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GRAMMAR AND SPELLING CHOICES IN CONTEMPORARY CROATIAN LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS

Abstract

The language in textbooks should comply with the standard language norm more strictly, which results from the requirement to respect functional and stylistic features of textbook style, which is a substyle of scientific functional style, and from laws and bylaws regulating the requirements and standards for the development of textbooks as teaching resources. Different reasons, however, sometimes lead to different, yet normatively allowed linguistic and spelling solutions, that is, there is a possibility of choice. This paper discusses such, normatively allowed choices, which have been confirmed in contemporary Croatian language textbooks, developed according to the new curriculum since 2019. We tried to determine which certified grammar and spelling choices were confirmed in the textbooks and how much they follow the normative recommendations found in the grammar and spelling manuals published by the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics, given that these manuals were approved for school use. Attention is paid to the use of movable/optional vowel ('navezak') in the declension of adjectival words (words functioning as adjectives), the use of enclitics *ju/je*, non-contracted and contracted forms of possessive pronouns and the reflexive-possessive pronoun, the declension of the numbers *dva*, *tri* and *četiri*, the position of enclitics in a sentence, writing the diphthong after a consonant group ending in *r* ('pokriveno *r*'), writing nouns ending in *dac*, *-dak*, *-tac*, *-tak*, *-tka* and writing the negative particle *ne* with the enclitic form of the verb *htjeti*. Although the analyzed textbooks, as expected, to a large extent include the recommended choices complying with the norm, there are still differences in the consistency of the application of the rules, even within the same textbook, with occasional deviations from the prescribed norm. This points to the need for a more careful design of textbook language layer, especially if considering that the language of textbooks also contributes to the adoption of the standard and the acquisition and development of the student's linguistic culture.

Key words: Croatian language, grammar choices, norm, spelling choices, textbooks of Croatian language

1. Introduction

The standard language norm prescribes what is correct and what is not correct at all language levels, including levels of phonology, morphology, syntax, word formation, vocabulary, pronunciation and spelling. The language, as Katičić pointed out more

than fifty years ago, is normative by nature (1970: 130), and the standard language is consciously normed, “regulated by the norm, i.e. rules (spelling and grammar) and the list (normative vocabulary) that determines what can enter and what cannot enter the standard language” (Frančić et al. 2006: 24). In other words, based on the norm, it can be determined what is certified or correct in the confirmed practice, i.e. in what is said or written (cf. Katičić 1970: 130). Nevertheless, doubts arise in linguistic practice, which are not completely resolved even in normative manuals, which is also reflected in the areas of the standard language use.

Grammar and spelling manuals sometimes allow different linguistic and spelling solutions, that is, they leave us a choice. Thus, in contemporary Croatian grammar manuals, there are differences in the normative approach to certain grammatical forms, for example, enclitics *ju/je* [her] (accusative forms of the personal pronoun *ona* [she]) and contracted and non-contracted forms of the possessive pronoun *njezin (njen)* [her] etc. *Hrvatski pravopis [Croatian Spelling Manual]* published by the Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje [Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics] (Jozić, ed. 2013),¹ which was approved for school use, follows the principle of normative hierarchy, according to which the doublets occurring in practice should be assigned a respective normative status, resulting in recommended, allowed and equivalent variants. In the linguistic design of the text, this provides the possibility of choice.

The areas of the standard language use are regulated by the functional norm, so that “each functional style, in addition to including a neutral, generally binding standard, has some recognizable features that make it different from other functional styles” (Frančić et al. 2006: 25). Functional styles of the standard language establish a more or less strict relationship with a neutral, generally binding standard and mutually differ in the degree of permissible individuality (cf. Frančić et al. 2006: 26). A high degree of permissible individuality and a less strict adherence to the norm are features of literary and conversational functional styles of the standard language, followed by the publicist, administrative and scientific functional styles “in which compliance with the norm is mandatory, and individuality is undesirable and reduced to a minimum” (Frančić et al. 2006: 27).

School textbooks should be written using scientific, textbook-appropriate substyle (Tošović 2002: 266) or pedagogical substyle (Frančić et al. 2006: 281) of the scientific functional style, so the textbook language should be adjusted to the user, that is, the pupil, with its clear and simple way of expression (cf. Bakota 2011: 137), and it should be interesting, stimulating and motivating (Visinko 2006: 307). Textbook language should also be characterized by stricter compliance with the standard language norm, which results from the requirements for complying with the functional and stylistic features of the pedagogical substyle of the scientific functional style and from laws and bylaws regulating the requirements and standards for the development of textbooks as teaching resources.² This is why textbooks, in addition

1 Hereinafter, the abbreviation IHJJ will be used.

2 Zakon o udžbenicima i drugim obrazovnim materijalima za osnovnu i srednju školu [Law on Textbooks and Other Educational Materials for Primary and Secondary Schools] (OG 116/2018), Pravilnik o udžbeničkom standardu te članovima stručnih povjerenstava za procjenu udžbenika i drugih obrazovnih materijala [Ordinance on the Textbook Standard and Members of Professional Commissions for the Assessment of Textbooks and Other Educational Materials] (OG 9/2019).

to language correction and text editing done by their author(s), also undergo official proofreading. The function of proofreading, Katičić argues, is not alien to linguistic activity because it “includes an essential part of correction and editorial work without which there is no speaking or writing” (1970: 133). Textbooks of all school subjects should cultivate a caring attitude towards the language in which they were written, because the language contributes to the development of students’ linguistic and spelling habits; yet, Croatian language textbooks should excel in this, as their teaching content is precisely the standard language. Accordingly, it is expected that the Croatian language textbooks meet a stricter norm and offer an exemplary, carefully chosen language.

However, how much are contemporary Croatian language textbooks, i.e. the textbooks that have been developed according to the new curriculum since 2019,³ in line with the above expectations? Which certified grammar and spelling choices can be found in them? Do they use the solutions of the normative grammar and spelling manuals published by IHJJ, given that these manuals were approved for school use? This paper tries to answer these questions by considering several grammar and spelling indicators. As for grammar indicators, attention was paid to the use of movable vowels (*navesci*) in the use of adjectival words (words functioning as adjectives), enclitics *ju/je*, non-contracted and contracted forms of possessive pronouns and the reflexive-possessive pronoun, the declension of the numbers *dva*, *tri* and *četiri* [*two*, *three* and *four*] and the position of enclitics in a sentence. Spelling indicators include writing the diphthong after consonant group ending in *r*, writing nouns ending in *dac*, *-dak*, *-tac*, *-tak*, *-tka* and writing the negative particle *ne* with the enclitic form of the verb *htjeti*.

The textbook sample consisted of primary and secondary school textbooks of Croatian language developed according to the new curriculum. Out of each group of textbooks with the same title, one textbook was selected as a representative of the respective textbook series. Among primary school textbooks, those for the fifth grade were chosen, among secondary school textbooks, those for the first grade of grammar schools and vocational schools were chosen. In total, ten textbooks were analyzed, including six primary and four secondary school textbooks. The analysis covers only texts written by textbook authors, not texts quoted from various sources used as *linguo-methodical* templates.

The grammar choices in the textbooks were compared with contemporary grammar manuals: *Hrvatska školska gramatika* [*Croatian School Grammar*] published by IHJJ (Hudeček and Mihaljević 2019), *Školska gramatika hrvatskoga jezika* [*School Grammar of the Croatian Language*] (Ham 2012), *Gramatika hrvatskoga jezika* [*Grammar of the Croatian language*] (Težak and Babić 2012), *Gramatika hrvatskoga jezika za gimnazije i visoka učilišta* [*Grammar of the Croatian Language for Grammar Schools and Higher Education Institutions*] (Silić and Pranjković 2005), *Hrvatska gramatika* [*Croatian Grammar*] (Barić et al. 2005) and with two grammars published by the Academy, *Povijesni pregled, glasovi i oblici hrvatskoga književnog jezika* [*Historical Overview, Sounds and Forms of Croatian Literary Language*] (Babić et al.

