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Multilingualism and the Social Status of Women in the City of Osijek in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries

By Ljubica Kordic¹, Visnja Lachner²

Abstract

The authors strive to present the social status of women in Croatian cities in the 19th and early 20th centuries on the example of the multilingual city of Osijek. The main goal of the paper is to determine the social position of women at that time and to examine whether and to which extent it was influenced by their knowledge of three languages spoken in the multilingual milieu of the city: Croatian, German, and Hungarian. The corpus of the research encompasses job announcements and advertisements related to women in two local newspapers in the German language *Die Frau* and *Slawonische Presse* that were published in the city of Osijek in the late 19th century and the early 20th century. In the introduction, the political background of Croatian society at that period is presented, and relevant legal regulations are analyzed from the point of view of the history of law. In the main part, newspaper announcements and advertisements concerning women and their multilingualism are researched and discussed from the perspectives of pragmatic linguistics and sociolinguistics. The method used in achieving this goal was fieldwork research into the original issues of two local newspapers in the German language *Die Frau* and *Slawonische Presse*, saved at the State Archives of Osijek. The research includes all the issues of *Slawonische Presse* from 1870 to 1918 and *Die Frau* from 1870 to 1927. In the final part, conclusions are drawn on the social status of women as influenced by their knowledge of two or more languages spoken in the multilingual city of Osijek in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Keywords: Multilingualism, Women, Social Status, the City of Osijek, Croatia, Fieldwork Method, Historical Journals in the German Language

Introduction

The paper³ deals with the social status of women in the city of Osijek in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Croatia was a constituent part of the Austro-Hungarian Kingdom in the explored time, so multilingualism was an important feature of its social life, especially in urban settings.

Hypothesis, Methods, and the Goal of the Research

Multilingualism represented an integral part of the multicultural city of Osijek and an essential feature of its identity throughout its history. The hypothesis of this research is that multiculturalism and multilingualism significantly influenced the social status of women in the city of Osijek in the second half of the 19th and the early 20th centuries. The main goal of this paper is to investigate whether and to which extent women's social position was

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influenced by their ability to speak other languages besides Croatian. From the point of view of pragmatic linguistics, the goal of the research is to define the social status of women living at that time as determined by the social context of the multilingual milieu of the city. In terms of pragmatic linguistics, the aim of the paper is to present *the face* of women living in the city of Osijek, Croatia, by the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries. The word *face* is understood as “(...) the public self-image of person; (...) that emotional and social sense of self that everyone has and expects everyone else to recognize” (Yule, 1996: 60). Conclusions about the social status of the women living at that time in Osijek that are presented in this paper derive from thorough research into newspaper reports relating to women. Job announcements and advertisements relating to women, which represent the corpus of the research, are collected from two local newspapers, *Die Drau* and *Slawonische Presse*. Both newspapers were published in the German language at the time when Croatian was recognized as the official language of Croatia, which was part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy back then.

Social, Legal, and Political Context of the Research

The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century is a very dynamic period in the development of Central Europe as well as of the city of Osijek, Croatia. It is a time of great economic progress and new scientific discoveries. At that time, Croatia was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, i.e., the dualism in which Croatia was left to the Hungarian political supremacy and interest policy. In the mentioned period Ivan Mažuranić and the Hungarian Khuen Hedervary, who wanted Croatia to become a part of Hungary, were appointed Croatian Bans, i.e., persons at the head of the Croatian government.

During the time of the Ban Ivan Mažuranić (1873 - 1880), the Croatian lands were hit by a wave of modernization, which affected various areas of society. With reference to women, this was the age of “conservative modernization” because the only “women’s issue” that attracted attention in the 19th century was the issue of the upbringing and education of girls (Jagić, 2008: 77). Modernization processes also influenced the development of civil society in which struggles took place between traditional patriarchal relations and the modern civil system. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, Osijek was one of the largest and most economically developed cities in Croatia, i.e., the administrative, political, cultural, religious, educational, social, and economic center of the Slavonia region. In accordance with the Law on the Organization of City Municipalities of 1881, it enjoyed the special status of a city with county rank. New changes in the organization of city municipalities occurred in 1895, with the Act on the Organization of City Municipalities in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia. This law, passed by the authoritative government of Khuen Hédervary, led to a more pronounced centralization and the restriction of voting rights for men. As before, the city's grand prefect supervised the operations of the city's administration, so the city of Osijek was directly subordinated to the Provincial Government.

