

Comparative Analysis of Language Reforms and Nationalism in Hungary,
Croatia, and Norway

M. A. Thesis

by

Zsofia Flora Bocskay

A Thesis Submitted to the
Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in

International Relations and Political Science

Koç University

May 2017

Koc University
Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities

This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

Zsofia Flora Bocskay

and have found that it is complete and satisfactory in all respects,
and that any and all revisions required by the final
examining committee have been made.

Committee Members:

Assoc. Prof. Şener Aktürk

Assoc. Prof. İlker Aytürk

Asst. Prof. Güneş Ertan

Date:

To my beloved grandmother, Erzsébet Molnár.



Abstract

This thesis presents a qualitative analysis on the question why language reforms succeed, fail or partly succeed. Language reforms have been rarely studied from a comparative perspective. However, language movements and the standardization of national languages have great importance in the process of nation-building. This study addresses three cases of language reform which were implemented during the period of nationalist revival of the 19th century. I argue that the combination of three independent variables – statehood, political participation, and pan-nationalist movement – determines the outcome of a reform attempt. In the case of Hungary, the inclusion of the bourgeoisie in political participation together with the absence of a pan-nationalist movement and the lack of pre-existing statehood resulted in a successful language reform. In Norway, the early achievement of statehood, combined with broad political participation, led to a half-successful reform, while in Croatia the strong Pan-Slavic movement and limited political participation determined the failure of the language reform. The findings also demonstrate that in cases where nationalism is primarily language-based, standardized national language is crucial for the formation of the nation-state. Therefore, research on language reforms provides important contribution to the study of nationalism.

Keywords:

Language reform, nationalism, Hungary, Croatia, Norway, language planning, nation-state, political participation, pan-movement.

Özet

Bu tez dil reformlarının neden başarılı, başarısız veya kısmen başarılı olduğu sorusuna cevaben kalitatif bir analiz sunmaktadır. Dil hareketleri ve ulusal dillerin standardizasyonu uluslaşma sürecinde büyük önem taşımaya rağmen, dil reformları nadiren karşılaştırmalı bir perspektiften incelenmiştir. Bu çalışma, 19. yüzyılda ortaya çıkmaya başlayan milliyetçilik dönemindeki üç dil reformu vakasını ele almaktadır. Bu çalışmada, üç bağımsız değişkenin – devlet olma durumu, siyasal katılım ve pan-milliyetçi hareket – bir dil reformu girişiminin sonucunu belirlediği iddia edilmektedir. Macaristan'da, burjuvazinin siyasete katılmaya başlamasının yanı sıra pan-milliyetçi bir hareketin ve bağımsız bir devletin yokluğu, dil reformunun başarılı olmasını sağlamıştır. Norveç'te reform öncesinde bağımsız bir devlete sahip olunması ve geniş siyasi katılım, kısmen başarılı bir reforma neden olurken, Hırvatistan'da Pan-Slav hareketinin varlığı ve sınırlı siyasi katılım dil reformunun başarısız olmasına sebep olmuştur. Bu bulgular ayrıca, milliyetçiliğin öncelikli olarak dile dayalı olduğu durumlarda, standartlaştırılmış ulusal dilin ulus-devlet oluşumu için çok önemli olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu nedenle dil reformları üzerine yapılan araştırmalar milliyetçilik çalışmalarına önemli katkılar sağlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler:

Dil reformu, milliyetçilik, Macaristan, Hırvatistan, Norveç, dil planlaması, ulus devlet, siyasal katılım, pan milliyetçi hareketi.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisors Assoc. Prof. Şener Aktürk, Assist. Prof. Güneş Ertan, and Assoc. Prof. İlker Aytürk for their support of my M.A. study and research, for their patience, enthusiasm, and immense knowledge. I would like to thank to Prof. Şener Aktürk for accepting me as advisee and supporting me through my work. I am very grateful to Prof. Güneş Ertan for helping me during the two years I spent at Koç University and for her comments that helped to develop this thesis. I would like to thank to Assoc. Prof. İlker Aytürk for his valuable and insightful comments related to various fields that contributed to this study. I am very grateful for their help and guidance.

I would like to thank Koç University for their support during my master studies. I also thank to the professors and staff of the Department of International Relations and Political Science and the Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities for their work and help during these years. I am very glad for learning so many new things, and particularly for having the opportunity to practice teaching and participate in research. I also would like to thank to Assist. Prof. S. Erdem Aytaç his support and encouragement during my master studies.

I am very grateful to my husband, Abdullah Korkmaz who encouraged me to continue my studies, supported me on my way and always believed in me.

I would like to thank my family and friends – both the old and the new ones – for supporting me. I am grateful to Lili Gurka, Nikolett Marsicki, and Laura Lovász, my friends for always listening to me and putting up with my complaints. I am very glad that I have found new friends at Koç University. I would like to thank especially to Yury Katliarou and Bijan Tafazzoli for their support and comments that contributed to this thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank to my high school, the Fazekas High School of Budapest and my teachers, especially to Dr Szabolcs Osztoivits for the excellent education I received. The topic of this thesis is based on the study he supervised during my high school studies.

Contents

I. Introduction	3
I. 1. The Puzzle.....	3
I. 2. Methodology and Case Selection.....	6
I. 3. The Argument.....	10
I. 4. A Brief Overview.....	17
I. 5. Why Study Language Reforms?.....	24
II. Theoretical Framework and Empirical Overview	25
II. 1. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework.....	25
II. 2. Terminology.....	29
II. 3. Catalogue of Language Reforms.....	36
II. 4. Language Movements and Language Reforms: The Comparative Analysis of Hungary, Croatia, and Norway.....	39
III. The Case of Success – The Hungarian Language Reform	43
III. 1. From the Habsburg Empire to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Formation of the Modern State.....	44
III. 2. The ‘Men of Letters’. The Expansion of Political Participation and the Role of the Intelligentsia.....	51
III. 3. Linguistic Situation and the Hungarian Language Reform.....	64
III. 4. Conclusion.....	69
IV. The Case of Failure – The Illyrian Movement of Croatia	74
IV. 1. From the Kingdom of Croatia to Croatia-Slavonia.....	75
IV.2. Pan-Slavism and Great Illyria as Political Program.....	82
IV. 3. Illyrians and Political Participation.....	92
IV. 4. The Serbian Language Movement and the Vienna Literary Agreement.....	100
IV. 5. Conclusion.....	109
V. The Case of Half-Success – The Formation of ‘New Norwegian’ and the Case of Diglossia	111
V. 1. Secession from Denmark-Norway, and the Personal Union with Sweden – The Birth of the Constitution and the Modern Norwegian State.....	112
V. 2. Political Participation and the Rural-Urban Cleavage.....	114
V.3. Nationalism and Romanticism.....	120
V. 4. The Linguistic Situation of Norway – From Old Norse to Scandinavianism, and the Emergence of Modern Norwegian.....	123
V. 5. Ivar Aasen and the Norwegian Language Reform.....	127
V. 6. Knud Knudsen and the Second Language Reform.....	133

V. 7. Norwegian Language after the Language Reform and the Linguistic Situation Today	140
V. 8. Conclusion	145
VI. Conclusion	147
Bibliography	154
Books and Journal Articles.....	154
Electronic References	159

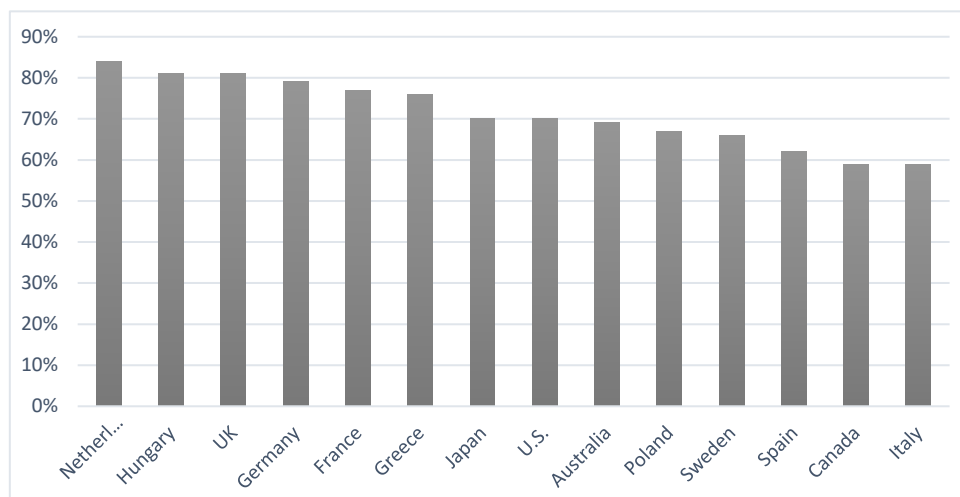


I. Introduction

I. 1. The Puzzle

This thesis explains how language movements and their main purpose language reforms succeed, fail or partly succeed, creating a more complex linguistic environment in a country, with a specific focus on the era of the so-called national awakening, the late 18th and the early 19th century of Europe. How do language reforms succeed, and how can be new languages constructed, or existing languages reconstructed, while other reforms utterly fail?

Hungarian has been the only official language of Hungary since 1844. Today, Hungary is the closest possible to the monolingual country model, where out of the approximate 10 million people 98% claim Hungarian is their mother tongue.¹ In addition, the most important element of the national identity is the language. According to the research conducted by Pew Research Center, Hungarians name language as the most important element of national identity.²



GRAPH 1. "Language seen as most important requisite of national identity." ("Being able to speak our national language is very important for being truly etc.") Source: <http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/02/01/what-it-takes-to-truly-be-one-of-us/> (accessed: 02.03.2017)

¹ Medgyes, Péter and Miklósi, Katalin, "Language Situation in Hungary", in Robert B. Kaplan and Richard B. Baldauf Jr. (eds.), *Language Planning and Policy in Europe, Vol. 1: Hungary, Finland and Sweden*, Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters, 2005. p. 22.

² Stokes, Bruce, "What it Takes to Truly Be 'One of Us'." <http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/02/01/what-it-takes-to-truly-be-one-of-us/> (accessed: 02.03.2017)

However, in the late 18th and early 19th century, Hungarian was underdeveloped – the country’s élite used German as the language of everyday communication, especially those who served at the Habsburg Court. The official language of the country was Latin, and in a short period under Joseph II’s rule, between 1784-1790 German. In 1792 Hungarian became a compulsory language of secondary and higher education, however after the suppressed revolution of 1848-49, the language was again downplayed, and German became the language of high school and university education (in the latter case with Latin) and public administration.³ In short, several language planning policies were implemented in order to promote Germanization.

A movement emerged with the publication of György Bessenyei’s works (1772), who stated that the production of scientific knowledge required the ‘nation’s mother tongue’. This is the moment considered as the beginning of the Hungarian Language Reform. Several of the intelligentsia joined the movement for the renewal of the language, albeit the movement was not free from debate, and the participants often ended up at the court. Despite the debates and disagreements, the language reform effected all layers of the language, from the orthography to the lexicon, and it proved to be successful. As a striking example, today the speaking community uses 10 000 words out of the vocabulary the reformers created. How could the Hungarian language movement and reform succeed, and push the linguistic element into the centre of national identity against the odds?

After the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, the official language of the independent Croatia became Croatian. However, the status and even the name of Croatian language had been contested in the earlier centuries.

The Croatian nationalist revival emerged after the Napoleonic Wars. Croatia-Slavonia (before 1868 Kingdom of Croatia) was under the rule of the Hungarian Kingdom and the

³ Dömötör, Adrienne, “A nyelvújítás” (“The Language Reform”), in Bajor Péter, Kiefer Ferenc, Náray-Szabó Gábor, Pál József (eds.), *A magyar nyelv (Hungarian Language)*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2006. p. 272.

Habsburg Empire, while Dalmatia was under the direct rule of Austrians. The official language of the Empire was Latin, except in the period when the above mentioned decree of Joseph II operated. Moreover, between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49, Croats under the rule of the Hungarian Kingdom experienced Magyarization (Hungarianization), since Hungarian was a compulsory school subject.⁴ The Illyrian movement (1832-1848) emerged in this environment, and it aimed to renew and establish the ‘national status’ of Illyrian or Croatian language. Just like the Hungarian language movement, the Croatian one was filled with polemics on terminology, linguistics, and identity, and Croats from other political strands attacked it.

Interestingly, the Illyrian movement ended with the signing of *Bečki književni dogovor*, the *Vienna Literary Agreement* in 1850 with the Serbian counterpart. The subject of the agreement was not a unique Croatian (or Illyrian) language, but the Serbo-Croatian language.⁵ Today’s Croatian alphabet is declared to be Ljudevit Gaj’s work, who was the leading figure of the movement. However, his reforms meant to affect orthography and grammar as well, but these ideas were not implemented. In addition, another dialect was standardized as Serbo-Croatian language, and not the one that Gaj had supported. Why the language reform backed by the Croatian intelligentsia failed, and why could not they establish and consolidate the status of the language during the national awakening?

There are two official written Norwegian standards today: Nynorsk, the ‘New Norwegian’, and Bokmål, the ‘Book Norwegian’ language. Bokmål became an official language in 1907, and it is practically a Dano-Norwegian koiné,⁶ a language based on Danish spoken with the local (Norwegian) pronunciation. Nynorsk, a variety more distant from Danish,

⁴ Bellamy, Alex J., *The Formation of Croatian National Identity: A century-old dream*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003. p. 42.

⁵ Greenberg, Robert D., *Language and Identity in the Balkans*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. p. 25-26.

⁶ Koiné (koiné) language emerges when two mutually intelligible varieties of the same language interact (e.g. coexist in the same territory) with each other.

was officially recognized by the parliament in 1885.⁷ Today only 10% of the total population claim that Nynorsk is their primary language, while 90% use Bokmål in written communication.⁸

Between the 16th and the 19th century, Danish was the official language of the United Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, but after the establishment of the personal union with Sweden, neither Danish, nor Swedish seemed to be a suitable language for Norwegians. The creation of Nynorsk by Ivar Aasen in the 1840s – that meant the Norwegianization of Danish through e.g. the adaption of provincial words – was successful, but not popular, and created diglossia in the country.⁹ Nynorsk successfully emerged, however only the minority of the population has been using it. How could Norwegians create a language through a successful language reform, but why could not this new language overthrow the old one that was closer to Danish?

I will explain these questions while describing the internal dynamics of these movements through original texts from the era of the national awakening. In this thesis, I synthesize the nationalism literature and linguistics to provide a better conceptualization of language reforms. I will theorize why language reforms mostly succeed, while sometimes they fail, and in rare cases due to partial success, they create a more complex linguistic environment.

I. 2. Methodology and Case Selection

Why do many language reforms succeed, while some fail, and why do actors achieve sometimes partial implementation? What are the crucial circumstances to conduct a successful reform?

⁷ Språkrådet (The Norwegian Language Council), “*Nynorsk in Norway.*” http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Om-oss/English-and-other-languages/English/Nynorsk_in_Norway/ (accessed: 03.03.2017)

⁸ Språkrådet (The Norwegian Language Council), “*Norwegian: Bokmål vs. Nynorsk.*” <http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Om-oss/English-and-other-languages/English/norwegian-bokmal-vs.-nynorsk/> (accessed: 03.03.2017)

⁹ Danielsen, Rolf, “Crisis and War: From Discord to Unity”, in Rolf Danielsen, Ståle Dyrvik, Tore Grønle, Knut Helle and Edgar Hovland (auth.), *Norway: A History from the Vikings to Our Times*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995. p. 336.

What are the existing circumstances that disadvantage language reforms, and occasionally even make them utterly fail?

The thesis sheds light on these circumstances through three selected cases: the Hungarian, the Croatian, and the Norwegian language reforms. I conduct a historical analysis based on sources from the addressed period, including documents from the actors who took part in these movements. As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) emphasize, language reforms always appear in a brief period. Thus, relatively short-time movements lead to long-standing outcomes. According to Pierson's categorization of *temporality*, the selected cases are *meteorite type* cases.¹⁰

	Regime Type (IV₁), multiple variable	Foreign Oppression (IV₂), binary variable	Religion in the Country (IV₃), multiple variable	Literacy Rate (IV₄), ternary variable	Presence of Dialect Continuum (IV₅), binary variable	Language Reform as Outcome (DV), ternary variable
Croatian	Absolutist monarchy	Yes (Habsburg Empire / Hungarian Kingdom)	Roman Catholic majority	Low	Yes (South Slavic linguistic continuum)	Failed
Hungarian	Absolutist monarchy	Yes (Habsburg Empire)	Roman Catholic majority	Middle	No (solely Uralic language)	Succeeded
Norwegian	Constitutional Monarchy	No (United Kingdom of Sweden and Norway, personal union)	Lutheran majority	High	Yes (Scandinavian linguistic continuum)	Half → diglossia

TABLE 1. The three cases, the selected independent variables, and the outcomes.

The developed design is a mixture of *most similar* and *most different systems*, since the selected independent variables, regime type, foreign oppression, dialect continuum, and literacy rate vary, while in all three cases one observes the clear majority of one religion in the given

¹⁰ Paul Pierson, "Big, Slow-Moving, and... Invisible: Macrosocial Processes in the Study of Comparative Politics," in James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer (eds.), *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p. 179.

territory. Interestingly, the main religion in each case coincides with the official religion of the ‘foreign oppressor’ or with the union partner, predicting that a different value or identity element is needed for successful mobilization and nation-building. The outcome, the language reform in each case varies with regard to successful implementation.

Success in the dependent variable is *operationalized* in multiple ways: a transcriptional reform (or a major orthographic reform) succeeds if the official language is codified and written in the new alphabet after the reform. Grammatical reforms succeed if their rules are applied in the standard language, while a lexical reform is successful if the speaking community actively uses the new vocabulary later on. The presence of one of the three elements (transcriptional, grammatical, or lexical change) is solely sufficient to speak about language reform; however, one witnesses many cases when reforms effect more than one segment of the given language. Based on these criteria I create a *typology* of language reforms: succeeded, failed and half-succeeded reforms.

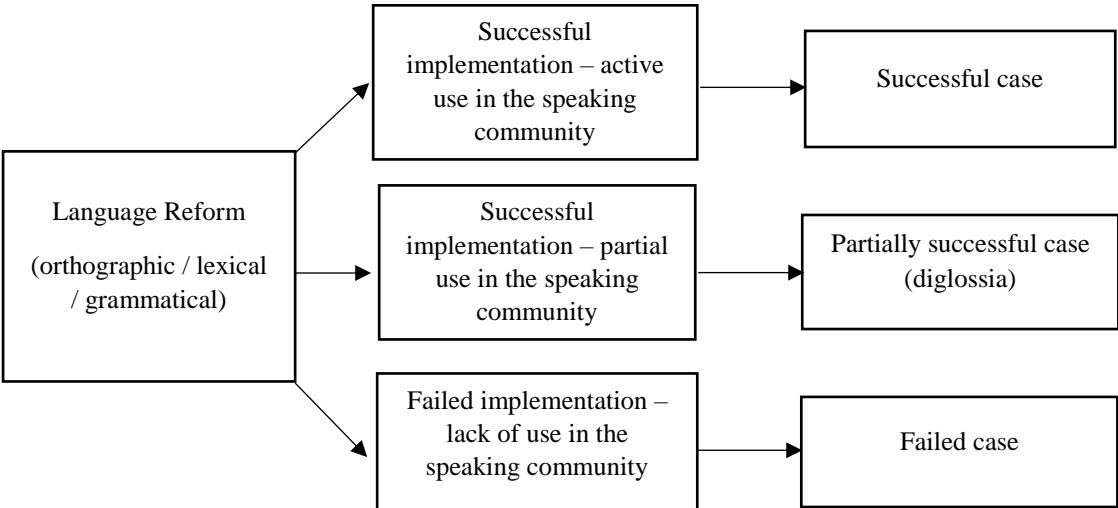


FIGURE 1. The typology of language reforms with regard to their implementation and use.

Based on the typology of language reforms, I select three cases, i.e. three different languages that experienced language reforms, and each went through one of the processes. Thus, the three

selected cases, Hungarian, Croatian and Norwegian exhibit the three types of reforms with regard to their implementation and use: a successful, a failed, and a partially successful one. Although several language reforms were conducted through history, I select the ones associated with the so-called national awakening, so that all three reforms were conducted in the first half of the 19th century in a narrow sense. This selection of cases provides an insight on the contemporary notion of the nation in Europe, that language is a *conditio sine qua non* of the nation due to Johann Gottfried Herder’s influential account, which I will refer to in details later on. The question is again: what explains the success or failure of a language reform, and what are the circumstances that lead to a partial success, in our case, a diglossic language situation in a given country?

	Language Reform	Aimed Reforms (corpus planning)	Aimed reform (status planning)	Implementation	Usage	Type of Language Reform
Hungarian	1810s-1830s	Lexicon and orthography	Hungarian as national language (Trans-Danubian dialect)	Hungarian dictionary (1832), official language (1844), linguistic journal (1872).	The base of modern Hungarian, e.g. 10.000 words.	Successful
Croatian	1830s-1840s	Orthography and grammar	Croatian / Illyrian as national language (Kajkavian dialect)	Vienna Literary Agreement: Serbo-Croatian language. Shared orthography and the Štokavian dialect (1850). Etymological orthography does not survive.	Croatian transcription became the base of both Serbian and Croatian (later Bosnia, Montenegro, partly Slovenian).	Failed
Norwegian	1840s-1870s	Lexicon and grammar	Norwegian as national language (Nynorsk variant)	Nynorsk’s equal status with Bokmål (1885), primary school education (1892).	After the reform around 30%, today 10-12% of Norwegians primarily use Nynorsk.	Partially successful

TABLE 2. Characteristics and circumstances of the selected language reforms.

I. 3. The Argument

Why do language reforms succeed while some just partially do, and some utterly fail? What are the circumstances that determine their success, and what are some factors that hinder them? I answer these questions through a qualitative analysis that includes contemporary texts from the given era. Language reforms have been rarely studied from a comparative perspective. However, language movements and the standardization of national languages have great importance in the process of nation-building. This study addresses three cases of language reform, which were implemented during the period of nationalist revival of the 19th century. I argue that the combination of three independent variables – statehood, political participation, and pan-nationalist movement – determines the outcome of a reform attempt. In the case of Hungary, the inclusion of the bourgeoisie in political participation together with the absence of a pan-nationalist movement and the lack of pre-existing statehood resulted in a successful language reform. In Norway, the early achievement of statehood, combined with broad political participation, led to a half-successful reform, while in Croatia the strong Pan-Slavic movement and limited political participation determined the failure of the language reform.

	Pre-existing statehood (IV₁)	Extension of political participation (IV₂)	Pan-movement (IV₃)	Successful language reform (DV)
Hungarian	-	+/-	-	+
Croatian	-	-	+	-
Norwegian	+	+	+/-	+/-

TABLE 3. The presence or absence of the selected independent variables in the three selected cases. Absence of the variable: -, presence: +, partial presence: +/-.

In addition, the formed argument is twofold. The findings also demonstrate that in cases where nationalism is primarily language-based, standardized national language is crucial for the

formation of the nation-state. Therefore, research on language reforms provides important contribution to the study of nationalism

Language reform as a dependent variable is operationalized in the way outlined above. There are multiple linguistic phenomena that count as language reform, and their success or failure is due to their implementation. It is crucial to look at the speaking community after the implementation of the linguistic changes, because the adoption of the reforms by the speaking community determines the kind or quality of the reform, i.e. whether it is successful, failed, or half-successful.

In this thesis, state is used in the sense of ‘modern state’, which is “an institutional form of rule” that created “a monopoly of legitimate physical force as a means of government within a particular territory.”¹¹ This definition helps to operationalize the ‘statehood’ independent variable. Modern state comes to exist when a government comes to exist within a given territory. In the case of Hungary, Croatia and Norway the adoption of a new constitution, and other documents facilitating ‘inter-state’ agreements manifest when the modern state came into being. The pre-existence of statehood negatively affects the course of language reform, whereas the lack of statehood predicts that the reform succeeds. This is due to the contemporary ‘logic’ of state-formation outlined by Herder, namely that a nation can have a state, but a nation exists only through its language. If the basis of mobilization is language, and the reform or renewal of language goes hand in hand with the nationalist movement that aspires a state, but it is unable to reach it yet, the reform is going to be successful.

Though, there are cases when statehood is achieved earlier comparing to the language reform. In these cases, due to the early reach of statehood, the nation ‘loses its function’ in the sense that it is needless to aspire for a state. It means that mobilization is not urgent anymore, therefore the actors do not enforce language as a basis of nationalist mobilization. In the case

¹¹ Weber, Max, “Politics as a Vocation” in David Owen and Tracy B. Strong (eds.), *Max Weber: The Vocation Lectures*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 2004. p. 38.

of Norway, statehood was achieved very early, through a constitution that already addressed that Norwegians inhabited the Kingdom of Norway, and the language of the country was Norwegian. Movements for the creation of the national language – that had existed on paper already – happened after achieving statehood, when linguistic variants already became a matter of identity politics. Therefore, it was impossible to create a single national language, and get rid of all the possible distinctions between the existing variants.

There is a very broad literature on political participation, but the minimalist definition for the term is activities that intend to effect the selection of the officials and the policies entertained by them.¹² The operationalization of political participation varies, especially recently, due to the rapid development of technology. However the ‘right to vote’, and the expansion of this right seems to be the most punctual measurement of the extent of political participation due to the lack of available source on the inclusion of masses into politics in the selected period. In the three case studies I review the changes happened in the right to vote, in other words, to what extent the right to vote became more inclusive, and let more people participate in politics, and as a consequence, who could actually run for office, and to what extent this effected the consistency of the legislative body in each country. According to the argument, high level of political participation provides room for the expression of different identities.

In the case of Norway, after the secession from Denmark, already broad masses received the right to vote which was secured by the new constitution. The rural, representing a dialect different from the urban colloquial, had direct influence on politics. Moreover, a great number of the Storting’s (Parliament) representatives were elected from the countryside districts, claiming the Nynorsk variant as a crucial element of their identity. This nourished the creation

¹² Van Deth, Jan W., “What is Political Participation?” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. <http://politics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-68> (accessed: 11.04.2017)

and codification of Nynorsk, and facilitated its status as an official language, therefore challenged and spoiled the dominant status of Dano-Norwegian. High political participation is ambivalent in the sense that while it nourishes language reform, it challenges the hegemony of the already existing language or variant, and causes diglossia in the country. The creation of a single national language seems impossible in such an environment.

The lack of political participation, when the expansion of the right to vote is hindered, leads to a failed language reform. In the case of Croatia political participation was extremely limited in the time of the language reform. Until 1848, when actually the attempted language reform ended, only hereditary lords, clerics and aristocrats took part in the legislation. These deputies were not elected representatives. In 1848, the right to vote was established, but it included only 2.5% of the society. In addition, the elected deputies had to meet strict conditions, therefore, the social composition of the legislation did not change much. The aristocracy and the clergy was overwhelmingly represented in the Sabor (Parliament). In practice, the bourgeoisie was channelled to politics only to a very limited extent, and the more conservative actors eager to maintain their political power hindered serious reforms.

The successful case, Hungary experienced a bourgeois revolution: the invitation of the masses to politics, but to a moderate extent. The new electoral law in 1848 and the second electoral reform after the *Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich* provided the right to vote for the landowner or property owner gentry, the small business owners, and the intelligentsia. They were directly channelled to politics and could easily influence the masses when conducting language reform.

Pan-movements or pan-nationalism is a form of nationalism based on ethnic, linguistic, cultural, or religious similarities of people,¹³ aiming often the unification of territories inhabited by them. Pan-Slavism was a very influential ideology of the 19th century that aimed the

¹³ Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D. (eds.), *Nationalism*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 8-9.

unification of Slavs in various forms, based on most importantly linguistic similarities. The Illyrian movement was one of the strongest advocates of the Pan-Slavic movement and ideology. Members of the Illyrian movement entertained the necessity of Slavic unification in order to gain freedom from the Hungary and Austria, and this idea brought the Croatian and the Serbian movements together.

Similarly, in the Nordic countries, Scandinavianism emerged, however it was never called 'Pan-Scandinavianism'. The reception of the movement was ambiguous, and many opposed the formation of a shared identity with other Scandinavians in the region. In addition, the sour memories of the Danish rule, and the forced personal union with Sweden hindered the success of Scandinavianism in Norway, therefore, Scandinavianism became a cultural movement that for instance, addressed efficient education, and Scandinavianist meetings served as workshops for teachers in the region, where they exchanged pedagogical ideas.

In Hungary, a pan-movement never came into being due to the linguistic uniqueness of Hungarian in the Carpathian Basin. The so-called Turanism only emerged in the beginning of the 20th century, and it was not a pan-movement in Hungary according to the definition used in this thesis, since it aimed to strengthen the image of Eastern origin of Hungarians, but it did not intend to achieve common state with any other peoples.

Pan-movements seem to hinder language reforms, since actors due to rational calculation might find more beneficial to join or merge with other 'foreign' movements. Eventually, this leads to the surrender of national identity: the given movement will not work on the formation of a national language, instead, giving up this interest, they might focus on the bigger picture, and emphasize similarities with other 'nations'. The Illyrian movement decided to sign an agreement with the representatives of the Serbian nationalist movement in 1850, creating the so-called Serbo-Croatian language.

	Pre-existing statehood (IV₁) <i>binary variable</i>	Political participation (IV₂) <i>multiple variable</i>	Pan-movement (IV₃) <i>binary variable</i>	Successful language reform (DV) <i>ternary variable</i>
Hungary	No , state-formation: 1867	Half , moderate extension, ‘bourgeoisie revolution’, 10% can vote (1848)	No , lack of linguistic relatedness in the region.	Yes , 1810s-1830s. Modern Hungarian even today.
Croatia	No , ‘limited’ state-formation: 1868	No , the high nobility dominates the Sabor (until 1848). Later 2.5% can vote (1848)	Yes , strong Pan-Slavic movement.	No , 1830s-1840s. Serbo-Croatian language.
Norway	Yes , 1814	Yes , lack of aristocracy, 45% can vote, elected MPs (1814)	Half , Scandinavianism as cultural movement.	Half , 1840-1870s. Nynorsk and Bokmål.

TABLE 4. Operationalized independent and dependent variables.

In conclusion, the conjunction of three independent variables – their presence or absence – determines the fate of language reform. According to the argument, the absence of statehood, limited extension of political participation, and the absence of pan-nationalist movement guarantees the success of a language reform. In Hungary, state in the modern sense was achieved when the Austrian Empire and the Hungarian Kingdom settled the *Austro-Hungarian Compromise*, because the Compromise was a bilateral agreement that recognized the parties equal, allowing Hungary to form a government. Political participation was earlier extended, because the 1848 *April Laws* guaranteed the right to vote for the broader society. As I will demonstrate through the texts from participants of the movement, the actual language reformers were directly channelled to politics, since they could vote and many could be elected. However, the inclusiveness of political participation was limited in the sense that it did not allow broad

masses to participate. Therefore, the status and the interest of the hegemon élite, i.e. the aristocracy, their national movement and the values they entertained could not be contested.

The combination of the presence of statehood, broad political participation, and the moderate influence of pan-like movement meets in the case of Norway. After the independence from Denmark in 1814, Norway formed its own constitution that guaranteed the existence of the legislative and executive bodies, and secured the right to vote for the greatest masses in the current era. Norway joined Sweden under a personal union, however preserved and further expanded the power of institutions, and secured the rights settled in the constitution. The language reform appeared ten years after the birth of the modern state. Since broad masses were directly channelled to politics, and statehood was already achieved, language became a matter of identity politics, and a symbol of the rural-urban cleavage. There was no urgent need to form a national language and a nation, since they already nominally existed due to the constitution. Ivar Aasen's language reform gained a partial success, because people of the rural Norway identified themselves with the language that was based on rural dialects. In this respect, the fact that the rural was channelled to politics provided a partial success to the implementation of Nynorsk, however, it made impossible the formation of a single national language. Due to these circumstances, Norway has been characterized with a diglossic linguistic situation with regard to the written form of the language. In addition, Scandinavianism emerged as an alternative for pan-movements, but never could become one due to the heavy influence of the idea of the nation-state, and the sour memory of the conflictual past with Nordic neighbours. Thus, Scandinavianism remained a cultural movement that actually nourished the development of schooling and language teaching.

The lack of statehood, poor political participation, and the strong presence of a pan-nationalist movement lead to a failed language reform. Croatia partly could not gain statehood due to the *Croatian-Hungarian Compromise* that was signed in 1868. Hungary guaranteed

recognition for Croatia, and Croatia had its own government and parliament. Albeit, the vast majority of decision-making remained in the hands of Hungarians, while Croatia could decide on issues related to internal affairs, such as education or religion. The King of Hungary who was the Emperor in the same time appointed the head of the government, the Ban. The Illyrian movement that appeared in the 1830s entertained Pan-Slavic ideas, and its participants claimed the unification of South Slavs. This brought the Illyrians and the Serbian nationalist movement together when signing the Vienna Literary Agreement in 1850 that facilitated the rules of a common Serbo-Croatian language. It is important to note that they could not find a common proper name for their language, but they agreed on mutual regulations. The Illyrian movement ended in 1848. The same year brought reforms with regard to the legislation and the right to vote in Croatia, and the latter one aimed to include more people into the political processes, but in practice, only 2.5% of the country had the right to vote. The aristocracy remained overrepresented in the parliament. This meant that the intelligentsia that entertained reformist ideas with regard to language was excluded from politics, moreover they were heavily attacked by not only Hungarians and the Habsburgs, but fellow Croatians as well.

The variance of the three selected independent variables provide explanation to the course of language reforms. Their presence or absence guarantees or hinders language reforms, and determines whether after their implementation they remain effective and can be adopted by the speaking community. In addition, since nationalism – particularly in Europe – was primarily based on language, the formation of national language seems crucial to reach statehood, where it had not existed previously.

I. 4. A Brief Overview

Conventionally, the Hungarian language reform started when György Bessenyei who served at the Habsburg Court published his play in Hungarian in 1772. Bessenyei addressed first the importance of national language, however his work did not brought a language movement into

being. The movement emerged only in the first decade of the 19th century, when language and nation became elements of public discourse. In narrow sense, the first two or three decades of the 19th century were the age of the ‘Language Renewal’, which ended with the formation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1825-1830), and the publication of the first dictionary on orthography in 1832. Broadly speaking, the movement ended in 1872, when the first volume of the *Magyar Nyelvőr*, the journal on Hungarian language cultivation and linguistic matters was published.

The Hungarian state in modern sense was established in 1867, when due to the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich or Compromise, Hungary was recognized as an equal partner under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and formed its first government. Thus, statehood was achieved after the Hungarian Language Renewal in a narrow sense, since the most polemical age of the debate was the years between 1810 and 1830.

Debates on language and nation happened mostly between members of the lower nobility or gentry, the landowner élite. After discarding the *Hungarus* (regional and multi-ethnic) identity, and the notion of the ‘noble nation’, the dominant aristocracy attempted to create the ‘political nation’, and invited others into the political sphere, namely the high intelligentsia, the lower nobility and the landowner élite. The so-called *April Laws* in 1848 issued the right to vote – for the bourgeoisie, without spoiling the privileges of the aristocracy. Although the national awakening meant the abolishment of serfdom, the demand for a government, and the abolishment of taxes affected the poorest, we cannot speak about a popular, but only a bourgeoisie revolution. Language reform was a process involving the lower nobility, the gentry, and the contemporary intelligentsia in public debate and politics, and through their works (many of them were poets, writers, professors, etc.) and their media (journals, publishers, etc.) they could easily reach and influence masses, and the public could observe the debate on language. Nobility invited the bourgeoisie to politics as a part of nation-

building and state-formation, but first of all, to the process of language-formation that meant the substratum of the nation and the state in the Herderian sense.

Hungarians never experienced any pan-movements, because Hungarian language, unlike the other two selected cases, does not share a linguistic continuum with other languages, since it is the only Uralic (Finno-Ugric) language in the region.

