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

by Victor A. Friedman, The University of Chicago

The Balkan peninsula, 1878-1912

The Kenneth E. Naylor Memorial Lecture Series in South Slavic Linguistics, No. 1

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KENNETH E. NAYLOR MEMORIAL LECTURE SERIES IN SOUTH SLAVIC LINGUISTICS

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Editor's Preface

The Kenneth E. Naylor Professorship of South Slavic Linguistics was created officially on November 3, 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 1 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

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 Jugooslovenske zastave sa zlatim 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; 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, 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. Thus, for example, there were roadblocks in the south at which armed bands stopped cars and demanded: “Fo’i 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. 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 Svetopluk of Moravia refer to themselves and their people as “my Slovène” we Slavs’ and the Byzantine Emperor Michael says to Constantine the Philosopher: “...Solotunyâ visi čisto slovenšči besedljivaj...” “...the Thessalonians all speak pure Slavic.” (Kantor and White 1976:74). 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 connect with speakers of many languages, the most significant of which were Greek, Balkan Latin (later Balkan Romance) and pre-Albanian (Golbaj 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.

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. 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. 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. 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

3 Although frequently glossed ‘ear of corn’ (Gen 41:5), the more likely meaning is ‘flood of a stream’ (Ps. 69:3).
4 The traditional dividing line is the rive 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 diaspora 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 Gjirokaster, southwest of Kârëj in the Lëndër region of the south, (although his ill-fated successor, Ramiz Alija, was from Skhoder 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).
6 Larisa N. Kaminskaja, University of St. Petersburg, personal communication. See also Greenberg (1996) for similar stories about other languages.

7 The 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).
8 In 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.
9 For 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.
10 We 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.
11 The 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. Trubetzkoy proposed a model for sifting linguistic relationships that we now call the areal model. It was based not on mon descent, but rather on the fact that languages in contact with one another can exert tual influences resulting in similarities due to structural borrowing. He distinguished se two types of relationships as jazykovoe semesivo, Sprachfamilie ‘language family’ l jazykovoj sojuz, Sprachbund ‘linguistic league, linguistic union’. He took as his prime mple Bulgarian, which by its genetic relationship is a member of the Slavic language ily, but in its radical restructuring of its morphosyntactic system is a member of theikan linguistic league, sharing more with the non-Slavic languages of the Balkans than h the Slavic languages outside the Balkans. Table One (see Friedman 1985c) gives an mple of the type of parallel structures taken as typical of the Balkan linguistic league. of the languages in question are descended from earlier stages with infinitives and other stuctions that over time have merged into entirely parallel structures using native modal cles. This is only one typical instance of types of grammatical convergences — ofen led Balkanisms — that characterize the Balkan Sprachbund. Just as in Kopitar’s nulation, the grammar (i.e. morphosyntax) in each language is the same, but the lexical erial is not:

Table One
Optative-Subjunctive particle replaces infinitival and other structures in the Balkan Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Albanian</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>BALKAN SLAVIC</th>
<th>Bulgarian</th>
<th>Macedonian</th>
<th>Torlak Serbian</th>
<th>BALKAN ROMANCE</th>
<th>Romanian</th>
<th>Aromanian (Kruševo)</th>
<th>Romani</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>të shkojë</td>
<td>òa</td>
<td>da trungkin</td>
<td>da odime</td>
<td>da idemo</td>
<td>să merge</td>
<td>să merget</td>
<td>voj si scrini</td>
<td>s- neddzimû</td>
<td>te dzas</td>
<td>‘let us go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shkojë</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>pritg</td>
<td>odime</td>
<td>idemo</td>
<td>să</td>
<td>să</td>
<td>sii scrini</td>
<td>s- neddzimû</td>
<td>dzas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shkojë</td>
<td>práme</td>
<td>próg</td>
<td>próg</td>
<td>próg</td>
<td>sá</td>
<td>sá</td>
<td>sii scrini</td>
<td>s- neddzimû</td>
<td>dzas</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shkojë</td>
<td>próme</td>
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<td>próg</td>
<td>próg</td>
<td>sá</td>
<td>sá</td>
<td>sii scrini</td>
<td>s- neddzimû</td>
<td>dzas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 1959a, 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). 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. 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.

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 (gömek) with an optative clause is a Balkan calque. Like Romani, Balkan Turkish (and Judezo) have not received adequate attention in Balkan linguistics (see, e.g. Friedman 1982, 1986b, also Joseph 1983:252-53).