The share of the female population in the second half of the 19th century was significantly higher than that of the male population. According to Szabo, between 1880 and 1900, there were 47.50% of men and 52.50% of women in the Croatian urban population (Szabo, 1996: 156). The women outnumbered the men, and consequently, the modernization processes affected the position of women and their role in the new social environment. They were enabled to leave the private sphere and enter the public sphere, which until then was reserved only for men. This significant step forward on the social and economic scene and the labor market was possible primarily through education. Before Mažuranić's reforms, women in the countryside were uneducated, while women in the city often received insufficient education in girls' schools. They were raised to be good housekeepers, wives, mothers, and often nothing more. Most families at the time did not have the financial means to educate all

their children. In 1874, Ban Mažuranić introduced compulsory primary education for male and female children – until then, it was only male children who enjoyed that right (Krešić, 2019: 234 f.). Civic, i.e., girls' colleges, were opened, which provided girls with the opportunity for further education. Accordingly, in 1882, the third Slavonian Girls' High School was opened in Osijek, and the number of students grew every year (Župan, 2013: 79). However, the curriculum of the Girls' High School did not enable further higher education, so women's education in Croatia ended at the completion of the teacher training program (preparatory schools for future teachers). It was not until 1901 that the imperial decision granted women permission to study at the University of Zagreb (Župan, 2013: 107-110). Consequently, the job of a teacher was the first occupation that enabled women to enter the public sphere, as it was considered that the occupation was in line with the female "nature" because it arose from the female maternal identity (Župan, 2013: 141). In practicing this profession, women were discriminated against because they were paid less than male teachers until 1874, when the law equalized the salaries of teachers. Mažuranić's law was one of the few laws in Europe that did not discriminate against female teachers (Krasnohorska, 1884: 452). However, with the amendment to the law in 1888, female teachers could not marry; that is, marriage was considered a voluntary resignation from the service (Cuvaj, 1911: 373).

In line with modernization, the emergence of mass consumption and the growth of industry forced women from lower social classes to work to support themselves and their families. They worked as auxiliary workers in factories, mostly in the textile and chemical industries. They were the heirs of their deceased husband's trade and were seamstresses, inn owners, and maids (Červenjak, J. and Živaković-Kerže, 2014: 135-136). In Osijek in 1880, 797 women were employed in trades and most often worked as auxiliary workers in tailoring salons, cafes, patisseries, and the like (Szabo, 1996: 160). In wealthy families, women from lower social classes were employed as servants (Červenjak, J. and Živaković-Kerže, 2014: 135). Their work was not as valued as the work of men, and most women were still mothers and housewives. According to the censuses from 1893 to 1895, 30.66% of women were maids; 25.73% were peasant women; 19.73% were wage earners; 4.40% were prostitutes; 2.13% were beggars, and 0.53% were teachers (Mažuran, 1996: 213). More than 7.5% of the Osijek population was employed in public services and freelance professions, 2/10 of which were women, who mostly were employed as teachers and as support staff in health care and city services (Szabo, 1996: 162). The number of independent female entrepreneurs also increased. Most of them were fruit and vegetable sellers or traders and entrepreneurs in the tertiary sector, transport, and/or industry (Iveljić, 2007: 287). Women were also engaged in the so-called "oldest trade in the world": at that time, there were about 120 registered prostitutes in Osijek in nine city brothels.

At the turn of centuries, the women of the upper class were increasingly moving away from the sole role of a mother and housewife. They achieved some autonomy not only within their homes due to employment and financial independence, but they also founded and participated in associations, studied, and followed fashion trends (Červenjak, J. and Živaković-Kerže, 2014: 134). Still, there was a great difference in the lifestyle between women belonging to different social classes. While women coming from lower social classes had to work hard, women from upper classes mostly did not have any work obligations:

"Women from high society were expected to socialize, go for visits and accept guests in their perfect homes run by women servants of different kinds: a cook in the kitchen, a chambermaid to do the rooms, a cleaning woman for hard cleaning work, a laundrywoman to take in laundry. If there had been children, families from 'better society' hired a wet nurse, then a nanny, and later a governess or a German *Fräulein*, who would have stayed with the family until the girl(s) had married" (Wilma von Vukelich, 1992: 133).

