

Romani as a Minority Language, as a Standard Language, and as a Contact Language: Comparative Legal, Sociolinguistic, and Structural Approaches

In: *Proceedings of the Eighth Nordic Conference on Bilingualism*, ed. by Kenneth Hyltenstam and Kari Fraurud, Stockholm: Stockholm University. To appear.

Victor A. Friedman

University of Chicago

1. Introduction

On 9 February 2000 Sweden became the twenty-first of the 28 members of the Council of Europe (which currently totals 44 members) that have signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.¹ On that same date, however, Sweden became only the ninth of sixteen countries to have actually ratified the charter.² The Charter was signed by the Republic of Macedonia on 25 July 1996 but has yet to be ratified or enter into force in that country. None of Macedonia's CE neighbors (Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania) have even signed the treaty (Source: Treaty Office on <http://conventions.coe.int>).³ The minority language that Sweden has in common with Macedonia (and most of the rest of Europe) is Romani. Moreover, Romani is recognized in Sweden as *indigenous* owing to its relatively long presence, a classification similar to Bugarski's (1992) use of *authochthonous* for the various relevant languages of the former Yugoslavia.⁴ In this paper it is my intention to examine Romani from several points of view in its Macedonian context, and, to a certain extent, in its broader Balkan and European context: First in terms of legal status, then in terms of standardization efforts, and finally in terms of some peculiarities of grammatical structure related to what I call *Balkan unidirectional bilingualism*. In this manner, I hope to place this indigenous minority language of Sweden (and the other Nordic countries) in a larger comparative context.⁵

2. Legal Status

2.1 Constitutions

The problem of legal status as defined constitutionally has been especially pressing in Macedonia, where, during much of 2001, a war was fought over — among other things — the wording of the

¹Information valid as of 2 May 2002.

²The Charter entered into force in Sweden on 1 June 2000.

³The Federation of Serbia and Montenegro is not in the CE and the status of Kosovo is currently regulated by UNSCR 1244.

⁴In Bugarski's formulation, an *autochthonous* language was one that had been spoken on what was then Yugoslav territory for at least a century.

⁵According to Bakker and Kyuchukov (2000:40), there are approximately 1,5000 Romani speakers in Denmark, 3,000 in Finland, and 200 in Norway, making the figure for Sweden -- 9,500 -- the largest.

preamble of the Macedonian constitution.⁶ In contrast to all other national constitutions, the Roms are named in the preamble of the Macedonian constitution (together with Amendment IV, which replaced it on 16 November 2001), originally as one of the nationalities (Macedonian *narodnosti*) and currently as one of the nations/peoples (Macedonian *narodi*) living in Macedonia.⁷ Articles 7, 48, and 54 (together with Amendments V and VIII), refer to language, guaranteeing minority language rights in administration, education, culture, and the judiciary. Also, Article 78 (together with Amendment XII), which establishes a Council for Inter-Ethnic Relations, mentions the same ethnicities as in the Preamble.

When compared to the constitutions of its CE neighbors, the Macedonian constitution is striking in its support of minority languages (at least *de jure*). The Bulgarian constitution, whose preamble mentions

⁶The issues at stake run considerably deeper. As Bugarski (1992:21) writes: “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.” Nonetheless, to a certain extent the symbolic value of these issues combined with the political importance of appearances renders such disputes “an important kind of evidence about what is happening in the larger societal matrix” (Silverstein 1998). I am using the term *war* in a colloquial rather than a technical sense (as in *gang war*, *war on drugs/poverty/terrorism*). At the time of the armed encounters between the ethnic Albanian National Liberation Army (variously labeled *terrorists*, *insurgents*, *rebels*, etc., and later split into different factions) and the police, soldiers, and paramilitary units of the Republic of Macedonia, the question of whether or not to declare a legal state of war, i.e. martial law, was raised but not officially decided.

⁷This change represents a departure from the former Yugoslav system of legal classification, which was continued in the original (1991/92) Macedonian constitution. See note 23 on the differences between ‘nationality’ and ‘nation’. The other named nationalities, i.e. minorities, in the 1991/92 preamble besides Roms were Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, and “others”. From a linguistic point of view, the principal referent of “others” was clarified in Article 35 of the 1994 Census Law, where Serbian was named along with Albanian, Turkish, Aromanian, and Romani as an official language along with Macedonian for conducting the census. The 2001 preamble refers to “citizens of the Republic of Macedonia” and then names the following “peoples/nations” (*narodi*): Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Roma, Serbs, Bosniacs, and others. A number of changes relating to language refer to “at least 20% of the citizens,” which is taken *de facto* to mean ‘Albanian’ but in principle also applies to the administrative district of Šuto Orizari (Šutka) in the north of the greater Skopje municipality, which is 79% Romani, as well as four districts with more than 20% self-declared Turks (Antonovska et al. 1997). The problem of nationality versus mother tongue (see section 3.2) is illustrated by the district of Labuništa, north of Struga on the Albanian border, where 25% of the population declared Turkish nationality but only 3% declared Turkish mother tongue, the remainder being Macedonian-speaking Muslims; see Friedman 1996a for further discussion). Other constitutions do mention Roms, but not in their preambles. An example of such mention is Article 65 of the Slovenian constitution, which reads: “Article 65 Status and Special Rights of Gypsy Communities in Slovenia: The status and special rights of Gypsy communities [Gypsy Communities] living in Slovenia shall be such as are determined by statute.” Unlike the Macedonian preamble, this article does not by itself guarantee equality. Moreover, it is quite different from Article 64, which goes into considerable detail (almost 400 words) concerning the rights of “The autochthonous [Autochthonous Communities] Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities and their members.”

simply “the people of Bulgaria,” establishes Bulgarian as the official language (Article 3), and mentions language elsewhere only in Article 36 (§2), which, specifies that “Citizens whose mother tongue is not Bulgarian shall have the right to study and use their own language alongside the compulsory study of the Bulgarian language.” The Greek Constitution, which begins with the formulation: “In the name of the Holy and Consubstantial and Indivisible Trinity, THE FIFTH REVISIONARY PARLIAMENT OF THE HELLENES RESOLVES...” mentions language in two places: Article 3 (§3,) which prohibits “[o]fficial translation of the text [of the Holy Scripture] into any other form of language, without prior sanction by the Autocephalous Church of Greece and the Great Church of Christ in Constantinople” and Article 5 (§2), which guarantees “full protection of [...] life, honour and liberty” to “[a]ll persons living within the Greek territory” regardless of various factors including language. The Albanian constitution, whose preamble is formulated in terms of “the people of Albania” and “the Albanian people” mentions language in five articles: 14 (“The official language in the Republic of Albania is Albanian.”), 18 (prohibiting discrimination on the basis of various factors, including language), 28 and 31 (concerning the right of those deprived of liberty to understand the relevant circumstances and procedures), and 59 (“The state, within its constitutional powers and the means at its disposal, and to supplement private initiative and responsibility, aims at: [...] the protection of national cultural heritage and particular care for the Albanian language.”).

Although it is not an immediate neighbor of Macedonia, the Republic of Turkey is a CE member whose nationality is represented in Macedonia in a significant number (according to the 1994 census 78,019, i. e. 4% of the population). The Turkish constitution contains eight articles mentioning language, Article 3 (“The Turkish State, with its territory and nation, in an indivisible entity. Its language is Turkish.”), Articles 10 and 14, which guarantee non-discrimination on the basis of language and other factors, Articles 134 and 177, which contain provisions concerning the Turkish Language Society and related institutions. Until October 2001, there were three articles that appeared to contradict articles 10 and 14 by prohibiting language use: Article 26(§3) “No language prohibited by law shall be used in the expression and dissemination of thought...”, Article 28(§2): “Publication shall not be made in any language prohibited by law.” and Article 42(§9), “No language other than Turkish shall be taught as mother tongue to Turkish citizens at any institutions of training or education...”⁸ Compared with its neighbors and other relevant CE-member constitutions, therefore, the Macedonian one is remarkable in its history of the protection of minority language rights and at the same time is the only one subsequently contested under force of arms.

2.2 Naming and the Charter

Turning now to the Charter itself, of the sixteen ratifiers, only Austria (which used the expression *Romany language of the Austrian Roma minority*), Finland (which used the expression *Romanes*

⁸As of October 2001, Turkey eliminated the restrictive language of articles 26 and 28

(<http://www.hurriyetim.com.tr/haber/0,,sid~1@tarih~2001-10-04-m@nvid~37432,00.asp>)

language), Germany (which used the expressions *Romany language of the German Sinti and Roma* and *Romany, the minority language of the German Sinti and Roma*), the Netherlands (which referred to the *Romanes language*), Slovakia (which used the expression *Roma*), Slovenia (*the Romani language*) and Sweden (which used the expression *Romani Chib*) actually specify the provisions of the charter as applying to Romani (Trifunovska 1999:176), despite the fact that a number of the other ratifying states contain significant numbers of Romani-speakers.⁹ The French reservation is unique in being the only one from a country with linguistic minorities that names no minority languages. The first paragraph of the French reservation reads: “In so far as the aim of the Charter is not to recognise or protect minorities but to promote the European language heritage, and as the use of the term ‘groups’ of speakers does not grant collective rights to speakers of regional or minority languages, the French Government interprets this instrument in a manner compatible with the Preamble to the Constitution, which ensures equality of all citizens before the law and recognizes only the French people, composed of all citizens without distinction as to origin, race or religion.” Considering the low-grade war fought in Macedonia during 2001 in part over precisely the type of recognition of minorities denied in the French preamble, the French example gives us pause.