The Illyrian movement aimed to create the national Illyrian (or later Croatian) language in order to gain statehood independently from the Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Empire. The movement began in 1832, and ended with the Hungarian Revolution of 1848.

The name of the movement was chosen to represent the ‘common descent’ of South Slavs, namely the Illyrian tribe that inhabited the region in the antiquity.¹⁴ The first idea to collect all the ‘national treasures’ already appeared in the 1810s,¹⁵ however only the intensifying Magyarization process of the 1830s triggered a national and language movement.¹⁶

The creation of a new national language was central to the Illyrian movement. The selection of the national language was problematic due to the coexistence of several linguistic variants. First, Illyrians advocated the Kajkavian dialect, which was a dialect used exclusively in Croatia, particularly in Zagreb, the cultural-intellectual centre. The most important element of the Illyrian political program was Pan-Slavism, the integrity of Slavic peoples in the Southern European region.¹⁷ The support of Pan-Slavism was mostly due to the very few number of Croats and the territorial disintegration of South Slavs.¹⁸

¹⁴ Bellamy, p. 44.

¹⁵ Langston, Keith and Peti-Stantić, Anita, *Language Planning and National Identity in Croatia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. p. 83.

¹⁶ Bellamy, p. 42.

¹⁷ Lukács, István (eds.), *Az illír mozgalom (“The Illyrian Movement”)*. Budapest: Eötvös József Collegium, 2014, p. 10.

¹⁸ Tanner, Marcus, “Illyrianism and the Croatian Quest for Statehood.” *Daedalus*, Vol. 126. No. 3 (Summer, 1997), p. 51.

The leader of the Illyrian movement was Ljudevit Gaj. Although Illyrianism was not very popular in Croatia, Gaj drew great attention to himself when he started to argue for Pan-Slavism. He faced hostility from the Habsburgs, Hungarians, but also from fellow-Croatians.¹⁹

In line with the Illyrians, another movement rose: the Serbian nationalist movement in the Serbian Principality. The leader of the language reform was Vuk Karadžić. The Illyrian movement voluntarily gave up its claims and merged into one movement together with Serbians, forming a common Serbo-Croatian language. The Croatian movement ended up with the signing of '*Bečki književni dogovor*', the *Vienna Literary Agreement* in 1850, which created the so-called Serbo-Croatian, and not a unique Croatian language.²⁰

In 1868, after the *Austro-Hungarian Compromise*, Hungarians and Croats signed a separate document called the *Croatian-Hungarian Compromise* (*Hrvatsko-ugarska nagodba, Horvát-magyar kiegyezés*). The agreement emphasized that although Croatia was autonomous, Hungary and Croatia “made up one and the same community of state”.²¹ Croatia became autonomous to an extent, and decision-making was mostly in the hand of Hungarians.²² Therefore, Croatia could not achieve modern statehood during the nationalist revival.

Uniquely, the language debate and the revolution of 1848-1849 did not bring fundamental changes in Croatia with regard to political participation. Until 1848, the Sabor worked according to the model inherited from the middle ages. The members were county sheriffs, clerics, some were the representatives of the royal free cities, and other nobles – as Tanner emphasizes, a very conservative body, completely hostile to the Illyrian movement.²³ In short, Sabor was a gathering of hereditary lords.²⁴ 1848 brought reforms to the Sabor, and

¹⁹ Lukács, p. 66.

²⁰ Greenberg, p. 25-26.

²¹ *Ezer év törvényei* (“*Laws of a Thousand Years*”), *Law 1868 No. XXX*.
<https://1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=5352> (accessed: 01.04.2017)

²² Bellamy, p. 43.

²³ Tanner, Marcus, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001, p. 76.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 86.

for the first time elected deputies joined the legislation – however the census allowed only 2.5% of the adult male population to be elected, due to the high level of wealth and education as criteria.²⁵ After the revolution, the Sabor was shut down and the constitution was suspended, so that Croats had the least control over their affairs in the 1850s in history.²⁶ 1848, the year of the expansion of political participation coincided with the ending year of the Illyrian movement.

Thus, lower nobility or the gentry who participated in the language movement were excluded from political participation. The movement for the Croatian language seems to lack the political participation axis, i.e. the high nobility did not extend the scope of politics to the bourgeoisie, so that it was not directly channelled to politics. In addition, members of the language movement faced attacks from both the Croatian nobility and the Habsburg Court.

In 1814, the Kingdom of Denmark and Norway separated. A group of Norwegian representatives gathered to create the constitution of an independent state in 1814, electing the king of Norway in the same time. Norway managed to enter a personal union with Sweden, and as a compromise, they were given the right to home rule and maintain the new constitution, however Norwegian foreign policy was subordinated to the Swedish one.²⁷ The constitution provided voting right to 45% of men above the age of twenty-five. Because of the secession and the influence of the romantic era, the demand for an ‘own’ language rose, but only in the 1820s it became an important element of public discourse. The intelligentsia – under Herder’s and Humboldt’s influence – thought that a nation should possess a language, and the debate started how Norway should achieve it.

In the 1840s, Ivar Aasen, an autodidact linguist, travelled through Southern Norway to research the language of the rural, and created Landsmål, the ‘country language’, which was later renamed ‘Nynorsk’. Meanwhile, another answer was given to the question of the national

²⁵ Ibid. p. 86-87.

²⁶ Ibid. p. 91.

²⁷ Heidar, Knut, *Norway: Elites on Trial*. Colorado: Westview Press, 2001. p. 17.

language: Knud Knudsen and his colleagues advocated a less drastic method to create the ‘new Norwegian’. Instead of a rapid change, they thought that the language of the urban élite, which was very much influenced by Danish, should be gradually Norwegianized. The method led to the formation of the Dano-Norwegian language, the base of Bokmål, the primary written language of the majority of Norwegians.²⁸

Nynorsk quickly spread in the rural areas, and in 1885 reinforced its status when announcing its parity with Danish language. In 1892, a law passed permitting to choose Nynorsk as the language of primary school education, which enjoyed great popularity in the countryside.²⁹

Norwegian rural society in the 19th century was less hierarchical and more egalitarian than others were in Europe, as an evidence, the number of freeholders was much higher, and the country lacked large estates, while aristocracy was insignificant, and in fact, it was abolished in 1821.³⁰ Rural Norway and its society had important role in the Norwegian nation-building,³¹ and the representation of the rural was very strong in the Storting (Parliament), namely two-third of the parliament was elected from rural districts.³² The rural could challenge the power of the state, as a result, even today, it has great political power, and Nynorsk has been an important identity component of the ‘rural’ both in every-day life and in politics.³³

In the first half of the 19th century Scandinavianism or Nordism appeared, as an alternative for the formation of a common Nordic identity.³⁴ The reception of Scandinavianism

²⁸ Språkrådet (The Norwegian Language Council), “*Norwegian: Bokmål vs. Nynorsk.*” <http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Om-oss/English-and-other-languages/English/norwegian-bokmal-vs.-nynorsk/> (accessed: 01.04.2017)

²⁹ Språkrådet (The Norwegian Language Council), “*Nynorsk in Norway.*” http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Om-oss/English-and-other-languages/English/Nynorsk_in_Norway/ (accessed: 01.04.2017)

³⁰ Heidar, p. 12.

³¹ Ibid. p. 3.

³² Danielsen, p. 222.

³³ Heidar, p. 5.

³⁴ Monsson, Odd, “Nationalism and Scandinavianism in the development of the Nordic languages in the 19th century” in Oskar Bandle, Kurt Braunmüller, Ernst Håkon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann and Ulf Teleman (eds.), *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002. p. 1453.

was ambivalent. Although similarities between people of Scandinavia, i.e. mutual history or culture, and linguistic similarities became conspicuous, the Romanticist idea of the sovereign nation already became popular, not to mention the sour experience of Danish and Swedish rule. Therefore, the movement focused on cultural-pedagogical issues instead of any political ideas, for instance, teachers' forum was essential for the development of education in the region, while many resisted against the creation of a common Scandinavian identity.

Monsson calls the events of 1814 a “double revolution” in Norway. While Norway successfully seceded from Denmark, but had to join Sweden in a union, its new constitution guaranteed broad individual rights to the population, and established the most democratic system of the time. The personal union with Sweden did not hinder the guarantee of linguistic, cultural, and later political rights of Norwegians, which nourished and secured Norwegian nation-building. Norway came to exist as a state with a constitution, providing broad rights and political representation to the people, but ironically, it lacked a forerunning movement capable to create national language.³⁵ The early emergence of state, and the ‘invitation of masses’ into politics with the constitution hindered the creation of a single national language. The rural society was heavily represented in the Storting, and it was directly channelled to politics. The pre-existence of state did not necessitate the creation of a national language. Due to the constitution the Norwegian state and the Norwegian nation already existed, however, a national language in the Herderian sense was still missing. Having a single national language that could unite all the society in a single nation and a single state was unnecessary. Thus, language became a matter of identity politics, i.e. the variants of Norwegian represented identities and facilitated the cleavages between the ‘rural’ and the ‘urban’. As a result, the Norwegian written variant became an important element of not only identities, but also party politics.

³⁵ Monsson, p. 1459.

I. 5. Why Study Language Reforms?

The success and failure of language reforms have not been broadly theorized in the nationalism literature from a comparative perspective. Linguistics does not necessarily and primarily seek for the answer for such questions either. However, language has drawn great attention from the nationalism scholarship, and it has been central to its analysis, while linguistics often point out that they lack a theory that explains the success of language planning.

As Crystal argues, language is a political phenomenon.³⁶ If we distinguish a language from other languages, it is not only because of linguistic evidence, but also due to political reasons. There are several examples even in Europe, where it is not clear if we speak about dialects or separate languages, and the debate is decided because of political concepts, such as the state (or nation-state) and its borders. The emergence of language movements in the 19th century is the empirical evidence for the account that nationalism is often language-based, and that language was the key element of identity that could have been successfully used for mobilization and nation-building, therefore ‘nation’ is not a primordial concept. In addition, the examination of language reforms tells us a more proper date of the beginning of this mobilization. The first articles and manifestos on language are key documents for dating the beginning of the nationalist revival.

In many cases, such as in the selected ones, the existence of a language was the justification for the aspiration to a state. However, in some regions many languages and dialects coexisted, more importantly, the given community’s language coincided with the language of other communities. Language planning aimed to distinguish the community’s language from the others’, and in the same time unite its own members relying on a shared element of their identity instead of religion or tradition. Possessing a language meant the right to claim an

³⁶ Crystal, David, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 286.

independent state for the nation. These language planning programs, clarifying not only the norms of language usage, but also the status of a given language, mostly succeeded. However, in some cases, language movements and the planning they represented failed. The failure of mobilization can explain the failure of the emergence of the nation-state.

II. Theoretical Framework and Empirical Overview

II. 1. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Although the success and the failure of language reforms have not been broadly theorized in the nationalism literature previously from a comparative perspective, many works offered explanation to the emergence of nationalism, and a vast number of them connected the rise of nationalism to language. When theorizing the success and the failure of language reforms, it is necessary to synthesize the related literature on nationalism, and the accounts from the field of linguistics.

The primordialist account gives one possible explanation on the rise of nationalism, claiming that nationalist mobilization is a ‘natural’ phenomenon stemming from kinship and people’s preference of their kinsmen. Pierre van den Berghe claims that the organization of human societies is the extension of nepotism; people unite due to kin selection, reciprocity, and coercion.³⁷ The primordialist interpretation does not provide explanation to our central question. One observes the rise of languages, the standardization of vernaculars from time to time in history, and particularly in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Language became a central element of nationalist movements, and it was the subject of debates. Later, language was imposed on the whole society by governmental institutions. These events manifest that language was, at least in Europe, the engine of the formation of national identity and nation-building.

³⁷ Van den Berghe, Perre, “A Socio-Biological Perspective” in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 97.

The majority of the literature agrees that nationalism is a product of modernization. Instrumentalist accounts suggest that the rise of nationalism is due to the needs of élites or community leaders, who through ‘inviting the people into history’ mobilized masses for political or economic purposes. Tom Nairn argues that uneven capitalist development triggered nationalism as the mass-mobilizing reaction of élites of the peripheral areas.³⁸ The coercive force to emerge into a community is the shared vernacular culture of the people. The base of their ‘vernacular culture’, or as Elie Kedourie explains, the ‘the test of nationality’ is language, because it is the clearest sign of someone’s membership in a particular community.³⁹

Similarly, Ernest Gellner argues that the minimal condition for membership in a modern community is literacy. To put it in a different way, education, based on the national language, is the key for citizenship. Gellner provides the Hungarian case in the 19th century as the best example when the rise of a vernacular nourished nationalism. Mobilization was efficient and rapid because of the standardization and development of a language that the masses spoke. The fact that the current map of Europe consists small blocks with relatively clear boundaries is the result of the identity creation based on language planning.⁴⁰ Elsewhere he argues that nationalism in the name of ‘high culture’ aimed to gain efficient bureaucratic-technological communication, instead of the unsustainable great variety of local groups, i.e. low cultures.⁴¹

Benedict Anderson claims that the establishment of nation-states is isomorphic with the ‘finding’ of print-languages, therefore national identity is constructed on the base of a vernacular language. To strengthen national consciousness, leaders impose ‘reforms’ on languages, as Atatürk did when Romanised Turkish orthography.⁴²

³⁸ Nairn, Tom, “The Maladies of Development” in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 70.

³⁹ Kedourie, Elie, “Nationalism and Self-Determination” in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 49.

⁴⁰ Gellner, Ernest, *Thought and Change*. London: Wiedenfeld and Nicholson, 1964. p. 159.

⁴¹ Gellner, Ernest, “Nationalism and High Cultures” in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 64.

⁴² Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 2006. p. 45-46.

These accounts suggest that language is central to the formation of national identity, nation-building, and as a final result, to the establishment of the nation-state itself. Gellner, Nairn and Anderson suggest that language engineering is a key phenomenon to organize people into national units, moreover, repeating it is necessary for the sake of progress. However, these accounts do not theorize why some engineering attempts fail, while others succeed, which is why I will turn to historical linguistics and sociolinguistics for further explanations later on.

There are a few works addressing the question of language reforms and theorizing their success or failure. The sociologist Anna Frangoudaki describes the Greek case of diglossia, the coexistence of Katharevousa and Demotic Greek, which in our understanding is a half-successful case of language reform. According to Frangoudaki the success of the language decline theory and the current linguistic ‘crisis’ are due to the challenged national identity of the Greek intelligentsia, which was contested during the European Union accession.⁴³ This account suggests that identity creation and therefore the question of national language depends on the ‘intelligentsia’, i.e. a chaotic linguistic situation occurs when the élite faces identity crisis. I agree that mostly the élite determines the fate of a language reform, and that failure is due to the segmentation of the élite. However, Frangoudaki’s single case study does not observe alternative explanations and many variables.

İlker Aytürk theorizes transcriptional reform from a comparative perspective in a two-case study of the Turkish and the Hebrew orthographic reforms, predicting that highly centralized state-power, low literacy level, and also the match between the phonetic characteristics of the language and the new alphabet lead to a successful transcriptional reform, while the absence of all variables hamstrings the attempts.⁴⁴ This account is fundamental for

⁴³ Frangoudaki, Anna, “Diglossia and the present language situation in Greece: A sociological approach to the interpretation of diglossia and some hypotheses on today’s linguistic reality.” *Language in Society*, Vol. 21. No. 3 (Sep., 1992), p. 365.

⁴⁴ Aytürk, İlker, “Script Charisma in Hebrew and Turkish: A Comparative Framework for Explaining Success and Failure of Romanization.” *Journal of World History*, Vol. 21. No. 1 (March., 2010), p. 129.

theorizing language reforms, but it does not explain the broad varieties of change addressed in this study. For instance, based on the Hungarian case, relatively high literacy rate does not seem to affect the success of language reform in a negative way. Similarly, very high literacy rate in Norway would predict the failure of the implementation of Aasen's language reform, however, the new written variant has been still used by 10% of the people, and recognized as an official variant of Norwegian. In the examined period, in Croatian territories literacy rate was extremely low. Despite this fact, the language reform failed. Again, Aytürk's theory explains transcriptional reforms, and not all types of language reforms addressed in this thesis.

I intend to synthesize the accounts of political science and linguistics in order to provide a theoretical framework. From the field of linguistics, I overview the findings of sociolinguistics and historical linguistics. However, as its name suggests, historical linguistics does not attempt to theorize why a language reform emerges, or why it succeeds or fails, rather it provides a descriptive account on linguistic phenomena, therefore these accounts I use for conceptualization. 'Language planning' – the conscious effort to influence the structure, function or acquisition of a language – is also addressed by sociolinguists, but rarely theorized.

Robert L. Cooper describes 'social conditions' of language planning through four examples.⁴⁵ Cooper suggests that in language planning elite struggle has a central role. Language planning cannot succeed if the elite does not support it, or a counter-elite blocks its implementation. Language planning is a result of the elites' rational choice: they support it, if it serves their interests, therefore if the elite and the counter-elite both support the initiative, it is likely to serve the interests of the rest of the society. Similarly to Nairn, Cooper claims that elites of the periphery use language to mobilize masses, which might be beneficial for economic

⁴⁵ Note that this book analyses language engineering in a broad sense, and Cooper particularly focuses on his field, the role of language in education. When Cooper speaks about language planning, it means a great variety of phenomena, from the establishment of an academia to language teaching.

development, although it is definitely not sufficient for it.⁴⁶ This account strengthens our theory that language reforms emerge because of the élite's rational calculation. In the 18th and 19th century, nation-building was beneficial to élites, and language seemed to be the most effective tool of mobilization in the selected cases.

II. 2. Terminology

'Hungary' refers to the Hungarian Kingdom ruled by the Austrian Empire, before the period of 'dualism', and during the Austro-Hungarian Empire. When mentioning Croatia, I refer to the Kingdom of Croatia, or Croatia-Slavonia (from 1868) that was ruled by the Hungarian Kingdom. The country name does not refer to Dalmatia that was ruled by the Habsburg Empire. I separately emphasize when referring to Dalmatia. The country name 'Norway' refers to the Norwegian counterpart and its territories of the United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, or to the earlier kingdom under Danish rule.

Nation is used in the Weberian understanding, i.e. a 'community of sentiment' that aspires to a state of its own. According to Weber, this sentiment emerged in different ways: because of religion, shared memories, i.e. ethnic elements, or sometimes because of a common language or 'culture value of the masses'.⁴⁷ A variant of nation-state emergence is language-based, unlike the ethnic-based German state, because a reformed, newly codified language was in the centre of the emergence of the concept of 'nation'.⁴⁸

The emergence of the modern nation-states of Europe coincides with the study of historical linguistics that distinguishes language reforms as a separate period of language because of rapid 'artificial' shifts in the language itself, and coincides with the study of language

⁴⁶ Cooper, Robert L., *Language planning and social change*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989. p. 183-185.

⁴⁷ Weber, Max, "The Nation" in in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 24-25.

⁴⁸ Aktürk, Şener, *Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. p. 9.

planning from the field of sociolinguistics. An interdisciplinary analysis can provide better insight on the emergence of the nation-state, or in some cases, the lack of this early emergence and it explains why sometimes nation-building and the appearance of the concept is delayed. For an interdisciplinary analysis, I introduce terms borrowed from the discipline of linguistics.

Language change has received the greatest attention among the subjects of linguistics. Change is ‘natural’, since language is not a static, but a dynamic phenomenon, but interestingly, there are many cases when a sudden change actually hampers mutual intelligibility, causes ambiguity, even social division.⁴⁹ Such a sudden change, *language reform* is central to this thesis.

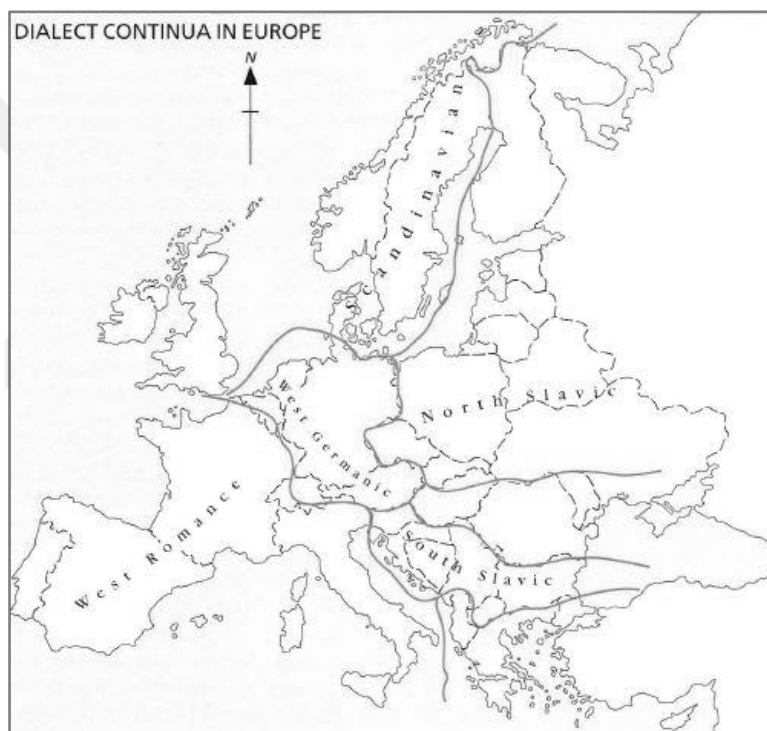
In the same time, *language* is somewhat an arbitrary concept. In linguistics, one of the most debated theoretical issues has been the distinction between *language* and *dialect*.⁵⁰ One of the most serious problems appears when one observes a geographical *linguistic continuum*, where there are several dialects taking place next to each other within a region in a chain-like form. Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish constitute a continuum, as well as South Slavic languages in South Eastern Europe, but for instance, Hungarian is the only Uralic language in the Carpathian Basin, so in this regard, the Hungarian case is different from the previous two.

⁴⁹ Crystal, p. 4-5.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 25.

Crystal uses the chain metaphor to demonstrate the theoretical problem of language continua. In the chain, languages situated geographically directly next to each other, possess greater extent of *mutual intelligibility*, therefore languages situated in the two ends of the chain are less mutually intelligible. How can we draw then borders between languages within a chain? Crystal's answer is clearly political: once there is a state-border drawn between two languages, we speak about two different languages, even though they have a lot in common. The South Slavic continuum is particularly problematic in linguistic sense, so that the debate on the status of these languages/dialects are resolved by arguments of political nature.⁵¹ In short, problems

MAP 1. Dialect Continua in Europe. Source: Crystal, David, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 25.



occur when differentiating languages and dialects “the criteria of national identity and mutual intelligibility do not coincide”.⁵²

It might occur that in a particular community, two variants of a language coexist, and each variant has a set of social functions. This state of coexistence is called *diglossia*. Based on function, i.e. a variety is applied in ordinary conversations or conversations that are more

⁵¹ Crystal, p. 25.

⁵² Ibid. p. 286.

official, one distinguishes ‘low’ (L) and ‘high’ (H) variants.⁵³ Greek has two variants, the Katharevousa and the Demotic, as well as officially, Norwegian has two varieties, Bokmål and Nynorsk (and two unofficial varieties, Riksmål and Høgnorsk), however, these varieties mean written standards, simply because Norwegian language has no spoken standards regulated by the academia.

How to categorize languages and measure the distance between them? I apply the *genetic (genealogical) classification* of comparative historical linguistics in order to categorize European languages, and to show the relative distance between them. Although the classification is still not ideal, it is perfectly applicable to Eurasian languages, and certainly has better framework than typological classification.⁵⁴ This account takes for granted the earlier existence of a proto-language, a ‘common descent’ of languages. Thus, logically languages are related to each other, and their relation is usually demonstrated with a tree-shape image.

The language planning literature does not state that language planning is a product of the 20th century, moreover for theoretical framing earlier examples are mentioned, however, the scholarship tends to focus on ‘current’ issues.

Crystal claims that ‘language planning’ (or ‘linguistic engineering’) as a process includes the creation and implementation of an ‘*official policy*’ in order to regulate the linguistic varieties or different languages that coexist in the state. Instead, I agree with that language planning has always existed since the emergence of languages, however, as a more ‘informal activity’, and formal policymaking is a newer phenomenon.⁵⁵ The planning actor might be a government or its agencies, academies, committees, individuals, etc., so that language planning

⁵³ Ibid. p. 43.

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 295.

⁵⁵ Wright, Sue, *Language Policy and Language Planning: From Nationalism to Globalization*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. p. 1.

is not carried out solely by governments⁵⁶ (Cobarrubias and Fishman 1983, Cooper 1990, Crystal 1997, Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, Wright 2016).

First Haugen, a Norwegian scholar – who started to study and contributed to the formation of the field because of Ivar Aasen’s failure as a language planner – outlined the types of language planning in 1966. *Corpus planning* means structural change or changes in a given language, such as changes in *vocabulary, morphology, spelling* or the adoption of a new variant of *orthography*, in short these are changes that alter the nature of the language. “Corpus planning is often conducted within a tension system of changing and conflicted loyalties, convictions, interests, values, and outlooks.”⁵⁷ *Status planning* means the change of the position of the language related to other languages or dialects⁵⁸, or how it should be used in the society, but mostly there is no clear-cut border between corpus and status planning.⁵⁹ The selected cases, which were one of the first conducted language reforms that clearly aimed the corpus planning of the language, in the era of nation-building meant to plan the status of particular languages as well, so that all three cases exhibit both corpus and status planning attempts. These processes involved not only the planning of the status of a language comparing to another existing one – i.e. the consolidation of the status of Norwegian comparing to Danish (and Swedish), the domination of Hungarian comparing to German (and Latin), and the establishment of the status of Croatian instead of Hungarian (and Latin and German) –, but also the establishment of a linguistic norm. This linguistic norm in the case of Norwegian meant the rural dialect of Norwegian, more free from Danish influence, Western-Transdanubian Hungarian instead of other dialects, and the Kajkavian dialect, which was exclusively spoken by Croats, mostly in

⁵⁶ Crystal, p. 366.

⁵⁷ Fishman, Joshua A., “Modeling Rationales in Corpus Planning: Modernity and Tradition in the Images of the Good Corpus.” in Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (eds.), *Progress in Language Planning*, Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1983. p. 117.

⁵⁸ Cobarrubias, Juan, “Ethical Issues in Status Planning” in Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (eds.), *Progress in Language Planning*, Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1983. p. 42.

⁵⁹ Crystal, p. 366.

the Zagreb area instead of the Štokavian dialect which was spoken by Serbs as well. Corpus and status planning are distinguished in the literature to make categorization easier. There are cases which exhibit clearly only one type of planning – for instance, after the establishment of national languages a pure orthographic reform –, though such cases are not frequent, and especially in the 19th century, most attempts involved status planning in the same time, simply because it was the period when the notion of national language emerged.

Since in the 19th, and particularly since the 20th century states have taken the responsibility of language cultivation and the regulation and teaching of languages. Recently a new concept was introduced when addressing policies on languages. ‘*Acquisition planning*’ today refers to policies related to the language of education.⁶⁰ The consequence of the language reforms was acquisition planning to an extent: Hungarians broadened their education in Hungarian, while Nynorsk gained equal educational status comparing to the Dano-Norwegian variant.

Kaplan and Baldauf argue that *language reform* is a type of language planning on the macro-level, and it is required when the language is vital, but inefficient to cover domains and registers that are new to the speaking community. It occurs in a brief period, and changes might include the lexicon, orthography, or grammar – they attempt to make language use easier. They provide Mustafa Kemal’s language reform (1920s) as an example.⁶¹ According to Geoffrey Lewis, language reform is a repeatable, short deliberate campaign, e.g. in the 18th and 19th century Hungary, that mostly targets the vocabulary, and its causes are related to nationalism.⁶²

I intend to use only ‘language reform’ as an umbrella term covering linguistic changes that excludes such questions like language spread or inter-lingual communication, but includes

⁶⁰ Cooper, p. 157.

⁶¹ Kaplan, Robert B. and Baldauf, Jr, Richard B., *Language Planning From Practice to Theory*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 1997. p. 64-65.

⁶² Lewis, Geoffrey, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999. p. 2.

most of the changes related to the corpus of the language. However, in the three selected cases, one sees the act of status planning as well, when an actor or actors select a language or a dialect as norm, and they attempt to consolidate it as ‘national language’. Changes are infinitely repeatable, therefore it is necessary to outline the level of improvement that is understood as ‘reform’ in the thesis.

Language reform in my understanding means the renewal of a language consciously conducted by actors within the realm of language politics, in contrast to the changes that result from the dynamics and development of languages. Language reforms require the speaking community to somewhat re-learn the language. Consequently, small changes e. g. in orthography, or the codification of an already existing lexicon, mostly conducted by the academia, do not count as significant changes, and do not require the relearning of the language, therefore they are not language reforms. The three most frequent cases of language reforms are orthographic reforms (the most drastic one is transcriptional change), changes within the lexicon of a particular language (purification, adoption of new words), and grammatical changes.

Lexical reform means the modification of the existing vocabulary of a particular language. There are several methods to change the lexicon of a language (e.g. purism, word-formation, etc.) that I do not specify in this thesis. The term ‘orthography’ means ‘correct spelling’, and it includes the transcription of a language. Transcription is the matter of orthography, i.e. the orthography of a language tells the norm on the alphabet applied for the language. Grammatical change means a change in the structural use of the language, so that it includes phonology, morphology, and syntax.

Language reform as a term therefore covers any of these changes. More types of changes might be included in the same process, and in the selected cases one witnesses multitudinous changes, albeit only one change is sufficient to speak about a reform.

II. 3. Catalogue of Language Reforms

Below I present a catalogue on language reforms. Due to the broad universe of languages, and the vast number of reforms, I list only the official languages spoken in Europe. ‘Reforms’ are listed due to the criteria outlined above, therefore all standardization attempts are not included. It is due to my best knowledge, however, it is possible that other reform attempts happened that I have no knowledge about. Note that the list of language reform is not a complete list, instead, it aims to demonstrate what language reform is through some examples.

Which cases do not count as language reforms? For instance, Luxembourgish was standardized in 1946, when the first orthography was accepted. This orthography allowed the transcription of all spoken varieties of the language, therefore no one had to relearn the language itself. Another example is Alessandro Manzoni, the writer of the first Italian novel, *I promessi sposi*, who is considered to be ‘the father of Italian language’. Manzoni used his own Milanese dialect that greatly influenced Italian language, but this did not mean Italian-speakers had to relearn their language because of an artificial shift in it.

A language may have multiple reforms, successful ones or unsuccessful ones, or it is possible that all reforms are successfully implemented. One could say all languages have faced language reforms since transcription was introduced once in the vast majority of languages.

Language	Language Reform	Language	Language Reform
Albanian (AL)	Yes	Italian (IT)	No
Basque (ES, FR)	No	Latin (VA)	Yes
Belarusian (BY)	Yes	Latvian (LV)	Yes
Bosnian (BA)	No	Lithuanian (LT)	Yes
Bulgarian (BG)	Yes	Luxembourgish (LU)	No
Catalan (ES)	No	Macedonian (MK)	Yes
Croatian (HR)	Yes	Maltese (MT)	No
Czech (CZ)	Yes	Moldovan (MD)	Yes
Danish (DE)	No	Montenegrin (ME)	Yes

Dutch (NL)	No	Norwegian (NO)	Yes
English (UK)	No	Polish (PL)	No
Estonian (EE)	Yes	Portuguese (PT)	No
Faroese (FO)	Yes	Romanian (RO)	No
Finnish (FI)	Yes	Romansch (CH)	Yes
French (FR)	No	Russian (RU)	Yes
Frisian (NL, DE)	No	Serbian (RS)	Yes
Galician (ES)	No	Slovak (SK)	Yes
German (DE)	No	Slovene (SI)	Yes
Greek (GR)	Yes	Spanish (ES)	No
Greenlandic (GL)	Yes	Swedish (SE)	No
Hungarian (HU)	Yes	Turkish (TR)	Yes
Icelandic (IS)	Yes	Ukrainian (UA)	No
Irish (IE)	No	-	-

It is true, but normally the adoption of the first transcription by the intelligentsia was a slow process, and orthography went through several changes until reaching its final form (see for example the Romanian orthography). However, these changes were not imposed on the entire speaking community, since in the time of the introduction of the first alphabets, only a very small number of people was literate. Such processes seem to aim rather the efficient usage of a language for that marginalized layer who had the ability of reading and writing. Instead of analysing these events, I intend to observe rapid improvement in a given language, therefore, I

TABLE 5. Language reforms in European languages. The table is prepared based on the author's criteria.

list languages that experienced, or on the contrary, they did not experience sudden shifts consciously conducted by actors.

Below I collect examples of language reforms that succeeded or failed. This is a non-exhaustive list of language reforms, and it only aims to apply the above outlined typology, and demonstrate a few cases accordingly, instead of presenting a complete list of language reforms in the world, because language reforms are infinite and always repeatable, seems impossible.

Language	Reform	Year	Result	Description
-----------------	---------------	-------------	---------------	--------------------

Albanian	Orthographic reform, Elbasan subdialect as national language.	1916-1918	Half-success	Gheg and Tosk dialects remain in use. Elbasan is the language of administration.
Albanian	Albanian Orthography Congress: Tosk orthography as single national standard.	1972	Success	Tosk becomes the language of administration, education and culture. Communist leaders used the Tosk dialect. Today debates on changes.
Basque	No reform.	-	-	5 main dialects, 11 subdialects, 24 other varieties today cause difficulties in mutual understanding.
Belarussian	Grammar, orthography, lexicon (purism).	1933	Success	By Belarussian the Communist Party and Council of People's Commissars. Used with minor amendments in Soviet Belarus and Belarus.
Catalan	No reform.	1833-1892	-	The nationalist revival promotes Catalan culture and language, but does not impose major reforms.
Czech	Grammar, lexicon.	1809-1830s	Success	The creation of modern Czech, spoken today.
Estonian	Lexicon.	1870-1890	Success	Creation of new words to modernize Estonian. Thousands of them have been used.
Faroese	Orthography.	1854	Success	Renewal of orthography based on Old Norse.
Faroese	Orthography.	1898	Failure	Jakobsen's orthography based on phonetics fails.
Finnish	Lexicon. Creation of a single standard variant by synthesizing dialects	1820s-1850s	Success	Lönnrot collects and creates words, synthesizes dialects, which is the base of today's modern Finnish.
German	No reform.	1852-1880	-	The Grimm brothers started the codification of vocabulary, but did not create new words. Later, general spelling rules were outlined.
Greek	The creation of Katharevousa. Grammar, lexicon.	1796	Half-success	Common, Demotic Greek remains in use.
Greenlandic	Orthography.	1851-1973	Success	Kleinschmidt re-regulated the complicated orthography, aimed to bring writing closer to speaking. A final reform was implemented that nourished the language.
Icelandic	Orthography, lexicon.	1720s-1790s	Success	Ólafsson reviews Old Icelandic, and creates the tradition of linguistic purism. He inspires many scholars later on.
Latvian	Orthography.	1908	Success	Two linguists create the new alphabet of Latvian that slowly takes the place of the old alphabet.

Lithuanian	Vocabulary and grammar. The creation of standard Lithuanian.	1910s-1920s	Success	Jablonskis creates modern Lithuanian.
Macedonian	Macedonian as official language. The first grammar, new lexicon, etc.	1944	Success	Based on dialects, Koneski develops standard Macedonian, and outlines its grammar. Vocabulary is influenced by dialects as well.
Moldovan	Orthography (transcription).	1989	Success	The adoption of the Latin alphabet of Romania.
Romansch	Orthography. The creation of standard language.	1850s-1880s	Failure	All attempts for a unified orthography among dialects fail.
Russian	Vocabulary, grammar.	18 th -19 th c.	Success	The ‘Golden Age’ of Russia modifies and transforms the language. The formation of standard Russian.
Serbian	Orthography, grammar, vocabulary.	1810s-1860s	Success	Transcriptional reform, renewal of the vocabulary. Use of the dialect spoken in East Herzegovina. Serbian is brought closer to ‘common speech’.
Slovak	Orthography, vocabulary.	1780s-1840s	Success	From ‘dialect’ status to ‘standard’ status. The creation of standard Slovak spoken <i>today</i> . No immediate full implementation.
Turkish	Orthography, vocabulary.	1932	Success	The introduction of Latin transcript. Replacement of Persian and Arabic words.

