Nationalisation of Serbs in the Austro-Hungarian Empire: The Role of Language for the Crystallisation of National Identity

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Abstract

The thesis looks into the Serbian nation-building process during the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina between 1878 and 1914. By focusing on two notable periodicals of the time, *Otadzbina* (Homeland) and *Bosanska vila* (Bosnian Fairy), the thesis indicates the instrumentalisation of language in the public discourse to define a national unit and evoke the interconnection among the minorities who inhabited the territory. Acknowledging the entrenched religious affiliation as a point of self-identification among the Bosnian Muslims, Bosnian Orthodox and Bosnian Croats, the thesis challenges the conceptualisation of religion as the marker of collective belonging and posits language as the major tool in the nation-building process with ethnic affiliation as the fluid category of identification. The standardised Serbian vernacular used in the public discourse to deepen the us versus them context, underpinned by the impact of the print capitalism on the modernisation of Bosnia and Hercegovina, was the major marker of national identification and unison. To that end, the thesis indicates that language in the public discourse created an imagined community supporting Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic's hypothesis according to which people in Bosnia are one *narod* (nation) of different faith i.e. Christian Orthodox, Christian Catholic and Muslim Serbs. The thesis demonstrates that language in the public discourse sidelined religious affiliation as a marker of difference and under the notion of sameness made ethnic affiliation the category of collective identification among the groups. With an overview of the major historical events following the transition of rule in Bosnia and Hercegovina, an increase in the culture of printing as well as the modernisation process, the thesis illustrates the key role of the standardised Serbian vernacular in the public discourse for the creation of a Serbian imagined community.

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Introduction

The 19th and the beginning of the 20th century are characterized as the periods of nation-building and identity construction for many groups that strived to obtain autonomy, gain self-determination and free themselves from the foreign domination within the Balkan Peninsula. Following the epoch of monarchical and despotic decline, two important thoughts channelled the nation-building process in Europe and left traces in the South Eastern part. The post-French revolution doctrine on one hand impacted the nationalisation idea along the citizenship whereas the German thought interconnected language and identity, denoting language as the basic component of collective national identity.[1] The end of the 19th century marked one of the most important transitions in rule that changed the geopolitical course of events in Europe. Following the summer of 1878, and the Congress of Berlin, the territories of Bosnia and Hercegovina[2] were assigned to the Austro-Hungarian Empire for administration. Even though Sultan remained the official ruler of the territory, the change in administration impacted all layers of the society and brought new models of socio-cultural functioning, causing instability among the groups and the ruler himself. The tumultuous occupation of Bosnia and subsequent annexation in 1908 set precedent for the outbreak of the Great War and the unforeseeable downfall of the Empires, namely, Ottoman, Russian and Austro-Hungarian.[3]

The annexation of Bosnia posited a challenge due to the geopolitical change in Europe, in which Serbia gained its independence, followed by Bulgaria, Montenegro and Romania. The independence of the aforementioned places brought into light the idea of liberation and self-rule as the Ottoman Empire was withdrawing from the territories. The mixed demographic

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[1] Žorž-Anri Sutu, *Neizvestan Savez: Istorija Evropske Zajednice*, trans. Gorica Teodosijevic (Belgrade:CLIO, 2001), 364-365.
[2] Hereinafter referred to as Bosnia.
[3] Ian Sethre, "The Emergence and Influence of National Identities in the Era of Modernization: Nation-Building in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1878-1914,"1, Kakanien revisited, Accessed 5th May, 2021. http://www.kakanien-revisited.at/beitr/fallstudie/ISethre1.pdf

setup of Bosnia was therefore a challenge in itself, taking into account that the Christian Orthodox[4] and Christian Catholic groups comprised the majority of the population. The mostly Orthodox Kingdom of Serbia, which was independent at this point brought into question the position of the Bosnian Orthodox whereas the Bosnian Catholic part of the population hoped for the independence of Croatian from the Empire. The question of collective identification in Bosnia and the process of nation-building impacted by the transition in governing present a fruitful place for analysis since the ethnic affiliation was not strongly rooted in collective imagination whereas religion was a major component of differentiation. Being a Serb in the context of the Empire was not necessarily linked to Orthodoxy. Catholic and Islamic affiliation were also a viable choice. To that end, ethnic affiliation was a shifting phenomenon, malleable with the currents of the time, and "nation-ness, as well as nationalism could be perceived as cultural artefacts of a particular kind."[5] Whereas ethno-religious identities of Serbs in the independent Kingdom of Serbia were already crystallized in the course of the 19th century, the shifting identification in Bosnia left room for unification under the shield of language and political imagination of a community.[6] To that end, even though the Serbian identity narrative posits religion as the main tool for identity preservation, solidification and forging under the foreign occupation, the role of the standardised vernacular remains unexplored and underestimated.

The thesis will prove that in the process of identity crystallisation and nation-building in Bosnia and Hercegovina, during the Austro-Hungarian rule, the standardised Serbian language was used as the tool for unification among groups who differed religiously. In the construction of such Serbian identity, out of the then liberated Kingdom of Serbia, religious difference was suppressed and language was instrumentalised to discursively evoke the sense

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[4] Hereinafter referred to as Orthodox.
[5] Benedict Anderson, R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 4.
[6] Ibid, 6.

of community. That process will be scrutinised with the making of standardised Serbian vernacular an element of community inclusion together with the dispersion of us versus them narrative and the join fight as the markers of collective identification. Therefore, in the thesis, I hypothesise that Serbian identity was crystallised in opposition to the foreign rule in the public discourse, and that vernacular language paved the path for unison of religiously different groups. The thesis does not deny that religion played a vital role in the construction of Serbian identity, often intertwined with the national identity, but it points out that language had a primary role for the Serbian identity development and crystallisation during the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina between 1878 and 1914. By scrutinising the circumstances around which collective identification in Bosnia was developed, we can understand groups as "practical categories" and "contingent events" with regards to the time in which they were shaped and developed.[7] The print media was used to disseminate the sense of belonging by unifying groups and defining the borders of Serbness in the period when the South Slavic movement was also under development. To that end, standardised language had an integrative function in the printing media which enabled the representation of a specific kind of imagined community as the nation.[8] Therefore, print capitalism made the interconnection between people more prone, spurring up an imagination of a community for a growing number of people and giving them an opportunity to relate to others and perceive themselves in a different light.[9]

The thesis seeks to answer why the language was used as a factor of group unification and nation-building, how Serbian identity was constructed in opposition to the imperial dominance and why the public discourse was important as a tool to disseminate national identity

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[7] Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes De Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie* 43, no. 2 (2002): 167. Accessed April 14, 2021, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23999234.

[8] Benedict Anderson, R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 25.

[9] Ibid, 30.

and amplify the sense of belonging and unity. To answer the questions presented above, I will apply the critical discourse analysis and historical-discourse approach in the analysis of two eminent periodicals in the course of one year up to the annexation of Bosnia, and underpin my hypothesis with Benedict Anderson's theoretical conceptualisation of imagined communities. Therefore, the first chapter of the thesis, covering the theoretical conceptualisation, will shed light on the interconnection between language and identity, and its postulate in the Habsburg Empire. The enlightenment ideas will also be referenced in this section. Other important works with regards to the usage of language for community building will also be mentioned. To counteract the theological conceptualisation of nation-building in Austro-Hungarian Empire I will indicate the extent of which language was used as a marker of belonging for the creation of national categories out of the linguistic ones for Slavs in the Empire. Furthermore, I will cover the South Slavic movement and language standardisation that marked the 19th century as well as the emerging printing media that stemmed from the rise in print capitalism. The second chapter of the thesis will offer contextual information overlooking the major historical events before and upon the occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina. The specific attention in the historical chapter will be given to the process of modernisation that the rulers introduced. Following this process, I will shed light on the emergence of ethno-national movements, tightly linked to the periodicals. The third and final chapter of the thesis will offer a contextual analysis of *Bosanska Vila* (Bosnian Fairy) and *Otadzbina* (Homeland) periodicals with the application of critical discourse analysis and discourse-historical approach. The twofold analysis will encompass the application of theoretically conceptualised imagined communities in addition to the textual analysis. *Bosanska Vila* (Bosnian Fairy) periodical will also be underpinned by Roger Brubaker's groupism to counteract the theological transformation of ethnies to nations.

Chapter 1. Theoretical Background and Methodology

1.1 Theoretical Background

1.1.1 Language and Identity

The interconnection between language and identity can be traced back to the work of Johan Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), who framed the idea of cultural nation versus the civic nation. To him, nation was defined between the group members who share elements of culture, in which language had the central point. His concept of nation was based on the group of people who speak the common language.[10] Apart from him, there were other influential authors who also discussed the link between language and identity, such as Johann Gottlieb Fichte in his work Reden an die Deutsche Nation, which translates to the Speeches to the German Nation. In the chapter on The Südmark Settlers, Peter Judson argued that identity was mutable and that majority did not "equate language with loyalty to one nation over another." Knowing another language, e.g. German in the Empire did enable easier mobility. Language was not closely tied to group belonging, therefore group identities were fluid and malleable.[11] As a set of "overlapping cultural-linguistic boundaries in East-Central Europe," Jeremy King argues that ethnicity was a shifting phenomenon which did not have deeper nationalistic goals. [12] The perception was that ethnicity and nationhood were in the continual process of shift unlike citizenship in the Empire, which was fixed. In addition to that, Susan Gal, claims that multilingualism in the Empire was a "category of practice." She differentiates between the

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[10] Peter Jordan, "Languages and Space-Related Identity: The Rise and Fall of Serbo-Croatian," in *Handbook of the Changing World Language,* eds. Brunn S., Kehrein R. (Springer:2020). 541. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-02438-3_47

[11] Pieter Judson, ""Reluctant Colonists: The Südmark Settlers," in *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontier of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 100-140.

[12] Jeremy King, "The Nationalization of East Central Europe: Ethnicism, Ethnicity and Beyond," in Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield, eds., *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2001), 112-152.

authentic and instrumental usage of language, where one was for business and the other one for pleasure, the latter one being the mother tongue.[13] Taking into account the previously stated, the rise in nationalistic aspirations in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the second half of the 19th century can be marked by the instrumental usage of language by which linguistic categories led to the emerging social movements. There were no established ethnic groups who had a strong sentiment of collective belonging. To understand the identity development and solidification for Serbs in Bosnia, it is important to acknowledge the role of language in the public discourse as the main tool for unification, nationalistic claims and collective identity solidification, in the times when South Slavic identity was also in the process of development. To that end, language can be perceived as factor of community inclusion and exclusion. Peter Jordan identifies three major factors that contribute to that. The first factor is the systematic function of language as the source of communication through "signs or codes" and through it the integration into a community. The second is the conceptualization of a multifaceted reality that would otherwise be incomprehensible. The language mirrors various concepts that symbolise culture and bring complex reality into existence for a community. The third factor is the element of closeness, i.e. the inclusion of individuals into a larger community.[14] This theoretical conceptualization affirms the role of language for community building and inclusion as well as exclusion from the group.

As "the main factor in the creation of national consciousness," Hugh Seaton Watson argues that language was the primary tool for the groups that emerged during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.[15] Since the thesis looks into identity solidification and

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[13] Susan Gal, "Polyglot Nationalism. Alternative Perspectives on Language in 19th Century Hungary," *Langue et société*, No. 136 (June 2011), 31-54

[14] Peter Jordan, "Languages and Space-Related Identity: The Rise and Fall of Serbo-Croatian," in *Handbook of the Changing World Language,* eds. Brunn S., Kehrein R. (Springer:2020). 544-545. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-02438-3_47

[15] Hugh Seaton Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press. 1977), 9.

development and the overall process of nation-building, the term "nation" is understood as the "community of people, whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity, a common culture, a national consciousness."[16] In the process of nation-building in the Austro-Hungarian empire, the elements of "solidarity," "common culture" and development of "national consciousness" are discursively created in the public discourse through rhetorical devices to bring together groups who were not yet collectively identified. The nationalistic rhetoric used in the public discourse seeks the conceptualization of the term nationalism. Nationalism to that end is understood with two meanings, one being the "character, interests, rights, and duties of nations," whereas the second embodies "an organized political movement."[17] The appearance of nationalistic movements and the need for collective identity development, i.e. the development of nationalism will be also looked through the prism of Miroslav Hroch's three-stage model of nationalism for groups of Eastern and Northern Europe where he acknowledges "progressing from elite scholarly patriotism (phase A) to nationalist advocacy in the public sphere (phase B) to the emergence of a mass political movement (phase C)." [18]

Hugh Seaton-Watson's definition of nationalistic movements can be used to analyse the language in the public discourse. To him, such movements arose to claim independence and create the sense of national unity. The analysis of the language disseminated in the public discourse will be done by acknowledging three important elements for identity development – independence, unification and nation-building. The formation of national identity in the print media with language as the main toll can also be conceptualized by Jurij Lotman's model of autocommunication, in which meaning is communicated to address cultural reality through

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[16] Hugh Seaton Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press. 1977), 1.

[17] Ibid, 3.

[18] Miroslav Hroch, Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations, trans. Ben Fowkes, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe," in Mapping the Nation, ed. Gopal Balakrishnan (London: Verso, 1996), 78–97; Edin Hajdarpasic, Whose Bosnia?: Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914 (Cornell University Press, 2015), 4. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt15hvrq2.

historic representation and demarcation to self-represent.[19] Therefore, the model of autocommunication can be applied to the analysis of texts with intertextuality to produce certain communication elements and understanding.[20] In that sense, language i.e. written words become a powerful tool in spreading and expanding certain ideas that form a different reality and participate in the construction of collectiveness and belonging. To look at the relationship between language and identity, linguistic anthropology will also be an important point of reference. The field sheds light on two important concepts, "sameness and difference," i.e. the possibility of individuals to see themselves as a part of a group for the first one and the alienation from those who are seen as distinct. The language comes as the central part of identity development. The four semiotic processes that equip language by transcending the social and political meaning and context encompass "practice, indexicality, ideology and performance."[21] To that end, practice is conceptualised as "habitual social activity" that constitutes the everyday life. Under indexicality, the shifting from one event signals the other one, i.e. the principle of proximity is vital. Ideology is viewed through the interplay of power to accumulate distinct socio-political meaning. Therefore, the concept of power is an important social phenomenon. Ideology shapes cultural beliefs and practices and the power relations stemming from them. Finally, performance "brings social world into being." [22] It constitutes and makes identities more visible, and does so usually with a pitch of resilience.

