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INFLUENCE OF BOSNIAN DIALECTS ON YOUTH SPEECH IN SLAVONSKI BROD

Abstract

The aim of the paper is to present research on language and identity of the youth in Slavonski Brod, the town on the border with Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, due to its geographical location, has been under a significant influence of the neighbouring Bosnian dialects. This is a town characterized by great immigration processes during 1990s, in the times of Croatian War for Independence and the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Throughout history, Bosnian Sava basin was inhabited mostly by Croats. After the occupation of this part of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Serbs during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s, Croats were forced to leave the area and they inhabited Slavonski Brod in great numbers. Today, twenty or so years after the occupation of Bosnian Sava basin, a great number of young people can be heard using elements of Bosnian lexicon as well as syntactic structures typical for the parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina where a considerable flow of refugees came from. Considering the representation of this language variety among the young, the authors raise the question if the Bosnian dialect of the Croatian language exists as a separate kind of youth speech. This paper will present a pilot research with the pupils from Primary school "Vladimir Nazor"in Slavonski Brod and outline the draft for further research.

Keywords: youth speech, Bosnian dialects, Shtokavian vernacular, Slavonski Brod, identity

1. Research context

Youth speech is still an insufficiently analysed field in the Republic of Croatia (Skelin Horvat, 2009), therefore, the aim of this paper is to deepen the topic, particularly considering Slavonia and the influence of Bosnian dialects of Shtokavian vernacular on the youth speech. It is our goal to present the results of the pilot survey with the young from Slavonski Brod conducted in 2015, as well as outline the draft for further research on transformation of youth identity related to language varieties in Slavonski Brod.

Different language varieties regarding broad and narrow community are particularly interesting for analysis in Slavonski Brod. On the one hand, this is a town on the border with Bosnia and Herzegovina, and due to its geographical location, it is under the greater influence of foreign idioms than the inland towns. On the other hand, this is a town labelled by significant immigration processes from the same country caused by different historical events, particularly by the war that left mark on the whole region. According to the last Census (2011) the town of Slavonski Brod has 59 141 inhabitants, out of which 16 958 inhabitants are from abroad, and the total share of the population from Bosnia and Herzegovina is 12 220. There are 20 575 people from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the county, and the total county population is 158 575 people. But, considering migration processes in these areas, it can freely be assumed that the share of people of Bosnian and Herzegovinian origin is significantly larger.

Through observation method (teachers' statements and own experiences of this paper's authors), as well as with the help of demographic data, it is assumed that the increasing number of young people uses prosody, lexis, as well as syntactic structures typical for Bosnian-Herzegovinian dialects. Considering the representation of this variety among the young people of Slavonski Brod, the authors raise the question if Bosnian dialects of Shtokavian vernacular represent the foundation of the youth jargon, in other words a part of the identity distinguishing the young as a separate group in relation to those not using it. Also, another question is raised: Are these exclusively hereditary speakers (children born in the 90s in refugee families) or is it a trend among the young and a code representing certain resistance against the standard, traditionally the elite language?

2. Bosnian dialects of the Croatian language Shtokavian vernacular

Three dialects are spoken in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina:

- NewShtokavian Ikavian (so called West-Bosnian)
- Šćakavian-Ikavian (so called East-Bosnian dialect), spoken by Bosnians and Croats
- NewShtokavian Ijekavian (so called East-Herzegovinian)

It is our assumption that the youth speech of Slavonski Brod is largely influenced by Šćakavian-Ijekavian or East-Bosnian dialect spoken in the territory of Bosnian Sava basin, where the greatest number of people fled from during the war and settled in Slavonski Brod. It is a dialect spoken exclusively by Croats and Bosnians that continued to be used in Slavonian Sava basin as well.

3. Youth speech

Skelin Horvat in her theoretical overview of German and Swedish literature gives the following definition of youth speech:

> *Jugendsprache* is a language used by young people. It is an unconventional language style with some regional and social features. It is primarily a specific speech of young people, but also writing used for creative reasons with the striving for linguistic profiling and searching for identity
> (Lewandowski, 1994: 502 cited in Skelin Horvat, 2009: 11).