Another striking feature in the treatment of Romani is the diversity in the actual naming of the language in the reservations of the various ratifying states. The German and Austrian forms carry with them an implication that there is different legal protection for different dialects of Romani. Thus, for example, the expression *Austrian Roma minority* could be interpreted as excluding Roms who are relatively recent arrivals, e.g., from former Yugoslavia. The same can be said for the expression *German Sinti and Roma*. The Finnish, Slovak, and Swedish formulations all make use of some form of native Romani terminology but without any underlying appeal to dialectal differentiation. In the Finnish case, the Romani instrumental-adverbial meaning literally ‘in the Romani fashion’ (as in ‘to speak in the Romani fashion’, cf. the use of *po-russki* in Russian or *Türkçe* in Turkish) is used, in Slovak the nominative plural substantive meaning ‘Rom’ is treated as an adnominal adjective, while in Swedish the Romani expression meaning ‘Romani language/tongue’ is used.

The Charter is worded in such a way that a country ratifying it is not obligated to apply all its provisions, and many of the articles are framed as alternative options. However, of the twenty-three articles in the charter, Article 8, which provides for education in minority languages either as a means of instruction or at least as a subject of study (i.e. part of the curriculum) at all possible levels, is one of those from which a country agreeing to the charter is obligated to select at least three paragraphs or sub-

⁹In their reservations to the Charter, Armenia, Croatia, Denmark, Hungary, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom all specified languages, but not Romani. Liechtenstein stated that it had no minorities at the time of ratification. Azerbaijan declared in a note that it could not guarantee the application of the provisions of the Charter in territories occupied by the Republic of Armenia (Source: Treaty Office on <http://conventions.coe.int>). Of those ratifiers not mentioning Romani, Croatia, France, Hungary, and Slovenia each have Romani-speaking populations larger than the 3,000 attributed to Finland (Bakker and Kyuchukov 2000:40).

paragraphs. It is precisely this institutionalization of minority language use which raises most urgently the question of standardization.¹⁰

3. Standardization

3.1 Dialectal classification

In discussing the standardization of Romani it is necessary to address the issue of dialectal differentiation, since an understanding of a language's dialectology is crucial to the selection of a norm. The Romani dialects of Europe reflect a variety of historical migrations, separations, contacts, and differing circumstances in various empires and nation-states.¹¹ Cortiade (1991a:12 cited in Hancock 1995:29) gives the broadest contours, distinguishing an initial migration (Stratum I) part of which settled in the Balkans and part of which continued on to Central and peripheral (usually labeled *Northern*) Europe. One group was located on Romanian territory for a considerable period of time, and is thus usually referred to as *Vlax* (from Wallachia, a territory of southern Romania whose name is used metonymically for various manifestations of Balkan Romance). One group of these speakers subsequently migrated south into the Balkans (Stratum II), and another group migrated into northeastern Europe and from there to all the countries in the world where other northeast Europeans migrated in significant numbers in the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth centuries (Stratum III).

Matras (2002) makes the point that Romani dialectal classification involves relative rather than absolute membership and must therefore be described in terms of shared isoglosses. He identifies three *diffusion centers*, which correspond roughly to three of the four branches of Romani currently used in many modern dialectological classifications: 1) Southeastern Europe [South Balkan] 2) West-Central Europe, and 3) Vlax [Romania, north Balkan]. In a Macedonian context, there is a basic opposition between Vlax and South Balkan, and within South Balkan between two types labeled South Balkan I and a more divergent South Balkan II (see Boretzky 1999, 2000a, 2000b). Although each of these dialect groups is characterized by a variety of subdivisions, especially when former Ottoman Europe is taken as the unit of territorial context, if we take the current borders of the Republic of Macedonia as the defining factor we can identify three dialects that represent the three major divisions: Arli (South Balkan I), Bugurdži (South Balkan II), and Džambaz (Vlax). Historically, the Arli dialect is closest to other long-settled dialects spoken in most of Ottoman Europe (Rumelia), while Bugurdži is more characteristic of regions such as Kosovo, Moesia, and Strandža (Boretzky 2000a). The Džambaz dialect seems to be characteristic of a group that maintained a peripatetic life-style into the twentieth century.

¹⁰The other articles from which a country must select provisions concern the judiciary, administration and public services, media, cultural activities, and economic and social life. While these areas also have the potential to relate to standardization, it is education that must provide the foundation on which the other provisions can be built. See Bakker and Rooker (2001) for additional details on the treatment of Romani in EU countries

¹¹For a summary of classification systems as well as the most recent thinking of many Romologists, see Matras 2002.

One of the features of Romani dialectology that frequently poses problems for external attempts at taxonomy is the applicability of glossonymic labels. Thus, for example, Arli is the Macedonian form that occurs in Bulgaria as Erli and derives from Turkish *yerli* ‘local’ (implying settled). Bugurdži is a trade-name from Turkish *burgucu* ‘gimlet-maker’ which dialect shows clear historical relations to trade-name dialects like Drëndari ‘mattress-stuffer’ (from Bulgarian) and Kalajdži (from Turkish) ‘tinner’, but is also known as Rabadži (from Turkish *arabacı* ‘cart-driver’) and Kovačja (from Slavic *kovač* ‘blacksmith’). Džambaz (Turkish *cambaz* ‘horse-dealer, acrobat’) is known elsewhere as Gurbet or Gurbetči ‘migrant worker’ (from Turkish), etc. While an exhaustive description is beyond our scope, some diagnostic features perceived as typical by speakers themselves are given in Table One.¹²

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Arli	buti	maro	pani	dindjum	agjar	devlea	on/ola	o	miro, mlo, mo
Bugurdži	buci	maro	pani	diyom	kidjal	devlesa	on/ol	o	moro, mro, mo
Džambaz	bu ^k i	manro	pai	diyem	gəja	devlesa	von	e	moro, mo
English	<i>work</i>	<i>bread</i>	<i>water</i>	<i>I gave</i>	<i>thus</i>	<i>with God</i>	<i>they</i> (<i>m. f</i>)	<i>the</i> (<i>Npl</i>)	<i>my</i> (<i>m</i>)

Table One Examples of Romani dialectal differences

Key: 1. palatalization of dentals before front vowels; 2. reflexes of inherited **nd*; 3. palatalization and loss of /n/ before stressed /i/; 4. preservation or loss or rounding in the first singular simple preterit (aorist, perfective); 5. distinctive lexical items; 6. preservation or loss of intervocalic /s/ in grammatical endings; 7. form of the third person plural pronoun and presence versus absence of a masculine/feminine gender distinction; 8. shape of the nominative plural definite article (merger either with masculine nominative singular /o/ or oblique /e/); 9. shape of possessive pronouns.

Other features include the distinction or neutralization of two types of /r/ (tap/trill vs long trill/uvular), treatment of /x/ and /h/ (distinction, free variation, or elimination), both more characteristic of Džambaz or Vlax dialects, reduction of unstressed vowels (especially in South Balkan II), Romanian versus Turkish vocabulary (Vlax vs Non-Vlax), and the palatal mutation of velars before front vowels (stronger in South Balkan I).

3.2 Censuses and Other Enumerations

Having set the dialectal context, we should also examine numbers. Census figures are important because the size of a group can be used to justify access to resources. Thus, for example, in order to persuade the state to pay for a class or the translation of a form, or to guarantee some type of proportional representation, a given ethnic or linguistic group may have to demonstrate whatever the state might consider a sufficiency of numbers. In Macedonia, where language and ethnicity have served as legal factors in determining access to resources, the result has been that every ethnic group claims that it is undercounted. It was such claims that led the Council of Europe to pay for and supervise an

¹²Thus, for example, the Arli of Skopje, which is numerically the strongest Romani dialect in Macedonia, differs in significant respects from some other Arli dialects, e.g. that of Prilep or the Erli of Bulgaria. The fact is worth noting, but the details need not concern us here.

extraordinary census in Macedonia in 1994 (see Friedman 1996a).¹³ Tables Two through Six give various statistics pertaining to Romani language and nationality in the Republic of Macedonia. Table Two illustrates the fact that self-declared nationality can show fluctuations that are due to political climate rather than birth rate (cf. the figures for 1971 and 1981 and the discussion below). Tables Three and Four illustrate the fact that declared nationality and declared mother tongue are not isomorphic categories.¹⁴ Tables Five and Six illustrate the problem of conflicting statistics from unofficial sources. Publications giving unofficial figures never give any indication of the methodology by which the figures were arrived at. All minority groups in Macedonia have representatives claiming figures higher than those in any official census. Added together, these claims surpass the total number of inhabitants of Macedonia without even counting Macedonians. The point is clearly not one of statistical accuracy but rather of claims to political power and hegemony (Friedman 1996a).¹⁵

1948	%	1953	%	1961	%	1971	%	1981	%	1991	%	1994	% ¹⁶
19500	1.7	20462	1.6	20606	1.5	24505	1.5	43125	2.3	52103	2.6	43707	2.3

Table Two: Number of declared Roms and percentage of the total population in the Republic of Macedonia since World War Two (Sources Antonovska et al. 1994, 1996)

1953							
Romani	Macedonian	Albanian	Turkish	Serbo-Croat	Vlah		
16456	1040	860	2066	25	1		
Total: 20448							
1981							
Romani	Macedonian	Albanian	Turkish	Serbo-Croat	Vlah		
36399	4160	1697	808	24	@		
Total: 43088							
1994							
Romani	Macedonian	Albanian	Turkish	Serbian	Croatian	Vlah	Bulgarian
34955	5974	1212	1311	14	@	@	@
Total: 43466							

Table Three: Declared mother tongue of those declaring Romani nationality

¹³The claims were associated with the ethnic Albanian minority and its implied threat of the potential spread of the war that was already in progress elsewhere in former Yugoslavia. The Council of Europe proposed censusing only the Macedonian and Albanian ethnic groups, a proposal that was firmly rejected by the Macedonian government. The census was a statistical success but a political failure. Although certified by the Council of Europe as conforming to the norms of census taking, ethnopolitical actors representing various minorities in Macedonia rejected its results and continue to use larger figures in public debate.