TABLE 6. Example for language reforms and their evaluation.

II. 4. Language Movements and Language Reforms: The Comparative Analysis of Hungary, Croatia, and Norway

How could Hungarians under foreign oppression, with relatively high literacy level conduct a successful language reform within the Habsburg Empire whose policies attempted to play them down, while all these factors predict the failure of such reforms? How is it possible that Croatians, living under foreign oppression, could not execute almost any of the attempted reforms, with a mostly alphabetic population, while the linguistic ‘tabula rasa’ situation would predict an easy success for language reforms? How is it that Norwegians who lived in a more democratic environment, unwillingly in union with Sweden, and who were highly literate – facing all the factors that make language reform almost impossible –, were not hindered when creating the ‘New Norwegian’ language, and caused diglossia in the country? The thesis

addresses language reforms of the 19th century, and sheds light on their successful execution, and the causes behind the failure of such reforms and their joint movements.

The absolute success case is the movement called the ‘Hungarian Language Renewal’, narrowly speaking in the first two decades of the 19th century, broadly speaking between 1772 and 1872, creating 10 000 words still used in standard Hungarian. Although Hungarian became a school subject in 1792, many policies promoted the Germanization of the region (policies on immigration, language), and the official language of the Empire was Latin, therefore Hungarian language was definitely underdeveloped before the reforms.⁶³ Literacy rate in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom was relatively high, as a consequence of the absolutist rulers’ politics. The census of 1880 of Austro-Hungary tells that literacy level in Hungary-Transylvania⁶⁴ was 54.35%.⁶⁵ Although this was the first census including literacy, multiple documents predict that the average literacy rate at the beginning of the 19th century was around 40% varying with regard to class, profession, gender, and region.⁶⁶ As a result of the reform, Hungarian became the only official language in the Kingdom in 1844. Hungarians were quite literate in the examined era, but they lacked a strong, centralized national government, since they lived under Habsburg oppression. Against the odds, Hungarians conducted a successful reform. How could this happen?

The above cited census tells that in 1880 literacy rate in the Croatian territories that belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary was 26.52% (Croatia-Slavonia, including Istria), while

⁶³ Dömötör, p. 272.

⁶⁴ The census records together ‘Ungarn-Siebenbürgen’ (‘Hungary-Transylvania), and it does include the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia.

⁶⁵ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ANNO Historische Österreichische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, “*Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung und der mit derselben verbundenen Zählung der häuslichen Nutzthiere vom 31. December 1880*”, <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-plus?aid=ors&datum=0005&pos=583> (accessed: 13.12.2016)

⁶⁶ József Hudi, “Alfabetizáció és népi írásbeliség a 18-19. században. Az írástudatlanságból az alfabetizáció világába.” (“Alphabetization and Folk Manuscript Culture in the 18th and 19th Century. From Illiteracy to the World of Alphabetization.”), *Rubicon*, No. 5 (1990). http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldalak/alfabetizacio_es_nepi_irasbeliseg_a_18_19_szazadban_az_irastudatlansagbol_az_alfabetizalt_vilagba/ (last accessed: 17.05.2017)

in Dalmatia that directly belonged to the Habsburg Empire, literacy rate was 12.65%, but presumably these percentages were even lower in the first half of the century. The Illyrian movement (1832-1848) attempted first to create the Illyrian, and later – after renaming the language – the Croatian language. Croats were not only oppressed by Austrians, but by Hungarians as well, albeit their language movement followed the Hungarian trend. Although Ljudevit Gaj's reform attempts targeting dialect standardization, orthography, and grammar failed in line with the establishment of Illyria, his alphabetic reform succeeded in an interesting way: he created the transcript of Serbo-Croatian language. Because of the low literacy level, linguistic environment was supposed to be the best substratum for reforms, however, Croats failed to create an independent Croatian language. Why could not Croats successfully create a unique Croatian language with an illiterate speaking community? Why did they agree with the Serbians instead on the proper use of their language, which meant that they implicitly recognized that they speak the same language?

There are two official written Norwegian standards today: Nynorsk, the 'New Norwegian' and Bokmål, the 'Book Norwegian' language. Today only 10-12% of the total population names Nynorsk as their primary written variant, while the majority of the society uses Bokmål, a language closer to Danish. Between the 16th and the 19th century, Danish was the official language of the United Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, but after the establishment of the personal union with Sweden, neither Danish, nor Swedish seemed to be a suitable language. In the 1840s, Ivar Aasen addressed the creation of a national language, and travelled through rural Norway to collect common characteristics of countryside dialects, seeking the 'pure' form of Norwegian. Eventually, Aasen managed to create Nynorsk that was welcomed by the rural population. It could contest the hegemony of the Dano-Norwegian language spoken by the élites of the cities, but the majority of the society never used it. Aasen achieved partial success, creating diglossia in the country. Based on the efficiency of Protestant

schooling and particularly the importance of teaching children to read even in the rural areas made Norway the most literate country of the era.⁶⁷ High literacy level may hinder reform attempts, as well as the relatively democratic political environment the Norwegians lived in. Despite of this, Nynorsk successfully emerged, however the minority of the population has used it. This makes the Norwegian language reform a half-successful case.

I explain the course of language reforms through the combination of three independent variables. The presence or absence of these independent variables guarantees or hampers the success of language reforms. The selected three independent variables are 'statehood', 'political participation', and 'pan-movements'. The absence of statehood, limited extension of political participation, and the absence of pan movement guarantees the success of a language reform, as in the case of the Hungarian language reform. The absence of statehood, the absence of extended political participation, and the influence of pan-movement make language reform fail, as in the case of the Croatian language reform. When the state is pre-existing to language reform, but there is broad political participation, and a moderate pan-like movement, the language reform succeeds partially. In the case of Norway, one observes the successful creation of Nynorsk, a language that aimed to substitute the variant heavily influenced by Danish, but the relative unpopularity of this new language. This eventually leads to diglossia in the country: a more complex linguistic environment, where variants of the same language coexist, and it seems impossible to create a single national language.

⁶⁷ UNESCO, "The Making of Literate Societies," in *Education for all Global Monitoring Report*, 2006. http://www.unesco.org/education/GMR2006/full/chapt8_eng.pdf (accessed: 12.04.2017)

III. The Case of Success – The Hungarian Language Reform

Take note of this great truth that never on this earth could a nation claim wisdom or depth for itself until it introduced knowledge and scholarship in its own language. All nations gained their education in their own language, never in a foreign one. (...) For this reason, then, the Hungarian language will only die out in our fatherland when the peasant women begin to learn Latin, Greek, French or German and stop speaking in Hungarian. Thus as long as the Hungarian peasant women speak Hungarian, the menfolk will also speak it, and as long as the serfs use the Hungarian language it will be impossible for their masters to forget it. So if we are thus obliged to keep our language, let us at least polish it up and work for our advancement.

György Bessenyei, *Magyarság [Magyardom]*, 1781⁶⁸

The analysis of contemporary texts proves that the first reference on the standardization of language and the demand for Hungarian as official language appeared around 1770s.⁶⁹ The high nobility that generally served at the Habsburg Court started to entertain the ideas of freedom, equality and nation due to the new philosophical wave, most importantly French and German thinkers, and in particular due to Herder's influence. Herder inspired the nobility to 'return to the *Volk*' when seeking authenticity, and in the same time scared them when predicting their disappearance because of the large Slavic block they lived within. Nation-building was accelerated simultaneously by policies favouring German language. Ironically, many of the tolerant policies issued by the Habsburg Court contributed to the rise of the new intelligentsia: the gentry, the sons of lesser and fortuneless nobles were empowered by positions in the bureaucracy. The conjunction of a liberalized-nationalized nobility and the rising gentry destined the success of the Hungarian Language Renewal. While nobles and gentry through conversation shaped the notion of nation, they debated on language and its reform as well, eventually creating the currently spoken standard Hungarian. The quasi-isolated linguistic situation of Hungarians excluded any possibilities of pan-movements, and contributed to the

⁶⁸ Miskolczy, Ambrus, "‘Hungarus Consciousness’ in the Age of Early Nationalism" in Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić (eds.), *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, Leiden: Brill, 2015. p. 73. Bessenyei cited by Miskolczy, translation by M. C. Ives.

⁶⁹ Péter, László, "Language, the Constitution, and the Past in Hungarian Nationalism" in Miklós Lojtkó (eds.), *Hungary's Long Nineteenth Century: Constitutional and Democratic Traditions in a European Respect*, Leiden: Brill, 2012. p. 184.

understanding of linguistic uniqueness as part of the national identity. In addition, the basis of the modern state were laid in 1848 with widened political participation and the abolition of feudalism, but the process of state-formation was immediately interrupted by the revolution. After the suppression of the revolution and more than a decade of conservative imperial politics, the *Austro-Hungarian Compromise* was carried out in 1867, which made Austria and Hungary equal partners under constitutional monarchy. The lack of pan-movement, increased political participation and the political inclusion of the bourgeoisie led to a successful language reform, and eventually the successful formation of the modern Hungarian state.

III. 1. From the Habsburg Empire to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Formation of the Modern State

Joseph II (r. 1780-1790) who became the emperor of the Habsburg lands, including the Kingdom of Hungary launched a great series of reform that aimed the rapid progress of the provinces of the empire. It is important to note that Joseph II has been one of the most controversial figures in the Hungarian thinking, and particularly the evaluation of his language policy has been ambivalent. The official language of the country, and actually all the provinces that belonged to the Habsburg Crown had been Latin. In 1784, the so-called *Language Decree* made German the official language of the Empire, including the Kingdom of Hungary. Joseph II withdrew all his policies regarding Hungary directly before his death, but it could not allay the already awakening national sentiment. All in all, Joseph's language policy should not be understood as a reform aimed the Germanization of the Empire, but rather a reform for more efficient communication and administration. Still, his attempts were interpreted as the effacement of other identities, such as Hungarianness and Hungarian language, and they beyond question accelerated the Hungarian nationalist revival.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Deme, Laszlo, "Writers and Essayists and the Rise of Magyar Nationalism in the 1820s and 1830s." *Slavic Review*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (Winter, 1984), p. 626.

The centralizing absolutism and Josephinism in general triggered hostility and nationalist sentiment, however, the impetus of the Romanticism atmosphere contributed to the rise of nationalism as well. Joseph wanted to uniform and centralize the Empire, and his attempts actually nourished the opposition entertaining nationalist ideology, i.e. unintentionally, Josephinism produced the later reformers of Hungary, and in particular, those who would renew the vernacular as national language. However, in general, the Josephinist leadership positively reacted to the increasing sentiment of local and ethnic identities, which has been a mostly overlooked characteristic of the regime according to Evans.⁷¹ This was the period when journals in the vernaculars spoken in the Empire were published first in history with the Habsburg Court's permission.⁷² What seems certain that Joseph II who has been highly controversial in Hungarian history attempted to make the imperial administration and communication more efficient by the issued *Language Decree*. An unlucky event was the rapid development of German language and literature between the 1760s and 1780s that turned out to be a great threat to the existence of lesser developed vernaculars in the Empire.⁷³ Moreover, Joseph II released the so-called *Toleranzpatent [Toleration Patent]* in 1781, allowing broader freedom of religion for Lutherans, Calvinists, and Greek Orthodox believers, and eventually easing the situation of several Jews. This is why, for instance, Ferenc Kazinczy of Calvinist conviction could become the leading figure of the language reform and take crucial part in educational reforms in the 1780s, and the Lutheran Gergely Berzeviczy could join the judiciary, could become a political economist and participate in politics.⁷⁴

Since German language was wide-spread, moreover propagated among the upper classes, Herder's *Volk* concept successfully gained foothold in Hungary, and especially his

⁷¹ Evans, R. J. W, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Essays on Central Europe, c. 1683-1867*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2006. p. 134.

⁷² *Ibid.* p. 136.

⁷³ *Ibid.* p. 137.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p. 141.

'language death theory', his prediction of Slavic dominance in Europe, and eventually the disappearance of Hungarians in the 'Slavic sea' terrified Hungarians.⁷⁵ Herder's very influential theory was actually a cliché of European literature, yet unknown in Germany. The picture of the *Volk*, the peasants and their untouched rustic culture, whose speech was authentic and uninterrupted by any impacts, in addition, their connectedness to the soil became a central motif of European nationalism, and because of the linguistic dimension it was very successful among nations that developed their national languages.⁷⁶ According to Evans, the Herderian thinking had two very important consequences. Obviously, as the best and most direct manifestation of membership in the community of nation, language, and in particular, the peasantry's vernacular was chosen to be the national language, and therefore, as representing the nation best, the basis of mobilization. Second, the *Volk* concept led to the reconsideration of the nation's territory. The previously dominant the *Hungarus* identity meant the nobility in Hungary, but by including the peasantry, not only the membership in nationhood increased, but the territory that the nation aspired.⁷⁷ In addition, Freemasons, Jacobins, and their ideology also spread, broadening the variety of literary genres, and accelerating printing culture, while the intelligentsia started to read, translate and copy Byron, Shakespeare, and Scott, and admired Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, Schelling, Humboldt, and Hegel.⁷⁸

That nation was built on language, i.e. that nationalism is language-based was early – already in the 1760s-1790s – understood by the intelligentsia. The above mentioned Berzeviczy who had actually quite ambivalent opinion on Hungarian as national language stated the following:

Since it is the national language that makes a nation, consequently the termination of the national language terminates the nation as well: maintaining and perfecting the national language is essential for keeping up the nation's existence. This was and is recognised by

⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 107.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 107-108.

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 103.

those late, fervent patriots, who centuries ago took care to cultivate the language of the motherland; by those great figures of the country who flocked together to the national assembly; by those societies assembled specifically for the cultivation of the Hungarian language; by almost all the counties of the motherland; and by many scholarly works on the progress of the Hungarian language.

Gergely Berzeviczy, 1807⁷⁹

Later on he expresses his worries on that Hungary would follow the English, German and French examples, and it would be very difficult to find job for many who do not speak Hungarian in the country. As I will demonstrate later, the concept of nationalism, the matter of inclusion and exclusion, and other details changed over time, but language as core criterion of nationality appeared at first, and despite some tries for its removal, this linguistic element could never be undone.

In 1790, Leopold II followed his brother Joseph II on the throne. Leopold's Law 1790/91 No. XVI stated the following:

His Holy Highness assures the Estates [feudal orders and related bodies] that foreign language will not be used with regard to any issues, and in order to spread more and prettify the Hungarian home language, teachers shall be recruited in high schools, academies and in Hungarian universities for teaching Hungarian language and writing, so that those who wish but otherwise could not learn this language, or those who already know they wish to accomplish themselves in it, shall receive the chance to fulfil any of these of their wishes; and from now on questions related to the governance [dicasterium, central government subordinated to the ruler] shall be discussed in Latin.⁸⁰

The re-establishment of Latin for official use, and King Leopold's guarantee for not taking its place by any other languages (German) was insufficient for Hungarians, i.e. the leading social class, the high nobility of Hungary, and they demanded Hungarian as official language of the country.⁸¹

In 1792, Leopold was followed by Francis I (as first emperor of the so-called Austrian Empire), who ruled until 1835, and suppressed the Jacobin movement.⁸² His time was marked

⁷⁹ Miskolczy cites Berzeviczy, p. 83.

⁸⁰ *Ezer év törvényei* ("Laws of a Thousand Years"), Law 1790/91 No. XVI. <https://1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=4890> (accessed: 28.04.2017). The author's translation.

⁸¹ Deme, p. 626.

⁸² Evans, p. 174.

by executions, the activity of the secret police and a great network of spies reporting about suspicious elements in the country.

Ending the Napoleonic Wars, the *Congress of Vienna* was held in 1814-1815. The Congress hosted by Prince Klemens von Metternich reorganized Europe. For Hungarians (and others living in Habsburg territories), the Metternich era following the Congress was a sour experience of conservative rule and stagnation. Hungarian territories ‘indivisibly and inseparably’ belonged to the emperor’s lands. Despite issues related to the country were decided by Austrians, the Hungarian Diet (Assembly) could not be downplayed completely, therefore Hungarians had influence on the legislation to a limited extent, but it is important to note that it was still a privileged status comparing to other provinces of the Empire.⁸³

Hungarian gained exclusive official language status in 1844, when it became the language of the legislation, and instead of the previously shared role in administration with Latin from 1836, it was the only language of bureaucracy.⁸⁴

On 3 March 1848 Lajos Kossuth, a liberal politician addressed constitutional transformation, the need for responsible government [ministerium], the abolition of serfdom and noble privileges, and full legal equality in the Hungarian Diet.⁸⁵ After his speech, the *April Laws* were formed and ratified by Ferdinand V. This was the momentum when Hungary officially transformed from a feudal country to a parliamentary monarchy. The first Hungarian government was formed, and the prime minister became Count Lajos Batthyány. The government and the ministries were elected by the parliament, and the lower chamber of it was popularly elected. The reform package also meant among several other laws the freedom of press, association, and religion, while Catholicism was abolished as state religion. In addition, universal taxation was announced, abolishing the privileges of the nobility and ending the

⁸³ Deme, p. 625.

⁸⁴ Evans, p. 176.

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 173.

exploitation of the serfs, issuing also equality before the law. The *Aviticitas* was abolished, i.e. lands could be bought freely by anyone. In addition, Transylvania was incorporated into the Kingdom of Hungary.⁸⁶

It is important to emphasize that the right to vote was expanded, although only to a limited extent. According to the law men above the age of 20 could attend to the elections if they themselves or together with their close family possessed property equal to 300 000 forints or possessed a particular size of land. Artisans, merchants, and factory owners could also vote if they possessed a shop or a factory. People with fix income per year (at least 100 silver forints), plus people with no income at all, such as scientists, surgeons, lawyers, engineers, fine artists, (university or high school) teachers, members of the Hungarian Scientific Association, pharmacists, pastors and chaplains (i.e. the Protestant clergy), notaries, school teachers, and urban burghers (citizens of cities) could also vote. The same law stated that all people eligible to vote could run for office from the age of 24.⁸⁷

There have been several attempts to measure the exact number of the voters of the time, but roughly, it was around 10%, and according to more pessimistic accounts it reached around 7%.⁸⁸ This actually meant that the high nobility who could vote and could be elected by birth had to share this right with a large group comparing to its size: the new electors were three times more than the high nobility was. The parliament remained two-chambered so that it could somewhat secure the existence of the high nobility and clergy sitting in the upper chamber.⁸⁹ Jewish citizens received the right to vote during the Austro-Hungarian Compromise by Law

⁸⁶ Péter, p. 207-208.

⁸⁷ *Ezer év törvényei* (“*Laws of a Thousand Years*”), *Law 1848 No. V.*
<https://1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=5273> (accessed: 05.05.2017)

⁸⁸ Ruszoly, József, “Parlamentarizmus és népképviselet 1848-ban.” (“Parliamentarism and Representation in 1848.”), *Rubicon*, 1997. No. 8.

http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldalak/parlamentarizmus_es_nepkepvisolet_1848_ban/ (accessed: 06.05.2017)

⁸⁹ Hársfalvi, Péter, “A választójog a polgári Magyarországon. Választók, választhatóság, szavazás.” (“Electoral law in civic Hungary. Voters, the right to be elected, election.”) *História*, 1981, Vol. 2. p. 78.

1867 No. XVII.⁹⁰ Later, Law 1874 No. XXXIII modified again the electoral law, and the right to vote was based on tax, i.e. people who paid tax could vote apart from those who possessed land or house or they were from the intelligentsia.⁹¹

Crisis started in September 1848, Lajos Kossuth became parliamentary dictator (or governor president as some call), and civil war started. The revolution of 1848-1849 was suppressed by Austria with the help of Russia. Franz Joseph issued Imperial Constitution by octroy in 1849 and he claimed that the Habsburg Monarchy was one single state.⁹² The following period marked with the intention to restrict Habsburg rule between 1851 and 1859, the so-called Bach era failed,⁹³ and eventually led to the *Ausgleich*, the *Austro-Hungarian Compromise* in 1867,⁹⁴ through which a dualist system was formed between Austria and Hungary. The Compromise meant the birth of the modern state with an elected government. Even though the first government had been elected in 1848, it lasted for short time because of the revolution and the following repression of the Bach era. Francis Joseph was crowned as the King of Hungary, the *April Laws* were almost fully re-implemented, a new government was elected and the prime minister became Count Gyula Andr ssy.

The 1830s and 1840s were the era of ‘liberal and reforming aspirations’. The conservative attitude and the autocracy reorganizing and centralizing all the related territories fuelled representatives of the Diet, who started their real struggle for great social change in this period.⁹⁵ In this process, as I will demonstrate it later, both the aristocracy and the newly emerging class of educated gentry had great role. These people, especially those who aspired bureaucratic career often travelled and studied in Western Europe, and mostly they were

⁹⁰ *Ezer  v t rv nyei* (“*Laws of a Thousand Years*”), Law 1867 No. XVII.
<https://1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=5318> (accessed: 05.05.2017)

⁹¹ *Ezer  v t rv nyei* (“*Laws of a Thousand Years*”), Law 1874 No. XXXIII.
<https://1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=5645> (accessed: 05.05.2017)

⁹² P ter, p. 209.

⁹³ Taylor, A. J. P., *The Habsburg Monarchy 1809-1918: A History of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976. p. 86.

⁹⁴ Maxwell, p. 25.

⁹⁵ Evans, p. 108.

polyglots, speaking at least three languages, therefore they were the bridges between Western and cosmopolitan values and nation-building. It is important to emphasize that these people also possessed multiple identities, and the nation-building process meant they surrendered one (or some) of these identities in favour of Hungarianness.⁹⁶ Count István Széchenyi for example was raised in Austria, and his mother tongue was German, while Sándor Petőfi a poet and leading figure of the revolution actually had change his name from Petrovics to Petőfi, since he was from Slovakian origin.

This was the moment to choose language as the vehicle of nation-building, since many from the intelligentsia who would have been otherwise excluded because of social class (fortuneless gentry), ethnic origin (Slavic, German, Jewish, etc.) or due to conviction (Protestant) could join the nation, and access bureaucratic or political position. It was also a decision to resolve earlier controversies between these classes. This process procured the demand for constitutional changes and liberties. Paradoxically, the utilization of language meant the reorganization of ethnic criterion as the core of nationality as well. Policies after the revolution mark the intention to widen the ethnic boundaries until they meet the territorial ones, in other words, somewhat intolerant attitude towards other ethnicities and the intention to merge them into the Hungarian nation, mostly through language.⁹⁷

III. 2. The ‘Men of Letters’. The Expansion of Political Participation and the Role of the Intelligentsia

In the period examined in this thesis, a great number of ethnicities inhabited the Hungarian Kingdom, however, the largest ethnic group was Hungarian with around 12.8 million people.

⁹⁶ Evans, p. 109.

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 127.

In spite of this, the non-Hungarian population was in majority in the kingdom,⁹⁸ since together Hungarians numbered 45% of the entire population.⁹⁹

It is important to note that literacy rate was relatively high, as a consequence of the absolutist rulers' politics. The census of 1880 of Austro-Hungary tells that literacy level in Hungary-Transylvania¹⁰⁰ was 54.35%.¹⁰¹ Although this was the first census including literacy, multiple documents predict that the average literacy rate at the beginning of the 19th century was over 40% varying with regard to class, profession, gender, and region.¹⁰² In addition, in the Hungarian territories, especially in Pest and Trans-Danubian regions and in the Austrian regions inhabited by Hungarians literacy was around 70%, and often surpassed even 80%, while the Transylvanian parts were dramatically underdeveloped with 20% literacy rate in some sub-regions.¹⁰³ Many evaluate literacy level in Hungary pessimistically, albeit one can note that comparing to other countries due to the Habsburg absolutist policies on schooling Hungary could make it to at least the upper-middle category of European countries in terms of literacy.

From the middle ages, the mostly Catholic titled aristocracy, and the mostly Protestant and provincial gentry were the "backbone of Hungary".¹⁰⁴ Hungary had a great number of nobility, around 5-6%. Industry and commerce was insignificant which contributed to the underdevelopment of the bourgeoisie. Before 1848, the nobility did not pay tax, since it was the peasantry's commitment. In addition, the nobility controlled the bureaucracy of the country. In this situation a great power accumulated in the hands of the nobility, however, nobility itself

⁹⁸ Deme, p. 634.

⁹⁹ Evans, p. 127.

¹⁰⁰ The census records together 'Ungarn-Siebenbürgen' ('Hungary-Transylvania), and it does include the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia.

¹⁰¹ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ANNO Historische Österreichische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, "*Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung und der mit derselben verbundenen Zählung der häuslichen Nutzthiere vom 31. December 1880*", <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-plus?aid=ors&datum=0005&pos=583> (accessed: 13.12.2016)

¹⁰² Hudi,

http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldalak/alfabetizacio_es_nepi_irasbeliseg_a_18_19_szazadban_az_irastudatlansagbol_az_alfabetizalt_vilagba/ (accessed: 17.05.2017)

¹⁰³ *Literacy rate in Austria-Hungary (census 1880)*, Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1884, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Literacy_in_Austria-Hungary_\(1880\).JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Literacy_in_Austria-Hungary_(1880).JPG) (accessed: 13.12.2016.)

¹⁰⁴ Péter, 305.

was segmented and contained many layers with regard to title and fortune. Therefore, the high aristocracy, the large estate owners, and the middle nobility or *'bene possessionati'* ruled the country in real life, and possessed all the economic and political power. In the feudalism, the nobility considered itself the solely representative of the nation. As Deme expresses, "their sense of nationhood was based on 'the unifying force of common political history and constitution'."¹⁰⁵ This notion was limited to the nobility, and obviously excluded lower layers of the society, but interestingly, this identity called *Hungarus* was a multi-ethnic one, and included many non-Hungarian nobles. Many intellectuals opposed the ending of the *Hungarus* identity, since it meant the promotion of monolingualism, and automatically excluded members who spoke a language different from Hungarian.¹⁰⁶ Until the end of the 18th century, this was the shared identity of the inhabitants of the Hungarian Kingdom, and presumably it stemmed from the nomadic tradition. Finally, this identity was completely destroyed by the emerging nationalism.¹⁰⁷

Pest started to develop, and eventually became the cultural centre of Hungary because of the nobility's investment. For instance, Count Ferenc Széchenyi, Count István Széchenyi's father founded the National Museum and Library. Ferenc Széchenyi, later minister founded the National Casino, started steamship transportation on the Danube, published several works on finance and economy, and built the Chain Bridge. Széchenyi's major work, the *Hitel [Credit]* (1828-1829) meant to make the nobility realize that the 'civic transition' from feudalism was necessary, because the social and economic transformation served the country's future development. As the title demonstrates, his main idea was that investment is low because of the

¹⁰⁵ Deme, p. 625.

¹⁰⁶ Maxwell, Alexander, *Choosing Slovakia: Slavic Hungary, the Czechoslovak Language and Accidental Nationalism*. New York, NY: Tauris Academic Studies, 2009. p. 13.

¹⁰⁷ Miskolczy, p. 64.

lack of credit, and therefore large estate economies could not be developed and modernized. In addition, he criticized the nobility for exploiting the serfs.¹⁰⁸

In the 1830s, reformers accepted Széchenyi's ideas, and transformed them into practice. Ferenc Kölcsey, the author of the national anthem became representative in the Hungarian Diet in 1832. He announced his program called *Haza és haladás [Fatherland and Progress]*, which became the organizing theme of the so-called Reform Era in the 1830s. Kölcsey advocated a more inclusive notion of the nation, providing more rights to the peasantry, stating that the nation is “‘10 million uplifted people’ united by the common rights of ‘liberty and property’”.¹⁰⁹

Liberal Catholicism became popular among the high nobility. Similarly to Széchenyi, Count Lajos Batthyány, the first prime minister of Hungary invested in industry and agriculture, moreover he was a passionate advocate of other religions and freedom of belief in the upper house of the parliament. Baron József Eötvös, famous writer and Minister of Religion and Public Education from Catholic family close to the Habsburg Court demanded full equality for Jews, and drew attention to the terrible conditions of prisons, while Ferenc Deák from Catholic lower noble origin became the Minister of Justice later, advocating similar issues. Therefore, both Catholics and Protestants therefore popularized liberal ideology. Protestants were included in political participation due to the *Toleration Patent* of Joseph II, and through the following decades, their influence increased.¹¹⁰ (See for instance Lajos Kossuth, Minister of Finance, and later Governor-President during the revolution of Lutheran origin or the emblematic figures of the language reform, Ferenc Kölcsey and Ferenc Kazinczy of Calvinist origin or the Lutheran Sándor Petőfi, the poet, one of the leaders of the revolution.) This meant in the same time that lower nobility and the gentry was involved in politics, both through representation in the Diet and the right to vote, while due to the increasing number of printing and publications they

¹⁰⁸ Széchenyi, István, *Hitel ("Credit")*, 1828-1829 - <http://mek.oszk.hu/06100/06132/html/> (accessed: 02.05.2017)

¹⁰⁹ Deme cites Ferenc Kölcsey, p. 639.

¹¹⁰ Evans, p. 152.

shaped public discourse on both nation and language to a great extent. The extension of political participation meant in the same time that religion could never become a central element of nationalist mobilization. In fact, religion itself had almost no role in “the formation of modern Magyar national feeling”.¹¹¹

The nobility’s investment in culture and cultural institutions contributed attracted people to Pest, replacing Pozsony (Pressburg, today Bratislava) as a cultural and political centre. Book printing and the publication of journals started and intensified in this era. In 1825, Széchenyi in Pest established the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. One of its most important missions was the cultivation of language. In the 1830s, the Hungarian National Theatre was built further promoting the language and contemporary authors often addressing themes related to nationalism.¹¹²

The transition from feudalism happened in Hungary about sixty years after the transition in France, but as Deme emphasizes, a similarity between the two countries is the role of the intelligentsia in this process. The Hungarian revolution of 1848 did not happen out of the blue, but its intellectual and political bases had been prepared for decades by the ‘men of letters’.¹¹³ Therefore, at the doorstep of the revolution, Hungarians were prepared for announcing their ready and well-thought political program, including questions such as the abolition of serfdom. In this thesis, I emphasize the importance of the expansion of political participation, and I demonstrate through contemporary texts that the political opinion of people who had not been able to participate in politics earlier ‘happened to matter’ in this period, and effected public thinking on politics, particularly with regard to the notion of nation and nationalism. The ‘men of letters’ publicly disputed questions related to language, and mostly agreed on the importance of language in nation-building, and placed language into the core of national identity. Thus, the

¹¹¹ Evans, p. 153.

¹¹² Deme, p. 627.

¹¹³ Ibid. p. 624.

success of the language reform, and the successful renewal of the Hungarian language was due to their political inclusion to a great extent.

Evans emphasizes the role of intellectuals in nation-building. These people were mostly from lower noble origin, or rarely had commoner roots. Evans views them as a channel for the promotion of westernized intellectualism and cosmopolitan ideology, since they had great impact on 'national agendas'.¹¹⁴ Modernization starting under Maria Theresa's rule (1740-1780) and intensifying in Joseph II's time (1780-1790) brought great social changes in Hungary. Economic and educational reforms, plus the growing bureaucracy and its increasing demand for employees produced a new generation of intelligentsia. They took the place of the clergy, in other words, children of middling classes who otherwise would have chosen parochial service, became officials or bureaucrats, the so-called *Honoratioren*.¹¹⁵ Middle or middling class should not be understood as traditional bourgeois class here, but rather as gentry's class. This layer included people whose family lost their lands or estates, but by origin, they were also nobles. After losing their fortune, they sought for paid jobs, and mostly served as officials, or – if their financial situation allowed – they chose intellectual career, worked as lawyers, journalists, pressmen, writers or poets. They often studied abroad, and had connections with foreign countries, therefore, as in the case of the Hungarian gentry, they were all effected by the ideas of secularism and rationality, and promoted these values to at least a moderate if not radical extent.¹¹⁶ One could summarize characteristics of the upper classes in the following way: all landowners were nobles, but not all nobles were landowners, at least, until the *April Laws*.

In partial conclusion, nobility was the minority of the society, but still a bigger layer comparing to the nobility of other European societies. Nobility itself was segmented, some of

¹¹⁴ Evans, p. 101.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. p. 105.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. p. 106.

them were extremely poor even, living among the peasants (they were the so-called ‘sandaled nobles’ or ‘seven plum treed nobles’), while the most influential ones among them were the landowning élite.¹¹⁷ Social reforms did not undermine the landowning élite’s status at all. The *bene possessionati*, the mostly countryside gentry was the leading social force of the transition in 1848, and they could manage to access land and property due to the *April Laws* that was also re-established without much restriction in 1867.¹¹⁸ The landowning élite received financial compensation from the state for the abolition of serfdom, and they could also preserve their ‘social pre-eminence’. Titled nobility and even middle nobility (the gentry sometimes suffered from financial losses) could preserve their status since no one from the emerging bourgeoisie attempted to challenge it.¹¹⁹ This élite similarly could sustain its political position and influence after the revolution and the Compromise. They invited lower classes to participate in politics with them, but *not instead of them*.

In the 1820s and 1830s, the notion of nationalism was formed and debated on the pages of leading literary and scholarly journals. These authors did not only dispute the meaning of nation itself, but for the first time discussed the matter of education and culture, and addressed questions such as the role and place of non-Hungarian ethnicities and women as well. One of the most important topics was language and its relation to nation.¹²⁰ Needless to say, the emergence of the concept of the nation meant the inclusion of some who had been previously excluded from the *Hungarus* community, but in the same time, the exclusion of previously included ethnicities started.

On the pages of these journals the progressive and the conservative strands confronted, albeit they generally agreed on social reforms and the importance of civil liberties. They laid the intellectual basis for such emblematic political figures as Count István Széchenyi.

¹¹⁷ Péter, p. 309.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. p. 312.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. p. 312-313.

¹²⁰ Deme, p. 624.

Széchenyi was a reformer aristocrat, the founder of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and later Minister of Transportation and Labour of the first government (Batthyány government) of Hungary. The authors publishing in these journals supported Széchenyi's reform programs, and eventually contributed to the popularity of these ideas.¹²¹

The three most important journals in the 1820s and 1830s were the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* [Scientific Review], the *Athenaeum*, and the *Aurora*. While the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* and the *Athenaeum* published articles on science mostly, the *Aurora* was a literary yearbook, as its name hints, for women, and it eventually became “the leading publication of patriotic Hungarian Romanticism”.¹²²

Deme researches the background of the contributors of the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, and despite they often wrote with fictive names, he states that based on the contents they were “teacher, lawyers, academicians, poets, writers, journalists, land surveyors, and even a high official in government service”. Many authors had urban origin, but a large number of them were from the countryside. All in all, individually they were mostly insignificant authors, but as Deme underlines, they represented the quintessence of the Hungarian intelligentsia, and their understanding on education, politics, language, and nation. Many of these authors were influenced by Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* [Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man].¹²³

Izidor Guzmics who was the close friend of Ferenc Kazinczy, the leader of the language reform stated in 1822 based on Herder that language was the most important element of the nation, because language nationalized men and made them patriots, therefore language should be the very basis of the nation. As it had been often cited by the reformers since the 1790s, Guzmics also drew attention to the role of language in education, science and culture. Péter

¹²¹ Ibid. p. 624.

¹²² Ibid. p. 627.

¹²³ Ibid. p. 628.

