbs raised the question of the dialectal basis of that language. The problem was sharpened by Vuk's abandonment of the old Cyrillic sign for the vowel *jat* (ѣ), which until then had blurred the difference between Ekavian and Ijekavian variants in writing. Vuk's solution in practice was simple: he never gave up writing in his dear native Ijekavian dialect. In theory, however, Vuk showed more breadth by recognizing everyone's right to choose a dialect, although he was always happy to find reasons why Ijekavian should be preferred. However, the Serbs in Vojvodina and Serbia did not listen to him in this. Just when they finally accepted Vuk's principle of the vernacular, they established the Ekavian pronunciation in their literary language. The reasons for such a choice are obvious.

In most parts of Serbia and in Vojvodina, the language was Ekavian, in Serbia itself the Ijekavian regions in the west were economically and culturally less developed, so they lacked the prestige that could give them the authority of a role model. Let us add that among the relatively backward were Serbs further west, across the borders of the then Serbia, where Ijekavian was also spoken (in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sandžak, Montenegro, Dalmatia and Croatia). Quite naturally, the administration and culture in Serbia and Vojvodina resorted to the local dialect, and not to some other. Each area that finally got back on its feet simply solved the problems of its own in the most logical way, without any last thoughts. The objections that were later heard that the Serbs betrayed Vuk's Literary Agreement with the Illyrians in 1850 in Vienna by adopting Ekavian were unfair. Vuk did not sign the agreement as someone's delegate, but as an individual, and besides, the Croats did not accept the Ijekavian pronunciation at Vuk's request, but on their own initiative. Finally, in the division that took place—the majority of Serbs on the Ekavian side, and Croats and a smaller part of Serbs on the Ijekavian side—the greatest damage was suffered by the Serbs themselves. That is why it is much more appropriate to discuss this issue from the point of view of the wisdom of actions—if such retrospective reflections make sense at all.

Infinitely more far-sighted than his time, Vuk was in fact the only Serb at the time who included in the discussion of the choice of literary dialect a review of "our brothers in Roman law, who gladly lend us a hand." On the other hand, it would be an exaggeration to blame them for such decisions, understandable and even inevitable in an environment with a clearly crystallized national identity. The position and style of Zagreb, whose first move in the national revival—abandoning the Croatian name and the Kajkavian literary language—was dictated by a sense of one's own inadequacy and awareness of this difference in approach, which will continue later in the policies of the literary language. Serbs, separate because they had of their own country, would allow the literary language to develop spontaneously, and the Croats, with a keen sense in the Austro-Hungarian political seesaw of peoples, would constantly adjust their literary language to the needs of the surrounding world, especially the Serbs themselves.

The only major interventions in Vuk's literary language among Serbs were established during Vuk's life and originated from Vuk himself. In 1836 he introduced the writing of the consonant *h* in domestic

words (and not only in foreign ones), and in 1839 he removed the Jekavian *jat* in groups, i.e., *dj*, returning examples such as *ćerati* or *đeca* to older vowel characters such as *tjerati* and *djeca*. In both cases, Vuk consciously archaized the language and increased its grammatical correctness, bringing it closer to other Slavic literary languages, especially the language of Dubrovnik literature, and the language of the "brothers of Roman law" in general. He justified the moves by the presence of these two features in folk dialects and he really cited the Dubrovnik dialect and the speeches of Bosnian Muslims in the cities (and in terms of *h* pronunciation in parts of Montenegro). This modeled Ijekavian language soon became the literary language of Serbs in the western parts, who, the Ijekavian people themselves, accepted Vuk's language without transposing it into Ekavian pronunciation.

Among Croats, the adoption of the Shtokavian literary language also put the issue of dialects on the agenda. Admittedly, the Illyrian orthography, with one Solomonic solution, by introducing the sign *ě* taken from the Czech Latin, removed the difficulties in writing the *jat*, but this did not erase the problem of pronouncing that sign. Theoretically, the Illyrians allowed three or even four different pronunciations, but in practice they increasingly preferred Ijekavian, which was used by Count Drašković in 1832. There is something striking, seemingly even paradoxical, in Zagreb's adoption of Ijekavica. Namely, on the land of the then Croatia, only Serbs and, here and there, Croats in their neighborhood and under their influence spoke Ijekavian. Areas where Catholics indigenously spoke Ijekavian—Dubrovnik coast, parts of central and eastern Bosnia, etc.—they were far beyond the borders of Croatia. Even in these more remote areas, Catholics with the Ijekavian dialect were not particularly numerous. Their share of among Catholics using our language does not exceed one tenth. Most of the Shtokavian Catholics had Ikavian dialects, so there were such Ikavians among the Illyrians themselves (Vjekoslav Babukik, Ignjat Alojzije Brlik), but their speech was not taken as a model. Obviously, other motives won. Drašković explained his Ijekavian (more precisely Iekavian) writing in 1832 by saying that this dialect was ordinary "in ancient scripture" and that it was "fuller". The first argument refers to Dubrovnik literature, ignoring the rich Ikavian (though mostly Chakavian) literature of former Venetian Dalmatia, as well as the large share of Ikavian elements in the language of early Dubrovnik poetry. The second argument, about the "fullness" of the Ijekavian pronunciation, certainly hides the intuitive

realization that only this pronunciation preserved the vocal identity of the *jat* which in Ekavian or Ikavian pronunciation was erased by the equation with *e* or *i*. This idea was the basis for why the Illyrians began counselling to "be on guard" when reading Ijekavski, "there are places where *ě* should be kept". Drašković soon accepted the prevalence of Ijekavian, citing a long list of places where it was used. Our dialects were rudimentary at the time, and we will not be surprised that Drašković included areas in which Ijekavian was not spoken, as well as those where Ijekavian was mostly spoken by Serbs. For other reasons, the Illyrians may have been influenced by the existence of Vuk's language, as well as the richness of folk poetry in Vuk's collections. The historical role of each of these moments would be a task worthy of a detailed study. But one thing is clear: from the point of view of the political interests of the forces that stood at the head of society in Zagreb, a more fortunate choice could not be made. D. Brozović was certainly right (Kolo 1963, p. 613) when he pointed out as an incentive "competition in areas for which it was not clear at first whether to gather around this or that national core". In addition, bridging the differences towards Serbs in Croatia was valuable. By accepting the Shtokavian Ijekavian dialect they spoke, the danger of constituting two separate literatures with two types of literary language on Croatian soil was avoided.

Finding themselves on the common ground of the Shtokavian Ijekavian, Vuk and the Illyrians began to think about a more complete unification of language and orthography. In 1845, Vuk formulated this ideal as follows: "We all have to work hard to make our language in books so equal that every book can be reprinted from letter to letter from Latinic to Slavic and from Slavic to Latinic, so we will then (and only then) be one nation and have one literature…" On the other hand, such a program was very readily accepted: as early as 1846, it was categorically supported by Babukić and Šulek. Even their polemics, which sometimes also existed, exude the tone of restraint that we will seek in vain in the discussions that Vuk had with his Serbian compatriots, culminating in the Vienna Literary Treaty of 1850, which would turn into reality the fantasy of the direct mutual transliteration of texts written in Latinic and Cyrillic. Vuk and his young associate Daničić, who signed the document in the name of the Serbs, did not have real power over the Serbian literary language at that time and among the Illyrians, who ruled the literary scene in Croatia, only people of secondary influence were among the signatories, while Gaj himself maintained a

reserved attitude. The agreement demanded too many concessions from the Illyrians to be accepted all at once. Nevertheless, this text remained effective as a program manifesto of crucial importance for the direction of action in the later period.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of the constant presence of the topic of literary language and orthography in Croatia, in the center of public attention. Somewhere at the beginning of that epoch there was a great stratification among those who spoke on linguistic matters. Decades passed filled with struggles between different currents, so that at the end of the century only one tendency remained on the scene, and with it the basis of modern literary language among Croats, which was identical with Vuk's base of literary language among Serbs.

The tradition of the Illyrian movement was embodied in the Zagreb School, where the main adherent was Adolfo Veber Tkalčević, faithful to the ideal of a common literary language for Croats, Serbs and Slovenes. On both sides more extreme attitudes clashed with this middle class. The dispute with the Zadar writers' circle gathered around the *Zora dalmatinska* had been going on since 1844. These defenders of the traditional Ikavian crisis language of Dalmatia, led by Ante Kuzmanić, standing in regional and exclusively Catholic positions, rejected "the horned ě", and especially the Ijekavian pronunciation, which they emphasized was a feature of "followers of the seceded Eastern Church". From the isolationist point of view, inspired by open hatred towards Serbs, Ante Starčević also roared loudly, but for some reason he wrote in Shtokavian Ekavian—he was the only one among Croats. The embodiment of the opposite extreme was Fran Kurelac, the dominant figure of the Rijeka school, also a peculiar polemicist who generously mocked his opponents, but who was broadly Slavic-oriented. The artificially created language of his writings, on a Shtokavian basis and interspersed with archaisms and Chakavisms, aspired to become the Common Literary Language of the Southern Slavs, and even to bring them closer to the Western and Eastern Slavs.

None of the extreme directions had a future. The Zadar separatist current, sinking deeper and deeper into the nonsense of the One Provincial Platform, died out on its own. *Zora dalmatinska* was published in the Ikavian dialect and in the Jekavian dialect, depending on the change of person in the position of editor, until 1866, when the last Ikavian written issue was published. The solution offered by Starčević was

doomed in advance due to its internal contradictions. Of course, Shtokavian Ekavian had one serious advantage: it was a potential bridge to the Serbs in Vojvodina and Serbia, but that was not exactly the wish of Ante Starčević or those who listened to his voice. On the other hand, Kurelac's romantic attempt was anachronistic at a time when the Slavic literary languages were largely constituted. It became increasingly clear that the Slovenes also decided on a special path. Thus, Kurelac's literary language died with Kurelac himself in 1874.

During the fifties and sixties, after the joint wars of 1848-9, conditions favorable for Croatian-Serbian cooperation lasted. Štrosmajer, Rački and Jagić entered the scene in Croatia. The Yugoslav name, even in relation to the language, was often used. The Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts was founded, where the greatest Serbian philologist Đuro Daničić came to work at the invitation of Zagreb. It was repeated from various sides that Croats and Serbs were "One People" who had or at least should have "One Language". At the time of the bitter struggle of the Croatian People's Party against Pest and Vienna, harmony with the Serbs was the imperative of the moment. Fighters for Croatian national rights could have Serbs in Croatia as allies only with respect for their rights. From the correct attitude towards Serbs came the term "Croatian or Serbian language" which Rački used as early as 1861, to be adopted by the Croatian Parliament on January 5, 1867, voting by a large majority for the legal basis on which "the Croatian or Serbian language is declared the official language to the triune kingdom, and it is easy for everyone to use the Latinic or Cyrillic alphabet" (after all, in 1861, a Cyrillic diploma as an honorary citizen of the city of Zagreb was issued to Vuk Karadžić). All this created an atmosphere for further linguistic and orthographic unification in Croatian-Serbian relations.

The first to be affected were those orthographic details that distinguished Zagreb's usage from Vuk's and the demands of the Vienna Agreement. The writing of the "horned ě", that neutral sign for the *jat* that had the purpose of reconciling the various permissible readings, had lost its purpose by generalizing one of these readings, the Ijekavian one. The awareness had matured of the pointlessness of writing *èr* instead of the vocal *r* (*sèrce, pèrvi*). Linguistic discussion showed that the use of the suffix *ah* in the genitive plural of nouns (*otacah*) had no historical justification, as it did not exist in living speech. The famous Vatroslav Jagić, a linguist and intellectual of broad horizons, educated in Vienna as a student of Franjo Miklošič, close to Vuk and Daničić in personal

contacts and many understandings, did the most to clear up his understanding. It is to his credit that the great Dictionary of the Yugoslav Academy began to be published with an adaptation of Vuk's orthography. Then a new generation of Croatian followers of Vuk appeared, led by the tireless Tomo Maretić.

As with the Serbs a decade earlier, the Croats began to gain the belief in the 1870s that linguistic and orthographic anarchy could only be overcome by consistent acceptance of Vuk. Vuk's solution was unique and persistent, while the solutions outside Vuk were many, so that the writer could always choose his personal formula, somewhat similar to former Slavo-Serbian writers, each of whom created his own mixture of Church Slavonic and vernacular. In addition, Vuk's solutions fascinated with its solid internal logic, while other combinations carried elements of compromise and patchiness. Finally, the language of Vuk, Daničić and Vuk's folk songs provided the only classical model on which writers whose sense of the Shtokavian literary language was insecure, either because of their Kajkavian or Chakavian origins, or because of their exposure to the German language in their youth, still widespread in Croatian cities (and often imposed on schools in Croatia). All this gave impetus to the campaign of Vuk's language in Croatia. Gradually, the forms of dative, locative and instrumental plural were adopted and equalized in the dative, locative and instrumental plural suffix *-ma* (*ženama*, *selima*) instead of archaic forms of the type dative *ženam, selom*, locative *ženah, selih* and instrumentals for *ženami, seli*. Thus, the grammatical and vocal system of the Tršić dialect from the time of Vuk's childhood became the system of literary language in Croatia—with changes in the limited homeland, which mostly originate from Vuk himself. In 1889, the Croatian government entrusted Ivan Broz with drafting a new official Croatian orthography in the spirit of Vuk's phonological principle. With the publication of that orthography in 1892, the struggle was over. A series of basic language manuals remained to be completed. Maretić's monumental *Grammar in the Stylistics of the Croatian or Serbian Literary Language* was published in 1899, and the two-volume *Dictionary of the Croatian Language* by Broz and Iveković in 1901. Both works, based mainly on the language of Vuk and Daničić and Vuk's folklore, received, in addition to great praise, harsh criticism for neglecting the Croatian language heritage. These objections were largely justified, especially with regard to *Rječnik* of Broz and Iveković, who failed to include many words quite common

in the literary language of that era. But, on the other hand, critics had forgotten, and often forget even today, that the compilers of the *Rječnik* and, especially, the *Grammar*, adjusted their works according to a set goal, and that goal was not to show a cross-section, but to provide a model. Such an intention limited the possibility of drawing material from other sources that differed from the material accepted as a model.

In the meantime, the general climate of relations between Croats and Serbs greatly deteriorated. Skillful Austrian politics managed to sow discord. The lion's share in this was the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, after the Serbian uprisings and the wars between Serbia and Montenegro and Turkey on that occasion. In the same year, the Croatian Parliament addressed Emperor Franz Joseph with a proposal to prepare the accession of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Croatia. The Emperor rejected the initiative for his own reasons, but the consequences for relations between Serbs and Croats remained indelible, especially since during the Bosnian uprising in Croatia, Serb insurgent sympathizers were arrested on the orders of Vienna, and after the occupation a struggle over positions erupted in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The papal encyclical *Grande munus*, which opened the Catholic Church's offensive against Orthodoxy, did not go unnoticed and was the echo of the statements of some MPs in the Parliament that there are no Serbs in Croatia and the abolition of autonomous religious schools in which the Serbs saw a guarantee of their national individuality was particularly difficult. The rise of the Party of Rights, whose ideologue Starčević preached enmity towards the "Slavo-Serbian breed in Croatia", was fueled also by Ban Kuen Herdervari in his attempts to use Serbian civil society against their opponents. Exacerbated by the press on both sides, the antagonism culminated in street riots against Serbs in Zagreb in 1902. However, all this did not hinder the process of increasingly consistent adoption of Vuk's literary language in Croatia. This can look unnatural only at first glance. Because the beginning of the process corresponded to the aspirations of both supporters and opponents of the kinship, of course, for various reasons; those who wanted penetration into Bosnia and the denationalization of the Serbs in Croatia could only be satisfied with the fact that the literary language of the Croats was acquiring a form that increased its acceptability, precisely in those areas.

The convergent development of the literary language of Serbs and Croats in the nineteenth century attracts attention as a historical exception;

otherwise, the Slavs in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were dominated by the tendency to split and increase the number of literary languages. However, the unification of the phonetic and morphological system as well as the orthographic norms at the end of the nineteenth century did not by far mean the full identification of all the details in the Serbo-Croatian literary language. A significant number of differences in the vocabulary remained. It is a domain too extensive to be encompassed by some deliberate codification—except that there have been no serious attempts to do so. This is how the phenomena that are usually called variants of our literary language today were created.

Lexical inequalities between the most distinctly polarized variants, whose focuses coincide with the capitals of Serbia and Croatia, are in fact only in rare cases a reflection of differences in the vocabulary of vernaculars in the East and West. Thus, on one side there are expressions such as *ćurka, hleb, nedelja* or *sedmica, gvožđe, pacov, vladika, krst*, and on the other such as *pura, kruh, tjedan, željezo, štakor, biskup, križ* (although some of these examples are reduced to the differing terminology of the two churches). In relations such as *drum/cesta, zejtin/ulje, sirće/ocat, komšija/susjed, džak/vreća*, in addition to partial dialectal differences, the different attitude of the two environments towards borrowings, primarily towards Turkisms, is reflected, which does not stop local words in some such couples to become more and more entrenched in use in the East as well. However, the majority of existing lexical discrepancies in literary language have nothing in common with the ancient differences between folk dialects. The vast majority of these disagreements are the products of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, arising from the life of the literary language itself, from the need to constantly expand it with new words for new concepts and things brought by the progress of culture and civilization. The terminology of almost all professions has developed on both sides more or less independently. The two main cultural centers lived isolated enough from each other that the terms, when needed for the first time, were created—and in fact taken from foreign languages or translated—on each side separately, without checking to see if anyone had already in "in the other community" tried to solve the same task (and, of course, sometimes without the psychological readiness to adopt the solution found there). That saw the rise of other pairs such as *pozorište/kazalište, predstava/predodžba, utisak/dojam, nadleštvo/ured, oblakoder/neboder, voz/vlak, kolodvor/*

stanica, tečnost/tekućina, pritisak/tlak. Very often the arrangement of such synonyms is completely random: there is no deeper reason why term A should be Serbian and term B Croatian, and not vice versa. However, in other examples of duality, we will easily see echoes of broader tendencies in terminological policies or terminological habits. Croats, like some other peoples on the territory of former Austria—Czechs, Hungarians, Slovaks, Slovenes—built a purist attitude towards foreigners in an effort to preserve their language from foreign elements, which they believed to obscure national identity. This attitude, stemming from a sense of threat from the Germans, led to the purification of the language from Germanisms, but also to the avoidance of so-called internationalisms, mostly terms composed of Greek or Latin roots or spread from some Western modern language. The path taken by the Serbs was much different. Away from the immediate danger of Germanization, they preserved a greater readiness to join the cultural circle of European nations by accepting international vocabulary. In this way, dualities are created, such as *direktan/izravan, sistem/sustav, karakteristika/značajka, muzika/glazba, telegram/brzojav, advokat/odvjetnik, firma/tvrtka, fabrika/tvornica, mašina/stroj, štampa/tisak, gas/plin, magacin/skladište, apoteka/ljekarna, insekt/kukac, fudbal/nogomet* (we will note, after all, that it is also common to use both terms on one of the two sides, as synonyms or with semantic differentiation). In this material, common expressions on the Croatian side are most often coins or borrowings from the Czech language. The influx of Czech words fell mainly in the second half of the nineteenth century, in the era of beneficial reciprocity among Slavic Habsburg subjects. What the Czechs had achieved, as the most advanced in the development of culture, became a reservoir from which they drew and remained. Taking over the finished Czech word, even if it was not built according to the rules of the structure of our language, meant relying on its own, Slavic sources in resistance to foreign pressure. (After all, in the previous period, the acceptance of Czech heritage brought valuable benefits to Croats: Gaj transferred from the Czechs the type of Latin enriched with the use of diacritical marks, and specific letters *š*, *ž*, *č*, *ě*; soon after, such an alphabet, "gajica", was adopted by the Slovenes). The already mentioned Bogoslav Šulek, a Slovak by birth, naturalized in Zagreb, a philologist and naturalist, the most agile worker in the endeavor of forming Croatian terminology, did the most for transplanting Czech

words into the literary language of Croats. This endeavor was largely realized in the planned interventions of serial creation of terms—in contrast to the development of the Serbs, which was primarily random, spontaneous and gradual. However, many of the coinages that were not always successfully made in Šulek's "scientific terminology", they were not accepted and have long been forgotten: *priesrebrun*, *sjeguraostvo, najboljak, radivnik, parovozič, tezič*, *sadrž, sjemište,* etc. No less fortunate are some words found in Šulek's dictionary of our language, which our present-day reader knows mostly only from Jonke's works on this: *bitoslovlje, dlažba, hvost, inorazovac, povjetrun, pružnost, velriba, vraska*, etc. However, it is far more important that many of Šulek's words have enriched the terminological fund of our language, not only Croatian, but also Serbian through quiet incorporation. The wider public is not even aware of how many common words and coinages came from Šulek a hundred years ago (such as *brojka, pretplatnik, strujomer, zdravstveni, latica, pustolov*, etc.), or some loanwords from Czech (*pogon*, *odraz, pojam, pronevera, važnost, kotva, snimak, živalj*, etc.). Of course, we will not be surprised by the presence among Croats and some words of Czech origin they are not equally domesticated among Serbs (*bajoslovan, krajolik, stanovit, pokus, naklada*, etc.). It is also understandable that in the East there are many words taken from Russian and Church Slavonic sources that are not common in the West (*vinovnik, dejstvo, podozriv, ubediti, predostrožnost, prevashodan*). In this polarization, we can easily see the consequences of geographical location and religious and political connections, and even the difference in the frequency of direct human contacts.

Lexical discrepancies among the variants concerning the whole word are joined by those that affect only some detail in the composition or voice character of the word. And here we will find only a small number of reflexes of dialectal peculiarities. Thus, there are a few words where in the east there is *v* or *j* in the place of *h* which is kept in the west: *duvan/duhan, suv/suh, kijavica/kihavica* (although even here the contrasting relationship is not always absolutely realized). In other examples, the final *l* merged with the previous one in the east, but not in the west: *so / sol, go / gol, sto / stol*. Both of these phenomena, realized in a narrow number of examples, have similar roots in folklore. Voice characters common in the East are in fact typical Shtokavian, while those used in the West correspond mainly to the Chakavian and

Kajkavian dialectal reality, as well as that in some Shtokavian dialects in the western regions. There is a much more diverse material that testifies to the special paths of cultural history. The ratio of *št / ć* in *opšti / opći* and *sveštenik / svećenik* reflects a stronger measure of Church Slavonic influence in the Orthodox East, while preserving the specific Serbo-Croatian results of voice development in the West. Doublet forms with ratios *k / c* (*kentaur / centaur, Kipar / Cipar, okean / ocean*), *h / k* (*hirurg/kirurg, haos/kaos, hemija/kemija, hlor/klor*) and *t / c* (in the suffix *atija / acija*: *diplomatija / diplomacija, aristokratija / aristokracija*) reveal traces of the Latin-German or Italian pronunciation of Greek words that has taken root in our west, while in the east the original Greek phonetics is more faithfully reproduced. But that is why the Byzantine voice realization of the Greek language is reflected in the doublets with *v / b* (*varvarski/barbarski, Vizantinac/Bizantinac, Vavilon/Babilon*) in the forms of the eastern variant, as opposed to the unchanged ancient Greek forms with *b* which were taken into Latin in ancient times, only to reach us later through Western Europe. Dual forms with *u / e* and *j / h* have a similar historical background (*katiheta/kateheta, Jerusalim/Jeruzalem, jelinski/ helenski, Vitlejem/Betlehem*). The sound of German origin *z*, which in our west stands for "eastern", is found in some words of Latin origin such as *insistirati/inzistirati, konsultacija/konzultacija*. The coverage of certain phenomena in the field of speech is somewhat broader. Behind the non-equal distribution of the two verb suffixes is again the integration into wider cultural spheres, Central European or Balkan. The east was dominated by *-isati*, while the west by *-irati* (*definisati/definirati*). The first of these two suffixes is of German origin, and the second is of Greek origin. On domestic soil, but mainly in the lap of the literary language itself, relations such as *autobuski/autobusni*, *telefonistkinja/telefonistica* or *saradnik/suradnik* have grown. Scattered about were more or less isolated lexical examples of discrepancies in some vocal or creative detail, or in the grammatical behavior of certain words: *istorija/historija*, *italijanski/talijanski, ofanziva/ofenziva, avgust/august, odbrana/obrana, front/fronta, teritorija/teritorij, region/regija, Rumunija/Rumunjska, prodavac/prodavač, prodavnica/prodavaonica, lekar/liječnik*, the verb *trebati* in impersonal use / in personal use, *ko/tko, kome/komu, šta/što*

—and again, of course, with the frequent occurrence of the parallel presence of both forms in one of the two environments.

In fact, there are no real phonetic and grammatical contradictions between the two basic variants of the Serbo-Croatian literary language, free from lexical restrictions, with the only exception of the relationship between Ekavica and Ijekavica, whose border, however, goes in a very special geographical direction. Among the grammatical features, the more consistent use of infinitives in the west is usually mentioned, in contrast to the parallel appearance of infinitives and present constructions with *da* in the east (*ja ću uraditi* as opposed to *ja ću da uradim*). But this disagreement is not absolute because the solution is common in the West and in the East. Also, only of relative nature is the difference in terms of the less frequent or more frequent use of suffixes of simple adjective changes in certain case endings (*zatekli ga živog* is more common in the east / *zatekli ga živa* more common in the west).

All this, when added together, and especially when combined, shows that the range of diversity among the variants is in fact still moderate. The discrepancies concern, as a rule, the lexicon, the layer in the language structure closest to the surface of the system, and within the lexicon itself they almost do not touch the basic vocabulary, but remain in its surface layers, those relatively recent and those which change most rapidly with changes in civilization. Such differences do not create serious barriers to communication; on the other hand, the mutual openness of the variants enables constant circulation of vocabulary renewal and enrichment of language through the semantic and stylistic differentiation of synonyms.

Inequalities among the variants of our literary language have no scope that would give reason to consider them different languages. There are no two languages in the world that would differ so little as "Croatian" and "Serbian", or even two languages that would differ a little more and not much more than the variants of our literary language. The range of divergences in our case fits, in its entirety, into a field of variation in which disagreements move between variants of other literary languages. The differences in pronunciation in our country are much smaller than, for example, between the variants of the English literary language in different countries where that language is used, but the lexical differences in our country are somewhat larger. We will understand even more clearly the limitations of our variant differences if we measure them in domestic, for example internal Croatian comparisons.

These differences are incomparably smaller than the differences between individual vernacular dialects spoken by Croats and even between individual local dialects within the Shtokavian, or within the Chakavian, or within the Kajkavian group. A Chakavian speaker from Lošinj and one from the vicinity of Split will find it harder to understand each other if they each speak their own dialect than would the bearers of the two variants of the literary language. Also, today's discrepancies between the variants are less than the distance between the literary language in Croatia a century ago and today. Moreover, the gap between the norm of literary pronunciation in Zagreb and its realization in the speech of the Zagreb intelligentsia is greater than the disagreement between the Belgrade and Zagreb versions of the sound norms. A typical educated citizen of Zagreb also introduces regional features into his pronunciation of the literary language, which are reduced to indistinguishability in several phonetic categories. Thus, he does not make a distinction between *č* and *ć*, nor between *đ* and *dž*, nor between short and long unstressed vowels, or even between falling and rising accents. These characteristics are lacking more consistently in only two social groups: many newcomers from areas with a different dialect base are free of them and they are surpassed by language professionals such as linguists and, in part, public announcers and actors. The sum of these intra-Zagreb differences with its significance for the language system obviously far exceeds the totality of variant sound divergences, even if we include all lexical cases, and, of course, the Ekavian-Ijekavian contrast. After all, this is the *literary* language spoken in Zagreb today; the average citizen of Zagreb uses the Kajkavian dialect at home and among friends, the specifics of which are, of course, even greater (and which, among other things, is Ekavian).

The contrast between the Belgrade and Zagreb realities of the literary language is mitigated by the presence of transitional situations in the interspace. Montenegro uses the Jekavian version of the eastern version, with a minimal number of deviations in some more detail. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Jekavian is combined with a lexicon in which Eastern and Western elements coexist, most often as synonyms or doublets, giving the individual the opportunity to choose one or the other alternative each time. However, certain phenomena give reason to observe that the eastern elements are somewhat predominant: there are not common forms such as *tko* or *ko*, the names of months such as *siječanj*, *veljača*, etc., and also the orthographic solution *pisaću* instead

of *pisat ću*. The language system in that republic is expanded because some authors write in Ekavian in some of their works. In Croatia itself, Serbs use, of course, Jekavian in their publications, but with less lexical differences to the east, and especially without those elements that today make a pronounced Croatian specificity. However, the difference towards the literary language of the Croats themselves in Croatia until recently remained in the shadow of the general attitude accepted in Croatia that Croatian and Serbian are one language and that there is a legitimate place for variation in details. Under such circumstances, no one was interested in investigating or formulating these discrepancies, and they remained at the level of nuance, without sharpened polarization.

The image of the internal differentiation of our literary language that we have examined here was formed mainly before the end of the nineteenth century. Since then, linguistic relations have not changed significantly. Affected by the interplay of various processes, the variants converged at the same time, under strong mutual influences and moved away from each other by introducing new terms independently on both sides, and less often by conscious efforts of some factors in Croatia to ensure the most distinctive features of the literary language. There was, of course, some development outside of terminology. In Serbia, it was more spontaneous, lively, without pious fidelity to every detail of Vuk's language, while in Croatia, a relationship of strict respect for Vuk's norms was built. This difference arose because in Croatia the voice of "language advisers" was always preferred and also because it was felt that, on Kajkavian or Chakavian soil, giving in to the elements of everyday speech development would be too deeply ingrained in the character of literary language. The periods from 1878 to 1918, when the Austrian bureaucracy and its official language entered, and from 1941 to 1945, when the Ustasha government pursued its own policy, provided particularly strong impulses. On the other hand, the Yugoslav administration between the two wars favored elements of Eastern vocabulary in its use. As a whole, however, the region was in the fortunate position to enrich its expression from both sources, joining these achievements to the lavish fund of their own linguistic heritage.

But let us return, after this excursion in the direction of the present, to our conversation about the past.

The first years of this century found the Serbs fragmented by countless political borders and exposed to constant national losses. The knowledge grew that the outposts of the Serbian people could be saved

only by uniting the Serbs. In order for this to become a reality it was necessary to overthrow two empires. Serbia itself, sandwiched between those empires, endangered in its survival and increasingly aware of the task of winning unification, experienced a renaissance that could only be imagined under the Obrenović family. With greater political freedom, economic progress, the flourishing of culture and the crystallization of the awareness of public responsibility also went hand in hand. Unfinished national tasks came to the attention of the public in an unprecedented way. The forces began to unite in a coordinated effort to raise their own level and to enable the liberation of their compatriots south, west and north of the pre-Kumanovo borders. That effort and the political and cultural awakening of Serbs outside Serbia fed upon each other. Serbia's reputation, now that it carried a halo of freedom, was growing everywhere. All of that happily coincided with the change in the political climate in Croatia. Disappointed with the situation in Austria-Hungary, where the political fragmentation of Croatian lands continued despite repeated demands for unification, and where Vienna and Pest constantly fought against Croatian nationalism with violence and manipulation of democracy, the more advanced Croats turned to cooperation with Serbs. A Croatian-Serbian coalition was being organized, which was suddenly coming to the forefront among the parties in Croatia. Cultural ties with Belgrade were intensifying, there were thoughts of separating the Yugoslav countries in Austria-Hungary into a special unit on a trial basis, but increasingly also of unification with Serbia. Serbian victories in the Balkan wars were joyfully welcomed; especially the youth were driven by a wave of enthusiasm. Although there were sometimes differences between Zagreb's and Belgrade's conceptions of Yugoslavia, especially in terms of the structure of the future community and the relative role of individual centers, the fact is that this was a time when old prejudices receded before new horizons—and new illusions.

In pre-war Serbia, nationally and religiously homogeneous, Yugoslavia did not have roots as deep as in the "triune kingdom" of Croatia, whose ethnic composition was more complex and whose political thought was shaped by a difficult tension in the Austro-Hungarian conglomerate of national and state units. In Vuk's and Daničić's time, the idea of rapprochement with the western neighbors found a foothold in the intellectual leaders of Serbian society. To fulfill that vision, a person of a format and temperament like Skerlić was needed. A man of action,

Skerlić also envisioned concrete steps to overcome obstacles to the cultural unification of Serbs and Croats. In that euphoric moment after the victories in the Balkan wars, when the boundaries between visions and possibilities blurred, Skerlić put forth a proposal about the Ekavian Latin alphabet as a solution for the whole of the Serbo-Croatian region. Knowing that there was no agreement without mutual concessions, he was ready to sacrifice Cyrillic as a Serb if the western parts would abandon the Ijekavian pronunciation of the literary language. There is no doubt that with such a replacement everyone would gain a lot in cultural potential, although it would have to be paid for by ongoing upheavals, although much bigger where the alphabet would change than where a more complex *jat* replacement would be abandoned in favor of simpler and easier to overcome. However, the far-sighted Skerlić lost sight of the more directly present circumstances due to which the realization of his proposal was impossible. Traditions and habits were already too deeply rooted and the mistrust on both sides was not completely asleep. The literary language or alphabet can be radically changed only when their use is the privilege of a narrow circle of educated people, while the vast majority of peoples live in illiteracy and speak a dialect. And at the time of Skerlić's survey, literacy had already gotten deeply rooted among the people. If we look at the results of that survey realistically, we will not be surprised that Skerlić's proposal did not find support among some of the participants, but before so many people voted positively. Today, we understand that this testifies only to the exceptionality of the moment when the survey was conducted.

The results of Skerlić's survey lost their relevance and meaning in the whirlwind of the First World War. After the victory on the Serbian side, there was no will to leave Cyrillic, especially since it was persecuted under the Austrian occupation of Serbia, and on the Croatian side the mood for unifying endeavors quickly disappeared on new occasions, so those few writers who switched to Ekavian writing soon returned to Ijekavian.

The Yugoslav state of the interwar era was haunted, like the "original sin", by the tragic fiction that several peoples are one nation. In addition, the country was burdened with the mistakes and transgressions of the rulers, their misunderstanding of what an ethnically heterogeneous country means and the complicated misunderstandings between peoples of different experiences and mentalities; along with

social hardships and injustices, bad governance and bad times were brought by inadequate regimes throughout the area.

From the very beginning, there was a dialogue of the deaf, between some who, in the domestic tradition of their history, could not imagine the homeland other than as a monolithic whole and others, whose past had taught them to be interested primarily in defining their rights under a common roof. Even when it came to honest people and pure intentions, there remained a wide field for mutual astonishment and anger. After all, not everyone was well-meaning. Accusations of hegemony and separatism were exchanged and both were often true. Then, political leaders spread distrust towards one or another nation as a whole based on the guilt, and then that distrust was used as an occasion for new aggravation in attitudes and actions.