3 The official title of the document is *Kurikulum nastavnoga predmeta Hrvatski jezik za osnovne škole i gimnazije* [*Curriculum of the Croatian Language School Subject for Primary Schools and Grammar Schools*].

1991) and *Sintaksa hrvatskoga književnog jezika* [*Syntax of the Croatian Literary Language*] (Katičić 2002). The spelling choices were compared with *Hrvatski pravopis* [*Croatian Spelling Manual*] published by IHJ (Jozić, ed. 2013),⁴ approved for school use, with *Hrvatski školski pravopis* [*Croatian School Spelling Manual*] (Babić, Ham and Moguš 2005)⁵ and with *Hrvatski školski pravopis usklađen sa zaključcima Vijeća za normu hrvatskoga standardnog jezika* [*Croatian School Spelling Manual Aligned with the Conclusions of the Council for Standard Croatian Language Norm*] (Babić, Moguš and Ham 2008), previously approved for school use.

2. Grammar choices

2.1. Use of movable/optional vowels in the declension of adjectival words

Navesci or movable/optional vowels (-a, -u, -e) can occur in the definite form of adjectives and in personal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, relative and indefinite pronouns functioning as adjectives, as well as in number one and ordinal numbers. They are generally considered a feature of a carefully chosen exemplary language and are therefore associated with those functional styles that foster a caring attitude towards the standard language norm.

Regarding the use of movable vowels, the analyzed grammar manuals are substantially in agreement. Four of them explicitly mention this is the feature of a carefully chosen exemplary language. In *Školska gramatika hrvatskoga jezika*, it is stated that “In a carefully chosen expression, priority should be given to the genitive case with a movable vowel *a*, the dative case with a movable vowel *u*, the locative case without a movable vowel or with a movable vowel *e*” (Ham 2012: 54). *Hrvatska školska gramatika* published by IHJ also prescribes the genitive case with a movable *a*, dative with a movable *u*, locative with a movable *e*, and states the following: “Movable vowels in masculine and neuter adjectives and pronouns functioning as adjectives in genitive (accusative), dative and locative is considered a characteristic of a carefully chosen style”. It is also said that the use of movable vowels “should be consistent and movable vowels in adjectives and pronouns functioning as adjectives should be used in the same way in the same text” (Hudeček and Mihaljević 2019: 71). The grammar manual written by Silić and Pranjković associates the use of longer forms of possessive pronouns with a carefully chosen style when they are followed by a word in the same case, and when the second word is used in a shorter form, e.g. *mojega dobrog prijatelja, mojemu dobrom prijatelju* (2005: 125). In the Academy’s grammar manual, it is noted that in a carefully chosen language, it is better to retain the distinction between dative and locative, so in the locative of masculine and neuter singular possessive pronouns, shorter forms should be used,

4 On 13 July, 2013, the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport issued a recommendation for the use of *Hrvatski pravopis* [*Croatian Spelling Manual*] published by IHJ in primary and secondary schools in Croatia.

5 On 16 February, 2005, the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport issued a recommendation for the use of this spelling manual in primary and secondary schools in Croatia. The recommendation was also issued for its new edition published in 2008 under the title *Hrvatski školski pravopis usklađen sa zaključcima Vijeća za normu hrvatskoga standardnoga jezika* [*Croatian School Spelling Manual Aligned with the Conclusions of the Council for Standard Croatian Language Norm*].

and not *mojemu, tvojemu, našemu, vašemu*, which are the same as the forms used in the dative case.⁶

The following is stated in *Hrvatska gramatika* with regard to the use of movable vowels in case endings:

Longer endings in *-a, -u, -e* (shown in the tables in parenthesis) are used along with shorter ones. Longer forms of adjectives are usually used before words that begin with the same or a similar final sound of the word used in its shorter form, e.g. *poslije velikoga gubitka krvi, uoči velikoga blagdana, na dobrome mjestu, starijemu momku bilo je 18 godina*. When more adjectives follow one another, the longer form is often used in the first, and the shorter form in the second adjective, e.g. *Rječnik hrvatskoga kajkavskog književnog jezika*. (Barić et al. 2005: 180)

In *Gramatika hrvatskoga jezika*, among other things, attention is drawn to the distinction between dative and locative:

In some cases, shorter (*mlâdog, mlâdom, mlâdim*) and longer endings (*mlâdoga, mlâdomu, mlâdome, mlâdima*) are used. Considering this difference, the following should be remembered: In the Croatian language, in the dative singular, preference should be given to the longer ending (*-omu, -emu*), and in the locative singular to the shorter (*-om, -em*). The *-ome* ending is stylistically marked. When an adjective is nominalized, the preference should be given to the longer ending: *Vidio sam dugoga*. (...) (Težak and Babić 2016: 120)

Therefore, it will be desirable to consistently use movable vowels in a carefully chosen style, caring about the distinction between dative and locative and about the use of a movable vowel in the first (adjective, pronoun, number) out of two or more words that occur together (e.g. *hrvatskoga standardnog jezika*). Moreover, when an adjective is nominalized or when pronoun forms are used independently, without a noun, then the longer ending should be preferred, as explicitly referred to by Težak and Babić, Silić and Pranjković⁷, as well as Barić et al.,⁸ who add that the longer forms are more common even when following a noun. In the analyzed textbooks, movable vowels are generally used frequently. The genitive case with a movable vowel occurs in all textbooks when the attribute is placed before the noun in the two-word syntagm:

hrvatskoga jezika, dvominutnoga govora (Hrvatska krijesnica, 4, 15); iz polaznoga teksta (Hrvatske jezične niti, 16); iz hrvatskoga pravopisa (Hrvatski bez granica 1. dio, 48); komunikacijskoga bontona (Hrvatski za 5, 10); srednjega

6 Cf.: "In masculine and neuter L sg., there are also forms *mojemu, tvojemu, našemu, vašemu*, which means D and L forms become completely the same, but in a careful language it is better to retain the distinction." (Babić et al. 1991: 655)

7 Cf.: "These forms will be... used even when they stand alone, i.e. when not followed by a noun. Cf.: *Mojemu* (assumption: e.g. *bratu to ne smeta; tvojemu očigledno smeta*." (2005: 125)

8 Cf.: "In masculine and neuter GDL sg. and in all genders of DLI pl., there are longer forms with a vowel at the end, and shorter, without a vowel. They are used equally, as are longer and shorter forms of adjectives. When following a noun or standing alone, longer forms are more common, e.g. *Vidi trn u oku brata svojega, a brvna u svome ne vidi. Išao je u susret našima*." (2005: 210)

*roda (Naš hrvatski, 18); iz drugoga kuta, tabličnoga životopisa (Fon-fon, 20, 23); od jednoga jezika (Hrvatski jezik i književnost, 30), rječničkoga članka (Lica riječi, 52), jezičnoga znaka (Putokazi, 7).*⁹

Only in one textbook, forms with and without movable vowels are equally used in such syntagms, which shows inconsistency:

jezičnoga znaka (7), jezičnog znaka (12), neknjiževnog teksta (7), nekadašnjega glasa jata (11), nekadašnjeg jata (11), materinskog jezika (11), od jednog značenja (13), Prenesenog značenja (14), iz prethodnoga zadatka (19), ovog teksta (39), cjelovito pročitana djela, cjelovito pročitana teksta (52) (Putokazi).