¹⁴See also Note 7.

¹⁵A particularly sensitive issue never addressed in such unofficial claims is whether the total population has been undercounted or whether members of one nationality should be counted instead with another, and if the latter case, which nationalities' numbers are to be proportionately diminished.

¹⁶The lower figures for some nationalities in 1994 vs. 1991 is due to the fact that citizens living abroad for more than one year were included in the 1991 census, whereas in the 1994 census -- in accordance with international norms -- only those citizens living abroad for one year or less were counted.

*(Source Antonovska et al. 1996)*¹⁷

¹⁷The 1981 and 1994 census publications represented numbers less than ten with the symbol @. This plus the fact that other linguistic declarations were not published accounts for the discrepancies in the totals of Tables Two and Three.

Declared Nationality	Roman Mother Tongue		
	1953	1981	1994
Macedonians	277	316	94
Albanians	70	1697	@
Turks	70	94	11
Roms	16456	36399	34955
Vlahs	0	2	0
Serbs	41	14	@
Muslim	*18	308	20
Yugoslav	2	530	0
Other	173	1280	0
Total	17089	37780	35120

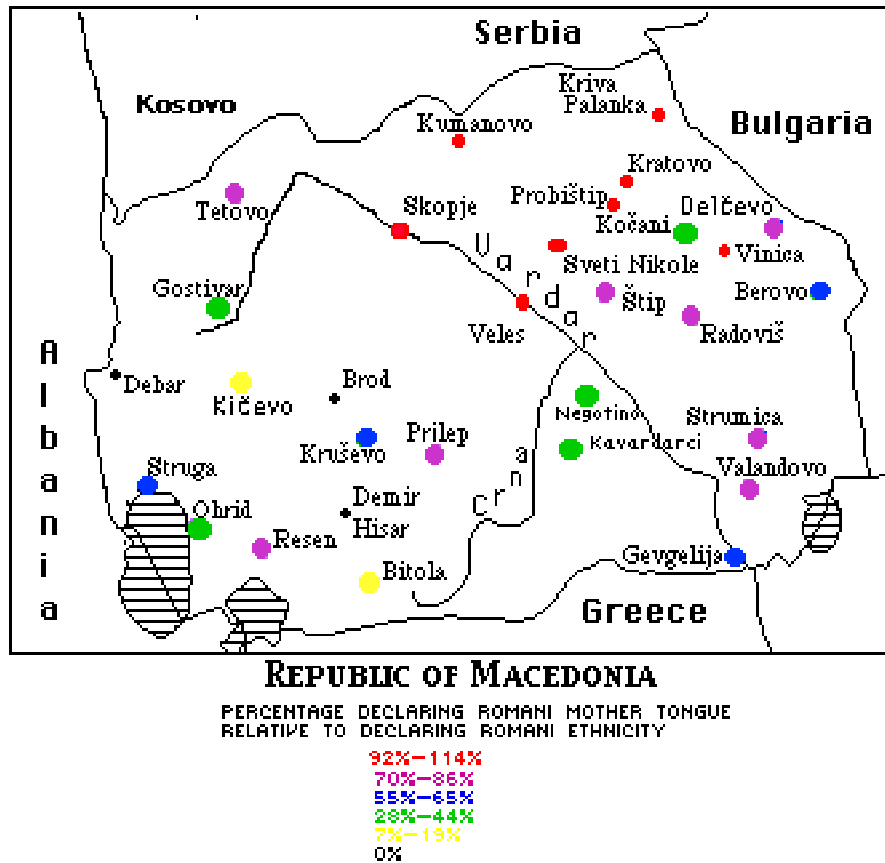
Table Four: Romani as declared mother tongue by nationality (Source: Antonovska et al. 1996)

	nationality	mother tongue	% of Romani Speakers	Demir & Demir %
Brod	1	0	0	*
Demir Hisar	0	0	0	*
Debar	1103	2	0	0
Kičevo	1401	130	7	0
Bitola	1688	325	19	0
Negotino	146	41	28	0
Kavadarci	478	132	28	1
Ohrid	48	15	31	0.5
Gostivar	2138	817	38	3
Kočani	1104	481	44	0
Kruševo	27	15	55	
Struga	120	70	58	0.5
Gevgelija	53	33	62	*
Berovo	662	431	65	100
Radoviš	43	30	70	0
Resen	112	82	73	*
Tetovo	2428	1789	74	100
Valandovo	26	20	77	50
Strumica	239	185	77	0
Štip	1463	1146	78	*
Prilep	3569	3036	85	12
Delčevo	624	539	86	100
Veles	505	464	92	7
Kriva Palanka	552	510	93	89
Kratovo	135	131	97	100
Kumanovo	3121	3063	98	100
Vinica	885	881	99	100
Skopje	20979	20691	99	99
Sveti Nikole	43	45	104	*
Probištip	14	16	114	100
TOTAL	43707	35120	80.35%	

Table Five: Distribution of declared Romani nationality and declared Romani mother tongue and contrasting percentages by pre-1996 administrative district

¹⁸Muslim was not a nationality category in 1953.

(Sources: Antonovska et al. 1996 and Demir and Demir 2000a)¹⁹



Map One: Illustration of Table Five

Barany (2002:136)	60,000
Bakker and Kyuchukov (2000:40)	215,000
Roma Times (20.21 June 2001:10)	220,000-260,000
Other ²⁰	100,000

Table Six: Unofficial estimates of the Romani population of Macedonia

Another importance of numbers for emerging literary standards is the fact that codification efforts can be influenced when a given dialect is spoken by a majority.²¹ In the case of Macedonia, the fact that Arli is

¹⁹Note that in two cases the number of those declaring Romani mother tongue exceeds the number of those declaring Romani nationality, resulting in figures of over 100%. Districts marked with an asterisk were not listed in Demir and Demir (2000a).

²⁰This figure is one that the author has heard cited at various meetings in Washington DC.

²¹A classic example of this is the fate of literary Croatian. In the early nineteenth century, intellectuals who were involved in the elaboration of Croatian were centered in Zagreb, in the heart of the Kajkavian dialect area, itself linguistically closest to Slovenian. The majority of Croats, however, spoke Štokavian dialects, which is the Southern West South Slavic branch to which all dialects spoken by Serbs belong. This was a crucial factor in the decision of Croatian intellectuals to abandon their pursuit of a Kajkavian-based literary Croatian and join forces with Serbian intellectuals for a common Serbo-Croatian

the majority dialect everywhere except Tetovo has led to its firm establishment as the basis of the emerging Romani literary standard in that country, despite the fact that the earliest language activists are native speakers of Džambaz or other Vlah-related dialects.²²

3.3 Standardization in Macedonia

3.3.1 History up to 1992

The history of Romani standardization efforts in Macedonia both reflects external events and illustrates classic issues in the creation of a linguistic norm. Between the 1971 and 1981 censuses there was a change in the legal status of Romani that both reflected and encouraged a rise in consciousness of Romani identity — viz. the 1974 Constitution, in which Romani (along with Vlah/Aromanian, a stateless [“nonterritorial”] Romance language spoken in Macedonia as well as southern Albania, northern Greece, and southwestern Bulgaria) received the official status of *etnička grupa* 'ethnic group', a step below *narodnost* 'nationality' (the term which came to replace 'national minority' [Macedonian *nacionalno malcinstvo* Serbo-Croatian *nacionalna manjina*] during the 1960's and became official in the 1974 constitution).²³ This rise in national consciousness was parallel with a rise in linguistic consciousness. It

literary language. It is worth noting that even under the modern circumstances of the break-up of Yugoslavia and the renewed pursuit of a literary Croatian separate from Serbian, the dialectal base remains Štokavian. Numbers are not an absolute factor, however, and can be trumped, e.g., by politics. Thus, although the number of Geg (north) and Tosk (south) Albanian speakers is roughly the same within the Republic of Albania, all Kosovar and Montenegrin Albanians and most Macedonian Albanians speak Geg dialects. Nonetheless, in 1968 the Albanians of former Yugoslavia abandoned their cultivation of an independent Geg-based Albanian norm and adopted the Tosk-based norm of Albania itself for the sake of national unity. In this case, a minority dialect was adopted for political reasons. (See Friedman 1986, 1999.)

²²According to Demir and Demir (2000a:2), Bugurdži speakers constitute 80% of the Roms in Tetovo, 10% in Kumanovo, 5% in Skopje, 2% in Veles, and 1% in Gostivar. The figures they give for Džambaz are 5% each in Skopje, Tetovo, and Kumanovo and 1% in Gostivar.

