

**KENNETH E. NAYLOR MEMORIAL LECTURE SERIES IN SOUTH
SLAVIC LINGUISTICS**

Series Editor: Brian D. Joseph, Kenneth E. Naylor Professor of South Slavic
Linguistics (The Ohio State University)

A Publication of the Department of Slavic and East European Languages and
Literatures, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio (USA)

Number 1

Victor A. Friedman

*Linguistic Emblems and Emblematic Languages: On Language as Flag
in the Balkans*

**Linguistic Emblems and Emblematic Languages: On
Language as Flag in the Balkans**

by Victor A. Friedman, The University of Chicago

Department of Slavic and East European Languages and Literatures,
The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio (USA)

1999

Editor's Preface

The Kenneth E. Naylor Professorship of South Slavic Linguistics was created officially on November 5, 1993 through gifts to The Ohio State University from the estate of my good friend and long-time colleague Ken Naylor, after his tragic death on March 10, 1992. Ken's death brought an untimely end to a productive life, but his scholarly legacy, with its focus on the languages of the Balkans, but especially the South Slavic languages, lives on through this professorship and all activities associated with it. A brief biography of Ken is included on page vi of this publication.

It was my great honor to be named in January 1997 as the first Naylor Professor, and to thus carry on Ken's interest in South Slavic. To that end, one of my first acts was the establishment of an annual lecture series in his memory that would bring a leading scholar in Balkan and South Slavic linguistics to campus each spring for a public lecture and extended visit.

The first Naylor Lecturer was Victor A. Friedman, Professor and Chair of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago, a major figure in the field who has contributed much over the years to our understanding of the Balkan and South Slavic languages on their own and in their relation to one another, and who happens as well to have been a dear friend of Ken's. Some biographical notes on Victor appear on page vii herein. The lecture took place on May 28, 1998, with a substantial audience on hand as he spoke on the subject of "Linguistic Emblems and Emblematic Languages: On Language as Flag in the Balkans", a topic that Ken himself was especially interested in and was working on at the time of his death.

Given the success of the lecture, it seemed reasonable to think in terms of making it public beyond the reaches of the audience on that day, and so the plan emerged to publish the lecture as a booklet. Thus was born the *Kenneth E. Naylor Memorial Lecture Series in South Slavic Linguistics*, of which the present document constitutes the first number. We anticipate publishing the lectures annually as separate, and every five years or so bringing out a single volume gathering together the individual fascicles that appeared in the preceding years.

The rich scholarship evident in this lecture is a fitting tribute to Ken Naylor's memory, and to the intellectual legacy he left at The Ohio State University. We here, together with others around the country and around the world, miss Ken, but we also take heart in his act of generosity in the name of South Slavic scholarship, and are pleased to be able to honor him through this lecture series.

Columbus, Ohio

March 1999

Acknowledgment

I would like to acknowledge, with great appreciation, Professor Paul Robert Magocsi of the Department of History of the University of Toronto, the creator of the map on the cover, for graciously granting permission for the map to be reprinted in this publication. The map first appeared in his *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe* (Volume I of *A History of East Central Europe*), published in 1993 by the University of Washington Press (Seattle & London), as Map #26b, on page 85.

Kenneth E. Naylor, Jr.

Kenneth E. Naylor, Jr., was born on February 27, 1937 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He received his B.A. in French Linguistics from Cornell University in 1958 and his M.A. in General Linguistics from Indiana University in 1960. At Indiana, he began to study Slavic with Professor Edward Stankiewicz, who became a personal friend and mentor. When Professor Stankiewicz moved to the University of Chicago, Ken went with him. There he received his doctorate in Russian and South Slavic Linguistics in 1966. He was an assistant professor at the University of Pittsburgh from 1964 to 1966, and began teaching Slavic linguistics at The Ohio State University in 1966. At the time of his death in 1992, he was the Acting Director of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies at Ohio State.

Kenneth Naylor was the recipient of numerous awards, grants, and fellowships from many sources, including the American Council of Learned Studies, the Fulbright program, and the countries of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, from which he was awarded medals of honor (the Jubilee Medal and the Order of the Yugoslav Flag with Golden Wreath, respectively). In 1990, he testified before the U.S. House of Representatives, Foreign Affairs Committee, on ethnic rivalry in Yugoslavia and the development of the Serbo-Croatian language.

His research centered on the Serbo-Croatian language and on South Slavic languages in general, but especially in their Balkan context. He served as editor of the journals *Balkanistica*, *Folia Slavica*, and *The American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies*. The overwhelming majority of his 100-plus articles, reviews, and edited works focused on Serbo-Croatian and Balkan linguistics. His dedication and many accomplishments live on in his work and in the love of the field he instilled in his students and his colleagues.

Victor A. Friedman

Victor A. Friedman was born in Chicago in 1949 and received his B.A. in Russian Language and Literature from Reed College in 1970. His Ph.D. in both Slavic Languages and Literatures and General Linguistics from the University of Chicago in 1975 was the first dual degree granted in the Divisions at Chicago. His dissertation on the Macedonian verb won the Galler Prize for the Humanities Division.

He taught in the Department of Slavic Languages at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, from 1975 to 1993, when he moved to the University of Chicago. He is currently Professor and Chairman in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures with a joint appointment in Linguistics and an associate appointment in Anthropology.

Victor has over 200 publications and has received more than 40 academic awards and honors. His book, *The Grammatical Categories of the Macedonian Indicative*, was the first book on Modern Macedonian published in the United States. He is president of the U.S. Committee of the International Association for Southeast European Studies, and vice-president of the U.S. Committee of the International Committee of Slavists.

In 1982, he received the "1300 Years of Bulgaria" jubilee medal for contributions to the field of Bulgarian studies and in 1991 he received the University of Skopje Gold Plaque Award for contributions to the field of Macedonian studies. In 1994, he became the second U.S.-born American citizen elected to the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

He has also worked as a Policy and Political Analyst for the United Nations, advised the Council on Foreign Relations, and lectured at the U.S. Department of State and the National Security Agency. His research centers on grammatical categories, language contact, and sociolinguistics in the Balkans and the Caucasus.

LINGUISTIC EMBLEMS AND EMBLEMATIC LANGUAGES: On Language as Flag in the Balkans

Victor A. Friedman
University of Chicago



MAP ONE

The Balkans and Adjacent Countries

Names of countries are in boxes.

Names of former administrative districts or historical regions divided among modern nation states are in ovals.
Names of other regions, districts, provinces, etc. are underlined.

My dear friend the late Kenneth E. Naylor began his scholarly publishing career with the study of grammar and dialects, particularly of Serbo-Croatian (Naylor 1966a, 1966b). Like him, I too began my academic career with the study of the structure of a South Slavic language, and I published an article analyzing the Macedonian preterit in the same journal as one of Ken's first two refereed articles, but ten years later (Friedman 1976). However, as happens to so many of us for whom the study of language is the study of a vehicle of human communication that is embedded in a cultural matrix, both Ken and I found ourselves broadening our academic horizons beyond questions of prosody and declension, conjugation and morpho-syntax. Ken's first publication on questions of linguistic history and the relationship of language to identity came out a year before my first such effort (Naylor 1974, Friedman 1975), and mine was actually edited by Ken, since he was the general editor of the journal *Balkanistica* at that time. (It could be argued that Naylor 1973 has definite sociolinguistic implications; however, in that article Ken was explicitly attempting to frame the question in strictly structural terms.) In fact, it was Ken who was responsible for my first engaging the question of the relationship of Macedonian language to identity. Ken's life ended too soon (on 10 March 1992), and he died as the Yugoslavia he so loved and that had honored him as he deserved, was also in its death throes.¹ Ken did not give in to illness but kept on working until shortly before he passed away. (He gave a paper at the 1991 meeting of the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages less than three months before his death.) While he never abandoned the pure study of linguistic structure (e.g. Naylor 1994) his last proposed research project, entitled "Language as Flag," was to be a study of post-World War Two developments in language and identity in what was then not yet former Yugoslavia. Ken and I have both published extensively on Southeast European sociolinguistics (e.g., Naylor 1975, 1976, 1978, 1980a, 1980b, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1984-85, 1988, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1991, 1992, 1996; Friedman 1985a, 1985b, 1986, 1989, 1993a, 1993b, 1995a, 1995b, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1998a, 1998b). And so, in this lecture dedicated to Kenneth E. Naylor's memory, I shall examine both historical aspects of and current developments in the symbolic function of language in identity formation in Southeastern Europe, with particular emphasis on Albanian, Macedonian, and the former Serbo-Croatian, whose fates provide instructive parallels and contrasts.²

The use of language as a source of identity and identification is attested at least as far back as biblical times. In Judges 12:5-6 (King James version) we read: "And the Gileadites took the fords of the Jordan against the Ephraimites, and it was so, that when any of the fugitives of Ephraim said: 'Let me go over,' the men of Gilead said unto him: 'Art thou an Ephraimite?' If he said: 'Nay'; [6] then said they unto him: 'Say now

¹Ken was awarded the *Orden Jugoslovenske zastave sa zlatnim vencem* 'Order of the Yugoslav Flag with Golden Wreath' for distinguished contributions to the study of the Serbo-Croatian language and Yugoslav literatures and the development of cultural ties between Yugoslavia and the United States by the Presidency of the SFR of Yugoslavia on 8 December 1988.

²The differentiation of Slovenian and Croatian, while part of the overall history of South Slavic literary developments is beyond the scope of our current focus. (See Stankiewicz 1980, Lenček 1982, and Greenberg 1987 for good treatments of this subject).

shibboleth';³ and he said 'Sibboleth'; for he could not frame to pronounce it right; then they laid hold on him and slew him at the fords of the Jordan, and there fell at that time of Ephraim forty and two thousand." Several millennia later, similar albeit less ferocious scenes were being enacted in Albania during the anarchy of March 1997. The major dialectal (and ethnic) division in Albanian is between Geg of the north and Tosk of the south,⁴ and during this period there was a definite sense of the rebellious south against the loyal or at least less rebellious north, despite the insistence of some Albanian commentators that the conflict was political, not ethnic.⁵ Thus, for example, there were roadblocks in the south at which armed bands stopped cars and demanded: "*Fol shqip!*" 'Speak Albanian!', the implication being that the rebels intended to determine loyalty on the basis of geographic origin, which in turn could be determined from the speaker's dialect.⁶ It is one of the ironies of the Yugoslav Wars of Succession that while dialects of the former Serbo-Croatian are regionally clearly differentiated, they do not follow ethnic lines to any structurally significant degree (Greenberg 1996, 1998a). These are points to which I shall return, but I shall begin my discussion with some accounts of unity rather than diversity, starting — since history is so often invoked in these discussions — with the early middle ages, when the Slavs arrived in the Balkans.

At the time of the Slavic invasions of the Balkan peninsula (ca. 550-ca. 630 CE, cf. Fine 1983:25-73), the various Slavic speaking tribes did not have the type of modern national identities sometimes projected back onto them in modern works (e.g. Franolić 1983, cf. also Banac 1984:189; see Fine 1983:33-37, 49-59 for an objective account), and in fact it is quite clear that during the early middle ages, despite tribal and territorial divisions, they thought of themselves as Slavs and of their language as an entity we can call *Slavic* (or *Slavonic*). Thus, for example, in the *Vita* of Methodius, referring to events in the ninth century (although our manuscript is three or four centuries later), Rostislav and Světoplūk of Moravia refer to themselves and their people as "*my Slověne*" 'we Slavs' and the Byzantine Emperor Michael says to Constantine the Philosopher: "... *Solouniāne vīsi čisto slověnisky besēdouiqtū.*" '...the Thessalonians all speak pure Slavic.' (Kantor and

³Although frequently glossed 'ear of corn' (Gen 41:5), the more likely meaning is 'flood of a stream' (Ps. 69:3).

⁴The traditional dividing line is the river Shkumbi, which runs through Elbasan in the center of the country, but this division extends beyond the borders of Albania. The dialects of Montenegro, Kosovo, and most of Macedonia (from Struga northward) are Geg (as is the village of Arbanasi, near Zadar in Croatia), whereas those of the southwestern corner of Macedonia, Greece, and enclaves in Italy and from the diasporas of the Ottoman period (villages in Bulgaria, Turkey, Ukraine, etc.) are Tosk. The political history of Albania reflects a kind of Geg-Tosk tug-of-war. The first government of post-World War One Albania was headed by a Geg, Ahmed Zogu, who was ousted by a Tosk, Fan Noli, who in turn was driven from power by Zogu, who became king Zog I in 1928 and remained in power until the Italian invasion of 1939. (There was, however, a rebellion in the south in 1937.) During World War Two the communist partisans of Albania were mostly Tosks while the right-wing nationalist *Balli Kombëtar* 'national front' was mostly Geg (cf. Blumi 1998:563). Albania's long-time post-war communist dictator, Enver Hoxha, was from Gjirokastër, southwest of Korçë in the Labëri region of the south, (although his ill-fated successor, Ramiz Alija, was from Shkodër in the north). The first post-communist president, Sali Berisha, is from the north and his successor, Fatos Nano, is a southerner. See Byron (1976b:74) on the origins of Albania's leaders during the communist period; cf. also Blumi (1998).

⁵See, however, Blumi (1998:567), who refers to those events as a "Tosk-led 'popular rebellion.'" Cf. also Çupi (1998).

⁶Larisa N. Kaminskaja, University of St. Petersburg, personal communication. See also Greenberg (1996) for similar stories about other languages.

