

The discrepancy between norms and usage

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Summary

The paper draws attention to the discrepancy between norms described in linguistic books (grammar books, dictionaries and language consulting books) and usage. Part of the reason for this discrepancy is the increasingly stronger influence of media on the speech of young people (and other speakers of the Croatian language), but other influences are discussed too. Among them, the problem of the non-distinction of functional styles in the concrete speech situation is isolated. The analysis is based on the materials gathered in the last ten years, and examples are presented at all levels of language.

Key words: *the Croatian language, standard Croatian language, usage, functional styles, aberrations from the linguistic norm*

Govorimo hrvatski (We Speak Croatian), a daily radio show which has been broadcasted for several years now, often features a number of queries related to differences in language realizations in different social situations.

It is not necessary to be a linguist to observe that discrepancy.

In fact, it is not even necessary to be a native speaker of the Croatian language, because even a non-native speaker proficient in the Croatian language can see that in everyday speech, native speakers do not necessary follow linguistic rules. There are differences in pronunciation, linguistic constructions, lexicon, etc.

Even the first generations of Croatian immigrants, who use Croatian when talking to each other, see the influence of their *new language*, for example English, which they use in everyday situations.

There are many reasons for these linguistic differences. To explain them, one should understand the meaning of terms such as *language, standard language, usage, dialect and functional style*.

The differentiation of the terms *language* and *standard language* is one of the basic issues of contemporary linguistics.

Language is an abstract concept, “an abstract language system shared by all speakers of a language” (Trask 2005: 175), “an abstract intellectual system of rules, principles and constraints that the speakers share” (Trask 2005: 152). Language as a linguistic system is susceptible to the linguistic patterns (Silić 2006: 23).

A *standard language* is a learned form of language, “a variety of language that is considered to be the most appropriate for formal communication and education” (Trask 2005: 334). Language as a standard is susceptible to sociolinguistic patterns (Silić 2006: 23). The Croatian standard language can be defined as “a language of Croatian polifunctional public communication” (Silić 2006: 23). In other words, standard language is used as a means of public communication. Therefore, it is used in every domain of public communication – scientific, artistic, business, informal, etc.

Apart from the term *standard language*, the term *literary language* is also used in the expert discourse. It is necessary to distinguish the term literary language as a standard language from the term literary language as a functional style. Functional styles will be discussed later on.

Usage is a term which is bound to a group of people. It represents a generalized speech act and, as such, it carries more abstraction than a speech. It also includes usage of the language and, therefore, many usage facts have not been described in a prescriptive literature, for example in grammar books. A part of linguistic doubts of the Croatian speakers derive from this lack of normation of the linguistic features.

The terms *dialect* and *vernacular* belong to dialectology. They are differentiated as a higher (*dialect*) and a lower (*vernacular*) term. The Croatian language has three dialects (chakavian, kaikavian and shtokavian) which are divided into vernaculars and each of them is divided into *smaller speech communities* which consist of *local speeches*. Differentiation of these terms is important for the understanding of this paper.

Now, let us focus on the term *functional style*. We have already established that every speaker is aware of using language for different functions. Functional style is a function of language in a certain area of the language usage. Although linguistic science offers many classifications of functional styles, the most common classification distinguishes between scientific, literary-artistic, administrative, journalistic and colloquial style.

With the impact of new technologies in the 21st century, we can expect a redefinition of the mentioned list. Added to the list would be Internet and mobile phone communication, modified patterns of live broadcasting, modified marketing patterns in advertising discourse etc. (see also: Tošović 1988; Kovačević - Badurina 2001; Ivanetić 2003; Frančić - Hudeček - Mihaljević 2005; Silić 2006 and Proceedings of HDPL).

Of course, there is still a great number of terms we should be familiar with to understand the discrepancy between norms and usage. For example, *accentuation*, *morphology of word formation*, *syntax*, *suprasyntax*, *text linguistics*, *text*, *discourse*, *text*

types etc., but explaining these terms would move us away from the subject. Therefore, a list of suggested grammars and linguistic reading can be found at the end of this paper (especially Katičić 1986; Babić 1989; *Norme i normiranje / Norms and Standardization*, 1999; Glovacki-Bernardi 2001; Ivanetić 2003; Trask 2005; Badurina 2008).

Let us conclude this introductory analysis.

