Markian Prokopovych, Carl Bethke, and Tamara Scheer

Language Diversity in the Late Habsburg Empire. Foreword from the Editors

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This book seeks to approach language diversity in multi-ethnic communities of the Habsburg Empire by focusing critically on the urban-rural divide and the importance of status for multilingual competence and language diversity in local governments, schools, the army, and the urban public sphere. Its aim is to offer the first comprehensive overview of language diversity for the entire territory of the Habsburg Monarchy, placing emphasis on the experiences and encounters at urban frontiers and the linguistic policies and practices in transition.

Language diversity and linguistic competence—and more specific phenomena such as multilingualism and polyglossia—are a defining characteristic of the contemporary world, and yet are often considered to be historically incomparable and unique. With reference to global linguistic changes that made it impossible for state apparatuses, global businesses, and other supranational networks to exist without linguistic competence in multiple languages, sociolinguistics have even coined the term "the new linguistic order."[1] Its study is currently a booming field: apart from the solid body of research in contemporary linguistics, the study of multilingualism boasts several internationally reputed journals, for instance, *International Journal of Multilingualism* (Taylor & Francis/Routledge) and *Critical Multilingualism Studies* (University of Arizona), to name but two. There is also a wealth of publications on linguistic competence, "the new linguistic order," contemporary language and education policy, and material culture.[2]

Within the broader historical discussion on language diversity and multilingualism, a number of states and empires are often singled out in which language competences were essential for the smooth and successful running of state operations over longer periods of time.[3] The Habsburg Empire occupies a somewhat privileged place on this list. For example, contradicting the gist and tone of some of the recent studies of multilingualism in the contemporary world that tend to stress the uniqueness of the contemporary experience and presumably the unique impossibility of the contemporary world to function without such practices, Rosita

[1] Jacques Maurais, "Towards a New Linguistic World Order," in *Languages in a Globalizing World*, ed. Jacques Maurais and Michael Morris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 13–36.
[2] See, for example, Larissa Aronin and David Singleton, "Multilingualism as a New Linguistic Dispensation," *International Journal of Multilingualism* 5 (2008) 1: 1–16; Aronin and Singleton, *Multilingualism* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012); Marilyn Martin-Jones, Adrian Blackledge, and Angela Creese, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism* (New York: Routledge, 2012).
[3] Catherine E. Léglu, *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue in Medieval French, Occitan, and Catalan Narratives* (University Park: The Penn State University Press, 2010); Kurt Braunmüller, "Receptive Multilingualism in Northern Europe in the Middle Ages: A Description of a Scenario," in *Receptive Multilingualism: Linguistic Analyses, Language Policies and Didactic Concepts*, ed. Jan D. ten Thije and Ludvig Zeevaert (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007), 25–47; Jean-Michel Picard, "The French Language in Medieval Ireland," in *The Languages of Ireland*, ed. Michael Cronin and Cormac Ó Cuilleanáin (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 57–77.

Rindler Schjerve and Eva Vetter have argued for the thesis that language diversity in the Habsburg Empire could serve as a model for contemporary policy making.[4] Largely independently from this discussion, Tomasz Kamusella explored at great length the development of Central European languages through history and their connection to nationalist politics in the region, without specifying, however, whether the Habsburg terrain was specific in this regard.[5] This book approaches this topic critically, informed by recent scholarship in Habsburg studies that focus on aspects that actually bound the empire's diverse population together,[6] as well as of the dangers of equating historical precedents and their contemporary applicability. While not questioning the applicability of Rindler Schjerve's and Vetter's theories, this book offers a wealth and richness of examples that provide further evidence for both the merits of how language diversity was managed in the late Habsburg Empire and the problems and contradictions that surrounded those practices, complete with some studies that question the "ideal-typical" status of Austria-Hungary as an efficient multilingual empire state.