Language being the major component in the cultural production is likewise a resource for identity production. Therefore, linguistic anthropology conceptualises different levels of identity as "social, cultural and political" products.[23] To comprehend the social relations formed

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[19] Tatjana Markovic, "Idiosyncrasies of the Grand Narratives on Serbian National Identity" accessed April 15, 2021, https://www.kakanien-revisited.at/beitr/emerg/TMarkovic1.pdf.

[20] Han Lei, "Juri Lotman's Autocommunication Model and Roland Barthes's Representations of Self and Other". *Sign Systems Studies* 42 (4), 2014:520. https://doi.org/10.12697/SSS.2014.42.4.05.

[21] Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, "Language and Identity," in *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, ed. Alessandro Duranti (UK: Blackwell, 2004), 369-370.

[22] Ibid, 379-401.

[23] Ibid, 382.

under semiotic processes, "tactics of intersubjectivity" established under the identity work can be used. Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall point out three different pairs of tactics that forge identity, namely adequation and distinction, authentication and denaturalization, and authorization and illegitimation. To that end, the aforementioned tactics comprehensively denote "how and why identity is created through language and other semiotic systems."[24] The adequation tactic strives for uniformity that is socially acknowledged. The differences are cast aside for the sake of similarities within a social context considered to be a "motivated social achievement." Distinction, on the other hand, is emphasised and produced to reach certain social reality. It is the crux point that leads to the us versus them context. [25] Furthermore, authentication and denaturalization signify the establishment of a genuine identity. Here, the element of realness and with it the claims to realness plays an important role. The language becomes an important factor in the development and expression of an imagined national unity. With language standardization, the speakers become more "authentic" for the creation of the national history. The single linguistic variety encompasses a group of people who start constituting a national group. Language imagines people. The formation of the language identity through the nationalistic rhetoric then symbolizes specific ways of belongingness and exclusion within the nation-state. Such authentication practice can be a useful tool to produce ethnic and nationalistic views with specific linguistic choices made. [26] Authorization and illegitimation serve to either legitimise or delegitimise identity through certain authority. The authorization of a language plays a central role to the formation of a homogenous national identity and therefore gives a new role to the elites. The authorization of a single, often highly artificial, form of language as

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[24] Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, "Language and Identity," in *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, ed. Alessandro Duranti (UK: Blackwell, 2004), 379-401. 383.
[25] Ibid, 384.
[26] Benedict Anderson, R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 44; Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (London: Blackwell, 1983); Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, "Language and Identity," in *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, ed. Alessandro Duranti (UK: Blackwell, 2004), 384.

the standard may be central to the imposition of a homogeneous national identity in which modern elites and speakers who once held traditional authority have very different roles. [27]

To address the process of nation-building, I will rely on modernist's approach, which departs from primordialism and ethno-symbolism. To modernists, the process of nation-building and nationalism emerge as modern phenomena whereas the ethno-symbolists take the stance that there was a gradual transformation from an ethnie to a nation. i.e. that the groups had a collective memory, shared myths and symbols and were attached to a particular territory. Even though Anthony Smith conceptualized nationalism as a modern phenomenon, he acknowledged the existing collective memory and shared history.[28] The primordialist approach to the formation of nationhood relies on the belief in the collective identity that stems from the ancient heritage, and a priori ethnic group that has the right to the land. Be that as it may, the approach fails to acknowledge the dissemination of such belief without the modernisation period and an increase in the culture of printing. The emergence of collective identities and with it the claim to the territory are rather interlinked with the novelty of the group identification and their political organization as well as the modern urge for a nation-state.[29] To conceptualize that the process of nationhood, i.e. nation-building did not come out of the group who already had a developed sense of belonging and national consciousness, Brubaker's approach to groupism and identity will be applied. The groups are rather seen as "constructed, contingent and fluctuating," and it is the work of what he frames "ethnopolitical entrepreneurs" that such groups with no clear boundaries and definition become evoked and summoned.[30]

[27] Errington, J. Joseph. Shifting Languages. Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511612480; Joel C. Kuipers, Language, Identity, and Marginality in Indonesia: The Changing Nature of Ritual Speech on the Island of Sumba (Washington DC: George Washington University, 1998); Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, "Language and Identity," in *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, ed. Alessandro Duranti (UK: Blackwell, 2004), 379-401. 384.

[28] Anthony Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 44.

[29] Anthony Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (UK: Oxford University Press,1999); Benedict Anderson, R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

[30] Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes De Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie* 43, no. 2 (2002): 164-166. Accessed April 14, 2021, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23999234.

To that end, ethnicity and nation are contingent with political events and social circumstances, and are rather an analytical category of analysis framed under the auspices of groupness that was in the process of continual shift and reshaping.[31] As he points out, the conceptualisation of groups as groupness leaves room for analysing "collective solidarity" and unity as something momentarily present and dependent on the situational context. The collective cohesion thus should not be perceived as an unchanging variable but rather as something stemming from the currents of the time.[32] Framed as "perspectives on the world" rather than "things in the world," ethnicity, race and nationhood need to be conceptualised in the nation-building process in the early 20th century occupied Bosnian territory. What triggers such ethicised ways of belonging and identifying is rather the situational context and the imposed imperial rules that impacted new ways of classification and identification, in which language was a tool to establish the ethnic collectiveness. [33] To that end, religion was rather a point of differentiation whereas the depiction of language as the language of all Serbs from various religious background was a point for group formation and nation-building. The theoretical conceptualisation departs from the belief in the antique identity awareness and historical tie to the Serbian identity in the form it came to be understood later on. The theological conceptualisation of national identity, which assumes that there were several stages of identity formation leading to the final collective awareness is discarded due to the lack of standardised language before the 19th century. It's the marking of social practices, disseminated through the public discourse that activated collective and therefore national ways of seeing and perceiving reality and making links to the past.

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[31] Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes De Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie* 43, no. 2 (2002): 167. Accessed April 14, 2021, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23999234.
[32] Ibid, 168.
[33] Ibid, 167.

1.1.2 South Slavic Movement and Language Standardisation

Why language plays such an important role in the process of nation-building and identity solidification needs to be traced to the first instances of South Slavic identity development in the Habsburg Lands, which stems from language standardisation and linguistic cooperation among groups who inhabited the Empire. Language standardisation had a slower pace in Central and Eastern Europe where the process of modernisation was much slower due to the "agricultural mode of economy." It was only the educated elite who operated as a mediator between the ordinary people and the ruling party. They were the ones who later led nationalistic movements and spread nationalistic ideas. [34] Some of the early traces of self-realisation and similarity identification in the Empire among various Slav groups can be traced around the beginning of the 19th century in Napoleonic Illyrian Provinces where Slovenes, Serbs and Croats lived, where language similarity was an important factor of unification. Taking into account thesis's scope and time span, the most important events, agents and writings will be mentioned following the course of the 19th century when the Serbian language standardisation period takes place. For the Serbian language standardisation process, it is important to acknowledge the work of Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic (1787-1864), the codifier of the standardised Serbian language and the reformer of the Serbian alphabet. Though Vuk Stefanović Karadzic codified the Serbian language, which was officially accepted in the Kingdom of Serbia in 1868, he was not alone in the process. The work of his predecessors had contributed to the language standardisation, namely the work of Dositej Obradovic[35] and Savo Matavulj[36] who acknowledged Johann Christoph Adelung's orthographic rule to "write the way

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[34] Thomas Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 29-39.

[35] Serbian educator and reformer.

[36] Serbian writer.

you speak."[37] Nonetheless, the focus in the thesis is on Karadzic's work since he is endorsed as the Serbian language reformer. What is important to mention about Karadzic's work is the linguistic breakup from the then Russian influence in language and the turn to the vernacular language, which was strongly opposed by the church. Karadzic relied on the language of the ordinary people, i.e. the colloquial language, and based the standardised form on the (i)jekavian variant of the Stokavian dialect, that most of the Serbian population used, according to his work. This was followed by the first grammar book of Serbian in 1814 and subsequently the first large dictionary in 1818. In his language standardisation form, Karadzic advocated that language is the major marker of identification for all Serbs, claiming that those who used Stokavian dialect were Serbs, regardless of their religious affiliation. He claimed that Croats used Cakavian and Kajkavian dialect.[38] One of the most controversial works that cherished the aforementioned divisions was his publication *Kovcezic za istoriju, jezik i obicaje Srba sva tri zakona* (Treasure Box for the History, Language and Customs of Serbians of All Three Faiths), published in Vienna in 1849 where the ideological postulate stipulated that Serbs have different religious affiliation and same language. Apart from the mentioned works, he also travelled and collected folk tales, proverbs, and different historical works that have additionally impacted the language and vocabulary span. Be that as it may, in 1850, intellectuals on both Croatian and Serbian side came to terms to signing what came to be known as Vienna Literary Agreement. Even though Serbian language development was far in the standardisation process, during the 1830 and 1840,

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[37] Kristina Djordjevic, "Jezička reforma Vuka Karadžića i stvaranje srpskog književnog jezika (istorijski pogled i aktuelno stanje), (Language reform by Vuk Karadzic and the creation of the Serbian literary language (historical overview and the present situation)," *Slavica Slovaca* vol. 53, no. 2 (December 2018):165. https://www.sav.sk/index.php?lang=en&doc=journal-list&part=article_response_page&journal_article_no=15906

[38] Peter Jordan, "Languages and Space-Related Identity: The Rise and Fall of Serbo-Croatian," in *Handbook of the Changing World Language,* eds. Brunn S., Kehrein R. (Springer:2020). 548 – 549. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-02438-3_47; Kristina Djordjevic, "Jezička reforma Vuka Karadžića i stvaranje srpskog književnog jezika (istorijski pogled i aktuelno stanje), (Language reform by Vuk Karadzic and the creation of the Serbian literary language (historical overview and the present situation)," *Slavica Slovaca* vol. 53, no. 2 (December 2018):168 . https://www.sav.sk/index.php?lang=en&doc=journal-list&part=article_response_page&journal_article_no=15906

the Illyrian movement also developed on the Croatian side, supporting the unity of the South Slavs, led by Ljudevit Gaj[39] who argued on behalf of the Croatian language and united South Slavs.[40] The Illyrian movement was the carrier of the unison between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, though the latter ones did not accept the proposed language as their official language. Therefore, the South Slavic, often termed Illyrian movement postulated the "common origin" for the Slavs of the south which ended up including mainly Serbs and Croats. The identity of Muslims in Bosnia is yet another challenging concept that would require a detailed scrutiny and thorough investigation, which cannot be carried out in the thesis due to scope's limit. The development of their ethnic and national identity was strongly impacted by the decline of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. Muslim identity in 19th century Bosnia is often characterised as less salient and more fluid than the Croatian and Serbian; in the thesis they will be referred to as Bosnian Muslims.[41] The idea of the common origin for South Slavs was supported equally by the Croatian and Serbian intellectuals, as a mechanism to fend off the dominant German and Magyar dominance in the Empire. Though the Latin and Cyrillic were kept as the scripts for standard forms of Croatian and Serbian respectively, Stokavian dialect form was accepted as the norm. To that end, in 1850, Vienna Literary Agreement was signed by the elites on these two sides even though it had oppositions on both sides; the Croatian side was scared of the Serbian dominance and the Serbian side of the Croatian. This linguistic cooperation that occurred in 1850 marked the cornerstone of the South Slavic identity formulation and set precedent for subsequent nation-building. The event marked the beginning of the joined Serbo-Croatian language, nonetheless, the official language name was not agreed upon to prevent ideological clashes. It was framed as the "the southern dialect of the Old

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[39] Croatian linguist, politician and writer.
[40] Thomas Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 25.
[41] Florian Bieber, "Muslim Identity in the Balkans before the Establishment of Nation State," *Nationalities Papers* 28, no. 1 (2000): 13. doi:10.1080/00905990050002434.

Dubrovnik" and it was not defined who are the people sharing this common language."[42] The similarity between the dialects led to the codification of the Serbian and Croatian grounded in the Stokavian dialect."[43] To Karadzic, the most important was to establish that those who used "ekavian, (i)jekavian and ikavian" pronunciation, i.e. Stokavian dialect, spoke the same language. Accepting ijekavian Stokavian dialect as the official standard norm, a dialect that was characteristic of the Bosnian Hercegovina region, undermined Cakavian and Kajkavian which were the literary traditions of Croats whereas the choice of ijekavica instead of ekavica marked a differentiation from the Belgrade's Serbian ekavian variant. What can be already presumed as a challenge in the collaboration was the advanced process of Serbian language development and codification with the early beginning of the 19th century whereas Croatian movement emerged slightly later during the 1830.[44] The beginning of the standardisation for these two languages - Croatian and Serbian in the 19th century - paved the path for the joint Serbo-Croatian language that brought under the same umbrella groups of people and set the basis for early South Slavic identity formation.[45] Therefore, Vienna Literary Agreement presents a crucial point in history since the basis for the literary language of, to that point, two groups was agreed. The same dialect was chosen – eastern Hercegovina dialect, which set the ground for the future nation-building element of those groups that rested with language. Not naming the language officially already speaks on behalf of the challenging relation that these groups had during the 19th century and the presumptions that elites behind the movement had about the future of Serbs and Croats and the joint South Slavic movement. [46] Even though there

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[42] Thomas Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 225-226.

[43] Peter Jordan, "Languages and Space-Related Identity: The Rise and Fall of Serbo-Croatian," in *Handbook of the Changing World Language,* eds. Brunn S., Kehrein R. (Springer:2020). 548. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-02438-3_47

[44] Pavle Ivić, *Srpski narod i njegov jezik* (Serbian people and their language), (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1986), 193.

[45] Ibid, 549.

