

# Neologisms of the First Prekmurje Newspaper *Prijatelj*

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**ABSTRACT.** Imre Agustich, the editor of the first Prekmurje newspaper *Prijatelj*, enriched the Prekmurje standard language with numerous neologisms which became the basis for the development of the journalistic and partly also the professional language in Prekmurje.

## 1 Introduction

In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the problem of standardization of language occurred in Slovene due to the fact that historical circumstances fostered the development of two standard varieties, namely the Central Slovene standard language and the Eastern Slovene one. The latter variety included the Eastern Styrian language and the Prekmurje standard language (Jesenšek 1991/1992). It was recognised in religious and secular press, and in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it developed also in journalism, enriching the standard Prekmurje variety with numerous new words.

In the unified Slovene standard language, the so-called New Slovene, which officially developed in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, numerous borrowed words were replaced by words from the Prekmurje Standard variety which had derived from the former Pannonian Slovene and had retained the continuity from Old Church Slavonic. As the unification was gradual and non-oppressive, the standard Prekmurje Slovene language continued to exist up to 1919 when the Prekmurje territory was adjoined in terms of language and administration to the remainder of Slovenia as a common state. Thus, a two-hundred-year book-publishing tradition existed in this territory, reaching even beyond its dialectal borders.

The theory of two standard language systems developed at the end of the 1980s and immediately caught the attention of the professional public. Martina Orožen proved at different linguistic levels that the Prekmurje variety is not merely a dialect but a standard language which had achieved a high cultural level (Orožen 1989).

## **2 The study**

The present research, which is part of a broader process of listing words for Imre Agustich's historical language dictionary, aims at individual neologisms in the first Prekmurje newspaper *Prijatelj* (1875–1879). Central Slovenia had already developed a journalistic tradition, but *Prijatelj* was the first newspaper to be written in the Prekmurje Standard variety. Despite the fact that the newspaper was issued in the Hungarian capital and initially also in the Hungarian alphabet, it is surprising and commendable that its editor, Imre Agustich (1837–1879), in the course of forming new words strove to maintain and develop the Standard Prekmurje variety on the Pannonian basis which is why the *Prijatelj* is interesting for diachronic linguistic research also today.

## **3 The definition of the term neologism**

A neologism is a new word or phrase (it can also denote a new meaning of an existing word) maintained in the language for a longer period of time and consequently preserved. When such a word establishes itself in language use and its speakers do not feel it as being a new word, it ceases to be a neologism. It is difficult to draw a line between the two notions.

Most neologisms in the newspaper *Prijatelj* can be classified as individual neologisms since they were created by the editor himself.

## **4 The justification for the need of new words in the newspaper *Prijatelj***

In a time of accelerated social and technological development we are frequently at a loss when it comes to solving lexical problems. Agustich, the editor and chief of the first Prekmurje newspaper, was faced with a similar problem. He had no predecessors on the route laid out for him demanding a different form of expression. Due to the lack of language dictionaries in the Prekmurje variety<sup>1</sup> and the non-established terminology in certain fields he was, in his search for appropriate solutions, frequently forced to rely primarily or even solely on his own sense for language. Browsing through the newspaper *Prijatelj* one cannot but admire the editor's linguistic ingenuity and imagination many a modern scholar lacks.

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<sup>1</sup> Agustich had no Prekmurje dictionary at his disposal, and only lists of Prekmurje words existed. A grammar of the Standard Prekmurje variety was written as late as in the first half of the 20th century. Agustich is believed to have written a dictionary himself, but unfortunately it has been lost to us. It is possible that the neologisms collected in this research are part of his lexicographical material.

## 5 The portion of neologisms in the newspaper *Prijatel*

In the present study, the portion of neologisms was determined by copying the words from the newspaper<sup>2</sup> and verifying their existence in the dialectal and standard dictionaries at our disposal. With the latter method the first records of the words were also defined as well as the frequency with which the words were used by various (Prekmurje) authors. The use of the *Dictionary of the Old Standard Prekmurje Variety* (2006) by Vilko Novak came most handy. It contains the largest number of Agustich's neologisms from the newspaper *Prijatel*.