Within historical scholarship, many studies of language diversity in the Habsburg Empire focus on those most obvious fields in which it manifested itself and continues to invoke heated political debates today: the areas of schooling, army, and politics.[7] Among many relevant recent works on the topic that inspired this book we would like to single out the following three. First, *Diglossia and Power: Language Policies and Practice in the 19th Century Habsburg Empire* is the first collective volume to provide an overarching, comparative narrative on language diversity with a focus on one very important aspect, namely, how through language policies certain groups vied for dominance and hegemony.[8] At the same time, the comparative framework that the book offers has its limitations since it offers us an overview of only some Habsburg regions, as the editor Rindler Schjerve acknowledges in her introduction: "The term Habsburg Empire, as we use it here, refers

[4] Rosita Rindler Schjerve and Eva Vetter, "Linguistic Diversity in Habsburg Austria as a Model for Modern European Language Policy," in *Multilingual Individuals and Multilingual Societies*, ed. Kurt Braunmüller and Christoph Gabriel (Amsterdam: John Benjamins 2012), 49–70. Also see Jan Fellerer, "Multilingual States and Empires in the History of Europe: The Habsburg Monarchy," in *The Languages and Linguistics of Europe*, ed. Bernd Kortmann and John van der Auwera (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 713–28.

[5] Tomasz Kamusella, *Creating Languages in Central Europe During the Last Millennium* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

[6] Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016).

[7] See, for example, Ágoston Berecz, *The Politics of Early Language Teaching: Hungarian in the Primary Schools of the Late Dual Monarchy* (Budapest: Pasts, Inc. Studies and Working Papers, 2014); Waltraud Heindl, "Zum cisleithanischen Beamtentum: Staatsdiener und Fürstendiener," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, vol. 9, part 1, ed. Helmut Rumpler and Peter Urbanitsch (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 1157–1209; Hannelore Burger, "Die Vertreibung der Mehrsprachigkeit am Beispel Österreichs 1867-1918," in *Über Muttersprachen und Vaterländer. Zur Entwicklung von Standardsprachen und Nationen in Europa*, ed. Gerd Hentschel (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1997), 35-49; Burger, "Sprachen und Sprachpolitiken. Niederösterreich und die Bukowina im Vergleich," in *Zentren, Peripherien und kollektive Identitäten in Österreich-Ungarn*, ed. Endre Hárs, Wolfgang Müller-Funk, Ursula Reber, and Clemens Ruthner (Tübingen and Basel: Francke, 2006), 79–96; Burger, *Sprachenrecht und Sprachgerechtigkeit im österreichische Unterrichtswesen 1867-1918* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie, 1995); Joachim v. Puttkamer, "Nationale Peripherien. Strukturen und Deutungsmuster im ungarischen Schulwesen 1867-1914," in Hárs, Müller-Funk, Reber, and Ruthner, *Zentren, Peripherien und kollektive Identitäten in Österreich-Ungarn*, 97–110; R.J.W. Evans, "Language and State Building: The Case of the Habsburg Monarchy," *Austrian History Yearbook* 35 (2004): 1–24; Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

[8] Rosita Rindler Schjerve, ed., *Diglossia and Power: Language Policies and Practice in the 19th Century Habsburg Empire* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003), 1.

exclusively to the Western and German dominated part of this multi-ethnic state and does not consider the territories under Hungarian influence."[9] Thus the policies and practices of the Hungarian half of the Monarchy lie beyond the Rindler Schjerve's scope. By contrast, our book offers a much more balanced representation of regions. While few studies of the late Habsburg Empire could claim to cover all its diverse and heterogeneous territories with the same degree of focus and precision, this book offers an equally comprehensive, even if not exhaustive, overview of Hungarian and Hungarian-influenced regions as the German- and Slavic-dominated domains.

The second recent relevant contribution to the historiographic debate on the linguistic diversity in the late Habsburg empire is Michaela Wolf's *The Habsburg Monarchy's Many-Languaged Soul: Translating and Interpreting, 1848–1918*.[10] Her book discusses how in a pluricultural space of changing linguistic regimes and nationalism, specific forms of translation and interpretation contributed to the formation of specific cultures. Based on a close reading of administrative, judicial, and diplomatic documents and aiming to establish how translation was carried out in the everyday life, the book outlines translation practices across different Habsburg crownlands. However, its main contribution, similarly to that of Rindler Schjerve, is to the discussion of a narrower case study, that of Italian–German exchange. The third work that inspired our volume is *Understanding Multiculturalism: The Habsburg Central European Experience*,[11] a collective work edited by Johannes Feichtinger and Gary B. Cohen, which approaches a related—though fundamentally distinct—concept of multiculturalism in the Habsburg Empire and addresses issues of nationalism and "ethnicist" scholarship. Pieter M. Judson's contribution to Feichtinger's and Cohen's volume in particular addresses the issue of language practices and suggests that in its reliance on the data of language use, nationalist historiography often presumed the existence of separate, linguistically defined ethnic cultures, while in a multilingual space of the Habsburg Empire the choice to use a specific language did not necessarily evidence a defined national loyalty. Judson explores the link between multilingualism and a much more contested phenomenon of multiculturalism.[12]

