

[講演]

The Bosnian Language: Recent Developments¹

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1. Introduction

As we know, there is no universal definition what “language” means. We may have in mind natural languages or standard languages or literary languages. The term “dialect” is not clear either. By “dialect” we may understand non standardized languages or we may understand variation within one natural language. Only standard languages can be defined unequivocally. The Slavic linguistic area can be divided into three branches: East Slavic, West Slavic, and South Slavic. The South Slavic territory is separated from the other Slavs by non Slavic languages like Romanian, Hungarian, German, and others. South Slavic languages are spoken between the Karavanks (the border between Austria and Slovenia) and the Black Sea. Before the Second World War there were three of them: Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgarian. In 1944, Macedonian was recognized as a separate language. Before that, it was claimed either as Serbian or Bulgarian. Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, and Macedonian were spoken in the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia. This linguistic situation remained unchanged until the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991. Then the former variants, Serbian and Croatian, became separate standard languages, as did the Bosnian and, later, the Montenegrin subvariants. However, the variant problem remains relevant within the Serbian language, since in Serbia Ekavian is used, and in Bosnia Jekavian, the idiom of the Bosnian Serbs, is used. After the separation of Montenegro from Yugoslavia (at that time consisting of Serbia and Montenegro only), Montenegro decided in 2007 to have their separate standard language.

All South Slavic idioms form a linguistic continuum in the dialectological sense, of which it is said that the inhabitants of any two neighboring villages can make themselves understood, even across state borders. In the modern republics of Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Montenegro, the vast majority of the population speak idioms which constitute one linguistic diasystem which today is often called ‘Central South Slavic’ (*srednjejužnoslovenski / srednjejužnoslavenski*) in order to avoid the term ‘Serbo-Croatian’ which is considered historical. Now there are, however, different standard languages, and there is dialect variation within them. In the past, the question to which nation a person belongs was

defined by his or her faith: Catholics were Croats, Orthodox were Serbs, and Muslims were often called Turks (although they did not speak Turkish). In Yugoslav censuses before 1971, Muslims were called ‘nationally undefined’ or they had the choice to declare themselves either Serbs or Croats, and since that year their official denomination became *Muslimani* (‘Muslims’ with a capital M in order to distinguish them from *muslimani* ‘adherents of the Islamic faith’). In the last Yugoslav census of 1991 they decided to have their own national standard language.

2. The Name of the Language

In the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina there are three official languages: Bosnian (*bosanski*), Serbian (*srpski*), and Croatian (*hrvatski*). The official self-denomination of the Slavic Muslim population of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been *Bošnjaci / Bošnjakinje* (SG *Bošnjak / Bošnjakinja*) since 1993. However, Slavic Muslims of the former Yugoslavia outside Bosnia and Herzegovina call themselves Bosniacs, too. This is the case in the former Sandžak of Novi Pazar (Greenberg 2016), which was divided between Serbia and Montenegro in 1912. Furthermore, we find Bosniacs in Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, and other countries (as we can see, ‘Bosniac’ in the national sense is not connected necessarily with the territory of Bosnia). These Bosniacs differ in their language as compared to those in Bosnia. They are connected to Bosnia by their Islamic faith. This fact shows how the formation of a standard language is a sociolinguistic issue. In former Serbo-Croatian dialectology (e.g. Ivić 1958), Bosnian dialects spoken by Muslims, Serbs or Croats were considered as dialects belonging to one language. Now, Slavic Muslims of Kosovo claim to speak Bosnian, although their language is considered Serbian by some scholars, and Bulgarian or Macedonian by others. Similar situations are valid for Serbian and Croatian. In other words, dialects spoken by Bosniacs are considered Bosnian, those spoken by Serbs as Serbian, and those spoken by Croats as Croatian.

