

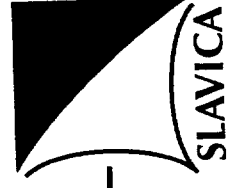
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**LANGUAGE IN THE
FORMER YUGOSLAV LANDS**

EDITED BY

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LANGUAGE PLANNING AND STATUS IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA AND IN KOSOVO

Victor A. Friedman

Introduction

I shall survey language planning and status developments in the Republic of Macedonia and in Kosovo (or Kosova, sometimes spelled Kosov@ in electronic media) concentrating on the period since Macedonia declared independence in 1991 (see Friedman 1993a, 1997a for details of earlier periods), Macedonian, Albanian, Romani, Aromanian, Turkish, and Serbian are the six languages that were in official use for the extraordinary 1994 Macedonian census, as specified in article 35 of the Census Law of 18 May 1994 (see Friedman 1996b).¹ These same languages — except Aromanian (Vlah) — are also relevant for Kosovo.² The six languages can be viewed as three pairs based on current status and language planning: 1) Macedonian and Albanian, 2) Serbian and Turkish, 3) Romani and Aromanian (Vlah). Macedonian and Albanian are both at the level of cultivation in Fishman's (1972: 56) and Radovanović's (1992: 95) terms, and, as I shall argue below, both are resisting re-evaluation (Radovanović 1992: 95). Serbian and Turkish, on the other hand, whose stable norms pre-date those of Albanian and Macedonian, are both at a stage combining cultivation with reconstruction. Romani and Aromanian are at the earliest stages, between selection and codification in Fishman's (1972: 56) terms (See Skiljan 1992 and Kovačec 1992 on the history of status and terminology in former Yugoslavia). There is a second sense in which Macedonian, Romani, and Aromanian can be contrasted to Albanian, Serbian, and Turkish: for the first group, the Republic of Macedonia constitutes a primary locus of language planning, whereas for the second group there is another nation state that is the primary locus.³ These historical facts all have implications for recent past, present, and future developments, which will be the focus of this article. Because all six of these languages are transnational, reference will be also be made to other countries as space allows.

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General overview

In terms of declared nationality as coordinated with declared mother tongue, the 1994 Macedonian census produced the following figures:

Table 1: Difference between declared nationality and declared mother tongue, 1994

Declared Nationality	Declared mother tongue					
	Macedonian	Albanian	Turkish	Serbo-Croat ⁺	Romani	Vlah
Macedonians	1,289,868	124	124	1,938	94	259
Albanians ⁺⁺	2,063	426,418	210	135	@	@
Turks ⁺⁺	10,885	906	62,726	86+@	11	0
Roms	5,974	1,212	1,311	14+@	34,955	@
Vlahs	1,800	@	0	12	0	6,747
Serbs	11,693	0	@	27,843	@	@
Muslim	5,552	605	180	1,181	20	@
Bosniak ⁺⁺⁺	36	21	@	312+@	0	@
Bulgarian	358	0	@	80	0	1,216
Egyptian	961	1,856	42	10	@	0
Other ⁺⁺⁺⁺	3,793	221	64	3,484	40	30
Total	1,332,983	431,363	64,665	35,095	35,120	7,036
Percentage	68.9	22.3	3.3	1.8	1.8	0.4

Source: Antonovska 1996: 46-47.

Key:

@ = under 10

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

++ This figure does not include the estimate of declared Albanians and Turks for the non-enumerated population of Debar.

+++ The column 'Other' for mother tongue included 6,426 Bosniaks. Presumably the overwhelming majority declared Bosnian. Also in the 'Other' column and presumably also mostly listing Bosnian were 7,795 Muslims.

++++ These figures include those who declared Croatian, Montenegrin or other nationality and those whose nationality was not stated. Omitted from this table (but see the note at Bosnians) are figures for languages defined as *Other* or *Unknown* as well as figures for citizens of the Republic of Macedonia residing abroad for more than one year (total 159,148, see Antonovska 1994: 20) for which this correlation was not published.

As can be seen, while there is a high correlation of declared nationality and declared mother tongue for most ethnic groups, in no case is the correlation 100% (see Friedman 2002 for historical discussion). At the time of this writing, a non-contested census had not been taken in Kosovo in over twenty years. Given the upheavals of this period, the old statistics are too far out of date to be worth citing.

The relative position of the six main languages of Macedonia can be summarized by a comparison of the instructions to census-takers (Antonovska 1994) and the six translations of the United Nations founding documents (Bakevski 1995) published on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. In the case of the census documents, the originals were prepared in Macedonian and then translated into the other five languages by individuals or members of local organizations. In the case of the UN documents, the Macedonian was translated from the English or French originals, overseen by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Albanian and Turkish were translated at the respective Ministries of Foreign Affairs in Albania and Turkey and then proofed locally (by Agim Poloska and Avni Abdullah, respectively). The Serbian version was overseen by the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs utilizing existing official versions, and the Romani and Aromanian were translated locally by Trajko Petrovski and Dimo N. Dimčev (Dina Cuvata), respectively. Ten thousand copies were published in Macedonian, 3,000 in Albanian, and 1,000 each in the other languages, i.e. almost 59% in Macedonian, close to 18% in Albanian, and slightly less than 6% each in the remaining languages.

Print and non-print media represent major sources of language status, legitimisation, and sites of normativising practices. The decade of Macedonian independence and the ensuing privatisation have resulted in a significant increase for all languages. We shall take public television as illustrative. In 1989 only Turkish and Albanian were represented on Macedonian public television: each had twenty minutes of news Monday through Friday and a half-hour children's program on Saturday. In 1991 TV programming in Romani and Vlah was begun: fifteen minutes of news on Tuesday and Wednesday, respectively. Also during 1991 Turkish and Albanian news was increased to twenty-five minutes, with additional half hours of programming in Albanian or Turkish on Tuesdays (Friedman 1993a: 96). By 2000, the figures for minority language programming on national public television (MTV 2) were those shown in Table 2:

Table 2: Programming on national public television (MTV 2) for minority languages

Albanian:	6 hours 40 minutes in 20 slots ranging in length from 10 to 60 minutes
Turkish:	6 hours 10 minutes in 11 slots ranging in length from 20 to 60 minutes
Romani:	1 hour in two 30-minute slots (Tuesday and Friday)
Aromanian:	1 hour in two 30-minute slots (Wednesday and Saturday)
Serbian:	1 hour in two 30-minute slots (Monday and Thursday)

Source: *Antena* No. 133, supplement to *Dnevnik* 00.10.27.

In addition to national public television, Kumanovo local public television broadcasts in all languages except Turkish. Of 57 private local TV licenses given out in 1998 (after the passing of the Communications Act of 1997), 13 were for stations using Albanian, 5 for Turkish, 2 for Romani and 1 for Serbian and of 80 private radio licenses given out in 1998, 14 were for stations with programming in Albanian, 5 Turkish, 3 Romani, 2 Serbian, and 2 with partial programming in Vlah (figures cited in Minova-Gurkova 2000). There are also unlicensed radio and television stations broadcasting in Macedonian and in the other languages and direct transmissions received from neighboring and near-by countries. It should also be noted that television is a much more pervasive medium than radio. According to a survey conducted by Kolar-Panov, Van den Haute, and Marković (2000: 86), of those surveyed 71.3% said they watch television regularly every day and an additional 18.9% said they watch almost every day, while the comparable figures for radio listening were 33.3% and 18.7%, respectively. This same study demonstrated that the ethnic make-up of an audience showed considerable variance with the language of broadcast in some cases.

As with census figures, so with media figures the current situation in Kosovo is unclear. The editor of the Turkish language service of Radio Prishtina was among the refugees residing in Macedonia during the 1999 War (see Friedman 1993a: 96-97 for discussion of 1990).

