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Mirna Jernej^a**Zrinjka Glovacki-Bernardi^b****Anita Sujoldžić^a**^aInstitute for Anthropological Research

Zagreb

^bUniversity of Zagreb

Multilingualism in Northwestern part of Croatia during Habsburg rule¹

Language contact arises as a result of direct or indirect social interaction of speakers as a complex which reflects primarily cultural, but also political and social phenomena. This paper investigates these phenomena in the Northwestern part of Croatia under Habsburg rule and gives an overview of the discursive practices in the mentioned area and period of time. The concept of language contact includes not only the process of contact of various languages, but also the result of influence of one language onto another by different kinds of borrowing, which means that the language contact is a complex of closely intertwined linguistic and non-linguistic (cultural) phenomena.

The Northwestern part of Croatia represented in the past an example of multilingualism and language contact. During the second half of the 18th century there were three languages in use: Croatian (Kajkavian dialect), Latin and German. The Kajkavian dialect was the language of everyday communication, but also of civil-legal contracts, of royal instructions and other official documents. By the end of the 18th century the German language took over the function of Latin as language of communication, education and science in the Habsburg Empire. One of the results of Austrian-Croatian language contact during the end of the 18th and in the 19th century is so-called social bilingualism. The Habsburg legacy, apart from the language contact documented in many loanwords and communication paradigms that are still in everyday use in the Northwestern Croatia, is abundantly reflected in the culture of everyday life of urban centres as well.

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Key words: language contact; cultural contact; Habsburg Empire; Croatian; German; multilingualism.

1. Introduction

The combination of geographical and socio-cultural contacts as well as historical and political interactions of individuals or groups represents without exception a prerequisite for language contact of specific communities. Communities living one next to the other (or one within the other) inevitably come in contact and communicate with each other. Language contact² is one of the consequences of years of contact between two or more language communities, and bilingual speakers represent the platform where the language contact is taking place (Piškorec 2005: 18, after Weinreich 1953). The consequences of a long-term language contact become visible precisely in the phenomena of multilingualism and linguistic borrowing³. One of the consequences of centuries of geographic, political, economic and cultural links of Croatia with the Habsburg Empire was, among other things, a direct contact of Croatian and German.

However, in the Northwestern part of Croatia multilingualism was showing the same general characteristics (language patterns) as in other parts of Europe: in the period when Latin represented the language of communication in Europe, it had the same function in Croatia as well. Later, just as in the rest of Europe, in Croatia Latin was replaced by other languages, which in that period had the status of socially prestigious idioms: in Croatia it was German, while for example in Germany it was French. The native language, or the Croatian Kajkavian, represents a constant in this development as both the language of everyday communication and the language of official communication (guild and administrative files, etc.).

² Language contact is defined in many ways. For more on this topic see Štebih Golub (2010).

³ Linguistic borrowing involves two levels: cultural borrowing (taking over certain words for new things and concepts, or filling in the lexical gaps in the recipient language) and intimate borrowing (it occurs when the “higher”, i.e. the dominant language becomes a source of borrowing for the language whose sociolinguistic status is lower, although the equivalents for the words that are retrieved already exist in the recipient language) (Sočanac 2002). The latter occurs when two or more languages are used in the same geographical area or within the same political community (cf. *ibid.*).



Habsburg rule enabled the sociolinguistic context (the co-existence of Croatian and German speakers in the same area) which made possible the direct borrowing of words from German and this is the main reason why the mentioned historical period is considered the most prolific as far as linguistic borrowing is concerned (Stojić 2008). The multilingual ability of the speakers in the Northwestern part of Croatia during the Habsburg rule was manifested at several levels: the official language in certain epochs was Latin and then German. The native speakers of German in the late 18th and in the 19th century were using Croatian in the performance of various administrative duties (the so-called bureaucratic bilingualism), while the native speakers of Croatian were using German as a second language in some social domains (the so-called civic bilingualism) (Glovacki-Bernardi and Jernej 2004). The choice of a particular language code in various domains by bi- and multilingual speakers represented both the expression of their group belonging⁴ and of their multidimensional identity. As the unequal distribution of linguistic capital is inevitable in multilingual and multicultural environments (as was that of the Habsburg and later the Austro-Hungarian Empire) since not all languages have equal status, linguistic practices of individuals and groups change depending on the relationship between the speakers and their role in society (Bourdieu 1991). In this context, and following Bourdieu, we argue that language can represent a form of capital which the speakers invest in specific linguistic markets in order to gain certain advantages (Bourdieu 1977). Also, the Habsburg Empire represents an example of the way in which societal multilingualism within a multiethnic state becomes associated with the unequal distribution of (social and linguistic) power (cf. Rindler Schjerve and Vetter 2003).

Except on various linguistic levels the influence of the Habsburg rule (particularly visible in strong political and cultural relations between Zagreb and Vienna) was and still is evident in many cultural aspects of everyday life: in customs and lifestyles, in ways of communication and greeting, manners of conduct, artistic styles, planning of urban space and architecture.

⁴ The very persistence of Croatian varieties in social domains in spite of the strong pressure of the more powerful German and Hungarian throughout history signals their symbolic value as cultural identity markers which only by the end of 19th century became politically and socially highly salient. Before that, language had carried no social salience beyond its communicative function, group memberships were fluid and the language choice for multilingual individuals depended on context.



This paper will give an overview of the discursive practices in the Northwestern part of Croatia during the Habsburg rule and will examine the interplay between language and social power. Considering the importance of broader historical and socio-cultural context, we will present an overview of the linguistic situation before and after the Habsburg rule as well.