All three nations of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosniacs, Croats, and Serbs stem from the Slavs who settled the Balkan Peninsula about 600. During the Middle ages, Bosnia was first part of Raška, then it became part of the Orthodox Byzantine Empire, and later the Catholic kingdom of Hungary. It became an independent territory about 1100 ruled by ‘bans’ who were representatives of the Hungarian kings. In 1377, Bosnia declared itself an independent kingdom before it was conquered by Mehmed el-Fatih, the Conqueror, in 1463 and became part of the Turkish Empire. In a long lasting process, a province comprising Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the Sandžak of Novi Pazar, the ‘Bosanski pašaluk’ (Turkish *paşalık* means ‘jurisdiction of a pasha’), the representative of the Sultan, was formed. Many inhabitants turned Muslim. It is said that most of the adherents of the Bosnian Church took over the new faith. Historic evidence is scarce enough though. Those who did not convert to Islam remained

either Catholic or Orthodox. As nationalism arose during the nineteenth century, the different religious groups identified themselves as ethnic ones.

Before 1993 the term 'Bosniac language' (*bošnjački jezik*) was also used. The term *bošnjački* is derived from *Bošnjak* 'Bosniac', whereas the term *bosanski* is derived from *Bosna* (name of the country and the river). Since the latter name is connected with the territory and comprises all inhabitants of Bosnia (& Herzegovina), including Serbs and Croats, and various minorities, Serbs and Croats prefer to call the language of the Muslims 'Bosniac' (*bošnjački*). The name of the country, Bosnia, was first attested in the Byzantine emperor Konstantin Porphyrogenetos's book *De administrando Imperio* ('About the administration of the Empire') around 950. It denoted a small piece of land in the very center of Bosnia where the river Bosna rises. The name is older than the Slavic colonization, maybe even than the Indo-European one (Skok 1971: 191). The name *Hercegovina* is derived from *herceg* 'duke', i.e. land of the duke. The magnate Stjepan Vukčić Kosača adopted the title "herceg" in 1448.

In 1865, the first printing-office in Bosnia was established, and the Turkish administration decided that the name of the language be Bosnian. During the Habsburg occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, the language of the province was also called Bosnian (in 1890 the *Gramatika bosanskoga jezika* 'Grammar of the Bosnian language' was officially published, Cyrillic edition in 1898), and in 1907 the name Serbocroatian was introduced for the same language; this denomination lasted until the disintegration of Yugoslavia. However, all these denominations denoted the language of the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and not only the language of the Bosniacs.

3. Statistics

Bosnia-Herzegovina has the size of little more than 51,000 km². The last Yugoslav census of 1991 showed a total population of 4,377,700 people, of whom 43.4 % were 'Muslimani', 31.2 % Serbs, and 17.4 % Croats (Nacionalni sastav stanovništva 1993). As to their languages, 37.3 % called it Bosnian. The second largest language was Serbocroatian with a percentage of 27.5 %, among them also many Bosniacs. The Bosnian civil war between 1992 and 1995 caused heavy losses of lives, refugees to other countries, and displacement of persons within Bosnia-Herzegovina. The last census of 2013 gives these figures: 3.53 million inhabitants, of whom 1.77 million declared themselves Bosniac, and 1.87 million declared their mother tongue to be Bosnian (Agencija za statistiku Bosne i Hercegovine 2016). This means an absolute majority within the country. It seems that in the meantime a considerable number of refugees have returned to Bosnia. The CIA-factbook gives an estimated population of 3.85 million inhabitants (July 2018). In the Dayton agreement of 1995, Bosnia-Herzegovina was

split up into two parts, called entities, according to their population, the (Bosniac-Croatian) Federation and the Serbian Republic (*Republika srpska*). Most Bosniacs live in the Federation, only about 10 % in the Republika srpska.