The general gloomy climate did not bypass the Serbo-Croatian literary language either. The neglect of the western variant in state use caused Croatia to feel that something was lost. The impression of endangerment was spreading, so that statements or initiatives in terms of linguistic rapprochement inevitably inspired defensive attitudes, inflicting damage instead of benefit. In this way, the possible profit was lost that the development of the literary language could have greatly benefited from the fact that the vast majority of Serbo-Croatian speakers found themselves within the borders of the same country for the first time in recent history, thus removing obstacles that previously hindered reciprocity among the Serbs or to the Croats themselves, divided by borders between states or at least state-legal formations.

The first major entanglements were related to orthography. After Aleksandar Belić came out with an orthographic reform in 1923, and after his orthography was accepted by Serbs mostly thanks to his enormous authority (although not without resistance), the dictatorial government in 1930, in the wake of its "integral" unifying aspirations, sought to balance orthography. The moment could not have been more unhappily chosen. The imposed unification caused indignation in Zagreb, regardless of the solutions it actually offered. On one hand was Belić, faithful to Vuk but bending the rules where Vuk himself was inconsistent, and on the other hand Boranić's orthography, persistently faithful to Vuk in concrete solutions. But at that time, one of Vuk's conceptions appeared as Serbian and the other as Croatian. When the new orthography adopted a large part of Belić's innovations, it was perceived as an imposition from Belgrade.

The formation of the Banovina of Croatia in 1939 made it possible to reject the common orthography on its territory and reintroduce Boranić's, but the wave of backward movement did not stop there. The circles that came to power in the Banovina believed that it was good for Croats to be as different as possible from Serbs in language. There is something irrational and faulty in the nationalist search for linguistic differences at all costs. The mutual specificity of the Serbian and Croatian people is not based on language; if the language were in question, they would not even be two peoples, or perhaps in the last century the Shtokavians, Chakavians and Kajkavians would have turned into three separate national entities. The historical factors that define Croats and Serbs as two nations are much more complex and deeper, so it is not necessary to reverse the course of language development in order to confirm the national individuality of one or the other. Artificial erection of language barriers inevitably impoverishes both sides, depriving them of the opportunity to use what their partner has created—in literature, in perfecting expressions, in professional literature, in translations from foreign languages. Giving prominence one literary language means leaving both sides with halved publication potential. But when people are overwhelmed by animosity or discouraged by disbelief in the vital strength of their people, they will, in the belief that they are saving them, do what harms them.

The number of language experts engaged in the campaign for "differences between Croatian and Serbian literary language" in 1940 was not high, nor were they the greatest authorities of Zagreb's linguistics at the time. These were young doctors of science making their public debut, but behind the action was the then management of Matica hrvatska, the prestigious newspaper Obzor, and the glowing atmosphere of a large part of bourgeois Zagreb at the time of the graduation from the Banovina to the Independent State of Croatia. Those who knew something about language thought it is wiser to remain silent, although the beginners' careless writings on the differences between the two "languages" were left open to criticism many sides, both in terms of theoretical approach and detail. In Zagreb, no one warned the authors that there could be variation in the same literary language and that every existence of differences cannot be taken as proof that they are two languages. No one dared to tell these young people that they were misled, claiming that *blagdan, katedrala, latica, nakon (toga), nekretnine, pilana, sklad* or *tečaj* were exclusively Croatian

words, and that on the other hand typical forms for "Serbian literary language" were *blizo* (while "Croatian" is *blizu*), *bojno* slepilo ("color blindness"), *bojce* (and "Croatian" *možda, valjda*), *dijanje* ("Croatian" *disanje*), *duš* ("Croatian" *tuš*), *dvared* ("Croatian" *dvaput*), *civican* ("Croatian" *vrabac*) or *đenijalan* ("Croatian" *genialan*). It was ominous that the frightened silence of Croatian linguists hinted at even more difficult times. Over Europe, and over our country as well, the long shadow of Adolf Hitler was looming.

Under Ustasha rule, while the expertly incited hatred bore bloody fruit, violence against the language continued. The *State Directorate for Promotion* published an official list of proscribed "Serbian" words, and at the same time new words were invented in long phalanges to strengthen the distinctiveness of the Croatian language. The currents of history were pushed backwards in orthography as well. The enactment of the clumsy and impractical *basic orthography* had no other purpose than to take another revenge on Karadžić and his compatriots.

The circumstances after the Second World War and the revolution enabled each environment to rely on its own tradition in language practice. Equality was also adopted as a principle, embodied in the double publication of the federal constitution and other legal texts in parallel in the eastern and western versions (along with the Slovenian and Macedonian versions). This dualism, which somewhat neglected the language situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro, could still be defended, not only by the need to keep the number of authentic versions of legal documents purposefully limited, but also by the fact that literary language in these republics did not have significant features known to one, or another polarized variant, and that all types of our literary language were nevertheless completely understandable to all its speakers. Most importantly, in the atmosphere of the fragile fraternity that set the tone for Yugoslav politics at the time, no one even raised the question of any Bosnian or Montenegrin linguistic specificity.

Equality alone is not enough to erase the problems that arise from everyday communication with each other. In what linguistic form will the text of an author from another region be published? What measure of language adaptation will be required in the workplace from an employee transferred from another environment? Countless life situations charged with human sensitivity obliged people to think about solutions. The solution can be approached here every time from a greater or lesser expansiveness. Either we will listen or read the individual in the

way he is used to speaking or writing, or we will demand adaptation. This does not mean that the acceptance is always and unconditionally justified. The teacher of the mother tongue in primary school will certainly perform his vocation more adequately if he teaches the children the kind of literary language that is common in their surroundings. Of course, on the whole, the degree of tolerance of a collective towards a different type of the same language depends mainly on the emotional attitude towards the environment that uses that type. Dilemmas of this kind were joined in our country in the first post-war years by the confusion created by the number of orthographies. In 1951 the tenth edition of Boranić's orthography was published in Zagreb and in 1952 Belić's orthography in Belgrade was revised and, as the third in the field of the same language, Vuković's orthography was published in Sarajevo.

The initiative for a broad discussion on language and orthography originated in 1953 from the *Annals* of the Matica srpska. The answers given to the *Annals* survey by people from various professions, writers and linguists, marked the possibilities for progress in language policy, but they also marked the limits of those possibilities. It turned out that there were conditions for the introduction of common orthography, as well as the mood to leave the door open to mutual linguistic fluctuation and enrichment, but that it would be completely wrong to try to remove one of the two alphabets or one of the two pronunciations of literary language. This view was then shaped by the conclusions of the Novi Sad Agreement of 1954, which proclaimed the equality of both alphabets and both pronunciations, demanding that both Serbs and Croats study both alphabets equally in schools, and stating that it was necessary "to stop the establishment of barriers to the Croato-Serbian literary language", and especially "to prevent the harmful appearance, 'translation' of texts, and respect the original texts of writers". In addition to creating a common orthography, the conclusions of the action program included common terminology and a dictionary of literary language that would be developed by the two Maticas.

Quite independently of the positions of the Novi Sad Agreement on the Equality of the Alphabets, a process that began a long time before continued in the post-war period, gaining more and more momentum. The Latinic alphabet increasingly supplanted the Cyrillic alphabet in many regions and in many uses. The beginnings of that change date back to the last decades of the nineteenth century. Until then, the use of two alphabets was clearly linked to religion: Latinic was a

symbol of Catholics and Cyrillic was Orthodox, but Muslims also had a certain tradition of Cyrillic, which originated in an earlier era when the Cyrillic area covered Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole, regardless of religious confession. With the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a stronger penetration of Latinic into that area began, certainly in accordance with the intentions of the occupiers, but to a large extent and spontaneously with the influx of people from Croatian regions who went there as public servants. The withdrawal of the Cyrillic alphabet in Croatia itself went hand in hand with the abolition of separate Serbian schools and the decline of special Serbian publishing activities. New blows were inflicted on the Cyrillic alphabet through its banning by the Austro-Hungarian authorities during the First World War and the Ustasha rulers in the Independent State of Croatia. Despite the influence of these factors, the geography of the use of our alphabets has constantly evolved, always in the same direction, favored by modern social integration. Latinic has made the biggest strides forward in those areas where Serbs live mixed with other peoples: among Serbs in Croatia, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Vojvodina, in the Kosovo region, and even to some extent in Belgrade itself. In Vojvodina, the process is not older than the First World War. Until then, Serbs in that area, writing in their own language only for their own needs, consistently used Cyrillic, but when Serbo-Croatian became the official language, the border between texts intended for Vojvodinian Serbs and Croats began to be erased and Serbo-Croatian began to be used, also among members of other nations with a Latin alphabet tradition. In a similar way, in the Kosovo-Metohija region, Serbo-Croatian Latinic conquered the terrain as a compromise between the language of some and the alphabet of others, while the Latinic alphabet moved to Belgrade with people from the western regions, brought to the capital of the common state as public servants. In other words, the spread of Latinic was accelerated by the practical needs of communication in all areas where members of other nations live who use only the Latin alphabet, and sometimes the desire on the Serbian side to create bridges between Serbs and those other nations. In that way, the zone of relatively consistent use of the Cyrillic alphabet was reduced to the so-called narrower Serbia (without Belgrade) and Montenegro (without the coast). After all, the advancement of Latinic reflects the prestige of the international alphabet and the great world languages written in it, and the usefulness of contacts, business and otherwise,

with foreigners who write Latinic (contacts with Russians, intense until the First World War, weakened in the interwar period, and again after 1948 to an extent). Thus, Serbia and Montenegro as a whole turned into a two-alphabetic zone with elements of functional differentiation of the two alphabets. Latinic was far more common in Belgrade's business companies than in governmental institutions, on typewriters than in printed books, in professional literature than in school textbooks, and in literary magazines than in the daily press. Among the fortresses of the Latinic alphabet were traffic signs, a good part of the yellow press, trade labels and film and television credits and subtitles. Latinic, therefore, was consolidated in all types of texts intended for communication with "others", which meant with Yugoslavs from the western parts of the country and possibly with foreigners, while the most impenetrable strongholds of Cyrillic were in those branches of use where abandoning it would require major political decision of the authorities: in primary schools and in the daily press. Such a decision has not been made so far and obviously will not be in the near future. However, it would not be realistic to deny that the penetration of the Latin alphabet was favored by the goodwill of people who saw in it an act of getting closer to the Croats, a painless, silent concession, a step on the way to ever more complete unity. It was evaluated in the appropriate place: "The anti-Cyrillic attitude is one of the typical distinctive features of unitarism," wrote Dalibor Brozović.

The work that the Novi Sad Agreement put experts in charge of was done slowly, sometimes with tension or with bitter controversy, and not all of it was done. Even the most achievable result, a common orthography, had to wait for years. It appeared in 1960, in two versions, Cyrillic Ekavian in the edition of Matica srpska and Latinic Ekavian issued by Matica hrvatska (this decision, respecting equality in principle, by virtue of objective circumstances gives the Zagreb version an advantage in the nationally mixed area of Bosnia and Herzegovina). Most of the differences between Belić's and Boranić's norms were eliminated by the new orthography as a rule by adopting Vuk's, or Boranić's, solutions. However, the unification did not reach completeness: in two or three cases, the duality was maintained because neither side in the mixed commission was ready to give in. The most striking difference, the one in writing the future (*radiću* or *radit ću*), has become a symbol of the difference between Serbian and Croatian orthographic usage. As for the dictionary of literary language, it cannot be done

quickly by the nature of things and the work was slowed down by a complicated work procedure, necessary to ensure an equal share of both parts of the joint editorial board and mutual agreement on every detail in the final text. Thus, it was not until the end of 1967 that the first two books of the dictionary were published, again in a double edition. In Zagreb, these books were greeted with bursts of fierce criticism, from the side of the Zagreb co-publisher, the Matica hrvatska. The criticism was that the dictionary did not sufficiently emphasize the differences between the variants of the literary language and that in the processing of the material, the lexicon from specific surroundings was not consistently given priority in each edition. There were also attempts to show, on the basis of some trivialities, that the Croats were at a disadvantage in relation to the Serbs, although there were also insignificant examples to the contrary. In order to discredit the dictionary as a whole, weaknesses and errors in the details of the processing were sought and dramatized. It was forgotten that some of our dictionaries could be ridiculed with those same criteria, especially the monumental Dictionary of Croatian or Serbian Language published by the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, which is the most comprehensive and valuable of the existing dictionaries of our language. Even that dictionary does not mark the variant affiliation of the word and there are proportionally more errors in it than in the dictionary of the two Maticas—which, after all, comes to fill a painful and shameful void in our culture: there is no book that is more necessary for a culture than a dictionary of this kind and we, from our beginnings to this day, have not created one for ourselves. After sharp debates in public, the Maticas reached a compromise in January 1969 in Zagreb, according to which further processing of the dictionary was significantly adjusted to the requirements of Zagreb critics. In February 1969, a joint commission of the two Maticas stylized and signed conclusions on this, firmly adhering to the wording of a Zagreb meeting and in March 1969 the Matica hrvatska rejected those conclusions, asking the Matica srpska to accept its maximum demands, those that had not passed at the Zagreb meeting. When the Matica srpska did not accept that, the Matica hrvatska announced to the world that the Novi Sad partner was terminating cooperation. Then it became clear that no one seriously attached importance to the details in the dictionary, and that the mood against the creation of a common dictionary had simply prevailed in the Matica hrvatska. Thus, the only thing left for the Matica srpska was to continue the work it had started.

The preparation of terminological dictionaries had started with a great delay, only in 1964, on the initiative of Matica srpska, but the meetings showed that efforts in that direction had no prospects. Delegates came with completely different intentions and mandates: some to work on harmonization (to the once imagined unification, everyone had raised their hands), and others to primarily affirm the uniqueness of their region. So the action quietly died down.

But let us return, after this brief review of the outcome of the actions initiated by the Novi Sad Agreement, to the turning point around 1964 and 1965. Disagreements accumulated in other areas of life increasingly poured into conversations and activities around the language. Disagreements also erupted over the interpretation of the Novi Sad Agreement itself. Some wanted to justify the pressure it entailed, in the sense of the most complete unification, in the deceptive belief that it could be useful even if it is not wholeheartedly accepted on all sides. Others, again, gradually switched from a defensive stance to an offensive, increasingly emphasizing differences. The applause of the laypeople became louder and louder, rewarding the energetic performances of linguists under the national flag. Croatian language experts became the first combat detachment of a growing mood of national self-awareness and exclusivity. Every occasion was good for the audience to be presented with the evils of the current situation and the ominous intentions of the other side, and one part of the public, in the tide of upset, constantly asked their heroes for new feats. Demands for emancipation from unification became increasingly radical.

In March 1967 the Declaration on the Name and Position of the Croatian Literary Language came from a wide range of Croatian linguists and writers, demanding that "Croatian" and "Serbian" be declared independent literary languages by the constitution in order to eliminate inequalities in the "Croatian literary language." In addition, the Declaration called for the "consistent application of the Croatian literary language in education, journalism, public and political life when it comes to the Croatian population"—which means outside Croatia—but at the same time "officials, teachers and public workers, regardless where they come from, officially use the language of the environment in which they operate", which, in addition to legitimizing intolerance, would obviously include the obligation of Serbs in Croatia to use the "Croatian" literary language.

Reflecting on the text of the Declaration, we cannot help but get the impression that it contains a weak explanation for the major steps it proposed. The neglect of Croatian language expression in certain federal institutions and services, in film magazines and various administrative forms was mentioned, and it was not said that these are phenomena of completely secondary importance that did not endanger anyone or anything, nor that equality of the two basic variants is important. That language equality had already been achieved by then, among other things thanks to decentralization, which put the majority of affairs in the jurisdiction of the republics, municipalities and individual companies. The Declaration illustrates its explanation by referring to the fact that the conclusions of the fifth assembly of the Association of Yugoslav Composers were published "in Serbian, Slovenian and Macedonian versions, as if the Croatian literary language did not exist at all or was identical with the Serbian literary language." It is indeed recommendable that one finds, among the authentic texts, one from the Zagreb editorial offices (sometimes, after all, such a text appeared, but not the one in the eastern version). But is it really so fatefully important that the board of every association prints its decisions in several versions, when the press reports such texts linguistically adapted anyway, if it finds it worthwhile to publish them? And couldn't such shortcomings be remedied by other, less far-reaching interventions? Even if we accept that the authors of the Declaration thought some things were bigger than they are, we remain confused by the disproportion between the diagnosed disease and the proposed remedy. It is clear that the long paragraph on inequality did not show the deepest motives of the initiators of the Declaration. These motives were more clearly seen elsewhere in the text, above all in the statement of "the inalienable right of every nation to call its language by its own name, regardless of whether it is a philological phenomenon or not… or belongs to another nation". That right really should not be disputed, but it is usually not realized where several peoples use the same language. Thus there are no names for the Austrian language, or Australian, or Argentine, or Brazilian, or Libyan. Insisting on the separation of the name of the language indicates an emotional attitude, the desire to mark the inequality as much as possible, to distance oneself from the consciousness of one's people and from the face of the world. The consequences that the Declaration drew from its own views are not without significance. To the Serbs in Croatia, with a solemn appeal to

the inalienable right of each people to its own linguistic name, it imposed the language name of another nation along with linguistic secession from its own people. The Linguistic Union would perform a role that the Church Union could not perform. At the same time, the Declaration called for the penetration of the "Croatian literary language" into Bosnia and Herzegovina. In other words, Croats outside Croatia would get what was denied to other peoples in Croatia.

Behind the timely condemnation of the Declaration, the moments we talked about here were attained, clearly named or implicitly covered. But the idea of declaring a special Croatian literary language turned into an abyss for a moment, and then came to the surface again in the light of public debates and initiatives. Proponents of language separation came to the fore again, appearing timidly at first, but soon bolder, though again often with regional arguments. Fear of political reprisals limited their field of movement. Perhaps because of that, they themselves did not resist the temptation to spare the supporters of Linguistic Unity the label of unitarism, statism and hegemony, common at that political moment in Croatia.

Among the reasons for separation was the alleged danger of the Serbian version invading Croatia, although it had long been clear that there was no such danger and that the very thought that in the current circumstances anyone could impose any linguistic change on Croats was frivolous. The strongest evidence for the existence of such a danger was the decision of the Zagreb radio station in 1956 to broadcast one news program every day in the Ekavian version, which was canceled a few months later due to violent protests. This case, small in itself and characterized primarily by its outcome, was long out of date and even unthinkable under the changed circumstances, but it was persistently mentioned countless times.

The theory was also presented that the separation of languages was necessary because life in modern society requires the regulation of standard language. Such a need does exist, but standardization is never absolute. In all languages, the norms are set to allow duplicates in certain details. In the case of the common Serbo-Croatian norm, there were relatively more of them, but this situation did not seriously jeopardize the communicative function of the language, the one that makes standardization necessary. If there was any damage, it was small, infinitely smaller than the one brought about by the breakup of the community—if we care about the community (and if we don't care,

then that is a real and sufficient reason for separation). Even from the point of view of the communicative function of language itself, the damage from separation is greater: it interrupts the enrichment of language by the flow of words, turnabouts and semantic nuances from one environment to another. In addition, when it comes to the utilitarian side of the issue, the rift between the two cultural spheres forces both sides to do many jobs on their own, with a senseless waste of already small forces. And finally—aren't there ways to introduce variant norms without declaring language splitting where there is room for them? Wasn't that practically even implemented in Croatia?

The argument about the inequality towards Serbs in which the Serbo-Croatian language community put Croats is not convincing either. If Croats as members of that community were unequal to anyone, then it was not to Serbs, who were in the same position as them, but to Slovenes and Macedonians who have their own languages.

The obvious fact that Serbo-Croatian is one language led the supporters of its separation into two to claim that it is linguistically one, but that the Croatian literary language of course *functions* as a separate language and is *subjectively* realized as such. This can only be true if the word "language" is given a meaning that it does not have, as evidenced by the existence of language distinctions—variant and language—dialects. The American variant of English in the United States has all the legal prerogatives that Croatian has in Croatia, and yet it has not been proclaimed as a separate language. Documents originating in England are not translated in court because it is unnecessary, and it would be superfluous in Croatia to make certified translations of documents from Serbia. And subjectively, Americans feel that their language type is their variant of a larger language. They know that English, Canadians, Australians and so many others *speak the same language*, but in a different version, and so they accept the English spoken by members of those nations. In order for a Serb to think of Croatian as a foreign language, or for a Croat to think that of the Serbian language, it is necessary for them to preoccupied with a certain attitude from the outset.

The only serious—but therefore very serious—argument for the separation of the Croatian literary language is that the right to one's own language is the sovereign right of every people and that the Croatian people see in linguistic specificity the confirmation of their national individuality. If this is so, that fact must be respected. The only condition that can and must be emphasized here is that the realization of the

rights of one people does not interfere with the corresponding rights of other peoples.

In 1971, the federal constitution stipulated that joint legal documents would be published in versions for each republic, with the republics themselves deciding on those versions and their names. In Croatia, the name "Croatian language" has been made official, while Serbs in Croatia have been granted the right to the Serbian language in principle. This decision is still pending. The character of that language remains to be seen in everyday use. It is probable that it will be Jekavian, and it is very likely that it will differ in many details from the Croatian literary language. However, of all the dialects spoken in Croatia today, the closest to that literary language in Croatia is that of eastern Herzegovina, which was introduced into Croatia by the Serbs. All the other dialects are not Shtokavian: they are either Ikavian or Ekavian, and there is the language of Dubrovnik which is different in so many features. However, this does not mean that Serbs in Croatia have always been close to what exists today in the Croatian literary language. Quite naturally, they will continue to find foreign the expulsion of Serbisms, and at the same time the introduction of new expressions that are supposed to confirm the specialness of the Croatian language by increasing the distance to Serbian. They must also find strange the numerous coinages introduced in the nineteenth century by cultural workers with a linguistic sense different from Shtokavian because their mother tongue was Kajkavian or Chakavian, or perhaps even Czech, German or Slovak. Judging by the language in *Prosvjeta*, so far the only magazine of Serbs in Croatia, they do not accept forms such as *vol* or *sol* instead of *vo* or *so*, or *tko* instead of *ko*, which is not widespread in today's Shtokavian Jekavian dialects, which were domesticated by the Croats whose native dialects were different. The names of the months such as *siječanj* and *veljača* are alien to Serbian vernaculars. Finally, it is quite understandable that Catholic Serbs use their own ecclesiastical terminology: so *krst*, *sveštenik* instead of Croatian *križ*, *svećenik*. It turns out that there is a lot in common between the linguistic reality of Serbs in Croatia and Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These are, of course, observations that can be made by authoritative observation and it will be up to the Serbs in Croatia to determine the exact physiognomy of their literary and official language. For now, the democratic and professional meritorious procedure for making that determination has yet to be found.

The changes in Croatia have put the other three Serbo-Croatian-speaking republics in a new situation. The basic dilemma of each of them is whether to follow the example in isolation or to stay in the community. One or the other position determined which name of the language would be used in each area, what its character would be and to what extent its standardization and administrative regulations would allow the flux of language elements from other republics.

The severance of linguistic unity confronted Bosnia and Herzegovina with a new entanglement of problems that seemingly concerned only everyday language practices, but whose national political implications were profound. Therefore, the fiercest resistance to the disintegration process came from that republic until it finally went its own way, despite all opposition. The public there opposed the exclusion of others. Linguistic tolerance was given the rank of a basic principle and when the practical acceptance of language separation in Croatia became a reality that could not be avoided, Bosnia and Herzegovina's first reaction was to refuse to participate in the business of language parceling. The idea of creating a special language variant was rejected and openness towards both sides was confirmed, without which the atmosphere would become suffocating in an environment where almost two thirds of the population are Serbs and Croats. It was established that the eastern and western variants in Bosnia permeated and neutralized, but that the Bosnian-Herzegovinian practice had certain predilections in some cases. By insisting on the dual name of the language, the view that it is two languages was implicitly condemned. The equality of both dual names, "Serbo-Croatian" and "Croatian-Serbian", was explicitly confirmed. That was a novelty for the situation there, because the name Serbo-Croatian had long been ensconced there as the neutral name of the language.[1] The cumbersome "Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian" combination, in which both basic names appear twice, remained the only possible incarnation of consistent equality. In that vein, the aspiration was proclaimed for Cyrillic to become equal to Latin again. In recent times, with the constant emphasis on attitudes about tolerance, the affirmation of linguistic autochthony is talked about more and more loudly. Some people, whose vast horizons once exceeded all divisions,

[1] This name was introduced as an official one during the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Dalmatia, at the end of the nineteenth century, the name "Serbo-Croatian" was adopted as the official name of the language.

turned to their inner circle when they realized that the events left their generosity behind. In addition, the everyday life of the school, the administration and the press realistically requires a certain specification of the character of the language that will be used. However, there is also the fact that the impassioned defense of autochthony slightly narrows the width of the door open to the east and west. A decision was also made to ban Ekavian pronunciation in teaching in primary and secondary schools.

In Montenegro in 1969 a small group of patriots of strong national passion came out for the first time in history with the idea of a separate Montenegrin language. This idea lacks a linguistic basis: in the literary language used in Montenegro there are no significant features unknown elsewhere. If we say that the most striking Montenegrin peculiarity is the use of the form *nijesam* instead of *nisam*, it is also clear what small details we are talking about. It is difficult to juxtapose the "Montenegrin" language to "Serbian", but also because the Montenegrin situation is in the middle between that in Serbia and that of Serbs in the western areas: on the one hand there is Cyrillic and the dominance of Eastern vocabulary, and on the other Jekavian pronunciation. Fighters for the separation of the Montenegrin literary language refer to phenomena in Montenegrin vernaculars, not distinguishing between the concepts of literary language and dialect and ignoring the fact that internal dialectal differences in Montenegro are sharp and deep, so that some dialects are very close to Vuk's literary language, and some extremely far from it. After all, we should not forget so quickly that Montenegro is not the only area where dialectal features can be found. They are everywhere and even deviations from the Serbo-Croatian literary language are greater in many parts than anywhere else in Montenegro. Scholarly seriousness is especially lacking in the claim that was recently made with great zeal, that Vuk actually gave the Serbs—the Montenegrin language. Such a conclusion is opposed by whole processions of facts, including the following:

- the area of the Vuk type of the East Herzegovinian dialect includes not only today's northwestern Montenegro, but also a large part of Bosnia and Herzegovina and western Serbia all the way to the Valjevo mountains and the Ibar valley;
- Vuk, like his father, was born in Tršić, Serbia, and his family was only in the third generation from Drobnjak;

- even then, according to Vuk's testimony, there was a noticeable difference between a number of details between the Tršić and Drobnjak dialects;
- the clan of Drobnjak, as well as the rest of today's Montenegro where East Herzegovinian is spoken, was then outside the Montenegrin borders and those areas were not called Montenegro at that time;
- Vuk himself emphasized his Herzegovinian origin many times;
- he indebted our dialectology with the first systematic observations on the dialects of the then Montenegro, presenting long lists of differences according to the Herzegovinian dialect;
- and finally, in Vuk's time, all Montenegrins considered themselves Serbs, as the greatest poet of the Serbian struggle for freedom, Vuk's contemporary Njegoš, testified most eloquently.

The ideas of the warriors for the special Montenegrin language met with fierce resistance among Montenegrins, primarily in the most competent circles, among language teachers. It was said that there are no such peculiarities, that it should not be created by force, and that the literary language in Montenegro is part of the Serbo-Croatian literary language. By the way, voices were heard reminding everyone that before the adoption of the common Serbo-Croatian name in Montenegro, the name "Serbian language" was adopted and that it was the official language of the former independent Montenegro.

In Serbia, there was, one would say, the least reaction to the reality created by the Croatian abandonment of literary and linguistic unity. It is certainly not to be regretted that there were no fast and dramatic moves. That alone does not stop the need to, in a reasonable way, without haste, make decisions about the many dilemmas, and then bear down to complete the tasks that await us. In thinking about this, language experts, writers and other cultural creators are invited to participate, as well as the bearers of political responsibility and the wider public in general. The lines that follow should be understood as a contribution to the search for our decisions.

III. THE CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS

There is only one right approach to public affairs. That is complete and consistent democracy. Without it, there is no humanism or ethics, and no healthy, lasting solutions that do not cause us to repent for them.

Applied to our circumstances, this means that decisions made by Croats in Croatia must be respected. If we leave the door open for their return to the community, we have no right to drag them through that door. We must also be aware that it is the right of Croats in Vojvodina, Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Muslims, Montenegrins, and all others to resolve their language issues as they wish. It goes without saying, of course, that the constitution of the Croatian language for Croats in Croatia must go hand in hand with the constitution of the Serbian language for Serbs in the same republic, with all the consequences that occur in education, administration, and culture. Furthermore, we must not forget that there are two basic types of literary language amongst the Serbs, Ekavian and Ijekavian, and that they differ somewhat in their lexicon, and that there are different attitudes regarding the use of the two alphabets. It would be wrong to try to impose Ekavian or other Eastern linguistic features on Jekavian Serbs, just as it would be unnecessary to ask whether other nations that history has not burdened with such differentiation are more fortunate.

The obligation not to impose anything on others does not mean the right to forget about them. Due to our state and legal division, we Serbs are in a more complex position than most other nations. Most Serbs live outside the basic political unit of the Serbian people, the one usually called Serbia proper. A cursory review of the situation in Europe is enough to understand that the corresponding percentage is not so high in any other European nation, if we disregard the extremely exceptional circumstances in which the Basques and Catalans live. All the more imperative is the task of preserving what is understood on in other places—the integrity of our culture. The cultural connection between the members of the same nation is part of the fund of elementary national rights. As a historical category, the nation is older than borders (between countries and others), and no one has the right to ask a country to renounce its national culture as the common good of all parts of the nation due to the existing, historically conditioned territorial division of a country. In the field of our culture, there is no task that would be more basic than preserving the cultural unity of the Serbs. If we failed, the potential of Serbian culture would remain less than the potential of the Serbian people, and parts of that people would turn into the cultural colonies of others or culturally lag behind in the suffocating anguish of regional enclosure. (Let me mention, by the way, that our second fundamental task in the field of culture is to make sure that

every Serbian child finally receives primary schooling, and everyone who has the ability to get a complete education; without this, our culture will remain deprived of the contribution of those people who fail because they are uneducated.)

We cannot rule out the possibility that certain groups of people, for example, in the circle of those cultural workers who are affected by connections and hierarchical duplicity, will find their interest in disrupting the unity of Serbian culture. They can refer to the fact that people in every environment are connected with each other, regardless of their nationality. This truth is indisputable and must be respected, but it does not exclude the right of people to the normal actualization of their affinity for what belongs to their nation. In this duality lies the essence of complex situations in which ethnicity does not coincide with state law. In a democratic society, there must be places for the participation of all branches of a nation in a common culture, at the same time as in the cultural community of citizens of the surroundings. If there is more democracy, both goals are achieved more simply, more spontaneously, and with fewer problems, as something that normally arises from the rights that belong to all people.

The integrity of Serbian culture is not helped by our double division, the alphabetic one and the one in the dialects of the literary language. From this reality, difficult consequences can emerge unnoticed, such as the Eastern and Western Serbs not reading each others' texts, which would lead to a split in Serbian culture. It takes a lot of wisdom and constant vigilance to prevent this. Any exclusivity, indifference, or negligence can easily have negative consequences for us. It is necessary for the truth that the Serbs have two alphabets to reach every Serb. Cyrillic and Latinic, and two dialects of the literary language, Ekavian and Jekavian, and that we should all know, love and nurture both alphabets and both dialects. The task of our schools is to instill awareness and knowledge about all this in every student, and it is up to the cultural workers to explain this to our public.

The Serbs are one of the few nations in the world with two alphabets. Cyrillic is our traditional alphabet and one of our basic national symbols, and Latinic is a newer heritage, but already firmly domesticated and completely established. It is very important that Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and those in Croatia do not move away from Cyrillic and that the current program statements on the rehabilitation of Cyrillic in those areas are really carried out, but it is also important

not to exaggerate the affirmation of Cyrillic in Serbia in such a way as to impoverish Serbia by removing the Latinic alphabet. To the extent that all literate Serbs know both alphabets equally, it is a precious national capital—a ticket to all the most important cultural spheres of our era. But to the extent that Serbs use only one or only the other alphabet, it becomes a difficult obstacle that inevitably alienates members of the same nation. This, of course, does not mean that it is time to decide to sacrifice one of the two alphabets—although it is not excluded that the future will put such a task on the agenda. For now, there are major arguments on both sides that cannot be ignored. Cyrillic is defended by the living tradition and habit in much of Serbia, by the awareness of it as a symbol of the nation, and a warm emotional attitude towards it; meanwhile amongst Serbs in areas where Latinic is more common today, there is a need to preserve continuity with our cultural heritage (including the existing catalogue of books) and connections with Russian culture, and with our Macedonian fellow citizens and Bulgarian neighbors. In addition, there is the perfection of Vuk's Cyrillic alphabet, which writes Serbo-Croatian more adequately than Latinic, without using diacritics or double letters. On the Latinic side are our ties with all the cultures of Western and Central Europe and the whole of America, and ultimately almost all the rest of the non-European world. There are also business necessities and the need for foreigners to come across such inscriptions that they will be able to read. But much more than that, there is contact with Croats and Muslims, and above all, the fact that Latinic has taken root amongst a significant number of Serbs in a way that excludes the possibility that they could easily leave it. All this obliges us to nurture both alphabets equally. Every literate Serb—and it is high time for every Serb to be literate—must be prepared and accustomed to reading both alphabets without prejudice and without difficulty. Only under that condition can our bilingualism be a treasured passport to two wide worlds, and not a terrible blow to our culture, dividing us and splitting us apart.

Of course, we cannot be thrilled with the discrimination against the Ekavian dialect that is practiced in some places outside Serbia, but that must not lead us to do anything that would mean violence against the linguistic freedom of the individual, or create a gap between the Ekavian and Jekavian speakers of Serbia. And from now on, we should respect the right of Jekavians in our environment to use their dialect—at work, in publications, in schools… Let us continue to nurture the brilliant

tradition of vivid Jekavian expression. In terms of the richness of the language, other Serbs will always have something to learn from Vuk's folk poetry, from Vuk himself, from Njegoš, from Ljubiša and Matavulj, from Mostarac and Kočić, but no less than our contemporaries, so strongly present in current Serbian literature. The fresh inspiration of Jekavian eloquence must preserve its place in the textbooks of our students, on the pages of our magazines, and in the editions of Serbian publishers. Jekavian should not be ignored by dictionaries, grammars, and orthographies that will be published in our country in the future. Language manuals are now being prepared in Croatia that will not address the Ekavian pronunciation; that is not an example that we should follow. All such manuals that we will publish must be usable everywhere in the Serbian environment, and beyond.