Linguistic circles see youth speech as a specific heterogeneous sociolect whose use depends on a range of factors, like usage context, gender, as well as social and educational status of an individual (Neuland, 2008; Janeš, 2011; Huzjak, 2013).
Context is considered to be one of the crucial factors in language use. The young, as this research will also show, will not speak in the same way at school or in the street, or in the community where a specific speech is used. The speech changes depend on whether the young speak in their families, among their friends or with teachers at school. The same speakers will adapt their speech depending on the social context. These differences were traditionally called registers (see Trudgill, 1995: 84), but in recent times the increasing number of authors uses the term discourse. In this manner Gee (2012: 2) claims the following for language in context:

> In order to understand language in social context we must focus not on the language, but on the phenomenon that I will call "Discourses", with a capital D.

In order to explain his statement, Gee resorts to an example of a conversation in an English pub for motorcyclists (known as 'bikers') and analyses what in this context presents a legitimate language, i.e. discourse, and how the usual can be considered legitimate language, for example, the standard in this context is not valid, e.g. if the standard is used in such a situation, the discourse deteriorates and the communication is unsuccessful. Furthermore Gee gives an illustrative example where a person in such a pub is looking for matches using the request "May I ask you for a lighter?". Pragmatically, this sentence does not function since it will cause astonishment and ridicule. The discourse allows here "Do you have fire?" and similar expressions. Similarly we can imagine how certain expressions are acceptable among the young in certain circumstances, while the others would cause ridicule just like the previous sentences.

Social status also plays an important role in language use and is interrelated with educational status (Škiljan, 2002: 12). Gee (2013: 83−86) highlights two educational models, developed by Annette Lareau, in literacy development correlating with social status and the education of household members. In the first "cultivating model", parents are the ones who plan children's time, enrol them in different activities, take care of their linguistic expression, and those children and young people are very early able to discuss certain topics using 'literary language'. The other model is the so called "natural development model" where the parents for existential reasons do not have time to interact with children in this manner, and these children do not like to be exposed as experts in certain fields as children from the cultivating model do, even when they know a lot about the topic in question. Statistically seen, those children, whose linguistic repertoire is weaker compared to children from the first model, do not achieve equally good educational results, and their future vocations are less prestigious compared to those of children raised according to the model of natural development.

Gender is also considered one of the important factors influencing the decisions on language use. Bourdieu (1992) regarded women as those more intensely insisting on the standard since it is a symbolic capital used by women to confirm their status in the society. Labov (2001) also claims that women more frequently use standard forms than non-standard, but at the same time they are the group more readily accepting language novelties. Older research explained this phenomenon through the creation of images where more standard forms were more related to the creation of images of the desirable, e.g. non-promiscuous form of sexual behaviour (Gordon in Trudgill, 1995: 72). Coulmas (2013) considers this tendency a sort of a consequence of the maternal role and raising children related to the viewpoint that

the standard language will result in a better social status of the descendants, which is again related to the earlier presented models of raising children. Trudgill (1995: 72) points out that the domination of more standard forms in women's speech is the most systematic pattern in sociolinguistics. Although these studies do not say anything about the youth, but rather focus on the general gender differences in speech, it can be assumed that these tendencies also refer to the young. Nevertheless, due to the increasing influence of popular culture these practices change. Apart from the change in the habits, due to critical thinking, the research reducing gender identities to binary norms is questioned. The consequence of post-modern critique in sociolinguistics is considering speeches a form of local practice in a much wider generic range (Coulmas, 2013: 47).

When we mention youth speech, although, on the one hand, it could be a variety of a particular group (slang), there is always a possibility of a stronger, i.e. of a more temporal influence on the speech of a certain milieu (Thorne, 2015). *Kafić*, *bus* or *slobodnjak* are some of the words cited in the Croatian Encyclopaedia of Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography (2015) as those that originated as a part of a jargon and with time found their place in the standard language. The same source also states that dialectalisms have a tendency of becoming slang, and gives the verb *feštati* as an example. The influence of dialects on youth speech was also elaborated by Radtke (in Skelin, 2009: 75) who also mentions variedness in relation to the adult speech, as well as the usage due to its informal nature.

