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THE CONCEPT OF FREEDOM IN THE LANGUAGE OF MOLISE AND BURGENLAND CROATS

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses and compares the linguistic picture of freedom, or rather, the concept of freedom in these two Croatian ethnic/language communities (Molise Croatian and Burgenland Croatian), whose language has been developing independently for centuries under the strong influence of the linguistic cultures within which they represent Slavic islands (Romance influence in Molise and German influence in Burgenland, although there is some Hungarian and Western Slavic influence among Burgenland Croats). This research relies on the main theoretical foundations and methodological assumptions of the Polish (Lublin) ethnolinguistic school (with certain limitations). After an introduction, the first part of the following chapter on the concept of freedom shall contain a discussion on the basis of lexicographic descriptions and written sources, while the second part shall contain a discussion on the basis of the results of the survey.

1. INTRODUCTION

Croatian diaspora use varieties of the Croatian language that differ from the official standard language in Croatia. Both the Molise Croatian ethnolect¹ and the Burgenland Croatian microlanguage have been separated from the original Croatian dialects from which they originated for centuries, both geographically and developmentally. These groups initially emigrated due to the Ottoman army invasions into the Balkan Peninsula in the 15th and 16th centuries. The Molise Croatian ethnolect has Štokavian physiognomy, but it is not a standardised language, as it is composed of three local dialects with equal standing (Mundimitar / Montemitro, Filiè / San Felice del Molise i Kruè / Acquaviva Collecroce) in the Molise region. It is spoken by around 2,000 speakers.

¹ For more on the emigration, origin, and lives of Molise Croats, see the following (selected) publications: Capaldo 1979; Hozjan 1998; Sujoldzić 2004; Scotti 2006; Feruga 2009; Sammartino 2012, 2013; Kapetanović 2014, 2015. There have been variations in the determination of their origin, which has been correctly identified since Rešetar (1911), through Brozović (1970), Šimunović (1984), Sujoldzić et al. (1987), Čoralić (2003), and Marinović, Sammartino, Sutić (2014).

Burgenland Croatian is a fairly standardised microlanguage with Cakavian physiognomy (although there are some Kajkavian speakers, as well as a fair number of Štokavian speakers in southern Burgenland), which, according to official Austrian state data from 1991, is spoken by around 19,500 residents of the Austrian region of Burgenland / Gradisće (as well as by Burgenland Croats in Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. Both of these Croatian diasporic ethnic communities are bilingual (Croatian-Italian / Croatian-German).

The goal of this research is to analyse and compare the linguistic picture of freedom, or rather, the concept of freedom in these two Croatian ethnic communities, whose language has been developing independently for centuries under the strong influence of the linguistic cultures within which they represent Slavic islands² (Romance languages in Molise and German influence in Burgenland, although there is some Hungarian and Western Slavic influence among Burgenland Croats). This research relies on the main theoretical foundations³ and methodological assumptions of the Polish (Lublin) ethnolinguistic⁴ school (with certain limitations).⁵ We hope that the results will contribute to a clearer picture of the concept of freedom among Slavic speakers and their neighbours. The concept of freedom in the Croatian standard language has already been the subject of analysis (in a yet-unpublished work by Kapetanović and Miloš), which showed that this concept is expressed in the standard language only through the stylistically neutral lexeme *sloboda*, whose foundational meaning can be summarised as ‘a state in which it is possible to decide and act without force and move without limitations.’ This meaning is also confirmed by Croatian dictionaries, proverbs, and texts. Although this lexeme has no accepted synonyms, it can enter into synonymic relations with words such as *neovisnost* ‘independence,’ *autonomija* ‘autonomy,’ and it has the accepted antonym *nesloboda*. A survey during this research showed that the five most frequent characteristics of this concept are: “[...] the ability to decide independently, public expression of opinion, the ability to act freely, the right to life without limits and fear,” and “[...] the ability to choose freely.” The overall results of this

² The Burgenland Croatian language was never an island, but an archipelago — a frequently broken spread of Croatian dialects. Molise Croatian has been reduced to only three dialects, although it once covered a wider area in Molise.

³ See Abramovicz et al. 2011.

⁴ The subjective (naive) interpretation or reflection of the world stored in language and acquired through language (hence the term “the linguistic picture of the world”) is the main subject of modern ethnolinguistic research, also connected to stereotypes, which do not exist without valuation (a system of values). For more on this, see Bartmiński 2012. More recent cognitive ethnolinguistic research has placed great significance on the description of concepts important to each linguistic community.

⁵ The demands and methodological assumptions built for research on non-Slavic standard languages in contact with Slavic languages could not be followed entirely because of a series of given, e.g. the non-standardised nature of Molise Croatian, the lack of lexicographic descriptions and paucity of attestations in texts, the small number of respondents from various age groups, difficulties in written expression in Molise Croatian (which slowed and hindered the filling out of surveys in the field). Research on Burgenland Croatian was easier to carry out as it has more speakers, and its written heritage is fairly large in scope and well-preserved.

survey draw an outline of the aspects of the concept of freedom in the Croatian language ([psycho]social, mental, ethical, ideological, political, axiological).

The first part of the following chapter on the concept of freedom shall contain a discussion on the basis of lexicographic descriptions and written sources, while the second part shall contain a discussion on the basis of the results of the survey.

