

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION	P. 1
THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND	
a)Yugoslavia,History & Geography	P. 2
b)Zagreb	P. 4
c)The Social System	P. <u>6</u>
THE LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND	
a)Linguistic Varieties	P. 8
b)Language in Yugoslavia	p. 9
c)Language in Zagreb	P. 14
d)Survey of Previous Work	P. 17
THE FIELDWORK	
a)Questionnaire Design	P. 19
b)Informants	p. 21
c)Interviews	P. 22
d)Modifications and Additions	P. 23
DESCRIPTION OF VARIETIES STUDIED	
a)Kajkavian and Standard	
I)Phonology	P. 25
II)Grammar	P. 30
b)Other Varieties	P. 34
ANALYSIS	
a)Techniques and Difficulties	P. 36
b)Results	P. 39
VI/TI INVESTIGATION	P. 45
CONCLUSION	P. 54

INTRODUCTION.

Sociolinguistics is the study of the relationship and interaction between language and society. This paper is an attempt to describe the present-day sociolinguistic situation in Zagreb, Yugoslavia and to show how the rapid changes in society are reflected in language.

The work to be presented falls into three main sections:

a) a description of the present-day social and linguistic background in Yugoslavia and Zagreb. This will cover the history, geography and sociology of the area and an outline of its dialects and standard language.

b) a section devoted to the fieldwork I did while in Zagreb. Ideally this should have been a full scale urban dialect survey of the kind that has been carried out in America, (in New York by Labov, in Detroit by Shuy et al.) and recently in Norwich by Trudgill. However with the limited time at my disposal it was obvious that I could not hope to do anything more than a pilot study. The corpus was of necessity restricted so I cannot claim that my findings represent the whole truth about language in Zagreb today. However I do feel that the major points of interest have been discovered and a methodology has been worked out which could be of use in a later, more extensive project. In any case most of the work to be presented is new, since research into urban dialectology in Yugoslavia (as elsewhere) has not yet got off the ground.

c) a theoretical section in which I shall attempt to show how the social factors affecting language use might be fitted into a general theory of language.

These three sections coincide with the three faces of sociolinguistics a) sociological, c) linguistic & b) the practical work which relates the other two.

The Social Background.

a) Yugoslavia, history & geography.

Yugoslavia, the land of the South Slavs, is a country which is comparatively unknown to the average Englishman. Therefore it is well worthwhile giving a brief resumé of its history, geography and society. Of course this is no easy task especially since Yugoslavia has only very recently achieved nationhood; indeed many would claim that it is not a nation.

The political unit known as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (S.F.R.J.) covers the area from the Adriatic Sea to the plain of the Danube. Most of the country is mountainous, only the valleys of the Danube and its tributaries provide good agricultural land. The country covers approximately the same area as Great Britain but supports only a third of the population (20 millions). By Western standards it is a poor country and a large proportion of the population draw their livelihood from subsistence farming.

Because of its position at the very edge of civilized Europe, and its inaccessibility due to its mountains Yugoslavia has never been in the headlines of European history. However this does not mean that history has passed it by, indeed it has had a fascinating, if violent history. In Classical times, even though it was between Greece & Rome it was of relatively small importance. The Romans did occupy the area as far as the Danube but never really colonized it, with the exception of the coast, (there are Roman remains at Pula & Zadar and the famous palace of Diocletian at Split).

From the collapse of Rome to the 20th century Yugoslavia was never united. Slavic peoples settled in the area bringing a new language with them to supplant the Latin of the Romans. On the coast the older civilization survived; indeed several coastal towns e.g. Dubrovnik prospered until modern times as independent republics or as part of the Venetian Empire. Even today the Italian influence & language is in evidence on certain parts of the coast.

Several major trends appear during the middle period of Yugoslav history (most of them divisive). Firstly there was the schism between the Orthodox & Catholic churches. Basically the North, i.e. Croatia & Slovenia

remained Catholic while the South became Orthodox. On top of this there was for some time a thriving local heresy (the Bogomils). The most noticeable result of these religious disputes is that Yugoslavia today has two alphabets Roman & Cyrillic in the North & South respectively.

The other major trend of the Middle Ages was the constant pressure on Yugoslavia from the East; first from the Mongols, then from the Turks. Yugoslavia was for several centuries the battlefield on which Christendom confronted the heathen world. The south of the country was occupied by the Turks for 400 years and it was to counter this threat that the North gave up its independence when it placed itself under the tutelage of the King of Hungary. As a direct result Croatia became part of the Habsburg Empire until its collapse in 1918.

The 19th century was notable for the weakening influence of the two imperial powers and the growth of nationalism. Serbia and Montenegro became independent and nationalist movements appeared in other areas. It was a Bosnian group which organized the assassination of an Austrian archduke in Sarajevo in 1914, a step which led to the Austrian declaration of war on Serbia and eventually to the first World War.

At the end of the war a Yugoslav national state came into being for the first time. The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes united under a democratic government the vast majority of the Southern Slavs. This regime survived until 1941 when Hitler decided to occupy the country. However he never completely succeeded, for although the major towns capitulated Partisan forces, led by the communist Josip Broz (Tito) took to the hills and maintained control over large areas. As the Germans collapsed in 1945 the Yugoslavs were able to liberate their country with the minimum of outside help and Tito was able to set up a government.

Postwar Yugoslavia has developed as a relatively liberal communist state pursuing a completely independent line in foreign policy. Internally the country is run on federal lines; there are six republics, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Makedonia, Bosna-Hercegovina, & Montenegro (Crna Gora). Each has autonomy in regional affairs but economic & defence policy etc. are decided by the Beograd government.

However, the most far reaching changes in modern Yugoslavia have been social & economic ones brought about by her sudden entry into the modern

world. Economic growth and industrialisation have led to urban expansion and rural depopulation. The traditional social system has been radically transformed in a short time, probably more in the last thirty years than in the previous three hundred. But these changes have affected different areas at different rates; the Northern republics of Slovenia and Croatia have become much richer and more modern than the Southern ones E.g. Makedonia. This of course has only intensified the traditional rivalries between the different regions and Yugoslavia's biggest internal problems are the tensions between the various "national" groups (especially in Croatia).

(A good general introduction to the history and present social system of Yugoslavia is P. AUTY's YUGOSLAVIA, 1965.)

b) Zagreb

The town of Zagreb, capital of the republic of Croatia lies in the valley of the Sava river at the foot of the Medvenica mountains. The oldest part of the town was built on the last foothills about a mile north of the river and the centre of the modern town lies just to the south. For over a century the town has been expanding southwards, first as far as the railway line, and more recently beyond until today the modern town straddles the river.

Although there was a settlement in the area in Roman times the first mention of Zagreb in recorded history was the establishment of a bishopric in the 11th century. In the early Middle Ages two settlements coexisted, not always peacefully only a few hundred yards apart; the Bishops town built round the Cathedral on the hill known as Kaptol, and the free town of Gradec, now known as Gornji Grad (the Upper Town). But in face of outside pressure, from the Mongols, who sacked Zagreb in 1262, and ~~later~~ later from the Turks the two towns came together. In the late Middle Ages Zagreb came under the rule of the Kings of Hungary who on several occasions successfully defended it against Turkish attacks. After the merger of Austria and Hungary and the return to relative stability Zagreb developed as a leading economic and cultural centre for the area, second only to Vienna. The coming of the railway in the late 19th century turned Zagreb

in the late 19th century turned Zagreb into an important route centre and industrial town. Today it remains the administrative, commercial, industrial and cultural capital of Croatia.

The population of the greater Zagreb area at the present time is in the region of 700,000. The town has been growing at a remarkable rate as the following figures (for the town proper) show;

1368	250
1807	7706
1900	61000
1920	108000
1931	185000
1948	279000
1953	350000
1961	427000
1964	470000
1971	520000
2000	970000 (projected)

It can be seen that the town is now doubling in size each twenty ^{or thirty.} years, mainly because of the drift from the land. One important result of this is that it is now very difficult to find a native of Zagreb older than about twenty. As early as 1931 only twenty-eight per cent of the population had been born in Zagreb and the figure today is probably less.

It would be interesting to know the geographical origins of the present population but unfortunately statistics are hard to come by. It is probable that ^migrants from all parts of Yugoslavia can be found in Zagreb. However it is obvious that the majority of them come from the regions closer to the town; especially the Croatian Zagoria, Slavonia, Dalmatia and to a lesser extent Slovenia and Bosna-Hercegovina.

It would also be interesting to know something about the social structure of the town from the point of view of age, employment etc. However I have been unable to obtain any statistics. Nonetheless it is likely that Zagreb has a relatively young population, since most of the ^migrants are younger people. We can also assume that the biggest sectors of employment are firstly industry, then administration, commerce and the like, followed by the service

industries.

(For details on the development of modern Zagreb see an article by FISHER; Urban analysis, a case study, Zagreb; in Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 53pp266-284, Sept. '63)

c) The Social System

In this section I shall attempt to give a brief outline of some of the more important facets of the social structure of Yugoslavia. Unfortunately this section will consist more of impressions than of hard facts since time did not allow me to undertake any significant study in this field.

Although Yugoslavia is a Socialist country and one of the ideals is equality for all it is quite obvious to the casual observer that there is still a stratification of society much as in Western Europe. In practice a person's position in society is fixed by his education. The rewards of success are the same as in the West, a car, a good flat with washing machine, T.V. etc. It is, however quite difficult to draw a definite line between the classes in Zagreb. At one extreme is the Party official with a brand new Mercedes, at the other the beggar in the street. In between come the majority of the population who are neither stinking rich nor stinking poor.

The differences in wealth are not very closely reflected in housing conditions, since in Zagreb there is such a shortage of housing that even the better off have to make do with a fairly standard flat. As a result there are very few areas in the town which are either specifically middle or lower class: there are however small pockets of very substandard houses (or rather shacks) which are inhabited by the poorest people.

Educational differences on the other hand closely coincide with the other features which determine social stratification. Every child is obliged to undergo eight years schooling and many stay on for a further four years at secondary school (sometimes followed by university). However for many children, especially those from poorer families there are great difficulties; e.g. finance and family prejudice. In fact it is probably the attitude to education and culture in general which plays the biggest part in determining

a person's social reference group. Attitudes common in British society can also be found in Yugoslavia e.g. working class matiness, social climbing etc.

There is however another big division between the people of Yugoslavia, that between the peasants and the townspeople. In Zagreb this is reflected in two separate ways; firstly a large number of peasants from the surrounding area come into the markets of the town every day to sell their produce. They can easily be recognized by their weather-beaten faces, the traditional T costumes and sometimes by their speech: secondly there are the vast numbers of immigrants who were once peasants, who though they make an effort to cast off the marks of their origin still have many of the attitudes of their ancestors.

Other important social changes which have taken place recently are in the role of women and young people. Officially women are fully emancipated but in the family at least the Yugoslav male likes to retain his traditional position of superiority. Parental authority, too is fairly strong but the so called "Youth Revolution" has had a marked effect throughout the country.