Of course, not only would the isolationism of Serbia be harmful, but also the eventual isolationism of Serbs as a whole towards other partners in the Serbo-Croatian language sphere. There is no reason why it would be appropriate to deprive oneself of the benefits of cultural reciprocity. And even as a policy, isolation has never been an act of wisdom. Let us not, therefore, cultivate or codify the linguistic inconsistencies that exist; let all the doors for influences remain open, at least on our part, without any condition of reciprocity. Contrary to the naïve belief of the Philistines, the act of linguistic primacy is won primarily by those who receive. This act is a step forwards both in pushing the boundaries of the expressive ability of language, and in the aspect of getting closer to others. If we really want others to be close to us, there is only one way to contribute to that: to get closer to them instead of waiting for them to do so. Let us not succumb to the primitive harshness of a word that is not "ours." The moment we adopt it, it will become ours. Therefore, let us take from the linguistic treasure of others what enriches us, and let them take from us if they want to. If someone has decided to impoverish his language by expelling Serbs from it, our interest (and our dignity) requires us not to follow such an example, and, therefore, to avoid in the future the linguistic adjustment of texts written for our newspapers and magazines by authors from other parts of the Serbo-Croatian language area.

Everything that has been said here is strikingly reminiscent of the provisions of the Novi Sad Agreement. That agreement is, of course, dead as a document that would bind us, just because it was terminated

by the other side, but its principles are independent of the abandoned agreement, good and useful for anyone who adheres to them.

There is no reason to give up the concrete fruits of the period of cooperation after the Novi Sad Agreement. It is true, however, that the concessions made by the Serbian side during the settlement of the compromise orthography brought in some details solutions worse than the previous ones, but when the change has already been made, when the educational apparatus and proofreaders' red pens managed to get the audience used to the new orthography with their efforts during the whole decade, it would be meaningless to break people's habits again, create insecurity and confusion in orthography practice. The damage from the act of changing the orthography is much greater than the small improvements we would get, even when we do not have in mind that it would unnecessarily distance us from the neighboring republics. As for the vocabulary of the two Maticas, it is a work valuable for our culture, regardless of the slips in the details that it really has in previous volumes. It is good that Matica srpska will complete that work (and, in all likelihood, with the improvement of the quality of production in further volumes), but once the dictionary is ready, it will be necessary to start making a smaller, more convenient dictionary with a larger circulation. The expediency of including material from Croatian sources in that dictionary can be disputed, but it is certain that it should include the entire lexical fund used by Serbs in the literary language, wherever they lived. And that dictionary would have to respect the equality of Ekavian and Ijekavian forms, and it would be reasonable to publish it at the same time in both Serbian alphabets.

Of the work tasks formulated in the Novi Sad Agreement, only the one related to the development of terminological dictionaries of all professions remained completely unfulfilled. However, it should be done, of course, not because of a dead-end agreement, but because such vocabularies are very necessary for our society. We can accomplish this task, which is huge and complex in itself, easier than it could be done in the way the Orthography and Dictionary are composed, in a complex and inefficient parity procedure complicated by constant guessing and stretching around details. However, this does not relieve us of the duty to cover more widely everything that is in use amongst Serbs, with equal treatment of the two dialects, and perhaps in parallel editions, Cyrillic and Latinic, which would be equal in everything except the alphabet. If our generation did that, it would solve not only

one of its problems, but it would also indebt the future with new editions or new works only following the further development of terminology resulting from the progress of the professions themselves. We must, in addition, think of one, albeit much smaller, but still important task: to create a modern, scientifically based and accessibly written and practical grammar of our language for a wider audience.

It is certain that the language manuals we have listed would be used outside Serbia, and it would be good if, in the case of collective affairs, experts or institutions from other republics cooperated on them. For now, there is no chance that anyone from Croatia (except, perhaps, Serbs there) will be engaged, but the participation of people from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro could probably be counted on. In general, any cooperation in language matters with anyone who wants such cooperation would be mutually beneficial. This is especially true for terminological dictionaries, which are expensive both materially and by engaging the working hours of elite personnel of each profession, which excludes the chance that these dictionaries could be developed separately in each republic. Of course, if there was no desire for cooperation somewhere, any pressure would be even more harmful than in vain.

It remains for us to address the most delicate question, that of the name of our language. It is at the same time Serbian, because Serbs speak it, and Serbo-Croatian, because others speak it. In everyday informal speech, it will still often be called simply Serbian, and in narrowly professional philological publications, especially abroad, the name "Serbo-Croatian" will certainly survive all the dilemmas and decisions of our era. We must define, however, after what has happened in Croatia, what to call the language in schools and in official use. (Of course, there are no more problems for Serbs in Croatia: on the ground where Croatian is officially considered a special language, Serbs are left with only Serbian.)

The suitability of the Serbo-Croatian language name is somewhat reduced by the act of separating one of the partners in that compound, but the scientific justification of the name is not violated since the fundamental identity of the Serbian and Croatian languages is an objective fact, not a subjective option. In addition, that name still retains its value of the best neutral name so far, which reminds us that this language is used by more than one nation. Of all this, the fact that this name remains a pledge of the linguistic unity of Serbia with Montenegro

and Bosnia and Herzegovina is even more important. It is not in the interest of any of these republics to break this union; isolation is the worst thing that can happen to anyone interested. By withdrawing from the community, we would make the position of these republics more difficult and encourage them to seek solutions closer to isolationism. If, therefore, linguistic unity and cooperation and coordination of efforts remain a reality, there is reason for us to stick to the broader name, despite the advantages that the Serbian name of the language would carry as a national symbol sanctified by ancient use, and significantly as an element of national self-affirmation in the historical moment/point/era in which we are surviving. However, if it turns out that linguistic unity cannot be maintained, we would have to return to the Serbian name of the language, which, in the case of such a division, would be the only possible way out for all Serbs.

MOST IMPORTANT REFERENCES

WITH SECTION I: FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO VUK'S ERA

A. TEXT PUBLICATIONS (PARTIALLY ACCOMPANIED BY STUDIES OF THEIR LANGUAGE)

Богишић, Валтазар: *Народне пјесме из старијих највише приморских записа.* Књига прва с расправом о „бугарштицама" и с рјечником. Београд 1878.

Божић, Иван, Бранко Павићевић и Илија Синдик: *Паштровске исправе XVI—XVШ вијека.* Цетиње 1959.

Vego, Marko: *Zbornik srednjovjekovnih napisa Bosne i Hercegovine*, Knj. I—III, Sarajevo 1962—64.

Венцловић, Гаврило Стефановић: *Црни биво у срцу.* Предговор и избор Милорада Павића. Београд 1966.

Витковић, Гаврило: *Прошлост, установа и споменици угарских краљевих Шајкаша*. Гласник Српског ученог друштва 67. Београд 1887.

Витковић, Гаврило: *Споменици из будимског и пештанског архива.* I—II. Гласник Српског ученог друштва, Други одељак, књ. III и IV, Београд 1873.

Геземан, Герхард: *Ерлангенски рукопис српскохрватских народних песама.* Ср. Карловци 1925.

Даничић, Ђуро: *Књига Константина Философа о правопису.* Старине ЈАЗУ I, 1869.

Jagić, Vatroslav: *Gršković*ev *odlomak glagolskog apostola.* Starine JAZU 24, Zagreb 1893.

Јиречек, Константин: *Споменици српски.* Споменик СКА XI, Београд 1892.

Караџић, Вук. Стеф.: *Примјери српскословенскога језика*, Беч 1857.

Kukuljević, Ivan Sakcinski: *Acta croatica. Listine Hrvatske.* Zagreb 1863.

Маринковић, Радмила: *Српска Александрида*, Београд 1969.

Мартиновић, Нико, Ристо Ковијанић, Славко Мијушковић и Чедо Вуковић: *Предњегошевско доба.* Титоград 1963.

Miklosich, F.: *Monumenta serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosniae, Ragusii.* Viennae 1858.

Mošin, Vladimir: *Ćirilski rukopisi Jugoslavenske akademije.* I dio: Opis rukopisa. Zagreb 1955. II dio: Reprodukcije. Zagreb 1952.

Никчевић, Томица и Бранко Павићевић: *Црногорске исправе XVI—XIX вијека.* Цетиње 1964.

Новаковић, Стојан: *Законски споменици српских држава средњег века.* Београд 1912.

Новаковић, Стојан: *Примери књижевности и језика старога и српско-словенскога.* Треће изд. Београд 1904.

Орбин, Мавро: *Краљевство Словена.* Београд 1968.

Остојић, Тих., и В. Ћоровић: *Српска грађанска лирика XVIII века.* Београд — Ср. Карловци 1926.
Павловић, Миливој: *Примери историског развитка српскохрватског језика.* Београд 1956.
Пантић, Мирослав: *Народне песме у записима XV—XVШ века.* Београд 1964.
Поповић, Душан: *О Банату и становништву Баната у 17. веку*, Гласник историјског друштва у Новом Саду IV, 1931.
Поповић, Душан и Милица Богдановић: *Грађа за историју Београда од 1717 до 1739. Београд* 1938.
Пуцић, Медо: *Споменици србски* (одн., у II књ. *Споменици српски*). I—II, Београд 1858, 1862.
Радојчић, Никола: *Закон о рудницима деспота Стефана Лазаревић*. Београд 1962.
Радојчић, Никола: *Законик цара Стефана Душана*. Београд 1960.
Rački, Fr., V. Jagić i I. Črnčić: *Statuta lingua croatica conscripta*. Zagreb 1890.
Ringheim, Alan: *Eine altserbische Trojasage.* Prague-Upsal 1951.
Stari pisci hrvatski [kolekcija izdanja]. Izdaje Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu.
Стојановић, Љубомир: *Мирослављево јеванђеље.* Београд 1897.
Стојановић, Љубомир: *Старе српске повеље и писма.* Књига I. део 1—2. Београд — Сремски Карловци 1929, 1934.
Стојановић, Љубомир: *Стари српски записи и натписи*. 1—6. Београд 1902—1926.
Стојановић, Љубомир: *Стари српски роослови и летописи*. Ср. Карловии 1927.
Стојановић, Љубомир: *Стари српски хрисовуљи, акти, биографије, летописи, типици, поменици записи и др.* Споменик СКА II, 1890.
Fancev, Frańo: *Vatikanski hrvatski molitvenik i dubrovački psaltir.* Zagreb 1934.
Šurmin, Đuro: *Hrvatski spomenici,* sv. I (od godine 1100—1499). Zagreb 1898.

B. OTHER WORKS

Албин, Александар: *Језик новина Стефана Новаковића.* Нови Сад 1963.
Алексић, Радомир: *Језик Матије Антуна Рељковића.* Јужнословенски филолог IX, 1930, X, 1931.
Алексић, Радомир: *Прилози историји кајкавског дијалекта.* Јужнословенски филолог XVI, 1937.
Белић, Александар: *Историја српскохрватског језика,* књ. II/1: Речи са деклинацијом. II/2: Речи са конјугацијом. Београд 1969 (и неколико других издања).
Белић, Алексанлар: *Основи историје српскохрватског језика.* I. Фонетика. Београд 1960 (и неколико других издања).

Белић, Александар: *Учешће св. Саве и његове школе у стварању нове редакције српских ћирилских споменика.* Светосавски зборник, књ. I, Београд 1936.
van den Berk, C. A.: Y *a-t-il un substrat čakavien dans le dialecte de Dubrovnik.*'s-Gravenhage 1957.
Vaillant, André: *La langue de Dominko Zlatarić,* 1—*2*, Paris. 1928, 1931.
Vrana, Josip: *Da li je sačuvan original isprave Kulina bana.* Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta 2, Zagreb 1955.
Вукомановић, Славко: *Језик Стипана Марковића Марјиншића*. Београд 1971.
Грицкат, Ирена: *Белешке о језику Ђорђа Бранковића*, Зборник за филологију и лингвистику XIII/1, 1970.
Даничић, Ђуро: *Рјечник из књижевних старина српских.* I—III, Београд 1963—64.
Ђорђевић, Ђ.: *Матија Дивковић*. Глас СКА 52, 53, Београд 1896, 1898.
Ђорђић, Петар: *Историја српске ћирилице.* Београд 1971.
Đorđić, P., J. Hamm, A. Belić, Lj. Jonke, M. Stevanović, M. Hraste; *Jezik srpskohrvatski (hrvatskosrpski).* II. *Književni jezik.* Enciklopedija Jugoslavije 4, Zagreb 1960.
Zelić-Bućan, Benedikta: *Bosančica u srednjoj Dalmaciji.* Historijski arkiv, sv. 3, Split 1961.
Ивић, Алекса: *Теодор Јанковић-Миријевски у одбрану ћирилице*. Јужнословенски филолог XI, Београд 1931.
Ivić, Pavle: *O značenju izraza lingua seruiana i dubrovačkim dokumentima XV—XVIII veka*. Зборник за филологију и лингвистику XII, Нови Сад 1969.
Jagić, V.: *Život i rad Jurja Križanića*. Zagreb 1917.
Jagić, Vatroslav: *Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika*. Književnik 1, Zagreb 1864 (прештампано у: Izabrani kraći spisi V. J., Zagreb 1948).
Jagić, V.: *Historija književnosti naroda hrvatskoga i srbskoga*. Knjiga prva. Staro doba. Zagreb 1867.
Јовановић, Владан: *Гаврило Стефановић Венцловић.* Српски дијалектолошки зборник 2, Београд 1911.
Јовић, Душан: *О језику Закона о рудницима деспота Стефана Лазаревића.* Јужнословенски филолог XXVII, св. 3—4, 1968—9.
Kemura, S. i V. Ćorović: *Serbo-kroatische Dichtungen bosnischer Moslims aus dem XVII, XVIII. und XIX. Jahrhundert.* Sarajevo 1912.
Klaić, Nada: *Historijska podloga hrvatskoga glagoljaštva u X i XI stoljeću*. Slovo 15—16, 1965, 225—281.
Kombol, Mihovil: *Poviest hrvatske književnosti do narodnog preporoda.* Zagreb 1945.
Krstić, Kruno: *Latinica kod Hrvata*. Enciklopedija Jugoslavije 5, 1962.
Куљбакин, Ст. М.: *Палеографска и језичка испитивања о Мирослављевом јеванђељу.* Сремски Карловци 1925.

Kuna, Herta: *Jezik fra Filipa Laštrića, bosanskog franjevca XVIII vijeka*. Sarajevo 1967.
Kuna, Herta: *Jezičke karakteristike književnih djela Dositeja Obradovića*. Sarajevo 1970.
Leskien, A.: *Grammatik der serbo-kroatischen Sprache*. Heidelberg 1914.
Лесковац, Млален: *Српска књижевност у Војводини пре Велике сеобе*. (У књизи М. Лесковца На нашој постојбини I, Нови Сад 1951.)
Maretić, Tomislav: *Istorija hrvatskoga pravopisa latinskijem slovima*. Zagreb 1889.
Maretić, T.: *Jezik dalmatmskih pisaca XVIII. vijeka*. Rad JAZU 209, 1915, 211, 1916.
Maretić, T.: *Jezik slavonskijeh pisaca*. Rad JAZU 180, 1910.
Марковић, Светозар: *Језик Ивана Анчића* (босанског писца XVII века). Београд 1957 (Српски дијалектолошки зборник XIII).
Matešić, Josip: *Die Erlanger serbokroatische Liederhandschrift*. München 1959.
Медаковић, Дејан: *Графика српских штампаних књига XV—XVIII века*. Београд 1958.
Milčetić, Ivan: *Hrvatska glagoljska bibliografija*. Starine JAZU 33, Zagreb 1911.
Mladenović, Aleksandar: *Jezik Petra Hektorovića*. Novi Sad 1968.
Mladenović, Aleksandar: *O grafici i jeziku „Šibenske molitve"*, Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu XII/1, 1969.
Младеновић, Александар: *О језику летописа фра Николе Латинанина*. Научно друштво Босне и Херцеговине, Грађа књ. X, Сарајево 1961.
Младеновић, Александар: *О народном језику Јована Рајића*. Нови Сад 1964.
Младеновић, Александар: *Однос између домаћих и рускословенских елемената у књижевном језику код Срба пре његове вуковске стандардизације,* Зборник за филологију и лингвистику XII, 1969.
Младеновић, Александар: *Особине графије и језика путописа патријарха Арсенија* III *Црнојевића из 1682. године*. Зборник за филологију и лингвистику VIII, 1965.
Младеновић, Александар: *Прилог проучавању Орфелиновог језика*. Зборник за филологију и лингвистику III. 1960.
Младеновић, Александар: *Прилог проучавању развитка наше ћирилице*. Књижевност и језик XIII, 1965.
Mladenović, Aleksandar: *Prilog proučavanju čakavskih rukopisa iz Dalmacije. II. Grafija i ortografija „Života sv. Jeronima"*. Зборник за филологију и лингвистику VII, 1964.
Mladenović, Aleksandar: *Neka pedagoška tumačenja o narodnom jeziku prednjegoševske književnosti*. Jezik (Zagreb) XVI, sv. 5, (1969) [и поново о томе: Jezik XVII, sv. 5, 1970].

Mladenović, Aleksandar: *Fonetske i morfološke osobine Marulićevog jezika*. Годишњак Филозофског факултета у Новом Салу II, 1957.
Moguš, Milan i Josip Vončina; *Latinica u Hrvata*. Radovi Zavoda za slavenski filologiju 11, Zagreb 1969.
Nametak, Alija: *Rukopisni tursko-hrvatskosrpski rječnici*. Građa za povijest hrvatskc književnosti 29, Zagreb 1968.
Nikčević, Vojislav; *Narodni jezik u crnogorskoj književnosti prednjegoševskog doba*. Jezik XVI, sv. 1, sv. 2, 1968 [и поново о томе: Jezik XVII, sv. 2, 1969, Jezik XVIII, sv. *2,* 1970].
Pavešić, Slavko: *Jezik Stjepana Matijevića.* Rasprave Instituta za jezik knj. I, Zagreb 1968.
Павловић, Драгољуб: *Стара југословенска књижевност.* Београд 1971.
Putanec, Valentin: *Leksikografija kod Hrvata, Srba i Crnogoraca*. Enciklopedija Jugoslavije 5, 1962.
Radojičić, Đorđe: *Ćirilica*. Enciklopedija Jugoslavije 2, 1956.
Радојичић, Ђорђе: *Стара српска књижевност у средњем Подунављу од XV до XVIII века.* Годишњак Филозофског факултета у Новом Саду II, 1957
Решетар, Милан: *Бернардинов лекционар и његови дубровачки преписи*. Београд 1933.
Rešetar, Milan: *Glavne osobine Gundulićeva jezika*. Rad HAZU 272, Zagreb 1941.
Решетар, Милан: *Дубровачки зборник од год. 1520.* Београд 1933.
Rešetar, Milan: *Jezik pjesama Rańinina zbornika*. Rad 255, Zagreb 1936.
Решетар, Милан: *Језик српског молитвеника од године 1512*. Глас СКА 176, Београд 1938.
Решетар, Милан: *Најстарија дубровачка проза*. Београд 1952.
Решетар, Милан: *Најстарији дубровачки говор.* Глас СКА 201, Београд 1951.
Rešetar, Milan: *Primorski lekcionari XV. vijeka*. Rad JAZU 134, 136, Zagreb 1898.
Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika. Na svijet izdaje Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. Zagreb, 1880 i d.
Ружичић, Гојко: *Језик Петра Зоранића*. Јужнословенски филолог IX, 1930, X, 1931.
Скерлић, Јован: *Српска књижевност у XVIII веку.* Београд 1909.
Станојевић, Станоје; *Студије о српској дипломатици.* Глас СКА 90, 92, 96, 100, 106, 110, 132, 156, 157, 161, 169, Београд 1912—1936.
Stevanović, Mihailo: *Gramatike. Srbija.* Enciklopedija Jugoslavije *3,* 1958.
Сучевић, Милован: *Језик у делима Доситеја Обрадовића.* Извештај Срп. прав. велике гимназије ср. карловачке за 1913—14. Сремски Карловци 1914—1921.
Truhelka, Ćiro: *Bosančica. Prinos bosanskoj paleografiji.* Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu I (4), 1889.

Unbegaun, Boris: *Les débuts de la langue littéraire chez les Serbes.* Paris 1935.
Успенский, Б. А.: *Архаическая система церковнославянского произношения*. Москва 1968.
Fancev, F.: *Beiträge zur historischen serbokroatischen Dialektologie.* Archiv für slavische Philologie 31, 32, 33, 1910—1912.
Fancev, Frańo: *Jezik hrvatskih protestantskih pisaca 16. vijeka.* Rad JAZU 212, 214. Zagreb 1916.
Hamm, Josip: *Glagoljica*. Enciklopedija Jugoslavije 3. 1958.
Hraste, Mate: *Gramatike. Hrvatska.* Enciklopedija Jugoslavije 3, 1958.
Čremošnik, Gregor: *Srpska diplomatska minuskula.* Slovo 13, Zagreb 1963.
Šepić, Ante: *Jezik hrvatskih općinskih statuta istarskih i primorskih*. Rad JAZU 295, Zagreb 1953.

WITH SECTION II: FROM VUK'S TIME TO TODAY[1]

A. GENERAL WORKS

Babić, Stjepan: *Htijenja i ostvarenja Novosadskog dogovora.* Jezik XV, sv. 1, 1967.
Barac, Antun: *Hrvatska književnost od preporoda do stvaranja Jugoslavije,* knj. I—II, Zagreb 1960, 1964.
Белић, Александар: *Вук и Даничић. Беоīрад* 1947.
Белић, Александлар: *Вукова борба за народни и књижевни језик*. Београд 1948.
Белић, Александар: *Језичко јединсшво Срба, Хрваша и Словенаца код Ђуре Даничића и њеīових савременика.* Даничићев зборник, Београд—Љубљана 1925.
Белић, Александар: *Око нашеī књижевноī језика.* Београд 1951.
Bogdanov, Vaso: *Historija političkih stranaka u Hrvatskoj.* Zagreb 1958.
Brozović, Dalibor: *Na putovima našeg jezika i nauke o jeziku.* Kolo, nova serija 1, sv. 10, Zagreb 1963.
Brozović, Dalibor: *O sadanjem času na kružnici jezičnog sata.* Kritika 17, Zagreb 1971.
Brozović, Dalibor: *Rječnik jezika ili jezik rječnika.* Zagreb 1969.
Brozović, Dalibor: *Standardni jezik*. Zagreb 1970.
Brozović, Dalibor: *Stanje i problemi u jugoslavenskoj lingvistici.* Titograd 1969.
Vince, Zlatko: *Značenje Frana Kurelca kao jezikoslovca,* Rasprave Instituta za jezik I, Zagreb 1968.
Vince, Zlatko: *Filološke škole u razvoju hrvatskoga književnoga jezika.* Jezik XVI, sv. 2—3, 1968—69.
Врховац, Радивој: *Карактер и рад Ђуре Даничића*. Нови Сад 1923.

[1] Works about Vuk Karadžić are mostly noted in the overview of literature for the text *On Vuk's Serbian Dictionary of 1818*.

Вушовић, Данило: *Прилози проучавању Његошева језика*. Јужнословенски филолог 9, 1930.
Guberina, Petar i Kruno Krstić: *Razlike između hrvatskog i srpskoga književnog jezika.* Zagreb 1940.
Даничић, Ђуро: *Ситнији списи.* Сремски Карловци 1925.
Ивић, Милка: *Данашњи аспекти проучавања српскохрватског књижевног језика.* Зборник за филологију и лингвистику IV—V, Нови Сад 1961—2.
Ивић, Милка: *Једно поређење Вуковог језика са нашим данашњим књижевним језиком.* Зборник за филологију и лингвистику 1, 1957.
Ivić, Milka: *Problemi norme u književnom jeziku.* Književnost i jezik XII, sv. 3. Beograd 1965.
Ivić, Pavle: *Za ravnopravnost, a protiv cepanja jezika.* Jezik XVI, sv. 4, 1969.
Илић, Војислав: *Песнички језик Бранка Радичевића,* Нови Сад 1964.
Isaković, Alija: *Varijante na popravnom ispitu. Život* XIX, sv. 11—12, Sarajevo 1970.
Jagić, Vatroslav: *Zasluge Vuka Karadžića za naš narodni jezik.* Zagreb 1864.
Janković, Srđan: *Pogled na bosansko-hercegovački međuvarijantni jezički tip.* Pregled knj. 1, sv. 5, Sarajevo 1967.
Jonke, Ljudevit: *Književni jezik u teoriji i praksi.* II izd., Zagreb 1965.
Кашић, Јован: *Језик Милована Видаковића.* Нови Сад 1968.
Кићовић, Мираш: *Јован Хаџић (Милош Светић).* Нови Сад 1930.
Koroman, Veselko: *Uvlake gredu, a postole stoje.* Život XIX, sv. 11—12, Sarajevo 1970.
Maretić, Tomislav: *Ruske i češke riječi u kńiževnom hrvatskom jeziku.* Rad JAZU 108, Zagreb 1892.
Marković, Svetozar: *Teorija i praksa u standardnom jeziku u Bosni i Hercegovini.* Život XIX, sv. 11—12, 1970.
Новак, Виктор: Вук и Хрвати. Београд 1967.
Павловић, Миливој: *Улога и значај војвођанских писаца у развитку српског књижевног језика.* Зборник за књижевност и језик 1, Нови Сад 1953 (1954).
Петровић, Драгољуб: *Прилог карактеризацији разлика између екавског и ијекавског књижевног језика.* Зборник за филологију и лингвистику XIII/1, Нови Сад 1970.
Пешикан, Митар: *Наш књижевни језик на сто година послије Вука*. Београд 1970.
Скерлић, Јован: *Историја новије српске књижевности.* 3. изд., Београд 1953.
Стевановић, Михаило: *Стварање јединства књижевног језика Срба и Хрвата и данашње стање тог јединства.* Наш језик XVIII, св. 1—2. 1970.
Hrvatski književni jezik i pitanje varijanata (zbornik), Zagreb 1969.

B. ORTHOGRAPHIES, DICTIONARIES, GRAMMARS, LANGUAGE MANUALS

Andrić, Nikola: *Branič jezika hrvatskoga*. Zagreb 1911.

Белић, Александар: *Правопис српскохрваског књижевног језика*, 1. изд. Београд 1923, 2. изд. „према прописима Министарства просвете" 1930. Ново, допуњено и исправљено издање Београд 1950. (штампано 1952).

Boranić, Dragutin: *Pravopis hrvatskog ili srpskog jezika. Zagreb,* 1. izd. 1921, od 5. *izdanja* 1930. do zaključno 7. *izd.* „prema propisima Ministarstva prosvjete", od 8. izd. 1941. do 10. izd. 1951. ponovo po prvobitnim pravilima.

Broz, Ivan: *Hrvatski pravopis.* Zagreb 1892.

Broz, Ivan, i F. Iveković: *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* I—II, Zagreb 1901.

Vuković, Jovan: *Pravopis savremenog našeg jezika.* I dio. Sarajevo 1952.

Koriensko pisanje. Priredio Hrvatski državni ured za jezik. Zagreb 1942.

Maretić, Tomislav: *Hrvatski ili srpski jezični savjetnik.* Zagreb 1924.

Maretić, Tomislav: *Gramatika i stilistika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga književnog jezika. 1.* izd. 1899, *2.* izd. 1931, 3. izd. (bez stilistike) 1963.

Матица српска и Матица хрватска: *Правопис српскохрватскога књижевног језика.* Нови Сад — Загреб 1960 (и одговарајуће латиничко издање: Matica hrvatska i Matica srpska, *Pravopis hrvatskosrpskoga književnog jezika,* Zagreb — Novi Sad 1960).

Матица српска и Матица хрватска: *Речник српскохрватскога књижевног језика* I—III, Нови Сад — Загреб 1967, 1967, 1969 (и одговарајуће латиничко издање прве две књиге: Matica hrvatska i Matica srpska, *Rječnik hrvatskosrpskoga*..., I—II, Zagreb — Novi Sad 1967).

Rožić, Vatroslav: *Barbarizmi u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku.* U Zemunu 1904.

ON VUK'S SERBIAN DICTIONARY FROM 1818[1]

I. THE PLACE OF THE BOOK IN HISTORY

There is no doubt, of all Vuk Karadžić's writings, the first edition of the Dictionary is the most significant. No other work in the history of Serbian culture can be mentioned that would play a greater role as a turning point, as laying the foundations of things to come.

There, in the Dictionary of 1818, Vuk's linguistic and orthographic revolution was formulated. All that preceded it was only Vuk's search and uncertainties, and all the changes in the later period were only retouches to a limited number of details. And determining the basis of our literary language has, again, a central place in the entire activity of Vuk. It is not just a matter of the principal fundamentality of language, in the truth that language is the matter of which literature is composed, just as time is the matter of which life consists. Much more concrete than that: Vuk's language revolution was the one that shortened the path to literacy for the Serbian masses (in every sense of the word). This is the focus of Vuk's work on the democratization of our culture. Even folk poetry itself, whose publication has a place in the order of importance of Vuk's works right behind the linguistic-orthographic complex, has gained invaluable significance by the fact that the folk language is placed at the core of literature. If the literary language had remained Slavic-Serbian, folklore creations would have had a significantly different fate in the history of our literature. They would certainly be seen as a beloved and precious heritage, but completely away from the main development trends. It was only by the fact that

[1] This text is an abbreviated and slightly revised version of the Pogovor (Afterword) to the phototype edition of the *Dictionary*, Belgrade, 1966 (Collected works of Vuk Karadžić, Prosveta edition, book two).

their language entered the foundation of our literary language that they were able to become part of the basis of our modern literature.

Language is the basic tool of culture and human society in general. The most necessary, most universal, and everyday tool. The scope of Vuk's merits is determined primarily by the fact that he gave the optimal basis to our literary language. His language was a far more efficient instrument of society than the language he had found in the function of literature and expelled from that function. Moreover, in the circumstances of that historical moment, all other types of linguistic solutions that could be seen were crucially inferior to those presented by Vuk. Vuk's language had the simple and great virtue that it was easy because of the very fact that every average Serb knew his native language. Opposite that, Slavo-Serbian had to be taught, long and noticeably, in school and after, with the danger that its mastery would remain incomplete and with the certainty that its expression would always be complicated and uncertain. (Aside from the fact that there was no norm or any firm support in that language because it was a mechanical and arbitrary mixture of two or three languages, Church Slavonic, Serbo-Croatian, and ultimately Russian). Vuk saved generations of Serbs the enormous waste of energy that would have followed if each individual had had to learn the literary language separately. In addition, Serbs were given a literary language in which they could express themselves naturally and directly, and not hesitantly and with constant psychological burdens. And most importantly, all the remaining barriers between the masses and the literary language were demolished. That language was no longer the privilege of the few who had the opportunity and means to go to school. A plebian, peasant, and rebel, as a cultural creator, Vuk remained a representative and instrument of the most sophisticated part of Serbian society.

Of course, the literary language by the nature of things cannot be identical with the everyday speech of the uneducated. A far wider range of terms and nuances that the literary language should highlight requires and a wider base of words and expressions needed. The language was not a folk language. Because of these differences, phonetic and grammatical in nature, Slavonic-Serbian was more difficult for a man from the people than a literary language must be. Vuk deserves credit for thoroughly removing that layer of unnecessary obstacles.

A revolution such as Vuk's inevitably brings with it the interruption of continuity, the sacrifice of traditions. In principle, this can reduce

the usefulness of such a move and even threaten its final positive value. However, in Vuk's case, the sacrifice was almost insignificant compared to the gain. The products of the earlier literature were generally of low value or out of date, or both. Literary language was anything but an elaborate and refined instrument of expression. Without internal balance, in constant drastic oscillation, it did not possess crystallized and nuanced systems of meaning which, if they were violated, would be a shame. After all, Vuk wisely left the door open to the reintroduction of those Church Slavonic expressions for which there would be a real need. One other doubt can arise, and sometimes did, regarding the results of Vuk's work. In the period before Vuk, sometimes even the Serbian literary language was closely related to Russian, so much so that the boundaries are not easy to define. Severing this connection had to reduce the ability of our literary language to enrich itself by borrowing from Russian, and also had to reduce the immediacy of contact between the two literatures. And that at the very moment when Russian literature, with Pushkin, Lermontov and Gogol, was finally taking on a worldwide renown. But in this respect, development followed the paths that historical inevitabilities led it to. The geographical distances and differences in historical circumstances were too great, and especially the discrepancies between the two national languages. It is very instructive that even Ukrainians and Belarusians were further in the development of their special literary languages, perhaps due the fact that the mentioned distances were so much shorter. After all, it was in Vuk's time that the Russian literary language finally separated from the Church Slavonic language, which until then had served the Serbs as a bridge to Russian. In the nineteenth century, there were no conditions for Serbian culture to rely directly on Russian through a common literary language, in a way similar to the medieval linguistic and cultural reciprocity of Orthodox Slavs. And the only thing that could, of course, only in a certain sense and with many different barriers, be understood as an eventuality with serious strengths. Everything else, everything that is in the space between this solution and the historically realized other extreme, Vuk's literary language, would be indisputably harmful. To be satisfied with the Slavic-Serbian mixture would mean to exclude oneself from the Russian cultural community and the Russian cultural market, and yet drop the enormous advantages that a literary language provides on a truly national basis.

After all, history did not leave much choice here either. The development of Serbian society demanded that the literary language be as understandable as possible to the masses, and Slavic-Serbian became ever more Serbian and less "Slavic" over time. What makes great people remarkable is that they successfully complete the tasks assigned by history. Vuk solved the language issue more thoroughly than anyone else in his place while also radically affecting orthography.