Vajda who was a famous writer of the time wrote that language was the most important characteristic of a nation. According to Vajda, the loss of language meant the loss of nation and nationality.¹²⁴ Despite the overwhelming advocacy of language as the core of national identity, many saw civil liberties and the inclusion of serfs more important than language.¹²⁵

Deme based on the research of the above cited journals identifies ‘three major trends’ in the contemporary public discourse. First, the demand for Hungarian as official language and the replacement of Latin. Second, authors found important the Hungarianization of social and cultural life, especially – as a form of resistance against the German influence – the Hungarianization of the nobility. Nobles were criticized for imitating Germans, following their fashion and speaking their language instead of Hungarian. As Baron Alajos Mednyánszky noted in the 1820s, the aristocrats who were supposed to lead the society were non-Hungarians in both ‘outlook and spirit’. He criticized the lower nobility for using Latin, but he was even harsher to the aristocrats who – due to Empress Maria Theresa – imitated Germans and used German as the language of polite and appropriate communication. In other articles women were criticized for not speaking Hungarian. Urban women chose to speak German to copy the behaviour of the higher classes. In general, the most important language of communication in social and cultural life was German, less frequently French, and rarely Italian, while the educated nobles also spoke Latin and ancient Greek. Finally, the third element of public discourse was the matter of ethnicities. The formation of the notion of the nation inevitably led to the exclusion of ethnicities that had shared before the ‘Hungarus’ identity with Hungarians. As language was placed in the centre of national identity, other non-Hungarian speaking ethnicities were automatically denationalized. However, unlike the first two, Deme finds the third attempt failed.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Ibid. p. 628-629.

¹²⁵ Ibid. p. 629.

¹²⁶ Ibid. p. 632.

As Deme notes, interestingly both conservatives and liberals were against German influence, and criticized people who imitated the Germans. Many of the nobility could not speak Hungarian at all, or just learnt it as ‘foreign language’, and spoke it with German accent. For instance, the above mentioned minister, István Széchenyi, the founder of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences spoke with heavy German accent, and mostly wrote in German. However, for his patriotism and the progress he brought to the country, he has been called “the greatest Hungarian”, as once Lajos Kossuth, a common noble liberal politician, later Minister of Finance named him. Ironically, the saying “the nation lives in its language” was attributed to Széchenyi in this time, and actually has been attributed still to him.^{127,128} Other sources from the 1840s claim that Count Lajos Batthyány, the first Prime Minister spoke also with heavy ‘foreign’ accent.¹²⁹

According to Deme, public discourse shows that people mostly favoured ‘assimilative expansionism’, in other words, the assimilation of non-Hungarians into the Hungarian population. This idea was problematic, because even though Hungarians were the most numerous ethnic group in the country, other ethnicities constituted together the majority of the population. Because of that, language became the crucial and most important element of national identity, journal authors mostly agreed that only the promotion of Hungarian language can trigger the assimilation of other ethnicities in the country. Some, like the above cited Baron Mednyánszky argued that gradual assimilation through education was needed, and clearly understood that the rapid and violent assimilation was impossible.¹³⁰ Others argued that only the higher classes from other ethnicities should be assimilated, because people from lower

¹²⁷ Ibid. p. 629.

¹²⁸ Most probably István Széchenyi never said such a sentence. In his books, including the above mentioned *Hitel* (“*Credit*”) he speaks about the importance of language, and he finds it crucial for national identity. These ideas could be summarized with such a sentence that has been attributed to him. From a philological perspective, it was probably someone else’s summary on Széchenyi’s thoughts that became attributed to Széchenyi himself. More probably, the person who made this sentence up knew and transformed the original Latin proverb “*Lingua gentem facit*”, meaning “the language makes the people”.

¹²⁹ Deme, p. 633.

¹³⁰ Ibid. p. 634.

layers would automatically imitate them. Still some were more hostile towards ethnicities, and saw forced Magyarization legitimate based on history.¹³¹

It is important to understand these journals, especially the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* had great impact not only on public opinion, but directly on politics. Articles from these journals were often cited in the Diet of Hungary. For instance, Mednyánszky's above quoted opinion directly influenced education policy. Other suggestions from the journal made the leadership of counties conduct censuses on nationalities for the first time. The Viennese Ministry of Police early realized the influence of the journal, and accused it of accelerating national sentiments in Hungary. Ironically, Ferenc Kazinczy, the great language reformer also had pejorative comments on the journal, stating that it promoted 'patriotic bigotry'.¹³²

The Hungarian nationalist revival, the articles of the above cited journals, and the politics driven by them were understood by other ethnicities as symptoms of foreign oppression. Ironically, Magyarization attempts echoed the earlier assimilation attempts from Austria and Prussia against ethnicities such as Poles or Czechs. Eventually, Hungarian assimilation attempts ended up with quite the opposite of the expected results: they contributed to the nationalist mobilization of non-Hungarians, such as Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Romanians, etc., and meanwhile they triggered the construction of their national languages and culture. As Deme notes, many of these Slavic ethnicities saw the way out of the foreign rule in pan-movements.¹³³ Though, it is important to note that Hungarian nationalism was welcomed by two social groups: the urban German burghers and the Jews. Péter Vajda, the famous writer said Jews' "rights are sacred before reason, more permanent and brighter than the sun".¹³⁴ As a result, the so-called *Toleration Tax* was abolished in 1839-1840, and Jews had to pay equal taxes with other citizens, moreover the Representative Assembly during the revolution of 1848-1849 granted their

¹³¹ Ibid. p. 635.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Deme cites Péter Vajda, p. 636.

complete emancipation. The chief rabbi of Pest in 1840 expressed the loyalty of Jews and welcomed their inclusion in the Hungarian nation.¹³⁵ As an interesting contrast, no Jew could even enter the Kingdom of Norway until 1851.¹³⁶

In line with the emancipation of Jews, the emancipation of women received great attention. Deme evaluates the ambivalence of the emancipation of women. Some advocated equal opportunities for them, just because they found their status unequal and wrong. Others hoped that women, especially the very influential ones could promote patriotism in the society. The yearbook called *Aurora*, published by Károly Kisfaludy in 1822 was dedicated to women, and it addressed important issues, such as women's rights. In the 1830s feminist writers, such as Éva Takáts started to publish their articles, stating that the society's level of advancement was low which was clearly manifested by how women were treated in Hungary. Interestingly, she justified the emancipation of women by the national sentiment: women had to share 'the glories of Hungary's past', because they shared suffering with men through history. Éva Takáts and other feminist writers demanded the emancipation of women, with special regard to education, and they received great support.¹³⁷ Writers publishing in the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, and in particular male authors praised Takáts, and passionately demanded women's equality. Many of these male authors advocated the inclusion of women to arts and culture, so that through the inclusion in these spheres, women would also become patriotic and finally promote patriotism when they raise their children.¹³⁸

From 1841 the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* was never again published. According to Deme this was due to that from the beginning of the 1830s debates on nation in the Diet became more effervescent and intensive, and they occupied the space in the intellectual sphere previously filled by the journal. In the 1840s, the *Athenaeum* was first published substituting the other

¹³⁵ Deme cites Löw Schwab, chief rabbi of Pest, p. 637.

¹³⁶ Sjøvik, Jan, *Historical Dictionary of Norway*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2008. p. 218.

¹³⁷ Deme, p. 637.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* 638.

journal to an extent, but it rather provided room for intellectuals' theoretical debates than for passionate political polemics, and it did not have much influence on the political life anymore. In addition, Lajos Kossuth edited the first daily popular newspaper, the *Pesti Hírlap* [*Pest Newspaper*] where nationalists could still clash out of the assembly.¹³⁹

As Deme emphasizes, these literary figures publishing in journals had great importance. Albeit they were not the cause of nationalism, rather they popularized nationalism and questions related to it, plus, they often only copied foreign ideas on nationalism, such as Herder's understanding of language and nation. Even though their polemics included the exclusion of non-Hungarian ethnicities from the nation, sources prove that a promise for broader civil liberties regardless to ethnicity was made in the 1820s and 1830s to the inhabitants of the country, and the revolution of 1848-1849 also represented this idea.¹⁴⁰ The Hungarian national revival triggered the nationalist movement of other ethnicities, however, these movements proved to be less significant, partly, because despite the attempts on widening the linguistic community, politicians, such as Széchenyi meant to include everyone in the 'civil status' they fought for.¹⁴¹ Similarly, the *April Laws* did not exclude anyone from the right to vote because of ethnicity or linguistic identity, but the criterion to be elected was among others the ability of speaking Hungarian, because the language of the Diet officially became Hungarian. In fact Law 1868 No XLIV, *On the Equality of Nationality Rights* stated:

All citizens of Hungary, according to the basic principles of the constitution, from, in the political sense, a single nation, the indivisible unitary Hungarian nation of which every citizen of the fatherland, to whatever nationality he may belong, is a member with equal rights.¹⁴²

The proposed law to create the political nation proved to be unsuccessful. This was due to the nation concept that had emerged earlier, i.e. nation is determined by its language, therefore, the

¹³⁹ Ibid. p. 639.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 640.

¹⁴¹ Péter, p. 190.

¹⁴² Péter's translation, p. 191.

state could not become unitary under the term of Hungarian nation, and linguistic cleavages remained significant until the very dissolution of the monarchy in 1918.¹⁴³

III. 3. Linguistic Situation and the Hungarian Language Reform

“The basis and instrument of a country’s welfare is culture... The key to culture is a national language... and the cultivation of that language is the first duty of the nation.”

György Bessenyei, *Magyarság [Magyardom]*, 1781¹⁴⁴

Hungarian belongs to the Uralic language group, and the sub-group of Finno-Ugric languages. The two terms are often used as synonyms, however many linguists advocate the distinction between them. Finnish and Estonian are also Uralic languages, albeit distant relatives of Hungarian, therefore Hungarian is not mutually intelligible with these languages. Other related languages are spoken in rural Russia by very small ethnic groups, and most of them are endangered languages, but neither they are mutually intelligible with Hungarian.¹⁴⁵ Thus, since the core of pan-movements is the linguistic axis as the ultimate proof of membership in a community, no pan-movement could be organized in the addressed period that could have spoilt the success of language reform. In fact, ‘linguistic loneliness’, the idea that Hungarian is incomparable to any languages, the ‘uniqueness’ of the language has been an important element of public discourse. One of the most explicit examples of it is the *Basic Law* (Constitution) addressing the promotion and the safeguarding of ‘our unique language’.¹⁴⁶ It seems that unlike in other cases, Hungarian identity was shaped by the understanding of not the similarity with other languages, but on the contrary, its uniqueness and incomparability with others.

Conventionally, the Hungarian Language reform in broad sense started in 1772, when György Bessenyei published his play *Ágıs tragédiája [The Tragedy of Ágıs]*. Bessenyei realized

¹⁴³ Péter, p. 191.

¹⁴⁴ Evans cites Bessenyei, p. 137.

¹⁴⁵ Sipőcz, Katalin, “A magyar mint uráli nyelv” (“Hungarian as Uralic Language”), in Bajor Péter, Kiefer Ferenc, Náráy-Szabó Gábor, Pál József (eds.), *A magyar nyelv (Hungarian Language)*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2006. p. 208.

¹⁴⁶ Laakso, Johanna, “Hungarian is no *Idioma Incomparabile*: The Hungarian Language Reform in European Comparison.” *Hungarian Cultural Studies*. Vol. 7 (2014), p. 321.

that Hungarian was underdeveloped, therefore it could not serve as the language of scientific research, and with his work, he laid the basis of the language movement that created standard Hungarian rapidly which actually could survive Germanizing attempts after the suppressed revolution of 1848-1849, when German again became the language of administration and high school education.¹⁴⁷ Bessenyei himself was a member of the Vienna bodyguard from 1765, so that he served directly Maria Theresa, and the Latin-French-German speaking Hungarians doing service at the Court inspired him when addressing the question of national language. In an article, Bessenyei stated that nobility emerged from the “ranks of the peasantry” and that nobility actually should return to its roots, to the peasantry itself, and logically, he claimed that actually many of the peasants had noble origin, just lost it through time. Of course, these comments offending the feudal and seniority principles could not avoid the censors’ attention, but he still could publish his views in a moderate form. To sum, he did not only advocate the importance of national language, and scholarly work in this language, but he also thought that social mobility should go without saying, as Miskolczy quotes Bessenyei, because “human nature works in freedom”.¹⁴⁸

Similarly, János Hajnóczy a Hungarian Jacobin lawyer, member of the King’s Council wrote – in Latin – the following:

If we make the domestic language the official language, all classes of people – as in other countries – will have access to higher culture, the spirit of freedom will permeate all the walks of life, and civic union will be stronger and – because it will be increasingly difficult for foreigners to rule us – increasingly safe.

József Hajnóczy, *A magyar országgyűlésen javaslandó törvények lényege*
[*The significance of the laws to be proposed in the diet*], 1790¹⁴⁹

These programs failed to create an immediate wide reaction in the form of a language movement, and first they enjoyed limited popularity among the landowning high aristocracy.

¹⁴⁷ Dömötör, p. 272.

¹⁴⁸ Miskolczy cites Bessenyei, p. 73.

¹⁴⁹ Miskolczy cites Hajnóczy, p. 77.

However, in short time, due to the French Revolution, Joseph II's policies, and in particular the above mentioned works by Herder their attitude change. Public discourse intensified on language, and fuelled by the Herderian theory on the 'nation's death' around 1800 the language movement emerged with full strength.¹⁵⁰

Many joined the movement and started to produce scientific works in Hungarian, formed journals, and eventually the Hungarian Scientific Association and the Academy of Sciences were established in 1825. The literature distinguishes language reform in narrow and broad sense: since the core debates happened in the first two-three decades of the 19th century, conventionally this is considered to be the era of the Hungarian Language Renewal. In these decades, all the linguistic rules of the language were discussed, and the intelligentsia through pamphlets and articles agreed on the standard language. However, Bessenyei's work is considered to be the dawn of the reform period, since he was the very first one to address publicly the matter of mother tongue. All in all, the language reform from linguistic perspective was over before the period of the revolution and the April Laws, and long before the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, therefore it is plausible to claim that the language reform actually happened *before* the modern Hungarian state was formed.

After the emergence of the language question, the intelligentsia was divided into two strands confronting with each other. Below I will address only one of the main conflicts, but one finds several examples when oppositional groups clashed due to a stylistic, linguistic or philosophical questions. These debates were very passionate and aggressive sometimes, reformers of the language often faced each other at court to resolve conflicts on issues related to language.¹⁵¹

The so-called *neologists*, led by Ferenc Kazinczy (1759-1831) advocated the more radical reform of the language. They practiced several methods, from word formation (creating

¹⁵⁰ Péter, p. 185.

¹⁵¹ Dömötör, p. 273.

words with e. g. suffixes and attach meanings to them) to the re-adaption of old or provincial words with new or modified meanings, claiming that Hungarian needed radical changes in order to become a language equal to others spoken in Europe. Eventually, Kazinczy became the most emblematic figure of the language reform, and he has been most frequently associated with it still. Their radical methods and ‘production-line’ styled word creation fuelled many, and soon an opposition strand, the *orthologists* appeared, advocating ‘contemplating progress’, as they called it. Most of them emphasized ‘ruminative’ reforms and “the need to adhere to the rules and the spirit of the language as it was actually spoken by the people”. In terms of method, they promoted an etymological perspective, and suggested to seek for the roots of words in use to amplify the Hungarian lexicon. Some of the orthologists insisted on no changes within the language, stating that language naturally developed and changed itself, and they rejected the idea of any reforms.¹⁵²

The debate between the orthologist-neologist strands ended in 1819, when Kazinczy stated that a synthesis is necessary between the two understandings of language and their methods. Deme cites Kazinczy, claiming that his own strand, the neologists should consider the ‘spirit of the language’ and ‘aesthetic ideals’, while orthologists should admit the ‘new needs’, with Kazinczy’s words a language reformer should work “well and beautifully if he was both a fiery neologist and an orthologist”.¹⁵³

In short, the Hungarian language reform was very successful, and eventually led to the creation of standard modern Hungarian that has been still spoken. The reformers’ most well-known achievement was the enlargement of vocabulary, and the preparation of the lexicon for the adaption of new words. To put it in a different way, reformers created methods, or rather applied methods to Hungarian making it able to adapt new words later on. In the same time, the reformers standardized spelling and grammar, abolishing rival traditions of the two that had

¹⁵² Deme, p. 626.

¹⁵³ Deme cites Ferenc Kazinczy, p. 626.

been coexisting until these years. To sum, the Hungarian language could be used finally for science, politics, and it could become the language of bureaucracy, so that it reached the standards of German, and could describe any spheres of life, as it was “an important prerequisite for the subsequent modernization of the country”.¹⁵⁴

After the core debates on language, i.e. the language reform in narrow sense, from the 1820s poets and writers started to evoke history. They used historical elements in their poetry and prose with the new reformed language that they filtered in practice, in other words they got rid of elements that proved to be useless or could not express thoughts well (see for example Ferenc Kölcsey’s – the author of the national anthem – short stories written in the 1830s). The intelligentsia ended the raking over the ashes of the past in the 1830s, and instead started to implement political ideas in practice, such as the above mentioned Kölcsey who joined the Hungarian Diet to fight for the abolition of serfdom and the development of the country.

To demonstrate the importance and success of the reformers, Kazinczy invented the following words used today: occasion [alkalom], exercise book [füzet], season [évszak], grateful [hálás], favourite [kedvenc], loneliness [magány], spirit [szellem], and humble [szerény],¹⁵⁵ while the following ones are words by Dávid Barczafalvi Szabó, another reformer: umbrella [esernyő], study (n.) [tanulmány], notice (v.) [észlel], structure [szerkezet], inland or interior [belföld], and society [társadalom].¹⁵⁶ It is easy to see that today Hungarian would not be sufficient for communication without the language reform. A great number of philological research proves that from the 1830s, more intensively in the 1850s, these thousands of words became the element of the active vocabulary of the intelligentsia, for instance István Széchenyi and other politicians actively used them in their speeches and writings. The urban society

¹⁵⁴ Deme, p. 626-627.

¹⁵⁵ Dömötör, p. 276.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 272.

adapted these reforms quickly, albeit the countryside inhabitants' reception was slower, and finally could be done through literary works of poets and writers.¹⁵⁷

It is important to understand that the language reform promoted a monolingual state and a monolingual community. It seems just to presume that before the language reform not only the educated classes, as the gentry or high nobility serving at the Habsburg Court could speak more languages, but also the peasantry or lower classes. People who lived in areas where more languages coexisted were able to sustain sufficient communication in more languages.¹⁵⁸ Among members of the upper classes, medial language was often Latin before more intensive Germanization.¹⁵⁹ Thus, the Hungarian language reform as well was not only the matter of corpus, but also the matter of status planning: Hungarian was defined superior to all the coexisting vernaculars in the Kingdom of Hungary, moreover it took the place of administrative Latin and German. In the reformers' understanding Hungarian became enough sufficient to substitute German in the life of the state, therefore, logically, it reached the standard of other European languages.

III. 4. Conclusion

I argue that the conjunction of growing but limited inclusion in political participation, the absence of pan-movement and the absence of pre-existing statehood as independent variables made the language reform in Hungary fully successful. How could these factors come together?

Hungary had significant nobility as I argued, but it was a segmented social class. The landowners, the most powerful segment who were the titled élite prior to Joseph II's rule occupied the most influential positions sustained by the Habsburg Court. They mostly spoke Latin and German, and were loyal to the Emperor who maintained their privileged feudal status,

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 277.

¹⁵⁸ Laakso, p. 328.

¹⁵⁹ Margócsy, István, "When Hungarian Became Ideology: Hungary in the Eighteenth Century", in Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić (eds.), *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, Leiden: Brill, 2015. p. 31.

i.e. the highest nobility did not pay tax and possessed land by birth, plus, land could not be deprived from the highest nobility, contributing to their uninterrupted dominance as a social class. In addition, a great number of them were Catholic, or were forced to convert due to the Emperor's request (see the case of György Bessenyei). The long existing gentry's class had no significant political power until the end of the 18th century, but their relation to the landowner class was conflictual. The gentry had mostly countryside origin, and many of them were Protestant. The high nobility dominated the Diet, the upper chamber was filled with ex officio nobles, while the lower chamber representing counties was in the hand of influential families of the given counties.

Joseph II's rule brought changes with policies on religious tolerance. In addition, the previously insignificant lower nobility accessed Western education, and travelled through the most developed countries, not to mention that they were extremely open to Western ideology. The administrative reforms of the Empire increased the demand for bureaucrats. The educated and penniless, or at least less wealthy gentry sought for jobs, and they were employed often as officials. The rest of them started business, such as publication or journalism. These people, although they were a very small minority of the entire population, served as bridges between the West and the country. French and German philosophers and writes, especially by Johann Gottfried Herder, heavily influenced them. They quickly adopted new ideas on liberties, state, nation, political participation and citizenship.

Meanwhile, because of the emergence of the gentry, the absolute hegemony of the aristocracy was questioned. They did not anymore solely dominate the society. They were the very initiators of the language reform, although their attempts fell on deaf ears at the beginning. Around 1800, during the rule of Francis II whose policies were more autocratic than his predecessors' the idea of language reform re-emerged, and a movement was formed for planning the national language. In the new discourse, both the aristocracy and the gentry took

part, moreover, the fortuneless intelligentsia could also participate, and eventually, as the above cited articles show, influence politics. The avalanche started: the gentry and the lower classes gained more and more strength, and around 1825, quite significant influence in the Diet as well. It is reasonable to state that apart from that it seems to be a general trend created by mostly Herder's work, conflict resolution led these social classes to place language into the centre of national identity. Language created the nation, or at least it could define the nation, and these classes together, merged into a single identity could reach their political claims, i.e. the independence from Austria, or at least, guaranteed autonomy, wider rights and a modern state. This proved to be the optimal solution for both: while the high nobility was unharmed, the gentry and the intelligentsia could participate in politics as members of the new nation, and could claim certain rights for themselves, still, not endangering the high nobility because of their relatively small number. The political participation of the lower classes received its legal form in 1848, and after the revolution and the Bach era, in 1867 this law was reinforced. The years after the Compromise are characterized with the slow, careful and gradual political inclusion of more segments of the society.

The intelligentsia proved to be the key actor in the language reform. It is important to emphasize that in the addressed period, the basis of philology were just laid, while linguistics did not exist as a discipline yet. Obviously, reformers of the era lacked scholarly methods, so that mostly they – like the reformer Kazinczy admitted it himself – relied on their taste. Still, the most educated to plan and execute the language reform were the gentry who spoke many languages and often received Western education, therefore had the best access to contemporary scholarly sources. In addition, those from the intelligentsia who had commoner origin functioned as channels to the society. Many of them were journalists, lawyers, teachers, doctors, writers or poets. They could promote the achievements of language reform not only to the urban, but also to the countryside society as well, to both men and women, aristocrat and

peasant, but in the same time, they could also filter these reforms, getting rid of or adding something that proved to be more appropriate for expression.

Language was a national matter. I will demonstrate in the Norwegian case that elsewhere language could not become a national interest, instead it became an element of identity politics due to the early emergence of the state. In Hungary, it was a general interest and an urging matter to achieve the modern state. The solutions varied for the problem: the radicals wanted to break free from Habsburg rule to form a republic (this was Kossuth's idea who opposed the *Ausgleich*), moderates imagined great autonomy in the form of constitutional monarchy with independent and elected government. The Dynasty had a harsh answer to the revolution: Francis Joseph claimed the Monarchy to be a single state. Eventually, after the failure of the Bach era, Hungary proved to be a great risk for the Monarchy, therefore the solution was the *Austro-Hungarian Compromise* in 1867, which was supplemented by several laws in the following years as a sign of the continuous bargain of the two participants (nations) who in general were understood to be equal in the Monarchy.

Nevertheless, the success of the Hungarian language reform was secured because of the absence of any external threats, i.e. Hungarian because of having no linguistic relatives in the Central European region did not face any pan-movements. Moreover, those languages that are genealogically related to Hungarian, are not mutually intelligible with it due to early division and territorial disintegration of the ancient speaking communities. Dissimilarity added an ambivalent, but long-lasting element to the Hungarian national identity that has been reflected in public discourse: the uniqueness (i.e. peculiarity) and loneliness in the world.

Today, Hungary is very close to the monolingual country model, where out of the approximate 10 million people 98% speak Hungarian as their mother tongue.¹⁶⁰ In addition, according to surveys, language is the most important element of national identity according to

¹⁶⁰ Medgyes and Miklósi, p. 22.

Hungarians. The crucial role of language in national identity is beyond question due to the Hungarian Language Renewal. This does not only mean that the language movement standardized Hungarian, therefore made it an efficient channel of communication. As I gave examples above, the mystification of language already started in the era of national awakening, and many of these thoughts have been still living in the public discourse and opinion (see “the nation is lived in its language”).

The today spoken and written standard Hungarian is the product of the language reformers. Although Hungary does not have great differences in dialects, the standardized dialect has been the Trans-Danubian one due to the language reform. Orthography and grammar was standardized through the intelligentsia’s debate. Also, the current Hungarian lexicon contains 10 000 words that are the products of the movement, and as I demonstrated above, Hungarians apparently would not be able to speak without this vocabulary today. These are words of various kinds: from technology to literature, entertainment, cuisine to simple emotions. In short, it was the formation of the ultimate linguistic norm, and it laid the basis of Hungarian linguistics as well. In addition, the movement is marked with the preparation of dictionaries, the adaption of literary genres, and large-scale translation of foreign works.¹⁶¹

The Hungarian language reform had great impact on Croats, and created a conflictual environment between the two parties. In the following chapter, I will examine the Croatian case which was accelerated by the Hungarian national awakening, albeit in spite of hostility, Croats incorporated and adapted many of the methods and ideological bases of the Hungarian movement.

¹⁶¹ Dömötör, p. 277.

IV. The Case of Failure – The Illyrian Movement of Croatia

A nation has nothing holier nor dearer than its natural language, for it is only through language that a nation, as a particular society, continues or vanishes.

Ljudevit Gaj, 1835.¹⁶²

The case of the Croatian language reform is evaluated as a failure in this thesis. Ljudevit Gaj impressed by the achievements of the Serbian language reform and scared by the success of the Hungarian nationalist movement launched the so-called Illyrian movement in the 1830s. First, he advocated the standardization of the so-called Kajkavian dialect, exclusively spoken by Croats, as the dialect of Zagreb region, despite the majority of Croats spoke the Štokavian dialect, the shared variant with the Serbs among many others. Gaj thought that based on the rich literary tradition of Zagreb preserved by the local Roman Catholic clergy he could recreate Croatian language. However, already in the very beginning of the movement his ideas on both nation and language were mixed. As a child, he had been impressed by the idea that Slavs were related to each other, which was clearly reflected on their languages. As a young enthusiastic reformer, he was seeking for patrons to back his movement, and he started to bargain with other actors while forming national identity. He quickly abandoned his claims related to the Kajkavian dialect, and as a possible linkage between Croats and Serbs, he started to advocate the standardization of Štokavian. He was astonished by the successful Serbian reform, and hoped that by cooperating with the Serbs, Croats would mean great threat to Hungarians. Gaj favoured Pan-Slavism, imagining the loose cooperation of South Slavic countries. Members of the contemporary political élite were from the conservative, pro-Hungarian high aristocracy and the conservative clergy. None could support Gaj for various reasons. In addition, the revolutionary events of 1848 did not bring much change to the Croatian political life: hereditary lords remained in majority in the parliament, while only a small privileged group had the right

¹⁶² Greenberg cites Despalatović who quotes Gaj, p. 25.

to vote. However, Illyrianism gained a few supporters from the aristocracy, and some reforms proposed by them could be issued. This, especially territorial claims triggered the hostility of the Habsburg Court that decided to restore the power of conservatives in the Sabor. Gaj's revenge was to build as close ties as possible with the Serbs, who mostly ignored Illyrianism, and their foreign policy goals dictated different choices from the Illyrians' program. After the revolution, even though Croats fought on the side of Austria, fearing any secessionist or unionist attempts, Austrians did not allow much room for Illyrian politics. Eventually, Gaj's manoeuvring ended with the signing of the *Vienna Literary Agreement* in 1850 that laid the basis of the literary standards of the Serbo-Croatian language. The final event of this analysis is the so-called *Nagodba*, the *Croatian-Hungarian Compromise* of 1868. Instead of achieving statehood, Croatia had to surrender much of its autonomy to the Kingdom of Hungary.

I argue that the lack of pre-existing statehood, the lack of political participation, and the strong Pan-Slavic movement contributed to the failure of the Croatian language reform and the Illyrian movement. Croatia did not have modern state prior to the language reform, and failed to expand political participation, which is clearly reflected on that public discourse did not involve many from the bourgeoisie or the intelligentsia. After Gaj's failure as the leader of the movement, the right to vote was established, but to a very limited extent. Finally, through the so-called *Nagodba*, Hungary imposed on Croatia the use of the term 'Croatian language', and Croatia failed to build a modern and autonomous state. The bargain with the Serbian counterpart led to the problematic status of the language and the national identity, and gave room to a new political-intellectual wave: Yugoslavism.

IV. 1. From the Kingdom of Croatia to Croatia-Slavonia

It is complicated to speak about 'Croatia' in the time period of this analysis, because regions inhabited by Croats had been highly disintegrated in history, and their partial unification only started in the 19th century. To understand why Croatian lands were this much fragmented and

why their legal status was so complicated, one should look into the early history of Croats that led to finally the nationalist revival aiming – among many other goals – the unification of Croats – and many others – in a single country.

After the increasing influence from the Kingdom of Hungary, Croatian nobility deliberately decided to enter a personal union with it. This agreement was the so-called *Pacta Conventa* in 1102. The Ottomans invaded the South Slavs in the 14th century. Eventually, they conquered Bosnia in 1463, and some years later, Herzegovina fell under Turkish rule. Croats swore to Maximilian I of Austria, hoping protection from the Habsburgs. Later, Croats elected Ferdinand from the Habsburg house. Habsburgs organized military zone between Croatian lands and the territories occupied by the Ottoman army (*Vojna Krajina*). Dalmatia was subordinate to the Habsburgs, but the Kingdom of Croatia and its later successor were tied to Hungary. Most of the Croatian regions inhabited by Croats remained fragmented until the 1880s.¹⁶³

Since in 1102 the Kingdom of Croatia originally joined the Kingdom of Hungary under the *Pacta Conventa*, Croatia was mostly viewed as a part of Hungary. There is more or less consensus today on that the Hungarian king Coloman the Learned (Hun. Könyves Kálmán) could win the Croatian crown in 1102, guaranteed autonomy and rights to Croats to an extent (e. g. the Sabor, the Croatian parliament was maintained) and dynastic-personal unionistic relations remained between the countries until the end of World War I, but this was often questioned particularly in the 19th century.¹⁶⁴ While Croats mostly emphasized that after the *Pacta Conventa* the country remained autonomous, and Croats had deliberately made the agreement, also they underlined the continuous and uninterrupted statehood, Hungarians mostly claimed that Croatia had been conquered through military invasion. This provided the basis of conflict during the 19th century and the nationalist revival. As an example, Ljudevit Gaj himself

¹⁶³ Stallaerts, Robert, *Historical Dictionary of Croatia*, Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2010. p. lix.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 280.

who later became the leader of the Illyrians considered important to state the following to the Habsburg Emperor:

...let it be known to Your Majesty that no ruler has ever subjugated Croatia by force. Rather, after the death of our last king, Zvonimir, we of our free will attached ourselves to the crown of the Hungarian kingdom, as we at this time join ourselves to Your Majesty.¹⁶⁵

In the time of the Napoleonic Wars, Croats supported the Habsburgs. Most of the lands inhabited by Croats got under French control due to the Treaty of Campoformio in 1797. When Napoleon occupied Croatian territories, and re-organized them as the Province of Illyria, it triggered the nationalist revival, and the demand for territorial unity and identity-formation rose. Perhaps Napoleon was not aware of the impact of the mythical term he used for reorganizing Croatian territories into a single unit. The Croatian intelligentsia educated in Italy praised it.¹⁶⁶ Another factor that nourished the nationalist revival of the 19th century was the educational and linguistic reforms implemented by the French administration. The administrative language of the Illyrian province was French, but in 1810, Marmont Marshal made Štokavian dialect one of the official languages, and promoted education in this language as well.¹⁶⁷ In addition, Marmont supported printing and publication in Croatian, for instance, Vincenzo Dandolo was permitted to prepare the very first periodical, the *Kraglski Dalmatin* in Croatian.¹⁶⁸ However, according to Tanner, the popularity of these newspapers was low especially in Dalmatia, since due to Venice's domination development and literacy was extremely low.¹⁶⁹ In short, these events though contributed to the rise of nationalism, because of the extremely segmented administrative-geographic situation of these regions, Napoleon's conquest and the establishment of the Illyrian Province could not easily nourish the idea of a single nation as

¹⁶⁵ Bellamy cites Gaj, p. 37.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁶⁷ Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*, p. 71.

¹⁶⁸ Bellamy, p. 41. Note that Bellamy writes 'Vincenze', while the governor's name was Vincenzo Dandolo, the Italian form of Vincent.

¹⁶⁹ Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*, p. 71.

Illyrians. There were various ethnic and linguistic identities represented in the province, and many could not identify themselves with the Illyrian nations, such as the Slovenes.¹⁷⁰ As a compensation of the Napoleonic Wars, the Habsburgs eventually received back these territories from the French, so foreign rule continued in Croatia. The separate status of Dalmatia is explained due to heavy Italian influence in the coastal region that resisted the establishment of Croatia Proper, i.e. the unification with the rest of Croat-inhabited territories.¹⁷¹

The Hungarian nationalists' attitude towards other ethnicities is described in the previous chapter. The Empire's language was Latin, except under Joseph II's rule due to the so-called *Language Decree* that eventually the Emperor abolished in 1790 before his death. The language reform and the fight for the use of national language in Hungary resulted in language policies applied to the whole kingdom, including Croatia. Hungarian became the language of higher education in Croatia in 1827. The Austrian interest was to keep Croats fragmented in both territorial and political sense, while even Croats themselves disagreed on the question of national language. These political games contributed to the rise of nationalism and the Illyrian movement in Croatia.¹⁷²

The most important characteristic of the movement was its pan-axis, in other words apart from that Illyrians alarmed Croats to resist Magyarization, almost from the very beginning of the movement they entertained Pan-Slavic sentiments, and proposed the unification of the South Slav. This was due to their relatively few numbers, and the above described segmented territorial situation where each unit was ruled by a different foreign power.¹⁷³ Count Janko Drašković outlined first the demand for the unification of South Slavs: the need for a union including Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, the military zone, the so-called Vojna Krajina, also Rijeka and Bosnia, and other Slovenian regions as well. Ljudevit Gaj became the leader of the

¹⁷⁰ Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*, p. 71.

¹⁷¹ Stallaerts, p. lix.

¹⁷² Ibid. p. lix-lx.

¹⁷³ Tanner, "*Illyrianism and the Croatian Quest for Statehood.*" p. 51.

movement who attempted to create the so-called Illyrian language. It is important to note that Gaj proposed Illyrian not to serve as the national language of the Croats in a narrow sense, but as a unifying force of the South Slavs. Gaj encouraged publication in Illyrian, and founded the *Novine Horvatzke* newspaper and the *Danica* journal. In 1842, Count Janko Drašković established the *Matica hrvatska* that has been still working as a non-governmental cultural institution promoting Croatian culture and language and the Croatian national identity.¹⁷⁴ It had great role in the Croatian identity-formation and nationalist revival, and nourished the study of Croatian language and stimulated the publication of books in Croatian. In the early years of the movement, it proved to be relatively successful, since it enjoyed the support of the Sabor to an extent.¹⁷⁵ Why then could not the Illyrian movement and the Illyrian (or Croatian) language reform succeed?

