

Diana Stolac: “Expressing Croatian identity through language designations”¹

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Abstract

This paper discusses different definitions of identity with a focus on the place of language in these definitions. The centuries-long study of the standardisation of the Croatian language shows that the notion of a national language is also a component of a group’s collective identity. This paper gives an overview of designations used for the Croatian language, from the first known records to those used in the 21st century. These records clearly show that in past centuries language was indeed a connecting link between Croatian areas otherwise disconnected from each other through administrative or other boundaries. Language as an indicator of identity is also apparent in reactions to some recent EU initiatives that have suggested that collective terms such as ‘Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian’ or ‘Bosnian-Croatian-Montenegrin-Serbian’ could be employed to also encompass the Croatian language.

Key words: identity, collective identity, individual identity, cultural heritage, language designations, Croatian

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Introduction

In an article entitled 'Glavne sastavnice hrvatskoga jezičnog identiteta' ('The main components of Croatian linguistic identity') Ivo Pranjković identifies the following attributes:

*"... trilingualism or tridialectism, Croatian political and cultural history, relations with other languages (Latin, German, Italian, Serbian etc.), the historical period in which the process of standardisation took place, in particular that of the 19th century, political and mythological aspects of the creation of a linguistic identity, past and contemporary puristic tendencies, trilateracy and graphemic aspects of Croatian linguistic identity in general etc."*²

This paper focuses on linguistic identity and its articulation, where it is clear that this author views linguistic identity as a main component of national identity³ and of identity in general.

This contention is in keeping with the existing literature on Croatian linguistics that focuses on identity, though it should be noted that it has only been in the last few decades that the notion or term 'identity' (Latin *identitas* = characteristic unit) has expanded from one that was previously restricted to research in cultural anthropology and sociology to one that is now used in other academic disciplines, including linguistics. This term is also attracting the attention of linguists and the literature that focuses on this topic is also expanding, as evidenced by a series of edited volumes that have appeared recently. Amongst these, it is possible to single out the Croatian Applied Linguistics Society's volume entitled *Jezič i identitet* edited by Jagoda Granić and published in 2007, that was based on a conference held under the same name in Split in 2006. The authors in this edited volume adopt different perspectives and theoretical approaches in their analysis of the relationship between language and identity. From the numerous available definitions, it would be useful to present the following ones:

- a social category that emerges from relations with others

² Pranjković (2007): 487.

³ Pranjković (2007): 488.

- a collection of traits that individuals or groups view as being specific to them or which others recognise as being part of their specific features;⁴
- the entirety of factors that pertain so that one person is different from any other;⁵
- the concept which makes an individual a particular individual, different from other individuals;⁶
- an exceptionally complex system of mutually connected and reciprocally dependent elements that exist for the self-confidence and self-respect of members of any human society⁷
- the relation between an individual and a group in which a feeling of belonging and a feeling of continuity play a key role.⁸

It can therefore be contended that identity is ascertainable from one's environment in its totality – this includes space, people, time, culture, language, belief systems, notions of morality and ethics, educational ethos, folklore, art and so on. In short, we can conceive of identity as being reflective of the multi-layeredness of our being. The reason for this is that there are various features of identity and it is only in conceiving of them in their entirety, in their complete symbiosis, that we can then determine individual⁹, collective¹⁰ and ethnic¹¹ identity. There are numerous signs and symbols through which one's allegiance to nation can be expressed, such as a flag, a coat-of-arms, anthem, national dress etc., but language is the

⁴ *Struna* - the Croatian special field terminology database <http://struna.ihjj.hr/en/about/> (last access 1/6/2014).

⁵ Anić (1998): 304.

⁶ Kalogjera (2007): 261.

⁷ Pranjković (2007): 487.

⁸ Pranjković (2007): 487

⁹ Individual identity is a form of self-awareness, consciousness of one's self. Although *identity* is one of the key terms examined in a project entitled *Izgradnja temeljnog nazivlja u antropologiji* (Developing fundamental terminology in anthropology), the term *individualni identitet* (individual identity) is not found in the *Struna* database, which otherwise provides results of the terminological work of this project.

¹⁰ Collective identity is defined by *Struna*, as “a symbolic representation of the togetherness of a group by which it is distinguished from other groups”.

¹¹ Ethnic identity is defined by *Struna*, as “consciousness of belonging to an ethnic group”. In an additional note the authors state that “the basis of identity need not be found in cultural manifestations but in the ethnic boundaries through which differentness as such is expressed and where an identity of a group is formed on the basis of a relationship of us and them”.

attribute that will be focussed on here.

The designation given to a language as a factor in the process of its standardisation

Language is a basic element of one's cultural heritage and as a means of communication which presents itself as a fundamental symbol of national identity. Apart from being a characteristic of language standardisation, the designation given to a language is the most apparent symbol of national identity and that designation is something that bears great symbolic meaning. The choice of designation addresses two fundamental questions relating to identity:

- How do Croatians name their own language?
- How do the others name that language?

Today, there is a clear, constitutional definition of the name of Croatian language: "*In the Republic of Croatia, the official language is Croatian, written in the Roman-script alphabet*".¹² There should therefore be no problem with the name of the language that Croatians use for themselves, nor with the name of the language that others use in relation to them, inasmuch as others recognise Croatia as a state that determines its own affairs, including language planning questions, in an independent way.¹³

But a problem appears when we try to answer the second question posed above. Although many others designate speakers of the Croatian language, an examination of the ways in which the Croatian language is labelled all over the world reveals a very significant degree of variation. At larger universities outside Croatia, Croatian language instruction is offered according to the following names:¹⁴

- *hrvatski jezik* / Croatian Language / Croatian Studies¹⁵

¹² *Constitution of the Republic of Croatia*: article 12.

¹³ Further details on the legal status of a language and its usage can be found in the contents and in answers to a questionnaire in a text prepared by the Commission for Standard Languages, of the International Slavists Committee, for the 15th International Congress of Slavists in Minsk in 2013. Cf. Samardžija (2013).

¹⁴ Cf. Hlavač (2006).

¹⁵ E.g. Bratislava, Dublin, Kraków, London, Ontario, Oslo, Pécs (Hungary), Beijing, Macquarie University - Sydney.