In two textbooks, genitive cases without movable vowels occur as isolated examples: *hrvatskog jezika (Hrvatski za 5, 21), svakog padeža (Naš hrvatski, 35, 46).*

When there is a multi-word syntagm in the genitive case, its first component comes with a movable vowel:

našega voljenog hrvatskog jezika (Hrvatske jezične niti, 6); hrvatskoga standardnog jezika (Hrvatske jezične niti, 13; Hrvatski bez granica 1. dio, 48; Hrvatski za 5, 25; Naš hrvatski, 8; Fon-fon, 35; Hrvatski jezik i književnost, 31, 134; Putokazi, 9); hrvatskoga nacionalnog identiteta (Naš hrvatski, 9); citiranoga jezičnog savjeta (Lica riječi, 60); s jednoga hrvatskog novinskog portala, autonomnoga hrvatskog standardnog jezika (Putokazi, 10, 11).

The use of the first component without a movable vowel can be seen in isolated examples: *novog planskog jezika, Hrvatskog jezičnog portala (Lica riječi, 34, 51)*, as well as the use of a movable vowel in the first two components: *nekoga organskoga idioma i/ili manjinskoga jezika (Hrvatski jezik i književnost, 32), zajedničkoga, službenoga jezika neke zajednice (Lica riječi, 22).*

The use of movable vowels in the dative case in the analyzed textbooks is largely in accordance with the recommendations of grammarians, with the prevailing use of the movable *u*:

svakomu odlomku, Našemu udaljenom sugovorniku, ne pripadaju hrvatskomu standardnom jeziku (Hrvatska krijesnica, 7, 25, 97); pripada razgovornomu jeziku (Hrvatske jezične niti, 11, 12); pripadaju jednomu jeziku (Hrvatski za 5, 19); materinskomu jeziku, Kojemu ćemo obliku dati prednost? (Naš hrvatski, 7, 41); velikomu broju primatelja, pripadaju organskomu idiomu, Objekt pripada predikatnomu skupu. (Hrvatski jezik i književnost, 19, 30, 337); nikomu nije materinski jezik (Lica riječi, 23).

However, there are also inconsistencies, because in some textbooks movable *e* is also used in the dative case:

Koja od njih pripada hrvatskome standardnom jeziku, a koja štokavskome narječju? (Hrvatski bez granica 1. dio, 49); Jednome motivu s fotografije

⁹ In this paper, when citing examples in parentheses, reference is made to the page in the textbook.

(*Hrvatski bez granica 2. dio*, 48); *pripada određenome narječju (štokavskome, kajkavskome, čakavskome)*, *pripada nekome dijalektu (Hrvatski jezik i književnost*, 31, 50); *blizak publicističkome stilu (Lica riječi*, 115), *istome korijenu riječi, Svakome zadanom hiperonimu (Putokazi*, 16, 19) or the dative case is used without a movable vowel: *pripada publicističkom stilu, pripada administrativnom stilu; Pripada znanstvenom funkcionalnom stilu (Putokazi*, 28, 35) or, in the same textbook, the dative case is used with and without movable vowels: *prilagođeno hrvatskom jeziku, prilagodile hrvatskomu jeziku (Lica riječi*, 131, 132).

In the locative, all three variants have been confirmed, but completely consistent use of movable vowels has not been recorded in any textbook. In seven of them, in accordance with the recommendations of grammarians, movable *e* prevails:

o hrvatskome jeziku, o vanjskome izgledu (Hrvatska krijesnica, 4, 19); *u međupredmetnome projektu, prema postavljenome pitanju (Hrvatske jezične niti*, 12, 74); *u svakodnevnome razgovoru, na štokavskome narječju (Hrvatski bez granica 1. dio*, 46, 47); *na prometnome znaku, u tiskanome i elektroničkome obliku (Hrvatski za*, 5, 10, 19); *u muškome rodu, u prvome stupcu (Naš hrvatski*, 37, 41); *na zavičajnome govoru, u službenome odnosu (Volim hrvatski*, 11, 114); *o govorenome jeziku, u komunikacijskome procesu (Hrvatski jezik i književnost*, 20, 163).

In three textbooks, also in accordance with the recommendations of grammarians, the first component of the syntagm is generally without a movable vowel:

o standardnom jeziku, u administrativnom stilu (Fon-fon 39, 120), *u razgovornom jeziku, o izvanjezičnom svijetu (Lica riječi*, 16, 56), *u svakodnevnom životu, u tiskanom ili elektroničkom izdanju (Putokazi*, 11, 189).

Despite the recommendations of grammarians, sometimes longer forms are used in the locative of masculine and neuter singular possessive pronouns:

o našem jeziku, u svojem govoru (Hrvatska krijesnica 4, 15); *U svojem tekstu (Hrvatske jezične niti*, 118); *na svojem materinskom jeziku (Hrvatski bez granica 1. dio*, 58); *po svojem izboru (Volim hrvatski*, 46).

Although some textbooks show an effort not to use the same forms in the dative and locative cases, it can nevertheless be concluded, taking the analyzed corpus as a whole, that the rule on using movable *u* in the dative and *e* in the locative is not consistently implemented, and Hudeček, Mihaljević and Vukojević (1999: 87) have already warned of such practice in cultivated Croatian speakers.

When forms of adjectives or pronouns follow a noun or stand alone, the analyzed textbooks almost regularly, according to the rule, give preference to longer forms:

Završni je korak uređivanje napisanoga. (Hrvatski bez granica 1. dio, 30); *Promotri jesu li istaknuti dijelovi futura prvoga u rečenicama jedan pored*

drugoga ili su rastavljeni. (Hrvatski bez granica 2. dio, 145); u dopisivanju **prikaznome** na slici (Hrvatski za 5, 29); o događaju **prikazanome** u stripu, pisanje futura **prvoga** (Naš hrvatski, 19, 98); uz pomoć primjera **navedenoga** u tablici (Fon-fon, 23); Koji je najbliži **hrvatskomu**, a koji se od **hrvatskoga** najviše razlikuje? (Hrvatski jezik i književnost, 48); čije jezike nazivamo **manjinskim** (Putokazi, 11).

Only at certain places shorter forms occur, which indicates that this has been overlooked, e.g.: *rečenicama smislenu povezanu u cjelinu* (Hrvatske jezične niti, 11); *S nekim gramatičkim kategorijama karakterističnim za glagole* (Fon-fon, 80); *prema smjernicama povezanima s razumijevanjem teksta* (Lica riječi, 28); *smatraju ih ravnopravnim* (Lica riječi, 22).

In the most extensive experimental study so far on the use of adjective allomorphs in literary, publicist and other texts conducted twice by Težak (1983/1984 and 2004/2005), it was found that linguistic practice in this regard is indeed varied (2005: 75). In comparison, contemporary textbooks of the Croatian language, given that they mostly use movable vowels, quite consistently in the genitive and less consistently in the dative and locative cases, nevertheless give an image of greater consistency.