2. Historical background and linguistic situation - foundations of multilingualism in the Northwestern part of Croatia

The continental part of Croatia has always represented a multilingual environment and the area of the Northwestern part of the country represents exactly an example of interweaving and mutual conditionality of cultural and linguistic contacts through history. The reasons for multilingualism are diverse, but mutually conditioned: the geographical location at the crossroads of South and North/East and West was the basic factor which determined Croatian history, language contacts and cultural transfer within the area. Since the mid-16th century the direct relationship with the rulers of the house of Habsburg created pre-conditions for political, commercial and socio-cultural ties that continued to characterize the Northwestern part of Croatia in the first half of the 20th century, especially in the field of education, culture of everyday life and tradition of intellectual and social elites. In this context the German-Croatian language contact played a particular role.

First language contacts between Croatian and German date back much earlier – the Franks settled the areas of the Northwestern part of Croatia from the end of the 8th till the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century. The Slavs were their first neighbours, they were subjects of the Avars who founded a country in the 6th century in what is known today as Hungary. In the 7th century Avars resided only in Hungary while the Slavs remained in the area between the Sava and Drava. From the end of the 8th century they began to recognize the power of the Franks and became their associates in the fight against Avar domination. From this period dates the oldest language borrowing – an example is a word which still makes an integral part of the contemporary Croatian vocabulary: *škare* ‘scissors’, from the ancient German word *scari*.

During the 12th and 13th century in the Northwestern part of Croatia, cities were founded that were populated by *hospites*, hosts from the neighbouring countries where trade and commerce were already developed at the time. The



greatest in number were the *hospites* from the provinces where German was spoken, as confirmed by the mention of the name of a Zagreb street from 1368, the *vicus sutorum seu Theutonicorum*.⁵ To the multilingualism of the North-western Croatia, and Zagreb in particular, contributed the Jews who lived there probably since the 13th century but without any civil rights and with constant persecutions.⁶ Speakers of Romance and Hungarian languages formed an important group of citizens as well. Therefore, the Zagreb city administration was formed from an equal number of representatives from each language group (Croatian, German, Italian, Hungarian) while the judge was elected in turn from representatives of each language group. Since 1437 there was no election made according to the language group anymore, suggesting that foreigners probably assimilated by that time. German speakers (*Theutonici*) were engaged in simple crafts while Hungarian speakers were mostly butchers and accounted for the smallest language group (cf. Buntak 1996). Speakers of Romance languages (Italic or Gallo-Italic) came mostly from the Venetian region and from Florence – they were engaged in trade with overseas goods and many of them were goldsmiths and silversmiths, construction masters, masons and so on. For some period during the 17th century special homilies in their language were held for them. The oldest fraternities were also formed by linguistic affiliation: in 1359 the Croatian fraternity (*Confraternitas sclavonica*), in 1377 the German one (*Kalendinum theutonica*) and in 1384 the Latin one (*Kalendinum latinorum*). The official language of the Zagreb City Municipality became Latin. This fact was the reflection of the general European tendencies – Latin became separated from the Church tradition and became the language of a secular society (Elias 1937). Guild files were recorded in Croatian and Latin, while conventions between the clients and the craftsmen were concluded in Croatian, Latin and German. The situation was such until the 18th century. In an invoice for the expenses of witch burnings from 1704 there is an example of the Croatian Kajkavian-Latin-German code-switching: “... *dal sem 20 denara polag vina oficijalom. Item henkaru 12 denara.*”⁷ (Horvat 1992: 111). Latin was important for language policy in 19th century Croatia as well: on the occasion of the arrival of the Emperor Francis II and the Empress Karolina in Zagreb in June 1818, the judge Gorup officially welcomed them with a speech in Latin, while the Empress was greeted in German by the notary Steidacher (Buntak 1996: 640). This example illustrates the transitional period from the end of the 18th and in the

⁵ ‘The village of shoemakers or Germans’.

⁶ The Jewish Community in Zagreb was established in 1806.

⁷ ‘... I gave 20 pennies and some wine to the official. And then 12 pennies to the executioner.’



early 19th century when the German language started taking over the functions of Latin. But Latin remained the official language of the Croatian Parliament until 1847 in order to avoid the imposition of German or Hungarian.

In 1867 the *Ausgleich*, or “Compromise,” was signed that transformed the Austrian Empire into the Austro-Hungarian Empire and as a result Hungary had wide powers over the subject peoples in its half of the Empire, including those living in the Northwestern part of Croatia who were denied autonomy in many aspects of local, economic or cultural life. Although Croatia arranged its relations with the Hungarians in a separate agreement, or *Nagodba*, in 1868, under which Croatia had its own Parliament (*Sabor*) and Croatian became the official public language, the Hungarians often violated this agreement and sought to magyarize the whole administration. Croats resisted Magyarization of public life (e.g. railways)⁸ and the linguistic question remained the cause of ever recurring conflicts between Magyars and Croats (see Picture 1).

