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What can language biographies reveal about multilingualism in the Habsburg Monarchy? A case study on the members of the Illyrian movement

The reconstruction of language biographies of the Illyrian movement members was based on their available, published or unpublished, texts written in all of the idioms they were using (Croatian dialects, Štokavian literary language, German, Latin). The focus of this research was primarily on journal and autobiographical entries and private correspondence, containing reflections on personal attitudes towards their own language behaviour and the language reality of their social environment. The aim of this research was to gather, from a micro-perspective, information about the dynamics of macro-level sociolinguistic developments in the first half of the 19th century, primarily focusing on German-Croatian bilingualism and the deliberate switch from the Kajkavian to the supra-regional Štokavian literary language in north-western Croatia. The fact that the supra-regional literary language gained prestige in a multilingual social setting in which public domains were appropriated for German and Latin can be considered an effect of cultural and political activities of the Illyrists. The methodology of this research has encompassed methods developed in textual linguistics, discourse analysis, qualitative content analysis and biography analysis. Firstly, our aim was to gather information on idioms that were predominantly used by the members of the Illyrian movement in various text types and domains in different periods. Secondly, we investigated the Illyrists' reflections on the personal language use in various domains, personal theories on proper (native) language use and acquisition, as well as reflections on the relation of personal language use and a sense of belonging to a social, i.e. national group.

Key words: language biographies; narrative identity; Illyrian movement; national language (Croatian); multilingualism.



1. Introduction

The Illyrian movement is considered the period of intensive activities in institutional organization, language standardization and national literature production within the Croatian National Revival. While the Croatian National Revival is regarded as the period from 1790 (beginning of the Croatian nobility's resistance against the attempts to introduce the Hungarian language as official in the civilian Croatian lands) to 1848 (military conflict with the Hungarians, formal end to feudalism, dawn of the absolutism) (Stančić 1985: 1), the Illyrian Movement is often seen as the period between 1836 (the supra-regional Štokavian literary language is introduced into the publications *Danica* and *Novine*) and 1842/1843 (prohibition of the name "Illyrian" by the government) (Tafra 2005: 63). It is widely considered that the institutional foundations and public climate for further national integration were set in that period. The Movement used the name "Illyrian" to name the supra-regional language they codified and used, as well as the according literature. In the first phase of the Movement, the name implied predominantly all of the South-Slavic people, and in some contexts, especially in the latter phases of the movement, only the ethnic groups of Croatian territories. The Illyrists, mainly based in the urban areas of northwestern Croatia (Gross 1981: 184; Stančić 1981: 236; Horvat 1990: 19), founded, besides the supra-regional literary language, cultural, economic and political institutions which were intended to serve the purpose of unifying not only the administratively and politically disunited Croatian territories and ethnic groups in the Habsburg Monarchy, but also to represent the interests of all South-Slavic peoples. However, intellectual and political elites of other South-Slavic nations have not systematically participated in the activities of the Illyrian movement (Kann 1964: 260-261; Stančić 1985: 22; Korunić 2006: 265). Therefore, the movement turned in the latter phases dominantly to defining the cultural and political positions of the Croatian ethnic groups. The idea of a union of South-Slavic nations, based on cultural similarities and historical-genetical affinities, was present throughout the 19th century in different political programs. A South-Slavic state was first operationalized after the split-up of the Monarchy, but it is widely considered that the Illyrists' program involved neither a political union of South-Slavic peoples nor a separation from the Habsburg monarchy (cf. Korunić 2006). Their political program, developed under significant influence of other Slavic national movements in the Monarchy, involved the idea of Austro-Slavism, a concept in which all of the Slavic peoples living in the Monarchy would constitute a third large politically relevant factor in the Monarchy, besides the Austrians and the Magyars (Korunić 2006: 357-358; Markus 2008: 30).



The Illyrian movement came into existence largely because of the similar interests of several social classes. The bourgeoisie wanted to achieve political relevancy in a still feudal system, the intention of the progressive catholic clergy was to defend Croatian territories from the protestant influence coming from the Hungarian aristocracy, while a part of the Croatian nobility wanted to preserve the partial political and economic autonomy of civil Croatian lands in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy, as well as to politically unify the disunited Croatian territories and ethnic groups.

In its first phase, the Illyrists were mostly concentrated on prescribing the orthography and grammar of a supra-regional literary language, implementing the literary language and orthography in their newspapers, creating a large corpus of written texts and on investigating the national history. Modern Croatian philology, grammatology, orthography, national historiography and ethnology were founded or taken to a considerably higher level at that time. Later on, the Illyrists played a major role in founding cultural institutions and societies (e. g. *Matica ilirska*), economical societies (e. g. *Gospodarsko društvo*), and, finally, political institutions, such as the People's Party (*Narodna stranka*) (Stančić 1985: 23-24; Korunić 2006: 240-241).