The neologisms include most of general terms among which abstract expressions prevail (*bantiüvanje, djanost, meranje, nadajanje ...*) and some technical terms which had not yet been developed at the time, mainly from the fields of politics, legal administration and agriculture.

The political life was not unknown to Agustich,<sup>3</sup> but due to an unestablished political terminology in the Prekmurje variant he was frequently forced to seek adequate namings for notions: *beranye* 'elections', *levi sztran* 'left', *miniszter vucsenja* 'minister of education', *minisztersztvo* 'ministry', *nazaviüpszto* 'committee', *odeberavec* 'elector', *penez dugovany miniszter* 'minister of finance', *poszlanikszto* 'delegation', *poszlavcovahi'za* 'parliament', *pravdeladnoszt* 'democracy', *pravde-podsztava* 'legal motion', *pravdoladanye* 'independent government', *pravdoszklenya* 'legislation', *pravi sztran* 'right', *predszednikszto* 'presidency', *szamoladen* 'absolutist', *szamoladnoszt* 'absolutism', *szedsztvo* 'meeting, session', *szlavanye* 'vote', *szlavati* 'to vote', *zaberanye* 'elections', *zaberati* 'to vote', *zaberavec, zabrac, zebracs* 'elector'...

Familiarising the readers with novelties in the field of law and administration was lexically another challenge for Agustich: *birovija* 'law court' (*birovija krajine*), *csestni* 'official' (*csestni jezik*), *csestnik* 'clerk' (*csestnik poste*), *dacsopoberavnija, poberavnija-dacse* 'tax office', *dacsopotrosnya* 'tax on consumption', *dacsoterjas* 'tax collector', *katasztralszki* 'cadastral' (*katasztralszki plüg*), *kro'zina* 'department', *kro'zinszki* 'departmental' (*kro'zinszko nazaviüpszto*), *nakaznica* 'postal order' (*postna nakaznica*), *navrs* 'extra', *nihavas* 'benefactor', *notaros* 'notary', *notriterjanye* 'exaction' (*dacse notriterjanye*), *örök, öröcsina* 'heritage', *peneznica* 'money box', *penez-szpravlanica* 'savings bank', *szodbeni sztolec, szodbenija* 'law court', *terjas* 'collector', *zaperni* 'of record' (*zaperne knige*), *zapernik* 'recording clerk', *zastopnik* 'representative', *zaviüpnik* 'proxy', *zemledacsa* 'land tax'...

Agricultural terminology occurred particularly in the permanent section of the newspaper *Máli vért* ('Little Landlord'): *dohan-pov* 'tobacco harvest', *jarno* 'wheat sown in spring', *naraszto* 'vegetation', *naraszni* 'vegetal', *poloobdelanye* 'agriculture', *poloobdelavec* 'agriculturist', *povar, povas* 'producer', *prpeo* 'paprika', *sadiscse* '(tree) nursery', *sadiüpovas* 'fruit grower', *szejaven* 'seed(-)',

<sup>2</sup> A large number of neologisms occurred particularly in the first issues of the newspaper.

<sup>3</sup> He was the parliamentary stenographer in Budapest, and twice candidate for the position of a representative.

*szkrmlavanye* 'breeding', *szlameni* 'strawy' (*szlamena szecska*), *szpovani* 'grown, produced' ...

## 6 Formation of neologisms

The research involves extracting general and professional neologisms formed according to the various patterns of word formation:

- new forms
  - derivatives (*narocsenje* 'order', *peneznica* 'money box', *szlavanye* 'vote' ...);
  - compounds (*belocsenarasz* 'albumen', *mo'zajemanye* 'marriage', *zemlegibanye* 'earth-quake', *knige-varnica* 'library'; *nedovracslivi* 'incurable', *nepodvr'zenoszt* 'independence');
- new meaning for already existing words (*broj* 'newspaper issue', *gucs* 'text conveyed to the public', *szpica* 'lighter', *vrednost* 'wealth' ...);
- adjusted loan words (*bank* 'bank', *kapora* 'retainer' ...).