The image of Great Illyria generated hostility among many. First, Illyrians drew the yellow looks of Hungarians and the Hungarian Diet. Second and more importantly, the Habsburg Court was cautious about their activity because of Pan-Slavic elements, and feared that Illyrians were pro-Russians, and would gain the Russians' support with Russophile politics. Therefore, the State Chancellor of the Habsburg Empire, Prince Klemens von Metternich decided to ban all the symbols related to the movement. The Hungarian revolution of 1848 and 1849 brought changes in Croatia as well. The Emperor, who also guaranteed freedom of press due to the Hungarian demands, appointed the Ban of Croatia. The Ban, Count Josip Jellačić allied with the Habsburg Court and aided the Austrians to suppress the Hungarian revolution.

¹⁷⁴ Note the difference between the spelling of the newspaper *Novine Horvatzke* and the cultural institute *Matica hrvatska*. In the latter one, the word 'Croatian' (hrvatsk-) is spelled due to the current orthographic norms of Croatian, while the previous one is written due to the standards established by Ljudevit Gaj. This already predicts that correct spelling supported by Gaj was discarded relatively early, and other standards were applied during the foundation of the *Matica*.

¹⁷⁵ Stallaerts, p. lx.

The Habsburgs could not break the Hungarian military with Croats either, thus they called for the Russian army that finally ended the war for independence.¹⁷⁶

Jellačić thought that allying with the Habsburgs to suppress the liberal revolution of Hungarians would convince Austria to unite all the Croatian territories and guarantee for them high autonomy in the form of dualism or in other words the same status what Hungarians had in the Empire. Despite the loyalty Croats showed in the war, Austria showed no will to change Croatia's status, as Bellamy cites the sour joke of the era, "Croatia received as a reward from the Habsburgs what the Magyars received as a punishment" as a consequence of the revolution of 1848-1849.^{177,178,179}

Around the revolution new parties appeared on the Croatian political palette. One of these parties sitting in the Sabor was the Hungarian party. The members were conservative aristocrats who favoured close ties and active cooperation with Hungarians, and rejected any secessionist ideas. The Illyrian party aimed the unification of Croat-inhabited territories, and envisioned some kind of a federal system between these regions. The radical party fought for full independence. An interesting detail that from this stemmed the Party of Rights with Ante Starčević as its head.

In the 1860s, negotiations between Austria and Hungary resulted in the *Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich* or *Compromise*. In 1868, Croats and Hungarians signed the so-called *Nagodba (Hrvatsko-ugarska nagodba)*, the *Croatian-Hungarian Compromise*. Stallaerts evaluates the Compromise as a "retrograde document that again set the precise limits to the autonomy of Croatia", and although Croatian parties aspired greater autonomy from Hungary,

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. p. lx.

¹⁷⁷ Bellamy, p. 42.

¹⁷⁸ Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*, p. 91.

¹⁷⁹ This saying often appears in the literature. First, the saying in this form never existed. Ferenc Pulszky, a Hungarian politician noted once that "What the *nationalities* received as reward, the Hungarians received as punishment." In 1849 the short-lived Szemere government in Hungary attempted to issue the first law ever existed on nationalities, providing them rights and free use of language. The law passed the legislation, but the revolution and the Bach era spoilt its effects. Pulszky did not mean it as a joke, but he rather referred to the consequences of the revolution in the form of neo-absolutism.

and the document was modified through time, their attempts were of no avail until the end of World War I. Still, as a major result, Croatian territories except for Rijeka region were united under a single administration, but they remained subordinate to Hungary.¹⁸⁰ Precisely, the Nagodba regulated the legal relation between the Kingdom of Hungary and territories inhabited by Croats, the Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia. It is important to highlight that while the *Austro-Hungarian Compromise* stressed the equality of the parties joining under constitutional monarchy, and provided significant autonomy and political representation to Hungarians, the Nagodba was not a document of the same status, so that its name is misleading to an extent. The Nagodba secured the dominant position of the Kingdom of Hungary in relation with Croatia, and Croatia remained politically dependent on it. As Stallaerts describes, Croats “retained some characteristics of their statehood”, but did not achieve it completely. The Sabor could regulate issues related to education and religion, so that legislation and administration was autonomous to an extent. However, all the other issues, such as defence, trade and transportation, finance, etc. were decided by the Hungarian Diet, where Croats were represented by deputies. In addition, a Croatian governor was appointed by the Emperor, but on the recommendation of the Prime Minister of Hungary.¹⁸¹

In partial conclusion, the Law 1868 No. XXX “*On the Codification of the Agreement for the Adjustment of Public Law Matters between Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia*” stated that Croatia-Slavonia is an ‘autonomous political nation’ with a government, but stressed in the same time that Hungary and Croatia “make up one and the same community of state”.¹⁸² The Nagodba also reinforced the status of the Croatian legislative branch, the Sabor. Meanwhile, a ministry without portfolio, the Ministry on Croatian Affairs in Hungary was formed within the Hungarian government to separately address issues related to Croatia. There

¹⁸⁰ Stallaerts, p. lxi.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. p. 228-229.

¹⁸² *Ezer év törvényei* (“*Laws of a Thousand Years*”), Law 1868 No. XXX. <https://1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=5352> (accessed: 01.04.2017)

are various accounts on the status of Croatia after the Nagodba. Ones that are more positive evaluate it as the guarantee for a mostly autonomous state, while others reckon that it was a step back from it. It is important to emphasize that since most of the issues were taken away from Croatia and decided in the Hungarian Diet, moreover the Ban as the head of the government was appointed by the Emperor and answerable to the Hungarian Assembly, it is problematic to evaluate the status of Croatia as a modern state.

However, with regard to language, the Nagodba brought changes that the Illyrian movement could not achieve. Croatian became the official language for autonomous and common affairs that related to Croatia.¹⁸³ One could evaluate the decision as a preventive act against any Pan-Slavic attempts, or in other words it meant to emphasize the distinction between Croatian and Croats belonging to Hungary and other Slavs subordinate to other foreign powers. Thus, ironically the status of language the Illyrians had fought for was achieved by the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise that imposed on Croats the use of a language called Croatian.

IV.2. Pan-Slavism and Great Illyria as Political Program

Still Croatia has not fallen
Our people have not died
Long she slept, but she's not vanquished
Her sleep dreary death defied.

Still Croatia has not fallen
We are in her still alive.
Long she slept, but she's not vanquished
We shall wake her and revive.

Fragment from Ljudevit Gaj, *Još Horvatska nije propala*. [“No, Croatia has not perished.”] 1830.¹⁸⁴

As I noted earlier, already during the Napoleonic Wars appeared the idea to cultivate national culture, but similarly to the Hungarian case, the first proposals fell on deaf ears. First, the

¹⁸³ Bellamy, p. 43.

¹⁸⁴ Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*, p. 75. Tanner cites a part of Gaj's poem.

Jacobin movement rose in Croatia at the end of the 18th century that had to face the repression from Emperor Francis II similarly to its Hungarian counterpart. Maksimilijan Vrhovac, the Bishop of Zagreb who despite being a member of the clergy was very progressive, and he started to promote the study of oral folk traditions. He already planned the use of a Slavic standard, and based on the Renaissance tradition and Bartol Kašić's work he proposed the name Illyrian for the language. The Bishop quickly drew the suspicious attention of the Habsburg Court.¹⁸⁵

At the end of the French rule, the idea of Illyrianism rose, though it was not popular and did not last for long, moreover, as many criticized, even its name was artificial, the Illyrian movement had long-standing impact on Croatian politics, and eventually destined the fate of Croats.¹⁸⁶ Slavic nationalism was somewhat set back as an immediate consequence of the Napoleonic Wars. In Dalmatia, power was given back to the hand of Italians, while in Slavonia conservative order was restored. No one was further encouraged to cultivate Slavic culture or Croatian language for a time.¹⁸⁷

About twenty years later, Magyarization attempts triggered the nationalist movement in Croatia, and Illyrianism started to rise. It is important to note here the great influence of Johann Gottfried Herder, because in his work he focused on Slavs to a great extent that beyond question boosted nationalism in the Balkans. Below I will overview how both Serbians and Croats were influenced by the wars and the nationalist wave in order to understand better the ideology of the two, and relations between them that determined the fate of Croatian language as well.

The idea of *Volkgeist*, the cultivation of culture, political practice, and in general the influence of the German Romantic school led to the rediscovery of history. It was just fuel on fire when Herder wrote that "Slavs possessed superior moral and spiritual qualities" and – with

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 68.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 72.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 73.

the words of Herder himself – therefore they meant to be ‘the coming leaders of Europe’.¹⁸⁸ Slavs took his words as seriously as Hungarians, but while Hungarians were threatened to become extinct due to Slavic dominance, Slavs felt they were predestined for leadership. As Gallagher notes, ethnography and linguistics became important, and Romantics often highlighted “distinctive folk cultures undiluted by literary conventions of languages spoken by neighbouring but different ethnic groups, had obvious application for promoters of political nationalism.”¹⁸⁹

When the nationalist ideology and the aspiration for nationality appeared, nation-building in the Balkans coincided with territorial claims which led to conflicts in the region. The Ottoman multiculturalism was exchanged for nations, and where earlier many ethnicities and religions had coexisted, various social groups started to treat each other with hostility.¹⁹⁰ This is why, as I will demonstrate it in details later on, Croatian territorial claims proved to be problematic, and triggered attacks from various actors, such as Serbians, Hungarians, Austrians, but even from fellow-Croatians.

Croatian intellectuals believed that they could tackle the policies issued by Hungary if they organized a counter-movement based on language.¹⁹¹ The Illyrian movement from the 1830s aimed to propose a language sufficient to substitute both Latin and Hungarian the earlier and current languages of the imperial administration. In the first years, the movement rather was a cultural one, and only after 1841, it transformed into a political movement.¹⁹² The leader of the Illyrian movement was the lawyer and philosopher Ljudevit Gaj. Gaj’s political opinion, and especially his Great Illyria program drew the attention of many in 1830s and 1840s, and

¹⁸⁸ Gallagher cites Herder. Gallagher, Tom, *Outcast Europe: The Balkans, 1789-1989. From the Ottomans to Milošević*. London: Routledge, 2001. p. 33.

¹⁸⁹ Gallagher, p. 33.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 34.

¹⁹¹ Bellamy, p. 43.

¹⁹² *Ibid.* p. 44.

the latter one angered the Habsburg Court.¹⁹³ Gaj's main aim was to create the common identity for Croatian, and because of the earlier emerged Hungarian movement inspired by Herder, he thought that identity could be reached through language. He agreed with the claim that the basis of nation is language, and through the possession of language people shape the fate of the nation, in other words, with a shared linguistic identity the unified nation can only aspire for a state.¹⁹⁴ Tanner evaluates Gaj as a writer of lesser talent, who copied other intellectuals' ideas, however, he was the best propagandist, despite his political career ended in scandal. Gaj himself was actually not Croatian: his mother was a strict Catholic German, while his father was from Slovakian origin. Pan-Slavic ideas first touched Gaj in his childhood hearing the origin myths about Slavs. He prepared books on Croatian history, and eventually he researched the rural peasantry's oral tradition. He saw that Magyar nationalism was a potential threat to destroy the remnants of Croatian identity, culture and language.¹⁹⁵

Another effect on Gaj's nationalism was the bright career of a young and talented Serbian philologist, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić. Karadžić was in charge of the preparation of the first Serbian dictionary by Prince Obrenović himself. In general, as Gaj observed, Serbs proved to be more conscious about their national history and culture due to the relatively friendly politics of the Ottomans towards nationalities or millets. In fact, Gaj thought that Serbian nation was destined for a more prosperous future than Croats because of this consciousness were. Karadžić advocated phonemic orthography, his motto was "Write as you speak" which drew Gaj's attention. This was quite an interesting event, because there had not been many cultural connections or attempts for cooperation between the Croats and the Serbs due to their distinct religions and the fact that they had been ruled by different powers. Gaj drew attention to the matter of mother tongue, but because of the great variety of dialects it was actually unclear

¹⁹³ Lukács, p. 66.

¹⁹⁴ Bellamy, p. 44.

¹⁹⁵ Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*, p. 73.

which one of them the mother tongue was, so that Gaj as an enthusiastic nationalist, lacking any support started to form the proper notion of national language. In this regard, Karadžić was luckier than his Croatian colleague was: his language promotion was supported by the Serbian government, which was in line gaining autonomy gradually from the Ottomans.¹⁹⁶

In Dalmatia, since it was under the rule of the Italian minority, Italian was spoken, while in Slavonia many languages coexisted. Latin was the language of administration, education, and the official language of the Sabor. Family language was Hungarian or German, and especially the nobility and the clergy used these languages. Gaj was from Karpina, where just like in Zagreb the South Slavic dialect spoken was the Kajkavian one. The Čakavian dialect was used in Istria, and similarly to Serbs, the inhabitants of Dubrovnik and Herzegovina, and those who were not from the Italian élite in Dalmatia spoke Štokavian. First, his intention was to standardize Kajkavian, but he quickly changed his aims seeing the work done by Karadžić. Gaj was certain that choosing the Štokavian dialect, which was the closest possible to Karadžić's Serbian would provide the basis for cooperation with the Serbs, and that only their mutual, well-coordinated work would mean threat on Hungarians, because alone Croats were few and less powerful. If the South Slavs could work together, and eventually all their people united under a single language from the Austrian Empire that would be a more efficient act against the Hungarian rule.¹⁹⁷

In partial conclusion, at the beginning of his language reform, Gaj already surrendered some of the norms he had entertained to create the standard Illyrian language. He envied the Serbs and particularly Karadžić whose work was supported by the Prince of Serbia. Gaj saw great potential in the rise of Serbian nationalism. First, Serbs had 'national consciousness' thanks to the Ottoman 'millet politics', as an evidence, Serbs already had started to rebel against foreign oppression. Second, Karadžić was actually backed by political forces, most importantly

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 74.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 75.

the Serbian Prince himself, who supported and financed his research and the preparation of standard Serbian, however banned many of his works that could create suspicion among the Turks on possible secession of Serbia from the Ottoman Empire. In contrast, Gaj was backed by no politicians. In this time, party system did not exist in Croatia, since it was later formed as a result of the Hungarian events in 1848. The conservative nobility and clergy sitting in the Sabor showed no interest in Gaj's project.

Soon Gaj received attacks from the most unexpected circles: fellow Croatians. Conservatives led by the clergy of Zagreb opposed the standardization of Štokavian. Gaj moved to Pest in 1829 where he faced the blooming Hungarian nationalism that convinced him to carry on with his language reform. There he met Jan Kollár, the Slovakian nationalist, and they agreed on the genealogic perspective of Slavic languages, i.e. that they constituted a family and they were related. In the early 1830s, Gaj wrote his famous poem '*Još Hrvatska nije propala*' [*No, Croatia has not perished*], and since it was printed in the Zagreb dialect, it somewhat restored his reputation, so that he could return to Croatia.¹⁹⁸ "Hura! nek se ori i hrvatski govori!"¹⁹⁹ – wrote Gaj, which means "Hurray! Let it resound and spoken *in Croatian!*" The gentry and the official's class accepted him, and he could suddenly enter the Croatian political sphere.²⁰⁰

In 1827, Hungarians proposed the law on education which aimed that Hungarian would be taught in Croatia as a compulsory language. Croats were fragmented when reacting to the new policy: radicals wanted to have Croatian as the language of schooling, while reactionaries wanted to sustain Latin. The tension grew, resulting in the formation of political parties that I will detail in the section on political participation in Croatia.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Gaj, Ljudevit, *Još Hrvatska nije propala*. ("No, Croatia has not perished.") <http://www.matica.hr/vijenac/236/Jo%C5%A1%20Hrvatska%20ni%20propala/> (accessed: 13.05.2017)

²⁰⁰ Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*, p. 76.

Already in the 1830s, one observes a shift in the Illyrians' political aims: the thought of South Slavic integrity.²⁰¹ The stronger the new ideology was, the more they spoke about an Illyrian language instead of Croatian language. As Lukács emphasizes, the movement's romantic perspective on history proved to be an excellent substratum for the new Great Illyrian ideology. The Illyrian movement started to entertain the memory of the Illyrian tribe that inhabited the Central and the Western Balkans in the antiquity. This ethnogenesis or origin myth served two purposes. First, it was meant to emphasize the Croatian 'ethnic and territorial continuity' as opposed to Hungarians. Second, the existence of the ancient Illyrians reinforced the claim for South Slavic integrity.²⁰² Illyrianism in this sense became not only a cultural, but a political project, providing ideological base for a Southern Slavic union, indeed under the leadership of Croatians.

In 1832, Janko Drašković a politician and reformer of Croatian noble origin published his famous pamphlet called *Disertacija (Dissertation)*, which meant to be the program of the emerging Illyrian movement. Drašković interestingly chose the Štokavian dialect as the language of the program, and not the Kajkavian dialect. It is important, because the former dialect was the basis of the later official language of the Southern Slavs, the Serbo-Croatian language, while the latter one was the dialect used only by Croatians. Drašković stated in the pamphlet the following:

This [Štokavian dialect] must be the most wide-spread because the Croats of Slavonia, Krajina, Primorje, Kolpa, Dalmatia, and Montenegro, and those Croats who are called Wasser-Croatiens [Water Croats] and live dispersedly in Hungary, they all speak the same language.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Lukács, p. 10.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Drašković, Janko, "*Disertacija iliti Razgovor darovan gospodi poklisarom*": "On mora i najhrodniji biti, jer ga Slavonac, krajišni Hrvat, Primorac, Prikupnik, Dalmatinac, Bosanac, Crnogorac i oni Hrvati koji se Wasser-Kroaten zovu i po Mađarske zemlje rasuti jesu, jednako govore." <http://ihjj.hr/iz-povijesti/janko-draskovic-disertacija-iliti-razgovor-darovan-gospodi-poklisarom/30/>, (accessed 04.01.2017). The author's translation.

This sentence proves that Drašković who joined the Illyrian movement, had no intention to involve the Serbs into his program, simply because the movement in its very first years did not entertain this idea. Nevertheless, only two years later, a new idea emerged, urging the inclusion of Serbian territories in a new South Slavic country.

In 1835, Ljudevit Gaj proposed his vision on Great Illyria. He demanded the unification of Carinthia, Gorica, Istria, Krajina, Styria, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Dubrovnik, Bosnia, Montenegro, Serbia, Lower Hungary, and even Bulgaria,²⁰⁴ so that he already envisioned a greater country and the unification of more peoples than Drašković. Nevertheless, Gaj had to justify his claims and in order to do so he turned to ancient history. Gaj found an excellent tool that had been earlier utilized by Napoleon himself, however for only administrative reasons: the genealogy or origin myth of South Slavs. Gaj stated that in the antiquity Thracian and Illyrian tribes inhabited the Balkans, who were the common descent of South Slav. South Slavic people 'grew out' from these tribes in the 6th century.²⁰⁵ Gaj reintroduced the 'Illyrian' term, because he thought that through a single national identity differences and conflicts between South Slavs could be washed away, and the umbrella term would encourage Slavs of the Balkan to overcome possible differences in their identities.²⁰⁶ The Illyrian theory was moreover a multifunctional tool: while it justified territorial claims, i.e. the unification with other Slavic territories ruled by various foreign powers, it also proved the continuity of Slavs as against other powers, moreover it was the evidence for claiming statehood, and it underlined the historical right for it. Who would question the legitimacy of the Illyrian state if Illyrians had lived in these territories always, and actually had arrived there earlier than others had? All in all, the theory drew great attention from various actors, who mostly observed the Illyrian plans with anxiety.

²⁰⁴ Lukács, p. 67.

²⁰⁵ Niederhauser, p. 32.

²⁰⁶ Bellamy, p. 44.

The evidence for the importance of Ljudevit Gaj and his Illyrian movement is that the Habsburg Empire banned the usage of the word ‘Illyrian’ and any gatherings related to the movement in 1843, because the Court feared the South Pan-Slavic intentions. The authorities accused Gaj of rebellion, and fellow-Illyrians turned against him.²⁰⁷

In partial conclusion, Janko Drašković’s *Illyrian Manifesto* did not envision a Great Illyria including Serbian territories yet, but three years later the emblematic figure and leader of the Illyrian movement, Ljudevit Gaj already entertained the idea of the Serbian, moreover Bulgarian inclusion, and the establishment of Great Illyria. He envisioned a South Slavic country that united all the ‘descendants’ of Thracians and Illyrians. Gaj found reasonable to unite the Slavs under a Croatian government. Referring to the tribes of antiquity, Gaj attempted to legitimize the idea of South Slavic territorial continuity, and the unification of all the people of the Balkans.

The creation of a new national language was central to the Illyrian movement. First, Gaj and his colleagues argued for the use of the Kajkavian dialect, which was a dialect spoken exclusively in Croatia. Other dialects coexisted with the Kajkavian dialect in regions inhabited by Croats, but this dialect was specific to Zagreb region, the cultural-intellectual centre. Gaj’s pick represented his idea on the unification of Slavs in the South, i.e. they should join in a country led by a Croatian government.

As I referred to it earlier, Gaj considered language as the core identity element that could unite and mobilize South Slavs as a nation. Therefore, in order to create a single identity for the South Slavic peoples, he proposed a single national language. He advocated the existence of a common descendant of all the South Slavs, and to create the Illyrians’ language, he chose to rely on mostly the Kajkavian dialect to bring together the three dialects represented in the region: the Štokavian, the Čakavian, and the Kajkavian dialects. In addition, he argued for

²⁰⁷ Lukács, p. 66.

modified Latin alphabet with diacritic signs as standard transcription of Croatian. The formation of a single language meant not only the establishment of a common identity and the incitement for Illyrian consciousness, but also he attempted to form a counter-identity that could cope with Hungarian identity and eventually substitute it.²⁰⁸ Gaj advocated his ideas in 1827 with the following words:

In an illiterate land such as ours, it seems important, yes, most necessary to bring all powers to bear upon awakening an effective and noble cultural patriotism. (...) The story of our fatherland has already taught me how much it deserves to be lifted out of the miserable Magyar darkness.²⁰⁹

However, some years later Gaj published not in the Kajkavian dialect that he considered as the authentic Croatian variant, but in Štokavian, which was closest to the Serbian language. Why did his ideas on language change?

While Serbs spoke the Štokavian dialect, and many Croats as well, Gaj advocated at the beginning Kajkavian for its greatness. Since it was the dialect spoken in Zagreb, the cultural centre of the Croats where intellectuals gathered who gained their education in Europe, there was a great amount of work and solid literary tradition in Kajkavian. However, Gaj quickly changed his mind on the promotion of the Kajkavian dialect, because he clearly saw the connection between Croats and Serbs that could transcend possible differences and disagreements between the two groups. Štokavian could be restored as the language of Illyrians, and not exclusively as Serbian *or* Croatian. In addition, Gaj and his followers hoped that this consensus and the efficient creation of Illyrian would encourage other Slavs in the South to join their shared Illyrian nationality. The problem was that Gaj's concept could not win neither the most powerful group, the Serbs, nor the Slovenes, therefore the Illyrian movement and Illyrianism relatively quickly died.²¹⁰ This was due to the fact that Serbian nationalists, and

²⁰⁸ Bellamy, p. 44.

²⁰⁹ Bellamy cites Gaj, p. 44.

²¹⁰ Miller, Nicolas J., *Between Nation and State: Serbian Politics in Croatia Before the First World War*. Pittsburgh, PA.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997. p. 26-27.

most importantly their leader, Vuk Karadžić came to a different conclusion on what nation in the Herderian sense exactly was.

IV. 3. Illyrians and Political Participation

When Gaj returned to Croatia in the 1830s from Pest, the urban gentry welcomed him as a 'promising celebrity'. The tension grew due to the Hungarian language policy imposed on the country, but not only between Hungarians and Croats, which eventually led to a fight between university students, but the issue divided Croats themselves as well. This provided basis for the formation of political parties in Croatia.²¹¹

Apart from that the Sabor was divided on the language question, 1848 brought political innovations, i.e. the formation of political parties. One can conclude that though party system was directly adapted from Hungary, disagreements on the above mentioned questions led to party divisions. From the middle ages, Croats had sustained the same membership in the Sabor, so that the Catholic clergy (bishops from Zagreb and Senj), the high aristocracy (magnates), the veliki župani (high county prefects) and deputies from the royal free cities with very few numbers, plus the descendants of Bosnian nobles were only represented. As Tanner emphasizes, this was an extremely conservative legislative body. The language of the Sabor was Latin, and obviously to sustain their prestige, the Sabor condemned Gaj's language reform, moreover they observed with great hostility Illyrianism, partly because of their sour experience with the Napoleonic administration, when their power diminished. It is also important to note that many of the aristocrats were Hungarian, or at least they called themselves Hungarian as they were Magyarized Croats. All in all, many had Hungarian names, and it was actually their interest to be a member of the Magyar nobility, which was possible due to the old *Hungarus* identity,

²¹¹ Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*, p. 76.

and later on because they also spoke Hungarian, and through the speaking community they were considered to be members of the ethnic community.

Gaj hoped to convince the clergy that was not really pro-Hungarian, but he had lost his support from the Church when he had given up advocating the standardization of Kajkavian, the dialect of the clergy in Zagreb. First, they condemned the use of a dialect which was associated with Serbs, even though most of the Croats spoke the very same dialect. Why was Štokavian particularly problematic for the clergy? Because of religious cleavages. The very conservative Catholic clergy from Zagreb feared that Gaj's language reform would bring closer the two peoples, which eventually would wash away the differences between Orthodoxy and Catholicism, and that the Illyrians would join in a single church. The proposed language reform met the biggest stronghold of Catholicism. Second, they felt offended and found Gaj disrespectful when undermining their job. The clergy of Zagreb had been, in fact, highly appreciated by Croats for preserving the Kajkavian dialect as opposed to Hungarian, German, and even Latin, and they had done huge philological work in the cultural centre, Zagreb, moreover, they actively used the dialect in every-day language. It seemed to them that Gaj dishonoured and eventually attempted to spoil their job.²¹²

Obviously, people who opposed the feudal order because of not benefitting from it neither in political, nor in economic sense, i.e. the lower clergy, students, officers, and those few who lived in economically developed towns, such as Karlovac, and belonged to the emerging bourgeoisie supported Gaj. Krajina, the military region was a stronghold of Illyrianism. The newly emerging National Party, containing progressive nobles also supported Gaj. Count Janko Drašković was a member of the National Party, and he was actually one of the most prominent and powerful aristocrats. His political program, the above cited *Illyrian Manifesto*, promoting the common Štokavian dialect claimed the unification of Croat-inhabited

²¹² Ibid. p. 76.

regions that belonged to the Habsburg Empire, and he also demanded the rights that had been taken away from the Ban of Croatia.

How did the Habsburg Court react to Illyrianism? Emperor Francis II withdrew from pressuring the Croats to pressure the Hungarians instead: he saw that Hungarian nationalism meant a great threat to the Empire and the Habsburg Court, and hoped that giving bigger room for the Croats would cause great problems to Hungary. Gaj was permitted to start a newspaper in 1834, and he published the *Novine Horvatzke* written in Zagreb dialect, i.e. not in the common dialect, Štokavian, but Kajkavian. The newspaper was a strong promoter of Illyrianism, for instance, the contributors signed the articles as “an Illyrian from...”²¹³ But the newspaper quickly transformed: within a year it was published not in Kajkavian, but Štokavian, moreover Gaj changed its name into *Ilirske Narodne Novine, Illyrian National News*. The paper was extremely unpopular, they could sell about 500 copies of it. This, as Tanner also adds, actually reflected that most of the Croats were illiterate at that time, and it also showed the low quality of the content published in it.²¹⁴

Despite the unsuccessful publishing, Gaj really nourished Croatian nationalism. The above cited song about that Croats did not perish was sung at the theatres after each performance, reading rooms were organized where people could get to know his ideas, and especially many university students were impressed by Illyrianism. Between 1836 and 1839, the Sabor did address some issues outlined by Illyrians, such as teaching Slavic language in elementary schools, also the unification of Dalmatia and Slavonia, and the union between Krajina and Croatia.²¹⁵

In the 1830s, since Gaj proved his loyalty to the Habsburg Court, moreover both Gaj and the Emperor found the Croatian issue enough worrisome for Hungarians, Gaj could

²¹³ Ibid. p. 77.

²¹⁴ Ibid. p. 78.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

continue his project. In 1839, he even received a diamond ring from the Emperor for his service. Nevertheless, the imperial politics even went further when in 1840 Hungarians attempted to Hungarianize the education. The Emperor praised the Sabor for imposing Illyrian as principal language on schools in Croatia. These were the most glorious years of Illyrians: they enjoyed the trust of the Habsburg Court for being loyal to them, they could successfully resist Hungarian nationalism, and finally they avoided to anger Orthodox Serbians living as minority in Croatian territories.²¹⁶

In 1841, Gaj's prestige rapidly dropped. The Illyrians' activity triggered a counter-movement. Conservative pro-Hungarian aristocrats formed a party, called *Madjaroni* or later *Unionists*. They aimed to restore close relations with the Kingdom of Hungary. In the 1840s, the Unionist Party gained big support, partly because of picturing the Illyrians 'revolutionary'. In 1842, the Emperor appointed the new Ban of Croatia, the pro-Hungarian Franjo Haller. In the following year, the word 'Illyrian' was banned by an imperial decree, causing problems for Gaj's newspaper. It seems that the Habsburg Court found the activity of Illyrians worrisome, and put a strong conservative into governor position. Why did imperial politics on Illyrianism change?

One can assume that Illyrian achievements frightened the Habsburg Court. Illyrians' could address many issues in the Sabor, especially on territorial matters. This meant a great threat to the Empire, which managed to keep the South Slavs in segmented administrative-territorial units, because – as I mentioned above – the population of these regions were few and easily suppressed. Another evidence is that the imperial politics compared Gaj to Lajos Kossuth, the Hungarian liberal nationalist (in some years he became the leader of the Hungarian revolution and governor-president).²¹⁷ The success of Illyrians and a possible unification of the South Slavs had to be stopped on time, and the Court decided to reach for an alternative strong

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid. p. 79.

political power in Croatia: the conservatives who were essentially pro-Hungarian, or at least those who found Gaj's claims existential threat and an attack on their hegemony.

Perhaps if Gaj had not given up advocating the exclusively Croatian Kajkavian dialect, and promoted only Croatian culture, and if he had not argued for the Štokavian dialect and proposed territorial changes, it is plausible to state that imperial politics would have further favoured him. After 1842 and the loss of his prestige, Gaj decided to challenge the Empire even more, and started to advocate issues, such as secession from the Austrian Empire, and argued that Croats should unite with Serbia. This led to turmoil and violence at the next elections, where National Party (the former Illyrians) supporters and the conservative nobles from Bosnian origin fought, and the arriving military killed thirteen people. The Sabor repeated the demand for the unification of Croatia, Dalmatia and Krajina, and advocated issues related to national culture more vehemently.²¹⁸

These events, and in particular Gaj's reaction proves why the Habsburgs had stopped backing Gaj. Illyrians' territorial claims were already too much burden to the Empire, and the Habsburgs feared the further success of the movement. In return, Gaj radicalized, and he expected Serbian help in his new program. It is clear that in such a case exclusively Croatian demands, such as the standardization of Kajkavian, the promotion of the Zagreb literary tradition, and most of the elements of this language reform had to be abandoned in order to favour more the Serbian party. It is important to remember that even earlier, the Serbian movement already showed up some success. The Prince of Serbia backed the Serbian language reform, and yet Serbian nationalism did not have any territorial claims that would aim to change the map of the Balkans, fuel the Ottoman Sultan, spoiling the peace treaty with the Porte and potentially would reverse the so painfully gained autonomy of the Serbian principality. From the contemporary discourse, it seems clear that Serbians did not care much about Croatians,

²¹⁸ Ibid.

they addressed *their* national movement and *their* language reform, and the idea to include others into it only emerged later.

Illyrianism was still popular before the revolution of 1848. The last unreformed Sabor heard the Hungarian liberal nationalist Lajos Kossuth declaring in the Diet that he did not see Croatia on the map. As a reaction, the Sabor stated that the national language of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia should be Illyrian, and hence the Sabor should not work in Latin. Public excitement was high, and masses were on the streets demanding back the rights of the Sabor and the Ban.

Gaj's personal career was finished up because of an attempt for murder. Prince Miloš Obrenović of Serbia lived in exile, and in 1848, he planned to return to Vojvodina through Zagreb. The Karadjordjević dynasty holding the power in Belgrade attempted to assassinate Prince Miloš. Gaj was entrusted with the murder of Prince Miloš. The Belgrade government promised their support to the Illyrian movement, but only in case Gaj succeeded the assassination. Finally, Prince Miloš offered Gaj a great sum of money, so that he changed his mind on the assassination. Gaj was publicly accused for being the agent of foreign powers, and the harsh attacks finished his political and linguistic career.²¹⁹

To sum, Gaj gave up too much of the Croatian identity to approach and favour the Serbs, who actually were not interested in the purposes of Illyrians, but their own nation-formation, independence, and later expansionism. The concept of Illyria was an artificial one, and too much sophisticated, therefore it could not attract enough attention and political support. Some enlightened aristocrats and intellectuals backed the movement, but it could not address common 'national interests'. Lower classes, such as the peasantry was completely untouched by the Illyrian ideology, unlike in the Norwegian case, where the language movement addressed issues that mattered for the peasantry.²²⁰

²¹⁹ Ibid. p. 80.

²²⁰ Ibid. p. 80-81.

Chancellor Prince Klemens von Metternich resigned in 1848. The event was followed by great turmoil and enthusiasm in Croatia as well. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, the second most prominent Illyrian after Gaj again demanded the unification of Slavonia and Dalmatia in the Sabor, and at the Croatian parliament's annual meeting, he called for the exclusive use of Croatian language in the region and the organization of the Croatian army. The Sabor demanded the election of Josip Jellačić as Ban of Croatia.²²¹

Jellačić was appointed, but he was not interested in the Illyrians' games, who hoped that he, as a conservative with anti-Hungarian sentiment and the trust of the Habsburg Court would help them gain advance from the taut situation between the Austrians and the Hungarians.²²² He finally allowed room for the moderate reforms proposed by Illyrians. He appointed the Banal Council functioning as Croatian government, abolished feudalism, and summoned the new Sabor. The Illyrians had great hopes about the Sabor: although it was just the beginning of the transformation from feudalism, they aspired that it would become the parliament of all the South Slavs within the Empire. The new assembly inherited the hereditary members, who were ex officio deputies because of their high aristocratic origin. Also, the clergy, the župani, deputies from royal free cities and other nobles were automatic members of the new Sabor. For the first time, a part of the legislative body was elected. These representatives had to meet strict conditions to be elected: they had to possess property, as well as they had to be educated in the same time. Jellačić's reform did not gain fundamental change in terms of the right to vote. Only 2.5% of the adult male population proved to be eligible to vote, as Tanner emphasizes. Krajina delegated four deputies to the Sabor (although it did not belong to Croatia at that time), also Serb Orthodox bishops were guaranteed to have seat in the Sabor.²²³ Jellačić was charged with treason in Hungary, but the Sabor quickly gave him dictatorial power, and marched into war on

²²¹ Ibid. p. 83.

²²² Ibid. p. 86.

