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# LEXIS OF TEXTBOOKS IN THE NINETEEN-EIGHTIES: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

## Abstract

Language is an essential part of a nation's identity. Language, especially its lexis, reflects social and historical changes that a nation goes through. It means that lexis development takes place simultaneously with social changes that occur over time. The second half of the twentieth century in Yugoslav philology is characterised by Serbo-Croatism, i.e. the intention to merge two languages into one. The political parlance became a part of widely used public language and permeated school textbooks as well. The paper analyses ideologically determined lexis in the textbooks for young learners that were used in schools in the nineteen-eighties. Qualitative and quantitative analysis was applied in order to obtain the answers to the following questions: Do texts in the analysed textbooks promote the values of the political regime in Yugoslavia?, Do they contain the lexis of political discourse, the so called ideologisms?, Is it possible to illustrate the transformation of ideological literary contents through visual arts? Textbook, as an important teaching aid when it comes to the development of pupils’ literary skills, can help promote political values of the ruling regime, in this case the values of the Yugoslav communist regime.

**Keywords:** textbook analysis, Serbo-Croatism, political lexemes – ideologemes

## Introduction

Lexis is foremostly the fundamental carrier of meaning within a language, but it is at the same time the treasury of cultural and civilization experience and an important marking of people’s identity. To study language is to, among other, study the human experience and knowledge in the most encompassing sense.

The Croatian language was used to communicate in different times and under various social circumstances. The language evolved throughout history by keeping up with historical and social trends. Therefore, in language one can always detect data which reflect the nature or the intensity of social changes (Samardžija, 2000).

The history of a language can be divided into external and internal (Holzerova 2007, qtd. by Tafra 2013). The external history of a language, for example, is focused on the relationship between authority and language, the politics of language,[1] official regulations,

[1]The concept of language politics in linguistic research appeared relatively late, in the 1970's. Language politics, from the linguistic point of view, belongs to the domain of sociolinguistics. *Language politics* is by definition

language use etc.[2] In this paper we are primarily concerned with the political framework of language politics in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. On the theoretical level the language politics of SFRY was influenced by a fundamental political oritentation – socialism, self-government, delegate system, federalism (Škiljan, 1988:78). In its political programme it contained the ideas of freedom, equality and brotherhood "which in the linguistic and communication sense implies, in principle, the free choice of means of public communication, the equality of all selected idioms… and the mutual respect of all citizens, no matter which language they use.

Changes in society, the political ones included, reflect on changes in language, mostly on the level of lexis. Sociolinguistically speaking, the changes are visible in the attitude of a speaker towards words that in the Croatian language practice remind one of bad political circumstances or the language of "bad neighbours"[3] (Gnjidić, 2001). By that we primarily allude to the unitarist language politics of the former state which under the dominant influence of the Serbian language asserted to create the "Serbo-Croatian language" (Auburger 2009, Grčević 2002).

The topic of this research is the analysis of ideologically determined lexis in the textbooks for lower primary school children which were used in the nineteen-eighties, and whose lexical aspect reflects the political discourse of the Yugoslav ruling regime. It is the lexis that, observed with hindsight, reminds one of the formerly troublesome political times

## Sociolinguistic perspective of the Croatian language in the second half of the twentieth century

As mentioned in the introduction, language reflects the social and historical changes of a nation. Such changes were evident in the Croatian language in the second half of the twentieth century.

The second half of the twentieth century in Yugoslav philology was marked by endeavours to create one language – Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian.[4] Leopold Auburger

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differentiated from *language planning*; language planning refers to an "action with the intent of promoting the system of language change in a community of speakers" (Žanić, 2007: 136), whereas language politics is the "set of ideas, laws, regulations and practices announced by the government or other relevant body or person with the intent of, under specific conditions, achieving a planned change in language " (Žanić, 2007: 136). Škiljan (1988: 8) defines language politics as a set of rational and mostly institutionalised procedures by means of which a society influences the language forms of public communication and the forming of an awareness of such forms among its members. More on the differentitation between the terms and the historical development of language politics and language planning (see: Škiljan, 2000: 160−175, Wright, 2010: 7−12).

[2]Internal history of language monitors orthography and assimilation of language, in other words the development of orthographic and linguistic norm (Tafra, 2013: 414).

[3] The syntagm of "bad neighbours" denotes the Serbian language.

[4]Croatian studies have very clearly described the relationship between the Croatian and Serbian language. "Those two languages carry with them different cultures, language history and literature. Throughout history there are no common texts which would be considered both Croatian and Serbian" (Babić, 1995: 17). Croats have developed their language on the basis of Western Catholic culture, and since the second half of 14th century have used Roman script which is nowadays the only Croatian script. Serbs based their language on the Oriental, Bysantine Orthodox culture using the Cyrillic script which is nowadays the official Serbian script (Babić, 1995: 17). "It is unfounded to claim that the Croatian standard language had a history up to the mid-nineteenth century, that since then it has been the history of Serbo-Croatian which dissolved in the 1990's, as many foreign Slavists think, that in that period there was no Croatian or Serbian, and it is also unfounded to talk about either of these histories" (Tafra, 2013: 424). There have always "… been two standard languages, or there has always been one, but there certainly cannot be 'two in one' or, depending on political circumstances, a bit of one and a bit of both" (Tafra, 2013: 424). For more on this topic, see: Brozović, 2008.

(2009) introduced the term Serbo-Croatism which implies the programme of creating the singular Serbo-Croatian language.

The name Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian mirrored the theory of the existence of the so-called two variants of the common non existant language.[5] In order to modify the unitarist language politics, after the Novi Sad agreement in 1960 Daničić institutes the two-part language title connected by means of the conjuction *or*, in other words Croatian or Serbian as the more acceptable language variants.[6] "The introduction of the linguistic model of Croatian or Serbian language, as the foundation of language community, was, therefore, simultaneously a scientific and a political act. Scientific in order to be the instrument of describing the differences of several related languages. Politically, in the sense of being the starting point in the attempt to establish social communication among several nationally and socioculturally diverse environments" (Peti, cited in: Babić, 1990, p. 293), in other words, as a means of achieving political goals (Peti, cited in: Babić, 1990, p. 310). Auburger (2009) emphasises that Serbo-Croatism achieved victory by means of extorting The Text of the Novi Sad Agreement ("conclusions") in 1954 which antihistorically proclaimed the "national and standard language of Serbs, Croats and Montenegrins as a single language" with two accents which are to be treated equally, and two scripts.