Finally it should be noted that regional differences remain very important. Especially significant is the longstanding quarrel between the Serbs and Croats which, because of dissatisfaction with the federal government has recently turned into a Croatian movement for national autonomy. This has been centred in Zagreb and came to a climax with the student led demonstrations of December 1971.

The Linguistic Background.

a) Linguistic Varieties.

Before describing the linguistic situation of Yugoslavia it will be worthwhile giving some attention to the problem of defining a linguistic "variety" (a neutral term which may be used for any type of language, dialect, idiolect or style). The main problem of course is with the everyday terms such as "language, dialect, or style" which are rather too vague to be used without prior discussion.

The most common problem which arises is that of the dialect continuum situation in which it is difficult to decide where one variety (popularly regarded as a distinct language or dialect) ends and the next begins. (n.b. there are analogous cases of a non-geographical nature in social dialects and styles, but for simplicity we will restrict the discussion to geographic varieties).

It is very difficult to find linguistic criteria by which we can determine the boundaries of a variety. The technique of drawing isoglosses across a map coinciding with phonological, lexical and syntactic features is of limited use. Even when several isoglosses coincide with a political boundary, thus suggesting that the two varieties deserve the status of languages it is quite possible that two local people from opposite sides of the border could converse happily in their vernacular speech. And it is equally possible that two speakers from opposite ends of the proposed "language" area would not understand a single word. Traditionally it is this criterion of mutual comprehension which determines whether a variety is treated as a language or merely a dialect. There is yet another difficulty with this criterion in that it is impossible to define comprehension. The stages between full comprehension and bafflement are infinite and depend on factors such as intelligence and willingness of both parties. Comprehension is not necessarily equal in both directions. In modern societies the situation is usually far more complex since there is often a standard language super-imposed on the local vernaculars.

Thus it is tremendously difficult to draw the limits of a variety on linguistic criteria alone. It is necessary to take into account social and

political factors, especially what Weinreich has called language loyalty. Language loyalty is one of the methods by which the members of a society identify themselves with that society. The concept of differences in language is an essential prerequisite to a concept of language loyalty; in an isolated community speaking a uniform language even the question, "What language do you speak?" would be meaningless. In a sophisticated society there can be several levels of language loyalty e.g. English, British (v. American) English Northern (v. Southern) English etc. Loyalty is expressed just as often to local or social varieties as to standard languages.

In addition to language loyalty there is the political criterion of official or standard language status to be born in mind. An official language is more or less self-defining (though as with all varieties drawing the limits is a problem). A standard language, often the vernacular of a privileged group, is a variety which has gathered certain norms of correctness and is held up as a model for imitation. A literary language is similar except that it is not necessarily a spoken language. The concept of heteronomy to a norm can be usefully introduced here. This covers the situation when an area has a standard or official language superposed on a number of vernacular varieties.

Even after this long discussion we are little nearer a definition of the terms "language" or "dialect". In fact framing a satisfactory definition is an impossible and fruitless task. However in the rest of this paper I shall endeavour to use "language" only when referring to a standard, official variety, and "dialect" for any non-standard variety which is regionally based. The term "style" will normally indicate a distinct variety within an idiolect, (though of course different idiolects will exhibit similar style patterns).

Bearing in mind these difficulties in terminology we can now go on to discuss the languages and dialects of Yugoslavia.

b) Language in Yugoslavia.

The sociolinguistic situation in modern Yugoslavia is exceedingly complex. Although the vast majority of the people speak as a vernacular some variety of what I shall call the Slavic tongue there are several significant minority languages. Of these Italian is the most important and

is spoken by many people in the coastal areas of Istria and Dalmatia either as a vernacular or second language. In every frontier region there is a small number of people who use as a vernacular ~~the~~ a variety of the language which is spoken on the other side of the border e.g. Albanian, Greek, German, Hungarian, Bulgarian. However it is the Slavic tongue, which is the primary concern of this paper.

The Slavic tongue can claim its origins in the Slavic branch of the Indo-European family. The South Slavic varieties have been dominant in Yugoslavia since the end of the Roman Empire and have come to form a dialect continuum which more or less coincides with the political boundaries of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. They are clearly separated from the North Slavic varieties, by geography, (e.g. Russian, Czech, Polish,) three non-Slavic varieties, Rumanian, Hungarian & German coming between them. However to some extent the South and North Slavic groups are mutually comprehensible if both parties are intelligent and tolerant.

There are three officially recognized standard languages in Yugoslavia. All three are varieties of the Slavic tongue and to some extent mutually comprehensible. Slovenian is the standard for the republic of Slovenia, Macedonian, a variety which has only very recently been standardized, for the republic of Macedonia and Serbo-Croat for the rest of the country. It is Serbo-Croat which concerns us most in this paper but because of the proximity of Zagreb to the Slovenian border (20 miles) we cannot totally ignore the Slovenian language.

The Serbo-Croat language is the official norm for about 16 million people and is therefore by far the most important language of Yugoslavia. However, even within the language there are two slightly different standards, Serbian and Croatian. At the moment, in the context of the Croatian nationalist movement there is much argument as to whether these varieties should be treated as separate languages. Linguistically the differences are small, the use of Cyrillic or Roman orthography, the use of "ekavian" or "ijekavian" forms (see P^{p 12} 26), and the use of regional vocabulary. Language loyalty is more important; many Yugoslavs are very touchy about the name of their variety. The term in most general use is Srpsko-hrvatski. This is almost

universal in the republics which are not involved in the Serbia-Croatia dispute. In Serbia "srpski" is popular, in Croatia "hrvatski" even more so. An alternative in Croatia is to reverse the order of the words giving "hrvatsko-srpski". The official attitude is not clear but I am told that it is only recently that the term "hrvatski" has been permitted in official business. At the moment however all terms are politically loaded. The term "jugoslovenski" is sometimes used to describe a cosmopolitan variety or any of the standard languages when spoken by a foreigner. In the rest of this paper the term "standard" will refer to the Croatian variety of the standard language, unless otherwise stated.

Before moving on to the dialects it will be useful to examine the origins of the standard language. Until the 19th century all official business in Yugoslavia was conducted in the languages of the ruling foreign powers i.e. Hungarian, German or Turkish. Some literature was produced in the vernacular dialects. With the growth of the nationalist movement which found inspiration in the independence won by Serbia in 1804, a need arose for a national standard language. Even though many of the early nationalist leaders were Croats they decided to develop the standard from the dialect of Hercegovina. The main reason for this was that it was situated centrally in the country and thus could be easily understood by people from a very wide area and that it did not arouse any of the regional hostility which other dialects would have done. However, there were many problems which arose because of this choice; there was no cultural centre for the variety, in fact no large town; there was no nation to promote it; there was little existing literature; there were two alphabets in use. Surprisingly the standard caught on; only in Serbia were minor changes made.

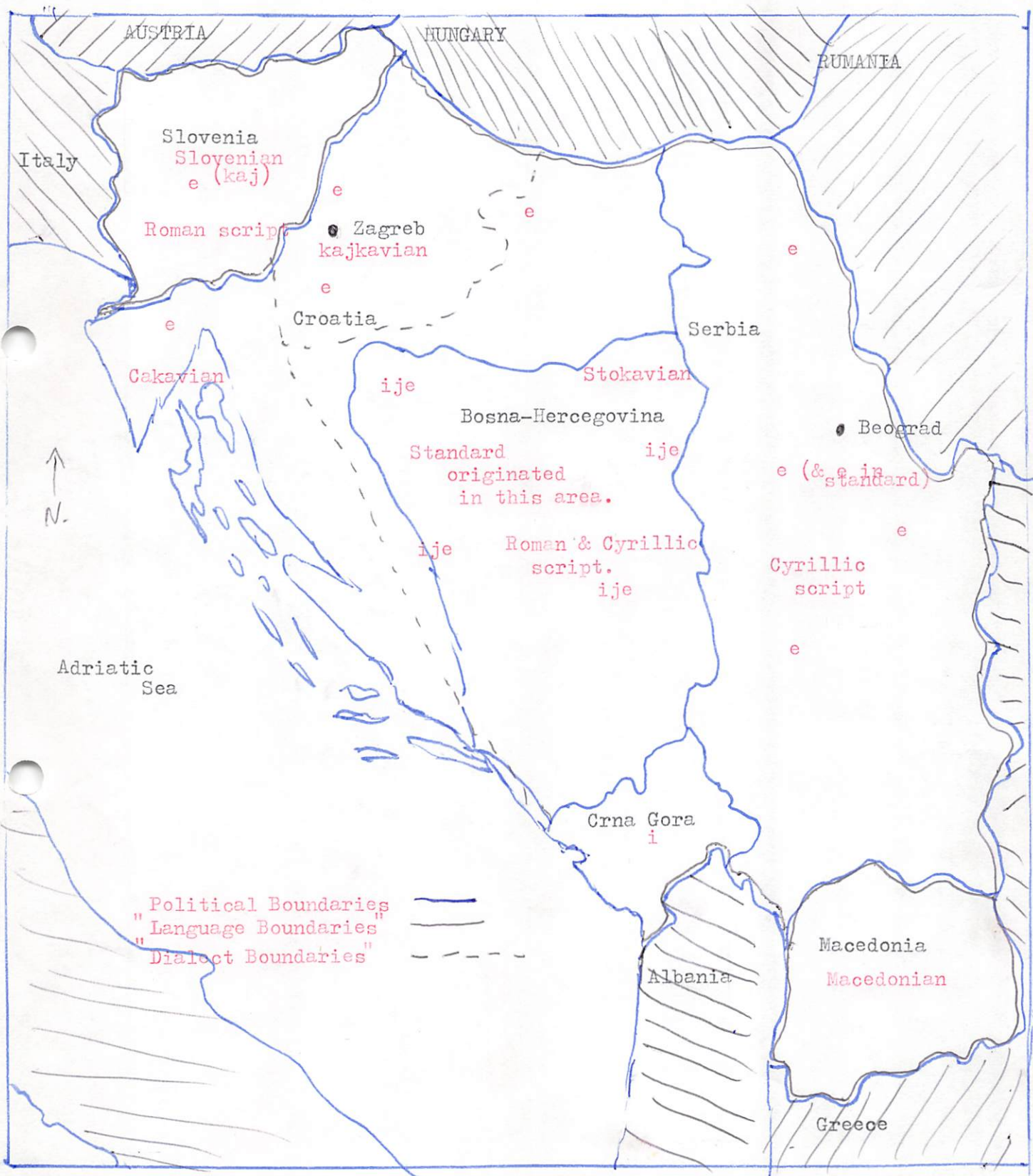
We can now go on to discuss the classification of the dialects of Serbo-Croat as presented by traditional dialectology, with special reference to the Zagreb area. In Yugoslavia as in most countries dialectologists have worked almost exclusively with old people in the villages and have been predominantly concerned with drawing isoglosses and the boundaries of dialect areas. Of course this does not represent the whole truth, but as it is the only relevant information available it is well worthy of study.