The Linguistic Context of the City

Since the early 18th century, Osijek has been a multicultural and multilingual community. The city was inhabited mostly by Germans, Croats, Serbs, and Hungarians (Mažuran, 1965: 35). In the year 1900, a new wave of German-speaking settlers from Baden Württemberg inhabited Osijek, so the German-speaking population comprised 53.88% of the entire population of Osijek at the beginning of the 20th century (Mažuran et al., 1996: 158). No wonder that according to *Hrvatski list*, a local journal published in the 1930s, the city was called “the little Vienna” or “Frankfurt on the banks of Drava” (Živaković-Kerže, 2001: 121). As German and Croatian were simultaneously used in the public life of Osijek, bilingualism became a characteristic linguistic feature of Osijek and a part of its identity. In the western part of the city, especially in its suburb Retfala, Hungarian was the dominant language of public communication. Although government officials and civil servants wrote all the documents in Latin and German, they also learned Croatian to be able to communicate with local people.

On the other hand, domicile citizens of Osijek – Croats, Serbs, and Hungarians – learned German to be able to facilitate communication with the city administration and the German-speaking settlers who were owners of most shops, hotels, restaurants and factories in the city. This led to the development of a unique urban dialect of Osijek – Essekerisch or Esseker German (Essek being a German version of the name Osijek). Essek German was originally a spoken dialect, but owing to Lujo Plein, its written version was saved from being forgotten (Plein, 1929). Even at the time when the Croatian language was recognized as an official language, the documents of the Humanistic High School of Osijek that have been saved in the city museum give evidence of lectures held in German on the subjects of History, Philosophy, and Jewish Religious Education in the 1870s. Accordingly, the school report for the school year 1870/71 says that the school regulations were adjusted to specific circumstances of Osijek and written in three languages: German, Croatian and Latin (Kordić, 2014; 2015). Interestingly, at the beginning of the 20th century, after Croatian had been the official language for more than 50 years, the German language enjoyed the status of the second language. There is evidence of the right of children whose mother tongue was German to take all exams in German in the High School of Osijek. These circumstances in the city of Osijek clearly indicate that in the research period, the inhabitants of Osijek were bilingual or multilingual (Kordić, 2014). This can be well illustrated by an old picture postcard of Osijek (Picture 1) with the inscriptions in Croatian and German, while the inscriptions on the building in the picture are in Croatian and Hungarian.

Picture 1: The building of Zemaljska banka (State Bank) with its name written in Croatian and Hungarian



Source: The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek

Research

As stated in the introduction, the corpus of the research encompasses job announcements and advertisements related to women in *Slawonische Presse* from 1870 to 1918 and *Die Drau* from 1870 to 1927. Firstly, the job announcements and advertisements from *Slawonische Presse* will be analyzed, and then those from *Die Drau*.

Research into Job Announcements and Advertisements in *Slawonische Presse*

There were altogether 18 job announcements and advertisements related to women or given by women in *Slawonische Presse*, which was evidently a newspaper targeting and addressing male readers. This can be well illustrated by the fact that almost every issue contained advertisements for a remedy against impotency, as well as an advertisement titled “only for men” advertising the book “Physiology of love” (Picture 2). Accordingly, job announcements in all issues published until the year 1888 were related to men (offering posts to photographers, secretaries, and sales assistants). On the other hand, women were mentioned either as famous theatre actresses and opera singers or as criminals. Sometimes, female members of the royal family were mentioned, especially the countesses Norman or Pejačević – mostly in reports on the charity balls they had organized or sponsored. In advertisements, sketches of women were met either as highly attractive women advertising cosmetics, fashionable women’s clothes, and shoes or as cleaning women advertising washing powder.

Picture 2: Advertisement subtitled “Only for men” (Nur für Herren!)