The language unity of Croats and Serbs (entered additionally by Montenegrins and Muslims) in the period since the nineteen-fifties was characterised by the suppression of the words that were thought to be typically Croatian. This had to do with the language politics of the former SFRY and its efforts to create the "Serbo-Croatian standard language" under the dominant influence of the Serbian language (Grčević, 2002: 514). Many so-called "questionable" Croatian words were in the nineteen-eighties characterised as words associated with the Ustaše regime and were considered "ustashoid". The intense linguistic changes are visible in the emphasised internationalisation of political language and a surge of loanwords derived from Russian (Samardžija, 2002). The changes were mostly ideologically conditioned. Yet, the Croatian language is not an isolated case of such practice. Similar changes happened in most of the Slavic languages (Bulgarian, Czech, Slovak, Slovenian, Serbian and, in a specific manner, in Macedonian).

The tendency towards the internationalisation of political lexis first appeared in its administrative style and then permeated the other functional styles of the Croatian language. The most frequent such lexemes (*armija*, *partija*, *partizan*, *pionir*, *proleter*, *revolucija*, *revolucionar*) were not unfamiliar to speakers of Croatian. Most of the lexemes were adopted before 1945, but the novelty was that after 1945 the aforementioned lexemes combined with new meanings and new connotations became ideologemes[7], mandatory in many areas of public language use. The political lexis began to strongly enter school book texts by becoming their consitutent and unavoidable part. The linguistic and political pressure of Serbo-Croatism and unitarist Serbism developed in the nineteen-seventies and nineteen-eighties, affecting particularly the public use of language in civil service, education, in scientific and professional terminology, as well as in mass media (Auburger, 2009).

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[5]The Serbo-Croatist idea of the relationship between the Croatian and Serbian language as a "Western" or "Eastern variant" was especially embraced by international Slavistics, probably because it simplified that relationship (Auburger, 2009).

[6]Moguš (2009) emphasises the fact that the freakiness of the title with a conjuction *or* existed only in Croatia and Yugoslavia and nowhere else.

[7]Ideologeme - *ling.* A new meaning or a unit of language created within the frame of a certain ideology; ideologism, 2. Word or phrase which is within an ideology assigned symbolic value of belonging and recognition when producing texts or by way of expression (e.g. brotherhood and unity, Croatian fight for independence) http://hjp.novi-liber.hr/index.php?show=search.

## Research goal and methods

This research discusses the political lexis in textbooks aimed at lower primary school pupils. The analysis encompassed textbooks that were used in primary schools in the nineteen-eighties and that marked the final decade of school literary communication with literary works before the political changes in the Republic of Croatia. It is also the decade marked by, among other, the death and memory of the head of state, Josip Broz Tito.[8]
The tasks/goals of the research are listed as follows:

- to detect the appearance of textbook reading materials which thematically promote the values of the SFRY political system
- to analyse the lexemes of political discourse, the so-called ideologemes, in the texts and the didactic-methodological instrumentarium of the textbooks
- to detect various audio-visual devices in the textbooks by means of which the ideological principles of the governing regime are promoted.

The following textbooks/readers were analysed:[9]

1. Bendelja, Neda; Vajnaht, Edo (1981) *Dobro jutro 3 [Good Morning 3]*, 1st form primary school reader. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
2. Bendelja, Neda; Brajenović, Branko (1985) *Radosti druženja [The Joys of Friendship]*. Textbook in literature, drama and film for 3rd form of primary school, 2nd unchanged edition. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
3. Bendelja, Neda; Vajnaht, Edo (1986) *Sunčeva ljuljačka [Sun Swing]*. 2nd form primary school reader, IV unchanged edition. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
4. Bukša, Juraj; Antoš, Antica (1984) *Dječak u sjeni vrbe [The Boy in the Willow Shade]*. 4th form primary school reader, XIII unchanged edition. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
5. Vajnaht, Edo (1981) *Dobro jutro 2 [Good Morning 2]*, 1st form primary school beginner. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

The above mentioned textbooks/readers were quantitatively and qualitatively analysed in order to accommodate the anticipated tasks and goals of this research. The quantitative analysis was used to acquire the numeric data: the total number of texts, the number of titles which reveal ideological themes and their percentage in relation to the total number of texts. The texts were further analysed with regard to the National Liberation Struggle (NLS), the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia (NLA), the chief of state Josip Broz Tito, as well as other accomplishments of the communist rule in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). The qualitative analysis was used to describe individually percieved values, and synthesised according to their relation and logical clustering into larger groups.

## Results and discussion

The results obtained by means of the analysis of the textbooks/readers were listed and presented according to the sequence of the set research tasks. The research encompassed the frequency of texts in textbooks which theme-wise promote the values of the political system of SFRY, extracting and describing the lexemes of political discourse in writings and the didactic-methodological instrumentarium, and describing the various audio-visual devices

[8]Josip Broz Tito died on May 4th, 1980.
[9]The analysed textbooks that were used in schools in the nineteen-eighties were selected at random.

which are used to promote the ideological principles of the governing political system at that time.

*Texts as promotors of value of a state political system*

Texts in readers should perform the function of developing pupils' literary abilities. What we mean by literary abilities implies pupils' perception, understanding and interpretation of a literary work. In other words, literary abilities enable a kind of literary communication (Rosandić, 2005). Aside from experiencing, perceiving and evaluating literary and aesthetic values of a literary work of art, pupils are trained to detect the ethical and cognitive values of which the text is comprised.

The aim of the analysis was to confirm whether the texts in textbooks by way of their theme promote certain ideological messages, as well as which social and political values are promoted and contextualised. The texts were analysed in their relation to the National Liberation Struggle (NLS), National Liberation Army (NLA), the head of state Josip Broz Tito, as well as other legacy of the communist rule in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Due to the fact that the didactic-methodological instrumentarium of a textbook/reader makes it easier for a pupil to engage in literary communication with the text, we were further interested in whether the tasks and exercises in the analysed textbooks were also directed towards the promoting of social and political values, and predominantly the promotion of the socialist and communist rule. In view of the reserch tasks, the analysis of textbooks will also reveal their communication transparency, in other words, how comprehensible are the messages incorporated in the text to their recepients, in this instance lower primary school pupils.

As already mentioned, the analysis was conducted using the textbooks in literature from the first to the fourth grade that were implemented within the school system of SFRY in the nineteen-eighties. This implies the final decade of educating the young in the former Socialist Republic of Croatia before the democratic changes in the beginning of the nineteen-nineties. This decade was marked by the dissolution of Yugoslavia which lead to the founding of the independent Republic of Croatia.

In the subheadings of the analysed textbooks there is no mention of language, only the form for which the textbook is intended. This means that the subheadings do not include a single variant of the common nonexistent language: Croato-Serbian, Croatian and Serbian, Croatian or Serbian language. Mirko Peti notes that *Croatian or Serbian* or *Croato-Serbian*/*Serbo-Croatian* is an abstract language form which within itself enables a required use of individual concrete languages of specific socio-cultural environments (Peti, cited in: Babić, 1990). In this case the analysed textbooks were in Croatian, in Roman script, accompanied by an occasional text in Cyrillics aimed at the Croatian socio-cultural environment.