[46] Kristina Djordjevic, "Jezička reforma Vuka Karadžića i stvaranje srpskog književnog jezika (istorijski pogled i aktuelno stanje), (Language reform by Vuk Karadzic and the creation of the Serbian literary language (historical overview and the present situation)," Slavica Slovaca vol. 53, no. 2 (December 2018):169.

are disputes in the modern times whether unified language ever existed, and to what extent it was imposed on the speakers, the Vienna Literary Agreement of 1850 does indeed testify to its existence since the agreement was initiated on both sides and widely accepted afterwards by renowned Croat and Serbian linguists and figures.[47] After the passing of Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic in 1864, the language name became a dispute. The Croatians sought to rename the language and add to the Serbian name a Croatian one, acknowledging that they accepted the language of Karadzic but not its name.[48] Therefore, in 1867, at the Illyrian gathering in Zagreb, the official accepted name became Croatian or Serbian. It was only in 1907 that Serbo-Croatian gained an official status in Bosnia.[49]

1.1.3 Serbian Print Media in Bosnia and Hercegovina

In addition to the process of language standardisation occurring in the course of the 19th century Serbian and Croatian linguistic work, it is also important to acknowledge an increase in the culture of printing, a medium through which, messages and ideas were communicated and spread more easily. The focus in the thesis is on the Serbian printing houses and newspapers. Therefore, standardised language gained a new, more significant role, disseminating messages to larger groups of people who have never met each other. It eased the development of a homogeneous national cohesion.[50] The increase in print media and the development of print capitalism gave a new meaning to the written language and contributed

https://www.sav.sk/index.php?lang=en&doc=journal-list&part=article_response_page&journal_article_no=15906

[47] Robert D. Greenberg, *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and its Disintegration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 54.

[48] Milos Kovacevic, "Putevi i stranputice srpskog jezika od Vuka do danas (Roads and strays of the Serbian language from Vuk until the present times)," (rad predstavljen na IX medjunarodnom naucnom skupu Srpski jezik knjzevnost umetnost, knj. i srpski jezik – od Vuka do danas, FILUM, 2015) 21.

[49] Snježana Kordić, *Jezik i nacionalizam* (Language and Nationalism), (Zagreb:Durieux, 2010), 274-275; Thomas Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 226

[50] Ibid, 25.

to the dissemination of persuasive rhetoric on the elements of unity and antique idea of nationhood and national belonging that did not exist before. [51] The emergence of print capitalism was a crucial event for different groups, i.e. minorities within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to be heard and grouped. Therefore, print capitalism, which Anderson indicates as the signifier of the modern world, was along the language a breaking point for nationalisation of minorities. The invention of the printing press followed by the nationalisation of languages through standardisation and codification brought into light the modern concept of a nation, discursively imagined and disseminated. It led to the formulation of us versus them narrative and the representation of collective national consciousness. The advancement of technology mirrored through the development of print capitalism therefore contributed to a rapid transmission of nationalizing narrative and ideological patterns in vernaculars that were the common discourse of the population.[52] With the increase in printing, and the standardised language that was taught in schools, used in newspapers, and a slow but a gradual increase in literacy, the ideas were more easily disseminated to wider masses. The contribution of the print media can be seen in the analysis of the linguistic means through which social life was produced and how discourse was created. Therefore, the text in question has to be contextualised with circumstances under which certain discourse was shaped and produced.[53]

The development of the print media and Serbian printing newspapers in Bosnia and Hercegovina came slightly later than in other areas where Serbs lived due to the transitional rule in Bosnia from the Ottoman to the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1878. i.e. after the Congress of Berlin when Bosnia was occupied by a new ruler. This also brought a certain level of censorship on a state level. The groups that inhabited Bosnia at the times had an opportunity

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[51] Benedict Anderson, R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 44.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ruth Wodak and Michal Krzyzanowski, *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) 48.

to launch their own newspaper editions and make publications that were cross-checked by the Austro-Hungarian censors.[54] The focus in the thesis is on the printing editions written and issued by the Serbian elites of the time, *Bosanska vila* (Bosnian Fairy), the first Serbian newspaper in Bosnia, printed in Cyrillic, which was founded by Nikola Sumonja, Bozidar Nikasinovic, Stevo Kaludjercic, and Nikola Kasikovic, immigrant teachers from Vojvodina in 1885 and the newspaper *Otadzbina* (Homeland), owned and founded by Petar Kocic, a Bosnian Serb writer and politician, in 1907.[55] In addition to these ones, there were other newspapers and magazines, which are out of analysis's scope due to the lack of digital availability. Therefore, the thesis's span and analysis rest with *Bosanska vila* (Bosnian Fairy), a magazine encompassing literature, entertainment and teaching, published between 1885 until 1914 and newspaper *Otadzbina* (Homeland), which mainly informed about political events, cultural life, and literature, published from 1907 to 1908.[56]

Other important newspapers and magazines in which language was used as a tool to homogenize population in Bosnia and retrospectively create a common past, following the occupation in 1878, encompass *Srpski vijesnik* (Serbian Herald), *Srpska rijec* (Serbian Word) and *Prosvjeta* (Education), which cherished and spread the thought of Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic, who stipulated that Serbs speak the same language and are a people of three faiths –

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[54] Stijn Vervaet, "Cultural Politics, Nation-building, and Literary Imagery: Towards a Post-Colonial Reading of the Literature(s) of Bosnia-Herzegovina 1878-1918," *Kakanien Revisited*, no. 28/12 (2009): 2. https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/1092891

[55] Violeta Gluvacevic, "Casopisi i novine u 18. i 19. Vijeku – Znacaj za razvoj srpskog knjizevnog jezika i moderne knjizevnosti (Magazines and Newspapers in 18 and 19 Century – The Significance towards the Development of Serbian Literary Language and Modern Literature)," *Casopis za društvene i prirodne nauke* (2010), 234 https://www.scribd.com/document/358718522/Violeta-Gluva%C4%8Devi%C4%87-%C4%8Casopisi-i-Novine-u-18-i-19-Vijeku-Zna%C4%8Daj-Za-Razvoj-Srpskog-Knji%C5%BEevnog-Jezika-i-Moderne-Knji%C5%BEevnosti-Split-1; Sinisa Malesevic, "The Mirage of Balkan Piedmont: State Formation and Serbian Nationalism in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Nations and Nationalism*, no. 23. (2017):145. 10.1111/nana.12267

[56] "Bosanska Vila: List za Zabavu, Pouku i Knjizevnost," *Digitalne kolekcije Nacionalna i univerzitetska Biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine*, Accessed April 25, 2021. https://kolekcije.nub.ba/collections/show/25#?c=&m=&s=&cv=; "Digital Collections," Digitalna NUB Republike Srpske, Accessed April 25, 2021. http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=q-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10----4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0-4--0--0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&cl=CL1

Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim.[57] They enjoyed a more independent rhetoric despite the present censorship, through subtle literary works and less salient criticisms of the regime.[58] Even though the literacy levels were still low in the first years of the occupation period, it is also acknowledged that these years were followed by the opening of new schools and spreading of enlightenment ideas. The thesis won't be looking into the percentages of literacy levels and educational reforms and developments but rather focus on the rhetoric in the two newspapers mentioned above, *Bosanska vila* (Bosnian Fairy) and *Otadzbina* (Homeland) as the official discourse of the time during which they were run and published.

1.2 Methodology: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Discourse-historical Approach (DHA)

To analyse the collected data, I will use a combined qualitative research method, namely critical discourse analysis and discourse-historical approach. My analysis will rely on the Viennese School of Critical Discourse Analysis and the triangular method that challenges the question of national identity by combining "historical, socio-political and linguistic perspective" in the analysis of the written public discourse.[59] By choosing this method of analysis, I deem that I will have a higher validity for the outcome of the research in question with an overarching approach to a historical topic. I will be focusing on the discourse analysis of nationalistic repertoire by employing the theoretical conceptualization of "imagined community" by Benedict Anderson, who stipulated that nation as a collective phenomenon had to be imagined first in order to be socially constructed, by people who saw themselves as part

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[57] Adib Đozić, "Bosanskohercegovački suverenitet u političkoj djelatnosti MNO (Muslimanske narodne organizacije), (Bosnian-Herzegovinian sovereignty in the political acting of MNO (Muslim National Organisation)," *Znakovi vremena - Časopis za filozofiju, religiju, znanost i društvenu praksu,* no. 35-36 (2007):233. https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=234556; "Naslovnice prvih novina: Austro-Ugarski period," *Mediacentar_Online*, March 21, 2016, https://www.media.ba/bs/magazin-novinarstvo/naslovnice-prvih-novina-austro-ugarski-period

[58] Todor Kruševac, *Bosansko-hercegovački listovi u XIX veku* (Bosnian-Herzegovinian periodicals in the 19 century) (Sarajevo: Veselin Maslesa,1978) 72.

[59] Ruth Wodak, Rudolf De Cillia , Martin Reisigl, and, Karin Liebhart, *The Discursive Construction of National Identity,* trans. Angelika Hirsch, Richard Mitten and J.W Unger (Edinburgh University Press. 2009), 9.

of a certain group.[60] I aim to prove that the theory of imagined communities is applicable in the solidification of Serbian national identity in Bosnia and Hercegovina where language in the public discourse was instrumentalised to create the sense of unity and belongingness among groups who differed religiously and at the same time to sharpen Serbian identity as distinct from the South Slavic identity. To that end, religion in the construction of this collective identity has a secondary role, unlike the standardised Serbian language exercised through the public discourse in the time of the expansionist printing culture in Bosnia. Whereas religion was a divisive factor, language was a tool for unification. In my research, the collective identity is first and foremost seen as mutable, changeable and transformative, aligned with the political currents of the times and shaped by the public discourse of groups of people who tried to impose certain ideas and beliefs that were not present before.

Critical Discourse Analysis is a perfect tool to analyse various hidden and overt expressions of "dominance, discrimination, power and control" that are embodied through the used language. [61] As a field envisaged by Van Dijk to analytically approach the concepts of ideology, identity and inequality produced in the written and oral discourses to conceptualise the social context, this method will be a relevant point of analysis for the discursive construction of identity and nationhood.[62] To that end, it is worth acknowledging that the written language contributed to the emergence of nationalism. [63] Taking into account that the written language disseminated by the printing media transcends new ideas and forms of meaning and opens up possibilities for people to reimagine themselves and their identity in relation to others and themselves, CDA will be the right method to address those ideas.[64] In addition to that,

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[60] Benedict Anderson, R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

[61] Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, Methods *of Critical Discourse Analysis*, eds. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: Sage, 2001), 2.

[62] Ibid, 95-121.

[63] Benedict Anderson, R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). 122.

[64] Ibid, 40.

discourse-historical approach will be an important method of analysis to address and properly approach the highly relevant historical context where certain ideas emerge and develop. One of the essential goals of discourse-historical approach is to interpret the dominance of specific narratives and unlock the hidden ideologies and beliefs framed in discourse with regards to its historical context. [65]

First of all, I would like to accentuate the importance of CDA and DHA for the research that I am conducting. My research looks into the discursive construction i.e. crystallisation of Serbian identity in Bosnia and Hercegovina during the period of occupation by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, between 1878 and 1914. To have a better research outcome, I have decided to focus on the public discourses disseminated between 1907 and 1908, the period leading to the annexation crisis which I deem has paved the path for identity solidification since the hopes for territorial unification between Bosnia and the Kingdom of Serbia were destroyed. I will look into two renowned newspapers, i.e. *Bosanska vila* (Bosnian Fairy) and *Otadzbina* (Homeland), run by people who identified as Serbs. Bosnian Fairy made publications between 1885 and 1914, the year when it was banned whereas Homeland was launched in 1907 and forcefully banned in 1908. The owner and editor of this newspaper, Petar Kocic, was also imprisoned. The reason for choosing these two newspapers is first and foremost the abidance of rubrics that addressed literature, culture, social and political questions, and history, edited and owned by intellectual elite of the time as well as their digital availability and the lack of existing analysis with regards to the nationalising narrative. The years of publication and the exclusive usage of Cyrillic letter are also taken into account for the choices made. As for the analysis, I will be focusing on the discursive dissemination of identity through the rubric *Srpski narod* (Serbian People/Nation) in Bosnian Fairy published in 1908. In the newspaper *Otadzbina* (Homeland),

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[65] Ruth Wodak, "Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse-Historical Approach," The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction, 2015, 4. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118611463.wbielsi116.

I aim to look at the rubric *Srpstvo* (Serbness) and *Jugoslovenstvo* (South Slavism) though I will also take into account other relevant articles published in the course of 1907 and 1908 in this newspaper within the time span of one year before the annexation, since it has in-depth writing on socio-political events of the time. I will analyse the excerpts from those rubrics and articles which I deem have a nationalizing rhetoric in the Serbian language.

My research topic will explore the homogenisation and erasure of difference by focusing on sameness and unity under the auspices of common language for groups who inhabited occupied Bosnia. I will focus on the argumentation used in the above-mentioned rubrics as a constructive strategy, identifying and scrutinizing the topoi of comparison, history, threat and definition. In order to legitimize certain discourse and through it spread ideas, topoi are important elements for acts of persuasion and gaining of credentials.[66] The semantic character of the written statements will be a part of the analysis. The selection of the year 1908 is based on the crisis crux that led to territory annexation, which justifies my selection of data as the period of time that had additionally spurred nationalist sentiments and made claims on behalf of collective identity a vital matter. Critical Discourse Analysis will be a useful tool here to answer why such discourses had been created and the purpose of their agents. In order to scrutinize the instrumental usage of language with regards to the historical context, discourse-historical approach as part of the CDA will help me identify how and why language was used to make claims on behalf of identity and decide who belongs and who doesn't. By analysing the ethnolinguistic nationalistic claims, I will look into the argumentations made, metaphors, vocabulary and the defining of people as a specific group. Since texts are often sites of social combat and expressions of certain ideologies and beliefs, the written discourse can easily be manipulated to "legitimise" or "delegitimise" relations, clashes and the right for dominance,

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[66] Ruth Wodak, Rudolf De Cillia , Martin Reisigl, and, Karin Liebhart, The Discursive Construction of National Identity, trans. Angelika Hirsch, Richard Mitten and J.W Unger (Edinburgh University Press. 2009).

which is why it is a good model for the analysis."[67]   Language is the major point of scrutiny here, and the text will be approached with Wodak's discursive strategies of nomination and predication.[68] The first one assumes someone's membership through metaphors, metonyms and synecdoche whereas the second one offers "evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits". The focus will be on comparisons and various rhetorical figures used to ascribe certain traits.[69] The research will prove that language was operationalised in the public discourse to create the sense of "imagined community" in the period of modernisation in Bosnia. By disseminating nationalistic ideas in the public discourse and defining Serbness and Serbian people under the auspices of common language and the need for unity, as opposed to the imperial rule, the elites have used the standardised language as the marker of unification and identity construction. This claim will fill in the gap on Serbian identity development discourse in which religion is usually perceived as the major instrument of identity construction while the language assumes the secondary position.

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[67] Ibid, 4.
[68] Ruth Wodak, "Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse-Historical Approach," The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction, 2015, 8. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118611463.wbielsi116.
[69] Ibid, 8.