4. History of the Bosnian Language

The oldest documents of Bosnia and Hum (former name of Herzegovina) like the *Humačka ploča* ‘flag from Humac’, and inscriptions on tombstones, the *stećci* (SG *stećak*) were chiseled in stone. They stem from the times before the Turkish conquest, i.e. 10th–15th centuries, and are written in the Cyrillic script. Liturgic and legal documents (among them the famous *Povelja Kulina bana*, ‘Ban Kulin’s document’ 1189), written on parchment, date from that time. One of the most representative, beautifully illuminated Bosnian manuscripts is Hval’s Codex written in 1404. It contains religious texts like the Gospel, Apocrypha, the Acts of the Apostels, the Psalter and some others, but not the Old Testament. Manuscripts organized like this are books of the Bosnian Christians (Kuna 2008: 156–164). Since the 17th century, the Arabic script (*arebica*) was used by the Bosniac population. This literature is the so-called ‘*aljamiado*’ literature. By *aljamiado* we understand texts in European languages written in the Arabic script. The term is derived from Arabic *al-‘adžamīy*, ‘non-Arabic, foreign’. In the Ottoman Empire such texts were written in Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian, and Bosnian. Following Vuk Karadžić’s reform of the Serbian alphabet, Mehmed Džemaluddin Čaušević (1870–1938) introduced diacritic marks into the Arabic alphabet in order to adapt it for the Bosnian language. The *arebica* was used between the 16th and the 20th centuries by Bosniac Muslims for their native language. The form of this literature is poetry: love songs, hymns, didactic poems, prayers, and there is a rhymed dictionary (Vajzović 2005: 187–212). Many of the writers, however, wrote in the prestigious languages Arabic, Persian, or Turkish.

The Bosnian printing-office, founded in 1865, disseminated the Roman script among Muslims. During the Austro-Hungarian period (1878–1918), the authorities fostered the investigation of the cultural heritage of the country. They founded the *Zemaljski muzej* (Bosnian Museum) in Sarajevo with its periodical *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja* ‘Journal of the Bosnian Museum’ (1890). There we can find articles about medieval documents and inscriptions, about history, archeology, ethnography, literature, and the like. The language of the folk poetry, collected by Mehmed-beg Kapetanović-Ljubušak and Kosta Hörmann, could serve as an instrument for the development of the Bosnian literary language.

The policy of Benjamin Kallay, the regent of the province, was to create one nation with one language. However, the linguistic unification of the language of Bosniacs, Serbs, and Croats could not be completed, their linguistic traditions were not given up.

After the defeat of the Habsburg Empire in 1918, Bosnia-Herzegovina became a component part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, called Yugoslavia after 1929. During the Second World War Bosnia-Herzegovina became part of the Independent state of Croatia, and in 1945 one of the Yugoslav republics.

In 1954, there was a conference in Novi Sad to fix common rules for the Serbo-Croatian language. The agreement stated that there was one common language with two types of pronunciation, Ekavian and Jekavian, and respective dictionaries were elaborated, the *Pravopis srpskohrvatskog jezika* ‘Orthography of the Serbo-Croatian language’ in Cyrillic script and Ekavian, and the *Pravopis hrvatskosrpskog jezika* ‘Orthography of the Croato-Serbian language’, Jekavian and in Roman script, both appeared in 1960. The Ekavian manual exhibits the language of the use in Serbia, but the Jekavian manual was assigned not only for the Croats in Croatia, but also for all nations of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Montenegrins belonged to the Jekavian variant but used predominantly the Cyrillic script. There existed no manual for them. The language of the Bosniacs was not taken into consideration adequately, and therefore they were not contented with the *Pravopis*.

In the 1970’s, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, an opposition to the Serbian and the Croatian variants of Serbo-Croatian / Croato-Serbian arose. Language use in Bosnia showed that neither pure Serbian nor pure Croatian was used there, but something intermediary characterized by lexical borrowings from both sides. This variant was called *bosanskohercegovački standardnojezički izraz* ‘Standard Bosnian-Herzegovinian linguistic expression / idiom’. We could call this idiom the forerunner of the Bosnian standard language, although the language was still considered a subvariant of Serbo-Croatian (Čedić 2001).

On the eve of the Bosnian war, books about the Bosniacs and their language were published (Jahić 1991, Halilović 1991). They intended to inform the public about the Bosniacs and their language. During the war, text books and grammars (like Vajzović and Zvrko 1994), and the Dictionary of Isaković 1992, 1995 followed. The former was written in besieged Sarajevo with libraries in ruins. It was intended for high school students. Isaković’s dictionary was not prescriptive, it was elaborated philologically, and was intended to present the rich stock of words of the Bosnian language. After the Dayton agreement (December 1995), the first Bosnian Orthography appeared (Halilović 1996, 2nd revised and enlarged edition 2018). This book was to replace the 1960 orthographies since they had taken into consideration only a very small number of Bosniac writers and did not consider Bosnian peculiarities. The main rules, however, remained the same. In 1999, Jahić published his *Bosanska trilogija*, consisting of three volumes, the first of which presents a description of the term *Bosnian*, the second answers questions about the history of Bosnia and the Bosniacs, and the third is a Bosnian