The peculiarity of the youth speech is also demonstrating affiliation, i.e. a certain identity that distinguishes them from other groups. This is particularly emphasized since the processes of identity building among the young take central place. As stated by Thorne (2015) the trends among the young are not only comical, provocative or innovative, but also sort of social laboratories where it is experimented with new ways of thinking and behaviour.[1] Speech possesses an emphasized social function, since it determines the boundaries of the community, and when it comes to youth speech the use of jargon comes to the fore (Spolsky, 2015: 36).

4. Research outline

This paper is the result of the cooperation of two authors employed in educational system for many years and both have had a chance to work with the young in Slavonski Brod for longer periods (16 years and 3 years). Based on personal experience they noticed that the Bosnian dialect is increasingly being present among the young, so they decided to conduct a research on this phenomenon. This paper will present the pilot survey conducted with the help of a questionnaire among the pupils of a school in Slavonski Brod indicating the need to conduct a more comprehensive research of youth speech in Slavonski Brod, therefore we will, apart from the questionnaire and data from the pilot survey, offer a preliminary interpretation of the data as well as the recommendations for further research.

5. Research methods and instruments

A questionnaire, co-created also by former students of the Faculty of Education in Slavonski Brod, was made at the beginning. This piece of information is relevant since this was the way in which the young, through their comments, could offer their remarks that could

[1] For a theoretical analysis of the differences among slang, jargon, argo and similar linguistic phenomena in English, German, Swedish, Italian and French see clear overview by Skelin Horvat, 2009.

be used in the questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of two basic parts. The first part contained eight general questions related to socio-demographic characteristics and geographical origin of the examinees. The second part of the questionnaire consisted of 15 statements related to language use and attitudes about language in three different social contexts (within family, at school and with friends). The statements themselves were measured in Likert type scales with values from 1 to 5, where 1 was strongly disagree with the statement, 2 disagree with the statement, 3 don't know, 4 agree, and 5 strongly agree. At the end of each of the statements an explanation was required. At the very end of the questionnaire there were 2 open-ended questions related to the context used. The questionnaire was distributed via Google forms and each of the students could choose the time and the place to fill it in. This paper will, apart from socio-demographic data, cover 11 questions due to the restrictions in paper length and the fact that some of the questions considered the same topic.

6. Participants in the research

Seventeen seventh and eighth grade pupils from the Primary school "Vladimir Nazor" in Slavonski Brod participated in the research (born in 2000 and 2001). Primary school "Vladimir Nazor" was selected for several reasons for the pilot survey. Namely, the school encompasses a very wide enrolment area in the town of Slavonski Brod and covers the parts of town where there is a great number of immigrants from Bosnian Posavina, and apart from the town part, five satellite schools also belong to the school, in villages: Gornja Vrba, Ruščica, Gornja Bebrina, Klakar and Donja Bebrina. Those are the villages eastern from Slavonski Brod along the river Sava and they are the places, particularly Gornja Vrba, the immigrants from Bosnian Posavina have become majority population in. Such a pupil sample was important for the pilot survey that will be the basis for further more elaborate and more comprehensive research dealing with these issues.

The majority of pupils come from the families where parents completed secondary level of education. Eleven of them listed high school education for their fathers and eight for mothers. Five of them listed joint family income less than 4,000 kunas, while the same number of children listed joint family income between 4,000 and 6,000 kunas. Only a small number of children (two in each category) listed joint family income between 10,000 and 12,000 and 12,000 and 14,000 kunas. Out of the seventeen students, six of them, i.e. more than one third, stated that their origin is from Bosnia and Herzegovina (or that they or one of their parents were born there).