In the first half of the 19th century, the social language situation in north-western Croatia was marked by the competition between several idioms (cf. Moguš 1995; Vince 2002). The German language was dominant in the urban centres, despite the fact that it was not the official language. The position of German was strengthened through centuries by the long-lasting political ties to the German-speaking lands, the constant immigration of German-speaking people (lawyers, doctors, craftsmen, pharmacists) (Žepić 2002), and a biased educational policy. The urban cultural scene in Zagreb was dominantly under its influence—a German theatre existed in Zagreb long before the Illyrist theatre came into being, there were several writers who wrote about local themes in German language, newspapers in German existed before the Illyrian journals were founded, and had a considerably larger circulation. Latin was the official political language in Civil Croatia until 1847, much longer than in other European political systems. The Croatian nobility struggled to preserve the use of Latin in politics, while defending against the attempts to introduce the Hungarian language as official (Markus 2006: 1). Those attempts were constant throughout the 19th century, but the Hungarian language never achieved the social significance of German. One of the reasons could be the *Indigenatsrecht*, which ensured that no protestant could buy properties in the civil Croatian lands,



thus reducing the influence of the Hungarian aristocracy (Markus 2008: 10). The Kajkavian dialect was organic to the largest part of the territory, a Kajkavian literary koiné was already in the process of becoming polyfunctional – it was used in religious works, literature, juridical works (Brozović 2008: 69). Nevertheless, the Illyrists chose to codify a supra-regional language based on a Štokavian idiom, which had a literary tradition as well. The choice was made considering that different Štokavian dialects were spoken in territories of Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro etc., while Kajkavian idioms were spoken only in northwestern Croatia and the Slovenian territories.

The Illyrists had different social, educational and ethnic backgrounds, but many of them had one thing in common: they were multilingual individuals. Most of them were under great influence of German in their youth, some due to the fact that it was their familiar vernacular, others through military service or education outside the Croatian-speaking territories, and the circumstance that it was the cultural and social language of prestige in the urban areas. Our research has shown that to some members of the Illyrian movement, German was the first and/or dominant language of everyday communication, and they did not begin acquiring the Croatian language before adulthood. The fact that such individuals have taken great efforts to codify and implement the Štokavian supra-regional language and ensure that it gains prestige in various domains can be thought of as ideologically rather than pragmatically induced. Namely, to make progress in education, career and social hierarchy, an individual needed command of German, Latin and Hungarian languages, but not at all of Croatian. There has been no research so far to investigate by what methods and in what manner the Illyrists, to whom foreign languages were dominant in everyday life, acquired the literary language, applied the codified orthographic and grammar rules, what problems they had in doing so, which were the motivating and the aggravating factors of language acquisition, and what perceptions they had of the ideal social function of all the idioms they were using. It was the Illyrians who, through individual acts and activities, promoted the national language into domains that were previously appropriated for foreign languages – politics, education etc.

In our research, which began in 2008, language biographies of seven members of the Illyrian movement were reconstructed (see preliminary findings in Novak 2008 and 2011) on the basis of a still growing corpus, currently counting over 600 published and unpublished texts from different domains. We expect that this research can gather relevant data on the multilingualism of the socio-functional group of Illyrists, thus contributing, from a micro-perspective, to a



larger-scale understanding of the dynamics and implications of individual and social multilingualism in the Habsburg Monarchy.

2. Theoretical framework

Our research encompasses principles and methods developed in historical sociolinguistics, contact linguistics and critical discourse analysis. In the recent period, there were more prominent historical sociolinguistic surveys primarily focusing on the investigation of asymmetric power relations in a broader social frame, which are manifested in the prescribed use of different languages in particular domains of use, e. g. the investigation of diglossia and power in the 19th century in the Habsburg Monarchy (cf. Rindler Schjerve and Vetter 2003; Boaglio 2003; Czeitschner 2003; Wallnig 2003). The motivation of such historical sociolinguistic research is, so to say, socio-political, therefore it shows less interest in linguistic system variations. In this framework, an extraordinary important role in studying the past is given to discourse, understood as a set of oral and written texts. The analysis of texts is deployed as a reconstruction instrument for political and ideological foundations that produce and promote social forces reflected in the multilingualism in the Monarchy (Rindler Schjerve and Vetter 2003: 37). The corpora were assembled out of texts from the domains of law and jurisdiction (cf. Czeitschner 2003), administration, education, journalism (cf. Boaglio 2003), under the assumption that those texts can reveal the interconnection of power and language (use) (Rindler Schjerve and Vetter 2003: 39). Important information was gathered on how much access to power and decision-making was granted to speakers of a particular language, by analyzing how much prominence was given or denied to this language in specific domains (*ibid.*, 46). This is also one of the areas of interest of our research, which was approached by investigating the perspective of an individual.