²²³ Ibid. p. 86-87.

behalf of the Habsburgs against the Hungarian rebels, not because of their passionate loyalty to the Habsburgs, but rather for the hope for fundamental changes and dualism with Austria after a successful military manoeuvre.²²⁴ As Jellačić revealed later, he fought for the creation of “Slavic Austria”.²²⁵

The victory reached by the Russian army was followed by the Bach era and strong repression in Hungary: 500 rebels from high rank, among them the first Prime Minister of Hungary, Count Lajos Batthyány were executed. There was no room for negotiation on Slavic Austria. The Bach era and their officers, the so-called Bach Hussars brought repression and Germanization. Slavonia and Dalmatia could not unite. Moreover, the ‘big coming together’ with the Serbs living in Croatia that had started earlier was spoilt during the war, moreover in 1849 an autonomous Serbian Vojvodina in Southern Hungary was just established that fuelled Croatians.²²⁶

After the war, Bishop Josip Strossmayer became the leader of the Nationalist Party, who was an Illyrian in heart and a good friend of Jellačić. The most important points of the party’s programme were the use of Štokavian dialect as common language of the South Slavs, and they attempted to unify the Croatian lands within Austria and Hungary, yet they envisioned only closer relations with Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia, and Bulgaria, and not a union with them.²²⁷ The party utilized the above mentioned historical narrative of Croatia, i.e. that Croatian statehood was never interrupted or suspended due to that Croats deliberately joined as union members the Kingdom of Hungary. In addition, Bishop Strossmayer argued that the term ‘Illyrian’ should be replaced with the word ‘Yugoslav’ because the previous name used for South Slavs was actually foreign and artificial. This is why the bishop has been called the ‘first Yugoslav’ in history. Albeit, he disliked the name ‘Illyrian’, he did follow the principles from

²²⁴ Ibid. p. 88.

²²⁵ Ibid. p. 90. Tanner cites Jellačić.

²²⁶ Ibid. p. 91.

²²⁷ Bellamy, p. 45.

Ljudevit Gaj. Losing trust in both Hungarians and Habsburgs also encouraged him to create a common literary language for Yugoslavs, and eventually established the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences in Zagreb, moreover, he proposed the unification of Orthodox and Catholic South Slav by overcoming differences between the two religions.²²⁸ He abandoned most of his claims due to the Serbians' reaction that I will detail later. Meanwhile another party appeared on the political palette, the Party of Right that became more hostile to Serbs and other South Slavs.

IV. 4. The Serbian Language Movement and the Vienna Literary Agreement

Serbs lived under Ottoman rule from the 15th century, and first they rebelled against the local Ottoman authorities that became a nation-wide war for independence led by Karađorđe Petrović in the 19th century.²²⁹ According to historians, Christianity, and in particular Orthodoxy in the Balkan region proved to firmly resist nationalist ideas, and they state the first Serbian revolts against the Ottoman rule actually happened not because of the new ideological wave, but instead the malfunctioning of the Ottoman administration, and that they actually failed to sustain law and order. Serbs revolted first in 1804, due to atrocities against Christians in Belgrade, but the rebels still claimed they acted on behalf of the Sultan to protect the Orthodox millet in the region. The central government could not prevent further attacks, and Serbs, already under the influence of nationalist ideas started to struggle for autonomy that transformed into a claim for independence.²³⁰

In short, the Balkan region had been the scene of wars for hundreds of years, and experienced foreign rule from the Ottoman, Austria, and Hungary. The breakdown of the Ottoman rule brought insecurity in the region, which proved to be a great substratum for

²²⁸ Ibid. p. 44-45.

²²⁹ Križan, Mojmir, "New Serbian Nationalism and the Third Balkan War", *Studies in East European Thought*, Vol. 46. No. 1/2 (Jun., 1994), p. 49.

²³⁰ Gallagher, p. 31.

nationalist ideas and Herder's Volk and *Volkgeist* theory and his views on the greatness and leadership of the Slavs.

The second revolt, led by Miloš Obrenović (later *knez*), started in 1815, and finally the Ottoman Empire due to the Great Powers' pressure recognized Serbia as 'suzerain principality' with the guarantee of bigger autonomy. Knez Miloš's (r. 1817-1839) successor was his son, Milan (r. 1839), then his other son, Mihailo (1839-1842), who was followed by Alexandar Karadjordjević (r. 1842-1858) on the throne.

Miloš focused on the bureaucratization of Serbia, and invited Serbian-born intelligentsia from Pest and Vienna to gain progress. Miloš successfully agreed with the Porte to restore Serbia's independent church. Miloš's most important goal was to gain some territorial-administrative independence from the Ottomans, which he succeeded, so that until the end of his reign he focused on the formation of the modern Serbian state. His most important foreign policy goal according to Cox was to not to anger the sultan, because Serbia was still too weak to tackle with a possible invasion.²³¹ Serbia was careful, and while developing the state, it waited for the collapse of the Porte in silence. In the 1840s, Ilija Garašanin, Alexandar's statesman, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Interior, and eventually Prime Minister that the most urgent project of Serbia is to gain independence²³² – he actually expected the 'help' of great powers, but he never encouraged or started a war himself due to the untrustworthy great powers or the unstable Balkan.²³³

This insight is important because it provides a general picture on the current Serbian foreign policy. Serbs already gained autonomy to a 'comfortable' extent, and imagined their

²³¹ Cox, John K., *The History of Serbia*. Westport, CT., London: Greenwood Press, 2002. p. 43.

²³² "Independence is acquired not by foreign generosity, but by reason and sacrifice. [...] We will always accept [foreign aid] happily if it does not obligate us. We must evaluate carefully foreign advice and promises of material aid offered to us, accepting only that which in our judgment will not hamper our independent action." in Manetovic, Edislav, "Ilija Garasanin: Nacertanije and Nationalism." *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique*, Vol. 3. (2006), p 146.

²³³ Manetovic, Edislav, "Ilija Garasanin: Nacertanije and Nationalism." *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique*, Vol. 3. (2006), p. 147.

independence as a result of rather a gradual process, eventually gained by foreign intervention that could defeat the Ottoman. Obviously, they tried to be more careful on territorial claims and the promotion of Pan-Slavic ideas.

A well-known figure of Serbian nationalism, the above mentioned Ilija Garašanin's masterwork is the famous *Načertanije* (*Draft* or *Program*) from 1844, which unlike his previously cited words was unknown by the public in its time. In the document, he speaks about *future plans* on Serbia. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, which was expected to be done by mostly Austria, an important aim should be the restoration of the Serbian empire from the 13th-14th centuries. Only a few know that he eventually excluded Slavonia-Croatia, Dalmatia, Srema, Banat, and Bačka²³⁴ from his vision due to the lack of information on these regions. More importantly, it is even less known that *Načertanije* remained secret before the public until 1906, only some people close to Garašanin knew about it.²³⁵ Thus, it had no influence at all on the public discourse or the national consciousness, up until the 20th century.

In order to understand contemporary Serbian thinking on nation and other Slavic people, I analyse below texts from Karadžić, the emblematic figure of Serbian nationalism, and the creator of modern Serbian language. Unlike Garašanin's secret Memorandum, Karadžić's writings were published and had great influence both in the domestic sphere and on foreign intellectuals. Karadžić's texts demonstrate the contrast between the Illyrians' and the Serbian nationalists' political programs and notion of the nation, and even manifests that actually they understood differently whom their nation includes. In the same time, it is important to note that some of Karadžić's works were also banned during the rule of Miloš Obrenović (1817-1839), because the Prince saw the potential in them to create patriotism and aspiration for independence, and it would have encouraged uprising against the Ottomans. This is why

²³⁴ Srema (Szerémség), Banat (Bánát) and Bačka (Bácska) in that time were parts of the Hungarian Kingdom, in large number inhabited by Serbs.

²³⁵ Manetovic, p. 145

Karadžić's works were mostly published abroad, in general in Vienna, and were welcomed by foreigners. In addition, Austria and Germany supported Karadžić when creating the only "commonly accepted and unified Serbo-Croatian language".²³⁶

Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, the father of Serbian nationalism was a linguist-philologist and folklorist. Karadžić was the creator of modern Serbian language, also the signing representative of the *Vienna Literary Agreement* in 1850, which laid the basis of the Serbo-Croatian language. His works focused on linguistics, folk art (folk songs and stories), and some were the documentation of the current war, or biographies of historical personalities. Texts from Karadžić clearly manifest that he had a different understanding on nation and Pan-Slavism comparing to Gaj. In the *Crna Gora i Crnogorci [Montenegro and the Montenegrins]* from 1837 he wrote that five million Slavs inhabited the South, who were not much different from each other, because they spoke almost the same language, but their *faith* varied.^{237,238}

In his other famous work, *Srbi svi i svuda [Serbs All and Everywhere]* he stated that "There are at least five million souls of a folk speaking the same language, but by religion they can be split into three groups... Only the first three million call themselves Serbs, and the others do not receive this name..."²³⁹ He also argued against Illyrianism:

To say that, Illyrs, Illyrians is a dead and dark name, which today means nothing; because recently all the significant historians have proved that Illyrians were not Slavs [Slaveni], so they would only have that name to call them because they live in a country which was once

²³⁶ Gallagher, p. 33.

²³⁷ Karadžić, Vuk Stefanović, *Crna Gora i Crnogorci*. "Malena Crna Gora već od više stoljeća zauzima važno mjesto u istoriji Turske Carevine, i s pravom zaslužuje da se Evropa njome pozabavi radi viteškog odupiranja njenijeh stanovnika protiv pokušaja sto puta nadmoćnijih Osmanlija da je pokore. Zato držim da će dobro doći opis ove zemljice, njenijeh stanovnika, njene starije i novije istorije, oblika vladavine, odnosa prema pograničnijem susjedima, načina života, stanja crkve i škole, i opis naravi i običaja, opis istina kratak ali izrađen po vlastitom promatranju i crpen iz nesumnjivo pouzdanih originalnijeh izvora. (...) Naša je pri ovom težnja da opisujemo prosto, jasno i istinito bez svakog romantičkog kićenja." https://www.rastko.rs/rastko-cg/zemlja/vkaradzic/vkaradzic-crnagora.html#_Toc44869811 (accessed 13.05. 2017). The author's translation.

²³⁸ 'Zakon' here means simply religion, in that time it was used as the synonym of 'religija'.

²³⁹ "U pomenutijem ovdje mjestima biće najmanje oko pet miliona duša naroda koji govori jednijem jezikom, ali se po zakonu (religiji) dijeli natroje (...) Samo prva tri miliona zovu se *Srbi* ili *Srbliji*, a ostali ovoga imena neće da prime (...)" Karadžić talks about these people in details, describes all their religions and how they call themselves. <https://www.rastko.rs/filologija/vuk/vkaradzic-srbi.html> (accessed: 13.05.2017). The author's translation.

called Illyria, therefore the rest of all the peoples [narodi] who live today in the ancient Illyria (for instance Bulgarians, Albanians, Aromanians, etc.) could also be called that way.²⁴⁰

Vuk Karadžić, *Srbi svi i svuda* [Serbs All and Everywhere], 1849.

Later, referring to this work, Karadžić explains that actually he was misunderstood and incorrectly interpreted on Serbians. According to his letter, he did not mean that Serbs *themselves* were everywhere. He emphasized that he had meant that Serbs were those who spoke Serbian regardless to their faith and place of living, but he had not meant those who spoke Čakavian or Kajkavian dialect were Serbs.²⁴¹ In other words, according to Karadžić, Serbs were those who spoke the Štokavian dialect, however, he made distinction in the text between the ethnicities, so that Serb was some sort of an umbrella term covering the Štokavian speaking community. What seems clear is that Karadžić re-oriented the Serbian identity. Earlier, the core criterion of Serbness was the Orthodox faith, but Karadžić placed language into the centre of the new Serbian identity, moreover, choosing language as *conditio sine qua non* of nationality, he expanded the borders of the nation beyond Serbia.²⁴²

In partial conclusion, Karadžić clearly agreed with Herder's understanding on nation and language, and his opinion was in harmony with the popular intellectual wave that was driving nationalism. It was language that defined nation. However, in Karadžić's interpretation, his nation, the Serbs were the nation that spoke the Štokavian dialect. Conversely, anyone who spoke Štokavian was Serb. The rest of the South Slavs who spoke Kajkavian or Čakavian dialects were not Serbs, but they belonged to other nationalities. Now, the ultimate conflict between Karadžić's and Gaj's interpretation was that while Karadžić stated that people who spoke Štokavian were Serbs, Gaj, carefully integrating the historical concept of Croatian

²⁴⁰ "Da reku da su *Iliri, Ilirci*, tol *I* je mrtvo i tamno ime, koje danas ne znači ništa; jer sad svi znatniji istorici dokazuju da stari *Iliri* nijesu bili Slaveni, i tako bi se oni tijekom imenom samo zato nazivali što žive u zemlji koja se *negda* zvala *Ilirik*, po čemu bi se i ostali svi narodi koji u starome *Iliriku* danas žive (npr. Bugari, Arnauti, Cincari itd.) isto tako zvati mogli." <https://www.rastko.rs/filologija/vuk/vkaradzic-srbi.html> (accessed: 13.05.2017). The author's translation.

²⁴¹ Ibid. <https://www.rastko.rs/filologija/vuk/vkaradzic-srbi.html> (accessed: 13.05.2017)

²⁴² Miller, p. 27.

statehood and the right for an independent state, viewed Štokavian as a link between basically separate, but still related and complementary nations. As Miller also emphasizes, Karadžić and Gaj chose distinct premises as starting point, and therefore the logical deductions they made were consequently different in essence.²⁴³ However, one should not simplify Karadžić's view, because it is not perfectly clear whether he meant to wash away all the ethnic differences between these people, as it is shown above in his articles. Again, it rather seems that Karadžić understood Serb as an umbrella term, while he did note that people in different regions had different ethnic names, so that in solely linguistic sense he spoke about Serbians.

Obviously, Karadžić's works can be easily misunderstood or reinterpreted in a more hostile form, but all in all, he did not envision such a Slavic union like the Croat's Great Illyria. In the same time it should be noted that until Karadžić, the motif of the Battle of Kosovo (1389) and Prince Lazar had not been used in the Serbian public discourse. In 1845, Karadžić was who resurrected these pictures, reminded Serbs of their magnificent history before the Ottoman rule, even though the battle was not a significant one in the Ottoman conquest, and unintentionally contributed to the later rise of hostility and later tragedies in the Balkan region.²⁴⁴

Karadžić's most important language reform was the reform of the Serbian Cyrillic transcription. He used Adelung, the German philologist's work and adapted elements of the Czech orthography to create the Serbian alphabet, and distance it as much as possible from Church Slavonic, the language of Orthodox liturgy. Karadžić also focused on – due to the Herderian principle – the rural language, which meant the dialect spoken in Eastern Herzegovina, and also spoken by Serbs elsewhere.

As it is emphasized above, the primary goal of Serbian politics in the 19th century was to resolve differences among its people for a national goal, and resurrect the Serbian state, and

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Gallagher, p. 56-57.

later, from the 1870s, which is not the subject of this thesis, even expand it.²⁴⁵ The careful foreign policy and the focus on gradual independence yet ruled out the close cooperation with Croats, and especially any unionist visions. Serbians seemed to be satisfied with their achieved autonomy, and did not pay much attention to Gaj shouting for allies for his political goals. The rise of Serbia had great impact on Serb inhabitants of Croatian territories: first, they supported their official ideology that contradicted to whatever Illyrians represented, and second, Serb Orthodox inhabitant of the Habsburg Empire slowly started to pledge their loyalty to the powerful Serbian government.²⁴⁶

After the revolution of 1848-1849, Illyrian attempts seemed very unrealistic. Serbs showed no interest in the movement, because they had achieved their Serbian state, and under the leadership of Prime Minister Garašanin, foreign policy goals did not contain the achievement of Illyria or Jugoslavenstvo. After the revolution, Karadžić proved to be particularly dismissive on the Illyrian project as well. His understanding of language-based nationality questioned the existence of Croatia, which he found rather a simple geographic term. He travelled to Vienna with other Serbian intellectuals to meet the Croatian and Slovenian counterparts, and find out a compromise to form the common literary language and its standards. The Serbs could force Croats to withdraw from the controversial elements of their linguistic norm Serbs could not support.²⁴⁷

The *Vienna Literary Agreement* on 28 March 1850 was a result of the negotiation between mostly the Serbs and the Croats (there was only one Slovene invited), and it meant mostly the corpus planning of the Serbo-Croatian language. It claimed that the same norms should be applied for both Croatian and Serbian.²⁴⁸ From a linguistic perspective, the compromise is somewhat surprising, since before it, the languages and dialects had seemed to

²⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 56.

²⁴⁶ Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*, p. 102-103.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Greenberg, p. 24.

diverge. As I detailed it earlier, Croatian dialects were various, and many literary traditions coexisted in a single region. Meanwhile, prior to 1850, Serbian orthography was based on an artificial Slaveno-Serbian language, which was quite distant from the Serbian spoken in the time. This transcription heavily relied on Church Slavonic. Therefore, it could not reflect the living language spoken by the rural inhabitants of Serbia, and it definitely set back the spread of literacy.²⁴⁹ It should be underlined that the *Vienna Literary Agreement* was not a gathering of official representatives: these intellectuals were not members of organizations or did not act in the name of states, therefore, the document was not legally binding. In fact, Gaj for instance was quite worried about the possible problems the agreement would cause.²⁵⁰ Serbian victory was even greater than perhaps Vuk Karadžić could estimate it: his principles inspired Serbians and Croats to work on a unified standard for decades within the walls of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences. Ironically, the new language that came to exist formally in 1850 had no name, since the document did not refer to the actual subject of the agreement.²⁵¹

As I referred to it earlier, although Gaj's Illyrian movement failed, the Nationalist Party continued to work under the leadership of Bishop Strossmayer, who advocated Yugoslavianism. His political career clearly reflects the great extent to which Croats relied on Serbians. Strossmayer lost his hopes on the Yugoslavian project when Serbians did not welcome his proposal on the unification of the Orthodox and the Catholic churches, moreover they stigmatized him as "a cunning spokesperson for Rome". Plus, many argue that Strossmayer abandoned his claims on Croatia's historic statehood as well because of the Serbs. Serbs never welcomed the Serbo-Croat unity outlined by Croatian intellectuals. The fundamental contradiction of the Illyrian movement was – as one can see already in Gaj's writings – that even though they aimed to unite South Slavs in a single country and identity, they never denied

²⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 25.

²⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 27.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

their claim for Croatia's statehood, as it was according to them the historic right of the country. Serbians who started to entertain a similar but 'stricter' implementation of the South Slav unification project, i.e. to unite peoples in a single state, opposed the Croatian idea that envisioned a loose union among the South Slavs preserving the independent Croatian statehood.²⁵²

Many emphasize that Yugoslavism and the Party of Right (HSP) grew out of Illyrianism as well, all entertaining an inclusive type of Croatian nationalism. The Party of Right became important in the 1860s, and especially their leader, Ante Starčević opposed the Nagodba by stressing Croatia's historic right to statehood. He again, just like other Illyrians, called for a united Croatia including Croatia itself, Slavonia, Istria, Dalmatia, Dubrovnik, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since Croatia had been existed since the 9th century, as he argued, it had the right to an independent state. Nevertheless, Starčević was already more hostile to other South Slavs. He argued that Serbs in Bosnia and Vojna Krajina were simply 'Orthodox Croats' who hand in hand with Muslims of Bosnia would happily yield consent to join the Croatian nation.²⁵³ In addition, the Party of Right pleased the Habsburg Court by ruining all the relationships with neighbouring Slavic ethnicities: they called the Slovenes 'mountain Croats' and they referred to the Serbs as 'an unclean servile race without culture'.²⁵⁴

In 1861, the Sabor voted for the name 'Yugoslav' as national language, which was quickly followed by the reaction of the Habsburgs. They overturned 'Yugoslavian', and proposed 'Serbian-Illyrian' (Cyrillic and Latin transcription) instead. Until 1991, which did not only mean the dissolution of Yugoslavia, but the abandonment of the common literary language, the parties could not agree on the name of the language, therefore many variants coexisted for it.²⁵⁵ The Croatian Nationalist Party that contained many with strong Illyrian

²⁵² Bellamy, p. 45.

²⁵³ Ibid. p. 45-46.

²⁵⁴ Gallagher, p. 56.

²⁵⁵ Greenberg, p. 27.

feeling found the signing of the *Vienna Literary Agreement* equal to suicide and the complete surrender of the Croatian national identity.²⁵⁶ Ironically, the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise, the so-called Nagodba was the only document that spoke exclusively about the Croatian language in order to hinder cooperation between Croats and Serbs. Croatian's status as a separate language was never again recognized until 1991.

IV. 5. Conclusion

I argue that the lack of pre-existing statehood, the presence of the very influential Pan-Slavic movement, and very limited political participation together destined the Croatian or Illyrian language reform for failure.

As I described the era's political atmosphere in details, unlike the Hungarian case, the Croatian political and intellectual sphere lacked a large group of progressive and nationalist thinkers, and mostly conservative aristocrats and clerics dominated the Sabor. It proved to be very difficult to find supporters for Gaj's language reform. Gaj's project was not a clearly outlined linguistic program without compromises. On the contrary, from the name of the language to the dialect to use and actual reforms all elements were modified favouring always a different potential patron: the Zagreb clergy, the progressive intelligentsia in Croatia, the Habsburg Court, the Hungarians, and most importantly, the Serbs. The Serbs gained significant autonomy from the Ottoman Empire, and their most important foreign policy goal was to preserve peace with their neighbours, because they feared that the country could not survive military invasions. Meanwhile, prominent politicians hoped that the Ottoman would collapse in short time due to its inner crisis or foreign intervention. Serbs clearly did not care much about Croatian issues, and actually, they opposed Gaj's Great Illyria. In addition, Serbian

²⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 28.

intellectuals' thinking on nation and language was quite distinct from the Croatian variant, therefore the two parties could not synthesize their ideas in the given period.

All in all, Gaj lacking political support tried to achieve as close ties as possible with the Serbs. They agreed in 1850 on a common literary standard of Serbian and Croatian. From that moment, the name of the language had been debated, and the individual status of Croatian was established only in 1991. The direct impact of the failure of the language reform was the failure of the creation of the modern statehood and national identity with it. This unstable situation provided substratum for a new ideology and the attempt to form a new identity in place of Illyrian or Croatian, and Yugoslavianism started to rise in the second part of the 19th century.

V. The Case of Half-Success – The Formation of ‘New Norwegian’ and the Case of Diglossia

“... I was – and that was my misfortune with a language so restricted – nothing but a poet.”
Henrik Wergeland, “*Hassel-Nødder*” [*Hazelnuts*], 1845²⁵⁷

The case of Norway has contributed to a great extent to the critical approach to the national awakening of the 19th century, especially to the development of the constructivist scholarship.²⁵⁸ Norway achieved statehood in the beginning of the decade with a high level of autonomy that was further extended in the 1880s. According to the argument outlined in this thesis, this early achievement of statehood hindered the emergence of a single national language. The need for a national language was delayed due to the pre-existence of the state. This goes against the Weberian logic: the nation whose members are bounded together due to solidarity can aspire a state. Because of the constitution and the following agreement with Sweden, Norway already gained the aspired state, and implicitly these legal documents justified the existence of the Norwegian nation. As I demonstrate below through contemporary texts from the intelligentsia, this statehood and autonomy urged the need for national language, however, because of that already masses had been channelled to politics, language became a matter of identity politics, and not a national interest. The process of language-formation was challenged by several ideological strands, particularly by Scandinavianism, however, it could not gain great popularity, and therefore it did not hinder the language-formation process. In fact, as I will demonstrate, the opposite happened, since Scandinavianism became a cultural-educational movement, providing methods for successful language-formation and education. In short, the combination of statehood, high political participation and a weak pan-like movement led to a diglossic linguistic situation in Norway. This conjunction of independent variables

²⁵⁷ Grøndahl, Illit, “*Henrik Wergeland: The Norwegian Poet*”, Oxford: Blackwell, 1919. p. 9. Grøndahl’s translation.

²⁵⁸ Hyvik, Jens Johan, McColl Millar, Robert and Newby, Andrew G., “Language and Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century: Nynorsk and Scots in Comparative Context.” *Scandinavica*, Vol. 55. No 2. (2016) p. 11.

provided a partial success to Ivar Aasen and his variant, the ‘New Norwegian’, albeit it made impossible the formation of a single and exclusive national language.

V. 1. Secession from Denmark-Norway, and the Personal Union with Sweden – The Birth of the Constitution and the Modern Norwegian State

On 14 January 1814, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Kingdom of Sweden, and the Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway signed the Treaty of Kiel during the Napoleonic Wars.²⁵⁹ The previously French ally Denmark joined the anti-French coalition, and Frederik VI of Denmark ceded the Kingdom of Norway to Sweden. Due to the treaty, King Karl XIV Johan of Sweden had to become the king of Norway in the same time. In fact, the king was the previous king’s, Karl XIII’s adopted son, Napoleon’s most controversial marshal, Jean Baptiste Bernadotte.²⁶⁰

Norwegians opposed the terms of the Piece of Kiel, and declared their independence on 17 May 1814.²⁶¹ A group of Norwegian representatives gathered to create the constitution of an independent state and elected the king of Norway. As Heidar emphasizes, the constitution had an instrumental function serving the secession from Denmark, and the maintenance of Norway’s independence. The American constitution, the French Enlightenment, and the British political culture provided ideological basis for the constitution.²⁶² The Danish disadvantage in the Napoleonic Wars meant that Denmark had to offer Norway as a compromise to Sweden, which fuelled the Norwegian representatives to claim independence. A short war started between Norway and Sweden that – despite Sweden’s advantage – ended with the acceptance of the Norwegian constitution by the Swedish counterpart. This meant that the Treaty of Kiel had to be reconsidered.

²⁵⁹ Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 9.

²⁶⁰ Sjøvik, Jan, *Historical Dictionary of Norway*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2008. p. 13.

²⁶¹ Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 9.

²⁶² Heidar, p. 5.

On 14 August 1814 at the Convention of Moss the parties supplemented the previous agreement with extra conditions. First, the negotiator from the Norwegian side was “the Norwegian government”, represented by two ministers. The Kingdom of Sweden accepted the Norwegian constitution, but due to the personal union, the elected Norwegian king had to resign. Another condition was that the Norwegian parliament had to be summoned to ratify the Convention of Moss. In short, the officials and the middle class fuelled by the spring of nations attempted to organize an independent Norway, which was spoilt by the consequences of the Napoleonic Wars.²⁶³ Despite of the Treaty of Kiel, Norwegians claimed independence that led to war with Sweden. They managed to enter a personal union with Sweden, and as a compromise, they were given the right to home rule and maintain the new constitution, however Norwegian foreign policy was subordinated to the Swedish one. In short, Norwegians possessed a high level of autonomy, and formed the basis of the modern Norwegian state.²⁶⁴

According to Monsson, the year of 1814 was a “double revolution” in Norway. Norway’s constitution that was accepted by the Kingdom of Sweden, guaranteed broad individual rights to the population, and established the most democratic system of the time. The loose personal union with Sweden did not hinder the guarantee of linguistic, cultural, and political rights of Norwegians. On the contrary, the union did not constrain, but accelerated nation-building, and the creation of political nationalism. Norway came to exist as a state with a constitution, providing broad rights and political representation to the people, but ironically, it lacked a forerunning movement that could create cultural nationalism, cultivate ancient history, and a national language. In partial conclusion, with the constitution, Norway became a state and Norwegians became a nation, but in solely political sense based on self-determination.²⁶⁵ This period in Norway is marked with growing political autonomy and the

²⁶³ Ibid. p. 17.

²⁶⁴ Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 9.

²⁶⁵ Monsson, p. 1459.

establishment of the state²⁶⁶ that was prior to the appearance of the language question and the related movements.

V. 2. Political Participation and the Rural-Urban Cleavage

The constitution ensured the right to vote to all the people who were landowners, which meant 45% of men above the age of twenty-five, so that unlike elsewhere in Europe, the right to vote was neither the privilege of the aristocracy, nor the advantage of a narrow wealthy upper class. It is not a mere exaggeration to state that Norway had the broadest and most inclusive political participation of the time.

Norway's population was 1 million in the 1820s, and doubled by 1890.²⁶⁷ After 1814, Christiania (today Oslo) became the capital of Norway. Previously, the centre of cultural life was Copenhagen where the élite was educated. Christiania became the home of the first Norwegian university, the Storting (Parliament), theatres, and museums. Thus, the economic centre shifted from the Southwestern Bergen to Christiania, and many moved to towns from the countryside.²⁶⁸ Nevertheless, despite the migration to towns, the countryside sustained its significant role. Thus, the marked representation of the rural has been one of the most important characteristics of Norwegian politics until nowadays. How could this happen?

Norwegian rural society in the 19th century was less hierarchical and more egalitarian than other European societies, for instance, the ratio of freeholders was much higher comparing to the continent's average. Aristocracy was insignificant, and eventually abolished in 1821. In addition, the landowner layer was much broader, since only a small percentage of lands was aggregated into large estates.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 10.

²⁶⁷ Heidar, p. 11.

²⁶⁸ Danielsen and Hovland, p. 218.

²⁶⁹ Heidar, p. 12.

Because of geographic reasons, such as the long coastline, and the mountainous regions, the sustainment of communication had been problematic in Norway, and it urged the need for powerful local governments. Partly this geographic condition empowered the countryside: unlike in the history of many other nations, the rural was significant during the Norwegian nation-building, where the “centre was a necessity, not a national pride”.²⁷⁰ The rural-urban cleavage, the struggle between the countryside élite and the central-Oslo élite stemming from the curious landscape, had long-term impact on political practices and institutional structures.

Surprisingly, rural representation in the Storting was disproportionately strong, in fact, two-third of the Storting was elected from the rural districts.²⁷¹ In spite of this fact, after 1814, significant power fell into the hands of *embetsmenn* (or *embedsmann*, civil servants or officials), because Norway lacked aristocracy, therefore there was no one to contest their power. Even though businessmen of urban regions suffered from the economic crisis as a consequence of the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and in the first years of the 19th century peasants were not yet mobilized to participate in politics,²⁷² political participation quickly changed. The strong rural representation aided political movements from the countryside when challenging state power, such as the liberal peasant movement of 1884. In addition, from the 1850s the urban liberal intelligentsia often allied with peasant groups against the government. This meant the decay of the traditional élite that consisted of state officials. This alliance achieved a new form of parliamentarism in 1884, which meant that the government should resign in case of no-confidence of the parliamentary majority.²⁷³ As a consequence, the most important characteristics of Norwegian politics has been the significant political power of the rural or ‘periphery’ until these days.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 3.

²⁷¹ Danielsen and Hovland, p. 222.

²⁷² Ibid. p. 223.

²⁷³ Heidar, p. 18-19.

²⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 5.

It is important to note again that the new Norway formed in 1814 inherited the civil servant class from the Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, or in other words, from the Dano-Norwegian union.²⁷⁵ The government was basically dominated by these Dano-Norwegian civil servants. In the 1830s, debates on local governments intensified between the peasantry and the class of civil servants. The tension mobilized the peasantry to use their voting strength that they had been entitled to by the constitution. Later on, during the second half of the 19th century, oppositional intellectuals and peasants allied against the civil servants. These events set the path to the fall of the “civil servant state”, and eventually led to a parliamentary system.²⁷⁶

Local governments also played significant role in the political system of the 19th century. The above mentioned peasant opposition fought for a local self-government in the parliament which they achieved in the 1830s. Also in the 1830s, the parliament created municipal institutions based on election, in order to secure and reinforce state officials’ local power.²⁷⁷ In partial conclusion, one sees the early and relatively high political autonomy of Norway in the rural level. Nevertheless, the inherited civil servant class and the presence of a strong countryside élite and peasantry predicts further clashes in the political sphere.

Apart from that geographic reasons beyond question contributed to the enforcement of the countryside, and fostered rural participation, Norway was the forerunner of wide-spread literacy, or at least the wide-spread ability of reading. This means that literacy – or at least reading – was not the privilege of the élites, as elsewhere in Europe, but the countryside population, including the peasantry was taught to read, in fact, recent research proves that even greater masses were literate comparing to the earlier estimations. Literacy definitely nourished the mobilization of the countryside population, and fostered their participation in politics. The promotion of literacy started with the mission of the Lutheran Church, and continued with the

²⁷⁵ Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 10.

²⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 10.

²⁷⁷ Heidar, p. 19.

Haugean movement in the 19th century that resulted in a highly literate countryside population. The literature would predict that high literacy rate hinders language reforms, however, the Norwegian case demonstrates the opposite. Language, more precisely linguistic variant became an important element of the rural population's identity, therefore, Ivar Aasen's reform that promoted a dialect based on the rural dialects could partially succeed, and contest the hegemony of the Dano-Norwegian dialect, spoken by the urban élites.

Lutheranism has great impact on boosting literacy in the Nordic region, because the Lutheran Church promoted the idea that the individual should be able to read the Bible himself or herself for a better understanding. In Denmark and Norway, a church-based school system was established in 1736 that provided the necessary education for children to become full members of the Lutheran community, and this implied the production of non-Latin catechisms for children.²⁷⁸ Even though it is impossible to reconstruct the exact percentage of literacy among the population of Norway, the presence of the Lutheran Church, the production of vernacular catechisms, education and the promotion of literacy (or at least the ability of reading) in the vernacular language definitely makes Norway's society highly literate comparing to other countries.²⁷⁹

Notwithstanding the Lutheran Church's role in boosting literacy both in Norway, and in the Nordic region in general, Hans Nielsen Hauge's campaign further increased the level of alphabetization in the country. Hauge (1771-1824) was the founder of the Haugean (Lutheran) Pietist movement, whose books and letters spread across the country expanding the scope of readers, including the rural inhabitants. Although some accounts state that Norwegians lagged behind Denmark and Sweden with regard to literacy, Haukland advocates Jostein Fet's findings

²⁷⁸ Lindmark, Daniel, "Educational History in the Nordic Region: Reflections from a Swedish Perspective." *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación*, Vol. 2. No. 2 (julio-diciembre 2015), p. 11.

²⁷⁹ As I highlighted earlier regarding the history of Norwegian language, Danish rule had great influence on Norwegian, and the language of bureaucracy, law and religion was replaced with Danish. However, this could not hinder literacy in the region, since due to the linguistic similarities and the high level of mutual intelligibility Norwegians could understand and use Danish language reinforced because of political reasons.

on the level of literacy in the early 19th century.²⁸⁰ Fet attempted to measure peasants' literacy level which he based on the number of the books they had possessed, and claimed that the Norwegian peasantry had been far ahead comparing to the population of the rural regions of other Nordic countries. This, according to Haukland, was due to the activity of the Haugean movement. Hauge's advantage comparing to the Lutheran Church and the pastors was that he wrote and talked to people – including the peasantry – in *their* dialect, which was a more Norwegianized form of Danish.

Another research identifies a specific 'Nordic literacy model'. As the main characteristic of this literacy model, the old agrarian society relatively early acquired the ability of reading comparing to writing, so that there is a great time lag between the appearances of the two abilities. Writing was only the skill of the modern industrial society – as a basic skill it appeared in the curriculum in 1860 with the introduction of mass education.²⁸¹

Followers of the Haugean movement played important role in politics as well. They participated in the process that in 1814 resulted in the creation of the Norwegian constitution. Three leaders of the movement took part in the assembly of Eidsvoll that passed the constitution of Norway.²⁸² According to Haukland, later on many members of the movement participated in all – local, regional and national – levels of politics. Although Hauge did not contribute to the independence of Norway directly (at least, as Haukland states, his letters do not contain any information on it), he had a great impact on the political participation of the rural areas through his programs about industrialization and leadership, and because of the promotion of literacy.

²⁸⁰ Haukland, Linda, "Hans Nielsen Hauge: A catalyst of literacy in Norway." *Scandinavian Journal of History*, Vol. 39. No. 5 (2014), p. 542.

²⁸¹ Vannebo, Kjell Ivar, "The impact of education and literacy on language development in the 19th century" in Oskar Bandle, Kurt Braunmüller, Ernst Håkon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann and Ulf Teleman (eds.), *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002. p. 1397.

²⁸² Haukland, p. 564.

Moreover, the teaching of reading and writing involved not only men and children, but women as well, and these women became authors of various texts later on.

The Haugean movement was born out of Lutheranism, but represented Pietism, therefore put a special emphasis on the individual's personal education, and the ability of expression of thoughts. The secret of Hauge's effective teaching was a strong network among his followers. First, it involved the urban society, but more importantly the masses of the countryside. Women and children were also included in this network, so that the whole peasantry had access to learning. Communication among the members was in the form of letters written by Hauge, and later on many other authors. The language that Hauge used was the 'peasants' language', a 'provincial' dialect spoken by the masses of the countryside, which was definitely more free from Danish impact than the urban variant.