7. Data

The first statement referred to self-evaluation of household members' speech. The statement was: **"The members of my household speak very similarly as it is spoken in the area in Bosnia and Herzegovina where they came from."** On the scale from 1 to 5, the biggest number of the young (seven of them) stated that they neither agree nor disagree with the statement, four of them stated that they strongly disagree, two disagree, and three of them agree with the statement. Qualitative data (Table 1.)[2] show the stability of such a speech in households, but also bring about critical remarks.

[2] Original utterances of participants.

Table 1. Comments on the statement "Members of my household speak similarly as is spoken in the area in Bosnia and Herzegovina where they came from"

1. MEMBERS OF MY HOUSEHOLD AND ME SPEAK NOT EXACTLY CORRECT SPEECH SINCE WE LIVE NEAR BORDER BUT THAT IS NEGLIGIBLE, ONLY A FEW WORDS.
2. My parents did not come from Bosnia and Herzegovina.
3. -
4. Members of my household do not speak even similarly as is spoken in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also they do not come from Bosnia and Herzegovina.
5. -
6. We speak many Bosnian-Herzegovinian words in the family, but also many Croatian. And many words are pretty similar.
7. Yes.
8. My parents come from Bosnia and Herzegovina.
9. -
10. My mum, who is from Bosnia and Herzegovina, before she came to Croatia spoke normal Croatian language that I hear every day in the town, in the street, etc.
11. They use words and expressions spoken by inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
12. Members of my household speak very similarly as is spoken in the area where they came from in Bosnia and Herzegovina because that is the way they spoke before and they are used to speaking that way.
13. -
14. -
15. My parents speak the language of the state they came from, sometimes they are difficult to understand.
16. -
17. Sometimes they do use some words, but not very often.

The next statement referred to the attitude of household members towards the dialects from Bosnia and Herzegovina related to their cultivation. The statement was: **"The members of my household encourage me to speak that way."** Almost all the participants state that they are not encouraged in their home to speak that way, and 14 of them, on the scale of agreement with the statement marked value one, two of the participants listed neutral attitude towards the statement (value 3) and there was one who agreed with the statement (value four).

Qualitative data additionally indicate the negative attitude of the young towards this statement (Table 2.)

Table 2. Comments on the statement "Members of my household encourage me to speak that way."

1. MEMBERS OF MY HOUSEHOLD CORRECT ME.
2. Members of my household encourage me to speak as much standard language as possible.
3. -
4. Members of my household don't speak that way. Therefore, they don't encourage me to speak that way either.
5. -
6. Not really.
7. Members of my household do not encourage me to speak that way.
8.
9. -
10. Nobody encourages me to speak in any way, I speak the same way I speak at school.
11. Sometimes at home and in the family and in my company I will use some Bosnian words to express myself.
12. Members of my household don't encourage me to speak that way because I am from Croatia and they want me to speak as correctly as possible.
13. -
14. -
15. No, I was never told to speak that way, but while I was growing up I was used to speaking that way.
16. -
17. They encourage me to speak differently and use standard language as much as possible

Most of the participants, disagree, i.e. five of them strongly disagree, and five of them agree, with the statement **"Members of my household correct me when I use Bosnian speech."** One of the participants was neutral, and one of them agrees, while one of them strongly agrees with the statement. Comments on the statement are in Table 3.

Table 3. Comments on the statement "Members of my household correct me when I use Bosnian speech."

1. THEY CORRECT ME.
2. -
3. -
4. They don't correct me because I don't use Bosnian and Herzegovinian speech in front of the members of my household.
5. -
6. -
7. They correct me.
8. -
9. -
10. I rarely use it, and if I use it I use only some words they don't correct me.
11. Mum sometimes, as a joke.
12. Members of my household sometimes correct me because they want me to speak as correctly as possible.
13. -
14. -
15. No, everybody in the house speaks like that, and it has become normal and we understand each other better
16. -
17. If they really hear it they correct me

Self-evaluation of their own speech was the topic of the next statement. With the statement **"I use Bosnian expressions / accents in my speech"** only three participants strongly disagree, six of them disagree, five of them don't know, and two of them agree and one participant strongly agrees with the statement. Qualitative responses in Table 4. more clearly illustrate the agreement with the statement.