Chapter 2. Historical Context

In this chapter, I will give a brief overview of chronological events occurring before and after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia in 1878, which I deem contribute to a better understanding of the emerging nationalistic movements and further underpin the hypothesis that language was manoeuvred in the public discourse by the educated elites to disseminate nationalizing ideas. Since the thesis is focusing on the solidification of Serbian national identity and the role of language in the process of nationalisation, most prominent Bosnian Serb political organisations of the times will be mentioned with a glimpse on movements occurring on the Bosnian Croat and Bosnian Muslim side. In addition, I will also elaborate on the process of modernisation that is vital for this period of time, the position of the liberated Kingdom of Serbia as well as the bureaucratic policies that were introduced by the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

2.1 Late 19th Century and Bosnian Crisis: From Occupation to Annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina (1878 – 1908)

The long 19th century played an important role in the nation-building process for groups in Bosnia and Hercegovina, who were succumbed to the administrative transition from the Ottoman to the Austro-Hungarian rule.[70] Marked as the period of independence seeking, nationalisation and creation of national churches under the doctrine of post-French revolution and enlightenment ideas, the 19th century set the ground for irredentist claims and subsequent confrontations in the Balkans, following the Ottoman withdrawal from the territories which led to the confrontations between Serbs and Bulgarians, Greeks and Turks as well as Bulgarians

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[70]Mark Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History* (New York: Modern Library, 2002), 163.

and Turks.[71] In the Balkans particularly, the Ottoman Empire had been losing its power throughout the 19th century, which led to its steady withdrawal and proclamation of independence for the liberated territories. To understand the irredentist claims and the growing interest in territorial unification between Serbia and Bosnia and Hercegovina, we need to acknowledge the historical development of the Serbian territory and successful expansion throughout the 19th century, that culminated during the Balkan Wars in the early 20th century.

In the beginning of the 19th century, Serbia had no power at all, statehood, or organised socio-political and educational system, yet over the course of the 19th and the early 20th century, it became one of the strongest political entities and a leading regional power in the Balkans. [72] Two notorious Serbian uprisings, one between 1804 and 1813 and the second between 1815 and 1817, together with the Hadzi Prodan's revolt in 1815 led to de facto independence in 1867, which was officially acknowledge by the Great Powers in 1878 under the Treaty of San Stefano and subsequent Congress of Berlin. Up to the point of the Congress, Serbia had already expanded its territory "to 48,600km and 1.7 million inhabitants."[73] Even though the independence empowered Serbs and led to the establishing of independent Kingdom of Serbia, it failed to gather all Serbs as a homogeneous group on the joint piece of land. The significant number of Serbs continued living outside the liberated Kingdom of Serbia, more so knowing that "Serbian intellectual life in the Habsburg lands was far more advanced than in Belgrade."[74] The majority of the population was rural, uneducated and agrarian throughout the 19th century, slowly undergoing the literacy expansion, school building and language codification and standardization. What is more, the Russian influence in the Balkans dominated, particularly on

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[71]Thanos Vermis, *The Modern Balkans: A Concise Guide to Nationalism and Politics. The Rise and Decline of the Nation-State* (London: SEE – The Research on South Eastern Europe, 2015) 34.
[72] Sinisa Malesevic, "The Mirage of Balkan Piedmont: State Formation and Serbian Nationalism in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Nations and Nationalism*, no. 23. (2017):129. 10.1111/nana.12267.
[73] Ibid, 23.
[74] Mark Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History* (New York: Modern Library, 2002), 155.

the societies of Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria, from the Treaty of Adrianople (1829),[75] the Crimean war (1853 – 1856)[76], and later into the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Since the power of Serbia was growing, so did the Russian influence, which led to Russian and Austro-Hungarian clashes over domination within the Serbian territory.[77] Russia's influence was present through the pan-Slavic ideas and the attempts to instrumentalize the need to fight the oppressors.

I will reflect in more detail on the Congress of Berlin, which paved the path in the Balkans for decades to come following the end of the 19th century. Taking into account that the Treaty of Berlin was a crux for many events that followed thereafter, including the Balkan wars, the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Great War itself, I will rest my focus on the status of Bosnia and Hercegovina and the challenges its occupation posed for the Empire and Slavs who inhabited the territory. This event played a pivotal role in the future of Bosnia and Hercegovina as well as the overall Balkan region.

Held in 1878, between the major at the times European powers, the Treaty of Berlin substituted the Treaty of San Stefano[78] signed between Russia and Turkey to end the Russo-Turkish war that lasted from 1877 to 1878. The powers that took part in the Congress of Berlin encompass Russia, France, Italy Great Britain, Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Germany, the so-called Great powers of the time, together with the Ottoman Empire, Greece, Serbia, Romania and Montenegro. During this event, the boundaries, sovereignty and borders were drawn for

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[75] This treaty ended the war between Russian and the Ottoman Empire.

[76] Fought between the Russian Empire and French, British, Ottoman and Sardinian troops. The conflict ended with the singing of the Treaty of Paris in 1856 with Russia's defeat.

[77] Thanos Vermis, *The Modern Balkans: A Concise Guide to Nationalism and Politics. The Rise and Decline of the Nation-State* (London: SEE – The Research on South Eastern Europe, 2015), 24-25.

[78] The initial idea behind the San Stefano Treaty was to make Bosnia and Hercegovina a part of the Ottoman Empire, an autonomous province in which a power-sharing system would be established between Orthodox, Catholics and Muslims. Yet the idea was rejected to the fearing expansion of Serbian and Montenegrin territory and the possible riots that a call to South Slav unity could evoke in the Hapsburg lands. Taken from John Connelly, "The 1878 Berlin Congress: Europe's New Ethno-Nation-States," in *From Peoples into Nations: A History of Eastern Europe* (Princeton University Press, 2020), 218.

the four emerging national states i.e. Bulgaria, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia.[79] Signed in 1878, the treaty granted the occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which automatically excluded its unification with Serbia, though it had the highest number of Orthodox South Slavs. Therefore, the Empire was allowed to administer the provinces of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and restore and maintain peace that was in jeopardy, whilst keeping Turkish Sultan as the sovereign of the territory.[80] In this way, the Great powers could prevent the Russian expansion and influence in Europe; Bulgarian autonomy was also granted with a much smaller territory than previously stated in the San Stefano treaty all due to the fears of Russian influence in the region.

Taking into account the dissatisfaction that the Treaty of Berlin caused with regards to the Serbian ambitions towards Bosnia and Hercegovina and the belief in the righteous unification, the occupation by the Austro-Hungarian Empire set forward challenges and unintentionally evoked new forms of organisation and mobilisation within the territory. Though the occupation was to a large extent welcomed by Bosnian Catholics, Bosnian Orthodox and Bosnian Muslims on the other hand were displeased. For one, Muslims did no longer hold a more privileged position as under the full Sultan jurisdiction, whereas Orthodox, at least the elitist educated intelligentsia, rejected the idea of a new ruler, losing the hope of unification with the liberated Kingdom of Serbia. It would be hard to claim that these were the sentiments for the Austro-Hungarian occupation throughout the entire reign. More so, they were

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[79] John Connelly, "The 1878 Berlin Congress: Europe's New Ethno-Nation-States," in *From Peoples into Nations: A History of Eastern Europe* (Princeton University Press, 2020), 210; Martin Mutschlechner, "The Congress of Berlin and the Division of the Balkans," The World of the Habsburgs, accessed April 30th 2021, https://ww1.habsburger.net/en/chapters/congress-berlin-and-division-balkans.   "The Congress of Berlin and Its Consequences," *The North American Review* 127, no. 265 (1878): 392-405, Accessed April 28, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25100692;

[80] Bernadotte E. Schmitt, "The Bosnian Annexation Crisis (I)," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 9, no. 26 (1930): 312-314. Accessed May 05, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4202525;
John Connelly, "The 1878 Berlin Congress: Europe's New Ethno-Nation-States," in *From Peoples into Nations: A History of Eastern Europe* (Princeton University Press, 2020), 210;
Kemal H. Karpat, "The Balkan National States and Nationalism: Image and Reality," *Islamic Studies* 36, no. 2/3 (1997): 329-59. Accessed April 28, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23076200.

changeable between the groups from pro and anti-imperial dominance as the policies and regulations changed within the territory. The primary factor of identification within the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina was through religious affiliation as Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim, even though the boundaries of such identities were unclear and uncategorised - often have Bosnians Muslim identifies as Serbs or Croats. Fearing the Serbian influence in Bosnia and Hercegovina and the possible riots, imperial rulers made the Serbian Prince Milan Obrenovic[81] sign a secret treaty in 1881, in which he agreed that "Serbia will not tolerate political, religious, or other intrigues which, taking her territory as a point of departure, might be directed against" the new rule in Bosnia and Hercegovina.[82] This was the year when the Austro-Hungarian troops were also illegally conscripted in Bosnia, though the Sultan was kept as the official ruler.[83] At this point, it is important to acknowledge that the overall society in Serbia was highly polarized due to recurrent clashes between two royal houses that dominated the Serbian scene throughout the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century – Karadjordjevic and Obrenovic dynasty. Djordje Petrovic Karadjordje and Milos Obrenovic founded these two royal houses who were at odds with each other. Obrenovic family mainly held the power between 1817 and 1842 as well as 1858 and 1903.[84] The assassination of Serbian king Aleksandar Obrenovic together with his wife by a group of nationals in the beginning of the 20th century, brought again Karadjordjevic family in reign. This also brought a higher level of Russian presence within the territory, since Karadjordjevic family relied more on their support and cherished the idea of South Slavic unity.[85] By and large, the population in the Kingdom of Serbia remained highly polarized until

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[81] Ruled the Kingdom of Serbia between 1882 and 1889.

[82] Edin Hajdarpasic, *Whose Bosnia?: Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914* (Cornell University Press, 2015), 99. Accessed May 05, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt15hvrq2; "The Austro-Serbian Alliance of 1881," in *The Secret Treaties of Austria Hungary, 1879 1914*, ed. Alfred F. Pribram (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920), 51.

[83] John Connelly, "The 1878 Berlin Congress: Europe's New Ethno-Nation-States," in *From Peoples into Nations: A History of Eastern Europe* (Princeton University Press, 2020).

[84] Sinisa Malesevic, "The Mirage of Balkan Piedmont: State Formation and Serbian Nationalism in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Nations and Nationalism*, no. 23. (2017):134. 10.1111/nana.12267.

[85] Thanos Vermis, *The Modern Balkans: A Concise Guide to Nationalism and Politics. The Rise and Decline of the Nation-State* (London: SEE – The Research on South Eastern Europe, 2015) 55-56.

the early 20th century, and the rise in nationalism was evident among the intellectual elite who sought to obtain the territories of the retreating Ottoman empire. It was only then that the arise in irredentist claims was evident among Greeks, Serbs and Bulgarians.

Whereas the national irredentism developed as a consequence of gradual growth and political and military success in the Kingdom of Serbia where church was also an important element of unification and identity development, in Bosnia and Hercegovina, the situation was much different due to the change in governing. The switch from the Ottoman to the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1878, had a stronger effect on the agrarian Serb population since the semi-feudal system was preserved and Muslims continued being the majority landlords on the territory. The outbursts against the Muslim landlords by the Hercegovina peasants were the key events that led to the Austro-Hungarian interference on the territory in the first place.[86] With the change in rule, Bosnian Muslims kept the higher positions as landlords for the new ruler, whereas the rest of the population reflected the majority of illiterate and impoverished peasants.[87] This period also experienced growth in areas of culture, education, infrastructure, enhanced by the Austro-Hungarian administrator Benjamin Kallay who governed the territory between 1882 until his death in 1903. His vision was to establish a multi-confessional Bosnian nation, which backfired due to the growing displeasure of Serbs and Croats who foresaw this as an attempt of assimilation.[88] His aim refocused then on the establishment of a distinct Bosniak nation for Bosnian Muslims through education, culture and the launching of numerous newspapers of the time.

The tensions were additionally aggravated following the official annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina on 6 October 1908, which caused a crisis that ended on 31st March 1909, when

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[86] Clemens Ruther, "Bosnia-Hercegovina, 1878-1918: A Colony of a Multinational Empire," in *The Shadow of Colonialism on Europe's Modern Past*, eds. Roisin Healy and Enrico Dal Lago (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 156-157.
[87] Sinisa Malesevic, "The Mirage of Balkan Piedmont: State Formation and Serbian Nationalism in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Nations and Nationalism*, no. 23. (2017):142. 10.1111/nana.12267.
[88] Ibid, 142-143.

the Kingdom of Serbia accepted the annexation. Therefore, annexation was a boiling point for the Slavic communities in Bosnia, which eventually led to the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand by Gavrilo Princip on 28th June 1914, the date of the notorious Kosovo battle anniversary in 1389. The killing of the Archduke by a member of the Young Bosnia[89] organisation, is usually interpreted as the event leading to the beginning of the Great War.[90]

2.2 Modernisation and Bureaucratic Nationalism on the Territories of the Occupied Bosnia and Hercegovina

To further underpin the hypothesis that there was not a linear transformation i.e. established ethnic groups that subsequently transformed into nations who sought a nation state, it is important to look into the modernisation period that engulfed the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The formation of nations and the mobilization of groups was to a large extent situational, in accordance with the political currents of the time. The way Habsburg Empire governed and tackled many groups within its territory and introduced new ways of categorisation and classification has to a large extent impacted the national categories of identification.[91] In 1849, they passed a law in which they acknowledged the languages of the minorities within the Empire, the reason why they had to create a specific legal and political terminology for Slavic languages. The special commission was established for the five languages, namely, Czech and Slovak as one, Polish, Ukrainian, Slovenian as well as Serbian and Croatian. The work of the commission produced a three-volume dictionary *entitled Juridisch-politische Terminologie für die Slawischen Sprachen Oesterreichs* (Juridical-

political terminology for the Slavic languages of Austria).[92] In addition, nine linguistic categories were introduced from the 1849 *Reichsgesetzblatt* for the sake of bureaucracy and political discussions within the Empire.[93] One important element for demarcation and accidental nationalisation were the censuses conducted in the Empire. Whereas the first Hungarian census from 1867 had noting on language and nationality, the second one, conducted in 1880, besides the question about the mother tongue also acknowledged the second spoken language.[94] To that end, census represented a way to shape the social reality and produce new forms of identification. The ethnolinguistic categories were applied in censuses, schools, the military and other events and have therefore helped homogenize groups under the system of classification, setting a precedent for distinct linguistic categories of identification. Whereas language was used as an identification marker in the old part of the Empire, following the occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina, the administrators kept the Ottoman census form and relied on religion as the marker of identification. Austro-Hungarian Empire conducted four censuses during their reign in Bosnia and Hercegovina in the years 1879, 1885, 1895 and the last one in 1910. The first three censuses counted the population with regards to their religious affiliation whereas the last one had the question about the native tongue, giving the options a) Serbo-Croatian and b) other. Therefore, religious affiliation was the major denominator for the population in Bosnia.[95] During the Ottoman rule in the 19th century, the population estimate suggests that Orthodox population was the most numerous, followed by Muslims, Catholics,

[92] Kristina Djordjevic, "Jezička reforma Vuka Karadžića i stvaranje srpskog književnog jezika (istorijski pogled i aktuelno stanje) (Language reform by Vuk Karadzic and the creation of the Serbian literary language (historical overview and the present situation)," Slavica Slovaca vol. 53, no. 2 (December 2018): 168-169.https://www.sav.sk/index.php?lang=en&doc=journallist&part=article_response_page&journal_article_no=15906

[93] Rok Stergar, "Ethnic Boxes: The Unintended Consequences of Habsburg Bureaucratic Classification," *Nationalities Paper*, no. 46. 4 (November, 2018): 579-580. DOI: 10.1080/00905992.2018.1448374

[94] Ibid, 581.