White 1976:74).⁷ Indeed, had the Slavs not spoken essentially the same language during this period (although, to be sure, we know that some dialectal differentiation had already taken place), the mission of Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius could hardly have succeeded nor would their language have been accepted throughout the Slavic Balkans (cf. Fine 1983:49-59). But when the Slavs arrived in the Balkans, they did not enter uninhabited territory. On the contrary, they must have been in intimate contact with speakers of many languages, the most significant of which were Greek, Balkan Latin (later Balkan Romance) and pre-Albanian (Golab 1997, Hamp 1994a). Our documentation does not allow us to trace the exact progress of mutual influence, but by the time the peoples of Southeastern Europe attract the attention of Western and their own intellectuals in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a unique linguistic situation had developed.⁸

Although the situation as it existed at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries was itself the result of earlier events, nonetheless this period can be identified as crucial for subsequent ethnopolitical and sociolinguistic developments and, at the same time, as the beginning of modern historical linguistics as we know it.⁹ During the preceding four or five centuries, much of Southeastern Europe had been part of a single state — the Ottoman Empire — and most of the rest was subject to Austria-Hungary in one form or another.¹⁰ As nation-states and national identities emerged in the context of the declining Ottoman Empire and the expanding Austro-Hungarian one, language rose to compete with religion as the determiner of identity.¹¹

In his Third Discourse on the Hindus, William Jones (1786) suggested for the first time that the phonological and grammatical similarities between Sanskrit on the one hand and Greek and Latin on the other exhibited such regularities that one might hypothesize their descent from a common ancestor, which *perhaps* might no longer be spoken. Although it would be a while before scholars realized that there is no such thing as a human language that remains completely unchanged over time, Jones' idea was the beginning of the search for so-called genetic relationships among languages, demonstrable above all by regularity of sound correspondences in semantically related grammatical and lexical units. It was this search for genetic connections among living and dead languages, i.e. the elaboration of the concept of the linguistic family, that dominated much of linguistics during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Although the Slovene linguist and Imperial Austrian censor J. Kopitar (1829:86) hinted at a different model of linguistic relationships when he wrote that Albanian, Balkan Slavic, and Balkan Romance gave the impression that: "...*nur eine Sprachform herrscht, aber mit dreierlei Sprachmaterie...*" 'only one grammar holds sway, but with three

⁷The sociolinguistic situation in medieval Salonica and the question of Sts. Cyril and Methodius' native language, while interesting topics for debate and speculation, are not of concern to us here. What is important is the perception of *Slavic* as a distinct entity at that time. Cf. Lunt (1974:1, 1984).

⁸In skipping over a millennium or so of history we are, in a sense, reproducing the situation with the available linguistic documentation owing to the conservative traditions of written languages and the late appearance of vernacular texts.

⁹For this last point see Lehmann (1967) and Pedersen (1962). Mallory and Adams (1997) contains concise overviews of the current state of scholarly thought on Indo-European and the languages descended from it.

¹⁰We are leaving aside here phenomena that for our purposes are marginal, e.g. Venice's domination of the Dalmatian coast, the Ragusan Republic (Dubrovnik), etc.

¹¹The various expansionist aims of Germany, Russia, England, and France as well as emergent Italian nationalism were also relevant, but not quite as immediate. Other issues in identity formation, e.g. loyalty to the Emperor or Sultan, while relevant to a comprehensive history are beyond the scope of our considerations here.

icons', nonetheless, it was not until Trubetzkoy (1923, 1928) that a model different from genetic one was given scientific formulation.¹² Trubetzkoy proposed a model for classifying linguistic relationships that we now call the areal model. It was based not on common descent, but rather on the fact that languages in contact with one another can exert mutual influences resulting in similarities due to structural borrowing.¹³ He distinguished between two types of relationships as *jazykovoje semejstvo*, *Sprachfamilie* 'language family' and *jazykovej sojuz*, *Sprachbund* 'linguistic league, linguistic union'. He took as his prime example Bulgarian, which by its genetic relationship is a member of the Slavic language family, but in its radical restructuring of its morphosyntactic system is a member of the Balkan linguistic league, sharing more with the non-Slavic languages of the Balkans than with the Slavic languages outside the Balkans. Table One (see Friedman 1985c) gives an example of the type of parallel structures taken as typical of the Balkan linguistic league. If the languages in question are descended from earlier stages with infinitives and other constructions that over time have merged into entirely parallel structures using native modal particles.¹⁴ This is only one typical instance of types of grammatical convergences — often called Balkanisms — that characterize the Balkan *Sprachbund*. Just as in Kopitar's formulation, the grammar (i.e. morphosyntax) in each language is the same, but the lexical material is not:

Albanian	të shkujmë	dua	të	shkruaj
Greek	ná páme	thelō	ná	gráfo
BALKAN SLAVIC				
Bulgarian	da trŭgnem	iskam	da	piša
Macedonian	da odime	sakam	da	pišuvam
Torlak Serbian	da idemo	oču	da	pišem
BALKAN ROMANCE				
Romanian	să mergem	vreau	să	scriu
Aromanian (Kruševó)	s- neádzimŭ	voi	si	scriu
Romani	te džas	mangav	te	hramonav
English	'let us golif we go'			'I want to write'

Table One
*Optative-Subjunctive particle replaces infinitive and other structures in the Balkan Languages*¹⁵

am using the relatively neutral formulations *Balkan Slavic* and *Balkan Romance* for Kopitar's original *ulgarische* and *Walachische*, since in modern terms Kopitar drew his examples from Macedonian, Bulgarian, Romanian, and Aromanian. It should be noted, however, that some Bulgarian nationalist linguists object to the term *Balkan Slavic* because they consider it to be a denial of Bulgarian claims to all of Balkan Slavic territory, including all of geographic Macedonia and southeastern Serbia (where the so-called Torlak dialects of Serbian are spoken); see Velev (1998) for a recent example. It should be noted that the dialects of the districts of Bosilegrad (Bulg. Bosiligrad) and Dimitrovgrad (formerly Kribrud) spoken in southeasternmost Serbia along the Bulgarian border are officially recognized by Serbia as Bulgarian for historical geopolitical reasons. The Torlak regions are included in the broader definition of the ethnographic Šop region (Šopluk). Among Romanian linguists, there is a disagreement between those who recognize Aromanian as a separate Balkan Romance language and those who would make of it a dialect of Romanian despite the many differences and the fact that the two have been separated for about a thousand years. Aromanian (also known as Vlah) is spoken south of the Danube in modern day southern Albania, northern Greece, Macedonia, and adjacent parts of Bulgaria as well as by black colonies elsewhere. See Ivanescu (1980:30-46) for a summary of the debate, cf. also Bacou (1989), Peyfuss (1994), and Jasšar-Nasteva (1997). We should also note here the existence of Megleno-Romanian, surviving in a few villages in the southeast of the Republic of Macedonia and adjacent parts of Greece (see Atanasov 1990). A large portion of Megleno-Romanian speakers were Muslim and migrated to Turkey after the Balkan Wars and during the exchanges of populations of the 1920's. Some linguists use the term Macedo-Romanian to refer to Aromanian or Aromanian together with Megleno-Romanian in opposition to Daco-Romanian, which refers to Romanian (or Romanian and Moldovan). Proto-Romanian, spoken on the Istrian peninsula, separated from Daco-Romanian at a later date and is so sometimes given separate status.

Moreover, it was not until Sandfeld (1926, 1930) that the first systematic study of Balkan linguistics was published.

In the case of Albanian we do not actually have such early attestations but must assume they existed on the basis of Indo-European. We can also note here that while Romani, which entered the Balkans no later than the thirteenth century, is not usually included among the classic Balkan languages, it displays many Balkan linguistic features and deserves inclusion (cf. Matras 1994, Friedman 1997d).

Such, then was the linguistic environment in the Balkans at the beginning of the nineteenth century, i.e. a multilingual setting in which the various peoples could speak one another's languages and had been doing so for centuries, a result of which was grammatical convergence but the preservation of lexical distinctness (cf. Friedman 1995a, 1997c). At this time, the primary source of identity in the two empires that controlled the Balkan peninsula, i.e. the Habsburg (Austria-Hungary) and the Ottoman (Turkey), was religion. Thus, for example, one's tax status in Ottoman Turkey was determined by whether one was a Muslim (*beraya*) or a non-Muslim (*re'aya*).¹⁶ The overwhelming majority of the population in much of Southeastern Europe and European Ottoman Turkey in particular consisted of Eastern Orthodox (which for the most part meant Greek Orthodox) Christians.¹⁷ Moreover, nationality in Ottoman Turkey at this time was defined by *millet*, which can be glossed either as 'nation' or as 'religiously defined community'. Thus, for example, the label *Turk* in this context did not necessarily mean 'speaker of Turkish' but rather 'Muslim', i.e. adherent of the state religion of the Turkish Empire, viz. Islam.¹⁸

¹⁵In Balkan Turkish, the equivalent expression would be *cidem* and *isteym cidem* using the optative. In the second case, the replacement of the Standard Turkish infinitive (*gitmek*) with an optative clause is a Balkan calque. Like Romani, Balkan Turkish (and Judezmo) have not received adequate attention in Balkan linguistics (see, e.g. Friedman 1982, 1986b, also Joseph 1983:252-53).

¹⁶See Verdery (1983:84-86) on a similar situation in Transylvania where language, class, and religion tended to fragment along the following lines: Hungarian-speaking Catholic and Calvinist landowners, German-speaking Lutheran bourgeoisie, and Romanian-speaking Orthodox peasants.

¹⁷Armenian Christians were separate, as were Jews. There were also some Catholics, mostly Slavs and Geg Albanians. Roms (Gypsies) were generally Muslim in Turkey, although some were Eastern Orthodox. They were discriminated against, as attested by Evliya Çelebi in the seventeenth century: "The Rumelian Gypsies celebrated Easter with the Christians, the Festival of Sacrifice with the Muslims, and Passover with the Jews. They did not accept any one religion, and therefore our *imams* refused to conduct funeral services for them but gave them a special cemetery outside Egri Qapu. It is because they are such renegades that they were ordered to pay an additional *xarâc* (tax for non-Muslims). That is why a double *xarâc* is exacted from the Gypsies. In fact, according to Sultan Mehmed's census stipulation (*tahrîr*), *xarâc* is even exacted from the dead souls of the Gypsies, until live ones are found to replace them." (Friedman and Dankoff 1991:4).

¹⁸It should be noted, however, that people were not unaware of the distinction between language and religion. We have records of nineteenth-century jokes whose point is that Slavic-speaking Muslims

Likewise, the label *Greek* did not necessarily refer to a speaker of Greek but rather to a Greek Orthodox Christian. National labels and the identities associated with them today were not yet established in their current meanings at the beginning of the previous century. The Greek-speakers of this period called themselves *romaios* 'Roman' (in Turkish *Rum*), since they looked to Byzantium, the heir of the Roman Empire, as their source of cultural and religious identity. They viewed the ancient Hellenes as pagan and something of an embarrassment (Lunt 1984b), an attitude that changed significantly in the nineteenth century (see, e.g., Herzfeld 1987 and Kazazis 1981).

During this same period, the term *Illyrian* was used to refer to the South Slavs (see Iovine 1984).¹⁹ This was connected with the fact that it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that Western Europe began to view Southeastern Europe in contemporary terms rather than in terms of the classical world (cf. Wilkinson 1951:8-10). This is reflected in Western maps from this period, where classical (Greek and Latin) toponyms for Southeastern Europe persisted into the eighteenth century. It was not until the West began to take an interest in Turkey in Europe (as most of the Balkans was known until the latter part of the nineteenth century, cf. Todorova 1997:27), that maps with toponyms in local languages began to appear. In addition to Christianity and Islam as sources of identity, there was an important differentiation within Christianity, viz. that between Catholic and Orthodox.²⁰ This has different ramifications for Slavs and for Albanians. Among the Southern West South Slavs,²¹ there was essentially an identity of Serb (*Srb*) with Orthodoxy on the one hand and Croat (*Hrvat*) with Catholicism on the other, and in some areas the ethnic and religious designations are used interchangeably (Jambrešić 1995), but this is not always the case.²²

called themselves *Turks* but did not speak Turkish (Cepenkov 1972:132-34). The use of *Turk* to mean 'Muslim' was resurrected during the Yugoslav Wars of Succession for Bosniacs. While the derogatory terms for Serbs and Croats were revived from World War Two, viz. *četnik* for Serb and *ustaše* for Croat (the former referred to anti-communist royalists, the latter to supporters of the Croatian fascist puppet state set up by the Nazis, and both were used during the post-War period to mean 'collaborator with the enemy'), the parallel term for Bosniac was *Turčin* 'Turk', a reference to the so-called Turkish Yoke rather than World War Two.

¹⁹While *Illyrian* was being used for the Slavic inhabitants of the region known in ancient times as Illyricum (much of which became Yugoslavia), *Epirote* was used for the language of the Albanian-speaking inhabitants of the region that had included ancient Epirus (part of which became Albania). Although Albanian is descended from an ancient Indo-European language of the Balkans, the assumption that it is descended from ancient Illyrian (since ancient Illyricum included part of modern Albania) and even the assumption that the isolated items grouped together as Illyrian come from a single language are problematic due to the paucity of evidence (see Hamp 1994a, 1994b, Mallory and Adams 1997:8-11, 287-89).

²⁰In the Habsburg Empire, Protestantism was also an important factor (see Verdery 1983:84-86; cf. also note 16), and Islam itself was by no means unified, the orthodox Sunni majority being opposed to various Shi'i and other heterodox minorities (cf. Fraenkel 1993). In the Balkans, Bektashism was especially important in this respect, and even enters into Balkan Jewish history (see Scholem 1971:150-51). These matters are beyond the scope of this lecture, however, and in any case did not enter into the types of national development on which we are focusing here.

²¹The South Slavic languages are traditionally divided on the basis of the earliest linguistic and historical differentiation into West South Slavic (Slovenian and the former Serbo-Croatian) and East South Slavic (Macedonian and Bulgarian). Within West South Slavic, the linguistic territory of the former Serbo-Croatian can be identified as Southern West South Slavic.

²²Thus, for example, the Bunjevci of Vojvodina are Catholic but not necessarily identified as Croatian, and in the nineteenth century Catholics in, e.g., Slavonia, did not use the ethnonym *Hrvat* and referred to their language as *slavonski* or *šokački*. (This latter is now a pejorative term for Croat. On the Bunjevci, cf. OMRI Daily Digest, No. 198, Part II, 11 October 1996; cf. also Ivić 1971:175-76, 183.)