Table 4. Comments on the statement "I use Bosnian expressions / accents in my speech."

1. MAYBE ONLY SOMETIMES BUT NEGLIGIBLE.
2. I don't.
3. -

4. I use such expressions sometimes.
5. -
6. The expressions I pick up from my parents become a habit for me.
7. I use them sometimes, but mostly not.
8. -
9. -
10. I use them sometimes.
11. I sometimes express like that.
12. I use Bosnian expressions / accents in my speech because the majority of my friends speak that way and then I get used to speaking that way.
13. -
14. -
15. Often when speaking I use Bosnian expressions I heard from my grandma, parents and other members of the household
16. -
17. Mostly when with friends

The next statement referred only to self-evaluation of such speech at school. **"At school during breaks I use some Bosnian expressions / accents."** The majority of the young has a neutral attitude towards this statement, in total six of them. Two of them strongly disagree, while three of them disagree with the statement. Four of the young people agree, while two of them strongly agree with the statement. Qualitative data in Table 5. match the values.

Table 5. Comments of the statement "At school during breaks I use some Bosnian expressions / accents."

1. NOT REALLY BECAUSE I DON'T CARE.
2. Maybe I sometimes use Bosnian expressions when I'm relaxed with my friends.
3. -
4. -
5. Sometimes.
6. -

7. -
8. Sometimes.
9. -
10. -
11. I always speak the same, I don't distinguish classes from breaks or home, shops, etc.
12. As I said, I will speak this way with my friends sometimes, just like the rest of my friends.
13. At school during breaks I use some Bosnian expressions / accents because the majority of my friends speak that way.
14. -
15. Yes, just as at home.
16. -
17. When I'm with friends.

The next statement referred to the evaluation of the speech of others. The majority of the young agreed with the statement **"The majority of the young uses Bosnian expressions / accents."** Four of them strongly agree with the statement, and five of them agree. Six student share a neutral attitude towards the statement, and two of them disagree (one disagrees and one strongly disagrees) with the statement. Qualitative data, shown in Table 6. are dominated by the responses confirming the statement.

Table 6. Comments on the statement "The majority of the young use Bosnian expressions / accents."

1. MAJORITY BUT THAT IS SAD.
2. Because they don't think about the way they speak.
3.
4. I agree with this that the majority uses Bosnian accents.
5.
6.
7. The majority yes.
8.

9.
10. One third.
11. I agree.
12. Yes, the majority of the young use Bosnian accents / expressions.
13.
14.
15. I known many young people who use Bosnian expression, but I think it's equal
16.
17. They use them

"I think it is *cool* to use Bosnian expressions / accents." was the next statement. The majority of the young, nine of them, strongly disagree with the statement, while three of them disagree. Two of the participants are of neutral attitude, and three of them agree. None of the participants strongly agree. The explanations of the values are in the comments in Table 7.

Table 7. Comments on the statement "I think it is cool to use Bosnian expressions / accents."

1. NO I THINK IF YOU GO TO CROATIAN SCHOOLS YOU SHOULD USE CROATIAN LANGUAGE.
2. I don't think so. Because it would be good if I spoke Croatian language.
3. -
4. I don't think it's cool to use Bosnian expressions.
5. -
6. -
7. No.
8. -
9. -
10. It's more "cool" to use German or English expressions, personally to me.
11. Yes, why not. It is sometimes funny, but the words are interesting.
12. I don't think it's cool to use Bosnian expressions / accents because it is a normal language just as any other.

13. -
14. -
15. Well I like to listen to people speaking standard language more because I think I can always hear a new word which I can use also in my free time
16. -
17. I think it's normal.

One of the questions related to the evaluation of speech referred to corrections. For the statement **"Other students correct me when I use Bosnian expressions/accents.",** almost all of them, i.e. sixteen of them, said that no one mocks them for their speech. Only one of the participants has a neutral attitude when it comes to this statement. Qualitative data shown in Table 8. also indicated the fact that there is no judgement for the speech used.