[95] Milena Spasovski, Dragica Zivkovic and Milomir Stepic, "The Ethnic Structure of the Population in Bosnia and Hercegovina," Internet Library of Serb Culture, Accessed May 05, 2021, https://www.rastko.rs/istorija/srbi-balkan/spasovski-zivkovic-stepic-bosnia.html#autor1; Mariana Lukic Tanovic, Stevo Pasalic and Jelena Golijanin, "Demographic Development of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Ottoman Period Till 1991 and the Modern Demographic Problems," *Elsevier*, vol. 120 (March, 2014): 241-242. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.02.101.

Jews and Roma.[96] The figure of around million residents is calculated according to the Ottoman population estimates. With the change of rule and the coming of the Hapsburgs, that number peaked, reaching around two million inhabitants by 1914.[97]

By becoming part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bosnia was named *Reichsland* (Imperial country) and officials from both Vienna and Budapest ruled together. Benjamin Kallay was appointed as the governor of Bosnia, and the idea behind the rule was to transform the prevailing dissatisfactions across the land and make the inhabitants loyal to the monarchy.[98] As previously mentioned, the very reason behind the Austro-Hungarian occupation of the territory was the need to civilize and modernise the region in accordance with the imperial rules, policies and regulations. The process of modernisation encompassed rapid growth of industrial development whereas the agricultural sector was neglected and the religion-based feudal system remained in place, i.e. the majority of the Bosnian Muslims continued being the landlords. Nonetheless, with the higher rates in taxes caused by the process of modernisation, the burden was again on Bosnian Orthodox and Catholic peasants who had to answer to Bosnian Muslims.[99] What was particular about the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia, i.e. Benjamin Kallay's policy towards the ruled groups, was divide-and-rule strategy. The administrators wanted to make sure that there are no rebellious unisons and have therefore switched from frequent favouritism of one group, to the other one, i.e. from the Bosnian Muslims, to Bosnian Croats or Bosnian Serbs and enhanced antagonism against each other. Kallay's attempt to establish the concept of Bosniaks and merge the groups under it as the future loyal subjects of the Empire did not find success. It was much later, in the beginning of the 20th century that

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[96] Edin Hajdarpasic, *Whose Bosnia?: Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914* (Cornell University Press, 2015), 8. Accessed May 05, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt15hvrq2

[97] Ibid, 8.

[98] John Connelly, "The 1878 Berlin Congress: Europe's New Ethno-Nation-States," in *From Peoples into Nations: A History of Eastern Europe* (Princeton University Press, 2020).

[99] Ian Sethre, "The Emergence and Influence of National Identities in the Era of Modernization: Nation-Building in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1878-1914," Kakanien revisited, Accessed 5th May, 2021. http://www.kakanien-revisited.at/beitr/fallstudie/ISethre1.pdf

Bosnian Muslim intelligentsia identified with the concept, but remained heavily divided among themselves.[100]

What was problematic with the process of modernisation in Bosnia, was its unequal application for all the members of the society. One aspect of it was education. The Austro-Hungarian administration built more than "200 primary schools, three high schools, a technical school and a teacher-training college."[101] Modernizing the rural peasantry in Bosnia was supposed to be carried out through educational and cultural institutions, nonetheless, the major issue was the lack of resources. Therefore, under Kallay's jurisdiction, "inter-confessional National Elementary Schools were established throughout the country, but their development was rather slow: from 42 (with 2,836 pupils) in 1882/3 to 135 (with 9,613 pupils) in 1889." [102] The focus rested with the secondary education, particularly Sarajevo Gymnasium where the administrators hoped to cultivate a new cultural elite. These modernisation steps in Bosnia were seen by the independent Kingdom of Serbia as attempts to assimilate the Orthodox Christians, the reason why Serbian politician Nikola Pasic sought cultural autonomy for Serbs in Bosnia, in the areas of education and religion. Nonetheless, the administrators went to any lengths to diminish irredentist claims within and outside of Bosnia, and banned import of any cultural material from the Kingdom of Serbia that had nationalistic rhetoric.[103] Taking this into account, only two Serbian newspapers were allowed in Bosnia in 1890s, *Nase Doba* (Our Age) and *Novo Vreme* (New Time).

In 1903, Benjamin Kallay died, and István Frieherr Burián von Rajecz took the post. He had a slightly different approach to the minorities in Bosnia. In order to diminish the rising

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[100] Ian Sethre, "The Emergence and Influence of National Identities in the Era of Modernization: Nation-Building in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1878-1914," Kakanien revisited, 7. http://www.kakanien-revisited.at/beitr/fallstudie/ISethre1.pdf

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Sinisa Malesevic, "The Mirage of Balkan Piedmont: State Formation and Serbian Nationalism in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Nations and Nationalism*, no. 23. (2017):144-145. 10.1111/nana.12267.

tensions and somewhat growing nationalistic anti-imperial sentiments among the groups, he allowed the establishment of ethno-political organisations for the three groups in the period between 1906 and 1908. To that end, *Srpska Narodna Organizacija* (Serbian National Organisation) emerged in 1907, *Hrvatska Narodna Zajednica* (Croatian National Union) in 1908, as well as *Hrvatska Katolicka Zadruga* (Croatian Catholic Association) and on the Bosnian Muslim side, *Muslimanska Narodna Organizacija* (Muslim National Organisation) in 1906. These organisations had different agendas and goals that often made them at odds with each other, in combat over the dominance of the territory or towards the formation of the necessary collaboration.[104] Their political activism and the growing dissatisfaction with the ruler was expressed through the print media and the establishment of different newspapers and magazines, around which they gathered. As a result of their influence, the division among the uneducated part of the population, the agrarian society was slowly embarking, which led to the codification of many Orthodox Christians as Serbs, Bosnian Muslims as Serbs and less present Bosnian Catholics as Serbs. Taking into account that Bosnian Muslim identification was much weaker than that of Orthodox Christians who looked upon independent Serbia and Catholic Christians who leaned towards unification with Croatia, the fight for the Bosnian Muslims support among Serbs and Croats prevailed. The identity was fluid in the form of ethnic denomination as Serb or Croat, nonetheless, religious affiliation dominated, which resulted in Bosnian Muslims identifying often as Muslim Serbs or Muslim Croats and the fight against the common imperial enemy remained the factor of unification.[105]

Srpska Narodna Organizacija (Serbian National Organization) had three fractions that gathered around different newspapers. The first one was around periodical *Narod* (The People) the second around *Srpska rijec* (Serbian Word), and the third around the periodical *Otadzbina*

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[104] Ian Sethre, "The Emergence and Influence of National Identities in the Era of Modernization: Nation-Building in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1878-1914," Kakanien revisited, http://www.kakanien-revisited.at/beitr/fallstudie/ISethre1.pdf
[105] Ibid.

(Homeland). The group that gathered around *Otadzbina* (Homeland) was led by the newspapers' main editor and owner, Petar Kocic.[106] Their engagement mainly propagated anti-imperial stance and was highly critical of the imperial power and domination. The group around the periodical *Srpska rijec* (Serbian Word), had stronger nationalistic pretences, and often switched from nationalistic to pro-Imperial attitudes for the sake of their interests. The third group, that gathered around *Narod* (The People) newspaper, comprised intellectual elite of the time, heavily opposing the imperial domination on the territory.[107] Another political party that was exclusively Serb-led in Bosnia, was *also Srpska Narodna Nezavisna Partija* (Serbian People's Independent Party) founded by Lazar Dimitrijevic who published in the periodical *Dan* (Day), taking a pro-regime stance. [108] Whereas the organisations by Bosnian Croats were inclined towards the regime most of the time, the Bosnian Muslim Organisations were of mixed feelings, pushing agendas for "religious-educational and agrarian issues."[109] Be that as it may, the formation of these political organisations and the usage of periodicals to push certain agendas and express dissatisfaction, despite the existing censorship, were important and impactful ways to express certain ideas and raise awareness among the ordinary people. Though Bosnia did not experience a huge literacy boom following the beginning of the 20th century, it had undergone educational reformation and headed towards printing expansion. The culture of printing was a powerful tool to disseminate the message of the time and raise nationalistic awareness and the need for unification against the perceived other. To that end, printing editions remain a powerful tool of categorisation and identification.

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[106] Serbian writer, poet and politician, born in Bosnia and Hercegovina in 1877.
[107] Elvis Fejzic, "Political Thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina During Austro-Hungarian Rule, 1878–1918," *East Central Europe*, no. 2-3, vol. 39 (January 2012), 212. https://doi.org/10.1163/18763308-03903011
[108]Elvis Fejzic, "Political Thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina During Austro-Hungarian Rule, 1878–1918," *East Central Europe*, no. 2-3, vol. 39 (January 2012), 213. https://doi.org/10.1163/18763308-03903011; Radomir Neskovic, *Nedovrsena Drzava; Politicki Sistem Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung 2017), 17 – 20.
[109] Ibid, 213.

Chapter 3. Empirical Analysis: Serbian Identity through the Public Discourse Prism - Homeland and Bosnian Fairy

Central to the emerging nationalistic organisations that gathered around the newspapers was language, as a tool to disseminate powerful messages to wider masses and denote the interconnection between collective identity and the language itself. Taking into account that Serbian language was undergoing the process of standardisation and codification throughout the 19th century, the growing printing media and the usage of the colloquial language, i.e. vernacular familiar to the rural population suited well the nationalistic rhetoric of the time. The nationalisation process enhanced through the public discourse therefore stemmed from the language as the tool that connected wider masses who did not have clear boundaries drawn between their religious identities and national collective belonging. The bureaucratic classification policies transferred from the Ottoman to the Austro-Hungarian rule preserved the religious differentiation model as Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim, within the context of Bosnian. Nonetheless, such categorical differentiation left freedom for political manoeuvring and provided an opportunity to depict religion as less important and language as the stronger marker of belonging. To that end, Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic's hypothesis that people of Bosnia speak the same language and have different religious affiliation, i.e. that they are Serbs, speaking the Serbian language of Orthodox, Catholic and Islamic faith was a starting nationalistic point in marking borders of national identification against the common imperial enemy. Therefore, even though the South Slavic identity was on one hand a point of reference and to certain extent identity marker, the growing influence of the liberated Kingdom of Serbia, set forward a model for liberation that could potentially be applied in Bosnia, under unison and collective identification as Serbs, and Bosnia and Hercegovina as the Serbian land, which was even further enhanced with Serbian successful battles in the Balkan wars. Whereas religion was a stronger point of reference within the Kingdom of Serbia, where the majority of the population

was Orthodox, in Bosnia, only the language could achieve such homogenizing nature of the population, keeping religious affiliation marginal and sidelined to fight the mutual enemy. Therefore, writings in standardised vernacular and fight against the imperial enemy, I present as two important elements, maneuvered by the intellectuals of the time, to join together groups in Bosnia as Serbs rather than South Slavs and establish a sense of collectiveness and belonging.

In the first part of the empirical analysis chapter, I will focus on the periodical Homeland, founded by a prominent politician and writer of the times, Petar Kocic. In this part of the analysis, I will unlock the hidden ideologies behind the specific narratives in the newspapers, resting my focus between the years 1907 and 1908, i.e. the years leading to the annexation crisis, by focusing on the two rubrics in the newspaper *Srpstvo* (Serbness) and *Jugoslovenstvo* (South Slavism) with occasional quotations from other eminent articles from these years, where I will indicate the rhetoric used to sharpen the sense of imagined community and belonging. In order to prove my hypothesis that language was used as a factor of unification among the groups who differed religiously and indicate the way that collective identity as Serbian identity was constructed in opposition to the imperial dominance, I will apply the constructive strategies of argumentation by identifying and analyzing the topoi of comparison, history, threat and definition together with discursive strategies of nomination and predication. In addition, my analysis will be underpinned with Benedict Anderson's theory of imagined communities contextualized with the newspaper Homeland. Furthermore, in the second part of the analysis, in the Bosnian Fairy, I will apply the theoretical conceptualisation of groupism by Rogers Brubaker, to underpin my claim that there was no linear transformation from an ethnie to a nation and to indicate the language in the public discourse was used to define the boundaries of the Serbian identity. I will rest my focus with the rubric *Srpski narod* (Serbian people). The term *narod* (people/nation) used in the newspaper Bosnian Fairy will be contextualized with

regards to Edin Hajdarpasic's definition of the term to map the people, their belonging and to draw national and ethnic boundaries.

3.1 Constructing Serbian Imagined Community in Petar Kocic's Homeland

To claim that language was politicised in the public discourse, I refer to the tacit usage of written language with regards to the currents of the time. For the critical discourse analysis of the periodical *Otadzbina* (Homeland), I have taken into consideration the publications between the 19th October 1907 and 14th March 1908, after which the periodical was banned from publishing due to the nationalistic and irredentist claims; the founder and editor Petar Kocic was imprisoned in the first year of the publication. I have decided to take the year 1907 and month October as a departing point, justifying it as one year before the official Bosnian annexation on 6th October 1908. This is also the year in which *Srpska Narodna Organizacija* (Serbian National Organization) fully operated, therefore, I am expecting to find a higher level of nationalistic rhetoric. Following the course of actions, Petar Kocic was already arrested at this point of time, and the publication were issued by his cowriters and members of the *Srpska Narodna Organizacija* (Serbian National Organisation) who comprised the editorial team. My analysis will follow a chronological order of periodicals published, ending with the final publication issued and available in digital form from 14th March 1908.