At some universities, the term *kroatistika* (Croatian Studies) is used referring to a particular stream within a Slavic Studies program, or within a South-East European

- *hrvatski i srpski jezik* / Croatian and Serbian Language¹⁶
- *srpskohrvatski jezik* / Serbocroatian Language / Serbo-Croatian Language¹⁷
- *bosanski/hrvatski/srpski jezici* / Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian Languages¹⁸
- *bosansko-hrvatsko-srpski jezik* / Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian Language¹⁹

After the standardisation of the Montenegrin language, the most recent term that has also found some currency is:²⁰

- *bosansko-crnogorsko-hrvatsko-srpski jezik* / Bosnian-Montenegrin-Croatian-Serbian Language.²¹

In the classification of languages in the Library of Congress in Washington DC, there are records of the designation *Serbocroatioslovenian* language, dating back to the time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, followed by the term *Serbocroatian* language. In the 1980s, Jure Jerković, a librarian, submitted an application that books written in Croatian should be reclassified under

Languages program such as at Charles University, Prague where the term *jazyková specializace chorvatština* ('linguistic specialisation – the Croatian language') is used. At the same time, the course within which this is taught is labelled *synchronní struktura areálového jazyka* ('the synchronous structure of an areal language'). It is not clear whether *areálový jazyk* ('areal language') is the term used for the language, or whether it is a functional or technical label that in a particular instance can replace the name of a language or any particular study stream. At some German universities, the term for the Croatian language, *Kroatisch*, is used separately from the term used for the Serbian language, *Serbisch*. But at some universities, such as the Humboldt University in Berlin, there is a perception that both languages are treated as one.

¹⁶ E.g. Padua (and until recently also Harvard). The name is also unclear at the Nottingham University: there the designation Serbian/Croatian is used, as well as 'Serbian and Croatian', so that it is not clear whether this is understood as one language or as two languages which are taught in alternation.

¹⁷ E.g. Hamburg and Moscow. At Hamburg University the study stream is labelled *Serbokroastistik* but within the listings of South Slavic languages two different labels are used: an older term *Serbokroatisch* and a more recent term, *Bosnisch-Kroatisch-Serbisch*.

¹⁸ E.g. Berkeley and Harvard (term used: Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian Language); Michigan (term used: Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian Languages). While most universities that list multiple labels together do so in alphabetic order, at the Sorbonne University in Paris this is not the case: *Serbe-Croate-Bosniaque*.

¹⁹ E.g. Vienna, Bologna, Graz, Hamburg, Munich, Ohio, Washington.

²⁰ I will touch on these hybrid terms again towards the end of this paper.

²¹ E.g. At the Sorbonne University the term *Serbe-Croate-Bosniaque-Montenegrin* is used in brochures that introduce the program, while on the internet page of the Slavic Studies Department, the shorter form, *Serbe-Croate-Bosniaque* is used.

the label of Croatian language.²² His initiative was unsuccessful, and such a reclassification was achieved only after persistent petitioning from the National and University Library in Zagreb and from the Croatian Standards Institute. There had been a previous distinction between Croatian and Serbian according to the code or acronym *scr*, referring to Serbo-Croatian-Roman (script) as opposed to the acronym *scc*, which stands for Serbo-Croatian-Cyrillic. What was sought was the introduction of the unique acronym *hrv* for Croatian, and *srp* for Serbian, in line with the contents of the International Standard ISO-639. On 17 June 2008, the International Standards Organization approved and specified, through a decision made in ISO 639-2, the use of an international linguistic code for the Croatian language, namely *hrv*, as the sole valid designation for library and terminological categorisation.²³

Notwithstanding this, even today in the 21st century, those who seek to locate books in Croatian often come across various abbreviations and bibliographic records that follow on from the label Serbo-Croatian language. Sporadic occurrences of other terms such as Croato-Serbian²⁴ and Yugoslav²⁵ do little but complicate matters further.

²² Grubišić (2001): 403.

²³ Cf. Maštrović (2012). Notwithstanding this, when one undertakes a search for a particular book title, there is no guarantee that the language will actually be classified as Croatian or that it will be classified as such in all areas of its catalogue entry. As an example, a book written by the author of this paper contained in its title a clear reference to the Croatian language. The title of the book was *Hrvatsko pomorsko nazivlje* (Croatian maritime terminology), but according to the language category that it belongs to, it was listed as *scr*, and in key word searches as Serbo-Croatian language, and in notes on the book as Serbo-Croatian (Roman). It seems that it will take some time before the acronym *hrv* is universally accepted and applied in all categorisation entries for books.

²⁴ At one stage, the suggestion was made to the Canadian-Croatian community that they accept the term *hrvatskosrpski* (Croato-Serbian). The community, however, wholeheartedly rejected this suggestion, as reported by protagonists at the time, some of whom made the comment that “the term ‘Serbo-Croatian’ had wreaked enough havoc” (Grubišić 2001: 403).

²⁵ That there appears to be quite a deal of confusion about this is evident in an example from South Korea. At the Hankuk University in Seoul, otherwise known for its well-regarded language courses, the study program bears the name Central and East European Studies, while the name of the language unit is Serbian/Croatian Language. In curriculum documents there is at least a distinction between Serbian grammar and Croatian grammar. Within the same listings, there is also a teaching unit entitled *Oral Literature in Serbo-Croatian* as well as an unit that provides instruction in a *Yugoslav*

Moving from a perspective of looking at the macro-context of language names used across the globe, the focus now shifts to two specific micro-contexts: the name of the language in an émigré setting, viewed synchronously; and the name of the language as used in written text documents from the earliest available texts to the present day, which presupposes a diachronic approach.

The name of the language in Croatian émigré communities

In ethnic schools in Anglophone countries of the Overseas countries, such as those in Australia²⁶, Canada²⁷ and the US²⁸, there is no oscillation about the name of the language – it is the Croatian language. This is the name that the first generation of immigrant Croats and their children used, and this is the name still used by their descendants who perhaps no longer speak Croatian, but the name of the language is an identity marker that is carried from one generation onto the next. This name is also the one used by instructors who pass on knowledge about the language and culture to subsequent generations. I will now focus on Australia where the Croatian émigré community is one of the oldest on this otherwise ‘young’ continent. The designation Croatian Language was also adopted in the state program for the teaching of foreign languages, e.g. Victorian School of Languages in the state of Victoria (Australia) which co-ordinates the teaching of over 60 ‘ethnic languages’. It is also used in the evening, supplementary schools in

Region Language - the curriculum for this unit is not available so it is not possible to ascertain what its exact contents are. The only single-term designation used is that of the Serbian Language which suggests that this unit is taught by an instructor for the Serbian language, and not for the Croatian language. This can also be clearly seen in the curriculum of the unit *Practice in Serbian/Croatian Reading* which contains the following statement: “*Students practice elementary translation using basic vocabulary. Through this process, they acquire basic Serbian translation skills*”.

²⁶ For further detailed data in regard to the Croatian language in Australia, see Hlavač (2009) and for the Croatian language specifically at Macquarie University, see Budak (2012).

²⁷ For further detailed data in regard to the Croatian language in Canada, and also specifically at Waterloo University, see Grubišić (2001).