2. DISCUSSION

2.1. Dictionaries and written sources

2.1.1.

The lexeme *sloboda* has not been attested in the three Molise Croatian dialects (Mundimitar / Montemitro, Filiè / San Felice del Molise i Kruc' / Acquaviva Collecroce), and there is no other expression of Slavic origin that marks the content of the lexeme *sloboda*, which is prevalent in Croatian dialects and the standard language. In its place, the Italianism *liberta*⁶ is used in daily conversational language, however this word is also not attested in the two known Molise Croatian dictionaries (Piccoli, Sammartino 2000; Breu, Piccoli 2000). This is not surprising, as both dictionaries were aimed at recording Molise Croatian words of Slavic origin. However, it is quite unusual that attestations of a word for such an important concept are fairly difficult to locate in the diminutive Molise Croatian written tradition and modern texts, even with the help of native speakers and experienced researchers of this ethnolect. The Breu-Piccoli dictionary contains only entries for the verbs *liberat* (perf.) and *liberivat* (imperf.). It is actually interesting that we succeeded in finding an idiom within the Slavic framework that does not have a Slavic word for this concept (considering that only a loanword is used to mark this concept, it is difficult to consider this word [*liberta*] a part of the basic vocabulary of this language). As it is difficult to find Molise Croatian texts to document the decades-long usage of the lexeme *liberta*, we would like to introduce a statement (unpublished story) by native speaker A. Sammartino that makes apparent use of the noun *liberta*, the adjective *liberi*, and the verb *liberat*:

KADA NE BIŠE LIBERTA

Kada bihu dite, do zime moj did večer dojaše u nas ter se vrzaše sidit okolo ognja. Mu biše drago govorat s menom, jerke ja bihu kurijuz es mi biše drago cut stvare nove. Ma on pocmase semaj govorat stvare stare,

⁶ In Italian dictionaries, *libertà* is presented as a lexeme with multiple meanings, which are described through the mention of the lack of constrictions, the lack of domination and dictatorship, autonomy in thoughts and actions, the lack of barriers and obligations, the absence (lack) of control, and exaggerated self-confidence: "1. La condizione di chi può agire senza costrizioni di qualsiasi genere [...]; 2. Lo stato di un popolo non soggetto al dominio straniero o a una dittatura [...]; 3. Autonomia nel pensiero e nell'azione [...]; 4. Assenza di impedimenti, obblighi, impegni [...]; 5. Mancanza o insufficienza di controllo; eccessiva confidenza [...]; 6. Con la prep. *da* liberazione, allontanamento da uno stato avvertito come negativo, doloroso [...]" (Sabatini, Coletti 1997).

do kada on bise mblad, do kada je ba posa za soldati, kada je ba bija na guer... Bi mi bilo vece drago cut stvare do mojih dani ma — kada ne bise drugo — slusahu ono ke bolje poznajase. Nako, dop toko zimi okolo ognja, sada su mi ostal u glavo fate do guere os cudi imeni do misti ke je vidija moj did: Fiume, Quarnero, Ohrid, Struga, Scutari, Beli Drim, Crni Drim, Bocche di Cattaro... E saku veceru pocmase did:

“Ando’, hoces cut stvare do danas; ma sada je lipo zivit! Vi ne nadete sto je bilo zivit na moje dane, sto smo prol mi kada bihmo mblade, di je ima potj tvoj did. Znas di je Fiume, ke nonde zvahu Rijeka? Sada je Jugozlavja. Ja nonde se prosa dva gosta za soldati. Nimahmo liberta kano soldate do sada. Es nimahmo liberta nit doma, na one dane bise fasizm; ne bise liberi govorat, rec ono ke mislase. To nam se cinase ono vece grubo ke celjade morase vit, ma nazgoro mase jos dotj! Dva gosta dop ke se se vrnija iz Fiume, je pocela guera e su me zval za se mbarkat za Albaniju. Na ‘ne brda ume Albanije, Grece os Macedonije smo kumbatil kundra Inglezi os Greki, mi skupa s Tedeski. Smo hodil godista napri os naza, sada mahmo liberat na teritorj okupan do Greki, pa mase liberat na grad ke su ba vazel partidzane. Ma na ‘ne godista ke se prosa na ‘ne brizne zemlje, se pozna pur cuda celjadi ke ne cinahu gueru ma ke su patil vece do nas. Celjade ke nimahu liberta nit pri guere es nit su ju imal dop. E ove mblade do sada nam hocu naucit sto je liberta... Ah blago njimi, neka bidu vesele do ove gracje Bozije ke imamo sada!”

E, dokle moj did bi povidiva njegove storje, ja palako zaspahu... E ta bise ura pur za njega potj lec.

2.1.2.