For the Albanians, who were predominantly Muslim by the nineteenth century, Catholicism was associated with the Gëgs of northern Albania and Orthodoxy with the Tosks of the south.²³ Among the Orthodox Montenegrins, who belonged to the Serbian church, Catholicism was known as *arbanaska vjera* 'the Albanian faith', an indication of the strength of Catholicism among the Geg-speaking Albanians in the northern mountains. As was the case among the Southern West South Slavs, so, too, among speakers of Albanian, religion played a divisive role (cf. Skendi 1967:12-13, 366-90, Blumi 1998). While many Muslim Albanian-speakers identified as Turks, many Orthodox Albanian-speakers identified as Greek, and in fact Albanian-speaking Greek Orthodox Christians were among the leading figures in the Greek national movement (e.g., Grillo 1985).²⁴ The Catholics of the north came under the influence of Italy and Austria-Hungary. In fact, the earliest Albanian-language literary activity took place in Italy, whither thousands of Tosk-speaking Christians had fled in the fourteenth century to escape the Ottoman conquest.²⁵

The difference between Catholicism and Orthodoxy was also significant for the Habsburg Empire to the north. In 1690, when a victorious Habsburg army under general Piccolomini pursued the Ottoman Turks (who had been defeated at Vienna in 1683 and lost Belgrade in 1689) into Southern Serbia, Kosovo, and northern Macedonia, the local Christian population (mostly Orthodox Slavs and Catholic Albanians) was encouraged to rise in rebellion. Piccolomini died of the plague in Prizren, however, and Louis the XIV was threatening the western border of the Habsburg Empire. As a result, the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I withdrew his troops from the Balkans (according to other accounts the new Grand Vizier Mustafa Köprülü drove them out), leaving the Christians to be slaughtered by the regrouped Turks. The Albanians changed sides and were spared, although this was the beginning of their forced conversion to Islam. Much of the Serbian population, however, followed the Patriarch of Peć, Arsenije III Crnojević, into what was then Hungary (for the most part, modern day Vojvodina), where they settled with special guarantees that they would be allowed to retain and practice Orthodoxy.²⁶ This in turn translated in to linguistic rights, which resulted in the development of Slaveno-Serbian, a literary language based on Russian Church Slavonic with Serbian elements. (The relationship of Church Slavonic to the modern Slavic vernaculars can be compared to that of Medieval Latin to the modern Romance languages.) On that same territory, however,

During World War Two and subsequently, Bosniacs were referred to in some Croatian books as 'Croats of the Muslim faith' (see Okuka 1990:86 for references). In 1849 Vuk Karadžić advanced the argument that all speakers of Štokavian dialects (see below) were Serbs and therefore one could speak of Catholic Serbs, e.g. in Dubrovnik, and Muslim Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Sandžak, etc. (or *Srbi rimskoga i turskoga zakona* 'Serbs of the Roman and Turkish custom/law'). According to this view, only Čakavian (or Čakavian and Kajkavian) speakers were Croats, a thesis that was quite displeasing to Croatian intellectuals (Karadžić 1849; cf. Ivić 1971:182-83). See Jelavich (1990) on the development of national ideas among Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes via educational systems.

²³According to Aleksandar Stojmilov, Professor of Geography at the University of Skopje (personal communication 1994), the villages of Vrben and Brodec in the Gostivar region of northwestern Macedonia are (Geg) Albanian-speaking but Macedonian Orthodox in religion. These villagers consider themselves ethnic Macedonians. This is another instance of religion taking precedence over language in national identity.

²⁴We are leaving to one side the differences between the Tosk dialects of modern Albania and contiguous regions and those of Italy (Arbëresh) and of central and southern Greece (Arvanitika). Although separated from the main bulk of Albanian dialects for six to eight centuries and thus linguistically quite divergent, they are close enough for some degree of intercommunication.

²⁵In Italy, these Orthodox Christians accepted Uniatism.

²⁶See von Kohl and Libal (1997:14-19) for a balanced overview of the demography of Kosovo from the late middle ages to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Southern West South Slavic-speaking Catholics (i.e., Croats), did not have the same language rights.²⁷ Meanwhile, Hungary itself was in a subordinate position vis-à-vis Austria, so that Croatian was under pressure from Hungarian, which in turn was under pressure from German (and, until 1848 Latin).²⁸ Thus, in Austria-Hungary there were privileged Serbs and disadvantaged Croats, while in Ottoman Turkey there were Serbs, Croats, and Slavic-speaking Muslims (mostly in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Sandžak of Novi Pazar [a district now divided between Montenegro and Serbia]), who, like other Muslims were called *Turks*, all speaking various Southern West South Slavic dialects.

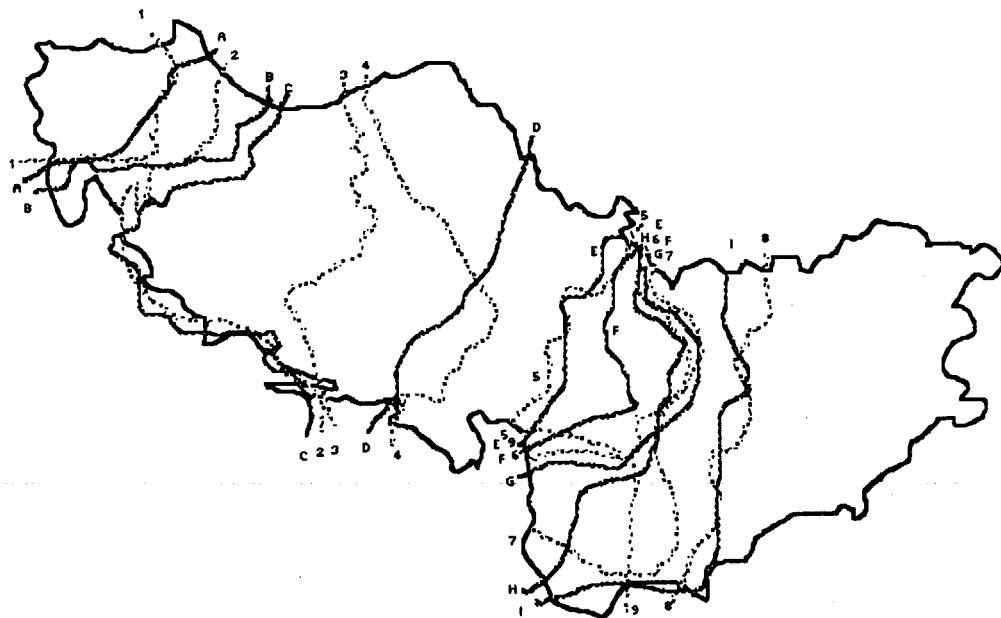
The course of the nineteenth century saw the creation of new independent nation-states on former Ottoman territory.²⁹ The rise of the new nation-states was accompanied by the development of literary languages to serve as vehicles of power and hegemony in the new states. In the case of the Serbs and the Croats, there were individual strivings, especially on the part of Croatian intellectuals, to create a modern-day literary language.³⁰ Serbian intellectuals tended to be dominated by the Slaveno-Serbian tradition that had developed in Vojvodina, but it was the Ottoman-born Serb Vuk Karadžić who, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, conceived the (for that time and place) revolutionary idea of a literary language based on the vernacular. It is important to realize that although South Slavic linguistic territory consists of a continuum along which any given dialect is mutually intelligible with contiguous dialects, there are regions on this territory where salient isoglosses (boundaries indicating the territory of individual linguistic features, e.g. the presence of a definite article or the merger of the two Common Slavic short high vowels in to a single, lower vowel) occur with greater or lesser frequency, thus increasing or decreasing the rapidity with which mutual intelligibility becomes more difficult. Map Two, based on Ivić (1958:31-32) with some additions of my own, illustrates some of the most salient phonological and morphological isoglosses on South Slavic territory.

²⁷The majority of Slovenes lived in Austrian territory, while Slavonia and Croatia proper (the region between Slavonia and Dalmatia) were part of Hungarian Crown Lands (see Jelavich 1983:314).

²⁸See Jelavich (1983:305, 315).

²⁹Montenegro (1799), Serbia (1804-29), Greece (1821-32), Romania (1829-58), Bulgaria (1878-85). The territories of all these states was considerably smaller than today. Bessarabia was detached from Moldavia and ceded by Turkey to Russia in 1812. Albania declared independence in 1912.

³⁰There were, of course, earlier literary traditions, such as those of Medieval Serbia or Renaissance Dubrovnik, but political and cultural subjugation and division — among the South Slavs as among many other peoples of both Eastern and Western Europe — did not allow for the direct continuity of such traditions into vernacular-based modern standard languages.



MAP TWO

A Selection of Salient Phonological and Morphological Isoglosses on South Slavic Territory
(after Ivić 1958:31,32).

All features are found north or west of the isogloss. The territory outlined is that of former Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, although South Slavic dialects extend beyond these political frontiers.

Phonological Features

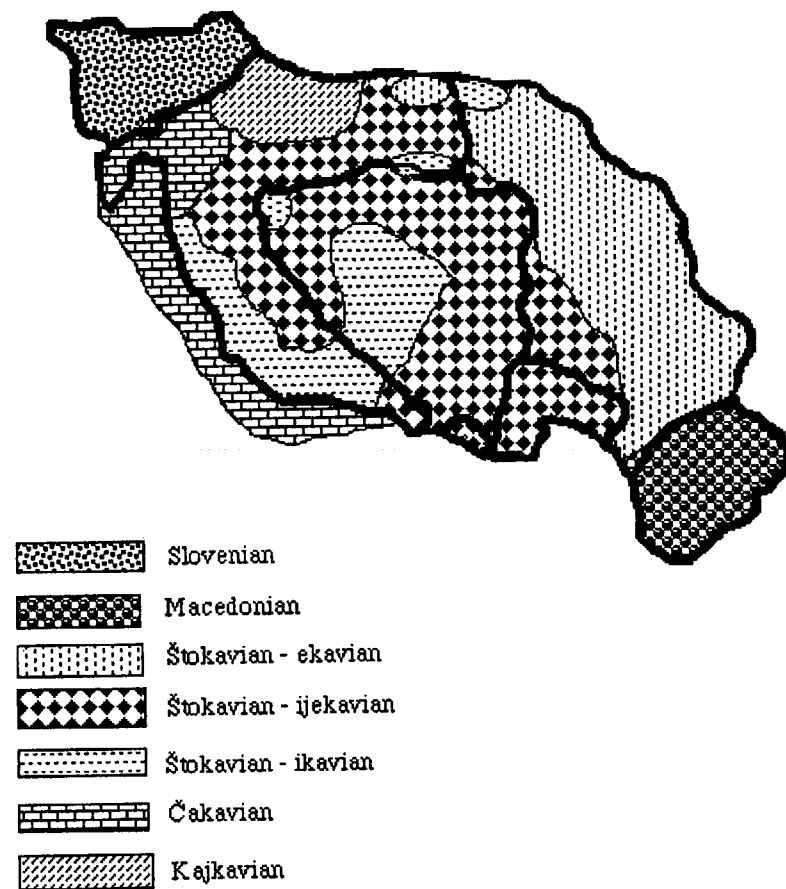
1. *zg', *zd' > ž (or ž)
2. *d' > j (in most instances)
3. *sk', *st' do not merge with št
4. že > re in present of 'can' (*more*)
5. vocalic quantity is preserved
6. *jers* (Common Slavic short high vowels) fall together
7. *t' does not merge with *sk', *st'
8. reflex of ě is not broader than e
9. stress is not fixed

Morphological Features

- A. Dual preserved
- B. Use of interrogative *kaj*
- C. The extension *-ov-* does not spread to most masculine monosyllables
- D. The 1 pl. 2pl. pronominal clitics *ni, vi* (or *ne, ve*) are lacking
- E. Synthetic declension
- F. Absence of postposed definite article
- G. 1 pl. pres. *-mo* (not *-me, -m*)
- H. 1 pl. nom. pronoun *mi, mie* (not *nie, etc.*)
- I. 3 pl. possessive pronoun based on *njih-* (not *těhn-*)

As can be seen from Map Two, Slovenia and Eastern Bulgaria represent relatively uniform areas in terms of the features in question. Southern West South Slavic territory is divided by only a few major isoglosses. The two regions where there is significant bundling are Croatia proper (the region between Dalmatia and Slavonia) and Šopluk (the region around the modern Serbo-Bulgarian political border and adjacent northeastern Macedonia). Zagreb, the center of Croatian intellectual activity, is in one of the areas of significant dialectal diversity. Southern West South Slavic territory can be divided in three major dialectal areas, named for the respective words meaning 'what': Štokavian, Kajkavian, and Čakavian. Within each of these regions, there are various subdivisions, but the most salient is the division of Štokavian into three areas based on the reflex of Common Slavic *ě* (*jat*), viz. ekavian, ikavian, and (i)jekavian, as illustrated by the following phrase meaning 'beautiful summer': *lepo leto, lipo lito, lijepo ljeto*.³¹ The majority of Croats, and all Serbs (and Southern West South Slavic-speaking Muslims) spoke Štokavian dialects, whereas Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects were spoken only by Croats. These divisions are represented very schematically in Map Three.

³¹According to the last outline of Serbo-Croatian dialectology (Brozović and Ivić 1988:70-71), Čakavian and Kajkavian each have six major divisions and Štokavian has twelve. Salient classificatory criteria include prosodic features such as tone, length, and stress (both presence/absence and places of occurrence) and other phonological and morphological developments. Although the terms jekavian and ijekavian can be used to refer to dialects with slightly different developments (e.g., *bjela bjelina* vs *bijela bjelina* 'white bleached linen'), these are subtypes and need not be distinguished here.



MAP THREE

Schematic Map of the distribution of Principal Slavic Languages and Dialects in Former Yugoslavia.