The language that Vuk introduced into literature impressed the audience with another feature: in addition to being popular, it was also Jekavian. While it was always easy for Vuk to give objective reasons for the former, he had trouble with the latter regarding motivation; consequently, the arguments he gradually collected[1] failed to erase the impression that the real motive was the one he himself mentioned at the beginning: he wrote Jekavian because he was a speaker of that language.[2] It was easier and more comfortable for him to write in his native Herzegovinian dialect and he sincerely wanted it to be consolidated in literature as well. Thus, he suddenly put a new problem before Serbian culture. (Admittedly, Sava Mrkalj, a Serb from Croatia, appeared with the Jekavian printed text immediately before him, but a person of Vuk's importance was needed for Jekavian to be considered as a basis for the literary language at the time.)[3] It is not quite simple, even today, from a distance of a century and a half, to judge the extent to which Vuk's introduction of the Jekavian pronunciation was historically positive. From the point of view of narrow Serbian needs, it might seem that it is not. The main cultural centers of the Serbs were, at that time as well as now, in Ekavian lands, in the economically and politically most active areas, in northern Serbia and Vojvodina. The audience in those

---

[1] The Jekavian dialect is the most widespread amongst Serbs: almost all our folk songs have been sung in it: in it, certain words are written that are written the same in Ekavian (*popjevati* and *popijevati*); it is closest to the Church Slavonic language; it is also a dialect of Dubrovnik literature so it unites Orthodox Serbs "with our brothers of the Roman canon" (Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, *…Pisma… o srpskome pravopisu, sa osobitijem dodacima o srpskom jeziku*, in Vienna 1845, *Skupljeni gramatički i polemički spisi*, Vuk Stef. Karadžić III, pp. 155—56.

[2] Preface to the first edition of the Dictionary, p. XVII.

[3] It is interesting that another Serbian author who influenced Vuk's formation at the time when he began to work as a writer, Luka Milovanov, was also a Jekavian speaker. A native of Osat in Bosnia, he wrote *Opis: nastavljenja k srpskoj sličnorečnosti* in Jekavian. The examples of Mrkalj and Milovanov certainly supported Vuk in his commitment to Jekavian writing.

centers was not ready to accept Jekavian. This harmed Vuk's struggle, and when it was successfully completed, it created a split in the literary language of the Serbs, which still has two variants, Ekavian and Jekavian. The only question is whether Serbs in the West would have ever accepted the Ekavian dialect if it weren't for Vuk, and it is certain that it would have been better for all Serbs if the Ekavian pronunciation could have been adopted everywhere. After all, today it may seem to us that the duality in writing the literary language, and with it some other troubles, could have been avoided by adopting a special letter for *jat* (e.g., *ѣ* in Cyrillic, *ě* in Latinic) which would be read differently in different areas. Vuk strongly resisted that because it violated the basic principle of his orthography about the precise correlation between phonemes and letters. Perhaps it would have been more appropriate if Vuk had sacrificed some of the consistency here as well, which he did more often and with good reason. But here, Vuk did not do that, and speculations on the topic "what would have happened if…" are not, in principle, the most fortunate way to understand history.

The literary language with which Vuk came out in the Dictionary[1] basically corresponded to the speech of Tršić at the time. Literary elements were purposefully removed from it, but practical reasons prevented this from being fully implemented. In the Preface and Grammar that accompany the Dictionary, it is not difficult to recognize dozens of words that are not in the dictionary itself. From the very beginning, it turned out to be illusory to build a literary language exclusively from the elements present in the vernacular. There are so many things that cannot be written about with a lexical fund tuned to the daily lives of shepherds and farmers. At first, Vuk avoided talking about this, but later, in the preface to his translation of the New Testament, published in 1847, he gave a long list of words that are/were not in the vernacular, but which he still used when translating the text. Some of these words were Church Slavonic (partly with a Serbianized voice), while others were coined by Vuk himself, trying to remain as faithful as possible to the principles of word formation in the vernacular. Vuk was not strict with borrowed words from other sources either, and he even proved the necessity to keep certain Turkisms.[2] Purism, that disease of the

[1] In the further text of this article, the word Dictionary is used to denote the first edition of the Dictionary (except where it is explicitly emphasized that it should be understood differently).

[2] His formulations on p. XX in the Preface to the Dictionary.

weak, discouraged and scared about their survival, was foreign to him. At a time when "Turk" and "enemy" were synonymous, when the centuries-old oppressor threatened to steal the blood-soaked fragment of Serbian independence again, Vuk's attitude towards Turkish words was free from hatred and from inferiority complexes. Thus, the great realist Vuk paved the way for the enrichment of our literary language from both possible sources, by taking over from other languages and, to a limited extent, by creating neologisms according to patterns already present in the language. This was much needed because in the epochs that followed, the rapid development of our society brought—and still brings—thousands of new concepts and with them, thousands of new words every decade. The share of words that are not in Vuk's Dictionary in the average text written today for the general public often exceeds fifty percent. Thanks to the development guidelines given in Vuk's work, this process of the rapid expansion of the lexical fund passed with relatively little shock and without the artificial aggravation of one's own situation created by the purist burden.

The language of the first edition of the Dictionary, set decisively on the basis of a certain vernacular (Tršić), contained, amongst other features, several recent innovations that are not common to all our dialects. This includes the consistent elimination of *h* in folk words, the so-called the latest or Jekavian *jat* usage (type *ćerati*, *đevojka*), then turning *mn* into *ml* (*mlogi*, etc.) or *vn* (*tavnica*) and *mnj* into *mlj* (*sumlja*). These changes increased the degree of complexity in the grammatical system, thereby reducing its internal regularity. Thus, the absence of *h* introduced the anomaly that noun bases can end in a vowel (e.g. *ora*, *snaa*, *siroma*), while other changes mostly created new consonant alternations (*t* : *ć* in *letim* : *lećeti*, *d : đ* in *dijete* : *đeteta*, *n : l* in *putnik* : *najamlik*; *m : v* in *tama* : *tavan*, etc.). In literary language, it is not desirable to accumulate phenomena of this kind, they make it more difficult and less practical. In addition, these features increased the distance to the Serbian literary language in the past, and also to the literary language of other Slavic peoples, including Croats. In his later development, Vuk abandoned these linguistic features, mainly because during his travels to the southwest he was convinced that the corresponding older forms (with *h*, without the latest *jat* usage, with *mn* and with *mnj*) could be heard in the local dialects, primarily in Dubrovnik and the speeches of urban Muslims throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. The second edition of Vuk's Dictionary marks this traveled path

in its entirety. Forms that appeared in the first edition as basic or as the only ones, in that edition are referred to as forms with *h*, *tj*, *dj*, *mn,* and *mnj*. Thus, Vuk deviated from certain features of Tršić's speech and from the principles of the monolithic dialect base of literary language, but this inconsistency was obviously justified. Amongst other results, it made it easier for Croats to get closer to Vuk's language. The great cultural revolutionary was free of extremism. He was not consistent in the realization of principles at all costs, precisely because he was consistent in his wisdom.[1]

And in terms of orthography, Vuk, again in the Dictionary, took the best possible path. While in terms of language, the optimal solution lay in democratization, the phonological principle had to be applied in orthography. In languages such as Serbo-Croatian, orthography is most effective if it reproduces what is actually spoken, and only those parts of the phonetic phenomena that serve to distinguish meaning (hence not positionally conditioned phonetic nuances such as the difference between the closed superdental *n* in *nada*, the closed posterior palatalization of *n* in *banka*, and the aspirated dental *n* in *penzija*). This orthography has the same advantage as the literary language based on the vernacular: it is easy. It is not necessary to learn it in particular, it is enough to rely on the feeling of one's own pronunciation when writing, and to stick to the written letter when reading. This, of course, simplifies the task of school teaching and expands the circle of people who mostly write correctly.

Vuk's war for Serbian orthography was only part of the general process of confronting European (and many non-European) peoples with the inadequate orthography of the two main existing European alphabets. And the victory of Vuk's orthography amongst Serbs was on an international scale, the first and, so far, almost the only complete success on this front.

Neither Latinic nor Cyrillic were made for the needs of modern day languages: both are adaptations of the Greek alphabet, adjusted to the needs of Latin or the Old Slavonic language. The essential difference between them is that the Latinic alphabet more or less kept the Greek

[1] The later development of literary language suppressed or completely removed some other dialectal features present in Vuk's language, e.g., rejection of the initial consonant in *čela* or *tica*, then of the type *triljeti* (instead of *trijeti*), type *ovijeh* (in place of *ovih*) and type *nijesam* (in place of *nisam*). These corrections continued the process Vuk had started himself.

inventory of letters, while the Cyrillic alphabet significantly expanded it by adding close to fifteen characters. This divergence, whose roots lie in the relative closeness of the Latin voice system to the ancient Greek and in the very specific phonological character of the ancient Slavic, had far-reaching consequences. In languages that use the Latinic alphabet, the main problem stemmed from the insufficient number of existing characters. Therefore, it was necessary to resort to digraphic or diacritical solutions in order to mark phonemes that were not in Latin, but which are present in modern languages. In contrast, the peoples who write in Cyrillic (and they were mostly Orthodox Slavs) were usually faced with the task of getting rid of unnecessary letters. There were, above all, letters mechanically taken from the Greek alphabet, such as *ѵ, ѡ, ѱ,* and *ѯ* (these letters were not actually needed for the Greek language, at least not at the time when they were transplanted to Cyrillic). In addition, there were letters made, in due time justified, to mark certain Slavic voices, but which in the meantime lost their meaning. From the era of the Thessalonian brothers onwards, the phonological development of Slavic languages led mainly to the reduction of the number of different voices, so individual letters became unnecessary, but their writing usually outlived the phonological death of the corresponding voice. (That is how the letters *ѣ, ы, ъ,* and *ь* were used in our country up until Vuk's work). This increases the layer of redundancy in the graphic system, followed by the harmful complication of the relationship between the spoken and written word.

With the victory of Vuk's revolution, the Serbs became the first Slavic people to thoroughly expunge this layer of redundancy ("the blubber of the fat soft vowel sign", as Sava Mrkalj, the first Serb to understand this problem, ingeniously put it.) Other Slavic peoples who write in Cyrillic did so much later. It is not difficult to find a historical explanation for this difference. After the devastating blow that Turkish rule dealt to Serbian literacy based on medieval Church Slavonic traditions, the center of Serbian culture migrated to Austrian soil, exposing it to a different and superior civilization. The reaction of the Serbian society to this pressure was twofold: on the one hand resistance, striving to preserve national individuality, and on the other hand, adapting and accepting the achievements, which cut even more strongly the thin thread of continuity with our Middle Ages. Anyway, the need for alphabet reform was more pronounced than elsewhere, because the old alphabet was especially inappropriate in its application to the sounds of our language.

But the merit of Vuk's revolution is not only in the fact that it was the first and that it showed the way to others, but also in the fact that its task was the most complex, and yet it was successfully solved completely. The peculiarities of our language made a third group of traditional Cyrillic letters superfluous. These are letters of the type я and ю, which usually denote one vowel, but at the same time the softness of the previous consonant. In languages such as Russian or Bulgarian, these letters fulfill a very useful function, as they serve to denote the soft consonants that abound in the phonetic systems of these languages. However, Serbo-Croatian lacks a whole series of such sounds (hence our language seems "harder"), and with it the need for letters of this type. There were first and foremost the consonants *ć, đ, lj,* and *nj*, which, in fact, are not identical with the Russian or Bulgarian softened consonants, but could be marked when necessary with the help of softening letters, and there was even such a practice Vuk was not satisfied with this half-hearted solution and introduced new signs for specific Serbo-Croatian consonants, finally eliminating softening letters, thus creating a completely new type of Cyrillic, without a series of letters that served as two successive voices. The consecrated physiognomy of the Cyrillic alphabet, with its fundamental specificity, gives Vuk's realization in the field of the alphabet the character of a revolution, and not just a reform.

Vuk's alphabet corresponded completely with the "spirit" (meaning phonological structure) of the Serbo-Croatian language, while the traditional Cyrillic (with letters such as *я* and *ю*) is in line with the features of the Russian and Bulgarian languages. Of the Slavic literary languages that have been formed in the meantime, Belarusian and Ukrainian have accepted, with some modifications, the traditional Cyrillic alphabet, while the Macedonian alphabet is an adaptation of Vuk's. From the point of view of the features of the sound systems of these languages, the adopted solutions are justified in all three cases. The Slavic peoples who write in Cyrillic have in essence happily solved the problems of their alphabets: every language has an alphabet of the type that best suits its structure.

In addition to the general statement about the phonological nature of Vuk's orthography, two restrictions should be added. One of them is extraordinarily spacious because it concerns the writing of practically every word. Our orthography ignores the whole area of prosodic phenomena,[1] although in our language they are also amongst the phenomena

[1] This collective term encompasses different types of stress and length.

capable of marking the difference in meaning (cf., e.g., *cèlo* : *cȅlo*, *zèlenim* : *zelènim*, *grâd* : *grȁd*, *gȍdina* : *gȍdīnā*). There were many precedents in the past of our orthography for marking such sound facts, and there were suggestions in Vuk's time to do so. Vuk categorically rejected this. It cannot be denied that Vuk thus made a big mistake in the consistent application of the phonological principle, but it is also true that such a decision was more than appropriate. The sound distinctions on which the Novoshtokavian system of accents and lengths are based are so subtle that, despite the efforts of the school apparatus, almost no one but language experts reach a precise awareness of them. People usually feel that there is "some difference" in accent between words like *cèlo* and *cȅlo*, but they are not able to determine that difference and point to other words in which the same types of accents appear. These phonological contrasts exist; therefore, the cognitive map is completely different from those between the so-called segmental phonemes (vowels or consonants), which laymen not only easily notice, but also easily determine.[1] After all, the difficulties are not exhausted by this. There are even more dialectal differences that move in two directions. In speeches with Novoshtokavian accentuation, therefore fundamentally the same as Vuk's, there are still many deviations in the accent of individual words and grammatical forms, and in addition there are wide zones with accentual systems significantly different. It is practically impossible for people from such areas to learn to hear Novoshtokavian accents, unless they receive a professional linguistic education. One way for such individuals to master the writing of these accents would be to learn mechanically which accent is written in which word and in which grammatical category. Vuk must have known all this, or at least felt it, when he refused to introduce the marking of prosodic elements into his graphic system. Indeed, if prosodic phenomena were systematically

[1] It is not difficult to identify the causes of this phenomenon. Prosodic contrasts always have a relative character: the long vowel is *relatively* longer than the short one, the stressed vowel is tonally *relatively* higher than the unstressed one, the descending tone is relatively lower at the end than at the beginning. The relativity of such contrasts is best understood if one considers that long vowels in fast speech are often absolutely shorter than short ones in light/casual pronunciation, or that the low accent tone of a soprano is, in fact, higher than the high tone of a bass. On the other hand, the contrasts between segmental phonemes have, as a rule, an absolute character, so *t* is always pronounced as voiceless, *d* is always pronounced as voiced, *n* is always pronounced nasally, etc. That is why differences between consonants or between vowels are so easy to grasp.

reproduced in writing, Serbo-Croatian orthography would turn from the easiest in Europe to one of the most difficult. The price paid for this giant simplification is small compared to the gain: in the current way of writing, certain words and forms often appear as homographs and usually differ only in context, although the pronunciations are not real homonyms (*grâd* and *grȁd*, gen. *rúkē* and *rûke,* etc.).

Vuk's second deviation from consistent phonological writing is more limited in scope and less indisputable as a positive quality. In a few details, mostly in the context of *t/d* and *j*, Vuk adheres to the morphological (or "morphophonological") principle which requires that the same morphological element is always written the same regardless of different pronunciation: *pod-* in *podliti*, and therefore in *podsiriti*, *rakij-* in *rakija* and thus in *rakijski*, although the pronunciation in fact is *potsiriti* and *rakiski*. This orthography principle is applied in many languages, often with undoubted use. Thus, in the German nominative singular *Rad* "wheel" and *Rat* "advisor" are pronounced the same, but are spelled differently, according to the difference in pronunciation in forms such as the *Räder* and *Räte* plurals. In this way, German writing establishes a distinction between words that do not differ in pronunciation. But in our language such examples do not exist. Thus, there is a lack of the advantage the morphophonological principle can bring in. And yet the damage is there: the integrity of the precious principle has been truncated "in writing, stick to the pronunciation, and all will be well." The audience loses confidence in this criterion of regularity, and must learn the lists of cases in which deviations occur. Sure, the damage is not great, but it is a pity. Perhaps even more unpleasant consequences were brought, after all, by the attempt to remove it. Aware of the weakness of the current orthography in such categories, Aleksandar Belić, between the two wars, suggested that they be eliminated. Unfortunately, the moment for reform was not ripe. It was implemented amongst the Serbs, but the Croats understood it as an imposed "Serbian" feature. History can play bitter tricks with beliefs of this kind: objectively, the problem was not in Serbism but in rationalization, and the previous orthography amongst Croats was "Serbian", as much as Belić's—because it was Vuk's. But in those times of troubled national passions, the Croats rejected hateful innovation as soon as the opportunity arose, and then resolutely maintained their position. Thus, the result of the reform was the creation of one more dichotomy. Even when the joint Serbo-Croatian orthography from 1960 was compiled, unification returned the norm to Vuk's tradition.

At the end of this review, it is difficult to get rid of one impression: the benefits that Vuk's language and orthography revolution brought to our culture are fundamental and perfectly clear, weaknesses have a marginal character and are usually not so indisputable.

It is known, however, that Vuk did not come to his basic views on language and orthography on his own. These views were suggested to him in personal contact by Jernej Kopitar (where they were also not original). There is nothing in Vuk's biography until the meeting with Kopitar that would testify to some of Vuk's interest in such issues, and on the other hand, much is known about Kopitar's earlier unsuccessful attempts to interest other Serbs in language and orthography reform, as well as his favorable portrayal of everything which seemed to him to be progress in this direction. There are, after all, direct testimonies about Kopitar's mentoring role in his and Vuk's correspondence, and Vuk publicly admitted that Kopitar "persuaded" him "little by little not only to write folk songs, but also words and grammar."[1] In terms of introducing the vernacular into literature, Vuk also had a number of predecessors amongst the Serbs themselves, and even amongst the largest writers of the time, such as Orfelin and Dositej. Just at the moment when he started working on the language, he became friends with Sava Mrkalj and Luka Milovanov, the authors of articles proposing the reform of the Serbian orthography and describing the Serbian accentuation; the orthography and accent system with which Vuk then came out are directly dependent on the views of these two. The very first edition of the Dictionary is, of all Vuk's major writings, a work in which Kopitar's role is the largest and most diverse, and the ideas of Mrkalj and Milovanov were applied almost literally. Kopitar can even be considered to a large extent a co-author of the work—a merit that belongs to Daničić in terms of the second edition of the Dictionary. And yet, no matter how paradoxical it may seem, all this does not diminish Vuk's historical merit in any way. It does not consist of a scientific discovery, but of a cultural revolution. And revolution is not a matter of priority in the formulation of thought, but the strength to make it happen. It is instructive to look back at what happened to Vuk's predecessors and inspirers. Orfelin and Dositej, full of well-meaning statements about the need to write in the vernacular, could not write

[1] *Skupljeni gramatički i polemski spisi* Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića — III, 66.

in it, while Mrkalj and Milovanov lacked the strength of character needed to dedicate their lives to fighting for their beliefs. Mrkalj publicly renounced his position, and Milovanov indulged in alcohol and disappeared from the horizon. Even the extraordinarily gifted and learned Kopitar had more success with his reformist ideas amongst the Serbs, where he implemented them through Vuk's, than in his own Slovenian environment.

Vuk possessed personal qualities that give strength to the cultural revolutionary, and his biography gave him an advantage over the vast majority of Serbian writers at the time. The initial phase of its formation took place in Serbia, Turkey and the insurgency, and it was not an environment too imbued with the Church Slavonic tradition. Then he almost immediately arrived in Vienna, in the then romantic Europe, where the pure national spirit was valued as one of the highest values. Thus, due to circumstances, Vuk skipped Vojvodina and its Slavic-Serbian mentality. He, who was initially below that mentality in a sense, suddenly found himself above it. In this way, he was able to combine his good knowledge of the vernacular with complete freedom from prejudice against him. Together with Kopitar's advice and Vuk's great acumen and boundless perseverance, this made Vuk fit for a great historical role.

II. HISTORY OF THE BOOK

If we want to understand the history of the Dictionary properly, we must approach it the way every history is approached—from its prehistory. In our case, that means primarily from Vuk's predecessors in the lexicographic work, from what they did and what they did not do. And there were many and few of those predecessors at the same time. If we look at the Serbo-Croatian language as a whole, the tradition is long and rich. Between the last decade of the sixteenth century until the first decade of the nineteenth century, there are a number of works created in coastal or Kajkavian areas, works that include eight major printed dictionaries, while known as their creators or editors were, Vrančić, Mikalja, Habdelić, Delo Bela, Belostenc, Jambrešić, Voltipi, and Stuli. These dictionaries, most often the works of industrious friars, describe the language "Illyrian", "Dalmatian" or "Slovenian" in its Chakavian, Shtokavian, and Kajkavian variants and compare it with Latin, Italian, German, and Hungarian. Although not all equal, these works

mostly met the needs of their communities and epochs, and even today, they serve as an abundant source of material for the history of our language and for understanding old texts. However, in the inner circle to which Vuk belonged, amongst the Orthodox Serbs, Vuk found almost complete devastation in this domain.

Admittedly, in 1790, the *Neméckïŭ i serbskïŭ slovárь* was published in Vienna on 719 + 326 pages, but this unsigned dictionary, attributed to the school principal Teodor Avramović, is not, in fact, a dictionary of our language. The "Serbian" material in it is mostly a mixture of Church Slavonic and Russian, only sporadically Serbo-Croatian words were inserted into it. This work later attracted a lot of criticism by later researchers, but no one ever focused enough serious attention on it. But even before this publication, dedicated to Metropolitan Mojsije Putnik and certainly inspired by the Metropolitan office, our language is found represented in another lexicographical work. Already in 1789 and 1791 in Saint Petersburg, the German travel writer Pallas published a comparative dictionary of two-hundred languages with the support of Empress Katarina, based on materials collected on her orders, and in 1789 or 1791, a new, expanded, and corrected edition appeared in three volumes, edited by Teodor Janković "de Mirijevo." This respectable Serb, a former supervisor of all Serbian schools in Austria, was a high-ranking official in the Russian educational administration at the time. In both editions of the dictionary, we find the "Serbian" language in addition to the "Illyrian" (which more or less corresponds to the Dubrovnik dialect). In the first edition, a lot of Russian words were mixed into the "Serbian" material, most often given along with the real Serbian forms, without understanding the material itself. In the second edition, the sober Janković corrected most of the errors in both "languages." With this purification, "Serbian" and "Illyrian" became more similar to each other. While based on the first version, it would be difficult to conclude that in the second version it is already obvious, but even so, *Sravnitelьnьĭ slovarь* was not a major event in Serbian lexicography. It came out far from here and was hardly available, and the material in it was quite limited: it contained only 285 words of our language. Thus, the lexicographic balance of the Serbian eighteenth century remained poor. An explanation for this is easy to find in the general linguistic disorientation of Serbs in that epoch. At a time when the borders between Serbian, Church Slavonic, and Russian were fluid and elusive, there could be no clear idea of what

a Serbian dictionary should look like. The most reliable evidence of this is provided by the few attempts we have mentioned. As for the earlier epochs, those up to the eighteenth century, it is even unnecessary to look for a special explanation: under the terrible pressure of Turkish slavery, one could not even imagine working on any sort of lexicography.

Thus, Vuk, whose name is associated with so many great beginnings in the history of our culture, was the first in this field. The incentive that led Vuk to throw himself into this job is well-known to us: here, again, as in so many other things, he worked on/under Kopitar's persuasion. Passionately interested in Serbian things, Kopitar often returned to how good it would be if a Serb realistically described his language, both grammatically and lexically. Here, Kopitar had in mind scientific need, but not only that. He wanted the truth to be publicly revealed that Serbs speak a language that is neither Russian nor Church Slavonic, and was not strictly related to either of them. This truth, so well-known today, did not seem at all indisputable in those times when European Slavic studies, then in their early beginnings, could judge the Serbian language by texts written by Serbs—but usually not in their own language. Kopitar, who had largely penetrated into the real state of affairs, believed that linguistic demarcation would contribute to separating Serbs from Russians, both culturally and politically. A person composed of many contradictions, he nurtured both Slavic and Austrian patriotism. Today, we can think what we want about such a combination, but to Kopitar, it seemed logical and he even turned it into the guiding principle of his public activity. The Austrian censor of Slavic books spent his life in the belief that it could be useful to both Austria and Slavs. Austria had a historical mission to collect and enlighten the Slavs, to bring them to Europe. Austria was large and the only truly civilized country with a predominantly Slavic population. But the ambitions of another great Slavic country, albeit less civilized, stood in the way of Austrian interests, and of Kopitar's and dear Russia's. The expansion of Austria in the Slavic south was prevented, as a powerful obstacle, by Russian influence on the Serbs. Bound by the double ties of Slavism and Orthodoxy, the Serbs saw Russia as a protector and a guarantee that Serbs would not perish after all. And not only Serbs from the Turkish side of the Sava and the Danube. It was the Austrian Serbs who introduced the Russian version of the Church Slavonic language in the eighteenth century, to be a barrier against Catholicism and Germanization, and to some extent, to comfort them

due to the daily unintelligent contempt of Austrian powerful people and officials for Serbian unculturedness and primitivism. Kopitar realized that things were not going the way he wanted, and he tried his best to fix as much as he could. He tried to persuade the Austrian authorities to be more accommodating towards the Serbs, and the Serbs to put their culture on the foundation of the national language and thus distance themselves from the Russians. But the Viennese rulers had their own policies and prejudices, and the Serbs Kopitar met, all the way to Vuk, were unwilling or unable to accept the great tasks of language. That is why Kopitar clicked so loudly when he finally found the right man and hurried to announce it to his friends in letters and to the public in reviews.

We have no evidence that Kopitar allowed Vuk insight into all his intimate motives—just as, again, it is unlikely that those motives could have remained permanently hidden from Vuk. After all, this is not of primary importance. Vuk, of course, loved and respected Kopitar, but his reasons for obeying Kopitar must have been completely different from those he had persuaded. Vuk's patriotism was completely different from Kopitar's, on much firmer ground. It was not indefinitely Slavic, and even less Austrian patriotism, but simply/purely Serbian. Kopitar opened Vuk's eyes to the truth that "love for his family" requires him, Vuk, to dedicate himself to describing the Serbian vernacular, and Vuk resolutely set out on that path.

Thus, throwing himself into the work of language, Vuk began with a smaller task, the grammar. His *Pismenica* was published as early as in 1814, and Kopitar welcomed it with a review full of praise, but also the challenge to write another, even better grammar and a dictionary of the Serbian vernacular. The end of the review was unusual: a promise to Vuk that, if he compiled a dictionary, "he would not only look for, but also find a publisher." The promise that later cost Kopitar both effort and nerves, but which he honorably fulfilled to the end.

We know about the symbolic beginning of the work on the dictionary from Vuk himself: "and for the words he brought me a whole package of paper cut into equal leaves in eighths."[1] In a letter of September 3, 1815, he victoriously wrote to Dobrovski: "My Vuk is now working on the Serbian Dictionary."[2] But still, Vuk did not systematically start working right there, in Vienna, but only in January 1816 in

[1] *Skupljeni gram. i polem. spisi*, III, 1896, 66.

[2] LJ. Stojanović, *Život i rad Vuka Stef. Karadžića*, Beograd 1924, 104.

Šišatovac. He stayed for several months in the Fruška gora monastery in 1816, as a guest of the local archimandrite, learned writer Lukijan Mušicki. Here, Vuk completed the first phase of the dictionary, to collect Serbian words that would be in it. There, of course, he had to search from his own memory and probably hunt for words that came into daily contact with the environment. In order not to miss anything, Vuk also used some of the dictionaries of coastal and Kajkavian lexicographers. This idea was certainly given to him by Kopitar, who sent him dictionaries. These dictionaries could be found much closer to Šišatovac, in the Karlovac Metropolitan Library, but Vuk was not "willing to ask for help in the Serbian language from his greatest enemy" (Metropolitan Stevan Stratimirović) and Kopitar, therefore, at Vuk's request, selflessly, at his own risk, sent precious volumes from his personal library to an insecure "stage coach" from Vienna via Novi Sad to Šišatovac. Vuk went through these dictionaries (and, after all, the aforementioned *Nemeckij i serbskij slovar* from 1790), and from one word to another, wrote down the ones he knew from his own linguistic experience, and left out the ones that were foreign to him.

This meeting of the legacy of Croatian[1] lexicography with the beginnings of Serbian, with the support and care of the famed Slovene, deserves to be especially dear to us today. It was one of the first contacts of these three peoples in the field of culture.

Vuk's correspondence, that main source of our knowledge about how the Dictionary was created, informs us about the lexicographic problems that Vuk encountered while working in Šišatovac. He asked Kopitar for advice on whether to cite adverbs derived from adjectives, then reflexive verbs, collective nouns, diminutives and augmentatives. There were, further, conversations between them about the organization of words. and Kopitar insisted on strictly maintaining the alphabetical order, that is, without grouping the words according to their relationship and without separating the Turkisms at the end of the book. Vuk also told Kopitar about his new sources of material: about a two-hundred-year-old monument he had found "here in the nomastery" and from

[1] The name "Croatian" is used here in its present-day meaning. Transferred to that era, the expression is not precise: in the era when the dictionaries were created, the name "Croatian" was not as widespread as it is today, so the creators of the dictionaries did not call their language Croatian. Vuk himself called these dictionaries *šokački* or Shokavian (that is what Serbs called the Catholics using our language at that time).

which he extracted more than 1,000 Serbian names, both male and female, and about an old ladynear the town of Kruševac, thanks to whom he recorded over fifty songs whose dialectal features attracted his attention.[1]

The writing down and alphabetization of words progressed quickly; already on March 17, Vuk informed Kopitar that the Dictionary "would be ready in 10 days (i.e., all the words in order)" and that he would then go to Serbia to collect new data on dialects. Judging by the fact that Vuk moved to Serbia in the middle of April, this phase of work on the Dictionary had to be over by then. However, Vuk's visit to Serbia was quickly interrupted, ending up as no more than a short trip from the border by Mitrovica to Belgrade and back from Belgrade through Zemun. It appears that during the month he then spent in Serbia, Vuk did not collect any significant dialect material, and the question is whether this was the main goal of his journey in the first place. There are indications that support Miodrag Popović's[2] assumption that Vuk was tangled up "in some dangerous business" and that he went to Serbia in order to carry out some secret political mission on the orders of the insurgent emigration. But the situation in Serbia was painful and not at all favorable for the people from the first uprising. With the help of the Turks, Miloš relentlessly dealt with these people, in an effort to get rid of all possible rivals in the struggle for power. In the middle of May 1816, Petar Moler and Radič Petrović, prominent elders who played an important role in Karađorđe's Serbia, were executed in a horrible way in Kalemegdan. We have no evidence that Vuk carried the messages of emigrants to these people, but it is certain that the event left the most disturbing impression on him. Unable to realize his dialectological plans, Vuk hurried to find himself on Austrian soil again. At the beginning of June 1816, he was again in Šišatovac.

The second phase of the Dictionary work consisted of translating Serbian words into German and Latin. However, it was originally supposed to be translated into German and Italian. At least that is what Kopitar

---

[1] LJ. Stojanović, *Život i rad Vuka Stef. Karadžića*, Beograd 1924, 96, rightly assumed that Vuk had to have heard these dialectics in Krajina during his service there in 1811-1813 and that these same forms were used by his friend, Sara Karapandžić from Negotin, when she wrote to him. The language of her letters contains, in addition to the features highlighted by Stojanović, a fairly rich repertoire of other features of the Kosovo-Resava dialect.

[2] M. Popović, *Vuk Stefanović Karadžić*, Beograd 1964, pp. 100-102.

and Vuk promised Pavle Solarić, who was collecting subscribers for the Dictionary by the Coast. This was later changed, unfortunately for Solarić, who claimed that the promise of an Italian translation attracted his subscribers.

Vuk's knowledge of both German and Latin was incomplete (he had just studied Latin in Šišatovac during his stay in 1816). Vuk and Kopitar hoped that Mušicki would help Vuk with the German translation. But the writer, who was full of big plans and yet did so little in his life—did not have the time. All the work remained on Kopitar. "I told you," Vuk wrote to him in August 1816, "that you will have more to do with the Serbian Dictionary than I do."

And indeed, when Vuk returned to Vienna in September, a period of persistent joint work began. From Vuk's letters to Mušicki, we learn that he and Kopitar sat in Vuk's apartment every night, initially from six to eight, and later from six to nine, reviewing and processing the material for the Dictionary. Vuk would explain the meaning of each word, and Kopitar would give German and Latin translations. This lasted until April 1817, when the translation work was completed. Kopitar thus added to his role of inspirer and mentor the ungrateful function of a co-author whose name will not be able to be written next to the title of the book. His care for the Dictionary remains a pattern of selfless devotion, both to the idea and his friend.

Vuk's letters to Mušicki from this period are full of a triumphant tone. Vuk has never been so excited, so youthfully enthusiastic as in these days when he became aware of the chance to do something really great in life, and when he watched day by day how the work grew and took shape. And for Vuk's intellectual formation, this was a decisive period. Every day in direct contact with the great Slavic scholar, and passing systematically through the entire material of our language, Vuk undoubtedly learned more than ever. Regarding each word individually, Kopitar revealed to him what he knew. And he knew a lot. In numerous remarks with individual words, there are obvious traces of Kopitar's knowledge of various linguistic phenomena, such as e.g., Austrian dialectisms or Modern Greek expressions. Working with Kopitar, Vuk refined the notions of the Old Slavonic language and learned to distinguish his Russian edition from the old Serbian one, which he considered to be the original. And Vuk's view of our language and orthography had matured, and even his gifted linguistic feeling had crystallized into a conscious *knowledge* of our language.