Vienna was perceived by Croats as more liberal in language and cultural matters than the Hungarian government. The imperial policy of Germanization was pursued for the practical purpose of easing communication between the empire’s various peoples and the imperial government, while the Hungarian language was restricted to communication with the local and State authorities. On account of that Croats and other Slavic peoples in the Hungarian part of the Dual Monarchy continued to use German as a lingua franca, even if resenting the Germanizing spirit as such (see Picture 2). The hegemonic effect of German and its linguistic power is suitably examined in terms of its symbolic status and analysis of the economics of linguistic exchange. The linguistic market-place, following Bourdieu (1991), functions in favour of symbolic and material profit, while market forces determine the distribution of its resources. Thus, while the use of Hungarian was restricted to state administration, German could be exchanged from one form, e.g. cultural capital (e.g. German language qualification from a school or university) for another, e.g. economic capital (e.g. a job anywhere in the Empire). In order for capital to have power within a field, it must be legitimated, or recognised as valid. Through its connection with high culture and elite groups, through its effective diffusion via powerful and prestigious institutions, most notably educational ones, high value of German was accepted as being legitimate and it had been granted differential prestige over other language varieties, particularly Hungarian. Importantly, in contrast to the policy of subordina-

⁸ In 1903 Magyar inscriptions over the railway station of Zagreb led to violent political demonstrations.



tion of ethnic groups in the pursuit of Magyar nation-building and dominance, Habsburgs offered an alternative vision of coexistence and equality of different ethnic groups in exchange for a partial allegiance to the Empire.

3. Reflections of multilingualism in linguistic phenomena and the special role of German

Ferdinand I of the House of Habsburg was crowned Croatian king in 1527. At that time the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, became part of the Habsburg Empire. Since then German played an important role in military, political and administrative structures – in the 16 century because of the formation of military Krajina (*Militärgrenze*) and from the second half of the 17th century due to the centralization of the Habsburg territories.

Late in the 18th century, as a result of various political, cultural and economic events, Latin was replaced in Zagreb by German. German became the language of everyday communication, of administration and of military⁹ and cultural life (those were the beginnings of the German Theatre in Zagreb), as well as the language of the nobility and intelligence. This is confirmed by Živković (1989: 50) who cites one statement from the memoirs of Adam Oršić: “Only the more civilized Croats knew German, while Croatian and Latin were spoken generally”. However, many other citizens used German as a second language in certain social domains. From 1786 German was the official language of the City government in Zagreb and this was one of the reasons why the city officials had to know German. Another reason for this was the transfer of the military command for Croatian regions to Zagreb. The city administration first ignored the decision, but after the warning the so called *Rathsprotokolle* was applied. Four years later the decree was abolished. In the 18th century the Croatian nobility began to increasingly use German as the language of everyday communication. Count Adam Oršić in his memoirs for the period from 1725 till 1814 wrote that Varaždin became *klein Wien*¹⁰ (cf. Szabo 1941). Magner (1966) refers to the translation of Voltaire’s preface to “Henriade” from 1826 in which the author of the translation complained that the Zagreb Kajkavian speech had too many foreign

⁹ The knowledge of German was a precondition of professional advancement in the army (Piškorec 2005).

¹⁰ ‘Little Vienna’.



words (German, Latin, Italian) but that the most important fact was that the speech became German-like (“*prenemčil*”) (Magner 1966).¹¹

The more prominent role which German acquired in the second half of the 18th century was reflected also in the publishing activity. Numerous books and newspapers began to be published in German at that time, and since one part of the citizens of Zagreb was bilingual they became potential readers of works in German, besides those in Latin, French and Greek (Živković 1989). However, as noted by Živković (1989), most agricultural and technical manuals were published in Croatian and only occasionally translated into German. The first Zagreb newspapers, from 1771, were published in Latin, *Ephemerides zagrabieneses*,¹² while in 1786 *Agramer Deutsche Zeitung*¹³ appeared and in 1878 Zagreb newspapers *Kroatische Presse*¹⁴ started. Newspapers in German were published in Osijek and Rijeka as well. In 1864 a huge trade exhibition was held in Zagreb and on this occasion a commemorative booklet was published in Croatian, German and Italian. It is also quite interesting that the first Zagreb tour guide was published in 1885 in German and only later in Croatian.¹⁵ School books were printed in Croatian and German in Buda and Vienna, some in Ljubljana and Graz and largely in Zagreb. In the area of Krajina (*Militärgrenze*), which was under the direct rule of Vienna, the teaching language was German, while in 1777 the way of organizing the education in the Croatian-Hungarian part of the Monarchy was prescribed by the document *Ratio educationis totiusque rei literariae per regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas*. The document stipulated that the language of education should be the majority language of the area where the school was located, while German and Latin were the school subjects (at the higher level of education the teaching language was Latin). Schools of male religious orders in Zagreb had Latin as the teaching language, while the nuns were teaching the daughters of wealthy families in Kajkavian. From the beginning of the 19th century Hungarians demanded the introduction of Hungarian as a foreign language. For the above mentioned reasons, the teachers were

¹¹ In some Croatian literary works from 19th century we can find examples of the Croatian-German language contact. For example, the Croatian writer Ksaver Šandor Gjalski in the second half of the 19th century uses in his novels (“Pod starimi krovovi”, 1886) German-Croatian code-switching: “Guten Morgen, doktore, guten Morgen!” (“Good morning, doctor, good morning!”) (Ščukanec 2011).

¹² ‘Zagreb Jubilee’.

¹³ ‘Zagreb’s German newspaper’.

¹⁴ ‘Croatian Press’.

¹⁵ See also Picture 2, example of a bilingual postcard.



expected to be multilingual at the cost of dismissal: knowledge of Croatian and German was compulsory, while some of them were able to speak Latin and Hungarian as well.