Source: *Slawonische Presse*, 1887

Until the late 1890s, all announcements were published in German, with names of local people and places written in Croatian orthography. After 1897, announcements were published both in German and Croatian, and in the year 1900, the first announcements in Hungarian appeared. In the announcements published in the year 1888, women’s names appeared only twice: the first was Mrs. Susanne Czurda, who announced renting two storage houses; the second was the countess Marianne Norman von Ehrenfels, who offered her pension in Bizovac for rent. Between 1889 and 1891, all advertisements addressed men. Even the advertisement for the “most elegant tapestry fabrics,” published in *Slawonische Presse* on May 3, 1891, was not addressing women but “the appreciated audience” (“dem geehrten Publikum”). Similarly, in the issues between 1891 and 1898, only job announcements and advertisements addressing or relating to men were published. In the issue of March 1, 1898, a surprising announcement drew our attention: two women – Sofie Goldi and Marie Susak from the Long Street No. 61, both “with long work experience as nurses in a public hospital” – were offering massage services in private houses. Keeping in mind the fact that most

announcements were given anonymously, this announcement (Picture 3) with their full names and address indicates that the speech intention of Miss Goldi and Miss Susak was to send a different message. The analysis of this and other announcements from the point of view of pragmatics will be conducted in the discussion of the findings.

Picture 3: Announcement offering massage services in private houses



Source: Slawonische Presse, March 1, 1898

The first official job announcements offering jobs to women were published in *Slawonische Presse* in 1910. In the issue of September 30, 1910, there were three such announcements. The first was for a job of a “Bureau-Fräulein” (office lady) skilled in Croatian, Hungarian, and German (Picture 4). The other was offering the post to a tobacco shop girl, while in the third two girls “from a good house” were offered a job in a millinery boutique (“zwei Lehrfreulein für ein Modistengeschäft”), in which the knowledge of German, Croatian, and Hungarian was highlighted as a prerequisite for getting the posts.

Picture 4: Announcement for a job of an office girl who speaks Hungarian, Croatian, and German



Source: Slawonische Presse, September 30, 1910

In the period between 1910 and 1918, women were offered similar jobs: assistants in millinery shops, girls to work in tobacco shops, or employees in the printing house Carl Laubner in Osijek. After 1910, several cases of announcements in which women were offering their services can be observed. They were mostly looking for positions as cooks, housekeepers, and nannies. Those announcements were usually repeated in two subsequent issues of the newspaper. Women looking for jobs stress their experience and qualities by using chosen words to prove that they are educated and well-raised (“aus gutem Hause” [from a good house], “tüchtige Menageköchin” [a hard-working family cook]). Instead of the word housekeeper, a more “noble” word is used: “Hauspräsidentin” (a house president). Often, attributes like “intelligent,” “decent,” “well-raised,” or attributes related to physical appearance “young girl,” “a young widow,” and “woman in her prime” were used. As a rule, one of the most appreciated qualities was knowledge of two or more languages: “speaks German”, “speaks German and Croatian” (“der deutschen Sprache mächtig”, “der deutschen und kroatischen Sprache mächtig”). Interestingly, women looking for jobs were mostly widows, which indicated their difficult social and financial situation. The typical announcement of that kind was the one given by a “young widow who speaks German and plays the piano” and who was ready to accept a job of a housekeeper for the household of “an intelligent older gentleman or officer living alone or with 1-2 children”. [Als Hauspräsidentin wünscht eine junge Witwe der deutschen Sprache mächtig, mit Kenntnis im Klavierspiel, zu einem intelligenten, älteren Herrn oder Offizier, eventuell auch zu 1-2 Kindern unterzukommen] (*Slawonische Presse*, September 30, 1910). Here again, the unsaid and the implied are more important than the information written in the text. The goal of this announcement as a specific type of speech act is to inform the addressees that the woman’s intention was to find a life partner or to marry if possible.

Between 1915 and 1918, a limited number of jobs were offered to women, ranging from shop assistants to factory employees. This was a radical change in comparison to the 1870s and 1880s, when these types of jobs were offered only to men. There was only one announcement for a “firm representative” who would work in the province (*Slawonische Presse* of February 7, 1918). In the period between 1886 and 1918, there were altogether eighteen announcements referring to women or given by women. In fourteen of them, knowledge of German or German and Croatian was required or pointed out as an advantage. In two of them, knowledge of Croatian, German and Hungarian was seen as an advantage for the candidate. Only in two announcements were other qualities required, like diligence and intelligence and reading and writing skills.