1. Minor islands and subdivisions based on accentual and other features are not indicated.
2. Republic boundaries are also shown. In most cases they do not coincide with dialectal divisions.
3. Subdivisions of officially recognized provinces and entities are not shown.
4. Slovenian and Macedonian are languages associated with republics that became independent countries. Čakavian and Kajkavian are Croatian Dialects.
5. The Štokavian-ijekavian dialects are the basis of Neo-Croatian, Bosnian, the Croato-Serbian (or Western) variant of the former Serbo-Croatian, and the Serbian standard of Montenegro and Republika Srpska (one of the two entities of the Bosnian federation). The Štokavian-ekavian dialects are the basis of the Serbian standard of Serbia and the Serbo-Croatian (or Eastern) variant of the former Serbo-Croatian.

A need for unity in the face of Austro-Hungarian pressure combined with the complex dialectal situation among Croats led a group of Croatian intellectuals — who had initially been trying to develop a Kajkavian based standard (which, as can be seen, had a limited territorial base) — to sign a Literary Agreement (*Književni dogovor*) in Vienna on 28 March 1850 with Serbian intellectuals. These latter, led by Vuk Karadžić, were developing an Štokavian-ijekavian-based standard (which, as can be seen, has the broadest territorial base and was also Vuk's native dialect). A highly abbreviated text of the agreement is given below (my translation; based on the text published in Nikolić 1969:229-31):

The undersigned, knowing that one people must have one literature, and moreover seeing, unfortunately, that our literature is fragmented not only in its alphabet but in its language and orthography, have gathered these [past few] days to discuss how we can, insofar as is possible for now, bring harmony and unity to [our] literature. And so [we have agreed that]:

1. [...] one should not mix dialects and create a new one that does not exist among the people, rather it is better to adopt a single dialect from among those of the people to be the literary language; [...]
2. [...] it is most fitting and best to take the southern [ijekavian] dialect [...] such that [in long] syllables *ije* is written and in [short] *je, e, or i* as appropriate (*bijelo, bjelina, mreža, donio*). [...]
3. [...] to write the sound *h* wherever it is etymologically appropriate, [...]
4. [...] to exclude the writing of *h* in the genitive plural of nouns, since it is not etymological [...]
5. [...] not to write vocalic *r* with a preceding *a* or *e* but only *r* (e.g. *prst*) [...]

As can be seen from the text, the basic principle is a broad and far-reaching one, and yet three of the five of the points are very specific, but nonetheless highly emblematic and salient details. This reflects the tendency of native speakers to focus on particular dialect features as representative and symbolic in conveying unity and difference (cf. Lunt 1953:364, 371, Friedman 1985:38).

During World War Two, the Nazis set up an independent Croatian puppet state and the principles of unity were repudiated in favor of a Croatian language separate from Serbian. After the War, a new document outlining the principles of a unified literary language was signed in Novi Sad (Vojvodina) on 10 December 1954 by 61 intellectuals from Belgrade and Zagreb and one from Sarajevo. An abbreviated version of text (Pravopisna Komisija 1960:7-10) is given below (my translation):

1. The National language of Serbs, Croats, and Montenegrins is one language. Therefore, the literary language, which has developed around the two main centers of Belgrade and Zagreb, is united, with two pronunciations, ijekavian and ekavian.
2. In naming the language in official use it is always necessary to name both its constituent parts.
3. Both alphabets, Latin and Cyrillic, are equal; therefore it is necessary to insist that both Serbs and Croats learn both alphabets equally, which will be achieved primarily in the school curriculum.
4. Both pronunciations, ekavian and ijekavian, are likewise always equal.

5. [Provisions for a common Serbo-Croatian dictionary, initiated by *Matica Srpska* and joined by *Matica Hrvatska*.]³²

6. [Provisions for creating common technical terminology.]

7. A common language should also have a common orthography. [Provisions for creating a common orthography.]

8. It is necessary to put a stop to the placing of artificial impediments to the natural and normal development of the Croato-Serbian literary language. It is necessary to prevent the damaging phenomenon of arbitrary "translations" of texts and to honor the original text of the writer.

9. A commission for orthography and terminology is to be arranged by our three universities (in Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo), two academies (in Zagreb and Belgrade), and *Matica Srpska* in Novi Sad and *Matica Hrvatska* in Zagreb. [Other appropriate experts are also to be consulted.]

10. *Matica Srpska* will deliver these resolutions to the Federal Executive Council, the executive councils of PR Serbia, PR Croatia, PR Bosnia and Hercegovina, and PR Montenegro, the Universities of Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo, the Academies in Zagreb and Belgrade and *Matica Hrvatska* in Zagreb, and will publish them in daily newspapers and journals.

The common orthography of point seven was published by the *Matica Srpska* and *Matica Hrvatska* in 1960.

This agreement, however, was repudiated by a group of Croatian intellectuals beginning with a resolution of the Zagreb Linguistic Circle in 1966 concerning the independent development of Croatoserbian (Pavletić 1969:195-96), followed by the March 1967 "Declaration of the Name of the Croatian Literary Language" explicitly rejecting both the Vienna and Novi Sad agreements (cf. Naylor 1980:83), the collapse in 1969 of the joint dictionary project specified in point five of the Novi Sad Agreement, and culminating with the publication in 1971 of a Croatian Orthography that was banned the year it appeared (see Franolić 1980:119).³³

The Vienna Literary Agreement remains a kind of touchstone among Serbian and Croatian intellectuals concerning attitudes towards the elaboration of Serbian, Croatian, or Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian. Thus, for example, if the Vienna Literary Agreement is

³²*Matica* is a kind of patriotic-intellectual organization.

³³See Greenberg (1996:402-404) for additional details. *Matica Srpska* and *Matica Hrvatska* collaborated on the joint dictionary (*Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika* and *Rječnik hrvatskosrpskog književnog jezika*, respectively) to the letter O, but only the first two volumes, to the letter K, were actually published by both organizations, each in its respective home city (Novi Sad and Zagreb, 1967). This publication provoked immediate criticism from Croatian intellectuals (see Babić, S., R. Katičić, and T. Ladan 1969 for references). The third volume was published in 1969 by *Matica Srpska* (Novi Sad) with the imprint of both *Matica Srpska* and *Matica Hrvatska*, but *Matica Hrvatska* never published its corresponding third volume. That same year, two special issues of the Zagreb journal *Kritika* (Pavletić 1969, Brozović 1969) were devoted entirely to criticizing the first two volumes of the *Matica Hrvatska* edition of the joint dictionary and essentially repudiating the Novi Sad agreement. Croatian intellectuals argued that their language had been subordinated and marginalized by the Serbs, that many distinctly Croatian words had simply been left out, etc. It is significant that immediately after the title page, Pavletić (1969) reproduces the Decision concerning the publication of decisions and proclamations of the Anti-Fascist Assembly for the Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ; 15 January 1944) and the Decision concerning the Official Register of the Democratic Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (1 February 1945), both of which specify that the languages used are to be "the Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian languages."

invested with great significance (e.g. "The modern common Serbo-Croatian literary language can be considered to date from the signing of the *Književni dogovor* in Vienna in March 1850." Naylor 1980:78), then the writer favors a unified Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian literary language. If, however, the significance of the Vienna Literary Agreement is belittled by arguments such as the fact that it was signed by a small number of people (two Serbs [V. Karadžić and Đ. Daničić], five Croats [I. Kukuljević, I. Mažuranić, D. Demeter, V. Pacel, S. Pejković], and a Slovene [F. Miklošič]), that it was not authorized by any state formation, that it did not have any immediate results (e.g., Vuk's standard and its orthography was not officially introduced into Serbian schools until 1868), that the unified language was not actually given a name, etc. (e.g. Banac 1984:231, Franolić 1980:31, Katičić 1984:289-90), the writer is arguing for a separate Croatian literary language, and moreover is presenting attempts at unitarism as aberrations rather than mainstream developments.³⁴

An irony of the current situation in former Yugoslavia is that the language specified in the Vienna Literary Agreement was being elaborated by a Serb — Vuk Karadžić — and was identified at the time with Serbian rather than Croatian intellectual movements, and yet in the current split it is precisely this language that is more closely identified with Croatian rather than Serbian (cf. Ivić 1971:184-85). Vuk was born in Tršić in the Štokavian-ijekavian area of Serbia, right on the Bosnian border. However, Vojvodina and Šumadija — whose major population centers, Novi Sad and Belgrade, respectively, had become centers of Serbian culture (especially after 1690) and, in the case of Belgrade, of the nascent Serbian state (beginning with the uprising of 1804) — are both in the heart of Štokavian-ekavian territory, which in any case was overwhelmingly Serbian. This was and remains in contrast to Štokavian-ijekavian territory, which is still religiously and ethnically mixed, and where, together with Štokavian-ikavian territory, almost all Croatian Štokavian speakers were and are to be found. The result was that over time Štokavian-ekavian became identified with Serbian and Štokavian-ijekavian with Croatian.³⁵ Thus *jat*-reflexes became emblematic of a variety of "ethnic" differences.

At the same time, however, state formations do not correspond to dialectal boundaries. Thus, for example, as can be seen from Map Three, the political boundaries of

³⁴See Naylor (1990b) for a critical review of another of Franolić's works. Okuka (1990:84-86) gives a critical comparison of Naylor (1980) and Franolić (1980). He praises Naylor's work as based on linguistic principles and criticizes the political biases of Franolić's. He criticizes both authors for giving very little attention to developments in Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina and also makes the point that Naylor (1980) devotes scant attention to the post-War period while Franolić (1980) does essentially the opposite, giving short shrift to everything before World War Two. (See Isaković 1992:6-37 for a modern Bosnian nationalist account of historical and recent developments; see also Naylor 1992 on the development of so-called republican varieties of Serbo-Croatian in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro after the promulgation of the 1974 Yugoslav constitution. It was Ken's intention to conduct an in-depth study of post-World War Two developments, but he died before the project could be realized.)

³⁵Serbian Orthodox Montenegro, however, is entirely Štokavian-ijekavian. Among Serbian intellectuals, three contesting approaches to language planning have arisen. One, centered around the University of Novi Sad and the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences (SANU) in Belgrade, supports the *status quo ante*, equality of Latin and Cyrillic alphabets, the 1960 orthography (Pravopisna komisija 1960), and favors ekavian. A second group, centered around the Philosophical Faculties of the Universities of Belgrade and Nikšić (in Montenegro), strongly supports the equality of ijekavian and a return to Vuk's principle of one letter per sound for the Serbian version of the Latin alphabet (e.g. *l', n'* for current *lj, nj*). Finally, there is the extreme Serbian nationalist position represented by Radmilo Marojević, the Milošević-appointed rector of Belgrade University, seeking to promote a single Cyrillic-Orthodox alphabet that eliminates some of Vuk's reforms while promulgating Vuk's idea that all Štokavian speakers are Serbs (This account is based on Greenberg 1998b). See also notes 37 and 38.

Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) do not correspond in any significant way to the major dialectal divisions.³⁶ As a result, attempts are being made in the countries that have emerged from former Yugoslavia to create identities that will enshrine contrasting dialectal differences. Moreover, there is a lack of correspondence between the original location of the dialectal base (Tršić) and the respective political centers (Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Belgrade — to a lesser extent also Nikšić as a cultural center in Montenegro). The originally Serbian-identified dialect of Tršić has become associated with the center of power in Zagreb, whose native dialect is in an entirely different (Kajkavian) area, while Serbian identity has shifted to the dialect of Belgrade (although this is not an uncontested move; see notes 37 and 38). As a result of the Yugoslav Wars of Succession and the identification of Štokavian-ekavian with Serbian on the one hand and Štokavian-ijekavian with the now broken-away Croatian on the other, Serbs in Štokavian-ijekavian areas, i.e. all of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro as well as parts of Serbia (and Croatia), have been under official pressure to switch to Štokavian-ekavian.³⁷ This has met with resistance, including attempts to elaborate a separate Montenegrin literary language based on the southern Montenegrin (Zeta-Lovćen) dialects, which, while part of the larger Štokavian-ijekavian area, form a separate group from the Eastern Herzegovinian group to which the dialect of Tršić belongs.³⁸ The tendency to invest regional identities with national significance by raising dialects to the level of separate languages in order to enhance autonomy has also resulted in attempts at separate Dalmatian, Istrian, and Sandžaklian languages (and Šopi in Bulgaria).

The situation with Macedonian and Bulgarian is somewhat different. It is to be remembered that the entire South Slavic area constitutes a continuum (see Map Two). Just as the Croatian area is crossed by a number of isoglosses, so, too, Macedonia is a site of a fanning out of isoglosses that form a more compact bundle along the current Serbo-Bulgarian political border. Nonetheless, just as, for the purposes of literary language formation, the region between isoglosses C and E was sufficiently uniform, despite intervening isoglosses such as 3, 4, and D, to unify around a single (albeit later bifurcated) standard, i.e. Štokavian (with Štokavian-ijekavian and Štokavian-ekavian variants), so, too, the area defined on Map Two roughly by isogloss 9³⁹ was sufficiently uniform despite the presence of isoglosses such as 7 and H, and likewise sufficiently differentiated from Eastern Bulgarian, that it served as a center of resistance to the literary norm that emerged in eastern Bulgaria during the course of the nineteenth century, and it became the basis of the modern Macedonian literary language.

³⁶If we were to add the subdivisions, the lack of correspondence would be even more striking.