2.2. Use of the enclitics *ju/je*

The normative approach to the accusative of unaccented forms of feminine personal pronoun *ona* is somewhat different in school grammars. Namely, the grammars accept the limitations according to which the enclitic *ju* is used after the word that ends in *-je* or in front of the unaccented form of the present tense *je*, but when there are no such limitations, the normative advantage is given to *ju* in Težak and Babić,¹⁰ who explain this with being systematic (according to the accented form *nju*). Ham also gives advantage to the form *ju*.¹¹ In contrast, *Hrvatska školska gramatika* published by IHJJ and *Hrvatska gramatika* by Barić et al. (2005: 210) give preference to the form *je* because it is stated that the unaccented form of the pronoun *ona* in accusative is *je*, and the form of the pronoun *ju* is related to the already mentioned limitations.¹² Silić and Pranjković, without giving any of the two forms a normative advantage, allow both forms *je* and *ju* when it is not preceded or followed by a syllable *je*.¹³ In the Academy's grammar, attention is drawn to the fact that where enclitic *je* is normally used, in older writers *ju* can be found (Babić et al. 1991: 648), therefore, giving a normative advantage to enclitic *ju* is actually a revival of the

10 Cf.: "The form *ju* has the advantage because it is systematic (according to the accented *nju*), while the form *je* is taken from the genitive (according to the accented *nje*)." (Težak and Babić 2016: 126–127)

11 Cf.: "In the accusative of the singular feminine gender, there are two enclitics: **ju, je**. Both forms can be used equally, **but priority should be given to the enclitic ju.**" (2012: 60)

12 Cf.: "The unaccented form of the pronoun *ona* in accusative is *je*, and the form *ju* is used in front of the *je* form of the auxiliary verb *to be*, e.g. *On ju je volio.* and when following the syllable *je*, e.g. *Nije ju volio.*" (Hudeček and Mihaljević 2019: 78)

13 Cf.: "The form *je* as the unaccented form of the accusative singular of feminine gender is used everywhere, except when occurring with *je*. In such cases, the form *ju* is used: *Vidio ju je; Koje ju dijete zanima?; On ju jede kad god treba.* However, *ju* can also be used when there is no *je*: *Cesto ju pita za savjet.*" (Silić i Pranjković 2005: 121)

Croatian tradition, which has been suppressed by a rule established since the time of Maretić.¹⁴

In the analyzed textbooks, the unaccented form *ju* is used following the rule accepted in all grammars, that is, in front of the form of the auxiliary verb *to be* (*je*) and where *ju* is preceded by a syllable *je*, for example: *koja ju je rješavala* (*Naš hrvatski*, 21); *u kakvome ju je pošiljatelj* (*Hrvatski jezik i književnost*, 18); *prije nego što ju je on našao* (*Lica riječi*, 176); *određuje ju* (*Putokazi*, 241). In positions where there is a possibility of choice, the enclitic *ju* is used in five textbooks (Table 1) and *je* in four of them (Table 2),¹⁵ while in one textbook both forms are used: *Izreci ju pred razredom*. (53); *da bi je moglo zanimati* (14); *Prepričaj je u prvoj osobi jednine*. (19) (*Hrvatska krijesnica*), which shows that differences in the normative approach to enclitics *ju/je* in grammars are also reflected in contemporary Croatian language textbooks. Consistency in the use of a particular form indicates a conscious choice, so it can be argued that four textbooks follow the norm prescribed by *Hrvatska školska gramatika* published by IHJ and five textbooks follow the one prescribed by Težak and Babić's grammar and Sanda Ham's grammar.

Table 1. Use of the enclitic *ju* in textbooks

<i>Hrvatske jezične niti</i>	stvaralački ju prepričaj (32); pišemo ju (79); kad ju ugledaš (95); kako ju zamišljaš (142)
<i>Hrvatski bez granica 2. dio</i>	kako je dadilju doživjela osoba koja ju opisuje (20); prikazujemo osobu onako kako smo ju doživjeli (21); bez obzira opisujemo li ju na subjektivan ili na objektivan način (21); Promotri ilustraciju i usporedi ju (34); Odredi temu (predmet) pisanja e-pisma i napiši ju u bilježnicu. (85); I kad nije izrečena osoba koja vrši radnju, možemo ju odrediti (117)
<i>Volim hrvatski</i>	Riječ koju ti je darovao prijatelj možda si znao otprije, a možda si ju sada prvi put čuo. (8); Pronađi u rječniku hrvatskoga jezika neku manje poznatu riječ i pročitaj ju prijatelju. Porazgovarajte o značenju te riječi i smislite rečenicu u kojoj ćete ju uporabiti (11); Kad dozna čitavu priču, neka ju ispriča u razredu. (36); Koja druga riječ koja ju поближе opisuje (40); treba vratiti knjizi i ponovno ju pročitati (40); Prisjeti se smiješne zgođe iz obiteljskoga života i ispričaj ju u skupini od četvero učenika. (46); ili neka druga riječ koja ju opisuje (56); Izdvoji iz uvodnoga teksta po jednu osnovnu obavijest o svakoj zadarskoj znamenitosti te ju izreci (85); Za to vrijeme učenik A razredu ispriča sadržaj priče po izboru te izabire učenika B, koji će ju prepričati. (108); Kad bi ju pričao svojim riječima, ona bi (109); te ju pročitaj (110)

14 Cf.: "For the enclitic form of the sing. feminine accusative, the word *je* is used; for example, vidim *je*; molili smo *je* etc. Instead of *je*, the form *ju* is used in front of the verb form *je*, so as not to have two *je* forms together, for example, danas *ju je* vidio; ako *ju je* našao etc. It is not good, that this *ju* is allowed sometimes also outside this case, for example, vidim *ju*; molili smo *ju*." (Maretić 1913: 72)

15 In the textbook *Fon-fon*, a distinctly predominant form is *je*, and the form *ju* is used only once (*Kada ju promatramo*, 107). In contrast, in the textbook *Hrvatski bez granica*, the form *ju* prevails, and the form *je* is used in the sentence *Ispričaj je u prošleme vremenu uz pomoć fotografija*. (Part 2, 137). The form *je* is also used in this textbook in the sentence *Prepričavaju je svojim riječima pa se njihova priča razlikuje od tvoje, iako su u bitnim pojedinostima obje priče iste*. (Part 2, 131), which is in accordance with the rule according to which the enclitic *je* is used when the enclitic *ju* occurs in front of a word ending in *ju* (cf. Ham 2012: 60).

<i>Lica riječi</i>	i osloboditi ju (180); sa svojim ustrojstvom koji ju čini rečenicom (181); riječ se iz jednoga jezika posuđuje u drugi jezik koji ju prilagođava (139); Čine ju (187); Smatra li osoba da ju jezik određuje? (274)
<i>Putokazi</i>	koji se dodaje imenskoj riječi u rečenici i određuje ju po nekome svojstvu (241)

Table 2. Use of the enclitic *je* in textbooks

<i>Hrvatski za 5</i>	Poveži sljedeće rečenice u jednu rečenicu pa je zapiši u bilježnicu. (53); sažeto je prepričaj (67); neka je sažeto prepriča (71); Odaberi jednu poznatu bajku i stvaralački je prepričaj (91); Zapiši je (91); tako da u legendu umetneš opis Crne Kraljice kako je ti zamišljaš (99)
<i>Naš hrvatski</i>	Kada završite pisanu provjeru, dajte je nekoj drugoj skupini na rješavanje. (21, 53, 77); koju ste sastavljali pa je ispravite (21, 77); pa je ispravite (53); ali tako da je prepričaš (25)
<i>Fon – fon</i>	Zamislite na koji ćete je način poslati. (10); Stoga je možemo brojiti (55); još jednu riječ kojom ćete je dopuniti (84); Ispunite je . (103); Preprišite ili kopirajte ovu upisnicu u srednju školu pa je (još jedanput) ispunite. (119)
<i>Hrvatski jezik i književnost</i>	Komentirajte je (op. a. vijest). (187); na koji bi je način te osobe mogle upotrijebiti (107)

2.3. Non-contracted and contracted forms of pronouns

The following passages will discuss possessive pronouns and the reflexive-possessive pronoun that can have non-contracted (*mojega, mojemu, o mojem; tvojega, tvojemu, o tvojem; svojega, svojemu, o svojem*) and contracted forms (*moga, momu, o mom; tvoga, tvomu, o tvom; svoga, svomu, o svomu*) in oblique cases and pronoun *njen* where non-contracted and contracted forms occur also in the nominative (*njezin/njen, njezina/njena, njezinu/njenu, o njezinu/o njenu*). Only in one of the analyzed grammars, *Hrvatska školska gramatika* published by IHJJ, there is a normative note about contracted forms of the pronoun *njezin* saying that such forms belong to the conversational style, so a stricter norm does not recommend the use of the form *njen*: “The possessive pronoun *njen* belongs to the conversational style, and in the styles in which the rules of the Croatian standard language are applied more consistently, it is better to use the pronoun *njezin*” (Hudeček and Mihaljević 2019: 89). In all other analyzed school grammars, including the Academy’s grammar and grammar written by Barić et al., there are no normative notes for the use of *njen*, and non-contracted forms are listed along with contracted forms of the pronoun *njezin/njen*, as well as pronouns *moj, tvoj* and *svoj*.¹⁶ Thus, in the contemporary grammatical description and prescription, a normative approach prevails that does not give preference to any of these forms of pronouns. Consequently, a question can be raised whether there is sufficient ground to argue that a stricter norm requires the use of longer forms of the pronoun *njezin*.