The most frequent compounds are derivatives containing the following affixes: **-aš** (*brbotas* 'gossip', *dupleras* 'lamplighter', *terjas* 'exactor'), **-ec** (*odvujdec* 'refugee', *szaglivec* 'coward', *vkanyec* 'swindler'); **-ina** (*botrina* 'party on the occasion of christening', *kro'zina* 'department', *moritvina* 'murder', *tkalecsina* 'textile'), **-ica** (*nakaznica* 'postal order', *oblacsnica* 'dressing room', *sakacsica* 'female cook'); **-anje** (*blagoszlavljanje* 'blessing', *szlavanye* 'vote'), **-enje** (*goriposztavlenye* 'establishment', *izobrazenye* 'education', *obdr'zenje* 'preservation'); **-ski** (*amerikanszki* 'American', *bömszki* 'Czech', *kralaszki* 'king's'), **-eni** (*gla'zoveni* 'glassy', *konopleni* 'hempen'). These are followed by compounds where there may be wavering in spelling, e.g. *pravde-podasztava*, *pravdepodasztava*.

Due to the search for adequate solutions for new namings, and due to inconstant use, word-formational variants frequently occur: *zaberavec*, *zabracs*, *zebracs*, *odeberavec* 'elector'; *zaviüpanec*, *zaviüpnik* 'confidant'.

Compared to the central-Slovene word-formational system, the Prekmurje system employs a different choice of endings: *mrtvelen* – *mrtvaški*, *mrzenje* – *mržnja*, *narocsenje* – *naročilo*, *naszledüvas* – *naslednik*, *nosba* – *noša*, *obnovlenye* – *obnova*, *vörec* – *vernik*, *'zrebcsija* – *žrebčarna*.

In the formation of new words Agustich frequently consciously chose to derive expressions from the Pannonian basis, e.g. *napravnica* 'factory' (*napravnica svecs*, *süknje* ...) and from the Old Church Slavonic basis: *pravъ* 'right' > *praviti* 'direct' > *napraviti* 'to do' > *napravnica* 'factory'. The way these neologisms were transferred (cf. 7) shows that Agustich borrowed neither from the Hungarian

word (*gyar*) nor from the German one (*Fabrik*), despite the fact that the latter word was characteristic of the Prekmurje variety and, according to Pleteršnik's *Slovene-German dictionary* (1894/1895), the major lexicological work before the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*, was also used in the broader Slovene territory in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Prekmurje standard variety was constantly influenced by Hungarian, German and the “Kajkavski” language variety (Croatian). Despite the fact that Agustich worked in a primarily Hungarian environment, the influence of foreign languages does not show with him more than it does with any other Prekmurje writer:

a) tracing

– literal translations from Hungarian or German, respectively: *dühsnazveszt* 'conscience', *navrs* 'extra';

– verbal compounds formed through tracing: *gorizazvati* 'to call', *notri lovlenje* 'arrest'...;

b) mixed formation

– native affixes are added to foreign (Hungarian or German) base forms which may seem vague and difficult to recognise at times: *bantiüvanye* 'offence', *bete'znost* 'sickness', *d'zund'zgombavi* 'such that has pearl-like buttons', *sakacsica* 'female cook', *svercarija* 'smuggling'...;

– a borrowed affix is added to a native base form, e.g. **-aš**: *brbotas* 'gossip', *dacsoterjas* 'tax collector', *naslediüvas* 'successor', *ponizlavas* 'flatterer'...

A letter from a reader proves that intellectuals were particularly critical towards borrowed and traced words, claiming that such words do not embellish the language but rather disfigure it: “*ár reči nejsó provedene po slovniških pravilih, nego kakšte skrpáne po tühinskom kolomeru; po takem spáke, a nej džündž i krasota jezika*” (Prijetel 1878, no. 5, p. 19).