The Burgenland Croatian language has one word to mark this concept, and it is the same feminine noun (*sloboda*) as in the Croatian standard language. Numerous derivatives of this word of Proto-Slavic origin also exist (*slobodan*, *slobodno*, *slobodar*, *slobodarski*, *slobodnjački*, *slobodnjak*, *slobodoljubiv*, *slobodozidar*, *osloboditelj*, *osloboditi* [se], *oslobodjenje*, *nesloboda*, *neslobodan*).⁷ As there is no monolingual Burgenland Croatian dictionary, we checked the description of the entry for *sloboda* in the Burgenland Croatian-German dictionary (Bencsics et al. 1991, s.v. *sloboda*):

sloboda *f. usp.* razuzdanost ** — *sloboda* — Freiheit *f.* Spielraum *m.* Ungebundenheit *f.* (oduzimanje slobode ** *oduzimanje slobode* — Freiheitsentziehung *f.* pustiti / pušćati na slobodu ** *pustiti / pustati na slobodu* — auf freien Fuß setzen; sloboda mišljenja ** *sloboda mišljenja* — Gedankenfreiheit *f.* sloboda spravišća ** *sloboda sastajanja* — Versammlungsfreiheit *f.* sloboda štampe ** *sloboda tiska / štampe* — Pressefreiheit *f.* sloboda testiranja ** *sloboda oporučivanja* — Testierfreiheit *f.* sloboda vjere, vjerska sloboda ** *vjerska sloboda, sloboda vjere* — Religionsfreiheit *f.* Glaubensfreiheit).

This lexicographic unit does not contain definitions or descriptions of individual meanings in Burgenland Croatian, however using standard Croatian — German lexical equivalents, syntagms, and references, it is clear that this is a lexeme that marks the concept of freedom. One interesting reference refers to a word with a similar meaning (cf. *razuzdanost*), and the syntagms mentioned (e.g. *sloboda spravišća*) and collocations (e.g. *pustiti/pušćati na slobodu*) are quite useful, as they infer the ramified use of this

⁷ This form came about through the dissimilation of the labials /l/ < /v/ from the word *svoboda* of Proto-Slavic origin, a derivation of the adjective **suobъ* with the suffix *-oda* (cf. Rus. *свобода*, Pol. *swoboda*).

lexeme in Burgenland Croatian.⁸ The following saying should also be noted: *Človik prez slobode je kot riba prez vode* ‘A man without freedom is like a fish without water’ (Schoretits, Probst 2005: 74).

The lexeme *sloboda* has been attested in numerous Burgenland Croatian texts. It must first be noted that this text discusses guaranteed and unlimited civil (and minority) freedoms:

(1) Ovo iskazivanje priznanja austrijske drzave svojim autohtonim manjinam je takozvana odredba drzavnoga cilja (Staatszielbestimmung), ka drzavi pri ostvarivanju konkretnih mjerov **daje** mnogo **slobode** kot veli ugledni austrijanski pravnik Theo Ohlinger (HN–TGH, 30.01.2015).⁹

(2) Prema spomenutoj doktrini drzava manjini daje **neograničenu slobodu** i ju pusti na miru (HN–TGH, 10.10.2014).

We must fight for freedom, and it is often described as being “born” and “carried” at great pains, and this battle is often metaphorically connected with torture, chains, and slavery:

(3) Gledal sam mucenja i trapljenja malih narodov, a vidil sam kako ginu ti mali narodi, samo zato, ar ljubu **slobodu** svoju. Rekal mi je jedan u zatvoru, koga nisu mogli slomiti: U borbi, u krvi i plamenu radja se nasa **sloboda** (Stefan Kuzmić, *Iz dnevnika jednoga zatvorenika*, prema Bencić 2/2010: 100).

(4) Proste pjesme moje, / razbite okove, / veruge i lance, / proudrite sance, / rasprsite vake! / Zbudite Hrvate! / Nosite **slobodu** / mojemu narodu (Augustin/Franjo Blazović, *Proste pjesme*, prema Bencić 2/2010: 118).

(5) Dosta je narodu jur robovanja, / **Slobodu** kani i o njoj sanja (Anton Slavić, *Ugarska 1956*, prema Bencić 2/2010: 173).

Freedom can also be “made of glass” (illusory and limited) as in this picturesque description of a butterfly in this literary text:

(6) *Ne razumi metulj pred staklenom slobodom / da je zaman mucno sve migetanje* (Franc Rotter, *Croatia liberata*, Zeljezno 2002: 104).

Freedom of thought is important (related to tolerance) as is freedom of expression (which also includes responsibility):

(7) Znanjem, otvorenosću, komunikacijom i **slobodom mišljenja**, odlukov na temelju dusnoga spoznanja i vjerom on gradi svoju toleranciju (HN–TGH, 14.01.2011).

⁸ The lexicographic description in a comprehensive German dictionary (Duden 1976, s.v. *Freiheit*) provides three definitions of the word *Freiheit*: „Zustand, in dem der Betreffende von bestimmten persönlichen od. gesellschaftlichen als Zwang od. Last empfundenen Bindungen od. Verpflichtungen frei ist u. sich in seinen Entscheidungen o. Ä nicht [mehr] eingeschränkt fühlt; Unabhängigkeit, Ungebundenheit [...]; 2. Möglichkeit sich frei u. Ungehindert zu bewegen; das Nicht-/mehr-/gefangen-Sein [...]; 3. Einzelnes [Grund]recht; bestimmtes [Vor]recht, das jmdm. Zusteht od. Das er sich nimmt [...]”.

⁹ Examples from *Hrvatske novine* — *Tajednik Gradiscanskih Hrvatov* are cited with the abbreviation HN-TGH and the date of publication (a list of links is located at the end of the paper).

(8) U ovom ljetu glazbeni svit obilježava dvi obljetnice skladatelja čiji opus nisu samo znatno obogatili europsku glazbu nego su i doprinesli nje razvoju u smiru utemeljenja novih oblika i novoosvojenih **slobod glazbenoga jezika** (HN–TGH, 25.03.2011).