Research into Job Announcements and Advertisements in Die Drau

The issues of the local newspaper *Die Drau* available in the State Archives of Osijek cover the period from the year 1870 to 1927. The character of the journal was determined by its subtitle, “Organ für Politik und Volkswirtschaft” (Journal for Politics and National Economy). In the issues saved in the State Archives of Osijek (not all were available), 34 job announcements and advertisements were related to women.

The mentioned announcements related to women were published in this journal several years earlier than those published in *Slawonische Presse* – the first of which appeared on June 26, 1870, in which teaching lessons in calligraphy, orthography, and general knowledge of the German language were offered to young ladies (the same announcement was repeated on July 3, 1870). In the issue of July 1, 1870, an announcement given by a woman appeared, in which the service of embroidery and sewing was offered. The author of the announcement did not mention her linguistic skills, but from the context, it was clear that her knowledge of the German language was implied since her service was intended for rich families – at that time mostly Germans, and according to her name (Helen Beer), she was of

German origin. Job announcements in the following years were mostly addressing men (novices to work in pubs or shops, pharmacy assistants, etc.). In all of them, knowledge of (mostly) German and Croatian was highly appreciated. In one case, knowledge of German and Serbian was highlighted as an advantage for the candidate (*Die Drau*, July 6, 1870), and in another case, Hungarian and “Slavonian” were a prerequisite for the job of a shop assistant in a grocer’s shop (the issue of May 26, 1872). The importance of multilingual skills is confirmed by the announcement published on April 21, 1872, in which a graduated female teacher offered private lessons in French, German, and English (for modest payment – “gegen billiges Honorar”!). It is interesting that no job announcements addressed to women were published in the following 12 years (1872 - 1884). However, advertisements addressing female readers as consumers were published, especially advertisements for sewing machines that were repeated in several issues of *Die Drau*. After 1883, announcements in Croatian were published more often. As a rule, those announcements were published by state institutions or administrative bodies and followed by their German and Hungarian version. Most advertisements and announcements, however, were published in German. A call for enrolment into the Girls’ school, in which “persons of both sexes can be enrolled,” was signed by Antonie Neumann – Institutionshaberin (*Die Drau*, September 23, 1883). In the same year, an interesting announcement was given by a woman slightly over 30 (“Eine Frau, die das 30. Jahr überschritten hat”). She was looking for a post of a lady’s companion or a coffee-serving girl (“Caffesieberin”). Here again, the social context can be deduced from the text: unmarried women over thirty were expected to work for a living, which implies their position in the conservative philistine society of that time.

In the year 1884, there were several job announcements for female workers in a printing house, factory workers, and shop assistants. Knowledge of Croatian, German, and Hungarian as the third language was regularly mentioned as a prerequisite. Some new skills were mentioned, like “girls who can read and write.” Apart from that, a new trend is observable: in previous years, most announcements were given by employers, but after 1884, an almost equal number of women were offering their work services to secure their existence. For example, on August 31, 1884, “a young girl from the best family” (“ein Mädchen aus bester Familie”), skilled in all household jobs, offered her services as a maid in a family house or as a shop cashier. As her advantages, she highlighted first her bilingualism (“der kroatischen und der deutschen Sprache mächtig”) and then her skills in sewing all sorts of dresses (in Anfertigung von Budoir-, Salon- und Strassentoiletten tüchtig”). Another type of announcement is the one offering rooms for rent – mostly to schoolgirls “from good families”. The texts of those announcements contain adjectives like *distinguished*, *excellent* and *motherly*: a distinguished family (“eine distinguierte Familie”) offered excellent upbringing (“vorzügliche Erziehung”) and motherly care (“mütterliche Pflege”) to young girls who could rent a room in their house under “acceptable conditions”. The choice of epithets reveals the speech’s intention to make a good impression on potential addressees.