## 7 The way neologisms are transferred

In general, the newspaper *Prijetel* did not mark neologisms according to their semantic stability (e.g. *domovincsar*, *pocslovecsanstvo*, *poloobdelanye*). It was a different case with technical terms in the broader and narrower sense. When they first appeared in the initial issues of the newspaper they were marked with an asterisk and explained in a footnote:

a) with a Hungarian and German counterpart

– *Od nasega poszlanikszstva kotrig je letosz napreprineseno /.../ ka bi vu Buda-Pesti tüdi potrebno bilo edno **napravnico**\*) goriposzstaviti za rejenje vojszke skeri* (Prijetel 1876, no. 1, p. 1)

\*Napravnica = gyar = Fabrik

– *Pod dacso szlisajocse zemle premenkavanye od toga vremena mao za edno leto more sze pri **d a c s o p o b e r a v n i j i** \*) notri povedati* (Prijatelj 1876, no. 1, p. 5)

\*Dacso-poberavnija = adoszedo, vagy adohivatal = Steuer Amt

b) with a Hungarian counterpart

– *Za vsako okroglino za csistoga dohodka eden **nasztop**\*) sze goriposztavi* (Prijatelj 1875, no. 1, p. 6)

\*Nasztop – fokozat

– *Nede dacsu placsuvena od vu **penez-szpravlanico**\* polo'zeni penez.* (Prijatelj 1875, no. 2, p. 6)

\*Penezspravlanica = Takarek-penztar

– *Z-celim seregom nyagovomi **ponizlavasi**\*) /.../ caszar liszicsne vkanyce goripoiszko* (Prijatelj 1875, no. 1, p. 7)

\*) Ponizlavas = kegyenc

In later issues the editor provided explanations of neologisms in parenthesis:

a) in terms of borrowings

– *Po taksem je dohana **szamoodavanje** (monopol), med vnogimi drügimi, nadale osztanolo.* (Prijatelj 1876, no. 3, p. 1)

– *Vu minyen mészeci v-prvom rédi sztalo za volo szkoncsávanya navküpní dugovány od orszáckoga szpráviscsa zebráno **poszlaniksztva** (delegácia) tanácsivanye.* (Prijatelj 1875, no. 1, p. 1)

b) descriptively

*Eden törszki szoldak /.../ vöpotegno **revolver** (na vecs sztrlajov pistola)* (Prijatelj 1876, no. 7, p. 2)

Descriptive explanations inside sentences are also present:

*V táksih országaj gde meszto právdéládnosztí ednoga csloveka vola sze more dopunita, tam je **szamoládnoszt.*** (Prijatelj 1875, Test no., p. 2)

## 8 Conclusion

The newspaper *Prijatelj*, representing the basis of Prekmurje journalism, is significant for the editor's numerous neologisms, which alongside abstract nouns (*szamoscsina, tanacsivanye...*) and variegated content, provided a rich professional vocabulary, e.g. political (*pravdoszklenya, szamoladnoszt...*), legal-administrational (*dacsoterjas, szodbeni sztolec...*) and other technical terms. It enabled its readers to enrich their vocabulary, and prepared them for

communication in a variety of circumstances through terminology from various fields.

One can also observe broadening of word families in accordance with the established Pannonian word-formational patterns accompanied by a desire to condense the data and increase the informative character of collocations made into single-word expressions (*pravde-podsztava, pravdepodsztava* 'legal motion'). Also there are non-systemic innovations such as word-formational solutions that were not in accordance with the system and are perceived today as badly chosen or sometimes even inappropriate, but are nevertheless instructional and worthy of attention (e.g. *vküppritjenje* 'gathering, convention').

Occasionally we observe some hesitation when it comes to word-formation and spelling, which is a result of a lack of language manuals and the editor's detachment from the Prekmurje speech area (e.g. *dr'zinszkakniga, grüntna-kniga*).

Due to the closeness of German, Hungarian and Croatian ("Kajkavski") territories, the influence of foreign expressions is somehow expected, however it is obvious from the survey of neologisms in the newspaper *Prijatelj* that Agustich preferred to form new words from the Pannonian basis rather than adopt them from other languages (*keljavina* 'paste', *nanizavek* 'bow', *napravnica* 'factory', *zobrisenje* 'education', *žutvlasnati* 'red-haired'). It was only in the case of technical terms that he frequently decided in favour of tracing.

His neologisms were the basis for the development of the journalistic and partly also scientific language of Prekmurje. Most of them have not survived to the present nor can they be traced in the Prekmurje dialect. They are nevertheless instructive for contemporary word-formation since we have always been informed that each standard language has a vast word-formation potential and that it is necessary to make use of one's own autochthon word-formational patterns.

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