Two overlapping sets of criteria have been suggested for dividing the Serbo-Croat dialect continuum into dialect areas. Firstly there is the way in which the accented e of old Slavic has developed. Three different forms are found e, ije, & i (each of which can be either long or short; short ije=je) thus leading to the normal classification of dialects as "ekavian", "ijekavian", or "ikavian". The standard language is ije kavian though in Serbia ekavian forms are accepted as standard. The dialects of the Zagreb region are, however, ekavian (as are most Serbian dialects & also Slovenian standard and vernacular varieties). It should be noted that not all e's in ekavian varieties are represented by ije in ijekavian varieties. e appears in all varieties when it has developed from sources other than the accented e of Old Slavic.

The second set of classificatory criteria has been more rigorously worked out and is more strongly entrenched in popular thinking. The division is based on and the dialects are named after the word which is used as an interrogative pronoun. Hence, from the words kaj, ča and što (or šta) we get the terms kajkavski, čakavski & štokavski. Supplementary criteria have also been worked out which although they make the classification more precise and academically respectable, occasionally lead to paradoxical conclusions, e.g. the dialect of Korcula is classified as čakavski although noone says ča. The štokavian varieties cover the widest territory and include the standard language. Čakavian vernaculars are to be found on the coast of Istria and Dalmatia. The kajkavian varieties are of most concern as they are centred in the Zagreb area. (see map) Naturally there are regional differences within the dialect areas and a more detailed classification has been drawn up. However this is scarcely relevant to the present work. It should be noted in passing that kajkavian dialects were once regarded as part of the Slovenian language and that in Slovenian the word for "what" is normally "kaj".

(For articles relating to the previous two sections see HAUGEN; Dialect, Language, Nation, in American Anthropology, 68(4), 1966; BIDWELL; Language, dialect and Nationality in Yugoslavia in Human Relations 15(3), Aug. 1962. The standard text on Serbo-Croat dialectology is IVIĆ; Die Serbo-Croatischen Dialekte; the Hague 1958, but unfortunately I do not read enough German to

Map of Yugoslavia showing the main language and dialect areas etc.



benefit from it.)

c) Language in Zagreb.

The sociolinguistic situation in Zagreb has always been complex, but this is hardly surprising in view of its turbulent history and status as chief city of a foreign ruled province. Several non-Slavic languages have been in evidence in Zagreb during its history each one leaving its mark.

As a centre of the Catholic Church Zagreb had extensive early contacts with Latin. There was a long period when all official business had to be conducted in Latin; in fact it was not till the 19th century that this died out completely. Even today there is a vestigial use in university documents. But the biggest legacy was, of course, the Roman script. There were also many loans from Latin into the Slavic tongue at different periods, many of them first passing through some other language such as Italian, French or English.

The second language to play an important part in Zagreb's history was Hungarian. While the Magyar Kings were overlords of Zagreb many loan words passed into the local speech. A more interesting but more dubious case of Hungarian influence has been suggested. In Zagreb dialect certain latin loans are pronounced with š instead of the s which one would expect. However, in Hungarian there is no distinction between š and s so it has been suggested that the Zagreb people imitated their masters even to the point of mispronunciation.

It was the most recent of the many foreign languages to be important in the town, German, which was most influential. Although German had been heard in Zagreb as early as the 13th century when the first German merchants had settled there, it was not till Croatia came under Habsburg rule that it rose to predominance. In the 18th & 19th centuries German was as common as Slavic and a diglossic situation was to be found. The upper classes would use German on most occasions (even in the family) and only speak Slavic when addressing the common people. The common people on the other hand would normally use Slavic except when trying to impress. After the standard language had been developed many people who had failed to master it continued to use German in formal circumstances. German was the language of Zagreb's theatre and newspapers until the late 19th century and it was only after

independence that it began to decline. Even today German is the first foreign language of the Zagreb area to the extent that a visitor who speaks German is at least as well off as one who speaks Serbo-Croat. There are an immense number of German loan words in the local speech and several constructions which reflect German usage.

The Slavic tongue in Zagreb has also had a rich and interesting history. In one or other of its varieties it has been the vernacular of most of the population for over a thousand years. From the 16th to 19th centuries the local kajkavian dialect rose to literary status and even showed signs of standardization. In different political circumstances it is quite likely that this would have become the standard language of Croatia. Today Slavic is the predominant, indeed the only tongue normally spoken in Zagreb. Several varieties are evident; new varieties have been introduced by the recent immigrants and it is the interaction of these many varieties that makes the present situation in Zagreb so fascinating.

The study of the sociolinguistic situation in a large town is always far more difficult than studying the dialects of a small rural community. There are many more people, social stratification is usually more pronounced, and the society is far more fluid. In a modern society we cannot ignore the effect of education and mass communication. Modern Zagreb presents us with all these problems and more besides.

The range of varieties of Slavic used each day in Zagreb is immense. Of course, all the varieties overlap and there is usually full mutual comprehension. Although it is impossible to separate varieties adequately on linguistic grounds I believe that using function as a criterion we can identify three kinds of variety. Firstly each person in Zagreb has a vernacular variety which he learned in childhood and which he uses in familiar circumstances at least with members of his family and childhood friends. We will call this his V1. The range of V1's is wide, from almost "pure" standard to "broad" dialects from every part of Yugoslavia, including some which would normally be considered as Slovenian or Macedonian. Secondly there is the standard language which we will call the V2. For a small number of people this is a vernacular thus also their V1. Thirdly there is the Zagreb variety of the local kajkavian dialects. This is not simply the local variety of Zagreb natives but a mixture of this with the kajkavian dialects

of the surrounding area which has taken place over the last fifty years. This we will call the V3. It is not usually identical with anybody's V1 but has developed for use as a koine among the people of Zagreb, most of whom it will be remembered are recent immigrants to the town.

The best way to illustrate how these varieties are used in practice is to look at several hypothetical individuals who might be found in Zagreb and to show under what circumstances they would use the different varieties.

A is an old man who has only recently moved to the town to be with his children. Previously he spent all his life in the village where he was born. He received only a minimum of education. In almost all circumstances he will speak only his V1 which will be a "broad" local dialect.

B is his son who moved to Zagreb fifteen years ago and works in a factory. At home he will use his V1 which is fairly similar to his father's but at work for easier communication and matiness he will probably use the Zagreb koine, V3.

C is a professor at Zagreb University. He was born on a Dalmatian island, studied at Beograd, married a girl from Sarajevo and has been in Zagreb for over ten years. Most of the time he speaks the standard language V2 but slips back into his Dalmatian V1 when visiting his parents and brothers.

D is his son, a student at the University. Invariably he speaks the standard V2.

E is a middle aged house wife, a native of Zagreb, fairly well educated and married to a factory manager. At home she will use the local Zagreb dialect as her V1, but this will remain distinct from the koine V3 which she will use when shopping at the market. In polite company when she wants to impress people she will attempt to use the standard V2.

Schematically we can show the situation of these five people thus;

	A	B	C	D	E
Home/family	V1	V1	V1	V1=V2	V1(approx.=V3)
Work/shops	V1	V3	V2	V2	V3
Polite company	V1	V3?	V2	V2	V2

It might be inferred from the above discussion that there exists in Zagreb a complex version of the diglossic situation. To some extent this is true; there certainly are many individuals who exhibit di- or even triglossic usage. But I feel it would be going too far to say that Zagreb is a true case of diglossia, for there is not a clean break between any of the varieties and very few people are consciously aware of switching to a different variety in different circumstances. In general I feel that the sociolinguistic situation in Zagreb is too complex for normal classification.

One of the more interesting features of the situation is the development and function of the koine (V3). This arose from the mixing of the varieties spoken by the immigrants, (usually kajkavian dialects) with the Zagreb form of kajkavian. This variety has the advantage for the immigrants, not only of helping communication but of hiding their peasant origins. In addition it helps them identify with the people of Zagreb and has a strong anti-snob value. Despite prejudice from supporters of V2 and the many V1's almost all youngsters are speaking this "Zagrebacki esperanto" and it is likely that in the not too distant future this will become the standard, or rather substandard urban dialect of Zagreb. The V1's will probably remain in use only in the villages of the hinterland and the V2 will become the preserve of the educated classes, thus moving closer to the situation we have in Britain.

d) Survey of Previous Work

It is hardly surprising that not much work has been done on urban dialectology in Yugoslavia. In fact as far as I know there is only one work of direct relevance to the present study. This is a monograph by the American Slavist Thomas F. MAGNER; A Zagreb Kajkavian Dialect, (Penn state Studies, no. 18). Magner studied the speech of a small number of educated Zagreb natives most of whom exhibited a certain degree of diglossic usage. He treats their vernacular variety as a completely separate entity and analyses it in taxonomic terms. However he presents his findings as comparisons with the standard language, which is a pity as there are very few readily available structural descriptions of that variety and Magner does not present his own. He does show some concern for sociolinguistic issues but I feel

that the variety he describes is rather idealized and that his work is merely an attempt to do rural dialectology in an urban setting. However it is the only work to have been done on language in Zagreb; most Yugoslav dialectologists have worked on rural areas only and have been far more concerned with drawing isoglosses than with giving a structural description of particular dialects. (see review by BIDWELL, Language 44/2/68)

Descriptions of the standard language are also hard to come by; HODGE, Spoken Serbo-Croat, (1945) is probably the best but is not readily available. Hodge's analysis of the phonology of Serbo-Croat can be found in Language 22/1946. The most easily available general introduction to the language is JAVAREK & SUDJIC, Teach Yourself Serbo-Croat.

As far as I know there has been no other work in this field. Certain parts may have been touched on by other linguists; in these cases references are given in the relevant section.

THE FIELDWORK.

a) Questionnaire Design.

An ideal research project in the field of urban dialectology should aim to gather linguistic and sociological information from a large number of informants, (ideally a random sample of the whole population of the town being studied). The linguistic information can usually be gathered most conveniently in the form of tape recorded interviews of one or more styles of speech, and the sociological information by means of a questionnaire. Even though a complete survey of Zagreb speech was never envisaged in the course of this project the interviews and questionnaire were designed with this in mind. The following interview/questionnaire was designed and used in the first set of interviews. It was decided to record on tape both the sociological and linguistic material, partly as a matter of convenience but also so we could use the sociological questions as a gentle introduction to a perhaps unfamiliar recording situation.

Questionnaire, (Version 1)

Section 1, Social Background.

When and where were you born? Where have you lived during your life? (full details especially of childhood). For how long were you at school? What kind of school was it? Did you do well there? Did you learn any foreign languages? If possible (and especially if you are under 25) can you tell me the same things about your parents?

What is, was or will be your job? (full details of all jobs held). What are the jobs of other members of your family? Do you have a car in the family, a T.V., washing machine etc? Do you own your house/flat or do you have a holiday home? Do you think such things are important?

What are your interests? Which of the following things would you enjoy doing in your spare time a) the theatre b) listening to classical music c) the cinema d) football e) other sport f) reading novels g) watching T.V. h) reading comics i) listening to pop music?