²⁸ The collation and categorisation of documents and information about Croats in North America has been undertaken by the *Franciscans of the Holy Family Custody* and their Croatian Ethnic Institute in Chicago (cf. www.croatianfranciscans.org/hrv/, last access 2/6/2014). These website pages feature up-to-date information on Croatian language schools for émigré Croat communities across the USA and Canada (HIŠAK) (cf. Krasić 2000).

which Croatian is taught as a ‘mainstream school subject’ such as at the state primary school, *Bell Park North Primary School* in Geelong, and at the Catholic primary school, *Holy Family Primary School* also in Geelong. Croatian is also taught at all schools attached to Croatian Catholic Centres, usually on Saturday mornings. The language can also be studied as a final-year High School Certificate subject, again under the label Croatian language. The name of the language in all ethnic radio programs is also exclusively Croatian language, and this is the name given to the editorial team that works for the state radio station that transmits programs in languages other than English (e.g. SBS Radio).

It is important to point out that the actual designation of Croatian language as an independent and distinct language was recognised in Australia in 1979, after successful lobbying by the local Croatian community to bring about such a change.²⁹ Five years later, the Croatian Studies program was established at Macquarie University in Sydney. These events occurred years before Croatia’s secession from Yugoslavia and before such a designation became the official designation in Croatia itself.

The name of the language in Croatia’s heritage of written documents

The name given to a language is one of the most important markers for a language in its process of standardisation and identity formation. Throughout the past century, Croatian philologists have directly or indirectly engaged in the process of identifying and determining documented terms that have been used for the Croatian language. In my analysis of a number of studies, I focus only on those that have adopted a perspective that examines lexical and semantic attributes of terminology in their entirety, and which have, on the basis of a large number of examples from early written documents, touched not only on aspects relating to standardisation but also those relating to identity.³⁰

²⁹ The petition contains a list of compelling reasons for the recognition of Croatian as a distinct language: 1. The centuries-long presence of Croats in Europe as a distinct national group; 2. Croatian is an old, time-honoured and cultured language; 3. The Croatian language has specific and individual characteristics; 4. Croats refer to their language as ‘Croatian’; 5. Scientific study of the Croatian language exists as a separate and definable area; 6. The Croatian language has been subjected to threats to its existence; 7. Laws and regulations in Yugoslavia; 8. ‘Scholarly reasons’. See Budak (2012): 382-84.

³⁰ Zelić-Bučan (1971); Katičić (1989); Stolac (1996).

The period up to the mid-nineteenth century

Within the vast repository of written texts, from the very first ones written in Croatian, to the present day, a great variety of terms can be found that relate to the Croatian language. As already stated, the regularisation of the name given to a language is one of the more important tasks in the codification and standardisation of a language. Throughout the history of the Croatian literary language we can observe a centuries-long co-occurrence of various Croatian literary traditions right up to the middle of the nineteenth century when a literary standard was finally decided on.³¹ Despite the many characteristic differences that can be found amongst the various Croatian literary traditions - be they based on the Čakavian, Kajkavian, Štokavian dialectal varieties or on a hybrid of any of these - the language was always looked upon as one. It was also looked upon as being a common bond between Croatian territories that had for centuries otherwise been disconnected or divided through administrative or other boundaries.

'Hrvatski jezik' as a designation for the Croatian language

An examination of Croatian written texts from the past shows that up until the period of the 19th century, a large number of terms were in use, amongst which *hrvatski jezik* is the most consistently used and the one which enjoys the longest period of continual use. It is also known that in various Croatian territories, there were in circulation different representations or spellings of this term: *hrvatski*, *harvacki*, *hervacki*, *horvacki*, *rvacki*, *rvaski*, *arvacki* and so on.

If we examine the name of the language through the prism of official documents, then it is worth noting that in juridical texts from the Middle Ages, the language is labelled Croatian. In the examples below, this form (or congruent forms) is underlined to demonstrate its usage.

- *Žakan ubo ki za biskupom stoji v toj istoj crikvi - zove se hrvatski malik, a vlaški macarol* (Law Codex of Vinodol).
- *ako jest poslano od dvora, komu poslu se govori hervatski arsal* (Law Codex of Vinodol).

³¹ Moguš (1993); Vince (2002); Bratulić (2009); Oczkova (2010); Bratulić (2011); Bićanić (2013).

- *jednoga latinskoga a drugoga nimškoga, a tretoga hrvackoga, da imamo vsaki na svoj orijinal pisat* (Demarcation document of Istria).

Amongst other prominent texts from Croatia's literary heritage from the Middle Ages, an excerpt from the work of the 15th century Croatian Glagolitic scribe, calligrapher and illuminator, Father Martinac - *The Record of Father Martinac* is provided here, in which he describes the difficult situation in Croatia following the defeat of the Croatian nobility at the Battle of Krbava in 1493:

- *nalegoše na jazik harvacki.*

In the above examples, both language and people are grouped together. Use of such a metaphor seems to show that the terms *narod* ('people') and *jezik* ('language') share the same semantic features.

If we examine texts from Croatia in the 16th century, from the northern Adriatic southwards we can also locate the term 'Croatian' amongst Čakavian authors. Below are examples from Rijeka, Zadar and Split:

- *Misal hrvacki.*
- *Ah nepomnjo i nehaju jazika harvackoga!* (Petar Zoranić).
- *Libar Marka Marula Splicićanina u kom se uzdarži istorija svete udovice Judit u versih harvacki složena* (Marko Marulić).
- *Cilici harvatski se zove vričiće* (Marko Marulić).

In the works of Marko Marulić, a poet and humanist and popularly known as 'the father of the Croatian Renaissance', as well as in the works of other authors, we also locate other traditional terms such as *slovinjski* (a variant form of 'Slavic') used to refer to the Croatian language:

- *slovinjska slova.*

It is also possible to locate instances of the use of *hrvatski* in literary works from later centuries, and also amongst authors of the Štokavian dialect tradition:

- *hrvacki jezik govore* (Dominko Zlatarić)
- *Cvit razgovora naroda i jezika iliričkoga aliti rvackoga; jezika rvaskoga* (Filip Grabovac).

In the history of the Croatian literary tradition, those authors who adopted a hybrid linguistic style that exemplified the tri-dialectal conceptualisation of Croatian linguistic heritage occupy a particularly prominent place. Their works are considered exemplary of the richness of the Croatian language through their adoption of the language's tri-dialectal basis. Amongst these writers we consistently find only the term *hrvatski jezik* rendered in various orthographical forms. This is particularly the case amongst Croatian Protestant writers, writing in the 16th century at the time of the Reformation:

- *potle u harvacki jazik iz latinskoga verno obraćeni i stumačeni*
- *jedna malahna kniga /.../ sada najprvo iz mnozih jazik v hrvacki iztumačena,*

At the same time there were also Catholic writers using the same form:

- *hrvacki jezik, našimi pravimi hrvackimi slovi i hrvackim jezikom štampane.*

The same label was passed down to writers belonging to the Ozalj literary circle in the 17th century:

- *na hervacki jezik protomačite* (Juraj Zrinski).
- *iz ugarskoga na hrvacki naš jezik stumačiti 'Adrijanskoga mora sirenu'* (Petar Zrinski).
- *hrvacki jezik* (Ana Katarina Zrinska).