Education issues will be treated mostly in the sections devoted to individual languages. In the case of Albanian in Macedonia, the demand for University-level education in Albanian and the controversy over the University of Tetovo that began in 1995 seems to illustrate Bugarski's (1992: 21) prescient observation: 'Disputes over language often serve as a mere cover for economic, political, national and other conflicts, which makes rational solutions to even fairly simple problems unduly complicated

or impossible to reach.' It is worth noting that the international community has attempted to solve this issue with the founding of South-East European University, a trilingual institution (Albanian, English, and Macedonian) which began operation in Tetovo in October 2001. Throughout the nineties, elementary education classes in Serbian, Albanian, Turkish, and, occasionally, in Romani continued in Kosovo.

Macedonian

The history of modern Macedonian standardisation has been described and periodised extensively in Macedonian, but also in English (see Friedman 1985a, 2000, Koneski 1980, Topolinska 1998, and Vidoeski 1998a for details). Before 1944 the language was not recognized by any of the post-Ottoman states in which it was spoken (Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia/Yugoslavia), although attempts at creating a separate Macedonian standard began in the nineteenth century. After 1944 Macedonian was standardised in what is now the Republic of Macedonia and was recognised as a minority language in Bulgaria from 1946-48. Macedonian was subsequently described in Bulgaria as a dialect or 'regional norm' of Bulgarian (see Lunt 1984 and Dimitrovski *et al.* 1978 for responses) until 1999, when a Bulgarian government officially recognised the Macedonian standard as an independent language. The 1999 agreement, however, did not involve the recognition of the dialects spoken outside the boundaries of the Republic of Macedonia as forming part of the Macedonian dialectal complex; it did not recognise the identity of the Pirin Macedonians, and it did not recognise pre-1944 indigenous efforts at the creation of a Macedonian standard language.⁴ These issues remain unresolved. Greece continues to deny that it has a Macedonian-speaking minority (Kostopoulos 2000 is an exception). Typical is a recent minority language project — funded by the Comenius Program of the European Commission and based in Florina (Lerin) — aimed only at Aromanian, Albanian and Romani ('Minority Language Projects', *Interface*, No. 35, August 1999, p. 3), despite being in an area with many Macedonian-speakers and activists.

While the non-recognition of Macedonians in Greece and Bulgaria is a simple matter of denial, the Albanian case is more complex (see Minova-Gurkova 1998: 226-243). Albania recognises a Macedonian minority but provides schooling in Macedonian only for the Christians of southeastern Albania (Prespa region) and only through grade four. The 1989 census counted approximately 5,000 Macedonians, but the League of Macedonian Muslims has claimed 100,000 (NM 90.02.02:05), and Bulgarians have claimed 45,000 Bulgarians (MILS 00.06.01). The Macedonian speakers of Golo Brdo and Gora have schooling only in Albanian, since the government

does not recognise them as Macedonians, and those who are Muslims do not themselves necessarily have a Macedonian identity, although from a dialectological point of view, their home language is closest to the dialects across the border in the Republic of Macedonia (Vidoeski 1986, NM 86.01.22.2). Some formerly Macedonian-speaking villages, such as Lin on Lake Ohrid, have been Albanianised since 1944.⁵

Within the Republic itself, I have identified five types of current linguistic issues in the implementation of the Macedonian standard:⁶ 1) recurring, 2) remissive, 3) resolved, 4) new, and 5) non-salient, i.e. 1) issues that keep being raised; 2) issues that were resolved at an earlier stage of implementation but raised again after 1989; 3) issues that were the object of debate and discussion during the early years of description and prescription, whose elaboration has been accepted; 4) issues that are essentially post-1989 in their nature; and 5) issues for which dialectal differentiation could serve as a source of debate but whose initial selection has remained uncontested throughout the post-1944 period (Friedman 1998: 31–32). I shall simply note here a few examples of each type:

1) Maintaining accentual units (moving antepenultimate stress across word boundaries, e.g. *kiseló mleko* 'yoghurt' vs *kiselo mléko* 'sour milk'; the pronunciation of Cyrillic *л* as a clear /l/ as prescribed in the norm (see Korubin 1976: 108), or as a palatal as in Serbian (and northern Macedonian dialects), the pronunciation of Cyrillic *л* as velar /ɫ/ rather than normative clear /l/ before front vowels and *јот*; problems resulting from excessively literal translations from Serbian such as the separation of clitics from verbs, permissible in Serbian, which follows Wackernagel's law, but not in Macedonian, where verbal clitics are strictly bound to the verb. The decaying of Serbian influence was especially intense during the period immediately before the break-up (e.g. Koteski 1989).

2) The representation of palatals and *schwa* in Macedonian orthography, the former by single letters, the latter only by an apostrophe to indicate dialectal pronunciation (see Friedman 1993b on the politics of these debates); another remissive complaint relating to Serbian influence is the tendency to use /z/ in places where the norm has prescribed the voiced dental affricate /dz/; a third is the question of the stylistic position of Turkisms, lowered during the pre-1989 period but raised in the past decade, the linguistic ideology being the equation of colloquialisation with political pluralism (see Friedman 1996a).

3) There have been no serious calls for altering the west-central dialectal base of the standard language, although the debate over the representation of *schwa* does have implications for allowing more dialectal forms. This situation is in distinct contrast to Albanian.

4) The relationship of Macedonian to the Great Power linguistic environment, especially to the influence of English as seen in the influx of lexical items in youth speech and the press, and objections in normative literature (e.g. Venovska-Antevska 1995).

5) Issues such as the shapes of clitic pronouns, the inventories of verbal categories, and preposition usage continue to differ in colloquial speech, but are not the focus of conflicts over the standard. Moreover, the norm is expanding into the dialects in these areas, although speakers from the east (i.e. outside the source of the norm or the capital) tend to be more tolerant of variation (see e.g. Mitkovska 2000).

A television programme entitled *Govorete makedonski* (Speak Macedonian), which broadcasts for ten minutes a day seven days a week on MTV1 (the first channel of state television) is illustrative of linguistic purism as currently practiced in Macedonia. On a typical day, each program selects three items for correction, e.g. one Turkism, which could also be perceived as a colloquialism, ruralism, or archaism (*menguši* vs *obetki* 'earrings'), one Serbism, which could also be a northern dialectism (*dole* vs *dolu* 'downward') and one Bulgarianism, which could also be an eastern dialectism (e.g. the attributive use of the verbal *l*-form instead of the verbal adjective [descended from the past passive participle], as in *minatata* vs *minatata* 'the past...' (definite feminine, as if modifying, e.g., *godina* 'year').

Overall, while there have been calls for reconstructing parts of the Macedonian standard, the norms developed since 1944 have shown both flexibility and resiliency.

Albanian

While the dialectal base of standard Macedonian is located within the Republic of Macedonia, which is the locus of language planning issues, the situation of Albanian in Kosovo is quite different. Prior to World War Two, Albanian had no official status in Yugoslavia (including the territory that later became Kosovo), and in Albania itself the question of a unified national standard remained officially unresolved.⁷ After World War Two, Albanian was officially recognized in Kosovo, but from 1948–1968, especially after the Prishtina conference of 1952, the standard of Albania and the standard of Kosovo developed independently.⁸ During the course of the 1950s, a Tosk-based standard — closest to, but not identical with, the dialect of the Korça region — was codified and implemented throughout Albania while in Kosovo (and other Albanian-speaking regions of SFR Yugoslavia) a Geg-based standard was elaborated.⁹ In 1968, intellectuals in SFR Yugoslavia officially decided to abandon their Geg-based standard and

4. Rewriting some chapters connected with daily practice (e.g. the use of capital letters in compounds and titles).
5. Definition of the principles on which Albanian orthography is based, including the definition of the principles of the Orthographic Handbook.
6. Redefinition of the boundaries of the norm and of normative tendencies and its function.