16See Verdeny (1983:34-86) 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 Ceg Albanians. Roms (Gypsies) were generally Muslim in Turkey, although some were Eastern Orthodox. They were discriminated against, as attested by Elvira Cebelesi in the seventeenth century: “The Roman 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 Gapu. It is because they are such renegades that they were ordered to pay an additional xardak (tax for non-Muslims). That is why a double xardak is exacted from the Gypsies. In fact, according to Sultan Mehmed’s census stipulation (tabrîl), xardak 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 romanós '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 pangan 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). 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. This has different ramifications for Slavs and for Albanians. Among the Southern West South Slavs, 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.

called themselves Turks but did not speak Turkish (Cepenkov 1972:123-34). The use of Turk to mean 'Muslim' was resurrected during the Yugoslav Wars of Succession for Bosnians. While the derogatory terms for Serbs and Croats were revived from World War Two, viz. četnik for Serb and ustasha for Croat (the former referred to ancient Illyrian and Croats, the latter to supporters of the Croatian fascist puppet state set up by the Christchurch Nazis, and both were used during the post-War period to mean 'collaborator with the enemy'), the parallel term for Bosniak was Turčin 'Turk', a reference to the so-called Turkish Yoke rather than World War Two.

While Illyrian was being used for the Slavic inhabitants of the region known in ancient times as Illyricum (much of which became Yugoslavia), Epître was used for the language of the Albanian-speaking inhabitants of the region that had included ancient Epirus (parts 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 to the degree of evidence (see Hamps 1994a, 1994b, Mallory and Adams 1978:11, 287-89).

In the Habsburg Empire, Protestantism was also an important factor (see Verder 1982:84-86; cf. also note 16), and Islam itself was by no means unified, the Ottoman Sunni majority being opposed to various Shi'ite and other heterodox minorities (cf. Franek 1993). In the Balkans, Bektashism was especially widespread, and even entered into Balkan Jewish history (see Scholm 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.

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

Thus, 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 slovanski 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 1971:75-76, 183.)

For the Albanians, who were predominantly Muslim by the nineteenth century, Catholicism was associated with the Gegs of northern Albania and Orthodoxy with the Tosks of the south. 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, Blumler 1990). 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).

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, whether thousands of Tosk-speaking Christians had fled in the fourteenth century to escape the Ottoman conquest.

The difference between Catholicism and Orthodoxy was also significant for the Habsburg Empire to the north. In 1909, 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 Köprüili 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. This in turn translated into 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, Bosnians were referred to in some Croatian books as 'Croats of the Muslim faith' (see Okuć 1990:86 for references). In 1949 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-Hercegovina 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 Čakavcan and Kajkavian) speakers were Croats, a thesis that was quite displeasing to Croatian intellectuals (Karadžić 1849; cf. Ivić 1971:182-83). See Jelavić (1990) on the development of national ideas among Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes via educational systems.

23According to Aleksandar Stojimirov, 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 Albanian and contiguous regions and those of Italy (Aberesh) 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. 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). 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-Hercegovina 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. 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. Serbian intellectuals tended to be dominated by the Slavono-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 Ivč (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).
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 to Turkey by 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 Ivč 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* > z (or ž)
2. *d* > ž (in most instances)
3. *sk*, *st* do not merge with Št
4. še > re in present of 'can' (more)
5. vocalic quantity is preserved
6. jers (Common Slavic short high vowels) fall together
7. *r* does not merge with *sk*, *št*
8. reflex of Ž 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. pronoun 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 têna-)
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 ę (jat), viz. ekaavian, ikaavian, and ijekeavian, as illustrated by the following phrase meaning ‘beautiful summer’: lepo leto, lipo lito, lijepo ljeto. 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 ekaavian and ijekeavian can be used to refer to dialects with slightly different developments (e.g., bjela bijelina vs bijela bijelina ‘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-ijekeavian 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-ekeavian 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 Stokavian-iješavian-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 person 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 [iješavian] dialect […] such that [in long] syllables ije is written and in [short] je, e, or i as appropriate (bijelo, bjeлина, 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 unified, with two pronunciations, iješavian 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 iješavian, are likewise always equal.

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

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

32Matica 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 Rečnik hrvatskopskog 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. Katići, 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 Federalist Republic of Yugoslavia (1 February 1945), both of which specify that the languages used are to be "the Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian languages."