Another research from the late 1990s strengthens the idea of high literacy rate in Norway. Vannebo states that literacy was widespread among the members of the agrarian society already in the second half of the 17th century and not only in the leading country of the region, in Sweden, but in Denmark and Norway as well.²⁸³

Bucken-Knapp examines the linguistic situation of Norway between the 1880s and the 1960s, and claims that language was an important tool of the élites when confronting with each other, and also the language question was parallel with the formation and struggles over national identity. Although Bucken-Knapp does not address the Norwegian case as a case of diglossia, he emphasizes that Norway differs from other multi-lingual states in Europe, because language in Norway is not bounded to ethnic identity. Nynorsk and Bokmål are not elements or bases of ethnic identities, such as Sámi in Norway, but they rather symbolize regional and class-based identities. The rural-urban and the class cleavages were utilized by the political élite and different parties through history, and since the clearest manifestation of these cleavages are the

²⁸³ Vannebo, p. 1398.

different standards of written Norwegian, Nynorsk and Bokmål received central role in the political debates again and again. While language was utilized in the early stage, namely in the time of our analysis to form national identity, it was reactivated and reused again by political actors for two-hundred years. Despite of the multiple utilization of written standards, none of them became associated with an ethnic group.²⁸⁴

In short, the Haugean movement promoted literacy, indirectly mobilized the rural, and intentionally or unintentionally contested the linguistic situation of Norway, the hegemony of Danish.²⁸⁵ The Haugean Christian lay movement enjoyed the support of the Western side and the Southern coast, i.e. it stemmed from and backed by the people of the rural. When Aasen created Nynorsk, he quickly gained the countryside's support, and his language became a crucial element of the counter-culture against the dominant high culture of the urban élite. The Liberal Party secured its status as an official language when – as rural-based opposition – they came into power.²⁸⁶

V.3. Nationalism and Romanticism

The 19th century of Norway was marked by nation-building, and the building of a national past, particularly in the second half of the decade. Nationalist historians claimed continuity with the Old Norse Empire, and emphasized that the four hundred-year-long Danish rule left no signs on the country and its culture. Artists found inspiration in the untouched, rustic culture, particularly in peasant communities. This national mourning was reinforced by the unwanted union with Sweden.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁴ Bucken-Knapp, Gregg, *Elites, Language, and the Politics of Identity*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003. p. 2.

²⁸⁵ Haukland, p. 552.

²⁸⁶ Heidar, p. 15-16.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 18.

The process of nation-building started by the ‘reconstruction’ of a common past that quickly became the organic part of curriculum of schools and universities.²⁸⁸ The 1830s and 1840s were especially marked with stressing the connections between Norway and the ‘Ancient World’. The new generation of Norwegian scholars started to use history, moreover reconstruct history to trigger nation-building. The aim was to spread nationalist sentiment and ideas through mass education, but for this a more efficient and “more unified system of communication” was crucial,²⁸⁹ so that the need for a national language was reinforced.

Since Norway existed for a long time under the rule of Denmark, and after a short-lasting hopeful perspective of independence it unwillingly joined Sweden in union, Norwegian consciousness was formed and built through historical reconstruction. This heroic past was found in the Middle Ages, however, it proved to be difficult to demonstrate Norway’s unbreakable affection to popular freedoms with regard to the Danish rule that lasted for three hundred years. The Norwegian Historical School (see Rudolf Keyser and Peter Andreas Munch) relied on the materials from the rural culture. For instance, Keyser and Munch researched the ethnic origins of Norwegians. They wanted to prove that Norwegians are equally, or even more estimable than other Nordic people in the region. They even stated that Norwegians were “more pure” or “more noble” than other Nordics, and legitimized their claims by “immigration theories”. Monsson sees this tendency as the monopolization of Nordic history, since all the examined events and phenomena, with special emphasis on the middle ages, were seen and shown exclusively ‘Norwegian’. Norwegian history appeared to be more glorious than any Nordic nations’ history, and it proved to be a very successful tool when forging Norwegian consciousness and identity.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸ Danielsen and Hovland, p. 224.

²⁸⁹ Monsson, p. 1459.

²⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 1459-1460.

Artists were inspired by the ideology of nationalist romanticism, and soon the ‘flow-production’ of national culture began to rise. Poetry (Johan Sebastian Welhaven) and painting (I. C. Dahl, Adolf Tidemand, Hans Gude) supported the reconstruction of history by including ‘Norwegian nature’ and ‘Norwegian folk customs’ in their palettes, while Peter Christen Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe published the first collection of folk stories (fairy tales), and the *Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments* was founded in 1844.²⁹¹ Denmark-Norway’s cultural centre was Copenhagen, which after the secession from Denmark was replaced with Christiania in 1814, or as it was later re-named, Oslo. Cultural life started to prosper in the Norwegian capital: the Storting was placed there, all the necessary cultural and educational institutions, such as theatres or universities were constructed, plus, cultural and social communities were reorganized there. This was a cultural movement against the Danish ‘heritage’, since the Norwegian élite was raised and educated mostly in Copenhagen, and their culture was heavily influenced by Danish culture, moreover, Danish language. The full secession and transition was somewhat unsuccessful, as Henrik Wergeland the poet stated in 1835, because of the lack of a national language. Wergeland articulated first the need for a language reform in order to fully “break free” from the Danes.²⁹²

Norwegian scholarship in the 1990s addressed the question of national identity in the 19th century, and particularly national romanticism that had gained its peak in the 1840s and 1850s. The élite of the time supported romanticism, and attempted to place peasant culture into the centre of high culture. As Hyvik et al. argue this idea dominated only the beginning of the era, since the hegemony of the élite itself, i.e. the class of civil servants was quickly contested. They found strength in Scandinavianism that promoted the progress of the region. This traditional élite started to see itself as the guardian of modernization in Norway. Meanwhile, a counter-movement to the traditional élite, the concept of Two Cultures emerged and gained

²⁹¹ Danielsen and Hovland, p. 225.

²⁹² Monsson, p. 1460.

strength from the 1860s until the victory of parliamentarism in 1884. The counter-élite supporting the Two Cultures theory argued that there were two co-existing cultures in Norway, and heavily criticised the traditional élite for being loyal to Denmark, and for that they promoted an old high culture bounded to Danes because of their education and language, and they were labelled as foreigners. Ivar Aasen was a vociferous advocate of the Two Cultures argument, claiming with many others that the basis of the Norwegian nation should be sought in the countryside, among the peasantry.²⁹³

V. 4. The Linguistic Situation of Norway – From Old Norse to Scandinavianism, and the Emergence of Modern Norwegian

The proto-language before the emergence of modern Norwegian is called Old Norse (700-1350). Historical linguistics distinguishes the stage called Middle Norwegian, after the period of the medieval language, which was a transitional stage until 1525, under the growing influence of Danish language. This period cannot be characterized with a single orthography, but many variants of transcript, because the standardization happened only in 1850. This date is the hallmark of the creation of Nynorsk by Ivar Aasen.²⁹⁴

The Norwegian Language Council claims based on broad research that Old Norse was used even earlier than Old Danish or Old Swedish. In the middle of the 14th century appeared the transitional stage called Middle Norwegian due to Danish influence. Until 1525, the Norwegian written tradition was maintained, however because of the increasing Danish power, the language was almost completely replaced by Danish. Also, the language of the Lutheran Church became Danish replacing Latin, and until the modern times, even the language of the Bible was Danish. From this time, Danish was the written language, and Norwegian persisted

²⁹³ Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 14.

²⁹⁴ Språkrådet (The Norwegian Language Council), “*Norwegian.*” <http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Om-oss/English-and-other-languages/English/Norwegian/> (access 15.04.2017)

only in the oral tradition. Meanwhile, the urban upper-class that included people of Danish origin used another variety which had great effect on spoken Norwegian. Its key norm was spelling pronunciation, i.e. the pronunciation of words was based on their spelling, and it was very close to Danish language. According to the Norwegian Language Council, this spoken language was actually closer to Danish orthography than spoken Danish itself.²⁹⁵

Because of the secession of Denmark and Norway and the influence of the romantic era, the demand for an ‘own’ language rose. The idea emerged that a nation should possess a language, and the debate started how Norway should achieve it, and this idea resisted to the influence of a pan-like movement in the 19th century called Scandinavianism.

Scandinavianism or Nordism emerged in the first half of the 19th century in the Nordic region, and it was a movement similar to the Pan-Slavic idea. It was an alternative for the formation of a common Nordic identity. It promoted the understanding that Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Iceland had shared elements of history, religion and culture, i.e. they existed as an entity called the Nordic countries. This nationalist-romanticist idea appeared due to the shared geographic area and linguistic similarities, and it was a reaction to the monarchic crises and the Napoleonic Wars, however the movement reached Norway later because of the political crisis with Denmark.²⁹⁶

‘Unionist-nationalism’, i.e. a variant of nationalism representing the political union of nations did not have influence on Norwegian politics, in fact, it was missing from the political sphere after 1814. While Norwegians did claim independence after the secession from Denmark, in short time most of the Norwegian political society found sufficient to limit Swedish influence to the smallest level possible, and because of the legal circumstances, the personal union did not mean the domination of the Swedes, rather the cooperation of two equal parties. As Hyvik et al. state, the climate of opinion in the Nordic region in general was sceptical

²⁹⁵ Språkrådet (The Norwegian Language Council), “*Norwegian.*” (accessed: 15.04.2017).

²⁹⁶ Monsson, p. 1453.

towards the union as such, presumably because of the sour political experience in the past. When Scandinavianism emerged and gained some strength in the 1850s, it promoted cultural cooperation between the Scandinavian countries, and quickly choked such political ‘overtones’ that e.g. the Pan-Slav movement had. Moreover, apart from a few supporters, especially students, Norwegians opposed the movement for fearing the growing influence and the expansionist intentions of Denmark and Sweden.²⁹⁷

The reception of Scandinavianism was somewhat ambivalent in the whole region as well. On the one hand, the movement relied on the shared principles of Nordic people, their common cultural and historic heritage, folk culture, and closely related languages. On the other hand, the main theme of Romanticism, the concept of nation had already gained its foothold in these countries, and the triumvirate concept of single state, single nation and single language had already emerged. Therefore, the Scandinavian image had to go hand in hand with the concept of nation, i.e. the idea of a unique Sweden, Denmark and Norway. Scholars were not only engaged in the creation or standardization of current languages, but historical linguistics as well. This meant the research and the reconstruction of ‘ancient languages’ which mostly intentionally shed light on the relatedness of Nordic languages. Rasmus Rask, a Danish linguist created the notion of a shared ancient language, the Old Nordic language, and he was followed by several Danish and Swedish scholars, but in the same time, many raised their voices against the idea of a common identity.

In the same time, a debate emerged on the notion of national language. Some thought that the essence of the nation is found in the patterns of the original language. This ‘pure national language’ could legitimize the nation, and language was the tool to spread national feelings to all layers of the society. On the contrary, another and more popular strand thought that one should “look for the soul of people on the nation’s contemporary dialects”. Norway

²⁹⁷ Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 12.

clearly demonstrates the clash of these ideological strands on language and nation.²⁹⁸ The Scandinavian movement meant the attempt for a shared written standard that consequently would have enforced the idea of Nordic dialects and not independent national languages. However, when the Scandinavian movement and the notion of a shared language emerged, Denmark and Sweden already codified their written standards. Obviously, the application of any standards to the whole region had its limitations. Danish was overrepresented already in Scandinavia, since it was the language of the Kingdom of Denmark, Norway, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, Greenland was Danish, and it was also spoken in Schleswig-Holstein, while Swedish was applied as written language in Finland, apart from Sweden itself.²⁹⁹

The Romanticist concept of nation and language coincided with the Scandinavian movement, and seeing that the Herderian-Humboldtian ideas on nation and language were unfulfilled in practice, Norwegians launched their language movements aiming to create a unique Norwegian language. Paradoxically, the rise of the Scandinavian movement, and especially its peak between 1830 and 1860 meant the construction and consolidation of national languages, such as Nynorsk that fought against the idea of that the nation is found in the common language.³⁰⁰ Meanwhile, several organizations engaged in the promotion of cooperation among these countries were established in these years, for example the first *Nordic Teachers' Congress* was held in 1870,³⁰¹ which strengthens our argument on the moderate success of Scandinavianism. Beyond question, the movement contributed to cultural connections and the development of education, albeit it did not address further common political purposes, unlike the Pan-Slavic movement.

²⁹⁸ Monsson, p. 1454.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Lindmark, p. 9.

V. 5. Ivar Aasen and the Norwegian Language Reform

Norwegian scholarship already showed interest towards linguistic research and in particular, dialects in the 18th century.³⁰² The official language of Norway was Danish, however, already a dictionary of Norwegian words from 1802 from Laurents Hallager proves that the public opinion made distinction between Danish and Norwegian.³⁰³ This was the first attempt to describe differences between Danish and Norwegian, albeit it did not seem to be a threat on the monarchy and the union, because Hallager's researched was encouraged by Copenhagen.³⁰⁴

After the separation of Norway and Denmark, language gained bigger importance. The core of the dialogue on language was that Norway had exactly as much right to possess and use the common language with Denmark, as Denmark itself had. This argument was contested first in the 1830s. Some, like Henrik Wergeland advocated the Norwegianization of Danish, with special regard to the written language. Others, like Peter Andreas Munch from the Romanticist strand advocated that no reform was necessary to be conducted, because – as he wrote in 1832 – Danish and Norwegian were ‘in essence’ distinct.³⁰⁵

In 1835 Henrik Wergeland wrote an article with the title ‘*On Norwegian language reform*’. Wergeland was the most famous poet and playwright of the era, and he was a linguist actively participating in politics. His father was the member of the constituent assembly in 1814, and Wergeland himself became famous in the Battle of the Square (Torvslaget) in Christiania, when in 1829 Norwegians celebrated the anniversary of the constitution, despite the king had banned the even earlier. Wergeland explained that in order to fully break free from Danish, Norwegians must reform their own language, and Norwegian should be reconstructed based on the spoken language. Wiggen claims that prior to Wergeland's article, only a small number of

³⁰² Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 18.

³⁰³ Ibid. p. 19.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

educated élite urged the need for a national language, and it was first solely an academic conversation. After Wergeland published his article, and especially in the 1830s, national language became a theme of public discussion through the articles of the same élite (Jonas A. Hielm, Henrik Wergeland and Peter A. Much, according to Wiggen, Aasen only privately wrote on the normative questions in these years).³⁰⁶

Wergeland's article triggered the debate on the development of language, with special regard to spoken language, since only the spoken language in the country could manifest something exclusively Norwegian in linguistic sense, and it was the spoken language that distinguished Norwegian from Swedish and Danish. The urban élite spoke a language closer to Danish, however, its pronunciation was different from Danish, and obviously contained proverbs, expressions, moreover syntactic forms that Danish speakers could not know or understand. Speakers of the rural Norway used dialects, so that many scholars advocated the study of the language of the rural in order to construct the national language. The rural language proved to be more 'authentic', albeit there were several coexisting dialects that varied to a great extent, what is more, their 'prestige' was contested by many.³⁰⁷

Norwegian scholarship was influenced by Herder's work on language and its relation to the Volk. The main aim of Nordic philology in general was to purify the historical sources in order to construct the historical grammar and to produce the related linguistic books. This meant the construction of the ancestry and the continuity between the past and the contemporary speakers.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁶ Wiggen, Geir, "A sociolinguistic profile of the Nordic languages in the 19th century" in Oskar Bandle, Kurt Braunmüller, Ernst Håkon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann and Ulf Teleman (eds.), *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002. p. 1527.

³⁰⁷ Monsson, p. 1460.

³⁰⁸ Gregersen, Frans, "Nordic language history and the history of ideas III: Nationalism, identity and democratic movements in the 19th and 20th centuries" in Oskar Bandle, Kurt Braunmüller, Ernst Håkon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann and Ulf Teleman (eds.), *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002. p. 375.

In the 1840s, Ivar Aasen an autodidact linguist travelled through Southern Norway and researched its language. Aasen is considered to be the father of Norwegian dialectology because of presenting a great comparative study on the dialects of the south. In 1864 and 1873, he presented two books. The first was the grammar and the unified orthography of Norwegian, which Aasen himself developed based on the work of Rasmus Rask and Jacob Grimm, and the second book was the dictionary of the Norwegian language. In short, Aasen, using the ‘authentic’ dialects of the south which were less influenced by Danish both probably due to geographical reasons (high mountains intersected by valleys) and class statuses. This language was called Landsmål, and later it was renamed as Nynorsk.³⁰⁹

The below cited text from Ivar Aasen summarizes his views on language, the importance of possessing a national language, plus the necessary methods that should be conducted to achieve it.

The right native tongue in this country is one that the people of the country have inherited from their ancestors, from one generation to the next, and which, nowadays, in spite of all displacement and contempt, still has the basis and material for a written language just as good as many of the neighbours’ languages. The right treatment of this native tongue is that it must be taken up for written cultivation in its most perfect form, that it must be purified of the worst foreign additions, increased and enriched by derivation from its own root and according to its own rules, and this restored and ennobled by dignified usage. The cultivation must be both to the benefit and honour of the people and the country, because this is the best way of expressing the native character in the mind and thought of the people, and of promoting knowledge and zeal for the learning (the only right and true culture), and at the same time to show the world that this people, too, has the sense to honour the good which it has received as its heritage and dowry from time immemorial.³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ Språkrådet (The Norwegian Language Council), “*Norwegian.*” (accessed: 15.04.2017).

³¹⁰ “Det rette heimelege Maal I Landet, er det, som Landsens Folk hever ervt ifraa Forfedrom, fraa den eine Aetti til den andre, og som no um Stunder, til Traass fyre all Fortrengsla og Vanvyrding, endaa hever Grunnlag og Emne tile it Bokmaal, lika so godt som nokot av Grannfolka-Maali. Den rette Medfred med dette heimelege Maalet er, at det maa verda uppteket til skriftleg Hevding i si fullkommaste Form, at det maa verda reinskat fyre dei verste framande Tilsetningar, aukat og rikat ved Avleiding av si eigi Rot o getter sine egne Reglar, og soleidnes uppreist og adlat ved eit verdigt Bruk. Denne Hevdingi maa vera baade til Gagn nog Aera fyre Landsens sens Folk, med di at dette er den beste Maate til at maalgreida det heimelege Laget i Hugen og Tanken aat Folket, og til at fremja Kunnskap og Vithug (elder den einaste rette og sanne Kultur), og med det same til at visa Verdi, at ogso dette Folket hever Vit til at vyrda det gode, som det hever fenget til Arv og Heimanfylgj a fraa uminnelege Tider.” The original Landsmål text from Ivar Aasen. Aasen, Ivar, “*Minningar fraa Maalstriden*” 1858 (pub. 1859), Skrifter 2.147. in Haugen, Einar, “Planning for a Standard Language in Modern Norway.” *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 35. No 1/4, A Retrospective of the Journal of Anthropological Linguistics: Selected Papers 1959-1985, (1993) p. 118-119. Haugen’s translation.

Ivar Aasen, “*Minningar fraa Maalstriden um hausten 1858*” [“*Recollections from the language debate in autumn 1858*”], 1858 (pub. 1859)

Ivar Aasen aimed to resolve this linguistic conflict by travelling through the rural Norway, and observing all dialects that were the most different and furthest from Danish, or in other words, because of the isolation of the speaking community Danish could hardly influence them. Aasen for the written standard turned many times to Old Norse. In 1848, he finished his work ‘*The grammar of the Norwegian vernacular*’, and in 1850, he published the ‘*Dictionary of the Norwegian vernacular*’.³¹¹ Three years later, he published the *Examples of the Vernacular in Norway*, in which he brought real examples on how Nynorsk shall be used. Aasen received great attention (and scholarship as well from the Storting that was renewed until the end of his life), however he stated for the first time in 1858 only, in Aasmund Vinje’s newspaper called *Dølen*, the first paper in Nynorsk, that he had actually created Nynorsk for common use. He continued to develop Nynorsk until his death.³¹²

Aasen’s books on Nynorsk, and then the works in multiple genres he wrote in order to show the language in practice, were the first challenge for the Danish-based written tradition. Nynorsk could not gain popularity until the new school law of 1860, since the majority of the society could not write well, but then with the demand for the skill of writing, Nynorsk received support. While Nynorsk was the learners’ “nationalist” choice, for Aasen the creation of Nynorsk was driven by pedagogical and social reasons, since especially for rural speakers of Norwegian this meant an easier learning process of writing, not to mention that Nynorsk successfully could establish the connection between Old Norse and modern Norwegian.³¹³ It is important to emphasize that for many, unlike for Aasen and his supporters, the ambivalence between spoken and written Norwegian did not seem to be problematic. A “new nation was born” with the constitution of 1814, and since the constitution was created by the upper class

³¹¹ Monsson, p. 1460.

³¹² Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 20.

³¹³ Wiggen, p. 1535.

that spoke Dano-Norwegian, it meant that this variant should be sufficient to function as national language.³¹⁴

The national written languages in the Nordic countries mostly exhibited the language of élites and their linguistic traditions. However, the written form of Faroese and Nynorsk were exceptional in this regard, since Ivar Aasen himself emphasized that the written language he codified is based on the language of the common people, therefore it was created to serve them, and not the élite. In the Nordic regions, written standards were the product of the higher classes in order to sustain their educational privileges. Thus, language was a question of status quo: the élite's written tradition strengthened and maintained their position in education, and their status as leading social class. Lower classes, and people who represented their interests, such as teachers and politicians, aimed to carve out the share of these privileges. Therefore, the fight for the written standard meant in the same time the fight for sharing these privileges, and to swing both issues into a more democratic direction. The linguistic dimension of the struggle included not only the decision on the common written standard, but also debates related to smaller, stylistic questions, and the adoption of Latin transcript.³¹⁵

Aasen's language reform faced difficulties because of that Norway inherited the class of civil servants, the core of the urban élite that represented Danish culture, because not only they had been educated in Denmark, but also many of them had Danish (and German) name and origin, and spoke Danish. Despite the political ties with Denmark were released, cultural ties endured to an extent, regardless to the increasing political mobilization of the peasantry. Aasen and the New Norwegian he created and advocated faced this environment. Aasen and other advocates of the Two Cultures theory viewed this élite as a group of foreigners. They thought that peasants represented the 'real' Norwegianness, as the counter-culture of the 'foreign élite'. In 1846 Ludvig Kristensen Daa described two types of inhabitant of the

³¹⁴ Ibid. p. 1536.

³¹⁵ Vannebo, p. 1398.

countryside: the peasants or ‘original Norwegians’ (‘ægte norsk’) and the élite or ‘half-foreigners’ (‘halv udenlands’), albeit he believed that the two could merge for mutual benefits. Ole Vig, a teacher and popular agitator described similarly a ‘schism in the Norwegian society’ in 1857.³¹⁶ The Two Cultures argument intensified in the 1860s. Aasen himself saw the solution in the merge of the two cultures, but he emphasized that the élite had to merge into peasantry, and take their cultural characteristics, not the other way around.³¹⁷ He wrote in his earlier cited *Recollections from the Language Debate of Autumn 1858* the following:

The farmers make up the largest part of that [Norwegian] nation, and when it has been determined that the farmers are the country’s original people and that their language is the country’s original language, the proper or national language has thereby also been determined; it is that which belongs to the country and the people.³¹⁸

Ivar Aasen, “*Minningar fraa Maalstriden um hausten 1858*” [“*Recollections from the language debate in autumn 1858*”], 1858 (pub. 1859)

Aasen’s attempt – shared by the advocates of Nynorsk and the Two Culture theory – was to challenge the hegemony of the urban élite openly, calling them foreign and stating that the real national culture is the culture of the peasantry. The most effective way to promote this idea and challenge the élite’s hegemony was imposing Nynorsk as national language.³¹⁹ The Two Culture theory and the challenge of the élite, or elsewhere the integration of peasantry became a political project, and the topics of the hottest debates. These issues were always associated with Nynorsk, therefore Nynorsk itself became a matter of politics. An interesting account at the peak of the debates appears in Arne Garborg’s book, *The Nynorsk Language and the Nationality Movement* in 1877, where Garborg claimed that the struggle had been going on not between two cultures, but two nations.³²⁰

³¹⁶ Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 21.

³¹⁷ Ibid. p. 22.

³¹⁸ Aasen, Ivar, “*Minningar fraa Maalstriden um hausten 1858*” in Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 22.

³¹⁹ Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 22.

³²⁰ Ibid. p. 23.

The challenge of the hegemony resulted in the counter-stroke of the contested élite. The civil servants several times attempted to undermine the liberal rights provided by the constitution, and they argued that even though researching the vernaculars might have been fruitful on the short run, their cultivation undermined the state. The élite which came to realize Aasen's real intentions in the 1850s, i.e. he attempted to create *the only national language*, turned away from him after their initially supportive attitude. For instance, Munch himself who had previously supported Aasen claimed:

“The introduction of a *real Norwegian common written language* would imply that the nation had degenerated to the level of culture in which *commoners in our most remote countryside exist* and deviate from *the common European path of development*.”³²¹

A counter-language movement quickly emerged after Ivar Aasen outlined his view on language and his methods to conduct language reform. This was the traditional élite's movement advocating the preservation of the Danish written standard, modified according to the language of the urban élite, which was – apart from its phonetics – very close to Danish language. Aasen's language concept was based on the romantic understanding of authenticity: to reinvent Norwegian language one should study the language and traditions of the folk. The language struggle started because this rustic language was too far away from the standard spoken by the élites of the cities. The final repost from the old élite came in the form of nothing else but another language reform.

V. 6. Knud Knudsen and the Second Language Reform

We spoke together about this and that, and he turned out to be a sensible man. I asked him, among other things, if he knew about Vinje, Dølen, and his Landsmål [Aasmund Vinje, his newspaper, and Aasen's language variant, later called Nynorsk]. Yes, he had heard about it.

³²¹ Peter Andreas Munch in Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 24. Italics added by the author. The citation is from the article by Hyvik et al., but the parts with italics are word-by-word citations from Munch's original writing.

But do you really understand it, so that it can have some real progress? Well yes, he said, but we understand Danish (Bokmål) better.³²²

Knud Knudsen, *Reiseminner Hefte IV*, 1864-1867

The second language movement advocated the idea that national language should not be sought in the provincial Norway, and standardization should not be that radical. This strand with its emblematic figure, Knud Knudsen (1812-1895) advocated the gradual Norwegianization of the Danish-based written standard, a less dramatic change comparing to the method outlined by Aasen. Aasen's followers rejected the claim on gradual Norwegianization, first, because it was not 'national enough', and they understood that 'pure' Norwegian can only be the core of the independent, unique Norwegian national identity, second, because this method of purism was not scientific, i.e. "it was not philologically sound".

In *The Norwegian Language Struggle* of 1867, Knud Knudsen argued "commoners and inhabitants of the cities *together* that make the Norwegian people. *Therefore the language struggle must take the welfare of both into consideration.*"³²³ All in all, the project Knudsen worked on from the 1840s was the reform of the *already existing* Dano-Norwegian language, the language of the élite, and particularly the urban élite, and the cities in general.

Knudsen and his colleagues argued that in terms of written standards, Danish should be followed, and it should be Norwegianized not according to the language of the rural folk, but according to the language spoken by the urban, Danish-based élite. This decision was contradictory in the sense that the upper-class of the cities spoke a language extremely close to Danish. The method led to the reform of the Dano-Norwegian language that we consider today the basis of Bokmål, the primary written language of the majority of Norwegians.

³²² Tveter, Evy Beate, "Knud Knudsen and the Question of Purism." *Brünnner Beiträge zur Germanistik und Nordistik*, Vol. 30. No. 1. (2016) p. 127. Tveter cites Knudsen who speaks about the discussion with a soldier who shared his food with him.

³²³ Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 24. (Italics from the original text.)

Knudsen was a secondary school teacher, and his language reform was also partially based on pedagogical concerns. Orthophony which arose in the 1840s and 1850s also had great impact on Knudsen, and it was ironically a Danish linguist's, Rasmus Rask's idea, claiming that written language should reflect spoken language, since the latter one is the primary means of expression, and writing just reflects it. In 1862, the Ministry of Church and Education conducted Knudsen's orthographic reform through a decree, targeting schools and public administration, which also meant that for the first time in Norwegian history the state took responsibility for the regulation of the written language.³²⁴ Ironically, many changes in Dano-Norwegian were due to the spread of Scandinavianism. Many Scandinavian linguistic conferences were dedicated to the movement, to where some Norwegian scholars, such as Ludvig Kristensen Daa, Henrik Ibsen, Knud Knudsen and Jakob Løkke were invited, and received several suggestions from fellow scholars of other Nordic countries on possible fruitful changes in the language (these were related to orthography).³²⁵ At such conferences, the harmonization e.g. of the Swedish and the Danish orthography was discussed, but a shared Nordic or Scandinavian language was never planned.

When establishing the norms of written languages, in the Nordic area a bipolar debate emerged between conservative and progressive groups. The Danish Rasmus Rask was an emblematic figure of the progressive linguists who worked for new written forms based on the colloquial language, against the traditional written form. Rask's norm created in 1826 had a great impact on the Norwegian Ludvig Kr. Daa. Daa advocated Rask's phonemic spelling (in Norway it was called 'orthophony'). In Norway, the ortho-ponic movement became more important than in Denmark, because it meant a symbolic secession from Danish language: if

³²⁴ Lundeby, Einar, "Language cultivation and language planning III: Norway" in Oskar Bandle, Kurt Braunmüller, Ernst Håkon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann and Ulf Telemann (eds.), *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002. p. 1984-1985.

³²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 1986.

the spelling norm is based on phonemic perspective, the base of writing will be Norwegian pronunciation, and not Danish. Knud Knudsen followed and advocated Daa's account, and he argued for the written standard he represented by emphasizing democratic values and pedagogical advantages. The orthophonic movement, therefore Knudsen and Daa also claimed that their spelling would make easier to master the written language for the broad population. However, Daa knew that the democratic perspective would trigger the resistance of the 'educated' ones who would obviously oppose the idea, because it would wash away the border between them and the "uneducated".³²⁶ In 1862, the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs adopted some of the proposals outlined by Knudsen on a new spelling system, and they included them in a circular to the schools. J. Aars later regulated orthographic changes for schools again.³²⁷

The Nordic countries maintained Gothic transcript for the longest time in history, for instance in Norway until 1850 pupils both learnt the Gothic and the Latin transcript. Teachers argued the difficulty caused by the two transcript. Knud Knudsen promoted a single, Latin-based transcript, underlining the efficient teaching of writing. In the same time, many feared the reinforcement of class distinction, since grammar schools solely taught Latin transcript already, therefore the Gothic transcript was associated with lower education, and obviously with classes that could not achieve higher education. For example Anthon Bang, a writer and founder of the newspaper *Dagbladet* stated in 1849 that if the Gothic transcript should be abolished, otherwise "the common people will be alone using it" in a few years, which would isolate them from other classes.³²⁸ Ivar Aasen repeated the reinforcement of class cleavages based on transcriptions in 1872, but he argued against the usage of Latin script, and rather for the reinforcement of the Gothic one, thus was opposed to Knudsen even with regard to the transcription question.³²⁹

³²⁶ Vannebo, p. 1398.

³²⁷ Ibid. p. 1399.

³²⁸ Ibid. p. 1400.

³²⁹ Ibid.

Knud Knudsen who was the most prominent advocate of the idea planned to adjust the written language to the language of the upper, educated class. However, since this élite was culturally connected to Copenhagen, their language still required some modification, therefore Knudsen aimed to purify their Danishized language, and replace the status of Danish with his Norwegian. According to Wiggen, the “nationalist strand” were played down in the 1860s and 1870s by the new social order, but the parliament – although many attacked Nynorsk – could not deny its pedagogical advantages, and its democratic motives, i.e. the representation of the common people. The parliament’s interest was to spread the skill of writing, therefore no one opposed the bill of 1878 that reinforced the unrestricted use of any variants at school. Moreover, while the population of towns and villages was 10% in 1815, it increased to 25% in 1875, which made impossible to not favour the rural inhabitants.³³⁰

In the 1880s, the debate on language intensified because of the conflict around the union with Sweden and parliamentarism. Relations with Sweden reinforced the demand for a language, and the language question, in other words, language variants and the choice among them were re-politicized. Finally, parliamentarism won in 1884. Nynorsk quickly spread in the rural areas, and in 1885 reinforced its status when announcing its parity with Danish language. In 1892, a law passed permitting to choose Nynorsk as the language of primary school education, which enjoyed great popularity in the countryside. The population of the south eastern urban areas however heavily relied on Dano-Norwegian. In 1907 and 1917, Dano-Norwegian met two spelling reforms in order to approximate it to the Norwegian language spoken. These spelling reforms successfully pruned away certain ‘Danish symptoms’ from this written variety, so that conventionally from this moment Danish and Bokmål are considered to be two distinct languages.³³¹

³³⁰ Wiggen, p. 1536.

³³¹ Språkrådet (The Norwegian Language Council), “*Bokmål vs. Nynorsk.*” - <http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Om-oss/English-and-other-languages/English/norwegian-bokmal-vs.-nynorsk/> (accessed: 21.04.2017)

The planning of Norwegian by Aasen meant the rejection of the élite's language, then Knudsen aimed to restore this hegemony, but both aimed to provide bases for Norwegians' national identity. Norwegians – such as the Croats and the Hungarians – were innervated reading Herder's words on language and nation, but more importantly, they had a normative goal: to make education more efficient. It was important, because there was significant difference between the languages spoken by students and the taught Danish orthography. This is why according to Einar Haugen, reforms were massively supported by schoolteachers. Moreover, language still proved to be the most important element of the identity that could express independence, and the usage of a language reflecting the folk's speaking meant the decreasing prestige of the 'official class'.³³² The demand arose for a 'national language' that had lost during the United Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway. The linguistic situation was quite chaotic: there were five speaking norms coexisting, while the official orthography was Danish.

Two alternatives were provided for the demand for a national language. Knud Knudsen advocated a slow reform. He identified the so-called colloquial standard of Norwegian, which was the 'midway' between reading pronunciation and local Norwegian speaking tradition. It was the language of the civil servant class. He aimed to redirect written Danish towards the traditions of the colloquial standard.³³³ To put it simply, he aimed to modify Danish orthography according to the language of the urban élite, albeit he was from rural Norway. In 1856, Knudsen composed the grammar of his Dano-Norwegian language, and after conducting the purification of foreign words, he codified the lexicon of this language in 1881. Nevertheless, Knudsen's activity coincided with Ivar Aasen's research and language reform. They both attempted to create the Norwegian national language, and aimed to distance their own proposed variants from Danish, however, as Einar Haugen puts, Knudsen was a 'gradualist reformer', while

³³² Haugen, Einar, "Planning for a Standard Language in Modern Norway." *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 35. No 1/4, A Retrospective of the Journal of Anthropological Linguistics: Selected Papers 1959-1985, (1993) p. 120.

³³³ *Ibid.* p. 111.

Aasen is a ‘revolutionary’ one. In 1885, Aasen’s variant was officially recognized, but basically, the ruling Left Party supported both scholars’ activity.