The periodical *Otadzbina* (Homeland) published socio-cultural, political and literary articles, nonetheless, the nationalistic rhetoric was empowered throughout the sections equally, perhaps even more in the literary section where narratives were framed metaphorically through the figures of speech. In addition to the exclusive usage of Cyrillic, which to the present moment remains an important marker of Serbian identity, the rubrics *Jugoslovenstvo* (South Slavism) and *Srpstvo* (Serbness) were interchangeably published in each of the editions, yet in both of them the emphasis was on Serbian people and the suffering of Serbs, not just in Bosnia and

Hercegovina but around the world. Taking into account that South Slavic movement was under the process of development, it comes as a surprise that the rubric dedicated to South Slavs is placing the emphasis on Serbs almost exclusively. These two rubrics were often the anonymous correspondent letters published or the writings by the editors themselves. As previously mentioned, they are the scope of analysis, together with other articles within the period of one year.

On 19th October 1907, from the onset of the periodical, the editors openly attacked the Austro-Hungarian regime, developing the nomination us versus them by categorizing the injustice of the ruler set upon the *Otadzbina's* (Homeland) founder and editor in-chief Petar Kocic. To that end, in the article *Sharlatani* (Charlatans), the topoi of threat are used to denote the level of injustice committed by the foreign administrators. Since this was the period of extreme censorship, accusations and rebellions were wisely hidden in the texts through anonymous referencing of agents and metaphorical topoi of definition such as the addressing of anonymous them as "charlatans." Under the scope of deictic "we," the authors are emphasizing the collective fight that needs to be carried on in the land. Arguing that in the land everything is subjected to the foreign domination and power, they resonate the imminent threat that "we" have to continue fighting. The juxtaposition is therefore between them as a collective unit and the imminent other that poses a threat. The text states the following:

> "It is hard to understand how difficult, extremely difficult is the fight that we have to carry on in this country. Not all of the hardships came from the bayonet that this despotic system is relying on. […] If the statements expressed underwent a legal procedure, we would come to the conclusion that the perpetrator who arrested Mr. Kocic and Mr. Kondic, is not familiar with the basic law terminology and the scope of the authority. […] Such events and many other testify that in this land nothing occurs by the common sense and law and justice, but by the orders that charlatans give, and whose power at the moment is great, however, we will be persistent in our job to diminish it."[110]

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[110] "Charlatans," *Homeland*, October 19, 1907, http://digital.nub.rs/pdf/otadzbina/19071019.pdf

In *Srpstvo* (Serbness) rubric below, the argumentation used to define and explain the Serbian nationhood and the way it needs to be preserved is constructed by drawing parallel to the work done in other lands afar. The authors are referring to the Serbian nationhood as the most sacred element and identify spirit, language and letter as the markers of the Serbian identity that comprises nationhood. By excluding religion, education and language are identified as two most important tools for identity preservation. Therefore, the topoi of definition are used in the text, together with the topoi of consequence. The adjectival possession "Serbian" is repetitively emphasised throughout the text to give a defining feature of collective identity. Consequently, the community can be imagined as a horizontal comradeship that encompasses all of its members who fight against the imminent other.[111] By defining the component of "Serbian" not along the territorial lines but through the cultural and historical demarcations, the collectiveness attains a stronger unifying feature defining Serbs not where they are but through their communal coexistence. The defining of identity is employed through the lexeme unison and togetherness and therefore discursively constituted. In the rubric it was stated:

> "Feeling the need of unification and joint work, particularly here in the foreign land, we Serbian women in Chicago (America) have united in the joint circle and founded the Humanitarian Collective of Serbian Women in Chicago. The aim of this collective is not just the financial and moral support as with other collectives, but to spread here in the foreign land, Serbian thought, bring up children in the Serbian spirit and if possible open Serbian Schools, where the Serbian spirit, customs, language, Cyrillic and the most sacred – Serbian nationhood will be preserved from perishing in the see of strangers' land! Serbian sister! And Serbian brother! You have the moral and financial duty towards the success of this institution."[112]

In the same periodical edition, the *Jugoslovenstvo* (South Slavism) rubric adheres to the argumentation that underpins the eminent threat that Serbs in other part of the Balkans are

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[111] Benedict Anderson, R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

[112] "Serbness," *Homeland*, October 19, 1907, http://digital.nub.rs/pdf/otadzbina/19071019.pdf

experiencing, stating that "In the last two years, more than 6000 thousand Serbs emigrated to Serbia from Turkey, however the Serbs now leave their villages at Pec, Sandzak running from the growing attacks by Arnauts due to the poor harvest. Up to this point three groups of Serbian emigrants reached Serbia in an unfavourable condition."[113] Identifying and denoting the eminent danger happening to other Serbs who are also experiencing some form of foreign rule, the topoi of threat can be recognised, indicating the need for unification and the running of Serbs to the borders of the motherland. The text also elaborates on the magnitude of Serbian population, dispersed throughout the continent, constructing the causal relationship us against them, i.e. they against us, the oppressed ones. The strategy of nomination is employed to construct the in-group and out-group position with possessive reference "Serbs" indicating something essentially Serbian under attack, and yet safe in the kin-land.

The boundaries of the Serbian identity throughout the articles are drawn in opposition to the outer threat and danger. That threat is seen as encompassing everything that comes from the foreign ruler. The topoi of definition in the segment below are used to encompass temporal reference stipulating that it was always "us, our people, the Serbian people" who have made things work. Therefore, the Serbian identity is presented as the good fighting the bad which can be identified in the article *Jedna konfiskacija* (One Confiscation). To that end, the borders of Serbian identity in Bosnia and Hercegovina are constructed to be the safety nest of those under threat. As such it becomes closer to the wider group that is without a collective self-perception, since the occupation is always perceived as a threat to the population. Such denomination elaborated above can be seen in the following text:

> "One of the greatest virtues that describes our Serbian people is the help they provide to every national and humanitarian institution. Therefore, the greatest part of our national and humanitarian institutions was built by the generous hand and a

[113] "South Slavism," *Homeland*, October 19, 1907, http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4--0-0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&cl=CL1.5.1&d=HASH019d33d16a7b0b59a0bc44c2.1

noble heart of our people. Particularly in Bosnia, everything that is nice and noble is definitely not the act of our government but comes from the initiatives and hard work of our people. […] Our people give for every noble opportunity with all their means since they are convinced that this administration won't give them what they need and what works for their ideas."[114]

Continuing into the year 1907, and the publication of *Otadzbina* (Homeland) on 26th October, the editors tried to suppress the irredentism claims by denying the accusation that they seek to join the independent Kingdom of Serbia. Nonetheless, the language used to deny such claims, is often paradoxical and metaphorical, challenging the true meaning behind the utterance used. In the anonymous article entitled Irredentism, it is stipulated:

"But why would we be rebels? We love this tormented land of ours and why would we rebel against our own land? Were we to do that, we would be traitors of our own land, the traitors of the sacred and votive Serbian land. […] That aim governs our mutual enemies, which took in their post Roman theocracy, and a group of a rotten Catholic intelligentsia to whom it gave some service and built a few churches and monasteries. It is not that we deny the idea of the united Serbism. There are not many of us now but united, we would be a power, that would pose a threat to our enemies."[115]

First of all, the authors undisputedly make a claim that Bosnia is a Serbian land that belongs to the Serbian people, claiming it as "our own land". Though denying the irredentist claims, the authors at the same time emphasize the magnitude and force that such a unification would pose for their enemies. To that end, topoi of definition are used to denote to whom does the land belong to, the referential vagueness under "we" and "our land" marks that the land belongs to us, though they do not indicate who are we exactly. The deictic "we" is defined in opposition to the imperial ruler and also in opposition to the Croatian intelligentsia which in the article is

[114] "One Confiscation," *Homeland*, October 19, 1907, http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4--0--0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&cl=CL1.5.1&d=HASH019d33d16a7b0b59a0bc44c2.1
[115] "Irredentists," *Homeland*, October 26, 1907 http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4--0--0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=period&cl=CL1.5.1&d=HASH016e690a509f04c94d8545a3.1

referred to as "Catholic intelligentsia." The topoi of threat are also used to denote a potential fictitious scenario that would pose a danger to those who are considered as enemies, "we would be a power, that would pose a threat to our enemies." Throughout the text, Andersonian perception of nation could be identified. The underlying ideological work of educated intelligentsia behind the editorial places emphasis on imagining a community through the joint fight. Imagining it, i.e. constructing it, is discursively done in opposition to whom the fight is being led against. Understanding the nation as something "limited" and "sovereign" at the same time challenges the perception of the nation within the territorial lines of Bosnia and Hercegovina. To that end, the denial of irredentist claims could be perceived as a mechanism to construct the nation and nationhood from the rural citizenry within Bosnia and Hercegovina with the goal to obtain autonomy.[116]

In this edition, *Srpstvo* (Serbness) rubric was excluded, whereas the *Jugoslovenstvo* (South Slavism) rubric makes a brief referral to the Slovenes talking about the "third congress of South Slavic writers, artists and journalists in Ljubljana city in the following month."[117]

Before I look into *Srpstvo* (Serbness) and *Jugoslovenstvo* (South Slavism) rubrics from the 2nd November 1907, I want to draw attention to the opening article entitled Us and Them. Continuing the rhetoric in which otherness is further developed and elaborated and the prism through which Serbian identity is modelled, the anonymous authors use the lexical techniques of predication to denote certain attributions of the foreign ruler against whom Serbdom is tacitly defined. Stating that:

> "Bosnia is for us the land of sorrow and tears - for the state administrators, particularly the more important ones – it is real El Dorado. Our cry is a song to them, that sings to their glory and power. They came from the outer world, to enjoy here and to rule. They want us to think of them as our reformers and knights of culture, them, who are the cultural ill, and who do not want to see that they failed

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[116] Benedict Anderson, R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 6.
[117] "South Slavism," *Homeland*, October 26, 1907 http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4--0-0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=period&cl=CL1.5.1&d=HASH016e690a509f04c94d8545a3.1

and destroyed our fields. To them, we are without consciousness and emotionless creatures born to be their servants, servants of our lords who look upon us with condemnation and hate. They hate us from the bottom of their hearts but we also hate them for that. We don't like them because we are honest, we hate them because we are Serbs."[118]

The author labels the out-groups with stereotypical negative traits as foreigners who are occupying the land and enjoying the suffering of their subjects. The way language is empowered in the text to stimulate national awakening and community inclusion is clearer with Peter Jordan's three-level model of community inclusion and exclusion. Firstly, the elites are using the public discourse as a tool to communicate to the masses. Secondly, the readers are exposed to a multifaceted reality through definitions and simplifications along which they can also relate and thirdly, the element of closeness is invoked and along the lines of joint suffering the readers become integrated into a larger community. Even though such community inclusion and collective imagination do not necessarily lead to nationalisation, they do represent the first step towards a collective reality perception and identification against the ruling other.[119] The topoi of threat are used with the emphasis on the "cultural ill," and the possibility of being destroyed. The demarcation between us and them is deployed by drawing comparison between the positions each have, however, the boundaries of us and them remain unclear. Them, are the ones who are ruling over Bosnia, but also the ones who are close to the foreign ruler. Nonetheless, the "us" subject is not clearly defined but metaphorically depicted through all of those who suffer and experience some sort of misfortune. Therefore, such ambiguous metaphorical identification leaves room for collective identification against those who are imposing threat and danger, regardless of the differentiation between the subjects themselves. It leaves room for self-identification as well as collective identification between the one

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[118] "Us and Them," *Homeland*, November 2, 1907, http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4--0--0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=period&cl=CL1.5.1&d=HASH01fde6039344421030df3939.1

[119] Peter Jordan, "Languages and Space-Related Identity: The Rise and Fall of Serbo-Croatian," in *Handbook of the Changing World Language,* eds. Brunn S., Kehrein R. (Springer:2020). 544-545. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-02438-3_47

experiencing an injustice and the one who is exercising it. Their unification would rest in the collective identification against the ruling other, through the usage of the deictic expression "we". Therefore, the topoi of definition are also present through the object pronouns and identification as the "servants" who are "honest." The style in which this community is imagined rests along the linguistic lines. The possessive demarcation" Serbian" is applied to construct the imagined community of groups, instead of the South Slavs, which could have a wider application. The writing advocated a community imagined with the joint language, and the same socio-cultural position within the Empire, framing it as the negligent and suffering other. [120] In addition, *Jugoslovenstvo* (South Slavism) rubric, anonymous again, addressed the relation between Serbs and Croats, indicating that even the foreign sources are aware of the numerical magnitude of Serbs and often write about the Slavs. They bring the news from the newspaper published in Prague, entitled *Narodni Obzor* (National Horizon) to the newspaper *Otadzbina* (Homeland), in which it was written:

> "Bosnia and Hercegovina has 674,000 Orthodox Serbs, 550,000 Muslim Serbs and 334,000 Croatian Catholics–the Serbs of Orthodox and Muslim faith in total 78.48%, Croatian Catholics 20.39% and the rest are the immigrant foreigners. This means that those lands are only Serbo-Croatian and if we make a division between Serbs and Croats, then, the land are by 4/5 Serbian and slightly more than 1/5 Croatian. Serbs and Croats are one nation of the same language, divided only by two names – which stems from history – and two letters, which together combines two meanings: Catholic and Orthodox"[121]

Bringing in the writings from other newspapers that speak on behalf of Serb numerical magnitude and the position between Serbs and Croats implicitly suggests that other Slavs, and other groups are aware of the clear division and correlation between Serbs and Croats, i.e. who has the greater power. In addition, the Bosnian Muslims, here in the text are referred to as the

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[120] Benedict Anderson, R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 6-7.
[121] "South Slavism," *Homeland*, November 2, 1907, http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4--0--0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=period&cl=CL1.5.1&d=HASH01fde6039344421030df3939.1

Muslims Serbs, which stipulates their collective identification with other Orthodox under the possessive marker "Serbs" comprising the Serbian entity. Therefore, the correlation between the collective identity excludes religion as the marker of identification. The identification between Serbs and Croats as "one nation, with the same language," brings into questions their identification aligned along the linguistic lines, not the religious affiliation. Both explicit and implicit topoi of comparison are applied, first one to draw attention to the numerical division, and the latter one to equalise the identification of Serbs and Croats as one nation and one people who speak the same language, implying what Wodak refers to being "in the same boat" by emphasizing their sameness and to that end the position they have under the foreign rule. [122] The topoi of history are also invoked in the text to justify the correlation between Serbs and Croats and one nation, one people as a factual information that "stems from history."