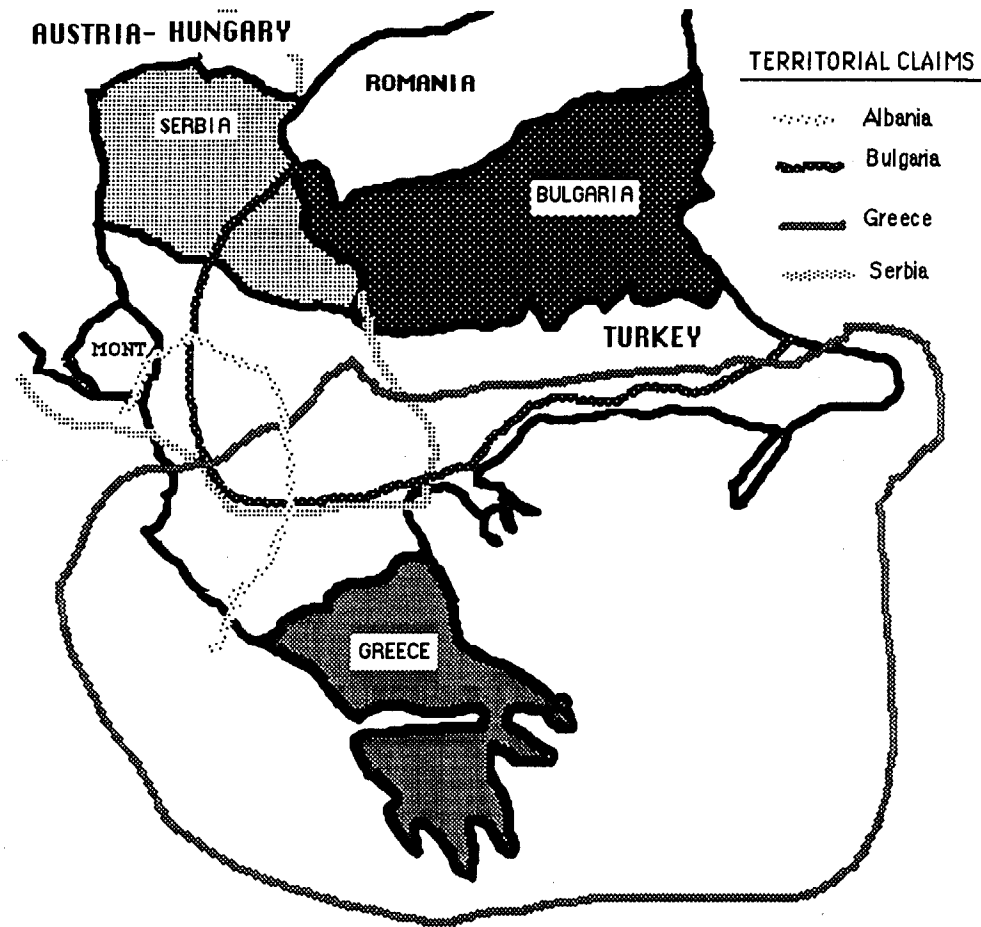
³⁷In September 1993, in Republika Srpska, the Serb-controlled region of Bosnia, ekavian was declared the only acceptable variety out of solidarity with Serbia (cf. the adoption of Albania's Tosk-based standard by the Geg speakers of Kosovo, Montenegro and Macedonia, discussed below). In November 1994, however, the Bosnian Serb parliament reinstated ijekavian alongside ekavian.

³⁸See Nikčević (1993a, 1993b) and the discussion in Kočan (1995). The proposed Montenegrin orthography differs from standard Serbian in having separate letters for the mellow palatals /š, ž/ and the voiced dental affricate /ʒ/ (*dz*), which represent specifically Montenegrin dialect developments of /sʃ, zʃ/, (both as a result of jekavian pronunciation) and /z/ before certain consonants (a development that resembles Macedonian and Albanian). The southern Montenegrin accentual pattern also differs from the Eastern Herzegovinian. (The former is more archaic.)

³⁹In fact, this isogloss corresponds to a bundle of approximately 50 significant features; see Vidoeski (1998:94-95).

The complexity of the linguistic situation in Macedonia was matched by a complexity of what grew into overlapping territorial claims during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as seen in Map Four:⁴⁰

⁴⁰Despite differences in detail at the edges and the occasional Greek or Serbian attempt to set the northern boundary somewhere in the middle of the region, it is generally agreed that as a geographic area Macedonia is bounded by Mount Olympus, the Pindus range, Mounts Shar and Rila, the western slopes of the Rhodopes, the lower course of the river Mesta, and the Aegean Sea (cf. Wilkinson 1951:1-4).



MAP FOUR

Conflicting Claims to Macedonia, 1912, Prior to the Balkan Wars
(After Clissold 1968:137 and Dako 1919)

(Albania did not declare independence until 28 November 1912)

As noted above, during the nineteenth century the primary source of identity was religion. In the north, among Serbs and Croats, there was a struggle over dialectal base and degree of unity, but the general congruence of religion and identity (which did not correspond to the territorial distribution of dialects) was entirely within a Slavic context (albeit with German and Hungarian pressure on the Croats). In the Macedo-Bulgarian area, however, among the Christian population, there was only one major church — the Greek Orthodox, headed by the Patriarch of Constantinople — and, as noted above, under the *millet* system, *Greek* meant Greek Orthodox Christian rather than Greek-speaker. As the nineteenth century progressed, however, there was increasing pressure to create a congruence between language and *millet*, i.e. there was Greek pressure on Slavs to Hellenize, e.g. by restricting access to education to Greek schools.⁴¹ Such pressure was resisted by East South Slav (Macedonian and Bulgarian) intellectuals, who sought to establish a Slavic literary language in opposition to Greek. During this early period, Orthodox Christian writers of this region all referred to that language as *Bulgarian*.⁴² This was a different situation from that of West South Slavic territory, where Serbs and Croats (and, to some extent, also Slovenes) of that period were arguing over dialectal base. The same sorts of conflicts, however, soon emerged on East South Slavic territory.

From a dialectological point of view, western Macedonia represents a relatively compact, uniform, and distinct dialect area vis-à-vis the two regions whose dialects served as the bases for literary Bulgarian and literary Serbian, respectively. In terms of *language as flag* we can observe that the configuration of isoglosses lent itself to the creation of dialectal emblematicity. The beginning of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of two centers of literacy on East South Slavic territory, one in northeastern Bulgaria and the other in southwestern Macedonia. Although relative to the dialectal diversity of South Slavic linguistic territory as a whole these two regions were not maximally differentiated (they are both East South Slavic), nonetheless they were sufficiently different at every linguistic level from phonology through morphology to lexicon and syntax to occasion the rise of significant competition between the two groups for hegemony in the formation of a common literary language to serve as the vehicle of education, power, etc. (cf. Friedman 1975, 1985a).

As the nineteenth century progressed and Greek gradually receded as a pervasive threat to Slavic identity (it remained and remains a threat on the local level in the region that became Aegean [Greek] Macedonia), East-South-Slavic-speaking Christian intellectuals came increasingly to quarrel over the dialectal base of the emerging Slavic literary language.⁴³ With the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870-72, *Bulgarian*

⁴¹It can be argued that the Constantinople Patriarch's abolition of the Slavic metropolitans in Peć and Ohrid during the mid-eighteenth century was already part of a general pressure to Hellenize the non-Greek-speaking Christian population of the south-central Balkans, especially the Slavs, who constituted its majority.

⁴²The majority of the population, having an identity based on religion or locality, referred to their language by terms meaning 'ours' or 'our tongue'.

⁴³Those who sought a colloquial base faced opposition from archaizers who wanted to establish Church Slavonic as the literary language, but by the middle of the nineteenth century it was clear that the archaizers would be defeated. Such was not the case for Modern Greek, however, which ended up with a diglossic split between the colloquial-based Demotic (*Dhimotiki*) and the archaizing Puristic (*Katharevousa*), a situation which is beyond the scope of our considerations here (see Friedman 1975, 1986a).

became a *millet* on a level with *Greek*.⁴⁴ The basis of the definition, however, was still religious, not linguistic. Thus travelers accounts from the period refer to Bulgarian Greeks, by which they mean Slavic-speakers loyal to the Greek Orthodox church headed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, as opposed to Exarchists, generally Slavic-speakers loyal to the Exarchate. Then in 1878 roughly the northern half of what is today modern Bulgaria became an autonomous principedom and *de facto* independent of the Ottoman Empire, i.e. an independent Bulgarian state was formed. By this time, the remaining territory, and the Christian population living on it, had become the object for conflicting claims among the Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian states and the churches that supported the state's political authority with ecclesiastical authority.⁴⁵ Education was also essentially an ecclesiastical institution at this time, i.e. schools were religiously sponsored institutions, and so ecclesiastical jurisdiction determined education, which in turn taught literacy, language and identity.⁴⁶

The quarrel over the base of literary Bulgarian began in the mid-nineteenth century, when intellectuals in Macedonia expressed concern that their dialects were being excluded. The dispute intensified in the 1850's and 1860's, as can be seen from attacks in the Bulgarian-language press on attempts at publishing textbooks based on Macedonian dialects.⁴⁷ The establishment of the Exarchate marked the definitive rejection on the part of Bulgarian intellectuals of any sort of compromise with Macedonians who wanted a unified Macedo-Bulgarian literary language. The former insisted that Macedonians adopt their eastern-based standard without compromise. This in turn strengthened the resolve of the

⁴⁴The Porte issued a *firman* in 1870 establishing an autonomous Bulgarian Exarchate, but the Exarch (a rank in the Orthodox Church between a metropolitan and a patriarch) was to be chosen by the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Patriarchate and the Porte took turns stalling until 1872, when the Bulgars received permission from the Porte to elect an Exarch. The Patriarch refused to recognize the elected Exarch, the Exarch declared the Bulgarian Church independent of the Patriarch, and the Patriarch declared the Bulgarian Church schismatic. The Greek Patriarch did not annul the declaration of schism until 1945. The first council of the Bulgarian Exarchate (1871) tried to exclude the Macedonian representatives saying that they would try to move the Exarchate to Ohrid, or that they would attempt to create a separate hierarchy, or that they were not Bulgarians but Aromanians (Apostolski 1969:64-65, MacDermott 1962:161-67).

⁴⁵It is sometimes argued that it was the drawing of boundaries for a greater Bulgaria at the Treaty of San Stefano in March 1878 and the subsequent scaling back at the Treaty of Berlin that June that brought about Serbian interest in the region (e.g. Wilkinson 1951:91).

⁴⁶There are numerous anecdotes about schools that attempted to attract pupils by providing incentives such as free notebooks or pencils. In the context of rural poverty in which these schools were operating, it is understandable that parents would be swayed by such considerations. While Western observers sneered at these circumstances, such behavior did not reflect lack of principles but rather a combination of economic necessity with the fact that identity formation was not yet firmly established along western models (cf. Brailsford 1906:102-103).

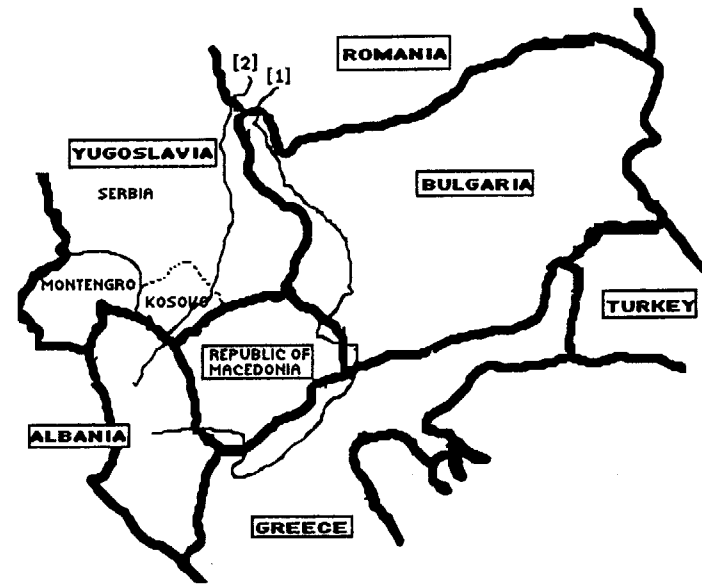
⁴⁷In an article in *Balgarski knižici* (1 January 1858), Partenij Zografski listed twelve Macedonian characteristics that he considered basic to the literary language he was advocating. This can be taken as the first explicit formulation relating to the creation of literary Macedonian and provoked bitter Bulgarian attacks. His twelve points were the following: 1) stress tends to fall at the beginning of the word; 2) Common Slavic **tj*, **dj* give *k*, *g*; 3) unstressed *a*, *e*, *o* are not reduced; 4) different reflexes of vocalic *r* *l*; 5) Common Slavic *ě* (*jat*) always gives *e*; 6) *x* becomes *ø*, *f*, or *v*; 7) definite articles of the type *-ov*, *-on*, in addition to *-or*; 8) more remnants of nominal declension; 9) neuter nouns in *-e* have plurals in *-inja*; 10) 3rd sg. pres. ending in *-i*; 11) presence of a verbal adverb; 12) Common Slavic back nasal **q* gives *a* or *o* (Koneski 1967a:182-184). Partenij's twelve points substantiate Lunt's statement (and my own field experience) that while Slavic linguistic frontiers are relative in the Balkans, natives pick on certain linguistic traits as distinguishing their speech from that of their neighbors (Lunt 1953:364, 371). Cf. the Vienna Literary Agreement discussed above.

Macedonists, i.e. those who were working for a Macedonian literary language separate from the Bulgarian literary norm as it emerged during the course of the nineteenth century. By the time an autonomous Bulgarian state was established in 1878, the sense of a distinct Macedonian national identity had already advanced to the stage that it had been expressed in print (Pulevski 1875:49).⁴⁸ By 1903, we have an explicit formulation of a distinct Macedonian literary language (Misirkov 1903).⁴⁹

Map Five illustrates how linguistic features become “flags” that are manipulated to represent territorial claims. Lines one and two correspond to isoglosses 7 and F, respectively, on Map Two. They also correspond, roughly, to the territorial claims advanced by Serbia and Bulgaria, respectively, as illustrated in Map Four. At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries (and even today, see, e.g. Glenny 1995), linguists were putting their knowledge at the service of politicians by choosing one or another isogloss as the definitive justification for the ethnic identity — and therefore nationality — of the Slavic speakers on Macedonian and adjacent territory. The claims about nationality were then translated into claims for the territory to be included in the nation-state.

⁴⁸See Friedman (1975, 1985a, 1993b) for details. Limitations of space preclude entering into the complexities of these developments, especially the question of identity formation among Macedonian-speaking Muslims and speakers of Macedonian dialects who chose (or choose) Greek, Serbian, or Bulgarian identity (see also Danforth 1995). I am concerned here with outlining the developments that led specifically to the establishment of Macedonian and Bulgarian as distinct languages and am therefore concentrating on facts and events relevant to those developments.