Section 2 Attitudes to language.

What language do you speak? Do you speak it well? Do you know people who speak better or worse than you? Do you sometimes make mistakes in your

grammar; if so which? Do you try to avoid these mistakes? Have you ever met people you disliked because of the way they spoke? If so please explain?

Section 3 Free narrative, (suggested talking points).

Tell us all you know about Zagreb; what do you think of the town? Is it a nice place to live? Has it changed since you first knew it? What would you advise the tourist to see? What is there to do in one's free time? Can you tell us about the history of the town e.g. during the war? Tell us about the tramway, the cathedral, the old town, New Zagreb etc.

(Other talking points may be introduced at the discretion of the interviewer^{er} until, ideally, we have about 20 minutes of free narrative from each informant.)

From the answers to section 1 we can discover all the information we need to know about such factors as age, sex, geographical origins and social status. It would even be possible to construct an index of social status working on the factors of job, education, material possessions, family background and cultural and social aspirations. However for this project an informal assessment is sufficient.

Section 2 is a not very sophisticated attempt to elicit basic attitudes about the speakers use of language. Much depends on the interviewer's skill and in the event this section did not prove very useful.

Section 3 was the least planmable section of all. Everything depends on the informant and the interviewer. Ideally I should have done the interviews myself but two factors decided me against this; firstly I was not a native speaker of Croatian, indeed at the time of the first set of interviews my speaking knowledge of the language was minimal; secondly as a foreigner it would have been difficult to gain the confidence of the locals, especially the older ones who would have probably suspected my reasons for being interested in them. Instead I recruited a student volunteer, Zeljka, to do the first set of interviews with members of her family and friends. As it was essential that she should be familiar with the project's aims I gave her a verbal briefing plus a written sheet of instructions. Considering her lack of experience in this sort of research she fulfilled her role very well.

At first the linguistic material to be recorded was restricted to one

style of speech, free narrative. The reason for this was that at the time when the questionnaire was designed I was primarily interested in differences between idiolects rather than within them, not having fully realized the wealth of style differences which are to be found. In addition it would have been difficult to elicit controlled samples of other styles. The simple trick of asking informants to read a passage or a word list which has been used successfully with English is of no use for Serbo-Croat since the script is almost perfectly phonemic (with regard to the standard language) and the influence of the spelling would cause immense distortion. In any case reading passages by their very nature provide no grammatical information.

With this questionnaire Zeljka conducted the first set of interviews. Later the design was modified (see below P 23) and a further interview was carried out by me.

b) Informants (1st set of interviews).

The biggest problem in this project was that of finding informants. The ideal representative sample which would be needed for a full scale survey would consist of at least fifty informants of different sexes, age groups, social classes and geographical origins. We would need each informant to provide at least an hour of recorded data and even then we could not be sure that we had a reliable sample of Zagreb speech. Obviously this was impossible in the time at my disposal.

However I still would have liked to have controlled my sample of informants in the hope of being able to get some systematic information. The obvious way to do this would be to interview only one type of person, e.g. men between 20 & 30, or only members of one family. However, informants were not forthcoming; several people especially older ones refused to be interviewed. (It seems that this type of research is not so socially acceptable in Yugoslavia as in Britain, but I feel that one of the main reasons for refusal was anti-student feeling after the disturbances of last winter. I have come to the conclusion that in a full scale survey the technique of choosing a random sample of informants from an electoral register or equivalent would not stand a chance.)

Finally then, we decided to interview anyone we could persuade to be

cooperative. In all cases this meant people who were well known either to myself or to my interviewer, Zeljka.

The following informants were interviewed by Zeljka. (I was not present during any of these interviews.)

- Informant 1. Zeljka's grandfather, 75 years old, born in Istria. Vernacular a cakavian dialect. Four years education. Worked in the ship building industry in Istria and Trieste (which before the war was in Yugoslavia). Speaks Italian. Never wealthy.
- Informant 2 The wife of informant 1. Age and background similar. Worked as a domestic before marriage. Also speaks Italian.
- Informant 3 Zeljka's brother, age 15, a schoolboy. Born in Zagreb of an Istrian family, he has lived about half his life in the town, the rest in Slavonia to the east. The family is now middle class and quite well off. Cosmopolitan linguistic background. Learning English at school.
- Informant 4 Zeljka's mother, 46 years old, born in Istria but has spent the greatest part of her life in Zagreb. Spent 12 years at school and secretarial college. Married an engineer in her early twenties, giving up her job to be a housewife. Speaks Italian and German.
- Informant 5 A neighbour of Zeljka's family. 40 years old, a lorry driver with an oil company. Born in a village north of Zagreb but has lived in the town 20 years. Vernacular a kajkavian dialect. Four years at school, no foreign languages.
- Informant 6 The wife of Inf. 5, age 40, housewife. Born and raised in Slavonia, vernacular dialect stokavian. Eight years at school where she learned some German. Peasant family, now urban working class.

c) The Interviews

As might be expected the interviews produced varying results. In general those with the older informants proved least satisfactory. Informants 1 and 2 both produced less than ten minutes of speech, much of which was rather mumbled. The second interview in fact was practically useless for

analysis. Informant 5 on the other hand was excellent; in fact to be honest he was too talkative and prevented his wife from making a full contribution to the proceedings. The other interviews fell between these extremes. In all the interviews the style of speech seems to be fairly natural narrative, with the possible exception of Informant 4 who possibly spoke more formally than usual.

d) Modifications and Additions.

Not being completely satisfied with the first set of interviews I decided to redesign the questionnaire and conduct at least one more interview. The first two sections remained unaltered but the free narrative section was modified to favour the elicitation of certain features which appeared to show significant variation, e.g. the future tense, the conditional, the past participle (masculine form); see below ~~Box~~ for the linguistic details of these features. Questions added included ones such as "What are you going to do tomorrow?", "What would you do with a million pounds?", "Tell me in detail the life story of a famous man you admire."

On top of this I decided to try to elicit examples of a much more colloquial style of speech. Having attempted to record a family conversation with little success, (conditions were too noisy, and the dog kept hogging the microphone), I decided that the best compromise was to record the informant during a telephone conversation with a friend. This has the advantage that only the informant's voice is heard, that background noise can be eliminated and that the style of speech is very close to normal animated conversation. The disadvantage, however, is that the interviewer has no chance of influencing the course of the conversation either in subject matter or towards important linguistic features.

I decided to conduct the interview myself, (by now my Serbo-Croat had improved considerably) partly as a matter of convenience, but also so I could have greater control over the interview situation. In addition the presence of a non-native speaker, I felt, would encourage the use of the standard language, even though the informant knew that I understood and even sometimes spoke "Zagrebacki".

The informant, no. 7, was my landlady's daughter Carmen, a 23 year old

medical student. She was born and has always lived in Zagreb. Her father, now dead, was a doctor from Slavonia, her mother a nurse, from Slovenia. Her mother normally speaks "Zagrebacki", not Slovenian and the former variety is Carmen's vernacular. Carmen herself is highly educated and cultured, she speaks fluent German and a little English.

The interview itself was very successful. I managed to elicit about 20 minutes of free narrative and the modifications to the questionnaire had the desired effect except for the attempt to elicit vast numbers of masculine past participles. The telephone conversation was also very successful, there is ten minutes of speech, almost all from Carmen, in a style which is clearly distinct from the interview.

In general I feel that the sample from the seven informants reflects fairly well the many varieties of speech in Zagreb. There is a quantitative bias in the corpus towards kajkavian varieties which came about by accident but which reflects the actual situation. We have examples of the other two major dialect groups and of the standard language. Finally we have an example of diglossic usage from inf. 7. Unfortunately very few of the interviews are long enough to be useful for a statistical analysis of sociolinguistic variation. But for the purposes of the present paper I feel that the corpus is perfectly adequate.

In order to check whether it was easy to judge a person's social status from his speech I conducted an informal reaction test. I asked a Yugoslav friend to listen to excerpts from infs. 4 & 5 and asked him to guess their jobs. His answers, office worker for 4, factory worker for 5, were remarkably accurate. Of course this proves nothing as there may have been clues in the subject matter, or it may have been a mere fluke but it does suggest that such tests, properly controlled ^uwould be a fruitful line of inquiry.

DESCRIPTION OF VARIETIES STUDIED.

a) Kajkavian and standard.

Ideally in a paper of this kind a full description of all the varieties which are considered distinct should be presented. Two factors prevent this, a) the amount of work involved, b) the fact that all the different varieties merge into each other, that it is impossible to find a "pure" example of any variety to describe, that all varieties are mutually comprehensible and therefore I wish to stress their similarities rather than their differences. The following procedure will therefore be adopted. The dialects will be presented in comparison with the standard language, only differences being shown.

For kajkavian we will present all the features traditionally known as kajkavian and compare this with the present day situation as observed either on the tapes or during my time in Zagreb. For the other, less important dialects the procedure will be reversed i.e. we will work first from the tapes then compare these with the findings of traditional dialectology. Where possible the features discussed will be described in terms of a generative model as well as in the traditional longhand way.

I) Phonology. It is pointless to carry out a complete analysis of two closely related varieties in the terms of taxonomic phonemics and then compare them. Magner in fact did this with his Zagreb kajkavian and the standard language and came to the conclusion that kajkavian has seven phonemes less than the standard. This arises from the fact that palatalised affricates in the standard language can be treated as sequences of stop+j in kajkavian. This conclusion, if not completely absurd must surely go against the intuitions of native speakers that e.g. /tšovek/ is the same as /čovek/. It would seem therefore that an analysis of the phonology in non-taxonomic terms is preferable, e.g. Firthian or generative. The generative approach I shall adopt has the advantage of relating the differences between the varieties to a common core of the grammar, thus helping to explain their mutual comprehensibility.

The following features are the ones which are traditionally regarded as the defining ones for kajkavian. An asterisk indicates that they are also to be found in the Slovenian varieties of Slavic.

1) Neutralisation of final consonants. In kajkavian final consonants do not exhibit an opposition between voiced and voiceless, the voiceless member of the opposition appearing in all cases. Bearing in mind morpho-phonemic considerations we can best explain this in generative terms by a rule such as the following which would apply in kajkavian but not in the standard language:

Rule 1.
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{vocalic} \\ + \text{consonantal} \\ + \text{voice} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{vocalic} \\ + \text{consonantal} \\ - \text{voice} \end{array} \right] / \text{-----} \#$$

(The origin of this feature of kajkavian is worthy of discussion. As a similar rule is found in German it is possible that it is a relic of the Germanic presence in Zagreb. However as it is also found in several other languages it may be a completely independent development or even an extension of the progressive voicing assimilation, common in Slavic, e.g. $iz + p \rightarrow isp$ with the pause being taken as a voiceless segment.)