dictionary. This dictionary compiles Škaljić 1966 and Isaković 1992, and supplements missing words. Shortly afterwards the comprehensive grammar of Jahić, Halilović and Palić 2000 followed. At this stage, the codification of the Bosnian language was completed. Yet, the existing dictionaries were not considered satisfactory. The Linguistic Institute (*Institut za jezik*) of Sarajevo decided to elaborate a modern, more complete dictionary which should take the oral standard into consideration, insofar as the entries are accented (Čedić 2007). In 2010, another dictionary was published, with similar information, but still larger, containing approximately 60,000 entries (Halilović, Palić and Šehović 2010). In both dictionaries one can find the origin of loanwords and necessary grammatical information, both prescriptive. The newest lexicographic enterprise is the comprehensive dictionary of Jahić 2010–2014, planned in ten volumes, of which seven have appeared (A–Nj). Compared to the other dictionaries, many entries comprise quotations from Bosnian authors, some phraseology, or stylistic remarks. However, it seems that the dictionary will not be finished due to opposition against from within the country. The Linguistic Institute of Sarajevo compiled a dictionary of foreign words (Čedić 2011) in spite of the Čedić 2007 dictionary, since the stock of loanwords is open, widely used, and people sometimes do not understand them correctly.

5. Distinctive Features of the Bosnian Language

Serbian and Croatian writers and periodicals conform to their respective standards. In the Serbian and Croatian media in Bosnia-Herzegovina almost no variation can be found. The Bosnian tradition has been open and tolerant to both varieties; variation of forms and words is normal. Additionally, specific Bosnian elements like orientalisms can be used. Thus, if typical Serbian and Croatian features appear in the same text, one may conclude that the text is Bosnian. The characteristic Bosnian examples below are taken from Bosnian dictionaries and newspapers (see also Neweklowsky 2000). They are by no means exhaustive.

5.1. Phonology and Orthography

The Bosniacs decided to use the Roman script and the Jekavian pronunciation. Halilović 1996 stated in his *Pravopis* that the knowledge of the Cyrillic script was also necessary because a good deal of the Bosniac cultural heritage had been written in that script. The two alphabets are identical with those of the modern standard Croatian and Serbian languages (in the latter language two alphabets are used, Cyrillic and Roman, respectively).

The Bosnian prosodic norm is the same as that for Croatian, Serbian, and Montenegrin. In all four languages there are toneme oppositions on stressed vowels, long or short. Thus, we get four different accents: long and short falling, long and short rising. Additionally, there is a

quantity opposition in poststressed syllables. As a rule, the placement of stress must not be on the last syllable of a word; within a word form, stressed syllables have rising tone. The Bosnian norm, as defined in dictionaries and grammars, is more conservative than that of the other languages. Unstressed long vowels are preserved better, e.g. *zòvĕmo* ‘we call’ vs. *zòvemo*, *hòcĕmo* ‘we want’ vs. *hòcemo*. Falling accents move to a proclitic, e.g. *nàglāvu* ‘on the head’ vs. *naglāvu*, falling accents are avoided in the middle of polysyllabic word forms, e.g. *Bòsānācā* GEN.PL ‘Bosnian’ vs. *Bosānācā*. However, the dictionary of Čedić 2011 includes words with falling accents in an interior syllable or at the end of the word, e.g. *abasāndo* (musical term), *Kiribāti* (name of the country).

The Bosnian standard is Jekavian like the Croatian and the Montenegrin standards, whereas the Serbian standard is both Ekavian and Jekavian. In Bosnian, the representation of **ě* is *ije* for long, and *je* for short vowels with some peculiarities like in the other Jekavian standards. The *j* is omitted in consonant clusters of certain words, e.g. *mrĕža* ‘net’, rather than **mrježa*. It is kept, however, in a number of examples, e.g. *ogrjev* ‘fuel’, *krjepak* and *krepak* ‘strong’, *grješan* and *grešan* ‘sinful’, *strjeljivo* and *streljivo* ‘ammunition’.