(9) Vi danas djelate u uvjeti **političke i medijske slobode**, pri čemu ne smite nikada zaboraviti da sloboda podrazumiva i odgovornost (HN–TGH, 20.05.2011).

In addition to this, freedom of movement is also important:

(10) Iako iz Europske komisije poručuju kako su “**sloboda kretanja** i »Schengen« nepovratni” tr kako Komisija misli da nima potrebe za promjenom schengenskih pravila, ni u svrhu poboljšanja sigurnosti niti za kontrolu migracije, po vikend-sastanku ministarstva unutarnjih poslova i prometa devet država Europske unije, održanoga u Parizu, već nego ikada dopeljan je u pitanje opstanak dosadašnjih načela **slobode kretanja** unutar schengenske zone (HN–TGH, 10.09.2015).

In literary texts, the search for oneself is closely tied to movement and direction towards freedom:

(11) Kanim najti sam sebe i pojeti put slobode (Ljubica Čenar, *Neznani puti*, prema Bencić 2/2010: 340).

A connection between freedom and an unrestrained (unhindered) way of life is apparent in this example:

(12) Človik kani biti slobodan, ali nažalost ova čežnja čudakrat završava u egoizmu. **Slobodu** danas mnogi poistovjećuju s nasladnošću, užitki (HN–TGH, 27.06.2014).

This last example shows how freedom can attain a negative connotation in a specific (moralistic) context. However, it can generally be said that *sloboda* is experienced and rated positively, as the opposite of e.g. force and evil.

(13) Ovo je dimenzija **duševne slobode** i neki individualni pristanak životu, ki se zna suprotstaviti sili, strasti, zlu (HN–TGH, 11.02.2012).

In formal speech, initial statements often begin with a request for free and direct communication:

(14) Dopustite mi **slobodu**, da Vam punim respektom sljedeće predložim s očekivanjem, da ćete Vi ov posao blagonaklonošću riješiti najbržim putem (Josko Weidinger, *Prosnja za oslobodjenje od vojne službe*, prema Bencić 2/2010: 189).

These examples show that the usage of the lexeme *sloboda* in various meanings is amply attested both in literary and journalistic style. These findings will be confirmed and expanded upon later with the results of the survey.

2.2. Survey

2.2.1. Survey results for Molise Croatian

For the purposes of this research, a survey of native speakers of Molise Croatian was conducted in late March of 2014 with the (bilingual) question: *Što misliš kada Ti kažem liberta? Qual è secondo Te il vero significato di libertà?* ‘What do you think when I say freedom [liberta]?’ The respondents were a total of 40 speakers of the three local dialects (Filië, Kruč, and a majority from Mundimitar), of whom 17 were men and 23 were women, aged between 16 and 87. Their answers provided 50 claims separated into 14 categories (N = 40, W = 50, D = 14).¹⁰ The results of the survey follow:

1. The ability to act freely [14] (28%)

1. To je bit liberi za cinit ono ke verjes, posibilmente dobro; 2. Činis ono sto hos ma ja ne cinim semaj ono sto hocem. Čeljade maju cinit ono sto hocu e ono sto moru; 3. Stvara vece importante ke ima bit na svitu. Si je to, je sekoliko. Se mam izabrat vece bolje liberta ke lavoro; 4. La libertà e la possibilità di fare cio che si vuole, non essendo vincolati da alcuna circostanza; 5. Libertà j moc cinit ono sto hoces do tvojoga zivota. Libertà je ne imati kospodara. Libertà je imati ono sto servi za zivit; 6. Za me je moc zivit kako ti mislis, samo ke na `vi vrime ke mi zivimo nase politike nas cinu zivit kako one mislu. Os mi je za do onih celjadi sto ne moru zivit kako one mislu; 7. Činit ono sto hoc; 8. To je kad cinis sto hos, pero, nije samo to, jesu toko stvari; 9. Moremo cinit ono ke mislimo; 10. Libertà je ke jena hoce zivit sendza slusat drugih; 11. Mos cinit sve sto hos dokle ne cinis skode nikoromu; 12. Ja jese liberi, ne gledam nikoroga; 13. Cinit ono ke mislis, sendza cinit zla drugimi; 14. Libertà je ono sto mas cinit sendza mislit sto misle druge celjade okola.

2. The ability to express thoughts and opinions [9] (18%)

1. To je kada jena misli ke ma rec sto hoce e drugi nima mi rec “Ti mas stat muceno!” Ja kada gredahu na skol, se reka retoru: “ja sad mam slusat tebe, ma dop mas slusat ti mene!” To je liberta; 2. Libertà je za pensat kako hočeš. To je i za adzire kako hočeš. To je za cinit stvare ke jedan hoče, pure u kućin; 3. Libertà di opinionioni. Moć rec što jena misli. Ne servu tolko rići; 4. Ono ke nimamo. U Italia je demokracija, ma nije liberta di espresione; 5. To je jena stvara ke jena more imat, ke moreš rec ono ke misliš; 6. Je moš mislit... rec sve što hoš dokle ne činis skode nikoromu; 7. Libertà je moć rec ono ke misliš; 8. Moć rec ono što misliš; 9. Se moć misli s moždani, moć esprimi pendzire.