The language-biographic method emerged in social sciences and humanities as early as in the 1980s and entered the discussion as one of the methods in investigating language contacts (cf. Bechert and Wildgen 1991: 45-47; Wildgen 2004: 10). Nevertheless, it was not until the last decade that it started to play a more important role in the European sociolinguistic and contact-linguistic based surveys (cf. Fix and Barth 2000; Meng 2001; Nekvapil 2001, 2003, 2004; Miecznikowski-Fünfschilling 2001; Franceschini 2001, 2004; Miecznikowski 2004; Franceschini and Miecznikowski 2004; Treichel 2004; Piškorec 2007). Investigating language use, language learning or language acquisition, personal atti-



tudes towards different idioms and their speakers, social and/or language adaptation of an individual, as well as their construction of language identity, this method has introduced sociological approaches to the research of sociolinguistic and language contact phenomena (cf. Wildgen 2004).

Nekvapil (2003: 63) defines language biography as a biographic statement in which the narrator takes his own language as the main topic of his testimony, especially the ways in which languages are acquired and the manner in which they are used. Franceschini (2004: 124) calls the product of narration in a language-biographic interview a curriculum vitae (*Lebenslauf*), while a language biography (*Sprachbiographie*) is the result of a subsequent analysis. Meng (2001: 98-99) elucidates the need for distinction between so-called language-biographical statements (*sprachbiographische Äußerungen*) and language biographies in the strict meaning of the word. Language biographies contain systematic scientific presentations of a person's language development under specific individual circumstances where the person's language-biographical statements represent only one source of information for the reconstruction of a language biography. This concept is also adopted in the framework of this research - language biography is a result of reconstruction on the basis of language-biographical statements of the person, general biographical data, as well as all available relevant information.

The language biographic approach is considered a method in the area of qualitative paradigm in the social sciences (Bechert and Wildgen 1991; Wildgen 2004), but our investigation was combined with quantitative methods, because it included a chronological observation of code choice in different text genres and domains of use, of language-contact features in texts and of the usage of different orthographic and grammatical variants.

Besides the speaker's subjective theories on language acquisition and proper language use in different social and communicative circumstances, the language-biographic approach takes interest in individual and collective language-related identity constructions as well (Treichel 2004). Language-biographic statements come into existence in autobiographical narration and can be used also as empiric verbal source of information for the reconstruction of narrative identity (cf. Piškorec 2007). The concept of narrative identity, first introduced by Paul Ricoeur, is a theoretical construct which refers to the manner in which a person in concrete situations narratively presents and configures situationally relevant aspects of her own identity (Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann 2004: 55).



The reconstruction of narrative identities in our research provides information on how the Illyrists positioned themselves and their language use in their broader autobiographical narrative framework.

Several regional, national and transnational projections of collective identities are observable in the narratives of the Illyrists (cf. Novak 2010). Korunić (2006: 190-196) is of the opinion that they were relevant not only amongst national-minded individuals and social groups. The most prominent perceptions were the one regarding a Croatian identity (belonging to the community of ethnic groups of Croatian territories, loyalty to the idea of the Croatian political, historical and cultural tradition), a Pan-Slavic identity (belonging to the community of all Slavic peoples, accentuation of common descent, genetic affinity of their languages, the need for solidarity between Slavic peoples), and a South-Slavic identity (perception of the need for cultural unification of South-Slavic peoples, and convergence in terms of a common orthography, literary language, and literature). In some phases of the Movement, the South-Slavic identity was regarded as „Illyrian”, reflecting contemporary popular theory on the descent of the South-Slavic peoples from the ancient Illyrians.¹ Korunić (2006) mentions several other perceptions of collective identities, e. g. the patriotic identity, which refers to the loyalty to the Croatian political tradition, the Hungarian crown, and/or the Monarchy as a common homeland, respectively.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was employed in the investigation of the Illyrists' personal reflections on their own language use, as well as on the language use of others, and in the analysis of possible influences of ideology on orthographic and grammatical features and code choice in different domains. In CDA, language is thought of as an instrument of ideology (Wodak 2001: 2, 2006: 4-5), therefore the interaction of language use, power and ideology can be examined by methods of CDA (Rindler Schjerve and Vetter 2003: 42).

In the analysis of the influence of ideology on context models and consequently on different features of language use, van Dijk's (1995:243, 246) socio-

¹ Blažević (2008) claims, on the basis of a broad historical qualitative survey, that the Illyrian ideologeme was present in the Croatian lands long before the 19th century as a medium of mobilization, political reflection and propaganda. It was at the same time a national and a transnational ideologeme which incorporated numerous features. Its content varied over time due to the fact that this ideologeme absorbed and assimilated other discursive collective entities. In that way it paradoxically created it's own homogeneity through incorporating mutually incompatible heterogeneous elements (2008: 37).



cognitive definition was adopted, which states that ideologies are fundamental systems of social cognition and organization of attitudes and other social representations shared by members of a community, as well as group-immanent self-theories and perceptions of their own position in the world. Ideologies are therefore the basic frameworks of social cognition, common to members of a social group. Adopted were also the concepts of context and context models, which, according to van Dijk (2008: 56), refer to subjective constructions of participants about perceived relevant features of a communicative situation (*ibid.*, 56). We tend to assume that the individual attitudes, perceptions, biases etc. on different idioms that have impinged on concrete decisions in language use (e. g. the deliberate choice to use Štokavian instead of Kajkavian), thus affecting features of language use, have been developed under the influence of the prevailing ideological cognitive framework in the society.² The ideology of the Movement has affected the language use of the Illyrists not directly but rather through models, mental representations of personal experiences of specific events, actions or situations. The linkage was investigated by gathering textual articulations which reflect personal attitudes towards different aspects of social language behaviour, from the use of a new orthographical rule, to the decision on which language to use in a specific domain. These were analyzed in comparison to the available information on the actual language use of the person, as well as to the main features of the Illyrian ideology.