The strident velar obstruent [x] has been kept in all positions, and a secondary [x] developed in others. In Serbian, *h* has changed into *v* in many words, in others into *j*, e.g. *buha* ‘flee’ vs. *buva*, *duhan* ‘tobacco’ vs. *duvan*, *kihati* ‘sneeze’ vs. *kijati*, *snaha* ‘daughter-in-law’ vs. *snaja*. Secondary *h* can be found in *hrvati se* ‘wrestle’ and derivatives, *hrzati* ‘neigh’, *lahak* ‘light, easy’, *mehak* ‘soft’, *bahnuti* ‘turnup’, *hlupati* ‘bang’ and *lupati*, etc. The pronunciation of [x] has been supported by Turkish and Arabic loanwords.

The stem *opšt-* / *opć-* is twofold; the former is Serbian, the latter Croatian. In Bosnian both forms can be used, although the latter is recommended, e.g. *opšti* and *opći* ‘general’, *uopšte* and *uopće* ‘generally’, *opština* and *općina* ‘community’, *saopštiti* and *saopćiti* ‘notify’.

5.2. Morphology, Derivation and Morphosyntax

We shall mention here some features of the Bosnian language which correspond either with Serbian or Croatian, or which are different from both.

A few nouns have duplicates as to their gender, e.g. *osnov* and *osnova* ‘basis’, *teritorija* and *teritorij* ‘territory’, *kvaliteta* and *kvalitet* ‘quality’, and others; however, only *minuta* ‘minute’ is accepted.

In adverbs like *jučer* ‘yesterday’, *navečer* ‘in the evening’, *također* ‘also’, the final *-r* is preserved like in Croatian, whereas the Serbian words omit it (*juče*, *naveče*, *takođe*).

There are competitive suffixes for female *nomina agentis et professionis* like *-ka*, *-kinja* vs. *-ica*: *studentica* ‘woman student’, *asistentica* ‘woman assistant’ is preferred, but you find

profesorka and *profesorica* ‘woman professor’, *sekretarka* and *sekretarica* ‘secretary’, *komunistica* and *komunistkinja* ‘woman communist’, but only *hemičarka* ‘woman chemist’. Croats prefer *-ica*, Serbs *-ka* and *-kinja*. Verbal *nomina agentis* in *-lac* are more common than those in *-telj*, e.g. *tužilac* and *tužitelj* ‘plaintiff’, *branilac* and *branitelj* ‘defender’, but the latter suffix (*telj-ka*) is preferred for the derivation of feminine correspondents (*tužiteljka*). In Serbian you find most often *-lac*, in Croatian almost exclusively *-telj*.

Diminutives and hypocoristics can be formed by the suffixes *-če* (considered rather Serbian) and *-(č)ić* (Croatian and Serbian), e.g. *unuče* and *unučić* ‘grandchild’, *zeče* and *zečić* ‘younghare’, but only *balončić* ‘smallballoon’, *člančić* ‘shortarticle’, etc.

The variants with the prefix *sa-* / *su-* ‘with, co-’ are equivalent, e.g. *sagovornik* and *sugovornik* ‘partner in discussion’, *saglasnost* and *suglasnost* ‘consent’, *saradnik* and *suradnik* ‘co-worker’ (Serbian *sa-*, Croatian *su-*), the same holds for derivatives with the suffix *-ista* / *-ist*, e.g. *altruista* / *altruist* ‘altruist’, *kapitalista* / *capitalist* ‘capitalist’, *arabista* / *arabist* ‘arabist’ (Serbian *-ista*, Croatian *-ist*).

In the GEN.PL, nouns with stems ending in consonant clusters most often have the ending *-ī*, e.g. *čeznjī* (NOM.SG *čeznja* ‘desire’), *konzervī* (NOM.SG *konzerva* ‘can’), *lōptī* (NOM.SG *lōpta* ‘ball’), whereas in Serbian and Croatian *-a* is used more often.

Possessive adjectives derived from substantives have the ending *-iji* (*zečiji* ‘hare’s’, *božiji* ‘God’s’), those ending in *-ov* have the indefinite forms, e.g. GEN.SG.M *očeva sahata* ‘father’s watch’.