But in one respect, it is as if Vuk remained undecided even after these six months of working together with Kopitar—the matter of orthography. Vuk's *Publication* about the Dictionary, in the spring of 1816, was, of course, written mostly in the old orthography, but even Vuk's *Publication*, in the spring of 1818, does not show any progress in this regard. Such is, after all, Vuk's correspondence until the middle of 1818, and his article published at the beginning of that year. At that time, Vuk was already very clear about what kind of orthography would be best for Serbs, but he still continued to use tactics, certainly in the belief that a radically innovative orthography could turn the Serbian audience away from him. At the time when he was looking for subscribers and patrons, Vuk certainly considered it inappropriate to come up with such an orthography. But he constantly thought about it and flirted with the idea of introducing not only the letters "elj" and "enj", but also the *jat*. In a letter to Mušicki dated May 14, 1817, he says that he could cite "a thousand examples… where common sense suggests we need *elj*, *enj*, and *jat*." Vuk's correspondence shows that he consulted several people about orthography at the time—Mušicki, Gerišić, and Solarić. We must assume that this was a constant subject of Vuk's conversations with Kopitar, whose opinion he valued more than anyone else's and with whom he was in daily personal contact in Vienna. His dialogs with Gerišić and Solarić were not very useful, while when it came to Mušicki's suggestions, Vuk adopted the one regarding the shape of the letter *đ (ђ)*. Moreover, Mušicki's stances were quite ambiguous and not always forwards-oriented, while Vuk seemed to be ever more inclined towards a radical solution. And when, finally, the Dictionary reached the public in the spring of 1818, he actually published an updated version of the manuscript featuring the new orthography, preserved in its essence to this very day. We do not know when Vuk made a change in the manuscript, which certainly took a lot of work. Was it a last-minute decision to follow his own conscience? Or maybe the manuscript was redone much earlier, secretly from the Serbian public, and even from Vuk's friends?[1]

[1] Vuk informed Mušicki about the orthography of the Dictionary only at the end of September or the beginning of October 1813 in a letter which, unfortunately, has not been preserved, but which we know also from Mušicki's reply, full of disgust (Vukova prepiska II 230)—although Vuk began to consistently use the same orthography in the letter to Mušicki from 11/23 June 1818 (and perhaps in some earlier, today lost letter). The fact that samples of word processing in Vuk's

Although the Dictionary was mostly ready as early as April 1817, it was published in April of the following year. Vuk certainly used that time to make the *Predgovor* and *Srpska gramatika* that accompany the Dictionary, and also to introduce additions and corrections. After all, it seems that some things were left unresolved until the last minute. Already back on September 13/15 of 1818 did Vuk write to Mušicki that the grammar with the Dictionary would be in German, but it was still printed in Serbian, certainly during November of the same year.

However, there were also problems of a completely different kind regarding the Dictionary, such that even questioned the likelihood of its publication. Vuk and Kopitar overcame these troubles only after a long and painful wrestling, which required great perseverance and a lot of ingenuity.

First of all, it was necessary to find the finances to print the book. It was an extensive work of complicated printing, therefore inevitably expensive, and of uncertain success. However, the significance of such a work gave hope that it would be bought, sometimes out of patriotism or love of literature, and sometimes for practical gain. The Dictionary could serve as a source of information for the Serbian public not so much about their own language, but about German and Latin, languages that dominated in Austria at that time, not only administration, but also cultural life, and in the case of German, mostly the economic aspect. That is why Vuk counted on subscribers, people who would actually credit the publication of the book with their subscription. But, although he organized a wide network of subscription collectors and lively agitation, Vuk could not find enough subscribers to cover the costs of publishing and circulation. The Serbian cultural market, in which even today so many useful editions cannot survive without support, was then much smaller and poorer than in our days. And many, after all, changed their minds, waiting to see if the book would really come out and what it would be like. So Vuk fell to looking for patrons. It was

---

publication on the Dictionary (as well as the publication itself) were given in the old orthography might support the assumption of conscious/deliberate concealment, although this advertisement was published in March 1818, just before the Dictionary was published. On the other hand, some typographical errors in the Dictionary provide, also very uncertainly, an indication that the Dictionary was first saved in the old orthography, and only subsequently revised. But in any case, what LJ. Stojanović highlighted still stands (*Život i rad Vuka Stef. Karadžića* 140), that his reformed alphabet Vuk "… carefully concealed from the public until the Dictionary was printed."

a sad job, asking for help from people who had resources. There was humiliation, and all sorts of twists and turns, and uncertainty until the last act of unraveling. And the list of noble benefactors, those who finally revealed themselves, was also somewhat sad. By a strange paradox, the publication of works that democratized Serbian culture was made possible by a rich man from the bourgeoisie and two arrogant feudal lords—these two are otherwise the fiercest opponents of the same democratization. The Cincar Teodor Tirka, a Viennese merchant, gave five thousand forints at the urging of his wife, whose friendship the lame writer had permanently gained. After all, Tirka was able to avoid losing money in the role of patron. He did not donate his forints, as other benefactors did and as could be deduced from Vuk's public confession,[1] but lent them to take over the entire edition after printing and collect his claim by selling it. As for the eminent naval nobleman and landowner Sava Tekelija, who gave five hundred forints, and Metropolitan Stevan Stratimirović, the lord of Kulpin, whose gift was three hundred forints, they contributed a little out of vanity, and a little seduced by Vuk's publications, which suggested a book. And there was certainly, at least with Tekelija, a sincere patriotic awareness that the first Serbian dictionary is, regardless of everything else, a work that needs to be supported. However, one name is not on the list, although in a way it would have a place. Prince Miloš Obrenović, whom Vuk addressed in the belief that it was his duty to help such a company—and who even refused to help—did not find it worthwhile to share the contents of his coffers, which were already being filled by taxmen from the entire Belgrade pashalic.

While Vuk himself had to be involved in seeking material support in the first place, finding a publisher was mainly Kopitar's task. The problem was not an easy one: in the Austrian monarchy, only the Buda printing house had permission to print Serbian books, and it was forbidden, by the efforts of Metropolitan Stratimirović, to publish books with orthography different from the usual one. The perspective seemed hermetically sealed. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, Kopitar started looking for a solution very early on, using his numerous connections and position as a censor of Slavic books. His efforts ranged from persuading certain Viennese printers to obtain permission to print Serbian books to writing official petitions to the authorities in this

[1] Predgovor Rječniku, str. XV.

regard. But the printers either couldn't be won over, or later got scared and changed their minds, while again the high forums of the state administration were extremely inexpedient, even when they showed good will. Thus, after the completion of the preparation of the dictionary for printing, there followed months filled with worry and restlessness, until a solution suddenly appeared. There was a printing house in Vienna belonging to the Mehitarists, Armenian Catholics, which had even earlier had a general privilege to print books in all Eastern languages. Kopitar remembered the Mehitarists at the right moment and the fact that the Serbian language could also pass as an Eastern language. The barrier was overcome.

The composing of the text began, it seems, sometime in March 1818 and lasted, not without some delays, until late autumn. The dictionary itself was printed first, while the parts with Roman pagination came next at the beginning of the book. At the end of November, the printing was finished, and already at the beginning of December, Vuk set out on his historical journey to Poland and Russia, leaving Tirka's dictionary to be torn apart.

Tirka did not show any cunning in distributing copies of the dictionary. In the early 1820s, there were still subscribers who complained and protested that they had not received the book. But even louder were the protests of those whose hands got a hold of it.

Three things in the Dictionary could have caused serious resentment against it by those in Serbian literature at the time. These are: the vernacular cleansed of Church Slavonic language, the revolutionary orthography, and the Jekavian dialect. However, when the Dictionary appeared, these were not the reasons for the loudest backlash.[1] Two details of third-class significance attracted the most attention and almost unanimous outrage in Serbian society: the Latin *iota* in Vuk's Cyrillic alphabet and numerous indecent expressions. It seems that Kopitar, who was not strong in tact or tactics, was to blame for both of these wrong moves. He advised Vuk to introduce the sign *j*, somewhat in a desire to separate the Serbian alphabet from the Orthodox tradition, and somewhat in the illusory hope that eventually, all Southern Slavs would fully accept one combined Latinin-Cyrillic alphabet as he envisioned, for which introducing *iota* into South Slavic Cyrillic would certainly pave the way. The letter for the *j sound* was really needed by

[1] That does not mean, of course, that there was no objection to them: the Orthography was often the subject of criticism.

our Cyrillic alphabet, but at the moment when Vuk introduced it he had at his disposal several letters which had hitherto had the right of citizenship in the Cyrillic alphabet, but which, with his reform, remained without function. Had Vuk chosen one of those letters, e.g., *ѝ*, *ї, ў*, or *ь* (of which the first would be without a doubt the most appropriate) instead of *j*, he would have avoided the objections about the desecration of the Serbian alphabet that followed him persistently for decades, giving his opponents a cheap argument.[1] Admittedly, this argument could not be easily made public, but it was spread in a half-whisper and had flammable power in Serbian society, which was still raging at the time due to Austrian attempts at Catholicization and denationalization. There is reason to believe that Kopitar suggested to Vuk to include in the dictionary words usually avoided in decent society, and it is certain that it was in Kopitar's power to talk Vuk out of entering those words. But he didn't. He believed, of course, that scholarship needed a complete overview of all words in the language, and it could be that he had a tendency for this kind of mischief. But the more honest parishioners, honest merchants, and all those other small town folk whose names we read in the list of subscribers, they received the matter quite differently. There is no doubt that the voice of hypocrisy in the chorus of insults was one of the loudest, but it is certain that there was sincere dissatisfaction with the numerous strong expressions in the book that many had ordered to teach their children.

Thus, the recklessness of Vuk and Kopitar gave the opponents of the reform the opportunity to disqualify the dictionary in front of an immature Serbian audience. Instead of talking about all those major innovations that the book brought into Serbian culture and taking a stand on them, there was widespread talk everywhere about the little things without which the work really could have done.[2] There was

---

[1] To make the paradox even greater, the sign *j* existed in the Cyrillic before Vuk, as a variant of the sign *i* (which was a full-fledged member of the Cyrillic alphabet), not only amongst Serbs, but also amongst Russians. But this was unknown both to Vuk and to his adversaries; there is still the fact that Vuk took *j* from Latinic, and not from Cyrillic manuscripts of the 18th century.—This whole question was clarified by the work of Aleksandar Mladenović, *The Letter J in the Perspective of pre-Vuk Cyrillic Orthography*, Yearbook of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad VII, 1962-63, 45-52.

[2] Many years later, Vuk's opponent Jovan Hadžić described the reaction of Serbs to the Dictionary in Utuk III (1846), observing it from his own angle: "Serbs, especially after the published Dictionary (1818), claimed that Vuk in his

mostly no real evaluation, only survival. Stratimirović, who before the appearance of the Dictionary felt so insecure that he considered it necessary to join the ranks of his patrons, now believed that the time had come for a counterattack. However, the accusation made to the police due to the ugliness in the dictionary did not succeed in destroying the book, but the ridicule reduced its direct effect amongst Serbs to a minimum. Voices of approval were quite rare, so they also remained hidden in private letters and in private conversations.

While the Dictionary thus failed at home, it was recognized and praised in the wide world. Grimm enthusiastically wrote about it, Dobrovski used it in his works, it was applauded by Polish and Russian scholars to whom Vuk presented his work. For the learned Europe, the Dictionary became a source of knowledge of the Serbian language, the main and almost the only one. Together with the editions of folk songs, the Dictionary provided Vuk with an international name. "No one is a prophet in their own homeland," says an old saying. It is true that it often happens that great people are better understood in a foreign land than in their own country, but it is also true that successes eventually return to the environment from which the great came.

Amongst Serbs, the first edition of the Dictionary has never become a standard manual to be consulted on a daily basis. Until Vuk's victory, most of the learned Serbs looked down on him, and it could not be given to the student youth because of indecent words. Later, just at the same time as the final successful turn in Vuk's struggle, the second edition of the Dictionary appeared, richer and cleansed of undesirable expressions, which immediately turned into the Bible of Serbian philologists.

Innovations in language and orthography implemented in the first edition of the Dictionary became a constant feature of the language of Vuk's writings that appeared later. Their presence became more and more effective with each new inscription by Vuk, and then by his fol-

---

writing does not observe decency, expressing himself in a rude and shameful way that is insulting to the very sense of morality and only befits swineherds and cattlemen, and not writers, who are teachers of youth and people; and he (i.e. Kopitar, note PI) turned the matter differently, and assured the parties that Serbs and Serbian writers were aiming at him, when he simply wrote in Serbian, and they called that the simple vernacular Serbian language of swineherd and cattlemen; and foreign people, even the most learned, thinking that this was so, had to judge him and others differently than he is" (*Skupljeni gramatički i polemski spisi Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića* III, 224-225).

lowers. Certainly, the first edition of the Dictionary is not a work that won, but the program that won it was formulated there. It was not a moment of triumph, but the raising of a flag under which, after a long struggle, he finally triumphed.

III. FOREWORD TO THE DICTIONARY

Written at least partially at a time when the printing of the book was already well advanced, therefore, at the last moment, Vuk's Preface is not a complete text, but a mixture of important principles, current controversy, technical information, and details that the author later remembered. Yet, with its key passages, the Preface ranks amongst the great declarations, those announcing the historical epochs.

The beginning of the preface gives an exposition of the problem of the Serbian literary language, as that problem was presented at that time in the eyes of Kopitar and Vuk. Here we find proclaimed all the basic attitudes of their view: the individuality of the Serbian language, that it deserved—like other languages—to enter literature, the inadmissibility of mixed, Slavic-Serbian language, that Dositej was the first to emphasize the need to write in Serbian language, although this had not been achieved "so far." A particularly sensitive point of the opponents was the citing of medieval Serbian texts written in the Church Slavonic language without Russianisms, from which it follows that "Slavic" in the Russian review was not the old, uncorrupted language of the Serbs themselves, as was believed at the Metropolitan court in Karlovci. Although some of this can be found in Vuk's earlier writings —and especially in Kopitar—this is Vuk's first systematic manifesto on language, which is accompanied by an explanation of the reformed orthography. Vuk's arguments stand tall even by today's scholarly standards; there are few inaccuracies in details such as those of the Poles and Kranj (true even if Kopitar simplified matters in order to avoid long clarifications), about the vowel *ы* which is unjustifiably identified with the German and Hungarian *ü*, or about the fact that in "Slavic", *gospodь*, *radostь*, etc. is pronounced *gospođ*, *radosć*, etc., or that in Greek, there are no vowel groups *ja, je, ju*.

The arguments that Vuk opposed to the "reviewer" who attacked Vuk's dictionary even before it appeared are strong, basing his criticism on one of Kopitar's advertisements about the dictionary written with too much enthusiasm. That review, which undoubtedly came from the

circle around Metropolitan Stratimirović, and very likely from the pen of his *protosinđel* Hranislav, was published in *Österreichischer Beobackter* in 1818 and in Davidović's *Novine serbske* for the same year. It praises the "Slavic" language as the original pure Serbian and condemns the Serbian vernacular of that time because it was corrupted and stained with elements from neighboring languages. Vuk's answer polemicized only those places in the review that affected him personally, otherwise Kopitar answered the reviewer.

Vuk's Preface contains a division of the Serbian language into dialects, based on accurate but not numerous observations. The three dialects that Vuk cites here still appear today on every list of Shtokavian dialect types (East-Herzegovinian or younger Herzegovinian dialects, Resava or Kosovo-Resava dialect, Srem-Šumadija-Srem or Šumadija-Vojvodina dialect). The replacement of the *jat*, which forms the basis of Vuk's division, was emphasized even before Vuk as a so-called dialectal discriminant, and today, it is considered one of the basic criteria for classifying Shtokavian speeches, except that in recent times, in fact, it is the most significant of the features that separate the "Resava dialect" from the "Srem dialect." Later examiners sometimes returned to Vuk's somewhat enigmatic disregard for drastic fundamental differences between accent systems in dialects. It was thought that he kept these differences quiet because they distorted his image of the unity and "general correctness" of our language, and he would feel insecure in recording such accents. This short chapter on dialects also shows that Vuk is not systematic. This also applies to the later epoch of his work, with the exception of one of his travels in the southwestern areas in 1834-5. His observations of dialects mostly boiled down to keeping records of individual words.[1] The fact that the division into dialects turned out a success is due to a tradition that already existed, as well as to Vuk's sobriety. He was able to extract what was important from the mass of his accidental impressions gathered during his contact with people. Of course, this division is incomplete because it does not contain words about dialects that are not spoken in Vojvodina or in Serbia of

[1] Along with his *a priori* bias, his ignorance of the real situation is responsible for Vuk's frequent delusions that Vojvodina dialectics are, in fact, a corruption of the language originating from writers. Although he often stayed in Vojvodina, Vuk never tried to understand the characteristics of Vojvodina speech. (However, in Vojvodina, he stayed the least in Srem, where the dialect is the least specific.)

the first uprising.[1] It has already been noticed that the Ikavian dialect has been left out here, which Vuk mentioned already in 1814 in his *Pismenici* ("slavonsko narječje" "Slavonian speech"). Aleksandar Belić[2] explained this procedure through Vuk's examination of the dictionary of "Shokac" lexicographers. Instead of finding consistent Ikavian in them, as he had hoped, Vuk found more Jekavian and Ekavian material there than Ikavian, which gave him the impression that Ikavian was not as widespread as he initially assumed. It is not excluded that Vuk, perhaps for some tactical reasons, deliberately left aside "Serbs of the Roman Catholic religion." It is striking that Vuk had practically no Catholics of our language amongst the subscribers. Kopitar's Slovenian friends, the Czech Dobrovski, the Poles Linde and Bantke, the Germans Büsching and Vater were also present, but if we check who the subscribers were from Dubrovnik, Zagreb, Zadar, Skradin, Šibenik, and Split ("Špalatra"), it will be shown that only Orthodox Serbs, mostly merchants, responded from there. But the most important reason that Vuk did not put Ikavian forms along with the forms of the other three dialects certainly lies in the fact that he did not know Ikavian language enough, so he could not give words in Ikavian form without the danger of unpleasant overreaching.

It is significant that in the Preface, there is a significant number words that are not in the dictionary itself, i.e., those not spoken by the common people: *diploma, gramatika* (also *gramatik* and *gramatičeski*), *spisatelj, predgovor, svojstvo, rječnik, ortografija, samoglasno slovo, poluglasno slovo, prilagatelno ime, sravnitelni stepen, evropejski, poetičeski, recenzija* (also *recenzent*)*, smisao, dragovoljno, estetičeski, biblija, sinod, književestvo, prenumerant, objavlenije, narječije, sklonenije, glagol, naklonenije, neopredjeleno, naklonenije izjavitelno, azbučni, pobratatelni, upravitelj, gimnazija, pargament, klasičeski*, etc). These words, if not European internationalisms, were mostly drawn from Church Slavonic sources, almost all of which were widely used by Slavic-Serbian writers. In his writing, Vuk confirmed that it was not possible to write in the pure vernacular about things outside of everyday life. In the Serbian Grammar, of course, there is much more to it. The

[1] The Prizren-Timok dialect, which is spoken in the southeast of Karađorđe's Serbia (in the areas around Aleksinac and Gurgusovac, today's Knjaževac), remained unnoticed, amongst other things.

[2] *O Vukovim pogledima na srpske dijalekte i književni jezik, Glas SKA LXXXII* (1910), pp. 137-140; *Vukova borba* 109-111.

deeper the explication delves into professional matters, the greater the share of terms in the text foreign to the vernacular.

IV. SERBIAN GRAMMAR

The grammar that accompanies the first edition of the Dictionary (which was omitted in the second edition, certainly because it was replaced in 1850 by Daničić's much more complete *Little Serbian Grammar*) was not the first grammar derived from Vuk's pen. In 1814, his *Pismenica srbskoga jezika* was published, the first grammar of the language written by a Serb. That work by a talented but unlearned beginner came about mostly as an adaptation of Mrazović's *Руководства къ славенстѣй їрамматиць*, with many ideas and the direct suggestions of Luka Milovanov and Sava Mrkalj. The Serbian grammar contained in the Dictionary is a thorough reworking of *Pismenica*, which marks, amongst other things, the writer's journey.

Although somewhat shorter than *Pismenica*, the Serbian Grammar is a much more substantial text, richer in data. Vuk introduced whole new chapters here: on consonantal alternations, on the doubling of sounds, on Slavic letters. In other cases, he added new principled observations (about three types of adjectives, about the meaning of adjective definiteness, about categories in the change of verbs) or introduced new concrete facts. An enormous enrichment was introduced with the accents, provided with paradigm forms. In addition, declension paradigms have been expanded with the forms of locatives (again Kopitar's advice, formulated in the review of *Pismenica*), verbal paradigms with forms of verbal nouns. But the focus of the new material is on the text that follows the paradigms and contains details on specificities.

In the Serbian Grammar, for the first time, a more or less complete picture of the modern Serbo-Croatian declension system appears. In *Pismenica*, only the skeleton of that system was given, without many important details. In terms of conjugation, an area which is much more complex and sets more difficult tasks than declension, *Pismenica* offers only a sketch, and only the Serbian Grammar managed to outline the system. Amongst the Serbs, perhaps only Vuk, who was constantly looking to the future, understood clearly what all this meant: the beginning of the codification of a new literary language and the beginning of the study of our language. His linguistic sense experienced crystallization in Serbian grammar, he was the one who noticed the features of

our language, in a wide range from fundamental to the most subtle. Many of Vuk's observations are repeated in the grammars of our language to this day, not so much because of the inertia of the grammarians, but because his observations are in their right place.

A smaller volume of the Serbian Grammar compared to *Pismenica* was achieved, of course, by numerous omissions. There was a lot of unnecessary heritage in *Pismenica*, mostly from Mrazović's Church Slavonic grammar. Vuk has now thrown it all out, reducing his work to what is really relevant to our language. Thus, stereotypical and in-depth, and sometimes inaccurate explanations of basic grammatical terms (definitions of words, nouns, grammatical gender, number, case, etc.) have been dismissed/suffered. Notes on the creation of verb forms were also sacrificed, which said only what was obvious from the very forms mentioned above. The chapter on conjugation, hypertrophied in *Pismenica* by citing forms that are not a feature of our language, is free of that ballast. Thus, the conjunctive, extensive paradigms of the passive, participles of the present passive of the *karajemi* type, etc. were removed. Serbian Grammar has thus become much more Serbian than *Pismenica*.

It is not difficult to notice the weaknesses in the Serbian Grammar. However, there are not many major shortcomings: the categorization of verbs is awkward and contains too many variations of them,[1] while some conjugation types remain in the shadows, the demarcation of accents is imperfect, the comparative of adjectives is confusing mostly because it had not been noticed that the continuation of comparatives can depend on the accent, consonantal alternations are not strictly grouped enough, which is why the morphology suffers. Apart from this, we find mostly only slips in detail.

Of the things missing in the Serbian Grammar the largest is in terms of syntax, which was missing as a chapter and replaced by short comments on the use of certain forms, introduced here and there in morphology (which is also, by the way, what Kopitar did in is Slovenian Grammar). In this respect, Vuk's work lags far behind Appendini's *Grammatica della lingua illirica*, published in 1808, which contains extensive sections on syntax, although it is mostly below Vuk's level. It is certainly a pity that there is no systematic explication of accent relations in nouns, adjectives, and verbs, or a description of the pronunciation of

[1] This argument is not about a bad solution by Vuk but about a wider tradition: the same verb types, and even in the same order, we find in Kopitar's Slovenian Grammar and in Appendini's grammar of our language.

sounds in our language, but it would be unjust and anachronistic to blame Vuk for not giving/offering it at the time.

However, not everything is bad in the Serbian Grammar, and even what is good far outweighs its weaknesses. Its flaws can be justified to a good extent by the fact that the work (together with *Pismenica*) represents the beginning, but its virtues are such that we should appreciate them in some part behind which there is already an established tradition. It has two great advantages that are not always present in works on language: fidelity to the material and a strict aspiration to find what is relevant to a given language system. We will not find anything here that would deviate from the facts, and nothing that would not be important for the functioning of our language as a linguistic system. Of the differences between the sounds in our language, all those are mentioned here, but also only those that can be used to distinguish words, i.e., that function as a linguistic tool. No one before the Serbian Grammar had given such a complete overview of these elements, and no one after that could add anything to Vuk's system. In phonetic changes, a difference was observed between living phonetic relations and "etymological changes" in words such as *mlogo* or *sumlja* (p. XXXII). In morphology, the meaning of different forms is defined only where it is necessary to shed light on a specific distinction (such as between definite and indefinite adjectives, the full and enclitic form of pronouns, i.e., auxiliary verbs, between the perfect and imperfect adjectives). In all this, Vuk's presentations are, as a rule, well-founded, and his approach to things seems very modern, even compared to many works published today. Many of Vuk's observations on details inspire us even today with their discernment, sometimes with great courage of insight.

During the modern reader's encounter with Serbian Grammar, the greatest difficulties are created by grammatical terminology, foreign and incomprehensible. Usually, nothing will be worth anything because this terminology is of Slavic (i.e., Church Slavonic) origin: why would "*povelitelnog naklonenija*" be connected to the "imperative form", for example. It is paradoxical, but still true that, apart from the examples given by Vuk, Latin translations of the titles of certain chapters will be the most helpful. Actually, Slavic grammar-related terminology (if domestic) distinguishes between different Slavic languages (because it is different in each of them), while Latin terms as a *present* or *accusative* unite them. And the example of our reader who stops, confused, in front of the text of Vuk's Grammar, shows that this applies

not only to relations between various Slavic peoples, but also amongst various epochs in the individual histories of the same peoples.

The Church Slavonic grammatical terminology was cumbersome, vague, and almost always inconsistent with the phonetic and form features of the Serbian. Everything indicated that a radical revision of the terminology was inevitable. We find some of that already achieved in the Serbian Grammar: some expressions have been Serbianized where it was not difficult to do so. Thus, we find there *množestveni broj* instead of *množestveni čisal*, *povratno* instead of *povraćatelno*, *savršitelni* instead of *soveršitelni prošavše* instead of *prošedno*, and *buduće* instead of *budušče* (in some places, however, Vuk took a step backwards, retaining forms that were to be rejected). However, in its predominant part, the terminology in the Serbian Grammar is still Church Slavonic. The next period of Vuk's activity brought a radical change in this situation. In Daničić's *Little Serbian Grammar* from 1850, we find a completely different terminology, close to ours today. But until then, Vuk himself had developed methods of Serbianizing Church Slavonic words and proclaimed the necessity to do so when there are no appropriate words in the vernacular. Thus, many grammatical terms were also Serbianized, but even more often, in place of old terms completely new ones were coined: *ime prilagatelno* (roughly translated as descriptive name/word) became *pridjev* (adjective), and *mjestoimenije* became *zamjenica* (pronoun). And that was in the spirit of Vuk's general intentions in the second phase of his activity: he coined many new words while translating the Holy Scriptures, and he pointed it out in the preface to the translation, the one that became the Bible of language policy for the next generation. But there was another path that led to the development of our linguistic terminology: the path of internationalization. Today, we have the instrumental case instead of the "creative" case, the word for the passive voice has replaced the old one, and so on. The new terms are not more obscure to our people than Church Slavonic expressions, but they are shorter and more useful, and form yet another bridge towards the general European cultural treasure.

V. ALPHABET AND ORTHOGRAPHY

In a slightly symbolic way, Serbian Grammar begins and ends with the alphabet. This is not unjustified, much less accidental. From the point of view of language description, Vuk was right to start with

a list of letters. His letters are phonemes, the result of his correctly performed analysis of the sound system of our language. And it was very necessary to emphasize this alphabet right here: it was given here for the first time. However, in *Pismenica*, in principle, we already have a vision of such an alphabet.[1] All unnecessary Church Slavonic letters had already been removed there, for *j* a special sign was used (ї), for *ć* they had already taken *ћ*, in accordance with the old Serbian tradition. For *lj*, *nj*, and *đ*, new signs were proposed—for the first two, there were *љ* and *њ* (which are also found in the Dictionary and in today's Serbian Cyrillic), and for *đ* a less practical draft with which Vuk himself was not satisfied and for which he later sought a replacement, consulting with friends, to finally adopt, at the suggestion of Mušicki in a famous letter of March 30, 1817,[2] sign *ђ* (which he then experienced to be definitely accepted).[3] Thus, the distinction between the letters *ћ* and *ђ*, parallel to the one previously formed between *ч* and *џ*, where the difference between the letter for the voiceless and for the corresponding sound affricate was created by modifying the originally same sign that performed both functions.[4] However, in the *Pismenica*, Vuk only suggested/proposed the alphabet which I mentioned earlier and which meant a new positive step away from Mrkalj's alphabet. Still, in the actual text, Vuk himself did not apply this (adhering instead to Mrkalj's alphabet), nor did he return to it in his later writings. His orthography in these writings showed no improvements in comparison with the old one, often even lagging behind it. Thus, the glory goes to the Dictionary as a revolutionary innovation. What was hinted at in *Pismenica* in a few lines, the Dictionary put into practice (with the mentioned differences in the form of the letters *j* and *ђ*) and completed by introducing the letter *џ*.

---

[1] *Vukove Skupljene gramatičke i polemičke spise*, I, 12. Before Vuk, this vision—although less concretized—was held by Mrkalj in his work *Salo debelog jera*, (cf. *Vukove Skupljene gramatičke i polemičke spise*, I, 214.)

[2] *Vukova prepiska* II, 161-163.

[3] About the differentiation of the letters *ћ* and *ђ* with Gavrilo Stefanović Venclović, in the first half of the 18th century, cf. Aleksandar Mladenović, *Slovo ђ pre Vuka*, Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku VI, 1963, 158—162.

[4] In a letter to Kopitar dated October 28, 1820, Vuk drew attention to the similarity between the old Serbian letters for *ћ* and *ђ* the letter for *ч* (and, later, *џ*): the letter ѣ, looks like an inverted and coated ѵ. The similarity of these letters is shown larger when starting from the form ѣ which the letter for *ћ* and *ђ* had in some old manuscripts.

A careful reader will notice the difference between Vuk's list of Serbian letters at the beginning of the Serbian Grammar and the one at the end. This second list also contains three letters that are not in the first. These are ъ, *ф*, and *x*.

The sign ъ has a function with Vuk that is completely different from the one given by the centuries-old Cyrillic tradition. To Vuk, this letter serves as a signal of the vowel function of the sound *p* (r in Latinic) in those few cases where the consonant is in the vicinity of a vowel, so the letter *p* could be read as a usual consonant (*grъoce*, *zaърzati*, not *gro-ce*, *zar-za-ti*).

The letters *ф* and *x*, which the common people do not utter,[1] Vuk allows in writing certain foreign words where these sounds cannot easily be left out or replaced by another one.

In this way, the apparent contradiction between the initial and final list of letters in the Serbian Grammar disappears. The first list shows the phonetic system of the Serbian language, while the second script also includes the alphabet with the three characters/letters of marginal status: they either marked foreign sounds, or they did not mark a sound at all, but one feature of the sound (the vocalic *p*, of course, marked with the letter *r*).

Along with the phonological alphabet, the Dictionary also brought phonological orthography. Just as the inventory of letters corresponds to the sound system, so does their use reflect what is actually being said. Leaving the morphological principle (*srbski* instead of *srpski* because it is from *Srb*, not from *Srp*), Vuk refers to a similar practice of our medieval scribes (p. XXX). But at that time—and sometimes later—it was written like this only by chance, and not consciously and consistently. That is why Vuk, and especially the Dictionary, deserves praise in this because of the achieved turnaround. And that is why, of

[1] Vuk's observation about this is valid for most of the Shtokavian dialects, above all for his speech in Tršić (today, of course, with the proviso that these sounds penetrate greatly from the literary language). But Vuk himself adds (p. XXXIV) that in the cities, *ф* (or *f*) could also be heard in certain domestic/local? words. Later, Vuk had the opportunity to listen to/witness this in various other parts/areas and also to see for himself that there were zones where the sound *x* (or *h*) was alive in the vernaculars, which all contributed to his finally accepting these two sounds in our literary language (*ф* in Vuk's writings stabilized imperceptibly and gradually, while he introduced *x* in 1836, consciously and with an explanation).

course, this orthography was met with a storm of condemnation as soon as Vuk appeared with it. While the principle of the folk basis of literary language was adopted relatively quickly, although not immediately and consistently, it took three decades upon the first edition of the Dictionary for a significant group of authors to appear and begin writing in phonological orthography, and even half a century for that orthography to finally be sanctioned. The roots of this difference are not hard to spot. Although the authority of tradition and the mechanical force of habit were in both cases on the side of the old/antiquity, people preferred their mother tongue to an artificial literary idiom that could only be learned through many years of effort, but they were willing to stick to the orthography which, although more difficult than the phonological type, still came down to a limited number of rules and could be mastered with a moderate amount of work.

Firmly based on the phonological principle, the orthography of the first edition of the Dictionary, however, remained within certain limits/restrictions in the implementation of that principle.

The first and healthiest restriction/limit concerns sound changes in the proximity of two words (*s njim, bez posla, pred tobom,* and not *š njim, bes posla, pre tobom*, p. LXXI). It focuses on the sound character of a word in its independent or "neutral" position.

Other restrictions come down to non-observance of the rules on consonant equalization in certain cases where the root of the word is in contact with a prefix or suffix for word formation. The most extensive such category covers examples like *ds* and *dš*: *odslužiti, gradski, gospodstvo, odšetati*. Vuk was aware of this problem; at first, he was even troubled by doubts about how to proceed. He reported his arguments and counterarguments in the Serbian Grammar, pp. XXX-XXXI. Here it can be seen that he was confused by the pronunciation with *c* or *s* instead of the group *ts* (or *ds*). From his wording, it appears that, in his speech, he had the forms *ljucki, bracki, gospocki*, and the examples in the dictionary itself testify that he also had *gospostvo, osele, oseliti, osijecati, oskočiti, ostupati, osukati*, etc., all as the only possible or at least the most intimate forms. And yet, he did not dare to write it consistently like this because in other examples (*ljudstvo*, *nadskakivati*, *odslužiti*, *podsiriti*) the sound change in his speech did not go beyond turning *ds* into *ts*. And since both *ds* and *ts* are "difficult to pronounce", he opted for the variant most faithful to the "etymology", or rather, to the morphological principle (*d-* in

odviti, odlomiti, odmaći, and therefore also in *odsjeći*). This concession to the principle against which Vuk otherwise fought so fiercely was actualized in the Dictionary very hesitantly. However, later on the way to the standardization of Vuk and his literary language, the writing of *ds* grew ever more fully generalized, the only one that in no case corresponds to the vocal reality. This laid the groundwork for the orthographic interplay in our century. This deviation/exception was joined by several other, smaller ones, which fortunately did not get access to the later orthographic codex: *žeđca, naručbina, svjedočba* (admittedly with reference to *narudžbina, svjedodžba*), a series of words in *izž-*, again with referring to the more accpetable *iz-*. (Words like *vođstvo* and *bekstvo*, which gave headaches to later generations, did not belong in Vuk's language.)

The second cycle of deviations/exceptions in favor of the morphological principle concerns the example of *j* where some of Vuk's individual solutions in this regard have been abandoned, but others have survived to this day, sometimes creating difficulties. Thus, amongst others, the rule was laid that *j* is written in the possessive adjective *tajin*, and omitted in the noun *tain*, or that in terms of *j* there is a contrast in *vijoriti* and *radionica, biblioteka* and the vocative *biblijo, radio* and the genitive *radija, stadion* and *stadijum*. Belić's attempt was based on solutions focused on writing and not pronunciation (e.g., *Šumadijski* instead of *Šumadiski*), and led to an orthography schism and fierce battles that ended with the return to the old ways.