Table 8. Comments on the statement "Other students correct me when I use Bosnian expressions / accents."

1. THEY DON'T MOCK ME BECAUSE I NEVER SPEAK THAT WAY.
2. They don't really mock me because the majority of children use this accent, most of them have Bosnian descendants and it is similar to everybody.
3. -
4. They don't mock me.
5. -
6. -
7. No.
8. -
9. -
10. I don't use them, but if someone else does, I don't mock them, it is a language similar to Croatian

11. They speak the same way I do.
12. Other students don't mock me if I use Bosnian accents / expressions because the other students at school mostly speak that way.
13. -
14. -
15. -
16. -
17. Nobody mocks me.

The question related to the evaluation of teachers' attitudes when it comes to cultivation of home language shows variety of attitudes. Five of the participants agree with the statement **"We are encouraged at school to cultivate our speech"**, three of them strongly agree. Four of the participants don't know, while five of them strongly agree with the statement. Qualitative data for this statement are extremely poor (Table 9.):

Table 9. Comments on the statement "We are encouraged at school to cultivate our own speech."

1. THEY DON'T ENCOURAGE US TO CAST OUT OUR SPEECH.
2. They don't really encourage us some teachers are bothered by our speech.
3. -
4. They encourage us.
5. -
6. -
7. Yes.
8. -

9. -
10. I'm not sure.
11. I don't understand this.
12. -
13. -
14. -
15. -
16. -
17. It depends on how we speak.

The last two questions were open-ended and referred to the situations where standard language is used in combination with Bosnian expressions and accents. The questions in which situation participants tried to use standard language, were answered with 'at school' by all of them (Table 10.)

Table 10. Answers to the question "Can you list the situations when you try to use the standard language?"

1. WHEN I'M AT SCHOOL, AT HOME, ETC.
2. Mostly at school because I care about that. When I describe something.
3. AT SCHOOL, WHEN TALKING TO TEACHERS. IN THE FAMILY... WHEN TALKING TO UNKNOWN PEOPLE...
4. When I talk to people, in classes and when I talk to officials.
5. -
6. In official institutions, in public places and when talking to unknown people.
7. I try to speak standard language at school, but also at home.
8. School, public place.
9. -
10. I speak the standard.

11. I tend to use it at school mostly, when I address older than me, in institutions
12. At school, hospital and other cultural institutions.
13. At school
14. When I talk to teachers
15. At school and with people who talk that way
16. -
17. Mostly at school

The last question showed that frequent use of Bosnian expressions and accents by the young of Slavonski Brod is mostly related to their company of friends and informal situations. (Table 11.).

Table 11. Answers to the question "Can you list the situations when you try to use Bosnian expressions / accents?"

1. I DON'T REALLY
2. I TRY TO USE SUCH EXPRESSIONS AND ACCENTS.
3. When something is urgent to me. When I speak quickly I say as a joke.
4. NOOOO…BUT I WILL USE IT WHEN TOGETHER WITH PEOPLE..I know well?
5. When I'm with my friends it usually happens that I use Bosnian expressions, but not intentionally accidentally. Otherwise I try not to use Bosnian expressions.
6. -
7. I don't try to use them, but I often speak that way when I'm with my friends and family.
8. Almost never.
9. I don't try.
10. -
11. No.
12. Only among friends and family
13. At home, with friends, in the street and alike.
14. -

15. When I talk to a new unknown person.
16. When I'm with my friends I don't even pay attention to the language I speak because the young nowadays use many foreign words, and I'm one of them
17. -
18. I don't try, but I use them when with friends

8. Interpretation

When interpreting the data from this paper it is important to keep in mind that this is a pilot survey and that the analysis was based on a limited number of participants, and therefore it can only point at a certain direction that future research should take, and not in any case at final and complete conclusions on the relation of language and identity in the youth speech of Slavonski Brod.