In the mid-1880s, the first commercial announcements given by women were published. They were of a business character, mostly offering information on opening new shops or offering new products. One of those was given by Marie Karolni, born Folk, who was informing “the respected audience that she had opened a new bed linen shop” (*Die Drau*, September 20, 1883). Also, Marianne Rennenberg informed her clients that she had returned from Vienna and brought a rich assortment of women's, girls' and children's hats (“aus den ersten Wiener Establishments reich assortiertes Lager aller Gattungen Damen-, Mädchen-, Kinderhüte und Hauben modernsten Façon...”). In *Die Drau* of February 19, 1893, an announcement titled in big capital letters “Eine Frau” was published. It was given by a woman who described herself in superlatives: “Eine Frau in schönstem Alter stehend” (a woman in her prime) who wanted to be accommodated (“placiert”) as a “housemistress” by a

“solid” gentleman. In contrast, different kinds of qualities were highlighted in an offer given by an educated woman looking for a post of a nanny (March 2, 1897). She pointed out her knowledge of German, French, Croatian and Serbian, but she also stressed her trustworthy character and her best recommendations.

Interestingly, the announcement by Sophie Goldi and Marie Susak, two nurses offering massage services in private houses, which had been published in *Slawonische Presse* of March 1, 1898, was published in a different form two days later in *Die Drau*. *Die Drau* obviously was a journal read by upper-class citizens because here, the announcement was formulated more carefully and by using more sophisticated vocabulary than that in *Slawonische Presse*. The language style of the announcement (“Die ergebenst Gefertigten empfehlen ihre Dienste” [the accordingly educated ladies kindly offer their services]) and medical terms like “vollkommene Fertigkeit in der Pflege chirurgischer und innerer Krankheiten” [perfectly skilled in nursing surgical and internal diseases] were used to prove that they were professional nurses. Nevertheless, the wrong choice of the attributed noun (“nursing surgical and internal diseases” instead of “patients”) may indicate that the women were not what they declared to be. In this example, many features indicate that their real identities were quite different from their public self-image presented in the announcement and that the purpose of the announcement was different from the linguistic meaning of their announcement as a communicative act.

Various job announcements for women were published in the years to follow – from cooks and maids to nannies (Kindesfräulein). For the latter, knowledge of at least two languages was required. The knowledge of foreign languages was also a prerequisite for the employment of shop assistants, office girls, or tobacco store girls. Knowledge of two or three languages was most important for office girls. A typical sentence defining those requirements can be found in *Die Drau* issue of March 18, 1913: “Solche Damen, die außer der kroatischen auch der deutschen und ungarischen Sprache mächtig sind, werden bevorzugt” [Ladies who speak German and Hungarian in addition to Croatian will be preferred]. Other qualities were intelligence (intelligentes Kindesfräulein) and diligence (Tüchtigkeit). Diligence was also a quality appreciated in cooks, chambermaids, or just in “girls” (Mädchen). The “girls” were expected to perform any necessary household jobs. Sometimes it was expressly stated, although by well-chosen words: “Hausfräulein oder Haushälterin sucht ein Ehepaar mit einem kleinen Kinde” [A married couple with a small child is looking for a servant girl or a housekeeper] (*Die Drau*, March 18, 1913). Sometimes, the linguistic realization completely reflects the intention: “Mädchen für Alles, das kochen kann, wird neben Stubenmädchen gesucht” [Position open for a servant girl for all work, to cook in addition to being a chambermaid] (*Die Drau*, March 24, 1927).

Findings from the Perspective of Pragmatic Linguistics

Because of essential differences between the structure and the purpose of the texts presented and analyzed in this paper, the collected examples of announcements can be divided into three groups: 1) job announcements related to women as potential employees, 2) job or service offers given by women, and 3) advertisements for women and by women.