3. Methodology

The aim of our research was to gather information on the following questions (cf. Novak 2011):

1. What was the language use of the Illyrists like in different domains of use? Which idioms did they use in which text genres? What were the distinct features of the used idioms (lexical borrowing, code-switching)? When did they apply new orthographical and grammatical solutions of the literary language, codified at different periods?

² Rindler Schjerve stated, in the panel discussion on the methodology of research at the conference “New Challenges for Multilingualism in Europe” April 11–15, 2010 in Dubrovnik, that the link between ideology as a system of belief and the development of personal attitudes is still unclear.



2. How did the Illyrists present themselves, their multilingualism and language use in their autobiographical narratives? How did they evaluate their proficiency in different languages? What did they consider important factors of language acquisition?

3. How did they reflect on the multilingualism and the common language use in their social environment? What did they consider to be proper behaviour in terms of language use? How did they reflect on persons or social groups who used predominantly German or some other foreign language in everyday life, and how did they reflect on those who used predominantly Croatian?

4. How did different aspects of the Movement ideology affect the development of personal attitudes towards the national and foreign languages, towards members of the (ethnic, national, ideological) in-group, towards political opponents and members of out-groups?

5. How did Illyrists narratively form their identity? How did they position themselves, their in-group, or the out-groups and other contemporaries, respectively? How did they describe the trajectory of language acquisition during their lives?

The starting phase of our research was the gathering of general biographical information on the persons chosen for in-depth analysis, as well as data on the location of their archive legacy and published works.

The next phase was the formation of corpora for each person chosen for in-depth analysis. The corpora contain all kinds of attainable, published or unpublished, texts from the person's private correspondence, autobiographic or journal entries, newspaper articles, literary works, political speeches, linguistic or other scientific works etc.

The analysis was conducted on several levels: 1. systematic processing of basic information on the language biography gathered from primary (corpora) and secondary (e. g. biographical literature) sources; 2. analysis of reflections on one's own language use in statements found in journals, autobiographical notes and private correspondence, as well as gathering information on general features of autobiographical reflections; 3. linguistic analysis (code choice, orthographic and grammatical variants); 4. analysis of reflections on the language use in the social environment of the person.



On the basis of reflections, we reconstructed narrative identities, self-positioning and systems of values and attitudes, analysed subjective theories on language acquisition and proper language behaviour, and investigated the influence of ideology and features of context models on language use. The findings are triangulated (Flick 2004: 46-47) by reflections of other Illyrists as well as contemporaries who did not take part in the Movement. In this way, the analysed reflections on own language use and on the contemporary language-social phenomena receive “second opinions”.

4. Members of the Illyrian movement chosen for in-depth analysis

The decisions on Illyrists for in-depth analysis was made on the basis of several criteria (Novak 2011: 235–236), but predominantly relied on whether the person was active and prominent in the Movement’s activities and whether the persons legacy contains autobiographical notes, journal entries and private correspondence. The following Illyrists were chosen for in-depth analysis:

1. Ljudevit Gaj (1809–1872) was the Movement leader and ideologist in the early phases. His mother tongue was a Kajkavian organic idiom, but as an adult he switched completely to writing his texts in the Štokavian literary language. He wrote in German and Latin as well and undertook great efforts in translating texts to and from Croatian. He created the new, monographemic orthography which contains a variant of the Illyrists’ national and transnational identity perception. Especially significant in his language biography is the gradual implementation of his own orthographic rules and the transition phase between writing in the Kajkavian dialect and in the Štokavian literary language.

2. Dragojla Jarnević (1812–1875) was one of the few women among the Illyrists. She contributed with intensive publication of literary texts. She left behind an extensive private diary in which her Croatian language acquisition was described in considerable detail (her familiar vernacular was German). Changes in personal attitudes and a shift in self-perception after joining the Movement are noticeable as well. Her journal entries also provide insights into how group-relevant information was distributed among the Illyrists and what were the decisive factors in dissemination and usage of different orthographic and grammatical rules. She Croaticized her personal birth name Caroline to Dragojla.



3. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816–1889) was one of the politically most distinguished members of the Movement. He took part in the foundation and activities of several important national institutions, and was particularly active in historiographical and ethnographical surveys. His language biography can provide important insights into how distinguished individuals could, through their own actions, promote the national language in different domains of use. E.g., Kukuljević held a speech in Croatian in the Croatian parliament, in 1843, at a time in which Latin was still the official language, thus showing that the national language had the capability to serve the purpose of an official language.