The Bosnian norm recommends the inflection of the numerals 2, 3, 4, e.g. *iz dviju zemalja* ‘from two countries’, *s trima sestrama* ‘with three sisters’, practically, however, non-inflected numbers prevail, especially with prepositions. This is stated in Jahić, Halilović and Palić (2000: 254). Collective numeral nouns have the suffix *-ero* (*četvero* ‘four male and female persons’), and collective nouns *-erica* (*peterica* ‘five male persons’). Actually, in the press the suffixes *-oro* and *-orica* (like in Serbian) prevail. This is taken into account in Halilović 2018.

The interrogative pronoun ‘who?’ is *ko*, the indefinite pronouns are *niko* ‘nobody’, *neko* ‘somebody’, *svako* ‘everybody’, corresponding to the Serbian use, rarely *tko*, *nitko*, *netko*, *svatko* like in Croatian.

Verbs derived mostly from internationalisms may end in *-irati* / *-isati* / *-ovati*. Some verbs use *-irati* only like *adresirati* ‘address’, *telefonirati* ‘call by telephone’, some *-isati* only like *kalajisati* ‘tin’ (verb), others have duplicates in *-ira* / *-ova* (*organizirati* / *organizovati* ‘organize’), or *-ira* / *-isa* (*kultivirati* / *kultivisati* ‘cultivate’, *fotografirati* / *fotografisati* ‘take photos’). Parallelism of this kind is characteristic of Bosnian. As a rule, Serbs use the suffixes

-isati and *-irati*, Croats prefer *-irati* only.

5.3. Syntax

In contrast to Croatian and / or Serbian, in Bosnian the following can be observed (examples from Mešanović-Meša 2011:108–126, Jahić, Halilović and Palić 2000):

More general use of the infinitive in constructions like

- (1) *prestaje* *važiti*
 end-PRS.3SG be valid-INF
 ‘(It) ends to be valid’ (rather than *prestaje da važi*)

- (2) *ima* *pravo* *birati*
 have-PRS.3SG right-ACC.SG choose-INF
 ‘(He/she) has the right to choose’ (rather than *ima pravo da bira*)

and with modal verbs and in future tense:

- (3) *hoćemo* *raditi*
 want-PRS.1PL work-INF
 ‘(We) want to work’

- (4) *Možda* *ću* *nastojati* *da ne* *zaboravim*
 maybe will-AUX.FUT.1SG try-INF that NEG forget-PRS.1SG
 ‘Maybe I’ll try not to forget’ (rather than *možda ću da nastojim...*)

Bosnian prefers the question marker *da li* (rather than *je li*).

- (5) *da li* *smo* *sami* *ovdje*
 Q be-AUX.PRS.1PL alone here
 ‘Are we here alone?’

Bosnian prefers the relative pronoun *koji -a -e* ‘which’ (but the uninflectable *što* is also possible).

- (6) *priča* *koje* *si* *se*
 story-NOM.SG.F which-REL.GEN.SG.F be-PRS.2SG REFL
sjetio *jako* *je* *poučna*
 remember-PTCP.PST.M.SG very be-AUX.PRS.3SG instructive-PRED.NOM.SG.F
 ‘The story you remembered is very instructive’ (also *Priča što si je se sjetio...*)

In Bosnian, enclitics like *je*, *bi*, *će*, *se* etc. usually follow the first accented word in a sentence so that syntagms, even proper names, may be separated.

- (7) *po* *plavom* *se* *nebu* *šeće*
 under blue-LOC.SG.N REFL sky-LOC.SG.N stroll-PRS.SG.3P
 ‘One strolls under the blue sky’

- (8) *Stjepan* *je* *Tomašević*
 Stjepan.NOM.SG.M be-AUX.PRS.3P Tomašević-NOM.SG.M
posljednji *bosanski* *kralj*
 last-PRED.NOM.SG.M Bosnian-PRED.NOM.SG.M king-PRED.NOM.SG.M
 ‘StjepanTomašević is the last Bosnian king’

Constructions with the verb *trebati* ‘need’ (as a full verb), and ‘should, must’ as a modal verb; *trebam novca* ‘I need money’, *trebam raditi* ‘I should work’ correspond with Croatian.