On 9th November 1907, the program of the *Srpska Narodna Organizacija* (Serbian National Organisation) was presented. As previously mentioned, *Srpska Narodna Organizacija* (Serbian National Organisation) was founded by Petar Kocic in 1907, who also founded the *Otadzbina* (Homeland) newspaper and who continued acting as an editor after being imprisoned on charges for anti-imperial rhetoric and government opposition. Therefore, people who were part of his organisation with him in charge, used these newspapers to disperse certain messages to the wider population and make them unified in the fight against the foreign ruler. Even though the Sultan was the official ruler on the territory, the Austro-Hungarian Empire took all the administrative positions and made all the decision on the territory. To that end, *Srpska Narodna Organizacija* (Serbian National Organisation) presented its program in *Otadzbina* (Homeland), determined in its fight against the rulers, raising collective awareness and the sense of belonging as well as the level of protection that stems from unison. Some of their program outline goes as follows:

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[122] Ruth Wodak, Rudolf De Cillia , Martin Reisigl, and, Karin Liebhart, *The Discursive Construction of National Identity,* trans. Angelika Hirsch, Richard Mitten and J.W Unger (Edinburgh University Press. 2009), 42.

"I Basic Principles.
Every nation has the right to self-determination. In a state, a national will must be considered as the source of power.
The aim of the government is the protection of the national, economic and cultural interests of its statesmen. […] The religious difference does not impede the community of national interests.
II State-legal position.
Bosnia and Hercegovina are a part of the Ottoman empire, and governed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire based on the mandate issued by the European powers.
III State Regulations.
1)Complete autonomy of Bosnia and Hercegovina.
IV Reforms in the State and Social Life
1) In Bosnia and Hercegovina as the Serbian lands, the official language of the internal and external operation is the Serbian language.[123]

Without going into each of the proclamations made, I have pinpointed some of the most important declaration that *Srpska Narodna Organizacija* (Serbian National Organisation) claimed and planned to achieve. First of all, the element of "national" awareness is explicitly advocated as the will that belongs to the people. Even though they do not state who are the people of that will, in the later part it is emphasized that Bosnia is considered as the Serbian land where the Serbian language is spoken. SNO's power through this proclamation is framed with the constructivist strategy of argumentation. Topoi of definition are invoked to emphasize the legitimacy and autonomy of Bosnia by emphasizing "every nation" as the category of identification, giving it authority and relevance. The proclamation of Bosnia as the Serbian land, does not directly suggest irredentist claims towards the Kingdom of Serbia, however, it does implicitly suggest who needs to govern it and make decisions once the autonomy is reached. What is important to acknowledge for the role and significance of print capitalism is the possibility and availability of such messages and ideas to be heard, memorized and conceptualized on a much larger scale. Even though the newspaper was of a short-lived

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[123]"Serbian National Organization Program," *Homeland*, November 9, 1907, http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4--0--0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=period&cl=CL1.5.1&d=HASH359a0436a47bf8f2d054c9.1

popularity than the book, it was also a medium of information widespread and available to the wider rural masses, such as the population of Bosnia and Hercegovina was.[124] Whereas *Srpstvo* (Serbness) rubric was excluded from this edition, in rubric *Jugoslovenstvo* (South Slavism), the narrative rests with Serbs in Serbia and the visit of "his majesty the king and the heir to the throne to the exhibit of the Serbian agricultural society in Belgrade." Taking into account that *Srpstvo* (Serbness) and *Jugoslovenstvo* (South Slavism) rubric were letters and articles published from the correspondents mainly, choosing to write about Serbs in both of them implies the elite's political position towards Serbs and their collective identity which is making stronger ties than the idea of the unified South Slavs. Therefore, the Serbian identity is constructed as the carrier of the South Slavic identity, a version of its supranational identity. The readership is continuously exposed to the idea of Serbs and Serbness even under the South Slavic category.

The periodical published on 30th November 1907 has no writing on *Srpstvo* (Serbness) and *Jugoslovenstvo* (South Slavism) rubrics. Nonetheless, the anonymous article entitled *Nas narodni rad* (Our national work), guides the readers into the aspect of nationality and the work that is being done for the sake of preserving that nationality.

> "We, Serbs in Bosnia and Hercegovina have sunk ten years ago in idleness and carelessness; we had no political direction, all the work and active power was spent on religious autonomous fight. […] Out of a sudden there is a turn in the social opportunities and the relation of the Serbian people in these lands. Such a change could be ascribed in any case to the younger people and to those who graduated from renowned schools. […] The base is set and we can freely say as a fact that the work of the Serbian people is progressing slowly though safely and fruitfully. […] This work of ours leads to modern opportunities so that we could today and tomorrow progress with cultural and world civilization and with our work create and strengthen steady ramparts from the foreign invasion and therefore help maintain the unity of the Serbian people as the people of Bosnia and Hercegovina and the unity with the entire Serbness and through that empower the Slavic idea."[125]

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[124] Benedict Anderson, R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 33.
[125] "Our National Work," *Homeland*, November 30, 1907, http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-

Several topoi are used here to build arguments in favour of the Serbian identity and Serbian people – to make peasants aware of the hard work done by the educated intelligentsia, that needs to be followed and embraced. First of all, the topoi of history are used to denote the change in the spatial time, and indicate the difference between then and now, when people of Bosnia, i.e. Serbs of Bosnia were lost in their cause and the revelation they have experienced, which is a direct product of the educated elite. In addition, the topoi of definition are used to denote the continuity in the progress that is being achieved and the essence of preserving the same path. Needless, to say, "creating and strengthening ramparts from the foreign invasion" is set against the awakening Serbian national spirit. The idea of Serbian unification in Bosnia is metaphorically constructed as the unison of all Serbs, who are the assumed carriers of the Slavic identity, not so much as a part of it as much as the independent category.

In the last available publication of *Otadzbina* (Homeland), on 14th March, 1908, after which the newspaper was officially banned, *Srpstvo* (Serbness) rubric brings to the readers the speech by Jovan Skerlic, a renowned Serbian writer and literary critic, where he uses a modernist approach to define nationhood and the relations between people of different faith under the shield of patriotism that relies on citizenship. The speech goes as follows:

> "Serbian people in Bosnia and Hercegovina followed the wrong example of its brothers in Vojvodina and commenced the fight for the religious autonomy, neglecting all the other ways of a modern national fight. […] The youth comprehended the national fight in a different light. They renounced the burden of the historical romanticism and looked into the real, material national interests. One nation, they said, does not leave from the memories of the glorious ancestors from the far and dim magnitude and success of medieval rulers and noblemen. […] We don't split nation and nationhood from the wider aspects of nationhood. To us, nation is not a metaphysical and abstract term, a nice and empty word that suits the toasts and poetical events; nation, to us are the live people, our peasant, our artisan, our worker, our trader, working and producing class of the society, which is the foundation, number, strength and the future of our entire race. Material and moral awareness raising of widespread national classes, democratic and social action in favour of national masses and with the help of national masses, - that is our

50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4--0--0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-
00&a=d&c=period&cl=CL1.5.1&d=HASH018d31ae8d155fd312e2c2bc.1

patriotism. […] Religion today is an individual aspect, not the goal and objective of one nation. […] we are not just Orthodox but citizens of one country, which we want to set free and make it modern. […] We don't want to extend the centuries long fights with our Muslim brothers, which serve no purpose."[126]

The inclusion of this speech in the rubric *Srpstvo* (Serbness) brings a whole new level of national identification and identity solidification, drawn along the modernistic aspects of practicality and secularism. The religious division, which was a centuries old issue was cast aside for the goal of national unification towards the liberation. Defined along the lines of patriotism, Skerlic's speech is constructed though the combination of various topoi to define and establish the sense of common national purpose. Behind the ideology of romantic nationalism and historical magnitude, the modern patriotism is defined along the lines of the ordinary people, the peasants of the country. The topoi of history are used to differentiate between the old and new ways of fighting, the idea of the "modern" fight which lies along the lines of citizenship. Furthermore, topoi of comparison are also employed to emphasize uniformity through the same goal of liberation. Deictic usage of "we" denotes the temporal, spatial and agent relationship. The insistence and repetitiveness of "we" is perhaps the best indicator of action taking and tacit national awareness invoking, by casting the religious differences aside in accordance with the modern times and national liberation. Deictic usage of "we" is also farmed through the topoi of definition – the "we" on this side will be defined by our common goals against the foreign ruler. The continuity is indicated through the futuristic national definition along the lines of citizenship and belongingness to Bosnia and Hercegovina. The writing emphasizes a necessary transformation from a religious community into a modern community that is basing its interests on citizenship as the future goal. Therefore, the

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[126] "Serbness," *Homeland*, March 14, 1908. http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4--0--0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=period&cl=CL1.5.2&d=HASH01a1c7749485a7f6b2ddd98e.1

nationalistic rhetoric is employed from the "nationalist advocacy in the public space" through the lens of patriotism, towards the future "emergence of a mass political movement."[127]

3.1.1 Conclusion

In the textual analysis above, I have indicated the instrumentalisation of language through discursive and constructive strategies used to develop sense of imagined community by defining people along the national lines as Serbs, regardless of their religious affiliation. The newspaper comes as the representative body, the image and the voice of the time that is being spoken about, a form of a "popular literature that was within everybody's reach."[128] Through the chronological analysis of written material, we could notice the building up of animosities and overt expression of dissatisfaction towards the rulers. Furthermore, by pinpointing Bosnia and Hercegovina as the Serbian land in which the Serbian language is spoken and calling upon the need for unity against the common enemy, the collective national identification was drawn in the public discourse with language and joint fight as the defining features. Therefore, this newspaper represented a dialogical relation that could be continued and built on. It is a source of interconnection between the different population classes of the time since it offered the same narrative to everyone, which could be further interpreted, exchanged and discussed. The ceremony that a reader performs is simultaneously repeated by other members of whose existence they are not aware of, yet to whom they will build a certain connection through the information exchange and ideas discussion.[129]

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[127] Miroslav Hroch, Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations, trans. Ben Fowkes, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe," in Mapping the Nation, ed. Gopal Balakrishnan (London: Verso, 1996), 78–97; Edin Hajdarpasic, Whose Bosnia?: Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914 (Cornell University Press, 2015), 4. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt15hvrq2.
[128] Benedict Anderson, R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 39
[129] Ibid, 32-33.

Even though the scope of the analysis remains limited to the articles and rubrics mentioned above, I also want to pinpoint the excessive usage of possessive nominator throughout the articles, emphasising and demarking objects, people and symbols as Serbian, Serb-led, of Serbian women and Serbian men. The shortcoming of the analysis is first of all the limited number of articles available in digital form. The number of rubrics and articles analysed is also limited because of the word count and thesis's scope. The focus rests with Serbian-led newspapers and organizations without acknowledging the rhetoric used by the Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats. To avoid cherry picking in the *Otadzbina* (Homeland) periodical, I have chosen to follow the chronological order and frame the analysis within one year before the official annexation. Even though I could prove that texts abide in nationalistic rhetoric and call upon national unification along the lines of Serbness, the impact this periodical had and the extent of its readership remain unknown.

3.2 Defining and Maintaining Serbian identity in Bosnian Fairy

When it comes to the periodical *Bosanska vila* (Bosnian Fairy), I have decided to focus on the year 1908, again as the year leading to the official annexation. The article that will be the scope of the analysis is *Srpski narod* (Serbian people/nation) by Sima Trojanovic, an ethnologist and anthropologist born and raised in Belgrade. Taking into account that ethnology was also an emerging discipline of the time, it is of crucial reference as the field that compared and analysed people and, in a way, elaborates on their identity. The article *Srpski narod* (Serbian people) ran from the 10th January 1908, up until the 30th August 1908. Unlike *Otadzbina* (Homeland), the periodical *Bosanska vila* (Bosnian Fairy) offered a literary and cultural works without addressing rubrics to socio-economic or political issues. Be that as it may, it offered a comprehensive range of literary works, exclusively published in Cyrillic, covering the cultural aspects of national elements, which makes it even more important for the

analysis. With the advancement of print capitalism and limitless opportunities behind the words, the written language was the main source to "build the image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation."[130] The modernizing world could develop a sense of collective historical ties with the help of print media, like never before. Therefore, the comprehensive literature and various works in periodical *Bosanska vila* (Bosnian Fairy) were perhaps even more powerful in giving the collective identity a sense of historical unification and connection.

Before looking into the article, I want to draw attention to the text's title *Srpski narod* (Serbian people/nation), which implicitly suggests that there is an answer to the question – who are the Serbian people. Framed in such a way, it can either be translated as the Serbian people or the Serbian nation, which depends on the context of the article. Therefore, the term *narod* (people/nation) is of an important reference here since it triggers the definition of a group and the historical and cultural interconnection they have. I will use the term nation for the Serbian term *narod,* repetitively used in the text, with regards to its contextual meaning. As Hajdarpasic indicated, the term *narod* has sparked off many debates in the South Slavic context. Such an overarching term has often been translated as "the people, nation, folk, population, ethnic community," and has produced adjectival derivations like *narodnost* (national belonging) and *narodni* (folk, popular).[131] Therefore, it left room for different conceptualizations depending on the term's reference and the context in which it was used. Acknowledging that the late 19th and early 20th century nationalists were struggling to find a way to define people and fashion a group, the term *narod* in the context of Bosnian Fairy suits the translation equivalent of a nation.[132] The translated term nation suits the nationalizing nature of the text in question with regards to the component of ethnographic research; the author is defining group characteristics

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[130] Benedict Anderson, R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 32-33.
[131] Edin Hajdarpasic, Whose Bosnia?: Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914 (Cornell University Press, 2015), 16. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt15hvrq2.
[132] Ibid, 19.

of Serbs and comparing them to other groups. He is making a distinction to other communities along the physical, cultural, socio-economic and historical lines.