²³The 1974 Constitution represented the unification and systematization of various amendments and changes made piecemeal during the course of the late 1960's and early 1970's. It recognized three types of ethnically defined collectives: *narod* 'nation', *narodnost* 'nationality', and *etnička grupa* 'ethnic group'. The difference between a *narod* and a *narodnost* was that a *narod* was considered a constitutive nation of Yugoslavia and of its constituent republics (Slovene, Serb, Croat, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Muslim) whereas a *narodnost* was *de facto* a minority that was a constituent of a national-state other than Yugoslavia, e.g. Turks. An *etnička grupa* was a minority with no nation state, i.e. the Vlachs and the Roms. An exception to this principle were the Ruthenians (Rusyni), who live primarily in Vojvodina and who did not have an external nation-state but were nonetheless given the status of *narodnost*. A major complaint of the Albanians during this period was that while they constituted a numerically larger group than Macedonians or Montenegrins, they were considered a *narodnost* while the latter each constituted a *narod*. Each category implied a different level of linguistic and other collective rights mitigated by factors of size and distribution: The language of a *narod* (Slovenian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian) was official at the federal level. However, federal laws and regulations were also to be published in

was during this period that the first serious attempts in the direction of Romani-language education (and, concomitant with that, standardization) were made in Macedonia. In general, however, these attempts met with a variety of difficulties.²⁴

In 1977, Šaip Jusuf, a Rom from Skopje who had earned a B.A. in physical education from the University of Belgrade, translated a book about Tito into his native Džambaz 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. Already in 1971, Jusuf had begun work on a Romani grammar with Krume Kepeski, a professor at the Skopje Pedagogical Academy (*Nova Makedonija* 80.02.15:10). By 1973 Jusuf and Kepeski had completed the manuscript of their grammar, and they were seeking publication. Owing to various complicating factors, however, the grammar did not appear until 1980. The appearance of Jusuf and Kepeski (1980) in a tirage of 3,000 copies signaled a new phase in the development of the standardization of Romani in Macedonia. The book is written in both Romani and Macedonian on facing pages and was the most ambitious attempt of its kind at the time. The express purpose of the book was the creation of a Literary Romani for use by Roms in Macedonia, Kosovo, and adjacent parts of Serbia, with a view to the creation of Romani-language schools in these areas and to the use of this literary standard as a basis for the creation of a Romani literary language for use by Roms in general (Jusuf and Kepeski 1980:4-5). The language of the grammar is based on the Arli dialect of Skopje, although Jusuf makes frequent use of Džambaz — especially when citing Romani forms in the Macedonian text — and occasionally Bugurdži and other forms are also mentioned. I have published a detailed analysis of this grammar elsewhere (Friedman 1985c). For the purposes of this paper it will suffice to point out the some of the most salient types of problems raised by Jusuf and Kepeski (1980), some of which are still relevant for the standardization of Romani and its use in education:

1. Orthographic conventions were not standardized, as illustrated by the following examples: Syllable final jot is indicated by both <i> and <j> as in the spellings *muj* and *mui* 'mouth'; the

Albanian and Hungarian, making them semi-federal. The language of a *narodnost* was official at the republic or provincial level (e.g. Turkish in Macedonia, Hungarian in Vojvodina), the communal (municipality) level (e.g. Italian in Slovenia, Bulgarian in Serbia), or not at all (e.g., German, Polish, and Russian) (see Bugarski 1992, Škiljan 1992). The languages of ethnic groups did not receive guaranteed official support, but their constitutional recognition positioned them to seek such support. Although the Roms had the status of *narodnost* in the Republic constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina, this had no practical effect (Škiljan 1992:40).

²⁴Although the Skopje Romani cultural organization *Phralipe* 'Brotherhood' was formed in 1948, it did not influence language status efforts and later emigrated to Germany for financial reasons. Periodicals such as *Romano alav* 'Romani word' (Prizren, 1972) and *Krlo 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). Recordings in Romani with Romani-language covers were also available.

automatic fronting of velars and the use of clear /l/ before front vowels is inconsistently indicated, e.g. *kerdo* and *kjerdo* 'done', *lil* and *ljil* 'book'; the opposition between a uvular fricative /x/ and a glottal glide /h/ — phonemic in some Romani dialects but not in others — is not made consistently, e.g. *xor* 'depth' but *hordaripe* 'deepening', *xramonel* 'write' but *hramondikano* 'written', etc.

2. Competing dialectal forms are not selected but rather mixed, as seen in the following examples. The basic form of the instrumental singular marker is {-sa} but the /s/ is lost intervocally in Arli (cf. Table One). On the Romani side of one of the nominal paradigms, the instrumental singular of the word for 'wind' is given as *bavlal-aa*, *-asa* while on the Cyrillic side it is given as *bavlalaja*. In fact, *bavlal* is the Arli dialectal form, the Džambaz and etymologically older form being *balval*. Similarly, the second singular present tense morpheme, which also has the basic shape {-sa} and has both the Skopje Arli loss of /s/ and, in all dialects, a morphological variant without the final /a/, is used in various places in all its possible realizations: *keresa/kereja/kerea* ~ *keres/kere* 'you do'. Similarly, for the nominative plural definite article both Arli/Bugurdži *o* and Džambaz/Gurbet *e* are used, e.g. *o Roma* and *e Roma* 'the Roms', and feminine nouns in consonants are used with both jotted and non-jotted oblique stems, e.g. *čhiba-* and *čhibja-*, 'tongue, language', etc.

3. Neologisms are coined from Hindi, sometimes with disregard for the Romani phonological system, rather than based on native material or borrowed from languages familiar to the speakers e.g. *bhaga* 'consciousness'.

4. The grammar was written on a level for use in a high school or pedagogical academy, but at the time there were no textbooks at the elementary school level. The grammar could thus at most have been used to prepare teachers, but the necessary cadre and organizational structures were lacking.

During this period, informal classes outside the regular school structure were also organized in Šuto Orizari, north of Skopje.²⁵ The publication of Jusuf and Kepeski's (1980) Romani grammar was an historically significant event and an important step in the direction of language planning, but it did not have a conspicuous effect on the development of Romani education (Friedman 1985c). A decade later, 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. The choice was not

²⁵According to the 1994 census (Antonovska et al. 1996), 48% of Macedonia's Romani population lives Skopje's municipalities (see also note 7). The next largest concentrations are Prilep (8.2%), Kumanovo (7.1%), Tetovo (5.6%), Gostivar (4.9%), Bitola (3.9%), Štip (3.3%), Debar (2.5%), and Vinica (2%). In terms of proportions, Roms constitute 4.5% of the population in the seven post-1996 municipalities of Skopje, but 79% in Šuto Orizari. Other relatively sizable proportions are Vinica (4.6%), Debar (4.3%), Prilep (3.8%), Berovo (3.3%), Štip (2.9%), Kičevo (2.6%), Delčevo (2.5%), Kumanovo (2.4%), Kočani (2.3%), and Kriva Palanka (2.2%).

fortuitous. This collection is considered a seminal work of Macedonian literature, having been published in 1936, eight years before the official recognition of Macedonian in 1944. In choosing this work Trajkovski was purposefully positioning Romani vis-à-vis Macedonian as an oppressed language striving for recognition.²⁶

Throughout this period, pedagogical materials were virtually nonexistent. The classes mentioned above were conducted without formal textbooks. Jusuf and Kepeski (1980), while it brought attention to the Romani language, did not function in an institutional context. Although translations, original belle lettres, folklore collections, and scholarly studies²⁷ appeared with increasing frequency, they did not change the educational situation. Cortiade (1984/1986) was an attempt to formulate a transdialectal orthography that would serve as the basis of both literary communication and a literary language for use in schools. Although this orthography has been gaining increasing acceptance EU and EC sponsored publications (see also Cortiade 1991b, Cortiade 1994, Matras 1999), and was even the basis of a primer published in Sarajevo (Cortiade 1990) in a tirage of 2,000 with a teachers manual in a tirage of 1,000, this orthography has not had a significant impact on publications in Macedonia. Problems with this orthography will be discussed below (see also Friedman 1995).

The independence of Macedonia in 1991, the raising of the status of Roms from ethnic group to nationality in the 1992 constitution (and to nation in the 2001 constitution), 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 below and Friedman 1995) and a rise in Romani activism, e.g., the founding of the Party for the Complete Emancipation of the Roms (*Partija Saste Emancipacijake e Romengiri [tari Makedonija]* PCER or PSER) on 12 August 1990, renamed the Party for the Complete Emancipation of the Roms of Macedonia in 1991. A second party, the Democratic Progressive Party of the Roms in Macedonia, was formed in early 1992.²⁸ Romani as a subject of education and as a means of mass communication have been among the key issues throughout this period, and education was the first item in PCER's founding party program. The third section of that party program was concerned with the Romani language, and called not only for minority language rights equal with other minority languages but also expressed concern for the normativization of Romani and for close cooperation with institutions in India.

A major issue that led to the formation of the second Romani political party in 1992 was the desire to increase the pace of educational reforms (*Nova Makedonija* 21.X.1992:4). There was also disagreement between members of the two parties over questions of language standardization, dialectal

²⁶On the history of Macedonian see Friedman (1985b, 2000c).

²⁷An especially prolific scholar has been Rade Uhlik, who published a Serbo-Croatian-Romani dictionary as early as 1947 and had published Romani poetry even prior to that (Uhlik 1947; see also Dalbello 1989).

²⁸Like other ethnopolitical parties in Macedonia, the leadership of PCER denies that the party is "mononational" and points to the existence of party members belonging to other nationalities to demonstrate this (Čangova 1991). As with other ethnopolitical parties, however, the fact remains that the party's political concerns are focused on a specific ethnic group.

compromise, and the place of Romani in educational institutions. Among the debated issues were whether Romani should be a language of instruction or a subject of study and whether or not the standard was to be based entirely on the Arli dialect or whether elements of other dialects should be included. In response to Romani political concerns over education, the Macedonian Ministry of Education together with the Philological Faculty of the University of Skopje sponsored a conference on 20-21 November 1992 for the purpose of reaching an agreement concerning the introduction of Romani as a course of study in Macedonian schools. The conference was attended by about a dozen Macedonian Romani intellectuals — including both Šaip Jusuf and Trajko Petrovski. Donald Kenrick and myself, as two linguists with a history of being concerned with the study of Romani in the region, were also invited.²⁹

The ultimate goal of the conference was to agree on a series of linguistic issues relating to the teaching of Romani as a subject in elementary schools and pedagogical academies, with a view to preparing a cadre of teachers and ultimately a lectureship and Department of Romani at the University of Skopje. One of the explicit goals of Romani politics in Macedonia is the establishment of such a Department, but a qualified cadre of faculty has yet to be trained. It is worth noting that some Roms in Macedonia have been under pressure to assimilate to Albanian or Turkish language -- for which government-funded parallel education systems exist in Macedonia -- on the basis of shared religion, i.e. Islam, a situation that is also occurring among Macedonian Muslims. The Macedonian government thus had a political motivation to support the preservation Romani ethnic and linguistic identity not only in connection with the Republic's constitution (see above), but also in order to reduce challenges from Albanian and Turkish. The point of the conference was not to create another parallel education system, however. Romani elites and many non-elites have been consistent in their concern for both preserving their language and also for being sure their children have access to resources requiring knowledge of the majority language (Macedonian).