As an illustration of the first point, Çeliku brings up the rules for writing unstressed *schwa*, although he does not mention explicitly that unstressed *schwa* (orthographic *ë*) is often neither pronounced nor spelled in Literary Geg. The second point is an open call for a greater role for Geg. To illustrate the third point he argues that foreign words should be spelled as in their original language only upon introduction into a text and subsequently according to their pronunciation in Albanian (without mentioning that the pronunciation could vary between Geg and Tosk). In point five, he argues that if a morphological or historical principle is used to justify the writing of final unstressed *schwa*, then it should also be applied to the indication of length.¹¹ Point six again refers directly to including more Geg elements (but also calls for greater consistency).

If previous conferences of the 1990s can be taken as indicative, a congress planned for 2002 in Tirana to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of Albanian's unified orthography will undoubtedly also be an occasion for some participants to raise questions of possible restructuring. A problem for Kosovar Albanian, aside from the Geg/Tosk opposition, is the influence of Serbian (e.g. Gjevori 1983; cf. also Friedman 1993a: 83). This issue received increasing attention in the Albanian-language press of Macedonia after 1989. It is clear that Albanian-Serbian bilingualism among Albanians in Kosovo has had a significant impact on local usage, as attested in numerous anecdotal accounts about Kosovar refugees in Albania during the 1999 War. According to these accounts (various p.c. May, 2000), Albanian hosts would sometimes encounter a lexical impasse owing to the incorporation of Serbian loanwords in Kosovar Albanian. While not differing *per se* from many language-contact situations, the phenomenon of Serbian loans and calques in Kosovar Albanian is so ideologically, politically, and emotionally charged that it has yet to be the subject of detailed study. The 1980s also saw a campaign against Turkisms (e.g. Mehdiu 1983), and while the rise of pluralism has seen the rehabilitation of Turkisms in journalistic and other styles in standard Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Romanian in their eponymous nation-states (the logic of the rehabilitation was that if such words were relegated to the colloquial level during the communist period, their rehabilitation must be democratic; the association of colloquialisation with reform, however, is common to

adopt the Tosk-based standard of Albania (Raka 1995: 46). This decision was formally implemented with the Orthography Congress of 1972 whose result, in principle, was a single, unified standard Albanian (see Friedman 1993a, 1999a, Ismajli 1998, Kastrati 1996, Pipa 1989), although Kosovar Albanians still viewed certain Geg features (e.g. phonemic length) as defining a kind of pluricentricism (Zymberi 1991: 3-4). In practice, however, Albanian-speakers in SFR Yugoslavia and its successors have continued to use their own dialects in speaking except on the most formal occasions.¹⁰

Although some diaspora Albanians continued to argue for two standards (e.g. Pipa 1989), the issue was taboo in Albania itself until after the fall of communism. Even the ethnographic terms *Geg* and *Tosk* were replaced by geographic nomenclature (*North* and *South*, respectively, cf. the use of *Western variant* and *Eastern variant* to refer to differences in the former Serbo-Croatian). The question of reintroducing standard Geg as a co-equal variant with the current Tosk-based standard, or at least modifying the unified standard by introducing more Geg elements, was raised at a special conference entitled 'The national literary language and the Albanian world today', Tirana, 20-21 November 1992. The proposals were opposed by Kosovar representatives, who argued that a unified literary standard is necessary for national unity, and even went so far as to suggest that attempts at restructuring or introducing pluricentricism were Slav-inspired attempts to divide the Albanian people (e.g. Vinca 1995: 36-39). At the Seventeenth International Seminar for Albanian Language, Literature, and Culture (Tirana, 16-31 August 1995), a number of papers read at the Scholarly Conference held in conjunction with the seminar proposed some level of reintroduction of standard Geg (Çeliku 1995, who made six recommendations [see below], Beci 1995: 206, who compared linguistic pluralism with political pluralism and argued that the use of standard Geg would lead to true, rather than imposed, national unity), while others continued to stress the need for linguistic unity as a reflection of national unity, although this emphasis did not in and of itself preclude some sort of reconstruction of the norm (Bajčinca 1995). Again it was the Kosovar representatives who stressed unity ('One people, one literary language', Bajčinca 1995: 210), while those proposing restructuring or pluricentricism were from northern Albania, especially Shkodër, a town with a long and distinct literary tradition.

On the side of restructuring, Çeliku (1995: 215-216) made the following recommendations:

1. Simplification of the orthographic rules.
2. A greater congruence between modern orthography and orthoepy in general, but also with northern orthoepy in particular.
3. Improvement in the orthography of words of foreign origin.

both periods albeit with different foci and results; see Friedman 1996a), this does not seem to be the case in Kosovo, based on the data available to me. At present, the Kosovar situation vis-à-vis Albanian language planning is a cautious one. While everyday speech continues to be Geg and literary usage continues to espouse the Tosk-based norm of Albania, there is a current of thought that would influence that norm to make greater concessions to Geg. Nonetheless, linguistic unity is deemed the higher good in Kosovo, and any attempt at reconstructing the norm is unlikely to receive Kosovar support without a greater sense of consensus.

Turkish

The current situation of Turkish in Macedonia is quite different from that of Albanian, as was also the case prior to 1991. Owing to earlier associations with both empire and urbanism (Friedman 1997b, Akan 2000), combined with a complex of ideological factors (political, economic, and cultural), Turkish in general in Macedonia and Kosovo has a historical prestige and the Turkish standard as developed in the Turkish Republic (whose East Rumelian/Central Anatolian dialectal basis differs significantly from the West Rumelian Turkish of Kosovo and Macedonia; see Friedman 1982 and Forthcoming) has a more recently specific prestige than is the case with any dialect of Albanian.¹² At the same time, local varieties of colloquial Turkish cannot look to an independent literary tradition comparable to that of Geg in Albanian. The West Rumelian dialects (like all other dialects during the Ottoman period) were restricted to oral communication and differed dramatically from literary Ottoman Turkish, with its enormous Arabo-Persian component (both grammatical and lexical).

The relationship of Turkish publications appearing in Macedonia to those of Turkey does not seem to have changed significantly in the past ten years in terms of the relationship of local printed varieties to language planning in Turkey. As with Serbian, the major locus of language planning is outside the country, and, unlike Albanian, there is no sense that Turks in Macedonia or Kosovo need to participate in Turkish-language debates for the sake of national unity. Moreover, their dialects are not invested with any ideology of purism such as that associated with the Turkic languages of Central Asia. On the contrary, Turkish-speakers in Macedonia and Kosovo look to the Turkish of Turkey as a prestige model. In Turkey itself, language reform seems to be in a perpetual state of cyclicity (cf. Lewis 2000: 140–168), such that even books published 50 years ago now require 'translation' (Lewis 2000: 142–143), while books that deal with the end of the Ottoman Empire must append glossaries (e.g. Uzer 1987). In Macedonia and Kosovo, however, a situation sometimes arises in which print media usage is 'more

Catholic than the Pope', as it were. A neologistic word may fail to gain currency in Turkey but be maintained in Macedonia and/or Kosovo, or a subtlety of nuance in Turkey may be lost, e.g. *al* 'scarlet' (also 'red' in reference to the Turkish flag) versus *kızıl* 'red' (also in the sense of 'communist'; see Teodosijević 1985, 1987, 1988 for details). According to native speakers from Turkey, the language of the local Macedonian Turkish media gives the impression of a stiff style that combines leftist clichés with archaisms. In the Islamic Turkish-language press that has arisen since 1991 (e.g. the newspaper *Zaman*), a salient use of Arabo-Persianisms (words which in the other Balkan languages are often Turkishisms) reflects the same type of usage (and its socio-political implications) in Turkey itself.