Framed in the scope of ethnology, the narrative of Trojanovic's ethnographic writing was rather used to disseminate national self-fashioning, formulate a group, define its national and ethnic borders and raise collective awareness.[133] By relying on constructive argumentation strategies, the nation-building element can be deciphered by looking into the topoi of comparison used to denote the Serbian people as a community of its own. Trojanovic states in the text that "There are so many languages – when we take the whole world into account – that we can only notice differences and alienation. […] In this section, we will gladly pinpoint something that is commonly human and therefore Serbian; something that is Aryan and therefore Serbian, and something specifically Serbian. The latter one is quite unfamiliar, but when everything comes together then we can exactly present the Serbian nation as a separate unit."[134] The Serbian people are depicted as a separate unit in comparison to other communities, i.e. other peoples, having a component of Aryan blood, which indicates the groups' nativity, longevity and ancient origin within the territory. Topoi of definition are also used to denote that Serbs are a community of their own, a "separate unit" indicating that there are many other units from whom they differ. In addition, he invokes the categorization along the linguistic lines stipulating that "Only when this relative independency is marked, then the language is essential, for a Serb to get a separate place in the general world community."[135] By indicating the

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[133] Edin Hajdarpasic, Whose Bosnia?: Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914 (Cornell University Press, 2015), 31. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt15hvrq2.

[134] Sima Trojanovic, "Serbian Nation," Bosnian Fairy," January 10, 1908. http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4--0--0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=period&cl=CL1.1.23&d=HASH0196ba57bd945dd6b651d54e.9

[135] Sima Trojanovic, "Serbian Nation," Bosnian Fairy," January 10, 1908. http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4--0--0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=period&cl=CL1.1.23&d=HASH0196ba57bd945dd6b651d54e.9

language as the marker of differentiation, he identifies a separate language as the main characteristic of the Serbian identity.

Invoking again the topoi of comparison, Trojanovic juxtaposes Serbs and Croats as one people different from the other neighbouring peoples. He claims that "Serbs together with Croats comprise nine million people, which means that they are numerically more populous than any other neighbouring nation. There are more of them than there are Hungarians, Vlachs, Bulgarians and Turks in Europe (According to Cvijic)." [136] He rests his quantitative data from the work of Jovan Cvijic, a renowned Serbian geographer and intellectual of the time.

The referential nomination can be indicated in the description he provides to distinguish Serbian physiological characteristics, which again stem from his ethnological research. The membership categorisation is constructed through defining features. The descriptive definitions encompass not Serbs in Bosnia but Serbs everywhere around the Balkan peninsula, which adds to the idea of Serbian magnitude and dispersion through the continent. Yet, the semantical emphasis rests with the Bosnian Serbs as the "tallest." Therefore, in the text below, topoi of definition are used to denote a specific physical and cognitive characteristic of Serbs, and establish a generalized image, classifying them as one group, i.e. a nation of its own. In the text, he stated that:

> "Serbs are mainly of darker face, hair and eyes are brown, less commonly jet dark or other. Medium height of Serbs is 1668 mm, Dalmatians on the island 1671, Slavonians 1695, Dalmatians from the mainland 1708, Bosnian and Hercegovinian 1726, therefore Bosnians and Hercegovinians are the tallest Serbs. […] All the Serbs are more or less of a formidable character, emotional and inclined towards a good mood, immoderateness and the sorrow which from the beginning rapidly takes over them but also quickly dissolves. "[137]

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[136] Edin Hajdarpasic, Whose Bosnia?: Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914 (Cornell University Press, 2015), 31. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt15hvrq2.

[137] Sima Trojanovic, "Serbian Nation," Bosnian Fairy," January 10, 1908. http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4--0--0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=period&cl=CL1.1.23&d=HASH0196ba57bd945dd6b651d54e.9

By tackling the socio-economic and cultural life of Serbs, Trojanovic gives a generalized image, a model by which Serbs live and had lived in the past. Therefore, his text abides in topoi of history not so much to indicate the difference between then and now, as much as to tacitly suggest a continuity from the earlier times to the present moment. In the 4th periodical of Bosnian Fairy from the 10th February 1908, he wrote that "Judging by the old documents, it seems that an organised union was present in the Serbian life during the middle ages i.e. during the time of freedom before the Ottoman invasion.[138] In addressing the existence of a union, he is also suggesting that Serbs were organized before they lost their freedom from the Ottomans. To that end, he stipulated that earlier times should be acknowledged as the base from which certain forms of Serbian behaviour or organisation have spurred from, such as the union.

He goes on further to acknowledge the spousal relationship in Serbness, stipulating in the periodical from 29th February 1908 that "In the entire Serbness, without any difference, a woman is overwhelmed with work much more than a man. […] All the work a woman does, she does it herself, and quite often even the half of the male work."[139] Again, the topoi of definition are used as a referential point to make claims on social functioning that is equalized "in the entire Serbness without any difference." In addition, he claims that "Serbian nation performs their customs to a certain extent in a pagan manner, which is a form quite ancient, and because of which they agree on many things with all the Aryans. The things they do not agree on are specifically Serbian, modelled by their character, climate, flora and fauna and some

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[138] Sima Trojanovic, "Serbian Nation," Bosnian Fairy," February 10, 1908. http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4---0--0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=period&cl=CL1.1.23&d=HASH0196ba57bd945dd6b651d54e.9
[139] Sima Trojanovic, "Serbian Nation," Bosnian Fairy," February 29, 1908. http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4---0--0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=period&cl=CL1.1.23&d=HASH0196ba57bd945dd6b651d54e.9

things that stem from the natives"[140] Drawing a parallel between Serbs and Aryans, he defines the ancient trajectory of customs and places emphasis on the correlation between Serbs and Aryans and therefore Serbian nativity in the land. Besides the topoi of comparison, the topoi of history are used in the argument to construct the image of antiquity that rests with Serbs. The topoi of definition are also used to indicate the evolution of the Serbian people and the differentiation from the Aryans due to the Serbian historical evolvement.

From the excerpts presented above, the constructive argumentation through the topoi of definition is recurrent throughout the text. The Serbian people are defined as the nation through the language, use, physical and cognitive characterisation, as well as the social organisation that stems from the past. The nationalisation, is discursively created as "political, social, cultural and psychological process." [141] The image of a Serbian man and woman and the communal relationship is discursively constructed as a model by which all the Serbs live. It is the discursive creation of an imagined community that is synchronised under the shield of Serbness, not just within the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina but everywhere where Serbs live. Therefore, the categorisation of Serbian life through socio-cultural functioning of a synchronised imagined community indicates the discursive homogenisation of Serbian nation in the public discourse. Through the constructive and discursive rhetorical strategies national and ethnic boundaries were drawn to homogenize the population, make it aware of its grandeur past, the numerical supremacy in the present moment and in correlation with other groups. Doing so along the lines of language as the point of unification and religion as the submissive category makes the notion of collective identity available to wider masses. Therefore, whereas

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[140]Sima Trojanovic, "Serbian Nation," Bosnian Fairy," April 10, 1908. http://digital.nub.rs/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi?e=d-01000-00---off-0period--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-------0-1l--11-srZz-bhZz-cyr-50---20-home---00-3-1-00-0--4--0--0-0-11-10-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&c=period&cl=CL1.1.23&d=HASH0196ba57bd945dd6b651d54e.9

[141] Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes De Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie* 43, no. 2 (2002): 167. Accessed April 14, 2021, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23999234.

religion was already an established category of self-identification, its marginalization for the sake of collective unison through the Serbian language, made the fluctuating identities more prone to defining themselves as Serbs of Muslim or Catholic faith, presupposing the Orthodox were already identifying as Serbs. The modernisation idea expressed through the notion of citizenship as well as the trait of sameness suppressed by the foreign rule suited well the discursive homogenisation as Serbs in the public discourse.

The analysis of this piece of writing that relies on ethnographic research as the point of its factual accuracy suggests the conceptualisation of the term *narod* (nation) not as an ethnic group aware of its collective past but as a group within Brubaker's notion of groupism. It is the treatment of the bounded group as the "basic constituent of social life" and the representation of its "social and cultural world" that led to the homogenization of people with no clear boundaries as Serbs.[142] Therefore, the representation of Serbian people as one *narod*, i.e. a nation with a defining features of functioning through the public discourse, implies the tacit usage of language to homogenize groups and indicate their collective belonging and dispersed national community that rests with sameness. The dynamic of group-making exercised by the "ethnopolitical entrepreneurs" can be challenging indeed since groupness won't necessarily be developed and established. Therefore, treating them as situational and contingent, suits more the nationalizing narrative of the *Bosanska vila* (Bosnian Fairy). The making of *narod*, (nation) with the adjectival possessive *Srpski narod*, i.e. Serbian people through elaborated social, cultural and historical events, indicates the rhetorical self-fashioning of a group with no clear boundaries into a national community. The insistence, persuasion and national demarcation exemplified in the article demonstrate the top-down level of nation-building.[143]

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[142] Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes De Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie* 43, no. 2 (2002): 164. Accessed April 14, 2021, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23999234.
[143] Ibid, 168-175.

3.2.1 Conclusion

By analysing the extracts from the article *Srpski narod* (Serbian nation), I indicated the nationalistic rhetoric enhanced through the literary work. The selection of the article *Srpski narod* (Serbian nation), published in the course of an eight-month period up to the point of the official annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina, with a defining and historical representation and group development, indicates the homogenizing nature of the article and the attempts to define a group through its cultural and historical representation as one unit. The reification of the groups' socio-cultural life in the public discourse with standardised vernacular language available to the wider masses was possible due to the period of modernisation and the print capitalism shrewdly used to nationalize and unite. By looking into different aspects of individual and social life, with comparative and defining features of a group, the authors have used the narrative to reinforce national imagination. To that end, the modernisation period that spurred up the printing culture, had contributed to the nation-building struggles and the fight against the imperial power to reach independence. The intelligentsia shrewdly picked and published texts that had a homogenizing nature to evoke the sentiments of collectiveness and group suffering under which many could unite and become ethicised along the linguistic lines. Topoi of history and comparison are particularly important in this context, since they contribute to the collective imagination and differentiation of one group from another one, i.e. one nation from the surrounding nations. *Bosanska vila* (Bosnian Fairy) had an average of 387 subscribers in Bosnia, mainly based in Sarajevo.[144] Even though the textual analysis underpins the nationalizing narrative of the article, the impact on the readership remains out of the scope of analysis.

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[144] Sinisa Malesevic, "The Mirage of Balkan Piedmont: State Formation and Serbian Nationalism in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Nations and Nationalism*, no. 23. (2017):145. 10.1111/nana.12267.

Conclusion

The thesis tends to contribute to the role that language has in the process of nation-building and collective identity development, reaffirming the power of print capitalism and Andersonian imagined communities as the crux points for the nation-building process. Within the nationalism studies scope, the thesis intends to sheds light on the often sidelined linguistic nationalism empowered in the public discourse as the point of analysing historical and social events and developments. The main focus in the thesis rests with a historical analysis of archival public discourses so at to indicate the instrumentalisation of standardised language to nationalize a group and define its borders. Even though language in the thesis is presented as the major tool for nationalisation, it is important to acknowledge that language alone did not generate such power. Technological advancement enhanced the print capitalism which in return generated a massive dispersion of writing in vernacular available to wider masses via the public discourse. Therefore, the educated elite might have kept its privileged positions but the dispersion of narratives which posited an ordinary man and woman as the carriers of a national idea, have reshaped the social reality in Bosnia and Hercegovina. The gradual language standardisation process, coupled with the perplexed historical events in Bosnia and Hercegovina mirrored through the passing of rule from the Ottomans to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the modernisation period, forged the imagination of a community and nationalisation of population.

By focusing on Bosnia and Hercegovina as the point of analysis, I indicated that language played a primary role in defining a national unit, rather than religion. The population already had entrenched religious affiliation as a point of self-identification, therefore unification via the same language and fight against the common enemy framed in the us versus them setting

paved the path for collective nationalisation as Serbs of different religious affiliations. To support my claim, I indicated the bureaucratic census policies and the instability caused with the rapid change of rule in the 19th century as well as the fluidity in ethnic affiliation while preserving the religious one. Acknowledging that Orthodoxy is usually perceived as a binding element of Serbian identity development and solidification, I used the nation-building element in Bosnia to indicate that standardised Serbian language was of a greater importance due to the growing culture of printing and the socio-historical circumstances of the time. To the dissatisfied elites, the standardised Serbian language was a tool to discursively imagine a community with vernacular that acknowledged sameness as the element of unification and nationalisation. To that end, being Serb exemplified speaking the Serbian language and opposing the imperial rule, while neglecting the religious affiliation. Such linguistic nationalisation process stemmed from Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic's nationalizing claim of one *narod* (people) with different religious affiliation. With regards to everything previously stated, Serbian collective identity was crystallised in the public discourse with adherence to the need for independence, i.e. the autonomy of Bosnia and Hercegovina and unification of Bosnian Orthodox and Bosnian Muslims under the shield of Serbness, stemming from linguistic sameness and numerical magnitude. Therefore, the public discourse was an essential element of collective identity crystallisation due to the power of print capitalism and easier dispersion of nationalizing rhetoric. With regards to everything stated, I proved my hypothesis that language was instrumentalised in the public discourse to crystallise Serbian identity and unify groups along the linguistic lines under the joint fight.

Since the thesis tackles the second half of the 19th and the early 20th century, a period rich with rapidly changing events, I need to pinpoint the shortcomings of the research. Firstly, it covers a time span of several decades offering a one-sided perspective based on Serbian linguistic, socio-cultural and historical development. Secondly, the word count together with

the availability of archival discourses narrowed the comprehensiveness of research by relying on two periodicals from the time that abided in publishing and writing. Therefore, the discourses from the periodicals are depicted as the generalized discourse of the time in question.

Most of the available scholarship tackles the impact of linguistic nationalism on the breakup of 90s Yugoslavia and the nation-building process in the aftermath of the war. With regards to that, the research carried out here offers a solid historical background to comprehend the complex inter-ethnic relations in Bosnia and Hercegovina, stemming from the time of occupation and annexation as the periods of identities solidification and formulation. Therefore, the comprehension of the modern-day inter-ethnic issues in Bosnia cannot be approached without grasping the historical transitions on the territory throughout the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The further research could be addressed to the supranational diasporic identity of Bosnian Serbs with regards to language and religion as the markers of their diasporic identity. It would be also triggering to look into the challenges that a joint language posed for the inter-ethnic function of groups during the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the further group differentiation that stemmed from the language.

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