This feature is very frequent, but not universal, in Zagreb speech as illustrated on the tapes and as heard in the town. There is, however, a further complication in that there is a tendency in most varieties to elide final unstressed vowels. Thus for a word like "sada" (now) there are three possibilities 1) the full form, "sada", 2) "sad", which is quite acceptable in the standard language, 3) "sat", the normal kajkavian form. There may also be phonological constraints on the operation of this rule, e.g. if the next word begins with a voiced segment, but with the complication of linguistic and sociolinguistic factors this cannot be proved.

2) /e/ v. standard /ije/* Kajkavian is traditionally described as an ekavian dialect, (see above Pl2). Where the standard language shows (i)je ekavian dialects show e(:). In generative terms both forms could be derived from an underlying $(I)JE$ by a pair of rules such as

Rule 2, a. $[IJE] \rightarrow [i]je$
 2, b. $[I]JE \rightarrow /e[:]$

which would apply in ije kavian and ekavian dialects respectively.

The ekavian forms are very frequent in Zagreb and on tape but the vast majority of speakers use at least some ije forms. There is probably a trend

at the present moment against ekavian forms as these are so typical of Serbian varieties.

3)e for standard a. * In certain words the /a/ of the standard language is represented by /e/. This is generally the result of the development of what is usually known as the jers of proto-Slavic. This can be expressed by the following pair of rules;

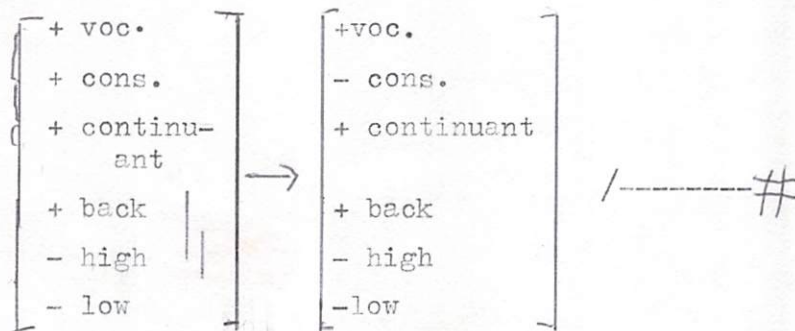
Rule 3,a $\varepsilon \rightarrow /a/$
 3,b $\varepsilon \rightarrow /e/$

which apply in the standard and kajkavian respectively.

This feature is very frequent in many contexts in Zagreb speech but especially in conjunction with feature 4 below. Indeed the rules to deal with the two features should be taken together as will be explained below.

4) Maintenance of syllable final /l/ v. /o/. * The treatment of final /l/s is one of the most interesting features of Yugoslav dialectology. In many varieties they have been vocalised, most frequently to /o/ but in kajkavian they are retained. This ^{retention} is very frequent in Zagreb speech and on the tapes especially from inf.5. However scarcely anyone I know uses this exclusively. In generative terms we can posit an extra rule for the standard language such as;

Rule 4,a.



i.e. l → o /-----#

Since the l is retained far more often in words where it follows an e derived from rule 3b, and the varieties are never mixed at word level, e.g. isel or isao both occur but not *isal or *iseo we must order rules 3a & 4 and make rule 4 obligatory when it is preceded by rule 3a. ^{and now applicable after 3b.} On other occasions however it is sociolinguistically variable. E.g. radio(worked) or radil.

5) Palatalized consonants.

The subject of palatalized

consonants is one of the most complex in Slavic phonology. Obviously a full discussion is not possible here but the main points of difference between standard and kajkavian varieties are as follows. Where the standard has a palatalized consonant, (the affricates č, ć, dž, dj and the sounds nj & lj) kajkavian treats them as a sequence of consonant + j and usually metathesis takes place. Thus we have forms such as dodje(St.) v. dojde(kaj.), korejna(kaj), v. korenja(St.). Sometimes the j is deleted altogether giving e.g. iti(kaj) v. ići=itji(St.), prijatel(kaj) v. prijatelj(St.). These forms are all very common in Zagreb speech and appear several times on tape. In generative terms they could be dealt with in the following way.

$$\text{Rule 5, a.} \quad \begin{array}{|c|} \hline t \\ \hline d \\ \hline k \\ \hline g \\ \hline n \\ \hline l \\ \hline \end{array} + j \rightarrow \begin{array}{|c|} \hline \bar{c} [c^j] \\ \hline \bar{d}j [d^j] \\ \hline \bar{c} [tʃ] \\ \hline \bar{d}\bar{z} [dʒ] \\ \hline nj [nʃ] \\ \hline lj [lʃ] \\ \hline \end{array} \quad (\text{applies to standard language})$$

N.B. This rule as it stands is a low level rule of limited application. In a complete grammar it is much more likely that this process would be dealt with at a higher level and that the rule used would also cover the š and ž sounds. At that level a feature specification would be more economical and also cast light on other facts, e.g. that labials are never palatalized.

$$\text{Rule 5, b.} \quad \text{Cons} + j \rightarrow \bar{j} + \text{cons} \quad (\text{applies in kajkavian})$$

$$\text{5, b, i.} \quad j \rightarrow \emptyset \quad (\text{applies in kajkavian in certain contexts not yet established})$$

Without studying the whole of the subject of palatalisation in detail it is impossible to formalize the rules adequately but it is hoped that the above paragraphs give an indication of how this would be done. It is possible that the metathesis rule, 5, b would need to be extended to cover the case of the cluster sv which occasionally in Zagreb speech (and always in Slovenian) becomes vs. e.g. svaki (every), vsaki.

6) The second palatalisation.

The morphophonemic

alternation in 'cr b'

I know is not mentioned in the traditional accounts of kajkavian but which native speakers tell me is quite common; an e occurs after a non-palatalised consonant in adjectives e.g. *jednem, isteg* where the standard demands an o.

Another very frequent feature of Zagreb speech which is not restricted to the kajkavian varieties is the deletion of final unstressed vowels. This feature if not dialectal is definitely colloquial. In most cases the words where this occurs belong to a restricted class of adverbs, conjunctions and the infinitive. In generative terms this can be dealt with by a simple deletion rule applying in the colloquial varieties, (usually only in a percentage of the possible cases);

Rule 8 $V[-\text{stress}] \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{-----}\#$

(The phonological constraints on this rule are probably more complex but have not been studied in any detail.)

II) Grammar.

1) Future tenses.

In the standard language the normal

future tense is formed from the present tense of the verb *hteti*, to wish, plus the infinitive. The auxiliary verb has two forms, a full form used in sentence initial position, for emphasis or when the verb carries its own meaning or is used as a question echo; and an enclitic form which usually follows the infinitive with the elision of the unstressed *i*. Thus we have the two paradigms shown below,

1st.sg.	hoću raditi	raditću	I will work
2nd.sg.	hoćeš raditi	raditćeš	you " "
3rd.sg.	hoće raditi	raditće	he etc. "
1st.pl.	hoćemo raditi	raditćemo	we " "
2nd.pl.	hoćete raditi	raditćete	you " "
3rd.pl.	hoće raditi	raditće	they "

Alongside this the standard has an exact future tense formed from the perfective present of *biti*, to be, and the past participle. This is used mainly in conditional sentences and the paradigm is as follows;

1st.sg.	budem radio
2nd.sg.	budeš radio

3rd.sg.	bude radio(-la,lo)
1st pl.	budemo radili
2nd.pl.	budete radili
3rd.pl.	bude radili(-e,a)

In broad kajkavian the future tense is normally expressed by an analogous form but the auxilliary is contracted to bum, bus, bu, bumo, bute, buju. These contracted forms seem to occur almost exclusively as enclitics and budem etc. are used in stressed positions. Hteti seems to occur only in its full forms with full meaning. There is, however much confusion and forms such as budem isel (or isao) are very common. In addition many people use the present tense with future meaning when speaking colloquially. The bum future is very frequent in Zagreb and is known widely throughout Yugoslavia as the mark of a Zagreb native.

2) The conditional. In the standard language the conditional is formed from the aorist of biti, to be, and the past participle; the auxilliary is conjugated bih, bi, bi, bismo, biste, bi. In Zagreb speech and in most colloquial varieties an invariant form bi is used for all persons. The few examples on tape tend to confirm this tendency.

3) Kaj and što * This is one of the most important features which distinguish kajkavian from the other varieties. Although it is basically a matter of vocabulary there are many constructions built up from either kaj or što. There are several compound words like zašto/zakaj (why?), prije nego što/pre neg'kaj (before). Kaj/što can also be used as an indeclinable relative pronoun instead of the declinable koji. Where kaj is used and there is ambiguity about the relationships between the nouns a personal pronoun in an oblique case may be inserted, e.g. čovek kaj mu pišeš = St. čovek kom pišeš. Kaj may also be used as an interrogative particle to convert any statement into a question but I believe this usage is rather rare. Also possible, but rarely used is the form kaj za, what sort of?, instead of kakav. (Wagner says this was modeled on the German was für ein, but it could, says Bidwell, equally be borrowed from Italian).

Most people of course are perfectly familiar with both kaj and što forms and many use both in appropriate social circumstances. In isolation

as an interrogative kaj is very common; compounds and constructions with kaj are rather less common. There are examples of kaj and zakaj on tape from informants 5 & 7.

4) iti + adverbs v. compound verbs of motion.

In the standard language there are many compounds of the verb ići; e.g. doći, to come, izići, to go out, vratiti se, to return etc. In kajkavian constructions using iti + adverb are more common, e.g. idem van, I'm going out, idem dol(j)e, I'm going down, idem natrag, I'm going back. These forms may be modelled on the German "ich gehe hinauf" etc. Even in pure kajkavian some compounds are normal e.g. dojti, to come. We even have an example on tape from inf. 5 of a mixed construction, otići van, but I understand this is not common. The phrase, idem van is especially frequent. Analogous forms are sometimes found with other verbs of motion, e.g. sedni dole, sit down!

5) Yes/No Questions.

In both the standard and

kajkavian varieties there are several ways of asking a yes/no question. The method approved by school grammars is to insert the interrogative particle "li" at the key point of the sentence. As this is an enclitic it cannot stand alone at the beginning of a sentence so the form "da li" is used ^{in that position.} In kajkavian there are three additional possibilities. Firstly the word kaj may be used as an interrogative particle, though this is not very often heard. Secondly the sentence may take the original statement form the question being expressed in the context or by intonation, (this is very common). Thirdly the phrase je li (or jel') may be tacked on to the end of the sentence. This could not occur in the standard language because je is regarded as an enclitic. This form is very common but it is to be noted that the most frequent use of jel' is as a pause filler, (see below). The stylistic connotations of these various forms of question, which undoubtedly exist have not been investigated in any detail.

6) Pause Fillers.

As in all languages there are

in Serbo-Croat a number of meaningless phrases which can be used to cover up hesitations and prevent painful silences. Standard ones include, znaš, you (yer?) know, čuj/čujite, listen, mislim, I think etc. Kajkavian has one or two

of its own notably jel', is it and veli, he says. Everybody at some time uses one or other of these pause fillers but it is quite likely that they are more frequent in informal circumstances or from less educated people. Each individual seems to have a favorite; on tape inf.5 seems addicted to ĉujite and inf.7 to jel'.