The penetration of German into everyday urban life was therefore inevitable and it became even more important as a lingua franca in various cultural, economic and political relations with other parts of the Empire. However, despite these facts, at that time government officials had to learn Croatian (in order to facilitate the communication with local people), as confirmed by the Croatian grammars written in that period for the speakers of German: *Erläuterungen zur kroatischen Sprachlehre für Teutsche*¹⁶, *Neue Einleitung der Illyrischen Sprache für Teutsche*,¹⁷ *Kroatische Sprachlehre oder Anweisung für Deutsche die kroatische Sprache in kurzer Zeit gründlich zu erlernen*¹⁸ and *Grammatik der Illyrischen Sprache für Teutsche*.¹⁹ However, the strengthening of the relevance and impact of German in the late 18th century is evident also from the fact that within thirty years three German language grammars were published.

During the national Illyrian movement particularly prominent was the Croatian bilingual paradox – the authors fighting for the use of Croatian were publishing their programmatic and literary works in German.²⁰ At that time German was the only way of communication among educated people, the leaders of the Illyrian movement included, although they were exactly the ones fighting for the purity of the Croatian language (cf. Novak 2011).

Since the majority of speakers were still at least bilingual and the use of Croatian and German was limited to specific domains of life (German was used in schools, army and government, while Croatian was used mainly in private situations), we can talk about the existence of a multilingual environment in the Northwestern part of Croatia in the mid-18th and in the 19th century. In this con-

¹⁶ ‘Comments on Croatian grammar for Germans’. The grammar was written by Ignacz Szent-Martony and was sold out in a month.

¹⁷ ‘New introduction to Illyrian language for Germans’. Published in Osijek in 1778 by Marijan Lanosović.

¹⁸ ‘Croatian linguistics or directions for Germans how to learn Croatian well in a short time’. Written by Franz Kornig and published in Zagreb in 1795.

¹⁹ ‘Grammar of Illyrian language for Germans’. Written by Ignjat Alojzije Brlić and published in 1833.

²⁰ Ljudevit Gaj published the book *Die Schlösser bei Krapina* (‘Castles near Krapina’) and some poems in German.



text the German language was considered a status symbol, while the local Kajkavian variety was considered the language of the common people. These facts suggest that during Habsburg rule the Northwestern part of Croatia was characterized by societal multilingualism, while the choice of language marked the historical preferences for a particular language in certain social domains (Rindler Schjerve 2003).

4. Cultural and linguistic contacts with the neighbouring countries

Business and cultural links with the craftsmen in the surrounding areas, especially Styria, were very intense during Habsburg rule. Merchants were less represented than craftsmen and for the late 17th century Zagreb, of particular importance was Leonhardt Mühlbacher Edler von Mühlenthal, a merchant from Zagreb (Buntak 1996: 417). He began his career as Laden-Diener (servant in the shop). He was supplied by a variety of goods purchased in Nürnberg and Augsburg (some items from the Netherlands and England were sent to him via those two cities as well) and maintained trade relations with Venice, Bologna and Rome. The links with Italy were important also because of education: in 1553 a college, *Collegium hungarico-illyricum*, for students from Zagreb and its surroundings was established at the University of Bologna.²¹ Links between the Northwestern part of Croatia and Italian universities began to weaken after the Empress Maria Theresa regulated the education system by the document *Allgemeine Schulordnung*²² in 1774. Students from Croatia oriented themselves to the universities of the monarchy: in Graz, Vienna, Budapest, etc. Local artisans went to training and specialization mostly in Austrian workshops and this was one of the ways in which they learned German, while some of them got married there and consequently their Austrian wives moved to Croatia together with them. Some craftsmen were sending their daughters to Austria to the household schools in order to gain better education and they would thus master the German language, as well as certain manners and cultural habits (ways of behaving and dressing up, reading books, etc.) (Piškorec 2005). It was also one of the ways in which different kinds of dishes and ways of their preparation started to spread in Croatia. The influence of German in the field of culinary arts can be seen from

²¹ The course was founded by the canon Pavao Zondini and it continued to exist until the end of the 18th century.

²² 'General school rules'.



the example of an old Zagreb cookbook in which the names of dishes, as well as some culinary terms, are written in both Croatian and German (see Picture 3).

5. Cultural reflections of the Habsburg legacy in the Northwestern part of Croatia

The Croatian nobility's everyday life was strongly influenced by the customs and social life-styles of the courts of Paris and Vienna. One of the imported social activities was the organization of the balls, such as *Noble Baals* ('balls for the nobility') and *Bürger Baals* ('balls for citizens'). Other places of socialization and entertainment were cafes and restaurants fashioned after the Viennese models while theatre performances were very popular. First shows in school theatres were performed in Latin, like in other places, and the first show in Croatian was played only in 1766.²³ In the second half of the 18th century professional secular theatre companies from Austria visited Zagreb.²⁴ The Viennese writer Adolf Bäuerle wrote for the Zagreb theater in 1826 the stage play *Alina oder Agram in einem anderen Welttheile*²⁵ and a year later *Schatzgräber bei Burg Medvedgrad oder Agram, Paris, London und Konstantinopel*.²⁶ As the theatre audiences were craftsmen, merchants and noblemen, this fact indicates that all of them knew German well. Theatre troupes in Zagreb were performing works of Goethe, Schiller, Kleist, Kotzebue, Lessing, but also Shakespeare, Molière and Goldoni. Since 1815 *Agramer Theater Journal*²⁷ was published, while reviews of Zagreb theatre performances were published in *Wiener Theater Zeitung*²⁸ and *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Theater, Literatur und Mode*.²⁹

Music also played an important role in public life: in 1788 the first secular school of music was founded – the teacher was Pleyel from Vienna. However, as Buntak (1996: 651) states, the everyday culture of Zagreb and its inhabitants

²³ The title of the performance was *Cir pozvan na prijestolje* ('Cyrus has been invited to the throne').