The tri-dialectal basis of the literary language influenced the work of writers outside this literary circle, who were known to use this as well as other labels:

- *slavni hervatski jezik; hervatske riči; hervatska ali slovinska rič, ilirski* (Pavao Ritter Vitezović).

This section can be concluded with an author who supported a pan-Slavist linguistic approach, Juraj Križanić. He used only the term *hervacki jezik* and did not use any other terms that may have been motivated by pan-Slavism. Apart from the above orthographical representations for 'Croatian language', within the history of Croatian literature, the term *horvatski jezik* was also used, especially by writers of the Kajkavian dialectal tradition in the 18th and 19th centuries. (In previous centuries, Kajkavian writers

employed the term *slovenski jezik*. This point is expanded on below.)

- *reči horvatske* (Juraj Mulih).
- *horvatski jezik* (Štefan Zagrebec).
- *iz dijačkoga na horvatski jezik* (Ivan Krištolovec).
- *Kazitel knjig za polodelavca na horvatskem jeziku očituvan* (Ivan Krstitelj Lalangue).
- *Horvatska grammatika* (Josip Matijević).
- *horvatski* (Tomaš Mikloušić).
- *Ežopuševe basne pohorvačene; Od Horvatzkoga jezika: kak dugo vučiju se Horvacki?; Nekaj o horvatskem jeziku* (Ignac Kristijanović).

Texts written by émigré Croats living elsewhere in Europe from the 18th century also refer to the language as *horvatski*, which can be seen in the titles and contents of old catechisms and other sacred literature written by Burgenland Croats in Austria, as well as in calendars, which were a more popular form of literary expression:

- *Horvacko evangjelje.*
- *Kratka sprava nauka kerščanskoga ... na horvacko stomačena.*
- *Horvatski katekizmuš aliti kratak nauk kerščanski.*
- *Novi horvacki kalendar.*

Calendars are mentioned here as a forerunner of what would be the journalistic genre of writing. In the first half of the 19th century, the first Croatian newspapers began to appear, in which the name of the language is given as *hrvatski*:

- *Arvacki jezik (Kraljski Dalmatin).*
- *Poziv svim ljubiteljima krasnoga i sladkoga hervatskoga jezika narodnoga nauka i napridka (Zora dalmatinska).*

The fact that there were different ways of spelling the name of the language (and the ethnicity) is evident from a text from 1922 entitled 'Contributions to a Croatian legal-historical dictionary' by Vladimir Mažuranić. In the entry for *Hrvatini* (an archaic form for 'Croat'), Mažuranić draws attention to the fact that there are alternate spellings that lack the initial 'H' and which also represent the first vowel sound in different ways. The various spellings are underlined below:

- *U naših i inih slovj. izvorih Hrvat(in), Harvat /.../, ali i bez aspiracije Rvat(in), Arvat, Ervat itd., a prema tome nalazimo u izvorih na hrvatski, hrvacki, horvatski, još i rvatski, rvacki...*

‘*Slověnski jezik*’ as a designation for the Croatian language

Another term found in older hand-written texts that belong to Croatia’s literary heritage and relates to the Croatian language is a term that invokes the language’s genealogical roots to the wider Slavic language group. This term is *slověnski* - a variant form of ‘Slavonic’, which today resembles the form that Slovenes use to designate their language, *slovenski jezik*, ‘Slovene language’. This form is found in Croatian Glagolitic texts from the Middle Ages. In later periods the form *slovinski* (an Ikavian variant of the same word) is used by authors of both the Čakavian and Štokavian literary traditions, while the form *slovenski* (the Ekavian variant of the same word) is found amongst authors of the Kajkavian literary tradition. It is important to note that in the historical period preceding the advent of national romanticism in Europe, what is now today’s *slovenski jezik* (‘the Slovene language’) was then referred to as *kranjski jezik*, referring to a large area of today’s western and central Slovenia, and is otherwise known in English as ‘Carniola’.

Below are some examples in which Čakavian writers employed the term *slovinski* as a designation for the language:

- *jezik slovinski* (Petar Hektorović).
- *naše slovenske riči* (Matija Matulić Alberti).
- *za masicu budu letanije od Muke Isukarstove slovenske* (Nikola Hermon).

For some writers, the terms *hrvatski jezik* and *jezik slovinski* seem to be used interchangeably:

- *naš harvatski i slovinski jezik;... čistim naravskim slovinskim jezikom* (Ivan Tanclinger Zanotti).

The label *slovinski* was used by Štokavian writers from the 16th to the 19th centuries over a wide area:

- *Ritual rimski istomačen slovinski; naša besiden’ja slovenska* (Bartol Kašić).

- *Nauk za pisati dobro latinskijema slovima riječi jezika slovinskoga* (Rajmundo Đamanjić).
- *Blago jezika slovinskoga* (Jakov Mikalja).
- *uredbe od skladopisja slovinskoga* (Ignjat Đurđević).
- *jezika slovinskoga* (Matija Divković).
- *slovinski jezik* (Andrija Kačić Miošić).
- *riči slovinske* (Antun Kanižlić).
- *Rječosložje slovinsko-italijansko-latinsko* (Joakim Stulli).

It is also important to note that in Dalmatia, the Croatian national movement in the mid-nineteenth century did not use the *Illyrian* name to refer to it, as was the case in north-western Croatia. Instead, this movement was grouped under the cover term *slovinski*.³² As mentioned above, the term *slovenski* was used also by Kajkavian writers, who often featured this term in the titles of their works:

- *slovenski; s varijantom: na slovijenski jezik* (Ivan Pergošić).
- *Kronika vezda znovič spravljena kratka slovenskim jezikom* (Antun Vramec).
- *Poštila na vse leto po nedelne dni vezda znovič spravljena slovenskim jezikom* (Antun Vramec).
- *slovenskem jezikom; slovenščina; pravo slovensko zagrebečko slovo; iz knjig slovenskeh* (Nikola Krajačević).
- *Dikcionar ili reči slovenske* (Juraj Habelić).

This term was systematically used in the area then known as *Slovenski orsag* or *banska Hrvatska* - the central and western area of Croatia under the jurisdiction of the viceroy or *ban* of Croatia. It was used from the 16th century onwards, throughout the 17th century until the start of the 18th century when the term *horvatski jezik* replaced it, as mentioned above.