Job announcements represent a specific type of communicative act performed in a written form intended to attract potential employees who fulfill specific conditions. If we use the terminology of the first pragmatic theorists Austin and Searle, job announcements can be defined as communicative acts expressing (potential) promise (Searle, 1969, 1985) to the addressees fulfilling the required conditions. Another type of intention is present in job offers. Women offering their service or working skills as senders of information produce a different kind of utterance because their speech intention is to highlight their best qualities and to present themselves to potential employers in the best possible light. The surface

structure of the text is strongly influenced by pragmatic factors like social context, intention, and the purpose of the speaker, here the author of the text. The text itself, as a specific type of communicative act is characterized by strong conventionality (Searle, 1985). Advertisements, as the third type of communicative act, are produced with the intention of attracting potential customers. In the advertisements analyzed here, women pointed out their qualities and used honorifics, performative verbs, or carefully chosen loanwords from French or English with an intention to make an impression on the readers as their addressees. Here again, the specific social context has influenced the linguistic realization of the advertisement as a communicative act.

In all job announcements, multilingualism was a highly appreciated quality, no matter whether the job offered or asked for was that of a nanny, a governess, a cook, or a “servant girl”. From the perspective of pragmatics, texts of some job offerings represent interesting examples of communicative acts. This especially refers to job offers given by widows or single women over thirty. In those texts, the message sent by the text is different from the real intention of the writer – the surface meaning of the words used in the texts is different from the deep semantic structure. Though highly conventional, these communicative acts, in terms of Searle’s terminology, miss the expressiveness and sincerity as basic elements of speech acts (Searle, 1985: 23). It should be noted here that Searle himself modified this idea by introducing the notion of communicative acts as intentional actions, not necessarily expressing true intentions. The examples analyzed in this paper confirm that pieces of information and ideas that are unsaid or assumed (but conventionally implied) constitute an important part of announcements and job offers as specific types of communicative acts. The most striking example is the announcement given by two women offering massage services in private houses. Pragmatic analysis of their utterance clearly indicates a discrepancy between the said and the implied. This is also confirmed by the same announcement published two days later in *Die Frau*, in which they formulated their offer by using different lexical and stylistic means from those in *Slawonische Presse*. Here the text contained an intentional choice of honorifics and sophisticated vocabulary, including medical terms. However, the wrong choice of the attributed noun *disease* instead of *patients* also indicated that the writers of the announcement were not what they declared themselves to be. It is not the linguistic context but primarily the social context that indicates the true intention of the writers. Here the notion of non-truth-conditional aspects of meaning that was strongly supported by Horn (Horn, 2007) finds its full application. Accordingly, Searle’s idea that “linguistic meaning, the meaning of speech acts and sentences, must be considered as an extension of the biologically more fundamental forms of intentionality” (Searle, 2007: 7) is confirmed in this specific example. Moreover, according to Searle, perception and intentional action represent fundamental forms of intentionality: “Among the most basic forms of intentionality, the most biologically primitive, along with hunger, thirst, and sexual desire are perception and intention-in-action” (Searle, 2007:7). This specific announcement, along with job offers by widows or unmarried women over 30, can undoubtedly be qualified as intentions-in-action in the specific social context. The characteristics of that specific social context and the behavior pattern (convention) can be revealed from the fact that a long time before the publication of job announcements by women and for women, announcements and job offers in local newspapers were given exclusively by men and for men. The fact that the two alleged nurses gave their full names and the address at a time when most announcements were anonymous (the exception was the announcement by the countess Norman) quite clearly implies that their behavior was unconventional and not in tune with the behavioral or ethical pattern of women of that time.

In the same corpus, there are several examples of the opposite kind – job announcements in which the explicative aspect (the linguistic realization) equals the

intentionality of the communicative act. A typical example is an announcement in which a married couple was looking for “A girl for all household jobs, who can cook, in addition to being a chambermaid” (*Die Drau*, March 24, 1927). Here it can be claimed that cognitive motivation and its linguistic realization are equal (Ruiz de Mendoza and Baicchi, 2007: 95). In most announcements, the addressor’s intention to present her *face* as impressive as is possible can be well discernible from the choice of adjectives, such as: *diligent, distinguished, excellent, decent, from a good family, from best family, and intelligent*. The most dominant demand in job announcements and the most highlighted quality in most job offers given by women refer to multilingualism: “der deutschen und kroatischen Sprache mächtig”, “Fräulein, das Kroatisch, Deutsch und Ungarisch sprechen und lesen kann” [“who masters German and Croatian”, “a young lady who can speak and read in Croatian, German and Hungarian”].