²⁴ "Unger" from Graz in 1780, "Weilhamer" in 1786 and "Bubenhofen" in 1799.

²⁵ 'Alina or Zagreb in some other part of the world'.

²⁶ 'The treasure hunter in the castle of Medvedgrad or in Zagreb, Paris, London and Constantinople.'

²⁷ 'Journal of the Zagreb theatre.'

²⁸ 'Newspaper of the Vienna theatre.'

²⁹ 'Vienna magazine for art, theatre, literature and fashion.'



was also reflected in the work of the bookstores: “Their owners maintained links with the larger German cultural centres, where they were ordering and receiving books and newspapers so that any German book could be acquired in Zagreb in a short period of time”. The Northwestern part of Croatia and Zagreb were not only recipients of literature in German, but also its producers. Literary texts in German were written by many famous persons and nobility: Counts Josip and Petar Sermage, Countess Erdödy, Baroness Marija and Baron Alojzije Peharnik, while the authors of texts in German coming from Zagreb were, among others, Marija Terezija Artner, Katarina Hofmann, Lorenz Gindel and Ferdinand Rosenau.

Many of Vienna’s cultural practices taken over by the citizens of Zagreb and its wider area outlived Austrian rule. Thus, after the Second World War the anthropologist Vera Erlich (1968: 87; see also 1966) notes that in some regions of (the former) Yugoslavia there is a clear trace of Austrian lifestyles as evidenced by communication paradigms – gestures, greetings (e.g. *kisdihand* < *küsse die Hand*, ‘I kiss your hand’), manners of conduct, topics of conversation, as well as in artistic styles, food recipes and the like.

5.1. Crafts, cafes and taverns as places of intense language contact

Since the foundation of the city of Zagreb the majority of the citizens were craftsmen and this remained a key feature of the city until the 20th century. The Census from 1769 showed that Zagreb was predominantly a craft city. Among immigrants coming to Zagreb craftsmen and traders (who were able to speak German) were most frequently becoming citizens of Zagreb. Živković (1989) notes that craftsmen were the ones who mostly contributed to the multiethnic composition of the population and diversity of professions represented in the city. In the 18th century, watchmakers Raiff, Failer, Schwabenbauer and Frölich came to Zagreb (Marković 2006), while the establishment of the first manufactories³⁰ in 1794 also brought to Zagreb professional workers, mostly Germans and Czechs. Crafts represented therefore areas of intensive language contact – not only because of the immigration of foreign craftsmen, but because of the frequent contacts with craftsmen in the surrounding areas (especially Styria) as well. In 1872 the guilds were abolished and *vandranje* (*Wandern*, ‘stay with craftsmen in other regions’) and *majsterštuk* (*Meisterstück*, ‘a final practical

³⁰ Paper mill, brewery and brickyard.



work needed for obtaining a master degree in handicraft') were required for obtaining the master title (cf. Marković 2006).

Reflections of this language contact could be found in many German loanwords in the language of the Zagreb craftsmen. In the first half of the 20th century Ivo Medić listed 2300 borrowings in the field of metal, wood and leather processing (Medić 1962). German loanwords were incorporated in Croatian varieties mostly for the names of new artefacts, machinery and industrial products which began to be imported and used.

Taverns were favourite places to hang out as confirmed by their number in Zagreb in the early 19th century. Their names were mostly in German and mostly evoked imperial lifestyle and personalities³¹ (see Picture 4). The role of the cafes became more prominent already in the 18th century when, under the influence of Vienna, coffee serving moved from the tents to cafes. The first Zagreb cafe was Thunn's cafe, founded in 1749. Zagreb bars and cafes often used to be compared with those in Vienna after which they were modelled.

Zagreb coffee shop holders, innkeepers and hoteliers also came from all over the Empire and used German as lingua franca. In 1892 the association of innkeepers and coffee shop holders published a booklet in German, although the official language of correspondence with the City Government was Croatian (Sabotič 2007: 82). This fact indicates not only a prevailing origin of innkeepers and waiters, confirmed also by their surnames, but a symbolic dominance of the German language as well. Additionally, official job titles were also in German (*Kellner* 'waiter'; *oberkellner* 'main waiter'; *zimmerkellner* 'room waiter', *kellermeister* 'vintner', *Gastgeber* 'host', etc.) and Sabotič (2007) notes the fact that, although the Croatian was the official language, the menus were still written mostly in German. The Statute of Zagreb caterers from 1887 provided that menus must be written in Croatian. However, many taverns and cafes (particularly the most prestigious ones in the city) still continued to use menus written only in German or at least in bilingual manner (German and Croatian) (see Picture 4). This is why the owners had to pay fines and many of them expressed

³¹ E.g. *Zum Kaiserwirth* ('At the imperial innkeeper'), *Zum Österreichischen Kronprinzen* ('At the Austrian crown prince'), *Zu den sieben Sternen* ('At seven stars'), *Zum weissen Schwan* ('At the white swan'), *Zum schwarzen Hahn* ('At the black rooster'), *Zum weissen Hahn* ('At the white rooster'), *Zum schwarzen Adler* ('At the black eagle'), *Zum goldenen Hirschen* ('At the golden deer'), *Zur ungarischen Krone* ('At the Hungarian crown'), *Franz-Joseph Garten* ('Franz-Joseph's garden'), etc.



their dissatisfaction or complained about the lack of appropriate terms in Croatian (ibid.). Sabotič (2007) believes that the choice of the language was also a question of identity and that only the awakening of the Croatian national identity completely encouraged the translation of menus in Croatian (since, until then, the impact of Central European identity was reflected through the use of German). A number of journals in different languages were available in coffee shops but the majority of them were Austrian newspapers, while Croatian-German code-switching was the usual linguistic environment of Zagreb coffee shops (Sabotič 2007: 172).