In the analysed first form beginner *Dobro jutro [Good Morning]* (Vajnaht, 1981) out of the total of 66 offered texts, five of them (7, 57 %) are thematically bound to Comrade Tito, partisans who fought in the National Liberation Army and pioneers who in their own way contributed to the unity of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities.[10] In the other analysed first form reader *Dobro jutro [Good Morning]* (Bendelja and Vajnaht, 1981) out of the total

[10]The titles of ideologically bound texts in the beginner *Dobro jutro [Good Morning]* (Vajnaht, 1981) are as follows: *Vodič [Leader]*, *Ime druga Tita [Comrade Tito's Name]*, *Hvala Ti [Thank You]*, *Boro na straži [Boro on Guard]*, *Dođi, djede, da mi pričaš*! *[Grandpa, Tell Me a Story!]*. The texts in the analysed beginner do not reference the name of the writer/author, but one can assume that they were created by the author of the beginner.

number of texts (47) 6 (12,76 %) are ideologically bound.[11] In the second grade reader *Sunčeva ljuljačka [Sun Swing]* (Bendelja and Vajnaht, 1986) out of the total of 81 offered texts, 11 (13,58 %) deal with the head of state, the heroic undertakings of partisans in World War II, Tito's pioneers and Tito's Youth.[12] In the third form reader *Radosti druženja [The Joys of Friendship]* (Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985) the total of offered texts is 78, out of which 9 texts (11,54 %) promote the Yugoslav political regime.[13] It is important to note that out of the total number of texts 24 of them (30,77 %) were written in the Cyrillic script, and not Roman script as the official Croatian script.[14] The communication (un)transparency of the analysed texts in textbooks of the nineteen-eighties is supported by the texts written in the Cyrillic script which was officially, but not in practice, of the same status as the Roman script in the Socialist Republic of Croatia.[15] The Cyrillic script was, among other, supposed to contribute to the implementation of the conclusions of the 1954 Novi Sad Agreement when the two scripts were proclaimed to be equally represented, as well as the establishment of the "people's" and standard language of Srbs, Croats and Montenegrins as the "joint language" with two accents (points 1. and 4.) which are to have equal status, and with two scripts

[11]The titles of the ideologically bound texts in the first form reader *Dobro jutro [Good Morning]* (Bendelja and Vajnaht, 1981) are the following: *Jasna pozdravlja domovinu [Jasna Greets Her Homeland]* (Dragan Lukić), *Partizanska bluza [The Partisan Shirt]* (Danko Oblak), *Kolo druga Tita [Comrade Tito's Kolo]* (folk song), *Velika žrtva [A Great Sacrifice]* (Tone Seliškar), *Pionirski praznik [Pioneer Holiday]* (Gustav Krklec), *Armijo, smjela [Oh, Bold Army]* (Radovan Mikić).

[12]The titles of the ideologically bound texts in the second form reader *Sunčeva ljuljačka [Sun Swing]* (Bendelja and Vajnaht 1986) are as follows: *Pastrve [Trout]* (Zvonimir Štaubringer and Miloje Popović), *Da i Ne [Yes and No]* (Grigor Vitez), *Spomenik heroju [Monument to a Hero]* (Miljenko Milanković), *Kurir Dragan i njegovo konjče [Courier Dragan and His Horsey]* (Anđelka Martić), *Na visokom hrastu [On the Tall Oak]* (Danko Oblak), *Eto ide omladina [There Goes the Youth]* (folk), *Svaka pjesma iz srca je slita [Every Song From the Heart Floweth]* (folk), *Armija naša mlada [Our Young Army]* (Branko Ćopić), *Uoči Dana Republike [Before the Republic Day]* (Grigor Vitez), *Sretan rođendan [Happy Birthday]* (Gustav Krklec), *Svi zajedno [All Together]* Josip Pavičić).

[13]The titles of the ideaologically bound texts in the third form reader *Radosti druženja [The Joys of Friendship]* (Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985) are as follows: *Prvi dan u školi [The First Day of School]* (Milivoj Matošec), *Rajka* (Anđelka Martić), *Heroj Rade [Rade the Hero]* (anonymous), *Titovi mornari [Tito's Sailors]* (partisan folk), *Kurir pete čete [Courier of the Fifth Troop]* (Branko Ćopić), *Očinska briga za borce [Fatherly Care for the Fighters]* (Miroljub Jevtović), *Republici [To the Republic]* (folk), *Dvije ptice [Two Birds]* (Petar Preradović), *Armija naša [Our Army]* (Nikola Miličević). The poem by Petar Preradović *Dvije ptice [Two Birds]* speaks of man's universal love for his country and the longing for the life of freedom. Yet, the poem is in the listed reader positioned next to the poem by Nikola Miličević *Armija naša [Our Army]* and is interpreted in the context of love towards Yugoslavia and all its peoples and nationalities.

[14]The Cyrillic texts begin to appear only in the third form because then, along with the acquired Roman script, began the learning of the Cyrillic. The Cyrillic texts in the third grade textbook *Radosti druženja [The Joys of Friendship]* (Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985) are the following: *Gaša* (Jovan Jovanović Zmaj), *Breza [Birch-tree]* (Vidoe Podgorec), *Očinska briga za borce [Fatherly Care for the Fighters]* (Miroljub Jevtović), *Republici [To the Republic]* (folk), *Vašar u topoli [Fair in the Poplar]* (Dobrica Erić), *Zimska zagonetka [Winter Riddle]* (Stanislav Femenić), *Nedovršeno pismo [Unfinished Letter]* (Ratko Zvrko), *Ogledalce [Mirror]* (Grigor Vitez), *Latica* (Dubravka Ugrešić), *Zagonetke [Riddles]* (folk, Šimo Ešić), *Kornjača i zec [The Tortoise and the Hare]* (folk), *Vuk i janje [The Wolf and the Lamb]* (folk), *Magarac u lavljoj koži [The Ass in the Lion's Skin]* (according to Dositej Obradović), *Nije vjera tvrđa u jačega [No Strong Faith for the Mighty]* (folk), *Plavi zec [Blue Hare]* (Dušan Radović), *Blesan i tulipan [The Fool and the Tulip]* (Kašuća Babić i Goran Babić), *Ludi dan [Crazy Day]* (Gustav Krklec), *Čardak ni na nebu ni na zemlji [Castles In the Air]* (folk), *Al je lep ovaj svet [It's a Beautiful World]* (Jovan Jovanović Zmaj), *Jedan dan [One Day]* (Radovan Mikić), *Zagonetka [Riddle]* (Ivica Vanja Rorić), *Leptir [Butterfly]* (Luko Paljetak), *Veselo, veselije, najveselije [Happy, Happier, the Happiest]* (Sunčana Škrinjarić), *Noćno sunce [Night Sun]* (Vladimir Nazor).