Aorist and imperfect are stylistically marked, the latter more than the former. These tenses are used abundantly in Bosnian literature.

5.4. Lexicon

Since the Ottoman conquest at the end of the 14th century many words of oriental origin were taken over into the South Slavic languages, the largest number of them into Bosnian. These words are known as Orientalisms or Turkisms, although many of them are of Arabic and Persian, some also of Greek or other origins. They relate to the Islamic faith, administration, trade and handicraft, clothing, household effects, food, fruits and vegetables, trade, construction, army, horses and weapons, music, not to forget proper names and onomastics (Škaljić 1966: 25–27). There are orientalisms in all succession languages of Serbo-Croatian for which there are no Slavic equivalents. Additionally, we find many oriental synonyms beside Slavic words. Whereas puristic tendencies avoid such words in Croatian and, to a less extent, in Serbian and Montenegrin, the existence of orientalisms is very characteristic for Bosnian.

Such words avoided in one or all of the other Central South Slavic languages are e.g. *komšija* ‘neighbor’, *ćuprija* ‘bridge’, *avlija* ‘courtyard’, *jastuk* ‘pillow’, *makaze* ‘scissors’, *kašika* ‘spoon’, and many others. Turkisms are adapted and integrated, only few words remain uninflected, mostly adjectives, e.g. *taze* ‘fresh’. Among existing variants, those which are closest to the original are recommended, e.g. *aždaha* ‘dragon’ (not *aždaja*), *bahsuz* ‘unlucky fellow’ (not *baksuz*), *bašča* ‘garden’ (not *bašća* or *bašta*), *ćeif* ‘enjoyment’ (not *ćef*), *findžan* ‘cup’ (not *fildžan*), *kafez* ‘cage’ (not *kavez*), *inad* ‘obstinacy’ (not *inat*), *kahva* ‘coffee’ (not *kafa*, *kava*), *mehlem* ‘balm’ (not *melem*), *mejdan* ‘arena’ (not *megdan*), *pehlivan* ‘rope-dancer’ (not *pelivan*) and others. A characteristic feature of the Bosnian language is oriental first and last names, most of them of Arabic origin, like *Ahmed*, *Smail*, *Nazif*, *Muhamed*, *Aiša*, *Fatima*, *Hatidža*, some are Persian like *Rustem*, *Suhrab*, *Husrev*, and a few Turkish like *Arslan*, *Kurt*, *Orhan* (Smailović 1977: 76–84). Last names can be derived from given names, e.g. *Kurtović*, *Smailović*, or professions like *Kadić* (*kadija* ‘judge’), *Kujundžić* (*kujundžija* ‘jeweller’), they may be extended by *aga* ‘landowner’, or *beg* ‘nobleman’, e.g. *Muratagić*, *Izetbegović*, or by *kara* ‘dark, black’ (*Karamehmedović*) etc. Turkish suffixes like *-lija*, *-džija*, *-luk* have influenced word formation: *Sarajlija* ‘inhabitant of Sarajevo’, *kahvedžija* ‘cafetier’, *komšiluk* ‘neighborhood’, etc.

Bosniacs can utilize the entire vocabulary marked as Serbian (S) or Croatian (C) for stylistic purpose. Bosnian dictionaries list e.g. *čorba* (S) and *juha* (C) ‘soup’, *sumnja* (S) and *dvojba* (C) ‘suspicion’, *pritisak* (S) and *tlak* (C) ‘pressure’, *sedmica* (S) and *tjedan* (C) ‘week’, *fabrika* (S) and *tvrtka* (C) ‘factory’, *voz* (S) and *vlak* (C) ‘train’, *uslov* (S) and *uvjet* (C) ‘condition’, *muzika* (S) and *glazba* (C) ‘music’, *policija* (S) and *redarstvo* (C) ‘police’, *januar* (S) and *siječanj* (C) ‘january’, *apoteka* (S) and *ljekarna* (C) ‘pharmacy’, etc. Sometimes one member of a pair of synonyms is recommended, e.g. *vaspitanje* (S) see *odgoj* (C) ‘education’, *vazduh* (S) see *zrak* (C) ‘air’, *čuvstvo* (S) see *osjećaj* (C) ‘sensation’.