4. Petar Preradović (1818–1872) was a general in the Monarchy's army, and one of the most popular poets among the Illyrists. He wrote in Croatian and German. He started to work on his proficiency in the Croatian literary language relatively late, mainly because he was most of the time, due to his military service, separated from the centre of the national movement. In his autobiographical notes, he reflects on native language attrition due to constant exposure to German. His language biography has several interesting features, one of them being the friendship with Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski who persuaded him to work on his native language proficiency and to write in Croatian.

5. Ljudevit (Farkaš) Vukotinović (1813–1893) was active in the early phases in the literary field and in the latter phases as a politician. His mother tongue was a Kajkavian idiom, later on he wrote his Croatian texts in the Štokavian literary language. He left behind many autobiographical statements and published numerous articles critical of the use of foreign languages in his social environment. In 1854, during the era of absolutism, he lost his administrative position for refusing to use German in his work place. Even so, he himself wrote and published scientific articles (geology, mineralogy, botanics) in German during his whole life. He officially Croaticised his Hungarian origin family name Farkaš into Vukotinović.

6. Dragutin Rakovac (1813–1854) was, in the early phases of the Movement, one of Ljudevit Gaj's most loyal collaborators, active in the editorial staff of newspapers, but also as a writer and distinguished museologist. His family vernacular was a Kajkavian idiom, later on he switched to the Štokavian literary language in his written texts, but had at first severe difficulties in the acquisition of Štokavian which caused problems in his editorial activities.



7. Adolfo (Veber) Tkalčević (1825–1889) was one of the most important writers and grammarians among the Illyrists, who wrote some of the most influential contemporary works on the grammar of Croatian. He was a catholic priest, and worked as a professor in the Gymnasium in Zagreb, where he was thought of as a radical fighter for the Croatian language, even in the era of absolutism. He was very critical of the use of German in everyday life. After the age of absolutism, he had a distinguished political career as well. He acted as a personal language advisor, e.g. to Dragojla Jarnević. He Croaticized his German origin family name Veber into Tkalčević.

5. Selected overview of current findings³

Except insights into features of Illyrists' language use in different domains, this research gathered so far significant information on the public discourses, ideology, functioning of the Illyrists' social network, channels of spreading group-relevant information, and the communication with distinguished nationalists of other Slavic peoples.

Organized activities of the Illyrists began with the creation of a new orthography, the codification of a supra-regional literary language and, later on, the production of a large corpus of written texts. They have undertaken great efforts to implement and achieve wide acceptance of the new linguistic solutions as well as to promote the national language in domains that were until that time appropriated for Latin or German. In doing so, they had to implement the Štokavian literary language and the new orthography gradually into their newspapers, which were published in a traditionally Kajkavian area, to avoid arousing too much attention of the government on the one hand and causing resistance from the Kajkavian intelligence on the other hand. Our research has led to the conclusion that the Illyrists have affected the language use of the wider social environment not only through their publications, but also in direct personal contacts, i.e. private correspondence. Distinguished members of the Movement have acted as language advisors and correctors to each other. They also tried to persuade even nationally unaware individuals to use and acquire the national language as

³ Please note that giving just one example for every single finding presented in this paper would well exceed the prescribed article length. For a more detailed analysis of the interpretation methods, authentic examples and a corpus bibliography for Dragojla Jarnević, Ljudevit Gaj and Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, see Novak (2011).



well, to apply new codified orthographic and grammatical rules and to write and publish literary works. Their aim was obviously to achieve the widest possible acceptance of literary language. They helped each other with linguistic and stylistic polishing of texts and through practical advice on proper language use. In the language-autobiographical statements of Kajkavian-born illyrists, an important role is played by Štokavian-born persons, even of Serbian origin, especially among those studying outside the Croatian territories, in Vienna, Budapest or Graz, as the conversation with them meant a kind of language training.

The reconstruction of narrative identities and the reflections on their own acquisition of the Croatian language has shown that the support and encouragement of other Illyrists, especially already distinguished writers or linguists, is often mentioned as one of the most prominent positive factors of (Croatian) language acquisition and use. Among Illyrists, there were many friendships, personal alliances and sponsorships established, but also kinship relations, e. g. through marriage. On the basis of established economic societies and institutions, some of them were bound by economic interests as well, especially in the later phases. These relationships had an undoubtedly positive effect on national language acquisition and use among them. Furthermore, the support of one's own family, success and popularity due to literary or scientific activities and positive feedback regarding language proficiency are often mentioned as positive factors of language acquisition and use in their narratives.