⁴⁹The main points were summarized as follows (my translation): “1. The Prilep-Bitola dialect as the basis of the literary language, since it is equally distant from Serbian and Bulgarian, and central in Macedonia; 2. A phonetic orthography [...] with minor concessions to etymology; 3. The collecting of dictionary material from all Macedonian dialects.”(Misirkov 1903:145).



MAP FIVE

Map showing approximate locations of isoglosses [1] and [2]

These representations are highly schematic.

The precise distribution of features is complex but irrelevant to the basic point. See Ivić (1958:25-49).

Key to Map Five

	[1]shoulders	[2]woman/the woman
Serbian	pleći	žena
Macedonian	plek'i	žena/ženata
Bulgarian	plešti	žena/ženata

Differing isoglosses used to support conflicting territorial claims:

*[1] the reflex of Common Slavic *tj, [2] the presence of a definite article*

The forms cited in the table are those used in the modern standard languages.

These claims were also bolstered by census figures. Table Two reproduces claims made for the population of Macedonia from four different sources, each with a specific national interest.

ethnic group	SOURCE							
	Bulgarian	%	Serbian	%	Greek	%	Turkish	%
Bulgarians	1,181,336	52.31	57,600	2.01	332,162	19.26	896,497	30.8
Serbians	700	0.03	2,048,320	71.35	0	0	100,000	3.4
Greeks	228,702	10.13	201,140	7.01	652,795	37.85	307,000	10.6
Albanians	128,711	5.70	165,620	5.77	0	0	0	0
Turks	499,204	22.11	231,400	8.06	634,017	36.76	1,508,507	51.8
Other*	219,571	9.72	166,540	13.86	105,844	6.13	99,000	3.4
Total	2,258,224	100.00	2,870,620	100.00	1,724,818	100.00	2,911,004	100.00

*Vlahs, Roms (Gypsies), Jews, Circassians, etc.

Table Two

Conflicting Census Figures for Macedonia: 1889-1905

Sources: d'Estournelles de Constant (1914:28-30) and Saral (1975:75)

These discrepancies are not entirely arbitrary. Rather, at least to some extent, different authors have selected criteria that would support their point of view. Thus the Greek and Turkish figures use religion as the criterion of ascription. The result is the complete elimination of the Albanians, who are counted as Turk if Muslim, Greek if Orthodox, or Other if Catholic. The Serbs were likewise eliminated from Greek figures because the Greek definition of Macedonian territory stopped short of the northern districts included in the jurisdiction of the Serbian church. Bulgarian and Serbian figures use language, but choose different isoglosses as illustrated in Map Five to justify the claims for the territorial extent of Bulgarian or Serbian. (Serbs also based their claims on the practice of a folk custom, the *Slava*, celebrating a family's patron saint.)

At the end of the Second Balkan War in 1913, Macedonia was partitioned among Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Albania. Greece received most of what it claimed (about 50% of Macedonia), Serbia received most of that part of its claim that did not overlap with Greece (about 40% of Macedonia), Bulgaria received a small eastern corner and Albania received a string of villages on the western slopes and shores of the borderland mountains and lakes. With the exception of minor modifications after World War One and a major re-partitioning during World War Two (see Jelavich 1983: 262-277), the 1913 borders have remained in place. The partition of 1913 marked the end of any chance for an officially recognized Macedonian literary language, since Macedonian was treated as a dialect of Bulgarian in Bulgaria and of Serbian in Serbia. Publications and public performances in Macedonian were permitted in the guise of dialectal literature, however, and thus progress toward a codifiable standard continued to be made, albeit in an underground fashion. In Greece, Macedonian was proscribed, and in the thirties the speaking of Macedonian was even criminalized (see Apostolski, 1969: 271-72, see also Risteski 1988:97-102). In Albania, the existence of Slavic-speaking minorities was simply ignored.

On 2 August 1944 the part of Macedonia that had been part of Serbia prior to the outbreak of World War Two was declared the People's Republic of Macedonia with Macedonian as its official language. Progress toward standardization on the basis of the west central dialects was rapid, and today Macedonian is a fully functional standard language (Friedman 1985a, 1998a), although the existence of a Macedonian minority in Greece continues to be denied by official Greek sources (e.g. in a press conference given in Skopje by Theodoros Pangalos, Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, on 22 December 1998), while official Bulgaria remains incapable of recognizing the simple reality that

Macedonian is not a dialect of Bulgarian (Velev 1998 is typical in this respect) just as Norwegian is not a dialect of Swedish, nor Dutch a dialect of German. Albania officially recognizes the presence of a Macedonian minority on its territory, although the numbers are disputed, support for Macedonian-language education is limited to the first four years of elementary school and only among Macedonian-speaking Christians of the Prespa region in southern Albania (the Macedonian-speaking Muslims in the villages further north receive only Albanian-language education), and Albanian officials have occasionally made public statements in tacit support of Bulgarian claims that the Macedonians of Albania are really Bulgarians (MIC 6 March 1995).⁵⁰

The Albanian territorial claims illustrated in Map Four appear to have been made by connecting the most outlying Albanian-speaking villages in the territory adjacent to more or less compact Albanian settlements. The title of Dako (1919) — *Albania: Master Key to the Near East* — illustrates how the concept of 'Near East' has been constructed by the West to supply the Other against which it can define itself as the West (or Europe). At the turn of the century, the Balkans were at the edge of that Other (cf. Bakić-Hayden 1995, Todorova 1994, 1997). The Albanian situation in certain respects was the converse of that of the South Slavs. South Slavic linguistic history has been one of progressive centrifugal forces. The nineteenth century saw the division of Slovenian from Croatian and Macedonian from Bulgarian (albeit this latter was not officially recognized until 1944), while the centripetal forces that led to the formation of Serbo-Croatian have now yielded to the break-up of Yugoslavia and the creation of at least three standards: Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian. At the same time, Albanians have been working very hard to create a unity out of a major dialect division (Geg vs Tosk, i.e. North vs South, see note 4) as well as the three-way religious split alluded to above (see Skendi 1967:366-404 for details).

The differences between Geg and Tosk can be minimized or maximized, depending on the intent of the writer, much as is the case, e.g., with Serbian and Croatian. Consider the following examples based on Pipa (1989:16, 202):

Geg: *Nuk kam me mûjtë me ardhë në Shqipni. Jo të tâna gjylpânat ishin të lame e të pastrueme.*

Tosk: *Nuk do të mund të vij në Shqipëri. Jo të tëra gjilpërat ishin të lara e të pastruara.*

'I will not be able to come to Albania. Not all the needles were washed and cleaned.'

In the case of the first sentence, Geg could choose the same type of construction as Tosk, but it also has at its disposal an infinitival construction lacking in Tosk. The form meaning 'be able' (*mûjtë/mund*) illustrates Geg nasal vowels, lacking in Tosk, and the form meaning 'Albania' illustrates both Tosk rhotacism (the historical change of intervocalic /n/ to /r/) and the Geg elimination of unstressed schwa. The second sentence was constructed to illustrate the pervasive nature of Tosk rhotacism and certain vocalic developments, which can be compared in this respect to the salience of the jat reflexes of the Štokavian dialects of the former Serbo-Croatian. Although Pipa represents an approach that would sanction both Geg and Tosk variants of literary Albanian (cf. the Western and Eastern or "republican" variants of the former Serbo-Croatian or the current situation in Serbian), most of the history of the standardization of Albanian has been in the direction of greater unity, i.e. centripetal forces reducing sanctioned differences.

⁵⁰Although the 1989 Albanian census registered only 5,000 Macedonians, the Macedonian organization in Albania, *Bratstvo*, claimed 40,000 members in 1993 (MIC 30 November 1993).

During the first half of this century, there was no official attempt at legislating a unified Albanian literary language,⁵¹ although seven years before Albania's declared independence, one of Albania's greatest linguists, Aleksander Xhuvani (1980/1905) published — albeit under a pseudonym — a concrete proposal for the principles of a unified literary language similar to those employed after World War Two.⁵² Although a Literary Committee met in Shkodër in 1916 and agreed to elaborate a standard based on Elbasan Geg with some concessions to Tosk, in practice both literary Geg and literary Tosk continued to be elaborated in Albania until after World War Two (Pipa 1989:3-4), when the communist regime succeeded in imposing a Tosk-based unified standard on all of Albania, taking the dialect of Korçë as the basis.⁵³

While the Tosk-based standard eliminated literary Geg in Albania, Albanians in Yugoslavia continued to write in Geg. From 1945 (and even before that) until the 1974 constitution, the Yugoslav government attempted to encourage a separate identity among Yugoslav Albanians, using the term *Šiptar* (from Albanian *Shqiptar*) for the Albanians of Yugoslavia and *Albanac* for those of Albania (Ismajli 1998:64-72). The plan failed, however, and in 1968, after a series of events that culminated in a failed demand for republic status for Kosovo, Albanian intellectuals in Yugoslavia voted to adopt the Tosk-based standard of Albania as a statement of national unity. This was affirmed by delegates from Albania and Yugoslavia (Macedonia and Kosovo) on 25 November 1972 at an orthography congress held in Tirana.⁵⁴ The situation is thus comparable to that of Serbs and Croats in 1850 (and the opposite of the situation in 1967 or 1991) insofar as, like the

⁵¹The key issue for Albanian during the pre-1912 period was orthography. While orthography was also an important issue for Macedonian and the former Serbo-Croatian (Friedman 1993b, Naylor 1980), it did not represent the same level of obstacle to unity. In the Slavic languages, competition took place within the context of either the Latin (for Croatian and to a lesser extent, Serbian) or Cyrillic (for Serbian and Macedonian) alphabets, whereas for Albanian the three religious groups each had a different alphabet: Latin for the Catholics, Greek for the Orthodox, and Arabic for the Muslims, as well as competing Latin alphabets for all three. Although an Alphabet Congress held in Monastir (Bitola) 14-22 November 1908 was unable to reach a definitive decision between two Latin alphabets (one using digraphs and almost identical to the modern Albanian alphabet, the other using special individual letters for specifically Albanian sounds), the fact that it was able to narrow the field to two Latin alphabets causes that Congress to be regarded today as a definitive moment in the creation of Albanian national unity (Buda and Domi et al. 1972, Skendi 1967:370-75).

⁵²Xhuvani's principles were the following:

1. Tosk should be taken as the base for both consonants and vowels. For example, one should not write *bâj* but *běj*; not *emën* but *emër*; not *mesoj* but *mesonj*, not *tjetër* but *tjatër*; not *gadi* but *gati*, etc.
2. Where the sound of words in the two dialects is very different, each word should be adopted with a distinct meaning, e.g. *i tërë*, cunctus, universus; *i tanë*, omnis, totus, etc.
3. Any word found in Geg or some other dialect but not in Tosk should be adopted, e.g. *këqyr*, *zhdrivilloj*, *përpall*, *përbuz*, *i ngratë*, *i posaçëm*, etc.

Although Tosk was taken as the base and rhotacism and stressed schwa (for Geg nasals) were adopted, other more locally southern Tosk features as illustrated by *mesonj* and *tjatër* were not. The artificial accommodation of differing dialect forms articulated in point two (and also by Faik Konitza, see Byron 1976a:50) was not employed, but some distinctly Geg lexical items and productive morphemes were adopted (see Byron 1976b:86-89, 104, 117, 122; cf. also Pipa 1989:21-102).

⁵³The codifiers of the *gjuha letrare e njësuar* 'unified literary language' insisted that their standard was neither "northern" nor "southern" — the ethnic terms *Geg* and *Tosk* were likewise eliminated from official discourse for the sake of promoting national unity — but rather a supradialectal norm that was neither one nor the other but combined both. In fact, however, that standard was basically Tosk, and as such rather violently attacked by Pipa (1989). See Ismajli (1998:193-98) for commentary.

⁵⁴One of the signatories was Josif Ferrari, professor of Arbëresh studies at the University of Bari in Italy. See Ismajli (1998) for a detailed and careful account of the history leading up to these events.

Croats, the Kosovars (and Albanians of Montenegro, Macedonia, and Serbia) were adopting a standard promulgated from the outside in order to resist other pressures. The crucial difference is that while most Croats (albeit not those who signed it) were speakers of the standard promulgated by the Vienna Literary Agreement, Kosovars and most other Albanians in former Yugoslavia are Geg and therefore the adoption of the unified literary language involved an entirely exoglossic situation.

Thus during the social upheavals of 1967-68 in Yugoslavia, both centrifugal and centripetal linguistic forces operated as forms of resistance. For the Croats, the declaration of difference from Serbian and the repudiation of Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian constituted a centrifugal resistance against what was perceived as Serbian centralism, while for the Albanians that same perception of Serbian centralism led to an abandonment of their distinct literary dialect and a centripetal unification with the standard of Albania. With the so-called fall of communism and the upheavals of the past decade, Croatian has made a definitive split from Serbian, and the purposefully deepened lexical divide may never be bridged. Meanwhile, in Albania the question of reintroducing literary Geg as a co-equal variant with the current Tosk-based standard was raised at a conference in the fall of 1992 and has remained a burning issue ever since. At a conference I attended in Tirana in the summer of 1995, a single paper devoted to this topic provoked more than four hours of heated discussion. At both conferences, the GEGs of Shkodër, the town in northwest Albania with an old, independent literary tradition as well as a university, proposed the reintroduction of literary Geg, and the Tirana establishment and Tosks of the south opposed it. The Kosovars present at the conferences argued for a single standard but declined to define how that standard should be determined. They did not want to support a diglossic situation from their perceived need for (trans-)national unity, but neither did they wish to abandon the possibility that their dialectal base (which is northeastern Geg and thus significantly different from the northwestern Geg of Shkodër) could be more represented.