3. Freedom is beautiful / good / the most important thing / everything [6] (12%)

1. Libertà je ona vece lipa. Si jena ti daje liberta ke ti kundzendi cinit saku stvaru, je lipo; 2. Libertà je `na stvara dobra, jerke si nisi liber, jesi kondicjonan; 3. Je jena lipa stvara; 4. To je jena stvara lipa; 5. Je prva stvara ke saki celjade sto je na svitu ba ima imat. Kada nije je liberta bolje umbrit. Benja. Je bolje se ubit na misto ke jena nima liberta. Kako čini na celjade kambat nako? Nikor ma ju odiat drugimi, pur si spiso to surti; 6. Libertà je sve.

¹⁰ Vesna Ljubić and Antonio Sammartino aided me in carrying out the survey, for which I am greatly thankful.

4. Freedom is limited or does not exist (pessimistic view) [6] (12%)

1. Danas nije se liberta. Se hoce komunizm. To je la vera liberta; 2. Kukodire rece ke je liber, ma nije istina; 3. Ma ke liberta? Mas cinit sto mas cinit. Mas mućat; 4. Jena san, jena viziuna; 5. Za mene je to ke nismo cuda libere za te nove stvari ke su izašle. Cuda mladi jesu skjave do tehnologije, nisu kompetent libere; 6. Nije lipo cinit sve sto hoces, ma ne za sekoliko. Nije ameso cinit sve sto je drago tebi.

5. Freedom is daily worry / battle [2] (4%)

1. To je za mene jena stvar ka ma se cinit svaki dan... Se razumi sto je samo se zivimo moment za moment za ju imat. Se vive per questo obietivo non ti devi fare condizionare da te stesso e ne dagli altri. To sam rekla pur mojoj scer; 2. E to je jena stvar ka ma se difenit semaj.

6. Work and freedom are connected [2] (4%)

1. "Il lavoro nobilita l'uomo e lo rende libero." Te dvi stvari greju skupa; 2. Je isto mod za pro vrime. To je kano teg.

7. Interpersonal respect [1] (2%)

1. Kada jena rispeta drugoga. Funi ona moja, poeme do drugoga.

8. We do not know how to use it [1] (2%)

1. Liberta je jena stvar ka ćeljade numu uzat: si ju nimaš, ne nadeš sto je, kada je ćuda, je ne nadeš kako ma bit.

9. Being free of debt [1] (2%)

1. Kada živiš ke nimaš vrnit kunde nikoromu. Samo onomu gor.

10. Freedom exists (optimistic view) [1] (2%)

1. Danas po svitu ima liberta, pero je cuda liberta

11. Freedom is incorruptible [1] (2%)

1. Ne more se kupit.

12. Complicated (without borders) [1] (2%)

1. Liberta je stvar komplikana. Mores imat tvoju liberta, ma nimaš tokat liberta do drugoga. Alora, di je kumbina?

13. Freedom is an inexplicable (abstract) idea [1] (2%)

1. Je stvar a ke ne umim spjegat.

14.–17. Other [4] (8%)

1. Ja nimam liberta ke mam poplivit masline; 2. Denituri maju dat liberta dicami. Dica maju stat same os imat njihov zivot; Kak rece zena mi!; 4. Moj muz je cuda liberi, ima cuda liberta. Ma pur ja sproventivam bit kano on. Ma nije facilo.

This survey shows convincingly that the *ability to act freely* is the most frequently mentioned characteristic (28%), while the second most frequent characteristic is the *ability to express thoughts and opinions* (18%). The axiological aspect is then expressed (*freedom is beautiful / good / everything, the most important thing* or the pessimistic view of reality according to which *there is no freedom or it is limited*), followed by individual psychosocial characteristics tied to freedom (the constant battle for freedom, the connection between work and freedom, the importance of tolerance and respect, the inappropriate use of freedom, lack of debt), and finally other axiological aspects (freedom exists, freedom cannot be bought, freedom is complicated, freedom is an inexplicable idea). The unclassifiable statements are also of interest, especially that which states that parents give their children freedom, that a wife gives her husband freedom, and the female perspective that men have more freedom.

2.2.2. Survey results for Burgenland Croatian

In late 2015, research and a survey of native speakers of Burgenland Croatian¹¹ was conducted for the purposes of this research with the (bilingual) survey question: *Ča / Što je za Vas prava bit slobode? Was ist für Sie die wahre Freiheit?* ‘What do you consider the true nature of freedom [sloboda]?’ A total of 40 speakers were surveyed, of whom 22 were men and 18 were women, aged between 19 and 78, whose answers provided 80 claims divided into 16 categories (N = 40, W = 80, D = 16). The results of the survey follow:

1. The ability to express thoughts, opinions, and religious affiliation [19] (23,75%)

1. Sloboda je za mene da znam reć, ća je moje pravo mišljenje, prez da se moram bojati, da ću u delu zbog toga dostat kundigunu (napustiti me), da se moram bojati, da dobim velje stempilju, da sam protiv stranaca,

¹¹ The respondents come from the broader, central, and northern Burgenland region (towns: Željezno, Klimpuh, Gornja Pulja, Dolnja Pulja, Veliki Boristof, Trajstof, Devinsko Novo Selo, Filez, Gijeca, Perchtoldsdorf, Frankanava, Velika Narda, while some respondents from these towns currently live in Vienna). Most of them were surveyed during a Christmas fair in Vienna in 2015. I was aided in carrying out this survey by: Silvija Buczolic, Elisabeth Brandner, Petar Tyran and the employees of the Croatian Centre in Vienna (Jelena Tisaj and Gabriela Novak-Karall), to whom I give my heartfelt thanks. I would also like to thank Sanja Vulić for her help in establishing contact with Croats in Burgenland.