The often mentioned negative factors of national language acquisition are: absence of skilled conversational partners to converse within Croatian-Štokavian or a similar language (during studies or military service away from Croatian territories, but also in local urban areas), shortage of adequate literature in the national language, shortage or unavailability of linguistic textbooks or handbooks, isolation from centres of the national movement processes, lack of family support, lack of free time due to every-day duties, shortage of financial assets and bad health.⁴

⁴ Dragojla Jarnević (2000: 108) wrote in her private diary in the early phase of her Croatian language acquisition (15. 9. 1838): "Ali kako bih se bila učila, kada neima knjiga, iz kojih bi učiti mogla. Istina, da izlaze hrvatske novine, Danica ilirska, ali taj list stoji mnogo na godinu, pa nije tako lako tolik novac dati. Više nego do sada ću ipak govoriti hrvatski, i to imam priliku Vranićem i Neralićem, s kojima e češće sastajemo i hrvatski razgovaramo. Ne znam kako mi ipak hrvatski jezik stran i teško mi se k njemu za svakdanje obćenje priučiti. Pa s kime i da obćim. Tko godj dodje govori njemački a i škole su sve njemačke pa kako i gde se usavršiti u hrvatskom." (But how was I supposed to learn, when there are no books from which I could learn. Yes, there are Croatian newspapers, Danica ilirska, but the annual sub-



In our research, autoreflexive statements which, at first sight, had no relation to language use or acquisition have been taken into account, too. Some subjective explanatory models used in one area of life were transposed to other segments or activities by the person, e.g. description of language behaviour. For example, Ljudevit Gaj often mentions in his autobiographical narratives the significance of his historical role as the leader of the nation and uses this context to explain why he studied and used foreign languages—in his explanatory model, Latin and German were merely instruments in the service of the nation, in investigating and actualizing the national history (cf. Gaj 1875/1997: 133).

Besides the already mentioned conversation with Štokavian-born persons, the Illyrists refer to the following activities as methods in unsystematic language acquisition: reading available texts in Croatian, practising through translating (mainly literary texts) from the national language into German and vice versa. The analysis of the private correspondence has revealed cases where high-proficiency individuals explained their less proficient correspondents unusual or unknown Croatian words or phrases with German or Latin words or phrases in brackets.⁵ Foreign languages were, so to say, used as instruments in learning the

scription costs a lot of money, it's hard to give away that kind of money. Nevermind, from now on I will converse more in Croatian, with Vranić and Neralić, with whom I meet regularly and talk in Croatian. I don't know why, but the Croatian language seems foreign to me, and it is hard to get used to using it on a daily basis. Who am I going to talk to, anyway? Everyone who comes to our house speaks German, the schools are all German, so how can a person improve her proficiency?).

⁵ In 1839, Ivan Trnski wrote several letters to Dragojla Jarnević in Croatian in which he explained lesser known expressions using German equivalents in brackets. The following fragment is from a letter dated October 26, 1839 (Trnski 1839/1901: 178–179). “Najprě, tako rekuć, tužiš sama sebe, plemenita dušo, da zaludu hvataš i tražiš reči, kojimi bi ono izrazila (*ausdrücken würdest*), što tako silno dubinu tvoga serca puni (*füllt*), i u vis těra krila od Tvoje plemenite duše! A što je tome uzrok? Jerbo je nesrětno nĕmĕarenje učinilo, da smo skoro svi i nĕmaĕki mislili - da i sad mnogi nĕmaĕki misle, a tudjinski misleći, kako ĕemo naški misli ote pobilĕžiti (*aufzeichnen*)? (...) I ja sam prije latinštini i nĕmĕarenju služio, njima sam robova (*ihr Sklave war ich*) (...)”. (First of all, you, noble soul, accuse yourself, so to say, of fruitlessly catching words and searching for words with which you could express (German equivalent of „could express“) whatever it is that fills (German equivalent of „fills“) the depths of your heart and fills the wings of your noble soul! And what is the cause of that? The unfortunate Germanness of our own people made us all think German—even now many of us still think German, and how can we record (German equivalent of „record“) our thoughts as indigenous people if we think as foreigners? (...) I was a slave to Latinity and Germanity in my past as well (German equivalent of “was as a slave to“). Jarnević has reflected on this particular feature of interaction on several occasions, for example in her diary



national language, despite the fact that the use of foreign languages in every-day life was frowned upon by the Illyrists.

In the latter phases of the Movement, there appear to be several different distinguished linguistic authorities, which resulted in increased heterogeneity of created grammatical and orthographical solutions. Several language biographies have shown that the personal use of a specific orthographic or grammatical rule was mostly impacted by personal relationships with some of the linguistic authorities, one's own positive or negative attitude towards a specific linguistic concept, as well as the prevailing solutions in the circle of closest friends or co-operatives. It has been noted that some Illyrists have changed their use of orthographic or grammatical solutions in private notes (e. g. diary entries) under the influence of language norms of journals they cooperated with at the time.