7) Diminutives. Kajkavian is noticeable for its tendency to add diminutive suffixes to nouns, e.g. -ek, -ček, -eko, -ec, -eco, -ica. The -ica example is especially common and forms like sobica, room, kavica, (cuppa) coffee, kravica, cow, abound in Zagreb speech.

8) Indefinite article In the standard language there are no articles but in kajkavian there is a tendency for the numeral jedan, one to be used as an indefinite article.

9) Indefinite Adjectives. In the standard language there are two sets of adjective declensions, definite and indefinite. In Kajkavian because of the simplified accentual system the phonemic differences which distinguished them no longer exist and there are only vestiges of the distinction in masculine and neuter singular cases.

(Sections 8 & 9 would both be dealt with generatively by the rules which covered the surface representation of the universal feature +definite transforming it in the one case onto the adjective, in the other onto the article. Since these rules would be exceedingly complex and of little import as even in the standard the distinction between definite and indefinite is dying out, the rules in question have not been worked out,)

10) Reflexive Verbs Kajkavian has a tendency to make certain verbs reflexive, e.g. sestiti se, sit down v. sestiti (standard), legnuti se, lie down v. legnuti.

11) Kajkavian tends to use a preposition with the instrumental case where the standard uses an instrumental alone, e.g. na vlakom v. vozom, by train.

12) In kajkavian the feminine accusative singular of the third person pronoun is always ju, while in the standard je is used except when there is ambiguity with the verb je.

13) The preposition u in the standard is represented by vu or v in kajkavian. *However, this is not frequent in most Zagreb speech.

Several other features of kajkavian have often been quoted in earlier work on dialectology, e.g. non-standard noun and verb morphology, alternative forms of the comparative etc. In general these are unimportant and rare, (I have never heard most of them) so they will be quietly ignored in this paper.

b) OTHER VARIETIES; Points arising from the tapes.

1) Čakavian, informant 1.

The most interesting

feature of this informant's speech is the treatment of final l's. He uses at least three different forms, excluding the standard in only ten minutes of recorded speech. Once he uses a typical kajkavian form, *posel*, but more frequently we have forms ending in *i* or *ia* for standard *io*. (These forms I am told are widespread in čakavian dialects.) It is difficult to analyse these forms completely. At first sight it might be thought that the *i* form could be dealt with by a simple deletion rule such as;

Rule 4b, $l \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{-----} \#$

but whether this would apply for instance in the case of a past participle of an *e* or a stem verb is not known. A satisfactory derivation of the *ia* form is even more problematic.

The verb form *ja sam* shows some interesting variations in this idiolect; *se*, *sem* and *sam* are found on tape. It is common in Istrian dialects to find the *a* represented by *e* and the *m* reduced to slight nasalisation or completely absent. It is easy to explain the reduction of the *m* by a pair of rules such as,

Rule 9
$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{Voc} \\ - \text{cons} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} - \text{voc} \\ + \text{cons} \\ + \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{voc} \\ - \text{cons} \\ + \text{nas} \end{bmatrix}$$

Rule 10
$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{voc} \\ - \text{cons} \\ + \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{voc} \\ - \text{cons} \end{bmatrix}$$

A generative explanation of the alternation *e/a* is much more difficult since in čakavian varieties the behaviour of *a* is very complex. (see below)

(It is difficult to explain the form *ja se rodi* which is found on the tape since *roditi* is normally a reflexive verb and the standard form is

ja sam se rodio. We might expect ja se se rodi but native speakers have told me that ja se rodi is unacceptable even in broad čakavian. We must therefore presume it was a slip of the tongue.)

In several words on tape an a in the standard language is represented by an o in this idiolect. Examples are kotedral for katedral and soda for sada. However sada also occurs. Without complete data it is impossible to analyse this in depth.

The informant makes a clear distinction between the č and ć sounds in the name of his birthplace.

Godine, years is regularly contracted to godne but this has been observed in other idiolects.

The informants vernacular dialect is presumably ekavian but on tape ijekavian forms are also found.

II) Stokavian, non-standard, informant 6. (Slavonia)

This idiolect, though substandard is, because of its geographic origins fairly close to the standard. For instance it is almost completely ijekavian and all final l's are vocalised. In fact there is one case where it appears that a non-final l has been vocalised (mi smo išoi) but this I am told is completely unheard of.

We have two examples from this informant of smi for standard smo, (we) are. There is one unexplained past participle form, nosilaj and several occurrences of deletion of unstressed final vowels (as in kajkavian).

III) The standard informants 3&4.

These informants produced very few deviations from the standard despite the fact that inf. 4 claims she speaks tipičan zagrebački. There are one or two examples of kajkavian final devoicing and one occurrence of the čakavian sem. More interesting is the fact that inf. 4 uses certain forms which I feel are excessively formal e.g. conditional bih; a gerundive construction, nakon svršena. From an educated middle aged woman who definitely states that there are standards in language this is hardly surprising. Informant 3, her son is the best example on tape of the standard language.

A PROFOS

There is one other feature of Serbo-Croat grammar which is worth mentioning as it involves divided usage. This involves the

choice of construction following a modal. Normally in Zagreb all varieties prefer a simple infinitive e.g. moram ići (iti), I must go, whereas in the South a clause introduced by da is preferred (a construction which has similarities with constructions in many Balkan languages). Generally speaking prescriptive grammarians prefer the clause construction but the force of usage in the Zagreb area seems to have overruled them.

ANALYSIS.

a) Techniques in urban dialectology and difficulties in their application in Zagreb.

It has already been pointed out, (P21) that there are immense difficulties in organizing the fieldwork for any urban dialectology project in Zagreb. In addition I feel that Zagreb confronts us with problems as regards techniques of analysis over and above those which have been met in earlier sociolinguistic studies of large towns.

The key technique in earlier work has been the sociolinguistic variable. Generally this is a case of divided usage or what in general linguistics might be called free variation. The frequency of occurrence of each member of the variable can be calculated and then correlated with sociological factors such as age, social status or the social context of the speech act. From such investigation on a micro-linguistic level we can discover general trends about language and its function in society.

This technique has proved successful now in several urban dialect studies. However in most of the towns studied the social structure has been, relatively speaking, stable, unlike Zagreb where the vast majority of the population are recent ^migrants of diverse backgrounds; (even in New York with its large proportion of ^migrants and wide variety of ethnic groups the society is stable since the groups are geographically restricted to their own ghettos and have little interaction with other groups.) In addition there has usually been a well developed and codified version of a standard language, with no strong geographic basis and which is superposed on one (occasionally more) homogenous and well defined substandard variety. In Zagreb as we have already pointed out the standard language maintains a regional bias and there is a continuum of closely related and undefinable varieties. There are plenty

of cases of divided usage on which we can base our variables; the problem comes in trying to correlate them meaningfully with social factors, especially social status.

The best way to illustrate the difficulties involved is to show the problems which beset a specific variable. For this purpose we will use the variable e/ije which is typical of the situation at its most complex. We will ignore the purely linguistic difficulties, e.g. identification, (see below P42). Basically the standard language has ije where the local Zagreb dialects have e. Other sub-standard varieties have ije and there are probably a number of idiolects which usually have i. In addition there may be people who have learned the Serbian standard and use e as the prestige form. Most people are not limited to one form; we will assume that in familiar speech most people use their vernacular form and that the frequency of standard ije's increases with, say education and the formality of the situation. We can set up an index in which ije's are counted as a percentage of the occurrences of the variable and we would expect this to give a positive correlation with an index of social status. However results like the following hypothetical but probable ones would fail to give this.

Speaker A, a young well educated man from a good family background who had lived at several different places in Croatia or Bosnia during his childhood; ije scores, formal style 100%, informal 100%.

Speaker B, a person of similar age and background except that he is a native of Zagreb; ije score, formal style 90%, informal 20%, (indicating a situation very close to diglossia).

Speaker C, a 35 year old working man born in a kajkavian area close to Zagreb; formal style 40%, informal 2%.

Speaker D, a similar person born and raised in Hercegovina; formal 100%, informal 100%.

Speaker E, a university lecturer born and raised in Beograd; formal 0%, informal 0%.

It is quite easy to see that it is impossible to establish a simple direct correlation between the ije scores and social status. Yet if we restrict our sample of informants to people with origins in the Zagreb area there is

a quite significant trend that middle class informants use more ije forms than working class ones especially in formal style. I feel that in a full scale survey the only valid procedure for correlating language with social status in Zagreb would be to break up the sample of informants into groups based on geographic origin and to compare the usage of the status groups within them. This of course would involve the use of a different set of variables for each group and hence a fairly comprehensive knowledge of most of the regional varieties of Serbo-Croat.

There may of course be variables which work in a similar way over a wide area of Yugoslavia. Indeed there is nothing to stop us establishing variables in which different sub-standard forms are given an equal rating in comparison with the standard. However I do not know of a single variable which can be said to be completely without regional differences in its behaviour.

Most of the ~~variables~~ variables so far discussed play an intrinsic part in the structure of the language, i.e. they are variable at the competence or language level. It might be more profitable to search for correlations between class and language at the performance level investigating features like frequency of pronoun usage (see below p45 re vi/ti), pause fillers, general complexity of grammatical structure (expressed in terms of the number of transformations employed) etc. This in fact would involve carrying out experiments similar to those conducted by Bernstein with English schoolchildren. However there are so many difficulties and such effort involved that I shall not investigate this area in detail.

There are still other difficulties involved with the use of variables in socio-linguistics; ones which would be found in almost any urban dialect study. Firstly there is the problem of linguistic environment of the variables. By this is meant the tendency of certain linguistic features, e.g. choice of a dialectal lexical item, to favour the occurrence of one member of the variable. When the word involved is a very common one, either because of the subject matter of the conversation or because it is a function word it is obvious that any quantification will be distorted. If the word concerned is always found to exhibit one member of the variable it is simple enough to

refuse to count the occurrences of that word as a case of the variable; great difficulty however does occur if the word in fact shows variation but at a significantly different rate than the norm. Of course over a wide enough corpus distortions would tend to cancel out but as the normal amount of data from each informant is no more than about 30 minutes of any one style this type of distortion must be kept constantly in check.

The next major problem with variables is the practical one of eliciting enough examples of each variable from the informants. With phonological variables it is relatively easy but for grammatical (especially syntactic) ones it is often necessary to devise special questions in the interview to elicit them, e.g. bum future (see P23). At the same time we must be careful to prevent the informant from realizing what is happening as this might alter his speech.

The problem of style control in a project using variables is an important one since it is impossible to make valid comparison between two speakers unless we can identify the style they are using. Obviously we cannot use the behaviour of the variables as a criterion for judging style, for fear of circularity. Labov has claimed there are paralinguistic features which can be used to measure style but there seems to be no way of measuring these accurately and it is an open question whether they apply in languages other than English. So for the purpose of this project we are forced to rely on common sense as the major tool for style identification.

b) Results Of Variable Analysis.