The conference resulted in a document (reproduced in Friedman 1995) addressing a number of general and specific issues in Romani language standardization. The document opens with the statement: "This codification is for the Romani language as a course of study in the Republic of Macedonia. This codification is viewed as a necessary step toward the international Romani literary language and not in competition with it." This statement was intended to address efforts at the creation of an international Romani literary language represented by works such as Cortiade (1991b). The Romani participants in the conference felt that the situation in Macedonia required a regional standard for use in Macedonian elementary schools, with a view to study of the international standard later. This continues to be the attitude today. The document also determined that Arli would serve as the dialectal basis but with certain grammatical, phonological, and especially lexical additions (and modifications) from all the Romani

²⁹It is worth noting that Macedonia has served as the site for a number of important events in the standardization of four languages of the region. Other events in addition to those already described for Romani have been the Macedonian codification conferences of Skopje in 1944-45, the Albanian Alphabet Conference of Bitola (Manastir) in 1908, and the Aromanian alphabet Conference held in Bitola in 1998.

dialects of the Republic of Macedonia. This compromise was satisfactory to all present at the conference. In subsequent practice, however, Skopje Arli forms have continued spread even in instances where the 1992 document favored more conservative forms from other dialects (see below).

3.3.2 Orthography

Orthography has long been an issue for the standardization of Romani (cf. Matras 1999). Because efforts at Romani education have taken place in the context of the languages of other countries, as many orthographies have been used for Romani as there are standard languages with which it has been in contact. Although Romani in Cyrillic-using countries such as Russia and Bulgaria has been written in Cyrillic, a consensus has emerged to use a Latin based orthography as the most universally accessible (cf. Kyuchukov et al. 1995) — considerations which also influenced the choice of alphabet for Albanian (see Skendi 1967:366-90). In the case of Macedonia, which in the context of former Yugoslavia had an established bi-alphabetical tradition, Romani has always been written using a Latin orthography similar to that of Kenrick (1981), although Jusuf and Kepeski (1980) also use a Macedonian-based Cyrillic orthography for Romani in their Macedonian parallel text. At the 1992 Skopje conference, Macedonian Roms preferred to continue developing an orthography like that of the Second World Romani Congress (Kenrick 1981) rather than the Fourth (Cortiade 1991b).

Table Seven illustrates some of the salient differences between the Fourth World Romani Congress orthography and that of the 1992 Macedonian Conference, which in this respect resembles many other local and regional Romani orthographies.

	Cortiade (1991b)	1992 Macedonian Conference	[Arli]	[Džambaz]
Rom (loc. sg.)	Romesθe	Romeste	[romeste]	[romeske]
Rom (loc. pl.)	Romenθe	Romende	[romende]	[romende]
Rom (abl. sg.)	Romesθar	Romestar	[romestar]	
Rom (abl. pl.)	Romenθar	Romendar	[romendar]	
Rom (dat. sg.)	Romesqe	Romeske	[romeske]	[romeske]
Rom (dat. pl.)	Romenqe	Romenge	[romende]	[romenge]
Rom [instr. sg.]	Romeça	Romesa	[Romea]	[Romesa]
done (pl. pt.)	kerde	kerde	[kerde]	[kerde]
you do (sg.)	keresa	keresa	[kerea]	[keresa]

Table Seven: Comparison of current Romani orthographies

Where an underlying dental or velar stop or sonorant occurs before a front vowel or jot, there can be considerable and salient dialectal variation and morphophonemic alternation in Romani. In many orthographies, the underlying consonant is generally used in spelling, but Cortiade (1991b) has special graphic symbols for alternating dentals and velars in their function as case markers (also called postpositions, see Friedman 1991), viz. <θ> and <q>, respectively. This orthography also uses <ç> for the instrumental marker, underlying {s}, which is lost intervocalically in some dialects (including Skopje Arli). The same alternations that occur in nouns also occur in verbs, but no special symbols are used, so that in the orthography of Cortiade (1991b) the same morphophonemic alternations have different

spellings, while the same graphic symbols have different pronunciations. There has also been confusion in prepositions and adverbs, e.g. *and-o* ‘in the’ (Cortiade 1991b) but *anθ-o* ‘in the’ and *andθro* ‘inside’ (Sarāu 1992). The Roms present at the 1992 Macedonian meeting were unanimous in their decision to follow morphophonemic practice and spelling using underlying consonants.

3.3.3 Publications since 1992

Since the codification conference of 1992 the number of Romani publications has increased significantly. During 1993-94, a bilingual Romani-Macedonian newspaper, *Romano Sumnal* was published, but only three numbers actually appeared (Friedman 1997). 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 (Friedman 1996b). 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, Petroski 2000a, 2000b, 2000c). A Macedonian and Romani dictionary (Petrovski and Veličkovski 1998) has also been published, as have 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 - Drugartstvo*, and *Ternipe*). On 17 January 2001, a tri-weekly newspaper, *Roma Times*, began 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.

Although greater consistency and consensus is gradually emerging in the Romani standard used in publications in Macedonia, there are still a number of areas that show variation. Jusuf (1996), in keeping with its pedagogical intent, is consistent in its spelling system, 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 both *habe* and *xape* are listed for ‘food’ with cross referencing.³⁰ 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’ (masculine adjective), without cross-referencing. In the case of *Roma Times*, <h> is used consistently and

³⁰The 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 (Friedman 1989a).

automatic 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), *buti* ‘work’ *bukja* (nom. pl.), although in *Roma Times* *buća* also occurs. In Petrovski and Veličkovski a Vlach form *buči* has a separate entry, albeit one cross-listed with *buti*. 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 morphophonemically 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 Vlach dialects in general), *sal* and *salde* (cf. Albanian *sall* Turkish *sade* [with long /ā/], 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 *hamami* ‘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 colloquial registers in the other languages (cf. Friedman 1989). Some Indicisms such as *raštra* ‘state’ seem to have achieved general acceptance, others are problematic in terms of consistency, e.g. *adhinale* ‘dependent’ (which fails to adapt the Indicism to Romani phonology) but *biathinale* ‘independent’ (with etymologically motivated phonological adaptation). The subject of corpus planning, especially competition among neologisms vs Indicisms vs colloquialisms, is still a source of significant debate.

3.3.4 Status and Models

The current status of Romani in the Republic of Macedonia more than a decade 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, and the solidity of the Arli dialectal base has been established. Nonetheless, the increased frequency and visibility and gradually increasing consistency in Romani-language publications indicates progress. 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 the circulation of both 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.

The process of standardization of Romani, like that of Aromanian, is conforming to the patterns of language planning identified by sociolinguistics over the course of the past several decades. At the same time, however, Romani's transnational and non-territorial status puts efforts at standardization in a

more complex context. Still, the issues are not qualitatively different from those that have faced the various Balkan literary languages that currently serve as the vehicles of power in their respective nation states. The fact that Romani is always a minority language whereas other literary languages in the Balkans (except Aromanian and Judezmo) are majorities in their respective nation-states and minorities outside them contributes to differential treatment and development. In terms of models of standardization, Fishman (1972:56) illustrates his reconciliation of Neustupný's (1970) somewhat different four-stage approach with Haugen's (1666) in the following diagram:

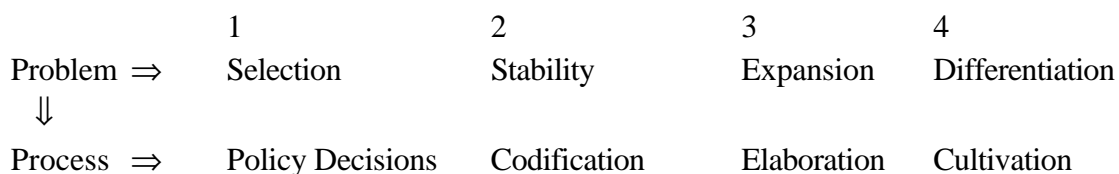


Figure 1

Radovanović (1986, 1992) provides a ten-stage cyclical schema, integrating the stages in such a way that they can overlap or even switch places:

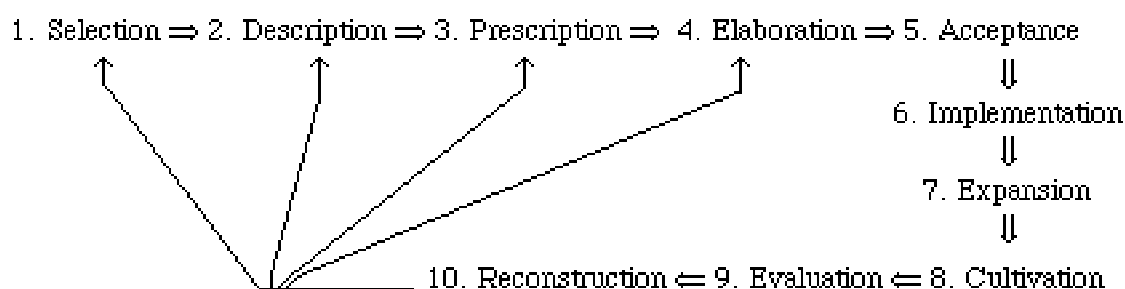


Figure 2

The last four of Radovanović's stages concern the fate of that standard once it is in place. In the case of Romani and Aromanian, Fishman's 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 unlike these latter two languages, both Romani and Aromanian lack eponymous nation-states. 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.