A final example of the emblemization of language is illustrated in Table Three, which utilizes the six languages of the Republic of Macedonia used in the 1994 census (Friedman 1996a) and quantifies degrees of non-correspondence between declared nationality and declared mother tongue in the 1953 and 1994 censuses in that republic. In each of the two charts, the top figure is the total of those whose declared nationality differed from the corresponding declared mother tongue, followed by a figure indicating the percentage of the total of those declaring the mother tongue in question. The lower figure gives the numerical total of those declaring the relevant mother tongue. In each chart an overall total is given below the language-by-language totals. While it is clear from these figures that declared nationality does not always correspond to declared mother tongue, it is equally clear that in all cases except the former Serbo-Croatian there has been an increasing tendency toward such congruence, in many cases a dramatic one.⁵⁵

1953
Declared Mother Tongue

Declared Nationality	Macedonian	Albanian	Turkish	Serbo-Croat	Romani	Vlah
Non-Corresp.	42140 = 4.6	30303 = 16.4	9545 = 6.2	7509 = 19.5	633 = 3.7	2621 = 24.4
Total	896651	183805	153160	38579	17089	10751
Non-Co	92751 = 7.1					
Total	1300035					

⁵⁵The relative stability of the former Serbo-Croatian in this respect is related to various political and demographic factors beyond the scope of this lecture.

1994

Declared Mother Tongue

Declared Nationality	Macedonian	Albanian	Turkish	Serbo-Croat*	Romani	Vlah
Non-Corresp.	43115 = 3.2	4945 = 1.1	1939 = 2.9	7252 = 20.6	165 = 0.5	289 = 4.0
Total	1332983	431363	64665	35095	35120	7036
Non-Co	57937 = 3					
Total**	1907710					

TABLE THREE

Difference between declared nationality and declared mother tongue for the six main languages of the Republic of Macedonia: 1953 and 1994

Sources: Savezni zavod za statistiku (1959:274), Zavod za statistika (1996:46)

*This figure represents Serbian and Croatian which were listed as separate languages in the 1994 census.

**This figure is slightly smaller than the total population (1945932) because there was a partial boycott of the census in the municipality of Debar. Elsewhere the non-enumerated Albanian and Turkish population was estimated, but in this table only the enumerated population was included. Moreover, this table does not include languages other than the six official languages of the census.

We can conclude by observing that the situation in Southeastern Europe is by no means unique, and in fact there are homologues in the West for any of the situations we have analyzed here. One can mention the Quebecois of Canada, the Flemings of Belgium (who at one point declared that Flemish was Dutch but have since returned to the position that it is not), the struggle between Bokmål and Landsmål in Norway, the Italian *questione della lingua*, the Occitanians of France, the Frisians of Holland and Germany, the movement to eliminate the compulsory study of Swedish from Finnish schools, etc. (cf. also Posner 1996:189-96). It is the politicization of linguistic drift (the natural tendency of languages to differentiate over time) that has had particularly dramatic effects in Southeastern Europe, where language has become a vehicle of conflicting centripetal and centrifugal forces. Thus for example, the Croat separatist declaration of 1967 and the Albanian unitarist decision of 1968 set vectors in a direction which, while deflected by the Yugoslav federal constitution of 1974, were headed back in the direction of dissolution by the Kosovo uprising of 1981 and the economic crisis of the 1980s (cf. Woodward 1995).

I shall close with a quotation from a Serbian dialectologist that Ken found in 1983 and brought to my attention. The quotation is sadly prescient in its warning:

...mi smo u kruh i hleb povoli nacionalne barjake, a zaboravili na prostu činjenicu da nam i jedan i drugi mogu, bilo na vatri bilo na ognju, jednako izgorjeti i da pravi problemi počinju tek onda kad u Gorskom Kotaru, Bukovici, Zmijanju i Paštrovićima nestane kruh, kada na Kosovo ostane samo bukë i kada po istočnoj Srbiji i Zagorju počnu da gore (h)iže. (Petrović 1982: 53)

... we have conceived of *kruh* and *hleb* as national banners, and forgotten the simple fact that we can make one or the other, either on the *vatra* or on the *oganj* burn just the same, and real problems begin, only when in Gorski Kotar, Bukovica, Zmijanje and Paštrovići *kruh* disappears, when in Kosovo there is only *bukë* and when in Eastern Serbia and Zagorje the (h)iže begin to burn.⁵⁶

⁵⁶The words *kruh*, *hleb*, and *bukë* all mean 'bread'. The first is associated with Croatian (although some Serbs in Croatia use the same word), the second with Serbian Štokavian (the ekavian reflex marks it as such; Serbs, Croats, and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and also southwestern Serbia, including the Sandžak, would all say *hleb*), but it is also the Kajkavian form, while the third is Albanian. The words *vatra* and *oganj* both mean 'fire', but *vatra* is specifically domesticated, controlled

It is inevitable that languages will change and that the resulting differences will be either ignored or enshrined, transcending or establishing boundaries, depending -- among other things -- on political circumstances. Kenneth E. Naylor dedicated his scholarship to furthering the knowledge of both the grammar and the social history and function of the languages of Southeastern Europe. And it is only by understanding that we can hope to deploy our information wisely.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Apostolski, Mihailo et al. 1969. *Istorija na makedonskiot narod*, 2. Skopje: Institut za Narodna Istorija.
- Atanasov, P. 1990. *Le mégléno-roumain de nos jours*. (Balkan-Archiv Neue Folge — Beiheft 8). Hamburg: Buske.
- Babić, S., R. Katičić, and T. Ladan. 1969. *Raspre o jeziku — u povodu rječnika*. (Kritika 1969/5). Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska.
- Bacou, Mihaela. Entre acculturation et assimilation: les Aroumains au XXème siècle. *Les Aroumains (Cahier: Centre d'étude des civilisations de l'Europe centrale et du sud-est 8)*, 153-65. Paris: INALCO.
- Bakić-Hayden, Milica. 1995. Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia. *Slavic Review* 54.917-31.
- Banac, Ivo. 1984. Main Trends in the Croat Language Question.. *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, 1, ed. by Riccardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt, 189-259. New Haven: Yale Concilium on International Studies.
- Brozović, Dalibor. 1969. *Rječnik jezika ili jezik rječnika: Varijacije na temu varijanta*. (Kritika 1969/2). Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska.
- Blumi, Isa. 1998. The Commodification of Otherness and the Ethnic Unit in the Balkans: How to Think About Albanians. *East European Politics and Societies* 12.527-69.
- Brailsford, H.N. 1906. *Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future*. London: Methuen.
- Brozović, Dalibor and Pavle Ivić. 1988. *Jezik, srpskohrvatskih/ hrvatskosrpski, hrvatski ili srpski*. (Separate publication, from vol. 9 of *Enciklopedija Jugoslavija* [2nd ed.]). Zagreb: Jugoslavenski Leksikografski Zavod "Miroslav Krleža".
- Buda, A. and M. Domi et al., eds. 1972. *Alfabeti i gjuhës shqipe dhe Kongresi i Manastirit*. Tirana: University of Tirana.
- Byron, Janet L. 1976a. Faik Konitza dhe gjuha letrare shqipe. *Faik Konitza 1876-1976*, ed. by Edward Licho, 49-51. New York: Vatra.

fire, as in a hearth. (*Vatra* also means 'hearth' in Albanian.) *Oganj* is the element fire, not necessarily controlled, and is used to mean 'conflagration' (Albanian *zjarrë*). The variant forms *hiže* and *iže* are localisms meaning 'houses'; the former occurs in Kajkavian (and some Čakavian) dialects and the latter southeast Serbia, where it is also used to refer to a bread baked for Christmas. Gorski Kotar is a region in Croatia, northeast of Istria along the Slovenian border, and is Kajkavian. Bukovica is a jekavian region in Dalmatia, southeast of Zadar. It was predominantly Serbian before the Wars of Succession. Zmijanje refers to a predominantly Serbian ijekavian region in Central Bosnia between Ključ and Banja Luka (currently in the Republika Srpska). Paštrovići is a region along the central part of the Montenegrin coast in the Zeta-Lovćen dialect region. Zagorje is a Kajkavian region in Croatia north and northeast of Zagreb. The author's choice of regions essentially outlines the Southern West South Slavic speaking territories of what was then still Yugoslavia.

- . 1976b. *Selection Among Alternates in Language Standardization: The Case of Albanian*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Cepenkov, Marko. 1972. *Makedonski narodni umotvorbi VI: Narodni prikazni*, ed. by Kiril Penušliski. Skopje: Makedonska Kniga.
- Clissold, Stephen. 1968. *A Short History of Yugoslavia: From Early Times to 1966*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Çupi, Frrok. 1998. *Vlora '97*. Tirana: Fan Noli.
- Dako, Christo A. 1919. *Albania: The Master Key to the Near East*. Boston: Grimes.
- Danforth, Loring M. 1995. *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- d'Estournelles de Constant, Baron, et al. 1914. *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars*. Division of Intercourse and Education, Publication No. 4. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (reprinted 1993 with an introduction by George Kennan).
- Fine, John V. A. 1983. *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Fine, John V. A. 1987. *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Fraenkel, Eran. 1993. Urban Muslim Identity in Macedonia: The Interplay of Ottomanism and Multilingual Nationalism. *Language Contact, Language Conflict*, ed. by Eran Fraenkel and Christina Kramer, 27-41. New York: Peter Lang.
- Franolić, Branko. 1980. *A Short History of Literary Croatian*. Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines.
- . 1983. The Development of Literary Croatian and Serbian. *Language Reform, Volume II*, ed. by I. Fodor and C. Hagège, 83-112. Hamburg: Buske.
- Friedman, Victor A. 1975. Macedonian Language and Nationalism During the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. *Balkanistica* 2.83-98.
- . 1976. Structural and Generative Approaches to an Analysis of the Macedonian Preterite. *Slavic and East European Journal* 20.460-64.
- . 1982. Balkanology and Turcology: West Rumelian Turkish in Yugoslavia as Reflected in Prescriptive Grammar. *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics*, 2, ed. by A. A. Barentsen et al., 1-77. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- . 1985a. The Sociolinguistics of Literary Macedonian. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 52.31-57.
- . 1985b. Problems in the Codification of a Standard Romani Literary Language. *Papers from the Fourth and Fifth Annual Meetings: Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter*. ed. by Joanne Grumet, 56-75. New York: Gypsy Lore Society.
- . 1985c. Balkan Romani Modality and Other Balkan Languages. *Folia Slavica* 7.3.381-389.
- . 1986a. Linguistics, Nationalism, and Literary Languages: A Balkan Perspective. *The Real World Linguist: Linguistic Applications in the 1980's*, ed. by Victor Raskin and Peter Bjarkman, 287-305. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- . 1986b. Romani *Te* in a Balkan Context. *Językowe studia bałkanistyczne*, Vol. 1, 39-48. Wrocław: Polska Akademia Nauk.
- . 1989. Toward Defining the Position of Turkisms in Romani. *Jezik i kultura Roma*, 251-267. Sarajevo: Institut za proučavanje nacionalnih odnosa.

- . 1993a. Language Policy and Language Behavior in Macedonia: Background and Current Events. *Language Contact, Language Conflict*, ed. by Eran Fraenkel and Christina Kramer, 73-99. New York: Peter Lang.
- . 1993b. The First Philological Conference for the Establishment of the Macedonian Alphabet and the Macedonian Literary Language: Its Precedents and Consequences. *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning: The "First Congress" Phenomenon*, ed. by Joshua Fishman, 159-80. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 1995a. Persistence and Change in Ottoman Patterns of Codeswitching in the Republic of Macedonia: Nostalgia, Duress and Language Shift in Contemporary Southeastern Europe. *Summer School: Code-switching and Language Contact*. ed. by Durk Gorter et al., 58-67. Ljouwert/Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy.
- . 1995b. Romani Standardization and Status in the Republic of Macedonia. *Romani in Contact: The History, Structure, and Sociology of a Language*, ed. by Yaron Matras, 203-217. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 1995.
- . 1996a. Observing the Observers: Language, Ethnicity, and Power in the 1994 Macedonian Census and Beyond. *Toward Comprehensive Peace in Southeastern Europe: Conflict Prevention in the South Balkans*, ed. by Barnett Rubin, 81-105/119-26. New York: Council on Foreign Relations/Twentieth Century Fund.
- . 1996b. Romani and the Census in the Republic of Macedonia. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series)* 6(2).89-101.
- . 1996c. The Turkish Lexical Element in the Languages of the Republic of Macedonia from the Ottoman Period to Independence. *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*. 32.2.133-50.
- . 1997a. Linguistic Form and Content in the Romani-language Press. *The Typology and dialectology of Romani*. ed. by Y. Matras, P. Bakker & H. Kyuchukov, 181-96. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- . 1997b. Language Contacts in Southeastern Europe: The Republic of Macedonia. *Contact Linguistics: An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*, 2 (= *Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science*, 14) ed. by Hans Goebel, Peter H. Nelde, Zdeněk Sary, and Wolfgang Wölck, 1442-51. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- . 1997c. One Grammar, Three Lexicons: Ideological Overtones and Under-pinnings in the Balkan Sprachbund. *CLS 33: Papers from the Panels*, 23-44. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- . 1997d. Cyganskij jazyk i vopros balkanskogo jazykovogo sojuza. *Materialy XXVI mežvuzovskoj naučno-metodičeskoj konferencii prepodavatelej i aspirantov, Vyp. 3: Balkanskije čtenija*, ed. by F. A. Eloeva and A. Ju. Rusakov, 53-60. University of St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg, Russia.
- . 1998a. The Implementation of Standard Macedonian: Problems and Results. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 131.31-57.
- . 1998b. The Romani Language in the Republic of Macedonia: Status, Usage, and Sociolinguistic Perspectives. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*.
- Friedman, Victor A. and Robert Dankoff. 1991. The Earliest Text in Balkan (Rumelian) Romani: A Passage from Evliya Çelebi's *Seyâhat-nâme*. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series)*. 1.1.1-20.
- Glenny, Misha. 1995. The Birth of a Nation (review of Poulton 1995). *The New York Review* 16 November.24-28.
- Gołąb, Zbigniew. 1997. The Ethnic Background and Internal Linguistic Mechanism of the So-Called Balkanization of Macedonian. *Balkanistica* 10.13-19.