The recordings that were made while I was in Zagreb do not of course constitute a large enough corpus to permit a detailed analysis of all the sociolinguistic variables to be found. In fact only the recordings of inf. 5 & 7 provide sufficient material for most of the variables. For the most part the procedure adopted will be to compare three varieties, i.e. two styles from inf. 7 and one from inf. 5. Fortunately both informants have a basically similar vernacular variety so many of the problems previously outlined will be avoided. Because of the scarcity of material this section will be more useful in shedding light on the techniques themselves rather

than on the sociolinguistic situation in Zagreb.

Variable 1, što/kaj (ča, šta)

This is one of the most obvious features which can be used as a variable and presents less problems than most as it occurs frequently and is easy to identify. It is basically a binary variable, only one form being acceptable in the standard (što) and one in each substandard variety; (even in an idiolect where both kaj and ča occurred there would be no problem in treating both as equally sub-standard.)

Elicitation presents a minor difficulty in free narrative style as the variable usually occurs in an interrogative context which is not frequent in that style.

There are also problems in deciding whether every example of the words kaj or što should be treated as an occurrence of the variable. For example the forms zakaj/zašto may show a completely different sociolinguistic behaviour than the basic forms. More important is the relative pronoun use of kaj/što in place of the declinable koj. Here it would be best to set up a completely independent variable with three terms (for Zagreb speech), koj što and kaj in order of social acceptability. (In Stokavian dialects a binary variable, koj/sto would be sufficient.) However I feel that any distortions caused by these factors would be insignificant in the present inquiry therefore all occurrences of kaj/sto will be treated as cases of the variable.

The major problem would arise in trying to correlate this variable with factors such as education. The problem of course is the familiar one of immigrants with Stokavian vernaculars who would use the standard form more often than most well educated Zagreb natives. (It would be interesting to investigate this variable in speakers of Stokavian vernaculars who occasionally use the Zagreb koine variety.)

The following results were obtained for this variable from inf. 7 (two styles) and inf. 5 (transcribed parts of interview).

	Total	kaj	sto	%kaj
Informant 7, formal	14	0	14	0%
" " , informal	12	10	2	83%
" 5, formal	19	5	14	26%

These results tend to support the conclusion that it is the context of the speech act which is the main determining feature in the behaviour of this variable. Informant 7 shows almost perfect diglossia with this variable. But it is also noticeable that inf.5 who is less well educated uses the substandard kaj on several occasions in a relatively formal style when the educated informant did not.

Variable 2, Deletion of final unstressed vowels.

This feature (see p30) is very frequent in many varieties of Serbo-Croat. It is however, quite difficult to identify without a native speaker's intuition for the sub-standard term of the variable is zero. For the purposes of this study I have taken as cases of the variable all occurrences of adverbs and conjunctions which in the standard language normally end in an unstressed vowel and the final i of the infinitive, except when followed by an enclitic form of hteti, (the standard future tense). I have excluded the pause filler jel' which is very frequent from inf.7 but which invariably has the deletion.

The following results were obtained

	Total	Vowel	Ø	%Ø
Inf.7, formal	66	54	12	19
" , informal	59	30	29	49
Inf.5, formal	74	51	23	31

These results are very similar to those for variable 11, with the exception that inf.7 does not show such clear diglossia. However, because of the difficulties in identifying this variable I would be very reluctant to rely on results like these from a very small sample of informants.

Variable 3, Vocalisation of l. (see p27)

This variable is of relatively rare occurrence (especially from female informants in casual speech) as it is almost exclusively found in masculine past participles. However, purely linguistic problems do not affect it greatly; even the fact that it often co-occurs with the variable e/a (see p27) should not upset any quantification of the variable. Usually it is easy to identify though the case of the kajkavian l representing standard lj e.g. prijatelj may cause some problems. Once again correlation

with social class would prove difficult because speakers of štokavian vernaculars would almost universally vocalise their l's. However the variable can easily be extended to include the other non-standard treatments of final l in for instance čakavian dialects.

The results from this variable are rather disappointing. Informant 7 uses o universally in both styles on tape (though I have on several occasions heard her use l). Inf. 1, the old čakavian speaker invariably uses a sub-standard form, i or ia on seven occasions. Inf. 5 alone shows divided usage, 13 l's to 18 o's, (42%-58%). The not very startling conclusion is that older badly educated people use the sub-standard form more often than young well educated ones.

Variable 4, ije/e.

The general principle of this variable have already been discussed but it must be pointed out that there are further difficulties of a purely linguistic nature. The main one is identification of the variable; even school grammars are not always sure which words should have ije or e. Because of the many different sources of e in Serbo-Croat it is hardly surprising if there is occasional confusion. Indeed we have on tape at least one case of over-correction when inf. 5 starts to say sijelo for standard and kajkavian selo, village. Thus in a case where native speakers have dubious intuitions there is no need to stress the problems a foreign linguist has to face.

The results obtained from this variable are again rather disappointing; inf. 7 has only an insignificant number of e forms in both styles and with inf. 5 ije's outnumber e's by 25 to 13 (70%-30%). Generally it seems that e forms are dying out partly as a result of prejudice against all things Serbian. Although this project has failed to come to any conclusion about this variable I am sure that it would prove to be the most interesting area of study for a full scale urban dialect survey.

Variable 5, The bum future.

This variable because it is grammatical presents great problems in elicitation. I would estimate that even with specially rigged interview techniques it would require about two hours of speech from each informant in order to elicit a quantifiable number of occurrences of this variable.

However this variable is one of the most interesting from the linguistic point of view in that it is not a simple binary variable but has at least four terms which can be graded from standard through colloquial to dialectal.

- 1) standard future e.g. iću
- 2) colloquial, present as future e.g. idem
- 3) corrected kajkavian e.g. budem išao/išel
- 4) broad kajkavian e.g. bum išel

There are several difficulties of identification arising, e.g. 2 v. present tense, 3 v. standard exact future. There may be cases in kajkavian where either 3 or 4 is obligatory (in the case of enclitics for instance.)

Only inf.7 provided any examples of this variable. In formal style she always uses the standard form. During the telephone conversation she uses the present as future at least as often as the standard form, and on two occasions uses budem as a question echo dummy. Generally however from my casual observation of Zagreb speech I feel that this variable behaves in a similar way to many others, viz the non standard forms occur frequently in the informal speech of all classes and in all styles of the less educated. F.B. It is likely that there is a connotative semantic difference between terms 1 and 2 of the variable which creates a further difficulty in analysis.

The above five variables are the only ones which have been investigated in detail, mainly because of elicitation difficulties. There are several others which once the difficulties had been ironed out could probably be used. The most promising are

- a) Conditional; full forms v. invariant bi
- b) Final devoicing of consonants.
- c) Distinction between č' and č
- d) e kajkavian v. a standard
- e) Infinitive v. clause after modals.

Variables, a Summary

Although the analysis of variables presented in this paper has not proved a great success in itself we have established that there are a number of sociolinguistic variables in Zagreb speech which are worthy of attention. We have also shown that the situation in Zagreb is rather more

complex than in the towns where most of the large urban dialect studies have been carried out. It seems that the technique of variable analysis is basically valid in Zagreb but that it would have to be made rather more sophisticated before a full scale survey could be carried out. Most of the problems which would arise have been discovered and it is in this that the greatest value of the present paper lies.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	Z	V
9.Older Sister	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti
10 Younger Sister	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti
11 Grandfather	vi	vi	ti	vi	vi	vi	ti	ti
12 Grandmother	vi	vi	ti	vi	vi	vi	ti	ti
13 Uncle	vi	vi	ti	vi	ti	ti	vi	ti
14 aunt	vi	vi	ti	vi	ti	ti	vi	ti
15 Cousin, male	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti
16 Cousin, female	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti

Section 2, At work or school

Colleagues, workmates, fellow students etc.

17 Male, age 50+	vi	vi	ti	vi	ti(vi)	vi(ti)	vi	vi
18 " " 35	vi	vi	ti	vi	ti	vi	ti	vi
19 " " 20	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti(vi)	ti	ti
20 Female, age 50+	vi	vi	ti	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi
21 " " 35	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	ti	vi
22 " " 20	ti	ti	ti	vi	vi	ti	ti	vi

Immediate superiors, e.g. foreman, supervisor, junior lecturer.

23 Male, age 50+	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi
24 " " 35	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi
25 " " 20	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi
26 Female, age 50+	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi
27 " " 35	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi
28 " " 20	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi

Bosses e.g. factory manager, professor.

70 Female, age 35	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI
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People in the street or on the train.

71 Male, age 50+	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI
72 " " 35	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI
73 " " 20	VI	VI	VI (VI)	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI
74 " " 10	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI
75 Female, age 50+	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI
76 " " 35	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI
77 " " 20	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI
78 " " 10	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI
Total number of t's from each informant								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Total number of t's used to address each sex (excluding Section 1):

Females 21, males 38

Total number of t's used to address each age group (excluding Section 1, and the 10 year olds who always get t1):

50+ 4, 35---- 8, 20----- 21.

From these results, unreliable as they are because of the small size of the sample and because they reflect intuitions rather than actual usage many interesting points emerge. We will deal first with the differences between the different informants and then with points concerning the addressees.

The differences between the t1 scores of the informants is even more significant if we first discount the occasions when the informants gave a

unanimous reply; the following table emerges,

1	2	4	9
3	4	17	4
4	5	18(15)	4
6	6	15(12)	11
7	7	12	11

It is most noticeable that in the case of the married couples 1 & 2, 5 & 6, and with the brother and sister 3 & Z the female has a considerably lower ti score. The very old informants in general used ti less often than the younger ones and within the family it was noticeable that inf. 4, the mother had a ti score much lower than her daughter, Z or son, 3. The high scores of informants 5 & 6 who are in the same age group as 4 can be put down to the difference between working and lower middle class backgrounds. Wfs extremely low ti score compared to the other members of his age group, Z & 3 can also be put down to class background for his family is definitely upper middle class, his father being an engineer and his mother a lecturer. (For the social backgrounds of the other informants see P22.)

The best way to present the facts about the choice of vi or ti will be to outline the cases where usage is agreed, secondly to work through the questionnaire showing where it is divided and then to go back and provide a general explanation.

Ti is universal when speaking to the following people,

a) children, male or female. It would be interesting to know the upper age limit which is probably higher for boys than for girls considering that inf. 1 uses ti with 20 year old male strangers but not with females.

b) members of the family of the same or lower generation i.e. husband, wife, son, daughter, brother, sister, cousin.

Vi is universal in the following cases,

a) all superiors at work,

b) all people in a socially dominant role e.g. doctors

c) generally all adult strangers or casual acquaintances.

Usage is divided in the following cases,

Section 1, Family

With people of an older generation the older informants use, or rather used, vi. The very old speakers 1 & 2 addressed parents, grandparents and parents' siblings as vi, while middle aged informants 4, 5 & 6 use ti with parents. I feel that the usage of vi for uncles and aunts shown by inf. 4 and her daughter, Z is a reflection of not seeing them frequently and that the use of ti as shown by 5 & 6 is more typical of the middle aged generation.