‘*Ilirski jezik*’ as a designation for the Croatian language

The third most widespread term that was used until the mid-nineteenth century (and in some areas beyond this) was that of *ilirski jezik*, with

³² The term *slovinsko* or *slavjansko* (‘Slavonic’) was widely used by Božidar Petranović and writers in his circle.

recorded instances of it appearing as *ilirski*, *ilirički* or *ilirijanski*.³³ This label relates to the Latin term *lingua Illyrica*, which is a term that is found in the titles of many Croatian linguists who wrote in Latin. These include the first published grammars and also a large number of dictionaries and grammars by writers such as Bartol Kašić, Ardelio Della Bella, Andrija Jambrešić, Jakov Mikalja, Tomo Babić, Lovro Šitović, Matija Petar Katančić, Ivan Belostenec, Adam Patačić, Blaž Tadijanović, Matija Antun Reljković as well as many others.

From this long list it is possible to identify a key term used in Sušnik-Jambrešić's dictionary entitled *Lexicon latinum interpretatione illyrica, germanica et hungarica locuples* that was published in 1742, in which the first-mentioned designation for the language is *ilirijanski*. But within the same text, there are instances of other labels for the Croatian language that are used in such a way as to show that they are considered synonymous:

- *illyricus* = *ilirijanski*, *ali slovenski*, *horvatcki*

The Croatian words, *ilirski jezik*, are found in a large number of texts of those writers who adopted various literary conceptualisations of language. These writers were active across many Croatian territories, which accounts for the relative popularity of its usage. Very often the term *ilirski jezik* is used in the introductory sections of literary works in which writers would talk about their position on certain linguistic questions (e.g. Filip Grabovac, Antun Kanižlić, Antun Ivanošić) or sometimes in the titles of other kinds of books, most often linguistic studies, as shown in the following examples:

- *Likarije priprostite u dva jezika razdijeljene ilirički, talijanski* (Luka Vladmirović)
- *Ričoslovník iliričkoga, italianskoga i nimačkoga jezika s jednom pridpostavljenom gramatikom ili pismenstvom* (Josip Voltić)
- *Nova ričoslovica ilirička* (Šime Starčević)

With the advent of national romanticism, the frequency of use of the term *ilirski jezik* also increased. It has been subsequently revealed to be a

³³ The earliest known explicit labelling of vernacular language as 'Illyrian' occurred in a document by a notary public in Zadar dated August 13, 1403 - State Archive Zadar, Archive of Split Vol. 1 2/a fol. 78', Ančić (2005): 130.

misconception that the term *ilirski* meant the same thing as *Slavic*. At the time, though, the widespread use of the term *ilirski* had the consequence of this term being used not only for the national literary language, but also for institutions of national importance, eg. *Matica ilirska* (Matrix Illyricum), *ilirske čitaonice* (Illyrian reading rooms) and even to the most notable cultural publication of the time, *Danica ilirska* (The Illyrian Morning Star). Croatia's foremost cultural institution did not change its name from *Matica ilirska* to *Matica hrvatska* (Matrix Croaticum) until 1874.

What had been *ilirske čitaonice* were also renamed *hrvatske čitaonice* (Croatian reading rooms). At the time, Croatian language and literature was taught at schools under the name of 'Illyrian language', although some teachers like Fran Kurelac referred to themselves in the following way: *učitelj narodnog jezika* (teacher of the national language). Linguistic texts during the time of the Croatian National Revival often bore the term *Illyrian* in their titles:

- *Osnova slovnice slavjanske narečja ilirskoga* (Vjekoslav Babukić).
- *Ilirska slovnica* (Vjekoslav Babukić).
- *Temelji ilirskoga i latinskoga jezika za početnike* (Antun Mažuranić).
- *Němačko-ilirski rěčnik* (Bogoslav Šulek).
- *Ilirsko-němačko-talijanski mali rěčnik (sa osnovom gramatike ilirske)* (Josip Drobnić).
- *Misli o ilirskom pravopisu* (Đuro Augustinović).
- *Pravopis jezika ilirskoga* (Josip Partaš).

The fact that any of the above-mentioned three terms (*hrvatski* 'Croatian', *slovinski* 'Slavonic', *ilirski* 'Illyrian') could be used by writers throughout their active writing careers is demonstrated by the lexicographer, Dragutin Antun Parčić, and the following titles for three different editions of his Croatian-Italian dictionary:

- *Rječnik ilirsko-talijanski* (1858).
- *Rječnik slovinsko-talijanski* (1874).
- *Rječnik hrvatsko-talijanski* (1901).

Other designations for the Croatian language

Apart from these three designations that encompassed all Croatian territories (despite the administrative divisions that existed between them) we also find

records of the use of narrower, geographically-based terms for the Croatian language, such as *dalmatinski* ('Dalmatian'), *bosanski* ('Bosnian') and *slavonski* ('Slavonian'):

- *dalmatinski* (Faust Vrančić, Ivan Belostenec, Matija Antun Reljković).
- *bosanski* (Bartol Kašić, Jakov Mikalja, Ivan Garličić).
- *slavonski* (Matija Antun Reljković, Marijan Lanosović).

From a contemporary perspective and in a lexicographical sense, it is perhaps difficult to conceive of other further labels as terms that denote the name of a language. But for some writers and readers of the time, it appears that many of the following terms did have such a status: *domaći/domaći* ('domestic'), *domovinski* ('homeland'), *domorodni* ('native'), *materinski* ('mother [tongue]'), *narodni* ('people's'), *naš* or *naški* ('our'):

- *domaći* (Dinko Ranjina)
- *domaći* (Mihalj Šilobod Bolšić, Ivan Pergošić, Maksimilijan Vrhovac)
- *domovinski* (Pavao Ritter Vitezović)
- *domorodni* (Antun Mihanović)
- *narodni* (Fran Kurelac)
- *materinski* (Blaž Tadijanović).

It is perhaps important to comment on the term *narodni jezik* ('people's language') as this term was the one that the Croatian Sabor or Parliament adopted in 1847, based on a proposal submitted to it by the politician and publicist Ivan Kukuljević, the Zagreb Archbishop Cardinal Juraj Haulik and the Croatian Ban (viceroy) Koloman Bedeković. In the face of concerted efforts to introduce Hungarian as the official language, the decision to adopt Croatian, under the designation of *narodni jezik* (as a 'diplomatic language') was well received. This was a great step forward for Croatian national consciousness.

Amongst those designations that are used to refer to the Croatian language, it is hard to conceive of the term *naš jezik*, or, as otherwise represented by some authors as *naški jezik*, as an adequate designation. There are a variety of accounts for why this term enjoyed some popularity, however. In the first-known texts that use this term, we find that the possessive pronoun is used together with the noun *jezik* ('language') in a way that displays the writer's affective feelings towards his own language, without intending for

this form to become one by which his language is formally labelled.