[15]In the Socialist Republic of Croatia in those times there were officially two orthographies, without any certainty which one of them was mandatory and under which conditions. The federal Constitution of the republics and provinces in Yugoslavia guaranteed everyone the right to use either of these scripts – Roman or Cyrillic (Škiljan 1988).

(Auburger 2009). In the fourth grade reader *Dječak u sjeni vrbe [The Boy in the Willow Shade]* (Bukša − Antoš 1984) there is a total of 50 texts, of which 11 (22 %) are in Cyrillic script[16] and 8 texts (16 %) praising the accomplishments of World War II and SFRY.[17]

Among the texts that promote the ideological values of socialism, communism, brotherhood and unity, in other words those that foremostly mirror the ideological political discourse of Yugoslavism, we highlight the following:

"When the sun on Croats shine,
Serbs are likewise in its shrine;
When it blooms for brother Serb,
So the Croat feels its verve."[18]

Among the anticipated tasks and goals of this research were equally those by means of which it was planned to confirm whether the tasks and exercises in the analysed textbooks were also directed at promoting social and political values of the socialist communist reign, or whether the didactic-methodological instrumentarium was focused on literary communication with a literary work of art, its perception, observation and evaluation of literary, aesthetic values of a literary work of art devoid of any ideological scrutiny or connotations. The analysis of the didactic-methodological instrumentarium of texts which were used to promote the principles and ideology of former Yugoslavia revealed that the data obtained via the didactic-methodological instrumentarium of textbooks can be used to categorise them as types of historical, war and political children's enyclopaedias of knowledge[19] on the topic of World War II, the National Liberation Struggle, the role and accomplishments of partisans in it, the

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[16]The Cyrillic texts in the fourth form reader *Dječak u sjeni vrbe [The Boy in the Willow Shade]* (Bukša − Antoš 1984) are the following: *Napušteni autobus [The Deserted Bus]* (Drago Ivanišević), *A zašto ne bi [And Why Not]* (Dušan Radonić), *Prvi dan na moru [First Day at the Seaside]* (Vesna Parun), *Čardak ni na nebu ni na zemlji [Castles In the Air]* (folk), *Titova vojska [Tito's Army]* (anonymous), *Prijelaz preko Neretve [Crossing Neretva]* (Vladimir Čerkez), *Svraka i svračići [The Magpie and Its Young]* (anonymous), *U cirkusu [At the Circus]* (Sergej M. Bjelajev), *Morski konjic [Sea Horse]* (Miško Kišpatić), *Šegrt Hlapić [Hlapić the Apprentice]* (Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić), *Prvi put [The First Time]* (Felix Salten). It is interesting that fourth form pupils in those times read the segment from the novel *The Brave Adventures of Hlapić the Apprentice* by Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić in their textbooks in Cyrillic script. It is important to mention that Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić did not write her works in the Cyrillic script nor did she publish the aforementioned novel in that script in 1913. As an esteemed writer she was nominated twice for the Nobel Prize in literature in 1931 and 1938, supported by the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts. In the year 1937 she was admitted into the Academy as a corresponding member and the first woman since the founding of the Academy. The works of Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić have been translated into all major world languages, as well as Begali, Hindi, Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese and Persian. Because of her reputation as a literary virtuoso she was often called Croatian Andersen and Tolkien, also due to the magical and mystical world of mythology about which she wrote.

[17]The titles of the ideologically bound texts in the foruth form reader *Dječak u sjeni vrbe [The Boy in the Willow Shade]* (Bukša − Antoš 1984) are as follows: *Pas Polak [Dog Polak]* (France Bevk), *Smrt bana Derenčina [The Death of Governer Derenčin]* (folk), *Za slobodu smo se digli [We Rose Up for Freedom]* (August Šenoa), *Ložač vlaka broj 71 [The Stoker of Train Number 71]* (Aleksandar T. Kopnov), *Titova vojska [Tito's Army]* (anonymous), *Partizanski leuti [The Partisan Leuts]* (Josip Barković), *Prijelaz preko Neretve [Crossing Neretva]* (Vladimir Čerkez), *Tinček i Tonček [Tinček and Tonček]* (Milica Bartenjev).

[18]The verses of the poem *O bratstvu i jedinstvu [On Brotherhood and Unity]* by the poet Jovan Jovanović Zmaj which is included in the fourth form reader *Dječak u sjeni vrbe [The Boy in the Willow Shade]* (Bukša and Antoš, 1984: 94). It was written in Cyrillic script.

[19]In this context we reference the example from the fourth form reader *Dječak u sjeni vrbe [The Boy in the Willow Shade]* (Bukša and Antoš, 1984: 73) where the didactic-methodological instrumentarium contains a task instructing a pupil to read the article The Great October Socialist Revolution in the Encyclopedia *The World Around Us*.

historical role of comrade Tito and folk heroes, the contributions of the great leader Lenin, etc. The confirmation of the political and ideological function of the didactic-methodological instrumentarium in the analysed textbooks for the prupose of promoting the SFRY politics whose fundamental political orientation of socialism and self-governing was derived from the achievements of NLS, is evident in the following examples of tasks and exercises:

"The five-pointed star is the sign of a freedom fighter... In which war did the young man – the partisan - fall? Against whom did partisans fight? Why is this young man a hero?" (Bendelja and Vajnaht, 1986: 67).

"Comrade Tito loved children. In all parts of Yugoslavia he gladly encountered children and spoke to them. Read carefully these words of Comrade Tito: "Love and the purest friendship should bind children of all our nations" (Bendelja and Vajnaht, 1986: 15).

"The author Anđelka Martić told us a true story about her encounters with a girl from Zagreb, Rajka Lončar, later a partisan soldier. Rajka never lived to see freedom, she died in the summer of 1944 in the battle for Virovitica" (Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985: 16).

"You must have heard of the war hero Rade Končar. He was born in Lika. Before the war he fought as a communist for the rights of workers, and in 1941 he was the instigator of the folk uprising in Croatia. He was shot by Italian fascists in Šibenik on May 22$^{nd}$, 1942" (Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985: 36).

"In your town or village try to find a memorial or a monument dedicated to the National Liberation Struggle fighters. Copy the text accompanying the memorial or monument. Talk about it in class" (Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985: 36).