In partial conclusion, in the middle of the 19th century, two standards were prepared for Norwegians to constitute national identity: Aasen’s ‘rural language’ and Knudsen’s standard language. The 1830s and 1840s of Norway was characterized by anti-Scandinavian attitude, particularly due to the movement hallmarked with Ivar Aasen’s name. Aasen argued against Scandinavianism, since it meant to hinder the creation of national languages, and consequently – based on Herder’s teachings – national identities. The Norwegian constitution and the freedom provided by it was pictured in great contrast with “Danish autocracy and the Swedish class-based system”. These circumstances hindered the blossom of Scandinavian ideology in Norway, instead they reinforced nationalism, triggered the need for a well-constructed national identity, and finally contributed to the creation of the national languages.³³⁴

Einar Haugen lists a number of obstacles that hindered the success of Aasen’s variant since its creation. First, it was not prestigious because of spelling pronunciation. Second, it was quite conservative, and resisted to the integration words of e.g. German origin. Nynorsk is the crucial element of the rural identity, also it manifests a type of resistance against the rapid urbanization, because the city and the semi-urban community claims Knudsen’s Bokmål their language. Nynorsk still enjoys the support because of national sentiment, even by people who use the other variant, while Haugen claims that it is (or it was earlier) associated with the countryside by others, therefore it stayed in minor position.³³⁵

Variant name	Status / speaking community	Time	Period
Danish	Official language (administration, law, etc.).	Until 1814.	United Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway.

³³⁴ Monsson, p. 1461.

³³⁵ Haugen, 1993, p. 112.

Dano-Norwegian	Cities in general, particularly the urban élite.	Parallel to Danish, until 1840s officially.	United Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, Independent Norway, United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway.
Landsmål	The rural élite and the peasantry.	Ivar Aasen's language, from the 1840s.	United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway.
Bokmål	The reformed language of cities, particularly the urban élite. The name of the official urban variant is only Bokmål from 1929.	Knud Knudsen's variant 1840s-1850s. Still an official variant	United Kingdoms of Sweden and Kingdom of Norway (from 1905) until today official language.
Nynorsk	Landsmål reformed in 1885. The name of the official rural variant is only Nynorsk from 1929.	From 1885, and again from 1929. Today one of the official variants.	United Kingdoms of Sweden and Kingdom of Norway (from 1905) until today official language.
Riksmål	Unofficial language today. Unreformed language of the urban élites. "Bokmål before 1938". Few users.	The unreformed Dano-Norwegian. From 1899, the variant of Bokmål (non-reformed, prior to 1938).	United Kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark. Kingdom of Norway (from 1905): today unofficial variant of Norwegian
Høgnorsk	Unofficial language today. Very few users.	1922 Nynorsk's reform.	Kingdom of Norway (from 1905): today unofficial variant of Norwegian.
Samnorsk	The attempt to unify the two main variants. Abandoned policy.	1938-1959	Kingdom of Norway (from 1905).

TABLE 7. The variants of Norwegian language.

V. 7. Norwegian Language after the Language Reform and the Linguistic Situation

Today

How can be the relation between Nynorsk and Bokmål characterized today? Are they distinct languages or variants? Do they seem to merge, or do they preserve their status? According to

Haugen, Nynorsk and Bokmål are not distinct languages, but rather different stylistic norms. Today the official policy emphasizes the equality of the two variants, and pays attention to provide an equal distribution of the two through bureaucracy, i.e. they produce all texts in both languages, albeit they are associated with particular speakers and occasions.³³⁶

The legitimacy of Nynorsk is often questioned. First, it is linguistically very close to the other written version of Norwegian, Bokmål, and their function due to law does not differ. Also, people use Nynorsk and Bokmål in the same spheres of life, e. g. at the bureaucratic-administrative level, but also in everyday conversations, therefore the usage of a variant is not bounded to context. Second, because of the small linguistic distance, Nynorsk and Bokmål are mutually intelligible, which strengthens the idea that none of the variants serves a single context of life. However, the Language Council emphasizes differences between the variants with regard to distinct connotations, and finally states that the usage of Nynorsk is a crucial part of the users' linguistic identity, and this is why the preservation of Nynorsk in its minority position is necessary.³³⁷

In order to provide statistical data on today's Norway's linguistic situation, I refer to the Språkrådet, the Language Council of Norway, which is a consultative body in Norway, responsible for language cultivation and the codification of language history. They provide data on language use today in Norway, however there is no census or mass survey conducted on the variants of Norwegian, instead, language use is estimated based on statistics related to education.

In the last third of the 19th century, the state became the regulatory actor of the written form of languages, however with regard to the spoken language, the situation was actually the opposite in Norway. In 1878, a resolution passed by the Parliament stated that the children's

³³⁶ Haugen, p. 116.

³³⁷ Språkrådet (The Norwegian Language Council), "Nynorsk in Norway." http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Om-oss/English-and-other-languages/English/Nynorsk_in_Norway/ (accessed: 21.04.2017)

vernacular must be protected, the instruction in the elementary schools should be in the spoken language of the children as much as possible, i.e. spoken language cannot be the subject to any regulation regarding school. The decision was based on “national, social and pedagogical arguments”, but most importantly, it attempted to play down the so-called “parish clerk Danish” which was a formal and stilted type of language.³³⁸

In 1885, through a parliamentary resolution, Nynorsk became an official written language in Norway. It was due to the growing use of it as the language of education. However, the Language Council states that the 1885 resolution that recognized Nynorsk did not guarantee anything but the ‘toleration’ of the language ‘in official context’. Bureaucrats and officials were traditionally from the urban middle-class, and even though they learnt Nynorsk as their secondary language, their primary language was Bokmål, which led to taut situations in the Nynorsk speaking municipalities.³³⁹ All in all, in 1885, the Parliament recognised the Aasenian Nynorsk on an equal footing with Dano-Norwegian, and the state also claimed responsibility for its development.³⁴⁰ After the creation of Nynorsk, a supportive movement quickly emerged together with independent organizations. Noregs Mallåg, the central organization of the movement was established in 1906, and today has 15 000 members.³⁴¹

Unfortunately, surveys are missing on language use, but according to estimations, the usage of Nynorsk achieved its peak in 1944, when approximately 34% of schoolchildren used Nynorsk in writing. Between 1890 and 1920, core groups adopted Nynorsk despite the contiguous decline of usage, and they preserved the written form. These regions were the rural Western Norway and the internal mountainous territories. Sogn and Fjordane are the only counties where Nynorsk dominates – 95% of children learn Nynorsk as primary language. While in the church the variant has strong position, in the military and the private sector it is

³³⁸ Vannebo, p. 1402.

³³⁹ Språkrådet (The Norwegian Language Council), *Nynorsk in Norway* (accessed: 21.04.2017)

³⁴⁰ Lundeby, p. 1985.

³⁴¹ Språkrådet (The Norwegian Language Council), *Nynorsk in Norway* (accessed: 21.04.2017)

insignificant. The ‘core area’ uses Nynorsk in daily life, formal and informal social interaction, and their spoken dialects are linguistically closer to Nynorsk than to Bokmål.³⁴²

Since 1915, citizens has had the right to decide on the local language of instruction in a referendum. According to the Language Council, although the plebiscites are mostly requested by Bokmål users who are in absolute minority in a given region comparing to Nynorsk users, recently the question is rather decided in favour of Nynorsk which, as they emphasize, is the manifestation of regional identity and regional pride.³⁴³ In 1930, a law passed in the Norwegian Parliament, stating that all officials shall use both forms of the language according to the instructions given by the government, such as information should be provided in both varieties, each person should receive written answers to letters in his or her language variant, and in regions or municipalities where Nynorsk users were in majority, all texts from the given municipalities shall be written in Nynorsk. Despite of the efforts, the status of Nynorsk weakened, and often officials ignored the law.³⁴⁴

Since 1972, due to the curriculum of high school education, both Nynorsk and Bokmål have been compulsory languages, however, it is up to the students to choose which one is their main and secondary language. According to the Language Council, there is wide-spread resistance against Nynorsk language among Bokmål user students, since “many of them also oppose the very existence of Nynorsk”. The Primary School Act of 1969 stated that all the textbooks shall be printed in both written form of Norwegian, and since 1974 secondary school books as well.³⁴⁵

In 1980, the *Law on Language Use in Official Service* stated that governmental bodies should consider the two variants as equal forms of Norwegian, and the Parliament was obliged to present a report on the relation of the variants regularly. The law contains the principle of

³⁴² Språkrådet (The Norwegian Language Council), “*Nynorsk in Norway.*” (accessed: 21.04.2017)

³⁴³ Ibid. (accessed: 21.04.2017)

³⁴⁴ Ibid. (accessed: 21.04.2017)

³⁴⁵ Ibid. (accessed: 21.04.2017)

parity and the principle of equality: the two languages are equal forms, so that the individual is free to choose any forms, and they have equal status as ‘written languages’. Neither the first, nor the second law increased the frequency of the usage of Nynorsk in the bureaucratic level.

Out of the 435 municipalities of Norway, 117 chose Nynorsk as official language variety, 165 chose Bokmål, while 153 municipalities chose to be “neutral”. Big cities, such as Oslo, Trondheim and Bergen chose to be neutral, but in practice in neutral municipalities, the Bokmål variant dominates.³⁴⁶

The idea of Samnorsk, the ‘common Norwegian’ emerged in the 1880, which aimed to unify the variants of Norwegian. Unification was possible because of the mutual intelligibility of the variants, and because of spoken language in the most populated areas possessed the characteristics of both Nynorsk and Bokmål. In the beginning of the 20th century, the Left Party and the Labour Party advocated the idea. In 1917 and 1938, two spelling reforms aimed to unite the Norwegian variants. These reforms later faced resistance (especially from the Bokmål side), and the modus vivendi is the coexistence of the two variants today.³⁴⁷ The most successful reform was conducted in 1938 in order to bring closer the two languages, and the reform achieved great changes in the variants. Later on, counter-reforms also emerged, such as the reform in 1981, which managed to restore some previously abolished forms in Bokmål. All in all, the reception of many reforms were far from unanimous, and often created resistance.³⁴⁸

Out of the 4.5 million Norwegian today 95% speak Norwegian as their primary language. Unfortunately, there has never been a census conducted on written Norwegian, therefore it is impossible to tell the exact number of people using Nynorsk or Bokmål. However, the data on education provides a good hint on the language use ratio. Only 15% of pupils are taught primarily in Nynorsk language, the rest learns Nynorsk only as second language. The

³⁴⁶ Ibid. (accessed: 21.04.2017)

³⁴⁷ Språkrådet (The Norwegian Language Council), “*Bokmål vs. Nynorsk.*” (accessed: 21.04.2017)

³⁴⁸ Lundeby, p. 1987-1990.

Norwegian Language Council highlights that language-choice often changes due to rational calculation, i.e. if a child from a Nynorsk-dominant, probably rural area moves to a city, it is likely that he or she experiences language shift in everyday life, or on purpose chooses the urban standard, Bokmål as primary language. Also, since in the middle of the 20th century Nynorsk reached the peak of its popularity, it is reasonable to think that today's older generations use Nynorsk mostly. Thus, the estimated percentage of Nynorsk users in Norway is around 10-12%.³⁴⁹

Today five main dialects are distinguished in Norway: Eastern, Western, Central, Northern, and Trønder or Trøndelag. Nynorsk is the written form mostly popular in the mountainous, central region, and the Western part of the country, therefore traditionally the Central and the Western dialects use Nynorsk in writing. Interestingly, dialects have high prestige in Norway in comparison with other Scandinavian countries.³⁵⁰

V. 8. Conclusion

Huss and Lindgren states that the period of the nationalist revival in the Nordic countries was interestingly characterized by emancipation politics. This means a shift in the hierarchical power structure towards a more democratic structure. In other words, nationalism brought the status planning of previously marginalized languages that were spoken by marginalized social groups, and these previously marginalized languages were emancipated breaking the hierarchy of a dominant language. Of course, emancipation did not mean that all languages in a given territory received the same status, so the struggle of ethnic groups for their linguistic status continued through the 20th century.³⁵¹ One observes in Norway the influence of the nationalist concept that a *nation* in order to possess a *state* should possess a *language* as well, but the

³⁴⁹ Ibid. (accessed: 21.04.2017)

³⁵⁰ Ibid. (accessed: 21.04.2017)

³⁵¹ Huss, Leena and Lindgren, Anna-Riitta, "Scandinavia" in Joshua A. Fishman (eds.), *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. p. 302.

language movement resulted not in the recreation of a hierarchical power structure with another dominant language, but to an extent it ended up with the emancipation of a previously marginalized language.

Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby cite Hobsbawm when concluding that in Norway, the nation did not make state and nationalism, but it exhibits the opposite process: state and nationalism led to the creation of the Norwegian nation.³⁵² According to them, the aim of the creation of Nynorsk was instrumental: the movement advocating Nynorsk and placing it to the centre of its identity used it for “popular empowerment on the *cultural level*.”³⁵³

I argue that the pre-existence of the state, the high level of political participation, including the countryside peasantry, plus the moderate presence of a pan-like movement, in other words ‘cultural Scandinavianism’ destined language reform to partially succeed. While the state, high political participation, and moderate pan-like movement combination hinders the creation of a single national language, it does provide substratum for language reform challenging the hegemonic language. This combination explains why – despite that an urban élite language already existed – Ivar Aasen still could create a language variant that gained limited popularity in the country, but it has prevailed through time against the odds.

³⁵² Hyvik, McColl Millar and Newby, p. 11.

³⁵³ Ibid. p. 25.

VI. Conclusion

Why do language reforms succeed, and why do they fail? Why do they sometimes partly succeed? I tried to answer these questions related to the emergence of national languages. First, I formed a typology that I believe successfully enhances differences between cases. Empirical evidence suggests the mobilization of nationalist movements in the 19th century was often language-based, and I argue that their success, i.e. the formation of the nation-state was determined by the outcome of the language reform attempt. Therefore, the typology of language reforms provides a great insight on the basis of mobilization of the given nationalist movement, and it also predicts whether state-formation succeeds or not.

This typology guided me to select the cases of Hungary, Croatia, and Norway. Hungary is the case of success, where the standard national language could be implemented, and it was adopted by the speaking community. In line with the Hungarian language reform, Croatians' reform attempt failed. The standardization of Croatian or Illyrian was unsuccessful, because its norms changed significantly through the standardization process, and as a result, they could not even be implemented. Therefore, the speaking community did not adopt standardized Croatian as national language. Instead, the bases of Serbo-Croatian were formed – a common literary standard of Serbs, Croats, and others. The case in between analysed in this thesis was Norway, where a language reform to create standard Norwegian was conducted, and the reforms were implemented as well. However, only a minority of the population adopted the new norms, and the already existing Dano-Norwegian standard remained dominant in the country. Thus, the three selected cases manifest each type of language reform that were included in the previously formed typology.

I argued that the combination of three independent variables determines the outcome of a language reform attempt: statehood, pan-nationalist movement, and political participation. If during the reform period one observes the lack of pre-existing statehood, and the absence of

pan-nationalist movement, while political participation increases, then the language reform will be successful. This combination of the three independent variables is necessary for a successful language reform.

In Hungary, nationalism was strictly based on language. The nationalist movement brought a fundamental change in terms of identity: the *Natio Hungarica* community, and the *Hungarus* membership, or in other words, a multi-ethnic noble identity was replaced with the Hungarian ethnic identity. In the beginning of the century, the bourgeoisie was gradually included in political participation, which is reflected on the current public discourse. This process ended in the increase of the right to vote. The Hungarian language reform did not have to face a pan-nationalist movement due to the quasi-isolated linguistic situation of the Hungarian speaking community. In addition, Hungary had been subordinate to Austria until the period of dualism, so that Hungary achieved statehood after the successfully conducted language reform.

In Croatia, nationalism rose after the Hungarian nationalist movement emerged. To tackle with Magyar nationalism, some Croatians started a language movement to build national identity, and eventually to form the standard national language. They believed that the formation of a counter-identity would preserve what remained of Croatian culture and language. Nevertheless, Gaj, who was the leader of the movement, could not find political support for his program. The contemporary Croatian political life was dominated by the 'old élite'. Only hereditary lords, pro-Hungarian aristocrats, and conservative clerics could participate in politics, and they received their political power without elections. For various reasons they could not support Gaj and his language reform.

Gaj hoped help from other actors, and he started manoeuvring between the Austrians and the Serbs. Pan-Slavic ideas already appeared in his program in the very beginning of the movement. The lack of domestic political support encouraged him to intensify pan-nationalist

ideas, so that he made compromises to gain cooperation with Serbs. The Croatian language movement failed, and two years later, Croats signed an agreement with the Serbs creating the norms of a common standard language with them. Croats failed to include broader masses in political participation. Only a few politicians of noble origin and some clerics advocated Illyrianism, and the intelligentsia supporting Illyrianism could not involve in politics, moreover, they were harshly criticized and attacked by the conservative pro-Hungarian 'old élite'. In addition, Croatia failed to achieve its statehood after the nationalist movement, because it surrendered much of its autonomy in an agreement with the Kingdom of Hungary, and could not form its independent government, which would be prerequisite for having a modern state.

Norway achieved statehood prior to the language reform attempt. In other words, the appearance of Norwegian nationalism was prior to the language reform itself, therefore, nationalism was not essentially language-based. Norway had uniquely broad political participation already in the very beginning of the century. This means that not only a narrow élite, but also the peasantry was represented and channelled into politics. In the parliament, a great number of deputies represented the countryside. Herder's influence reached Norway relatively late. When Norwegians realized the necessity of national language, statehood had been already achieved. Theoretically, Norway, Norwegians, and Norwegian language had existed due to the constitution. Therefore, it was not an urgent interest to have a national language.

Since broad masses of the society participated in politics, and statehood had been achieved already, moreover, it was preserved in the personal union with Sweden, language became a matter of identity politics. For the rural Norway, it was important to have a Norwegianized variant of the language, because it reflected their speech better. For the urban Norway, it was important to preserve the more Danish-like variant, because it secured their status as well. In addition, a pan-like movement, Scandinavianism emerged. Most of the

Scandinavian countries, and especially Norway resisted forming a common Scandinavian identity. Therefore, one cannot speak about a pan-nationalist movement in case of Scandinavianism, since it became a cultural movement, preserving the countries' sovereignty, but nurturing language reforms and language teaching in the region instead.

These three independent variables determine together the result of a language reform attempt. Moreover, the empirical evidence of this thesis suggests that in cases where nationalism is primarily based on language, a standard national language, or in other words, a successful reform to form the national language is crucial to reach the aspired nation-state addressed by the nationalist movement.

Language reforms happened often, especially in the 19th century. However, they have not been researched frequently, especially not from a comparative perspective. Another discipline, namely linguistics addresses language reforms, but does not attempt to theorize why language reforms succeed or fail. The nationalism scholarship frequently detects the emergence of national languages in connection with nationalism and nation-states, but does not theorize, again, why language reforms succeed or fail, and how actually the outcome of reform attempts is in connection with the emergence of the nation-state.

As a counterfactual, one could say that it is the hegemonic élite's interest to conduct a language reform, and it can easily impose the new standard on the entire society, as some accounts suggest. In the Hungarian case, the hegemonic élite, the high aristocracy did not conduct the language reform itself. The real reformers were all from the bourgeoisie who through political participation could establish national language. Also, in the case of Norway, the hegemonic élite spoke a more Danish-like variant, so that they could have easily choke other reform attempts on creating a new linguistic variant. Therefore, élite hegemony is not a sufficient factor to conduct a language reform successfully.

Another alternative explanation could be based on identity politics. When variants of a language coexist in a country, it is a symptom of identity cleavages. It is true, albeit not sufficient for explaining the outcome of language reform. I demonstrated through various contemporary texts that language reforms were not free from debates on identity in any cases. Nationalist mobilization proved to be urgent when aspiring for state and this helped to transcend identity cleavages and overcome the debates.

The level of literacy seems not to be in a causal relation with language reforms. In other words, high literacy level does not hinder reform attempts, or in the opposite case, low literacy rate in the given society does not guarantee the success of a language reform. Literacy in the contemporary Hungary was relatively high comparing to the European average in the given era, but the language reform was extremely successful. In Norway, a language reform was conducted, and many adopted the new norms, while literacy was uniquely high in the region. On the contrary, in Croatia, where extremely few were literate, the language reform utterly failed. Therefore, the level of literacy does not seem to determine the outcome of a reform attempt.

To what extent the argument is generalizable? I believe that my argument is applicable to the period of the nationalist revival of the 19th century. There is another wave of language reforms in the 20th century that should not be evaluated in the same way due to historical circumstances. Many of the autocratic or totalitarian regimes conducted language reforms. In such cases, one should take into consideration more variables, such as state capacity. However, it is important to note that even in totalitarian or authoritarian regimes there was room for debate on language reforms. The empirical evidence suggests that some of the reform attempts failed, and states – since language planning was already a ‘state duty’ in the 20th century – could not implement all the reforms. It seems that one cannot simply explain these language reforms with

the nature of the regime or state capacity. Thus, this preliminary evaluation suggests further research on 20th-century cases.

From the 19th century, other examples, such as Serbian language, also experienced successful standardization. The Serbian case was introduced together with the case of Croatian in this thesis. The Serbian intelligentsia was familiar with Pan-Slavism, but the political interests of the country and its leadership did not allow entertaining such ideas openly. The Serbian language reform was backed by the Serbian political élite. Political parties were already formed, including people from the bourgeoisie, so that politics was not the sphere ruled exclusively by the high aristocracy (see the formation of the Liberal Party in the 1840s). Serbia gradually gained autonomy, then created its own constitution, and finally seceded from the Ottoman Empire in the 1870s.

The Slovakian language reform I evaluated earlier as a success *from contemporary perspective*. This means that the official standard Slovakian used today is the product of the language reform conducted in the era of the nationalist revival. However, the movement did not end successfully in the 19th century, simply because of the lack of political participation. Slovak intellectuals agreed in the standards formed, but they could not represent their interests in the political sphere. In addition, the so-called Hodža-Hattala reform in the 1850s brought Slovakian closer to the Czech literary standard, despite Slovaks had resisted to cooperate with Czechs during the language reform. Meanwhile, Czechs could participate more in politics, especially in the local level. They were territorially segmented, but still, they could preserve more rights also with regard to language use than the Slovakians.

These examples I briefly discussed to demonstrate the possibility of generalization in the given era. However, I do not argue that my theory could be universalized on other cases easily. This is most importantly due to regime types. Language reforms appeared in the nationalist era, which is characterized with the fight for democratic rights, such as suffrage.

Albeit, it is problematic to generalize the theory on cases that happened under autocratic or totalitarian regimes in the 20th century.

I believe my typology of language reforms is applicable for other cases. This characterization can describe reform attempts regardless to other factors, such as regime type. The argument of this thesis is applicable to examples from the era of nationalist movements in the 19th century. I believe that with the addition of further variables, the outcome of reform attempts that happened later in history could be described.

This thesis focused on the era of the national awakening, and theorized why attempts to create a national language fail, succeed, or sometimes partly succeed. In addition, the argument is twofold: if the nationalist movement is primarily language-based, and the central identity element of nationality is language, it is essential to standardize national language to achieve statehood.

Bibliography

Books and Journal Articles

- AKTÜRK, ŞENER, *Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- ANDERSON, BENEDICT, *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 2006.
- AYTÜRK, İLKER, “Script Charisma in Hebrew and Turkish: A Comparative Framework for Explaining Success and Failure of Romanization.” *Journal of World History*, Vol. 21. No. 1 (March., 2010), p. 97-130.
- BELLAMY, ALEX J., *The Formation of Croatian National Identity: A century-old dream*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.
- BUCKEN-KNAPP, GREGG, *Elites, Language, and the Politics of Identity*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003.
- COBARRUBIAS, JUAN, “Ethical Issues in Status Planning” in Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (eds.), *Progress in Language Planning*, Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1983. p. 41-86.
- COOPER, ROBERT L., *Language planning and social change*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- COX, JOHN K., *The History of Serbia*. Westport, CT., London: Greenwood Press, 2002.
- CRYSTAL, DAVID, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- DANIELSEN, ROLF, “Crisis and War: From Discord to Unity”, in Rolf Danielsen, Ståle Dyrvik, Tore Grønile, Knut Helle and Edgar Hovland (auth.), *Norway: A History from the Vikings to Our Times*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995. p. 334-352.
- DEME, LASZLO, “Writers and Essayists and the Rise of Magyar Nationalism in the 1820s and 1830s.” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (Winter, 1984), p. 624-640.
- DÖMÖTÖR, ADRIENNE, “A nyelvújítás” (“ The Language Reform”), in Bajor Péter, Kiefer Ferenc, Náray-Szabó Gábor, Pál József (eds.), *A magyar nyelv (Hungarian Language)*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2006. p. 271-282.
- EVANS, R. J. W., *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Essays on Central Europe, c. 1683-1867*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 2006.

- FISHMAN, JOSHUA A., "Modeling Rationales in Corpus Planning: Modernity and Tradition in the Images of the Good Corpus." in Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (eds.), *Progress in Language Planning*, Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1983. p. 107-118.
- FRANGOUDAKI, ANNA, "Diglossia and the present language situation in Greece: A sociological approach to the interpretation of diglossia and some hypotheses on today's linguistic reality." *Language in Society*, Vol. 21. No. 3 (Sep., 1992), p. 365-381.
- GALLAGHER, TOM, *Outcast Europe: The Balkans, 1789-1989. From the Ottomans to Milošević*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- GELLNER, ERNEST, "Nationalism and High Cultures" in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 63-70.
- GELLNER, ERNEST, *Thought and Change*. London: Wiedenfeld and Nicholson, 1964.
- GREENBERG, ROBERT D., *Language and Identity in the Balkans*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- GREGERSEN, FRANS, "Nordic language history and the history of ideas III: Nationalism, identity and democratic movements in the 19th and 20th centuries" in Oskar Bandle, Kurt Braunmüller, Ernst Håkon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann and Ulf Teleman (eds.), *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002. p. 373-388.
- GRÖNDAHL, ILLIT, "*Henrik Wergeland: The Norwegian Poet*", Oxford: Blackwell, 1919.
- HÁRSFALVI, PÉTER, "A választójog a polgári Magyarországon. Választók, választhatóság, szavazás." ("Electoral law in civic Hungary. Voters, the right to be elected, election.") *História*, 1981, Vol. 2. p. 78-83.
- HAUGEN, EINAR, "Planning for a Standard Language in Modern Norway." *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 35. No 1/4, A Retrospective of the Journal of Anthropological Linguistics: Selected Papers 1959-1985, 109-123.
- HAUKLAND, LINDA, "Hans Nielsen Hauge: A catalyst of literacy in Norway." *Scandinavian Journal of History*, Vol. 39. No. 5 (2014), p. 539-559.
- HEIDAR, KNUT, *Norway: Elites on Trial*. Colorado: Westview Press, 2001.
- HUSS, LEENA AND LINDGREN, ANNA-RIITTA, "Scandinavia" in Joshua A. Fishman (eds.), *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. p. 300-318.
- HUTCHINSON, JOHN AND SMITH, ANTHONY D. (eds.), *Nationalism*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

- HYVIK, JENS JOHAN, MCCOLL MILLAR, ROBERT AND NEWBY, ANDREW G., "Language and Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century: Nynorsk and Scots in Comparative Context." *Scandinavica*, Vol. 55. No 2. (2016) p. 6-42.
- KAPLAN, ROBERT B. AND BALDAUF, JR, RICHARD B., *Language Planning From Practice to Theory*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 1997.
- KEDOURIE, ELIE, "Nationalism and Self-Determination" in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 49-55.
- KRIŽAN, MOJMIR, "New Serbian Nationalism and the Third Balkan War", *Studies in East European Thought*, Vol. 46. No. 1/2 (Jun., 1994), p. 47-68.
- LAAKSO, JOHANNA, "Hungarian is no *Idioma Incomparabile*: The Hungarian Language Reform in European Comparison." *Hungarian Cultural Studies*. Vol. 7 (2014), p. 320-336.
- LANGSTON, KEITH AND PETI-STANTIĆ, ANITA, *Language Planning and National Identity in Croatia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- LEWIS, GEOFFREY, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success*. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- LINDMARK, DANIEL, "Educational History in the Nordic Region: Reflections from a Swedish Perspective." *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación*, Vol. 2. No. 2 (julio-diciembre 2015), p. 7-22.
- LUKÁCS, ISTVÁN (eds.), *Az illír mozgalom ("The Illyrian Movement")*. Budapest: Eötvös József Collegium, 2014, p. 10.
- LUNDEBY, EINAR, "Language cultivation and language planning III: Norway" in Oskar Bandle, Kurt Braunmüller, Ernst Håkon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann and Ulf Teleman (eds.), *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002. p. 1984-1996.
- MANETOVIC, EDISLAV, "Ilja Garasanin: Nacertanije and Nationalism." *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique*, Vol. 3. (2006), p. 137-173.
- MARGÓCSY, ISTVÁN, "When Hungarian Became Ideology: Hungary in the Eighteenth Century", in Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić (eds.), *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, Leiden: Brill, 2015. p. 27-34.
- MAXWELL, ALEXANDER, *Choosing Slovakia: Slavic Hungary, the Czechoslovak Language and Accidental Nationalism*. New York, NY: Tauris Academic Studies, 2009.
- MEDGYES, PÉTER AND MIKLÓSI, KATALIN, "Language Situation in Hungary", in Robert B.

- Kaplan and Richard B. Baldauf Jr. (eds.), *Language Planning and Policy in Europe, Vol. 1: Hungary, Finland and Sweden*, Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters, 2005. p. 22-116.
- MILLER, NICOLAS J., *Between Nation and State: Serbian Politics in Croatia Before the First World War*. Pittsburgh, PA.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997.
- MISKOLCZY, AMBRUS, “‘Hungarus Consciousness’ in the Age of Early Nationalism” in Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić (eds.), *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, Leiden: Brill, 2015. p. 64-94.
- MONSSON, ODD, “Nationalism and Scandinavianism in the development of the Nordic languages in the 19th century” in Oskar Bandle, Kurt Braunmüller, Ernst Håkon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann and Ulf Teleman (eds.), *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002. p. 1453-1467.
- NAIRN, TOM, “The Maladies of Development” in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 70-76.
- PAUL PIERSON, “Big, Slow-Moving, and... Invisible: Macrosocial Processes in the Study of Comparative Politics,” in James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer (eds.), *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 177-207.
- PÉTER, LÁSZLÓ, “Language, the Constitution, and the Past in Hungarian Nationalism” in Miklós Lojkó (eds.), *Hungary’s Long Nineteenth Century: Constitutional and Democratic Traditions in a European Respect*, Leiden: Brill, 2012. p. 183-198.
- SIPŐCZ, KATALIN, “A magyar mint uráli nyelv” (“Hungarian as Uralic Language”), in Bajor Péter, Kiefer Ferenc, Náray-Szabó Gábor, Pál József (eds.), *A magyar nyelv (Hungarian Language)*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2006. p. 208-225.
- SJÁVIK, JAN, *Historical Dictionary of Norway*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2008.
- STALLAERTS, ROBERT, *Historical Dictionary of Croatia*, Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2010.
- TANNER, MARCUS, “Illyrianism and the Croatian Quest for Statehood.” *Daedalus*, Vol. 126. No. 3 (Summer, 1997), p. 47-62.
- TANNER, MARCUS, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.
- TAYLOR, A. J. P., *The Habsburg Monarchy 1809-1918: A History of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976.

- TVETER, EVY BEATE, “Knud Knudsen and the Question of Purism.” *Brünner Beiträge zur Germanistik und Nordistik*, Vol. 30. No. 1. (2016) p. 121-129.
- VAN DEN BERGHE, PERRE, “A Socio-Biological Perspective” in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 96-103.
- VANNEBO, KJELL IVAR, “The impact of education and literacy on language development in the 19th century” in Oskar Bandle, Kurt Braunmüller, Ernst Håkon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann and Ulf Teleman (eds.), *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002. p. 1397-1405.
- WEBER, MAX, “Politics as a Vocation” in David Owen and Tracy B. Strong (eds.), *Max Weber: The Vocation Lectures*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 2004. p. 32-96.
- WEBER, MAX, “The Nation” in in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. p. 21-26.
- WIGGEN, GEIR, “A sociolinguistic profile of the Nordic languages in the 19th century” in Oskar Bandle, Kurt Braunmüller, Ernst Håkon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann and Ulf Teleman (eds.), *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002. p. 1523-1537.
- WRIGHT, SUE, *Language Policy and Language Planning: From Nationalism to Globalization*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Electronic References

Ezer év törvényei (“*Laws of a Thousand Years*”), Law 1790/91 No. XVI.

<https://1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=4890>

Ezer év törvényei (“*Laws of a Thousand Years*”), Law 1848 No. V.

<https://1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=5273>

Ezer év törvényei (“*Laws of a Thousand Years*”), Law 1868 No. XXX.

<https://1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=5352>

Ezer év törvényei (“*Laws of a Thousand Years*”), Law 1874 No. XXXIII.

<https://1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=5645>

Ezer év törvényei (“*Laws of a Thousand Years*”), Law 1867 No. XVII.

<https://1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=5318>

DRAŠKOVIĆ, JANKO, *Distertatia iliti Razgovor darovan gospodi poklisarom*. <http://ihjj.hr/iz-povijesti/janko-draskovic-disertatia-iliti-razgovor-darovan-gospodi-poklisarom/30/>

GAJ, LJUDEVIT, *Još Hrvatska nije propala*. (“*No, Croatia has not perished.*”)

<http://www.matica.hr/vijenac/236/Jo%C5%A1%20Hrvatska%20ni%20propala/>

JÓZSEF HUDI, “Alfabetizáció és népi írásbeliség a 18-19. században. Az írástudatlanságból az alfabetizáció világába.” (“Alphabetization and Folk Manuscript Culture in the 18th and 19th Century. From Illiteracy to the World of Alphabetization.”), *Rubicon*, No. 5 (1990).

http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldal/alfabetizacio_es_nepi_irasbeliseg_a_18_19_sza_zadban_az_irastudatlansagbol_az_alfabetizalt_vilagba/

KARADŽIĆ, VUK STEFANOVIĆ, *Crna Gora i Crnogorci*. https://www.rastko.rs/rastko-cg/zemlja/vkaradzic/vkaradzic-crnagora.html#_Toc44869811

KARADŽIĆ, VUK STEFANOVIĆ, *Srbi svi i svuda*. <https://www.rastko.rs/filologija/vuk/vkaradzic-srbi.html>

Literacy rate in Austria-Hungary (census 1880), Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1884,

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Literacy_in_Austria-Hungary_\(1880\).JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Literacy_in_Austria-Hungary_(1880).JPG)

ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, ANNO HISTORISCHE ÖSTERREICHISCHE ZEITUNGEN

UND ZEITSCHRIFTEN, “*Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung und der mit derselben verbundenen Zählung der häuslichen Nutzthiere vom 31. December 1880.*”

<http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-plus?aid=ors&datum=0005&pos=583>

RUSZOLY, JÓZSEF, “Parlamentarizmus és népképvisélet 1848-ban.” (“Parliamentarism and Representation in 1848.”), *Rubicon*, 1997. No. 8.

http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldal/parlamentarizmus_es_nepkepviselet_1848_ban/

SPRÅKRÅDET (THE NORWEGIAN LANGUAGE COUNCIL), “*Norwegian: Bokmål vs. Nynorsk.*”

<http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Om-oss/English-and-other-languages/English/norwegian-bokmal-vs.-nynorsk/>

SPRÅKRÅDET (THE NORWEGIAN LANGUAGE COUNCIL), “*Nynorsk in Norway.*”

http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Om-oss/English-and-other-languages/English/Nynorsk_in_Norway/

SPRÅKRÅDET (THE NORWEGIAN LANGUAGE COUNCIL), “*Norwegian.*”

<http://www.sprakradet.no/Vi-og-vart/Om-oss/English-and-other-languages/English/Norwegian/>

STOKES, BRUCE, “*What it Takes to Truly Be ‘One of Us’.*”

<http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/02/01/what-it-takes-to-truly-be-one-of-us/>

SZÉCHENYI, ISTVÁN, *Hitel*. (“*Credit.*”), 1828-1829 - <http://mek.oszk.hu/06100/06132/html/>

UNESCO, “The Making of Literate Societies,” in *Education for all Global Monitoring*

Report, 2006. http://www.unesco.org/education/GMR2006/full/chapt8_eng.pdf

VAN DETH, JAN W., “What is Political Participation?” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

<http://politics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-68>