- *ulize mi na pamet da ju stumačim našim jazikom, neka ju budu razumiti i oni ki nisu naučni knjige latinske aliti dijačke* (Marko Marulić).
- *naš jazik, ljudi našega jazika* (Faust Vrančić).
- *Dubrovniče, časti našega jazika!* (Hanibal Lucić).
- *da smo se sramovali mnozi našim jezikom* (Šimun Kožičić Benja).
- *prva svitlost našega jezika* (Dinko Ranjina).
- *naš jazik jest težak* (Franjo Glavinić).
- *odlučih ja pismo ovega Rituala ili Običajnika istomačiti naški* (Bartol Kašić).
- *među sadanjijem pisaocim od našega jezika* (Rajmundo Đamanjić).
- *knjige našega jezika* (Jakov Mikalja).
- *jerbo mi neimamo gramatikah u naš jezik istomačenih* (Lovro Šitović).
- *kod našega jezika* (Matija Antun Reljković).
- *od velike vindar potrebe i fajde za naš jezik ne imadu* (Josip Šipuš).

Very different sociolinguistic features pertained to the 19th and 20th centuries as compared to those of today and these different sociolinguistic features account for the widespread use of *naš jezik* in the last two centuries. *Naš jezik* was used as a euphemism that allowed a writer the freedom not to use an official designation. This point is further expanded on in the section below dealing with terms used in the second half of the 19th century and in the 20th century.

In concluding this section that has examined terms used for the language in the period preceding the Croatian national-romanticism, it is also important to note that single-word terms were those most commonly used, and the most frequent one was *hrvatski jezik*, as is the official term today. Double- or compound-word designations were very uncommon, and where it is possible to locate them, they are found to be used usually by one and the same author (e.g. *horvatsko-slavinski* or *iliro-slavenski*). There are no cases at all of compound-word designations containing the element *srpski* ('Serbian'). The use of this term as part of a compound form is not recorded until the second half of the nineteenth century.

Within this context, it is important to be reminded of two notable details about the term used for the national language. The first one is the text from the front-cover of the first published translation of the Bible into

Croatian by Matija Petar Katančić in 1831:

- *Sveto pismo Novoga zakona /.../ sada u jezik slavno-ilirički izgovora Bosanskog prineseno* ('The New Testament of the Bible /.../ now rendered in the Slav-Illyric language according to Bosnian pronunciation.').

The second one is a ruling of the Croatian Sabor or Parliament from 1845 on the appointment of staff in the Department of the Croatian-Slavonian Language at the Zagreb Academy, the precursor to today's University of Zagreb. In addition, Vjekoslav Babukić was appointed to the first full professorship of the Croatian language on 16 June 1846. Prior to this appointment, Matija Smodek had been a lecturer in the Croatian language at the Academy, providing tuition privately and without remuneration.

The second half of the nineteenth century

In the second half of the 19th century the concepts used in describing language norms changed greatly. Until this period the processes of language standardisation are more or less ascertainable, but until this period it was still not yet possible to speak of one single standard language that was universally used by all, in all public domains. The introduction of the last criterion of standardisation, that of its obligatory use across all Croatian lands, and the introduction of legislative stipulations that regulate language use in schools and in public administration thus allow us to speak of a national, literary language. From then on, various legal regulations have been in force that have unambiguously spelt out the official designation for the national language. Further, from this point on, we can conceive of language users knowing that, in a legal sense, the actual label given to their language is itself a symbol and that that label has its own symbolic value.

One of the first places to ascertain this designation is the title or titles used in linguistic reference texts that carry some authority as normative or prescriptive resources. Examples of such texts are grammars, dictionaries, orthographies, linguistic manuals and articles about language. Amongst such texts, there appears to be great confusion as the label *slovinsko* ('Slavic') is still used, albeit rarely, while *ilirski jezik* ('Illyrian language') is also used with greater frequency, e.g.:

- *Rječnik slovinsko-talijanski* (Dragutin Antun Parčić).
- *Ilirska slovnica* (Vjekoslav Babukić).

- *Ilirska slovnica za početne učionice* (Fran Volarić).
- *Skladnja ilirskoga jezika* (Adolfo Veber Tkalčević).

Hybrid names are also used for some texts:

- *Slovnica serbsko-ilirskoga jezika za decu u Dalmaciji i u druzih derzavah jugoslavjanskih* (Andrija Barić).
- *Slovnica jezika Hrvatskoga ili Srbskoga* (Vinko Pacel).
- *Morski rječnik hrvacko-srbski usporedjen sa italijanskijem jezikom od jednoga pomorca* (Božo Babić).

The designation *hrvatski jezik* was never abandoned. Those writers and linguists who may have used compound or hybrid terms in the titles of their texts are also known to have published texts that name the language as *hrvatski*, e.g.:

- *Oblici književne hrvaštine* (Vinko Pacel).
- *Slovnica Hervatska* (Antun Mažuranić).
- *Slovnica hrvatska za pučke učione, Slovnica hrvatska i pismovnik za pučke učione i Slovnica hervatska za srednja učilišta* (Adolfo Veber Tkalčević).
- *Gramatika jezika hervatskoga* (Vatroslav Jagić).
- *Hrvatsko-njemačko-talijanski rječnik znanstvenog nazivlja* (Bogoslav Šulek).
- *Nazivlje korita i jedrilja broda u hrvatskom, njemačkom i talijanskom jeziku* and *Zapovjed brodovnih obava u hrvatskom, njemačkom i talijanskom jeziku* (Božo Babić).

Even in the titles of works of the ‘Croatian Vukovians’³⁴ we can also locate, alongside compound forms, the designation *hrvatski jezik* e.g.:

- *Gramatika i stilistika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (Tomo Maretić).
- *Gramatika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (Tomo Maretić).
- *Gramatika hrvatskoga jezika* (Tomo Maretić).
- *Nauka o pravopisu jezika hrvackoga ili srpskoga* (Marcel Kušar).

³⁴ The term ‘Croatian Vukovians’ refers to those Croatian linguists who supported an alignment of the Croatian and Serbian standard languages as proposed by the Serbian linguist, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, after whom they were named.

- *Hrvatski pravopis* (Ivan Broz).
- *Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (Đuro Daničić).
- *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* (Franjo Iveković and Ivan Broz).

In the following period and throughout the 20th century, the question of language designation was associated with purism and aspirations towards this on the part of Croatian speakers.³⁵ It was not until the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century that the notion of linguistic purism would be redefined.³⁶

The twentieth century

Throughout the 20th century we have witnessed frequent language name changes and nearly every one of these changes has been manifested not only in linguistic prescriptive texts³⁷, but also in legal documents as well, from regulations at a local level, to those at the highest level such as regulations contained in the constitution.