Pragmatic analysis of some announcements indicated the specific social status of single women from the middle or lower class at the turn of centuries, like the announcement of the year 1883, given by “a woman slightly over 30” who offered a service of a lady’s companion or a coffee serving girl. The linguistic context reflects here a social context of that time, in which unmarried women over 30 were expected to work for a living. The same relates to widows, which is confirmed by four announcements in our corpus. The linguistic context discovers a hidden intention of the authors to get married. The choice of words and phrases like “a woman in her prime,” who wanted to be “accommodated” (“placiert”) as a “housemistress” by a “solid” gentleman indirectly sends potential addressees a semantically different message from that expressed by words. Another interesting example was the announcement by “a young widow who speaks German and plays the piano” and who was ready to accept a job of “a house president” in the household of “an intelligent older gentleman or officer living alone or with 1-2 children” (*Slawonische Presse*, September 30, 1910). The linguistic context of her utterance indicates that she came from upper class or upper-middle class, that she was educated, and that her intention was to become more than an ordinary housekeeper (the word *house president* instead of *housekeeper*). Her hidden intention to get married can be revealed from the definition of her addressee as a gentleman or an officer who can be older and with children. It is also indicative that the type of the local newspaper and its purpose (*Die Drau*), as well as the social status of its readers as addressees, significantly influenced the utterances in terms of the style and the choice of words, especially adjectives, performative verbs, and honorifics. To impress the addressees, in commercial advertisements mostly loanwords from French or English were used (“aus den ersten Wiener Establishments reich assortiertes Lager aller Gattungen Damen-, Mädchen-, Kinderhüte und Hauben modernsten Façon”). The usage of French implied the social status of the shop owner and the women from high society as her target audience. The choice of adjectives has changed with time, which reflects the change in values and the changed status of women in the given social context. After 1900, apart from the multilingualism as an advantage highlighted by employers, the epithets *intelligent* or *who knows how to read and write* were often used, indicating that the qualities of an employed woman were similar to those expected from men at the beginning of the 20th century.

Conclusion

The announcements and advertisements relating to women presented and analyzed in this paper were published in the specific social context of the multicultural and multilingual town of Osijek at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. This specific historical and social context influenced the position of women in the conservative society dominated by men and structured her *face* in the labor world of that time. This is discernible from the fact that in all issues of *Slawonische Presse* altogether 18 and in *Die Drau* 34

announcements and advertisements relating to women were found in the investigated time. The analysis showed that women were mostly offered jobs of cooks, chambermaids, housekeepers, or “servant girls”. In the last years of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, women were offered jobs as shop assistants, tobacco store girls, office girls (administrators), factory workers, or even firm representatives for selling goods in the province. Even the formulation of the job offer containing the word *girl* implies that it was man’s world back then, as it was not seen as offensive to young women. Educated women from the high society offered their services as nannies, governesses, “house presidents” and foreign language instructors or piano teachers. In job announcements, differences in social status can be revealed from the terms used for women stemming from different social classes: uneducated women from lower social classes were referred to as *servant girls* or simply *girls*, while educated women and those from higher social classes were related to as *ladies*.

The analysis of the corpus showed that knowledge of two or three languages (German, Croatian, Hungarian) was perceived as an advantage in most announcements, and in many of them, multilingualism represented the main prerequisite for employment. This was a direct result of the specific multilingual and multicultural context of the town of Osijek at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The analysis of the most interesting announcements from the pragmatic point of view revealed that this social context was characterized by extreme hypocrisy concerning patterns of behavior concerning men and women. This was most probably the reason why in most job offers given by women, the writer’s real intention was not expressed by lexical means but must be deduced from the social context. Corpus analysis also indicated clear divisions between different social classes, which reflected differences in social status and the standards of living between women from different social classes in the city of Osijek at the turn of the century. The results of the research have shown that knowledge of more languages – especially German, Croatian and Hungarian – was a highly appreciated quality, no matter whether the job offered or asked for was that of a nanny, a private German language teacher, cook, or a chambermaid. This confirms the hypothesis of this paper that the specific social and multilinguistic context of the city of Osijek strongly influenced the social status of women and that their multilingualism helped them improve not only their public image in the society they lived in, but also their living standards.

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