"On September 10$^{th}$, 1942, the Yugoslav Navy was founded. Every year on September 10$^{th}$ we celebrate the Navy Day" (Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985: 39).

"Ask a fighter from your local community to recount the fights for freedom in your area, of young partisans, couriers and other fighters" (Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985: 43).

"In the valley of Sutjeska River and on the sorrounding mountains in 1943 one of the greatest battles of NLS was fought. In this valley our fighters, against all odds, scored a tremendous victory over the enemy much greater in number and weaponry. This battle went down in history as the *fifth offensive*" (Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985: 44).

"On which day was our Republic born? Who created the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia? When was Yugoslav Army founded? Why is it called People's Army?" (Bendelja and Brajenović 1985: 46, 48).

"Why is the League of Communists particularly interested in the strengthening of brotherhood and unity of all peoples of Yugoslavia?" (Bukša and Antoš, 1984: 94).

"Comrade Tito's thought: 'Brotherhood and unity is the legacy of our revolution'" (Bukša and Antoš, 1984: 94).

"In the year 1917 the rule of the Russian Tsardom was brought to an end. The temporary government did not rely on workers and peasants, but rich citizens instead. That is why workers, dissatisfied with their miserable existence, organised a revolution. They were lead by Lenin. The temporary government sent the army against the rebelling workers and ordered for Lenin to be arrested and locked up. With the help of workers, Lenin escaped to Finland in July 1917. In October 1917 he returned and lead his people into battle: thus began the Great October Socialist Revolution" (Bukša and Antoš, 1984: 73).

"The fight against Ustaše was lead by the Croatian partisan Kalnik brigade and Matija Gubec brigade. Kalnik (Kalnik Mountains) is a mountain range on which many battles were fought, and the Kalnik brigade was composed mostly of partisans born in the Kalnik area. The Matija Gubec brigade was named after the great leader of the Croatian-Slovenian peasant revolt in 16$^{th}$ century" (Bukša and Antoš, 1984: 89).

The didactic-methodological instrumentarium of textbooks often includes certain ideological slogans which promote and celebrate NLS, YPA, SFRY, Comrade Tito, and in line with that, the marking of many state holidays such as Yugoslav People's Army Day and the Republic Day. Many state holidays in former Yugoslavia were characterised by set ideologies, although they need not be perceived as such because part of such holidays are recognised and celebrated in many European countries which are not associated with communism and socialism. By this we mean foremostly the commemoration of May 1st (*maj*) – Labour Day and the celebration of Women's Day on March 8th (*mart*). We hereby offer a selection of observed slogans and state holidays and observances which are mentioned in the didactic-methodological instrumentarium of the analysed textbooks:

"For everything we thank you, Tito!" (Vajnaht, 1981: 36).
"Republic, thank you from the bottom of our hearts!" (Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985: 17).
"Our dear Republic, may you forever be joyful and strong!" (Bendelja and Vajnaht, 1981: 37).
"Comrade Tito's thought: 'Brotherhood and unity is the legacy of our revolution'" (Bukša and Antoš, 1984: 94).
"Long live our fierce Army!" (Bendelja and Vajnaht, 1981: 37).
"Long live May Day! Long live freedom! Long live peace!" (Bendelja and Vajnaht, 1981: 39).
"Why is May First a solemn and joyous day? Who celebrates May Day? This day is also called Labour Day. Tell everyone how Labour Day is celebrated where you live" (Bendelja and Vajnaht, 1986: 137) .
"What holiday is celebrated on the first day of May?" (Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985: 139).
"Tell everyone how you prepared for the celebration of Women's Day" (Bendelja and Vajnaht, 1986: 135).

Instead of the the Croatised name of the fifth month of the year – *svibanj*, the textbooks note Labour Day under the expression of May Day (*1. maj*; May 1st). The expression 1. may, unlike the expression 1. svibanj, connotes mass gatherings of workers, mass parades, the specific type of food which is eaten out in the open on that day, and empty demagogic speeches of politicians targeted at the workers. There is, then, a connotation that is not present in the name Labour Day *1. svibnja*. Many other holidays, along with their respective dates at the time, were likewise connotatively bound to certain ideologies. For example, the textbooks/readers remind one of the celebration of the Republic Day on November 29th (*novembar*, instead of Croatian *studeni*), pupils learn about the October Revolution (*oktobar* instead of *listopad*).[20] Such internationalised names of months along with public state hoidays more strongly associate one with the interconnected social and political ongoings in this part of the world in the second half of the twentieth century. It is precisely the aforementioned naming of state holidays that mirrors the former longing for the internationalisation of political lexis, foremostly for ideological reasons. The analysis of queries and tasks encompassed in the didactic-methodological instrumentarium of the analysed textbooks in literature revealed the appearance of diverse informational texts/messages by means of which one can monitor and interpret artistic content by means of which it is not only possible to alleviate the reception and interpretation of literary work of art, but they are also offered as types of ideological messages in order to promote the political

[20]Only one of the names of the holidays does not have an internationalised version of its name, but its Croatian counterpart, namely the name of the holiday Navy and Marine Day (10. *rujna* instead of the internationalised name 10. *septembra*). The example is found in the reader *Radosti druženja [The Joys of Friendship]* (Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985: 39).

values of the governing regime. These ideological messages can be decoded either by way of historically referenced important events for SFRY or their ideological and political propaganda is contained in the political slogans which glorify the values of the Yugoslav communist system.

*Political lexemes in texts and didactic-methodological instrumentarium of the textbooks*

Textbook materials (literary, artistic or informational) can be used for the purpose of learning, acquisition, change, confirmation, expression and transmission of a desired ideology to recepients for which they are intended. Therefore, literary text in readers can be a part of ideological discourse as a product of a specific social (political) group.[21]

In accord with the anticipated tasks of this research, the textbooks/readers were analysed for the presence of lexemes pertaining to political discourse, in other words, lexemes as symbols of socialist state-bound political language use. The textbooks reveal the following ideologemes (ideologisms): *republika [republic]* (our young, dear), *omladina [youth]* (*omladinac/omladinka*; distinction according to gender, Comrade Tito's force), *komunist [communist]* (League of Communists), *drug/drugarica [comrade;* male and female*]*, *pioniri [pioneers]* (*pionir/pionirka*, Tito's pioneers, pioneer community). Along with the listed ideologemes the readers display a whole list of words that belong to the military terminology: *armija [army]* (our young, mighty and strong, people's), *vojska [army, troups]* (Tito's, National Liberation), *partizani [partisans]* (*partizan/partizanka*, young partisans green poplars, young partisanettes slender spruces), *borac/heroj [fighter/hero]* (fighter of the National Liberation War, national hero), *revolucija [revolution]* (national, let us preserve the legacy of our revolution), *ustanak [uprising]* (national), *divizija, bataljon [division, battallion]* (striking), *brigada [brigade]* (partisan), *desetina, četa [decimation, troop]* (heroic), *štab [headquarters]* (brigade), *desetar, komandir [corporal, commander]* (of a troop), *kurir, fronta [courier, front]* (enemy), *opasač, šljem, rafal, bombe, pištolj, topovi, puške, bombarder [belt, helmet, open fire, bombs, guns, canons, rifles, bombarder]*.