Table 3 shows that non-contracted forms are used much more in the analyzed textbooks than contracted forms, because even in the five textbooks in which the

16 Thus, for example, in *Školska gramatika hrvatskoga jezika*, it is written: “**Njezin** can also have shorter forms: **njen, njena, njeno, njeni, njene, njena**.” (Ham 2012: 62)

contracted forms are used, the non-contracted ones predominate in possessive pronouns *tvoj* and *njezin* and in the reflexive-possessive pronoun *svoj*. The form *njen* has not been confirmed in the textbook use, which indicates that contemporary Croatian language textbooks follow the norm prescribed by *Hrvatska školska gramatika* published by IHJJ. Moreover, giving preference to longer forms of pronouns *tvoj* and *svoj* shows the tendency to align other forms of pronouns with the longer, non-contracted forms of the possessive pronoun *njezin*.

Table 3. Use of non-contracted and contracted forms of possessive pronouns and the reflexive-possessive pronoun

Textbooks	Non-contracted forms	Contracted forms
<i>Hrvatska krijesnica</i>	- tvojega govora (14), tvomemu razgovoru (31) - njezina lica (22), njezinim prijevodima (97) - o svojem doživljaju (12), u svojem govoru (15), svojega pisanog obraćanja (24)	
<i>Hrvatske jezične niti</i>	- u tvom zavičaju (99) - za njezino izdavanje (48), Njezine dijelove (144, 146) - na svojem zavičajnom govoru (16), svojega najboljeg prijatelja (16), svojega prijatelja (24), prema svojem jeziku (18), svojega istraživanja (37), svojem prijatelju (118), U svojem tekstu (118)	- na svome zavičajnom govoru (16), svoga prijatelja (24), svome narodu i jeziku (17), u svom e-pismu (43), svoga naselja (121)
<i>Hrvatski bez granica 1. i 2. dio</i>	- tvojega pisanog i usmenog izražavanja (1. dio, 30) - njezina značenja (1. dio, 16), njezine uže i šire obitelji (1. dio, 57), njezin završetak (1. dio, 73), njezin dio, njezino osnovno značenje (1. dio, 74), u njezinu izgledu, u njezinoj blizini, njezin izgled (2. dio, 20), njezin dio (2. dio, 54) - svojega narječja, na svojem zavičajnom govoru (1. dio, 47)	
<i>Hrvatski za 5</i>	- za njezino pisanje (23), njezin položaj (47), na njezinome paru (113), njezine osobine (121) - svojega zavičaja (31), svojega mjesnog govora (33), Ispričaj priču o sebi i svojem razredu (59), iz svojega života (63, 71), u svojem tekstu (83), svojega sažetka (85), iz svojega zavičaja (96)	- tvoga mjesta (37), u tvome zavičaju (91) - svoga rođendana (18), svomu najboljem prijatelju ili prijateljici (23), svom razredu (23), u svome mjesnom govoru (32), u svom dnevniku (63), po svom izboru (113), na svome čelu (121), u svome okružju (123)

<i>Naš hrvatski</i>	- njezino značenje (14), njezin oblik (82) - svojega kraja (8), svojega aktivnog rječnika (8), o svojem rječniku (8)	- tvoga boravka (79), iz tvoga sastavka (98)
<i>Volim hrvatski</i>	- njezine sadržaje (5), njezino značenje (13), njezini stanovnici (14), njezinih stanovnika (14), njezin dio (19), njezino osnovno značenje (19), njezino putovanje (103), njezin izgled (106), njezine bitne pojedinosti (109) - svojega hrvatskog jezika (5), svojega zavičajnog govora (6), svojega zavičaja (8), u svojem govoru (85), svojega prijatelja (102)	
<i>Fon-fon</i>	- njezin kanonski oblik (55), njezina atributa ili apozicije (87), za njezino pravilno ispunjavanje (119) - Iz svojega teksta (102), svojega teksta (108), u svojem osnovnom značenju (113)	
<i>Hrvatski jezik i književnost</i>	- tvojega opisa (106) - njezina tvrdnja (18), na prijenos poruke i na njezino (ne) razumijevanje (21), u njezinu radu (32), njezini tekstovi (32), o njezinu korijenu (105) - u svojem djetinjstvu (30), svojega jezika i pisma (31), na svojem organskom idiomu (69), u svojem osnovnome značenju (115), svojega značenja (115)	
<i>Lica riječi</i>	- pri njezinu prijenosu (15), o njezinu (52), njezinu jeziku (206), njezina proučavanja (146) - svojem sugovorniku (30), svojega imena i prezimena (55), u svojem prirodnom komunikacijskom okružju (67), tijekom svojega školovanja (69), o svojem jeziku (69), svojeg Poticajnog Sugovornika (209), svojega identiteta (274)	- po tvome mišljenju (53), tvoga sportskog kluba (95) - svom sugovorniku (30), svome razredniku (95), svom jezičnom sustavu (139)
<i>Putokazi</i>	- na njezinu kraju (60), njezina tema (60), njezino značenje (201)	- u svome osnovnom značenju (14), prema svom izboru (31), svom djetetu (34), u svome književnom radu (43), svoga sina (59), svome ocu (60)

2.4. Declension of numbers *dva*, *tri* and *četiri*

Numbers *dva*, *tri* and *četiri* are often not declined in practice, which, as explained by Barić et al., is “a consequence of the gradual disappearance of the inflected forms of

numbers and their transition to non-inflected words" (2005: 217), but the authors also note that in a carefully chosen language, preference is given to declined forms (2005: 217). The declension of numbers *dva*, *tri*, *četiri* (and *oba*, *obje*, *obadvije*) is associated with a carefully chosen language and in the Academy's grammar as well, and failing to decline them is considered a feature of the conversational language: "Numbers *dva*, *tri*, *četiri*, *oba*, *obje*, *obadvije* are also used as non-inflected words, but this is more a feature of the conversational language. They should be removed in a careful, nourished language, especially when they come without prepositions" (Babić et al. 1991: 666). If a number comes with a preposition, then, in two school grammars, Silić and Pranjković's and Ham's, it does not have to be declined: "If numbers come with prepositions in cases, the declension of the numbers is not mandatory" (Silić and Pranjković 2005: 143); "If a number comes with a preposition, it can be declined, but it does not have to be" (Ham 2012: 71). In *Hrvatska školska gramatika* published by IHJJ, there is no note on the connection between the preposition and the number, and it is stated that the numbers *dva*, *tri* and *četiri* are declined in the standard Croatian language.¹⁷ This is also the case in the grammar written by Težak and Babić (cf. 2016: 134). It can therefore be argued that the declension of numbers *dva*, *tri* and *četiri* is a feature of a chosen, cultivated language and a sign of adherence to stricter norms.