The attitude of Turkish-speakers in Macedonia and Kosovo to the standard language of Turkey is that it represents a model of correctness. The usual attitude toward their local variety is a combination of affection and embarrassment. The situation is in some ways reminiscent of that of English in former British colonies such as India and Malaysia, insofar as the indigenous norm in the former colonies differs from that in the 'mother country' owing at least in part to contact with locally dominant languages (cf. Jašar-Nasteva 1957, 1970). A significant difference is the fact that while the language ideology of *World Englishes* validates the rise of pluricentric norms resulting from British colonialism in Asia and Africa, Balkan Turkish does not enjoy any sense of local validation at an official level.

According to Burcu Akan (p.c.), access to television and other mass media entertainment vehicles such as music videos from Turkey has significantly affected Turkish linguistic practices. On the one hand, it has facilitated the mastery of a register of 'Turkey-Turkish' — by definition prestigious in a Macedonian context — by those whose command of Turkish was previously limited to West Rumelian dialect. This mastery in turn represents a challenge to the authority of the Macedonian Turkish-speaking élite connected with Turkish literacy and education. At the same time, however, literacy in Turkish remains limited largely to those who have gone to Turkish schools.¹³ As a result, many Turkish speakers feel ashamed to write Turkish, or, if they do write it, they use, e.g., Albanian orthography (if they went to Albanian schools), even if the language spoken at home is Turkish. This question of literacy is not new, and orthographic issues remain salient in one form or another for all the languages of Macedonia and Kosovo. The Turkish translation of the 1994 instructions to census takers also displayed another symbolic divorce between written and spoken usage insofar as the number of typographical errors, particularly in the use of diacritics, far exceeds that in any of the other forms of languages with nation-state based norms.

An additional complicating factor is the difference between home language and school language mentioned above, which is reflected to some extent in the lack of fit between Turkish language and declared Turkish nationality (cf. also Tanasković 1992). Table 3 demonstrates the drastic fluctuation in the numbers of declared Albanians and Turks between 1948 and 1961, with steady declines and increases in the declared numbers and percentages of Turks and Albanians, respectively, from 1961 onward. These changes are connected in part to political circumstances and in part to mechanical ones (migration).

Table 3: *Declared nationality in census returns*
(no. of persons unless otherwise indicated)

	Albanians	Turks
1948	197,389	95,940
% of total population	17.1	8.3
1953	162,524	203,938
% of total population	12.4	15.6
1961	183,108	131,481
% of total population	13.0	9.4
1971	279,871	108,552
% of total population	17.0	6.6
1981	377,208	86,591
% of total population	19.8	4.5
1991	441,987	77,080
% of total population	21.7	3.8
1994	441,104	78,019
% of total population	22.9	4.0

Source: Friedman 1996b.

In terms of the lack of fit between declared nationality and declared mother tongue between the 1953 and 1994 censuses, the percentage of the total of those declaring Albanian mother tongue but a nationality other than Albanian fell from 16.4% to 1.1% while the lack of fit for Turkish fell from 6.2% to 2.9%. What none of these figures reveal, however, is home language or multilingualism. Although question 13 of form P-1 of the 1994 census distinguished three categories — a) mother tongue (*majčin jazik*), defined as 'the language the person learned to speak in earliest childhood or considers as his/her mother tongue regardless of whether the person still uses that language or not', moreover 'insofar as several languages were spoken in the person's home in earliest childhood, the language most

frequently spoken is used as the answer', b) usual tongue (*voobičæn jazik*), defined as 'a language that the person speaks fluently or frequently in the current household', and 3) ability to speak languages other than those designated under a) and b) — only data for questions 13a and 13c were published. These distinctions are especially salient for Turkish (cf. Akan 2000: 142–143 and Fraenkel 1993).

The difference between home language and declared nationality is also attested in Kosovo. In 1981 there were more than 10,000 Turks in Prizren and nearby villages (Tanasković 1992: 143), but in his 'Letter from Kosovo #2' (<http://www.glypx.com/BalkanWitness>: 13 July 1999), American journalist Peter Lippman writes: 'In Prizren most of the Albanians speak Turkish as a second, often as a first, language.' In this context, the representation of Turkish-speakers as Albanian is part of a semiotic process that Gal and Irvine (1995: 975) call *erasure*, i.e. the disappearance of the representation of the complexities of lived realities in which multilingualism is part of everyday life and ethnonational identity, linguistic identity, and practice do not necessarily relate to one another in a one-to-one fashion. While the expulsion of Serbs and Roms from Kosovo in the 1999 War and its aftermath is well documented in the news, the treatment of Turks has gone unmentioned, although at least some of them fled to Macedonia during the 1999 War. In Kosovo, even before the break-up of former Yugoslavia, there were complaints in the Turkish-language press that Turks were being treated as third-class citizens because not only was there much less Turkish-language broadcasting than either Albanian or Serbo-Croatian, but most of it was on the third channel, which broadcast at only one kilowatt and could not be heard beyond Prishtina. This was as opposed to the first channel broadcasting in Albanian at 1,000 kw or the second, in Serbo-Croatian at 100 kw (*Birlik* 89.08.24.04; see Friedman 1993a).

It can be argued that the last ten years have seen a return of prestige to Turkish, which, among Muslims, has been (and remains) in competition with Albanian. At the same time, the increasing tendency for some rural Macedonian-speaking Muslims in some regions to demand Turkish-language schools for their children is a source of tension, misunderstanding, and possible increase in Turkish (see Friedman 2002). In terms of language planning issues, the relation of local West Rumelian Turkish to the standard of Turkey has remained ideologically unchanged, and local literary usage likewise does not appear to have significantly altered its practices. The chief difference has been the mastery of spoken standard Turkish by people not going to Turkish schools as a result of increased access to Turkish mass media from Turkey. (It is worth noting that this increased access is not simply a matter of politics but of economics and technology as well, i.e. the spread of satellite television and VCRs.)

Serbian

The former Serbo-Croatian, which in Macedonia has generally meant *srpski* 'Serbian', Eastern Variant (Ekavian) written in Cyrillic, was the one language designated in article 35 of the 1994 census law that was not mentioned by name in the constitution (or, more exactly, not implied in a named nationality, see Note 1). In practice, standard Serbian Ekavian continues in official use in Macedonia as illustrated by the census documents, the UN founding documents translation, media programming, etc. To this should be added the fact that Serbian-language television from outside Macedonia is as readily accessible as before 1991.

The Yugoslav wars of succession and the language splits and quarrels, however, have affected the situation in Macedonia only to a limited extent. Historically there have been two major groups identifying as Serbs and making use of Serbian schools and minority language rights: speakers who have arrived in Macedonia as a result of immigration, e.g. the Gallipoli Serbs of Peštovo (see Ivić 1957), and Serbian-identified Macedonian dialect speakers such as those of Kučeviste and other villages on Kozjak and Skopska Crna Gora in northern Macedonia, who identify as Serbian on the basis of religion or national feeling, but whose dialects do not differ from those of their Macedonian-identified neighbors (Vidoeski 1998b: 10). In general the various linguistic conflicts resulting from the break-up of Serbo-Croatian (see Greenberg 1996, 1998, 2000, Langston 1999) have not had repercussions in Macedonia. While the split of Croatian is not particularly salient for Macedonia or Kosovo (the Croat-identified population of Kosovo has almost all left; see Duijzings 2000: 37–64), and the movement for a separate Montenegrin language seems to be limited to Montenegro itself, the issue of a separate Bosnian language is potentially salient to Kosovo and Macedonia.