The fourth form primary school reader *Dječak u sjeni vrbe [The Boy in the Willow Shade]* (Bukša and Antoš, 1984) contains a short glossary of less known or unfamiliar words. Among other, the glossary lists the meanings of words which refer to war and military terminology: *bataljon [battallion]* – a military unit composed of 3-4 troops (i.e. 800 to 1000 soldiers); *desetar [corporal]* – a soldier commanding a group of ten soldiers (such a group is called a decimation); *divizija [division]* – a larger military unit composed of several smaller units or brigades which contains more thousands of soldiers; *dušman ili dušmanin [feind]* (pl. *dušmani*) – enemy; *fronta [front]* – battlefield, line of fire; *garnizon [garrison]* – soldiers which are continually positioned in town or fortress or in a fortified location, military crew; *mitraljez [machine gun]* – a firearm used to shoot bullets consecutively (shoots more than a thousand bullets per minute); *mobiliziran [mobilised]* – drafted into the army; *obarač [trigger]* – the lever of the shooting (firing) mechanism of a gun: when we pull the trigger with our finger, the gun fires; other terms; *kokot*, *okidač*, *otponac*, *oroz*; *podoficir [non-commissioned officer]* – in the army: lower in rank than officer; *puškomet [range]* – the maximum distance to which a gun can shoot *[metnuti se]*; *puškomitraljez [bren-gun]* – light firearm in the shape of a gun from which one can shoot consecutively as if from a machine

[21]On ideologemes and ideologemic structures in the examples of selected literary works of art, see: Kornelija Kuvač-Levačić and Amanda Car. *Društveni i politički ideologemi hrvatske fantastične proze (Na primjeru Desnice, Ćuića i Brešana)[Social and Political Ideologemes of Croatian Fantasy Prose (On the Examples of Desnica, Ćuić and Brešan)*, Croatica et Slavica Iadertina, Zadar, 2012, pp. 287−297.

gun; *rafal [quick-fire]* – consecutive shooting from a gun, fast fire; *šinjel [trench coat]* – long army coat, rain coat.

In the aforementioned reader after the text *Charge, Comrades* by Joža Horvat there is a list of meanings of unknown words which comprise a miniature glossary of warfare and military terminology: *bacač [mortar]* – a type of firearm used to eject bombs and mines; *desetar [corporal]* – a soldier commanding a decimation, i.e. a group of ten soldiers; *eksplozija [explosion]* – dispersion with a bang, what one hears when a canon fires or a bomb desintegrates; *fronta [front]* – the front side of a troop of soldiers in battle; *komandir [commander]* – leader of a smaller army unit, officer of lower rank; *metak [bullet]* – shell, what is used to fill a rifle or a gun; *mušica [muzzle]* – part of a mechanism (of a gun) used for point shooting; *nišan [sight]* – a contraption in a rifle used for aiming or shooting; *sastaviti nišan [align sights]* – point the rifle accurately; *opasač [belt]* – army leather band; *rafal [quick-fire]* – successive fire from a machine gun, uninterrupted shooting; *redenik [bullet belt]* – a cloth ribbon with attached machine gun bullets in line; *šarac* – a name for a bren-gun (a weapon carried by a soldier like a gun which can shoot bullets quick-fire style like a machine gun); *šljem [helmet]* – steel head cover; *tane [cannon]* – ball, a part of a bullet that is ejected from a rifle or machine gun and hits the target; *teška oružja [heavy artillery]* – a common name for cannons and mine throwers.[22]

The integral part of lexis of pupils of younger school age in the nineteen-eighties were the following words[23] (confirmed by the lexis of texts in the analysed textbooks): *armija* – 1. army, 2. *mil*. a large operative assembly of troops composed of corps or divisions, *brigada* – 1. *mil*. a troop of different assemblage, often composed of two to three regiments 2. a group on a mission; gang…, *četa* – troop *mil*. a unit composed of three platoons and approximately a hundred soldiers, *divizija* – 1. *mil.* The largest military set of troops equipped to act independently, composed of several regiments and brigades, *drug* m (drugarica f) *pol*. the official title of the member of the liberal party: − Stalin, − Tito, party −[24], *komandir* – the one who manages a regiment, *komunist* – *pol*. 1. a supporter and follower of communism, 2. member of the communist party, *kurir* – deliverer of the official correspondence, messenger[25], *partizan* – 1. member of the unofficial army, fighting the enemy on an occupied territory; guerrilla fighter 2. *hist*. member of the partisan troops of Yugoslavia in World War II, *pionir* – 1. explorer of the unknown territory, 2. *mil*. member of the engineer troops, 3. *hist*. member of the mass children's organisation in communist Yugoslavia, *štab* – (Ger. headquarters) – headquarters – 2. *mil*. command.

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[22] The listed words can be found in the fourth form primary school reader *Dječak u sjeni vrbe [The Boy in the Willow Shade]* (Bukša and Antoš, 1984: 89).

[23]The meanings of the referenced lexemes are derived from: Jure Šonje. Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika [Croatian Language Dictionary], Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, Školska knjiga, Zagreb 2000.

[24]Croatian Language Dictionary by Vladimir Anić (2006) suggests the following meanings for the word *drug [comrade]*: 1. a person bound to someone in friendship, solidarity and collegial relationship... 3. a word denoting a member of the Communist Party or other political organistions b hist. Used to address someone in a professional setting, especially in education since World War II up until 1990 *[druže učitelju; druže direktore] [comrade teacher; comrade headmaster]*.