In reflections on contemporary social language behavior, the Illyrists were very critical of the use of German in every-day life and often accentuated the general demand to use the Štokavian literary language whenever possible (cf. Vukotinović 1843/1997:152). Nevertheless, a large amount of gathered information indicates that in the Illyrists' social circles (e. g. the circle around abbot Ivan Krizmanić), German was used partly as the language of conversation even in the latter phases of the Movement. Some distinguished writers, e. g. Petar Preradović, have continued to write in German even after adopting the Illyrist ideology. German remained important also as a medium of publishing scientific articles, as well as texts on contemporary political topics in local German newspapers. The choice of German in this context can be explained by the fact that such newspapers had a larger circulation than the Illyrists' publications and that publishing in German ensured better reach of the part of the urban readership with low proficiency in Croatian. Critical discourse analysis of the Illyrians' po-

entry dated November 1, 1839 (Jarnević 2000: 135). "Jutros dobih teda negda pismo od Ivana. Piše mnogo, a koje šta, što mi dira u srdce, a to je, što me javnom mnienju izložio pjesmami, što ih napisah za njega da on sudi a ne da u novine daje. On i onako mienja mnoge rieči, što ih ja neznah napisati prikladno duhu jezika, pa je njegova zasluga tuj nemanja od moje (...). Ali on piše hrvatski i gde što nerazumiem smisao, on pomaže niemačkom rieči tumačiti i tako mi je njegovo pismo i zadaća hrvatskoga jezika". (This morning I received a letter from Ivan. He writes a lot, some of it touches my heart. He exposed my poems to public opinion, poems I had written for him to judge, not to publish in a newspaper. His contribution to them is as large as mine anyway, because he changes many of my unskilled expressions that aren't idiomatic (...). But he writes in Croatian, here and there I don't understand the meaning, so he helps by explaining with German words, therefore his letter is my Croatian language homework as well.)



litical and popular-historical articles has shown that they possibly tried to present their ideas, arguments and concepts to the less favourably inclined readership by publishing texts in German.

The analysis of code choice in private correspondence has partly confirmed that German was the *lingua franca* among the citizens of the Monarchy. The Illyrists' exchanged letters mainly in the Štokavian literary language, whereas it was apparently usual for members of different Slavic national movements in the Monarchy to use their own national language in correspondence, due to partial reciprocal comprehensiveness and the fact that many Illyrists took interest in learning the basics of other Slavic languages. Nevertheless, letters written partly or completely in German were found in both correspondence domains.

Several perceptions of in-group and language community are observable in the discourses of Illyrians. They were largely inconsistent, differed from person to person and underwent changes through time. Inconsistency has been also noted in the usage and meaning of the terms *narod* (people), *narodnost*, *nacion- alnost* (nationality), *nacija* (nation), *jezik* (language) and *narječje* (dialect). In some contexts, the South-Slavs are referred to as a nationality, in others the Croats. In some contexts, the contemporary "Illyrian" language is referred to as a language, in others as merely a dialect of a large Slavic language. Referring to their in-group, the Illyrists mention in some contexts the ethnic groups of Croatian territories, in others all South-Slavs (sometimes Bulgarians were omitted, sometimes included), in further contexts all Slavs living in the Monarchy constitute the in-group in the discourse etc. The different features and variability of the Illyrists' concepts of the language community and nation represent a topic of high complexity calling for further attention.

In the discourse of Illyrists, there is often a noticeable intent to provide sufficient arguments for the right to an own nation and national language. The most prominent arguments are the antiquity and cultural tradition of the respective ethnic groups, their heroic past, the thesis that they have defended Europe from the attacks from the East, while other European peoples have developed and improved their languages and cultures (cf. Smičiklas 1892: 133). The Illyrists often mention that Croats, as well as the members of all South-Slavic peoples, have made large contributions to the arts, science and general culture of more advanced nations. According to some Illyrists (e. g. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski), the fact that those achievements are owed to Croats, i. e. members of South-Slavic peoples, is largely unknown. Therefore, one of the vital tasks of national



historiography is to actualize and popularize achievements of such distinguished individuals.

As the reasons why the national development of Slavic peoples could not keep pace with the great European nations in the past (Germans, the French etc.), the thesis is often mentioned that they were disunited, engaged in defending Europe, victims of unfavourable political circumstances and non-Slavic rulers throughout history (e. g. Byzantium, Venetian Republic, Hungarians, Turks, the French etc.). In the context of the South-Slavic projection of in-group, the disconnection in graphic systems (Latin vs. Cyrillic) and religion (Catholicism vs. Orthodox Christianity) are often mentioned as aggravating factors for unification and further development.

Further aggravating circumstances for national development in the discourse of the Illyrists are negative personal qualities of in-group members: laziness, indolence, ignorance, pugnacity and inclination towards discord, servility in relationships to members of more advanced nations, deference with regard to foreign customs and cultures, lack of respect for one's own tradition and national resources.

A highly common topic in the discourse of Illyrists is the importance of education in the national language for all social classes, which would promote cultural and economical development.⁶ Besides that, concern about losing the national identity (*odnarođenje*) and losing the partial political and economical autonomy of the Civil Croatian lands was often voiced in public discourse. This often comes hand in hand with expressing a particularly high opinion of Croatian natural resources and economic potentials and emphasizing negative stereotypes on members of other nations, especially the Hungarians.