Among the Muslims of Macedonia, there are Macedonian-speaking Muslims, Bosniak-identified Muslims (some of whom are refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina and therefore speakers of Southern West South Slavic dialects), and Muslims speaking non-Slavic languages. While the split of Bosnian has affected declarations, it does not appear to have played a significant role in language politics (cf. Friedman 1993a). The Slavic-speaking Muslims of Gora (the south-westernmost corner of Kosovo), whose local dialect has been shown by Vidoeski (1986) to belong with Macedonian rather than Serbian, an argument tacitly accepted by Brozović and Ivić (1988, cf. also Friedman 2002), have been reported to call their

language Bosnian (BPT 2000), apparently on religious grounds (cf. Friedman 1996b). However, during the border negotiation between Macedonia and FR Yugoslavia in February 2001, it was reported that the Gorans (whose number was variously reported as 16,000 and 15,000 living in 20 villages) had declared themselves as Macedonian-speaking Muslims, and claimed that their region had been unilaterally included in Serbia, and sought to be included territorially in Macedonia or else granted dual citizenship and Macedonian-language schools (MILS 01.02.13, MILS 01.02.16). The compromise that was reached was the opening of an additional border-crossing at Strezimir-Rastelica.¹⁴

Romani

Romani has experienced a significant rise in status and language planning activities in Macedonia since 1991. Although Roms from Macedonia and Kosovo have been included for decades in a variety of international meetings, groups and other activities to promote a supra-dialectal pan-Romani orthography and standard language, those involved in language planning and related activities in Macedonia have been consistent in pursuing a norm that addresses the issues specific to the Republic of Macedonia (see Friedman 1995a) but with an awareness of possible relevance for adjacent regions, particularly in former Yugoslavia (Jusuf and Kepeski 1980: 4–5). Precisely because Romani is the most trans-national of the languages considered in this chapter, I shall focus on Romani language planning and status issues specifically in Macedonia, as broader coverage is simply impossible in a short space. In my previous work on Romani standardisation I have analysed in detail events and phenomena relevant for Romani in Macedonia (and, to a lesser extent, the rest of former Yugoslavia and elsewhere) up to 1996 (Friedman 1985b, 1989a, 1995a, 1996c, 1997c, 1999b), and so here I shall just give a quick overview of major issues for Macedonia and then continue from where those works leave off.

Although the Skopje Romani cultural organisation 'Phralipe' (Brotherhood) was formed in 1948, it was not until the 1970s and 1980s that sporadic attempts were made at advancing Romani education and related linguistic rights such as use in the mass media. Periodicals such as *Romano alav* 'Romani word' (Prizren, 1972) and *Krilo e romengo* 'Voice of the Roms' (Belgrade, 1973) were among the first manifestations, followed by some radio programming, e.g. in Belgrade, Niš, and Tetovo (Dalbello 1989, Puxon 1979: 89). In 1977, Saip Jusuf translated a book about Tito into Romani (Jusuf 1978) with significant press coverage (*Nova Makedonija* 77.09.28-30: 9). It was the first non-periodical publication in Macedonia (and Yugoslavia) by a Rom for Roms. The publication of Jusuf and

Kepeski's Romani grammar (1980) was an historically significant event and an important step in the direction of language planning, but did not have a conspicuous effect on the development of Romani education (see Friedman 1985b). From 1979 onward, a number of anthologies of Romani poetry and stories, mostly in bilingual editions, were published in all of the capitals of the then-Yugoslav republics and autonomous regions as well as in smaller towns such as Leskovac and Preševo. In 1986 the children's magazine *Čhavrikano lil* began publication in Gornji Milanovac in Yugoslavia. More than ten years after Jusuf (1978), however, Trajko Petrovski's (1989) translation of the pre-World War Two Macedonian poet Kočo Racin's collection *Beli Mugri* ('White mists') into Romani was still an unusual event. Classes in Romani were begun in Gilan (Gnjilane) and Ferizaj (Ferizovik, Uroševac) in Kosovo (*Birlik* 94.9.02:14) and informal classes outside the regular school structure were also organized in the predominantly Romani Skopje suburb Šuto Orizari (Šutka), which was where a large number of Roms from Skopje and later elsewhere settled after the disastrous Skopje earthquake of 1963.

The independence of Macedonia, the raising of the status of Roms from ethnic group to nationality, and the rise of multi-party ethnopolitics was accompanied both by increased government attention to Romani (e.g. the codification conference sponsored by the Ministry of Education in 1992, see Friedman 1995a) and a rise in Romani activism, e.g., the founding of the Party for the Complete Emancipation of the Roms in 1990, renamed the Party for the Complete Emancipation of the Roms of Macedonia in 1991, and a second party, the Democratic Progressive Party of the Roms in Macedonia, was formed in 1992. Romani as a subject of education and as a means of mass communication have been among the key issues throughout this period. A monthly newspaper entitled *Romano Sumnal* appeared beginning 17 November 1993, but only two subsequent issues were published (10 December 1993 and 1 April 1994; see Friedman 1997c). In 1994 the translation of all documents relating to the extraordinary census of that year represented the first such use of Romani in a state bureaucracy, and the fact that the norm is still in the process of elaboration meant that the census documents themselves became part of the process of codification (see Friedman 1996c).

The first textbook for use in elementary school classes, Jusuf (1996), was not actually distributed until late in 1997, but as of 2000 it was only being used in two schools, both in Skopje. Since 1996 publications of original and translated poetry and prose aimed both at adults and at children have become more frequent (e.g. Demir 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1996d, Demirov 1998, Petrovski 2000a, 2000b, 2000c). There has also been a Macedonian and Romani dictionary (Petrovski and Veličkovski 1998), as well as other

pedagogical materials (e.g. Demir and Demir 2000a) attempting to remedy the problem of the fact that Jusuf (1996) has been the only textbook available for grades two through eight. There have also been multilingual publications about Roms in Romani and other languages, e.g. Dunin (1998) in Romani, Macedonian and English and Demir and Demir (2000b) in Romani, Macedonian, English, and Albanian. In the course of 1999-2000 several bilingual (Romani and Macedonian) youth-oriented monthlies also began publication (e.g. *Čirikli*, *Amalipe* - *Drugarstvo*, and *Ternipe*). Most recently (January 2001), a tri-weekly newspaper, *Roma Times*, has begun publication with local and international news and local features in Romani, local and lifestyle features in Macedonian, and brief articles on Romani culture in English.

The complexities and difficulties connected with choice of dialectal base, orthography, grammar, and lexicon that I have identified in the articles cited above are gradually being regularized. The main dialect groups in Macedonia and Kosovo are Arli (< Turkish *yerli* 'local'), Burgudži (< Turkish *burgucu* 'gimlet-maker'), and Džambaz (< Turkish *gurbet* 'exile'). The dealer, acrobat' sometimes called Gurbet, from Turkish *gurbet* 'exile'). The first two belong to related branches of the so-called Non-Vlah group (Boretzky's South Balkan I and South Balkan II, respectively) while the latter is in the Vlah group, which is characterized by a significant number of Romanian loanwords, an unrounded vowel in the first singular aorist, and other features. The dialectal classification of Romani is complex and ongoing — moreover, the same name sometimes applies to different dialects in different regions, and the names given above represent complexes of diastystems that differ by town and neighborhood and have various other names (see Boretzky and Igla 1994, Boretzky 1992, 1999, 2000, Demir and Demir 2000b, and Matras 2002, as well as Friedman and Dankoff 1991). The majority of Romani-speakers in Macedonia use Arli, with the Skopje variant being the dominant one in terms of numbers, and this dialect has emerged as the base for the printed norm. Such typically Arli features are the analytic imperfect (conjugated long present + invariant third person simple preterite, e.g. *kerava sine* 'I was doing' as opposed to the older suffixation of -s to the long present, e.g. *keravas*), the shift of /r/ to /l/ in short possessive pronouns (e.g. *piljro* > *plo* 'one's own' [masc. sg.]), the merger of singular and plural for the masculine nominative definite article (e.g. *o teroristi* 'the terrorist' but *o teroristia* [also Burgudži] vs *e teroristia* 'the terrorists'), a rounded vowel in the first singular aorist (-um or -om vs -em), no prothetic consonant in pronouns (3 sg. masc. pronoun *ov* [also Burgudži, used in *Roma Times*] vs *vov* [a Džambaz form, used in Jusuf 1996] or *jov*), loss of intervocalic and final /s/ in certain grammatical morphemes (e.g. *bešaja* vs *bešasa* 'we are sitting', *Romea* vs *Romesa* 'with

the Rom', *pe* 'accusative reflexive pronoun and intransitive marker' vs *pes*), typical lexical items, e.g. *agja[a]* 'thus' vs Burgudži *kidjal*, Džambaz *gaja* (where *ā* = *schwa*) or *gaja*, etc.