Being aware of these discussions, this book aims to concentrate especially on language practices at the local, everyday level, which have hitherto been overlooked or have only recently become the subject of interest for historical analysis. First of all, language diversity in the Habsburg army has emerged as one of the promising trends in new military history. A closer look at the everyday practices and interactions between different army corps, within the army hierarchy, and especially between the local garrisons and the local population can

[9] Rindler Schjerve, *Diglossia and Power*, 1.
[10] Michaela Wolf, *The Habsburg Monarchy's Many-Languaged Soul: Translating and Interpreting, 1848–1918*, translated by Kate Sturge (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2015).
[11] Johannes Feichtinger and Gary B. Cohen, eds., *Understanding Multiculturalism: The Habsburg Central European Experience* (New York: Berghahn, 2014).
[12] Pieter M. Judson, "The Limits of Nationalist Activism in Imperial Austria: Creating Frontiers in Daily Life," in Feichtinger and Cohen, *Understanding Multiculturalism*, 61–82.

provide valuable new insights on the functioning of public space in the late Dual Monarchy.[13] Secondly, while language politics and language legislation for education were instituted on the level of the central state, it is especially revealing to observe how language diversity manifested itself and was practiced at the everyday, local level. A number of recent studies highlighted the complexities of regional and urban contexts for linguistic competence and language practices in the era of nationalism.[14] Several contributions in this book follow this trend and concentrate on the specifically urban—and often previously unexplored—public space and the way diverse actors saw themselves and employed their linguistic skills in urban contexts throughout the Habsburg Empire. Such cases range from places that are known today as Trieste and Lviv to the specificity of the Habsburg regions of Silesia, Slavonia, Transcarpathia, Transylvania, and the Banat.

In our attempt to understand language diversity in the late Habsburg Empire, we purport to position it within broader everyday practices, rather than within the debates on the rise of nations and nationalism, as was routinely done in the past. Rather than an overview of Austria-Hungary's complex linguistic and ethnopolitical composition, or a contribution to a terminological debate on the definition of di- and polyglossia, multilingualism, or even of language as opposed to dialect,[15] this book makes specific case studies of language diversity in their specific local contexts. Following Judson, we start with the preamble that "the particular character of imperial law, of imperial administrative practice, and of traditional claims for