6. After the Habsburg rule

The end of the World War I was also the end of the constitutional relationship between Croatia and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Croatia entered the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, i.e. a multilingual country again. Although there were no political ties anymore, cultural ties with the German-speaking world were still very strong and Croatian-German bilingualism persisted. This fact is supported by examples from the satirical magazine *Koprive*³² and by excerpts from the writings of Miroslav Krleža (a famous Croatian writer) from 1929.³³ After the end of World War II German was still taught in Croatian schools, but it was proscribed from public life for two reasons – as a language of the war enemy and as a language of the class enemy, i.e. the bour-

³² “Später kommt das mit dem Geld

Aber sie sind doch ein Held!

Da ste junak stvar je znana

Na Kaptolu ovih dana” (Koprive, 1925). (‘Later it comes with the money but you are a hero! It is a known thing on Kaptol nowadays that you are a hero’. Translation by the authors).

“A: Pustimo gospodine Bled, ali ove zagrebačke kavane jesu prava gulionica naroda.

B: Was Sie nicht sagen, mein Herr!” (Koprive, 1925). (‘A: Sir, do not mind about Bled, but these Zagreb cafes are really a waste of people’s money. B: Why don’t you say so, Sir!’).

³³ “Das unglückliche Kind aus dieser Aventure mit diesem italienischen Maler, izgubilo se negdje oko osamdesete u Beču“ (Krleža 1995: 68). (‘The miserable child from the adventure with that Italian painter got lost around the 80’s in Vienna’. Translation by the authors).

“Ja sam još bio dijete i sjećam se, da nam je Tante Marietta pričala, da je ovaj znao kod pokera tako varati, da je bio poznat als Falschspieler von Laibach bis Esseg!” (Krleža 1995: 69). (‘I was still a child and I remember that aunt Marietta told us that he used to cheat while playing poker so much, that he was known as cardsharpener from Ljubljana to Osijek!’ Translation by the authors).



geois class. Within family circles it continued to be used until the 1960's, particularly within the Zagreb's Jewish and middle class families. Today German is the second foreign language in the Croatian educational system by the number of students.

A study of language contact between German-Austrian and Croatian, which has been systematically carried out since 1994 by the Department of German Language at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, showed that in the Kajkavian spoken varieties of the Northwestern part of Croatia German is nowadays present in a large number of loanwords.³⁴ Loanword glossaries of the Zagreb and Đurđevac varieties include nearly 2000 lexemes mostly from Austrian-Bavarian dialects³⁵. A smaller part of German loanwords became part of the Croatian standard language (such as *škare* < *Schere* 'scissors'; *vaga* < *Waage* 'libra'; *šalter* < *Schalter* 'desk', etc.). The relatively greater number of German loanwords in Croatian dialects – as opposed to the standard – is largely due to the official purist language policy which resisted German influence on Croatian (Stojić 2008).

7. Concluding remarks on Habsburg legacy

The continental part of Croatia has always been a multilingual area and its Northwestern part represented an example of the interweaving and mutual conditionality of cultural and linguistic contact through history. These phenomena are still reflected in the contemporary life of the population as well as in their everyday speech. For most of its history the Northwestern part of Croatia was characterized by societal multilingualism. In the second half of the 18th century three languages were in use in the area: Croatian (Kajkavian dialect), Latin and German (Austrian-Bavarian dialect). Kajkavian was the language of everyday communication, but also of civil-legal treaties and other official documents. However, by the end of the 18th century German took over the function of Latin as the language of communication, education, science and nobility within the

³⁴ Cf. Piškorec (1997); Stanko Žepić and Glovacki-Bernardi (1998).

³⁵ Many loanwords belong to the everyday life's vocabulary: clothing (*bademantl* < *Bademantel* 'bath robe'; *girtl* < *Gürtel* 'belt'; *sokna* < *Socke* 'sock'; *fortun*, *frtun* < *Vortuch*, *Schürze* 'apron'), home and furniture (*špajza* < *Speisekammer* 'larder'; *bešteak* < *Besteck* 'cutlery'; *forcimer* < *Vorzimmer* 'antechamber'; *badecimer* < *Badezimmer* 'bathroom'; *špigel* < *Spiegel* 'mirror'; *forhang* < *Vorhang* 'curtain') and meals (*fruštikati* < *frühstücken* 'to have breakfast'; *paradajz* < *Paradeiser* 'tomato').



Habsburg Empire. German was considered “the language of higher social classes in Croatia” (Žepić 1996: 309) and became a “status language” the knowledge of which was necessary for social mobility (Stojić 2008). The social dominance of German and its role as a status symbol is the main reason why we argue that German could be considered cultural, symbolic and economic capital from the end of the 18th century on. On the other hand, Kajkavian represented in the 19th century an important factor of identification, which means that societal bilingualism is a characteristic of the 19th century Northwestern Croatia.