In terms of models of language planning, the example of Romani demonstrates clearly that the various stages identified in such models are not necessarily discrete but can also be overlapping. Thus, for example, while the process of selection in Macedonia is not fully complete, the production of texts such as school books, dictionaries, newspapers, and literature, as well as non-print media, arguably

contribute to stability/codification and expansion/elaboration. At the same time, formalized description remains predominantly on the level of academic articles and dialect studies, and explicit prescription is barely nascent. Aside from the orthography conference of 1992, norm selection is proceeding in Macedonia *de facto* rather than *de jure*. In this sense, the process of Romani standardization in Macedonia is following patterns seen in other countries (cf. Matras 1999), which is to say that consensus is emerging through usage as noted above.

4. Contact and Maintenance

4.1 Balkan Unidirectional Multilingualism

Unlike the classic Balkan languages (Albanian, Greek, Balkan Slavic and Balkan Romance), which were the objects of a bidirectional multilingualism that resulted in the Balkan *Sprachbund*, Romani (and Judezmo) experienced, for the most part, unidirectional multilingualism. Owing to their socio-political marginalization, Romani-speakers were of necessity multilingual but their language was rarely learned by others. The occurrence of Romani words in slang and secret languages does not contradict this principle but rather is the exception that proves the rule, i.e. an indication of the relative rarity of bidirectional multilingualism affecting Romani. Romani unidirectional multilingualism is especially important for illustrating the significance of social relations in structural change, e.g. different rates and types of borrowing and feature retention (as boundary markers), relative conservatism in some areas of grammar and relative openness in others.

Moreover, although the formative conditions of the Balkan linguistic league were eliminated with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire into nation states and the rise of Balkan standard languages, Balkan multilingualism continues to be practiced at the local level, and especially among Roms. Speakers of majority languages in Balkan nation states are more likely to know English than a minority language, and in some cases the same is true of speakers of minority languages vis-à-vis the majority language of the nation state, i.e. pressures of modern globalization motivate them to learn English rather than the majority language of the state. Roms, however, are likely to know both minority and majority languages of the Balkan states in which they live. In examining examples of both conservatism and contact-induced change it can be seen that the difference between conservation and innovation constitutes a grammatically instantiated maintenance of boundary marking within a language's grammatical system. The distribution of these features varies from the pan-Romani to the locally specific. Skopje Arli represents a dialect that has been spoken by a population that has been sedentary for centuries, and it thus provides an example of a situation in which both social and linguistic boundary maintenance have taken place in a stable contact situation of considerable duration.

4.2 Phonology

For Romani in general, the retention of distinctively aspirated consonants is a linguistic boundary marker at the phonological level in all the dialects. It is a distinctive feature that does not occur any of

Romani's European contact languages, and moreover it constitutes a phonological dividing line between Romani and relexified contact languages such as Calo and Anglo-Romani. The feature is distinctive within native vocabulary, e.g. *čorel* 'steal' / *čhorel* 'spill, empty, etc.', *perel* 'fall' / *pharel* 'fill', *tar* 'from' / *thar* 'molar', *ker* 'do!' / *kher* 'house'; at the same time, however, since aspiration is limited to native vocabulary items, the feature sometimes serves to distinguish non-native from native items: *čaj* 'tea' / *čhaj* 'girl', *kula* 'tower' / *khula* 'nonsense'.

A particularly salient point of contact is the palatals, where Romani appears to be particularly open to contact-induced change. Thus, for example, dialects with Greek as the major contact language replace palatals with dentals, while those with Turkish as the major contact language lack dental affricates, as does Turkish. The fronting of velars before front vowels in the various Balkan dialects, especially in Macedonia, also looks contact induced.

The basic Romani five vowel system tends to be fairly open to additions from contact languages, especially in loan words. In the context of Macedonia, the accentual system is another site of boundary maintenance. The western dialects of Macedonian all have stress fixed on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable, whereas native Romani stress is oxytonic (albeit paroxytonic or even proparoxytonic if the word ends in an affix of clitic origin, e.g. *dženésoro* 'person' genitive). In general, however, not only does Romani retain its stress on native words, but it avoids this same stress in European borrowings, although the difference is merged in the oblique, e.g. *džépo* 'pocket' (Turkish *ceb*), dative *džepóske* vs *dženó* 'person', dative *dženéske*; *sfíri* 'hammer' (Gk. *sfyri*), dative *sfíríske* vs *vogí* 'soul, belly, etc.' dative *vogéske*. In regions of east-central Europe, however, where the main contact languages have fixed initial stress (Czech, Hungarian, Slovak), local Romani dialects adopt this stress pattern. This may have to do with other types of boundary marking (either linguistic or social) among those groups.

4.2 Morphology

In the area of morphology, the best known boundary marker is the distinction between what Hancock (1995) calls thematic and athematic in the declensional system, i.e. Romani substantives of Indic origin and those borrowed into the language up to the time of the initial contacts with Greek generally have a stem vowel /e/ before oblique formants, while later borrowings, i.e. those that took place after the dispersal of Roms throughout Europe, do not. This can be seen in the examples cited earlier and re-cited here, e.g. *džépo* 'pocket' (Turkish *ceb*), dative *džepóske* vs *dženó* 'person', dative *dženéske*; *sfíri* 'hammer' (Greek *sfyri*), dative *sfíríske* vs *vogí* 'soul, belly, etc.' dative *vogéske*.

A specific feature of the dialect of Ajia Varvara outside of Athens as well as some of the dialects of eastern Bulgaria is the conjugation of verbs of Turkish origin using person markers of Turkish origin, e.g. *beklerim*, *beklerdum*, *beklerimas*, *beklerdumas* 'wait' (first singular present, simple preterit, imperfect, pluperfect) vs., e.g., native *kerav*, *kerdem*, *keravas*, *kerdemas* 'do' (same categories). This is a relatively isolated phenomenon that seems to be an arrested development of language shift, but it is worth noting as a morphologically instantiated boundary marker in the morphology of the verbal system. Dialects in

contact with Slavic can incorporate elements of Slavic verbal prefixation by borrowing prefixes that can carry lexico-aspectual meaning, e.g. *kinel/pokinel* ‘buy/pay for’. The distinction is a lexical adaptation of the Slavic imperfective/perfective grammatical distinction. In Romani, the opposition is not part of the grammar, although the lexical effect focuses on telicity. In any case, Romani does not differ significantly from its contact languages in the realm of adapting verbs to its lexicon insofar as it uses the same types of borrowed affixes and analytic constructions for purposes of adaptation. At the same time, phenomena such as the Turkish conjugation of Ajia Varvara or the borrowing of Slavic prefixes do not seem to be so much a matter of boundary maintenance as a matter of potential sources for shift — to Turkish in the former case and to the development of grammaticalized aktionsart in the latter — which is unlike the situation in the noun, where Romani has developed a marker of differentiation specific to its grammatical system.

4.3 Morphosyntax

When we move to the realm of morphosyntax — the part of grammar that is most important in defining the Balkan linguistic league — we find that the adjectival system and modal categories of the verb are sites of contact-induced change while categories pertaining to the substantival, pronominal, and tense-aspect systems are more resistant.

The synthetic comparison of adjectives, e.g. the suffix *-eder*, is lost or highly restricted in Balkan Romani and replaced by analytic comparative and superlative markers borrowed from Balkan Romance (*maj*), Balkan Slavic (*po*, *naj*), Turkish (*da[h]a*, *en*), etc., e.g. *baro* ‘big’ *pobaro*, *majbaro*, *da[h]a baro* ‘bigger’, *najbaro*, *embaro*, *majbaro* ‘biggest’. This loss of synthetic inflection and replacement with borrowed analytic morphology is a salient post-Byzantine Balkanism, i.e. one that developed after the first wave of Romani speakers left the Balkans for northern Europe. Those dialects that did not remain in the Balkans either maintain the old synthetic comparative in *-eder* with greater consistency, or devise other means to express comparison.

Borrowing even penetrates adjectival gender/number agreement in Macedonian Arli. Thus, for example, Macedonian adjectives are usually borrowed into Romani as invariants using their unmarked (neuter) form in *-o*, which corresponds to the Romani masculine, e.g. *socijalno buti* ‘social work’ (where *buti* ‘work’ is feminine).³¹ The following examples, however, show Macedonian influence: *buti normalni* ‘a normal job’ (with a Romani feminine singular ending on the adjective), *kvalitetna evidentija* ‘qualified documentation’ (with a Macedonian feminine ending on the adjective modifying a noun that is feminine in Macedonian, the source language), *privatikani karane* ‘private reasons’ (the ending looks on the surface as if it is a Romani feminine singular, but in fact it is a Macedonian plural modifying a Romani noun in the plural).

Aside from the adjective, the modal component of the verbal system — *sensu largo* including future and infinitive — is particularly open to Balkan or Macedonian influence. As Matras (2002) notes,

³¹Romani also has native indeclinable adjectives, which normally end in a consonant, e.g. *šukar* ‘good, beautiful’.

such influence is “indicative of the volatility of modal categories: Where a solid factual basis for an assertion is missing, speakers are inclined to devise new strategies to reinforce their assertive authority.”

The development of an analytic future using an invariant particle derived from the verb meaning ‘want’ is one of the earliest identified shared morphosyntactic features of the Balkan languages, and the Romani dialects of the Balkans are included in this development. This type of future formation was lost or never developed in some non-Balkan dialects. It is interesting to note that in dialects in contact with North Slavic, where the perfective present has evolved into a future, i.e. where there are two morphological presents, one of which has the value ‘future’, the Romani opposition between long and short presents, e.g. *kerav/kerava* ‘I do’, is reinterpreted as a present/future opposition.

The use of a possessive construction to express necessity and negated futurity is a Balkanism that has been calqued into both Balkan Romani and Balkan Turkish, despite the absence of a lexical verb meaning ‘have’ in many dialects of the former and all of the latter. Thus, for example, Romani *si man te avav* ‘I have to come’ calques exactly the Macedonian *imam da odam*, Albanian *kam të vij* (Geg Albanian *kam me ardhë* functions as the unmarked future). Similarly, a non-agreeing construction that is used for both negated existence and negated possession is used for negated futurity in, e.g. *nae man te avav* ‘I shall not come’ cf. Macedonian *nema da odam*, (Balkan Turkish *yoktur gideym*).