The analyzed textbooks also differ in the declension of the mentioned numbers. When a number comes without a preposition, it is properly declined. Only a few examples will suffice:

dviju riječi, *dvaju suglasnika* (*Hrvatska krijesnica*, 37, 68); *dvama jezicima* (*Hrvatske jezične niti*, 20); *dvama jezicima* (*Hrvatski za 5*, 35); *dvaju prijedloga*, *dvaju padeža* (*Naš hrvatski*, 24, 38); *dvaju tekstova* (*Fon-fon*, 36, 39), *trima pismima* (*Hrvatski jezik i književnost*, 52); *trima citatima*, *dvjema vrstama nastavaka* (*Lica riječi*, 19, 195); *četirima jezičnim djelatnostima* (*Putokazi*, 9).

When a number comes with a preposition, in almost all the textbooks analyzed, it is declined:

s dvama nazivima (*Hrvatska krijesnica*, 95); *s dvama stupcima* (*Hrvatske jezične niti*, 54); *među trima književnim rodovima* (*Hrvatski bez granica 1. dio*, 9); *u četirima koracima* (*Hrvatski za 5*, 91); *Svako od triju hrvatskih narječja* (*Volim hrvatski*, 9); *od triju temeljnih dijelova* (*Fon-fon*, 67); *na četirima mjestima* (*Hrvatski jezik i književnost*, 21); *iz prvih dvaju tekstova* (*Lica riječi*, 30); *od triju narječja* (*Putokazi*, 11),

except in the textbook *Naš hrvatski* where there are inflected forms *od dviju kružnica* (38), *od dviju riječi* (70), with prevailing non-inflected forms:

u sva tri roda i oba broja (43), *U koja su dva roda* (51), *Spreži u bilježnici glagole* *hodati*, *misliti*, *piti*, *ići u sve tri osobe jednine i množine prezenta.* (68),

¹⁷ Cf.: "In the standard Croatian language, all ordinal numbers and cardinal numbers *jedan*, *dva*, *tri* and *četiri* are declined." (Hudeček and Mihaljević 2019: 98)

Što je izostavljeno u prva dva primjera? (72), Koje razlike uočavaš u ta dva pripovijedanja? (90).

In the textbook *Lica riječi*, there is an expression *u dva mandata* (127), but a number with a preposition is usually declined in that textbook, so this is an isolated example and probably has been overlooked. Therefore, the rule on the declension of numbers *dva*, *tri* and *četiri*, regardless of whether the preposition is in front of the number or not, is almost fully respected in nine out of ten textbooks analyzed, so they provide a model of a carefully chosen exemplary language in this regard.

2.5. Word order of enclitics in a sentence

There are no differences in the basic rules on the order of enclitics in a sentence among the analyzed grammar manuals.¹⁸ Enclitics are usually placed behind the first accented word in a sentence (cf. Katičić 2002: 527; Barić et al. 2005: 595; Silić and Pranjković 2005: 374; Težak and Babić 2016: 285; Hudeček and Mihaljević 2019: 220), and if they can easily lean on the word in front of them, they can occur in any other place in the sentence, most often behind the verb. Since they do not have an accent of their own, they cannot occur in the beginning of the sentence or the beginning of the sentence part after the pause, which is further explained in the grammar by Težak and Babić: “This means that enclitics cannot come behind commas, parentheses, inserted clauses, listing, longer syntagm, etc.” (2016: 286). Grammars also state that enclitics can split closely related syntactic structures, e.g. separate attributes and appositions from the words they relate to (cf. Težak and Babić 2016: 285–286) or parts of indefinite pronouns and adverbs (Katičić 2002: 527), which is a feature of a careful and polished expression (cf. Katičić 2002: 527). If the enclitic is placed behind the entire first syntagm, which is taken as a whole, for example, *Tihi vjetrić je mrsio kose zadubljenog svirača*, Katičić argues, this is a stylistic feature of the substandard conversational spoken expression (2002: 528). Silić and Pranjković state that such position of enclitics is a feature of the spoken language, which is subject to logical regulations, so in the spoken language the enclitic comes “where the logical sequence of thought dictates” (2005: 374). Differences in grammars are only observed when it comes to inserting an enclitic between first name and last name. On the one hand, Katičić believes that the enclitics “can even separate the name from the surname, without damaging the connection between them in any way”, which is exemplified in the sentence *Ivan je Mažuranić bio prvi ban pučanin* (2002: 527), while Silić and Pranjković cite the sentences *Ivan je Ivanović čitao knjigu u čitaonici* and *Ivanović je Ivan čitao knjigu u čitaonici* (2002: 527), as examples in which the position of the enclitic was determined by respecting the regulations of rhythm and melody to which the written language is subject (2005: 374). Barić et al. and Hudeček and Mihaljević, on the other hand, claim that putting the enclitic between the first and last names is stylistically marked.¹⁹ Silić and Pranjković also refer to sentences in

¹⁸ Word order in a sentence is not included in *Školska gramatika hrvatskoga jezika* written by Sanda Ham.

¹⁹ Cf.: “With regard to the position of enclitics, those sentences in which the enclitic occurs between first and last names are considered stylistically marked: *Luka bi Šušmek polazio u šetnju da namigne kojoj curi.* (S. Kolar) *Prema rasporedu, Goran bi Ivanišević trebao igrati sutra.* (HTV, August 1993)” (Barić et al. 2005: 598); “Separating first and last names with an enclitic, e.g. *Ana je Hrvat ušla u razred.*,”

which there is equality in meaning between the subject and predicate syntagm, and conclude that in this position, only the accented forms of the auxiliary verb *to be* occur. They illustrate this with the following example: *Slatkovodna riba jest riba koja živi u slatkoj vodi* (2005: 374).

In the analyzed textbooks, enclitics in sentences are mostly positioned according to the rules. They are often found behind the first accented word in a sentence or clause so that they separate attributes from the words to which they are more closely related:

U prvome su odlomku teksta (Hrvatska krijesnica, 7); U suvremenome se društvu (Hrvatske jezične niti, 44); Zavičajni je govor govor nekoga kraja, zavičaja, a mjesnim se govorom govori u nekome mjestu. (Hrvatski bez granica 1. dio, 47); U prethodnim su rečenicama (Volim hrvatski, 77); Njegov je leksik (Fon-fon, 115); Jezično je bogatstvo (Hrvatski jezik i književnost, 47); Štokavsko je narječje poslužilo (Lica riječi, 23); Govornim je porukama svojstveno (Putokazi, 8).

They can also be found in any other place in the sentence after the accented word (verb, noun, adverb):

Usklična preoblika povezana je s osjećajima govornika (Hrvatske jezične niti, 61); Vlastite imenice pišu se velikim početnim slovom. Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika i hrvatski pravopis dostupni su i u elektroničkome obliku. (Hrvatski bez granica 1. dio, 20, 48); Upitne, jesne i niječne rečenice oblikovali smo pomoću riječi (Volim hrvatski, 34); Znanstveni stil je objektivne komunikacije (Fon-fon, 113); Svako značenje dio je koncepta (Hrvatski jezik i književnost, 91); Sporazumijevanje (komunikacija) razmjenjivanje je poruka (Lica riječi, 14); Promidžbeni članak pregledno je i grafički jasno organiziran (Putokazi, 31),

and inserting an enclitic between parts of an adverb *has also been confirmed: kada je god to moguće* (Fon-fon, 102).