Many facts that exist in a language are not accepted by the standard language.

Also, there are many things in language that we accept as facts of the standard language, but still, we do react on their usage.

A part of differences is linked to the realization of language in different functional styles. One functional style of the standard language accepts something, and the other style of the same standard language does not. Therefore, a mistake in one functional style does not automatically mean a mistake in some other functional style.

Considering all this, is it possible to talk about one acceptable realization of the standard language or the problem is somewhat wider?

In response to all this, Josip Silić briefly stated: "Every functional style is a model for itself". Or, on a larger scale: "Exemplary usage of language depends on functional style, which means that there is no universal usage of language, but more forms of the same exemplary usage of language". In other words: "Every functional style has its own patterns."¹

In this context, it would be interesting to see what kind of language is used at schools and in classes of Croatian.

Scientific functional style of the standard language is an objective and non-individual style based upon logic. It is used (or should be used) by teachers and students. Also, it is used in writing textbooks. In classes of Croatian, students learn about the standard principles, grammar, lexicon, orthography, orthoepy and standard pronunciation. Also, they study functional stylistics. Primarily, they study the literary-artistic functional style: subjective, individual, the expression of author's personality, creativity and imagination (even language imagination), as opposed to the scientific functional style. They also learn some characteristics of administrative style in order to understand and integrate it into business world and business communication.

But what is happening outside the class? In the classrooms, right after the school bell rings, students start using colloquial speech which usually includes dialect features. Their colloquial speech has absorbed linguistic features of their local speech, their home language, the media, the street lingo and the standard which they are taught at schools. Because of their age (and here we are talking about age in which all models, including the linguistic one, are establishing) students are particularly susceptible to influences. They absorb them and choose the ones that match their desire to distinguish themselves

¹ Josip Silić has published a cycle of texts on functional styles in *Kolo*, a professional journal of Matica hrvatska, in 1996 and 1997 (the lead article of the cycle is called 'Functional Styles of the Standard Croatian Language', *Kolo*, 1, Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 1996, pages 244-247, and it is followed by articles dedicated to particular functional styles). These texts are modified, enriched by examples and included in his book *Funkcionalni stilovi hrvatskoga jezika (Functional Styles of Croatian Language)*. The statements from this article are taken from the aforementioned book.

from all other generations. Because of that, youth language is a separate subtype of the colloquial functional style (see also Stolac, 2003).

The above described code switching is completely in accordance with the polifunctionality of the standard language.

Still, many speakers of the Croatian language have problems with this code switching. They do not know how to adjust the code to the concrete speech situation. From the whole sphere of different influences and impacts which caused the confusion, we can isolate two: the fallouts of the globalization process – the ever stronger foreign influences on the Croatian language and the weakening (deficiency?) of the basic linguistic culture in modern electronic correspondence.

Globalization has paved the way to knowledge, access to information is now much easier and distances in time and space have become insignificant. But this comes at a price (see also Kovačec 2004). Although it is not recognized formally, the language of international communication is most frequently English, and in certain areas only English (see also Hagège 2005; Singer 2005). The term international communication implies not only formal, professional, business or scientific correspondence,, but also virtual periodic and temporary social groups, for example, computer video games which gather thousands of people from all over the world. The players are connected by servers located around the world. Also, let us not forget Internet forums where people leave their comments in English, so as to be understood by a majority of people. Still, very often they use non-standard English (by non-standard English, we mean poor grammar, poor orthography and stunted lexicon).

It becomes obvious that nowadays “the promotion of monolingualism and monolingual mentality goes in favour of the English language. Because of this, what happens is that sometimes, multilingualism is considered to be a handicap. Monolingualism in favour of English is seen as an assurance, if not a necessary prerequisite for modernity and progress, while multilingualism is considered to be related to economic, political and social underdevelopment. To be more exact, it is considered to be a negative and a small step on the way which should lead only to English” (Hagège 2005: 112).²

Also, the process of globalization has left ethical consequences.

Knowledge of the English language has become a question of rise or fall, society’s acceptance or rejection (see also Opačić 2006; Stolac - Grahovac-Pražić 2008).

As we have already seen, it does not refer only to communication in English, but in some way also to the usage of English words and phrases in everyday Croatian – in some areas this is a matter of prestige. Still, we should present our view and say that this is not a matter of cultural, but quasicultural prestige because in a great number of cases discussed here, the issue is not prestige, but trendiness.