However, German has passed an interesting journey through the history of this area: from the language with a high social prestige (especially in the 18th and 19th century) and the status of official language and the language of command, of science, politics and economy, through the resistance against German loanwords by purist ideology of Croatian intellectuals, to the fact that within the family it remained in use till the 1960's. Finally, in the 21st century German lost that role and historically characteristic social bi/multilingualism disappeared in the Northwestern part of Croatia. However, the Habsburg legacy, apart from language contact documented in numerous loanwords and communication paradigms that are still in use in the Northwestern part of Croatia,³⁶ is reflected nowadays also in a number of cultural elements of the mentioned area.

The practice of multilingualism, however, produced some side-effects revealing linguistic relations as hegemonic relations in the Empire. Power hierarchies were communicated via language functions as only the more privileged languages allow an individual full access to all spheres of society, so such languages usually have to be learned by all at least as public languages. Recent scholarship devoted to the culture of the Habsburg Empire within post-colonial theory has exposed Habsburg Austria as an inner colonial space (Ruthner 2008; Spivak 2003) with a linguistically and ethnically German centre and Slav periphery in which different Slav cultures functioned as an internal Other or the “stranger within“. As Spivak stated, “When an alien nation-state establishes itself as a ruler, impressing its own laws and system of education, and rearranging the mode of production for its own economic benefit, one can use these terms (of “colonizer“ and “colonized“) (Spivak 2003: 1).

³⁶ There is a programme at a Zagreb radio station (*Radio Sljeme*) called *Vergiss KAJ nicht*. We can also cite an example of Croatian colloquial speech: “Ona *ziher* (< *sicher*) ide s nama.” (‘She is certainly coming with us’).



Critics argue that a dominant German-speaking centre constructed images of the subordinate groups within the Empire by means of asymmetrical hierarchies of difference. As part of the Empire's civilising mission, statistical science played contradictory roles in this colonial discourse using language of daily use as category and mapping discrete, bounded linguistic groups in the Empire (Judson 2006: 27). Ethnographic works³⁷ and travel writings of that time further reified notions of difference by stereotyped notions of finite ethnic territories, and linked language with general acquisition of culture and class differences through observations such as that the simple people mostly spoke *Wendisch*, and remained in relative darkness, whereas the middle classes and the nobility were well educated and spoke German, French or Italian (Carmichael 1996: 202). Such discourses of academic and professional disciplines represented disciplinary power that "perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects" of truth about the colonized subjects (Foucault 1980: 52), who fulfil the constructed identity created for them by those in authority.

If imperial tradition in German-speaking areas is understood as a variant of the orientalist relationship between knowledge and power, the apparently paradoxical behaviour of Croatian writers fighting for the use of Croatian while publishing their programmatic and literary works in German, can be also explained as a form of the appropriation and subversion of forms borrowed from the colonizer.³⁸

In addition to the role of print-capitalism in the rise of nationalism, and the dissemination of ideologies through vernacular languages and popular literature, Anderson (1983: 116) points also at the crucial role played by the bilingual intelligentsia in nation formation. Their bilingual literacy "meant access, through the European language-of-state, to modern Western culture in the broadest sense, and, in particular, to the models of nationalism, nationhood, and nation-state produced elsewhere in the course of the nineteenth century."

Through education, language was becoming a salient group marker, allowing group membership to be defined along language lines and to focus on language

³⁷ An example is the *Kronprinzenwerk* (KPZ), twenty-four volumes of ethnographic descriptions of a variety of peoples, languages and customs, published between 1886 and 1902.

³⁸ According to the colonial discourse theory by Bhabha (1994), the relationship between colonizer and colonized is always ambivalent and the colonized subject is never simply complicit or resistant to the colonizer, as the relation may be both exploitative and benign, or represent itself as benign, at the same time.



as the measure of belonging to the nation, thus strengthening nationalist identities and ideas of nation-states throughout the Empire. In Central and Southeastern Europe languages have remained the foundation for nation-building ever since.

In the context of European integration under the EU's motto of "unity in diversity", the Habsburg Empire and Emperor Francis Joseph's motto "*Viribus Unitis*" are sometimes invoked as a possible model for accommodating diversity while achieving a satisfactory degree of unity. Voices of nostalgia can be heard in some parts of the Empire for the efficient bureaucracy of the multinational state during the Habsburgs and imperial legacies frequently convey appealing narratives of hybrid identities, everyday life coexistence of different ethnicities and multiple belonging. However, such celebrations frequently hide the fact that the supranational structure of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was sustained by the dominance of the more powerful nations Germans and Magyars, over the others, particularly Slavic peoples who remained at its periphery while supporting the centre.

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Authors' address:

Mirna Jernej
Institute for Anthropological Research
Ljudevita Gaja 32
10 000 Zagreb
Croatia
mjernej@inantro.hr

Zrinjka Glovacki-Bernardi
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb
Ivana Lučića 3
10 000 Zagreb
Croatia
zgbernar@ffzg.hr

Anita Sujoldžić
Institute for Anthropological Research
Ljudevita Gaja 32
10 000 Zagreb
Croatia
anita@inantro.hr