protiv Židova, da sam ateistka. Da ne marim mislit onako, kako mi se onschofa (ich mochte nicht denken müssen, wie man es mir befiehlt); 2. Ne morat pazit, ca velim; 3. Slobodu uživam onda, ako morem razvijati i sprogovariti svoje misli prez negativnih posljedici; 4. Prava bit slobode za mene je misliti svoje vlastite misli kao i mogućnost sprogovoriti ih slobodno odnosno živjeti po svojem osvjedocanju bez straha od nasilja ili proganjanja, isto tako kao u politickom smislu kao i u vjerskom; 5. Reć i izrazit moje misljenje slobodno; 6. Da možes slobodno kazati tvoje misljenje i da možes slobodno živjeti svoju vjeru; 7. Slobodno s respektom prema drugim morem pisati i govorit ca morem..., slobodno si idem va crikvu a nikdor mi nebrani; 8. Sloboda misljenja, sloboda vjere; 9. uživat u otvorenom govoru; 10. Sloboda misljenja, da clovik more prez pogibeli svakomu otvoreno povidati ca misli; 11. Da svakomu u lice mogu reći moje misljenje; 12. Pravo izraziti misljenje; 13. Da morem živit moj svitonazor, pluralitet misljenja; 14. Prava sloboda je za mene ako morem pred svim mislit kako kako kanim; 15. Reć ca si mislim; 16. Sloboda nutri, da morem mislit, ćutim, govorit kako ja ćutim; 17. Da smim reć i misliti ca kanim; 18. Sloboda govora, pisanja, kreativnoga ostvarenja prez toga da se drugih ogranicuju — jako važno mi je slobodno priznavanje svojoj priznatoj vjerskoj zajednici, ar mi vjerske istine davaju moralnu podlogu i putokaz žitka; 19. Sloboda otvorenoga govora.

2. The ability to freely/independently act without limits (without harming others) [18] (22,50%)

1. Sloboda delanja (Handlung). Sloboda bi isto bila za mene, ako znam dostat onaj stan (Wohnung) ki bi mi se vidio, a ne samo ako imam veze i pinezi za to (jer pinezi su samo u ruka jako malog broja ljudi). Sloboda je, da znam živit, kako mi je želja. Da dostanem podupiranje, a ne samo, ako to u politični smjer pasa. Da znam delati srceno (herzliche Handlungen setzen), bez da sam odmah kao "slaba osoba" (schwache Person) vidjena; 2. Stanje u kojem nisam potisnuta, zatvorena... i da znam to delati ca mislim da je pravo; 3. Pojti kroz svit i si predstaviti, da morem sve djelati, ca kanim — prez skrbi je li je to zaistinu moguće (logistički, financijelno itd.) i prez tereta (fizički i psihicki); 4. Prava sloboda znaci za me to djelati ca kanim i kade kanim s obzirom na osobe okolo mene; 5. Ako morem djelati ca kanim, to ca me veseli; 6. Imati mogućnost živit, djelati, ljubiti, govoriti (tako kako ja mislim) — prez da škodim komu drugomu; 7. Ako znaš sve djelati ca kanis, prez da drugim škodis; 8. Časa imat za mene kada kanim da imam djelo kade si znam zadilit moj čas i da si moje projekte morem zibrati pak organizirati; 9. sloboda je za me ako me drugi clovik u mojoj slobodi ne paći; 10. neodvisnost; 11. Djelat ća ću, pod nikakovi pritiski bit; 12. Stanje u kojem nisam potisnuta, zatvorena... i da znam to delati ca mislim da je pravo; 13. Ja se ćutim slobodna ako smim djelati ka kanim, ako smim to s punim srcem djelati ca mi se vidi i ako nimam stresa; 14. djelati ca kanim, bez da se ćutim krivo kad ne udjelam svoje obaveze; 15. Sloboda je mogućnost stvaranja stvari ke s želim, uglavnom se meni sloboda definira po zlatnom pravilu: Ne stvori nikomu nista od cega ne želis da tebi drugi stvoru; 16. Ako mores živiti u jednoj okolici kade si mores sam zibrati kako kanis živiti; respektiranje drugih clovika (!) je važan preduvjet da moru i oni živiti slobodu; 17. Mogućnosti za ostvarenje osobnih nastojanja do one granice da ne pacim drugim u njevom ostvarenju slobode po odredjeni ljudski i humani mogućnosti... Sloboda za mene ne znači, da svaki smi činiti što kani, ona ima isto svoje okvire, ar nezauzlana egoistična sloboda ide svenek na kvar drugoga; 18. Živiti tako kako kanim prez da je na škodu koga drugoga.