The question is – why? Unfortunately, many people do not understand what they have just said, what that specific word means in English. Even if English is spoken, the level of proficiency in the English language as a language of international communication is

² In his work, C. Hagège talks about English language imperialism in the past, but it is obvious that this is still a present day fact.

becoming increasingly lower. Of course, all this does not have a devastating impact only on non-English language systems, but on the English language itself.

Many English speakers who have acquired Croatian as a second or even a foreign language are aware of these influences, and so are Croatian emigrants.

When the experts talk about pigeonization of Croatian language, it is not exaggeration, although at the first sight, it may look like an exaggeration (see also Opačić 2007).

The elements of English are permeating the entire usage of the Croatian language (see also Filipović 1990), in written form (from the usage in electronic correspondence, for example e-mail, to numerous public signs, company names and finally – commercials), as much as in spoken (especially in the speech of the young) and written-spoken form (SMS messages).

For example:

- *Red carpet, red room, stage, back stage...*

In the consciousness of news and showbiz editors, Croatian translation *crveni tepih* or *crveni sag* was not strong enough, and therefore, “they had no choice”, but to decide upon English expression *red carpet*.

This poses major problems: poorly adapted graphical forms (*c* in *carpet* is pronounced as *k*, which is not in accordance with Croatian orthography and therefore, it is written in italics or in quotation marks) and poorly adapted grammar forms: the adjective is not morphologically adapted (its declination is impossible) and the noun is adapted (it is declined as the A-type of inanimate masculine declination) which results in the poor syntactic adaptation.

The results of such adaptations are newspaper headlines and sentences like the following:

- Zbivanja na red carpetu.
- Tjelohranitelji su je čuvali uzduž red carpeta.
- Nabavljene glamurozne kreacije za red carpet.
- Brojni celebrity na red carpetu.

In *red room*, for example, the poor adaptation is even more prominent – in the Croatian language, vowel sequence is not frequent (for example *radio, gledao, dio, naočiti, aorist, naime, uočiti...*), and a sequence of the two same vowels is exceptional and it happens only with formative boundary (for example *poopćiti, poočim, poodavna, doonda,, etc.*).

*Let us also use the example of the words stage and back stage in which those words are sometimes written as they are pronounced - *stejdž and *bek stejdž. This can be found in texts which make a mockery of someone's lack of knowledge of English (for example, the forums). The lexeme pozornica has been used increasingly infrequently and the syntagm prostor iza pozornice has almost entirely fallen out of use.*

The theory of language in contact (see also Filipović 1986) analyzes languages in contact and teaches us about the types of adjustments in words which are shifted from the source language (SL) to the target language (TL).

Let us begin with the first, most logical adjustment – orthographic – which says that the written and printed representation of the word from the SL should be adjusted to that of the TL.

There is a sharp distinction between English and Croatian grapheme systems. Still, as we have seen in the aforementioned examples, sometimes, mostly because of the high frequency of new anglicisms in the Croatian language, this basic adjustment is not fulfilled. Aside from the mentioned examples from popular culture, there are also some examples from the scientific functional style, for example – the term *management* which was gradually substituted by the adapted form *menadžment*, etc. Unlike the examples that indicate adjustment processes, some terms are still not orthographically adjusted, for example, the term *hedging* which has still not changed into *hedžing*, but luckily, it has also not changed into *živičarenje*, which has been the suggestion of an economist (banker).

The second phase of the adjustment is called transphonemization. It implies neutralization of all differences between the English and Croatian phonological systems. As a result of this, pronunciation of words of English origin is in accordance with the Croatian phonological system (vowel, consonant and accentual system).

This type of adjustment is usually carried out properly, probably owing to the fact that most Croatian students at the elementary level of English language learning have problems with English pronunciation.

In fact, a good British or American pronunciation (by good, we mean with no phonetic adjustments to Croatian language) of certain terms and names in Croatian context is seen as affectation.

With transmorphemization, things are different. Morphological markers are completely adapted to the Croatian language. For example, nouns and adjectives have a gender, number and case, and adjectives also have three degrees of comparison: positive, comparative and superlative form.