[13] Tamara Scheer, "Die k.u.k. Regimentssprachen: Eine Institutionalisierung der Sprachenvielfalt in der Habsburgermonarchie (1867/8-1914)," in *Sprache, Gesellschaft und Nation in Ostmitteleuropa. Institutionalisierung und Alltagspraxis*, ed. Martina Niedhammer et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 75–92; Scheer, "Habsburg Languages at War: 'The linguistic confusion at the tower of Babel couldn't have been much worse,'" in *Languages and the First World War*, vol. 1, *Languages and the First World War: Communicating in a Transnational War*, ed. Christophe Declercq and Julian Walker (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2016), 62–78; Rok Stergar, "Illyrian Autochthonism and the Beginnings of South Slav Nationalisms in the West Balkans," in *In Search of Pre-Classical Antiquity: Rediscovering Ancient Peoples in Mediterranean Europe (19th and 20th c.)*, ed. Antonino De Francesco (Leiden: Brill, 2016); István Deák, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848–1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[14] Lelija Sočanac, "Multilingualism, Power and Identity in 19th Century Croatia," in *Glottogenesis and Language Conflicts in Europe*, ed. Sture Ureland and Lelija Sočanac (Berlin: Logos Verlag, 2017), 69–91; Anita Sujoldžić and Anja Iveković Martinis, "The Legacy of Multilingualism in the Adriatic during Austria-Hungary," in *Linguistic and Cultural Interactions – An Interdisciplinary Approach*, ed. Rita Pletl and Noémi Fazekas (Cluj-Napoca: Scientia Publishing House, 2016), 195–203; Bálint Varga, "Multilingualism in Urban Hungary, 1880–1910," *Nationalities Papers* 42, no. 6 (2014): 965–80; Carl Bethke, *(K)Eine gemeinsame Sprache? Aspekte deutsch-jüdischer Beziehungsgeschichte in Kroatien. Vom Zusammenleben zum Holocaust, 1900–1950* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2013); Vesna Deželjin, "Reflexes of the Habsburg Empire Multilingualism in some Triestine Literary Texts," *Jezikoslovlje* 13, no. 2 (2012): 419–37; Mirna Jernej, Zrinjka Glovacki-Bernardi, and Anita Sujoldžić, "Multilingualism in Northwestern Part of Croatia during Habsburg Rule," *Jezikoslovlje* 13, no. 2 (2012): 327–50; Dominique Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation: Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012); László Marácz, "Multilingualism in the Transleithanian Part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867–1918): Policy And Practice," *Jezikoslovlje* 13, no. 2 (2012): 269–98; Susan Gal, "Polyglot Nationalism. Alternative Perspectives on Language in 19th Century Hungary," *Langage et société* 136, no. 2 (2011): 31–54; Alexander Maxwell, *Choosing Slovakia: Slavic Hungary, the Czechoslovak Language and Accidental Nationalism* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009); Susanne Czeitschner, "Sprachgebrauch und Gerichtswesen in Triest," in *Lingua e politica. La politica linguistica della duplice monarchia e la sua attualità. Sprache und Politik. Die Sprachpolitik der Donaumonarchie und ihre Aktualität*, ed. Umberto Rinaldi, Rosita Rindler Schjerve, and Michael Metzeltin (Vienna: Istituto Italiano di Cultura, 1997), 44–51; Jan Havránek, "Das Prager Bildungswesen, 1875 bis 1925," in *Wien-Prag-Budapest: Blütezeit der Habsburgermetropolen*, ed. Gerhard Melinz and Susan Zimmermann (Vienna: Promedia, 1996), 185–200.

[15] See, for example, Tomasz Kamusella, "The History of the Normative Opposition of 'Language versus Dialect': From Its Graeco-Latin Origin to Central Europe's Ethnolinguistic Nation-States," *Colloquia Humanistica* 5 (2016), 164–88.

crownland autonomy taken together made it more likely that when people in Austria-Hungary became civically engaged, it was through institutions that demanded fairness or parity in official linguistic practice … Nationalist conflict was not an inevitable result of the multilingual quality of Austrian and Hungarian societies but was a product of institutions."[16] Furthermore, nationalist sentiment was often event-specific and situational, and in many other daily situations the Habsburg subjects' linguistic practices suggested that it could be disregarded or sometimes even ignored altogether. This book's contributors carefully examine such divergent and contradictory practices and suggest their own solutions in their case studies.

Taken as a whole, a series of important questions arise from the contributions: At what level and at what time did the commander of a town garrison start communicating with the city representatives in a "local" language and what language would that be? Did it matter whether they were dealing with official municipal representatives or independent local activists? How did theatres shape their repertoires to suit the multilingual public of cities? What strategies of interaction did those urban societies accustomed to language diversity find? How did local governments, schools, and the press foster, or alternatively hamper multilingualism? Did the process of urbanization, bringing new populations into hitherto multi-ethnic cities, change the carefully established arrangements, and what strategies did the new groups from regions lacking language diversity foster in the new urban space? Did nationalist politics necessarily foster monolingualism? Were poor literacy and imbalance between the status of languages a hindrance or a resource for everyday multilingual practices? The book aims to answer these questions by looking at specific urban actors, groups, and localities in the so typically linguistically diverse late Habsburg Empire.

In his opening chapter, Pieter M. Judson argues that, rather than multilingual practices, it was the particular institutional frameworks in which they took place and gained social meaning that made Austria-Hungary distinct by European standards. Thanks to institutional practice, multilingualism became an issue worthy of note, debate, conflict, and legislation to a far greater extent than was the case in other societies. On the one hand, migration created enclaves of multilingualism at the level of the neighbourhood, particularly in industrial towns. On the other hand, linguistic profiles could often change thanks to nationalist policies practiced by local city councils and their organized supporters. In an age when nationhood became defined increasingly in demographic and then eugenic terms all over Europe, nationalists focused on and problematized multilingual practices as a point of particular anxiety. Judson calls for the need to look beyond such organized efforts and at the range and meanings of multilingual practices and spaces, from the intimacy of a household to local translations, and to detach multilingualism from multiculturalism altogether in our thinking.