VIŠEJEZIČNOST U SJEVEROZAPADNOM DIJELU HRVATSKE U VRIJEME HABSBUŠKE VLADAVINE

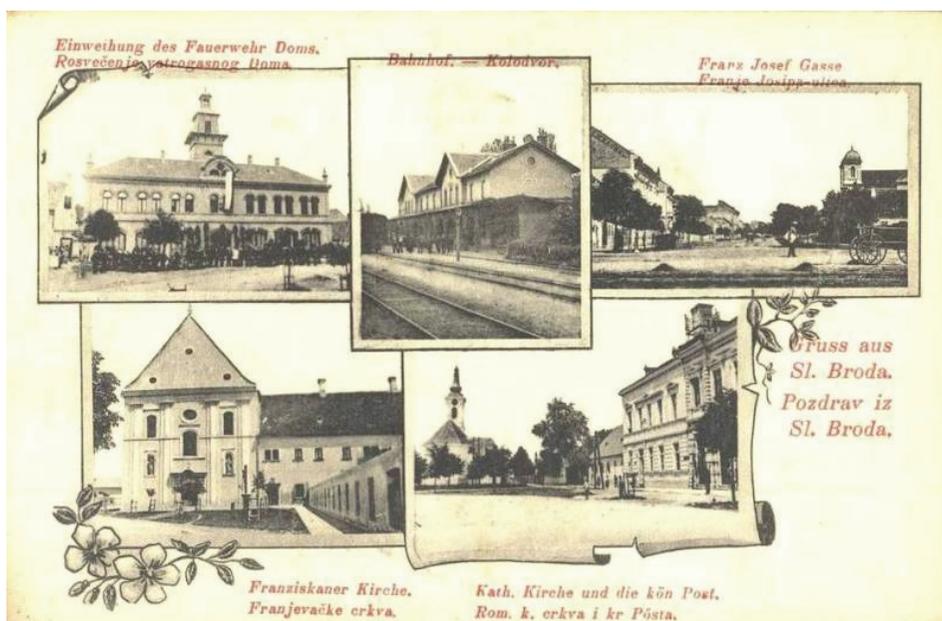
Jezični dodir nastaje kao posljedica izravne ili neizravne društvene interakcije govornika kao složena cjelina koji odražava prije svega kulturne, ali i političke i društvene fenomene. Rad istražuje navedene fenomene koji su bili prisutni u sjeverozapadnom dijelu Hrvatske za vrijeme habsburške vladavine i pruža pregled diskurzivnih praksi u navedenom području i vremenskom periodu. Koncept jezičnog dodira podrazumijeva ne samo proces dodira različitih jezika, već i utjecaj jednog jezika na drugi putem raznih oblika posuđivanja, što bi značilo da je jezični dodir skup usko povezanih jezičnih i izvanjezičnih (kulturnih) fenomena.

Sjeverozapadni dio Hrvatske predstavljao je u prošlosti primjer višejezičnosti i jezičnog dodira. U drugoj polovici 18. stoljeća tri su jezika bila u upotrebi na navedenom području: hrvatski (kajkavski dijalekt), latinski i njemački. Kajkavski dijalekt bio je jezik svakodnevne komunikacije, ali i građansko-pravnih ugovora, kraljevskih odredbi i drugih službenih dokumenata. Do kraja 18. stoljeća njemački jezik preuzeo je u Habsburškoj Monarhiji ulogu latinskog kao jezika komunikacije, obrazovanja i znanosti. Jedna od posljedica austrijsko-hrvatskog jezičnog dodira krajem 18. i početkom 19. stoljeća jest i takozvana društvena dvojezičnost. Habsburška ostavština, osim kroz mnoge posuđenice i komunikacijske obrasce koje su i danas u svakodnevnoj upotrebi u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj (kao posljedica jezičnog dodira), odražava se i u kulturi svakodnevnog života urbanih centara.

Ključne riječi: jezični dodir; kulturni dodir; Habsburška Monarhija; hrvatski jezik; njemački jezik; višejezičnost.



Picture 1. Postcard of the old city of Čakovec with monolingual inscription in Hungarian from 1910.



Picture 2. Bilingual German-Croatian postcard from Slavonski Brod from 1907.



Pajela. Upirjano meso i učinci.

(Einschieb-Speisen. Eingemachtes).

1. Zečje meso i srnetina: But od srne ili flet ili prednja strana.

(Hasen- und Rehfleisch: Reh-Schlögel, Nuss oder Fillet).

Kožicu oguli, meso nasoli i našpikaj, dodaj korenje i salamuru (Beize), ozgor obloži ploškami slanine, pirjani u pečenjarki (Rohre), onda, ostrani poklopac i slaninu, pa neka se meso zarumeni. Liepo poreži i u zdjelu naloži, polij sokom, ukrasi ragoutom (čitaj: raguom), ili püréeom od leće ili mesa i čimburi (Ochsenaugen) ili tvrdo kuhanimi i prepolovljenimi jaji.

Ili: našpikano meso pirjani sa slaninom, lukom, peršinom, pečurkama i juhom tako, da imaš i ozgor (na poklopcu) vatre, škropi limunovim sokom i skorapom, prokuhaj juhom, da dobiješ malo umake i ukrasi žličnjaci (Nockerl) od skorupa i sličnim.

[2. Drobnina od zeca.

(Hasenklein).

Drobninu od zeca ili lopaticu, ili prsa od srne, jelena ili divokoze poreži u komade, pirjani sa slaninom, korigenjem i salamurom (Beize) pa neka prokuha; onda izvadi meso, od korigenja načini mrku umaku, zalij razsolom (Beize) i metni meso u nutar. Pošto su prednji dielovi uvijek više krvnati, to postane umaka tamna i tečna i s toga netreba dodati skorupa.

Picture 3. Example of a bilingual recipe from an old Zagreb bilingual cookbook.



Picture 4. Examples of bilingual menus (I. Sabotić: *Stare zagrebačke kavane i krčme*, 2007.)