Let us look at some examples which are contrary to some of our previous statements:

- Super tip, turbo zabava, mega jahta, gala predstava, cool igre, full glup...
- Najkruh, najhit, najmačka...
- Beatlesi, Rolling Stonesi, Teensi, Bad Blue Boysi...

Speaking of the first set of examples, attention should be called to indeclinable adjectives, which is not characteristic of the Croatian language. In the following sentences, it is obvious that the attributes *super*, *turbo* and *mega* **are not in accordance** with Croatian morphology because these adjectives are indeclinable:

- Upoznala je super tipa.
- Upoznaj me s tim super tipom.
- To je mega jahta.
- Ima pravu mega jahtu.

In the earlier stages, the Croatian language had a small number of indeclinable adjectives, for example, those for colors (*bež, bordo, braun, drap...*), etc. Normative grammar books listed these examples as nonstandard and tolerated them in colloquial language only.

Because of their indeclinability, high frequency and the fact that these words belong to two different word classes (the same word can be both an adjective and adverb), borrowed words, such as *super*, are usually called *joker-riječi/džoker-riječi* (*joker words*) (see also Kryžan-Stanojević 1998).³ This means that such words can replace a great number of other words, for example, in colloquial language the lexeme *super* has been used to replace numerous adjectives (*lijep, krasan, dobar, zanimljiv...*) or adverbs (*lijepo, dobro, uspješno, brzo, izvrsno, odlično, sjajno, na najbolji način...*). They can also intensify superiority of a given adjective, for example *super zgodna cura* = 'izuzetno zgodna'.

They can also adopt new intensifiers from the same source language, for example *super turbo moćan mob*. When all the possibilities of comparison are already taken, we are left with the linguistic monster: *megasuperturbo*.

This does not set an example of lexical poverty of language, but of its speakers.

Let us examine the following nouns: *kruh, hit* and *mačka*, which have become a part of the new words *najkruh, najhit* and *najmačka*. Under the influence of other morphological systems which have the comparison of adjectives, for example, *sretan - sretniji - najsretniji*, they have become a part of the comparison. This is not a possibility in the Croatian language and as such, the following has not been described in the normative discourse:

- Najkruh = 'najbolji kruh';
- Najhit = 'najbolji hit'.

This phenomenon should be brought to our attention especially because of its frequency. First, there was a competition on Bread day where *the best bread* was called *najkruh*. Nowadays, in the media the *najškole, najrazredi* and *najučenci* are being elected, on the Internet we can read about *najfrizura, najfotka, najfilm* and *najžena* and in the colloquial language we can hear about *najcura, najfaca, najkompa* or *najekipa*. Therefore, we should not be at all surprised at the new websites, for example:

- www.najklinici.hr, on which *Udruga Najklinici Hrvatske* from Čakovec presents their project *Najklineza i najklinac Hrvatske*;
- www.fotke.hr, with the photograph albums titled *Najfotke*;
- *Blog: <http://najfrendice.blog.hr>*;
- *And several portals: www.najHR.com, but also www.najhr.net; www.wlw.hr with the project called *Naj Hrvatska**

Apart from Croatian language, this is also happening in many other Slavic languages, for example in Slovenia there is a web site called www.naj-igre.si.

³ Joker is a card with no suit the function of which is determined by the agreement of the card-players or context of the play. In other words, it has no meaning outside the context. The same happens with words such as *super*.

The combination of all the mentioned examples would be the hybrids *najcool igre* and *najcool blog* (www.najcoolblog.hr; www.najcoolcura.blog.hr) which are about *najcool majice*, *najcool privjesci za ključeve*, etc.

Let us go back to the examples of *Beatlesi*, *Rolling Stonesi*, *Teensi*, *Bad Blue Boysi* which show a lack of knowledge of the English grammatical system. In the English language, the plural morpheme is *-s*. Still, in Croatian language those words are suffixed by *-i*, the Croatian plural morpheme. The result is grammatical tautology. Another example of grammatical tautology would be putting adjectives of Latin origin into superlative forms, although they are already superlatives, for example:

- Najminimalniji (minimalan = 'najmanji');
- Najoptimalniji (optimalan = 'najbolji').

Therefore, one should think before using the following utterances:

- Žao mi je što Beatlesi više nisu zajedno;
- Riječki Teensi su zakon.
- Bad Blue Boysi su se opet potukli s Torcidom.