VI. ACCENTS

Accent marks were systematically placed on entries in the dictionary and on examples in paradigms in Serbian grammar (and sometimes on material outside paradigms). No Serbian book before the Dictionary contained as much information about our accentuation, and no one after it recorded as many new facts about this as the first edition of the Dictionary.

The system of accent marks used by Vuk in this book is borrowed/taken/originates, and as is often mentioned, from Luka Milovanov. This system consists of four signs whose value Vuk explains on p. XXXVI—XXXVII. If we translate these explanations into today's terminology and interpret them in today's way, we will conclude that there is a

long ascending, a long descending or unaccented length, and consecutive lengths, two or three, starting from the marked syllable to the end of the word. These marks (in a more or less identical function) were first used by Vuk in *Pismenica*. But there is also a novelty in the Dictionary that significantly separates him from Milovanov. It is "the use of a special sign" for a short descending accent. True, Vuk was not consistent in this. It seemed to him that it was enough to mark the difference between two short accents where two words differ in this way[1] and, sometimes, where the accents are the same but different forms of the same word appear.[2] Only in the second edition of the Dictionary has this been corrected, but this is thanks to Đuro Daničić, who edited the edition. Therefore, only the second edition can be trusted for the explanation and usage of short accents (and that is the vast majority of words in our language.) Our language experts later often resented Vuk for that, leaving in the shadow the fact that he still was the first Serb to show the difference between all four Serbian accents.

If we now look at the characteristics of Vuk's accentuation, we will conclude that it perfectly represents the accentuation structure that is the most widespread in Serbo-Croatian dialects. The sphere of this accent system covers the whole of Herzegovina (including the so-called Montenegrin Herzegovina, i.e., today's northwestern half of the Republic of Montenegro), most of Bosnia, western Serbia and the speeches of Serbs in Croatia, as well as the majority of other Shtokavians in Croatia. The accent systems of the largest part of Vojvodina are also close to this (in Vuk's time, this closeness was even greater than today), as well as and in Dubrovnik. But this accentuation is at the same time marked by very distinct, even extreme features. Our speeches oscillate between the consistent preservation of the old place of accent and the radically executed Novoshtokavian accent transmission. Vuk's speech

---

[1] *Đèsti* and *đȅsti, jàrica* and *jȁrica, klòbuk* and *klȍbûk, kòštan* and *kȍštan, krùščić* and *krȕščić, lèto* and *lȅto, màša* and *mȁša, pàra* and *pȁra, pàša* and *pȁša, pètâk* and *pȅtâk, pòlica* and *pȍlica, pòljskî* and *pȍljskî, prtiti and pr̀titi, sìjati and sȉjati, sjènica (sènica) and sjênica (sênica), sòmić and sȍmić, stàjati and stȁjati, stèrati and stȅrati, tràvica and Trȁvica, tròjica and trȍjica (and in the pairs bàcati : bȁcati and òra : ȍra* for which Vuk mentions on p. XXXVI the accents in the Dictionary itself did not get printed properly).

[2] So, *vòda, vòdê, vòdôm, vòdi, vòdama, vȍdi, vȍdu, vȍdo,* pl. *vȍde* and *sòkô ['sokol'],* but *sȍkole,* then *kòlâč,* but *kȍlâču, kòtao* but *kȍtle* on p. XXXVII*, žèna*, etc.*,* but *žȅno, žène* nom, and ac. pl. but *žȅno* acc. pl., p. XXXIX, etc.

is one of the most consistent representatives of this second type. Also, in our speeches, there is a whole scale of transition between complete preservation of inherited post-accent lengths and their radical liquidation. And there is Vuk's speech in the position of extremes, only it strays in the preservation of antiquity. He is also extremely archaic in terms of keeping the accent changes in the declension of nouns. Of all these features, the widespread use of Vuk accentuation was an important prerequisite for its acceptance as a model of literary pronunciation, while other features in practice created a lot of problems. However, our philologists were delighted with the extreme solutions that characterized the "pure" Vuk accentuation type, and they were especially fond of the vivid complexity of almost all possible relationships in this accentuation. In the first edition of the Dictionary, let's face it, they weren't very clear. Since Daničić in the second edition of the Dictionary, and especially in his accent articles, brought to light thousands of details, lessons on many categories of post-accent lengths, the intricate and subtle game of shifting accents in paradigms and skipping accents on suggestions have become an indispensable part of our grammar and orthography handbooks/manuals. But for the audience, all this is not easy to overcome, especially not for people who are not from the zone of Vuk accentuation. And it just so happened that most of our cultural centers were formed outside that zone: Belgrade, Zagreb, Novi Sad, and even Split, Rijeka, Osijek, Niš, Kragujevac, Cetinje, Titograd. Having no sense of the finesse of the prescribed accent system in their linguistic sense, the people in these cities usually have no chance to learn to use accent marks because they cannot establish a connection between their own pronunciation and the accents required in normative manuals. The natural result is ignoring those demands that in our environment are known practically only to the dedicated, i.e., those who establish them. The development of the accentuation of our literary language is progressing, regardless of the accents that are dead in grammars and dictionaries. Of course, development in such situations eliminates extreme solutions, especially when they are on the side of extreme complexity. On average, our current pronunciation of literary language deviates significantly—although not everywhere equally—from the norm of Vuk's accentuation. It stands in relation to his accentuation as moderate to radical.

VII. THE DICTIONARY AS A LEXICOGRAPHIC ACHIEVEMENT

1. The repertoire of words and their origins

Even today, after so much time and despite the great progress of our lexicography, Vuk's Dictionary is an irreplaceable work, above all in its first, imperfect edition. With the passage of time, it becomes even more irreplaceable, although, of course, we are creating more and better dictionaries. The explanation of this paradox only sounds paradoxical: unlike all other dictionaries of our language, Vuk's first edition is basically a dictionary of one man's speech. To the uninitiated reader, this feature may not seem like a virtue, but it is. Other dictionaries contain words from different sources, used by different people, often at different times and in different places, in other words, those that do not actually coexist in one language system, or are mechanically mixed in a literary language system, somewhat like random passers-by on the sidewalk. In contrast, the lexicon of organically developed individual speech constitutes a coherent system, it includes as many words as necessary to cover the meanings that exist in the environment and psychological world of its bearer. As a rule, the semantic fields of these words are clearly demarcated, and where synonymy occurs, it is not the result of an accidental encounter of two words from different sources, but has deeper causes. Everything is passed through a unique linguistic filter, which becomes an even greater quality when it comes to an individual endowed with extraordinary linguistic feeling, who is at the same time a man of the people, able to distinguish amongst the linguistic elements known to him those truly in the folk tradition, taken from his parents' home. Let us add here the fact that Vuk's speech belongs to our central dialect massif and that it is relatively little spoiled by foreigners, and we will understand the value of his Dictionary—and no other source than it: the lexicon of average pure Serbian speech from before modern civilization with its countless new layers of borrowings and neologisms. That vocabulary is in fact the core of the lexicon of our modern language.

From the point of view of the completely covered vocabulary, there is little to complain about in the Dictionary. The review of "*shokac*" dictionaries certainly contributed the most to things not being left out. Along with that came the extraction of words from the texts of folk

songs that Vuk had at his disposal at the time, and also the systematic filling out of the material by constructing all derived forms, such as augmentatives and diminutives for nouns or the name of an action (ending in *-nje*) for verbs.[1] In this way, the material grew to an impressive number of 26,270 words. If a certain word was not in Vuk's native vocabulary, in principle that means that it did not show up in the first edition of the Dictionary. And yet some things escaped his notice in spite of everything. Thus, we do not find the word *zvono*, although the *zvonce* is clearly said to be a diminutive of the *zvono*, and the situation is similar with the reference of the word *kljuverina* to *kurada* and also with the reference of the words *zažuteti* and *zažutiti* to *zažućeti*. The words *frator, fratorov* and *fratorski* also refer to *prator, pratorov*, and *pratorski*, but these words are not in their places. Missing also are the words *umlje*, *sveto*, and *okopniti*, which appear under the entries *bezumlje*, *krsno ime*, and *toplik*, and also under the word *dizatise*, the meaning it has in the expression *dizatise prošca* stated under the word *proštac*. The word *baviti se* that Vuk used a lot does not appear.[2] Even in later editions of the Dictionary, the meaning of the word *ubiti* that it has in the example is omitted:

> Ima l' mlogo vojske u Turaka
> Je l' podobna da bojak ubije?

(under the word *podoban*). A study on this issue would certainly bring to the surface other cases,[3] but it would often clash with the inability

---

[1] Here Vuk was able to avoid the dangers of constructing forms that do not exist in speech. It is instructive to compare the arguments he cites for various words. So, from *žena* he has a *ženetina* and *ženturina*, from *kuća — kućerina, kućetina*, and *kućurina*, from *noga — nožurda* and *nožurina*, and from *preslica — presličetina* and *presličina*, so each time a different combination, depending on what is actually being said (it is also characteristic that no augmentatives are given of our ordinary words, e.g., *lipa*, *međa*, or *motka*., apparently because Vuk did not find them in his linguistic repertoire).

[2] Broz and Iveković's dictionary of the Croatian language treats *baviti se* with a series of confirmations from Vuk's writings (admittedly, the oldest of these confirmations is from 1828, so we cannot rule out the possibility that this word entered Vuk's language later).

[3] For the pronouns *vaš, njegov, njen, njiov* (your, his, her, their), it could be assumed that they were missing because they were recorded in the Serbian Grammar, but then why were the pronouns *moj*, *tvoj*, and *naš* (my, your, our) still included?

to determine with certainty which of the words that do not appear in the first edition of the Dictionary, but do appear in the second, actually belonged to Vuk's speech (I do not mean to the words listed in the second edition with the location marked where Vuk noticed them in the meantime).

However, there are several layers of words in the Dictionary that do not belong to the core we talked about a while ago. These are words from other dialects, then "stagnant" words that live only in folklore and personal names taken from the Rača text mentioned in the Preface. Vuk rigorously singled out the first two categories with explicit markings, while for the third he was mistaken. It would have been more correct and better for scholarship if he had adhered to his general conceptions of the Dictionary and entered only those personal names that he heard amongst the people (with a note about from which region they are, if they were not in his homeland). Thus, despite Vuk's statement that all the baptized names recorded in the Dictionary "still live in the Serbian people today,"[1] we remain in doubt before many names. It is known, for example, that Večerin and Lamenka were recorded in old monuments, and no one except Vuk's Dictionary registered their existence in the nineteenth century, therefore, it is no wonder that LJ. Stojanović considers such data suspicious.[2] On the other hand, in the Dictionary, we will look in vain for the names of people that Vuk knew very well, e.g., *Sara* or *Maca*, and even the names of Vuk's parents, *Stevan* (Stefan) and *Jegda*. Hence, the material on personal names in the Dictionary is unusable as a source on the onomastics of Vuk's time and environment. Nevertheless, his marking of vocabulary material from other dialects and "stagnant" words indebted scholarship forever: if Vuk had not told us that himself, today there would often be no way to find out if a word existed in his native language, and one of the most precious qualities of the Dictionary would be destroyed.

Vuk's dialectological marks with individual words are of two natures. They refer either to various forms of the same word, or to special words.

In the first case, Vuk marks the relationship between the three basic dialects of his classification, "Herzegovinian", "Srem", and "Resava".

---

[1] Preface, p. XVIII. It is characteristic that Vuk claims there that there are "many more" such names in the regions far from his home.

[2] *Život i rad V. St. Karadžića* 126.

This distinction includes mainly two features: *jat* replacement *(brìjeg: breg, pjèvati: pèvati, djever: dever, sȉjati: sèjati, dijoba: deòba, etc.)* and the form of hypocoristic nouns of the masculine gender (*Áco: Áca, bàbo: bàba, nóno: nóna đógo: đóga*). In one part of the example with *jat*, there is a difference between the Resava dialect, consistently Ekavian, and the Srem dialect, which is distinguished by the fact that in certain cases *i* stands in the place of *jat*. This phenomenon is treated systematically only in verbs such as *leteti/letiti, pocrneti/pocrniti, svrbeti/sverbiti*, etc.[1] Other examples are more or less isolated and concern individual words and their derivatives*: de / di and gde / gdi,* then *gdegde / gdigdi, gdegod / gdigod, gdešto / gdišto, nigde / nigdi,* etc.*, sekira / sikira, gnezdo / gnjizdo, nagnezditi (se) / nagnizditi (se)*, and *nagnjizditi (se).*

Vuk's unequal treatment of the three dialects often testifies to his knowledge of the facts and conscientious attitude towards them. As a counterpart to the "Herzegovinian" *podrijetlo,* he does not render *podretlo*, but *poreklo.* The words *bratijenci, izderilijeska, opljeti, prijevornica, sijeri*, and *Cvjetašin* appear only in Jekavian; Vuk did not want to create fictitious Ekavian words. Some Jekavian doublet forms were left out, such as those of the words *deva, dečak, lepi čovek*, and *peskovnica*. Under *ljebac* 2, Vuk registers the specific Vojvodina use of this word, citing it specially in the Ekavian variant (*lebac*). Under the word *drevo* the Jekavian form is missing, obviously because the word is of ecclesiastical origins, take already from the Serbian (Ekavian) redaction of Church Slavonic. Contrary to the general rule, the Jekavian form *Lijevač* is referred to the Ekavian *Levač*, because the area is in the Ekavian area, so the Ekavian form is more common. However, the fact that Prilip was only recorded in the Ikavian form is the result of Vuk's ignorance, [2] the same ignorance that can be blamed for his statement that "it is a town in Kosovo."

The words that Vuk marked with real geographical provisions, and not with the designations "dialects", are distributed very unevenly: there are about sixty of them from Serbia (and certain parts of it), about the same number from Bosnia and Herzegovina (fifteen of which are

[1] "Erzegovinian" dialect has, of course, forms such as *lećeti, pocrnjeti, svrbljeti.*

[2] Indeed, in folk songs, the name of this city appeared deformed like this from somewhere, and the original Macedonian pronunciation was not known to Vuk even at the time when he was preparing the second edition of the Dictionary.

mentioned at the same time for Serbia), only two from Croatia and Slavonia, and a few hundred from Vojvodina. The most compact mass of them come from borrowings from German and Hungarian (a significant number of them ultimately came from Latin, French, Italian, and Slavic: *mađistrat, kuraž, pijaca, astal*) In addition, there are some Turkisms (*espan, kuluncija*) and Graecisms (*litija*, *parastos*), then a few old loans (*Danube*, *pasulj*) or domestic forms based on such loans (*Joca, Julka, ružičalo, čukundeda*), while the number of Slavic words is around one third, with several obviously Church Slavonic words amongst them (*blagodaran, neželi, opšti*, etc.), which means that the share of domestic words here is significantly smaller than the average amongst words with designations of other areas (there are about sixty percent of domestic words). This relationship naturally stems from the fact that Vojvodina was the first amongst the Serbian regions to find itself under the intense influence of modern European civilization, and that new vocabulary penetrated widely with that civilization. Hence, amongst the "Vojvodina" words are such as *bunda, interes, korpa, kugda, kuina, litija, lopta, magacin, minut, orman, pijaca, proba (and probati), siguran (*and *osigurati), skamija, toranj, forma*. After all, amongst the words built from Slavic language material, there are those that remind us of a type of civilization different from the one south of the Sava: *dužnost, zasluga, zahvaliti, igračka, mastilo, narav, opšti, peskovnica, razonoditi*; along with the later development of the Serbian people as a whole, such expressions largely lost their regional character. From the point of view of the history of literary language, there is plenty of significance in words such as *epoha, Dunav, zbog, kasno (*and *kasniti, zakasniti), kafa, leptir, mezimac (*and *mezimica), morati, pasulj, pečenje, poreklo, praviti (*and *napraviti), čitanje, (*and certainly *čitati)* which Vuk registers as Vojvodina's, although we know them today as quite ordinary elements of the literary language. The explanation given a moment ago for terms related to a certain level of civilization cannot be valid here (even if at first glance it would seem that some of these words have such a character, it turns out that, in Vuk's speech, there was a corresponding synonym or other variant of the same word). The spread of such words, i.e., their generalization at the expense of parallel forms (*Dunav, dockan, kava, lepir, grah, pecivo* in the meaning of *"pečenje", čakenje*, and *čatiti*) can be explained in only one way: the strong influence of the Vojvodina environment on the language's physiognomy. The center of Serbian cultural activity at that time was still

in Vojvodina, and this inevitably left its mark, especially on the lexical composition of the language, since the possibilities for variation in grammatical features were very constrained by taking over the grammatical structure of Vuk's language.

Of the words in the Dictionary marked with the marks of regions outside Vojvodina, several lexemes that Vuk qualified as Herzegovinian (*žlica, izvan, kovčeg, ulje, utjecati*) have experienced significant use in the literary language. It is interesting that some of these expressions are more common today in the Croatian version of the literary language than in the one used in Serbia. After all, most of these words also appear in folklore outside Herzegovina; Vuk's markings of this type do not mean that the word is spoken only in the specified area, but that he has data for that area. The same reservation applies, of course, to words marked as Vojvodina's (and should be understood as a reservation in terms of details in our recent discussion of these words).

Of course, the "stagnant" words did not belong to the Tršić dialect, but to the arsenal of expressive means of folklore that has a supra-dialectal character. The designation of these words in the Dictionary is twofold: There are, however, cases where every note in this sense has been omitted, and we still have reason to believe that the word is at least predominantly used in poems (e.g., *bojak* or *zelenika*).

Vuk almost regularly singled out another category of words, which, admittedly, mostly belonged to his mother tongue, but the linguistic feeling (although not so much peasants as learned people) qualified them as a foreign body in our language. These are the Turkisms that Vuk marked with an asterisk. As for other foreign words, some of them are provided with a note on the original form. Such notes, which certainly come from Kopitar, indicate the origin of certain words from the Greek language (for example *aratos, argatin, drum, jevtinoća, kamila, komad, kositer, metanija, orjatin, panagija, panađur, patos, prokopsati, salandar, talas, temelj, tefter, titor, trandovilje, ćelija, đepemida, ćivot*), or Italian (*baratati, capara, pijaca, pržuta, špada*), or from the German dialect spoken in Austria (*amrel, bokter, vras, vuncut, kuš, nokšir, pantljika, plajvaz, satljik, išavolj, šalukatre, šunka*). Of course, we have no right to complain that such remarks, which testify to Kopitar's knowledge and competence, were not given regularly. The Dictionary does not have the character of an etymological manual, and besides, at that time, when Slavic studies was in its initial period and Balkanology was still in its infancy (the first Balkanological

observations in scholarship were given by Kopitar), one could not even think of the etymological dictionary of our language.

2. Meaning of words

Kopitar and Vuk made the best possible choice when they decided to clarify the meanings of the words in the Dictionary in German and Latin. No other language could, in those circumstances, have been more useful in making Serbian language treasures accessible to foreign scholars, and no other foreign language was as necessary to the Serbian public as these two. Thus, in principle, a German and Latin translation was added to each word in the dictionary. But there are many inconsistencies in the details. Apart from the inevitable cases of referring words such as "*batalija*, f. vide bitka" or "*bardačina*, f. augm. v. bardak" there are also examples where an explanation of the meaning in Serbian is inserted in front of the German and Latin translation, as well as words where all other interpretations except Serbian are missing. Therefore, the words are not fully explained either for the reader who knows only German or Latin, or for the one who knows only Serbian. However, the latter does not even need an interpretation of every word, it is enough that those that may not be familiar to him have been clarified. As for foreigners, the Dictionary was not intended for those who would not be able to cope with the Serbian text of the explanation when they have the dictionary with grammar at hand. However, there was no real reason to omit the laconic definition of German and Latin for some words.

About thirty words remained in the Dictionary without explanation. Most of these words are listed with examples from the poems, such as *alem dragi kamen, velen, grebeštak, deli, din, doroc, đidija, žuborika, zatomiti, zijamet, ilinča, iman, kanat, koštunica koplje, leventa, memla, niđe, paćel, perde, skuvija, faklja, čajati*, while others are simply registered without any explanation (*bradanje, bučevina, greš, plesmo, srčanica, utakmice, cvrčak, čelebija*) or with scanty interpretation (*andrak, osoka, tonja, cecelj*). The words *perde* and *srčanica* were explained by Vuk later on p. XVIII,[1] while the words *din, doroc, đidija, žuborika, zatomiti, zijamet, iman, kanat, niđe, panel, skuvija*, then

[1] The word *perde* is very incompletely defined in the dictionary itself and was later supplemented. It is interesting that this addition was forgotten during the preparation of the second edition of the Dictionary, and then the third. Then Maretić also lost sight of this, who, in the Dictionary of the Yugoslav Academy,

bradanje, bučevina, greš, plesmo, utakmice, čvrčak, čelebija, and *andrak* are clarified in the second edition of the Dictionary.[1] Amongst the words from the songs, there are, as we have already mentioned, those for which it is not easy to determine what they mean (*velen, grebeštak, žuborika, ilinča, koštunica, faklja*).[2] Unlike its use in everyday communication, the appearance of a word in a song does not require it to mean something specific.

Some geographical names (*Barat, Vinoš, Vlasanice, Glamoč, Gračanica, Janjina Planina, Kačanik, Kotari, Kunor, Leđan, Livno, Mezevo, Ođunlija, Ozija, Ozin, Samodreža*) remained without precise meaning. Vuk heard all these names in songs (and documented their use in verses), but obviously the singers themselves could not inform him.[3] After all, we will not find much more information about these names in the second edition of the Dictionary (Vuk had new data only about *Kotari, Lijevno, Ozija*, and *Ozin*).[4] This is not only due to the then unexplored geography of our countries and the lack of reliable sources for areas under Turkey, but also the fact that some of these names were also real

---

accompanied the explanation of this word by removing it due to the vague and incomplete definition by Vuk.

[1] In the second edition, the definition of the meaning of the word *koprena* was corrected.

[2] Of the other words, *alem* comes, it seems, from an Arabic word that means omen, *leventa* is a Turkish soldier or hero or "idle heroine", *memla* is, of course, moisture, *čajati* means to wait, *osoka* is juice, *tonja* is a flame that appears in crops during foggy weather, and *cecelj* is the chemical sodium carbonate ("soda").

[3] In some of the cases where he determines the location of the name, Vuk was not properly informed: *Begej* is not a place, but a river in Banat, *Duvno* and *Kladuša* are in western Bosnia, not in Dalmatia, the *Marica* is not "in Kosovo", but in Bulgaria (and its lower course in Greece and Turkish Thrace), *Podgorica* (then Titograd) was not in Herzegovina, but in the eastern part of Crna Gora, Prilip (i.e., Prilep) is in Macedonia, not "in Kosovo", *Skoplje* is not in Herzegovina, but in western Bosnia, and *Udbinja* (i.e., *Udbina*) is located in Lipa, and not in Dalmatia. After all, it should be borne in mind that the boundaries of some of the mentioned areas have often changed during history, or are otherwise uncertain.

[4] Of the other names, *Glamoč* (a small town in western Bosnia), *Golet* (a mountain on the edge of Kosovo — but in the passage of the poem written in the Dictionary under the title *Mezevo*, it seems to be about areas much more north of Kosovo), *Gračanica* is a well-known monastery in Kosovo, *Kačanik* is a place to the south of Kosovo, and *Samodreža* is a church in Kosovo. In addition, *Barat* could be *Berat*, a town in Albania, *Vlasanice — Vlasenica*, a place in eastern Bosnia (which is still called Vlasanice amongst the people), while we know the etymology for the "field of Mezevo" in any case: the word *mező* in Hungarian means field.

"stagnant words," mythical geographical objects whose identity had long since sunk into oblivion or become diluted by the very deformation of those words, and therefore did not matter anymore.

The meanings of words were determined by Vuk, with his famous linguistic sense and sense of distinctions and nuances, which came to the fore especially with words with a wider range of meanings,[1] while translations into German and Latin were given by Kopitar masterfully. His knowledge of those languages was excellent, and when it seemed to him that the French word, or the Austrian dialect, corresponded most accurately to the meaning of the Serbian word, he added that translation. If he needed it, he also had ancient Greek or Italian parallels for word formation or semantic parallels from ancient mythology and various other associations. In the Latin interpretation of the lexical fund of a modern language, difficulties of a special kind also arise. Latin was the language of a civilization that is far from ours not only in time; Latin differs from modern languages in the world of concepts marked by words. That is why it is so often difficult to find Latin equivalents for our words. In addition, Latin is a dead language and, although many words in it are abundantly attested by preserved texts, it is not always certain how the ancient Roman would express himself in certain cases. On such occasions, Kopitar marked his reserve according to his own translation with a question mark in parentheses, and he certainly encouraged Vuk to use this sign without hesitation, behind which stands the attitude of intellectual honesty—but also wise caution.

The method of processing meaning in the Dictionary has only one noticeable weakness: indistinguishability of semantic nuances of the same word ("polysemy", in the terminology of today's linguistics) from the phonetic matching of words completely different in meaning (homonymy). "Best Man" and "Godfather" presented in the same way as the meanings "gather" and "praise" in the word *povaliti* (where two completely unrelated words accidentally coincided due to the removal of *h*) or as *kupa* meaning "cup" and *Kupa* "a river in Croatia."

In illustrating the meaning of words, Vuk showed just as little rigid consistency as in so many other technical procedures in the Dictionary. Definitions of meaning are supported by examples in only one part of the word, where it seemed necessary to Vuk or where he had

[1] As an illustration, we mention, amongst many others, the words *zaći, po, pobratim, prebaciti*, and *svijet*.

examples at his fingertips, and the examples themselves are diverse. Most often, these are verses of folk songs, or typical word connections often used in everyday speech. Giving examples was, of course, rendered unnecessary where the explanation of the word itself (in Serbian) is very detailed or where an ethnographic or folklore contribution is given about the word.

At Kopitar's initiative, Vuk introduced descriptions of many customs, folk beliefs, spells and sorcery, games and various details from folk life, then several legends related to certain localities or historical figures and other folk tales, mostly humorous. There are, of course, some words accompanied by proverbs (for example, under *kuđenik, loš, čovek*) and riddles (e.g., under *bradići, visuljak, tuta*), and less often historical data or information from the history of the language, usually about the past of the word.

VIII. THE LANGUAGE OF THE DICTIONARY

The linguistic core of the Dictionary consists of the language of determinants—except for standing/stagnant words, personal names, and vocabulary from other dialects—and the language of explanations along with the entries, of course those in Serbian. The language of the Preface and Serbian Grammar falls under that category only to one extent: professional (and to some extent general civilizational) terminology here represents a foreign body, an element that, with its origin and characteristics, stands out sharply from the whole. Such a limited linguistic core of the Dictionary is also the starting point of the history of our modern literary language. There is a break between that language and what preceded it, a linguistic revolution, and from that language to today's linguistic reality there is a line of uninterrupted organic development. That is why this language deserves the detailed attention of our science. It should be known in order to outline the later evolution of Vuk's language itself, and especially so that the range covered for this century and up to the present day could be measured.[1]

[1] Our starting point in this analysis, it is understood, is mostly today's linguistic reality in the cultural circle to which Vuk belonged, which is the Serbian environment, primarily that in Serbia with Vojvodina. (Of course, in relation to *jat*, only the Jekavian variant of our literary language came into consideration for comparison).

Also, a solid starting point for considering the dialectal basis of our literary language can only be given by comparing Vuk's language in the Dictionary with the speeches of Tršić in Jadro, his birthplace, and Drobnjak under the Durmitor,[1] the tribe from which the Karadžić family moved to Tršić in the first half of the eighteenth century.[2]

Characteristics of the vocabulary[3]

The lexical treasure presented in the dictionary bears the remarkable physiognomy of the vernacular lexicon of the rural areas and is full of terminology related to husbandry and agriculture and everything associated with them*: bìlja, zeljo, krilonja, kusonja, medonja, mrkonja, sivonja, šaronja, potkonjak, rudnjak, volaš, voko, budžulja, kusulja, maculja, medulja, mladačna krava, mrkulja, ozimkulja (*or *ozimačna krava), sivulja, cvjetulja, šarulja, ozimče, alat, binjak, buin, gubalj, dorat, đogat, zelenko, jalica, kljuverina, krьat, kulaš, kusalj, mrkov, parip, putalj, čilaš, šarac, ome, dvogoče, trogoče, bedevija, doruša, đoguša, mrkuša, šišakinja, trećak, devetak, šestakinja, sedmakinja* (and so on.)*, bušina, dvizak, dviska, šiljegvica, šiljež, šilježe,*[4] *bílja, brnja, ljepošeta,*

---

[1] Vuk often mentioned the Drobnjak clan as Herzegovinians, and pointed out that they were Herzegovinians from ancient times. Today, this region is part of Montenegro, to which it belonged in 1878, together with other parts of the swath that has since been sometimes called Montenegrin Herzegovina, and which dialectically still belongs to eastern Hercegovina.

[2] Study informs us about those speeches, B. Nikolić's Tršić speech and daily monographs by J. Vuković (*Speech of Piva and Drobnjak* and *Accent in the Speech of Piva in Drobnjak*). Of course, dialectological works never reach the dictionaries, so there will be details in the Dictionary for which we will not find data, either positive or negative, in terms of speech.

[3] Sections 1-6 from the text of the Preface to the Prosveta edition of the Dictionary (on the features of vowels, consonants, declensions, conjugations, word formations, and syntax) are omitted here.

[4] The terminology of sheep farming in Vuk's speech was, however, far poorer than the one that still lives today in the homeland of Vuk's ancestors, in the regions around the Durmitor, and which is informed by the article by Anica Taulić, *Appendix to lexicons of folk languages*, Our language, new series VIII, 1956, 269–285. A similar line of words is suggested by the reading of Matavulj's article *Oko mleka* (Sabrana dela Sime Matavulja, vol. VII, Belgrade 1954, ed. Prosveta, 469–473), where Vuk's Dictionary is supplemented with data on words spoken "in the southern regions". This relationship is obviously a consequence of the changes in the type of sheep farming caused by the descent from the high mountain regions to the low hills of southwestern Serbia, where there are no conditions for seasonal herding.

pojasica, crvenika 1, šuka, bjelug, bjeluga, zeljug, zeljuga, jecan, kriloša, mangulac, bjelov, vižle, zeljov, kusov, samsov, sivac, cuko, šarov, bijelka, kusa; krilast, macast, putonogast, resast, rudast, cvjetast, čipav, čulav, šušav, bikovit, bucovan, bodac <u>*and*</u> *bodač, jalovinje, krnjorog, lipsa* and *lipso, mekoput, mekoust, prčevit, strvan; volja 2, isječak, oglavina, puzdra, jarina, rea, rúda, bagljiv, metiljatise, sakagljiv; bitise 2, bleka, bukaritise, gonitise 2, iždrijebitise, izjagnjiti, jalovitise, kopiliti, lepetatise, mrkatise, nabrizgati, narastiti, omrijestiti, pobostise, polog, poregivati, postravitise, razrakolitise, raskvocatise, resati, škamut*; *ae, ais, biri biri, voč, gic, is, isa, iš, kit kit, kit luč, pos pos, rške de, stu, cuki; aiskati, valov, volovodnica, izjaviti, išnuti, kozara, kotac, ljokati, ljokač, meća, mljekar, odjaviti, plandište, planinka, pojaviti, popasak, popaskovati, poskati, ranjenik, raspreći, rovaš, sjera, solilo, sprežnik, sprcati, stanarica, ujarmiti, utući 2; bičalje, bronza, dizgen, đem, klepka, kolan, obrtanj, oglav, silembe, ćustek, uzenđija, unkaš, švigar; izmeče, omrciniti, oprzniti, strv; varenika, grušatise, gruševina, jomuža, mlaćenica, povlaka, sirac, sirište, surutka, tvorilo, urda; alov, barka, vrška, zagažnja, košar, mrijest, ostve; zakrstiti, kovanluk, kovandžija, prvenac, uljanik; aljma, aršlama, branice, vidovka, volujarka, đulabija, zelenjak, zukva, jarik, jarina, ječmača, karamanka, konjuvača, madžaruša, mekuša, misirača, ozimica, pavitina, požeškinja, ranjka, rogač, samoniklica, sparak, turgunja, crnica, čardaklija, čučavac, džanarika; klasati, lastar, maunatise, oljvina, orepak, osje, ponikao, pričanik, reznica, šipurina; gulidba, evenjka, zakopina, izor, klilo, koševina, kućičiti, lubeničište, mlađ, močilo, močionica, pabirak, paljetkovati, pozderka, pokopica, postat, prašidba, ređenje, repište, rotkvište, rukosad, sad, samorast, smonica, stárac, strni, strnište, strovo, torina, ugarnice, član; klasober, komilac, krajober, kupilac, majurica, mobarica, postatnik, potričar; buač, vagan, vagaš, volujara, kolovoz, potra, rpnjak; babak, vodijer, gladilica, kosijer, kosište, kotar, maljka, muljalo, ogreb, ogreblo, protak, pušnica, rogulje, sadaljka, tačka; gredelj, gužva oračica, zboj, krpeli, krčalo, kurdelj, lemeš, orićak, crtalo; patoka, rtnica, tabarka, džibra; badanj, valjarica, drinka, kašičara, okoliš, paprica, paspalj, poredovnik, potočara, sen, suvača, čekalo; ždrepčanik* (*jarmak*)*, kenjača, lotra, oje, pletnjica, potega, spica, srčanica, čatlov; agršak, blizni, brdo* (*„žensko“*)*, druga, koloture, kunadra, mosur, motovilo, navijaljka, nanititi, niti, osnutak, povjesmo, potka, srdačka, ureznici, cijepci, čekrklija, čimbari, čunak, šipila, štapac*, etc. The vocabulary concerning folklore was highly developed. There are, amongst others, *aždaa, alal,*

amanet, anatemnik, aral, aranđelovštak (and many others with the suffix *-štak* and meaning "man who celebrates a given saint"), *aratos, bezimena neđelja, boščaluk, vasiljica, vaskrsovati, vračar, gatara, gatka, grabancijaš, dolibaša, zavrćkola, začelje, zlamenovati, zlatoje, zmaj, jenđibula, keteuš, koleđani, kolovođa, koljivo, krznica, krstonoša, kumatise, mesojeke, mirbožatise, mora, mrsipetka, muštulugdžija, otresine, pobratimstvo* (and *poočim, posestriti itd.*)*, pobušeni poneđeljnik, povampiritise, povojnica, podušje, pojutarje, pokorizmić, pokrižak, pokurjačitise, poljevačina, pometno guvno, poođani, prikumak, psoglav, ručni đever, sabor 2, salandar, svečar, Solomunovo slovo, spasovište, sredoposna neđelja, uroci, ustuk, čini, čudotvoran, džin, etc.* This vocabulary is a first-class document about the time and environment. From it we learn about a material culture which is in part already well-past, and the rest is in the process of disappearing. This applies also to clothing and footwear (*anterija, belnuk, binjiš, vaćel, vinoves, galoš, zubun, dolama, đečerma, đuvezlija, zaponci, japundže, jemenija, jemenije, kavad, kalavre, kalpak, kalčine, kićenka, konđa, koporan, mukadem, mulije, navrnčati, nazuvak, obuvača, oždrijelje, oplećak, opređina, pašmage, perišani, potkapak, prostriž, pulija, saja, sandal, stajaćica, tarpoš, tepeluk, terkija, terluci, tozluci, ćelepoš, kurak, upletnjak, usperak, učkurluk, fermen, čepac, etc.*)*,* the names of dishes (*bečka, bokara, bremenica, vrg, vučija, dvojka, debe, drvenjača, kugum, zastruga, zeitinica, zemljanica, joltava, kalajlija, kastrola, katranica, koršov, krbanj, kupusara, kutao, leken, luburd, lukovica, maštrafa, milojka, obručan, peka, san, sailak, tendžera, čobanja,* etc.)*,* and the names of food (*bocman, brašnjenica, bungur, zerde, ječmenica, kalja, kvašenica, keške, kiselica 2, kombost, lokuma, lukovača, maviš, oparnica, papula, prga, prevrata, prženica, ražovnica, salep, satrica, simit, sutlija, cicvara, čimbur,* etc.).[1] Expressions such as the following inform us about social relations and the surroundings: *aga, aznabar, ajduk, apsana, arambaša, argatin, adžija, bazerđambaša, baša, begluk, begovac, bekavica, bubota, buruntija, valake, vezirstvo, vilaet, vinarina, gazdaluk, gaziblato, davudžija, đuvendija, đuturičar, efendija, zadruga, zimovnik,*