Although greater consistency and consensus is gradually emerging, there are still a number of areas that show variation. Jusuf (1996), in keeping with its pedagogical intent, is consistent, whereas Petrovski and Veličkovski's (1998) dictionary often allows for variants rather than selecting among competing forms. While some of these are cross-referenced, others are not, which is descriptively and pragmatically problematic. Thus, for example, there are Romani dialects in which the opposition between uvular /x/ and velar /h/ is phonemic, although in Arli it is a matter of free variation. Petrovski and Veličkovski give both *habe* and *xupe* for 'food' — with cross-referencing (the choice of the etymologically related affixes *-be* and *-pe* for nominal derivation is an additional matter of competition, cf. debates surrounding Church Slavonic *-nie*, Macedonian *-nje* [itself one of several dialectal developments], and Common Slavic *-ba* in the expansion of the Macedonian lexicon; see Friedman 1989a). The automatic fronting of velars before front vowels, however, which need not be represented orthographically since it is automatic, is treated inconsistently, e.g. *kiral* 'cheese' but *kjiralo* 'made with cheese' (masc. adj.), without cross-referencing. In the case of *Roma Times*, <h> is used consistently and automatically fronting is consistently not represented, but in other matters the authors of different articles occasionally follow different strategies. Thus the overall editorial policy is to allow for a significant amount of authorial freedom, although individual articles are usually internally consistent, e.g. *pe* vs *pes* as the reflexive/intransitive marker. It is generally the case in the current Macedonian Romani norm that the morphophonemic alternation of dentals and palato-velars resulting from jotation is represented phonemically, e.g. *čhindo* 'cut' (masc. participle) but *čhingja* 'cut' (3 sg. simple preterite), *bui* 'work' *bukja* (nom. pl.), although in *Roma Times* *buća* also occurs, while in Petrovski and Veličkovski a Vlah form *buci* has a separate entry, albeit one cross-listed with *bui* (Burgudži has *buci*). The automatic de-aspiration of distinctive voiceless aspirates in word-final and pre-consonantal position is treated phonemically in Jusuf (1996) but sometimes treated phonemically and sometimes morpho-phonemically in *Roma Times*, e.g. *jek* vs *jekh* 'one'. Some lexical variants also serve as the site for dialectal openness, e.g. for 'only' *Roma Times* uses *numa* (from Romanian, typical of Džambaz and Vlah dialects in general), *sal* and *salde* (cf. Albanian *sal*, Turkish *sade* [with long /a/], typical of Arli), and *samo* (from Macedonian).

Aside from competition among derivational affixes mentioned above, the issue of vocabulary enrichment is also important. The 1994 census used

colloquial Turkisms such as *hamani* 'bathroom' and *kenefi* 'toilet' on questions concerning household plumbing, and Romani publications in general use a number of other Turkisms, found in all the Balkan languages but restricted to informal registers (cf. Friedman 1989b). Some Indicisms such as *raštra* 'state' seem to have achieved general acceptance, others are problematic in terms of consistency, e.g. *adhinale* 'dependent' but *bialhinalde* 'independent'. The subject of corpus planning, especially competition among neologisms vs Indicisms vs colloquialisms, is still a source of significant debate.

The current status of Romani in the Republic of Macedonia ten years after independence is considerably in advance of the preceding ten years in terms of both status and corpus in the processes of selection and codification. Although variants continue to compete in some areas of orthography, grammar, and lexicon, a degree of consensus and consistency is gradually emerging. The solidity of the Arli dialectal base has been established, and fairly consistent orthographic, grammatical, and lexical norms are generally observed in some areas, although areas of continued competition between possible variants demonstrate that the overall process is a continuing one. Nonetheless, the increased frequency and visibility and gradually increasing consistency in Romani-language publications indicates progress. The situation in Kosovo is much more difficult for socio-political reasons. However, the magazine *Romano Alav* resumed publication in 2001 using a Prizren dialect. The norm that is emerging in the Republic of Macedonia is distinct, but at the same time it participates in developments in the broader international arena. As non-Romani linguists and Romani linguists, language planners, and activists agreed in discussions at the Fifth International Congress on Romani Linguistics held in Bankya, Bulgaria, 14–17 September 2000, a general consensus is gradually emerging through both the circulation of printed materials and the spread of education. A significant contribution to that process has been made by Romani-language activities in the Republic of Macedonia.

Vlah

In former Yugoslavia the term *Vlah* was used as a nationality and linguistic category to refer both to Daco-Romanian speakers in eastern Serbia and to Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians in Macedonia. The Aromanian self-designation is *Armin* (or a variant thereof) while Megleno-Romanians have borrowed the Macedonian *Vla*. In the context of language planning in Macedonia, however, only Aromanian is of significance, since there is no movement among Megleno-Romanian speakers for separate status (see Atanasov 1990: 1–12). The total number of Megleno-Romanian speakers,

who — aside from diaspora and urban populations — live in a few villages in southeastern Macedonia and adjacent parts of Greece, is given by Atanasov (1990: 11) as 5,213. The Vlachs constitute the smallest constitutionally named national and linguistic minority in the Republic of Macedonia (see Table 1). There are larger numbers in Greece and Albania, diasporas in Romania and the West, and a small population in southwestern Bulgaria (see Schwandner-Sievers 1999 on Albania and Greece).

The separation of Vlah from Daco-Romanian raises the old language versus dialect debate. Among Romanian linguists, there is a disagreement between those who recognise Aromanian as a separate Balkan Romance language and those who consider it a dialect of Romanian despite the many differences and the fact that the two have been separated for about a thousand years. See Ivănescu (1980: 30–46) for a summary of the debate, cf. also Bacou (1989), Peyfuss (1994), Jašar-Nasteva (1997).¹⁶ This debate and the passions it arouses can be compared to the differentiation of Macedonian and Bulgarian. Aromanian is being used and codified as a distinct language in the Republic of Macedonia.

Although a revival of language planning activities for Aromanian began with the Aromanian diaspora in Germany and the U.S. in the 1980s (Cunia 1999: 66; see also Schwandner-Sievers 1999 and Jašar-Nasteva 1997 on the Ottoman period), it was not until the 1990's that serious progress was made in Macedonia, and if the number of elementary schools with Aromanian classes can be taken as indicative, the other countries where Aromanian is spoken all lag significantly behind. Public school classes are currently available in Skopje, Štip, Bitola, Kruševo, Kumanovo, Struga, and Ohrid. In Macedonia, the monthlies *Fenix* and *Lutseafire* began publication in Skopje and Kruševo, respectively, in 1992, the bi-monthly *Grailu Armâneascu* began publication in 1998. In addition to public television (see Table 2) there are two private radio stations in Skopje with Vlah programming, as well as local public radio programming in Struga and Štip.