However, there are also examples of incorrect word order when enclitics are placed behind a longer syntagm: *Tajna dobre komunikacije je nametnuti odnos koji se želi* (Lica riječi, 10); *Pjesma Kiša Danijela Dragojevića je pjesma u prozi. Istaknuti glagolski oblici su oblici kondicionala prvog.* (Putokazi, 20, 194); behind parenthesis: *Idiom (grč. idios – svoje, svojstveno) je poseban i prepoznatljiv* (Putokazi, 10); behind an attributive clause: *Oblik kojim se izriče zapovijed je imperativ. Oblici kojima se izriče želja ili mogućnost su kondicional prvi i kondicional drugi.* (Putokazi, 184) and between the subject and predicate syntagm with the established relationship of equality in meaning *Jezikoslovlje ili lingvistika je znanost o jeziku* (Lica riječi, 26). Such examples occur in two secondary school textbooks.

The separation of the name and the surname using enclitics was not recorded in the analyzed textbooks.

Osnovna je škola Miroslava Krležje pobjednik natjecanja is stylistically marked, that is, word order in such sentences is not neutral." (Hudeček and Mihaljević 2019: 221)

3. Spelling choices

When it comes to the spelling choices analyzed here, it can be seen how spelling manuals approved for use in schools, *Hrvatski školski pravopis* by Stjepan Babić, Sanda Ham and Milan Moguš (in use until 2013) and *Hrvatski pravopis* published by IHJJ (later in use) differently approach writing the diphthong behind a consonant group ending in *r* and writing the negative particle *ne* with the enclitic form of the verb *htjeti*, while they are uniform when it comes to writing nouns ending in *-dac*, *-dak*, *-tac*, *-tak*, *-tka*.

Hrvatski školski pravopis states that the sound *e* is written instead of *ije* only in the forms and derivatives of four words, *vrijeme* > *vremena*, *privrijediti* > *privreda*, *upotrijebiti* > *upotreba*, *naprijed* > *napredak*, while in the forms and derivatives of other words with a diphthong behind a consonant group ending in *r*, the diphthong is reduced to *je*, e.g. *brježuljak*, *crjepovi*, *grješnik*, *oprječan*, *pogreška* i dr. (2005: 23). *Hrvatski pravopis* published by IHJJ prescribes writing *e* in such cases, e.g.: *brijeg* – *bregovit*, *brežuljak*; *crijep* – *crepar*, *crepić*; *grijuh* – *greška*, *pogreška*; *prijek* – *naprečac*, *opreka*, *prečica*, *prepreka*, *zapreka* (2013: 19), which is the recommended variant, but due to the confirmation in practice, *je* can also be used,²⁰ which is the allowed variant. The recommended variant has a normative advantage, so the authors of *Hrvatski pravopis* recommend it for school and general use (cf. 2013: VIII).

In the analyzed textbooks of the Croatian language, words with the diphthong following a consonant group ending in *r* are mostly written in accordance with the variants recommended in *Hrvatski pravopis* published by IHJJ, and thus the following forms with *e* are used:

Potrebno ga je nekoliko puta pročitati i ispraviti pogreške prije nego što ga učitelj/učiteljica dobije na uvid. Pogriješiš li, učitelj/učiteljica u tvomju će sastavku označiti pogreške ovim znakovima. (Hrvatska krijesnica, 12); Spontani je govor prirodan, oslobođen straha od jezične pogreške. (Hrvatske jezične niti, 11); jezična iskra i netočno/točno pomoći će ti u izbjegavanju pogrešaka u govorenju i pisanju (Hrvatski za 5, 2); Pojava značenjske opreke (suprotnosti značenja) između dviju riječi naziva se antonimija. (Fon-fon, 62); pogrešno tumačenje poruke (15), potkrepljivanje teza zanimljivim primjerima (32) Zabilježi zanimljive primjere i slikovite potkrepe po kojima ćeš pamtili ovaj razgovor. (32) (Lica riječi); Navedite što je bilo pozitivno u dosadašnjem školovanju, a što je bilo negativno (jesu li to bili određeni nastavni sadržaji ili nastavne metode ili možda način vrednovanja i provjera znanja). (Lica riječi, 69); Prema tome na čemu se temelji značenjska opreka, razlikujemo... (Lica riječi, 164); Naime, postoje leksemi kojima se može pridružiti više antonima, kao

20 Cf.: "Behind *pokriveno r* both *e* and *je* can be written:

a) in the form of monosyllabic masculine nouns that do not have a long raising accent in the genitive singular: *brijeg* – *bregovi* and *brjegovi* (along with *brijezi*), *crijep* – *crepovi* and *crjepovi*, *grijuh* – *grehovi* and *grjehovi* (more frequently *grijesi*), *krijes* – *kresovi* and *krjesovi*, *vrijes* – *vresovi* and *vrjesovi*, *ždrijeb* – *ždrebovi* and *ždrjebovi*

(b) in derived forms of the words:

grijuh – *bezgrešan* and *bezgrješan*, *grešan* and *grješan*, *grešnica* and *grješnica*, *grešnik* and *grješnik*
sprječiti – *sprečavati* and *sprječavati*, *sprečavanje* and *sprječavanje*
unaprijediti – *unapređivati* and *unaprijeđivati*, *unapređenje* and *unaprijeđenje*." (2013: 19)

*i oni kod kojih značenjska **opreka** nije dvojčana... (Hrvatski jezik i književnost 126); Govorne **vrednote** (Hrvatski jezik i književnost, 162); Uoči **pogreške** i ispravi ih (Putokazi, 10); značenjska se **opreka** uspostavlja (Putokazi, 16); **Strelicom** se prikazuje da glavna sastavnica (glagol) određuje gramatičke kategorije zavisne sastavnice (padež). (Putokazi, 222).*

The use of forms with *je* occurs only marginally. It has been confirmed in the verb *unaprijediti* in present and the derived form of the verb *spriječiti*:

*te **unaprjeđujemo** vlastito učenje (Hrvatske jezične niti, 21); Takva se pojava viška obavijesti kojemu je svrha **spriječavanje** nespোরазума naziva zalihost (redundancija). (Fon-fon, 9); Tako je svrha zalihosti **spriječavanje** nespোরазума. (Hrvatski jezik i književnost, 20); Zalihost je u jeziku potrebna radi **spriječavanja** nespোরазума i boljega nadzora nad prenošenjem obavijesti. (Putokazi, 225).*

Furthermore, in one textbook, the rule on *ije/je* reduction in the plural of some nouns, as opposed to *Hrvatski pravopis* published by IHJJ, is illustrated with an example of *crjepovi* (*Hrvatske jezične niti*, 148), which is in accordance with the spelling norm prescribed by *Hrvatski školski pravopis* (2005; 2008).