At the turn of the 20th century, it was apparent that the hitherto traditionally used names for the Croatian language – *slovinski/slovenski* ('Slavonic') and *ilirski* ('Illyrian') – would not remain in active use and would be recognised only as forms that had been used in the past as alternate labels for the language. Croats entered the 20th century advocating employment of the term *hrvatski jezik* which had been in use for centuries and which was the only sound term for the language. At the same time, there existed a tendency for the name of the Croatian language to be encompassed in a compound label in which the other component of the label was invariably *srpski* ('Serbian'). The system of government in Croatian territories after WWI and after the break-up of the Habsburg Empire contributed greatly to legal regulations that prescribed compound labels for the name of the language. For this reason, throughout the 20th century a series of double-component labels were in official use, e.g.:

- *hrvatski i srpski jezik*

³⁵ Thomas (1991).

³⁶ The topic of linguistic purism is a significant one which is closely associated with many of the points contained in this article. The topic of purism, however, goes beyond the scope of this paper and is not further elaborated.

³⁷ E.g. Lončarić (1998); Samardžija (1999); Samardžija & Pranjković (2006); Samardžija (2013)

- *hrvatski ili srpski jezik*
- *hrvatskosrpski jezik / hrvatsko-srpski jezik*
- *srpskohrvatski jezik / srpsko-hrvatski jezik*

And there are also instances of multiple-component labels being used, e.g.:

- *srpskohrvatskoslovenački jezik*
- *bosansko-hrvatsko-srpski jezik*

Notwithstanding this, everyone from this period knows, from their own personal experiences, that the instruction that they attended was instruction in the Croatian language, that in the timetables inserted in the inside covers of school workbooks the subject was labelled Croatian language and that the teachers who taught us were teachers of the Croatian language, regardless of the designation that was printed in school attendance registers or in the end-of-year school reports.³⁸

Indeed, with this context in mind, the following interesting sociolinguistic phenomenon comes as no surprise to us: the frequent avoidance of the official designation of the national language; or an emphasis on the literary nature of the standard language, such that the designation *hrvatski književni jezik* ('Croatian literary language') was permitted, as exemplified by the title used in a noteworthy document in Croatian linguistic history:

- *Deklaracija o nazivu i položaju hrvatskog književnog jezika* ('Declaration on the name and status of the Croatian literary language')

Alternately, the official term was avoided through employment of the term *naš* ('our') (along with the noun *jezik* or without it) especially in philological articles:

- *Naša pomorska i ribarska terminologija na Jadranu* (Petar Skok)
- *O našoj pomorskoj terminologiji* (Blaž Jurišić)
- *Iz bliske prošlosti našega jezika* (Stjepan Babić & Dalibor Brozović).

³⁸ The author of this paper completed her undergraduate studies in a discipline that bore the official title *Jugoslavenski jezici i književnosti* ('Yugoslav languages and literatures'). In practice students amongst themselves invariably labelled this discipline *hrvatski jezik*.

The end of the century brought with it democratic changes and secession from Yugoslavia which then allowed for an unambiguous labelling of the language as – *hrvatski jezik*.³⁹ For others, the process of adopting this label has lasted somewhat longer, as was mentioned above.

The twenty-first century

This brings us to the 21st century in which there is no need for debate about the use of the term *hrvatski jezik* due to its status which is regulated in the Croatian constitution and due to its status as the language of an EU-member state.⁴⁰

However, some uncertainty still remains. Let us look at two labels that have been already discussed: ‘Serbo-Croatian’ and ‘Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian’. In justifying the use of Serbo-Croatian, a number of ‘arguments’ are nominated:

- That abroad it is a widely-used and popular designation, and therefore a ‘good’ one;
- That it simplifies the translation of official documents;
- That it reduces translation and interpreting costs within the European Union.⁴¹

In an analysis of the various arguments for the designation *Serbo-Croatian*, or rather in an exposition that speaks against the use of this term, Hlavač⁴² argues that, in a disproportionate sense, political ideologies are responsible for the creation of this term, and that there is no linguistic justification for it, and that even when used as a ‘generic’ term, there was never one single version of such a language but various versions of it. Thus, a continuing insistence on the label Serbo-Croatian can be viewed as an example of inertia amongst some sections of the wider European community. Hlavač concludes with the following: “*There is little point in holding on to a compound term where considerable formal differences exist and where there is not a mutual feeling amongst speakers that they share the same*

³⁹ *The Constitution of the Republic of Croatia*, article 12.

⁴⁰ For further data on language policies in the European Union, language designations used by the ICTY in The Hague, the status of Croatian in regard to EU translation and interpreting services (before Croatia’s accession to the EU), cf Hlavač (2006).

⁴¹ Cf. Hlavač (2006).

⁴² Hlavač (2006)

linguistic heritage".⁴³ Further arguments are also presented in favour of the term Croatian language.

The label Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian language also warrants further discussion. Outside Croatia, debate has occurred repeatedly on the topic of this label, with the following 'logical arguments' being put forward:

- That it simplifies communication about the languages of former Yugoslavia
- That it facilitates the grouping of students in university courses;
- That it simplifies and reduces the costs of interpreting and translation or that it will do so if and when other countries that were part of Yugoslavia join the European Union.

All attempts at designing such hybrids, or conversely, in condemning the fate of the Croatian language, have not gained legal recognition. These hybrids range from the double-component label *Serbo-Croatian language*, to the triple-component title *Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian* to the even longer term *Bosnian-Croatian-Montenegrin-Serbian language*.⁴⁴

With its entry into the European Union, the Republic of Croatia also brought with it its intangible cultural heritage, within which its language is undoubtedly its most momentous attribute. Croatia has brought with it the name *Croatian language*. There are far fewer speakers of this language in comparison to the national languages of other member states such as Great Britain, Germany, Poland and France, but at the same time there are far more speakers of Croatian than there are of Maltese, Latvian, Estonian or Slovenian, all of which enjoy the status of undisputed languages of the EU. When talking about languages within the European Union, it is important not to forget that there is an openly declared equality between the languages of the EU, but that this equality is really only nominal rather than real equality. While on the one hand, minority and regional languages are encouraged, on the other, euphemistic terms such as *procedural language* (referring to English, French and German) are used. This suggests, in

⁴³ Hlavač (2006): 106.

⁴⁴ In recent years a number of books have been published worldwide that deal with this topic, of which some have been translated into Croatian and have caused some debate (e.g. Greenberg 2005). It is important to note that in a certain number of these recent works there are attempts at defining identity without any reference to language, or attempts to reduce language to an almost unimportant attribute.

reality, an asymmetric relationship between the EU languages.⁴⁵ A declaration of equality serves the purpose of averting a feeling amongst some that some languages are being imposed at the expense of others. Nonetheless, the direction that this is heading in is clear: towards the reinforcement of only some languages of the European Union as working or official languages.