All of Romani shows the classic Balkanism consisting of the elimination of earlier infinitival constructions and replacement with a particle (modal subordinator) plus finite verb form, e.g. *mangav te sovav* ‘I want to sleep’, which parallels exactly the same type of construction in the other Balkan languages. At the same time, the development of new infinitive-like constructions in dialects spoken outside the Balkans and in contact with languages that have infinitives (Boretzky 1996) is a further example of the permeability of Romani with regard to modal verbal constructions *sensu largo*. A related Balkan calque is the use of *te* plus finite verbs to mark optatives and the protasis of conditional clauses, as in examples (1a-e), which reflect Arli and Džambaz usage:

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (1a) | <i>Te khele!</i> | ‘Let him dance!’ |
| (1b) | <i>Te mange[s], khel!</i> | ‘If you want, dance!’ |
| (1c) | <i>Te khelelas, ka avavas</i> | ‘If he had danced, I would’ve come.’ |
| (1d) | <i>Te khelela sine, ka avava sine</i> | ‘If he had danced, I would’ve come.’ |
| (1e) | <i>Te khelela, me bi avava</i> | ‘If he were to dance, I would come.’ |

Conditional expressions involve combinations of calqued or borrowed markers in the protasis (calqued use of the subjunctive marker *te* or the adverb *kana* ‘when’, Macedonian *ako* ‘if’, Turkish *eger* ‘if’ with or without *te*) with calqued constructions or borrowed markers in the apodosis (borrowed Macedonian conditional marker *bi*, and the Balkan calqued use of the future marker *ka* with various tenses including present, imperfect, and pluperfect).

The formation of the Arli imperfect by means of the long present plus the invariant third person preterit of ‘be’, which seems to recapitulate the original morphology of the imperfect (long present plus /s/,

probably of clitic auxiliary origin), e.g. *kerava sine* ‘I did’ vs older *keravas* (which in Skopje Arli would become *kerava* and therefore indistinguishable from the long present), also seems to calque the use of Macedonian third singular imperfect *beše* as a generalized emphatic past marker, e.g. *beše sum bil* ‘I was’. Another example of calquing in verb phrases is the use of *pe[s]* ‘self’ as an invariant intransitive marker on the model of Macedonian *se* ‘self.’ It should also be noted, however, that unlike the marker *-as* of most of Romani, the position of *sine* is not entirely fixed insofar as *pes* used as an intransitive marker can come before or after, e.g. *vakerela pes sine* or *vakerela sine pes* ‘it was said’.

In the substantival and pronominal systems, Macedonian Arli and Romani dialects in general have been strongly resistant to change. While it is true, as observed in many sources, that the Romani case system is undergoing simplification under contact conditions in many Balkan dialects, the case system retains its vitality in all of them., e.g. *ki jekh aindž* vs *jekhe aindžate* ‘in a field’. Nonetheless, despite the Balkan tendency toward analytic declension and merger of the genitive-dative opposition, Romani has been conservative in its maintenance of case markers and keeps a strict genitive-dative distinction. While the Balkan languages use dative clitics to indicate possession, Romani uses only possessive pronouns in nominal constructions. Insofar as Romani has clitic pronouns, they occur only in the accusative case. Romani thus lacks the accusative-dative clitic pronominal distinction found in all the classic Balkan languages.

One of the most striking morphosyntactic boundaries between Romani and the classic Balkan languages is in the phenomenon of object reduplication. Although object reduplication does occur in Romani, it is weakly grammaticalized and, e.g., in Skopje does not correspond to the strong grammaticalization of the Macedonian system with which it is in intimate contact. This is clearly illustrated in examples (2a and (2b) in which the announcer switched freely back and forth between Romani (2a) and Macedonian (2b):

- (2a) *O Ajnuri thaj o Džemo tari i Švedska bahtaren e*
 the Ajnur and the Džemo from the Sweden congratulate-3SG.PR the
pranden e Ramijeske thaj e Mirsadake aj e
 marriage-ACC the Rami-DAT and the Mirsada-DAT and the
Safeteske thaj e Sadijake bahtarena o bijav...
 Safet-DAT and the Sadija-DAT congratulate-3SG.PR the wedding...
 “Ajnur and Džemo from Sweden congratulate Rami and Mirsada on their marriage, and
 they congratulate Safet and Sadija on their wedding.”

- (2b) *Naza i Oli od Švedska im go chestitat brakot*
 Naza and Oli from Sweden them it congratulate-3SG.PR marriage-DEF
na Rami i Mirsada a na Safet i Sadija im ja
 to Rami and Mirsada and to Safet and Sadija them it
chestitat svadbata...
 congratulate-3SG.PR wedding-DEF...
 “Naza and Oli from Sweden congratulate Rami and Mirsada on their marriage, and they
 congratulate Safet and Sadija on their wedding.”

The obligatory object reduplication of Macedonian illustrated by (2b) was not reproduced in the Romani as illustrated by (2a).

Similarly, while object reduplication of the type found in the classic Balkan languages occurs in Romani, it does so either in completely facultative discourse-bound dislocations or in imitations that can be taken as nonce syntactic borrowings rather than part of the grammatical structure. Romani object reduplication is thus not the type of grammaticalized requisite characteristic of the classic Balkan languages. The one type of obligatory object reduplication involves possessive constructions of a type not found in any of the classic Balkan languages, as illustrated in (3):

- (3) *I daj si la duj čhave*
 the mother is her-ACC two children
 ‘The mother has two children’.

Another area of resistant syntax is in clitic order. In the Balkan languages pronominal clitics precede finite verbs (although Bulgarian follows Wackernagel’s law). In Romani, however, full form pronouns can precede the verb, but clitic pronouns must follow.

From a typological point of view, the various system-internal boundaries in Romani between areas of the grammar amenable to contact-induced change and areas resistant to such change suggest that the use of grammar for boundary maintenance in contact situations favors different parts of the system at different times and in different geopolitical and social situations. Moreover, it would appear that in situations of unidirectional multilingualism set in an historically bidirectional multilingual environment the social situation plays a significant role. Thus, for example, at the phonological level the preservation of distinctive aspirates is found throughout Romani, whereas conservatism in stress and distinctiveness in stress patterns appears to be more likely precisely in those dialects whose speakers are culturally closer to and better integrated with the contact environment, as is the case for Roms in the southern Balkans as opposed to central Europe. The relative openness of palatal and the vocalic system to shift or modification suggests a lesser degree of salience in the correspondence of language to identity maintenance.

It is in the realm of morphosyntax — which is the locus of the classic Balkanisms that define the *Sprachbund* — that Balkan Romani as represented by Skopje Arli suggests that *Sprachbund* phenomena are subjected to grammatical filtering in languages that experience unidirectional multilingualism. Thus, there is a clear opposition between the relatively open systems of adjectival comparison and modality on the one hand to the conservative nominal, pronominal, and tense-aspect systems on the other. Both object reduplication and clitic ordering are distinctive, while voice marking is also more open to contact influence. In terms of the typology of contact-induced change, therefore, Balkan Romani suggests that, like social practices, specific areas of grammar serve as sites of either adaptation or boundary maintenance with considerable stability over time.

5. General Conclusions

Romani standardization has been examined here from three points of view: Legal status, language planning, and language maintenance. In each of these areas the symbolic or emblematic function plays a crucial role to such an extent that even the naming of Romani can have the effect of encouraging its use or in broader domains (as in Macedonia) or restricting which variety will be encouraged (as in Germany and Austria). Although the unity of the basic lexicon and inflectional system of Romani justifies a unified linguistic treatment, the combination of territorial dispersal and dialectal differentiation necessitates local and regional solutions to common problems. In the case of Romani in Macedonia, the active engagement of the 1990s contributed to the gradual emergence and increasing stabilization of a local regional norm, which, by its very existence, has the potential to contribute to a broader transnational movement. Moreover, within this context of local action and global thinking, the long-term stability of Romani unidirectional multilingualism in its Balkan context, as manifested in grammatical boundary maintenance, contributes to the identification of those elements that can be negotiated in the emerging standard.

References

- Antonovska, Svetlana et al. 1994. *The 1994 Census: Data for the Present and the Future*. Skopje: Republički zavod za statistika.
- . 1996. *Popis na naselenieto, domačinstvata, stanovite i zemjodelskite stopanstva vo Republika Makedonija, 1994 godina, kn. 1, Naselenie po nacionalna pripadnost, veroispoved, majčin jazik i državjanstvo*. Skopje: Republički zavod za statistika, .
- . 1997. *Popis na naselenieto, domačinstvata, stanovite i zemjodelskite stopanstva vo Republika Makedonija, 1994 godina, kn. 13, Vkupno naselenie domačinstvata, stanovite i zemjodelskite stopanstva spored administrativno-teritorijalnata podelba od 1996 godina*. Skopje: Republički zavod za statistika.
- Bakker, P. and H. Kyuchukov (eds.) 2000. *What is the Romani Language?* Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire.
- Bakker, P. and M. Rooker. 2001. *The Political Status of the Romani Language in Europe*. (CIEMEN Working Papers 3). Barcelona: CIEMEN