Marta Verginella provides an analysis of language practice in Austrian Trieste and its surroundings in the nineteenth century with a particular focus on the use of Slovene. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Slovene was regarded as the language of the minority, mostly rural population. From the 1860s onwards, it

[16] Judson, *The Habsburg Empire*, 272.

was ousted from official documents and partly from church practices. The city authorities that in Trieste were controlled by the Italian Liberal National Party limited the use of what they understood as the minority language in practices that were within their jurisdiction, as well as attempted to influence policies within central state's jurisdiction. The analysis of last wills and testaments in the countryside and in urban centres of Trieste and Gorizia demonstrates that the use of Slovene established itself only in districts that were not a part of larger cities' municipal authority. Additionally, the research into the minutes of Trieste and Gorizia city councils and into the press reports reveals how Italian city authorities hindered the official recognition of Slovene, and how the Slovene national representative bodies strived to achieve the recognition of their language in the urban environment.

Ljubljana-Laibach, in the Austrian region of Carniola, Rok Stergar shows, was bilingual at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The majority of the inhabitants spoke Slovene but there was a significant German-speaking minority. German was the preferred language of the middle and upper class and it was predominant in culture, education, commerce, and administration. With the advent of Slovene nationalism in the middle of the nineteenth century, the role of German started to diminish as the use of Slovene became a political act and the Slovenification of Ljubljana an important goal of Slovene nationalists. Even the military's use of German as the language of administration and command came under increased scrutiny. However, even the most nationalist municipal politicians could not deny the importance of the garrison for the economy of the town or the popularity of the regimental band's concerts. Consequently, they had to find pragmatic solutions for daily coexistence. The same was true for the army: it too could not ignore the new state of affairs and had to find a working compromise.

During the first decade of the 20th century, the town of Osijek, in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia within the Hungarian half of the monarchy, experienced a language transformation from the dominant German language to Croatian. The cause of this transformation was a sudden increase of Croatian-speaking inhabitants, but the transformation was accelerated by the Croatian resistance to Magyarization policies fostered by the provincial government of Khuen-Héderváry. Anamarija Lukić demonstrates that the most significant contributions to the language transformation were the launch of the Croatian-language press, such as the newspaper *Narodna obrana*, and the establishment of the Croatian National Theatre. Nevertheless, the public and private life of Osijekers was marked with the constant contact of languages, as well as a mixture of them, a feature that survived even after the breakdown of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The *Bosnische Post*, a newspaper in Sarajevo, the capital of Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina, appeared in the German language until 1918. The paper was sometimes attacked as a symbol of "German" dominance; however, as becomes evident from Carl Bethke's analysis, it hardly aimed at representing "Germans" as a group. Rather, it promoted an imperial, liberal, and remarkably secular agenda, which it directed at a transnational immigrant readership of those who came to Sarajevo from all over the monarchy. Even though not a governmental newspaper as such, the *Bosnische Post* approved of many of the programmes of the

Austro-Hungarian administration, in particular those in the realm of infrastructure development. Interestingly, it also appears to have functioned as a sort of a double vitrine: on the one hand, presenting the Viennese flair and lifestyle for Bosnians, and on the other, for its German readers further afield, showing the province's culture, history, and heritage through translations of local Bosnian authors' literary, historical, and journalistic pieces.

Irina Marin's contribution offers insights into the views about language and language use in the Monarchy as espoused by a sample of K.u.K. high-ranking officers of Romanian nationality, many of them from the Banat which was then in the Hungarian half of the monarchy. She demonstrates how the officers objected to monolingualism irrespective whether this meant Magyarization or withdrawal into one's native language. She argues that these views were informed by their military status as well as by their origin in the Military Border, which presupposed a strong awareness of their ethnic identity and experience of a pragmatic use of vernacular languages in local administration and schools.

Ágoston Berecz focuses on linguistic practices within the official sphere of Dualist Hungary. Relying on material from Romanian state archives, he documents the enduring presence of Romanian and German in the written administration of Transylvanian and Banat towns with Romanian and German majorities. The study maps the domains where the two languages were typically used, as well as the functions reserved for the use of Hungarian, identifying a slow onslaught of the latter. Although it should not be taken as representative for other regions and other minority languages of Dualist Hungary, the gap between the clamorous nation-state building agenda pursued in Budapest and the realities in some of the less visible peripheries is clearly evident and worth noting.