In this context, an interesting example would also be:

- Nastupaju cheerleadersice.

The previous sentence is not only the example of double plural of the noun, but also of new information about the sex. In Croatian word formation, this is usually done before grammatical information, not after (for example, *pjevač - pjevačica - pjevačice*).

Still, it must be said that problems of doubled meaning are not related to the loanword adaptations only, but to Croatian words as well:

- *Oko stotinjak*;
- *No međutim*;
- *Mali listić*;
- *Nova prinova u obitelji...*

Also, poor adaptation exists on syntactic level:

- *Celebrity bi stalno htjeli biti in.*
- *Ovo je nova specijalna 3 u 1 formula.*

All these examples violate syntagmatic relations and sentence construction patterns of the Croatian language.

In the first example, the unacceptable syntagm is *biti in* (in the Croatian language, prepositions come before nouns, which is not the case with the literal translation *biti u* (verb + preposition). Of course, a non-native model is also transparent in the lexical choice of the word – *celebrity* – instead of *poznate osobe*. But that would not be *in*.

Our second example – syntagm *3 u 1*, read “tri u jedan / three in one”, is used in commercials. So far, this has been completely unknown syntactic relation of two numbers. Up to now, it has been used only in commercials or word plays which refer to

the advertising discourse, for example in the newspaper comment on minister who will perform more functions as *ministar 3 u 1*.

And, while these two types of syntactic mistakes are used rarely (only in colloquial language and advertising discourse) and while we can easily detect the non-native model in them, the following examples are somewhat different. At first sight, they might look standard:

- Dođite na Motovun film festival.
- Služite li se internet bankarstvom?
- Volim se odmarati u spa zoni.
- To je poznata Samsonite kvaliteta.
- Dođite u novi Tower centar.
- Iskoristite gratis dostavu paketa uz narudžbe iznad 200 kn.
- Tamo se prodaju Škoda dijelovi.
- Odaberite Easy promo tarifu.

Still, they represent a big problem. In the Croatian language, attribute relations are heterogeneous, but with possessive relations, the only correct sequence is adjective + noun. Therefore, our first example should be:

- Motovunski filmski festival.

In the Germanic languages, such as English, attribute relations can be expressed by the sequence of two nouns (noun + noun), where the first, uninflected noun modifies the second. Following this model, in the Croatian language syntagms have appeared such as *kupus salata*, *pliš zavjesa*, *tramvaj karta*, etc., which are syntactically possible to utter as attribute syntagms with the analogous attribute (*tramvajska karta*), as prepositional-attribute syntagms (*salata od kupusa*, *zavjesa od pliša*), or as semi-compounds (*kupus-salata*, *pliš-zavjesa*, *tramvaj-karta*), according to the model of the semi-compounds such as *spomen-ploča*.

Let us go back to the example:

- Motovun film festival.

This syntactic structure was recognized as “successful” and therefore, earlier (valid) name *Pulski filmski festival* has become *Pula film festival*. This “transition” was followed by numerous new syntagms of the same type (*Vukovar film festival*, etc.).⁴

This great number of examples from the collected material indicates foreign impacts on all language levels, and a distinct preponderance of the influence of the English language over other languages shows that the cultural globalization of the world reflects languages themselves.

A part of globalization process is also new media. In this paper, we isolated results from the broader analysis of SMS (Short Message Service) messages, one of the most popular mobile phone services.⁵

⁴ Syntactic impacts of these types were put under notice on the several earlier occasions (for example, Bujas 1957), and in recent times, work on that linguistic-adviser's area has been increased, see also the article of Anđel Starčević *Nouns as Attributes – New Structures in the Croatian Language*, HDPL, 2006 (Jezik & mediji 2006: 645-656).

⁵ The complete analysis was presented at the studies conference in Budapest, 2003: Diana Stolac and Anastazija Horvat-Vlastelić, *Grafija SMS-poruka/Graphical forms of SMS messages*.

SMS messages are a new type of text whose function is to transfer information quickly because the correlation of the price and the size of the record (160 characters) imposes a user to abbreviate the text to the most necessary information. In addition to speed, dynamics and shortness, an important feature of these messages is their ephemerality i.e., mostly, they are temporary. Information they carry sometimes refers to the next minutes, sometimes it is just confirmation of the previously exchanged information, and most of the material shows examples of arranging the next meeting. Because of these reasons, the exchange of such messages indicates unprepared statements, which necessarily points to a lower level of communication and therefore, some aberrations from the norm.