The dialectal situation of Aromanian, like that of Romani, is complicated owing to patterns of transhumance and migration (See Marković 2000, Wace and Thompson 1913: 250–255). A basic distinction can be drawn between the dialects of the north (southern Albania and western Macedonia) — characterised by a six-vowel system (a, e, i, o, u, and *schwa*) — and the dialects of the south (northern Greece and eastern Macedonia) — which distinguishes a seventh vowel (high back unrounded *i*; Saramandu 1984: 427). The largest single concentration of declared Vlah mother-tongue speakers in Macedonia is Štip (1,888), in the east, followed by Skopje (1,742), the capital, and then Kruševo (735), Bitola (797), and Struga (400), all in the west.

Since the international congresses for Aromanian beginning in the 1980s and a Symposium for the Standardisation of the Aromanian Writing system, which was held in Bitola, 24–30 August 1997 (see Cunia 1999), practice in Macedonia has been mixed although basically consistent with recent orthographic developments. Thus, for example, the Aromanian translation of the 1994 instructions to census takers (Antonovska/Dimčev 1994) was unique not only owing to the fact that, as with the Romani materials, they represented a first in bureaucratic official usage, but, alone among such documents, they concluded with a special page addressing orthographic issues. Although earlier Aromanian orthography was based on Romanian, there have been two basic types of recent modification:¹⁷ First, digraphs are favored over diacritics (e.g. <sh> and <ts> rather than a cedilla under <s> and <t>, respectively), and second, a distinctive diacritic over <a> is used for *schwa* and the high back-unrounded vowel has no special sign. The preferred diacritic for *schwa* is the tilde, but the 1994 census materials used a grave accent, and the UN documents used a circumflex (except the cover and title page, which had tildes; the dieresis [used also for Romani by Jusuf and Kepeski 1980] and the breve [which is the Romanian choice] have also been used). On the other hand, Romanian digraphic conventions are also used (e.g. <ci> for /č/ except before front vowels), and there is still competition between orthographic representation of vowel reductions and diphthongs, e.g. variant forms of 'is': *eastē* (Ivanachieschi-Vlahu 1993) and the UN documents, *Grailu Armâneascu*, *Rivista di Liitaturā shi Studii Fenix*, *iasē* (also given in Ivanachieschi-Vlahu 1993), *easti* (1994 Census *Armāni*), *iasiti* (Cuvata, Garofil, and Papatsafa 1994)¹⁸ and variants meaning 'I': *eu*, *io*, *mine*, *mini* (the first set of examples show different representations of the rising diphthong and vowel raising, the second contrasts competing dialectal forms in which the first is identical with Romanian, the second is etymologically Aromanian and favored in the east, the third represents the generalisation of accusative for nominative, and the fourth represents the generalised form with vowel reduction, both of which are typical of the west), cf. also the spelling *Machedonia* 'Macedonia' used in *Fenix*, the 1994 Census and the UN documents but *Machidunia* in *Grailu Armâneascu* and *Makidunia* in Cuvata, Garofil, and Papatsafa (1994). Another issue is the spelling of interdental fricatives and the voiced velar fricative borrowed from Greek by some dialects but neutralised to stops in others (cf. Cunia 1999: 72–78).

While the northern/western dialect group is perceived by many Macedonian Aromanians as being more prestigious than the southern/eastern group owing to the fact that the former are historically more urbanized while the latter are more traditionally pastoral, the codification movement in Macedonia is dominated by activists from the

east, and publications generally show eastern dialect influences, albeit with some western compromises (e.g. the use of a six-vowels system). Thus, for example, eastern *sintu* 'they are' is favored over western *sāntu* (except in Ianachieschi-Vlahu 1993) but western *nostru* 'our' (masc.) rather than *lanachieschi-Vlahu* (except Cuvata, Garofil, and Papatsafa 1994), also Romanian eastern *nostu* (except Cuvata, Garofil, and Papatsafa 1994), also Romanian and eastern *el* rather than western *iūs* 'he/it'.

The issue of Daco-Romanian influence in general remains salient, as does the question of vocabulary building. Atanasov (p.c. 97.05.23) has pointed out that the dialects that are now spoken in different nation states have many differing lexical items as a result. The situation and the possibilities are much like those for Romani, i.e. vocabulary enrichment through neologisms, internationalisms, and borrowings from related languages with older traditions are all possibilities. An important difference is that Aromanian is closer to Daco-Romanian than Romani is to either Hindi or Sanskrit. In the case of the 1994 census materials, the solutions were similar to those used for Romani, and thus, for example, the Aromanian translation also used colloquial Turkisms such as *hamāmi* 'bathroom' and *hale* 'toilet'.

The past ten years have made a dramatic difference for Aromanian planning and status in Macedonia, arguably even more so than for Romani. The rise in publications and educational and cultural activities has been unprecedented. Also, as with Romani, Vlah language and status planning are taking place in an international context but with a focus on local uses and issues. For both languages, the slogan 'think globally but act locally' seems to be the best characterisation. Another Vlah orthography congress has been proposed for 2002 (Cunia 1999). In general, language planning activities for Vlah are more vigorous in Macedonia than in any of the other countries where Vlah is a non-Diaspora language.

Conclusion

The decade since Macedonian independence has seen three major language-planning tendencies in Macedonia and Kosovo. In the case of Macedonian and Albanian, whose current norms went from selection to cultivation in the wake of World War Two, Radovanović's (1992: 95) model would put them both between cultivation and attempted reconstruction, in a sense, at the stage of evaluation.¹⁹ For both languages, however, the push toward reconstruction has been resisted, which raises a theoretical issue with Radovanović's model. As presented in Radovanović (1992), the processes are unidirectional, and while allowing for repetition, do not allow for retrogression. While it is true that insofar as language is in a state of permanent flux, constantly varying and gradually changing, literally complete retrogression can never truly occur, although partial, e.g. lexical or

specific morphosyntactic, retrogression (including conservatism and resistance) can.²⁰ The Macedonian and Albanian cases thus suggest that the figure in Radovanović (1992: 95) needs an additional arrow, one that leads from evaluation (9) back to cultivation (8) rather than only an arrow from (9) to reconstruction (10). For both Albanian and Macedonian, these processes have taken place in the context of perceived threats to linguistic or national viability. Leaving to one side Greece's hysterical 'Macedonia is Greece' campaign and the illegal blockades of the 1990s and Milošević's refusal to recognise officially the Macedonian border, both Bulgaria and Albania have toyed with the fact that Macedonian does not enjoy uncontested recognition in the international community, which in turn means that any internal attempt at reconstruction of the norm can also be seen as an externally motivated threat to the existence of Macedonian itself.

In the case of Macedonian, the major issue is the perceived need to keep the norm distinct from both Serbian and Bulgarian.²¹ In the case of Albanian, the perceived threat is to Albanian national unity. Thus internal moves to reconstruct the norm or open it out to greater variation — perhaps even pluricentricism²² — are understood as potential sources of a disunity that would be taken advantage of by hostile neighbors. Thus, given the sense of political endangerment experienced by both languages — of different magnitude and origin, perhaps, but related nonetheless — it seems unlikely that the circular process described by Radovanović (1992: 95) will occur. Rather, his analysis needs to be modified as described above.

In the case of Romani and Aromanian, Fishman's (1972: 56) model captures the process as it is occurring in Macedonia. Like Macedonian and Albanian, these languages are both transnational, i.e. spoken by populations in different nation-states, but they both lack eponymous nation-states. The role of Romania vis-à-vis Vlah is quite different from that of India vis-à-vis Romani, although similarities can also be observed. Both languages are in stage one (Selection/Policy decisions) but have also made moves in the direction of stage two (stability/codification), and in a sense, stage three (expansion/elaboration) is influencing stage two. Future progress for Romani has the potential to be influenced by external political developments, whereas in the case of Aromanian, it is activity in Macedonia that has, perhaps, more potential to influence possible developments elsewhere.