In Bosnian, there is a layer of German words which on the one hand stems from the Austro-Hungarian period and on the other from the 20th century. The latter covers technical terms. Examples: *melšpajz* ‘sweet dish’, *escajg* ‘knife, fork, and spoon’, *blic* ‘flash’, *ablendovati* ‘dim (lights)’ (Memić 2006). International words are very often taken over from Latin or Greek. The Croatian language prefers Latin, the Serbian Greek, Bosnian accepts both. Sometimes examples vary phonetically, e.g. *ocean* and *ocean* ‘ocean’, *kirurg* and *hirurg* ‘surgeon’, *demokracija* and *demokratija* ‘democracy’.

6. Conclusion

Bosnian linguists agree that Central South Slavic / Former Serbo-Croatian constitutes one dia-

system, and may be considered as one natural language. This language had been realized in different variants in the past. Since the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the former variants were raised into the rank of standard languages. According to the constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina, three languages are spoken in the country: Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian. The latter two have their centers outside the country, in Serbia (Belgrade) and Croatia (Zagreb). Thus, only the Bosnian language is being developed and standardized within the country. The process of standardization has been the main concern of the Bosniacs for the last thirty years. The authoritative institutions like the respective departments of Bosnian-Herzegovinian universities or the Linguistic Institute of Sarajevo have been involved in this process. The other two languages, Serbian and Croatian, keep to their linguistic traditions and are anxious not to use elements of the other languages. On the other hand, the distinctive feature of the Bosnian language is variation. Elements that can be considered Serbian or Croatian or specific Bosnian can be used in the same text. Therefore, stylistic variation has a much wider range in Bosnian than in the other two languages. All three languages are majority languages in some parts of the country, and at the same time minority languages in others. Bosnian and Croatian are written in Latin, whereas the national script of the Serbs is the Cyrillic alphabet. The Roman script is also used, it is their second alphabet.

School text books show this situation: Croatian and Serbian books stick to their respective languages exclusively, with very few exceptions, and there is almost no linguistic variation in them. As a rule, Croatian text books are printed in Roman, Serbian books in the Cyrillic script, but the Roman script is present in them, too. Contrary to the situation of Croatian and Serbian, Bosniac pupils learn a lot about the other languages of their country; their texts are printed in the Roman script, but there are also texts in Cyrillic, and – what is typical of Bosnian – there is much linguistic variation (Gustavsson 2009: 154 ff.).

Abbreviations

1	1 st person
2	2 nd person
3	3 rd person
ACC	accusative
AUX	auxiliary
F	feminine
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive
INF	infinitive

LOC	locative
M	masculine
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
PL	plural
PRED	predicative
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense
PTCP	participle
Q	question marker
REFL	reflective particle
REL	relative pronoun
SG	singular

Notes

¹ Lecture given at the University of Tokyo, November 19, 2018.

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Die bosnische Sprache – neuere Entwicklungen

Gerhard Neweklowsky

Der Aufsatz behandelt die Entstehung und Entwicklung der bosnischen Standardsprache, die sich seit dem Zerfall Jugoslawiens abgezeichnet hatte. 1991 erschienen die ersten Werke über die bosnischen Muslime und ihre Sprache, die die Öffentlichkeit informieren sollten. Grammatiken und Wörterbücher folgten. Im Jahr 2000 war die erste Etappe der Standardisierung der Sprache mit dem Erscheinen der *Gramatika bosanskoga jezika* von Jahić, Halilović und Palić abgeschlossen. Anschließend befasste man sich hauptsächlich mit dem Wortschatz der bosnischen Sprache, der von Mitarbeitern des Instituts für Sprache in Sarajevo und Professoren bzw. Professorinnen der Universität Sarajevo bearbeitet wurde.

In dem Aufsatz wird über die bosnische Sprache als Subvariante des Serbokroatischen, ihren Namen, über statistische Daten seit 1991, ihre Geschichte und ihre sprachlichen Merkmale gegenüber dem Serbischen und Kroatischen gesprochen. Im einzelnen werden phonetische, morphologische, syntaktische Unterschiede sowie Besonderheiten des bosnischen Wortschatzes erörtert.