These aberrations are transparent at all levels, but firstly, in orthography and grapheme system:

- Kazi marku da nemogu doc veceras.
- Oces me cekat u 12?

As for stylistic reasons, aberrations are found due to technical limitations because all mobile phones do not support the Croatian diacritics. Still, this can not serve as a justification for spelling aberrations.

The most noticeable aberrations are the following: unapplied spelling rules of upper and lower case letters, not writing punctuation marks, words and punctuation marks pressed close to each other, or in other words, deleting spaces between characters to save space:

- Ej kupi karticu i pisi mi.idemo li u petak u dvoranu mladosti na noc vjestica crvena jabuka je divlje jagode i en face.
- Doma nema nist za jest, kupi juhu tjesto i paradajz
- Pitaj stipu ko kupuje karte za tonija.Nemam love.Moram kupit bon.

Other linguistic features are also often the result of desire for message compression. From this corpus, we can isolate the usage of a large number of abbreviations that only the sender and the recipient are familiar with. These abbreviations contribute to encoding, or, in other words, hiding text's meaning from others:

- *U 5 k. l. k.* (= U pet sati kod lovranskog kafića.)
- *Ispred RI u 3* (= Ispred Robne kuće RI u 3 sata)
- *Kod j fontane u 4* (= Kod japanske fontane u 4 sata)
- *Kod RB fontane za 15* (= Kod fontane ispred bivše Riječke banke za 15 minuta)

Some abbreviations come from the English language and without the knowledge of that language (or at least the meaning of these abbreviations) one can not understand the message, for example:

- *btw* (= *by the way* - usput, inače);
- *nhf* (= *no hard feelings* - nemoj se ljutiti);
- *cu* (= *see you* - vidimo se);

- 4U (= *for you* - za tebe);
- 4ever (= *forever* - zauvijek)
- fyi (= *for your information* - za tvoju informaciju);
- plz (= *please* - molim te);
- thx (= *thanks* - hvala).

Some of the replacements of the characters in text messages have been already seen in other types of text ($x = ks$), some belong to the last century's solutions for Croatian palatals (dj = đ), some solutions for palatals are new and result from restrictions in the distribution of phonemes (sh = s ; zh = f, ch = č ...), while some replacements are harder to understand if we are not familiar with them, for example, W is used instead of the sequence VAT; some letters should be replaced by the names of letters, etc.:

- Zaboravila sam index u studentskoj, donesi mi ga.
- Dodji, sama sam, Vesna je kod frizera, uredjuje se za Lukin rođendan.
- Alo, soraj moja, bila sam jučer vani bez moba, a prespavala kod mojih, a ne kod none, tako da nishta od vina ovaj vikend, zhao mi je. Dolazim popodne, CU
- Necu ga opet zWi (= Neću ga opet zvati);
- Dtektiv (= detektiv)

SMS messages are also marked by the special characters for expressing emotions, emoticons (*smajliji*, *smajlići*). Specifically, the message can be shortened by the use of emoticons, which are recorded with a few characters only, but at the same time, they transfer the entire sentences. The basic symbol is :-), but on the Internet, one can find multiple versions and combinations. However, for mobile phones the most common are basic formats:

- Moje srce kuca za tebe, volim te jako :-)
- Volim te ☺

Even this iconic help, this possibility to replace words by images results in less frequent expression of feelings with words. Therefore, this is another "contribution" to impoverishment of the language of the young.

The same thing happens with the reduplication of punctuation and emoticons, i.e. duplication of characters (not abbreviation, which is usually the goal), which shows the need of the sender of the message to send affective information which occasionally includes unexpected combinations of characters; in the last example, it is a rose:

- Ti si super frendica, puno ti fala!!!!
- Smrc, smrc, curi mi nos ko lud, nemrem ic u kino. Moze sutra????!!!!
- Hvala svima na cestitkama, VELIKA PUSA!!!!!!!!
- TELEFON MI JE U KVARU, GROZA, OVO JE MARTININ BROJ, ZOVI HITNO;)))
- --<--<@

Some of these examples show foreign influences. We have talked about them in the first part of the text. Here are some more examples:

- Daj mi prijavi ispit da mi ne propadne rok, imam na kompu bukmarkano pod my

contacts - studomat, zapamtio log in.