[1] It is interesting that the Dictionary does not mention most of the dishes that today make up what is usually called Serbian cuisine, such as *kapama, musaka, papazjanija, pljeskavica, ražnjići, ćevapčići, ćulbastija* (but *gibanica, đuveče, pilav, sarma, ćufteta* do appear). Is it perhaps that some of these foods were once the privilege of the urban table? — Vuk asked about *kapama* in his last letter, written to V. Vasiljević on January 16, 1864 (this was brought to my attention by Dr. Golub Dobrašinović).

zulumćar, igracija, jatak, jemin, jeminovac, kadija, kadinac, kalauština, kesedžija, kmet, knežina, knez, kopile, krzlaraga, mezil, muselim, muftija, nadničar, naija, napoličar, oborknez, oklapiti, okrp, pađenija, pazarija, panađurište, pandurnica, paraklisara, parakuvar, parusija, nama, pašaluk, pašipac, prnjavor, prnjavorac, prnjavorčad, refena, rufet, sandžak, saraori, serdar, spaija, subaša, tatarin 2, telal, terzibaša, teftedar, ćeš, ćurčibaša, ferman, ceribaša, četedžija, čivutana, čitluk, čitluksaibija, čitlučiti, čobanija, dželat. The names of crafts and other occupations reflect, perhaps more than anything else, the meeting of different cultures. In addition to local words such as *vidar, vodeničar, vretenar, gvožđar, zidar, kačar, knjižar, kobasičar, kovač, kozar, konjušar, kotlar, kotlokrp, krojač, lađar, lončar, ljekar, medar, mesar, mlinar, ovčar, opančar, pekar, pivar, pudar, ratar, svinjar, sedlar, solar, trgovac, čuvar*, there are also a significant number of Turkish names such as *abadžija, alvadžija. andžija, aračlija, bakal, baščovandžija, berber, buzadžija, vurundžija, dunđerin, dućandžija, jasakčija, kazaz, kaigdžija, kalajdžija, kiridžija, kovandžija, mekterin, mutavdžija, neimar, papudžija, sapundžija, sarač, sadžija, simidžija, skeledžija, tabak* 2, *ćumurdžija, čizmedžija*. Characteristic are the doublets like *zlatar/kujundžija, knjigonoša/saija, kožuar/ćurčija, krojač /terzija, kuvar/aščija, pastir/čobanin, puškar/tufekčija, sedlar/samardžija,* then *bojadžija/moler, krčmar/birtaš/meandžija, ribar/alas, kormanoš/dumendžija, učitelj/mađistor.*

It is no coincidence that the terminology concerning the army and weaponry is well-represented in the Dictionary*: abernik, avditor, alaj, arbija, balčak, baljemez, barut, batalija, berdo, bimbaša, birmanac, brandla, breša, brklja, buzdovan, buljubaša, busija, valja, vedenik, višek, vrajkorac, vrlezovati, danicka, bravati, zakrajinitise, izdirala, izmicauz, indi, ira, išaret, jazija, jako, jeglendže, joktur, kazanija, kalp, kaljun, kanave, krmendžija, krovuljina, kumsal, kušak, kušama, litaćur, ljoknuti, mazgalija, manjma, miva, minle, miskal, muamedlija, muanat, muasera, nijet, oašlučiti, odaće, odvrakati, oña, ožđeldija, ojnak, opala, opodojčiti, opstrzatise, orlaš, parazlama, piljdžika, polugrošnica, popik, potapsati, punišake, puntvain, puare, razma, rakam, ruška, salt, svrzibrada, svrzislovo, spučiti, stola, tomruci, trijeba, trpandžuk, tutilo, ćelepir, ćenar, udžbašlija, uisati, uišćiliti, učtuglija, carevica, čala, čeiz, čug, džagara, dženjak, šamaladža, šemšeta,* etc.[1] It is natural that

[1] In fact, many of these words have never become domesticated in our native language, even though Vuk listed them in the Dictionary. This is very

there are so many Turkisms amongst such words. Foreign words very often remain as a surface layer in the lexical system. These are expressions related to a given time and given situations that disappear as they appeared, together with the terms they denote. After all, many of these words have never had a significant frequency in our language. Vuk well noticed that "some of these may not be mentioned in a year" (Preface, p. XX).

Even more ephemeral are the natures of words coined *ad hoc* that live only in riddles (*baura, bjega, bjela, bradići, bus, vilo, visuljak, gledočići, zagalica, mićivoldos, nosočići, opečenčelo, sedlica, sjeda, sjedin, tiritinguska, toldos, trolijeska, trčuljak, ustočići, cigulin, ciciban, čeločići, čuča, šargizda, šetlja, etc.)* or in some anecdote (*blagoslovina, vragađur, gobela, grasulj, deriguša, đakušti, zorac, jagnjivo, kikoš, klinčoroboga, kuropecanje, lagala, molibog, motikva, navornjak, napniguša, natrč na prč, pirivatra, pic, pozajariti, pokurac, pričešalo, prokap, sedmokrak, tiriptiska, ćakinica, čelac, češtoskok, četvrtin*) or another joke or game (*blaženi izmicajušči, živoderac, jutroklek, kuđenik, patarica, pigovna, pozabiti, porebarac, porebrise, porebruša, punguz*).

Sometimes with Vuk we find words in a form that is not ordinary today or is at least rarer than some other variant: *alkuran, dobroćud, zamolitise, kinutise, pucatise, Španjur* (cf. today the most common forms are *kuran* or *koran*, *dobroćudan*, *zamoliti, skinuti se, pucati jedan na drugog, Španac* or *Španjolac*). It also happens that we find the form that is the most common today referred to some other variant or even another word. Thus, *mudrost* is directed to *mudrina*, *nošnja* to *nošivo, Rusija* to *Moskovska*, *saonice* to *saoni*, *tobožnji* to *tokoršnji*, *ćurka* to *ćura*, and *ćura* to *budija*, etc.

Semantic differences between Vuk's and today's literary language are very common. Thus, in the Dictionary, certain words are given with meanings that differ, in nuance and usually more than that, from the meanings that are most common to today's man, and which are not listed in the Dictionary. The word *glasati* here means to engage in a certain type of handicraft, *grad* is only a "fortress" and not also a

---

clearly explained by the *Dictionary of Serbo-Croatian Literary Language and Vernacular* of SANU with words that are included in the so far published volumes. If we look in that dictionary, for example, under *ambarati, ambulja, atibur, bolozan,* or *vinovesak*, it will be proven that the only available confirmation for the use of these words is provided by Vuk's Dictionary itself.

larger inhabited place, *zabrana* is "*zabran*", *kob* is "meeting" and not destiny, *Kostur* is just a geographical name, and *Kraguj* is just a male name, *krut* is "fat", *milicija* is the territory of the Austrian Military Border, *nagon* is to drive pigs towards the Sava to be sold in Austria, *namera* is "meeting" or "case", *oblog* is a bet, *ogovarati* means defend against objections, *planina* is a "mountain forest", *platina* is a log, not a precious metal,[1] *povod* is a "rope by which horses are led", *požar* is only a forest fire, *potkovica* is only a diminutive of *potkova*, *pritisak* is a heavy object placed on the roof so that wind does not take away the roof, *sitnina* are trifles (*sitnica*), and *sitnica* (trifles) are forest cherries, *slučaj* is the same as *događaj*, while *Struja* is just a female name.

Similar discrepancies in meaning, of greater or less portent, are found in the words *babura, barka, batinati, butina, vjenčanica, vođ, voljeti, ganuti, godišnjak, gospođica, griješka, grozan, groktati, dvojka, dvorište, dovoljan, dokazati, domovina, đegođ, zakon, zakoračiti, zastava, zastupati, zauzetise, zvečka, izjaviti, izložiti, izmjena, iznos, kob, krstaš, lebditi, lola, ljubavnik, manjkati, mekušac, nagraditi, nazor, nalet, napustiti, naročito, naselje, nasip, naslon, naturiti, nemoć, neprilika, obilježje, objelodaniti, oblik, obustaviti, odjaviti, odlikovati, odlučiti, omesti, osloboditi, osobina, pažnja, povlaka, područje, poraziti, poslovica, poučavati, prigovarati, prijepis, prijestup, propast, prostorija, proučiti, raskorak, raskomadatise, razvijati, razlog, robija, rov, saksija, svatiti, sebičan, sloboda, slobodan, spor, stanar, stvor, stega, stisak, sultanija, tačka, tvrđa, tvrđenje, ulica, upoznatise, čik, član, šeprtlja, šerpa*, etc. In some words, we find only some of the meanings that are in living use today. Thus, under *lađa* we will search in vain for the meaning of "ship", *vjetriti* is never "to ventilate", *vijek* cannot mean "century",[2] under *dokusuriti* there is nothing meaning "finish, destroy to the end", *domet* does not mean a measure of quality, *zastati se* is only "*zateći*" and not stop walking, exist a little ", *začeti se* never refers to conceiving a child, *ispjevati* is never "composing, writing a song", only the voice can be *jasan*, not the meaning, *nadirati* does not mean "to strongly prosper", *opadati* has no meaning of decadence, *plemenit* can only be by birth and not by character, *prenemaganje* has no shade of falsehood, *prosjek* is never "average value", *sredina* is not "ambience", *stan* amongst its three meanings has no "place to live", *ugled*

[1] These are, of course, words with quite different origins.

[2] Vuk also does not have the word *stoljeće*, so he was forced to use the workaround *iz polovine 14-te stotine godina* on p. III.

cannot mean "reputation", *utjecati* is not "to influence", *ćumez* is only a chicken coop, not an inconspicuous and dirty place, while *šap* is always stingy, and never a livestock disease. On the other hand, some of the meanings that Vuk states are not similar today, at least not in literary language, so e.g., the meaning *zdravo* 2 ("quite"), *knjiga* 1 ("letter"), *obrati* 2 ("choose"), *pirinač* 2 ("brass"), *piti* 2 ("smoke"), *početak* 2 ("handmade pattern"), *puškar* 1 ("who can kill well with a rifle"), *sto* 1 ("chair"), *stoka* 2 ("wealth in goods"), *učiti* 2 ("read").

It follows from the above mentioned that in the speech of Tršić there were no words for terms that are today marked with words such as *nagon, namera, povod, pritisak, prosek, vek, vođ, dokazati, domovina, zakon, izjaviti, iznos, nemoć, obelodaniti, oblik, obustaviti, osobina, pažnja, prestup, propast, razvijati, raskorak, sloboda, stega, tačka, tvrđenje, član, domet,* or *ugled*. These words at that time usually had more specific meanings than today. And from what is stated in Section VII, it is clear that there were no words for terms such as *minut, proba, siguran, osigurati, dužnost, zasluga, zahvaliti, opšti, razonoditi*. After all, the list of such gaps could be far-reaching. Thus, in the Dictionary we do not find the words *bespomoćan, bitan, važan, važnost, vanredan, veza, vjerovatan, glumac, glup, govornik, djelatnost, djelovati, doprinijeti, zavisan, zavisiti, zaključak, zaključiti, zaljubiti se, zamisliti, zanimljiv, zaraziti, zastarjeti, zauzeti, značaj, izumjeti, iskren, iskusan, iskusiti, iskustvo, jedinstvo, knjigovođa,*[1] *književnost, nagao, nagrada, napor, narodnost, nastojati, nedostajati, nedostatak, nezavisan, nezavisnost, nezadovoljan, neistina, nemoguć, nered, obaveza, objasniti, obraditi, obračun, obračunati, ovjeriti, ograničiti, odbor, odličan, odlučan, odnos, osvijetliti, osnovni, otadžbina, otpor, pisac, pjesnik, pobjeda, pobuna, povijest, poduzeti* (and *preduzeti*)*, poduzeće* (and *preduzeće)*, *poželjan, pozorište, pojava, pojam, pojmiti, pokušati* (the word *probati* is marked as Vojvodinian)*, polet, poraz, poslovan, postepen, postojan, potčinjeni, prevrat, pregovori, predlog, predložiti, predomisliti se, predstava* (*in the sense of concept or conception*)*, predstava* (*in the sense of theater play*)*, prežaliti, premoriti se, pretpostaviti, pretpostavka, pretpostavljeni, prijesjek, pripovjedač, priroda,*[2] *propis, propust, prosv-*

[1] The Turkish word *teftedar* was not satisfactory and Vuk, on p. XXIII, had to use the German word *Buchhalter* so that his Serbian readers could understand him.

[2] Although we do find the words *narav* (with an emphasis on its use in Vojvodina) and *natura* in the sense of *ćud* (temper/character).

jeta, razmjera (and *srazmjera*)*, ratnik, raščlaniti, riješiti, savjest, saglasnost, sažeti, samostalan, smisao, spriječiti, srediti, stalan, stanovati, sujeta, sumnjiv, sunarodnik, taština, uvod, uvoz, ured* (both as the institution and authority)*, uslov, usporiti, ustanak, utisak*, as well as many hundreds of others that today constitute the basic layer of terminology of psychological, cultural, and even social and business life.[1] And there are no other words that would carry these meanings, which means that the language that Vuk brought from Tršić simply did not have a way to mark those meanings. The victory of that language really put on the agenda the task of filling the vocabulary so that it could satisfy the growing needs of modern literary language. Besides the two basic methods already mentioned—taking over from foreign languages and creating domestic coinages—what also contributed to the said cause was giving new, more abstract meanings to already existing words,[2] then accepting and alterating the Church Slavonic expressive arsenal, as well as borrowing from other dialects (as already pointed out, Vojvodina played a major role amongst Serbian dialects). And there were also cases of expanding the field of use of certain poetic words, which penetrated into the prose style. After all, a closer study remains to be done, which would determine the course of this process and the share of each of the listed components on the basis of facts.

On the other hand, one should not think that the language presented in the Dictionary was completely devoid of more abstract expressions and subtle provisions and names for certain cultural heritage and legal or business procedures. Browsing through the dictionary, we will come across many expressions such as *bezumlje, bijediti, vladati, vlasnik, vlast, vršitise, dolikovati, domislitise, dopastise* (and *sviđati se*)*, dopustiti, žalost, željan, zaborav, zaboravan, zavesti 2, zavist, zavičaj, zajednica, zamislitise, zapustitise, zbor, zlovoljan, zločinac, zločinstvo, znanje, značenje, značiti, izbor, izvijestiti* (though the word *izvještaj* is missing), *izvjesno, izvoz, izvršiti, izdaja, izdajnik, izdašan, izmisliti, iskušati, isprava, istina, javni, jamačno, književnik, kolebatise, korist, krivac, lukavstvo, ljubav, milost, misao, mladež, mlogoznao, moć, mržnja, mudar, nazadak, napredovati, narodni, nastati, nastup, nauditi, način,*

[1] From the list presented, omission was intentionally made of countless foreign words which belong here (such as *administracija, aktivan, analiza, energičan, kancelarija, krntija, rezervisan, reprodukovati, referisati, stil, tekst*, *etc.*).

[2] Such was the case, for example, with the abovementioned words like *nagon, namera,* or *povod.*

nevjera, nevjeran, nemarljiv, nemilost, neotice, nepovoljan, nepravda, nepromjenit, obavijestiti, ožaliti, okriviti, opažati, opisati, oporavitise, oprez, optužiti, osjećati, osobiti, ostatak, osuditi, pakost, namet, poznanik, pojavitise, pokoran, pokoriti, pomisao, poslanik, postupiti, potpisati, poučiti, poštenje, poštovanje, pravda, pravilo, prekret, preporuka, priznati, prijevara, pristati, proreći, prorok, proslavitise, prostota, protivnik, radost, razlikovati, razmisliti, razum, raspis, red, rugoba, rukopis, sažalitise, saznati, sveznalica, svijest, svjedočanstvo, sjećatise, slavan, složen, slutnja, smetenik, smetnja, smišljati, snaga, snebivanje, sraman, stvorenje, tajna, tajni, tvar, tobožnji, tuga, uvjeravati, ugovor, uzrok, ujediniti, ukor, um, upravitelj, upravljati, uredba, urediti, ustručavatise, čeznuti, štampati. Even if it is not complete, this repertoire of words provided an excellent basis.[1]

It is not certain that all these expressions were really spoken in Tršić during Vuk's childhood, and it is especially not certain that they were known to every individual in Tršić. It is easily possible that some of this wealth of the expression fund penetrated Vuk's language during his schooling in the Tronošci monastery, or during his service in the administration of the insurgent state, or perhaps in the environment of the Trans-Sava Serbs. But exactly such a biography of Vuk symbolizes the paths of the destiny of the Serbian people, its culture, and even its language. No matter how modest it was, cultural activity in the monasteries kept a lot of words in the language for various moral and psychological categories, and awakened statehood gave impetus to the creation of legal and administrative terminology, and the more highly developed forms of life of the Vojvodina Serbs were the channel through which European heritage became Serbian property as a whole.

Despite the enormous distances that language development covered from the Dictionary to the present day, the majority of the words in that book have preserved their undisturbed freshness and strength. Digging into the Dictionary constantly brings encounters with words that surprise with precise agreement with today's linguistic feeling. Such are *živnuti, zabraviti, zabreknuti, zabrojitise, zakrvaviti očima, zatrčatise,*

[1] It happens that we don't find a word in the dictionary, but there is a very close expression, either by root and formation, or just by meaning. There are no words for *vjedžbati, zamor, ispravan, java, nada, odmor, pokret, poslušnost, roctor, udruženje, ukras, vrsta, lakoća, objaviti, povjerenje, prijatan, propovijed, stranac, ubica*, and yet we find *uvjedžbati, umor, opravan, najavi, nadanje, odmoran, pokretati, poslušan, prostorija, društvo, ukrasiti, sorta* (and *struka 1*, and *ruka* with that meaning), *vlast, razglasiti, vjera 2, ugodan, poučenije, tuđin, krvnik.*

zaustiti, zivkati, zidine, lisice, mladolik, nadlajati, napecati, naspjeti, ojestise, osipatise, piskarati, podmazati 2, prikrastise, proliven, raspisatise, rođakatise, siledžija, slizatise, smućkati, ukebati, upljuvak, crkavica, šaljivčina, ševrdati, and many others. One is almost confused by the truth that such nuances in the language could have remained unchanged for so long in words that are mostly not too common in speech, and especially not in printed texts, which are the only ones that fix the linguistic elements. Few readings are more valuable than Vuk's Dictionary for a writer who searches for a more refined experience of language or strives to enrich his narration with expressions that will never seem colorless.

In parting with the topic of Vuk's vocabulary, we cannot avoid one important question: how many new possibilities of expression did Vuk introduce into our literary language? How many folk words and trades, up to Vuk's time far from the written language, was Vuk the first to put on printing paper? And how much of that remains as a lasting legacy? There is undoubtedly a lot of all that, but at this moment, the right and definite answer is missing: concrete lists. Scholarship is still waiting for detailed studies, for which, after all, some important preliminary work will have to be done regarding the language of Serbian literature up to Vuk.

Church Slavonic elements

In the Dictionary, Vuk also registered those expressions that penetrated from the church language into the vernacular, mainly to denote certain terms related to the church or moral categories. Having fit into the vernacular, these words are often difficult to distinguish today from the real vernaculars. Should the words *krst, mladost, molitva,* and *kost* be included in this group, for example? Yet some of these words can be identified as such on the basis of meaning or creation: *gospod, duovni, minej, iskušenik, bogonosni*, etc. But the clearest cases are when the word in its vocal form preserves traces of Church Slavonic origin.

There are two layers of words, related to the fact that in the first half of the 18th century, the Serbian Church abandoned the Church Slavonic language of the Serbian variant ("Serbian-Slavic/Slavenoserbian") and accepted the Russian redaction of the Church Slavonic language ("Russian-Slavic language"). Since the differences between these two language types are primarily related to certain voice features, it is often possible

to determine which of the two layers the word belongs to by these features. In other cases, again, the vowel character of the word does not provide a basis for such a distinction.

Undoubtedly, there are Slavenoserbian words with the group *št* (*mošti, opšti,*[1] *opština, svještavati,* and *svještati, svještenik, svještilo*; as such is the humorous expression *đakušti*), those starting with *va-* (*va, Vavedenije, vavijek, Vaistina,*[2] *vasioni svijet, Vaskrs* and *Vaskrsenije,*[3] *vaskrsnuti, vaskrsovati*) and with the ending *-anstvo* (*božanstvo, rožanstvo, čovečanstvo*). This includes the phrase *samosazdani Bože,* then *čatanije*, and probably both *drevo* and *čreda*.

Amongst the words whose vowel character does not allow to be placed in one or the other group are those with the group *žd* (*gospožda, odežda, ponužditise*), then those with the continuation of *-ije* (*bdenije* and *denije, Bogojavljenije, molenije, Obretenije, poučenije, Preobraženije,* in addition to *Preobraženje, prikazanije, snasenije, Sretenije, Usjekovanije, Cvjetonosije*)[4] or *-ija* (*nisanija, sudija*).

Obviously Russian-Slavic are forms such as *dveri* (doors) and *čest* (honors), containing the vowel *e* in place of the former soft semivowel, or *živonačalni* (life-giving) with the vowel *a* in place of the old nasal vowel *ę*, as well as the continuation *-jušči* in *blaženi izmicajušči* (blissful elusiveness). As for the forms *ljubezan, ljubeznik, ljubeznica, ljubovnik, ljubovnica,*[5] *ljubovca, pravedan,* and *pravednik*, they could also belong to the Russian-Slavic class, judging by the fact that they contain *e* or *o* in place of a semivowel. But, since these forms were recorded in our language long before the penetration of the Russian-Slavic language, their presence must be explained in another way: by the very old influence of the Macedonian pronunciation of the church language (which in this respect was characterized by the same features) and, perhaps only partially, relying on the suffix *-ov.*

---

[1] Vuk marks this word as being used in Srem.

[2] This name is made up of the expression for *va istinu* (= *u istinu*) which is mentioned under the words *Božić*, *va*, *Vaskresenije*, and *jesenas*.

[3] This appears to be the form closest to Vuk. He uses it, for example, under the entry *namastir,* and in the form *Uskrs* pointing to *vaskresenije* (but there is only the form *uskršnji*).

[4] The same suffix *-ije* appears in the previously mentioned words *Vavedenije*, *Vaskrsenije,* and *čitanije*, then in the humorous word *ispolakanije* (which, of course, was not part of the church language).

[5] The examples of *ljubovnik* and *ljubovnica* were not in Vuk's vocabulary; he mentions them in the context of dialects specificity.

The presented review shows that the number of words with Church Slavonic phonetic features in Vuk's speech was limited, but still somewhat larger than today. Many of these words have fallen out of use, or there is a generalized variant that corresponds to the phonetic development of the vernacular. On the other hand, certain words from this circle, present in our modern language, seem to have been unknown to Vuk's speech: *zaveštati, nužan, nužda, snužditi se, ovaplotiti, revnost, sušti, suština, nasušni* (both *vožd* and *knjaz* remain as titles from a certain time—by chance, precisely from Vuk's).

IX. LANGUAGE OF QUOTED VERSES

The main difference between the language of verses of folk songs that Vuk cited as an illustration for the use of certain words and Vuk's language in the Dictionary is the much wider range of variation in poetic language, conditioned by the different regional origins of songs and by metric demands.

Dialectal inequality is reflected primarily in the replacement of the *jat*. In many of the quoted verses we find words with a *jat*, most often replaced in the Jekavian way (I found such examples under a total of 229 words in the Dictionary), but to a lesser extent with the Ekavian replacement (thus under 50 words: *babine, velen, vlastelj, vojno, dvorkinja, deva, doploviti, doroc, Ivanj dan, igrište, ispovijatise, jablanski, jelika, jenđibula, Karlovkinja, kovilje, korenak, kraljice, Kumrija, le, mal, male, manj, Mitrovkinja, mudrota, nadžnjevatise, narušiti, nevovati, obronak, ogovarati, osvanuti, osutise, papar, paćel, pelenak, preboljeti, preodnica, prikrastise, projezditi, rabar, ranilo, rujno vino, silovit, smiljev, spletavati, streka, trnjinica, tužiti, crnokos, šestoper*; along with these examples goes also *gdi* under the entry *izdrmati*).

The strict meter of folk songs imposed the need for a wide system of double forms that differ in length for one syllable. The ways in which this has been achieved are very diverse:

1) Instead of the normal *ije* in the reflex of a long *jat* often occurs *je* (*l'evoj, r'ječi, d'jere, ub'jeljen, zv'jezda, l'jepa, ispob'jedi, gn'jezda, nam'enjeno, pob'jedio, b'jela, sv'jetla*, etc.).[1]

[1] In each of those examples, as with those in the following points, in the Pogovor of the Prosveta edition of the Dictionary, the places in the Dictionary where these examples are found are listed.

2) Instead of *nijesu* we find *nis'u* three times in the verses of Jekavian'sung songs.

3) In the endings -*im/ijem* and -*i/ije*, the existing parallelism in the speech itself opened the possibility for variation according to the need of the verse.

4) Many unstressed words also had shorter variants without a final vowel, e.g. *ali, Al' on skida), bi* (*voljeo b' se, ne b' se zvala selo, Dala b' zanjga*), *više* (*viš' kuće*), *ili* (*Il' je majka jedinoga sina, Il' sestrica brata rođenoga*), *je* (*Onđe j' pala, Ono j' glavom*), *jesi* (*jes' video*), *li* (*Idu l', Zelene l' se, Ko l' je*), *među* (*međ' kamzama*), *nego* (*neg' što ga pase*), *neka* (*Nek' su njemu, Nek' se čini*), *se* (*Da s' ne pije*), *si* (*De s' oteo, Čija s' ljuba*), *te* (*Da t' u oca više prosit ne ću*). Many of these forms still appear quite often in dialects today, usually as a feature of faster speech tempo, and it is easily possible that this was already the case in Vuk's time, although he uses only full forms in writing.

5) Forms with the final vocal group -*ao* could also be used with the shortening of -*ao* into -*o* (*posl'o, pomog'o, U z'o čas, iziš'o, gled'o, poš'o, Nije l' Bog d'o, išo, k'o*[1]). *In the vast majority of Shtokavian dialects, concise forms predominate today*[2] *and it is probable that this process was already optional in Vuk's speech.*

6) Various other vowel groups were also subjected to summarization: the genitive praa and *pra*, *dvan'est*,[3] and even *od istâ* (= od istoka).

7) Whenever necessary, the possibilities opened up by the duality of form with and without moving vocals (*već* and *veće*, *dok* and *doke*, *jer* and *jera*, *jest* and *jeste*, *još[t]* and *jošte*, *kad* and *kada*, etc. were used).

8) The suffix -*de[r]* and -*no* (*domader se nađi, Đeno leže, kakvano su*) and the particles *ja* and *ta* also came in handy, and the preformative *do* was added to the numbers (*do dva serašćera*).

9) In a well-known way, the vocative singular was used with masculine nouns instead of nominatives (*Mače vojsku Erceže Stjepane, Iziš'o je kraljev zatočniče, Da ne prođe od Karlovca bane*),

---

[1] When it was necessary, in the function of the word *kao*, simpler forms could be used, not just the two-syllable variant (e.g., *kano* under the word *srodan*), but also three-syllable constructions (*Pa ti predi kako i brđanka* under the word *brđanka*).

[2] This is also true for the Tršić and Drobnjak dialects (B. Nikolić, *Trš*. 270 and J. Vuković, P.—Dr. 21).

[3] The compacting of *ae* into *e* in the forms of such numbers is very widespread in the Shtokavian dialects, and this is also true in Tršić and Drobnjak (B. Nikolić, Trš. 273, 1. Vuković, P.—Dr. 21).

10) The use of the genitive form instead of the accusative singular was of a similar nature: *Uze niša, Dok mi gleda Krnjo na Zemuna, je i podobna da boja ubije, Trže Bajo mača zelenoga*.

11) Instead of ordinary plural forms with the extension *-ov*, shorter forms such as *ate, glase, dvori, drumi, lavi, mači, rti, svati* were preferred/used.

12) In examples such as *Đe on vodi dvanest iljad' vojske, Mlogo Turak' carevi ičaga ili Stoji meka janjac' za ovcama,* the old forms of the plural genitive without the suffix *-a* were used for the sheep.

13) In the dative, instrumental, and locative plural, in the case of burial, forms without the ending *-a* were taken, such as *nogam* under the word *kobiti* or *na sindžirim* under the word *titreike*.

14) The final vowel wasdropped, after all, by other case forms: *Pune vlinte u pleć' okrenuli, Drag' se dragoj na vodici vali, Za ran' kume, za ran stari svate, Oborio mečet' i munare, Svako slovo u krv' okaljeno, gospodsku ti večer' večerasmo, Toplik vjetar u stre' udario.*

15) Some nouns could have gone in a different declension type in the poems and even have a different grammatical gender than outside the poems: *veslo*, gen. *vesleta*, *kandil*, *štito.*

16) The duality of adjective-pronoun suffixes *-oga / -og, -ego / -eg, -omu / -om, -emu / -em*, as well as the existence of suffixes of the indefinite form *-a* and *-u*.[1]

17) Doublets in the paradigms of pronouns were also welcome: *za nj/za njga* (*Dala b' zanjga iljadu dukata*) and *njoj/njojzi* (*Njojzi mi dolaze prekupci trgovci*), *mojega/moga* (*Već kobila koja đogu moga*).

18) In addition to the ordinary infinitive endings *-ti* and *-ći*, forms without the final *-i* were also used, such as *zapast', držat', izić', udarat', popast', imat, prosit', pustit', popucivat',* and *umolit'.* This feature is very widespread in speeches today[2] and probably the impulse for its introduction into the language of folk songs came from the spoken language, although in generally, Vuk systematically ignores it.

19) In the imperative mode, too, the vowel was often omitted in the songs: *Pomoz' mu, Pust' Turčina, vrat' se, Id' odatle, žen' se, ne gaz'te, piš'te, odreš'te mi, o'te braćo.* This phenomenon is also very common

[1] As an illustration, examples can be given where the forms of the definite and indefinite form are used in equal situations: *Trže Bajo mača zelenoga pod rečju Šamlijanka* and *Al' on skida zlatna šestoperca* under the word *šestoperac*.

[2] The short infinitive occurs, in addition to the long forms with *-i*, also in Drobnjak speech (J. Vuković, P.—Dr. 72).

in today's dialects, and they have it in Tršić and Drobnjak. And here the situation in the songs is probably an echo of the situation in the speeches themselves.

20) The word-formation process also made it possible to extend a word by one syllable as needed. The most commonly used means was diminution; examples of *-ak* type *bojak, danak, jelenak, putak,* or *sanak* and the *-ca* type *žeđca, zopca, krvca,* or *noćca* lived mostly in poems. Forms such as *golijevno*, *rujevno*, *sekuna*, *sileni*, *Srbljanin* served as an extension of the word by one syllable, while the form *bratijenci* gave two syllables more.

The repertoire of procedures developed in this way enabled the singer to fit every word into the developed framework of a rigid metric, while singing hundreds of verses and often adding or improvising where his memory did not serve him perfectly. We are facing a rich, strongly built system, with functions significantly different from those of spoken language, and therefore significantly different from it. That system possessed means that corresponded to its needs, and which from the point of view of prose language seem to be deformations or arbitrariness. In addition, it differed from Vuk's written language by numerous features that existed, at least optionally, in his native language, which he did not accept in written language because they seemed incorrect or at least colloquial. It is clear that these poems are not suitable material for studying Vuk's language (or the language in which they were written in the 19th century), and it is especially clear how wrong our grammarians are in whose works these poems represent our literary language today.

The situation presented seems to suggest two other points of view, which, however, must be accepted only with large reservations, because there is a lack of evidence for and against. The existence of a considerable number of doublet grammatical forms (and also the easy expansion of many types of words by adding suffixes) could have contributed to the consolidation of relatively inelastic metric schemes, such as our decasyllable, which made it possible to adjust words according to verse. On the other hand, it is not excluded that this kind of folk poetry, sung and appreciated as much as it was, supported the maintenance of some doublet forms, and maybe even helped create new ones.

The plural datives like *begom* and *Turkom*, instrumentals like *s Turci* and *Turkom* or *sa praporčići*, *sa đavolčići,* and locatives such as *na vrati*, *u skutovi,* and *na nebesi* shorten the words by one syllable, but they also have a deeper meaning; these forms are left behind from

an older phase of the development of the Shtokavian declension, and thus, in addition, they belong to the archaic features of a number of our dialects. Of the Serbian dialects, this feature is primarily from Vojvodina, but is also from Mačva and the Pocer region. In the language of Serbian literature before Vuk, such forms were widely used, and he eliminated them first.