- Barany, Zoltan. 2002. *The East European Gypsies : Regime Change, Marginality, and Ethnopolitics*. New York: Cambridge University.
- Boretzky Norbert. 1996, The "New" Infinitive in Romani. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series)* 6/1.1-51.
- . 1999. *Die Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen den Südbalkanischen Romani-Dialekten. Mit einem Kartenanhang*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- . 2000a. South Balkan II as a Romani dialect branch: Bugurdĭi, Drindari, and Kalajdĭi. *Romani Studies*, fifth series, 10: 105-183.
- . 2000b. The Vlach dialects of Romani. Characteristics and subclassification. Paper presented at the Fifth International Conference on Romani Linguistics, Sofia, 14-17 September 2000.
- Bugarški, Ranko. 1992. Language in Yugoslavia: Situation, Policy, Planning. *Language Planning in Yugoslavia*, ed. by Ranko Bugarski and Celia Hawkesworth, 9-26. Columbus: Slavica.
- Čangova, K. 1991. Na Romite treba da im se pomogne: Razgovor so Faik Abdi, pretsedatel na PCERM. *Nova Makedonia* 15.X.95: 4.
- Cortiade, Marcel. 1984. *Romani fonetika thaj lehipa*. Filăn Than: Peskekerdo. (expanded and reprinted 1986 Titograd: Pobjeda).
- . 1990. *Rromano startoro*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost.
- . 1991a. Romani versus Para-Romani. In the margin of Romani. *Gypsy languages in contact*, ed. by Peter Bakker and Marcel Cortiade, 1-15. Amsterdam: Institute for General Linguistics.
- . 1991b. I alfabeta e standardone Rromane čhibaqiri , Dėcizia I Rromani Alfabeta. *Informaciaqoro Lil e Rromane Uniaqoro* 1-2.7-8.
- . 1994. *Sikavipen sar te siklŃn e čhavorre e širpustikača*. Toulouse: Centre National de Documentation Pédagogique de Midi-Pyrénées.
- Dalbella, Marija. 1989. Prilog bibliografiji o Romima (Ciganima) u SFR Jugoslaviji. *Jezik i kultura Roma*, ed. by Milan Šipka, 429-99. Sarajevo: Insitut za proučavanje nacionalnih odnosa.
- Demir, Ljatif Mefailleskoro. 1996a. *Mahatma*. Skopje: Studentski zbor.
- . 1996b. *9 čhavengere paramisjora - 9 detski prikaznički*. Skopje: Studentski zbor.
- . (transl.). 1996c. *Alusarde gilja - Izbrani pesni* (by Frederico Garcia Lorca). Skopje: Studentski zbor.
- . (transl.). 1996d. *Parno kher - Bela kuĳa* (by Fadil Radžeposki). Skopje: Studentski zbor.
- Demir, Ljatif Mefailleskoro and Fatime Demir. 2000a. *Romani čhib*. Skopje: Darhia.
- Demir, Ljatif Mefailleskoro and Fatime Demir. 2000b. *E Roma*. Skopje: Darhia.
- Demirov, Sabri. 1998. *Phrav o vudara - Otvori gi vratite*. Delčevo: Ilinden.
- Dunin, Elsie Ivančić. 1998. *Gypsy St. George's Day : Coming of Summer - Romski Gurgovden - Romano Gjurgovdani : Erdelezi*. Skopje: Romano ilo.
- Fishman, Joshua. 1972. *Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays*. Rowley, MA: Newburry House.

- Friedman, Victor A. 1985a. Balkan Romani Modality and Other Balkan Languages. *Folia Slavica* 7/3.381-389.
- . 1985b. The Sociolinguistics of Literary Macedonian. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 52.31-57.
- . 1985c. Problems in the Codification of a Standard Romani Literary Language. *Papers from the Fourth and Fifth Annual Meetings: Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter*, ed. by J. Grumet, 56-75. Gypsy Lore Society, New York.
- . 1986. Linguistics, Nationalism, and Literary Languages: A Balkan Perspective. *The Real World Linguist: Linguistic Applications in the 1980's*, ed. by Victor Raskin and Peter Bjarkman, 287-305. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- . 1989. Toward Defining the Position of Turkisms in Romani. *Jezik i kultura Roma*, ed. by Milan Šipka, 251-267. Sarajevo: Institut za proučavanje nacionalnih odnosa.
- . 1991. Romani Nominal Inflection: Cases or Postpositions? *Studia gramatyczne* 11.57-64.
- . 1995. Romani Standardization and Status in the Republic of Macedonia. *Romani in Contact: The History, Structure, and Sociology of a Language*, ed. by Yaron Matras, 203-217. Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- . 1996a. Observing the Observers: Language, Ethnicity, and Power in the 1994 Macedonian Census and Beyond. *Toward Comprehensive Peace in Southeastern Europe: Conflict Prevention in the South Balkans*. ed. by Barnett Rubin, 81-105/119-26. New York: Council on Foreign Relations/Twentieth Century Fund.
- . 1996b. Romani and the Census in the Republic of Macedonia. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series)* 6/2.89-101.
- . 1997. Linguistic Form and Content in the Romani-language Press. *The Typology and dialectology of Romani*, ed. by Y. Matras, P. Bakker, H. Kyuchukov, 181-96. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- . 1999. *Linguistic Emblems and Emblematic Languages: On Language as Flag in the Balkans*, (Kenneth E. Naylor Memorial Lecture Series in South Slavic Linguistics, No. 1). Columbus: Department of Slavic and East European Languages and Literatures, The Ohio State University.
- . 2000a, Romani in the Balkan Linguistic League, *Valkanikē Glōssologia: Sygkhronia kai Diakhronia/Balkanlinguistik: Synchronie und Diachronie*, ed. by Kh. Tzitzilis and Kh. Symeonidēs, 95-105. Thessaloniki, University of Thessaloniki.
- . 2000b, Proleptic and Resumptive Object Pronouns in Romani: A Balkan Noun Phrase Perspective, *Grammatical Relations in Romani: The Noun Phrase*, Y. Matras and V. Elšík, 187-204, Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- . 2000c. The Modern Macedonian Standard Language and Its Relation to Modern Macedonian Identity. *The Macedonian Question: Culture, Historiography, Politics*, ed. by Victor Roudometoff, 173-206. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs.
- . 2001. Romani Multilingualism in its Balkan Context. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 54.146-159.

- Friedman, Victor A. and Robert Dankoff. 1991. The Earliest Text in Balkan (Rumelian) Romani: A Passage from Evliya Çelebi's Seyāhat-nāme. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society (Fifth Series)* 1/1: 1-20.
- Hancock, Ian. 1995. *A Handbook of Vlax Romani*. Columbus: Slavica
- Haugen, Einar. 1966. Dialect, Language, Nation. *American Anthropologist* 68, 922-935.
- Haugen, Einar. 1968. The Scandinavian Languages as Cultural Artifacts. *Language Problems of Developing Nations*, ed. by Joshua Fishman, Charles Ferguson and J. Das Gupta, 267-84. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Jusuf, Šaip et al. (transl.) 1978. *Amen sam e Titoske, O Tito si amaro. (Mi smo Titovi, Tito je naš* by Drago Zdunić et al.) Ljubljana: Univerzum.
- Jusuf, Šaip. 1996. *Sikljova romani čhib*. Skopje: Prosvetno Delo.
- Jusuf, Šaip and Krume Kepeski. 1980. *Romani gramatika - Romska gramatika*. Skopje: Naša Kniga.
- Kenrick, Donald. 1981. Romano alfabeto. *Loli Phabaj* 1, 3-4.
- Kyuchukov, Hristo. 1995. *Romany children and their preparation for literacy: A Case Study*. Tilburg: Tilburg University Press.
- Matras, Yaron. 1999. Writing Romani: The Pragmatics of Codification in a Stateless Language. *Applied Linguistics* 20/4.481-502.
- . 2002. *Romani Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Nova Makedonija*. Skopje daily newspaper. References are to year.month.date:page.
- Neustupný, J. V. 1970. Basic Types of Treatment of Language Planning Problems. *Communications (Monsh University)* 1.77-100.
- Petrovski, Trajko (trans.) 1989. *Parne detharina (Beli mugri)* by Kočo Racin. Skope: Naša kniga.
- (adaptor.) 2000. *O Ramče thai i Esmā*. Skope: Romano Ilo.
- (adaptor.) 2000. *I praxali čhaj*. Skope: Romano Ilo.
- (adaptor.) 2000. *I Snežana thaj o eŧta patuljakija*. Skope: Romano Ilo.
- Petrovski Trajko and Bone Veličkovski. 1998. *Makedonsko-romski i Romsko-makedonski rečnik - Makedonsko-romano i Romani-makedonski alavari*. Skopje: Vorldbuk.
- Puxon, Grattan. 1979. Romanès and Language Policy n Jugoslavia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 19.83-90.
- Radovanović, Milorad (1986). *Sociolingvistika*. Novi Sad: Dnevnik.
- Radovanović, Milorad (1992). Standard Serbo-Croatian and the Theory of Language Planning. In *Language Planning in Yugoslavia*, ed. by Ranko Bugarski and Celia Hawkesworth, 93-100. Columbus: Slavica.
- Sarău, Gheorghe. 1991. *Limba romaní*. Bucharest: Editura didactică și pedagogică.
- Silverstein, Michael. 1998. Contemporary Transformations of Local Linguistic Communities. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27.401-426.
- Škiljan, Dubravko. 1992. Standard Languages in Yugoslavia. *Language Planning in Yugoslavia*, ed. by Ranko Bugarski and Celia Hawkesworth, 27-42. Columbus: Slavica.

- Skendi, Stavro 1967. *The Albanian National Awakening*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Trifunovska, Snežana. (editor-in-chief), and Fernand de Varennes (guest editor). 2001. *Minority Rights in Europe. European Minorities and Languages*. The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press
- Uhlik, Rade. 1947. *Srpskohrvatsko-ciganski rečnik (romane alava)*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost

The research for this article was aided by a grant for East European Studies from the American Council of Learned Societies with funding from the U.S. Department of State/Research and Training for Eastern Europe and the Independent States of the Former Soviet Union Act of 1983 (Title VIII) and by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (reference: FA-36517-01).