Section 2, Work.

The situation as regards colleagues is very complex and each informant's answers need to be examined in detail. Infs. 1 & 2 restrict the use of ti to the youngest age group. Inf. 3, a teenager with no work experience thinks he would use ti with all his fellow workers except middle aged women, but I feel that his answers to this section cannot be counted as reliable. His mother, 4 would again only use ti with a young man. Inf. 5 would use ti with his workmates, (possibly vi with older ones) but vi with female colleagues. His wife would restrict ti to the youngest people of both sexes. Z would use ti except with the oldest age group but V would only use it with lads of his own age. (Of course it must be born in mind that personal relationships between workmates would greatly affect the situation in practice.)

Subordinates seem to follow an equally complex pattern. The oldest age group gets vi from all informants. Z and V give all subordinates vi, 5 & 6 only to old men and all women. Inf. 1 gives ti to all youngsters but 2 & 4 only to girls. Inf. 3 uses ti with all except the oldest group.

Section 3, Friends and Neighbours.

Much in the section on friends depends on the interpretation the informants put on the questions i.e. in cases of age group difference whether they thought of friends of other members of the family or imagined themselves with older or younger friends. Judging by the high number of vi's in this section it seems that most informants gave the questions the former interpretation. There seems to be no simple pattern in the replies to this section; therefore we shall look at each informant in turn. Inf. 1 uses ti with male friends and children, but his wife only with children and young men. Inf. 3 uses ti with his own age group but vi with his elders, (the vi used with 10 year old boys must either be a mistake or considering Z's reply a family joke.) His mother restricts ti to children but his sister uses it with all except old men and old and middle aged women. Infs. 5 & 6 use ti with all friends with the possible exception of the oldest. V uses vi only with the oldest age group.

Surprisingly neighbours are treated almost exactly as complete strangers i.e. universal vi with the following exceptions; a) children, b) for Z people

her age group.

Section 4, Strangers and casual acquaintances.

Here the only exceptions to the normal vi are;

a) children

b) from inf. 1 male 20 year olds,

c) from inf. 5 male waiters etc. of his or lower age group. This is probably best explained as matiness with a fellow working man rather than any feeling of superiority.

d) from inf. 3 & 5 to young male strangers.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this investigation. Firstly that ti is used more often by males when speaking to males probably reflecting their more informal attitude and the politeness and respect shown to and expected from women. Secondly ti flourishes in the more informal working class than in the upper and middle classes. The difference in usage between the age groups probably reflects the change in usage which has been caused by the sudden transformation of Yugoslav society. The older informants reflect a system where the main factor in choosing vi or ti was social dominance or subservience. Thus one said vi to one's father or boss but ti to anyone much younger or less important. Today on the other hand ti is used as a sign of friendship or solidarity, vi as a general pronoun for outsiders. The greater equality has meant that whereas in the past a person would feel honoured when addressed as vi, today will feel more honoured if addressed by the comradely ti. However even though the egalitarian use of ti is spreading, and indeed being encouraged by the authorities a new inequality is appearing as educated people tend to think that excessive use of ti outside the family is "common" and are tending to use vi in all circumstances.

Similar work has been done in Beograd on a much wider scale by and has been published in 1987's ^{*} Language. The general conclusions of that work agree with those presented here but there are one or two interesting insights. It seems that the vi forms were introduced relatively late by the ruling Imperial powers and that amongst the peasants they never caught on to the same extent as in towns. Serbia having gained her independence and a democratic rule at an early date generally uses more ti's than other areas,

** see bibliography.*

especially the older people. However in general the results for vi/ti experiments are homogenous throughout the country and because of this throw much light on the social structure and the changes which are taking place in it, more than a pure dialect investigation could hope to do and with much less effort.

CONCLUSION.

a) Achievement.

This paper is almost certainly the first in which the techniques of modern dialectology have been brought face to face with the linguistic situation in a Yugoslav city. Previously dialectology in Yugoslavia has been centred almost exclusively on rural areas, sociological variation has been virtually ignored and there has been no serious effort to compare the structures of different varieties. Admittedly the present work cannot be called a definitive study of the sociolinguistic situation in Zagreb but it has shown how fascinating it is and how it could be studied. We have pointed out the basic situation, with the changes that are taking place in society and language at the present moment. The methodology of urban dialectology has been tested, and in some cases found to be wanting. The main problems of fieldwork in Zagreb have at least been discovered if not solved. On the linguistic side very little has been found in the way of new facts, but the acknowledgement of significant variation and the attempt to account for at least some of it in terms of generative rules is new. Above all the complexity of the situation has been brought out and it has been shown that an investigation of the sociolinguistic situation of Zagreb is certainly worthwhile.

b) Directions for Further Work.

I) Practical.

It would be extremely interesting and useful for a team of dialectologists to conduct a full scale survey of the language spoken in Zagreb. Obviously this would be no easy task; the time and resources needed would be prohibitive, but such a survey would be able to cast much light on the situation. It would be possible to quantify variables in a meaningful way, to show how the immigrants' language is changing, and to investigate the relationship between social status and language. Obviously this would best be done by Yugoslav linguists but it seems that there is little hope of this type of work being done in the near future.

II) theoretical.

One of the most important fields for research and discussion in modern sociolinguistics is the search for a model of grammar

which can satisfactorily accommodate sociolinguistic variation. The Zagreb situation provides many useful examples for this discussion which would also shed light on the grammar of Serbo-Croat in general. Without going into excessive detail I shall attempt to show how different models would handle, (or fail to handle some of the facts).

Taxonomic linguistics would not find it easy to account for sociolinguistic variations. It has already been pointed out (P25) that a taxonomic account of phonology overstates the differences between two varieties, which may even overlap within the idiolect. Finally variation will be analysed merely as "free" which in most cases it evidently is not. Thus it can easily be seen that such a model is not really adequate. * see note.

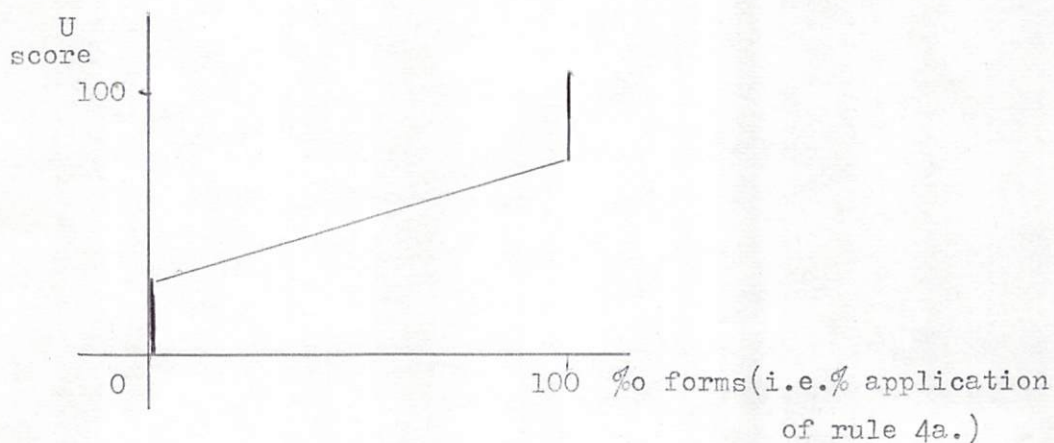
A more fruitful approach is a generative model on the lines suggested by Labov in an article entitled, "Contraction, Deletion and Inherent Variability of the English Copula," (Language 1969). Basically this model organizes the grammar so that all mutually comprehensible varieties are generated from a common core of rules and that differences between the varieties are explained by the use of extra rules, the non-application of certain rules or in certain cases the re-ordering of rules. (Some of the rules accounting for variation between kajkavian and the standard language have already been discussed; see Pp. 26-30.)

The problem arises when we try to find a device to deal with the introduction or bypassing of rules in a given variety. Obviously we cannot say that they are optional since one of the aims of a research project like this is to establish that variation is predictable, and in any case optional rules violate the formal conditions of more recent T.G. models. In principle it is possible to calculate an equation in which the frequency of application of a given rule varies according to the sociolinguistic context. By way of an example we will discuss how the variable vocalisation of l in Zagreb speech might be dealt with. The rule (4,a) is as follows (in abbreviation),

$$l \longrightarrow o / \text{-----} \#$$

We have to account for gradual variation within the idiolect according to social context and between individual speakers of different social and geographical backgrounds. In addition we may have to account for diglossic

usage or invariable usage of one form by some speakers. In theory it would be possible to calculate a numerical index in which all the relevant factors of social background and context were taken into consideration but in practice it would be extremely difficult to weight each factor correctly. This index we could call (for lack of a better name), the U index. For example a peasant with a kajkavian vernacular speaking informally would have a low U score, a professor giving a lecture would have a high U score. Working with the results of a full scale urban dialectology survey it would be possible to plot the U factor against the occurrences of the l/o variable giving a graph such as;



The vertical sections of the graph represent the sections of society at the lowest and highest extremities where either the l or the o form is invariably heard. The cline in the middle represents the increasing frequency of the prestige form as the social setting becomes more formal. (In clear-cut diglossia of course there would simply be two vertical lines at 0 and 100). Theoretically it would be possible to work out the equation of the graph and add it to rule 4a in the form of a constraint such that for any given value of U the rule would be triggered in a given percentage of cases.

There is, however a further constraint, this time linguistic, which must be worked into this rule. This involves the increased probability of the l form in the environment of the e member of the e/a variable. (see P27). It would be theoretically possible to build such a linguistic constraint into the rule but it can be easily seen that the practical difficulties of such work are immense.

In such a grammar the constraints on each rule would need to be worked out individually and this could only be done if full results on the behaviour of each variable were available. Thus it seems unlikely that this model, which seems very plausible will ever be worked out in full either for Zagreb or other towns. In addition we must remember that the Zagreb situation is far more complex in reality than in the example above and that it remains to be seen whether this model could deal with the many varieties which coexist in the town.

A further model which is also generative and probably weakly equivalent is possible. This is a model which has been developed for use in studies in contrastive linguistics and bilingualism and involves setting up parallel grammars of the varieties under discussion. Any sentence which does not clearly come from only one of the grammars is explained in terms of rules of interference. It can easily be seen how this model might be used in cases of diglossia. However, I feel that it is not really relevant in the Zagreb situation as it would be very uneconomic to write separate grammars for mutually comprehensible varieties, especially as there are so many ^{almost} indistinguishable varieties in Zagreb. The one advantage of this model is that it is intuitively more satisfying in situations where language or variety loyalty are important factors.

The discussion above is by no means a full treatment of the possibilities for development of a theory of sociolinguistics. There is a wide scope and great need for further work. In fact the whole of this paper has merely been a first step into a massive and fascinating field.

THE END.

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