For Serbian and Turkish, political events have had significant effects on their status. For both of these languages, there are nation-states that constitute foci of language planning activities. In the case of Turkish, the on-going *Dil Devrimi* 'language revolution' (cf. Friedman 1986 and Lewis 2000) means that Turkish outside of Turkey is playing a constant game of catch-up. Although local Turkish dialects continue to thrive (see Akan Ellis

2000), and familiarity with standard Turkish is maintained through print and electronic media, the number of declared Turks and Turkish pupils is declining.²³

The events in Kosovo in 1999, particularly the NATO bombing, Milošević's campaign of terror and expulsion called 'Operation Horseshoe', and the subsequent documented violence and vengeance have put the status of all minority languages in Kosovo in question. While the status of Serbian, Turkish, and Romani will be matters involving languages whose norms are established or in progress, the question of language of education for the Gorans (Macedonian or Serbian or Bosnian) remains unresolved.

Notes

- 1 Article 7 of the Macedonian constitution officially protects the language rights of nationalities (*narodnosti*) but does not name specific languages. The preamble of the constitution and Article 78, which provides for a Council for Inter-Ethnic Relations, names Albanians, Turks, Roms, Vlachs, and 'other nationalities.' In linguistic terms, this last is applied, *de facto*, to the former Serbo-Croatian (Southern West South Slavic) in its Serbian Ekavian variant, although there are smaller minorities speaking other variants as well.
- 2 The Kačanik constitution of 7 September 1990, in which Kosovar Albanian parliamentarians declared an independent Republic, recognised 'Serbs, Muslims, Montenegrins, Croats, Turks, Roms, and others' as nationalities. UN Security Council Resolution 1244 makes no mention of any national labels except Albanian, Yugoslav, and Serb.
- 3 Although Kosovar Albanians have participated in Albanian language planning activities since 1968 — the current norm is sometimes described by Kosovars in pluricentric terms (e.g. Zymberi 1991: 3–4) — the primary centre of events and the source of the dialectal base of the standard language is Albania itself.
- 4 A more moderate version of this line is the claim that modern Macedonian ethnic identity has its origins in communist activities of the 1930's and World War Two (e.g. Szobries 1999).
- 5 It is worth noting that the 2001 Albanian census was conducted without any questions for religion or ethnic/national identity, a situation protested by both Macedonian and Greek organizations in Albania (RFE/RL NEWSLINE Vol. 5, No. 72, Part II, 12 April 2001).
- 6 I follow Radovanović (1992: 98–99) in the definition of *standard language* as encompassing all domains of usage in contrast to *literary*, which he defines as limited to the domains of cultural production *per se*. Although his plea that what he calls the 'communicational and civilizational' tasks of language take priority of the 'ethnic and political' has gone unheeded in the case of the former Serbo-Croatian, Albanian language planners have succeeded in both preserving linguistic unity and merging the two types of tasks.

- 7 Albanian has two major dialects — Geg (north of the river Shkumbi and west of the river Drin in Struga) and Tosk (south and east, respectively) — each with its own literary traditions (see Byron 1976 for a summary of the differences and discussion of the construction of the modern norm; see Kastrati 1996 for a survey of efforts at a unified norm beginning in the nineteenth century). In practice, the Geg dialect of Elbasan, located just north of the major Geg-Tosk isogloss bundle, was in official use during the inter-War period, but individual writers continued to follow the various literary traditions.
- 8 Ismajli (1997) makes the point that at the 1952 conference in Prishtina there were also those in favor of pursuing a unified standard, but cooperation between Tirana and Prishtina was impossible at that time. Moreover, it should be noted that, then as now, there was considerable difference of opinion concerning what the unified standard should look like.
- 9 Ismajli (1998: 218) has argued that the 1964 Orthographic Handbook published in Prishtina was a step in the direction of congruence with that of 1936 published in Tirana, i.e. the ground for unification was being laid before the decision of 1968.
- 10 The results of this practice were poignantly documented during the 1999 War, when Kosovar refugees from isolated villages or with little schooling had great difficulty in communicating with foreign aid workers who knew only standard Albanian and, it is reported, with native Albanian speakers from the south. It is worth noting, however, that younger educated speakers in Macedonia use standard Albanian much more readily.
- 11 Phonemic length is absent from northern Tosk and is not indicated in the Albanian standard for which it serves as the base. Such length occurs in the rest of Albanian (cf. Byron 1976: 80, Gjiniari 1989: 111).
- 12 During the 1980s, Albanian enjoyed a rise in prestige owing to a combination of numerical and ideological factors (cf. Friedman 1997b), but since 1991 there has been something of a resurgence in the prestige of Turkish as seen in the popularity of television and music from Turkey.
- 13 The number of Turkish pupils and teachers was 12,493 and 237 in 1950/51 but 5,320 and 291 in 1994/95; there has been a steady decrease in the number of Turkish language pupils and an increase in teachers since 1961 (see Abbas 1997).
- 14 Kosovar politicians have repeatedly refused to recognize the results of the border negotiations between Macedonia and FR Yugoslavia (MILS 01.02.16).
- 15 According to the 1994 census (Antonovska et al. 1997, which uses the new 1996 administrative divisions), 46% (20,070 out of 43,707) of those declaring Romani nationality and 56% (19,799 out of 35,120) of those declaring Romani as their mother tongue live in the seven Skopje municipalities, more than half of them in the municipality of Šutka. In 1981, the year of the most recent uncontested official census in Kosovo, Romani was the declared nationality of 2.2% of the population (34,126). It must be borne in mind that both declared

nationality and declared mother tongue are mutable categories, especially in a context of multilingualism combined with social and political consequences of declaration, and Romani language and nationality are often not perceived as advantageous. It is therefore usually assumed that such figures represent undercounting. For further discussion, see Mirga (2000).

- 16 On the relative position of Megleno-Romanian, see Todoran (1977) and Atanasov (1999).
- 17 As with Albanian, Macedonian, Turkish, and other languages, the Greek alphabet was sometimes used for Aromanian by Orthodox Christians during the Ottoman period owing to the connection of religion with both literacy and nationality classification (the *millet* system).
- 18 Another variant is *e*.
- 19 It should be noted that the first process, selection, was one that had been worked on both in print and in practice prior to World War Two for both languages (see Friedman 1993a, 1993c, and 2000 for Macedonian and Friedman 1986, 1993a and Byron 1976, 1979, 1985 for Albanian), but that selection (as well as description, which, in a sense, is intimately connected with the process of selection) did not stabilize and move on to subsequent stages until the post-World War Two period.
- 20 The tug-of-war between *Dhimotiki* and *Katharevousa* in Modern Greek for much of the twentieth century is a case in point (see e.g. Friedman 1986). Similar conflicting tendencies are manifested in Turkish language reform (see Lewis 2000 for a recent account).
- 21 Other complaints, such as those concerning the influx of Anglicisms, have the potential to carry a political message, but in the current context such messages are central neither to Macedonian politics nor to language policy. Similarly, the reintroduction of Turkisms into styles of serious discourse, especially in journalism, has proceeded with relatively little comment.
- 22 In the case of Albanian, pluricentricism would involve the promotion of some form of standard Geg, in the case of Macedonian, it would involve the subordination of Macedonian to some other Slavic language — see Lunt (1984), Friedman (1995b), Mišeska Tomić (1992).
- 23 The tiny amount of growth between the 1991 and 1994 censuses cannot be taken as statistically significant, given various differences in counting citizens residing abroad and identity reporting. Rather, the steady decline from 1953–1991 shows the basic trend.

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