The north-eastern corner of the Kingdom of Hungary was one of the unique regions of Europe in that, while divided into several counties until 1918, was also inhabited by ethnic groups for whom it was a homogenous region. The political borders of the region never coincided with its ethnic, ethnographic, linguistic or cultural borders: it remained on the peripheries of power, and several centres continue to exert their influence on it to this very day. Csilla Fedinec and István Csernicskó explore the linguistic practices of the main ethnic communities—Rusyns, Hungarians, Jews, and Roma—from a historical and sociolinguistic perspective. Focusing on the small communities torn apart by several power centres, they analyse how nation-building and linguistic ideologies impacted the development of these communities under the late Habsburg rule. The events taking place from the end of 1918 onwards that split Subcarpathia between a number of countries, they argue, "decomposed" this historical-cultural symbiosis.

Matthäus Wehowski examines the development of the heterogeneous imperial borderlands of Austro-Hungary, focusing on the example of a technical school in the town of Teschen in Austrian Silesia. The pupils of the "K. K. Staats-Oberrealschule" had different national and religious backgrounds: there were Germans, Poles, and Czechs, and some were Roman Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish. Even in a period of nascent nationalism from 1900 onwards, the school provided some room for coexistence. Relying on the analysis of

school yearbooks, the chapter traces the changes, challenges, and survival of "imperial" diversity during the First World War and its aftermath.

How can the functioning of multilingualism in everyday life in past urban societies be reconstructed? Jan Fellerer addresses this question by focusing on late Habsburg Lviv, in the Crownland of Galicia and Lodomeria. The city's residents and visitors of different native languages inevitably had day-to-day dealings with each other through trade, commerce, employment, lodging, personal relations, entertainment, and other daily activities. However, the functioning of these encounters in linguistic terms remains elusive. The study explores late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century court records as sources that grant rare glimpses into ordinary people's daily routines. An inductive analysis of these sources allows for the tracing of patterns of linguistic usage in multilingual fin-de-siècle Lviv and to associate them with particular constituencies in the city's population. The key languages in question include varieties of Polish, Ukrainian, Yiddish, and German. While it is true that standard Polish dominated the city's official, "top-level" domains such as public administration, everyday life produced mixed linguistic, Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-Yiddish usage as well as forms of more fully fledged individual bi- and multilingualism.

With the arrival of the Habsburgs, Bukovina became famous not only for its multitude of languages, but also acquired some fame for the alleged multilingualism of its population. Both contemporary and post-factum Bukovinian historiography have largely followed the path of competing nationalisms that dominated the political discourse of the time. Multilingualism as such has not been researched and has so far been merely touched upon. If Bukovinians spoke all these languages, Jeroen van Drunen asks in his last, revisionist contribution, how well did they actually master them? And could cases of language transfer, or cross-linguistic interference, have been the norm rather than the exception?

A final note on style and terminology: It is perhaps ironic that it is so particularly difficult to fit diverse and locally specific concepts, terms, and language practices that characterised the late Habsburg Empire into the straightjacket of an English-language book with uniform and coherent spelling and orthography. To do so would mean not only to impose a sense of coherence where in reality there might have been divergent, if related, practices, but also to submit to the unrestrained authority of a translator. To use a few examples from German, what in English would be normally known as "nation" would in most of our authors' sources be *Nationalität*, but it was also sometimes *Volksstamm*. Conversely, the German term *Ausgleich*, the key event that created Austria-Hungary in 1867, is routinely translated as "Compromise," but some authors increasingly feel that "Settlement" would be more appropriate. A whole range of terms that relates to language—*Umgangsprache* (colloquial language, the vernacular), *Muttersprache* (first language, mother tongue), and *Beamtensprache* (official language, language of communication), to name but three most obvious examples—have several accepted translations into English, each of them not only legitimate but belonging to a specific historiographic tradition. Moreover, there are further terminological approaches specific to other languages and regions of the empire that we as editors felt should also be respected. Thus, while we did our foremost to

bring uniformity to at least the most recurrent terms, in this book it was our conscious decision to respect our authors in their choices of preferred translation and terminology. In our understanding, this book is as stylistically and terminologically coherent as the Habsburg Empire would have ever been.

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