Content analysis has shown that there are considerable variations between a particular person's discourse of public texts and discourse of private texts with regard to aggressiveness, defensiveness and explicativeness in argumentation. Preliminary findings lead to the conclusion that the relevant features of context models are: perceived current attitude of the government and censorship towards the Movement, perceived profile and attitude of potential readership of a par-

⁶ This is in accordance with Rindler Schjerve and Vetter (2003: 54) who claim that one of the reasons why language plays such a significant role in the constitution of collective identities is the fact that it presents the basic platform for exchange of group-specific information and learning.



ticular text, perception of secrecy, i. e. openness of a communication channel. In texts of the public domain there is often an extensive expression of loyalty to the Kaiser and the Monarchy as a common homeland, especially in the period of the official prohibition of the name „Illyrian“ (1843 – 1845).

6. Conclusion: Limitations of the method and outlook for further research

We are confident, on the basis of current findings, that language biographies can reveal significant information on implications of individual and collective multilingualism, on the distinct link between multilingualism of a person and that of the whole society, as well as valuable information on the interface between ideology, perception of proper language use and concrete language behaviour of an individual. But, what is it that they cannot reveal?

This methodology has proved suitable in investigating socio-functional groups which, as the Illyrists, were literate and inclined to reflecting on their own language behaviour and expressing language attitudes. However, one can assume that there were many other socio-functional groups at the time whose members were not keen on producing texts at all or did not consider language-related topics to be important. Furthermore, the vast majority of the population was illiterate, so that the exclusive use of the language-biographic approach can provide neither a sociolinguistic jigsaw puzzle of 19th century north-western Croatia nor a larger scale picture.

We assume that the quality of the findings and generalizations in this kind of approach is greatly dependent on the comprehensiveness of the corpora. Since we cannot claim to have gathered all of the texts of the seven persons chosen for in-depth analysis by now, all of the findings and observations presented in this article are to some extent subject to revision and re-evaluation after collecting further textual sources.

It is also worth mentioning that for different persons, different insights are obtained, due to the fact that different persons were active in different domains of practice with various commitments. Furthermore, different persons have shown different inclination to detailed description of their own language use and acquisition in their autobiographical narratives. Therefore, the presentation of find-



ings for each person differs from that of another, and can be standardized only to a limited extent.

Nevertheless, the gained insights have deepened the understanding of multilingualism in the investigated period, which provides further motivation to use the same approach on other socio-functional groups. In the future, we plan to investigate language biographies of the so-called *Magyarons*, political and ideological opponents to the Illyrists, who have promoted the idea of a closer political union of Croatian territories with Hungary, as a defense from the alleged autocracy of the central government. We assume that their ideas on proper language use, concepts of the language community and in-groups were different from the Illyrians', as well as their common features of language behaviour. We expect those findings to contribute to our understanding of the dynamics of language-social processes, as well as their political and social background, on a medium scale within the Habsburg Monarchy.

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ŠTO JEZIČNOBIOGRAFSKA ISTRAŽIVANJA MOGU OTKRITI O VIŠEJEZIČNOSTI U HABSBUŠKOJ MONARHIJI? STUDIJA SLUČAJA O PRIPADNICIMA ILIRSKOGA POKRETA

U radu je predstavljena rekonstrukcija jezičnih biografija pripadnika ilirskog pokreta, provedena na temelju dostupnih, objavljenih i neobjavljenih, tekstova pisanih na svim idiomima kojima su se ilirci služili (hrvatski dijalekti, štokavski književni jezik, njemački, latinski). U središtu su pažnje dnevnički i autobiografski unosi, kao i privatna korespondencija koja sadrži refleksije o osobnim stavovima spram vlastite jezične prakse i jezične stvarnosti društvenoga okruženja. Cilj je istraživanja proučavajući mikrorazinu jezične prakse prikupiti informacije o dinamici društvenojezičnih fenomena u prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća na makrorazini, usredotočivši se pritom prije svega na njemačko-hrvatsku dvojezičnost i plansku zamjenu kajkavskoga književnoga jezika nadregionalnim štokavskim u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj. Činjenica da je nadregionalni književni jezik počeo stjecati prestiž u višejezičnom društvenom okviru u kojemu su se u domenama javne uporabe još uvijek rabili isključivo njemački i latinski jezik



može se smatrati izravnom posljedicom političkoga i kulturnoga djelovanja iliraca. Metodološki okvir obuhvaća, osim sistemskolingvističkih aspekata, analitičke postupke razvijene u okviru tekstne lingvistike, analize diskursa, kvalitativne analize sadržaja i biografskih istraživanja. U početnoj je fazi cilj bio prikupiti informacije o obilježjima idioma kojima su se pripadnici ilirskoga pokreta pretežno služili u različitim tekstnim vrstama i domenama uporabe. Nadalje su proučavane refleksije pripadnika ilirskoga pokreta o vlastitoj jezičnoj praksi u svim domenama, subjektivne teorije o usvajanju i poželjnoj uporabi (hrvatskoga) jezika, kao i refleksije o odnosu vlastite jezične prakse i iskazivanja pripadnosti određenoj društvenoj odnosno nacionalnoj skupini.

Ključne riječi: jezične biografije; narativni identitet; ilirski pokret; hrvatski jezik; višejezičnost.