3. Freedom is the ability to choose (a partner, profession, place of residence, job, political option, language...) [8] (10,00%)

1. Slobodan sam, ako se zadužim samo onomu i onoj, koga i koju sam odaberem; 2. Odlučiti sam o svojem životu, što ćeš postati u životu (u kojem zanimanju ćeš raditi), u kojem gradu ćeš živjeti; 3. Slobodni izbori; 4. Da mogu sam izabrati svoj posao i ga tako oblikovati ka ja željim; 5. Govoriti jezika koga kanim, birati mjesto kade živim, uciti sve koliko i kako dugo kanim; 6. Da imam pravo na slobodne izbore; 7. Odvisno od svojih socijalnih, izobrazbenih i kulturoloških prilika birati način i mjesto življenja, kretanja i putovanja. Takodjer slobodno biranje kulture i politickoga opredjeljenja odn. usmirenja. Clovik na žalost ne

ishasnuje (ili ne more ishasnovati) sve mogućnosti svoje (i ako samo teoretske) slobode. U glavnom sigurno valja engleska poslovice: "Use it or lose it!" 8. Imati pravo na vlasću odluku dokle to ne škodi drugomu.

4. Freedom is tolerance and justness [6] (7,50%)

1. Sloboda je da ti dam pravo imat svoje pravo i ti das meni pravo da imam ja svoje pravo; 2. Živit svoju kulturu, identitet, seksualnost; 3. Tolerancija; 4. Bit tolerantna drugimi...; 5. Pravica je fundamenat na kojem se gradi ljudska zajednica i ostvaruju humane vridnosti za svakogan i svaku grupu unutar drustva; 6. Tolerantan biti kao i toleranciju dozivljavati.

5. Freedom of movement [5] (6,25%)

1. Sloboda je da idem preko granice a nikdor me nekontrolira. Sloboda je da je pal zeljezni zastor, a ja morem ljubit preko granice; 2. Da morem preći granice prez zastoja; 3. Da imam mogućnost da putujem; 4. Putovati bez straha; 5. Sloboda gibanja u okviru slobodnih ljudskih zajednic za sebe i moju obitelj.

6. Freedom to decide [5] (6,25%)

1. Sloboda je da morem prez straha projt z domu i da morem pojt livo ili desno a za tu odluku nosim svoju odgovornost; 2. Da morem odluciti sam kamo idem ili se vozim; 3. Ako si morem upravit ono ca moram kada, kade, i kako kanim, sloboda = sloboda odluke; 4. Da morem sve ca mi je vazno sama odluciti... da morem biti sama ako zeljim, da morem biti umorna onda kada zeljim, i da morem djelati u mojem tempu; 5. Da morem sama odlucit kade i kako živim, kade dilam i kako zadilim dosć slobodnoga vrimena.

7. Freedom is the ability to enjoy (the sun, peace, food, drink, driving, walking, looking around, friends, family, socialising, dancing, listening to music, reading newspapers and books, watching television... without obligations, spontaneously, yelling in the shower) [4] (5,00%)

1. U suncu sidit uz dobro jilo i pilo... vozit u autu, vlaku itd. i gledat van, šetat po Beću i gledat stane; 2. Ako morem djelati ca kanim, to ca me veseli, uzivati zitak, prijatelje, obitelj i svit. Šetati se u naturi, po gradu, po selu, upoznati nove krajine i nove varose. Pominati i strefiti se s druzicami. Tancati i slusati muziku. Čitati cijelo dopodne novine i piti kavu i caj. Ali i citati cijeli dan knjigu i siditi u parku. Ili gledati cijeli dan televiziju. Ako ne pravam gledati na ure i se pasćiti na neki termin; 3. Mogućnost život uzivat; 4. Fućkati na (ove) obaveze, biti spontan, hititi se na bicikl i odvesti se nepoznatu rutu, jaciti pod tusom (opusćeno i jako glasno).

8. Freedom is limited or does not exist [2] (2,50%)

1. Prava i 100% sloboda postoji samo u misli; 2. Ja mislim da ne more postojit prava bit slobode.

9. Freedom is tied to peace and security [2] (2,50%)

1. Se ne morat bojat, da će se ca stat (mislim na te djela svita, kade vlada boj); 2. Kada je mir u mojoj okolici.

10. Freedom is a value [1] (1,25%)

1. Je jedna velika vrijednost... Na žalost se u ime slobode cinju i mnoge nepravici.

11. Freedom is tied to responsibility [1] (1,25%)

1. Sloboda je puno povezana s odgovornošću, to mi je jasno.

12. Freedom is related to the truth [1] (1,25%)

1. Moja najveća sloboda bi bila, ako bi mogla u politici djelati i ljudem "istinu utociti" (Wahrheit einschicken). Sloboda je za mene, ne svit iz lazami (mit Lügen) manipulirati. Istina je dosta puta teska (tut weh), ali pelja slobodi (Wer kann das nicht: "die Wahrheit wird euch frei machen").

13. Being equal [1] (1,25%)

1. Imati ista prava kao muzi.

14. Freedom is life without fear [1] (1,25%)

1. Bez straha ziviti smit.

15. Freedom is health [1] (1,25%)

1. Da sam tako zdrava da morem (to si) djelati.

16.–20. Other [5] (6,25%)

1. Da imam velik krug prijatelja, da imam tako dobru mamu i da mi tako dobro ide; 2. Neoliberalizam; 3. Biti naj sretniji na svitu!; 4. Sloboda je bez pripadnosti vjeri, ko si tako mislidi, onda imamo svi slobodu, a ne boj; 5. Pravo se uciti.