The languages of small nations, the so-called *small languages*, do not have the same baseline position in this equation. They do not have the same opportunities to maintain their position vis-à-vis other languages⁴⁶, even if by some other criteria it is possible to position them amongst the so-called ‘middle-sized’ languages (the group that Croatian belongs to).⁴⁷ We can only hope that the declared equality of languages one day becomes something real, and that the costs of interpreting and translation, ie. chiefly financial considerations, will not be decisive in finally determining the status of the Croatian language in the European Union.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to present the relationship between language and identity, between the Croatian language and Croatian identity, and has done so by addressing multiple aspects of this relationship. This relationship also accounts for the centuries-long concern that has existed for the Croatian language. It is also clear that the national language is an important characteristic of not only collective, but also personal identity.

Although identity is something that we may see as a social category that emerges from our relation towards others, we should also not lose sight of the converse situation – the relation of others towards us. In this context, the study of language designations assumes great significance. The designation for a language is an identity symbol that it is indivisible from consciousness of one’s self.⁴⁸ Recent attempts to rename the Croatian language by associating it with a kind of Balkan context are also indicative of the fact that others also see the designation of a language as an important identity symbol, and one in which they may seek to impose a new set of political associations within the wider region that Croatia belongs to.

⁴⁵ Bratanić (2007): 84.

⁴⁶ Cf. Stolac & Grahovac-Pražić (2007).

⁴⁷ Matasović (2005): 225.

⁴⁸ Zelić-Bučan (1971); Katičić (1989); Stolac (1996); Hlavač (2006); Granić (2007).

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Sažetak

U radu se komentiraju različite definicije identiteta. Identitet se iščitava iz svekolikoga okruženja: prostora, ljudi, vremena, kulture, jezika, vjere, moralnih kodeksa, etičkih stavova, obrazovnoga kurikula, folklor, umjetnosti... – iz slojevitosti našega postojanja. Identitet je socijalna kategorija koja izrasta iz našega odnosa prema drugima, ali i iz odnosa drugih prema nama. Brojni su znakovi i simboli kojima se iskazuje pripadnost naciji, kao npr. zastava, grb, himna, nošnja, a posebno naglašavamo jezik. Propituje se mjesto jezika u definicijama identiteta. Nacionalni je jezik u svim svojim pojavnicama, od lokalnoga idioma do standardnoga jezika, od jezika privatne do jezika službene komunikacije bitno obilježje osobnoga identiteta, a višestoljetni rad na standardizaciji hrvatskoga jezika pokazuje da je obilježje i kolektivnoga identiteta. Izdvaja se naziv jezika kao značajni standardološki čimbenik te kao najjasniji znak nacionalnoga identiteta s izrazitom simboličkom vrijednosti, ali i osobnoga identiteta jer je nedjeljiv od svijesti o sebi.

Naziv jezika analizira se u makrokontekstu i u mikrokontekstu. Donosi se pregled raznolikih naziva za hrvatski jezik na svjetskim sveučilištima, često višečlanih (*hrvatski jezik; hrvatski i srpski jezik; srpskohrvatski jezik; bosanski/hrvatski/srpski jezici; bosansko-hrvatsko-srpski jezik; bosansko-crnogorsko-hrvatsko-srpski jezik*) te se kritički komentiraju. Tolika zbrka u nazivanju jezika govori o neprihvatanju hrvatskoga jezika kao samostalnoga jezika, a sve s obrazloženjem 'značajnih financijskim uštedama' u organizaciji studija grupiranjem više jezika na tlu bivše Jugoslavije.

Nasuprot tome mnoštvu navodi se jednočlani naziv *hrvatski jezik* koji se jednoznačno rabi u iseljeništvu u svim kontekstima (kao

naziv nasljednoga jezika, naziv jezika u katoličkim misijama, naziv školskoga predmeta, naziv jezika u školi stranih jezika, naziv jezika etničkih radijskih emisija). Ističe se borba za naziv *hrvatski jezik* (*Croatian Language*) hrvatske kulturne zajednice u Australiji, koja je izborila taj naziv kao službeni 1979. godine, odnosno, godinama prije izdvajanja Hrvatske iz tadašnje Jugoslavije i ustavnoga određenja naziva u Republici Hrvatskoj 1990. godine.

Daje se detaljan pregled naziva za hrvatski jezik od prvih zapisa u srednjem vijeku kroz stoljeća hrvatske pismenosti do 21. stoljeća, koji neupitno pokazuje da je upravo jezik izdvajan kao poveznica administrativno razjedinjenih hrvatskih krajeva u prethodnim stoljećima. Dijakronijski pregled izdvaja tri temeljna naziva: *hrvatski*, *slovenski/slovenski* i *ilirski jezik*, te jasno pokazuje da je naziv jezika do sredine 19. stoljeća bio jednočlan. Također se utvrđuje da se naziv *hrvatski jezik* kontinuirano rabi od prvih zapisa do danas. Osim ovih naziva javljaju se i nazivi koji nisu obuhvaćali jezik cjelovitoga hrvatskog područja: *dalmatinski*, *bosanski* i *slavonski jezik*. Bilježimo i neka imenovanja jezika koja nemaju nazivoslovni status: *domaći/domaći*, *domovinski*, *domorodni*, *materinski*, *narodni*, *naš* ili *naški jezik*.

Posebno se raspravljaju različiti sociolingvistički uvjeti i razlozi za imenovanje jezika *našim* u različitim razdobljima hrvatske povijesti, od iskazivanja afektivnoga odnosa do zaobilaženja službenoga naziva jezika. Od druge polovice 19. stoljeća počinju se pojavljivati dvočlani nazivi (*hrvatsko-srpski jezik*), što obilježava gotovo cijelo 20. stoljeće. Krajem 20. stoljeća pojavljuju se u europskom okruženju i tročlani (*bosansko-hrvatsko-srpski jezik*), a ulaskom u 21. stoljeće i četveročlani nazivi (*bosansko-crnogorsko-hrvatsko-srpski jezik*). Ulaskom Republike Hrvatske u Europsku uniju hrvatski jezik postaje jedan od ravnopravnih jezika u EU, ali se propituje stvarni i formalni status hrvatskoga jezika među jezicima u Uniji. Ulaskom u Uniju iznova se politizira naziv hrvatskoga jezika. U radu se upozorava na nove europske prijedloge uključivanja hrvatskoga jezika u sintagmu *bosansko-hrvatsko-srpski jezik* ili *bosansko-crnogorsko-hrvatsko-srpski jezik* te reakcije na njih. Ti su novi pokušaji smještanja hrvatskoga jezika nazivom u neki balkanski kontekst pokazatelji da i drugi vide naziv jezika kao vrlo važan identitetski znak, a kroz koji se želi nametnuti neka nova politička asocijacija na širem prostoru.