Writing nouns in *-dac, -dak, -tac, -tak, -tka* is prescribed in the same way in *Hrvatski školski pravopis* and in *Hrvatski pravopis* published by IHJJ, and the textbooks analyzed here regularly record such nouns without omitting consonants *d* and *t*, e.g.:

***dodatci** (Lica riječi, 232); **podatci** (Naš hrvatski, 17; Fon-fon, 16; Lica riječi, 52); **podatcima** (Hrvatski jezik i književnost, 163; Putokazi, 18); **predci** (Hrvatske jezične niti, 13); **sažetci** (Hrvatski jezik i književnost, 161); **trenutci** (Hrvatski za 5, 33); **zadatci** (Hrvatska krijesnica, 12; Hrvatski za 5, 2; Naš hrvatski, 7; Hrvatski jezik i književnost, 21; Lica riječi, 33, Putokazi, 10).*

The negative form of the verb *htjeti* rarely appears in the analyzed textbooks, and it is written as one word with the negative particle *ne*, that is, following the rule found in *Hrvatski pravopis* published by IHJJ:²¹

*Opiši osobu iz svoga života koju nikada **nećeš** zaboraviti. (Hrvatske jezične niti, 23); Govornik **neće** istu poruku u različitoj komunikacijskoj situaciji oblikovati na isti način. (Hrvatski jezik i književnost, 68); Materinski jezik usvajamo od rođenja: ako smo rođeni na selu, to je obično mjesni govor koji **nećemo** mijenjati sve dok ne dođemo u dodir s nekim drugim govorima – primjerice u školi. (Fon-fon, 43).*

Writing the negative form of the verb *htjeti* is teaching content in the fifth grade of primary school, therefore primary school textbooks mention either a paradigm on writing it as one word (*neću, nećeš, neće, nećemo, nećete, neće*)²² or the rule that follows *Hrvatski pravopis* published by IHJJ:

21 Cf. "The following forms are written as a single word: (...) b) negative forms of the present tense of the verb *htjeti*: *neću, nećeš, neće, nećemo, nećete, neće* (...)" (*Hrvatski pravopis* 2013: 58)

22 In the textbooks *Volim hrvatski* (89), *Hrvatski za 5* (74) and *Hrvatski bez granica 2. dio* (126), except in the textbook *Naš hrvatski* which does not mention the way of writing negative forms of the verb *htjeti*.

In some words, the particle 'ne' and the verb are written as a single word. Neće doći na utakmicu. (Hrvatska krijesnica, 83); In the negative form, 'ne' is regularly written separately from the verb, unless it has merged with the verb, e.g. nemam, nedostajem, neću. (Hrvatske jezične niti, 61).

It can be argued that, unlike previous Croatian language textbooks, which in writing the diphthong after a consonant group ending in *r* and writing negative particle *ne* separately from the unaccented form of the verb *htjeti* predominantly followed the norm prescribed by *Hrvatski školski pravopis* (2005) and *Hrvatski školski pravopis usklađen sa zaključcima Vijeća za normu hrvatskoga standardnog jezika* (2008) (cf. Bakota 2011: 145-149), the current textbooks follow the norm prescribed by *Hrvatski pravopis* published by IHJJ and primarily confirm the forms with *e* and forms of the verb *htjeti* written as a single word.

It is worth noting, however, that in some textbooks, the cited text is recorded in its original form, while in others, spelling is adapted, although it has already been noted that texts, especially literary ones, require no adaptation either in spelling or language (cf. Težak 2005: 175-188). Thus, two textbooks include Vladimir Nazor's poem *Hrvatski jezik* but with different ways of writing the negative form of the verb *htjeti*. The last verse of the poem was recorded in its original form in one textbook: "i onda, kad me više biti ne će" (*Fon-fon*, 40), while in another textbook, the verse was adapted to the rules of *Hrvatski pravopis* published by IHJJ: "i onda, kad me više biti neće" (*Putokazi*, 171). In other observed examples, the original spelling is retained: "Riječi koje su potvrđene u rječnicima, ne će se uzimati u obzir." (sentence in the text taken from the journal *Jezik, Lica riječi*, 150); "Prodaju li novine naslovi ili pogrješke?" (title of a newspaper article, *Lica riječi*, 109), "Počeci jezikoslovlja..." (in the text downloaded from the website www.proleksis.hr, *Lica riječi*, 26).

4. Conclusion

The analyzed textbooks of the Croatian language show an effort to use movable vowels in accordance with the recommendation stated in *Hrvatska školska gramatika* published by IHJJ, but the consistent use of the movable vowels, especially in the dative and locative cases, was not achieved. The enclitic form of *ju* is confirmed in a slightly larger number of textbooks than the form *je*, so in this respect textbooks only partially follow the norm prescribed by *Hrvatska školska gramatika* published by IHJJ. On the other hand, in all textbooks, only the non-contracted form of the possessive pronoun *njezin* prescribed by this grammar is used. The norm is also followed in the declension of numbers *dva*, *tri* and *četiri* because they are declined both when a number is preceded by a preposition and when it is not preceded. Textbooks generally follow the rules on word order of enclitics in a sentence, whereby there are no significant differences among the analyzed grammars, but in two textbooks, there are examples of positioning enclitics without following the rules. The spelling choices in the textbooks are aligned with the variants recommended in *Hrvatski pravopis* published by IHJJ, so that the forms with *e* prevail in writing the diphthong after a consonant group ending in *r* and writing the negative particle *ne* as a single word with the enclitic form of the verb *htjeti*. Nouns ending in *-dac*, *-dak*, *-tac*, *-tak*, *-tka* are written without omitting consonants *d* and *t*, but writing such nouns is

prescribed both in *Hrvatski pravopis* published by IHJJ and in *Hrvatski školski pravopis* that was previously approved for use in schools.

Although in the contemporary Croatian language textbooks, the normatively recommended choices are substantially confirmed, which is expected, there are still differences in the consistency of the application of the rules, even within the same textbook, and there are deviations from the prescribed norm at certain places. This points to the need for a more careful design of the language layer of textbooks, especially if considering that the language of textbooks also contributes to the adoption of the standard and the acquisition and development of the student's linguistic culture.

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Tables

Table 1. Use of the enclitic *ju* in textbooks

Table 2. Use of the enclitic *je* in textbooks

Table 3. Use of non-contracted and contracted forms of possessive pronouns and the reflexive-possessive pronoun

GRAMATIČKI I PRAVOPISNI IZBORI U SUVREMENIM UDŽBENICIMA HRVATSKOGA JEZIKA

Sažetak

Udžbenički se jezik treba odlikovati strožim odnosom prema standardnojezičnoj normi što proizlazi iz zahtjeva za poštivanjem funkcionalnostilskih značajka udžbeničkoga podstila znanstvenoga funkcionalnog stila i iz zahtjeva zakonskih i podzakonskih akata kojima se određuju zahtjevi i standardi za izradu udžbenika kao nastavnih sredstava. Različiti razlozi međutim katkada dovode do različitih, a normativno dopuštenih jezičnih i pravopisnih rješenja, to jest pružaju mogućnost izbora. U ome se radu razmatraju upravo takvi, normativno dopušteni izbori koji se potvrđuju u suvremenim udžbenicima hrvatskoga jezika što se od 2019. godine izrađuju po novom kurikulumu. Pritom se nastojalo ustvrditi koji se ovjereni gramatički i pravopisni izbori u njima potvrđuju te koliko su oni u skladu s normativnim preporukama gramatičkih i pravopisnih priručnika Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje s obzirom na to da su ti priručnici odobreni za školsku uporabu. Pozornost je posvećena uporabi navezaka u sklonidbi pridjevnih riječi, zanaglasnica *ju/je*, nestegnutih i stegnutih oblika posvojnih zamjenica i povratno-posvojne zamjenice, sklonidbi brojeva *dva*, *tri* i *četiri*, položaju zanaglasnica u rečenici, pisanju dvoglasnika iza pokrivenoga *r*, pisanju imenica na *-dac*, *-dak*, *-tac*, *-tak*, *-tka* i pisanju niječnice *ne* uz zanaglasni oblik glagola *htjeti*. Iako se u analiziranim udžbenicima u znatnoj mjeri potvrđuju normativno preporučeni izbori, što je i očekivano, ipak ima razlika u dosljednosti primjene pravila, pa i unutar istoga udžbenika, a gdjegdje i odstupanja od propisane norme. Navedeno upućuje na potrebu pomnija oblikovanja jezičnoga sloja udžbeničkoga teksta, osobito ima li se u vidu da i jezik udžbenika pridonosi usvajanju standarda te stjecanju i razvijanju jezične kulture učenika.

Ključne riječi: gramatički izbori, hrvatski jezik, norma, pravopisni izbori, udžbenici hrvatskoga jezika