The survey showed that the characteristics tied to the *freedom to express thoughts* and *freedom to act* are nearly equally important — these two characteristics showed a fairly significant lead over the rest. These characteristics are then followed by *freedom of choice*, *tolerance / justness*, *freedom of movement*, and *freedom to decide*. The presence of the *freedom to enjoy* is particularly significant, as it was attested neither in the survey of Molise Croats nor in a survey of the same concept in the Croatian standard language (however, it was attested in research in German-speaking regions).¹² Following this, two charac-

¹² Out of 104 German respondents, 5% of them emphasised comfort/enjoyment as a characteristic, while 1.67% emphasised the lack of war (see Janoszczyk 2014: 220, 222).

teristics had an equivalent number of mentions — the pessimistic view of freedom (it does not exist or is limited) and the view connecting freedom with peace and security. These are followed by characteristics attested in only one statement: value, responsibility, truth, equality, life without fear, and health. The final entry notes a few statements that are difficult to categorise or do not bear any especially clear characteristic. It is apparent that the axiological aspect is weakly present, while the mental, psychosocial, ethical and political aspects are more strongly present.

3. CONCLUSION

Research on the concept of freedom in the Molise Croatian and Burgenland Croatian languages has shown that Molise Croatian does not have a lexeme of Slavic origin to express this concept, using instead the Italian loanword *liberta*, which is not attested in two dictionaries from the year 2000 and was also not found in the small fund of Molise Croatian written heritage (for which reason it was not possible to create a complete description according to the methodology of the Lublin ethnolinguistic school). The Burgenland Croatian microlanguage contains the lexeme *sloboda* (like the Croatian standard language), which is attested in the Burgenland Croatian — German dictionary and in numerous literary and journalistic texts, along with derivatives with the root *slob-*. Surveys conducted (with 40 respondents) in these two old Croatian diasporic communities show that the concept of freedom can be described in a series of around 15 characteristics. These characteristics differ between the two communities. While Molise Croats listed the characteristic of *the ability to act freely* (28%) in first place, followed by *the ability to express thoughts and opinions* (18%), Burgenland Croats ranked these two characteristics as nearly equally important, as they were attested in a nearly equal number of statements (*ability to express thoughts and opinions* 23.38%; *ability to act freely* 22.50%). Among the remaining characteristics stated by Molise Croats, characteristics emphasizing the axiological aspect of the concept of freedom were especially strongly accented, while Burgenland Croats listed the mental, psychosocial, and ethical and political aspects of freedom much more strongly than the axiological aspects. It should be noted especially that the results of the survey from Burgenland emphasise the characteristics of enjoyment and safety (peace), which were not expressed in surveys of speakers of either Molise Croatian or the Croatian standard language.¹³

¹³ This paper is partially founded on research currently being done as part of the *Documentation and Interpretation of the Earliest Croatian* (DOCINEC) scientific research project, which is financed by the Croatian Science Foundation, regarding research relating to interest in archaic language usage, etymology, old semantic relations, the ethnolinguistic foundations of research, and the focus on reconstructing concepts important to all communities.

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STRESZCZENIE

Koncept WOLNOŚCI w języku molizańskich i burgenlandzkich Chorwatów

Słowa kluczowe: wolność, molizańsko-chorwacki, burgenlandzko-chorwacki.

Badanie konceptu wolności w języku molizańsko-chorwackim i burgenlandzko-chorwackim pokazało, że w molizańsko-chorwackim nie występuje leksem słowiańskiej proweniencji, którym wyrażany jest ten koncept. Zamiast tego używa się zapożyczenia (italianizm *liberta*), które jednak nie zostało poświadczone w dwóch słownikach wydanych w 2000 r., nie pojawia się również w stosunkowo niewielkiej spuściźnie literackiej molizańskich Chorwatów. W burgenlandzko-chorwackim mikrojęzyku znany jest wyraz *sloboda* (tak jak w chorwackim języku standardowym), który razem z innymi derywatami od rdzenia *slob-* jest potwierdzony w słowniku burgenlandzko-chorwacko-niemieckim, a także w licznych tekstach literackich i prasowych oraz przysłowiach. Ankiety przeprowadzone w dwóch starych chorwackich diasporach (po ok. 40 ankietowanych) pokazują, że koncept wolności można opisać szeregiem ok. piętnastu charakterystyk. W obu wspomnianych wspólnotach cechy te są różne. U molizańskich Chorwatów na pierwszym miejscu pod względem liczby wskazań wyróżniony został opis „możliwość swobodnego działania” (28%), a drugie miejsce zajmuje „możliwość wyrażania myśli i poglądów” (18%). W burgenlandzko-chorwackim obie te cechy są niemal równoważne (odpowiednio 23,75% i 22,50%). Wśród pozostałych cech molizańscy Chorwaci wyróżnili przede wszystkim te wskazujące na aksjologiczny aspekt konceptu wolności, u burgenlandzkich Chorwatów natomiast odgrywał on rolę poślednią w odróżnieniu od aspektów: psychicznego, psychospołecznego, etycznego i politycznego. Na uwagę zasługuje też fakt, że uwidocznione w ankietach z obszaru Burgenlandu cechy „(korzystanie z) przyjemności” oraz „bezpieczeństwa (spokoju)” nie wystąpiły w ogóle wśród użytkowników molizańsko-chorwackiego, a także chorwackiego języka standardowego.