[25] The illustration of the importance of couriers in the National Liberation Struggle is the example of the text in the second form reader *Sunčeva ljuljačka [Sun Swing]* (Bendelja − Vajnaht 1986: 69-72) titled *Kurir Dragan i njegovo konjče [Courier Dragan and His Horsey]* by the author Anđelka Martić and the illustration that depicts an eight-year-old boy – a courier with a rifle in his hand, after which the didactic-methodological instrumentarium of the textbook delivers the following queries and tasks: *What were the duties of a courier?Among partisan couriers there were children of your age. Imagine being a partisan courier. Tell everyone where you're going, what you are carrying, where you are travelling, how you keep yourself hidden from the enemy.* (Bendelja and Vajnaht, 1986: 72)

Perhaps the listed ideologems, among which are the words belonging the military terminology, would not be unusual if they did not appear in textbooks for lower primary school pupils.[26] If we consider the fact that the frequency of an individual word in textbook materials can be one of the criteria of a child's use of the same word in spoken and written language expression, we can then assume that the listed political lexemes and ideologemes were an integral part of the vocabulary of lower primary school pupils. By means of a textbook and its lexical corpus in this way one could influence the shaping of political and ideological consciousness of pupils already at the very beginning of their institutionalised schooling.[27]

Viewed from the contemporary perspective, many listed ideologemes sound like they belong to the times past and bygone. In Croatian language practice they are associated with the languages of the neighbouring peoples and are, therefore, considered less Croatian by Croatian speakers (Gnjidić, 2000). Nowadays those words are subjected to different connotational labelling, mostly pejorative in nature. For example, the word *oficir [officer]* during the Homeland War in 1991 in the Republic of Croatia was assigned a pejorative connotation and refered foremostly to soldiers of YA (Grčević, 2002: 521).[28] Speakers of the Croatian language linguistically differentitated *oficir* of YA from *časnik* of the Croatian Army (both meaning *officer*). The word *borac [fighter]* was commonly associated with fighters, members of the Yugoslav People's Army, whereas members of the CA were called *dragovoljci [volunteers]* and later v*eterani [veterans]* of the Homeland War. In the nineteen-nineties there was also the tendency to avoid the internationalism *fronta [front]*, the most frequently pejoratively marked in the phrase National Liberation Front, instead of which there was an intense usage of the word *bojište* or *bojišnica [battlefield, battleground]*. Grčević (2002) notes that the same fate was met by the word *omladina [youth]* (in the textbooks often used within the phrase *Tito's Youth*) which is replaced in the nineteen-nineties by the word *mlaadež* of the same meaning, and the internationalism *armija [army]* (in textbooks *Tito's army*, *Yugoslav People's Army*) was replaced by the word *vojska* of the same meaning.

The abovementioned ideologemes analysed in the textbooks from the nineteen-eighties often explicitly point to direct political discourse. Our intent was not to critically analyse their ideological (non)validity, but to point to specific textbook segments in which there is an extremely recognisable ideological tendency to affect political and social consciousness of a young reader and to detect and select ideologemes as integral parts of the lexical corpus of pupils of lower primary school age at the time.

*Audiovisual devices in textbooks as promotors of the governing regime*

When teaching literature there are many visual devices included that encourage the reception, understanding and interpretation of a work of literature, and contribute to a better understanding of literary and historical phenomena and theoretical issues (Rosandić, 2005: 147). The aforementioned audiovisual devices can introduce young readers to the general mood of a work of literature, the atmosphere of the period to which the work belongs, as they

[26]It is interesting to note that in the beginners such as *Dobro jutro [Good Morning]* (Vajnaht, 1981) language activities such as reading or writing were considered pioneer duties. In other words, whoever learned to read and write after the first form of primary school managed to fulfill their pioneer oath.

[27]For example, a textbook can be an encouragement or an obstacle to the lexical development of a pupil. If a child can interpret the meaning of a word in their own way, then that word can be a part of a textbook. As opposed to that, if a child has no way of determining or assuming the meaning of a word, that word should not be included in textbooks. For more information, see: Radić-Kuvač, Kraljević-Mihaljević (2010).

[28]A similar pejorative meaning in the Croatian language is assigned to the word *kasarna [army barracks/quarters]* as denoting YA, as opposed to *vojarna* today.

intensify the reception of a text on an emotional, imaginative and intellectual plane (Rosandić, 2005: 148).

In the analysed textbooks from the nineteen-eighties we selected the illustrations, drawings, photos, reproductions and sculptures whose basic visual purpose is not assistance in receiving and understanding literary works of art, but foremostly and/or exclusively the visual support to the ideologically oriented textual discourse. Thematically, ideologically and politically laiden literary content is illustratively transposed into artistic expression. In this way by means of observing visual arts portraits, photographs, reproductions and sculptures which thematise the Yugoslav ideology of brotherhood and unity of all peoples and nationalities of SFRY, the great leader Comrade Tito, the role of partisans and couriers in NLS, the ideology of pioneers and Tito's youth, pupils are encouraged to comment orally and/or in writing on the observed image (Appendix 1).

Audio devices, such as audio readers, were not integral parts of textbook sets for teaching literature in the nineteen-eighties. Yet, in the didactic-methodological instrumentarium of the analysed textbooks there is very obvious invitation to students to sing in order to contribute to the literary experience of a literary work of art or a lyric poem, which was also a way of influencing the transfer of ideological political messages and the shaping of an awareness of the values of the Yugoslav socialist regime[29] (Appendix 2).

## Conclusion

The analysis of the textbooks for lower primary school pupils, used in the nineteen-eighties during the time that marked the ten year anniversary of the death of chief of state Josip Broz Tito and the break-up of former Yugoslavia, revealed that they contained certain ideologoical messages that promoted the political values (foremostly of communism, socialism, brotherhood and unity) of the ruling regime at the time. The textbooks often point to the marking of historically important events for SFRY, the legacy and accomplishemnts of National Liberation Struggle (and/or War), as well as the role of partisans in it. Furthermore, along with the texts that thematise the governing state apparatus, there are many slogans presented for the purpose of ideological and political propaganda. This means that the textbooks do not solely function as vehicles fostering the reception of a literary work of art, but often function in line with acquisition, shaping and expression of the desired ideology to those recepients for which they were intended. It is at this point that a literary text in readers becomes a part of ideological discourse as a product of a specific social (political) group. Let us also point out that the thematically, ideologically and politically tinged literary content is illustratively transposed into artistic and/or music expression as its sensory support.

[29] Referring to the following songs: *Mi smo Titovi, Tito je naš [We Are Tito's, Tito Is Ours]* (*Sunčeva ljuljačka [Sun Swing]* Bendelja and Vajnaht, 1986: 78), *Pionirski zavjet [Pioneer Oath]* (*Radosti druženja [The Joys of Friendship]* Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985: 46), *Pioniri maleni [Little Pioneers]* (*Sunčeva ljuljačka [Sun Swing]* Bendelja and Vajnaht, 1986: 77), *Crveni makovi [The Red Poppies]* (*Radosti druženja [The Joys of Friendship]* Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985: 139), *Po šumama i gorama [Through the Forests and the Hills]* (*Radosti druženja [The Joys of Friendship]* Bendelja and Brajenović, 1985: 43).