The data retrieved from this limited sample, but also through the observation by the authors themselves, confirm the use of Bosnian dialect among the young people. This is particularly evident in the evaluation of the speech of others in the statement "Majority of the young people use Bosnian expressions / accents.", where as many as nine participants agree with the statement. Other answers also point at the preliminary conclusion that this kind of speech is particularly spread among young people. The answers to the open-ended question "Can you list the situations where you try to use Bosnian expressions / accents?" show that all the participants use Bosnian expressions, particularly when among friends. These results match with the research by Skelin Horvat (2009:218) which shows that the young use slang, colloquial and dialectal variants in the situations involving mutual communication in their free time, during the breaks at school, etc.

Nevertheless, when evaluating own speech the values are much lower. As many as nine young people strongly agree or agree with the statement **"I use Bosnian expressions / accents in my speech.",** while three of them strongly disagree or disagree with the statement. This disproportion of values between the evaluation of own speech and the speech of others can be attributed to value prejudice that the young possess towards Bosnian dialect, i.e. the thing Blommaert calls orders of indexicalilty (Blommaert 2012: 37). The use of Bosnian expressions or accents has lower hierarchical values in society and is considered a different way of speaking when compared to the standard Shtokavian vernacular. Negative value judgement is obvious in qualitative data as well as part of the comments on the presence of Bosnian dialects in the speech of others. Statements like "Majority, but that is sad" and "Because they don't think about how they speak." are examples of such attitudes.

Pilot survey also indicated the presence of Bosnian dialects among hereditary speakers. The young who answered on scales more positively against the presence of Bosnian dialects in own speech, but also the speech of the environment, were mostly born in Bosnia and Herzegovina or their parents come from the area. The statements related to family language indicate further positive attitude towards Bosnian dialects: "In the family we use a great deal of Bosnian-Herzegovinian words, but also many Croatian. But also, many words are quite similar.", "They use words and expressions spoken by the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina", "Members of my household speak very similarly as it is spoken in the area they came from in Bosnia and Herzegovina because that is the way they spoke before and they are used to speaking that way.", "My parents speak the language of the country they came from, it is sometimes difficult to understand them." Answers like "Whatever I pick up from my parents, becomes a habit of mine.", "Sometimes I use."; "Sometimes I express

myself that ways.", "I use Bosnian expressions / accents in my speech because most of my friends speak that way, so I get used to speaking that way.", "Often when I speak with someone I use Bosnian expression I heard from my grandma, my parents and other members of my household." can also be found in the evaluation of their own speech. Unlike before mentioned research on the general youth population in the Republic of Croatia (Skelin Horvat research from 2009) where slang is separated from family language, we could say that the language of the young overlaps with home language in cases of hereditary speakers.

All the issues related to the standard language indicate its high status among the young. This is particularly evident in the statement that it is *cool* to use Bosnian expressions. Several participants list Croatian, but also standard Croatian as counterbalance to this statement. This is confirmed by the following examples: "No, I think that if you go to Croatian schools you should use Croatian language." And "I don't think so. Because it would be good to speak Croatian language." Considering the limited sample it was not possible to determine correlations related to gender, and social and educational status of individuals, therefore those questions remain available for the next research phase.

9. Conclusions and recommendations for further research

In spite of low values when self-evaluating, values in the evaluation of others' speech (peers) indicate the presence of Bosnian dialects among the young who are not exclusively hereditary speakers, as well as the need for more detailed and more comprehensive research on the presence of the dialects in Slavonski Brod and its surroundings.

In order to conduct a deep analysis, it is important, in further research stages, to include a bigger number of examinees in research, record youth speech, as well as interview experts in order to get insight into real speech practices of the young in Slavonski Brod and its surroundings. In our opinion, it is necessary to conduct a detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of speech recordings, as well as to interview young people and their teachers in order to create new language map of Slavonski Brod and its surroundings. Apart from structural analysis, the aim of further research is to also do a discourse analysis in order to determine critical dimensions of this phenomenon.

In conclusion, we hope that this paper will indicate the need to conduct a more detailed research on this topic and determine the direction which this research should take.

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