It is normal that folk poetry has, as the exclusive requisites of its expressive arsenal, certain "poetic" words that do not appear in prose speech. Vuk called such words standing (*sic*) and marked them with a sign (st.), and less often with special notes. They include:

agadara, azdija, alaj- barjak, alem dragi kamen, amaz, arašlama, arbanaski, babajko, baždarina, baždarica, batati, bezakonje, beškot, biserče, bolezanja, boraviti sanak, borije, borna suknja, bratijenci, braćinci, britka sablja, Bugar, bugar -kabanica, buljioka, bućoglav, vele, velen, vermaš, vjera 1, vjerenica, vojno, vojnov, golijevno blago, grebeštak, dažda, daća, dvorani, deva, divan– kabanica, dilberče, dilberčić, dnevi, doganja, dojka, draga, dragan, dragana, dragi, dragić 2, drago, dragokup, dužd, duško, đeisija, đinđer, đinđerov, đorda, đuzel, žuborika, zabijograditise, zalađe, zapoznatise, zatomiti, zatočnik, zgubiti, zile, zlato 2, zlatokrili, zlopogleđa, zoriti, ibrišim — tkanica, igrište, izvaditi 2, izvir, ilinča, inako, ino, inoča, inočica, ista, jadikovina, jala, jarko sunce, ježovan, jezditi, kandil, kanon, kićeni svatovi, kladenac, kojadiko, kokot 2, komar, kondir, konjic, koprena, koštunica koplje, koštunj, krma, lado, laziti, leventa, ležećiv, leljo, ložnica, lozovina, ljeto 2, ljuba, ljubovca, ma 2, memla, mile, milje, moma, morija, mudrota, muk, nazivati Boga, nakititise vina, naod, naodnik, nesretnjić, nesuđenje, neti, nizija, nijet, nik, niće, obljubiti, ogar, oglasnik, ogrijalo sunce and *ogrijano sunce, odjezditi, okoločep, okruga, osidrati, pametovati, paunpero, perjanik, plavka, pljucavica, pobrđe, povaditi 2, podjela, podoban, pojezditi, poklopnica, pokrajina, ponići 2, ponor, popeti 2, poredo, poroditi, poslovač, prebjeg, prejezditi, preljubiti, privenac, pripasti 3, projezditi, proljev, prošena đevojka, rabar, razbludnica, razborit 2, razgovorak, reda, roniti 2, rosulja, rujevno vino, rusa, saborit, samdokas, samokres, samrtan, sandalgaće, sandalije, sandžak-alajbeg, svadbarina, svilengaća, svojko, sekuna, sekucala, sileni, silovit, skuvija, spavaćiv, spletavati, Srbinj, Srbinjski, Srbljak, Srbljanin, stado, stanovan, starina 2, starostavne knjige, sto 2, strator, stratorov, stremen, sudija 2, sužanj, tankoprelja, taobor, težatak, tere, terlidiva, toplik, ćelupača, ubav, ubojit, uvojak, uzavnica, uzajedno,*

uzrast, ulak, uprosnik, uskok, utva, učuvati, faklja, caka, crvenika, čajati, čarni, čedo, šarovit, šestoper, šestoperni, štito, šušljaica.[1]

It is very instructive to look back in the light of this material at the understanding, which has often been expressed lately and which sounds attractive, that our literary language is based in fact on the ennobled and enriched language of folk poetry, and not on the Tršić dialect.[2] If that understanding were correct, amongst the specific poetic words in the folklore of Vuk's time, there would have to be many that have an important place in the literary language today. But it is not so. Of the listed words, only thirty live fully in modern literary language in active use (so not with the status of archaism or regionalism or with a nuance of stylistic bizarreness): *bezakonje, britka, dvoranin, dojka, draga*, etc., *jarki, jezditi, kladenac, krma, memla, muk, obljubiti, pobrđe, podoban, pokrajina, ponor, rujni, silovit, spavaćiv, stado, starina, sto, sužanj, ubojit, uvojak, uzrast, uskok, čedo* and maybe two or three more.[3] This number is not large (only about fifteen percent of the entire inventory of these words),[4] but more importantly, except for the word *sto* (and, to some extent, one or two more), these words do not belong to the basic and most commonly used lexicon, and some of them are distinctly limited to certain stylistic spheres. It seems that this lexicon certainly made a substantial, and not insignificant, contribution to the vocabulary of literary language, but that its role was by no means decisive.[5]

---

[1] Along with this list, it should be noted that amongst the poetic words in the Dictionary there are also a considerable number of personal names, such as *Vuča* or *Laud*, and geographical names, e.g., *Leđan* or *Mletak*, and that there are also standing words that Vuk knew from prose narratives, such as *gobela*, *jagnjivo* or *čelac* (in one case, the word *molenije* represented an integral part of *molitva*, and in another example, the word *spasenije* appeared only in toasts).

[2] This point of view was most maturely formulated by D. Brozović in the article *Vuk i novoštokavska folklorna Koine*, published in the Prague magazine Slavia, vol. XXXIV, 1965, p. 1-27, and reprinted in the book *Standardni jezik*, Zagreb 1970, p. 85-118.

[3] These cases cannot be taken into account where the meaning of Vuk's standing word was significantly different from the lexemes of today's literary language (*vjerenica, nizija, podjela, proljev, razborit*, etc.)

[4] Some of these words, after all, were not the exclusive property of the language of poetry: lexemes like *krma*, *ponor,* and *uskok* Vuk marked (only in the first edition of the Dictionary!) as standing because they were not in everyday circulation in his area.

[5] That role was more significant in the formation of our poetic language. Admittedly, there are not a large number of words in our list that today would

After all, the scope of that role could not have been greater, because the character of this vocabulary layer determined its limits. Amongst the words in our list, there are relatively few of them that introduce elements of greater sophistication or perfection into the world of expressions or the world of concepts. The "poetic" status of most of these words can be explained by the distance of one or another sorts from the environment where they are recorded. Sometimes it is historical or geographical distance (*dužd, uskok, starostavne knjige, ježovan)* or social (*dvoranin, zatočnik, kanon, vermaš*), and sometimes purely linguistic, again in relation to time (archaisms like *ino, jezditi, kladenac, konjic, ljeto* [meaning "year"], *ljuba, rusa, utva*) or geography (words from other dialects such as *dažda, dnevi, kokot, moma, ubav*). In addition, as we have already seen, there are words created due to the metrical needs of the song, which differs from its basic variants in the number of syllables (the form *čarni* serves, again, to avoid the vowel *r* voice very unsuitable for singing[1]). And there are also typical creations of the poetic language, composed in order to introduce a refreshed expression (*žuborika, zoriti, nikom ponići, rosulja*). In one or two cases, it was as if refreshment was sought in the use of the Turkish lexeme instead of the domestic one: *đeisija*, *đuzel*, or in mechanical compounds of the Turkish type: *paunpero*, *sandalgaće*. Some words are made ad hoc for the song in which we find them, usually as jokes in the style of rustic humor: *buljioka, okoločep, samdokas*, and even *dáća* and *zabijograditise*. And finally, there is a small group of words whose meaning no one knew anymore and which continued to live in the poems by inertia, and perhaps also because the mysterious expressions in the poem are not as meaningless as in prose (*velen, ilinča, faklja*).

Even in terms of phonetic and morphological features, the language of folk songs could not contribute to increasing the regularity in literary language: the phenomena mentioned earlier under points 1-20 show that there were, for metric(al) reasons, many more inconsistencies in the language of songs than in the language of Vuk's writings.

---

feel like a specific expression of poetic expression, but in the past, this number was significantly higher. In the 18th century, our artistic poetry took over the ready-made expressive lexicon of folklore, and then gradually got rid of that baggage, which soon became doubly unsuitable: both because of its folklore hue and because of its stereotyping.

[1] It is no coincidence that none of the poetic words in our list contain the vowel *r* under the accent.

X. CONCLUSIONS

The language of the first edition of the Dictionary represents Vuk's native language better than the language of any other major writing by Vuk. Remains of the influence of the Church Slavonic language were present in earlier texts, while later, Vuk changed his language along with the development of his understanding of the functions and character of the literary language.

1. Vuk's speech amongst our dialects

Apart from what Vuk himself gives us, science does not have direct evidence of the Tršić speech in Vuk's time. This deprives us of the possibility to determine exactly to what extent Vuk's language in the Dictionary deviates from the Tršić dialect of the time. Nevertheless, Vuk himself mentioned the types of *moreš*, *danaske*, dat. *mene* and *tizi*, although he did not use them in his writings. He also often restored *iji* or *ij* in examples where compacting into *i* was performed (he wrote *čiji* or *čij*, and pronounced only *či* with a long *i*), and it would be said that he accepted the consonant *f* more liberally than the speech of the time. Besides, it is very probable that in Vuk's speech, there were forms with groupings such as *-ao* (*pomogo* instead of *pomogao*), maybe aesthetics (*dvanest* instead of *dvanaest*) and rejected or dropped vowels in the imperative mood and in some unstressed words, of course, all in optional use with unshortened forms. All this reflects the beginning of Vuk's conscious selection of qualities worthy of entering the literary language. From the point of view of what today's linguistic science knows about what grammatical correctness is and about the need that literary language has for such correctness, it must be admitted that Vuk acted appropriately in all these cases.

Judging the features of the Tršić dialect in Vuk's time was also complicated by the fact that there were elements of an unmatured mixture in that speech, which was introduced by crossing the speech of the existing population with the latest wave of Herzegovinian immigrants.[1] And what further complicates the whole picture is the fact that

[1] The testimony of the conflict between the two speech types is provided by Vuk himself: "So in Tršić, where I was born, only the elderly, who were born in Herzegovina, spoke *grag, kožug, mijeg, ovijeg*, and the others not only said *gra, kožu, mije, ovije, onije*, etc., rather, they even half-laughed at them." (*Skupljeni gramatički i polemički spisi* III, p. 9) The children and grandchildren of those

the Tršić dialect has evolved strongly in the meantime, primarily under the influence of the nearby Ekavian dialects of the Šumadija-Vojvodina type.[1] That is why J. Vuković's discussion of the Drobnjak speech comes in handy, although we have to reckon with the development achieved from the first half of the eighteenth century to the present day. But the indications contained in the Dictionary help us the most: the features that exist today in the Drobnjak speech, and which Vuk states seem to appear "in Herzegovina" (but not in Vuk's version of the Tršić speech), certainly existed at that time.

In this way we can make a small list of differences between Vuk's speech and the Drobnjak speech type of that time: in Vuk's speech there were no examples with *g* instead of *h*, then softened consonants *s* and *z* (*ć* and *ʒ́* in Cyrillic) with examples like *sekira, sutra, izeo* and changes of consonant groups *pt* and *pš* into *vt* and *vš*.[2] *Other differences that we learn from Vuk are either purely lexical or lexicalized phonetic or morphological details, such as ljeljen* and *Ljeljena* according to Vuk's *jelen* and *Jelena* and *vegd* as *vet*, then *kami* instead of *kamen* and

---

old men certainly would not have renounced their speech if there was no pressure from the environment they found themselves in. It's just not clear which environment it was. Was it perhaps an older layer of Jekavian immigrants, or perhaps a preserved Ekavian population in the area? In any case, it could be said that there were no old settlers in Tršić itself: from Vuk's narrative to Sreznjevski, it follows that the entire population of Tršić at that time was settled from various parts of Herzegovina around 1740, except for one blacksmith who was married to a widow from Herzegovina (and probably moved to her house?) (Dobrašinović and Marinković, *Susreti s Vukom* 15). Or maybe the Herzegovinians had come with mutual differences in dialect, so the type of Serbian speech that sounded less exotic in the Serbian environment won out? There was one of several families in Tršić, namely, originally from Rudin, where there is no example like *grag*, while examples of the *onijeg* type, which can be heard there (A. Peco, *Govor istočne Hercegovine*, Srpski dialektološki zbornik XIV, 1964, p. 74), could have been introduced in the second half of the 18th century with a wave of settlers from the eastern regions (A. Peco, *op. cit*., p. 10). But the question is whether the presence of this one family was sufficient for linguistic influence. The entire problem remains largely unsolved.

[1] A wealth of data about this is in the mentioned study by B. Nikolić, *Tršićki govor*.

[2] Vuk in the Dictionary lists the forms *vtica* and *všenica* as Herzegovinian. J. Vuković has these words only in the forms *tica* and *šenica*, apparently because in the meantime, the initial *v* before a consonant has dropped out. But in Vuković's material (in the same place) we also find *ovtužiti, ovtočiti, lovta, levti, ovština*, etc., which proves that the consonant *p* before *t* or *š* here also turned into *v*.

velju instead of *velim*. In terms of some other phenomena, we do not have, admittedly, Vuk's explicit claims, but there are elements for hypotheses with a high degree of probability. This applies primarily to the so-called latest *iotation* of labial consonants. Examples of the type of *trpljeti* and the lone example of a *mlezinac* in Vuk's language look like torn fragments of a more complete system and give reason to believe that this iotation was more fully realized in the Drobnjak zone, but was lost in one part of the example when transplanting speech to new areas. Also, the lonely example of *ćeritise* (which Vuk refers to *ceritise*) could have strayed into his speech only from some source where the *iotation* of *cje* into *će* in such cases was a normal occurrence. Finally, this would probably include the Drobnjak forms *ovi* and *oni*, those as opposed to Vuk's forms *ovaj*, *onaj*. In all these cases, the explanation for the discrepancies should be sought in the influences to which the speech was exposed in Tršić, but one possibility must be ruled out: that these characteristics are related to the speech of Vuk's mother, originally from Nikšić. In terms of all the above-mentioned features, Nikšić speech shows exactly the same picture as that of Drobnjak.

If we are talking about the distance between Vuk's written language and contemporary Drobnjak (or Nikšić) speech, the already mentioned divergence between that written language and Vuk's native language should certainly be added to the presented list. In all these cases, today's Drobnjak, as well as Nikšić's speech agrees with what we know—or assume—in terms of Vuk's native speech.

It is not excluded, after all, that there were several disagreements between that speech and the one from Drobnjak at the time, but that Vuk did not notice or record them. A comparison of today's Drobnjak speech with Vuk's language reveals many details. Thus, there are no types in the Dictionary registered by Vuković like: *noćes*, *uzočes*, *objenjiti=objagnjiti, doleko, dilji=dalji*, *grešan*, and so on without *j*, *stijo=hteo, ijo=jeo*, Ekavianisms *vređati, kiselo, seroma,* dosledno *ije* u oblicima kao *dobrijem*, *onomo*, *ete= eto*, *nakav* instead of *nekakav*, *sovati* instead of *psovati*, *slanka, mončad, rados, priš, ukras=ukrasti*, *poj* instead of *poć[i]*, *umro* with the non-syllabic *r*, *sedamles, šljan* instead of *član*, *esam* instead of *jesam*, *kođi* and *uđati* instead of *kozji* and *uzja[h]ati*, *šnjegovi*, accusative *brav*, vocative *tetak*, instrumental *kraljom*, *žeteoc*, *pet stotin*, genitive plural *rogu=rogova*, enclitic *vi* instead of *vam*, *trema* instead of *trima*, *dvjesti*, *viđu*, *volju=vidim, volim, kaževati* and so on, *bidem* and *bidnem*, *viđosmo*, *trijeti=trti*, *stariti,*

činjeti, naljeći: *naljezem*,[1] *sijeci s nožom*, long vowels in suffixes like *-āma* (*puškāma*), *-āst* (*zelenkāst*), *-āti, -ūti,-īti* (*svȉtāti, zìnūti, grȁbīti*) and accents like s*trȉčevi, dviјè kuće*, *zàpitajū*, *klečímo*, *tresèno*. This detailed confrontation with the facts shows, by the way, how different our vernaculars are from the literary language, even those that are relatively close to it. But it would be meaningless to engage in speculation here, which ones of all the listed features the Drobnjak speech had in Vuk's time.

Today's speech in Tršić, in terms of such features, stands resolutely on the side of Vuk's speech, disagreeing with that of Drobnjak. It follows that, in cases of rivalry between two alternative dialectal forms in the Tršić area in the eighteenth century, the solutions we find in Vuk proved to be definitive for the Tršić dialect. **Vuk's speech is of the East Herzegovinian type**, but in a significantly softened variant, free of a number of specific features that increased the difference from other dialects. This is a happy circumstance; if it were not for it, accepting Vuk's speech as the basis of literary language would be more difficult.

But even after Vuk, the speech of Tršić continued to develop in a direction that distanced him from the Herzegovinian motherland. Nikolić's work indicates a far-reaching penetration of the features of the Šumadija-Vojvodina dialect. Today's people from Tršić use Ekavian forms along the entire line, along with the Jekavian ones, and they also received some Ikavisms from Šumadija and Vojvodina. The long vowels after the accent are largely affected by the process of shortening, but on the other hand, there are many lengths foreign to Vuk's language: *jédān, nóžōm, mènē, vìdiō*. And there are a number of deviations from Vuk's language in various details that do not all have to be entered from the dialects of Šumadija and Vojvodina. The type of development of consonant groups embodied in Vuk's *tavnica, mlogo, sumlja* is suppressed by the opposite development which creates forms like *damno* and *zemnja*. Male names like *Simo* are declined as *Simo*, gen. *Sime* (not *Sima*), dat. *Simi* (not *Simu*), etc. Then we find forms like *sa tebom, molu* besides *mole, dovuču, pogledašmo, vršiti* instead of *vrći* or *vreći, jašiti,* etc.

Thus, today there is no local language to which Vuk's language would be specifically related, it differed significantly from Drobnjak

[1] Vuk not only does not have this pairing but denotes *naljesti*, *uljesti* as Herzegovinian, which means that this entire lexical type, quite often used in southern regions, was not familiar to his linguistic sensibilities.

language at that time, and Tršić's language, again, has changed greatly in the meantime.

2. Vuk's language in the perspective of the development of our literary language

From the language of the first edition of the Dictionary to our present-day literary language, there is an unbroken line of development. And since the victory of Vuk's language was a revolutionary turning point, this means that there is no such continuity between the language of Vuk's predecessors and our linguistic present. Of course, it does not follow that Vuk's speech was almost identical to our literary language today. The functioning of language in an increasingly developed society required and enabled it to be enriched quickly and continuously. But that difference in superstructure is taken for granted here, it belongs to the obvious historical inevitability. However, there are significant discrepancies in the basics: it cannot even be said that Vuk's speech is particularly close to the basis of our literary language, phonetic and grammatical. Consideration of this fact is possible only if one comes close to the language of the Dictionary and if it is not treated as a document of our modern language, as our grammarians often did (mostly until a few years ago), thus shortening the perspective to the point of non-existence.

By reviewing the material presented in the Dictionary, one can easily see a number of types that are not present in literary language today, such as *ćerati, đevojka,*[1] *međed, ćeritise, trpljeti, mljezinac* (all with the so-called newest iotization)*, grješnik, zapoviđeti* and *siđeti,* the regular form *nijesam, žutijem, god,* the Ekavisms *nega, telo,* and *čovek* (in Jekavian speech!)*, pancijer, jačmen=ječam, tolmač, mudarac, omćise=omaći se, pjan=pijan, bjen, maća =maćeha,* the dropping of *h, čij (i.e.* in pronunciation *či* instead of *čiji), rakijnski, đe, titor, tica, čela, šenica, oskočiti, šljeme, tavnica, mlogo, sumlja, notnji, votnjak, Kostantin, sršljen*, *čovestvo, čkakljati, uvjedžbati, pricvrljiti, prcvarnica, kamdžija, unka=humka, kovča, namastir, zlamenje, žuvance, tadaj=tada, sjutra, Srbljin, šalintra, jeverica, kiradžija=kirajdžija, sadžija, Mirosav* consistently without *l*, *komendat=komandant, plet-*

[1] In this enumeration, as in those concerning the Drobnjak and Tršić speech, the types are symbolized by one example. Therefore, sometimes one word stands for a whole series of words with the same feature.

ke=spletke, čitula=čitulja, nakom=nakon, leturđija, čekić, dženeral, košturnica, voc. *Milica*, plural *pritiskovi*, gen. pl. *dinari* and *lađi*, *narječijama*, widely used *-ma* instead of *-ima* (*ljudma, stvarma*), ždrao=*ždral*, nom. *Dimitrija, ramo, zavjes, mit=mito, Dunavo, lepeze=lepeza, vijeća, nazeba, raskida, rat*, fem. r., *jasli, naćvi*, then *viljuške, omče, pregršti* (all *pluralia tantum*), *ponoći* instead of *ponoć*, *njga =njega*, unrecognized enclitic *ju*, long vowels in the enclitics *joj* and *i[h]*, wide use of the genitive *šta*, unchanging adjectives like *zeituni*, *dvima=dvema, dvoenaestoro*, the formations *uspišem* and *znadbudem* instead of the fore-future tense, not recognizing the first person plural imperative, *ćadija* and *ća=šćah, /o/tio=hteo, klići=kliknuti, mačen=maknut, ćućeti=ćutati*, the relation *cvasti: cvatim, čatiti* instead of *čitati, zasvirjeti, tajati, slomijem, popenjem, donešen, obljeven, Bijogradac, Novosatkinja, govečaca, prokletav=prokletstvo, močica=motkica, vlastel= vlastelin, pomaganja=zapomaganje, patroliti, dopušćati, sjeđenje, kršćenje, budenje*, the use of genitives with the verb *pitati* and with the preposition *prema*, the preposition *o* instead of *od*, the predominantly ablative meaning of preposition like *iza*, complex sentences according to the form *Koji... onaj*, the conjunction *zašto*, etc.

Some of these types were removed by Vuk himself during his further work, while the elimination of others was brought about by later development. In most cases, it is possible to point out the causes that led to that elimination (this, of course, does not refer to the smallest facts concerning individual words and in which the role of accidental acquisition is much higher). Rejected phenomena either complicated the grammatical system, thus reducing its internal correctness, or appeared only in a small part of our linguistic territory, or represented recent innovations (thereby further removing our literary language from the literary heritage of earlier centuries), or a combination of two of these three characteristics, or even sometimes all three. Hence, our literary language today has a greater measure of internal grammatical correctness than Vuk's speech, and a higher average indicator of the prevalence of features in dialects and—a stronger measure of archaicness. The latter may sound paradoxical: a century and a half after the Dictionary, the language that is written and spoken is more archaic in its vocal and grammatical features than the one in the Dictionary. And yet, it is not only a fact, but also a completely natural phenomenon. One of the normal characteristics of literary languages as such is that they are more archaic than folk dialects in everything except lexicon.

Literary languages avoid recent innovations precisely because they usually disrupt grammatical correctness and break continuity with the cultural heritage of earlier times.

By abandoning the listed features, our literary language became even more detached from the Drobnjak dialect background,[1] and to a considerable extent from the Tršić dialect as it is today. Thus, even in the Serbo-Croatian case, the situation is completely materialized (one common in culturally developed environments) so that the literary language has a supra-dialectal character. Originating usually on the basis of a local or regional language, literary languages then become independent and develop according to special laws. Countless consequences arise from two fundamental circumstances: literary languages do not serve, as vernaculars, the needs of a narrowly limited social unit such as a village or area, but the needs of the nation as a whole,[2] and they must meet the demands of a richer and more complex culture.

We will understand the distance of our modern-day literary language from its former Drobnjak base best if we compare its sound system with Drobnjak and with the one in the Srem dialects[3] which Vuk in his time often took as an example of language corruption. We will be surprised by the truth that the sum of phonetic differences between the Srem dialect and the Ekavian variant of the current literary language is smaller than the corresponding sum on the relation Drobnjak speech—Jekavian variant of the literary language. (In the domain of morphology, the relationship is mostly reversed, due to Srem archaisms in the locative plural and innovations in the third person plural present, but this difference between the two distances is not great). But even more incredible is the fact that essentially the same results are obtained if this parallel is projected into the past. The language written by Jovan Rajić,[4] born in Sremski Karlovci in 1726, if it was Serbo-Croatian (and not Church Slavonic or even Russian), was vocally closer to

---

[1] For a large part of these features, we mentioned that J. Vuković noted their presence in the speech of Drobnjak, and it is possible that some smaller detail would have been found, but Vuković did not touch on it.

[2] Some literary languages, including Serbo-Croatian, even serve the needs of more than one people.

[3] This dialectal type is described in detail in B. Nikolić's study *Sremski govor*.

[4] According to the monograph by A. Mladenović, *O narodnom jeziku Jovana Rajića*.

today's literary language than the language of the first edition of Vuk's Dictionary (though comparison on the grounds of morphology would again give the opposite picture). Even the repertoire of sounds in the language structure was identical in Rajić's with our current one: Rajić used *h*, and *f* was more stable in his language than in the language of the Dictionary. Only in his later development did Vuk adopt this phonological system, which was a general characteristic of the language of the eighteenth century in Serbian literature.

The literary language that was introduced by Vuk's victory has passed through many phases, and today it is no longer Drobnjak, Tršić, or specifically Vukovar. The base of that language is far wider, general Shtokavian, and its physiognomy bears the stamp of our time. Despite all its great qualities, the material presented in the first edition of the Dictionary was not yet a literary language; it was only the raw dialect material that provided the starting point for a new literary language. Nevertheless, the language in which Vuk wrote seems alive and close even today, while the language of his predecessors and contemporaries seems to us to be covered in the dust of time. It is not just a matter of Vuk's lucidity and gift for a concise and colorful use of words. In terms of objective linguistic features, Vuk is far closer to the linguistic reality of our time than any other significant writer he ever encountered. True, there were many writers who built their language on an equally good Novoshtokavian basis, and there were (in the Serbo-Croatian west) writers whose language was as free from Church Slavonic usages as Vuk's. But these were not the same writers: those with a more suitable dialect base mixed their language with that of the church, and those to whom the Slav-Serbian tradition was foreign were either not Shtokavian at all or used atypical, peripheral Shtokavian dialects, unsuitable to become the basis of the literary language for the entire Serbo-Croatian area. Only Vuk's language united both advantages. That is why he was the only one who provided the right solution.

MOST IMPORTANT REFERENCES

Appendini, Francesco Maria: G*rammatica della lingua illirica*. Ragusa MDCCCVIII.

Belić, A.: *Karadžić, Vuk*. Enciklopedija Jugoslavije 5, 1962.

Белић., А.: *О Вуковим ꙋоꙁледима на срꙋске дијалекꙋе и књижевни језик.* Глас СКА 82, Београд 1910.

Brabec, Ivan, Mate Hraste i Sreten Živković: G*ramatika hrvatskosrpskoga jezika,* 6. izd., Zagreb 1965.

Butler, Thomas: *The Origins of the War for a Serbian Language and Orthography.* Harvard Slavic Studies V, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1970.

Вуковић, Јован; *Акценаꙋ ꙁовора Пиве и Дробњака.* Срп. дијал. зборник 10, 1940.

Вуковић, Јован: *Говор Пиве и Дробњака.* Јужнословенски филолог 17, 1938—39.

Вушовић, Данило: *Диалекꙋ исꙁочне Херцеꙁовине.* Српски дијал. зборник 3, 1927.

Даничић, Ђуро: *Мала срꙋска ꙁрамаꙋика.* У Бечу 1850.

Добрашиновић, Голуб и Боривој Маринковић: *Сусреꙋи с Вуком.* Нови Сад 1964.

Ивић, Павле: *Два асꙋекꙋа Вуковоꙁ дела.* Анали Филолошког факултета у Београду V, 1965.

Караџић, Вук: *О језику и књижевносꙋи I* (приредио Берислав Николић). Београд 1968.

Караџић, Вук Стеф.: *Скуꙋьени ꙁрамаꙋички и ꙋолемички сꙋиси* (уредник П. П. Ђорђевић). I—III, Београд 1894—96.

Караџич, Вук Стефановић: *Срꙋски рјечник исꙋолкован њемачким и лаꙋинским ријечима*. У Бечу 1818. (фототипска издања Београд 1966. и 1969, приредио Павле Ивић). 2. изд. (Српски рјечник *исꙋумачен њемачкијем и лаꙋинскијем ријечима*) у Бечу 1852, 3. изд. у Београду 1898, 4. изд. у Београду 1935, 5. изд. Београд 1969.

Вукова ꙋреꙋиска (уредник Љуб. Стојановић). I—VII. Београл 1907—1913.

Kopitar, B.: *Grammatik der Slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steiermark*. Laibach 1808.

Кашић, Јован: *Војводанска лексика у Вуковом Рјечнику.* Годишњак Филозофског факултета у Новом Саду X, 1967.

Кашић, Јован: *Градске речи у Вуковом Рјечнику.* Годишњак Фил. фак. у Новом Саду XI/1, 1968.

Kopitar, Batth.: *Kleinere Schriften I*, Wien 1857.

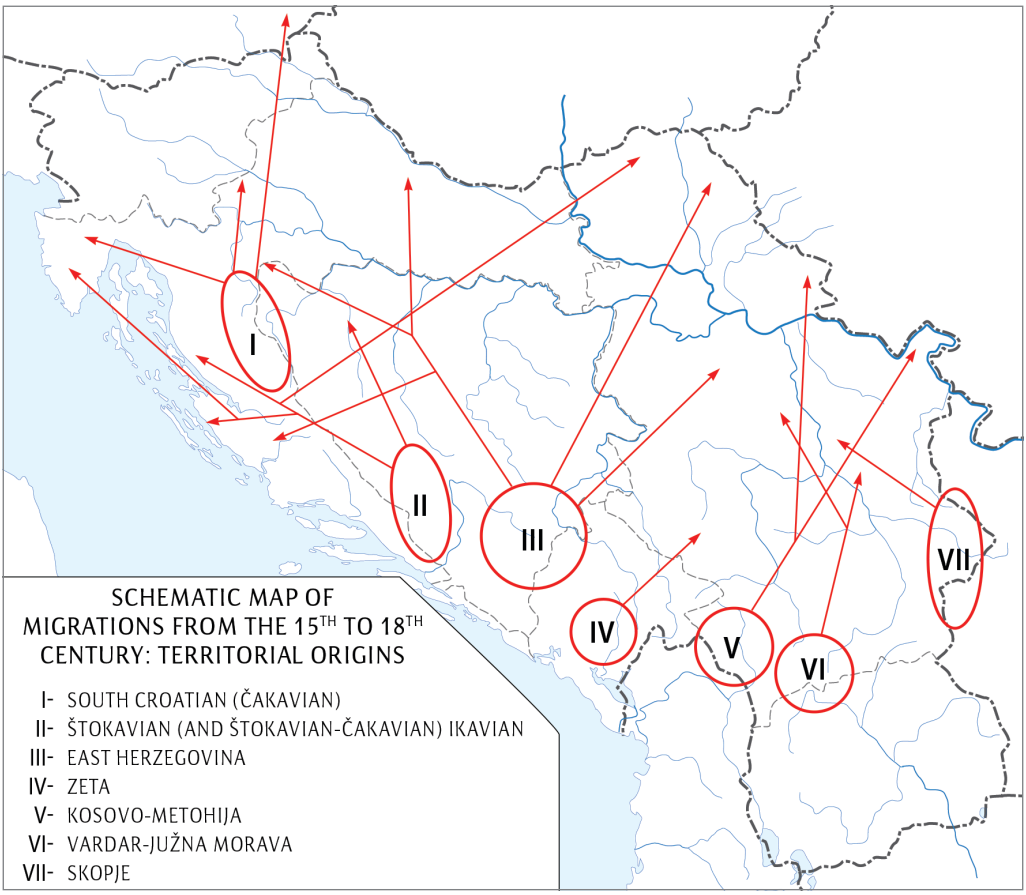
Кулаковскій, Платонъ: *Вукъ Караджичъ.* Москва 1882.

Maretić, Tomislav: *Metrika narodnih naših pjesama.* Rad JAZU 168 i 170, 1907.

Младеновић, Александар: *Сава Мркаљ и њеꙋови ꙋреꙋходници у реформи ꙋредвуковске ћирилиие.* Годишњак Фил. фак. у Новом Саду X, 1967.

Николић, Берислав: *Однос данашњег тршћког говора према Вуковом језику.* Јужнословенски филолог 26, св, 1—2, 1963—64.
Новаковић, Стојан: *Неговање језика српског.* Глас СКА X, Београд 1888.
О Вуку Караџићу. Студије и есеји. Београд 1968.
Поповић, Миодраг: *Вук Стеф. Караџић.* Београд 1964.
Селимовић, Меша: *За и против Вука*. Нови Сад 1967.
Стевановић, Михаило: *Језик у Вукову делу и савремени српскохрватски књижевни језик*. Јужнословенски филолог XXVI/1—2, 1963—64.
Стевановић, Михаило: *Карактер дијалектизама у језику Вука Караџића*. Анали Филолошког факултета у Београду V, 1965.
Стевановић, Михаило: *Савремени српскохрватски језик.* I—II, Београд 1964, 1969.


MORAVIA
CARPATHIAN MTS.
Danube
Buda
Pest
Debrecin
PANNONIA
Drava
Kupa
Sava
Tisa
Moriš
DACIA
Belgrade
Drina
V. Morava
Zap. Morava
Ibar
Timok
Danube
Olt
Niš
Nišava
Sofia
ŠARA
Juž. Morava
Marica
Struma
Lezha
Skopje
Štip
Vardar
Ohrid
Thessaloníki
Constantinople
ADRIATIC SEA
BLACK SEA
AEGEAN SEA
THESSALY
PELOPONNESE
SETTLEMENT OF THE SOUTH SLAVS
Byzantine limes
Migration of Slavic settlement
Modern day position of the isogloss clusters which divide western-south Slavic and eastern-south Slavic


I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
SCHEMATIC MAP OF
MIGRATIONS FROM THE 15TH TO 18TH
CENTURY: TERRITORIAL ORIGINS
I- SOUTH CROATIAN (ČAKAVIAN)
II- ŠTOKAVIAN (AND ŠTOKAVIAN-ČAKAVIAN) IKAVIAN
III- EAST HERZEGOVINA
IV- ZETA
V- KOSOVO-METOHIJA
VI- VARDAR-JUŽNA MORAVA
VII- SKOPJE

Department of Literature and Language of the Matica srpska

For the publisher
Dragan Stanić
President of the Matica srpska

Associate of the department
Milena Kulić

Proofreaders
Ema Pandrc
Biljana Radić Bojanić

Technical editor
Vukica Tucakov

Computer layout
Vladimir Vatić, GRAFIT, Petrovaradin

Printed by
SAJNOS, Novi Sad

Circulation
300 copies

CIP – Каталогизација у публикацији
Библиотека Матице српске, Нови Сад

811.163.41(091)

IVIĆ, Pavle, 1924-1999
The Serbian people and their language / Pavle Ivić ; translated by Randall A. Major. - Novi Sad : Matica Srpska, 2024 (Novi Sad : Sajnos). - 283 str. : geogr. karte ; 24 cm + Dialect map of the Serbo-Croatian territories

Prevod dela: Srpski narod i njegov jezik. - Tiraž 300. - Napomene i bibliografske reference uz tekst. - Bibliografija.

ISBN 978-86-7946-471-2

a) Српски језик -- Историја

COBISS.SR-ID 143752969