- Sory, tek sam sad vidila txt, sretan put, pusa.
- Odi s nama na plazzu, plz...

Aside from foreign features, dialect features, often associated with the already described features, are also included in the text messages:

- *Ak T 1x dohWim bu T jasno kaj su shake.* (= Ak' te jedanput dohvatim, bu ti jasno kaj su šake.)
- *Di si?*
- *Mama jel bi pekla frituli pa da pride ana s ronjgi*
- *Si rekla Markotu za sobotu?*
- *Oces mi donest onaj CD na fax?*
- *Gde ides? Ako ides u Bilu kupi kilu fasiranog.*
- *Idemo sutra na kafe?*

All described features confirm that SMS messages belong to the private sphere of communication.

Unlike private SMS correspondence, when SMS messages are used in public and official communication, they (usually) adhere to the rules of orthography, grapheme system and grammar, for example:

- Kolegice, predajte diplomsku radnju u Studentsku sluzbu do petka u 12 sati, a e-zapis mi posaljite e-postom, pozdrav, NN

But, there are some aberrations in this domain, too. Many companies are in foreign ownership and therefore, SMS messages or messages of a similar type (for example, at the ATMs) have been translated from a foreign language (English, German, Italian ...) into the Croatian language without being edited, that is, no one has noticed the errors.

These aberrations can belong to different language levels. I have isolated SMS messages of one mobile operator:

- Postovani, za 3 dana istice Vam Vipme topup tarifni model. Za daljnje koristenje obnovite Vas racun SMS porukom sa 150 ili 200 kn.

Even the native speakers have problems using the correct form of the morphoneme *jat* in some words that can have different realizations (and each realization has different meaning). That is the case with the verbs *isticati* and *istjecati*. The correct form in the previous message would be: *za 3 dana istječe*.

The second problem appears on the syntactic level - the use of possessive pronoun *Vaš* instead of reflexive-possessive pronoun *svoj* : *obnovite Vaš račun* > *obnovite svoj račun*. It should be said that this is a common mistake in both speech and written texts, even among educated and literate speakers of the Croatian language.

Therefore, a message at the ATM of a bank says:

- Upišite vaš pin,
-

Instead of:

- Upišite svoj pin.

We believe that we are not too demanding when we expect that someone who via the same written message addresses the public (a great number of users) numerous times a day, has excellent knowledge of the standard Croatian language. We do not know whether these texts have been edited or not, or whether they have been edited well.

Namely, the same mobile operator has other messages without errors in using the correct form of the morphoneme *jat*, even with the mentioned words, for example, in the new summer message which is sent to the same users at the same time as the previous one with the error:

- *Sutra istječe 30 dana trajanja opcije Vip 0.*

Also, there is no error in, for example, using the forms of the future tense with the auxiliary verb that comes before and behind the infinitive. Therefore, we can assume that the text has been edited:

- *Unutar 24 sata bit će vam aktiviran /.../ Po završetku cete primiti /.../*

In this paper, we have tried to draw one's attention to the realizations of the Croatian language in different communicative situations. To conclude, we can say that the described impacts of foreign features result into impoverishment of language, while the aberrations from the language norm described in the examples of SMS messages are often functional in the given technical frameworks and belong to private, generationally marked communication. However, in the official communication there is no excuse for such errors.

Translated by: Borana Morić

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Raskorak između opisane norme i uzusa

Sažetak

U izlaganju se upozorava na raskorak između norme opisane u jezikoslovnim priručnicima (gramatikama, rječnicima i jezičnim savjetnicima) i uzusa. Dio se razloga za taj raskorak nalazi u sve jačem utjecaju medija na govor mladih (i ostalih govornika hrvatskoga jezika), ali se istražuju i drugi utjecaji. Između njih je izdvojen i problem nerazlikovanja funkcionalnih stilova u konkretnim komunikacijskim situacijama. Analiza je napravljena na građi prikupljanoj posljednjih deset godina, a primjeri se predstavljaju na svim jezičnim razinama.

Ključne riječi: *hrvatski jezik, hrvatski standardni jezik, uzus, funkcionalni stilovi, odstupanja od norme*