Figures 1 and 2. Examples of illustrations in lower primary school readers from the nineteen-eighties

Figure 3. Crossing Neretva by Vladimir Čerkez

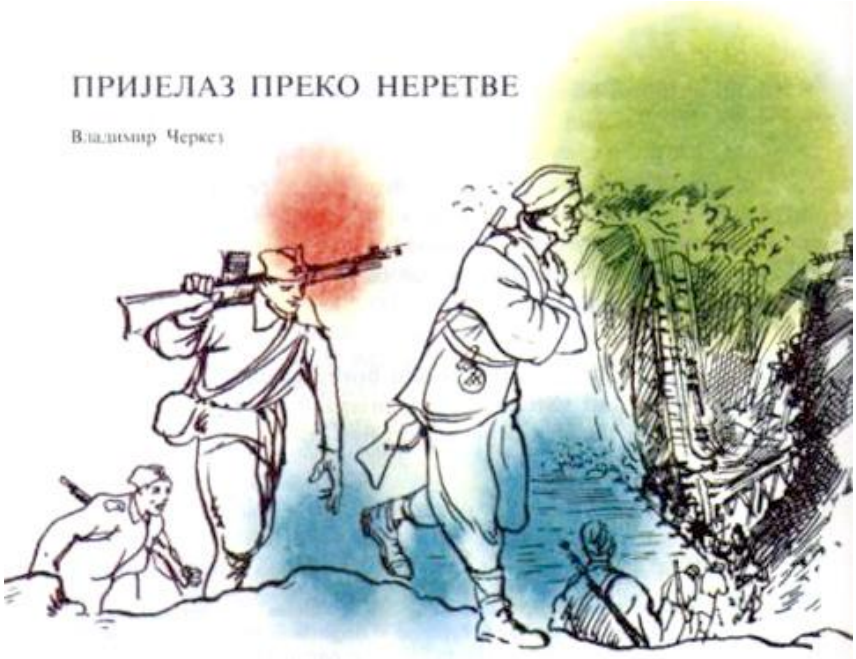


Figure 4. Comrade Tito and his granddaughter Saša. Saša is saying Happy Birthday to her grandfather

Na slici je drug Tito i njegova unučica Saša.
Saša čestita svome djedu rođendan.

Texts of popular partisan songs and marching songs which were also used to educate young generations in the nineteen-eighties:

**Crveni makovi**

Opet su jutros procvali
u žitu makovi sneni,
sve su nam njive ovili
cvjetovi njihovi crveni!
"Znaš li majko, majčice,
kakvi su ono cvjetovi",
po onim tamo njivama
takovi divni - crveni?
Gorki su, sinko, plodovi,
čemer je ono procvao.
Umjesto zlatne pšenice
- korov je tamo niknuo!
Seljak je polja stvarao,
hajduk je svijetom harao:
Oteo kmetu zemljicu,
gazio njegovu pravicu!
Baruni, grofovi vladali,
španovi pravdu krojili,
rabotat kmeta gonili,
krvcu mu poljem sijali!
Mnogo je kapi kapnulo,
njegove krvi i znoja,
ljeta ga duga mučile
batine teške bez broja!
Prokleo seljak zemljicu
vražjih gospodara,
niknuli crven-cvjetovi
umjesto božjeg dara!
Krvlju su kmetskom sijani,
kletvama, bunom miješani
suzama, znojem pojeni
zato su tako crveni...

[***Red Poppies***

*Morning they blossomed yet again*
*in wheat the poppies a-dreamin',*
*on all our fields the flower shed*
*the beautiful colour - red!*
*"Mother, mother, do you know,*
*what those flowers want to show",*
*that grow on fields and boldly spread*
*the beautiful colour - red!*
*Bitter fruits they are, my son,*
*wormwood blossomed yonder.*
*Instead of golden wheat crops*
*-weeds sprouted no wonder.*

*Peasants plowed relentlessly*
*brigands worlds pillaged fiercefully:*
*Seized the serf his only land*
*Rights be taken from his hand!*
*Barons and counts reigned steadily,*
*officers handed out justice readily,*
*serf's labour prosecuted endlessly,*
*his blood sowed brutally!*
*Many drops were lightly shed,*
*of his blood and of his sweat,*
*long summer heat was torturous*
*heavy beatings many met!*
*Cursed the peasant this whole land,*
*of the wretched devil's lords,*
*the red flower sprang to life*
*in place of god's rewards!*
*They were sowed with serf's own blood,*
*curses and uprisings in their mud,*
*with tears and sweat their soil abound*
*so beautifully red all around…]*

**Po šumama i gorama**

Po šumama i gorama
naše zemlje ponosne
idu čete partizana,
Slavu borbe pronose!

Neka znade dušman kleti
da će kod nas slomit vrat,
Prije ćemo mi umrijeti
Nego svoje zemlje dat'!

Crne horde nas ne plaše,
Krv herojska u nam vri,
Mi ne damo zemlje naše
Da je gaze fašisti!

Zgazit ćemo izdajice,
i prihvatit ljuti boj,
spasit kuće, oranice,
oslobodit narod svoj.

***[Through the Forests and the Hills***

*Through the forests and the hills*
*Of our noble country*

*March the troops of Partisans,*
*Spreading struggle's glory!*

*Let the curséd foe be wary*
*That our fight will snap his back,*
*We would rather lose our lives*
*Than hand over our own land!*

*Those dark hordes are nothing to us,*
*Heroic blood boils in our veins,*
*We shall not give up our country,*
*Be abused by Fascist reign!*

*We will punish all the traitors,*
*And accept a fierce combat,*
*Save our houses and our ploughland,*
*Free our people from the death.]*

**Pionirski zavjet**

Mi smo mali pioniori
i svjesni smo rada svog,
smjelo naprijed mi stupamo,
pomažemo narod svoj.

Mi volimo druga Tita
i naš narod, cijeli svijet -
izgraditi našu zemlju,
to je nama zavjet svet.

Na učenje, pioniri,
polazimo svi u stroj,
sa knjigama u rukama
na neznanje hajd u boj!

***[Pioneer Oath***

*We are little pioneers*
*aware of our own work,*
*boldly we march forward,*
*we support our folk.*

*We love Comrade Tito*
*our people, the whole world –*
*to build our country,*
*is our sacred oath.*

*Go learn, pioneers,*
*all stand in one line,*

*with books in our hands*
*we fight ignorance, now is the time!]*

**Pioniri maleni**

Pioniri maleni,
mi smo vojska prava.
Svakog dana rastemo,
k'o zelena trava.

Smrt fašizmu,
a sloboda narodu.
I mene će moja mati
pionirom zvati.

***[Little Pioneers***

*Little bitsy pioneers,*
*we are quite an army.*
*Every day we spring and grow*
*like green trees and barley.*
*Death to fascists,*
*freedom to the people.*
*My own mother she will call me*
*little pioneer, dear.]*

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