- Greenberg, Robert. 1987. Review of Lenček 1982. *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 35-36.285-298.
- . 1996. The Politics of Dialects Among Serbs, Croats, and Muslims in the Former Yugoslavia. *East European Politics and Societies* 10.393-415.
- . 1998a. Dialects and Ethnicity in the Former Yugoslavia: The Case of Southern Baranja (Croatia). *Slavic and East European Journal* 42.710-22.
- . 1998b. Language Politics in Yugoslavia Today: The Crisis Over the Future of Serbian. Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages, San Francisco, 28-30 December.
- Grillo, Dhimitër. 1985. *Arvanitët she shqiptarët në luftën çlirimtare të popullit grek*. Tirana: 8 Nëndori.
- Hamp, Eric P. 1994a. Albanian. *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, ed. by R.E. Asher, 65-67. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Hamp, Eric P. 1994b. Indo-European. *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, ed. by R.E. Asher, 1661-1667. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1987. *Anthropology through the Looking Glass: Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Iovine, Micaela S. 1984. The "Illyrian Language" and the Language Question among the Southern Slavs in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, 1, ed. by Riccardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt, 101-56. New Haven: Yale Concilium on International Studies.
- Isaković, Alija. 1992. *Rječnik karakteristične leksike u bosanskoj jeziku*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost.
- Ismajli, Rexhep. 1998. "Në gjuhë" dhe "për gjuhë": Rrjedhat e planifikimit të shqipes në Kosovë 1945-1968. Pejë: Dukagjini.
- Ivănescu, G. 1980. *Istoria limbii române*. Iași: Jumeana.
- Ivić, Pavle. 1958. *Die serbokroatische Dialekte*. The Hague: Mouton.
- . 1971. *Srpski narod i njegov jezik*. Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga.
- Jambrešić, Renata. 1995. Banija: An Analysis of Ethnonymic Polarization. *Fear, Death and Resistance: An Ethnography of War: Croatia 1991-92*, ed. by Lada Čala-Feldman, et al., 73-117. Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research.
- Jašar-Nasteva, Olivera. 1997. A Contribution to the Study of the Revival of the Aromanians of Macedonia (Based on an Autographed Manuscript by G. Prlichev). *Balkanistica* 10.241-54.
- Jelavich, Barbara. 1983. *History of the Balkans: Twentieth century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Jelavich, Charles. 1990. *South Slav Nationalisms: Textbooks and the Yugoslavi Union before 1914*. Columbus: Ohio State University.
- Jones, Sir William. 1786. The Third Anniversary Discourse, On the Hindus. Reprinted 1967 in *A Reader in Nineteenth-Century Historical Indo-European Linguistics*, ed. by Winfred P. Lehmann, 7-20. Bloomington: Indiana University.
- Joseph, Brian D. 1983. *The Synchrony and Diachrony of the Balkan Infinitive*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Kantor, Marvin and Richard S. White (transl. and ed.) 1976. *The Vita of Constantine and the Vita of Methodius (Michigan Slavic Materials 13.)*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications.

- Karadžić, Vuk St. 1849. *Kovčević za istorije, jezik i običaje Srba sva tri zakona*. Vienna: Jermenski Manastir.
- Katičić, Radoslav. 1984. The Making of Standard Serbo-Croat. *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, 1, ed. by Riccardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt, 261-95. New Haven: Yale Concilium on International Studies.
- Kazazis, Kostas. 1972. The Status of Turkisms in the Present-Day Balkan Languages. *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change*, ed. by H. Birnbaum and S. Vryonis, 86-115. The Hague: Mouton.
- . 1981. *Ellinas vs. Romios Anecdotally Revisited*. *Folia Neohellenica* 3.53-55.
- Kočan, Stijepo M. 1995. Pedknjige za crnogoski jezik. *Danica* 14 January, p. 29.
- Kopitar, Jernej. 1829. "Albanische, walachische und bulgarische Sprache." *Jahrbücher der Literatur* 46.59-106.
- Lehmann, Winifred P. (ed.). 1967. *A Reader in Nineteenth-Century Historical Indo-European Linguistics*. Bloomington: Indiana University.
- Lenček, Rado. 1982. *The Structure and History of the Slovene Language*. Columbus: Slavica.
- Lunt, Horace. G. 1953. A Survey of Macedonian Literature. *Harvard Slavic Studies* 1.363-396.
- . 1974. *Old Church Slavonic Grammar*. The Hague: Mouton.
- . 1984a. Slavs, Common Slavic, and Old Church Slavonic. in *Litterae slavicae medii aevi* (Festschrift for František Mareš), 185-204. Munich: Kubon & Sagner.
- . 1984b. Some Socio-Linguistic Aspects of Macedonian and Bulgarian. *Language and Literary Theory: In Honor of Ladislav Matejka*, Ed. by B. Stolz, I. Titunik, and L. Doležel. (*Papers in Slavic Philology* 5), 83-132. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- MacDermott, Mercia. 1962. *A History of Bulgaria 1393-1885*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Mallory, J. P. and D. Q. Adams (eds.). 1997. *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*. London: Fitzroy Dearborn.
- Matras, Yaron. 1994. Structural Balkanisms in Romani, in *Sprachlicher Standard und Substandard in Südosteuropa und Osteuropa*, 195-210, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- MIC = Macedonian Information Center (e-mail, news service). . . .
- Misirkov, Krste P. 1903. *Za makedonckite raboti*. Sofia: Liberalnij Klub. [photo-reprint edition 1974, Skopje: Institut za Makedonski jazik.]
- Naylor, Kenneth E. 1966a. A Comparison of the Nominal Declension of the Čakavian Dialects, Literary Serbo-Croatian and Russian, *Zbornik Matice Srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku* 9.65-72.
- . 1966b. The Classification of Serbo-Croatian Dialects. *Slavic and East European Journal*. 10.453-57.
- . 1973. Bulgarian Dialects in the South Slavic Framework. *Zbornik Matice Srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku* 16(2).33-38.
- . 1974. Odziv na Vukove reforme srpskohrvatskog jezika kod Hrvata u drugoj polovini XIX veka. *Naučni sastanak u Vukove dane: Referati i saopštenja* 3.49-56.
- . 1975. The Search for a Croatian Literary Language in the 19th Century: Some Observations, in *Xenia Slavica: Papers Presented to Gojko Ružičić on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday 2 February 1969*, ed. by R. L. Lencek and B. O. Unbegaun, 133-40. The Hague: Mouton.

- . 1976. Đura Daničić i počeci srpske filologije. *Naučni sastanak u Vukove dane: Referati i saopštenja* 5.517-24.
- . 1978. The Eastern Variant of Serbocroatian as the *Lingua Communis* of Yugoslavia. *Folia Slavica* 1,3.456-68.
- . 1980a. Some Problems for the Study of Balkan Sociolinguistics, *Zbornik Matice Srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku* 23,2.7-14.
- . 1980b. Serbo-Croatian. *The Slavic literary languages: Formation and Development*, ed. by A. M. Schenker and E. Stankiewicz, 65-83. New Haven: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies.
- . 1982. Kopitar as Slavicist: An Appreciation. *To Honor Jernej Kopitar, 1780-1980*, ed. by R. L. Lencek and H. R. Cooper, 65-70. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- . 1983. Some Problems in the Formation of the Bulgarian Literary Language. in *Pārvi meždunaroden kongres po bālgaristika: Dokladi: Istoričeski razvoj na bālgarskija ezik*. Vol. 1, 380-95; Sofia: BAN.
- . 1984. The Protestant Reformation in Croatia: Remarks on the Influence on the Literary Language. *Slovene Studies* 6.143-46.
- . 1984-85. On the Creation of a Common Literary Language for the Serbs and Croats. *Zbornik Matice Srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku* 27-28. 527-31.
- . 1988. Vuk's Language and Literary Serbocroatian Today. *Naučni sastanak u Vukove dane: Referati i saopštenja* 17,1.113-20.
- . 1990a. Primedbe na tekst Dalibora Brozovića: Komentari srpskohrvatskog programa na radio stanici Glas Amerike. *Književne novine* 43(90.XII.01).5.
- . 1990b. Review of B. Franolić (1988), *Language Policy in Yugoslavia with Special Reference to Croatian*, Paris. *Slavic and East European Journal* 34.562-63.
- . 1990c. Convergence and Divergence in Literary Languages of the Balkans: The Cases of Serbocroatian and Bulgarian, *Zbornik Matice Srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku* 33.319-26.
- . 1991. Vukovo rešenje problema modela književnog jezika za Srbe i Hrvate. *Naučni sastanak u Vukove dane: Referati i saopštenja* 20,2.81-89.
- . 1992. The Sociolinguistic Situation in Yugoslavia, with Special Emphasis on Serbocroatian. in *Language Planning in Yugoslavia*, ed. by C. Hawkesworth and R. Bugarski, 80-92. Slavica: Columbus.
- . 1995. Questions of Macedonian Grammar 1: The Formation of the Definite Article. *Studies in Macedonian Language, Literature and Culture*, ed. by Benjamin Stolz, 133-42. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications.
- . 1996. *Sociolingvistički problemi među Južnim Slovenima*. (transl. by Mirosljub Joković). Belgrade: Prosveta.
- Nikčević, Vojislav. 1993a. *Crnogorski jezik*. Cetinje: Matica Crnogorska.
- . 1993b. *Piši kao što zboriš*. Podgorica: Crnogorsko društvo nezavisnih književnika.
- Nikolić, Berislav (ed.) 1969. *Dela Vuk Karadžića: O Jeziku i književnosti*. Belgrade: Prosveta.
- Okuka, Miloš. 1990. *Ogledi o našem jeziku*. Nikšić: Univerzitetaska riječ.
- Pavletić, Vlatko (chief ed.). 1969. *Hrvatski književni jezik i pitanje varijanta (Kritika 1969/1)*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska.
- Pedersen, Holger. 1962. *The Discovery of Language: Linguistic Science in the 19th Century*. Bloomington: Indiana University. [translated by John W. Spargo; 1st ed. 1931].

- Petrović, D. 1982. 'O nekim problemima srpskohrvatskog jezika' in *Aktuelna pitanja naše jezičke kulture*, 51-53. Belgrade: Prosvetni Pregled.
- Peufuss, Max D. 1994. *Die Aromunische Frage: Ihre Entwicklung von den Ursprüngen bis zum Frieden von Bukarest (1913) und die Haltung Österreich-Ungarns*. (Weiner Archiv für Geschichte des Slawentums und Osteuropas 8). Graz: Hermann Böhlau.
- Pipa, Arshi. 1989. *The Politics of Language in Socialist Albania*. Boulder: East European Monographs.
- Posner, Rebecca. 196. *The Romance Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Poulton, Hugh. 1995. *Who Are the Macedonians?* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Pravopisna Komisija. 1960. *Pravopis Srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika/Pravopis Hrvatskosrpskoga književnog jezika*. Belgrade: Matica Srpska, Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska.
- Pulevski, G'org'i. 1875. *Rečnik od tri jezika*. Belgrade: Državna Štamparija.
- Risteski, Stojan. 1988. *Sozdavanjeto na sovremeniot makedonski literaturni jazik*. Skopje: Studentski zbor.
- Sandfeld, K. 1926. *Balkanfilologien*. Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen. [French translation published in 1930. *La linguistique balkanique*. Paris: Klincksieck.]
- Savezni zavod za statistiku, Federalna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija. 1959. *Popis stanovništva 1953, knjiga I: Vitalna i etnička obeležja*. Belgrade: Savezni zavod za statistiku.
- Scholem, Gershom. 1971. *The Messianic Idea in Judaism*. New York: Schocken.
- Skendi, Stavro. 1967. *The Albanian National Awakening: 1878-1912*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Stankiewicz, Edward. 1980. Slovenian. *The Slavic literary languages: Formation and Development*, ed. by A. M. Schenker and E. Stankiewicz, 85-102. New Haven: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies.
- Todorova, Maria. 1994. The Balkans: From Discovery to Invention. *Slavic Review* 53.453-82.
- . 1997. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Trubetzkoy, N.S. 1923. Vavilonskaja basšnja i smesšenje jazykov. *Evrasijskij vremennik* 3.107-24.
- . 1928. Etablissement et délimitation des termes techniques, Proposition 16. *Actes du Premier congrès international des linguistes*, p. 18. The Hague: A. W. Sijthoff.
- Velev, Grigor et al. (eds.). 1998. *Bālgarija pres dvadeset i pārvi vek. Bālgarski nacionalna doktrina 2. Nacionalni strategičeski programi 1. Zaštita na duhovno obedinenie na bālgarite po sveta*. Sofia: Naučen centār za bālgarska nacionalna strategija.
- Verdery, Katherine. *Transylvanian Villagers*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Vidoeski, Božidar. 1998. *Dijalektite na makedonskiot jazik*, 1. Skopje: MANU.
- von Kohl, Christine and Wolfgang Libal. 1997. Kosovo: The Gordian Knot of the Balkans. *Kosovo: In the Heart of the Powder Keg*, ed. and transl. by Robert Elsie, 3-104. Boulder: East European Monographs.
- Wilkinson, H. R. 1951. *Maps and Politics: A Review of the Ethnographic Cartography of Macedonia*. Liverpool: University of Liverpool.
- Woodward, Susan L. 1995. *Balkan tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War*. Washington, DC: Brookings.

Xhuvani, Aleksandër. 1980. Për themelimin të një gjuhe letrëtare. *Vepra I: Vepra Gjuhësore*, 3-7. Tirana: Akademia e Shkencave e RPSSH. (First published in 1905 in the journal *Albania*, vol. 9, no. 8, p.162 under the pseudonym Dokë Sula).

Zavod za statistika na Republika Makedonija. 1996. *Popis na naselenieto, domak'instva, stanovite i zemjodelskite stopanstva vo Republika Makedonija 1994 godina, Kniga I: Naselenie, po nacionalna pripadnost, veroispoved, majčin jazik i dršavjanstvo*. Skopje: Zavod za statistika na Republika Makedonija.